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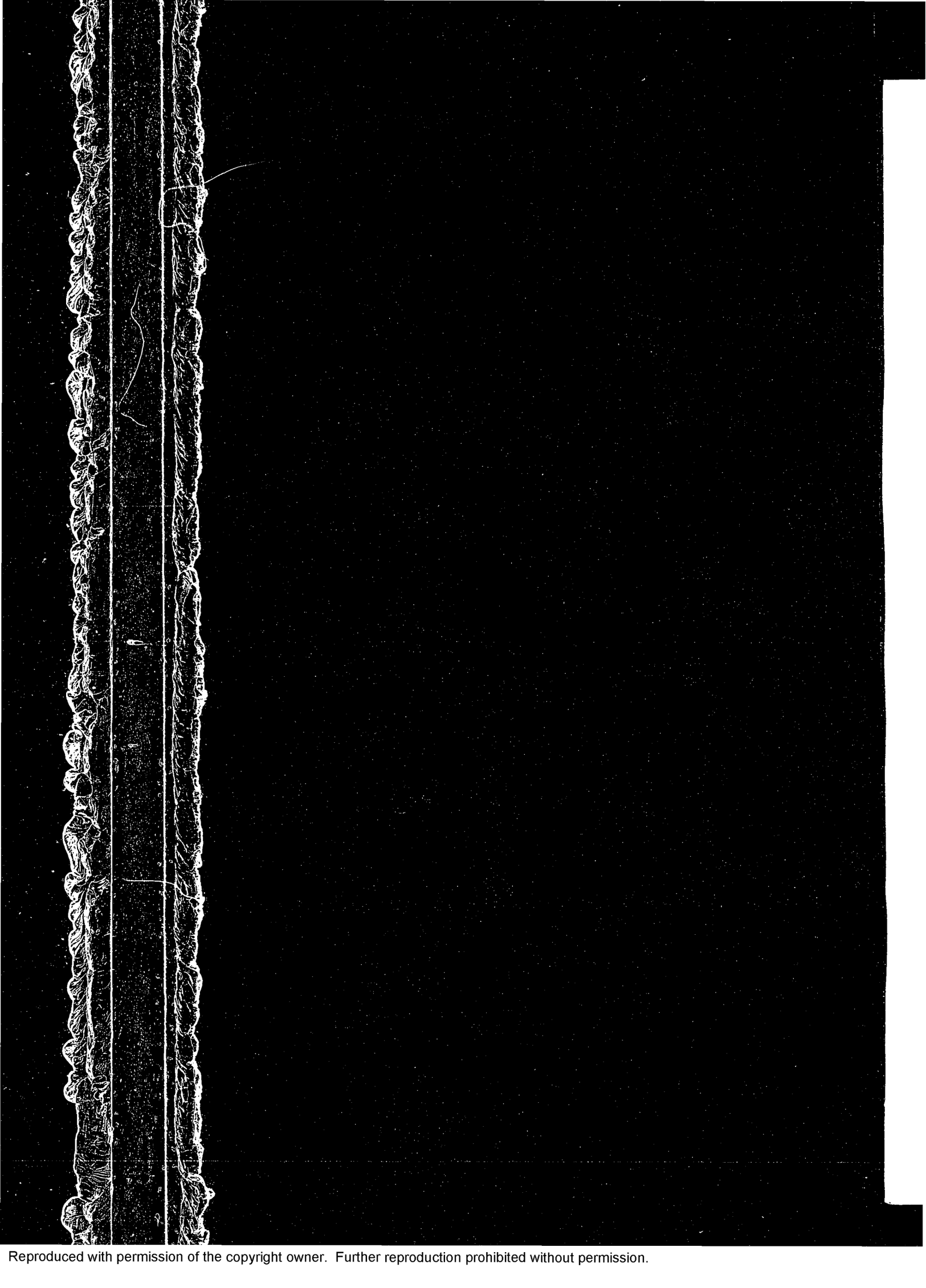

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Between Spirituality and Nationalism: Expressionism in Polish Art, 1917-1922

by

Marek Bartelik

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2000

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Abstract

Between Spirituality and Nationalism: Expressionism in Polish Art, 1917-1922

by

Marek Bartelik

Adviser: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

Between Spirituality and Nationalism: Expressionism in Polish Art, 1917-1922 is the first extensive study that brings Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Polish Futurists together and examines interconnections between them, while bridging their art with broader socio-political and cultural currents in Poland after World War I. The first chapter, "The Polish Context," defines Polish Expressionism, discusses artistic life in Poland between 1917 and 1922, and provides an overview of the existing literature on the subject. The following four chapters are devoted to individual groups, analyzing their activities and art. The four chapters discuss the activities of each of the four groups chronologically, while focusing on the art and programs detailed in the groups' publications. The last chapter, "Toward the Future, Realism *à rebours*," presents circumstances leading to the disappearance of Expressionism in Poland in the mid-twenties.

This dissertation argues that Expressionism in Poland was an original artistic formation developed after Independence, as well as the first Polish avant-garde movement with a

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clear program that aimed at uniting modern art and life. I question, therefore, the assumption advanced by the majority of Polish scholars that Polish Constructivism rather than Expressionism played a pioneering role in the development of modern Polish art. As a part of a larger phenomenon that occurred all over Europe, Polish Expressionism needs to be understood as a missing link between similar tendencies in Russia and western Europe.

The development of Expressionism in Poland coincided with the reemergence of Poland on the map of Europe in 1918, which was a crucial factor for its reception. Perceived as a foreign (mainly German) or foreign-influenced aesthetic, Expressionism was rejected by both Polish artists and the public at large in the 1920s, in part because they considered it a threat to Polish cultural identity. This study pays special attention to the issue of multiculturalism in Poland. While analyzing multicultural and multiethnic specificity of Poland in the period between 1917 and 1922, I use Expressionism as a case study to show how nationalism conditioned Polish art and led to the suppression of pluralism.

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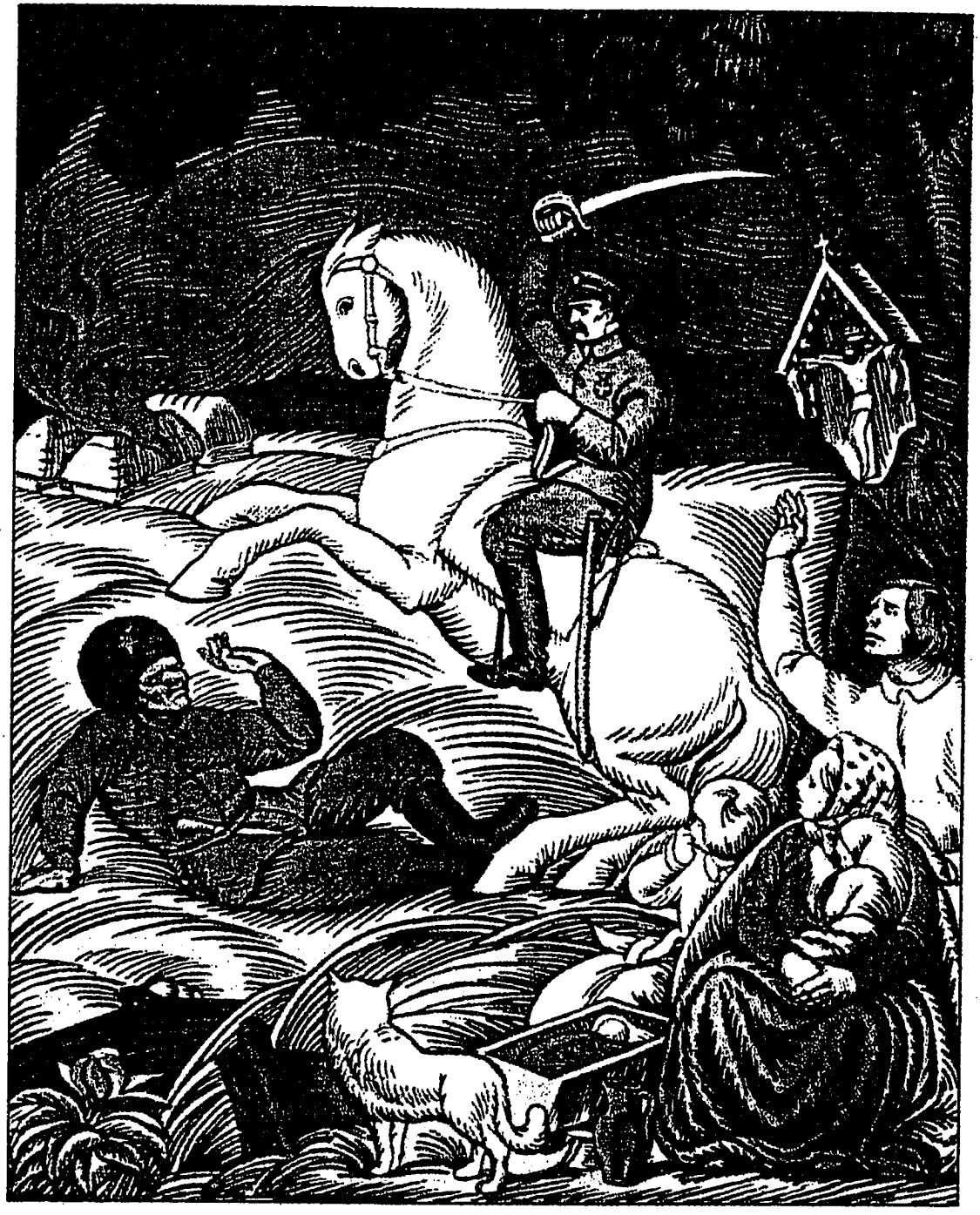

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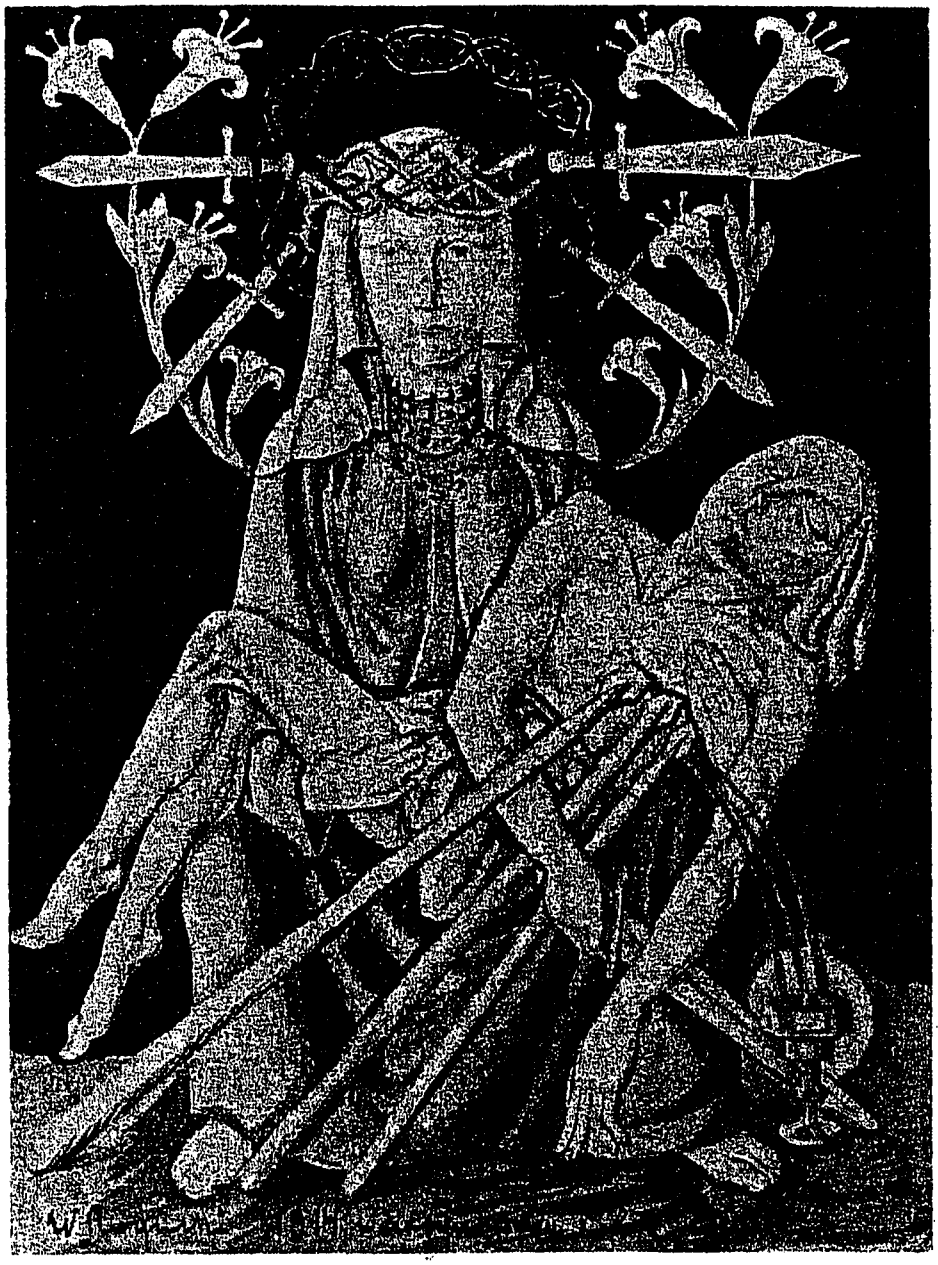

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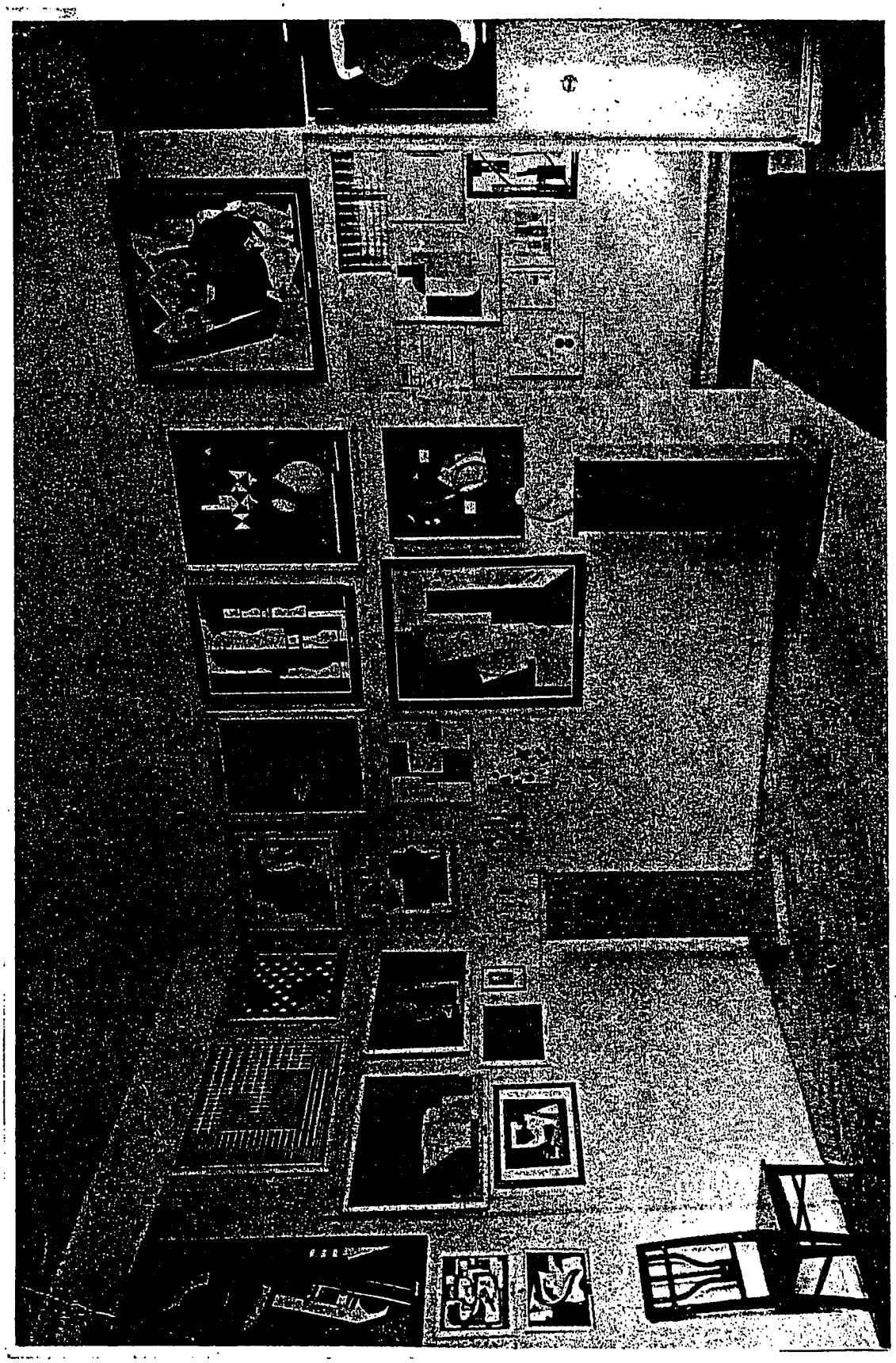

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P. T. Interesantów uprasza się o zgłaszanie w sprawach redakcyjnych wyłącznie między g. 6 a 7 wieczorem w biurze redakcyi przy ul. Zakonia l. VI. Rękopisów nie zwraca się. —— Biura administracyi otwarte codziennie od godziny 6 rano do 7 wieczór. —— Telefon redakcyjny Nr. 384.

Nr. 4276 Lwów, niedziela 28 lipca 1918 Rok VIII

Ekspresyonizm w Sztuce plastycznej.

ANKIETA „GAZETY WIECZORNEJ".

Z. PRONASZKO: Akt.

NASZA ANKIETA O EKSPRESYONIZMIE.

Lwów, 27 lipca.

Jak już zapowiadaliśmy, redakcya „Gazety Wieczornej" idąca zawsze z prądem czasu i starająca się podać Czytelnikom swoim wszystkie najnowsze wyniki w dziedzinach życia codziennego, chcąc dać sposobność wypowiedzenia się o najnowszym kierunku, t. zw. ekspresyonizmie, a przez to chcąc zapoznać Czytelników swoich z tym kierunkiem w sztuce plastycznej — zwróciła się do całego szeregu znakomitych pisarzy i krytyków z prośbą o oświadczenia się w tej sprawie. Udało się nam też istotnie uzyskać szereg niezmiernie interesujących odpowiedzi, jakoż zajmujących się sztuką i mających za sobą długo lata pracy w tym kierunku. Ankieta niektórych ich nazwisk

niczała nikogo w wypowiadaniu swego zdania. Nie była absolutnie zwrócona przeciw ekspresyonizmowi, ani też nie propagowała go — w tem też duchu pokierowaliśmy nią i dziś przynosimy Czytelnikom szereg opinii, na podstawie których będą mogli sobie urobić pewien sąd o tym najnowszym kierunku, tem bardziej, że zdania są podane; a każde z nich ma swe uzasadnienie. Odpowiedzi autorów podajemy w porządku alfabetycznym ich nazwisk.

JAN BOŁOZ ANTONIEWICZ.

IMPRESYONIZM — EKSPRESYONIZM.

I. Ekspresyonizm jako przeciwieństwo impresyonizmu. — Analogiczna antyteza w stosunku romantyzmu do klasycyzmu. — II. Impresyonizm i jego pochodzenie. — III. Neoimpresyonizm (Seusat). barwy czyste, formy zasadnicze. — IV. Impresyonizm, jego konieczność, jego zjawienie się jako reakcya, jego główne kierunki. — V. Kwestya Sztuki polskiej wobec ekspresyonizmu.

Dr. Jan Bołoz-Antoniewicz, prof. historyi sztuki Uniwersytetu lwowskiego, głęboki badacz epoki renesansu włoskiego i historyi estetyki XVIII stulecia, autor znakomitego dzieła „O Grottgerze" nagrodzonego przez Akademię Umiejętności w Krakowie, piszący obecnie tak pożyteczną i długo oczekiwaną rzecz o historyi malarstwa polskiego w XVIII wieku, członek Akademii Umiejętności, tak określa ideowe znaczenie i historyę ekspresyonizmu:

Lwów, 27 lipca.

I.

Kierunek sztuki, a raczej kierunek umysłowości, objawiony w dziełach sztuki, który dał sobie miano ekspresyonizmu, stawia się w ostrem przeciwieństwie do kierunku umysłowego i artystycznego zwanego *impresyonizmem*. Ten antagonizm jawny, poniekąd programowo wyznany, może nas co do celu i zamiaru tej sztuki zorjentować; co prawda najbardziej ogólnikowo tylko, tak n. p. jak kontur przyszłej katedry wyrysowany w planie, może nam dać mglawe tylko wyobrażenie, jedwie tylko przeczucie przyszłej świątyni.

Mianem swem wyznaje ten kierunek, że jest czemś zasadniczo nietylko odmiennem od impresyonizmu, ale i jemu przeciwnem, tak, jak oksosmoza jest przeciwieństwem endosmozy. Pierwszy kierunek nie tworzy, w słowa tego znaczeniu ukrojnem, lecz raczej przetwarza, przekształcą materyę, którą tym razem jest świat otaczający bezpośrednio artystę; drugi kierunek wytwarza ze siebie, chce być zatem w pierwszym rzędzie kierunkiem twórczym i — zdaje mi się, jest nim w rzeczy samej

Momentem apryorycznym jest w pierwszym przypadku treść z zewnątrz podana, w drugim idea we wnętrzu zrodzona.

Jestże ten kontrast dla nas czemś zupełnie nowem? Czy nie przypomina nam się analogiczna antyteza z dziejów umysłowości naszej, to jest ogólno-europejskiej, z doby niedawno minionej?

Bo w istnieniu lub ponowne zaistnienie takich problemów wspólnych całej naszej europejskiej kulturze głęboko wierzę i uważam je za konieczność równie elementarną, jak jej przeciwieństwo, wojnę, gdyż od wiecznych czasów po wieczne czasy w ciągłych skurczach i rozkurczach rodzi się i rozwija wszelka kultura ludzka, to jest kultura czyana, tak różna od jej kultury biernej, tej smutno pasywnej nuski gnuśności i nieporadności.

Otóż zdaje mi się, że, okrągło biorąc, przed stu laty (dokładnie przed stu piętnastoma) wirowała znów umysłowość ludzka elipsą dokoła dwóch ogniska podobnie sobie przeciwnych, z których jedno zwało się klasycyzmem, drugie romantyzmem. Klasycyzmu troską największą była kwestya formy, kwestya ujęcia i ujarzmienia treści, tym razem treści duchowej naturalnie, wielkiej, stałej „klasycznej" formy. Dziesięciolecia korespondencya Göthego z Schillerem jest, jak do dzisiaj przynajmniej, najwiekszym pomnikiem tej walki o formę. Równocześnie w tych samych latach, gdy bryła świata chwiała się w posadach swoich, zgłaszał obok Napoleona i Schillera-Göthego trzeci jeszcze pretendent swe pretensye do zawładnięcia światem. A był nim — romantyk. Pierwszy, zdobywca chciał światem władnąć, klasyk rządzić umysłami, lecz wciąż

Fig.9: Cover of *Gazeta Wieczorna* with a poll on Expressionism, Lvov, dated July 28, 1918

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TOWARZYSTWO PRZYJACIÓŁ SZTUK PIĘKNYCH
WE LWOWIE

WYSTAWA FUTURYSTÓW,
KUBISTÓW I EKSPRESYONISTÓW

WYSTAWA ZBIOROWA PRAC
PILLATIEGO GUSTAWA

CZERWIEC—LIPIEC 1913

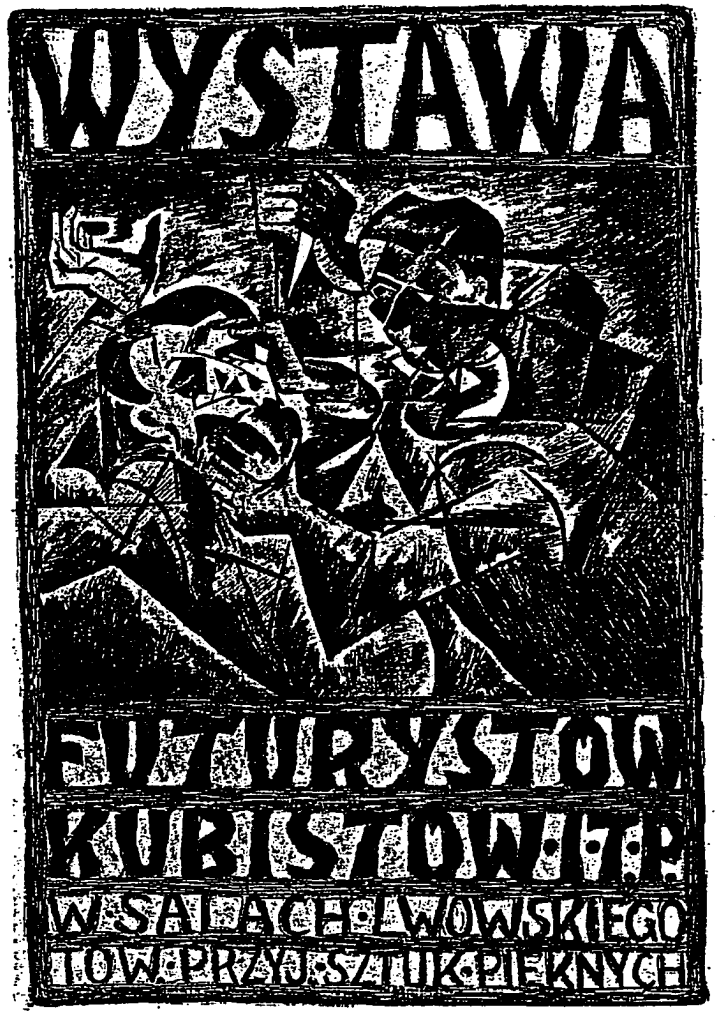

Fig.10: Cover page of the catalogue for the Exhibition of Futurists, Cubists, Expressionists in Lvov, 1913, the National Museum in Warsaw

Fig.11: Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, poster for the Exhibition of Futurists, Cubists, etc, Lvov 1913, lithography, 116.5 x 79 cm, the Ethnographic Museum in Lvov, Ukraine

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Fig.12: Jerzy Hulewicz, one of eight postcards with Hulewicz's triptych, *The Homeless*, 1914-15, from the series with the same title

Fig.13: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, *Explosion* from *The War* series, 1915-16, lithograph reproduced in Młodzież sobie 1 (1928)

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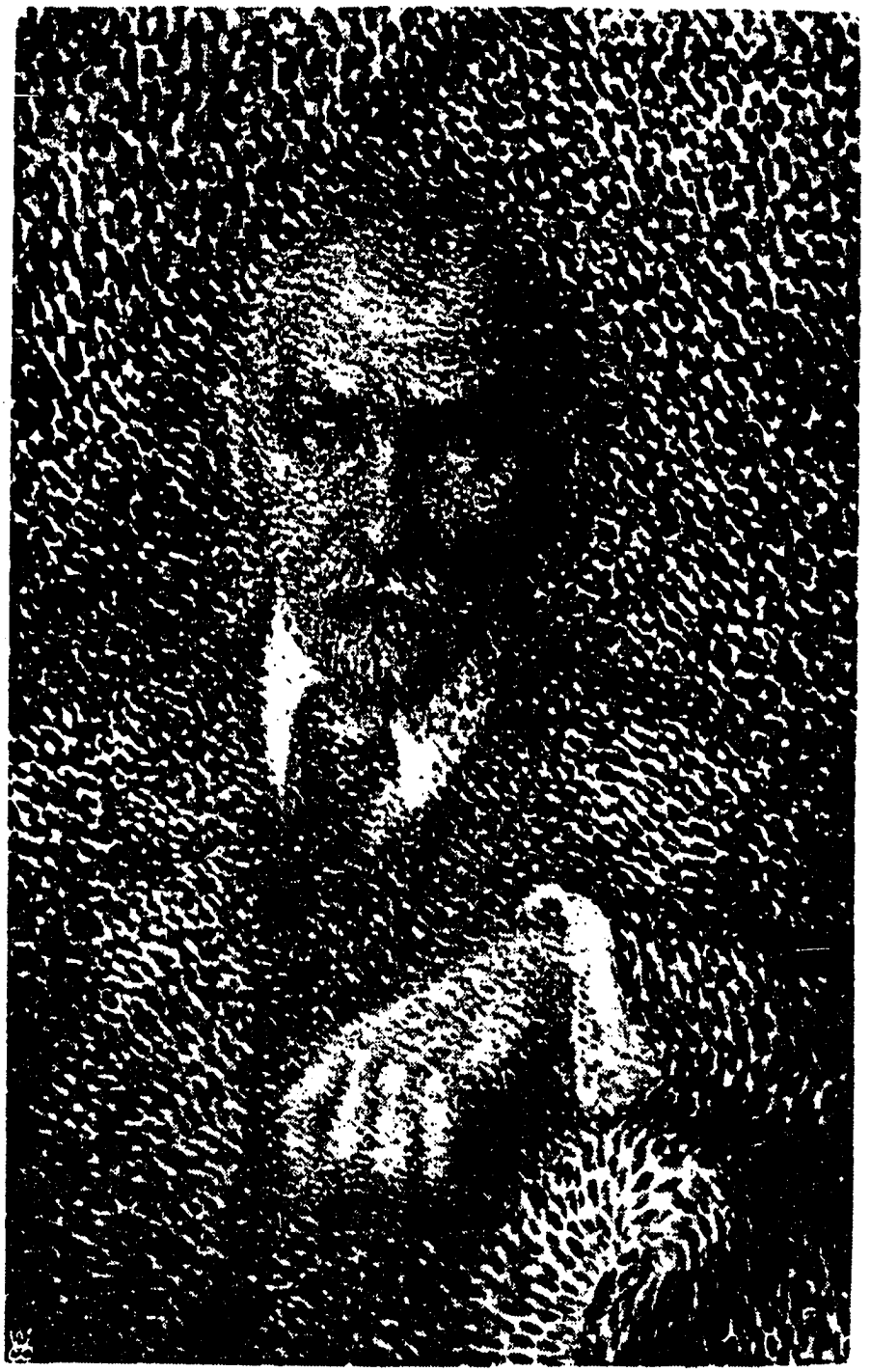

Fig. 14: Jerzy Hulewicz, *Portrait of S. Przybyszewski*, 1916, oil on canvas, known from a reproduction in Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Listy*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1938)

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Fig.15: Jerzy Hulewicz, cover of *Zdrój*, vol.1, October 1917, lithograph

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I 492.947

BIBLJOTEKA ZDROJU

TOM III.

JERZY HULEWICZ

SAMSKÂRA

OPOWIEŚĆ

POZNAŃ 1918.

Fig.16: Jerzy Hulewicz, jacket of his book *Samskâra*, 1918, the National Library in Warsaw

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Fig.17: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, *St. Sebastian*, 1917, drawing reproduced in *Zdroj* 1 (1917)

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Fig. 18: Stanislaw Kubicki, *Flowers in a Green Vase*, n.d., watercolor, 36 x 30 cm, the National Museum in Poznan.

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Fig. 19: Stanislaw Kubicki, *Self-portrait*, 1917, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 1 (1917).

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Fig. 20: Stanisław Kubicki, *Self-portrait I*, 1911, oil on board, Private Collection, Berlin

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Fig.21: Stanislaw Kubicki, *House near Tegel*, 1913, watercolor, 29 x 23.5 cm, Collection of Dr. Stanislaw Kubicki (son), Berlin

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Fig.22: Stanislaw Kubicki, *Pink Nude*, 1913, watercolor, 25 x 31 cm, Collection of Dr. Stanislaw Kubicki (son), Berlin

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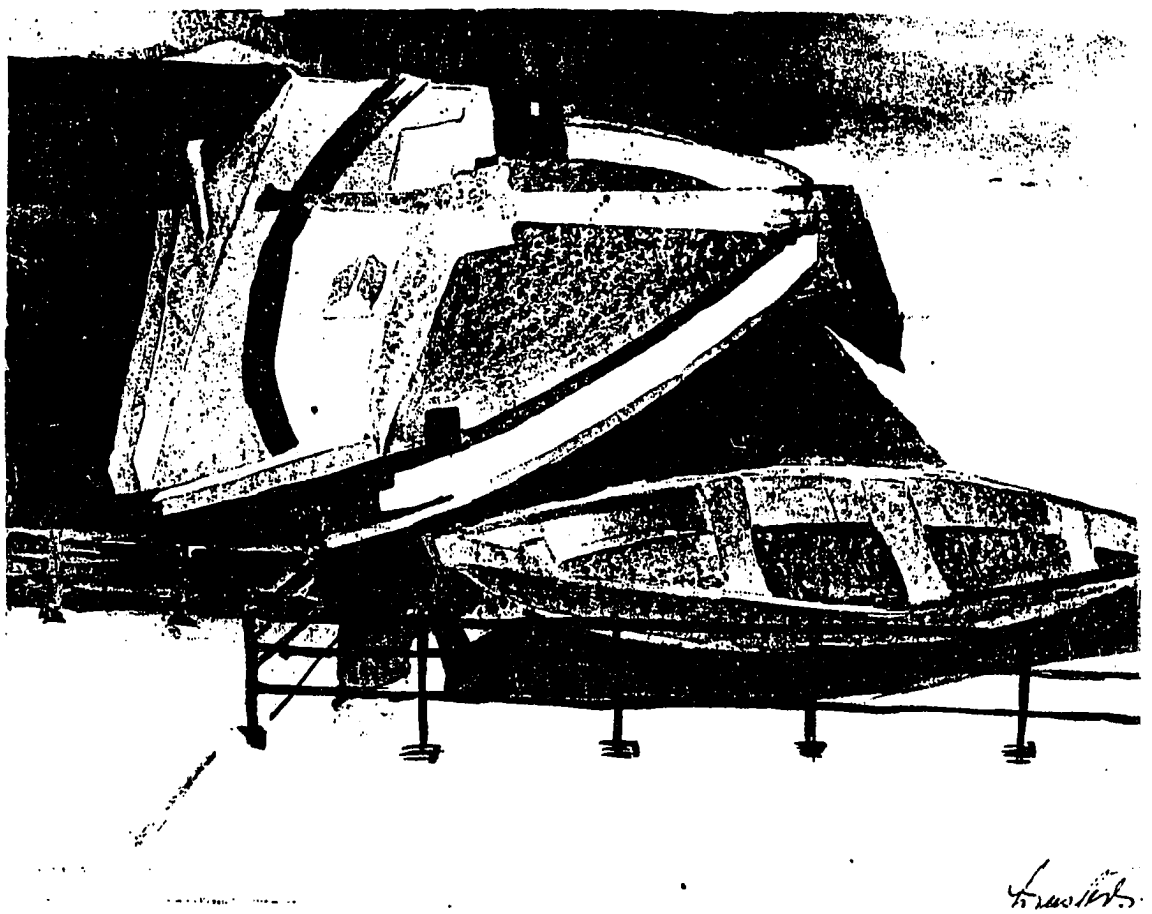

Fig.23: Margarete Kubicka-Schuster, *A Barge*, c.1912, watercolor, 23 x 32 cm, the National Museum in Poznan

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Fig.24: Margarete Kubicka-Schuster, *Self-portrait*, 1917, linocut, Collection of Dr. Stanislaw Kubicki (son), Berlin.

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Fig.25: Stefan Szmaj, *Kiss I*, 1917, linocut, the National Museum in Poznan

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Fig.26: Władysław Skotarek, *Crucifixion (Drawing I)*, 1917-18, ink drawing reproduced in *Zdrój* 2 (1918)

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Fig.27: Władysław Skotarek, *Improvisation II*, 1917-18, ink drawing, 14.4 x 20 cm, reproduced in *Zdrój* 2 (1918), the National Museum in Poznań.

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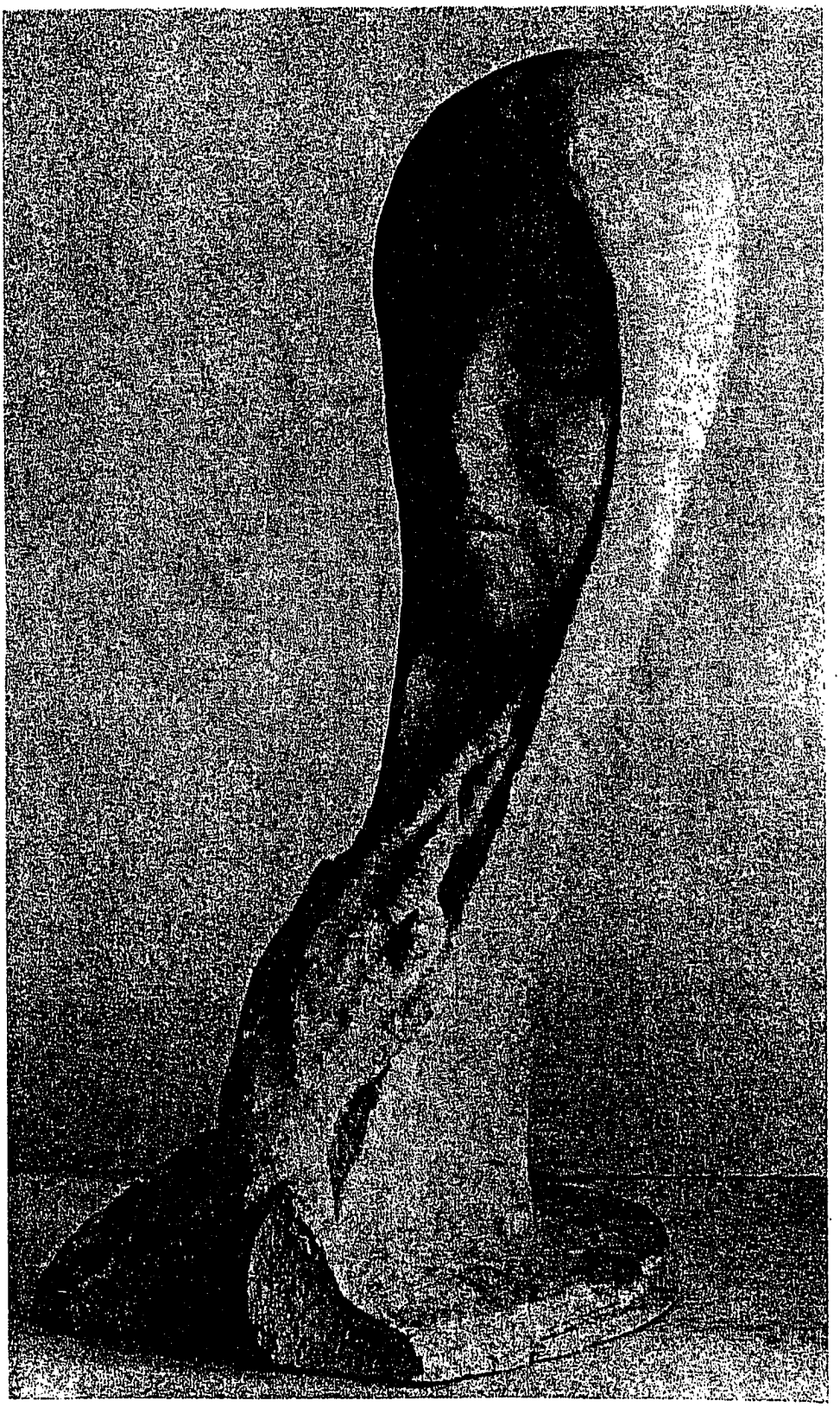

Fig.28: August Zamoyski, *A Tear (Portrait of Rita Sacchetto)*, 1917, plaster, 47 cm high, Private Collection, Paris, a bronze version at the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.29: August Zamoyski, *Portrait of Rita Sacchetto)*, 1917, 47 cm. high, Private Collection, Saint Clar de Riviere, France.

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BUNT

WYSTAWA
EKSPRESJONISTÓW

MALARSTWO • RZEŹBA
GRAFIKA

POZNAŃ UL. BERLIŃSKA 10
OD 1. DO 30. KWIETNIA 1918
OTWARTE OD 10. DO 5. GODZ.

28. S.Kubicki, plakat wystawy **Buntu** w Poznaniu w 1918 r.

Fig.30: Stanisław Kubicki, poster for the Bunt exhibition, 1918, Poznań

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ZDRÓJ

ROK 2 KWIECIEŃ 1914
TOM III. ZESZYT 1

DWUTYGODNIK POŚWIĘCONY SZTUCE I KULTURZE UMYSŁOWEJ

ADRES REDAKCYI I ADMINISTRACYI: OSTOJA — POZNAŃ PLAC WILHELMOWSKI 12.

ZESZYT „BUNTU".

TREŚĆ: Czytelnikom pobożny — Adam Boderski. Krzyk — Stanisław Kubicki. Wiersze — Jonasz Fürste (spolszczył Nowina). Grotesken morskie — Adam Boderski. Lucifer grzmi — Leon Szczawiński. Ballada. Skargo młodzieńcze po nocnej mitrydzie. Sonet młody. Przemiłości — Adam Boderski. Do świętego Buntownika — Jerzy Hulewicz. Zwycięstwo — Małgorzata Kubicka (spolszczył Stanisław Kubicki). Fragment symfonicznej z kantaty wrocznyskiej z tańcem — Franz Werfel (spolszczył Nowina). Z cyklu „Dekadenci — Leon Szczawiński. Uwagi o Sztuce — Stanisław Kubicki. Mianowanie. Zapowiedź wystawy „Bunto".

RYCINY: Drzeworyty: Jerzego Hulewicza, Małgorzaty Kubickiej, Stanisława Kubickiego, Władysława Skoczylasa, Stefana Szmaja, Jana Wroniszkiego. Rysunki: Jerzego Hulewicza i Augusta Zamoyskiego.

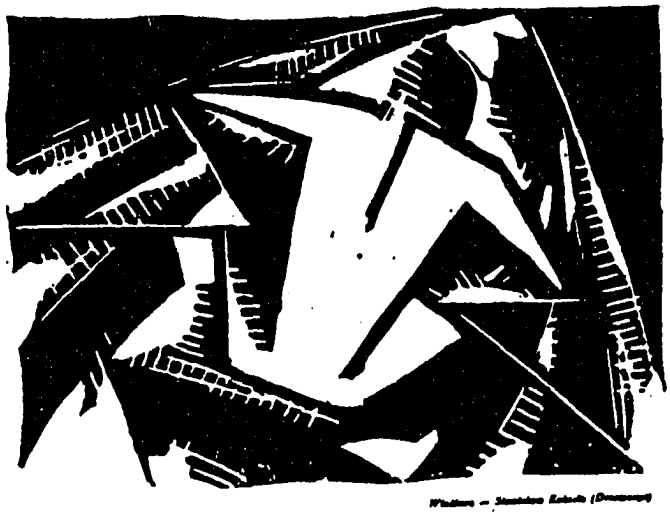

Fig.31: Cover of the Issue "Bunt," *Zdrój*, vol. 3, with a linocut, *A Canoeist*, by S. Kubicki

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Fig.32: Jerzy Hulewicz, *The Cross*, 1917, linocut, 24.9 x 24.3 cm, the National Museum in Poznań

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Rysunek — J. Wroniecki.

Fig.33: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, *Saint Francis*, 1918, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 2 (1918)

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J. Wroniecki — Modlitwa (Drzeworyt

Fig.34: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, *Prayer I*, 1918, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 2 (1918)

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Fig.35, Stefan Szmaj, *St. Sebastian,* 1918, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 2 (1918)

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Fig.36: Władysław Skotarek, *The Panic*, 1918, linocut, Private Collection, Berlin

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Portret St. Kubickiego — Jerzy Hulewicz (Drzeworyt)

Fig.37: Jerzy Hulewicz, *Portrait of Stanislaw Kubicki*, 1918, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 2 (1918)

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Fig.38: Margarete Kubicka, *A Run*, 1918, woodcut, 13.3 x 13 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw, reprinted in *Zdrój* 2 (1918)

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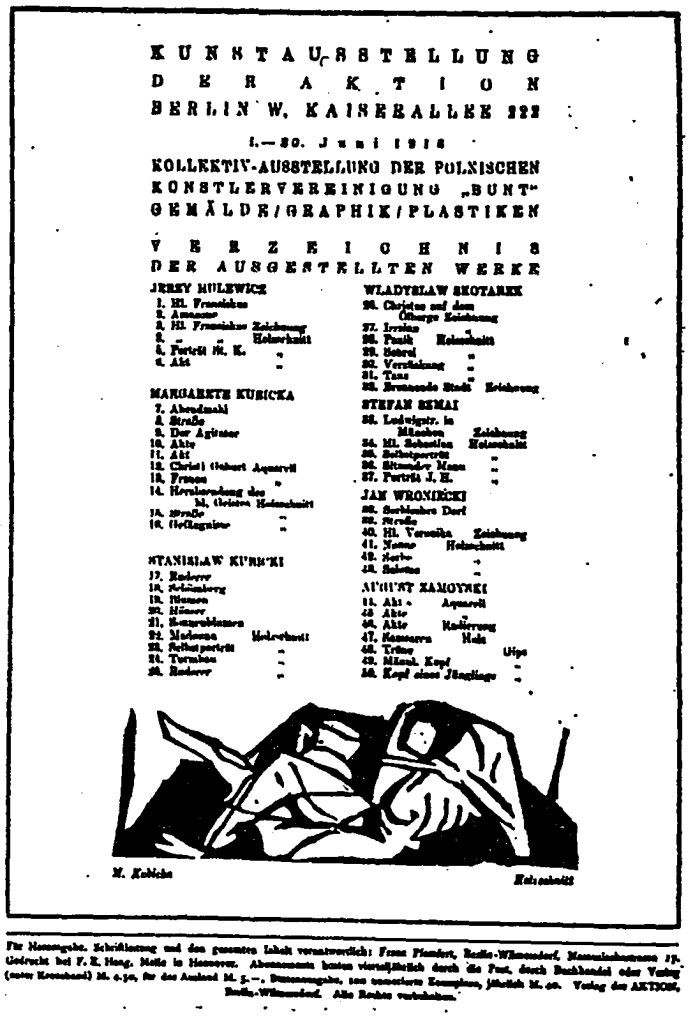
KUNSTAUSSTELLUNG
DER AKTION
BERLIN W. KAISERALLEE 222

1.—30. Juni 1918

KOLLEKTIV-AUSSTELLUNG DER POLNISCHEN KÜNSTLERVEREINIGUNG „BUNT"
GEMÄLDE/GRAPHIK/PLASTIKEN

VERZEICHNIS
DER AUSGESTELLTEN WERKE

JERZY HULEWICZ
1. Ill. Frauenkopf
2. Amazone
3. Ill. Frauenkopf Zeichnung
4. " " Holzschnitt
5. Porträt M. K. "
6. Akt "

MARGARETE KUBICKA
7. Abendmahl
8. Straße
9. Der Agitator
10. Akte
11. Akt
12. Christ (Hubert Aquarell
13. Frauen "
14. Herabsetzung des Ml. (kleines Holzschnitt
15. Straße
16. Heiligenlexe "

STANISLAW KUBICKI
17. Radierer
18. Schlemberg
19. Hirtenen
20. Häuser
21. Kampfszenen
22. Madonna Holzschnitt
23. Selbstporträt "
24. Turnieren "
25. Radierer "

WLADYSLAW SKOTAREK
26. Christus auf dem Ölberge Zeichnung
27. Irrsinn "
28. Faust Holzschnitt
29. Bettrel "
30. Verurteilung "
31. Tanz "
32. Brennende Stadt Zeichnung

STEFAN SIMAI
33. Ludwigstr. in München Zeichnung
34. Ill. Sabotiere Holzschnitt
35. Selbstporträt "
36. Stehender Mann "
37. Porträt J. H. "

JAN WRONIECKI
38. Sterbendes Dorf
39. Straße
40. Ill. Veronika Zeichnung
41. Nonne Holzschnitt
42. Herbe "
43. Bäuerin "

ARTHUR ZAMOYSKI
44. Akt " Aquarell
45. Akte "
46. Akte Radierung
47. Kampfszene Holz
48. Träne Litho
49. Männl. Kopf "
50. Kopf eines Jünglings "

M. Kubicka Holzschnitt

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Fig.39: Cover of the Issue "Bunt" of *Die Aktion* 8, 1918, with a linocut by S. Kubicki

Fig.40: List of works included in the Bunt Exhibition in Berlin with a linocut by M. Kubicka, reproduced in *Die Aktion* 8.

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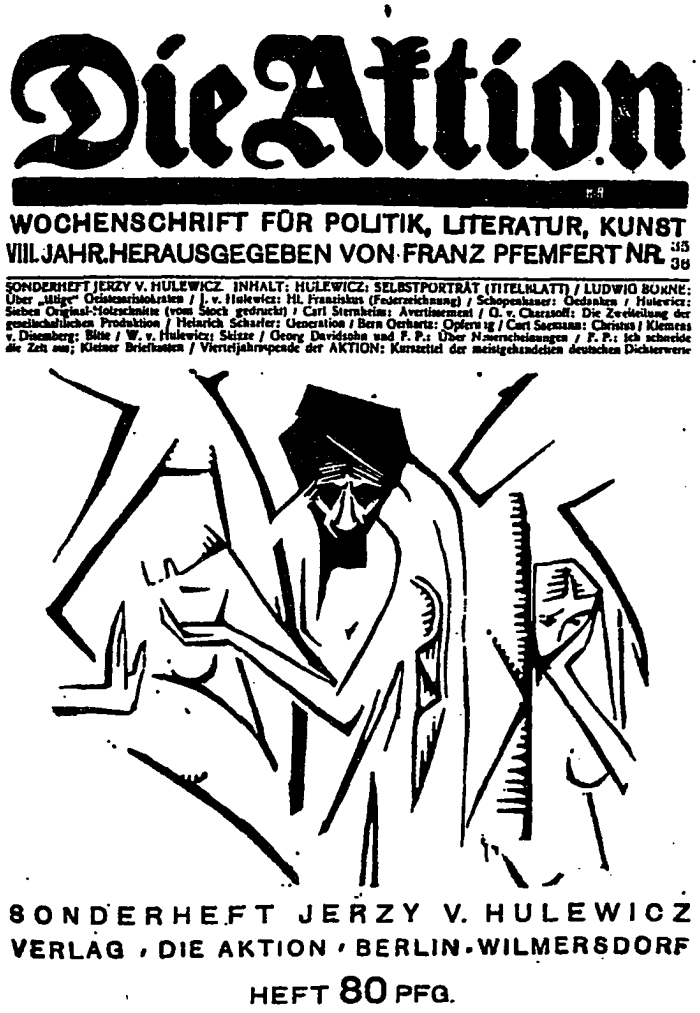

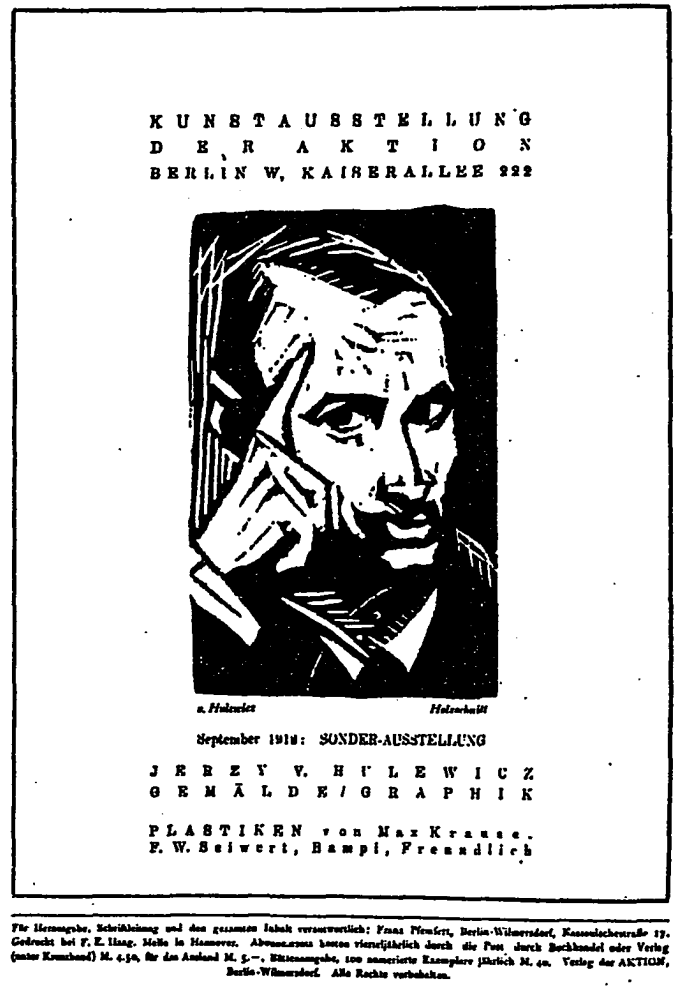

Fig.41: Cover of the Issue "Jerzy Hulewicz" of *Die Aktion* 8, 1918, with J. Hulewicz's linocut *Self-portrait*

Fig.42: Advertisement of Hulewicz's exhibition in Berlin printed in *Die Aktion* 8, with Hulewicz's linocut *Self-portrait*

Fig.43: Stefan Szmaj, *The Orator*, 1918, linocut, 19.8 x 14 cm, the National Museum in Poznań

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Fig.44: Stefan Szmaj, *Gryfia*, 1918, linocut, 16.1 x 11.9 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.45: Stefan Szmaj, *Idol II*, 1918, linocut, 13.3 x 8.7 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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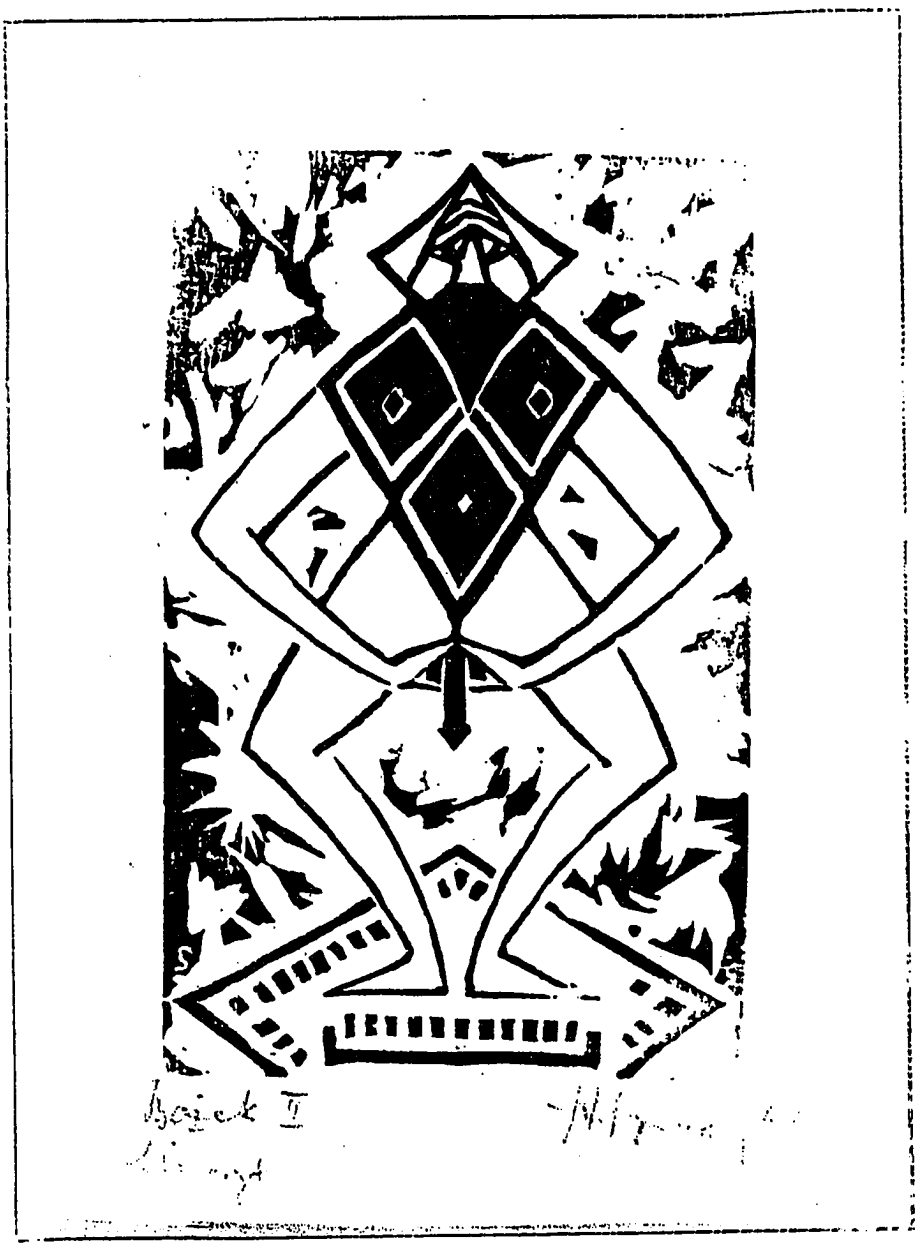

Fig.46: Stefan Szmaj, *Idol II, A Forefather*, 1918, linocut, the National Museum in Poznan

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Fig.47: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, *Walking Man*, 1918, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 2 (1918)

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Fig.48: Jerzy Hulewicz, an Illustration to Slowacki's *Genesis z ducha*, 1918, linocut, the National Library in Warsaw

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Fig.49: Jerzy Hulewicz, an Illustration to Slowacki's *Genesis z ducha*, 1918, linocut, the National Library in Warsaw

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Fig.50: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, *Madmen*, 1919, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 6 (1919)

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Fig.51: Jerzy Hulewicz, *Portrait of Commander Pilsudski*, c. 1919, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 6 (1919)

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Fig.52: Jan Panieński, *Leda*, 1918, linocut, reproduced in *Zdrój* 13 (1920)

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Fig.53: Artur Maria Swinarski, *Saint Francis*, 1919, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 7 (1919)

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Fig.54: Jan Jerzy Wroniecki, the cover of vol. 13 of *Zdrój* (1920)

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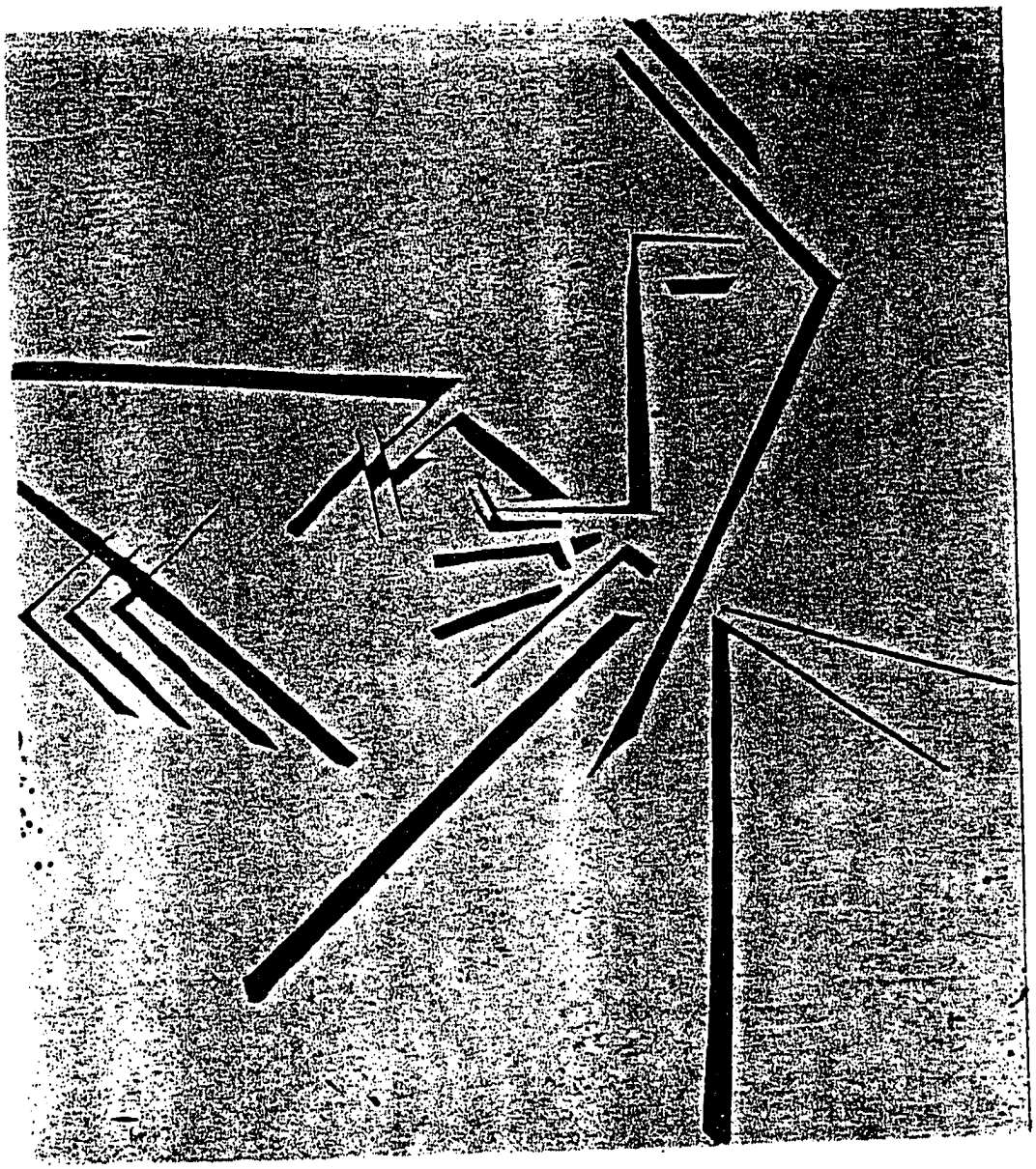

Fig.55: Jerzy Hulewicz, *The Kiss of Judas*, 1920, woodcut, 18 x 16 cm, reproduced in *Zdrój* 13 (1920).

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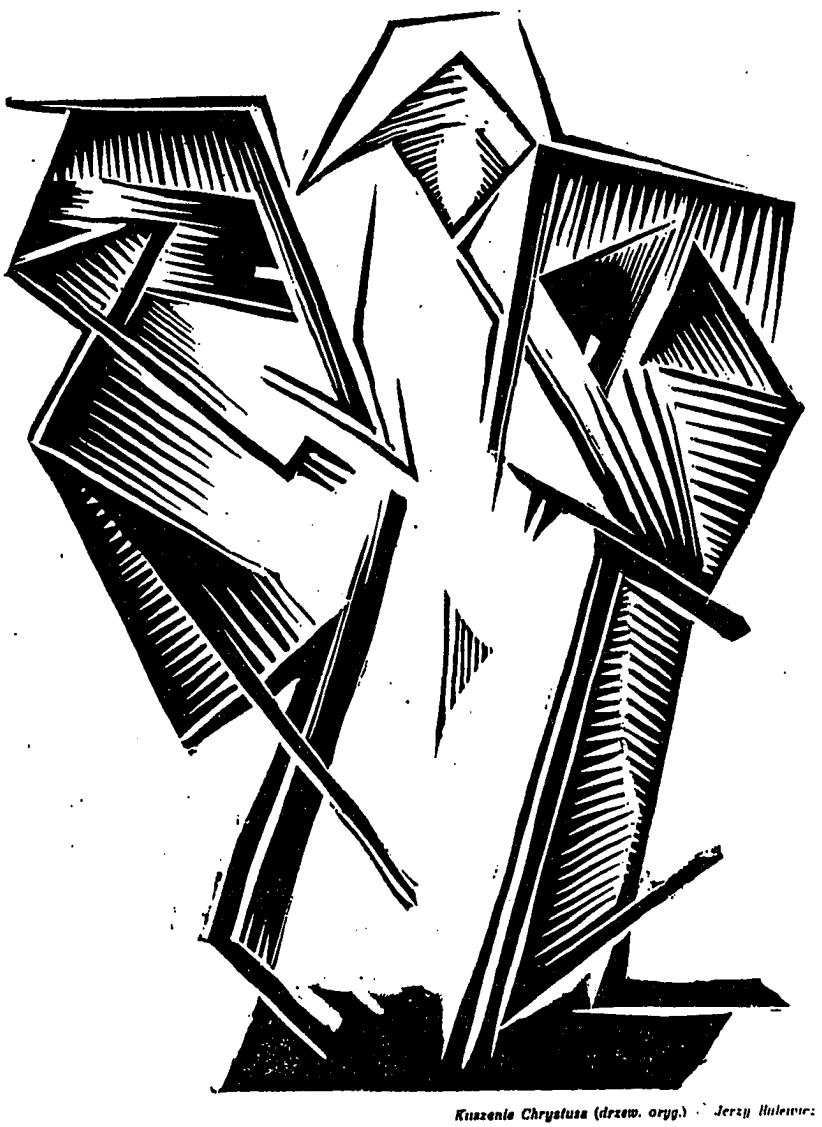

Fig.56: Jerzy Hulewicz, *The Temptation of Christ*, 1919, linocut, 22.3 x 16.6 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.57: Jerzy Hulewicz, *The City*, 1920, linocut, the Emil Zegadłowicz Museum in Gorzen Górny

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Fig.58: Stanislaw Kubicki, *A Break-Down*, 1919, linocut, Collection of Dr. Stanislaw Kubicki (son), Berlin

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Fig.59: Stanislaw Kubicki, *Der Eintretende*, oil on cardboard, 1919, Private Collection, Germany

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Fig.60: Margarete Kubicka-Schuster, *Ein Kind wird geboren*, 1922, watercolor, Collection of Dr. Stanislaw Kubicki (son), Berlin.

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Fig.61: Margarete Kubicka-Schuster, *L'amour*, 1924, watercolor, 60 x 45 cm, Collection of Dr. Stanislaw Kubicki (son), Berlin.

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Fig.62: Stefan Szmaj, *The Trees and People* from the series *The Poplars*, 1920, linocut, 21.5 x 15.7 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.63: Stefan Szmaj, *The Trees and Houses* from the series *The Poplars*, 1920, linocut, 21.2 x 16.7 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.64: August Zamoyski, *Portrait of Adolf Loos*, n.d., plaster, reproduced in *Swiat* 3 (1924)

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Fig.65: August Zamoyski, *Portrait of Louis Marcoussis*, n.d., bronze, 29 cm high, Private Collection, Saint Clar de Riviere, France

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Fig.66: Artur M. Świnarski, *The Annunciation*, 1920, woodcut, 7.6 x 7.5 cm, reproduced in *Zdrój* 13 (1920)

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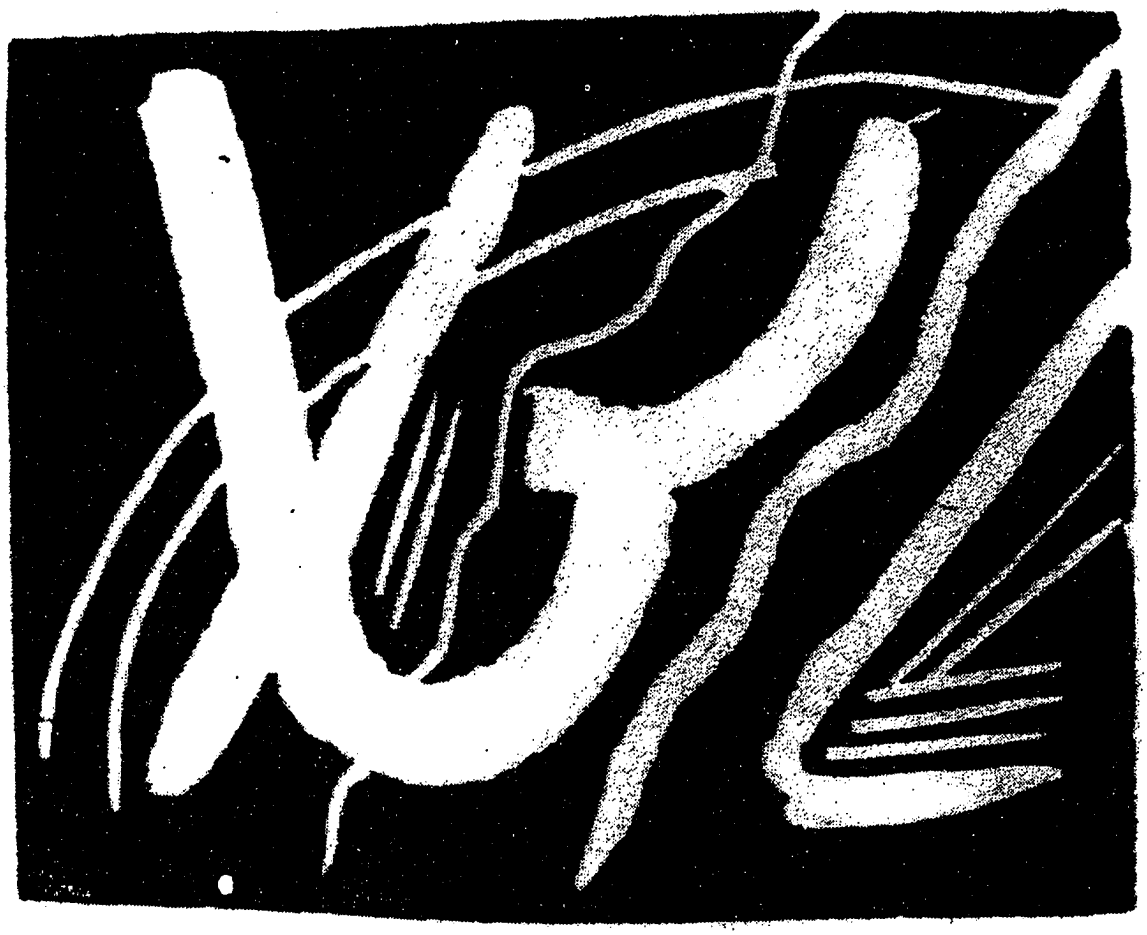

Fig.67: Jan Panienski, *Composition*, 1921, linocut, reproduced in *Zdroj* 13 (1920)

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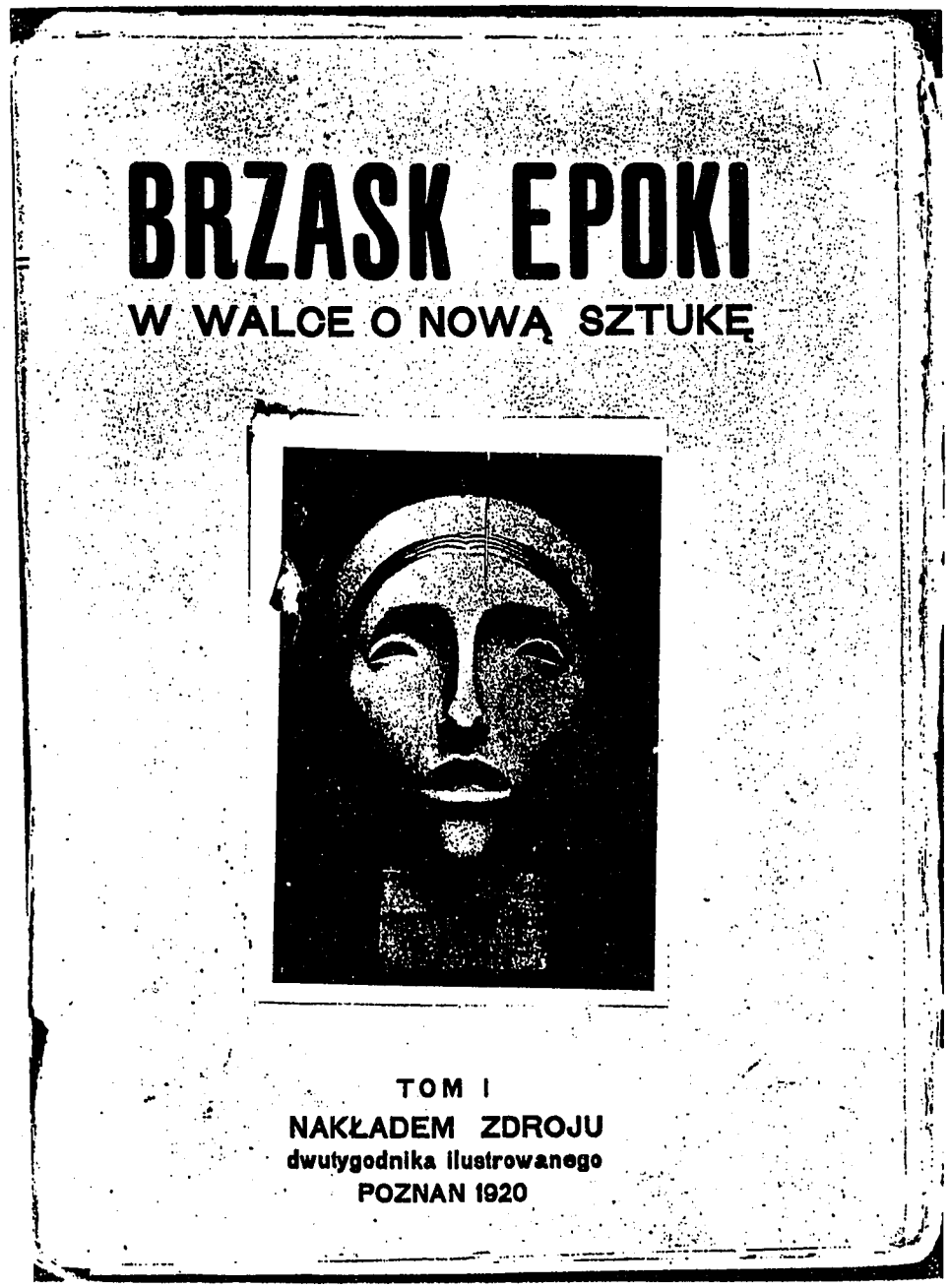

Fig.68: Jacket of *Brzask epoki, w walce o Nowa Sztuke* (Poznan, 1920)

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Fig.69: Title page for *Sikhes Kholin* (Small Talk), also known as *The Legend of Prague* by Moshe Broderzon, published by Shamir (originally Nashe Iskusstvo) in Moscow in 1917, the Israel Museum

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Fig.70: Marek Schwarz, *Eve*, 1913, plaster, reproduced from a postcard, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.71: Jankel Adler, *The Last Hour of Rabbi Eleazar*, c. 1918, oil on cardboard, painting stolen from the Museum Sztuki in Lodz

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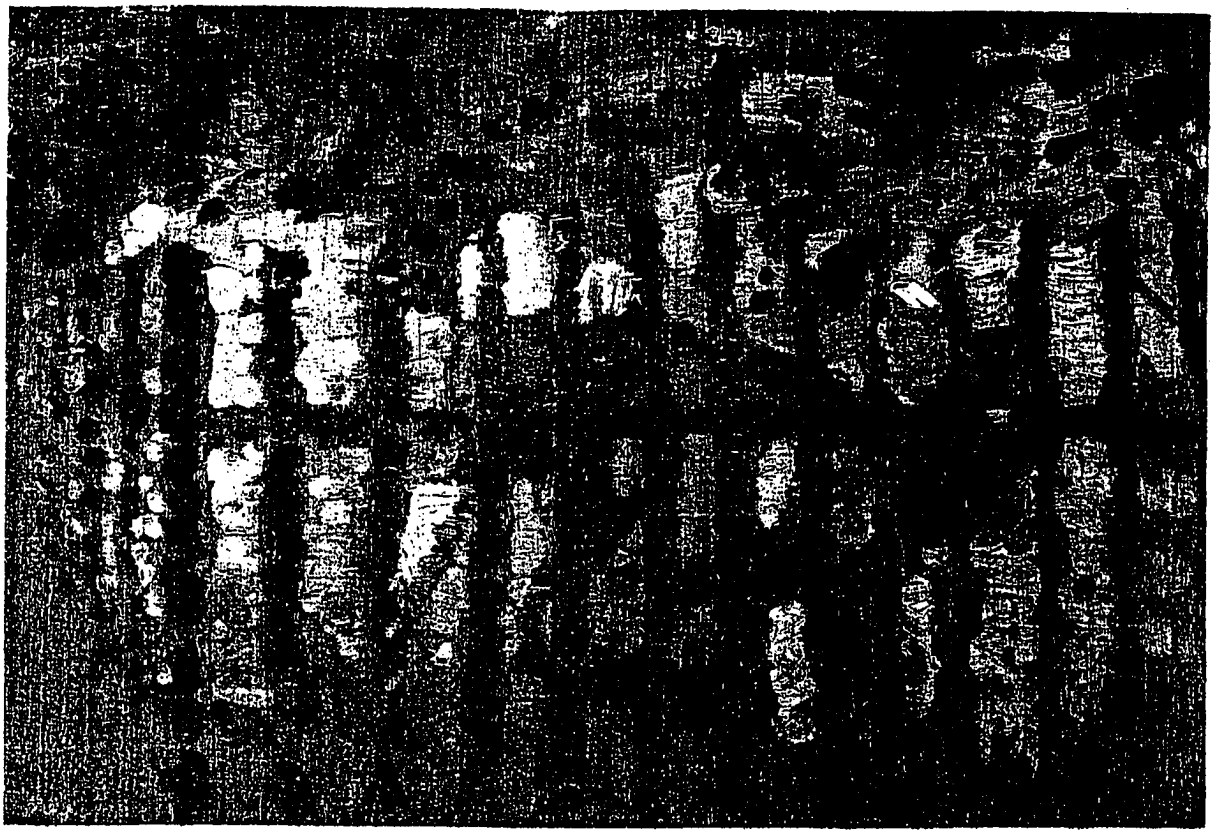

Fig.72: Vincent (Icchoc) Brauner, *Landscape*, 1915, oil on plywood, 17.5 x 26 cm, the Muzeum Sztuki in Lodz

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Fig. 73: Illustration from *Makhmadim* 2 (Sabbath), Paris 1912, hectography, the Israel Museum

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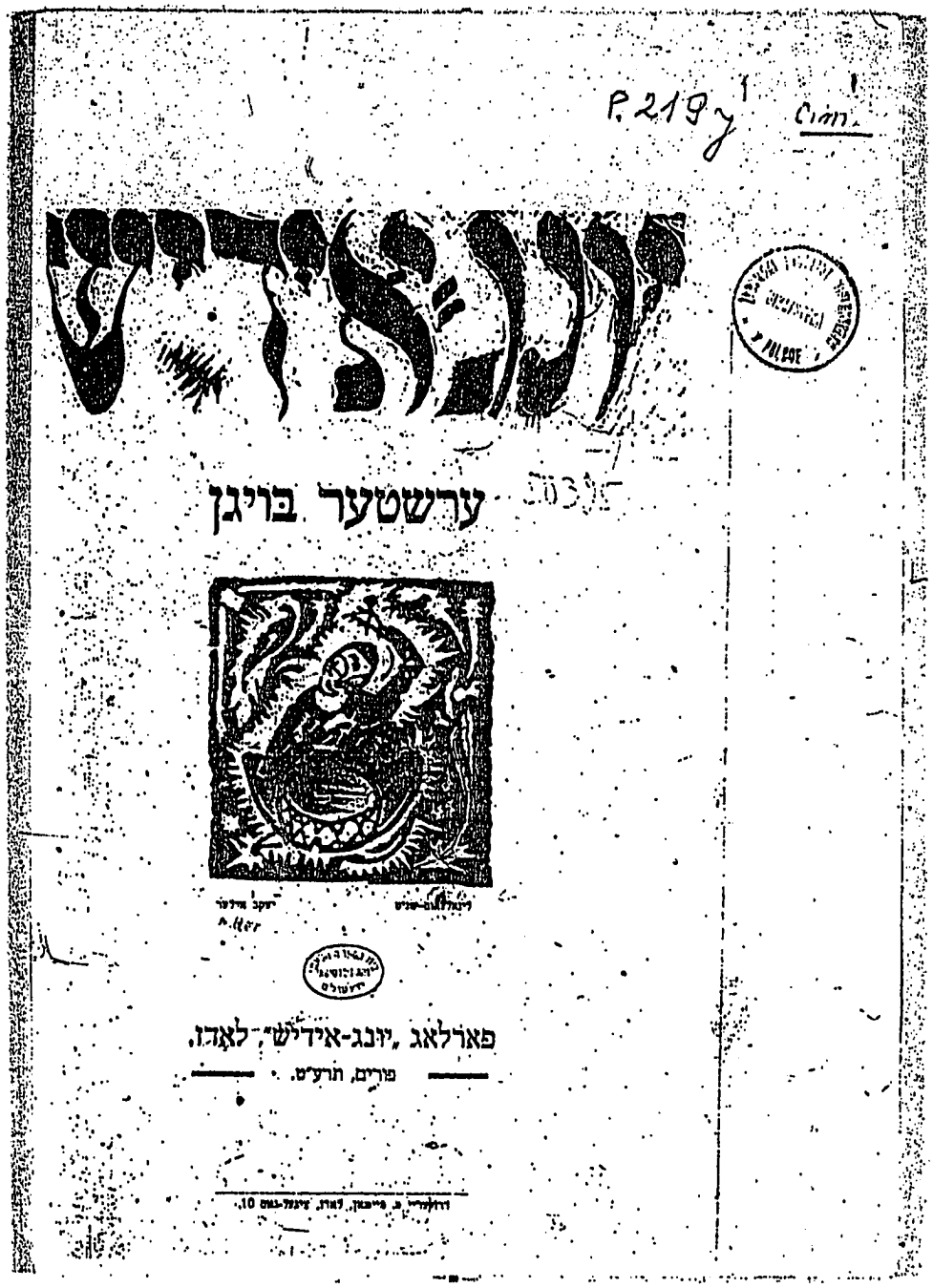

Fig.74: Cover of *Young Yiddish*, vol. 1, 1919, with a print by Jankel Adler

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Fig.75: Jankel Adler, *Snake Charmer*, 1919, linocut, reproduced in *Young Yiddish* 1 (1919).

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Fig.76: Stefan Szmaj, *A Male Nude in front of a Marching Crowd*, 1918-19, linocut, the National Museum in Poznań

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לינאלעאום־שניט

חנוך בארטשינסקי
Barczitski

איבערפולט!

אין מיטן וואלד אין טיפן, טרעטנדיק אויף שטראלן
געפאלענע פון בוימער צו פון הימל,
צו פון דר׳ערד געוואקסענע מיט׳ן גראז און שימל —
איז פלוצלונג מיר א פרייד באפאלן.

פלוצלונג האט מיך דארט דאס גרויסע גליק געטראפן,
ווער קען דאס גרויסע גליק אליין דערטראגן? —
און כ׳האב געמוזט דערפון מיין שוועסטער זאגן —
אז, זאל מיר גאט דערפאר נישט שטראפן! —

– חאפ אויף, א, לאז מיין גליק נישט פאלן, שוועסטער,
אויף וויסטע שטיינער און אין קאלטע גריבער, —
זע, זע, מיין גרויסע פרייד לויפט מיר שוין איבער,
חאפ אויף דעם שמייכל פון די ליפן, בעסטע!

יצחק קאצענעלזאן.

Fig.77: Page from *Young Yiddish* 1 with the linocut *Musicians*, 1919, by Henryk Barczyński

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ליינאל באום-הנויט

יצחק ברוינער
Brauner

אין־א פורים־שפילער...

(פראלאג)

מין אדיזור ליסיצקין

אין בין א פורים-שפילער הייבט!
און כ'שפאס פון מיינע פריינט און פיינט!
און פון די קיילעכדיקע מאסקע-לעכער
פליט איצט מיין יונגער לאבענדיקער בליק ארויס —
אריבער-יעדן פאלאץ, יעדן קליינעם הויז,
און פלאטערט אויף, און פליגלט העכער
אריבער ים'ען, טייך און טעכער,
און פליקט מיט דערנער יעדער רויז,
און קיצלט בא די זייטן יעדן טרוים-פארשוועכער,
און גיט דעם שטן יין נסך, בראנד א פולן בעכער:
—„העי, אלטער שוטה מיט די אויגן רויטע,
טרינק און זינג—
„המן איז אין דר'ערד!
„און מרדכי—אויפן פערד!"
אין פרעמדע גלעקער, קלינג,
אז אויפשטיין זאלן אלע טויטע!

Fig.78: Page from *Young Yiddish* 1 with the linocut *Jews at the Table*, 1919, by Vincent Brauner

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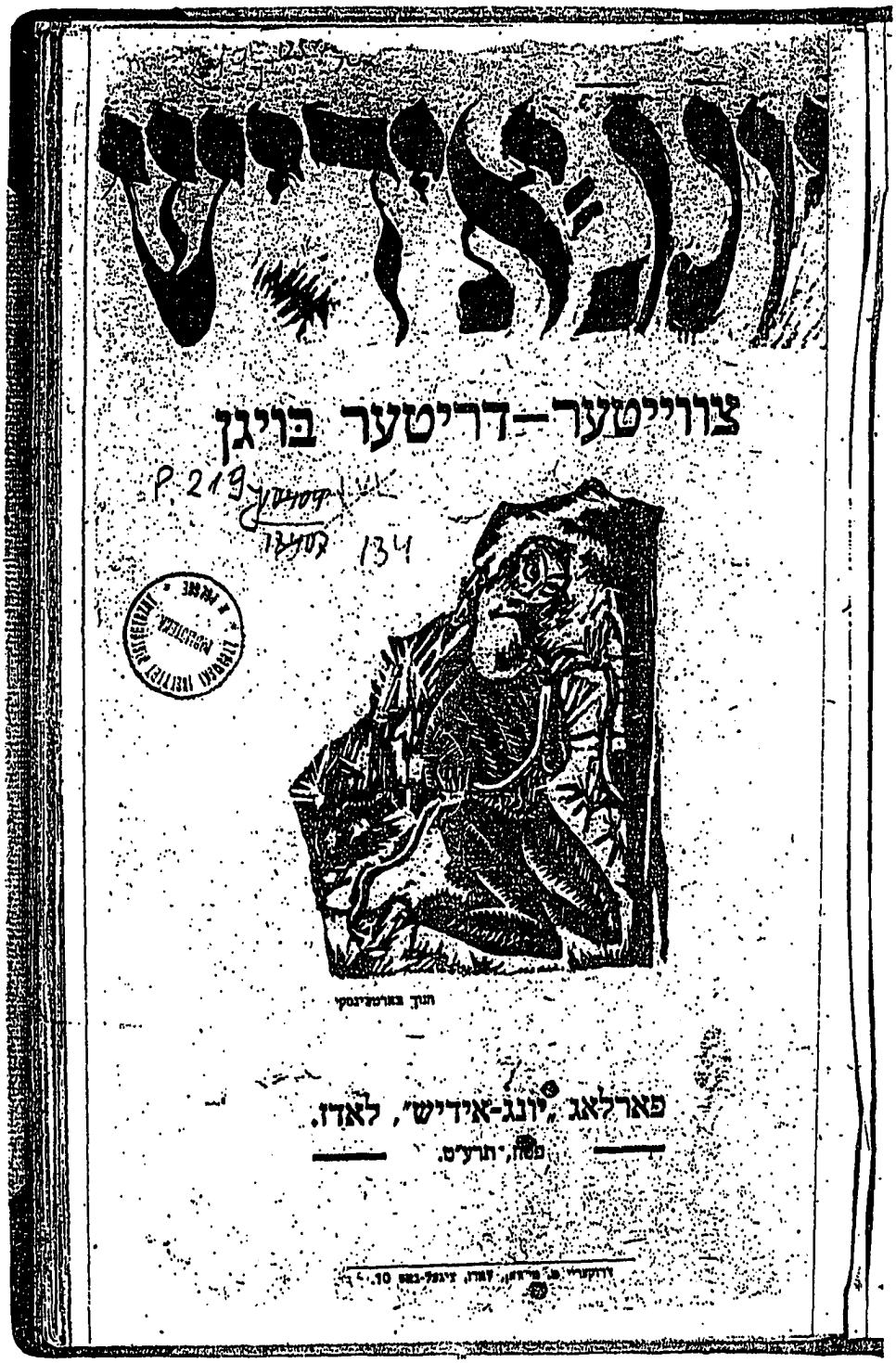

Fig.79: Cover of *Young Yiddish*, vol. 2-3, 1919, with the linocut *Kneeling Woman Crossing a Town at Night* by Henryk Barczyński

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Fig.80: Jankel Adler, *Cello Player*, 1919, linocut, reproduced in *Young Yiddish* 2-3

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Fig.81: Marek Schwarz, *Crucifixion II*, 1919, linocut, 32 x 19.5 cm, reproduced in *Young Yiddish* 2-3 (1919),

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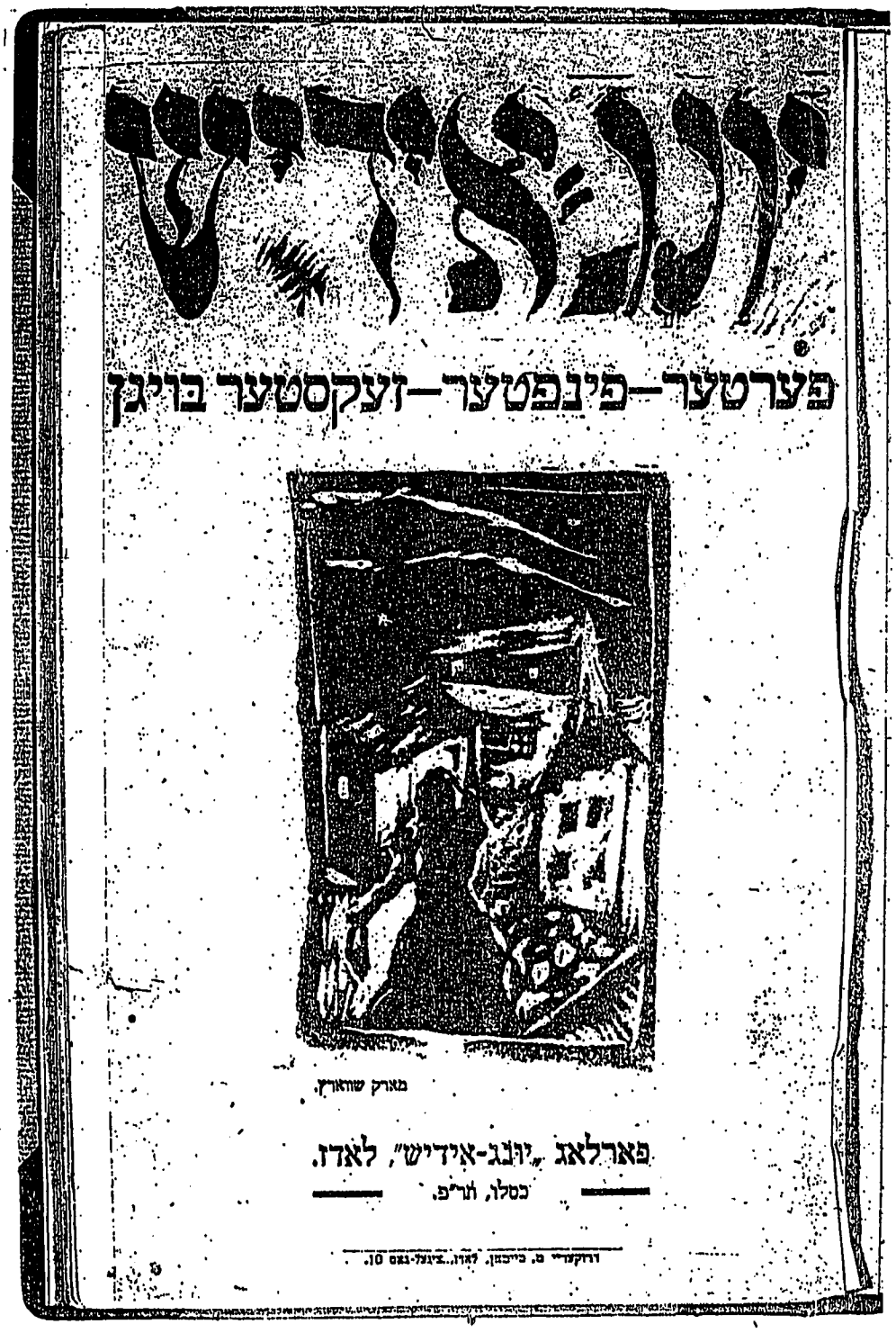

Fig.82: Cover of *Young Yiddish*, vol.4-6, 1919, with a print by Marek Schwarz

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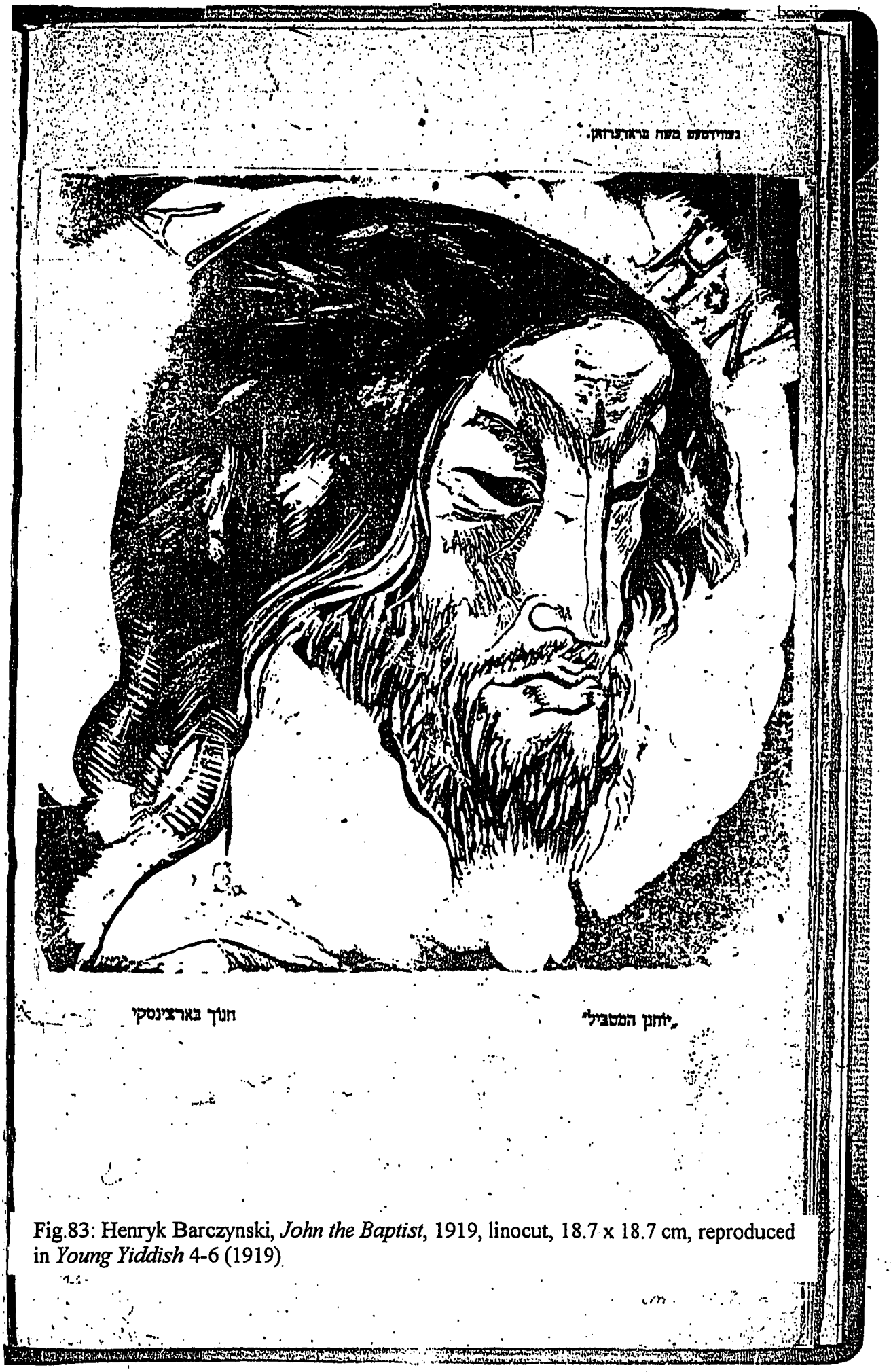

Fig.83: Henryk Barczynski, *John the Baptist*, 1919, linocut, 18.7 x 18.7 cm, reproduced in *Young Yiddish* 4-6 (1919)

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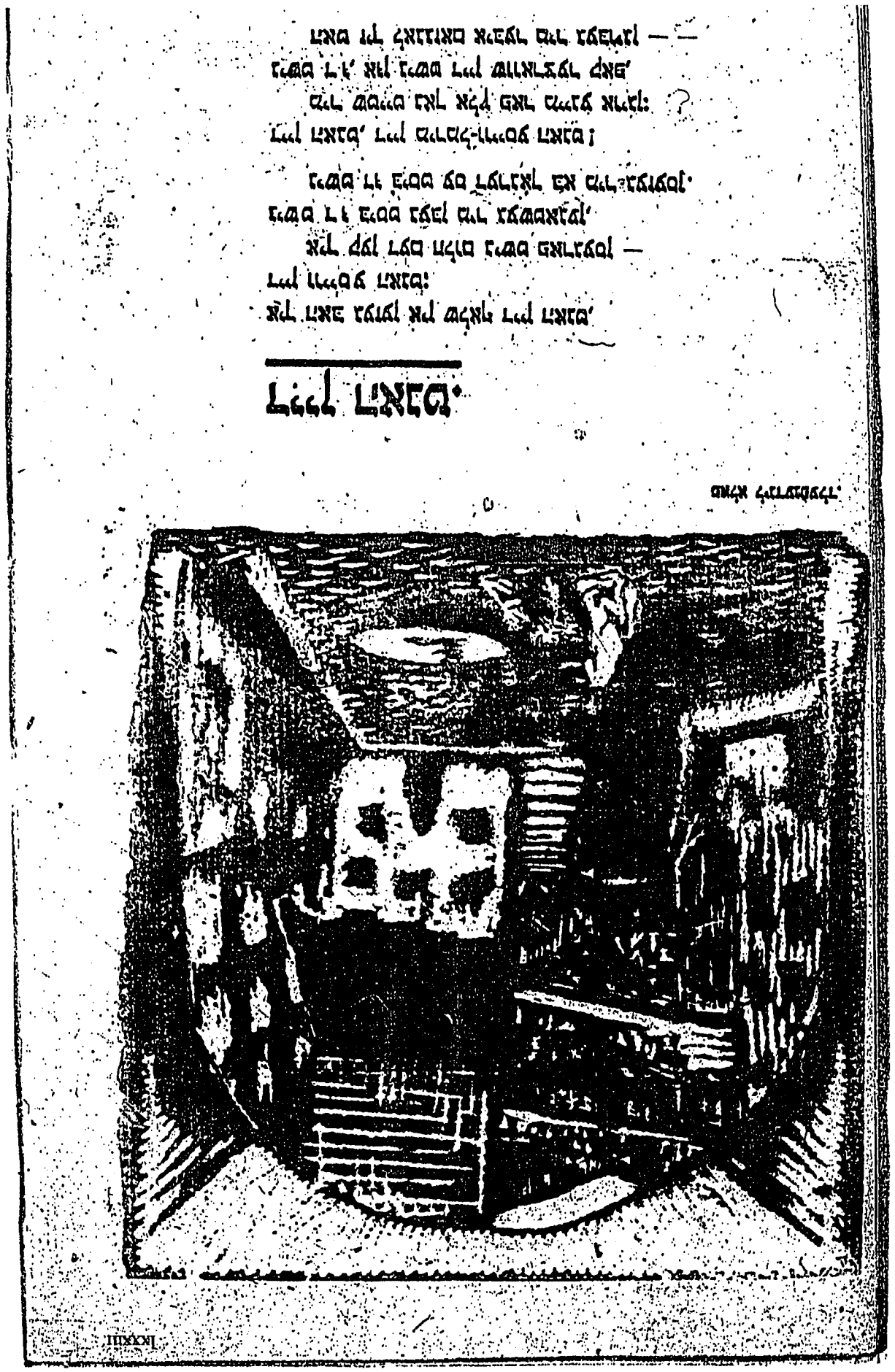

דער לאדן.

זיי האבן דעמ אלטן מיט אלע זיינע לאדן,
מיט זיינע בוידעמ:
נאר קיין קונה האבן זיי אים נאכדעם —
זיי זענען דאכ צו ארעמ צו קויפן עפעס,
זיי זענען צו פויל צו פארלאנגן פון אים עפעס.

זיי האבן אים אויסגעלאכט, זיי האבן אים אויסגעשפאט;
?זיי וועלן דאכ אמאל קומען צו אים עפעס קויפן אויך
זיי זענען אין אים אריין מיט שפאנדאנגען אמ,
— זיי האבן אים אלעמען אויסגעלאכט אין אויסגעשפאט

Fig.84: Page from *Young Yiddish* 4-6 with the linocut *Corner of Town*, 1919, by Pola Lindenfeld

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יצחק ברויגער

צו אונזערע פריינט:

"אלע גייט שטרעבט אן פרובן צו באשיצן אין מזרח-אייראפע דיי ירושה-ארטיות פון אונזער אייגענעם אייביק שאלק, וועלן מיר מיט אונזער גאנצער התלהבות אין יונגער האריציקייט אויפנעמען קום זיי אונז אין מיט אונז, וואגרע יונגע אונזערע וועגן פירן צו דער זון! —

„יונג-אידיש".

אונזער פערטער בוכן וועט ארויס לכבוד „רות".

דער „יונג-אידיש" גרייט צו א בילדער אויסשטעלונג אין לאדז, ווארשא און אין דער פראווינץ.

וואנען אלע ענינים פון „יונג-אידיש"—וועגרען זיך בריפלעך לויט די אדרעס: ⑧

Ida Braunerówna, Łódź, ul. Kościuszki 29.

פאר לאנג „יונג-אידיש", לאדז, בעזעצט אין זמבראוויקע אין דער קאנטס-דרוקערייי פון ס. פייסאן, אין א צאל פון 600 עקזעמפלירן פון 60 בעזיצעצע.

פריילי 4 מארץ.

-№ 29

Fig.85: Vincent Brauner, *A Dancing Devil*, 1919, linocut, reproduced in *Young Yiddish* 2-3 (1919)

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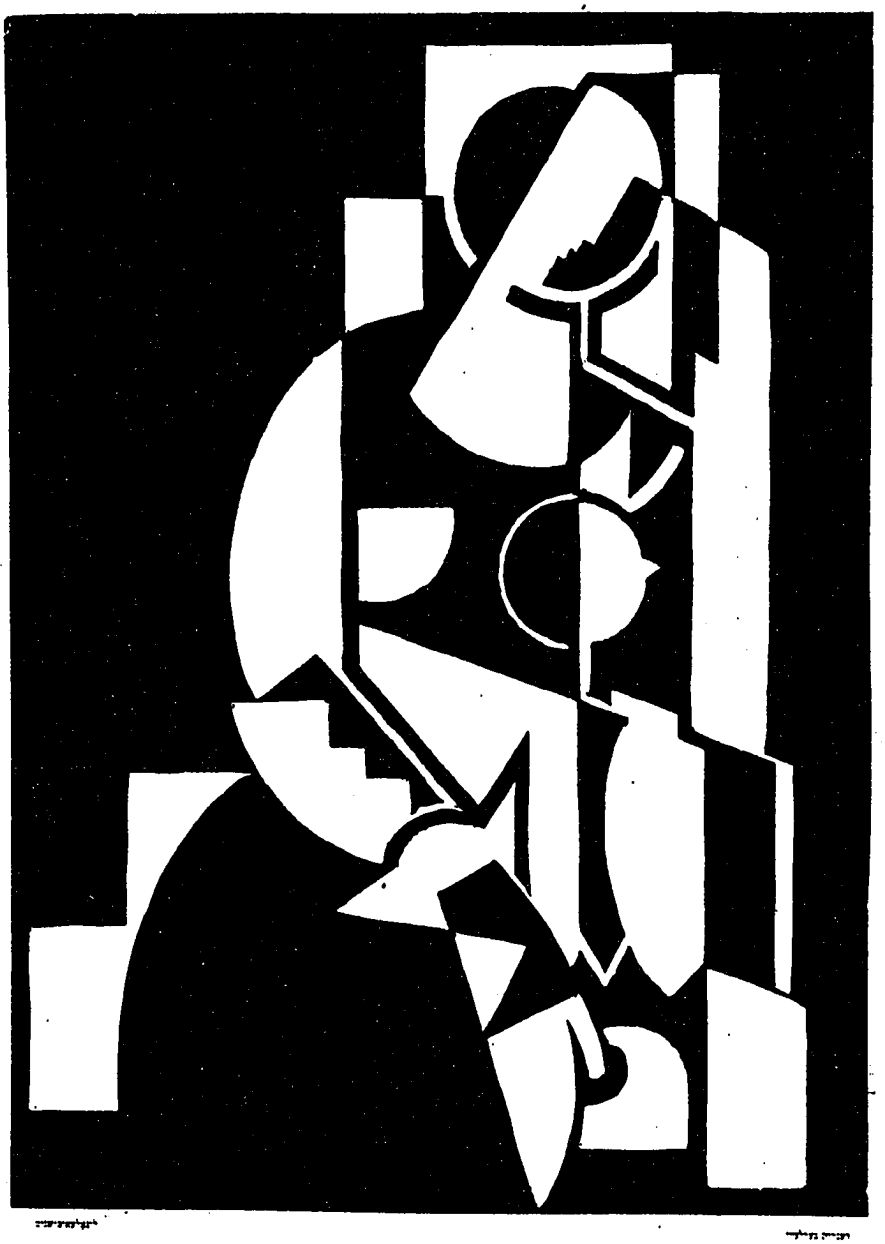

Fig.86: Henryk Berlewi, *Seated Woman*, 1922, linocut, 31.5 x 23 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig. 87: Henryk Berlewi, *Jewish Wedding in Poland*, 1921, pastel, dimensions unknown, reproduction in, Hubert Colleye, *Henryk Berlewi: Poolsch Schilder* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1937)

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Fig.88: Henryk Berlewi, *Seated Jew*, n.d., oil on cardboard, 21 x 15 cm, the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

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Fig.89: Jankel Adler, *My Parents*, 1921, oil and collage on wooden board, 136 x 54 cm, the Muzeum Sztuki in Lodz

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Fig.90: Jankel Adler, cover page for Abraham Zak's *Unter di fligl fun tojt*, 1921, the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw

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Fig.91: Jankel Adler, illustration in chapter IX (on page 115) of Zak's *Unter di fligl fun tojt,* 1921, subtitled "At the Deathbed of a Dying Old Man," the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw

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Fig.92: Jankel Adler, *Portrait of Moshe Broderzon*, 1921, linocut reproduced in *Schwarz Schabbes*, 1921, published in Lodz

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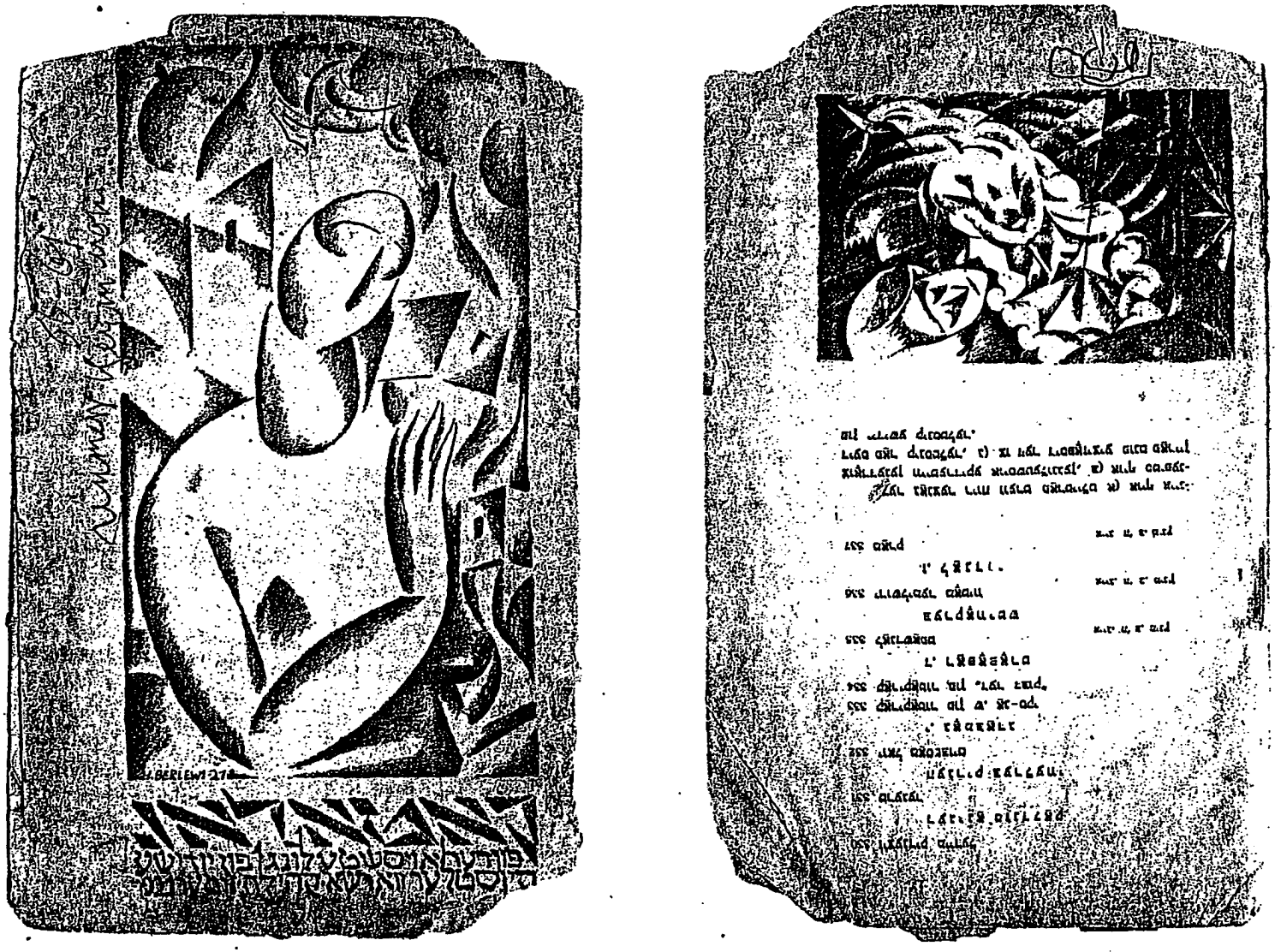

Fig.93: Henryk Berlewi, Cover of an exhibition catalogue, the Exhibition of Jewish Art in Warsaw, 1921, Abraham Manievich Archives, the YIVO Institute in New York

Fig.94: List of works included in the Exhibition of Jewish Art in Warsaw, 1921, Abraham Manievich Archives, the YIVO Institute in New York.

Fig.95: Abraham Manievich, *Destruction of the Ghetto*, 1919, oil on canvas, 78x74 cm

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Fig.96: Icchak Katzenelson, illustration in his anthology of short stories, poems, legends, and plays, *Makhmadim*, published in Warsaw in 1923

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Fig.97: Władysław Skoczylas, *A March of Highland Robbers (with a Cloud)*, 1919, color woodcut, 28.5 x 31 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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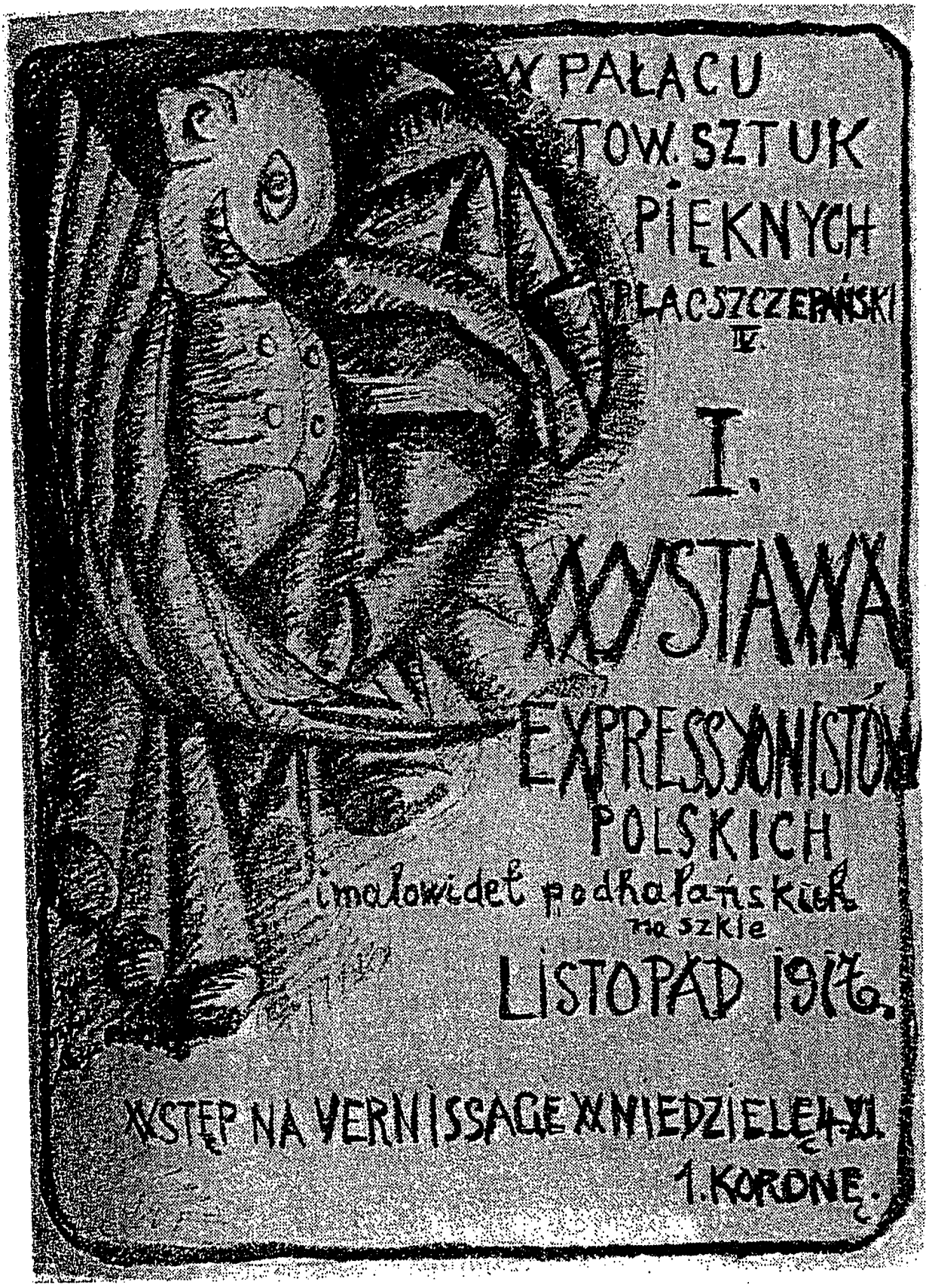

Fig.98: Tytus Czyzewski, poster for the First Exhibition of Polish Expressionists, Krakow 1917, lithograph, Library of the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow

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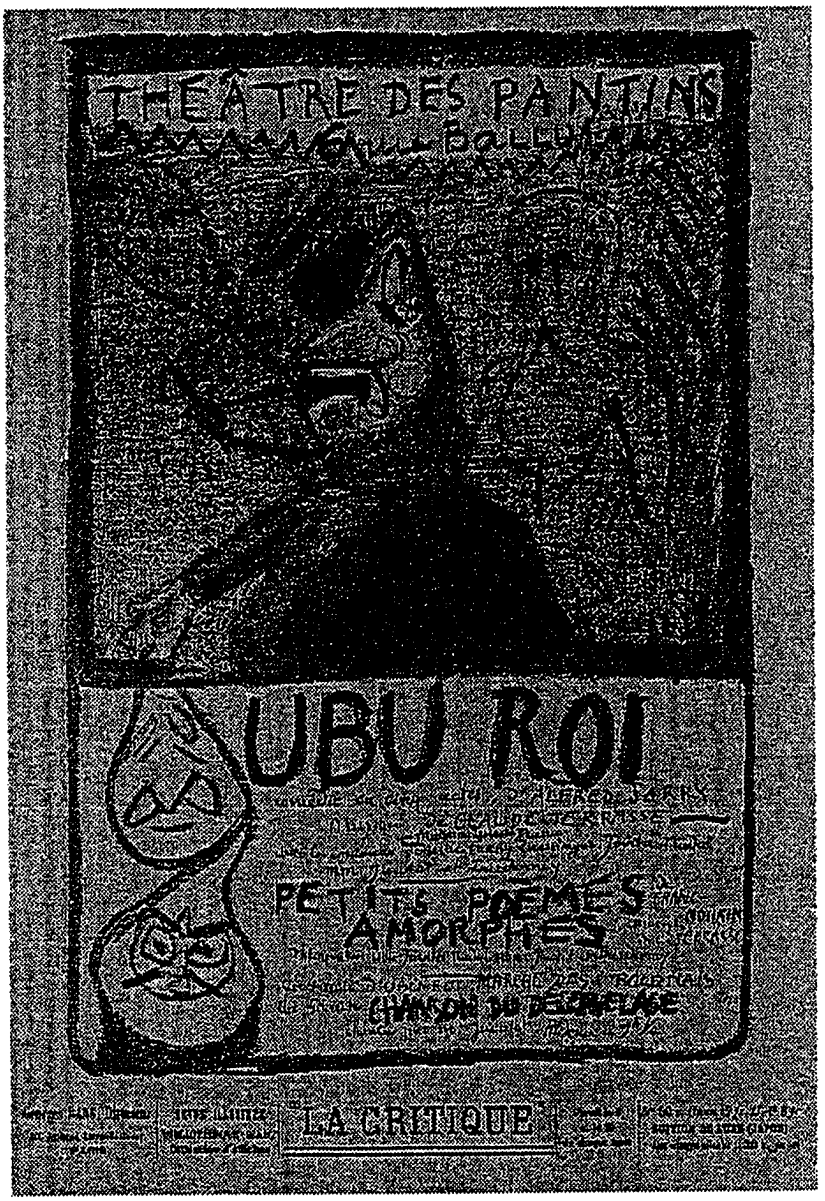

Fig.99: Alfted Jarry, *Ubu Roi*, program for le Théâtre des Pantins, December 1897, lithograph, 36 x 26.3 cm, the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, New Brunswick, NJ.

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Fig.100: *Piéta*, copy of a traditional painting on glass, 39.7 x 31 cm, the Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.101: Zbigniew Pronaszko, *Madonna*, c. 1913-14, a polychrome project (later whitewashed); the archival photographs courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

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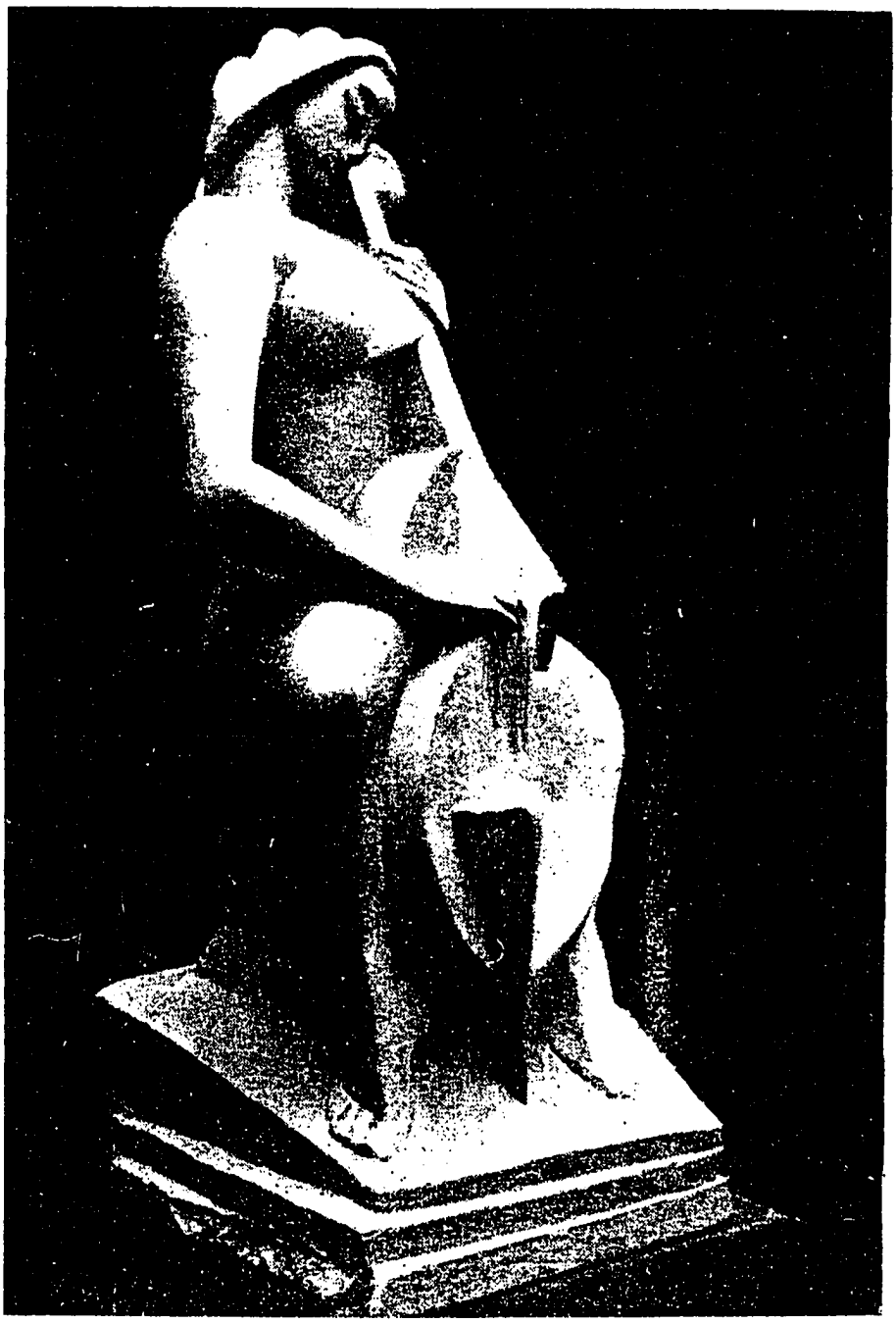

Fig.102: Zbigniew Pronaszko, *The Muse*, 1917, plaster, reproduced in Glos Plastykow in 1938.

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Fig.103: Zbigniew Pronaszko, *Pieta*, 1918, plaster, 128 x 97 x 79 cm, the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź

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And. Pronaszko. „Zdjęcie z krzyża".

Fig.104: Andrzej Pronaszko, *The Descent from the Cross*, c.1912-15, unrealized project of stained glass window; the archival photograph courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.105: Leon Chwistek, *A City*, c. 1919, oil on cardboard, 101 x 70 cm, the National Museum in Kraków

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Fig.106: Tytus Czyżewski, *Composition of Forms (Multi-planar Painting)*, c. 1918, assemblage known from reproduction

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Fig.107: Wladyslaw Wasowicz, Poster for the 1919 Formist Exhibition at the Polish Arts Club (Polski Klub Artystyczny [PKA]), located at the Hotel Polonia in Warsaw; the Poster Museum in Wilanów

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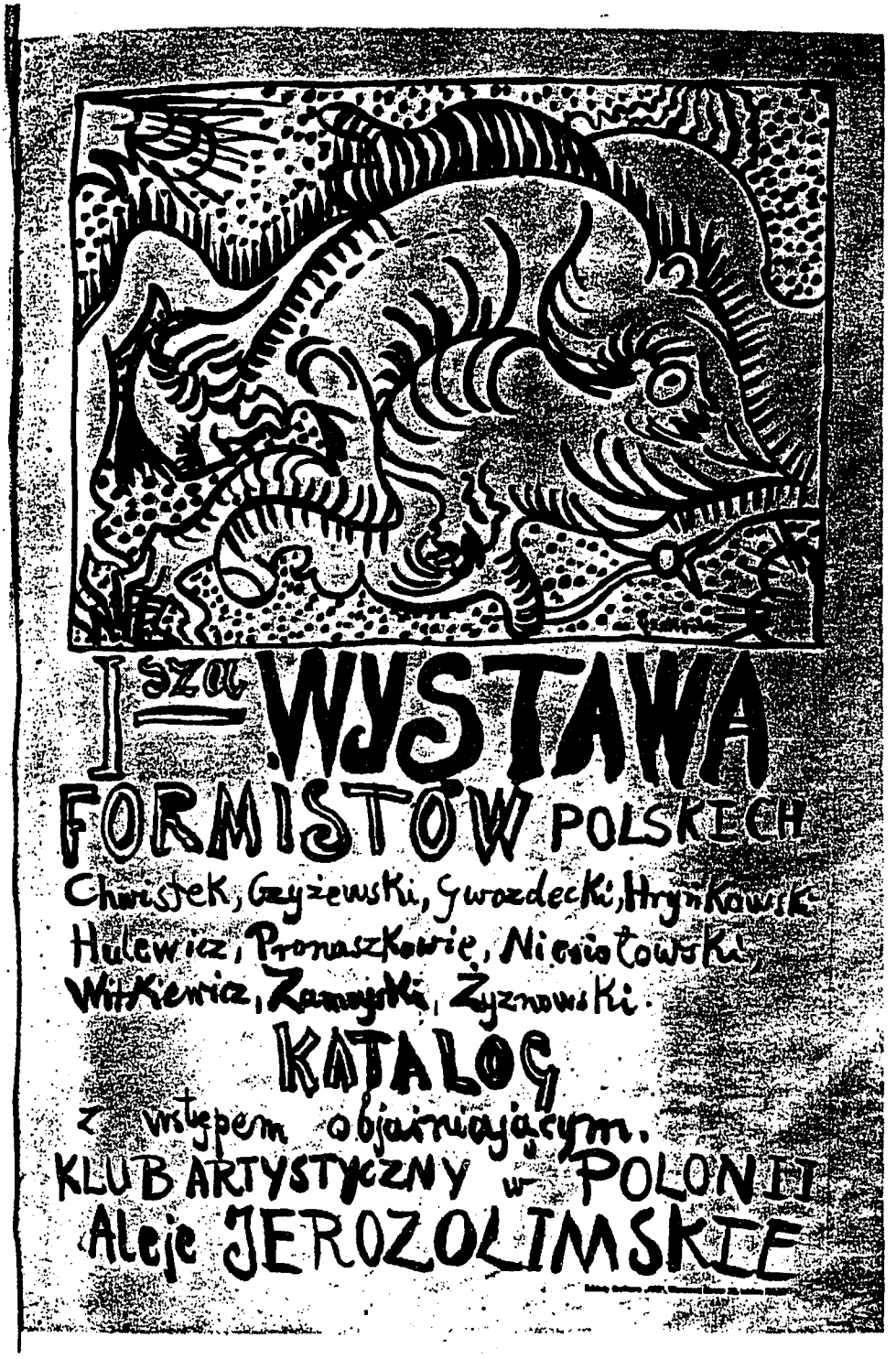

Fig.108: Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, poster for the First Formist Exhibition, Warsaw 1919, lithograph, 83 x 58 cm, the Poster Museum, Wilanów

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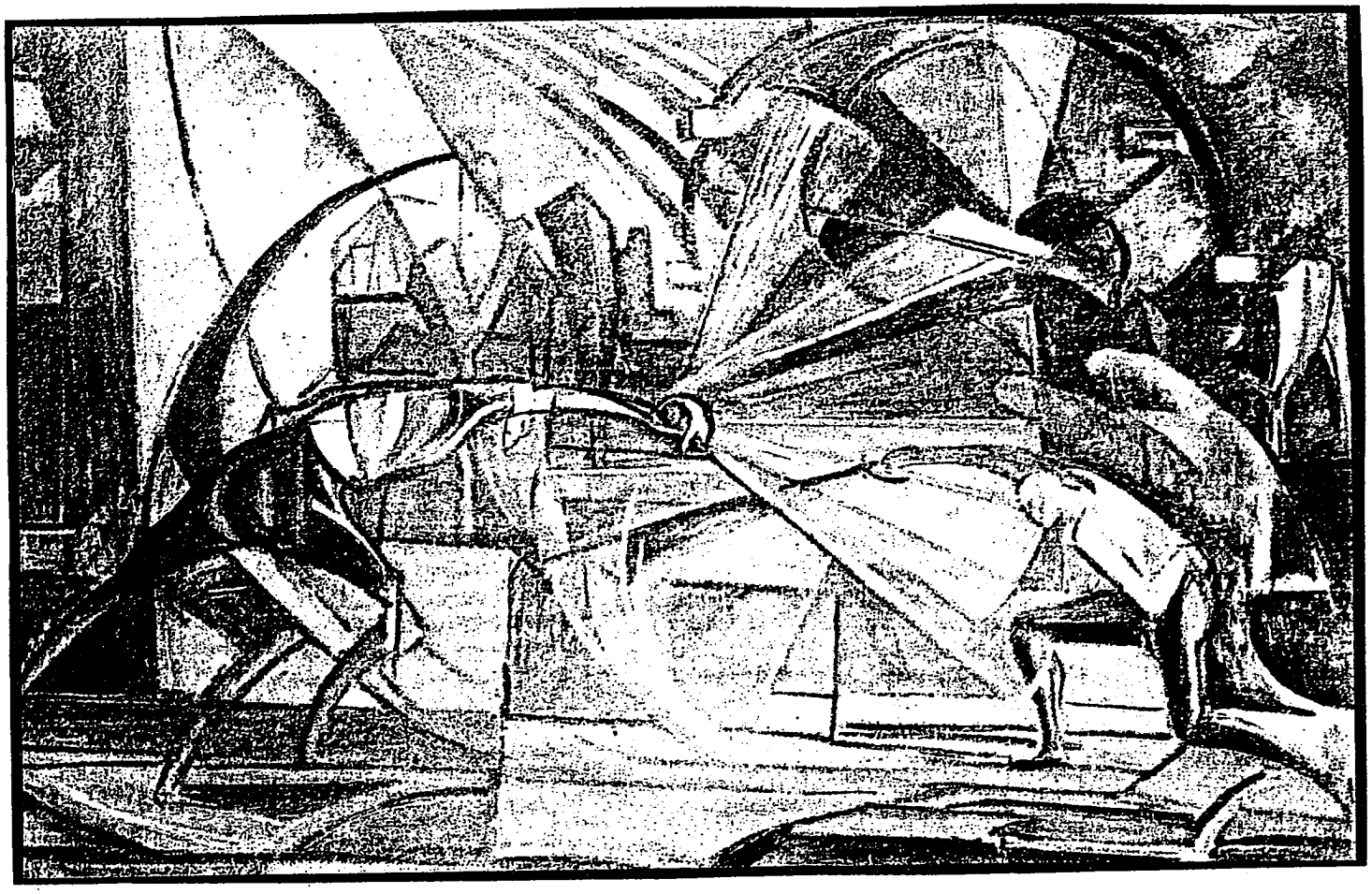

Fig.109: Leon Chwistek, *A Duel*, c. 1919, oil on cardboard, 70 x 100 cm, the National Museum in Kraków

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Fig.110: Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Kiss of a Mongolian Prince in the Glacial Desert*, 1915-18, watercolor, gouache, pastel on paper, 40.7 x 85 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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Fig.111: Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Drawn Women*, 1921, tempera on canvas, 55.5 x 88.5 cm, the National Museum in Kraków

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Fig.112: Stanisław I. Witkiewicz, *Temptation of St Anthony II*, 1921-22, oil on canvas, the National Museum in Kraków

Fig.113: Cover of *Formiści* 2 (April 1921), with an ink drawing by Czyżewski

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Fig.114: Leon Chwistek, *Joy of the Formists*, 1919, ink on paper, 21.2 x 34 cm, the National Museum in Kraków

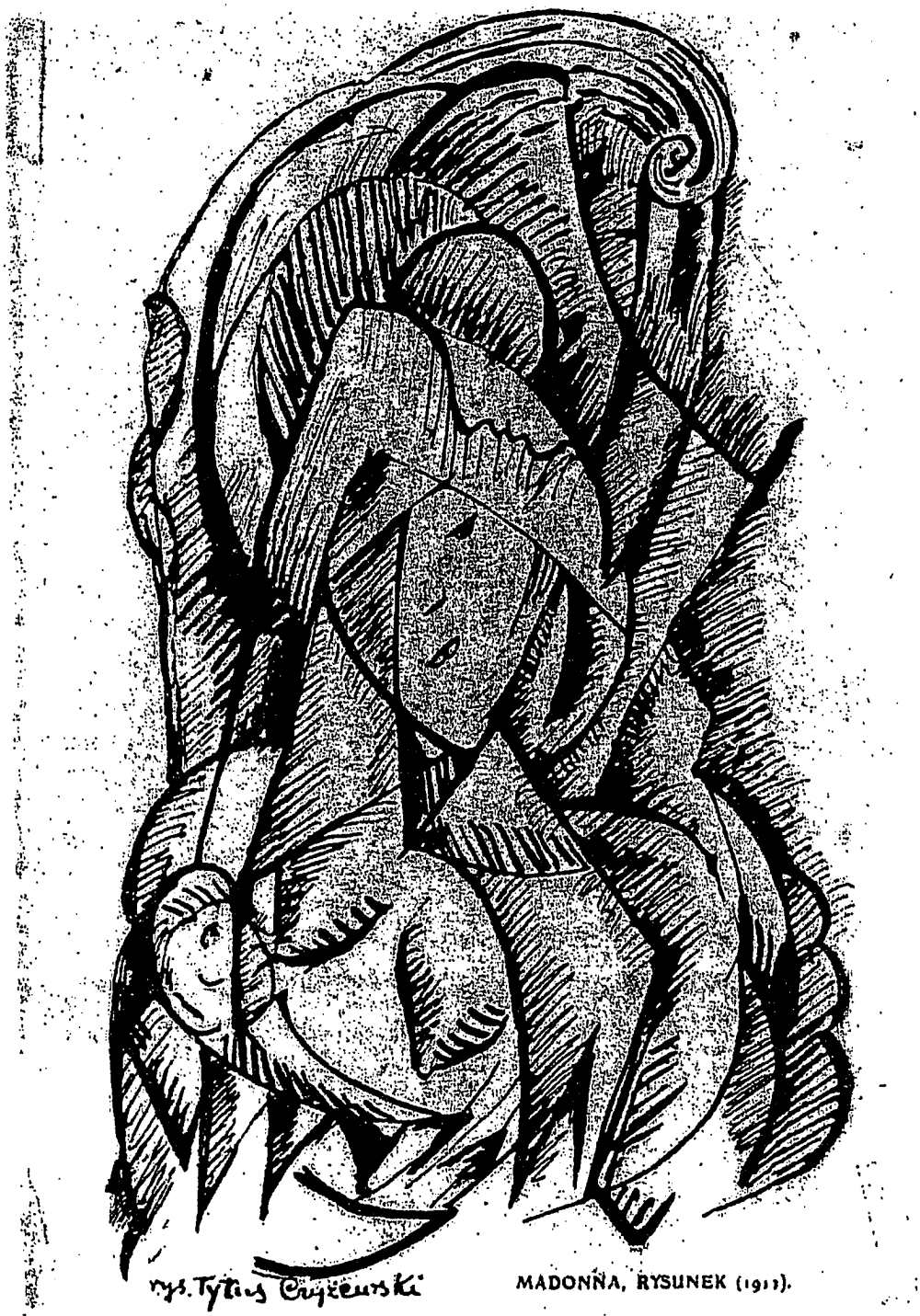

Fig.115: Tytus Czyżewski, *Madonna*, 1913, ink drawing, reprinted in *Formiści* 2 (1920)

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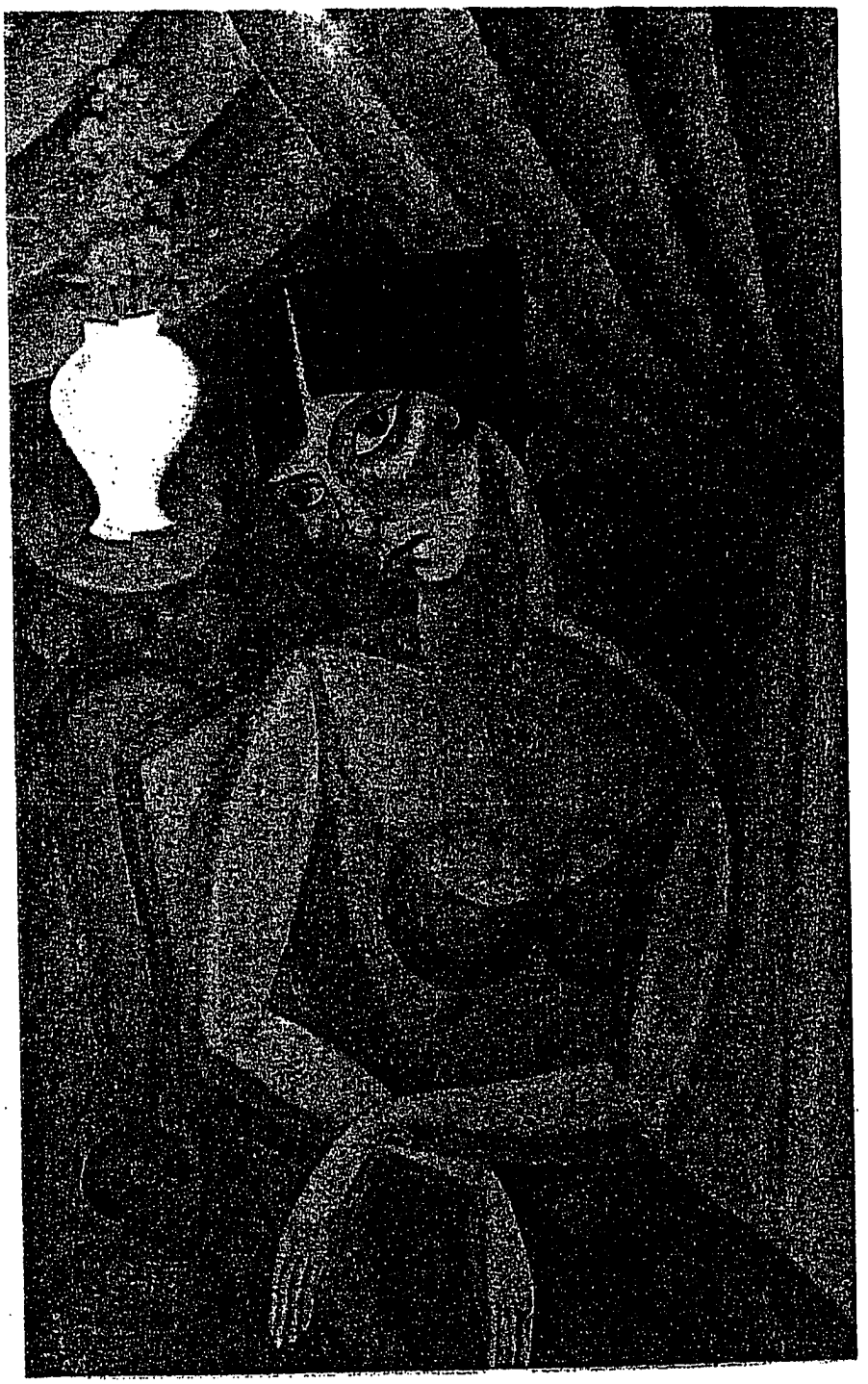

Fig.116: Konrad Winkler, *Portrait of Wife*, 1920, oil on cardboard, 49 x 32 cm, the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź

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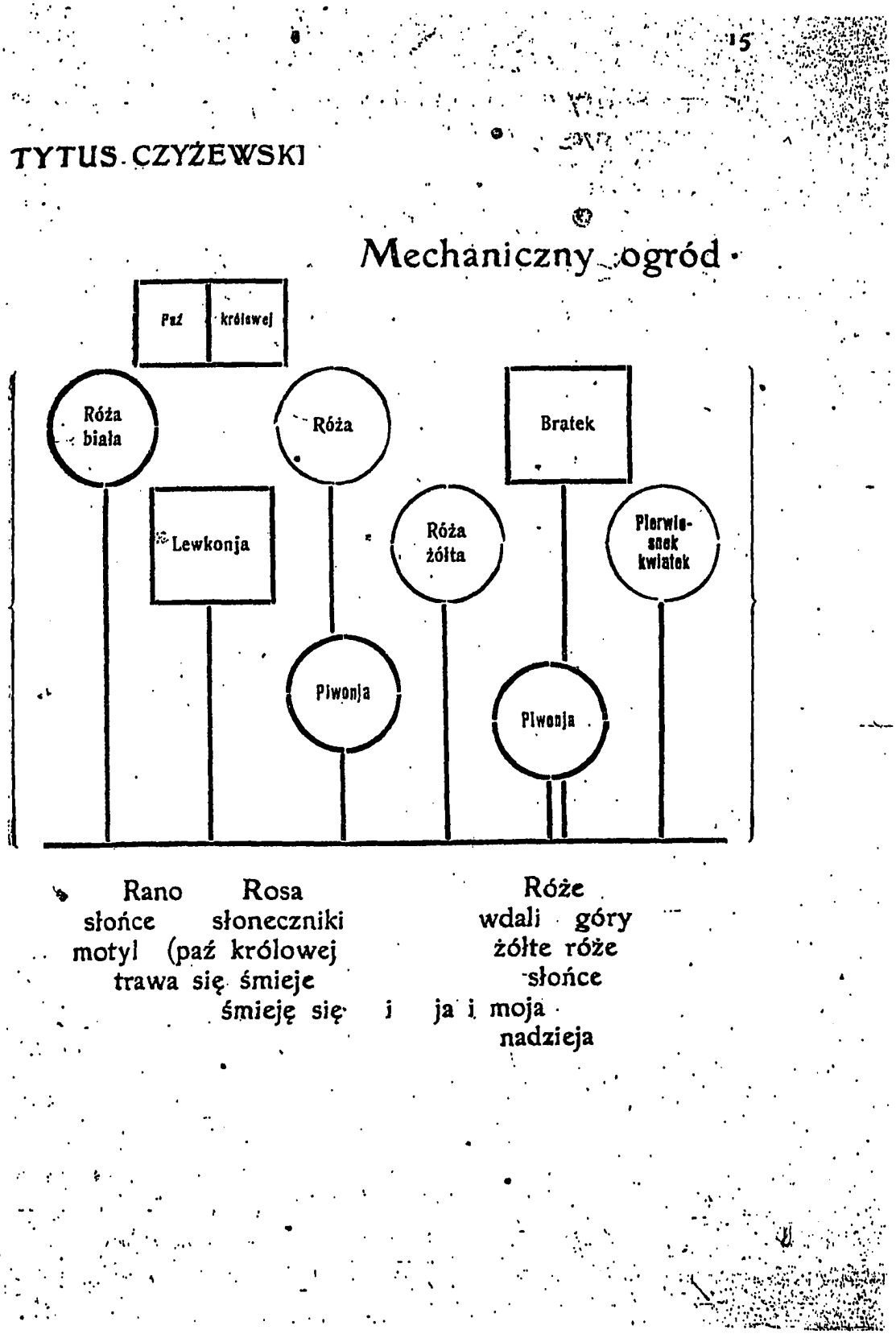

Fig.117: Tytus Czyżewski, "Mechanical Garden," poem published in *Formiści* 4 (1921)

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Fig.118: Szymon Syrkus, *Dancing Girls*, 1921, woodcut, 10 x 12.7 cm, the National Museum in Warsaw

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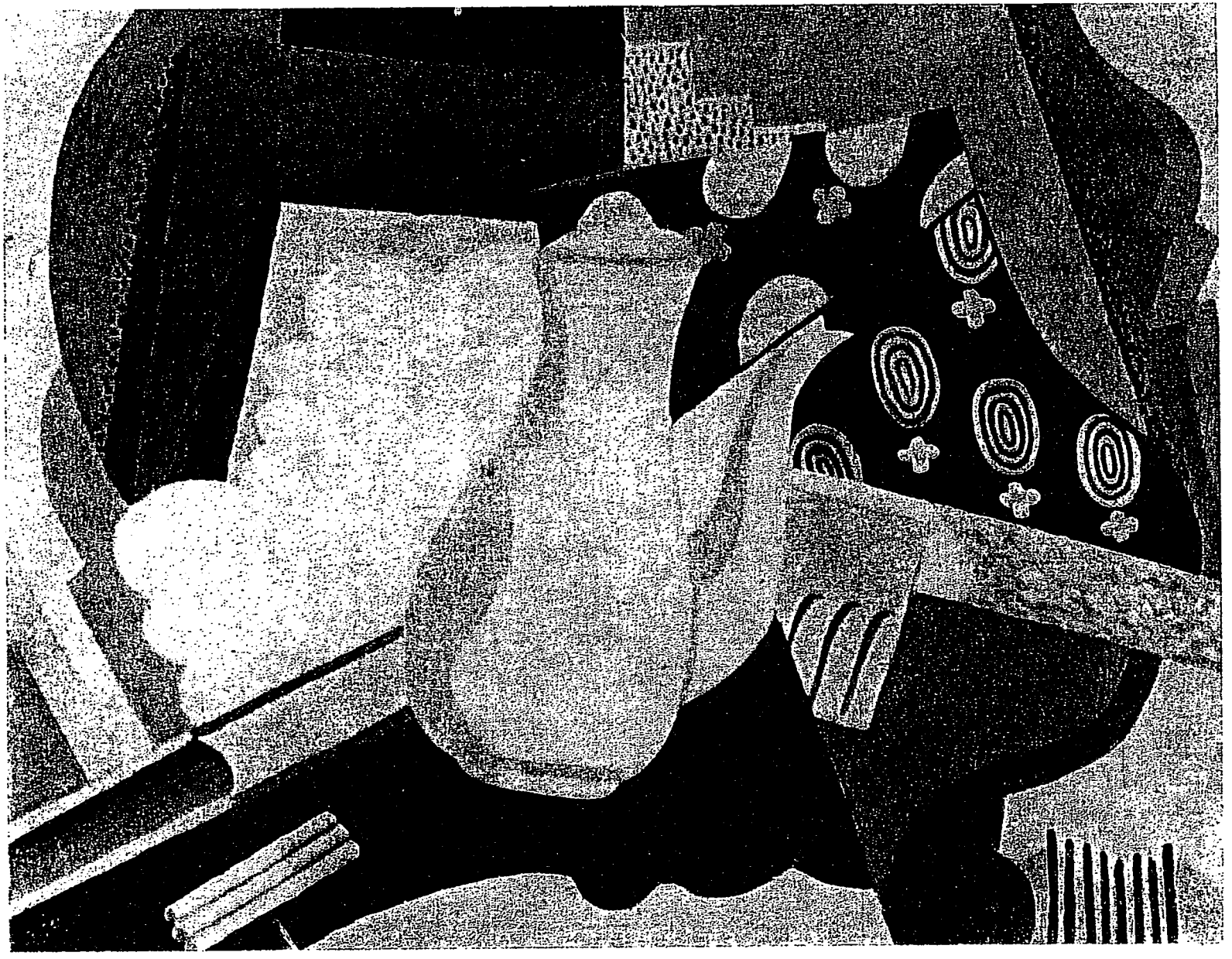

Fig.119: Henryk Stażewski, *Still-life with a Pitcher*, 1923, oil on cardboard, 40.5 x 50.5 cm, the National Museùm in Poznań

Fig. 120: Tutus Czyżewski, *Portrait of Bruno Jasieński*, 1920, oil on canvas, 80 x 62 cm, the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź.

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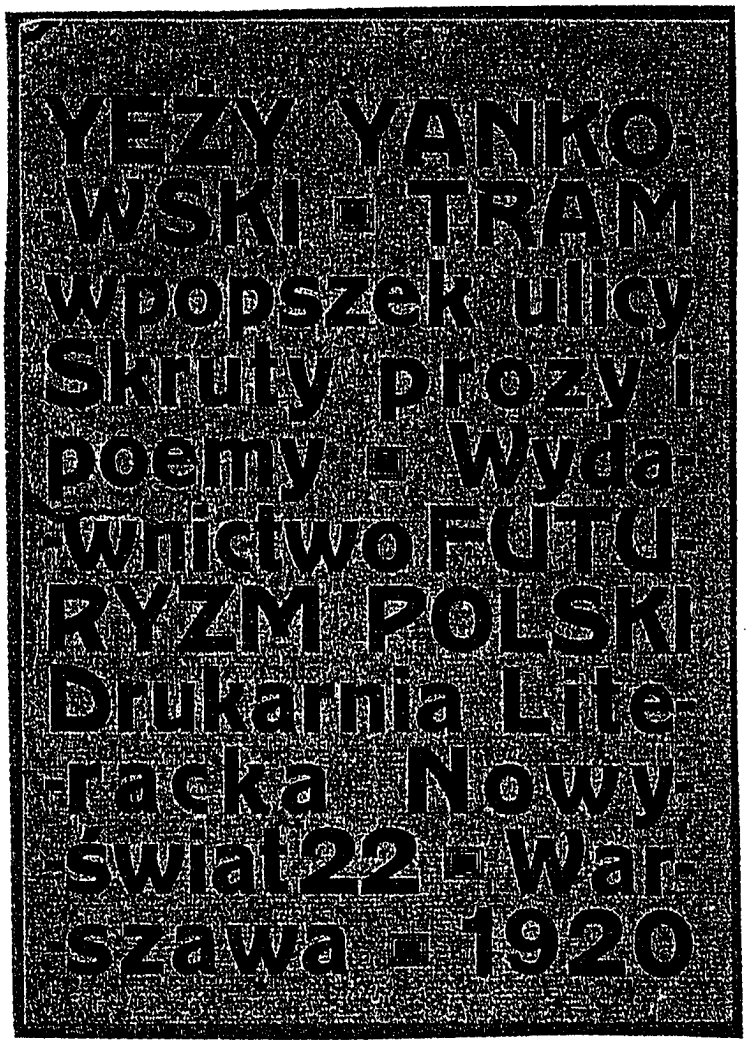

Fig.121: Cover of Jerzy Jankowski's *Tram wpopszek ulicy*, 1920.

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Fig. 122: Leon Chwistek, project of a decoration for "Gałka Muszkatułowa, " c. 1922, ink on paper, 34 x 21 cm, the National Museum in Kraków.

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Fig.123: *Knife in the Stomach*, the Futurist Leaflet, 1921

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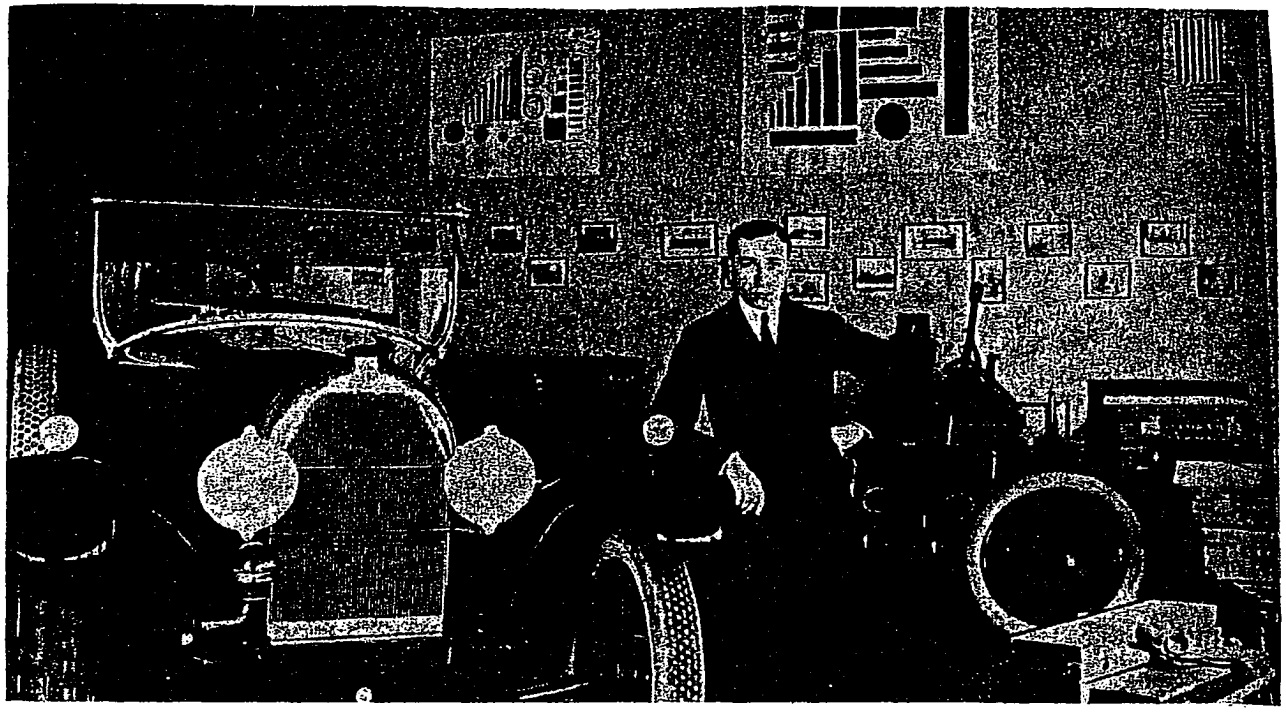

Fig.124: Photograph of Henryk Berlewi in front of his *Mechano-Fakturas* at the Austro-Daimler Automobile Salon in Warsaw, 1924

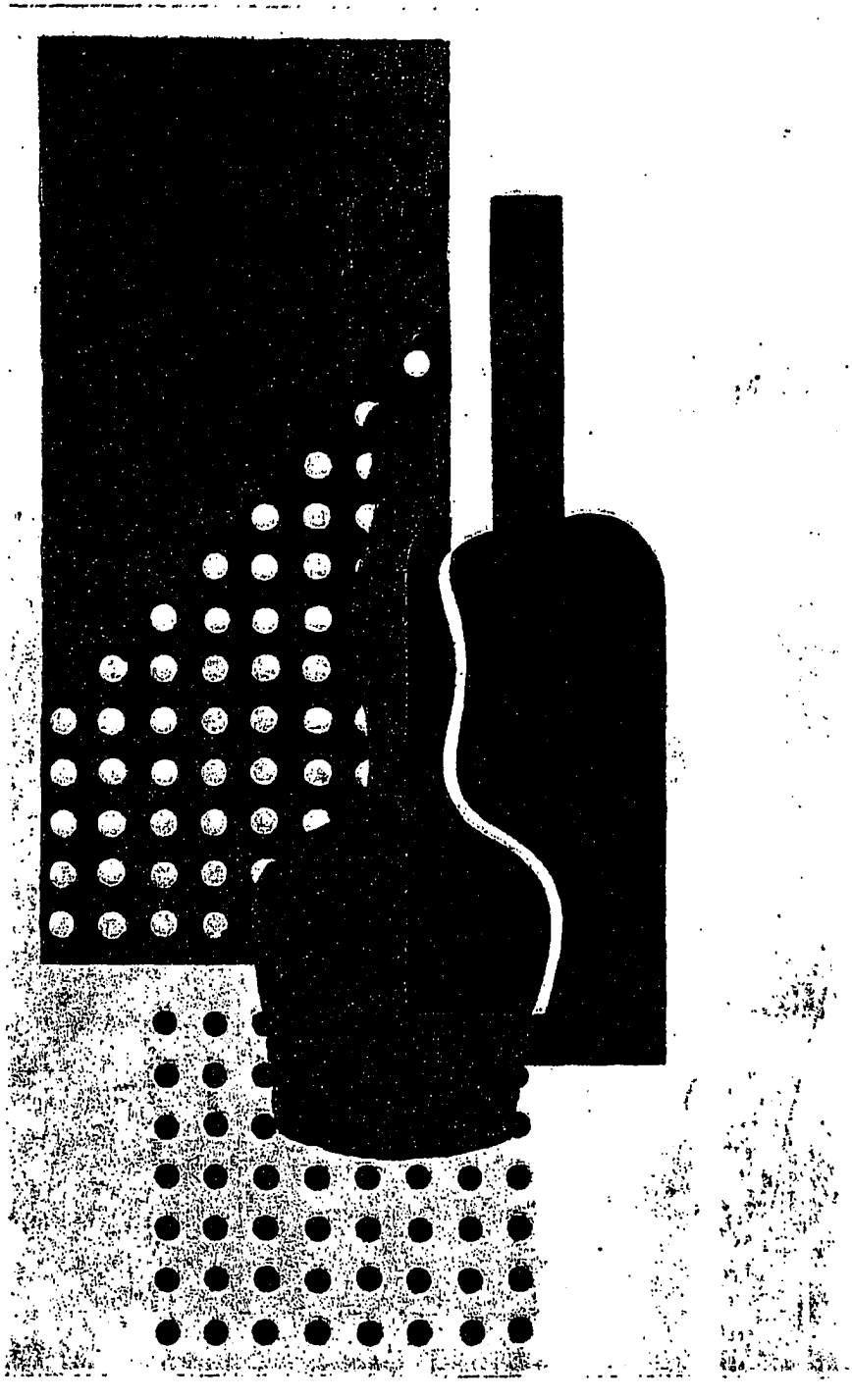

Fig 125: Henryk Berlewi, *Still-life with Bottles*, 1922 (1962 replica), gouache, 55 x 37 cm, the National Gallery in Berlin

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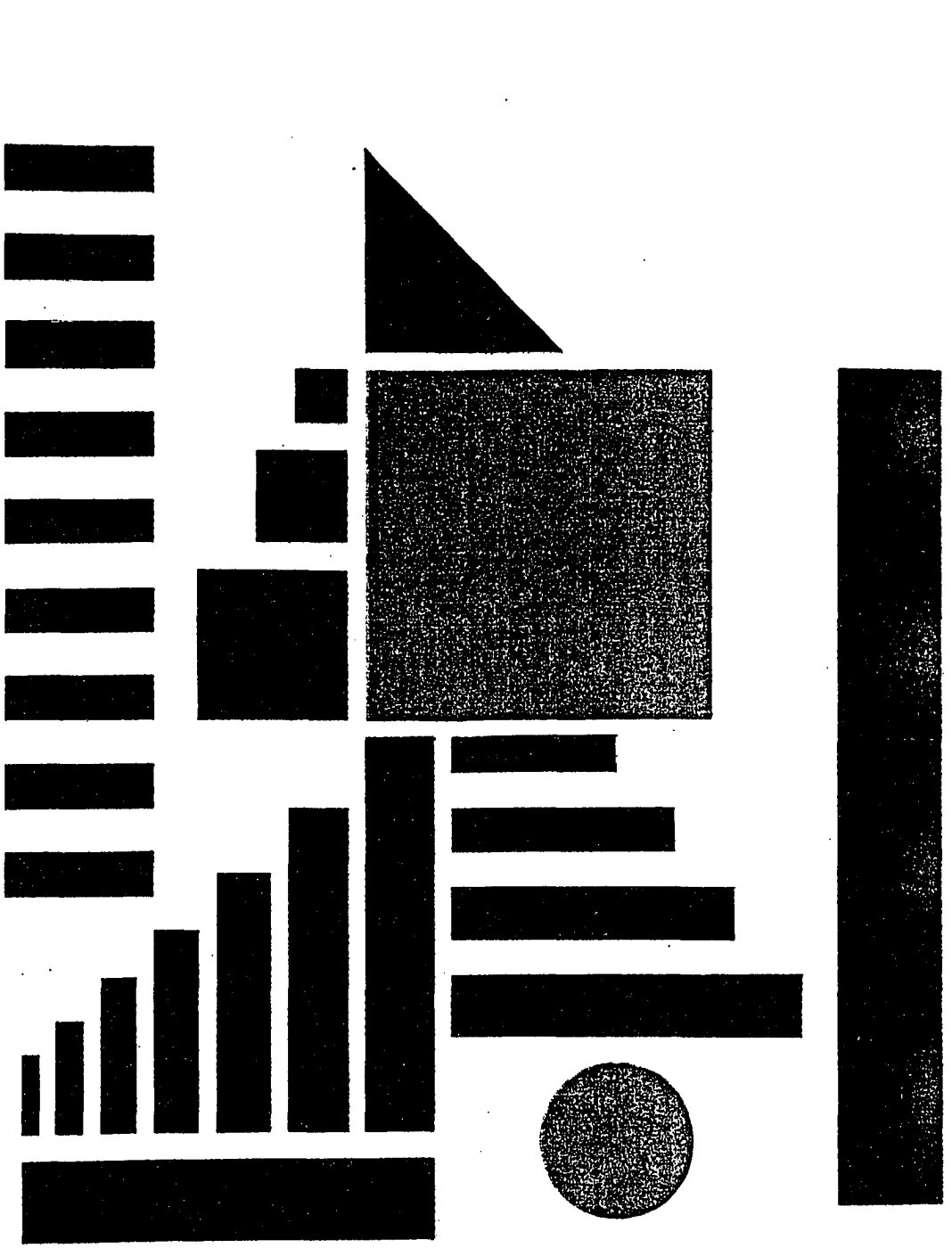

Fig. 126: Henryk Berlewi, *Mechano-Faktura—Construction*, 1924, gouache, 98 x 81 cm, the Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź

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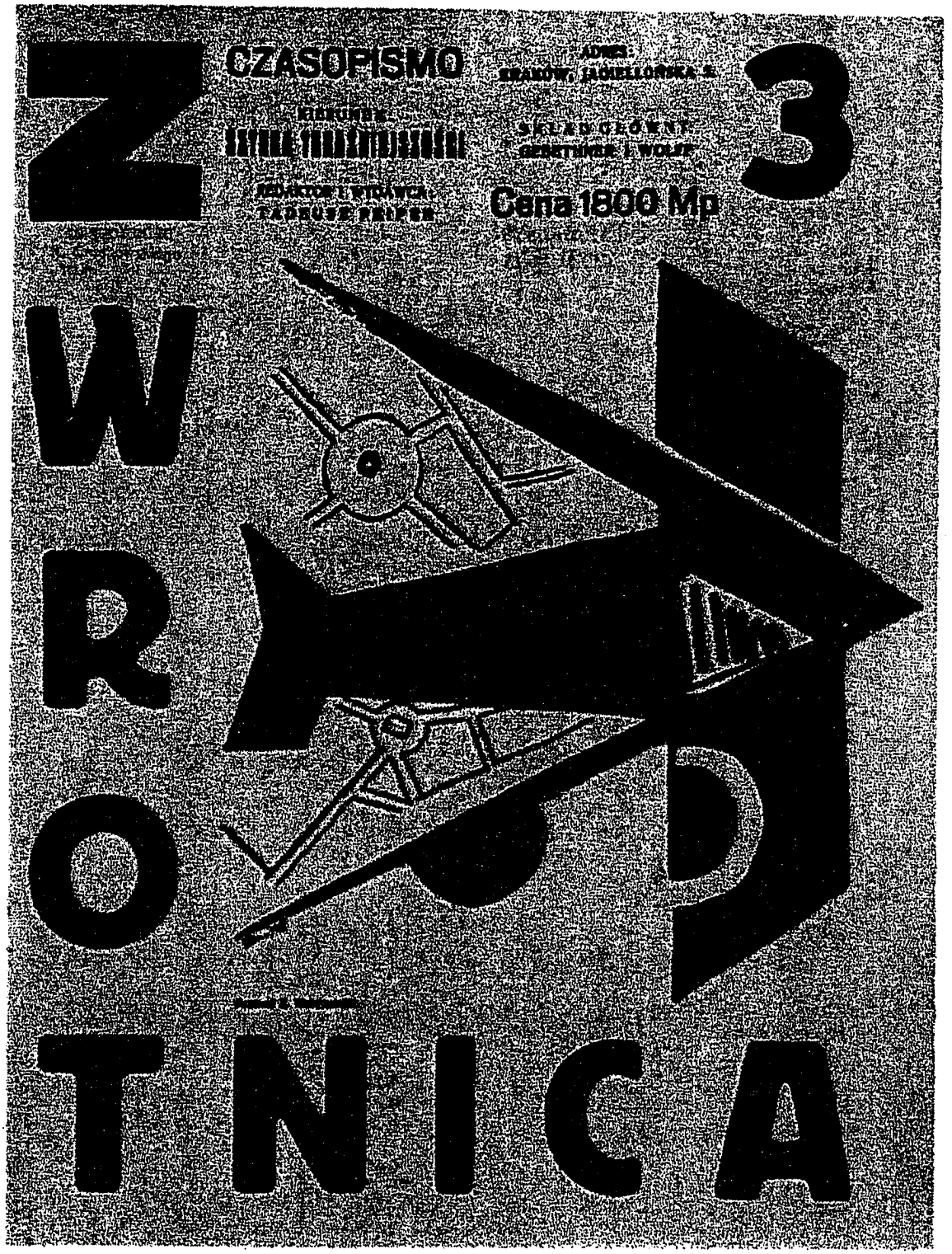

Fig. 127: Cover of *Zwrotnica* 3 (1922), designed by Zygmunt Waliszewski

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Between Spirituality and Nationalism: Expressionism in Polish Art, 1917-1922

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Introduction

Small things must be given consideration and understood; big things come easy.
Jan Baudouin de Courtenay quoting Alexander Herzen[1]

This dissertation examines four avant-garde groups[2]—Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists—that emerged in partitioned Poland toward the end of World War I, when Russia, Germany and Austria still occupied the country. The groups dissolved in already independent Poland in 1922.[3] Special attention has been paid in this study to the key members and theoreticians of each group, who often made art and wrote poetry and criticism at the same time: Jerzy Hulewicz and Stanislaw Kubicki from the Poznan Expressionists; Jankel Adler, Moise Broderzon, and Marek Schwarz from the Young Yiddish; Leon Chwistek, Tytus Czyzewski, Zbigniew Pronaszko, and Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz (better known as Witkacy) from the Formists; and the Futurists Bruno Jasienski, Stanislaw Mlodozeniec, Anatol Stern, Aleksander Wat, and Czyzewski. Although all four groups, as well as their members individually, have already received critical attention, this dissertation connects and closely examines them together for the first time. This grouping is possible because Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists shared common attitudes toward past art, rebelled against the cultural milieu and social ills of the *fin-de-siècle*[4] and early twentieth century, spoke about "the revolution of the soul," and practiced various forms of Expressionism. Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists constitute, in fact, the first Polish avant-garde, rather than—as it is commonly argued in the existing literature—the

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Constructivists, led by Wladyslaw Strzeminski and Katarzyna Kobro, who emerged in Poland in1923.[5]

Modern Polish art developed along geo-cultural vectors with clear directions, following the country's division into the zones of foreign occupation and artistic hegemony existing prior to Independence. Each group discussed in this dissertation was founded in a different city with distinctive cultural, ethnic, and social structures, geographically diffused and historically conditioned by three occupying countries: Poznan Expressionists in Poznan occupied by Prussia/Germany; Young Yiddish in Lodz occupied by Russia; Formists in Kraków occupied by Austro-Hungary; and Futurists in Kraków and Warsaw occupied by Austro-Hungary and Russia, respectively.

Bound in their desire to formulate modern language in Polish art, each group's *self-realization* developed differently. Poznan Expressionists rejected the predominantly Symbolist and Impressionist aesthetics of Mloda Polska (Young Poland)[6], and during their militant "Bunt" (Rebellion) phase (1918-19) embraced a revolutionary dialectic between artistic praxis and everyday life. The Young Yiddish group attempted to revitalize Yiddish culture, while deriving artistic inspiration from Jewish modernists practicing in the West, particularly Marc Chagall, and from traditional Jewish art. Formists, who, as one of the group's main members, Witkacy, argued, "were only interested in form itself,"[7] looked in the direction of Paris (especially Paul Cézanne, Fauvism, and what Guillaume Apollinaire called "instinctive cubism") for examples of a modern language. Finally, class-conscious but volatile Futurists aimed at the

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desublimation of art in a *carnivalesque* manner,[8] implementing the lessons learned from Russian Cubo-Futurists and Italian Futurists and early Dadaists.

Being aware of the complicated and multifarious nature of the definition of Expressionism in Poland and the West, I have, nevertheless, collectively designated Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists as "Polish Expressionists" to point out their initially similar interests and goals, as well as the stylistic affinities they shared with each other, but also with similar groups in the West. In Poland, emerging from 123 years of foreign occupation, Expressionism offered many artists a way out of the established canon without forcing them to make a dramatic rupture with the past. It enabled them to fuse traditional education with a contemporary language that was considered more attuned, both formally and thematically, to the particular Polish situation.[9] When works by members of the four groups are compared—for example, Kubicki's *The Tower of Babel* (Wieza Babel), 1917 (Fig.1), Adler's *Ecstasy* (Ekstaza), 1919 (Fig.2), Witkacy's *A Fantastic Vision* (Wizja fantastyczna), 1917 (Fig.3), and Czyzewski's *Treble Clef* (Klucz wiolinowy), c. 1920-21 (Fig.4)—they all display strong Expressionist characteristics, which in many ways can be found easily in French and German Expressionisms.

As the existing literature has established, Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists were strongly conditioned by the persistence of distinctive Polish traditions, particularly Romanticism with its attachment to the timeless function of art as a carrier of spiritual values. This dissertation argues that the groups were also actively implicated in Poland's difficult transformation from a partitioned, economically

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backward country in the nineteenth century to an industrialized democracy after World War I. They were a product or function of artistic transformations, both in Poland and abroad, but also of the social, political, and cultural changes, precipitated by World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution. These changes accelerated the conflict between Poland's historic desire to strengthen its homogeneity and the dynamics of its multicultural and multiethnic society after World War I. The focus on the impact of Romantic tradition on Polish art and the growing politicization of the artistic life after Independence allows new light to be cast on Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists.

Establishing connections between Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists is crucial for understanding Polish art between 1917 and 1922. This dissertation also stresses the differences between them. However, rather than perceiving differences as a destabilizing force for the Polish tradition, as the existing literature on the subject of early Polish art usually does, they are considered as a source of strength that made Polish art and culture vital and truly pluralistic after World War I. The fragmented, transitory and "marginal," diachronic, character of the artistic activities of Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists allied them with the avant-gardes in the West and Russia. It placed them in opposition to the *passeistes*,[10] who were generally interested in cultivating conservative and synchronic artistic tastes and attitudes, which basically meant affirming referential mimetic aesthetics and traditional cultural values.

The early Polish avant-garde constituted only a fraction of the artists active in interwar Poland.[11] However, the period under discussion remains the sole time in Poland's modern

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history that the country, benefiting from the initial enthusiasm and/or chaos following Independence, allowed multiculturalism to be expressed. Reflecting such freedom, Polish artists produced an important body of work, before local culture and the arts became subjected to homogenization in the name of hegemonic nationalism and/or new internationalism by the mid-1920s.[12]

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PART I: THE POLISH CONTEXT

1.1 Political and Cultural Backgrounds

Reconstituted from distinctively separate provinces that had been occupied by Russia, Prussia/Germany, and Austro-Hungary for over a century, Poland was one of the poorest nations in Europe in 1917. The gap that separated it from Western industrial powers widened in the 1920s. With its backward agriculture and slowly developing industry, but with a large territory of 388, 634 km^2 and a population of over 27 million, which made it the sixth largest country in Europe, Poland was "neither a power nor a little country."[13] It was a multinational country with distinctive ethno-religious groups—mainly Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, and Germans—who constituted a third of Poland's population.[14] Poland's multinational character enriched its culture, but also produced serious conflicts complicated by the plurality of religious beliefs and political alliances. How each of the ethnic groups related or rather was perceived by the ethnic Poles to relate to the occupying powers during the period of partitions remained a particularly explosive issue after Independence.

Before Poland officially reappeared on the map of Europe as a state in late 1918, radical artists had already engaged in the reevaluation of Polish culture and modern art. They questioned their major *raison d'être*: the moral, socially obligated mission to preserve national identity, so important to Poles throughout the nineteenth century. However, Polish culture and art continued to be highly influenced by the Romantic tradition that had produced three "bards" of Polish literature: Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Slowacki, and Zbigniew Krasinski, but no painter of equal caliber. As many Poles believed that the

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continuity of Polish tradition was a form of survival, Romanticism, linked with liberal cultural nationalism and politico-mysticism intertwined with Roman Catholicism, had kept them united under the occupying powers in the nineteenth century. Romanticism was closely associated with two tragic moments in Polish history, during which Poles unsuccessfully fought for independence: the November Uprising of 1830-31 (a war against Russians, in fact) and the political and social unrest of 1846-48, which spread all over Europe, gaining the name of the Springtime of the Nations. By embracing Polish Romantic tradition, artists often turned to Slowacki's vision of their nation as the "Winkelried of All Nations" and the "only son of Prometheus," which helped *justify* the nation's suffering under foreign occupation.[15] Modern artistic movements after Independence questioned such Romanticism as a form, or extension, of religion and a carrier of patriotic idealism, attacking particularly its late reincarnation in Symbolism.[16]

After 1918, the efforts of the Polish government to control new art was bound to produce a conflict between the *individualistic* artist and the *democratic* state, for the needs of these two forces moved in opposite directions: controlling "from below" and controlling "from above." However, the desire to unite Polish cultures persisted among both the majorities of politicians and artists. That desire sprang from a particular role that culture had played for Poles historically. Prior to Independence, Poles living in the three partitioned zones shared an appreciation for the same Polish artists, poets, and writers. Polish art served as a cultural and spiritual cement—an affirmative institutional force of sorts—uniting the nation in one language, while, at the same time, creating a strong sense of a uniquely Polish contribution to the development of European culture. Therefore, a

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centralized system of support for the arts, real or imaginary, was an extension of Poles' beliefs in their own cultural homogeneity, despite the fact that Poland was a multinational country with separate ethno-religious groups.

After World War I, the problem of creating a distinctively Polish style moved beyond the dialectics of defining local art in relation to the oppressive politics of the partitioning powers. Polish artists needed to answer how to deal with tradition as a source of national unity and pride, while relating their art to current experience. A line from Jan Lechon's poem, "Herostrates," 1920, became synonymous with a rejection of the patriotic obligation to preserve a uniquely Polish identity in art and a yearning for "normalcy." The poem, which begins with a futurist call for destroying the royal residence "Lazienki" in Warsaw, ends with the sentence: "And in the spring let me see spring, not Poland" ("A wiosna—niechaj wiosne, nie Polske zobacze").[17]

But calls for the depolitization of art met with new obstacles. With the growth of both nationalist and Communist tendencies in Europe in the 1910s, it was believed that Germany and Russia continued to pose a danger to maintaining Poland's cultural and artistic identity after World War I. Poland's existence rested, in fact, on the weakness of its powerful neighbors. Poles continued to define their identity in relation to Russia and Germany. Interestingly enough, another popular threat for Poles was the so-called "yellow peril" (zolte niebezpieczenstwo), a fear of the Chinese who would kill Poles by the sheer force of their number, which was nested in the memory of the historic conflicts with the Tartars, as well as the Poles' belief of being located on the frontiers of Western

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civilization.[18] Perceiving themselves as an integral part of the Western world, they considered Russia a "bigger evil." In *A Downfall of Western Civilization* (Upadek cywilizacji zachodniej), published in 1921, historian Florian Witold Znaniecki equated, for example, Bolshevism with the anticultural tendencies caused by the movement of the masses. Referring to the Aristotelian concept of "ochlocracy," Znaniecki interpreted Bolshevism as the ruling of the mob that corrupts democracy.[19] In another popular book from the period, *The Russian Influences on the Polish Soul* (Wplywy rosyjskie na dusze polska), published in 1920, historian Marian Zdziechowski also castigated Bolshevism, which he saw as the embodiment of a Russian tendency toward extremism and apocalyptic visions.[20] The feeling of being trapped between two superpowers, Russia and Germany, constituted, in fact, a Polish "national neurosis" and had serious consequences for Polish culture and art, particularly when they were subjected to foreign influences.[21]

For most Polish artists, French modernism meant the *lingua franca* of contemporary art. Those who chose, instead, to derive their inspiration directly from Germany, as did the Poznan Expressionists during the Bunt phase (1918-19), confronted harsh criticism from other artists. Reflecting the attitude of artists and critics who considered Expressionism a German phenomenon, formist artist and critic Leon Chwistek justified the change of the group's name from Expressionists to Formists in the catalogue of the *Third Formist Exhibition* in 1919:

> In a short period of time it became clear...that this name [Expressionists] links us in the popular perception to German art, which still remains in the period of experimentation in many cases yielding to a tasteless strangeness. Under those circumstances it was necessary to mark our independence by introducing a new name. In this way we arrived at calling ourselves formalists [*sic*].[22]

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Similarly, Futurist Bruno Jasienski in Kraków criticized the first Futurist leaflets signed by Warsaw-based Aleksander Wat and Anatol Stern as being in "the spirit of German Expressionism."[23] But what appeared politically progressive from a Polish perspective, did not always look progressive from the perspective of the Western radicals, particularly those who were active in Germany. Jankel Adler from the Young Yiddish group is a perfect example in this case. Although he had many progressive friends in Germany, among them Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, Arthur Kaufmann, and Adolf Uzarski, the Dadaists Richard Huelsenbeck and Raoul Hausmann considered Adler not revolutionary enough. They called for "[t]he most brutal struggle against all directions of so-called 'workers of the spirit' ([Kurt] Hiller, Adler), against their concealed bourgeoisism, against expressionism and post-classical education as advocated by the Sturm group,"[24] in "What is Dadaism and What Does It Want in Germany?" published in 1919.

Transformations of art after Independence were influenced by the official politics of the government, which were rather chaotic first, then gradually developed along nationalist lines. A liberal politician, Medard Downarowicz became the Minister of Culture and Art in the first, chiefly leftist and centrist, government of the independent parliamentary Second (Polish) Republic, established in November 1918.[25] In an attempt to balance the government's power by further shifting some aspects of it to the depoliticized elite, Zenon "Miriam" Przesmycki, who embraced non-partisan principles for distributing financial support for all artists, soon replaced Downarowicz. Przesmycki's predilections for excessive aestheticism and his disregard for bureaucratic professionalism resulted,

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however, in a highly unrealistic, even eccentric, program. He planned to establish an institutional structure for commissioning and purchasing artworks for museums, organizing exhibitions and public projects, and building the National Art Library and a Panmuzeion, but he also advocated to forbid planting fruit trees along country roads. When Przesmycki resigned in 1920, the Ministry of Culture and Art fell under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education (Ministerstwo Wyznan Religijnych i Oswiecenia Publicznego, MWRiOP), and its power significantly diminished.

The newly gained independence brought both a liberalization of political and private lives and a rise of nationalism among conservative Poles. The process of the country's internal unification was often undertaken at the expense of those who did not fit the desired image of a Pole. While the foreigner inside Poland was historically identified on ethno-religious grounds prior to Independence, he/she was often also viewed as a Bolshevik after the October Revolution, despite the fact that the popularity of "domestic" communism among Polish artists and intelligentsia, which constituted less than 5 percent of the Polish population,[26] was limited after 1917. For a large number of Poles, "1917" was not a "homogenizing metaphor," as it was for Russians—as Michael Holquist suggested—but a palpable reality.[27] The early radical artists were, in fact, one of the first targets of the official campaign of equating ethnic and political differences and presenting them as a threat to Polish identity. In February 1919, police used force to disband a futurist evening at the Café "Pod Pikadorem" (Under the Picador) after receiving an anonymous letter denouncing it as a Bolshevik meeting. With the growing institutional support of Polish

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nationalism, accusations of Bolshevik sympathies were often combined with anti-Semitic attacks. The conservative press, lay and Catholic, frequently used the argument of the danger of the "Bolshevisation" of Polish culture to discredit the radical artists, calling them a "Judo-commune" (zydokomuna). Another futurist evening, taking place in Zakopane in August 1921, was interrupted several times by the audience shouting "gutsy Jews" and "don't turn the Polish language into the Jewish [meaning Yiddish]."[28] At the same time, Poles' suspicion toward Russians and Germans drastically accelerated during the November Revolution in Germany and, particularly, during the Polish-Soviet war of 1920-21, which was perceived as Soviet expansionism aimed at spreading the proletarian revolution into Central and Western Europe disguised as a territorial dispute over Ukraine.[29] Perhaps not surprisingly, the conflict in Germany and the war with Russia became the subject of many biting satires and propaganda works, such as an anonymous poster, headlined "Loans to Support Independent Poland" (Kupujemy pozyczke Odrodzenie Polski), 1920 (Fig. 5), and the printmaker and painter Wladyslaw Skoczylas' poster entitled *Jozef Pilsudski*, 1920 (Fig.6). In 1922, Poland's fear of its powerful neighbors was even further augmented by the signing of the declaration of peace between two old enemies, Germany and Russia, in Rapallo, and the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), headed by Joseph Stalin.

While the avant-garde groups in Poland closely monitored each other, the great majority of the Polish population was totally oblivious to the fate of art and artists, and only followed scandals provoked by the artists. Private patronship and private galleries interested in avant-garde art practically did not exist.[30] At the same time, many Poles

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feared that Polish culture was losing its original commonality due to the growing desire of many artists to depoliticize their art and embrace internationalist tendencies. Many Polish artists began to look for inspiration in "Western primitivism," pre-Christian iconography, the art of the Middle Ages (Gothic in particular), the Renaissance art, but also indigenous folklore and local art from sixteenth-century Poland, considered the Golden Age of the Polish state.[31] Following similar tendencies elsewhere in Europe, local folklore was envisioned as a pre-academic artistic heritage, offering a congruence between the old and the new. Many Polish artists, such as Wladyslaw Roguski in his watercolor, *Piéta*, 1914 (Fig.7), incorporated folklore into their works.[32] They also began to look into their immediate surroundings for inspiration, which in some ways took them in a circular fashion back to Romanticism.[33]

The confusion and lack of interest in new art among the general public was also caused by a rapid pauperization of Polish culture due to a massive migration from the country to the cities of mostly uneducated peasants who were slowly transforming into the proverbial stereotype of the middleclass "doctor's wife from Wilcza Street [in Warsaw]."[34] New migrants looked for popular forms of modern entertainment, finding them, for example, in tabloids, such as *Illustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (The Illustrated Daily Courier, published in Kraków), *Oredownik Wielkopolski* (Great Poland's Intercessor; Poznan), and *Express Poranny* (The Morning Express; Warsaw), which gained quickly in popularity. By contrast, cultural reviews and journals constituted less than 5 percent of all press. Polish avant-garde artists, mostly members of the elite intelligentsia, largely ignored the interests of other social groups, widening the gap that

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separated them from the rest of society. In an article titled "Two Revolutions," published in *Czyn i slowo* (Action and Word) in 1913, the literary critic Karol Irzykowski pointed out the failure of allying the proletarian and artistic revolutions in the program of Mloda Polska.[35] The poet Witold Wandurski, who came to Lodz from Russia in 1921 with a desire to create a modern proletarian culture—remembering the Bolshevik Revolution as "the most beautiful years of my life," which provoked him to "think and write"[36]—summarized the interaction of Polish artists and workers in the early 1920s as follows:

> If any of the young Formist painters had offered to decorate the union's meeting room in exchange for materials or even for free, according to the requirements of new art, based on rhythmic construction and the aesthetics of labor...none of their projects would be accepted, and the artist-designer would have been ridiculed behind his back as a "futurist "— which translated into "bum," "sissy," and "one who just annoys with rubbish"— in the mind of the Polish worker.[37]

In 1922, the Ministry of Culture and Art was restructured, becoming a smaller and even less influential Department of Art, remaining under the supervision of the MWRiOP. A respected older painter, Julian Falat, was nominated as director. Falat, who at one point had been a court painter for Wilhelm II of Prussia, was highly regarded as an animator of artistic life for reorganizing the Kraków School of Fine Arts after the death of history painter Jan Matejko in 1893.[38] But with his defined artistic identity as a realist painter, Falat was unable to work out a balance that would satisfy various interest groups within the divided artistic community. The mediocre painter Jan Skotnicki, who replaced him in late 1922, described Falat as an official with great social skills, who conducted his work with a *laissez-faire* attitude, while spending all day in fancy cafes and restaurants.[39] More zealous in responding to growing Polish nationalism, Skotnicki chose to give priority to Polish crafts and rural architecture, particularly from the eastern regions of the country,

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which in accord with the expansionist politics of Polish *Drang nach Osten* were proclaimed crucial for preserving not only "civilized" Polish (opposed to Russian and Jewish) but Western culture in general. The Department embraced folklore in an organized form of *regionalism* and *agrarianism*.[40] Obviously, the political right welcomed folkish and plebeian aesthetics and attitudes as the ultimate expression of national pride.

The initial excitement caused by the reemergence of the Polish state on the map of Europe in November 1918 found its symbolic culmination in December 1922, when the first president of the Polish Republic, Gabriel Narutowicz, was killed in the Zacheta Gallery while attending the opening of the annual Salon. It might not be without significance here that Narutowicz's killer, Eligiusz Niewiadomski, was a painter, critic, and art historian with conservative artistic taste. He belonged to the right-wing National Democrats (ND), often called *endecja* (the acronym made from the first letters of the party's name), that pledged to combat the alleged stagnation of political life caused by liberal politicians such as Narutowicz.[41] The assassination made clear that while Poland, with the new Polish Constitution of March 1921, was completing the first stage of organizing global state authorities and settling, at least for the time being, most of its border disputes with neighbors by co-signing the Treaty of Riga with Russia and Ukraine, Polish society at large, as well as the artistic community, was polarized because of its continuing lack of organized structure and its economic difficulties.

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1.2 Literature on Polish Expressionism

To a large extent, critical assessment of the early avant-garde movements active in Poland between 1917 and 1922 reflects the radical artists' relationship with the rest of a society that was growing nationalistic. Followed by years of increasing conservatism and nationalism in the early 1920s, those called Expressionists found themselves largely in isolation from most Polish critics and historians. Some of them changed their artistic alliances, moving either closer to Neoclassicism, or embracing Constructivist tendencies, which by the early 1920s were considered more radical than Expressionism. Many artists simply abandoned making art. For example, Artur Maria Swinarski, a member of the Poznan Expressionists, concentrated on writing poetry, and the Formist Witkacy stopped making paintings in favor of "inauthentic" portraits produced on commission by his Portrait Firm (Firma Portretowa) in 1924-25. Growing nationalism encouraged or forced others, particularly those with other than Polish ethnic backgrounds, to immigrate to the West, where they joined the large community of artists who had emigrated from the Polish territories in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.[42]

Synthetic readings of Polish modern art were rare before World War I. Jan Boloz-Antoniewicz and Stanislaw Witkiewicz (father) were the most accomplished writers and critics of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art. They both belonged to a small group of Polish intelligentsia with a social status related to the lower nobility (szlachta) and landowners (ziemianstwo), and viewed modern art as a "noble activity with a

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patriotic mission."[43] In one of the first synthetic studies devoted to Expressionism (published in 1919), the literary historian Wilhelm Feldman argued that Polish Expressionism as a literary phenomenon should be dated before World War I, linked to German Expressionism, and include writers such as Stanislaw Wyspianski and Tadeusz Micinski.[44]

Books on new Polish art published during the period examined in this dissertation usually either ignored or diminished the role of Expressionism. In 1920, the art historian and critic Wladyslaw Kozicki published *Polish Art*, benefiting from the assistance of the Ministry of Art and Culture.[45] Kozicki's book was printed on the occasion of the participation of Polish artists in the XII Venice Biennale, who, as representatives of free Poland, showed their works in a separate pavilion.[46] In his very sketchy history of Polish art, Kozicki mentioned in one sentence Formists and the artists gathered around the review *Zdrój* (The Source), calling them "the innovative painters."[47] In 1921, Roman Zrebowicz described Jerzy Hulewicz, Wladyslaw Skotarek, Stefan Szmaj, Jan Panienski, Leon Dolzycki and Jerzy Hryknowski as "the young extremists of Expressionism" in his introduction to *La gravure polonaise et les "batiks"* published in French to propagate Polish art abroad.[48]

Zrebowicz demonstrated a substantial knowledge of modern art and theories of art in his *Nihilism in Art (Problem of Cultural Criticism)*, also published in 1921. Negatively predisposed to new art, he described Futurism as "the last consequence of Impressionism," while calling Impressionism—the beginning of nihilism in the visual

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arts that took art beyond "the act of a conscious will, beyond any possibility of construction" and turned it into "the pure dynamics of temperament, rebellion...and humor."[49] For Zrebowicz Futurism was, therefore, a nihilistic movement, and such was also Expressionism. Both reflected the spirit of Europe after World War I. Referring to R. Kayser's article "End of Expressionism," Zrebowicz called German Expressionism—"Kantian Ding an sich" and "the last fading period of Romanticism."[50] In his analysis of Expressionism in Poland, he argued that it was influenced by "the Dresden group" (he listed [Erich] Heckel, [Oskar] Kokoschka, [Otto] Mueller, [Max] Oppenheimer, [Hermann Max] Pechstein, and [Karl] Schmidt-Rottluff) rather than by the artists from Munich ([Wassily] Kandinsky, Chagall, Bechteev, Jawlensky, [Adolf] Erbslöh, [Franz] Marc, and [Paul] Klee). "The influence of this group operating in the east," he wrote, "reached Poland and in a significant manner influenced the last compositions of Fr. [Fryderyk] Pautsch and, above all, the Poznan group '*Zdrój*.'"[51] Zrebowicz viewed Germany and Russia as centers of Expressionism, omitting France. To link Germany with Russia he quoted Herman Hesse: "Deutschland steht den Karamasoffs, steht Dostojewski, steht Asien unendlich viel williger und schwächer offen als jedes andere europäische Volk."(More than any other nation [Volk], Germany is endlessly more willingly open to the Karamazovs, Dostoyevsky, and Asia).[52] Rejecting Expressionism, Zrebowicz named Cézanne the most important European artist of the early century, and Skoczylas and the sculptor Xawery Dunikowski the most important contemporary artists in Poland.

Critical evaluation of Expressionism in Poland became even harsher after the Expressionist groups dissolved in 1922. Taking a conservative position, Eligiusz

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Niewiadomski (Narutowicz's assassin), for example, categorically denied Expressionism having any innovative role in the development of art in Poland in his book titled *Polish Painting of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, published in 1923.[53] In a three-volume study of Polish art, titled *History of Polish Painting*, published in Kraków between 1925 and 1929, the art historian F. Kopera treated the groups discussed in this dissertation in an even more general way, devoting to them only a few short paragraphs in his thick book. He just mentioned Formists by listing their names, justifying that by stating that the assessment of the importance of Formism needed additional historical distance.[54]

The art critic Michal Sobeski's *Recent Painting: Expressionism and Cubism*, 1926, exemplifies the approach to Expressionism in the mid-1920s in the criticism of writers familiar with the development of modern art in the early twentieth century. The book contains a comprehensive analysis of Cubism and Expressionism, describing them as antinaturalistic. Sobeski credited Cubism for building form in painting and criticized Expressionism for destroying it. He stated that both currents were disappointing, but Cubism had opened doors for a stimulating constructivist discipline. Writing from a nationalist position, Sobeski proclaimed the final demise of Expressionism because of "bolshevization" of the movement.[55]

The early avant-garde was more frequently discussed in art magazines, those published by the avant-garde itself, but also those addressed to a broader artistic audience. For example, the art critic with leftist views, Mieczyslaw Treter, discussed in general terms

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artistic life in Poland after World War I in "Polish Art during the Postwar Period" in the first volume of *Sztuki Piekne* (The Fine Arts, 1924-25). The art historian Mieczyslaw Sterling's "The Struggle of New Ideas in Twentieth Century Painting" appeared in the same issue of *Sztuki Piekne*, also presenting a very broad approach to modern art; as did an article by Stefania Zahorska, an art critic who has often been considered one of the most perceptive writers on modern art in interwar Poland.[56] Zahorska summarized her ideas in "History of Polish Painting," included in the monumental *Knowledge About Poland*, published in 1932, in which she discussed Futurism, Cubism, Expressionism, and Formism. Opposing Cubism to Expressionism, she described Expressionism as a movement that mainly developed in Germany and attempted to escape from the world by embracing pseudo-mysticism. She stated that Expressionism was short-lived and "only slightly agitated the surface of artistic life in Germany, and was rejected in France, as well as in our Poland." "In easel painting," Zahorska concluded, "the most durable turned out to be the direction of the middle, which was able to assimilate the achievements of Impressionism and take advantage of the precious experiments of Cubism," turning it into New Realism.[57]

The principal members of the avant-garde authored books, leaving an important written record of their attitudes toward art, which will be discussed in length in this study.[58] After the Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists disbanded, the role of Expressionism in the development of the arts in Poland was gradually diminished, denied, and often totally forgotten even by other artists. Summarizing modernism in Poland in 1929, Constructivist Wladyslaw Strzeminski, who was a particularly perceptive

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observer of the artistic transformations in Poland from a position of the totality of aesthetic experience, but clearly embittered by the lack of interest in Constructivism among the general public, blamed, for example, earlier twentieth-century artists for creating a gap between Impressionism and abstraction "because of our predecessors' laziness."[59]

After World War II, interest in Expressionism developed slowly in Poland, in large part because of the complicated relationship of Polish historians to the prewar artistic heritage. The research on the early Polish avant-garde became dramatically complicated because of the massive destruction of Polish art, particularly art considered *Entartete Künst*, by the Nazis during World War II. Artists directly involved in the development of art between the wars, who survived World War II, wrote their own, highly subjective accounts of the period between 1917 and 1922.[60] A strong presence of Colorism, with its fascination for the works of Pierre Bonnard and Henri Matisse, as a dominant artistic tendency after World War II kept prewar Parisian perspectives on modern art alive, while relegating other movements to a secondary place. Although pre-World War II right-wing nationalism would have been an easy target for Marxist historians, its discussion was often avoided, and overshadowed by patriotic incentive. Therefore, unlike in the West, Expressionism had never achieved the status of humanistic and democratic expression attacked by Nazism.[61] The official communist ideology and foreign politics further restricted studies of the development of Polish art between the wars. With Polish borders redrawn after World War II, Poland avoided making references to German art and culture, particularly from the Polish territories, such as Greater Poland (also called

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Poznania) with Poznan, Silesia with Wroclaw and Katowice, and East Prussia with Olsztyn, which for a long time belonged to Germany. Polish historians were encouraged, instead, to stress the lands' Polish heritage.[62]

For different reasons, Russian influences on and intersections with Polish culture were addressed with caution as well. During the short period of Socialist Realism in the late 1940s and early 1950s, which produced, among others, Henryk Markiewicz's *About Marxist Theory of Literature. Sketches*, published in 1953 and influenced by György Lukács, Expressionism was labeled as belonging to the "epoch of imperialism."[63] But in the 1950s Poles started to distance themselves anew from Russian art and culture, interpreting their own tradition as unique and perceiving it as the stronghold of Polishness. In such a cultural climate with redefined patriotic obligations, Formists were considered the forerunners of Polish modern art, while Poznan Expressionists, with their real or alleged German connection, and Futurists, with their real or alleged Russian connection, were relegated to minor status. Reflecting the complexities of the Polish-Jewish relationship, especially after 1968, which witnessed a massive expulsion of Jews from Poland, discussions of Jewish artists of Polish origins were discouraged until the 1980s.

Despite restraints imposed on Polish historians, post-World War II literature on the Polish avant-garde, particularly that written after the Thaw of 1956, is rich in studies of various aspects of art from the earlier twentieth century.[64] The term Expressionism was used in a broader sense of the word, often applied to artists and writers who enhanced

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expressiveness in their art through realistic means.[65] Therefore, the popular artists Wojciech Weiss, Witold Wojtkiewicz, and Wyspianski were called Expressionists, as were writers Micinski and Stanislaw Przybyszewski. Tadeusz Dobrowolski's canonical book, *The Art of Mloda Polska*, 1963, is a unique contribution to reevaluating the place of Expressionism in Polish art. Stating that Expressionism is not a style but a phenomenon that cyclically occurs in art, Dobrowolski argued that "expressiveness" is basically a Northern phenomenon that "marks a timeless line that separates classical art from romantic art" and "opposes...Latin culture to Northern culture." For Dobrowolski, Expressionism "conveys tragedy and fear of its time, particularly in the case of Northern nations, among them Slavs, for whom, according to Western art history, this movement is the most characteristic. Furthermore, in its essence [Expressionism] avoids cosmopolitan elements and stresses individuality and ethnicity."[66] In his book, Dobrowolski argued that Bunt, next to Formists, played a central role in the development of Polish art after World War I.

While many prominent Polish art historians continued to follow a Marxist reading of modernism, historians gathered around the Muzeum Sztuki in Lodz (Fig.8) forged a new voice, more independent of Marxist rhetorics. Since the creation of its own collection in the late 1920s, the Muzeum Sztuki played a particularly significant role in creating a new master narrative of the development of Polish art by placing Constructivism as a turning point in the twentieth century and in promoting Polish art abroad.[67] The important presentations of the Polish avant-garde organized by the Muzeum Sztuki, such as *Presences Polonaises: L'Art vivant autour du Musée de Lodz*, presented at the Centre

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Georges Pompidou in Paris in 1983, reflected the prevailing attitude toward the historiography of Polish art coming from younger historians, who discussed Formism (special attention was devoted to Witkacy) but largely ignored the other groups discussed in this study.

Although no study has linked the four groups discussed in this dissertation, Polish historians in the 1970s and 1980s wrote important books devoted to various aspects of Expressionism in Polish art after World War I. They include Joanna Pollakowna's book on the Formists, *Formists* (Formisci); and two particularly thoroughly researched books by Jerzy Malinowski: *Art and New Community: Artists' Society "Bunt," 1917-1922* and *Group "Young Yiddish" and the Jewish Milieu of "New Art" in Poland, 1918-1923.*[68] While being crucial sources of historical data for my research, Pollakowna's and Malinowski's books exemplify the limited approaches to the early Polish avant-garde which this study intends to correct. Pollakowna, for example, avoided any discussion of the political implications in the Formists' activities and art (she, in fact, blames the Futurists for the politicization of art in Poland and the demise of Formism).[69] Malinowski offered a much more nuanced picture of the artistic life in Poland between 1917 and 1922, but he also basically downplayed the significance of Polish nationalism as a destructive force in the development of Poznan Expressionists and Young Yiddish, blurring it in the accumulation of details. Furthermore, rather than presenting these two groups as the first Polish avant-garde, as this study intends, Malinowski credits Poznan Expressionists (Kubicki in particular) with producing the first consistent body of abstract works in Poland, therefore further *locking* Expressionism in a discourse on the formal

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development of art popular among other Polish scholars. As far as Polish Futurists are concerned, they have been treated as a literary movement but, as an artistic group, have received little attention from art historians.[70] Czeslaw Milosz called their poetry Dadaist rather than Futurist in his *The History of Polish Literature*.[71] However, the evaluation of Polish Futurism in the context of the visual arts is, in my opinion, essential to our understanding of the Polish avant-garde's transformations in the 1920s and its treatment by Polish society. Being writers and poets Polish Futurists left not only an unsurpassed documentation of the artistic milieu in interwar Poland, but their writings also enable us to "enter into the minds" of the artists from that period and understand the motivations behind their works.

In their approach to the Polish avant-garde, most historical analyses of art in Poland in the period between 1917 and 1922, undertaken during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, reflected the shifting interests of Polish art historians in historical methodology, which moved toward a formalist approach to art.[72] In popular perceptions, Expressionism was an aesthetic of "content" (opposed to "form")[73] and, therefore, an extension of Mloda Polska.[74] Such an approach, in fact, had often been used to bypass discussions of the complicated relationship of the Polish avant-garde to social and political concerns of the interwar period, including the relationship with life and art in the neighboring Soviet Union and Germany. Partially in negative reaction to writings of Marxist historians close to the government and partially in a positive response to the popularity of Western formalism, Polish scholarship, which historically had been rooted in a patriotic attitude toward art, denied significance to the historically "ambiguous" and irksome sociopolitical

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context of Polish art, anchoring it on a *fixed* ground of aesthetics rather than on a "moving" plane of concomitant *events*.

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1.3 Defining Expressionism in Poland

Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists need to be credited for widely spreading the concepts of "Expressionism" in their writings and art. The term Expressionism was often used in the Polish press during the first years of these groups' existence between 1917 and 1919, helping to integrate it into the daily vocabulary of many artists, critics, and the public at large, while its meaning was becoming more specific. Prior to the formation of the Poznan Expressionist, Young Yiddish, Formist, and Futurist groups, in Poland, as in other parts of Europe, the word Expressionism was understood in a broader sense: the term described an attitude toward art rather than a specific artistic formation, and a *Weltanschauung* rather than a style.[75] Expressionism was also simply opposed to official art and/or equated with "new art." By July 1918, the term was used so frequently that the Lvov-based *Gazeta Wieczorna* (The Evening Newspaper) conducted a poll, asking the ten most influential Polish critics and historians to discuss in detail the meaning of Expressionism (Fig. 9). Answering the poll, the distinguished art historian from Lvov, Jan Boloz-Antoniewicz, stated: "I am convinced that Expressionism will come out victorious from this battle, while its aesthetic adversary will be severely wounded, losing on its way all its 'never' and 'always.' But it [traditional art] was not particularly shaken by the fact that for the last 125 years it has been punished for those 'never' and 'always' every quarter of a century."[76]

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Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists used the word Expressionism to describe a stylistic formation, while connecting it to broader cultural and socio-political issues. They also contributed to the "Teutonization" of Expressionism.[77] Among the four groups, Poznan Expressionists had the earliest contacts with German Expressionism. The term was certainly familiar to Stanislaw and Margarete Kubicki, Stefan Szmaj, and Adam Bederski, all of whom had lived in Germany before they came to Poznan and formed the Artists' Society "Rebellion" (Zrzeszenie Artystow "Bunt"), known by its abbreviated name, Bunt, in 1918. After these artists joined the review *Zdrój* in late 1917, they changed its orientation from Symbolist/Neo-Romantic to Expressionist by early 1918. *Zdrój* became, in fact, a main platform for Polish artists and critics to voice their support for Expressionism.

The word "Expressionist" first appeared on the pages of *Zdrój* in November 1917, a month after the review was launched, in an article titled "For the Fullness of Life" (O pelnie zycia) written by the writer and critic Bohdan Hulewicz, who used the pseudonym Nowina. Nowina described Kubicki's paintings presented at the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts in Poznan in 1917 as "expressionist works" (prace ekspresjonistyczne), but he did not elaborate on the meaning of his words. He castigated attacks by the local artistic establishment on Kubicki's "radicalism."[78] The following month, *Zdrój* published a two-part article on the painter Wladyslaw Jarocki by the critic Wladyslaw Kozicki. Familiar with the artistic scene in Paris, Kozicki considered Expressionism " a dissident novelty" (nowinka dyssydencka). He described two Polish-Jewish painters living in France, Gustaw Gwozdecki and Leopold Gottlieb as Expressionists. Kozicki stated that

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Gwozdecki and Gottlieb "attempt to paint objects not in the way as they appear to sight but as they are *reproduced* by the senses."[79]

Although it is important to stress the pioneering role of Poznan Expressionists in propagating Expressionism, it is necessary to remember that the term Expressionism was already familiar to Polish critics and artists after it appeared in German art and German language.[80] In June 1911, a reviewer of *Przeglad Wielkopolski* (Great Poland's Review), who signed with the initials W.L., reported on the XXII Berliner Sezession that opened in April, referring to the eleven French painters from Matisse's circle (Matisse excluded), whose works were presented in a separate gallery, as "Expressionists" (Expressionisten), as described in the exhibition catalogue.[81] Following the lead of the German press, the Polish reviewer described Expressionism as a movement that "aims at expressing the soul (dusze)," and contrasted it with Impressionism.[82] Another critic from Poznan, F. Lubierzynski, compared Expressionism with Cubism, quoted Matisse, and discussed the differences between the two styles by comparing Expressionist works with paintings by Roger de la Fresnaye shown at the Autumn Salon in Berlin.[83] Early descriptions of Expressionism associated the movement with France rather than Germany. Relating Expressionism to Germany would have had, in fact, a negative connotation for the Polish public, positioning it as a movement related to the oppressive cultural politics of one of the three occupants of partitioned Poland—Russia, Austria, and Germany. This unique perspective would play a significant role in the Polish perception of the movement in upcoming years, when Expressionism started to be considered a German phenomenon.

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The term Expressionism became precise and, at the same time, acquired a local meaning with the emergence of the Bunt. It could finally be related to the particular artistic practices of artists such as Kubicki, Margarete Kubicka, Szmaj, and other Poznan Expressionists. When their exhibition opened in 1918, Jerzy Hulewicz, who was the group's early spokesman, concluded his review of the show in *Zdrój* by inviting the public to see works that represented "the newest currents in art generally called Expressionism."[84] By 1920, *Zdrój* rejected a militant version of Expressionism, abandoning the idea of art with populist appeal, so dear to Kubicki and his colleagues, but it still clung to the word Expressionism. Poznan artists' changing attitude toward Expressionism and their Expressionist works will be discussed in detail in the following chapter devoted to Poznan Expressionists.

For members of the Young Yiddish group, the sources of their interest in Expressionism were in many ways similar to those of artists associated with the Bunt. Several members of Young Yiddish had lived and studied in Germany before the group was established in Lodz in February 1919.[85] According to Marek Schwarz, Jankel Adler introduced young Jewish artists in Lodz to German Expressionism, as well as to the art magazine, *Milgreum,* published in Berlin, which served as a model for the group's review, called *Young Yiddish.*[86] On his part, Schwarz chose to study art in France rather than Germany before returning to Lodz in 1914. Nevertheless, as an active member of the Jewish community in La Roche in Paris, and with close ties to Germany as well as Russia, he was well informed about German art.

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By stressing their affinities with Expressionism, the *Young Yiddish* review played for the Young Yiddish group in Lodz the same role as *Zdrój* played for Poznan Expressionists. However, before the review was launched in March 1919, several writers mentioned that artists in Lodz began to champion Expressionism. When interviewed by *Neue Lodzer Zeitung* on the occasion of the opening of the second exhibition of the Society for Artists and Supporters of the Fine Arts in December 1918, critic Heinrich Zimmermann, who helped to mount the show, pointed out that the so-called Winter Show excelled in its presentation of the newest tendencies in modern art, referring to those tendencies, particularly in Adler's works, as Expressionist.[87] Zimmermann used the word Expressionism very broadly, referring to both expressive aspects of thematic content (Sachinhaltige) and formal characteristics based on deformation. To describe Adler's works, he used the words "emotional and symbolic departure from nature" (gefühlsymbolische Abweichung von der Natur). The 1918 Winter Show, as well as its predecessor, the so-called Spring Show, contained works by major future members of the Young Yiddish group: Adler, Barczynski, V. Brauner, Dina Matus, and Schwarz.

As Expressionism became associated with new art presented in Lodz, critics discussed the meaning of the term in relation to specific Polish artists. In *Glos Polski* (The Polish Voice), a journalist who signed as A.W. called Adler "young and fresh" and described his works as endowed with a "power of expression...so direct that the public feels confronted with an enigma in front of Adler's works." Trying to connect the show to recent developments in art in the West, the reviewer in *Glos Polski* characterized Expressionist art as based on "honesty" first.[88] In *Neue Lodzer Zeitung*, Zimmermann

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mentioned that Adler was familiar with works of the German artists George Grosz, Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Marc, and Meidner, as well as Jean Metzinger.

In the group's second manifesto published in the second issue of *Young Yiddish*, dated April 1919, a spokesman for the group, Broderzon, extolled motion and change as futurist attributes of modern art and life. To describe all artistic tendencies from Impressionism on, he used the term Futurism, while cautioning, at the same time, that it was necessary to approach modern art with caution. The manifesto stated: "In our Symbolism, in our turning to Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism, or the primitives—to which, *notabene*, we do not appeal [with this manifesto]—we embrace all the above styles and call them ironically, as it has been done from the beginning of creation, by the joined name *Futurism*." Stressing the importance of Jewish tradition for Jewish artists, the text contained a long list of sources as crucial for historical continuity. It included the Bible, Greek mythology, Edgar Allan Poe, Chopin, Rembrandt, El Greco, and Cézanne.[89] The two artists mentioned at the end of his list were also highly praised by German Expressionists. However, the article did not mention names of the contemporary Expressionists, foreign or Polish.

In 1920, Jankel Adler published fragments of his lecture on Expressionism as an article in *Nowy Kurier* (The New Courier). In the article, he called himself a child of the twentieth century, who grew up in "the stone houses of a big city," in the "passages, crossing the streets with thousands of diagonals" and among "jarring billboards." After such descriptions of a childhood in a modern metropolis (imaginary rather than actual Lodz),

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the painter asked: "Who can have the strength to paint with the tranquility of classics on such a volcano of contemporaneity?" To answer his question, the article repeated the basic call for change by embracing modern life, while contrasting Expressionism with Impressionism. But for Adler, the terms Expressionism and Impressionism seemed to have different connotations than for non-Jewish Expressionists. Expressionism was opposed to nineteenth-century realism, whereas Impressionism was regarded as the modern art of assimilated Jews.[90]

Despite the Expressionist style of many of their works, members of Young Yiddish were, in fact, careful in using the word Expressionism and avoided direct associations with German Expressionists. Aware of their minority status, they probably tried to avoid being associated with a culture that many Poles considered hostile to their identity, if not to their existence. Consequently, to stress the group's alliance with a contemporary art movement, the Young Yiddish room at the large exhibition at the Commerce Society (Towarzystwo Handlowcow) in Lodz in 1921, was called the "Salon of Futurists, Cubists, and Primitivists." Nevertheless, Expressionism was the first style that offered artists a way out of a more established canon, enabling them at the same time to engage in a dialogue with Jewish tradition. More generally, as Robin Reisenfeld observed in "Collecting and Collective Memory, German Expressionist Art and Modern Jewish Identity," the Jewish artistic community of the interwar period in Europe "drew comfort from German Expressionist artists' advocacy of individuality as an expression of a larger human spirit."[91]

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The case of Formists is emblematic for the Polish artists' move from perceiving Expressionism as an original artistic formation to equating it with German Expressionism and rejecting it as foreign to Polish tradition. Many future Formists traveled to Paris, where the word Expressionism was often heard.[92] Before this word became linked to their art and used in their manifestos, it was frequently found in the Kraków press. A number of artists and writers who lived in Paris sent regular correspondences, which were published in major art and literary reviews and magazines in Kraków and other Polish cities prior to World War I.[93] Polish-born Parisian critic, Adolphe (Adolf) Basler, occupied a special place among them, for he not only knew the French and German art scenes very well, but also made a name for himself in both countries as a perceptive art critic. Basler lectured in Kraków in 1912, referring to Kandinsky's *Über die Formfrage*, but the content of his lecture is known only from a short summary in *Rydwan* 11 (The Chariot, 1912). In 1913, Basler mentioned Western Expressionism as a stylistic formation, opposing it to Fauvism and Cubism, in correspondences from Paris published in *Krytyka* (Criticism) and *Museion*.[94] Basler placed Polish adherents to the movement in opposition to Neoclassicists rather than Impressionists, accurately observing that Impressionism in its original French version never fully developed in Poland and, apart from its few practitioners, did not gain much popularity among Polish artists until it reached an academic level, and stayed close to naturalism at the turn of the century. It was, in fact, Basler's Parisian perspective, partially indebted to Matisse's "*Notes d'un peintre*,"[95] that dictated such dialectics, for in writing his article he had in mind Polish artists living in Paris (such as Jacek Mierzejewski and Eugeniusz [Eugène] Zak), rather than Polish artists in Poland, who would develop interests in Neoclassicism later.

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For the Formist group, the first Expressionist exhibition on Polish territories was perhaps significant even more than Basler's and other critics' writings.[96] The exhibition was organized in Lvov (Lemberg in German) in 1913 by Herwarth Walden, who ran Der Sturm gallery in Berlin. Kraków and Lvov were crucial future sites of the activities of the Formists. The two cities were major art centers for Poles under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with strong links between the artistic communities in the two cities. Lvov, in fact, occupied a unique position in the history of the re-evaluation of Polish art because of the All-Polish Exhibition (Wystawa Krajowa) in 1894, which was the first major retrospective of Polish modern art.[97] The Expressionist exhibition opened in June 1913 under the title, "Futurists, Cubists, Expressionists" (Futurysci, kubisci, ekspresjonisci). Alexej von Jawlensky, who by then resided in Munich and exchanged correspondence with Walden, might have assisted Walden in making contacts in Lvov.[98] Ultimately, the exhibition took place without the Cubists and Futurists, but it included a number of important artists (presented as Expressionists), such as Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Meidner, and Bohumil Kubišta. Involved with organizing a Futurist exhibition at his new gallery located at Potsdamerstr 134a ("Gemälde und Zeichnungen des Futuristen, Gino Severini," June 1913) and the Erster Deutscher Herbsalon in the autumn of that year (which was advertised as a presentation of Expressionists, Cubists, and Futurists), Walden probably treated the Lvov exhibition as a less important satellite event, aimed at introducing new art in a new place, not knowing what the future consequences might be. Nevertheless, Walden might have cast an eye to the future while organizing the Lvov exhibition. Unlike his August 1912 exhibition in Berlin, the Lvov

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exhibition carried the title without the qualifying adjective "French," or "German," indicating that Walden wanted Expressionism to be perceived as an international movement, synonymous with new art. By including several artists with roots in that part of Europe, he was indicating, in fact, that Expressionism had a pan-European dimension.

The choice of a major art space in Lvov as site of the 1913 exhibition was an advantage, but it also imposed restrictions on the character of and publicity for a show organized by a private gallery in Berlin. An unsigned essay in the exhibition catalogue (Fig. 10) opened with a cautious statement that deserves to be quoted at length:

> The exhibition that we are opening for the public in Lvov aims at informing, and not at propagating. We do not care about propagating a movement represented by Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Kubista, etc. and pleasing those who formulate their aesthetic opinions on the basis of the latest foreign fashion, or about presenting German, Czech, and Russian Expressionists as an example for young people, who will [eventually] turn out to be artists. We want to show the audience in Lvov how to really look at those, whom one might see as a phenomenon, those who present themselves as pioneers of the new epoch in our aesthetic taste and social life, [and] those who present themselves as the creators of a new type of human soul.
> It would be unfair to talk about them and judge their works without quoting from what they say and write about themselves. Therefore, wanting to provide the public with an authentic guide, we quote fragments from the treatises, which were written by the adherents of this movement.[99]

The introduction commented in a polemical fashion on fragments from the *Blaue Reiter* almanac, 1912, published by Kandinsky and Marc, and from Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (On the Spiritual in Art), 1911/1912.[100] It discussed a passage from Rudolf Leonhard's article from the November 1912 issue of *Der Sturm*, which argued that objects in nature do not appear as finished, but are constantly metamorphosing in our

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vision: "Each thing is not only itself and this is what we paint: we paint this multiple aspect of things."[101] (This statement later inspired Formists in Kraków, particularly Chwistek.) Finally, the introduction also mentioned the text in the catalogue of the 1912 Expressionist exhibition at the Munich gallery, run by Hans Goltz (Galerie Neue Kunst), highlighting a statement about art creating forms for its own purposes, in a fashion similar to nature.

Although stressing the importance of artistic practice for Expressionism, the Lvov catalogue made reference to Expressionism as a movement interested in improving both social life and the human soul. Interestingly enough, Witkacy, who was commissioned to design the poster for the exhibition in Lvov (Fig. 11), executed it in a Cubo-Expressionist style that looks almost like a parody of an Expressionist painting, with two faceted figures with fierce countenances engaged in a violent struggle.[102] What makes the irony even more poignant is the fact that the title of the exhibition written on the poster reads, "Exhibition of Futurists, Cubists, etc., in the galleries of Lvov's Soc[iety] for Encour[agement] of the Fine Arts," therefore relegating Expressionists to the status of the anonymous "etc."[103]

By the time Walden brought his show to Lvov, Witkacy was already familiar with Expressionist ideas, which he reflected both in his art and theoretical writings, as did other Polish artists and writers in Kraków. For example, Z. Pronaszko published an article in *Rydwan* entitled, "Before the Grand Tomorrow" (Przed wielkim Jutrem), in 1914, in which he discussed the then current situation in Polish art and defined new

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artistic tendencies with the help of Kandinsky's writings. Four years later he republished his article with a new title, "About Expressionism" (O ekspresjonizmie), in the January 1918 issue of *Maski* (The Masks). In his article, Pronaszko restated and elaborated on his program of "a return to the picture." As did German critics from the period before World War I, Pronaszko used the word Expressionism as a generic name for avant-garde tendencies in twentieth-century art, synonymous with contemporary art and placed in opposition to "official art." "Today's Expressionism," he stated, "has its beginning in its predecessors, Neoimpressionism, which comes from Impressionism."[104] Earlier, he also discussed Expressionism in the catalogue of the First Expressionist Exhibition in Kraków in November 1917, (it will be further discussed in this study in the chapter devoted to Formism), which was the first exhibition of Polish art, in which Polish artists described themselves as Expressionists.

Kraków Expressionists began to be publicly called Formisci (Formists) during their second exhibition in Kraków in July 1918, which, in their opinion, enabled them to be viewed as closer to French Cubism than German Expressionism.[105] In 1919 Kraków artists definitely changed their name from Expressionists to Formists, suggesting—as the Formist Chwistek wrote in the catalogue of the Third Formist Exhibition in 1919—that the word Expressionists linked them too closely to German art. At the same time, Czyzewski gathered his thoughts about modern art in an article, "About the Newest Trends in Polish Art" (O Najnowszych pradach w sztuce polskiej), published in *Wianki* (The Wreaths) in 1919, in which he advocated the separation of art from life and the artist's instinct as the main driving force in making art, but without alluding to

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Expressionism.[106] Formists addressed the topic of Expressionism in their review, *Formisci*, launched in October 1919, which will be discussed in detail in the chapter devoted to them.

Toward the end of World War I, Poland was still divided into cultural zones, which were influenced by the cultures of the occupying countries. But Expressionism was differently received in different geographical locations, sometimes within the same zone. Such was the case of Lodz and Warsaw under Russian occupation. As mentioned earlier, Expressionism received significant attention in Lodz, mainly from the members of the Young Yiddish. It generated less interest in Warsaw. News from Germany was slower to reach Warsaw than Poznan or Kraków, because the city had official ties with Russian culture and Warsaw artists were particularly fascinated with French art. For Warsaw artists, Expressionism did not have the same strong ideological base as in Kraków or Poznan, both of which were more directly connected to Austrian and German artistic circles, particularly during World War I, when Europe was divided along military alliances. In Warsaw, Poznan artists' fascination with German Expressionism was, in fact, to a certain degree perceived as a sign of provincialism.

In its journalistic form, information about a new movement in Germany had reached Warsaw before the war was over. In 1917, the artist Waclaw Husarski wrote on the occasion of the First Exhibition of the Polish Arts Club (I Wystawa Polskiego Klubu Artystycznego) that the show included works belonging to tendencies which "Germans commonly describe with the term *expressionism*."[107] Toward the end of World War I, the

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term Expressionism in art was interpreted in general terms and beyond the realm of visual arts. While reviewing the Austrian art critic Hermann Bahr's writings on Expressionism, the Warsaw-based literary critic Irzykowski argued in *Maski* that "The word 'expressionism' has been found; it is now being explored for what it might stand for." He also stated that there was no local Expressionism in Poland.[108] A few months later, Irzykowski suggested, however, that the definition of Expressionism should include a synaesthetic reading of the arts: "What painters of the new style want is apparently **music for the eyes.** They do not want to imitate nature and it is wrong to compare their paintings to nature. They cannot be asked whether they saw [something] in reality,...[because] they saw it in themselves."[109]

When Polish Futurists appeared simultaneously as groups in Kraków and Warsaw in late 1918, the debates about Expressionism were still heated, despite the fact that its impact on Western art had significantly diminished. Futurists were primarily a literary group and the issues surrounding Expressionism in the visual arts were not of major concern for their writings. They were more interested in Italian and Russian Futurisms and Dadaism, which was far more attuned to their practice of staging performances and writing provocative verses and manifestos.[110] Like Dadaists, Polish Futurists chose to criticize art in general, rather than to react to earlier individual styles and schools. Their program aimed at challenging what for many Poles and foreigners constituted a major component of *l'âme slave*—Poles' attachment to Romantic tradition and its extension in Mloda Polska. With stronger ties to Russian than German or French cultures, they rejected the modernist ethos of unique creation, seeing it as a sign of the growing bourgeoization of

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Polish life. Futurism, with its emphasis on the performative aspects of art was some sort of an interval in the interwar history of Polish art. Without any significant artistic input in the visual arts, Futurism's influence on the development of Expressionism in Poland sprang from focusing on mirroring contemporary life while opposing its aesthetics to Mloda Polska. Futurists should be put in a transitional place between Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, and Formists and Polish Constructivists, and will be discussed as such in this study.

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PART II: ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES: FROM CULTURE TO THE POLITICS OF CULTURE

2.1 Poznan Expressionists[111]

As a group, Poznan Expressionists were the first to engage in an extensive dialogue with Expressionism in Poland, both in their writings and art. The group gathered around the *Zdrój* review, published by Jerzy Hulewicz between 1917 and 1920.[112] Hulewicz, a minor landowner, political activist, writer, painter, printmaker, and co-founder in 1916 of the publishing house "Ostoja" i Spólka (The Mainstay & Company),[113] was originally attached to the Romantic tradition and Mloda Polska. It took a group of younger artists, such as Adam Bederski, Stanislaw Kubicki, Margarete Kubicka, Wladyslaw Skotarek, Stefan Szmaj, and August Zamoyski, who formed the Bunt in early 1918, to steer the artistic direction of *Zdrój* toward Expressionism. The development of Expressionism in Poznan reflected, in fact, the changes within *Zdrój*. Those changes began with the support of Mloda Polska in 1917, then the review moved to an Expressionist phase during the Bunt period of 1918-19, and it ended in 1920 with a return to a program that rejected "militant" Expressionism for the monistic spirituality of Polish Romantics. As the group focused on literature and poetry in its late phase between 1920 and 1922, such spirituality was re-connected to beliefs in the richness of the inner self and *l'état d'ame* from the poetry and dramas of Poland's great Romantic poets, Slowacki and Mickiewicz. The Poznan Expressionists dissolved in 1922. Each phase of the group's existence was

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determined by the political circumstances in the transitional period toward the end of World War I, during which time Poland re-emerged as an independent state.

During the group's existence, Poznan Expressionists had different spokesmen: Jerzy Hulewicz, Stanislaw Kubicki and Adam Bederski, and later Jan Stur. They set the tone for other artists, poets and critics associated with *Zdrój*. Although organized in a group, Poznan Expressionists also had their own distinctive artistic personalities. In the turbulent times between 1917 and 1922, when Poland was struggling with the definition of its new identity as an independent state, politics seriously conditioned art. Poznan Expressionists' disagreement with conservatives in Poznan gained Zdroj, the group and the review, the label of leftist and anarchic association and publication (also described as run by Bolsheviks and Jews), which was a common strategy of the right to discredit progressive voices in the eyes of Poles. Poznan Expressionists both embraced and fought the intrusion of politics into their art, stressing the presence of spirituality in their program, then emphasizing the importance of socially conscious individualism, finally opting for the depolitization of their art. It will be argued that such transformations were highly influenced by the rise of Polish nationalism in the early 1920s, but should be traced to the beginning of *Zdrój* in 1917.

*

Poznan was closer to Berlin, than to Warsaw or Kraków. Poznan's proximity to the German capital had played an important role in developing the city's artistic life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It facilitated an exchange with German artists, but also made local Polish artists aware of the importance of having an independent

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artistic life. The Poznan Expressionists' program grew from artistic and philosophical concerns they shared with the European avant-garde, but it also sprang from the particularities of the historic situation of artists in Poznan and Greater Poland under German occupation.

Poznan played a strategic role for both Polish and German nations as the capital of a major agricultural region that produced potatoes, grain, and sugar. For Poles, Poznan was also important as a historic center of national culture. This role diminished, however, when Greater Poland began to undergo strong Germanization after the creation of the Wilhelmine Empire in 1871, which widened the separation between Poles and Germans, without significantly changing Poznan's role in German culture.[114] Official suppression of Polish culture by the German authorities generated a strong reaction from Poles. For example, Otto von Bismarck's speech, delivered in Poznan in 1894, in which he warned the German population against "the Polish nobility and its followers," raised the temperature of patriotic sentiment among Poles in Greater Poland to new highs.[115]

In 1910, Poznan was granted the status of a "city-residence" (Germany had only ten of them), which was accompanied by the erection of an emperor's castle, designed by Franz Schwechten. This privilege reflected the city's economic prosperity rather than its cultural vitality. In 1911, German authorities erected a new water tower, lavishly designed by architect Hans Poelzig, reinforcing Poznan's look as a distinctively German city. Such spectacular gestures by the German government only further polarized the city along ethnic boundaries, which was particularly visible among the upper and middle

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classes. Workers occasionally belonged to the same unions or political organizations (the Polish Socialist Party, for example, temporarily collaborated with the German Social Democrats), and some highly specialized groups gathered both Germans and Poles, but most cultural, religious, sports, and scientific organizations maintained strong ethnic and religious separation.[116]

In the very beginning of the twentieth century, Poznan had a few professional artists of Polish descent, almost all of them dependent on commissions from the local Roman Catholic Church. Occasionally, local Polish nobility (Jozef Koscielski, for example) provided scholarships for Polish youth to study in Germany. The situation improved with the appearance of two independent organizations with their own galleries: the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts (Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Sztuk Pieknych, known as TPSP) and the Society of Artists (Stowarzyszenie Artystow), both established in 1909. The Society for Friends of the Fine Arts represented a large spectrum of Polish artists, whereas the Society of Artists took on the mission of propagating art by local artists only. Polish newspapers, such as *Literatura i Sztuka* (Literature and Art), *Dziennik Poznanski* (The Poznan Weekly), and *Przeglad Wielkopolski* (Greater Poland Review),[117] regularly reported on major artistic activities organized by Poles in Poznan. Later, artistic life in Poznan became additionally animated with the arrival of a number of well-known artists, among them Dolzycki, Pautsch, Roguski, and Leon Wyczolkowski, who joined the School of Applied Arts and Art Industry (Szkola Sztuk Zdobniczych i Przemyslu Artystycznego), opened in December 1919.[118]

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Artists in Poznan, particularly those with broader international ambitions, reached across national divisions. For many of them connections with Germany were of vital importance, especially during their early education. J. Hulewicz, Wroniecki, and sculptor Franciszek (Franz) Flaum, all of whom played important roles in the Society of Artists and/or the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts in Poznan, lived and studied in Germany prior to World War I. In 1913, J. Hulewicz visited his brother, Bohdan Hulewicz, who studied philosophy and art history in Munich, and took private lessons with the painter Anton Samz.[119] Before being associated with *Zdrój*, Wroniecki studied at the Künstgewerbeschule in Berlin in 1907-08, where he received a solid education in printmaking from the respected Czech artist and set designer Emil Orlik, in addition to his earlier apprenticeship at the lithography studio run by painter and printmaker Antoni Fiedler in Poznan.[120]

Franciszek (Franz) Flaum (1866-1917) was well known in Germany. He first studied in the Königliche Akademie der Bildenden Kunste in Munich, then moved to Berlin, where he established his studio near the studios of Germany's main Impressionists, Lovis Corinth and Max Slevogt. Like many sculptors of his generation, he revered Auguste Rodin and Gustav Vigeland, and he passionately read Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, and Przybyszewski.[121] In 1906, Flaum and painter Ignacy Stryczynski created a Polish cabaret in the famous Café des Westens, located in the Charlottenburg section of Berlin, which attracted many Berlin artists. Flaum participated in the *Grosse Berliner Kunstaustellung* in 1902 and in the first exhibition at Der Sturm Gallery in March 1912, titled "Der Blaue Reiter. Franz Flaum. Oskar Kokoschka. Expressionisten." Despite his

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exhibitions in Berlin, Flaum could not adjust to life in Germany and returned to Poznan in 1913. He was elected head of the Society of Artists, and ran it until his death. A popular figure in Poznan, Flaum was certainly well known to Poznan Expressionists, but the impact of his art on them was very limited.

Jerzy Hulewicz (1886-1941) was the most experienced among the Poznan Expressionists. Before Hulewicz launched *Zdrój* in 1917, he had produced a significant body of work and was well acquainted with Western art. He made a number of visits to the West prior to his trip to Munich in 1913. In 1907, he traveled to Paris and the same year participated in the Salon des Independents and the Salon d'Automne, presenting, among others, a painting suggestively titled *Revolution* (Rewolucja, whereabouts unknown). In 1909, he had a solo exhibition at the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts in Poznan, showing rather traditional landscapes and portraits that gained him mixed reviews in the local press. Typical for Hulewicz's early style is a series of figurative works devoted to the devastation caused by World War I, painted in 1914-15, reproduced on postcards (Fig. 12).[122] Hulewicz's untitled works appear conventional (clearly indebted to the Symbolism of Jacek Malczewski) when compared, for example, to Wroniecki's series of lithographs also depicting the horrors of World War I, titled "War" (Wojna), 1915-16 (Fig. 13).[123]

In an effort to animate artistic life in Poznan, Hulewicz helped establish an art section of the Poznan Society for the Friends of the Sciences in March 1916, but the section's importance was limited due to the immediate internal conflicts within the organization.

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Parallel to his activism, Hulewicz continued to exhibit his art, having another solo exhibition at TPSP in February 1916. By that time he had written his first dramas. Among Hulewicz's works from that period, the oil painting, *Portrait of Stanislaw Przybyszewski* (Portret St. Przybyszewskiego), 1916 (Fig.14, known only from two reproductions in the second volume of Przybyszewski's *Correspondences*, published in 1938), was executed in a pointillist style, marking a new direction in his art.[124] But Hulewicz's thoughts went beyond how to advance his career or animate artistic life in Poznan. He wanted to establish a national forum for voicing his artistic ideas and to connect them to broader cultural and socio-political issues. *Zdrój* fulfilled his aspirations in 1917.

The first issue of the biweekly art and literary review *Zdrój*,[125] published in October 1917, opened with a long editorial note: "An incredible disorder that appears in the terminology for [describing] Art in Poland forces us from the very beginning to specify what we understand by Art."[126] The article, signed by J. Hulewicz,[127] proclaimed that the empirical (physical) dimension of life must be complemented by the metaphysical truth, which is accessible not through reason but through feelings. It quoted Mickiewicz's words: "Art is and can be nothing else but *illumination* ... what we call talent is nothing else but a union joining man with the invisible world, and Art itself—one of the knots binding man with that world."[128] The emphasis on Mickiewicz's writings served Hulewicz to link the review with Polish Romanticism, which, as mentioned previously, had been considered by Poles their national movement linked to the struggle for independence. During the November Uprising against the Russians in 1830-31 and the

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political and social unrest of 1846-48, which reached Greater Poland, Poznan played a vital role as a center of Polish culture. The city had major significance for Polish patriots such as Hulewicz, for whom local artistic tradition was a form of survival. The validity and strength of this tradition—Hulewicz believed—had been challenged by modern artistic movements.

"Our review," Hulewicz continued in an oratorical style, "does not serve the direction of the so-called modernism. Modernism is just a trivial name for timeless articulation inside the human soul, especially the Polish soul, for our basic 'Rebellion' [Bunt], 'Liberum veto,' and nothing else."[129] Determined to distance himself from the Positivist past that advanced realism and materialism at the expense of idealism, he declared himself to be against highbrow snobbism and the attitude "pour épater le bourgeois," as well as against all artistic "isms." On the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Hulewicz also distanced his review from the revolutionary rhetoric of a direct relationship between creativity and class-related social issues, calling it foreign to the Polish soul. He promised to voice freedom through art, or rather Art, which for him at that time was still synonymous with Symbolism, *secesja*, and Neoromanticism as aesthetic components of Mloda Polska.[130]

The review had ambitions to cover all arts, but in order to reference Polish Romanticism it focused on literature and poetry, which, as mentioned earlier, were by far the highest achievements of the first half of the nineteenth century in Poland. Literature and poetry deeply marked Poles' ideas about who they were and what their place was in the world. Defining *Zdrój*'s artistic and literary alliances, Hulewicz, in his article, referred to, in

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addition to Mickiewicz, the other great Polish Romantic poets, Slowacki and Cyprian Kamil Norwid, and two famous foreigners, Fredrick Nietzsche and Gustave Khan. Przybyszewski occupied a central position among contemporary Polish poets, writers, and critics listed as contributors to the review. Przybyszewski,[131] in fact, agreed to be the review's first editor, but due to his controversial reputation as an anarchist and a "Satanist," this information was concealed from the public until late 1917.[132]

By recruiting Przybyszewski for *Zdrój*, Hulewicz gained a mature writer with international fame, but also a highly opinionated person with definite views on just about everything, from art and literature to politics. Furthermore, Przybyszewski's place in Polish literature was rather precarious. He was mainly associated with turn-of-the-century German literature and culture rooted in modern animism, and he published mostly in German, which, for patriotic Poles obviously had a negative connotation.[133] Przybyszewski's artistic credo was known from the article entitled "Confiteor," published in *Zycie* (Life) in 1899, in which he declared: "Art has no aim, it is aim in itself; it is absolute because it is a reflection of the Absolute—the Soul. And since it is absolute, it cannot be enclosed within the frame, it cannot serve any idea, it is dominant, it is a source from which all life comes."[134] Przybyszewski propagated, therefore, art as a purposeless activity, art for art's sake ("sztuka dla sztuki" in Polish) in its dark Symbolist incarnation, which constantly evoked "libido" (chuc) and "naked soul" (naga dusza). He considered hysteria and hallucinations the primal forces behind human creation. Przybyszewski rejected the idea of artists' responsibility toward their nation (understood as statehood) and associated himself with anarchism.[135] In Kraków and Warsaw, where Przybyszewski

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spent a number of years working as editor of the prestigious literary magazines *Zycie* and *Chimera*, before moving back to Germany in March 1906, he was admired by a number of local writers and artists for being a provocative, original writer of international fame. But Przybyszewski, a *bête noir* of young Polish bourgeoisie, was considered dangerous in conservative, ethnically divided Poznan. He continued to generate controversies with his new works when he met J. Hulewicz in 1913. For example, Przybyszewski published a novel titled *Turtaios* (Tyrteusz) in 1915, in which he glorified the ongoing war. Like Filippo Tommaso Marinetti in his *War, the Only Hygiene*, 1911-15, Przybyszewski saw the war as a way to cleanse the world of egoism (the idea had many predecessors, going back to the stoic concept of *ekpyrosis*—an apocalyptic burning down of the world that leads to rebirth).

J. Hulewicz emphasized the continuity of Polish tradition in Greater Poland by conceptually linking *Zdrój* to *Przeglad Poznanski* (The Poznan Review), a short-lived literary periodical published in Poznan at the end of the nineteenth century, respected for its articles on major European and Polish writers and artists such as Strindberg, Oscar Wilde, Paul Gauguin, and the Polish novelist Maria Konopnicka.[136] *Zdrój*'s initial list of contributors was quite eclectic, including in addition to Przybyszewski the names of many prominent writers and critics of various artistic (and political) predilections from all three parts of partitioned Poland.[137] Zenon "Miriam" Przesmycki, the founder of *Chimera* and the soon-to-be Minister of Culture and Art in the first independent Polish government, agreed, for example, to write a regular column for *Zdrój*, titled "Visits to the Poets " (U poetow). The column introduced Polish readers to such European writers and poets as Artur William Edgar O'Shaughnessy, Teodor Tiutczew, and Jean Moréas.[138]

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Poland's leading novelists, Waclaw Berent and Stefan Zeromski, who belonged to the so-called "second wave of Mloda Polska," agreed to have their texts published in *Zdrój*.[139]

Having recruited an impressive group of writers to collaborate with the review, literature and poetry dominated Hulewicz's carefully crafted first issue. Ceding the role of literary expert to Przybyszewski, Hulewicz took upon himself the function of *Zdrój*'s main art critic. Hulewicz's article on French Impressionism, titled "The Impressionists" (Impresjonisci), was prominently featured in the section devoted to the visual arts.[140] Hulewicz was also responsible for the first issue's graphic design. *Zdrój*'s cover (Fig.15) featured his drawing of two peacocks drinking from a fountain. It was executed in rolling, ornamental arabesques. The articles within the review were accompanied by several of his Secessionist vignettes. With the omnipresence of Hulewicz's critical and artistic input on the pages of *Zdrój*, it was clear that he took upon himself the role of defining the review's general character.

The name "Zdrój" was chosen to stress the goal to nourish the development of contemporary literature, poetry, painting, and other arts in reemerging Poland by connecting them to the best artistic achievements of the past.[141] But the choice of *Zdrój*'s associates and the content of its first issue revealed that the publication had larger ambitions as well. From the very beginning, J. Hulewicz considered the review a platform for voicing cultural and political concerns, connecting them to the issues of Polish identity. He knew, for instance, that by reprinting fragments of Mickiewicz's patriotic speeches from the mid-nineteenth century, the review's first issue resonated with

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a symbolic call for preserving Polishness through the arts. But as much as Hulewicz felt a need to ignite patriotic feelings in *Zdrój*'s readers, he also desired to advance a program of the separation of the arts from patriotic obligations, at least as it was proscribed in the nineteenth century in partitioned Poland. To convey such a goal, Hulewicz propagated universal spirituality by giving a prominent place to writings of the Bengali poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore, reprinting his *Gitanjali* in Jan Kasprowicz's translation.[142] Tagore served to connect the review with the spirituality rooted in Eastern religions and Indian Romanticism. Such mysticism was also dear to Przybyszewski and Tadeusz Micinski, who were particularly influential in propagating eastern religions in Poland and would often be mentioned in *Zdrój*.[143] For Micinski, Eastern Spiritualism was connected to "Oriental" Heraclitus and his law of "circular" history, the so-called *enantidromia* " and the pessimistic" theory of unavoidable change and fluidity of form in the world, which was preferred to similar Western ideas, for example Bergsonian flux, by artists associated with *Zdrój*.[144]

Metaphysical thinking adjusted to the local Romantic tradition was crucial to the initial development of *Zdrój*. It played an important role throughout the existence of the review, helping to counterbalance its patriotic aims. The content and language of many texts published in the review confirms a serious interest in theosophical writings among authors and artists gathered around *Zdrój*.[145] Hulewicz's articles, for example, constantly emphasized the importance of "pure beliefs" that come from Knowledge and lead to Truth (he capitalized Truth, as if questioning Nietzsche's prediction that there no longer be Truth, just "truth" in quotation marks) and treat art, religion, and science as

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inseparable.[146] He wrote in his "Spiritus Resurgens": "We must establish for good that there are no different religions, just one; there is only one relation between man and the power called Theos, Jehovah, [or] God."[147] As much as Hulewicz anticipated free Poland, he also believed that Poland's independence could mark the beginning of a new Spiritual Era. Art was for him a broader form of religious experience connected to transcendentalism and linked to a specifically Polish Romantic Messianism, which he conveyed in a mystical story about spiritual transformation toward ultimate goodness, entitled *Samskâra,* written in 1918 (Fig.16).[148]

The previously mentioned article, "The Impressionists," published in two parts in the two October 1917 issues of *Zdrój,* was a turning point for Hulewicz in his reassessment of past art. The article attempted to elaborate on "what we understand by Art," promised in *Zdrój*'s editorial. It began with a long introductory passage that declared the alliance with spontaneous, "individual Art" (Hulewicz liked to capitalize art) as a manifestation of human genius, and questioned the validity of art historical accounts written by "specialists," e.g., art critics and art historians. Hulewicz credited Impressionism for influencing all of modern art, and placed it, together with Cubism and Futurism, among the most misunderstood styles. He followed with a short overview of the development of French Impressionism, presenting it in a sketchy fashion and dramatizing the narrative in a popular manner. Hulewicz also engaged in a polemic with several writers on Impressionism. In the second part of his essay, he mentioned Theodore Duret's *Histoire des peintres impressionistes,* 1906, and Haldane Macfall's *History of Painting,* 1911, and analyzed writings on Impressionism by Richard Muther and Julius Meier-Graefe.

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Hulewicz considered the German historians' approach to art as far too empirical, dependent on logic and "biological explanations." Muther was criticized for linking the birth of Impressionism to improvements in artificial lighting and to the invention of the steam engine, telegraph, and the submarine, therefore stripping art of spiritual significance. Meier-Graefe received even harsher criticism for stating that painting "is the art of astonishing the eyes with the help of line and color" ("malarstwo, to sztuka zachwycania oczu za pomoca linii i barwy"). Further advancing a premise that art must move beyond formal considerations and convey emotions, Hulewicz praised Impressionist artists for being "free spirits," capable of expressing their souls through a simple, honest approach to nature. He emphasized their individualism, raising it above the collective identity. When Hulewicz mentioned contemporaneous styles, he made a point of connecting them to past ones, stressing the continuity of tradition, which became a reoccurring theme in his writings. For example, he placed Futurism together with "decadentism and Satanism," probably partly on the basis of the above-mentioned similar approach to war between Przybyszewski and the Italian Futurists, and partly to deny Futurism any claim to total originality.[149] Hulewicz's reading of modern artistic styles was quite general, being witness to his desire to redefine the meaning of art for art's sake, propagated in his earlier writings.[150]

Simultaneously with articles on modern art, *Zdrój* began to record new attitudes toward art among younger artists in Poznan. Early signs of such changes were reported in the third issue of the review, dated November 1917, which opened with an article celebrating

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the centennial of the death of General Tadeusz Kosciuszko. With his status of hero of the failed Polish insurrection of 1794 against the Russians and the American Revolution of 1775-83, Kosciuszko was admired in partitioned Poland. His legend served to generate deep patriotic feelings among Poles and unite them across geographic and political divisions.[151] *Zdrój* reported also on Stanislaw Kubicki's lecture, "The Book and Criticism" (Ksiazka a krytyka), which was delivered during a meeting of the editorial board of Ostoja i Spólka.[152] Kubicki devoted his talk to the relationship between art and society, insisting on the necessity of the reevaluation of artists' responsibilities toward themselves and their audience and separating art from its *narrow* patriotic, but not *broader* social obligations. J. Hulewicz and, particularly, Bederski, who by then was turning into a radical spokesman for Poznan Expressionists, also insisted on keeping art and Polish patriotism apart. They spoke about the responsibility of society (understood as separate from "the nation") toward the artist, rather than the artist toward society. (They also suggested that "a creative moment is a moment of madness."[153]) The report in *Zdrój* mentioned those who believed in art's patriotic responsibilities, while pointing out that the problem was complex and required further illumination.[154] *Zdrój* promised to return to the subject in one of its forthcoming issues. The third issue of *Zdrój* also contained Bederski's poems, "The Canons Are Firing in the Voges" ("Dziala bija w Wogezach"), "Erotic impromptu" ("Impromptu erotyczne"), and "Spleen" ("Spleen"), accompanied by Wroniecki's drawing, *St. Sebastian* (Sw. Sebastian, Fig.17). With an overtly eroticized figure of the saint, Wroniecki's work conveys ecstasy and horror in a dramatic fashion, echoing Bederski's free verses about both apocalypses and sexual revolution.

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The following issue of *Zdrój*, also dated November 1917, contained a more direct attack on cultural conservatism in Poznan. Bohdan Hulewicz (who used the pseudonym, Nowina) castigated the attacks on Kubicki's "radical, expressionistic works"(known only by the titles, *Flowers* [Kwiaty], *A Town* [Miasto], and *A House* [Dom]; whereabouts unknown) shown at the September 1917 Salon of the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts. *Flowers* may have been similar to the undated watercolor, *Flowers in a Green Vase* (Kwiaty w zielonym wazonie), from the collection of the National Museum in Poznan (Fig. 18), which emphasizes angularity of forms and dramatic shortenings. The Salon's jury rejected Kubicki's painting, *Sunflowers* (Sloneczniki), for its cubist deformations.[155] As previously mentioned, in his article Nowina used the word "expressionist" for the first time in *Zdrój* in reference to Kubicki's works, but he did not elaborate on its meaning. Nowina also condemned the criticism written about Przybyszewski, Jerzy Hulewicz, Ostoja i Spólka, and *Zdrój*, suggesting that it was nothing more than a sign of local provincialism. The article took aim at specific adversaries: *endecja* (National Democrats) and the Roman Catholic Church, the last represented in the polemics with *Zdrój* by two Catholic newspapers, *Przeglad Powszechny* (The Popular Review) and *Gazeta Koscielna* (The Church Gazette). By that time, the Catholic press had already launched the strongest attacks on both *Zdrój* and Ostoja i Spólka, accusing them of propagating depravation and pornography.

Zdrój's conflict with the Roman Catholic Church and *endecja* had, in fact, deep political roots. As World War I ignited heated discussions about the future of Poznan and Greater Poland, *Zdrój* fought for their reunification with future Poland, which *endecja* and the

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Catholic Church disapproved of at this point in opposition to Pilsudski, embracing the separatist positions toward both Warsaw and Berlin.[156] The Catholic clergy and its press also objected to the review's interest in pantheism and "alternative" religions, especially Buddhism and theosophy, as well as *Zdrój*'s refusal to credit the institutions of organized faith with playing an important role in developing religious tradition in Poland under foreign occupation.[157]

What Nowina did not mention in his article was that strong reservations toward *Zdrój* were voiced from all directions. By late 1917, it became clear that the review had failed to attract broader readership and, as a result, began to experience serious financial problems.[158] Attacked from the left and the right, *Zdrój*'s publishers appeared surprised by the negative response to their review. Realizing their lack of success in generating broader interest, the Hulewicz brothers decided to aim at readers who not only accepted Przybyszewski's involvement with the review,[159] but wanted, in fact, to read texts more radical than Przybyszewski's. By late 1917, the Hulewicz brothers decided to seek direct assistance from young radicals, such as Bederski and Kubicki, which, ultimately, put them in conflict with Przybyszewski.

The December 1917 issues of *Zdrój* should be considered transitional between the initial program delineated by Przybyszewski and J. Hulewicz and the new one proposed by Bederski, Kubicki, and their colleagues. It was highly indicative of the approach to art by the majority of Polish artists and critics prior to Independence. The two issues did not contain any new statements and did not side with any artistic tendency. In the column

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devoted to current exhibitions, it was reported that Kubicki's art generated a "certain interest," but that the artistic season was "among the weakest" in recent years.[160] The art sections contained an article, written by critic Wladyslaw Kozicki, on the works of a traditional painter, Wladyslaw Jarocki.[161] The article is worth attention, because it shows how nationalism was re-entering the writings about modern Polish art by local art historians.

Writing from a conservative perspective, Kozicki stressed Jarocki's independence of foreign influences, stating that when the artist went to Paris, "[he] was already an artist with a well defined and crystallized physiognomy, which enabled him to disregard the cubist and futurist extravagances of the Picassos, van Dongens, and Matisses."[162] Nevertheless, according to Kozicki, when Jarocki returned from France, he brightened his palette and moved away from depictions of the "exotic" Huculs to the "native" highlanders from the Tatra Mountains.[163] Kozicki explained: "There is no doubt that this change benefited the artist, for the Podhale people [the highlanders] preserve the same primary strength and simplicity of the sons of the soil as the Huculs, but surpass them by far with the distinction of [their] costumes and ornaments, the intelligence and quickness of mind, incredibly lively and original humor, immensely lucid sense of orientation, and, finally, the noble tradition felt in its uninterrupted continuity."[164] Kozicki noticed new art in the West (Cubism and Expressionism) but called it a product of "eccentric artists" and "dissident novelties." As if to stress *Zdrój*'s commitment to a more traditional art, the issues with Kozicki's article were illustrated with J Hulewicz's ornamental vignettes.

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Zdrój's look and content changed in January 1918, with the appearance of Kubicki's poem, "The Prisoner" ("Wiezien"), accompanied by his print titled *Self-portrait* (Autoportret, Fig. 19). Kubicki's poem was written as a protest against a God who abandons man in moments of great suffering. The print displays expressionist angularity and flatness of forms unfamiliar to the earlier issues of *Zdrój*. By February 1918, prints by Kubicki, Skotarek, and Szmaj dominated the review.

J. Hulewicz and Wroniecki had played important roles in animating the artistic life in Poznan prior to and during World War I. It was a group of younger artists and poets, however, that accomplished a breakthrough in introducing Expressionism in Poznan in early 1917. First Adam Bederski (1893-1961) returned to Poznan after his studies in Berlin on the eve of World War I.[165] Then, Stanislaw Kubicki (1889-1943), accompanied by his German wife, Margarete Kubicka (born Margarete Schuster [1891-1984]),[166] arrived in the city in early 1917. Both Bederski and Kubicki studied in Germany and were active in Polish patriotic organizations.[167] By early 1918, Kubicki and Bederski gathered around them a group of young, rebellious artists, who had left Germany to escape the growing nationalism and to avoid being drafted into or deserting from the German army.

A few existing early works by the above mentioned young artists provide a valuable insight into their early accomplishments. Kubicki's early paintings were indebted to Neoimpressionism, Gauguin and van Gogh in particular.[168] Unlike J. Hulewicz who never completely abandoned naturalism and Symbolism, Kubicki embraced

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expressionistic and cubist deformations and simplifications early in his career. His oil on board, *Self-portrait I* (Autoportret I), 1911 (Fig.20), depicts the artist in front of a table with a stylized potted plant. Although the painting has a strong *secesja* feel to it, the artist's face and upper body are outlined with heavy, angular lines and painted flat in a manner closer to Expressionism. Kubicki's early watercolor, *House near Tegel* (Dom spod Tegel), 1913 (Fig.21), looks almost Fauvist with its focus on landscape, while relying on formal simplicity and boldness of colors. By 1913 Kubicki embraced a more distinctive angular Expressionism in his watercolor, *Pink Nude* (Rozowy akt), 1913 (Fig.22), executed in a primitivized style reminiscent, stylistically and iconographically, of the Brücke group, whose exhibitions he probably saw at the New Secession exhibitions in Berlin. Kubicka's works from this time display bold deformation as well. Despite being based on a view from her studio in Berlin, Kubicka's watercolor, *A Barge* (Barka), 1912 (Fig.23), looks highly composed in its arrangement of geometric shapes. By 1915, the Kubickis began making prints, most probably inspired by the revitalization of the medium by German Expressionists. Kubicka's print, *Self-Portrait*, 1917 (Fig.24), was already executed in a mature manner indebted to German Expressionism.

Both Neoimpressionism and Symbolism also had a major impact on Stefan Szmaj (1893-1974). In 1910-11, Szmaj studied art in Herman Groeber's private school in Munich and frequented the artistic circle around Przybyszewski.[169] During World War I, Szmaj served in the German army, but was soon released after he simulated an illness. He returned to Munich in late 1917. Recommended by Przybyszewski, Szmaj's works were published in *Zdrój* beginning in February 1918. In a letter to Hulewicz dated December

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28, 1917, Przybyszewski called Szmaj "an absolute Expressionist" (zdecydowany ekspresjonista), who followed "the star of the holy, mighty Rebellion [Bunt]" ("a gwiazda za ktora idzie, to swiety, wszechmocny Bunt").[170] When Szmaj met J. Hulewicz in Poznan in March 1918, he was well acquainted with the newest developments in art in the West, as his linoleum print, *Kiss I* (Pocalunek I), 1917 (Fig.25), demonstrates, displaying a combination of primitivist stylization and modernist fluidity of drawing reminiscent of Gauguin and, especially, Edvard Munch.[171]

Little is known about the works of Wladyslaw Skotarek (1894-1970) executed prior to 1917. Due to his relatively young age, Skotarek did not produce any major works before joining *Zdrój*. Between 1913 and 1917, he worked at the Artists' Workshop of Stained Glass Windows and Sacred Painting "Polychrome" (Zaklad Artystyczny Witrazy i Malarstwa Koscielnego "Polychromia"), established by painters Wiktor Gosieniecki and Henryk Nostitz-Jackowski and the architect A. Rejman in Poznan in 1912. At the beginning of World War I, Skotarek served briefly in the German army.[172] Skotarek's early drawings and prints display broad stylistic diversity. His drawing entitled *Crucifixion (Drawing I)* (Ukrzyzowanie [Rysunek I]), 1917-18 (Fig.26), is rendered in an arabesque line reminiscent of *secesja*, while showing folkloric stylization. His *Improvisation II* (Improwizacja II), 1917-18 (Fig.27), emphasizes movement in a fashion similar to the Italian Futurists and Franz Marc by arranging figurative and geometric forms, which he probably traced from templates, in a centrifugal pattern.

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August Zamoyski (1893-1970) was the only sculptor among the Poznan Expressionists. He was a count and the only independently wealthy member of the Poznan group (apart from the Hulewicz brothers). Before World War I, he studied economy and philosophy in Germany and Switzerland and art with Corinth in Berlin.[173] A Russian citizen, he was arrested in Germany during the war and sent to a detention camp. After the intervention of the Berlin-branch of his family, he was released and went to the German capital, where he studied art with Arthur Levin-Funke and Joseph Wackerle. In late 1916 or early 1917, Zamoyski and Wackerle moved to Munich to teach at the Künstgewerbeschule. At that time, Zamoyski joined Przybyszewski's artistic circle, and Przybyszewski introduced him to J. Hulewicz.[174] From the Munich period comes Zamoyski's bronze, titled *A Tear—Portrait of Rita Sacchetto* (Lza—Portret Rity Sacchetto), 1917 (Fig.28), which portrays the model (Zamoyski's Italian wife and a dancer)[175] as a modern Madonna, with her neck and head curving gracefully in the manner of an Art Nouveau statue or vase. The bronze marked a departure point from Zamoyski's earlier works, such as another *Portrait of Rita Sacchetto* (Portret Rity Sacchetto), also dated 1917 (Fig.29). Similar to other artists around *Zdrój*, Zamoyski's earliest works communicated a desire to combine Mloda Polska aesthetics with expressionist idioms.[176] A similar mixture of styles appeared in his drawings, which were often reproduced in *Zdrój*.

The arrival of Bederski, Kubicki, Kubicka, Skotarek, Szmaj, Wroniecki, and Zamoyski as leading contributors to *Zdrój* changed the review's artistic orientation in early 1918. What appeared a sudden turn was caused as much by the enthusiasm of young artists and poets as by the dated character of *Zdrój*'s original program proposed by Przybyszewski

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and followed by J. Hulewicz. The young radical artists welcomed Expressionism as attuned to the current development in art, linking it to a sociocultural, moral and spiritual revolution conducted mainly through pacifist means that included art. They criticized turn-of-the-century culture as elitist and overaesthetized and rejected dark mysticism, Symbolism and *secesja*, so dear to Przybyszewski. Interestingly enough, originally the young artists also rejected contemporary life, perceiving it as depressing and "ugly," embracing instead universal spirituality.[177] They wanted to remodel the review on radical German magazines, *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion,* perceiving them as superb examples of art and literary publications with clear artistic and political views.

For Kubicki and his colleagues, aesthetic concerns were important as a *means*, not a *final aim*. "Throw away all aesthetic [concerns] from our actions," Kubicki agitated in 1919, "throw away formal beauty from our paintings and poems, which till now have led artists and great spirits on the road of lies and dishonesty; let's look for truth!"[178] By embracing art with a social program, they automatically turned against Przybyszewski, who dubbed such art, "a *biblia pauperum* for those who do not know how to think or who are not educated enough to read proper textbooks."[179] By February 1918, when not only the influence of Bederski, Kubicki, and their colleagues on the review was apparent but the young artists already planned their first exhibition under the name of Bunt, Przybyszewski warned Hulewicz: "I am very concerned about the future of *Zdrój* if it passes into the hands of the young and very young.... And do not associate *Zdrój* with Bunt's exhibition...which in any case cannot be identified with it."[180] Przybyszewski

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argued further "for Expressionism, you Sir must search in yourself, rather than in 'Sturms' and 'Aktions.'"[181]

Przybyszewski sharply disagreed with the younger artists on the meaning of the word Expressionism and rejected the new Expressionists' emphasis on the need for the development of arts and culture. He objected to the new specificity of the term Expressionism, preferring to treat it more generally as a reaction to naturalism. "In the efforts of Expressionism," he wrote, "I only see a violent protest against the terror of nature and the world surrounding us, on which till now the artists slavishly depended, and the return to one reality: the self.... Nature does not shape his [the artist's] way of seeing, but it is the other way around: his individual, sensual, spiritual "seeing " forces nature to be formed by his soul."[182] Przybyszewski's concept of the long, syncretic expressionist tradition included El Greco, Francisco Goya, James Ensor, Munch, Vigeland, but also philosophers George Berkeley and Henri Poincaré. He considered Slowacki a great early Expressionist among Poles. As far as contemporary art movements were concerned, he rejected all of them as equally unimportant. "Futurism, Cubism, Expressionism," he wrote in a letter to J. Hulewicz in January 1918, "these are only stupid names for the eternal struggle between the soul and the matter....*I paint like I see!* I see with the eyes of the soul—and such seeing does not depend on any theories, any, brr!, school—I paint *like I* see, and not like Picasso, Matisse, Derain, and Delaunay."[183]

As if directly challenging Przybyszewski's rejection of possibilities for having "new" Expressionism, *Zdrój* announced in March that the upcoming special issue of *Zdrój*

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would be entirely devoted to young Expressionists gathered in the Bunt.[184] The April 1918 issue of *Zdrój* was, indeed, carefully crafted to give a prominent voice to Bederski, Kubicki, and their colleagues, leading to Przybyszewski's departure from *Zdrój* in July 1918, which J. Hulewicz accepted. Although Hulewicz was a writer who enjoyed the lofty and verbose style practiced by Przybyszewski and shared with the author of *Homo sapiens* and *Totenmesse* a great admiration of the idea of Art with a capital "a," he was also a practical man with a clear political vision.[185] Actively involved with political and cultural retrenchments in Greater Poland during and immediately after World War I, while expecting the upcoming independence of Poland, Hulewicz was aware of a growing need for art with a new political message, which, for its part, required a new artistic language. Therefore, he declared his full support for the young artists.

J. Hulewicz and his new young colleagues formed the Artists' Society "Rebellion" (Zrzeszenie Artystow "Bunt") in late 1917. The March issue of *Zdrój* announced the group's exhibition, scheduled for April 1, 1918, as a part of the yearly Salon of the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts. The exhibition opened on time, but as a separate show in a smaller alternative space on Berlinska Street. The last-minute change resulted from the rejection by the salon's jury of five works by members of the Bunt (four Zamoyski sculptures and a print by Szmaj) for their "indecent content." Bunt's exhibition at the new location became an instant *succès de scandale*.[186] The exhibition was accompanied by a special "Bunt issue" of *Zdrój* and the First Evening of *Zdrój* (Pierwszy Wieczor Zdroju), with lectures on new art and a poetry reading, on April 20, 1918.[187]

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The information about Bunt's exhibition appeared in the special issue of *Zdrój* under the title "Announcing a 'Bunt' Exhibition" (Zapowiedz wystawy 'Buntu'). It was written in advance, which can be deduced from the fact that it mentioned the gallery of the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts as its location, and used an addendum to correct the misinformation. Written in the form of a proclamation, the note, which appeared toward the back of the review, started by declaring the end of the old era in art, which was traced back to history painters Matejko and Artur Grottger, and ended with Wyspianski. The article announced a new rebellion in the name of freedom: "Here is Rebellion (Bunt), here is the breaking of the stale shell, here is tearing to pieces the holy tradition; a new banner of freedom was spread out in the prison of a dead tomb—and posted on its summit."[188] The article was preceded by programmatic texts written by Bederski, Kubicki, and J. Hulewicz, all of whom voiced the urgent need for change. Kubicka stated her credo in a poem titled "A Victory" ("Zwycięstwo"), written as a call for moral rejuvenation. In his "To a God-fearing Reader" (Czytelniku pobozny), Bederski rejected "the ancient Mloda Polska" and declared with a bravura: "We are young and we believe in the power of life—which burns inside us (after all!)."[189]

J. Hulewicz called his article, "To the Holy Rebel" (Do swietego buntownika). "Be blessed the Holy Rebel," Hulewicz opened in a verbose style, "for bringing Rebellion and holy protest against the imprisoning Spirit in one form."[190] The article was written as a litany to the eponymous Rebel, who fights for Love, Peace, and Victory of the Spirit. Hulewicz's text contrasted with Kubicki's "Remarks on Art" (Uwagi o sztuce), in which Kubicki, by comparison, stated with striking directness: "The struggle is carried out not

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for painting's aesthetic issues only... but for MAN and our DAY (which will come)."[191] In his "Remarks," Kubicki tried to reconcile the two opposites, which became a major dilemma for Bunt: the artist's belief in individualism as a source of inspiration and his sense of obligation toward society. Furthermore, what remained to be defined was what "society" stood for, whether it was a Polish community in Greater Poland, Poles from all three parts of the partitioned country, an international community of artists, or humanity in general.

The Bunt exhibition comprised eighty-five paintings, drawings, sculptures, and prints by seven artists: J. Hulewicz, Kubicka, Kubicki, Skotarek, Szmaj, Wroniecki, and Zamoyski.[192] Unfortunately, most of the paintings presented in the show are lost, only known from their titles and short descriptions in the reviews accompanying the exhibition.[193] However, a significant number of prints (mostly linocuts)[194] have survived. Seventeen prints and drawings were reproduced in a special issue of *Zdrój* called "Edition Bunt."

Kubicki's print, *The Tower of Babel*, also known as *Revolution* (Rewolucja; the title later given to it by Franz Pfemfert), 1918, was reproduced on the exhibition's poster, printed in two versions, Polish and German (Fig.30). The print depicts a violent demonstration, with a running crowd of people, with wide-open mouths, and a crumbling tower in the background, successfully combining a dynamic rendition of figures with an equally animated urban landscape. In another of Kubicki's Expressionist prints, titled *A Canoeist* (Wioslarz), he handsomely synthesized the figurative components to simple geometric

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forms without obscuring the subject. *A Canoeist* was featured on the cover of *Zdrój*'s issue called "Edition Bunt" (Fig.31).[195] The exhibition was clearly a collective manifestation of support for Expressionism, witnessing in particular formal and thematic affinities with the art of the Brücke and the Blaue Reiter. The show was also important for each of the participants individually. J. Hulewicz's print, titled *The Cross* (Krzyz), 1917 (Fig.32), marked a point of departure from his *secesja* and Symbolist works. Although one of Wroniecki's drawings reproduced in *Zdrój* recalled a medieval illumination, depicting Saint Francis seated on a rock and surrounded by water (Fig.33), his *Prayer I* (Modlitwa I, Fig.34) was already more highly expressive, both formally and in the treatment of its subject matter. *Prayer I* depicts a kneeling woman in a stylized landscape with a church and a cemetery in the background, all appearing as if spinning in a vortex. Among figurative prints with clear expressionistic deformation were Szmaj's *St. Sebastian* (Sw. Sebastian, Fig.35), Skotarek's *The Panic* (Panika, Fig.36), and Hulewicz's *Portrait of Stanislaw Kubicki* (Portret St. Kubickiego, Fig.37). Skotarek's *Panic,* which depicts a dramatic scene with a running crowd arranged like sunrays or explosions along converging sharp diagonals, became a visual emblem of the Poznan Expressionists. Zamoyski's sculpture *A Source* (Zdrój), 1918, with a male figure subduing a horse in a deadly struggle, was executed in an Expressionist style that juxtaposed curvilinear and angular-tectonic forms.[196] Of all the works in the show, Kubicka's *A Run* (Bieg), 1918 (Fig.38), synthesized movement in the most successful fashion, representing it as a pattern of diagonal lines drawn in various thicknesses. *A Run* was clearly executed in an open and calligraphic, slightly nervous, style, but organized

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with a discipline similar to the one in Kubicki's *A Canoeist* and to works of German artists such as Schmidt-Rottluff and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner.

Prints helped to stress Bunt's programmatic disregard for the unique character of the artwork and its status as a carrier of pure aesthetic values, as Kubicki would delineate in his article, "And to the Others, This and That" (Tamtym cos niecos), in 1919. Bunt's prints depicted "mundane" nudes, landscapes, still lifes, self-portraits, and mythological scenes, treated in a manner similar to the way such subjects have been treated in Eastern cultures (which traditionally view copying as a way of transmitting the experience of the past), but, above all, reflecting the importance of the medium and the subjects for Expressionist artists in the West. A significant number of prints were devoted to Christian iconography. Like German Expressionists, Poznan artists used the Old Testament as a provider of universal, pacifist subjects, which became particularly relevant during World War I. The religious motifs also helped to emphasize the Expressionists' conviction that form must reveal inner content. Particularly Polish was the Poznan Expressionists' interpretation of the Bible through Catholicism, similar to a version propagated by, among others, Paul Claudel in France.[197] Such readings of the Bible suggested a dialogue with God—who was severe but not indifferent—in order for man to transcend himself and become a better person.

By de-emphasizing the importance of aesthetic concerns, Poznan Expressionists turned their exhibition into a confrontation with the local cultural establishment and politicians as much as an artistic confrontation. J. Hulewicz commented on it in *Zdrój*: "When art

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becomes inconvenient...the cannons of morality are aimed against it....This tested gun guarantees at best the return to social order. This happened to the exhibition of Bunt."[198] The commentary appeared in the second April 1918 issue of *Zdrój* under the title, "A Coup" (Zamach), referring to the circumstances surrounding the rejection of works of the Bunt members by the Salon of the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts. The article condemned the lack of general understanding of art among Poznan reviewers who called the show—Futurist. To correct the terminology, the text included a footnote: "The Bunt exhibition does not contain works that have anything to do with Futurism."[199] Hulewicz's goals were limited, but clear: to challenge local artistic and political establishments, while dissociating Poznan Expressionism from being considered closely related to "foreign" influences, Italian in this case.

The closing of Bunt's exhibition in May 1918 was used by *Zdrój* to report on its reception in the local press, serving to lay bare the ignorance of the local critics about modern art. Czeslaw Ganowicz from *Kurier Poznanski* (The Poznan Courier) was quoted as describing Expressionism as "grown under the Italian sky and arrived to us via France" (wyrosl pod wloskim niebem i przez Francje zawital i do nas). Maria Ruszczynska from *Gazeta Narodowa* (The National Newspaper) was denounced for stating that Bunt propagates Futurism and deviation. Ignorance of modern art among local critics was exemplified by a quote from an anonymous review in *Dziennik Kujawski* (The Kujawy Daily): "The movement [Expressionism] has produced early exceptional works in Cubism by von Gogh (*sic*), Gangin [*sic*] (presumably Ganguin!), or Mass (certainly Matisse), which enrich the artistic accomplishments of France and the world."[200]

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Interestingly enough, to provide examples of positive reactions to the show *Zdrój* quoted from the German-language newspaper, *Posener Neuste Nachrichten*. The German review had the title "'Bunt'. Eine Austellung polnischer Künstler" and was signed with "Th." The article started by refuting attacks on the exhibition on the basis that it contained the works of "madmen." The exhibition, "Th" argued, "merits careful attention." However, according to "Th," the works in the Bunt exhibition displayed formal chaos that challenged established artistic tastes and were hardly interesting. Nevertheless, the show was praised for containing "quality art, superior to mass-produced objects," suggesting that such objects dominated in local galleries. Furthermore, "Th" pointed to an important characteristic of Bunt that escaped the attention of or was ignored by Polish critics: its connection to the approach to art propagated by Walden in his Der Sturm gallery.[201]

J. Hulewicz took upon himself the task of reviewing Bunt's exhibition for *Zdrój*. He kept his review mostly descriptive, devoting a comparable amount of space and praise for each of the participating artists. Kubicka was complemented for accomplishing a "total rupture with painterly habits and rules" and elevating religious themes to a level of higher "spiritual fulfillment."[202] Kubicki was described as a true rebel, who knows how to reject convention in the simplest subject matter. His prints were called the truly mature works in the show. Skotarek was extolled for making a rapid transformation from a rather traditional draftsman to an expressionist with "wild imagination." Szmaj's woodcuts and drawings were called highly expressive and devoid of academic routine. Wroniecki was complemented for a virile simplicity of drawing and the ability to cast new light on the

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war experience. Hulewicz paid special attention to Zamoyski, whom he called—"perhaps the most dominant [artist] within Bunt."[203] Zamoyski's works were described as "far from realism and heavy matter" (dalekie od realizmu i ciezkiej materji). The reviewer praised *Sansara* and *Zdrój*, but criticized the more traditional *Head of a Woman* (Glowa kobiety) and *Lech* (Lech). To give a complete overview of the exhibition, Hulewicz also discussed his own works, stressing that they were freed of Impressionism, which by now he blamed for stifling the artistic imagination of the local artists. Understandably, the review was overwhelmingly positive, using occasional criticism to enhance its credibility. As previously mentioned, Hulewicz concluded by inviting the public to see the show, which he described as presenting "the newest currents in art generally called Expressionism."[204]

Hulewicz also took upon himself the role of easing the transition from *Zdrój* under Przybyszewski to a position that embraced the Expressionism of the young artists. To justify such a sudden programmatic shift, Hulewicz criticized the "overabundance" of tradition in Polish life in his articles published between May and July 1918. But then, as if trying to make his statement less inflammatory, he argued that tradition is "salutary," if it springs from the inner life.[205] Above all, he remained careful in directly associating *Zdrój* with German Expressionism. Answering a letter by a certain "J.Ch. from P.," Hulewicz wrote in July 1918: "We do not slavishly hold to the name Expressionism. It should be used for necessary communication and nothing else. But to claim that 'introducing Expressionism to Polish art is nothing else than poisoning the Polish soul with a foreign element, often Semite' (!!)—sounds of such a disarming naïveté that it

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cannot be answered....We will soon publish in *Zdrój* a number of reproductions and original woodcuts by French and Czech Expressionists, and later by German and English ones."[206]

Przybyszewski took part in the discussion on Expressionism one more time in the article, "Expressionism—Slowacki and the 'Genesis of the Spirit'" (Ekspresjonizm—Slowacki i 'Genesis z Ducha'), published in *Zdrój* in several parts between July and December 1918. Written as a sort of farewell to the review, Przybyszewski attempted to defend his version of Expressionism. He linked "expressionist" Slowacki to modern science, German neo-Lamarckian ideas in particular, which he called a form of pre-Darwinian "expressionistic" evolutionism.[207] But arguing against pernicious Positivist rationalism, Przybyszewski stressed that science (dear to Positivist thinking but redefined in modern times) was capable of conveying the truth only if it became an "expressionistic" illumination of Spirit. He opposed alleged Impressionist literary readings of scientific and technological discoveries.[208] Przybyszewski defined the modern Spirit as *Mneme*, e.g., Leibnitz's *germe indestructible*. Stressing Slowacki's pioneering role as the first Polish Expressionist, Przybyszewski placed Slowacki's esoteric scientism in the chain of progressive ideas beginning with Plato and extending to Neoplatonic mysticism and the occult ideas.[209]

In his article, Przybyszewski rejected again recent Expressionism as having the latest word in art and literature. He also refused to connect it with earlier transformations of art, from the Romantics Mickiewicz, Slowacki, and Krasinski to the Neoromantics,

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Kasprowicz, Wyspianski, and himself. "Expressionism!," Przybyszewski lamented, "Jesus Maria! Again an 'ism'! For what and why? '*Pour épater le bourgois?*'...There is nothing new in the sphere of spirit, only a constant struggle, an eternal wrestling between Jacob and the Angel, a wrestling of matter with spirit."[210] But, Przybyszewski was unable to redirect Poznan Expressionists from the already taken path.

The critic of *Posner Neuste Nachrichten* was right. In forming its international connections, *Zdrój* originally philosophically allied itself with Der Sturm in Berlin. Walden's contacts with Polish artists reached back to the very beginning of his gallery in 1912. As previously mentioned, Franciszek Flaum participated in the first Der Sturm exhibition in March 1912, before moving back to Poznan in 1913. Walden organized the exhibition "Futurists, Cubists, Expressionists" (Futurysci, kubisci, ekspresjonisci) in Lvov in June 1913. Several artists, who exhibited at the Sturm Gallery, came from Poland.[211] However, despite his association with many Polish artists, Walden did not organize any "Polish" exhibition in his gallery, as he did, for example, with Czech artists from Prague.[212] Instead, Franz Pfemfert, who edited *Die Aktion* journal from its creation in 1911 and ran its Berlin gallery from 1917, organized Bunt's exhibition in Berlin.

Die Aktion (subtitled "Wochenschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst") opposed *Der Sturm* and Pfemfert attacked Walden, describing him once as a Tartuff (Molière's character known for his hypocrisy).[213] As an anarchist with roots in Poland (he was born in Polish territories under the German occupation), Pfemfert frequented the same circles as Przybyszewski, and Przybyszewski's articles were published in *Die Aktion.*[214]

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Pfemfert opposed the oppressive politics of Wilhelmine Germany toward Poles in Greater Poland. As a member of an international community of radical leftist intelligentsia, Pfemfert established extensive contacts with younger generations of Polish artists and writers interested in anarchism.[215] For example, Basler represented *Die Aktion* in France and contributed to it several articles on modern art.[216] Correspondence between J. Hulewicz and Kubicki has revealed that a similar function of a correspondent was assigned to Kubicki in Poznan.[217]

In mid-1918, a *Zdrój* alliance with *Die Aktion* was forged. It was indirectly expressed in *Zdrój*'s answer to a question from a reader as to which German publications were worth his attention. *Zdrój* stated in the Bunt issue of the review in April 1918: "From German reviews devoted to literature and art, we recommend above all: *Die Aktion*, Aktionsverlag, Berlin; *Marsyas*, Berlin; *Das Reich*, Hans Sachs-Verlag, Munich; *Deimon*, Verlag Brueder Suschitzky, Vienna. As far as *Der Sturm* is concerned, we could say that it is analogous to *Aktion* in its direction, but ideologically not as consistent, despite the fact that it has managed to gather a number of the most accomplished expressionists."[218]

The Bunt exhibition at the Aktion Gallery in Berlin opened with practically the same body of works as shown in Poznan. But probably in order to reinforce its political message, the exhibition was slightly expanded by, among others, Kubicka's painting entitled *The Agitator* (Der Agitator, whereabouts unknown). Pfemfert, devoted the entire issue of his magazine (21/22, dated June 1918, called "Sonderheft—Polnische Kunst,"

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Fig.39 and Fig.40) to the Poznan group's manifestos, literary works, prints, and drawings, most of them already known from *Zdrój,* and advertised the show: "1-30 Juni 1918 Kollektiv Ausstellung der polnischen Künstler vereinigung 'Bunt.' Gemalde, Graphik, Plastiken." The exhibition must have produced the desired results, for Pfemfert continued to exhibit artists from Poznan throughout 1918. Zamoyski was given a small show of his sculptures to accompany a larger exhibition of Heinrich Richter-Berlin in July-August 1918. In September, J. Hulewicz had a solo exhibition in Die Aktion gallery accompanied by a special issue of *Die Aktion* journal devoted to him (*Sonderheft Jerzy von Hulewicz,* Fig.41 and Fig.42*)*.[219] In addition, Pfemfert used prints and poems of Bunt artists in several other issues of his journal. As his collaboration with *Zdrój* consolidated, he was also instrumental in providing *Zdrój* with various articles and reproductions of works by major European artists, such as Alexander Archipenko, André Derain, Matisse, Georg Minne, Eli (or Elie) Nadelman, Pablo Picasso, and Egon Schiele.[220]

While Bunt's exhibition was open in Berlin, Kubicki published his article-manifesto, "The Poet and the World" (Poeta a swiat), in the July 1918 issue of *Zdrój.* He used the opportunity to elaborate Bunt's artistic credo. Kubicki stressed his, and his fellow artists' isolation: "Homeless and alone (of course that's how it must be) we await (want) our day, which we will not witness in our lives....The struggle for man continues—therefore we do not form any alliance....The world and the man are not indifferent to us....We are for the world, which should not lead to a conclusion that we serve 'society.' We serve humanity....But we should not forget that we talk about the perfect man."[221] Although Kubicki was one more time embracing a radical social program, he also stressed the

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importance of "Promethean" individualism based on faith, love, and sacrifice. The text was accompanied by Hulewicz's print, a stylized rendition of Three Graces as a single nude with three heads. To further popularize its program, Bunt engaged in various activities, including organizing the Second Evening of *Zdrój* (Drugi Wieczor "Zdroju") in August. During the Evening Bederski lectured on Arthur Rimbaud, his poems, as well as those of W. Hulewicz, Norwid, and Julian Tuwim, were read, and the Jewish actress and singer Mira Ziminska gave a concert of modern songs.

By mid-1918, Expressionism was omnipresent on the pages of *Zdrój,* with Szmaj's and Skotarek's prints prominently displayed. By that time Szmaj used a variety of styles in his prints, from bold Expressionism in *Orator* (Mowca), 1918 (Fig.43), to a decorative stylization of Polish urban folklore in *Gryfia* (Gryfia), 1918 (Fig.44), the second one recalling prints by Lyonel Feininger. Unlike the Kubickis, Szmaj never abandoned figuration, exploring instead ways of enhancing abstractiveness by repeating forms and dramatizing the subject matter (see, for example, *Idol II* [Bozek II] and *Idol II, Forefather* [Bozek II, Praojciec], both 1918, Fig.45 and Fig.46). Explicitly expressionistic was Skotarek's linoleum print *Walking Man* (Idacy), 1918 (reproduced in the Bunt issue of *Zdrój,* Fig.47), depicting a dramatically elongated figure in a schematized urban landscape with geometricized houses piled one on top of the other and dramatically deformed. Most of Skotarek's expressionist works from the period carried strong political and social messages, reflecting their author's leftist sympathies.

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While Poznan artists fully embraced Expressionism during the Bunt exhibition in May 1918, it took them several more months to spell out their official declaration of alliance with Expressionism. Such a declaration appeared in December 1918 in an article titled, "We" (My), written by J. Hulewicz. The manifesto was far less militant than the texts in the Bunt issue of *Zdrój*, focusing on art rather than politics or social programs. Fragments from Kandinsky's *Über die Formfrage* in Polish accompanied Hulewicz's text.[222] Hulewicz's periodization of the development in modern art in "We" echoed Kandinsky's *Malerei als reine Kunst*, 1914, with its three-step scenario: the first step being "realistic" ("practical") and historically lasting until the end of the nineteenth century, the second step being "naturalistic" (from Impressionism to Expressionism), and the third, the one to come—being "pure abstraction." "We" extolled the Gothic as a form of the ultimate expression of human creativity, and—like earlier declarations in *Zdrój*—placed Expressionism in opposition to previous tendencies in modern art. It stressed the importance of Impressionism, but pointed out its limitation on the basis of being unable to reveal the irredeemable "inner soul." From recent styles, the manifesto discussed Futurism and Cubism,[223] crediting them with breaking with the mimetic depiction of objects, but questioning their vitality as reflections of "new form," based on harmony (synthesis) of color and line (which J. Hulewicz previously rejected in his discussion of the writings by Meier-Graefe), new spirituality, and "NEW MAN," which only Expressionism fully conveyed. For Hulewicz, Expressionist works combined the synthesis of a depicted subject and the artist's emotional reaction to that subject.

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But the NEW MAN in Hulewicz's text was not the same as the New Man described earlier by Kubicki, an activist who used art as a weapon and who perceived himself "more or less a link in the chain of communality."[224] Hulewicz placed art on an equal footing with the artist and generically declared for the group: "WE are the Art, and the Art is us" (MY Sztuka jestesmy, a Sztuka nami jest).[225] He equated Expressionism with "new art," but opposed labels, particularly Futurism. By this time Hulewicz linked Futurism to the growing danger of communism and fascism. Hulewicz had to be also aware that while the artists in Poznan wholeheartedly embraced Expressionism in 1918, the movement was gaining the reputation of a German phenomenon, which in Poland had a negative connotation. Suspicion toward German Expressionism can be detected throughout "My." As if reflecting his views from "My," Hulewicz's works from this period, such as his series of illustrations to Slowacki's *Genesis from the Soul*, 1918 (Fig.48 and Fig.49), show a less radical approach to formal innovations, while revealing clear fascination with the art of Kandinsky.

Kubicki left Poznan to participate in the November Revolution in Germany in late 1918, precipitating changes within *Zdrój*. Bunt ceased to exist in its original membership in early 1919. Kubicki's farewell to *Zdrój* and the Poznan Expressionists was the "Issue Stanislaw Kubicki" (Zeszyt Stanislawa Kubickiego) from January 1919 (second January issue), which he edited entirely. Kubicki's print *Self-portrait* appeared on its title page. He chose to open the issue with fragments of his own prose, *Building of a Tower* (Budowa wiezy), written in 1916 as a "project for the stage," which called for an organized revolt against social injustice led by a Christ-like, simple and poor man.

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Kubicki considered his work a response to P. Adler's article, "An die Herscher," published in *Die Aktion* in 1916. In the story, the falling down of a symbolic tower (it stands for the fall of the modern state) produces unrest among the unprivileged, which leads to a revolution—a global revolution. "You will meet them, spectator," Kubicki ends his story, "marching through all squares of large cities, marching along all streets in the sunlight of a raising tomorrow."[226]

Fragments from *Building of a Tower* were followed by the previously mentioned article, "And to the Others, This and That," in which Kubicki agitated: "Friends! The time of action comes!...Write, print, paint, give speeches at meetings, in salons, on the streets, bother everybody and force them to decide! Do not wait a minute on any occasion. None of our actions will be in vain! Accelerate the reign of Spirit over the world. THE VICTORY OF SPIRIT – THIS IS OUR CALL!"[227] To give more power to his activist voice, Kubicki included in his issue of *Zdrój* a translation of the poet and critic Ludwig Rubiner's article, "Struggle with the Angel," reprinted from *Die Aktion*, which also called for artists to become politically engaged in revolution. Art, "activist" Rubiner argued, will belong to the masses, quoting Benedetto Croce: "Let's not forget that reality is our creation."[228]

By the time *Zdrój* presented the "Kubicki Issue," J. Hulewicz was not uncomfortable with Kubicki's radicalism (after all Kubicki was already in Berlin); Hulewicz had a different political agenda. He was concerned with the future character of Poland. In his "Organized Anarchy" (Zogranizowana anarchia), he described anarchism as a destructive

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ideology aimed at social and political unrest. For the editor of *Zdrój*, popular anarchy became synonymous with Bolshevism that led to bloody revolution. In "Spiritus Resurgent," he contrasted such revolution to "God's Kingdom on Earth."[229] But Hulewicz still considered the anarchy coming from the extreme-right parties to be much better organized, and therefore more dangerous. He called it "right-wing anarchism." He warned against such organized anarchy as an immediate threat to Poland's unity and declared that it could only be stopped from having further devastating effects by two politicians—Pilsudski and Ignacy Paderewski.[230] He called for acceptance of the democratically elected government in Warsaw as the sole legal authority for the entire country.

Zdrój practically abandoned its radical program of global social justice in mid-1919 and, at the same time, returned to giving priority to literature over the visual arts. The review became temporarily dominated by a group of young poets from Warsaw known as the Skamandrites,[231] led by Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, whom the critic Jan Stur (who soon became the group's main spokesman) called an Expressionist "sans le savoir (mais pas: de metier)."[232] *Zdrój* began to publish new authors, such as Emil Zegadlowicz, Zenon Kosidowski, and Józef Wittlin.[233] The Kubickis' presence on the pages of *Zdrój* was clearly downplayed. As the review reshuffled its artistic alliances one more time, it defended Przybyszewski against the attacks of the conservative press, *Kurier Poznanski* in particular, which called the writer a traitor who sided with the Germans during the war. *Zdrój* praised Przybyszewski for being a great mind who opposed materialism with occultism, occultism no longer interpreted as an esoteric religion but as a scientifically

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sound philosophy.

The anticipation of the independence of Poland created a growing need among Poznan Expressionists for stronger connections with artists from other parts of the country. By 1918, they had become active in establishing contacts with other avant-garde groups in Poland, developing particularly close ties with the artists in Kraków, who were then known as Expressionists.[234] In result, J. Hulewicz and Szmaj participated in the Second Exhibition of Polish Expressionists (II Wystawa Ekspresjonistow Polskich i Buntu) in June 1918 in Kraków, but they presented only prints since most of their works were being shown in Berlin. Zamoyski and J. Hulewicz were included in the First Exhibition of Formists in Warsaw in April 1919. Poznan Expressionists also contacted members of Young Yiddish in Lodz. In November 1919, the review *Young Yiddish* published information about a planned exhibition of Young Yiddish and Bunt in Poznan, scheduled for December 15, and in other Polish cities, but for unknown reasons the exhibition never took place.[235] Bunt's collaboration with Young Yiddish, in fact, never fully materialized, although the individual members of both groups—Kubicki, Kubicka, Adler and Lindenfeld, in particular—established long-lasting relationships.

The original drive that gathered together the avant-garde groups in various parts of Poland was basically short-lived. The collaboration between Bunt and the Formists peaked in December 1919 in the Exhibition of Paintings and Sculptures of the Formists and Bunt (Wystawa Obrazow i Rzezb Formistow i Buntu) in Poznan, with works by major Formists: the brothers Pronaszko, Czyzewski, Chwistek, Jan Hrynkowski, and

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Witkacy. J. Hulewicz, the Kubickis, Szmaj, and Wroniecki represented Bunt. For the Bunt, the exhibition served to show its commitment to universalism. Szmaj exhibited a series of prints titled "The Poplars" (Topole), 1919, formally influenced by Schmidt-Rottluff, with rhythmically arranged rows of trees shooting to the sky, avoiding any allusions to political or social issues which had caused them problems during the Bunt exhibition in April 1918.Wroniecki presented, among other works, the print *Madmen* (Oblakani), 1919 (Fig.50), a work in which he addressed the subject of war, this time focusing on individual human dramas in the manner of Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, and Georg Grosz. Only J. Hulewicz delivered a strong political message by presenting a print, entitled, *Portrait of Commander Pilsudski* (Portret Naczelnika Pilsudskiego), c. 1919 (Fig.51),[236] which had to be perceived as a declaration of solidarity with Pilsudski's campaign for integrating Greater Poland into the reemerging Polish state.[237] The Exhibition of Paintings and Sculptures of the Formists and Bunt demonstrated a shift in the power structure within Bunt. With the Kubickis already in Germany since late 1918, their importance for Bunt was downplayed by including only a few of their earlier prints. At the same time, the exhibition recognized the adherence of the two new artists to Bunt: Jan Panienski (1900-1925) [238] and Artur Maria Swinarski (1900-1965),[239] who showed twenty-two works each, more than any other participant. Panienski prints, such as *Leda*, 1918 (Fig.52), displayed boldly Expressionist forms, showing the legendary figure as a reclining nude with a swan on top of her in a pose that suggests violent sexual intercourse. Taking advantage of the possibilities of the print medium for creating strong contrasts of white and black, Panienski achieved a dramatic effect by opposing the white flash of Leda with the black body of the swan. He mimicked the shape of two intertwined

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bodies in a simplified landscape. Swinarski had distinguished himself with a calligraphic style with overt religious content. His *Saint Francis* (Swiety Franciszek), 1919 (Fig.53), depicts a praying saint with his hands raised as during the liturgy. The angular silhouette of Saint Francis is framed by a network of curving lines, enhancing the sense of upward movement to raising of the host by a priest. The whole image resembles a stained-glass window.

In 1919, Bunt could have found allies among the Polish Futurists, but by the time they had appeared in Kraków and Warsaw, Poznan Expressionists had moved away from the radicalism of the Bunt phase and tuned against art with social aims. However, *Zdrój* regularly reported on the activities of the Futurists in Poland.[240] In fact, the November 1919 issue of *Zdrój* was devoted to Futurism, reprinting various texts by Marinetti, Bruno Corra, and Giovanni Papini, along with Radoslaw Krajewski's extensive study devoted to Polish Futurism. Krajewski's article is an original early assessment of Polish Futurism, which deserves closer attention.

Krajewski linked the beginnings of Polish Futurism to the Polish predilection for imitating foreign models, which he described as "papugizm"—literally translating as "parrot-ism." He credited poet Jerzy Jankowski for writing the first Futurist poems in Poland, stating that Jankowski did it after he read Walt Whitman, Marinetti, and Emile Verhaeren while translating their texts for the magazine *Tydzien* (The Week) in 1912. Taking Jankowski's collection of poems entitled *Tram Athwart the Street* (Tram wpopszek ulicy) as the subject of his analysis, Krajewski isolated nine general characteristics of early Polish Futurism: (1)

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The cult of the future (kult przyszlosci), (2) Ultra-nationalism—the return to panslavism (ultranarodowosc), (3) Neohumanism (neohumanizm), (4) "Sunny Slavonic paganism (sloneczny poganizm slowianski), (5) Cosmic Consciousness (swiadomosc kosmiczna), (6) The Cult of creative genius (kult geniuszu tworczego), (7) Urbanism (urbanizm), (8) The struggle against "papugizm" (walka z "papugizmem"), (9) Interest in new artistic materials (o nowe tworzywa w sztuce). Krajewski characterized Polish Futurism as inspired by "Whitmanian Futurism of creative spirit, broad social democracy, and high individuality."[241]

Clearly dissatisfied with Krajewski's reading of Futurism, J. Hulewicz published his analysis of Futurism in the same December 1919 issue of *Zdrój*. In the article "About 'Polish Futurism'" (O "futuryzmie polskim"), he objected to equating Futurism with Jankowski only, and suggested that the name Futurism should be reserved for the specific movement that had originated in Italy. For J. Hulewicz, Jankowski deserved as much to be called a "Futurist" as "Bederski, Tuwim, Horzyca, Wittlin, Zegadlowicz, Kubicki, and others," that is, as any other contemporary Polish poet. Hulewicz defended German Futurism (in literature), which Krajewski criticized for lacking metaphysical value, arguing that the metaphysical component was an integral part of works by Franz Werfel, Franz Jung, Else Lasker-Schüller, and Georg Heym. He suggested treating Russian Futurism particularly carefully, because the movement was practically unknown in Poland due to the lack of information from Russia caused by the war. As far as "papugizm" was concerned, the editor of *Zdrój* argued that Krajewski only repeated the easy accusations of many Polish critics who found foreign influences in everything and therefore spread—"papugomania."[242] Despite Hulewicz's nuanced interpretation of the

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movement, *Zdrój*'s attitude toward Futurism was basically negative throughout the existence of the review.[243]

Politics further interfered also with *Zdrój*'s previous alliances in late 1918 and 1919. The November Revolution in Germany had put a sudden halt to the collaboration between the Poznan Expressionists and *Die Aktion*. As political divisions along ethnic lines widened in Greater Poland, Pfemfert was first denounced for supporting the politics of *Kulturkampf*, which had some progressive meaning in Germany but had chilling connotations for Poles.[244] The creation of Poland's provisional government after Pilsudski's return to Warsaw from Magdeburg prison gave the green light to Polish insurrection in Greater Poland in December 1919, leading to the independence of the province from Germany. For the moment, the key members of Bunt ceased to focus on art. The Kubickis left Poznan to participate in the November Revolution and the Spartacist uprisings in Berlin. Hulewicz engaged in organizing support for Pilsudski in Greater Poland.[245] Wroniecki, Bohdan Hulewicz and Witold Hulewicz joined the Polish military forces during the uprising against the Germans. Skotarek joined the leftist Council of Workers and Soldiers (Rada Robotnikow i Zolnierzy) in late 1919. Szmaj would join Pilsudski's Legions as a doctor to fight Russians on the eastern front in 1920. *Zdrój* announced the final break with *Die Aktion* in July 1920, after Pfemfert declared his support for Soviet Russia during the Polish-Soviet war of 1920-21. Answering a reader, *Zdrój* declared: "What can connect *Zdrój* with the German, Bolshevik review *Die Aktion*—You ask, Madam. We answer: absolutely nothing...From the original high level it started rapidly to descend in the whirlpools of brutal, blood-thirsty Bolshevism."[246]

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In 1920, *Zdrój* gradually returned to Polish Romanticism and sided with nationalist politics. With Kubicki in Germany, Bederski involved with his studies, and J. Hulewicz concentrating on making new art and writing novels,[247] Jan Stur (Henryk Feingold, 1895-1923), a young critic and poet from Lvov, gradually took on the role of major spokesman for the review. He first dissociated the review from the Skamandrites, who promoted poetry based on classical versification. Stur declared a return to romantic belief in the close correlation between art and directly expressed existence (*byt*) and predicted the future victory of the all-embracing, eternal Spirit. Expressionism was once again closely linked to Romanticism.[248] In an article, "The Highest Achievements: Kasprowicz, Zeromski, Berent, and Przybyszewski" (Szczyty: Kasprowicz, Zeromski, Berent, Przybyszewski), Stur praised Przybyszewski for "knowing from the very beginning which way the matters of this world go."[249] Stur also advocated turning the power over art to the new Polish government. In the days of fast-growing nationalism, Bunt's mixture of Socialist ideas, colored by collective anarchism á la Bakunin, was considered anachronistic and, perhaps, too utopian for the new *Zdrój*. Stur's "centrist position" came with loyalty to Pilsudski, who, by this time, advocated the so-called "federalist program" of Poland's reunification with its old provinces under one leadership.[250]

A new, uniquely literary group called Zdrój replaced Bunt in 1920. Its members included, among others, Stur, Zegadlowicz, Kosidowski, and from the previous members of Bunt: J. Hulewicz, W. Hulewicz, Stokarek, and Panienski. The new Zdrój group embraced a program, earlier delineated by Stur in his article, "Expressionism," published first in

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Lvov in 1919: "Slowly, awkwardly, but by a step, by two—we approach the peace. After a shorter or longer time we will return to the daily occupations and—to Art. And then we will be greeted by a rebellion in the domain of beauty—from political and social changes—no smaller by any means."[251] Stur declared the abandoning of the idea of art with populist appeal, so dear to Kubicki and his colleagues: "already [Stanislaw] Brzozowski said that all changes in 'culture and art' take place on summits. The mass—the people—know very little about them, and very few participate in them."[252] In the article, "What We Want" (Czego chcemy), Stur declared the beginning of "the third stage" in the review's development—moving toward "The Spirit and the Synthesis," rather than Chaos and Analysis. He described Expressionism as the continuation of Romanticism. Stur rejected materialism in favor of an escapist belief in the essential spirituality of humanity. But Stur's Romanticism was basically the solipsistic Romanticism of early Slowacki (Kazimierz Wyka called it "hiperromanticism")[253] rather than Mickiewicz, totally different from internationalist "revolutionary Romanticism" as propagated by Bunt in 1918.[254] Stur, who came from Lvov, stressed, in fact, that Lvov was located further to the East than Poznan, therefore less influenced by the West, which he considered to be beneficiary for cultivating spiritualism.[255] Choosing to take a centrist, nationalist position, Stur rejected the programs of both the conservatives and the radicals, blaming the latter for turning art into chaos. The new *Zdrój* also dissociated itself from other Polish avant-garde groups, but still clung to the term Expressionism:

> We oppose Futurism, which has overwritten the expressions of life in the twentieth century, and which does not celebrate the [power of] human spirit, in its essence (and depth) unchangeable and immortal, but, instead [it glorifies] the mechanistic speed of civilization and its (negative) consequences on the surface of the soul.

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> We oppose Formism, which looks only for new style, new form, disregarding that form which [springs] from content, that style can be created by man only, meaning by man's soul.
> You hear what we oppose.
> You hear what we aspire to
> And now try to understand us, and above all—to
> Feel
> Us—Expressionists![256]

By 1920, the members of Bunt followed separate directions. Wroniecki left the group in 1920, at the same time becoming the first of the initial members to abandon Expressionism.[257] As his farewell, Wroniecki contributed a cover to the thirteenth issue of *Zdrój*, dated November 1920, which showed his interest in stylized figuration without Expressionist deformations (Fig.54). J. Hulewicz continued making Expressionist prints, treating the subject more abstractly, for instance in his *The Kiss of Judas* (Pocalunek Judasza), 1920 (Fig.55). Hulewicz's works from the period between 1919 and 1920, such as *The Temptation of Christ* (Kuszenie Chrystusa), 1919 (Fig.56), and *The City* (Miasto), c. 1920 (Fig.57), are among his best works. They display a total command of the medium of printmaking and embrace bold angularity and frontality.[258] In 1920, together with Zegadlowicz, J. Hulewicz opened a tapestry workshop, producing carpets, pillows, and curtains of their own design. Hulewicz remained committed to printmaking and joined a newly established Society of Graphic Artists (Zwiazek Artystow Grafikow) in Poznan in 1922. He eventually withdrew from artistic activities and engaged in mystic practices.[259]

Although Kubicki never totally abandoned figuration in the 1920s, he abstracted a significant body of his works. Kubicki's linocut *A Breakdown* (Zalamanie), 1919 (Fig.58) and his oil painting, *Der Eintretende* (An Entering One), 1919 (Fig.59), "veil" figurative

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forms in a prismatic composition. As if witnessing his temporary disappointment with the results of his political activism, his works were often given "neutral" titles such as *Lilies*, *Sunflowers*, *Stars*, and *A Window at Night*. Kubicka turned to works with personal subjects, such as the watercolors, *Ein Kind wird geboren*, 1922 (Fig.60), and *L' amour*, 1924 (Fig.61), in which she endowed semi-abstract forms with great brightness of colors, reminiscent of Marc. Skotarek also gradually gravitated toward abstraction, inspired by Kandinsky and younger artists associated with Der Sturm gallery, such as Rudolf Bauer and Johannes Molzahn. In works produced in 1919 in 1920, such as an untitled print from the series "Forms" (Formy), *Improvisation VII* (Improwizacja VII), Skotarek turned to forms built of sweeping curves with biomorphic associations placed in landscapes with a near-cosmic feel to them. Szmaj, who remained close to the Kubickis, experimented with formal aspects of printmaking. His two series of "The Poplars," 1919-20 (Fig.62 and Fig.63), consolidate his knowledge and understanding of the Brücke prints, Schmidt-Rottluff's in particular.[260] Zamoyski, for whom Expressionism was synonymous with contemporary art rooted both in mysticism and atavistic primitivism, turned toward abstracting art as a way of establishing interconnections between lines, colors, and shapes.[261] After settling in Paris in 1922, Zamoyski took an interest in synthetic Cubism in a manner close to the works of the Czech sculptor Otton Gutfreund, who was popular in Germany. Zamoyski's plaster sculpture, *Portrait of Adolf Loos* (Portret [or, Glowa] Adolfa Loosa, Fig.64), n.d. (reproduced in *Swiat* 3, 1924), and his *Portrait of Louis Marcoussis* (Portret [or Glowa] Loiusa Marcoussisa, Fig.65), undated, successfully applies the Cubist syntax to sculpture by treating the human physiognomy and head as highly synthesized forms.

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In 1920, both Swinarski and Panienski consolidated their artistic goals. Swinarski's shift toward abstraction is apparent in his *The Annunciation* (Zwiastowanie), 1920 (Fig.66), with a network of interlocked lines and planes organized in an abstract image placed off-center. The juxtaposition of straight and curved lines creates tension, while an eye-like shape in a triangle (a traditional symbol of the Holy Ghost) in the center of the composition serves to suggest specific associations of religious iconography. Despite a promising career, Swinarski abandoned art for literature and poetry in 1920, apparently disappointed with Expressionism and the internal politics of *Zdrój*. In 1922, he began working as Witkacy's personal secretary.[262]

Panienski spelled out his artistic credo in an article, "Expressionism and Natural Sciences (from the Artist's Perspective)" (Ekspresjonizm i nauki przyrodnicze [ze stanowiska plastyka]), published in the July 1920 issue of *Zdrój*. As a new way of interpreting Expressionism, the article deserves closer attention. Looking for a theoretical base for his art, Panienski chose in his text to compare Expressionism with the natural sciences in a manner similar to the one used by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.[263] He started by establishing the opposition—Impressionism vs. Expressionism—familiar from many other texts by Poznan Expressionists as well as others. Expressionism represented twentieth-century man, caught in bloody revolutions and powerless before the amorphousness of life. "Panta rei"—Panienski quoted Democritus in his article: man is only a tiny movable part of the Universe. "The contemporary artist is," Panienski stated, "not only a man who knows how to draw and paint, but a philosopher, a naturalist, a

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mystic, and a priest of the new yet ancient religious faith." Scientific discoveries of Albert Einstein, Ernst Rutherford, and C.T.R. Wilson convinced Panienski that matter is not "real," since it constitutes a part of the dynamic, electromagnetic field in which atoms function as equivalents of electromagnetic impulses. For Panienski, similar logic had brought artists to Expressionism. "At the end," he wrote, "the entire question of form in new Art leads toward abandoning of matter, as in science."[264]

Panienski refused to praise pure scientific rationality, viewing it as suitable for the French to invent cubist dematerialization of objects but an obstacle for the Expressionists' desire of producing non-deterministic "metaphysical sensations." The true reflection of its time, Expressionism was for him the only style that successfully reduced the presence of objects (the matter) in painting more than literature and, therefore, surpassed modern physics in moving toward pure abstraction. He interpreted straight lines and geometric planes in expressionist paintings as ciphers (he calls them *phantoms*) of invisible inner energy and thoughts released by the artist's subconscious. Panienski's article envisioned art and science as paralleling each other, while intersecting with each other only occasionally. It concluded by stating the superiority of art over science on the basis of the superiority of feelings over reason. By 1921, Panienski practically had eliminated figurative elements from his works. *Composition* (Kompozycja), 1921 (reproduced in *Zdrój* 12, Fig.67), looks like a pictograph with overlapping curves and straight lines arranged in an abstract pattern. It recalls Werner Graeff's tempera on paper, *Rhythm Study for Itten's Preliminary Course*, ca. 1920. Panienski's works after 1921 are unknown. In 1922, he moved to Gdansk (Danzig) and married the writer, Stanislawa

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Przybyszewska, who was an illegitimate daughter of Przybyszewski.[265] (Panienski moved to Gdansk around the same time that Huelsenbeck moved there from Berlin, before coming to America.)

Expressionism continued to be discussed on the pages of *Zdrój*, not as much as a specific movement but rather, more successfully, as a form of a complex inner expression, while alluding to the psychological and "biological explanations" that Hulewicz previously criticized in his article, "Impresjonisci." For example, critic Stanislaw Marcus divided Expressionism into "material" and "abstract" in his "Psychological and Philosophical Sources of Expressionism" (Psychologiczne i filozoficzne zrodla ekspresjonizmu), in the October 1920 issue of *Zdrój*. Material Expressionism was based on the deformation and simplification of objects in painting that served to enhance the dynamic effect. Abstract Expressionism was based purely on a "play of lines, colors, and planes" and in its "extreme case" resembled music. He considered Kurt Schwitters' *Abstractions* as perfect examples of works based on formal logic close to music.[266] Marcus stressed that Expressionism was grounded in irrationality, and, therefore, he extended his discussion to analyzing affinities between Expressionist art and hypnagogic visions (he calls them "pre-dreams," "obrazy przedsenne," in Polish). Marcus connected his ideas to the research in the phenomenology of perception by Edward Abramowski and Jozefa Kodisowa. He also consulted Bergson's interpretation of intuition.[267] Unlike Formism (and Dadaism)—Marcus argued—Expressionism could combine intuition with reason (rather than relying on intuition only). He mentioned Swinarski's print *The Pianist* (Pianista), 1919 (whereabouts unknown), as an example of the successful application of

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deformation in Expressionism in order to enhance dynamism. Interestingly enough, Marcus's article was accompanied by Chwistek's drawing, *Composition* (Kompozycja), which had been used on the cover of the catalogue for the Third Exhibition of Formists in Kraków in 1919.[268]

The review *Zdrój* ceased to exist in late 1920, although one more issue (quarterly) was published in March 1922. As individual members of the group began to write their own history of *Zdrój*, the importance of Bunt was questioned by Stur in *The Dawn of an Epoch: Struggling for New Art* (Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke, dated 1920, Fig.68), an anthology of texts and images from different periods of *Zdrój*. The anthology presented the Bunt phase as one of numerous moments in the history of the review. It contained only two articles and two poems by Bederski, three articles and a poem by Kubicki, and one poem by Kubicka. The works of Bunt members were blended into a large selection of mostly prints and drawings by, among others, van Gogh, Picasso, Archipenko, Kandinsky, Minne, Kokoschka, Max Krause, Adolfo Wildt (his work, entitled *L'anima e la sua veste*, was reproduced on the cover), Argendo Soffici, Alberto Martini, Umberto Boccioni, and de la Fresnaye, as well as Formists, Czyzewski, the Pronaszko brothers, and Chwistek.[269] Stur's premature death in 1923 prevented the program from being further developed and caused the group to dissolve completely.

Other avant-garde artists in Poland soon evaluated the Poznan Expressionists' contribution to modern Polish art. In a short unsigned article in *Zwrotnica* (The Switchboard), a publication that took on the role of propagating radical ideas after the

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four groups discussed in this dissertation dissolved, an anonymous author (probably its editor Tadeusz Peiper) used the occasion of Stur's death to describe the Poznan Expressionists as a movement that embraced an outdated pessimistic ideology. "A perceptive eye will notice," the article states, "that *Zdrój* had three currents, all colored by black mourning: the ideology of Germany defeated during the [last] war, the ideology of French nationalism (Claudel, [Charles] Peguy), grown from the defeat of 1870, [and] the Romantic ideology of our Romantics also born from a calamity. These three currents share disdain for contemporary life, hostility toward matter, and reverence of spirituality."[270] In 1921, the poet and essayist Tadeusz Peiper (1891-1969) returned to Poland from Spain where he collaborated with the journals *El Sol* and *La Publicidad.* He was well-familiar with the newest art trends in Western Europe, particularly those in Germany, France, and Spain. By 1923, *Zwrotnica* (which will be discussed later in this study) promised a "return to order" and the address of contemporary life through the arts with optimism, looking ahead to a better, brighter future realized rationally, under the banner "Miasto. Masa. Maszyna." (The City. The Masses. The Machine.), with its renewed belief in the possibility of a symbiotic (Peiper called it "organic") relationship of man with technology. Following the Marxist scheme of development from tool to machine, Peiper's program shared its tenets with the one propagated by *L'Esprit Nouveau*, the magazine first published in 1920 which Peiper admired.[271]

Bunt had its epilogue in 1922. After the Kubickis left Poznan in November 1918 to participate in the political events in Berlin, they established contacts with the Junge Rheinland and joined radical groups in Germany, the Stupid[272] and the Kommune.[273]

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Kubicki also renewed his contacts with Walden, showing his works in the Sturm gallery in February 1920. But, believing in political radicalism, Kubicki stayed close to political programs that Walden and his artists rejected. Kubicka temporarily joined the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands. Both Kubickis signed the Kommune's manifestos in 1922.[274] Skotarek remained in Poznan, being on friendly terms with both J. Hulewicz and Kubicki and helping to maintain contacts between former members of the Bunt.[275] The same year, Kubicka, Kubicki, Skotarek, and Szmaj participated in the International Exhibition of Revolutionary Artists (Internationale Austellung Revolutionarer Künstler), organized by the artists associated with the Kommune, which took place in a working-class section of Berlin between October 22 and November 30. (Kubicki's linoleum print was reproduced on the invitation for the exhibition.) This exhibition was the last documented presentation of works by most of Bunt's original members. In the spring of 1922, Kubicki, and two members of Young Yiddish, Jankel Adler (who became Kubicki's friend in 1920, introduced by Skotarek) and Marek Schwarz, signed for the Polish side the appeal of the Union fortschrittlicher internationaler Künstler, calling for a pan-national brotherhood of artists. Kubicki, Kubicka, Adler, Henryk Berlewi, and Pola Lindenfeld (another member of Young Yiddish) represented Poland at the Dada-Constructivist Congress in May 29-31, 1922.[276]

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2.2 Young Yiddish

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in forging alliances with other artists in Poland, Poznan Expressionists, during their Bunt phase, in particular, found willing partners in Young Yiddish, a group of Jewish artists founded in Lodz in February 1919. Although their cooperation did not result—as intended—in joint exhibitions, individual members of both groups remained in contact during the group's existence and after Bunt and Young Yiddish disbanded in the early1920s. Kubicki, Kubicka, Adler and Pola Lindenfeld, for example, represented the Polish avant-garde at the Dada-Constructivist Congress in 1922. What bound together artists such as the Kubickis, Adler and Lindenfeld, was their strong commitment to leftist politics, which they expressed as members of the Bunt and Young Yiddish in Poland and as members of the international community of radical artists in Germany, where all of them moved in the early 1920s. While living in Poland, all these artists took a particularly negative position vis-à-vis the growing Polish nationalism and proposed, instead, universal social justice. Expressionism helped them to convey radical ideas. However, while Bunt's radicalism produced art with overt social and political messages, Young Yiddish artists mainly engaged their art in a dialogue with the Jewish tradition in terms of the historiographic and psychological investigation of myth, attempting to redefine it in terms suitable for modern times. In an ironic way, such a position brought them close to Romantic ideals and their Symbolist reincarnation in the visual arts, while they were rejecting them in their programs.

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As in the case of Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish artists fully embraced Expressionism in their art, while preserving certain aspects of Symbolism, particularly in their treatment of the subject matter. But, as mentioned earlier, they were cautious in declaring affinities with German Expressionism on the pages of *Young Yiddish* and elsewhere, even in the early stages of the group's existence, avoiding direct associations with the art and culture of one of the countries that had occupied Poland for more than a century. However, as in the case of progressive artists throughout Europe, the Jewish artists in Lodz drew a strong line dividing German nationalist politics and German progressive culture, which reflected the fact that Young Yiddish members' introduction to European culture was in large part by way of Germany, both by means of Germany's artistic heritage and language.

Since Adler, Barczynski, Schwarz, and Lindenfeld made dialogue with Jewish tradition central to their programs, special attention will be devoted to the "Jewishness" of their art. The ethnic character of the group made a dramatic impact on the way it was perceived in Poland after Independence. It also positioned Young Yiddish closer to radical Jewish artists in Paris, Berlin, and Moscow, who rejected local nationalisms. This chapter will present Young Yiddish artists' activities and analyze their writings and art, particularly from the three issues of *Young Yiddish* published between 1919 and 1920. The publication, which contains many prints by Adler, Barczynski, Schwarz and others, survived to the present, unlike most of their other works, and have provided the main visual material for this chapter.

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Original members of the Young Yiddish group included artists Jankel (Jakub) Adler (1895-1949), Henoch Barczynski (Henryk Barcinski, 1896-1939), Vincent Brauner (Icchac Brojner, 1887-1944), and Marek Schwarz (Szwarc, 1892-1958), as well as the writers and poets, who occasionally also made prints and drawings, Moshe Broderzon (Moses Broderzon, 1890-1956) and Icchak Katzenelson (1886-1944).[277] Katzenelson, who contributed several poems to the *Young Yiddish* review, was the most established member of the group in terms of his position in local Jewish culture and arts. His father, Jacob Benjamin Katzenelson, was a Hebrew writer and a prominent member of the Jewish literary community in eastern Europe, on friendly terms with Merdecai Spektor, Isaac Leib Peretz, and David Frischmann. Icchak Katzenelson began his literary career in 1904 by writing in Yiddish for Spektor's *Yidishe Folkstaytung* (The Yiddish Popular Movement) and Peretz's *Yidishe Bibliotek*, and in Hebrew for Frischmann's literary weekly *Ha-dor* (This Generation).[278] Considered one of the most talented young voices in modern Jewish poetry, he was a true asset for the Young Yiddish group.

Similarly to artists from Bunt, most of the Young Yiddish members were educated abroad, either in Germany or Russia. V. Brauner[279] attended the Hochschule für die bildenden Künste in Berlin between 1908 and 1911. Jankel Adler studied at the Künstgewerbeschule in Barmen (today Wuppertal) before returning to Lodz in late 1918. Moshe Broderzon, who fled from Poland to Russia in the beginning of World War I, came back to Lodz in early 1919 as a devoted Communist.[280] In Moscow, Broderzon had already published his poetry and was involved in various Jewish organizations with leftist programs. He personally knew Lasar El Lissitzky and Iosif Chaikov. Lissitzky illustrated

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a limited edition of Broderzon's *Sikhes Kholin* (Small Talk), also known as the *Legend of Prague,* in 1917 (Fig.69). The book, which has been described by Seth L. Wolitz as "a slightly erotic and irreverent Ovidian verse tale set in old Prague, 'judaized' by making the randy protagonist a rabbi," has been considered by Wolitz "the first modernist Yiddish art and literary text."[281] Chaikov illustrated Broderzon's children's tale *Temerl* (Temerl), printed in the "Kinder Bibliotek" in Moscow in late 1917. In early 1918, Broderzon was instrumental in plans to publish *Shamir* (The Rock), a journal of the Circle of Jewish National Aesthetics, but the publication was never launched. Committed to revolutionary ideals, Broderzon had introduced the young artists in Lodz to radical programs of both the October Revolution and Russian Futurism.

Adler also sympathized with the Bolshevik Revolution. Writing retrospectively, the Polish historian Jozef Sandel, who knew Adler personally, described the artist in his article "The Jew from Lodz—Jankel Adler" (Lodzki Zyd—Jankiel Adler): "In essence, Jankel Adler was a progressive artist. He admired the Soviet Union, being convinced that when the isolation from the West disappears, a stream of vital, creative forces will come from there [Russia]."[282] Probably benefiting from Broderzon's contacts in Russia, Adler and Broderzon (already as members of Young Yiddish) had their poems included in the anthology, *Mut* (Courage), published by the Yevsektsiya (Jewish Section of the Communist Party) in Moscow in 1920. However, by that time, their involvement in the artistic life in Russia must have been complicated by the exodus of many Jewish friends to the West, as well as by the shifting attitude of Russian authorities toward the presence of Jewish cultural institutions and the Jewish culture in general in Soviet Russia.[283]

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Of the initial members of the group, Marek Schwarz was the most directly connected to French culture. He studied sculpture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris under Antonin Mercier before returning to Lodz in 1914.[284] Schwarz's father, Isucher Schwartz, was a Zionist activist and knew many prominent members of the Jewish community, including Sholem Aleichem, Sholem Ash, Hirsh David Nomberg, and Nahum Sokolov. M. Schwarz visited Kiev and possibly Odessa in 1918, where the Jewish community included such well-known Hebrew-Yiddish writers as Mendele Mokher Seforim (S. J. Abramowitsch), Chaim Nahman Bialik, and Achad Haam. While in Russia, Schwarz participated in the planning stages of organizing the legions that would join the Zionist colonies in Palestine to fight for its independence.[285] When he returned to Lodz, he attempted to form a local legion, managing to gather only "several young men," and sent a letter to the German Embassy in Constantinople, requesting the return of Palestine to the Jews.[286]

Believers in leftist ideologies, Young Yiddish artists were allied with the socialist movement, which was mainly represented by the Bund in Jewish circles. Their radical views, however, were complicated because of their approach to art and Jewish tradition. They supported progressive social causes but rejected the use of art for ideological purposes as was recommended by the Zionists. Young Yiddish artists considered themselves members of *Yiddishkeit*, feeling Jewish in the secular rather than religious sense of the word, while treating their religious heritage as part of their cultural history. But, unlike many Jewish artists who became prominent members of Western avant-garde

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art—for example Dadaists Tristan Tzara, Marcel Janco, and Hans Richter—Young Yiddish artists were much more eager to express their Judaism and make it a central issue of their art and poetry. This was a programmatic decision rather than a result of their isolationism from the West which, historically, was often used as an explanation for the absence of Jews from eastern Europe among the great artists of the nineteenth century. In fact, several members of Young Yiddish resided outside of Lodz during the group's existence, which helped maintain contact with artists in Western and Polish centers. When Young Yiddish announced its exhibition in Poznan in December 1920 in the last issue of its review (the exhibition which never took place), Barczynski was listed as living in Dresden,[287] Lindenfeld in Berlin, Schwarz and Eugenia Markowa (Schwarz's wife) in Poznan,[288] and Adler in Warsaw. Previously established contacts further allowed Young Yiddish to be closely connected to the major artistic centers: Moscow (though Broderzon), Paris (through Schwarz), and Berlin (through Adler).

The fact that Lodz was the group's birthplace was probably not coincidental. Lodz had the second largest Jewish community in independent Poland (over a third of the city's population).[289] As a relatively young city, it lacked, however, a strongly defined Jewish culture.[290] Lodz was transformed into an urban settlement and industrial center around 1820, gradually growing into the textile capital—Polish "Manchester"—of the Russian Empire.[291] After the defeat of the Polish uprising of 1863-64, the process of Russification of educational and cultural institutions accelerated in the Congress Kingdom of Poland (as the zone under Russian occupation established in 1815 after the Congress of Vienna was called), causing further stagnation of Polish culture in Lodz. The city had three

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distinctive ethnic groups: Germans, Jews, and Poles, the latter two groups constituting most of its working class—a particularly vital class-conscious group in Lodz. With such a socio-ethnic fabric, the city was the site of early workers' clashes on Polish territories under foreign occupation. On May 1, 1892, Lodz, for example, became the stage for a violent confrontation, known as the Lodz Rebellion (bunt lodzki), between workers and tsarist troops, which is generally perceived by historians as the beginning of the formation of the mass socialist party in partitioned Poland.[292] As with many similar unrests on the Polish territories, the rebellion extended into Jewish pogroms. In his famous novel, *Promised Land* (Ziemia obiecana), 1899, the 1924 Nobel Prize winner, Wladyslaw Reymont, referred to Lodz as the most capitalist Polish city. Due to rampant industrialization, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the city gained the epithet of a "factory dump" (fabryczny smietnik), which often went together with another one—the "cultural desert" (pustynia kulturalna).[293] Lodz was badly destroyed and occupied during World War I by the German army, which caused the intensification of antagonistic relations between its Polish and German populations. Fragile relations between Poles, Germans, and Jews, in Lodz continued after the city was incorporated in the newly established Polish Republic, with the Polish government imposing administrative restrictions on German and Jewish populations, for example on the official use of their languages.

In the minds of many Poles, Lodz stood as a symbol for the major transformation from the old country, ruled by the nobles, into a modern bourgeois state, ruled by "new money" and the mob. In 1907, Zygmunt Bartkiewicz went as far as to call Lodz an "evil

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city" (zle miasto), inhabited by a "bunch of financially improving factory laborers, mostly illiterate" (garsc wzbogaconych wyrobnikow fabrycznych, z ktorych pono niejeden nawet pisac nie umie) and "lawyers and doctors...doing business on the side" (adwokaci i doktorzy...robiacy poboczne interesy handlowe). "If the Venus of Milo appears here," he argued, "it would be taken for a plaster [copy]."[294] Artists from other parts of Poland often reinforced the image of the city as a "cultural desert." A future Formist, Andrzej Pronaszko, who came to Lodz from Kraków to work as a stage designer for the Municipal Theater (Teatr Miejski) in 1916, called his move strictly an economic choice.[295]

Although Lodz was steadily gaining an intellectual elite, which began to intensify its activities during World War I, only sporadic initiatives were undertaken prior to the end of the war. Lodz had several private art schools to educate young artists. Jakub Kacenborg ran the Drawing School (Szkola Rysunkowa) and Piotr Szumanski operated a private School of Fine Arts (Szkola Sztuk Pieknych) between 1914-1916.[296] In 1915, artist Ryszard Radwanski opened the School of Drawing and Painting (Szkola Rysunku i Malarstwa). In "The Visual Arts in Lodz 1918-1928," art historian Janina Ladnowska summarized Lodz's artistic life during and after the war:

> Artists lived in isolation from each other; there was no art magazine they could write for. Partially, the role of art magazines was carried by Sunday supplements to the dailies, which reproduced paintings. In the early period [after the war], there were no galleries. Exhibitions took place in rented rooms, with sales during the time of exhibition....There were very few buyers, and their artistic taste made rich only propagators of pompierism, sentimentality, and third-rate versions of nineteenth-century history and battle-scene painting. Rich and serious collectors also existed, but their collections were unavailable to the public at large. The city government was more interested in the development of theater and music, ignoring the

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> visual arts. The adaptation of a pavilion in Sienkiewicz Park for the Municipal Art Gallery [Museum of Art and Science, 1923-24] and the erection of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko monument [in 1922/1927] were the only serious artistic initiatives. As a result, many artists decided to leave temporarily or permanently their native city.[297]

Prior to the creation of Young Yiddish, attempts to animate the Jewish artistic scene in Lodz were of a provisional character, but they helped to gather together Jewish artists with similar goals. In 1919, Broderzon and his wife Miriam founded the café-theatre "Ararat," mobilizing local musicians and singers.[298] The future members of Young Yiddish, V. Brauner and Dina Matus (Matusowana, 1895-1940?),[299] were in charge of stage design, and Henoch Kohn composed tunes based on Jewish folklore.[300] The first literary review in Lodz, called *Tanczacy Ogien* (The Dancing Flame) was published only in 1919 and ran for a single issue.[301] The publishing house "Tel Awiw" (Tel Aviv) was among the major Jewish cultural initiatives in Lodz after the war.[302] Established in mid-1919, it supported Jewish arts through a literary review, lectures, and poetry readings, and had a distinguished list of collaborators, among them Martin Buber, born in Lvov. In 1917-18, a clandestine (Lodz was still occupied by the Germans) " art salon" functioned at the studio of Artur Szyk, a Jewish painter who lived in Lodz until 1921. Szyk and Tuwim collaborated on a satirical book titled *A Revolution in Germany* (Rewolucja w Niemczech), 1919, for which Tuwim had already written the text in late 1917, mocking the November Revolution in Germany and German character in general.[303]

As Ladnowska mentioned, without an official exhibition space, antique stores first fulfilled the role of galleries, catering mostly to popular tastes. In 1914, V. Brauner opened an art salon (Salon Sztuki), exhibiting antique furniture next to drawings and

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paintings by mostly traditional artists. He advertised it in *Neue Lodze Zeitung* using one of his realistic portraits as an illustration. Brauner, who was an energetic animator of artistic life in Lodz,[304] organized temporary exhibitions in his salon, among them, Marek Schwarz's first solo show in 1915, after Schwarz's return from Paris. Schwarz's works surely impressed other Jewish artists in Lodz for in 1918 he was appointed one of the jurors for the so-called "Spring Salon," together with well-established artists such as Adolf Behrman and Maurycy Trebacz.

Maurycy Trebacz (1861-1941) was, in fact, the sole Jewish artist of national reputation living in Lodz.[305] Trebacz studied in Kraków under Wojciech Gerson and Matejko and in Munich under Otto Seitz. When he returned to Poland in the late nineteenth century, Trebacz exhibited along with established Polish and foreign artists such as Wyspianski, Vlastimil Hofmann, and also Kandinsky.[306] Critics often compared Trebacz to Edward Bendeman, a German-Jewish artist who specialized in biblical scenes. Trebacz moved to Lodz in 1909, where he soon gained popularity among the affluent Jewish bourgeoisie and the cognoscenti, but he failed to generate interest among the public at large. Due to Jewish subjects in his art, he exhibited almost exclusively with other Jewish artists, participating in, among others, the Third Exhibition of Jewish Artists in Gallery "Luksemburg" in Warsaw in 1911. With changes in artistic tastes and the growing hostility of a large part of the Polish art establishment toward Jewish artists after Independence, Trebacz found himself isolated from both traditional and avant-garde artists in the 1920s.[307]

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As elsewhere in the Polish territories, cultural activities in Lodz intensified toward the end of World War I. The Society for Artists and Supporters of the Fine Arts (Stowarzyszenie Artystow i Zwolennikow Sztuk Pieknych) was created in 1918. The organization was modeled on the Society for Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Warsaw and was intended to gather artists of various artistic persuasions, and taking into consideration the multi-national character of Lodz, various ethnic backgrounds.[308] However, the Society's 1918 inaugural exhibition, called the "Spring Show" (Wystawa wiosenna), which included artists of predominantly Jewish origins (26 artists out of 30), immediately gained the label—a "Jewish exhibition."[309] Jewish artists also dominated the second exhibition that opened in December 1918 and was named the "Winter Show" (Wystawa zimowa), further demonstrating the vitality of the Jewish artists in Lodz but also somewhat isolating them from non-Jewish artists. As previously mentioned, interviewed by *Neue Lodzer Zeitung*, critic Heinrich Zimmermann, who helped to mount the show, pointed out that the Winter Show focused, above all, on presenting the newest tendencies in modern art, referring to those tendencies (particularly in Adler's works) as Expressionist.

The Spring and Winter Shows contained works by major future members of the Young Yiddish group: Adler, Barczynski, V. Brauner, Dina Matus, and Schwarz.[310] In fact, the two exhibitions helped to introduce these artists to the larger public in Lodz. Zimmermann praised Schwarz as the most versatile artist participating in the Spring Show. Although Schwarz's early works, such as *Woman's Mask* and *Eve* (Fig.70),[311] demonstrated his knowledge of the new developments in art in Paris,[312] he initially stayed

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away from Cubism and Futurism, which was noted by critic Zimmermann on the occasion of the Spring Show of 1918. Adler, who took part in the Winter Show,[313] received the highest praise from the press for the originality of his works. Adler exhibited his major early works, such as *The Last Hour of Rabbi Eleazar*, c. 1918 (Ostatnia godzina Rabiego Eleazara, Fig.71), a portrayal of a dying man in flaming colors executed in slightly synthesized fashion and focused on the rabbi's stoic calmness, as if he were accepting his fate with dignity and patience. In the same exhibition Brauner showed thirty-nine works (mostly landscapes and portraits) painted in a Postimpressionist style. In his works, such as *Landscape* (Pejzaz), 1915 (Fig.72), he was clearly inspired by van Gogh, an artist after whom he changed his first name from Icchak to Vincent. Other artists presented rather traditional figurative paintings (portraits, still lifes, and landscapes), watercolors, pastels, and prints. Schwarz and Adler, together with Broderzon and, to a lesser degree, Brauner, went on to play key roles in developing the artistic program of Young Yiddish. As if preparing the ground for the appearance of the group, Zimmerman and Adler were key speakers during a discussion that accompanied the Winter Show in January 1919.[314]

From the very beginning of the group's existence, members of Young Yiddish were deeply involved with issues of their Jewish identity. Schwarz, who had already participated in heated discussions on this issue in Paris as a member of the Makhmadim group, provided a sort of early overview of the group's standing vis-à-vis the Jewish tradition in "Art and the Jews" (Sztuka a Zydzi), written for *Tel Awiw* in 1919.[315] In his article, he rejected concepts of art based on ethnic characteristics (or the predisposition)

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and connected Jewish art to religious and cultural histories rather than traditions, rooting them in specific geographic contexts. For Schwarz, the term "national art" was borrowed from the vocabulary of nationalist parties and could only lead art to a narrow connection with local folk traditions, as—he noticed—had begun to be advocated under *sanacja* in Poland.[316]

As for many other Jewish artists, the problem of figurative art was central to the formation of a new artistic language for Schwarz. Schwarz welcomed figuration as a vehicle for redefining Jewish culture by moving art from the sacred to the secular realms and subsequently from artifacts to art *per se*. He envisioned art as a universal language accessible to everyone regardless of his or her native language. "Art and religion," Schwarz argued, "came from the same womb: the desire to worship, to express one's feelings, and to re-create one's visual sensations." Exploring the historic development of Jewish art, he argued that the geographical location of Palestine, between the desert and the Mediterranean Sea, encouraged "abstract monotheism." Schwarz argued that the interest in figurative representation had its important historic precedents in Jewish culture. But because it was originally perceived as proof of paganism among religious Jews, early artifacts—many of them figurative idols foreign to Jewish faith and morality—were destroyed, helping to reinforce the idea that Jewish art was traditionally nonfigurative.

Schwarz then argued that because art was a "natural necessity," it was only a matter of time until it re-surfaced among Jews as a secular expression. Using specific examples, he

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mentioned the biblical sculptor Becalel (Bezalel) and his pupils as outstanding examples of early Jewish artists "chosen by God, Moses, and the people."[317] He called Rembrandt the "first great Jewish artist," not because of his origins, but because the Dutch artist was the "first who treated biblical themes as a genre, realistically." Looking for examples of modern Jewish sculptors, Schwarz credited Mark Antokolsky (born in Vilnius [Wilno]) for changing the popular perception about Jewish artists as incapable of producing art with universal appeal, but denied him any major significance in the development of modern sculpture, clearly disliking Antokolsky's works. Schwarz mentioned Maurycy Gottlieb as being the first Jewish artist in Poland who unequivocally identified himself as a Jew.[318] Schwarz also insisted that true art had no national identity, stating that the Dutchman van Gogh and the German Max Liebermann might as well have been called French artists. On the opposite side Schwarz placed Ephraim Moses Lilien, who was so devoted to Jewish nationalism and Zionism that he "portrayed God as [Theodor] Herzl," which—according to Schwarz, relegated Lilien to a peripheral position in modern art.

Offering a direction for expressing the Jewish experience through art, Schwarz returned to his earlier experience in France. He mentioned the textless art magazine *Makhmadim* (Fig.73), published by a group of Jewish artists at La Ruche residence in Paris, as an example of a historically important platform for discussion on the subject of Jewish art.[319] Makhmadim (both the group and the magazine) took on the position of a return to the aesthetics of decorative ornaments from old synagogues and tombstones, in which Jewish artists all over the world could define their identity beyond the national boundaries.[320] He argued that artists in Lodz should embrace such an approach to the Jewish heritage as

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well. Schwarz ended his article in Latin quoting Terrence: *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto* (I am man, nothing human is alien to me).[321]

Broderzon was instrumental in establishing the Young Yiddish group after his return to Lodz in February 1919 and he is credited with choosing its name.[322] In popular perception, the adjective "Young" reinforced the group's identification with change, while loosely connecting it with a gamut of modernist formations, from Young Poland and Young Belgium to Di Junge and Das Junge Rheinland.[323] The word "Yiddish" identified the group with the Yiddish language and culture as representative of a Jewish identity in eastern and central Europe. J. N. Najman further interpreted the words "Young Yiddish" in his article on Adler published in *Literarisze Bleter* (The Literary Pages) in 1935 as follows: "Expressions 'Alt-Idisz' and 'Ing-Idisz' are only formal. They have nothing in common with a specific time. They are rather connected to the mentality of the artist and his approach to art. 'Alt-Idisz'—it is a skeleton covered with living skin. An ascetist. He is followed by a dragging, limping 'no.'...'Ing-Idisz' is a vagabond, a man of adventures, always sure of himself, a sinner. He changes his style and forms, full of illusions; he questions; he falls down; he wins. He falls down and wins again. He is vital. 'No' is for him a secondary expression, it serves to emphasize the great 'yes.'...His eyes [are] always directed toward the future."[324] In a more specific context, the Young Yiddish artists contrasted Yiddish culture with established German culture, for they considered embracing the later as a sign of the assimilation widly spread among the German Jews. On the other hand, during World War I the right-wing *endecja* went as far as proclaiming that the Yiddish language was a "German slang." The group indirectly allied itself,

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therefore, with the non-Jewish artists in Poland who had similar attitudes and who searched to define their artistic and cultural identities independently of the influences of countries that had occupied the Polish territories for 123 years.

As in the case of most avant-garde groups with ambitions to reach a wider audience, Young Yiddish published a review of the same name, putting together three issues printed in 350 copies each on thick packing paper.[325] With launching *Young Yiddish*, Broderzon was finally able to realize his earlier plans of publishing a journal that "would publicize the aesthetic renaissance of Jewry on the basis of Jewish creativity and by the organic rapprochement to general European art," as he had stated in Moscow in 1918.[326] The first single issue, dated March 1919 (which coincided with the time of Purim, as was mentioned on the cover), contained the group's short manifesto written by Broderzon. The manifesto proclaimed a new beginning in the name of "the Eternal God, Beauty, and great Truth," which was to lead to brighter days and new art. The text concluded with verse:

> For art!
> For young, beautiful Jewish language!
> And for the eternal language of prophets!
> Without that beauty the world cannot be repainted![327]

Adler's untitled print representing a toy-like clown playing drums was placed on the cover of the first issue (Fig.74).[328] It was executed in a style that echoed both Oriental manuscript illuminations and popular folk prints. It displayed a lace-like design and a delicacy that alluded to Jewish paper-cuts. Like many Jewish artists, Adler was probably familiar with the lavishly ornamented pages of the *pinkasim* (hand written annals or

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diaries), extensively present, for example, in the writer Salomon An-sky's (whose real name was Shlomo Zanvil Rappaport) *Jewish Artistic Heritage*, prepared for publishing in 1918.[329] Adler might also have been aware of calls for a return to popular sources by Russian Jewish artists and writers such as the Russian critic Abram Efros, who, reporting on An-sky's previously mentioned groundbreaking publication, wrote in *Evreiskii mir* (The Jewish World) in 1918: "The *lubok*, the gingerbread, the toy and the printed cloth constitute an entire program for the practical aesthetics of contemporaneity....If Jewry wishes to live artistically and if it is looking out for its aesthetic future, then this presupposes an inexorable, thorough, and totally active connection with the popular arts."[330] Peripheral cultures and popular art, including crude store signs visible all around Lodz, were, in fact, major fascinations of Young Yiddish artists throughout the group's existence.[331] In 1920, when literary critic Jakub Appenszlak discussed Young Yiddish writings in *Nasz Kurier* (Our Courier), he complemented Broderzon for moving away from Russian modernism, which he considered inspirational to the previous generation of poets, such as Sh. Ash, H. D. Nomberg, and Zelman Rajzen, but not to contemporary poets and writers. Appenszlak praised Broderzon for moving toward a "national tradition" derived from the Talmud, the Kabbalah, and local folk songs.[332]

The first issue of Young Yiddish contained seven untitled linocuts, which in this study will be identified by their subject matter. *The Snake Charmer* (Fig.75), another of Adler's prints prominently reproduced in the first issue of *Young Yiddish*, depicted a naked man kneeling in front of a coiled snake, bathed by sunrays in a schematic landscape made of feathery shapes that represent trees and bushes. Rendered in a combination of curvilinear

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and angular lines, the prominently flattened image displays a symbolism characteristic of the works of the Brücke artists, for example, Otto Mueller who had to be well known to Adler from his stay in Germany. The rendering of the figure was in some ways close to Szmaj's *Male Nude in front of a Marching Crowd* (Akt meski na tle tlumu), 1918-19 (Fig.76). Both works dramatize the figure by using elongated proportions and expressive gestures reminiscent of El Greco.[333] However, Adler's snake charmer kneels in front of powerful nature, while Szmaj's naked man "confronted" a marching crowd. While Szmaj's figure represents humanity confronted with social turmoil, Adler's snake charmer seems to belong to the lexicon borrowed from Sh. Aleichem and Chagall of Jewish characters facing their fate. Adler's acrobat, as Avram Kampf suggestively argued in a different context, might be identified as the *Luftmensch*: "a metaphor for people out of balance in the economic, psychical, and social sense—people without capital or professions, deformed by life, limping, and blind, whose existence is ephemeral."[334]

Barczynski and Brauner embraced aesthetics similar to Adler's in their works reproduced in the first issue of *Young Yiddish*. Barczynski's *Musicians* (Fig.77) depicts three figures in frieze-like fashion: two standing male musicians (a flutist and a violinist) and a seated female, "cross-referencing" to images of the Jewish informal amateur actors, musicians, and acrobats called Purimspielers and typical representations of actors from the *commedia dell'arte*. Buber wrote that Chassidic rabbis often taught that music was central to the lives of Jews. Rabbi Serafem, for example, taught that music unites three components: life, spirit, and the soul.[335] The woman in Barczynski's work was modeled on Madonnas from popular folk prints. Brauner's figures in *Jews at the Table* (Fig.78)

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appear more realistic than Barczynski's musicians, as Brauner depicted religious inhabitants of *a shtetl*, which constituted the primary hamlets of east and central European Jews. Brauner conjured up Chasidic life in its essence, while visually structuring his image in the shape of a traditional arched tombstone. Also included in the first issue of *Young Yiddish* were Schwarz's prints, *Standing Female Figure* and *Prophets*. They were endowed with a fluidity of linear style easily found in academic Cubism and previously used in Schwarz's relief *Eve*. The prints were complemented by several poems, including Broderzon's "Ich—a purim-szpigel" (I—a Purim musician), dedicated to Lissitzky, and Katzenelson's "Uberfult"(The Overcrowded). Although the first issue was modest in size and content, it had the distinctive character of a carefully designed publication. Taking advantage of the pictographic aspect of the Hebrew alphabet, the pages of *Young Yiddish* meshed written parts with reproduced prints, and played with the font size and uneven groupings of text to give visual character to each page.

A more extensive Young Yiddish manifesto appears in the second, double issue of *Young Yiddish,* dated April 1919. The review mentioned new contributors (all poets), in addition to the ones listed in the first issue: Herszele (Hersz Danielewicz), Chaim Lajb Zytnicki, Jecheskiel Mojzesz (Moise) Neuman, and Alimelech Szmulowicz. In the second manifesto, Broderzon used the same poetic language of the first manifesto, but was more explicit in stating the group's programmatic goals of embracing Jewish tradition while connecting it with new tendencies in contemporary art. Barczynski's print of a kneeling woman, who recalled the Madonna-like figure of his *Musicians* (Muzycy), illustrated the

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cover of the second issue (Fig.79). With its uneven edges, the untitled image looks as if it has been torn off from a larger work, while its shape alluded to a broken piece of tomb marker. As with the first issue of *Young Yiddish*, most of the prints in the second issue were designed to exist in relation to the text. Two prints, however, were given full-page exposure: Adler's *Cello Player* (Fig.80) and Schwarz's *Crucifixion* (Fig.81), confirming the two artists' central place within the group.

Adler's print depicts a male musician playing on his cello in a dramatic landscape, with a low sky and "tumbling down" houses. Clearly oblivious to nature in flux around him, the musician is endowed with an ethereal presence that at the same time appears strikingly solid, as if affixed to the ground. He conveys a sense of isolation, finding refuge from daily life in his music. Formally, Adler's work is frontal with an all-over pattern of black and white that weaves the figure into the background. In addition to his print, Adler also contributed a poem, titled "Ich sing majn t'file" ("My Prayer I Sing"), to the issue. It is a hymn to the "Almighty, magnanimous God" that describes the act of painting a picture. The poem ends on the high, religious note of unity with God through art:

> To Thy Grace I want to cling, to rise in You,
> To become one with You, in You to create, Lord![336]

Schwarz weaved foreground with background and flattened space in his *Crucifixion*, blending the figure of the crucified Christ with an urban landscape behind him. Unlike Adler, however, Schwarz downplayed the presence of the figure, reducing his Christ to a small body on a long cross, making it look like part of a religious sculpture on the side of a hill overlooking a village. The Crucifixion motif was, obviously, a particularly

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important part of Christian iconography. But for many Jewish artists the motif was charged with another meaning: it also referred to the pogroms and stood for the cipher of Jewish martyrdom.[337] For Schwarz, who converted to Catholicism in 1919,[338] the motif had to have a double personal significance, witnessing the complexities of his relationship to religious traditions. Fusing various religious themes reflected also another phenomenon: an interest in syncretic approach to religions, which the Jewish artists from Lódz shared with other artists discussed in this study. Franz Wilhelm Seiwert recalled, for example, that when he met Adler in Cologne in 1917, "we regarded Buddha, Laotse, Christ, and Ba'al Szem as one."[339]

As previously mentioned, Jewish artists in Lodz addressed the issues of modern artistic language through their compatibility with Jewish tradition. In the third, and last (triple, 4-5-6) issue of *Young Yiddish,* dated December 1919, Adler discussed Chagall's art as a specific example of a contemporary style to follow, placing Chagall as a central figure among the European avant-garde.[340] Chagall was presented by Adler as a "new Jew—but with the silver hair of an old prophet," who deliberately returned to the Chasidic tradition and elevated it to the level of *ecstasy*, using a word which had deep meaning for Expressionists. Adler mythologized Chagall as a great visionary whose works had a "barbarian" quality that had the power of stopping the "machine of civilization" for a moment—as, he suggested, had happened during Chagall's exhibition at the Sturm gallery in Berlin in 1914.[341] Chagall's works were described as fusing Jewish folk sources with Cubism, which, in terms of dealing with Jewish heritage, placed him not as

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much in the position of a "prophet" as on the middle ground between artists who embraced Jewish tradition and these who rejected it.

The third issue of *Young Yiddish* contained works by all the main members of the group. The list of contributors was again expanded, this time including writers, poets, and artists from outside the group. The new names included: artist Salomon Blat (who contributed two prints), Pola Lindenfeld (1900-after 1939 in the Lodz ghetto, who contributed two prints), and Chagall, as well as poets and writers, among others, Chaim Lajb Fuks, Uri Cvi Grinberg, Kurt Heynicke, Chaim Krol, Moshe Nadir, Melech Rawicz (Chome Zachariusz Bergner, publisher of *Di Wog* in Galicia), and David Zytman.[342] Another artist, Ida Brauner (1891-1949, Vincent Brauner's sister), was mentioned as the review's secretary. Probably in order to give more internationalist character to the review, the third issue included a reprint of Heynicke's manifesto, "Di neszoma fun der kunst," originally published in *Kunstblatt*. It also reported on the group's current activities, such as their exhibition in Bialystok, which opened in September 1919, and a planned exhibition of Bunt and Young Yiddish in Poznan, which was never organized. Another article saluted Jewish artists and poets in Galicia and New York, mentioning by name Uri Cvi Grinberg (the publisher of *Albatross*), Moric Lipshitz, and Dud Kenigsberg.

The third issue of *Young Yiddish* had Schwarz's print reproduced on the cover (Fig.82). Displaying a painterly style closer to lithography than to a linoleum print, which was characteristic of the prints from the first and second issues, Schwarz's untitled work depicted a ghostly figure entering a village under the darkness of night. Executed in

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sweeping curves, Schwarz's work formed a strong contrast to the reproduction of Adler's oil painting, *Resurrection*, which turned the religious scene into a play of semi-abstract forms, creating tension between the soft curves of the bodies and the angularity of the background, and between the highly expressive faces and the geometric, barren landscape setting. The print *Ecstasy* was another of Adler's major contributions to this issue. It distinguishes itself from other prints in *Young Yiddish* by relying more overtly on primitivism derived from African art. The face of the ghostly female figure in the foreground (most probably the epitemous Ecstasy) recalls Munch's *Scream*, as well as African masks. The image was also strikingly similar to Marcel Janco's *Sketch for Chant Nègre*, 1916 (Kunsthaus, Zurich), with its contorted body and upward motion, one more time witnessing the existence of an international *lingua franca.*

In referring to a primitivist vocabulary, Adler followed in the footsteps of the Symbolists, Cubists, German Expressionists and Dadaists, and their reading of African art.[343] As John Bowlt mentions in "Jewish Artists and the Russian Silver Age," black culture was brought to the attention of Jewish artists on the basis of its outsider status as unappreciated and awaiting to be discovered.[344] For the Lodz group, primitivism was above all associated with a new artistic language attuned to contemporary life in its Jewish version, as might be suggested by the name given to the room with works by Young Yiddish artists at the Exhibition of Contemporary Jewish Art in Lodz in April 1921: "Salon of Futurist, Cubists, and Primitivists." Praising Chagall as a Jewish modernist *par excellence*, Adler described, for example, the Russian artist as igniting "the ancient spark of barbarism," which transforming into flame, recalled "old Gothic,

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primitives, or Negro sculpture."[345] Adler also connected African art, via cubist fascination with African and Polynesian art, to the Chasidic culture, which he carefully studied during his numerous trips to Jewish villages in central Poland, following in the footsteps of An-sky and also Lissitzky and Isachr (Ben) Ryback.[346] He was probably also inspired by Y. P. Peretz's reworking of Chasidic tales that were popular in Warsaw around 1910. Obviously such specific, and yet often limited, interpretations of primitivism posed their own dangers for the ethnic minorities in Poland, as primitivism became associated with an "outsider" identity, often considered other than Polish-Catholic.

The relationship of Young Yiddish to broader Polish tradition was particularly complicated because of the overlapping of religious motifs usually perceived as based on anagogy, e.g., a mystical interpretation of the images from the Bible which elevates the mind from the material to the ideal. Modern artistic language was supposed to ease such differences and bring the Jewish and Polish artistic communities together. Therefore, while stressing their Jewish identity, Young Yiddish artists often explored Christian themes, treating them as endowed with universal messages, and also depicted the local landscape with great admiration of its generic beauty. Christian subjects and small-town views constituted, in fact, a major part of Young Yiddish's iconography.[347] Barczynski's work *Head of John the Baptist* (Fig.83) avoided, for example, elongation and extreme distortions, presenting the saint as a noble prophet in a conventional fashion, while reproductions of linoleum prints by Lindenfeld in *Young Yiddish* (no other work from the period is known to survive to our day either in original or reproduction[348]) revealed her

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talent for creating a lyrical mood of reverie about quiet hamlets, as if following Bialik's words: "Legend is the creature of the scenery of the land, born of its Nature and its landscape."[349] Landscapes in the works of Young Yiddish artists were often empty or populated by single figures, yet they were almost always "charged" with a ghostly human presence. Lindenfeld's *Corner of Town* (Fig. 84) juxtaposes, in a fashion reminiscent of Christian Rohlfs's *Street in Soest*, 1911, a line of houses with sharply pitched roofs and curvilinear clouds above. But, using a semi-circular frame motif that mimicked the shape of tombstones, Lindenfeld aimed at creating a strong sense of both timeless stability and menace, without touching upon the issues of modern Jewish condition and cultural longings.

A sense of fatalism, in fact, permeated practically every print reproduced in *Young Yiddish*, and Expressionism appeared to be an appropriate language to convey such complex pessimistic emotions. V. Brauner's prints *Dancing Devil* (Fig.85) and *Tkija gdula* (named after a ceremony of blowing big horns on Yum Kippur) were clearly Expressionist with their angularity of forms and enhanced emotional content, showing formal similarities with the works of the Pathetiker artists.[350] Both works use angular, dynamic elements and focus on gigantic figures placed in urban landscapes. In *Dancing Devil*, it is a feverish female with fire coming from her mouth, balancing on a rope; in *Tkija gdula*, it is a male who rises to the sky with outstretched arms. The beastly figures look like they were borrowed from the Chasidic stories of *gilgul* (a forlorn soul), doomed to travel from body to body.

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Unlike other groups discussed in this study, in which women played marginal roles, Lindenfeld and other women artists were visibly present in all major displays of art by members of Young Yiddish. They were involved in making illustrations for numerous volumes of poetry: Dina Matus for Rachel Lipstein's poetry in German titled *Zwischen dem abend und Morgenrot* (Between the Evening and the Morning) and I. Brauner for Zytman's book *Ojf wajtkajten krajznda fal ich.* As previously mentioned, Matus also made costumes and sets for the cabaret Ararat. Traces of collaboration of the women members of Young Yiddish can be found in 1919: Lindenfeld, I. Brauner, and Zofia Gutentag (1899-1993, also known as Gutentazanka) worked with Brauner on producing *Tanczacy Ogien,* the earlier mentioned ephemeral review with a single issue published in 1919. The three women artists also illustrated a poetry volume, *Improvisations,* 1919 (today lost), with poems by Broderzon and Katzenelson. From the sporadic information about their artistic activities and their few surviving works, women members of Young Yiddish appear to have been more interested than their male colleagues in experimenting with a variety of media, from prints and paintings to sculptures, batiks, and jewelry. The significant number of women as members of the group raises the issue of Jewish women's involvement in redefining Yiddish tradition, as well as in modern art.[351]

Although Young Yiddish interacted with non-Jewish artists in Lodz and other parts of Poland, its strongest connections were established with Jewish communities in Poland and abroad. Warsaw played a crucial role in presenting the group's works in the national forum. Apart from Adler, who lived in Warsaw between 1919 and 1920, Barczynski and Schwarz showed their works in the exhibition organized in the building that belonged to

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the Jewish Writers' Union (Zwiazek Literatow Zydowskich) in early and mid-1919.[352] When Schwarz contributed a print to a poetry volume, titled *A Naked Man in Midtown* (Nagi czlowiek w srodmiesciu), 1919, by the Futurist Anatol Stern, the collaboration was considered, above all, as between artists who shared a Jewish background.

In forming an international network, Jewish artists in Poland were often assisted by the League for Jewish Culture, also known as the Kulturlige, a secular Jewish organization with a socialist bent, established in 1918 in Kiev to promote Yiddish literature, poetry, music and theater by organizing various activities and events. Kulturlige had a large section in Warsaw.[353] The Kiev organization had among its prominent members Lissitzky, Ryback, and Boris Aronson.[354] It published a bulletin, which provided information about Jewish art in eastern Europe and Russia, and helped organize exhibitions. In 1919, the Kulturlige sponsored a major exhibition of art by Polish-Jewish artists, which was organized in Bialystok by Berlewi and Adler.[355] It opened under the title, "First Exhibition of Jewish Painting and Sculpture (I Wystawa Zydowskiego Malarstwa i Rzezby) and included works by members of Young Yiddish and artists from Warsaw gathered by Berlewi.[356] The local press in Bialystok described the artists from Lodz as "Jewish Expressionists."[357] The choice of Bialystok was not coincidental, for not only did the city have a large Jewish population, it also had a strong, progressive working class that a leftist organization, such as the Kulturlige, had to target as its primary audience.[358]

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In the 1920s, the Kulturlige facilitated an exchange between individual artists in Russia and Poland. For example, Lissitzky stopped in Warsaw on his way to Berlin, assisted by the organization in the autumn of 1921. Lissitzky's Warsaw lecture, in which he analyzed Cézanne and Cubism and explained Suprematism and his *prouns*, appeared in print in 1922 in the Warsaw-based *Ringen* under the title, "Victory over Art," a clear allusion to the Russian Cubo-Futurist opera *Victory over the Sun.*[359] In his lecture, Lissitzky advocated a modern artistic language with an internationalist and socialist appeal and did not discuss the specifics of Jewish art. After his visit, however, the Kulturlige in Warsaw, interested in propagating Jewish culture, used the occasion to reprint in Warsaw Meni Leib's children's book, titled *Yingl Zingl Chwatt* (Little Boy, Little Tongue, Tomboy), with Lissitzky's illustrations in a Cubo-Futurist style.[360]

Of all the Polish artists that gathered to listen to Lissitzky's lecture, Henryk Berlewi (1894-1967)[361] had to be particularly influenced by the talk, which proclaimed the "defeat of traditional art," including Cubism.[362] Berlewi wrote in late 1921, clearly shaken by Lissitzky's program: "Our epoch is the time of stylelessness, the time of anarchy in art. We have lost ground under our feet, [while] previous tradition has disappeared. We are remaining as if after an earthquake, as after a sudden storm and we are forced to build the *new* that has not yet existed in the world." Then, Berlewi asked: "Is it our misfortune, or perhaps our fortune, not to have any defined aims, not to be limited by the tradition and the restraints of a ruling school, not to have any style, even such that would reflect our epoch?" And he answered: "Without tradition—we are naked

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like Adam and relying on ourselves. As such we stand before a major task: create a new type of world, a world of our own forms."[363]

Following Lissitzky, Berlewi turned toward abstraction by the early 1920s, although he did not relinquish making art with Jewish motifs. His early works display Formist (Cubo-Futurist and Orphist) deformations. For instance, his watercolor *Lodz* (Lodz), 1921, and *The Nude* (Akt), 1921, show a similarity to Kupka's approach to filling up the center space with interlocked ovals and round forms. Gradually, Berlewi endowed his simplified and flattened figures with Expressionist angularity, as in his linoleum print, *Seated Woman* (Siedzaca kobieta), 1922 (Fig.86), in which a kaleidoscopically fractured figure is treated like a mosaic of geometric shapes. Works with Jewish themes belonged to a separate body of Berlewi's work and were generally more traditional. A rhythmic frieze-like pastel, *Jewish Wedding in Poland* (Wesele zydowskie w Polsce), 1921 (Fig.87), a poster for a stage production of the play *Dybbuk* performed for the first time in Yiddish in Warsaw in December 1920,[364] and his illustrations for several books in Yiddish, all recall the works of Chagall and Lissitzky. Like Chagall and Lissitzky, Berlewi was influenced by ornamentation on synagogue and tombstones.

In 1922, Berlewi traveled to Berlin, where—as he recalled in 1963—he met many members of the European avant-garde, such as Doesburg, Gabo, Hausmann, Lissitzky, László Moholy-Nagy, Pevsner, Pougny, Richter, and Viking Eggeling.[365] Berlewi was clearly recalled by Louis Lozowick, who arrived in Berlin in 1922 and collaborated with *Albatross*, when the review was published in Berlin.[366] While in Germany, Berlewi

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participated in the Novembergruppe Exhibition of 1922 and the Grosse Berliner Kunstaustellung, and again together with the Novembergruppe in 1923. He took part in the International Congress of Progressive Artists in Düsseldorf in May 1922 in which Berlewi and Adler were chosen to represent Jewish artists from eastern Europe.[367] Berlewi considered 1923 a crucial year not only for his career, but also for art in general.[368] He played a fundamental role in championing geometric abstraction in Poland and, therefore, his abstract works will be discussed in the last chapter in this study as belonging to the transitional period between Expressionism and Constructivism.[369]

Unlike Berlewi, Young Yiddish artists remained much more attached to figuration and Expressionism till the group's disappearance in mid-1921, when most of its members were already living in the West.[370] Barczynski remained in Dresden when the group dissolved, moving closer to the artists with leftist sympathies around the Dresden Sezession, among them Lasar Segall. Barczynski represented the Dresden Sezession at the International Exhibition of New Art in Düsseldorf in 1922.[371] Lindenfeld, who left for Berlin in 1919, was in regular contact with the Kubickis.[372] Adler arrived in Berlin in 1920, also establishing contacts with the Kubicki's, whose house had become a gathering place of the Polish avant-garde in Berlin.[373] Schwarz left Lodz in 1920 and also moved first to Berlin, then to Paris.[374] Finally, I. Brauner moved to Berlin and then Dresden to study at the Academy of Fine Arts in 1921.[375]

However, Young Yiddish as a group remained visible throughout 1921. In April 1921, it participated in the previously mentioned large exhibition at the Commerce Society

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(Towarzystwo Handlowcow) in Lodz, showing under the name, "Salon of Futurists, Cubists, and Primitivists."[376] Of the Warsaw-based artists, Berlewi presented his realist paintings, among them *Seated Jew* (Fig.88), n.d., next to his more Expressionist prints, posters, and book illustrations. Another artist from Warsaw, Wladyslaw (Chaim) Weintraub, showed landscapes, which were described as being executed in the style of "the younger generation."[377] From Young Yiddish, the press noticed Schwarz, P. Lindenfeld, and Broderzon.[378] But, Adler attracted the strongest attention among Young Yiddish members participating in the show, once again considered the most accomplished member of the group.[379] A few months later, the exhibition was enlarged and shown in Warsaw. Both Jewish and Polish artistic communities used the Warsaw exhibition as a platform for a broader discussion about the nature of Jewish art.

Clearly, contact with Jewish writers and artists in New York became increasingly important for Young Yiddish.[380] In 1921, the group showed their works in New York, participating in an exhibition of Jewish artists from Poland. They were probably helped by former members of the Di Junge (the Young Ones) group, active between 1907 and 1919, and In zich (The Introspective Ones), established in 1919, which gathered together American artists and poets with origins in Russia and eastern Europe. Di Junge published several magazines and almanacs, among them, *Di Jugend* (The Youth), *Ist Brodwej,* and *Schriftn.* Katzenelson could have contacted the New York artists and writers during his trip to America in 1921.[381] Members of Di Junge collaborated, in fact, with publications in Poland, including *Nasz Przeglad.* When Jehuda Tofel reviewed *Young Yiddish* in *Schriftn* in late 1920, he focused on prints, praising Adler and Brauner, while being more

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critical of Schwarz and Barczynski. Brauner was complimented for an ability to depict a range of expressions, from stoicism in his *Jews at the Table* to violence in his *Dancing Devil.* Tofel considered Barczynski's prints unoriginal and decorative and Schwarz's—chaotic.[382] In general, Tofel praised *Young Yiddish* for being involved with finding new approaches to figuration within the Jewish tradition. Tofel had softened his original criticism toward individual members of the group by 1921, for Schwarz's untitled print from the cover of the third issue of *Young Yiddish* was prominently reproduced inside the 1921 issue of *Schriftn*, which also contained Max Weber's woodcut indebted to the aesthetics of African sculpture.

Meanwhile, the Jewish artistic community in Lodz received further reinforcement from local poets and artists, particularly from Witold Wandurski and Karol Hiller, who arrived from Soviet Russia in the early 1920s. Wandurski and Hiller did not join Young Yiddish, which by that time was practically dissolved, but they supported it in their writings. The poet Wandurski moved to Lodz in 1921, after studying law in Moscow and later organizing amateur theaters in Ukraine. He wrote about the city that he chose to live in: "We were in love with our dirty and smelly hometown. We searched with passion for beauty in the city's dialectic contradictions, under the thick layers of soot, extreme poverty, misery... and the rebelliousness."[383] Wandurski found Lodz to be a place of crude, eclectic beauty with "immense, bare, angular *brandmaurs*, schematic cubes of brown houses, tall, severe-Gothic red factory chimneys—the towers of human labor, woolen in arabesques of dense smoke. Flaming squares of dark factory blocks, rhythmically shaking at night."[384] Jewish artist Hiller returned to Poland in 1921, after

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studying architecture and art in Kiev and participating in the Bolshevik Revolution, and gradually allied himself with the Productivist faction of Polish Constructivists.[385]

With strong leftist convictions, Wandurski and Hiller, who collectively wrote a series of five articles called "The Visual Arts in Lodz" (Sztuki plastyczne w Lodzi), published in *Glos Polski* in 1922, were less interested in Jewish tradition *per se* and more in the social aspects of art.[386] Their articles were intended to serve as a "textbook of aesthetic education" for workers, whose artistic taste Wandurski realistically assessed as close to "the petit-bourgeois ideals of beauty," despite the fact that they lived in a "city [that they considered as] looking cubist." Hiller, whom Adler called "our Karol Hiller,"[387] wrote perceptively on artists from Lodz, such as Schwarz, in a column, "Profiles of Lodz Artists" (Sylwetki malarzy lodzkich), pointing out an important inspiration for Young Yiddish artists—local shop signs; therefore, shifting emphasis from Jewish motifs to popular sources:

> Marek Schwarz—a painter with a serious painterly culture, aware of all kinds of ills and excesses in contemporary European painting. He is heavily influenced by German Expressionism. He showed his works in the international exhibition in Düsseldorf and was prominently represented in its catalogue. In the most recent stage of his career, yearning for simplicity apparently after being influenced by Henri Rousseau, he has become interested in the primitives from the shop signs in Lodz and follows their style in his newest works. He abandoned painting for metal reliefs.[388]

By 1920, Young Yiddish began to lose its momentum as an artistic group. It organized, however, several literary events, such as the Evening of the Artists of the Word, Sound, and Tone (Wieczor artystow slowa, glosu i tonu) in Lodz in January 1920 and the Great Evening of Young Poetry (Wielki Wieczor Mlodej Poezji) in Warsaw in May 1920.

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Individual artists focused on their own careers, looking in different directions. In 1920, Adler published fragments of his lecture on Expressionism in an article for *Nowy Kurier*, which was discussed earlier in this study. Adler's text contained an element absent in most of the Expressionists' manifestos—a particular dilemma about how to respond to Expressionist calls for incorporating religious subjects into modern art. When Adler made a reference to God, he stated that "He" was the God of "our ancestors" and that Jewish artists had to "carry the weight of the great, great yearning for God and eternity," but also had to take into consideration "the pre-creational strength...[of] Logos."[389]

By 1920, Adler was back in Germany, where he resumed contacts with the radical artists from the circle around *Die Aktion* and his works were published in *Der Sturm*. In 1921, he joined the Junge Rheinland. At the same time, Adler underwent a transformation not only as an artist but also as a Jew. F. W. Seiwert remembered in 1925 that when Adler returned to Germany in 1920, he had grown a beard and was not doing well, experiencing some sort of crisis. Then, after Adler returned from a trip to the Balkans, his pictures changed. "Mystic things no longer happened in them, but rather everyday life was there. You painted Jews, as they sit and speak, women who aren't finished putting on their jewelry for a visitor, your parents, the sculptor who makes gravestones, the speaker in the Jewish workers' organization....But over all [in] the depiction of reality there is still that mystic shimmer of the unreal."[390] Adler's strongest direct statement about his roots in the Chasidic culture (he was born into an Orthodox family in Tuszyn, near Lodz) was delivered in his painting, *My Parents* (Moi rodzice, Fig.89), painted in Germany in 1921. Adler's mother and father were presented in the painting as religious people. Adler

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executed *My Parents* in a simplified style, slightly geometricized with a reduced palette in a Cubist fashion. He pasted on the canvas a piece of parchment with a *ksyba* (a traditional marriage certificate) hanging from a wooden support, integrating it into his narrative. In the painting, Adler's father points in the direction of the ksyba in a ceremonial fashion, silently reminding his wife about the wisdom of the religious writings. The artist built his image into a vertical composition with an accumulation of forms placed on top of each other in an expressionistic manner. But the work was more traditional than the expressionistic *The Last Hour of Rabbi Eleazar* (painting in which Sh. Ash found influences of El Greco), as if Adler had decided to relinquish the stylistic innovation propagated by the avant-garde to emphasize his family's attachment to the Jewish tradition. Although increasingly involved with the artistic life in Germany, Adler maintained contact with Jewish writers in Lodz by, among others, contributing illustrations to their books in Yiddish, Abraham Zak's *Unter di fligl fun tojt* (Under the Wings of Death, Fig.90 and Fig.91) and Broderzon's *Perln oifn bruk* and *Schwarz Schabbes* (Black Tchotchkes, Fig.92),[391] all published in 1921. Adler abandoned Expressionism in 1922.[392]

The Second Exhibition of Jewish Art (II Wystawa Sztuki Zydowskiej) and the Third Exhibition of Jewish Art opened in Warsaw, respectively, in October 1921 and January 1922, both without the participation of Young Yiddish artists.[393] The Second Exhibition included works by Abraham Manievich, who had stopped in Poland on his way to the United States. Manievich was well known in Jewish circles in Russia and abroad.[394] In Poland, he delivered three lectures devoted to his art, which served to further discussions

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on the nature of modern painting. Manievich probably saw an exhibition of Jewish artists in Warsaw organized in the summer of 1921, with works by Berlewi, Regina Mundlak[owna],[395] Yud Gombard, D. Rappaport, and H.B. Mintz, as well as several sketches for *The Dybbuk* by An-sky (Fig.93 and Fig.94), since he kept the exhibition catalogue.[396] *Destruction of the Ghetto*, 1919 (Fig.95), was Manievich's best-known painting in the Second Exhibition of Jewish Art, which he painted during the Civil War in Russia and in the midst of a wave of pogroms in Ukraine. The painting depicted a row of wooden houses leaning against each other, surrounding a synagogue, with a goat rambling along a street. The crowded composition produced a *horror vacui* (dislike of emptiness) effect. For Manievich, the goat was "the ruler of the abandoned grief-stricken place," "in the ruins of a destroyed, bloody shtetl."[397] The synagogue was clearly modeled on Ryback's cubist depiction of the synagogue of Dobrovna in *The Old Synagogue*, 1917. Manievich took his painting with him, when he left Kiev for the United States. On his way, he spent some time in Vilnius, which might explain why, among clippings of reviews that discuss *Destruction of the Ghetto*, one was written in Yiddish by an anonymous reviewer from *Wilner Tog* (published in Vilnius). The reviewer wrote in July 1921: "This grandiose epic, this pathetic symphony which, according to the experts, should make a revolution in painting not only for its tragic content, but also for its great composition." In October 1921, K. [Karlinski] from *Der Moment* in Warsaw contemplated the painting: "silent towns, silent streets...with a silent goat that stands like a paralyzed being on the ruins of a dynamic world." Jerzy Centnerszwer wrote in *Nasz Kurier* also in October: "Everything has here its central structure; it tends gradually to the main motif—to the dramatic tower of the wooden synagogue. A segment of rapidly

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narrowing perspective, the alleys of the small streets—all this is organized and constructed with great mastery and feeling for the whole."[398] With its faceted composition recalling works of Léger, R. Delaunay, and Francis Picabia, *Destruction of the Ghetto* remains the *opus magnus* of Manievich's entire career.

By 1921, the contacts of Jewish artists in Poland with foreign, German in particular, artists were frequent, which was confirmed by the presence of works by Meidner and Steinhardt in the Fourth Exhibition of Jewish Art (IV Wystawa Sztuki Zydowskiej), organized in Warsaw in April 1922.[399] The exhibition prompted the art critic of *Nasz Kurier*, Centnerszwer, to make a comparison between German and Polish artists. According to Centnerszwer, the work of Polish artists, such as Berlewi and Weintraub, lacked the formal discipline of the portraits by Meidner and Steinhardt, and they attempted to disguise it by placing realistically rendered faces over expressionistic backgrounds.[400] The critic also noticed the presence of a number of *engagé* works devoted to conditions of the working class. As if finding Expressionism inadequate to express specific social concerns, one of the more militant participants in the exhibition, Henryk Gotlib, who was also associated with the Formists, delivered a lecture in May 1922, during which he proclaimed the "death of Futurism" and discussed Constructivism.

Other exhibitions of Jewish artists followed, but with Adler in Germany, Schwarz in France, and, finally, Berlewi's departure for Germany in early 1922 the Jewish movement was losing the early dynamism it had generated toward the end of World War I. The same year, Lodz artists formed the Society "Silver Cart" (Zrzeszenie "Srebrny

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woz"), which included former members of the Young Yiddish group who had stayed in Poland.[401] Meanwhile, 1922 was a busy year for Lodz artists in exile. In May-June, Adler and Berlewi took part in the Grosse Berliner Kunstaustellung in the section organized by the Novembergruppe. Adler and Berlewi participated with Barczynski, Lindenfeld, and Schwarz in the International Exhibition of Progressive Art in Düsseldorf and Adler's *Landscape* was reproduced in the exhibition catalogue. In the spring of 1922, Schwarz and Adler signed for the Polish side the appeal of the Union fortschrittlicher internationaler Künstler. Adler (who joined the Kommune), Berlewi and Lindenfeld (and the Kubickis) represented Poland at the Dada-Constructivist Congress on May 29-31, 1922.

Expressionism, however, did not cease to play a significant role in the development of Jewish culture and arts in Poland, but its larger impact was on theater, literature, and poetry rather than visual arts. In 1922, Broderzon created "Chad Gadjo" Marionette Theater, engaging in its productions V. Brauner (to prepare the marionettes) and Henryk Kohn (to write the music). Broderzon remained highly visible, participating in numerous exhibitions all over Poland, and he also wrote poetry.[402] V. Brauner became closely associated with the literary group Di Khaliastre, which gathered together major Jewish poets and writers and published their works on the pages of the review *Ringen* (which also published Lissitzky's lecture "Dos gojwer zajn di kunst"), and later in their own almanac *Di Khaliastre* (The Gang).[403] In 1922, *Di Khaliastre* reprinted, among others, Broderzon's poems and his friend Tchaikov's essay on sculpture, first published in Kiev in 1921, in which Tchaikov distanced himself from his earlier program and called for

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"direct approach to art" that rejected folk art and historic tradition for modern language "attuned to Tomorrow."[404] Embracing machine aesthetics, the *Di Khaliastre* reproduced works of Tchaikov next to those of Lozowick, Berlewi, V. Brauner, and Schwarz. Another Yiddish literary and art review, *Albatross*,[405] edited by U. Z. Grinberg, appeared in September 1922. Devoted to "new poetic and artistic expressions," it included Berlewi's previously mentioned article on Eggeling. As if sticking to the tradition of old titles, an anthology of Katzenelson's short stories, poems, legends, and plays was published in Warsaw under the title *Makhmadim* in 1923. It was written in Hebrew and contained ten unsigned illustrations (Fig.96), possibly by the writer himself, who was also an accomplished caricaturist. The publishing of Jewish literature flourished in Warsaw, as is exemplified, for example, by the fact that sixteen volumes of David Frischmann's complete writings and a selection of his translations were published there under the title *Kol Kitvei David Frischmann u-Mivhar Tirgumav* in 1922.

Polish artists' international contacts were emphasized during the International Exhibition of Young Art (Miedzynarodowa Wystawa Mlodej Sztuki), which opened first in Warsaw, then in Lodz, in late 1923, and included works by former members of the Brücke (Heckel, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Ruttluff), the Blaue Reiter (Kandinsky, Klee, Kubin), as well as Kokoschka, Feininger, Heinrich Richter, Richard Seewald, and Marie Laurencin.[406] The Lodz version of the exhibition, which opened in the cinema-theater "Casino" in December 1923, gathered together all the artists from Warsaw, who in June 1923 had participated in the Exhibition of New Art (Wystawa Nowej Sztuki) in Vilnius.[407] Reflecting the growing distance, or indifference, toward Expressionism, in

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their art, Jewish artists who stayed in Poland moved stylistically closer to the aesthetics of the Ecole de Paris and/or Neue Sachlichkeit by the mid-1920s. Similarly to Russia, Jewish tradition continued to be preserved mainly in literature and theater.[408]

The departure of many members of Young Yiddish for the West around 1922 resulted partly from their isolation from the mainstream artistic life in Poland, and partly from the Polish government's politics of organizing culture along a nationalist line. The decision of many Jewish artists to leave Soviet Russia was dictated also by the growing control of the Bolshevik-dominated government, while in Poland Jewish artists were attacked for spreading Bolshevik ideas and labeled *zydokomuna*. Many Jewish artists, poets, and writers in Poland were, indeed, closely allied with Communist revolutionary ideas with internationalist aspirations. Anti-Semitism in Poland grew, in fact, in the 1920s, despite the fact that the new Polish Constitution of March 1921 declared equality for all Polish citizens. The change in the artistic climate provoked by the growing nationalism permeated the review of the International Exhibition of Young Art in Warsaw, which was written by Stefania Zahorska, one of the leading critics in the 1920s. Zahorska (who was of Jewish origins) considered the exhibition a "sad and costly experience."[409] The attacks on new art were quickly moving far beyond artistic (or economic) considerations, becoming explicit. Conservative critic Aleksander Swietochowski wrote unambiguously in the column "Liberum veto" in *Gazeta Warszawska* in 1923:

> A defense against German flooding from the West, Russian from the East, and the international Jewry, which put itself in the middle and bridged the two floodings, is our most important national and nationalistic task.... A question poses itself today for each thinking man, each Pole, who sees around him or feels inside him the influence of such

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> atmosphere, and finally for each Semite, who does not want to breath it: In which direction should the world develop—along a path of Arian culture, or along the Jewish road?[410]

A growing resentment toward Jewish artists was apparent from an article that appeared in *Mysl Narodowa* (The National Thought) on the occasion of Schwarz's exhibition in Paris at Galerie Devambez in 1924,[411] which served as a pretext for launching a more general attack on the leftist press, asking to clearly answer whether Schwarz was a Polish or a Jewish painter, "a Jew or a Pole?" [412] With Polish nationalism influencing the local art scene, Jewish artists were finding themselves increasingly isolated, which ultimately, with World War II and the anti-Jewish politics of the Communist government after the war, led, practically, to the almost total disappearance of the original Jewish culture in Poland.

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2.3 Formism

Old loyalties or simple pragmatism were behind the Formists' decision to exhibit together in Poznan with the Poznan Expressionists in the winter of 1919. Such cooperation contradicted the Formists' decision to distance themselves from German Expressionism, with which Poznan artists were at that time still associated. In the introduction to the first anthology of Expressionist writings titled *The Dawn of an Epoch: Struggling for New Art*, published around the time of the exhibition in Poznan, Jerzy Hulewicz mentioned the joint efforts of radical Polish artists to change Polish art, while stressing *Zdrój*'s leading role in promoting new ideas. He wrote:

> When in 1917 we began our work, opening *Zdrój*, we were well aware that the magazine's evolution would be its important part. It could not be otherwise: the magazine with an honest creative ideal, established during a period when Poles were completely disinterested in reading, coming to light during devastating war ravages, had to avoid becoming an isolated speck in a world rocked by raging waves....The artists from Mloda Polska met the proponents of the expression already in the first issue of *Zdrój*. The competition continues, with a gradual shift toward young art through nine issues of *Zdrój*, finally finding enough creative components in the youngest forces...; only after two and a half years *Zdrój* achieves its uniqueness and the complete crystallization of its ideas.[413]

What Hulewicz only vaguely stated was that in late 1919 the Poznan Expressionists were clearly a different group from the one they had been during their militant Bunt period. Like the Formists, Poznan artists embraced Expressionism with more metaphysical and patriotic horizons, and that decision was also a factor that for a moment brought them closer to the Formists. Interestingly enough, unlike the Poznan Expressionists and members of Young Yiddish, the Formists' involvement with Expressionism was often reflected more clearly in their writings than in their art. As in the previous parts devoted

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to Poznan Expressionists and Young Yiddish, Formists will be analyzed in this chapter by examining their artistic activities and theoretical writings, particularly the texts that appeared on the pages of the *Formisci* review, published by the group between 1919 and 1921. The Formist group included two major theoreticians, Chwistek and Witkacy, who will be treated with particular attention in this chapter.

*

Formists followed their own path toward Expressionism from the group's beginning, while deeply engaged in a dialogue with Mloda Polska. They were determined to make art that reflected artistic developments in Western Europe, which included Expressionism but other artistic tendencies as well. As in the case of the other groups discussed in this study, the Formists' artistic alliances were politically and culturally conditioned. Their perspective was strongly shaped by the fact that the movement was conceived in Kraków, the main city of Galicia, e.g., the south-eastern part of Poland, which was infamous for its economic backwardness and poverty often referred to as "bieda galicyjska" [Galician poverty]).[414] Although linked to German culture through its long association with the Austro-Hungarian empire, Kraków aspired to be part of "French Europe."[415] Therefore, when Kraków artists began to be publicly called Formists during their second exhibition in Kraków in July 1918, they welcomed the association with French art and culture, particularly with those aspects that inspired "pure beauty and related to it feelings of joy and enthusiasm."[416]

The situation of Kraków artists was to a large degree unique in Poland. With the growing Russification and Germanization of other parts of the country, Kraków was the indisputable

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cultural capital of partitioned Poland, having a high number of intelligentsia, who often came to the city looking for refuge from the more oppressive German and Russian regimes. Unlike Poles under Russian and German rule, the citizens of Kraków enjoyed, in fact, a significant degree of autonomy from occupying Austria, having a strong political lobby in the Austrian Parliament prior to Independence.[417] A limited independence had both positive and negative consequences: on one hand, it allowed Polish art and culture to flourish, on the other it was in Kraków above all where the blame for lost independence was not directly linked to the foreign invasion, but to the Poles' character as well.[418] Such a precarious position might be, in fact, responsible for Kraków artists' reluctance to embrace political activism and their turn to deep introspection and pursuits of formal excellence instead. Furthermore, fashion often ruled and made the most revolutionary changes oblivious in Kraków, as if echoing Wyspianski's famous stanzas:

> Let there be war all over the whole world
> As long as the Polish countryside is quiet
> As long as the Polish countryside is calm.[419]

But, with its past as the old Polish capital, Kraków was the city where conventions and traditions had been treated with great pride as part of its distinctive cultural identity.[420] Basler's words in *Museion,* written in 1913, were as appealing to many Kraków artists in the 1920s as they had been in the 1910s. "One of the biggest modern misconceptions," Basler wrote, "is a claim of progress in art and literature, and one of the biggest evils is the pursuit of originality....There is no great idea that would not have been already known to the world. They just need to be thought over again."[421] The new tendencies in Western art were often coldly received by the local press. For example in 1918 *Maski*

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contained an article entitled "A Progressive Art Expert. First Aid for Snobs and Reviewers" (Postepowy znawca sztuki [dorazna pomoc dla snobow i recenzentow]), in which its author, Tadeusz Swiatek, criticized Polish intellectuals and artists for following foreign models. He produced a list of references recommended by a fictional Dr. Hrdy, which is worth quoting, for it provides an example of the scope of foreign literature and periodicals known and read in Kraków, even if only known by title. Swiatek listed, "H. Bahr's *Expressionismus*; Fritz Bürger's *Cézanne und Hodler, Einführung in die Probleme der Malerei der Gegenwart*; Max Picard's *Expressionistische Bauernmalerei*; Max Raphael's *Von Monet zu Picasso: grundzüge einer asthetic und entwicklung der moderner malerei*; and Gustave Coquiot's *Cubistes, futuristes, passeists, essai sur la jeune peinture et la jeune sculpture*, as well as the magazines, *Der Blaue Reiter, Die Aktion, Neue Jugend, Kunstblatt, Marsyas*, and *SIC*."[422] Swiatek's attack was, in fact, not coincidental. For Kraków was the birthplace of a particular type of Polish intellectual: a fin-de-siècle artist, novelist, playwright, or poet, who was usually not particularly well-educated, was deeply skeptical, even cynical and highly opinionated, and inseparable from his/her indignation.[423]

The majority of the city's young artists were dissatisfied with tradition, perceiving it as moribund. For them, as the Futurist Jasienski later wrote, Kraków was also "a city-mausoleum, in which each brick is from the Wawel [the Royal castle with the tombs of Polish kings, which Wyspianski imagined as the Polish Acropolis], and each citizen—a curator; Kraków—Polish Florence, panopticon of national mummies... [that] witnessed the vitality of the Polish organism."[424]

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Young artists were generally less dogmatic in embracing artistic tendencies in the West. In a special issue of *Glos Plastykow* (The Voice of Visual Artists), devoted to Formism in 1938, one of the "rebels," Zbigniew Pronaszko recalled the climate in Kraków in the late 1910s as follows:

> One cannot be surprised that a young artist returning [to Kraków] from a trip even to the closest foreign country, after seeing great art in foreign museums—had to feel rebellious against all that he saw around him. Especially since new artistic movements were just being born abroad, Cubism in France, Futurism in Italy, Expressionism in Germany. The world around us was in flames.[425]

The Formist group grew from the young artists' dissatisfaction with the state of the arts in Kraków, their observations of new art during trips to the West, as well as the socio-political climate of Poland's emergence as an independent state in 1918. The group was founded by artists who participated in the yearly Exhibitions of the Independents (modeled on French Salons des Independants), first organized by the Open Association of Polish Artists (Zwiazek Powszechny Artystow Polskich) in Kraków in 1911. Those exhibitions attracted both young artists who wanted to move away from mimetic naturalism and artists who practiced various forms of naturalism.[426] Most of the participants in the Independents' Exhibitions were members of the Society of Polish Artists "Art" (Towarzystwo Artystow Polskich "Sztuka," known as Sztuka), which propagated the aesthetics of Mloda Polska.[427] After its establishment in October 1897, Sztuka dominated artistic life in Kraków. The society was formed to promote Polish art of the highest artistic quality, as was described in its program. In reality, Sztuka was more an exclusive (although large) organization, with a nationalistic agenda and a strong

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stylistic inclination toward realism based on a mixture of plein-air observation of nature and *intimism*.[428] Its members often turned to the local landscape as a source of national distinctiveness and pride.

Due to military mobilization, the yearly Exhibitions of the Independents were suspended during World War I,[429] which motivated a group of young artists to detach themselves from the established artistic milieu and form the "Polish Expressionists."[430] The Polish Expressionists' group was launched by Andrzej Pronaszko (1897-1961), Zbigniew Pronaszko (1885-1958), and Tytus Czyzewski (1880-1945), all three graduates of the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts who had traveled extensively to the West prior to the war.[431] The First Exhibition of Polish Expressionists opened in November 1917 and presented over 120 works by eighteen artists, among them paintings on glass and etchings by anonymous folk artists from the Tatra Mountains region. Skoczylas, whose prints were directly inspired by the folk art of the local highlanders (Fig.97), was given a special place in the show.[432] The range of names on the exhibition's checklist suggested that the artists were selected on the basis of artistic and social connections rather than programmatic unity.[433] Presenting a variety of stylistic approaches to art, the exhibition demonstrated that most of its participants were familiar with the newest developments in Western art but treated them with caution.[434] Nevertheless, Mojzesz (Moïse) Kisling, Jan Rubczak, Felicja Szererowa, and E. Zak were listed as guest-artists from Paris, stressing Kraków artists' contacts with France.[435]

Czyzewski was the most accomplished and, at the same time, the most controversial artist

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in the show, with the admiration of many young artists in Kraków. He designed the exhibition poster (a lithograph) with a bird-like figure with a head resembling a face-mask/helmet placed in the upper left corner and handwritten text announcing the event on the left side (Fig.98). The poster recalls Alfred Jarry's program for the production of his *Ubu Roi* at the Théâtre des Pantins in 1898 (Fig.99), which Czyzewski might have seen in Paris. Jarry was popular in Poland, where it did not pass unnoticed that the action of *Ubu Roi* was described as taking place "en Pologne, c'est-á-dire Nulle Part" (in Poland, this is to say, Nowhere).[436] Formal similarities between Czyzewski's and Jarry's works indicated that the young artists in Kraków were still strongly influenced by turn-of-the-century French art.

The works presented in the Kraków exhibition also displayed affinities with Postimpressionism, Expressionism, Cézannism and Cubism—all of which were perceived as stylistically opposed to the dominating Neoromanticism, Naturalism, and Impressionism in Polish art. Impressionism was, in fact, perceived by many Kraków artists as an extension of Positivist thinking and considered the most problematic of artistic imports from Western Europe. With their pronounced linearity and flatness, many works in the show were closely linked to *secesja*. Among the Western artists revered by participants of the First Exhibition of Polish Expressionists were Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Gauguin, the Nabis, and Italian "Primitivists" (Giotto, for example); Wyspianski was the most admired among Polish artists.[437] A significant number of works by Kraków artists displayed influences of folkloric stylization, which became more apparent due to their proximity to the previously mentioned original folk works included

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in the show, similar to an anonymous *Piéta* (Fig.100).[438]

Z. Pronaszko's sketches and cartoons for an unrealized project of a polychrome and a wooden relief for a church in Kraków (Kosciol OO. Misjonarzy), on which he worked in 1911-12, attracted particular critical attention among the works presented in the Kraków exhibition.[439] The works displayed the formal elegance of the Gothic, particularly Gothic stained-glass windows, while their overall structures derived from a cubist fragmentation of space.[440] The polychrome project, realized in 1913-14 but later whitewashed (today it is known in part from archival photographs, Fig.101), was influenced by the so-called "Salon Cubism" or "Neo-cubists," artists such as le Fauconnier, de la Fresnaye, André Dunoyer de Segonzac, Paul Vera, and Luc-Albert Moreau, who were praised in France by Apollinaire and André Salmon for their successful combining of classical tradition and modern innovation.[441] The project also recalls Wyspianski's stained-glass windows from the Franciscan Church in Kraków.[442] Pronaszko's relief was probably additionally inspired by Wit Stwosz's (Veit Stoss) famous altarpiece in the Church of Our Lady (Kosciol Mariacki). The relief was designed as an altarpiece, with the center occupied by the Virgin Mary placed in a niche, flanked on both sides by figures of bowing angels.[443] Using the rhythmic pattern of triangles, rectangles, and irregularly geometricized planes, Pronaszko achieved the effect of both complete tranquility and emotional dynamism, which he successfully repeated in his later works, such as *The Muse* (Muza), 1917 (Fig.102) and *Piéta*, 1918 (Fig.103). Andrzej Pronaszko, Zbigniew's brother, employed similar aesthetics in an unrealized project of a stained-glass window titled *The Descent from the Cross* (Zdjecie z krzyza), 1912-1915 (Fig.104).

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Included in the exhibition were also works by Chwistek. Chwistek's paintings and drawings of visionary, "optimistic" modern cityscapes were very different from Z. Pronaszko's "Gothic world" of elastic tension. *A City* (Miasto), 1919 (Fig.105), conjured up a tall skyscraper surrounded by a net of curvilinear forms that, like a dreamy *repoussoire*, contrasted the massive structure while partially obstructing its visibility. It was a picture of fantastic and optimistic architecture of a better future. Chwistek's depictions of architecture stood for a material model of a new world, constructed with its own logic, growing naturally like organic structures. The formal logic of such architecture was biological rather than scientific, as if reflecting the later dictum of the Bauhaus architect Hannes Meyer: "Building is a biological event."[444] The work juxtaposed straight lines and curves in a manner suggested in *Du Cubisme*—to "express life,"[445] with its unity strengthened by Cézannian *passages*, which Chwistek called the "crescendo and decrescendo." The abstracted pattern of the "oscillating" sky (the effect of oscillation being an implementation, or a residue, of Chwistek's research in visual perception[446]) announced, in fact, Strzeminski's *Unistic Compositions* (Kompozycje unistyczne) from the mid- and late 1920s, which historians have often considered the finest examples of early abstract work in Poland. However, Chwistek's art lacks Constructivist rigor and a homogeneity of composition, showing instead an understated and slightly awkward execution, a quality that can be found in Chwistek's entire oeuvre.

The Expressionist exhibition also included Czyzewski's eight oils, four pastels, and five watercolors, as well as a series of "multi-planar," assemblage-like paintings (obrazy

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wieloplaszczyznowe, Fig.106), made of polychromed wood and cardboard. In those assemblage-like paintings (today only known from reproductions) the Polish artist carried the cubist fragmentation of objects to the physical process of cutting the painting into pieces and reassembling it into a new work in a fashion similar to Picasso's *Guitar*, 1912, or the counter-reliefs of Vladimir Tatlin.[447] While Czyzewski's "multi-planar" paintings, with their three-dimensional space and material quality, share the formal characteristics of cubist and constructivist sculptures, they were also modeled on the Polish *szopka* (a small shed). The szopka was built for traditional Polish puppet shows performed during Christmas time, either as an animated crèche or a short satirical play.[448] Discussing his "multi-planar" work, *Salome* (Salome), Czyzewski argued that the "cutting (drawing, and painting) of a plane (of a canvas) must be integrated into its whole plane and [in accordance with] compositional intention, because lines, planes and colors have their precise theatrical base like tonality in music."[449] Interested in synergistic connections between art and music, Czyzewski experimented also with making dance the subject of several of his "multi-planar" paintings. But, subject matter and its interpretation remain central to Czyzewski's "method," despite its emphasis on the formal aspect of art. In several cases, the artist combined his interests in art and poetry by creating multi-planar paintings as "thematic compressions." For example, he wrote a poem as a clear allusion (or homage) to Picasso:

In front
        She is
Reading "Journal des Débats."
        Looking: seven, eight,
I see faces, two and a half![450]

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The vagueness of boundaries between the new and the old approaches to art presented in the Expressionist exhibition was echoed in the exhibition catalogues, of which several versions exist.[451] The catalogue included a selection of statements about art that ranged from aphoristic sentences excerpted from the writings of Leonardo da Vinci (quoted from *Du Cubisme* by Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger [Paris: Eugene Figuiere, 1912]) and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, to short passages from Cézanne, Matisse, and Gleizes and Metzinger.[452] The catalogue also quotes two Poles, Mickiewicz and Z. Pronaszko. While Mickiewicz's statement was used to praise antinaturalism from a historic perspective,[453] Z. Pronaszko was charged with the formulation of a general program for the exhibition from the position of contemporary artist.[454]

Pronaszko stressed the importance of antinaturalism by focusing his discussion of modern art on the role of the formal structure of painting, which revealed itself gradually through color and form while moving toward "the third dimension that has nothing to do with traditional perspective." "Painting," he wrote, "cannot return to nature; painting must always return to picture. The picture is a purposeful [and] logical filling out of certain space with certain forms....The life of a picture relies only on its constructivity, and its theme can only be the problem of form and color." Painting's principal role was to find a form for sensations, which was, according to Pronaszko, "what Expressionism attempted, as it conveyed inner content through form."[455]

A statement by Gleizes and Metzinger served Pronaszko to refute the social role of art: "That the final goal of painting is the influencing of the crowd—we agree on it—but painting does not have to do it in the language of the crowd—let it do it in its own

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speech, to move, guide, rule, but not for being understood. This is how religions and philosophers do it. An artist, who does not make compromises, who does not explain himself and tell stories, gains inner strength. Its rays cast light on the environment."[456] In general, the Polish artist sides with the apolitical tendencies in art, deriving most of his ideas from writings on French Cubism (*Du Cubisme* in particular), while, at the same time, proclaiming as a goal for new art that it be distinctively national by embracing local folklore. A few months later, Pronaszko published the previously mentioned article entitled "About Expressionism" (O ekspresjonizmie), in which he elaborated on his reading of modern art.

As mentioned in the chapter devoted to the definition of Expressionism in Polish art, Pronaszko derived the meaning of the word Expressionism from a generic name for avant-garde tendencies in twentieth-century art, which he made synonymous with contemporary art and placed in opposition to "official art." After providing a general definition of Expressionism, he elaborated on formal aspects of the new art:

> By a form I call a convention, in which I enclose a given shape; a shape [is] the appearance of any body in space, for example, a piece of blue sky seen through the clouds, a spot of light on someone's front, a tree, a shadow of a tree, etc. A shape is an expression of nature, dependent on the circumstances and environment therefore accidental; a form is constant, like a creative expression....For a painting to have a form, it needs: 1/ all its objects to have a form, 2/ the form to be coherent, 3/ the close and organic relationship between the objects....Therefore, if one paints shapes but not their convention, one cannot go beyond the limitations of copying nature, which has nothing to do with painting, because only through a form leads our road to construction and organism.[457]

Praising "logical formal arrangement" as the highest organizational force in painting, Pronaszko mentioned that the "third dimension" in Expressionism is quite different from

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traditional linear perspective. While the latter relied on arbitrary directions of lines, schematic gradation of color, and a definite source of light located in one place that goes in only one direction (like a spotlight at the back of a stage), Expressionists' third dimension belonged, instead, to the different planes of each object, which all together formed the volume. "Looking at an object or analyzing it," he argued, "I do not see it frontally, contrary: my consciousness brings all its planes and views, and only reassembling them I do obtain its full expression and essence."[458]

Although Pronaszko did not mention any contemporary writings either on Cubism or Expressionism, he was certainly influenced by some of them. As was shown above, he was particularly clear in the parts of his text that dealt with the basic tenets of Analytic Cubism and the ideas developed by Apollinaire in *Les peintres cubistes*, 1913, but extended to writings of Matisse and other former Fauves. Pronaszko's interpretation of Expressionist ideas was more vague. For example, when he talked about the desire to achieve full "expression," or to embrace the "primitive" (Gothic is one of its expressions), he made them correlatives of "construction." Pronaszko equated "form" with a "sign" on the level of connotation and denotation, which he probably derived from Matisse's "*Notes d'un peintre*," by that time the most familiar, quoted, and certainly the most understood text among Polish artists. But Pronaszko, like Kandinsky and unlike Matisse, did not take nature as the starting point of his artistic process, treating it as an "abstract" phenomenon. In his text, Pronaszko made it also clear that the artists formed the Expressionist group to "combine their efforts in [promoting their own] art" (potrzeba zbiorowego wysilku w sztuce). "We are not concerned," Pronaszko wrote, "with the

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name, which is accidental like Futurism, Cubism, Orphism and many similar ones that belong to Expressionism; we are concerned with the matter of things."[459] This "matter of things" was to gather artists interested in avant-garde tendencies in art and promote their works through exhibitions.

When the Second Expressionist Exhibition opened in Kraków in July 1918, it gathered artists from all parts of Poland. From Kraków came the brothers Pronaszko, Chwistek, Czyzewski, Hrynkowski, Mierzejewski, and Franciszek Rerutkiewicz; from Poznan, J. Hulewicz and Szmaj; and from Warsaw, Husarski and Gwozdecki (who actually lived in Paris).[460] The exhibition catalogue carried a generic title, "Expressionism" and several reviews of the show called it the "Second Exhibition of Expressionists (Formists)."[461] Despite the impression of national unity, the exhibition, which followed the Bunt exhibition (May 1918), revealed that the newly created Expressionist camp polarized along its relationship to German Expressionism, which Chwistek would publicly voice in 1919.

Although Z. Pronaszko was first to delineate the program of the Kraków Expressionists (Formists), it was Chwistek, a painter, writer, philosopher, mathematician, and a participant in the First and Second Expressionist Exhibitions in 1917 and 1918, who came up with a highly original analysis of modern art. Chwistek's "theory of multiplicity of reality" (wielosci rzeczywistosci) was spelled out in his "Multiplicity of Reality in Art" (Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce), first published in *Maski* in 1918.[462] Chwistek's theory of multiplicity of reality was an ambitious and extensive (considering painting,

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architecture, poetry and theater) attempt by a Polish writer and artist to formulate a response to various hermeneutic theories of art that were reaching Poland from Western Europe and Russia. Chwistek's theory should be traced back to his interest in relativity, particularly in the branch formulated by Henri Poincaré, whose lecture Chwistek attended in 1909, while studying at the University of Ghent. Chwistek based his writings about art also on books by Gustav Theodor Fechner, Alfred North Whitehead, and Bertrand Russell.[463] He was probably further inspired by Rudolf Leonhard's article from *Der Sturm* magazine, published in November 1912, which was quoted in the catalogue of the Expressionist exhibition in Lvov organized by Walden in June 1913.

As an important example of Polish artists' approach to modern art, Chwistek's "theory of multiplicity of reality" deserves closer attention. Unlike Pronaszko, who based his theory on the separation of art from nature, treating nature as subservient to art, Chwistek insisted on the equal importance for both and defended new art against accusations of being formless and superficial, tying art with reality. But Chwistek's reality was not accessible emphatically, but a separate entity. In the center of his theory stood the premise that art and reality were interdependent, but they had their own sets of characteristics. The artist needed, therefore, to create his/her works as self-reliant constructs. He/she had the right to deform nature in his/her art, but should not abandon it completely. Asking himself if natural forms and colors could be eliminated from art, Chwistek answered negatively and explained that abandoning nature led to chaos, in which "the place of given shapes would be taken by a loose combination of patches/spots and lines, intrinsic to ornament [but not true art], and that would exclude any possibility

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of extended contemplation, which constitutes a major delight derived from a work of art."[464]

Despite his fascination with modernity, Chwistek was attached to past art, seeing it as a valid reflection of its time—but only if a Master had produced it.[465] He rejected the idea of a total rupture with the past. If he had accepted the idea, such a rupture would have to include his beloved Renaissance, viewed by him as a period of individualism and total commitment to perfection and purity of style. "Even if one can put Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Rembrandt outside of the notion of 'art,'" he wrote "one who takes such a position should be aware of acting more or less like one who uses the word 'man' as if it means—'a man who is not a Pole.' Because I am interested in such theory of art, which would allow me to include under the term 'work of art' the art of the Far East and the Middle Ages, next to Renaissance, Ingres, Eugene Delacroix, Impressionists and Formists—I cannot accept all those theories that are concerned with only parts of the previously mentioned scope of interest as a solution to problems that trouble me."[466] Hence, Chwistek opted for a world of "multiple reality" and continuity with past artistic tradition.

Chwistek's topology of realities included four categories: (1) reality of daily experience and things, (2) reality of physical bodies, (3) reality of emotions and sensations, (4) reality of imagination.[467] Their correlatives in the visual arts were accordingly: (1) Primitivism, (2) Realism, (3) Impressionism, and (4) Futurism (which included all tendencies that followed Impressionism, particularly Formism).[468] According to

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Chwistek, a primitive created art based on a fixed knowledge of nature, while a realist studied nature according to current developments in science, originally limited to the knowledge of perspective and anatomy. Impressionism for him was a final phase of realism based on a scientific knowledge of chromatic sensations; Futurism shifted the artist's focus from physical to inner reality. Chwistek argued that images of static objects belonged to the three past artistic tendencies, while their changing appearance (as in visions) could be captured in Futurism only. According to Chwistek's theory, an image became a work of art when it represented, consequently and coherently, only one type of reality (a principle that Chwistek did not apply rigorously to his art), when form was superior over pictorial content and "carried" it. But images of esoteric, subjective visions were not the culmination of artistic experience and expression. Following Russell's theory of "limited realism," in which sensations and physical reality (which included cognitive thinking) shared the same matter, Chwistek opted for a visionary art produced in a state of Trance, but he grounded it in a reality of objects.[469] In such a world, the matter and the spirit leaned toward each other, coming close to each other at the point where the former one was the least material and the latter the least spiritual.[470]

Chwistek believed that Formism was able to move further than Futurism, Cubism, or Expressionism (perceived as distinctive local schools) because it acknowledged the fluidity of the world, while focusing on formal problems, rather than choosing one known aspect of reality (Futurists' emphasis on movement, Cubists' on simplicity, or Expressionists' on human emotions) and raising aesthetic rather than ethical questions, or producing social criticism. Such Formism was both "visionary' and "realistic,"[471] and,

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therefore, capable of reconciling the duality of spirit and matter that other contemporary styles failed to achieve. In practice, Chwistek searched for a new formal language that would convey the visionary experience of artists (like Expressionists) without disrupting the continuity of tradition in visual arts in the West, which was based on the individual efforts of great artists.

The impossibility of a clear application of Chwistek's program did not prevent his ideas from being popular among the Polish avant-garde. Chwistek, in fact, presented his "inconsistencies" as sources of strength. Already in the beginning of "Multiplicity of Reality in Art," Chwistek stated: "Numerous dialectic victories, which Socrates achieves in Plato's *Dialogues*, result, as we know, from unclearness, often in fact patched up by the author."[472] Therefore, unlike other theories of the early twentieth century, Chwistek's program was not presented as monolithic, although it aimed at prolonging the modernist ethos of the unity of an artist with his work and life.[473]

Chwistek's ideas were scrutinized and questioned by another Polish artist, Witkacy, who joined the Formists in early 1919 and exhibited with the group in the Polish Arts Club (Polski Klub Artystyczny [PKA]), located at the Hotel Polonia in Warsaw in April 1919 (Fig.107).[474] The show was announced as the First Exhibition of Polish Formists. Coinciding with the regaining of independence, the Minister of Culture attended the opening of the Formists' exhibition, clearly as a symbolic gesture of the newly elected Polish government toward new art. Most of the artists were the same ones who participated in the Expressionist exhibitions in Kraków. Among the new adherents to the

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group, other than Witkacy, were, Zamoyski (a member of the Poznan Expressionists), and two Warsaw-based artists—Romuald Kamil Witkowski and Jan Zyznowski.[475] Although each of the new members brought a unique perspective to the reading of Formizm, Witkacy was the biggest asset for the group. He was praised in Poland for, or accused of (depending on the view of the relevance of metaphysics and him as a person), being an erudite with "visionary" abilities. His ideas found full realization in his theory of Pure Form, which he called (after Edmund Husserl) an "eidetic general theory of art."[476] His hallucinatory art, perhaps less successful than his theoretical writings, also did not blend well with the Formist works. But with his fame and his name, Witkacy was a real asset to the group.

Witkacy's role, both as an original artist and critic, was emphasized by the fact that he was asked to design a poster for the exhibition (Fig.108) and write an introduction for the exhibition catalogue. He was also given a prominent place with twenty-nine works presented in a separate gallery, more than any other artist in the show. Zamoyski, who participated in the exhibition with nineteen works, many of them known from his shows in Poznan, was also the author of one of the short essays in the catalogue, which contained a number of general ideas about art, already known from his text in the catalogue of an earlier exhibition.[477] The Artistic Committee established for the exhibition included Z. Pronaszko, Skoczylas, Witkacy, Witkowski, and Zamoyski.[478]

In the First Formist Exhibition in Warsaw, Chwistek presented five works, among them, *A Duel* (Pojedynek), c. 1919 (Fig.109), one of the versions on a theme that he returned to

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many times. The work was inspired by a real event: a duel between Chwistek and Wladyslaw Dunin-Borkowski in Paris in 1914.[479] Witkacy's description of this one of Chwistek's most Cubo-Futurist works was particularly instructive: "Despite the fighting figures' alleged wild movement, they are only partial masses of an ideally composed wholeness. All parts of the composition, with their diverging tensions, are held together by their proper situating that gives the impression of uninterrupted unity, albeit stronger because of its divergence. Colors kept harmonious (without the use of disharmony as a perverse means) increase this unity, as well as the unification and simplification of form throughout the painting. Alluding to movement is only one of the means. The whole surface shows no trace of realism. This one painting places Chwistek in the first row among our young artists who work according to our theory."[480]

The patronizing tone of Witkacy's comment (Chwistek was, in fact, one year older than Witkacy) was witness to the ongoing rivalry between the two artists for the title of the main theoretician of the Polish radical artists. Witkacy considered Chwistek to be his major opponent in art, and formed his theory of "unity in multiplicity" (jednosc w wielosci), which manifests itself in Pure Form,[481] in response to Chwistek's theory of multiplicity of reality in art.[482] Unlike Chwistek who approached art through his training in logic and his belief in empiricism of the Cartesian tradition, Witkacy preferred to do it ontologically and connected his ideas to metaphysics influenced by German phenomenology, Husserl in particular.[483] For Witkacy, art basically derived from the ontological condition of man. As religion and philosophy were failing to fulfill their promises, art became the only expression of deep metaphysical problems. For him, man

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lost his connection with the universe, but could be reconnected with contemporary life through art that conveyed feeling, rather than a concrete, gray, and "dirty" (opposed to "clean" mathematics—an obvious reply to Chwistek, who was a mathematician) economic, social, or cultural reality.

Art for Witkacy did not "have anything to do with any type of reality, no matter how depicted, but with constructing unified forms despite one or another reality."[484] And further, in another place in the same essay (clearly commenting on Chwistek's ideas), Witkacy wrote: "Therefore, why shouldn't I be allowed, if we are concerned with reality, to mix five or six realities in one painting? But if I state that the form should be presented uniformly, because otherwise the painting ceases to be unity in multiplicity despite its unity of composition and color, the problem becomes simple and, in addition, presented in an abstracted form of any imagined worlds."[485]

Chwistek was not Witkacy's passive opponent. His ""Multiplicity of Reality in Art" contains a riposte, "According to Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, the problem of reality is irrelevant to the theory of art. Witkiewicz's theory, based on the concept of form and 'dynamic tensions' (napiecia kierunkowe),[486] is, as all created by this externally original artist, very intriguing....Contrary to Witkiewicz, I consider the problem of reality to be significantly connected to the artistic issues."[487] Chwistek reproached Witkacy for ignoring (read "refusing to defend") Formism, while discussing current artistic tendencies in 1919.[488] The arguments between the two artists went back and forth, sometimes taking

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on the function of "arguing-for-the-sake-of-arguing," but always in the name of a belief in the importance of art.

Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz (1885-1939), or Witkacy, as he has been usually called at his request, deserves to be discussed here at length. He was a prolific artist, critic, writer, and photographer,[489] who, in some ways, suffered from the richness of his multiple talents. His artistic output was vast, but, at the same time, uneven in quality. Son of the art critic Stanislaw Witkiewicz, Witkacy began his artistic career as a prodigy,[490] moved through several stages of his art, and, to satisfy himself with a status of *petit maître*, engaged in a "psychological play through artistic means" (psychologiczna gra srodkami artystycznymi). He ultimately reduced his artistic activities to running the "Portrait Firm: S.I. Witkiewicz" (Firma Portretowa S.I. Witkiewicza, established in 1925), which produced commercial portraits on commission according to a set of regulations grouping them into seven types labeled: A, B, B+d, C, D, E, B+E.[491] Summarizing his activities as the owner of the Portrait Firm of S.I. Witkiewicz, Witkacy called himself "an old 'whore-portraitist.'"[492] Throughout his life, Witkacy enjoyed shocking and bluffing others, which often drew accusations of a lack of seriousness. His intelligence and wit, in many ways, recall those of Marcel Duchamp. Like Duchamp, Witkacy employed "found forms" and abandoned experimentation in painting, choosing to concentrate on his philosophical ideas expressed in his writings. But Witkacy had little respect for Duchamp.[493] In a satirical leaflet titled "Litmus Paper, e.g. Pure-Blagueism" (Papierek lakmusowy, czyli piurblagizm), co-authored with two other artists, Tadeusz Langer and Tymon Niesiolowski, and published in *Gazeta Zakopianska* (The Zakopane Newspaper) in

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October 1921, Witkacy mocked Duchamp, presenting him as the leaflet's editor named Marceli Duchanski-Blaga (Marceli Duchamp-ski-the Blague).[494]

When Witkacy joined the Formists in early 1919, he strongly opposed art with any political message. Witkacy's relationship to historic events of his time had changed after World War I. He returned to Poland from Russia in 1918, where he had spent the war serving in the Russian army. During the war he fought in an exclusive infantry regiment as an officer, which caused consternation in his patriotic family in Kraków.[495] Well-familiar with Marxism, he first considered the October Revolution as leading the way to the realization of great social ideals, but soon rejected it on the grounds of his commitment to individualism and high cultural standards, and ultimately viewed it as the source of an upcoming disaster. Marxism became for him the main source of the unavoidable apocalyptic catastrophe of the end of civilization. He had spent enough time in Russia to know contemporary Russian art, but, even if he familiarized himself with the Russian avant-garde, he remained indifferent and even hostile to it. Witkacy rejected, for instance, the Suprematist programmatic alliance with abstraction, calling it simply—"dishonest."[496] He objected to the Russian interpretation of Constructivism: "Construction is not a criterion, because a work of art is not a bridge, which, if it does not collapse under the weight of the first train, is a good one."[497]

Witkacy's philosophy of life was fatalistic. In art, it led him to a theory that attempts, sometimes with an intellectual bravura that verges on hallucinations, to formulate purely formal principles of modern art. In his private life, it led him to spectacular and tragic

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consequences and decisions: trips to exotic countries, narcotics,[498] and to "the apotheosis of perversion"—his suicide in 1939, on the day that Russian troops invaded Poland from the East during World War II. As if anticipating the future, in the chapter "About the Gradual Disappearance of Metaphysical Feelings in Relation to Social Progress" in *The New Forms in Painting* (Nowe formy w malarstwie), Witkacy wrote: "We live in the times, in which, beside the specters of nations disappearing into the past, appears a shadow dangerous for all that is beautiful, mysterious and unique—a shadow of the masses oppressed through centuries, and it grows to the monstrous size of entire humanity."[499] He thought as naïve the communist dreams of a return to simpler forms of social order, while preserving all achievements of modern culture.

Furthermore, for Witkacy, humanity could not consciously accept a lower level of culture. But, at the same time, he lamented that modern man turned away with shame from the past, and from the future with the anticipation of grayness and boredom. According to Witkacy, modern man looked for artificial stimulants, with which he wanted to ignite anew long-dead enthusiasm and the impression of individual power. He looked for artificial mystery, artificial beauty in art and life. But he did it in vain, because beauty existed only in madness. Speculating on the future of art, Witkacy came to the conclusion that after the French Revolution the growing democratization of life had made life "gray." Echoing Oswald Spengler and Max Stirner, Witkacy wrote: "Future people will not feel the mystery of being—they will not have time for it, and they will never be lonely in an ideal future society."[500] The impossibility of alienating oneself from the outside world, which he considered the necessary component of being creative, would

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bring an end to art and philosophy.[501] Therefore, he entitled the two last chapters of *Nowe formy w malarstwie*: "The Suicide of Philosophy" (Samobojstwo filozofii) and "The Downfall of Art" (Upadek sztuki).

Despite his programmatic independence from styles in modern art, Witkacy, like Chwistek (who remained committed to leftist causes) and many other Polish artists, wanted to resolve contradictions experienced by artists in their working process and art, including psychological ones. He called for a history of the changes of artistic forms: composition, harmony of colors, and arrangement of forms, instead of a history of manners, customs, costumes, and religious and social language," which he described as the changes of the human body and soul.[502] But with a rebellious nature, he chose to define himself in opposition to the outside world. It was not only Chwistek, his former friend, who became his adversary in discussions on art. As Witkacy wanted to challenge the whole tradition of the metaphysical approach to art in Poland, Przybyszewski, Micinski, and the critic Cezary Jellenta also became subjects of his attacks. In reality, he often sounded like Przybyszewski (for example, when he described reality as being "repulsive" and lacking spirituality) and/or Micinski,[503] while his theory of "Pure Form" shared certain affinities with Jellenta's description of his "intensifism."[504] The newly developed technology of taking X-ray photographs increased Witkacy's interest in transparency and simultaneity, which he extended to a preoccupation with split personalities, contradicting wishes, and the coexistence of the light and the dark forces of the mind. What set him apart from previously mentioned writers was his ability to connect his ideas to modern, post-Kantian metaphysics, with that metaphysic's return to

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the investigation of human nature and existence in the context of a world implicated in history. Such metaphysics required investigating the true nature of man (metaphysics of existence or freedom) his relations with other men (ethics, philosophy of "intersubjectivity," and sociology), and the sense of history (metaphysics of historic times).

Witkacy's major theoretical work is his theory of Pure Form, which developed from—as he claimed—a metaphysical foreboding of the strangeness of existence, reinforced by growing materialism and the automatization of modern life. He delineated his theory in a book, *New Forms in Paintings and the Misunderstandings Arising Therefrom* (Nowe Formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia), published by Goberthner and Wolff in Warsaw in 1919.[505] Zamoyski's drawing of a half-woman and half-animal figure, executed in an arabesque style, was reproduced on the book's cover.

According to Witkacy, a work of art had nothing to do with the reality of objects and their utilitarian functions. But it should not be reduced either to an aesthetic pleasure derived from harmonious arrangements of colors and shapes, or to expressions of a private inner self, as was done respectively in Formism and Expressionism. It was more like the combination of two styles. As a result, the form and the content were considered as a unity. Although formal problems in painting belonged to the realm of Pure Form, independent of real life, Pure Form derived from existence [byt] and "the Mystery of Life" with its metaphysical-eschatological anxiety of the unknown experienced individually, the same anxiety that had given birth to religion and philosophy. In the

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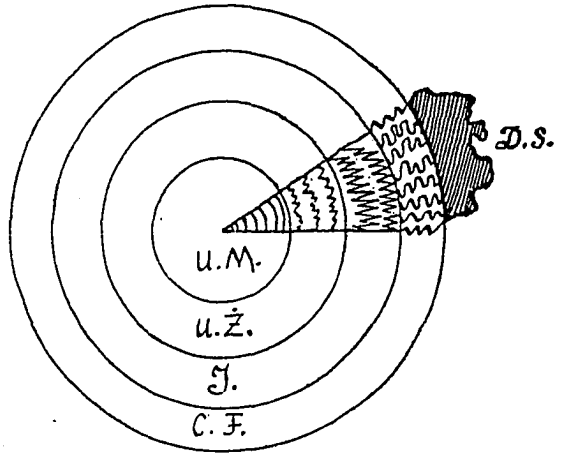
section of *New Forms in Paintings and the Misunderstandings Arising Therefrom* titled "About Pure Art" (O Sztuce Czystej), Witkacy presented a diagram—to explain "extremely complicated problems of artistic creation."[506]



The diagram illustrated Witkacy's rationale: the human mind resembled a chemical scheme (he used the example of benzol) with zones of metaphysical emotions (U.M.-uczucia metafizyczne) in the center, surrounded by "other life emotions and sensations" (U.Z.-uczucia zyciowe), "controlling the zone of the intellect" (I-intelekt), and Pure Form (C.F.-Czysta Forma), which he described as "simple qualities with a special coefficient for each individual" (e.g., predisposition for, or susceptibility to vocal or retinal sensations).[507] The two middle zones varied depending on the individual. Metaphysical emotions were represented in the form of waves (vibrations) generated from the middle of the first circle; their intensity was measured by the angle they created. Because they

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had to pass through the two intermediary zones, which constituted individual experience, before reaching Pure Form, each time they achieved a unique character. A work of art grew on the surface of Pure Form as a "certain convex" labeled "D.S." D.S. depended on the size of elements cut into four zones of the scheme. The existence of metaphysical emotions was crucial to creating a successful work of art, but it depended on the other three components, and only synthetic unity (jednosc) of all of them led to a propitious revealing of metaphysical emotions. According to Witkacy, the viewer experienced the same process but in reverse, from the work of art to metaphysical emotions. The goal of the artist was to guide the viewer toward understanding his/her emotions.[508]

Like Kandinsky and French Orphists, Witkacy considered music and painting to be the only expressions of Pure Art, capable of liberating the artist from the foreboding of solitude and "metaphysical anxiety" (niepokoj metafizyczny) in the creative act of "objectification of non-utilitarian "unity in multiplicity." Music and painting were expressions of two basic dimensions (and enclosures) of life—Time and Space. "It is more difficult," Witkacy stated "to go through the emotional density of tones, and abstract them from their impact on our senses, than to eliminate reflections of the real world in painting, especially because a musical piece exists in time, [they] happen similarly to our inner life with its changing emotional states, whereas a work of art exists unchanged in space, as a more exact symbol of abstract unity in its intangibility."[509] Painting, however, was for him superior to music because it occupied a stable place in Space (with an atemporal structure), which allowed it to function as a cipher of abstracted transcendental reality inherent in ordinary experience without abandoning figuration,

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which was one of the central tenets of Witkacy's rejections of abstract art as a stylistic formation.[510]

For Witkacy, form was close to the notion of individual style, which he perceived as limited in its formal permutations. He wrote: "If artists in the past differed only slightly in treating the form, today such individual differences manifest themselves mainly because the novelties in the realm of composition and harmonious colors have been exhausted. It is a phenomenon of 'undersaturation with form' (nienasycenie forma)."[511] (Witkacy linked "nienasycenie forma" to the functional aspect of form in art related to the development of society, connected to the increased speed of life.)[512] Synthetic composition united painting's beauty and pictorial content. The flatness of the image helped to dissociate painting from reality and anchor it in the realm of aesthetic experience, but was not absolutely necessary.[513] The use of modeling was allowed if it was used for achieving a relief effect of "isometric, abstracted sculptural form."[514] Witkacy was convinced about the necessity of figures in painting, viewing them as holders of compositional integrity, and rejected the notion that abstraction might be the pinnacle of development in art. He did not, however, believe that art could develop as a continuation of previous styles. He believed, instead, in the "irreversibility" of the development in art, which he connected to the increase of the level of "perversity" in art as a way to *metaphysical shock*, rather than to formal transformations.

The contemporary world was for him totally "perverse," while art and sex were interrelated but not directly linked to each other. Therefore, contemporary art had to be

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perverse as well: abandon logic, mimetic naturalism, and moralizing didacticism. Witkacy differentiated, for instance, between harmonious compositions (based on two- or three-color arrangements), which he called "natural" (naturalne) or "simple" (proste), and disharmonious compositions (four colors or more)—called "mischievous" (przewrotne) or "perverse" (perwersyjne).[515] Colors achieved their importance on the basis of their brightness and relevance for the unity of the composition. Witkacy analyzed colors referring to Hermann Ebbinghaus's *Grundzuge der Psychologie*, 1902, which by 1919 was in its fourth edition in Germany, modifying it, however, by dealing with color theory in terms of existing paints rather than abstract chromatic schemes, producing his own table based on available paints. From there he produced recipes for how to achieve various harmonious combinations of colors.

A Pure Form painting, Witkacy argued, was "a formal oneness in Space," achieved through a balanced composition and harmonious colors and forms, all of them united by "dynamic tensions." As such, art stood for the oneness and loneliness of being, awakening the metaphysical, shared by everybody, but best expressed by individuals with the highest degree of psychological depth, which determines one's ability to create great art. When painting became Pure Form, there was, as he stated in the quote above, no more difference between old Chinese art, Picasso, and Suprematism.[516] But even perversity, as a resource for making new art, had a limited potential and ultimately had to lead to its own exhaustion: art of "Pure Form" was also doomed to die.

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Witkacy's works, such as his well-known *Kiss of a Mongolian Prince in the Glacial Desert* (Pocalunek mongolskiego ksiecia w lodowej pustyni), 1915-18 (Fig.110), represented an implementation of the theory of Pure Form. A watercolor, gouache and pastel on paper titled *Kiss of a Mongolian Prince in the Glacial Desert* conveys a free play of psychedelic imagination and explosive energy. A grotesque pastoral scene, with the eponymous prince kissing a zoomorphically eroticized woman in the middle of the triangular composition, bursts from the surface with jarring forms and colors, which were signature elements of Witkacy's style. The painting reveals Witkacy's artistic fascinations, from Gauguin and van Gogh (whose paintings he saw in the Shchukin Collection in Moscow) to glass painting from the Tatra Mountains to Picasso and his *Three Women* and *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* from his pre-Cubist period, all of which the Polish artist truly admired.[517]

Witkacy was also enamored with Chinese painting, admiring it for its antinaturalism and "ideal unity of concept, despite its perverse inequilibrium of masses and empty areas in [the works] from a later period."[518] He found similar calligraphic qualities in the art of Aubrey Beardsley. He defined "calligraphic" as "the form itself, independent from the object, [and] this fluid and continuous character of the line, which becomes the core of composition."[519] With their pseudo-organic forms and sharply defined planes, his works were reminiscent of the illustrations for the occult writings of Annie Besant and Charles Webster Leadbeater, such as *Thought-Forms*, 1905, which provided inspiration to Kandinsky. But unlike Kandinsky's works, Witkacy's paintings, such as *Drawn Women* (Topielice), 1921 (Fig.111) and *Temptation of St Anthony II* (Kuszenie Swietego

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Antoniego II), 1921-22 (Fig.112), are disquieting with their cacophonic "syntax" and overproduction of motifs, opposing his programmatic attempts at free manipulation of the visual elements and metonymical deconstruction.

Although Witkacy's works and writings quickly became associated with Formism, he was too independent to be linked to any group for a long time (or political causes for that matter), and his visibility among the Formists as an artist had decreased by mid-1919, when Formists organized their third exhibition. He continued, however, writing for various Formist publications.

The Third Formist Exhibition opened at Kraków's Palac Sztuki in September 1919.[520] The exhibition catalogue contained Chwistek's statement that announced the group's dissociation with German Expressionism, misnaming Formists for "formalists." The catalogue cover reproduced Chwistek's ink drawing *At the Well* (U studni), c.1918, depicting two naked women in a stylization closer to Neorealism than Expressionism. With its rather conservative selection of works, announced by Chwistek's cover, the exhibition showed the first signs of a split within the group. Czyzewski, Chwistek, and Hrynkowski dominated the exhibition, while the presence of Witkacy, Zamoyski, and the Pronaszko brothers was relatively insignificant. The new direction was also signaled by the presence of two new members—Jerzy Fedkowicz and Konrad Winkler, who, as Chwistek wrote, were "at an interesting stage, when impressionism and naturalism start to be boring and the need for a new form is awakened. It applies particularly to Fedkowicz, who came to formism through a highly developed impressionist

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technique."[521] Furthermore, when in the same text Chwistek praised Czyzewski, he singled out his landscapes with their "earth-bound, optimistic simplicity," full of the "Zakopane ambiance." If Chwistek's texts could stand for what the exhibition was about, it is clear that the rejection of German Expressionism, the inclusion of former "sensual" Impressionists, and the embracing of local simplicity (even naïveté) stood as attempts to bring the Formists closer to mainstream art and the audience. Such pragmatic acts could not please the individualistic Witkacy, or, for that matter, the "internationalist" Zamoyski.

The Third Formist Exhibition in 1919 declared the Formists' total independence from German Expressionism as a movement connected to pessimistic approaches to life and art. A desire for a positive attitude toward art came, obviously, with the stereotypical image of European cultures. A few years later, Winkler, who summarized Formism in his book *Formism Compared with Contemporary Art Styles* (Formizm na tle wspolczesnych kierunkow w sztuce), published in 1921 by D.E. Friedlein Bookstore in Kraków, described Formism as a synthesis of "expressionist, emotionalist and Cubist elements," while connecting German Expressionism with the "prehistoric, Teutonic spirit."[522] The exhibition coincided with the publication of *Formisci* (Formists, Fig.113), edited by Chwistek and Czyzewski, which emphasized the group's alliance with French art and culture. Six issues were published between 1919 and 1921.[523] On the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of *Formisci*, Chwistek produced a small ink drawing entitled *Joy of the Formists* (Radosc formistow), 1919 (Fig.114).

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The first issue of *Formisci*, dated October 1919, grew, in terms of its content and format from the catalogue of the Third Formists' Exhibition, which contained poems along with critical texts and reproductions of works from the show. Chwistek again was charged with writing the main text, which appeared under the title, "The Enemies of Formism and Their Psychology" (Wrogowie formizmu i ich psychologja). The article was written as a reflection on the "reasons that make many representatives of the old school condemn a priori the efforts of young artists."[524] To show how mistakes of judgment were often made, Chwistek, a trained mathematician, mentioned the difficulties experienced by Poincaré in introducing his new mathematical theories and stated that art history was full of similar cases.[525] He credited such resistance to new ideas to the human predilection for relying on existing knowledge and habits.[526] Displaying a clear populist temperament, Chwistek mentioned Bernard Shaw's comment that Wagner's music was more accessible to simple people than musicians educated on classical models. Giving support to a variety of voices, the first issue of *Formisci* contained poems by Apollinaire (among them "Cors de chasse," in French), Czyzewski, and Jerzy Tom, as well as drawings by Hrynkowski (cover), Czyzewski, and Chwistek. The issue closed with a statement that the review was the result of a positive response to the catalogue of the Third Exhibition of Formists.

Formisci appeared irregularly, chiefly for financial reasons.[527] Its second issue, dated April 1920, was thicker, with more contributors, and designed more carefully. It opened with Chwistek's untitled drawing of a volumetrically treated female bust delineated in sweeping lines, followed by his article "Formizm."[528] Chwistek began with a motto, declaring after the "Cubist" Pierre Reverdy: "Créer grace à une sensibilité nouvelle,

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servie par des moyens nouveaux appropriés, des ouvres qui, par leur difference, sont un apport de plus au domaine de l'art, c'ést rester dans la tradition" (To stay with tradition means to create works, which with their differences contribute to the domain of art, conveying new sensibility expressed with appropriate new means). Contrasting painting, sculpture, and poetry with music, Chwistek argued that they could not be completely dissociated from subject matter without becoming pure ornament (painting and sculpture) and a verbal noise (in poetry). Rejecting pure abstraction as foreign to the character of visual art, he stated that the artist had to reflect the dual aspect of real objects in nature, which function as both forms and "signs" that helped our orientation in the world and had a utilitarian function. Everyone could easily comprehend the "sign" function, whereas form needed to be illuminated by the artist. To achieve clarity of form, the artist had to group objects in new configurations free of "sentimental associations" (sentymentalne skojarzenia), but subjected to the rules of composition and "logical symbolism" (symboliki logicznej). Formism, which was developed in the footsteps of Cubism, was for Chwistek the result of such thinking. Comparing Cubism with Formism, Chwistek argued that Cubism "does not go beyond the natural understanding of objects" and that in Cubist paintings "objects appear as such, in casual relationship, which does not prevent them from being composed according to coherent rules." He stated that unlike Cubism, Formism "completely breaks with the traditional comprehension of objects, putting emphasis on their forms that simulate their presence. In result, Formist paintings, even if based on materials known from daily experience, do not share with them [daily life materials] their mosaic character, displaying total unity."[529]

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Aware of the elliptic character of his argumentation, Chwistek added: "Obviously, these differences are insignificant for a laic surprised by the unusual appearance of the canvas, because in both cases he feels that his usual habits are challenged."[530] In his article, Chwistek also restated the argument about the oscillating character of reality: "Also in the ornaments filling out for example Persian carpets, we can find a knight's helmet, a swan, or a female figure, but we will soon discover that such a way of seeing not only does not help to appreciate the beauty of those objects, but quickly leads to fatigue and distaste."[531] The selection of illustrations scattered throughout the issue supported the arguments in "Formizm" by juxtaposing the cubist *Portrait of Apollinaire* by Marcoussis (who was mentioned by Chwistek as a major representative of French Cubism), a figurative drawing by the Serb artist Mohamed Hilma Kulenovic, and a drawing of a mask-like face by Ludwik Lille, with more abstracted drawings by Chwistek and Czyzewski. Chwistek's untitled work in particular emphasized the importance of the interplay of figurative and abstract elements by accumulating semi-abstract forms with vague figurative associations. Czyzewski's drawing of a Madonna with child (Fig.115),[532] stylized on a folkloric depiction of the theme but endowed with a certain formal ambiguity foreign to folkloric art, seemed to be included to support Chwistek's argument against the literal reading of modern art.

The second issue of *Formisci*, which included a selection of poems by, among others, Mlodozeniec, Czyzewski, Wittlin, Apollinaire, and Reverdy, closed with a "Correspondence from Paris" (Korespondencja z Paryza), written by Marcoussis (signing L. Markous) in the form of a letter to Czyzewski and a note about the futurist evening in

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the Slowacki Theater, which took place with the participation of young poets Jasienski and Mlodozeniec.[533] Marcoussis wrote that with his text he had enclosed photographs of works by Alicja Halicka, Henryk Hayden, and Kisling, poems by Reverdy (translated by Leopold Zborowski), and several issues of *Nord-Sud*.[534] In his correspondence, he concentrated on Picasso's "realist drawings," masterfully drawn in the manner of Ingres and shown in Paris, which he considered inferior to the Spanish artist's cubist works. He finished his review with the statement: "Apollinaire has been dead, Picasso has become a catalogued painter, two places to be taken over."[535]

An exhibition in Lvov in April-May 1920 was the next major attempt of Formists to unite Polish artists under the slogans of a new art in its gentler, more nationalistic version, while geographically expanding to the second major city in Galicia (after Kraków). The exhibition coincided with several poetry readings, among them an evening with members of the Expressionist group Zdrój from Poznan led by Stur. The Kraków artists were joined by J. Hulewicz and Szmaj from Poznan and three artists from Lvov: L. Lille, Stanislaw Matusiak, and Zofia Vorzimmerówna, who were known for their Symbolist sympathies.[536] The choice of paintings for the exhibition confirmed that Formism was becoming more like a forum for artists who rejected older styles for broadly defined new expressions.

The Fourth Formist Exhibition that opened in Kraków in the 1921 included 180 works by seventeen artists, mostly known from earlier Formist presentations. By the early 1920s, individual Formists were experimenting with new directions, often moving closer to

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figuration indebted to Neoclassicism. Such was the case of Z. Pronaszko, who by that time tried to combine his Cubist-Formist vocabulary with Neoclassical modeling. The critic Mieczyslaw Wallis wrote in his article on Z. Pronaszko, discussing his new works in 1922: "human bodies are treated in a linear way, covered over only with a layer of one conventional hue, but also strongly built and marvelously modeled. The rebel gives the nudes nearly academic finish, the 'futurist' takes on motifs from Renaissance masters: a motif of Venus (*Venus*) and a motif of Danae (reclining female nude with raised knees: *A Dream [Senf]*....He reveals in them [his paintings] individuality similar to painters-designers from the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[537] Indeed, many of Pronaszko's works from the early 1920s are rigidly composed in a volumetric fashion that tries to imitate Ingres, or perhaps Picasso (who by that time had turned to "monumental antiquity"). Pronaszko's work also reveals stylistic particularities that announced the shift in Polish art that led to the Neoclassicism of the mid-1920s and 1930s.

By the time the Fourth Exhibition opened, Formists were often associated with Futurists, who were publishing their most important manifestos, bringing additional criticism on artists who were suspected of having futurist sympathies, Czyzewski in particular.[538] The exhibition catalogue contained a mish-mash of texts: Winkler's "Expressionism" (Ekspresjonism),[539] Czyzewski's epic play, *Genius and the Double* (Geniusz i sobowtor), and Apollinaire's *Un dernier chapitre*—a short poem that described a strike, which was one of the very rare instances of Formists' indirect siding with a social cause. The poem was probably more readily accepted because the famous writer and critic wrote it.

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Winkler was the only member of the group who attempted to connect Formism with Expressionism. Others preferred to be connected to the Futurists. The exhibition generated great interest among the public at large, but was criticized in the local press.[540]

The Fourth Formist Exhibition traveled to Warsaw, where it opened at the Zacheta Gallery in April 1921, during the time when the Zacheta was attempting temporary liberalization of its conservative program. The exhibition brought protests from older artists associated with the Society, culminating in a resolution of its Committee to forbid exhibiting any "experimental art" in the Zacheta. A protest appeared in *Kurier Warszawski*, which stated that the exhibition was a blasphemy that "desecrated not only the aesthetic and ethic ideals but also the religious ones."[541]

The fourth issue of *Formisci*, dated April 1921, listed Czyzewski and Winkler as editors.[542] Chwistek had already left the review, and the role of the group's theoretician was taken over by Winkler, who at that time also wrote his *Formism and Other Contemporary Movements in Art*, offering an overview of the movement from its beginning to 1921, while stating that Formism was standing "close to German Expressionism."[543] The fourth issue opened with Winkler's "Without a Program" (Bez programu), in which he stated that the review would be appearing regularly, but without any specific program to follow. "Contemporary man," Winkler wrote, "has been convinced that he has reached a new stage of history—stepping into the merging point of two different worlds, in which neither romantic story telling (gedzlarstwo) nor shallow analysis of daily problems, but a Promethean gesture, a desperate jump into the void and

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action conceived in creative madness, can protect him against the mechanization of life that influences his existence."[544] Winkler might have rejected romantic story telling, but he did not reject Promethean myth dear to Polish Romantics.[545] His non-programmatic manifesto adulates, in fact, heroic individualism (which found its reflection in his stylized figurative art), as the main artistic program, suggesting that it is the only way to create new art, such as his *Portrait of Wife* (Portret zony), 1920 (Fig.116).

Witkacy's article, "On criticism of the Fourth Formists' Exhibition" (Z powodu krytyki IV-tej wystawy Formistow), elaborated on Winkler's main ideas, while rejecting romanticizing about art, which prevailed in writings of Polish critics.[546] Witkacy objected to reading Formism according to the aesthetic criteria of beauty spelled with a capital B. He stated that Formism did not have a theory, but that its tenets could be grasped by reading Chwistek's articles on the subject, his own essay, *The New Forms in Painting*, and Winkler's book on Formism. "All kinds of differences aside," Witkacy continued, clearly in a more reconciliatory fashion, "all Formists have agreed that the Form does not mean a cubistically deformed cat or rounded lady, or a 'well drawn or sculpted human calf,' but *construction* of the whole picture or sculpture, which cannot be judged according to objective criteria invented by an alchemy of criticism."[547] Here again, Witkacy did not explain what he meant by "construction," but the rest of the article suggests that he used the word to describe the compositional (formal) unity of the whole image, rather than relying on unity of subject matter, relies on the Gestalt character of perception of an artwork. He elaborated on this in his theory of "Pure Form."[548] He continued: "In attempting to construct we are with the Art of the entire world: the

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Quatrocento and China, Egypt and the Blacks, Papua and Byzantium. But we are not with realism, which is a false off-shoot of painting and sculpture having its roots in realistic Greek art. This realism that serves as an ideological base of our aesthetes."[549] The article served Witkacy as a forum for voicing his affiliation with a new art for art's sake ideology based on "instinct" and improvisation, as well as a place to attack Polish critics for their alleged "total lack of opinion and professional education" (zupelny brak odpowiedniego, fachowego wyksztalcenia). The fourth issue of *Formisci* contained a large selection of poetry, mostly by Futurist poets, with whom Czyzewski had allied himself closely by the early 1920s and who at that time organized their poetry readings in Kraków. Once again, Czyzewski-the painter was the most criticized participant of the Fourth Formists' Exhibition, this time for his programmatic "naïveté" and anti-aestheticism.

By spring 1921, it appeared that *Formisci* would enjoy a regular run. However, the content of the next two issues suggested that the editors had difficulties with getting new material, particularly criticism on contemporary art. The fifth issue of *Formisci*, dated May 1921, contained a large selection of poems by, among others, Witkacy and Polish Futurists Jasienski, Mlodozeniec, and Czyzewski, in addition to two poems by Paul Eluard and "The Ninth Legend of Muna-Sakjib" in M. H. Kulenovic's translation. It also included Czyzewski's "graphic poem" entitled "A Mechanical Garden" (Ogrod mechaniczny, Fig.117), with the names of flowers written inside circles and squares, which was one of the first attempts in Poland to produce visual poetry.[550] Finally, it also included Winkler's attack on protesters against the Formists' Exhibition at the Zacheta

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Gallery in Warsaw (Winkler called them "a bunch of eunuchs") and information about the publication of the *Futurist Leaflet, Manifestos of Polish Futurism* (Jednodniowka futurystow: manifesty futuryzmu polskiego) in June 1921 and Mlodozeniec's poem "The Anarchists" ("Anarchisci"). The poem menaced with a vision of social unrest:

in a club under BLACK CAPE
tumult... swirling — — violence— noise of MASSES
chaos of words — — chaos of heads — — chaos of hands — —
from there — — from here—constant—march — —
— — noisy councils

...
In the evening — trembling — read
extra editions the bourgeois
— — — — — — — —
Sighing[551]

The following issue of *Formisci* (dated June 1921) was the only one to deal with international artists, opening with Derain's woodcut on its cover and Winkler's article, "On the New Roads of Art" (Na nowych drogach sztuki). In his article, Winkler reported on the intensification of artistic activities outside of Poland, including exhibitions of modern art all over France, in Germany, and Italy. "And in our country," Winkler argued, "backwardness, apathy, boredom, and some sort of strange faintness of soul and heart, and in addition total provincialism, [which makes it] a hundred times worse than before the war."[552] He repeated his criticism of the Zacheta Gallery for refusing to show Formists. Winkler conveyed his knowledge of current artistic movements, mentioning, among others, the "metaphysical painting" of Giorgio de Chirico and other artists around *Valori Plastici* and praising Tatlin's "counter-reliefs." Winkler contrasted Kandinsky to Tatlin. He called Kandinsky "a Russian genius," praising him for leading "Russian Expressionism" toward making "an honest return to the realm of autonomy of spirit"

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(szczery powrot w dziedzine autonomii ducha). Winkler then asked: "Is this a transfusion of young Russian culture into the veins of the relic Western cultures?" and concluded: "*Contemporary art apparently moves in two opposing directions: the form and the color, toward* some sort of great synthesis."[553] By this time, it was clear that Winkler wanted to link again Formism with German Expressionism, as in his book on Formism, but the content of Formisci indicated that no direction was privileged.[554] As if expressing such a pluralistic approach to art, a significant part of the issue was devoted to Futurists and Dadaists: Arp, Palazzeschi, Mayakovsky, Khlebnikov (both Russian poets translated by Stern), and Humberto Rivas (translated by Peiper).

The direct involvement of art with politics was, however, rejected one more time. Julian Rot-Czerwinski discussed the literary life in Germany in "New Poetry and Drama in Germany, An Overview" (Nowa poezja i dramat w Niemczech. Szkic), in the longest text in the issue. Demonstrating a significant knowledge of contemporary German literature, he tried to synthesize it by dividing it into two groups: based on theoretical investigations on the one hand, and on pathetic gesture on the other. He paid special attention to "activists" L. Rubiner and Kurt Hiller, criticizing Rubiner for compromising his artistic neutrality by adhering to "spiritual Communism" (duchowy komunizm) in *Kameraden der Menschheit. Dichtung zur Weltrevolution*, 1919, toward the end of his life. The sociopolitical underpinnings of German literature and poetry were, in fact, criticized as obstructing formal concerns. Thus, ideological Expressionism—according to Rot-Czerwinski—had been surpassed by "metaphysical" writers who rejected it as too political, such as Otton Flake, who was described as "the most brilliant German mind"

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(najwybitniejszy umysl niemiecki) and Franz Werfel—"the greatest German poet" (najwiekszy poeta niemiecki). With Flake and Werfel, German literature and poetry—"abandoned despair and hesitance and advances toward active optimism."[555] Rot-Czerwinski emphasized the importance of Dadaism (without specifying which Dadaism) for introducing optimism to German art, literature, and theater. Clearly enough, Rot-Czerwinski (like Peiper in *Zwrotnica*) looked for examples of writers and artists who would help to maintain the belief in a better future defined in utopian terms. The international issue of *Formisci* showed similar interests (Apollinaire, Mayakovsky, Cocteau) with the Futurist review *Nowa Sztuka* (The New Art), which had its first issue published in November 1921 with an editorial board that included Iwaszkiewicz and Stern from Warsaw and Chwistek and Peiper from Kraków, proving that Formists and Polish Futurists often shared similar interests. In May 1922, Peiper was preparing to launch his *Zwrotnica* in Kraków.

In the fourth issue of *Formisci*, Czyzewski predicted: "An exhibition of Polish art in Paris will provoke the purchase of 20 canvases by Henri Rousseau by the French government and the hanging of them in the Louvre. Polish canvases will be packed and sent back to Poland (the postage fully paid)."[556] Czyzewski was obviously provocative, but realistic at the same time after his long sojourns in Paris. In 1922, the Formists presented their work for the first time abroad in an exhibition entitled *Jeune Pologne* at the Musée Crillon, along with twenty-three artists of Polish origin who lived in Paris.[557] Among the Formists were Czyzewski, Chwistek, Andrzej and Zbigniew Pronaszko, Witkowski, Roguski, Jerzy Zaruba, and Adolf Gottlib. Writing for *L'Amour de l'art*, the critic sympathetic to Polish artists Waldemar George[558] stated gently, "le Formisme naquit aussi bien de la

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confrontation des mouvements d'art contemporains que d'un besoin imperieux d'expression plastique purement polonaise" (Formism was born from both the confrontation with contemporary art movements and the urging [to achieve] purely Polish plastic expression).[559] George found connections between Formism and popular art of the Middle Ages, particularly in the works of A. Pronaszko, in which he found Giotto's influences. However, the exhibition proved to many that Formism was rejected in France as inferior to modern French art.

In Poland, Peiper, in the first issue of *Zwrotnica* (May 1922), voiced his disappointment with the fact that the exhibition was mostly extolled for its "folkloric elements" (which Czyzewski had predicted), perceiving it as a sign of Parisian critics' indifference to contemporary works by Polish artists, as well as a sign of their treating of Polish art as derivative of French art. The Parisian exhibition of Polish Formists marked the beginning of the group's ending. In Poland, also in 1922, Formists were, however, the first artists invited by Czeslaw Garlinski to inaugurate his "Salon Sztuki,"[560] which became Warsaw's leading commercial gallery, promoting the Polish avant-garde along with more traditional artists.[561] The exhibition opened in March under the name "F9," presenting forty-eight works of fourteen artists. It gathered artists from different parts of the country, among them the so-called Warsaw Formists—Niesiolowski, Waclaw Wasowicz, Witkowski, and Zaruba—and Wroniecki, a former member of the Poznan Expressionists, who by that time was closer to the Formists.[562] The future Constructivists, Szymon Syrkus and Henryk Stazewski joined the group, contributing to the eclectic character of the show (Fig.118 and Fig.119).[563] The exhibition provoked an overwhelmingly negative

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response from the press and public (not a single work was sold), with its members being labeled the "extreme artistic left."[564]

The first issue of *Zwrotnica* informed about "a split in Formism," next to information about Z. Pronaszko's participation in the Sztuka exhibition and the exhibition of the Musée Crillon, which the information stated—"Parisian critics received with a certain embarrassment."[565] The privilege, or duty, to summarize Formism once again belonged to Chwistek, the avant-garde critic and artist, who consequently wrote about the development and the future of Polish culture. Chwistek's "Tytus Czyzewski and the Crisis of Formism" (Tytus Czyzewski a kryzys formizmu), 1922, began with the sentence: "The Formist association ceased to exist," followed by the statement that only Warsaw Formists continued their activities.[566] But Chwistek considered Warsaw artists "only loosely associated with the group from the very beginning."[567] Some artists continued to be called Formists by Chwistek: Chwistek himself, Czyzewski, as well as the younger artists: Józef Jarema, Marian Szczyrbula, and Zygmunt Waliszewski.[568] (In reality, the three young artists mentioned by Chwistek turned their attentions toward Colorism.) Z. Pronaszko was not mentioned and that omission clearly indicates that Chwistek shared with other Formists the conviction that Pronaszko had betrayed the group when he took part in an exhibition at the conservative Zacheta Gallery.

Defending Formism, Chwistek attacked Picasso, Witkacy, and the Polish critics who accused Formism of lacking local grounding and following foreign models. Witkacy was obviously Chwistek's "fixed" adversary. But Chwistek was also noting a broader

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tendency of moving toward classical idealist art, which would dominate Polish art in the 1920s. "Ingres, Raphael and the Greeks," he stated, "are imitated today in Paris."[569] The attack on Picasso seems to be a way of expressing his frustration with the changes in contemporary art, with Picasso's move toward classicized figuration being considered the hardest to swallow of the blows to the future of avant-garde art. Chwistek's attack was, in fact, aimed at the Neoclassical tendencies in Polish art, best expressed by Rytm (Rhythm), which by 1922 had become a major artistic group advocating the return to Classicism and antiquity, with both a popular and official stamp of approval. (Rytm will be discussed later in this study.) Chwistek used Czyzewski's works to restate the Formists' major tenets and illustrated his book with reproductions of Czyzewski's prints and paintings.

In April 1922, Z. Pronaszko had shown his work in the Zacheta Society, which, as previously mentioned, many Formists considered a betrayal of their program. After 1922, Pronaszko, his works becoming Neoclassical, was associated anew with the Sztuka in Kraków. In 1923, he moved to Vilnius, where he started teaching art at the local university and turned toward Colorism. His brother Andrzej turned closer to Constructivism and concentrated on designing theater sets.[570] Discouraged by negative response to his works, Czyzewski wrote a review of his own show, with works from 1916-22, presented at the Garlinski Salon.[571] Czyzewski moved to Paris in the fall of 1922. Chwistek developed a new style, which he called "spherism" (strefizm),[572] collaborated with *Zwrotnica*, and went back to his career as a mathematician. Many Formists joined Rytm. Only Winkler, after his trip to Paris in 1924-26, continued as a

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Formist and published his book, *Polish Formists* (Formisci polscy), in 1927, in which he was already creating the Formists' legend as being the first avant-garde group in Poland to run parallel with similar tendencies in the West.[573]

When *Zwrotnica*, which will be discussed later in this study, took center stage as the review of the Polish avant-garde in 1922, Czyzewski used its pages to write about "his Futurism" from Paris in the November1923 issue devoted to Futurism: "I took the name futurist [in 1917], as it was given to me—the same way as I took (with all my conviction) the name 'Formist.' I have to declare that all names apply to me indirectly and in a transitory way... *My art is not programmatic.*"[574] But he did not deny being a Futurist: "We, 'Polish futurists,' fulfilled and fulfill the role and [do the] work of restorers of the epoch in the world and in Poland."[575]

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2.4 Futurism

The *Futurist Leaflet. Manifestos of Polish Futurism* (spelled phonetically in Polish as Jednodnuwka futurystuw: manifesty futuryzmu polskiego), published in Kraków in June 1921, twelve years after Marinetti's famous manifesto in *Le Figaro,* proclaimed:

> The world war, together with a huge shift in entire states, [social] strata and nations, entails a great shift in values. The result is a cultural crisis, the scene of which today is all of eastern and western Europe. In our country this crisis is manifested in a particularly severe and specific form. A century and a half of political enslavement has left a hard and indelible stitch on our entire physiognomy, psychology, and production....
> **We, Polish Futurists, pay here our tribute to Polish Romantic poetry from the time of enslavement, the specters of which we are going to attack and finish up with no mercy today—the tribute for not being "pure" art during the times of a great concentration and a lingering maturing of the Polish Nation, but instead a profoundly national one, for being written with the juice and blood of a tumbling life, for being the pulse and the cry of its day, for this is the only way any art can and must be.**
> Today for the same reasons, while having regained an independent political existence, Polish life has entered a totally new phase and woke up facing millions of concerns waiting at the door, about which there was simply no time to think yesterday, and which have to be immediately and categorically addressed today, if we do not want the charging waves to flood us again; we call for your help.
>
> **We were long enough the nation-panopticum, producing only mummies and relics. Insane unstoppable today knocks at all our doors and windows, shouts, urges, demands. If we are not capable of creating the new categories, in which new art could be contained, in which it could be sung away—we won't last.**[576]

Formulated by the twenty-year-old poet Bruno Jasienski (real name Bruno Zyskind, 1901-1939, Fig.120), the Polish manifesto, written in a provocatively abbreviated fashion and with phonetic orthography, called once more for radical changes in art based on rejecting the past and embracing the pounding rhythm of contemporary life.[577] On the

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surface, it sounded like a return to art with the social aims propagated by the Bunt and the rejection of formalism embraced by the Formists. However, Polish Futurists looked beyond the contemporary context, rejecting history with a capital "h" and attacking the most cherished literary tradition of many Poles—the Romanticism of Mickiewicz, Slowacki, and Krasinski, as well as its "extension" in the writings of Przesmycki, Kasprowicz, and Micinski. They presented themselves as nihilistic in their attitude toward art and declared themselves ready to challenge established norms that had been deeply ingrained in Polish culture and psyche.

Polish Futurists announced an anarchic revolt against established values in the new Europe with independent Poland established as the Second Republic in the wake of World War I. Proclaiming a new beginning, they wanted to be the voice of a new society, similar to "resurgent barbarians without which we would have perished once and for all," as Nicolai Berdiaev called the Russian Futurists in 1918.[578] Polish Futurists launched a frontal attack on bourgeois rationalism and sensibility or rather its hypocrisy. They embraced dialectical materialism. Their proclivity toward anti-authoritarian, seditious attitudes and cultural disobedience and sabotage was, in large part, the heritage of both modernist rebelliousness and a general attitude toward authority born from the political situation of Poland in the nineteenth century. But Polish Futurists were quite cautious in presenting some aspects of their radicalism, particularly those that connected them with the recent revolutions in Russia and Germany. Still, they went against the "common sense" nationalistic climate of rebuilding the nation within legitimate organizational structures with the whole country united under a new leadership, while avoiding severing

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its connections with the historic past. After Independence, such attitudes toward authorities were perceived as influenced by the recent Russian unrests.

When Witkacy wrote in 1922 that the public in Poland was confused about the differences between Cubism, Expressionism, Formism, and Futurism and therefore called everything Futurism,[579] he acknowledged the lack of knowledge about modern art among Poles. He also alluded to the fact that in popular perception Polish radical art was still linked to the influences of the former occupying powers, Russia, Prussia/Germany, and Austria. Probably even more importantly, he pointed out that the new art was viewed as linked to radical politics associated both with specific leftist ideologies and foreign influences. By the early 1920s, radicalism in art was usually equated with political radicalism connected to Soviet Russia, which with the Polish-Soviet war of 1920-21 posed a more immediate threat to Polish sovereignty than Germany.

As the reemergence of independent Poland provided an unprecedented opportunity for starting anew, it also created problems for Polish Futurists.[580] The growing conservatism of the Polish political elite made implementation of anti-establishment and anti-bourgeois artistic programs increasingly difficult, particularly ones that fostered a break with past ideas and ideals in order to reach the "new" masses. As in Western Europe and Russia, where Futurism was greeted with suspicion (and then with hostility), Poles were uninformed about and generally uninterested in current developments in art. They did not see anything optimistic and constructive in the futurist proposition of the popularization

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of art. Furthermore, even if they might have been eager to forget Poland's troubled political past, they perceived their cultural heritage as fundamentally immortal.

Futurism posed a threat to national identity not because it propagated a hard-to-digest set of aesthetics (or rather anti-aesthetics bordering on being amateurish), not even because it was associated with nihilism, anarchy, or a leftist ideology, but above all because it called for a rupture with the Polish beliefs in their history and the unity of their culture under one language. It also posed a threat to the new bourgeoisie, which was gaining power in Poland. As Andreas Huyssen reminded us in his discussion of the European avant-garde in general, the radical artists "lived off the separation of the cultural from industrial and economic reality, which of course was the primary sphere of technology."[581] Obviously, Futurism in 1921 had a different reputation than Futurism in 1909 or 1912—latter the year of the publication of the Russian Futurist manifesto, *Slap in the Face of Public Taste*.

On the international scene, Futurism lost its initial ability to surprise aesthetically. By that time, many Futurists were already preoccupied in creating their legends rather than producing innovative works. Consumed by internal differences or abandoned for other modes of expression, Futurism was capable of annoying but not always shocking in the West and Russia. But in Poland, where the emerging bourgeoisie did not yet have time (and critical distance) to absorb and "disarm" the avant-garde by making it a part of the bourgeois culture, the conflict was strong. For the Polish Futurists to match, or even surpass, the achievements of their Russian and Western European counterparts meant

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first to transplant existing Futurism onto local ground, then to expand it, benefiting from previous experiences, while at the same time responding to the immediate reactions it provoked among Poles. In all this radicalism, there was an element of youthful bravura, a need to play, as well as a lack of experience. Nevertheless, being young and insubordinate as they were, Polish Futurists wished to create their own playful Italian Futurist *Conquest of the Stars* or Russian Cubo-Futurist *Victory over the Sun.* Therefore, Jasienski declared in "A Tongue Tired Me Out," written in1920:

> I can write like Severianin,
> I can write like Mayakovsky
>
> I can write like Apollinaire,
> I can write like Marinetti, --
> Those rapacious, lecherous women
> Would rip me as they pray.
>
> O brothers, Italian, Russian, and French,
> So immense in your pathos!
> O beloved, dearest and intimate –
> I am fed up with you![582]

*

Polish Futurism developed gradually, beginning in the early 1910s. Based on existing writings of Polish Futurists, their initial knowledge of Italian Futurism was rather limited. The news about the Italian movement reached Poland by 1909 through articles in local newspapers and magazines and firsthand accounts by artists travelling to the West.[583] In the October 1909 issue of *Swiat* (The World), critic Ignacy Grabowski, quoting from Marinetti's *Figaro* manifesto, commented on Futurism: "speed, fury, faith,

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bravery...disdain for death...a credo of quick action as quick as an automobile, airy and brave as an airplane—this is the elixir badly needed by our literary fellows."[584] Jellenta analyzed Futurism as a movement in visual arts in "Futurists-Divisionists. An Artistic Manifesto" (Futurysci—dywizjonisci. Manifest malarski), published in *Rydwan* and *Nowa Reforma* (The New Reform), both from 1912, discussing the *Manifeste du Futuristme* from *Lè Figaro* of February 20, 1909 and the *Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto* of 1910.

Most Polish reports on the emergence of Futurism were negative. After returning from his trip to the West, critic Wilhelm Feldman argued in *Krytyka* that "New, dynamic, virile life, with a great cause, is born [in Poland] without Director Marinetti and the French recipes."[585] The same journal published an in-depth analysis of Italian Futurism in 1914. Written by Aleksander Koltonski, the article related Futurism to the writings of, among others, Emile Zola, Walt Whitman, Emil Verhaeren, and Gustave Kahn, and, among philosophers—Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Otto Weiniger (known for his glorification of misogynism),[586] and Bergson. In his text, Koltonski made an important observation about Futurism, stating that it had changed the way art functioned by shifting the source of artistic experience to the viewer rather than locating it in the work of art. He wrote:

> Certainly caused by a new, coinciding with the invention of the airplane, way of looking at the world from the position of a bird had to inspire Futurist painters to conjure up the new ways of viewing painting—not as before in front of the painting, but from its very center, making it possible to look in all directions, achieved through combining what we remember with what we see and also suggesting objects existing beyond us.[587]

Poet Jerzy Jankowski (1887-1941) was probably the best informed about Western

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Futurism when the movement was germinating in Poland. Jankowski, considered the first Polish Futurist (Jasienski called him "John the Baptist of Polish Futurism" and "the first Polish Futurist in an Italian sense"),"[588] translated Marinetti, Whitman, and Verhaeren for the magazine, *Tydzien*, which he founded in 1912. But Jankowski was much more than a gifted translator and poet. He was also a perceptive commentator on the changing attitudes of Polish society toward art.[589]

In "Children of Protest" (Dzieci protestu), published in *Zloty Rog* (The Golden Horn) in 1913, Jankowski wrote: "the Socialists were not able to defend the logic of their principal category: the [social] class; critics of democracy, like our Miriam [Zenon Przesmycki] ten years ago, who were excited by the beautiful ideals of art, did not understand the psycho-sociological value of a true democratic concept and failed to notice this holy and supreme horror caused by the popular unrest of a crowd.... Ten years ago our Modernism, imported from the West, brought the call for freedom of the creative spirit and immediately submerged it in empty formalism. We overaestheticized, wasted our ideals, which are being even further wasted because of the [new direction of the] development of our society."[590] Jankowski exalted the crowd as a provider of vitality for life, social change, and raw artistic energy. He advocated anarchist idealism: "Individuals similar to Whitman, who organically combine the love of people and democracy with idealism of an anarchist type and with a search for beauty in valleys in [the form of] stems, are the forebears of the new artistic synthesis desired for their synchronization with the rhythm of the development of life itself."[591] Such ideas were embraced, in fact, by Polish Futurists in the later stages of the movement's development, despite the fact that

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Jasienski and his colleagues declared their disdain for idealism. Jankowski's critical input was significant, but his artistic legacy consists of only one volume of poetry, *Tram Athwart the Street*, 1920 (Fig.121). When Jankowski returned to Poland from Russia in1919, he briefly joined the Warsaw Futurists at the Café "Pod Pikadorem." Due to mental illness, he remained, however, on the periphery of the movement when it flourished in Poland in the early 1920s.[592]

Of the five main Polish Futurists, Czyzewski was the most familiar with Italian Futurism, which he must have learned about during his extensive visits to Paris between 1910 and 1912. As a poet, Czyzewski admired French poetry, particularly that of Apollinaire, Cendrars, and Reverdy. He was also familiar with a short manifesto by Russian Ego-Futurists, *We and the West*, published in Russia in 1914 and translated into French by Apollinaire.[593] Jasienski and Stanislaw Mlodozeniec (1895 -1959) lived in Moscow between 1915 and 1918, attending the Polish gymnasium in order to avoid being drafted into the Russian army. Because of a lack of information about this period in Jasienski's and Mlodozeniec's lives, speculative remain the assessment of the degree of exposure to artistic ferments in Russia, provoked by such events as Marinetti's visit in February 1914, or the famous 0.10—The Last Futurist Exhibition in Petrograd in 1915 (in which Kazimir Malevich's Suprematist paintings hung next to Tatlin's Counter-reliefs), or Maxim Gorky's article, "On Futurism," April 1915,[594] which provoked widespread response to it in the Russian press.[595] In any case, deducting from their declared interests, Jasienski and Mlodozeniec most likely were more attracted by Russian avant-garde poetry than visual arts. Jasienski later stressed his admiration for Mayakovsky and the leader of the Ego-Futurists, Igor Severianin; among Jasienski's favorite poems were, respectively,

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Mayakovsky's "A Cloud in Trousers," 1915, and "Man," 1916-17, and Severianin's "Goblet Seething with Thunders" ("Gromokipyashchii kubok"), 1913.[596] Recalling the period of Futurism in Poland, Aleksander Wat (1900-1967) wrote in his memoir published posthumously: "But all of us, meaning a few young people, were undoubtedly under the influence of futurism and the Russian Revolution. Jasienski arrived back from Russia in 1919 or 1920; he had seen it all. He had gone through the revolution in Russia, and he began writing by imitating the Futurists."[597] According to Stern, Jasienski's early interests in poetry were guided by the "past conventions" (Constantin Belmond and Severianin) rather than political concerns,[598] but the October Revolution convinced him that politics and art are inseparable.[599]

The poets Aleksander Wat and Anatol Stern (1899-1968) most probably first learned about Italian and Russian Futurism from the Polish and foreign press.[600] Wat recalled *ex post* that he and Stern were influenced by Mayakovsky's writings "right from the beginning." "What Bryusov, Balmond, and Blok[601] were for the Skamandrites, especially Tuwim," Wat wrote in his memoirs, *My Century,*

> Mayakovsky was for the Futurists. He had come [to us] as a revelation. Mayakovsky in his early anarchist phase [the Hyleans period]—'A Cloud in Trousers,' 'Simple as Mooing,' and the tragedy *Vladimir Mayakovsky*—that's the completely decadent Mayakovsky.... The gigantic voice of the street. For us it was a genuine revelation that poetry could, and would even want to try to, express the street....Furthermore, Mayakovsky was such a powerful influence, because we were young. Those brutal words and all that hugeness and his yellow jacket, but he had a sensitive, sentimental heart....That proletarian sentimentality....Mayakovsky's influence was like an inclined plane, a gangplank that conveniently led from the avant-garde position, formal innovation, to communist, revolutionary writing.[602]

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The rebellious spirit "against all rules and regulations" (Wat's words) was clearly in the air. It could be directly awakened in Wat and Stern by witnessing firsthand the *succes de scandale* of the young Tuwim's bellicose poem, "Spring" ("Wiosna"), published in the student magazine *Pro Arte et Studio*[603] in the spring of 1918. The poem agitated with aggressive simplicity, influenced by Rimbaud, using Sergei Tretiakov's "shock factor"[604] to alert the psyche of the recipient of art:

> Crowd, be wild!!!
> Crowd! YOU are—right!!![605]

Polish Futurism developed simultaneously in Kraków and Warsaw. Jasienski, Czyzewski and Mlodozeniec met in Kraków at the end of 1918, and soon after began to organize Futurist literary evenings in the Futurist Club "Katarynka" (The Street Organ). The so-called Warsaw Futurists, Wat and Stern, organized the first reading of their Futurist poetry in February 1919, calling it "A Subtropical Evening Organized by White Negroes" (Wieczor podtropikalny urzadzony przez bialych Murzynow), possibly titled in reference to Tzara's "niggro" poems.[606] For the evening in Warsaw, Berlewi designed an ornamental poster with the stylized head of an African man surrounded by bunches of bananas, with stylized lettering announcing that the event was going to take place in a concert hall specially rented for the occasion.[607] Warsaw artists associated with new art, Berlewi, Roman Kramsztyk, Witkowski, and Zyznowski, decorated the concert hall with their works. For a few months, Warsaw Futurists continued to organize their eccentric evenings in Café "Pod Pikadorem,"[608] which was best known as a gathering place of the Warsaw poets, who would soon create the Skamander group.

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In 1920, Wat and Stern co-authored *Gga: The First Polish Almanac of Futurist Poetry, Bimonthly of the Primitives* (Gga: Pierwszy polski almanach poezji futurystycznej. Dwumiesiecznik prymitiwistow), which included their poems and a manifesto written under the headline: "Primitives to the nations of the world and to Poland" (Prymitywisci do narodow swiata i do Polski). The manifesto was clearly modeled on Russian and Italian examples, but it was also in the spirit of Dadaism.[609] It was presented as a series of dithyrambic statements delivered with youthful bravura and gaiety. The text deserves to be cited in length:

> **the great iridescent monkey known as Dionysus has long bit the dust.**
> We are throwing his rotten legacy out, proclaiming with runs of words:
>
> I. CIVILIZATION, CULTURE, WITH THEIR ILL HEALTH—TO THE TRASH HEAP
> We choose simplicity, vulgarity, gaiety, health, triviality, and laughter.
>
> ...
>
> II. WE CROSS OUT HISTORY AND POSTERITY
>
> also rome, tolstoy, criticism, hats, india, bavaria and kraków.
> Poland should renounce tradition, the mummy of prince joseph [Poniatowski] and the theater. **we destroy the city**. Instead of all those mechanisms—airplanes, tramways, inventions [,] telephone—the primordial means of communication. The apotheosis of the horse. Only houses that are collapsible and mobile. A language of shouts and rhymes.
>
> III. we see a social system as the ruling of genuine idiots and capitalists. this is the most fertile ground for laughter and for revolution.
>
> IV. **wars should be fought with fists**.
> ...
>
> VIII. poetry. We allow rhyme and rhythm to remain, since they are prime and fertile. **destruction of constrictive creative regulations; clumsiness is a virtue**. freedom of grammatical form, spelling, and punctuation for the creator. mickiewicz is limited. **slowacki is an incomprehensible mumbling**.
> WORDS have their weight, sound, color, their drawing. THEY OCCUPY A PLACE IN SPACE. These are the fundamental values of a word. The

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> shortest words (a sound) and the longest words (a book). the meaning of words is secondary and does not depend on the idea attached to it. They should be treated as sound material USED NON-ONOMATOPEICALLY.
> ...
>
> gga. gga, gentlemen fell out into the world's arena, brandishing its double g, it shouts A!—this is the lips of that wonderful and vulgar beast, really a muzzle, a muffler, or a snout.[610]

The provocative manifesto embraced illogical and playful primitivism, placing it above technocratic civilization, which its authors considered to be populated with "mechanical citizens." At the same time, it only touched upon the major points of Futurist manifestos from Italy and Russia (rupture of tradition, new artistic language, optimistic embracing of the social change and cultural freedom). However, as much as Polish Futurists desired to stand on their own, they also felt they needed to declare themselves as participants of the international community of avant-garde artists. Stern welcomed the brotherhood of artists in his 1921 poem "Searchlights" ("Reflektory"):

> come come to me friend
> and you cocteau and you mayakovsky
> boccioni tzara
> and you and they
> all
> we need to strangle **the citizen**[611]

Warsaw Futurists' main early output—three leaflets (jednodniowki)[612] and four volumes of poetry[613]—did not deliver a coherent program, perhaps because the young artists were not well-equipped enough to formulate such a program and lacked formal discipline. Furthermore, their outrageous syntax and pornographic, Rebelaisian content prevented their writings from being treated seriously. *Gga* was received, in fact, as the work of outsiders with an emotional hunger for scandal for scandal's sake, as it aimed at breaking all kinds of norms and taboos, from diminishing women (by limiting their importance to

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reproductive functions) to describing the works of Mickiewicz and Slowacki as "limited" and "incomprehensible mumbling." Further mocking poetry's special status in Polish artistic production by creating "anti-poetry" with spontaneous lyricism based on rhyme and rhythm, Stern suggested crawling to the street and calling "o muse, **meee** or **hau hau!**" Pushing further the provocation, Stern's poem "Nymphs" ("Nimfy") conjured up the mythological beauties as shamelessly voluptuous "red and young *babas*" (czerwone i mlode baby) giving birth to a "small fat *bobo*" (male tluste bobo). The poem struck the nerves of a censor, who ordered that the leaflet's distribution be stopped on the basis of its indecent content.

From a specific vantage point, Kraków Futurists viewed Warsaw as the place of their next confrontation, for the city was becoming a main center for radical Polish art after World War I. Warsaw was perceived as Poland's modern Bourgeois City with its strong social antagonisms, in which moral values counted little, replaced by the pursuit of financial gain and physical pleasures, as Waclaw Berent portrayed it in *Ozimina* (Winter Crop), 1911, the book that is often considered a masterpiece of early Polish Expressionism.[614] Despite growing Russification in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and lack of basic cultural and artistic institutions, the city managed to maintain its strong Polish cultural and artistic identity.[615] "In February 1921," Jasienski wrote, "Warsaw became sick."[616] On March 3, 1921, what was supposed to be the last of a series of events organized by the Kraków Futurists in Warsaw ended with the Futurists' arrest under the pretext of an unauthorized change in the program. The evening was repeated without interruption a few days later, after the intervention of a group of

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progressive members of Parliament. Warsaw Futurists simultaneously staged several "competitive" events, among them the "Grand Recital of Worldwide Futurist Poetry" (Wielki recital wszechswiatowej poezji futurystycznej), during which they read poems by Apollinaire, Reverdy, Marinetti, Mayakovsky, and Tzara, together with works by Stern, Wat, and J. Jankowski.

Compared to Warsaw Futurists' early writing, the Kraków Futurists' program alluded more often to the artistic life in that city after the war. They mentioned Formists on numerous occasions. Kraków Futurists were, however, reluctant to recognize the Formists' importance in changing the direction of Polish art in 1910s. In "Polish Futurism (An Appraisal)," 1923, Jasienski retrospectively wrote about the Formists: "The Formists made the impression on me of a medieval guild of searchers of new form. Separated from the street by the glass surface of their studios, they solved one after another artistic problem with the stony stubbornness and the certainty of their rightness, like one solves mathematical equations. On the other side of that glass tumbled Polish life, turning around in its post-war fever, banging its head against a wall cornered in a labyrinth of dead-end streets, life was tangled, motley, tongueless. It was too late for a preparatory work. The moment asked for action."[617]

Criticism of Formism obviously had to come later, for in their early phase Kraków Futurists collaborated with Formists, publishing their poems in *Formisci*. During the first futurist evening (called "poezowieczor," also known as "poezokoncert"[618]) that took place in the Futurist Club "Katarynka" on March 13, 1920, Mlodozeniec's poem, "The

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Street Organ" ("Katarynka"), read by its author, extolled a new synthetic language that attuned poetry to the sensations of contemporary life. Kraków Futurists expressed their alliance with the avant-garde currents in visual arts by asking Jarema (then a student at the local Fine Arts Academy and the future founder of Theatre "Cricot") to decorate the place in Formist style. With eccentric behavior and provocative poetry, Kraków Futurists instantaneously gained the label of troublemakers, which enabled them to pack a major concert hall the following year when they appeared in the capital with a series of futurist evenings. Jasienski later described the trip to Warsaw as an "attack on the Polish bourgeois swine in its den."[619]

Although the visit of the Kraków Futurists in Warsaw did not produce any event with the participation of all Polish Futurists, it ended their separation.[620] Starting from an event in Lodz in March 1921, Kraków and Warsaw Futurists worked together, participating in some forty group or individual events in many Polish cities. In light of the new cooperation between the two groups, a sarcastic remark about Wat and Stern by Czyzewski in *Formisci* (April 1921) appears to be the residue of a previous disagreement about the nature of Polish Futurism. Czyzewski wrote mockingly in his manifesto, "From Machine to Animals—Who is Angry with Us?" (Od maszyny do zwierzat—Kto sie gniewa na nas): "Stern and Wat: == jumped on a pear tree to pick up parsley, or the same as in Italy ten years ago."[621] Like Italian Futurists, Czyzewski uses a mathematical sign to accentuate movement and its direction.[622] Futurist events organized all over Poland attracted the attention of other well-known avant-garde artists, among them Chwistek,

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Witkacy, Peiper, and the architect-to-be and a member of Polish Constructivist groups, Sz. Syrkus.[623]

Despite their categorical rejection of German Expressionism, Futurists were often confused with Expressionists.[624] They were, however, the least interested in directly addressing the subject of Expressionism, condemning it a priori, and following in the footsteps of Dadaists who chose to criticize art in general, rather than reacting to earlier individual styles or schools. Their efforts concentrated, instead, on challenging what for many Poles (and foreigners) constituted a major component of their *l'âme slave*—Poles' attachment to Romantic tradition. With this bigger picture in mind, they rejected the modernist ethos of unique creation and separation of artistic media as signs of the growing bourgeoization of Polish life. Benefiting from the experience of Italian and Russian Futurists, the *Futurist Leaflet. Manifestos of Polish Futurism* mentioned earlier in this chapter, which was distributed as a free newspaper before a futurist evening in the Slowacki Theater in Kraków on June 10, 1921, and nonchalantly called the "first futurist scrap of paper," consisted of four main texts: *A Manifesto Concerning the Immediate Futurization of Life* (Manifest w sprawie natychmiastowej futuryzacji zycia), *A Manifesto Concerning Futurist Poetry* (Manifest w sprawie poezji futurystycznej), *A Manifesto Concerning Artistic Criticism* (Manifest w sprawie krytyki artystycznej), and *A Manifesto Concerning Phonetic Orthography* (Manifest w sprawie ortografii fonetycznej).

Militant in its character, the *Manifesto Concerning the Immediate Futurization of Life* contained an appeal, addressed to the entire Polish nation, to reject tradition by

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embracing contemporary life, as defined by three main components: "machine, democracy, and the masses" (maszyna, demokracja i tlum). Mirroring contemporary life, while embracing a new social reality with the proletariat as the new force (sila), new art was described as "popular, democratic and universal" (masowa, demokratyczna i powszechna). It was disseminated through "flying poezokoncerts and concerts," performed in places, arranged in a typically futurist dragging litany—"in trains, street-cars, canteens, factories, cafes, in public squares, railroad stations, halls, passageways, parks, from the balconies of private homes, etc., etc., etc., at every time of day and night."[625] Artists—"anyone could be an artist" (kazdy moze byc artysta)—were asked to join the Futurist Faction (Stronnictwo futurystyczne). In the spirit of the early Italian manifestos, the text praised modern civilization and technology with the machine as perfectly "economic, purposeful and dynamic" (ekonomiczny, celowy i dynamiczny). Paraphrasing Marinetti, Jasienski stated: "The Morse telegraph is a 100 times greater masterpiece than Byron's *Don Juan*."[626]

The *Manifesto Concerning Futurist Poetry* demanded that poetry, which became almost the sole artistic expression of Polish Futurists, be new, "unheard-of," and surprising, but also "daily, deeply actual and universal" (codzienna, gleboka, aktualna i powszechna), achieving perfect composition ("e.g., economic and iron-strong") using "a minimum of material with a maximum of dynamics."[627] Jasienski stood for the autonomy of art as independent of psychology, religion or philosophy, but not of social obligations. With its programmatic enthusiasm, the manifesto had several predecessors in the West, among them Apollinaire's "The New Spirit and the Poets," 1918, but Jasienski insisted on the

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separation of Polish Futurism from Western European movements, suggesting that Cubism, Expressionism, Primitivism and Dadaism should be collectively labeled "onanism"—considering them unable to "fertilize" the masses and match the tempo of modern life. The manifesto clearly voiced social concern from the position of the ordinary man, which was, in fact, closer to Constructivism than Italian Futurism or Russian Cubo-Futurism, and contained already seeds of a radical program that would later ally most of the Polish Futurists with political art and Socialist Realism:

> Contemporary man spends eight hours a day doing professional work. He has the remaining four hours for eating, daily chores, sport, entertainment, social life, love and art. Art alone occupies an average contemporary man for between 5 to 15 minutes a day. For that reason, he must receive art in capsules especially prepared by the artist, cleansed ahead of time of all superfluity and delivered in a ready-made and synthetic form.[628]

The *Manifesto Concerning Artistic Criticism* called for ignoring professional critics while encouraging artists themselves to write about their works; the *Manifesto Concerning Phonetic Orthography* argued for the reform of Polish orthography would enable the Polish language to be more phonetic, while achieving simplicity and synthesis.

None of the texts makes any extensive reference to Expressionist art. Painting was, in fact, mentioned *en passant,* in the context of breaking with descriptiveness in art. Among Polish Futurists, only Czyzewski was considered a Formist as an artist and a Futurist as a poet, although there are formal analogies in his approach to painting and poetry. Czyzewski's use of typography and various typefaces in his poems recalls Apollinaire's *Calligrammes.* Several Polish Futurists practiced graphic design. More importantly, conceived in the spirit of the synthesis of all arts, the Futurist evenings were often accompanied by exhibitions of new art. Many "Futurist" paintings were executed on the

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walls of the Futurist Clubs. The walls of the Futurist Clubs, "Katarynka" and "Pod Pikadorem," were covered with Formist paintings.[629]

The artistic club "Galka Muszkatulowa" (The Nutmeg) opened in November 1921 in a side room of one of Kraków's leading artists' cafés, called Café "Esplanada," and for several years served as a favorite gathering place of the Futurists, as well as other members of the Kraków avant-garde, including the Formists, who used it as an exhibition space. In 1922, Chwistek produced a cartoon of a figurative mural for Galka Muszkatulowa, executed in a sinuous style used in his works as discussed earlier in this study (Fig.122). A 1922 photograph in *Swiat* shows a view of the club's interior with its walls decorated by paintings, the great number probably done by Chwistek, and a cupola-type ceiling covered with schematized birds, with a small portrait in the middle, signed "Rafael" (Raphael).[630] In "The Opening of 'Galka Muszkatulowa': An Introduction" (Otwarcie "Galki Muszkatulowej:" Slowo wstepne), Peiper mentioned geometricized frescoes decorating the walls of the room—"to be discovered in three or four centuries as the remains of a bizarre old civilization. Reality was less kind to Galka Muszkatulowa: the place was forced to close at the request of conservative members of Kraków society and the frescoes were whitewashed."[631] Finally, a note in *Poludnie* (The Noon) reported that the Futurist Club in Café Esplanada had murals executed by, among others, Czyzewski, Z. Pronaszko, and Chwistek.[632]

In November 1921, Polish Futurists gained a platform for voicing their opinions: Stern with other poets from Warsaw launched an art and literary magazine, *Nowa Sztuka*,

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which for a short time became a major avant-garde publication to propagate new tendencies in art, while staying closely allied with Futurism.[633] To demonstrate its artistic alliances, it listed the following artists and poets on its cover: Apollinaire, Kazimierz Bukowski, Chwistek, Cocteau, Czyzewski, Wilhelm Hausenstein, Bronislaw Iwanowski, Jasienski, Mayakovsky, Stern, Henrik (Henri) Tastevin,[634] and Wat. In "Notes from the Editor," Stern declared his commitment to "New Art," presenting it as a broad platform for the artistic synthesis of "different than previously achieved sensations," without relying on a dogmatic political agenda or definite break with the past. The program was quite vague, stating what was needed—not what was to be done. Allying himself with Bergson, whose statement about the superiority of intuition over intellect Stern cited at the end of the article, he wrote:

> We do not demand, what some German Expressionists or Italian Futurists [demand], that the viewer or the listener be moved by the work of art and become part of it. We do not desire *l'art abstrait* of French Dadaists and the destruction of the art of German Dadaists. Instead, we are for the art that will liberate itself from the restraints of metaphysics, getting rid of the ballast of sentimentality and symbolism, for the sake of becoming a superstructure that does not closely follow the patterns of reality, but is self-sufficient on the basis of its own characteristics: new, cognitively impossible to express metaphors and formal qualities, without which the existence of empirical content in a work of art would not be justified. However, *unlike the Formists we do not break with ideas in art* [my emphasis].[635]

Despite its critical standing vis-à-vis major artistic tendencies (past and present, local and international) and a gently stated alliance with art in the service of social causes, the text reads like an attempt to formulate a non-antagonistic, optimistic program that would allow the coexistence of all of them.

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The issue also included Chwistek's long article on modern architecture, "Problems of Contemporary Architecture" (Zagadnienia wspolczesnej architektury), and Tastevin's "The Psychological Base of Contemporary Painting," in which the leading defender of Futurism in Russia, proclaimed a gradual "dematerialization of painting."[636] Despite the growing awareness of the transformations in Russian art, due to the political tension between Poland and its eastern neighbor, news from Soviet Russia continued to reach Poland mainly through the West.[637] In its section devoted to the international art scene ("Przegladajac ostatnie pisma francuskie"), *Nowa Sztuka* reported that the French-language press enabled Western readers to learn about the catastrophic material situation of the poets in Soviet Russia from a correspondence written by Ilya Ehrenburg for the Belgian magazine *Signaux*, in which Ehrenburg called Mayakovsky "the most talented among revolutionary poets in Russia, while calling the Romantic poet Belmond and Marina Tsvetaeva—"adversely predisposed to the internal life of contemporary Russia" (wrogo usposobionych do wewnetrznego zycia Rosji wspolczesnej).[638] "You need to add to it ," Ehrenburg ended his article, "the atmosphere of dictatorship, the civil war, poverty, and you will understand that I used for this work [of the Russian poets] a serious expression 'heroic mission' not without reason."[639] *Nowa Sztuka* reprinted Mayakovsky's famous poem, "A Cloud in Trousers." The foreign section also included information on a new exhibition at the Sturm Gallery and the appearance of *The Tyro*, in England edited by Wyndham Percy Lewis.

Only two issues of *New Art* were published (the second one in February 1922), but the magazine, with writings by leading Polish and foreign critics and artists, as well as

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translations of Russian, French, and Spanish poetry, became synonymous with the Polish avant-garde's new quest for an artistic language attuned to the current international trends, in which equal importance was given to Western and Russian writers and poets.[640] *New Art*'s editorial board included Stern, Chwistek, and Peiper. Peiper was responsible for a large selection of Spanish writers and poets, whom he learned about during his sojourn in Spain (he returned to Poland in 1921) and wrote about in "New Spanish Poetry" (Nowa poezja hiszpanska). Chwistek contributed an article on futurist poetry in Poland entitled "New Polish Poetry" (Nowa poezja polska). Despite its declared apoliticism, the review reverberated with the highlighted words: "workers" (robotnicy), "red" (czerwony), "world republic" (rzeczpospolita swiata), and "change" (zmiana). It also reported on the confiscation of the futurist leaflet *Knife in the Stomach* (Noz w brzuchu, spelled phonetically—Nuz w bzuhu [Nife in the Beli], Fig.123).

The Futurists published their last collective publication—a poster-size *jednodniowka* (leaflet) *Nife in the Beli* (possibly titled in a reference to *Slap in the Face of Public Taste*) in November 1921. The text below the title optimistically announced:

> 30,000 copies of the futurist manifesto - were grabbed all over Poland in 14 days. the sluggish beast of Polish art, stabbed with a knife in the stomach, began to roar. a lava of futurism spewed out through the hole....a red flag became a red handkerchief in Poland for a long time. democrats display banners with the words of our Swiss friends: We want to piss IN ALL COLORS![641]

The last words obviously alluded to the Russian manifesto mentioned above, as well as the Zurich Dadaist manifesto of 1916, acknowledging indirectly the futurists' debt to Dadaist nihilism with its strategy of mixing zany humor with unexpected nonsense and juxtapositions of words, but it had a strong political character rooted in contemporary

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Polish context. The text, placed in the far right column on the front page, called upon the State to commission the following artists and sculptors to "decorate streets, public squares and sidewalks" (do ozdobiena ulic, placuw i hodnikuw): Czyzewski, Chwistek, H. Gotlib, J. Jarema, A Pronaszko, Z. Pronaszko, Szczyrbula, Kazimierz Tomorowicz, Waliszewski, and Witkowski." The list was made up of artists who were also associated with Formism and who signed a protest letter sent to the Minister of Internal Affairs to complain about frequent police interventions during futurist events. (The letter was reprinted in *Nife in the Beli*) The text, signed by all five Futurists, declared toward the end: "We shake hands with France and Switzerland. **Marinetti is foreign to us.**"[642]

Nife in the Beli marked a turning point for Polish Futurism. Jasienski called it the swan song of Polish Futurism and "the most beautiful street paper of European Futurism."[643] Not only did it announce a definite break with Italian Futurism, which by that time was already being associated with fascism,[644] but it also shifted its emphasis from the manifestos and theoretical texts to poetry as a form of communication with the public. It contained, in fact, mostly poems designed to have a quick and instant effect, written by all five major Futurists, and known from their earlier presentations. In addition, it reprinted Chwistek's article, "About poetry" (O poezji),[645] which criticized Italian Futurists' radical statements, while propagating ideas close to Formism and extending them to poetry. As in painting, for Chwistek, Formism in poetry expanded the possibilities of written language by moving from the "reality of psychical objects" to the fluid "visionary reality" determined by its own internal formal structure. The article, which did not contain any of the Futurists' provocative language and was clearly

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conciliatory by suggesting equal status for different artistic expressions,[646] was, nevertheless, considered pro-Futurist.

Among the poems published in *Nife in the Beli,* Jasienski's "Women's Flash" ("Mieso kobiet"), was, undoubtedly, one of the most sacrilegious examples of futurist writings. The poem uses the image of a woman being mutilated by a butcher as a source of experiencing love and sexual arousal. Other poems included in the leaflet are less provocative. For instance, Mlodozeniec's "Cinema" ("Kino") celebrated the power of cinema punctuating the poem with the words "Pathé frères"; his "A Hymn to Peace" ("Hymn pokoju"), which occupied a central place on the front page, called for a pacifist brotherhood of men, using a language similar to Apollinaire's "Un dernier chapitre," well know to the Polish artist:[647]

Long live the world!----------
black people, yellow and white -
from Europe, Asia, Australia,
from Africa, America -
recluses on islands
on your colorful snouts kiss each other -
---------- pledge of friendship!...
Gulp down the Pacific Ocean
and spit on war!...[648]

In Poland, victorious but ravaged by war, it was hard to share with the Italian Futurists their original enthusiasm for war and view it as "the only hygiene of the world" or "the most beautiful futurist poem." After World War I, the reputation of Marinetti had changed, generating much less enthusiasm than, for example, his lectures had in England in 1913, when—as David Bomberg recalled on one occasion: "all of us wined & dined to contentment. [Wyndham] Lewis was threatening to punch [Christopher] Nevinson for

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daring to claim that when Marinetti stepped off the Golden Arrow bringing him to the Victoria platform No. 19 it was Lewis & not Nevinson who kissed Marinetti's hand first."[649] Already in 1914, when Marinetti visited Russia, he had not been welcomed with unconditional admiration. Kruchenykh remembered showing Marinetti a copy of the Futurist book, *Ti li*, illustrated with Olga Rosanova's drawings, and asking if Italians had produced anything similar "on the surface" to Russian handmade lithographed publications. Receiving a negative answer, the Russian concluded: "Then if you don't have anything similar on the surface, you don't have anything similar in substance either!"[650] With their predilection toward inward reflection, Polish Futurists propagated an optimistic approach to life but rejected machine-age optimism. They accepted, in fact, the pessimistic assessment of the postwar reality expressed in a manner similar to Franz Kafka in his *Diaries* (entry of October 19, 1921): "Anyone who cannot come to terms with his life while he is alive needs one hand to ward off a little his despair over his fate...but with his other hand he can note down what he sees among the ruins, for he sees different (and more) things than the others: after all, he is dead in his own lifetime, he is the real survivor."[651]

Polish Futurists were cautious in glorifying technology and the machine (perhaps because of its Positivist connotations), viewing the "beauty of speed" as ciphers of modern progress and avoiding the usage of the militaristic phraseology of Italian Futurism. Already in *Gga,* Wat and Stern declared that "wars should be waged by fists, slaughter is not hygienic." The machine was equated with the industrial tool, the airplane, the telegraph, the cinema,[652] or—as in Czyzewski's case—the "electric instinct" related to

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the forces of nature.[653] By 1923, Jasienski predicted the rule of the machine as the destructive power of humankind leading to insanity.[654] Obviously, by 1921, Italian Futurists' political extremism did not pass unnoticed, especially after they joined the fascists in the 1919 parliamentary elections. Hence, Polish Futurists' dissociating themselves from the program of Marinetti and his colleagues, culminated in the declaration, "In 1921, we do not intend to repeat what they [Italian Futurists] did already in 1908" ("A Manifesto Concerning Futurist Poetry") and "Marinetti is foreign to us" (*Nife in the Beli*).

The Polish Futurists' attitude toward Russian Futurism, or rather Cubo-Futurists, was equally ambivalent.[655] Although their manifestos referred to Russian manifestos and the Polish poets agreed with Severianin, Mayakovsky, Khlebnikov, and Kruchenykh that poetry needed to be freed from the "narrow" traditional attachment to meaning and embrace various devices such as the manipulation of sound quality, the use of metonymy and neologisms, and the grouping of homophonic words, they were careful in defining the role of leftist politics and Marxism in art. Even Jasienski, the most socially conscious of the five Futurists, restrained himself from formulating a radical program connected to proletarian revolution, proposing instead a more "archaic" version of the revolution as a spontaneous movement connected to an anti-intellectual cultural revolt. Wat said in his memoir that they believed "a revolution in literature is, in fact, a social revolution."[656] Thus, when the Polish Futurists' manifestos called for the artists to descend onto the streets, it was above all to welcome action as an extension of the optimistic attitude toward life and artistic expression. Only later, when Jasienski joined the Communist

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Party of Poland (KPP) and became sympathetic to Socialist Realism, did he change his position, even going so far as to denounce Mayakovsky for being too metaphysical and individualistic.

Jasienski's connection to Mayakovsky was complex, for not only had he extensively translated the Russian poet, but he had also modeled his poems on Russian ones. *Song of Hunger* (Piesn o glodzie), 1922, Jasienski's written work about social injustice, paraphrased, in fact, Mayakovsky's *A Cloud in Trousers*, 1915.[657] Jasienski "simply fell in love with him as a poet" who despite his commitment to communism remained a rebellious, charismatic nonconformist, tall and handsome, with a virile "I" that was "too small for him"(*Zwrotnica* 4).[658] Responding to the critics who accused him of plagiarizing Russian poetry and of "cultural snobbery," Jasienski organized an evening called "The Tribune of Poetry" (Trybuna Poezji) in January 1923, which was devoted to the discussion of differences between Polish and Russian Futurisms. He criticized Russian Futurism for its metaphysics, which he opposed to Polish Futurism's embracing of universal values, optimism, and faith in contemporary man, while achieving a balance between the pictorial content and the formal elements in a work of art.[659]

Nife in the Beli, which appeared in a climactic moment of anti-Russian sentiment in Poland, was labeled by its critics as proof of "planting the seeds of Bolshevism," and its authors were called—the "apostles serving the emissaries of Trotsky."[660] (The Ministry of Interior Affairs ordered the leaflet's confiscation the day after it appeared in the streets of Warsaw.) Overwhelmed by institutional difficulties, disturbances of Futurist events by

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fanatic national-democratic students, and the growing hostility of critics and fellow artists, some of them former supporters of Futurism, Polish Futurists began to "retreat" to exclusively writing poetry in late 1921. And, paradoxically enough, individual aesthetic decisions were responsible for the group's loss of coherence and strength. Wat wrote in *My Century*: "We just began with anti-poetry and anti-literature, but, as we began to write, we acquired a taste for poetry and so imperceptibly our positions, out literary practice, began to verge on the civilized, the constructivist. A perfect example of that civilizing trend, was the search for a new alphabet, a new language for the metropolis, the masses, the machine."[661]

No clear cessation date for Polish Futurism can be given. However, the October 1923 issue of *Zwrotnic*a, which was entirely devoted to Futurism, provides such a stand still date. Like the Futurists, *Zwrotnica* embraced the present, spelled out in Peiper's article, "The Metropolis. The Masses. The Machine" (Miasto. Masa. Maszyna.), but its emphasis on structuring poetry and art with "emotional reticence" and metaphor (as an independent poetic reality) was already closer to Constructivism. (Peiper's article will be discussed in the last chapter of this study.) The issue devoted to Futurism opened with a letter written in French by Marinetti, dated "Milan, May 1923," which is worth quoting extensively:

> A strong handshake to my friends from *Zwrotnica*.
> I am a believer in a new religion of speed. I feel that *Zwrotnica* is a place inhabited by the Divine!
> Mechanical beauty. Love for the machine. Toys of the mechanics re-cooked and stained with coal. A powerful locomotive that rides with voluptuous pleasure without any oiling caress. The motors have unexpected whims and fantasies. A personality, a soul, a will. Cast iron. Steel. Exact numbers. The calculations of a constructor of locomotives think freely while the heat and the speed increase.
> Who can deny today the identification of the man with the motor?
> ...

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> One evening I returned to Rome on a 100 horsepower and leaving behind me the port of San Sebastian I went to reach the point that separates the aqueduct of Nero from the Orto Botanico.
> With full speed. The Steering Wheel straight on the Arch of Constantine. I don't care about the blocks of stone ve-ne-rable... A crash! My radiator smashed! This was a Symbol! A warning. More like a revenge.
> This is why I shouted to the Romans: quickly isolate the ruins more contagious than cholera. Dig a large gulf. Raise a great wall to encircle all these pieces of Roman walls! Against the Past and its grudges and malarias! Today makes itself: the past shivers. And this is a great joy of all the locomotives of Spirit. Lyricism precise and concise. Geometric splendor of the life. All azure line fresh and torrential in the pores of the pilot, as many gates—the mouth that drinks and thinks. Compenetration, Simultaneity of Forces which we love and pray each day in our words and freedom, our plastic Dynamism with a great orchestra of noises that shout roar roughcast explode screech slap swish of joy. Joy!
> Joy!
> To see you my friends from *Zwrotnica*! When? Soon! Soon!
> Military revolution of my heart that rejoices over the idea of seeing soon the grand strong intelligent Poland very quickly![662]

Marinetti's "letter" had to sound rather conventional to Polish artists in terms of its programmatic objectives. Its poetic tone was, however, in sync with their shifting of the emphasis from provocative manifestos to poetry as a main means of communication with the public. Obviously, having a text written by Marinetti especially for *Zwrotnica* impressed many whether they agreed with the Italian Futurist or not. Marinetti had to be aware of the ambiguity of his reception by Polish Futurists for despite ending his letter with a suggestion that he might visit Poland, he never did.

Peiper's analysis of Italian Futurism followed, scrutinizing carefully and critically Marinetti's program. "Rationalist" Peiper praised Marinetti—calling him "one of the greatest writers of our time"—for his insisting on the importance of new art and the courage to implement new ideas. However, Peiper rejected one by one all major points of

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futurist ideology and aesthetics as either false or partially developed. He condemned the futurist cult of war and excessive force for leading the Italians to fascism. Peiper described Marinetti's fascination with the machine as the worshiping of a "deity," instead of treating it as an "extension of man's hand, subservient to him." Calling Marinetti's approach to poetry "poetic materialism" (materializm poetycki), Peiper rejected the Italian writer's call to abandon syntax for isolated words (*parole in liberta*) as the expression of spontaneity and dynamism, considering that it would undesirably increase, instead, the accidental in poetry at the expense of logic. Arguing for the necessity of a logical linguistic structure, Peiper stated: "Without syntax, one can at best assemble the inventory of the world, but never express the life."[663]

The last part of the article was devoted to the concept of dynamism in visual arts as presented in the 1910 *Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature*, in which Peiper pointed out the Italian Futurists' inconstancies in choosing whether to embrace modern civilization or "biologism," to be rationalists or rely on intuition, to depict objects in the world or their sensations. He acknowledged, however, that in the 1913 manifesto Carlo Carrà changed the definition of dynamism to "reality created by the artist himself" that leads to an autonomous *construction*. While stating that dynamism cannot be captured by visual arts, Peiper mentioned Malevich's drawings as the best example of what he called—the new system of "organic unity" (organiczna jednosc).

"The final aim [of art]," Peiper argued, "has to be exclusively artistic."[664] Therefore, Futurism's principal function was not to advance social or political causes of any kind

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(like Italian Futurists, according to Peiper), but rather to "re-distillate Romantic values" (przedestylowania wartosci romantycznych), in other words—to reevaluate the tradition. Polish Futurists had done it—according to Peiper—but "subconsciously" (nieswiadomie). Further embracing Futurism could have, according to Peiper, serious consequences: it could give support to nationalism. "Our Futurism feels the demands of the time we live in, what is not without significance in our political situation, in the face of building vital Poland, e.g., corresponding to the requirements of contemporary life, and in the face of building it from the base, e.g., from man. I would not be surprised at all if our authorities fostered the idea of institutionalizing Futurism. Italian Futurism—we have seen—does not shy away from nationalism, fascism, imperialism; Russian Futurism—we know—derived Bolshevik poetry from Marinetti's principles; wouldn't Polish Futurism be governmental?...A joke? Indeed. But far from truth not further than the distance of a glance."[665] In light of the principal Polish Futurists' turning Communist, one could argue that Peiper was prophetic in his assessment of the role of Futurism in future Poland. However, to advance their leftist radicalism Polish Futurists had to abandon their Futurist aesthetics.

Although devoted to Italian Futurism, Peiper's article referred to its Polish followers. Opposing an excess of "psychologism" in Polish poetry, it also questioned the Italian proposition of the "elimination of man from literature." "Anti-psychologism," he wrote, "can be eventually understood in France, in the country of Racine, Molière, Stendhal and Zola, in the country where for centuries the human soul was dissected into tiny pieces.[666] In our country, where due to its abnormal political situation literature served as the tool

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for national struggle and, adopting the combat strategies, could only depict the individual beyond the words and gestures of the collective; in our country where even the naked soul [allusion to Przybyszewski], covered with a fur of alcoholic fumes, enriched very little our knowledge of man, we cannot talk about the surplus of that knowledge, and the uncompromising struggle with it must be viewed as an uncritical repeating of foreign slogans or an exaggerated superficial interpretation of certain formalistic calls, or, finally, as the lack of [our] own inner content."[667] Clearly enough, when Peiper talked about Italian Futurism his caustic criticism sounded throughout the article as if it were also addressed toward Polish Futurism, which he believed could still carry the mission "of creating new standards for morality and culture." At the same time, opting toward figurative art, he did not object to futurist "postimpressionism" as inadequate for the new expression.[668]

Zwrotnica also contained the previously mentioned Czyzewski's "My Futurism" (Moj futuryzm), in which he declared himself above all, an individualist disinterested in belonging to any school, style, or theory. Written already from Paris, where Czyzewski had moved in the fall of 1922, the text described Futurism as both gone and alive, concluding that "true lively art is always *futurism*." But the final voice belonged to Jasienski, whose "Polish Futurism (An Appraisal)" (Futuryzm polski [Bilans]) summarized Polish Futurism in the October 1923 issue of *Zwrotnica*. Jasienski called Futurism—not a school but " a certain form of collective consciousness" (pewna forma swiadomosci zbiorowej), which in Poland had developed its local pejorative meaning. Placing the machine in the center of the futurist universe, Jasienski argued that the

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Futurists taught contemporary man to see in physical forms of current civilization the beauty of his own enriched body. Jasienski used the concept of the machine to comment on Russian Futurism, calling its response to modern life—until 1919—"two-faced" (dwulicowa). He mentioned "Mystery Buffo," 1919, interpreting Mayakovsky's poem as extolling the machine's central position in contemporary (Socialist) society

Futurism's goal was to instigate that new state of consciousness, expressed through artistic means, in each individual. But, like Czyzewski, Jasienski appears to express his solipsism or resignation by choosing to talk about *his* Futurism. Furthermore, in shifting the accent from theoretical texts to poetry, the article concluded with the following statement:

> There was a city of Polish consciousness and there was a small group of partisans, who wanted to conquer it.
> They were like people, who gathered in a public square to count their men, arm them and make plans.
> And they called the square: *Polish futurism.*
> And now they go into town – each to their own street.
> For one idea – the victory.
> Each to their own street.
> Black and impenetrable is the city of Polish consciousness. It has many side roads, corners and dead ends.
> Those who do not know their way well – will get lost.
> The city closed its doors behind them.
> Street lamps were turned off.
> They entered the night.
> Each to their own street.[669]

In *Nowa Sztuka,* Stern (whom Jasienski considered as representing a faction of Polish Futurism connected to Apollinaire and the Dadaists), announced the end of the rebellious stage of Futurism and proclaimed the beginning of a new "period of constructing" under the banner of "New Art." "New Art" eventually brought together art with a leftist agenda

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on the one hand, and Polish Constructivism on the other. Futurism did not disappear, but Futurists dissolved as a group.[670] If not completely forgotten by the mid-1920s, Futurism belonged to the past for all five Polish Futurists and began to be ignored by Polish critics and historians.[671] When mentioned, the movement continued to have negative connotations, being particularly associated with the Bolshevik Revolution and the danger of its spilling over into Poland. Reflecting a popular view of Futurism as the official art of the Soviet state, H. Teodorowicz-Karpacka concluded in *Poludnie* in 1925, "As A. Efros rightly observed in one of his articles ("The Ends Without the Beginnings"): 'from a psychological view point, the new political power was indifferent, and even hostile, toward extreme tendencies in art; not Futurism—but the Futurists were needed.'"[672] What linked Polish Futurism to Expressionism and Constructivism (in its Productivist version represented by Szczuka and Zarnower) was their approach to art making as a process determined by broader socio-political and cultural concerns attuned to the situation of Poland after Independence.

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2.5 Conclusion: Toward the Future, Realism *à rebours*[673]

Polish Expressionism in the 1910s and 1920s, as defined and discussed in this study, was fundamentally influenced by socio-political conditions, which resulted from 123 years of foreign occupation. Many Poles chose nationalism as the main solution for consolidating the Polish state after World War I. The nationalistic tendencies were paralleled by the somewhat contradictory desires of Polish artists to create a uniquely Polish style and participate actively in international developments in the arts. Polish artists searched for a style that would express their need to achieve a unity with the new life, while respecting the demands of modern art. A stylistic transformation in Polish art—although related to various movements in the West and Russia—was deeply grounded in a specific historic context: Poland's fear of being influenced (or "invaded") by its neighbors, both culturally and militarily, while aspiring to become a full member of the international world. Such a psychological determinant, complicated by Poland's conversion from a backward country to a modern state resolving its ethnic conflicts, produced tensions unique to Polish experience.

The development of Polish Expressionism coincided with the reemergence of Poland on the map of Europe. As the country attempted to redefine its identity as a modern state after World War I, Expressionists in Poland engaged in delicate negotiations with the current reality of the Polish state and nation. Appearing in a transitional period in Poland's history, the Expressionists in Poland found themselves in a particularly difficult situation as they tried to redefine the existing artistic paradigm, both in Polish and

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international contexts. As they tried to change the direction of Polish art they were perceived as attacking Polish tradition, which was a fundamental referent of Polish identity. This led to accusations of being unpatriotic, even of being agents of foreign powers, if the artists were associated with Germany or Russia. A century of foreign domination slowed down the development of Polish art, cutting Poland off from the international scene. But the "backwardness" of Polish artists was not only a direct result of foreign oppression but also a result of and a reaction to the politicization of Polish art, literature, and culture. When World War I ended, art continued to be politicized although along different ideological vectors than those of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

Polish artists embraced Expressionism when some Western radical artists perceived the movement as passé. As previously mentioned, artists such as Huelsenbeck and Hausmann accused Expressionists of "concealed bourgeoisism." Therefore, Polish Expressionism could have appeared for them neither formally innovative nor politically conscious from the Western perspective. But, interests in Expressionism resurged right after the end of World War I in the Weimar Republic.[674] Expressionism was considered as vital to conveying the horrors of the war, while having universal appeal. In Poland emerging from over a century of foreign occupation, Expressionism was attuned, both formally and thematically, to a particularly Polish situation, which demanded a gradual rupture with the past while respecting the specifics of local traditions. Expressionism managed to change directions of modern Polish art before the movement dissolved in 1922, preparing a fertile ground for Constructivism to emerge in 1923.

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Seeking artistic freedom or recognition, a number of radical members of the four groups discussed in this study left Poland for Berlin or Paris.[675] Internal conflicts further weakened the movement from within. All of this happened to a large extent because Poland lacked art markets and alternative places to show art outside the system of galleries and museums supported by the government. At the same time, when transported abroad, Polish art was usually denied any claim to uniqueness, on the basis of either formal progress or radicalism, depending on the point of view of the critics. The theoretical writings of such artists as Witkacy and Chwistek remained untranslated and therefore unknown to the public in the West, preventing them from achieving broader recognition. Instead, transformations occurred that led Polish art to develop along "conservative" lines that encouraged Neoclassicism and socialist realism, both formally and ideologically.

By 1923, Poznan Expressionism, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists were largely forgotten or ignored in Poland, the first two groups decisively more so than the latter two. Since its demise, Formism, derived from Mloda Polska (with its attachment to Symbolist, *secesja*, and Neoromanticism), received much more attention from Polish art historians than the Futurists, Young Yiddish or Poznan Expressionists, i.e., those groups that focused on the "rupture" rather than the continuity of Polish tradition. In a laboratory search of evolutionary short-cuts, Formists oscillated among Western models and indigenous folklore while keeping an eye on the Mloda Polska tradition. Such "hesitancy" made them incapable of creating a coherent and original style significantly

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different from Cubism and Futurism. Although Formists created individual works of highest artistic value, their belief in purity of form was, in fact, a defeat, for Formists produced an art of formal inferiority, particularly when compared to French art. On the other hand, the acceptance almost a priori of the tenets of German Expressionism by Kubicki, Kubicka, Stokarek, Szmaj, and Wroniecki resulted in Expressionist works equal in artistic value to those in Germany.

As already mentioned, the situation of the Young Yiddish and the Futurists was different from the two other groups discussed in this study. Embracing aesthetics derived from German Expressionism, Young Yiddish artists attempted to revitalize Yiddish culture and language and connect it to modern artistic expressions, which is of particular significance in light of the almost total disappearance of Yiddish that we witness today. On the other hand, Futurists brought another unfulfilled opportunity to Polish artists—the possibility of "formlessness" of art, manifesting itself in its performative character. But Polish Futurists were unable to shake off their attachment to the past, hoping to combine poetry with entertainment, which resulted in a hybrid artistic form between poetry and performance. For the nation that grew up reading poetry and treated it as the highest of arts, such a fusion was simply impossible. In the end, it was that "fixation" on "apolitical" Formism, rather than the more "progressive" Expressionism and Futurism that made a new group called Rytm wear the label of new art after 1923.

In 1923, the group Rytm (Rhythm) embraced stylized figuration with a folkloric bent and opted for art without any overt political message. However, it adopted a name with

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contemporary appeal, equating rhythm with movements automatically imposed on man by machines. The group included such well-established Polish artists as Witold Pruszkowski, Waclaw Borowski, Ludomir Slendzinski, Skoczylas, and Zofia Stryjenska. Many members of Rytm also belonged to Sztuka. Aesthetically Rytm moved close to Neoclassical tendencies that were gaining in popularity in Western Europe, France in particular. It also followed in the footsteps of Sztuka. Many members of Rytm resided in Paris, which gave the group the appeal of an internationalist group.[676] Rytm rejected radical artistic or social postulates in its program dear to the Bunt and Polish Futurists, or radical artists in the West and Russia. In its stressing of formal perfection, Rytm stayed closed to Formists, but it rejected Cubist or Expressionist deformation. Catering to the nationalist sentiments among Poles by embracing "local values," the group's *safe* artistic stance quickly gained governmental support. Officially presented as the most important artistic formation in Poland, Rytm was, for example, given privileged treatment during the 1928 Universal State Exhibition (Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa, the most important presentation of contemporary Polish art since the State Exhibition [Wystawa Krajowa] in Lvov in 1894), which was organized in Poznan to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Poland's independence. Members of the group helped to design the exhibition space and were among the most decorated artists in the show. Rytm, however, was unable to withstand the internal conflicts and the growing politicization of the arts in Poland in the late 1920s. It ceased to exist in the early 1930s.[677] In *Rhythm: In the Search of a National Style* (Rytm: w poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego), Henryk Anders rightly associates the disappearance of Rytm with the political, social, and cultural changes in Poland, which dwarfed Rytm's ambitions to reach with its art outside of the country, although he gives

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too much credit to its declared "centrist positions." "Around 1930," Anders sums up the socio-political climate in the Second Polish Republic: "collapses the liberal bourgeois ideology [swiatopoglad], raised with confidence in parliamentary democracy and beliefs in an automatic progress of social reforms. The social conflicts sharpen: the socialist forces grow, but nationalism and chauvinism also increase. At the same time, the economic crisis forces a brutal struggle for survival. A political crisis, with its brutal manifestation in the Bresc trials, creates an atmosphere full of tension and moral conflict. A new period begins in the history of Polish art."[678]

When Expressionism ceased to exist as a movement in Poland by 1923, Constructivism took the central stage among radical Polish artists. The Exhibition of New Art (Wystawa Nowej Sztuki) opened in Vilnius in June 1923, becoming the first collective manifestation of Polish Constructivism. Constructivism started to play a main role among radical artistic movements in Poland after Strzeminski and Kobro moved to Poland from Russia in 1923. They gathered around them a group of young artists, which included Stazewski, Szczuka and Zarnower who were pushing Polish art toward pure abstraction. Peiper gave his full support to the new art on the pages of *Zwrotnica*.

Before Strzeminski moved to Poland, *Zwrotnica* published his "Notes on Russian Art" (Notatki rosyjskie), in which Strzeminski discussed at length Russian Constructivism and Suprematism, praising Malevich and suggesting that Suprematism is a new direction for modern art to follow.[679] Strzeminski's article begins with a statement that form and content are interrelated, but "the content is born from the form." To address the world as

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a whole, one needs to find a form that corresponds to that world. For Strzeminski, Expressionism was only able to "adapt the old form to the new content," hence was obsolete. "The excess of content over form"—Strzeminski wrote—"often causes the adaptation of any kind of form to a particular content." Such art is for him at the level of applied arts only.

After a declaration of pursuing artistic goals through an exploration of formal issues, Strzeminski provides an overview of contemporary Russian art. He considers Larionov, Kandinsky, Tatlin, and Malevich the most influential among Russian artists. However, for Strzeminski only Malevich fully understood the formal role of painting. Larionov (together with Goncharova and Shevchenko) is characterized as belonging to a group that formed "a link between the emotional [Mikhail] Vrubel and a half-realistic impressionism on the one side and cubism, tatlinism and suprematism on the other." Kandinsky belongs to "the last disharmonious stage of Impressionism." Strzeminski addresses particularly harsh words toward Tatlin and what he calls "tatlinism." "Tatlinism—it is cubism with a weak formal tension and a general mechano-technical and material treatment of content. Because of its undeveloped form, it glorifies the culture of the material. Tatlin, a man of little culture, saw reliefs in Picasso's studio, but he understood only that they contained combinations of different materials." For Strzeminski, Tatlin confused a "strong construction" with a construction from strong (durable) materials (tin, iron, zinc, wood, and glass). Strzeminski, in fact, accused Tatlin of a superficial understanding of those materials and glorifying them as technology, while staying on the surface with the anecdote without addressing a work of art as a "form."

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Thus for Strzeminski Tatlin is an activist or critic, but not an artist. On the other hand, Strzeminski praises Malevich for his refusal to follow Picasso's Cubism, which he describes as a camouflaged naturalism. Malevich suggested preserving color in painting, with which Strzeminski totally agrees (Strzeminski pointed out that the same approach to color was practiced by Léger, but that Malevich was first, formulating it already in 1912). Furthermore, Malevich created a system that allowed him to produce "abstract constructions." For Strzeminski, Suprematism led the way to cleansing art of "foreign elements" and showed the direction for nonobjective and Constructivist art in the future.

In 1924, Strzeminski, Kobro Szczuka, Zarnower and several other artists formed the Constructivist group BLOK: the Block of Cubists, Suprematists, and Constructivists (Blok Kubistow, Suprematystow i Konstruktywistow).[680] The group started to publish their own review *Blok,* which was subtitled "A Review of the Artistic Avant-garde." The first exhibition of the Blok group opened at an automobile salon belonging to Laurin & Klement Company in March 1924. Berlewi was among its participants. The Blok exhibition opened a day after Berlewi's individual exhibition at another car show place, the Austro-Daimler Automobile Salon in Warsaw.[681] In his show Berlewi presented one of the most advanced attempts of Polish artists to move their art toward geometric abstraction. As a member of the first wave of radical artists in Poland, he "symbolically" closed the gap between Expressionism and Polish Constructivism with his *Mechno-Facturas*. As such, Berlewi's art produced in 1923-24 deserves here closer attention.

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When Berlewi returned to Warsaw in November 1923, after taking part in the International Congress of Progressive Artists (with Adler, Kubicki, Kubicka, and Lindenfeld) in May 1922, he was already a different artist from his previous years in Poland, more interested in promoting his *Mechano-Fakturas* than in exploring his Jewish heritage. In a review of the First Exhibition of New Art that accompanied the Congress in Düsseldorf, published in *Nasz Kurier*, Berlewi (probably influenced by Hausmann) declared Expressionism to be obsolete. As a progressive avant-garde movement, Expressionism was replaced for Berlewi by German Dadaism and art produced by members of the Novembergruppe on the one hand, and Constructivism and the art of Doesburg, Moholy-Nagy, and Eggeling on the other.[682]

After returning to Warsaw in November of 1923, Berlewi organized the exhibition of his Mechano-Faktura works at the Austro-Daimler Automobile Salon in March 1924 and published a booklet with an introduction by Wat.[683] In his manifesto, *Mechano-Faktura*, 1924, Berlewi declared a return to painting without subjectivity by schematizing its structure according to principles of modern technology and mechanical reproduction. He was inspired by the recent discussions about texture, or rather *faktura* as it was called in Russian and Polish, which he interpreted as "everything that makes up the material side of painting." Briefly discussing Vladimir Markov's writings on *faktura*, Berlewi stated that Markov and other theoreticians never went beyond the purely material point of view in their definition of texture, promoting the cult of the material. Alexander Rodchenko and Tatlin were, according to Berlewi, the artists who led in the glorification of material and the scientific investigation of its properties. "The juxtaposition of several different materials, Berlewi argued, "with diverse properties and dimensions has naturally

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modified the flat character of the picture and transformed it into a low relief." Berlewi considered important the new experiments with texture, but he viewed them as leading to the stripping away of one of painting's main characteristics – its two-dimensionality. He declared that "'Material-texture' was the breeding ground for every type of individualism, subjectivism, and aesthetic over-sophistication. Therefore in contrast to the present: instead of simplicity and economy of means there was over-complication; instead of clarity there was confusion." Berlewi continued, arguing in an original way:

> In their textural role, materials lose their essential significance—in other words, they become dematerialized. Thus, it is not the materials themselves that are significant, but rather their equivalents. If suitable equivalents are found for materials like glass, sand, wood, we will be able to achieve textural effects that are identical with the immediate effect of the texture of the original material. By consistently pursuing and developing this principle of material equivalents, I created a new and autonomous texture, which is independent of materials, and, at the same time, compatible with the two-dimensional nature of painting.... In order to accomplish this fusion of all textural values into a synthetic order, in order to create an organized system of textures, one must resort to schematization. A schema is the only rational means by which to organize confusion, because it achieves the goal with the greatest economy of means. However, to suit the purposes of the schema, the technique of painting must also be changed accordingly.[684]

But how did Berlewi's "system" manifest itself in his art? Berlewi's "system" could be traced back to his gouache *Still-life with the Bottles* (Martwa natura z butelkami), 1922 (Fig.125), in which the artist juxtaposed in a Cubist or rather Purist style two bottles with a grid made of dots that makes the painting resemble a sheet of perforated cardboard.[685] Following his *Mechano-Faktura* manifesto, Berlewi made the cardboard effect (which also recalls the raster dots of newspapers) function as a "sign" of the material rather than the material itself. The overlapping of distinctive shapes, the black-white contrast and playing with the positive and negative spaces produced a rhythmic effect of oscillation,

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which later convinced many that Berlewi was a pioneer of Op Art. Berlewi achieved a similar rhythmic effect, but without any figurative elements, in two *Mechano-Faktura—Elements* (Elementy mechanofakturowe), 1923, in which he overlaid a black rectangle on a white background with a rectangular arrangement of dots (black dots on a white background in one version and white and black dots on a "transparent" background in the other). To enhance the visual dynamism of the image, he placed a small black square in the upper-right corner with its lower left tip touching the upper-right tip of the rectangle. The play of geometric shapes clearly recalled Malevich's Suprematism, with the grid of dots being a semi-transparent screen "floating" on top of the image.

Three of his Mechano-Faktura works could be seen in a photograph taken during the exhibition at the Automobile Salon Austro-Daimler; they are from right to left: *Mechano-Faktura—Dynamic Contrasts* (Mechanofaktura. Kontrasty dynamiczne), *Mechano-Faktura—Construction (Black, White and Red)* (Konstrukcja mechanofakturowa, czarne, biale, czerwone), and *Mechano-Faktura—Construction* (Konstrukcja mechanofakturowa), all dated 1924 (Fig.124). In the paintings seen in the photograph at the Automobile Salon Austro-Daimler, geometric shapes were rhythmically organized in a block-like fashion. All were presented frontally in the same plane. *Mechano-Faktura—Dynamic Contrasts*, with a triangular form on the left, five circles at the bottom, and a number of squares and rectangles on the right, evoked an ideogram for an automobile. A frontally placed large red square in the center of *Mechano-Faktura—Construction* (Fig.126), recalled Malevich's Suprematist planimetric arrangements, but the juxtaposition of small geometric forms was closer to Lissitzky, particularly to his

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illustrations in the book, *Of Two Squares* (Pro dva kvadrata), published in Berlin in 1922. Berlewi seemed to "freeze" Lissitzky's forms, placing them next to each other like static entities endowed with gravity, grouped in a highly organized manner as strictly two-dimensional forms.[686]

For Berlewi and those who in 1922 began to read *Zwrotnica* (Fig.127), the upcoming changes in Polish art must have been apparent. *Zwrotnica* opposed both Futurists and Skamandrites[687] and propagated art based on an optimistic, Marxist approach to art and life according to the principles of "exact construction and economy of means" (zasada scislej konstrukcji i ekonomji srodkow).[688] On a more general level it suggested a world where order prevails over chaos and fear, and as such required a new beginning. More specifically, *Zwrotnica*'s interest in new technologies and scientific discoveries sprang from a renewed need for the idea of God, while realizing that it should take the form of a *deus ex machina*, a machine-God rather than a transcendental one. In "Starting Point" (Punkt wyjscia), published in the first issue of *Zwrotnica* (dated May 1922), Peiper proclaimed: "The new epoch begins: the epoch of embracing contemporaneity."[689] Peiper stressed the cathartic role of the war and—more cautiously—that of the Bolshevik revolution, as the new beginning, with modern city, mass, and machine as the "objects of unknown excitements" (przedmiotem nieznanych uniesien). "This new rocking of life and ideas about life," Peiper continued, "have to be shared by art"[690] which will follow its principles of construction and economy of means, but also modern beauty. Formists' writings and poetry by Mlodozeniec, Chwistek, and Czyzewski dominated the first issue of *Zwrotnica*, but none of their paintings were reproduced. Instead Peiper used paintings

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by Léger—not surprisingly for their affirmation of mechanized urban life—accompanying them with an article that praised Léger's innovative art as containing three main characteristics: "the desire for form, characteristic choice of the material, and love of color."[691]

The issue contained also two "letters" from Paris; the first one, written by the editor of *L'Action*, Florent Fels, proclaimed the progressiveness of Cubism, mentioning Léger, Juan Gris, Gleizes, and Survage as the successors of Picasso, Derain, and George Braque. The second letter, privately written to Peiper by his friend engineer Paul Michon, denied the "return to classicist painting," arguing that it was only a transformation of Cubism to its broader constructive form. (This letter, in fact, is very important for a better understanding of Peiper's return to "classical" discipline in poetry.) Growing interest in Ingres and the "betrayal" of Picasso were explained, respectively, as resulting from an interest in painting with inner structure and a temporary need for experimentation with figuration. The magazine closed with a column, "Zapiski" (Notes), devoted to three events associated with Formism: Chwistek's article "Tytus Czyzewski and the Crisis of Formism" (Tytus Czyzewski a kryzys formizmu), Z. Pronaszko's participation in an exhibition organized by Sztuka, and the Paris exhibition titled Jeune Pologne. Treated as a unit, this issue of *Zwrotnica* introduced an artistic outlook that took into consideration the Western "return" to the classical figure, while stressing formal qualities as guiding forces in art. Such news from Paris found its resonance among Polish artists, particularly those ones who were interested in figuration and looked for contemporary examples to follow.

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Zwrotnica's second issue (June 1922) brought forward the elucidation of Peiper's program and revealed further alliances with Western artists. In "The Metropolis. The Masses. The Machine.," Peiper elaborated on his artistic program. He located three historic reasons for what he considered the widespread hostility toward the city: an aesthetic conflict between slowly evolving human taste and the rapidly changing appearance of the city; the social status of the bourgeoisie being considered inferior by both the country-based feudal establishment and the new socialist masses; and the "physiological" conditioning predisposing the human organism to life in nature, for example, the natural predisposition of the eye for long-distance vision. But Peiper argued that if one could free oneself of prejudice learned from books, it would become clear that "considering only forms and colors—there is no reason for aesthetic superiority of landscape over urban vista,"[692] and beauty can be located in the landscape (or rather cityscape) perceived up-close. Furthermore, the previous conflicts were losing their *raison d'être* in the new reality. Aesthetically, the city had changed from a sort of slice of nature to an attuned-to-its-time work of art—"a work of art created according to current aesthetic principles."[693] Socially, the role of the bourgeoisie evolved from the "devourer of the excess [nadwartosc]" to an active producer of cultural values. Finally, man physiologically adjusted to the city, as it enjoyed better urban planning and became more technologically sophisticated. Peiper believed that future technology would be able to resolve one of the biggest problems of the urban environment, the pollution of the air, by developing ozone providers, the same way it built gas and electricity supply systems.

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According to Peiper, such a city would become a source of beauty, not as an outer motif but as an inner structure.

Peiper believed that the two elements of the city that most influenced art were the masses and the machine. The growing presence of collective life had changed human consciousness, and unavoidably would change art. Further, he believed that as humans were forced to organize their lives in a more structured way, art would have to be organized as well. Normally, art has a tendency to move in two directions. "In the periods of constructivist tendencies," he argued, "the most conscientious painting's composition is based on the configurations close to geometric figures....But possibilities of such arrangements are limited. Therefore, compositions based on those arrangements begin to look alike. They become repetitions....This begins to be boring. But then a new tendency occurs, obviously an opposing one: totally breaking with the scheme. The simple combinations are abandoned and chaos replaces them....History of painting's composition is a tennis match between geometry and a-formism."[694] Then Peiper posed a question: "Is it possible to have a form of artistic order, which could become the principle of precise and logical building of a work of art, without relying on increasingly boring geometry?"[695] Peiper's answer was affirmative: yes, it was possible to have such art if it were organized according to the principle [pojecie] of organicity, with all its parts united in a "close functional dependency."[696] He held that art should not be modeled on nature, which while possessing all the required components of organicity is also symmetric, therefore geometric, and therefore limited. Instead, it should be modeled on society—the masses precise as a machine: "the most beautiful organism, more beautiful than anything

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created by nature." In Peiper's thinking, what further made such an organism attractive to man was that he could experience it from inside. The work of art would be socially organized—"[i]t will become society." A work of art that stood for society could adapt to the social norms, including economic factors involved in art production. Art could function in harmony with the law of economics, guided by the principles of the response to popular demand. Peiper called spectacles for mass audiences representative of the modern sensibility.

The third component of Peiper's title, the machine, stood for the cipher of the negative approach to modern life.[697] Man lost the sense of the machine's beauty due to the separation of production from consumption, which, as Peiper believed, had been interrelated in ancient times. But the modern machine provided broad access to comfort and pleasure, revealing what Peiper called its "biological value" (wartosc biologiczna) in which it regained man's acceptance and like ancient tools became a carrier of artistic beauty. Peiper rejected the Futurist glorification of the machine and treating it like a deity as fetishization. He also rejected the Purists' approach to the machine as the perfect model for art. He wrote: "If the machine were only a deity, it would not deserve to be of interest for art; if it were an ultimate beauty, art would not be needed."[698] For Peiper, the machine functioned as a servant to art; it should be used by art. One of the ways it could be used was to construct mobile sculptures, or sculptures that would change mechanically. In painting, he suggested their animation by the correlation of movable strips of colors. Peiper only stopped further fantasizing to avoid being accused of "utopian midwifery" (utopijne akuszerstwo).

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Peiper's article is a fascinating collage of ideas, his own and those borrowed from other artists, from Léger and Gabo to Lissitzky and Richter. The "disguised" Socialist leaning recalls the statement Lissitzky and Ehrenburg wrote in *Veshch/Objet/Gegenstand*: "Veshch stands equally aloof from all political parties, because it is not occupied with the problems of politics but of art. This does not mean, however, that we are in favor of an art that stands outside of life and is apolitical on principle. On the contrary, we CANNOT IMAGINE THE CREATION OF NEW FORMS IN ART UNRELATED TO A CHANGE IN SOCIAL FORMS, and it is obvious that all those in sympathy with *Veshch* BELONG TO THE NEW CREATIVE FORCES IN EUROPE AND IN RUSSIA WHO ARE CREATING NEW OBJECTS."[699] The article had a strong resonance among Polish artists, among the most attentive being Constructivists Strzeminski and Kobro.

Post scriptum

After the Formists, Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, and Futurists dissolved, Poland's biggest international success came during the 1925 International Exhibition of Decorative Arts and Modern Industry (*Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes*) in Paris.[700] With its synthesis of different arts stylized on Polish folklore, mixed with academic Cubism and Neoclassicism, the Polish Pavilion must have looked mannered and *retardataire* from the viewpoint of the European avant-garde, particularly if compared to the "Bolshevik" Pavilion, designed by Konstantin Melnikov with Alexandr Rodchenko's "Labor Club" in it.[701] The Polish Pavilion was, however,

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showered with prizes and praised by conservative artists and critics for its folkloric beauty, catering to all tastes but especially to the bourgeois aesthetics of an elite art with a *faux* populist appeal.[702] It belonged, in fact, to the group of architectural and artistic realizations that "managed to massacre tradition and retain only the superficial elements of the modern."[703] Conservative Waldemar George was of different opinion:

> A similar [as in the Swedish Pavilion] spirit dominates the Polish Pavilion, which is, in my opinion, the most pleasant, most harmonious, most original and finished among all foreign pavilions. Above all, it achieves a great unity in its general lines, and also is very Polish, without ceasing to be both modern and traditional in the best sense of this word.[704]

In Poland, the Parisian success inspired the newly created cooperative "Lad" (Order) to popularize the style of the Polish Pavilion by applying it to mass-made furniture and tapestries.[705] Only Polish Constructivists, by then already seriously divided and outraged by their absence in the Polish representation in Paris, united themselves in condemning the use of folklore in modern Polish art. They attacked the Polish representation to the exhibition in Paris by stating in the magazine *Blok* (The Block):

> Polish representation to the Paris exhibition will not have a contemporary character. Deriving solely from "folksiness," it is not based on the great techno-civilizational development and does not take into consideration all kinds of the most actual parts of life:
> Where is the fashion?
> Where is the cinema?
> Where is the advertisement?
> Where is technology and industry?
> Utilitarian art, connected to the daily needs, undergoes constant development (similarly to technology)
> In the name
> YESTERDAY'S THING IS WORSE THAN TODAY'S.[706]

Continuing condemnation of the "folklorization" of Polish art, Strzeminski later described folklore as a sign of backwardness, visualized in the ornament, preserved from

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the Neolithic time without any significant change and completely disconnected from contemporary life. He stated, "propagators, who attempt to forcefully convince Europe that all Polish art stands under the sign of folkloric primitivism, produce negative and exotic opinions about Poland."[707] Both the protest against the aesthetics of the Polish representation in Paris and Strzeminski's criticism were unable to change the main direction, toward Neoclassical aesthetics and a nationalist program, of Polish art in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Parisian success of Polish art in 1925 had a symbolic meaning, as it was clear that in the international forum Polish artists were being relegated to the role of "folk modernists."[708]

The period between 1917 and 1922 was a special time in Polish history, during which Poland had a chance to become a multi-ethnic nation with a pluralistic culture. It was a period of unprecedented experimentation in Polish art, during which Polish artists groped with the idea of art having the power to influence reality without succumbing to patriotic duties. The following years brought the intensification of Polish nationalism, while Polish art split into two directions, toward Neoclassical figuration that, in part, led to Socialist Realism and to a Polish version of Constructivism that has received much more attention among scholars since the mid-1970s.

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Endnotes

Endnotes for Introduction.

[1] Quoted from Robert A. Rothstein, "The Linguist as Dissenter: Jan Baudouin de Courtenay," in *For Wiktor Weintraub, Essays in Polish Literature, Language, and History Presented on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), 396; hereafter cited as *For Wiktor Weintraub, Essays in Polish Literature, Language, and History*. One of the founders of modern linguistics, Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845-1929) taught at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in 1894-1899 and Warsaw University in 1918-1929.

[2] I use the term "avant-garde" to mean "historical avant-garde," as Peter Bürger defined it in *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, transl. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). However, I favor Richard Murphy's expanded definition of "historical avant-garde." In *Theorizing the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism, and the Problem of Postmodernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2-3, Murphy summarized the common criticism toward Bürger's interpretation of the avant-garde: "The omission of expressionism from Bürger's discussion is then all the more surprising in view of its importance as a crucial space in which the avant-garde confronts modernism and in which the differences between the two are negotiated. For although expressionism has been labeled the 'historical modernist movement par excellence,' besides its modernist characteristics—such as its shift from transparent, realist representation of a common world, towards abstraction, obscurity, and the investigation of subjectivity and the unconscious—it also shares many of those key features, in particular the revolutionary, counter-discursive and anti-institutional functions, by which Burger defines the historical avant-garde."
In Poland, Tadeusz Peiper used first the term "avant-garde" in relation to literature in an article "Nowa poezja hiszpanska," published in *Nowa Sztuka* in February 1922. In relation to the visual arts, the term was used in the Constructivist review *Blok*, which was subtitled "A Review of the Artistic Avant-garde," in 1924.

[3] Poland ceased to exist as a state after the third partition in 1795, being incorporated into Russia, Austro-Hungary, and Prussia. It did not reemerge until late 1918. The Treaty of Versailles following World War I internationally recognized Poland's independence in early 1919.
As my study pays significant attention to the exhibitions and manifestos published by each of the Expressionist groups, I follow historian Erazm Kuzma's periodization of Polish Expressionism provided in his article titled "The Similarities and Differences between German and Polish Expressionism" (Zwiazki i przeciwienstwa miedzy niemieckim i polskim ekspresjonizmem), *Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica* 3 (1974, published in Poznan by the Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza), which brackets its development between the First Expressionist Exhibition in Kraków in 1917 and the last issue of the Expressionist review par excellence, *Zdrój*, published by Poznan Expressionists in 1922; hereafter Kuzma's article will be cited as "Zwiazki i

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przeciwienstwa miedzy niemieckim i polskim ekspresjonizmem."
For a discussion of the periodization of Polish art in the early twentieth century also see: Grabska, Elzbieta, "Lata 1914-18 i 1939-49, z problemow periodyzacji okresu zwanego dwudziestoleciem," in *Sztuka dwudziestolecia miedzywojennego: materialy sesji Stowarzyszenia Historykow Sztuki, Warszawa, pazdziernik 1980* (Warsaw: PWN, 1982), 29-45; hereafter cited as *Sztuka dwudziestolecia miedzywojennego: materialy sesji Stowarzyszenia Historykow Sztuki.*

[4] I use the word "fin-de-siècle" in a more specific way that the English equivalent "end-of-the-century." It connotes a modern situation at the end of the nineteenth century that made Europeans highly retrospective about its future.

[5] For presenting Constructivists as the first avant-garde movement in Poland, see, for example, Andrzej Turowski, *Konstruktywizm polski: proba rekonstrukcji nurtu (1921-1934)* (Wroclaw: PAN, 1981), and Janusz Zagrodzki, *Katarzyna Kobro i kompozycja przestrzeni* (Warsaw: PWN, 1984); hereafter cited as *Katarzyna Kobro i kompozycja przestrzeni.*

[6] Derived from the names of similar movements in Western and central Europe (the Jungdeutchland, Junges Osterreich, Le Jeune Belgique, Young Scandinavia, and De Unga ["young ones" in Swedish] groups), the term "Mloda Polska" (Young Poland) was first used by critic Artur Górski in a series of articles published in *Zycie* in 1898. It was originally applied to literature, but gradually became synonymous with art around 1900, particularly Polish Symbolism and Impressionism, but also *secesja* and Neoromanticism. In the visual arts, the beginning of Mloda Polska is often associated with the return of two artists from Paris, Józef Pankiewicz and Wladyslaw Podkowinski, who introduced elements of Impressionism in Poland art. In standard texts, Mloda Polska covers the period between 1890 and 1914. For a discussion of Mloda Polska in art, see Tadeusz Dobrowolski, *Sztuka Mlodej Polski* (Warsaw: PWN, 1963), Mieczyslaw Wallis, *Secesja* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1967), and Piotr Krakowski, "'Stare' i 'nowe' w sztuce Mlodej Polski," in *Stulecie Mlodej Polski*, ed. Maria Podraza-Kwiatkowska (Kraków: Universitas, 1995), 447-460; hereafter cited as Krakowski's "'Stare' i 'nowe' w sztuce Mlodej Polski." The term Mloda Polska in literature has been examined by, among others, Julian Krzyzanowski (who narrows its definition to Neoromanticism) and Kazimierz Wyka (who describes it as "modernism"). See Julian Krzyzanowski, *Neoromantyzm polski, 1890-1914* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1971); and Kazimierz Wyka, *Modernizm polski* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1959). For a discussion of the origins of the word "Mloda Polska," see also Jan Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art, 1890-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); hereafter cited as *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art.*

[7] "Formista, ktorego jak to z nazwy samej widac, obchodzi tylko forma." Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "O Czystej Formie," 1921-32, cited in Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, *Wybor pism filozoficznych, Analecta Slavica*, no. 7 (1974): 184-207. Witkacy published a full version of his treatise, "O Czystej Formie' (About Pure Form), in the biweekly *Zet* and, then, as a separate brochure in 1932. He began to work on the treatise in 1921,

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considering it a summary of his earlier ideas. By that time, clearly losing interest in painting, Witkacy discussed visual arts in a more general way than theater in his treatise; hereafter cited as Witkacy's "O Czystej Formie."

[8] Carnivalesque is used here in Mikhail Bakhtin's sense of the word, with its roots in ancient folk humor and opposed to the official feast. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, transl. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1968); hereafter cited as Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*. In this sense, the carnivalesque aspect of Polish Futurists' activities might be explained as a reaction to a number of official celebrations with a clearly nationalistic agenda that followed Independence.

[9] Recently, art historian Piotr Krakowski pointed out one aspect of Expressionism in Poland that may help to distinguish it from similar tendencies in other parts of the world. Referring to Kazimierz Wyka's description of Wyspianski's version of Expressionism that stresses its referencing to "historical material," Krakowski has stated: "Such a definition of 'expressionism' can be applied to the situation in Polish literature and the arts only. It totally differs from the cosmopolitan definition used in Western art. In our country, it was an expression of content rather than an expression of form that was of major concern, therefore, different from the fauves or the artists from the Brücke or the Blaue Reiter, who communicated through 'abstract' color, significant deformation, flat [and] synthetic form, lack of modeling, illusionist depth, action heavily marked by contour. [Western] Expressionists modeled landscapes, nudes, genre scenes, street life and other ordinary themes, avoiding any frenetic exaggerations as far as the subject is concerned. It was very different in the so-called Polish Expressionism—what counted was, above all, adequately expressive anecdote." "Ekspresjonizm Wyspianskiego to zatem 'ekspresjonizm swoisty, oparty bowiem glownie na materiale historycznym.'...Tego rodzaju definicja 'ekspresjonizmu' odnosic sie moze tylko do sytuacji w literaturze i sztuce polskiej i calkowicie odbiega od kosmopolitycznej definicji obowiazujacej w sztuce zachodniej. U nas chodzilo o 'ekspresje', i to przede wszystkim ekspresje formy niz formy, nie zas ekspresjonizm fowistow czy artystow z grupy 'Die Brücke' lub "Der Blaue Reiter" wyrazany przez 'abstrakcyjny' kolor, daleko idaca deformacje, plaska, syntetyczna forme, brak modelunku, iluzjonistycznej glebi, dzialanie silnie zaznaczonym konturem. Ekspresjonisci modelowali pejzaze, akty, sceny rodzajowe, zycie uliczne i inne zwykle tematy, unikajac wszelkich frenetycznych przerysowan co do tresci. W tzw. Ekspresjonizmie polskim bylo zupelnie inaczej—liczyla sie przede wszystkim odpowiednio ekspresyjna anegdota." Krakowski's "'Stare' i 'nowe' w sztuce Mlodej Polski," 450. It is important to stress that Krakowski's analysis of Polish Expressionism applies mainly to the phase in Polish art prior to the emergence of Poznan Expressionists, Young Yiddish, Formists, and Futurists.

[10] Gustave Coquiot coined the term *passeistes* in his book *Cubistes, Futuristes, Passeistes*, published in 1914.

[11] As Hanna Garlinska-Zembrzuska observed, the number of registered artists in Poland after World War I is difficult to establish. Critic Mieczyslaw Treter noted in 1929 that "there are around 2000 active painters only." Hanna Garlinska-Zembrzuska, "Dzialalnosc

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wystawowa Salonu Sztuki Czeslawa Garlinskiego w latach 1922-1939," in *Z zagadnien plastyki polskiej w latach 1918-1939*, ed. Juliusz Starzynski (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1963), 309-355; hereafter cited as *Z zagadnien plastyki polskiej w latach 1918-1939*. J. Landau estimated the number of professional artists in Poland in 1928 as over three thousand. See J. Landau, "Sztuka a panstwo i gminy," *Sztuka i Praca* 2 (1928): 58; quoted in Henryk Anders, *Rytm, w poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1972), 68; hereafter cited as *Rytm, w poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego*.
In *Polska awangarda artystyczna, 1918-1939*, art historian Zofia Baranowicz notes: "The avant-garde formed a narrow current against the flourishing artistic life in Poland in the twenties and thirties, successfully fighting against the misunderstanding and hostility only because of the exceptionally high level of energy of its artists. After all, it was the same all around the world. The innovative movement makes the impression of vast and dominating [only] from the perspective of many years. In reality, a significant number of "isms," avant-garde groups, with their manifestos and magazines containing programmatic opinions and architectural projects and artworks, were only a proverbial drop in the ocean of traditional art that was more easily adopted by the mass audience." Zofia Baranowicz, *Polska awangarda artystyczna, 1918-1939* (Warsaw: WAiF, 1979), 6-7; hereafter cited as *Polska awangarda artystyczna, 1918-1939*.

[12] In this study I refer to "nationalism" as both a cultural identification with Polish culture (such nationalism has existed in Poland throughout its history and helped the nation to preserve its identity) and as an institutional effort of the Polish government to promote Polish "values" at the expense of other ethnic groups and in an adversarial manner to other nations.

[13] Description used by Piotr S. Wadycz in "Partitions of Poland and the Diplomacy of the Partitioning Powers (Some Reflections on the Bicentennial of 1772)," in *For Wiktor Weintraub: Essays in Polish Literature, Language, and History*.

[14] For a concise overview of the minorities in interwar Poland see: Edward Wynot, "The National Minorities of Interwar Poland: An Overview," in *Poland Between the Wars: 1918-1939*, ed. Timothy Wiles (Bloomington: Indiana University Polish Studies Center, 1989), 149-160; hereafter cited as *Poland Between the Wars: 1918-1939*. According to a registration of population in the Polish territories from November 1921, there were 2,845,364 people (10.4 percent of the population) who wrote "Jewish" as their religion and 2,110,448 (7.8 percent) who wrote "Jewish" as their nationality. From *Zydzi w Polsce odrodzonej. Dzialalnosc spoleczna, gospodarcza, oswiatowa i kulturalna*, ed. Ignacy Schiper, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Zydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej," 1955), 186-187.

[15] Slowacki used the expressions, "Poland-the Winkelried of All Nations" in *Kordian*, 1832, and "Poland-the only son of Prometheus" in *Podroz do Ziemi Swietej z Neaopolu*, 1836-38 (song VIII—Piesn Agamemnona), both written in exile.

[16] The debates on the ethical (and emotional) rather than aesthetic function of Polish art in the occupied country could be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, particularly

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to the calls of artists such as Matejko—the father of Polish historic painting—who proclaimed "Art...is a weapon not to be separated from the love of the motherland." (Earlier similar programs include: Wincenty Pol's "O malarstwie i zywiolach jego w kraju naszym," 1839, and Seweryn Goszczynski's "O potrzebie narodowego polskiego malarstwa," 1841.) Thus, when in 1857 a young art historian living in Paris, Julian Klaczko, responding to the question, "Does Specifically Polish Art Exist, and If So, What Are Its Characteristics?," posed by *Wiadomosci Polskie* in Paris, stated in his article "Polish Art" (Sztuka polska) that Poles were not accustomed to the light and sun and therefore they were more naturally predisposed to express themselves through literature and poetry rather than visual arts, his article provoked an outburst of anger among Polish artists, poets and writers. Klaczko was accused of a thoughtless attack on Polish art and Polish identity. Klaczko's article was based on Hippolite Taine's theories of art, in which the French historian and philosopher discussed the direct correlation between man and nature. In the first volume of *Les Origines de la France contemporaine*, published in 1858, Taine summarized his theory and surveyed the development of the arts in different European countries. Since he omitted Poland, Klaczko's critique appears to be his "extension" of Taine's theory on Polish art. For a discussion of Klaczko's article, see Wladyslaw Günther, "Norwid i Klaczko o polskiej sztuce," *Teki Historyczne*, no. 11 (1960-61, London): 157-164.

[17] Jan Lechon, *Poezje* (Warsaw: PIW, 1963), 5-6. Lechon's poem belongs to an extensive list of reevaluations of the central role of subject matter in the arts, which in the early twentieth century preoccupied many Polish artists and poets with important positions in the artistic community after Independence. Indebted to Goethe's postulates on the eternal aspect of art (which were supplemented by the revival of the classical canons of harmonious composition and beauty based on logical construction), the poet Boleslaw Lesmian wrote in a 1912 letter to Zenon (Miriam) Przesmycki, the poet, critic, and wealthy publisher and editor of the prestigious literary magazines *Chimera* and *Zycie*: "I am tired of having things treated as concepts and ideas, which in our poetry has a long history. A flower is never a flower, instead it is, let's say—the yearning of an author for his loved one. An oak is never an oak, but it stands for, let's presume—the reaching of a hero to the sun, etc. ... I irresistibly desire to walk into the world—into the nature with flowers and lakes in the sun or under the stars, so that I could gain the rights to pronounce the above words without any ideological explanations." "Znuzyly mnie pojeciowe i pogladowe traktowanie rzeczy, ktore od dawna w poezji naszej przestaly byc soba. Kwiat nie jest kwiatem, lecz dajmy na to, tesknota autora do kochanki. Dab nie jest debem, lecz, przypuscmy, prezeniem sie nadczlowieka ku sloncu, itd....Zapragnalem wejsc w swiat—w nature—w kwiaty, w jeziora—w sloncu—w gwiazdy, wejsc tak nieodparcie, abym mial prawo wymawiac slowa powazne bez uzasadnien ideowych." Boleslaw Lesmian, *Utwory rozproszone, listy*, ed. Jacek Trznadel (Warsaw: PIW, 1962), 314.

[18] A reference to "yellow peril" appeared, for example, in "Czego chcemy," a programmatic article written by Jan Stur and published in *Zdrój* 10 (March 1920): 65.

[19] Florian Znaniecki, *Upadek cywilizacji zachodniej: szkic z pogranicza filozofji kultury i*

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socjologji (Poznan: Komitet Obrony Narodowej, 1921), chapter 3, p. 4. Chapter 5 is titled "The Wave of Bolshevism" (Fala bolszewizmu).

[20] Marian Zdziechowski, *Wplywy rosyjskie na dusze polska* (Kraków: Krakowska Spólka Wydawnicza, 1920), VII.

[21] For the discussion of the two historians, see Grzegorz Godlewski, "Criticism of Culture in Poland between the Wars: Stefan Zeromski, Marian Zdziechowski, Florian Znaniecki," in *Poland Between the Wars: 1918-1939*, 245-255. For Poland's relationship with Russia, see Piotr S. Wadycz, *Soviet-Polish Relations 1917-1921* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

[22] "W krotkim czasie okazalo sie jednak, ze nazwa ta laczy nas w przekonaniu ogolu ze sztuka niemiecka, ktora pozostaje ciagle w okresie eksperymentowania, nie cofajac sie w wielu wypadkach przed niesmacznym dziwactwem. W tych warunkach okazala sie koniecznosc zaznaczenia naszej odrebnosci, przez wprowadzenie nazwy nowej. W ten sposob doszlismy do nazwania sie f o r m a l i s t a m i." Leon Chwistek, *Katalog. Formisci. Wystawa III*, exh. cat. (Kraków: Palac Sztuki, 1919), 5-6. The Freudian slip, "formalists" rather than "Formists," might reflect Chwistek's, but also other Formist's ambiguous attitudes toward art with political aims. Chwistek, however, did not completely dissociate Formism from Expressionism. He wrote: "the tendency to synthesize the movement unambiguously binds us to Expressionism." Leon Chwistek, "Formizm," 1920, in *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce i inne szkice literackie*, ed. Karol Estreicher (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1960), 98.

[23] Mentioned in Joanna Pollakowna, *Formisci* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1972), 102; hereafter cited as Pollakowna's *Formisci*.

[24] The manifesto was printed in Hulsenbeck's *En Avant Dada: Eine Geschichte des Dadaismus* (Hanover: Steegman, 1920). English translation in *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 256. See also *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Motherwell (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981, reprint of 1951 edition).

[25] Downarowicz was at first the Minister of the Treasury and Cooperative in the temporary government established in early November 1918. Information in Andrzej Garlicki, *Drugiej Rzeczpospolitej poczatki* (Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Dolnoslaskie, 1997); hereafter cited as Garlicki's *Drugiej Rzeczpospolitej poczatki*.

[26] Information quoted from Daria Nalecz, *Kultura Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw: KAW, 1991), 15.

[27] Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*, XIV.

[28] The information mentioned in the introduction to *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, eds. Zbigniew Jarosinski and Helena Zaworska (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1978), LIII;

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hereafter cited as *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*. Jasienski described the Zakopane event in his novel, *Nogi Izoldy Morgan*, written in 1923.

[29] When in June 1920, the Soviet Army captured Bialystok in the east part of the country, the Temporary Revolutionary Committee of Poland (Tymczasowy Komitet Rewolucyjny Polski), led by Julian Marchlewski and Feliks Dzierzynski (the future chief of the Soviet Secret Police, known as the Cheka) immediately began to organize a future Polish Socialist Republic of Councils (Polska Socjalistyczna Republika Rad).

[30] For discussion of artistic patronage in Poland, see Maria Rogoyska, "Z dziejow mecenatu artystycznego w Polsce w latach 1918-1930," in *Materialy do studiow i dyskusji z zakresu teorii i historii sztuki, krytyki artystycznej oraz badan nad sztuka*, no. 5 (1954), 128-200; hereafter cited as Rogoyska's "Z dziejow mecenatu artystycznego w Polsce w latach 1918-1930."

[31] Those artists followed in the footstep of Maurice Denis, who in his article titled "Definition of Neotraditionalism," 1890, opposed academic imitation to naturalism of medieval and Renaissance primitivists, as well as Greeks, Egyptians, and Assyrian artists.

[32] Primitivism and prehistory, however, did not have only optimistic connotations, as, for example, primal and instinctive creative forces. The interest in prehistory might also be related to the catastrophic philosophy of Spengler as delineated in *Decline of the West*, 1918, with its concept of circular history with millennial intervals, communicated through myths, and disassociated from history, which appealed to some European artists, Polish ones included, with increasing power in the 1920s. For this point of view see, Jill Lloyd, *German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991).

[33] The practice of adopting Polish folklore, viewed as having collective origins in local culture and "high art" had already been common in Romantic poetry and literature, with the reworking of folkloric forms of popular stories (*gawedy*), ballads, *dumkas*, ditties, and fairy tales, while grounding them in the Slavonic tradition. In search of the exotic and the unspoiled, the action of Romantic stories took place frequently in lands that, for Poles, still had a taste for borderlands (*kresy*), such as Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, with their forests, steppes, and marshes that were believed to be inhabited by archetypal ghosts and fairies. Simultaneously, the Romantics—as Czeslaw Milosz reminds us—were also not oblivious to the power of the commonplace, which appealed increasingly to modern artists: "I have heard," Adam Mickiewicz wrote in a letter from Turkey, "that in Smyrna there is a supposed 'Grotto of Homer' but I am not curious! I looked at something else. A pile of manure and rubbish was lying there, all the remnants together: manure, trash, slops, bones, broken pots, half a sole of an old slipper, some feathers – this I liked! Long did I stand there because it was just like the front yard of an inn in Poland!" Cited in Milosz's *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 227; hereafter cited as Milosz's *The History of Polish Literature*.

[34] In 1922, over 75 percent of the population was still employed in the agricultural sector.

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See Garlicki's *Drugiej Rzeczpospolitej poczatki*.

[35] Karol Irzykowski, "Dwie rewolucje," *Czyn i slowo* (1913): 1-8, cited in Helena Zaworska, *O Nowa Sztuke, polskie programy estetyczne lat 1917-1922* (Warsaw: PWN, 1963). Irzykowski was influenced by the historicism of the Italian critic, philosopher, and politician Benedetto Croce, and his aesthetic judgment was modified by the category of novelty in art, which he analyzed in a broader than Polish context, hence his criticism of Formism in his article "Na Giewoncie formizmu," *Przeglad Warszawski* 6 (1922). Croce influenced also Roman Zrebowicz, who began his book *Nihilizm w sztuce (Zagadnienia krytyki kultur)* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Ignis," 1921) from quoting Croce's words about connections between art and life extracted from Croce's lecture delivered in Texas in 1912. Zrebowicz's book is hereafter cited as Zrebowicz's *Nihilizm w sztuce*.

[36] "Najpiekniejsze lata mojego zycia lacze z rokiem 1917-1920, czyli z okresem rewolucji. Ona to wlasnie zbudzila mnie do zycia, do myslenia, do pisania wreszcie." Wandurski's words cited by Helena Karwacka in her essay "Karol Hiller and Witold Wandurski," in *Karol Hiller*, exh. cat. (Lodz: Muzeum Sztuki, 1967), n.p. Hereafter cited as *Karol Hiller*, exh. cat.

[37] "[G]dyby ktory z mlodych malarzy-formistow zaproponowal za darmo nawet albo za zwrotem materialow—udekorowac sale zwiazkowa wedlug wymagan nowej sztuki, opartej na konstrukcji rytmicznej i na estetyce pracy...zaden z projektow nie zostalby przyjety, a projektodawca bylby wysmiany po odejsciu, jako 'futurysta'—co w pojeciu robotnika polskiego znaczy to samo, co drapichrust, paniczyk, 'zawracajacy ludziom glowe bzdurami'." Ibid., n.p.

[38] Falat took over the Kraków School of Fine Arts in 1895, after the appointments of two other painters, Henryk Rodakowski and Wladyslaw Luszczkiewicz, ended because of the artists' sudden deaths.

[39] See Joanna Pollakowna, "Ministerstwo Sztuki i Kultury," in *Polskie zycie artystyczne w latach 1915-1939*, ed. Aleksander Wojciechowski (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1974), 547; hereafter cited as *Polskie zycie artystyczne w latach 1915-1939*. The groups associated with the Zacheta, such as Pro Arte, Zrzeszenie Artystow Plastykow and Warszawskie Towarzystwo Artystyczne, as well as the radical groups Praesens and Artes, boycotted the Conference.

[40] As the historian Wanda Paprocka explains that *regionalism* was a sociocultural current aimed at preserving the local character of different Polish regions, while *agrarianism* was a social doctrine of propagating values represented by peasants (by far the largest social group in Poland). See Wanda Paprocka, *Kultura i tradycja ludowa w polskiej mysli humanistycznej XIX I XX wieku* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1986).

[41] Niewiadomski's choice of the Zacheta Gallery for the site of assassination was probably not incidental. Already in 1901, he wrote an article "Towarzystwo Zachety Sztuk Pieknych wobec potrzeb naszej sztuki" (The Society for Encouragement of the

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Fine Arts and the Needs of Our Art), in which he criticized the Zacheta's program, suggesting that it should stop displaying its permanent collection and devote more attention to the applied arts. For a detailed discussion of Niewiadomski's article, see Irena Huhl, "Zacheta eksponuje sztuke stosowana (wokol wystawy 1902 roku)," in *Towarzystwo Zachety Sztuk Pieknych: materialy z sesji* (Warsaw: TZSP, 1993).

[42] Historically, the artistic community abroad played a vital role in developing Polish culture, particularly after the November Insurrection against Russia in 1830-31, which sent many Polish intellectuals into exile. (Polish literature refers to this particular wave of emigration from the Polish territories as the "Great Emigration.") Due to its mission of maintaining the continuity of Polish culture and arts, emigrants often embraced tradition at the expense of experimentation. Radical Polish artists, therefore, did not find a particular ally in the Polish intellectual community abroad and had to rely, instead, on the international community that preferred to ignore its artists' national background. Minority artists, particularly those who experienced all sorts of intolerance from the mainstream Polish society, were more eager to dissociate themselves from their Polish past. Nevertheless, Polish-born artists were active in several avant-garde groups in the West. Stanislaw Stuckgold participated in the activities of the Neue Künstler Vereinigung and the Blaue Reiter. Lasar Segall, an artist born in Vilnius, was a co-founder of the Dresdner Sezession–Gruppe, 1919, and member of an artistic circle that included Kandinsky and Feininger. Marcel Slodki (whom Richard Huelsenbeck described as "a small, black-haired man of few words and a good heart") joined the Zurich Dadaists, participated in the first exhibition of the Zurich Dadaists and designed illustrations and a poster for the first evening at the Cabaret Voltaire in 1916. Simon Segal was active in Berlin in the late 1910s and early 1920s, before moving to Paris in 1925.

[43] In *Sztuka i krytyka u nas 1884-1890* (Warsaw: Teodor Paprocki, 1890), Stanislaw Witkiewicz, who was a painter and architect, as well as a critic, distanced himself from historicism and romanticism which dominated Polish painting and advocated naturalism, giving privilege to form over pictorial content. Objecting to Matejko's realism burdened with historic details, Witkiewicz opted for realism based on direct observation of nature, without "untrue embellishment," but not without a certain idealism, while propagating the independence of art from life. Witkiewicz also formulated a program of national style in architecture, based on Jugendstil and the ornamental design of dwellings and churches from the Podhale region in the northern foothills of the Tatra Mountains (he designed a prototype for it in 1892/93—the villa "Koliba" in Zakopane), connecting them to the desire to return to the "basic tenets of art: decorative order and architectural compositional order." (W.T. Husarski, "Mloda Sztuka," *Sztuka* 3-4 [February 1914]). Witkiewicz formulated the tenets of the Zakopane style in a series of articles written in late nineteenth century. In 1891, Witkiewicz wrote the article "Zakopane Style," criticizing the local craft school for failing to reinforce local arts and crafts. Witkiewicz designed villas in the Zakopane Style, modeling them on highlander huts, decorated with traditional ornamental motifs and furnished with furniture manufactured by highlander carvers working under his supervision. A return to local architecture was provoked in part by writings of the German architect Hermann Muthesius, whose "Applied Arts and Architecture" was translated into Polish in 1909. (His *Das Englische Haus* was known in

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German.) In Poland, such return took on the particular form of a return to the manor house.
When Witkacy (Stanislaw Witkiewicz's son) lamented the poor state of art criticism in Poland in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia*, 1919, he mainly credited his father and Boloz-Antoniewicz with attempting to discuss modern art on art historical and formal, rather than patriotic and anecdotal, grounds. Witkacy regretted that his father's premature death did not allow him to gather his ideas in one book. Witkacy credited Boloz-Antoniewicz for being one of the smartest proponents of Expressionism. *Nowe formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia*, 108-109. All citations in this study come from a 1992 reprint of the 1919 book: Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, *Nowe formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia* (Skierniewice: Wydawnictwo FiS, 1992). Hereafter cited as Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*

[44] Wilhelm Feldman, *Wspolczesna literatura polska* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze, 1919). Later, the literary critic Karol Klein stated that the beginning of Polish Expressionism should be linked to early *Zdrój*. Karol Klein, "Ekspresjonizm polski (Grupa Zdroju)," *Przeglad Humanistyczny*. no. 4-5 (1932). Prior to World War II, also S. Kasztelowicz discussed Expressionism as a literary phenomenon in *Tragicy doby bez ksztaltu O wspolczesnej tworczosci literackiej: ekspresjonizm* (Warsaw: Gebether and Wolff, 1933).

[45] The full Polish title of Wladyslaw Kozicki's book was, *Sztuka polska (Zarys rozwoju polskiego malarstwa i rzezby)*, (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, 1920); hereafter cited as Kozicki's *Sztuka polska.*

[46] The Polish representation to the Venice Biennale included: Falat, Kuna, Mehoffer, Pankiewicz, Z. Pronaszko, Ruszczyc, Weiss, and Wyczolkowski. Due to the war, Polish artists exhibited in the German Pavilion, which was temporarily vacant. For discussion of the Polish Pavilion, see Joanna Sosnowska, *Polacy na Biennale Sztuki w Wenecji 1895-1999* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1999).

[47] Kozicki's *Sztuka polska,* 15.

[48] Roman Zrebowicz, *La gravure polonaise et les "batiks,"* transl. T. Warynski (Warsaw: Bureau de la Propagande Etrangere á Varsovie, 1921)

[49] "Takim jest futuryzm, jako ostatnia konsekwencja impresjonizmu....Jestesmy juz poza wszelkim aktem swiadomej woli, poza wszelka mozliwoscia konstrukcji. Sztuka stala sie czysta dynamika temperamentu, buntu, przekory, smiechu, dowcipu, upojenia, rozpaczy, czy humoru—wirem, czy wigorem zyciowosci." Zrebowicz's *Nihilizm w sztuce*, 13-14.

[50] "Ekspresjonizm niemiecki, czyli kantowski Ding an sich tak paradoksalnie zaszczepiony w sztukach plastycznych—to ostatni wiednacy okres romantyzmu." Ibid., 16.

[51] "Wplyw tej grupy operujacej na wschodzie dotarl do Polski i w wybitnym stopniu

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zawazyl na ostatnich kompozycjach fr. Pautcha a przedewszystkim na poznanskiej grupie 'Zdrój'." Ibid., 20.

[52] Ibid., 21

[53] In *Malarstwo polskie XIX i XX wieku,* 1923, Niewiadomski stated: "The artists who entered the art scene in the twentieth century did not have to combat any naturalistic tendencies, which were already abolished by the effort of the previous generation. They easily adopted new art—free, individualistic, and stylish—because they learnt it at school. They might be mostly influenced by Polish masters described above [in Niewiadomski's book], or foreigners, Cézanne, Greco, van Gogh, French Neoimpressionists, or, finally, Cubists and Futurists, etc., broadly known as—Formists." According to Niewiadomski, "this generation did not produce any great masters on the scale of Matejko, [Jozef] Chelmonski, or Wyspianski. There were, however, many talented, creative and even original artists, who were unfortunately surrounded by numerous plagiarists, copiers of old and new styles, mystificateurs covering an obvious lack of knowledge and skills under the rhetoric of "individual form," and finally all kinds of ordinary losers. The last group is more difficult to identify than one would suspect, because all previous artistic criteria, such as the exact drawing and solid study from nature, are disrespected, while a cheap manner of this or that branch of Formism anybody can easily absorb. The situation is even more difficult because of the common disorientation in ideas about art, [provoked by] voluntary or paid promotion of various individuals and coteries in art magazines." Eligiusz Niewiadomski, *Malarstwo polskie XIX i XX wieku, ruch naturalistyczny, realisci, plener i impresjonizm, krajobraz* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo M. Arcta, 1996 reprint of 1926 edition), 315. Obviously, Niewiadomski considers Polish Expressionists to be part of the group that he describes as "ordinary losers." He mentions, among others, Antoni Gawinski, Vlastimir Hofmann, Tadeusz Pruszkowski, Kazimierz Sichulski, Wladyslaw Skoczylas, Zofia Stryjenska, Wojciech Weiss, and Witold Wojtkiewicz as artists of talent.

[54] In *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce,* Kopera mentioned the following artists: in Kraków—Chwistek, Czyzewski, Hrynkowski, Niesiolowski, the Pronaszko brothers, Rafal Malczewski, Witkacy, H. Gotlib, and Winkler; in Warsaw—Wladyslaw Bogucki, Szczesny Rutkowski, Witkowski, Zaruba, Zyznowski; in Lvov—Lille, Matusiak, Rudnicki, and Vorzimmerówna. He referenced this section of his text to Winkler's *Formisci polscy* (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1927); hereafter cited as Winkler's *Formisci polscy.*

[55] Sobeski's book was titled *Malarstwo doby ostatniej, ekspresjonizm i kubizm* and published by Fiszer i Majewski in Poznan in 1926. Sobeski belongs to a long list of opponents of Expressionism in Poland, which includes Roman Zrebowicz (author of *Nihilizm w sztuce,* 1921), B. Merwin (author of "U podstaw ekspresjonizmu," *Kurier Warszawski* 141, 1922) and the writers and poets gathered around the Skamander group.

[56] Treter's article was titled "Sztuka polska w powojennej dobie." Sterling's article was titled "Walka nowych idei w malarstwie XX wieku." Titled "Przeglad usilowan,"

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Zahorska's article divides modern art into two groups: the "rational" (Cubism, Neoclassicism, and their derivations) and "irrational" (Futurism and Expressionism). Stefania Zahorska, "Przeglad usilowan," *Sztuki Piekne* 1 (1924-25): 569. Zahorska also wrote on Expressionism in "Filozofia ekspresjonizmu," published in 1924. Piotr Rudzinski observed in "Miedzy konformizmem a awangarda. O krytyce Stefanii Zahorskiej" that Zahorska was one of the first Polish critics who postulated using a new methodology and language in analyzing contemporary art according to strict formal categories. Piotr Rudzinski, "Miedzy konformizmem a awangarda. O krytyce Stefanii Zahorskiej," in *Sztuka dwudziestolecia miedzywojennego: materialy sesji Stowarzyszenia Historykow Sztuki*, 93-101.

[57] "Zywot ekspresjonizmu okazal sie krotki—wzburzyl on tylko zlekka powierzchnie zycia artystycznego w Niemczech, nie przyjal sie ani we Francji, ani tez u nas w Polsce....W obrebie malarstwa sztalugowego najtwralszy okazal sie tym razem ow kierunek srodka, ktory potrafil zasymilowac zarowno zdobycze impresjonizmu, jak skorzystac ze wszystkich cennych eksperymentow kubizmu." Stefania Zahorska, "Dzieje malarstwa polskiego," in *Wiedza o Polsce* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Wiedza o Polsce," 1932), 189.

[58] Main texts by avant-garde artists from the late 1910s and early 1920s include: Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia*, published in 1919; *Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke*, 1920—an anthology of texts published in *Zdrój*, edited by Stur in 1921; Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, which appeared in book form also in 1921. In 1923, Jasienski published "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)" in *Zwrotnica* 6 (October 1923). Konrad Winkler analyzed Formism in *Polish Formists*, 1927. Peiper gathered his literary and art criticism in *Tedy* (Warsaw: Hoesick, 1930), devoted in large part to propagating the "machine age" aesthetics in art and literature. Finally, Jan Brzekowski and Chwistek (assisted by Przeclaw Smolik and Strzeminski) wrote *O sztuce nowoczesnej* (Lodz: Towarzystwo Bibliofilow, 1934).

[59] Wladyslaw Strzeminski, "Bilans modernizmu," *Europa* 1 (1929); quoted in *Pisma: Wladyslaw Strzeminski*, ed. Zofia Baranowicz (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1975), 120.

[60] For example, Stern defended Futurism, but sharply criticized Poznan Expressionists in his book *Bruno Jasienski* published in 1969. He wrote: "sposrod wszystkich owczesnych polskich ugrupowan poetyckich jedni tylko futurysci z sila zaakcentowali ten moment spoleczny. 'Podkreslamy trzy zasadnicze momenty zycia wspolczesnego: maszyne, demokracje i tlum'." Anatol Stern, *Bruno Jasienski* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1969), 56; hereafter cited as Stern's *Bruno Jasienski*.

[61] I disagree with Jerzy Malinowski, who has argued that the lack of interest in German art after World War II among Polish historians was dictated by their perception that Expressionism was connected to fascism. See, Jerzy Malinowski, *Sztuka i nowa wspolnota, Zrzeszenie Artystow Bunt 1917-1922* (Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Wiedza o kulturze, 1991), 7; hereafter cited as Malinowski's *Sztuka i nowa wspolnota*.

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[62] In Germany, Bunt and *Zdrój* received attention from a number of scholars interested in the avant-garde groups and artists active in the 1910s and 1920s, particularly in *Die Aktion* and the Novembergruppe: Paul Raabe, Helga Kliemann, P. Mantis, and H.U. Bohnen. H. Kunstmann compared Polish and German Expressionisms in "Berührungspunkte zwischen dem deutschen und polnischen Expressionismus," published in *Wechselbeziehungen zwischen deutscher und slavischer Literatur* (Köln and Vienna: F.B. Kaiser and B. Stasiewski, 1978). Bunt was included in the exhibition *Revolution and Realismus: Revolutionäre Kunst in Deutschland 1917 bis 1933*, ed. Ch. Hoffmeister (Berlin: Ch. Suckow, 1978). See also Paul Raabe, *Index Expressionismus*, 18 vols. (Neudeln, Liechtenstein: Klaus Thomson, 1972).

[63] Markiewicz groups literature in four categories: Realism, Naturalism, Symbolism, and Expressionism. Only the first category precedes the "epoch of imperialism." Henryk Markiewicz, *O marksistowskiej teorii literatury. Szkice* , 2nd ed. (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1953), 6-7.

[64] The list is extensive and only selected books can be mentioned here. Mieczyslaw Wallis published *Sztuka polska dwudziestolecia. Wybor pism z lat 1921-1957* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1959), gathering together critical voices on the early Polish avant-garde. Helena Zaworska wrote *O Nowa Sztuke. Polskie programy artystyczne, 1917-1922* (Warsaw: PIW, 1963), offering a synthetic reading of the Polish avant-garde, while placing it in the context of European art from the period. Tadeusz Dobrowolski treated the avant-garde with attention in his multi-volume, *Nowoczesne malarstwo polskie* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1964). Mieczyslaw Porebski provided a particularly engaging analysis of the activities of the Polish avant-garde, presented from the perspective of the transformations of European art, in *Granica wspolczesnosci 1909-1925*, written in the early 1960s and popularized in its 1989 version published by WAiF. Juliusz Starzynski's *Polska droga do samodzielnosci w sztuce* (Warsaw: PWN, 1973) might stand for an example of numerous readings of the avant-garde attuned to a broader cultural program of Polish government. *Sztuka dwudziestolecia miedzywojennego: materialy sesji Stowarzyszenia Historykow Sztuki, Warszawa, pazdziernik 1980* (Warsaw: PWN, 1982) presents more independent voices of Polish scholars interested in the Polish avant-garde between the world wars, such as Elzbieta Grabska, Pollakowna, and Turowski. Reflecting the Marxist background of most of the Polish historians, the above mentioned books connect artistic transformations to broader social and cultural changes, avoiding, however, placing them in the context of radical politics in Soviet Russia and Germany.

[65] In *Modernizm. Malarstwo polskie* (Warsaw: WAiF "Auriga," 1977), Wieslaw Juszczak defines "early Expressionism" as a stylistic tendency related to Symbolism that appeared in Poland around 1900. He dates Polish Expressionism to 1917.

[66] "Ekspresjnosc nie jest stylem, lecz zjawiskiem powtarzalnym w dziejach sztuki, zwlaszcza polnocnej...wyznaczala odwieczna linie podzialu miedzy sztuka klasyczna a romantyczna...przeciwstawiala wiec formie klasycznej i jej autonomii sile psychiczna i zywiolowa erupcje, kulturze lacinskiej kulture polnocy; doraznie zas wyrazala tragizm i trwoge swego czasu, szczegolnie w ujeciu narodow polnocnych, m.in. slowianskich, dla

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ktorych zdaniem zachodniej historiografii sztuki, kierunek ten jest najbardziej znamienny. Przy czym, rzecz charakterystyczna, jego istota jest unikanie cech kosmopolitycznych, podkreslanie wlasciwosci indywidualnych i etnicznych. See Tadeusz Dobrowolski, *Sztuka Mlodej Polski* (Warsaw: PWN, 1963), 253-254.

[67] Therefore, unlike in Soviet Russia, where the avant-garde has not been able to be fully integrated into the long view of the development of Russian art as a major cornerstone (due in large part to Russia's historic resistance to Western influences), Polish historians around the Muzeum Sztuki succeeded in making Polish Constructivism a major component in the development of twentieth-century Polish art.

[68] Malinowski's study of Young Yiddish has been included in his recent book, *Malarstwo i rzezba Zydow Polskich w XIX i XX wieku* (Warsaw: PWN, 2000), which has been announced as the first volume of the two-volume book devoted to art of Jewish artists in Poland.

[69] In *Formisci,* Pollakowna validates Formism as a distinguishably Polish formation with international appeal. In such context, she blames Futurists, in particular, for contributing to the disbanding of the Formists by stating: "Chwistek's later diagnosis might explain the situation of Formism during the Warsaw exhibition [planned at the Zacheta Society in 1921]: 'As long as pure art was concerned, the Kraków artists were patient, but [a futurist manifesto] *Nuz w bzuhu* [Nife in the Beli] frightened and immobilized them. A violent reaction began from the admirers of conventional mediocrity, for a long time forced them to stay silent.' Indeed, the movement caused by futurist poets fatally damaged the Formists' reputation. And 1921 brought intensified futurist activities in Poland. From the moment when Jasienski became one of its animators, the movement took a new, risky direction toward social engagement. Jasienski's and Mlodozeniec's communist ideas, combined with the anarcho-revolutionary moods of Warsaw Futurists [Wat and Stern] created an explosive mixture, dangerous in the eyes of those who were less inclined to embrace great rebellion." Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 150-151. Pollakowna quotes Chwistek from his article "Tworcza sila formizmu" in *Glos Plastykow* 8-12 (1938).

[70] In this study, I follow Pontus Hulten, who grouped together (without differentiating or qualifying) Formists, Poznan Expressionists, and Futurists in his monumental survey of international futurism, *Futurism/Futurists* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986).

[71] The dilemma with calling Futurism a literary movement was voiced from the very beginning in Italy. Ugo Ojetti wrote in *Illustrazione Italiana* from February 28, 1909: "I like above all that futurism is not at all, contrary to what his inventor thinks, a literary school. It is a school of manners." (Quoted from Christa Baumgarth, *Futuryzm*, transl. Jerzy Tasarski [Warsaw: WAiF, 1987], 47; hereafter cited as Baumgarth's *Futuryzm*). In France, André Gide wrote in *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise* in 1920 that Dadaism was a linguistic phenomenon. André Gide, "Dada," *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise* 79 (1920).

[72] As far as individual movements are concerned, a number of historians have produced thorough scholarship, with extensive primary research, for each group discussed in my

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study, but they do not attempt to link them. Important studies of Poznan Expressionism include: Tadeusz Dobrowolski's 1962 essay, "Ekspresjonizm poznanski i ugrupowanie 'Bunt'," presented first in *Sprawozdanie z posiedzen Komisji Oddzialu PAN w Krakowie; 1962 styczen-czerwiec*; Erazm Kuzma's "Koncepcja jezyka poetyckiego w polskim ekspresjonizmie," *Pamietnik Literacki* 1 (1973), "Zwiazki i przeciwienstwa miedzy niemieckim i polskim ekspresjonizmem," in *Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica* 3 (1974), and *Z problemow swiadomosci literackiej i artystycznej ekspresjonizmu w Polsce* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1976); Jan Jozef Lipski's discussion of expressionism in Polish literature in "Expressionism in Poland," included in *Expressionism as an International Literary Phenomenon*, ed. Urlich Weisstein (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didie and Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1973); Jozef Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza, antologia polskiego ekspresjonizmu* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskie, 1987); and the previously mentioned Jerzy Malinowski's *Sztuka i nowa wspolnota: Zrzeszenie Artystow Bunt, 1917-1922* (Wroclaw: Wiedza o Kulturze, 1991). Malinowski also wrote the previously mentioned major study of the Young Yiddish group: *Grupa "Young Yiddish" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce, 1918-1923* (Warsaw: PAN, 1987) and was instrumental in organizing *Ekspresjonizm w grafice polskiej* (Kraków: National Museum, 1976) and *Ekspresjonizm w sztuce polskiej* (Wroclaw: Muzeum Narodowe, 1980), two major exhibitions that provided a synthetic, although quite general, survey of works by Polish Expressionists. Individual Expressionists have generated less attention among historians, in part because few of their works have survived. In Germany, works of Kubicka and Kubicki were, for example, presented in *Die Jahre der Kris: Margarete Kubicka and Stanislas Kubicki 1918-1922* (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1992). Polish artists are briefly mentioned in a number of books on the European avant-garde in the 1920s written by German historians, in which they are usually identified as Germans or Russians. *Berlin 1910-1930*, ed. Eberhart Roters (New York: Rizzoli, 1982) mentions, for example, Kubicki, Adler, and Berlewi, discussing their works in a few lines in relationship to the Novembergrouppe and Die Progressiven.

Józef Sandel gathered priceless but sketchy biographical information on Jewish artists in *Zaglada zydowskich artystow plastykow w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej (ku dziesiecioleciu powstania w getcie warszawskim*, manuscript in Polish in the Special Collection of the Instytut Sztuki PAN, nr. inw. 103, and *Jewish Visual Artists, Victims of the Hitlerian Occupation in Poland*, published in Yiddish in Warsaw in 1957, which has served as a database for other historians. In 1983, the National Museum in Warsaw organized an exhibition of Judaica entitled *Kultura ocalona—wystawa poswiecona kulturze Zydow polskich*, and included works by Jewish artists from before World War II. In 1988, the Biuro Wystaw Artystycznych (BWA) in Olsztyn organized an Exhibition of Works by Jewish Artists, 1918-1939 (Wystawa dziel artystow zydowskich 1918-1939). The catalogue lists over 500 Jewish artists active in Poland between World War I and World War II. Organized by Marek Rostworowski, the exhibition *Zydzi-Polscy* was presented at the National Museum in Kraków and the Zacheta Gallery in Warsaw in 1989-90, and its catalogue marked the first step in the examination of the history of Polish Jews and its reflection in Polish art addressed to both the mass audience and art specialists. A rich selection of works by Polish-Jewish artists working in Paris in the early twentieth century appeared in *Polish Painting in the Ewa and Wojtek Fibak Collection/Malarstwo polskie w kolekcji Ewy i Wojciecha Fibakow*, presented in 1992-93

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at the national museums in Warsaw, Poznan, and Kraków (Warsaw: WAiF and Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1992). Until recently, individual artists have been treated with much less attention, except Adler, whose art has been the subject of numerous books and exhibitions, the most important one, *Jakub (Jankel) Adler, 1895-1949* (exhibition and catalogue), presented at the Stadt Kunsthalle in Düsseldorf (Nov.-Dec. 1985), the Tel Aviv Museum, Israel (Jan.-Feb. 1986), and Muzeum Sztuki, Lodz (April 1986).
Formism has been the most incorporated into the long view of the history of Polish art of all four movements discussed in this study. It found its early champion in Joanna Szczepinska, who wrote "Historia i program grupy "Formisci polscy" w latach 1917-1922)," published in *Materialy do studiow i dyskusji z zakresu teorii i historii sztuki, krytyki artystycznej oraz badan nad sztuka*, 1954. Joanna Pollakowna reexamined Formism in her Ph.D. dissertation, published later as the previously mentioned book *Formisci* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1972). The exhibition *Formisci*, organized by the National Museum in Warsaw in 1989, and the accompanying catalogue edited by Irena Jakimowicz, carefully organized the factography of the group and offered an overview of works by its members. Individual Formists are discussed in monographs and exhibition catalogues, a number of them listed in the bibliography accompanying this dissertation.
Critical essays of Chwistek and Witkacy have been gathered in anthologies, such as Leon Chwistek, *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce i inne szkice literackie*, ed. Karol Estreicher (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1960), and Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne* (Warsaw: PWN, 1959). The exhibition *Presences Polonaises: L'Art Vivant Autour du Musée de Lodz*, organized by the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris in 1983, focused on Witkacy's works and his theoretical writings as the highest achievements of the early period, but Witkacy mostly received harsh criticism from the Western press. In the United States, Daniel Gerould has authored several books on S.I. Witkiewicz's theater, including *Witkacy: Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz as an Imaginative Writer* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), and translated his plays and novels. Recently, *Witkacy, Metaphysical Portraits: Photographs by Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz*, exh. cat. (Leipzig: Connewitzer Verlagbuchhandlung, 1997), has reexamined Witkacy as an innovative photographer.
Being predominantly a literary movement, Polish Futurism has been generally studied by literary historians. Andrzej Lam collected Futurists' writings in *Polska awangarda poetycka. Programy lat 1917-1923* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1969), and Andrzej Zawada analyzed them in *Manifesty programowe futurystow polskich* (Wroclaw: Instytut Filologii Polskiej Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 1975). Zbigniew Jarosinski and Helena Zaworska gathered major Futurist writings in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1978) and accompanied them with his insightful commentaries. Individual Futurists are the subject of numerous studies, and their writings (including memoirs) are already in many editions. Aleksander Wat's *My Century: The Odyssey of a Polish Intellectual*, ed. and transl. Richard Lourie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), and Anatol Stern's *Poezja zbuntowana. Szkice i wspomnienia* (Warszawa: PIN, 1964) present two perspectives important for this dissertation: Wat's book was written on emigration, after the author left Poland, falling out of favor with the Polish cultural establishment, while Stern's memoirs were written in Poland, its author being a member of Poland's intellectual elite. Two books in English provide important views with an enlarged perspective: Bogdana Carpenter's *The Poetic Avant-garde in*

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Poland, 1918-1937 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983) and Nina Kolesnikoff's *Bruno Jasienski, His Evolution from Futurism to Socialist Realism* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982). Finally, a glance at the Polish avant-garde groups discussed in this study can be obtained from Pontus Hulten's *Futurism and Futurists* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986), in which Polish artists discussed in this study are all called "Futurists."

[73] See, for example, Artur Hutnikiewicz's *Od czystej formy do literatury faktu*, 5th edition (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1988), 90. "Ekspresjonizm byl estetyka tresci, a nie formy" (Expressionism was an aesthetic of content rather than form).

[74] See, for example, the poet Adam Wazyk's *Dziwna historia awangardy* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1976). Wazyk wrote on page 32: "Odciecie sie od ekspresjonizmu w poezji stanowilo rownoczesnie akt przerwania najwazniejszego w sensie humanistycznym pasma Mlodej Polski."

Endnotes for "Defining Expressionism in Poland"

[75] For a discussion of the meaning of "German Expressionism," see Rose-Carol Washton Long, *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism* (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1993), XIX-XXIV; hereafter cited as *German Expressionism: Documents*. See also Donald E. Gordon, *Expressionism: Art and Idea* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Marit Werenskiold, *The Concept of Expressionism: Origin and Metamorphoses* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984); *Expressionism as an international literary phenomenon*, ed. Ulrich Weisstein (Paris: Didier and Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1973); and *The Uses of History*, ed. Hayden White (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968)

[76] "Mam tez przekonanie, ze ekspresjonizm z pobojowiska wyjdzie zwycisko—ale mocno pokaleczona opusci je jego przeciwniczka estetyka, gubiac po drodze swe 'nigdy' i swe 'zawsze'. Ale tej to nie wadzi, od 125 lat co cwierc wieku dostawala takie ciegi za swe 'nigdy' i swe 'zawsze'." Boloz-Antoniewicz's answer to the poll on Expressionism conducted by *Gazeta Wieczorna* (July 28, 1918): 3. Among writers and critics who answered the poll were: Kazimierz Chledowski, Wladyslaw Kozicki, Leon Pininski (an art collector), Stanislaw Przybyszewski, and Artur Schröder, Wladyslaw Witwicki, and Roman Zrebowicz. (Zygmunt Bytkowski and Mieczyslaw Treter did not answer the poll.) Historian Marian Tymowicz remembered that the poll was conducted in reaction to an exhibition of the Bunt in Lvov in March 1918, which was enthusiastically received by a small group of local artists interested in Expressionism (for example, Lille), but harshly criticized by the public at large and the local press. ("Ekspresjonisci ci zjechali ze swa tworczoscia nad Peltew—o ile pomne—w marcu tegoz 1918 roku, zdobywajac tu aplauz u nielicznych wyznawcow tej samej wiary z Ludwikiem Lille na czele i nawet opanowali sale Towarzystwa Przyjaciol Sztuk Pieknych w representacyjnym gmachu Muzeum Przemyslowego. Wystawa wywolala zywa irytacje u ogolu, plynaca z nieporozumienia tej sztuki, a w nastepstwie bojkot. Prasa nie pozostala obojetna w tej sytuacji, tym bardziej ze grono powaznych czlonkow Towarzystwa, w tym historykow sztuki, podjelo

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akcje z jednej strony obrony 'honoru domu', z drugiej—zorientowania spoleczenstwa. 'Gazeta Wieczorna' oglosila ankiete, na ktora odpowiedzieli tam kompetentni historycy sztuki.") Marian Tymowicz, *Wspomnienia o zyciu kulturalnym i obyczajowym Lwowa 1918-1939* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1991), 151-152; hereafter cited as *Wspomnienia o zyciu kulturalnym i obyczajowym Lwowa*. Poznan Expressionists had another exhibition in Lvov in 1920.

[77] The expression "Teutonization of Expressionism" is cited here from Rose-Carol Washton Long, "National or International Berlin Critics and the Question of Expressionism," in *Künstlerischer Austausch/Artistic Exchange: Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 15.-20. Juli 1992*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens (Berlin: Akasdemie Verlag, 1992), 524. The "Teutonic" adjective had a particularly negative meaning in Poland, for it reminded Poles of Poland's conflicts with the Teutonic Knights during the Middle Ages, particularly the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg) of 1410, which every Pole knew from Henryk Sienkiewicz's book *Krzyzacy* and Matejko's monumental painting *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem*, 1878.

[78] Nowina, "O pelnie zycia," *Zdrój* 1 (November 1917): 97-99.

[79] Wladyslaw Kozicki, "Wladyslaw Jarocki (doc)," *Zdrój* 1 (December 1917): 179. Italics added by the present author.

[80] For a summary of the German response to the Berlin Secession exhibition, see the Introduction to *German Expressionism: Documents,* 3-4.

[81] Matisse's "*Notes d'un peintre*" was already familiar to Polish artists. For example, an unsigned article titled "Glosy o sztuce wspolczesnych artystow francuskich" in *Museion* 1 (1911) quoted from Matisse's *Notes* on pages 81-83. The same year, the sculptor and architect Odon Dobrowolski quoted Matisse in his article, "Moje credo," in *Tygodnik Wilenski*. Matisse's art was first discussed in Poland by Basler in an article titled "Today's Artistic Culture in France" (Dzisiejsza kultura artystyczna we Francji), *Sfinks* 1 (1908), therefore he did it before the text appeared in German, under the title "Notizen eines Malers," in *Kunst and Künstler* in May 1909. Basler also wrote about Matisse in an article titled "The Old and the New Concepts in Painting" (Stare i nowe koncepcje w malarstwie), *Krytyka* 15 (1915).

[82] The article written by "W.L." in *Przeglad Wielkopolski*, cited in *Ekspresjonism w sztuce polskiej*, exh. cat. (Wroclaw: Muzeum Narodowe, 1980), 5; hereafter cited as *Ekspresjonism w sztuce polskiej*, exh. cat.

[83] F. Lubierzynski, "Bierzace wystawy sztuki," *Przeglad Wielkopolski* (1913), 5.

[84] J[erzy] H[ulewicz], "Sztuki plastyczne. Wystawa Buntu'," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 58.

[85] Vincent Brauner attended the Hochschule für die bildenden Kunste in Berlin between 1908 and 1911. Henoch Barczynski gradually allied himself with the Dresden Sezession

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after moving to Dresden to study art in 1919, prior to settling in Lodz and joining the Young Yiddish group. Jankel Adler studied at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Barmen (today Wuppertal) and participated in the artistic activities in the Rheinland, before returning to Lodz in late 1918.

[86] Adler also discussed the poetry and writings of Lasker-Schüller and the new theater in Germany (he was friends with the actor Alexander Granach). Information provided by Marek Schwarz in Schwarz's "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler," 60-61. Lasker-Schüller wrote a poem, "Jankel Adler," and Adler painted her portrait in 1923.

[87] Heinrich Zimmermann, "Die zweite Austellung des Lodzer Kunstlerheims," *Neue Lodzer Zeitung*, no. 353 (December 22, 1918), 3.

[88] A.W., review in *Glos Polski* (January 16, 1919), quoted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler, 1895-1949*, exh, cat (Köln: DuMond Buchverlag, 1985), exhibition presented at the Stadt Kunsthalle in Düsseldorf (Nov.-Dec. 1985), the Tel Aviv Museum, Israel (Jan.-Feb. 1986), and Muzeum Sztuki, Lodz (April 1986), 16; hereafter cited as *Jakub (Jankel) Adler*, exh. cat. As Jerzy Malinowski mentioned in *Grupa "Jung Idysz i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce 1918-1923* (Warsaw: PAN, 1987), 181-188. the word "Expressionism" appeared in Lodz before World War I, used, for example, in the advertisements of Gallery Ernst Arnold from Breslau (Wroclaw) published in the *Lodzer Zeitung*. An advertisement from February 19, 1914, read "New Painting. Exhibition of Expressionism," mentioned in *Grupa 'Jung Idysz' i zydowskie srodowisko 'Nowej Sztuki,'* 20; hereafter cited as Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce.'*

[89] Unsigned manifesto was published in *Young Yiddish* 2-3 (1919): 2.

[90] Jankel Adler, "Ekspresjonizm," *Nasz Kurier* 292 (December 5, 1920): 4.

[91] Robin Reisenfeld, "Collecting and Collective Memory, German Expressionist Art and Modern Jewish Identity," in *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*, ed. Catherine M. Soussloff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 124.

[92] Before Paris became a mecca for Polish artists in the early 1900s, this status belonged to Munich. The Königliche Akademie der Bildenden Kunste in Munich attracted hundreds of Polish artists beginning in 1828. Poles were also active members of various German and Austrian art organizations, for example, the Munchner Kunstverein, which had its satellite sections in Kraków, Warsaw, and Lvov, and the Hagebund and Osterichs Sezession in Vienna. In the early twentieth century, Polish artists continued to participate in the exhibitions organized by the Neue Sezession in Munich and Berlin and the Freie Sezession in Berlin. Munich continued to play an important role in providing education for Polish artists and its Polish artistic colony was large, mainly gathered around Przybyszewski.

[93] Following critics of Polish origins were active in Paris: Adolphe (Adolf) Basler,

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Waldemar George (Waldemar Jerzy Jarocinski), Mieczyslaw Goldberg (Golberg), Antoni Potocki, and Jan Topass.

[94] Well informed about the newest developments in art in France and Germany, Basler was probably already familiar with Paul Ferdinand Schmidt's "Über die Expressionisten," published in *Die Rheinlande* in December 1911 and reprinted in *Der Sturm* in January 1912. Basler might also have noticed the use of the adjective "expressionistisch" by Aby Warburg in *Kunst und Künstler* in 1910, the magazine for which he also wrote. In this work, the German critic questioned broadening of the application of the word "Expressionism" by extending it to artists such as Jean Puy, Maurice Vlaminck, Max Pechstein, and Emil Nolde.

[95] See Basler's introduction in the Jerzy Markl exhibition in Lvov in 1913. Mentioned in *Expressionism w sztuce polskiej*, exh. cat., 5. In his essay, Matisse contrasted his art to Impressionism and academic idealism.

[96] As if to contrast new works with more traditional art, the Expressionist exhibition coincided with a presentation of works from a private collection of the local painter Gustaw Pillati, which gathered realist painters inclined toward *secesja* stylization, such as Teodor Axentowicz, Jozef Mehoffer, Marcin Samlicki, and Wlodzimierz Tetmajer.

[97] In 1917, a group of women established the Society of Polish Female Artists (Zwiazek Artystek Polskich), the first organization of women-artists on Polish territories. The group existed until 1920, having four exhibitions. It included, among others, Maria Chybinska, Maria Wodzicka, and Luna Drexlerowna. Information from *Wspomnienia o zyciu kulturalnym i obyczajowym Lwowa*, 156.

[98] Jawlensky settled in Munich in November 1896. In 1909, he co-founded with Kandinsky, among others, the New Artists' Association in Munich. Jawlensky met Walden in 1912 and took part in the First German Salon in Der Sturm Gallery in 1912. In 1914, Jawlensky visited his brother Sergei in Warsaw.

[99] "Wystawa, ktora przed publicznoscia lwowska otwieramy, nie ma na celu propagandy, tylko informacye. Nie chodzi o poparcie kierunku, ktory reprezentuja pp. Kandinsky, Kokoszka, Kubista i.t.d., o przypodobanie sie tym, ktorzy swe sady estetyczne formuja wedle ostatniej mody zagranicznej, lub o postawienie ekspresyonistow niemieckich, czeskich i rosyjskich na wzor ludziom mlodym, z ktorych artysci rosna; chodzi o pokazanie publicznosci lwowskiej, jak wygladaja naprawde ci, o ktorych sie czyta, jak o zjawisku nadzwyczajnem, ci, ktorzy siebie samych przedstawiaja jako pionierow nowej epoki w naszem odczuwaniu estetycznem i w zyciu spolecznem, ktorzy sie podaja za tworcow nowego typu duszy ludzkiej.
Byloby niesprawiedliwoscia mowic o nich i oceniac ich prace, nie przytaczajac tego, co sami o sobie mowia i pisza. To tez, chcac zwiedzajacej wystawe publicznosci dac autentyczny przewodnik w reke, przytaczamy tu pare wyjatkow z rozpraw, ktore wyszly z pod piora samych wyznawcow tego pradu." Unsigned introduction in *Wystawa futurystow, kubistow i ekspresjonistow*, exh. cat. (Lvov: Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Sztuk

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Pieknych, 1913), 3; hereafter cited as *Wystawa futurystow, kubistow i ekspresjonistow*, exh. cat.

[100] Ibid., 7-8.

[101] "Rzecz kazda jest nietylko sama soba i to wlasnie malujemy: te **wieloznacznosci rzeczy**." Ibid., 6.

[102] The term Cubo-Expressionism was not used during the period under discussion in this study. Nevertheless, I use it in relation to Witkacy's poster to stress its experimental character. Searching for his own artistic language Witkacy used elements of Cubist and Expressionist styles, with which he was well familiar. Helena Blum mentioned that Jan Leszczynski (Witkacy's friend) called the early period in Witkacy's career "expressionist." See Blum's unpublished and undated manuscript entitled "Tworczosc plastyczna Stanislawa Ignacego Witkiewicza," deposited at the Czartoryski Library of the National Museum in Kraków.

[103] Witkacy had his first major exhibition at the TPSP in Kraków in August the same year. He presented "demonic" paintings and drawings, today known only from photographs, which show affinities with Symbolism rather than Expressionism. For the photographs of lost works, see Wojciech Sztaba, *Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, zaginione obrazy i rysunki sprzed roku 1914 wedlug oryginalnych fotografii ze zbiorow Konstantego Puzyny* (Warsaw: WAiF, 1985). In 1914, with the ethnographer Bronislaw Malinowski, Witkacy left for Australia from which he returned upon hearing about the outbreak of World War I in order to enlist in the Russian army.

[104] Zbigniew Pronaszko, "Przed wielkim Jutrem," *Maski* 1 (1918): 15.

[105] Formists first appeared under the name Polish Expressionists in November 1917, and changed their name to Formisci (the Formists) in mid-1918. In Polish literature, the First Exhibition of Polish Expressionists (Formists) is often considered a closing event for modernism, interpreted as a synthesis of nineteenth-century tendencies in art. See Wieslaw Juszczak's writings, for example, his introduction to the anthology of criticism from 1890 to 1918 titled *Teksty o malarzach 1890-1918: Antologia polskiej krytyki artystycznej 1890-1918*, ed. Wieslaw Juszczak (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1976); hereafter cited as *Teksty o malarzach 1890-1918: Antologia polskiej krytyki artystycznej 1890-1918.*

[106] Tytus Czyzewski, "O najnowszych pradach w sztuce polskiej," *Wianki* 1-3 (1919).

[107] Waclaw Husarski, "Ze sztuk plastycznych," *Sfinks* 1 (1917): 102-105.

[108] "Znaleziono slowo 'ekspresjonizm', a teraz szuka sie, co by ono wyrazic moglo" Karol Irzykowski, "Bahr o ekspresjonizmie," *Maski*, no. 20 (August 1918): 399. The article appeared in two parts: *Maski*, no. 19 (July 1918): 378-380 and *Maski*, no. 20 (August 1918): 396-400. It was written in response to Bahr's *Expressionismus* (Munich:

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Delphin-Verlag, 1916).

[109] Karol Irzykowski, "Przeglad tendencji w literaturze niemieckiej ostatnich lat," *Maski* no. 20 (August 20, 1918): 477-480.

[110] Poet and writer, Jan Nepomucen Miller, invented the term "dadanaizm," trying to bridge linguistically the word "Dadaism" with sounds from Polish folklore ("oj dana dana" is a motif from Polish folk songs), but "dadanaizm" did not find any practitioners. In an article titled "Poezja znakowania" in *Ponowa* 5 (1922), Miller proposed, in fact, a new type of work based on bridging poetry, painting, and graphics. He demonstrated his method as follows:

```
          !
I...- - - ! - - - ! ! ! !...
       -. . !
     -      !
   -         !
II...          ...
         !
       ? ?
    ?      ? !
III...    ?     ?? !. –
```

The poem is reproduced after Bozena Lewandowska, "U zrodel grafiki funkcjonalnej w Polsce," in *Ze studiow nad geneza plastyki nowoczesnej w Polsce*, ed. Juliusz Starzynski (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1966), 220.
When after 1922 Polish Futurists split along ideological axes, they emphasized the playful aspect of their program and art and insisted on being called Dadaists.

Endnotes for "Poznan Expressionists."

[111] The name given after the city in which the group was formed in 1917 by Tadeusz Dobrowolski in his1962 essay, "Ekspresjonizm poznanski i ugrupowanie 'Bunt.'" The essay was presented first in *Sprawozdania z posiedzen Komisji Oddzialu PAN w Krakowie; 1962 styczen-czerwiec*, and was later included in its full version in Dobrowolski's *Nowoczesne malarstwo polskie*, vol. 3 (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1964).

[112] Twelve volumes of *Zdrój* were published between October 1917 and December 1920. Additional single quarterly issue was published in March 1922.

[113] Jerzy Hulewicz co-founded *Zdrój* and Ostoja i Spólka with his brothers Witold and Bohdan.

[114] Throughout the period of belonging to Germany, Poznan was overshadowed by both Berlin and the geographically closer Breslau [today Wroclaw], despite the fact that the German population grew steadily after Poznan was incorporated into Prussia in 1815.

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[115] Bismarck was reported to have said: "The struggle is not with the entire people but with the Polish nobility and its followers...I believe that many of you have Polish-speaking workers and servants and thus have come to know that the danger does not emanate from the lower classes ('very true,' shouted the Poseners)." Quoted in, Harry Kenneth Rosenthal, *German and Pole, National Conflict and Modern Myth* (Gainesville, Florida: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 40-41. See also L. Trzeciakowski, *The Kulturkamp in Prussian Poland* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1990).

[116] For discussion of Polish-German relations in Poznan in the nineteenth century, see Maria and Lech Krzeciakowscy, *W dziewietnastowiecznym Poznaniu* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskie, 1987).

[117] Until 1914, when the newspaper ceased to exist, *Przeglad Wielkopolski* assumed the role of informing about the development of arts in the West. Its foreign correspondents included painter Gustaw Gwozdecki writing from Paris and critics Jellenta and Feliks Jordan-Lubierzynski, who wrote locally on Fauvism, Cubism, Futurism, and German Expressionism.

[118] The establishment of the school (as well as Poznan University, opened in March 1919) was a direct result of the Polish government's efforts to create institutions of higher artistic education in "underdeveloped" parts of Poland and to push toward unification of the country after World War I.

[119] Prior to Munich, Jerzy Hulewicz studied in Kraków (together with the future Formists, Czyzewski and Witkowski), then in Paris (in the studios of Henri Gerveux and Henri Martin). He settled on the family estate Koscianki, near Poznan, after his father's death in 1910.

[120] Jan Jerzy Wroniecki (1890-1948) briefly studied at the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts around 1909. He was one of the few members of the Society of Artists who also exhibited their works in the Society for Friends of the Fine Arts. His early realistic drawings and lithographs are gently stylized in a *secesja* manner. They were reproduced in various Polish publications, including the Poznan-based *Tecza* (The Rainbow; the full title of the magazine: *Tecza. Dwutygodnik dla sztuki, literatury i humoru*. It was published in 1911-1912.), *Pregierz* (The Pillory), and the Warsaw-based magazine *Sfinks*. Przybyszewski recommended *Sfinks* to J. Hulewicz as an example of a magazine with a successful graphic design. Letter dated March 14, 1917; *Listy* (1938), vol.2 (Gdansk: Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Nauki i Sztuki and Spoldzielnia Wydawnicza 'Parnas Polski' in Warsaw, 1938), Letter #1060 (inscribed, "Munich, March 14, 1917"), 701; hereafter cited as *Listy* (1938), vol.2.

[121] Przybyszewski, in fact, contributed an essay to a book on the artist, titled *Franz Flaum, Five Essays*, published in Germany in 1904. Other essays were written by R. von Delius, E. Geyer, S. Lublinski, and Cezary Jellenta.

[122] The series was entitled "The Homeless" (Bezdomni) and published as eight postcards.

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[123] Today the works are only known from reproductions in the publication *Mlodziez sobie* [Youth for Itself], 1928. While being based in part on his experience as a soldier in the German army in Serbia, Wroniecki's prints depicted the devastation of French villages by the Germans. Wroniecki was released from military service after he simulated illness.

[124] The painting's first version included a pair of lovers embracing in the background; the second one is without the figures in the background. Helsztynski, who edited Przybyszewski's letters, suggests that the painting was cropped at the demand of Przybyszewski's wife, Jadwiga, who found physical resemblance between the woman in the background and Dagny (Jeull) Przybyszewski, who was Przybyszewski's former wife. Mentioned in *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1050 (inscribed "Munich, Ruffinistr, 12, February 5, 1917"), 679.

[125] The title of the journal has also been translated as "Fountainhead" See *Out Looking In: early Modern Polish Art.*

[126] "Nieslychany zamet, jaki panuje w pojeciach o Sztuce w Polsce, zmusza nas juz na samym wstepie do scislego okreslenia, co przez 'Sztuke' rozumiemy." An editorial signed by Jerzy Hulewicz, *Zdrój* 1 (October 1917): 1.

[127] But, as Stanislaw Przybyszewski's letter to J. Hulewicz dated February 2, 1917 attests, Przybyszewski formulated the text' main points in Munich. Przybyszewski drafted a prospect, which Hulewicz used to write his editorial in the first issue of *Zdrój*. The text of the prospect was included in Przybyszewski's letter to J. Hulewicz; *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1053 (inscribed "Munich, Ruffinistr. 12, February 16, 1917"), 683-91.

[128] "Sztuka nie jest i nie moze byc czem innym, jak tylko widzeniem...to, co nazywamy talentem, nie jest niczem innem jak tylko spojnia, laczaca ducha artysty ze swiatem niewidomym, a Sztuka sama—jednym z wezlow laczacych czlowieka z tymze swiatem." An editorial signed by Jerzy Hulewicz, *Zdrój* 1 (October 1917): 2.

[129] "Pismo nasze, nie sluzy kierunkowi tak zwanemu modernistycznemu: 'Modernizm' jest tylko trywialna nazwa odwiecznego przejawu w duszy ludzkiej, a zwlaszcza duszy polskiej: naszego najprostszego 'Buntu', naszego 'Liberum veto i niczym wiecej. Wyobraza *jeden* tylko z tysiaca innych popedow duszy ludzkiej." Ibid., 3.

[130] In this study, *secesja* is defined following Mieczyslaw Wallis's book *Secesja*. Wallis defined *secesja* as follows: "Secesja is a style that flourished in almost all visual arts at the turn-of-the-century. This style relied mainly on the line, specially the sinuous line with nervous rhythm, and the flat, crearly outlined spot. It favored asymmetry, unusual proportions...and organic forms. It aimed at creating stylistically united entities and at the synthesis of various arts." "Secesja nazywamy styl, ktory kwitl, niemal we wszystkich sztukach plastycznych, na przelomie XIX i XX wieku. Styl ten poslugiwal sie glownie linia, zwlaszcza linia falista o niespokojnym rytmie i plaska, wyraznie okonturowana plama. Lubowal sie w asymetrii, w niezwyklych proporcjach....Uwielbial

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swiat organiczny. Dazyl do tworzenia calosci stostylowo jednolitych i do syntezy roznych sztuk." Mieczyslaw Wallis, *Secesja*, exp. ed (Warsaw: Arkady, 1984), 11.

[131] J. Hulewicz and Przybyszewski met in Munich in 1913 through Hulewicz's brother Bohdan, who had lived there since 1908. In 1916, Przybyszewski visited Hulewicz at his estate Koscianki near Poznan. In 1917, Ostoja i Spólka published Przybyszewski's *Szlakiem Duszy Polskiej*. Przybyszewski was instrumental in shaping conceptually *Zdrój* and establishing contacts with its contributing writers and critics. Przybyszewski envisaged the role of Ostoja i Spólka beyond that of a publishing house, seeing it instead as a major cultural institution in Poznan, with a meeting hall, library, large gallery and auditorium. See Przybyszewski's letter to J. Hulewicz, dated "June 19, 1917; Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Listy*, vol.2, Letter #1092 (inscribed "Munich, June 19, 1917"), 745-46. In his memoir *Wielkie wczoraj w malym kregu*, Bohdan Hulewicz attempted to diminish Przybyszewski's impact on *Zdrój* by stating: "Przybyszewski's role was limited to recruiting the collaborators with good-sounding names and providing several interesting articles published in *Zdrój*, as well as to critical assessing of the review, not always suitable, and advise Jerzy Hulewicz from distant Munich by mail." (Rola Przybyszywskiego ograniczala sie do pozyskania wspolpracownikow o dobrze brzmiacych nazwiskach literackich, do dostarczenia kilku ciekawszych rozpraw publikowanych w 'Zdroju' oraz do krytycznej oceny czasopisma, nie zawsze trafnej, i listownie udzielanych rad Jerzemu Hulewiczowi z dalekiego Monachium.) Bohdan Hulewicz, *Wielkie wczoraj w malym kregu* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1973), 87.

[132] As a "Satanist," Przybyszewski was considered an equal of Le Sar Pelandan, Joris Karl Huysmans, and Stanislas de Guaita. To deny his direct involvement with *Zdrój*, Przybyszewski wrote a note, which appeared in the back pages of *Zdrój*'s first issue (November 1917), and stated that he had nothing to do with it and would not have in the future.

[133] Przybyszewski adopted the apocalyptic visions of civilization (Schopenhauer's pessimism and "passivism" in particular) popular around this time in Germany. For early discussion of Przybyszewski's connections with German modernism, see M. Oksza, "Modernizm w Niemczech i Stanislaw Przybyszewski," *Biblioteka Warszawska* (March 1899), 260-261.

[134] Przybyszewski's essay, quoted in Milosz's *The History of Polish Literature*, 330.

[135] Przybyszewski presented his anarchistic ideas in the trilogy, *Homo sapiens*, written in 1895-96, in which anarchism was linked to Satanism and metaphysics.

[136] Benefiting from Przybyszewski's experience, *Zdrój* was modeled originally on *Chimera* and *Zycie*. *Chimera* was published with interruptions between 1901 and 1907, altogether thirty issues in ten volumes. It was established in Warsaw by Przesmycki to propagate new literature and art and was similar to the Russian Symbolist reviews *Zolotoye Runo* and *Vesy*. *Zycie*, an illustrated review devoted to science, art, literature, and social issues, was published as a weekly in Kraków from 1897 to 1900 under

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Przybyszewski's editorial control. Wilhelm Feldman published another *Zycie* (an illustrated biweekly review devoted to literature and the arts) in Kraków between 1899 and 1900.

[137] The list was printed in the editorial in *Zdrój*'s first issue: "Waclaw Berent, Adolf Chybinski, Zdzislaw Debicki, Aleksander Guttry, Wladyslaw Jablonowski, Jan Kasprowicz, Jan Lorentowicz, Jan Lemanski, Ignacy Matuszewski, Artur Oppman, Wladyslaw Orkan, Edward Porebowicz, Zenon Przesmycki, Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Wladyslaw Reymont, Ludomir Rozycki, Michal Sobeski, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer,[and] Stefan Zeromski." *Zdrój* 1 (October 1917): 5. Przybyszewski wrote to J. Hulewicz from Munich in January 1917: "To recruit an editorial committee is the most important and principal thing....We need to invite Miriam and Kasprowicz—and also Lorentowicz, who is very influential in Warsaw as the best critic, and Zeromski, who has received great attention for his 'Literatura and Polish Life.'" ("Najwazniejsza i zasadnicza rzecza jest uzyskac zespol komitetu redakyjnego; jest to sprawa najwyzszej wagi....Do komitetu trzeba bylo zaprosic procz Miriama i Kasprowicza—jeszcze Lorentowicza, ktory ma ogromne wplywy w Warszawie jako obecnie najwybitniejszy krytyk, i Zeromskiego, ktory tyle rozglosu narobil swoja 'Literatura a zycie polskie.'") Przybyszewski's letter to Jerzy Hulewicz; *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1049 (inscribed "Munich, January 30, 1917"), 676-77. Kasprowicz denied any involvement with *Zdrój*.

[138] Przybyszewski, who clearly considered *Zdrój* his creation, commented on Miriam's choices: "Miriam likes only these writers, who write poetry unintentionally...with the exception of Moréas....But, who knows—perhaps Miriam is right—perhaps these non-professionals are worth the most in poetry. 'Lorsque ta main écrit une ligne parfaite, les cherubims eux-memes, descendent s'y complare comme dans un miroir,' said the pope of contemporary mysticism in France, Sar Merodack Josephin Pelandan; I laughed at it one time—today I wonder if this one 'ligne parfaite' is not worth more than hundreds of [poetry] volumes. "Miriam ma zamilowanie do tych wlasnie, ktorzy tylko mimochodem, od niechcenia, z panskiego 'widzimisie' poezja sie zajmowali...jedynie Moréas, o ktorym bedzie mozna obszerniej napisac jako tworcy szkoly parnasistow-symbolistow w Paryzu. Zreszta kto wie—moze Miriam ma racje—moze wlasnie ci nie-fachowcy najwiecej w poezyi warci. –'Lorsque ta main ecru une ligne parfaite, les cherubims eux-memes, descendent s'y complaire comme dans une miroir' powiedzial papiez mistyki wspolczesnej Francyi Sar Merodack Josephin Pelandan;—kiedys sie z tego smialem—dzis zastanawiam sie, czy ta jedna 'ligne parfaite' nie warta wiecej nad setki tomow." *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1129 (inscribed "Munich, October 22, 1917"), 815-16.

[139] Berent was one of the first to translate Fredrich Nietzsche into Polish. In 1906, he published *Zrodla i ujscia nietzscheanizmu*. *Zdrój* published in fragments his novel *Opowiesc rybalta* in 1918, which was printed in book form under the title *Zywe kamienie*. The novel tells the story of the spiritual transformation of a medieval town provoked by a visit of a group of wandering musicians and singers, while addressing the problem of "acedia," e.g., the illness of the soul. For Berent, Gothic reflects universal, timeless desires, that are also relevant for contemporary life, as having the capacity to heal man of acedia. Expressionism is connected to a past viewed as mystical times.

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Zeromski worked on his long epic, entitled *Walka z szatanem*, in which his hero, Zbigniew Nienaski, fights against social injustice, which he considers to be a "struggle against Satan." The novel discusses social and cultural currents in Europe, among them Jean Jaures's socialism and Georges Sorel's syndicalism. After World War I, Zeromski became a political activist and embraced more radical subjects in his writings, grounding them, however, in socialist utopianism. *Zdrój* quoted Zeromski's call for independent Polish art (free of the influences of landowners) in its editorial closing the fourth volume of the review: *Zdrój* 4, (September 1918): 189.

[140] The article was accompanied by a note, which stated that the text was first presented as a lecture at the Society for Encouragement of the Sciences in Poznan in 1917.

[141] In a letter to J. Hulewicz, dated February 16, 1917, Przybyszewski wrote that his wife, Jadwiga, first suggested the name. Hulewicz wrote an annotation to the letter that stated that Bederski first suggested the name. *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1053 (inscribed "Munich, Ruffininstr. 12, February 16, 1917"), 683.

[142] Przybyszewski considered publishing lengthy parts from Tagore's writings in *Zdrój* to be a mistake. He thought that the only reason for having them was to have Kasprowicz's name connected to the review. Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Listy* (prepared in 1938, published in Wroclaw: Zaklad Ossolinskich, 1954), vol.3, Letter 1180 (inscribed "Munich, March 6, 1918"), 43; hereafter cited as *Listy* (1954), vol.3.

[143] Przybyszewski and Micinski met in Berlin in 1897, and soon after Micinski made Przybyszewski known in Kraków. However, the two writers became enemies by 1899. Micinski, a Slavophile sympathetic toward Russia, was a cult figure for spiritualists in Poland. He studied with psychologist Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig in 1895-96 and spent a year in Berlin before returning to Poland. In his idiosyncratic teachings, he advocated rhythmic gymnastics, basing his ideas on the philosophy of Wolf Dohrn, the creator of the international mystic commune of Hellerau near Dresden. He lectured extensively on Spiritualism all around Poland, treating Hindu religion on an equal footing with Gnosticism, occultism, the Kabbalah, and theosophy. Micinski's ideas were put together in a collection of articles, *Do zrodel duszy polskiej*, published in 1906, in which he discussed the meaning of Polish identity and criticized contemporary Polish life, advocating Eastern spirituality as a salvation for the degenerating, materialistic West. For further discussion of Micinski's life and work, see Sue Ashton Fines, *Lucifer, Man, and Christ in the Works of Tadeusz Micinski*, Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, Stanford, 1974.

[144] Bergson's philosophy was discussed by Micinski in his *The Struggle About Christ* (Walka o Chrystusa).

[145] In the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous artists and writers, in fact, in all parts of Poland, developed an interest in the occult and theosophy. The Esoterists' Society "Eleuteria" was created in 1902. During its most active days, from 1906 to 1907, "Eleuteria" had representatives in twenty-eight locations in Galicia and other parts of partitioned Poland and 5,409 registered members (including 1,112 in Lvov and 991 in

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Kraków). In 1905, the painter Kazimierz Stabrowski, director of the School of Fine Arts (Szkola Sztuk Pieknych) in Warsaw, became the secretary of a small theosophical circle (kolo), which was soon transformed into the Theosophical Lodge "Alba" (Loza Teozoficzna "Alba"). Stabrowski regularly participated in the spiritualistic seances conducted biweekly by a certain W. Chlopicki, as well as in seances with the medium Guzik, organized in the apartment of the poet Edward Slonski.

The famous writer Eliza Orzeszkowa joined "Alba" in 1910, as did Micinski. The Lithuanian artist and composer Micolajus Konstantinas Ciurlionis, who lived, studied art, and exhibited in Warsaw in the early twentieth century, was among the writers, critics, and artists who regularly gathered at Stabrowski's apartment in Warsaw. There they discussed literature, art, music and philosophy, particularly the Hindu religion and Buddhism, which they usually interpreted through the philosophy of Artur Schopenhauer. Mystic-religious spiritualism was also explored by the distinguished literary critic Artur Gorski, Stanislaw Malkowski (the founder of Polish scouting), and Jan Wolski (an anarchist-oriented theoretician of work cooperatives), among others. In Galicia, Mieczyslaw Geniusz, who lived in Cairo, introduced Martynism and other occult formations in 1910 and 1914, during his visits to Poland. Geniusz helped to organize the Kraków Circle of Esoteric and Metaphysical Research (Krakowskie Ognisko Badan Ezoterycznych i Metafizycznych, known as the OBEiM) and establish contacts with the Martynist Order (Zakon Martynistow) in France

Like other domains of Polish life, occultism gradually grew to be linked to the politics of Polish statehood. The Warsaw Theosophical Society (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Teozoficzne) was officially registered in 1912, first as part of the Russian Society, then transformed into the Polish Theosophical Society, established in January 1920. After the split among German theosophists in 1913, most of the Polish followers declared their alliance with Rudolf Steiner and his newly founded Anthroposophical Society. Attached to Catholicism, Steiner defined anthroposophy as a practical application of Christianity that should be judged by its tangible results. Such a program inspired Polish anthroposophes and theosophists to search for their own alternatives by reaching back in the Polish tradition of Messianism and to the Roman Catholic religion, while leaving room for addressing specific political concerns.

As the theosophical movement in Poland became politicized by 1913, one of its new initiatives was to establish a paramilitary organization called the Women's League of Military Emergency (Liga Kobiet Pogotowia Wojskowego), run by Jadwiga Marcinkowska. Theosophical publications written by Polish authors after 1918 further reflected a shift toward more "national" programs. For example, Eugeniusz Polonczyk entitled his books *Przyszly ustroj ludzkosci. Wedle zrodel teozoficznych* (Odessa: Drukarnia Polska, 1918) and *Przyszly uklad narodow* (Lvov: Drukarnia Pospieszna, 1919), continuing to discuss Poland's future in terms of its Messianic role among other nations, but connecting it to social action.

Zdrój regularly reviewed theosophical books and invited Polish theosophists as contributing writers. For example, Jadwiga Morcinkowska, the founder of the Women's League of Military Emergency, published fragments of her novel, Anima Mundi, in the second volume of the review (March 1918). Kazimierz Filip Wize's book *Wyklady metafizyczne. Wstep—kosmologja, psychologja, teozofja,* published by the M. Niemierkiewicz Bookstore in Poznan, was reviewed in *Zdrój* in December 1917. The

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article written by Kazimierz Luczewski, stressed Wize's pioneering role in propagating theosophy in Poland, but criticized him for being descriptive, instead of analytic in his discussion of important spiritualist movements. Wize's lecture, "Aesthetic Theory of Play" (Estetyczna teoria gry) was published in the fourth issue of *Zdrój* (July 1918), but its apology for the play was questioned in a small commentary accompanying his article. Kazimierz Luczewski, "Miscellanea. Wykłady Metafizyczne," *Zdrój* 1 (December 1917): 158.
On his part, Wize was asked to review for *Zdrój* Przybyszewski's book, *Poznan ostoja mysli polskiej*, published by Ostoja i Spólka in 1917. By the time Wize's article was printed in the January 1918 issue, Przybyszewski's position within *Zdrój* had been seriously challenged by the group of young artists and poets who joined the review in late 1917. Wize's text reflected, in fact, the power shift within *Zdrój* by talking about a "new" Przybyszewski, one who had ceased to be "an egoist, Satanist, and all that which we would like to call non-Polish," but who was also willing to let younger artists lead the development of the arts in Greater Poland. Kazimierz Filip Wize, "Stanislawa Przybyszewskiego 'Poznan ostaja mysli polskiej,'" *Zdrój* 2 (January 1918): 28-29.
Theosophical ideas attracted also younger artists and writers gathered around *Zdrój*. In 1919, Kubicki engaged in a passionate polemic on Father Stanislaw Taczek's book *Buddyzm a chrzescijanstwo*, which Taczek wrote as a defense of Christianity. In the last issue of *Zdrój*, published in December 1920, Stur argued that the publication was far from exhausting its thematic range, particularly in its discussions of theosophy, sociosophy, and astrology. Already in 1919 Stur proposed in *Zdrój* to consider Micinski as the fourth of the great national Polish poets (the other three were: Mickiewicz, Slowacki, and Krasinski). After *Zdrój* closed, J. Hulewicz gathered around him a group of intellectuals, writers, and artists, who met regularly at his estate Koscianki near Poznan to perform spiritualist seances. As late as 1924, Kubicka portrayed her husband, Stanislaw Kubicki, as a Buddhist and occultist.

[146] Hulewicz once wrote: "All pure beliefs...come from one source of Knowledge, to merge with final Truth." Jerzy Hulewicz, "Na marginesie 'Zdroju,'" *Zdrój* 3 (1919) in *Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke*, in *Analecta Slavica*, no. 5 (1973), 253; hereafter quoted as *Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke*. Hulewicz's occultism is discussed in Stanislaw Kasztelowicz, *Tragicy doby bez ksztaltu. O wspolczesnej tworczosci literackiej. Ekspresjonizm* (Warsaw: Gebethner and Wolff, 1933).

[147] "Ustalic przede wszystkim raz musimy zalozenie to, ze nie ma roznorakich religii, ale jest tylko jedna religia; jeden bowiem moze byc tylko stosunek czlowieka do tej potegi, ktora zwiemy Teosem, Jehowa, Bogiem." Jerzy Hulewicz, "Spiritus Resurgent," *Zdrój* 4 (May 1920), 121-126; quoted in Jozef Ratajczak, *Krzyk i ekstaza,antologia polskiego ekspresjonizmu* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskie, 1987), 226; hereafter cited as Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza.*

[148] Three years later, Hulewicz published his theosophical novel par excellence—*Ego eimi*. The full title of Hulewicz's book is *Ego eimi—O ewangeliey Jezu Christa wedlug pisania Janowego rzecz w duchu uyrzana*. He expressed similar interests in his art, for example, in a series of etchings for Kasprowicz's book *Sita* ("an Indian hymn in three

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acts"), published by Ostoja i Spólka in 1917, stylized on Indian illuminations. (The prints (etchings) were exhibited during the spring 1917 group exhibition at TPSP.) Hulewicz also made a "spiritualist" painting (the whereabouts is unknown) and a print, both titled *Samskâra* (also known as Sansara), and reproduced the print in *Zdrój* in 1919.Hulewicz's *Samskâra* was probably influenced by Zamoyski's sculpture, *Sansara*, 1917, inspired by the Hindu concept of the journey of a human soul toward nirvana. Zamoyski provided such interpretation of his work in "Jak i dlaczego wyroslem z formizmu," *Poezja* 2 (1968): 32-47; hereafter cited as Zamoyski's "Jak i dlaczego wyroslem z formizmu."

[149] *Zdrój* provides its interpretation of Satanism in its last issue from 1917. "Satanism is the faith of Slowacki that not God but only human spirit can produce miracles." Referring to Bunt's program, it follows: "Bunt initiated the matter. And Satan provoked such rebellion. Therefore, Gnostics considered Old Testament's God to be a minor *eon*, demiourg, or even directly a Satan." "Odpowiedzi od redakcji," *Zdrój* 1 (December 1917): 188-189.

[150] See, for example, J. Hulewicz's article titled "Co to jest piekno" in *Dziennik Poznanski* (September 3, 1910) and his book *Dialogi estetyczne* (Poznan: M. Niemierkiewicz, 1910).

[151] The celebrations of the anniversary ended up with a large demonstration in front of the Mickiewicz monument in Poznan.

[152] When Kubicki lectured in Poznan in March 1917, he was introduced as an artist from Berlin. His lectures were briefly discussed in *Dziennik Poznanski* (March 27, 1917).

[153] "Miscellanea," *Zdrój* 1 (November 1917): 96.

[154] The meeting was also covered by *Kurier Poznanski* in an article "Walne zebranie 'Ostoi'," in its September 30, 1917 issue.

[155] Prior to the 1917 Salon exhibition Kubicki first exhibited in Poznan in December 1915, participating in a group show at TPSP. A review, "Z Salonu Przyjaciol Sztuk Pieknych," in the cultural supplement to *Kurier Poznanski* (April 12, 1916) only recorded Kubicki's participation in this exhibition.

[156] The Great Poland region was incorporated into Poland only in February 1919, ending the fights between Polish and German forces in the region. The peace treaty was signed at Treves on February 15. In response to the nationalist rhetoric, the June 1919 general elections in the Great Poland gave most of the parliamentary power to the right-wing parties.

[157] The Catholic clergy played a crucial role in preserving Polishness on the German-occupied territories in the nineteenth century. For a discussion of the role of *endecja* in propagating nationalism, see Olaf Bergmann, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec problematyki zydowskiej w latach 1918-1929* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskie, 1998).

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[158] *Zdrój*'s deficit reached 6,000 Marks in the first three months. It had 620 subscribers in the Russian zone and 50 in Galicia. Information from *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter # 1150 (inscribed "Munich, December 13, 1917"), 849.

[159] In the column "Letter to the Editor," a certain A. Nowinski from Lublin asked, for example, for an explanation why Przybyszewski had published his statement denying any association with *Zdrój*, while the opposite was apparent. "Odpowiedzi redakcji," *Zdrój* 1, (December 1917): 160.

[160] Unsigned article, "Miscellanea. Sztuki plastyczne," *Zdrój* 1 (November 1917): 128.

[161] Jarocki was recommended to J. Hulewicz by Przybyszewski, who had strong contacts in Lvov. See *Listy* (1954), vol.3, Letter #1164 (inscribed "Munich, February 13-14, 1917"), 681.

[162] "Byl on juz wtedy artysta o zbyt wyraznej i skrystalizowanej fizyognomii, aby mogl przejac sie kubistycznemi i futurestycznemi ekstrawagancyjami Picassow, van Dongenow i Matissow." Wladyslaw Kozicki, "Wladyslaw Jarocki (dokonczenie)," *Zdrój* 1 (December 1917): 181.

[163] The Huculs are Eastern Slavs from the Carpatian Mountains on the borderline between Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland. They are closely related to the Ukrainians. In late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Huculs were highly appreciated for the truthfulness, simplicity, and exotic beauty of their customs and religion (Eastern Christianity) by numerous Polish artists and writers.

[164] "Ze ta zmiana wyszla na dobre sztuce artysty, o tem nie mozna byc dwoch zdan. Bo lud Podhalanski, zachowujac te sama, co Huculi, pierwotna sile i prostote synow ziemi, przewyzsza ich bez porownania dystynkcya stroju i zdobnictwa, inteligencya i ruchliwoscia umyslow, nieslychanie zywym, samorodnym dowcipem i ogromnie zaostrzonym zmyslem spostrzegawczym, a wreszcie dostojnoscia tradycyi, odczuwanej w jej neprzerwanej ciaglosci." Ibid.

[165] Bederski studied philosophy in Berlin and Munich in 1912-13. He was drafted in the German army and sent to the Western front. Bederski lived in Lodz between December 1917 and September 1918. He continued his education at the Poznan University, after it opened in 1919, engaged in students' political activities. He began publishing poetry in *Krytyka* in 1913, but abandoned it in 1920, devoting himself to various administrative activities in the newly established country. In 1940, Bederski settled in Great Britain. Kosidowski stated that Bederski was the first Polish Expressionist; he traveled to Berlin around 1911 (where he briefly studied German at Berlin University) and brought back to Poznan ideas about new art. Zenon Kosidowski, *Fakty i zludy. Rzuty teatrologiczne i literackie* (Poznan: J. Jachowski, 1931), 138.

[166] Kubicka was born in Berlin, where after finishing art school in 1913 she taught drawing classes. She commuted (mostly in the summer) to Poznan from Berlin where she

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spent most of her time during the involvement with Bunt.

[167] Kubicki, who grew up in a Polish family in Ziegenhaim near Kassel, was active in Polish youth organizations organized in Germany prior to World War I, such as the Tomasz Zan Society (Towarzystwo im. Tomasza Zana) and the National Group (Grupa Narodowa).

[168] Before coming to Poznan, Kubicki studied art at the Köenigliche Kunsthochschule in Berlin, where he met Schuster-Kubicka. At the beginning of the war, Kubicki was drafted into the German army, but was soon transferred to civil services in Schömberg (today Chelmsko) in Silesia after being wounded on the eastern front and hospitalized in Berlin. Kubicki moved to Poznan in 1917.

[169] Before he settled in Poznan, Szmaj studied medicine in Wroclaw and Berlin, continuing to make art by frequenting morgues to draw from corpses. In 1919 Szmaj received a degree in medicine in 1919 from Warsaw University. Szmaj used his morgue drawings to execute a series of lithographs in 1928.

[170] *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1159 (inscribed, "Munich, Ruffinistr, 12, December 28, 1917"), 858.

[171] Szmaj was most likely introduced to Munch's works by Przybyszewski, who was an early champion of the Norwegian artist.

[172] During the war, Skotarek remained actively involved with underground Polish youth organizations and produced drawings for an underground publication *My* (We) in 1915-16.

[173] Zamoyski provided contradicting information about his art studies in Berlin in various exhibition catalogues and in several interviews.

[174] Przybyszewski recommended Zamoyski to J. Hulewicz. See *Listy* (1938), vol.2, Letter #1159 (inscribed, "Munich, Ruffinistr. 12, December 28, 1917"), 858.

[175] Rita Sacchetto was also known in Vienna, where she performed at the Galerie Miethke in the beginning of the century. She was often mentioned, along with Ruth Saint-Denis and Matta Hari as being among the best female performers in Europe. In the early 1920s, she performed in Germany and Austria in a play, "Kokaine," which, as *Zwrotnica* reported, was enthusiastically received by the audience and the press. Unsigned, "Szkic 'Kokaina'," *Zwrotnica* 4 (February 1923): 123

[176] As a sculptor, Zamoyski rebelled against the dominant tendencies in Polish sculpture at the beginning of the twentieth century, represented by Xawery Dunikowski's monumentalism, Boleslaw Biegas's primitivism, and Edward Wittig's Neoclassicism. All these sculptors opposed Expressionist tendencies in modern sculpture. Dunikowski returned to Poland in 1924, after almost twelve years spent in the West (mainly France),

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engaging in making monumental works commissioned by the government, such as *Glowy wawelskie*, which replaced Renaissance sculptures at the Wawel Castle in Kraków. Edward Wittig was educated in Vienna and Paris, where he lived between 1900 and 1914. He taught sculpture at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts from 1915, fostering Neoclassicism close to works by Aristide Maillol. Biegas was influenced by Polish folklore.

[177] See, for example, Kubicki's "Uwagi o sztuce," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 27.

[178] "Wyrzucmy z czynow naszych wszelka estetyke..., wyrzucmy z obrazow naszych i wierszy pieknosc formy, ktora zawsze dotychczas sprowadzala artystow i duchy wielkie na droge klamstwa i nieszczerosci; s z u k a j m y p r a w d y." Stanislaw Kubicki, "Tamtym cos niecos," *Zdrój* 6 (January 1919): 34.

[179] Stanislaw Przybyszewski, "Confiteor," published in *Zycie* in 1899,cited in Milosz's *The History of Polish Literature*, 330.

[180] "Mocno sie lekam, ze sie '*Zdrój*' zaprzepasci, jesli go sie odda calkiem w rece mlodych i najmlodszych ... i nie lacz Pan tej wystawy [Buntu] ze 'Zdrojem'..., ktory w kazdym razie nie moze sie z nia utozsamiac." Quoted in the introduction to Jozef Ratajczak, *Zgasly "brzask epoki": szkice z dziejow czasopisma "Zdrój" 1917-1922* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskie, 1980), 30; hereafter cited as *Zgasly "brzask epoki."*

[181] "Ekspresjonizmu szukaj Pan w sobie, a nie w 'Sturmach' i 'Aktion." (Letter dated March 6, 1918); cited in *Zgasly "brzask epoki,"* 46-48.

[182] "W usilowaniach ekspresjonizmu widze to jedno tylko: gwaltowny protest przeciw terrorowi natury i otaczajacego nas swiata, ktoremu artysta dotychczas niewolniczo podlegal, i nawrot do jednej rzeczywistosci: do swojej jazni....Nie natura ksztaltuje jego sposob patrzenia, ale na odwrot jego indywidualne, uczuciowe, duchowe 'widzenie' kaze naturze byc taka, jaka jemu dusza jego ukształtowala." Andrzej Lam, *Polska awangarda poetycka. Programy lat 1917-1923* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1969), 48.
In 1918, Przybyszewski argued that Expressionism was nothing new at all, a type of a "court revolution" and a "sharp reaction against...Impressionism." But further in the text, he modified his statement by declaring that "the only thing I know is that this whole—now very strong—direction deserves having its further development followed with great attention and using all our strength to penetrate its enigma of dynamism." Stanislaw Przybyszewski, "Powrotna fala—naokolo Ekspresjonizmu," *Zdrój* 2 (March 1918): 169.In "Ekspresjonizm—Slowacki i *Genezis z Ducha*," Przybyszewski reproached young Expressionists for not acknowledging enough that "our Polish expressionism, with all its efforts, yearnings, with all its 'mes haines,' [my hating] was born already seventy years ago, and Juliusz Slowacki... was its most majestic adherent, its divine 'John the Baptist.'" *Zdrój* 4 (July 1918); Ibid., 74.

[183] "Futuryzm, kubizm, ekspresjonizm to tylko glupie nazwy na odwieczna walke duszy z materia... *Maluje jak widze!* Jak widze oczyma duszy—a to widzenie nie podlega

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zadnym teoriom, zadnej brr! Szkole—maluje, *tak jak ja* widze , a nie tak, jak Picasso, Matisse, Derain lub Delaunay." Przybyszewski's letter written in 1918, cited in, *Listy* (1954), vol.3; Letter # 1164 (inscribed "Munich, January 11, 1918"), 16-17.

[184] The name meant "Rebellion" in Polish, but it also has a meaning in German: the word "bunt" in German means colorful and glittering.

[185] To put Hulewicz's actions in a broader perspective, Andrzej Lam argues convincingly that historically mysticism and political activism tend to coincide with each other. He mentions as an example coexistence of the radicalization of the bourgeoisie during the French Revolution with the spreading of Romantic thought. Lam used Thomas Mann's *Faustus* to argue that such a situation "can become a catalyst, and even a necessary condition for birth of new aesthetic values, while in social reality it may lead to the unleashing of irrational and threatening forces, which was demonstrated by fascism." Andrzej Lam, "Poczatki swiadomosci ekspresjonistycznej w Polsce," *Przeglad Humanistyczny*, no. 4 (1964): 16.

[186] Szmaj remembered that the change of the location pleased the group. "Bylo nam bardzo na reke, bo wystawa stanowila niemala atrakcje, tymbardziej, ze olbrzymi plakat Jerzego Wronieckiego, zajmujacy cale okno wystawowe, wabil zdaleka jaskrawymi barwami." From a letter headlined "Wspomnienie o 'Zdroju' i 'Buncie,'" written by Szmaj to Halina Stepien from the Instytut Sztuki in Warsaw, dated July 28, 1961, deposited in the Special Collection of the Instytut Sztuki in Warsaw, nr. inw. 1578.

[187] Szmaj remembered Bederski, Hulewicz, Kubicka, and Stokarek delivering speeches during the First Evening of *Zdrój*. Stefan Szmaj, "Wspomnienia," *Wici Wilkopolskie* (November 1931).

[188] "Oto Bunt, oto rozbicie stezalej skorupy, oto podarcie na strzepy uswieconej tradycji artystycznej; nowy sztandar wolnosci rozwiniety w wiezieniu martwego grodu - a zatkniety na jego szczycie." Unsigned article, "Sztuki Plastyczne—'Wystawa Buntu," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 28.

[189] "Mlodzi jestesmy i wiare mamy w zycia—co w nas gore—potege (mimo wszystko!), Adam Bederski, "Czytelniku pobozny," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 2.

[190] "Izes Bunt podniosl i swiety sprzeciw uczynil przemoznosci zastyglego w jednej formie ducha...—przeto badz blogoslawiony, Buntowniku Swiety." Jerzy Hulewicz, "Do Swietego Buntownika," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 17.

[191] "Walka nie toczy sie o obrazow zagadnienia estetyczne (anegdoty z cyganskich pracowni) lecz o CZLOWIEKA i DZIEN nasz (ktory nadejdzie)." Stanislaw Kubicki, "Uwagi o sztuce," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918); quoted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 77.

[192] As stated in "Miscellanea," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 28. Other members of Bunt included,

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Witold Hulewicz, Artur Maria Swinarski, and Jan Panienski.

[193] See, for example, Maria Ruszczynska's review in *Gazeta Narodowa* (April 27, 1918), 2-3.

[194] Jerzy Malinowski has convincingly argued that most of the prints by members of Bunt were linoleum prints and not woodcuts as previously thought based on captions under their reproductions in *Zdrój*. Malinowski, *Sztuka i nowa wspolnota,* 51. Przybyszewski confirmed Malinowski's observation in a letter to Hulewicz. *Listy* (1954), vol. 3, Letter # 1164 (inscribed "Munich, January 11, 1918"), 15.

[195] Formally, *A Canoeist* recalls a photograph of Margarete Kubicka in a boat, taken in a photographic studio in Berlin in 1916. The photograph is in the private archives of Stanislaw Kubicki (son) in Berlin.

[196] The work belongs to Zamoyski's "Stylization period," as he later called it, relating it formally to small folkloric, wooden statuettes called "swiatki" in Polish.(The sculpture *Zdrój* is related to Zamoyski's watercolor used for the cover for the first volume of *Zdrój*.) Zamoyski discussed this aspect of his sculpture in "Jak i dlaczego wyroslem z formizmu." In the same text, Zamoyski connected his interest in fluidity of forms to Heraclitus's "pessimistic" theory of unavailability of change and fluidity of forms in the world and a law of "circular" history that he called enantiodromia, rather than Bergson's flux, and his interests in the Hindu concept of Sansara—a journey of the human soul toward nirvana. Zamoyski stressed that Kant influenced his views on art.

[197] Zdrój Publishing House published, for example, Claudel's *L'Annonce faite à Marie* (1912) in 1921. Fragments of one of Claudel's poems were published in *Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke*.

[198] "Gdy sztuka staje sie niewygodna...wysuwa sie przeciw niej armaty moralnosci....Wyprobowana ta bron rokuje najlepiej przywrocenie spolecznego porzadku. Tak sie tez stalo z wystawa 'Buntu.'" Jerzy Hulewicz, "(Od Redakcji) Zamach," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 57

[199] "Wystawa 'Buntu' nie zawiera ani jednego dziela z futuryzmem majacego cokolwiek wspolnego." Ibid.

[200] "Kierunek ow wydal w malarstwie dziela niepospolite. Nie tylko obrazy poprzednikow, kubizm jak von Gogha, Gangina (pewnie: Ganguina!—red.) lub Mass'a (pewnie Matisse'a!—red.) stanowia rzetelne wzbogacenie dorobku artystycznego Francyi i swiata." Unsigned article titled "Zamkniecie wystawy Buntu," *Zdrój* 4 (July 1918): 126.

[201] Th, "*Bunt*. Eine Ausstellung polnischer Künstler," *Posener Neueste Nachrichten* (April 16, 1918), discussed in ibid.

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[202] "Calkowite oderwanie sie od malarskich nawyknien i prawidel dotychczasowych znamionuje utwory Malgorzaty Kubickiej....'Wieczerza', 'Chrystus po wypedzeniu przekupniow', 'Improwizacja', 'Zeslanie Ducha sw.' okreslaja stosunek indywidualny artystki do mistycznego zycia; a stosunek to tak gleboki, tak od zycia codziennego oderwany, tak pozaswiatowy, ze staje sie najistotniejsza kontemplacja, swietem Duchow obcowaniem." J[erzy] H[ulewicz], "Sztuki plastyczne. Wystawa 'Buntu'," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 58.

[203] "W poznanskim 'Buncie' znalazl artysta ten srodowisko odpowiednie i zajal odrazu, kto wie czy nie dominujace stanowisko." Ibid., 59.

[204] "Tem gorecej zachecic musimy kulturalna czastke spoleczenstwa do zwiedzenia i do zaglebienia sie w istote najnowszych pradow w sztuce, ktore nazwano ogolnie *ekspresjonizmem.*" *Ibid., 60.*

[205] "Na marginesie 'Zdroju'," *Zdrój* 3 (1919); quoted in *Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke*, 250.

[206] "Nie trzymamy sie niewolniczo nazwy ekspresjonizm. Wszak uzywac jej nalezy wylacznie dla koniecznosci porozumienia sie; rzeczy samej nazwa nie przesadza. Twierdzenie zas, ze 'wprowadzenie ekspresjonizmu do sztuki polskiej jest niczym innym jak zatruwaniem duszy polskiej pierwiastkiem obcym, czesto semickim' (!!)—traci tak rozbrajajaca naiwnoscia, ze niepodobna na nie odpowiedziec.'...Niebawem damy w 'Zdroju' szereg rycin i oryginalnych drzeworytow ekspresjonistow francuskich i czeskich, potem niemieckich i angielskich." "Odpowiedzi od redakcji," *Zdrój* 2 (July 1918); quoted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 189.

[207] Przybyszewski studied biology, which he considered the most important of all sciences. He was familiar with major German idealist theories of nature, studied cristalogy and read Richard Semon's *Die Mneme*, 1904, about the hereditary theory of memory.

[208] Similar thinking about the links between art and science appears in Boloz-Antoniewicz's article, "Impresjonizm-ekspresjonizm," published as a response to a debate on Expressionism in plastic arts in *Gazeta Wieczorna* (July 28, 1918).

[209] Przybyszewski wrote: "Plato's ideas, regardless of whether they are real or materialized in Aristotelian 'entelchias,' Lamarckian 'functions' that link the creation of organs to given conditions, *monads* equipped in more or less clear cognizance, therefore 'naked" and 'central' to Leibnitz, Schopenhauer's 'free will,' more or less conscious 'dominants' of Rilke and Hartmann, completely cognate Slowacki's 'Words-spirits,' [they] are all the same. "Idee Platona, wszystko jedno czy sa rzeczywiste, czy dopiero urzeczywistniaja sie w 'entelechiach' Arystotelesa, czy tez w 'funkcjach', tworzacych w danych warunkach narzady, Lamarcka, monady obdarzone mniej lub wiecej jasna *swiadomoscia*, a wiec 'nagie' lub tez 'centralne' Leibnitza, 'objawy woli' Schopenhauera, czy tez mniej lub wiecej swiadome 'dominanty' Reinkego, Hartmanna,

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calkiem *swiadome* 'duchy Slowa' Slowackiego:[to] jedno i to samo!" Stanislaw Przybyszewski, "Ekspresjonizm, Slowacki i 'Genezis Ducha'," *Zdrój* 2 (1918): 125.Przybyszewski considered the medieval mystic Jan Eckhart to be the forefather of expressionism. *Listy* (1954), vol.3; Letter #1171 (inscribed "Munich, January 26, 1918"), 30.

[210] "Ekspresjonizm! Jezus Marja!? Znowu nowy 'izm'! Po co i na co? 'Pour epater le bourgeois?'...Nie ma nic nowego w dziedzinie ducha, li tylko ustawiczna walka, wieczne zmaganie sie Jakoba z Aniolem, bezustanne zapasy materyi z duchem." Stanislaw Przybyszewski, "Powrotna fala—naokolo Ekspresjonizmu," *Zdrój* 2 (March 1918): 169.

[211] In November 1912, Der Sturm organized an exhibition of the Die Pathetiker group, founded by Ludwig Meidner, Richard Janthur, and Jacob Streinhardt (born in Greater Poland). The group was discussed by L. Poncz in his "Letter from Berlin' (List z Berlina), in *Echo Literacko-Artystyczne*, 1913, 1449-1450; information mentioned in Jan Prokop, *Z przemian w literaturze polskiej lat 1907-1917* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1970). Ludwik Marcoussis (Markus) and Stanislaw Stuckgold, natives of Poland and associated with the Blaue Reiter, took part in the German Autumn Salon (Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon) at the Sturm Gallery in 1913.
The list of Poles showing in Walden's gallery became even more substantial after 1919, when Der Sturm enjoyed the reputation as a leading representative of the European avant-garde in Berlin, embracing Expressionism as "a [broader] attitude toward life." Kubicki participated in a group exhibition in February 1920. Several of the prints by Kubicki, Skotarek, and Adler were reproduced in *Der Sturm* magazine in 1919-20. Walden's collaboration with Polish artists extended into the 1920s: Constructivists Mieczyslaw Szczuka and Teresa Zarnower, who were the first in Polish art to embrace a program close to Russian Productivism, exhibited in Der Sturm gallery in May 1923. Berlewi (a member of the Novembergruppe) had his solo exhibition there in July 1924 and his manifesto, "Mechano-Faktura," appeared in the September issue of *Der Sturm*. For general discussion of Walden's activities, see *Herwarth Walden und die europaische Avantgarde, Berlin 1912-1932*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1961); M.S. Jones, *Der Sturm: A Focus of Expressionism* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1984); and Georg Bruhl, *Herwarth Walden und "der Sturm"* (Cologne: Du Mont Buchverlag, 1983).

[212] *Der Sturm* continued to be listed as one of the recommended avant-garde publications by *Almanach Nowej Sztuki (F-24)* (Almanac of the New Art, f-24), published by the Futurists, and *Blok*, published by the Constructivists in 1924.
Polish cities seemed to be outside of the main itinerary of many Western artists, critics, and dealers. When Apollinaire traveled to Germany, he visited "German" Prague, but did not go to Poland, despite his declared Polish background. Dadaists Raoul Hausmann and Richard Huelsenbeck staged two Dada evenings in Prague in March 1920, but never went to Poland. In 1921, Hausmann came back to Prague, this time with Kurt Schwitters. Nevertheless, Apollinaire was very important for Polish artists. In Poland he was often called "Lieutenant Wilhelm Kostrowicki." Apollinaire frequently took a close look at Polish artists in Paris, many of whom he knew personally. He was, obviously, highly regarded also for his poetry, which often appeared in Polish magazines and cultural

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reviews. His legend continued after his death in 1919 at the age of thirty-eight. *Zdrój*'s obituary in its March 1919 (vol. 4) issue states on page 165: "One of the best contemporary artists, poet, a leader of **French Expressionists** [my emphasis] died in Paris a few days ago, in the middle of a blooming career which enriched the world with a grain of eternity and gave great courage in the struggle for beliefs shared with his soulmates all over the world."

[213] "Brief an den Lewin-Walden," *Die Aktion* 29-30 (1918). Recently, Kate Winskell has challenged the polarization of the German reviews—the "apolitical" *Der Sturm* versus "political" *Die Aktion*—in "The Art of Propaganda: Herwarth Walden and 'Der Sturm', 1914-1919," *Art History* 18 (September 1995): 315-344. See also Roy F. Allen, *Literary Life in German expressionism and the Berlin Circles* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1983).

[214] But Przybyszewski's radicalism appeared to be from a different epoch than Pfemfert's. Despite his cosmopolitanism, Przybyszewski was, in fact, rigid in his assessments of what constituted progressive art and who made it. For example, when he warned J. Hulewicz against the conservative readers in Poznan, he warned that if *Zdrój* embraced radicalism, it would have been perceived "a branch of Berlino-Jewish *Aktion.*" Przybyszewski's letter from February 1918 cited in, *Listy* (1954), vol. 3, Letter # 1175 (inscribed "Munich, February 10, 1918"), 33. Przybyszewski made another anti-Semitic comment in a letter to J. Hulewicz dated "Easter, 1917," of suggesting that Hulewicz used the argument that publishing in Poland was in the hands of Germans and Jews as "an agitation weapon for 'Ostoja.'" *Listy* (1938) vol. 2, Letter #1068 (inscribed "Munich, April 7, 1917"), 709. Pfemfert was also against art for art's sake, which was so dear to Przybyszewski.

[215] The Polish intelligentsia was attracted to anarchism, which was originally associated with political idealism and anti-materialism. But anarchism did not find a particularly fertile ground among the larger Polish populace, mostly because Poles were reluctant to trade the idea of an independent state for stateless identity propagated by internationally oriented anarchists. To explain the lack of interest in anarchism in Poland, Ludwik Kulczycki argued, for example, in *Contemporary Anarchism* (Anarchism wspolczesny; Lvov, 1902) that Poles lacked a strong sense of individualism, a sine qua non of the anarchist temperament. Nevertheless, Polish anarchism found its early theoreticians in Edward Abramowski and Jan Hempel. In *Zagadnienia socjalizmu* (published under the pseudonym Z. R. Walczewski in Lvov by B. Peroniecki in 1899), Abramowski questioned collective consciousness and action, locating the base of healthy social life in the individual in a manner comparable to George Sorel, Rudolf Steiner, and Lev Tolstoy. Like Tolstoy, Abramowski advocated replacing the institution of state with a system of associations on the basis of common needs and interests, rooting his social program in early Christian morality. However, he strongly supported Poles' claims to independence, which he expressed in *Zmowa powszechna przeciw rzadowi*, 1905. Hempel translated Piotr Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution, 1902,* into Polish and published it with his introduction in Warsaw in 1919, but by 1921 he rejected the anarchist program and joined the Communist Party. To illuminate the scope of the discourse around

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anarchism among Polish writers, one more voice should be mentioned here. In *Theory and Practice of Anarchism* (Teoria i praktika anarchisma), Waclaw Machajski criticized existing anarchism as extremely individualistic, therefore utopian, and not efficient in a *real* laboring class's struggle, which—he believed—must be separated from the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Machajski, who spent most of his adult life in Russia after being sent to Siberia in the late 1890s, wrote in Russian, cautioning workers against trusting intelligentsia, Marxists in particular, and blaming them for theorizing social and political struggle rather than systematically implementing Marxist principles in practice. He suggested that workers must assume the struggle for social equality and instigate their own revolution. Otherwise, instead of gaining freedom and economic independence, they would only help to replace bourgeois society with a larger political bureaucracy controlled by a parasitic intelligentsia. Machejski's doctrine, which in many ways recalled ideas propagated by Mikhail Bakunin and Sorel, was named after its author—Makhaiskyism (or Machajskism). His concerns would, in fact, soon find a reverberation, first in Soviet Russia, then in Poland after World War II.

[216] Basler was probably "recruited" by L. Rubiner, a close associate of Pfemfert who stayed in Paris in 1912-13. Rubiner was instrumental in introducing *Die Aktion* to Apollinaire. See Willard Bohn, *Apollinaire and the International Avant-Garde* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 107. Basler also wrote for the *Jahrbuch der Jung Kunst* and *Die Weltkunst*. Przybyszewski referred to Basler's essay "Nowe konwencje w malarstwie" in his article "Powrotna fala—naokolo Ekspresjonizmu" (*Zdrój* 2 [March 1918]), calling it "an excellent study,"172.

[217] J. Hulewicz's letter to Kubicki written from Kilone, dated February 28, 1918 (Archives of Stanislaw Kubicki in Berlin). Also, a member of Young Yiddish, Jankel Adler, had to be familiar with Pfemfert's review through his friend Franz Wilhelm Seiwert who belonged to the circles of *Die Aktion*. As Seiwert mentioned in his article "To Jankel Adler!," written in 1925 (quoted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler*, exh. cat.), Adler and Seiwert met in Germany in 1917. Later, Polish-born Dadaist Marcel (Marceli) Slodki closely collaborated with Pfemfert after moving to Germany from Switzerland in the early 1920s, becoming an artistic director of Wilde Buhne, which was related to *Die Aktion*. In 1924, Slodki left Germany for Paris, where he joined the circles of the Ecole de Paris. He was practically unknown in Poland until his retrospective exhibition at the Garlinski Salon in Warsaw in 1934.

[218] "Z niemieckich czasopism, poswieconych literaturze i sztuce polecic mozemy Panu przedewszystkim nastepujace: Die Action (sic). Actionsverlag. Berlin.—Marsyas. Berlin.—Das Reich. Hans Sachs-Verlag. Monachium.—Daimon, Verlag Brueder Suschitzky. Wieden. Na temat Der Sturm zauwazyc mozemy tylko, ze pismo to w kierunku analogiczne Action, jednak ideowo nie tak zwarte mimo, ze zdolalo skupic szereg najwybitniejszych tworcow ekspresjonistycznych." Unsigned article titled "Odpowiedzi od redakcji," *Zdrój* 3 (April 1918): 31.

[219] Hulewicz's exhibition coincided with a show of works by Freundrlich Seiwert, Max Krause, and Bampi.

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[220] The reproductions were used in the October 1918 issue of *Zdrój* devoted to French art.

[221] "Bezdomni i samotni (oczywiscie tak musi byc) dnia wyczekujemy (chcemy) naszego, ktorego nie dozyjemy....Walka toczy sie o czlowieka—zadnego wiec nie zawieramy sojuszu...Swiat i czlowiek nie sa nam obojetni...Jestesmy wiec dla swiata. Nie wolno jednak owoz wnioskowac, jakobysmy sluzyli 'spoleczenstwu,. Stoimy w sluzbie ludzkosci...Nie zapominajmy jednakowoz, ze mowa o czlowieku doskonalym." Stanislaw Kubicki, "Poeta i swiat," *Zdrój* 4 (July 1918): 1-2.

[222] Before J. Hulewicz, Basler analyzed Kandinsky's *Über die Formfrage* in the autumn of 1912. Pronaszko referred to it in his "Przed wielkim jutrem," published in *Rydwan* in 1914.

[223] Other contemporary artists mentioned in Hulewicz's manifesto include Chagall, R. Delaunay, Klee, Marc, and Archipenko.

[224] Paul Fechter's characterization of an expressionist in *Der Expressionismus* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1914), 49.

[225] Quoted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza,* 59.

[226] "Napotkasz ich, widzu, kroczacych przez wszystkie place miast wielkich, idacych wszystkimi ulicami w slonce wschodzace jutra." Stanislaw Kubicki, "Budowa wiezy: projekt sceniczny (fragmenty)," *Zdrój* 6 (January 1919): 50.

[227] "Przyjaciele! Nadchodzi czas czynu! Wyrwac czlowieka ze szponow rachunku i liczby! Wyrwac go z kajdan martwej wiedzy i nauki! Piszcie, drukujcie, malujcie, przemawiajcie na zebraniach, w salonach, na ulicach, zaczepiajcie kazdego i zmuszajcie do zdecydowania sie! Nie traccie minuty i sposobnosci. Zaden czyn nasz nie bedzie daremny! Przyspieszajmy panowanie Ducha nad swiatem! ZWYCIESTWO DUCHA—OTO HASLO NASZE!" Stanislaw Kubicki, "Tamtym cos nie cos," *Zdrój* 6 (January 1919): 36.

[228] Ludwik Rubiner, "Walka z Aniolem," *Zdrój* 6 (January 1919): 39.

[229] Jerzy Hulewicz, "Spiritus resurgents," *Zdrój* 11 (May 1920): 123.

[230] Ignacy Paderewski was the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Polish government in 1919-20. He was also a world-known classical pianist.

[231] The Skamander group was formed in 1920. Its name was borrowed from Wyspianski's play *Acropolis,* in which the river that crossed Troy is presented as a "sister river" of the Vistula. The group published its literary review also called *Skamander.* Its main members were Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, Jan Lechon, Julian Tuwim, Kazimierz Wierzynski, and Antoni Slonimski. Skamander poets declared their programmatic

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apoliticism (Wierzynski called it "Whitmanian democracy"), belief in living in the present, and practiced rather traditional poetry based on rhyme and rhythm, rooted in Romantic tradition. From the foreign groups, they could be compared to the Russian Acmeists. The Skamandrites, as they came to be known, had a broad popular acclaim. Skamander glorified "artistic individuality," refusing to embrace any particular political or social program.

[232] Iwaszkiewicz was a representative of *Zdrój* in Warsaw. Stur called Iwaszkiewicz "an expressionist 'sans le savoir' (mais pas; de métier)" in 1920, when he was dissociating *Zdrój* from Skamandrites. Quoted in Jan Stur, "Z rozmyslan czlowieka na przelomie," *Zdrój* 10-12 (March-December 1920), quoted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 252.

[233] Zegadlowicz was best known for his Expressionistic poem, "Odejscie Ralfa Moora," 1919. Kosidowski published his first poems in *Zdrój* in 1919. In 1922, he published his collection of poems titled *Szalony lowca*. Witlin was best known as the author of "Hymny," 1920.

[234] Malinowski observed in *Sztuka i nowa wspolnota: zrzeszenie artystow Bunt, 1917-1922* that the group was divided into two factions: J.Hulewicz, A.M. Swinarski, J.J. Wroniecki, and Zamoyski collaborated with the Formists; Bederski, S. Kubicki, M. Kubicka, Panienski, Skotarek, and Szmaj were associated with the Berlin leftist avant-garde and with the group Young Yiddish. Bederski lived in Lodz between December 1917 and September 1918. Adler and Brauner visited Lodz in the autumn of 1919 and met with Skotarek and his wife Janina Przybylska. *Zdrój* reproduced three Marek Schwarz's works (*Allegro misctico* (page 5), *A Young Man Liberating Himself* (Wyzwalajacy sie mlody czlowiek, page 21), and *My Wife with a Cat* (Zona z kotem, page 24) in its volume 12 (July 1920), on the occasion of his participation in the Third Exhibition of Independent Artists in Poznan. Schwarz was then in Poznan, where he converted to Catholicism. Stokarek and his wife were his godparents.

[235] Instead, Szmaj, Panienski, Schwarz, and Else Weisbach-Zehn participated in the Exhibition of Modern Artists (Wystawa Nowoczesnych Plastykow) in Poznan in June 1920.

[236] The print was originally published in *Zdrój* in January 1919.

[237] Pilsudski visited Poznan in October 1919. Earlier Hulewicz wrote articles supporting Pilsudski. His political credo was the article, "Zorganizowana anarchia," *Zdrój* 6 (January 1919).

[238] Panienski was only nineteen when *Zdrój* published his two prints and a letter to the editor in May 1919. Like Szmaj, he paralleled his artistic activities with studies of science. To avoid military service, Panienski worked as a nurse at a military hospital during World War I and studied at Poznan University.

[239] Swinarski joined Bunt in September 1918 and two of his prints, *Moses* (Mojzesz) and

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Scream (Krzyk, dedicated to Przybyszewski), appeared in *Zdrój* the same month. Swinarski's importance for *Zdrój* was further recognized a year later, when he was asked to co-edit with Witold Hulewicz (1895-1941, signing with the pseudonym Olwid) the October 1919 issue of the review. He contributed a hand-colored drawing, reproduced on the cover, and numerous prints scattered throughout the issue, which contained, among others, Olwid's translations of poems by Lasker-Schüller and Heym.

[240] The two groups were mentioned together as major representatives of Polish expressionism already in the sixth volume of *Zdrój* dated March 1918. Around the same time, *Maski* (a literary magazine from Kraków that was earlier mentioned in the magazine from Poznan) contained *Zdrój*'s advertisement. The June issue of *Zdrój* reproduced first drawings by Chwistek, Niesiolowski, and Hrynkowski, initiating the collaboration between the Formists and the Poznan magazine.

[241] Radoslaw Krajewski, "Futuryzm polski," *Zdrój* 9 (November 1919): 69-71. Two years later, Krajewski will be described by Polish Futurists as one of the "most vulgar writers (grafoman) in Warsaw." *Nowa Sztuka* 2 (February 1922): 30.

[242] Jerzy Hulewicz, "O 'Futuryzmie polskim'," *Zdrój* 9 (December 1919): 126.

[243] Later, as if making clear that the futurist evening in Kraków in June 1920 was nothing new for artists and writers in Poznan, in 1920 *Zdrój* published a long list of futurist publications in its column "Received Books," next to information about the Kraków event. The list consisted of twenty titles, including the "Manifeste du futurisme," 1909, the "Manifeste technique de la litterature futuriste," 1912, "L'art des bruits," 1913, "Le théâtre aerien futuriste, 1919, and the most recent—"Contre tous les retours en peinture," 1920.

[244] "'Die Aktion' chce...od dawna zakazanemu slowu 'Kulturkampf' przywrocic dawny blask." L. Peter, Literarische Inteligenz in Klassenkampf. 'Die Aktion' 1911-1932 (Köln, 1972), 19. Quoted in Erazm Kuzma, *Z problemow swiadomosci literackiej i artystycznej ekspresjonizmu w Polsce* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1976), 24.

[245] On February 16, 1919, Germany signed a peace treaty with the Western coalition in Trevir, which gave power to the Polish insurgents over the parts of Great Poland occupied by them. The Great Poland region with Poznan was incorporated into Poland in February 1919, ending the fights between Polish and German forces in the region. In response to the nationalistic rhetoric, the June 1919 general elections in Great Poland gave most of the parliamentary power to Polish right-wing parties. Pilsudski visited Poznan in October 1919 trying to influence political climate in favor of the unification of Great Poland with the rest of the country. *Zdrój* sided with Pilsudski since he was given the power by Naczelna Rada Ludowa in November 1918 (during the November Revolution in Germany and right before the Powstanie Wilkopolskie). Hulewicz, in fact, was engaged in illegally organizing support for Pilsudski, in the name of the return of Great Poland to Poland. He wrote articles supporting Pilsudski (among them "Naczelnikowi hold" for the December 1918 issue of *Zdrój*) and produced the previously

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mentioned print with Pilsudski's portrait. The print was first published in *Zdrój* in January 1919, as a declaration of solidarity with the politics of integration of Wielkopolska into the new Polish state, and Hulewicz's political credo, "Organized Anarchy." Later political support for Pilsudski caused Hulewicz some problems: he had problems with sending *Zdrój* to other parts of Poland and was forced to change printing houses to print the review. Przybyszewski was refused the position of Artistic Director of the Teatr Wielki in Poznan in 1919, which provoked protests and "open letters" to the Ministry of Culture from various artistic organizations. Hulewicz cautiously decided not to write about Pilsudski when he came to Poznan in October 1919.

[246] "'Co moze laczyc *Zdrój* z bolszewickiem pismem niemieckim *Die Aktion*'—pytasz Pani. Odpowiadamy. Nic, zgola nic!...Poziom jego ze znacznej wyzyny staczac sie poczal gwaltownie w odmety brutalnego krwiozerczego bolszewizmu." *Zdrój* 12 (July 1920): 55-56.

[247] In 1920, Hulewicz embraced mystic ideas with a new determination. "We—the workers of the soul—look for the road to the "Heavenly Kingdom on Earth" through the Spirit; therefore nothing (by us) is so foreign as the final depravation of the matter revealed in a bloody revolution." "My—pracownicy ducha—szukamy drogi do 'Krolestwa bozego na ziemi' przez Ducha; totez nic (obok nas) nie jest nam tak przeciwne, jak ostateczne wyuzdanie materii, w krwawej rewolucji objawione." Jerzy Hulewicz, "Spiritus resurgents," *Zdrój* 11 (May 1920); quoted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 228.

[248] Stur wrote in *Zdrój* in 1920: "Expressionism is a continuation of Romanticism....As we have already stressed, for Expressionism, as a metaphysical movement, exteriority is nothing compared to interiority." ("Ekspresjonizm jest dalszym ciagiem Romantyzmu....A jak juz zaznaczylismy, dla ekspresjonizmu, jako pradu metafizycznego, zewnetrznosc wobez wewnwtrznosci jest niczym." Cited after Stern's *Bruno Jasienski*, 51-52.

[249] Jan Stur, "Szczyty: Kasprowicz, Zeromski, Berent, Przybyszewski," *Zdrój* 12 (August 1920): 95-102; cited in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 286.

[250] In 1919, the Polish army captured Vilnius, clashing with the Lithuanians who considered it their capital. During 1919, Polish troops attacked the West Ukrainian People's Republic and occupied the whole province. The attack on Kiev by Ukrainian nationalist Symon Petlyura, backed by the Poles, provoked a response from Soviet Russia. In 1920, the Red Army launched a counter-offensive that brought the Soviet troops just outside of Warsaw. The Soviet-Polish war lasted until October 1920 (the official peace treaty was signed in March 1921). Poland was able to retain Lvov and Vilnius and a stretch of land along the San and Bug rivers. Vilnius, however, passed back to Lithuania in early October 1920 on the basis of a bilateral agreement instrumented by the Western powers. As a result, a division of the Polish army stationed in Vilnius, backed by the government in Warsaw, invaded the city, occupied it and subsequently incorporated the surrounding areas to the Polish state, causing

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an international condemnation of Poland. The international community was already alert for Polish nationalism, after the attack of Polish troops on Lvov ended in pogroms of the Jews accused of siding with the Russians during the Polish-Ukrainian fights in late 1917.

[251] "Powoli, niestatecznie, ale przecie o krok, o dwa—zblizamy sie do pokoju. Po krotszym albo dluzszym czasie wrocimy do zajec codziennych i—do Sztuki. A wowczas powita nas i w dziedzinie piekna przewrot—od zmian politycznych i spolecznych—bynajmniej nie mniejszy." Jan Stur, "Ekspresjonizm," *Gazeta Wieczorna*, nos. 4733, 4735, 4737 (1919); cited in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 197.

[252] "Alez juz Brzozowski powiedzial, ze wszelkie przemiany 'kultury i sztuki' odbywaja sie na szczytach. Masa—lud—nader malo wiedza o nich, prawie wcale nie biora w nich udzialu." Jan Stur, "Z rozmyslan czlowieka na przelomie," *Zdrój* 10 (March 1920), 85-86; Ibid., 264.

[253] Kazimierz Wyka, *Modernizm polski* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1959), 159. Wyka wrote: "Modernism jest odrodzeniem cech w romantyzmie nizszych gatunkowo, stanowiacych niewatpliwie w tym pradzie czesc dorobku mniej wartosciowa, ale za to nader dla romantyzmu charakterystyczna. Przesada romantyzmu filozofujacego, hiperromatyzm spragniony niezwyklosci przezyc i szukajacy niespodzianek w duszy ludzkiej, sklonnosc do nadmiernej autoanalizy, slowem, te cechy, ktore na krotki czas wystepuja u mlodego Krasinskiego, Slowackiego, Witwickiego, bujnie zas rozrastaja sie w drugiej generacji romantycznej, te cechy najsilniej odzywaja w modernizmie."

[254] Stur wrote: "The year 1918 closed in Poland the era of Mickiewicz's spirit, the spirit which provoked that the nation survived the century-long inferno of slavery.... Simultaneously, the new period is born—the period of Slowacki's spirit. Jan Stur, "Od redakcji: Reinkarnacja 'Zdroju,'" *Zdrój* 12 (December 1920); Ibid., 246.

[255] Jan Stur, "W trzecia rocznice powstania 'Zdroju'," *Na przelomie*, 1922; Ibid., 244.

[256] "Przeciwstawiamy sie futuryzmowi, ktory opis przejawow zyciowych XX wieku przejaskrawil, a ktory nie dusze czlecza, w zasadzie (w glebi) swej niezmienna i wieczysta spiewa, lecz maszynowy ped cywilizacji i jego (ujemne) na powierzchni duszy naszej skutki. Przeciwstawiamy sie formizmowi, ktory nowego stylu, nowej formy jeno szuka, nie baczac, ze forma jeno z tresci, ze styl jeno z czlowieka to znaczy z czlowieczej duszy zrodzic sie moze...Slyszeliscie czemu przeczymy. Slyszeliscie ku czemu dazymy. A teraz starajcie sie nas zrozumiec, a przedewszystkim—odczuc. Nas—eskpresjonistow!" Jan Stur (unsigned), "Odpowiedzi od redakcji," *Zdrój* 12 (December 1920): 148. Stur also rejected Skamandrites as too formalist.

[257] After Independence, he ran the Department of Printmaking at the Szkola Sztuk Zdobniczych i Przemyslu Artystycznego established in November 1919. In May 1921, he co-organized a new artistic group in Poznan called Towarzystwo Artystow Plastykow "Swit." He participated in the group's exhibitions in 1921 and 1922 (the group dissolved in 1927). In April 1922, Wroniecki took part in the exhibition F9 at the Czeslaw

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Garlinski Salon in Warsaw.

[258] In a letter to Zegadlowicz, he stated, in fact, that he wanted to initiate the third stage of *Zdrój* in the name of "pure Expressionism," detached from any influences of Formism in art and Skamander in poetry. He even wanted to renew collaboration with the original members of Bunt: Kubicki, Bederski, Wroniecki, and Skotarek, but he insisted on staying away from revolutionary ideas other than in art. But experiencing serious financial problems, in part due to his political radicalism, Hulewicz had to take on new activities to make money. As previously mentioned, in late 1919, the local *endecja* arranged that Hulewicz lost the contract with a printing house that printed *Zdrój* in Poznan and made difficult distributing the review in the other parts of Poland. A letter of J. Hulewicz to Emil Zegadlowicz, dated February 15, 1920, deposited in the archives of the Biblioteka Glowna Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza in Poznan. Quoted in *Sztuka i nowa wspolnota*, 32.

[259] In 1925, J. Hulewicz sold his estate and moved to southeast of Poland (Volhynia), where his family was from.

[260] Szmaj also followed Chagall in *Portrait of Artur Maria Swinarski* (Portret Artura Marii Swinarskiego), 1920, the direction which he pursued that ultimately brought him to a rather conventional type of realism by the mid-1920s.

[261] In 1919, Zamoyski moved from Munich to Zakopane in the Tatra Mountains, where he befriended a number of artists from nearby Kraków, who, like him, were often Russian citizens looking for a refuge after being expelled from German- or Austrian-occupied territories. Zamoyski was also instrumental in establishing contacts with Western avant-garde artists. In 1920, he traveled to New York, where he met Katherine Dreier, Marcel Duchamp, and other members of the Société Anonyme. The information provided in Zamoyski's "Jak i dlaczego wyroslem z formizmu," 37-38. By 1920, Zamoyski was closely allied with the Formists, a fact which *Zdrój* did not fail to criticize, reporting that he was "being fixated on form" (nadmiernie zapatrzony w forme). Unsigned, "Z Salonu Zachety Sztuk Pieknych w Warszawie," *Zdrój* 12 (December 1920): 120. After returning from the United States, Zamoyski collaborated briefly with *Zwrotnica*, publishing an article titled "O ksztaltowaniu" and designing a cover.

[262] In 1932, Swinarski published *Wspolczesna grafika w Poznaniu*, in which he sharply criticized J. Hulewicz. "He jumped from "ism" to "ism"—Impressionism, Pointillism, symbolism. Secesja...and suddenly he became an apostle of expressionism. Because he previously never went beyond mediocrity, Poznan did not much trust him, and therefore the whole new art." A. M. Swinarski, *Wspolczesna grafika poznanska* (Poznan, Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Milosnikow Grafiki, 1932), 9; hereafter cited as Swinarski's *Wspolczesna grafika poznanska*. Swinarski returned to school in 1924, studying German at Poznan University. He left Poland in 1963 and died in Switzerland two years later.

[263] Sixten Ringbom pointed out that "Goethe's dictum that works of art, like works of nature, are produced according to the divine necessity of true and natural laws, is by

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laws is allowed to find expression." Sixten Ringbom, "Art in 'the Epoch of the Great Spiritual:' Occult Elements in the Early Theory of Abstract Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), 390. For a discussion of occult in German art, see also Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Occultism, Anarchism, and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future," *Art Journal*, no. 46 (Spring 1987), 38-45. Panienski was probably also influenced by Schopenhauer's ethics of symbiotic coexistence and Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid, A Factor of Evolution, 1902*, translated into Polish in 1919.

[264] "Dzis artysta nie jest tylko czlowiekiem, umiejacym rysowac i malowac, lecz filozofem zarazem, lecz przyrodnikiem i mistykiem, lecz kaplanem nowego a prastarej religii wyznania, ktorego zorza zaswiecila mu w oczy....cala bowiem kwestia formy nowej Sztuki zmierza w ostatecznosci do porzucenia materii tak samo, jak to czyni nowa nauka." Cited in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 229-233.

[265] In 1925, Panienski went to Paris to study art. He died from a drug overdose in November of the same year.

[266] By 1920 Schwitters's works were well familiar to Polish artists. In Lodz, the Jewish critic Heinrich Zimmermann discussed Schwitters's *Merzbilder* in the *Neue Lodzer Zeitung* in September 1919.

[267] Stanislaw Marcus, "Psychologiczne i filozoficzne zrodla ekspresjonizmu," *Zdrój* 12 (October 1920): 18-21 Marcus reprinted his essay in a separate brochure in 1921.

[268] The October issue of *Zdrój* also contained poems by Franz Werfel and Gottfried Benn, associated with *Das Neue Pathos* (1913-1919) and *Der Sturm*. Benn, in fact, may have provided the late *Zdrój* with a definition of Expressionism that satisfied its desire to move it away from political, organizational connotations and back to the universalistic expressive possibilities of language, described in the term, *die Ausdruckwelt*, the world of expression. Other German writers and poems published in *Zdrój* include Alfred Mombert, Hermann Plagge, Hans Guthmann, and Kurt Finkenstein.

[269] Stur also downplayed the role of Bunt in his article "W trzecia rocznice powstania Zdroju," published in *Na przelomie* in Lvov in 1922; reprinted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 239-246.

[270] "Baczniejsze oko dostrzeze, ze przez *Zdrój* przeplywaly trzy strumienie, a wszystkie zabarwione czernia zaloby, ideologja Niemiec pokonanych w wojnie, ideologja nacjonalizmu francuskiego (Claudel, Peguy) wyroslego na podlozu kleski z r. 1870, ideologja mistycyzmu naszych romantykow, zrodzonego z katastrofy. Wszystkim tym trzem pradom wspolna jest nienawisc terazniejszosci, wrogosc do materji i dazenie do ducha." Unsigned article titled "Smierc Jana Stura," *Zwrotnica* 6 (October 1923): 191.

[271] From its beginning, *Zwrotnica* propagated purism, reproducing numerous works by Amédée Ozenfant and Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier). Witkacy and Zamoyski financed it. It appeared in two periods: first six issues between 1922-23, then in 1926-27.

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Amédée Ozenfant and Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier). Witkacy and Zamoyski financed it. It appeared in two periods: first six issues between 1922-23, then in 1926-27. M. Kossakowska discusses the importance of Purism in "T. Peiper jako teoretyk sztuki," in *Mysli o sztuce*, 229 and 234.

[272] The group Stupid was formed in Cologne in 1919. Its members included Franz W. Seiwert, Henrich and Angelika Hoerle, Anton Raderscheidt, Martha Hegemann, and Wilhelm Fink. The members of the group were associated for a while with a Dadaist publication *Der Ventilator*, published by Johannes T. Baargeld in 1919.

[273] Die Kommune was formed in 1922 in Berlin. The group's manifesto was signed by the sculptor Felix Gasbarr, painters Doris Hohmann, Oscar Fisher, and Hermann F.A. Westphal, writer Melchior Hal and his wife Else, and Franz Jospeh Esser, as well as by both Kubickis. The group was created in reaction to the establishment of the Kartell fortschrittlicher Künstlergruppen in Deutschland (made of Das Junge Rheinland, Novembergruppe, and Dresdner Sezession) in 1922. Hausmann, his wife Hedwig Mankiewitz, and Tristan Remy also signed the group's second manifesto.

[274] Kubicka signed Die Kommune manifesto as "Stanislawowa" (the wife of Stanislaw [Kubicki]).

[275] Skotarek published reproductions of his works in the last issue of *Zdrój* and designed covers for books by Max Brod, J. Hulewicz, and Kosidowski released by the Zdrój Publishing House in 1922.

[276] Kubicki stopped painting after he returned to Poznan in 1934. Kubicka stayed in Berlin. Kubicki was active in the Polish Resistance in Warsaw during World War II. He was captured by the Nazis and executed in Berlin in 1943. Kubicka abandoned Expressionism in her art by the mid-1920s and devoted herself to making realist art with socialist overtones. She returned to Expressionism directed toward abstraction after World War II.

Endnotes for "Young Yiddish."

[277] The names appeared in the first issue of *Young Yiddish* in March 1919. Schwarz confirmed it in his recollections in 1956 titled, "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler," reprinted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler, 1895-1949*, exh. cat., 59-65; hereafter cited as "Schwarz's "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler." The names in parenthesis are according to Polish transliteration, which has often been used in the Polish books and articles devoted to the group.

[278] Merdecai Spektor lived in Warsaw before World War I, then moved to Odessa after the October Revolution. He immigrated to the United States in 1921. Spektor propagated Yiddish folklore and pioneered Yiddish literature for children. He was one of the first Yiddish writers in Poland to take a positive stand toward Chasidism. Isaac Leib Peretz has been considered one of the founders of modern Jewish literature with Mendele

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Seforim and Shalom Alecheim. David Frischmann has been considered one of the first major writers in modern Hebrew literature. He was born in Zgierz near Lodz in 1859. He studied art history at the University of Breslau. Frischmann settled in Warsaw in 1895. When the German army entered Warsaw during World War I, he traveled to Odessa, where he remained until the October Revolution. In Odessa, Frischmann joined the circle of Chaim Nahman Bialik and Rawnitzki, who published the Moriah editions. In 1917, Frischmann was in Moscow, working at the Hebrew literary center. In 1919, he returned to Warsaw. He died in Berlin in 1924.

[279] Brauner adopted the name Vincent as a tribute to van Gogh. Prior to going to Berlin, he studied art and music in a private school run by Jacob Kacenbogen in Lodz. He died in Auschwitz.

[280] Broderzon was born in Moscow. His family moved to Lodz in the early 1900s. Broderzon began to publish his poetry in 1914, publishing a volume of poetry titled *Schwarze fliterlech*. He moved back to Lodz in 1918, living there until 1938, and returned to Moscow at the beginning of World War II. In 1948, Broderzon was sent to a labor camp in Siberia, where he stayed until 1955. After his liberation, he returned to Poland, receiving a warm reception from the Jewish community. He died a few weeks later, while visiting Warsaw.

[281] Seth L. Wolitz, "The Jewish National Art Renaissance in Russia," in *Tradition and Revolution, The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Grade Art 1912-1928*, ed. Ruth Apler-Gabriel (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1987), 29; hereafter cited as Wolitz's "The Jewish National Art Renaissance in Russia."
The illustrations were executed in an arabesque style of old illuminations, blending figurative elements with the Hebrew text. Lissitzky hand-colored twenty of 110 copies. The book was designed in the form of a scroll and placed in a specially crafted wooden box.

[282] Jozef Sandel, "Lodzki Zyd—Jankiel Adler," *Nasz Glos* (Supplement to *Folks-Sztyme*), no. 5 (March 1, 1958), 8.

[283] In Russia, the search for Jewish identity led to the creation of several organizations, including the Jewish Historical and Ethnographical Society in St. Petersburg in 1908, the Jewish Society for the Encouragement of the Arts (JSEA) founded in Petrograd in 1916, which regularly organized exhibitions of its members, and the State Jewish Chamber Theater, founded in Petrograd in 1919 and moved to Moscow in November 1920.

[284] Schwarz stated that he stayed in Lodz because of the war. See Schwarz's "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler," 59. In late 1918 and early 1919, he lived in Kraków studying sculpture at the local Academy of Fine Arts with Konstanty Laszczka.

[285] The Kulturlige could have assisted Schwarz. It established studios for artists in the Crimea and brought Jewish artists there in the summer of 1918. Schwarz knew Tchaikov from la Ruche and *Makhmadim* who by then, back in Kiev from Paris, was involved with

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the art section of the organization in Kiev. Schwarz could also use Katzenelson's connections: Frischmann and Spektor moved to Odessa after the October Revolution.

[286] Schwarz's "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler," 61. Schwarz's activism led him later (when he traveled to Poland from Paris in 1923) to attempt to create a Jewish Museum in Lodz. Schwarz came to Poland with a petition signed by a special commission established in Paris, which included the poet André Spire. Information provided by W. Fallek in "List o zyciu artystycznym Lodzi," *Nowy Dziennik* (Kraków, November 1923); cited from a newspaper clipping deposited in Schwarz's Archives at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.

[287] Barczynski first studied art with Henryk Glicenstein in Warsaw in 1915-16 and then, from 1919, with Otto Gussman and Robert Sterl in Dresden's Academy of Fine Arts. Sandel mentioned that Barczynski studied with Kokoschka and Schtarl in Dresden. See Jozef Sandel, *Zaglada zydowskich artystow-plastykow w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, manuscript in Polish deposited in the Special Collection of the Instytut Sztuki PAN, nr. inw. 103, 18.

[288] Schwarz was close to the artists from Bunt, particularly to Skotarek. He visited Poznan in 1920.

[289] Warsaw had the largest Jewish population until World War II For a discussion of Jewish life in Warsaw, see Marian Fuks, *Zydzi w Warszawie. Zycie codzienne, wydarzenia, ludzie* (Poznan-Daszewice: Sorus, 1997).

[290] In 1918, Lodz had about 600,000 inhabitants, about 60 percent of them illiterate. The Jewish population constituted 34.5 percent of Lodz. Cited from *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Ltd, 1971).

[291] Population-wise, Lodz grew from 50,000 to 500,000 between 1864 and 1914.

[292] The Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was established in the Kingdom of Poland (under Russian rule) in 1893. In the particularly turbulent year of 1905, the workers in Lodz erected street barricades and fought the Russian troops for three days. For a brief description of the social unrests in Lodz, see Pawel Samus, "Lodz—mala ojczyzna Polakow, Niemcow, Zydow," in *Polacy—Niemcy—Zydzi w Lodzi w XIX-XX w. Sasiedzi dalecy i bliscy*, ed. Pawel Samus (Lodz: Wydawnictwo Ibidem, 1997), 118-161.

[293] Lodz had, however, a vital community of Hebrew and Yiddish writers and poets, which included David Frischmann, Jacob Cohen, Isaiah Uger, J.I. Trunk, H.L. Fuks, and Hayim Krol.

[294] "[A] niech tutaj nawet Venus z Milo sie zjawi to wezma za gips." Zygmunt Bartkiewicz, *Zle miasto. Obrazy z 1907 roku.* (Warsaw: J Czempinski, 1911), 40.

[295] Andrzej Pronaszko, "Pierwszy sezon w teatrze, Lodz 1917-18," *Pamietnik Teatralny*

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13 (1964): 37-45. Lodz had a Polish theater established in 1891, but the local productions passed mostly unnoticed by the critics from other parts of occupied Poland.

[296] Sculptor Jakub Cytrynowicz (Jacques Cytrinovitch) was among students attending Szumanski's school. Cytrynowicz left Lodz during World War I and went to Germany, where he worked as a coal miner. He belonged to the Spartakusbund and participated in the November Revolution. Cytrynowicz returned to Lodz in 1919, but left Poland for Paris in 1920 with the financial assistance of Nachum Aronson. For more information about Cytrynowicz, see *Kisling i jego przyjaciele/Kisling and his friends*, exh. cat. (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1996).

[297] "Nie bylo lacznosci miedzy tworcami, nie bylo tez pisma, na lamach ktorego mogliby sie wypowiadac. Polowicznie spelnialy role magazynow artystycznych niedzielne dodatki gazet zamieszczajac reprodukcje obrazow. W poczatkowym okresie nie bylo galerii. Wystawy odbywaly sie w salach przypadkowo wynajetych, sprzedaz obrazow odbywala sie na wystawach.... Nabywcow zreszta takze nie bylo wielu, a na gustach ich fortune mogli zrobic tylko krzewiciele pompieryzmu, ckliwosci, popluczyn po wielkich mistrzach polskiego malarstwa historycznego i batalistycznego XIX w. Bogaci i powazni kolekcjonerzy dziel sztuki naturalnie istnieli, kolekcje ich byly jednak dla szerszego ogolu niedostepne. Zarzad miasta interesowal sie raczej rozwojem teatru i zycia muzycznego, sprawy plastyki pozostawiajac biegowi wlasnemu. Jedynymi powaznymi inwestycjami byly adaptacja pawilonu w parku Sienkiewicza dla potrzeb Miejskiej Galerii Sztuki i budowa pomnika Tadeusza Kosciuszki na placu Wolnosci. Konswkwencja tej sytuacji byly czeste i niekiedy ostateczne decyzje opuszczenia rodzinnego miasta przez wielu tworcow." Janina Ladnowska, "Plastyka lodzka w latach 1918-1928," in *Sztuka lodzka. Materialy sesji naukowej oddzialu lodzkiego Stowarzyszenia Historykow Sztuki* (Warsaw and Lodz, 1977), 105; hereafter cited as Ladnowska's "Plastyka lodzka w latach 1918-1928."

[298] Broderzon also founded two other little theaters in Lodz, Had Gadya (the first Jewish marionette theater in Poland) and Shor ha-Bor.

[299] Dina Matus studied in Berlin before she moved to Lodz. She was a friend of Ida Brauner.

[300] Schwarz's "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler," 61.

[301] *Tanczacy Ogien* was modeled on *Pro Arte* from Warsaw and inspired by Skamandrites, who had visited Lodz earlier in 1919. Its name was probably derived from the title of a ballet (Taniec ognia), performed by Rita Sacchetto in 1914-16 in Kraków. Sacchetto frequently visited Lodz. Although prepared in 1919, the sole issue of the review appeared in 1920.

[302] Tel Awiw (Tel Aviv) was a publishing house established in Lodz in 1919, which published its own review also called *Tel Awiw*. Schwarz repeated his lecture in Paris in the 1920s. An invitation in Russian from the archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish

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Research in New York reads: "On Friday January 25, at 8:30 p.m., the Society of Friends of Jewish Culture will hold a meeting in the rooms of the Café Voltaire (Place d'Odeon). The schedule: 1/Lecture of Marek Schwarz "Jews in the Visual Arts," with a demonstration of the artist's last works. 2/Work of L.M. Gleiser "Baal Mahshovies (based on his death)."

[303] It was published in 50 copies by "Ksiazka i Sztuka," Publishers in Lodz and Warsaw in 1919. Tuwim's poem was first published in *Sowizdrzal* 46 and reprinted in *Goniec Krakowski* in 1918.

[304] When Young Yiddish was created in 1919, the group used V. Brauner's apartment for regular meetings.

[305] Samuel Hirszenberg was another important artist born in Lodz, who depicted Jewish life in nineteenth-century Poland. In 1904, Hirszenberg left Lodz. He died in Jerusalem. Other Jewish artists who established themselves in Lodz include Artur Szyk, Samuel Obodowski, Samuel Finkelstein, and Adolf Behrman. A reporter of *Nowy Dziennik* (published in Kraków), who wrote on Schwarz's exhibition in 1923, observed: "Lodz produced a whole phalanx of Jewish artists, who in a significant way changed the center of great industry into the center of great culture, and [then] moved to Paris." Henryk Epstein, Szyk, Maurycy Medrzycki, Jozef Hecht, Zygmunt Laundau, and Schwarz [Schwarz] are mentioned among artists from Lodz who by 1923 settled in France. See, W. Fallol, "List o zyciu artystycznym Lodzi," *Nowy Dziennik* (November 1923). Newspaper clipping courtesy of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York (Individual artists' files: Marek Schwarz).

[306] Works of Kandinsky and Trebacz were shown in Kraków in 1906.

[307] By the 1930s, Trebacz lived in almost total poverty. Both, the mainstream public and wealthy Jewish collectors, who wanted to dissociate themselves from their humble backgrounds, found Trebacz's works too "Jewish."

[308] Architect Henryk Lewinson was elected to head it. Among its members were A. Pronaszko and Heinrich Zimmermann (Henryk Cymerman).

[309] M. Skielrz, "O zydowskiej wystawie wiosennej," *Nowy Kurier Lodzki* 96 (April 11, 1918): 2.

[310] As for the original members of the group, their early works done outside of Poland are only known from sporadic, usually second-hand information. Seiwert recalled, for example, visiting Adler's studio in Germany: "I remember big pictures in which unreal, peculiar people, Jews, were standing shrouded in mystery. Everything was of a shimmering, blue-gold mysticism and endlessly dissolving in form. It looked like beautiful old metal, gold, bronze, enamel." Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, "To Jankel Adler!," in (1925), quoted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler*, exh. cat., 40. Adler befriended Franz Wilhelm Seiwert associated with *Die Aktion* in 1917. Adler also personally knew the future

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members of Das Junge Rheinland (Arthur Kaufman, for example), established in Düsseldorf in 1919. One of Adler's early works, an oil on canvas, *Still Life*, 1916, depicted an arrangement of objects, a pitcher, a pear in a bowl, a glass, and a dead bird, placed almost symmetrically in four corners and flattened so they appear suspended in space close to the picture plane. Adler's painting clearly referenced Dutch Realist still lifes, while revealing its author's familiarity with Cubism.
Urlich Krempel suggested that Adler's early career was marked by his studies with Gustav Wiethuchter. "Wiethuchter's idea of a two-year course was to lay the basis on which new forms could be worked out from constructions and an ornamentation evolved from natural forms. His concept seems to have encouraged many of the students to develop their own free pictorial language and certainly Jankel Adler set off on his own journey into the visual arts during this period." Urlich Krempel, "From Expressivity toward Constructivity, from Objectivism towards an Abstract Symbolism," in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler, 1895-1949,* exh. cat., 182.

[311] Both works were showed at the Autumn Salon in Paris in 1913. *Eve*, a plaster relief, was reproduced on a postcard. Schwarz's depiction of Eve is conventional in a Neoclassical style, inspired by Antoine Bourdelle (for example, Bourdelle's *Torso of Figure Called Fruit [Pomona]*, 1911), presenting the biblical heroine as a symbol of sensuality.

[312] Schwarz's *Eve* is executed in a convention, which the art historian Piotr Karkowski called "antiquity-cised", derived from Maillol and in Poland best represented by the works of Edward Witting. See Krakowski's "'Stare' i 'nowe' w sztuce Mlodej Polski," 456. Schwarz's sculpture could be a response to Witting's *Eve*, 1913, which was shown in Paris, where Apollinaire praised it.

[313] Before Adler showed his works in Lodz, he participated in the Exhibition of Young Art at the Polish Arts Club in the Hotel Polonia in Warsaw in March 1919.(The catalogue of Adler's retrospective at the Antifascist Committee in Warsaw in 1935 states that it was his first exhibition since 1919.)

[314] Adler published his talk under the title "Expressionism" (Ekspresjonizm) in *Nowy Kurier*, no. 292, in December 1920. Saul Wagman translated it from Yiddish into Polish. Apart from Lodz, Adler also delivered his talk in Warsaw and Bialystok.

[315] Schwarz wrote about Jewish art in Paris in an article titled "Sztuka zydowska w Paryzu (ze wspomnien artysty)," *Nasz Przeglad*, no. 252 (December 8, 1923): 3.

[316] Familiar with Jewish literature published in Germany through Adler, Schwarz probably knew about Martin Buber's equating folk art with national style. Schwarz wrote that Adler personally knew Martin Buber. See Schwarz's "Posthumous Homage to Jankel Adler," 62.

[317] Schwarz mentioned Boris Shatz and the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts established in Jerusalem in 1906, but he states that it "has not produced anything original."

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[318] Maurycy Gottlieb's youngest brother, Leopold, lived in Paris from 1904 (with several intervals) until his death in 1934. In 1905, he joined the Hagen Society in Vienna. In 1910, he went to Jerusalem, where he taught painting classes at the Bezalel School of Arts. and Crafts. M. Gottlieb participated in several exhibitions of Formists in 1917, 1918, and 1919.

[319] The group included Schwarz, Henri Epstein, Leo Koenig, Pinkus Krémègne, Itzhak Lichtenstein, and the sculptor Loen Indenbaum. For discussion of Makhmadim, see J. Chapiro, *La Ruche* (Paris, 1960). Lichtenstein was born in Lodz. He died in New York, where he ran the "Makhmadim" Publishing House. Epstein was also born in Lodz, where he studied art in a private school established by Jakub Kacenborg. Epstein left Poland in the early 1910s.

[320] Illustrations in *Makhmadim* are quite conventional, executed in a style close to Jugendstil, which provoked Wolitz to describe their authors as "the artistic rear guard in Paris in 1912." Wolitz's "The Jewish Art Renaissance in Russia," 28.

[321] Article published in *Tel-Awiw* 4 (1919): 185-189. Cited in Polish in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 181-188. Schwarz continued his discussion of Jewish art in "The National Element in Jewish Art," published in Warsaw's *Literarishe Bleter* 1 (April 3, 1925): 1. In his article, he argued that Jewish art developed its identity in the twentieth century by blending together folklore and modern formal concerns. Schwarz's text appeared around the same time as Ryback's and Aronson's "Path of Jewish Painting," published in *Oyfgang-ersher zamlbukh* by the *Kulturlige* in Kiev, in which the two artists sided with the Yiddish-Socialist side and embraced Cubism and Futurism.

[322] Information provided in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 27.

[323] The connection of Young Yiddish with Young Poland appears rather coincidental, for by the time the group appeared the name "Young Poland" (Mloda Polska) had been associated with rather traditional art rooted in Polish folklore. However, poet I. Raban mentioned in an interview in 1936 that by founding Young Yiddish Broderzon attempted to create an artistic milieu in Lodz modeled on Young Poland. (Mentioned in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce,* 27.) Members of Young Yiddish had to have contacts with Di Junge, existing in New York between 1907-1919, which included many writers and poets from Poland and Russia. Di Junge derived its name from the Junge Deutschland. Young Belgium was mentioned in the group's manifesto in the second issue of *Young Yiddish.*

[324] J.M. Najman, "Jankiel Adler," *Literarishe Bleter* 8 (1935): 113.

[325] The first, single issue of *Young Yiddish* was dated March 1919, the second double issue (2-3) April 1919, and the third, also double (4-6) in November 1919. Max

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Szydlowski, a rich businessman from Lodz, financed the review. Related to Young Yiddish is also another review, *Hoftn far literatur un kunst*, edited by Katzenelson and Zytnicki (only one issue appeared in 1919) and several volumes of poetry with poems and illustrations by the group's members.

[326] Information about the planned journal *Shamir* was written in *Oyf der Vakh* (Kiev) dated May 24, 1918, 27. Mentioned in Wolitz's "The Jewish National Art Renaissance in Russia," 31.

[327] Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 175. Malinowski has attributed the text to Broderzon. It was originally published in Yiddish. English translation by the present author from the Polish version (translated from Yiddish by Zbigniew Targielski).

[328] The images in *Young Yiddish* had no titles (except in the case of Adler's work titled *Composition*). They were signed with the artists' names and a generic description "linocut."

[329] An-sky's interest in Jewish folklore became more evident after his return from the West in the early 1900s, when he became active in the Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Society in Petrograd. He published *What Is Anarchism?* in 1907. In 1912-14, he organized an ethnographic expedition to Russia's eastern provinces and Galicia. *Dybbuk*, 1916, is his most famous literary work. In 1919, An-sky founded the Vilnius branch of the Jewish Historic and Ethnographic Society and the Jewish Museum. In 1919, Berlewi had his drawing, titled *S. An-sky Delivers a Speech at the Funeral of Dineson* (Sz. An-sky przemawia na pogrzebie Dinesona), reproduced in *Ilustrirte Welt*, the first important literary and art review published in Yiddish in Warsaw around the time that An-sky came to Warsaw determined to organize the city's branch of the Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Society. (The same review published poetry by Broderzon and Katzenelson.) Broderzon wrote "Al kinusz haam" (Na oltarzu narodu/On the nation's altar) devoted to An-sky in 1921 and an eulogy after An-sky's death in 1922 for *Tel Awiw*.

[330] Abram Efros, "Lampa Aladina," in A. Sobol and E. Loiter, eds., *Evreiskii mir* 1 (Moscow, 1918), 297-310; cited in John E. Bolt, "Jewish Artists and the Russian Silver Age," in *Russian Jewish Artists*, exh. cat (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1996), 48; hereafter cited as Bolt's "Jewish Artists and the Russian Silver Age."

[331] Ladnowska credits Hiller and Wandurski for pointing out to the interest of Young Yiddish artists in store signs. She quoted from Hiller's and Wandurski's writings: "We state with full conviction, that if one could talk about any independent painting style in Lodz, the works by artists who make store signs in the Old City [section of Lodz] should be mentioned first." Ladnowska connects such interests to Larionov's fascination with the art of Russian suburbs and proto-Surrealist interest with naïve art. See Ladnowska's "Plastyka lodzka w latach 1918-1928," 114.

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[332] Jakub Appenszlak, "Przeglad literacki," *Nasz Kurier*, no. 76 (April 17, 1920): 3. The question of Young Yiddish's relationship to distant and recent traditions was complicated and often depended on highly personal views. Writing from a historical distance, Jozef Sander cautioned, for example, against making a direct link between Young Yiddish artists and traditional Jewish texts and writers by stating in a slightly contradicting fashion: "These artists better knew Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky than the father of Chasidism, Bel-Szem. However, the young artists expressed themselves in a manner that was very emotional, almost ascetic, dynamic, coloring their works with a greatly Chasidic exaltation." Jozef Sandel, "Lodzki Zyd—Jankiel Adler," *Nasz Glos*, no, 5 (March 1, 1958): 8.

[333] In Germany, El Greco's popularity grew after Julius Meier-Graefe's reassessment of the importance of the Spanish artist in 1910, influencing numerous artists, among them members of Die Patethiker group. Stanislaw Przybyszewski insisted that Meier-Graefe learned about El Greco from him, when they met before the German historian made his trip to Spain—"to study Velazquez." Letter to Jerzy Hulewicz, inscribed "Munich, January 11, 1918," in Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Listy (1954)*, vol.3, 15. Sholom Ash discussed El Greco's influence on Adler during the presentation of his works in New York, as it was mentioned in 1935 by J [echeskiel] M [oise]. Neuman in "Jankel Adler," *Litererishe Bleter* 8/22 (February 22, 1935): 116. For a discussion of the impact of El Greco's art on German Expressionism, see also Walden's "Introduction," *First German Autumn Salon*, 1913, cited in *German Expressionism, Documents*, 58.

[334] Avram Kampf, *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1984), 41-42; hereafter cited as Kampf's *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century.*

[335] Cited in Marian Fuks, *Zydzi w Warszawie: zycie codzienne, wydarzenia, ludzie* (Poznan-Daszewice: Sorus, 1997).

[336] Quoted in English translation in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler, 1895-1949*, exh. cat. (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1985), n.p.

[337] In 1918, Adler created a painting called *True Christianity and a Victim of a Pogrom.*

[338] Schwarz re-converted to Judaism, only to embrace Catholicism again in 1921, while living in Paris.

[339] Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, "To Jankel Adler!," (1925), quoted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler*, exh. cat., 40. Similar spiritualism appeared in Broderzon's poetic mystery play titled *Tchias Hamejsim* (Resurrection), written in 1921, which allies Moses, Buddha, Christ, and Mohammed in their struggle against the evil.

[340] Chagall was well known to Polish artists, who saw his works in Paris and/or Berlin. In October 1918, *Zdrój* published Apollinaire's poem, "A travers l'Europe' (Rotsoge), dedicated to "Painter Chagall," which had been printed in *Der Sturm* in 1914.The poem

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was translated into Polish by Bederski, who lived in Lodz from December 1917 to September 1918. Not all members of Young Yiddish shared Adler's enthusiasm for Chagall. Schwarz, for example, was more cautious, reproaching the Russian artist for staying neutral during the debates about the future of Jewish art. Information from Schwarz's *Memoirs*, 1954, in manuscript in French; mentioned in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 85.

[341] Jankel Adler, "Mark Szagal," *Young Yiddish* 2-3 (1919): 20. Translated from Polish into English, as cited in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 189-190.

[342] The list of names on the review's cover related to the content of the issue rather than real collaboration between *Young Yiddish* and the previously mentioned artists and poets. Therefore, Chagall is mentioned because Adler reproduced one of Chagall's paintings (*Self Portrait*, 1912). Only Lindenfeld and Salomon Blat have been considered new members of the group.

[343] Basler's "Documents: opinions recentes sur l'art et la psychologie negres," published in *Mercure de France* in 1928 may appear unrelated to Young Yiddish but it might, nevertheless, help to understand Lodz artists' approach to African culture and art. Basler examined African civilization and art referring to the ethnological works from the period, especially those of Leo Frobenius and Frank Boas, and a range of art historians who wrote on African art, from Henri Clouzot and Alfred Vierkandt to Paul Germann, Max Verworn, Wilhelm Worringer, and Alois Riegl. Basler accused Europeans of ignoring African civilization and culture and being only interested in its dispersed aspects, for example, fetishes and cannibals. He questions Frobenius' method of elaborate expeditions (Frobenius traveled to Africa in 1910-12 with a team of painters), arguing that the egocentric mentality of Europeans made them unable to understand Africans. Being Jewish himself, Basler had to be familiar with the discussions on Jewish identity and its relation to the African civilizations. Therefore, when he argued against the European approach to African art, he probably indirectly also referred to the place of Jewish art in modern culture, conveying the dilemma of many Jewish artists, including members of Young Yiddish, of how to bridge specific ethno-religious tradition with demands posed by the universalistic approach to art and culture, while struggling with the perception of them by non-Jewish artists as "exotic."
The essay appeared in book form in 1929, published by Libraire de France in Paris. In 1929, Basler published *L'art chez les peuples primitifs* (Paris: Librairie de France, 1929), in which he further referred to Worringer and Riegl. For a general discussion of the influences of African art on Western art, see Robert Goldwater, Primitivism in Modern Art, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), and *Images de l'africain de l'antiquité au XXe siècle*, eds. Daniel Droixhe and Klaus H. Kiefer (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Land, 1987).

[344] Bolt's "Jewish Artists and the Russian Silver Age," 42.

[345] Jankel Adler, "Mark Szagal," cited in *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko*

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"Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce, 190.

[346] In 1916, El Lissitzky and Ryback investigated some 200 synagogues in Lithuania, Byelorussia, and Ukraine.
Adler shared an interest in African art with Schwarz, who collected it while living in Paris before the war. Marek Schwarz, *Pamietniki, (Paris: 1954)*, 296-98.

[347] For an interpretation of Christian motifs by Jewish artists in Poland, see Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, "Przenikanie elementow tworczosci ludowej miedzy spolecznoscia polska i zydowska," *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, no. 192 (1989).

[348] Lindenfeld's small sculpture casted in bronze from a plaster original is in the collection of Stanislaw Kubicki (son) in Berlin.

[349] Chaim Nahman Bialik, "On the Literature of Israel and the Values of Judaism," in Mordecai Ovadyahu, *Bialik Speaks: Words from the Poet's Lips Clues to the Man* (Ramat Gan, Israel: Massada Press Ltd., 1969), 31.

[350] The group, established in 1912, included Ludwig Meindner, Richard Janthur, and Jacob Steinhardt.

[351] The significant number of women among members of Young Yiddish, with strong interests in applied arts, might be related to the existence of the State Industrial College for Women (Zenska Panstwowa Szkola Przemyslowa), opened in Lodz in 1921, which had courses in lithography, book illustration, wood engravings, and other applied arts. Lindenfeld and Ida Brauner (as well as the composer Henryk Kohn associated with the group) showed their batiks inspired by Jewish ornaments during the Salon of Futurists, Cubists, and Primitivists in 1921. Ida Brauner and Zofia Gutentag presented their batiks in the International Exhibition of Young Art in Lodz in late1923. As David Crowley noted, the development and application of batik coloring techniques to fabric dyeing in Poland should be associated with the Kraków Workshops and the Stanislaw Witkiewicz's propagating of "noble" folk design in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See David Crowley, *National Style and Nation-State: Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 63.

[352] Three exhibitions were organized in early 1919. Among the participants were Berlewi, H. Gotlib, Maurycy Minkowski, Regina Mundlak, and Jozef Seidenbeutel.

[353] Kulturlige in Warsaw facilitated subscriptions of books and newspapers for local publishers who needed an intermediary organization to collect money. The Warsaw section of the Kulturlige gained further importance after the Kiev branch was taken over by the local communists. In December 1920, B. Oysurovitsh, for example, brought the organization's printing plates to Warsaw and there set up a new Kulturlige press. The vitality of literary activities in Warsaw reflected, in part, the growing suppression of Jewish life and the economic crisis in Russia. Already in 1919, the Stybel publishing

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house had closed down in Moscow, to be reestablished in Warsaw under the editorial supervision of Frischmann, who had returned to Poland.

[354] Kulturlige was overtaken by members of the local section of Yevsektsiya and subjected to the control of the state bureaucracy by December 1920. Schwarz, who knew Tchaikov from La Ruche and Makhmadim, was probably instrumental in establishing contacts with Kulturlige. (Tchaikov returned to Kiev in 1914.)

[355] The list of artists in the exhibition included: Berlewi, Stanislawa Centnerszwer, M. Minkowski, Abraham Ostrzega, Jozef Seidenbeutel (all from Warsaw) and Adler, Barczynski, Brauner, Lindenfeld, Matus, and Schwarz (from Young Yiddish). Adler presented a lecture entitled "Art of the Twentieth Century."

[356] The first official exhibition of Jewish art ("Exhibition of Jewish Artists") was organized in 1913 in the Luxembourg Gallery in Warsaw and presented works by S. Centnerszwer, Abraham Eisenberg, and M. Minkowski. During World War I, another show was organized as a charity event for the Society of Orphanages for Children of the Mosaic Persuasion (Warsaw, 1916), and included H. Gotlib, Stanislaw Heyman, Samuel Hirszenberg, Abraham Neuman, Leopold Pilichowski, Trebacz, and sculptors—Abraham Eisenberg, Henryk Glicenstein, Kuna, and Ostrzega. Therefore, Berlewi was imprecise in 1955 when he stated: "Thirty-six years ago...when we organized, in Warsaw, the first Jewish exhibition, we discussed at great length its title. And later, when we founded a 'Society for the Promotion of Art' we were careful not to speak about 'Jewish Art.' This caution was determined by a certain need for linguistic precision. We did not like to appear pretentious and we limited ourselves to purely artistic considerations, and not national ones. We wanted, first of all, to spread art among the Jews. In all modesty we did not want to appear pretentious about Jewish art—so sacred were those words to us." Henryk Berlewi, "Der Zigzag fun der Yiddisher Kunst," *Almanach* (Paris, 1955); quoted from *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century*, 203.

[357] Articles by G. Frank in *Golos Bialostoka* from September 1919 quoted in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 35-36.

[358] "The goal of the *Kulturlige* is to assist in creating a new Yiddish secular culture in the Yiddish language, in Jewish national forms, with the living forces of the broad Jewish masses, in the spirit of the working man and in harmony with their ideals of the future." Summary published by the Central Committee of the Kulturlige (Kiev, November 1919); quoted from *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century*, 206.
After the 1905 Revolution, Grzegorz Brauner created the first anarchist organization on the Polish territories under Russian occupation in Bialystok, which exercised strong influence on the members of the Jewish Bund. In fact, many members of Bund left the organization to join the anarchists known as the International Group-Combat (Internacjonalna Grupa-Walka). The group published pamphlets in Russian and Yiddish and conducted terrorist activities against local authorities and owners of factories, finding substantial support among the working class. Anarchists were also active in Warsaw and

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Lodz, where again great interest in their program was generated among the Jews. Agitation was often conducted in Yiddish and Polish. The anarchist activities were closely monitored and persecuted by the local police.

[359] El Lissitzky, "The Victory over Art," *Ringen* 10 (1922): 32-34. Excerpts from the article are published in *Tradition and Revolution, The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art 1912-1928*, exh. cat., 232.

[360] Lissitzky's role in propagating Soviet culture in the West in the early 1920s has not been fully understood. His impact on Jewish art also has not been fully evaluated. If he came to Warsaw sponsored by the Kiev Kulturlige, it would indicate that he was supported by the Bolshevik-controlled organization, which was perhaps trying to reach out to its less politicized counterpart in Warsaw. The Bolshevik-dominated Kulturlige in Moscow contributed, in fact, to the demise of Jewish national art in Soviet Russia in the early 1920s.

[361] Berlewi (1894-1967) studied in Antwerp, Paris, and at the Drawing School in Warsaw. Beginning in 1915, Berlewi showed his works in the Zacheta Gallery. In 1918-1919, he joined the Warsaw Futurists.

[362] The lecture was entitled in Yiddish, "Dos gojwer zajn di kunst."

[363] Henryk Berlewi, "W walce o nowa forme," translated into Polish by Zbigniew Targielski, *Ringen* 1 (1921): 31-33, quoted in Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki" w Polsce*, 210-212.

[364] Although An-sky wrote his play in Yiddish, its first performance was in Hebrew (translated by Bialik), in Russia in 1916. *Dybbuk* was first performed in Yiddish by the Vilnius Jewish Troupe in Warsaw in December 1920, a month after An-sky's death. Brauner designed the sets for the Lodz production performed by the Vilnius Jewish Troupe in March 1921. (Formist A. Pronaszko designed sets for the Troupe between 1929 and 1936.)

[365] Raoul Hausmann confirmed Berlewi's information regarding his contacts in Berlin, which is particularly important since the Polish artist often provided erroneous information about his past. Hausmann stated in a letter written on the occasion of Berlewi's exhibition in Paris in 1965: "I remember the gathering of artists who, like you, were active in Berlin around 1920: Pevsner, Gabo, Pougny, Moholy-Nagy, Doesburg, Lissitzky, with Viking Eggeling and Richter; and how could I forget the International Congress in Düsseldorf after the war, the first manifestations of all avant-garde movements in painting and sculpture." "Je me rapelle le rassemblement des artists qui, comme toi, étaient actifs a Berlin aux environs de 1920: les Pevsner, Gabo, Pougny, Moholy-Nagy, Doesburg, Lissitzky, avec Eggeling et Richter, et je ne pourrai jamais oublier le premier Congres International à Düsseldorf après la guerre, première manifestation de tous les mouvements de l'avant-garde de la peiture et de la sculpture." Raul Hausmann's undated letter published in *Berlewi Témoignagnes*, exh. cat. (Paris:

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Centre d'Art Cybernétique, 1965), n.p. Re Soupault-Niemeyer, former student at the Bauhaus, also remembered: "Henryk Berlewi was a friend of Eggeling, who, himself, was a precursor: he was the first one to use cinematography to express the rhythmic movement of pure forms. Berlewi devoted an article to Viking Eggeling, which he published in the Warsaw-based Yiddish review *Albatross* in 1922." "Henryk Berlewi était un ami de Viking Eggeling, qui, lui aussi, était un précurseur: il a utilisé le premier, le cinematographe pour exprimer le mouvement rythmique des formes pures. Berlewi lui a consacré en 1922 un article qui a eté publié à Varsovie dans la revue 'Albatros.'" Undated text written by Re Soupault-Niemeyer, former student at the Bauhaus, cited in *Berlewi Témoignages*, n.p.

[366] *Survivor from a Dead Age, the Memoirs of Louis Lozowick*, ed. Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 190 and 205; hereafter cited as *Survivor from a Dead Age, the Memoirs of Louis Lozowick.*

[367] Adler spoke during the Congress on May 30, 1922, next to art historian Will Grohmann and artists van Doesburg, Remy, Karl Wollheim, Ksenia Boguslavskaia, and Lissitzky.

[368] In a text written in 1963, he listed the following events as being pivotal for the Russian and Western European avant-garde:

> 1. – El Lissitzky published in Hanover his album, "Electromechanical Theater," inspired by Krutchonykh's futurist opera 'Victory over the Sun;'
> 2. – Founding of the magazine 'G.' Editors: Hans Richter, Mies van der Rohe, and Werner Graeff;
> 3. – Bauhaus' exhibition in Weimar: Art and Technology. Triumph of Bauhaus ideology;
> 4. – Kurt Schwitters publishes Dadaist quarterly *Merz*;
> 5. – As far as I am concerned, after formulating the theory of my Mechano-Faktura, first experimental compositions were presented in the Grosse Berliner Ausstellung in the Novembergruppe section (19.5. – 17.9.1923).

Henryk Berlewi, "Konstruktywista," in *Mieczyslaw Szczuka*, eds. Anatol Stern and Mieczyslaw Berman (Warsaw: WAiF, 1965), 139.

[369] In his unpublished memoirs, Berlewi mentioned that he was encouraged by Lissitzky to paint Jewish motifs after the Russian artist stopped in Warsaw on his way to Berlin in 1921.

[370] The name of the group appeared for the last time on the covers of Broderzon's volumes of poetry—*Di malke Szwo, Schwarz Szabas* and *Sznaj-tanc*—published in 1921.

[371] Poland was represented by a large number of artists living in Paris, among them, J. Hecht, Hayden, Kisling, Rubczak, S. Stuckgold, and Waclaw Zawadowski. For discussion of the Dresden Sezession Gruppe, see *German Expressionism, Documents*, 222-236. Barczynski lived in Paris in the mid-1920s. In 1925, his poster received the first

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prize during an international competition for best poster on the subject of the International Red Cross in Paris. In 1927, Barczynski moved to Berlin. He remained committed to Expressionism, but he gradually moved closer to the styles of Chagall and Kokoschka.

[372] Lindenfeld moved to Germany. She lived in Wiesbaden beginning from 1922, then moved to Paris, where she concentrated on making sculptures. Information about the later years is provided by articles in *Nasz Przeglad Ilustrowany* in 1929 and 1930 (vols.9 and 15). Confirmed by Józef Sandel in *Slownik artystow polskich i obcych w Polsce dzialajacych.*

[373] Y.Y. Cohen, *Jewish Publications in the Soviet Union, 1917-1960* (Jerusalem: Kh. Shmeruk, 1961), 135. Louis Lozowick remembered seeing Adler and Warshawski in the Berlin apartment of Ryback. "I spent many evenings with [Ryback], his wife, and his friends—writers like Ozer Warshawsky (the author of an interesting novel *The Smugglers*; he was massacred by the Nazis) and the artists, [Jankel] Adler, Mané-Katz, and others. Ryback loved to sing Jewish folk songs. I would take my turn and sing Ukrainian songs." *Survivor from a Dead Age, the Memoirs of Louis Lozowick*, 194.

[374] Schwarz continued exhibiting in Poland, having two shows of his reliefs in Warsaw and Lodz in late 1923.

[375] Ida Brauner remained in Germany until 1922. In 1928, she had a solo exhibition in the Czeslaw Garlinski Salon, which consisted of porcelain figures and jewelry.

[376] Like Poznan Expressionists, in public perception Young Yiddish was also associated with Futurism from its very beginning. See, for example, J. Appenszlak's "Przeglad literacki," *Nasz Kurier*, no. 76 (April 17, 1920): 3

[377] L.K., "Wystawa sztuki zydowskiej; list z Lodzi," *Nasz Kurier*, no. 110 (April 23, 1921): 5.

[378] See, for example, a review in *Tel Awiw* written by Zygmunt [Bromberg-] Bytkowski: "Wystawa sztuki zydowskiej Wydawnictwa 'Tel Awiw' w Lodzi," *Tel Awiw* 6 (June 1921), 256. Broderzon's prints accompanied his poems in several volumes of his poetry, including "Sznaj tanc" and "Schwarz Szabas," published in 1921.

[379] Ibid.

[380] Contacts between Young Yiddish and Jewish artists in America await further research, which goes beyond the scope of this study.

[381] Adler had first provided information about the New York exhibition in *Litererishe Bleter*, no. 30 (August 26, 1929): 582. J.M. Najman repeated it in his article "Jankiel Adler," published in *Literarishe Bleter* in 1935. By the early 1920s, a number of Polish artists were already living in New York. Elie Nadelman came to America in 1914.

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Nadelman had to maintain contacts with Poland, for his works were regularly reproduced in the Polish press. In 1918, Nadelman's drawings were reproduced in *Maski*. In 1919, his linocut (?) appeared on the cover of a book with Stern's Futurist poem, "Naked Man Downtown." His drawing was reproduced in *Brzask epoki: w walce o Nowa Sztuke*.

[382] Jehuda Tofel, "The First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth Issues of *Young Yiddish*, Lodz" *Schriftn* (Winter 1920): 12-14. *Schriftn* was published in New York between 1912-1926. Translated into English for the present author by Bina Weinreich.

[383] See Helena Karwacka, "Karol Hiller and Witold Wandurski," in Karol Hiller, exh. cat., n.p; hereafter cited as Karwacka's "Karol Hiller and Witold Wandurski."

[384] Ibid., n.p.

[385] Hiller studied art in the Academy of Fine Arts in Kiev under a "Byzantinist" Boychuk. In 1925, Hiller joined the Workers' Scene (Scena Robotonicza), a workers' theater, for which he produced some of his Constructivist designs as stage sets. The Workers' Scene was closed in 1928, under the pretext of threatening security and public order.

[386] Wandurski and Hiller collaborated on a volume of poetry *Sadze i zloto* (The Sooths and the Gold), 1926, with 17 poems by Wandurski and 6 lithographs by Hiller.

[387] Quoted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler*, exh. cat., 32

[388] Quoted from an unidentified article titled "Sylwetki malarzy lodzkich," signed by Karol Hiller (dated 1923 and published in *Republic)*. Schwarz archives at YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.

[389] Jankel Adler, "Ekspresjonizm," *Nasz Kurier* 292 (December 5, 1920), 4; quoted in Malinowski's *Grupa "Young Yiddish" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki,"* 179-80.

[390] Franz Wilhelm Seiwert, "To Jankel Adler!," quoted in *Jakub (Jankel) Adler*, exh. cat., 40-41.

[391] Jechel Jeshaia Trunk remembered that *Schwarz Schabbes* was first published before World War I, but it generated almost no attention. Jechel Jeshaia Trunk, *Pojln: Obrazy i wspomnienia z Lodzi*, ed. and transl. Anna Clarke (Lodz: Biblioteka 'Tygla Kultury," 1997), 90.

[392] In 1920, he traveled to Paris and moved to Düsseldorf in 1921/22. In 1933, Adler moved to Paris. He died in England, where he had settled in 1940.

[393] Brauner participated in one of the three evenings devoted to Manievich and modern art, which accompanied the Second Exhibition of Jewish Art. He exhibited at the Fourth Exhibition of Jewish Art, which opened in April 1921. The Jewish exhibitions in Warsaw were dominated by local artists: Berlewi, Weintraub, Maurycy (Moise) Appelbaum, S.

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Centnerszwer, and H. Gotlieb. (Brauner also took part in the "Autumn Salon" in Warsaw in October 1922.)

[394] Manievich studied in Kiev (1903-05) and Munich (1905-07), was associated with the World of Art movement in Moscow, and had several successful shows in Russia and France. From 1917 until his departure for the United States, he taught at the Ukraine Academy of Art in Kiev, the school attended by Karol Hiller. He painted in a style that recalls Russian Cézannistes (such as Robert Falk and Ilya Mashkov), additionally endowing his works with Futurist dynamism.

[395] Józef Sandel described Regina Mundlak (1887-1940) as "psychically close to Käthe Kollwitz." Mundlak studied with Max Liebermann in Berlin in the early 1900s. Her works often depicted scenes from daily life of the poor. See Jozef Sandel, *Zaglada zydowskich artystow-plastykow w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, manuscript in Polish deposited in the Special Collection of the Instytut Sztuki PAN, nr. inw. 103, 12.

[396] The works are only known from the listing in the catalogue of the exhibition in Warsaw, which Manievich brought with him to the United States. The catalogue has been deposited in his archives at the YIVO Institute.

[397] Manievich's typed manuscript in the archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Studies, New York.

[398] All quotes cited here are taken from the press clippings preserved by Manievich in his archives, presently deposited at the YIVO Institute in New York.

[399] The exhibition was mentioned in unidentified *The Jewish World* in the United States. See a press clipping saved by Schwarz, presently deposited in Schwartz's archives at the YIVO Institute in New York.

[400] Jerzy Centnerszwer, "Z zydowskiej wystawy sztuki. Czwarta zbiorowa wystawa," *Nasz Kurier*, no. 110 (April 28, 1922): 6.

[401] The Zrzeszenie "Srebrny woz" existed for a very short period of time, and included, among others: Adolf Behrman, Brauner, Henryk Hirshenberg, Ignacy Hirszfang, and Natan Szpigiel. Hiller and Wandurski collaborated with the group.

[402] In November 1923, Brauner and Ignacy Hirszfang had a large exhibition of their works presented in Lodz.

[403] Some of the prints reproduced in *Di Khaliastre* were used earlier in *Young Yiddish. Di Khaliastre* was published in Warsaw in 1922 and in Paris in 1924. The name is also used to describe a group of poets around the almanac.

[404] For discussion of Tchaikov's article, see *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century*, 34-35.

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[405] *Albatross* was published in Warsaw in 1922, then in Berlin in 1923. Louis Lozowick was among American artists whose works were reproduced in the Berlin edition of the art and literary magazine. Lozowick, in fact, was instrumental in establishing contacts between European and American Jewish artistic communities after his arrival in the U.S. in 1906 at the age of 14. He went to Berlin in 1922 and exhibited with the Novembergruppe, alongside Berlewi. Later, he was probably also responsible for including Polish Constructivists in the Machine Age exhibition in New York in 1927. However, Lozowick states that he lost track of Berlewi when he left Europe in 1924. (He saw him again in New York in 1965 during the "Op [Art]" exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art.) *Survivor from the Dead Age*, 205.

[406] The Polish section included Aleksander Rafalowski, Stazewski, Hirshenberg, Hiller, Brauner, Hirszfang, and Schwarz. In Lodz, critic Stefania Zahorska delivered a lecture on modern art. Earlier, in October 1922, several artists living in Germany (Josef Budko, Jacob Steinhardt, and Herman Stuck) participated in the Autumn Salon.

[407] Historians of Polish Constructivism, such as Turowski and Zagrodzki, consider that Vilnius exhibition the first collective manifestation of Polish Constructivism. Artists, who participated in both exhibitions included: Karol Krynski, Stazewski, Szczuka, and Zarnower.

[408] New artistic groups were formed in the mid-1920s. In 1926, Jewish artists in Lodz formed the Lodz Group (Grupa Lodzian), with Brauner, Samuel Finkelstein, Hiller, Hirszfang, Boleslaw Kudewicz, and Natan Spiegiel. In late 1926, the group transformed into the Society of Artists and Lovers of the Visual Arts "Start" (Stowarzyszenie Artystow i Milosnikow Sztuk Pieknych "Start"). The Society participated in numerous national exhibitions in the late 1920s.

[409] Stefania Zahorska, "Sztuki plastyczne," *Przeglad Warszawski* 29 (1924): 256-257.

[410] "Do naszych najwazniejszych zadan panstwowo-narodowych nalezy obrona przeciwko zalewowi germanskiemu od zachodu, przeciwko rosyjskiemu od wschodu i przeciwko miedzynarodowemu zydostwu, ktore przerzucilo sie lukiem i polaczylo oba te zalewy....Przed kazdym myslacym czlowiekiem, przed kazdym Polakiem, ktory widzi kolo siebie lub czuje w sobie wplyw tej atmosfery, wreszcie przed kazdym semita, ktory nie chce nia oddychac, staje dzis pytanie: jakim kierunku powinien posuwac sie dalej rozwoj swiata: czy szlakiem kultury aryjskiej, czy droga zydowska." Aleksander Swietochowski, "Lancuch zapasow duchowych," writings of Aleksander Swietochowski from 1923 as quoted in, *Gazeta Wyborcza* (June 12-13, 1999), 29.

[411] Malinowski stated, or rather overstated, that the exhibition in Paris (and in Gallery Gurlitt in Berlin in 1925) established Schwarz as the leading Jewish artist of the interwar period (second to Chagall). See Malinowski's *Grupa "Jung Idysz" i zydowskie srodowisko "Nowej Sztuki,"* 80.

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[412] The text reads: "The Jewish Telegraph Agency has recently sent a telegram from Paris:
Paris (Z.A.T.) Exhibition has opened by a young, talented, Polish-*Jewish* painter and sculptor, Marek Schwarz. The exhibition contains a number of copper and bronze reliefs, illustrating various Biblical scenes.
On its part, Warsaw [weekly] "Wiadomosci Literackie" [The Literary News] simultaneously published (No. 5. Vol.2) the following information:
Exhibition of reliefs by distinguished *Polish* painter, Marek Schwarz, currently takes place in Paris; he mostly derives the subjects for his *beautiful* works from the Old Testament.
So finally who is it: a Jew or a Pole? Who tries to disseminate false information here? Who has interest in doing so?
From our part we decided to accept the hypothesis that Mr. Marek Schwarz is a Jew. Firstly, we do not have any reasons to distrust the Jewish Telegraph Agency; secondly, because "Wiadomosci Literackie" knows already and announced that his works are "beautiful." Untitled article signed "i," *Mysl Narodowa* 7 (April 1924): 13.

Endnotes for "Formism."

[413] "Gdy w r. 1917 rozpoczelismy prace nasza; otwierajac '*Zdrój*', zdawalismy sobie z tego dobrze sprawe, ze ewolucyjnosc czasopisma bedzie wybitnem jego znamieniem. Nie moglo tez byc inaczej: pismo o szczerym ideale tworczym, powstale w chwili calkowitego zastoju czytelnictwa w Polsce, ujrzawszy pierwsze swiatlo dzienne wsrod srozacej sie pozogi wojennej, musialo dazyc do tego, izby nie stac sie oderwanym okruchem, rzuconym w odmety szalejacego swiata.... Juz w pierwszym tomie 'Zdroju' spotykaja sie tworcy t. zw. 'Mlodej Polski' z siermierzami ekspresji. Ciagnie sie szlachetne to wspolzawodnictwo z ustawicznem przesuwaniem sie na rzecz tworczosci mlodej poprzez dziewiec tomow 'Zdroju', znajdujac wreszcie dosc pierwiastkow tworczych w silach najmlodszych...az dopiero po uplywie dwu i pol lat 'Zdrój' dochodzi do swojej wylacznosci, do calkowitej ideowej krystalizacji." *Brzask epoki: w walce o nowa sztuke*, 6-7.

[414] The name "Galicia" comes from the latinized form of Halicz, a town in Ukraine, in the 11^{th}-12^{th} centuries capital of the Duchy of Halicz. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Galicia enjoyed a significant degree of autonomy, having a Polish governor, Polish administration, and Polish language used in offices and schools. However, Galicia with its backward agriculture cultivated by pro-Austrian landowners fearful of social radicalism and with its lack of major industry was the poorest of the Polish provinces. Galicia's Peasant Party was the first in Polish provinces, established in 1895. In addition, political refugees from the Russian zone found a safe place in Galicia for conducting their illegal activism. Most of Galicia endorsed Austria during WWI against Russia. Austria lost its Polish support after it signed the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty with Russia in February 9, 1918, which advocated the inclusion of the Chelm province and a part of the Polesie region to the newly created Ukrainian state. The situation of Poles in Galicia became more complicated with the beginning of World War I, when many artists were asked to serve in the armies that put Poles against Poles. In the beginning of WWI, most of the Poles in the

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Russian zone endorsed Russia, in the Austrian—Austria. Estimably, three million Poles were drafted to respective armies; half a million were killed during the war.

[415] The popular perception that France supported Poland's claims to independence reinforced Poles' pro-French sentiments throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, France's attractiveness sprang from its long and uninterrupted tradition in the visual arts, which Poland lacked due to its history of being a partitioned nation. To many Polish artists Paris was an artistic mecca, which they visited regularly and, in many cases, where they stayed for an extensive period of time. Wladyslaw Slewinski, for instance, moved to France in 1888, where he was associated with Gauguin and the Pont-Aven school. Pankiewicz, who visited France many times, settled there in 1919, opening a branch of the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts. Olga Boznanska lived in Paris from 1896. E. Zak, Ludwik Marcoussis, Kisling, Hayden, L. Gottlieb, Kramsztyk, Gwozdecki, and Taduesz Makowski settled in Paris in the first decade of the twentieth century, from where they served as correspondents for Polish newspapers and magazines. The list of Polish artists in the catalogues of the Salon des Independants and Salon d'Automne between 1900 and 1914 exceeds a hundred names.
French culture had already numerous admirers in Kraków, among the most vocal—Tadeusz Boy-Zelenski, a poet and translator of over a hundred volumes of French literature and poetry, from Francois Villon and Voltaire to Stendhal and Proust. The literary magazine, *Museion*, which was published between 1911 and 1913, was one of the major propagators of French culture and arts and regularly reported the current artistic events in Paris.
Pollakowna has rightly observed in *Formisci* that the Kraków Modernists (symbolists, Neoromantics, and Secession artists), who set in motion transformations of Polish art in the late nineteenth century, even if looking in the direction of Paris, relied mainly on Austrian and German examples of new attitudes toward art, which they carried into their art and manifestos in the early twentieth century. Pollakowna states in her book, for example, that "Poland underwent its 'modernist baptism' from the hands of the Germans, which had vast consequences for the character of our modernism." Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 61. Before Paris became a mecca for Polish artists in the early 1900s, that status belonged to Munich. The Konigliche Akademie der Bildenden Kunste in Munich attracted hundreds of Polish artists beginning in 1828. For a detailed inventory of Polish artists in Munich, see Halina Stepien and Maria Liczbinska, *Artysci polscy w srodowisku monachijskim w latach 1828-1914: materialy zrodlowe* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1994). As previously mentioned, Poles were active members of various German or Austrian art organizations, for example, the Munchner Kunstverein, which had its satellite organizations in Kraków, Warsaw, and Lvov, and the Hagebund and Osterichs Secession in Vienna. In the early twentieth century, Polish artists began to choose France over Germany but they continued to be frequent participants in the exhibitions organized by the Neue Sezession in Munich and Berlin and the Freie Sezession in Berlin. Munich continued to play an important role in providing education for Polish artists and its Polish artistic colony was large. Stanislaw Przybyszewski's return to Kraków from Germany in September 1898 to take over the review *Zycie* had a major impact on many younger artists who aspired to challenge both artistic tendencies and social norms, while injecting bohemian theatricality in art, which found its full realization in the activities of Polish

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Futurists. Przybyszewski returned to Munich in March 1906.

[416] Leon Chwistek, *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, 90-99. If not specified otherwise, the citations in this study come from "Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce," subtitled "Public Presentation for the Philosophical Society in Kraków on February 15, 1924,"published in *Przeglad Wspolczesny* 24 (April 1924); hereafter cited as Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*. Writing his article, Chwistek had to remember Jean Moréas' prognosis for the rebirth of the Mediterranean civilization being threatened by the Nordic barbarism, which the French critic extended into a binary opposition between a Classical order and a Romantic excess. (Basler wrote on Moréas in "Klasyk symbolizmu francuskiego [glossy do studium o Janie Moréasie] *Museion* 3 in 1913.)

[417] Kraków had the status of a Free City given to it at the Congress of Vienna. It was incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Emporium after an abortive insurrection in 1846.

[418] See Jaroslaw Krawczyk's discussion of the Kraków School of historians in *Matejko i Historia* (Warsaw: PAN, 1990). In Vienna, the Poles' dubious reputation was expressed in a proverb: "Die Polen sind für jede Majoritat zu baben" (Poles can be pulled on the side of any majority). Boleslaw Drebner, "To juz tak dawno," in *Kopiec wspomnien* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1959), 44

[419] A fragment from *The Wedding*, cited in Milosz's *The History of Polish Literature*, 357. In "Exegi monumentum," published in *Glos Plastykow*, devoted to Formism in 1938, Winkler recalled the circumstances around the First Expressionist Exhibition: "The Revolution rocked Russia, but in Kraków's carnival Picasso's harlequin danced with the Colombine from Krowodrza or Debnik in the Old Square....In short, snobbism and fashion turned out to be for Formists a mine of endless possibilities [for criticism], with a perspectives for a discount ticket or even immortality." Konrad Winkler, "Exegi monumentum," *Glos Plastykow* 8-12 (1938): 37. Kraków was the birthplace of a particular form of infatuation with "noble" peasants' culture, known as "chlopomania" (peasant-mania), which was satirized by Wyspianski in his play in verse, titled *The Wedding* (Wesele), 1901. The play was based on the real marriage of poet Lucjan Rydel with a wealthy peasant girl from the nearby village of Bronowice (today part of Kraków), which Wyspianski transformed into a symbolic night of settling accounts with inept Polish society and presented in a Beckettian narrative of waiting for something to come. The wedding was attended by *tout* Kraków, the playwright obviously included, joined by the *dramatis personae*—the ghosts from the Polish past. Ironically enough, Wyspianski also married a peasant woman, proving that snobbism can take on many forms.

[420] The local authorities in Kraków paid close attention, for example, to the city's urban landscape. In 1918, the City Council released a decree to remove the shop vitrines from the buildings in the center of Kraków and along major streets in the other sections. See Stanislaw Garlicki, "Reklama zewnetrzna krakowskich lokali handlowych na poczatku XX wieku," *Studia Historyczne* XLIII (Kraków, 2000): 128.

[421] Adolf Basler, "Klasyk symbolizmu francuskiego (glosy do studium o Janie

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Moréasie)," *Museion* 3 (1913): 104. Basler lectured on French art in early 1913. The information about his lecture entitled "French Painting from Cézanne to Cubists," (Malarstwo francuskie od Cézanne'a do kubistow) appeared in *Czas* from January 11, 1913.

Basler was among the Parisian critics and private dealers who significantly helped to establish contacts between the art communities in Poland (mainly in Kraków) and France (Paris), and possibly even further—in Germany and the United States. He was born in Poland in 1876, and after moving to Paris became a French correspondent for various Polish periodicals and newspapers, including the prestigious *Krytyka* and *Museion*. In 1904, Basler co-founded a Polish-language art journal *Sztuka* with Count Antoni Potocki, which appeared in Paris until 1905 and was read with great attention in Poland. Basler lectured in his native country before World War I, for example, at the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts in November 1912, helping Polish artists discover Cubism, Kokoschka, and Kandinsky. In his article, "L'Art francais, l'art europeen," published in *Montjoie!* in 1913, he mentioned several Polish artists as representatives of Expressionism, among them Nadelman, who at that time showed his works at the Armory Show in New York. Basler's vitality in promoting modern art was accompanied by his political radicalism. He represented *Die Aktion* in France and contributed several articles on modern art to *Jahrbuch der Jung Kunst, Kunst and Künstler*, and *Die Weltkunst*. In 1923, he published *Modern Sculpture in France* (Sculpture Moderne en France, Paris: G. Cres, 1923), in which he championed Kuna and Nadelman. In fact, Basler's role in promoting Polish art may also have been crucial for connecting Polish artists with the artistic community in New York. In 1910, he assisted Alfred Stieglitz in buying several drawings by Nadelman from the Galerie Druet show, after the show generated great interest in Paris (two-thirds of the drawings and several sculptures were bought by Leo Stein). In early 1914, both Nadelman and Basler came to the United States, assisted by Helena Rubinstein (also a native of Poland), who collected Nadelman's works. Basler visited Stieglitz while in New York, and possibly other "cultural radicals" such as Abraham Walkowitz, Marius de Zayas and John Weichsel, as well as the Polish-born critic and artist Jennings Tofel (Yehudah Toflevich), who was in contact with both the New York avant-garde and its supporters and Jewish intellectuals in Russia. As Ileana B. Leavens documented, after returning to France, Basler, who was interested in collaborating with Stieglitz's *Camera Work*, sent Stieglitz the September 20, 1913 issue of *Die Aktion* with his essay, "Aus dem Ideenreich der modernen Kunst," and an unspecified Polish publication (possibly *Krytyka* or *Museion*), which he indicated should be given to Weichsel.

[422] T.S.[Tadeusz Swiatek], "Postepowy znawca sztuki (dorazna pomoc dla snobow i recenzentow)," *Maski* 3 (1918): 55.

[423] The noun "intellectual" gained a political stance after Georges Clemenceau used it in 1898 in relation to the Dreyfus case. Clemenceau, who used the words "pure intellectual labor," applied it to Dreyfus's defenders, Emile Zola, Marcel Proust, and Anatole France.

[424] Bruno Jasienski in *Futuryzm polski (Bilans)*, *Zwrotnica* 6 (October 1923): 181; hereafter cited as Jasienski's *Futuryzm polski (Bilans)*.

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[425] "Nie mozna sie...dziwic, jesli mlody malarz po powrocie z najblizszej chocby zagranicy, po ujrzeniu wielkiej sztuki w muzeach—musial odczuc bunt przeciw temu wszystkiemu, co widzial wokol siebie. Zwlaszcza, gdy w tejze zagranicy powstawaly nowe ruchy artystyczne, jak kubizm we Francji, futuryzm we Wloszech, czy ekspresjonizm w Niemczech. Palilo sie wiec naokolo." Zbigniew Pronaszko, "Jak to bylo wlasciwie?," *Glos Plastykow* 8-12 (1938).

[426] None of the works showed by the future Formists in the yearly Exhibitions of the Independents survived to our day or is known from photographs.

[427] Kraków cultivated its attachment to the apolitical Mloda Polska movement as a source of moral comfort and belief in the unique role of art as a provider of moral and spiritual values. Publications such as *Chimera*, *Zycie*, *Maski*, and *Krakowski Miesiecznik Artystyczny* (published between 1911 and 1912) propagated Young Poland's aesthetic programs prior to and during the World War I. Kraków's major art school, the Academy of Fine Arts, which closed temporarily in 1914, reopened for the second semester of the 1914/15 academic year with faculty made up of mostly traditional painters and sculptors. The list of professors for the second semester of 1914/15 included Mehoffer (Dean), Konstanty Laszczka, and Jozef Czajkowski. A semester later, they were joined by Axentowicz, Jacek Malczewski, and W. Weiss (who replaced Mehoffer as the Dean in 1918). (The school was reorganized and expanded in 1920-22, but without any significant changes in its faculty.) The Society for Friends of the Fine Arts (Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Sztuk Pieknych [TPSP]) was headed by a conservative painter Wojciech Kossak between 1913 and 1918. The Kraków Workshops (Warsztaty Krakowskie), established in 1913 to propagate traditional crafts were modeled on the Wiener Werkstätte and the Deutscher Werkbund. Warsztaty Krakowskie continued the tradition initiated by the Polish Society of Applied Arts (Towarzystwo Polska Sztuka Stosowana), created in 1901.

[428] Among members of "Sztuka" were some of the biggest names in Polish art, including Chelmonski, Wyczolkowski, Pankiewicz, Wyspianski, and Boznanska. During its existence, the association organized 101 exhibitions in major Polish artistic centers (Kraków, Warsaw, Lvov, Vilnius, but also Sosnowiec, Torun, Katowice, Lodz, and Poznan), as well as presentations of Polish art abroad, helping, therefore, to facilitate artistic contacts among artists in three partitioned parts of Poland and artists living abroad. Sztuka's first exhibition abroad was in Vienna in 1902, organized at the invitation of the Vereinigung bildender Künstler Oesterreichs—Wiener Secession. (Falat and Kazimierz Pochwalski were members of the Viennese society.) The same year, Sztuka exhibited in Prague at the invitation of the Czech association Spolka Vytvarnych Umelcu Manes. Sztuka existed until 1950, but it had a major impact on Polish art only prior to World War I. Sztuka's disapproval among the Polish avant-garde was so strong that when Z. Pronaszko exhibited with Sztuka in 1922, he was accused of the apostasy of avant-garde interests. For a detailed discussion of "Sztuka," see *Sztuka kregu Sztuki: Towarzystwo Artystow Polskich "Sztuka," 1897-1950*, exh. cat. (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1995).

[429] There were three Independent Exhibitions organized prior to 1914.

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[430] Originally the name of the group was supposed to be the "Society of the Extreme Modernists" (Towarzystwo Skrajnych Modernistow).

[431] The Pronaszko brothers visited Munich, Vienna, Paris, and several places in Italy. Czyzewski spent 1907-08 in Paris, and returned there in 1910 for two more years. Czyzewski mentioned E. Zak, along with Basler and Edward Ligocki, as his guides during his staying in Paris. See J. Spiewak, "Jak sie ksztaltowal polski futuryzm. Rozmowa z Tutusem Czyzewskim," *Czas* 187 (1939): 5.

[432] Because Skoczylas was considered the liaison between modern artists and folk artists, his works were listed separately from works by other artists.

[433] The list of artists participating in the First Exhibition of Polish Expressionists included Skoczylas, Chwistek, Czyzewski, Stanislaw Golebiowski, Gwozdecki, Hrynkowski, Kisling, Kramsztyk, Mierzejewski, Szymon Müller, Niesiolowski, A. Pronaszko, Z. Pronaszko, Rerutkiewicz, Rubczak, Szererowa, E. Zak, and L. Gottlieb. Gottlieb's name appears only in one of the two versions of the exhibition catalogue. Previously, most of these artists took part in an exhibition in Zakopane in September 1916. Czyzewski credited the critic Emil Breiter and the playwright Leon Schiller for being the first "Formist sympathizers" in his article "Moj formizm" *Glos Plastykow* 8-12 (1938).

[434] Most of the participants were particularly familiar with the newest artistic tendencies in Paris and little of those in Germany. Chwistek went to Paris for the first time in 1905 (he studied art in Paris in 1913-14), Z. Pronaszko in 1907, Czyzewski and Witkacy in 1908, Dolzycki and Niesiolowski in 1912, Mierzejewski in 1913. In Kraków, the new styles were known through reviews and articles written from Paris by, among others, Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski who regularly reviewed the Paris salons for *Museion*. Czyzewski's friend, Winkler, recalled that he and Czyzewski studied Cézanne from reproductions received from Paris in 1907, while studying at the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts. See Konrad Winkler, "Tytus Czyzewski—artysta z instynktu i wyobrazni," *Glos Plastykow* 8 (1938).

[435] Husarski and Gwozdecki also lived in Paris, but for some reason they were not mentioned as artists from France.

[436] Jarry was also popular among Zurich Dadaists. Hans Arp read from *Ubu Roi* during evenings at Cabaret Voltaire.

[437] Wyspianski, who traveled to Paris in 1890-94, also admired Puvis de Chavannes. Wyspianski was introduced to Gauguin through Slewinski, who was a member of the Pont-Aven school.

[438] For a detailed analysis of works in the show and their critical reception, see Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 41-62.

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[439] The polychrome and the wooden relief for a church in Kraków (Kosciol OO. Misjonarzy) were never realized. For discussion of Z. Pronaszko's early works, see Helena Blum, *Zbigniew Pronaszko* (Warsaw: KAW, 1983); hereafter cited as Blum's *Zbigniew Pronaszko.*

[440] Pollakowna suggested similarities with Wyspianski (see Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 47), which Blum questioned, opting instead toward connections with Maurice Denis (see Blum's *Zbigniew Pronaszko*, 13). Similarities with Wyspianski's stained-glass windows were also mentioned in a review of the exhibition by Stanislaw Mróz; see Stanislaw Mróz, "Wystawa ekspresjonistow polskich," *Glos Narodu* 282 (1917).

[441] Z. Pronaszko visited Paris several times between 1907 and 1911. In her monograph devoted to the artist, Helena Blum made a connection between Pronaszko and Archipenko, suggesting that the two could have met in Paris. Blum also mentioned that both brothers Pronaszko (Andrzej and Zbigniew) were friends with Malevich, but she does not elaborate on details of that friendship. See Blum's *Zbigniew Pronaszko.*

[442] Wyspianski's projects of stained-glass windows for the Royal Castle in Kraków are often perceived as an example of the great synthesis of Gothic and folkloric motifs, architecture and the visual arts. Wyspianski exercised a particularly strong influence on a number of Formists also as a playwright during their formative years before World War I. A. Pronaszko wrote: "Returning to Kraków in 1911-14, we began to think about and construct small models according to set design directions written by Wyspianski. Andrzej Pronaszko, "Zyciorys Artystyczny," *Pamietnik Teatralny* 13 (1964): 13.

[443] Gothic in Kraków was closely linked to the sculptures of the German sculptor Wit Stwosz (Veit Stoss) from the Mariacki Church, finished in 1489.

[444] Meyer meant that buildings are designed according to the constraints of construction and material rather than their function.

[445] Gleizes and Metzinger wrote: "In short, the science of design consists in instituting relations between straight lines and curves. A picture which contained only straight lines or curves would not express life." Quoted in Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art, A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 213; hereafter cited as *Theories of Modern Art, A Source Book by Artists and Critics.*

[446] Already in Leipzig in 1906, Chwistek published a scientific work concerned with experimental psychology titled "Ueber das periodische Verschwinden der kleinen Punkte." In 1909, he published "Sur les variations periodiques du contenue des images vues dans un contour donne" in the *Bulletin de l'Academie des Sciences de Cracovie.* Chwistek's early writings on art suggest familiarity with the works of Heinrich Wölfflin.

[447] Czyzewski produced his first multi-planar works in 1915. They were made of polychromed cardboard and wood. Later, Czyzewski's works began to resemble wooden boxes with irregular shapes filled with various objects. None of his early works have

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survived to our time.
Among more traditional works in the Expressionist Exhibition was Czyzewski's *Slave* (Niewolnik), 1917, which Pollakowna described from a photograph as follows: "[T]he painting depicts a figure wearing a beret (a self-portrait?), with crossed, elongated, full of expression hands. From a semi-circularly vaulted niche sticks a head (a sculpture). In the background appears a cross of window frame." Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 48. With their connection to Picasso's sculptures, in his works Czyzewski was probably sharing with the Spanish artist a fascination with African art and culture. Jan Jozef Lipski argued that Czyzewski was influenced by Blaise Cendrars's *Antologie nègre* (containing African poetry). See Jan Józef Lipski, "O poezji Tytusa Czyzewskiego," *Tworczosc* 6 (1960): 75.

[448] Szopka is also a name for elaborate miniature churches built for Christmas.
Theater and stage design played important roles in the artistic activities of many artists in Kraków, such as A. Pronaszko, Witkacy, Czyzewski, and Chwistek.

[449] "[K]rajanie (rysowanie, malowanie) jakiejs plaszczyzny (obrazu) musi byc do calosci tejze plaszczyzny i zamiaru kompozycyjnego scisle dostosowane, gdyz linie, plaszczyzny i barwy maja swe scisle teorie jak tony muzyki." Tytus Czyzewski, "*Salome* (Obraz wieloplaszczyznowy)," *Wianki* 1 (1919). (*Wianki* was published between 1919 and 1923.)

[450] Naprzeciw
To ona
Czyta "Journal des Débats."
Spoglada: siedem, osiem,
Widze twarze dwie i pol!

Quoted from Joanna Pollakowna, "Tytus Czyzewski—Formista," in *Z zagadnien plastyki polskiej w latach 1910-1939*, 263.

[451] The catalogues had different covers and different introductions (in the form of quotes from writings of famous writers and artists), as well as different lists of artists participating in the show and different works. For a detailed analysis of the different versions of the catalogue, works included in the exhibition, and their critical reception, see Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 41-62. Pollakowna suggests that the subsequent versions of the catalogue were printed when the previous ones were sold out during the exhibition.

[452] Matisse's statement appeared only in one version of the catalogue. In the second version, it is replaced by short texts written by Metzinger and Z. Pronaszko.

[453] Mickiewicz's statement read: "Art is not a mere copying: if it were a matter of the accurate rendering of people's exteriors, it would have been best to make wax figures that resemble them and dress them in garments, which these persons used to wear. Art also isn't the recalling of reality: it creates objects, which one has never seen....Art is not and can not be anything else but the expression of seeing. In Polish, "Sztuka nie jest samym tylko nasladowaniem: gdyby chodzilo o wierne oddanie powierzchownosci osob, toby

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najlepiej bylo robic podobne do nich figury woskowe i ubierac je w odzienie, jakie te osoby mialy zwyczaj nosic. Sztuka nie jest takze przypomnieniem rzeczywistosci: tworzy przedmioty, ktorych nikt nigdy nie widzial....Sztuka nie jest i nie moze byc czym innym, jak tylko wyrazeniem widzenia." Mickiewicz's words, cited in *Katalog 1 Wystawy Ekspresyonistow Polskich, Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Sztuk Pieknych, Kraków*, listopad-grudzien 1917 (November-December 1917), n.p.

[454] In one of the very few positive reviews of the exhibition, Mróz extolled Pronaszko's paintings for their "austere and noble simplicity" and his sculptures—for their "unity with architecture." Stanislaw Mróz, "Wystawa ekspresjonistow polskich," *Glos Narodu* 282 (1917): 2. The same critic, writing in a different newspaper, commented on Czyzewski works, finding in them a "certain kinship with Futurism, through their desire to express instability, fluidity of forms, [and] this most important characteristic of the world of forms, which is the movement." "[P]ewna wspolnosc z futuryzmem przez dazenie do wrazenia niestalosci, plynnosci wszelkich ksztaltow, tej najistotniejszej wlasciwosci swiata form, ktora jest ruchem." Stanislaw Mróz, "Wystawa 'ekspresjonistow' polskich," *Nowosci Ilustrowane* 48 (1917): 7. Although Czyzewski later joined the Futurists, at this stage of his career Czyzewski's alleged closeness to Futurism seems to reflect the fact that most of the avant-garde art was often labeled futurist regardless of its real connections to what was considered the futurist style.

[455] "[M]alarstwo nie moze byc powrotem do natury, malarstwo musi byc zawsze powrotem do obrazu. Obrazem zas jest celowe, logiczne wypelnienie pewnymi okreslonymi formami pewnej przestrzeni....Zycie obrazu polega jedynie na konstrukcyjnosci, tematem jego moze byc tylko zagadnienie formy i barw....Celem jest tu wyraz....Dla tego wyrazu znalezc forme jest istotnym zadaniem malarstwa i o to kusi sie ekspresjonizm." Pronaszko's statement in "O ekspresjonizmie," 1918, cited in, *Polskie zycie artystyczne w latach 1915-1939*, 564.

[456] Translated from Polish by the present author. Gleizes and Metzinger used the word "crowd" in a general way, equating it with the popular perception that accepts established forms but goes against individuality. They wrote: "If the artist has conceded nothing to common standards, his work will inevitably be intelligible to those who cannot, as though by a stroke of the wings, plunge into unknown planes. If, on the contrary, by inability or lack of intellectual control, the painter remains the slave of the forms in customary use, his work will delight the crowd—his work? no, but the work of the crowd—and will depress the individual." *Du Cubisme*, cited in *Theories of Modern Art, A Source Book by Artists and Critics*, 214.

[457] "Forma nazywam konwencje, w jaka ujmuje dany ksztalt; ksztaltem wyglad jakiegokolwiek ciala przestrzeni, np. skrawek blekitnego nieba wsrod oblokow, plame swiatla na czole, drzewo, cien drzewa, itp. Ksztalt, jako wyraz natury, jest zalezny od okolicznosci i otoczenia, wiec przypadkowy; forma jest stala, jak wyraz tworczosci....Aby obraz mial forme potrzeba: 1. zeby wszystkie jego obiekty mialy forme, 2. zeby forma ich byla jednolita, 3. aby zwiazek miedzy obiektami byl scisly i ograniczony. W naturze ksztalty, ukladajac sie przez przypadek (swiatlo), wykluczaja juz tym samym wszelka celowosc budowy obrazu, tzn. takiego a nie innego rozkladu

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uksztaltowan, a wszelkie "naginanie" ksztaltow do potrzeb na nic sie nie przyda: zbyt sa one rozne wzajem, zbyt rozmaitych gatunkow, jednym slowem z powodu zaleznosci od chwili, otoczenia i materii, ktorej sa wyrazem, zbyt sa przypadkowe, aby mogly sie zestroic w jeden organizm." Ibid.

[458] "Patrzac na przedmiot czy rozwazajac go, nie widze go wylacznie frontalnie, przeciwnie: nasuwaja sie mojej swiadomosci przerozne jego plany, widoki, i dopiero reasumujac je, otrzymuje pelny jego wyraz, istote." Ibid.

[459] "Nie chodzi tu o nazwe, ktora jest tak przypadkowa, jak futuryzm, kubizm, orfizm i tyle podobnych, wchodzacych w zakres ekspresjonizmu; chodzi nam o istote rzeczy." Z. Pronaszko, "O ekspresjonizmie," *Maski* 1 (1918): 15;

[460] The exhibition was proceeded by the group's show in Lvov in April 1918, during which Dolzycki joined the Formists. Pollakowna suggested that the Second Exhibition also included works by Witkacy, not mentioned in the catalogue. The catalogue introduction was written by Zamoyski, who, at that time, belonged to both Kraków and Poznan Expressionist groups.

[461] See, for instance, *Nowosci Ilustrowane*, no. 29 (August 27, 1918), 6.

[462] The text was originally printed as part of Chwistek's "Trzy odczyty odnoszace sie do pojecia istnienia," *Przeglad Filozoficzny* 20 (1917). Chwistek went through several stages of editing before presenting his text in book form in 1921.

[463] During Chwistek's first period of research in the field of logic (until 1925), he was mainly interested in the theories of Gustav Theodor Fechner, Alfred North Whitehead, and Bertrand Russell. (Whitehead and Russell co-authored *Principia Mathematica*.) Those interests were conveyed by Chwistek in "The Theory of Constructive Types," written in 1923-24 and first published in *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Matematycznego* 2-3. The oscillating character of Chwistek's works could be connected to his interest in the Quantum Theory (via Whitehead).

[464] "[B]o wtedy na miejsce okreslonych ksztaltow wysuneloby sie luzne zestawienie plam i linij, wlasciwe ornamentowi i wykluczajace mozliwosc predluzonej kontemplacji, ktore przeciez jest glowna rozkosza dziela sztuki." Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, 9. For Chwistek, ornament denoted art which aims at "the arrangement of the environment that caters to the so-called 'artistic climate.'"

[465] Many of Chwistek's paintings were executed in delicate, translucent colors, witnessing his admiration for Tintoretto and Titian, which he often mentioned in his writings. Chwistek discovered Titian and Tintoretto during his trips to Vienna, Venice, and Florence, between 1910 and 1912.

[466] "[J]akkolwiek oczywiscie kazdemu wolno usuwac poza zakres pojecia 'sztuka' Leonarda da Vinci, Rafaela lub Rembrandta, to jednak ktos, kto zajmuje takie wlasnie

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stanowisko, powinien zdac sobie sprawe, ze postepuje mniej wiecej tak, jak gdyby uzywal wyrazu 'czlowiek' w znaczeniu 'czlowiek, ktory nie jest Polakiem.' Poniewaz mnie chodzi o taka wlasnie teorje sztuki, ktoraby pozwalala objac pod wspolna nazwa 'dziel sztuki", zarowno dziela Wschodu i sredniowiecza, jak renesans, Ingresa, Delacroix, impresjonistow i formistow,--nie moge uznac za rozwiazanie niepokojacych mnie problemow tych wszystkich teoryj, ktore stosuja sie zaledwie do czesci wyszczegolnionego zakresu." Ibid., 14-15.

[467] Chwistek's topology of realities connected "reality of daily experience" to a popular, visible reality (rzeczywistosc popularna); "reality of physical bodies" to a reality of invisible physics (rzeczywistosc fizyki); reality of emotions and sensations to a psychological reality (rzeczywistosc psychologistow); and reality of imagination to a contemplative reality of the visionaries (rzeczywistosc wizjonerow).The last category Chwistek also connected to the "inner visions," as defined by H. Bahr in his *Expressionismus*, 1916.

[468] Kuzma relates Chwistek's categories to early attempts to divide art along scientific lines, such as Max Deri's "Naturalimus, Idealismus, Expressionismus," in *Einfuhrung in die Kunst der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1919). See Kuzma's "Zwiazki i przeciwienstwa miedzy niemieckim i polskim ekspresjonizmem," 17.

[469] In painting, the Russellian borderline of matter and spirit can be visualized by creating Leonhard's "uneven" oscillations of individual forms, for example, when an image of a monk is drawn in such a way that it also looks like an eagle. (As previously mentioned, such illusionism was described by Leonhard in his article in *Der Sturm* from November 1912, quoted in the catalogue of the expressionist exhibition in Lvov in June 1913.) Such an effect helped to prolong visual contemplation of an artwork, which Chwistek considered as having crucial importance for its success. What produced desired uneven oscillation was the fact that the image of the monk only occasionally "transformed itself" into the image of an eagle. Chwistek was probably also familiar with the writings of Freud on Leonardo da Vinci. What Chwistek did not explain, however, was how the monk dominated the perception once the eagle had been identified, but he argued that such dissonance problems forced the artist to experiment with forms. Furthermore, these formal problems had to be resolved, while the artist created instinctively, in a state of creative trance. Chwistek-the painter acknowledged dilemmas in practical implementation of his theory and allowed exceptions. As such, he mentioned, for example, his favorite Venetian painter, Tintoretto, whose realism—according to Chwistek—carried influences of primitivism.

[470] Chwistek used here the example of St Teresa of Avila (considered one of the most spiritual Catholic saints), whose visions, according to him, were based on "overcoming their content by loosening the boundaries of objects they were related to."

[471] Chwistek wrote: "In accordance with the ideal of great art of all times, and against the newest tendencies of the French, Italian and German schools, which search above all the intellectual, psychological, social, literary and other sensations, Formism attempts at pure

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beauty with its feelings of joy and enthusiasm....Formism is an attempt to create a new style based on realism and beauty, which developed from the experience of the Cubists, Futurists and Expressionists," Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, 98-99.

[472] "Liczne zwyciestwa dialektyczne, jakie odnosi Sokrates w *Dialogach* Platona, sa, jak wiadomo, rezultatem niejasnosci, niejednokrotnie zrecznie przez autora tuszowanych." Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, 2.

[473] Writings of two other critics come to mind: Victor Shklovskii and Hermann Bahr. Chwistek's proclaimed superiority of formalist thinking recalls what Shklovskii called "estrangement," a surprise device aimed at giving recognizable things unexpected context in order to break up automatic responses to art ("Art as a Device"). But Chwistek did not share with Shklovskii his belief in social commitment of art. Instead, Chwistek's thinking was more aligned with Bahr's as for example in this statement by the German writer: "Certainly I cannot deny feeling uneasy when Expressionists theorize; they like to talk in a fog. Nothing at all is more of a public danger than a painter with a program. And even in the rare case when the program halfway suits the painting, nothing is proven; the program is created afterward. The artist does not create out of a program—instead he first wants to explain to himself his own work, in front of which he often stands just as speechless, as astonished, as others." Bahr's *Expressionismus*, 1916, in *German Expressionism: Documents*, 88.

[474] The Polski Klub Artystyczny (Polish Arts Club) was founded in late 1916 as a gathering place for the artistic milieu in Warsaw, and later became a progressive exhibition center and a place for concerts, lectures, and poetry readings. Between 1921 and 1933, the club organized about thirty exhibitions. An exhibition of works by Malevich in 1927, which later traveled to Berlin, was among its most important exhibitions.

[475] At that time, Romuald Kamil Witkowski (1876-1950), who moved to Warsaw from Kraków in 1905, worked as an announcer in Café Pod Pikadorem in the late 1910s. Witkowski painted urban landscapes in the manner of early Cubism influenced by Cézanne. In 1924, Witkowski joined the "centrist" group Rytm. Jan Zyznowski (1889-1924), who was also known as a critic (for Warsaw-based *Swiat*), had a whole room devoted to his own works inspired by *secesja*, Symbolism, and Cubism.

[476] Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Pare zarzutow przeciw futuryzmowi," *Czartak* 1 (1922); cited from a reprint in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne*, 316-319.

[477] Witkacy proclaimed in the first sentence of his essay in the catalogue: "The aim of painting is not and never was the recreation or even the individual interpretation of the visible world, as most of our public and even 'experts in art' think, but only the creation of a construction of forms on a flat surface, which constitutes an integral entity in the boundaries limiting this surface, e.g., composition." "Celem malarstwa nie jest i nigdy nie bylo odtworzenie a nawet indiwidualna interpretacja widzialnego swiata, jak sadzi

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wieksza czesc publicznosci, a nawet 'znawcow sztuki', tylko stworzenie konstrukcyi form na plaszczyznie, stanowiacych nierozerwalna calosc w ramach te plaszczyzne ograniczajacych, czyli kompozycya." Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Wstep objasniajacy," in the Katalog *I-ej Wystawy Formistow Polskich,* exh. cat. (Warsaw: Polski Klub Artystyczny, Hotel Polonia, 1919), n.p.

[478] In conjunction with the exhibition, the critic Adam Dobrodzicki delivered a lecture titled "About Expressionism."

[479] Dunin-Borkowski was accused of insulting Chwistek's future wife, Olga Steinhous.

[480] "Mimo pozornie szalonego ruchu postaci walczacych, sa one tylko masami czesciowymi idealnie skomponowanej calosci. Wszystkie czesci kompozycji, obdarzone rozbieznymi napieciami, trzymaja sie ze soba przez odpowiednie ich rozmieszczenie, dajac wrazenie nierozerwalnej jednosci, tym silniejsze przez ich rozbieznosc. Kolory utrzymane w harmonii (bez uzycia dysharmonii jako srodka perwersyjnego) poteguja jeszcze te jednosc, jak rowniez ujecie formy jednolite i proste w calym obrazie. Pozorny ruch jest tylko srodkiem. Sladu realizmu nie ma na calej przestrzeni. Ten jeden obraz stawia Chwistka na pierwszym miejscu miedzy mlodszymi polskimi malarzami, i to wedlug naszej wlasnej teorii." Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Krytyka teorii sztuki Leona Chwistka," in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne* (Warsaw: PWN, 1959), 253. The article was written in 1919-21. Witkacy continued his dialogue with Chwistek in "Dalszy ciag polemiki z Leonem Chwistkiem," reprinted in Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, *Nowe formy w malarstwie. Szkice estetyczne. Teatr*, ed. Jan Leszczynski (Warsaw: PWN, 1974), 410-425; hereafter the two collections of Witkacy's writings are cited as *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne* and *Nowe formy w malarstwie. Szkice estetyczne. Teatr.*

[481] In "O Czystej Formie," Witkacy described Pure Form (Czysta Forma) as originating in the immediate sensations received from a given object or phenomenon, in which their forms dominate their contents, producing aesthetic pleasure. Such a form is not devoid of content, but content takes on a secondary role.

[482] To describe Witkacy's idea of unity in multiplicity we might also refer to the French term "unité et varieté," as it was used by Victor Cousin in *Histoire générale de la philosophie*, 1863, in which the French philosopher defined beauty as unity combined with variety.

[483] Witkacy discusses Edmund Husserl in two of his articles, "Krytyka teorii sztuki Leona Chwistka" and "Aleksander Wat," 1921, calling Husserl the only philosopher still worth reading and mentioning Husserl's *Logische Untersuchungen* (1922) and *Ideen zu einer reinen phanomenologie und phanomenologischen Philosophie* (1913).

[484] "[S]ztuka nie ma w istocie swej do czynienia z zadna przedstawiana roznie rzeczywistoscia, tylko z konstrukcjami form stanowiacymi jednosc, niezaleznie od takiej lub innej rzeczywistosci." "Krytyka teorii sztuki Leona Chwistka," 1919-21, in *Nowe*

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formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne, 250.

[485] "Dlaczego bowiem, jesli o rzeczywistosc chodzi, nie moge wlasnie pieciu czy szesciu rzeczywistosci lupnac na raz na jednym obrazie? Jesli powiem, ze ujecie formy musi byc jednostajne, bo inaczej obraz przestanie byc jednoscia w wielosci mimo jednosci kompozycji i ukladu kolorow, kwestia jest zupelnie jasna i w dodatku ujeta w abstrakcji od jakichkolwiek wyobrazonych swiatow." Ibid., 251.

[486] Witkacy used the term "dynamic tensions" for the first time in an exhibition catalogue in 1919. He defined it in detail in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia*, 1919, 53. "Dynamic tensions" ("napiecia kierunkowe" in Polish) are the axes of organization of forms within the image, which help to "read" the image and affix it. They, in fact, serve to eliminate the "oscillation of painting," so important to Chwistek's theory. To describe the way "dynamic tensions" work in art, Witkacy used the following example: "More we pull [down] a given weight, suspended on a rubber band or a spring, more it will have tension in the direction of its suspending point: this is a compositional ideal." Quoted from Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 38. He considered animated nature to produce more readable "dynamic tensions" than unanimated nature.

[487] "Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz jest zdania, ze problemat rzeczywistosci nie ma znaczenia dla teorji sztuki. Teorja Witkiewicza, oparta na pojeciu czystej formy i napiec kierunkowych, jest, jak wszystko co tworzy ten niezwykle oryginalny artysta, bardzo zajmujaca....Wbrew pogladowi Witkiewicza, uwazam pojecie rzeczywistosci za istotnie zwiazane z zagadnieniem sztuki." Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, 9.

[488] See Leon Chwistek, *Tytus Czyzewski a kryzys formizmu* (Kraków: Gebethner i Wolff, 1922); hereafter cited as Chwistek's *Tytus Czyzewski a kryzys formizmu*. Witkacy, in fact, often referred to Formism, but he equated it with art based on his idea of Pure Form. He objected to the collective identity of Formists as a group, considering such Formism only an offspring of Western models, Futurism and Cubism in particular.

[489] Witkacy was also an accomplished photographer, taking pictures from the late 1890s on. His interest in photography might be linked to the experiments with a camera by Munch, an artist who was propagated in Kraków by Przybyszewski. Munch practiced photography from the early 1880s to the early 1930s. Przybyszewski claimed in his diaries that he gave Munch the book, *Spiritimus und Animismus*, by Alexander Aksakov which thoroughly dealt with the phenomenon of Spiritualist photography. Like Munch, Witkacy was probably attracted to the idea that photography had the ability to capture and record an "aberrational" character of nature. For a discussion of Witkacy's photographs, see Ewa Franczak and Stefan Okolowicz, *Przeciw nicosci: fotografie Stanislawa Ignacego Witkiewicza* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1986) and *Witkacy, Metaphysische/Metaphysical Portraits*, exh. cat. (Leipzig: Connewitzer Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997).

[490] Witkacy wrote his first play at the age of eight (*Cockroaches*). He began to paint

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seriously as a teenager.

[491] Type "A" was the most realistic, the most finished (Witkacy called it "the most licked" [wylizany]), and the most expensive. Type "B" was equally "objective," but aiming more on capturing the sitter's character. Type "B+d" had an enhanced deformation (men were caricaturized and women presented as demonic characters). Following the rules of Pure Form, Witkacy considered type "C" as "abstract." That type of image was done under the influences of drugs and alcohol, and was not included in regular commissions. Type "D" was made as if under the influence of drugs. Finally type "E," and its combinations, aimed at "psychological interpretation" according to the sitter's request and, although created in a different fashion, could bring the same result as types "A" and "B." Witkacy created an additional code to indicate that a portrait was executed from a photograph or under the influence of a specific drug. For a discussion of individual systems, see Irena Jakimowicz, *Witkacy, malarz* (Warsaw: WAiF, 1985), 63-75; hereafter cited as Jakimowicz's *Witkacy, malarz*. Witkacy first defined the regulations of his Portrait Firm in 1924 on the occasion of his exhibition at the Garlinski Salon. He published them twice in a separate folder in 1928 and 1932.

[492] Quoted from *Presences Polonaises: L'Art Vivant Autour du Musée de Lodz*, exh. cat. (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1983), 76.

[493] From the Polish artists he praised such diverse artists as Rafal Malczewski, Ludomir Slendzinski, and Stanislaw Szukalski, artists who were far from being innovators. He highly regarded Bruno Schulz and Bronislaw Linke, perhaps sensing in them the same attachment to "catastrofism."

[494] The leaflet was written in response to the Futurist leaflets, *Knife in the Stomach* (Noz w brzuchu, spelled phonetically—"Nuz w bzuhu" [Nife in the Beli]) and *Pram-Bam*, both published in 1921 (the leaflets will be discussed in the following chapter). For Witkacy's discussion of Futurism, see "About the Consequences of the Activities of our Futurists" (O skutkach dzialalnosci naszych futurystow), 1922, reprinted in *Nowe formy w malarstwie. Szkice estetyczne. Teatr*, 395-403, and "Pare zarzutow przeciw futuryzmowi," *Czartak* 1 (1922).

[495] Jadwiga Kosicka-Gerould pointed to Witkacy's "provocations" in alluding to the Bolshevik Revolution in *Niemyte dusze* (Unwashed Souls). Witkacy wrote: "I simply consider as an unfortunate cripple anyone who has lived through the Russian Revolution at close quarters," and "[t]he only important event of our times (comparable to the French Revolution in its own times) is the Russian Revolution, an experiment of fantastic proportions. It again marks the beginning of the end for the fraudulent era of democracy and the supremacy of capital. It doesn't matter whether the experiment will be successfully realized right now, or only after some fluctuations and transformations. What matters is that a beginning had been made; these things cannot be undone ever again. Russia is paying for this experiment terribly, but she can rejoice that greatness in this world is unquestionably on her side. Whether or not we approve of communism and its ideas, or the methods that communism employs, we've got to admit that here lies the

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greatness of today's Russia." Jadwiga Kosicka, "Responses to Revolution in Polish Drama between the Wars: Przybyszewska and Witkacy," in *Poland Between the Wars: 1918-1939*, 261-269.

[496] Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 85-86.

[497] "Konstrukcja nie jest zadnym kryterium, bo dzielo sztuki nie jest mostem, ktory, jesli sie nie zawali pod pierwszym pociagiem, na pewno jest mostem dobrym." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 96.

[498] In his private life, Witkacy was known for experimenting with drugs. He shared his experience with using drugs in a book titled *Nikotyna—alkohol kokaina—peyotl morfina—eter + Appendix*, published in 1932. A number of his works have inscriptions indicating that they were painted under the influence of various drugs.

[499] "Ale zyjemy w czasach, w ktorych, poza uchodzacymi w przeszlosc widmami narodow, pojawia sie cien grozny dla wszystkiego, co piekne, tajemnicze i jedyne w swoim rodzaju—cien tego gnebionego przez wieki szarego tlumu, i urasta do straszliwych rozmiarow obejmujacych cala ludzkosc." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 116.

[500] "Ludzie przyszli nie beda odczuwac tajemniczosci istnienia, nie beda mieli na to czasu, a przy tym nie beda nigdy samotni w idealnym przyszlym spoleczenstwie." Ibid., 122.

[501] Witkacy claimed that, apart from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, German philosophy was unknown to him. He disagreed with both philosophers about the meaning of art. Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, *Teatr* (Kraków, 1923), 253-254. In the "Philosophical Introduction" to *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, Witkacy discussed the Austrian physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach, whose "empirocriticism" (which he called "monism") Witkacy probably discovered while staying in Russia. (Mach had numerous followers in Russia, among them Nicolai Berdiaev, Aleksandr Bogdanov, and Anatoli Lunaczarski)

[502] See Chapter 5 of Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie* titled "Criticism in Painting" (Krytyka w malarstwie), 97-109.

[503] The interest in mysticism Witkacy developed from the lectures of Micinski. See "Formalne wartosci dziel Micinskiego," *Wiadomosci Literackie* 12 (1925), reprinted in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne szkice*, 320-324. Witkacy basically praised Micinski and called him "a sole genius in Polish theater since Slowacki, next to Wyspianski." *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne szkice*, 323. In her book on Witkacy, Irena Jakimowicz made a valuable observation that young Witkacy was influenced by Micinski as well as Blondel, whose *L'Action. Essai d'une critique de la vie et d'une science de la pratique* (Paris, 1893) Witkacy mentioned in his essay "O idealizmie i realizmie," published in 1921. Jakimowicz suggested that young Witkacy was inspired by the idea of the existence realized in resolving contradictions, as in Blondel's "truth located in contradictions."

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Jakimowicz's *Witkacy, malarz*, 12.

[504] Critic Cezary Jellenta described early expressionistic tendencies by labeling them with a strange word "intensifism" (intensywizm). He wrote, mixing poetic and Marxist languages, in 1897: "Art has rights to compete with it [Nature] and be equally creative; it can create impressions, emotions and shocks unknown in real life and to the masses; it can empower great powers, enliven life, beautify beauty, mobilize motion, strip truth from all social lies, personalize what is personal, concentrate concentration, colorize colors, deform forms—if by doing so we can achieve new emotions, ...enrich the spirit with new states.... For it [art], the aim unconditionally justifies the means; if it is truly creative, it can be indiscriminate and even kick the nature itself.... All art, in fact, ...moves in this direction. All of its kinds live and struggle (although unconsciously) under the banner on which we can write the word **intensifism**." "Sztuka ma prawo wspolzawodniczyc z nia [z natura] i na rowni z nia tworzyc; wolno jej stwarzac wrazenia, wzruszenia i wstrzasniecia, ktorych rzeczywistosc nie stwarza i ktorych ogol nie przeczuwa; wolno jej potegowac najwyzsze potegi, uzyzniac samo zycie, upiekszac piekno, uruchamiac ruch, obnazac prawde ze wszystkich klamstw spolecznych, uosabiac co osobiste, koncentrowac skupienie, przebarwiac barwy, przeksztalcac ksztalty, jezeli tylko zdolamy tymi sposobami stworzyc nowe wzruszenie, ...wzbogacic ducha ludzkiego nowymi stanami....U niej cel bezwarunkowo uswieca srodki; jesli zdola naprawde tworzyc, to wolno jej nie przebierac w sposobach i kopac nogami nawet sama nature....Cala sztuka zreszta....do tego zmierza....Wszystkie jej galezie zyja i walcza, co prawda bezwiednie, pod sztandarem, na ktorym mozna by wyszyc napis i n t e n s y w i z m." Cezary Jellenta, "Intensywizm," *Glos* 35 (1897); quoted from *Expressionism w grafice polskiej*, exh. cat., 11.
Jellenta came to Krakow from Warsaw and published the art review *Rydwan* (1912-14), the same art review that published Z. Pronaszko's "Przed wielkim jutrem" in 1914. In 1912, he published an article on the Futurists: "Futurysci—Dywizjonisci. Manifest malarski," *Rydwan* 4 (1912), 179-183. Young Poland's particular exaltation, in which the artist was a redeemer of mankind and a *poete maudit*, is also echoed in Jellenta's novel, *Linie Hofera*, 1908, written as a story about an artist who yearns to create in his dreams while aware of his isolation from the rest of society. Jellenta's Hofer is a Polish version of Balzac's Fraunhofer (the hero of *Unknown Masterpiece*). Cezary Jellenta, *Linie Hofera* (Lvov: Ksiegarnia Polska B. Polonieckiego, 1908).

[505] Witkacy claimed that he started writing on his book in 1917, while living in Russia. See "Bilans formizmu," *Glos Plastykow* 8-12 (1938). All citations in this study come from a 1992 reprint of the 1919 book: Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, *Nowe formy w malarstwie i wynikajace stad nieporozumienia* (Skierniewice: Wydawnictwo FiS, 1992).

[506] "[N]iezmiernie zawilych zjawisk artystycznej tworczosci." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 15.

[507] "[J]akosci proste z ich specjalnym wspolczynnikiem dla danego osobnika." Ibid.

[508] Description based on Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 15-18.

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[509] "Trudniej jest jednak przebrnac przez uczuciowe gaszcze tonow i zrobic abstrakcje od ich zmyslowego dzialania, niz zabic odbicie realnego swiata w kompozycji malarskiej, tym bardziej ze utwor muzyczny trwa w czasie, dzieje sie, na wzor naszego wewnetrznego zycia w jego zmiennosci uczuciowych stanow, podczas gdy dzielo sztuki malarskiej trwa niezmiennie w przestrzeni: jest dokladniejszym symbolem abstrakcyjnej jednosci w swej niezmiennosci." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie,* 26-27. Witkacy called music and painting—"homogeneous arts," as opposed to "composite arts:" theater and poetry.

[510] For Witkacy, abstraction is an attitude that stood for "individual concept of Beauty." Witkacy continued: "Contemporary painting aims in some of its directions at the conscious elimination of object from art. From our point of view, it is an unimportant programmatic aim, because [such process] has been natural not only today but in the past as well; it has always been happening, thousands of years ago, from that imperceptible moment when painting became Pure Form. There is no significant difference between, for example, ancient Chinese art—this most extraordinary painting that ever existed and will exist—and Picasso or Suprematism. The decisive thing here is *flatness* of the compositional form and harmony of colors; flatness is lacking in all Renaissance art and Realism as its derivation, which evolving photography has been gradually eliminating from the realm of art and where it entered by mistake. There are, however, mistakes that last four hundred years and more, and relying on such a short tradition is not very serious." "Dzisiejsze malarstwo dazy w pewnych swoich kierunkach do swiadomej eliminacji przedmiotu. Z naszego punktu widzenia jest to nieistotne jako dazenie programowe, dzieje sie to bowiem w sposob naturalny, i to nie tylko dzisiaj, ale jeszcze duzo dawniej; dzialo sie to zawsze, kilka tysiecy lat temu, od tej nieuchwytnej chwili, kiedy malarstwo stalo sie Sztuka Czysta. Nie ma istotnej roznicy np. miedzy prastara sztuka chinska, tym najwspanialszym malarstwem, jakie kiedykolwiek istnialo i istniec bedzie, a Picassem czy tez suprematystami. Rozstrzygajaca rzecza jest tu **plaskosc** kompozycji formy i harmonii kolorow; plaskosc, ktorej nie ma cala sztuka renesansu i pochodny jej dzisiaj realizm, ktory doskonalaca sie fotografia eliminuje coraz bardziej ze sfery sztuki, gdzie tylko przez pomylke sie zakradl. Sa bowiem pomylki, ktore trwaja 400 lat i wiecej, i powolywanie sie na tak krotka tradycje nie ma wielkiej powagi." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 30.

[511] "O ile dawniejsi artysci roznili sie stosunkowo dosc nieznacznie charakterem ujecia formy, o tyle dzis roznice indywidualne ujawniaja sie przewaznie w tej sferze, wskutek wyczerpywania sie zasadniczych nowosci w zakresie kompozycji i harmonii barw. Jest to wlasnie zjawisko 'nienasycenia forma.'" Ibid., 82.

[512] Witkacy wrote: "The atmosphere of today's life and the proportion of psychological data of today's people who practice art, rightly or not, causes the phenomenon which for lack of better word will be called "nienasycenie forma" that simultaneously appears among artists, the greatest artists of our time, and the public, the one which truly understands and needs art." "Atmosfera dzisiejszego zycia i proporcja danych psychicznych dzisiejszych ludzi oddajacych sie slusznie czy niesluszne artystycznej

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pracy jest powodem zjawiska, ktore z braku lepszego slowa nazwiemy '*nienasyceniem forma*', ktore wystepuje rownoczesnie i u tworcow, i to najwiekszych tworcow naszych czasie, jak i u tej czesci publicznosci, ktora naprawde sztuke rozumie i rzeczywiscie jej potrzebuje." "O zaniku uczuc metafizycznych. Upadek sztuki," in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne*, 161. In another place, he writes: "the inability to experience oneself in quiet forms, and above all in a quiet rendition of them—this we call "nienasycenie forma." Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Szkice estetyczne," in *Nowe formy w malarstwie. Szkice estetyczne. Teatr*, 163.

[513] Witkacy divides objects into two groups, "silhouettes" and "real." Silhouetted objects can be grasped in a simple act of looking, what Witkacy calls "fixed one-eye perception." To be perceived, "real objects" require "two-eyes perception," connected to other functions of the body, such as movement around the object. "Silhouetted objects" belong to the realm of aesthetics, while "real objects" are more from the real objects of real life. Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "O pojeciu formy," 1919, in *Nowe formy w malarstwie. Szkice estetyczne. Teatr*, 165.

[514] "[R]zut abstrakcyjnej formy rzezbiarskiej," Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 42.

[515] "Perverse" compositions deliberately use asymmetry and "mistakes" by creating disharmonious works with "empty" or overburdened with shapes areas. Witkacy mentions Cranach's *Portrait of Cleve* from the Hermitage as an example of "perverse" composition. Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 51-52.

[516] Mieczyslaw Porebski observed that Witkacy was probably the first Polish artist who spoke about Suprematism outside of Russia. Mieczyslaw Porebski, *Granica wspolczesnosci, 1909-1925*, exp. ed. (Warsaw: WAiF, 1989), 243.

[517] Witkacy probably first saw works of van Gogh and Gauguin during a large exhibition of French art that opened at the Palac Sztuki in Kraków in 1910 as the Fourteenth "Sztuka" Exhibition. He knew Picasso's work from his stay in Russia. Jakimowicz's *Witkacy, malarz*, 36. In his unfinished novel *Jedyne wyjscie*, 1931-33, Witkacy's alter-ego, Marceli Kizior-Buciewicz, was presented as the new and last great artist after "the old fool Picasso." He credited Gauguin for fully mastering color harmonies and disharmonies. He called Gauguin—"the last great colorist of our times." Ibid., 75.

[518] "[S]tanowiac idealna jednosc koncepcji, mimo perwersyjnej nierownowagi mas i pustych przestrzeni." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 87

[519] Ibid., 88.

[520] The name might be misleading, for there was no Second Formists Exhibition. The exact title of the show was "The Formists, Third Exhibition."

[521] "[Z]najduja sie w interesujacym stadium, kiedy impresjonizm i naturalizm zaczynaja nudzic i budzi sie potrzeba nowej formy. Odnosi sie to osobliwie do Fedkowicza, ktory

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doszedl do formizmu przez bardzo daleko posunieta technike impresjonistyczna." Cited in Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 90.

[522] Konrad Winkler, *Formizm na tle wspolczesnych kierunkow w sztuce* (Kraków: D.E. Friedlein, 1921), 51; hereafter cited as Winkler's *Formizm na tle wspolczesnych kierunkow w sztuce*.

[523] The third issue (dated November 1920) has not been located.

[524] "[N]ad pryczynami, ktore sklaniaja wielu powaznych przedstawicieli starej szkoly do apriorycznego potepienia wysilkow mlodego pokolenia." Leon Chwistek, "Wrogowie formizmu i ich psychologia," *Formisci* 1 (October 1919): 3.

[525] Chwistek attended Poincaré's lecture in Ghent, in which the French philosopher questioned Positivist conventionalism.

[526] Knowledge of past art was useful for him only as far as artistic technique was concerned, but it crippled originality of thinking. Chwistek cautioned, however, against rejecting tradition, similarly to J. Hulewicz suggesting that it should have been reevaluated and particularly questioned when interpreted by established authorities.

[527] Pollakowna explains that issues 4, 5, and 6 of *Formisci* have a more elaborate format because they were financed by Feliks Antoniak, who came from Paris in 1920. Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 94-95.

[528] "Formizm" was reprinted from the catalogue of the Third Exhibition of Formists.

[529] "Zasadnicza roznice pomiedzy kubizmem a formizmem mozna sformulowac w nastepujacy sposob. Kubizm nie wychodzi poza naturalne pojecie rzeczy, dazac jedynie do pewnej interpretacji rzeczy, polegajace na podkresleniu cech, ktore w danym wypadku uwaza sie za zasadnicze (prymitywizm). Rzeczy w obrazach kubistow wystepuja jako takie, w zwiazkach najczesciej luznych, co oczywiscie nie przeszkadza w niczem konsekwentnemu przeprowadzeniu swoistych zasad kompozycji. Dobrze jest podkreslic, ze nawet plotno pozornie zupelnie oderwane od rzeczywistosci, jak n.p. Bracque'a Leger'a i Picabii, uderzaja nas mozajka przedmiotow, ktore choc moze nie spotykane w otoczeniu, latwo moglyby byc zrobione z papieru, lub z drzewa. W preciwienstwie to tego, formizm zrywa z tradycyjnym pojeciem rzeczy, kladac raczej nacisk na ksztalty, ktore obecnosc rzeczy nadaje atmosferze. Skutkiem tego obrazy formistyczne, chociaz nawet oparte na materjale znanym z codziennego doswiadczenia, nie dziela z niem charakteru mozajkowego, wykazujac usilna tendencje dojak najwiekszej jednolitosci." Leon Chwistek, "Formizm," *Formisci* 2 (April 1920): 3.

[530] "Rzecz jasna, ze dla laika zaskoczonego niezwyklym wygladem plotna, roznice te sa nieistotne, poniewaz i w jednym i w drugim wypadku czuje sie podraznionym w swoich przyzwyczajeniach." Ibid.

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[531] "Rowniez w ornamentach wypelniajacych np. dywany perskie mozemy dopatrywac sie to helmu rycerza, to labedzia, to postaci kobiecej, ale przekonamy sie rychlo, ze ten sposob patrzenia nietylko nie ulatwia nam wczucia sie w piekno tych przedmiotow, ale musi wywolac rychlo znuzenie i niesmak." Ibid., 2.

[532] The drawing, dated c.1912, appeared on the cover of the Formists' Exhibition catalogue in Warsaw in 1921.

[533] *Formisci* published two poems by Jasienski: "Panienki w lesie"(Young Ladies in the Forest) and "Café." They were both signed "Wiktor Jasienski."

[534] He probably also included Zborowski's poem, "Milosc" ("Love"), which was published in the second issue of *Formisci*. Zborowski lived in London during the war.

[535] "Umarl Apollinaire, Picasso stal sie skatalogowanym malarzem, dwa miejsca do wziecia." L[udwik]. Markous [Marcoussis], "Korespondencja z Paryza, Paryz, w grudniu 1919," *Formisci* 2 (April 1920): 12.

[536] Paintings by the three artists from Lodz are only known from their descriptions in the reviews from the show. The exhibition catalogue has not been located.

[537] "[Powstaja teraz] ciala ludzkie, traktowane w sposob czysto rysunkowy, pociagniete tylko jakas jedna konwencjonalna barwa, ale za to zbudowane mocno i pysznie wymodelowane. Przewrotowiec daje akty niemal akademickie w swojej skonczonosci, 'futurysta' podejmuje motywy mistrzow renesansowych: motyw Wenus (*Wenus*) i motyw Danae (naga lezaca kobieta z uniesionymi w gore kolanami: *Sen*)....Objawia sie w nich indywidualnosc pokrewna malarzom-rysownikom z konca XV i poczatku XVI wieku." Mieczyslaw Wallis," Wystawa obrazow Zbigniewa Pronaszki," *Robotnik* 166 (1922); reprinted in Mieczyslaw Wallis, *Sztuka polska dwudziestolecia, wybor pism z lat 1921-1957* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1959), 133-134.

[538] For a detailed discussion of works in the show and their critical reception, see Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 141-150. Discussing the exhibition, Pollakowna joined Chwistek and other critics in blaming some of the problems in the development of Formism on its association with Expressionism and Futurism. In her attempt to dissociate Formism from German Expressionism and Futurism, she goes as far as describing Czyzewski's multi-planar paintings (obrazy wieloplaszczyznowe) as proving Czyzewski's inspiration by Dadaism. Czyzewski developed a controversial reputation in Kraków in 1912, when, after returning from Paris, his individual exhibition closed a week after its opening, due to protest from the public.

[539] "Ekspresjonism" was a chapter in Winkler's *Formizm na tle wspolczesnych kierunkow w sztuce* (1921).

[540] For an example of negative criticism toward the Fourth Formist Exhibition, see, for example, T.S., "Z Palacu Sztuki—Wystawa formistow," *Czas* (Kraków, January 27,

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1921).

[541] "[B]luznierstwo i gdzie nie tylko estetyczne i etyczne, ale nawet religijne idealy sa bezczeszczone." Unsigned article entitled "Protest," *Kurier Warszawski*, no. 130 (May 12, 1921).

[542] Winkler is considered to have created the first "formist" painting in 1907. See Irena Jakimowicz ed., *Formisci*, exh. cat., (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe, 1989).

[543] Winkler's narrative of the development of Formism has been the most often used in discussions of the movement. Pollakowna, however, questions Winkler's interpretation of Formism, calling it a "compilation" of other writings. See Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 138. Although already in 1921 Winkler wrote in "Formizm na tle wspolczesnych kierunkow w sztuce" that Formism stood close to German Expressionism.

[544] "Czlowiek wspolczesny przekonuje sie bowiem coraz widoczniej o tem, ze wstapil w nowy etap historji—stanal na rubiezy dwoch odmiennych swiatow, gdzie nie romantyczne gedzlarstwo ani plytka analiza zyciowych problemow, lecz jakis prometejski gest, jakis skok w proznie szalony i w tworczym obledzie zrodzony czyn, moze go uchronic od coraz bardziej w egzystencje jego wdzierajacej sie, mechanizacji zycia." Konrad Winkler, "Bez programu," *Formisci* 4 (April 1921): 1.

[545] Similar ambiguity can be detected in Czyzewski's "Pogrzeb romantyzmu—Uwiad starczy symbolizmu—Smierc programizmu," devoted to contemporary poetry, published in the same issue, 12-13.

[546] The Fourth Formists' Exhibition opened in the TPSP in Kraków in January 1921 and gathered around 180 works by seventeen artists. With some changes, the exhibition was presented at the Zacheta Gallery in Warsaw in April 1921, causing a protest by older artists associated with the Zacheta. This protest was one of the main reasons for Witkacy's text.

[547] "Bez wzgledu na rozne odchylenia, wszyscy Formisci zgodzili sie na to, ze Forma to nie jest ukubistyczniony kot, ani rondystyczna dama, ani 'dobrze narysowana czy wyrzezbiona lydka', tylko *konstrukcja* calosci obrazu, lub rzezby, na ktorej ocenienie nie ma, nie bylo i byc nie moze obiektywnego kryteryum i zaden alchemik krytyki artystycznej go nie wynajdzie." Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Z powodu krytyki IV-tej wystawy Formistow," *Formisci* 4 (April 1921): 6.

[548] As mentioned earlier, in *Nowe formy w malarstwie* Witkacy questioned the meaning of construction as it was defined by Russian Constructivists: "Construction is not a criterion, because a work of art is not a bridge, which, if it does not collapse under the weight of the first train, is a good one." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 96. In "About Pure Form," Witkacy connected "constructivity of an object or phenomenon" (konstruktywnosc przedmiotu czy zjawiska) to form and "Formal Beauty (Piekno Formalne), which he considered "artistic beauty par excellence." He called form—"what

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gives certain unity to complex objects and phenomena" (tym, co nadaje pewna jednosc zlozonym przedmiotom i zjawiskom). Witkacy's "O Czystej Formie," 192.

[549] "W dazeniu do konstrukcyjnosci jestesmy w zwiazku z cala Sztuka swiata: Z Quatrocentem i Chinami, z Egiptem i Murzynami, z Papua i Byzancyum. Nie jestesmy tylko w zgodzie z realizmem, ta jedna falszywa odnoga malarstwa i rzezby, wiodaca swoj rodowod z realistycznej sztuki greckiej, z realizmem na ktorym opiera sie cala falszywa ideologja naszych estetow." Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Z powodu krytyki IV-tej wystawy Formistow," *Formisci* 4 (April 1921): 6-7.

[550] Irzykowski ridiculed the poem in *Przeglad Warszawski* in 1922: "A record has been achieved by Mr. Czyzewski in his work entitled *Mechaniczny ogrod.* He draws first sticks with circles like railroad signs; some targets are square, in their middle words: white rose, paz krolowej, lewkonia, pierwiosnek, daisy....What can be vaster in content and [more] concise in form in this domain?" Karol Irzykowski, "Na Giewoncie formizmu," *Przeglad Warszawski* 6 (1922).

[551] w klubie pod PLACHTA CZARNA
zgielk... roi sie – gwalt – halas MAS
chaos slow - - chaos glow - - chaos rak - -
ztamtad - - ztad – ciagly – ciag - -
- gwarne narady
...
Wieczorem – drzac – czytali
nadzwyczajne dodatki burzuje
Wzdychali.

Stanislaw Mlodozeniec, "Anarchisci," *Formisci* 5 (May 1921): 14.

[552] "A u nas zacofanie, apatja, nuda i jakas dziwna dusz i serc omdlalosc, a przytem swiat deskami zabity, stokroc gorzej nisz w czasach przedwojennych." Konrad Winkler, "Na nowych drogach sztuki," *Formisci* 6 (July 1921): 2.

[553] "Czyzby to byla transfuzja mlodej kultury rosyjskiej w zyly przezytych kultur Zachodu?...*Sztuka wspolczesna zdaza najwidoczniej w dwu odmiennych kierunkach: formy i barwy*, do jakiejs wielkiej syntezy." Ibid., 3. Konrad Winkler explained the differences between Cubism and Formism in *Formisci polscy*, 1927. Winkler argued that Cubism was primarily interested in the interpretation of form and not the form per se. Formists, in contrast, were interested in form as an "organic construction," guided by their objective compositional logic; they used color as a unifying force. Obviously, Winkler's text was written when Constructivism had already left an imprint on the artistic thinking among Polish artists.

[554] Pollakowna suggests that Winkler's solidarity with German Expressionism has more to do with his attempt to dissociate himself from Futurism than from real commitment to Expressionism. See Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 161.

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[555] "I tak zdaza cala nowa tworczosc w Niemczech od rozpaczy i zwatpienia ku czynnemu optymizmowi." Julian Rot-Czerwinski, "Nowa poezja i dramat w Niemczech," *Formisci* 6 (June 1921): 11

[556] "Wystawa sztuki polskiej w Paryzu pobudzi = rzad francuski do zakupienia 20 plocien Henryka Rousseau i powieszenie ich w Luwrze. Obrazy 'polskie' zostana zapakowane i odeslane z pietyzmem do Polski (przesylka zaplacona)." Tytus Czyzewski, "Od maszyny do zwierzat—kto sie gniewa na nas?," *Formisci* 4 (April 1921): 16.

[557] After World War I (prior to the exhibition at the Musée Crillon), Polish artists presented their works in the Exposition franco-polonais d'art et souvenirs at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1919 and during the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1921.

[558] Waldemar George was born Grzegorz Jarocinski in 1893 in Lodz. He left Poland for France in 1911, moving to Paris, where he studied at the Sorbonne and collaborated with various Parisian periodicals. Between 1917 and 1922, George wrote cultural criticism for leftist magazines with anarchist sympathies, such as *Les Cahiers idealistes francais* and *La Forge.* He also wrote on avant-garde art for *L'Esprit nouveau* and *Das Kunstblatt.* He closely identified himself with French culture and art. In 1925, George published in *Poludnie* the article "The State of Contemporary French Painting " (Stan wspolczesnego malarstwa francuskiego), in which he argued that French art had basically stagnated. He criticized Derain, Gleizes, R. Delaunay, and Léger, but praised Picasso, Braque, Matisse, André Denoyer de Segonzac, and Marcoussis, the last one for "enriching cubist painting [by] covering surfaces with contrasted colors of vivid brightness and tonal richness." George concluded that the strength of French art lay in its "respect for craftsmanship and artists' hate of ideology, [which is] an inherent default of German art," whereas its weakness—is in its "predilection for formalism that approaches academism and placing technical skills and material values over spiritual components essential for [producing] masterpieces." In 1928, he published a book on the avant-garde theater director Boris Aronson (*Boris Aronson et l'art du theatre*, Paris: Editions des Chroniques du Jour) and Abraham Manievich's monograph (Paris: Editions le Triangle), but at the same time he was rapidly changing his political and cultural orientation, starting to champion basically Fascist ideology and aesthetics.

[559] Cited in Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 168.

[560] Czeslaw Garlinski's "Salon Sztuki," opened in 1922, was transformed from an bookstore that also sold art (antykwariat in Polish). It existed until 1939 at Mazowiecka 16, then again as a bookstore until 1944, when it was destroyed together with the rest of Warsaw during the Warsaw Rising against the Germans during World War II. It organized 252 group and individual exhibitions of about 270 almost exclusively Polish artists, including members of the Polish avant-garde. It was partially modeled on an earlier "Salon Sztuki" belonging to the Krywult family (which existed until 1906). Other important private galleries in Warsaw included: Stefan Kulikowski's "Salon Sztuki" and

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Feliks Richling's "Salon Artystyczny." For a discussion of the patronage in Poland, see Rogoyska's "Z dziejow mecenatu artystycznego w Polsce w latach 1918-1930," 128-200.

[561] A long list of exhibitions at the Garlinski Salon included Czyzewski, Witkacy, Winkler, Rafalowski, Stazewski and Strzeminski, next to Pankiewicz, Skoczylas, Stryjenska, and Tadeusz Kulisiewicz.

[562] Swinarski recalled in 1932: "Wroniecki was quickly perceived by the Expressionists from *Zdrój* with suspicion and called a Formist, which was the biggest insult in those circles." Swinarski's *Wspolczesna grafika poznanska*, 12.

from *Zdrój* with suspicion and called a Formist, which was the biggest insult in those
[563]circles." Swinarski's *Wspolczesna grafika poznanska*, 12.
Gallery, which caused a protest of conservative artists in Warsaw. Stazewski exhibited with the Formists again in March 1922, participating in the above-mentioned "F9" exhibition with, among others, a work entitled *Konie* (Horses). The work recalled the Expressionism of Marc, but Stazewski's early paintings were in general more influenced by Cubism and Purism. The critic Jan Lipka wrote in *Lucifer*: "Stazewski shows clearly a predilection toward Formist tendencies. He presented paintings decorative in their character, originally stylizing the outside world." J [an] L[ipka], *Lucifer* 2-4 (1922): 34. On another occasion, Stefania Zahorska analyzed Stazewski's *Martwa natura z dzbankiem* shown during the Blok exhibition at the Auto-Salon "Laurin & Klement." She wrote in *Poludnie*: "The center of the composition is a white spot of a jug, which by being inclined to the right creates certain cyclical movement from the top to the bottom. The positioning of the plane to the right from the jug, particularly a light plane with three concaves [wglebienia] and a dark one with an elliptic ornamental motif, creates cyclical movement in the opposite direction, from the bottom to the top, which has to balance the previous movement. A certain dynamic effect appears in the contours of the planes, a light one and a darker in the upper left corner of the painting." Stefania Zahorska, "Kubizm i jego pochodne," *Poludnie* 1 (1924): 35. In 1923, Stazewski participated in the International Exhibition of Modern Art (Miedzynarodowa Wystawa Sztuki Nowoczesnej) in Lodz, which had Expressionistic character (in 1924 it was brought to Warsaw).

[564] Mentioned in Mieczyslaw Treter's *Wystawy Salonu Czeslawa Garlinskiego* in *Przeglad Mlodej Sztuki* (Warsaw, 1925).

[565] Unsigned, "Zapiski," *Zwrotnica* 1 (May 1922): 16.

[566] "Stowarzyszenie formistow przestala istniec," Chwistek's *Tytus Czyzewski a kryzys formizmu*.

[567] "Utrzymala sie grupa warszawska, ktora pozostawala z nami zawsze w dosc luznym zwiazku," Ibid.

[568] Waliszewski collaborated with *Zwrotnica*, designing its cover for the third issue. In 1924, he joined the Paris Committee (Komitet Paryski, called K.P. or kapisci), which opened in Paris as a section of Kraków Academy of Fine Arts.

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[569] Chwistek's *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, 109.

[570] A. Pronaszko's first Formist theater sets were produced in Lodz in 1920 for Berger's *The Flooding.*

[571] Tytus Czyzewski, "Wystawa obrazow Tytusa Czyzewskiego," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 44 (1923), 708.

[572] In the early 1920s, Chwistek delineated a theory of *strefizm*, which was intended to form a theoretical base for his art, this time in opposition to Strzeminski's *unism*. The principles of strefizm were spelled out in the first issue of *Zwrotnica* (May 1922), in the article "Teatr przyszlosci: krytyka metody genetycznej." In art, *strefizm* was based on the grouping of formal elements of paintings according to similar colors and shapes in designated parts of the image, while gradually moving from one part to another with "transitional" elements.

[573] Konrad Winkler, *Formisci polscy*, 1927. Earlier, Wiktor Doda wrote another book on Formism—*Na rozdrozach polskiego formizmu* (Tarnow, 1925). The name of the group was revived in 1927 with the Exhibition of Works by Formist Artists (Wystawa Prac Artystow Malarzy Formistow) which opened at the Zacheta Gallery with seven participants: Czyzewski, A. Pronaszko, Rutkowski, Winkler, Witkacy, Zaruba, and Stanislaw Zalewski (the last one never exhibited with the Formists before). Several other exhibitions followed. However, the group as it was originally created ceased to exist in 1922.

[574] "Przyjalem nazwe futurysty, jaka mnie obdarzono—jak swego czasu przyjalem (w pelni przekonania) nazwe 'formisty'. Musze oswiadczyc, ze wszystkie nazwy stosuja sie do mnie posrednio i przemijajaco... *Moja sztuka nie jest programowa.*" Tytus Czyzewski, "Moj futuryzm," *Zwrotnica* 6 (November 1923), 185-86.

[575] "My 'futurysci polscy' spelnialismy i spelniamy role i prace odnowicieli epoki w swiecie i Polsce." Ibid., 186.

Endnotes for "Futurism."

[576] "Wojna wszehswiatowa wraz z olbzymim pszesunecem se calych panstw warstw i naroduw pocagnela za soba wielkie pszesunece wartosci. Rezultatem tego jest kryzys kulturalny, kturego widowna jest dzisaj cala Europa Wshodna i Zahodna. U nas ten kryzys objawia se w szczegulne ostrej i specyficznej formie. Pultora wieku newoli politycznej wycisnelo na calej naszej fizjognomii, psyhice i produkcji trawdy, nezatarty sceg....**My, futurysci polscy, skladamy w tym miejscu polskiej poezji romantycznej okresu newoli, kturej widma dzisaj bez litosci szczuc i dobijac musimy—hold za to, ze w czasach wielkiego skupiana se i powolnego dojzewana Narodu Polskiego ne byla sztuka 'czysta', a wlasne gleboko narodowa, ze pisana byla sokiem i krwia samego pszewalajacego se zyca, ze byla tetnem i kszykiem swojego dna, jaka w ogule i jedyne**

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moze i musi byc kazda sztuka.
Dla tyh samyh pszyczyn dzisaj, kiedy wraz z odzyskanem samodzelnego bytu politycznego, zyce polskie wstapilo w zupelne nowa faze i ocknelo se wobec miliona czyhajacyh u dzwi zagadnen, o kturyh wczoraj jeszcze ne bylo po prostu czasu myslec, a na kture dzis juz tszeba dac bezwloczna i kateroryczna odpowiedz, jezeli ne hcemy, aby fale nabiegajace znuw nas zalaly, wolamy do was:
Dosyc dlugo bylismy juz narodem-panopticum, produkujacym tylko mumie i relikwie. Szalone nepowstszymane dzis wali do wszystkih naszyh dzwi i okien, kszyczy, dopomina se, wymaga. Jezeli ne stac nas na stwozene nowyh kategorii, w kturyh by se moglo pomiescic nowej sztuki, w kturej by se moglo wyspiewac—ne ostoimy se."
Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki, 7-9.

[577] Wat remembered that "the small leaflet entitled *Tak* (Yes) was the first presentation [wystapienie] of the group from Warsaw," published in 1918. See Aleksander Wat, "Wspomnienia o futuryzmie," *Miesiecznik Literacki* 2 (1930). (Berlewi was reported to own the only copy of the leaflet.) In 1920, the group published *To sa niebieskie piety, ktore trzeba pomalowac*, with poems by Stefan Kordian Gacki, Wat, S. Strumph-Wojtkiewicz, Stern, J.M. Rytard, L. Solecki. Neither of the publications had a form of manifesto.
Futurism had other adherents as well mostly young poets eager to publish their first works. Other publications had names such as: *4-ty jednoranek najpozniej urodzonych warszawskich, Trr, Jednorodek futurystyczny, Pam-Bam* (mentioned by Witkacy in his "Pare zarzutow preciw futuryzmowi), *Jednodniowka najmlodszych futurystow*.

[578] Nicolai Berdiaev, *Krisis iskustva* (Moscow, 1918), 26; cited in Nina Gurianova, "A New Aesthetic: Word and Image" in *Russian Futurist Books, Defining Russian Graphic Arts, 1898-1934: From Diaghilev to Stalin*, ed. Alla Rosenfeld (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 102.

[579] "Na temat tego, czym jest futuryzm, formizm, ekspresjonizm, kubizm i inne kierunki, panuje wsrod publicznosci zamieszanie wprost piekielne." S. I. Witkiewicz, "Pare zarzutow przeciwko futuryzmowi," cited in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne*, 316.

[580] Jasienski, Mlodozeniec, Czyzewski, Stern, and Wat were major Polish Futurists. Jerzy Jankowski (1887-1941) wrote futurist poems as early as 1914, but they were noticed only after he briefly joined the Warsaw Futurists in 1919. He was never a member of the Futurists and his futurist output consisted of only one small volume of poetry. The previously mentioned *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki* also included poetry of Adam Wazyk (1905-1982), who was associated with the New Art movement. For discussion of Jankowski's works, see Andrzej Lam, "Poczatki swiadomosci ekspresjonistycznej w Polsce," *Przeglad Humanistyczny* 4 (1962), 1-30; hereafter cited as Lam's "Poczatki swiadomosci ekspresjonistycznej w Polsce."

[581] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide, Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986), 11.

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[582] Translated by Nina Kolesnikoff, cited in Kolesnikoff's *Bruno Jasienski, His Evolution from Futurism to Socialist Realism* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982), 132-133; hereafter cited as Kolesnikoff's *Bruno Jasienski.*

[583] Berlewi, who designed a poster for one of the Futurist evenings in 1919, mentioned that information about Italian Futurism reached Warsaw through various publications and articles in the local press during World War I. See Berlewi's resume deposited at the Special Collection of the Instytut Sztuki PAN, Archives of Juliusz Starzynski, nr. inw. 1355.

[584] "Rozped, furia, wiara, smialosc...pograda smierci... *credo* czynu szybkiego jak automobil, lotnego i zuchwalego jak aeroplan, to jest elisksir dla naszej braci literackiej w wysokim stopniu potrzeby. J. Grabowski, "Najnowsze prady w literaturze najnowszej—futuryzm," *Swiat* 40-41 (1909); quoted in Grzegorz Gazda *Futuryzm w Polsce* (Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo PAN, 1974), 62; hereafter cited as Gazda's *Futuryzm w Polsce.*

[585] Tadeusz Bezimienny, "Ze sztuki i zycia," *Krytyka* 38 (February 1913).

[586] Weininger was mentioned by the Italian Futurists, for example, by Giovanni Papini in "Il significato del futurismo," published in *Lacerba* in 1913. Jankowski's article contained, in fact, a reevaluation of early Futurism similar to Papini's text. For a discussion of Papini's article, see Baumgarth's *Futuryzm*, 144-173.

[587] "Najniezawodniej, wywolana nowymi, na ten sam mniej wiecej czas przypadajacymi zdobyczami lotnictwa, mozliwosc patrzenia na swiat z wysokosci lotu ptaka nasunela wlasnie malarzom futurystycznym mysl wyobrazenia sobie widzenia nie jak dotychczas przed obrazem, lecz w calym jego centrum, umozliwiajac jakby w ten sposob widzenie wszechstronne, droga do ktorego jest zestawienie w obrazie tego, co sobie przypominamy, z tym, co widzimy, sugestionujace rowniez przedmioty znajdujace sie poza nami." Aleksander Koltonski, "O futuryzmie jako zjawisku kulturalnym i artystycznym," *Krytyka* 42-43 (1914). For a detailed analysis of early Polish writings on Futurism, see Lam's "Poczatki swiadomosci ekspresjonistycznej w Polsce."

[588] Jasienski's "Futuryzm Polski (Bilans)," 180.

[589] Jankowski wrote mainly on politics, propagating socialism, which he actively supported during the 1905 Revolution, working as a political agitator for PPS (Polish Socialist Party) in Lodz. He was expelled from the Polish Kingdom (under Russian rule) for his leftist political activities and went to study in Paris, Dresden, and Dorpat. He returned to Warsaw in 1912. During World War I, Jankowski lived in Russia. His articles on culture and art were aimed at criticizing the bourgeois liberalism of Aleksander Switochowski and the nationalism of Roman Dmochowski and their passive sentimentalism and heavy reliance on Romantic tradition. Of Polish writers, he praised (with reservations) Wyspianski, Stanislaw Brzozowski, and Zeromski. He also analyzed

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Bergsonism and Italian Futurism.

[590] "Socjalisci nie potrafili obronic logiki swego zasadniczego pojecia: klasy, krytycy demokracji ozywieni pieknym nieraz idealem, jak np. przed dziesieciu laty Miriam—haslem sztuki, nie zrozumieli psychologicznej wartosci koncepcji szczerze demokratycznej, nie dostrzegli tej swietej i wielkiej zgrozy, ktora miewaja poruszenia ludzi....Modernizm nasz sprzed lat dziesieciu przyniosl na Zachod haslo wolnosci w panstwie tworczego ducha i natychmiast pograzyl je w niewoli oderwanego, czczego formalizmu. Przeestetyzowalismy, zmarnowalismy swe idealy, ku ktorym rozwoj zycia spolecznego nie zblizyl nas nawet o krok jeden." Jerzy Jankowski, "Dzieci protestu," *Zloty Rog* 40-41 (1913).

[591] "Indiwidualnosci podobne do Whitmana, w ktorych umilowanie ludu i demokracji laczy sie organicznie z idealizmem o zakroju anarchistycznym oraz poszukiwaniem piekna nizin w lodygach, sa zapowiedziami nowych syntez artystycznych, tym bardziej pozadanych, ze zgodnych z rytmami rozwoju naszego zycia." Ibid.

[592] By 1921, Jankowski was diagnosed with a mental illness and spent the rest of his life in a psychiatric asylum in Vilnius.

[593] Czyzewski mentioned the manifesto in "Poetry of the Expressionists and the Futurists"(Poezja Ekspresjonistow i Futurystow), printed in *Goniec Krakowski* 153 (1919); cited in *Antologia poezji futurystycznej*, 33-38. Czyzewski also briefly discussed Rimbauld, Walt Whitman, Italian Futurists' *Almanacco purgativo*, poets around *Le Soirées de Paris* (Apollinaire, Max Jacob, Luc Durtain, Blaise Cendrars, and Birot), and German writers: August Stramm, Yvan Goll, Rubiner, and Walden.

[594] Gorky's article stated: "There is no Russian futurism. There are only Igor Syevyeryanin, Mayakovsky, Burliuk, V. Kamensky....However ridiculous and noisy our Futurists might be, one must open the door wide for them; wide, because theirs are young voices calling for a new life." Quoted in Wiktor Woroszylski, *The Life of Mayakovsky*, transl. Boleslaw Taborski (New York: The Orion Press, 1970), 149-150.

[595] In *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, Zbigniew Jarosinski expresses the opinion that during the Moscow years Jasienski "had to read" Mayakovsky, Jesienin, Khlebnikov and Kruschonyck, and follow closely the activities of Russian Futurists. In 1922, Stur complained that "new poetry" in Warsaw "is only preoccupied with Whitman" and "incredibly young Russian writers (Severianin)." Jan Stur, "Poezja 'nowa' Polski zmartwychwstalej, *Na przelomie* (Lvov, 1922); quoted in Ratajczak's *Krzyk i ekstaza*, 260.

[596] In his book devoted to Jasienski, Stern mentions several times that Severianin influenced Jasienski in the early stages of his career, although Sten considered Severianin's influence on Jasienski to be basically negative. According to Stern, Jasienski's fascination with Severianin diminished when he discovered Mayakovaki. Stern quoted Mayakovsky stating in 1935 that he first read Mayakovsky in 1921-22. See

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Stern's *Bruno Jasienski*, 14, 16, 24, and 223.

[597] Aleksander Wat, *My Century: The Odyssey of a Polish Intellectual*, ed. and transl. Richard Lourie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3; hereafter cited as Wat's *My Century*.

[598] Stern wrote: "Czy Jasienski znal juz wowczas [w Rosji] przeslanki, ktore pomagaja poetom uczynic ze swojej tworczosci trwaly wklad do przeobrazen narodu?...Nalezy w to watpic. Sam wciaz byl we wladzy wielu konwencji przeszlosci i wiele z tego, co rozplomienialo jego wyobraznie, niezupelnie jeszcze dotarlo do jego swiadomosci poetyckiej." Stern's *Bruno Jasienski*, 17.

[599] Jasienski returned to Poland from Russia in 1918 to study philosophy at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. By 1923 his political radicalism found a new venue on the pages of the communist newspaper, *Trybuna Robotnicza*. Dissatisfied with the rise of Polish nationalism, he traveled to France in 1925, where he organized a theater for Polish mine workers and collaborated with *l'Humanité*. He traveled to Russia in 1929, after being expelled from France for his political radicalism expressed in *Je brûle Paris*, 1928. Jasienski went to Russia, where he became involved with the official literary scene as a member of the board of editors of the Moscow Association of Proletarian Writers (MAPP) and editor of several magazines. He was arrested in 1937 and sent to a labor camp near Vladivostok, where he died in 1939. For a discussion of Jasienski's art and life, see also Kolesnikoff's *Bruno Jasienski*.

[600] In his memoir, Wat argued that Polish Futurists did not know the Italian Futurists' slogans and did not read a single bit of their Futurist work when they declared themselves Futurists, although one could argue that due to the attention Italian Futurism received in Poland (even in the popular press), ignoring it was simply impossible. Stern expressed the same opinion in his biography of Jasienski, stating that he and his colleagues knew writings of Western and Russian avant-gardes "at best from titles or critical opinions." "Niestety, w owych czasach [pierwszych latach po wojnie] postawowe dziela [awangardy europejskiej], ktore mialy z czasem dokonac zupelnego przewrotu w swiadomosci nie tylko artystycznej, ale i filozoficznejnadchodzacych pokolen, byly w najlepszym razie znane u nas z tytulow lub z opinii krytycznych." Stern's *Bruno Jasienski*, 65-66.

[601] Alexander Blok spent 18 days in Poland in December 1909, visiting his father who taught at Warsaw University and died just before Blok's visit.

[602] Wat's *My Century*, 23-24. Writing in 1959 (years after Wat left Poland and became an anti-Communist), he continued: "Mayakovsky was an example of how that equation is made, that false identification of what is unjustly called "revolutionism" in art with social revolution."

[603] The first issue of the magazine appeared in March 1916 and was edited by Edward Boye. It was a publication by students of Warsaw University. The magazine also published the previously mentioned Lechon poem "Herostrates" (1917).

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[604] Sergei Tretiakov was a Russian playwright, poet, critic, and theoretician from the circles of LEF. He worked with Meyerhold and Eisenstein. Tretiakov invented the so-called "agitguignol," a combination of agit and guignol theaters. The theater director Leon Schiller staged his plays in Poland.

[605] Tlumie badz dziki!!!
Tlumie, TY masz racje!!!
The poem ignited heated discussions among Polish writers, poets, and artists. *Zdrój* was among the first of Tuwim's defenders in its notes from the Editor: "Pro arte et Studio" and "In Defense of Julian Tuwim" (*Zdrój* 2 [July 1918]). However, *Zdroj* under the editorial control of Stur turned against Tuwim. See "Open Letter to Julian Tuwim" (List otwarty do Juliana Tuwima), *Zdrój* 10 (April 1920). The scale of attacks on Tuwim can be grasped from a headline in *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*: "A Jewish Pornographer." Mentioned in Andrzej Zawada, *Dwudziestolecie literackie* (Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Dolnoslaskie, 1997), 38.
Tuwim is sometimes considered to be the first Futurist, on the basis of his invention of "slowopienie" which relied on euphonic effects similar to *zaum* poetry. However, Polish Futurists, with the exception of Wat in his *Namopaniki*, never went as far as the "zaum" poetry.

[606] Tzara had to be known to Polish artists at least since 1919, when Kubicki reprinted in French Tzara's *Note 18 sur l'Art* in *his* issue of *Zdrój*. Tzara was, perhaps, particularly important for Polish Futurists because he transformed Dadaism into a literary movement. In 1922, *Zwrotnica* published Tzara's "Third Letter from Paris: Dada" (Trzeci list z Paryza: Dada) with an annotation that the article was sent by Tzara and consisted of the transcript of his lecture delivered in the Theatre Champs Elysées in Paris. The article was signed "Tristan Tzara, Paris 1921."

[607] Henryk Berlewi, *Wspomnienia z lat dwudziestych*, eds. Zofia Baranowicz and Barbara Wojciechowska (Warsaw, 1966, manuscript deposited in the Instytut Sztuki PAN).

[608]Café Pod Pikadorem opened on November 29, 1918, in Warsaw at Nowy Swiat 57. Leaflets and press reports announced that the café constituted a democratic center of independent creativity open to all young artists. Tuwim, Antoni Slonimski, and Leszek Sarafinowicz were mentioned as its "Executive Committee." They were joined by Iwaszkiewicz and Wierzynski. A typical program constituted the reading of poems by contemporary and older poets, and was changed once a week. In 1919, Pod Pikadorem moved to the basement of the Europejski Hotel, but soon closed (in April 1919). Slonimski recalled that "Pod Pikadorem" was organized to resemble Futurist clubs and cafes in Russia, instead of early Kraków artistic cafés and cabarets, Paon and Zielony Balonik. For discussion of the cabarets in Kraków at the turn-of-the-century, see Harold B. Segel, *Turn-of-the-century Cabaret: Paris, Barcelona, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Cracow, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Zurich* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987). The poets associated with Café Pod Pikadorem would soon create the group Skamander.

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[609] In his memoir, Wat, who often called his Futurist period a Dadaist one, pointed to another important source of his philosophy: "my early readings of *A Seducer's Diary* and Kierkegaard's *Either/Or* had made me aware of my natural aversion to 'aesthetes.' In my early youth, I wanted to end up as a drunk in the gutter, a *clochard* (and I came close to it in my dadaist phase) or, alternatively, as a hermit philosopher living in the extreme poverty that I thought probably lay in store for me anyway." Wat's *My Century*, 208.

[610] "I. CYWILIZACJA, KULTURA, Z ICH CHOROBLIWOSCIA—NA SMIETNIK.
wybieramy prostote ordynarnosc, wesolosc zdrowie, trywialnosc, smiech.
od smiechu dusza tyje i dostaje silne grube lydy.
wyrzekamy sie dobrowolnie dostojnosci, powagi, pietyzmu, lisci lauru, ktorymi nas wienczycie, uzyjemy jako przyprawy do potraw.

II. PRZEKRESLAMY HISTORIE I POTOMNOSC.
takze rzym tolstoja, krytyke kapelusze indie bawarie i kraków.
polska winna sie wyrzec tradycji, mumii ksiecia jozefa i teatru.
miasto burzymy. wszelki mechanizm—aeroplany, tramwaje,
wynalazki telefon, zamiast nich pierwotne srodki porozumienia sie,
apoteoza konia. domy jedynie skladane i ruchome.
mowa krzyczana i rymowana.

III. ustroj spoleczny rozumiemy przez wladztwo idiotow stotnych
i kapitalistow. jest to grunt najbardziej plodny w smiech i w rewolucje.

IV. **wojny winny sie toczyc na piescie.**

...

VIII. poezja. pozostawimy rym i rytm gdyz sa pierwsze i zapladniajace.
zniszczenie zaciesniajacych tworczosc regul zaleta niezgrabnosci.
dowolnosc form gramatycznych, ortografii i przystankowania, w zaleznosci od tworcy.
mickiewicz jest ograniczony. **slowacki jest niezrozumialym belkotem.**

SLOWA maja swa wage, dzwiek, barwe, swoj rysunek.
ZAJMUJA MIEJSCE W PRZESTRZENI. sa to decydujace wartosci slowa.
slowa najkrotsze (dzwiek) i slowa najdluzsze (ksiazka). znaczenie slowa
jest rzecza podrzedna i nie zalezy od przypisywanego mu pojecia nalezy je
traktowac jako material dzwiekowy. UZYTY NIEONOMATOPEICZNIE.

...

gga. gga panowie wypadlo na arene swiata, wywijajac swoim podwojnym g,
a krzyczy, a—to usta tego wspanialego i ordynarnego bydlecia. wlasciwie morda, pysk, albo ryj.
Cited in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, 3-6

[611] choc choc do mnie przyjacielu
i ty cocteau i ty majakowskij
boccioni tzara
i wy i oni
wszyscy
trzeba dusic **obywatela**

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Wat and Stern, "Gga: Pierwszy polski almanach poezji futurystycznej. Dwumiesiecznik prymitiwistow," 1920, quoted in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, 218
In his poem, Stern mentioned also Khlebnikov, Apollinaire, and Gabriele d'Annunzio.

[612] Apart from the most famous "gga," Stern and Wat published also "Tak" and "To sa niebieskie piety, ktore trzeba pomalowac."

[613] The collections of poems include: Stern's *Futuryzje* and *Nagi czlowiek w srodmiesciu*, both 1919, Wat's *Ja z jednej strony i Ja z drugiej strony mego mopsozelaznego piecyka*,1920, and previously mentioned *To sa niebieskie piety, ktore trzeba pomalowac*, 1920, published jointly by Wat and Stern,

[614] For discussion of the novel, see Joachim T. Baer, "Waclaw Berent's *Ozimina*: An Analysis," in *For Wiktor Weintraub, Essays*, 43-57.

[615] Warsaw's first gallery, ran by the Zacheta Society for Encouragement of the Fine Arts, existed from 1860, propagating mostly academic art and "safe" Impressionism and even Postimpressionism and organizing yearly salons. The Zacheta's artistic policies were mainly decided by its "members," recruited from the affluent circles of Polish society, mostly bourgeoisie, represented by a twelve-member committee elected by popular voting. As previously mentioned, Zacheta became a favorite target for attacks by the Polish avant-garde. The Warsaw Art Society (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Artystyczne) was created in 1899 also to represent interests of mostly traditional artists, having on its board Wojciech Gerson and E. Niewiadomski. The Society's role diminished after World War I and was practically limited to organizing traveling exhibitions of established art. In response to Zacheta's conservatism and its monopoly of showing art in Warsaw, the musician and composer Henryk Melcer founded the Polish Arts Club (Polski Klub Artystyczny known as PKA) in 1916-17. Originally conceived as a social club for the artistic community, it gradually took on the role of an alternative institution devoted to cultivating modernism through exhibitions and lectures. The Polish Arts Club stayed away, however, from any forms of radicalism, stressing its internationalist agenda.(In 1927, the Club was the site of Malevich's exhibition of his Suprematist works, attended by the artist on his way to Berlin.) Many members of the Club joined the Formists in 1919 and participated in their exhibitions organized in the Club's gallery. Warsaw had only a few private galleries, among the most important—"art salons" owned by Aleksander Krywult (existed until 1906), by Stefan Kulikowski (opened in 1904), and by Feliks Richling (opened in 1911). In 1922, Czeslaw Garlinski transformed his antiquities salon and bookstore into a gallery that played an important role in propagating new art throughout the 1920s and 1930s, organizing over 250 exhibitions and publishing catalogues with introductions by leading Polish critics and historians. The National Museum was officially opened in Warsaw in 1922, but its collection was very sporadic, lacking important works by major Polish artists.
Artistic life in Warsaw was animated by the presence of art schools. As mentioned earlier, efforts to nationalize the local School of Fine Arts and transform it into the Academy of Fine Arts resulted in its temporary closing in 1920 (it reopened in 1922). In 1920, Skoczylas transformed the Drawing School into the Municipal School of Applied

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Arts and Painting (Miejska Szkola Sztuk Zdobniczych i Malarstwa). The Wojciech Gerson Art School (Szkola Sztuk Pieknych im. Wojciecha Gersona) was inaugurated in 1921, with a basically conservative curriculum aimed at "the objective observation of nature." Quoted in Hanna Kubaszewska, "Szkola Sztuk Pieknych im. Wojciecha Gersona w Warszawie," in *Polskie zycie artystyczne w latch 1915-1939*, 529.

[616] Jasienski's "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)," 181.

[617] "Formisci zrobili na mnie wrazenie sredniowiecznego cechu poszukiwaczy nowej formy. Odgrodzeni od ulicy szklana tafla swoich pracowni rozwiazywali jeden po drugim narzucajace sie problemy malarskie, jak rozwiazuje sie rownania matematyczne, z kamiennym uporem i pewnoscia swej prawdy. A za szyba przewalalo sie zycie polskie, miotalo sie w powojennej goraczce, tluklo glowa w mur zagnane w labirynty slepych uliczek, zycie poplatane, pstre, bezjezykie. Na prace przygotowawcza bylo zapozno. Chwila domagala sie radykalnego czynu." Jasienski's "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)," 183.

[618] As Zaworska observed in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, the word "poezokoncert" was probably borrowed from Sevieryanin, who used it for the title of his poetry book published in Moscow in 1918.

[619] "Pozostawalo zaatakowac polskiego burzuja w jego legowisku." Jasienski's "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)," 181.

[620] In "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)," Jasienski stated that he met Stern and Wat for the first time in Warsaw in February 1921. He said that he read the manifesto "Tak" (written by Stern and Wat), but he disliked it because it was in the spirit of German Expressionism. Jasienski called "gga"—an anachronism." Ibid.

[621] "Sten i Wat:== wlazl na gruszke i rwal pietruszke czyli tosamo juz bylo we Wloszech przed 10 laty." Tytus Czyzewski, "Od maszyny do zwierzat—Kto sie gniewa na nas?," *Formisci* 4 (April 1921): 16.

[622] Marinetti suggested the use of such signs in his *Manifeste technique de la literature futuriste* (Milan, 1912).

[623] Syrkus graduated from the Architecture Department of the Warsaw Polytechnic in 1922. In 1921, he had published *Teka drzeworytow*, with five woodcuts inspired by Futurism.

[624] See, for example, S. I. Witkiewicz, "Pare zarzutow przeciwko futuryzmowi," cited in *Nowe formy w malarstwie i inne pisma estetyczne*, 316-319.

[625] "Latajace poezokoncerty i koncerty w pocagah, tramwajah, jadlodajnah, fabrykah, kawiarnah, na placah, dworcah, w hallh, pasazah, parkah, z balkonuw domuw, itd. Itd. Itd. O kazdej poze dna i nocy." Bruno Jasienski, "Manifest w sprawie natyhmiastowej futuryzacji zyca," cited in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, 11.

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[626] "Aparat telegraficzny morsego jest 1000 razy wiekszym arcydzielem sztuki niz Don Juan Byrona." Ibid., 13.

[627] "Kompozycje doskonala, tj. ekonomiczna i zelazna—minimum materialu pszy maximum osagnetej dynamiki—nazywamy kompozycja futurystyczna." Ibid., 19.

[628] "Czlowiek wspulczesny zajety jest pszez 8 godzin praca fahowa. Pozostale 4 godziny ma na jedzene, zalatwiane interesuw zyciowyh, sport, rozrywki, utszymywane stosunkuw towazyskih, milosc i sztuke. Na sama sztuke pszypada u pszecetnego czlowieka wspulczesnego od 5 do 15 minut dzenne. Dlatego sztuke otszymywac musi w specjalne spreparowanyh pszez artystuw kapsulkah, zawczasu oczyszczona z wszelkih zbytecznosci i podana mu w formie zupelne gotowej, syntetycznej." Ibid.

[629] Wierzynski recalled in his memoirs: "The interior made an odd impression. Aleksander Swidwinski and Witkowski, then considered Futurists, painted the room in a manner full of fantasy and humor. It took a while to get used to the overwhelming chaos of their work. Waitresses dressed in some kind of costumes with Bretonne bonnets moved in these 'futurist frames'....A leaflet on the table announced the dictatorship of the proletariat. I wasn't moved by the programmatic declarations of the painters, who became known as great comics and lesser ideologues. But I was moved by the poems by the poets." Kazimierz Wierzynski, *Pamietnik poety* (Warsaw: Interim, 1991), 83.

[630] Raphael was for Polish artists from the formist circles the model of a painter who "placed form supreme in art," as it was mentioned in a lecture by the historian J. Boloz-Antoniewicz. Boloz-Antoniewicz embraced Raphael's art in reaction to the hostility among radical writers in the nineteenth century, Marx among them. Raphael was also a subject of David Burliuk's lecture on the Sistine Madonna, during which he juxtaposed Raphael's painting with photographs of curly-haired boys chosen at random.

[631] Tadeusz Peiper, "Otwarcie 'Galki Muszkatulowej:' Slowo wstepne," in Taduesz Peiper, *O wszystkim i jeszcze czyms: artykuly, eseje, wywiady (1918-1939)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1974), 72.

[632] "Kronika Artystyczna," *Poludnie* 3 (1922), cited in Pollakowna's *Formisci*, 174.

[633] Iwaszkiewicz was listed next to Stern as a member of the Editorial Board. Chwistek and Peiper were listed as the review's representatives in Kraków.

[634] Tastevin was one of the first writers to popularize Italian Futurism in Russia and translated the collection of Marinetti's manifestos into Russian. Husenstein's presence among writers listed by *Nowa Sztuka* reflects an attitude toward expressionism as an international movement, which was part of a broader program to ally Polish avant-garde with internationalist tendencies in Europe. Tastevin's text was one of very few articles by Russian critics published in Poland after World War I.

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[635] "Nie wysuwamy tych zadan co niektorzy z posrod ekspresjonistow niemeickich, lub futurystow wloskich, ze widz lub sluchacz winien byc porwany przez dzielo i stac sie jego czescia. Nie propagujemy 'l'art abstrait' dadaistow francuskich i niszczenia sztuki dadaistow niemieckich. Ale chodzi nam o taka synteze sztuki, ktora wyzwoliwszy sie z petow metafizycznosci, wyzbywajac sie balastu sentymentalnosci i symboliki, stalaby sie wreszcie nadbudowa, nie trzymajaca sie scisle wzorow rzeczywistosci i wystarczajacej sama sobie jedynie, na podstawie swych walorow: nowych, rozumowo niemozliwych do przedstawienia sobie przenosni, i wartosci formalnych, bez ktorych istnienie tresci empirycznej w dziele sztuki nie byloby usprawiedliwione. Nie zrywamy jednak, jak to czynia wyznawcy polskiego formizmu, z ideowa trescia w sztuce." Anatol Stern, "Wstep od redakcji," *Nowa Sztuka* 1 (November 1921): 4.
When Witkacy mourned the death of metaphysics, he blamed it on "a frightening popularity of Bergson...Bergson, who is particularly accepted by all sorts of social activists and, above all, moderate democrats....This philosophy is, however, in sync with ongoing social changes and its popularity is guaranteed, no matter what bad can be said about it." Witkacy-catastrophist concluded: "Each epoch has a philosophy it deserves." Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie*, 143.

[636] "Psychological" was at that time understood as opposed to "metaphysical"(as corresponding to the experience of the real).

[637] In 1921, Roman Zrebowicz mentioned K. Umanski's *Neue Kunst in Russland 1914-1919* in his book *Nihilizm w sztuce* as an important source of information about contemporary Russian art. Zrebowicz's *Nihilizm w sztuce*, 21.

[638] Unsigned, "Przegladajac ostatnie pisma francuskie," *Nowa Sztuka* 1 (November 1921): 31.

[639] "Dodajcie do tego atmosfere dyktatur, wojne domowa, nedze, a zrozumiecie, ze nie bez przyczyny uzylem dla pracy tej najpowazniejszego okreslenia 'bohaterskiego poslannictwa.'" Ibid., 32.

[640] The second issue listed a panorama of contributors on its cover: "[Louis] Borges, [Mieczyslaw] Braun, [Kazimierz] Bukowski, [Blaise] Cendrars, Chwistek, [Samuel] Doula, [Vincente] Huidobro, [Max] Jacob, Jesienin, [Wanda] Melcer, Rutkowska, [Ernesto Lopez] Parra, Peiper, [Humberto] Rivas, Stern, [Guillermo de] Torre, Wat, [Juan] Vega-Panedas, [Bohdan] Zyranik." Kazimierz Bukowski, Wanda Melcer, Rutkowska, and Bohdan Zyranik were translators of French and Spanish.

[641] "30 000 egezmplazy manifestu futurystuw—rozhwytano po calej polsce w cagu 14 dni. dzgnete nozem w bzyh ospale bydle sztuki polskiej zaczelo ryczec. pszez otwur zygnela lawa futuryzmu....czerwony sztandar od dawna juz stal se w polsce czerwona hustka do nosa. demokraci wywiesce sztandary ze slowami naszyh szwajcarskih pszyjacul: Hcemy szczac **we wszystkih kolorah**!" Quoted in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, 29. In reality, the edition of *jednodniowka* did not exceed 5,000 copies.

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[642] "Sciskamy dlon francji i szwajcarii. **Marinetti jest nam obcy**." Ibid., 31.

[643] Jasienski's "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)," 182.

[644] The connections of Italian Futurism with Fascism became clear when the fascist march on Rome took place and Victor Emmanuel III named Mussolini the head of government in 1922.

[645] The article was based on Chwistek's book, *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce* (1921) and in sense was an extension of his article, "Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce," published in *Maski* in 1918. Chwistek attempted to read it during the futurist evening in Zakopane, but was unable to do so due to violent protests from the audience.

[646] Chwistek wrote in *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*: "From an artistic point of view, each type of painting is capable of producing serious works—their realization depends only on the degree of the artist's talent, 39.

[647] Apollinaire's poem was published in the catalogue of the Formist exhibition in April 1921 in a translation by Czyzewski.

[648] Wiwat swiat_____
ludzie czarni, zolci i biali
z Europy, Azji, Australii,
z Afryki, Ameryki -
odludki na wyspach -
po kolorowych calujcie sie pyskach -
----------bruder-szaft!...
Chlajcie Ocean Spokojny
i plujcie na wojne!...

Quoted in Bogdana Carpenter, *The Poetic Avant-Garde in Poland, 1918-1939* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), 45.

[649] David Bomberg, unpublished writings, c.1957, collection of the artist's family. Quoted in Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 55.

[650] Letter of Kruchenykh to A. Ostrovsky from the 1920s; quoted by Nina Gurianova in *Defining Russian Graphic Art*, 115.

[651] *The Diaries of Franz Kafka 1914-1923*, ed. Max Brod (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 196.
Ambiguity was, however, a *cri du jour* particularly prior to World War I. At that time Polish artists also perceived the war as a cathartic moment, changing their way of looking on themselves, the world, and their art. When Chwistek recalled, for instance, his visit to the historic "cubist" Salon d'Automne of 1912, he wrote, "I did not have strong feelings

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for Cézanne. I did not understand him. Ultimately I was discouraged and became bitter. Upon my return [to Poland] in late July 1914, I did not believe in my art. I was a decadent and a dandy [pieknoduch]. The war cured me. I took into consideration the fact that I could die any time, therefore I decided to write down my thoughts, provoked by the reality around me." Leon Chwistek, "Moja walka o nowa forme w sztuce," *Wiadomosci Literackie*, 12 (1935): 5. In *Wielosc rzeczywistosci w sztuce*, Chwistek connects that type of change to Molière, "where flagged Pyrrhonist returns to a natural view of life after being subjected to physical pain," 7.

[652] Film director and writer, Jean Epstein joined the plethora of French artists who were exerting influence on the New Art artists in Poland.

[653] Tytus Czyzewski, "Od maszyny do zwierzat," *Formisci* 4 (April 1921): 16.

[654] See Bruno Jasienski, *Nogi Izoldy Morgan* (Lvov: Odrodzenie, 1923).

[655] The general approach to Russian art and culture is discussed in Szymon Bojko's "Recepcja grafiki radzieckiej w Polsce w dwudziestoleciu miedzywojennym": "In the twenties, there were translations of Soviet poetry and prose—Blok, Kataiev, Leonov, Zoshchenko. Polish theaters played Kataiev, Gorky, Faik[o], and A. Tolstoy. In Lodz, Teatr Robotniczy staged Mayakovsky's *Mystery-Buffo*. Censure prevented the showing of *Patemkine*, but the movie theaters showed other tendencies with rebellious themes, such as, for example, the Russian film *The Storm over Asia*. Soviet art appeared in Poland only in 1933, therefore belated in comparison with other arts." Bojko is correct only to a certain degree, for one of the most important early displays of Soviet art happened in Warsaw in 1926: Malevich's exhibition of Suprematist works. Bojko seems to treat Malevich's art as extraneous to "Soviet art," or rather official Soviet art. Adapting a strategy of defining Russian avant-garde as opposed to the Soviet government, he continues: "Not by coincidence the contacts and exchange of information happened within the avant-garde movement. Suprematism and constructivism found their ideological allies in 'Blok.' This connection, although there also were some controversial opinions, is documented by Malevich's articles in *Blok*, his correspondence with Strzeminski, his short visit to Warsaw in 1926, combined with an exhibition and a lecture in the Klub Artystyczny. Mayakovsky's visit to the capital a year later lay also along the path of approaching the two centers of new art. In this context, one has to judge the presentation of the innovative concepts of Soviet architects during the International Exhibition of Modern Architecture (Miedzynarodowa Wystawa Architektury Nowoczesnej) in Warsaw in 1926, which followed the fame of Melnikov's Pavilion in the Art Deco [Exhibition in 1925]. Bojko situates Soviet graphic art outside of that pattern of exchange, mainly because of its reproductive quality, enabling it to be easily disseminated on a large scale. Szymon Bojko, "Recepcja grafiki radzieckiej w Polsce w dwudziestoleciu miedzywojennym," in *Sztuka XX wieku* (Warsaw: PWN, 1971), 229-254; hereafter cited as Bojko's "Recepcja grafiki radzieckiej w Polsce w dwudziestoleciu miedzywojennym."

[656] Wat's *My Century*, 5. Wat recalled that he, as many of his contemporaries, studied

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leftist philosophy from a primer on philosophy by Bukharin rather than from books by Lenin or Karl Marx. Ibid., 73.

[657] For the connections between Jasienski and Mayakovsky, see Edward Balcerzan, "Bruno Jasienski a Wlodzimierz Majakowski," in *O wzajemnych powiazaniach literackich polsko-rosyjskich* (Wroclaw: Ossolineum, 1969). Balcerzan even went as far as considering Jasienski's work to be a translation from the Russian original. Jasienski also based his works on poems by Severianin, Vasilii Kamenskii, and Sergei Esenin.

[658] In 1928, Jasienski defended Mayakovsky in his novel *Je brûle Paris*, which was written in response to Paul Morand's story *Je brûle Moscow*, 1925, which portrayed Mayakovsky as a paranoiac Communist poet. (In 1930, Mayakovsky produced a pantomime "Moscow Is Burning," commissioned by the Soviet Central Agency of State Circuses to commemorate the "bloody Sunday" in 1905.)

[659] See Bruno Jasienski's statement in *Zwrotnica* 4 (1923), earlier published in *Kurier Warszawski* 20 (1923).

[660] Description of Polish Futurists mentioned in the introduction to *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, LVII.

[661] Wat's *My Century*, 11.

[662] "A mes amis de *Zwrotnica* une forte poignée de main.
Je suis un religieux de la nouvelle religion de la vitesse. Je sens que *Zwrotnica* est un lieu habité par le Divin!
Beauté mécanique. Amour pour la machine. Joues des mecaniciens recuités et souillées de charbon. Puissante locomotive qui ruleit de volupte sous une caresse huilante. Les moteurs ont des caprices, des fantasies inattendues. Une personalité, une âme, une volonté. Fonte. Acier. Chifres precis. Les calcules d'un constructeur de locomotives pensent en liberté quand la chaleur et la vitesse grandissent.
Qui peut nier aujour'hui l'identification de l'homme avec le moteur?
...
J'entrais un soir à Rome sur une 100 chevaux et laissant deriere moi la porte San Sebastian j'allais atteindre le point qui separe l'aqueduc de Neron de l'Orto Botanico. A toute vitesse. Le Volant droit sur l'arc de Constantin. Je me fiche des blocs de pierre vé–né–rables... Un choc! Mon radiateur brise!
C'était un Symbole. Un avertissement. Plutot une vengeance.
C'était pourquai j'ai crié aux Romains: Vite isolez les ruines plus epidemiques que le cholera. Creusez un grand fosse. Elevez un grand mur pour ecinturonner tous ces pans de murailles romaines! Contre le Passe et ses rancunes et ses malarias! Aujourd'hui c'est fait: le passe tremble. Et c'est la grande joie de toutes les locomotives de l'Esprit. Lyrisme precis concis. Splendeur geometrique de la vie.
Tout l'azur line frais et torrentiel dans les pores de l'aviateur, autant de portes—bouches qui boivent et pensent. Compenetration, Simultaneité des Forces qui nous aimons et prions chaque jour dans nos mots en liberté, notre Dynamisme plastique avec le grand

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orchestre des bruiteurs qui crie rugit bourdonne crepité explosé hululé claque froufrouté de joie. Joie! Joie!
Vous voir mes chers amis de *Zwrotnica*! Quand? Bientôt! Bientôt!
Revolution militarisée de mon coeur qui se rejouit a l'idée de voir bientôt la grande forte intelligente Pologne en vitesse!"
F.T. Marinetti, "List," *Zwrotnica* 6 (October 1923): 161.

[663] "Bo bez skladni mozemy conajwyzej sporzadzic inwentarz swiata, ale nigdy nie zdolamy oddac zycia swiata." Ibid., 167.

[664] "Ale **ostateczny cel musi byc wylacznie artystyczny**." Ibid., 163.

[665] "Futuryzm nasz czuje nakazy czasu w ktorym zyjemy, co nie jest bez znaczenia w naszym nowym polozeniu politycznem, wobec zadania budowania Polski zywotnej t.j. odpowiadajacej wymogom dzisiejszego zycia, i wobec koniecznosci budowania jej od podstaw t.j. od czlowieka. To tez nie dziwilbym sie wcale gdyby juz dawno w naszych kolach rzadowych zrodzila sie mysl urzadowienia futuryzmu. Futuryzm wloski—widzielismy—nie leka sie nacjonalizmu, faszyzmu, imperjalizmu; futuryzm rosyjski—wiemy—wysnul z zalozen Marinettiego poezje bolszewizmu; czyzby futuryzm polski nie mogl byc rzadowym....Zart? Owszem. Ale oddalony od prawdy conajwyzej o odleglosc spojrzenia." Ibid., 164.

[666] This statement seems to me to be appropriate to my thinking about the usefulness of writing about the Polish avant-garde from the perspective of the very end of the twentieth century, for as the Western (French in particular) thinkers have been talking about the end of history, the end of art, and other rather apocalyptic ends, I am still curious about the "white spots" that seem to populate our cultural map if we are only capable of stepping out from the overpopulated terrain of narrowly defined Western civilization.

[667] "Antypsychologizm moze byc ewentualnie zrozumialy we Francji, w ojczyznie Racine'a, Molièra, Stendhala i Zoli, w kraju gdzie przez kilka wiekow dusze ludzka rozkladano na krople. U nas, gdzie naskutek anormalnego polozenia politycznego literatura byla narzedziem walki narodowej i, przyjawszy prawa walki, mogla widziec jednostke jedynie poza slowami i gestami gromady; u nas gdzie nawet naga dusza, okryta kozuchem oparow alkoholowych bardzo malo powiekszyla nasza wiedze o czlowieku, nie mozna jeszcze mowic o przesycie czlowiekiem i bezwzgledna walka z czlekoznawstwem uznana musi byc za bezkrytyczne powtarzanie hasel zagranicznych albo za przesadne sztandarowe ujecie pewnych nawolywan formalnych albo wreszcie za wyraz braku wlasnej tresci wewnetrznej." "Futuryzm (Analiza i krytyka)," 166.

[668] Przybos wrote in *Zwrotnica* several years later: "We need to clarify something: *Zwrotnica* was never futurist, although several Futurists collaborated with it. In the sixth issue devoted to Futurism, the review's editor published a long article, in which he fundamentally opposed the futurist program and accepted only those of its aspects that advised a struggle with the musealization [of artistic life]. And yet, our deaf society does not cease to identify us as Futurists." Julian Przybos, "Idea rygoru," *Zwrotnica* 12 (1927),

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252. Przybos, member of the Constructivists, was also familiar with the article "Futuryzm wloski," published in *Blok* 5 (August 1924), which contained a letter of praise from Mussolini to Marinetti.

669 "Bylo miasto swiadomosci polskiej i byla garstka partyzantow, co go chcieli zdobyc. Byli, jak ludzie, co zebrali sie na placu policzyc swoje sily, uzbroic sie i obmyslec plan. i plac nazwali: *futuryzm polski.*
A teraz rozchodza sie w maisto—kazdy swoja ulica.
Dla jednej idei—dla zwyciestwa.
Kazdy swoja ulica.
Czarne i nieprzystepne jest miasto swiadomosci polskiej. Wiele w nim bocznic, zaulkow i slepych uliczek.
Ktorzy niedobrze droge znaja—zabladza.
Zamknelo sie za nami miasto.
Nie swiecily im zadne lampy.
Poszli w noc.
Kazdy swoja droga."
Jasienski's "Futuryzm polski (Bilans)," 184.

670 Czyzewski lived in Paris, where he stayed close to the Colorists (kapisci), who, with their return to *petites sensations*, diametrically opposed Formism and Futurism, but Czyzewski did not lose any occasion to stress his belief in individuality. In his correspondence written from Paris, dated October 1922, Czyzewski devoted special attention to Picabia, calling him the most interesting, the most characteristic example of the metropolitan culture's "fauna," and quoted Jean Cocteau from his new book *Secret professionel*: "Le vrai ecrivain est celui qui ecrit mince et muscle. Le reste est graisse et maigreur." (The true writer is the one who writes thin but muscular. The rest is fat and skinniness). Tytus Czyzewski, "List z Paryza," *Zwrotnica* 3 (November 1922): 73-74.
Other artists also left Kraków. Graduating from the Jagiellonian University in 1922, Mlodozeniec, for example, went to Kielce where he worked as a high school teacher. Despite their earlier differences, Stern and Jasienski published in 1924 a joint volume of revolutionary poems that presented the proletariat as a cathartic force for society, calling it *Earth Leftward* (Ziemia na lewo). They declared their hate for the bourgeoisie as representative of a materialist world and abstraction, and dedicated their book to the man of the masses. They called themselves ex-Futurists for whom poetry is not "a candy store or a temple, but a workshop of life without vulgar aestheticism." "[N]ie jest ani cukiernia, ani swiatynia, lecz pracownia zycia, wypranego z wulgarnego estetyzmu." Anatol Sten and Bruno Jasienski, "Wstep do 'Ziemi na lewo,'" (Warsaw, 1924); quoted in *Antologia polskiego futuryzmu i Nowej Sztuki*, 73.
The same year, Jasienski moved to Lvov, to take the post of literary editor of the Communist *Trybuna Robotnicza* (Workers' Tribune), further embracing aesthetics closer to Russian Proletcult and Socialist Realism. In 1925, he moved to Paris, where he joined the French communist movement and published a dramatic poem, "A Word about Jakub Szela," 1926, and the previously mentioned novel *Je brûle Paris*, 1928, first printed in *l'Humanité*, which cost him his expulsion from France. As for Stern, he declared the date of *Anielski cham*, 1924, his volume of mature futurist poetry, as the closing date for

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Futurism in Poland. Wat, whom Mayakovsky called *urozhdyonny fuuturist* (a born futurist), together with Berlewi and Stanislaw Bruch, opened an advertising agency "Reklama-Mechano" in 1924, shifting his interest to a more pragmatic sphere of artistic use of abbreviated forms.
Bezrobotny Lucyfer, 1924-25, Wat's collection of short stories, parables in fact, which dealt with various philosophical issues related to the issues of morality and religion, was published in 1926. After *Bezrobotny Lucyfer*, Wat did not publish his poetry until 1957. In 1928, he started to run the influential *Literary Monthly* (Miesiecznik Literacki), the first openly communist literary magazine in Poland. *Magazyn Literacki*'s main group of collaborators included: the writer Wladyslaw Broniewski, the set designer Wladyslaw Daszewski, the theater director Leon Schiller, the critic Andrzej Stawar, Stande, Jan Hempel, Wandurski, and Wat. Before launching the magazine, Wat went to Berlin and established contact with *Linkskurve* and *Weltbuhne*, two communist periodicals. Wat also corresponded with *New Masses* in the U.S.
Wat, "a neophyte communist," denigrated Futurism in a series of articles published in the second and third issues of the magazine. Established in 1924, *Almanach Nowej Sztuki*, edited by Gacki, could not bring back vitality to the movement, calling for "human art" under the banner of a "simple graphic sign F—an abbreviation [for Futurism] monumentally expressing a march to the future." The almanac's cover listed these names: Jasienski, Stern, Brucz, Gacki, Wat, and Braun. It had a "sign" 24F in the lower right corner.

[671] Polish futurism has been largely ignored until the present day. For a good example, see Milosz's *Historia literatury polskiej*.

[672] H. Teodorowicz-Karpowska, "Sztuka w Rosji Sowieckiej," *Poludnie* 3 (1925): 71.

Endnotes for "Conclusion: Toward the Future, Realism *à rebours*."

[673] "Realisci *à rebours*," was an expression used by Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz (Witkacy), to describe Polish Futurists. See "O Czystej Sztuce," 204. Futurists, whom Witkacy called "realists *à rebours*," were not, in fact, as much realists in a formal way, as was their treatment of the "content" of art as an intrinsic and principal component of artistic expression. Art with an overt message was considered as posing dangers to the future of art in general, but at the same time such art was desired by the authorities and the public clinging to the ideas of "high art" and "good taste."

[674] The early Bauhaus artists embraced, for example, Expressionism after the war.

[675] The topic of Polish artists traveling to Western Europe in the 1910s and 1920s requires separate investigation and can only be outlined here. During the early twentieth century a vital alternative, parallel to the art scene in Poland, developed in Paris. Unlike artists who chose to go to Germany in the early twentieth century, those who went to France were more reluctant to embrace avant-garde aesthetic programs and were much less radical in their political views. In fact, their role in the development of the Polish avant-garde was as much constructive as destructive, contributing to the spread of the

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popularity of figuration based on formulaic deformation, which dominated Polish art in the 1920s and 1930s. The exiled artists were subjected to the strict rules of the art market dictating (or modifying) their artistic choices, which in Poland existed in an embryonic form, particularly the one representing the interests of the avant-garde.
Together with other expatriates from eastern and central Europe, Polish artists were often escaping poverty and experiencing a lack of institutional support. Despite, or because of, the polarization of Europe caused by World War I, they found particularly fertile ground for their art in the French capital. For example, the 1919 Salon d'Automne presented 950 artists, among them 172 foreigners, most of whom were living in Paris. The situation of foreign artists even improved in the 1920s, when 181 of them were included among the 928 artists registered at the Salon des Independants in 1921, and in the1924 Salon, the number was 322 out of 1,150 participants (2,856 works). Foreign artists formed a loose artistic community which consisted of artists with such diverse backgrounds as Russian, German, Rumanian, Lithuanian, and Spanish, and which, in 1924, had been labeled retrospectively the Ecole de Paris (School of Paris). [The term "School of Paris" was coined by Ozenfant to describe art of the early twentieth century produced in the French capital, and first appeared in an article devoted to Ivan Pougny, a Parisian painter with Russian origins. Acknowledging the retroactive impact of foreigners on French art, Ozenfant credited the disciplined urban landscape and the particular character of the French people for having a great impact on artists working in the French capital. See Amédée Ozenfant, "Peintures d'Ivan Pougni, *L'Esprit Nouveau* 23 (May 1924). Ozenfant, the co-founder of the internationalist *L'Esprit Nouveau* was clearly making another attempt at convincing himself and others that "the war did not weaken the speed of thinking in France" (Amédée Ozenfant, "Editorial Note," *L'Elan* 8 [January 1916]), although "French thinking" did not require anymore a French passport. In terms of artistic styles, the School of Paris was contrasted to abstract art and described as a mixture of neorealism, expressionism, metaphysical painting, and/or neo-humanism with introversive overtones. They mainly practiced Neoimpressionism, Salon Cubism, and Fauvism. With a significant number of Jewish artists, the School of Paris has been credited for introducing Jewish motifs to modern art, mostly through the works of Chagall, Amadeo Modigliani, Chaim Sautine, Kisling, and Jules Pascin.

[676] E. Zak, Kramsztyk, and L. Gottlieb were among members of Rytm who lived in Paris.

[677] The group showed together for the last time in 1932.

[678] *Rytm, w poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego*, 108.

[679] The article was preceded by an intriguing introduction by Peiper. Peiper wrote: "The author of the following article, a painter, recently returned from Russia, where he actively participated in the artistic life. In a letter written to the Editor, he asks to take care of bringing to Poland Mr. Malevich, our compatriot, who **supposedly** [my emphasis] occupies one of the most important places in Russian art world. We bring this case to the attention of the Department of Art and Culture." This introduction shows two things. First of all, it reveals that Malevich's art was little known in Poland prior to the publication of Strzeminski's article. Secondly, it also points out Malevich's problems in

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Russia, if he indeed was seeking the possibility of moving to Poland. Although from a Polish family, he spoke broken Polish and had a Russian education. Both Malevich's parents were Polish. His father, Seweryn Malevich ran an estate Tereshchenki near Kiev. Malevich's brother, Bronislaw, lived in Poland. Bojko published recently a series of letters in Polish written by Malevich. See Szymon Bojko "Polskie listy Kazimierza Malewicza" *Pokaz* (1/1997): 54-57.
Peiper was not able to obtain a positive response from the Department of Art and Culture, but he quickly learned about Malevich's importance. In 1927, Peiper was one of the people who accompanied Malevich during his trip to Berlin, after he stopped for a few days in Warsaw.

[680] Blok's original members included Kobro, Krynski, Strzeminski, Witold Kajruksztis (Vytautas Kairiukstis), Stazewski, Zarnower, Szczuka, Berlewi, and Mieczyslaw Szulc. Maria Nicz-Borowiakowa, Jan Golus, and Rafalowski joined the group later. The first issue of the magazine *Blok* was dated March 8, 1924.

[681] The reason for opening Berlewi's exhibition a day before the Blok exhibition should be explained by the fact that by that time Berlewi felt excluded from the group on the basis of not being part of the editorial board of magazine *Blok.* Mentioned in *Polska awangarda artystyczna*, 98. Berlewi was, in fact, instrumental in founding the Blok group in 1924, but he soon disassociated himself from it feeling marginalized by Szczuka and Zarnower. Berlewi joined Polish Constructivists in giving an enthusiastic reception to Malevich when the Russian artist visited Poland in 1927.

[682] Henryk Berlewi, "Miedzynarodowa wystawa w Düsseldorfie," *Nasz Kurier*, no. 209 (August 7, 1922): 2.

[683] As previously mentioned, Berlewi had his solo exhibition at Der Sturm Gallery organized in July 1924, and Walden published his manifesto "Mechano-Faktura" in the September issue of *Der Sturm* magazine.

[684] Berlewi continued his statement: "The old technique, which continues to vegetate to this day, has the random, virtuoso qualities of a handicraft; is subject to the moods and whims of the artist; and was well suited for the needs of the impressionist/naturalist, individualist/subjectivist approach to painting. The aims of art today can be defined as follows: a complete break with any imitation of objects (even of the freest kind); autonomy of form; order; clarity (making the intention of the artist clear to everyone); schematization; geometrization; precision (to permit easy classification of the impressions received from the work). The old technique of painting is not up to this task. It is of even less use in the creation of the new schematic textural system. In order to attain this end, mechanical technology, derived from industrial methods (which are free of the whims of the individual and are founded on the exact mechanical function of the machine) must be employed. Modern painting, modern art, must, therefore, be based upon the principles of machine production. An entirely new creative system will be established with the help of the mechanization of texture and the means of pictorial expression. This applies not only to painting but to any creative effort."

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Berlewi's manifesto, the "Mechano-Faktura," 1924, translated from German by Katherine J. Michaelsen. Cited in *Henryk Berlewi*, exh. cat. (New York: Helen Serger, La Boetie, Inc. in conjunction with Herve Alexandre, 1978), 11-14. The text is also published in English in *Constructivism in Poland 1923-1936: BLOK, Praesens, a.r.*, exh. cat. (Essen: Museum Folkwang and Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller in Otterlo, 1973), 72-74. In retrospect, Berlewi placed his manifesto between Witkacy's *Nowe formy w malarstwie* and Strzeminski's *Unism w malarstwie*, published in 1928. See Berlewi's letter to Juliusz Starzynski written from Paris and dated May 25, 1963. The letter is deposited at the Instytut Sztuki in Warsaw, Archives of Juliusz Starzynski, no. 1355.

[685] *The Still-life with Bottles* was shown during the Grosse Berliner Kunstaustellung. For a discussion of the work, see Piotr Rudzinski, "Awangardowa tworczosc Henryka Berlewiego w latach 1922-1925 (cz. I)," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 2 (1977): 212.

[686] In 1924, Berlewi with poets Stanislaw Brucz and Wat opened the advertising agency "Reclama-Mechano," which produced some of the most innovative commercial designs in Poland at that time. Later Berlewi called the agency—"a mystification," created to introduce avant-garde ideas. (See *Polska awangarda artystyczna, 1918-1939*, 128.) Berlewi and Syrkus designed kiosks for "Plutos" and "Pawel Hoffman," which were presented during an exhibition (Wystawa Higieniczno-Spozywcza) in Warsaw in 1926. Despite his commitment to abstraction, Berlewi never completely abandoned working with Jewish themes, whether as a set designer for the Jewish Miniatures Theater "Azazel," or as a portrait painter in the mid-1920s. Berlewi probably attended *Dybbuk* performed in Warsaw by the Hebrew Artistic Theater "Habimah" from Moscow, which took place in February-March 1926, receiving great critical and public acclaim. (Natan Altman designed the Cubo-Futurist sets for the spectacle. "Azazel" opened in 1926, under the direction of David Herman, specializing in popular programs with songs, skits, and fragments of plays.) In 1927, Berlewi had a show of his portraits at the Jewish Society for Friends of the Fine Arts (Zydowskie Towarzystwo Sztuk Pieknych) in Warsaw. The "Modernist Salon" (Salon Modernistow) of 1928 was the last exhibition in which Berlewi appeared together with other Polish Constructivists, showing his Mechano-Factura works. In 1928, he left Poland for France, where he devoted himself exclusively to portraits and landscapes. Berlewi did not return to abstract art until the late 1950s.

[687] Both groups, as well as the poets around *Zwrotnica*, are often referred to as the members of the First Vanguard by Polish literary historians specializing in the period. The Second Vanguard that appeared on the artistic scene in Poland in the thirties consisted of, among others, Adam Wazyk, Mieczyslaw Jastrun, and Adam Czechowicz, poets who embraced symbolist-classicist tendencies with catastrophic inclinations. Another group was Zagary, founded in 1931 in Vilnius by Teodor Bujnicki, Jerzy Zagorski, and Cz. Milosz. The group was "basically antiaesthetic," Marxist-sympathetic, and metaphysical-oriented (in Milosz's words). Przybos, Brzekowski, and Jalu Kurek were the major poets associated with the review. Przybos became, in fact, a liaison between the dispersed, and often antagonistic toward each other, avant-garde artists and poets.

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[688] Tadeusz Peiper, "Punkt wyjscia," *Zwrotnica* 1 (May 1922): 4.

[689] "Rozpoczyna sie nowa epoka: epoka uscisku z terazniejszoscia." Ibid.

[690] "Nowe rozkolysanie zycia i idei o zyciu musi udzielic sie takze sztuce." Ibid.

[691] "Wola formy," "wybor budulca," and 'milosc barwy." Marian Bielski, "Fernand Léger," *Zwrotnica* 1 (1922): 12-14.

[692] "[B]iorac pod uwage jedynie ksztalty i barwy—niema zadnego powodu do estetycznego wywyzszania krajobrazu ponad widok miejski." Tadeusz Peiper, "Miasto. Masa. Maszyna.," *Zwrotnica* 2 (July 1922): 24; hereafter cited as Peiper's "Miasto. Masa. Maszyna."

[693] "[D]zielem sztuki, tworzonym w zgodzie z panujacymi pojeciami estetycznymi." Ibid., 25.

[694] "W epokach dazen konstrukcyjnych, najsilniej uswiadomionych, kompozycja malarska opierala sie na ukladach zblizonych do figur geometrycznych....Mozliwosc odmian musi sie [tu] wyczerpac. Totez kompozycje, na tych ukladach oparte, staja sie coraz bardziej do siebie podobne. Powtarzaja sie....I zaczyna nudzic. A wtedy pojawia sie nowa tendencja, oczywiscie tendencja odwrotna: zrywanie ze schematem wogole. Zarzuca sie uklady proste i wpada w chaos....Historja kompozycji malarskiej jest to gra tennisowa miedzy geometrja a aformja." Ibid., 26.

[695] "[C]zy jest mozliwa forma ladu artystycznego, ktoryby nie opierajac sie na coraz bardziej nudzacym geometryzmie, mogl pomimo to stac sie zasada scislej i logicznej budowy dziela sztuki?" Ibid.

[696] Peiper suggests that certain parts of Witkacy's dramas create the impression of such organicity.

[697] Peiper's definition of "machine" includes the railroad system, streetcars and buses, telegraph and telephone, and electricity.

[698] "Gdyby maszyna byla tylko bostwem, nie zaslugiwalaby jeszcze na wzgledy sztuki, gdyby byla najdoskonalszym pieknem, nie potrzeba byloby sztuki." Peiper's "Miasto. Masa. Maszyna.," 30.

[699] A *Veshch* manifesto published in the International Review of Modern Art, *Veshch/Objet/Gegenstand*, 1-2 (March-April 1922): 3; cited from the 1994 reprint published by Verlag Lars Müller in Baden, Switzerland. The manifesto was headlined: "Die Blockade Russlands geht ihrem ende entgegen."

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[700] In 1931, the Department was further emasculated by becoming a Section (wydzial) of Art in MWRiOP loyal to the right-wing regime. Skotnicki recalls in his memoirs that, "After closing the Department, the collectors and art buyers became the object of [government] regulations, taxing them increasingly for wasting money on such luxuries [as art]. The art market became, therefore, clandestine. The names of the buyers were kept secret during the exhibitions and salons. Jan Skotnicki, *Przy sztalugach i przy biurku. Wspomnienia* (Warsaw: PIW, 1957), 303.
The Society for the Propagation of Polish Art (Towarzystwo Szerzenia Sztuki Polskiej wsrod Obcych, TOSSPO), was established under the patronage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MSZ), following the 1926 May *coup d'etat* that overthrew the country's constitutional government and established a military regime often referred to as *sanacja* (cleansing, purification, moral renovation, the name given to Pilsudski's government and sympathizers after the 1926 coup). The association, led by J. Targowski, with Treter, the distinguished art historian with rather traditional views on Polish art, as its director, engaged in a mission to promote a new, positive image of Poland as a powerful state by organizing various events and establishing contacts with numerous artists abroad. Four TOSSPO's sections—Literature and Culture, Music, Plastic Arts, and Theater—were supposed to gather propagandistic materials for abroad and organize photographic archives for foreign centers. The association planned to publish *La Pologne par l'image*, an illustrated review devoted to Polish art and culture, appearing in several languages. The Plastic Arts section focused on organizing exhibitions that promoted Polish art by artistic groups of diverse orientations, such as "Sztuka," Rytm, Ryt, Formisci, Praesens, and Plastyka. However, lacking its own exhibition space in Poland, the program of this section was rather limited. In addition, trying to maintain its "centrist" position, TOSSPO was attacked both by local conservatives, represented by the Stowarzyszenie Polskich Artystow Plastykow associated with the Zacheta (society and gallery) and also by the Polish avant-garde, who were not satisfied with its choices of artists for the international exhibitions.

[701] Poland presented a "national pavilion" designed by Czajkowski, with paintings by Stryjenska and complete interior decoration by Jastrzebowski, Karol Stryjenski, and Karol Tichy, and a small chapel by Jan Szczepkowski. Kuna's neoclassical sculpture was displayed in front of the pavilion. The presentation included works by students of the State School of Wood Industry (Panstwowa Szkola Przemyslu Drzewnego) in Zakopane. For discussion of the Polish Pavilion at the Paris exhibition, see Maria Rogoyska, "Paryskie zwyciestwo sztuki polskiej w roku 1925," in *Z zagadnien plastyki polskiej w latach 1918-1939*, 21-64; and Andrzej Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej 1900-1925* (Warsaw, 1967), 147.

[702] Polish artists were awarded thirty-six Grand Prix, thirty-two Diplôme d'Honneur, and forty-three gold medals. Czajkowski, Stryjenska, Jastrzebowski, Szczepkowski and Karol Stryjenski were among the most awarded artists. Jastrzebowski and Marian Sigmund designed furniture; Bogdan Treter, Eleonora Plutynska, Helena Bukowska, and Lucjan Kintopf designed tapestries; and Rudolf Krzywiec and Julia Kotarbinska, ceramics. The French government bought Szczepkowski's chapel. Although the Soviet Pavilion was not homogeneous (the works by Rodchenko were displayed next to traditional woodcuts by

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Favorski and Kravczenko), it was awarded the Grand Prix.

[703] Gilles Neret, *The Art of the Twenties* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 106.

[704] Waldemar George, "Les tendances générales," *L'Amour de l'Art* 8 (1925): 279.

[705] Cooperative "Order" (Spoldzielnia "Lad") was established in 1926 to propagate the assimilation of modern art into contemporary design (furniture, tapestry, and ceramics).

[706] "Polska reprezentacja na wystawie paryskiej nie bedzie miala charakteru wspolczesnego.
Wychodzac wylacznie z 'ludowosci', nie opiera sie na wielkim rozwoju techniczno-cywilizacyjnym, nie uwzglednia calego szeregu najaktualniejszych dziedzin zycia:
Gdzie sa mody?
Gdzie kino?
Gdzie reklama?
Gdzie rechnika i przemysl?
Sztuka utylitarna, zwiazana z codziennymi potrzebami zycia podlega ciaglemu doskonaleniu sie (jak i technika)
w mysl
Wczorajsza rzecz jest gorsza od dzisiejszej."
"Czy sztuka dekoracyjna?,"
Blok 10 (1925): n.p.
Members of the group Blok were supposed to participate in the Art Deco exhibition in the section devoted to theater, showing their set designs. However, the group withdrew from the exhibition at the last moment, because of its disagreement with the organizers, who favored more traditional art. The works prepared for the Paris exhibition were reproduced in the tenth issue of the *Blok* magazine.

[707] Wladyslaw Strzeminski, "O sztuce ludowej," *Forma* 1 (May 1933): 14.

[708] This situation continued throughout the twentieth century. Some forty years after the Poznan exhibition, art historian Juliusz Starzynski confirmed in his *Polish Path to the Independence in Art* that what was expected from Polish artists had not changed much. Also a strong believer in the power of Polish folklore as a source of "independence" for Polish art, Starzynski quoted the French critic Jean Cassou's article on artistic life in Poland, written on the occasion of the political and cultural "thaw" in 1956. "A new, and with every day newer Poland," Cassou stated, "gathers its efforts to protect and develop folkloric art....Here is a vital source, free of official and scholarly degradation—in these rural craftsmen: sculptors, potters, painters on glass, weavers, embroiderers, and artists who make decorative paper cut-outs (wycinanki)."Jean Cassou, "Le dégel artistiqe en Pologne," *Prisme des Arts* 4 (1956): 16-17. To further prove the validity of Cassou's point, Starzynski recalled André Malraux's passage from *Les Voix du Silence* on an anonymous wooden sculpture of *Fearing Christ* (Chrystus frasobliwy) from Nowy Targ (a village in the Podhale region in the Tatra Mountains) created in the nineteenth century, which the French writer described as a timeless "expression of life from thousands of

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years." Juliusz Starzynski, *Polska droga do samodzielnosci w sztuce* (Warsaw: PWN, 1973), 17.

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