

The image shows a minimalist title page for 'Archives of Emigration'. The background is white, with a thick vertical grey bar on the left side and a thick horizontal grey bar crossing it. The text 'Archives of Emigration' is positioned in the upper right quadrant, overlapping the vertical bar. 'Archives' is in a large, bold, serif font. 'of' is smaller and positioned between 'Archives' and 'Emigration'. 'Emigration' is in the same large, bold, serif font as 'Archives'.

Archives
of
Emigration

Volume 3 (33) 2023

Archives of Emigration

Special issue published to celebrate
the journal's 25th anniversary

Archives of Emigration

Studies and materials on the history of Polish emigration in the 19th–21st centuries
LXXII

Edited by

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Publikacja współfinansowana ze środków Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki w ramach programu pod nazwą „Rozwój czasopism naukowych” (nr grantu RCN/SP/0350/2021/1).

Publication co-financed by the Ministry of Education and Science under the program called “Development of scientific journals” (grant number RCN/SP/0350/2021/1).

Submissions to the Archives of Emigration should be sent in electronic form (DOC, DOCX or RTF) via Akademicka Platforma Czasopism: <https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/about/submissions>

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Printed in Poland

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Toruń 2023

ISSN 2084-3550

ISSN (seria) 2084-0993

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The paper version is available in print on demand on the publisher's website.

www.wydawnictwo.umk.pl

Contents

INTRODUCTION ● 7

HISTORY OF LITERATURE

Beata Dorosz, *LECHOŃ'S EPHEMERAL POEMS: PEOPLE – ISSUES – EVENTS IN THE NEW YORK PERIOD* ● 11

Rafał Moczkoan, *NA ANTENIE AND WIADOMOŚCI: THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE BEGINNINGS AND TERMINATION OF COOPERATION* ● 33

Katarzyna Cieplińska, *JERZY PIETRKIEWICZ'S TWO ENGLISH NOVELS: LOOT AND LOYALTY AND GREEN FLOWS THE BILE* ● 79

Ryszard Löw, *POLISH LITERATURE IN HEBREW TRANSLATIONS* ● 97

Karolina Famulska-Ciesielska, *BETWEEN WARSAW AND JERUSALEM – VIOLA WEIN* ● 111

Agnieszka Lenart, *THE LITERARY CULTURE OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ISRAEL. DISPUTES AROUND THE "NATIONALITY" OF LITERATURE* ● 137

Anna Mieszkowska, *BIOGRAPHICAL ROMANCE, OR THE WONDERS OF THE LIFE OF AN ÉMIGRÉ OF CHOICE: FRYDERYK JÁROSY (1889–1960) – THE AUTHOR OF UNWRITTEN MEMOIRS OF LIFE AMONG THE POLISH DIASPORA IN LONDON* ● 153

Józef Olejniczak, *"OLD LECHER, IT'S TIME FOR YOU TO THE GRAVE..." – LATE ELEGIES (?) BY CZESŁAW MIŁOŚZ* ● 171

Marcin Wołk, *OUR LANGUAGE, THEIR LANGUAGE. ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE TEXT VARIANTS OF CZESŁAW MIŁOŚZ'S "CAMPO DEI FIORI"* ● 181

HISTORY

Marcin Lutomierski, *CZASY WOJNY* BY FERDYNAND GOETEL. AN ATTEMPT AT READING ● 201

Anna Supruniuk, *ALMA MATER VILNENSIS: THE RECONSTITUTION OF STEPHEN BATHORY UNIVERSITY IN VILNIUS* ● 219

CONTENTS

Bartosz Nowożycki, THE ACTIVITY OF THE POLISH INSTITUTE
OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN 1942–1989 ● 259

HISTORY OF ART

Ewa Bobrowska, "POLISH ARTIST – ARTIST FROM POLAND?"
THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE STUDY OF ARTISTS
FROM POLAND IN FRANCE AT THE TURN OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES:
THE EXAMPLE OF SIMON MONDZAIN ● 295

Mirosław Adam Supruniuk, "PERMANENCE AND LIQUIDITY." POLISH ART
IN GREAT BRITAIN IN THE 20TH CENTURY – INTRODUCTION
TO A DESCRIPTION ● 311

Swietłana Czerwonnaja, LITHUANIAN CULTURE IN THE CONDITIONS
OF POST-WAR EMIGRATION (LITERATURE AND FINE ARTS IN CAMPS
FOR DISPLACED PERSONS) ● 367

Roksana Gawrońska (Ligocka), LOST AND FOUND,
OR ABOUT HENRYK GOTLIB'S *POLISH WAR-TIME TRIPTYCH*
AND ITS CHANGING FATE ● 399

Magdalena Szwejka, ADAM KOSSOWSKI'S RELIGIOUS ART ● 419

Joanna Krasnodębska, "AN ENGLISH WOMAN IN PARIS."
HALINA KORN-ŻUŁAWSKA'S LETTERS TO HER HUSBAND
(MAY–JUNE 1950) ● 503

Introduction

Archiwum Emigracji/The Archives of Emigration is the only journal of history and humanities in Poland and Europe devoted to the studies of history, history of literature, history of art, source documents and biobibliography, related to the Polish *émigré* culture dating from the 19th century to the early 21st century, as well as the relations between the Polish diaspora and the political and cultural diasporas of other Central and Eastern European countries. The journal also explores 20th-century migration processes all over the world in their cultural contexts.

The journal was established in 1998 at the University Library of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń by the employees and friends of the Archives of Polish Emigration. This institution, focusing on archival and research work, had been founded by Mirosław A. Supruniuk, in 1994 at the University Library in Toruń. The journal's logo was designed by Stanisław Frenkiel, an eminent Polish painter from London. Since 2020 the journal has been edited at the Faculty of Humanities and published by the Nicolaus Copernicus University Press in the series "The Archives of Emigration. Studies and source materials of the Polish emigration in the 19th and 20th centuries". Until 2003 it was edited by Stefania Kossowska and since then by Mirosław A. Supruniuk and Rafał Moczkočan. The journal publishes strictly academic studies, essays, and annotated critical editions. Moreover, it includes memoirs and biographical overviews, as well as iconography.

INTRODUCTION

The journal is an interdisciplinary and international enterprise. Some issues have been dedicated to outstanding figures of the *émigré* culture: Jerzy Giedroyc, Stefania Kossowska, Józef Mackiewicz, Tymon Terlecki, Kazimierz Brandys, Czesław Miłosz, Jerzy Pietrkiewicz and Mieczysław Grydzewski. Others have explored problems fundamental to the understanding of *émigré* culture, such as Polish art in Great Britain, Polish women artists in France, memoirs of the second wave of great emigration from Poland, contemporary literature of the Jewish language diaspora and diasporic life writing.

Since 2020 the editorial board of the journal has annually granted a prize for outstanding master and doctoral theses focusing on the history of Polish and Eastern European emigration in the 19th and 20th centuries. The prize, namely a diploma and a monetary reward, is awarded after a competition organized every spring. The Jury consists of the journal's editorial board and the prize has been financed for years by the Senate of the Republic of Poland. Many young academics from all over Poland and other countries (Israel, Lithuania, Italy) are among the recipients of this award. Since 2005 the Prize has been presented by the Rector of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and a representative of the Senate of the Republic of Poland at the ceremony inaugurating each academic year.

Miroslaw A. Supruniuk



HISTORY OF LITERATURE

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Lechoń's Ephemeral Poems: People – Issues – Events in the New York Period

The concepts of “occasional poetry” and “ephemeral poetry” seem to enjoy neither special recognition nor too much interest from literary scholars, as if it was assumed that this is already a historical, somewhat marginal phenomenon, and the literary works of this genre, serving current purposes, have no special artistic qualities. According to the *Słownik terminów literackich* [Dictionary of literary terms], “occasional poetry” and “ephemeral poetry”¹ are “poetic works related in terms of their topics to specific events in public life or the activities of well-known people.”

A certain type of archival finds related to Jan Lechoń prompted me to look into this strand of his work.

A simple comparison of the contents of the two, so far most important, editions of his poems – *Poezje* [Poems] (in the series “National Library,” Wrocław 1990) and *Poezje zebrane* [Collected poems] (Toruń 1995) – edited by Roman Loth, indicate the lesser importance attached by the editor to “occasional and friendship-book poems” (as he titled one part of the second volume), because in *Poezje* [Poems] he included only one of the eight works of this nature that were later presented in *Poezje zebrane* [Collected

¹ M. Głowiński, T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Okopień-Sławińska, J. Sławiński, *Słownik terminów literackich* [Dictionary of literary terms], ed. J. Sławiński, 5th edition, unamended, Wrocław 2008, pp. (respectively) 353, 405–406.

poems]. It was a poem written in 1922 [inc.:], titled “To się jeszcze należy Pani, Panno Inko...” [This is still due to you, Miss Inka...] and dedicated to Inka Belina-Leszczyńska,² a daughter of actors Jerzy Leszczyński and Anna, who adopted the stage name of Anna Belina and who later, as the wife of diplomat Tadeusz Jackowski, hosted the poet many times in Wronczyn, the Jackowskis’ estate in the Wielkopolska region, where other rhymed entries were made in 1925 in the guestbook they kept.³ Their intimacy and friendship can be clearly evidenced by their surviving correspondence.⁴

In view of the dictionary definition, it must be concluded that Lechoń also wrote other ephemeral poems that meet both conditions to be qualified as part of the genre: they referred to “specific events in public life” or “well-known people”: a humorous poetic warning [inc.:] “Jeśliś damie chciał ubliżyć...” [If you wanted to insult a lady...], written in 1923 and addressed to Kornel Makuszyński after he published the volume *Moje listy* [My Letters]; a poetic address “Do Boya (Wiersz wygłoszony przez autora na bankiecie Polskiego Klubu Literackiego)” [To Boy (Poem delivered by the author at a banquet of the Polish Literary Club)] written in 1928; a 1929 entry in the “Pławowice Book” [inc.:] “...Aby uczcić cię, wsi błoga, i ty domu, kolumnowy” [...To honor you, blissful countryside, and you column house], perhaps made after the second of the famous Poets’ Convention in Pławowice, although it is otherwise known that in that year Lechoń was a guest of Nina and Ludwik Morstin also at other times; the “wedding toast” dedicated to Józef Wittlin’s daughter Elżbieta [inc.:] “Gdy angielskie i francuskie / Na cześć Twoją brzmią wiwaty...” [When the English and French / Cheers sound in your honor...] on the occasion of her wedding to Michel Lipton in 1951 in New York.⁵

² J. Lechoń, [inc.:] “To się jeszcze należy Pani, Panno Inko...” [This is still due to you, Miss Inka...], in: idem, *Poezje* [Poems], ed. R. Loth, Wrocław 1990, pp. 168–169; and in: idem, *Poezje zebrane* [Collected poems], ed. R. Loth, Toruń 1995, p. 243.

³ J. Lechoń, [inc.:] “Gdy mnie złych będzie myśli biła nawałnica...” [When I was beaten by a storm of bad thoughts...] and [inc.:] “Że te wiersze są w podarku...” [That these poems are a gift...], in: idem, *Poezje zebrane* [Collected poems], op. cit., pp. 244–246.

⁴ J. Lechoń, *Listy do Anny Jackowskiej* [Letters to Anna Jackowska], ed. R. Loth, Warsaw 1977, 208 pages.

⁵ See consecutively: J. Lechoń, *Poezje zebrane* [Collected poems], op. cit., pp. 247–253.

The last piece indicates that Lechoń did not abandon this kind of work while abroad. During my archival research in the United States, I had the opportunity to come across other evidence of his poetic activity of this nature.

The first piece of that evidence perfectly fits the dictionary definition of the role of occasional poetry, which involved a “direct and quick influence on the audience and shaping public opinion on ideological and political issues.” At the same time, it shows Lechoń’s characteristic keen interest in political affairs, while also presenting his unequivocal stance towards the presidential campaign taking place in the USA in 1948, which resulted in the election of Harry Truman and in which Mead,⁶ Pepper⁷ and Wallace,⁸ representatives of the Democratic Party criticized by the poet, took an active part. However, I have not been able to determine whether that propaganda poem (found in manuscript in Lechoń’s archive at the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York) was the poet’s spontaneous reaction to current political events, or whether it was written at someone else’s request and possibly used in the public space.

This is because Lechoń wrote in these clearly propagandistic couplets:

⁶ James Michael Mead (1885–1964), a member of the House of Representatives from 1918, a senator from 1938; a candidate for the office of governor of the New York State in 1942 and 1946; a chairman of the Senate Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program from 1944, in 1949–1955 an employee of the Federal Trade Commission

⁷ Claude Denson Pepper (1900–1989), a longtime lawyer in important government administrations; in 1936–1951, a Florida senator and several times the chairman of the Florida delegation to the Democratic National Convention (including in 1948), in 1963–1989, a member of the House of Representatives; one of the most active liberals in Congress; after World War II, his conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union provoked opposition even within his own party.

⁸ Henry Agard Wallace (1888–1965), in 1910–1933 a publisher of agricultural press; initially an activist in the Republican Party and in 1933–1940 the secretary of agriculture in the cabinet of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt; after changing his political affiliation to the Democratic Party, in 1941–1945 he was the vice president of the United States, then in 1945–1946 the secretary of commerce. After a split in the Democratic Party before of the 1948 presidential election, the liberal faction nominated him as its presidential candidate against the candidacy of the incumbent President Harry S. Truman, supported by most party members.

Jeśli nie chcesz, aby Moskal
W swej niewoli kiedyś miał cię,
Wciąż pamiętaj o Pearl Harbor,
Lecz pamiętaj też o Jałcie.

Pomnij, Rosję kto wychwalał,
Na Polaków kto się zżywał
I kto wszystko obiecywał,
A niczego nie dotrzymał.

Stalin z nas się w kułak śmieje.
My do niego zaś wytwornie.
„Dali” mówi „Lwów i Wilno,
Może dadzą Kalifornię”.

I podgryza nas tu w kraju,

I szpieguje, ile wlezie,
A to wszystko za dolary,
Cośmy dali mu w „land-lease”.

Kto chce Meada, ten popiera
I Wallace’a i Peppera.
A to znaczy, niech Bóg strzeże,
Stalin przyjdzie po Peppera.

Jeśli nie chcesz, by dobrobyt
I twą wolność diabli wzięli,
Głosuj na tych, którzy wszystko,
Co dziś mamy, przewidzieli.

Wołaj głośno: Precz z Stalinem!
Polska musi znów być wolna!
Głosuj na tych, którzy kiedyś
Głosowali na Lincolna.

If you don't want the Muscovite
To enslave you one day,
Don't forget about Pearl Harbor
But also remember Yalta.

Remember who praised Russia
And criticized the Poles,
And who promised everything
And kept none of his promises.

Stalin is laughing at us
And we treat him like gentlemen.
“They gave me Lviv and Vilnius,” he
says,
“Perhaps they'll give me California.”

And he undermines us here in our
country,
And he spies on us a lot,
And all of that he does for the dollars
That we gave him as “land-lease.”

Those who vote for Mead
Support both Wallace and Pepper.
And this means, God forbid,
That Stalin will follow Pepper.

If you don't want prosperity
And your freedom to go to hell,
Vote for those who have foreseen
Everything that is happening today.

Scream out loud: Down with Stalin!
Poland must be free again!
Vote for those who once
Voted for Lincoln.

Czy chcesz wiedzieć, co rząd da ci,

Gdyby wreszcie demokraci
Nie odeszli sobie w cień?
Ani mięsa, ani chleba
I niczego, co ci trzeba,
Lecz *RED PEPPER* cały dzień.
Mięsa nie ma, z cukrem bida,
Ciągłe strajki, nędzny byt.
Narodowi nie trza Meada,
Lecz potrzebny mu jest *meat*.*

Do you want to know what the
government
will give you

If the Democrats don't
Finally lose power?
Neither meat nor bread,
Nor anything you need,
But instead *RED PEPPER* all day.
There is no meat, sugar is hard to get,
Constant strikes, poor subsistence.
The nation does not need Mead,
What it needs is meat.

Today it is difficult to assess to what extent the opinions of this firm believer in conservative values (as Lechoń should be called, given the American Republicans *versus* Democrats duopoly) about representatives of the opposing political camp were accurate and correct. Apparently, this “agitprop” was addressed primarily to members of the old Polish American community (which originated from the “economic” emigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries), which worked hard to achieve its relative financial prosperity in the United States, as it uses economic arguments that they understood very well, while the reference to the American defeat at Pearl Harbor intentionally takes advantage of the desire, common in this ethnic group, to identify with the new homeland, which could not be ignored in view of its significant electoral power at the time. It is to the post-World War II pro-independence émigré community (which to this day emphasizes its separateness from the Polish American community) that the phrases about Poland’s betrayal by the Allies in Yalta and the loss of Lviv and Vilnius are addressed: these arguments were intended to convince those who did not want or could not return after the war to

* Verbatim translation. The poem was first printed in the article: B. Dorosz, “Archiwum Jana Lechońa w Polskim Instytucie Naukowym w Nowym Jorku. Relacja z badań” [Jan Lechoń’s Archive in the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York. An account from the research], *Pamiętnik Literacki* 1999, book 3.

Poland ruled according to the post-Yalta order, or who had no place to return to, because their native lands – the Eastern Borderland – were outside the post-war Polish borders. However, with regard to the poetics of this piece, one cannot help but notice the elements of semantic word play used by the author and the appropriately chosen rhymes: *red pepper* and Democrat Pepper, as well as Mead and *meat*. However, it is a very modest piece of political satire if one compares it with Lechoń's pre-war output in this area, such as "Szopki polityczne" [Political Nativity plays] staged at the literary cafe "Pod Pikadorem" [Under the Picador] or published in *Cyrulik Warszawski* magazine.⁹ Critics of the time valued him for his accurately directed blade of merciless satire, while the poet, who socialized with politicians, believed that he had the knowledge and skills which he sometimes claimed his co-authors did not have ("all this very much lacks political orientation")¹⁰ and justified his own passion and spitefulness by saying: "I have the venom of hell on the tip of my nib and I don't know any limits when I am outraged by something."¹¹

Other ephemeral poems Lechoń wrote abroad are definitely different in character – they have quite a private dimension. Described as "friendship book" poems, they primarily provoke questions about their addressees or the circumstances of their creation in connection with selected figures – not necessarily widely known (which the dictionary definition requires). However, this is not an easy or obvious task.

My "American capture" included a unique print titled *Polish Village Paradox, N.Y. Polskie letnisko i uzdrowisko w górach Adirondacks* [Polish summer resort and spa in the Adirondacks mountains].¹² It is a rather large and

⁹ See: M. Hemar, J. Lechoń, A. Słonimski, J. Tuwim, *Szopki Pikadora i Cyrulika Warszawskiego 1922–1931* [Pikador's and Cyrulik Warszawski's satirical Nativity plays 1922–1931], ed. T. Januszewski, Warsaw 2013, 433 pages.

¹⁰ J. Lechoń, *Listy do Anny Jackowskiej* [Letters to Anna Jackowska] (a letter dated February 23, 1930), op. cit., p. 94.

¹¹ *Ibidem* [a letter of March 13, 1926], p. 41.

¹² A print in the possession of the author, donated to her by the daughter of the owner of Paradox, Barbara née Gieysztor, married names Krzywicka and Świdorska; the quotations are from that folder.

richly illustrated advertising folder in Polish with local photographs, intended to convince émigrés looking for a place for a summer holiday that a

Pole longing for the Homeland will find perhaps the most familiar landscape in the Adirondacks mountains. [...]

– “I could swear,” said one of last year’s visitors, “that I had left America for Poland for those two weeks.” – “Naturally,” we replied in such cases. – “Paradox” is Poland. Maybe someday we will join the United States as the 49th state, but for now it’s Poland.” – To demonstrate it, this year we put up a boom gate with a White Eagle at the boundary of Paradox and changed the clumsy name of the guesthouse from “Paradox House” to “Polish Village.”

The brochure opens with *Wyjątki z Księgi Gości Paradoxu* [Exceptions from the Paradox Guestbook], with a poem by Lechoń as the first entry:

Wciąż o Polsce tu się marzy,
Serce, wzrok i słuch zachwyca;
To Augustów, to Krynica!
Co za kuchnia gospodarzy!
Každy mówi: „Znów za rok się
Zobaczymy w Paradoxie!”¹³

We still dream about Poland here,
To the heart’s, the eyes’, and the ears’
delight;
It’s Augustów, it’s Krynica!
And the hosts’ outstanding cuisine!
Everyone says: “In one year,
We will see each other at Paradox!”

It is most likely that this piece – rather unsophisticated in form and, as one can assume, scribbled rather “hastily,” was written in 1945, since Lechoń wrote to Mieczysław Grydzewski in the autumn of that year: “Paradox is Gieysztor’s property that he has just acquired – a wonder in the mountains by lakes. In the summer, it was a boarding house with a very Polish messy and charming style,”¹⁴ since a large number of Polish visitors were drawn here, including Maria Modzelewska, Halina and Ignacy

¹³ Verbatim translation. The poem first appeared in print in an edition of J. Lechoń, K. Wierzyński, *Listy 1941–1956* [Letters 1941–1956], ed. B. Dorosz in collaboration with P. Kądziała, Warsaw 2016, p. 84.

¹⁴ M. Grydzewski, J. Lechoń, *Listy 1923–1956* [Letters 1923–1956], from the autograph for the print, prepared, introduction, and footnotes by B. Dorosz, vol. 1–2, Warsaw 2006, vol. 1, p. 136.

Matuszewski, Stefania and Zygmunt Klingsland, and Halina and Kazimierz Wierzyński, who wrote to Jan Lechoń, a friend of them both, specifically from “Paradox” in a letter dated August 17, 1946: “The fond memory of you continues here inviolably.”¹⁵

In her book of memoirs, Irena Lorentowicz, a regular of that guest-house, devoted to it a separate chapter titled “Jezioro Paradoks” [Lake Paradox], showing the unusual charms of that place and outlining an interesting profile of Władysław Gieysztor, its owner:

a noble man like no other, an extraordinary man, living in a world of his own imaginations, abusing trust right and left, and yet a wizard like no other, whose fantasies were hard to resist. [...] One of his most interesting feats was the creation of a Polish settlement, a “Polish village.” [...] His whole farm on Lake Paradox was a great paradox, [...] but he was able to evoke a mood of Polishness, probably by the power of some magic. In the main house [...] there was an album of old photographs on the table, which Lechoń flipped through thoughtfully.¹⁶

His classical short biographical footnote might read as follows: Władysław Gieysztor (1892–1960), an economist; before the war, among other things, the head of the legal department at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, from 1920 to 1930 the editor-in-chief of the weekly *Przemysł i Handel*, from 1930 the editor of the magazines *Polska Gospodarcza* and *The Polish Economist*; distinguished for his contribution to the construction of the port and city of Gdynia. Since the war he has lived in the United States, where, among other things, he ran the company “Art Church Interiors”; after 1956 he returned to Poland.

However, it is impossible to ignore Irena Lorentowicz’s other information that Gieysztor “heroically crossed borders several times as a Polish emissary at the beginning of the war, and briefly visited Paris.” More information on this intriguing and, in the historical context, not at all insignificant issue can be found in other memoirs, from which it appears that this “magician or illusionist” (Lorentowicz’s terms), after the outbreak of

¹⁵ J. Lechoń, K. Wierzyński, *Listy 1941–1956* [Letters 1941–1956], op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁶ I. Lorentowicz, *Oczarowania* [Enchantments], Warsaw 1972, pp. 249–254.

World War II and the happy relocation of his family to Nice, volunteered in December 1939

to be an emissary (alias “Hoffman”) to the emerging underground authorities in Poland. After obtaining appropriate instructions from the highest Polish authorities in Angers and Paris, he went to Hungary, from where he and his friend Jerzy Michalewski (alias “Dokładny”), equipped with adequate mail and money for work in Poland, were flown on a well-trodden courier route across the border to Warsaw.¹⁷

However, it turns out that this secret expedition was also to bear fruit abroad, in the circle of the forming government in exile, because

among the numerous written and oral reports that Władysław Gieysztor carried with him, [...] there was a statement by representatives of the People’s Party in Poland stating that they did not consider Professor Kot to be the party’s official representative and that they wanted to warn the government in Paris and Angers about him.

At that moment, Kot openly declared a war against Gieysztor along the lines of “I will destroy you.” This crowned Władysław Gieysztor’s extremely sacrificial mission from Paris to Poland in January 1940.¹⁸

This expedition was the topic of an article by the later owner of *Paradox* on the political underground in Poland entitled “U Arciszewskiego w Warszawie” [At Arciszewski’s home in Warsaw],¹⁹ published in *Tygodnik Polski* edited by Lechoń in New York.

It is worth adding that before their fascination with *Paradox*, Gieysztor and Lechoń were united by at least a dislike of Minister Stanisław Kot, to whom the poet “owed” the revocation at the end of 1943 of government subsidies for the publication of *Tygodnik*, considered by the Minister of Information and Documentation to be a magazine that “did not fulfill the hopes placed in it,” when in fact the problem was its political line, since

¹⁷ T. Pawłowicz, *Obraz pokolenia* [Image of a generation], Cracow 1999, p. 72.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

¹⁹ W. Gieysztor, “U Arciszewskiego w Warszawie” [At Arciszewski’s home in Warsaw], *Tygodnik Polski*, New York 1944, no. 49.

the journalists criticized the government's foreign policy, judging it to be too conciliatory, and particularly concessionary toward the Soviet Union.

Gieysztor also wrote a number of articles published in *Tygodnik*: an analytical article titled "Gdzie będą Sowiety po wojnie?" [Where will the Soviets be after the war?]²⁰ on a topic related to both politics and economics, which should not be surprising to anyone since Gieysztor was formerly an active economic activist and editor of economic journals; an article titled "Niemiecki Katyń" [German Katyń]²¹ about the murder of the defenders of that city, which should come as no surprise since he was a resident of the Kamienna Góra district of Gdynia; and a text the author's expressing concern, titled "Czy naprawdę młodzież polska w Ameryce jest stracona dla Polski?" [Are the Polish youth in America really lost to Poland?]²² and delineating "Wielkie zadanie" [The great task]²³ which, according to the author, was the need to bring Poles from camps liberated in Europe to the United States, which could be expected from a "social activist" interested in the problems of the émigré community. What may surprise, however, is Gieysztor's few short stories,²⁴ the reportage text on travels in America,²⁵ and, most importantly, the book (novel?) announced by *Tygodnik* as being prepared for publication under the telling title *Rozbitki* [Castaways].²⁶

²⁰ W. Gieysztor, "Gdzie będą Sowiety po wojnie?" [Where will the Soviets be after the war?], *Tygodnik Polski* 1944, no. 25.

²¹ W. Gieysztor, "Niemiecki Katyń" [German Katyń], *Tygodnik Polski* 1945, no. 6.

²² W. Gieysztor, "Czy naprawdę młodzież polska w Ameryce jest stracona dla Polski?" [Are the Polish youth in America really lost to Poland?], *Tygodnik Polski* 1943, no. 48.

²³ W. Gieysztor, "Wielkie zadanie" [The great task], *Tygodnik Polski* 1945, no. 23.

²⁴ W. Gieysztor, "Stary proboszcz" [Old parish priest], *Tygodnik Polski* 1943, no. 20; "Stasiek i Franek" [Stasiek and Franek], *ibidem* 1943, no. 22; "Szare dni wygnañcze" [Gray days in exile], *ibidem* 1944, no. 11; "Walentowa" [Walenty's wife], *ibidem* 1944, no. 18.

²⁵ W. Gieysztor, "Na Majnach (u litewskich i polskich górników w Pensylwanii)" [In Majny (with Lithuanian and Polish miners in Pennsylvania)], *Tygodnik Polski* 1943, no. 13; "Na preriach w «Nieboracze»" [In the prairies in the "Nieboraczka" (poor woman)], *ibidem* 1944, no. 1, about Poles in Nebraska.

²⁶ W. Gieysztor, "Tragedia emigracji (z niewykończonej książki pt. «Rozbitki»)»" [The tragedy of emigration (from the unfinished book titled "Castaways")], *Tygodnik Polski* 1944, no. 44; "Rozmowa przy kominku (z przygotowanej do druku książki pt. «Rozbitki»)»" [A conversation at a fireplace (from the book titled "Castaways" prepared for print)], *ibidem* 1945, no. 14.

However, Lechoń did not express a good opinion about the businessman involved in various activities either in his correspondence with friends – in a letter to Wierzyński he wrote about him as “crazy Gieysztor”²⁷ – or in *Dziennik* [Diary] in which he noted on December 26, 1949, after returning from Washington:

I arrived at night so that in the morning I could go to Long Island to attend Jerzy Krzywicki's wedding as the best man. [...] But since nothing that Krzywicki's father-in-law, Gieysztor, was involved in was ever done properly, the car that was supposed to take me there didn't come, and as a result I didn't go [...].²⁸

“The Lord of Paradox” (as Irena Lorentowicz called him) apparently aroused in the poet quite different emotions than Paradox itself.

The opposite is true of two other persons gifted by him with poems written especially for them, which I found completely by accident in 2000 in the Houghton Library at the Harvard University (the main reason for my visit there at the time was to look for Lechoń's letters to Grydzewski, which had been considered lost). Lechoń's archive materials there turned out to be surprisingly abundant; in a collection of his correspondence and among the books with his dedications, I came across two small, sentimental and lyrical poems, which the poet himself surely soon forgot about, although he attested to the creation of one of them in his *Dziennik* [Diary] on January 2, 1953: “I wrote two stanzas of a ‘madrigal’ for Cecilia Burr with thanks for a very timely new year gift. I swear that this poem is almost literature.”²⁹

“Ephemeral literature” – in the most literal sense – because this poetic piece was also written on a traditional (in a truly American taste and artistic style) Christmas greeting card, and it was only because of a lucky coincidence that when the holiday mood subsided, it was not thrown into the trash bin along with many other greeting cards received.

²⁷ J. Lechoń, K. Wierzyński, *Listy 1941–1956* [Letters 1941–1956], op. cit., p. 85.

²⁸ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary], ed. R. Loth, vol. 1–3, Warsaw 1992–1993, vol. 1, pp. 162–163.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 6.

Mościa Kasztelanowo	Your Majesty Castellan's Wife!
Dzięki za dar hojny,	Thank you for the generous gift,
Którego cenę zwiększa, że z tak	Which is even more valuable because
pięknej ręki.	it was given
Chciałbym być Kochanowskim, by	by such a
opiewać	beautiful
wdzięki	hand.
Osoby tak uroczej, chociaż tak	I'd like to be Kochanowski to praise
dostojnej.	the charms
	Of a person so adorable, although so
	dignified.
Wpśród blasków światowych rzuć	Amidst the world's glare, take a look
czasem	sometimes
oczyma	At the card whose modesty
Na kartkę, której skromność mnie	embarrasses
samego	me,
wstydzi,	But amongst Your worshippers, may
Lecz wśród Twych wielbicieli, sam Pan	the Lord be
Bóg to widzi,	my witness,
Na pewno są możniejsi, wierniejszego	Some are certainly more powerful, but
nie ma.	none is more
	faithful than I.
Cesi na Nowy Rok 1953	To Cesia for the New Year of 1953
Leszek	

Why a “madrigal”? The answer – somewhat perverse – is to be found in the peculiarities of that poetic genre; it was usually “a short work on love, containing an elaborate and wittily exaggerated compliment, addressed to the lady of the heart,” and in past centuries was the most characteristic form of court poetry.³⁰ Who, then, was the lady gifted with such an artful piece?

³⁰ M. Głowiński, T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Okopień-Sławińska, J. Sławiński, *Słownik terminów literackich* [Dictionary of literary terms], op. cit., p. 291.

Mrs. Cecylia Burr, née Wasilowska (1886–1964), born in Poland, had already appeared in Lechoń's émigré life as the widow of an American millionaire, George Howard Burr.³¹

She was remembered by the Polish community in New York as a patroness of the poet; among other things, in February 1948, she not only chaired the Organizing Committee of Jan Lechoń's Jubilee Evening, but sent out an elegant decorative prints with information about the event, encouraging donations to the poet:

Our Great Poet Jan Lechoń's circle of friends, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his literary work, would like to give him a Jubilee Gift, which would be of help to him in his further literary work for the Polish Nation. Please contribute to this action through Mrs. George H. Burr, The Towers The Waldorff-Astoria,³²

she herself, on the other hand made a generous donation “for J. Lechoń benefis” in the amount of one thousand dollars, and later collected checks sent in by others. During the festivities, she and her *dame de compagnie*, Janina Higersberger-Kulikowska (called Żancia by her friends, who will be discussed further on) were engaged in selling the poet's works. Similarly, in April 1955, she co-organized and generously supported the “Evening of Jan Lechoń,” for which the publication of his *Poezje zebrane 1916–1953* [Collected poems 1916–1953] in London in 1954 proved to be the perfect pretext.

She gifted her friend with valuable and charming trinkets, which Lechoń eagerly noted in his *Dziennik* [Diary], reporting, among other things, on the course of his name day in March 1954:

Cesia Burr brought me an English *argent repoussé* dating back to the end of the 17th century, a marvelous mug – a gift that not only enriched and beautified

³¹ George Howard Burr (1866–1939) was a banker and a stockbroker, served as the commissioner of the American Red Cross in Paris during World War I, and became an officer in the French Legion of Honor; Cecilia was his second wife from 1925.

³² A print from the archives of B. Dorosz.

my room, but with which also the donor looked pretty, like in a beautiful and costly, but discreet dress.³³

She also provided him with financial assistance multiple times, competing in this regard with another generous sponsor of the poet, Irena Cittadini (who was a patron of many Polish artists, including Karol Szymanowski); in the *Dziennik* [Diary], one can find the following note: “Irena Cittadini to Cecilia Burr, advising her against saving money: ‘What the heck? Do you want to be the richest woman in the cemetery?’”³⁴

Lechoń’s friends, aware of his constant financial problems on the one hand and of his peculiar dependence on the patron on the other, had different advice for him. Doctor “Jachimowicz advises marriage to Mrs. Burr,” Lechoń wrote to Wierzyński,³⁵ who was irritated: “I read about the thousand dollars from Mrs. Burr for *Kultura*”,³⁶ I don’t remember whether *Tygodnik* has ever earned so much favor in her eyes and pocket. Shit on that lady, I implore you!”³⁷ at other times he called her “the Duchess of Mentecaptus locked in a tower,”³⁸ an allusion to her residence in Manhattan in permanent suites at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel (with its distinctive two towers).

Lechoń was a fairly frequent guest in these apartments. It is to such a visit that we owe one of his late poems. First, a note appeared in his *Dziennik* [Diary] on December 25, 1954:

³³ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary] (a note of March 20, 1954), op. cit., vol. 3, p. 331.

³⁴ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary] (a note of July 15, 1952), op. cit., vol. 2, p. 489.

³⁵ A letter from J. Lechoń to K. Wierzyński dated December 6, 1950, in: J. Lechoń, K. Wierzyński, *Listy 1941–1956* [Letters 1941–1956], op. cit., p. 396. – Jan Jachimowicz (1902–1989?), a physician. After graduating from the Jagiellonian University, he did his specialized training at clinics in Paris, Berlin, London, and New York, and later served as a head of internal medicine wards in Warsaw hospitals. He was a member many national and international medical societies. In exile in New York, he continued his medical practice (among other things, he was Lechoń’s regular physician).

³⁶ A donation from the Polish-American sponsor made it possible to publish the May (5th) issue of *Kultura* in 1950, which was confirmed on the front page with the following information: “Issue dedicated to Mrs. Cecilia Burr, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York.”

³⁷ A letter from K. Wierzyński to J. Lechoń dated February 18 or 25, 1950, in: J. Lechoń, K. Wierzyński, *Listy 1941–1956* [Letters 1941–1956], op. cit., p. 213.

³⁸ A letter from K. Wierzyński to J. Lechoń dated February 10, 1955, *ibidem*, p. 527.

Yesterday, as I was walking to Cecilia Burr's place for a Christmas Eve dinner, Faulkner, tiny, in some sort of winter coat, wearing a somewhat comical brown quasi-Tyrolean hat, looking like some sort of Polish nobleman lost in New York, walked right in front of me into the "Waldorf" and when, still looking back at him, I walked to the elevator, I heard him say to the doorman: "Mr. Stein, please," and after a while: "I am Faulkner." Among the gentlemen in tailcoats and ladies in mink furs and diamonds, no one recognized him, he looked in that hall almost like some character from Hoffmann's works; like a ghost from another world. I felt very silly that I was dressed for the evening, even though I am a poor man, while Faulkner is a celebrity and a rich man. I thought to myself how much I had lost because of the thousands of evenings I had spent in my life wearing a tuxedo or a tailcoat, and I was about to accost Faulkner and tell him something that Warsaw drunks used to say, crying in "Astoria" or "Adria" over their misery in the vests of various important Polish figures.³⁹

Later, in the diary notes from October 30, 1955 until May 6, 1956, there are occasional sparse references to writing a poem *Faulkner*; eventually, this poignant piece was titled *Wiersz do Williama Faulknera spotkanego w hotelu Waldorf-Astoria* [A poem to William Faulkner met at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel].⁴⁰

Cecilia Burr was devoted to Polish affairs in various ways, including organizing meetings of American and Polish politicians in her home, which were also attended by the keenly interested poet and other representatives of the science and art community; these included a breakfast she gave at her residence in the Locust Valley on the Long Island in honor of Gen. Władysław Anders during his tour of the United States in the autumn of 1950.⁴¹

³⁹ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary], op. cit., vol. 3, p. 531.

⁴⁰ J. Lechoń, *Poezje* [Poems], op. cit., pp. 199–200. The editor, Roman Loth, annotated this piece with the following text: "It seems to have remained in an incompletely final shape. Not printed during the poet's lifetime, it was published from the posthumous papers of Michał Sprusiński in *Polityka* in 1981, no. 24 (June 13)." Let us recall that Michał Sprusiński was one of the first researchers from Poland, who in 1978 (thanks to a grant from the Kościuszko Foundation) had the opportunity to search through Jan Lechoń's archive kept at the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, based in New York.

⁴¹ As an aside, as a sort of "occasional curiosity," it can be added that in the spring of 1951 Cecilia Burr, during her visit to London, became the godmother of General Anders'

However, this lady engaged in public affairs also needed Lechoń. As the editor of *Tygodnik Polski*, he promoted in its pages the activities of the Association of Soldiers' Mothers, established in 1944, of which Mrs. Burr was the president. He supported her substantively in creating a series of patriotic and artistic events known as "Polish Evenings" in late 1947 and early 1948 (and wrote inaugural speeches and addresses for her).⁴²

The poet also became part of his sponsor's private life. Among other things, he attended the engagement of her granddaughter, Cecile Parker, and later the wedding and reception at the exclusive Hotel Plaza in Manhattan,⁴³ where he experienced the lifestyle of the American *high society*, which made quite a strong impression on the poet, who was always sensitive to all snobbery and so-called worldliness.

Paradoxically, emotionally fragile himself, he was able to provide important support to her in the role of a compassionate and understanding friend. When her daughter, Mary Parker, died in July 1950, "Mrs. Burr said [...] to Żancia Higersberger: 'Call Leszek and tell him what happened to me,'"⁴⁴ as a result of which she received a poignant letter from the poet, in which he wrote, among other things:

daughter. This news appeared in a letter from Kazimierz Wierzyński to Mieczysław Grydzewski dated March 1, 1951; the poet, wanting the editor to get a wealthy sponsor for *Wiadomości*, tried to get his friend to contact her at the time, and wrote: "Mrs. Burrow is going to London in the middle of the month. Apparently Anders 'invited her' to be his daughter's godmother" (M. Grydzewski, K. and H. Wierzyński, *Listy* [Letters], ed. B. Dorosz with the collaboration of P. Kądziała, Warsaw 2022, vol. 2: 1948–1952, pp. 468–469). Anna Maria Anders (born in 1950) confirmed the fact that her godmother was Cecylia Burr (in an interview with the author of these words on October 19, 2018 in London, during the inauguration of the academic year of the Polish University Abroad) and added that it was in honor of her godmother that she was given the third name of Cecylia at her baptism, although she never met Cecylia Burr later in person.

⁴² For more information on this topic, see: B. Dorosz, *Nowojorski pasjans. Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce, Jan Lechoń, Kazimierz Wierzyński. Studia o wybranych zagadnieniach działalności 1939–1969* [New York solitaire. Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, Jan Lechoń, Kazimierz Wierzyński. Studies on selected problems of activity 1939–1969], Warsaw 2013, pp. 226–230.

⁴³ See: J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary] (respectively: notes of January 14 and March 10, 1951), op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 18 and 69.

⁴⁴ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary] (a note of July 6, 1950), op. cit., vol. 1, p. 341.

Dear Cecilia,

I am kissing your hands in the tenderest desire that you experience solace and comfort in your grief as soon as possible. I know from my life that we only know how to survive parting forever with those we love to and agree again with life, if we believe firmly in their presence beside us.

When my father died and I went to his funeral in Warsaw, I had to turn on the light in my room at night, because I felt that my father was beside me, not as a phantom of a living person, but as that which is immortal in us, as a spirit that came to tell me that I would henceforth always have an advocate and protector in him high up there.

Believing in God, I also believe, as the ancient Greeks – who foreboded it – believed, in that Platonic world where everything that rises above matter and earthly desires lasts forever: everything that is good, beautiful, and sacrificial.

With what you did for your daughter, what you do for others, you connect with the world, connect with Her, and there is no separation between You two. My dear Cecilia! This is no platitude, it is a deep belief that once allowed me to feel at the funeral of my loved ones unearthly serenity and accept the fate.⁴⁵

However, most importantly, Cecilia Burr's home in New York's suburbs (in a small snobbish town where the inscriptions on the store windows are still in French) was a quiet refuge for Lechoń in periods of his mental exhaustion and a place to escape from the hustle and heat of Manhattan; on July 28, 1951 in his *Dziennik* [Diary], he wrote: "I went to Locust Valley, to Cecylia. I fled the city because I had new annoyances and could no longer stand staying in the room where I had been experiencing the same anguish over and over again for a year."⁴⁶ He also found there an illusory sense of connection with the irretrievably lost homeland and an emotionally felt Polishness; therefore, the *Dziennik* [Diary] is thus full of notes such as this one: "Cecilia's Park... Flower beds after the dew smelled the same as in Poland" (August 27, 1950);⁴⁷ "It is an evening in the Locust Valley. I knew, coming here, how tired I was. [...] On the way to Cecilia, a forest of young birch trees... What a jaunty, brisk and so Polish poetry it is, as if these birch-

⁴⁵ A manuscript in J. Lechoń's archive at the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, ref: Jan Lechoń Paper, collection 005, folder 3.

⁴⁶ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary], op. cit., vol. 2, p. 197.

⁴⁷ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary], op. cit., vol. 1, p. 389.

es were nowhere else” (June 30, 1951);⁴⁸ “The golf courses near Cecylia’s house resemble Polish mowed meadows...” (July 7, 1953).⁴⁹

Such nostalgic memories of Poland, and primarily of Warsaw, dictated to Lechoń another mini-poem inscribed in the form of a dedication in his only rhymed story for children⁵⁰ that he gave to Janina Higersberger-Kulikowska – this poetry is indeed ephemeral, for it could only be known to a very small group of possible future readers from the circle of her friends and acquaintances.

April 21, 1948

Noc zapada, droga Żanciu,
Gwiazd ciągnąca srebrną wstążkę.
Z pół godziny już się głowie,
Jak podpisać Ci tę książkę,
By przez chwilę zaszumiło
Dobrych wspomnień trenem ślicznym,
Aby bzem Ci zapachniało
(Tym, w Ogrodzie Botanicznym).
Żeby było to, co pragniesz,
Co najbardziej Żancia lubi.
Chciałbym z serca. Lecz wiadomo,

Że nas właśnie serce gubi.
Więc gdy pragniesz, aby dowcip
Jak szampański korek strzelił,
Aby wiersz Ci się roześmiał,
Aby rym się rozweselił,
Nagle tęskność Cię ogarnia
Jak na naszą polską wiosnę.
Nagle rymy Ci się płaczą

The night is falling, dear Żancia,
Pulling a silver ribbon of stars.
I’ve been thinking for half an hour now,
What to write in this book for you,
To make some rustle for a while
With a lovely train of good memories,
To bring the scents of a lilac
(The one in the Botanical Garden).
So it is the way you want it,
What Żancia likes best.
I would like it from the heart. But you
know

That the heart causes us to lose.
So when you want a joke
To shoot like a champagne cork,
To make your poem laugh,
To make the rhyme cheer up,
Suddenly longing engulfs you
Like during our Polish spring.
Suddenly your rhymes are tangled

⁴⁸ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary], op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 171–172.

⁴⁹ J. Lechoń, *Dziennik* [Diary], op. cit., vol. 3, p. 159.

⁵⁰ J. Lechoń, *Historia o jednym chłopczyku i o jednym lotniku* [The story of one boy and one aviator], London 1946, 33 pages.

I już prawie są miłosne.

Wzrok mój goni po Warszawie
Pełną szyku żywą lalkę
I spojrzeniem rozmarzonym
Chce jej zajrzeć pod woalkę.
Chciałbym iść z nią przez ulice,

Których nie ma i nie będzie.
I coś szeptać jej jak student,

Jak w Warszawie, jak w legendzie.
Droga Żanciu! Widzisz sama,
Że do strasznych idzie rzeczy.
Wiersz mój wzdycha już wyraźnie,
Lada chwila się rozbeczy.
Więc ociera łzę niemęską,
Aż się z wstydu zarumienia.

Oto wierszyk mój dla Żanci
Zamiast kwiatów od „Złocienia”.*

And they're almost like in a love
poem.

My eyes follow around Warsaw
An elegant living doll
And with a dreamy gaze
Wants to look under her veil.
I would like to walk with her in the
streets,

That are not there and never will be.
And whisper something to her like
a student,

Like in Warsaw, like in a legend.
Dear Żancia! You can see for yourself,
That terrible things will happen.
My poem is already sighing distinctly,
It will start crying any minute.
So it's wiping away an unmanly tear,
It even blushes with shame.

Here is my poem for Żancia
Instead of flowers from “Złocienia”.

For a long time during my research on the Polish community in New York, Janina Hibernberger-Kulikowska, called Żancia, seemed to me to be simply a *dame de compagnie* of the mighty Mrs. Burr. In correspondence with Lechoń, in official actions for the benefit of the poet, and in his *Dziennik* [Diary], they always appear together: Cesia (or Cecyleczka) and Żancia.

In spite of all the obvious merits of the wealthy millionaire, whose noble will or grandiose whim was to assist the perpetually troubled poet,

* Verbatim translation. The flower shop “Złocienia” in Warsaw at 12 Mazowiecka Street, on the other side of the gate of the building that housed the “Mała Ziemiańska” patisserie, iconic for the Skamandrites, where they had their legendary table on the mezzanine floor.

it was this modest Żancia, always present beside or in the shadow of her patroness, who was often the final authority, or perhaps rather the advocate to whom Lechoń resorted in order to gain approval for his ideas or understanding of his needs from Cecylia Burr. For the poet, she was also a warm, nostalgic memory of the forever lost Warsaw, as evidenced by another dedication to her on a copy of *Aut Caesar aut nihil* (in a 1955 bibliophile London edition): “To Dear Żancia, who has been, is, and always will be for me the most perfect embodiment of Warsaw’s elegance. Devoted friend Jan Lechoń. New York 1955.”

In my early works related to Lechoń, in biographical footnotes about Janina a.k.a. Żancia, I wrote: “more detailed biographical data is missing,” which any researcher would always consider a kind of failure. In time, it turned out that

was a person of great merit in the circles of the New York Polish community, active in many fields. She graduated from the University of Warsaw with a degree in law (1939). It arrived in the United States during World War II via Mexico. She was a long-time secretary at the Kościuszko Foundation (she was in charge of student and academic exchanges with Poland, as well as scholarship and grant matters; she is particularly credited with providing assistance to Józef Mackiewicz). She was a member of the governing body of the Polish Law Society in the United States of America. She generously supported the Mianowski Fund (in 1995–2001, she donated about \$30,000), and her donations were used to establish the Drogomir (Kulikowski coat of arms) publishing fund. After her death, the Mianowski Fund received more than \$100,000 from her estate. She was one of the lifetime members of the Józef Piłsudski Institute in America, and in the 1980s she was secretary of its Board. She was a member of the jury of the literary award of the Society for the Propagation of Hope. She occasionally wrote about art (including the paintings of Tadeusz Styka).⁵¹ She died in September 2006.⁵²

⁵¹ J. Hibersberger, “The brilliant art of Tade Styka,” *The Polish Review*, New York 1945, no. 5.

⁵² J. Zieliński, “Retrospektywna kartomancja” [Retrospective cartomancy], *Pamiętnik Literacki*, London 2013, vol. 45–46 (review: B. Dorosz, *Nowojorski pasjans* [New York solitaire], Warsaw 2013).

She probably died in Warsaw, which she and the poet loved so much... Being aware that the collections of correspondence, including with Cesia and Żancia, preserved in Lechoń's archive at the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, which are important for the poet's New York biography, are not complete, I tried to look for some of the missing links. Unfortunately, Cecilia Burr's granddaughter, Mrs. Cecile Parker, whom I managed to contact in 1998, regretfully confessed that she did not know what happened to her grandmother's so-called papers, which were taken care of by a (then deceased) relative after her death. On the other hand, she became unusually aroused at the mention of Janina Higersberger, Żancia, whom she lost sight of years ago when her grandmother's life companion moved to Warsaw. She even gave me her phone number in Warsaw; however, no one picked up the phone when I called...

I note my impressions from reading "Lechoń's ephemeral poems" and the knowledge of the Polish émigré community in New York based on them⁵³ with the awareness that the events recalled here have already been covered by the patina of history, and the characters participating in them are slowly slipping into oblivion. However, I continue to be deeply convinced that even the most trivial-looking piece of a poem in the poet's output should not be ignored, because behind it there are people, issues, and events that were important and significant in his émigré life.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2023, no. 2 (32)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/49699>

⁵³ I previously wrote about the finding at the Harvard University of a "madrigal for Mrs. Burr" and a rhymed dedication to "Żancia" in a popular article titled *Lechonia wiersze ulotne* [Lechoń's ephemeral poems] in the pages of the New York-based *Przegląd Polski* (the *Weekly Literary and Social Supplement to Nowy Dziennik*) in 2001, in the June 8 issue, announced on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the poet's tragic death, which fell on that day. This article contains only some references to that publication.

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Na Antenie and *Wiadomości*: The Circumstances of the Beginnings and Termination of Cooperation

Na Antenie, a monthly magazine where the most important texts broadcast on Radio Free Europe were published, was as a supplement to the weekly *Wiadomości* from 1963 to 1969.¹ Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, recalling in the mid-1990s how *Na Antenie* was created and how the cooperation with *Wiadomości* was initiated, wrote:

It was my idea. It was to be the Polish equivalent of the English magazine *The Listener*, the press organ of the BBC, and was to feature our best political commentaries, radio plays, essays, as well as news from Poland, witness accounts, and documents. From the very beginning of RFE, at various times I asked the Americans for money and permission to publish it. [...] All my efforts went unanswered for a long time. It was not until the early 1960s that the new director of RFE, Rodney C. Smith, understood the need for such a magazine to compete with *Kultura* and *Wiadomości*, the two great émigré periodicals, and at the same time wanted it to be a magazine that reached a wide Polish audience in the world. So I proposed to Jerzy Giedroyc that the

¹ Later, the magazine was published independently for several years, then as a supplement to *Orzeł Biały*, and later as a supplement to *Dziennik Polski* i *Dziennik Żołnierza*.

magazine – by then the name *Na Antenie* had been coined – be published at RFE’s expense as a monthly supplement to *Kultura*. When Giedroyc refused, claiming to be concerned about the magazine’s dependence on an American institution, I turned to Mieczysław Grydzewski, who accepted the offer without hesitation and without any conditions.²

The magazine’s first editor, Zygmunt Jabłoński, disagrees with Nowak-Jeziorański’s account and credits the idea of creating the magazine to himself. As he recalled in 1985:

Back in early 1962, at a morning conference, I put forward a project to create a magazine (along the lines of the British *The Listener*) that would consist of our best broadcasts. Such a magazine, I argued, would be a showcase for our radio station, and editing it would not be too difficult, because, after all, all the materials were right there.

My idea did not receive a positive response from Nowak, who thought that only his own ideas were the best.

I was therefore surprised when, after a few months, Zupa³ approached me saying that Nowak had come up with the idea of creating a monthly magazine consisting of a selection of our broadcasts, which would be published as a supplement to Mieczysław Grydzewski’s London-based *Wiadomości*. I told Zupa that the idea was excellent, but it was mine, not Nowak’s.

“I recall something,” Zawadzki replied, “and that’s why I’m asking you if you would take this job.”

I was pleased by this offer [...] So I said to Zupa: “Yes...”

I came up with the title *Na Antenie* and the subtitle *Mówi Rozgłośnia Polska Radia Wolna Europa* [This is the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe speaking].⁴

So which version of the events is true? Who came up with and who accepted this idea? Referring to Jabłoński’s memoirs, Nowak-Jeziorański stated: “Z. Jabłoński credited to himself the initiative for the creation of the monthly magazine. In fact, I came up with this project in a memo-

² J. Nowak-Jeziorański, “Nie tylko *Na Antenie*” [Not only *Na Antenie*], in: M. A. Supruniuk, ed., “*Wiadomości*” i okolice. *Szkice i wspomnienia* [*Wiadomości* and surroundings. Sketches and memoirs], vol. 2, Toruń 1996, pp. 159–160. If not indicated otherwise, all the emphases are mine – R. M.

³ Tadeusz Zawadzki (actually Żenczykowski) – Jan Nowak-Jeziorański’s deputy at RFE.

⁴ Z. Jabłoński, *Gabinet figur radiowych* [Cabinet of radio figures], Berlin 1985, pp. 99.

rial to the Americans, at the very beginning of our radio station.⁵ The matter is not clear, and it gets even more complicated when one looks into Nowak-Jeziorański's correspondence with Giedroyć. In a letter dated March 20, 1962, Nowak-Jeziorański wrote to the editor of the Paris-based *Kultura*:

I am addressing you on a strictly confidential matter with a request for the utmost discretion.

During my recent stay in London, I received a proposal from *Dziennik Polski* to publish once a month, in the form of a free supplement, a collection of the most interesting broadcasts of our Radio that would be best suitable for printing. It would be the equivalent of the BBC's English weekly magazine *The Listener*, which contains the best opinion pieces and talks of the British radio. According to *Dziennik Polski's* proposal, the supplement would be eight pages long. [...]

This proposal in principle suits me, because the huge amount of material that is broadcast here is simply wasted. [...] It would be good if at least some of it could appear in print. [...]

Personally, I would prefer a thousand times that this kind of supplement could be published by *Kultura*. First of all, all of us here are all far closer to your way of looking at national issues. [...] I understand that you may have your own important and legitimate reasons why the proposal to publish such a Polish *The Listener* in the form of a free supplement might not suit you. I would only ask for a short message in this case. If, on the other hand, you would find this project interesting, please also let me know, if possible, with an approximate cost. I would have to receive this information before April 3, because on that day I am leaving for the United States, where this matter will be the subject of my discussions with the Committee's authorities.

Once again, I would like to point out that this supplement would be completely separate from *Kultura* and would be attached to it for distribution both to Poland and to subscribers and recipients in exile.⁶

So who was the originator of the new magazine associated with RFE? Nowak-Jeziorański, Jabłoński, or the editors of *Dziennik Polski*? If one ac-

⁵ J. Nowak (Zdzisław Jeziorański), *Polska z oddali. Wojna w eterze - wspomnienia* [Poland from a distance. War on the air - memoirs], vol. 2, London 1988, p. 183.

⁶ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, J. Giedroyć, *Listy 1952-1998* [Letters 1952-1998], selected, compiled, and introduction by D. Platt, Wrocław 2001, pp. 259-260.

cepts the version regarding the actual authorship of this idea, it is inaccurate in two important minor details.

The first is the magazine's title. In the published correspondence with Giedroyć and the surviving correspondence with Grydzewski, the magazine is placed under the heading "Polish *The Listener*" (in Grydzewski's case, the title is additionally translated, as will be discussed in a moment).

The second detail is Giedroyć's reasons for refusing to publish the magazine. It seems that, additionally, for fear that *Kultura* would become dependent on the institutions funding the magazine (the Free Europe Committee), Giedroyć was concerned about something else: how the supplement would be received by readers, or, to be more precise, to what extent their perception of *Kultura* and its political line would change when confronted with the texts published in the new monthly. In his letter to Nowak-Jeziorański dated March 31, 1962, he wrote:

I find the very idea of a "Polish *The Listener*" excellent. Such a *The Listener* could play a significant and versatile role. [...] On the other hand, I don't really see how I could undertake to publish it. [...] Although our views (i.e., yours and mine) are not very different, I can't say that about the American FE leadership, or about the semi-official political factors in general. The policy of *Kultura* is facing increasingly harsh criticism. [...]

I am writing about it because if I could undertake to publish *The Listener*, I would have to influence its editorial and political side. This is because I am not a normal publisher or owner of a printing house, interested only in the commercial side, and any publication by us or distributed by us will be considered an expression of *Kultura*'s views.

Besides, even if FE (which I doubt), agreed to entrust me with the editorial side, I would not be able to undertake it anyway. As you know, our team is invariably small and we are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with our work.

Personally, it seems to me that it would be best for *The Listener* to be published under the Polish section's own brand.⁷

Nowak, undeterred by Giedroyć's response and at the same time reluctant (due to differences in the political positions) to cooperate with *Dzien-*

⁷ Ibidem, pp. 261–262.

nik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza, immediately turned to Grydzewski. Closing the topic in his correspondence with Giedroyć, he wrote (in a letter dated April 25, 1962):

I understand the reasons for your refusal to publish *The Listener* and I do not resent you for this. Publishing such a supplement by *Kultura* would, of course, be the most ideal solution from our point of view. I am currently looking for others and hope that my project will eventually come to fruition.⁸

Grydzewski agreed to the proposal to publish the supplement to *Wiadomości*. Unfortunately, the archive collection of the London-based weekly does not contain Nowak-Jeziorański's letter initiating the talks. On the other hand, in the surviving correspondence one can find a copy of a letter addressed to him by Mieczysław Grydzewski, which was dated April 6, 1962. Grydzewski, famous for his puritanical approach to matters of purity of the mother tongue, writes in it – referring to Nowak's idea – about publishing a magazine under a title clearly referring to *The Listener*, i.e. a monthly... “Słuchacz” [“listener” in Polish]:

Thank you Dear Sir for the letter I received today. I think the idea is excellent and I will be happy to help. I agree that this “Słuchacz” would be something separate from *Wiadomości*, but it would be impossible to avoid responsibility also for formal reasons, because English law knows no exceptions and even a bookseller who sells a book containing “libel” can be held liable. Hence, theoretically, I would have to have the right to inspect the submitted material, although I do not suppose that my “veto” could ever “occur.” Since, as you know, Dear Sir, I take great care of the impeccability of the Polish language and the form of all utterances in *Wiadomości*, even advertisements, it is clear that I would have to correct this and that, naturally with the approval of the authors or your institution.⁹

⁸ Ibidem, pp. 262–263.

⁹ University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigration (hereinafter AE), Archive of *Wiadomości*, ref. no. AE/AW/CCCLXXVIII, Editorial Correspondence of *Na Antenie*, copy of a letter from M. Grydzewski to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated April 6, 1962. The following quoted letters related to the editing and publishing of *Na Antenie* – unless otherwise noted – are from this collection.

Nowak-Jeziorański agreed to these conditions. As he recalled years later:

Na Antenie was to be a magazine completely independent of the editors of *Wiadomości*. Grydzewski reserved his right to veto only texts that could expose him to a libel suit. We agreed to adhere to the terminology and spelling used by the editorial staff of *Wiadomości*. Grydzewski attached the greatest importance to that condition.¹⁰

Clearly, the independence of the two magazines concerned the issue of the views and opinions expressed. The editors of *Wiadomości* and, in particular, Mieczysław Grydzewski, combined them on the level of the style of language and the amount of work necessary. Giedroyć, rejected the proposal because he was concerned about the latter. Grydzewski also saw some difficulty associated with this. In the letter quoted above, he wrote about “all the editorial work, which will be considerable,” and a year later, just before the first issue of *Na Antenie* was published, he informed Nowak-Jeziorański that the planned financial outlay did not cover the costs, which were increasing because “I also have to remember about Mr. Grocholski, who will have extra work to do, not to mention myself.”¹¹ Of course – a large part of the work was carried out in Munich (which will be discussed in a moment), but *Na Antenie* brought additional burdens to Mieczysław Grydzewski’s already very busy work schedule. Although he himself never complained about it, the scale of the phenomenon was indirectly confirmed by his successor in the position of editor-in-chief – Michał Chmielowiec. In two surviving letters from 1967 (when Grydzewski, although ill, was still interested in the fate of the weekly magazine), Sambor wrote, among other things:

First of all, I want to apologize to you, Dear Editor, most sincerely that it has been so long since I visited you, which I will try to rectify any day. But if it weren’t for *Wiadomości*, I should go to bed – I have such a terrible cold. And at

¹⁰ J. Nowak, *Polska z oddali* [Poland from a distance], p. 183.

¹¹ A copy of a letter from M. Grydzewski to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated February 20, 1963.

the same time – *Na Antenie*, the competition, and so on. – I am swamped with work, with which, of course, I do not know how to cope as you do.¹²

I have always admired you immensely, but now that doing only a part of your work I am swamped with it – my admiration has become downright superstitious. When did you find time for all this?¹³

As can be assumed, by undertaking this additional work, Grydzewski hoped to improve the financial situation of *Wiadomości*, which was always ailing in this field. The declaration, contained in the letter to Giedroyć, that the magazine would be externally funded must have been repeated by Nowak-Jeziorański in his correspondence with Grydzewski, because immediately after deciding on his willingness to cooperate, he wrote in the already quoted letter of April 6, 1962:

Our own cost of such an 8-page supplement (printing, paper, possibly photographic films, folding, postage, etc.) would be about two hundred pounds. I must point out that we are working with a small printing company whose prices are competitively low and which has not raised its prices in years. Perhaps having learned that this is Free Europe's project, they will make some additional demands. In any case, the demands will not be too great, even if they occur.

The aforementioned sum does not include, of course, all the editorial work, which will be considerable.

Needless to say, I would be happy if, in connection with the "Słuchacz," New York would have the opportunity to demonstrate greater "generosity" than before in relation to *Wiadomości*, especially since, even with the demonstration of the greatest generosity, the budget of such a supplement will be more than modest in comparison with [illegible word] a separately edited magazine.

Similarly, in a letter preceding the publication of the first issue, he provided a full breakdown of costs and compared them to the amount he was to receive.

¹² AE, Archive of *Wiadomości*, ref. no. AE/AW/XXXIVa-b, Editorial Correspondence, a letter from M. Chmielowec to M. Grydzewski dated January 10, 1967.

¹³ A letter from M. Chmielowec to M. Grydzewski, January 31, 1967.

According to your request, Dear Sir, I am giving you the cost of the 6- [illegible] 8-page supplement. Printing and paper 168.6.0, bindery 8.0.0, additional postage costs 8.0.0. Photographic film not included, number revision correction 5.0.0. 100 cop[ies] 5 p. each – 25.0.0 minus a 20 percent discount 20.0.0. Total £209.6.0 or 628 dollars. Since we are to receive 617 dollars [!] for the issue, it would be desirable for us to obtain additional purchase of copies with the supplement, as I also need to remember about Mr. Grocholski, who will have extra work to do, not to mention myself.

Nowak-Jeziorański managed to obtain exactly the amount Grydzewski indicated. Unfortunately, the real printing expenses – in this case, increased by the cost of duplication of photographs – turned out to be even higher. Nowak-Jeziorański wrote with concern to Grydzewski in a letter dated March 14, 1963:

I have a problem and I am asking you for advice. After our discussions and exchange of letters, I presented a detailed cost estimate to my American partners and obtained a transfer of the sum of £209.6.0 for each issue of *Na Antenie*.

Since the money for this purpose does not come from my radio budget, the allocation of this sum is like a contract between me and the Directorate. I hope to get more money from the Americans after the first issues, when they realize that the experiment has been successful. However, I am afraid that if I were to request now any additional sum, even a small one for photographs, I might spoil my chances for the future. [...] Is there any way out? I will be truly grateful to you for your help in this matter.¹⁴

It is difficult to determine today to what extent Grydzewski's cooperation with Nowak-Jeziorański improved the magazine's financial situation.¹⁵ To some extent, it certainly did – the letters to the editorial office printed in the pages of *Wiadomości* testified to the lively interest in the magazine,

¹⁴ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated March 14, 1963.

¹⁵ Nowak-Jeziorański rather enigmatically mentions the “substantial subsidy” that *Wiadomości* was to receive from the Free Europe Committee by the early 1970s. As he points out, “it was not subject to any conditions,” and that he himself was the originator and initiator of this idea; see: J. Nowak-Jeziorański, “Nie tylko *Na Antenie*” [Not only *Na Antenie*], pp. 157–158.

which – of course – must have translated into increased sales. Nowak-Jeziorański mentioned that:

Na Antenie, which appeared once a month as an eight-page insert to the weekly in an identical format, with an identical typeface, illustrations, and layout, became successful very quickly, and Grydz was pleased to inform me that the number of subscribers to *Wiadomości* had increased.¹⁶

Zygmunt Jabłoński, too, believed that the parting of *Na Antenie* from *Wiadomości* after seven years of fruitful cooperation contributed indirectly to the latter's demise, because "the supplement *Na Antenie* [...] was a major financial boost for *Wiadomości*."¹⁷

However, it took a year before the idea came to fruition and regular cooperation with *Wiadomości* started. In the surviving correspondence from that time, this topic is not discussed again. It is only after Grydzewski's letter to Nowak-Jeziorański dated February 20, 1963, cited above, that things gained momentum. Referring to technical issues, the editor of *Wiadomości* wrote:

Of course, I would like to get the material as soon as possible. The issue must be dated April 7, i.e., it must be ready for printing on March 23, so there is little time left. I think that by now, Dear Sir, you know what will go for sure, and perhaps it is this "iron" part of the issue that you would kindly recommend to send at once. This shipment can be made in several installments.

Nowak responded to this in a letter dated February 23, 1963:

Thank you kindly for the submitted cost estimate [...].

Here is some information related to our project:

I entrusted the selection of the materials, their preparation and their sending to you to Editor Zygmunt Jabłoński, who accepted my proposal with great enthusiasm and eagerness.

We will start sending you materials within the next week. It is important for me to clarify that we can do this in installments – without waiting for the entirety to be completed. I understand that the postal costs include shipping

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 160.

¹⁷ Z. Jabłoński, *Gabinet figur radiowych* [Cabinet of radio figures], p. 102.

one hundred copies of *Wiadomości* to Poland. Andrzej Stypułkowski also agreed to purchase a certain quantity. I will ask Adam Rudzki to do the same in New York.

We will make the greatest effort to finish sending out materials by March 10, except, however, for the "Review of national events" column, which would become out-of-date.

We would like to have this column sent by teletype by Kielanowski at the last minute to keep it as up-to-date as possible. Please let me know what day should be considered "last minute."¹⁸

At the same time, in the second letter sent on the same day (an attachment to the first?) the title of the new magazine was used for the first time. Nowak-Jeziorański wrote:

I attach three photographs from Poland: a crowd of pilgrims around Jasna Góra on August 26, 1962 for the first issue of *Na Antenie* [...].¹⁹
P.S. As suggested, we will send the materials when they are ready.²⁰

On the same day, a letter to the editorial office of *Wiadomości* was sent by Zygmunt M. Jabłoński, who was appointed as editor-in-chief. He wrote, among other things:

Mr. Dir[ector] Jan Nowak offered me the editorship of our Station's monthly magazine: *Na Antenie*. I accepted the proposal very gladly and have already set to work. Please consider this letter as a senior rifleman reporting to his colonel.

I will send you the first part of the materials next week – the whole no later than on March 10.

[...] I kindly ask that you send me your wishes as to the form of our cooperation. What I mean is technical issues, such as deadlines for sending scripts and photographs, proofreading (whether you will send a proof copy or not).

Also, I would appreciate information on how many typescript pages fit on a page in the format of *Wiadomości*.

¹⁸ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated February 23, 1963.

¹⁹ *Tłumy pobożnych na Jasnej Górze 26 sierpnia 1962* [Crowds of devotees on Jasna Góra on August 26, 1962] (photograph), *Na Antenie* 1963, no. 1, p. IV.

²⁰ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated February 23, 1963.

The next issue of the titles of the articles. Should I leave them to you or write them myself, or possibly provide the articles with provisional titles?

I will be extremely grateful for your response, and in the meantime, being confident that our cooperation will go smoothly I would like to pass my greetings and express my high regard.²¹

Jabłoński, as one might infer from the tone of this letter, hoped for a fair amount of independence in running and editing *Na Antenie* (the first item in Nowak-Jeziorański's letter cited above seemed to be confirmed in reality). However, it very quickly became clear that the reality was somewhat different. As he recalled years later:

I edited the magazine for seven years, but as early as after the first issue my dreams burst like a soap bubble. First of all, editing of *Na Antenie* did not relieve me of my regular prior duties. So I continued to do the same amount of work on "Panorama" and commissioned broadcasts. The effort was great, but the work was interesting in spite of Nowak's incessant meddling, who considered *Na Antenie* his private periodical.²²

Similarly, Nowak-Jeziorański himself, looking back at the early days of the publishing of *Na Antenie*, stated that Jabłoński was only a "nominal" editor,²³ while he himself was the actual editor.

As he wrote in several places: "The selection of texts was done under my supervision, and I also made sure that there were no conflicts with Grydzewski";²⁴ "Zygmunt Jabłoński became the editor who made the selection of texts under my supervision."²⁵ Confirmation of this state of affairs can be found in correspondence to the editor of *Wiadomości* including that covering the period from February 23, 1963, that is, from the period of the declaration that Jabłoński would be in charge of "selecting materials, preparing them, and sending them," until April 7, the day the first issue

²¹ A letter from Z. M. Jabłoński to M. Grydzewski dated February 23, 1963.

²² Z. Jabłoński, *Gabinet figur radiowych* [Cabinet of radio figures], p. 100.

²³ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, "Nie tylko *Na Antenie*" [Not only *Na Antenie*], p. 160.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ J. Nowak, *Polska z oddali* [Poland from a distance], p. 183.

of the magazine was published. In a letter dated March 1, 1963, Jabłoński wrote to Grydzewski:

As promised, I am sending the first parcel of typescripts for the *Na Antenie* supplement. I provided each article with a title as well as at the top of each script I gave the title of the cycle of which the article is a part – so that you will have no difficulty in locating it.

I also include three photographs and the contents of the monthly magazine's headline. I will send the next series of manuscripts the day after tomorrow.²⁶

On the same day, Nowak-Jeziorański wrote to Grydzewski:

I included in the first issue of *Na Antenie* an article by Wiktor Trościanko titled "Kamienne dno czasu" [Stone bottom of time] along with photos.²⁷ I kindly ask you to choose for yourself the ones that are best suited to illustrate the column.

We will try to send most of the materials within the next week. Our biggest problem is the typing of copy-edited texts. Would legible corrections in ink suffice?²⁸

On March 5, 1963, Jabłoński wrote to Grydzewski:

Here is the next handful of typescripts: the penultimate one. I will send you the rest on March 9.

I am also enclosing, for reference, a list of typescripts sent for the first issue of *Na Antenie* (including this parcel) by Mr. Nowak and by me.

For the front page I suggest: "Do Czytelnika" [To the reader] – by J. Nowak,²⁹ "Walka o model gospodarczy" [Struggle for the economic model] – by M. Górecki,³⁰ "Kodeks karny" [Criminal code] – by O. Stypułkowska

²⁶ A letter from Z. M. Jabłoński to M. Grydzewski dated March 1, 1963.

²⁷ W. Trościanko, "Kamienne dno czasu" [Stone bottom of time], *Na Antenie* 1963, no. 1, p. V.

²⁸ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated March 1, 1963.

²⁹ J. Nowak, "Do Czytelnika" [To the reader], *Na Antenie* 1963, no. 1, p. I.

³⁰ M. Górecki, "Walka o model gospodarczy" [Struggle for the economic model], *ibidem*, p. IV.

(I will send it in a few days),³¹ “Utopia” – by M. Hemar³² (sent to you by Kielanowski[]),³³ and “Paszkowskiego Polska i Europa w oczach studenta” [Poland and Europe in the eyes of a student] by J. Paszkowski.³⁴

For the centerfold (due to the volume), I suggest the discussion “«Chamy i żydy»” [Boors and Jews].³⁵

One more thing I noticed already after I sent you my previous letter, for which I want to sincerely apologize to you.

I put my name in the text of the title masthead without contacting you first. Only now did I realize that, having put so much editorial work into the *Na Antenie* supplement, you may have valid objections to it.

Of course, it is up to you whether to leave or delete my name on the title masthead and I apologize for my *faux pas*.³⁶

Four days later he wrote again (and again on the same day Nowak-Jeziorański sent a letter to Grydzewski):

I am sending a third bundle of typescripts and three photographs. Except for one article and five photographs, which I will send you in two days – this is all the material for the first issue.

According to my calculations, this represents about two hundred typescript pages, which is slightly more than the acceptable number you specified.³⁷

During that period, the group of people responsible for selecting and delivering materials to London was joined by Leopold Kielanowski³⁸ and

³¹ A. Stypułkowska, “Projekt nowego kodeksu karnego i opinia publiczna” [Draft of the new criminal code and public opinion], *ibidem*, p. IV.

³² M. Hemar, “Utopia,” *ibidem*, p. I.

³³ A letter from Z. Kielanowski to M. Grydzewski dated March 7, 1963.

³⁴ “Polska i Europa w oczach studenta z Warszawy” [Poland and Europe in the eyes of a student from Warsaw], an interview by J. Krok-Paszkowski, *Na Antenie* 1963, no. 1, p. III.

³⁵ “Możliwości polskiego Października. Dyskusja o artykule Witolda Jedlickiego” [The possibilities of the Polish October 1956. A discussion about Witold Jedlicki’s article], *Na Antenie* 1963, no. 1, pp. II. This concerns: W. Jedlicki, “«Chamy i żydy»” [Boors and Jews], *Kultura* 1962, no. 12 (182), pp. 3–41.

³⁶ A letter from Z. Kielanowski to M. Grydzewski dated March 5, 1963.

³⁷ A letter from Z. Kielanowski to M. Grydzewski dated March 9, 1963. Later in the letter, he suggested moving some of the material to the second issue.

³⁸ See: a letter from Z. Kielanowski to M. Grydzewski dated March 13, 1963.

Eugeniusz Romiszewski, who was Jabłoński's substitute during his leave for the first time in June 1963. Nowak informed Grydzewski of this fact indirectly in a letter dated June 15, 1963:

There is a "Bank Holiday" here on Monday. Not being able to communicate with Romiszewski, who is Jabłoński's substitute, I made the attached correction myself (very unprofessional) and I am sending the photo of Czerwińska.³⁹

Romiszewski's assessment of his cooperation with Nowak-Jeziorański on the *Na Antenie* supplement was similar to Jabłoński's:

The February-March-April 1965 issues of *Na Antenie* were compiled by me in place of Zygmunt Jabłoński. Jabłoński is listed in the masthead of *Na Antenie* as editor, but the editor-in-chief is actually Nowak... Of course, working with Nowak is difficult, because he is an impulsive man, it takes little to make him attack you, and his constant flaw is issuing hasty, unspecified orders, sometimes contradictory.⁴⁰

One could say that Nowak-Jeziorański governed the magazine with an iron hand. As he wrote about himself: "When it comes to some domestic issues, only I can decide on the selection, because all the information and propaganda material passes only through my hands."⁴¹

However, regardless of the divisions within the editorial board of the RFE, the disputes over competence, etc., the first issue of *Na Antenie* was eventually published with the date of April 7, 1963, and was attached to issue 14 (888) of *Wiadomości*. After more than a year's effort, the magazine began its intriguing life, although not without some obstacles.

³⁹ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated March 15, 1963. Nowak's letter, handwritten on translucent tissue paper (on both sides), is difficult to read. Grydzewski noted the following remark in the margin: "This kind of paper so that the postage doesn't cost too much. How can one live?" The letter concerned the following article: W. Budzyński, "Podwieczorek przy mikrofonie. Spowiedź satyryka" [Teatime at a microphone. The confession of a comedian], *Na Antenie* 1963, no. 4, p. 6 (the text contains, among other things, a photo of Jadwiga Czerwińska).

⁴⁰ Quote after: Z. Jabłoński, *Gabinet figur radiowych* [Cabinet of radio figures], p. 100.

⁴¹ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated April 22, 1963.

While the cooperation with *Wiadomości* did not start without perturbations, its end was very abrupt and full of tensions. When Mieczysław Grydzewski, who could no longer – starting in 1967 – edit the magazine on his own due to his illness, Michał Chmielowiec (the Deputy) joined in to help, soon followed by Stefania Kossowska.

The magazine's publisher, however, was Juliusz Sakowski, who, as will become clear in a moment, played an important role in the whole matter. The change in the position of the editor-in-chief entailed another change, namely that in the relationship between the editorial office of *Wiadomości* and RFE. As Nowak-Jeziorański recalled years later:

Cooperation with Grydzewski was perfect and the publication of our texts did not encounter the slightest problems. The situation changed radically when Juliusz Sakowski and Michał Chmielowiec took charge of *Wiadomości* after Grydzewski became ill.⁴²

Determining who exactly edited successive issues (parts of them) of *Wiadomości* in 1967–1974 is a task that continues to have the status of a research postulate. It seems indispensable in underlining the issues similar to the London-based weekly's parting with its monthly supplement. In the first quarter of 1969, which is of particular interest to us, Stefania Kossowska took over the editorship of *Na Antenie* (after Michał Chmielowiec).⁴³ This probably took place as early as in January (the last surviving letter from Chmielowiec is dated January 3, 1969). In a letter to Leopold Kielanowski dated February 12, 1969, she wrote, among other things:

Please apologize in advance to Mr. Nowak for the “errors and distortions” he may find in my debut in *Na Antenie*. I would like to thank editor Jabłoński and all the authors for the careful preparation of the materials, as he was of great help to me.⁴⁴

⁴² J. Nowak-Jeziorański, “Nie tylko *Na Antenie*” [Not only *Na Antenie*], p. 161.

⁴³ Cf. among others: a letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to S. Kossowska dated February 22, 1969 (the letter refers to the quality of the photos published in *Na Antenie*).

⁴⁴ A letter from S. Kossowska to L. Kielanowski dated February 12, 1969.

This excerpt, along with a letter dated January 10, 1969, in which Kossowska announced that “The next issue of *Na Antenie* will be included in the issue of *Wiadomości*, which will be released with the date of February 23,”⁴⁵ indicates that the first issue of *Na Antenie* edited by her was issue 70, which was published with the date of January 26, 1969. On March 8, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański wrote a letter to her, enclosing materials for the March issue of *Na Antenie*, for the “Za kulisami” [Behind the Scenes] column, and announcing the postponement of Maleszka’s note “Pożary na Ukrainie” [“Fires in Ukraine”] to the April issue.⁴⁶ On March 20, in a letter addressed to Leopold Kielanowski, the editor (most likely Michał Chmielowiec again) reported that “The next issue of *Na Antenie* will be published with the date of April 27 of this year.”⁴⁷ Nothing foreshadowed the coming storm.

The immediate “bone of contention” between the editors of *Wiadomości* and REW became the text authored by Józef Mackiewicz titled “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter], published in *Wiadomości* in issue 12 of March 23, 1969.⁴⁸ The author began his text by endorsing the criticism directed at the Polish episcopate, by Juliusz Mieroszewski in the January issue of *Kultura* (it was an assessment of the pastoral letter of Polish bishops of September 15, 1968, published on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the regained independence, which ended with the words “Our Lord, preserve our free homeland”).⁴⁹

Mackiewicz then elaborated on this criticism, pointing out that Pope Paul VI’s subordination of the émigré clergy to the Primate of Poland, which resulted in Bishop Władysław Rubin becoming the spiritual guardian of the emigres, was a misguided move, as Bishop Rubin was acting in accordance with the expectations of the communist authorities, not those of emigres. Moreover, added the *Wiadomości* columnist – the decision was made by the Pope at the instigation of Primate Stefan Wyszyński. At the

⁴⁵ A letter from S. Kossowska to L. Kielanowski dated January 10, 1969.

⁴⁶ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to S. Kossowska dated March 8, 1969.

⁴⁷ A letter from M. Chmielowiec [?] to L. Kielanowski dated March 20, 1969.

⁴⁸ J. Mackiewicz, “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter], *Wiadomości* 1969, no. 12 (1199), p. 1.

⁴⁹ Londoner (actually J. Mieroszewski), “Kronika angielska” [An English chronicle], *Kultura* 1969, no. 1/2 (256/257), pp. 105–112.

same time, he stressed that he did not understand why the head of the Church in Poland sought to take on this duty. He wrote:

It goes without saying that all emigres have always referred with deep reverence to the Primate and always with a deep understanding of the difficulties associated with his work in communist Poland. The harder it is to understand why he voluntarily increased those difficulties by burdening himself with the additional pastoral care of emigres, which immensely complicated his situation. We have no official explanation of why or how this happened.

Faithful Catholics must believe in the infallibility of the Pope in matters of faith. However, they are not obliged to believe in the infallibility of the Primate in matters of church organization. Therefore, it is permitted to express the belief that, from a *pro publico bono* point of view, Cardinal Wyszyński's decision was a mistake. It did not benefit the Church, the Polish episcopate, or the Polish emigres. ...]

Anyone who has read "List Episkopatu na 50-lecie niepodległości" [The Episcopate's letter for the 50th anniversary of independence], published in Cracow's *Tygodnik Powszechny* no. 46, dated November 17, 1968, in its entirety, gets the impression that, regardless of the letter's solemn content and tone, it rather puts a mark of equivalence between "Poland's freedom" and the Polish People's Republic. This is probably an important enough cause for concern.

Mackiewicz pointed out that while one can and should understand the compromises that the Polish episcopate and the Primate chose to make in the name of a higher good by making certain concessions to the communist authorities, Bishop Rubin's conduct in this regard is unacceptable. As an example, he cited the bishop's refusal to attend a "service for the souls of those murdered in Katyn" held in the free world of emigres. Similarly unacceptable, in his opinion, is the emigres' descent into malaise, a kind of dormant complacency, forgetting their duties and basic political obligations to the nation and the homeland. He concluded his argument by expressing his belief that, even though the words of the hymn "Boże coś Polskę" [God save Poland] changed by the episcopate are disturbing, the Polish people will persist in defying the imposed government.

The response to Mackiewicz's article was Nowak-Jeziorański's letter, written on March 28 and addressed to Juliusz Sakowski, the publisher of *Wiadomości*. In the letter, Nowak-Jeziorański wrote, among other things:

I am addressing this letter to you as the publisher and guardian of *Wiadomości*. In the 23rd issue of *Wiadomości*, on the front page, there was an article by Józef Mackiewicz titled “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter]. The author criticizes the conduct of the Primate and Bishops.

It is necessary to strictly distinguish between the content of the article and the person of the author. Public criticism of the Primate is not an easy thing to do and requires great tact and restraint, since it is addressed to a person who is deprived of any opportunity to respond publicly to the accusations made against him. Nevertheless, the émigré journalist cannot be denied the right to evaluate the actions and statements of Cardinal Wyszyński and Bishops. In this regard, there is certainly no difference of opinion between us. From the very beginning, I have considered the placing at the end of the “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter] the words “Our Lord, preserve our free homeland” to be a serious mistake. The same applies to the current appointment of Bishop Rubin as the spiritual guardian of the diaspora.

However, the main objection is to the person of Józef Mackiewicz as the author of the article. I would like to remind you that Mackiewicz was sentenced to death in 1942 for high treason by a Special Military Court acting on the basis of powers and statutes issued by the Supreme Commander.

On November 12, 1945, the Peer Tribunal of the Union of Polish Journalists, based in Rome at the time, sentenced Józef Mackiewicz to a reprimand for collaborating with the Lithuanian occupiers. In *Dziennik Polski* of January 8, 1948, the General Board of the Home Army Circle published a statement in which it accused Mackiewicz of collaboration with the German occupiers.⁵⁰ The same charge of collaboration with the enemy during the war was repeated in the Home Army Circle’s statement published in *Dziennik Polski* on December 22, 1961.⁵¹ Mr. J. Mackiewicz was able to clear his name by filing a lawsuit in a British court. He did not take advantage of this possibility. He also waived his right to have the charges of treason considered by the Citizens’ Adjudication Committee at the Union. [...]

⁵⁰ “Oświadczenie Koła b. Żołnierzy AK” [Statement of the circle of former Home Army soldiers], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza* 1948, no. 7, p. 2 (of January 8). The statement contained, among others, the following provisions: “During the Lithuanian occupation of Vilnius, Mr. J. Mackiewicz edited *Gazeta Codzienna*, a periodical that spoke out against Poland’s rights to Vilnius. During the period of German occupation, Mr. J. Mackiewicz cooperated in Vilnius with the rag *Goniec Codzienny*, published in Polish by the German propaganda, and published his articles in its pages.”

⁵¹ “Oświadczenie Koła b. Żołnierzy AK” [Statement of the circle of former Home Army soldiers], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza* 1961, no. 304, p. 2 (of December 22).

Given the above, Józef Mackiewicz's opinions about the conduct of the Primate and Bishops from the patriotic point of view must raise moral objections.

Wiadomości and *Na Antenie* cooperate with each other according to the principle of not interfering with the content of the two magazines. However, *Na Antenie* is published with the subtitle "Supplement to *Wiadomości*." As a result, our magazines cannot completely avoid a certain shared responsibility in matters of principle, especially in the eyes of the domestic reader.

For these reasons, I believe it is necessary to place on the front page of the next issue of *Na Antenie* a statement disassociating the magazine from the article by Józef Mackiewicz, citing the above facts.

Due to the United Kingdom's applicable law, I would like to state that everything contained in the statement can be proved in full in court based on existing documents and witnesses. On this account, I assume the sole and entire responsibility. At the same time, I am sending you the texts of documents and testimonies (collected in the appendix to Andrzej Pomian's unpublished booklet titled "The case of Józef Mackiewicz"). This is because I believe that as the publisher of *Wiadomości* you should be familiar with this material [...].

Please accept my expression of true respect and a hearty handshake

Jan Nowak⁵²

Following that letter, Nowak-Jeziorański sent a second letter three days later, addressed to Michał Chmielowiec, in which he informed: "Dear Sir, I am enclosing the text that must appear on the front page of the April issue of *Na Antenie*."⁵³ The text itself, bearing the title "W sprawie artykułu Józefa Mackiewicza" [On Józef Mackiewicz's article], proclaimed, among other things:

In the issue of *Wiadomości* dated March 23 this year, on the front page there was an article by Józef Mackiewicz titled "List pasterski" [Pastoral letter]. The article criticizes the pastoral letter of Polish bishops for the 50th anniversary of Poland's independence and the Primate's decision to subordinate Bishop Rubin to his jurisdiction as the spiritual guardian of the diaspora. The allega-

⁵² A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to J. Sakowski dated March 28, 1969; emphasis by J. N.-J.

⁵³ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Chmielowiec dated March 31, 1969.

tions of Mr. J. Mackiewicz boil down to the Primate and the Episcopate accepting unnecessary and harmful compromises with the communist authorities.

The public statements and decisions of Cardinal Wyszyński and bishops are subject to criticism, and the émigré writer has the right to express his views freely. Thus, it is not about polemics with the substantive content of the article, but about the person of the author. On the other hand, it cannot be a matter of indifference who, from the patriotic point of view, reprimands the Polish Episcopate in the pages of an independence magazine.

Józef Mackiewicz, together with Czesław Anczewicz, were sentenced to death in 1942 for high treason by a Special Military Court acting on the basis of powers granted and the statutes issued by the Supreme Commander. The sentence imposed on Anczewicz has been carried out. Mr. Józef Mackiewicz has escaped punishment and went on exile. Immediately after his departure, on August 12, 1945, the Peer Tribunal of the Union of Polish Journalists sentenced Mackiewicz to a reprimand for his behavior during the Lithuanian occupation of Vilnius. At the hearing held in Rome, evidence of Józef Mackiewicz's collaboration with the Nazi occupiers was not yet available and known to the court.

The General Board of the Circle of former Home Army Soldiers submitted this evidence on April 22, 1948 to the Citizen's Adjudication Committee of the Polish Union in the United Kingdom, established specifically to deal with accusations of collaboration with the enemy during the war. This evidence consisted of numerous documents and the written testimony of more than ten witnesses including the former Chief of Staff of the Home Army and the former Deputy Delegate of the Government of the Republic of Poland for the Vilnius district. In a letter dated April 23, 1949, Józef Mackiewicz declined to participate in a consideration of the charge of treason by the Adjudicating Committee.

The charges against Mr. J. Mackiewicz were repeated twice in a statement by the Circle of former Home Army Soldiers published in *Dziennik Polski* on January 8, 1948 and on December 22, 1961. Mr. Józef Mackiewicz did not exercise his right to bring a case before a British court at the time.

In light of the facts cited above, a critical assessment of the patriotic stance of Cardinal Wyszyński and bishops in the mouth of a man who still faces charges of treason must raise moral objections. The Cardinal – like any human being – can be wrong. However, it must not be forgotten that for 20 years the Primate of Poland has carried the burden of fighting to defend the Church and the nation, and that for this reason he has become the victim of persecution, insults, and slander.

Wiadomości and *Na Antenie* cooperate with each other according to the principle of mutual non-interference with each other's editorial matters.

However, *Na Antenie* is published and distributed as a “supplement to *Wiadomości*” As a result, a reader, especially a domestic one, could mistakenly see the shared responsibility of the organ of Radio Free Europe’s Polish Service for Józef Mackiewicz’s article. This consideration has prompted us to present the above comments.

Jan Nowak⁵⁴

Chmielowiec did not respond, while Sakowski sent a letter to Nowak-Jeziorański on April 3, 1969, which, while being a response to the letter dated March 28, at the same time referred to the allegations made in the text sent to the “Deputy.” It reads, among other things:

Thanking you for your detailed documented address to me in your letter of March 28 this year, I would like to clarify that, regardless of my personal view, which is known to you from the correspondence exchanged between us in the past (letters of November 10 and 15, 1961), I have decided to seek legal advice on the statement sent, which would appear in the next issue of *Na Antenie*.

I must say that the legal opinions on the printing of this statement were strongly negative. Our regular solicitor put it in typically English terms, saying that “no serious lawyer could advise printing, and everyone would have to advise against it.” You wrote that you accept sole and complete responsibility for everything contained in the submitted statement. I understand this as a possible financial liability for litigation costs, because, of course, nothing can absolve either the editor of the *Wiadomości* or the printer from legal liability. But wouldn’t you agree with me that simply pursuing the case in a British court – if it were to come to that – would be inappropriate and even scandalous?

For my part, I have always tried to avoid litigating purely Polish cases in British courts, even when the case, according to the lawyers, was certain, and settling it out of court would expose us to serious monetary losses.

I have carefully read the work of Andrzej Pomian that you sent me. If within 5 years of writing, it did not appear in print, I guess the considerations I mention here must have been at play. In light of the legal opinions I have gathered, it may be a good thing that it was not printed.

As for the article titled “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter] itself, the response it has generated was unexpectedly favorable. This was the first time that Bishop Rubin met with General Anders. Bishop Rubin agreed to give an interview

⁵⁴ A text attached to the referenced letter, emphasis by the author.

to *Dziennik Polski*, explaining certain aspects of the issues raised in *Kultura* and *Wiadomości*, without, of course, citing these magazines and authors.

Having learned today that you do not consider it possible to withdraw the printing of the statement on the Mackiewicz case, I am truly saddened to think that this unpleasant affair may negatively affect the fate of the monthly magazine *Na Antenie*. I believe that a delay in its publication would be a huge detriment to all of us and [illegible word] a treat for the regime. I'm afraid that without reliance on the distribution by *Wiadomości*, the monthly *Na Antenie* would lose a lot, if not in importance, then in reach. It would simply lose access to several thousand *Wiadomości* subscribers located around the world.

I can't help thinking that the publication of *Na Antenie* is incomparably more important than putting a struggling writer at a public whipping post, recalling today, in exile, a sentence issued in Poland 27 years ago and not executed there for reasons about which there are conflicting accounts.

Regardless of what anyone might think of Mackiewicz, it is hard to deny that he is one of our most outstanding writers, that his books published in exile have had an enduring readership, and that some of them, like the book on Katyn, have been translated into a number of languages. In addition, he is a member of the *Wiadomości* jury, elected to the so-called "academy" in a readers' poll, and is a winner of the Award of the Polish Writers' Union and other literary prizes.

Paul Morand, a 100 percent collaborator during the war, entered the French Academy that year, with de Gaulle's prior knowledge and approval, and Celine, threatened with the most severe punishment, returned from his forced exile to France before his death, his most audacious controversial books were published there, and until his death, his disgraceful behavior during the occupation was not mentioned.

Because of our always friendly personal relationship, I take the liberty of writing about what I think at the moment with all sincerity, and as an incorrigible optimist, I still hope that I can persuade you to change your decision. In this hope,

I send my regards and greetings

J. Sakowski⁵⁵

Nowak-Jeziorański disagreed with Sakowski's argument, and a week later (on April 11, 1969) sent him another letter in which he tried to sep-

⁵⁵ A letter from J. Sakowski to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated April 3, 1969.

arate relations and personal relationships from professional matters. He wrote, among other things:

In response to your letter of April 3 this year, I would like to start where you left off with your comments. I also value very much our friendly personal relations. I'll say more. I have a lot of sincere respect and appreciation for you. From our meetings and conversations so far, I got the impression that it was easy for us to find a common language and reach an agreement.

There is a fundamental difference of opinion between us about Józef Mackiewicz. I do not mean to convince you, I only ask you to be willing to understand my point of view properly. Most importantly, I'm concerned that our arguments don't conflate with each other.

I have never questioned Mackiewicz's writing qualities, and if *Wiadomości* had limited itself to publishing his literary works – there would have been no difficulties between us. I do not recognize the immunity of anyone in the press – not excluding the Primate – so I do not understand why immunity of this kind should be J. Mackiewicz's privilege. However, what I intend is not to “put him at a whipping post.” In my letter to you on May 2 of last year, I wrote: “For the sake of the cause, I accept from time to time, not without serious difficulties, the articles of Józef Mackiewicz published on the front page of *Wiadomości*.” And in a letter to Sambor [Michał Chmielowiec] dated November 25 of last year, a copy of which you received, you will find the sentence: “As a former Home Army soldier, I intend, along with my colleagues, to refrain from publicly disclosing facts and documents from Mr. Mackiewicz's past as long as he does not provoke us to do so by his statements.”

So much for my personal attitude towards J. Mackiewicz, which, by the way, is shared by people who survived the war and the Nazi occupation in the Underground Movement in Poland.⁵⁶

Later in the letter, Nowak-Jeziorański explained that his desire to disassociate himself from the person and words of Mackiewicz is dictated by a desire to protect the interests of RFE, which is geared toward a domestic listener who, while remembering the occupation period, at the same time reacts very vigorously to the issue of collaboration with the Nazis. The idea, he explained, was to “protect our Radio Station and a monthly magazine from being discredited in the opinion of domestic listeners and

⁵⁶ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to J. Sakowski dated April 11, 1969.

readers.” Emphasizing once again the “moderation” and “restraint” in his reactions to Mackiewicz’s past publications, Nowak noted that he hoped that the editors of *Wiadomości* would appreciate this attitude: “I believed that there would be no overstepping of the boundaries acceptable to us.” Unfortunately, he added, the publication of Mackiewicz’s text caused this balance between *Wiadomości* and *Na Antenie* to be upset. As he wrote:

You knew well from our conversations and correspondence my position and my requests and warnings not to cross the line. You must have realized that the “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter], not because of the content, I repeat, but because of the person of the author, must jeopardize the useful marriage between the two magazines.

And if this were to happen, then, referring to Sakowski’s remark in which he considered the consequences of ending the cooperation between the magazines, Nowak-Jeziorański also looked at the issue differently. As he wrote:

I fear [...] that the parting of the two magazines after five [?!] years of harmonious cooperation will have much worse effects for *Wiadomości* than for our monthly, for which the issue of circulation distributed in exile is essentially of secondary importance.

Such a clear-cut difference in views and assessments, as well as in the predictions about the consequences of a possible termination of cooperation, did not, however, as Nowak pointed out, rule out the chances of an agreement. This, however, depended on certain conditions. While expressing – to some extent – an understanding of the refusal to print the text of the prepared statement, he suggested some changes in this regard. It should be emphasized, however, that he did so just after the suggestion that *Wiadomości* used censorship practices:

In the conclusion of your letter, you express the hope that we will reverse our decision to disconnect the monthly magazine *Na Antenie* from *Wiadomości*. Your optimism will prove justified if the refusal to publish a statement in the pages of our monthly magazine concerning Mackiewicz’s article is dictated

solely by fear of the legal and financial consequences to *Wiadomości* and the printing house. In this case, I also do not lose hope that an accommodating solution can be found. On the other hand, any censorship going beyond legal considerations would be unacceptable to us as a violation of the agreement between Dr. Grydzewski and me.

As an accommodating solution, I propose a new text of the statement, which I am sending you enclosed. It is limited to repeating in quotation marks what was already published on J. Mackiewicz in *Dziennik Polski* 21 years ago and has so far received no response from Mr. J. Mackiewicz.

If you believe that the new version also threatens to be considered defamatory by a British court, I am ready to submit the text to our barrister for an expert review and possibly to incorporate any corrections or abridgments he requests. He is a regular consultant for one of the leading British daily newspapers and is regarded as a prominent expert on “libels.”

At the same time, Nowak-Jeziorański reckoned with the possibility of a refusal from Sakowski, as he stipulated:

In the event of a refusal – hopefully according to simple fair play rules – *Wiadomości* will allow us to notify readers of the termination of the agreement and inform them where and how they will be able to purchase the May issue of *Na Antenie*.

Sakowski once again sought the opinion of a London law firm Rees, Kon, Freeman & Co. After a series of conversations, he obtained a written expert report (dated April 18, 1969, prepared the day before), which reads, among other things:

We have no doubt that the publishing of Mr. Nowak’s comment would expose your weekly to a heavy liability for defamation under the Law of this Country, unless the alleged collaboration with the German occupant could be proved in full (which, we suspect, would be a very difficult and even more costly task after almost 30 years and the inaccessibility of the credible sources of evidence).

Even assuming that the fact of collaboration can be proved, the question arises and the Court would ask, whether or not the proposed application is a fair and bona fide comment, or whether such comment is accentuated by malice: bearing in mind the fact that Mr. J. Mackiewicz can be regarded as one of your Weekly’s permanent contributors and that you have been publishing

his articles periodically and without interruption since 1948 (the publication of the declaration in the *Polish Daily*), it is difficult to see how the above comment under review here may be regarded as bona fide comment by you. [...]

However, in advising you we must bear in mind our obligation to protect your Weekly and, where possible, to remove the possibility of legal action, which – even if successful – could prove quite costly to you under the legal system of this Country.

We have been asked to advise you on the legal aspects only and therefore refrain from commenting on the moral issue arising out your association with Mr. Mackiewicz through the past long years.⁵⁷

Of course, after so clearly pointing out the risks associated with the publication proposed by Nowak-Jeziorański, Sakowski decided not to accept that proposal. In a succinct (compared to the previous one) letter dated April 21, he wrote:

Thanking you for your letter of April 11 of this year, I can only regret that you did not consider it possible to change your decision.

By the way, I enclose the opinion of the solicitor, a regular legal advisor to *Wiadomości*.⁵⁸

Nowak-Jeziorański – contrary to his earlier declarations, in which he was ready to accept that the reason for the refusal could be “solely [...] fear of the legal and financial consequences to *Wiadomości*” – did not consider the expert report of British lawyers to be binding and made the final decision to end the cooperation between the magazines. He sent another letter on the matter two days later, but this time its addressee was not Sakowski, but Mieczysław Grydzewski. In the letter, he wrote, among other things:

At a time when, with the greatest regret, *Na Antenie* must part with *Wiadomości*, I consider it my duty, to give you my warmest thanks for the cooperation of the two magazines, which continued for nearly seven years. It was possible thanks to your kindness and friendly attitude to our institution and to me personally.

⁵⁷ The opinion from the law firm Rees, Kon, Freeman & Co addressed to: *Wiadomości*, Polish Literary Weekly; April 18, 1969.

⁵⁸ A letter from J. Sakowski to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated April 21, 1969.

I also know how much additional work and hardship you have accepted by taking over the editorial and technical supervision of our monthly magazine in addition to *Wiadomości*. I think, not without emotion, that perhaps it was this great generosity of yours that unfortunately contributed to some extent to your illness.⁵⁹

Interestingly, later in the letter Nowak-Jeziorański drew a picture in which the various accents were placed quite differently than in his correspondence with Sakowski. Most noteworthy here is the issue of the recipient of *Na Antenie* and the consequences that the termination of the cooperation will bring to both magazines, as well as the evaluation, given not explicitly, of the actions of Michał Chmielowiec (who, it seems, played a minor role in the whole affair) and Juliusz Sakowski; this assessment foreshadows what Nowak-Jeziorański would write about them years later, recalling the events described:

Thanks to you, many of our broadcasts were able to reach the emigre and domestic readers in the printed form. This made it possible to familiarize Polish readers abroad with the situation in Poland and with domestic issues at a time when the communist propaganda intended for the diaspora was greatly intensified.

I am parting with *Wiadomości* with real regret and with the full knowledge that this must have negative effects for both magazines. I firmly believe that if you were still sitting at the editor's desk today, we would come to an agreement together. It never occurred to me to impose anything on *Wiadomości*, much less to interfere with the content of the magazine or the selection of its contributors.

On the other hand, I also do not remember that ever in your time you allowed Józef Mackiewicz to appear in the pages of *Wiadomości* in the role of a mentor teaching patriotism and reprimanding others.

On the other hand, with direct reference to the essence of the dispute, that is, the text of Józef Mackiewicz and his person, he wrote, ignoring, as it were, the legal expert report sent to him by Sakowski:

⁵⁹ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated April 23, 1969.

For my part, I never had the slightest intention to use *Na Antenie* to attack Józef Mackiewicz, or to remind him of his wartime past. The purpose of our note was only to disassociate ourselves from any, even indirect, shared responsibility for the article not because of its content – but because of the person of the author. Since, according to our original agreement of April 2, 1962, “the supplement (*Na Antenie*) [...] is not a part of the weekly *Wiadomości*, but is something completely separate,” I did not anticipate any difficulties. If it was only a matter of risking a libel case – I offered my willingness to submit to the judgment of a British lawyer, who would make the necessary corrections to my text. However, I cannot agree with the censorship of a text published in the pages of our own periodical, if it is dictated by a difference of opinion and not by legal considerations. *Wiadomości* rightly assumes that no one – not excluding Primate Wyszyński – can enjoy the privilege of press immunity. So I am unable to understand why Mr. Józef Mackiewicz should be an exception in this regard.

I regret immensely that all my proposals for an accommodating settlement were rejected.

This letter, as well as the suggestions contained in it, did not go unanswered by the hitherto silent Mieczysław Grydzewski. The content of the letter written by him contradicts the diagnoses and assumptions put forward by Nowak-Jeziorański, but confirms the choices and decisions made by Juliusz Sakowski. In his letter, the editor of *Wiadomości* wrote, among other things:

I, too, regret the separation, for which there was actually no reason; it will only give pleasure to the agents we fought together.

As for my position, you know it, Captain, from your discussions with Mr. Sakowski.

As for the last article by Józef Mackiewicz, I do not share the opinion that he acted in it as a mentor, giving others lessons in patriotism; the article contained legitimate journalistic criticism. I can assure you that I would not hesitate to publish that article.

It has been, is and will continue to be the principle of *Wiadomości* to qualify articles on the basis of their value, without examining the biographies of their authors. We publish articles by prominent writers without dealing with their past, because that would be tantamount to keeping a file, which would be disgusting to all of us.

Wiadomości under my editorship always published Mackiewicz's articles, which sometimes were very controversial, and this did not prevent *Na Antenie* from appearing as a monthly supplement to *Wiadomości*. Therefore, I do not believe that anything has changed since the publication of Mackiewicz's last article, and I hope that you will consider it possible to change your position on this issue.

Of course, I consider it perfectly legitimate to disassociate myself in *Na Antenie* from the article that provoked your objection, even in harsh words, but without personal allusions to the person of the author, whom *Wiadomości* has published for a number of years and whose anti-communist position is uncompromising.⁶⁰

Grydzewski's letter received an immediate response from Nowak-Jeziorański, who tried to put responsibility for the situation solely on the new editors of *Wiadomości*. He wrote, among other things:

It seems to me that I have done absolutely everything in my power to bring about some kind of compromise with *Wiadomości*.

I withdrew my original text and proposed a second one, which was much more restrained and limited to quotations from *Dziennik Polski* from 1948. In 1961 – back when the editorial board of *Dziennik* was managed by Mr. Sakowski – a similar thing was published. I proposed that both parties submit to the decision of our barrister, and I would also agree to a conciliator in the person of a jointly selected lawyer or another person. When this too was rejected – I put forward a third proposal limited to the following sentence: “The editors of *Na Antenie*, without entering into polemics with the content of the article, consider it necessary to express the conviction that, in our opinion, Mr. Józef Mackiewicz, due to his wartime past, is not called upon to issue a critical assessment of the patriotic attitude of others and especially of Primate Wyszyński.” This, too, turned out to be unacceptable.⁶¹

The last sentences of the quoted passage seem somewhat surprising. While the correspondence preserved in the editorial files of *Wiadomości* confirms the response to the first two proposals outlined here, there is

⁶⁰ A letter from M. Grydzewski to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated April 28, 1969.

⁶¹ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated April 29, 1969.

no information on the third. Nowak-Jeziorański presented its details in another letter to Grydzewski, dated May 8, 1969. In that letter, he wrote:

The final accommodating wording was submitted to Mr. J. Sakowski by Pawel Zaremba on April 28 this year. It read as follows:

“Without entering into polemics with the content of the article, we consider it necessary to express our conviction that Mr. Józef Mackiewicz is not the right author to issue judgments about the patriotic and civic attitude of anyone, especially of Cardinal Wyszyński, due to his own activity during the last war and his views expressed in the press published by the occupiers.”⁶²

However, before this was clarified, Nowak-Jeziorański continued to repeat the wording and remarks about Józef Mackiewicz and the right to publish a statement about him in *Na Antenie* that were contained in his letter dated April 23. Also, he added an interesting passage about the relationship the two magazines would have after the collaboration ended:

I didn't want, even after we parted ways, the detachment of *Na Antenie* to adversely affect the circulation of *Wiadomości*. P. Zaremba suggested that readers who subscribe to your weekly on a permanent basis should have the privilege of subscribing to *Na Antenie* at a significantly reduced price. In this way, the reader would not be required to choose between *Wiadomości* and *Na Antenie*. This suggestion was also rejected without any justification.

In his reply given in a letter dated May 3, Grydzewski did not address the latter proposal.

Instead, he pointed out the anticipated consequences of publishing the text of the statement in the pages of *Na Antenie*, which could prompt Józef Mackiewicz to take legal action. He wrote, among other things:

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude for your willingness to deal with the matter in a consensual manner. Of course I completely share your opinion that *Na Antenie* is an independent magazine and that it cannot be subject to the censorship of *Wiadomości*. However, *Wiadomości* bears the same legal responsibility for everything that appears in *Na Antenie* as for what appears

⁶² A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated May 8, 1969.

in *Wiadomości*. The fact that Radio Free Europe or anyone else would pay the costs if Mackiewicz files a “libel” lawsuit does not resolve anything, because my good name as a “slanderer” would be forever burdened. A barrister’s advice would not have helped much, because English courts are always inclined to convict for “libel,” and besides, the natural order of things in “libel” cases is that the accused turns into the accuser, and my defense attorney would have to prove that the charges against Mackiewicz are correct, which for me would be unacceptable.⁶³

However, referring to the essence of the dispute, that is, the wartime activities of Józef Mackiewicz, he wrote:

I can’t investigate Mackiewicz’s case and I don’t feel called to pass judgment, I know that he was convicted of collaboration, and I know that Sergiusz Piasecki refused to carry out the sentence, claiming it was unjust. There are other witnesses as well who claim that the charges against Mackiewicz were based on a tragic misunderstanding. [...]

I came across the accusations against Mackiewicz when the charge of going to Katyn at the invitation of the German authorities was made against him and Goettel, and the fact that I printed his articles was held against me. I met with Prime Minister Gen. Bór-Komorowski, who told me: “I would be the last to make accusations against him because of that, since thanks to that trip we obtained indisputable information about what was happening in Katyn.”

Thus, while disassociating himself from attempts to decide whether Mackiewicz was guilty of the acts alleged by Nowak-Jeziorański and others, Grydzewski also shied away from the charge of giving Mackiewicz special treatment and protecting him from press criticism:

Mackiewicz is no taboo: you recall that two of his articles against the Home Army were rejected by me, and I know that Mr. Chmielowiec also did not print everything that Mackiewicz sent in. To reproach Mackiewicz for the mistakes of the past would have to provoke his response and polemics, to the delight of our enemies, who would use the dispute against both sides. Is this what we need?

⁶³ A letter from M. Grydzewski to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated May 3, 1969.

At the same time, believing that saving such a beneficial (to both sides) cooperation is possible, he proposed a fourth version of the statement:

However, if what you want is complete disassociation of *Na Antenie* from Mackiewicz's article, I suggest publishing the following statement:

"In order to avoid misunderstandings arising from the fact that *Na Antenie* is published as a supplement to *Wiadomości*, we hereby state that they are completely separate magazines and that the editorial staff of *Na Antenie* has no responsibility for, or influence over, the topics, selection of authors, and views expressed by them in the pages of *Wiadomości*."

Nowak did not accept this solution. In his response expressed in a letter dated May 8, he stated: "The formula that you proposed, Doctor, would not solve [...] our dispute."⁶⁴

At the same time, he recalled the content of the third version – dated April 28 – of the statement (quoted above) and added that "This statement was the minimum I could agree to." After which he informed Grydzewski of the steps he had taken in connection with this issue, which ultimately prevented the possibility of further cooperation:

Despite the fact that our proposal was rejected right away, we waited three more days before signing a contract with the printing house and the distribution company⁶⁵ and before submitting for typesetting the material to fill the May issue. I couldn't delay it any longer for fear that it would not be possible to publish the May issue at all and there would be a two-month break in the publication of *Na Antenie*.

On the other hand, referring to Grydzewski's remarks, stipulating that he does not want to investigate Mackiewicz's past and, as far as he knows, the evidence against him is not incontrovertible, he noted:

The evidence of Jozef Mackiewicz's collaboration with the German occupiers is indisputable. These are the years' issues of *Goniec Codzienny* published in

⁶⁴ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Grydzewski dated May 8, 1969.

⁶⁵ This means that the contract was signed on Friday, May 2, 1969, a day before Grydzewski sent the letter with the fourth statement proposal.

Vilnius by the Propagandaamt from 1941 to 1944, located and available in German wartime archives. Sergiusz Piasecki had absolutely nothing to do with the sentence on Mackiewicz. The execution of both Ancerewicz's and Mackiewicz's sentences was entrusted to Capt. Adam Boryczko. He is now in Poland, but immediately after the war he gave detailed testimony on the matter, which is kept at the Polish Union.

Thus the cooperation, initiated in 1962, was terminated. Before Nowak-Jeziorański informed Grydzewski of this fact in a letter dated May 8, two days earlier he had written to Michał Chmielowec, leaving not the slightest doubt as to the decisions that had been made. In that letter, he formulated the following request:

Enclosed I am sending our statement with a request to include it in the upcoming issue of *Wiadomości*. We have introduced its contents to Mr. J. Sakowski, who raised no objections. A second paragraph was added to the text he read, but I don't think it will encounter any opposition from *Wiadomości*.

I will be much obliged if you let me know in which issue of *Wiadomości* this statement will be published.⁶⁶

In addition, Nowak posted a courtesy thank you for his cooperation with Sambor: "I would also like to take this opportunity, independent of the enclosure, to express my sincere thanks to you for your excellent cooperation and the great effort you put into *Na Antenie*."

Chmielowiec responded in a letter dated May 12, in which he wrote:

I received Your letter along with the statement on Saturday, May 10, at a time when the printing house was already working. I'm submitting the statement for typesetting today, on Monday, May 12, so that it can appear in the upcoming issue (1209) dated May 31 this year, which should go off the press on Wednesday, May 21. Of course, I will send a proof copy for proofreading. Thank you very much for your kind words about my participation in the cooperation between *Na Antenie* and *Wiadomości*. I have tried not to spare any effort to ensure that this valuable supplement would reach the reader in the most attractive form possible, and I have fond memories of more than two years

⁶⁶ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Chmielowiec dated May 6, 1969.

of harmonious cooperation. As I regret the separation of our two magazines, I seek comfort in the thought that perhaps it will only be a temporary separation after all, and not a divorce.⁶⁷

The statement referred to in the two letters was titled “Od Rozgłośni Polskiej R.W.E i Redakcji *Na Antenie*” [From the Polish Section of R.F.E. and the Editors of *Na Antenie*], and read – in the first edition – as follows:

The editors of *Na Antenie* notify readers with regret that the monthly magazine of the Polish Section of RFE has to part ways with the weekly *Wiadomości*. Starting in May, *Na Antenie* will be published as a separate magazine. Subscriptions can be ordered

We consider it our duty to express our thanks to the publisher and editor of *Wiadomości* for their cooperation. Special gratitude is due to Dr. Mieczysław Grydzewski, who made it possible for the two magazines to appear together, sacrificially accepting the additional burden of the work involved in publishing *Na Antenie*. It is to the distinguished editor of *Wiadomości* and his boundless dedication that we owe seven years of cooperation, which, being a salt in the eye of the regime in Poland – not only, in our view, was in the interests of both magazines, but served well the Polish goal of independence.

Thanks to *Wiadomości*, selected broadcasts of our radio station, which are part of the writing and political output of the Polish emigres, could be recorded in print and reach multiple readers abroad and in Poland. Due to the regime’s intensified propaganda efforts directed at emigres, we placed special emphasis on news, articles, discussions, and documents related to domestic issues.

We also believe that *Na Antenie*, appearing as a free supplement to *Wiadomości*, provided support for the distinguished weekly.

The monthly magazine *Na Antenie*, henceforth published as a magazine independent of *Wiadomości*, will try to serve the same purposes as before.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ A letter from M. Chmielowiec to J. Nowak-Jeziorański dated May 12, 1969.

⁶⁸ *Od Rozgłośni Polskiej R.W.E i Redakcji “Na Antenie”* [From the Polish Section of RFE and the editors of *Na Antenie*]; the text is not dated. In the archives of *Wiadomości* there is another version of that statement, expanded by information about the authors: Zygmunt Jabłoński and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański.

According to Chmielowiec, the statement appeared in the 22nd issue (1209) of *Wiadomości* dated May 31, 1969.⁶⁹ Some changes were made to the original version sent by Nowak-Jeziorański.

First, the address and information about the subscription and the price of the magazine appeared in place of the dotted line.⁷⁰

Second, a paragraph that Nowak-Jeziorański mentioned in his letter to Chmielowiec dated May 6 was added immediately afterwards. However, some modifications were made along the way to that paragraph as well. A proof copy found among the letters in the *Wiadomości* editorial file reads:

Regular subscribers to these Polish periodicals outside the Country, whose editors agree, will be able to pay for subscriptions to *Na Antenie* together with subscriptions to the relevant periodical and benefit from a 50% discount. So far, the editors of *Orzeł Biały* have given their consent.

In the proofread version, signed on May 16 by Paweł Zaremba, the last sentence was deleted⁷¹ and eventually the relevant passage took the following form in print: “Regular subscribers to Polish periodicals outside the Country will be able to benefit from a 50% discount.” This seemingly minor change may be an interesting clue related to the later cooperation of *Na Antenie* with *Orzeł Biały*, although it does not directly relate to the events discussed herein.

Third, the penultimate paragraph was removed from the text printed in *Wiadomości*. In the referenced proofreading of the proof copy, which Zaremba made with a red pen, the passage was marked in black ink. An explanation of this decision can be found in a letter from Michał Chmielowiec to Paweł Zaremba dated May 19, 1969. In that letter, Sambor wrote, among other things:

⁶⁹ “Od Rozgłośni Polskiej R.W.E i Redakcji *Na Antenie*” [From the Polish Section of RFE and the editors of *Na Antenie*], *Wiadomości* 1969, no. 22 (1209), p. 4.

⁷⁰ “Subscriptions can be ordered from the SPK Bookstore – PCA Publications LTD, 16–20 Queen’s Gate Terrace, London SW7. Annual subscription £2.2.0 (or \$5.00, F. 25.00), price of a single issue 3/6 (or \$0.50, F. 2.50).”

⁷¹ See: a letter from P. Zaremba to M. Chmielowiec dated May 16, 1969.

Only in the last revision, before the issue with your statement went to the printing machine, we noticed that the sentence: “We also believe that *Na Antenie*, appearing as a free supplement to *Wiadomości*, provided support for the distinguished weekly” is awkwardly phrased. The main problem is the word “support,” which brings unwanted connotations of “charity” or something similar.

Unfortunately, it was too late to inform you about this concern, so I decided, in consultation with Mr. Sakowski, to remove that sentence, especially since its absence does not change the essential flow of thought and tone of the statement. While I am sorry that this happened, I know that Mr. Nowak wanted to publish the statement as soon as possible, and discussing the change would have delayed its appearance by a whole week.⁷²

Paweł Zaremba, like Chmielowiec who had so far stood somewhat on the sidelines of the whole conflict, responded with a letter whose tone shows the scale of emotion that accompanied the split between the two periodicals. In that letter, he wrote:

Dear Mr. Michał,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 19th of this month, in which you inform me, unfortunately *ex post*, about the deletion of an entire sentence with the word “support” from the text of the statement signed by Director Nowak and editor Jabłoński.

I cannot take an authoritative position on this matter, as the letter was not signed by me. Nevertheless, I would like to remind you that its text was agreed upon with Mr. Sakowski. My personal understanding is that doubts about the word “support” itself did not require deleting the entire sentence. I admit that the delay in the publication of the statement was not advisable, but I think it would have been easier to resolve any doubts in a telephone conversation. Of course, I will report this matter to Director Nowak as soon as he returns from vacation.⁷³

After the announced return, Nowak-Jeziorański reacted rather angrily. He wrote:

⁷² A letter from M. Chmielowiec to P. Zaremba dated May 19, 1969.

⁷³ A letter from P. Zaremba to M. Chmielowiec dated May 23, 1969.

Upon my return from vacation, I was very unpleasantly surprised to learn that, without any attempt to communicate with us, the following very important sentence had been deleted from the statement signed by the Polish Section of RFE and the editors of *Na Antenie*:

“We also believe that *Na Antenie*, appearing as a free supplement to *Wiadomości*, provided support for the distinguished weekly.”

The text was read out in the presence of Dr. Kielanowski, Paweł Zaremba, and myself – Mr. Juliusz Sakowski declared that he had no objections to it. Therefore, the text was agreed between the two parties.

I find it difficult to accept that the subsequent doubts that emerged over the single word “support” justify changing the agreed statement without trying to communicate with the other party. One phone call to Mr. Zaremba or myself would have been enough to replace the word.

I am very sorry that our cooperation ends with yet another completely unnecessary and, as far as I am concerned, unexpected irritation.⁷⁴

In response to these allegations, Chmielowiec tried to explain the circumstances of the decision, hoping for Nowak-Jeziorański’s understanding and suggesting a form of possible rectification as a way of settling the dispute:

My sincerest apologies for leaving this sentence out without reaching an agreement. I had to choose between the lesser and greater evil (which would be to move the message to the next issue). The doubt arose during the last revision, when the issue was already on the printing machine.⁷⁵ First of all, I had to communicate with Sakowski, which already took a long time. You were outside Munich at the time, and Mr. Paweł would probably have to communicate with you. The proposal for a change would, in turn, have to be presented to Mr. Juliusz. And one still has to keep in mind the difficulty of making the phone calls.

In the poor and inconvenient conditions of our editorial work that you know, and with the difficulties faced by the printing house – this kind of “downtime” would have been a real disaster. Besides: posting an awkwardly worded sentence could no longer be made up, while leaving it out would be

⁷⁴ A letter from J. Nowak-Jeziorański to M. Chmielowiec dated June 6, 1969.

⁷⁵ A partial confirmation of this is the layout of the text in *Wiadomości*. The noticeably increased spacing before the last paragraph, as well as after it (before the authors’ names), clearly indicates the fact that part of the text had been removed.

fixable in the form of a correction or addendum, which we would have time to agree on without haste.

Nowak-Jeziorański did not respond to the last letter. At the same time, even though the statement was reprinted in *Na Antenie* by his decision (as discussed further in this article), it did not include the problematic sentence.

Readers of both magazines, lacking insight into the details of the case, were only presented with the texts printed in both magazines. It is worth recalling that the last joint issue of *Na Antenie* appeared as a supplement to the London-based *Wiadomości* with a date of March 30 – April 6. Subsequently, the magazine became an independent, separate monthly. Its first issue (which retains continuous numbering – 73/74) was published with the date April – May 1969. The new monthly magazine, printed in a four times smaller format (28 × 21.5 cm), had 48 pages, which translated into a 30% increase in the magazine's volume. It retained the current layout, and only from the stand-alone third issue (76) it introduced a modification in the form of color on the front page (the masthead and the table of contents of the issue).

According to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański:

The change in the publishing form of our monthly magazine entailed the need to reorganize our editorial work. Editor Zygmunt Jabłoński had already expressed his desire to resign from his position before the unfortunate split between *Na Antenie* and the *Wiadomości* weekly. And although Editor Jabłoński's decision has nothing to do with the publishing changes, the Section could only now satisfy his wish.⁷⁶

Thanking Jabłoński for his efforts and work in editing *Na Antenie*, Nowak emphasized twice that his resignation was due only to personal reasons and lack of time. In addition, he reported that “as of May 15, the

⁷⁶ J. Nowak-Jeziorański, “Podziękowanie Redaktorowi Jabłońskiemu” [Words of gratitude to Editor Jabłoński], *Na Antenie* 1969, no. 73/74, p. 3.

duties of the editor of *Na Antenie* were assigned to editor Paweł Zaremba,” whose name was noted in the editorial footer on page 48.⁷⁷

“Podziękowanie Redaktorowi Jabłońskiemu” [Words of gratitude to Editor Jabłoński] were accompanied by a message signed by him and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański – the same message that was printed in *Wiadomości*.⁷⁸ The differences boiled down to its date, i.e. May 1, 1969, and to the fact that it included the information about discounts for subscribers to other émigré magazines in the previous form, i.e.: “Regular subscribers to these Polish periodicals outside the Country, whose editors agree, will be able to pay for subscriptions to *Na Antenie* together with subscriptions to the relevant periodical and benefit from a 50% discount.”

This statement was repeated in a leaflet attached to the magazine encouraging subscriptions to the monthly, which mentioned, among other things:

Starting in May 1969, the monthly magazine, which has so far appeared together with the *Wiadomości* weekly, will be published in the last week of each month as an independent magazine.

Na Antenie – is the most abundant magazine with information on Polish affairs covering both political and social issues, and economic and cultural problems. The magazine is illustrated.

Na Antenie – contains a selection of broadcasts, commentaries, documentaries and columns from each month of the radio programs of the Polish Radio Station RFE with a particular focus on domestic issues.

Na Antenie – publishes materials written by leading Polish writers and journalists. The regular “Behind the scenes” column provides insight into the current political, social, economic, and cultural situation in Poland.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The seat of the editorial office remained in Munich, and administration was taken over by the SPK Bookstore (Veterans’ Bookstore) in London.

⁷⁸ “Od Rozgłośni Polskiej R.W.E i Redakcji *Na Antenie*” [From the Polish Section of RFE and the editors of *Na Antenie*], *Na Antenie* 1969, no. 73/74, p. 3.

⁷⁹ “Na antenie mówi Rozgłoszenia Polska Radia Wolna Europa” [On the air speaks the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe] – a one-page insert to issue 73/74 of April–May 1969; emphasis by the author.

At the same time, however, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański decided to inform the readers of the monthly and, indirectly, probably also the readers of *Wiadomości* about the circumstances and reasons why the paths of the two magazines separated. Therefore, he announced – in addition to the two texts cited above – an “List otwarty” [Open letter] addressed to Juliusz Sakowski and dated May 17, 1969. The text largely amounted to a repetition of the remarks made in the correspondence exchanged with the publisher of *Wiadomości*. Nowak wrote, among other things:

I consider it my duty to summarize once again all my efforts to maintain, in the public interest, the existing cooperation between *Wiadomości* and the monthly *Na Antenie*.

Our dispute boils down to whether we can freely express our views in the pages of our own periodical even if they differ from the position taken by the editors of the *Wiadomości*.

In the April issue of our monthly magazine, a brief statement was to be published explaining that our Section and Editors bear no shared responsibility for Józef Mackiewicz’s article “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter], published on the front page of the *Wiadomości* issue of March 23. Without entering into polemics with the content of the article, we expressed our conviction that Mr. Józef Mackiewicz was not the right author to issue judgments about the patriotic and civic attitude of anyone, especially of Cardinal Wyszyński, due to his own activity during the last war and his views expressed in the press published by the occupiers.

The publication of that text was met with your refusal. It turned out that it is possible to criticize the current activities of Cardinal Wyszyński and the Polish bishops, but even in the *Na Antenie* supplement not a word is allowed about the former activities of Mr. J. Mackiewicz.

This position is all the more difficult to understand, because in January and February of this year, *Wiadomości* published several letters from readers protesting the self-rehabilitation of Mr. Marian Muszkat in the pages of the weekly precisely because of his past. *Wiadomości* also published readers’ objections against further publication of articles by Mr. Jan Rostworowski due to the fact that the writer, while still in exile, voluntarily accepted the citizenship of the Polish People’s Republic. Thus, it appears that you have granted press immunity only Mr. J. Mackiewicz.

We have indicated our willingness to accept amendments dictated by legal considerations. Aiming for an accommodating settlement of the matter, we submitted to you three versions of our statement. We submitted the last [?!] of

them on April 28, while suggesting inviting mediators. None of our proposals have received a positive response from you.

Having been forced to part ways with *Wiadomości*, we wanted to make it easier for Readers to use both magazines. Therefore, we made an offer of a substantial discount on subscriptions to *Na Antenie* for regular subscribers to *Wiadomości*. This proposal, too, was rejected by you.

Under these conditions, we cannot accept any responsibility for terminating the useful and, so far, harmonious cooperation that has lasted for nearly seven years.

Sakowski responded to that letter in the issue of *Wiadomości* dated June 15, 1969 with the text “Zamykam list otwarty” [I am closing the open letter],⁸⁰ in which he wrote, among other things:

[...] I think it is appropriate to inform the readers of *Wiadomości* about its [the parting of the two magazines – footnote by R. M.] real causes, so that they have a complete and not one-sided picture of them. [...]

“Our own periodical” is an emphasis that can, despite the author’s intentions, be misleading. Although the monthly supplement *Na Antenie* had separate editors and its own funds, *Wiadomości* had the same legal responsibility for everything that appeared in it as for what appeared in other pages. [...]

The lack of freedom in *Wiadomości* is a new thing. So far, if I have been reproached for anything, it is an exaggeratedly exuberant tolerance for other people’s opinions, excessive eclecticism in the views, and allowing others to “do as they please,” although not in their own house. Every reader knows this – except the author of the “open letter.” [...]

The successive three versions of the statement concerning Józef Mackiewicz that were presented for publication in *Na Antenie* had, according to the unanimous opinion of English lawyers, the hallmarks of the so-called “libel.”

Wiadomości could not and did not want to serve as a tool for the achievement of goals it did not support; it could not and did not want to become a convenient field for others’ games and personal scores that had nothing to do with the merits of the article it published.

It could not agree to that, not only for legal reasons, but also because of the prevailing common decency towards the author, whose articles it had been publishing for a number of years, and who, almost from the beginning

⁸⁰ J. Sakowski, “Zamykam list otwarty” [I am closing the open letter], *Wiadomości* 1969, no. 24 (1211), p. 2.

of its existence in exile, was one of its regular, outstanding, and most popular contributors. [...]

Thinking that the magazine *Na Antenie* is indeed concerned with dissociating itself from Mackiewicz's article (and not just discriminating against the author), editor Grydzewski suggested that a statement be placed in connection with the article, stating that "the editorial staff of *Na Antenie* has no responsibility for, or influence over, the topics, selection of authors, and views expressed by them in the pages of *Wiadomości*."

There was no response to that proposal. [...] There was no response – and it is clear why.

It turns out that it is more important [...] to discredit, condemn, and vilify an outstanding Polish writer, whose writings are his only subsistence and who is deprived of all other means of earning a living in the difficult conditions of life in exile. It is more important and urgent than anything else to force into silence a writer who may irritate others with the controversial nature of his statements, but is known for his uncompromising anti-communist stance. [...]

Convinced that the continued existence of the monthly magazine *Na Antenie* is in our mutual interest in exile, I cannot reproach myself for having unwittingly contributed to its liquidation.

Further in the text, Sakowski indicated that there is no risk of liquidation of *Na Antenie*, since the magazine is financed with external funds, and as for *Wiadomości*, he expressed his belief that the level and tradition of the magazine are a guarantee of its continued existence, since regular readers will certainly not leave it.

Nowak disagreed with Sakowski's argumentation and, in a text "Echa minionego okresu" [Echoes of a bygone period],⁸¹ responded by saying that Sakowski's justifications and explanations were not convincing for two reasons. The first is that Sakowski's alleged defense of Józef Mackiewicz's interests, protecting him from, in Sakowski's words, "discreditation, condemnation, and vilification," is carried out inconsistently. As Nowak-Jeziorański emphasized, the newspaper *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, edited by Sakowski, twice reproached Mackiewicz for his infa-

⁸¹ J. Nowak, "Echa minionego okresu. W sprawie oświadczenia p. Juliusza Sakowskiego" [Echoes of a bygone period. On the statement of Mr. Juliusz Sakowski], *Na Antenie* 1969, no. 76, pp. 21–22.

mous past by publishing, in the issues of January 8, 1948 and December 22, 1961, statements of the Circle of Former Home Army Soldiers, in which this issue was discussed. The second reason why Nowak-Jeziorański found Sakowski's explanations unconvincing was insufficient insight into the editors' correspondence (Nowak – Grydzewski), which shows that after Sakowski had rejected the different versions of the statement on Mackiewicz three times, Grydzewski exchanged letters with Nowak-Jeziorański on the matter, but his proposed amendments to the text made the statement largely enigmatic and imprecise, which Nowak-Jeziorański could not agree to. He considered the whole matter to be a manifestation of "bad customs in the Polish émigré press" and declared it to be closed.⁸²

The circumstances of the termination of the cooperation between *Wiadomości* and *Na Antenie* outlined above require an additional commentary. First of all, Nowak-Jeziorański angry response to Mackiewicz's "List pasterski" [Pastoral letter] may come as a surprise. The text certainly does not seem, and probably also did not seem at the time of publication, to be perceived as harassing and unreasonable, as Nowak-Jeziorański presented it. Of course, the author's views, expressed repeatedly in press and book publications, often aroused great controversy at the time, but in principle it is impossible to indicate why exactly that text by the *Wiadomości* columnist triggered such a vigorous reaction with far-reaching consequences.

One of the key arguments for expecting a much calmer response was that Mackiewicz's statement was an elaboration of the thoughts and opinions formulated by Juliusz Mieroszewski and, as such, did not seem particularly surprising.⁸³

However, when one looks at the issue more broadly – most importantly by placing it in the context of the very bitter conflict between Józef Mac-

⁸² Józef Mackiewicz addressed the matter, although not in the context of the termination of the cooperation between the two magazines, in the pamphlet "Mówi Rozgłośnia Polska Radia Wolna Europa" [This is the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe speaking] (1969).

⁸³ See: W. Bolecki, *Ptasznik z Wilna. O Józefie Mackiewiczu (Zarys monograficzny)* [A fowler from Vilnius. About Józef Mackiewicz (a monographic outline)], Cracow 2007, p. 577.

kiewicz and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański⁸⁴ – it is hard to resist the impression that the latter, in demanding the right to print a statement dissociating the magazine’s editors from Mackiewicz and recalling the latter’s “infamous” past,⁸⁵ made a rather risky decision in the spring of 1969. Confident about the importance of his monthly supplement’s support for the London-based weekly, he put their cooperation on the line in an effort to involve the editors and publisher of *Wiadomości* in actions against Mackiewicz (intended to finally force him to shut his mouth and remove him from public life). The question that arises about the reasons for such a decision is answered by Mackiewicz’s biographers Włodzimierz Bolecki and Waclaw Lewandowski⁸⁶ who pointed out that the timing of Nowak’s reaction coincided with the preparation for publication of Mackiewicz’s novel *Nie trzeba głośno mówić* [There is no need to speak aloud]. As Nowak-Jeziorański assumed, it would contain “inconvenient” information about his work “in the German Commissariat for Secured Estates, an office that dealt with the administration of Jewish properties requisitioned by the occupation authorities.”⁸⁷ Fearing – wrongly, as it turned out – being discredited and compromised, Nowak-Jeziorański was looking for an excuse to play out another act in the “Mackiewicz case.” The “List pasterski” [Pastoral letter] became precisely such excuse. As Bolecki wrote:

Jan Nowak was not interested in a substantive discussion of the theses of Mackiewicz’s article. Years later – in 1988 – he admitted that I was right, af-

⁸⁴ Mackiewicz stated in his letters to Kossowska that Nowak-Jeziorański was “a guy with the level and mentality of a police non-commissioned officer” and called him “an American rascal”; see a letter from J. Mackiewicz to S. Kossowska dated March 19, 1969, in: J. Mackiewicz, B. Toporska, *Listy do redaktorów “Wiadomości”* [Letters to the editors of *Wiadomości*], compiled by W. Lewandowski, London 2010, p. 358. He also spoke in a similar vein about Radio Free Europe (*ibidem, passim*). Another thing is that it was not only about Nowak-Jeziorański that Mackiewicz made equally colorful and negative statements.

⁸⁵ The case of Mackiewicz and his “collaboration” with the German occupiers has been thoroughly exposed and analyzed by Włodzimierz Bolecki – see: J. Malewski [W. Bolecki], *Wyrok na Józefa Mackiewicza* [The judgment against Józef Mackiewicz], London 1991. Cf. W. Bolecki, *Ptasznik z Wilna* [The fowler from Vilnius].

⁸⁶ W. Lewandowski, *Józef Mackiewicz. Artyzm. Biografia. Recepcja* [Józef Mackiewicz. Artistry. Biography. Reception], London 2000.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 130–131.

ter all. The sole purpose of the statement of the author of the “List otwarty” [Open letter] was to publicly state that Józef Mackiewicz is not allowed to speak out on public issues.⁸⁸

It is unclear how this case would have turned out if Juliusz Sakowski had yielded to Nowak’s pressure. Perhaps the cooperation would have continued and *Wiadomości* would have lost a valuable columnist. It is also unclear what the course of events would have been if Mackiewicz, instead of publishing his controversial text in the London-based *Wiadomości*, had printed it in the Paris-based *Kultura*, which, it turns out, he had sought to do. In the quoted letter dated April 11, 1969, Nowak wrote to Sakowski:

Teaching others a lesson in patriotism by a former collaborator with the Nazi occupiers is a grave insult to the feelings of people who lived through the war in Poland. This was undoubtedly what guided editor Giedroyć.

He himself saw it differently. As he wrote in one of his letters to Michał Chmielowiec:

[...] my article [?!] Giedroyć did not accept it, arguing (“although he agrees with it”) that he was concerned about falling into “Arguments”...⁸⁹ But the reason is different: there were quotes from *Wiadomości* (my wife’s).⁹⁰ I am more and more convinced that G. hates *Wiadomości*. Actually, I noticed it long ago. But I don’t know the essential reason.⁹¹

Perhaps the cooperation between *Na Antenie* and *Wiadomości* would have continued then, despite the highly unfriendly relationship between Mackiewicz and Nowak-Jeziorański. In any case, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański’s plan was not carried out. In view of Sakowski’s and Grydzewski’s firm

⁸⁸ W. Bolecki, *Ptasznik z Wilna* [The fowler from Vilnius], p. 576.

⁸⁹ Organ of the Association of Atheists and Free-Thinkers, issued in Warsaw in 1957–1990 (from 1969, organ of the Association for the Dissemination of Secular Culture).

⁹⁰ B. Toporska, *Z prośbą o odpowiedź* [With a request for an answer], *Wiadomości* 1966, no. 6 (1036), p. 1.

⁹¹ A letter from J. Mackiewicz to M. Chmielowiec dated April 15, 1969, in: J. Mackiewicz, B. Toporska, *Listy do redaktorów “Wiadomości”* [Letters to the editors of *Wiadomości*], p. 361.

stance, he had no choice but to end in mid-1969 the cooperation initiated seven years earlier between the two editorial offices, which, among many other issues, differed in their approach to and assessment of the person of Józef Mackiewicz.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2015, no. 1-2 (22-23)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2015.005>

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Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's Two English Novels: *Loot and Loyalty* and *Green Flows the Bile*

Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's novels were not known in Poland for a long time, both because of their numerous anti-communist allusions and the author's reluctance to print in the country.¹ One of his books (*Green Flows the Bile*) has not been published in Poland so far; other novels appeared relatively late, after 1986: *Gdy odpadają łuski ciała* (1986, translated by Alicja Moskalowa; original: *The Quick and the Dead*, 1961); *Wewnętrzne koło* (1988, translated by Alicja H. Moskalowa; original: *Inner Circle*, 1966); *Odosobnienie* (1990, translated by Bronisława Bałutowa; original: *Isolation*, 1959); *Anioł ognisty, mój anioł lewy* (1993, translated by Marta Glińska; original: *That Angel Burning at My Left Side*, 1963) and *Sznur z węzłami* (2005, translated by Maja Glińska; original: *The Knotted Cord*, 1953). The newest publication is the Polish version of *Loot and Loyalty* done by Jacek Dehnel which was issued in 2018 as *Zdobyc i wierność*.²

¹ About the fact that Pietrkiewicz was against publishing in Poland, Bolesław Taborski wrote in his *Dziennik* [Diary], under the date June 24, 1956, B. Taborski, "Dziennik Bolesława Taborskiego. Fragmenty z lat 1953–1965" [Bolesław Taborski's diary. Fragments from 1953–1965], in: *Jerzy Pietrkiewicz – inna wersja emigracji. Materiały Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Naukowej 11–12 maja 2000 r. w Toruniu* [Jerzy Pietrkiewicz – another version of emigration. Materials of the National Scientific Conference on May 11–12, 2000 in Toruń], eds. B. Czarnecka, J. Kryszak, Toruń 2000, p. 264.

² J. Pietrkiewicz, *Zdobyc i wierność*, translated J. Dehnel, Warszawa 2018.

When Pietrkiewicz arrived in England in 1940, he did not speak any English. Due to his poor health, he was unable to take up military service and so he was given a scholarship and sent to study in Scotland. There he went to the oldest Scottish university, founded in 1413, St. Andrews. Years later, in June 2006, the university awarded the author with an honorary doctorate. In his autobiography, Pietrkiewicz recalled numerous moments of doubt when, at the age of twenty-five, he began his studies in a foreign language and understanding old English literary texts like Chaucer's seemed unachievable to him. Years later he wrote about the tremendous difficulties in understanding the language of medieval texts: "Starting with Middle English texts and Chaucer made sense academically, but not in my case."³

After completing his studies in Scotland, Pietrkiewicz continued his studies at the University of London. In an interview with Andrzej Bernat, he emphasized that both the language he had to master and "a certain discipline to which he was subjected to" were important in the education process. The result was not only excellent knowledge of the English language, but also of the literary tradition. The erudition he acquired changed not only his view of the world, but also influenced his further academic and artistic work.⁴

*

In *The Knotted Cord*, Pietrkiewicz described the first years of his life and achieved significant – as for a foreigner – success. The decision to start writing in English turned out to be the right one. His first novel was well received by British critics. Both the book's plot and the author's style in English were highly rated. For the author himself, however – as he recalled in his autobiography – describing his childhood was also an attempt to "come to terms" with the past and beautiful (safety, beloved mother), but also extremely painful memories (mother's illness, early death of both parents).

³ J. Peterkiewicz, *In the Scales of Fate*, London–New York 1993, p. 172.

⁴ "Dajcie mi tylko jedną ziemię milę". J. Pietrkiewicz w rozmowie z A. Bernatem" ["Give me just one mile of land." J. Pietrkiewicz in a conversation with A. Bernat], *Nowe Książki* 1987, no. 5–6, p. 1. All citations from Polish are in my translation – K.C.

Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's second English novel, *Loot and Loyalty*,⁵ was published in 1955. The plot is set in 17th-century Poland and Russia. For the first time, the writer reached for a new genre – a historical novel. The reviewers appreciated the author's idea to make a Scotsman the main character in the book. While *The Knotted Cord* presented the Polish countryside through the prism of the fate of little Bronek, in *Loot and Loyalty* Poland is shown from the perspective of a Scottish soldier. Pietrkiewicz's second book therefore proves the author's desire to reach for themes closer to the British reader, even though they are embedded in the Polish culture.

The novel was enthusiastically received by British critics, and the most favorable opinions were focused on the mastery of the language of the book. The *Cambridge Daily News* reviewer noticed that “the author, though writing impeccable English, yet contrives to give the book an unusual and piquant flavor such as it would be unlikely to have if, say, it had been written in his own language and then translated.”⁶ Comparisons to Conrad appeared again. It was repeatedly emphasized that Pietrkiewicz wrote in more natural and idiomatic English than his famous compatriot. Another critic wrote in *The Times Weekly Review*: “Like Conrad, Mr. Pietrkiewicz is a Pole writing in English, and, although his prose lacks the majestic cadences of the older novelist, it is shot through with the gleams of a poetic imagination.”⁷

“Pietrkiewicz [...] is an authentic master of English prose”⁸ – admitted Bolesław Taborski, who also drew attention to the poetic metaphors and the richness of descriptions of nature and action in *Loot and Loyalty*: “no wind creased the clear sky, and the grass was too young to wear a penitent garb of dust” (LL 128); “the birch trees paraded in a black-and-white file

⁵ J. Pietrkiewicz, *Loot and Loyalty*, William Heinemann Ltd, Melbourne–London–Toronto 1955. All quotations from the novel come from this edition and are marked with the abbreviation LL.

⁶ University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigration, Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's Archive (hereinafter AE), “Remarkable Tale of 17th Century Poland,” *Cambridge Daily News*, October 7, 1955.

⁷ “This Side of Paradise,” *The Times Weekly Review*, August 11, 1955; AE.

⁸ B. Taborski, “Między grabieżą a wolnością” [Between plunder and freedom], *Mercuriusz Polski Nowy ale Dawnemu Wielce Podobny i Życie Akademickie* 1955, no. 9.

along a bog from which the frogs sent their raucous commands” (LL 23). Taborski classified the book as “strange and beautiful,” seemingly simple, but deeply thought-provoking, written by a mature, understanding man.

Just like in the first Pietrkiewicz’s English novel, *The Knotted Cord*, here, too, the characters use some Polish words in their dialogues, for example: “pan,” “pani” [Mr., Mrs.]. The Poles call the captain “pan Hume” to simplify the pronunciation of his foreign surname. The Russians, in turn, use the form common in their own language and call Hume “Tobias Davidovich.”

Loot and Loyalty consists of twelve chapters and an epilogue. The narrative is conducted from the perspective of an omniscient narrator, and dialogues prevail in the text. The language is styled into seventeenth-century English, though styling appears only in dialogues or quoted historical texts. The lexical forms include archaisms, for instance, in the spelling of some words: “Pollish” (contemporary: “Polish”), “songes this bee sung” (contemporary: “songs to be sung”), “poore brethren” (contemporary: “poor brothers”). Peterkiewicz emphasized that, in his opinion, the archaization of the language might be the hardest part of a translator’s work – if the book was to be translated.

Bolesław Taborski noticed that irony and situational comedy dominate some scenes in the novel: “Honesty and meditation combine in his book smoothly with humor, irony and even sarcasm,”⁹ pointing out chapter XI of the novel *The Great Machine*, in which a group of flagellants eagerly volunteer to build the destructive war machine, according to Hume’s instructions. They want to reach salvation as quickly as possible, and the deadly machine gives them hope for the imminent annihilation of the world. Another scene, saturated with black humor, shows a young Russian boyar, Alexey Petrovich Rukin, (so far the Tsar’s favorite and his best companion at drinking), who, though still drunk, is trying to reconstruct the facts and discover how he could have possibly become a traitor – which he is now accused of and captured in a bear cage. The only explanation coming to his mind is: “I must have become traitor while drunk. Yes, I drank much, with Dmitri Ivanovich, uncle. Long live the Tsar! Death to all traitors!” (LL 139).

⁹ Ibidem.

Making the exile Scot, roaming in the war-torn Eastern Europe, the main hero of the novel is a clear allusion to the fate of the masses of immigrants who found refuge in Britain after World War II.¹⁰ In the novel, the situation is reversed: thousands of Scottish mercenaries are looking for work in the Republic of Poland which is described as a wealthy and stable country. Furthermore, Poland guarantees the refugees religious freedom.¹¹ Yet, despite the freedom, the Scots feel alienated in this both geographically and culturally distant country. Tobias Hume, seems to be almost obsessed with his awareness of being a foreigner:

He heard [...] voices in different languages. One word was always clear in each of them, clear in Swedish, Polish, Russian, in German, Hungarian and Litvovian, the word which pursued him as he ran into the dark corners of memory. "Foreigner!" the Russian voice spat at him. "Foreigner!", the Polish voice applauded him. "Foreigner?" a question fell on his neck with a rope, held by a German hand. "Foreigner... Foreigner..." they all repeated, intriguing, urging and laughing. (LL 166)

Scottish mercenary soldier, Tobias Hume, was shown in the novel as a man devoted to two great passions: music and the art of war. His beloved instrument, viola da gamba, is his only "faithful companion." Music allows him to fight the "melancholy" (depression) and gives relief in difficult times. Hume dreams of constructing a powerful war machine which would ensure an easy victory over any enemy. Therefore, he is obsessively trying

¹⁰ Derek Stanford used the term "DPs in reverse." D. Stanford, "Report from London. Literature in England: The Present Position," *The Western Review* (Iowa City, Iowa, USA) 1957 no. 4; AE.

¹¹ The of emigration of Scots to Poland was caused by both economic and religious factors, especially from the mid-16th century settling in the Commonwealth was advantageous for the Scots due to religious tolerance and economic structure. The Scots were known as excellent riflemen and infantry; therefore Polish magnates hired them for military service. See also: G. Brzustowicz, *Szkoccy "żołnierze fortuny" w ekspedycjach militarnych na tereny Księstwa Zachodniopomorskiego i Nowej Marchii podczas wojny trzydziestoletniej* [Scottish "soldiers of fortune" in military expeditions to the Duchy of West Pomerania and the New March during the Thirty Years' War], Choszczno 2009; A. Biegańska, "Żołnierze Szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej" [Scottish soldiers in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 1984, no. 27.

to improve the machine's design. Finally, thanks to the financial support of Seton-Setonski, Hume constructs the deadly device. Despite of all the efforts of the builders, the machine eventually collapses, completely destroyed. Hume, as it turns out, does not have any technical knowledge and is, thus, merely an eccentric dreamer.

Jerzy Peterkiewicz, creating the novel's main character, was inspired by two authentic documents: a collection of music compositions by Hume dated 1605¹² and a petition to the English Parliament sent in by captain Tobias Hume in 1642, in which he request the Parliament for financial support in creation of a war machine (both mentioned in the novel).¹³

Despite making Hume one of the protagonists in the book, as well as other numerous references to historical sources, the critics asked the question whether *Loot and Loyalty* should be qualified as a historical novel or not. The critics' opinions varied in this respect. The reviewer of *Mysł Polska* noted that, although the action is set in the seventeenth century, it is merely "historically plausible"¹⁴ and, therefore, *Loot and Loyalty* does not belong to the traditional genre of the historical novel. Hilary Corke defined Peterkiewicz's novel as

pseudo-historical fantasia woven around two historical persons, the Scottish mercenary Captain Tobias Hume (noted for his compositions for viola da gamba), and the peasant pretender to the Russian throne known to historians as *the second false Dmitri*.¹⁵

"*Loot and Loyalty* has the effect of a waking dream" – wrote an anonymous critic of *The Times Literary Supplement* – "though the hero actually existed."¹⁶ Derek Stanford noted that the book "is more the nature of a fan-

¹² The book with Hume's compositions was published in 1605 in London; it is kept in the archives of the British Museum. See: O. Scherer-Wirska, "Druga powieść angielska Pietrkiewiczza" [Pietrkiewicz's second English novel], *Wiadomości* 1955, no. 50.

¹³ See: Hume Tobias, in: *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. P. Lee, vol. XXVII, New York-London 1891, p. 235.

¹⁴ "Ballada o Tobiaszu Hume" [The ballad of Tobias Hume], *Mysł Polska*, October 1, 1955.

¹⁵ *The Encounter* 1955, no. 10; AE.

¹⁶ "The Stock of History," *The Times Literary Supplement*, August 12, 1955; AE.

tasy,"¹⁷ and in *The Times Weekly Review* it was described as a concoction of folklore and history.¹⁸

Bolesław Taborski was against classifying *Loot and Loyalty* as historical, since – as he noticed – it was not strictly based on facts. For example, in 17th century Poland the King resided in Warsaw and not (as presented in the novel) in Krakow. According to Taborski, such mistake should not diminish the value of the book which is the author's artistic success, even though loosely based on archival sources.¹⁹

The author himself considered *Loot and Loyalty* to be a historical novel, since the plot was based – even if loosely – on authentic historiographical sources. Peterkiewicz started working on the book at the beginning of 1952, even before the release of *The Knotted Cord*. Full of enthusiasm, he wrote to his wife:

I have got a happy plot for another novel: an *ironical* setting in the 17th c. Poland and Russia with [...] Tobias Hume as a mercenary captain. (Don't tell anything about it: superstition!). It would be a tale on the loot & loyalty theme with a humorous twist. But a lot has to be thought out still. Don't think it's *just* a historical novel. History would be a poetic excuse (as the witches in the first novel). As to the material I'll have tons of it (including the stores of the State Papers Library).²⁰

Loot and Loyalty should definitely be assigned to the genre of the historical novel. Furthermore, a great deal of freedom in creation of the world presented in the book can be justified by the fact that historiographical sources do not reveal much about the two main characters (Hume and Dmitri).

Another protagonist of the novel – vividly described by Peterkiewicz – Dmitri (called False Dmitri II), a peasant boy, who became a Russian Tsar, is associated with an extremely turbulent period in the history of Russia.

¹⁷ D. Stanford, "Report from London. Literature in England: The Present Position."

¹⁸ "This Side of Paradise," *The Times Weekly Review*, August 11, 1955; AE.

¹⁹ "Powieść Pietrkiewicza jest artystycznym sukcesem, nawet jeśli całkiem luźno oparta jest o historyczne źródła," B. Taborski, "Między grabieżą a wolnością" [Between plunder and freedom].

²⁰ Jerzy Pietrkiewicz's letter to his wife, Christine Brook-Rose, January 22, 1952; AE.

In 1591, during the reign of Tsar Fyodor I, his younger step-brother, Prince Dmitri (other transliterations *Dmitriy*, *Dmitry*, *Dmitrii*) of Uglich, a rightful pretender to the throne, was assassinated. The circumstances of this event have never been explained, and the authors of Russian history in English, Nicholas V. Riasanovsky and Mark D. Stienberg, called the event “one of the most famous criminal mysteries in the history of Russia.”²¹

In 1604 Dmitri entered Russia with an army consisting, inter alia, of the Cossacks and Polish mercenaries. After the death of Boris Godunov, which took place in the following year, Dmitri came to Moscow and took the throne. His wife and Tsarina of Russia was the daughter of a Polish magnate, Maryna Mniszecz.²² The marriage with a Catholic and the prevalence of Polish magnates in the Kremlin escalated anti-Polish attitudes. In May 1606 the boyars and their armed troops attacked the court and captured Dmitri. The Tsar’s personal guard, which consisted then of Scottish mercenaries, failed to defend the ruler. Dmitri I was brutally murdered and several thousand Poles and Russians were killed during the massacre. Vasily Shuisky became the new Tsar.

In 1607 another usurper to the throne appeared, known as the False Dmitri II.²³ Again, like Dmitri I, he claimed to be the Tsarevich, survivor from Uglich. Second false Dmitri was supported by groups of Russian rebels, Cossacks, Polish²⁴ and Lithuanian mercenaries and various adventurers. His supporters also included several famous Polish commanders.²⁵ Both Maryna Minszech – the wife of the first Dimitri, as well as the mother of the tsarevich murdered in Uglich, the widow of Ivan IV the Terrible, publicly

²¹ N. V. Riasanovsky, M. D. Stienberg, *Historia Rosji [A history of Russia]*, translated A. Bednarczyk, T. Teszner, Kraków 2009, p. 160.

²² Maryna Mniszecz was the daughter of a Polish voievode in Sandomierz, Jerzy Mniszecz. See: W. Kozlakow, *Maryna Mniszecz*, translated A. Wołodźko-Butkiewicz, Warszawa 2011, p. 11, 49, 102–103.

²³ N. V. Riasanovsky, M. D. Stienberg, *Historia Rosji [A history of Russia]*, p. 172.

²⁴ His armed forces initially included about 7000 Polish soldiers, but then, with the arrival of King Sigismund III Vasa at Smolensk in 1609, a vast majority of his Polish supporters left him and joined the army of the Polish king.

²⁵ Their support for Dmitri declared – among others – J. P. Sapieha, A. Wiśniowiecki, P. Tyszkiewicz. See: A. Andrusiewicz, *Dymitr Samozwaniec i Maryna Mniszecz*, Warszawa 2009, p. 425.

recognized him as Tsar Dmitry.²⁶ The troops supporting the alleged ruler of Russia defeated the Russian army in the spring of 1608, and the false tsar set up his camp in Tuszyno.²⁷ Called "the scoundrel from Tuszyno," the newly self-proclaimed Tsar created his own court and the Boyar Duma, collected taxes and granted titles and estates to his supporters.

At that time, several thousands of people gathered in the place, including boyars who did not support Shuysky. Dymitr died in 1610, in unexplained circumstances, probably killed by his own servant sent by Maryna's lover.²⁸

Dmitri, as described in Peterkiewicz's novel, appears to be a simple and uneducated young peasant. Neither rich, nor witty, he is ready to follow the boyars' manipulations and easily believes he should be the Tsar of Russia. The surly boy, tempted with the prospect of wealthy and lavish life, quickly begins to fight for his alleged right to the throne. Having tasted the power, he discovers the darkest features of his soul – ruthlessness, cruelty and greed.

The critic of *The Times Weekly Review*, by specifying Dmitri as an "inferior Perkin Warbeck,"²⁹ drew attention to the convergence of the Russian "tsar" with the story of another usurper, to the English throne.³⁰ This analogy, however, is not obvious to the reader, unless one is acquainted with the history of both countries. The accumulation of historical facts in the novel, yet, not known or clearly presented to the English reader, states for one of the weak points of the book. Moreover, even contemporarily, an average Polish reader encounters difficulty in reading the novel, unless familiarized with the story of "False Dmitris."

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 439.

²⁷ In the 17th century Tuszyno was a village located north-east from Moscow. Currently its area is within the city boundaries. See: L. Bazylow, P. Wieczorkiewicz, *Historia Rosji* [A history of Russia], Wrocław 2005, p. 102.

²⁸ Maryna Mniszech died in a Moscow prison in 1615 (during the reign of Tsar Michael Romanov). See: A. Andrusiewicz, op. cit., pp. 488–491.

²⁹ "This Side of Paradise," *The Times Weekly Review*, August 11, 1955; AE.

³⁰ Perkin Warbeck in 1492 as an alleged Richard York, younger son of Edward IV, pretended to the English throne. He was supported by Ireland, Scotland and France. In 1497 he was executed. See: P. Zins, *Historia Anglii* [A history of England], Wrocław 2001, p. 117.

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Many British critics emphasized that the novel was difficult to understand: “His material is so wild (and, yes, wooly)” (H. Corke);³¹ “The book may be puzzling at times by its casual reference to customs and habits unknown by the average Englishman and which it does not bother to explain.”³²

Excerpts of the book may be perceived as unclear, mainly due to the superficial descriptions of customs and traditions – unknown to the average English reader – and left without explanation. Possibly, the novel would have profited, if the author had affixed footnotes and comments the text, to show the linkages between the events in the plot and historical facts.

Loot and Loyalty, despite its artistic success – praised by critics for its style – was doomed to commercial failure. The theme of 17th-century Poland and Russia, though exotic, appeared to be unattractive for the English reader. Moreover, the material presented in the book proved to be too difficult and culturally distant for the British. Finally, it seems that neither British, nor Polish exile readers could properly grasp the author’s intentions, mainly due to insufficient knowledge of historical events.

Loot and Loyalty can be read as a novel with a thesis written “to cheer the hearts” of Pietrkiewicz’s compatriots in exile. The English reader then had the possibility to get acquainted with the period of Russian history, when the country was not a superpower and Polish king almost took the Russian throne. The author used historical facts to build the plot of the novel, but also to express his personal anti-Soviet manifesto.

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The last of Jerzy Pietrkiewicz’s novels published in Great Britain, *Green Flows the Bile*³³ aroused mixed reactions among the critics. Sheila Savill expressed her disappointment with the book in a review published in *Eastern Daily Press*. Encouraged by Anthony Burgess’s flattering comparisons

³¹ H. Corke, *The Encounter* 1955, no. 10; AE.

³² *Remarkable Tale of 17th Century Poland*, *Cambridge Daily News*, October 7, 1955; AE.

³³ J. Peterkiewicz, *Green Flows the Bile*, Michael Joseph, London 1969. All quotations from the novel come from this edition and are marked with the abbreviation GF.

of Pietrkiewicz to Artur Koestler and Joseph Conrad,³⁴ Savill admitted: "I opened the book eagerly. My hopes were rudely shattered [...] To me the book seems slick and essentially frivolous."³⁵ Of the two books she reviewed, thematically referring to the countries of the Eastern Bloc – *Cancer Ward* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and *Green Flows the Bile* – Pietrkiewicz's book seemed much less interesting to her. "Recounted with a dispassionate attention to nauseous detail, the novel is lucid, coldly amusing and uncomfortably clinical" (J. H.)³⁶ – the opinion appeared in *Birmingham Evening Mail*. "An original writer and he is still experimenting"³⁷ – noted the reviewer of *Hampstead and Highgate Express*. "Mr. Peterkiewicz is no orthodox novelist" – pointed out the critic of the *Knighley News* – "He likes to shock, even repulse his readers. Look at the title of the book for that."³⁸ The title appeared to be provoking and the book was referred to as: "unappetizingly titled,"³⁹ "intriguing [title], but presages the type of book and humor that awaits the reader."⁴⁰

Both the title of the novel and the detailed descriptions of the physiology of an old man undergoing surgery were regarded by critics to be the weak points of the book. The plot, showing the journey of an aging comedian to the Eastern Bloc countries, was also unappreciated. Perhaps, driven by these opinions, Pietrkiewicz decided not to publish any more novels in English.

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The opening scene of the novel is located in a private clinic in London. A detailed description of the main character, Gerald Gull – unconscious after gallbladder removal surgery – is made by Miron Wilber, Gerald's newly

³⁴ A. Burgess, *The Novel Now*, New York 1970, p. 165.

³⁵ P. Savill, "Lives of Individuals in the Soviet Union," *Eastern Daily Press*, March 7, 1969; AE.

³⁶ *Birmingham Evening Mail*, March 7, 1969; AE.

³⁷ "Gull the Gullible," *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, March 14, 1969; AE.

³⁸ *Keighley News*, March 1, 1969; AE.

³⁹ "Fiction," *Cambridge News*, April 19, 1969; AE.

⁴⁰ M. Czajkowska, "Czy w ślady Conrada?" [Going in Conrad's footsteps?], *Oficyna Poetów* 1969, no. 3, p. 41.

employed secretary and the narrator of the novel: “Abruptly, the snoring stops, the yellow hand on the yellow smudge, the skin of a lizard, taut, segmented by green veins. It jerks, becomes a fist” (GF 10).

As the hours pass and Miron spends more time at the bedside of the famous Gerald Gull (known from the media as G. G.), his disgust towards the old, sick man grows: “This inflated his nostrils, the whole face, from yellow bags under the eyes, all the way down developed a huge crinkly pout, which wobbled, threatening to burst. The bile was there, changing colors, I could imagine its concentrated stink, green after yellow, after green back to yellow” (GF 16).

Miron is a cynical young man who earns his living by writing biographies of famous people at the end of their lives. His own reflections include such monologues: “As a matter of fact three great men have conked on me. Which is a thing to play down if you want to remain in my discreet business. A perfect off-beat secretary. After all, no private nurse would want to be credited with too many dead patients in her letter of recommendation. And death is such a clumsy indiscretion whichever way you try to cover it up.” (GF 12).

Gerald’s second ex-wife, Alicia (“Dame Alicia”), employed Miron and it is her who pays his monthly salary. She wants him to collect materials for writing G. G.’s biography. She is no less cynical than Miron – it is her dream to become famous – at least as a celebrity’s wife. Her favorite joke is: “What is the highest ambition of every American woman? [...] To be a widow” (GF 21). Gerald himself illustrates the hypocrisy of his wife with a comment: “the last stage of capitalism” (GF 10).

Miron was described in some reviews as: “snake-in-the-grass,”⁴¹ “reptilian secretary,”⁴² “creature flapping about the bedside of a world-famous figure in his hospital ward,” “loyal secretary, human vulture, avid collector of famous last words.”⁴³ Miron himself has no remorse and truly believes that he works hard and thus deserves his lucrative contract:

⁴¹ P. Crawley, “Next Step a Film,” *The Journal*, March 8, 1969; AE.

⁴² “Nails,” *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 27, 1969; AE.

⁴³ N. Shrapnel, “Vulture and Shadow,” *The Times Literary Supplement*, no date; AE.

Dear me, everybody is paid nowadays for being an amateur. Students, ideological advisers, drug-takers, blood-donors, bird-watchers, part-time evangelists, the lot! I am a mixture between an amateur and a professional disciple, that's why I find myself in these awkward situations. Great men pouncing on me in the hour of their ultimate vision. There is a horrible attraction about being available at the right moment. (GF 13).

During the process of preparation for writing the biography of Gerald Gull, the secretary meets all his ex-wives. The third in order ex-wife is a Cuban beauty – Paquita. As she regards Miron a “political gigolo” (GF 26), she invites him to her bedroom and so does the fourth and last G. G.'s American wife – a frivolous and as cynical as the other characters, Nancy.

Gerald Gull, once awarded the People's Prize for Peace is a politically engaged traveler who provokes controversial opinions and loves reading press releases about himself.

As Sheila Savill stated, the hero may be described as “*enfant terrible* and fellow traveller.”⁴⁴

According to another reviewer (*The Times Literary Supplement*) – the protagonist “is not merely a papier-mâché construction of famous men, but a lively and memorable fictional character [...] He is as promiscuous as H. G. Wells, and delightful to youth, especially young girls. He shocks people according to their age group.”⁴⁵ And G. G.'s life motto is: “If you can't shock them, at least flatter the young” (GF 17).

Gerald eagerly talks about himself and his past. He created his own philosophy of life based on hedonism, and his life wisdom is based on skepticism and cynicism. In the 1930s, during his travels around the Eastern Bloc countries, Gerald met the greatest political figures of the communist era: “A mountaineer by instinct: he had climbed every great peak along the European range, from Salazar to Stalin, he had seen the famous sights when they could be seen: Lenin, Mussolini, Madame Lupescu, Comrade-Madame Pauker, Bierut, Rakosi, Khrushchev” (GF 64–65).

One day, Gerald receives a telegram from the Kremlin and, accompanied by Miron, leaves his house in Hampstead to go to Moscow, invited by

⁴⁴ P. Savill, “Lives of Individuals in the Soviet Union.”

⁴⁵ “Nails,” *The Times Literary Supplement*.

Khrushchev. During this “hilarious and increasingly bizarre tour behind the Iron Curtain”⁴⁶ Gerald visits his “old Communist buddies”⁴⁷ in Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest, receiving warm welcome in all the places.

The political context of the book did not gain the approval of some critics. According to Christina Hobhouse, the protagonist’s liberalism was deeply rooted in communism.⁴⁸ *The Times Literary Supplement* reviewer noted that it was Kingsley Martin⁴⁹ who was the prototype of the main character in Pietrkiewicz’s novel and the author overtly parodied Martin’s television appearances in which the journalist questioned the credibility of Malcolm Muggeridge’s⁵⁰ reports from Moscow as giving apparently false vision of Stalinist Russia.

Gerald is uncritically fascinated by the people and cultures of Eastern European countries (another allusion to Martin’s attitude):

I met Maslov in the corridor and he slapped my back saying “Comrade Gull, would you like to shoot hares with me?”

I answered Maslov that I had never shot an animal in my life, and so I could not start doing it now. He asked me to have a drink with him, and I accepted, although I find vodka far less agreeable before lunch. Maslov talked about the traitor Bukharin and drank my health twice, so that I was obliged to drink his health, although I find that a third glass of vodka goes to my head at once.

⁴⁶ J. Whitley, “Discipline of Faith,” *The Sunday Times*, February 23, 1969; AE.

⁴⁷ P. Crawley, “Next Step a Film.”

⁴⁸ C. Hobhouse, “A Legend,” *Western Mail*, March 22, 1969; AE.

⁴⁹ Basil Kingsley Martin (1897–1969), British journalist, in the years 1930–1960 editor of a leftist magazine *New Statesman* (since 1931 *New Statesman and Nation*) known for his pro-Soviet views. See: *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422–1992*, ed. D. Griffiths, London–Basingstoke 1992, p. 404; B. Jones, *The Russia complex: the British Labour Party and the Soviet Union*, Manchester 1977, p. 25, 100.

⁵⁰ Malcolm Muggeridge (1903–1990), English journalist and writer. Graduate of the University of Cambridge. In the 1930s, he was a correspondent for the British magazine *Manchester Guardian* in the Soviet Union. After a period of youthful fascination with Soviet Russia, he changed his views and reliably described the period of great famine in the Ukraine. In the 1960s, he was rector of the University of Edinburgh. At the end of his life he converted to the Catholic faith under the influence of Mother Teresa. His writings include: *Jesus Rediscovered* (1969), *Something Beautiful for God* (1971), *Jesus: The Man Who Lives* (1976), *Conversion* (1988), See: G. Wolfe, *Malcolm Muggeridge. A Biography*, London 2003.

"If you were Russian," said Maslov, "you would be shooting hares with friends instead of getting drunk like a typical Englishman."

I admit that I cannot resist Maslov's *bonhomie*. Such charm, too. I wish the journalists from London would speak to him rather than concoct fantastic stories about what they think is going on here in Moscow. (GF 111).

In the final scene of the book the protagonist dies in a television studio. "G. G. greatest cup he brings off by dying *live* in front of his beloved television cameras,"⁵¹ which Miron observes with satisfaction, such death being a spectacular ending of the biography he is writing: "I rushed to the lamp, and my first professional thought came with the pressing of the switch: he has done very well, better than in the clinic: G. G. has had his death televised" (GF 156).

Gerald's death, publicized by the media, is also an allusion to the figure of the journalist who aroused extreme opinions with his political views, Kingsley Martin, and who died in the year of publication of Pietrkiewicz's novel. The reviewer of *The Times Literary Supplement* drew attention to this analogy:

There is no impropriety in making the comparison so soon after Martin's death: he was not the kind of man who gets an uncontroversial obituary, and this novel – though basically hostile to his kind of leftist pays a sort of tribute to such independence of spirit, and expresses, beneath a light, mannered coating of "stylishness," a serious concern with the issues that were important to Martin.⁵²

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Few favorable opinions of critics referred to the humor in the novel. As *The Times Literary Supplement* reviewer noted "*Green Flows* is a piece of enigmatical, brilliant black comedy."⁵³ John Whitley he compared the comic elements in Pietrkiewicz's book to the black humor in the novel *Memento Mori* by Muriel Spark.⁵⁴ Richard Jones admitted that as he read the text,

⁵¹ C. Hobhouse, "A Legend."

⁵² "Nails," *The Times Literary Supplement*.

⁵³ N. Shrapnel, "Vulture and Shadow."

⁵⁴ J. Whitley, "Discipline of Faith," *The Sunday Times*, February 23, 1969; AE.

Pietrkiewicz's humor seemed more and more annoying.⁵⁵ Other reviewers emphasized the novelty and experimental form: "An earlier book by this author has been described as *uncategorisable* and this is probably the word for *Green Flows the Bile*."⁵⁶ The critic of *Halifax Evening Courier & Guardian* assessed the novel as "a record introducing a real *mélange* of humor, pantomime and romance, garnished with snippets of political history."⁵⁷

Pietrkiewicz once again surprised the public with the style of the novel, which is completely different from the style of all his previous books. "Jerzy Peterkiewicz is an immigrant writer who uses English with far more versatility than most of the English" – wrote Norman Shrapnel, who referred to the language of the book as an "exotic slang in artful tone." Magdalena Czajkowska drew attention to "linguistic and stylistic puzzles" woven into the text and the critic of the *Hampstead and Highgate Express* commented similarly: "For there is a barb in nearly every paragraph, a pun on every page." According to the reviewer of *The Times Literary Supplement*, the novel is characterized by "unmistakable style and tone – fresh, airy, so cool as to seem heartless."⁵⁸ The novel also contains jokes, both with political undertones: "But surely the milk is flowing less fast now that old Joe is gone from the Kremlin?" (GF 60), as well as erotic.

In *Hampstead and Highgate Express* the also underlined that *Green Flows the Bile* is an extremely difficult novel, addressed to a narrow audience. The apparent lightness of the style does not mean that the book was not intended to be sheer entertainment, and appreciating the author's skills or grasping the main point of the work requires a thorough analysis of the content.⁵⁹

Magdalena Czajkowska referred to the novel as "playing with English," in which the story about Gerald and his secretary is only a pretext. The

⁵⁵ R. Jones, "Lambrakis Lives," *The Listener*, February 27, 1969; AE.

⁵⁶ "Near to Zany," *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, February 28, 1969; AE.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ "Nails," *The Times Literary Supplement*.

⁵⁹ "Skim through Jerzy Peterkiewicz's slim new novel *Green Flows the Bile* [...] and you can count yourself clever if you understand the half of it [...] read it carefully and you will begin to appreciate its rich irony. Re-read it and you will savour its flavour;" "Gull the Gullible."

main thesis of Pietrkiewicz's book is an ironic presentation of a vision of reality devoid of illusions, based on hypocrisy and simulation. The heroes of the novel have lost their moral values, denying traditional sources of happiness such as family, interpersonal bonds, honesty and hard work. In the world presented in *Green Flows the Bile*, fame and high social status do not depend on origin, wealth or level of education. Success can only be achieved with dishonesty and cunning, and the most important values turn out to be opportunism and greed. The characters disregard social norms and break with the restrictions of commonly accepted customs. They live only for themselves, which means that the primary goal of each of them is to become rich and famous.

The characters in the novel reject the traditional moral norms and that gives them the sense of liberation. Yet, eventually, it does not bring them happiness. Pietrkiewicz shows that selfishness and emotional isolation lead to loneliness or betrayal, and the disruption of the teleological order of the world causes the loss not only of all rules, but also of the core meaning of life.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2018/2019, no. 1-2 (26-27)
<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2018-2019.001>

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(Israel)

Polish Literature in Hebrew Translations

I

The tradition is long and rich: the adoption of the works of Polish literature into the Hebrew language has been going on for one hundred and sixty years. Hebrew is the Oriental language to which the largest amount of Polish poetry, drama, fiction and essays, as well as works for children and teenagers has been transmitted in translations always made directly from the original. Notably, these works have been transmitted without any inspiration from the Polish side, which has customarily focused its efforts and endeavors in this regard on Paris, Berlin, Rome, and London. It is, and always has been, the result of the initiative of the translators – Polish Jews who were personally familiar with Polish literature.

It can also be added that Hebrew literature is the oriental literature in which diverse studies of Polish literary works have been undertaken in the form of reviews, discussions, review essays, and even monographs on its particular issues, authors, and works.

First, for a very long time – roughly the diasporic century, these translations were made and published in Poland and intended mainly for readers residing in Poland. These readers were familiar with the local realities and intellectually prepared to understand – and perhaps even accept – the characteristic features of Polish literature; those very features that make its reception in foreign language translations generally difficult, such as

the supremacy of the national element over the universal one, the predominance of Polish topics and the burdening of literary works with patriotic and social servitude. These features, as formulated by Henryk Markiewicz, included a strong “expression of a consciousness or overriding idea, the advocate of which in history is a given nation.” I think that this last feature of this Polish cultural code was particularly close to the Jewish national consciousness, and it did – and perhaps still does – completely fit within the system of concepts of Hebrew readers. Since that was the case, therefore, there was no problem with the identification of the criteria for selecting works to be translated into the Hebrew language.

II

The beginning was marked in the 19th century by Julian Klaczko with his translation of Mickiewicz’s poems. The archaic nature of the Hebrew language, which was just beginning its process of modernization, and the generally poor translational skill of the translators meant that most of these early translations are no longer suitable for reading. And yet as early as in that period – before 1939 – works were translated, without which the landscape of Polish literature is most unthinkable. After all, these translations included (in chronological order): Kochanowski’s *Laments* (1930), Mickiewicz’s *Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* [Books of the Polish nation and the Polish pilgrimage] (1881) and the first three “Books” of *Pan Tadeusz* (1921) translated by Józef Lichtenbaum, as many as three different versions of Słowacki’s *Ojciec zadżumionych* [*The father of the plague-stricken*] (the first in 1883), *W Szwajcarii* [In Switzerland] (1923), and Seter’s translation of Słowacki’s *Anhelli* (1928) and Krasiński’s *Irydion* (1921), as well as minor works by Konopnicka, Orzeszkowa (*Ogniwa* [Links] 1909), novels by Sienkiewicz, whose readership did not diminish over the next decades, and then their first editions were published: *With Fire and Sword* (1929) and *Deluge* (1930–1931), *In Desert and Wilderness* (1928), and *Quo Vadis* (1928); Reymont’s *Peasants* (1928), Przybyszewski’s *Dla szczęścia* [For happiness] (1929), Wyspiański’s *The Wedding* (1938) in an excellent translation by B. Pomeranc; and Żuławski’s drama *Koniec Mesjasza* [The End of the Messiah] (1924) staged a few years after its book publication (1927) by a theater in Tel Aviv.

This block of translations also includes the first Hebrew anthology of Polish prose: Jehuda Warszawiak's *Polin*, or *Poland* (1936), which included works by Orzeszkowa, Konopnicka, Prus, Sienkiewicz, and Żeromski. Like the vast majority of the publications mentioned above, it was published in Warsaw, which until the outbreak of World War II was one of the most important centers of literature and the Hebrew publishing movement.

It will certainly not be inappropriate to recall the opinion expressed in 1879 by Piotr Chmielowski, who mentioned, among other works, *Pan Tadeusz*, *The Father of the Plague-stricken*, *In Switzerland*, and *Irydion* as the most perfect Polish works; half a century later Janusz Kleiner saw "world values of Polish literature" (1929; 1938) in the works of Kochanowski and in *Anhelli*, *Quo Vadis*, *With Fire and Sword*, *Peasants*, and *The Wedding*. Importantly, all of these works had already been translated into Hebrew at the time.

III

Although literary magazines had printed occasional translations of poems by Leśmian, Tuwim, and Słonimski even before that, it was older Polish literature that generally was the focus. This was probably related to the immediate reception: the translators chose works that were close to them and that they read when they were growing up. During World War II and the first post-war years in what was then Palestine, which was transforming into the only center of Hebrew writing, a shift in interest took place as recent and contemporary literature received more attention. The new translators, often authentic Hebrew poets, were influenced in their work by Polish poets who were more or less their contemporaries.

Mickiewicz's uninterrupted presence in Hebrew translations is documented by Szlomo Skulski's translation of *Konrad Wallenrod* (1944); realistic prose was also translated – from Orzeszkowa's *Mirtala* and Prus's *Pharaoh*, to Żeromski's *Ludzie bezdomni* [Homeless people] and *Dzieje grzechu* [The history of sin] (all in 1947). Benjamin Tenenbaum-Tene translated Brzozowski's *Płomienie* [Flames] (1939–1940) – a novel that, both in the original and in the translation, played such a large role in the ideological crystallization of Socialist Zionism – but also Wittlin's *Hymny* [Hymns] (1942) and *The Salt of the Earth* (1945), and a fairly large number of Tuwim's lyrical poems, which was soon to publish in a separate book (1946). A collection of Polish poems

about the Holocaust (*Mi-shirei geto. Mi-ma'amakim*, 1947) was also published in his translation at the time, the original of which, titled *Z otchłani* [From the abyss], was published clandestinely in Warsaw in 1944.

Lichtenbaum's anthology *Givot olam* or *Heights of the World* (1946) occupies an important place in this translation process. Lichtenbaum collected there his own translations of poems from various languages, including translations of Polish verse. Lichtenbaum was a very average poet, and his translations of poetry, which he was an expert in, after all, are no better. This is evidenced by the Polish poems he included in his anthology: from those by Mickiewicz and Słowacki, through those by Asnyk, Leśmian, and Staff, to those by the Skamander poets – Tuwim, Słonimski, Iwaszkiewicz, and Wierzyński.

The wartime events and migrations brought many Polish writers, poets, and scholars to Palestine. Władysław Broniewski, Roman Brandstaetter, Anatol Stern, and many others stayed there in that period. Two of Stern's novels written at the time were immediately translated from the manuscript and published in Hebrew: *Odpowiedzialność nazisty* [The Nazi's responsibility] (1944; years later published in Poland under the title *Ludzie i syrena* [The people and the mermaid]) and *Żyd z Polski* [A Jew from Poland] (1946; known only in fragments titled *Uczta w czasie dżumy* [Feast during the plague]). During the wartime period (1941), the Habima theater staged Brandstaetter's *Kupca warszawskiego* [The Merchant of Warsaw], which was the first play written by that poet.

IV

The output of the past half-century, since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, has been particularly bountiful. It surpasses the significant achievements of previous periods. This is because the centralization of Hebrew cultural life in a geographically defined territory, with a steady increase in the number of readers in Hebrew, created more favorable conditions for publishing companies, the literary press, and theaters than before. These circumstances were accompanied for a long time by the active presence in Hebrew writing of people who knew Polish and were interested in Polish literature. The large selection of published translations, reviews, discussions, and notes – in other words, a whole set of

manifestations of a friendly attitude of the press – is due specifically to their work.

However – which should also be kept in mind – the composition of the Israeli literary audience has changed over the years. Works of Polish literature are now read by those who were born in Israel and are personally completely uninvolved in Polish affairs, which played such a great role in the biographies of their fathers and grandfathers. This group also includes readers with completely different family backgrounds, mentalities, and cultural roots.

In the translations published in Israel, poetry is represented by poets from different eras of Polish literature with obvious preference given to modern ones. An anthology composed of translations scattered in various periodicals would include works by poets from Kochanowski to Krynicki, through Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and Ujejski, poets of the positivist “non-poetic times” (Konopnicka and Asnyk), to poets of the Young Poland and those whose works linked the beginning of the century with later periods – Leśmian and Staff. The Polish interwar period seen with Hebrew eyes is dominated by the Skamander group, then the poems of those who wrote before, during, and after World War II – the list is long and continues to get longer: Wittlin, Broniewski, Jastrun, Ważyk, Przyboś, Wygodzki, and Śpiewak, but also Miłosz and Gałczyński; poets who did not survive the war – Ginczanka, Szlengel, Łazowertówna, and Baczyński. There is also a very large block comprising the works of post-war debutants, who also belonged to several generations: Różewicz, Ficowski, Herbert, Twardowski, Szymborska, Woroszyński, Grynberg, Urszula Koziół, Ewa Lipska, etc.

All in all, such an anthology would comprise the works of about sixty poets (with striking gaps: no Norwid or Czechowicz) in translations of a widely varying quality by Józef Lichtenbaum, Beniamin Tenenbaum-Tene, and Szymson Malcer, who won the Alfred Jurzykowski Prize, as well as Ryfka Gurfin-Uchman, Arie Brauner, Szalom Lindenbaum, Dawid Weinfeld, Jakow Beser, Szoszana Raczyńska, Rafi Wichert, etc.

However, there is no such anthology. Its substitute for many years were Gila Uriel’s books which, along with translations of poems from other languages, also contained poems by Polish poets – *Peninim mi shirat ha-olam* [Pearls of world poetry] and *Nofim dovevim* [Speaking landscapes]. There

is also Samuel Scheps' somewhat hybrid collection, edited by Aszer Wilcher, titled *Safrut polanit by-livush ri* [Polish literature in Hebrew garments, 1989], where literary profiles of sixteen poets and four prose writers are illustrated with a large selection of their works. A team of currently active translators is preparing for publication – on the initiative of Miriam Akavia – a selection of Polish poetry of the second half of the past century.

A lot of poignant poems about the Holocaust have been written in Polish. Half a century after the volume titled *From the Abyss*, Arie Brauner published, mostly in his own translation, an anthology titled *Nose ha-shoa by-shira ha-polanit* [The topic of the Holocaust in Polish poetry] (1996) where he included some thirty works by thirteen poets – from Miłosz and Bro-niewski to Ficowski, Herbert, Różewicz, and Szyborska.

V

In the literary awareness of the Hebrew reader, Polish poetry was for a very long time epitomized by two names: Mickiewicz and Tuwim. The reception of their works in Hebrew is confirmed by both the uninterrupted tradition of translation, the large number of frequent mentions about them, as well as the reminders of their works in publications that are even not directly associated with Polish literature.

The publication in 1953 of the only complete Hebrew version of *Pan Tadeusz* to date, translated by Józef Lichtenbaum, was an important literary event. Mickiewicz's arch-poem – the first three "Books" of which were published by Lichtenbaum as early as in 1921 and a number of excerpts of which he published in various periodicals for many years – appeared in two editions, quickly following each other, with a total circulation of five thousand copies. 1950 was the year of Szlomo Skulski's translation of Mickiewicz's *Grażyna*, and 1958 – of the second Hebrew translation of *Konrad Wallenrod* by Szulamit Harewen. A number of Mickiewicz's poems – including some *Sonnets from the Crimea* translated by Szymson Melcer – were published by various translators in magazines, anthologies, and books composed of their own poems and translations.

Tuwim's poems were translated in large numbers. Lichtenbaum's 1954 selection of poems titled *Tohen lohet* [Burning content] – the second Hebrew selection of Tuwim's poems after Tenenbaum-Tene's 1946 volume *Shirim*

[Poems] – comprised 88 of them. Six books of poetry for children were also published. The majority of Tuwim’s translated works, however, were published in magazines. In total, more than 200 poems were published, and some – “Do prostego człowieka” [To the simple man], “Nie ma kraju” [There is no country], “Jewboy,” and others – in multiple translations. Tuwim’s works were translated by Hebrew poets who either did not translate them from Polish or did not translate at all – which seems to indicate a special predilection for Tuwim in Hebrew literature.

In two editions – a bibliophile one (1984) and a circulated one (1985) – Chone Szmeruk published a book titled *We, Polish Jews...*, which, in addition to the title text, contained Tuwim’s article “The Memorial and the Grave” in the original Polish version and translated into Hebrew, English, and Yiddish.

VI

Israel’s book market is receptive; books by Mickiewicz and Tuwim have long been absent from the bookstore circulation, and do not appear very often in antiquarian bookstores. In fact, the same is true of books by other Polish poets: there are about a dozen of them.

In 1962 Daniel Leibel-Seter reissued his old 1928 translation of *Anhelli*, and in 1978 Szymson Melcer made a new translation of the poem.

Selections of poems of the following poets have been published: Leśmian (1992), Staff (1997), Słonimski (1993), Maurycy Szymel (1995), Anda Eker (1966), Wygodzki (1988), Władysław Szlengel (1987), Pope John Paul II (1981), Anna Kamińska (1981), Stefan Borkiewicz (1992), Aleksander Ziemny (1989), and Czesław Ślęzak’s cycle *Wołam Cię Jeruzalem* [I’m calling you Jerusalem] (1967). Also, *Wesołe smutki* [Merry Sorrows] (1974) by Tadeusz Kotarbiński and a collection *Uncempt Thoughts* (1997) by Lec have been published. Most of these books are accompanied by introductions or afterwords with information on the authors.

The works of Jerzy Ficowski, Zbigniew Herbert, Czesław Miłosz, and Wisława Szymborska have enjoyed significant attention. Their books, published in Hebrew, certainly do not cover all the works by many translators published in literary magazines at various times, while book editions are accompanied by reviews and discussions in the press and on the radio.

Ficowski's "List do Marka Chagalla" [A letter to Marc Chagall] (1968) was translated by Jakow Beser, while Shalom Lindenbaum translated *A Reading of Ashes* (1986) was published on the occasion of Ficowski being awarded the Israeli Ka-Tzetnik Book Prize, intended for a foreign-language author writing about the Holocaust. The poems of Henryk Grynberg, whose selection *Po zmartwychwstaniu* [After the resurrection] (1985) was translated by Arie Brauner, remains in the circle of the Jewish topics.

Herbert and Miłosz – as well as Świrszczyńska, Twardowski, and Zagajewski – found a dedicated translator in the person of David Weinfeld. First, he periodically published their poems in the press, and then published them in separate books; Herbert has four books published so far: *Mr. Cogito and Other Poems* (1984), *Report from a Besieged City* (1990), a selection of poems (1996), and *Elegy for the Departure* (1998). Weinfeld is also the author of the translation of Herbert's *Dutch Apocrypha* (1997), which was awarded the highly prestigious Jerusalem Prize in 1991.

Miłosz's *Where the sun rises and where it sets* (1981) and *The Wormwood Star* (1989) are selections of poems from different periods of the poet's work. The first included "Campo dei Fiori," a poem written under the impression of the burning Warsaw Ghetto, which was translated by as many as five translators. A new selection of that poet's poems, *On the bank of the river*, has been published in 1999. In Hebrew literature, Miłosz is first and foremost a poet, because small fragments of his essays remain scattered throughout periodicals and certainly – which is a very great pity – cannot attest to the enormous importance of this writing. This means that the situation in Israel is opposite to that in Western languages and countries, where a lot of Miłosz's prose has been translated.

Translations of Szyborska's individual works have long been published in the press by various translators, but it was only the young poet Rafi Weichert who began to systematically introduce the Polish poet's work to the Hebrew culture, even before she received the Nobel Prize. Like Weinfeld, he published his translations first in periodicals and then collected them into separate selections, which have achieved great readership: *Atlantis* (1993), *The End and the Beginning* (1996), and *The End of the Age* (1998) – about a hundred works in total. Weichert has also translated individual poems by Lechoń, Tuwim, Lipska, Krynicki, and Wojacek, and

a large block of poems by Różewicz, a book selection of which he is preparing for publication.

Weinfeld and Weichert translate in a language register that is very different from that used by their predecessors (and many of their contemporaries). They become co-authors of the text, while capturing the resonance of the thoughts and spirit of the original without discoloring it. Their translations function in the literary circulation of the modern Hebrew and reach readers who have nothing to do with Poland and only know contemporary poetry. It is a lively and enthusiastic reception, discernible “in person” at promotional meetings for newly published books. And thanks to the constantly and consistently made and published translations of specifically these poets – Miłosz, Herbert, Różewicz, Szymborska, Zagajewski (a collection of his poems *Mystics for Beginners* has been published in 1999), Lipska – Miłosz’s remark about the Polish school in world literature can also extend to the Hebrew language.

VII

Israel’s audience’s interest in Polish poetry – with probably a few exceptions – is actually the interest of the translators themselves, presumably without inspiration from publishers. The selection of authors and translated works is determined by the translators’ own taste, personal discernment, and then their entrepreneurship that enables publication.

The situation is different with respect to prose, where the proposals of publishers, guided by the various attractive characteristics of works that can count on readership, play a role. Readership has in fact been achieved in Israel by novels and novellas – including a significant number of works for children and young people – written by many Polish writers. Their books, for the most part, also do not pass unnoticed by reviewers.

A good introduction to the world of Polish prose fiction were once two anthologies, published almost simultaneously in 1959.

The first is *Mivchar ha-sippur ha-polani* ([A selection of Polish short stories], translated by Beniamin Tenenbaum-Tene and Szulamit Harewen) bearing the subtitle *One hundred years of Polish prose*, which contains novellas and excerpts from novels by twenty-one writers from Kraszewski to Hłasko. In addition to texts already known from other publications and translated

in the past, the anthology includes samples of writings by authors hitherto absent from the Hebrew language, such as Maria Dąbrowska, Pola Gojawiczyńska, Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Kazimierz Tetmajer, Emil Zegadłowicz, etc.

The second anthology, *Ha-zaam ve-ha-lev* ([Anger and heart], translated by Cwi Arad and Tene) comprises short stories of the Polish “turbulent time,” the “spring in October” of 1956, by Jerzy Andrzejewski, Kazimierz Brandys, Zofia Bystrzycka, Andrzej Kijowski, Aleksander Mańkowski, Tadeusz Różewicz, Maria Paczowska, and Jerzy S. Stawiński.

Both of these selections – questionable and indeed debated by numerous reviewers at the time – were preceded by introductions and supplemented by the authors’ biographical notes.

Among the old classical fiction writers Orzeszkowa (*Meir Ezofowicz*, 1951), Konopnicka (*Olimpijczyk* [The olympian], 1958), a true popularity was gained by Sienkiewicz with the reissues of Lichtenbaum’s translation of *In Desert and Wilderness* in 1970, with two new translations of this novel at the same time – by Uri Orlev (his translation of the novel was prepared for and broadcast on the radio in 13 episodes in 1977) and Shulamit Harewen, and yet another one by Michael Handzelzalec in 1991; and with the reissues *Quo Vadis*, *With Fire and Sword*, *The Deluge*, and *Sir Michael* (the latter translated into Hebrew only in Israel), and a collection of novellas.

Sienkiewicz’s books circulating in Hebrew are intended mainly for young people, and many books by Janusz Korczak, Kornel Makuszyński, Halina Górska, Arkady Fiedler, Ferdynand A. Ossendowski, Jan Brzechwa, Ludwik Jerzy Kern, Igor Newerly, Gustaw Morcinek, Halina Rudnicka, Władysław Umiński, Zofia Urbanowska, and Stanisław Wygodzki were also published (often in several editions) for this category of readers.

VIII

Prose fiction in translations published in Israel is available both in separate book editions and – with more permanent availability obviously problematic in this case – through publications in magazines and very popular literary supplements to daily newspapers. These translations are numerous, and the preponderance of contemporary, post-World War II works is understandable. However, the pace of publication over the last half-cen-

ture has been noticeably uneven. The previously lively interest in Polish prose seems to have subsided since the end of the 1980s (perhaps in favor of poetry?), which is associated with the perceived crisis of contemporary Polish prose, as well as with the decreased activity or even passing away of translators, critics, reviewers, literary journalists – people on whose activity reception depends.

The interwar literature is represented by:

Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz with a volume including *The Birch Grove* and *The Wilko Girls* (1983); Bruno Schulz with *The Cinnamon Shops* and *Sanatorium Under the Sign of the Hourglass* (1979, 2nd edition 1986) in the same volume; and Tadeusz Dołęga-Mostowicz with *The Career of Nicodemus Dyzma* (1991). The works by Iwaszkiewicz and Mostowicz were translated by Yoram Bronowski, who is also the co-translator – along with Uri Orlev and Rachela Kleiman – of the works by Schulz.

The post-war literature is represented by:

Jerzy Andrzejewski with *Ashes and Diamonds* (1949), *The Inquisitors* (1962), *He Cometh Leaping upon the Mountain* (1964), and *The Gates of Paradise* (1974); Tadeusz Borowski with three short stories from the volume *Farewell to Maria* (1996); Kazimierz Brandys with *The Mother of Kings* along with *The Defense of Grenada* (1963); Tadeusz Breza with *Balthazar's Feast* (1956); Witold Gombrowicz with *Pornography* (1987); Henryk Grynberg with *The Jewish War* (1968); Marek Hłasko with *The Eighth Day of the Week* (1958); Tadeusz Konwicki with *A Dreambook for Our Time* (1966) and *The Polish Complex* (1985); Jan Kuczarb with *A Letter to Wojtek* (1971); Hanna Krall with *The Subtenant* (1989) and a selection of short stories *Evidence for Existence* (1999); Stanisław Lem with *Eden*, *Solaris*, *The Futurological Congress*, and *Perfect Vacuum* (all published in 1981), and *The Star Diaries* (1990); Sławomir Łubieński with *The Ballad of Johnny* (1984), Zofia Romanowiczowa with *Passage Through the Red Sea* (1995); Adolf Rudnicki with *Shakespeare* (1949), *The Dead and the Living Sea* along with *Golden Windows* (1964); Julian Strykowski with *Azril's Dream* (1977) and *Austeria* (1979); Andrzej Szczypiorski with *A Mass for Arras* (1981), *The Beginning* (1991), *American Whisky* (1992); and Bogdan Wojdowski with *Bread for the Departed* (1981).

In the annuals of various magazines, there are hidden short stories and fragments of novels: by Józef Hen, Sławomir Mrożek, Zofia Nałkow-

ska, Jerzy Putrament, Artur Sandauer, Piotr Szewc, Stanisław Vincenz, and Jerzy Zawieyski – to name just a few of the authors whose works have not appeared in separate books.

Essays, memoirs, and non-fiction prose are the genres of the books by Mieczysław Jastrun (*Mickiewicz*, 1956), Ryszard Kapuściński (*The Emperor*, 1989; *Imperium*, 1993), Hanna Krall (*Shielding the Flame*, 1982), Leszek Kołakowski (a collection of texts, 1964), Jan Kott (*The School of the Classics*, 1954), Kazimierz Moczarski (*Conversations with an Executioner*, 1981), Hanna Mortkowicz-Olczakowa (biography of Korczak, 1961), Tadeusz Pankiewicz (*The Krakow Ghetto Pharmacy*, 1985), and Jan Parandowski (several reissues of *Mythology*, 1952). Journals published articles of such authors as Kott, Ryszard Matuszewski, Władysław Tatarkiewicz, Jerzy Pomianowski, and Artur Sandauer.

Translations of Polish-language writers residing (permanently or temporarily) in Israel require a separate analysis. Their access to translators, publishers, and magazine editors is facilitated – or at least direct – by the mere fact of being in the same country, and their drive to cross the language barrier and appear in the Israel's “official” literature is certainly very high. This group includes bilingual writers who do not just translate, but simply create both Polish and Hebrew versions of their own texts – examples are Natan Gross, Józef Bau, Halina Birenbaum, and Irit Amiel. Others, despite knowing Hebrew, must rely on translators to some degree.

The entire output of two prominent contemporary Polish prose writers, Ida Fink and Leo Lipski, was written in Israel, but only Fink's books have been published in Hebrew (*A Scrap of Time*, 1975; *The Journey*, 1993; *Notes to Life Stories*, 1995), while Lipski's few texts remain scattered in journals. Selections of short stories by Herbert Friedman (*In the Abyss of Hell*, 1995) and Renata Jabłońska (*King Albert Square*, 1993), a novel by Mina Tomkiewicz (*Bombs and Mice*, 1956), and memoirs by Maria and Mieczysław Mariański (Peled) (*Among Friends and Enemies. Outside the Ghetto in Occupied Krakow*, 1987) were translated.

A whole series of memoirs, especially from the period of the German occupation, were once published as a Hebrew translation of an unpublished manuscript in the original language. Selections of poems by Łucja Glikzman

(1993) and Sonia Mandel-Joffe (1994) were published in a bilingual version, with the original Polish accompanied by a Hebrew translation.

On the other hand, collections of short stories by Władysław Bąk (*Dog, King and Man*, 1972), Aniela Jasińska (four selections published in 1976–1987), Kalman Segal (*Death of an Antiquarian*, 1972), Stanisław Wygodzki (*In Hiding*, 1970), as well as the novel *Detained for Clarification* (1968) were written (in whole or in part) before the authors arrived in Israel.

Without assigning translators' names to individual Polish prose books, it is possible to list collectively some of those whose names have not yet been mentioned – in an approximate generational order: Perec Nof, Dawid Lazer, Mordechaj Chalamisz, Józef Chrust, Teodor Hatalgi, Miriam Akavia, Icchak Komen, Ruth Szenfeld, Ada Pagis, and Irit Amiel.

We should also mention the popularity of contemporary Polish drama. Hebrew theaters have staged the plays of Tadeusz Różewicz (*Card Index*), Sławomir Mrożek (*Tango, The Police, Emigrés*), *Szczęśliwe wydarzenie* [The fortunate event]; *Vatzlav* was published by the theater magazine *Bama* in 1987), Janusz Krasiński (*Czapa* [The death sentence]), and Witold Gombrowicz (*Ivona, Princess of Burgundy*). Strykowski's novel *Przybysz z Narbonne* [Stranger from Narbonne] was prepared (by Jasińska, according to Weinfeld's translation) for broadcasting on the Israeli radio, and Michał Tonecki's plays were broadcast and shown on television many times.

IX

If one were to describe succinctly the results of this translation process – a long process with varying emphases on interest and publication intensity – the words variety and richness seem the most appropriate.

Translations from Polish appeared in a country that was well prepared for their reception. This was done thanks to historical and literary commentaries, critical interpretation, and biographical information provided by numerous publications that had made the Hebrew literary audience familiar with Polish literature and its individual authors.

Polish literature in Hebrew is treated with the full rights of a living, communicative, artistically and intellectually enriching literature, for which no “leniency” justifying its transmission is applied. This is evidenced by reviews and discussions of Polish works that have not been translated

into Hebrew and by analyses of the work of writers with no works translated into Hebrew (e.g. Norwid, Witkacy, Boy-Żeleński, and others). Another evidence of this is the large number of biographical notes on Polish authors in Hebrew encyclopedias and literary lexicons, the inclusion of, for example, the works of Mickiewicz and Słowacki in textbooks on the history of world literature, and the synthetic sketches on particular eras or types of Polish literature, such as Old Polish literature, modern poetry and prose, the Polish novel, and Polish theater. It was also in Hebrew that the first monograph on Adolf Rudnicki's writing (1991) has been written (by Ruth Szenfeld), well ahead of the Polish scholars.

The sign of a vital – renewed reception, on the other hand, is the resumption of translations of works already published in Hebrew in the past, with their adaptation to the ever-modernizing language. Two different translations of *Anhelli* and *Konrad Wallenrod*, four of *In Desert and Wilderness*, multiple new translations of some poems by Mickiewicz (“Alpujarra” and “The Faris”), Tuwim, Miłosz, Szymborska – testify to the scale of the phenomenon, which can be supported by additional examples.

Perhaps one can even speak of a closing circle: the January (1999) issue of the central monthly Hebrew literature magazine *Moznaim* had the following subtitle on its cover: “Polish issue: the 200th anniversary of the birth of Adam Mickiewicz.” This, I believe, is symbolic, for it closes the circle of publication of this Archpoet's works in the Hebrew language that was started one hundred and sixty years ago by Klaczko's translations of his poems.

Original issue: “Archiwum Emigracji” 2000, no. 3

https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/gazeta/ae_3.pdf

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(Lublin)

Between Warsaw and Jerusalem – Viola Wein

Viola Wein made her debut in 1996 with a rather small collection of short stories titled *Mezaliants* [Mismatch], which was noticed and recognized. For her collection, she received a prize from the Culture Foundation, together with Wilhelm Dichter's *God's Horse*. Subsequently, the author published single short stories in *Odra* and *Tygiel Kultury* magazines. At the end of 2004, *Mezaliants* was published in Hebrew (translated by Anat Zaydman) and has enjoyed much interest among Israeli critics. In the autumn of 2005, another volume of Viola Wein's prose was published in Poland; it has the title of one of the seven short stories it contains, *Rachmunes* [Rakhmones]. The new book by the author contains several motifs and problems that were already present in her debut collection, such as the figure of a father maneuvering between communism, Judaism, and Zionism on very shaky moral grounds.

The writer is also a translator. Two poetry books by Igal Ben-Arie,¹ a Hebrew author with Polish roots who lives in Jerusalem, translated by Viola Wein, have been published in Poland.

¹ Collections of poetry by Igal Ben-Arie in bilingual (Polish and Hebrew) editions were published in Lublin – the first one was titled *Żydowski sen* [Jewish dream], (1994), and the second *Inny* [Other] (1996).

Actually, it was due to her translation work that Viola Wein returned to the Polish language after more than twenty years of writing primarily in Hebrew.

She was born in 1946 in Poznań. She grew up in Warsaw, where she graduated from a music school and then studied piano at the Academy of Music. Her father, a well-known and respected historian, at one time also involved in the structures of the Polish communist government, decided to move to Israel in 1969. Having not completed her studies, the future writer left with her family, her father, Avraham, her mother, who came from the interior of Russia, and her brother, Józef, who was a year younger than her. The Wein family settled in Jerusalem. Avraham Wein continued his academic work at the Yad Vashem Remembrance Institute. His daughter went on to study music at the Hebrew University. Poland's past – both directly experienced and, in a way, inherited from her ancestors – and the process of growing into the Israeli soil form the substance of her literary work.

The debut collection *Mezalians* [Mismatch] forms a series. The glue that binds the nine stories that comprise it is primarily the character of Mirka Sztajn, intended to be a literary self-portrait of the author. Although most of the stories are at the same time portraits of other heroes, or actually mostly heroines. This is evidenced by the titles of the stories: “Maryśka,” “Karolina,” “Staśka,” “Liza,” “Rochale,” “Irys” [Iris], “Miriam and Marian.” Only two stories, “Oddział” [Ward] and the title story that shares its title with the collection, “Mezalians,” have titles that do not refer to the main character being portrayed. The perspective of individual portraits is superimposed on the story of one Jewish family and delineates the various stages of that story. The fate of the portrayed characters intersects with that of the Sztajns. Viola Wein thus tells a story about a family, and its dynamics are determined by the portraits of the protagonist in each story. These protagonists are primarily the women who run the Sztajn household and take care of their children. At one stage of the narrative, the characters being portrayed, including Mirka, are the patients of a psychiatric ward. Mirka's story should be singled out in the course of the story of the Sztajn family and treated as a special area within the broader narrative about the family. This is because her experiences occupy relatively the largest space in the story, and one can see a kind of equivalence between her perspec-

tive of reality and that of the author. All three areas of observation and interpretation – the family, Mirka’s life, and the characters she meets at various times – form an overarching whole, a reflection-saturated picture of Jewish existence in post-war Poland and Jewish Polishness in Israel, which is diverse and embroiled in numerous cultural and ethnic conflicts. This complex image, centered on specific aspects of existence, is the object of the author’s reflections on identity.

The stories *Maryśka*, *Karolina*, and *Staśka* are set in Poland. The father of the Sztajn family is a Jew committed to building the new political regime because he believes in its justice and in the proclaimed ideals of equality. And at the same time, he maintains his attachment to the Jewish tradition and history. In his spare time he reads the holy books of Judaism, which are so foreign to the Communist thought. He is the son of a rabbi and tzaddik who was famous before the war. His non-Jewish wife is largely subservient to him.

In the order of the narrative, *Maryśka*, the housekeeper, probably fulfills primarily the role of a kind of medium: she is supposed to present the image of Jews and Jewry in the eyes of gentile Poles. The subsequent women running the Sztajn household, who have real-life prototypes,² represent very different backgrounds. This is to intended to complicate the said image and to objectify its reconstruction. However, we should bear in mind that, at least to some extent, this image should be treated as a projection. This is because a completely objective reconstruction does not seem possible in this form of fictional, psychological, introspective prose.

Maryśka is a very old spinster, a simple peasant. *Karolina* – also elderly and unmarried – is an educated, impoverished noblewoman, who continues to be fully attached to the prewar, non-communist reality. *Staśka*, on the other hand, is presented in an unusual way, in animalistic terms, as a semi-wild creature, a rude prostitute without any education, a drunkard, accepting the job of a maid only when she needs a roof over her head due to weather conditions, and at the same time, paradoxically, as a person free of falsehood and uncompromising within a certain moral minimum.

² The author talks about this in an interview I had with her. A transcript of the interview is in my possession.

The characters themselves – showed simultaneously from the outside and from the inside – also provide material for interpretation, for considering, for example, female identity and the human condition in general.

Their role is not limited to being the aforementioned medium.

Maryśka is the first of the Sztajn family's housekeepers portrayed; she takes care of their little children, who are a few years old. The narration in the story, of which she is the title hero, is, so to speak, an objectified internal monologue of a simple village woman, that is, despite the use of grammatical forms of the third person, the vision of the reality should be considered a projection of the perspective of this very hero. The language of the narrative is largely stylized as a rural dialect, saturated with the character's emotions.

Work for the Sztajns – in the city – is a challenge for Maryśka, who treats it as an adventure and a life opportunity at the same time. The images that follow the information that she has been accepted for the job make her “almost happy.”³

She perceives and interprets the otherness of her employers, supported by the stereotypes concerning Jewish appearance and character:⁴

The man is certainly a kike. So black, curly hair, he talks so wisely it's scary. He knows everything and understands everything they say on the radio.⁵

The characterization of the lady of the house has no reference to Jewishness. Even though her last name is Sztajn and she is married to a Jew, none of the subsequent maids suspect that she is Jewish – which is actually true. The lack of outward hallmarks of stereotypically perceived Jewishness is sufficient within this arrangement to establish the identity affiliation.

Other characters appearing in the story also do not go beyond stereotypes in their thinking about Jews. A drunkard whom Maryśka met in the marketplace cries:

³ V. Wein, “Maryśka,” in: *Mezaliains* [Mismatch], Olsztyn 1996, p. 5. All the works by Viola Wein quoted in this text are from this edition.

⁴ Cf. A. Cała, *The Image of the Jew in Polish Folk Culture*, Jerusalem 1995.

⁵ V. Wein, “Maryśka,” p. 6.

Well, Miss Mary, we're organizing a ball, the kikes are moving to Warsaw, Easter has passed and they haven't yet taken blood for a matzah from the ass of a beloved virgin, eh? Watch it, because Warsaw is a big city, they will not treat you with kid gloves there!⁶

The derision in the above statement is directed both at the Jews and at Maryśka herself who, due to her being single, is also different and stands apart from provincial Polish standards.

Maryśka also seems to perceive Mirka through the lens of Jewishness, though perhaps not as explicitly as it is in the case of Sztajn. As a nanny, she is not fond of the independent-minded girl, who reads a lot, and simultaneously is sickly and does not want to eat. In addition, the Jewish father prefers the girl to her brother. From an overall perspective, Maryśka's attitude toward Mirka is ambivalent. The girl gives her guardian evidence of kindness and respect, even after years, although Maryśka's behavior towards her (as well as towards little Jurek) was sometimes, to put it mildly, inappropriate. Inducing children to "take out the pieces of glass" from her pants objectively bears the hallmarks of sexual abuse, although the primitive woman did not realize this at all. The housemaid also led the girl to church, which the girl accepted enthusiastically, and the experience certainly broadened the interpretive space within which she formed her identity.

The story of Maryśka and the part of the history of the Sztajn family, presented in the opening short story of *Mezaliants*, thus bring the reader into a circle of very complicated issues, such as, among others, the relation of stereotype to reality, loneliness and misunderstanding as components of human relations, and the broadly destructive impact of sexual disorders on other areas of life.

In the subsequent stories the author goes into those issues more profoundly.

Karolina Ostrowska, the title character of the second story in the series, comes from the upper classes of the pre-war Poland. She once owned a boarding house for well-bred girls. She was unable to find her place in

⁶ Ibidem, p. 8.

the communist reality. Her only family is her brother, who, in an effort to fit into the new working-class society and abandon the “ballast” of his aristocratic background, became a complete degenerate. Karolina decided to become a housemaid. Like Maryśka, she also paid attention to the Jewishness of her new employers:

Mrs. Sztajn sounded good on the phone. Sztajns means Jews, but that does not necessarily have to be a problem. What, after all, was lacking in Lewkowicz, who so admirably handled the affairs of her boarding house.⁷

Karolina’s approach to the stereotype – which, to some extent, she replicates as a kind of an *a priori* thing – is overlapped by the perspective of personal experience that contradicts it. Hence the statement that “it does not necessarily have to be a problem.” Facts that contradict the stereotype, however, do not nullify it. Its existence is not dependent on reality. One can only wonder if it influences Karolina’s actions, or if it is just a kind of background to her thoughts, perhaps an auxiliary tool for them.

Karolina, a seriously impoverished noblewoman, values style, elegance, and good manners. She is a person who is attached to certain established forms of social coexistence, which in her case are sometimes glaringly inadequate (such as the fact that she thinks it is appropriate to visit family on Sunday). Her brother, Gienek, formerly called Eugeniusz, fulfills an analogous role in the story to that played in “Maryśka” by the drunkard met in the market. Through him, the story gains an external perspective on the perception of the Jewish world, influenced by nothing but stereotypes. Again, the criticism is expressly directed against someone else, but Jews are also indirectly subjected to it, without any justification.

Sztajn himself refers on various occasions to his Jewishness. In the descriptions of how Sztajn spends his Sundays, the perspective of the narrative changes. The introspection no longer includes Karolina, but him. As for Karolina, it is only said that the reading by the master of the house of the Torah was a signal to her that she could talk to him about topics that were too difficult to be discussed on a regular day. As characterized in

⁷ V. Wein, “Karolina,” p. 14. All the emphases in the quotations are mine.

this passage, Sztajn is an emancipated Jew who has retained remnants of attachment to ancestral traditions for a number of reasons, if only because these traditions were represented by his family, murdered during the war, whose fate is not even fully known to him, and because they bind him to the youth he recalls with nostalgia:

Sztajn, on weekdays busy building a new and better Poland, would sometimes sit in an armchair on Sundays and, turning the pages of the Torah, go back in his thoughts to his family home. He left it as a young man of 20. He was of draft age at the time, and that may have saved his life. At the beginning of the war, the Red Army enlisted him in military service. Sztajn never saw his parents, brothers, and sisters again; all of them surely perished in a concentration camp. Today, focusing on reading the verses, he returned in his imagination to his poor home, to his father, a rabbi, who remained in his memory as the wisest man in the world. He walked around Lviv, swam with his friends in the clay ponds on the outskirts of the city, played a rag football with them, and, most importantly, he longed for his mother, whose cholent, made of unknown ingredients, was the most delicious and unique.

At these moments, Karolina felt that the master of the house was more accessible and she liked to have discussions with him.⁸

At the same time, he is captivated by the communist idea of equality, and drowns the doubts raised by the repeatedly perverse implementation of that idea in a glass.

The Christmas tree – seen by many communists as a completely areligious symbol – triggered in Sztajn an outburst of rage:

Are you all crazy?! Thank God that my grandfather, Łajbysz of Dubiecko, can't see this circus! One could smell vodka from Sztajn. [...] – Miss Karolina, please bring an eight-branched chandelier immediately and put it in the window as usual. Yes, yes, in the window for everyone to see. It will stand there until the end of the Hanukkah holiday, and I will still be called Sztajn, not some Kamieniecki, and my children will still leave the classroom at the time of religious classes.⁹

⁸ Ibidem, p. 18.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 20.

In this battle to preserve the identity inherited from ancestors, the spiritual aspect is not considered at all, at least not aloud, not externally. Perhaps it falls within Sztajn's sphere of privacy, within his Sunday (tellingly, not Saturday) Torah readings. One's own identification is, according to the attitude presented here, protected by preserving one's name and basic customs.

Mrs. Sztajn completely does not consider the Christmas tree as a religious thing, and instead associates it only with Grandfather Frost, so her husband's outburst is incomprehensible to her and hurts her. This matter is completely indifferent to the almost adult son, while sensitive Mirka, fascinated by Christian rituals (at one time, she dreamed of attending her First Holy Communion in a white dress like her friends), accepts her father's decision with resentment.

Staśka, another Polish housekeeper of the Sztajns, is the complete opposite of the aristocratic Karolina. Her civilized behavior sometimes gives the impression of a game, as if she were an intelligent animal capable of playing the role of a human, a woman. She behaves in a civilized manner when she needs to achieve a goal, such as when she needs to find shelter for the winter. Her, cultural, conventional humanity is a kind of mask useful in communicating with the world. In situations that are natural to her, she is characterized by negatively charged terms, such as "monkey face," "globbes up whatever she could find," which make her look like an animal.

She perceives herself in this way, for the narrative describes the course of her primitive, yet in a sense also dramatic reflections as follows:

Staśka will have her head hair styled, will smell like the very best perfumes, and in her hand? – in her hand there will be a gift for the kid girl and for her son-in-law!¹⁰

Staśka's son-in-law is a Jew, so in her internal monologues he appears – according to the artistic concept evident throughout the series – in stereotypical terms:

¹⁰ V. Wein, "Staśka," p. 28.

The son-in-law, this Jewish smartass, will approach Staśka and ask – whom do we have the pleasure to meet, respectable lady?¹¹

At the same time, Staśka is – perhaps informally and certainly unknowingly – one of the Righteous Among the Nations. She rescued the wife of one of her clients, who years later contributed to her getting a job at Sztajns' house:

She remembered vaguely that he came running to her when the Germans closed the ghetto, forcing her to accept money and jewelry. "Please, Miss Stanisława, take it," he begged, "it's easier for you, because you have contacts with the Germans and no one will suspect. Well, yes, she had "those" contacts with the Germans, she did. Like a cat living on the street, it made no difference to her who threw the garbage into the dumpster. She smuggled Szostakowa from the ghetto to her attic without a shadow of fear.¹²

She treats her body as an object that belongs to men naturally, not everything suits her, but in the end she agrees to everything. And she certainly does not apply traditional moral categories to her way of life.

She expresses her attitude towards Jews directly: "I am not 'anti-Semitism,' Mr. Sztajn."¹³

Significantly, each of the housekeepers working in Sztajns' home must have some sort of fixed and reflectively articulated view of Jews, even a person seemingly as unreflective and primitive as Staśka. Despite her professed tolerance for the ethnic or cultural dissimilarity of Jews, anti-Jewish stereotypes activate in her whenever there is a pretext for this. It happens in a situation provoked by Markowicz, a Jew and friend of Sztajn, who molested Mirka in the elevator. Staśka, disregarding her own body, is very concerned about this experience of the young girl and reacts very violently:

Shush! Don't scream, you snot! Staśka is about to arrange everything! What a bastard, a lecherous kike, he has no respect for God! [...] – It's a miracle they

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 30–31.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 32.

didn't kill him during the war, he should put a candle in that synagogue of his every day for being alive, for his woman to want him, for living in such luxury!¹⁴

The event has nothing to do with Markowicz's background; after all, Mirka is also Jewish, and Staśka would never use the offensive term "kike" in relation to her. The stereotype is merely something of a treasure trove, or perhaps a vocabulary that helps express negative emotions. Nevertheless, in the second part of the statement quoted above, the primitive housekeeper and prostitute no longer appeals to any clichés of thought – she only draws very logical conclusions and reveals a sense of justice: "I'm not 'anti-Semitism,' but such scabby Jews should go only to the oven, you perverted cock."¹⁵

The Jewish world and the problem of Jewish identity in the short stories from *Mezaliants*, which are set in Poland, are shown on several levels. Indeed, it is possible to analyze how individual family members, primarily Sztajn and Mirka, accept and interpret their Jewishness. Secretive in relations with his family, living in a world of his own affairs, Jurek and the non-Jewish mother, who participates through the family she belongs to in the Jewish fate, are rather in the background in this aspect, although the interpretation of their behavior is also important. A sort of background is provided by the Jewish acquaintances of the master of the house, most notably the repugnant Markowicz.

On a different plane is the attempt to sketch a synthetic picture of Jewishness in the eyes of Poles. The image is formed from the words of the housekeepers and other episodically appearing Poles. Its framework is defined by stereotypes, which influence representatives of all the social groups depicted in the texts. Every observation and thought about Jews in a particular situation remains in close connection with a stereotype, which provides ready concepts, formulations, and patterns of understanding. Even when facts contradict established perceptions, they never eliminate them.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 33.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 35.

The Jew serves as the Other and, through his or her – sometimes only alleged – otherness, helps to define the boundaries of one’s own Polish identity.¹⁶ The stereotypes invoked in *Mezaliants* relate to appearance, qualities of intellect and character, as well as culture, language, customs, and religion. They are used either seriously or as a joke, a tool of derision. Sztajn’s black and curly hair are Jewish. Maryśka notices something like a Jewish aura in his appearance, which is how his “becoming black” can be interpreted in the difficult association related to her daughter’s illness. Wisdom also appears as a Jewish trait – the master of the house, who “understands everything they say on the radio,” is wise; Staśka calls her son-in-law a “Jewish smart-ass.” Yiddish – the “kikes’ language,” despite being referred to in such a disparaging manner – is an inaccessible domain, a mysterious area, an additional, very useful communication tool, which their mother tongue cannot become for Poles. This is because Poles cannot separate themselves using their own hermetic language from the Others. Behind the words and longer phrases from the vault of the stereotype, mostly disparaging or even contemptuous, there is often admiration. This is very evident in Viola Wein’s stories. The “yids” often impress Poles, while at the same time arousing traditional resentment.

The Sztajns, meanwhile, left for Israel. A whole new stage in the history of the family began, and the identity of each of its members found itself in a frame of reference so different from the Polish one, fraught with all possible problems in this respect. Their housekeeper is now for the first time a Jewish woman – Liza. Born in Poland, she was once an ideological communist and, like many others, she spent long years in Soviet gulags. At the age of seventy-four, she came from the Soviet Union to Israel. Her attitude to the change of homeland and to her national affiliation occupies at least as much space in the short story as the problems of Mirka growing into Israeli soil. In the short story “Liza,” both the title character

¹⁶ Similarity and difference as two necessary elements in the process of determination of identity are mentioned by all researchers of this issue. See: I. Szlachcicowa, “Trwanie i zmiana: międzygeneracyjne różnice w strategiach opracowywania zmiany społecznej” [Persistence and change: inter-generational differences in the strategies of elaboration of social change], in: eadem, ed., *Biografia a tożsamość* [Biography and identity], Wrocław 2003, p. 12.

and Mirka are in the foreground, although the background also provides extensive material for reflections on identity. The narrative alternates between several perspectives.

Liza is stunned by the prosperity in Israel, which is in such stark contrast to what she knew from the Soviet Union and, most importantly, from her 20-year stay in the gulags. Despite her advanced age, she manages to get a job with the Sztajn family. She takes care of Mirka's daughter and has long conversations about life with Mirka herself over alcohol, and sometimes they just keep quiet and drink together. Liza appreciates simple things such as the availability of food and a roof over her head. The only thing she misses in Israel a bit is the seasons. She never mentions her religious sister living in the Holy Land, who rejected her. For the rest of her life, the last years of which she spends in a retirement home, she drinks a lot. Gradually she loses her memory and in a sense the whole drama of her fate, of her unhappy loves, turns into nothingness. Tragically orphaned many times, she is content with the fact that in Israel she met a lady with a daughter, from whom she got a job and that the lady brought her good fortune in her new country. She seems to pay no attention to the fact of how small that good fortune is compared to the magnitude of the misfortunes.

At the time she meets Liza, Mirka is also already severely afflicted by fate. In Israel, she married a man from a completely different cultural background than her, even though he formally belonged to the same nation. When Liza first meets Mirka, she sees a sad image of a skinny girl with a baby in her arms. Mirka struggles with life essentially alone, although with some help from her parents. She works all day to provide for herself and her child.

Marriage was a very difficult experience for her, but the divorce itself was no easier. For her, a person raised in a tradition of relative equality for women, this religious procedure in an ostensibly secular, democratic state was a kind of shock:

She was already divorced from her husband. The divorce cost her and her family a lot of health, she received it only when she gave up all her possessions, during the divorce the rabbinical judges did not even look in her direction

because she was a woman, and it was almost unattainable if the man did not agree.¹⁷

The shock was followed by a depression, although at the same time Mirka lived with the decision that she would rebuild her life. She tried to alleviate her nervous imbalance with alcohol, in which she was assisted by Liza, who herself used such methods to solve her own problems. It is interesting that the narrative, when it comes to Mirka's descent into alcoholism, is conducted – at least to some extent – from the perspective of her little daughter. This emphasizes in a very simple way the drama of the situation described:

And the little girl was more attached to Liza than to her own mother, a constantly jittery, odd-smelling woman. She knew that when her mother smelled like that, she was about to cry. Liza would pour a strange-smelling drink into her mother's glass, shove a piece of sausage into her hand, and say: "drink, drink, because you can't comprehend it without half a liter of booze." And the girl knew that her mom would smile at first and even play something nice on the piano, but then she would start crying. The girl didn't like it, she preferred to go for a walk with Liza.¹⁸

Mirka reflects on her place in Israel. In 1957, while still a child, she visited her future homeland with her family as a tourist. The image that formed in her consciousness then is still present in her memory and is at odds with the experience of everyday life. She confides this to Liza because it is difficult for her to find someone who understands her disappointment. Her father in particular, until recently devoting his efforts to the People's Republic of Poland and now committed to Israeli state-building ideals, does not allow her any criticism. Mirka, on the other hand, especially after her personal disasters in life, finds it difficult to grow roots in the new country:

To this day, Israel for me is Biniamina, where I felt so comfortable and safe, and here in Jerusalem, I feel every day like I'm abroad. And I really don't know why the hell I go at all to this nightmarish Tel-Aviv, which looks like a sweaty,

¹⁷ V. Wein, "Liza," p. 44.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

failed mock-up designed by a retarded child and made of matchboxes, to this Tel-Aviv, where you get stuck to yourself. If it weren't for the sea, I certainly wouldn't have gone there once.¹⁹

The new homeland appears as an unpleasant, difficult to live in, and foreign place. Liza's remark about a certain deficiency in the diversity of Israeli seasons rekindles Mirka's longing and brings back memories:

That's true, Mirka thought, what about autumn in the Łazienki Park? Where are those multi-colored carpets of leaves and the red squirrels running around on them? Where is the scent of violets in the spring – those tiny works of art, peeking out playfully from the clumps of snow remaining here and there? And where are the catkins by the Vistula River, near Krasińskiego Street, the place where we would play truant almost every day?²⁰

These mental descriptions of nature are extremely emotional. The landscapes mentioned are associated with carefree youth, with the former better life, and are therefore idealized. In contrast, the current life is extremely challenging especially for a person as sensitive as Mirka:

In Jerusalem, every stone a person steps on injects historical adrenaline into the body, and the musical ear and rich imagination make the deliberately preserved decoration of those times – graciously and boastfully, say to you: you have received an honor, you are stepping on the navel of the world, for which our chosen people longed and sighed two thousand years! In the face of such an argument, so fraught with a biblical mood – a forester's lodge in Masuria with a non-cosher pig rotating on a skewer, a highlander's wedding in Zakopane, the Baltic Sea that is always cold, even during the greatest heat – you must quickly erase all this from memory and pretend to yourself that these colors, smells, dreams and longings, plans and disappointments simply never existed.²¹

Acclimatization – its demand or perhaps a kind of necessity – is a moral and perhaps even religious problem in this frame of reference. What is

¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 46–47.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 47.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 43.

that historical adrenaline? It seems that in this context it is a complex of very aggressive stimuli attacking the consciousness. They seek to control and subordinate human individuality to the senses they carry and ultimately reformulate the hierarchy of values and attachments of the object of their attack. Hundreds of years of longing and sighing for Jerusalem, flowing from the hearts and mouths of Jews in the Diaspora, have given the city great emotional power, reinforced the interpretation already rooted in biblical tradition that speaks of its unique role in the history of the world and for the destiny of the descendants of Jacob-Israel, as the chosen people among all others. However, this demand that the answer to such a bizarrely intrusive interpretation of the meaning of the existence of a place is to be total devotion to and love of it raises objections. Mirka feels an inner resistance to these intrusive stimuli and an attachment to her own individual experience, especially since the demand, which can be sensed in the atmosphere, for the appropriation and transformation of an identity that does not conform to the Jerusalem standard bears the mark of a certain manipulation. Indeed, the instrument of pressure is the “deliberately preserved decoration.” In a reflex of rebellion, Mirka reduces the thing that could be interpreted as the power of a great and important history, saturated with metaphysics and turned into stones by a spell, to the category of form, which in this view – due to complex factors – becomes saturated with bad content that is pretentious and therefore destructive. Indeed, this peculiar mental dictatorship makes it difficult to function normally in Israeli daily life, and especially in Jerusalem.

According to that vision, people – Jews – are obliged to play a role that is more important than their real definiteness, but at the same time falsifies their identity, enslaving them and subordinating them to higher goals.²² Compliance with this demand would have to lead to a real impoverishment of people, to their deprivation of any internal resources that are incompatible with the “paradigm.” However, the falsehood of such subordination and its peculiar emotional blackmail would be sensible:

²² Cf. e.g.: M. Friedman, “Jewish Identity in the Works of Elie Wiesel,” in: *Ancient Roots and Modern Meanings*, New York 1978, p. 50.

How can I live here, passing by and watching myself as a caricature of a perpetual tourist – an individual without a homeland, without my own private landscapes, without my own smells, my own cuisine, national anthem, folk costume, barricades in the name of my own cause? How can I live, when history is watching me from afar and threateningly waving its finger says: “I saw it, I saw it, you are reaching too far in your thoughts, and we must build a strong nation here, so that, God forbid, we do not go to the slaughter again like a herd of sheep!”²³

Living in the holy city contributes particularly strongly to Mirka’s realization of the pitfall inherent in the idea of being a chosen nation, which makes life unreal and, paradoxically, robs one of uniqueness. Mirka is unable to withstand the pressure that, after all, is compounded with the many other difficult life problems that a young divorcee with a child must face.

The subsequent very short story in the series is titled “Oddział” [Ward], and the event presented in it is a natural consequence of the problems depicted in the previous text. The order of the texts in the series is not absolutely determined by chronology, but also by a certain logic of the arrangement of meanings. Sztajns’ daughter becomes a patient in the psychiatric ward of the “Hadasa” hospital when she is already the mother of her second child, a son, from her new relationship. She ends up in the hospital due to an accident she suffered while drunk. Her feelings of loneliness and disillusionment are still acute.

Mirka tries to see a value in her life’s failures. But at the same time, she sees that she is in no way in control of her condition or situation. She does not understand herself and that unpleasant experience at least formally facilitates the interpretation of the overwhelming chaos:

Ill, I’m just ill, Mirka breathes a sigh of relief. There is a disgusting hangover taste in her mouth, she feels that she smells of vodka even from her ears. This feeling separates her from the others.²⁴

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ V. Wein, “Oddział” [Ward], p. 54.

Mirka accepts with a relief this description of her condition given by a doctor, precisely as an illness. Illness is a condition that can be understood, that explains a lot. It is an exceptional state, but one that is largely socially conventionalized. Public perception of ill people and their self-interpretations are easier than is the case with people whose state cannot be so simply defined. However, Mirka senses the inadequacy of this determination. The psychiatric ward seems to be the only constructive way out, and the protagonist, despite all her breakdowns, always tries to strive to rebuild her life. So she ends up in this particular hospital ward, which, seen through her eyes, becomes a kind of microcosm of the existential problems of Israel's residents in general. Many Israelis besides her are rebuilding their lives there with more or less success. The relations there are an excellent field for the observation of the complications associated with the issue of identity. The following short stories – “Rochale,” “Irys” [Iris], “Miriam and Marian” – bring further portraits, drawn in parallel with the development of Mirka's story.

Rochale is originally from Iraq. In her story, the issue of the importance of the differences between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews in Israel, which also appears in other short stories in the book, is emphasized.

Like Mirka and Liza, Rochale, the daughter of a Baghdad goldsmith, seeks solace in alcohol. She is quite a compulsive drinker. She married a Jewish man from Poland, despite her family's displeasure. After his death, she attempted to commit suicide. Mirka tells Rochale about Poland, about the world of her husband, who never tried to convey this lost reality to her.

He did not understand Iraq, Rochale did not understand Poland, and it seemed quite natural given the situation in Israel. Although Rochale's husband was Jewish, he was very different from what she imagined, and even of what she knew about what it means to be a Jewish man.

Rochale's imagination was limited by the perspective of the Arab world. Mirka fulfilled the role of a kind of intermediary in the communication between Rochale and her husband, even though he was no longer alive. She proved that living together in Israel can be about learning about each other's cultural backgrounds and traditions, as well as mental conditions outside the Israeli context. It does not have to come down to giving up

one's past and memory. For Mirka, it is also an opportunity to return to her beloved Warsaw at least in her imagination.

A small Jewish woman from Baghdad descended into alcoholism, fleeing from life's problems, the awareness of which was deepened by the memory of a glorious past. For Rochale's family, the move to Israel was linked to a certain social degradation, although, contrary to her belief, the feelings of the Ashkenazi Jews were similar in this regard. *Olim*²⁵ from Poland also often perceived their situation in their new homeland in this way. Women from Poland were even called "miał, miał" ["had, had"] ladies, as they often recalled their possessions prior to the immigration. Rochale, however, recognized and emphasized the differences in the status of Israel's residents based on their backgrounds. And the memory of the standard of living in Iraq was growing to the size of a legend, especially since Rochale was only five years old when she became an Israeli and in fact could remember little of that grandeur directly.

Rochale's story shows that the sense of being torn apart and of loss does not have to apply only to European Jews. It occurs regardless of some attachment to the new country. Rochale discloses her loyalty to Israel, for example by pointing out to Mirka that she should adopt a Hebrew name. And disagreement with the harsh reality finds its universal expression in alcoholism. Even the peculiar civilizational advancement of immigrant Jews from Arab countries turns out to be relative.

The main character of the next short story, Iris, is also one of the so-called "blacks." Her family came from Yemen. The father had two wives and eleven children. The mental and moral distinctiveness of Jews originating from Yemen was expressed in such customs, among other things. The story of the young girl is told to Mirka partly by Rochale, who was "almost proud to be able to tell the story of someone sicker than herself," and partly by Iris herself. The girl was in an incestuous relationship with her older brother, Joel, from a very early age. She is still blindly in love with him. When the family discovered this fact, Joel was forced to marry another woman, and Iris has stopped eating since her brother's wedding. When she was taken to the hospital she was emaciated, and by the time Mirka meets her, she

²⁵ *Olim* (Hebrew) – Jewish immigrants arriving in Israel.

has been there for eight months. Viola Wein touches on the extremely difficult issue with great delicacy and portrays the drama of a girl who is ill because of forbidden love.

The fact of Iris's Yemeni origin, exotic from a European point of view, makes this short story especially dramatic. According to vivid stereotypical opinions that were common in Israel, Jews from Yemen were characterized by intellectual simplicity and having a large number of children. This evokes the image of people whose physicality dominates over rationality. In some sense, it is easier in this situation to reflect on the relationship between Iris and Joel. The story of Iris also provides material for the consideration of female identity in general.

The next story, "Miriam and Marian," is also about a peculiar love. Miriam is an Orthodox Jewish woman with a repulsive appearance. She was taken to the hospital because of the sadistic sexual preferences of her husband, who abused her and did not respect her wishes. Marian, on the other hand, is a beautiful man from Poland who converted to Judaism already in Israel, where he came on a business trip. He was cheated by a dishonest business partner. He married a Jewish woman from Morocco who did not understand his Polish past and his longing. Marian created his own close and safe space: he built a dovecote. The birds raised there, however, became the cause of Marian's wife's illness, which doctors believed would end in either death or paralysis. A peculiar miracle *à rebours* took place in the man's life, for it occurred, as it seems, as a result of the earnest prayers of the desperate husband, and at the same time its consequences prove devastating to Marian's life and mind:

Because those germs from the pigeons attacked the brain. And then the miracle happened. In the corridor, Marian met one rabbi who convinced him that if he prayed continuously, his wife would not die. And in fact the Moroccan woman did not die, she sits paralyzed in a wheelchair and does not accept any visitors. And worst of all, she does not let the children come to him. And he is so poor, constantly praying, crying, and getting such strange convulsions.²⁶

²⁶ V. Wein, "Miriam i Marian" [Miriam and Marian], pp. 73–74.

Miriam returns home to her sadistic husband, faithful to the demands of her religion. A woman compared to a “scabby hippopotamus” became the object of an extremely beautiful love, but gives it up, driven by a sense of duty. At Miriam’s farewell ceremony, Mirka performs a piano recital. For the first time in Israel, Mirka feels that she is happy, even without the help of alcohol, in the company of other social misfits, many of whom are outstanding people.

So, at the same time, somewhat in the background of all the stories set in the hospital, one can observe Mirka’s struggle to restore a balance in her life. In this fight, the protagonist does not accept half-measures. She observes and evaluates her condition in full light, with complete honesty. And she fits these observations into her overall view of reality. She confronts these two orders, as well as her own way of perceiving the world, with the image imposed by a kind of discourse of social correctness conducted by, among others, the hospital staff:

She repeatedly practiced misleading others [...]; reversing roles from the person being questioned to the person questioning, stupefying with unexpected confessions that the doctor did not ask for, demonstrating knowledge of Freud, his disciples, and other theories about psychology – a science that has the complex that it really is not a science, surprising with candor about sexual topics, putting a question mark over every affirmative sentence [...].²⁷

Healthy people, or at least those whose mental and emotional problems are not easily visible, are afraid of those who deviate from the norm. The hospital stories in *Mezaliens* ridicule the “full understanding,” the falseness of many normal people, too content with their normalcy. According to the subsequent stories, abnormality can happen to anyone. No one is protected from it by their social position, intelligence, or origin. Indeed, regardless of these factors, there are situations that the nervous system cannot handle, and its breakdown is just a normal reaction. Many people became the patients in the ward where Mirka is staying due to specific problems closely related to the situation in Israel, although there is no shortage of those whose disorders have a completely different root cause.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 70.

Mirka herself, when considering the causes of her emotional breakdown and alcoholism, points to her longing to Poland as the primary factor that destabilizes her mental equilibrium. It is not a matter of mere nostalgia, but rather of stripping away the constitutive elements of an identity considered most deeply individual. The old identity in the new conditions is difficult to maintain, hence the sense of disintegration:

I feel like a piece of old rag that can only be revived by a harmonic arrangement similar to the great music of the Baroque! No! Chopin's polonaise! The smell of heather in the Masurian forests! Chestnut trees! – Mirka went from exclamation points to question marks. – Mountain streams? A mountaineer's axe? Thatched roofs? Tuwim's *Flowers*? Polish soldiers on horseback against German tanks? A sanatorium for children with tuberculosis in Szklarska Poręba? A sled? Żurek soup? The organ in Oliwa? The Chopin competition? – Ah, you don't know, doctor, what I am talking about? And I can't explain! I will not explain, because in my miserable life I cannot find any parallels for your Persian origin.²⁸

The Israeli reality, the experience of everyday life under completely changed conditions, among people with a different mentality, customs, and traditions that store other events in the collective memory, attached to other values – all this creates a sense of alienation, a loss of experience of belonging and social connection. Individual identity is, in a way, suspended in a vacuum, which must cause disturbances, especially because so far it has been closely linked to social identification. Collective identification becomes no longer possible. A mentally close collective becomes institutionally alien and physically distant. On the other hand, the society of which Mirka has become a new member does not have any features that she might consider close to her way of seeing reality. Before leaving Poland, the two dimensions of Mirka's identity – the collective and the individual – complemented each other.

The protagonist of the last story in the book, or actually one of the two equal heroines, is Mrs. Sztajn, who has so far remained rather in the background. The story, titled "Mezaliains" [Mismatch], is a depiction of the

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 71.

struggles of this Russian wife of a Polish Jew, who spent twenty years with him in Poland and then had to become an Israeli; a failed struggle to gain her own place in the world:

Soon after arriving in Israel, after several months of trying to acclimate, after unsuccessful efforts to get used to at least the different weather – Mrs. Sztajn decided to end her life. [...] Suicide was not in her nature. It is best to just make a decision, and death will somehow find its way and the right time to meet. As a result, Mrs. Sztajn died slowly, systematically, unnoticeably, and it took several years. She delayed the final decision because she wanted to see her beloved son finally standing on his own two feet, and her daughter ready to start anew after divorcing her husband.²⁹

Mrs. Sztajn, it seems, longs above all for the stability of life, which the Israeli reality does not favor in any dimension, from climate to political issues. The unsatisfied and unquenchable longing becomes the starting point for the decision to die, which is simply a deep inner resignation. The woman is very lonely and withdrawn. She does not complain or fight to improve her situation – she probably does not believe in the possible effectiveness of further struggles.

In the Urals she was young, full of life and hope for the future, in Poland – somewhat lost – she found comfort in the arms of a lover. She no longer expects essentially anything from life in Israel except its end.

However, this very sensitive and passive woman unexpectedly finds her soulmate, and in a person who on the surface differs from her in almost everything. This is because one day – emboldened by the smell of fried onions – a simple Arab woman, Naima, knocked on the door of Sztajns' apartment. She was diametrically different from Mrs. Sztajn in her social position, way of life, beauty, and, most importantly, language. Naima spoke only Arabic, which for obvious reasons was completely foreign to Mrs. Sztajn, and yet the thread of understanding that formed between the two women proved very strong.

The issue of communication between Naima and Mrs. Sztajn is central to the interpretation of the story. “Mezalians” [Mismatch] is the only short

²⁹ V. Wein, “Mezalians” [Mismatch], p. 77.

story in the entire book that explicitly and directly addresses the issue of relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. However, it contains no generalizing considerations, no calculations of injuries, and no assignment of rationales. It is simply a story of two lonely women who gave each other support through ordinary human gestures.

Naima was accustomed to the unkindness of Israelis, who saw her primarily as an Arab, and this was reason enough for them to dislike her. The difficult history of the Jewish–Arab conflict caused the majority of Israelis to “get to know the Arabs,” that is, to simplify their image of the Arab community into a stereotype. Similarly, the negative stereotype also works the other way. The story without moralistic theses, as it were, by the way, expresses opposition to the universality of thought patterns. One shopkeeper, even while giving the old Arab woman kind advice, repeats the stereotype:

Don’t waste your time on those who have lived here for a long time. Your best bet is to go looking for work with the new immigrants. These suckers have not yet had time to get to know the Arabs.³⁰

As in other stories in the series dealing with disparate problems, the stereotype is contrasted with existential concreteness. Naima is portrayed as a woman for whom ethnic conflicts and problems are unimportant, as a mother sacrificing all her strength for her children to earn a better future for them. She has been affected by many injustices in her life, but since this is the only life she knows, she does not complain. Instead, she is able to enjoy any positive events, no matter how small. In this she is similar to the “graduate” of the Soviet gulags, Liza. Naima is delighted by the fact that Mrs. Sztajn treats her with respect, like a human being of the same dignity.

Naima responds to this attitude of Mrs. Sztajn with complete loyalty and even love. This became particularly evident when Mrs. Sztajn’s years-long dying process reached its final stage.

Another character that appears in the background of the story is Shoshana, who is unable to restore her mental equilibrium after surviving

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 79.

a concentration camp, or actually mainly after the painful experience of misunderstanding and disrespect from her relatives who spent the war in Palestine. There are also a number of other small portraits that provide an excellent complement to the whole, forming a dramatic Israeli mosaic.

The interpretive and evaluative attitude of the narrator is evident throughout the series. There is no intrusiveness or didacticism, but the whole can give the impression of a call for authenticity, which sometimes requires considerable courage. This authenticity is fostered by finding one's place in the world, in the social space, and awareness of belonging. This belonging discovered or confirmed through difficult exploration and reflection can be a challenge to people trapped in stereotypical thinking. However, only an identity that is built, often from rubble, and fully realized enables one to live life to the fullest and gives one a chance to be happy.

The series of short stories discussed here addresses many issues associated with identity. Each of the characters struggles with this problem to a greater or lesser degree, in one context or another. The course of these struggles depends on the situation and the individual sensitivity of the character.

An important issue in the concept of the human world presented in Viola Wein's *Mezaliens* is the physicality, corporeality of humans. Most of the characters present on the pages of the stories are ugly. Often one person comprises a contrast between beauty and ugliness. These esthetic categories are clearly functionalized in the series. Rochale is tiny, black, dried up, and squint-eyed. Iris is described as "a strange creature, neither a boy nor a girl, so skinny that it's scary." Miriam was a caricature of a woman. Staśka had a monkey face, Liza – crooked duck legs, Maryśka – rotten teeth. Mirka plays Bach in the hospital with fingers that look like greasy sausages. Naima does not have an eye. *Mezaliens* is a kind of gallery of ugliness – only the beautiful Mrs. Sztajn and Jurek clearly stand out against this background. External beauty, however, is in no way linked to internal perfection, at least understood in terms of conventional morality. Even Mirka's mother – described as a crystal clear person – had a lover in Poland and had an abortion as a result of that relationship.

The merciless descriptions of the superficial appearance of the characters, as well as of the faults of their characters and the imperfections of

their intellect, paradoxically do not serve to discredit them. Beauty and ugliness seem to be natural attributes of humanity, and both can add an extra dimension of drama to a person's fate. *Mezalians* praises love, individuality, and sincerity. And Jewishness, taken as a valuable, multifaceted tradition, can become an important constructive component of identity when it is placed in the domain of choice rather than coercion. Like any phenomenon that is part of human reality, it has advantages and disadvantages in the sober view depicted in *Mezalians*. However, in no way can it determine and reduce a person's individuality.

Viola Wein is one of the creators of a very interesting phenomenon of Polish writing in Israel, a literature of complex identity, a kind of continuation of Polish-Jewish literature that has a rich tradition.³¹ It can be said that she participates in the creation of the most valuable current of that phenomenon, the current of in-depth and creative existential reflection, the master of which should be considered Leo Lipski. Existential situations forced, in a way, and still force Polish-Jewish artists (successive generations of more or less renowned writers) to reflect on various dimensions of their own identification. This can result in art that brilliantly answers the universal questions brought on by a modern era fraught with rapid change. A stable and, in a way, vested and established identity is a very rare luxury these days. Viola Wein's prose can be an inspiration (albeit not an easy one) for those to whom this luxury is not attainable.

Jerzy Jarzębski wrote when summarizing *Rachmunes* [Rakhmones], and these words can be applied with equal success to *Mezalians* [Mismatch]:

However, it is vain to hope that they – these truths – will arrange themselves into a mythical pattern that saves the sense of being – unless we consider this

³¹ On Polish-Jewish art, its traditions, and its continuation, cf. among others: E. Prokop-Janiec, *Międzywojenna literatura polsko-żydowska jako zjawisko kulturowe i artystyczne* [The interwar Polish-Jewish literature as a cultural and artistic phenomenon], Cracow 1992; W. Panas, *The Writing and the Wound: On Polish-Jewish Literature*, transl. Ch. Garbowski, *Polin* 2016, vol. 28, pp. 17–29; M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, *Odcienie tożsamości. Literatura żydowska jako zjawisko wielojęzyczne* [Shades of identity. Jewish literature as a multilingual phenomenon], Lublin 2004.

pattern to be the story of Job, which is the most abusive to common sense and sense of justice in the Bible.³²

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2006, no. 1-2 (7-8)

https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/gazeta/ae_7.pdf

³² J. Jarzębski, "Losy wykluczonych" [The fates of the excluded ones], *Książki w Tygodniku* (supplement to *Tygodnik Powszechny*) 2006, no. 5, pp. 14-15.

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The Literary Culture of Russian-Speaking Israel. Disputes Around the “Nationality” of Literature

Until 1989, the Soviet government, despite the fact that its representatives signed many international agreements on the issue, did not allow Jews to emigrate to Israel. Of course, there were individual cases, but until Moscow officially recognized Israel as the historical homeland of its citizens of Jewish descent in the late 1980s, repatriation was virtually impossible.¹ This is evidenced by numbers. The largest wave of repatriation of Russian Jews occurred between 1990 and 2003 and resulted in the emigration of about one million people to Israel (earlier in the 1970s, after the Six-Day War, there was a brief rapprochement in Russian-Israeli relations and about 200,000 Russian Jews departed for Israel).²

There is no doubt that a significant part of these two waves of Jewish repatriation from the USSR were representatives of the intellectual elite

¹ Я. Рои, “Еврейская эмиграция из Советского Союза,” 1948–1967, in: *Еврейская эмиграция из России 1881–2005*, ред. О. Будницкий, Москва 2008, р. 187.

² See: M. Tolts, “The Post-Soviet Jewish Population in Russia and in the World,” *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe* 2004, no. 1 (52), Справочник Союза русскоязычных писателей Израиля 1990 год, 1999 год, Издание Союза русскоязычных писателей Израиля и Федерации Союзов писателей Израиля, Слово писателя, Осень 2002, Зима 2002, Зима 2004.

and of the cultural and literary world. Although the literary culture in Israel is gradually declining, it is still of great importance in the lives of Russian-speaking Jews today and requires thorough research.

This claim is confirmed by the fact that the State of Israel is now home to more than a million Russian Jews, of whom more than 200 persons are listed as members of the Israeli Union of Russian-Speaking Writers. In the early 2000s, 300–500 Russian titles³ appeared in print in Israel each year.

Of course, the quality of this literature varies, but certainly the opportunity to interact with literary works has allowed Russian Jews to engage in a dialogue with the past, and subsequently to create their own little homeland in Israel, which will probably lead to complete assimilation in the future.

The uneasy situation of artists in Soviet Russia, which for many of them was the main reason for leaving the Russian homeland, gave the historical-literary process in Russia a special character. Researchers of literature, but also authors themselves, have frequently been preoccupied with reflections on the classification of literature created outside the homeland. The complexity of the problem of “nationality” of literature created under conditions of split between two homelands, is evidenced by the multiplicity of formulations used to name this phenomenon. The works in question were referred to as “émigré literature,” “émigré sleeve of Russian literature,” “foreign branch of Russian literature,” “literature in exile,” “literature of the Russian abroad,” “literature of the diaspora,” and finally “Russia outside Russia,” as well as “Foreign Russia,” “Other Russia,” and “Free literature.”⁴

In April 1978, Geneva hosted an international Slavic symposium on Russian literature created outside the country. The participants were pondering the classification of metropolitan and foreign writing – literature created “here” and “there.” Georges Nivat, a French historian and Slavicist,

³ From my correspondence with the secretary of the Union of Russian-Speaking Writers in Israel, Leonid Finkel (June 2015).

⁴ See: L. Suchanek, “Literatura rosyjska jest tam, gdzie znajdują się pisarze rosyjscy” [Russian literature is wherever Russian writers are], in: L. Suchanek, ed., *Emigracja i tamizdat. Szkice o współczesnej prozie rosyjskiej* [Emigration and tamizdat. Essays on modern Russian prose], Cracow 1993, p. 54.

opened the conference with a question that, in a way, set the agenda. It was as follows: “Is there one or two Russian literatures?”⁵ The symposium participants attempted to solve the problem of the affiliation of Russian literature abroad and its relation to the domestic literature.⁶ They were more inclined to support the claim that there is one literature and if the literature is divided into two, as Yefim Etkind said, it is usually a long process that takes into account specific conditions.

To begin our discussion, I will cite the positions that unequivocally define Russian-language literature in Israel as part of Russian literature. I will refer to the account of the trip of Russian writers to Israel, which took place in 2003. At the time, writer Valery Popov, chairman of the Writers’ Union in St. Petersburg, traveled to Israel with other writers to see how Russian literature was doing there⁷ (other participants of the trip were Mikhail Ayzenberg, Vasily Aksyonov, Anatoly Nayman, Andrei Bitov, and Lyudmila Ulitskaya). Popov, stressing the enormous, even life-giving importance of this literature, writes:

Кончается, что ли, русская литература, а вместе с нею – и наша жизнь? Вот, думаю, главная тревога, главный вопрос, ради которого мы поехали. Ведь жизнь каждого из нас, из нашей литературной группы, несмотря на разницу талантов, судеб, возрастов, национальностей, питается только русской литературой, больше ничем.⁸

Concern for the fate of literature, as is evident from the cited quote, applies not only to literary scholars, but also to writers themselves. Popov’s observations, contained in Mark Zaychik’s anthology *В Израиль и обратно. Путешествие во времени и пространстве* [To Israel and back. A journey in time and space], show that the literary culture of the Russian diaspora was

⁵ Ж. Нива, *Одна или две русских литературы? Симпозиум в Женеве (1978)*, Женева 1981, p. 3.

⁶ See: L. Suchanek, “Literatura rosyjska” [Russian literature], pp. 54–55.

⁷ В. Попов, “Жизнь чужая и моя,” *Нева* 2005, no. 4, pp. 137–149.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 140. “Is Russian literature dying, and with it also our lives? I think these concerns were the main reason for our departure. After all, the life of each of us, of our literary group, without looking at the difference of talents, fates, age, and nationality, feeds only on Russian literature, nothing else.”

at a high level at that time. Popov noted with satisfaction that Russian-language literary life in Israel was functioning very well and rooms where authors met with readers were filled to the brim, which did not indicate a rapid decline of literature written there by Russian Jews (some researchers say that such a situation will last two generations, then it will naturally die out).⁹ The view that literature written in Israel is a part of Russian culture was expressed by the representative of Russian Jews living in Israel, Dmitry Segal, the participant in the Geneva conference mentioned earlier. However, this researcher, who is a literary theorist, points out that literature written abroad constantly needs to be carefully analyzed and treated on a par with the literature of the metropolis. In Segal's opinion, writers who have the possibility to write under conditions other than the reality in their homeland are successfully enriching the domestic literature with new literary trends. The literature of the metropolis, on the other hand, gradually "tames" the experience of émigré prose, drawing "new blood" from it. As for the heterogeneity of literature, this is a natural phenomenon that is characteristic of many national literatures. Segal argues that all the works of "Russian-speaking Israel" are part of Russian culture.¹⁰ Citing statements by Thomas Mann and Victor Nekrasov, we might be tempted to say that "Russian literature is where Russian writers are."¹¹

Let us consider then the question of self-identification of Russian-language literature written in Israel. There is no doubt that the works of representatives of the Russian diaspora complicate the already complex situation of self-identification of Russian literature written abroad; after all, it concerns writers who returned to the homeland of their ancestors. The process of the mass exodus of Jews from the Soviet Union, especially in the 1970s and 1990s, is part of a phenomenon called in literature studies the "third wave" of Russian emigration.¹² Also the authors of Russian anthologies, specifically Vladimir Agienosov and Sergei Chuprinin, include

⁹ See: Л. Черкасский, "Судить обо всем предвзято," *Слово писателя*, Осень 2002, p. 92.

¹⁰ See: Ж. Нива, "Одна или две русских литературы?," pp. 43, 86.

¹¹ Quote after: L. Suchanek, "Literatura rosyjska" [Russian literature], p. 55.

¹² See: A. Wołodźko, "Wstęp" [Introduction], in: eadem, *Pasierbowie Rosji* [Russia's stepchildren], Warsaw 1995, p. 28.

the names of authors of Russian-language Jewish literature in chapters on Russian literature abroad.¹³ Jacek Leociak's arguments would rather support calling Russian Jews living in Israel Israelis, citizens of Israel, which puts into question the accuracy of referring to their works as "exile literature."¹⁴ The multitude of interpretations of the phenomenon, which has been studied by Benedict Sarnov, Vladimir Kunin, Vladimir Lazaris, Leonid Kogan, and Lazar Berenson, among others, once again indicates its multifaceted nature. In literary criticism, literature written in Russian in Israel is described as Russian literature, Israeli literature, Jewish literature, literature that is a province of Russian literature, as well as "forced anomaly" and "foreign body" (such terms were used by Abraam Chernyak).¹⁵

There are many opinions on this issue and it is certainly impossible to find a term that will satisfy everyone. That is actually is not the point here; instead, our goal is to outline the complexity of the problem, which stems from the richness of the complicated identity of Russian-speaking artists of Jewish descent. Karolina Famulska-Ciesielska in her "Introduction" to the lexicon *Polish Literature in Israel* writes about the "dual affiliation" of literature written in Polish in Israel. According to the author, that literature "alongside domestic and émigré literature – constitutes a third physical state."¹⁶ Following the researcher's lead, the works of Russian Jews-Israelis, should be classified as Russian literature, as it draws on the richness of the Russian language, tradition, and culture. In addition, that literature bears clear traces of the Soviet mentality.¹⁷ There is no doubt, however, that

¹³ See: В. В. Агеносов, "Племя младое, незнакомое...", in: idem, *Литература Русского зарубежья*, Москва 1998, pp. 509–510.

¹⁴ See: J. Leociak, "Na obu brzegach" [On both shores], *Nowe Książki* 1994, no. 3, p. 70.

¹⁵ See: С. Бломберг, "Путеводитель по объединениям русскоязычных литераторов Израиля," <http://www.jerusalem-korczak-home.com/np/np58.html> (accessed in: June 2015).

¹⁶ K. Famulska-Ciesielska, "Wstęp" [Introduction], in: K. Famulska-Ciesielska, S. Żurek, eds., *Literatura polska w Izraelu* [Polish literature in Israel], Cracow–Budapest 2012, p. 5.

¹⁷ Cf. also: "Литературная эмиграция 1960–1990-х годов (третья волна)," in: *Литература русского зарубежья*, под общ. ред. А. И. Смирновой, Москва 2006, pp. 444–445.

Russian Jews in Israel are Israelis. So, citing the opinion of Jacek Leociak, one must conclude that they also represent Israeli literature.¹⁸

The term “Russian literature in Israel” is also questionable. After all, the decision of Russian Jews to leave for Israel, often treated as a “return to the homeland,” for many of them was associated with the awareness of being “non-Russians,” “stepchildren,” “with a sense of semi-orphanhood, harm, and loneliness.”¹⁹ A significant number of Russian Jews – including novelists and poets – did not so much leave for Israel as flee the Soviet Union, the motherland – stepmother, full of persecution and acts of anti-Semitism, one that also deprived them of freedom, did not allow them to be *homo humanus*, exist for themselves and for the society, and finally sentenced them to wandering, often taking away the achievements of their previous lives. So it is not without reason that Efraim Bauch, chairman of the Union of Russian-Speaking Writers in Israel and president of the Israeli branch of the PEN Club, in an article written on the thirtieth anniversary of the union, when discussing the situation of artists in the Soviet state, called literature “part of the government, the backyard of the nomenclatura.”²⁰

For many, the choice of Israel as their new homeland provided a sense of relative independence, and often was also an irrevocable declaration that involved the loss of passport and citizenship. For many, too, the trip had a creative, missionary character.²¹ Alicja Wołodźko writes about this in her monograph *Russia’s Stepchildren*, citing the words of Yefim Etkind: “Russian writers did not flee the country – they wanted only one thing: to be writers, to be engaged in literature, but in the USSR this path has been or was being closed for them.”²² For many Russian-speaking artists, leaving

¹⁸ See *ibidem*.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Wołodźko, “Wstęp” [Introduction], pp. 32–33.

²⁰ Э. Баух, “Скромная дань апологии. К 30-летию Союза русскоязычных писателей Израиля,” *Слово писателя*, Осень 2002, no. 1, p. 3.

²¹ See: Г. Костырченко, “Политика советского руководства в отношении еврейской эмиграции после XX съезда КПСС (1956–1991),” in: *Еврейская эмиграция из России 1881–2005*, Материалы международной научной конференции (Москва, 10–12 декабря 2006), отв. ред. О. В. Будницкий, Москва 2008, p. 205.

²² Quote after: A. Wołodźko, “Wstęp” [Introduction], p. 41.

the USSR, and later also Russia, was undoubtedly an escape from censorship. Emigration offered the hope of being able to express one's thoughts unhindered, to write real literature, to freely proclaim undeniable values. An important reason for leaving Russia was the lack of hope for changes in the functioning of the state.

This is expressed in the words of Pyotr Chaadayev, quoted by Russian-language writer Dina Rubina, who has lived in Israel since 1991: "I did not learn to love my homeland on my knees, with my eyes closed, and my mouth gagged."²³ The decision made by the writer and her family to leave Russia was a reaction to the oppressive Soviet reality and the rising tide of nationalist and anti-Semitic behavior. Rubina felt that under similar circumstances she would not be able to write anything more, she was leaving, in her own words, a country of incapacitation, pressure, disrespect, and humiliation. "Leaving in 1990, completely voluntarily, I laid both my citizenship and my apartment at the feet of the Soviet authorities. It was my own choice,"²⁴ said the writer.

The situation of Russian artists was very complicated, and the literary profession involved great risks. The proof of this claim is, for example, the statement of Grigory Kanovich, a Jew who spent his youth in Lithuania and now lives in Bat Yam. Kanovich recalls that his parents were very concerned about his writing talent; from his childhood, they instilled in him that the pen was a treacherous tool, often the cause of arrest and persecution.²⁵ Independent literature could exist in Soviet Russia thanks to dissident movements, underground publications, and the enormous commitment of the authors themselves. The publication in Italy of Boris Pasternak's novel *Doctor Zhivago* initiated the so-called *tamizdat*, i.e. the publication abroad

²³ From my correspondence with the writer, May 2010.

²⁴ "Уезжая в 90-м, я, само собой, сложила к ногам Советской власти и гражданство, и квартиру... Это был мой собственный выбор." This is what Rubina said about her reasons for leaving the USSR during a meeting with readers at the Jewish Cultural Center in Cracow on October 24, 2008 (a recording from a private archive). The main reason for leaving Russia cited by the writer was the manifestations of anti-Semitism in the form of anti-Jewish inscriptions visible on the streets of Moscow.

²⁵ Г. Канович, "Штрихи к автопортрету," *Иерусалимский журнал* 2008, no. 27, <http://magazines.russ.ru/ier/2008/27/ka11.html> (accessed in: June 2015).

of works banned in the USSR. The possibility of publishing in the West, which complemented *samizdat* – underground publications – allowed by-passing the strict rules of publication in *Gosizdat* (state publishing houses) and breaking the monopoly of censorship, as a result of which that many Russian-language literary and journalistic works could finally see the light of day.²⁶ Writers, including those with Jewish roots, fought with dedication for creative freedom and for the quality of literature. However, it should be mentioned that there are also critical statements about Russian Jews who have decided to leave the country. Alicja Wołodźko calls it a “biased” position.²⁷ Mikhail Nazarov cites the desire for a “better life” as the main reason for the mass exodus of Jews at the end of the 20th century, and accuses Jewish artists of cosmopolitanism and lack of patriotism.²⁸

Leonid Cherkasskiy writes about the phenomenon of Russian-speaking Israel in an article featured in the magazine *Slovo Pisatela* on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Union of Russian-Speaking Writers in Israel. The article extensively discusses the issues of the national affiliation of writers and Russian-language literature written in Israel, but it rather indicates the complexity of the problem than provides clear answers to the questions at hand. In a section titled *Великий и могучий...* [Great and powerful...], Cherkasskiy writes about the power of language as an undeniable element of a person’s self-identification, but also, referring to the complicated situation of Russian-speaking Jews in Israel, as something that is also a stigma that marks a person throughout life.

Cherkasskiy does not dispute the need to learn the language of the country of residence, especially when it comes to the country of the ancestors. However, the author adds, the historical circumstances caused the Russian language to remain the language of communication for some time to come for a sizable group of Russian Jews living in the country to

²⁶ See: L. Suchanek, “Literatura rosyjska” [Russian literature], pp. 53–54.

²⁷ See: A. Wołodźko, “Wstęp” [Introduction], p. 29.

²⁸ See: М. Назаров, *Миссия русской эмиграции*, т. 1, Ставрополь 1992, p. 11. See also: A. Wołodźko, “Wstęp” [Introduction], p. 29.

which they “returned.” It was also naturally the language of the literature they created.²⁹

Я всегда был убежден в необходимости изучения языка страны проживания, тем более – “страны возвращения.” Тут нет предмета для дискуссий. Речь идет об исторически сложившейся ситуации, приведшей к тому, что русский язык еще долгое время останется языком общения и культуры для значительных групп граждан, а тоже языком русскоязычной литературы. Явление естественное и закономерное.³⁰

In the next section of the article, titled “Как нас теперь называть?” (What should we be called now?), the author writes about the many attempts to define the social and creative status of writers writing in Russian. Disputes over the self-identification of Russian Jew – writers or Russian writers – Jews, he says, are legitimate, but they are also part of the formation of the Israeli nation and its culture. Cherkasskiy cites a 1916 statement by Hebrew literature classic Chaim Bialik on the “nationality” of a literary work. According to Bialik, it is not the language of a literary work that is most important, but the atmosphere, the spirit in which it is written. According to the bard of Jewish literature, the affiliation of literature is determined by more subjective factors: the attachment of the author to a particular nation, the unity of the writer’s soul with the soul of the nation, with its culture, and finally the care of its history – the past, the present, and the future:³¹

²⁹ Л. Черкасский, “Судить обо всем предвзято,” р. 92.

³⁰ Ibidem. “I have always been convinced of the need to master the language of the country of residence, especially the ‘country of return.’ This is beyond dispute. The matter concerns a historically conditioned situation, which has meant that Russian will continue to be the language of communication and culture for a significant part of the population for a long time to come, as well as the language of Russian-language literature. It is a natural phenomenon.”

³¹ Ibidem. Cf. also: В. Львов-Рогачевский, *Русско-еврейская литература*, Москва 1922, pp. 44–46; В. Жаботинский, *Еврейский легион*, Москва 2013, pp. 15–18. В. Чернин, “Многого реб Хаим-Шулим и не разобрал... Идиш как субстрат русского языка Осипа Рабиновича,” *Лехаим*, декабрь 2006 Кислев 5767–12 (176).

Национальность литературного произведения определяется не языком, на котором оно появилось, а господствующим настроением автора, его тягой к определенному народу, сродством души автора с душой родного народа, с его культурой, устремлением к прошлому, настоящему и будущему этого народа; определяется ответом на вопрос, для кого он работает и чьи национальные интересы защищает.³²

A similar concept was also popularized by Shimon Dubnov, a Jewish historian and writer at the turn of the 20th century, who – citing the work of Shimon Frug, a Crimean-born Jewish poet who initially wrote only in Russian, then in Yiddish, and later in Hebrew – argued that Jews had spoken all the languages of the world over the centuries, which had influenced the formation of the many linguistic layers of their literature. Fortunately, as Dubnov states, this fact did not deprive Jewish literature of its internal unity and national identity:

Еврейство, на своем долгом историческом пути пользовалось всеми языками культурного мира от древне-греческого до нынешнего русского, только, как орудиями своего духовного творчества, вследствие чего образовались большие иноязычные пласты нашей литературы, но от этого последняя не утратила своей внутренней цельности и национальной самобытности.³³

Russian-Jewish literature, according to the historian, which also suffered for the Jewish people, shows the soul of a migrating nation, reflects Jewish attitudes, Jewish understanding of the world, and Jewish mentality. And all this is also done through Russian literature:

³² В. Львов-Рогачевский, *Русско-еврейская литература*, p. 49. “The nationality of a literary work is determined not by the language in which the work appeared, but by the author’s dominant mood, his closeness to a particular community, the affinity of the author’s soul with the soul of the indigenous people and their culture, his longing for the past, and his view of the present and future of that nation; it contains the answer to the question of for whom he works and whose national interests he protects.”

³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 44–50. “On their long historical path, Jews used all the languages of the civilized world, from ancient Greek to the contemporary Russian, exclusively as tools for their spiritual creativity – as a result of which extensive foreign-language layers of our literature developed, and yet it did not lose its internal continuity and national originality.”

В русско-еврейской литературе, также страдавшей за еврейский народ, отразилась душа народа – странника, [...] еврейское мироощущение, мирочувствование и миропонимание, определенный душевный ритм, еврейский образ мыслей, еврейская культура, еврейский быт... Все это прошло сквозь призму русской литературы.³⁴

Russian writers in Israel, despite all the immigration and acclimatization difficulties, are thus in a fairly comfortable position. First, as Ephraim Bauch constantly emphasizes, they have returned to their roots, and second, they can speak the widely spoken Russian language, which resounds in the streets of Israeli cities and towns, allowing the writers to participate in the daily life of their new homeland and inspiring their work.³⁵ Language, which Dina Rubina calls a stigma that haunts a person throughout life, for Grigory Kanovich represents “a homeland – fortunately, one that you can take everywhere.”³⁶

Writer Yakov Shechtior, chairman of the Writers’ Club in Tel-Aviv, confirms the complicated identity of Russian artists in Israel in an interview with the *Vesti* newspaper. In his opinion, Jewish writers in Israel are in a constant conflict between the culture of the language and the language of the culture. In her monograph *Russia’s Stepchildren*, Alicja Wołodźko emphasizes the problems faced by Russian Jewish writers who write at the crossroads of cultures. According to Wołodźko, the stigma of nationality was the cause of many conflicts reflected in the writings of authors of Jewish descent and in the lives of the authors themselves: “Jews by descent, Russians by upbringing, education, language, and culture.”³⁷ However, according to Shechtior, such a situation also has a positive side, as it affects the particular color of the literature created in Israel:

³⁴ Ibidem. “The Russian-Jewish literature, which also suffers for the Jewish people, reflects the soul of the nation-wanderer [...], the Jewish sensitivity, perception of the world, worldview, characteristic spiritual rhythm, the Jewish way of thinking, the Jewish culture, the life of Jews... All this was done through the lens of Russian literature.”

³⁵ Э. Баух, “Скромная дань апологии,” p. 3.

³⁶ From my correspondence with the writers.

³⁷ See: A. Wołodźko, “Wstęp” [Introduction], p. 29.

Пишущий по-русски еврейский писатель пребывает в перманентном конфликте между культурой языка и языком культуры. Возможно именно поэтому [...] эта литература особенно интересна. Искусство ради искусства в масштабе целой страны.³⁸

Like many other Russian-speaking writers in Israel (specifically Dina Rubina, Grigory Kanovich, and Igor Guberman), Shechtior stresses that there will be an uninterrupted close bond with Russia and that he will always feel the weight of his cultural heritage and attachment to the Russian language, the only one in which he can create. “С Россией меня связывает груз культурного наследия и язык, единственный, на котором я могу писать,”³⁹ Yakov Shechtior admitted in an interview with *Vesti*.

Anatoly Muchnik, too, when considering the essence of literature created in Israel, points out the great importance of the Russian language in building and consolidating a national consciousness – very complex, but certainly unique:

Современные теоретики, придают огромное значение роли языка как основного инструмента национального сознания. Они ссылаются на то, что многие европейцы видят в родном языке и литературе залог своей национальной целостности, даже создают академии по защите языка и порой ведут настоящую войну за сохранность языковых границ.⁴⁰

³⁸ Д. Клугер, “Искусство ради искусства в масштабе целой страны, Вавилонская библиотека,” *Вести*, November 26, 2008, http://sunround.com/club/prensa/kluger_shehter.htm (accessed in: April 2011). “A Jewish writer writing in Russian is in permanent conflict between the culture of the language and the language of the culture. Perhaps this is why [...] this literature is particularly interesting. Art for art’s sake on a nationwide scale.”

³⁹ *Ibidem*. “I am bound to Russia by the weight of my cultural heritage and language, the only one in which I can write.”

⁴⁰ А. Мучник, “Проблемы языка в еврейской литературе и русско-еврейская литература. Еврейская литература или литература евреев?,” http://samlib.ru/m/muchnik_a_m/01lit.shtml (accessed in: June 2015). “Modern theorists emphasize the great role of language as the primary tool of national consciousness. They cite the fact that many Europeans see their native language and literature as a guarantee of their national identity, and even create language protection academies and sometimes wage a real war to preserve linguistic boundaries.”

Some critics emphasize the universalism of Jewish literature. After all, the multiple languages used by Jewish artists create its proper character. An Israeli writer, as Leonid Kogan, among others, says, if he or she is not simply a Russian writer who has chosen Israel as his homeland, is, after all, a Jewish writer.⁴¹ And Jewish writers write not only in Yiddish or Hebrew, but also in Russian, Romanian, German, and Bulgarian. The Jewish writer's works are filled with "Jewishness," Kogan continues. Jewish culture constitutes his or her past and future, fills his or her history and life, and sets his or her aspirations and priorities. The most important determinant of the "nationality" of literature, is, according to the author, the way a writer perceives the world and people, as well as the motifs that dominate his or her work. The author's place of residence is irrelevant, in Kogan's opinion.

Quoting Kogan's views, Leonid Cherkasskiy also cites the opinion of Professor Aaron Chernyak, an activist dealing with the matters of Russian Jews and foreign affairs.⁴² The scholar has often stressed the importance of language as one of the most reliable criteria for defining the terms "Jewish literature" and "Jewish writer." Although Chernyak also accentuated the prominence of Jewish literature written in non-Jewish languages, including Russian, experts in his theory cite his opposing views, such as the aforementioned terms "foreign body" and "forced anomaly" used by Chernyak, which testify to the complexity of the problem of a literature that is "ours" in terms of content, but "foreign" in terms of language.⁴³

The phenomenon of Russian-language literature in Israel, as Leonid Cherkasskiy emphasizes, is undoubtedly part of the history of Israeli literature, which, despite its strong roots in the Russian culture, is gradually becoming a product of cross-cultural reception and acquiring an Israeli color.

As Ryszard Kapuściński once wrote,

⁴¹ Quote after: Л. Черкасский, "Судить обо всем предвзято," p. 93.

⁴² See: Ю. Систер, М. Пархомовский, "Памяти Арона Яковлевича Черняка, Мы здесь. Публикации," <http://www.newswe.com/index.php?go=Pages&in=print&id=8179> (accessed in: October 2015).

⁴³ Cf. Л. Черкасский, "Судить обо всем предвзято," p. 93.

one pays a high price for being uprooted from one's culture. That is why it is so important to have one's own clear identity and a sense of its strength, value, and maturity. Only then can a person boldly confront another culture. Otherwise he or she will hide and fearfully separate from others. All the more so because the Other is a mirror in which people view themselves or in which they are viewed; it is a mirror that unmask and exposes people, which they would prefer to avoid.⁴⁴

There is no doubt that, in the words of David Markish, the work of Russian-speaking writers in Israel is just such a mirror, a mirror that verifies, exposes, and unmasks their identity, but also allows them to live in the uneasy reality of emigration, while protecting them from becoming savage. Russian literature in Israel, Leonid Finkel emphasizes, is a memoir of the past, a guide that becomes an inspiration for a deeper search for knowledge about humanity.⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, attempts by researchers of literature and writers themselves to determine the status of Russian-language literature written by Jews in Israel are often rejected, criticized, and deemed unnecessary. Dina Rubina categorically speaks in defense of a culture created at the border of cultures and in favor of rejecting all divisions in literature. Referring to Bakhtin's theories, it can be said that the writer creates prose that unites various traditions; however, in her opinion, there is only one literature.⁴⁶ Efforts to systematize the literature under study perhaps intensify the writers' sense of semi-orphanhood and loneliness. Grigory Kanovich said this in one of his interviews:

I am a lonely writer. Completely lonely – in both the human and the literary sense. I have said many times that I am not a Jewish writer, because I write in Russian. I am not a Russian writer because I write about Jews. I am not a Lithuanian writer, because I write about Jews and in Russian, and now Russian

⁴⁴ R. Kapuściński, *Spotkanie z Innym jako wyzwanie XXI wieku* [Encountering the Other. The challenge for the twenty-first century], Cracow 2004, p. 12.

⁴⁵ From my correspondence with Leonid Finkel, August 2010.

⁴⁶ Э. Ф. Шафранская, *Мифопоэтика "иноэтнокультурного текста" в русской прозе Дины Рубиной*, Москва 2007, p. 230. See: L. Liburska, "Emigracja" [Emigration], in: eadem, *Kultura i inteligencja rosyjska. O pisarstwie Lidii Czukowskiej* [Russian culture and intelligentsia. On the writings of Lidia Chukovskaya], Cracow 2003, p. 329.

is treated in Lithuania like other foreign languages, on a par with Swedish, English, and Swahili. So I am a foreign writer in my own homeland.⁴⁷

Kanovich felt foreign in his homeland of Lithuania. He also felt foreign in Israel, for which he left in 1993. The Russian language is what Kanovich, as we recall, calls a kind of stigma. The writer also calls his unspecified literary affiliation a stigma, which, however, in his opinion, also has a good side: it results in a certain independence, understood in this case as creative freedom. On the other hand, however, it burdens the writer with a perpetual sense of alienation.

Leaving the disputes over the classification of literature written by Russian authors in Israel without a clear answer, I will conclude my deliberation by recalling the words of Dmitry Kanovich. Grigory Kanovich's son emphasizes the universalism of his father's prose in a press statement. He talks about the values his father proclaimed, which, after all, have no nationality.⁴⁸ Perhaps the situation is similar with the affiliation of Russian-language literature created in Israel. According to Leonid Cherkasskiy, it is a temporal phenomenon, a "short stop" on the path of a long historical and literary process.⁴⁹ Efraim Bauch says that this literature reflects the enormous process of "nomadism," but also, in some cases of gaining a homeland, reveals the magic and at the same time the tragedy of this phenomenon, which contributes to its undoubtedly unique character.⁵⁰

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2014, no. 1-2 (20-21)
<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2014.006>

⁴⁷ See: "Pisarz samotny. Z G. Kanowiczem rozmawiał A. Koziół" [A lonely writer. An interview with G. Kanowicz by A. Koziół], *Dekada Literacka* 1993, no. 12/13 (72/73).

⁴⁸ "В Вахтанговском театре пройдет премьера спектакля Улыбнись нам, Господи, 7 марта 2014," <http://tass.ru/kultura/1027609> (accessed in: March 2014).

⁴⁹ Cf. Л. Черкасский, *Судить обо всем предвзято*, p. 93.

⁵⁰ See: Э. Баух, "Скромная дань апологии," p. 3.

Anna Mieszkowska

(Warszawa)

Biographical Romance, or the Wonders of the Life of an Émigré of Choice: Fryderyk Járósy (1889–1960) – the Author of Unwritten Memoirs of Life Among the Polish Diaspora in London

“They gave me Polish citizenship
For love of Poland and Polish art.
They took away my Polish citizenship
For love of Poland and Polish art.”

(Fryderyk Járósy, *Qui Pro Quo cabaret*)

I don't believe memoirs! Especially those written by the émigré stage artists of the émigré Melpomene.

During the post-war half-century, Polish actors left behind many memoirs: in London, Paris, New York, Washington, Los Angeles, Melbourne, and even in Santiago...

Some were published in print by the authors or émigré publishing houses. Others were only announced in the Polish diaspora press. The vast majority have remained inaccessible to researchers for the time being. Relatives of deceased artists often do not realize what is left in drawers, old folders, and suitcases.

Few authors of memoirs have found interest on the part of Polish publishers. Why? Mostly due to the difference in literary correctness, which is not always accepted in Poland. This is because émigrés have almost always written differently from domestic authors... Publishers in Poland are often not familiar with the names of authors of memoirs written outside the country. In my opinion, the most discoveries in the field of memoir essays written by actors who stayed outside Poland after 1945 are yet to come. Valuable finds are hidden in the archives of Radio Free Europe (which are still not fully researched or described). RFE prepared series of memorial broadcasts featuring well-known artists. I will mention a few whose recordings I have become familiar with: Waclaw Radulski, Hanna Dorwska and her husband Karol Dorwski, Wiktor Budzyński, and Leopold Kielanowski.

The best-known memoirs, quoted in many domestic publications, were written by, among others: Konrad Tom, Ludwik Lawiński, Feliks Konarski, Loda Halama, Marian Hemar, Leopold Kielanowski, Czesław Halski, Kazimierz Krukowski, Gwidon Borucki, Wiesław Mirecki, Kaja Mirecka-Ploss, Jadwiga Domańska, Maria Modzelewska, Danuta Mierzanowska, Maria Drue, Lidia Próchnicka, and Hanna Reszczyńska-Essigman.

Still unpublished in full are the interesting memoirs of Zofia Sikorska-Ratschka, privately a tailor at the émigré theater and wife of the well-known actor Roman Ratschka.

Renata Bogdańska-Anders is working on a book together with a well-known writer.

Three years ago, Włada Majewska published her memoirs *Od Lwowskiej Fali do Radia Wolna Europa* [From the Lviv Wave to Radio Free Europe]¹ with the Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie publishing house.

For more than a dozen years I have been interested in the post-war fate of the most prominent announcer of the revue theaters of pre-war Warsaw...

¹ W. Majewska, *Od Lwowskiej Fali do Radia Wolna Europa* [From the Lviv Wave to Radio Free Europe], Wrocław 2006.

After the war, Fryderyk Járosy (1889–1960) settled in London in the Polish community. He became a Polish émigré by choice, out of the need of his heart. Actually, in fact, he has always been an émigré. He was one since 1913, when, after his marriage to Natalia von Wrotnowski, he settled in Russia. In London, he tried to run a theater under its old name, the Cyrulik Warszawski, which was the first to get a taste of humiliation and decline in the émigré conditions.

Járosy was fluent in Polish, both spoken and written. One may find this surprising and impressive at the same time. The opinion of his Hungarian origins is a firmly established legend. He knew five languages, but did not understand Hungarian at all! His first language was German. He also spoke French and English. During the six years he spent in Russia, he learned Russian. When he came to Poland from Berlin in 1924 with his theater of Russian émigrés, Blue Bird, for several weeks of performances, Antoni Słonimski taught him Polish. Marian Hemar later became his second teacher. The third person, thanks to whom the difficult Polish language had no secrets for him, was Hanka Ordonówna. He never graduated from any Polish school or language course. The magic of his comperé skills resulted from his ridiculously incorrect Polish and his accent. “[...] I myself was amused when I heard my ‘laydees and jentlman’” – he recounted in his last radio interview with Teodozja Lisiewicz.

[...] my announcer style, he continued, emerged when I understood the words of Ludwig Börne – that humor is not a gift of the mind, but a gift of the heart. If they write that I have captured the hearts of a million Poles, and if this was indeed the case, it is because the dear Warsaw residents still have my tone of a *humoris causa* Pole ringing in their ears. A joke fished out seemingly from a misunderstanding of Polish sayings, but really from the richness of the language of an Antek living on the bank of Vistula, from the sentiment hidden in the melody of the rough Warsaw language, from the comedy of the dialect from Bielany.²

² The script of the broadcast was published in A. Mieszkowska’s book *Była sobie piosenka... Gwiazdy kabaretu i emigracyjnej Melpomeny* [Once upon a time there was a song... *The stars of cabaret and émigré Melpomene*] (Warszawa 2006, pp. 44–51).

During the occupation, while hiding from the Gestapo in various places, both in and outside of Warsaw, he wrote (under the pseudonym Efen) satirical poems in Polish and German.

Those he wrote in Polish were printed in the underground press, including in the *Demokrata*, *Moskit*, and *Kret* magazines. Some of them were duplicated and distributed in movie theaters and officially open theaters. Those written in German were pasted on train cars that went to the Eastern Front. He managed to smuggle twenty such works after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising; they were published as early as in 1945, in Hanover, in *Mein Kampf. Moja walka z doktorem Goebbelsem* [Mein Kampf. My fight against Doctor Goebbels].

This was the beginning of the literary, rhyming memoir essay writing of the famous cabaret artist. After his arrival in London, he wrote a crime novel set in the theatrical milieu of pre-war Warsaw, “Majsterszyk doktora Niewiadomskiego” [Doctor Niewiadomski’s masterpiece]. It survived in typescript, never published either in whole or in parts.³

Járosy was also the author of three plays: *Okoliczności łagodzące* [Mitigating circumstances], *Do usług madame* [At your service, madame], and *Nim kur zapieje* [Before the rooster crows]. The first two were played in émigré theaters. The first play was directed by Regina Kowalewska,⁴ and the second by the author himself, who also played, in his own “fantasy comedy,” the role of a servant to an English lord.⁵ The third play still has not been found. I do not know its contents, I only know that it was certainly never staged. The topic of the play was the realities of Polish émigré life in England. “After all, I belong to her!” – said the author at the ceremony where he was presented with the third prize for that very play, funded by the Veterans Association.⁶

I have lived with you here, he continued, I suffered and arranged biscuits with you. And let’s be honest – whatever my feelings for the real Poland may be, and

³ In the collection of the Archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (hereinafter: APAS), inventory number of F. Járosy’s legacy group: III-361.

⁴ Premiere in London in 1951.

⁵ Premiere in London in 1952.

⁶ In 1956.

no matter how correctly I would pronounce the “chrząszcz brzmi w trzcinie” tongue twister, I am a kind of outsider who looks at all that is happening seemingly from the sidelines and therefore observes it with great objectivity.

Only the *Mitigating Circumstances* were published by the Emigration Archive (Toruń, 2004).

In addition to novels and dramas, Járosy wrote short stories, skits, novellas, and radio plays, and a few of his poems and songs have survived. Unfortunately, he left no memoirs behind. Maybe because, as he believed, “autobiography never says anything bad about the author. It only reveals his poor memory.” However, there is evidence that he thought about writing down the experiences of his long, interesting life. He wanted to share his memories with someone. Interestingly, he wrote the beginning – just a few sentences and chapter titles – in Polish. It was as if he knew that his testimony of artistic experience would be important only to Poles. He even wrote down the title: “Biographical Romance. The Miracles of My Life.”

I know that he made the decision to write his memoirs in the autumn of 1957, after leaving the hospital where he recovered for a few weeks after another heart attack. He did not complete the project, but thanks to these few sentences preserved, I can guess what he missed and what brought him back to life after the serious illness. He wanted to fulfill his duty of remembrance. He felt the need to note things important to him from his professional, but also personal past. One day he sat down and wrote: “The first meeting with Eros. Venice. The summer of 1907. A girl with violet eyes, for whom I lost more than just my head. Then a short, manly conversation with the father.” Just that. He barely made a note of topics and inspirations, a substitute for memoirs that he probably wanted to expand:

Father’s letter for life’s journey. Winter in Davos. Assets. Wedding. Relatives. Tailor in Munich. Organizing the egg queue in Soviet Russia. Stanisławski’s studio. Oleczka, is that you? Blue Bird. How do you know Járosy? Qui pro Quo and making artists. Arrest and interrogation. Daniłowiczowska and Ordonka’s songs. Hitler’s speech. Occupation. Bidet. Books. I have seen them burn. The arrival of the Gestapo in Gołębki. Deaf gardener. Where is the foolish woman? Buchenwald. Polish card and death. Resurrection. English service. If I am still alive, this is a small misunderstanding. My travels.

The rest of the crumbs of memories remained in notes, on loose sheets of paper, in notebooks, in the last calendar of 1960, and in letters to friends and family.

From these miraculously preserved notes, I tried to arrange an autobiographical essay, as Fryderyk Járósy might have done. Even the titles of the various passages are borrowed from the protagonist of the unwritten memoirs.

All sentences are from his records, from different years. I just tried to arrange them into a chronological sequence of events. Occasionally, I only supplement them with information from other sources, for example, the memoirs of Marian Hemar or his daughter Marina.⁷ I keep my commentary to the necessary minimum.

The emigration journey of the great cabaret artist of the 20th century began in the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he was taken from a transport of expelled Warsaw insurgents in the autumn of 1944. But what happened before?

Chapter One: life goes on...!

Spring of 1939. The last premiere before the summer vacation. The Komedia Theater's stage manager rang the bell for the third time in the artists' dressing rooms and approached the hole in the curtain. He looked inside.

"The auditorium will be full," he said quietly to the electric standing next to him.

"Anyway, this was to be expected." He slowly walked to the corridor that led to the actresses' dressing rooms. He approached the first door. He stopped. He nodded sadly. He sighed deeply and waved his hand. He called out in an indifferent voice:

"We're starting!"

And once again on the second floor at the actors' dressing rooms:

"We're starting!"

He returned to his post and rang the bell for the third time in the foyer and the audience. He waited motionless for a minute. Then he said:

⁷ Marina Járósy-Kratochwil, born in 1915, currently lives in Vienna.

“Gong!”

“Put out the chandelier!”

“Second gong!”

“Put out the sides!”

“Dark auditorium!”

“Third gong!”

“Silence!”

“Curtain!!!”

He leaned against the side flat and looked ahead with a blank stare. He thought: “The director is right! Life goes on!”⁸

Chapter two: to live – not to die!

During the siege of Warsaw, I served as the commander of a block at 28–30 6 Sierpnia Street. Warsaw fell. Sitting in the Ziemiańska pastry shop on October 24, 1939, when asked by the film screenwriter Jan Fethke,⁹ “What is the director going to do?” I replied: “*Deutsche far Niente*” (as you know there is a well-known Italian proverb *Dolce far Niente*, meaning “delightful idleness”). On the next day I was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned at Daniłowiczowska Street. As it later turned out, Jan Fethke was a Volksdeutch and worked for the 5th Column. During the interrogation, I was accused of anti-Nazi activities before the war. I shared the prison cell with the former president of Warsaw Stefan Starzyński, the former Speaker of the Sejm Rataj, a well-known Polish Socialist Party activist Niedziałkowski, and others. After six months, at a court hearing in the Gestapo building in the Brühl Palace, I received a sentence: ten years in a penitentiary camp. I realized that this was worse than the death penalty and decided to run away.

When I was on my way back from the Gestapo to Daniłowiczowska Street in the company of six gendarmes, I suddenly came up with a fiendish plan

⁸ APAS, F. Járosov, “Majsterszyk doktora Niewiadomskiego” [Doctor Niewiadomski’s masterpiece].

⁹ Jan Fethke (1903–1980), a Silesian writer, film director and screenwriter. Originally from Opole, he studied in Gdańsk and began his film career in Berlin. After Hitler came to power, he emigrated to Poland, but he retained his German citizenship. In Poland, by 1939, he had directed several films and written more than a dozen film scripts. After the outbreak of World War II, he stayed in Warsaw and cooperated with the occupation authorities. He was arrested in 1944. After the war, he accepted Polish citizenship. Until 1960, he worked in the Polish film industry under a pseudonym. In 1962 he went on a business trip to West Berlin and stayed there. This is also where he died.

next to the European Hotel. I asked the highest-ranking man in the squad to let me shave at my regular barber shop in that hotel. The Wachmeister, of course, thought about it for a long time and finally agreed, giving me literally five minutes of time, while giving orders to his subordinates to guard the entrance to the shop, and followed me inside. Once inside, I headed momentarily to the back entrance leading to the hotel and, with excellent knowledge of the hotel's layout, began to run. Seeing no one and nothing, I ran like crazy, knocking over everything and everyone along the way. All I heard was a loud cry: "Halt! Halt!" After a few hours, losing consciousness, I found myself in some basement in the Old Town.

When I regained consciousness, I went to my friend Jurandot, who put me in the attic. There I rested for several months, growing a beard and a mustache. In this way, Fryderyk Járósy was eliminated. On the basis of new, or rather forged, documents, I saw the light of day again, as Franciszek Nowaczek. I joined the underground service as a propagandist. And so for several years, as Franciszek Nowaczek, changing my *pr* [place of residence], I wandered through villages and towns.¹⁰

For several months, from the autumn of 1940 to the spring of 1942, Járósy hid in the Warsaw ghetto. He generally did not leave his hiding place. Every once in a while, he had to change his location. He saw terrible scenes on the streets of the ghetto at the time. One of them he remembered and described ten years later in London, in the novella "Spotless Man."¹¹ The protagonist is walking down a London street. He meets a man who reminds him of someone. But whom? And what is it about this man's distinctive face that causes anxiety and makes him stop for a moment?

On one day, he remembered that smile! Yes! He never erased that smile from his life. It was after a roundup. An SS soldier was tormenting a group of captured Jews.

He made them jump on one foot, made them lie down in the mud, made them sing and dance. This amused the German very much. He stood on splayed

¹⁰ J. Leński, "Co mówi F. Járósy" [What F. Járósy says], *Dziennik Żołnierza APW*, August 10, 1945.

¹¹ APAS, F. Járósy, "Kryształowy człowiek" [Spotless man].

legs, with a horsewhip in his hand, and screamed. He laughed out loud. I can't forget this laughter.¹²

This laughter of the torturers haunted him throughout the post-war years. His daughter Marina recounted that her father, when meeting her in Austria or Switzerland, always looked closely at Germans who were of his generation. When she once asked why he was looking at them like that, as if he was looking for someone, he replied briefly: "Yes, I'm looking for someone."

Among his papers, I found a clipping from the London-based *Dziennik Polski* newspaper, presumably from the spring of 1960. A brief press release reported that the film *Warsaw Ghetto* had been stopped by British censors. A documentary depicting German atrocities committed during the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto was stopped by the Office of Film Censorship. "Screening of the film was prohibited, unless all scenes showing the victims' dead bodies were removed." On the destroyed piece of the newspaper, a note was made, presumably by him: "Idiots."

Chapter three: While we are alive!

Finally came the Uprising. As a lieutenant of the Home Army, I was at the Narutowicz Square – Filtrowa 68 – where I was wounded in the leg. Warsaw fell again. This time I was taken prisoner and sent to the Buchenwald camp. One day the Germans loaded the transport into freight cars. The transport consisted of about four thousand men and women. Of course, I was in that transport, which, as it turned out later, was designated to be killed with gas. When the train was at the train station in Celle (near Hanover), an escort of Allied bombers arrived. It caused a panic of unbelievable proportions. I saw through the barred windows that our escort began to flee. And this time I was lucky. I escaped and reached the hospital in Celle and hid there as a paramedic. On April 12, 1945, Allied troops entered Celle, and that's when I felt I was becoming Fryderyk Jąrosy again. I shaved off my beard and mustache and reported to the English authorities, telling them about my experiences.

Because of my language skills, I was hired as an interpreter for a hospital in Bad-Rehburg. In May, I started applying for a vacation in London to com-

¹² Ibidem.

municate with my family and friends. On June 12, I took a plane from Hamburg to London, stopping in Paris and Brussels on the way back. In Brussels, I was approached by a delegation from the Polish diaspora community with a request to create a theater, stressing that, unfortunately, in the territories of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, Polish refugees are deprived of all cultural events. It so happens that famous actresses Helena Grossówna, Eugenia Magierówna, and others are staying in Belgium.

While in London, I made contact with my old friend Marian Hemar, who will provide me with texts. With the support of the Polish Consulate in Belgium, I believe that the theater will develop successfully.

The theater will be literary and artistic, and will be called the Cyrulik Warszawski.¹³

Writing someone's biography is like solving a jigsaw puzzle. In order to see a picture of the life of the person described, one has to put it together from a huge number of small elements. It happens that successive pieces, found with great difficulty, do not fit together so precisely. They differ in some details. But this is not important for the overall portrait of the person.

As Fryderyk Jąrosy wrote: "Naturally, it wasn't quite like that, but it was not very different either."¹⁴

Chapter four: The first step! London 1946

After running the soldier's theater Cyrulik Warszawski for almost a year, following performances in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Italy, Fryderyk Jąrosy arrived in London in September 1946 with a large group of artists from other leading theaters.

For several weeks, he performed at the Polish Orzeł Biały club, the Polish Circle, and the Aviator House. He prepared three premieres, with which he visited dozens of hostels throughout England. On one occasion, so few spectators came to their performance that they did not have money to buy gasoline to get back to London. In the summer of 1947, the Cyrulik Warszawski theater ceased its operations.

¹³ J. Leński, "Co mówi F. Jąrosy..." [What F. Jąrosy says...].

¹⁴ Ibidem.

Járosy mentioned the problems he encountered in running the theater in a letter to Bronisław Horowicz on May 10, 1947:

I can't write anything joyful about myself. After wandering around as part of the First Division in Germany and of the Second Corps in Italy, I landed in England and am running a theater here called Cyrulik Warszawski [...], a theater that is doing poorly because the emigration here is probably the worst swamp I have had to go through in my life. Therefore, I intend to close this shed in the near future and look around for something cleaner and more dignified. The local Polish atmosphere, full of black-market, lies, and deviousness is something I can't stand. After I was granted honorary Polish citizenship in 1938, I learned from the press a week ago that the Warsaw government had deprived me (among others – e.g. Hemar, Tom, Krukowski, etc.) of my Polish citizenship, so that I would have to live with a U.N.O. passport. That's all right. They can go to hell.¹⁵

Three months later, in a letter to his daughter Marina, he wrote: "I had to stop working with the theater in London. I have a proposal for serious artistic work in Tel Aviv. A contract for six months."¹⁶

The "serious artistic work" at the Li-la-lo¹⁷ theater was arranged for Járosy by Antoni Borman. The contract was very favorable as it guaranteed directing three revues, performances for six months, room and board at the San Remo Hotel, and a high salary.

While in Tel Aviv, he received the address of Hanka Ordonówna, who lived in Lebanon. They had not seen each other since September 1939. In miraculously surviving letters, he described his situation in the Polish community in London. One of the letters reads:

¹⁵ Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, letter from F. Járosy to B. Horowicz dated May 10, 1947.

¹⁶ APAS, letter from F. Járosy to Marina Járosy-Kratochwil dated September 2, 1947.

¹⁷ See: N. Gross, "W drodze i po drodze – polskie korzenie hebrajskiego kabaretu" [On the road and on the way – the Polish roots of the Hebrew cabaret], *Emigration Archive. Studies – Sketches – Documents* 2000, book 3, pp. 103–111.

Tel Aviv, San Remo Hotel, November 10, [19]47

Dear, beloved Haneczka!

What is there to be ashamed of? I swallowed a few tears and shed a few when, after so many years – each counted as three – I saw your dear handwriting for the first time and the remnants of my graphological knowledge confirmed to me again that you are a nice guy, full of imagination, knowledge of people, faith in God and gods, in a word – as Helena calls you – the last romantic bird of our age!

How much joy in life, how much stimulus I have lost because of the fact that your letters to me – about which you write – did not arrive. I have no doubt whatsoever that it was human deviousness that played a large role in this, that deviousness from which I fled from London all the way here to Palestine, so as not to see people at least a little. [...] I lost all internal contact [...] with Zosia Terne, with Hemar's moral insanity, [...] with all the scum around the Warsaw Government like the buffoons of the second corps.

I understand a murderer who kills in the heat of passion, I understand a thief who steals out of misery, I understand the suicidal truth, the insane intransigence – but I no longer understand and don't want to understand the bread-eaters, the malicious bandits, the café writers, the political *geschaftenmacher*s, and that awful daily hypocrisy. They were the ones who caused the lion, after escaping from the captivity of a zoo – having returned to the free spaces – to still go back and forth, back and forth – as in the old cage.

Oh, with what immense joy, with what a smile in my soul, I would fly at your invitation to join you! Unfortunately, this is impossible at the moment, as I have a premiere on November 25, and I have rehearsals all day to make a real literary theater out of a dilettante *tingl-tangl*. So I don't have a single day off, because depending to whether this experiment succeeds or not, I will judge whether *Járosy* is over or whether I still have something to say to this nightmarish world. I'm doing an uncompromising program, aiming to educate the audience, so the risk is high!¹⁸

He never saw Hanka Ordonówna again. The first premiere, "Lounge," was successful.¹⁹ As an announcer using both Hebrew and Polish, *Járosy* said, among other things: "Where does the enthusiasm still present among the *émigrés* come from... After a glass or two, a Pole believes that the

¹⁸ APAS, letter from F. *Járosy* to H. Ordonówna dated November 10, 1947.

¹⁹ Account by Irena Mitelman from Tel Aviv, in the author's collection.

Thames hums like the Vistula, and he walks down Earls Court as if he were walking down Nowy Świat...”

The revue was played fifty times. The second performance, “For Adults Only,” was closed as a result of the warfare operations.²⁰ The third premiere never took place. Tel Aviv was on the front lines, and both actors and members of the audience were drafted. The city was deserted. The San Remo hotel burned down. The director of the Li-la-lo Theater had no money for the promised director’s salary. Járosy wrote a dramatic letter to his daughter Marina:

Only dogs attend theaters here now. It would be best if I left here as soon as possible, even as early as tomorrow. The theater currently does not pay. I lead a very frugal life. I am waiting for another Járosy’s miracle.²¹

At one point, the situation was truly dire. He simply found himself on the street, without a roof over his head or a livelihood. He was taken care of by Polish Jews living in Tel Aviv at the time, who remembered him from the old days. They organized a collection for a return ticket to London for him and Janina Wojciechowska, who accompanied him on the trip. During the last meeting with his friends, Járosy went to the window, caught the curtain as if it were a curtain in a theater, and said:

Ladies and gentlemen! How is it, actually, am I lucky with wars, or am I not lucky with wars?!

I know that it is very difficult to find happiness in oneself. But to find it elsewhere – it is outright impossible!²²

After returning to London, in another letter to Bronisław Horowicz, Járosy shared his impressions:

[Can] you imagine how many fantastic encounters I had in Palestine, where after two beautiful months I fell again (it haunts me!) into war trouble – and

²⁰ APAS, text in F. Járosy’s notes.

²¹ APAS, letter from F. Járosy to Marina Járosy-Kratochwil dated February 22, 1948.

²² Account by Irena Mitelman.

only by a miracle did I manage to escape from there. Now I'm living my quiet London life again. I earn my livelihood as a reader in a big film company, where I have to read books in five languages and give my opinion on whether they are suitable for filming or not – and why. Now and then I am unable to resist the temptation and perform in theater events, which is actually no longer appropriate for a gentleman of my age.²³

Chapter five: Second round! London 1948–1960

These “theater events” Járosy mentioned in a letter to a friend were the premieres of two Felix Konarski's revues. But he could not make a living on his theater income. He unsuccessfully tried to get a permanent job, first at the BBC radio and then at Radio Free Europe. Although his qualifications were appreciated, the refusal to hire him was justified by his age. Hence the dramatic decision to take a job at a biscuit factory. During the night shift. In a letter to his daughter, he wrote about it as follows:

I had to accept a manual job to be able to get even the lowest pension benefit in the future. What do I do? I put biscuits into boxes. But the worst thing is that it is night work, which English workers do not want to do.²⁴

In one of the notebooks I found such a comment on this situation:

Just when I would finally have free time to do real, mature, and in-depth work in my favorite trade, life (mocking me!) arranges itself so that I have to leave everything I have achieved, and in view of the fact that I can't make a living from my trade, I have to go somewhere to earn a living, somewhere to turn a wheel, grease an axle in someone else's indifferent body. That's the kind of work I've always hated, and that's probably why I can't find any work. And what kind of work am I capable of doing? Where I can be needed and where they can use me so as not to destroy what constitutes my life, my life task, finally – my duty. Do I really have to let go?²⁵

²³ Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, letter from F. Járosy to B. Horowicz dated September 1, 1948.

²⁴ APAS, letter from F. Járosy to Marina Járosy-Kratochwil dated August 1, 1948.

²⁵ APAS, from F. Járosy's notes.

He lasted less than a year at the biscuit factory. This was enough for him to receive welfare benefits.

On another page of the same notebook he wrote: "I no longer have the strength to groom artists as I used to do." Despite this tiring work and his not very good mental condition, he wrote. Novels, monologues. Funny scenes for the radio. As part of the "Émigrés" series, the *Thank You, Wilfried Pickles!* radio play was created. Here is an excerpt from it:

If a man circles around the same house about a hundred times in one night, he is either hopelessly in love or... a night guard. In my case – it was the latter. After a long effort, I managed to get the job. I had to present very good and serious recommendations, prove my participation in the World War under British command, and two English friends had to vouch for me. I now have a black uniform and walk with an even stride around the department store every night.

On one occasion, on that nightly round, the protagonist of the story was accompanied by a young English woman. Betty quickly realized that the elderly guard was not her compatriot.

"French?"

"No. A Pole."

"Right! Are you a refugee?"

"Yes."

She sighed and nodded.

"And were you a night guard in your country, too?"

"I laughed cordially: No!"

"And what did you do there?"

"I was a director and an actor."

"Then you are used to the night life!"

"To some extent."

"Were you a well-known artist before the war?"

"Quite well-known."

"Like Wilfried Pickles?"

"More or less."

"Do you know this? She hummed an old song."

"I know it. I once built a grand finale in my theater to this tune."

"Tell me about it!"

I told her about the revues at my theater in Warsaw, described the finale in which we sang to that note, and tried to translate the Polish words of the finale for her. The fog was getting thicker and thicker, but I could see that she

had tears in her eyes and, as if mesmerized, was looking at my lips as I hummed the Polish chorus of the song in my clumsy translation:

There are so many new truths every day –
The heart knows the oldest truth –
The heart knows the deepest truth –
that there is no happiness –
Unless there we are together!

I paused and laughed out loud: “Yes, it was all in the past! Now it is gone! Now let’s watch out for the burglar!” [...].²⁶

Occasionally, however, Radio Free Europe invited Fryderyk Jąrosy to run concerts and special programs with the participation of an audience. In January 1955, he hosted a carnival party, which was broadcast to Poland. In May of that year, when greeting an audience in London and listeners in Poland, he said, among other things:

It is with great emotion and surprise that I always appear before the microphone of Radio Free Europe to address my loyal listeners and friends in Poland. I wonder whether cabaret outside of Poland is supposed to be a current, political cabaret. Whether the modern announcer is to serve the ideals of one party? Should he stand on the state ground with one foot, with the other on the international ground and the third on pure artistry. As an émigré, I feel like a soldier of this great army, to whose commanders we owe the fact that the Polish theatrical art has not died during its wandering in foreign countries. On the contrary, it has developed beautifully. I notice how strange the mixture is in the soul of an émigré is. On the one hand, he experiences a perpetual complex of diminished value, and on the other hand, he has a large portion of megalomania...

I offer words and gestures of gratitude to my faithful friends, fellow compatriots, and I feel caught red handed in the act of social ethics, artistic enthusiasm, and deep commitment to the kind of Poland I dream of and in whose coming I sacredly believe. The heart weeps when you have the country in your heart!²⁷

²⁶ APAS, F. Jąrosy, notes.

²⁷ Ibidem.

After this statement, the announcer received a round of cordial applause, but the management of Polish Section of Radio Free Europe did not like it. It was considered political, and he had not received a permission for such comments from Director Jan Nowak-Jeziorański.

This was the last public radio appearance of “old Fryc,” as Ludwik Lawiński called him.

On May 12, 1955, in a letter to Bronisław Horowicz, bitter Fryderyk wrote: “Somehow it so happens that since I walked away from the theatrical mess that theatrical people cultivate as émigrés, no one wants to do any business with me.”²⁸

He conveyed a kind of farewell, almost a last will, in the last letter I was able to find. He wrote to Anna Antik, a dancer and choreographer, and a friend from his youth in Russia, on July 25, 1960, twelve days before his fatal heart attack:

As the years go by, a person becomes so lonely that he or she begins to envy anyone who is done with it all. Everything can be persuaded, everything can be reconciled with, but what should one do when such a longing for folly, for youth, for memories of the happiest years comes upon a person? I was in Hyde Park today. I recalled various details of our life in Moscow. How a person changes in old age! In all the years since leaving Russia with Naya, I have defended myself against memories of that period, I saw so much crime there that I wanted to forget that period of my life forever. And now I think that our time in Moscow, despite all the complications, was one of the happiest times in our lives. Looking at the very old trees in the park, I said out loud: – You will not forget that a man who had an interesting life once stood here by your side.²⁹

Two weeks after his friend’s death, Marian Hemar published a memoir in London’s *Dziennik Polski*, which he titled the most simply: “Fryderyk.”³⁰ In it, he revealed his most hidden feelings:

²⁸ Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, letter from F. Járośy to B. Horowicz dated May 12, 1955.

²⁹ APAS, letter from F. Járośy to A. Antik dated July 25, 1960.

³⁰ M. Hemar, “Fryderyk,” *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, August 22, 1960, p. 2.

HISTORY OF LITERATURE

The punishment for those who remain alive is deep regret, irreparable, and remorse, which burns with bitter shame. What a pity that everything in people that is kind to each other and sympathetic, agreeable and reasonable, cheerful and friendly, is obstructed by nervous resentments and childish sulking – childishly empty when measured against the horror and seriousness of death.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2009, no. 1 (10)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2009.010>

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“Old Lecher, it’s Time for You to the Grave...” – Late Elegies (?) by Czesław Miłosz

The volume *To [This]* by Czesław Miłosz was published in 2000, when the poet was eighty-nine years old. I took the quote used in the title of my essay from the poem “An Honest Description of Myself with a Glass of Whiskey at An Airport, Let Us Say, in Minneapolis.” The poem begins as follows:

My ears catch less and less of conversations, and my eyes have weakened,
though they are still insatiable.

I see their legs in miniskirts, slacks, wavy fabrics.

Peep at each one separately, at their buttocks and thighs, lulled by the
imaginings of porn.

Old lecher, it’s time for you to the grave, not to the games and amusements
of youth.¹

I chose both the quote and the poem, as well as the second part of the title of my article, deliberately. I think it is a representative piece of Miłosz’s late poetry, written, let us say, in the last five years of the past century and

¹ C. Miłosz, “An Honest Description of Myself with a Glass of Whiskey at An Airport, Let Us Say, in Minneapolis,” translated by C. Miłosz and R. Hass, in: idem, *New and Collected Poems 1931–2001*, London etc. 2005, p. 679.

the first years of the present century. Perhaps not in all these works, but certainly in this particular poem one can find themes, images, motifs, and a specific ironic style that have become a hallmark of the “old Miłosz.” I will explain this opinion later in this essay.

In the title, I “promise” to deal with Miłosz’s “late elegies” here. So I should start my argument with this genre qualification. Because – you can probably accuse me of this – it is not the elegies I will be writing about here. Elegy as a literary genre originated in ancient Greece, emerged from lamenting lyrics and funeral songs, was sung at funerals, and its verse form (specifically the elegiac couplet) was probably its only distinguishing feature.² In the 20th century, elegies can be found in the works of poets of such caliber as Rainer Maria Rilke, Wystan Hugh Auden, Władysław Broniewski, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, and – as the authors of the *Dictionary of Literary Genres* point out – Czesław Miłosz, Zbigniew Herbert, and Mieczysław Jastrun.³ They write that:

in the modern understanding, an elegy [...] is a lyrical work with serious content, which is reflective and maintained in the tone of despair, and which combines personal and metaphysical problems (the rules of fate, evanescence, death, or love).⁴

So, if Miłosz’s name appears in an entry as that of the creator of 20th-century elegies, this information certainly does not apply to the poems I will be writing about here, which come from the volumes *To [This]* (2000) and *Second Space* (Polish edition 2002, English edition 2004). I believe that the authors of the *Dictionary* included Miłosz in their definition because of the poem *Elegy* which comes from *Trzy zimy* [Three Winters] (1936), and the poem *Elegy for N. N.*, written in 1963, from *Gdzie wschodzi słońce i kędy zapada* [Where the Sun Rises and Where it Sets] (1974). The gap between these “elegies” and the poems of the late 20th and early 21st century is as great as the difference between the poet’s attitude to the literary genre

² Cf. M. Głowiński et al., *Słownik terminów literackich* [Dictionary of literary terms], Wrocław 1998, p. 117.

³ See: M. Bernacki, M. Pawlus, *Słownik gatunków literackich* [Dictionary of literary genres], Bielsko-Biała 1999, p. 53.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 53; my emphasis.

before the middle of the past century and at its end, as the gap that separates *Three Winters* from *This* and *Second Space*.⁵ Those "elegies" (from 1936 and 1963), contrary to their titles, are not "elegies" according to dictionary definitions. The poems I will discuss here, including the piece quoted at the beginning, are elegies, or more precisely, they enter into a fundamental dispute with the tradition of the genre.

A definition of a 20th-century elegy that is even more "capacious" than that provided by the authors of the *Dictionary* is proposed by Roman Doktor. Writing about the four "elegies" by Józef Czechowicz, he pointed out that:

he had stayed among poets close to him ideologically, such as Julian Przyboś, Aleksander Wat, Marian Piechal, Stefan Napierski, and Czesław Miłosz, but also among poets with different views: Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Antoni Słonimski, Julian Tuwim, Jan Lechoń, and others.

Then he formulated the following opinion:

Why was elegy such a popular genre during that period [the interwar period – J. O.]? [...] Elegy was not based on overly rigorous assumptions. It did not have to fear the infantilism of the idyll or the pathos of the ode, although this genre was also present in the poetry of that period. To this day, it is a capacious genre in terms of subject matter and is fairly homogeneous in mood.

After all, by nature, poetry enjoys the atmosphere of reflection and nostalgia, and a sense of loss and of the passing of the world into oblivion that permeates our souls. This is basically how 20th-century elegies function. No formal considerations are important. The essence of the genre is determined by the conventionality of its melancholic mood and the sense of loss of some value. Sometimes there are also certain peculiar semantic preferences for such words as grief, sadness, suffering, tears, pain, and parting.⁶

⁵ I have written on Miłosz's attitude to literary genres elsewhere, see: J. Olejniczak, "Gatunek jako temat (Przykład Czesława Miłosza)" [The genre as a topic (An example of Czesław Miłosz)], in: W. Bolecki, I. Opacki, eds., *Genologia dzisiaj* [Genology today], Wrocław 2000, pp. 67–76.

⁶ J. Doktor, "Elegie Czechowicza" [Czechowicz's elegies], in: J. Świąch, ed., *Józef Czechowicz. Od awangardy do nowoczesności* [Józef Czechowicz. From avant-garde to modernity], Lublin 2004, pp. 97–98.

As can be seen from these cursory descriptions of 20th-century “elegies” recalled here, in the poetic practice of the past century, the rigors of the genre were fundamentally “loosened” and “diluted.” All the cited researchers agree that the formal determinants (“elegiac couplet”?) no longer apply, and therefore the requirements that remain concern the topic and the mood. Melancholy, metaphysics and “a sense of loss and of the passing of the world into oblivion” are sufficient characteristics for a piece of poetry to be “nominated” as an elegy. The matter is complicated, however, because the awareness of the decline of the genre paradigm of the elegy has its own romantic tradition – it was discussed already by Kazimierz Brodziński.⁷ Ireneusz Opacki also pointed this out in his excellent interpretation of Juliusz Słowacki’s poem “On the Bringing of the Ashes of Napoleon.”⁸

Irony does not fit elegy, neither does “low” or colloquial style, or its elements, nor, I believe, eroticism. In the Eros-Thanatos opposition, the elegy situates itself on the side of death. Love can, admittedly, be the topic of an elegy, but not in its somatic, bodily aspect. An elegy is on the side of maturity, experience, and old age; sometimes it is a contemplation of passing... The subject of an elegy is a melancholic person, and so is its style (tone?)... The subject of an elegy gazes at the irretrievably lost past... All of these elements are challenged, even negated in “An Honest Description of Myself”! So what features of elegy remain in Miłosz’s poem? Paradoxically, it is an element that has been rejected by modern elegies: the verse structure! In *An Honest Description of Myself*,” he uses the couplet, which admittedly is “broken” in the second stanza (shortened to one line) and in the last stanza (extended to three lines). All other determinants of elegy are negated in this piece; not coincidentally, the oppositions are sharp,

⁷ See: K. Brodziński, “O elegii” [On elegy], in: idem, *Pisma estetyczno-krytyczne* [Aesthetic and critical writings], compiled by A. Łucki, vol. 1, Warsaw 1934, pp. 321–330.

⁸ See: I. Opacki, “Odwrócona elegia (‘Na sprowadzenie prochów Napoleona’ Juliusza Słowackiego)” [A reversed elegy (Juliusz Słowacki’s “On the Bringing of the Ashes of Napoleon”)], in: idem, *Odwrócona elegia. O przenikaniu się postaci gatunkowych w poezji* [A reversed elegy. On the interpenetration of genre forms in poetry], Katowice 1999, pp. 161–190.

polar: Thanatos–Eros, old age–praise of youth, melancholy–irony... And yet, after all, there is an elegiac element in the poem. The autobiographical subject⁹ – the “old poet” – reflects on the passing of time:

But I do what I have always done: compose scenes of this earth under orders from the erotic imagination.

It's not that I desire these creatures precisely; I desire everything, and they are like a sign of ecstatic union.

It's not my fault that we are made so, half from disinterested contemplation, half from appetite.

In this gesture he is identical to Miłosz – the author of the preface to the series *For Heraclitus* from the volume *Kroniki* [Chronicles] (1988):

The mystery of the shifting of each “today” into “yesterday,” the disappearance of each “is” replaced by “was,” the river bank on which we stand, watching the current carry away the familiar sights, but also ourselves deluding ourselves that we are standing on the bank. And since this is the fate of all of us, also in the face of the power of time any differences capable of dividing us disappear, and a sense of elementary human togetherness must resound. [...]

The story of my century has been forming in my head for decades, but with no illusions about the possibility of encapsulating it in some romance with a colorful cover. Frames of a huge film simply came back running one after another and called for any of them to be stopped. This stopping was largely what my poetry relied on. I am not sure whether it is the best instrument for this, but I had no other, since I was not tempted by the profession of novelist.¹⁰

But also the topos of the “old poet” is broken here, because, after all, the barely indicated motif of saying goodbye to the world and creativity is “overshadowed” in the poem by greed, insatiability, as well as erotic desire:

⁹ I think that describing the subject of “An Honest Description” as “autobiographical” is justified by a number of elements of the poem, all of which are intertextual and referring to Miłosz’s earlier works. Even the lyrical situation in this poem is a lyrical counterpart to the narrative situation of many passages of *A Year of the Hunter*.

¹⁰ C. Miłosz, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], Cracow 1988, pp. 30, 31.

the ears hearing less and less and the weakening eyes are still insatiable and “peep” at beautiful young women passing by, and the subject is “lulled by the imaginings of porn”...

In the penultimate couplet, there is a vision of Heaven, where “[...] it must [...] be as it is here,” and the subject will be “Changed into pure seeing...” and will

[...] absorb, as before, the proportions of human bodies, the color of irises, a Paris street in June at dawn, all of it incomprehensible, incomprehensible the multitude of visible things.

I would like to point out that the image of Heaven cited here, although in a different function, also appears in many other works of “late Miłosz,” which I once described as “birthday” works.¹¹ For example, in the commemorative piece “For my Eighty-Eight Birthday”:

And I, taken by youthful beauty,
 bodily, not durable,
 its dancing movement among ancient stones.
 [...]
 Long ago I left behind
 the visiting of cathedrals and fortified towers.
 I am like someone who just sees and doesn't pass away,
 a lofty spirit despite his gray head and the afflictions of age.¹²

I will now return to the question of genre. It is not spurious. Can poems from the last period of the work of the author of *The Land of Ulro*, such as: “An Honest Description of Myself with a Glass of Whiskey at An Airport, Let Us Say, in Minneapolis,” “For My Eighty-Eight Birthday,” “Poet at Seventy,” “Po osiemdziesiątce” [In my eighties], “W pewnym wieku” [At a certain

¹¹ See: J. Olejniczak, “Poeta dziewięćdziesięcioletni – Czesław Miłosz” [A ninety years old poet – Czesław Miłosz], in: T. Cieślak, K. Pietrych, eds., *Literatura polska 1990–2000* [Polish literature 1990–2000], vol. 1, Cracow 2002, pp. 61–78.

¹² C. Miłosz, “For My Eighty-Eight Birthday,” translated by C. Miłosz and R. Hass, in: idem, *New and Collected Poems 1931–2001*, p. 680.

age], and "A Prayer," be described as elegies? Or is their designation as belonging to this genre a path leading to an explanation of their deep meanings and the phenomenon of the vitality of the "old poet's" poems? I do not mean the vitality articulated in them directly: "Old lecher, it's time for you to the grave, not to the games and amusements of youth." I mean the phenomenal vitality of this poetry, its constantly evolving poetic language, its unremitting engagement with an increasingly alien world, and its constant capacity for delight in that world. "A more and more alien world" – Miłosz declared his attachment to pre-1914 Europe in many places; in the *Introduction to For Heraclitus*, he wrote:

As one can easily see, my imagination likes to turn to "La Belle Époque," to the time before 1914. Perhaps because all the people active at the time, both known and unknown to me, have died, so the story about them has the "color of eternity" right away. Or perhaps the closer the days of our modern disasters get to us, the more difficult it is to free the memory from the aches it does not want, from which it flees? Although there are probably other reasons for my interest. The 19th century, by no means idyllic, prepared the props for the show that was to begin soon; unfortunately, the symbolic knives, swords, and daggers were to prove all too real, and blood was used instead of red paint. So the moment of a stop, before the curtain was raised in 1914.¹³

But after all, with regard to the works of Miłosz, genre questions must be posed... They were "designed" by the poet himself with the two elements of his poetry: the large number of genre terms occurring in the titles of his works (besides elegy, these include song, hymn, lullaby, poem, parable, legend, treatise, prayer, ode, chronicle, notebook, epigraph, album, memoir, dialogue, biography, report, lecture, and meditation) and the bringing of the genre problem into the topic, with the longing for

[...] a more spacious form
that would be free from the claims of poetry or prose

¹³ Idem, *Kroniki* [Chronicles], p. 32.

and would let us understand each other without exposing the author or reader to sublime agonies¹⁴

– to recall a stanza from “Ars Poetica?”¹⁵ One has to ask, of course, what purpose does this condensation of genre terms in Miłosz’s poetry serve? How would he define the concept of genre, or perhaps which of the elements of the literary definition of genre was most significant in his poetic practice? I think that in addition to playing with the literary tradition – that of Romanticism and Enlightenment (Miłosz deliberately chooses a classical set of literary genres for his discourse with Romanticism and declares his attachment to the poetry of the 18th century, even if he rather calls Adam Mickiewicz the master of his poetry) – the most significant factor is the rhetorical value of the genre. The choice of a genre shapes the reception of the text and models the expectations of the audience.

So, when an over-eighty-year-old poet uses the motifs of saying goodbye to his work, old age, and death, when he poses metaphysical questions, when he uses the technique of self-portrait (“At a Certain Age,” “In My Eighties”), the expected tone of the poetic language is elegiac and the genre is elegy... But Miłosz radically reverses the order of elegy...

Are “An Honest Description of Myself with a Glass of Whiskey at An Airport, Let Us Say, in Minneapolis” and the other works by Miłosz mentioned here thus “reversed elegies,” as Opacki described “On the Bringing of the Ashes of Napoleon”? Would Miłosz’s gesture therefore be inherently romantic? Yes, but with one, albeit important, caveat – unlike in Słowacki’s

¹⁴ Idem, “Ars Poetica?”, translated by C. Miłosz and L. Vallee, in: idem: *New and Collected Poems 1931–2001*, p. 240.

¹⁵ See: J. Olejniczak, “Gatunek jako temat...” [The genre as a topic...]; R. Matuszewski, “Czesława Miłosza dążenie do formy pojemnej” [Czesław Miłosz’s pursuit of spacious form]; Z. Łapiński, “Oda i inne gatunki oświeceniowe” [Ode and other Enlightenment genres]; S. Balbus, “‘Pierwszy ruch jest śpiewanie’ (O wierszu Miłosza – rozpoznanie wstępne)” [“The first movement is singing” (On Miłosz’s poem – initial determination)], in: J. Kwiatkowski, ed., *Poznanawanie Miłosza. Studia i szkice o twórczości poety* [Recognizing Miłosz. Studies and sketches on the poet’s works], Cracow 1985; M. Zaleski, “Miłosz: piosenki niewinności i doświadczenia” [Miłosz: the songs of innocence and experience], *Teksty Drugie* 1991, no. 1/2, pp. 81–95; R. Nycz, *Sylwy współczesne. Problem konstrukcji tekstu* [Modern Silvae rerum. The problem of text structure], Wrocław 1984.

Józef Olejniczak "Old Lecher, it's Time for You to the Grave..."

poem, this "elegiac theater" in Miłosz's poem is about the poet himself, it is the experience of the subject – author... Who, since I have already referred to the context of Romantic poetry, is closer to the subject of Mickiewicz's *Lausanne Lyrics*.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2007, no. 1 (9)

https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/gazeta/ae_9.pdf

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Our Language, Their Language. Once Again about the Text Variants of Czesław Miłosz's "Campo dei Fiori"

1.

"Campo dei Fiori" – "the best known, or at any rate the most frequently published poem by Czesław Miłosz,"¹ a work that is "well known, thoroughly interpreted, actually obvious,"² exists in the popular consciousness as a "great poem"³ that, in 1943, after the final liquidation of the Jewish ghetto before the eyes of the rest of the population of Warsaw, saved "the honor

¹ N. Gross, "Dzieje jednego wiersza" [The history of one poem], in: idem, *Poeci i Szoa. Obraz Zagłady Żydów w poezji polskiej* [Poets and Shoah. The image of the Holocaust in Polish poetry], Sosnowiec 1993, p. 84.

² P. Mitzner, "Słowa szukając na Campo di Fiori. Czesław Miłosz wobec kryzysu języka" [Looking for words at Campo de' Fiori. Czesław Miłosz facing the crisis of language], *Dialog* 2010, no. 1, p. 100.

³ B. Chrzęstowska, *Poezje Czesława Miłosza* [The poetry of Czesław Miłosz], 3rd ed., Warsaw 1998, p. 113.

of Polish literature.”⁴ Almost from the beginning, the poem became a kind of a monument that one admires, is proud of, and brings school tours and foreign visitors to see it, but it is impossible to talk to it. The author himself was not very keen on accepting the status of the work as a masterpiece, and a moral rather than a literary one at that. He once said about it that it was a poem “written about dying from the position of an observer,” which made it “very immoral.”⁵ This revisionist approach was adopted by the critic Jan Błoński when, in a well-known essay, he juxtaposed “Campo dei Fiori” with the poem “A Poor Christian Looks at the Ghetto” written almost at the same time, in which Miłosz swaps the safe role of an observer of tragic events for the position of a guilt-stricken witness of a crime.⁶

The internal dialogue going on in the poet’s works and self-commentaries, brought out and amplified by the critic, is very instructive, and nowadays probably only school reading of “Campo dei Fiori” is still possible – it must be said: unfortunately – without taking into account the complementary voice of “A Poor Christian.”

Interestingly, however, in “Campo dei Fiori” itself, one can discover an internal dialogue that contradicts the accusations raised against the poem – again, especially by the author himself – of its simplistic, unambiguously explicit, declarative character, and “journalistic” nature.⁷ It seems that since its birth in 1943 the poem has led in different directions and was subjected to clashing trends of meaning and worldview. Indirect evidence to this is its existence in two divergent, though nearly equal in age, versions. The first appeared anonymously in a collection of verse by various poets focused on the Holocaust, published clandestinely in Warsaw in April 1944 under the title *Z otchłani* [From the abyss]. It was later

⁴ A. Sandauer, *O sytuacji pisarza polskiego pochodzenia żydowskiego w XX wieku. (Rzecz, którą nie ja powinienem był napisać...)* [On the situation of a Polish writer of Jewish origin in the 20th century. (Something that someone else should have written...)], Warsaw 1982, p. 44.

⁵ [E. Czarnecka] R. Gorczyńska, *Podróżny świata. Rozmowy z Czesławem Miłoszem. Komentarze* [The world traveler. Conversations with Czesław Miłosz. Commentaries], Cracow 1992, pp. 58–59.

⁶ J. Błoński, “The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto”, *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 2008, vol. 2. Such a comparison was made earlier by Sandauer (*On the Situation of a Polish Writer*, pp. 44–45).

⁷ [E. Czarnecka] R. Gorczyńska, *Podróżny świata* [The world traveler], p. 59.

reprinted in the United States as *Poezje ghetta* [Poetry of the ghetto] (1945), while after the war it was included in an anthology compiled by Michał M. Borwicz titled *Pieśń ujdzie cało* [The song will escape unharmed] (1947). The second version of the poem found its way into the initial issue of the monthly magazine *Twórczość* (dated August 1945) and a few months later was included with minimal changes in Miłosz's volume titled *Ocalenie* [Survival] (December 1945).

The fact that “Campo dei Fiori” existed in two versions was ignored for many years. It was finally noticed circa 1980 by David Weinfeld, one of the Hebrew translators of the poem, and his observation was followed by Natan Gross, who, by comparing several editions, discovered more than a dozen differences between them. In an emotional essay, Gross recounts the history of his search for the textual variants, argues with the poet about the most accurate form of the poem, and finally cites an excerpt from his correspondence with Miłosz, proving that the artist himself had been unaware of the existence of various versions of “Campo dei Fiori”:

What you wrote to me about “Campo dei Fiori” is a surprise to me [...]. It was a long time ago and the versions of the text have blurred in my memory. Perhaps the poem had several versions right away in 1943, one of which I gave for the anthology *From the Abyss*, where it first appeared. It is likely that there was a different version in the manuscript that survived, and that one was published in the volume *Survival* in 1945. I have never compared the different versions, which is why your conclusions from your close reading were so sensational...⁸

It seems that the poet's becoming aware of Gross's findings influenced the shape of the edition of the poem in the series of Miłosz's works published by the Znak publishing house, first in the *Wiersze* [Poems] in 1993 (ZW) and then in the *Dzieła zebrane* [Collected works] in 2001 (DZ).⁹ The latter publication, the last edition of “Campo dei Fiori” prepared with the

⁸ C. Miłosz, A letter to N. Gross; quoted after: N. Gross, “Dzieje jednego wiersza” [The history of one poem], p. 89.

⁹ List of abbreviations is at the end of the article. If not indicated otherwise, all the emphases in the quotations are mine.

poet's participation, is a kind of compromise between the variants of the text living separate lives until then.

This does not change the fact that for half a century "Campo dei Fiori" existed in two independent versions. In fact, it still exists that way, as interpreters and users of the poem, who operate at different levels and in different registers – from popular to specialized, from school to academic, in Poland and abroad – use one of the versions established in the mid-1940s. These versions, as Piotr Mitzner states, while being "radically different from the interpretive point of view," are not contradictory and complement each other.¹⁰ I will argue for an even more far-reaching proposition: "Campo dei Fiori" not only can be read, but even should be read as the sum of its two versions, because only by considering both versions of the poem it is possible to see the cracks in the poem's semantic structure and, paradoxically, thanks to this very fact, to understand the poem more deeply.

2.

In the appendix to the Polish version of this article (*Archiwum Emigracji* 2011, vol. 1–2), I provide a summary of the dissimilarities based on eleven textual witnesses of "Campo dei Fiori," organizing and complementing Natan Gross' observations. Mostly these are minor editorial alterations that are not worth discussing in detail here. However, two passages contain significant differences that change the perspective of the poem. Characteristically, the surviving manuscript of "Campo dei Fiori" shows work on the text in one of these spots – and only there; numerous deletions and corrections illustrate the path from a version resembling the first edition of the poem to a version close to the one the poet accepted at the end of his life.¹¹ Both passages, as Mitzner noted, deal with questions of language

¹⁰ P. Mitzner, "Słowa szukając na Campo di Fiori" [Looking for words at Campo de' Fiori], pp. 100, 101.

¹¹ The manuscript of "Campo dei Fiori," kept in Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Czesław Miłosz Papers Series II. Writings, GEN MSS 661 Box 83 f. 1117), is not dated.

and possibility of expression, and thus not only with categories central to Miłosz's understanding of the essence of poetry and the poet's duty, but also with fundamental issues related to the literary representation of the Holocaust. Let us recall these fragments along with the critics' comments on their differences. The first passage deals with the death of Giordano Bruno. The version published in 1944 reads:

[...] kiedy Giordano	[...] when Giordano
Wstępował na rusztowanie	Climbed to his burning
<i>Nie było w ludzkim języku</i>	<i>There were no words</i>
Ani jednego wyrazu	In any human tongue
Aby coś zdołał powiedzieć	To be left for mankind, [verbatim: so that he could say something to]
Ludzkości, która zostaje.	Mankind who live on.
(ZO)	(SP)

The 1945 version, which coincides with the manuscript, reads:

[...] kiedy Giordano	[...] when Giordano
Wstępował na rusztowanie,	Climbed to his burning
<i>Nie znalazł w ludzkim języku</i>	<i>He found no words</i>
Ani jednego wyrazu,	In any human tongue
<i>Aby nim ludzkość pożegnać,</i>	<i>To bid farewell to mankind,</i>
Tę ludzkość, która zostaje.	Mankind who live on.
(O)	(SP, modified)

Gross commented on the change:

I find it difficult to accept this reduction of the image and the feeling. After all, it is [...] about the symbol and the parallel – and what was said in the first part (about Giordano) also applies to the second part (about the disappearing ghetto) – and vice versa. There (in the burning ghetto), too, “there were no words in any human tongue” to describe the crime taking place.¹²

¹² N. Gross, “Dzieje jednego wiersza” [The history of one poem], p. 87.

For Mitzner, too, this is a manifestation of a “weakening of the radicalism of own first thought”: “in the earlier version, Miłosz expresses a more radical view of language in which there are no appropriate words, and in the later version he softens it with the hope that only in this case these words have not been found.”¹³ Also, the last two lines of the passage have been met with the critics’ objections. Mitzner sees a shallowing of the meaning: “After all, ‘to say something’ is more than to bid farewell, it is to pass on something important: knowledge, a last will.”¹⁴ Gross, on the other hand, grumbles at the repetition of the word “mankind”: “and is there another mankind, one that does not remain? Because, after all, he [the poet] cannot bid farewell to the mankind that will come after him.”¹⁵

However, at least in the last case – and indirectly in the previous ones – Miłosz’s corrections can be defended. The repetition in the final stanza not only serves to maintain the rhythm, very strong and clear in the Polish original, but also has a deeper meaning: it divides mankind, as it were, into two groups: those who remain and those who die. It reminds us that along with Giordano Bruno and the murdered Jews, mankind, humanity was also dying. Also, the repetition suggests that it is between those dying and the rest that an impassable barrier grows in the language, in which not only can nothing weighty be said, but it is impossible even to formulate a farewell. The word stays with us, those remaining, and it has been taken away from those dying.¹⁶ Contrary to the critics quoted above, I would say

¹³ P. Mitzner, “Słowa szukając na Campo di Fiori” [Looking for words at Campo de’ Fiori], pp. 103, 102.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 103.

¹⁵ N. Gross, “Dzieje jednego wiersza” [The history of one poem], p. 88.

¹⁶ The passage in question also has a poignant reference to facts, which is not indicated in the poem directly. According to some accounts, Giordano Bruno was led into the pyre with his tongue immobilized by a wooden gag to prevent him from uttering sinful, troublemaking words; see: *Giordano Bruno przed trybunałem inkwizycji. Akta procesu* [Giordano Bruno before the Inquisition court. Process files], translated from Italian by W. Zawadzki, Warsaw 1953, pp. 114–115, 165. The relationship between “Campo dei Fiori” and historical facts deserves a separate study.

that the poet left the stronger, more dramatic and less morally comfortable version for those who remain, including himself.

Gross continues his argument:

When Miłosz created this poem under the impression of houses burning with living people, he could have thought and written that there were no words in human language that could justify what the eyes could see – it was undoubtedly a sincere expression of his feelings, which were echoed by other poets as well. “Poetry died in Auschwitz” was an accepted saying during those times.¹⁷

However, we all know that it did not die, and “Campo dei Fiori” is the best example of this. Would this or any other post-war poem have been written if indeed “there were no words in any human tongue” for expressing evil and suffering, if we were not able not only to describe horrifying experiences, but also to tame them, thus somehow neutralizing them, with the help of beautiful words and through the power of stories? There is always something hypocritical in phrases about the death of poetry written by any poet. The change made by Miłosz diminishes this arguably necessary load of hypocrisy: Giordano did not find a word, but to claim that a poet cannot find it either would contradict the existence of the poem we have just read. Characteristically, in the quoted paragraph, Gross refers to the emotions of the witnesses of the events of 1943: this is how it was felt and said at the time, it was understandable, sincere – in that context. However, Miłosz’s work, though written in the heat of the moment, anticipates, after all, the inevitable change in perspective by telling the story of “oblivion / Born before the flames have died” (SP). What’s more, the poem itself is a testament to this inevitable growing distance – while remaining a testament to memory, too.

¹⁷ N. Gross, “Dzieje jednego wiersza” [The history of one poem], p. 87.

3.

The poetic statement that the dying can find no words to express their experiences corresponds with Miłosz's discursively formulated observations about

the contrast between the experience of people condemned to death by a totalitarian state and the language in which they were able to convey that experience. They always did it in the inherited, conventional language inherent in the cultural environment that shaped them before the war. They wanted to leave a trace in words, but they also looked for a way to express their *knowledge*, which they felt was completely new and radically different from their previous knowledge of reality. And the language *could not keep up*, as if retreating into ready-made themes and formulas, or even seeking refuge in them.¹⁸

In the essay cited above, Miłosz defends poetry against the charge of immorality, arguing that only thanks to an artist's "inhuman" distance from the subject – even if it is the suffering of another human being – can we gain access to the seemingly incommunicable states of humanity destroyed by totalitarianisms:

a paralyzing and impossible to communicate experience is captured by ordinary people, not artists, in the language of inherited conventions. These conventions are broken by poetic art (unfortunately, only due to the fact that it assumes a "cool and picky attitude towards humanity").¹⁹

It is known today that, when writing about the linguistic helplessness of "ordinary people" in the face of a reality that transcends existing conceptual frameworks, Miłosz was wrong. The numerous personal documents of the Holocaust era, even – or perhaps especially – those left behind by poorly educated people (children, for example), break the barrier of con-

¹⁸ C. Miłosz, "Niemoralność sztuki" [The immorality of art], in: idem, *Ogród nauk* [The garden of science], Cracow 1998, pp. 192–193 [emphasis by the author]. Miłosz cites here approvingly the findings of Michał Borwicz contained in his work *Ecrits des condamnés à mort sous l'occupation allemande* [Writings of those sentenced to death under the German occupation] (Paris 1954).

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 194. The quote cited by the author is from Thomas Mann's *Tonio Kröger*.

ventionality, providing a remarkable testimony to the struggle with the existing language, and sometimes to the reflection on its mismatch with what demands to be said.²⁰ In fact, it even seems that it is literature, taken as a whole, that had more difficulty liberating itself from inherited forms. This is especially true of texts written by *minorum gentium* authors or by amateurs aspiring to become writers, but not only. After all, it is precisely “Campo dei Fiori” that is a masterpiece, and yet it is somehow inappropriate due to its very perfection, and this is why Miłosz disliked it.

[...] the piece is so composed that the narrator, whom we presume to be the poet, himself, comes off unscathed. Some are dying, others are enjoying themselves, all that he does is to “register a protest” and walk away, satisfied by thus having composed a beautiful poem. And so, years later, he feels he got off too lightly.²¹

– this is how the poet’s train of thought was reconstructed by Błoński. The critic sees Miłosz’s renewed attempt to grapple with the condition of a Holocaust witness in the poem “A Poor Christian Looks at the Ghetto,” a work that is far from classical models and is difficult to read, being a statement of a man – in this case, too, one could add: the poet – who is unsuccessfully defending himself against remorse.

A motif of two languages and two modes of expression that corresponds to this issue can be found in the ending of “Campo dei Fiori,” and this is precisely the second of the passages that are different in the two versions of this poem. Below is the variant written during the occupation (restored by the poet with minimal changes in the latest editions):²²

²⁰ See for example: J. Leociak, *Text in the Face of Destruction: Accounts from the Warsaw Ghetto Reconsidered*, translated by E. Harris, Warsaw 2004.

²¹ J. Błoński, “The Poor Poles”, p. 323.

²² In the quoted letter, Miłosz wrote: “The version printed in *Survival* is the best. Except: 1) ‘Their tongue has become foreign to us’ – but I found out too late, from Weinfeld, that there was another version, I simply overlooked this change and unfortunately it was printed everywhere as in *Survival*; 2) ‘On the new Campo dei Fiori’ – instead of on the ‘great Campo dei Fiori’ – this, by the way, would require reflection and a separate discussion. [...] In the new editions I would restore the word ‘great’”; C. Miłosz, A letter to N. Gross;

A ci, ginący, samotni	Those dying here, the lonely
Już zapomniani od świata	Forgotten by the world,
<i>Język nasz stał się im obcy</i>	<i>Our tongue [has become] [foreign] [to] them</i>
Jak język dawnej planety.	[Like] the language of an ancient planet.
(ZO)	(SP, modified)

And the version from *Survival*:

I ci ginący, samotni,	Those dying here, the lonely
Już zapomniani od świata,	Forgotten by the world,
<i>Język ich stał się nam obcy</i>	<i>[Their] tongue [has become] [foreign to us]</i>
Jak język dawnej planety.	[Like] the language of an ancient planet.
(O)	(SP, modified)

Natan Gross comments:

[...] this is a strange change: “Our tongue has become foreign to them, like the language of an ancient planet,” that is, they (the dying ones) have no one to speak to; we (the world) speak the language of the past, of “an ancient planet,” while they (the fighters in the ghetto) die in the name of fighting the reactionary forces for a new world.

Turning this line into “Their tongue has become foreign to us like the language of an ancient planet” just does not make sense: why can we (the world) not understand their language? Do we not understand what they want? What they are fighting for? Why is their language the language of an ancient planet?²³

Even if this change did not make sense (as long as we are indeed dealing with a change and not a restoration of the original form – the manuscript corresponds, after all, to the variant from *Survival*), interpreters are perfectly fine with both versions. Let us first look at how the relevant passage is understood by those who have encountered the version “Our language has become foreign to them.” We already know Gross’s understanding. Józef Olejniczak, on the other hand, when interpreting “Campo dei Fiori,” writes

quoted after: N. Gross, “Dzieje jednego wiersza” [The history of one poem], p. 89. In the now-canonical 1993 edition of Znak (ZW), only the first amendment was made.

²³ N. Gross, “Dzieje jednego wiersza” [The history of one poem], p. 85.

in reference to both of the “metalinguistic” passages of the poem: “Man in his suffering is always alone, with his word he no longer reaches the witnesses of his suffering.”²⁴ Olejniczak’s interpretation has a didactic purpose, having appeared in a commented anthology of Miłosz’s poems addressed to foreigners interested in Polish culture. In a school study intended for Polish teachers and students, there is a more elaborate recommendation as to the meaning of this and the neighboring verses.

Its author, starting with a juxtaposition of the double image of lonely death from Miłosz’s poem with the Gospel description of the last moments of Christ crying from the cross: *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* [“My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Matt 27:46; Mark 15:34)], states:

None of those standing around Jesus understood his words, his pain, or his despair. [...]

What does it mean, “the tongue of an ancient planet”? Could it be the language of those who are not afraid to die for what they believe in? Is this the language of those who are at peace with themselves to the end, even in the face of death? Is this the language of people who do not hesitate to risk their lives in the name of truth and freedom? If so, it means that we, on “our” planet, probably speak some other language, maybe the one that is “a connivance with official lies.”²⁵

However, the second version of “Campo dei Fiori” had become established in Polish national didactic circulation earlier than the first one, and its model interpretation, reprinted in school books and rewritten on the Internet, was presented decades ago by Bożena Chrzastowska. In this interpretation, the phrase “Their tongue has become foreign to us” takes on the following meaning:

This sentence has an ambiguous meaning: in the literal sense, it refers to Hebrew, hence the source of the loneliness of the ghetto martyrs is their national alienation as a cause of indifference and forgetfulness on the part of Poles. We should add that it would also be appropriate here to talk about racial aliena-

²⁴ J. Olejniczak, *Czytając Miłosza* [Reading Miłosz], Katowice 1997, pp. 104–105.

²⁵ A. Kołat, *Wielcy polscy poeci współcześni. Analiza i interpretacja wierszy. 4. klasa liceum* [Great modern Polish poets. An analysis and interpretation of poems. 4th grade of high school], Warsaw 1997, p. 26. The author uses the ZW edition.

tion and the resulting attitude of the German oppressors, although this issue is not mentioned in the poem. A second, metaphorical meaning is suggested by the comparison “like the language of an ancient planet.” It is not an ethnic or national language, but the language in which the Scriptures – Old and New Testament – were written. The truths contained therein, e.g., thou shalt not kill, love thy neighbor, etc., are – given the loneliness of those dying – as if “from an ancient planet.” It would therefore be an alienation resulting from a loss of the basic truths of the Revealed Word, and this is the source of both the indifference of the crowd and the loneliness of those dying.²⁶

Such an interpretation is the result of an obvious misunderstanding (Hebrew was by no means the language of either the socialist fighters of the Jewish Combat Organization or the overwhelming majority of other Yiddish- or Polish-speaking residents of the Warsaw ghetto), but it also contains an over-interpretation (the allegedly religious meaning of this part of the poem, suggested in the explanation I cited earlier, as well) and a view of the attitude of the non-Jewish population towards fellow citizens dying behind the ghetto walls, which Miłosz would certainly not agree with (“national alienation [of Jews] as a cause of indifference and forgetfulness on the part of Poles”). At the same time, Chrzęstowska indirectly includes “Campo dei Fiori” in a number of realizations of the heroic topos often evoked in various, not only literary, representations of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. It leads us to see the Jewish insurgents as twentieth-century Samsons, Maccabees or defenders of Masada – heirs to the grand history of ancient Israel. However, there is no such heroizing in Miłosz’s poem, just as there are no religious, Christian references in it that the modern Polish school would be so glad to see.

4.

What then is there in “Campo di Fiori” and what does the strange, twofold verse in which Miłosz hesitates about the direction of alienation of the

²⁶ B. Chrzęstowska, *Poezje Czesława Miłosza* [The poetry of Czesław Miłosz], 3rd ed., Warsaw 1998, p. 119.

language refer to? There is, of course, that very alienation, distance. This is a key category of the entire poem, appearing in it in various forms and at different levels of organization. Alienation is experienced by Giordano Bruno, who is both its object and subject: he is “distant” in the eyes of the witnesses to his death, “as if centuries have passed,” and is unable to reach them with words.

Those who die in the ghetto are also the victims of alienation, “forgotten by the world” while still being alive (we guess that this is partly a consequence of the alienating stigma with which their Jewish ancestors were marked for centuries). The poet, by putting these two situations side by side, manifests his distance from the “riders on the carousel” (SP) and his alienation from the crowd of bystanders (to which, after all, he somehow belongs). Then there is the foreignness of the language of an “ancient planet,” regardless of whether it is “ours” or “theirs,” and there is the distance towards language as such (especially treated as a tool of art). It is manifested by the uncertainty of the author, documented by the two variants of the poem. Finally, there is the “immoral” distance of the artist from human suffering, viewed by him from the position of an observer (a reflective bystander, one would say), mentioned by Miłosz and Błoński.

The last two kinds of distance – not described in the text, but confirmed by its very existence and form – are perhaps the most significant, and in a sense they encompass the other types. The image of a poet as an observer adopting a “cool and picky attitude towards humanity,” while not denying himself the right to evaluate it, is built in “Campo dei Fiori” partly as a result of the temporal distance from the object of consideration. We know that the poem was written as a direct reaction to events in the ghetto. Miłosz’s biographer says:

The ghetto uprising broke out on April 19 [1943]; six days later, on Easter Sunday, the Miłosz family traveled to Bielany district to visit Jerzy Andrzejewski. The tram stopped at Krasińskich Square – they saw the carousel there, its seats rising above the ghetto wall, a crowd watching... [...] Miłosz wrote the poem “Campo dei Fiori” perhaps on the same day [...].²⁷

²⁷ A. Franaszek, *Miłosz. Biografia* [Miłosz. Biography], Cracow 2011, pp. 353–354.

Nothing of this immediacy – other than the date placed under the text²⁸ – remains in the poem. Moreover, the observed events are shifted into the past. This is the effect of the comparison of the ghetto massacre with a crime committed in the name of the law several centuries earlier. It is reinforced by the frame of the recollection, the grammatical forms of the past tense, and the fact that both time plans are treated with almost equal attention to detail (the image of the earlier event is even more detailed and visually refined):

I thought of the Campo dei Fiori
 In Warsaw by the sky-carousel
 One clear spring evening
 To the strains of a carnival tune.
 [...]
 But that day I thought only
 Of the loneliness of the dying,
 Of how, when Giordano
 Climbed to his burning
 [...]
 (SP)

The reader of these lines has the impression of interacting with an account in which superimposed are different phases of the experience of a mind wandering over the centuries and recalling either a February day at a Roman square (could grapes and peaches really be sold at this time of year?) or an April evening in Warsaw. The treatment of current events as something from a distant past, something completed, and part of a sequence of historical analogies is even more evident in the anticipation of a time when the terrible scenes unfolding before the poet's eyes would become history – just like the death of Giordano Bruno had done –

²⁸ The date is not present in the manuscript or in the 1944 edition. The formulation “Easter, 1943” was included only in the version published in the *Twórczość* magazine in mid-1945. In the volume *Survival*, there is only “1943.” Later editions give only the year and place, until the 1981 edition by Instytut Literacki (ILP), where an extended identification of the place and time appears: “Warsaw – Easter, 1943.” This is the formula Miłosz left in the last editions. It looks like a gradual restoration of the poem's situational character.

a story from which one can and even should learn a lesson, draw a moral (“Someone will read as moral,” SP). What is more, the person speaking in the poem has already drawn it for his own and our use. In this context, the reflection on the loneliness of those dying sounds, probably unintentionally, self-ironic. It turns out that it is not only Roman vendors who rush from the martyr’s pyre to their tasks, and it is not only simple Warsaw youth who feel bad about giving up the holiday fun. Also the poet is in an unpleasant hurry – to the future, which he projects at the end of his poem:

Until, when all is legend
And many years have passed,
On a great Campo dei Fiori
Rage will kindle at a poet’s word.
(SP)

It is as if only when the cause of the emotional and moral shock disappears should any active ethical response going beyond defensive reflexes become possible. The breakneck succession of times, pushing into the past what is currently seen in front of one’s eyes, seems to attest to a moral paralysis, the same one that Miłosz would depict directly – in the present tense and with an anxious leaning into the future – a few months later in “A Poor Christian”:

I am afraid, so afraid of the guardian mole.
[...]
What will I tell him, I, a Jew of the New Testament,
Waiting two thousand years for the second coming of Jesus?
My broken body will deliver me to his sight
And he will count me among the helpers of death:
The uncircumcised.²⁹

In “Campo dei Fiori,” this paralysis does not affect the sphere of poetic expression, allowing “a poem written as an ordinary human reflex in the

²⁹ C. Miłosz, “A Poor Christian Looks at the Ghetto,” translated by C. Miłosz, in: SP, p. 214.

spring of 1943”³⁰ to take on an irritatingly artful, almost mathematical form (eight stanzas, eight lines of eight syllables each, in the Polish original). Indeed, “A Poor Poet Looks at The Ghetto” would be a better title than the flamboyant Italian name given by the author. The irony, expressed with the epithet and by the third-person form – which in the case of “A Poor Christian” looks like an addition to facilitate the inclusion of the text in the cycle *Voices of Poor People* or a reflex of the author’s self-defense against to overt identification with the poem’s protagonist – would introduce a new dimension to “Campo dei Fiori”: a distance from oneself, from one’s own position, external to the events, and from the role of a cognitive, aesthetic, and ethical oracle usurped by the poet. But there is no self-irony in “Campo dei Fiori.” The “poet’s word” from the ending line of the poem has the status of an absolute in this world. It rises above the heads of the “people of Warsaw or Rome,” above the pyre of the Inquisition, and the shooting behind the ghetto wall, transforms everything into a legend, and in this new reality it has created it incites a safe rebellion with which readers will be able to identify, soothing their consciences.

The only moment in “Campo dei Fiori” that calls into question the status of the “poet’s word” is the double line about the unfamiliarity of language. In the softer version (“Our tongue has become foreign to them”), it indicates the incompatibility of traditional forms of expression – and among them, the form of poetic language in which “Campo dei Fiori” is written – with the situation of a human pushed beyond the limits of humanity. However, it should be noted that this version maintains the special prerogatives of the poet, who still has the ability to penetrate the minds of those dying behind the walls – he is the only one who knows what has become foreign to them, he is the only one who overcomes the barrier of foreignness in this very sense. The second version (“Their tongue has become foreign to us”) is more modest. It refers only to us, those who remain – and in this case the first person plural pronoun includes both the poet and his readers. That’s why such a formula is also more radical and more difficult to accept: it is we who do not understand or do not want to listen to the language of suffering, to the cries of those whose exclusion

³⁰ [E. Czarnecka] R. Górczyńska, *Podróżny świata* [The world traveler], p. 59.

we have allowed and whom we continue to exclude by referring to them as “they.” It is a pity that Miłosz abandoned this version.

At the same time, however, the textual change itself – like all the other ones – confirms the unsteadiness of language that Mitzner wrote about: “The poor poet Czesław Miłosz self-imposed the necessity of choosing one version.” “Miłosz’s thought is hesitating, although it wants very much to be stable. But for us, thanks to the existence of both versions, the scope of the drama recorded in ‘Campo dei Fiori’ [...] is expanded.”³¹ It is expanded not so much by the “symmetry of misunderstanding / alienation between Jews and Poles, between the living and the dead,”³² but by the drama of the poet himself, a witness of a terrible era, struggling – also in the field of literature – with experiences for which the past, tradition, range of concepts, order of values in which he was brought up, did not prepare him, because they could prepare no one. The drama is written in mutually linked versions of the poem, which, if possible, should be printed together. It seems that in this particular case, the principle of indisputability of *editio ultima*, the last authorial edition, should not apply.

List of abbreviations

- ZO Czesław Miłosz, “Campo di Fiori,” in: *Z otchłani. Poezje* [From the abyss. Poems], [T. J. Sarnecki, ed.], Warsaw: Jewish National Committee, 1944, pp. 14–15.
- O Czesław Miłosz, “Campo di Fiori,” in: idem, *Ocalenie* [Survival], Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1945, pp. 100–101.
- ILP Czesław Miłosz, “Campo di Fiori,” in: idem, *Poezje*, vol. 1, Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1981, pp. 90–91.
- ZW Czesław Miłosz, “Campo di Fiori,” in: idem, *Wiersze* [Poems], vol. 1, Cracow: Znak, 1993, pp. 170–172.
- DZ Czesław Miłosz, “Campo di Fiori,” in: idem, *Dziela zebrane. Wiersze* [Collected works. Poems], vol. 1, Cracow: Znak, 2001, pp. 191–193 [this edition contains revised texts based on manuscripts and typescripts, taking into account “the Author’s comments and final decisions” – J. Illg, *Nota wydawcy* [Publisher’s note], p. 286; “The author did the proofreading himself,

³¹ P. Mitzner, “Słowa szukając na Campo di Fiori” [Looking for words at Campo de’ Fiori], pp. 103, 102.

³² Ibidem, p. 102.

correcting the errors he noticed, as well as resolving numerous doubts arising from the comparison of versions published in journals and book editions with manuscripts and typescripts” – *ibid*, p. 291, “The poem ‘Campo dei Fiori’ had several versions. The present version was discussed in detail with the Author and compared by him with the manuscript” – *ibid*, p. 296].

- SP Czesław Miłosz, “Campo dei Fiori,” translated by Louis Iribarne and David Brooks, in: *idem, Selected Poems / Poezje wybrane*, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1996, pp. 29–31.

Original issue: “Archiwum Emigracji” 2011, no. 1–2 (14–15)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2011.002>



HISTORY

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Czasy wojny by Ferdynand Goetel. An Attempt at Reading

ÉMIGRÉS' MEMOIRS

World War II still remains an insufficiently researched period of the history of Poland and Poles. Quite a significant role in the discovery of its various faces is played by the memoirs of the Second Emigration. This is because of these fundamental reasons: first, these works were written under conditions that ensured the possibility of free speech, and secondly, the fate of the émigrés inextricably associated with the war and politics was falsified or almost completely passed over in Poland for half a century.

In journalistic and scholarly discussions (both in Poland and abroad) on the works of émigrés, especially those associated with the London milieu, the reproach has been and continues to be made that these works focus too much on the past. This unraveling of times past was once referred to as reminiscence, which had a pejorative connotation. One should bear in mind, however, that in general, the lives of émigrés were governed by the dictates of the past. “The émigrés were eager to turn to the past already during the war, seeking in it a background for the present. After 1945, the

past took on a different dimension.”¹ It often served as a political argument in debates over the Polish cause. In addition, there was a fully justified fear that the country’s past would be portrayed in an adulterated way, with many understatements. Émigrés thus replenished the “resources of national memory.” The clearest example of this is the information about the Katyn massacre. It is also worth mentioning that the turn to the past alleviated the severity of life in exile and was also an escape from the disappointment of the present. Many émigrés probably shared the opinion once expressed by the editor of the London-based *Wiadomości*.

“It seems to me that referring to a concrete past is a more real thing than idly plunging into the future. And ultimately, all great literature is based on such reminiscence.”²

ON THE RECEPTION OF CZASY WOJNY [THE TIME OF THE WAR]

Let us now take a look at one of the memoirs, which opens up an intriguing field for the consideration of Poland’s history from 1939–1945 (1946). The memoir in question is Ferdynand Goetel’s *Czasy wojny*. On the one hand, the work is in a sense typical of the literature written in emigration at the time, as it is part of a broad current of war memoirs that began to appear as early as the late 1940s and early 1950s. Examples include such books as: Waław Grubiński’s *Między młotem a sierpem* [Between a hammer and a sickle] (1948), Władysław Anders’ *Bez ostatniego rozdziału. Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1946* [Without the last chapter. Memoirs of 1939–1946] (1949, republished many times later), Anatol Krakowiecki’s *Książka o Kołymie* [A book about Kolyma] (1950), Gustaw Herling-Grudziński’s *A World Apart. A Memoir of the Gulag* (1951, 1st edition in Polish in 1953), Zbigniew Stypułkowski’s

¹ R. Habielski, *Emigracja* [Emigration], Warsaw 1995, p. 48.

² An excerpt from a conversation between M. Grydzewski and L. Kielanowski (Radio Free Europe); see: “Rozmowa o *Wiadomościach*” [A conversation about *Wiadomości*], *Wiadomości* 1953, no. 43, p. 5. The same comments about the past were made, among others, by T. Terlecki; see: T. Terlecki, “O *Wiadomościach* bezprzymiotnikowych” [About the adjective-free *Wiadomości*], in: *XXX-lecie “Wiadomości”* [The 30th anniversary of *Wiadomości*], London 1957, p. 54.

W zawierusze dziejowej. Wspomnienia 1939–1945 [In history’s turmoil. Memoirs 1939–1945] (1951), and Klemens Rudnicki’s *Na polskim szlaku. Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1947* [On the Polish path. Memoirs from 1939–1947] (1952). On the other hand, *Czasy wojny* stands out in Polish literature for its courage in formulating judgments, especially in relation to the actions of compatriots, while showing the wrongs that Poles suffered from both occupiers. Krzysztof Tarka, writing about Goetel’s memoir in a now free Poland, aptly notes that “in his memoir, the writer included many accurate and profound judgments. Some of them deviate, I think quite significantly, from the stereotypical view of the occupation held today. Sometimes they can even be difficult to accept.”³ The independence of thought of the author of *Czasy wojny* is also pointed out by Jacek Trznadel, who in one of his essays states:

Goetel’s book – although intended only as a modest memoir of things personally experienced and remembered – represents an independent attitude that is almost absent from memoirs and assessments of recent history.⁴

Czasy wojny was first⁵ published in London,⁶ by the Catholic Publication Center “Veritas” in February 1955. The second edition was published in 1990 in Gdańsk (“Graf” Publishing House). More recently, in 2005, *Czasy wojny* was published in Cracow with an introduction by Władysław Bartoszewski (Arcana Publishing Company). It may be interesting for us to see how the memoir written by Goetel, who undoubtedly was well past his prime as a writer, was received by the émigré critics of the time. There was a difference of opinion between some of the most important periodicals of the post-war émigré circles: the Paris-based *Kultura* and the London-based *Wiadomości*.

³ K. Tarka, “Powrót Ferdynanda Goetela. Ferdynand” [The return of Ferdynand Goetel. Ferdynand], *Odra* 1996, no. 6, p. 84.

⁴ J. Trznadel, “Ferdynand Goetel. ‘Myśleć samodzielnie’” [Ferdynand Goetel. “To think independently”], in: idem, *Ocalenie tragizmu. Eseje i przekłady* [Saving tragedy. Essays and translations], Lublin 1993, p. 213.

⁵ In 1949, the London-based *Wiadomości* published F. Goetel’s account of his stay in Katyn; these excerpts later became part of the book.

⁶ The circulation was two thousand copies.

In the pages of *Kultura*, in a review titled “Świadectwo klęski” [A testimony to defeat],⁷ Janusz Jasińczyk reproaches Goetel for not clarifying in his memoir the slander of his collaboration with the propaganda department of the Warsaw district [of the General Government – translator’s note]. He also accuses him of inaccuracies in his accounts of, among other things, Rydz-Śmigły’s escape from Romania or the assassination of Kutschera. Jasińczyk says that Goetel writes as if he really has not read even the most important accounts of the times he describes. He ends the review by stating: “It is a sad spectacle when an excellent writer confirms his own defeat and the defeat of his nation with an artistic failure.”⁸

Wojciech Gniatczyński, on the other hand, in a review with the telling title: “Tak było... Tak było...” [That’s how it was... That’s how it was...],⁹ published in *Wiadomości*, appreciates, among other things, the fact that Goetel recreated “the atmosphere of Warsaw, charged with electricity and Polishness.” He also points out that Goetel’s book is a journalistic book, not a work of art. Gniatczyński further notes that Goetel shows different types of barbarism (both in Katyn and in German crimes). In his account of some events, he may have made mistakes because he was recreating facts from his (unreliable, after all) memory, having lost his notes earlier. However, Goetel managed to create a synthesis of these times and these behaviors. And moreover,

Goetel seeks the truth at all costs. Therefore, more than one proposition or reminder of a fact in his book will not be liked by many. To the reader, to the nation, Goetel speaks as an equal partner and not as a primitive heathen. Among Poles, only writers do this, and not all of them.¹⁰

⁷ [J. Poray-Biernacki] J. Jasińczyk, “Świadectwo klęski” [A testimony to defeat], *Kultura* 1955, no. 7/8 (93/94), pp. 208–210.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 210.

⁹ W. Gniatczyński, “Tak było... Tak było” [That’s how it was... That’s how it was], *Wiadomości* 1956, no. 18, p. 2. I quote the current excerpt and subsequent ones verbatim, preserving the syntax and punctuation typical of *Wiadomości*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

GOETEL DURING THE WAR

At the outbreak of the war, Ferdynand Goetel (a novelist, publicist, and playwright) was already a mature man (49 years old),¹¹ had lived through the experience of World War I (including exile to Turkmenistan),¹² and had been a recognized writer.¹³ In September 1939, he was a member of the Presidium of the Civic Committee for the Defense of Warsaw.¹⁴ During the occupation, he was active (along with Adolf Nowaczyński, among others) in a literary committee that organized a popular canteen for writers and their families in the Warsaw premises of the former Polish Writers' Union.¹⁵ In addition, in 1943–1944 he co-edited (with Wilam Horzyca) the clandestine magazine *Nurt*. In April 1943, in consultation with the underground authorities, he travelled to Katyn to the site of the massacre discovered by the Germans. As early as then, there were rumors and slanders about Goetel's collaboration with the Germans. In exile, he was cleared of the charge of collaboration by the relevant units of the Polish II Corps as early as in late 1945 and early 1946.

Nevertheless even after these conversations a “distasteful memory” remained, as one can read in *Czasy wojny*.¹⁶ The matter was ended by General Władysław Anders himself, to whom Goetel wrote personally. Below we quote an excerpt from that letter.

¹¹ Born in 1890 in Sucha Beskidzka, died 1960 in London; see: K. Polechoński, *Ferdynand Goetel*, in: K. Dybciak and Z. Kudelski, eds., *Leksykon kultury polskiej poza krajem od roku 1939* [Lexicon of Polish culture outside of the Poland since 1939], vol. 1, Lublin 2000, p. 131.

¹² See, among others, his memoir *Patrząc wstecz* [Looking back], published posthumously in London (1966) by the Polish Cultural Foundation.

¹³ See, among others: *Kar Chat. Powieść* [Kar Khat. A novel] (Warsaw [1923]), *Przez płonący Wschód. Wrażenia z podróży* [Through the burning East. Impressions from travel] (Warsaw 1924), *Z dnia na dzień* [Day by day] (Warsaw 1926).

¹⁴ See: K. Polechoński, *Ferdynand Goetel...*, pp. 131–134.

¹⁵ See: K. Tarka, “Powrót...” [The return...], p. 83.

¹⁶ See: F. Goetel, *Czasy wojny* [The time of the war], London 1955, pp. 211–216 (Chapter XVII: “Zderzenie z dwójką” [A collision with the Second Department]) All quotations from *Czasy wojny* cited in this sketch are from that edition. I give the page range of subsequent citations in the main text in round brackets.

The charge of my collaboration with the Germans can only be based on reckless gossip or wicked slander. I maintained with the Germans only those relations to which my position as a member of the Literary Commission of the Main Welfare Council compelled me.

The trip to Katyn, carried out after an agreement with the political authorities of Underground Poland, was the only exception in this regard. The truth of this I undertake to prove before any court that will allow a hearing consistent with the understanding of justice of a Western man. During the occupation, I did not publish any books or articles, but I edited the underground magazine *Nurt* and worked closely with Zygmunt Hempel, Kazimierz Stamirowski, and Julian Piasecki, who all lost their lives at the hands of the Germans. Their heroism can be attested to by people both within the Corps and in the country.¹⁷

In 1945, the communist authorities prosecuted Goetel with an arrest warrant for his participation in the Katyn delegation. After escaping from Poland in December 1945, the writer got to Italy, where he joined the Polish II Corps, with which he moved to Great Britain in the autumn of 1946. In Poland, however, he was officially recognized as a collaborator and traitor to the Polish nation. This situation actually lasted until the end of the People's Republic of Poland. It was not until the meeting of the Board of the Polish PEN Club in Warsaw on June 19, 1989 that Ferdynand Goetel, who acted during the German occupation with the knowledge and approval of the authorities of the Republic of Poland, was "cleared of infamy."¹⁸

Going back to *Czasy wojny*, let us recall that it describes events from late August 1939 to the autumn of 1946. Among the places Goetel talks about, it is necessary to mention first of all Warsaw (most of the memoirs are devoted to it) and its surroundings, as well as Katyn (the aforementioned delegation), the Sandomierz region (a trip with Adolf Nowaczyński), Cracow (a short stay before the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising and a longer one after it), Bohemia (during the transit), Germany (among other places,

¹⁷ Quote after: I. Sadowska, "Ferdynand Goetel pisze do gen. Andersa" [Ferdynand Goetel writes to General Anders], in: eadem, *Od Witkacego do Jana Pawła II. Itineraria literackie* [From Witkacy to John Paul II. Literary itineraries], G. Legutko, ed., Kielce 2008, pp. 77–78.

¹⁸ For more information on this subject, see: M. Danilewicz Zielińska, "Ferdynand Goetel w oczach Warszawy i Londynu" [Ferdynand Goetel in the eyes of Warsaw and London], *Kultura* 1989, no. 11 (506), p. 112.

the Dachau camp, which Goettel saw already after its liberation), and Italy (together with the Polish II Corps).

MEMOIRS READ AFTER FIFTY YEARS

It is worthwhile considering at this point what seems to be particularly engaging in Goettel's book and how his memoir can be read today. It is best to begin with the style in which *Czasy wojny* is written. By analyzing all the chapters of the memoir from this perspective, regardless of their content, we will find three essential features: restraint, factuality, and brevity. At the same time, Goettel's writing style interestingly combines with his ability to write in an extremely poignant manner. An example of this is the passage about the tragedy of Warsaw at the end of September 1939.

The mass bombing of Warsaw on September 25 and 26 was topped off by a massive air raid. Coincidence would have it that just on that day, selected for an aerial crackdown on the crazy city, the perpetually serene sky was covered with restless clouds. The planes circled above it until noon, until a breaking wind opened windows in the clouds. Hundreds of demolition bombs and tens of thousands of incendiary bombs fell on Warsaw. During the night, a dry storm broke loose and drilled entire neighborhoods with flames. This was the first vision of the end of the world that Warsaw would experience (p. 17).

What is interesting is not only the way Goettel conveyed the message, but also, and perhaps most importantly, its content. Of the many different themes explored in *Czasy wojny*, let us choose those that are the most intriguing and at the same time rarely found in Polish writings on the nation's struggle against the occupying forces in 1939–1945. This is because, as Tadeusz Wyrwa once rightly pointed out,

Polish historiography mostly sticks to the following two themes: disaster and heroism. The third theme, or stereotype, is to blame our failures solely on others instead of looking for their causes primarily in ourselves.¹⁹

¹⁹ T. Wyrwa, "Rola historii i literatury w kształtowaniu świadomości narodowej" [The

In contrast, Goetel's testimony is far from standard thought patterns, generalizations, and simplifications – if only in relation to the Germans or Russians who occupied Poland. However, it is particularly significant and worthy of consideration that *Czasy wojny* [...] revises the myth of the unity of the nation's attitudes."²⁰ The writer has the courage to speak even about shameful pages in the history of wartime Warsaw, as exemplified by the following picture.

The last days before the entry of the Germans, who were not in a hurry to occupy the capital city, were written quite blackly in memory. The unloading of public warehouses, which was probably right, if not necessary, provided an opportunity for games where arms and fists decided the outcome. The "legal" acquisition of free goods from the open windows and doors of tobacco, spirits, and sugar warehouses was followed by the unprofessional robbery of private stores and warehouses. The robbers assaulting the store rooms of the Castle and its still-surviving premises did not surrender to the citizen militia, overcame its resistance, and stripped the Castle of the rest of its possessions. The National Library was not spared either: illuminated pages were ripped from books and leather bindings were removed from old incunables. Not only the mob, mixed with thugs released from detention centers, took part in the looting. In the Downtown area, young ladies in chic furs burst into abandoned stores and carried off whatever fell into their hands. Groups of clever thugs lurked for looters laden with plunder. More than on sack carried on the back was cut with a knife, and the leaking contents fell into the hat of a thief. The weaker ones were sometimes forcibly deprived of their loot. This was the first display of rudeness, which, empowered in a way and absolved by the brutality of wartime events, was gaining a foothold in life. This trial, still episodic at that time, was to come to life over time in events and phenomena that were far more shameful.

But then robberies were a normal street activity (p. 18).

While Goetel is amazed by the later resourcefulness (sometimes frantic – for example, street trading in food products, which is forbidden, and

role of history and literature in the shaping of national consciousness], in: idem, *Krytyczne eseje z historii Polski XX wieku* [Critical essays on the history of Poland of the 20th century], Warsaw 2000, p. 3.

²⁰ J. Trznadel, "Ferdynand Goetel...", p. 221.

often takes place right under... a hanging German poster, stipulating the death penalty for doing so) and heroism of the capital city's residents (e.g., pp. 37–38), at the same time he is struck by reflections on the depravity of youth during the years of war and occupation.

But is it possible to glorify phenomena that, in their very essence, consist in deceit and that offend the most basic notion of the order of things that is binding upon people? The group most intoxicated by the “charms” of this life was the youth. Many people from the older generation also bemoaned the young people who went through the hard school of easy living, symptomatic of the occupation period. How will they relate to the law and honesty in everyday life when normal, peaceful times come?

I don't know if people get used to the law as quickly as they get used to lawlessness. I am afraid that the process of return is more difficult and longer. Anyone who looked at the struggle for existence under the German occupation could not help but fear that the traces and blemishes went deeper than we thought at the time (p. 41).

Goetel's reflections are extremely insightful. One would like to add that they are sadly correct, as the subsequent history of the nations occupied during World War II confirmed this. The moral devastation caused by the war also did not bypass our compatriots, although, after all, not in everyone did the war destroy human feelings, examples of which can also be found in the pages of *Czasy wojny*.²¹ It should not be forgotten that in many places in Goetel's memoir there are descriptions and reflections on the commendable attitudes of Poles under the occupation, such as these:

[...] thousands of people owed their lives and freedom to the constant alertness of the population. The widespread and reliable solidarity also created this strange sense of self-confidence and made the atmosphere of the city purely Polish, while the Germans felt like intruders and didn't know the day or the hour of their death. And although the Gestapo found people eager to provide services, and spies and scoundrels stood on every street corner, their numbers must have been inadequate and their training meager, given the limited success of the espionage efforts, despite the fact that Warsaw resi-

²¹ Cf. also the interesting reflections on people after the war contained in Wiesław Myśliwski's *A Treatise on Shelling Beans*.

dents were characterized by an unrestrained and even provocative freedom of expression (p. 84).

For a while, Goetel also happened to talk about the realities of the occupied Warsaw in a slightly amusing way.

For example, we get staple foods in our house from the janitor Mrs. Truszczyńska, who “additionally” smuggles meat, fats, and eggs, and is consequently the most important and perhaps the most affluent person in our small tenement house. Mrs. Truszczyńska travels to get the food to the Lublin region or to the Mazowsze region, but also to the Kujawy region which is a part of the “Reich.” If she is “caught” on one out of five trips and her goods are confiscated, the business is still profitable. I don’t think she is caught more often than once every ten trips. The lady has become tough as iron, seasoned, conscious on even the worst occasion (p. 54).

It must be admitted, however, that a similar, somewhat humorous tone appears in *Czasy wojny* very rarely.

Let us now point out another important topic in Goetel’s book. Given the pre-war views of the author, who was sympathetic to fascism of the Italian variety,²² it may be surprising what and how, being already in exile, he says about the fate of Jews and their relations with Poles.

This is because *Czasy wojny* treats Warsaw’s Jews with calm and compassion (also recalling their patriotic gestures at the outbreak of the war), and Goetel does not even hesitate to mention Poles taking money for hiding Jews.

²² The problem of pre-war political views and sympathies is discussed by M. Urbanowski in the sketch “Faszystowskie credo Goetela” [Goetel’s Fascist credo], in: idem, *Oczyszczenie. Szkice o literaturze polskiej XX wieku* [Cleansing. Sketches on Polish literature of the 20th century], Cracow 2002. Let us only remind that shortly before the war a book was published, which was a collection of Goetel’s columns, entitled *Pod znakiem faszyzmu* [Under the sign of fascism], (Warsaw 1939). According to Urbanowski, Goetel understood fascism as a heroic attitude towards reality; see: M. Urbanowski, *Faszystowskie... [Goetel’s...]*, p. 107. There is also the following mention of this book in *Czasy wojny*: “As the author of a pre-war book on fascism, signed with my name, a book that was certainly erroneous, though certainly written *cum bona fide*, I had nothing to hide” (p. 211).

From what social classes did the people who were engaged in the procedure of tracking Jews come? The core group was mostly unemployed spies. The executive tool – the “blue” police. Their network, however, reached deep into the homes of private people who also wanted to “gain something from the Jews.” The ways of exploitation were very diverse, sometimes even so innocent as to almost be considered beneficial.

An anecdote of this kind was told in Warsaw at the time: “What does X do for a living?” someone asked of his acquaintance. “She has a Jewish governess,” was the reply.

This cruel joke aptly illustrates the degradation of the moral sense of those years (p. 110).

Also mentioned here is the infamously remembered episode associated with the carousel at the ghetto, known from Czesław Miłosz’s poem “Campo dei Fiori.”

I also remember the mess caused by the carousels on this side of the wall almost in the immediate vicinity of the ghetto, which were always full of riffraff wanting to have fun. There was one time when fighting Jews appeared on the broken balcony of one of the ghetto’s tenement houses and shouted to the people having fun to move away, as they intended to shoot from there. This small and minor, but so telling, episode has stuck in my mind forever (p. 139).

No less moving is the account of Goetel’s aforementioned visit to Katyn in 1943, so let us quote an excerpt of it.

I am standing on the side and trying to embrace with my mind everything I saw here. The graves located in this forest were not difficult to find. After all, the simplest indicator is the pine trees planted on them. The several years old, not tall, light green trees clearly mark the area and the boundaries of each grave. Sometimes the boundary of the grave’s depression is aligned with them. The corpses, although arranged in the greatest order in a thick layer, are covered with only a small layer of soil. The grave digger’s work here is therefore done rather superficially, and the way the graves are camouflaged is primitive and naive, as it would have to take decades for the pine trees to grow and blend in with the forest. I recall the documents, signs, and uniforms left with the victims, and I comprehend that the executioners and grave diggers must have been guided by the certainty that this place would be inaccessible to anyone but people they trust for a long, long time to come (p. 132).

It is worth adding here that the testimony of the author *Czasy wojny* about Katyn – as Rafał Habielski points out – “[...] was and still is if not passed over in silence then certainly underestimated.”²³ It should also be recalled that Goetel’s book includes an account by Ivan Krivozertsov, who lived right next to the forest where the murder of the Polish officers took place. It was probably that Russian man, whom the author of *Czasy wojny* met in Italy, who was the first to notify the Germans about the mysterious graves of Polish officers; he died in unexplained circumstances in Great Britain shortly after the end of the war.

Going back to the image of Poles in Goetel’s memoir, it must be admitted that the writer, who cannot be denied his merits in conspiratorial activities, has a rather critical attitude toward the Polish Underground Government. Sometimes he criticizes both politicians and ordinary citizens by bluntly saying: “The stupidity of the underground politicians matched the lack of critical thinking of the masses.” (p. 145) These specific words referred to the actions of the residents of the capital just before the outbreak of the 1944 uprising. Although in another place, speaking of the atmosphere preceding the fighting, the author confesses: “Yet the days before the uprising were beautiful and the pulse of Warsaw’s life throbbed with a strong and thrilling rhythm” (p. 146). By the way, Goetel did not fight in the uprising: as he says of himself, he was only a passive witness to it. Here are some thoughts on the national uprising, about which the author was skeptical, as he realistically assessed the slim chances of its victory.

The uprising seemed to me to be an inevitable consequence of the attitude adopted by the Polish society since the beginning of the war (p. 155).

The uprising cannot be comprised in any memoir, because it resembles a story about another, second life that is only loosely connected to the previous and subsequent ones (p. 156).

So what can be said about these days? Probably only that after the torrential rain on the night of August 1, the weather over Warsaw was as still and

²³ R. Habielski, “Na linii czasu. Szkic o twórczości emigracyjnej Ferdynanda Goetla” [On the timeline. A sketch on Ferdinand Goetel’s emigration works], *Więź* 1994, no. 9, p. 94.

clear as a glass pillar and the air sounded with voices of battle as dramatic, vivid, and expressive as the battle in the streets of Warsaw was unlike any war. [...] And that I watched with despair in my heart from my window the night flights of our aviators from Italian bases and that I saw the shot down aircraft falling on the other side of the Vistula, perhaps out of necessity or perhaps out of hope that they would nevertheless reach the areas occupied by the Russians, who refused them the right to take off from their bases. That my house, my souvenirs, and scripts from several years of work eventually burned down. These were, in a nutshell, the things that I saw and experienced (pp. 156–157).

But the inquisitive Goetel continues his deliberation: “What did I not know and what would I like to learn from an authoritative source?” This is not the first proof that Goetel’s reflections on the time of the war are not finite.

After the uprising, the writer arrived in Cracow, where he soon – after the withdrawal of the German troops – became an eyewitness to a phenomenon he described as a change of occupation. He used that term in the telling title of Chapter XIII of his memoir, where he describes the looming terror and the insidious enslavement of the country that, according to the increasingly intensive communist propaganda, was supposedly being liberated. At one point, without any illusions, Goetel states:

The process of making a revolution from the top is therefore happily underway. The quickly propagated slogan of working at the grassroots, rebuilding the country, and increasing its economic power will attract numerous groups of technocrats and professionals. The intelligentsia will become the tool of the occupier. The writers will be the vanguards of defection and betrayal. The zeal with which they will serve the occupier’s propaganda will imprint on their attitude a stigma of disgrace, unprecedented in the history of Polish literature (p. 180).

It will not be an exaggeration if we say that the history of post-war Poland, which is still being discovered, only confirms the above remarks.

Goetel’s reflections on the tragedy of the war are in a way complemented by his impressions from his stay in the former Dachau concentration camp, which was turned into a museum shortly after the war.

I am leaving the museum with revulsion and horror in my soul. I did not understand anything and cannot believe that from today, tomorrow the world will change and end camps of this kind once and for all. The crime committed here is so unbelievable, so monstrous and irreconcilable with everything we thought about man and the world, that it is difficult [...] to shake off thoughts of some deadly, secret disease that has afflicted the Western world, beyond its consciousness and knowledge. Dachau and other camps are no longer dead museums, but still living abscesses of leprosy on the body of Germany and Europe. It is better to avoid them until one has figured out what they really mean. And perhaps it would be better to burn down and plow Dachau together with the SS officers' houses and gardens where good mothers raised innocent children, where the radio played Bach, Beethoven, and Strauss's waltzes, and where thrifty people grew flowers and vegetables (p. 201).

CZASY WOJNY AND THE ROMANTIC TRADITION

A careful reading of Goetel's memoir allows us to see an interesting and, against all appearances, ambivalent attitude of the author towards Romanticism and the Romantic tradition. This issue is only a part of a broader problem, which we could entitle "the Romantic tradition in the work of Ferdynand Goetel," or "Ferdynand Goetel towards the Romantic tradition." At the same time, the issue is a part of a certain cultural phenomenon: the takeover of the Romantic tradition by the postwar Polish émigrés. Awareness of the similarities between the experiences and fate of the émigrés of 1945 (primarily fighting for the homeland and opposing the forcibly imposed order in the country) and the émigrés of 1831 caused the Second Emigration to annex the Romantic tradition in the broad sense. In the clusters of Polish émigrés in the United Kingdom, and especially in the London milieu to which Goetel belonged, the vitality of Romanticism was clearly manifested, which stimulated pro-independence attitudes in a political situation that was very difficult for Poles. At that time, the Romantic tradition in the "Polish London" revives with great force, and manifests itself especially in the writings, literary life, publications, and behavioral styles of the Polish émigrés. The 1940s and 1950s are a period of particular intensification of these phenomena; let us recall that this is also the time when Goetel's memoir was written and appeared in print.

Of course, the issues indicated above can be the subject of more than one dissertation. However, let us go back to *Czasy wojny* and look for examples of a dialogue with the Romantic tradition. It must be admitted that it would be futile to look for traces of Romanticism in Goetel's description of the realities of the war; the author is far from the Romantic exaltation and the Romantic view of the nation. However, from the remarks relating to the effects of the occupant's repression, it can be inferred that it was Romanticism, which was revived during the war (though not explicitly named here), and its idea of freedom, that encouraged Poles to fight, including in the uprising.

It was because of these offended national and human feelings, this exaltation of the masses, and their eagerness for revenge that never before in the history of Polish insurrections its leaders were so sure of their own beliefs, when it came to the Polish people, whom they had at their disposal completely without encountering any resistance or a word of criticism. This ease opened the way for the craziest ventures and fueled the craziest ambitions. The state of turmoil conditioned the leaders' power and influence, intoxicated them with the illusion that by succumbing to it they were leading the nation and moving toward great historical solutions. The trust shown to them by the masses allowed them to forget what they were and what their talents were to lead the national cause. So they started in the underground with fog in their eyes. The struggle for freedom they led, their will that was so heroic at times, was a blind fight (pp. 86–87).

On the basis of this and other passages, it would probably be possible to say that the *implicit* conspiratorial aspect of Romanticism present here does not win the approval of the author of *Czasy wojny*, since it inevitably leads to actions that are “always irresponsible” (p. 155). And “the catastrophe of the Warsaw Uprising” was probably one of them (p. 141). However, we will not find in Goetel's memoir any clear and longer settlements with Romanticism, but only some thoughts, given in a concise form on various occasions.

However, there is a clear reference to the Romantic tradition in the final chapters of *Czasy wojny*. We are talking about – firstly – the disagreement with the existing reality and the resulting attitude, expressed by Goetel in the most romantic manner possible. After the end of the war against

Germany, but in the face of the new occupation of Poland, the author sees only two styles of behavior. “Either raise the partly damaged roof over your head and remain silent, or leave the country and assert its rights to freedom from afar” (p. 180). As we know, he chose the latter, although he did not at all criticize his compatriots who stayed in Poland and often, in their own way, also struggled with the new socio-political order.

Secondly, in Goetel’s deliberations there is a conviction, let us add: a Romantic one (especially similar to that of Mickiewicz), about the special mission of the exiles, which is illustrated, for example, by the following quote: “Although the exiles of the time constituted only a fraction of the nation, they carried with them a lot: all that an independent Polish state still meant” (p. 191). Moreover, in the last chapter, titled “Na wygnaniu” [In exile], the author consciously inscribes the new emigration, which he himself was part of, in the tradition of earlier Polish emigrations, including the Great Emigration.

I soon had to leave Poland too, one of thousands of Poles. Emigration from the homeland was not a new phenomenon in Polish history. We left the country more than once, protesting the injustice inflicted on it. We went into the world crying out for freedom. But now we were leaving Poland after a war that ended in the victory of the countries that proclaimed the slogan of freedom with us. What more did I have to say, a son of a nation that had already sung out its wrongs once throughout the 19th century and cried out for its rights to life so fervently that its freedom was finally restored, only to be sold and abandoned again? We were not to hear shouts of *Vive la Pologne* on our route. “A thousand brave men” who left Warsaw in 1944, similar to the shadows, are not those who left Warsaw with unfurled banners in 1832. Their fate has now burdened the whole world with shame. No one will listen to people they are ashamed to look in the eye. [...]

Finally, we were given the right to the citizenship of almost all countries, except our own. In this way, the sins and mistakes committed against our country are to be paid for. In this way, we are to be denationalized as a reward for the loss of our country’s independence (pp. 275–276).

He ends the whole chapter with a confession: “Being Polish is not as big a deal as we think. But to stop being one is to stop being a human” (p. 276). Intertwined in this statement are two perspectives: the Polish and the

universal one. While not glorifying Polishness, Goetel draws attention to its paradoxically more general dimension. Now, in the face of the renewed and insidious enslavement of the homeland, Polishness and Poland become not so much a value, but rather a task and obligation (one can find here clues leading to Cyprian Norwid's reflections). Renouncing Poland in the current situation would be downright inhumane, an act against humanity. As the punch line of the deliberations on the attitude of the author *Czasy wojny* towards the Romantic legacy, let me quote a certain proposition expressed by the writer in an article entitled "Polska legenda" [Polish Legend], published in the London-based *Wiadomości*. Goetel expressed his view briefly but significantly: "[...] it would be necessary to revise the concept of Romanticism, since a Romantic today is any man who still believes in something and professes something."²⁴

FINAL THOUGHTS

Czasy wojny is, despite two reissues,²⁵ still insufficiently known and the public is not aware of its existence. However, there seems to be a need, especially today, for an insightful, factual, and calm account of the difficult wartime and immediate post-war times. The author of this memoir possesses an ability, invaluable in literature, to keep a distance from the characters portrayed and the events described, which allows Goetel's book to successfully pass the test of time. Admittedly, this is one of many voices about the war, but it is certainly an important voice that should be taken into account when one reflects on that period.

It is also interesting that the author clearly shows his point of view, although at the same time this does not prevent him from calmly presenting other, often extremely different, views. Most importantly, however, the author of *Czasy wojny* wonders about and tries to inquire into the essence of things. Thus, Wojciech Gniatczyński, mentioned earlier, is right when he considers the following to be the invaluable feature of Goetel's book:

²⁴ F. Goetel, "Polska legenda" [Polish legend], *Wiadomości* 1952, no. 46, p. 1.

²⁵ But in a small number of copies and rather difficult to find.

HISTORY

[...] nowhere does he settle for the official version, nor does he repeat the usual arguments or uphold traditional claims. [...] This is a book for those who want to think about those times, not for those looking for ready-made formulas.²⁶

Finally, the wealth of topics discussed – including war, conspiracy, totalitarian systems, testimonies of historical events, considerations of the future fate of Poland and the world – makes Goetel's book a valuable source not only for historians and literary historians, but also for cultural anthropologists and sociologists. However, the value of *Czasy wojny* is not limited to its quality as a source of information, for Goetel's memoir also opens up the broad space of humanistic questions and reflections on man.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2009, no. 2 (11)
<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2009.053>

²⁶ W. Gniatczyński, "Tak było..." [That's how it was...], p. 2.

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Alma Mater Vilnensis: The Reconstitution of Stephen Bathory University in Vilnius

The tsar's decree of May 1, 1832 ended more than 250 years of almost continuous operation of the university in Vilnius. Tsar Nicholas I's decision to shut down the Imperial University of Vilnius caused it to disappear from the city, and its property was destroyed or divided. However, this did not eradicate the legend of *Almae Matris Vilnensis*, which, cherished in the memory of the people of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for the next 87 years, facilitated the restitution of the University in 1919. It was not without reason that Wiktor Sukiennicki, who was the member of the first year of the first "generation" of students of the University resurrected in 1919, wrote years later:

The material treasures of the University were then plundered and taken out of Vilnius, and the memory of the University was exterminated or even sterilized. [...] The names of Vilnius professors in most cases were as unmentionable as those of their most prominent students. [...] The legend of the former Vilnius University and its professors and students arose and survived for almost a century among the people at the behest or against the strictest prohibitions of the authorities of the time. [...] Somewhere in the "underground" inaccessible to the partitioners, among the "simple" people, not in the official press, books, or among the intelligentsia, some of whom were making brilliant careers, the

legend of the Vilnius University and its amazing, “extraordinary” students and professors emerged and was preserved.¹

After the Medical and Surgical Academy was closed in 1842 and the Clerical Academy was moved to St. Petersburg, it seemed to the tsarist authorities that the University would disappear not only from the city’s space, but also from the memory of its residents. However, the University’s legend was the cause of attempts to recreate it in Vilnius from the mid-19th to the early 20th centuries.

The first two attempts were made as early as in the mid-19th century, shortly after the University was closed, by the marshals of the Vilnius and Grodno nobility Edward Mostowski and Kalikst Orzeszko. Both attempts ended with the emperor’s refusal. This is because they were made at a time when the personal and material “capital” of the former Vilnius University was being used to create other universities in Russia (such as the Saint Vladimir Imperial University in Kiev).²

The outbreak and collapse of the January Uprising, in which the nobility and intelligentsia of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania were particularly heavily involved, prevented any serious efforts and plans to restore the university in Vilnius for the next 40 years. Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Muravyov, appointed on May 1, 1863 as the new governor-general of the Northwest Territory, received unlimited powers from Tsar Alexander II and the task of restoring calm and punishing all those responsible for the outbreak of the revolt. Successive Vilnius governors-generals followed the literal orders of Tsars Alexander II and Alexander III, aiming to “unite”

¹ W. Sukiennicki, *Legenda i rzeczywistość: wspomnienia i uwagi o dwudziestu latach Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie* [Legend and reality: the memories and notes about the twenty years of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius], Paris 1967, pp. 14, 122.

² See: J. Kozłowska-Studnicka, “Likwidacja Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego w świetle korespondencji urzędowej” [Liquidation of the University of Vilnius in light of official correspondence], in: *Księga pamiątkowa, ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego* [Commemorative book to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment and the 10th anniversary of the resurrection of the University of Vilnius], vol. 1: *Z dziejów dawnego Uniwersytetu* [On the history of the former University], Vilnius 1929, pp. 405–419. At the time of its closure, the University of Vilnius was the largest university in the Russian Empire, with more than 1,300 students (about 2,000, according to Daniel Beauvois).

these territories with the Russian Empire and de-Polonize and Russify them. Perhaps that is why the only project at the time to establish a university in Vilnius was written in 1897 by a member of the Vilnius City Council M. Vladimirov, and the argument referred to the need to erase the transgressions of the former University.³

Polish initiatives to establish a higher education institution in Vilnius that had a real chance of success, due to both financial and personnel factors, appeared only in the early 20th century. In late 1901 and early 1902, efforts to reactivate a higher education institution in Vilnius were made by the Vilnius Agricultural Society. The project of an agricultural university prepared by the members of the Society's council was submitted by Count Antoni Tyszkiewicz and Hipolit Gieczewicz. Perhaps they were emboldened by the tsar's approval of the restoration of the Society after many years of effort in late 1899. The concept was to establish an agricultural college in Vilnius as a kind of a "technical university with several faculties." This time, too, the tsarist authorities responded negatively to the initiative, although an official request for the restitution of the University was never made by the Society. The years from 1897 to 1901 was the period of rule in Vilnius of Vitaly Nikolaevich Trotsky, the governor general of Vilnius, Kaunas, and Grodno, thanks to whose efforts first a museum was established in the city, and then a statue of Mikhail Muravyov was unveiled. Trotsky also advocated maintaining all restrictions imposed on the Polish nobility after the January Uprising, and penalized any deviation from this policy by refusing to accept the founding of any Polish educational or scientific societies.⁴

³ W. Wołkanowski, *Michał Węśławski: biografia prezydenta Wilna w latach 1905–1916* [Michał Węśławski: the biography of the president of Vilnius in 1905–1916], Opole 2015, pp. 250–251. The so-called Northwest Territory included six governorates of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e. Vilnius, Grodno, Kaunas, Minsk, Mogilev, and Vitebsk, and from December 1866 also Suwałki and Łomża.

⁴ H. Ilgiewicz, *Societates Academicæ Vilnenses: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie (1907–1939) i jego poprzednicy* [Societates Academicæ Vilnenses: Society of Friends of Science in Vilnius (1907–1939) and its predecessors], Warsaw 2008, pp. 23–24; the author also describes other initiatives undertaken illegally by the Polish intelligentsia at the time, including, for example, the establishment of secret libraries, self-education groups, and courses for teachers; *ibidem*, pp. 25–19. See also: W. Wołkanowski, *Michał Węśławski: biografia prezydenta Wilna* [Michał Węśławski: the biography of the president of Vilnius], p. 251.

At the same time, the topic of restoration of the university was also taken up by the municipal authorities. The Society's project was expanded, so to speak, by an event that took place in 1903, when the convention accompanying the Agricultural Exhibition in Daugavpils, chaired by Stanisław Łopaciński, considered as the first item on its agenda the question of establishing a "higher scientific establishment for the Northwest Territory." The convention participants agreed on a university with a large agronomy department. This time, too, the tsarist authorities responded negatively to this initiative.⁵

The issue of establishing a university returned during meetings of the Vilnius City Council in late 1906 and again in early 1908. Józef Ziemacki wrote about this in an article "O wznowieniu uniwersytetu w Wilnie" [On the restoration of the university in Vilnius] published in the *Dziennik Wileński* newspaper in late November 1918:

[...] A dozen or so years ago, the issue of establishing a university was dealt with very actively. A convention of representatives of the country's major cities was authorized. [...] Representatives of the municipal boards of Mogilev, Vitebsk, Daugavpils, Grodno, Minsk, and Kaunas arrived. About 100 people gathered. A committee was formed; it was chaired by the late M. Węśławski. The files of that committee contain many carefully prepared and source-based memorials that have only historical value at the moment. The final result was the decision to fund the Agricultural Academy in Vilnius. The governor gave a favorable response. The ministers promised their support. But it was all delusion and hypocrisy. For it was a foregone conclusion in St. Petersburg that there would be no Agricultural Academy here.⁶

⁵ W. Wołkanowski, *Michał Węśławski: biografia prezydenta Wilna* [Michał Węśławski: the biography of the president of Vilnius], pp. 252ff. Z. Opacki, "Reaktywowanie czy powstanie? Dyskusje wokół utworzenia Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie w latach 1918–1919" [Reactivation or formation? Discussions on the formation of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius in 1918–1919], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1998, no. 3, p. 50; A. Srebrakowski, "Litwa i Litwini na Uniwersytecie Stefana Batorego" [Lithuania and Lithuanians at the Stefan Batory University], in: W. K. Roman, J. Marszałek-Kawa, eds., *Stosunki polsko-litewskie wczoraj i dziś: historia, kultura, polityka* [Polish-Lithuanian relations yesterday and today: history, culture, politics], Toruń 2009, pp. 106–107.

⁶ J. Ziemacki, "O wznowieniu Uniwersytetu w Wilnie" [On the revival of the University of Vilnius], parts 1–2, *Dziennik Wileński* 1918, no. 270 (of November 20), pp. 2–3; no. 272, p. 2

A committee established by Michał Węśławski, then president of Vilnius, prepared two projects for the university: the first with a humanities profile and the second as a school organized as a university of technology. There was also a third plan to establish a university with faculties of law, medicine, physics and mathematics, agriculture, and philology.

A convention on the university was held in Vilnius on May 4, 1908, attended by delegates of city councils, agricultural societies, banks, and scientific establishments from six governorates. During the deliberations, a subcommittee was established to develop a project for a mixed university with several faculties, including a faculty of agriculture, which was to eliminate the conflicts between the different nationalities. The committee met regularly until mid-1909, after which the plans were kept in the city's office for another two years. It seems that they were looking for a pretext to present them to the tsar. At the end of 1911, at a meeting of the Vilnius City Council, Nikolai Sobolev proposed a project for a higher education institution to be established to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of the reign of the Romanov dynasty in Russia and to be named after the tsar's family (Imperial Romanov University). At the time, a pledge was also made that the city would donate one million rubles and 20 dessiatins of land for the purpose. We don't know whether the project made it to St. Petersburg. At the end of 1913, another project appeared that modified the previous ones. It was agreed that a "Folk University" with an agricultural profile under the patronage of the Romanov dynasty should be sought; a delegation composed of representatives of all nationalities was selected to present a petition to the tsar on this matter. A request was made to the Interior Ministry for an audience with Tsar Nicholas II. When he refused to hold an audience after several weeks, a new memorial was prepared in case the decision was changed.

The outbreak of war put an end to these plans.⁷

(of November 22). Initially, the idea was to establish courses for women in Vilnius, and this project also supported by President M. Węśławski.

⁷ Lietuvos Centrinis Valstybės Archyvas in Vilnius (hereinafter: LCVA), F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheet 45, Protokoly Komisji Organizacyjno-Rewindykacyjnej Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego [Minutes of the Committee for the Organization and Revindication of the University of Vilnius], Minutes of May 21, 1919. During the Committee's meeting, Waclaw Gizbert-Stud-

Renewed hopes for the establishment of a higher education institution in Vilnius emerged soon after the outbreak of World War I, when the political situation changed and Russian troops left the city. Probably not without significance was the fact that General Hans H. von Beseler established a Polish university in Warsaw to replace the one abandoned by the Russians. Just before the Germans occupied the city, a Vilnius-Kaunas Civic Committee, consisting of representatives of various nationalities, was formed to serve as the local government, whose charter was approved by the last Russian governor, Pyotr Vladimirovich Verovkin before he left Vilnius.⁸

In September 1915, Vilnius was occupied by German troops. In late 1915 and early 1916, several representatives of the Vilnius intelligentsia put forward another project to restore the University, and launched higher scientific courses, known as the “flying university.” The German authorities rejected the project to establish the university, although in February 1916 they gave permission for the printing of the *Dziennik Wileński* newspaper, published by Jan Obst. They also soon suspended the scientific courses and the activities of the Vilnius Society of Friends of Sciences, which was founded on the initiative of Alfons Parczewski and Władysław Zahorski in October 1906, and whose main goal was to care for the development of science and literature in the Polish language, as well as natural, ethno-

nicki recalled the initiative of the landed gentry dating back to 1909 or 1910 to establish a higher scientific institution in Vilnius and Mr. Ogiński’s donation of several dessiatins of land in Antokol for the future university. See also: W. Wołkanowski, *Michał Węśławski: biografia prezydenta Wilna* [Michał Węśławski: the biography of the president of Vilnius], pp. 250–258, the author described in detail the efforts to establish a higher education institution in Vilnius and the participation of President M. Węśławski; J. Schiller, *Universitas rossica: koncepcja rosyjskiego uniwersytetu 1863–1917* [Universitas rossica: the concept of a Russian university 1863–1917], Warsaw 2008, p. 363, the author writes that between 1860 and 1914, Vilnius asked successive tsars five times for a university, institutes of technology, agriculture, technology, and a clerical academy, and offered 500,000 rubles.

⁸ H. Ilgiewicz, “Relacje polsko-litewskie w przededniu odzyskania niepodległości w świetle dzienników i wspomnień działaczy wileńskich” [Polish-Lithuanian relations on the eve of regaining independence in light of journals and memoirs of Vilnius activists], *Rocznik Stowarzyszenia Naukowców Polaków Litwy* 2019, vol. 19, pp. 4–7, the German occupation authorities initially recognized the Committee’s activities, only to later limit its function to charity, and finally dissolve it in 1916.

graphic, and statistical research in the country.⁹ For the group of people gathered around the Society, including Ludwik Abramowicz, Stanisław Kościalkowski, Ludwik Czarkowski, Czesław Jankowski, Lucjan Uziębło, Józef Ziemacki, and Stanisław Władyczko, the idea of restoring a higher education institution in Vilnius was a primary goal. And even though their efforts failed, they confirmed that the memory and legend of the *Almae Matris Vilnensis* and the desire to restore it were still alive among Vilnius residents.

This was mentioned in early January 1919 at the first organizational meeting of the Committee for the launch of the University of Vilnius, where it was emphasized that

[...] the idea of reviving the activity of the University of Vilnius was and is one of the matters that all members of the Polish intelligentsia in Vilnius are most vividly concerned about, and that efforts have been made to this end at every opportunity, specifically, after the Russian authorities left Vilnius in 1915, Higher Scientific Courses were created, which developed very successfully, but were suspended by the German occupation authorities.¹⁰

It should be noted that in parallel with the Polish authorities, efforts to restore the university have also been made by the authorities of the reborn

⁹ A. Wrzosek, “Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego w roku 1919” [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius in 1919], in: *Księga pamiątkowa, ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego* [Commemorative book to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment and the 10th anniversary of the resurrection of the University of Vilnius], vol. 2: *Dziesięciolecie 1919–1929* [The decade 1919–1929], Vilnius 1929, pp. 2ff, the author wrote that in February 1916, an article titled “O Uniwersytet w Wilnie” [In support of the University of Vilnius] appeared in a Cracow newspaper, which mentioned that a memorial on the restoration of the university in Vilnius had been submitted to the German authorities in December 1915. H. Ilgiewicz, *Societates Academiae Vilnenses*, pp. 272ff, the author described, among other things, the circumstances of the founding and the activities of the Vilnius Society of Friends of Science; eadem, “Wileńskie towarzystwa naukowe w latach pierwszej wojny światowej” [Vilnius scientific societies in the years of World War I], *Rocznik Stowarzyszenia Naukowców Polaków Litwy* 2015, vol. 15, pp. 42–47.

¹⁰ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, k. 2, *Protokoły Komisji Organizacyjno-Rewindykacyjnej Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego* [Minutes of the Committee for the Organization and Revindication of the University of Vilnius], Minutes no. I of the organizational meeting of the Committee to launch the University of Vilnius, Vilnius, January 4, 1919.

Lithuanian state. The Lithuanian Society for Aid to War Victims, known as the Lithuanian Committee, established in Vilnius in 1915 and headed by Antanas Smetona, with the favor of the German authorities, carried out charitable and political activities in that territory and abroad. In September 1917, with the approval of the German occupation authorities, the Lithuanian State Council (*Lietuvos Taryba*), headed by Antanas Smetona, was established in Vilnius; on February 16, 1918, it proclaimed the “Act of Lithuanian Independence.” In November of that year, *Taryba* received permission from the occupying German authorities to form a government. On November 11, Augustinas Voldemaras was sworn in as prime minister and formed the first Lithuanian government, which, with changes, operated in Vilnius until January 1, 1919. The initiative to revive the University of Vilnius was taken by the Lithuanian Scientific Society, which in October 1918 selected a committee to draft the charter of the new university, prepared by Jurgis Alekna, Mykolas Biržiška, and Aleksandras Stulginskis, among others. As early as on December 5, 1918, the Provisional Government of Lithuania adopted a charter, the first point of which proclaimed that the University of Vilnius, “resurrected on January 1, 1919, is the heir to the institution of learning and teaching of the University of Vilnius, which was closed in 1832.” The charter stipulated that the university was to be a state Lithuanian university, where classes would also be conducted in Polish and Russian. Four faculties were planned for the Lithuanian university: faculties of theology, social sciences, medicine, natural sciences, and mathematics. Initially, only two faculties were to begin operations: faculties of theology and social sciences. Therefore, that university was to be very different from the University of Vilnius that existed in the 19th century. The changing political situation prevented these intentions from becoming a reality. After January 1, 1919, the Lithuanian government moved with *Taryba* to Kaunas, where – after two years of wars and the establishment of Lithuania’s borders – it established the Lithuanian University in Kaunas, as envisioned in the charter of December 1918.¹¹

¹¹ S. Jegelevičius, “Pierwsze próby wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego i powstanie Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego” [The first attempts to resurrect the University of Vilnius and the formation of the Stefan Batory University], in: L. Piechnik, K. Puchowski, eds., *Z dzie-*

There is no doubt that the effectiveness of the Lithuanian intelligentsia's actions caused the acceleration of the efforts undertaken by the Polish side. The idea of reactivating the University of Vilnius, which resurfaced at the end of 1918, provided an impetus for members of the Scientific Society to resurrect the university the following year. Meanwhile, however, the intentions were articulated. In November 1918, the *Dziennik Wileński* newspaper published the above-quoted article by Józef Ziemacki titled "O wznowieniu Uniwersytetu w Wilnie" [On the revival of the University of Vilnius], in which the author stressed the need and possibility of quickly resurrecting a university in Vilnius with the following faculties: theology, law, mathematics and physics, history and philology, medicine, and agronomy:

[...] Now no one can hinder the cause of restoring the Polish university in Vilnius. The university will claim its edifices, its foundations. Who will be able to not give them to it? And the city, when the governance of our city passes into the hands of its legal landlords, will not skimp on the land and edifices it needs, should it be too cramped within the old university walls. [...] Well, now is the moment when the Polish society in Vilnius should take into its hands the matter of the reconstruction of the university. This does not require lots of money. There will be no need to base the university's existence self-taxa-

jów Almae Matris Vilnensis: księga pamiątkowa ku czci 400-lecia założenia i 75-lecia wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego [On the history of the Almae Matris Vilnensis: a commemorative book to honor the 400th anniversary of the foundation and the 75th anniversary of the resurrection of the University of Vilnius], Cracow 1996, pp. 243–244 (polemics: W. Dziewulski, "Prawda o wskrzeszeniu Wileńskiej Wszechnicy w 1919 roku" [The truth about the resurrection of the Vilnius University in 1919], in: *ibidem*, pp. 282–283); Z. Opacki, "Reaktywowanie czy powstanie? Dyskusje wokół utworzenia Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego" [Reactivation or formation? Discussions on the formation of the Stefan Batory University], p. 52; D. Zamajska, "Ta ludność życzy mieć uniwersytet..." – walka o utworzenie Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie" ["This nation wishes the university..." – the struggle for the formation of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius], *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 2006, book 2, pp. 8–9. See also: "Stepono Batoro universitetas: perimti ir įsigyti turtais (1919–1939)," in: *Alma Mater Vilnensis: Vilniaus universiteto turtais istorijos skersvėjuose (XVI–XXI amžiai)*, [redaktorių kolegija], Vilnius 2016, pp. 385–386. From 1905, Lithuanians had been striving to create an educational system with a Lithuanian national university at its head. In June 1930, on the 500th anniversary of the death of Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas, the university was officially renamed Vytautas Magnus University.

tion of any form. You need to start in the most modest size, with the smallest possible spending. After the war, the least anticipated, least expected funds will be found, and they will ensure the university's existence. Anyway, the Vilnius University had huge endowments, had huge museums, a huge library.¹²

The idea of the restoration of a Polish university was revisited almost simultaneously in Warsaw and Vilnius. On the initiative of the Lithuanian Committee, which had been operating under the Regency Council in Warsaw since 1917, a conference was convened on December 13, 1918 under the chairmanship of Rev. Antoni Szlagowski, during which, after hearing Stanisław Władyczka's paper "On the resurrection of the Polish University in Vilnius," a resolution was unanimously adopted on the resurrection of the University of Vilnius "no later than in the autumn of 1919," and the Warsaw Committee for the Revival of the Polish University in Vilnius was established, with 12 members and Alfons Parczewski as its chairman and S. Władyczko as its secretary.¹³

On December 28, 1918, the Polish Committee, which had been operating in Vilnius since 1916, adopted a proclamation written by Stanisław Kościałkowski to reestablish the university closed in 1832, which was to open, with four faculties, no later than in the autumn of 1919, i.e. at the beginning of the 1919/1920 academic year:

[...] Four faculties are to be launched: theological, law and administration, medical, and philosophical consisting of two sections: mathematics and nat-

¹² J. Ziemacki, "O wznowieniu Uniwersytetu w Wilnie" [On the revival of the University of Vilnius], parts 1–2, *Dziennik Wileński* 1918, no. 270 (of November 20), pp. 2–3; no. 272, p. 2 (of November 22).

¹³ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheets 4–5, Minutes of the meeting of the Conference convened by the Lithuanian Committee in Warsaw on the resurrection of the University of Vilnius. This happened on December 13, 1918; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 2(VI)B, b. 2, sheets 49–50, Rękopisy Wydziału Prawa i Nauk Społecznych USB 1929/30 [Manuscripts of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the SBU 1929/30] (A. Parczewski, "Przyczynek do wspomnienia o wskrzeszeniu Uniwersytetu w Wilnie w roku 1919" [A contribution to the memory of the resurrection of the University in Vilnius in 1919], Vilnius, July 5, 1929); A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 4–5 – the entire minutes of the December 13, 1918 conference of the Lithuanian Committee were published there.

ural sciences section, and humanities section – as well as subunits: agronomic, veterinary, and pharmaceutical. The University is to serve science and the most broadly understood universal human culture – in accordance with its great traditions – and to take into account, in the best possible way, the cultural needs of all residents of Lithuania and all nationalities living in the country.¹⁴

As a side note, it is worth mentioning that Stanisław Kościalkowski, an eminent historian, was also the author of the document titled “Uwagi nad zadaniami Komisji oraz trzech jej dotychczasowych Sekcji (podkomisji): finansowo-rewindykacyjnej, gospodarczej i programowo-naukowej” [Notes on the tasks of the Committee and its three existing Sections (subcommittees): financial and revindication, economic, and programming and scientific], in which he demanded, among other things, to establish departments of Lithuanian studies with Lithuanian as the teaching language. He also did not rule out, which was difficult for many Polish activists at the time to accept, the establishment of a second, independent Lithuanian university in Vilnius, as well as providing it with assistance in terms of staff.¹⁵

To meet, in a way, the activities of the two professors’ initiatives, the Education Committee, empowered in Vilnius by the Polish Committee and headed by Witold Węśławski, at its meeting on January 4, 1919, appointed a provisional Academic Senate headed by Rector Józef Ziemacki to manage academic affairs. The Education Committee recommended that the Senate appoint as deans of the planned faculties: Stanisław Ptaszycki (faculty of

¹⁴ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheets 6–7v, Odezwa Komitetu Polskiego w Wilnie [Proclamation of the Polish Committee in Vilnius], Vilnius, December 30, 1918. See also: S. Władyczko, “Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych nad odbudową Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego (13.XII.1918–11.X.1919). Sprawozdanie Komitetu Wykonawczego Odbudowy Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego” [The first period of the organization work on the restoration of the University of Vilnius (December 13, 1918 – October 11, 1919). Report of the Executive Committee for the Restoration of the University of Vilnius], in: *Księga pamiątkowa, ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego* [Commemorative book to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment and the 10th anniversary of the resurrection of the University of Vilnius], vol. 2: *Dziesięciolecie 1919–1929* [Decade 1919–1929], Vilnius 1929, pp. 34–36.

¹⁵ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheets 16v–17, 25–30, Minutes of the fourth meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee of the University of Vilnius of April 27, 1919, at Dr. Zahorski’s apartment.

philosophy), Alfons Parczewski (faculty of law), Stanisław Władyczka (faculty of medicine), as well as members Kazimierz Noiszewski, Władysław Zawadzki, and Stanisław Kościałkowski. On January 20, 1919 the chairman of the Education Committee, W. Węśławski, wrote a letter to J. Ziemacki, in which he “[...] offers to you the position of provisional Rector of the University of Vilnius to take action with the aim of launching the University with the participation of the provisional Academic Senate.”¹⁶

In addition, at the January 4 meeting, an announcement was made on the establishment “for organizational and revindication purposes” of an Organization and Revindication Committee, which was to handle preparatory work aimed at launching the Vilnius University. Its members were social and educational activists from Vilnius, including Witold Węśławski, Władysław Zahorski, Konrad Niedziałkowski, Jan Piłsudski, Józef Wierzyński, Ludwik Czarkowski, Tadeusz Dembowski, Stanisław Cywiński, Rev. Leon Puciata, Duke Eustachy Sapieha, Emma Dmochowska, Zofia Paszkowska, and Emilia Węśławska. At the second meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee, held on January 6 under the leadership of Rector J. Ziemacki, it was resolved that he would be the chairman of the Committee to ensure coordination of the work of the two bodies, and Władysław Zahorski was appointed as the chairman of the revindication subcommittee.

In early January 1919, Vilnius again became a site of warfare. After the German army withdrew, the city was occupied by units of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army. Under the Bolshevik protectorate, the Soviet Republic of Lithuania and then the Soviet Republic of Lithuania and Belarus,

¹⁶ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheets 11–11v, Excerpt from the minutes of the meeting of the Education Committee in Vilnius on January 4, 1919, chaired by Dr. Witold Węśławski, the chairman of the Education Committee, with Mr. Wierzyński, the secretary; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheets 2–2v, sheet 6, *Protokoły Komisji Organizacyjno-Rewindykacyjnej Uniw[ersytetu] Wil[eńskiego] (odpisy) [Minutes of the Organization and Revindication Committee of the Univ[ersity] of Vil[nius] (copies)]*; see: minutes no. 1 and minutes no. 2; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 1, sheets 1a–4, Copies of letters from Rector J. Ziemacki to A. Parczewski, W. Władyczka, Stanisław Ptaszycki, K. Noiszewski, W. Zawadzki, and S. Kościałkowski, Vilnius January 10, 1919; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 16, sheet 4, copy of the letter dated January 20, [19]19, from the Chairman of the Education Committee.

with Vincas Mickievičius-Kapsukas as the head of the Council of People's Commissars, existed in Vilnius until February 27, 1919. The authorities of this republic also took up the idea of establishing a university and on March 13 published the "Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of Lithuania and Belarus on the establishment of a Labor University in Vilnius," which was to begin operations in the spring of that year. To make this concept a reality, the Council established an Executive Committee consisting of three commissioners – Vaclovas Biržiška, Stefan Heltman, and Stanisław Bobiński – who asked Rector Ziemacki to present a project for the university's reopening with lists of candidates proposed for the posts of faculty heads.¹⁷

The warfare and the occupation of the city by the Bolshevik army slowed down the work undertaken by the Polish intelligentsia to revive the university in Vilnius. Despite the unfavorable political situation, the Organization and Revindication Committee continued to work with trusted individuals to gather information about the real estate belonging to the former University, draft the charter of the new university, and seek appropriate funds and staff to work in the faculties of the future university. Despite the war, a meeting of the Provisional Academic Senate was held on March 12, during which the names of the departments and their staffing in the Faculty of Medicine were discussed, and a resolution was passed to approach the deans of the planned departments regarding their organi-

¹⁷ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheet 13–14v, a document on the course of the negotiations between the Executive Committee and Prof. Ziemacki on the establishment of a Common Labor University in Vilnius, March 13, [19]19. The republic formally covered the area of present-day Lithuania, Belarus, and a part of Poland (the Podlasie and Suwałki region); in fact its authority did not reach Podlasie and the western part of Lithuania. It was eliminated by the Polish offensive in August 1919 and formally abolished on September 1 by its government, which retreated to Smolensk. See also: A. Srebrakowski, "Uniwersytet Stefana Batorego w Wilnie 1919–1939" [Stefan Batory University in Vilnius 1919–1939], in: A. Srebrakowski, G. Strauchold, eds., *Wrocław na litewskie millenium. Materiały z uroczystej konferencji z okazji 1000-lecia udokumentowania nazwy Litwa* [Wrocław for Lithuania's millenium. Materials from the ceremonial conference on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of the documentation of the name Lithuania], Wrocław 2010, pp. 85–86.

zation and the faculty heads.¹⁸ On March 19, 1919, Stanisław Władyczko, authorized by Rector Ziemacki, left for Warsaw “[...] to take action in all matters aimed at starting the Vilnius University.” There, together with the members of the Warsaw Committee, a proclamation was issued to the Polish society on the restitution of University of Vilnius. During that stay, Władyczko, together with Prof. Władysław Zawadzki, also met with Ludwik Kolankowski, the director of the Department for the Affairs of the Polish Eastern Territories, and Adam Wrzosek, the head of the Department of Science and Higher Education Institutions at the Ministry of the Religious Denominations and Public Education, to whom he presented the projects and the work plan of the Provisional Academic Senate and the Organizing Committee. Kolankowski then appointed Władyczko as the representative for the affairs of the University of Vilnius at the Eastern Territories Administration.¹⁹

The offensive of the Polish army began on April 16, 1919. As a result, Vilnius was taken over by the Poles on April 19. The Organization and Revindication Committee resumed its session on April 25. Later that day, Władyczko received a letter from L. Kolankowski, the director of the Department for Polish Eastern Territories, in which the latter requested, on behalf of the Head of State, that “the provisional Academic Senate continue to work on the launch and organization of the University of Vilnius. Please conduct your work in consultation with the Ministry of the Religious Denominations and Public Education in Warsaw.”²⁰ Two days later, on April 27,

¹⁸ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheets 12–12v, Meeting of the Academic Senate of the University of Vilnius on March 12, 1919; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 1, sheets 8b–8c, Copy of Rector Ziemacki’s letter to the Head of State dated April 27, [19]19.

¹⁹ See: LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheet 42, Władyczko’s account of his visit to Warsaw presented at the seventh meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee on May 21, 1919. See also: S. Władyczko, “Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych” [The first period of the organizational works], p. 37, the author described the activities of the Committee and the Provisional Senate; D. Zamojska, *Akademy i urzędnicy: kształtowanie ustroju państwowych szkół wyższych w Polsce 1915–1920* [Academics and officials: shaping the organization of the state higher education institutions in Poland 1915–1920], Warsaw 2009, p. 81.

²⁰ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 1, sheet 13, a letter from S. Władyczko to J. Ziemacki dated April 25, [19]19. In a letter dated April 23, Władyczko urged Ziemacki to meet with the Head of State about the University; *ibidem*, sheet 11; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 16, sheet 7,

the provisional rector Ziemacki was able to personally, during a two-hour audience, report to Commander-in-Chief Józef Piłsudski, who had arrived in Vilnius, on the progress of the Committee's activities, present the plan of work on the resurrection of the university and its needs, and ask for financial assistance and care. At 6 o'clock in the evening of the same day, a meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee was held at W. Zahorski's apartment, during which Ziemacki reported on the meeting with the Commander-in-Chief.²¹ Since Vilnius was not within the borders of the reborn Polish state and was under the administration of the General Civil Commissioner to the Civil Administration of the Eastern Territories, the Committee was subordinated to that administration.

The detailed course of its work to resurrect the university in Vilnius can be reconstructed from:

- the account by Adam Wrzosek, then the Head of the Science and Higher Education Institutions Section of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education (MRDPE), based on the minutes of the meetings of the Organization and Revindication Committee operating in Vilnius and his memoirs;²²
- the memoirs of the first rector of the SBU by Michał M. Siedlecki;²³

a letter from Department Director L. Kolankowski to provisional Rector of the University of Vilnius, April 25, 1919.

²¹ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 1, p. 8–8c, a copy of the letter from Rector Ziemacki to the Head of State dated April 27, [19]19; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, *Protokoły Komisji Rewizyjno-Organizacyjnej Uniw[ersytetu] Wil[eńskiego]* [Minutes of the Revision and Organization Committee of the Univ[ersity] of Vilnius], sheets 11–12 (minutes of the third meeting of April 25, 1919), sheets 16–17 (minutes of the fourth meeting of April 27, 1919), sheets 25–30 (compiled by S. Kościółkowski). Józef Piłsudski allocated 30,000 marks for the organizational work carried out by the Committee.

²² A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 1–32.

²³ M. Siedlecki, "Wspomnienia z pierwszych dwu lat organizacji Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [Memories of the first two years of the organization of the University of Vilnius], in: *Księga pamiątkowa, ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego* [Commemorative book to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment and the 10th anniversary of the resurrection of the University of Vilnius], vol. 2: *Dziesięciolecie 1919–1929* [Decade 1919–1929], Vilnius 1929, pp. 59–114.

- the reports of the Executive Committee for the Reconstruction of the University of Vilnius;²⁴
- the memoirs of Ludwik Kolankowski, who, from May 7 to August 30, 1919, was the plenipotentiary of the Commander-in-Chief for the reconstruction of the University of Vilnius;²⁵
- the archival sources from the Archives of the Stefan Batory University, which are now stored at the Lithuanian Central State Archives in Vilnius (Fond 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 1–18).

Notably, the accounts of A. Wrzosek and the Executive Committee, and the memoirs of M. Siedlecki were published in the second volume of the *Commemorative book to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment and the 10th anniversary of the restoration of the University of Vilnius*, which was published in 1929.

In the discussion of the concepts of the University of Vilnius, the most important one, which had not been articulated before, was omitted. On April 22, shortly after arriving in Vilnius, the Head of State issued, in Polish and Lithuanian, a proclamation *To the inhabitants of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, in which he appealed to the descendants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to act together in restoring independence, without, however, addressing the question of the state affiliation of these lands. He also met with representatives of the Vilnius authorities and presented them with his vision for the city and the university, which were to become a center of Polish culture. There is no doubt that the reconstruction of the university was an element of the federation projects of Józef Piłsudski, who wanted to convince other nationalities living in Vilnius to join the emerg-

²⁴ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 12a, *Protokoły Komitetu Wykonawczego Odbudowy Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego (oryginały)* [Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Reconstruction of University of Vilnius (originals)]; S. Władyczko, “Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych” [The first period of the organizational works], pp. 33–58. From May 27 to September 13, 1919, the Executive Committee, headed by the provisional rector J. Ziemacki, held 41 meetings. On December 17, 1919, at the request of Michał Siedlecki, the rector of the SBU, the last meeting of that Committee was held (without the participation of L. Kolankowski).

²⁵ L. Kolankowski, *Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [Diary notes], prepared for print, introduction, and footnotes by S. Grochowina, Toruń 2012, pp. 109–147 [Participation in the resurrection of the University of Vilnius]. Kolankowski’s mission ended on August 30, 1919.

ing Polish state. He entrusted its implementation to Ludwik Kolankowski, a former director of the Department of the Eastern Borderlands (Lithuanian-Byelorussian) and a Civil Commissioner to the Military Administration of the Eastern Borderlands, whom he appointed on May 7, 1919 as the Commander-in-Chief's plenipotentiary for the reconstruction of the University of Vilnius, at the same time handing over to him the university's documentation.²⁶ Thanks to Kolankowski's *Diary notes* published in print in 2012, we know not only the details of that meeting, but also the details of his participation in the restitution of the Stefan Batory University.

This is how Kolankowski described in his *Diary notes* his conversation with Piłsudski:

Here you have a Kaziuk from Vilnius. They gave it to me there, and I am giving it to you. It is a late one, but it is a Kaziuk from Vilnius. To my silent question about what it could be, he added: "They came up with the idea in Vilnius that they want to have a university there. We have been talking about it – as you already know – for a long time, and here are the acts that they gave me. I told them that I would pass this on to you." To my remark that when I hand over the office to Mr. Osmałowski tomorrow, it will be up to him as the General Commissioner, Piłsudski replied: "They don't know how to do it. It will come apart, and you will get it done." "Yes, Sir," I replied briefly [...].²⁷

In his nomination act, the Commander-in-Chief gave Kolankowski "[...] the task of drawing up, together with the scientific body and the local scientific institutions, the charter of the University and the establishment of auxiliary institutions for it."

²⁶ The role of L. Kolankowski in the Lithuanian-Belarusian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Civil Commissariat is discussed in detail by J. Gierowska-Kałuża, "Między polityką a nauką. Ludwik Kolankowski w pierwszym półroczu 1919 roku" [Between politics and science. Ludwik Kolankowski in the first half-year of 1919], in: P. Oliński, W. Piasek, eds., *Ludwik Kolankowski: dzieło i życie: indywidualny przypadek historiograficzny* [Ludwik Kolankowski: work and life: an individual historiographic case], Toruń 2017, pp. 23–40; eadem, *Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich (19 lutego 1919–9 września 1920)* [Civilian Administration of the Eastern Territories (February 19, 1919 – September 9, 1920)], Warsaw 2003, pp. 66–69, 71–72, 74, 111–112ff.

²⁷ L. Kolankowski, *Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [Diary notes], pp. 119–120.

Authorized by Piłsudski, Kolankowski initiated and coordinated organizational work and, in cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment (MRDPE), prepared a project for the selection of scientific staff. He arranged all administrative and economic matters with the Commissioner General of the Civil Administration of the Eastern Territories, Jerzy Osmołowski.²⁸

Kolankowski's enthusiasm and Piłsudski's support enabled the work of rebuilding the university in Vilnius to proceed quickly. On May 27, the Plenipotentiary appointed the Executive Committee for the Reconstruction of University of Vilnius, headed by the provisional rector J. Ziemacki, which included representatives of the Vilnius intelligentsia, such as Stanisław Władyczko, Ludwik Wasilewski, Stanisław Kościółkowski, Zygmunt Nagrodzki, Waclaw Gizbert-Studnicki, Józef Wierzyński, Michał Brensztejn, Ludwik Czarkowski, Michał Minkiewicz, Walenty Parczewski, Ferdynand Ruszczyc, Witold Staniewicz, Witold Sławiński, Jan Obst, Count Antoni Tyszkiewicz, and Władysław Zahorski. The Committee, in consultation with the provisional Academic Senate, was to begin the necessary preparations for the inauguration of the academic year at the Vilnius University as early as in October 1919, and to activate the local community to help with the work on the organization of the university, the acquisition of buildings, furniture, and fuel, the raising of adequate funds, etc.²⁹ At the end of

²⁸ D. Zamojska, “‘Ta ludność życzy mieć uniwersytet...’” [“This nation wishes the university...”], p. 12; eadem, “Akademy i urzędnicy” [Academics and officials], p. 84; P. Żukowski, “Uniwersytety we Lwowie, Krakowie i Wilnie na naukowej drodze Ludwika Kolankowskiego. Życie naukowe Ludwika Kolankowskiego do 1939 roku” [Universities in Lviv, Cracow, and Vilnius on the scientific path of Ludwik Kolankowski. The scientific life of Ludwik Kolankowski until 1939], in: P. Oliński, W. Piasek, eds., *Ludwik Kolankowski: dzieło i życie: indywidualny przypadek historiograficzny* [Ludwik Kolankowski: work and life: an individual historiographic case], Toruń 2017, pp. 67–68, annex, doc. 8 (p. 204).

²⁹ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 12a, sheets 3–4v, Minutes no. 1 of the organizational meeting of the Executive Committee at the University of Vilnius on May 27, 1919 at the premises of the University Chancellery, led by the University Superintendent Professor L. Kolankowski; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 18, Fotografie i życiorysy członków Komitetu Wykonawczego Odbudowy Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego z 1919 r. [Photographs and biographies of the members of the Executive Committee for the Reconstruction of the University of Vilnius from 1919].

April, the MRDPE also joined the work on the restitution of the university. The ministry was represented by Adam Wrzosek, who took control of the nascent university, which was being established in a city with a then-undetermined – which was very important – legal situation.

As Dorota Zamojska rightly pointed out, from May to August 28, 1919, the reconstruction of the university in Vilnius was handled by several institutions and individuals who were in competency and conceptual conflicts with each other, which caused the problem “multi-authority” leading to a delay in the organizational work.³⁰

Launching a higher education institution at such a rapid pace was not only an extremely difficult logistical undertaking, but above all a financial one. Vilnius was a poor city ravaged by war, as some of the professors who took a job at the university there in October 1919 wrote in their memoirs. This is best reflected in the diary of Józef Kallenbach, the dean of the Faculty of Humanities, who wrote upon his arrival in Vilnius: “[...] the filth and stench in the streets, the snowmelt, the Jewish-Russian chatter, the uncertainty of the situation. [...] I am determined to get out of here, I just still don’t know where.”³¹

In the already quoted *Diary notes*, Kolankowski, a direct participant in these events, noted:

But all my struggle to make the Vilnius University one of Poland’s universities is a secondary thing. The first was for it to be created. And I must [...] say, according to the account of the Reconstruction Committee, that the Ministry of Education did not want the University of Vilnius, at least in 1919.³²

³⁰ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(1)A, b. 14, sheet 15, Copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Polish National Council of April 16, 1919, where information was given that Stanisław Władyczka and Władysław Zawadzki held two conferences on the University of Vilnius with the head of Science and Higher Education Institutions Section Adam Wrzosek; D. Zamojska, “Akademy i urzędnicy” [Academics and officials], p. 84.

³¹ Quoted after: D. Zamojska, ““Ta ludność życzy mieć uniwersytet...” [“This nation wishes the university...”], pp. 19–20.

³² L. Kolankowski, *Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [Diary notes], p. 137.

From the quoted excerpt of the *Diary notes* it can be seen that L. Kolankowski was indeed keen on the rapid realization of the idea of rebuilding the Vilnius University.

Important in the work on the organization of the university was the question of the number and form of the faculties that were to be created, as well as of finding academic teachers with appropriate scientific qualifications who could take the posts of faculty heads.

The names of various faculties appeared in the minutes of the Organization and Revindication Committee: theological, legal, medical, philological, fine arts, physical and mathematical, agricultural, agronomic, veterinary, and pharmaceutical. And the members of this Committee shared the responsibilities related to the organization of the various faculties.³³ Such a large number of faculties was opposed by the delegate of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, A. Wrzosek, who on May 21, 1919, at an extraordinary meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee, attended by a government representative, the head of the Department of Enlightenment in the General Commissariat of the Eastern Territories, Władysław Lichtarowicz, Stefan Ehrenkretz from Warsaw, and members of the Committee, pushed for a small, two-faculty university, but one “in the European fashion,” such as in Poznań, where “[...] for the time being, they limited it to the faculties of philosophy, law, and administration.” During the meeting, it was resolved that after consulting with L. Kolankowski, as the official organizer of the University of Vilnius, they would ask the General Commissariat of the Eastern Territories to appoint “[...] at the earliest possible time, i.e., as early as in May, an Executive Committee to take custody and management of the University buildings and to manage their restoration.” This concept was opposed by A. Wrzosek, who believed that the Executive Committee should be formed in consultation with the Ministry and consist of a limited number of peo-

³³ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheets 31–32v, sheets 35–36, Minutes of meeting no. five (May 12, 1919), no. six (May 19, 1919) of the Organization and Revindication Committee; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheets 22–23, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee for the organization of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine of the University of Vilnius, held on August 12, 1919, consisting of veterinarians.

ple. He also suggested the need to include classes “in the local languages: Belarusian and Lithuanian” in the faculty of literature and humanities. This was met with strong resistance by members of the Committee, who referred to “the deterrent example of Lviv, where similar conduct led to dissension and even brawls among the studying youth.” At that time, the decision was also made to “[...] urgently open the faculties of philosophy and law. A draft of the University Charter, the Estimate Budgets, and the List of the all professors were prepared.” In addition, a request was made to the state authorities to allocate adequate funds for the salaries of the clerks and the support staff, for printed materials, and for office supplies.³⁴

The most difficult task was to find professors willing to leave universities in Poland and move to Vilnius, whose legal status was still unclear. The problems with the staff for the new university prompted the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment to advocate either to temporarily postpone its launch or to open it in a form limited to a faculty of philosophy (humanities) and perhaps a faculty of law. However, both of these faculties were defined in strictly utilitarian terms, as a school for training Polish teachers and officials, which would not have full academic rights.

The ministry’s authorities expressed their position explicitly on June 14, 1919, during a conference held at the home of Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, Jan Łukasiewicz, with the participation of Ludwik Kolankowski, a historian of the University of Vilnius Józef Bieliński, and members of the Provisional Academic Senate: Rector Józef Ziemacki, Alfons Parczewski, Stanisław Ptaszycki, Stanisław Władyczko, Kazimierz Noiszewski, and Władysław Zawadzki, which caused a robust response from Vilnius residents. On their behalf, S. Władyczko replied that

³⁴ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheets 40–46, Minutes of the extraordinary meeting (seventh) of the Organization and Revindication Committee of the University of Vilnius held on May 21, 1919, in the premises of the provisional Chancellery of the University; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 5, sheet 10, invitation to the members of the Organization and Revindication Committee to an extraordinary meeting to be held on Wednesday, May 21, 1919, at the University Chancellery, 26 Świętojańska Street.

[...] The Polish University in Vilnius, as the most important institution of Polishness in the eastern borderlands, is an issue so pressing and so timely that we do not have a moment to lose and must exploit today's political conditions so that the University will be formally active with all faculties as early as in autumn, if only in the stage of organization. [...] This is not Warsaw, not Cracow, Lviv is arranging a Polish University there, but these Polish people who have lived there for centuries, these people who cannot forget that the Śniadeckis taught within these walls, that Mickiewicz and Słowacki came out of these walls. [...] These people wish to have a university, not a humanities higher education institution or a high school, as proposed by Mr. Wrzosek.

The Vilnius residents pointed out the risks of delaying the launch of the university in an uncertain political situation and the need to open it with all faculties as early as in October that year. An agreement was reached only thanks to the decisiveness and statements of Kolankowski, who attended the meeting and, citing the will of the Commander-in-Chief, advocated the opening of the university with all planned faculties in the autumn.³⁵

In a speech delivered on October 11, 1919, during the first ceremonial inauguration of the academic year at the University of Vilnius, Adam Wrzosek said:

[...] Eagerness and dedicated work have resulted in a few months in the fact that today we are celebrating the ceremonial reopening of the University, which in the past century has given to the homeland such services as no other Polish university has given. I was fortunate to witness this work, which was strenuous but full of youthful exuberance, from the first moments until the last. I do not know how to thank the Head of State for supporting all initia-

³⁵ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 14, sheets 66–70v, Notes to the minutes of a meeting on the Vilnius University at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education, held on June 14, 1919 in Warsaw. A. Wrzosek repeated his position at the aforementioned meeting, where he again advocated “[...] for the possibility of opening only the Faculty of Humanities, in view of the lack of candidates for the head of the faculty of law and the absolute impossibility of organizing the faculty of medicine [...]” In addition, the minutes notes that “[...] the humanities and law faculties will be unconditionally opened, while the other faculties (agricultural, natural science, medical, and veterinary) will be in the stage of organization”; S. Władyczko, “Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych” [The first period of the organizational works], pp. 38–39.

tives for this purpose? [...] Or the relentless work of those who, led by Rector Siedlecki and Professor Ziemacki, made every effort to open the University as soon as possible. The joint efforts, goodwill, and dedication made it possible for this Central School to be established. [...] And the stronghold of Polish science has been rebuilt.

Thus, he omitted and dismissed the role of Ludwik Kolankowski in the work on resurrecting the Vilnius University.³⁶

The most important issue preoccupying the university's organizers was the lack of academically qualified teachers capable of taking the posts of faculty heads.

Even in its early days, the Provisional Academic Senate conducted negotiations with scholars from various regions of Poland and those who worked abroad. For talks with Polish scholars working in Russia, the Senate delegated Stanisław Władyczko, who traveled to university cities there and offered the posts of faculty heads in Vilnius. The outcome of this search appears to have disappointed the Senate. Therefore, in early May, the Organization and Revindication Committee, at its next meeting, sent Rev. Leon Puciata to university centers in Poland and abroad to search for candidates to teach at the Faculty of Theology, allocating 1,000 Polish marks for this purpose. Rev. Puciata made the trip to Warsaw, Lublin, Lviv, Cracow, and Poznań from July 7 to July 30, 1919. It cost 2,000 Polish marks, of which he informed the Academic Senate in a letter dated April 17, 1921.³⁷

As early as on May 27, at the first meeting of the Executive Committee for the Reconstruction of the University of Vilnius, L. Kolankowski proposed the creation of a scientific personnel and qualification committee,

³⁶ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 19, sheets 63–64, Speech of the Head of the Higher Education Institution Section, Prof. Adam Wrzosek, during the opening ceremony of the resurrected University of Vilnius on October 11, 1919.

³⁷ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheets 31v–32, Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee of the University of Vilnius held on May 12, 1919, in Dr. Zahorski's apartment; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 48, sheet 299, Budgetary matters 1920/21, a letter from Rev. L. Puciata to the Illustrious Senate and Rectorate of the Stefan Batory University, April 17, 1921. See also: S. Władyczko, "Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych" [The first period of the organizational works], pp. 41–42.

which was to be responsible for staffing the faculties being created in Vilnius. It was to be composed of a delegate from the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, two delegates each from the Academic Senates of the Jagiellonian University, the University of Lviv, and the University of Warsaw, as well as three representatives of the Provisional Academic Senate of the University of Vilnius, namely Józef Ziemacki, Stanisław Władyczko, and Stanisław Kościałkowski. It was also decided that later in June of that year a letter would be sent to the senates of Polish universities, asking them to support the staff of the future University of Vilnius. Also the possibility was considered of employing in Vilnius Polish scientists working abroad: in Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium, and England.³⁸ There is no doubt that in the negotiations the tradition and history of the former University was invoked more than the opportunities related to housing and financial aspects. Consequently, on July 4, in Warsaw, during the first convention of representatives of Polish higher education institutions, held under the chairmanship of the former rector of the Jagiellonian University Kazimierz Kostanecki, negotiations on personnel matters and the staffing of the faculties in the newly created university were successfully conducted. The delegates of the University of Vilnius at the convention were Rector J. Ziemacki, S. Władyczko, and Ferdynand Ruszczyk. The representatives of the universities from Lviv and Cracow, who were present at the convention, passed a resolution in which they agreed to allow several of their professors to take a one-year leave so that they could temporarily work in Vilnius. Particularly invaluable was the assistance from the Jagiellonian University, which provided Vilnius with a sizable group of academic teachers, including Michał Siedlecki – the first rector of the Vilnius University. On July 31, during the next meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee, Rector Ziemacki submitted a report on his stay in Warsaw in connection with work on the

³⁸ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(1)A, b. 12a, sheets 3–4v, Minutes no. 1 of the organizational meeting of the Executive Committee at the University of Vilnius on May 27, 1919 at the premises of the University Chancellery, led by the University Superintendent Professor L. Kolankowski. See also: A. Wrzosek, “Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego” [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 14, 16–17.

resurrection of the University of Vilnius, and raised the issues related to the candidates for the posts of department heads and the permission to fill these posts.³⁹

Ludwik Kolankowski, the plenipotentiary for the reconstruction of the University of Vilnius, recalled his cooperation at the time with the ministry and Adam Wrzosek in selecting the staff for the future university as follows:

[...] Among the many difficulties on the part of the ministry, I must also include the negative attitude towards the opening of some faculties, for example the Fine Arts, Legal, Theological, and Medical faculties. As for the first one, the ministry's opposition was principled, and as for the next two it was based on personnel considerations. Under the pretense that suitable candidates could not be found for the deans-organizers of the latter three faculties (for the Fine Arts faculty, there was the excellent Ruszczyk), rejecting the candidacies of Prof. Parczewski, Prof. Władyczko, and Rev. Żongołłowicz that I mentioned [...],

³⁹ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheets 64–66, Minutes no. 10 of the meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee held on July 31, 1919, at 6 p.m. at the Un[iversity] Chancellery, during which Rector Ziemacki discussed the convention of professors and the results of the talks held during his stay in Warsaw, and presented the names of the persons who had agreed to take the posts of departments in several faculties of the university being resurrected in Vilnius. See also: F. Ruszczyk, *Dziennik* [Diary], part 2: *W Wilnie 1919–1932* [In Vilnius 1919–1932], selection, arrangement, elaboration, introduction, and afterword by E. Ruszczyk, Warsaw 1996, pp. 17–22. Ruszczyk, an eyewitness to these events, described, among other things, the meetings of the Organization Committee held on June 19 and 23, 1919 in Vilnius, a trip to Warsaw on June 25, and talks at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment; A. Wrzosek, “Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego” [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], p. 14. D. Zamojska, “Akademy i urzędnicy” [Academics and officials], pp. 95–96; eadem, “Konferencje rektorów szkół akademickich w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym: reprezentacja środowiska akademickiego wobec zmian ustawodawstwa” [The Conferences of Academic School’s Rectors in Poland in the interwar period: representation of the academic circles in relation to the changes in the legislation], *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 2004, vol. 43, pp. 115–120. The first rectors’ convention was held in Warsaw from June 28 to July 4, 1919. For more information on rectors’ conventions, see: L. Zembruski, ed., *Konferencje Rektorów Szkół Akademickich w Polsce w latach 1919–1931: protokoły narad, uchwały i memoriały* [Conferences of rectors of academic schools in Poland in 1919–1931: minutes of conferences, resolutions, and memorials], introduction by S. Streicher, Warsaw 1932.

the ministry delayed everything and yielded in part only under the pressure of the approaching autumn.⁴⁰

Although Kolankowski's nomination decree indicated that he was to "act in matters of selection of the professors in consultation with the Ministry of Education and Religious Denominations in Warsaw," at a meeting of the Council of Ministers on July 16, 1919, for the sake of the project entrusted to him by Józef Piłsudski (albeit without agreement with the Commander-in-Chief), he transferred the authority to appoint professors to the ministry and in fact transferred his authority to the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment. The head of the Department of Science and Higher Education Institutions, A. Wrzosek, took advantage of the situation and prevented Kolankowski from influencing the further organization of the University of Vilnius and the staffing of departments, in an effort to minimize and deprecate his earlier work. This distancing from the Plenipotentiary is also evident in the text titled "On the resurrection of Vilnius University in 1919" included in the second volume of the *Commemorative book to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the establishment and the 10th anniversary of the restoration of the University of Vilnius*, in which Wrzosek did not mention Kolankowski's participation in the resurrection of the SBU, writing that:

[...] Both the Minister of Education, Prof. Jan Łukasiewicz, and the head of the Academic Schools Section were ardent supporters of resurrecting the University of Vilnius as soon as possible, and as far as possible in its former academic splendor.⁴¹

However, there is no doubt that it was Kolankowski who, contrary to the Ministry's intentions, led to the establishment of a multi-faculty university in Vilnius. Joanna Gierowska-Kałuża is right writing that:

⁴⁰ L. Kolankowski, *Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [Diary notes], pp. 141–142.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 138–139. See also: A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], p. 10. Kolankowski's role in the restitution of the University of Vilnius was described by Dorota Zamojska in the article "This nation wishes the university..." passim.

[...] regardless of his personal beliefs, whatever they may have been, [Kolankowski] loyally carried out the program in force in the area subordinate to the Civil Administration of the Eastern Territories and therefore did not allow Warsaw to interfere.

A. Wrzosek's hostility towards L. Kolankowski also translated into the former's dislike of the candidates for professors' and deans' positions approved by Kolankowski.⁴²

As a result, the responsibility for the personnel situation of the new university was assumed by the ministry. After July 16, it was Wrzosek who decided on the appointment of staff for the positions of department heads at the recently restored University of Vilnius, with Michał M. Siedlecki, a zoologist from the Jagiellonian University, as its rector, rather than Józef Ziemacki, who had greatly contributed for the university's reactivation.⁴³

At the same time as the issue of appointment of staff for the academic positions, intensive work was being carried out on drafting the charter of the future university. According to S. Władyczko's report, as many as three drafts of the charter were drawn up at the time, which, among other things, provided for two separate faculties – mathematics and natural sciences, and humanities – instead of a single faculty of philosophy. Professors

⁴² J. Gierowska-Kałuża, *Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich* [Civil administration of the Eastern Territories], p. 112; eadem, *Między polityką a nauką* [Between politics and science], pp. 38–39; R. Jurkowski, "U źródeł Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego – początki Wydziału Teologicznego (1918–1920)" [At the origins of the Stefan Batory University – the beginnings of the Faculty of Theology (1918–1920)], *Echa Przeszłości* 2017, vol. 18, p. 242.

⁴³ Z. Opacki, "Środowisko naukowe USB w Wilnie wobec polsko-litewskiego sporu terytorialnego o Wileńszczyznę w latach 1919–1922" [The academic circles of the SBU in Vilnius towards the Polish-Lithuanian territorial dispute over the Vilnius region in 1919–1922], in: R. Wapiński, ed., *Polacy i sąsiedzi – dysonanse i przenikanie kultur* [Poles and neighbors – dissonances and interpenetration of cultures], part 2: a collection of studies, Gdańsk 2001, pp. 179–181; A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 11, 21–23, 27; S. Władyczko, "Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych" [The first period of the organizational works], p. 43, the author wrote that "From August 20, 1919, the decisive factor in the selection of professors was exclusively the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, represented by the head of the Science and Higher Education Institutions Section, prof. Adam Wrzosek. At that time, the list of the professors for all the faculties was definitely established."

J. Ziemacki and S. Władyczko participated in the work on the charter. In addition to the faculties of theology, law, and medicine, the minutes of the Organization and Revindication Committee listed the faculties of philology, fine arts, physics and mathematics, agronomy, veterinary medicine, pharmacy, and dentistry.⁴⁴

Members of the Executive Committee – J. Ziemacki, W. Zahorski, Bronisław Umiastowski, Zygmunt Nagórski, and Ludwik Wasilewski – were received on August 2 by Józef Piłsudski during his stay in Vilnius. The issues discussed during that meeting included matters concerning the buildings that the newly reestablished university was to receive and the decree on the opening of the University. At the time, the Head of State stated that:

[...] the decree could only be issued if the academic staff consisting of a Rector, a vice-rector, and deans of faculties is presented to him, even if there were obstacles to the actual opening of the University in the current half-year. It was emphasized that that decree should mention the name of prof. Kolankowski as the organizer of the University of Vilnius.

As early as on August 3, 1919, the Commissioner General for the Eastern Territories Jerzy Osmałowski, most likely on Piłsudski's orders, granted the newly created university about a dozen pieces of real estate. These included the so-called main building of the former University, the former

⁴⁴ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 13, sheet 65, Minutes no. 10 of the meeting of the Organization and Revindication Committee of the University of Vilnius held on July 31, 1919, at 6 p.m., at the Un[iversity] Chancellery; S. Władyczko, "Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych" [The first period of the organizational works], pp. 45–46; D. Zamojska, "Ta ludność życzy mieć uniwersytet..." ["This nation wishes the university..."], pp. 22–25, the author described the drafts of the charter being prepared for the University of Vilnius; eadem, "Akademy i urzędnicy" [Academics and officials], pp. 86, 109; the draft charters written in the Vilnius circles referred to the Russian tradition (e.g., the layout of the faculties, the powers of the rector, etc.). See also: A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 12, 30–31, the author mentioned that J. Ziemacki prepared a charter, according to which the University in Vilnius was to have as many as ten faculties (Roman Catholic, Evangelical-Reformed, law and administration, humanities, pedagogical, mathematics and natural science, medical, veterinary, agronomy and forestry, and fine arts) and four "sub-faculties" (economical-political and consular, eastern languages, pharmaceutical, and odontological).

non-commissioned officers' school at 23 Zakretowa Street, the building of the former technical and chemical school at 22 Nowogrodzka Street, the post-Augustinian walls with barracks and the post-Bernardine walls with appurtenances, the post-Jesuit barracks at St. Ignatius Church, the house at 26 Zamkowa Street, and the Zakret farm. A sufficient number of buildings made it possible to think of a multi-faculty university.⁴⁵

On August 5, a telegram was sent from the Executive Committee to the head of the Science and Higher Education Institutions Section, A. Wrzosek, and Plenipotentiary L. Kolankowski, stating that

Commissioner General Osmałowski demanded that we immediately submit the names of the members of the Senate for the decree we are going to give the following names Organizer Kolankowski, Rector Ziemacki, dean of theology Rev. Żongołłowicz, law Parczewski, humanities Godlewski [!], medicine Władyczko, fine arts Ruszczyc. We ask the Ministry to approve or change by telegram. The Head of State really wants the decree be issued before his departure from Vilnius which will take place on the eighth of August.⁴⁶

The 20th meeting of the Executive Committee on August 9, the committee discussed, among other things, matters concerning the establishment of a committee to handle matters related to the University's opening ceremony. On Monday, August 11, a meeting was held of the committee for the invitation committee and the celebration committee for the opening of the University. The latter consisted of Count Antoni Tyszkiewicz (chairman), as well as Ferdynand Ruszczyc and Władysław Zahorski. A few days later, on

⁴⁵ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 12a, sheets 56–56v, Minutes of a hearing on August 2, 1919, with the Head of State Mr. Józef Piłsudski, given to the Executive Committee for the Restoration of the University of Vilnius; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 12a, sheets 59–60, Minutes no. 15 of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on August 3, 1919. See also: A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 17–18, the author enumerated all the pieces of real estate granted to the newly created University; S. Władyczko, "Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych" [The first period of the organizational works], pp. 46–48, 51.

⁴⁶ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 4, k. 6, A copy of the telegram to Professors Wrzosek and Kolankowski dated August 5, 1919, regarding a list of Senate members.

August 14, Ruszczyć sent a letter to L. Kolankowski regarding the insignia for the new university, which he was to design.⁴⁷

The advertisements published in the local and national press on August 16 included information that the university's ceremonial opening would take place on October 4, 1919, and would include the following faculties: law, theology, medicine, humanities, nature (with a faculty of agriculture and forestry), and fine arts.⁴⁸ The greatness of the new University was also emphasized by the article "Jakie znaczenie ma dla Wilna Uniwersytet" [The importance of the University for Vilnius], printed after August 19 in the daily newspaper *Nasz Kraj*, which stated that:

[...] And there is a third consideration, which supports high attendance at the University of Vilnius and is worth mentioning, and which will hopefully be of the greatest importance.

Namely: Vilnius, quiet but serious with its history and so great with its historical tradition, meets all the criteria to be the Athens of Poland. Not the bustling Warsaw, not the boisterous Lviv, not Poznań and not Lublin, which does not have University traditions, will be conducive to young people's concentration of their spirit and focusing of the efforts of their will to achieve the highest expressions of science. Vilnius has a tradition of Philarets and Philomaths, and it was not at all coincidentally that these famous Philaret societies were formed in Vilnius a hundred years ago. They formed because there was the proper soil for it here. And let us hope that this soil will be even more fertile after 87 years of fallow and that the most serious and hardworking youth in Poland will want to come to Vilnius to study.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 12a, sheets 67–68v, Minutes no. 20 of the meeting of the Executive Committee for the Restoration of the University of Vilnius held on August 9, 1919 at the University Chancellery at 10 o'clock; F. Ruszczyć, *Dziennik* [Diary], part 2: *W Wilnie* [In Vilnius], p. 32, footnotes 1, 2.

⁴⁸ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 9, sheets 19, 20, letters from the University's Secretariat regarding enrollment and opening date; LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 7, sheet 10, J[ózef] Z[iemacki], Youth service in the military vs. the University of Vilnius (typescript of an article sent to several newspapers).

⁴⁹ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 7, sheets 17–18, "Jakie znaczenie ma dla Wilna Uniwersytet 19 sierpnia 1919 r." ["The importance of the University for Vilnius August 19, 1919"] (typescript of an article for the daily newspaper *Nasz Kraj*).

The significance of the event was also felt by its creators. In a card dated August 20, 1919, addressed to Ludwik Wasilewski, Rector Ziemacki wrote:

[...] Things are going well. Already on these days decrees establishing the University will be issued. You will cry with joy, as I still have tears in my eyes because I have been lucky to live until this moment. The opening will take place on October 1, or even earlier.⁵⁰

Ziemacki's letter to F. Ruszczyc, dated August 19, was written in a similar tone:

[...] Everything is already settled, as to the Senate and the decree stating the opening of the University. The ceremony will take place no later than on October 4, and perhaps a week earlier. My most fervent desire to work with you, esteemed and beloved Professor, as it seems, has already been fulfilled. [...] We are looking forward to seeing you here. We need to make the insignia. The seal in wax is already awaiting you, Professor. We have to print invitations and send them out.⁵¹

The announcement by the Head of State of the decree on the resurrection of the University of Vilnius, which was to take place in a few days, resulted in the termination of the work of the Warsaw Committee for the Restoration of the Vilnius University. On Sunday, August 24, the Committee issued a *Proclamation to the Polish Society* expressing joy at the establishment of the university in Vilnius. The document was signed by Chairman Alfons Parczewski and Committee members Józef Ziemacki, Józef Bieliński, Ignacy Baliński, Ferdynand Ruszczyc, Stanisław Władyczko, Władysław Zawadzki, and Kazimierz Noiszewski.⁵²

On the eve of Józef Piłsudski's announcement of the decree on the resurrection of the Vilnius University, a proclamation *University and Vilnius* was issued, which said:

⁵⁰ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 4, sheets 21–21v, a card from J. Ziemacki to Ludwik Wasilewski.

⁵¹ See: F. Ruszczyc, *Dziennik* [Diary], part 2: *W Wilnie* [In Vilnius], p. 33.

⁵² S. Władyczko, "Pierwszy okres prac organizacyjnych" [The first period of the organizational works], pp. 56–58, the author cited the entire proclamation there; F. Ruszczyc, *Dziennik* [Diary], part 2: *W Wilnie* [In Vilnius], p. 34, footnote 2.

The opening ceremony of the resurrected University will be one of the most beautiful Holidays in the miraculously liberated Vilnius. The society here should prepare appropriately. Undoubtedly, the Polish Borderland community will perform do it properly. But the time is high to start the preparations. We would like to inform the general public that the Committee for the Celebration of the Ceremonial Opening of the University of Vilnius has already been formed under the leadership of Count Antoni Tyszkiewicz. Whoever wishes to contribute with advice or guidance, or to offer his or her cooperation and come to active assistance, please contact the Executive Committee for the Restoration of the University of Vilnius in the morning from 10 o'clock every day except Holidays.⁵³

There is no doubt that it was possible to meet the deadlines and open the university in the autumn of 1919 only thanks to the energy and dedication to the “university’s cause” that shared by the representatives of the Vilnius intelligentsia and Ludwik Kolankowski.

The Commander-in-Chief issued a decree on August 28 establishing the Stefan Batory University (*Universitas Batoreana Vilnensis*) and appointing the first Academic Senate. Józef Piłsudski signed a text different from the one prepared earlier by the provisional Rector Józef Ziemacki. Its author was Adam Wrzosek. On September 1, J. Piłsudski appointed the first members of the Academic Senate: Rector Michał Siedlecki, Vice Rector Józef Ziemacki, Dean of the Faculty of Theology Rev. Bronisław Żongołłowicz, Dean of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences Piotr Wiśniewski, Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts Ferdynand Ruszczyc, and Władysław Mickiewicz, son of Adam Mickiewicz, as an honorary professor of the history of Polish literature at the Stefan Batory University.⁵⁴

⁵³ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 7, sheet 19, “Uniwersytet a Wilno 27 sierpnia 1919 r.” [“The university and Vilnius August 27, 1919”] (notebook with the proclamation).

⁵⁴ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 944, sheets 170–176, Nomination of the members of the first Academic Senate; A. Wrzosek, “Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego” [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], pp. 21–23. In addition, the university was granted the right to use a seal with the image of an Eagle with a Crown and the Lithuanian Pogoń coat of arms. The first rector of the revived University was originally to be Ferdynand Ruszczyc – see: F. Ruszczyc, *Dziennik* [Diary], part 2: *W Wilnie* [In Vilnius], p. 33 – this was mentioned in a letter dated August 19, 1919 by Józef Ziemacki; *ibidem*, p. 39, footnote 1, entry under the date of September 10, 1919 – the author wrote about the appointments

Michał Siedlecki, a professor of zoology at the Jagiellonian University, recalled his appointment and the deliberations in Warsaw on the organization of the Vilnius University as follows:

[...] When I received the message that I had already been appointed as the first Rector of the University of Vilnius, I introduced myself to Józef Piłsudski, then the Head of State, and had a short but very pleasant conversation with him. We both reached the conclusion that the University of Vilnius must be an institution of intrinsically Polish culture, but at the same time it should be a focal point radiating to the neighboring countries. [...] Around August 18, 1919, a meeting was held with the Chief Commissioner of the Eastern Territories Mr. Osmałowski, during which we finally set the date for the opening of the University for October 10 and 11 of that year.

And this is how he described his arrival in Vilnius and his first days in the city:

[...] Around August 20, 1919, a small group of only 11 people, who were to hold academic positions at the University of Vilnius, set out from Warsaw to Vilnius. Beside me, the group included Rev. Prof. Żongołłowicz, Prof. Alexandrowicz, Prof. Patkowski, Prof. Wiśniewski, Sławiński, the two Dzięwulski brothers, and Dr. Wilczyński, Prof. Staniewicz, and the late Dr. Horodyski. [...] Since I was not yet very well known in Vilnius, I had the opportunity to talk on the street and in stores with simple people who did not know my role at all. Everyone was concerned about the fact that the University was being founded anew. The simple people talked about it as if it were some great holiday. From the expressions of these simple people emanated such deep patriotism, such great attachment to Poland, and such love for this institution, which was to be revived anew, that I can only explain it to myself by the innate depth of feeling in these people and the memories of the tradition of the old University of Vilnius, which has not yet been extinguished at all.⁵⁵

of the members of the Academic Senate (*Nasz Kraj* 1919, no. 117). See also: L. Kolankowski, *Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [Diary notes], pp. 143–144, who recommended historian Stanisław Smolka for the position of the rector.

⁵⁵ M. Siedlecki, “Wspomnienia z pierwszych dwu lat organizacji Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego” [Memories of the first two years of the organization of the University of Vilnius], pp. 62–66, 73.

During the first year of the new university's operation, its staff was mostly made up of professors from the Jagiellonian University and the University of Warsaw.

Until Rector Siedlecki arrived in Vilnius, matters related to the organization of the university were managed by the Provisional Senate, headed by Józef Ziemacki. However, it was the Ministry that had a decisive influence on the composition of the first Senate of the newly established University. This was mentioned in the nomination decree by Józef Piłsudski, who noted that the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, which organized the University of Vilnius in consultation with him, had submitted to him, in a letter dated August 25, 1919, the names of the members of the Academic Senate who had received nominations. The first meeting of the Academic Senate was held in Rector Siedlecki's office on September 16, 1919. It was attended, in addition to the Rector and the Secretary of the University Jan Kaczkowski, by the Vice-Rector J. Ziemacki, Rev. B. Żongołłowicz, P. Wiśniewski and F. Ruszczyk.⁵⁶

As Zbigniew Opacki rightly pointed out, this initially modest size of the Senate proved that negotiations were still underway at the end of August concerning the recruitment and appointment of suitable people to official positions. This concerned, among others, professor Marian Zdziechowski, planned for the position of the dean of the Faculty of Humanities, and professor Alfons Parczewski, who was to become the dean and organizer of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences.⁵⁷

By October 11, 1919, i.e. the date of the opening of the university at the ceremonial inauguration of the 1919/1920 academic year, the appointment of deans had been completed. The person eventually appointed as the dean

⁵⁶ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 944, sheets 168–169v, Minutes of the first meeting of the Academic Senate of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius on September 16, 1919 in the office of the rector Professor Siedlecki.

⁵⁷ Z. Opacki, *Między uniwersalizmem a partykularyzmem. Myśl i działalność społeczno-polityczna Mariana Zdziechowskiego 1914–1938* [Between universalism and particularism. The thought and socio-political activity of Marian Zdziechowski 1914–1938], Gdańsk 2006, p. 139. Marian Zdziechowski did not accept the dean's position offered to him, although he was listed in a decree published by Jerzy Osmałowski in August 1919; A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius], p. 30.

of the Faculty of Humanities was Józef Kallenbach, and Emil Godlewski (junior) became the dean of the Faculty of Medicine. The positions of the dean of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences and several vice-deans were still vacant. Before October 13, 1919, J. Piłsudski appointed further academic authorities, including the dean and the vice-dean of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences: Alfons Parczewski and Władysław Zawadzki.⁵⁸

L. Kolankowski's work on the organization of the University of Vilnius was ended by the decree of August 28, 1919 on the establishment of the SBU and the Commander-in-Chief's letter of August 30 dismissing him from his position as the organizer of the University. He was also "forgotten" when guests were invited to the SBU's inauguration ceremony in October 1919.⁵⁹

As early as in October 1919, the newly resurrected university had six faculties: humanities, theology, law and social sciences, mathematics and

⁵⁸ LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 944, sheets 162–163, Minutes no. 2 of the meeting of the Academic Senate of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius of October 13, 1919, attended by the rector M. Siedlecki, the vice-rector J. Ziemacki, the dean of the Faculty of Theology rev. B. Żongołowicz, the dean of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences A. Parczewski, the dean of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences P. Wiśniewski, the dean of the Faculty of Medicine

E. Godlewski, as well as Wiktor Staniewicz and Tadeusz Czeżowski. Absent were the dean of the Faculty of Humanities J. Kallenbach and the dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts F. Ruszczyk. See also: H. Ilgiewicz, "Uroczystości na Uniwersytecie Stefana Batorego w Wilnie" [Celebrations at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius], in: M. Kosman, ed., *Na obrzeżach polityki: praca zbiorowa* [On the fringes of politics: a collective work], part 9, Poznań 2013, pp. 15–18.

⁵⁹ A. Wrzosek, "Wskrzeszenie Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [The resurrection of the University of Vilnius in 1919], pp. 29–30 – other persons appointed as members of the SBU Senate were Wiktor E. Staniewicz as the vice-dean of the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, rev. Kazimierz Zimmermann as the vice-dean of the Faculty of Theology, and Stanisław Władyczko as the vice-dean of the Faculty of Medicine. See also: L. Kolankowski, *Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [Diary notes], pp. 109, 146, the author bitterly recalls the omission of his role in the resurrection of the Vilnius University; P. Żukowski, "Uniwersytety we Lwowie, Krakowie i Wilnie na naukowej drodze Ludwika Kolankowskiego" [Universities in Lviv, Cracow, and Vilnius on the scientific path of Ludwik Kolankowski], pp. 67–68.

natural sciences, medicine, and fine arts.⁶⁰ The university functioned according to the provisions of the *Statut tymczasowy Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie* (Provisional Charter of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius) granted to it by the Commander-in-Chief on October 11, 1919. The document perpetuated an organization of a higher education institution that was unusual on Polish soil. In particular, it was the first new charter in independent Poland, approved still in the course of the work on the act on academic schools, which was promulgated in July 1920. The innovative provisions in the charter was the creation of a faculty of fine arts within the university, the division of the traditional faculty of philosophy into two faculties: a faculty of humanities and a faculty of mathematics and natural sciences, and the merger of a faculty of social sciences with a faculty of law (Article 8). The charter also introduced the institution of a “General Assembly of Professors,” which had been unknown to universities in Galicia but found in Russian universities (Articles 11–13). According to Article 77 (p. 36) of the *Statut tymczasowy USB* [Provisional Charter of the SBU] “[...] the first composition of the teaching staff and the clerical and service personnel shall be established by the supreme government authority.”⁶¹

About a dozen days before the formal inauguration, the following proclamation was sent to newspapers:

⁶⁰ There were also plans to establish a Faculty of Agriculture, the designs for which had already appeared in the work of the Organization and Revindication Committee. Eventually, in 1924, it was possible to establish an Agricultural College, which operated under the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences. The Faculty of Agriculture was established at the SBU in April 1938, see: *Dziennik Ustaw RP* [Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland], 1938, no. 26, item 233 (dated April 9, 1938).

⁶¹ An order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces containing the *Statut tymczasowy Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie* [Provisional Charter of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius], October 11, 1919, Vilnius 1919, p. 7, art. 8 (*Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego RP* [Official Gazette of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education of the Republic of Poland], 1919, yr. 2, no. 10–11, item 2, pp. 304–317); D. Zamojska, “Akademicy i urzędnicy” [Academics and officials], pp. 100–101, 105–106, the charter was edited by Adam Wrzosek. See also: *Akt otwarcia Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie* [Act of the opening of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius], *Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego RP* [Official Gazette of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education of the Republic of Poland], 1919, yr. 2, no. 10–11, item 1, pp. 303–304.

The Committee for the Celebration of the Ceremonial Opening of the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius kindly requests the residents of the city of Vilnius who are in a position to provide (free of charge or for a fee) apartments or rooms for the arriving guests of honor for the duration of the inaugural celebrations (October 9–15) to immediately (by September 20) contact the Celebration Committee through the University Chancellery (26 Świętojańska Street – the office hours are on weekdays from 9 to 3 in the afternoon).⁶²

The first inauguration ceremony was a special moment to face the legend of the University of Vilnius. The organizers decided to invite Adam Mickiewicz's son Władysław and other relatives of former great graduates and creators of the University, such as the grandson of Prince Adam Czartoryski, Adam Ludwik, Stanisław Mianowski, the great-grandson of Mikołaj Mianowski, a 19th century University professor and rector of the Medical and Surgical Academy, a descendant of the Śniadeckis, Waleria Kulwieciowa, the daughter of Andrzej Towiański, and others.⁶³

The inauguration was also attended by three delegates of the Lithuanian Scientific Society, invited by the organizers, namely President Jonas Basanavičius (Jan Basanowicz) and two members: Rev. Józef Tumas and Jonas Šepetys. At the time, the latter gave a speech in Lithuanian and Polish, in which he stressed that “[...] the Lithuanians he represents decided to take part in the celebrations because they believe that this university will serve not politics and denationalization, but pure knowledge.”

We know the description of the ceremony that took place in Vilnius on October 10–12, 1919, from numerous source accounts. This is how the inauguration ceremony in the Columned Hall was described by the SBU's first rector:

⁶² LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 7, sheet 21, A copy of the proclamation on the provision of housing by residents for the period of the university's opening ceremonies (text sent to newspapers, including the editorial office of *Nasz Kraj* and *Dziennik Wileński*).

⁶³ “Uroczyste otwarcie Uniwersytetu” [Ceremonial opening of the University], *Nasz Kraj* 1919, no. 145 (of October 12), p. 9; S. Mianowski, *Świat, który odszedł: wspomnienia Wilnianina 1895–1945* [The world that is gone: memories of a Vilnius resident 1895–1945], selected and prepared for print by M. nee Mianowska Parczewska, K. M. Mianowski, Warsaw 1995, pp. 122–123. On the day of the first inauguration, W. Kulwieciowa donated to the university a portrait of Andrzej Towiański by Walenty Wańkowicz.

[...] On the podium, under the portrait of Stefan Batory, there was a chair for the Rector, opposite, in the middle of the room, a chair for the Head of State. On either side of the Rector's chair sat Władysław Mickiewicz on one side and vice-rector Józef Ziemacki on the other. [...] Between the Rector's chair and the chair of the Head of State there was a table on which the university insignia were placed, and to the side there was another on which a parchment containing the act of resurrection of the University of Vilnius was spread. There were only two speeches: by the Rector and by the Head of State.⁶⁴

Restored after 87 years in Vilnius, the University referred to the legacy of the former, famous Vilnius Academy, of which all that remained in 1919 was the walls identified in the city with the higher education institution where Adam Mickiewicz studied, and a handful of symbols in the oral tradition passed down from generation to generation.⁶⁵ The restoration of the continuity of the *Almae Matris Vilnensis* required the persistence and commitment of many people. The originators and founders of the SBU had to face financial difficulties in a city that had been plundered by successive occupiers, problems with premises, as many rooms even in the buildings at Uniwersytecka Street were still occupied for a long time by city and state institutions (to name just the Vilnius State Archives), and staffing problems.

⁶⁴ M. Siedlecki, "Wspomnienia z pierwszych dwu lat organizacji Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego" [Memories of the first two years of the organization of the University of Vilnius], pp. 75–76; F. Ruszczyk, *Dziennik* [Diary], part 2: *W Wilnie* [In Vilnius], pp. 43–51, the author described in detail the first inauguration of the 1919/1920 academic year. Documentation from the opening of the University in Vilnius, including speeches delivered at the University's opening ceremony and telegrams with good wishes sent on the occasion (originals and copies), has been preserved – see: LCVA, F. 175, ap. 1(I)A, b. 19–22. The position of the Lithuanian intelligentsia towards the opening of the Vilnius University is presented in the article titled "Stanowisko społeczeństwa litewskiego wobec wskrzeszenia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego w r. 1919" [The position of the Lithuanian society towards the resurrection of the Vilnius University in 1919] published in the periodical *Przegląd Wileński* 1929, no. 18–19 (October 27), pp. 2–7.

⁶⁵ See: W. Krupowies, "Rok 1919: pamięć Wilna – pamięć w Wilnie" [1919: Memory of Vilnius – memory in Vilnius], *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 2018, vol. 42, pp. 81–98, the author writes about cultural memory, but also about individual and family memory, thanks to which the past of the Vilnius University had survived and been passed on to future generations.

The hardest part, however, was meeting the expectations of Vilnius residents. The legend that has been preserved in the city's memory meant that every resident of Vilnius carried "his or her own" University in his or her heart, regardless of whether he or she had any family or professional ties to the *Almae Matris Vilnensis* and its alumni.

Antoni Gołubiew described it suggestively, emphasizing that every Vilnius resident felt somehow distinguished by the fact that the city has the University:

[...] There was little memory of the Batory's Jesuit academy and the rectorate of Piotr Skarga – it was a textbook, archival tradition, covered with library dust, a tradition of scholars and searchers. But the university of the Philomaths and Philarets [...], Adam Mickiewicz, and the third part of *Dziady* [...], of the Śniadeckis or Lelewel [...], of Poczobutt's astronomical observatory, and Jundził's botanical garden [...] – it was this tradition of the University that was still alive. God knows through what paths Poczobutt and Jundził seeped into the popular consciousness, but somehow they did seep [...]. This widespread recognition by Vilnius residents of the University as their own, as personally their own, is difficult to explain to people who are not local. And it was the most ordinary truth. [...] On the other hand, the university was not strange to the watchman or the vendor at the Kaziuki market, although, after all, neither of them had anything to do with the university, did not really know what it was [...].⁶⁶

This legend, the need to meet the expectations of thousands of people, caused misunderstandings and disputes, which were settled by Commander-in-Chief Józef Piłsudski, who decreed the establishment of the Stefan Batory University. It was his University, and his sense of responsibility required him to support the Vilnius University in an almost symbolic way as well. We know of many examples of this support, such as the donation of the Head of State's salary to the University, the donation for the renovation of buildings for the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences (at the corner of Objazdowa and Zakretowa Streets), and the recording of an album, the proceeds from the sale of which also went to the SBU's coffers. The University played a special role in the life of Vilnius. This role

⁶⁶ A. Gołubiew, *Unoszeni historią* [Lifted by history], Cracow 1971, pp. 283–284.

HISTORY

was described in his memoirs by its alumnus and one of its professors, Rev. Walerian Meysztowicz:

No one today knows what the university walls and the former Jesuit college at St. John's Church meant to us. What feelings were evoked by the University of the Śniadeckis, Mickiewicz, and Lelewel, the university of my great-grandfather [...] In my dreams, I see a nice city – in a narrow street somewhere – there is an old dear building – the walls of my university. The actual center of Vilnius was the Stefan Batory University. The tone of the city was set by the youth.⁶⁷

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2018/2019, no. 1–2 (26–27)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2018-2019.009>

⁶⁷ W. Meysztowicz, *Gawędy o czasach i ludziach* [Stories about times and people], London 1993, pp. 215, 228.

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The Activity of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in 1942–1989

1. ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE PIASA IN 1942–1945

1.1. Establishment of the PIASA

In 1941, Professor Rafał Taubenschlag, one of the members of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAS) in Cracow who were in exile, presented to the Interior Ministry of the Polish Government in Exile a project to establish an AAS branch in exile. This branch under the auspices of the London government, was to be an autonomous cultural and scientific institution that would provide a “bridge” between Polish and American science.¹ The assumption for this project was that the AAS branch would coordinate scientific research conducted by Poles residing in the USA. It was also assumed that it would become the largest publishing center, archive, and library that will enable Polish scientific research during and after the war.²

¹ “The Origin and Work of the Organizing Committee,” *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* (hereinafter: *PIASA Bulletin*) 1942, no. 1, pp. 9–11.

² *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America], ed. S. Flis, Warsaw 2004, pp. 12–13; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, New York 1992, pp. 24–25.

In late 1941, the Organizing Committee, consisting of Oskar Halecki, Jan Kucharzewski, Waław Lednicki, Bronisław Malinowski, Wojciech Świątochowski, and Rafal Taubenschlag, with the cooperation of the Kościuszko Foundation, began preparations for the establishment of a Scientific Institute that would be a continuation of the AAS. Efforts were then made to reach out to the American scientific world, enlist the support of Polish diaspora organizations, prepare the legal basis for the Institute, and raise the money necessary for its activities.³ The aforementioned Polish scholars in exile felt a moral obligation to join efforts to preserve Polish science and culture, so viciously destroyed by the occupiers.⁴

In 1942, the Polish government in exile approved the Institute's by-laws and allocated subsidies for its activities.⁵ Bronisław Malinowski was nominated as the president, and a twenty-six-member Council of the Institute was appointed.⁶ On May 1, 1942, the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America (PIASA) was registered, also thanks to the intercession of the Polish government in exile, as a non-profit, scientific, and non-political association operating in the territory of the United States, with its headquarters in New York.⁷ The Institute had its headquarters in a Manhattan townhouse at 37 36th Street.⁸

The by-laws of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America (an autonomous branch of the AAS) specified that the role of the Institute was to sustain, develop, and promote Polish science and culture in the United States. The PIASA was intended as a platform for cooperation and mutual exchange between the Polish and American societies. According to its by-laws, the Institute was an independent research center supporting Polish

³ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146; T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript, no data and page numbers; and correspondence on the establishment of the PIASA.

⁴ S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 4; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, pp. 24–25.

⁵ Ibidem, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 6; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 24.

⁶ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 14; D. S. Wandycz, *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce: w trzydziestą rocznicę: 1942–1972* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America: on the thirtieth anniversary: 1942–1972], New York 1974, pp. 15–16.

⁷ S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 5.

⁸ *The Origin and Work of the Organizing Committee*, p. 11.

researchers, scientists, and cultural creators. The headquarters of the Institute was New York, and the area of its activities was the entire United States of America.⁹ The PIASA was to achieve its goals by:

- organizing lectures, conferences, and readings;
- creating a research center in the form of an archive and a library;¹⁰
and
- conducting publishing activities.¹¹

The management of the Institute was carried out by the Council (officially with the Polish Ambassador in Washington) and a president chosen from among its members. The Institute's Board of Directors, on the other hand, consisted of a director and his deputy, as well as the heads of each section. The Institute's Council oversaw its statutory activities and budget, and its powers included approval of the Board of Directors' reports. The Board of Directors directed the work of the Institute and its sections (historical and political research, legal research, and economic and social problems sections), and prepared the budget.

The director of the Institute managed the archive, the library, and the popularization and publishing activities.¹² Once a year, conventions of the PIASA members were to be held to approve the reports of the Council, the Board of Directors, and the Audit Committee.

In subsequent years, with the development of the Institute, changes were made to its by-laws, the most important of which took place in 1965–

⁹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 145, "Projekt Statutu Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego w Stanach Zjednoczonych" [Draft by-laws of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America].

¹⁰ The establishment of a library and archive at the Institute made it possible to gather a valuable book collection and archival materials. Numerous books and documents were preserved in this way; *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 25.

¹¹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 5, "Statute of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America."

¹² The Council members and the director, along with the deputy director, were elected by all members of the PIASA for a three-year term. In the event of the Institute's liquidation, its assets would pass to the AAS; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 145, "Projekt Statutu Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego w Stanach Zjednoczonych" [Draft by-laws of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America].

1974.¹³ At that time, the method of election of the chairman, the Board of Directors, and the Council changed, and their appointment was decided by the general assembly. The Board of Directors selected from among its members the director, a secretary, a general secretary, a treasurer, and an editor of *The Polish Review*, the quarterly magazine published by the Institute. The Board of Directors was given an overarching and supervisory role, and was also to meet at least four times a year. In the intervals between the sessions of the Board of Directors, its functions were performed by an Executive Committee consisting of a president, two vice presidents, a director, a secretary, and a treasurer.¹⁴

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America originally brought together scientists from Poland who found themselves in exile in the USA as a result of World War II.¹⁵ In the 1960s, scholars of Polish descent born in the USA (including children and grandchildren of Polish emigrants from the early 20th century) also became members of the Institute, as well as Americans linked to Poland by their research interests.¹⁶ In the 1970s, the character of the Institute changed, as it moved away from the image of a Polish émigré association and began to function as an independent American institution – which significantly affected its position in American scientific and academic circles.¹⁷

¹³ “By-Laws of The Polish Institute of Arts and Science in America,” *The Polish Review* 1973, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 123–192.

¹⁴ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 15.

¹⁵ The PIASA members included: Isaac Bashevis Singer, Zbigniew Brzeziński, Kazimierz Funk, Ludwik Gross, Oskar Halecki, Jan Karski, Jerzy Kosiński, Jan Lechoń, Bronisław Malinowski, Czesław Miłosz, Artur Rubinstein, Kazimierz Wierzyński, and Józef Wittlin; *The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America*, p. 11.

¹⁶ According to 1969 statistics, about 45% of the PIASA members were born in the USA and about 55% were born in Poland and Europe. Most of them (about 55%) were between 40 and 60 years old. The majority of the PIASA members (57%) resided in the eastern states, about 28% resided in the Midwest, and about 14% resided in the west and north of the USA; D. S. Wandycz, *Register of Polish American Scholars, Scientists, Writers & Artists*, New York 1969, pp. 5–9.

¹⁷ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146, T. Gromada, “Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny” [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript.

1.2. The PIASA's activity in 1942–1945

During World War II, the Institute pursued two main goals: the first was to conduct scientific research and cultural activities that were impossible in occupied Poland, so that in the future this research could form the basis for further scientific work in a free Poland, and the second was to promote Polish science and culture in the American society and to strengthen the relations between Poland and the USA.¹⁸

The PIASA published books and scientific papers, as well as published the quarterly *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*.¹⁹ The PIASA Bulletin was intended to replace, for the duration of the war, the international *Bulletin of the Polish Academy*, which reached major libraries and scientific centers abroad. The new bulletin was a chronicle of the PIASA and also included scientific papers by Polish researchers published in full or in excerpts, as well as lectures and presentations by people associated with the Institute. It was assumed that after the end of World War II, the role of the Institute, thus its bulletins, would be limited to promoting the Polish culture and science in the United States, and to maintaining Polish-American cooperation.²⁰ The Bulletin was published by the PIASA until 1946, and 12 issues (3,100 pages of text) were printed, containing 206 research papers.²¹

In addition to publications, in 1942–1945, the PIASA organized conferences and scientific sessions, which were largely devoted to the issue of rebuilding Poland after the war.²² The first archival and library collections also began to be acquired. The Institute's activities made it possible to preserve and enrich the scientific and cultural achievements of Polish

¹⁸ The institute endeavored to conduct as much scientific activity as possible in order to preserve any basis for the restoration of cultural and scientific life in Poland; S. Strzelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 8.

¹⁹ See the list of the PIASA's publications and articles in the *PIASA Bulletin*; S. Strzelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, pp. 37–48.

²⁰ "The Founding of the Institute," *PIASA Bulletin* 1942, no. 1, pp. 7–8.

²¹ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 27.

²² For more information, see: *PIASA Bulletin* for 1943–1946. In 1943–1944, the PIASA organized 93 lectures; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 1, "Proceedings of The Annual Meeting of the PIASA," pp. 2–3.

researchers, and contributed to publicizing the Polish cause among the American public.²³

The Institute was not limited to New York, and its branches were established in Canada (Montreal)²⁴ and in the Midwestern states (Chicago).²⁵ The Institute also worked with many Polish organizations in the USA, Great Britain, France, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Lebanon, among others.²⁶

The PIASA's activities were significantly influenced by the decisions made at the Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences. Members of the Institute were not indifferent to the fate of post-war Poland, and they also realized that it would not be an independent and democratic country.²⁷ The withdrawal of recognition of the Polish Government in Exile threatened the Institute's existence, especially since the AAS, dependent on the communist government, was reactivated in Poland. The PIASA refused to start any cooperation or accept any assistance from the Polish communist authorities, and all contacts with their representatives were avoided. Despite these difficulties, the decision was made to continue working in exile.

The Institute expressed its opposition to the communist rule in Poland and refused to recognize the supremacy of the reconstituted AAS.²⁸

²³ A register of Polish publications in American libraries and universities has also been kept since 1944; *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 26.

²⁴ "Appendix By-laws of the Canadian Branch of PIASA," *PIASA Bulletin* 1944, no. 4, pp. 911–912; "Organization of the Canadian Branch," *PIASA Bulletin* 1944, no. 3, pp. 605–607; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 1, "Regulamin Oddziału Kanadyjskiego" [By-laws of the Canadian Branch].

²⁵ "Organization of the Midwest Branch," *PIASA Bulletin* 1944, no. 1, pp. 12–13.

²⁶ S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 10; and "General Development of The Institute," *PIASA Bulletin* 1943, no. 1, pp. 5–6; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 1, "General Development of the Institute."

²⁷ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activities of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, New York 1992, pp. 27–28.

²⁸ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript.

Maintaining the PIASA became a major problem, as membership fees and subsidies alone did not cover its financial needs and limited its ability to operate more widely. The withdrawal of Allied recognition of the Polish government in exile also resulted in the loss of government subsidies.²⁹ The Institute also lost its former headquarters, its offices were moved to rented premises at the 35th Street, and lectures were held at the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Library.³⁰ The institute started to look for new sources of funding for its activities, while reducing its expenses.³¹ Funds were raised from Polish diaspora foundations and institutions, through membership fees and donations, as well as donations from the supporters of the PIASA and Poland (including the American society).³²

2. THE PIASA'S ACTIVITY IN 1945–1989

2.1. The years 1946–1956

The difficult material situation and political changes brought about by the decisions made at the peace conferences ending World War II had a negative impact on the activities of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York. The post-war reality, especially in Poland, subjugated and cut off from the West, was very different from what was expected. Most of the émigré scholars and writers made the decision to stay in the USA and to continue their scientific and artistic work there, as well as to work with the PIASA.³³ The Institute could not sufficiently contribute to the help provided to the Polish culture and science. Fortunately, the PIASA had many friends

²⁹ "Report on the Activities of the Institute 1945–1946," *PIASA Bulletin* 1945–1946, vol. 4, pp. 7–8.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

³¹ "General Development of the Institute," *PIASA Bulletin* 1944, vol. 3, no. 3–4, pp. 425–426.

³² PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript. In the years 1942–1945, the person who had the greatest influence on the development and activities of the PIASA was Oskar Halecki.

³³ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 28.

in Polish and American organizations, as well as individuals who supported its activities. The grants received from 1946 to 1951 from the Polish American Congress were a great help, but for the next four years the Institute had to rely solely on donations and membership fees.³⁴ The challenge was to help restore the cultural life that had been destroyed by the war, to support émigré science and art, as well as to help those considered “enemies” by the communist authorities in Poland.³⁵ The PIASA also assumed the role of a “free voice of science and art” that opposed the subjugated and indoctrinated activities of the Polish cultural and scientific centers.³⁶

Despite tremendous difficulties, the PIASA and its branches did not stop their activities, scientific research was conducted, books were published, various cultural and scientific events were organized (some were sponsored), and efforts were made to help researchers and artists in Poland. In 1946, the following works were published (or sponsored): B. Świtalski, *Neoplatonism and the Ethics of St. Augustine*, M. Haiman, *Kościuszko – Leader and Exile* (vol. 2),³⁷ L. Stenz, *The Climate of Afghanistan: Its Aridity, Dryness and Divisions*, and Z. Krzywobłocki, *Application of Double Fourier Series to the Calculation of Stresses Caused by Pure Bending in a Circular Monocoque Cylinder with a Cut-Out*.³⁸ Throughout the years of the Institute’s existence, each PIASA member continued their research, gave lectures, participated in conferences, and published scholarly papers. The PIASA had an active role in the American academic life, as well as contributed to the American music and art, education, laboratory and clinical research, etc. The scientists and artists who were the PIASA’s members became part of American culture and science.³⁹

³⁴ S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 13.

³⁵ “Report on the Activities of the Institute 1945–1946,” p. 10.

³⁶ “The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of The Polish Institute,” *The Polish Review* 1968, vol. 13, no. 2, p. 107.

³⁷ The first volume of the biography entitled *Kościuszko in the American Revolution* was published in 1943.

³⁸ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 3, letter from Oskar Halecki dated May 10, 1947.

³⁹ “Chronicles of the Polish Institute,” *The Polish Review* 1977, vol. 22, no. 1, p. 78.

In terms of supporting “forced” émigrés and Polish diaspora institutions operating in the USA, the Institute could only provide intermediation and substantive support.⁴⁰ The Institute sent to Polish academic centers and libraries, with partial assistance from the Smithsonian Institution, several crates of books and scientific periodicals containing the scientific output published during the war in Canada and the USA. In the summer of 1946, fundraising began for food and clothing parcels (C.A.R.E.) to be sent to Polish scientists.⁴¹ Despite its programmatic goals, the PIASA could not completely disassociate itself from political issues and human rights. Oskar Halecki spoke on behalf of the PIASA at three major conferences in 1947: *The Conference on the Declaration of Human Rights, The University and Its Word Responsibilities*, and *The Conference on International Educational Reconstruction*.⁴² The Institute participated in research on the European federalist movement, and also organized meetings with scholars from Ukraine, Bohemia, and Lithuania, and those of Jewish origin.⁴³

In 1949–1950, the PIASA issued 28 letters and memoranda on the situation in Poland, which reached the American media through the Polish American Congress. Materials on Poland’s history and literature were distributed to Polish diaspora organizations and American research centers. Six parcels containing clothes were also sent to Poland, as well as about a hundred books. More than a dozen lectures were also organized, and research work was conducted, including the notable research by J. Kucharczywski on US-Russia relations.⁴⁴

In 1951–1952, the PIASA’s financial situation became dire. The year 1952 was extremely difficult for the Institute, as the Polish American Congress had stopped its grants the year before.

⁴⁰ The meager financial resources were only enough for two hundred-dollar grants to a self-help organization of Polish students in Brussels and to Polish researchers building an ethnographic and anthropological collection in Northern Rhodesia.

⁴¹ The Federation of Newman Clubs provided the most support for this activity; “Report on the Activities of the Institute 1945–1946,” p. 11.

⁴² *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 29.

⁴³ S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, pp. 14, 22.

⁴⁴ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 4, letter from Oskar Halecki dated March 1, 1950.

An extensive campaign was launched to raise funds intended for the Institute's activity.⁴⁵ In an effort to find possibilities to provide the Institute with a steady income, the *Association of Friends of the Institute* was then established.⁴⁶ Readings and lectures were organized only twice a month, and publishing activities were conducted to a limited extent. Also, the PIASA's members took part in Columbia University's 200th anniversary celebration.⁴⁷

With the anniversary of Adam Mickiewicz's death slowly approaching, the PIASA's members, with a view to popularizing his work in the American society, established a special organizing committee in 1953. Meanwhile, in 1954, the PIASA organized three important literary evenings with famous Polish poets (PIASA's members): Jan Lechoń, Kazimierz Wierzyński, and Józef Wittlin.⁴⁸ The result of the work of the organizing committee for the celebration of the anniversary of Adam Mickiewicz's death was a series of symposia, lectures, and exhibitions in 1955, held in American academic centers. The most important event was a conference held on November 20, 1955, at the Hunter College in New York. It was attended by 2,500 people, and the papers from this conference were published in the collection titled *Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature*.⁴⁹ Also in that year the PIASA established a committee to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of US President Woodrow Wilson. In April, a scientific session on President Wilson was jointly organized with American scholars, and a scientific paper titled *Wilson and Poland* was published.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *50th Anniversary 1942-1992*, p. 30.

⁴⁶ This was done with the cooperation of the Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn; S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], pp. 17-18; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 5, letter from Oskar Halecki dated May 1951.

⁴⁸ *50th Anniversary 1942-1992*, p. 31.

⁴⁹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 5, "Report on the activities of PIASA from 15 May 1954 to 30 April 1955."

⁵⁰ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 8, letter from Stanisław Strzetelski dated May 28, 1955; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 10, "Report of the Director of PIASA for the Period 1.05.1956-30.03.1957."

The events of October 1956 in Poland and the arrival of a wave of new émigrés to the United States closed the post-war period of the activities of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York. During that period, the Institute was actively involved in efforts to help Poland: libraries and academic centers were supplied with books and periodicals, financial support was provided, and contacts with the American science were facilitated.⁵¹ With the support of the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation, the Institute managed to purchase a house that became the PIASA's new headquarters and to realize the dream of creating a specialized library.⁵²

2.2. The years 1956–1968

After 14 years of existence, the PIASA gained a reputation as a leading Polish cultural institution with a wide field of activity and many outstanding members. It enjoyed the support of the Polish diaspora and the American public. The biggest problem the Institute faced was the lack of consistent funding for regular activities.

The assistance it received from institutions, individuals, and members covered the expenses needed to maintain the Institute and to conduct the day-to-day (sometimes ad hoc) work. Of great importance for the PIASA was the recognition in the American scientific world and the favorable attitude of the American public (including the Polish diaspora). Therefore, the Institute actively participated in cultural and scientific life by publishing scientific works and popularizing activities in the form of exhibitions, lectures, and conferences.⁵³

In 1956–1957, the Institute continued its programmatic activities, including publishing work, informing the Polish diaspora and the American public about the situation in Poland, and organizing meetings and lectures

⁵¹ “The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Polish Institute,” p. 108.

⁵² *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 32.

⁵³ By 1960, the PIASA had produced 18 publications, 11 issues of the *PIASA Bulletin*, and 12 issues of *The Polish Review*. There were scientific works in preparation; S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, pp. 16, 37.

for Polish scientists and writers.⁵⁴ Beginning in 1956, the organization and consolidation of the Institute's library scattered over many locations in New York, Trenton, and New Jersey also began.⁵⁵ It was not until 1959 that, thanks to the rental of additional premises, it was possible to consolidate the PIASA's collection. At the time, there was no specialized library in the USA that would enable research on Poland and its history, so the development of the PIASA's library was one of the most important projects for the future. The rapid growth of the library in 1956, associated with the exchange of publications with Poland and the influx of numerous archival collections and book collections, was a challenge for the Institute. It was necessary to give the PIASA's collection a specific profile and select the appropriate books. Work begun on creating a new layout for the library and on separating it from the archive.⁵⁶

The thaw following the events of October 1956 made it possible, for the first time since the end of the war, to have more contact with Polish scientific circles. This opportunity was used by sending books and periodicals to Poland. Scholarships were also funded for researchers and students, and ad hoc financial assistance was provided.⁵⁷ Beginning in 1956, the Institute also carried out "Operation: Books for Poland," which consisted of systematically sending scientific and fiction books to Polish libraries and academic centers.⁵⁸ The PIASA's activities, coordinated better and better over time, could not satisfy Polish scholars' and artists' "hunger for knowledge."⁵⁹ The scale of the need is evidenced by letters from Poland asking for books and periodicals – in 1957, the Institute has received more than 2,000 such letters. The institute also served as a center for scientific and

⁵⁴ The independent information campaign was particularly important during the events of 1956, and each issue of *The Polish Review* chronicled events taking place in Poland.

⁵⁵ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 27.

⁵⁶ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 10, "Report of the Director of PIASA for the Period 1.05.1956–30.03.1957."

⁵⁷ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1975, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 155–157.

⁵⁸ "Report on the activities of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, for the period 1956/1957," *The Polish Review* 1957, vol. 2, no. 2–3, p. 177.

⁵⁹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 10, "Report of the Director of PIASA for the Period 1.05.1956–30.03.1957."

bibliographic information.⁶⁰ In response to the PIASA's operation, books and periodicals published in Poland began to arrive. By 1960, about USD 200,000 had been allocated for the Polish aid program.⁶¹

In 1956, the PIASA began publishing a new quarterly magazine, *The Polish Review*, to replace the *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, which had been in circulation from 1942 to 1946.⁶² The resumption of the printed periodical in English gave the Institute the opportunity to have a wider impact in the US. The new quarterly was to be an objective source of information on Polish science and culture, and was to provide an opportunity for Polish scholars and writers to publish in the "free world."⁶³ It was also assumed to focus on analyzing the current situation in Poland.⁶⁴ *The Polish Review* provided an opportunity to speak on history and the current situation in Poland, and gave Polish researchers and writers an opportunity to appear in the American academic world.⁶⁵ The reputation of *The Polish Review* in the American world of science was demonstrated by the increasing number of American authors sending their texts to the editors. *The Polish Review* is published by the PIASA to this day, and despite its interdisciplinary nature it is entirely devoted to issues related to Poland, its culture, and its history.⁶⁶ An important event for *The Polish Review* at the time was its participation in the discussion concerning the Polish national border on the Odra and Nysa rivers (and fighting anti-Polish propaganda), which broke out after Elizabeth Wiskemann published her book *Germany's Eastern Neighbors*.⁶⁷

In 1958, the PIASA made further efforts to help the Polish science. Based on the information coming from Poland, it was possible to target efforts

⁶⁰ S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 19.

⁶¹ 50th Anniversary 1942-1992, pp. 32-34.

⁶² S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 17. The creation of *The Polish Review* was largely due to the efforts of Stanislaw Strzetelski, who played an important role in organizing the program of aid to Poland in 1956-1960.

⁶³ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 18.

⁶⁴ "Foreword," *The Polish Review* 1956, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 2.

⁶⁵ "The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Polish Institute," p. 105.

⁶⁶ *Fifty Years of Polish Scholarship: The Polish Review 1956-2006*, New York 2006, pp. 1-5.

⁶⁷ "Notes," *The Polish Review* 1956, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 107-118.

and respond to specific demands. It was possible to organize a campaign to help the Polish medicine by sending professional literature as well as medical and laboratory equipment.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, that campaign could not be carried out on a large scale due to lack of adequate funding. Many Polish scholars were able to present their research to the American scientific world thanks to the PIASA's assistance, and dozens of scholarships were also funded.⁶⁹ Support for Poland was made possible by the funds received from numerous organizations and individuals.⁷⁰

The year 1959 was a period of significant development for the PIASA and of its increased activity in many of fields. Beginning in October 1959, the Institute began preparations for the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of Poland's baptism. A scientific conference on the baptism of Poland was held at the Fordham University.⁷¹ In total, between 1956 and 1960, the PIASA organized 31 lectures and 22 discussion symposia.

Thanks to the kindness of the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation (it retained the title to the building), it was possible in 1960 to purchase new premises for the PIASA at the 66th Street.⁷² The new headquarters opened on August 1, 1960, and included rooms for a library and archives, as well as a lecture hall.⁷³

In 1961–1962, books continued to arrive at the PIASA from Polish libraries and scientific institutions, and the Institute continued its campaign to

⁶⁸ By March 1958, more than 6,000 books had been sent to Poland; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 11, "Program of Cultural Assistance to Poland."

⁶⁹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 11, "Program of Cultural Assistance to Poland"; *ibidem*, "Medical Aid to Poland."

⁷⁰ Examples worth mentioning include: Charles E. Merrill Trust, Appleton-Century-Crofts, The Library of the Council on Foreign Relations, Hogram Merrill Foundation, as well as individuals: A. Jurzykowski, T. Sendzimir, Wanda Roehr, S. Nowak, and Ch. E. Merrill; S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts*, p. 20.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

⁷² PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 12, "Report of the Director of PIASA inc. for the year 1960."

⁷³ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 19.

help Polish science.⁷⁴ More and more collections were also acquired from scholars and artists in the USA. An English translation of *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz and the first volume of the *Millenium Library – The Polish Millennium* were published. Lectures and scientific sessions were held at the PIASA as every year, and members of the Institute also prepared the celebration of the millennium of the baptism of Poland.⁷⁵ By 1961 (starting in 1955), the Institute had published the following works: J. Wespiec, *Polish Institutions of Higher Learning, Polish-Jewish Dialogue*; J. Conrad, *Centennial Essays*; J. Ursyn-Niemcewicz, *Essays*; K. Wierzyński, *Poems*; S. Strzetelski, *The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, Early XIX Century American-Polish Music*; F. Gross, *Social Volumes Studies and Sketches, The Virginia University Conference on Poland since Gomulka*; J. Kosinski, *Sociology in the US*; A. Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*; and a work on Woodrow Wilson.⁷⁶

Starting in 1962, the activities of the Midwest Branch of the PIASA, based in Chicago, were reactivated. At that time, The Study of Polish Literature faculty was opened at the University of Chicago to intensify the study of the Polish language, literature, and culture.⁷⁷ The PIASA's members participated in those studies.⁷⁸ The following year, significant changes were made to the PIASA's by-laws, resulting in a significant increase in the number of Institute members. The division into permanent and correspondent members was introduced, and the criteria for admission to the PIASA

⁷⁴ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 90, "Minutes of the 2nd Extraordinary Meeting of the Council of PIASA."

⁷⁵ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 12, "Report of the Acting Director of PIASA for the Period 1.10.1961–03.1963."

⁷⁶ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 13, "Report of Director of the PIASA for the Period 01–09.1961."

⁷⁷ There was also an increased interest in Poland among researchers at the Universities of Colorado and Buffalo. What contributed to this was the concentration of Poles in Chicago, Colorado, Kansas City, and Buffalo; *The Polish Review* 1962, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 89–92 and 1964, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 115–116.

⁷⁸ In 1962–1963, classes in Polish literature were held at the New York University, under the direction of Dr. Halina Wittlin, and Polish Studies were organized at the University of British Columbia in 1963–1964. Lectures on the Polish and Russian literature were also given at the Department of Slavic Languages at the Duke University in 1971.

were also changed.⁷⁹ In 1963, the PIASA's library, with more than 15,000 volumes, was named after Alfred Jurzykowski – a longtime benefactor of the Institute. Work on the organization and arrangement of the Institute's book collection was led by a librarian from the New York Public Library.⁸⁰

In 1964, the PIASA once again spoke out in defense of freedom in communist Poland.

It expressed its public support to the 34 Polish intellectuals who criticized Władysław Gomułka's rule in Poland in an open letter.⁸¹ An important publication titled *John F. Kennedy and Poland* was also issued, which contained a selection of writings and speeches by the US president.⁸² At that time, a committee was established within the PIASA to do organizational and clerical work.

The role of the Institute was highlighted by its appointment for the selection in 1964–1965 of the winners and for the organization of the Alfred Jurzykowski Awards. They were intended for Poles in recognition of their outstanding achievements in science and art. Over the following years, the Institute continued to participate in the awarding and organization of the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation Awards. The award ceremonies were often held at the PIASA's headquarters, and its members sat on the jury.⁸³

In 1966, on the 1,000th anniversary of Poland's baptism, the PIASA organized a three-day congress of Polish scholars from the USA and Can-

⁷⁹ From that time on, the PIASA's members could be professors and teachers, scholars, writers, and artists. The candidates had to represent a high level of skills and have two letters of recommendation; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 16, "By-laws of PIASA as approved by the Annual Meeting of Members on 24.03.1962."

⁸⁰ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 37.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁸² PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 19, "Report of the Director of PIASA for the year 1964."

⁸³ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 20, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activities of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript; *ibidem*, "General Report on the Institute activities during the period 24.04.1965–30.04.1966." The inclusion of the PIASA in the process of awarding and organizing the Alfred Jurzykowski Awards was largely made possible by the efforts of Damian Wandycz.

ada at the Columbia University.⁸⁴ The congress was attended by about 500 people, and 135 papers were presented. The papers were published in the volume titled *Studies in Polish Civilization*.⁸⁵ Another major conference was held a year later on the PIASA's 25th anniversary at the New York Public Library in 1967. A register of scientists of Polish origin from the USA and Canada was also being prepared for publication.⁸⁶ In that year, a Medical Section was also established within the Institute.

2.3. The years 1968–1989

In 1968, through American media, the PIASA sought to counteract the negative responses generated by the anti-Semitic campaign in Poland.⁸⁷ At the time, the Institute collaborated on the English translation of the book by W. Bartoszewski and Z. Lewin *The Samaritans: Heroes of the Holocaust*.⁸⁸ There were also public appearances in defense of freedom and human rights in Poland.⁸⁹

In the late 1960s, attempts were made to reform the Institute's library, and the most valuable book collections and archives were catalogues based on the system of the Library of Congress in Washington. The problem was raising the funds needed to elaborate and promote them.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Preparations for the ceremony had been underway since 1959; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, New York 1992, p. 38. Oskar Halecki and Damian Wandycz played a major role in the organization of the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Poland's baptism and the First PIASA Congress in 1966.

⁸⁵ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 20, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activities of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript; *ibidem*, correspondence regarding the preparation of the convention of scholars of Polish descent from the USA and Canada.

⁸⁶ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 23, "General Report for the period 05.1967–04.1968."

⁸⁷ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 39.

⁸⁸ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 24, "General Report for the period 05.1968–05.1969."

⁸⁹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript.

⁹⁰ Researchers did not have sufficient knowledge of the PIASA's resources, so the collections were not properly used; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 22, "Notatka

The year 1970 brought an improvement in the financial situation; from then on the PIASA received a permanent grant from the Jurzykowski Foundation (starting in 1968, permanent grants came from the Sendzimir Fund).⁹¹ Starting in the 1970s, the PIASA began organizing book fairs, where duplicates from the Institute's collection were given out and émigré publications were sold. This was an important activity, as there was no Polish bookstore in Manhattan at the time.⁹² Eight lectures were organized, and six others were held at the PIASA. Also, the 2nd Congress of Scientists of Polish Origin from the USA and Canada was also prepared.⁹³ An important element of the Institute's activities, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, was annual conventions with numerous lectures and symposia.

In 1971, the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York took part in the "Polish Microfilm" project organized by the Center for Immigration Studies at the University of Minnesota, in cooperation with the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation and the Kościuszko Foundation. The project aimed to preserve in the form of microfilms the achievements of the Polish American community.⁹⁴ In that year, the 2nd Congress of Scientists, Writers, and Artists of Polish Origin from the USA and Canada, held on April 23–25, was also organized.⁹⁵ More than 500 people from 76 American academic centers and 20 research institutions attended the congress.⁹⁶ At the end of 1971, the PIASA held a two-day conference to prepare a plan for the study of the Polish diaspora in the United States as an ethnic group.⁹⁷ In that year, the

w sprawie Biblioteki PIN imienia Alfreda Jurzykowskiego z 30.09.1968 r." [Note on the Alfred Jurzykowski PIASA Library of September 30, 1968].

⁹¹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 25, "General Report."

⁹² PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 27, "Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce" [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 21; *ibidem*, "General Report for 1970."

⁹³ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 94, "General Report of Executive Director for 1970."

⁹⁴ "Polish Microfilm Project," *The Polish Review* 1971, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 93–94.

⁹⁵ For more information, see: *Second Congress of Polish American Scholars & Scientists*, New York 1971.

⁹⁶ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 20.

⁹⁷ "Plans for Research on Polish American Ethnic Group," *The Polish Review* 1972, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 102–103; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 41.

Historical Section was established within the Institute. By 1972 (the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the PIASA), the Institute had organized about 350 lectures, symposia, conferences, and readings.⁹⁸ In 1972, the PIASA also began working closely with the American Association for the Advancement Slavic Studies.

Once again, in 1973, the PIASA received a USD 32,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for 1974. The grant was to be used for a sociological and historical publication describing the ethnic group of Americans of Polish descent. The award of that grant testified to the high status of the Institute and its perception by American institutions as a major research center of the Polish diaspora.⁹⁹ In that year, three members of the PIASA were honored by The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies for their contributions to Slavic studies.

The PIASA's History Section organized a meeting with Piotr Wandycz (on research in Poland and Czechoslovakia) and a symposium on the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Commission on National Education and the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus.¹⁰⁰

In 1974, efforts were made to integrate the Institute's members scattered across the United States. Recordings of lectures and meetings organized by the PIASA started to be made to create an audio library available by correspondence to members. Books were also lent out, on a weekly basis. There were also plans to create a film library. Thanks to these activities, scientists and artists of Polish descent throughout the United States had access to publications and scientific information. Within the Institute, a Literature Section, an Earth Sciences and Technology Section, and a Sociology Section were created at that time. The PIASA's units in Arizona, Detroit, and Philadelphia were also established.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 19.

⁹⁹ "News about the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1973, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 29, "Annual Report of The Acting Director and Secretary General April 1972–April 1973."

¹⁰¹ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], pp. 20–21.

In that year, the Financial Committee began raising funds for research on the Polish diaspora in the United States. The plan was to raise about USD 1 million over five years. Work on the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation (from 1973 for a project on Americans of Polish descent) also started at the time, with 35 researchers involved. The project was to result in 15 research reports, a special issue of the journal *International Migration Review*, and a collective work *The Polish-Americans*.¹⁰²

At a meeting of the PIASA's Board of Directors in April 1974, it was decided to significantly change the scope and direction of the Institute's activities. The limited financial resources and the small number of executive personnel required a specialization and coordination of the PIASA's efforts.¹⁰³ The Institute was unable to deal with politics, economics, art, sociology, education, publishing, and popularization activities, etc. on its own. The PIASA's subsequent fields of activity were gradually reduced in favor of more specialized institutions. The PIASA became a research center, its main goal was to gain knowledge about the Polish American community (there had not been such extensive research on this ethnic group before), conduct scientific and cultural exchanges with the USA, and conduct research on the history, culture, and science of Poland. The name of the Institute was also changed to The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America.¹⁰⁴

Starting in 1974, the Polish language began to be taught at the Institute's headquarters, with courses continuing until 1990.¹⁰⁵ The 3rd Congress of Polish Scientists from the USA and Canada was also prepared. It

¹⁰² The research project consisted of six parts, of which it is worth mentioning the research on "The Polish Americans," "The Polish Experience in Migration," and "Community Studies. News About The Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1974, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 128–129.

¹⁰³ Savings were achieved by reducing the salaries and expenses, and by raising the membership fee. The Institute's Finance Committee intensively searched for new sources of funding for its activities; a similar initiative was taken by Jan Gronouski, the new PIASA's president elected in 1974; "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1974, vol. 19, no. 3–4, p. 237.

¹⁰⁴ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 31, "New Directions for The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America."

¹⁰⁵ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 31, "Annual Report of the Executive Director April 1973–April 1974"; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 44.

was held on May 16–18, 1975, in Montreal, with about 400 participants, including about 10 percent from outside the USA and Canada.¹⁰⁶ In its activities, the PIASA increasingly focused on the Polish and American public.

An important event for the Institute was the award of a grant from the Kościuszko Foundation for annual scholarships and the PIASA's research projects.¹⁰⁷

In 1975, the PIASA issued a resolution in defense of the 59 Polish intellectuals who demanded guarantees of rights and freedoms in the new constitution of the People's Republic of Poland. The resolution, in English, was distributed to the media. The Kościuszko Foundation supported the Institute with USD 5,000 to invite researchers from Poland to the USA, and three USD 1,000 stipends for librarians at the Institute.¹⁰⁸ In that year, the PIASA Canadian Branch separated from its parent organization and formed a separate Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in Canada. It was also at that time that efforts were launched to apply for grants for the "Oral History" and "History of Ideas" projects, which would enable the elaboration and reorganization of the Institute's collections. A Biographical Section was also established to collect materials on scientists and artists of Polish origin.¹⁰⁹

In the following year, the PIASA made every effort, despite annual financial problems, to continue its mission in the US, and to be more visible in the American academic community. The Institute organized 11 lectures and meetings in 1976, made its collections available to numerous scholars, and provided substantive assistance in scientific research. The PIASA's members attended the eighth national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in October 1976. In that year, a very momentous event for the PIASA was the visit of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła. Efforts were made to involve the Institute in the problems of the American

¹⁰⁶ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 47, "PIASA Annual Report 1975–1976."

¹⁰⁷ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1975, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 163.

¹⁰⁸ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1976, vol. 21, no. 1–2, pp. 179–180.

¹⁰⁹ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 29.

society. For this purpose the “Strategies, Policies for Multi-Ethnic Cities: Focus on New York City” was prepared.¹¹⁰

In 1977, the PIASA funded two scholarships for Polish researchers, supported Slavic studies in various academic centers, and continued the years-long campaign to send books and periodicals to Poland. A PIASA unit was also established at that time in Texas. The profile of the library was changed; starting from that year, it was to contain a limited and specialized book collection on Poland and the Polish community, as well as on issues of ethnic groups in the USA.¹¹¹ At that time, the Institute also began collecting recordings (from television, radio, as well as interviews and scientific and cultural events) on the image of Poland and Poles in the USA as part of the “Oral History Project.” That project, funded by The Rockefeller Foundation, was conducted by Prof. Feliks Gross. The Institute had a special section to coordinate those projects. The work associated with the grant for research on the ethnic group of Polish Americans was also completed, resulting in publications in *The Polish Review* and a book *Polish-American Community Life: a Survey of Research*. A decision was made to continue that project together with the Brooklyn College in the form of the seminar titled “Policies, Strategies for Multi-Ethnic Cities: Focus on New York City.”¹¹² In the fall of 1977, the format of the PIASA’s annual conventions also changed, with less time devoted to organizational matters and more to scientific sessions and panel discussions.¹¹³

In 1978, research interest in ethnic issues in the USA significantly declined. Many factors, including unemployment, inflation, and the international situation, reduced the interest in this branch of scientific research. The PIASA finally completed its research on Polish diaspora communities, carried out under the grant received from The Rockefeller Foundation. Another research program on oral history and the history of ideas was

¹¹⁰ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 34, “Report of the Secretary General.”

¹¹¹ “Chronicles of the Polish Institute,” *The Polish Review* 1977, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 80–81; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 35, “Unowocześnieenie Biblioteki PIN” [Upgrade of the PIASA Library].

¹¹² “Chronicles of the Polish Institute,” *The Polish Review* 1977, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 86–89.

¹¹³ 50th Anniversary 1942–1992, p. 49.

launched with the support of the same foundation. The Rockefeller Foundation also allocated money for cataloging and organizing the Institute's collections. Support from the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation helped maintain the building and the Institute's collections, while assistance from the Kościuszko Foundation and the Sendzimir Fund provided funds for its activities. The PIASA received from the Kościuszko Foundation a ten-year grant for research on cultural exchange.¹¹⁴

The PIASA also established close cooperation with the Historical and Literary Society of Paris and the Polish Library. A joint fundraising effort was launched among European foundations for the operation of these institutions. The Polish Library also made its collections available to researchers recommended by the PIASA, and similar cooperation was established with the Gen. W. Sikorski Institute in London. That cooperation resulted in the transfer and exchange of archival and library collections.¹¹⁵

The year 1979 was a time of significant expansion in the Institute's activities; publishing, scientific and research, and popularization work intensified (as many as 19 lectures and conferences were organized).¹¹⁶ Support from the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation (as well as the Sendzimir Fund) allowed the reorganization and adequate equipment for the growing library. Its extensive book collection allowed numerous specialists to conduct independent scientific research. In the 1970s, the PIASA became one of the largest library and archival centers in the United States. The Kościuszko Foundation provided three five-hundred-dollar scholarships for students working at the PIASA. The Rockefeller Foundation provided money for work on the Institute's archives and the project involving research on oral history and history of ideas. The Rosenstiel Foundation and the Kościuszko Foundation provided ten-year grants to support the PIASA's budget.¹¹⁷ In 1979, two PIASA members, Isaac Bashevis Singer and Andrew

¹¹⁴ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1978, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 93–94, 97; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 38, "Report of the Secretary General April 1978–March 1979."

¹¹⁵ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1978, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 95.

¹¹⁶ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 40, "Annual Report of Secretary General April 1979–1980."

¹¹⁷ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1979, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 107–112.

Shally, received the Nobel Prize, while Ludwig Gross received awards from the French government and the Federal Republic of Germany for his research on leukemia.

In 1980, grants from the Kościuszko Foundation and The Rockefeller Foundation allowed further research into the cultural exchanges of emigration. The PIASA also maintained intensive contacts with research centers in Europe, Canada, South America, and Australia. Thanks to the employment of Witold Sulimirski as treasurer, the Institute's finances were properly managed. The PIASA also received legal support from Ludwik Seidenman. The continued operation of the PIASA (including work on the "Oral History Project"), the scholarships, and the maintenance of the archival and library collections were made possible thanks to the funds provided by The Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenstiel Foundation, the Kościuszko Foundation, and the Sendzimir Fund.

In that year, work was completed on the book *Polish Civilisation: Essays and Studies*, published by the New York University Press.¹¹⁸

The events taking place in Poland in 1980–1989 had a significant impact on the PIASA's activities. At the end of 1980, the Committee for the Assistance to Scientists from Poland was established. Following the imposition of martial law in Poland on December 13, 1981, the PIASA publicly condemned the actions of Gen. W. Jaruzelski, and the Institute's Secretary General, Prof. T. Gromada, sent his statement on the matter to the US President, the Secretary of State, the Security Council, and the US media. The statement was broadcast by Radio Free Europe and Voice of America.¹¹⁹ In such a difficult moment for Poland, a very important role of the Institute became apparent, as many representatives of the American media turned to the PIASA for information and comments on the situation in the Poland.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1980, vol. 25, no. 3–4, pp. 150–153, 161.

¹¹⁹ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, pp. 50–51. Also thanks to the efforts of Thaddeus Gromada, the Institute managed to establish closer cooperation with American academic circles, and to change the form of the PIASA's annual conventions.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

During the martial law, the Institute sought to support Polish scholars who were prevented from returning to Poland by the events in their homeland and sought asylum in the USA.¹²¹ This was made possible by the funding received from The Rockefeller Foundation and the IREX organization.¹²² The Institute's headquarters became a place where many people sought financial and moral support. With the PIASA's support, the Special Counseling and Academic Assistance Committee was established to provide legal assistance and information about scholarships and employment opportunities in the USA.¹²³ Forced emigrants were given small grants, and some received recommendations for studies. Starting in 1981, the PIASA worked with the National Endowment for Democracy to provide assistance to members of the Solidarity movement.¹²⁴ Funds were also raised intensively for the purchase of books and periodicals for Polish universities and libraries. In the 1970s and 1980s, the PIASA's members were frequent guests at so-called briefings at the White House and the State Department, where they offered their advice. Also at that time, successive US diplomatic representatives sent to Poland visited the PIASA for consultations related to their mission before their departure.¹²⁵

In 1981, the PIASA's efforts focused on working on cultural and scientific issues and serving as a Polish-American research center. With its work for the American public, the Institute supported the democratic opposition in Poland. As in previous years, the operation of the PIASA, the scholarships, and the maintenance of the archival and library collections were made possible by the funds provided by The Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenthal Foundation, the Kościuszko Foundation, and the Sendzimir Fund. The

¹²¹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 105, "Minutes of the Board of Directors 1981."

¹²² *50th Anniversary 1942-1992*, p. 54. IREX – a non-profit organization established in the USA in 1968, which supported scientific research and cultural activities.

¹²³ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁴ Feliks Gross played a leading role in the PIASA's establishment of cooperation with the National Endowment for Democracy.

¹²⁵ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142-146, T. Gromada, "Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny" [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript.

Institute once again received money from The Rockefeller Foundation for research on ethnic issues and the democratic opposition in Poland as part of the “Oral History” project.

A grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities was a huge help (the collection was damaged by water) to maintain the archival collection.¹²⁶ It was also possible to develop, with the support of an archive consultant from the City University of New York, criteria for elaborating archival materials, and to prepare an inventory of the fonds. Employees and volunteers responsible for elaborating archival collections were designated.¹²⁷

In 1982, in view of the situation in Poland, the number of books and periodicals sent to Poland was increased, the Institute hosted more researchers from Poland, and a promising dialogue was established between émigré and domestic science. All this was nullified the imposition of martial law in Poland, which was met with a sharp reaction from the PIASA’s members. A declaration by the Institute’s Board of Directors, expressing opposition to restrictions on the freedoms of Poles, was published in the US media. Since the interest in the events in Poland increased in the American society, the PIASA had the opportunity to speak out once again in defense of a free Poland. New annual grants from The Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenstiel Foundation, the Kościuszko Foundation, and the Sendzimir Fund enabled the Institute to continue its prominent work. The martial law prevented many researchers staying in the USA from returning to their homeland. The PIASA took immediate action to provide material assistance to the “forced” émigrés.¹²⁸

In 1983, after 40 years of existence, the Institute became part of American culture and science, while representing free Poland and its achievements in many areas of life. The PIASA’s activities were aimed at defending human rights in Poland; protest was voiced in the American media, and

¹²⁶ “Chronicles of the Polish Institute,” *The Polish Review* 1981, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 88–91, 94.

¹²⁷ *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 34.

¹²⁸ “Chronicles of the Polish Institute,” *The Polish Review* 1982, vol. 27, no. 1–2, pp. 187–191; *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 55.

proclamations were addressed to the American public.¹²⁹ Also, American academic centers were asked to support the demand for scientific freedom and to defend scholars in Poland. A special Committee on Human Rights was also established, and the issue of human rights violations in Poland was presented by the PIASA to The International League for Human Rights. Thanks to donations, the Institute was able to purchase and send books worth USD 2,000 to Warsaw. The PIASA's director initiated a fund for Polish libraries. Permanent financial support was provided by The Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenstiel Foundation, the Kościuszko Foundation, and the Sendzimir Fund. Numerous scientific studies were conducted, including two major projects on Bronisław Malinowski and the history of ideology. The first guide to the PIASA's collections was also completed and published in 1984.¹³⁰

In the following year, the PIASA's main field of activity continued to be the defense of human rights in Poland. Events in Poland were closely watched and commented on by the PIASA's members, and a memorandum on the situation in Poland was presented before the Human Rights Committee in Geneva. Many protests were also issued against the arrests and imprisonment of Polish scientists and artists, and were published in the American press and broadcast on Radio Free Europe. The PIASA has also asked US President Ronald Reagan to make it easier for forced immigrants from Poland to obtain visas and legalize their stay. The institute also worked on Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Jewish relations, striving to overcome prejudices and improve mutual relations.

A great effort was made to develop and secure the Institute's archival and library collections.¹³¹

In 1985, as part of the New York Nonprofits, the Institute came out with other nonprofits to defend American cultural and scientific institutions. The issue of exempting these institutions from property taxes was crucial

¹²⁹ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 106, "Minutes of the Board of Directors year 1983."

¹³⁰ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1983, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 129-137.

¹³¹ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1984, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 125-135.

to their survival.¹³² The need to vacate the PIASA's headquarters on the 66th Street resulted in the closure of the archive and the library; the collections were packed up and transferred to rented storage facilities. Preparations for the publication of the Institute's second resource guide began.¹³³

The following year was a tough one for the PIASA, as the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation decided to sell the house on the 66th Street that had been the Institute's headquarters. All of the PIASA's activities focused on securing and transporting the Institute's collection to its temporary premises at the Kościuszko Foundation, as well as searching for new headquarters. Fundraising began for the purchase of a new building in New York. Despite such a difficult situation, the PIASA continued its activities, albeit to a limited extent. The publication of *The Polish Review* was maintained, lectures were continued, and even the conference "Transition of Medieval and Early Modern Polish Elites" was held in November 1985.¹³⁴ In 1985–1986, the Institute also managed to organize 11 lectures and meetings.¹³⁵ The first part of the research on the history of ideas was completed, and the result was the publication of the book *Political Ideas of the Democratic Left of the Polish Emigration, 1939–1968*. The Institute's Board of Directors also issued a letter of protest in defense of the autonomy of universities in Poland; it was broadcast on American radio.¹³⁶ Virtually all of 1986 was spent on tasks related to the purchase of new headquarters and moving and securing the PIASA's collection.¹³⁷

In 1987, thanks to the support of the Kościuszko Foundation, the Institute was able to carry out, in addition to moving and securing its archives and library, some of its work in temporary premises at the 65th Street.¹³⁸

¹³² *Polski Instytut Naukowy w Ameryce* [Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America], p. 22.

¹³³ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 55.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¹³⁵ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 43, "Annual Report of the Secretary General May 1985–May 1986."

¹³⁶ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1986, vol. 31, no. 2–3, pp. 227–236; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 43, "PIASA Annual Report 1985–1986."

¹³⁷ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 43, "PIASA Annual Report 1985–1986."

¹³⁸ *50th Anniversary 1942–1992*, p. 56.

A new headquarters was purchased for the PIASA on the 30th Street, where some of the collections were transported (they were inaccessible to researchers from 1985 to 1987). From that year on, funds were intensively sought to repay the loan taken out for the purchase of the building and its furnishings.¹³⁹ Two papers resulting from previous research were published: *Polish Democratic Left 1940–1968* and *Christian Democratic Groups, 1940–1968*. A third volume of *Letters From the Underground* was also prepared.¹⁴⁰ Funds from the organizations that had supported the PIASA over the years were used to finance the move and the furnishings for the new headquarters, as well as for scholarships and the PIASA's ongoing activities.¹⁴¹

After a two-year crisis, the Institute's activities reached their previous level and scope in 1988. Support for the Institute was broader in the American public, and its financial situation improved thanks to the repayment of loans and better fundraising. Special committees were established to streamline the PIASA's activities: a Fund-Raising Committee, a Committee on By-laws, a Special Events Committee, and a Self-Study Committee. The PIASA's internal organization and day-to-day work were reviewed and reorganized, with the involvement of new members. Efforts were made to improve the material situation and the work efficiency, and to raise the scientific level of research. As an association of independent scientists and artists, the Institute was to serve as a bridge between the Polish and American worlds of science and culture, as well as an educational center. In order to achieve similar respect and standing as American organizations, the PIASA had to increase the number of its members and maintain the highest level of scientific research. At that time, Professor Felix Gross gave six interviews to Radio Free Europe on the topic of research on the history of ideas in Poland. Thanks to a USD 6,000 grant from the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation, numerous books were purchased for the Jagiellonian University. Thanks to the money received from the Kościuszko Foundation,

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

¹⁴⁰ PIASA Archives, collection 017, folder 43, "PIASA Annual Report 1985–1986."

¹⁴¹ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1987, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 330–337.

more grantees were able to work on cataloging and organizing the PIASA's collections.¹⁴²

In the following year, the PIASA's material situation improved further. A special Committee on Publication of Books was established, and a very important publication, *The Polish Renaissance in Its European Context*, was published. The institute gradually transformed from a scientific institution bringing together selected scholars into a cultural and educational organization with permanent members and friends. The purpose of the Institute was not changed. The most important fields of the Institute's activity were publishing *The Polish Review*, organizing lectures and seminars, acquiring book collections and archives, and securing funds for the continued operation of the PIASA.¹⁴³

In 1989, the transformation that began in Poland had a significant impact on the Institute's work. The PIASA, established 47 years earlier, was a symbol and center of free and independent Polish culture and science in exile, and in time became an American institution (although established by Polish émigrés). With the collapse of the People's Republic of Poland, research and cultural centers became free from the influence of communist ideology and censorship. As a result, the PIASA's primary goal of representing and developing independent science and the arts in the USA had been achieved. The question remained as to further activities, since the Institute's educational and cultural goals were still valid.¹⁴⁴ From that time on, the PIASA's main task was cultural and scientific exchange between Poland and the USA, as well as supporting research on issues related to Poland and popularizing knowledge about Poland.

At that time, the PIASA became involved in the publication of the speeches of Abraham Lincoln in Poland, and Prof. Felix Gross presented a series of lectures on the US Constitution on Radio Free Europe. The money received from the Sendzimir Fund, the Kościuszko Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation was mostly earmarked for scholarships for Polish researchers. The PIASA's

¹⁴² "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1988, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 379–383.

¹⁴³ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1989, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 276–282.

¹⁴⁴ "Chronicles of the Polish Institute," *The Polish Review* 1989, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 303–304.

members attended the Third Congress of Scientists of Polish Origin in July 1989. A “Salute to Poland” campaign was organized on the anniversary of the start of the 1939 September campaign.

Samuel Fiszman’s work (introduction by Czesław Miłosz) *The Polish Renaissance in Its European Context* was published. Closer relations were established with academic centers in Poland. Polish language courses continued to be conducted; from 1982 they were organized jointly with the Kościuszko Foundation and the Hunter College.¹⁴⁵

The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America was founded by Polish scientists who found themselves in exile in the USA, having escaped death and persecution at the hands of the occupying forces. At the time of its inception, it was a continuation of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a symbol of free culture and scientific thought. It underwent many transformations between 1942 and 1989, starting out as an émigré scientific and cultural society and becoming an all-American organization by 1989. Emigré organizations did not enjoy an excellent reputation in the American academic world, so it was important to change the PIASA’s image. From the 1960s, its new members were US-born Poles and Americans with links with Poland through their scientific research.¹⁴⁶

In the short time since its establishment, the Institute became a scientific and cultural center recognized among American and European researchers. During World War II, the PIASA was a center of free scientific and cultural life under the conditions of Western democracy. The year 1945 brought great disappointment with the post-war reality, and Poland became in fact a colony of the USSR. In the face of the postwar changes, the purpose of the Institute’s existence was the continuation of free scientific and cultural life in exile and work for the future of Poland (through the defense of freedom and human rights, and public protests against the actions of the communist authorities in Poland). During the Cold War period (for Poland we can assume the years 1946–1989), the PIASA played the role of an information and scientific center independent of the communist authorities. It also sought to show the American public that Poland was

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 305–328.

¹⁴⁶ *50th Anniversary Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences of America*, New York 1992, p. 18.

not a communist state hostile to the United States. The institute promoted knowledge about Poland and its scientific and cultural heritage, and took an active part in supporting Polish-American cooperation. This was especially important at crucial moments, when interest in Polish affairs was growing in the American public and media. Over the years, the institute received financial support that enabled its operation from, among others, the Kościuszko Foundation, the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Alfred Sloane Foundation, the Sendzimir Found, the National Endowment for Humanities, the National Endowment for Democracy, and private individuals.¹⁴⁷

However, the Institute always stood up for free science and art, and for human rights in Poland. Over the years, the PIASA supported Polish scientific and research centers by sending books and periodicals, as well as medical and laboratory equipment. Scholarships and grants were funded for Polish scholars and artists. Interviews were given and lectures were delivered via Radio Free Europe, which provided moral support for the subjugated Poland. The Institute was a forum for the free exchange of ideas that was open to scientists, artists, and students. It was also visited by many prominent Poles, for whom meetings, lectures, and other events were organized.¹⁴⁸

Faced with the changes in Poland in 1989, the PIASA once again had to adapt to the new political situation. New opportunities arose for the PIASA's development and the expansion of its field of activity. Only from 1989, was the PIASA able to establish proper relations with the Polish scientific and cultural world. After the restitution of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Poland in 1989, the PIASA established close ties with the reconstituted

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 19–21.

¹⁴⁸ Including Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, Waclaw Sierpiński, Julian Krzyżanowski, Irena Sławińska, Jacek Woźniakowski, Władysław Tatarkiewicz, Sławomir Mrożek, Aleksander Gieysztor, Antoni Słonimski, Jerzy Turowicz, Tadeusz Konwicki, Leopold Tyrmand, Józef Gierowski, Aleksander Koj, Rev. Józef Tischner, Jan Błoński, Stanisław Waltoś, Władysław Bartoszewski, Tadeusz Kantor, Tadeusz Różewicz, Ryszard Kapuściński, Stanisław Barańczak, Rafał Olbiński, Andrzej Ajnenkiel, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and others; PIASA Archives, collection 017, folders 142–146, T. Gromada, “Rola i działalność PINu podczas Zimnej Wojny” [The role and activity of the PIASA during the Cold War], typescript.

academy. The Institute became a symbolic seat and branch of the PAS in New York. Fruitful relations were also established with many institutions in Poland, including the Polish Academy of Sciences, the General Directorate of State Archives, the National Library, etc. After 1989, a new period of activity began in the history of the Institute, in which all efforts focused on Polish-American cooperation in many areas of scientific and cultural life. The PIASA served as a cultural and research center for Poland and the USA, and provided a bridge to connect and enrich the two societies. Thanks to the PIASA's work, it was possible to mark Poland's presence in the democratic Western world.¹⁴⁹

APPENDIX

LIST OF THE PIASA'S EMPLOYEES FROM 1942 TO 2011

PIASA Presidents:

Prof. Bronisław Malinowski, 1942;
Prof. Jan Kucharzewski, 1942–1952;
Prof. Oskar Halecki, 1952–1964;
Zygmunt Nagórski, Senior 1964–1965;
Prof. Stanisław Mrozowski, 1965–1974;
Prof. John A. Gronouski, 1974–1987;
Prof. Feliks Gross, 1988–1999;
Prof. Piotr S. Wandycz, 1999–2008;
Prof. Thaddeus V. Gromada, 2008–2011.

Executive Directors:

Prof. Oskar Halecki, 1942–1952;
Zygmunt Nagórski, Senior, 1952–1955;
Stanisław Strzetelski, 1955–1961;
Zygmunt Nagórski, 1961–1962;
Dr. Jan Wszelaki, 1962–1965;
Damian Wandycz, 1966–1969;

¹⁴⁹ 50th Anniversary Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences, p. 22.

HISTORY

Dr. Jan Librach, 1969–1973;
Prof. Eugene Kleban, 1973–1975;
Prof. Feliks Gross, 1975–1988;
Bolesław Laszewski, 1989–1990;
Prof. Thaddeus V. Gromada, 1991–2011.

Secretaries General:

Zygmunt Nagórski, Senior, 1957–1964;
Damian Wandycz, 1965;
Dr. Ludwik Krzyżanowski, 1966–1970;
Prof. Thaddeus V. Gromada, 1971–1990.

Original issue: “Archiwum Emigracji” 2011, no. 1–2 (14–15)
<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2011.017>



HISTORY OF ART

Ewa Bobrowska

(Terra Foundation for American Art, Paris)

“Polish Artist – Artist from Poland?” The Question of National Identity in the Study of Artists from Poland in France at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries: The Example of Simon Mondzain

National identity or identification is defined as a sense of separateness from other nations, shaped by nation-building factors such as national symbols, language, national colors, awareness of origin, national history, blood ties, attitude towards cultural heritage, culture, territory, national character, and national awareness.¹ The latter can be understood at the individual level as a sense of belonging to a particular nation. At the collective level, on the other hand, it is a sense of cultural and ethnic ties with an awareness of historical continuity. A sense of national identity is particularly visible during crises, for example when a nation loses its independence and attempts to regain it, as happened during the partitions of Poland. It also acquires a different dimension and caliber during confrontations with other national groups, for example, as a result of leaving one's own

¹ Cf. A. Kłoskowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni* [National cultures at their roots], Warsaw 2005.

national group for an extended period of time when traveling abroad or, even more so, during emigration.

A special form of emigration was the overseas travel of Polish artists, which intensified during the partitions of Poland, especially at the end of the 19th century. “Departures to follow art,” particularly to France, their causes, course, and consequences, both for artists and their work, have been a topic I have been interested in for many years. The question of such concepts as, for example, “Polish artist” – “artist from Poland,” the importance of the connection with the culture of a non-existent country for the personality and visual imagination of painters of Jewish origin, the criteria for determining in other countries the identification of artists as “Polish” in relation to the subject matter and form of their works, which was vivid and important to my research, seemed to me to be resolved by adopting the empirical criterion.² It was not necessary to justify the choice of this criterion, which was based on an individual’s declaration – in word or deed – of belonging to a particular cultural circle. The broad scope of my basic research, which was aimed at identifying artists functioning abroad who were associated with the Polish cultural circle, justified this approach according to the principle that excess is better than insufficiency.

The available literature on the history of art lacks a concrete proposal for a theoretical concept of national identity in the situation of emigration. A breakthrough in the process of opening of the Polish history of art to émigré artists was the exhibition “Polish Painting in the Ewa and Wojtek Fibak Collection”³ organized in 1992. Its title referred to the Polishness of the works of art – Polish paintings – and consequently to the Polishness of their authors. When describing in the introduction to the exhibition catalog the history of the collection and its focus on the interwar period, Władysława Jaworska writes of the creation by the Fibak couple of “the

² Cf. E. Bobrowska-Jakubowski, “Les artistes polonais en France 1890–1918. Communautés et individualités” [Polish artists in France 1890–1918. Communities and individuals], doctoral dissertation, Université Paris 1, Paris 2001, published in part as E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *Artyści polscy we Francji 1890–1918. Wspólnoty i indywidualności* [Polish artists in France 1890–1918. Communities and individuals], Warsaw 2004.

³ Cf. *Malarstwo polskie w kolekcji Ewy i Wojciecha Fibaków. Polish Painting in the Ewa and Wojtek Fibak Collection*, Warsaw 1992.

largest collection of works by Polish and Polish-Jewish painters of the Ecole de Paris.”⁴ Agnieszka Morawińska also emphasizes the presence of works by Polish and Polish-Jewish artists, whose contributions to the history of Polish art have been met with interest by art historians since at least the 1980s.⁵ However, she does not delve into the nuances of national identification of Polish-Jewish artists. Relatively recent publications, such as *In Search of Shape, Light, and Color*⁶ and *Gallery of Polish Masters. Painting, Drawing, Sculpture from the Collection of Krzysztof Musiał*,⁷ seem not to have taken this problem into account at all. They assign intuitively, or perhaps rather traditionally, all artists to the Polish national group.

In a text published in the materials of a scientific session devoted to the problems of identity, titled *Pole, Jew, Artist. Identity and the Avant-Garde*, Jerzy Malinowski, writing about artists of Jewish origin who left the Polish territories and went abroad, states succinctly: “Almost all of them (except Soutin, who did speak Polish) identified themselves as Polish artists by participating in Polish exhibitions in France and in Poland.”⁸ Malinowski does not explain what it meant specifically to “identify oneself” as a Pole. Thus, he adopts an empirical criterion, seeing no need for a deeper justification for such a decision. Also the commissioners of the exhibition on Polish immigration to France titled “Polonia. Des Polonais en France de 1830 à nos jours”⁹ faced the problem of defining the body of the exhibition and opted for an empirical criterion.

⁴ W. Jaworska, “Kolekcja żywa” [Living collection], in: *Polish Painting in the Ewa and Wojtek Fibak Collection*, p. VIII.

⁵ Cf. J. Pollakówna, *Malarstwo polskie między wojnami 1918–1939* [Polish painting between the Wars 1918–1939], Warsaw 1982 (biographical notes prepared by Wanda M. Rudzińska).

⁶ H. Bartnicka-Górska, J. Szczepińska-Tramer, *W poszukiwaniu kształtu, światła i barwy* [In search of shape, light and color], Warsaw 2005.

⁷ M. Nowakowska, ed., *Galeria mistrzów polskich. Malarstwo, rysunek, rzeźba z kolekcji Krzysztofa Musiała* [Gallery of Polish Masters. Painting, Drawing, Sculpture from the Collection of Krzysztof Musiał], Łódź 2011.

⁸ J. Malinowski, “Awangarda żydowska w Polsce” [Jewish avant-garde in Poland], in: J. Suchan, ed., *Polak, Żyd, artysta. Tożsamość a awangarda* [Pole, Jew, artist. Identity and the avant-garde], Łódź 2010, p. 26.

⁹ J. Ponty, ed., *Polonia. Des Polonais en France de 1830 à nos jours* [Polonia. Poles in France from 1830 to our time], [exhibition catalog], Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration, Paris, March 2–August 30, 2011, Paris [2011].

The empirical criterion is based on statements, verbal or written, or actions taken by a person, indicating his or her national preference. There are numerous examples of such choices. One of them is the declaration of nationality to the authorities of the country of settlement. However, it depends not only on the will of the person concerned, but, most importantly, on the laws of the country of settlement, which distinguish, or not, between citizenship and nationality. Another criterion may be the adoption of citizenship of the country of settlement, which can be interpreted as a desire to disconnect from one's own roots. Naturalization, however, depends on the country's regulations, as well as practical considerations that may prompt individuals to apply for it. In some cases it may be a matter of negating one's roots and spiritually integrating with the country of settlement; in others it is a necessary step on the way to regularizing one's own status in relation to the authorities of the country of settlement and in no way determines one's sense of nationality one way or another. In France in the early 20th century, naturalization was a privilege to which veterans of battles for their adopted homeland in the ranks of the French army, for example, were entitled. A special, though not decisive, criterion may be the use of language, both of the country of origin and the country of settlement, and the relationship between the two. Another possible indicator is participation in exhibitions or campaigns described as national, such as membership in national associations operating abroad or participation in exhibitions that have the adjective "Polish" in their name. The relationship between an artist's national identity and the nature of his or her work can be an important issue. However, this problem, which is closely related to the concept of national art (national style), is beyond the scope of our analysis. The national character of the *oeuvre* of a specific artist does not seem to depend solely on the author's sense of nationality, which, moreover, is not constant and fluctuates depending on the historical moment or the political situation.

As already mentioned, the intensification or planned action to intensify the sense of national identity becomes apparent during crises. Such crises arise due to threats to the existence of a specific nation (Poland in the period immediately preceding the partitions and under the partitions), its creation (the United States in the first period of its history), or

its reconstruction and consolidation (such as in the process of unification of Italy or Poland after it regained its independence in 1918). Countries whose national existence rests on a solid historical foundation and has not succumbed to major threats do not show any particular tendency to emphasize their national identification.

Although France is a multinational country, it is difficult to find items in the literature on French art history that analyze its "Frenchness." The history of French art easily and gracefully absorbs or assimilates the artists living in the country's territory, especially those who have been successful. Moreover, the latter rarely object to such incorporation. It is difficult to find a museum in France dedicated exclusively to French art, as if it did not need confirmation of its unique nature and distinctiveness from others. Not coincidentally, however, there are many museums of national American art in the United States, from the Smithsonian American Art Museum, through the Whitney Museum of American Art, the Minnesota Museum of American Art in Saint Paul, the New Britain Museum of American Art, to the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art that was opened in 2011. Literature devoted to American national art is also abundant,¹⁰ as if the young nation still needed elements that will cement its cohesion and strengthen its and its art's sense of identity. In the case of Poland, museums bearing the adjective "Polish" in their name are located abroad, for example the Polish Museum in Rapperswil and the Polish Museum in Chicago. Established by Polish émigrés, they were intended to satisfy their need for national identity and identification among strangers. They continue to fulfill this role, albeit to an increasingly lesser extent, to this day, enabling Polish immigrants to cultivate traditions and show their distinctiveness to other national and ethnic groups in the country of settlement.

The complexity of the national and cultural situation of partitioned Poland at the end of the 19th century, which gave rise to increased depar-

¹⁰ "One of the most American traits is our urge to define what is American. This search for a self-image is a result of our relative youth as a civilization, our years of partial dependence on Europe. But it is also a vital part of the process of growth"; cf. L. Goodrich, "What is American – in American Art?", *Art in America* 1958, no. 3, pp. 18–33. This article initiated a rich literature on the American character of American art.

tures of artists from the occupied territories to France, is a well-known matter. The Polish state, which was a multinational, multicultural, and multilingual organism in the pre-partition period, ceased to exist politically. The partitioning powers sought to integrate the conquered populations by methods that were as simple as they were drastic: they denationalized and imposed, often brutally, their own identity (Germanization and Russification). The Austrian partition was an exception in this regard, but only after 1866, when Poles were granted certain political and national freedoms. The national identity of a Pole, and even more so of a representative of one of the national minorities living in the territories of the former Polish state, was complicated due to the country's partitions. The situation for those going abroad, especially for a longer stay, became even more difficult and complex. Whatever their sense of nationality, after all, they held a passport issued by one of the partitioning states and were treated as such by the foreign administration. In a foreign environment, national identification became the more important, the more difficult assimilation or integration was for linguistic and cultural reasons, due to the strangeness of the environment, its traditions, customs, and mores. As a result, national or ethnic enclaves were formed by immigrants who spoke the same language and had similar experiences. Not only did they provide their residents with a sense of security, but also had an economic rationale, allowing them to share maintenance costs. An excellent example of such an enclave was the tenement house at No. 9 Campagne Première Street in the Montparnasse district of Paris, inhabited by numerous newcomers from partitioned Poland.¹¹

The famous La Ruche also played a similar role, not only for Poles, but also for foreign visitors, mainly from various parts of Central and Eastern Europe.

During the partition period, France fostered Polish independence tendencies. This positive attitude changed at the end of the 19th century. The

¹¹ It was inhabited at different times by, among others: Feliks Antoniak, Zofia Baudouin de Courtenay, Zofia Billauer-Węgierekowa, Janina Broniewska, Antoni Buszek, Zenobiusz Leopold Cerkiewicz, Waclaw Teofil Husarski, Michał du Laurans, Zofia-Jadwiga Raczyńska, Jan Rubczak, and Zofia Segno.

government of the Third Republic resented Poles for participating in the Paris Commune. In addition, the Franco-Russian alliance, concluded in 1892, did not allow the French government to support the Polish ambitions to regain freedom. Poles were carefully watched and kept under surveillance, but were allowed to carry out activities in France under national slogans, as long as they were not political, but only cultural in nature. The liberal attitude of the French authorities allowed émigrés from the Polish lands to establish the Polish Artistic and Literary Circle in 1897.¹² It brought together artists coming from different partitions and representing different cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, and created a kind of common platform that unified them under the slogans of Polishness. The organization's members from the Russian partition included: Włodzimierz Nałęcz, Antoni Jan Austen, Michał du Laurans, Kazimierz Józef Dunin-Markiewicz, Jan (Jean) Mirosław Peské (Peske, Peszke), Stanisław Pstrokoński, Bolesław Nawrocki, Jan Chełmiński, Stanisław Bagieński, and Mela Muter (Maria Melania Mutermilch). Those from the Austrian partition were: Zygmunt Myrton-Michalski, Franciszek Siedlecki, Anna Gramatyka (married name Ostrowska), Stanisław Gałek, and Olga Boznańska. Frenchmen of Polish descent were also members of the Society; they included: Wincenty Kazimierz Dobrzycki,¹³ Alfred Świeykowski, and Andrzej Łapuszewski.

One of the main goals of the Society was to manifest the Polish artistic presence at the 1900 World Exposition in Paris, and when this proved impossible for legal reasons, to publish a catalog of works by Polish artists presenting their work at the Exposition, but scattered throughout the various pavilions.¹⁴ The catalog, provided with a cover in the Polish national colors,

¹² For a broader description of the Society's goals and activities, see: F. Ziejka, *Paryż młodopolski* [Young Poland Paris], Warsaw 1993; E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, "Les artistes polonais" [Polish artists]; and E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *Artyści polscy* [Polish artists].

¹³ Wincenty Kazimierz Dobrzycki (1869–1913), Frenchman of Polish descent, painter, publisher of the magazine *Bulletin polonais*, participated in decorative arts exhibitions and Parisian salons, in particular the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1910 and the Salon of French Artists in 1911; he was a member of the Polish Artistic and Literary Circle (1898); should not be confused with Zygmunt Dobrzycki (1896–1970).

¹⁴ *Catalogue des artistes polonais à l'Exposition internationale universelle de 1900 à Paris. Avec deux plans indiquant la disposition des sections étrangères dans le grand Palais des Beaux-Arts; édité*

included more than a hundred works, presented in the Russian, Austrian, French, and international sections. Not having the right to a separate art pavilion for themselves at the Exposition, the Poles organized another exposition that brought together the Polish artists present in Paris at the time.¹⁵ The presentation took place at the Paris gallery of Georges Petit as a private initiative of the Society's president, Cyprian Godebski. According to the available sources, it was not particularly successful, although the aspect of Polishness was strongly marked there.

The great fluctuation of the Polish art colony, whose members made frequent trips between Poland and France, caused the Society to cease its activities in 1904. In 1910, the traditions of the first Polish society of artists were taken over by the Polish Literary and Artistic Society.

Due to its elite profile and strict selection of its members (it brought together only men over the age of 21 who were established in France), it did not fulfill the needs of most activists in the Polish art colony. Therefore, in 1911, the Society of Polish Artists in Paris was founded, which had a more open and democratic character and brought together artists of different national, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. Its founders included visual artists Olga Boznańska, Henryk (Henri) Hayden, Mieczysław Jakimowicz, Tadeusz (Józef) Makowski, Tadeusz Pruszkowski, Jan Rubczak, Eugeniusz Zak, Władysław Skoczylas, Henryk Kuna, Eli (Elie, Elias) Nadelman, Stanisław Kazimierz Ostrowski, and Edward Wittig. Even during World War I, when it was a kind of political manifestation, the Society organized exhibitions in which the adjective "Polish" was used in the title. Societies with a Polish character also served as a forum where artists, temporarily freed from the yoke of living under the partitions, could freely express their national sentiments. Although all political activity was excluded by

par la Société polonaise artistique et littéraire de Paris [Catalog of Polish Artists at the 1900 Paris Exhibition. With Two Plans Indicating the Location of the Foreign Sections in the Grand Palace of Arts; edited by the Polish Artistic and Literary Society of Paris], Paris 1900. The analysis of the motivations for which individual artists were associated with one pavilion or another is very interesting. However, this is not the right place to present it.

¹⁵ *Exposition rétrospective d'œuvres de peintres polonais 1800–1900* [Retrospective exhibition of works of Polish painters 1800–1900], Galerie Georges Petit, Paris 1900.

statute, numerous conferences and meetings were devoted to discussions of national topics.¹⁶ Membership in the aforementioned societies was voluntary and was undoubtedly an evidence of identification with the Polish cultural circle.

Membership in societies of a Polish character did not prevent their members from actively participating in the international artistic life of the French capital, from making acquaintances and maintaining close contacts with representatives of other nationalities. There are well-known stories about friendship between Pankiewicz, Biegas, Makowski, and Simon (Szymon, Szamaj) Mondzain (Mondszajn), and artists and intellectuals of different nationalities, as well as about Boznańska's studio, which was a place for international, multilingual meetings. From my research to date, it appears that in the cosmopolitan environment of Paris, artists of Jewish origin interacted more easily and quickly with artists of the same background, but coming from other countries.¹⁷ Ethnic identity, based on a community of cultural and religious traditions, certainly played a special role. Even if artists of Jewish origin often left their ethnic group, whose strict traditions were at odds with the free creativity in the visual arts and prevented them from developing their talents, as was the case for example with Mondzain, in Paris they met similar "rebels" with the same roots, raised in the same traditions, which they opposed in the name of the same ideals of creative freedom. These artists were united by a "rebellious community." For newcomers from Central and Eastern Europe, the linguistic proximity provided by Yiddish was also important. According to Gail Levin, Jewish artists who came from Eastern Europe to the United States were distinguished by their cosmopolitanism. However, the researcher does not specify its origin, other than some kind of broadly defined openness that Jews or Judaism in general were supposedly characterized by. She merely states:

¹⁶ E.g. conferences: Stefan Abgarowicz, *Zbawienie Polski* [The salvation of Poland]; Edward Ligocki, *Projekty i prawdopodobieństwa* [Projects and probabilities], November 28, 1915; and M. Węgliński, *La Pologne et la future Société des Nations* [Poland and the future society of nations], November 4, 1917; and others.

¹⁷ Cf. E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *Artyści polscy* [Polish artists], pp. 301–302.

I include among Jewish artists those who share common cultural values, whether religious or cosmopolitan, which are equally considered Jewish – though the latter are usually considered more “modern.”¹⁸

Simon Mondzain¹⁹ is one of the more interesting examples of an artist with a complex sense of nationality. He was born in the Russian partition in a multinational, multilingual, and multi-religious town, which Chełm Lubelski was at the time, into the family of a Jewish saddler. He studied at a local cheder. His parents' opposition to the teenage Szymon's choice of a career as an artist, dictated by religious reasons, prompted him to run away from home. It was only in Warsaw that the young Mondzain began regular education in Polish. It is not known whether and to what extent he spoke Russian. He was also educated in Polish at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. We don't know whether he spoke German while studying under the Austrian partition either. He probably began learning French during his first visit to Paris in 1909. During his stay in Brittany in 1913, he wrote down his memoir in Polish. Among other things, he wrote in them about realizing his racial distinctiveness when he enrolled in a higher cheder at the age of seven:

A dozen or so little fellows sang, repeating word for word the story of Moses' death, of his blessing and curse, sang in low voice by our teacher. [...] Like Don Quixote, this was the first time I was declared a Jew [sic!].²⁰

The awareness of his membership in the Jewish community in the broader perspective is also evidenced by the following words:

¹⁸ G. Levin, “Świecka sztuka żydowska: tożsamość żydowska w świetle kosmopolityzmu” [Secular Jewish art: Jewish identity in the light of cosmopolitanism], in: *Polak, Żyd, artysta* [Pole, Jew, artist], p. 169.

¹⁹ See: E. Bobrowska, A. Winiarski, *Simon Mondzain. Mistrzowie Ecole de Paris* [Simon Mondzain. Masters of the Ecole de Paris], Warsaw 2012; a publication accompanying the exhibition of the artist's works at Villa La Fleur in Konstancin and later at the Chełm Regional Museum in Chełm.

²⁰ S. Mondzain, “Wspomnienie” [Memoir], in: *Simon Mondzain*, [exhibition catalog], Polish Institute, Paris; Zachęta Gallery of Modern Art, Warsaw; Silesian Museum, Katowice; Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw 1999, p. 17.

At that time a Zionist association was organized [in] Chełm. Thanks to it I got Jewish books [sic!] to read, and I understood that I was previously wrong to think that I am a downtrodden Jew who is the chosen son of a fanatic god, I understood both Muslims and Christians – Gentiles are people, and my earlier thoughts to become a rabbi and live only for God and paradise disappeared, I no longer saw that messiah from the Jewish legend who was supposed to come on a white horse, I saw another messiah and understood that it was necessary to create a soul for the downtrodden people.²¹

Mondzain himself wanted to take an active part in the “creation of the soul” of his nation through artistic activity, in defiance of Jewish fanaticism. He believed that Jews would help him achieve this goal. And indeed, to complete his studies he received scholarships and assistance, including from the Jewish community and patrons. At the same time, writing about his native Chełm, he had a sense of belonging to the Polish community and the threat of Russification:

[...] in general our town prospered mainly thanks to the large numbers of government officials sent there to Russify this town [...].²²

While in France after the outbreak of World War I, Mondzain joined the Foreign Legion as a volunteer. While serving at the front, he began to identify with the country that had offered him hospitality and whose freedom he was now fighting for.

This is evidenced, among other things, by a drawing made in 1915 under the influence of the tragedy that affected the cathedral in Reims, titled in Polish – *Katedra. Reims*²³ [Cathedral. Reims], which contains a dramatic commentary in the still clumsy French: *Je ne veut pas être tué par les Allemands*.²⁴ At the same time, Mondzain corresponded in Polish with another painter of Jewish origin, a friend from the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, Mojżesz

²¹ Ibidem, p. 18.

²² Ibidem, p. 16.

²³ S. Mondzain, *Katedra. Reims* [Cathedral. Reims], 1915, pencil, paper (a sheet from a sketchbook), private collection, Paris.

²⁴ “I don’t want to be killed by the Germans.”

(Moïse) Kisling, who was also staying in France. He maintained contacts with Poles and exhibited his works with them,²⁵ but did not participate in the activities of Polish societies, except during World War I, when he benefited from the support of the Fraternal Aid of Polish Artists. In 1917, he found himself in the ranks of the Polish Army formed in France, where he served as an interpreter. He signed the portrait of Kościuszko that he drew in Paris in 1919 for Dr. Stefan Mutermilch of the Pasteur Institute proudly as a Polish soldier.²⁶

In 1920, after demobilization, Mondzain was looking for his place in the world, but did not see it in the independent Poland. His trip to Chicago, where he worked for several months and organized an exhibition,²⁷ shows that France was not an obvious choice for him either. His correspondence with Eli Nadelman, a Polish-Jewish artist who had settled in America several years earlier, shows that Mondzain originally intended to stay in the United States permanently. However, he chose Paris²⁸ for artistic reasons. His service in the Foreign Legion and his wounds enabled him to obtain French citizenship in 1923. In the 1930s, he settled in French Algeria, which he left only in 1963 after the country gained independence. Did his naturalization and marriage to a French woman, the award of the Legion of Honor to him in 1932, and his lively participation in French artistic life make him 100 percent French and make him forget his other roots? In 1929 in Paris, he participated in the exhibition “L’Art polonais moderne” [Modern Polish art] at the Editions Bonaparte Gallery. In 1933, he had an exhibition in New

²⁵ *Tombola artistique au profit des artistes polonais victimes de la guerre* [Artist lottery for the benefit of Polish artists – victims of the war], Galerie des Artistes Modernes, Paris 1915; *Tombola artistique (peinture, sculpture, objets d’art) au profit des artistes polonais victimes de la guerre* [Artist lottery (painting, sculpture, objects of art) for the benefit of Polish artists – victims of the war], Gallery Bernheim-Jeune, Paris 1915–1916; *Quelques artistes polonais* [Some Polish artists], Gallery Barbazanges, Paris 1920.

²⁶ See: K. Prochaska, “Znaczący podarunek” [A meaningful gift], *Słowo Żydowskie*, November 13, 1998, pp. 18–19.

²⁷ *Exhibition of Painting and Drawing by William Simon Mondzain*, [exhibition catalog], The Arts Club, Chicago, June 5–19, 1920.

²⁸ See: a letter from S. Mondzain to E. Nadelman (Chicago) dated August 7, 1920, in: *Simon Mondzain*, p. 27.

York City at the International Exhibition of the College Art Association²⁹ in the Polish section. In 1935, he took part in the First Exhibition of the Polish Artists Group in Paris, held at the Beaux-Arts Gallery. During World War II in Algiers, he was the head of the Polish House established there. After the war, for personal reasons, he did not maintain any contact with his family in Poland. Political considerations also played a significant role: due to the separation of Poland from the Western world by the Iron Curtain, the affairs of his home country became distant to him. However, he was still writing in Polish in 1964,³⁰ and in the 1970s he happily received visits from Poles interested in his work. So it is clear that the artist's sense of nationality was "eclectic."

As already mentioned, one possible criterion for an artist's "Polishness" is the nature of his art. An artist's style is shaped under the influence of his or her studies, as well as the environment in which he or she lives in his or her youth. However, one only has to look at Mondzain's work, at his first known paintings, to see the influence of French painting, from Delacroix to Cézanne, the great masters of world painting, mainly of the Italian Renaissance, as well as Rembrandt and Goya. He probably owed this influence to the great artistic erudite and ardent Francophile, his Cracow professor Józef Pankiewicz, as well as to his contacts with French friends, such as André Derain and Maurice de Vlaminck. The topics of Mondzain's works are entirely universal, they lack Polish or Jewish themes, with the possible exception of a witty drawing *Tańczący Żyd* [Dancing Jew]³¹ from the period of his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow, provided by the author with a humorous commentary: "I wanted to draw a kneeling Catholic, but my noble background came out." The composition *Przebudzenie młodości* [The awakening of youth], otherwise known as *Toaleta*

²⁹ [Catalog of] international [exhibition of paintings], Rockefeller Center, New York City 1933.

³⁰ A letter from S. Mondzain to Irena and Andrzej Kramsztyk, in: *Simon Mondzain*, p. 58.

³¹ S. Mondzain, *Tańczący Żyd* ("Git Morgen panie Lejben") [Dancing Jew ("Good morning, Mr. Lejben")], approx. 1910–1913, pencil, paper (a sheet from a sketchbook), private collection, Paris.

panny młodej [The bride's toilet],³² can be interpreted in various ways. For example, one can see in it the story of Esther, which is very important for strengthening the sense of identity of the Jewish people. Mondzain was not a religious and practicing Jew. He was eager to explore the domain of Christian religion, as evidenced by his paintings dealing with St. Francis and the philosophical and religious content, such as in the painting *Duch zła* [The spirit of evil].³³ However, he admitted that he was greatly influenced by Judaism, in which he was raised. Mondzain in particular stressed the importance of early reading of "books, various fantastic stories about ghosts with a religious background, in order to take from them a living example of how to be a faithful Jew."³⁴

In 1913, already as an adult, he wrote:

I was so worried by the reality of these spirits that I can say that this affects me quite unconsciously to this day.³⁵

I quote these words to show how many different factors contribute to such a complicated issue as a sense of national identity. Mondzain's work was heavily influenced by the surrounding climate and landscape, first in France and later in French Algeria. He was fond of painting the sights of Algiers, its architecture and its peculiar cosmopolitan atmosphere, which was composed of European culture, especially French, the local exotic color of Arab culture, and the traditions of Sephardic Jews. The artist drew moderately from the local Arab folklore by introducing elements decorated with traditional ornamentation, such as pottery, in his still lifes. Several times he used the theme of odalisks. However, these interests were far removed from the Orientalist fascinations of such artists as Adam Styka.

Mondzain was not the only artist originating from the post-partition, multinational Poland who settled abroad and "broadened" his national

³² S. Mondzain, *Przebudzenie młodości (Toaleta panny młodej)* [The awakening of youth (The bride's toilet)], 1928–1938, oil, canvas, 109.5 × 120.5 cm, private collection, Paris.

³³ S. Mondzain, *Duch zła* [The spirit of evil], approx. 1930, oil, canvas, 195 × 148 cm, collection of Marek Roefler, Konstancin.

³⁴ S. Mondzain, *Wspomnienie* [Memoir], p. 17.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

identity. There are multiple examples of such people, especially among artists from national or ethnic minorities, whether Jewish, Ukrainian, or Lithuanian, but even among so-called "indigenous" Poles.

However, this does not allow us to identify any trend, other than to say that artists who went abroad, if they could not adapt and adopt the national identity of the new country, usually returned to Poland. Those who felt they were citizens of the world stayed abroad, taking advantage of the wealth of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism.

The example of Mondzain shows that the artists themselves approached the question of their identity in a flexible manner, in accordance with their actual situation and their attachment to the roots and traditions in which they grew up. Multiple national identities were natural to them. As Jarosław Suchan rightly pointed out in his article *Pole, Jew, Artist. Identity and the Avant-Garde*, one can feel one that belongs to multiple cultures, just as one can have multiple citizenships, come from mixed marriages, and have grandparents from four different parts of the world.³⁶

This leads to the following question: Does the question posed at the outset, "a Polish artist or an artist from Poland?" still make sense nowadays, in a situation of globalization of economics and art? Why do we ask it at all? Perhaps the problem we are discussing today is a relic of the communist era, when Poland seemed to be a culturally monolithic country, and researchers who grew up in its traditions applied the concept thoughtlessly, without taking into account previous historical periods, or applied it to situations and people to which it was completely inadequate. It is not just a matter of origin, but also the fact of living in a country other than one's home country, where naturalization and very desired integration often took place. The sense of Polishness of an émigré living abroad is different from that of a Pole living at home. This is reflected not only in the way of life itself, but also in the choice of topics and style of artistic work.

Working abroad, in inter- or multinational or Polish émigré communities, as well as taking up emigration related topics, made me sensitive to aspects of the sense of nationality of representatives of other nations. This

³⁶ J. Suchan, "Polak, Żyd, artysta. Tożsamość a awangarda" [Pole, Jew, artist. Identity and the avant-garde], in: *Polak, Żyd, artysta* [Pole, Jew, artist], pp. 14–15.

does not mean that I believe that we should give up the national approach and the inclusion of artists with different, not only purely Polish roots, in the Polish cultural circle, even if they themselves identified with it at any point in their lives. One would only have to accept the idea that the adjective “Polish” contains the potential for multiculturalism, multi-religiousness, and linguistic diversity depending on the historical period under discussion. In other words, the proper use and giving the proper sense to the word “Polish” would depend only on the self-discipline of researchers, who should use it in the proper historical context, enriching it with additional nuances and details, if necessary in the case of artists from national or ethnic minorities. The inclusion of such artists in the Polish cultural circle, and consequently in the history of Polish art, is particularly relevant to artists who “departed to follow art” abroad and remained there forever. In the vast majority of cases, if these artists have not reached the same fame as Picasso abroad, they are of no interest to anyone, either in their country of origin or in their country of settlement. It is important to make sure that they are not lost altogether in the discussion of the sense of identity and national affiliation, but, on the contrary, we should try to restore them to the multicultural Polish heritage.

Original issue: “Archiwum Emigracji” 2013, no. 2 (19)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2013.020>

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“Permanence and Liquidity.” Polish Art in Great Britain in the 20th Century – Introduction to a Description

STATE OF RESEARCH (DOCUMENTS AND SOURCES)

The Polish artistic community in Great Britain in the 20th century, if only for the fact that it was the largest outside Poland in terms of numbers and permanence, deserves separate research and its own history. Despite the passage of more than 20 years, the primary document on Polish artistic events in the British Isles in the 20th century is still the sketch-lecture by Stanisław Frenkiel – a painter, art historian, and art theoretician who died in London in 2001 – titled “Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945–1985” [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain 1945–1985], delivered at the Congress of Polish Culture in Exile in September 1985 in London.¹ A slightly modified version of that lecture appeared in the

¹ S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945–1985” [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain 1945–1985], in: M. Paszkiewicz, ed., *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [The works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. VIII: *Polskie więzi kulturowe na obczyźnie* [Polish cultural ties in exile], London 1986, pp. 108, 125. The main theses of that article were repeated by Frenkiel in his report on the Third Congress of Polish Culture in

London-based *Tydzień Polski* magazine in two parts published on April 12 and 19, 1986.

It was later reprinted in 1998 in the volume *Kozuchy w chmurach i inne eseje o sztuce* [Skins in clouds and other essays on art], alongside Frenkiel's other sketches on émigré artistic figures and events.²

Marian Bohusz-Szyszko's sketches on Polish émigré visual arts previously published in the collection *On Art*, which contains mostly reviews of exhibitions in London, are of much less cognitive value.³ All later attempts, i.e., those made after 1986, to assimilate the visual arts output of "Polish London" in art criticism in Poland were either free summaries of Frenkiel's theses,⁴ or their uncritical replication and addition of details from the biographies of individual painters and sculptors on the basis of a random collection of works.⁵ Publications devoted to the art of "Polish diaspora" visual artists, written in Poland before 1989, are of little value and generally omit the "Polish diaspora in Great Britain." They are, of course, an important testimony to the censored cultural policy of the state with regard to the history and achievements of Polish culture abroad, but the information contained in them is fragmentary and mainly concerns painters who visited Poland after 1945 and exhibited in domestic galleries: Feliks Topolski, Tadeusz P. Potworowski, Marek Żuławski, Henryk Gotlib, and Piotr Mleczko.⁶ Only a few researchers had the courage to demand

Exile in 1998 – see: S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii" [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain], in: K. Rowiński, ed., *Polska poza Polską. Sprawozdanie z III Kongresu Kultury Polskiej na Obczyźnie* [Poland outside Poland. A report on the 3rd Congress of Polish Culture in Exile], London 1998, pp. 78–82.

² S. Frenkiel, *Kozuchy w chmurach i inne eseje o sztuce* [Skins in clouds and other essays on art], introduction and selection by J. Koźmiński, Toruń 1998, pp. 193–200.

³ M. Bohusz-Szyszko, *O sztuce* [On art], London 1982.

⁴ Cf. e.g.: D. Wróblewska, "Wokół Londynu" [Around London], in: M. Fik, ed., *Między Polską a światem. Kultura emigracyjna po 1939 roku* [Between Poland and the world. The émigré culture after 1939], Warsaw 1992, pp. 301–304.

⁵ A. Prugar-Myślik, "Polscy malarze w Wielkiej Brytanii" [Polish painters in Great Britain], in: *Polscy malarze w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Polish painters in Great Britain] [exhibition catalog], Polish Diaspora House in Pułtusk, July–September 1989, Pułtusk 1989, pp. 5–11.

⁶ Cf.: J. Ziemiński, "Polonijni artyści plastycy" [Polish visual artists], *Przegląd Zachodni* 1975, no. 5/6, pp. 190–207; idem, "Artyści plastycy jako specjalna kategoria emigracji" [Visual artists as a special category of émigrés], in: A. Kubiak and A. Pilch, eds., *Stan*

a comprehensive study of various aspects of the émigré culture and saw a special place in that study for visual art.⁷

Jan Wiktor Sienkiewicz was wrong when he wrote that the years 1990–2003 were not lost in “research on art in exile.” His optimism, expressed in an otherwise very valuable study titled *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie w drugiej połowie XX wieku* [Polish art galleries in London in the Second Half of the 20th Century], is not justified by the sketches cited there – most of which are contributory or devoted to émigré biographies.⁸ What Sienkiewicz failed to see was that this output, published for the most part in elite journals and university publications, did not enter the bloodstream not only of science in Poland, but also of popular knowledge, as evidenced by publications such as the 1996 *Leksykon sztuki polskiej XX wieku* [Lexicon of Polish art of the 20th century], which, among 30 names of émigré visual artists, notes only seven from Great Britain: Jankiel Adler, Gotlib, Potworowski, Stefan and Franciszka Themerson, Topolski, and Żuławski. Moreover, no Polish galleries, periodicals, art associations and groups, or painting schools in England were described in the *Lexicon*; no attention was paid to émigré art historians and critics.⁹ The output of Polish painters from Great Britain is equally poorly presented in the second volume of the *Słownik malarzy polskich* [Dictionary of Polish painters], which focuses on the 20th century.

i potrzeby badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi [The status and needs of the research on Polish diaspora communities], Wrocław 1976, pp. 126–133.

⁷ P. Taras, “Rola polskiej emigracji wśród innych narodów” [The role of the Polish diaspora among other nations], in: *Wkład Polaków do kultury świata* [The contribution of Poles to the world’s culture], Lublin 1976, p. 803 – the author lists the following persons among the painters working in London: Topolski, Knapp, Frenkiel, Turkiewicz, and Bobrowski; W. Sobisiak, “Emigracyjne instytucje upowszechniania polskiej kultury w Wielkiej Brytanii” [Émigré institutions popularizing Polish culture in Great Britain], in: *Kultura skupisk polonijnych. Materiały z II Sympozjum Naukowego, Warszawa, 11 i 12 czerwca 1984 r.* [The culture of Polish diaspora communities. Materials from the 2nd Scientific Symposium, Warsaw, June 11 and 12, 1984], Warsaw 1987, pp. 137–159.

⁸ J. W. Sienkiewicz, “Londyn polskich artystów i polskich galerii” [The London of Polish artists and Polish galleries], in: idem, *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie w drugiej połowie XX wieku* [Polish art galleries in London in the 2nd half of the 20th century], Lublin 2003, pp. 11–34.

⁹ J. Chrzanowska-Pieńkos, A. Pieńkos, *Leksykon sztuki polskiej XX wieku* [Lexicon of Polish art of the 20th century], Poznań 1996.

It features biographical notes of only 15 “Englishmen.” Adler, Bohusz-Szyszek, Frenkiel, Gotlib, Mieczysław Janikowski, Rajmund Kanelba, Stefan Knapp, Antoni Markowski, Potworowski, Zdzisław Ruszkowski, F. Themerson, Topolski, Kazimierz Zielenkiewicz (Caziel), Żuławski, and Aleksander Żyw.¹⁰ The promising Lublin-based *Leksykon kultury polskiej poza krajem od roku 1939* [Lexicon of Polish culture outside the country since 1939], edited by Krzysztof Dybciak and Zdzisław Kudelski, is the only one that – apart from a few biographical entries: Adler, Bohusz-Szyszek, Roman Jakubowski, and Wiktor Niemczyk (photographers) – published short essays on “Polish sculptors in London” and the “Association of Polish Photographers in London.”¹¹

The presence and activity of Polish visual artists in the British Isles is also omitted in all synthetic studies of contemporary Polish art, up to the recent book by Wojciech Włodarczyk titled *Polish Art 1918–2000*,¹² as well as – which sounds paradoxical – academic books describing the cultural and social life of the “Polish London.” Particularly puzzling is the absence of even a single sentence about the artistic output of more than eight hundred Polish visual artists in Rafał Habielski’s monograph titled *Polish London*. The book, which mentions politicians, writers, journalists, actors, and singers, lacked space to note the names of painters of such stature as Marek Żuławski, Henryk Gotlib, Tadeusz P. Potworowski, Stanisław Frenkiel, Zdzisław Ruszkowski, and Janina Baranowska, and to describe just one Polish exhibition, in just one Polish gallery.¹³

It is therefore difficult to agree with Stanisław Frenkiel, who wrote in the work cited above:

¹⁰ *Słownik malarzy polskich* [Dictionary of Polish painters], vol. 2: *Od dwudziestolecia międzywojennego do końca XX wieku* [From the twenty interwar years until the end of the 20th century], Warsaw 2001.

¹¹ I. Grzesik-Olszewska, *Rzeźbiarze polscy w Londynie* [Polish sculptors in London], in: K. Dybciak and Z. Kudelski, eds., *Leksykon kultury polskiej poza krajem od roku 1939* [Lexicon of Polish culture outside the country from 1939], vol. 1, Lublin 2000, pp. 381–384; K. Łyczywek, *Stowarzyszenie Fotografików Polskich w Londynie* [Association of Polish Photographers in London], in: *ibidem*, pp. 418–420. Unfortunately, only the first volume of the *Lexicon* was published.

¹² W. Włodarczyk, *Sztuka polska 1918–2000* [Polish art 1918–2000], Warsaw 2000.

¹³ R. Habielski, *Polski Londyn* [Polish London], Wrocław 2000.

In general, Polish art in Great Britain is very well documented. The Tate Gallery has an extensive library of catalogs and rubrics of all important artists, including press commentaries, as well as an archive of Halima Nałęcz.¹⁴ Extensive documentation is held by the Polish Library. Works by Polish artists are in state collections: Topolski, Werner, and Beutlich in the Victoria & Albert Museum; Potworowski and Frenkiel in the collection of the University of London.¹⁵

The phrase – “all important artists” – distorts the picture. In the context of the knowledge about nearly eight hundred artists living and working in the British Isles in the 20th century, focusing on the dozen or so names mentioned by Frenkiel provides little or no knowledge about the art of Poles in Great Britain.

In 1957, writing “Parę uwag o krytyce i malarstwie polskim w Anglii” [A Few Remarks on Polish Criticism and Painting in England], Bogdan Czaykowski used the phrase “Polish painting criticism in exile is virtually non-existent.” While he appreciated the journalistic and popularizing activities of Alicja Drwęska in *Dziennik Polski*, the reviews of Stefania Zahorska in *Wiadomości*, and the texts of M. Bohusz-Szyszko and especially Józef Czapski in *Kultura* (which concerned “Londoners” to a small extent), he pointed out the limited knowledge of the Polish community in Great Britain about the activities and artistic output of painters living in the British Islands.

For Czaykowski, the lack of Polish criticism was all the more incomprehensible because there were many painters living in London at the time who had successful exhibitions in renowned English galleries.¹⁶ A consequence of this opinion was the initiative presented in 1960 by the magazine *Kontynenty – Nowy Merkuriusz* to launch a competition for the best

¹⁴ L. Bobka, “Archiwum Halimy Nałęcz w Tate Gallery” [Halima Nałęcz’s archive in Tate Gallery], *Dziennik Polski* 2001, no. 2, p. 4.

¹⁵ S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], p. 124.

¹⁶ [B. Czaykowski] bc, “Parę uwag o krytyce i malarstwie polskim w Anglii” [A few comments about Polish criticism and painting in England], *Merkuriusz Polski. Życie Akademickie* 1957, no. 1/2, pp. 31–32. For 1956, he listed five major art events: exhibitions of the works of Żuławski at the Zwemmer Gallery, Potworowski at the Gimpel Fils Gallery, Wiesław Pilawski at the Leicester Gallery, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński at the Related Arts Gallery, and Stefan Knapp at the Hanover Gallery.

criticism of works of visual artists.¹⁷ It seems that the initiative failed, because Czaykowski repeated his negative opinion in his book *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain]¹⁸ that was published a year later.

Our knowledge today allows us to verify Czaykowski's opinion and supplement his findings. From the 1940s to the 1980s, art events in Great Britain had their chroniclers and more or less critical reviewers in the persons of the aforementioned Henryk Gotlib, who wrote regularly in 1940–1944 for *Dziennik Polski* and *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie*;¹⁹ Alicja Drwęska, whose discussions and reviews appeared in *Dziennik Polski*, *Orzeł Biały*, *Kultura*, and *Wiadomości*; Stefania Zahorska, who published critical articles written with great meticulousness in *Wiadomości* and *Dziennik Polski*, and who also taught at the Painting School headed by Bohusz-Szyszko and compiled introductions to catalogs and albums; Zygmunt Turkiewicz, the author of sophisticated historical sketches published in *Orzeł Biały* and *Życie*, and of regular series: “From London Exhibitions” and “Polish Exhibitions in London,” written for the Paris-based *Kultura*; and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, whose insightful reviews of Polish exhibitions in London appeared in *Wiadomości*, *Kultura*, *Orzeł Biały*, *Życie*, and *Dziennik Polski*. Less regular reviews of London exhibitions, but also separate critical and historical sketches were published in *Wolna Polska*, *Życie*, *Orzeł Biały*, *Kontynenty*, *Wiadomości*, and *Oficyna Poetów* by Teresa Jeleńska, Antoni Wasilewski, Bogdan Czaykowski, as well as Tymon Terlecki, Bronisław Przyłuski, Adam Kossowski, Marek Żuławski, Józef Natanson,²⁰ Mieczysław Paszkiewicz, Czesław Dobek, Stanisław Kowalski, Stefan Arvay,²¹ Józef Czapski, Teresa Skórzewska, and Stanisław Frenkiel (Żuławski and Frenkiel also read their

¹⁷ “Komunikat” [Message], *Kontynenty - Nowy Merkuriusz* 1960, no. 20, p. 15.

¹⁸ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], Paris 1961, p. 352.

¹⁹ E.g.: H. Gotlib, “Wystawa artystów narodów sprzymierzonych” [Exhibition of artists of the allied nations], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1942, no. 24, p. 4.

²⁰ E.g.: J. Natanson, “Wystawa Żuławskiego, Gotliba i Kopera” [Exhibition of the works of Żuławski, Gotlib, and Koper], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1942, no. 42, p. 4.

²¹ Stefan Arvay wrote reports on the artistic life in London for *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza*; see, e.g.: S. Arvay, “Malarstwo. Grafika. Rzeźba” [Painting. Graphic art. Sculpture], *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza* 1953, pp. 52–53.

own and press reviews in broadcasts of the Polish section of the BBC), and occasionally even Marian Hemar and Stefania Kossowska. In the 1980s, the group of art critics in London was joined by: Andrzej Dzierżyński (BBC) and, most importantly, Andrzej Borkowski (*Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, BBC), and later Jarosław Koźmiński. It seems that no important Polish exhibitions in Great Britain, and especially in London, have escaped the attention of the reviewers, columnists, and critics of the most important émigré periodicals.

In the 1990s, the group of critics of émigré art was enlarged by, among others, Jan W. Sienkiewicz, the author of a work on Marian Bohusz-Szyszko (as well as numerous articles about him printed in Poland and in the Polish diaspora press) and a comprehensive study on émigré galleries,²² as well as Sławomir S. Nicieja, Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Paweł Kądziela, and others – who wrote about Adam Kossowski,²³ Jarosław Kilian,²⁴ as well as Mirosław A. Supruniuk and Joanna Krasnodębska who prepared exhibitions and studies in Toruń's Emigration Archive.²⁵

One of the most interesting attempts to familiarize Polish readers with the figures and works of émigré visual artists was the series of texts ini-

²² J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Marian Bohusz-Szyszko. Życie i twórczość 1901–1995* [Marian Bohusz-Szyszko. Life and works], Lublin 1995; idem, *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie* [Polish art galleries in London].

²³ S. S. Nicieja, *Adam Kossowski – Artifex Dei*, in: *Człowiek i Kościół w dziejach* [Man and the Church in history], Opole 1999, pp. 267–277; T. Chrzanowski, "Adam Kossowski," *Tygodnik Powszechny* 1987, no. 44, p. 7; P. Kądziela, "Wspomnienie o Adamie Kossowskim (1905–1986)" [A memory of Adam Kossowski], *Przegląd Katolicki* 1987, no. 18, p. 6; J. Kossakowski, "Mistrz sakralnej ceramiki – Adam Kossowski" [A master of religious ceramics – Adam Kossowski], *Słowo Powszechne* 1991, no. 279/280, p. 5; L. Lameński, "O polskiej sztuce religijnej" [On Polish religious art], *Kresy* 1993, no. 14, pp. 189–192.

²⁴ J. Kilian, "Feliks Topolski – kronikarz XX wieku" [Feliks Topolski – a chronicler of the 20th century], in: *Między Polską a światem* [Between Poland and the world], pp. 177–184.

²⁵ The result of this work is the biographic entries in the *Encyklopedia polskiej emigracji i Polonii* [Encyclopedia of the Polish émigré communities and the Polish diaspora], vol. 1–5, ed. K. Dopierała, Toruń 2003–2005, the catalog of the exhibition *Mała Galeria Sztuki Emigracyjnej ze zbiorów Archiwum Emigracji* [Small gallery of émigré art from the collection of the Archives of Emigration] by M. Supruniuk and J. Krasnodębska (Toruń 2002) and a collection of sketches titled *Sztuka polska w Wielkiej Brytanii 1940–2000. Antologia* [Polish Art in Great Britain 1940–2000. An Anthology], ed. M. A. Supruniuk, Toruń 2006.

tiated in 1968 by the aforementioned B. Czaykowski in *Kontynenty* titled “Sketches for Portraits.” However, only a sketch about Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński was published.²⁶

Reports on Polish artistic events in Great Britain, mainly in London, were published by the London-based émigré daily press, literary, cultural, and political weeklies and monthlies, magazines and newsletters of various organizations, and even *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza* and the Paris-based *Kultura* located away from London.

Texts focused on Polish art abroad were generally limited to a reporting description of an exhibition, album, or artistic event, and rarely analyzed the place of Polish painters in English, European, and world art. The first attempt to describe Polish visual arts in the British Isles was Czesław Poznański’s sketch published in English in 1944 in a brochure edited by T. P. Potworowski and M. Żuławski, published by *Nowa Polska*.²⁷ The same article appeared a year later in Polish in the monthly magazine.²⁸ The sketch *Polish artists in Great Britain* contains information about 21 Polish visual artists who stayed in the British Isles during the war.

In 1945, A. Kossowski, J. Natanson, and T. P. Potworowski edited a special issue of the monthly magazine *The Studio*. In addition to an extensive sketch on the history of Polish art from the Middle Ages to the 1940s, the issue focused on Polish art and included an important text by Potworowski titled “The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain,” which was illustrated with reproductions of works by 13 Polish visual artists. It was in fact information on the establishment of the Association of Polish Artists, but with its rich graphic design it foreshadowed the artistic potential of the Polish colony in England.²⁹

²⁶ B. Czaykowski, “Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński,” *Kontynenty* 1962, no. 39, pp. 12–13.

²⁷ C. Poznański, *Polish artists in Great Britain with an essay on Polish art*, T. Potworowski and M. Żuławski, eds., London 1944.

²⁸ Idem, “Plastycy polscy w Wielkiej Brytanii” [Polish visual artists in Great Britain], *Nowa Polska* 1945, book 1, pp. 64–74.

²⁹ T. P. Potworowski, “The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain,” *The Studio* (Special Polish Issue) 1945, vol. 129, no. 622, pp. 31–32.

The above-mentioned texts described the activities of Polish artists and art organizations during the war, focusing on the presentation of the artworks created after 1939.

The first attempt in the historical literature to provide a synthetic description of the Polish artists' community in Great Britain after 1945 was a chapter in Bogdan Czaykowski and Bolesław Sulik's book titled *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], published in 1961 in Paris. The description is fragmentary and includes the names of those artists who were active primarily in the Polish community and had their exhibitions in the Grabowski Gallery. In addition to the dozen or so painters mentioned by name (and very generally characterized), the authors mention that there were more than 50 Polish painters, graphic artists, and sculptors living in London in 1961, who "do not yet have a position."³⁰ Of the "young" artists in 1961 (35–50 years old), Czaykowski and Sulik's book lists the following painters: Tadeusz Beutlich, Piotr Mleczeko, Marian Kościółkowski, Stanisław Frenkiel, Kazimierz Dźwig, Leon Piesowocki, Zygmunt Turkiewicz, Aleksander Werner, Stefan Starzyński, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, and Adam Kossowski, and the following sculptors: Andrzej Bobrowski and Tadeusz Koper.³¹

This should be supplemented by the numerous speeches and lectures on topics related to Polish art abroad (but not exclusively) by writers, journalists, and visual artists, which have not been published in print. This is especially true of the lectures, discussions, and talks about art given at the Polish Club Room of the YMCA. All presentations were, admittedly, recorded, but the fate of the recordings is unknown.³² Readings and lectures were also held at such venues as Klub Orła Białego, Instytut Badania Zagadnień Krajowych, and Dom Kombatanta. Among those giving lectures on art were Marian Bohusz-Szyszko and Kazimierz Pacewicz. In 1952 there was a major

³⁰ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], pp. 351–352. However, the authors point out that equating the Polish community with Grabowski's gallery is a misunderstanding. The gallery did not exhibit such important painters as Potworowski, Żuławski, Herman, Ruszkowski, Topolski, Gotlib, and Knapp.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 532.

³² [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1958, no. 3, p. 3.

exhibition of paintings by Jerzy Faczyński, a drawing teacher at the Polish University College (PUC) and a professor at the School of Handicraft in Hammersmith, which was preceded by a speech by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz discussing the painter's works.³³

A separate issue is the reports on and discussion of events concerning the art of Polish émigrés in Great Britain published in British publications and magazines. The largest Polish exhibitions, especially in large renowned galleries, attracted the interest of the professional English press, even the most prestigious periodicals such as: *The Arts Review* – a richly illustrated biweekly magazine describing art life in Britain; *Art News and Review* – a biweekly magazine published in London, almost entirely devoted to reviews of exhibitions; and *The Studio* – a monthly magazine that also published more extensive monographic sketches. The Polish presence in such periodicals was noted by London-based émigré periodicals. Let us mention, for example, Bohdan Czaykowski's reporting article published in *Merkuriusz*: in 1956, in the March issue of *Art News and Review*, he placed a review of Stefan Knapp's exhibition and a note on Halima Nałęcz's work; the October–November double issue presented reviews of exhibitions by Mieczysław Janikowski, Potworowski, Znicz, and Pilawski.³⁴

Also Turkiewicz's texts in *Kultura* noted Polish successes in the British press, e.g. the largely Polish July 21, 1963 issue of *The Arts Review* was devoted to the work of S. Knapp and F. Themerson.³⁵ Large articles and reviews of Polish exhibitions were also occasionally noted by Mieczysław Grydzewski in *Wiadomości* and by chroniclers of cultural life in *Dziennik Polski* and *Oficyna Poetów*. However, it must be acknowledged that this matter still requires detailed study. In 1964, the presence, activities, and achievements of a large group of Polish émigré painters were recognized and appreciated by British critics. The "Two Worlds" exhibition at the Grabowski Gallery

³³ Idem, "Życie kulturalne w kraju i na obczyźnie" [Cultural life in Poland in exile], *Orzeł Biały* 1953, no. 1, p. 3.

³⁴ [B. Czaykowski] bc, "Parę uwag o krytyce i malarstwie polskim w Anglii" [A few comments about Polish criticism and painting in England], *Merkuriusz Polski - Życie Akademickie* 1957, no. 1/2, p. 32.

³⁵ Z. Turkiewicz, "Wystawy polskie w Londynie" [Polish exhibitions in London], *Kultura* 1963, no. 11 (193), p. 127.

showed works of artists from Poland, confronting it with works of émigré artists from London. Although the English press praised the painters from Warsaw, stressing that "they were ahead of the Polish artists from London in their achievements," the very fact that English magazines mentioned the names of dozens of Polish artists from England, while calling them "nostalgic painters" – in contrast to the painters from Poland described as "rebellious against the dictates of state patronage" – had a great propaganda significance. As Frenkiel stressed – never again had the work of Polish visual artists been discussed in such detail in England.³⁶ Symptomatically, not a single painting from the "Two Worlds" exhibition was sold. Poles attended the exhibition in large numbers, but did not buy the paintings. Nor did any Polish or British institution stepped forward to buy a painting and support an artist. Interest in that exhibition on the part of the British press and critics was exceptional. Independent reviews were published in all major London-based newspapers and specialized periodicals: *Sunday Times*, *The Studio*, *The Tatler*, *Art Review*, *The Connoisseur*, *The Times*, *Jewish Chronicle*, *Fortnightly Review*, and others.³⁷ The exhibition was also noted by Polish newspapers and magazines.³⁸

Even more rarely were Poles a supplement to a broader study of British or world art. One of the few exceptions was the 1955/1956 volume of the *Modern Publicity* annual magazine, dedicated to applied art and graphic design. Among the nearly 700 artists cited by name and illustration, there were ten Polish émigrés, including the following from England: Jerzy Brzeziński (alias Karo), Jerzy Him, Jan LeWitt, Zygmunt Kowalewski, Stanisław Król, T. Piesakowski, L. Piesowocki, and W. R. Szomański.³⁹ Polish émigrés in Great Britain are generally not listed in international biographical dictionaries devoted to 20th century art. An important precedent that must be noted is David Buckman's *The dictionary of artists in Britain since 1945*

³⁶ S. Frenkiel, "Po wystawie 'Dwa światy'" [After the "Two Worlds" exhibition], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], p. 201.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 201.

³⁸ [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish cultural life], *Orzeł Biały* 1964, no. 17, p. 5 – this publication contains information about other reviews.

³⁹ M. Paszkiewicz, "Zestawienia i liczby" [Fact sheets and numbers], *Merkuriusz Polski* 1956, no. 2, p. 9.

(London 1998), which contains more than 100 short biographies of visual artists, both Polish and of Polish descent.

An important source for research on the biographies and works of Polish visual artists in the British Isles is exhibition archival materials and catalogs as well as art collections. Larger collections of such materials can be found in the Polish Library in London (catalogs and folders), the Victoria and Albert Museum (e.g., Adam Kossowski's archive), the library of the Tate Gallery (catalogs and folders), the Polish Institute and the Gen. Sikorski Museum in London (mainly materials related to events during the war can be found there), and the Polish Social and Cultural Association (POSK) (materials related to the art collection). The collections gathered in Poland are also of great research value, especially the archival collections and the art collection stored in the Emigration Archive of the University Library and the University Museum in Toruń.

One of the most valuable art collections is Marian (Jan) Kościałkowski's archive and collection of drawings, gouaches, pastels, sculptures, and oil paintings (donated by his widow Lidia Kruszyńska-Kościałkowska). It came to Toruń in batches: in the summer of 1997 and in the autumn of 2002. The archive is complete and consists of two independent parts. The first is a collection of literary manuscripts (mainly poems written in Polish and French), manuscript diaries (in two large volumes), hundreds of pages of notes and notebooks, a small collection of correspondence with family, painters and writers, including Sergiusz Piasecki, memorabilia, photographs, and biographical materials, including documentation of painting and sculpture exhibitions, correspondence with exhibitors, documentation of military service, etc. The second part, incomparably larger, consists of sketchbooks from 1942–1977 and several thousand drawings, graphic art, gouaches, pastels, watercolors, and oil paintings from the entire period of the artist's painting activity from his student years – in Vilnius and Rome – until the 1970s. That part also includes published works, including a copy of L. Sterne's *A sentimental journey through France and Italy* from 1948 with Marian's drawings, in which the painter added dozens of new illustrations in the same style as that of the book and the era.

Of note is the huge collection of paintings as well as several hundred pieces of graphic art, drawings, and sketches by Zygmunt Turkiewicz (a gift

from Pooka Kępińska), a painter living in Great Britain after the war. Turkiewicz – whose exhibition at the National Museum in Cracow in the 1980s was a major event – was also an art historian and critic. Equally important for researchers is the archival collection of Aleksander Werner, a painter, graphic artist, draftsman, and sculptor, extremely versatile in his search for artistic expression. The collection donated to the Emigration Archive by the artist includes more than a thousand drawings, pieces of graphic art, sculptures, and oil works, in addition to documents of artistic activity (reviews, catalogs, photographs, etc.). In addition, as a gift from the artist, the Archive acquired a collection, comprising nearly 200 items, of sculpture, glass, jewelry, weapons, and ceramics from various parts of the world, which may provide interesting material for those studying the sources of Werner's artistic inspiration.

Extremely valuable, in the context of potential scientific research, seem to be the materials on "Group 49." The most valuable is a collection of drawings, graphic art, and, most importantly, painstakingly collected documents on the activities of a group of Polish painters-soldiers studying and exhibiting in Rome (1945–1947) and later in Great Britain, donated by Ryszard Demel, a painter now living in Padua. The archive contains correspondence, documentation of exhibitions and meetings, flyers, press clippings, personal documents, photographs, videos, etc. The collection of Kazimierz Dźwig's works, as well as his handy book collection and archival materials, was donated in 2004 by Mary Dźwig. The gift also included works by other Polish painters studying with Dźwig in Rome and London. A sizable and valuable collection of paintings by Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński was donated by the painter's widow. Numerous works of his own and his friends were donated to the Archive by Leon Piesowocki.

The archive of Władysław R. Szomański, a painter, graphic artist, and advertising designer, contains materials on the history of the Association of Polish Artists Abroad and full documentation of artistic activities. In addition to a detailed collection of photographic documentation from exhibitions, correspondence with principals and art institutions around the world, opinions and reviews of designs and graphic works, there is a set of printed small works by the author: posters, placards, postcards, book

covers, mastheads of wartime magazines and newspapers, and hundreds of satirical drawings cut from émigré magazines, mainly from *Pokrzywy* (1950s). Separately stored are the original watercolors, sketches, pieces of graphic art, collages, drawings and graphic signs, designs of large paper-art forms, etc., as well as documentation of performances of the “Zielony Krokodyl” Theater.

Of great research and artistic value are dozens of oil works and dozens of drawings, sketches, and pieces of graphic art by Marek Żuławski donated by Maryla Żuławska from London. The painter’s widow also donated a part of his archive to Toruń, including diaries and sketchbooks, as well as a collection of paintings, drawings, and archives of Żuławski’s second wife, Halina Korn-Żuławska. In addition, together with Halima Nałęcz, she donated to the Archive of Emigration the papers of the London-based Drian Gallery, as well as numerous paintings, pieces of graphic art, drawings, and sculptures by H. Nałęcz, Feliks Topolski, Józef Piwowar, David Messer, Jerzy Stocki, Lutka Pink, Witold G. Kawalec, Andrzej Kuhn, Tadeusz Wąs, and several other artists.

Of the other archives and art collections collected in Toruń, a few more are worth noting. These include a collection of paintings and sculptures by Janina Granowska-Rennie from London, who works with alternative artistic techniques in addition to traditional ones. These include compositions created on fabric (paint, colored threads) using her own technique (*off-beat*), but also works in the batik technique, and small porcelain sculptures. Documents and photographs are an important part of the archive.

A collection of memorabilia and extensive photographic documentation of the artistic activities of her husband, Adam Kossowski, was donated to the Archive by Stefania Kossowska, a Polish writer and journalist living in London since 1940. The collection of materials also includes original paintings, drawings and sketches, pieces of graphic art, and small ceramic sculptures, as well as some of the painting studio equipment (personal items) and part of the book collection. In addition, Kossowska donated drawings and pieces of graphic art by Zdzisław Ruszkowski.

A part of Marian Kratochwil’s archive, donated by his brother, Zbigniew Kratochwil, contains documents, i.e. publications about the painter, ex-

hibition catalogs, diplomas, letters (primarily to his brother, and correspondence with institutions holding Kratochwil's works), an album of photographs, and cassettes with documentaries about the artist. Particularly valuable is Zbigniew Kratochwil's book on his brother's artistic work, recorded on a CD, which contains dozens of reproductions of paintings, as well as detailed lists of museums and private collections around the world where Marian Kratochwil's works are kept. Completing the archive are two pre-war sketchbooks, a collection of dozens of drawings from the 1920s and 1930s, and five canvas paintings.

Few Polish visual artists have books about their paintings published in Britain. Two independent monographs on Jankiel Adler's works came out in 1948; he was perhaps the first Polish painter in England to have a book on his work in English, prepared and published by English authors during his lifetime.⁴⁰ Zdzisław Ruszkowski⁴¹ and, just before his death, Stanisław Frenkiel,⁴² had a similar publication twenty years later. The output of several other painters – such as Józef Herman⁴³ and Adam Kossowski⁴⁴ was recognized only after their deaths. In 1977, the Drian Galleries published an album of paintings by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko.⁴⁵

Albums of Feliks Topolski's works from various periods have also been published, including a volume showing works for Buckingham Palace.⁴⁶ In Poland, scholarly studies and monographs on the works of Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, Stanisław Gliwa, Henryk Gotlib, Marek Żuławski, Stefan and Franciszka Themersons, and Caziell have been published. Aleksander Żyw,

⁴⁰ S. W. Hayter, *Jankiel Adler*, London 1948; P. Fierens, *Jankiel Adler*, London 1948; A. Klapheck, *Jankiel Adler*, Recklinhausen 1966.

⁴¹ J. P. Hodin, *Ruszkowski. Life and Work*, London 1966; *The Paintings of Ruszkowski*, introduction by M. Simonov, London 1986.

⁴² A. Dyson, *Passion and Paradox. The Art of Stanisław Frenkiel*, London 2001.

⁴³ P. Davies, *Josef Herman. Drawings and Studies*, Bristol 1990.

⁴⁴ Adam Kossowski. *Murals and Paintings*, introduction by B. Read, London 1990.

⁴⁵ M. Wykes-Joyce, *Seven Archangels. The Art of Marian Bohusz*, London 1977.

⁴⁶ See, among others: *The World's Styles: Drawings and Paintings by Feliks Topolski*, London 1985; *Topolski's Buckingham Palace Panoramas*, London 1977.

Marek Żuławski,⁴⁷ Halina Korn,⁴⁸ Adam Kossowski, Feliks Topolski,⁴⁹ and Stefan Knapp⁵⁰ published their diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies, and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko and Stanisław Frenkiel published a collection of sketches on art.

Of great cognitive value are catalogs of exhibitions of the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain. Although not without errors, they are a valuable source of information for biographies of painters and sculptors. The first large catalog was published in 1970; it contained nearly 70 black-and-white reproductions of works by painters, mostly from London.⁵¹ However, it did not contain any biographical information about the artists. In 1983, the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain and the Grabowski Gallery published the album *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, edited by Janina Baranowska, with a foreword by Marek Żuławski and Stanisław Frenkiel. The album contains 46 color reproductions and short biographic notes. Unfortunately, the publication is devoid of any historical analysis, and the biographic notes are full of inaccuracies. In the album *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie* [Polish contemporary art in exile], with an introduction by Alicja Drwęska and graphic design by Szomański, published two years later on the occasion of the Congress of Polish Culture, biographies of the painters were also omitted, most likely due to lack of finances, and only illustrations of poor quality were provided. The most interesting catalog is a brochure published in 1995 by the POSK Gallery titled *Forma i kolor. Wystawa sztuk plastycznych Kongresu Kultury Polskiej na Obczyźnie* [Form and color. An exhibition of visual art of the Congress of Polish Culture in Exile]. In addition to good quality photographs

⁴⁷ M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu [I]* [A study for a self-portrait [I]], Warsaw 1980; idem, *Studium do autoportretu II* [A study for a self-portrait II], Warsaw 1990.

⁴⁸ H. Korn-Żuławska, *Wakacje kończą się we wrześniu* [Holidays end in September], Warsaw 1983.

⁴⁹ F. Topolski, *Fourteen letters - autobiography*, London 1988.

⁵⁰ S. Knapp, *The square sun*, London 1956; Polish edition: *Kwadratowe słońce* [A square sun], translated by M. Tarczyńska, Warsaw 1987; this is an autobiography covering wartime experiences.

⁵¹ *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie / Contemporary Art by Polish Artists in Exile*, London 1970.

of nearly fifty paintings, it is supplemented by as many biographic notes of the members of the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain (APA), including the deceased ones. In 1995, on the occasion of an exhibition of the output of Polish paper crafts in the British Isles at the Polish Cultural Institute in London, a folder was published, which included an extensive sketch by Andrzej Borkowski and biographic notes of the artists.⁵²

POLISH ARTISTS IN ENGLAND – A DEFINITION

According to Stanisław Frenkiel, when geographical rather than stylistic criteria are taken into account – as is done in the case of the designation of the cosmopolitan “École de Paris” or analogous phenomena in the United States and Great Britain before World War II – it is fully legitimate, as is done in England, to use the name “School of London” to refer to the collective of artists grouped in the London artistic community, collectively creating, exhibiting, and affiliated with British institutions in the British Islands, even though they came from other countries: Germany, Sweden, Italy, Poland, or Ghana.⁵³

“École de Paris,” however vague its definition is, was not a specific school of painting, but was a term that encompassed a group of artists who were united only by their common residence in Paris and by the fact that all of them – to different extent and in different ways – were influenced by the French art and tradition and their own works contributed to that art and tradition.⁵⁴ This also applied to the Polish colony in the “École de Paris” in the 20th century and – most likely – to the group of

⁵² A. Borkowski, “O papieroplastyce polskiej” [On Polish paper crafts], in: H. Mausch and T. Jeśmanowa, eds., *Polish Paper Sculpture* [an exhibition catalog], Polish Cultural Institute, London 1995, pp. 21–35.

⁵³ S. Frenkiel, *Polskie malarstwo i rzeźba w Wielkiej Brytanii 1945–1985* [Polish painting and sculpture in Great Britain 1945–1985], pp. 108, 125 – Stanisław Frenkiel proposed in 1985 to write a history of Polish art in Great Britain; see also: S. Frenkiel, “Sztuka kopciuszkiem kultury” [Art as a Cinderella of culture], in: idem, *Kožuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], p. 127.

⁵⁴ A. Wierzbicka, *École de Paris. Pojęcie, środowisko, twórczość* [École de Paris. Concept, environment, works], Warsaw 2004, pp. 11–14.

Polish artists working in France in the 19th century.⁵⁵ Referring to such a definition, Alicja Drwęska, when describing the creative output of Polish painters in London (Potworowski, Topolski, Żuławski, F. Themerson, and Gotlib) suggested the statement that the “London Group” was “one of the offshoots” of the “École de Paris” – and added – “not a very interesting one – that is true.”⁵⁶

With regard to the most outstanding Polish visual artists living in England in the 20th century, the transfer of the calque of the term “École de Paris” to London seems questionable in many respects. Many of the painters concerned arrived in England already fully formed artistically, mainly precisely in France, and the English influence on their work was limited to aesthetic and thematic sensations. Only a few collaborated with each other, had contacts with the same British or Polish art communities, exhibited together, and met in the same organizations or associations. In the years just after the war, which were perhaps the most important in Polish art in Britain, London took a leading role in the development of modern art. In England, new directions emerged and outstanding artists were active, whose work set the paths of the painting of the last half century. And although the most famous of them – Freud, Bacon, Kitaj, Hockney, Burra, Frink, Moore, and Butler – still favored figurative art, several new directions emerged in British art during this period, such as the “Kitchen Sink School,” the “Euston Road” school, as well as abstract expressionism and geometric abstraction. At the same time as in the United States in the New York School, pop art, and just moments later op-art, appeared in London.⁵⁷ Polish painters and sculptors created independently of current and dominant trends or succumbed to their influence, not always finding in abstraction the fullness of artistic expression.

Thus, we would have to – following Frenkiel’s suggestion – impoverish the definition of the “School of London” by eliminating from it these

⁵⁵ E. Bobrowska-Jakubowska, *Artyści polscy we Francji w latach 1890–1918. Wspólnoty i indywidualności* [Polish artists in France in 1890–1918. Communities and individuals], Warsaw 2004 [actually 2006].

⁵⁶ A. Drwęska, “Polscy malarze w ‘London Group’” [Polish painters in the “London Group”], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 9.

⁵⁷ S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], pp. 108–109.

important elements of influence and co-creation. Moreover, since many Polish artistic events took place at various times (including especially the most interesting one, i.e. the time of war) outside London – mainly in Scotland – and had no connection with painting schools or circles in the British capital, it would be more appropriate to use the term “School of Britain” and, with regard to the Poles, the “Polish School of Britain.”

There is another important difference between the concepts described herein: unlike the “École de Paris,” which has been covered in many valuable monographic studies in several languages and hundreds (if not thousands) of contributory sketches, memoirs, and album publications,⁵⁸ the “School of London” (or “School of Britain”) is only an emerging and almost unexplored concept. The Polish participation in the “School of London” does not have any critical descriptions. Stanisław Frenkiel was right to point out in his only attempt so far to describe this phenomenon:

Despite extensive and rich documentation in the form of catalogs and reviews, articles and critical essays, and, most importantly, in the form of sculptures and paintings held in private and public collections, this creative work has not received a historical study. And it is, in fact, an unprecedented phenomenon, because so far no nation has formed its own artistic community outside its own country. No nation has formed a creative environment in another society that has maintained resilience, vitality, and hope for the future. The characteristic feature of this environment is its permanence and fluidity. It has not become exhausted by the death of the artists of the initial wave, but is constantly supplied by young newcomers born in Poland or England. Some of the older ones have returned to the country, while others are in loose contact with it, depending on their views and orientation. They are a part of the Polish culture and some hold exhibitions in the country, and their works adorn museums in various parts of Poland.⁵⁹

Let us supplement Frenkiel’s assessment with another characteristic feature of the emigration fate that was alien to painters of the “École de Paris” and was rarely discussed: entanglement in politics. This was most aptly illustrated in a conversation with Bogdan Czaykowski by Tadeusz

⁵⁸ A. Wierzbicka, *École de Paris*, pp. 325–354 (references).

⁵⁹ S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], pp. 107–108.

Znicz-Muszyński who said that émigré painters in England do not represent either Poland or Great Britain, and thus do not have access to the most prestigious international exhibitions. This is well illustrated by the example of Tadeusz P. Potworowski, who was able to participate in the Venice Biennale only after returning to Poland, as its representative, and to win the 1960 prize.⁶⁰ In the entire history of the Venice Biennale, only once did Polish painters from England exhibit their work in the British pavilion – it was Leopold Pilichowski and Stanisława Karłowska in 1924. The attempt to show Jankiel Adler’s and Felix Topolski’s paintings in 1956 in the Polish exhibition failed.⁶¹

Due to this lack of knowledge about the fate, lives, and output of Polish visual artists in Great Britain among historians, collectors, and gallery owners in Poland, the original exhibition of works by (then living) Polish artists working abroad, organized at the Zachęta gallery in 1991, titled “We are,” included the works of just nine painters and sculptors from England (Janina Baranowska, Marian Bohusz-Szysko, Stanisław Frenkiel, Magda Kozarzewska, Małgorzata Levittoux, Marysia Lewandowska, Antoni Malinowski, Jan Pieńkowski, and Rosław Szaybo)⁶² and two who were already living outside the British Isles at the time: Tadeusz Koper from Italy and Krystyna Sadowska from Canada.⁶³

When defining the term “Polish School of Britain” we are forced to specify the size and limits of the phenomenon. In his description of the output of Polish painters and sculptors in Great Britain between 1945 and 1985, Stanisław Frenkiel noted three groups of Polish visual artists active in the British Isles:

- artists who arrived in the British Islands before 1945;

⁶⁰ B. Czaykowski, *Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński*, p. 12.

⁶¹ J. Sosnowska, *Polacy na Biennale Sztuki w Wenecji 1895–1999* [Poles at the Art Biennale in Venice 1895–1999], Warsaw 1999, p. 225.

⁶² These artists had a joint exhibition in London in 1992: *Here and There – Jesteśmy* [We are] [catalog], February 1992, London 1992, p. 11.

⁶³ *Jesteśmy. Wystawa dzieł artystów polskich tworzących za granicą, wrzesień–październik 1991* [We are. An exhibition of the works of Polish artists working abroad, September–October 1991], Warsaw 1991.

- artists who came with the military and civilian exiles between 1945 and 1950; and
- artists who individually emigrated to and settled in England.⁶⁴

The subordination to one group of everything related to Polish art in Great Britain before 1945 seems to be due to the fact that Frenkiel's sketch concerned the post-war years. However, it is difficult to understand why the author failed to recognize the clear generational change in Polish art in England at the end of the 1960s, which was due to the appearance of post-war graduates of the Easel Painting School at the Academic Community of Stefan Batory University Abroad. Also, the names of the most famous artists, artistic and organizational activities, and spectacular achievements cited by Frenkiel do not explain the proposed division, which, considering the entire 20th century – does not fully correspond to the complex structure of events and artistic biographies of Polish visual artists in Great Britain.

Taking into account the political events that had a decisive impact on the waves of emigration and, consequently, on the appearance of newcomers in the British Isles – as well as – the research conducted for many years at the Toruń-based Emigration Archive on the biographies of individual artists who left their mark on British (and world) art, we can suggest a slightly different chronology and division:

- artists who, by various routes, reached the British Islands before 1918;⁶⁵
- artists who arrived in Great Britain in the interwar years (1918–1939);⁶⁶

⁶⁴ S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 114.

⁶⁵ In his book *The Dictionary of Artists in Britain Since 1945* (London 1998), D. Buckman lists the following artists, among others: Alfred Wolmark, Stanisława de Karłowska, Franciszek K. Black, Lena Pilichowska, and Leopold Pilichowski.

⁶⁶ The artists who arrived in the British Islands during that period included, among others: Arthur Horowicz, Roman Black, Rajmond Kanelba, Stanisław Reychan, Feliks Topolski, Adam Turyn, Stefan and Franciszka Themerson, Marek Żuławski, Jerzy Him, Jan Le Witt, and Henryk Gotlib.

- artists who were evacuated from France in 1940, came from the military in the Middle East, got out of the European continent or camps and reached Great Britain by the end of 1945;⁶⁷
- artists who came from Italy with the 2nd Corps in 1946 and from the European continent until 1952 – they were both soldiers and civilians, including refugees from Poland;⁶⁸
- artists who studied at Polish painting schools in England or graduated from British schools after 1952, or came to England from France (and other countries where they stayed as émigrés);⁶⁹
- artists educated after the war in the Polish People’s Republic, who emigrated to Great Britain after 1956, mainly after 1968 and 1981;⁷⁰
- artists born in Great Britain (or elsewhere outside Poland) to Polish families who acknowledge their Polish roots and the Polish cultural traditions.⁷¹

⁶⁷ These included: Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Jankiel Adler, Józef Natanson, Marian Kratochwil, Leszek Muszyński, Aleksander Żyw, Janina Konarska, Witold Mars, Adam Bunsch (in 1940–1945 he used the pseudonym Andrzej Wart), Józef Sekalski, Maria Seyda, Zygmunt Haupt, Tadeusz Janikowski, Tadeusz Koper, Bronka Michałowska, Zygmunt Henelt, Antoni Wasilewski, Tadeusz Piotr Potworowski, Adam Kossowski, Józef Herman, Kazimierz Pacewicz, Stefan Knapp, Marek Szwarc, Stefan Osiecki, Tadeusz Lipski, and Oktawian Jastrzebski.

⁶⁸ These included: Stanisław Gliwa, Marian Kościałkowski, Zygmunt Turkiewicz, Zygmunt Kowalewski, Halina Nałęcz (after the war she used the first name Halima), Tadeusz Zieliński, Aleksander Werner, Andrzej Bobrowski, Antoni Dobrowolski, Kazimierz Dźwig, Leon Piesowocki, Ryszard Demel, Janusz Eichler, Jan Głowacki (Laterański), Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, Andrzej Kuhn, Tadeusz Beutlich, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, Władysław Fusek-Forosiewicz, Janina Baranowska, Władysław Szomański, Jerzy Stocki, Tadeusz Ilnicki, Jan Kępiński, Marek Łączyński, and Stanisław Frenkiel.

⁶⁹ These included, for example, the graduates of the Studio of Painting, among others: Ludwik Dygat, Jan Pieńkowski, Wiesław Szejbal, Witold Szejbal, Irena Fusek-Forosiewicz, Irena Jakubowska, Stasia Kania, Zofia Pierzchało-Piasecka, Maria Jarmułowicz-Hutton, Ewa Wnęk, Halina Sukiennicka, Karolina Borchardt, Zygmunt Kłoś, Stefan Stachowicz, Stanisława Witorzeniec, and Wojciech Falkowski.

⁷⁰ These included: Caziell, Andrzej Dzierżyński, Ewa Drevet, Tadeusz Czerwinke, Magda Kozarzewska, Rosław Szaybo, Antoni Malinowski, Marysia Lewandowska, and Małgorzata Levittoux.

⁷¹ Among the many artists, let us mention members of the BIGOS group: Martin Blaszk, Tessa Blatchley, Maria Chevskva, Ruth Jacobson, Louise Severyn Kosinski, Simon

Regardless of the chronological division applied to events and names, the Polish "School of Britain" included phenomena occurring over many years, which were common to the entire 20th century, so to speak, although they were caused by individual waves of emigration. We are talking mainly about Polish art unions and groups (or those where Poles constituted a large share of members), of which only a few were active in the British Islands. The role of these institutions has not yet been studied. A separate description is also required of the activities and involvement of the Polish governmental (both of the government in exile and of the Warsaw-based government in 1918–1939 and after 1945), social, and private institutions in the promotion of, and financial support for, Polish artists. This was particularly important during World War II and after it, during the formative years of Polish cultural institutions abroad. These issues have not been studied so far. The sketches contained in the book *Mobilizacja uchodźstwa do walki politycznej 1945–1990* [Mobilization of the émigré community for political struggle 1945–1990], published in 1995 and edited by Leonidas Kliszewicz, merely highlight the problem.⁷² However, it seems that Stanisław Frenkiel was right when stating in the aforementioned sketch that:

The Polish émigré community showed an indifferent attitude to artists in the postwar years. In those days (1945–1960), as a rule, Poles did not buy paintings or sculptures; they were working their way up, settling down, and starting families, and did not have enough money to support art, or to invest cash in works of as yet undetermined value.⁷³

This situation changed slightly with the end of the 1950s, when Polish galleries began to emerge. The most important one, operating from the beginning of 1959 until 1975, was the Grabowski Gallery (at 84 Sloane Avenue SW3). In 1961, riding the wave of the London gallery's success, Grabowski

Lewandowski, Rosita Matyniowa, Jamoula KcKean, Ondre Nowakowski, Margaret Ochocki, Jozefa Rogocki, Jola Scicinski, Stefan Szczelkun, and Silvia C. Ziraneck.

⁷² I am referring in particular to sketches on the Polish YMCA, the POSK, and military and government organizations.

⁷³ S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 118.

even opened a similar one in Bournemouth in southern England.⁷⁴ The Grabowski Gallery held individual exhibitions of M. Bohusz-Szysko, J. Baranowska, M. Łączyński, T. Beutlich, A. Werner, T. Koper, T. Znicz-Muszyński, P. Mleczo, S. Frenkiel, Antoni Dobrowolski, L. Piesowocki, A. Bobrowski, and Caziel.⁷⁵ In just 16 years of its operation, the gallery held more than 100 exhibitions. The history of Polish galleries in the British Isles has been comprehensively described by Jan W. Sienkiewicz. This is most likely the only reasonably correctly described aspect of the artistic life of Poles in England.⁷⁶ However, Sienkiewicz's study should be supplemented with the information that the Themersons also intended to create a kind of art gallery. The Gaberbocchus Club, established in the 1950s on premises next to a publishing house, held an exhibition of paintings by several artists, including Halima Nałęcz.⁷⁷

Frenkiel lists the following Polish collectors who bought works of art: Adam Stahl, Ernest Wistreich – the president of the European Movement, Władysław Jarosz – an architect, Mateusz Grabowski – a pharmacy owner, and Jerzy Rhatiner. To this group we should add Mieczysław Paszkiewicz and Halima Nałęcz, whose ties to art stemmed from their professional relationships. None of these collections have been studied or described.

An interesting form of institutional patronage – poorly implemented and eventually abandoned – was the 1956 initiative of *Kultura*. In an effort to “tighten the ties between Polish artists and the émigré society,” *Kultura* came up with the idea of subscriptions for “works of graphic art,” similar to what was happening with regard to books.⁷⁸ The idea of creating a collection of paintings and sculptures by Polish émigré artists in *Kultura* had a slightly greater resonance. This was to be implemented in the form of a competition: *Kultura* allocated a certain amount of money each year for the purchase of a work selected from those submitted for the competition.

⁷⁴ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 319.

⁷⁵ S. Frenkiel, “Pożegnanie Galerii Grabowskiego” [Farewell to the Grabowski Gallery], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], pp. 224–228.

⁷⁶ Cf: J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Polskie galerie sztuki w Londynie* [Polish art galleries in London], passim.

⁷⁷ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 359.

⁷⁸ “‘Kultura’ dla artystów” [Kultura for visual artists], *Kultura* 1956, no. 2 (100), p. 121.

The purchase of a painting or sculpture was also a form of financial support for the artists, as well as a kind of promotion, since the purchased works were reproduced in the monthly magazine along with a note about the artist.⁷⁹ Over time, the competition took the shape of "Kultura's Visual Art Prize" awarded until 1964. The Polish painters from England who received the prize were Zygmunt Turkiewicz (1957), Marek Żuławski (1963), and Marian Kościałkowski (1964).⁸⁰

The "patrons of art" also included Polish commercial and social institutions, as well as the Church, although we know very little about how they supported artists. In the few émigré public and cultural spaces in England, paintings by Poles were presented at various times. One of them is the Daquise restaurant and café located near the South Kensington subway station, where large-scale paintings by Felix Fabian were presented; another is the Polish hotel in Glencourt, where paintings by Zygmunt Kłóś were presented in the 1960s in the waiting and dining rooms.⁸¹ It was noted above that works by Polish artists adorned primarily Polish churches and cultural centers. Only few works of art were made to order. One of them is Adam Bunsch's stained glass windows, created during the war, in the Church of Our Lady of Częstochowa and St. Casimir at Devonian Rd. in London.⁸² At the London home of the Catholic Center in Ealing, two sculptors, Andrzej Bobrowski and Aleksander Werner, designed and decorated the chapel; the stations of the Lord's Passion at the Polish School of the Marian Fathers in Fawley Court was designed by Magda Sawicka; and Tadeusz Zieliński made an altarpiece with a figure of Christ for the Church of Andrzej Bobola (the

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ [J. Czapski] J.Cz., "O Z. Turkiewiczu" [About Z. Turkiewicz], *Kultura* 1957, no. 4 (114), pp. 110–112; J. Czapski, "Marek Żuławski – Nagroda Plastyczna 'Kultury' za rok 1963" [Marek Żuławski – *Kultura's* visual art prize for 1963], *Kultura* 1964, no. 6 (200), pp. 150–151; Editorial Office, "Nagrody 'Kultury' za rok 1964. Nagroda Plastyczna – Marian Kościałkowski" [*Kultura's* prizes for 1964. Visual art prize – Marian Kościałkowski], *Kultura* 1965, no. 1–2 (207–208), p. 205.

⁸¹ M. Bohusz-Szyszkó, "Zbiory sztuki polskiej w Londynie" [Collections of Polish art in London], in: idem, *O sztuce* [On art], p. 180.

⁸² B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], pp. 260–261.

same church houses a bas-relief of Zieliński “Our Lady of Kozielsk”).⁸³ We do not know whether in these cases, too, it was an order from the Church or an initiative of the artists.

This situation did not change in the second half of the 1960s either, during a period of some financial stability for Polish émigrés and the relative “British success” of the visual artists living in Great Britain.

After the famous “Two Worlds” exhibition at the Grabowski Gallery in 1964, embittered by the fact that not a single painting by an émigré artist was sold, Stanisław Frenkiel wrote:

It was recently calculated that Polish organizations in London alone have a total capital of about one million pounds, restaurants, bars, and meeting rooms. There are at least 10 buildings with large halls, decorated with conventional junk: boring prints, emblems, views of lost cities, folk cut-outs, photographs of military leaders, images of peasant girls from the Cracow region and highlanders with pipes, and other similar cheap folk art imitations. In those institutions, you can count on the fingers of one hand the paintings purchased from contemporary artists. [...] Works from decades are accumulating that nobody cares about and nobody needs. There are valuable artists in London who live in dark holes with gas lights, wash pots in restaurants and nightclubs, or paint train cars, whose paintings are not seen by anyone except their closest friends.⁸⁴

ARTIST ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS

The formation of and membership in artist unions and groups resulted largely not so much from a community of artistic views or traditions learned at school, but from the need to protect one’s position in the free market. The most “benefits” could be gained from membership in British professional organizations, but – which seems to be noteworthy – only a few Poles managed to meet the requirements of the largest unions and groups of visual artists in Great Britain, such as the Royal Academy of Arts

⁸³ M. Bohusz-Szyszeko, “Problemy polskiej plastyki na emigracji” [The problems of Polish émigré visual art], in: idem, *O sztuce* [On art], pp. 213–216.

⁸⁴ S. Frenkiel, “Po wystawie ‘Dwa światy’” [After the “Two Worlds” exhibition], pp. 201–202.

(Ruszkowski, J. Lubelski, Baranowska, and Znicz-Muszyński), the London Group (Karłowska, Potworowski, Gotlib, F. Themerson, Adler, Żułowski, Frenkiel, Herman, and Baranowska), the Royal West of England Academy (Potworowski and Frenkiel), the National Society of Artists (Znicz-Muszyński and Baranowska), and the Royal Society of Artists,⁸⁵ as well as smaller ones, the members of which were many painters from outside England: the Free Painters Group (Z. Adamowicz, H. Nałęcz, J. Baranowska, Olga Karczewska, Tadeusz Wąs, Lutka Pink, D. Giercuszkiewicz, and T. Ilnicki)⁸⁶ and the Artists' International Association (Jan Wieliczko and Maryla Michałowska).

Several Polish visual artists were members of international artist groups, such as the "Group Espace," a grouping of painters and architects formed in Switzerland, whose members included artists from England, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, and France. The only Pole in that group was Jerzy Faczyński.⁸⁷

This resulted in the need to form Polish artistic trade unions. The idea to establish The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain first emerged still during World War II; its author was Potworowski, who also became the first president of that organization. On December 12, 1943, a meeting of members of the pre-war Polish Visual Artists' Trade Union was held at the Polish Center (Ognisko Polskie) in London. During the meeting, a decision was made to reactivate the Union in Great Britain, the text of its new charter was adopted, and an interim board of directors was elected. In addition to Potworowski, the Union's authorities included: M. Żułowski – as the vice president, J. Natanson – as the secretary, and K. Pacewicz and A. Kossowski – as board members.

Maciej Mars became the Union's delegate for Scotland. The objectives of the Union's activities stipulated in the statute included organizing as-

⁸⁵ Cf. S. Frenkiel, "Londyn – targowisko sztuki" [London – an art marketplace], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], pp. 117–118.

⁸⁶ Free Painters Group (FPG) formed in 1954 at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA). See: [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 44, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Ibidem. It should be noted that the presence of Polish émigrés in international art organizations has not yet been studied.

sistance for artists staying in Poland during the war, providing financial and material aid to artists and art schools after the war, and cooperating with the artist community of Great Britain and planning “cultural exchanges for independent Poland in the future.”⁸⁸ In 1944, the Union organized a major exhibition of paintings and sculptures by 20 artists: painters and sculptors with names recognized in interwar Poland, who temporarily arrived in Great Britain due to the war, including F. Topolski, Z. Haupt, A. Żyw, M. Szwarc, J. Henelt, T. Lipski, A. Kossowski, M. Żuławski, Rajmund Kanelba, H. Gotlib, W. Jastrzębowski, W. Mars, J. Konarska, J. Natanson, Z. Ruskowski, and T. Koper.⁸⁹

However, the Union was unable to fulfill the obligations it had at the end of the war and the new international situation, especially the severance of contacts with the artist community in Poland. Young artists and those who decided to remain in exile needed to establish a professional organization that would represent their interests before the British authorities. In 1948, The Young Artists’ Association, headed by Stefan Knapp, was established. Most of the Association’s members were recent graduates of Marian Bohusz-Szyszko’s painting school. The Association’s greatest achievement was the organization of an exhibition at the Kingly Gallery at Piccadilly Circus in central London, which showcased the works of dozens of painters, sculptors, and graphic artists who were just entering the British art market. However, the Young Artists’ Association disintegrated after a year due to lack of funds for its activities and lack of interest from both émigré institutions and visual artists with high-profile names, for whom the Association’s members were a competition.⁹⁰

Embittered by the failure to form a professional organization that would defend the interests of all Polish artists, in 1949, the young painters and sculptors gathered around Professor Marian Bohusz-Szyszko – then the head of easel painting courses organized under the auspices of the Asso-

⁸⁸ “Związek Artystów Plastyków” [Society of Visual Artists], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1059.

⁸⁹ T. P. Potworowski, “The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain,” pp. 31–32.

⁹⁰ S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], p. 198; *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, p. 6.

ciation of Professors and Docents of Polish Academic Schools – and Marian Kościałkowski, who was slightly older than them, established the artist group “Group 49” (the name was modeled on the German “Gruppe 47”). The initiator of Group 49 was Tadeusz Beutlich. Membership in this elite organization was based on the similarity of past experience, age, and social relations. The tasks of the new group were not specified in detail, but it was to deal with both the promotion of art (exhibitions) and assistance with affairs of life.⁹¹ “Group 49” was the most interesting Polish artist group abroad. It mainly included students and graduates of painting courses organized by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko in Rome and England: Andrzej Bobrowski, Piotr Mleczko, Janina Baranowska, Aleksander Werner, Marian Kościałkowski, Leon Piesowocki, Kazimierz Dźwig, Stefan Starzyński, Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, Antoni Dobrowolski, Janusz Eichler, Mieczysław Chojko, and Ryszard Demel.⁹² The composition of the group changed during the ten years of its activity (in 1956 it had 16 members); some painters left Great Britain, and others chose their own path; the founding members remained the most strongly connected to the group.

In 1949–1959, “Group 49” held many exhibitions, mostly in Polish communities (the Polish YMCA). Each was combined with lectures on the history of art and aesthetic issues; for example, in 1951, Bohusz-Szyszko gave a speech on “Valuation in art.”⁹³ The last, anniversary exhibition of the “Group” in 1959 was organized at the then established Grabowski Gallery.⁹⁴ Its participants were 14 painters: Baranowska, Beutlich, Bobrowski,

⁹¹ F. Strzałko, “Z życia kulturalnego emigracji. Wystawa ‘Grupy 49’” [On the cultural life of the diaspora. Exhibition of “Group 49”], *Życie* 1949, no. 33 (112), p. 7.

⁹² *Polscy studenci żołnierze we Włoszech 1945–1947* [Polish students – soldiers in Italy 1945–1947], London [year missing], pp. 121–129; R. Demel, “O żołnierzach polskich – artystach i studentach sztuk pięknych w Rzymie” [On Polish soldiers – artists and students of fine arts in Rome], *Pamiętnik Literacki* (London) 1993, vol. 18, pp. 95–97; idem, “O polskich żołnierzach artystach i studentach sztuk pięknych w Italii i Anglii” [On Polish soldiers – artists and students of fine arts in Italy and England], in: M. Morka and P. Paszkiewicz, eds., *Między Polską a światem. Od średniowiecza po lata II wojny światowej* [Between Poland and the world. From the Middle Ages until the years of World War II], Warsaw 1993, pp. 427–445.

⁹³ [J. Ostrowski] (n), “Życie kulturalne w kraju i na obczyźnie” [Cultural life in Poland and in exile], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 28, p. 3.

⁹⁴ J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Polskie galerie sztuki* [Polish art galleries], p. 164.

Bohusz-Szyszek, Demel, Dobrowolski, Dźwig, Chojko, Kościałkowski, Mleczko, Znicz-Muszyński, Piesowocki, Starzyński, and Werner.⁹⁵

Around 1950, Leopold Kielanowski established the Artists' Circle Ltd. at the Polish Centre in London, which was still in existence in 1951. Its members mainly included stage artists: actors, musicians, and writers. The circle's activities, which focused on organizing theatrical performances, also involved artists who designed sets, costumes, and posters.⁹⁶

Another attempt to create a professional community of émigré painters and sculptors took place in the mid-1950s. The originator of the idea was Władysław R. Szomański, who, together with Zygmunt Kowalewski, initiated the "Thursday evenings" held initially in Szomański's studio and later in the premises of the Polish YMCA and other venues. The "evenings" were organized every two weeks and, in addition to painters, were attended by journalists, publishers, writers, and people of theater.⁹⁷ Meetings with lectures and discussions on topics related to art, theater, and literature attracted Szomański's friends, mainly painters and graphic artists who, like him, had experienced deportation in the Soviet Russia, the Polish Army in the East, and the 2nd Polish Corps: M. Kościałkowski, Tadeusz Piotrowski, M. Bohusz-Szyszek, Stanisław Niczewski, A. Werner, A. Drwęska, and H. Nałęcz.⁹⁸ During their discussions, they talked about the need for an artist organization and the ways to support young artists.⁹⁹ After the formation of the Association of Polish Visual Artists, the club meetings moved to the Grabowski Gallery at Sloane Avenue.¹⁰⁰

After 1955, a few young artists – Nałęcz, Baranowska, and Kościałkowski – who exhibited their works in prominent private galleries in

⁹⁵ S. Kowalski, "Jubileusz Grupy 49" [A jubilee of Group 49], *Kontynenty - Nowy Merkuriusz* 1960, no. 13, p. 22.

⁹⁶ *Rocznik Polonii 1950* [Polish diaspora's yearbook 1950] (London), 1950, p. 49.

⁹⁷ W. R. Szomański's Archive; University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigration.

⁹⁸ [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 44, p. 3.

⁹⁹ Idem, "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1956, no. 11, p. 3; *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ (mc), "Rozmowy plastyków" [Conversations of visual artists], *Orzeł Biały* 1959, no. 17, p. 3.

England, began to think about the need to establish a union organization to support painters who created but did not exhibit their works. In 1957, an agreement was reached with artists who had already been recognized in England (Topolski, Gotlib, Żuławski, Ruszkowski, and Koper) and the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain was established.¹⁰¹ The first chairman was Tadeusz Koper, an outstanding sculptor, who, however, resigned after a few months; as a result, the authority was passed to the Board, which was originally headed by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, Zygmunt Kowalewski, Halina Sukiennicka, Aleksander Werner and Tadeusz Znicz-Muszyński, and from 1960 by Janina Baranowska. The position of the president was not restored until 1979 with the appointment of Stanisław Frenkiel and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko (appointed for life as an honorary president).

From 1980, the president was Janina Baranowska.¹⁰² The association was established as an institution operating at the Polish YMCA in London, in the premises located at 46/47 Kensington Gdns Sq.¹⁰³ It was to be a professional organization that looked after the interests of all its members and assisting them in their contacts with British authorities and institutions. This included artistic activities (organization of and participation in exhibitions), as well as copyrights and welfare issues. The Association's exhibitions were held annually, originally in the building of the Polish Library at Princes Gate and since the mid-1970s in its own gallery in the POSK building at King Street.

The Association of Polish Artists, with 80 members at the time of its inception, became a British and, in time, actually a worldwide organization of Polish visual artists working around the world. Artists from France, Italy, Germany, Sweden, and even the United States participated in the exhibitions organized by the APA.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ *Rocznik Polonii 1958–1959* [Polish diaspora's yearbook 1958–1959] (London) 1958, p. 194; *Contemporary Polish artists in Great Britain*, p. 6; S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 119.

¹⁰² S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 119.

¹⁰³ *Rocznik Polonii 1958–1959* [Polish diaspora's yearbook 1958–1959], p. 194.

¹⁰⁴ In 1961, the Association had about 60 members, see: B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 352.

At the annual exhibitions of the Association of Polish Artists in Britain, usually held in the reading room of the Polish Library in Kensington, and later at the Grabowski Gallery, the Technicians' House, and the Drian Galleries, Poles made up a small percentage of the visitors, and even fewer Poles visited exhibitions of Polish painting in British galleries. In the 1960s, this was clear evidence of the lack of interest in the Polish community in the fate and development of Polish painting in England.¹⁰⁵ Concerned that a lack of interest might condemn the achievements of many artists to oblivion, the Association, in consultation with the POSK, began collecting its members' works of art in 1965 with a view to documenting its own artistic output. In 1968, this collection of about 100 items (works by 27 artists at the time) was transferred to the POSK, although the formalities were not completed until 1972. These works are a permanent exhibition in the POSK building, and are cared for by the APA. Some art critics suggested the need to constantly supplement the collection with works by younger artists.¹⁰⁶

In 1974, the POSK's Visual Arts Committee was established. The construction of the new POSK building resulted in the renaming of the Committee as the Visual Arts Section, with Halina Sukiennicka as its head. The Section was tasked with caring for and enlarging the art collection donated by the APA. The planned permanent exhibition of the collection of Polish art abroad was never implemented; the paintings were hung without a special arrangement on the walls of a staircase.¹⁰⁷

Long before painters formed their own association, a professional association was formed by photographers – professional and amateur, including many who were already known before the war. In 1949, the first photography exhibition was held in the club of the Polish YMCA, organized by a group of photographers residing in London.¹⁰⁸ A year later, the Association of Polish Photographers (APP) in Great Britain (it had this name

¹⁰⁵ M. Bohusz-Szyszko, *Zbiory sztuki polskiej* [Collections of Polish art], p. 175.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁷ H. Sukiennicka, "Sprawozdanie Komisji Sztuk Plastycznych" [Report of the Visual Arts Committee], *Wiadomości POSK* 1976, no. 23, pp. 50–52.

¹⁰⁸ A. Drwęska, "Wystawy listopadowe w Londynie" [November exhibitions in London], *Orzeł Biały* 1950, no. 50, p. 3.

from 1958) was founded at the Polish YMCA in London – initially as the Photographic Club – which brought together such prominent photographers as Adam Arvey, Stefan Arvey, Eugeniusz Baziuk, Jerzy S. Lewiński, L. Santon-Święcicki, Władysław M. Marynowicz, and Henryk Mietkowski.

Exhibitions of the Club, and later the Association, were held in the YMCA Circle Room, and the Association's tasks included organizing trainings for amateurs, meetings, and lectures, and promoting photography by way of competitions.¹⁰⁹ The seat of the APP was the Circle of the Polish YMCA at 46/47 Kensington Gardens Square. During the following years, the APP showed its works in Polish and English clubs, galleries, and museums, photographers took part in international competitions¹¹⁰ and won top prizes, and some of them were elected to become members of the Royal Photographic Society (e.g., W. Marynowicz, Ludwik Meller, and Witold Pohlman). The retrospective exhibition organized on the occasion of the 1985 Congress of Polish Culture Abroad featured more than 120 works by 37 photographers.¹¹¹

For many years, painters and sculptors of "Polish origin" created and exhibited outside the Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain and Polish galleries. It was not until the mid-1980s that some consolidation took place of the activities carried out jointly by painters, sculptors, and graphic artists of Polish origin and Polish-born artists. It can hardly be ruled out that this occurred for political reasons, and the sudden increase

¹⁰⁹ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 336; [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1964, no. 8, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1956, no. 11, p. 3; idem, "Światowa Wystawa Fotografiki Polskiej na Obczyźnie" [World exhibition of Polish photography in Exile], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 8, pp. 1, 3.

¹¹¹ *Wystawa retrospektywna Stowarzyszenia Fotografików Polskich, Polska YMCA, Londyn 1950-1985* [A retrospective exhibition of the Association of Polish Photographers, Polish YMCA, London 1950-1985] [exhibition catalog], London 1985; B. T. Lesiecki, "Prace Stowarzyszenia Fotografików Polskich Polskiej YMCA" [Work of the Association of Polish Photographers of the Polish YMCA], in: E. Szczepanik and Z. Wałaszewski, eds., *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Work of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. I: *Ojczyzna w sercach: pokłosie kongresowe* [Home country in the hearts: the outcome of the congress], London 1986, pp. 72-76.

in interest in the search for Polish roots was related to a certain curiosity about events in Poland and the new emigration from Poland. The idea of such cooperation came precisely from the artists of the new emigration of the Solidarity period. In the autumn of 1985, on the initiative of Kasia Januszko and Stefan Szczelkun, the first meeting took place, at which a loose association was established and it was decided to publish a newsletter and intensify work aimed to organizing a joint exhibition. Early in the following year, the discussion held in the newsletter led to the development of a program and the establishment of an Anglo-Polish Artists Exhibition Group. After the exhibition “Our Wonderful Culture” held in January 1986 at “The Crypt” of St. George’s Church at Bloomsbury Way in London, in which some members of the group participated, and especially after an exhibition of six female painters of Polish origin at the POSK gallery¹¹² in April of that year, the grouping assumed the name BIGOS – Artists of Polish Origin.¹¹³

The “BIGOS” brought together Polish artists who came to England mainly in the 1980s and the children of émigrés – visual artists born and educated in Britain. They differed in their views on art, schools, the media, and affiliation with other groups. Not all of them spoke Polish.

The first major joint exhibition organized by the 22 members of the “BIGOS” was the one held at the Brixton Art Gallery in August and September 1986 (it was later moved to “The Crypt” at St. George’s Church). It was attended by Poles – Lydia Bauman, Andrzej Borkowski, Krystyna Borkowska, Margaret Białokoz Smith, Jerzy (George) Bort, Leszek Dabrowski, Michał Dymny, Kasia Januszko, and Ewa Mann, and children of Polish émigrés – Martin Blaszk, Tessa Blatchley, Maria Chevaska, Ruth Jacobson, Louise Severyn Kosinski, Simon Lewandowski, Rosita Matyniowa, Jamoula KcKean, Ondre Nowakowski, Margaret Ochocki, Józefa Rogocki, Jola Scicinski, Stefan Szczelkun, and Silvia C. Ziraneck.¹¹⁴

¹¹² The participants of the exhibition included: E. Mann, K. Borkowska, K. Januszko, J. Scicińska, R. Jacobson, and L. Bauman.

¹¹³ A. Borkowski, ed., *Bigos – Artists of Polish Origin*, London 1986.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

In the following years, the group's activities were subordinated to work on further exhibitions in Great Britain and to propaganda activities in Polish and British circles, also using the Internet and electronic media. In 1989, these activities began to extend to Poland. Notable exhibitions include those at the Watermans Art Centre in Brentford (1990), the Cartwright Hall in Bradford (1991), The Huddersfield City Art Gallery (1992), and the Polish Cultural Institute at the Portland Place in London (1998). The exhibitions were linked to performances and workshops.

In mid-2005, the members of the "BIGOS" group included: A. Borkowski, Basia Janowska, Danuta Sołowiej-Wedderburn, Ela Ciecierska – born in Poland, as well as Britons: Basia Muslewska, Karen Strang, Krystyna Shackleton Dzieszko, L. S. Kosińska, and S. Szczelkun.¹¹⁵

The few organizational initiatives and actions in defense of their own professional interests, in which Poles participated, included the action of Polish artists with studios in the Paddington district. Threatened with the closing of the studio, together with other painters (mostly from outside Great Britain), in 1951 they founded the "Paddington painters." The initiator of the joint action was H. Korn, who was assisted by M. Żuławski and F. Topolski.¹¹⁶

In the period after 1956, émigré artists began cooperating with the trade unions of visual artists in Poland. These contacts resulted mainly in exhibitions of "domestic" painters in London and a few exhibitions of "Londoners" in Poland. One of the few exhibitions of a "Londoner" in a renowned museum in Poland was that of F. Topolski at the National Museum in Warsaw. In 1961, an émigré and domestic group of artists called "Kraąg" (Circle) was also formed, the members of which included J. Baranowska, S. Frenkiel, and M. Łączyński. A large exhibition of the "Circle" was organized in Zielona Góra, and in 1963 in London.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ "Artists of Polish origin BIGOS," <http://www.bigos-art.org.uk> (accessed in November 2005).

¹¹⁶ A. Drwęska, "Półroczny bilans malarski" [Semi-annual painting balance sheet], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 38.

¹¹⁷ [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 45, p. 3; S. Frenkiel, "Dwie wystawy" [Two exhibitions], *Kontynenty* 1963, no. 52, p. 18.

In 1979, the last attempt to reactivate the “Circle” took place: it was an exhibition with the participation of émigrés, which took place again in Zielona Góra.¹¹⁸

PAINTING SCHOOLS

In the 20th century, there were several Polish or Polish-led schools in Britain that educated painters. As a rule, these were private schools, the graduates of which did not receive diplomas. However, there were also schools of a quasi-university nature. Various academic studies note schools established after 1939, mainly in London; we know nothing about schools existing before World War II, although their existence cannot be ruled out. Many outstanding Polish artists and artists of Polish origin achieved spectacular success during that period, also as indicated by the positions they held in artist organizations (Pilichowski) and painting schools (Bomberg). The ambition of prominent painters is to educate students, although this does not necessarily involve institutional teaching.

Polish artists who arrived in England after the war were able, with the help of the Polish government, to obtain scholarships and complete studies at British schools in England and Scotland in art, architecture, and artistic decoration.

Access to the most elite universities, such as the Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal College of Art, the Bath Academy, and the Slade School of Art at the University of London, where studies were reserved for well-connected people and – just after the war – RAF pilots, was difficult. Taking advantage of their connections and military service, Stefan Knapp, Jan Lubelski, Jan Wieliczko, and Andrzej Bobrowski enrolled in those schools. Most Poles studied at less known schools, though often characterized by a high quality of education. The most important center for artistic studies for Poles was Sir John Cass College, a renowned art academy in London. In 1947, thanks to the help of the English Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions, some 50 Polish students of painting were granted scholarships

¹¹⁸ “Wystawa ‘Kręgu’” [An exhibition by “Circle”], *Wiadomości* 1979, no. 23 (1732), p. 4.

there. Most of them were students and graduates of the painting school at the 2nd Corps. Thanks to the favor of Rector Edward Bainbridge Copnall, a former British Army officer who “had a great weakness for Poles, dating back to the African campaign,” almost all of them graduated successfully between 1947 and 1953.¹¹⁹ The students of the Sir John Cass College included Beutlich, Piesowocki, Werner, Mleczek, Dźwig, Dobrowolski, Kościałkowski, Znicz-Muszyński, and Eichler, but also those not affiliated with the School of Rome: Tadeusz Zieliński, Danuta Głuchowska, and S. Frenkiel.

Enumerating all the art schools where Poles studied does not seem possible due to lack of sources. However, the most important can be listed: the students at the Borough Polytechnic included J. Baranowska (she was taught by the aforementioned David Bomberg, one of the main protagonists of the British avant-garde), as well as M. Łączyński and D. Giercuskiewicz (Gierc); the Central School of Arts and Crafts was the alma mater of Krystyna Sadowska and Ewa Lubaczewska; the Ackland Burghley Comprehensive School was the alma mater of J. Piwowar; the Camberwell School of Art was the alma mater of T. Beutlich; the Glasgow School of Art was the alma mater of Stefan Baran; and the West Surrey College of Art was the alma mater of Leszek Muszyński. Other schools include the Chelsea School of Art in London (its students were A. Kuhn, Stasia Kania, and Ewa Wnęk; the St. Martin’s School of Art (D. Głuchowska, Zofia Pierzchało-Piasecka, Maria and Jarmołowicz-Hutton); the Ealing Art School in London (Emilia Kiknadze); and the Loretta College of Art in Manchester (S. Kania). Many artists graduated from several schools, thus supplementing their knowledge in various fields of artistic expression.

The first Polish and institutional attempt to organize artistic life also in the area of teaching (both in the expansion of the knowledge of art history and in the correction of artistic work) was the establishment of the “Polish painting studio” in London in 1942. It served as a studio for “homeless” painters and sculptors. It was used by B. Michałowska – a student of Tymon Niesiołowski in Vilnius, Aniela Szymańska – a pupil of Tadeusz Pruszyński; A. Kossowski, Rimma (Zofia) Szturm de Sztrem, Elżbieta Horodyńska, T. P. Potworowski, Jadwiga Walker, Władysław Mirecki, Z. Haupt,

¹¹⁹ S. Frenkiel, “Polskie malarstwo” [Polish painting], p. 116.

and T. Koper. The manager of the studio was H. Gotlib, who also – at the request of the artists using the studio – corrected the works, and also gave lectures to young painters on Polish art before 1939. A library was also created in the studio, and the painters wanted it to become a part of any of the destroyed Polish libraries after the war.¹²⁰

At the end of 1943, a New Art Studio was opened by the Exhibition Section of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government in Exile. It was located at 63 Old Brompton Rd and was intended to serve as a space for exhibitions and lectures, and a place for community gatherings.¹²¹

The establishment of the New Studio resulted in the studio headed by Gotlib being renamed in 1944 as Polish Studio of Painting – a private painting school. Gotlib ran his painting school until 1949. In 1946, its official patronage was assumed by the Institute of Culture of the Polish People's Republic. The teachers at Gotlib's first Studio included Aniela Dynaburska and R. Szturm de Sztrem. The names of the school's graduates are not known. In 1949, driven by ambition, Gotlib returned to Poland and became a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. However, when it became clear that he was unable to pursue "free teaching" in Poland, the painter returned to England and settled in Godstone, Surrey county.¹²² He re-established a painting school there, which functioned until the painter's death in 1967. Its students included K. Dźwig and Chrzanowski.¹²³

The most interesting and institutionally most enduring initiative to create Polish art schools in England was the successive art schools established by Marian Bohusz-Szyszko. The Polish School of Painting and Applied Graphic Art was established in 1947 on the initiative of Bohusz and with the support of Gen. Władysław Anders. The school was a unique phenomenon. It was established as a continuation of the Rome School of

¹²⁰ "Pracownia malarska w Londynie" [Painting studio in London], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1031, p. 3.

¹²¹ "Otwarcie Pracowni Artystycznej" [Opening of the Art Studio], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1017, p. 3.

¹²² S. Frenkiel, "Słowo o Henryku Gotlibie" [A word about Henryk Gotlib], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], pp. 220–221.

¹²³ *Ibidem*.

Painting established at the 2nd Corps in 1945 in Cechignola for the care of Polish soldiers-students of the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome.¹²⁴ Besides Bohusz-Szysko, the School's Scientific Council included Karolina Lanc-korońska and Kazimierz Pacewicz. When the School was transferred with the entire Corps to Great Britain in 1946, its guardian established first the Artists' Company in Sudbury (at the Polish Training and Deployment Corps (PKPR) camp) and then at Kingwood Common Camp near Reading in Suffolk. The Company was joined by artists residing in England and together they created the Painting and Graphic Arts School under the auspices of the Association of Professors and Docents of Polish Universities. Both students and teachers (including Wojciech Jastrzębowski) had to overcome the difficulties associated with the fact that soldiers were moved between camps and had to combine physical labor with their studies. In 1947–1948, there were 49 students at the School. The first diplomas were handed out on July 28, 1948 on the occasion of an exhibition in the barracks at the PKPR camp. At that time, 19 first visual artists graduated from the school, with 13 receiving their graduation diploma (T. Beutlich, R. Demel, K. Dźwig, J. Eichler, Filip Kaufmann, Napoleon Kłosowski, Henryk Paar, L. Piesowocki, Kazimierz Stachiewicz, S. Starzyński, Alfred Szeliga, A. Werner, and T. Znicz-Muszyński), three completed their third year of study (A. Dobrowolski, Stefan Łukaczyński, and Alojzy Mazur), and others completed two years of study (Zbigniew Adamowicz, A. Bobrowski, and Marian Panas). The exhibition showcased 350 works by all the students. The exhibition, which was visited by Polish Prime Minister Gen. Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski, Gen. Władysław Anders with his staff, and Ambassador Edward Raczyński, was a spectacular success.¹²⁵

In 1950, the Academic Community of the Stefan Batory University Abroad took over the care of the school, treating the School as a continuation of the tradition of the Faculty of Fine Arts of the SBU in Vilnius. The school changed its name to the Easel Painting School and gained the status

¹²⁴ J. W. Sienkiewicz, *Marian Bohusz-Szysko*, pp. 73–78.

¹²⁵ "Szkoła sztuk pięknych w Kingwood" [School of fine arts in Kingwood], *Przegląd Polski* 1948, no. 9, pp. 52–53; [C. Bednarczyk] Cz. B., "Dziwne pokolenie malarzy" [A strange generation of painters], *Życie* 1948, no. 29 (62), p. 3.

of a quasi-university. All subsequent graduation exhibitions were held as part of the official October Inaugurations of the Community's academic year, usually on the premises of the Polish YMCA. Classes at the School were held in three-day cycles on Saturdays, Sundays, and part of Mondays.

Lectures on art history were given by M. Bohusz-Szyszko and Stefania Zahorska, graphic art was taught by A. Werner, and material technology by R. Demel.¹²⁶ In addition to teaching, the school conducted intensive popularization activities among students. Bohusz-Szyszko organized excursions to museums every Sunday, and shows of Polish photography, posters, graphic art, and art dolls were held at the school. In the early 1960s, graduates and alumni of Bohusz-Szyszko's painting schools, including "Group 49" and the 1948 graduates, made up the majority of painters exhibiting their works in London.¹²⁷

In 1978, the School became a part of the Polish University Abroad (PUNO) and was affiliated as one of its faculties – the Faculty of Painting (since 1986 – as a faculty committee of Fine Arts). The first graduates of the school organized with the SBU Academic Community were such artists as Tadeusz Ilnicki (1906), a graduate of the art school in Odessa (1926–1927) and the Paris schools in the 1930s, who received the first diploma of the School in 1952; H. Nałęcz, who studied in Vilnius and Paris before the war and graduated in 1953; Jerzy Stocki, a graduate of the State Institute of Art in Poznań; Jan Pejsak, who first studied in Vilnius; E. Kiknadze, a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw; Olga Karczewska, who first studied in Cologne and Paris, and later at the London School of Art and the Chelsea School of Art; and J. Piwowar (1904), a graduate of the State Institute of Industrial Design in Poznań. Among the graduates of the School were artists who in the 1960s–80s determined the shape and quality of Polish painting in the British Isles, including: J. Baranowska, Ludwik Dygat, Jan Pieńkowski, Wiesław Szejbal, Witold Szejbal, Irena Fusek-Forosiewicz, Irena Jakubowska, S Kania, Zofia Pierzchało-Piasecka, Maria Jarmułowicz-Hutton, Ewa Wnęk,

¹²⁶ "Z życia Y.M.C.A." [From the life of YMCA], *Poradnik Kulturalno-Oświatowy* 1952, no. 146/147, p. 30.

¹²⁷ [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 45, p. 3.

H. Sukiennicka, Maryła Michałowska, Helena Wawrzekiewiczowa, Karolina Borchardt, Z. Kłóś, S. Stachowicz, Stanisława Witorzeniec, and Wojciech Falkowski. By 1978, the School had issued 93 diplomas (102 students had graduated from the School, including 26 foreigners), and 650 students of various nationalities had studied there. During the most dynamic period, 48 students studied there simultaneously.¹²⁸ Despite the attendance of international students, it was a Polish school. Lectures were held in Polish, although the M. Bohusz-Szyszko corrected the works by non-Polish students in English. The teachers included Stefania Zahorska, Alexander Werner, and Ryszard Demel. The tradition of the Vilnius Faculty of Fine Arts was also preserved by requiring the students – including foreigners – to pass an exam in art history as well as the history of the Stefan Batory University before receiving their diploma. Classes were initially held at the “White Eagle” Club, and after the fire at the Club in 1954, they were moved to the seat of the Polish YMCA. In 1979, the artist’s studio, and thus the classes, were moved to the building of St. Christopher’s Hospice on the outskirts of London (the artist married the hospice founder Dame Cicely Saunders).¹²⁹ Bohusz-Szyszko’s best paintings serve as furnishings for the patients’ modest rooms there.

In 1961, a painting school for beginners and advanced painters was established in Chelsea. The founders of the school named Kathleen Browne Painting School were Kathleen Browne and Marian Kratochwil. One of Kratochwil’s famous students was Kay Hinwood.

In addition to lecturing on art history and theory, and practical classes at his own school, Kratochwil taught at the Epsom School of Art. He spent four years preparing a textbook on art in English.¹³⁰

A completely separate issue, also not previously researched, is the extent of the influence and impact of the work of Polish painters and sculp-

¹²⁸ M. Bohusz-Szyszko, “Dyplomanci Studium Malarstwa Stalugowego Społeczności Akademickiej U.S.B.” [Graduates of the easel painting school of the SBU Academic Community] [1978], typescript; Archives of Emigration.

¹²⁹ Józef Piłsudski Institute in London, B. Podoski’s archive, collection 107, file 12.

¹³⁰ Z. Kratochwil, “Twórczość Mariana Kratochwila” [The creative work of Marian Kratochwil], *Archiwum Emigracji. Studia, szkice, dokumenty* 2002/2003, vol. 5/6, pp. 63–72; D. Buckman, *The Dictionary of Artists in Britain Since 1945*, London 1998, p. 586.

tors living in England on the work of British visual artists and – in general – British art. This involves more than the influence that teachers of art schools founded or run by Poles (Gotlib, Bohusz-Szyszko, and Kratochwil) made on non-Polish graduates, but the influence resulting from reading the theoretical works of, e.g., Potworowski, one of the most important landscape painters of the so-called Bath school, or the sensations that arise from interacting with works of visual art.

The first person to allow himself to hint at such influences – based solely on press releases – was David Buckman, the author of a dictionary of British artists after 1945. Buckman's dictionary states that painter Mary Fox (1922), worked under the great influence of the works of Polish and German painters, including in particular Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Walter Nessler, and Jan Wieliczko;¹³¹ Paul Bird (1923–1993) created under the influence of Walter Sickert and the color theory of Tadeusz Piotr Potworowski;¹³² and Millie Frod (1900–1988) – a painter and teacher – drew her inspiration from the work of Józef Herman and Jankiel Adler.¹³³ This issue requires much more detailed research based also on an analysis of the creative output.

EXHIBITION ACTIVITIES

With the outbreak of the war between Poland and Germany, interest in Polish affairs in Great Britain increased. This included cultural events: musical concerts, theatrical performances dedicated to the fighting Poles, and art exhibitions. The first exhibitions of Polish art took place even before the defeat of France and the mass emigration of Poles to England. Importantly, exhibitions were organized not only in London. In March and April 1940, an “Exhibition of Polish Art” was prepared at the City of Manchester Art Gallery.¹³⁴

¹³¹ D. Buckman, *The Dictionary*, p. 442.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 151.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 495.

¹³⁴ *Exhibition of Polish art 20th March to 28 April 1940*, Manchester [1940], p. 19.

With the evacuation of the government and the army in May 1940, many Polish painters and sculptors arrived in the British Isles, having never visited Britain before, unfamiliar with the local art community, museums, and galleries – they did not even know the language. The duty to help organize the artistic life of visual artists fell, on the one hand, upon the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government-in-Exile, and on the other hand, upon The British Council,¹³⁵ which facilitated discussions with museum institutions and professional organizations of British visual artists.

One of the first exhibitions on British soil involving new émigrés took place as early as in November 1940 in the Scottish town of Dunfermline.¹³⁶ Its organizer was, immensely active during the war, Oktawian Jastrzembski (1899–1982), a watercolorist who, after studying at the SBU in Vilnius, worked for seven years as a Foreign Ministry official in Paris, where the war found him.

After the Battle of Narvik, he arrived in Scotland, where he was involved in organizing numerous exhibitions of Polish soldiers-painters. He also organized exhibitions of his own works. In 1949, he moved permanently to Canada. He was an art connoisseur and collector.¹³⁷

The exhibition in Dunfermline aroused great interest among the Scottish public, which resulted in the invitation of Polish artists the following summer to participate in the 115th annual exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh. Poles showed 74 works (out of the total of 729 exhibited works) by painters, sculptors, and architects such as A. Żyw, S. Kowalczewski, K. Skrzypecki, Z. Ruzkowski, A. Wasilewski, H. Gotlib, M. Żuławski, F. Topolski, E. Wiczorek, A. Wart (A. Bunsch), E. Horodyński, E. Jakubowski, S. Mikuła, O. Jastrzembski, J. Sekalski, J. Faczyński, W. Kasperski, J. Żakowski, T. Rytarowski, J. S. Pągowski, C. Kopeć, R. Sołtyński, S. Jankowski, T. Siecz-

¹³⁵ The full name of the institution: The British Council for Aid to Refugees, London, 19 Dunraven St.

¹³⁶ W. Cz., "Edinburgh as a Polish Art Center," *The Voice of Poland* 1947, no. 18, p. 14.

¹³⁷ H. Bartnicka-Górska, J. Szczepińska-Tramer, *W poszukiwaniu światła, kształtu i barw. Artyści polscy wystawiający w Salonach paryskich w latach 1884–1960* [In search of light, shape, and colors. Polish artists exhibiting in Paris Salons in 1884–1960], Warsaw 2005, p. 315.

kowski, B. Szmidt, S. Tyrowicz, Z. Borysowicz, W. Lalewicz, and B. Rudzki.¹³⁸ The presence of Poles in the “summer and autumn salons in Scotland,” i.e. the Royal Scottish Academy and National Gallery exhibitions, between 1941 and 1947, was the most significant contribution of Polish art to the Scottish culture during the war. This presence, however, diminished with each passing year: only Jadwiga Walker, Z. Kruszelnicka, Z. Haupt, O. Jastrzembski, J. Faczyński, Z. Ruszkowski, S. Przespolewski, Brochwicz-Lewiński, Dzierminowicz, Żyw, and Szwarz¹³⁹ took part in the 117th exhibition in the summer of 1943, and Gotlib, Żuławski, Mars, Natanson, W. Sadowska-Wanke, H. Korn, G. Kamieńska, K. Sadowska, Kulesza, W. Mirecki, B. Leśniewicz, and E. Horodyński additionally exhibited their works in the “autumn salon” of that year.¹⁴⁰ In 1947, the 121st exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy included only three works by artists living in Scotland: two drawings by S. Przespolewski and a sculpture by W. Kasperski.¹⁴¹

The presence of soldiers from many allied armies on Scottish soil, among whom Poles were the majority, meant that the organization of artistic events largely became the duty of the commanders of Polish troops in Scotland. In 1941, in cooperation with The British Council, the military authorities organized an exhibition of the works of painters, sculptors, and draftsmen of the allied armies, both soldiers and civilians. The exhibition was held almost simultaneously with the “summer salon,” in a building adjacent to the Royal Scottish Academy – the National Gallery of Scotland. The exhibition at the Scottish National Gallery, titled “The Exhibition of Works by Artists of our Allies,” which was opened on May 30, brought together works by artists from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland, with works by Polish authors accounting for more than half (259) of the total of 428 works by art-

¹³⁸ W. Cz., “Edinburgh as a Polish Art Center,” p. 14.

¹³⁹ [T. Jeleńska] Jel., “Salon i sala odczytowa” [Salon and lecture room], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 875, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Eadem, “Salon jesienny w Edynburgu” [Autumn salon in Edinburgh], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1030, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ W. Cz., *Edinburgh as a Polish Art Center*, s. 14.

ists of the "allied nations."¹⁴² The exhibitions included paintings, drawings, and sculptures of such artists as Mieczysław Podgrabiński, Zdzisław Ruszkowski, Aleksander Żyw, Witold Mars, Józef Natanson, Jerzy Faczyński, Him, Rajmund Kanelba, Stefania Gorczyńska, Marek Szwarc, Zygmunt Haupt, Roman Sołtyński, and Oktawian Jastrzembki.

An analogous exhibition of "allied" painters, supplemented by works by artists living in London, was prepared a year later at the London-based National Gallery, from whose walls the museum works were removed. In March 1942, the reviewer Teresa Jeleńska wrote: "There is now a war reigning in the National Gallery."¹⁴³ The exhibition included works by Marek Szwarc, Kuszelnicka-Langowska, Wart (Bunsch), Skrzypecki, Żyw, Mars, Ruszkowski, Jastrzębowski, Jakubowski, Paprotny, Klocek, Sterling, Żuławski, Henelt, Grotowski, Natanson, Turyn, Faczyński, Haupt, Topolski, Gleb-Kratochwil, Wasilewski, Mikuła, and Kowalczewski.

Great propaganda success was achieved in 1941–1943 by an exhibition of 170 works by five Polish artists-soldiers from the 10th Armored Cavalry Brigade stationed in Scotland: Zygmunt Haupt, Stanisław Mikuła, Andrzej Warta (Bunsch), Antoni Wasilewski, and Aleksander Żyw.¹⁴⁴ Organized in August 1941 by the Polish government's Ministry of Information, it was expected to tour Great Britain. It was shown in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, where the exhibition was combined with a lecture by Henryk Gotlib, as well as in small towns away from big cities and in military units.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² "Malarze polscy w Edynburgu" [Polish painters in Edinburgh], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1941, no. 35, p. 4; *Exhibition of works by artists of our allies: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland*, Under the Auspices of The British Council, May 1941, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh 1941.

¹⁴³ *Allied nations art exhibition for the forces*, London 1943, p. 19; [T. Jeleńska] Jel., "Oblicze wojny" [The face of war], *Dziennik Polski* 1942, no. 523, p. 3; H. Gotlib, "'Forces Exhibition' w Londynie" ["Forces Exhibition" in London], *Polska Walcząca* 1942, no. 14/15, p. 5; [T. Jeleńska] Jel., "Wystawa sprzymierzonych" [Exhibition of the allies], *Dziennik Polski* 1942, no. 564, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ *The art of five Polish soldiers serving with the 10th Polish Mech. Cavalry Brigade. Catalogue*, Great Britain [1942].

¹⁴⁵ [A. Wasilewski] Tony, "Wystawa Pięciu" [An exhibition of five], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 878; H. Gotlib, "Polski miesiąc w Leicester" [A Polish month in Leicester], *Polska Walcząca*

In March 1942, a major exhibition of photography took place in Edinburgh, at the National Gallery of Scotland, titled “Through Polish Eyes,” which included art and documentary photography of the war years. The published catalog contains information that the exhibition was co-organized by the Edinburgh Photographic Society, with the patronage of the British Council.¹⁴⁶ The exhibition “toured” 15 cities across Great Britain during the year.

The numerous wartime exhibitions included, for example, the exposition reviewed in the Polish press at the YMCA premises at the Charing Cross Station held in February 1943, with the participation of Gotlib, Koper, and Konarska.¹⁴⁷ Also noteworthy was the participation of Polish painters in the “summer salon” at the Royal Academy of Arts at Piccadilly. Among more than a thousand works by painters and sculptors – mainly British, works of R. Kanelba, T. Koper, Herbert Markiewicz, Maria Seyda, F. Topolski, and M. Żuławski were shown.¹⁴⁸

The most famous Polish exhibition held during the war was an exhibition organized between January 19 and February 2, 1944 by The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain on the premises of The Allied Circle in London. Twenty Polish painters and sculptors showed their artistic achievements created after 1939. The exhibition included works by A. Dynaburska, H. Gotlib, Z. Haupt, J. Henelt, R. Kanelba, J. Konarska, B. Michałowska, S. Miłkuła, J. Natanson, T. P. Potworowski, HOG (Helena Okołowicz-Oneszczyk), Z. Ruskowski, R. Szturm de Sztrem, F. Topolski, M. Żuławski, and A. Żyw.

Probably the last exhibition of soldiers’ works was the exposition, held with the participation of Polish artists in uniform, of art and ornamentation of the 1st British Corps in early 1947 in Iserlohn, Scotland. Poles – soldiers of the 1st. Armored Division, which was part of the British Corps – won

1942, no. 51, p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ *Through Polish eyes. Exhibition of Polish artistic and record photographs under the patronage of the British Council and with help of the Edinburgh Photographic Society, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, from 6th to 29th March 1942, Edinburgh 1942.*

¹⁴⁷ E. Markowa, “Sztuka dla żołnierza z udziałem artystów polskich” [Art for the soldier with the participation of Polish artists], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 796, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ [A. Wasilewski] T., “Salon letni” [The summer salon], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 873, p. 5.

nine first prizes at that exhibition: in the painting section, the first prize went to Tarpowa, and in the drawing section, to S. Repeta.¹⁴⁹

The exhibition of paintings by H. Gotlib and M. Żuławski, and sculptures by T. Koper, organized on September 8–30, 1942 at the Agnews Gallery at Old Bond Street, where Topolski usually exhibited before the war, was a great success.¹⁵⁰

In October 1944, a collective "Polish Exhibition" was held at the Graves Art Gallery in Sheffield.¹⁵¹ The catalog for that exhibition lists works by Polish artists living in London before 1939, as well as wartime émigrés. Most of them were at the time members of the Trade Union of Polish Visual Artists in Great Britain. The exhibition showed works by Gotlib, Koper, Natanson, Kossowski, Ruszkowski, Topolski, and Żuławski.¹⁵²

For many post-war years, the only institution that regularly organized Polish exhibitions and took an interest in the development and achievements of Polish painters in Great Britain was the Polish YMCA in London. The YMCA's exhibition hall at Bayswater Road (not far from Paddington) hosted exhibitions by beginning and mature painters. In addition, on behalf of the YMCA, still in the 1960s, tours of London galleries were organized every Sunday for Poles interested in learning about art. Usually, the guide to the exhibitions was Marian Bohusz-Szyszko, who benefited from the hospitality of the YMCA to conduct classes and exhibitions of the Painting School on its premises.¹⁵³

In 1949, the Poets and Painters' Publishing House (OPiM) was founded, with a logo designed by Zygmunt Turkiewicz. The OPiM was to be a kind of "commune," cooperative, and workshop for writers and painters, where poets, novelists, and graphic artists would participate in the creation of their own books. The statute of the OPiM, drawn up by Czesław Bednarczyk,

¹⁴⁹ "Sukces I Dywizji Pancerniej na wystawie I Korpusu Brytyjskiego" [Success of the 1st Armor Division at the exhibition of the 1st British Corps], *Przegląd Polski* 1947, no. 3, p. 54.

¹⁵⁰ *Catalogue: Henryk Gotlib, Marek Żuławski, Tadeusz Koper, 8th-30th September 1942*, [London 1942]; [T. Jeleńska] Jel., "Gotlib, Żuławski, Koper," *Dziennik Polski* 1942, no. 670, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ Adam Kossowski. *Murals and paintings*, p. 126.

¹⁵² "Wystawa malarzy polskich" [An exhibition of Polish painters], *Polska Walcząca* 1944, no. 6 (204).

¹⁵³ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 335.

assumed the financial participation of the “members” of that cooperative in the form of contributions and bearing the costs of distribution of publications, and probably this was the reason why only a few painters decided to cooperate more closely with the new publishing house. In 1950, Bednarczyk, thanks to his collaboration with Stanisław Gliwa, began publishing books in Mabledon Park, where they were working at the time. The two printers’ differing views on the role of illustrations in a book caused them to part ways after publishing only a few volumes together. Gliwa continued to operate the print shop under his own name, and the OPiM became independent by working with other graphic artists. For several visual artists, this was an opportunity to publish their own graphic art or illustrate their friends’ books. The OPiM provided “employment,” or rather the opportunity to publish their own works, to such artists as, among others, Z. Turkiewicz, M. Kościałkowski, M. Bohusz-Szyszko, A. Werner, Krystyna Herling-Grudzińska, and S. Baran. Two others, T. Piotrowski and F. Topolski, had the opportunity to publish their own art books.¹⁵⁴ Despite strong ties with artists of “Group 49” – manifested, among others, in the publication of their works in OPiM’s columns in the press – the album-folder of “Group 49” members’ drawings, planned for 1952, did not appear.¹⁵⁵

The output of Polish graphic artists and illustrators, typographers, book and press illustrators, as well as authors of specific publishing forms, such as F. Topolski’s “Chronicle,” is an important contribution to the artistic output of “Polish London.” More than a dozen major publishing houses operated in the British capital in the post-war period, with output numbering in the hundreds or even thousands of titles. As a rule, the graphic design of Polish books was handled by Poles, among them prominent painters, draftsmen, or graphic artists, for whom the preparation of illustrations or cover design was a courtesy or incidental activity.

Such visual artists include S. Frenkiel, who designed the cover for Marian Pankowski’s book at the OPiM, Z. Turkiewicz, who designed the cover

¹⁵⁴ J. Kryszak, M. A. Supruniuk, *Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy 1949–1991* [Poets and Painters’ Publishing House 1949–1991], Toruń 1992, p. 17.

¹⁵⁵ “Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy” [Poets and Painters’ Publishing House], *Życie* 1952, no. 4, p. 3; M. Bohusz-Szyszko, “Plastyka” [Visual art], *Życie* 1952, no. 4, p. 4.

for poems by Jan Olechowski (OPiM), A. Kossowski, who designed covers for Jerzy Kossowski, S. Kossowska, and Antoni Boguslawski, and the anniversary books of *Wiadomości*, A. Werner, who cooperated for a time with the Polish Cultural Foundation, and S. Knapp, who designed Stanisława Kruszelnicka's book *Dziwy życia* [Life's wonders] (Veritas 1948). In most cases, the authors of covers and illustrations were visual artists less or not at all familiar with the exhibition business, who specialized in that form of artistic expression. This group of graphic artists and illustrators includes: S. Gliwa (Gryf, Oficyna S. Gliwy, PFK, Veritas, Dziennik Polski), Tadeusz Terlecki (Gryf, PFK, Veritas, Orbis, B. Świdorski), Janina Chrzanowska (Sikorski Institute, PFK, Veritas), Danuta Laskowska (OPiM, PFK, Veritas), Andrzej Krauze (Kontra, Aneks), W. R. Szomański (Libella, PFK), Grzegorz Sowula (PFK), Irena Ludwig (PFK, Veritas), Jerzy Faczyński (Veritas), Maria Skibińska (PFK), Tadeusz Orłowicz (Gryf, PFK).¹⁵⁶

In mid-1951, the London branch of the Association of Polish Students Abroad organized a small exhibition of art by Polish students in Great Britain. The exhibition was not very successful in artistic terms and was more of a social and community event, but after a year it turned out that the number of students willing to show their work increased significantly. The purpose of the subsequent exhibitions was to exchange experiences and provide a kind of mutual organization of the young artists' community, and to a lesser extent to promote artistic values. Other exhibitions, which showcased works by art, architecture, and industrial design students, were held at the Gen. Sikorski Historical Institute or the Veterans' House, where the Association had its seat, until the late 1950s and even longer, although after 1955 the exhibition activities were taken over by the Polish Association at the University of London.¹⁵⁷ The 3rd Annual Exhibition of Works by Art Students in 1953 had a particularly great resonance in the émigré press. Of the approximately 3,000 students, both Poles and Britons

¹⁵⁶ *Okładki książek polskich w Anglii* [Covers of Polish books in England] [exhibition catalog compiled by J. L. Englert], London 1981.

¹⁵⁷ B. W., "Nie od razu Kraków zbudowano" [Cracow was not built in a day], *Życie Akademickie* 1952, no. 6/7, p. 2; [note], *Życie Akademickie* 1953, no. 4, p. 8; B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 539.

of Polish descent, as many as 250 studied art or architecture at universities in Great Britain during that period. The submitted works were selected by Topolski and Pacewicz, which probably guaranteed the exhibition's high level. Of the artists active in later years, Głuchowska and Giercuskiewicz made their debuts at the time.¹⁵⁸

There is no doubt that Polish exhibitions, both group and individual, in Polish galleries or buildings with gallery halls, were the only way to ensure a reasonably permanent presence of Polish art in the émigré community and the British environment. Poles rarely held exhibitions in major English galleries, and even more rarely participated in group exhibitions of British artists organized by the Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal Society of Artists, the London Group, and other organizations and associations. The major British galleries where Poles exhibited after 1945 listed by Frenkiel are Wimpel & Fils (Adler, Potworowski, Żuławski, and Kościałkowski) and Zwemmer (Łączyński).¹⁵⁹

Among the great museums, the exhibitions at the Victoria & Albert Museum were of particular importance, but the participation of Poles in those exhibitions was sporadic (Potworowski, Żuławski).¹⁶⁰ In 1960, the only Polish exhibition was held at Buckingham Palace; F. Topolski decorated one of the rooms of the royal palace with his frescoes.

The participation of Poles in English exhibitions outside Great Britain was completely sporadic. It should be noted, however, that after the early 1950s there was a steady increase in the number of small exhibitions in small private galleries and auction houses featuring Polish artists individually or together with British painters and sculptors. Poles were also present in major art events in the British Isles, such as the South-Bank Exhibition and the International Theater Festival in Edinburgh.¹⁶¹ That presence was

¹⁵⁸ M. Wróblewski, "Wystawa prac polskich studentów sztuki" [Exhibition of works of Polish art students], *Życie* 1953, no. 20, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ S. Frenkiel, "Polskie malarstwo" [Polish painting], p. 122.

¹⁶⁰ [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 1, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ A. Drwęska, "Półroczny bilans malarski" [Semi-annual painting balance sheet], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 38, p. 3; W. S-ki, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 37, p. 3.

so significant that in the late 1950s and early 1960s, reviewers describing Polish cultural events noted: "as far as exhibitions by Polish visual artists are concerned, it is quite difficult to keep up noting them,"¹⁶² "we live in a veritable kaleidoscope of exhibitions by Polish visual artists,"¹⁶³ "Polish art events have multiplied,"¹⁶⁴ "an unbroken chain of exhibitions and shows,"¹⁶⁵ and "in visual arts, there is a continuous string of inaugurations of exhibitions by Polish artists."¹⁶⁶

The annual exhibitions of Polish visual artists, mainly from Great Britain for financial reasons, organized by the APA were the only opportunity to present their artistic output from the late 1960s. From 1968, an exhibition was linked to "The Garby Prize" (Garby Award) for the best exhibitor (a medal and reimbursement of the cost of an individual exhibition) handed by Roman Garby-Czerniawski.¹⁶⁷ The winners of the first medals were K. Dźwig, W. Fusek-Forosiewicz, M. Bohusz-Szyszko, Magda Sawicka, Z. Turkiewicz, Ewa Rusiecka, S. Witorzeniec, J. Baranowska, and T. Znicz-Muszyński.¹⁶⁸

In the mid-1960s, the number of art events involving Poles in Great Britain stabilized. Its regular features included an annual exhibition of painters and sculptors affiliated with the APA, an exhibition of the work of students and graduates of the Easel Painting School, and an exhibition of the output of the Association of Photographers. Each year, smaller or larger Polish exhibitions – individual, group, and with the participation of Poles – were organized by Polish galleries: the Grabowski Gallery, the Drian Gallery, and the Cassel Gallery, and by the Polish YMCA in its Club Room. Also, group exhibitions were held each year of British art groups with Polish members,

¹⁶² [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1957, no. 50, p. 3.

¹⁶³ Idem, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1959, no. 16, p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ Idem, "Polskie życie plastyczne" [Polish visual art life], *Orzeł Biały* 1956, no. 11, p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Idem, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 25, p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ Idem, "Polskie życie kulturalne" [Polish Cultural Life], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 1, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ *Association of Polish Artists in Great Britain - 7-25 October 68* [exhibition folder], Drian Gallery.

¹⁶⁸ B. O. Jeżewski, *Polski Londyn / Polish guide to London 1973/1974*, London 1973, p. 89; B. O. Jeżewski, *Polski Londyn / Polish guide to London 1976*, London 1976, p. 94.

notably the London Group, the Free Painters Group, and the National Art Society. To those listed above, one should add individual exhibitions of the works of some of the most outstanding Polish painters and sculptors living abroad, such as Topolski, Żuławski, Ruszkowski, Kossowski, Knapp, Black, Koper, Nałęcz, and Baranowska (as well as a growing number of painters from Poland in that period) held in small and large galleries throughout the Britain. One can venture a statistical assessment, according to which nearly 80 Polish visual artists participated in about 20 events during that period (some in several events a year).¹⁶⁹

Many initiatives related to the promotion of Polish art abroad were undertaken by young writers, journalists, and publishers, gathered around student and graduate magazines such as *Życie Akademickie*, *Merkuriusz Polski*, and *Kontynenty*, as well as the Association of Polish Students Abroad. In the early 1950s, they organized exhibitions of works of art by students, but they were accused of having no respect for Polish culture. An attempt to reconcile tradition and “modernity” was the art supplement to *Merkuriusz Polski*. Several issues of the periodical from the first half of 1956 featured Marian Kratochwil’s “Szkicownik Kresowy” [Borderland sketchbook] in the form of separate panels and drawings in the text.¹⁷⁰ In the early 1960s, a group of writers gathered around the *Kontynenty* magazine ran the Klub “Piątego Koła” (“Fifth wheel” club) in London, which brought together people who were “alienated from the émigré cultural community.” One of the founders of the Club was Zdzisław Broncel. Among those attending the Club’s meetings were numerous painters, including S. Frenkiel and A. Werner.¹⁷¹

In September 1970, on the occasion of the Congress of Contemporary Polish Science and Culture Abroad, the visual arts section of the Congress prepared two major exhibitions of contemporary art by Polish visual artists living abroad: at the Imperial College at the Exhibition Road (September

¹⁶⁹ J. Ostrowski, “Życie kulturalne polskiego Londynu” [The cultural life of the Polish London], *Orzeł Biały* 1966, no. 2, pp. 43–45; J. W., “Letnia wystawa w Cassel Gallery” [The summer exhibition at the Cassel Gallery], *Kronika* 1964, no. 31, p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Merkuriusz Polski* 1956, no. 2, p. 1; no. 5, panel.

¹⁷¹ B. Czaykowski, B. Sulik, *Polacy w W. Brytanii* [Poles in Great Britain], p. 365.

9–12) and the same exhibition at the POSK (September 15–October 6). They showcased the works of nearly 60 Polish artists from all over the “émigré” community – exclusively easel paintings. The artists residing in England whose works were presented are Baranowska, Beutlich, Bohusz-Szysko, Bobrowski, Karolina Borchardt, Krystyna M. Czelyny, Dobrowolski, Barbara Domańska, Dźwig, Frenkiel, Władysław i Irena Fusek-Forosiewicz, Głuchowska, Gotlib, Andrzej Grabowski, Ewa Ilnicka, Irena Jakubowska, Karczewska, Kłóś, Korn, Kossowski, Kościałkowski, Roland A. Łubieński-Wentworth, Halina Martin, Nałeczowa, Piesowocki, Piwowar, Anna Przyłęcka, Stanisław Reychan, Maria Rogoyska, Ruszkowski, Stasia Stachowicz, Stocki, Sukienicka, Szomański, Terlecki, Turkiewicz, Tadeusz Wąs, Werner, Stanisława Witorzeniec, Zieliński, and Znicz-Muszyński. Illustrations of their works were shown, unfortunately in black and white, in a separate catalog titled *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie* [Polish contemporary art in exile]. For incomprehensible reasons, the exhibition lacked paintings by Topolski, Żuławski, and several other painters of the older generation.¹⁷² The next Congress held in 1985 was also an occasion for an exhibition and even several separate presentations.¹⁷³

In the mid-1970s, the Confraternity of Polish Artists in Great Britain was established in London on the initiative of Ewa and Stanisław Rusiecki.¹⁷⁴ It benefited from the care of the POSK, where all its art events were held. One of the most famous events was the great exhibition of visual artists held on May 3–11, 1975 at the POSK Party Hall. It showcases more than 150 exhibits (paintings, drawings, photographs, and sculptures) by the following artists: S. Baran, Wojciech Cichocki (drawings), Eugeniusz Kokosiński (photographs), D. Kozłowska-Głuchowska, Irena Kuhn (paper sculptures), Stefan Legeżyński, W. Marynowicz (photographs), Maria Aniela Pawlikowska, Maria Luisa Pawlikowska (graphic art), Maria Rajecka

¹⁷² *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie / Contemporary art by Polish artists in exile*, London 1970.

¹⁷³ *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. 1, pp. 59–76.

¹⁷⁴ C. Bednarczyk, *W podmostowej arkadzie* [In the under-bridge arcade], London 1988, p. 105.

(graphic art), Maria Rogoyska (textiles), Ewa Rusiecka, Stanisław Rusiecki, Maria Dowling-Skibińska, Jerzy Stocki (sculptures), Helena Waszczukowa, S. Witorzeniec, and Barbara Zielińska.

The Confraternity also organized individual exhibitions: an exhibition of paintings by Jadwiga Rostowska and sculptures by Czesław Kelsey-Koładynski was held in 1980.¹⁷⁵

The year 1981 was a brief period of “flirtation” between domestic and émigré artists. Greater freedom of artistic expression and ease of receiving a passport meant that exhibitions by painters living in Poland were possible in Polish galleries in London or Paris. The numerous joint initiatives included, for example, the “AK w sztuce” (the Home Army in art) competition held in London in March 1981. The jury, chaired by M. Bohusz-Szyszkowski and Z. Ruszkowski, awarded four prizes: two each to Polish and émigré artists. The prizes were awarded to M. Łączyński and J. Stocki.

The 1985 Congress of Polish Culture Abroad, prepared on a grand scale, included in its program several artistic events in various fields. These included music concerts, theatrical performances, three bibliophilic exhibitions – of émigré diaries, émigré ex-libris, and covers of Polish books published abroad, a stamp collection exhibition, and an exhibition of the output of the 35 years of existence of the Association of Polish Photographers.¹⁷⁶ It seems that the most important artistic endeavor was an exhibition of paintings, graphic art, and sculptures by 62 artists residing in Great Britain titled “Polish contemporary art abroad,” shown at the POSK Gallery between September 14 and 20. The fact that the exhibition was limited only to works of art created in Great Britain was due to financial and technical considerations.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ “Plastyka” [Visual art], *Przegląd Powszechny* 1980, no. 9, p. 24.

¹⁷⁶ *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. 1, pp. 59–76; 111 *Wystawa retrospektywna Stowarzyszenia Fotografików Polskich, Polska YMCA, Londyn 1950–1985* [A retrospective exhibition of the Association of Polish Photographers, Polish YMCA, London 1950–1985] [an exhibition catalog], London 1985; J. L. Englert, *Ex-libris polski na obczyźnie* [Polish ex-libris in exile] [an exhibition catalog], London 1985.

¹⁷⁷ J. Baranowska, *Polska sztuka współczesna na obczyźnie* [Polish contemporary art in exile], in: *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej* [Works of the Congress of Polish Culture], vol. 1, p. 67.

It should be added that also on the occasion of the Congress of Polish Culture Abroad held in August 1995, an exhibition of paintings and sculptures by almost 50 émigré artists was held at the POSK Gallery.¹⁷⁸

CONCLUSION

This sketch is just an introduction to a description of an extremely rich and complex phenomenon. Thanks to many years of efforts and endeavors, it has been possible over the past 10 years to gather in the Emigration Archive at the University Library in Toruń a comprehensive and unique documentation of the lives, activities, and output of more than 800 visual artists, photographers, and architects, both Polish and of Polish origin, who lived, exhibited their works, and created in Great Britain throughout the 20th century. The collected documentary material, which includes entire art archives, parts of painters' legacies, large collections of works of art, as well as individual paintings, sculptures, and works of graphic art, documents on Polish galleries, art groups and publishing houses, and art historians, as well as folders of press clippings and excerpts from books, a collection of catalogs, posters, and exhibition folders, and memorabilia of visual artists, is organized and supplemented with materials copied in Polish archives, museums, galleries, and private collections. Work is underway at the Emigration Archive to prepare a dictionary of Polish visual artists in Great Britain, but the archival material that has been collected is already now an important source for studying the biographies of the different artists.

In 1964, S. Frenkiel wrote in *Tygodnik Polski*:

In 40 years, they will write monographs about us, dedicate their master's theses, and look in dumpsters and attics for materials. Someday history will

¹⁷⁸ J. Baranowska and S. Frenkiel, eds., *Forma i kolor / Form and colour. Wystawa sztuk plastycznych* [Form and color. An exhibition of visual arts], London 1995.

judge this society not by the achievements of politicians and soldiers, but on the basis of the art and literature it has left behind.¹⁷⁹

It has been 40 years since then, and the only tangible result of the increased interest in the study of the art created by artists from England are the master's theses written at Prof. Jan W. Sienkiewicz's seminar at the Catholic University of Lublin, dedicated to the art of F. Topolski, J. Baranowska, H. Nałęcz, and the Drian Gallery, M. Żuławski and the collection of Polish art in London, as well as at Prof. Krzysztof Pomian's seminar at the Department of the History of Art and Culture of the NCU in Toruń, dedicated to A. Kossowski, A. Werner, L. Piesowocki, S. Gliwa, and M. Kratochwil.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2006, no. 1-2 (7-8)

https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/gazeta/ae_7.pdf

¹⁷⁹ S. Frenkiel, "Po wystawie 'Dwa światy'" [After the "Two Worlds" exhibition], in: idem, *Kożuchy w chmurach* [Skins in clouds], p. 202.

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Lithuanian Culture in the Conditions of Post-War Emigration (Literature and Fine Arts in Camps for Displaced Persons)*

As a result of World War II, some 50 million people were deprived of their homeland. Expelled, evacuated, imprisoned, or resettled in foreign countries, they were deprived of a permanent home.¹

On November 9, 1943, the 44 Allied countries signed the Washington Treaty on the care for refugees and displaced persons. This is how a new structure, the United Nation Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), was created to deal with refugee problems more broadly. In the form of the English acronym, without translation into other languages, UNRRA was known around the world, primarily among refugees themselves.

The goals of the organization were the following:

1. To guarantee material assistance to refugees from UN member countries.

* The article was written as part of the work on the monograph titled *Litewska emigracja i litewska kultura w Niemczech po II wojnie światowej. Zmieniające się granice etnicznej enklawy* [Lithuanian emigration and Lithuanian culture in Germany after World War II. The changing boundaries of an ethnic enclave], Toruń 2008.

¹ See: M. Proudfoot, *European Refugees 1939–1952*, London 1957.

2. To enable the return of prisoners, expellees, and refugees to their homelands.
3. To support the reconstruction of the destroyed home towns of the refugees.²

The term Displaced Persons (DP) first appeared in government memorandum no. 39 of the Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force dated November 19, 1944. In 1945, 5,846,000 people, including 58,805 Lithuanians, were recognized as Displaced Persons.

But to these 58,805 registered Lithuanians must be added those who, for some reason, could not apply for assistance from UNRRA. For example, of the 49,000 so-called Memelländer (residents of Little Lithuania), only 3% lived in UNRRA camps and received support. The archives of the council of residents of Little Lithuania listed 12,000 people as UNRRA members.³ It can be said that in 1945 more than 70,000 Lithuanians stayed in Germany (the number of Latvian refugees in Germany was 94,730 or, according to other data, 111,495, while the number of Estonian refugees was 30,978).⁴

It can be debated whether the stated number (70,000) is accurate and definitive, whether it is large or small compared to the entire nation (3.5 million Lithuanians worldwide, including 355,000 abroad).⁵ What is undeniable, however, is that this group, no matter how large or small it may seem to someone, had a special position and played a remarkable role in the entire history of all waves of Lithuanian emigration. This émigré group included the political and intellectual elite of the Lithuanian nation, almost all of its intelligentsia. The fugitives and refugees (*išėivijai*) from Lithuania, who in 1944 found themselves in the territory of the war-torn Third Reich and later in the first Displaced Persons (DP) camps in the west-

² G. Woodbridge, *UNRRA – The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*, New York 1950, p. 23.

³ See: “Kiek lituvių liko Vokietijoje?”, in: *Lietuvninkų kalendorius 1952 metams*, Munich 1952, p. 71.

⁴ V. Bartusevičius, “Die Litauer in Deutschland 1944–1850,” in: N. Angermann and J. Tauber, eds., *Deutschland und Litauen. Bestandsaufnahmen und Aufgaben der historischen Forschung*, Lüneburg 1995, pp. 137–174. Here: p. 146.

⁵ “Литовцы,” in: *Народы мира. Историко-этнографический справочник*, Moscow 1988, p. 256.

ern occupation zones, were the most valuable group of Lithuanian nation in terms of education, experience, mentality, and activity.

The first problem for the refugees was to maintain their Displaced Person status and prove its legitimacy. As was clear from the very first article of UNRRA's constitution, and as was later emphasized many times – citizens of non-UN countries could not receive support from UNRRA. The Soviet Union considered Lithuanians to be Soviet citizens and supported their repatriation to Soviet Lithuania. The question of which country the Lithuanian refugees belonged to was of critical importance to them. Not immediately, but only in the supplement to Directive no. 40A, dated July 9, 1946, issued by the European branch of UNRRA, it was decided that the list of countries whose citizens could be considered Displaced Persons would also include the former residents of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.⁶

However, long before this decision and regardless of all agreements between the Allied countries, the threat of forced repatriation to the Soviet Union loomed over the Lithuanians in Germany like the sword of Damocles. Although the USA and Britain had already agreed in the spring of 1945 not to recognize the annexation of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union, this did not prevent either the USA or Britain from signing the US-Soviet and British-Soviet treaties later that same year, which stated that all DPs in the occupation zone should return to their homelands.

Not a word was mentioned about the specific situation of the Balts. The first such Soviet-American agreement was concluded as early as on February 11, 1945; the next agreement, concluded in Leipzig on May 22, 1945, supplemented the previous agreement by confirming that all Soviet citizens and Anglo-Americans were to be repatriated first, while other DPs were to be repatriated only when means of transportation were made available.⁷ Also, both agreements did not mention how this provision applied to the residents of the Baltic states. Also, the French (the fourth occupying power) had absolutely no intention of making an exception for the Lithuanians (there were not many Latvians and Estonians in the French occupation

⁶ G. Woodbridge, *UNRRA...*, p. 399.

⁷ E. Jahn, *Das DP-Problem. Eine Studie über ausländische Flüchtlinge in Deutschland*, Tübingen 1950, p. 43.

zone), so in their agreement with the Soviet Union on June 27, 1945, they pledged to send the Balts home as well. In general, the French government did not intend to follow the agreement too strictly, and according to Jacobmeyer's research⁸ practically no Lithuanians were deported against their will to Soviet Lithuania, and the number of Lithuanians returning of their own accord was very small and was equal to 1,028 people.

However, the situation was still quite dangerous. On January 23, 1946, the Swedish government handed over 143 citizens of the Baltic states, participants in the Kurland war operations, to the Soviet Union. This event showed how fragile and dangerous the situation of refugees from the Baltic states was in post-war Europe.

It is also important to remember that only civilians could have the status of Displaced Persons. This caused serious difficulties for those refugees who had to prove that they were not members of any military units and did not take part in warfare. It was not until July 1946 that the United States Forces, European Theater (USFET) asked UNRRA to take under its wing Baltic and Polish prisoners of war who had served in the German Wehrmacht. UNRRA decided to accept only those persons who were confirmed not to be collaborators, war criminals, traitors, Volksdeutch, or German Balts, and furthermore only those who had been conscripted into the Wehrmacht against their will and had not taken part in the war effort. This issue must be taken into account in order to understand how far from the truth were the prevailing schemes of late Soviet propaganda, according to which UNRRA provided assistance in the DP camps to "helpers of the fascist occupiers" and "war criminals."

In fact, the "Soviet zone" was not very far from the places where Lithuanian refugees in Germany stayed – both geographically and in terms of worldview. Soviet liaison officers were often brought to the camps, where the door for the Soviet propaganda were open. Soviet literature, newspapers, and magazines were distributed in the camps, and Soviet propaganda films were shown. They promised exemption from punishment upon return to the homeland and a prosperous life at home. On August 3, 1947, the first

⁸ W. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum heimatlosen Ausländer. Die Displaced Persons in Deutschland 1945–1951*, Göttingen 1985; E. Jahn, *Das DP-Problem*, p. 89.

issue appeared of the Soviet propaganda newspaper *Tėvinės Balsas* [Voice of the homeland] published in Lithuanian (200 issues of the newspaper were published by 1953). The Soviet intelligence service also tried to recruit agents from among DPs.⁹

It took a considerable amount of time and, most importantly, consistency, moral courage, and humanitarianism in politics for the Western Allies to finally conclude that the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian refugees were not Soviet citizens and therefore were not subject to forced repatriation to the Soviet Union. The contribution of Lithuanian politicians-in-exile and former ruling circles and the Lithuanian diplomatic service to the development of this view should also be recognized.

It should be noted that from the start international law defined Displaced Persons as follows: “Civilians who, as a result of the war, found themselves outside their country, who, although returning to their countries or trying to find a new homeland, are unable to do so without assistance.”¹⁰

This formula, which includes an alternative – returning or finding a new homeland – opened up the possibility for Lithuanians to seek assistance

⁹ I have no data on the effects of the agent recruitment operations, but I would like to cite an episode from my own experience. Back in the 1970s, the topic of my research was “Baltic artists in exile.” The head of the Institute of Theory and History of Visual Arts of the Academy of Visual Arts of the USSR, where I worked at the time, Professor Lebedev, personally didn’t mind, but he didn’t want to take any risks and asked me to discuss the possibility and prospect of writing an academic paper on the subject at the Ideological Department of the Central Committee. At the Central Committee in Moscow, however, I received no guidance, as it was stated that the “comrades on the ground” knew the subject better, so I should go directly there (to Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn) and ask for advice. So I went to Riga, where I had a meeting with a high government official at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, who listened to me very carefully. Hoping to receive permission and approval for my project, I told him that I had no intention of idealizing the activities of artists in exile, that I would also present their ideological tendencies that were hostile to the Soviet Union. “Yes, yes,” said the official, “but how do you know who is actually our enemy and who is our friend? Do you know how many efforts have been made and resources have been used to recruit ‘our people’ in those circles? And you will now criticize them from Moscow, having no idea what a dangerous and important double role some of them played, and I have no right to give you the list of our secret collaborators among the émigrés” (no comment is necessary).

¹⁰ The quote (translated from German) is given based on: V. Bartusevičius, *Die Litauer in Deutschland 1944–1850*, p. 147.

from international organizations, with no intention of returning to their homeland.

The first post-war stage of the history of Lithuanian refugees in Germany under the care of UNRRA lasted from April 15, 1945 to June 30, 1947. This stage mostly consisted of life in a camp. What were the DP camps? How was life organized there? These are important questions for the understanding of the conditions under which the culture of the young émigré community developed.

There were initially 169 DP camps in Germany, and refugees from Lithuania lived in 113 of them. The map “Lithuanian DP Camps in West Germany in 1948,”¹¹ which was later compiled and published in a book by Milda Danys, shows how dispersed these camps were in West Germany: from Flensburg in the north to Constance, Ravensburg, and Lake Constance in the south, near the Swiss border. Anyone living in Germany today could find on this map his or her locality, in which directly or next to which there was once a camp inhabited by Lithuanians. There were small camps (with a population of about 100), medium-sized camps (from 100 to 1,000 residents), and large camps (over 1,000 residents). The largest and most important camps for Lithuanians were located in Hanau, Schweinfurt, Scheinfeld, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Kempten, and near Munich and Augsburg.

In July 1947, 38,000 Lithuanians lived in DP camps in the American occupation zone, 27,000 in the British zone, and 5,000 in the French zone.¹² As can be seen, the French occupation zone contained a relatively small proportion of the Lithuanians, but their cultural activities, taking place partly under the care of the Lithuanian Consulate in Tübingen, were particularly intensive and effective – thanks precisely to that consulate and the French administrative structures of the Prisonniers-Deportés-Refugiés (PDR). The moral “climate” that prevailed there was easier than in other zones, but the supply of goods and food by the American Red Cross was better organized in the American zone.

¹¹ M. Danys, *DP. Lithuanian Emigration to Canada After the Second World War*, Toronto 1986, p. 47.

¹² V. K. Matranga, *Refugee Artists in Germany 1945–1950*, Chicago [1984].

The camps had a double significance in the history of Lithuanian emigration. They were not a paradise for the refugees and life in such camps was not easy. Human rights were often restricted and violated, so the “camp” period can by no means be idealized. Suffice it to mention that there was four square meters of living space for one person, and since the rooms in the former barracks were 30 to 40 square meters each, two to three families had to live in one room. Some buildings had been damaged by bombs and were only partially heated. The situation of the DPs in the camps was the worse, the more the view spread in the government circles that the DPs would be reluctant to return to their homes as long as life in the camps was better than that in the homeland. Therefore, various ways of harassment were used to make life difficult for the refugees in the camps, such as constantly moving them from one camp to another. The Lithuanian architect Jonas Mulokas, who spent the post-war years in the DP camp in Bavaria, later wrote in his memoirs¹³ that it was very hard there; he used the term *sunku*, meaning bad, unpleasant, not good – and this Lithuanian word is the key word for describing and understanding the stay in the camps.

But on the other hand, a DP camp was a unique example of the creation not of extermination or death camps, but of life and rescue camps, in a sense also of national revival camps, through which thousands of Lithuanians passed and thanks to which they survived. In these camps, not only were the lives of the refugees and their children saved from extermination, but also the pieces and treasures of national culture that these people had taken with them from their homeland or had already created in exile. These included books, manuscripts, private archives, works of art, as well as craft and folk art creations. It was in these camps that Lithuanians, their creative forces, their mother tongue, their traditions, living thought, and Lithuanianness were preserved.

The administration of the occupation forces and UNRRA did not usually meddle in the affairs of camp life. The DPs themselves elected the camp leadership from among themselves, held meetings, wrote, printed and published newspapers, conducted radio broadcasts in their native languag-

¹³ J. Mulokas, *J. Muloko architektūra*, redagavo kun. P. Celiešius, Los Angeles 1983.

es, etc. The spontaneous individual and collective activities of Lithuanians in DP camps were intense and effective for several years. Each of the Lithuanian camps had choirs, folk dance groups, kindergartens, and schools. Bulletin boards and other newspapers were created, and actors, opera singers, ballet dancers, musicians, and athletes were active. Music courses were held in the camps, there was a theater studio, an actual theater, and dance groups, which became an important center for consolidating, nurturing, and spreading Lithuanian culture abroad. For example, a Lithuanian theater group performed in 1946–1947 at the Hanau camp (the play was *Princess Turandhot*, with decorations by Kostas Jezerskis and others).¹⁴ There was a Lithuanian theater troupe for children in Würzburg. The Lithuanian Theater rehearsed in the Augsburg camp, and in Detmold another theater troupe staged a Lithuanian drama *Šarunas* by Vincas Krėve.

Lithuanian choirs, groups of writers and reciters traveled between camps and performed as guests.

A special question that often escapes the attention of historians and that I do not want to overlook concerns the issue of financing of the living expenses of refugees in DP camps. The Allied forces decided that the costs associated with the support of DPs would be borne by Germany and would not be paid from UNRRA funds under any circumstances. This fact should not be forgotten. The Allied military administration was responsible for maintenance and food, for coordination and change of accommodation, for providing the necessary means of transportation, and for maintaining law and order in the camps. UNRRA, on the other hand, was required to take care of the rest, i.e. the social and cultural life of the camps' residents. The role of the Allies was only that of an organizer of the processes of rescuing and assisting the refugees, with the burden of the material costs associated with the operation of the DP camps being borne by the German society and the defeated German state. Vincas Bartusevičius describes the situation clearly:

¹⁴ Archives of the Lithuanian Cultural Institute (hereinafter: ALIK), Hüttenfeld-Lampertheim, Files for 1947. Unnumbered letters.

UNRRA was tasked with helping to solve the problems with refugees. The basic supplies were provided by the military, the costs were borne by the Germans. UNRRA was to organize and support the social and cultural life of camp residents, i.e. areas such as self-government, schools, vocational education, courses, sports, leisure time, and others. It should be noted that although UNRRA supported educational institutions and cultural activities, this support was not very effective, as it was not allowed to use UNRRA funds for these purposes. Therefore, the assistance was rather organizational. [...] Therefore, those who, using their energy and ingenuity, organized cultural life in the camps were the refugees themselves.¹⁵

In Lithuanian refugee camps, the first to appear were various information brochures obtained and distributed by all possible means, as the demand for information in the native language was very high among the refugees at this uncertain time. Already by the end of 1945, 135 Lithuanian periodicals were being published in Germany, 13 of which were prepared in printing shops, eight of which were newspapers: *Lietuva* [Lithuania] in Munich (the first issue appeared on August 16, 1945), *Aidai* [Echo] in Munich (September 1, 1945), *Mūsų kelias* [Our way] in Dillingen (September 1, 1945), *Žiburiai* [Lights/Fireflies] in Augsburg (October 5, 1945), *Laisvės varpas* [Freedom bell] in Lübeck (November 26, 1945), *Mūsų viltis* [Our hope] in Fulda (1945), *Naujas gyvenimas* [New life] in Munich (December 1, 1945), and *Tėvines garsas* [Glory of the homeland] in Schweinfurt (December 23, 1945). Five of those newspapers were published for an extended period of time. The most important centers of the Lithuanian press became the German cities of Augsburg, Munich, and Wiesbaden. In 1946, 32 new newspapers appeared, as well as magazines for children and young people (*Saulutė* [Sunshine], *Skautų aidai* [Echo of the scouts]) and as important professional magazines (*Tremties mokykla* [School in exile], *Žingsniai* [Steps], and others).

Since most of Lithuania's journalistic associations emigrated from Lithuania to Germany, there was no shortage of qualified workers.

16 Lithuanian publishing houses were established in Germany (the first ones in Tübingen, Augsburg, and Munich). Lithuanian books were printed there: from 1945 to 1949, a new book was published every week.

¹⁵ V. Bartusevičius, *Die Litauer in Deutschland 1944-1950*, p. 151; my emphasis.

The publishing work was very hard. The first obstacle was just getting the permission to operate from the occupation authorities, which was not easy. There was a shortage of paper, and the German printing shops did not have Lithuanian fonts.

Due to the strict censorship in place at the time, all texts had to be translated into English. It was not until 1947 that the censorship was relaxed.

Between 1945 and 1948, a total of 775 Lithuanian books were published in free Europe. In the first decade after the war, book publishing was the dominant cultural expression of the Lithuanian emigration; in terms of both circulation and quality, it surpassed anything published in Soviet Lithuania at the time (in 1952, nine novels were published in exile; by comparison, only one was published in Lithuania).

In 1946 and 1947, congresses of the Lithuanian Writers' Union were held in Tübingen and Augsburg. Lithuanian writers took an active part in political life. An example is the Lithuanian poet and author of elegiac lyric poetry Jonas Aistis, who in 1952 joined the information service of Radio Free Europe and wrote scathing pamphlets about Lithuanian communists and "minions of the Russians." He was probably convinced (and not without reason) that his pamphlets, rather than his poems, were more important for saving and improving the morale of the Lithuanian people during the Russian occupation.

However, the greatest merit of Lithuanian writers was the creation of literature itself, which developed intensely under the conditions of exile, in the DP camps. It was filled with deep patriotic feelings.

Lithuanian writers, Kubilius writes, who crossed the Memel near Tilsit in 1944, carried with them the vision of their abandoned homeland as a fervent source for their work. [...] For the children of Lithuanian peasants who found themselves in exile, there was nothing more beautiful than the white dirt path of the homeland, the creaking of the well reel, and the Sunday bells. [...] The world of the Lithuanian countryside frozen in the pre-war time became the embodiment of human values that were irreversibly lost, and the rural way of life was assigned the importance of the foundation of the nation's existence.¹⁶

¹⁶ V. Kubilius, *Literatur in Freiheit und Unfreiheit. Die Geschichte der litauischen Literatur von der Staatsgründung bis zur Gegenwart*, Oberhausen 2002, p. 146.

There were birch trees, fish, and dragonflies – brothers and sisters of the shepherd children (from the collection of short stories titled *Anoj pusėj ežero* [Across the lake], by Pulgis Andriušis, 1947). Bread was baked there on maple leaves, and Low-Lithuanian shrines stood along the roads (in the collection of novellas titled *Miestelis, kuris buvo mano* [The town that was mine], by Nelė Mazalaitė, 1966).

The Lithuanian literary identity based on grandiose visions of an abandoned homeland turned over time to the real, often dramatic experiences of refugees in the DP camps, to the image of war-ravaged Germany.

Medardas Bavarskas outlined in his novel titled *Pilkieji namai* [Gray houses] (1948) the poor life in the DP camps lacking any perspectives for the future. A close analogy to this image can be found in Polish émigré literature from the same period, for example, in the novel titled *Obóz wszystkich świętych* [Camp of all saints] by Tadeusz Nowakowski.

Vincas Ramonas, in his deeply emotional novel *Kryžiai* [Crosses] (1947), tried to find the reasons for the bolshevization of Lithuania. He identified them to be free-thinking, liberalism, and lack of religiosity in the Lithuanian society, and concluded: either Bolshevism or God – there is no other way.

The émigré literature, fervently proclaiming its belief in the liberation of the Lithuanian people (“and I believe in Lithuania, she will endure...”, wrote Jonas Aistis) and poetizing the nation’s heroic defiance of the Soviet occupation, could not, however, in the real historical circumstances, show the path leading to that freedom. The feeling of powerlessness of the small nation, the awareness of the sacrifice being made, and the doubt accompanying that awareness are vivid in this literature.

Those émigré poets felt that they existed in a disaster-stricken world, a world “during the sunset,” a world “at the moment of twilight,” and, according to Henrikas Nagys, they experienced a very real conviction that they were among the last poets of their nation.

The Lithuanian literature in exile changed rapidly, especially in the early 1950s, when there was a “second wave” of resettlement, i.e. mass emigration of Lithuanians from the DP camps, and when the center of Lithuanian émigré culture moved to the USA. However, almost all of the well-known writers who later became recognized in America brought with them the

experience of the Germany of the 1940s – literally and symbolically. And as their work left its mark on the cultural life of Europe and Germany, so the legacy of their youth spent in Germany was also present in their later works as a “lesson of German” – as Siegfried Lenz said.

Kazys Bradūnas, who got his degree in Lithuanian studies in Vilnius in 1943 and moved from his hometown of Kiršai to East Prussia in the autumn of 1944, began to be the first to admit a generation of young writers to the Munich-based periodical *Aidai*. He saw in the continuation of Lithuanian artistic activity an opportunity for the survival of the nation and a task consisting in expressing the spiritual opposition, to which he felt called as a “gravedigger and stonemason” from the first years of his emigration as to the mission of his life. He remained firm in his belief that the poetic word is born from the primordial foundations of a nation’s existence, that it encompasses its entire history and “trembles with concern for its future.”

Even in Bradūnas’ first collections of poetry, the simplicity of the poetic word and its musicality are based on a quiet observation of the unchanging form of being. These early works include his collection *Apeigos* [Rite] (1948). In his poems, the concept of *žemė* [land, earth, country] becomes a fundamental value, surrounded by an aura of romantic worship. Left behind, the native land smells of a sacrificial fire from afar, and the poet is the priest who watches it to make sure that it is not extinguished. The poet, living in Germany, sees his country as a directly present reality. The prepared bread, which will be cut after the prayer, is laying on the table. The pleasantly lyrical eloquence of the images and the calm sound of the melodious phrases are not yet a song of loss. Only in the book *Maras* [Plague] (1947) would the loss of the homeland be shown in symbolic images of the “black death” ravaging everything as a creeping non-being.

Bradūnas moves along a “blood-soaked road” deep into the forest, where his fallen friends lie. “All young / All beautiful / With rue by the cap / Promised to death.” The death of the forest brothers, warriors for freedom, is seen as a holy sacrifice of the nation, and the poet, in his sorrowful anger, is simultaneously caught up in a burning sense of guilt (why am I not with them?) and powerlessness (what can be done?). “I burn with

shame / Fierce are the eyes of the insurgents, / And our hands are empty, /
And my hands are empty...”¹⁷

One can imagine what a motivating force this poetry had in itself during the Cold War.

Jonas Mekas completed his education at the gymnasium in Biržai in 1943. When he was in the German DP camps in Wiesbaden and Kassel, he was, like Bradūnas, gripped by the “longing of people without a country.” The original existence of peasants freed from the historical and civilization framework was also for him the only source of his paintings. The objects of that existence, cited individually and very concretely, represent in Mekas’ early poetry the ultimate, all-encompassing, and eternal truth.

His book *Semeniškų idilės* [Semeniškiai bucolics] – referring to the name of the writer’s birthplace in Lithuania – which appeared in Germany in 200 copies, became one of the most original works of Lithuanian poetry in exile. In that book, the author updated the language of prose in a denser and more substantive form. Mekas created poetic epics of the developed Lithuanian countryside by placing new elements (individual homesteads – khutors, harvesters, milk canisters, reading newspapers aloud) in the eternal rhythm of the seasons. However, the action, taking place in the present day, shifts to the area “on that side of the border.” This world is touched by the “hands of memory.” These are the “blue horizons of my childhood,” to which one returns from the barrenness and emptiness of exile as to a lost paradise.

In 1944, Marius Katiliškis (the pseudonym of Albinas Vaitkus, 1914–1980) did his military service in 1944 and appeared in Germany at the end of that year. He published his first collection of novellas *Prasilenkimo valanda* [Hour of guilt] there in 1948. In doing so, he intended to portray “my country and the fate of its people as I experienced it and as I saw it.” In his memory, he carried – as he emphasized – a stockpile of rich vocabulary and “not handfuls, not bags, but a whole granary” of details of daily village life. Katiliškis’ story about a northern Lithuanian village – the collective protagonist of his works – is based on the realist tradition of Lithuanian epic.

¹⁷ The quote is based on the German translation: V. Kubilius, *Literatur in Freiheit und Unfreiheit*, pp. 152–153.

A panorama unfolds here of a pre-war village that is developed, well-fed, socially stable, and growing in cultural importance: draining fields, thoroughbred cows from Denmark, a German tractor in the backyard, freshly brought hay, books and newspapers in the house. The guiding motif of agricultural strength and self-confidence, the motif of the immutability and sanctity of the agrarian order, reigns supreme. “It was wonderful to live and be a farmer who reaps his harvest and feels strong, independent, and called to his work,” Katiliškis writes. However, the writer could not truly get lost in this “paradise of his childhood.” A bitter awareness develops in the subtext of his longing visions of the impossibility of return and of the annihilation, which gives his work the melody of existential loss.

Birutė Pūkelevičiūtė, who studied German studies at the Vytauto Didžioji University in Kaunas, was a youth theater actress and later, in the 1940s, played in the Lithuanian theater in Augsburg, was not recognized as a writer until the 1950s in Toronto. But the author brought with her the most important spiritual experience to Canada from Germany. Her first novel *Aštuoni lapai* [Eight leaves] (1956) features her heroine and also her favorite psychological character: “the girl of wind and reeds,” full of radiance, harmony, and the breath of spring. Even in the hell of war, she remains pure, gallant, and graceful, unaffected by the destruction and the degrading conditions. Like most Lithuanian works of the first émigré years, the novel *Aštuoni lapai* deals with leaving Lithuania, except that the center of the values being destroyed here is not the countryside and the lives of farmers, but Kaunas – the “white city” of the author’s youth. The white tower of the city hall is shining. A train is crossing the green bridge. Rafters are floating on the Neris River. Cafe “Monika” and Italian ice cream, melting like light snow. Mother is sitting in the garden and stoning cherries for marmalade. It is an idyllic space of home where there is nothing foreign or evil. From this sweet, pleasant, and enclosed space, whose borders gradually merge with those of the tiny native country, the novel’s protagonist suddenly emerges in the burning city of Danzig amid falling bombs and drunk soldiers going crazy. At this moment of horror and fainting, relatives with the mother emerge from the depths of memories, along with lyrical images of the “white city” offering comfort at the time of impending doom.

“I have never felt a greater attachment to my nation than on that night in burning Danzig...,”¹⁸ Pūkelevičiūtė would say using the words of the heroine of her novels.

Henrikas Nagis (1920–1996), who did Germanic studies, Lithuanian studies, and philosophy at the Kaunas University before the war, continued his education in Germanic studies and art history at the universities of Freiburg in Germany and Innsbruck in Austria. In 1949, he defended his doctoral thesis on the development of Georg Trakl’s poetry. He published his first poetry book *Eilėraščiai* [Poems] in 1946 in Innsbruck. He was one of the reformers of Lithuanian poetry and categorically rejected the naive, tender, and melodic rhythm of the old poetry. From German Expressionism (Georg Trakl, Richard Dehmel) he took a de-individualized, angry speaking style and the dark color of splashing visions corresponding to the feelings of a generation that matured “in the hell of war and in the gray, crushing uncertainty of tomorrow characteristic of the post-war times.” A note of sad anxiety and inner agitation that does not allow one to live in harmony with oneself or the rest of the world became the core of his poetry.

Alfonsas Nyka-Niliūnas graduated with a degree in Romance Studies from the Vilnius University in 1942. In exile, he deepened his philosophical and art history studies at the Universities of Tübingen and Freiburg. He published his first poetry book titled *Praradimo simfonijos* [Symphonies of loss] in Tübingen in 1946. Nyka-Niliūnas’ poems, imbued with an angry-painful tone and full of hopelessness, were written as a result of loss and are an expression of man’s collision with the mystery of annihilation and emptiness, which is constantly transforming itself.

“Terrible and unjust / are the laughing gods, / because my God / can only cry,”¹⁹ wrote Nyka-Niliūnas.

Antanas Škėma, who was already well-known in 1936–1944 as an actor in the theaters of Kaunas and Vilnius, continued his stage activities in Germany, where he co-founded Lithuanian theater groups in Augsburg and Hanau as an actor and director. There he became more and more intensively engaged in literature, dramaturgy, and literary studies. He published

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 162.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 171.

his first collection of novellas titled *Noudėguliai ir kibirkštys* [Remnants of embers and sparks] in Tübingen in 1947. In that book, as in the work titled *Šventoji Inga* [Saint Inga], which he started to write while still in a German DP camp and published in 1952, the author acts as a witness to traumatic events such as the first deportations, the armed uprising in June 1941 (of which he himself was a participant), the Nazi occupation, the mass extermination of Jews, the escape from Lithuania, and death in burning trains and bombed air raid shelters. Influenced by modern poetic theater, Škėma decided to break the “conservative everydayness” of Lithuanian drama. Already in his first play *Julijana* (1943), he abandoned the usual intonation of everyday conversations that had been accepted until then. The characters in the drama collide with each other motivated by the global chaos. They feel thrown to the edge of the abyss, deprived of the strength to return to the crossroads they once overlooked. The most important issues of Škėma’s late dramas (*Živilė*, 1947; *Pabudimas* [Awakening], 1950; and others) – fidelity to the principles of freedom and betrayal – are set in the realities of the first Soviet occupation (hideous characters of collaborators of the Russian secret police, execution of prisoners and the like). A secret police agent who broke into a group of freedom fighters becomes the embodiment of the myth of Cain’s betrayal. The eternal dilemma of national existence emerges, a question that has been recurring for centuries: whether to resist occupation after losing in the armed struggle, or to bow to foreign oppression in order to stay alive and protect one’s home and loved ones.

The activities of Lithuanian visual artists in DP camps were no less intensive than the literary ones. According to the data collected by Povilas Reklaitis,²⁰ who uses sources available in “Five Years of Exile 1944–1949: Materials for the History of Life in Exile,” a Lithuanian-language manuscript by V. Aleks, when the Red Army started its occupation of Lithuania in July 1944, 76 Lithuanian visual artists went on exile to Germany along with 80,000 refugees. In the summer, the year of capitulation (1945), they were placed in DP camps in the western occupation zones of Germany. The creative activities of these Lithuanian artists in exile were manifold: they

²⁰ P. Reklaitis, “Die Bildende Kunst der litauischen Emigration 1945–1966”, *Acta Baltica* 1966, vol. VI, p. 237.

organized exhibitions, were involved in art publications, illustrated books, magazines, and newspapers, helped set up stages, and worked as educators.

There were five Lithuanian art studios in Germany. On October 10, 1945, a studio headed by Česlovas Janušis, where applied art was also studied, was opened in Würzburg. Artists such as Povilas Osmolskis and Vladas Vi-jekis taught here. In 1948, the studio was moved to Schweinfurt, where it operated as a part of the Würzburg Institute of Education.²¹ Other studios that were active at that time were the Art Studio in Augsburg, headed by the graphic artist Vaclovas Ratas (since 1946), the Folk Art Studio, headed by architect Jonas Mulokas (Augsburg, 1946), the Art Studio in the Hanau camp, headed by the artist J. Kaminskas (established on April 22, 1946), and the Art Studio in Groß-Hessepe (established on July 15, 1946).

In Freiburg, in the French occupation zone, Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas founded the Ecole Supérieure des beaux arts et métiers (College of Fine Arts and Handicraft), officially opened on July 11, 1946, which was intended to be a continuation of the national College of Fine Arts and Handicrafts (the former Kauno meno mokykla) in the new world. The French occupation authorities issued the permission to open the College to Jonynas on February 11, 1946. A lot of time was spent searching for suitable premises for the school (it was located not in the city itself, but in a picturesque village, the so-called Schwarzer Wald – Black Forest) and arranging the paperwork for the equalization of the diplomas issued by the college with those of the art universities of France. Active assistance in all these activities was provided to Jonynas by the UNRRA board. In May, an advertisement appeared in newspapers inviting anyone willing to start or continue their war-interrupted education. Very wide age limits were set: from 16 to 40. The high-school graduates were divided into three categories depending on their prior preparation, and were required to take entrance exams. Classes at the College began on July 11, 1946. At the time, the College had three departments: art, ceramics, and folk art. Over time, the facilities of the College were expanded. Studios were opened to prepare specialists in the following fields: 1) artistic weaving, 2) artistic ceramics, 3) graphic design, 4) decorative painting, and 5) stage design.

²¹ V. Liulevičius, ed., *Lietuvių švietimas Vokietijoje*, Chicago 1969, pp. 611–612.

The most talented Lithuanian artists in exile were invited to work at the College. Painting was taught by Adomas Galdikas (in 1946–1947), Viktoras Vizgirda (in 1947), and Adolfas Valeška (in 1947–1949); sculpture – by Aleksandras Marčiulionis (in 1946–1948) and Teisutis Zikaras (a son of the well-known Lithuanian sculptor Juozas Zikaras; in 1948–1949, later he worked in Melbourne, Australia); drawing – by Vytautas Jonynas, Vytautas Kasiulis, Vytautas Kmitas (in 1946–1948); graphic art (in various forms and techniques) – by Telesforas Valius (in 1946–1948), Adolfas Vaičaitis, and Alfonsas Krivickas (in 1948); artistic weaving – by Anastasia and Antanas Tamošaitis (in 1946–1948); ceramics by – Antanas Muraitis (in 1946–1948), Juozas Bakis (in 1948–1949); and the art history course was taught by an Estonian, Aleksis Rannit.

The College, according to the terms of its establishment and registration, was intended to teach art to students from among the expatriates of all nationalities. However, in practice, it became a Lithuanian national school. All 16 educators holding full-time positions at the school – with the exception of the only Estonian, Alexis Rannit – were Lithuanian, and similarly, as many as 80 percent of the students came from the Lithuanian émigré circles. The “international minority” of the student collective were Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Romanians, and Czechs. The languages in which they communicated with each other and in which paperwork was handled were French and German. The teaching of both languages occupied a significant part of the teaching time, and it should be mentioned that a course of the German language was taught in 1947–1948 by the well-known Lithuanian poet Henrikas Nagis.

The curriculum of the College reproduced that of the Kaunas Art School (Kauno meno mokykla), and in everything that concerned the teaching of nature, perspective, and anatomy, strict academic rules were adhered to. Drawing from nature took up the largest part of the teaching time. After graduation, students of the creative specialties had practically two options:

- 1) to return to Lithuania as a person equipped with knowledge of its culture and proficient in the area of national tradition (the latter understood as the tradition of folk creativity, reflected in professional artistic culture); or 2) to participate in the European (“Western,” global) art “in-

dustry” in accordance with all the strict requirements of the contemporary art market, fashions, and demand, especially when it comes to artists of “practical” specialties, such as creators of ceramics, art textiles, and graphic design.

By 1948, the College held three exhibitions of its alumni’s art.²² The final exhibition was held in August 1949. In 1948, five artists, including one sculptor, received diplomas from the College. A total of 135 students received their education there by 1949²³ (Povilas Reklajtis mentions the number 94 as the number of graduates of the Freiburg school in 1949).²⁴ The group of graduates of the College in the second half of the 1940s included quite a few talented and later well-known artists with sound professional training and in-depth knowledge of the national artistic legacy and the Lithuanian cultural traditions, as well as the treasury of Lithuanian folk art. The plethora of the College’s alumni included such outstanding people as Romas Viesulas, Vytautas Ignas, Albinas Elskis, Algirdas Kurauskas, Henrikas Šalkunas, Jurgis Sapkus, and Antanas Mončis, who worked in Paris, as well as the young sculptor Juozas Bakis, who was the first Lithuanian artist to create abstract sculptures.

An interesting part of the early art history of the Lithuanian diaspora is related to the holding of the first Lithuanian exhibitions in Germany (sometimes these were international exhibitions, held jointly with Latvians, Estonians, and émigrés of other nationalities). Such exhibitions were held in galleries in Schongau and Hanau as early as in 1945. Later, these exhibitions were held in art studios and the first art museums and galleries of German cities restored after the wartime paralysis.

The catalogs preserved at the Lithuanian Cultural Institute in Lampertheim-Hüttenfeld (West Germany) (printed in one of the most primitive ways, almost on cigarette and wrapping paper, with the stamps of the wartime commanders and commissioners of the western occupation

²² From a speech by V.-K. Jonynas at the first congress of the World Union of Lithuanian Visual Artists. A collection of files relating to the World Union of Lithuanian Artists (PLDS). Sheet 10 – ALIK.

²³ *Lithuanian Artists at the Freiburg Ecole des Arts et Metiers*, in: *Refugee Artists in Germany 1945–1950*, p. 10.

²⁴ P. Reklaitis, *Die Bildende Kunst...*

zones), testify to the desperate efforts of Lithuanian artists to maintain the national cultural tradition and their creative activity under conditions of ruin, hunger, and daily camp life. Of the early exhibitions of Lithuanian art or contemporary art with the participation of Lithuanian artists in Austria and Germany that we know of, the following exhibitions are particularly noteworthy: the international “Refugee Exhibition” in Bregenz in 1945; the exhibition held in the following year at the Lithuanian art college in Würzburg; Adomas Galdikas’s first individual exhibition in Freiburg, which showcased his 29 paintings created already in Germany between 1944 and 1946; the remarkably interesting and, in its own way, programmatic exhibition of two of the most prominent representatives of the Baltic artistic diaspora: the Estonian Eduard Viiralt (Viiralt) and the Lithuanian Vytautas Kasjulis, held successively in 1946 in Hamburg, Lübeck, Kiel, and Freiburg; V.-K. Jonynas’ first individual exhibition, opened in November 1946 in Freiburg, and his subsequent exhibitions held jointly with the painter Adomas Galdikas and the graphic artist Paulius Augustinavičius; the group exhibitions of Lithuanian artists in Tübingen and Baden-Baden (several until 1948); finally, an exhibition of amateur art and folk art, including all possible kinds of handicrafts and applied art, dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence (February 16, 1918 – February 16, 1948), held in Rebdorf.

An exhibition of four Lithuanian wood engraving masters – Viktoras Petravičius, Paulius Augius, Telesforas Valius, and Vaclovas Ratas – and the well-known Estonian graphic artist Eduard Viiralt, organized in Freiburg in 1947 and held in Göttingen in 1948, received wide coverage (not only by the Lithuanian newspaper *Žiburiai*, but also in the professional art theory literature of the following years).

The great exhibition of Lithuanian art held in 1948 at the refugee camp in Hanau can be considered the culmination of the results of the development of Lithuanian art in Germany in the first years after the war. It included 369 works by 30 artists (painters, graphic artists, sculptors, and craftsmen), and also formed the basis of the first exhibition of Lithuanian émigré art after World War II, which was opened in New York in 1949.

An important event in the history of Lithuanian artistic emigration in the postwar years was the establishment of the World Union of Lithuanian

Artists (PLDS – Pasaulio Lietuvių Dailininkų Sąjunga) and its first founding convention. From the very beginning, the efforts to unite all Lithuanian émigré artists in one creative union had clear political overtones related to the protest against the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. The “Proclamation to Lithuanian Artists,” which was signed by Česlovas Janušas, Kazimieras Varnelis, Antanas Rukštelė, and Kazimieras Žylinskas, who formed the Organizing Committee of the PLDS (1948), stated:

The Red Army occupied our homeland, most of the Lithuanian intelligentsia emigrated abroad, to Western Europe, in protest of this monstrous lawlessness. Among this intelligentsia are Lithuanian artists who, while living abroad, take active part in exhibitions, publish in art publications, work in schools and courses, and with their art participate in the fight for Lithuania’s freedom.²⁵

The Organizing Committee of the Union summarized the results of the four-year period of the new Lithuanian emigration (1944–1948), noting that “the successes of Lithuanian artists are greater than could have been expected under such conditions, but the lack of such an organization inhibits the work of developing Lithuanian art in exile.”²⁶

Along with the proclamation, the Organizing Committee sent out application forms for admission to the Union and invitations to the inaugural convention, which was to be held on October 23 and 24, 1948, in the Bavarian town of Schwäbisch Gmünd, in the fifth block of the Lithuanian camp. Accommodation and food for the visitors were to be provided by the Lithuanian Red Cross. Involved in the organization of the convention were “Lithuanian artists from all countries of the world, former members of the Association of Lithuanian Artists, art school graduates who have already received their diplomas in exile, and colleagues-architects.”²⁷

The PLDS bylaws, registered in the USA, set forth the following basic principles for the organization and activities of the Union:

²⁵ Collection of files on the World Union of Lithuanian Artists (PLDS), Sheet 1 – ALIK; here and hereafter translated from the original documents in Lithuanian by the author.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, Sheet 1.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, Sheet 3.

§ 1. The PLDS is an organization uniting all Lithuanian artists of all specialties and all types of visual arts, including artists-architects, residing outside the territory of Lithuania.

§ 2. The PLDS's task is to care for the development of Lithuanian art and architecture and to create conditions for professional artistic activity, as well as to respect professional ethics and protect copyrights.²⁸

Admission to the Union was based on a simple majority of votes of board members and a qualified majority (2/3rds of the votes) if the candidate did not have a diploma and art education. There was also a type of membership for anyone who showed support for the development of Lithuanian art in exile, and honorary membership for outstanding cultural activists, the so-called "friends of Lithuanian art." The list of the participants in the first convention, attached to the minutes,²⁹ indicates that the idea of establishing the PLDS received a relatively wide response and approval among the Lithuanian émigré community, although far from all active Lithuanian émigré artists participated in this undertaking. From the very beginning, the greatest initiative was shown by artists of not very great talent (neither Česlovas Janušas nor other members of the PLDS organizing committee held prominent places in the history of Lithuanian art of the 20th century), but inclined to engage in, among other things, commercial, political, and pro-national activity. Striking parallels to this situation can be found in the activities of the organizing committee and then the board of the Association of Lithuanian Artists of the USSR, in the materials of the first "joint meetings" (for example, in Vilnius on October 12, 1944)³⁰ and conventions. There, too, it were by no means the true leaders of national artistic culture who came to the fore, but "activists" prone to political profiteering and possessing a necessarily impeccable reputation according to Real Socialism (creators of "national art, understood by the people," part of which were the landscapes of Antanas Žmuidzinavičius and the

²⁸ Ibidem, Sheet 4.

²⁹ Ibidem, Sheet 7.

³⁰ I had the opportunity to get acquainted with the materials of that convention still during the Soviet period in the state archive of literature and art of the Lithuanian SSR, Fond 146 / I, sheets 1, 8, and 10.

realistic sculptures of Prtras Vaivad). Both there (in Vilnius) and here (at the convention in Schwäbisch Gmünd) there was no shortage of dilettantes. On the wave of the political boom surfaced names of people unknown to anyone, in fact, with no connection to the great national artistic tradition, demanding to assume the leading positions in the ruling structures. The more prominent figures remained in the shadows: the presidium of the first congress of the Union of Soviet Artists of the Lithuanian SSR did not include Justinas Vienožinskis, the inaugural congress of the World Union of Lithuanian Artists in Schwäbisch Gmünd did not include Viktoras Vizgird, Adomas Galdikas, or Vytautas Kasiulis.

At the same time, both here and there, a stable majority of Lithuanian artists was forming, who simply had no other way and no other creative perspective than to become involved in the Union (here – the Union of Soviet Artists, there – the PLDS). Therefore, there was no shortage of talented great artists of high authority (in Soviet Lithuania: Juozas Mikėnas, Antanas Gudaitis, Vytauyas Jurkūnas, and many other, by no means secondary figures), who by their presence and their participation supported the establishment of the union, giving it the importance and legal status of a truly national creative organization. Adomas Varnas, Vytautas Jonynas, Vladas Vaitekunas, Adolfas Vaičaitis, Stasys Kudokas, Kazimieras Janulis, Teofilas Petraitis, Povilas Osmolskis, and other great artists came to the opening convention of the PLDS. Of those authorized, 16 more artists confirmed their participation in absentia in the creation of the convention, including Jonas Mackevičius from Switzerland, Jonas Steponavičius, and others.

The presidium of the convention was elected, with Adomas Varnas as its chairman. The delegates observed a minute of silence in memory of their colleagues who died in Lithuania and abroad. The welcome speech on behalf of the College of Fine Arts and Handicrafts was delivered by V.-K. Jonynas. A. Rukštelė's lecture provided detailed information about the work of the Lithuanian artists living in the occupation zones of Germany and Austria, as well as in other countries in 1944–1948. It was supplemented by Adolfas Vaičaitis with a summary of Western press reviews of Lithuanian artists' exhibitions. The convention elected the board of the PLDS, which included A. Varnas, V.-K. Jonynas, and K. Varnelis, as well as A. Vaičaitis, A. Rukštelė, and Č. Janušas as candidates.

The PLDS conducted its activities in Germany only for a short time. As early as on December 11, 1948, on the motion of Adomas Varnas, a resolution was passed to transfer the Union's board and secretariat to the USA. At the same time, also in America, the PLDS, known by its acronym LWAA (Lithuanian World Artists Association), remained an international organization that brought together Lithuanian artists from Europe, Australia, and other continents.

The PLDS was not the only organization of Lithuanian émigré artists. Back in 1947, the Lithuanian Art Institute (Lietuvių Dailės Institutas) and the Lithuanian Union of Architects were opened.

The Lithuanian Art Institute was founded in Freiburg in November 1947. Unlike the PLDS, it was an elite organization in which membership was possible for artists with the highest standing in the overall ranking and possessing the greatest creative authority. An organization in the Soviet Union analogous to the Lithuanian Art Institute can be considered the Academy of Fine Arts of the USSR, established in exactly the same year, although given the ideological and creative orientation. The two institutions operated according the principle of antinomy: if the Soviet academy, the first Lithuanian member-correspondent of which was Antanas Žmuidzinaičius, was to be a "stronghold of socialist realism," the Lithuanian Art Institute was oriented toward *l'art moderne* in the broad sense of the so-called "modernism." Among the first 15 founding members who received an invitation to join the Institute were professors from the Freiburg School of Fine Arts and Handicraft, as well as leading Lithuanian representatives of fine arts residing at the time in other German cities (P. Augius, V. Petravičius, and others) and abroad (Petras Kiaulėnas in Chicago, Vytautas Kašuba in New York, Adomas Galdikas in Paris, etc.). The first chairman of the LDI was Viktoras Vizgirda, whose election, for people familiar with the history of Lithuanian art, is a clear indication of the direction the Institute's activities were to take.

Exhibitions organized by the Institute (consisting only of works by its members) were held in Amsterdam, Rome, Paris, Brussels, Constance, Baden-Baden, Göttingen, Nuremberg, and Freiburg. Publications issued by the Institute familiarized a wide audience with selected works of Lithuanian art.

Among the best known was the album *Lithuanian Art Abroad* (Munich, 1948).

To an equal extent as efforts at national unification, attempts were made, admittedly more cautiously and less hurriedly, at international unification of émigré artists, primarily from the Baltic republics. Less than a month after the inaugural PLDS convention, on November 20, 1948, a general meeting of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian artists was convened in Geislingen, at which the project of organization of a joint portable exhibition to be launched in Heidelberg in February 1949 was adopted. It was quite a large project, in which 40 square meters of display space was to be set aside for each of the three nations. The exhibition was to be accompanied by concerts, plays, performances by folk groups and soloists, and political actions. Characteristically, the idea of such cooperation between the three Soviet Baltic republics and holding their joint exhibitions (on opposing ideological positions, of course) was put forward in Moscow almost at the same time and resulted in very important artistic events: joint exhibitions of Baltic artists in 1950–1960. Neither in the USSR nor in exile, however, this event did not lead to any reconciliation that would integrate the creative forces of artists from the three different nations, because with all the commonality of their fate and willingness to cooperate, the impression of the uniqueness of their own national histories, cultural traditions, and artistic schools prevailed, and Lithuanians – both in exile and in the USSR (like Latvians and Estonians) preferred to speak on their own behalf and preserve their own national identity, without turning it into a common “Baltic identity.”

In general, the work of Lithuanian artists in exile in the second half of the 1940s was not significantly different from how they worked and what they did in Lithuania before and during the war. It is clear that there was a kind of refreshing of the scope of their work’s topics: works appeared that directly reflected the events of recent years and the new situation (scenes of camp life, landscapes of destroyed German cities) or that were indirectly triggered by the dramatic conflicts and restless moods of the refugees. And yet there was little novelty (including in purely thematic terms, not to mention structural and stylistic) in Lithuanian émigré art of the period. At the same time, a conservative, “reproductive” tendency prevailed – the desire to retain the memory of the past, to reproduce with

maximum accuracy what had been done before, to repeat those landscape motifs, those book illustrations, those monumental-decorative compositions on which their authors worked at home, in Lithuania, and which were left behind the front line, behind the national border. Everything that the artists did not manage or could not take with them, they tried to reconstruct from memory. Therefore, a huge part of the works exhibited in the second half of the 1940s consisted of a mixture of old works, replicas, original repetitions, and variations on earlier themes. The work was dominated by a sense of nostalgia, longing for the homeland, and spiritual trepidation expressed in religious art forms. The most common symbolic expression of this symbiosis of the old pagan spirit and Catholicism, was the Lithuanian wooden memorial cross. Such crosses appeared in places where Lithuanian refugees appeared and were immortalized in paintings and graphic art as a memory of old cemeteries, abandoned graves of parents, and historical peculiarities of Lithuania. The special cult of Lithuanian folk art (its decorative elements, ornamental motifs, and expressions of naive-archaic “primitives”) runs through all types and genres of art, appearing in various forms in the works of Lithuanian graphic artists, sculptors, painters, applied artists, and architects.

Lithuanian artists residing in Western Europe followed current developments with great interest and discovered for themselves the values of world culture, from which they had been separated definitively since 1940. At that time, in countries freed from fascist dictatorship, abstract art was experiencing its post-war renaissance and was making a triumphant march across the continent. However, not only was culture subjected to the process of ideologization and a rigid orientation toward “socialist realism” in the Lithuanian SSR, but also under the free conditions of emigration, Lithuanian art of the second half of the 1940s proved to be still unprepared and incapable of being organically integrated into the contemporary global artistic process. Against the background of what was already happening in the studios of European artists, this art appeared archaic. However, it cannot be said that it demonstrated only the folkloric and ethnographic exoticism of a country little known to Europeans. In essence, it also mastered the broad spectrum of aesthetic possibilities and means of expression of contemporary art of the changing Europe of the second half of the 1940s.

As in any extreme situation (for example, in the years of revolution and war), under conditions of mass emigration and camp life, of all the visual arts, graphic art, which had maximum operative capabilities, came to the fore. Drawing (including sketches from nature that were gaining prominence as important historical documents of the era) almost became the main creative activity in the 1940s, not only of professional graphic artists, but also of many painters, sculptors, and architects in the Lithuanian émigré community. At the same time, not only drawing, but also printed graphics, made primarily with the wood engraving technique, as well as plane and decorative graphics, made in accordance with the tradition of folk painting (chromolithograph), having a heightened expression of black and white contrasts and sharp contours, came to the fore in Lithuanian art.

All in all, for the first few years in exile, under difficult conditions, despite a lack of paper and equipment, Lithuanian artists managed to produce publications richly saturated with graphic material. These include the album *40 Wood Cuts* with an introduction by P. Jurkus and prints of engravings by P. Augius-Augustinavičius, V. Petravičius, V. Ratas, and T. Valius (1947); illustrations (101 engravings) by Paulius Augius-Augustinavičius for the fairy tale *Egle - Queen of Snakes* with text by Salomea Neris (1947); the poetic collection *November Nights* by Henrikas Nagys with illustrations by V. Petravičius (1947); the album *Lithuanian Wedding Rites* by Alfonsas Dargys (1947); the collected poetic works of F. Kirš with illustrations by V. Petravičius (1948); *Lithuanian Songs* with illustrations by V. Petravičius (1948); *Seasons* by K. Donelaitis with illustrations by V.-K. Jonynas (1948); and an album of engravings by Vaclovas Ratas *Twelve Brothers-Ravens* (1949); this list of Lithuanian graphic publications is still far from complete.

Caricatures were published in the form of separate printed leaflets and posters, and were placed in the pages of Lithuanian newspapers and special humor magazines. One of them was “Dipukas” (an ironic translation of the acronym DP – Displaced Person), published in the Kempton camp, the first issue of which appeared on August 10, 1946. Newspapers, magazines, and books were full of drawings that depicted with primitive simplicity the bestiality of the Soviet occupiers in Lithuania and the heroic deeds of the “green brothers” hiding in the Lithuanian forests. Political caricature was naturally dominated by blatant anti-Soviet propaganda, and the Lith-

uanian Communist “Šluota,” which was experiencing a noticeable rise in prominence in Vilnius during that period, had its inverse reflection in the satirical graphics in emigre publications.

Among the Lithuanian artists working in Germany between 1945 and 1951, graphic artists earned special respect. Their accomplishments were the subject of numerous articles in the German art magazine *Kunstwerk*, which was published in Baden-Baden at the time.

Most of these graphic artists came from the Kaunas School of Art and from the “Ars” Union of Artists founded in 1930. In their works, they attempted to combine elements of Lithuanian folk art and new Western European trends and forms (primarily expressionism and primitivism). Drawing on this wealth of folklore abroad (perhaps even more so than at home, since the exile intensified their longing for the distant homeland), Lithuanian émigrés of the postwar period were able to achieve considerable successes that contributed to the development of not only Lithuanian but also German culture.

In his wood engravings and linocuts, Viktoras Petravicius was deeply in tune with the soul of Lithuanian folk wood engravings. His primitive figures were woven into the ornamentation and contained the symbolic content of the mysticism of life and the spirit of the homeland, which is comparable to Lithuanian folk songs – Dajnas. Characteristically, his triptychs are symbolically poetizing situations of exile and those in which flight, the horrors of war and of the Soviet occupation regime, and the struggle of the Lithuanian people behind the Iron Curtain are given the character of civil protest. Petravicius’ linocuts were published in the album *Lino-Raižiniai* in 1949 in Munich with a foreword by Paulius Jurkus. Even earlier, Petravicius’ graphic illustrations appeared in Lithuanian books published in Germany, written by F. Kirš (Dillingen, 1947) and G. Krivickiene (*Dainos – Vieux chants lithuaniens*, Freiburg 1948). In the pages of the Lithuanian press in exile (Augsburg’s *Žiburiai* and later the *Aidai* newspaper in Chicago), Petravicius’ works received excellent reviews.

His inner excitement is suppressed by the visual art laws of his own style, Alexis Rannit wrote, and his spiritual states are captured in permanent forms through few means. Large planes show a deep, soft black, opposite a dazzling

white. Paper becomes a radiant light, which in a moment, with the sound of fanfare, will break the darkness.³¹

Related to him, but through his optimism and the method of composition completely different, is another creator of wood engravings, Paulius Augius. His illustrations show the Lithuanian world of fairy tales, as well as the intact romanticism of being in the cultural landscape of Samogitia with its chapels, crosses, and the piety of the people. This is probably also why Lithuanian critics in exile considered Augius “an artist of the Samogitian country” (1961). He used his wood engravings to illustrate *Žalčio pasaka* [The snake’s tale] by S. Salomėja Nėris (1947) and poems by Vytautas Mačernis (his book *Poezija* [Poetry] was published in Chicago in 1961). The exhibition commemorating him, held after his death in 1962 in Chicago, gave a broad and rich idea of his graphic art works.

A central figure among the Lithuanian emigre artists in Germany during the first postwar years was Vitautas Jonynas. At the time, he was a young and energetic artist, already famous for his illustrations to *Seasons* by K. Donelaitis and other graphic works created before the war. The artist’s style of expressive graphic art, his sophisticated artistic primitivism, his rich variations on the theme of Samogitian painting, the favorite motifs of his work dictated by the beauty and romanticism of “Lithuanian crosses,” his graphic portrait gallery with images of prominent representatives of the national scientific, creative, and political elite, including the well-known portrait of the President of the Republic of Lithuania Antanas Smetona, his variations on the themes of Lithuanian literary classics – all this determined Jonynas’ special popularity in the emigre community, who, thanks to him, could immerse themselves in the past and experience a magical enchantment with the Lithuanian land, nature, and culture. “Jonynas – Lithuania’s second soul”³² – this is what Alexis Rannit wrote about the artist in the preface to an album of his wood engravings pub-

³¹ A. Rannit, “Vier litauische Holzschneider,” *Das Kunstwerk* 1948, no. 1–2, p. 46.

³² Idem, V. K. Joninas. *Un xylographe Lithuanien. A Lithuanian Wood-Engraver. Ein litauische Holzschneider*, Baden-Baden 1947, p. 24.

lished in Baden-Baden in 1947, and this is exactly how the artist's work was perceived by his compatriots living abroad – as the soulmate of Lithuania.

Over time, new themes, content, and pictorial solutions emerged in his work, related to works of German and French literature. While still in Kaunas in 1943–1944, he completed a series of engravings-illustrations for Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*; in 1946, in Freiburg, he created nine engravings – illustrations for Prosper Merime's novel. In his drawings and watercolors, the artist tried to capture the landscapes of destroyed and rebuilt European cities (*Kirche in Reingarten, Castle in Meersburg* – drawings from 1947); at the same time he turned to industrial graphic design, created emblems of many German states (lands) and cities, as well as numerous ex-librises of private individuals. At a philatelic congress in Hamburg in 1947, the series of stamps he created was recognized as the most beautiful in Europe.

Jonynas was not the only prominent graphic artist, and one can speak of a plethora of excellent Lithuanian graphic artists in exile – primarily creators of wood engravings. They include P. Augius, V. Petravičius, and T. Valius – all well-known already in Lithuania, creatively mature artists, each of whom adopted his own style. All of them possessed tremendous creative energy, which was unleashed in the second half of the 1940s and manifested itself mainly in “resurrecting the past,” restoring what had been lost, striving to reconstruct, repeat, and revive by the power of their love and fantasy the Lithuania they had lost, which, similar to the mythical Atlantis, was falling to the bottom of historical non-existence with all its peasant khutors, chapels and crosses, churches and calvaries, with everything that existed before the war in life and art.

At the same time, however, a new despair, bringing with it a new perception of the world, transformed the meaning and style of this graphic art. Thus, the *Cry from the Baltic Shore* (1948) by Telesforas Valius could only at first glance appear to be a repetition or expansion of the content behind his 1942–1943 graphic series *Tragedy on Our Coast* (from the lives of fishing settlements – a requiem for those who did not return from the sea). It was already quite a different “cry” – a signal of misfortune, a call for help from the shores of the Baltic Sea, with political overtones that leave no doubts. The open journalistic style of this work harmonized with

increased expression and graphic execution, which made this graphic art a character no longer suitable for an easel, but rather for a poster.

At that time, Lithuanian painting was still living in the fresh traditions of the Kaunas School of Art with all its typical decorativeness, expressiveness, high color culture, caring attitude to nature, and alertness to the singularity and uniqueness of life's plot and natural motifs. At the same time, the painting began to be dominated by a landscape that concealed the drama associated with the shock at the sight of the destroyed Germany and all Europe tired of the long war, as well as emotionality, mixed with bitter memory of the homeland left behind (far from Lithuania, the artists continued to paint landscapes with Lithuanian motifs). This bitterness and shock were most vividly expressed in the following works by Adomas Galdikas created between 1944 and 1946 and first shown at his individual exhibition in Freiburg in 1946: *Old graves, Prayer, Autumn Road, Dzukija Cemetery, Autumn in Freiburg, The Shore of Szwentoji, Cloudy Autumn, Dark Autumn Day, Autumn Mood*.

In Lithuanian painting, alongside the traditional genres of painting (portraits and landscapes), a new form of painting emerged, namely compositions for a new current topic – the life of refugees.

The painting *Refugees* by Povilas Kaupas (1898–1978) depicts the sorrowful march of an endless column of refugees through a devastated city, a hopeless procession – a move to nowhere. The author, who graduated from the Kaunas School of Art, left Soviet Lithuania as early as in 1940. He spent the entire war in Germany, where he later met his colleagues, Lithuanian refugees in 1944. He became a member of the Lithuanian Art Institute, taught at Freiburg's Ecole Supérieure des beaux arts et métiers, and later worked in the USA and Chicago.

The art that developed in the camp was dominated by small-scale, easel-based, “mobile” forms of painting and graphic art. At the same time, Lithuanian artists were attracted by monumental projects, for the realization of which in the conditions of the post-war, devastated Germany ways and means were found almost miraculously. Most often, these works were engulfed in religious ideas and were related to projects for the construction and decoration of Catholic churches, memorial crosses, chapels, etc.; these projects were often designed to function not so much in real (camp)

conditions, but rather in some ideal, imagined space of the lost Lithuania or the still not selected second homeland. Thus, in the mid-1940s, K. Varnelis created a design of mural paintings for the Church of the Resurrection in Kaunas, as well as two frescoes for walls that did not yet exist to immortalize them in architecture (notably, at that time in Soviet Lithuania mosaics and frescoes became popular in a “small-scale,” easel-based form, remaining in the artist’s studio or on display in the form of a “painting”).

Jonas Mulokas worked on sketches of commemorative buildings at the Augsburg camp. Memorial crosses made according to his design were erected in a field between the two Lithuanian camps of Gaunsstetten and Gofeld. The structure became the spiritual shrine of Lithuanian exiles, which expressed their pain, despair, and historical memory of Lithuania.

In the late 1940s, a significant number of Lithuanian refugees left Germany and moved to the USA.

The Iron Curtain, which cut the Soviet bloc countries in two cultural parts, was for a long time an obstacle to the return of Lithuanian literature in exile to its homeland. The excellent works of émigré writers and Lithuanian magazines from abroad, which made their way into Lithuania by being “smuggled in” since the 1960s, embodied in the eyes of their readers the true art of the Lithuanian language unspoiled by ideological coercion. Let us not forget that Germany was the country that gave that language its *raison d’être* in the saddest stage of its history.

Original issue: “Archiwum Emigracji” 2007, no. 1 (9)

https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/gazeta/ae_9.pdf

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Lost and Found, or about Henryk Gotlib's *Polish War-Time Triptych* and its Changing Fate

In December 1948, on the occasion of the Unification Congress of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), an unusual parcel arrived in Poland from London, which contained three rolled up canvas paintings of monumental size. After they were unrolled, the addressees' of the parcel saw oil paintings that were signed but not dated. They formed one piece of art, so it was necessary to follow a specific order when viewing them. The largest painting had to be placed in the center, with the other two smaller paintings as wings on the sides. The view was astonishing, especially because of the extremely vivid and intense colors. They were used to show a vision of the occupation of Warsaw (central composition), a symbolic representation of the rebuilding of the country (left wing), and the tragedy of a peasant family affected by the war (right wing).

Each painting was given its own title as a separate work, and the name given to the entire composition, *Polish war-time triptych*, combined them into a synthesis designed to show "Poland at war"¹ and commemorate the country's hardship.

¹ This is what reviewers sometimes called the work; see: A. Drwęska, "Wspomnienie o Henryku Gotlibie" [A memory of Henryk Gotlib], *Tydzień Polski* 1967, no. 2, p. 4.

The first painting is titled *Warsaw, September 1939*,² the second – *Mickiewicz's Return to Krakow*, and the third *Stabat Mater*. They were all painted outside of Poland, during World War II. It was a gift, not an official order. The parcel was accepted, and its sender (and author of the works) was Henryk Gotlib.

Born in 1890 in Cracow, the artist was educated at the local Academy of Fine Arts (in Wojciech Weiss's studio) and at the same time at the Faculty of Economics and Law at Jagiellonian University.³ In 1910, Gotlib started his studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, and three years later he moved to Munich, where he continued his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Angelo Jank's studio. He then returned to Poland and settled in Warsaw; after the outbreak of World War I, he was drafted into the army. The artist did not actively participate in combat operations, as he was assigned to the press department. Gotlib spent the entire war in Warsaw and organized his first exhibitions at the time. In 1919, the artist returned to Krakow, where he became a member of the Formist group, among others. He left Cracow in 1923 to settle in Paris, and only returned to his home city seven years later. In 1930–1938, he was actively involved in the development of cultural life in Poland: he organized exhibitions; he taught drawing and painting at Mehoffer's *Wolna Szkoła Malarstwa* [Free School of Painting] in Cracow; he was a member of The Association of Polish Artists and Designers and an editor of the *Głos Plastyków* periodical.⁴ He also made numerous trips abroad at the time, including to Italy, Greece, Spain, and the Netherlands. In 1937, he returned to Warsaw, and during a brief trip to England, he met Janet Blanche Marcham, to whom he proposed the next day.⁵ Shortly after their wedding, the couple planned to settle in Poland. In the summer of 1939, they left for England with the intention of a three-month vacation stay. Gotlib wanted to use that time to paint some

² The entire triptych is currently stored at the National Museum in Warsaw under inventory number MPW 3675–3677.

³ National Museum in Warsaw, Prints and Drawings Study (hereinafter: PDS), "Curriculum Vitae of Henryk Gotlib," typescript.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ J. Gotlib, "Janet's story," <http://henrykgotlib.com/janets-story/> [accessed on May 26, 2016].

landscapes in Cornwall.⁶ He did not expect that the outbreak of war would force him to stay in Britain.

In wartime London, Henry Gotlib led a very active life.⁷ He was the head of the Polish Painting Studio,⁸ which was used by recognized artists;⁹ at their request, he revised the works created, and initiated “permanent discussions on painting topics.”¹⁰ The artist was involved in the promotion knowledge of Polish art in England. He published synthesized presentations in English, in which he tried to describe Polish art from the Middle Ages to modern times.¹¹ He also commented fairly regularly on current exhibitions in the pages of the Polish press in England.¹² He also devoted considerable attention to theoretical thought about art, writing down his observations in his diary,¹³ and published reflections on the subject.¹⁴

Gotlib usually painted several paintings at the same time. He presented them in individual exhibitions and with the London Group, a member of which he became in 1942.¹⁵ Gotlib’s works were reminiscent of the paintings of Pierre Bonnard, from whom Gotlib gained the knowledge of “clear and logical organization of the painting, where forms flow from the needs of

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ A. Drwęska, “Wspomnienie o Henryku Gotlibie” [A memory of Henryk Gotlib].

⁸ “Pracownia malarska w Londynie” [Painting studio in London], *Dziennik Polski*, November 17, 1943.

⁹ Among others, Bronisława Michałowska, Zofia Sturm de Strem, Adam Kossowski, and Tadeusz Potworowski; occasionally also Zygmunt Haupt and Tadeusz Koper; see: *ibidem*.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ This refers to a book published in London in 1942 titled *Polish Painting*, with an introduction by R. H. Wilenski. This is a rather selective and subjective study, however, intended for an English reader and presenting at least a small part of what Poles created in Poland and abroad; see: H. Gotlib, *Polish Painting*, London 1942.

¹² Most importantly, in *Wiadomości Polskie* and *Polska Walcząca*.

¹³ PDS, H. Gotlib, “Dziennik Londyński” [London diary], manuscript. Published by Stanisław Frenkiel in 1969: “Dziennik Londyński” [London diary], introduction by S. Frenkiel, *Wiadomości* 1969, no. 10 (1197), p. 2.

¹⁴ Written in late 1938/1939, published in Polish in 1947; see: H. Gotlib, *Wędrowki malarza* [Wanderings of a painter], Warsaw 1947.

¹⁵ T. Terlecki, “O sztuce malarskiej Henryka Gotliba” [On Henryk Gotlib’s painting art], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1942, no. 51/52 (145/146), p. 4.

color, which in turn is enclosed in strictly measured and sensed shapes.”¹⁶ Painted in the “Bonnard” manner, the paintings gained great popularity in London and found their admirers and regular collectors.¹⁷

In the fog-shrouded city, his painting “stood out and shone,”¹⁸ being “a kind of painting revelation.”¹⁹ The triptych was also a “revelation.” The monumental size of the paintings (263 × 302 cm, 242 × 212 cm, and 241.5 × 214 cm), a novelty for the art community in England, was very impressive. His decision to paint three large-format oil paintings during the war, at a time when the purchase of the necessary materials far exceeded his budget,²⁰ and buying some of them was quite difficult,²¹ was astonishing. “It is strange,” wrote Zdzisław Ruszkowski, “that during the total war [...] Gotlib’s painting does not stop, but consistently approaches greater and greater strength and fullness of expression.”²² Tymon Terlecki even believed that Gotlib “creates beyond all ‘profitability’ and practices painting that completely ‘does not pay off’ and is ‘inviabile’.”²³

Gotlib’s decision was all the more astonishing because until then, with the exception of one work,²⁴ he had never created such monumental paintings and had never before taken up the subject of war. He assumed that painting should “bring joy and enrich the spiritual life of as many people as possible,”²⁵ and therefore his works comprised mostly nudes, portraits,

¹⁶ PDS, Z. Ruszkowski, “Henryk Gotlib,” manuscript, London 1947, 8 pages.

¹⁷ A. Drwęska, “Wspomnienie o Henryku Gotlibie” [A memory of Henryk Gotlib].

¹⁸ Z. Ruszkowski, “Henryk Gotlib,” p. 5.

¹⁹ A. Drwęska, “Wspomnienie o Henryku Gotlibie” [A memory of Henryk Gotlib].

²⁰ As Janet Gotlib wrote, they lacked the money to purchase the painting support for their first painting. So she machine-stitched together several pieces of regular linen. Her words are confirmed by the visible stitching marks on the surface of the canvas; see: J Gotlib, “Janet’s story.”

²¹ Gotlib needed several dozen eggs to prime the canvas, and these were already rationed at the time; see: *ibidem*.

²² Z. Ruszkowski, “Henryk Gotlib,” p. 1.

²³ T. Terlecki, “O sztuce malarskiej Henryka Gotliba” [On Henryk Gotlib’s painting art].

²⁴ This concerns the painting *In Spain* showing a vision of the country’s civil war in 1937. It was also a large-format canvas, but smaller than the ones Gotlib used to paint the triptych. The painting has not survived; see: S. Zahorska, “Malarstwo Henryka Gotliba” [Henryk Gotlib’s painting], *Wiadomości Literackie* 1938, no. 21, p. 10.

²⁵ H. Gotlib, “Sztuka dla mas” [Art for the masses], *Kurier Polski*, December 19, 1945, p. 2.

landscapes, and still lifes. He also believed that there are exceptional moments in the life of nations, such as wars and revolutions, when it is justifiable to make paintings on themes different than in peacetime.²⁶

However, the change in subject matter did not alter the form of his works. The paintings making up the triptych were painted using Gotlib's characteristic post-impressionist style and a typically "'Gotlibian' tonality of bright and definite colors,"²⁷ in which "greens are interspersed with yellowish spots of cadmiums and ochres, with pink shades of sienna."²⁸ This produced an astonishing end result: a cheerful, even joyful, luminous color scheme depicting a vision of war. This dissonance is most evident in the *Stabat Mater* painting. Even if the situation shown is meant to express tragedy (a couple of peasants standing over the dead bodies of a young girl and a farmhand, the title *Stabat Mater*:²⁹ a woman, immersed in sorrow and thoughts, and a man, his back turned to those murdered), the colors by no means reflect this. It is hard to get rid of the impression that the girl's pink naked body lying in the foreground looks perfectly healthy. Gotlib's position in London was so well established³⁰ that even such a clearly discernible dissonance was perceived as an advantage:

There is something very mature about this work, whose painterly qualities do not hinder its literary impact. This is because artistic contemplation does not interfere with the fact that the viewer must feel the sadness of the tragic

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ B. M. [B. Michałowska], "Artyści polscy w 'London Group'" [Polish artists in the "London Group"], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza* 1944, no. 259, p. 3.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ The title of the painting and the motif of a mother standing over her killed child are associated with the medieval work *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, in which the Mother of God grieves over the dead Christ. Most likely, Gotlib was also familiar with Józef Wittlin's 1942 poem that was also titled *Stabat Mater*. Perhaps the painting was influenced by the poem, as some of its stanzas reflect well the situation in the painting: "The grieving mother stood on the square. / Her dead son was hanging there. / In the frightful world the mother stood, / A servant's kerchief on her head" (translated by Joy Davidman); see: J. Wittlin, *Stabat mater*, in: idem, *Poezje* [Poems], Warsaw 1981, p. 127.

³⁰ It was not only Gotlib's activities that earned him respect, but also his age. He was the oldest Polish painter in exile in England during the war; see: C. Poznański, *Polish Artist in Great Britain*, London 1944.

twilight of the Polish countryside, where a family stands over the corpses of those killed.³¹

It is worth adding that only those who had the opportunity to view the images in person could feel this dissonance. The press publish only black-and-white reproductions, which did not allow the discovery of the colors of these works. Incredibly, the first color photographs of the triptych were not published until 2008, in Douglas Hall's book *Art in Exile: Polish Painters in Post-War Britain*.³² Not surprisingly, the paintings have so far received little attention from art historians.

The research concerning Henryk Gotlib's triptych is not very extensive. Except for Hall's book, which contains several interesting subchapters on the subject, mention of these paintings appeared in the catalogue of an exhibition held in 2011 in Gdańsk, which presented the work of several émigré artists, including Henryk Gotlib.³³

Mentions concerning the triptych can also be found in the catalogue³⁴ accompanying the artist's retrospective exhibition held in 1980³⁵ at the National Museum in Warsaw. Biographical materials (including a large collection of press clippings, a list of Henryk Gotlib's publications and exhibitions, and his biography), donated to the PDS in 1977 by Janet Gotlib,³⁶ also provide valuable information. They also include the artist's diary³⁷ and a large collection of his drawings, including 20 preparatory studies for the

³¹ B. M. [B. Michałowska], "Artyści polscy w 'London Group'" [Polish artists in the "London Group"].

³² D. Hall, *Art in Exile: Polish Painters in Post-war Britain*, Bristol 2008.

³³ *Sztuka na uchodźstwie: Gotlib, Ruszkowski, Topolski, Żuławski: z kolekcji Tomasza Zieleniewskiego* [Art in exile: Gotlib, Ruszkowski, Topolski, Żuławski: from Tomasz Zieleniewski's collection], [exhibition catalogue], St. John Center in Gdańsk, August 31–September 25, 2011, Gdańsk 2011.

³⁴ *Henryk Gotlib 1890–1966 Katalog wystawy malarstwa i rysunku* [Henryk Gotlib 1890–1966 Painting and drawing exhibition catalogue], Warsaw, January–February 1980.

³⁵ Organized on the initiative of Prof. Stanisław Lorentz and Irena Jakimowicz in cooperation with Janet Gotlib.

³⁶ They are currently housed in the Prints and Drawings Study of the PDS.

³⁷ H. Gotlib, "Dziennik Londyński" [London diary].

triolet, done in pencil and watercolor on paper. A memoir written down by Janet Gotlib³⁸ is also a valuable resource. They contain, among other things, detailed information on the creation of the triiolet.

Another interesting source of information about the triiolet has survived: a several-minutes long recording kept in the collection of The Archives of Polish Emigration in Toruń.³⁹ It is an interview with Henryk Gotlib, the content of which, incidentally, inspired this article. In the interview, the artist talked about, among other things, the immediate reason for painting the triiolet and what the individual paintings represent. Gotlib gave more such interviews, but their excerpts have been preserved only in the contents of the articles.⁴⁰ This time we are dealing with an original recording, the contents of which are probably being published for the first time.

The interviewer was a woman, but her identity remains unknown, as does the institution for which she conducted the interview. Instead, the mysterious interviewer introduced her interlocutor and precisely defined the moment of the meeting: Gotlib was about to make a trip to Warsaw at the special invitation of the Polish Government. The visit was of considerable importance to the artist, as it was to culminate in an exhibition of the triiolet at the National Museum in Warsaw. This was to be the first presentation of these paintings in Poland, on top of which it was the first time they were to be shown all together. In England, they have always been presented separately. The first part was probably exhibited in late 1940,⁴¹ and certainly in 1941 at an exhibition of Contemporary Continental Art at the J. Leger and Son Gallery.⁴² In 1943, it was also presented at

³⁸ J. Gotlib, "Janet's story."

³⁹ University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigration, "Wywiad z Henrykiem Gotlibem na początku października 1966 roku" [Interview with Henryk Gotlib in early October 1966], [recording]; see: Annex to the article.

⁴⁰ See: "Lost Triiolet presented to Poland," *The Times*, October 3, 1966; E. Garzdecka, "Polski tryiolet wojenny. Spotkanie z Henrykiem Gotlibem" [Polish war-time triiolet. A meeting with Henryk Gotlib], *Trybuna Ludu* 1966, no. 285, p. 6.

⁴¹ "'Warszawa' Henryka Gotliba" [Henryk Gotlib's "Warsaw"], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1940, no. 30, p. 5.

⁴² *Exhibition of Contemporary Continental Art: paintings, watercolours, sculptures, including a monumental work by Henryk Gotlib 'Warsaw, Sept. 1939'*, [folder], London 1941.

the YMCA,⁴³ and the second part was shown at the Royal Academy.⁴⁴ The parts of the triptych were also shown at the Fifth⁴⁵ and Sixth War-Time Exhibition⁴⁶ organized by the London Group.

The presentation in Warsaw was significant for yet another reason: it fulfilled one of the artist's greatest dreams, which was to exhibit his works at the National Museum.⁴⁷ However, what is most relevant to this argument is the date of that exhibition. Both the interview and the exhibition took place in October 1966, which was 18 years after the artist sent the paintings to Poland. What happened to them for so many years? Why were they not displayed? How did it happen that the exhibition was organized after such a long time? Let us follow this interesting story.

The triptych's message to Poland in 1948 had its tangible effects. The artist in exile made it clear that he supported the Communist Party and, in the long run, would try to return to the country. Gotlib never hid his leftist views. In 1917, he joined the Polish Socialist Party⁴⁸ and even gave occasional speeches to workers.⁴⁹ Gotlib sought possibilities to return from exile after the war. In 1945 he came to Poland, but for a short time, for the duration of a PEN Club convention.⁵⁰ Although he returned to England,⁵¹ he was very positive about the future of the country, ruled by the emerging Communist government.⁵² The artist must have acquired this optimism as early as in 1943, when he painted the composition *Mickiewicz's Return*

⁴³ E. Markowa, "Sztuka dla żołnierza z udziałem artystów polskich" [Art for the soldier with the participation of Polish artists], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 796, p. 3.

⁴⁴ H. Gotlib, "Mickiewicz wraca do Krakowa" [Mickiewicz's Return to Cracow], *Polska Walcząca* 1943, no. 32, p. 1.

⁴⁵ *The London Group. October 26–November 25th 1943 Fifth War-Time Exhibition, 26 Oct.–25 Nov. 1943*, [exhibition catalog], London 1943; "Malarze polscy w Wielkiej Brytanii" [Polish painters in the Great Britain], *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* 1943, no. 39 (185), p. 5.

⁴⁶ *The London Group. Sixth War-Time Exhibition. October 12th to November 9th, 1944. Royal Academy*, [exhibition catalogue], London 1944.

⁴⁷ E. Garztecka, "Polski tryptyk wojenny. Spotkanie z Henrykiem Gotlibem" [Polish war-time triptych. A meeting with Henryk Gotlib].

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ H. Gotlib, "Sztuka dla mas" [Art for the masses].

⁵⁰ J. Gotlib, "Janet's story."

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

to Cracow. In his opinion, it was “a vision of Poland coming back to life. [...] a vision of the return of Polish culture. Of everything that is alive and valuable in Poland.”⁵³ For Gotlib, the symbol of these finest Polish qualities was the figure of Adam Mickiewicz. The painting shows a revived statue of the bard designed by Tadeusz Rydygier in Cracow’s Main Square, which returns to its pedestal after being destroyed by the Nazis in 1940. He is accompanied by muses (allegories)⁵⁴ and a crowd of cheering people.

Sending the paintings to Poland proved to be beneficial. A few months later Gotlib was offered to return to Poland, where he was to assume the position of a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. The artist accepted the offer without a second thought. His enthusiasm was fueled by his belief in the unlimited creativity he would find in the country.⁵⁵ He left London and returned to Poland. By the academic year of 1949/1950, he was already a professor at the Academy.

The disappointment he experienced upon his arrival in Poland was bitter. This is because it was “a period of pushing Socialist Realism [...] There were public apologies and choral ideological discussions in Poland at the time denouncing the formalist Western art.”⁵⁶

“Gotlib lasted one year,”⁵⁷ balancing between the preservation of autonomy and fitting in with the rules of socialist realism that the communist government imposed on artists.⁵⁸ In May 1950, he returned to England.

⁵³ “Wywiad z Henrykiem Gotlibem na początku października 1966 roku” [Interview with Henryk Gotlib in early October 1966].

⁵⁴ It is likely that Janet Gotlib posed for all of them, and she certainly did for two. This can be confirmed by the fact that in the 1940s the artist made several gypsum sculptures according to earlier paintings, including at least two according to *Mickiewicz’s Return to Cracow*. The sculptures were described as images of his wife. These are depictions of Janet combing her hair with her fingers and Janet raising her right hand; see: *Sztuka na uchodźstwie* [Art in exile], p. 44; L. G. Bonhams, *Works from the Studio of Henryk Gotlib, L. G.*, [exhibition catalog], October 22, 1991.

⁵⁵ J. Gotlib, “Janet’s story.”

⁵⁶ S. Frenkiel, “Słowo o Henryku Gotlibie” [A word about Henryk Gotlib], *Wiadomości* 1967, no. 16 (1098), p. 5.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ E.g., at the 1st National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Warsaw in March 1950, when exhibiting a painting entitled *Foreman from the Zieleniewski factory*; see: *1st National Exhibition of Fine Arts: National Museum in Warsaw, March – April 1950*, [exhibition catalogue], Warsaw 1950.

Embittered and disillusioned, he assessed the state of art in Poland completely differently:

When a painter like Cybis apologizes [...], admits that he is too old to learn to paint all over again from the beginning, apologizes for his ineptitude, and promises to improve, I think Polish art could not decline any further!⁵⁹

How did the communist government react to the news of Gotlib's departure, and the representatives of the émigré community to the news of his return? Both sides considered him *persona non grata*. In London, he was suspected of contacts with the Eastern Bloc,⁶⁰ was treated with reserve, and his friends distanced themselves from him. The stigma of Gotlib's departure also began to affect the reception of his work. An example is provided by Alicja Drwęska, who recalled with much reluctance one of his paintings, exhibited after his return from Poland. In her opinion, it clearly testified to "how brief exposure to 'social realism' has a disastrous effect on painters, even those with such deep ties to the West as Gotlib."⁶¹ Disapproval of Gotlib's stance was also expressed by the Polish side: the triptych, as an inconvenient memento, was considered lost. In practice, according to Stanisław Frenkiel, it was placed in the basement of the National Museum in Warsaw, where it "awaited better times."⁶² Frenkiel wrote that in 1956 Gotlib was to make efforts to find the paintings.⁶³ However, he did not mention what he was planning to do. Even if the artist, taking advantage of the relaxed policy of the Polish People's Republic towards émigrés at the time, took some action or talked with the Polish side, these efforts would be of no use.

The paintings were not found until 1966, thanks to the artist's wife, who asked for help from Eugeniusz Milnikiel, the former ambassador of the

⁵⁹ S. Frenkiel, "Słowo o Henryku Gotlibie" [A word about Henryk Gotlib].

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ A. Drwęska, "Polscy malarze w London Group" [Polish painters in the London Group], *Orzeł Biały* 1951, no. 9, p. 3.

⁶² S. Frenkiel, "Słowo o Henryku Gotlibie" [A word about Henryk Gotlib].

⁶³ Ibidem.

Polish People's Republic to the UK.⁶⁴ In June 1966, Milnikiel, while passing through England, paid a visit to Gotlib to work out the details regarding the exhibition of the triptych at the National Museum in Warsaw.

The artist recalled in a recorded interview that earlier the ambassador called him, saying: "Listen Henryk, your painting, your triptych has been found!"⁶⁵ One of the originators of the exhibition, according to the ambassador, was supposedly Professor Stanisław Lorentz.⁶⁶ Gotlib was not aware⁶⁷ that it was his wife who was the main initiator of the venture. We learn about her involvement in the matter from her memoirs.⁶⁸

Keeping it secret from her husband, she contacted the ambassador, as she was aware that her husband did not have many years left to live.⁶⁹ Janet understood that art was more important to her husband than anything else.⁷⁰ She convinced the ambassador that efforts to show the triptych in Warsaw were worthwhile. The date for the presentation of Gotlib's triptych was set for the autumn. However, it is difficult to find detailed information regarding this exposition. The artist's name cannot be found in the exhibition calendars for 1966.⁷¹ The Prints and Drawings Study archives also do not list Gotlib's individual exhibition at the time. The Grand Theater in Warsaw hosted the Congress of Polish Culture in early October, and the exhibition titled 1000 Years of Polish Culture was opened at the National Museum.⁷² Perhaps it was during that exhibition that an entire museum room was designated for the artist,⁷³ and the opening was to be held "with

⁶⁴ In office from 1953 to 1960.

⁶⁵ "Wywiad z Henrykiem Gotlibem w październiku 1966 roku" [Interview with Henryk Gotlib in October 1966].

⁶⁶ Stanisław Lorentz (1899–1991), an art historian, museologist, director of the National Museum in Warsaw in 1936–1982.

⁶⁷ This is evidenced by his statement; see: "Wywiad z Henrykiem Gotlibem w październiku 1966 roku" [Interview with Henryk Gotlib in October 1966].

⁶⁸ J. Gotlib, "Janet's story."

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ J. Kaczmarek, "Przegląd galerii warszawskich (IX–X 66)" [Review of Warsaw's galleries (September–October 1966)], *Przegląd Artystyczny* 1967, no. 1 (35).

⁷² Ibidem.

⁷³ A. Drwęska, "Wspomnienie o Henryku Gotlibie" [A memory of Henryk Gotlib].

public pomp and parade.”⁷⁴ However, this is only a guess, as there is no evidence whatsoever that the paintings were presented as part of that exhibition. According to Ignacy Witz, the artist was to be the guest of honor at the Congress.⁷⁵ Was that actually the case? Even if he was a guest of honor, he was an unofficial one, because in the publication that followed the Congress,⁷⁶ Gotlib’s name was not mentioned even once. It is also possible that the exhibition was not official and was organized only for the time of the artist’s visit.

One can also only guess what impression the paintings made on the viewers. It seems that the central segment of the triptych, depicting Warsaw being bombarded, must have attracted the most attention at that exhibition. This is quite an original vision. Among the civilians and soldiers and the bodies of the fallen, the figure of Christ in a crown of thorns and perizoma unexpectedly appears. The depiction of the Savior in the painting led to the work also being called “Christ in Warsaw.”⁷⁷ Interestingly, his physiognomy clearly resembles the facial features of Henryk Gotlib. Thus, we are dealing here with a crypto-self-portrait. On top of that, if one looks at the images a little more closely, one can recognize some other faces.

The assembled triptych presents nearly fifty figures (only heads, busts, half figures, and whole figures). When it turns out that these are portraits of prominent representatives of the Polish cultural milieu in London, on top of that depicted in a Polish landscape setting, the paintings become definitely more intriguing. It is difficult to recognize all the people, as Gotlib did not care about accurately depicting the details of the physiognomy. Faces painted with spots are not very clear. Only some of them are identifiable at first glance, most notably the portraits of Feliks Topolski,⁷⁸ Tymon Terlecki, and Adam Kossowski.⁷⁹ Sketches for the paintings, mostly described by Janet Gotlib, proved invaluable in identifying the others.

⁷⁴ Ibidem.

⁷⁵ I. W. [I. Witz], “Henryk Gotlib,” *Życie Warszawy* 1967, no. 4, p. 4.

⁷⁶ *Kongres Kultury Polskiej 7–9 października 1966: materiały i dokumenty* [Congress of Polish culture 7–9 October 1966: materials and documents], Warsaw 1967.

⁷⁷ See: J. Gotlib, “Janet’s story.”

⁷⁸ In the painting titled *Warszawa, wrzesień 1939* [Warsaw, September 1939].

⁷⁹ In the painting *Mickiewicz’s Return to Cracow*.

Thanks to her work, it was possible to at least partially identify the persons portrayed in the triptych.

It was necessary to compare the images shown in the sketches and in the paintings, keeping in mind the likelihood of an error in the identification done by the artist's spouse⁸⁰ and the possibility of the artist himself changing the concept.⁸¹ Thanks to the sketches, we know, for example, that the paintings still depict the film director and screenwriter Eugeniusz Cękański⁸² and the sculptor Tadeusz Koper.⁸³

Most of the people portrayed posed for the triptych. The images are also carefully composed. There is no denying that they were created as a result of many hours of thinking, not on the spur of the moment. Gotlib did not need to record phenomena quickly and precisely. His concept of the work crystallized gradually, sometimes undergoing transformations. He rarely created under the influence of first impressions. As a matter of fact, we only know of one figure in the triptych that was created in this way. It is the portrait of a woman looking up and shading her eyes with her hand in the painting *Warsaw, September 1939*. Such a gesture was made by a half frightened, half curious Janet Gotlib during the first German air

⁸⁰ It seems that Janet Gotlib actually made a mistake in identifying the sketch with the PDS inventory number Fig. W. 6558, in which the figure of Marek Żuławski was described by the name of Eugeniusz Cękański. Cękański's figure appears in the sketch with the PDS number Fig. W. 6566. A comparison of the two sketches leads to the belief that this is not a portrait of the same person, and a comparison with Żuławski's photographs allows us to hypothesize that the sketch shows his features. This is confirmed by his wife's memoir. Indeed, she mentioned Żuławski among those posing for the triptych. Of those mentioned, only his image was missing from the set of sketches; see: J. Gotlib, "Janet's story."

⁸¹ Gotlib's creation of a portrait study for a painting did not always mean that the person would be included in the composition. An example is the figures of children portrayed in *Stabat Mater*. From the composition sketch (PDS Fig. W. 6548) for the painting *Warsaw, September 1939*, it appears that they were originally intended to appear in that painting. However, the artist changed the original concept, and it seems that this change was beneficial, as it increased the tension between the figures in the painting. The contrast between the innocent, oblivious children and the two murdered young people has a significant impact on the reception of this work.

⁸² In the painting titled *Warszawa, wrzesień 1939* [Warsaw, September 1939].

⁸³ In the painting *Mickiewicz's Return to Cracow*.

raids on London⁸⁴ when she and her husband ran outside for fear of being injured by shards of glass forming the roof of the studio that served as their apartment.⁸⁵ After the raid was over, Gotlib decided to immediately capture his wife's silhouette, paying special attention to her emotions and gestures.⁸⁶ A sketch was created depicting a silhouette of a woman down to her waist, shown *en trois quarts*, with her left hand raised to her forehead,⁸⁷ which was later placed in the central part of the triptych.

The experience of German air raids on London must have been an important one for the artist. Talking about it in an interview recorded in 1966, he even stated that it was the direct impulse that caused him to paint the first segment of the triptych.⁸⁸ Knowing that a month later parts of the work were reproduced in the pages of the *Wiadomości Polskie*,⁸⁹ it can be said without any doubt that such a large painting could not have been painted in a month. The thought of creating the first painting must have occurred to the artist much earlier than his statement would indicate.

Indeed, in an interview given to the English press, also in October 1966, Gotlib stated that he was prompted to make the paintings by information about the bombing of Warsaw in September 1939⁹⁰ that he heard on the radio.⁹¹ What is the reason for such a difference in the two versions of events? The artist's age and health may have contributed to this. At the

⁸⁴ So-called *Blitz* in September 1940.

⁸⁵ "Wywiad z Henrykiem Gotlibem w październiku 1966 roku" [Interview with Henryk Gotlib in October 1966].

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁷ PDS, *Studium żony artysty, szkic do obrazu Warszawa, wrzesień 1939* [Study of the artist's wife, a sketch for the painting *Warsaw, September 1939*], approx. 1940, watercolor, pencil, paper 76 × 56 cm, inv. no. Fig. W. 6547.

⁸⁸ "Wywiad z Henrykiem Gotlibem w październiku 1966 roku" [Interview with Henryk Gotlib in October 1966].

⁸⁹ "'Warszawa' Henryka Gotliba" [Henryk Gotlib's "Warsaw"], *Wiadomości Polskie* 1940, no. 30, p. 5.

⁹⁰ The distressing impression this information must have caused was compounded by the news that the artist's former apartment in the capital at the time and all the works left there had been destroyed; see: M. Kubicki [noted], "Twórczość Henryka Gotliba w oczach żony malarza" [The works of Henryk Gotlib in the eyes of the painter's wife], *Życie Literackie* 1975, no. 34, p. 15.

⁹¹ "Lost Triptych presented to Poland."

time of the interviews, Gotlib was 76 years old, and, as it later turned out, these were the last months of his life.⁹² He may have found it difficult to go back in his memory to the events that took place more than a quarter century earlier. His wife, more than 20 years younger, remembered many more relevant details.⁹³ According to her, the idea for the *Polish War-Time Triptych* was born in the apartment at Clifton Gardens⁹⁴ in London where they lived in late 1939 and early 1940. However, the apartment was too small to paint a painting of monumental proportions. A way out of the inconvenient situation was the information they heard from Feliks Topolski about a studio available for rent. Having taken advantage of that opportunity, Gotlib occupied that studio from January to July (or August) 1940 and at that time he was already working on “Warsaw.” Only later did he rent a house with a glass-roofed studio, which, after experiencing several German air raids, they also decided to leave.⁹⁵ Janet Gotlib’s version of the story seems convincing.

Perhaps the artist, claiming that the triptych was created under the influence of dramatic personal experiences, wanted to give more prominence to his wartime works as ones that documented current events. However, this does not change the fact that Gotlib created his paintings in the studio, not at the front. Due to his age, he was unable to take part in the war⁹⁶ and, with the exception of the experience in question, has seen virtually no warfare. He was not an artist-soldier⁹⁷ or an official War Artist.⁹⁸ According to Stefania Zahorska, Gotlib was “a painter of calm optimism”⁹⁹ and even the most “tragic expression of social struggles cannot [...] taint the serene

⁹² Gotlib died three months later, in December 1966; see: S. Frenkiel, “Słowo o Henryku Gotlibie” [A word about Henryk Gotlib].

⁹³ She wrote them down in her memoir; see: J. Gotlib, “Janet’s story.”

⁹⁴ This is where the first sketches for the triptych were created.

⁹⁵ Ibidem.

⁹⁶ His age prevented him from serving in the military. At the time of the war, he was already 50 years old.

⁹⁷ Unlike Aleksander Żyw or Antoni Wasilewski, for example.

⁹⁸ Unlike Feliks Topolski, for example, who holds the status of the Official War Artist of Great Britain.

⁹⁹ S. Zahorska, “Malarstwo Henryka Gotliba” [Henryk Gotlib’s painting].

and peaceful vision of the world that shines through from his paintings.”¹⁰⁰ There is no denying that the *Polish War-Time Triptych* reflects the artist’s attitude to life. This is because it presents an “incredibly idyllic”¹⁰¹ and extremely static war.

Gotlib did not show the trenches, bomb shelters, and battles drawn by such artists as, for example, Feliks Topolski. In the paintings that make up the triptych, attention is drawn to the lack of any dynamics of warfare.¹⁰² However surprising such a concept of a wartime painting may seem, it is justified by the fact that the triptych depicts war as the artist knew it from his experience.

Note that Gotlib survived both world wars, but he did not actively participate in either. It can be said that he was mainly an observer. Similarly, most of the characters portrayed in the triptych are simply passive observers who take no initiative. Their feelings are sometimes only betrayed by gestures: agitation, surprise, interest, anxiety, worry, resignation, and impotence. The artist presented what he knew well. The two most significant Polish cities in Gotlib’s biography (Warsaw and Cracow) became the locations where the scenes of the first two paintings of the triptych take place. For the third painting, depicting the Polish countryside, Gotlib used the Breton landscape, which he knew well. It is hard not to notice that the basis for the composition of *Stabat Mater* was Gotlib’s 1929 painting *Landscape from Brittany*, with a cow and a shepherd.¹⁰³ The artist painted not only the landscapes he knew, but also the people he dealt with on a daily basis. Since the paintings show a plethora of prominent émigrés, they act as a meaningful document.

In addition, the triptych contains the quintessence of Henryk Gotlib’s creative work. The love of color and giving it primacy over drawing; the creation of extremely thoughtful compositions; the interest in nudes,

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem.

¹⁰¹ D. Hall, *Art in Exile*.

¹⁰² Only sometimes tiny silhouettes on the horizon are meant to suggest the conduct of battles.

¹⁰³ Henryk Gotlib, *Pejzaż z Bretanii/Breton Landscape* 1929/1930, oil on canvas, 65 × 51, Boundary Gallery, <http://boundarygalleryonline.com/modern-british-artists-1900-1960/henryk-gotlib/breton-landscape-2/> (accessed on May 26, 2016).

portraits, and landscapes; and the frequent analysis of a single motif are just some of the hallmarks of his painting. The author of the triptych was very pleased with the final result of his work, considering them to be the most important paintings he had ever painted.¹⁰⁴ In our memory, however, the works have been lost and are waiting to be rediscovered. Who knows, maybe after they see the light of day they have a chance to be a “painting revelation” again?

ANNEX

INTERVIEW WITH HENRYK GOTLIB IN EARLY OCTOBER 1966¹⁰⁵

Journalist: *Mr. Henryk Gotlib still found some time just before his flight Warsaw to talk to me for a while. Indeed, I would like to take this opportunity to ask, first of all, what influenced you to paint this great and wonderful painting. What was the cause that made you choose this specific topic?*

H.G.: The cause was... as usual in such times... coincidence. It was the first German air raid on London. We lived in the studio at the time, our whole dwelling was in the studio – there was a bedroom, a dining room, and everything in general... It was quite a good studio, but it had this inconvenience that it was covered completely with glass. When the raid was..., when the raid was...

In progress?

... in progress, my wife, who always has a practical sense that is stronger than mine, says: “Listen, let’s run away from this studio first of all, for example to the courtyard, maybe they’ll kill us there, but at least we won’t be hurt by these... by this... glass from the studio. We went out into the courtyard and at the same moment German airplanes arrived. My wife, who saw German airplanes for the first time (as I did), raised her hands, covered (shielded her eyes) and looked up. I looked at my wife and this movement of hers and the whole atmosphere affected me so that a few minutes later, when the raid was over (because it lasted only a few minutes), we went into the studio, I didn’t say anything to my wife, I took some random canvas and painted this scene: Janet raising her hands up and looking at those flying airplanes. A few days later, this vision of Janet developed in my imagination into a vision of Warsaw – the last air raids over Warsaw and the final phases of Warsaw’s defense. I painted

¹⁰⁴ “Lost Triptych presented to Poland.”

¹⁰⁵ Based on a recording made available by Anne Dock.

a picture... I painted a picture then that I hadn't planned... and I painted it for a couple of months. It was actually the first "serious" painting, the first one I exhibited in Paris (in London). Later I painted two others, because it was not enough for me... I painted a painting I called *Stabat mater*, which depicts a time when the German occupiers pass through a Polish village. A mother, a peasant woman, a peasant man standing next to her, and two small children, and a cow in the back, a typical Polish picture – empty [...], and in the foreground – two lying corpses: a girl and a young farmhand.

And what does the third part of the painting depict?

The third part of the painting is rather optimistic. I painted it already in 1930..., in 1943, (early 1944) and it is called, I called it: *Mickiewicz returns to Cracow*. Because it is a vision of Poland coming back to life. This is a vision of a return of Polish culture. Of everything that is alive and valuable in Poland. For me the representative of this most beautiful Polish spirit is Mickiewicz. And I depict him as Mickiewicz, who returns personally, with this hand... his hand on his chest and climbs up on his pedestal.

So while saying goodbye to the vision of despair and tragedy, you also wanted to give a note of hope for the future?

Yes, yes...

What prompted you to send this painting to Poland and give it to Poland?

Madam, I was thinking about Poland all the time here in this country. Spiritually, I was in Poland. This is natural. And when the war ended, the first thing for me was to document for Poland. This huge painting, because it is a very large painting... I've never seen it in its entirety, because it was exhibited in these three parts – each one separately, and now I'm very happy that I'll finally (finally!) see this painting together and at the place where it was intended (the place for which it was intended).

It was a painting about Poland and for Poland, and it should be in Poland. And finally last question: What impression did you get from the news that it was found?

I was very happy... It was Mr. [Eugeniusz] Milnikiel, the former Polish ambassador, who came, on his way to America, stopped by... here and called me one day: "Listen Henryk, your painting, your triptych has been found." I was stunned, I didn't respond to this at all. We had dinner, well, and Milnikiel didn't have much time, but in any case we agreed that he would..., that if the painting, that... (aha!) he says that the director of the National Museum (director Lorentz), approached him to inform that he wanted to exhibit the painting. And well, Milnikiel promised to communicate with Lorentz when this painting would be exhibited.

This means that you are now going to Warsaw, at the invitation of the Polish Government for the opening of an exhibition of your paintings.

Yes.

Thank you very much and I wish you a very pleasant stay in Poland.

Thank you.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2015, no. 1–2 (22–23)

<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2015.018>

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Adam Kossowski's Religious Art

Even though it has been twenty years since Adam Kossowski's death, there are no critical publications on either the artist himself or his extensive and varied creative output. This role is not fulfilled by the study *Adam Kossowski. Murals and paintings*, published in English in 1991 by London-based Armelle Press with an introduction by Benedict Read and short passages by Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Martin Sankey, and Tymon Terlecki, as well as a complete list of Kossowski's works compiled by Andrzej Borkowski. The texts written by these researchers combine harmoniously with color photos by Peter Sidebotham and black-and-white photos by J. S. Markiewicz. When reviewing this most comprehensive work to date in the Paris-based *Kultura*, Stanisław Frenkiel considered it a momentous event and an important document of Polish art abroad.¹ Attempts to make up for the deficiencies in the study of Adam Kossowski's work have been made by Stanisław S. Nicieja,² Tadeusz

¹ S. Frenkiel, "Książka o Adamie Kossowskim" [A book on Adam Kossowski], *Kultura* 1991, no. 12 (531), pp. 143–145. A book about the painter is also referred to in: JM, "Na kanwie książki o Adamie Kossowskim" [On the background of the book on Adam Kossowski], *Inspiracje* 1998, no. 2 (50), pp. 22–24.

² S. S. Nicieja, "Adam Kossowski – Artifex Dei", in: J. Kopiec, N. Widok, eds., *Człowiek i Kościół w dziejach: księga pamiątkowa dedykowana księdzu profesorowi Kazimierzowi Doli z okazji 65. rocznicy urodzin* [Man and the Church in history: a commemorative book dedicated to Fr. Professor Kazimierz Dola on the occasion of his 65th anniversary], Opole 1999, pp. 267–277.

Chrzanowski in *Tygodnik Powszechny*,³ Paweł Kądziała in *Przegląd Katolicki*,⁴ and Jarosław Kossakowski in *Słowo Powszechne*.⁵ The artist's name was also cited by Lechosław Lameński who wrote about a non-completed polychromy project in Chełm Lubelski.⁶

Most of the publications and critical articles about Adam Kossowski's work appeared in the Polish émigré press in London (starting from the first years of his stay abroad, i.e. 1942).⁷ They generally do not provide a broader characterization of Kossowski's art.

³ T. Chrzanowski, "Adam Kossowski", *Tygodnik Powszechny* 1987, no. 44, p. 7.

⁴ P. Kądziała, "Wspomnienie o Adamie Kossowskim (1905–1986)" [A memory of Adam Kossowski], *Przegląd Katolicki* 1987, no. 18, p. 6.

⁵ J. Kossakowski, "Mistrz sakralnej ceramiki – Adam Kossowski" [A master of sacral ceramics – Adam Kossowski], *Słowo Powszechne* 1991, no. 279/280, p. 5.

⁶ L. Lameński, "O polskiej sztuce religijnej" [On Polish religious art], *Kresy* 1993, no. 14, pp. 189–192.

⁷ H. Gotlib, "Wystawa artystów narodów sprzymierzonych" [Exhibition of artists of the allied nations], *Wiadomości Polskie* 1942, no. 24; "Malarze polscy w Wielkiej Brytanii" [Polish painters in Great Britain], *Polska Walcząca* 1943, no. 38; "Pracownia malarska w Londynie" [Painting studio in London], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1031; "Związek Artystów Plastyków" [Society of Visual Artists], *Dziennik Polski* 1943, no. 1059; mc, "Rozmowy plastyków" [Conversations of visual artists], *Orzeł Biały* 1959, no. 17; "Wystawa malarzy polskich" [An exhibition of Polish painters], *Polska Walcząca* 1944, no. 6 (204); [J. Ostrowski] (n), "Polskie życie kulturalne. Z 'Remanentów' ubiegłego roku" [Polish cultural life. From the "stocktaking" of the last year], *Orzeł Biały* 1961, no. 1; S. Arvay, "Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii. Malarstwo, grafika, rzeźba" [Poles in Great Britain. Painting, graphic art, sculpture], *Kalendarz Dziennika Polskiego i Dziennika Żołnierza* 1953, pp. 52–53; A. Drwęska, "Przegląd polskich wystaw w Londynie" [Review of Polish exhibitions in London], *Orzeł Biały* 1952, no. 20 (515), p. 3; T. Terlecki, "Wystawa A. Kossowskiego" [A. Kossowski's exhibition], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, June 24, 1944, p. 3; agn., "Nowy sukces Adama Kossowskiego" [Adam Kossowski's new success], *Tydzień Polski*, September 17, 1966, p. 5; A. Drwęska, "Nowa ceramika Adama Kossowskiego" [Adam Kossowski's new ceramics], *Tydzień Polski*, November 26, 1966, p. 3; H. Heinsdorf, "Angielski kościół i polscy artyści" [English church and Polish artists], *Tydzień Polski* 1964, no. 22, p. 4.

The exceptions are the sketches published in the London-based *Wiadomości*⁸ and *Dziennik Polski*, which also published a small number of texts by Kossowski himself⁹ and his much more numerous drawings.¹⁰

In addition, mention should be made of a small press announcement by Bronisława Michałowska published in 1951 in *News and Reviews. The London Guide*¹¹ and Marian Bohusz-Szyszko's succinct and general discussion in the collection of essays *O sztuce [On art]*.¹²

Noteworthy among Polish unpublished texts are the short posthumous memory by the painter's friend Zdzisław Ruszkowski, a letter from Z. Gro-

⁸ "Adam Kossowski, tegoroczny laureat nagrody Fundacji im. Alfreda Jurzykowskiego" [Adam Kossowski, this year's winner of the prize of the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation], *Wiadomości* 1971, no. 13–15, p. 7; [Note], *Wiadomości* 1957, no. 12, p. 6; "Nigdy człowiek wojny nie uratował życia tylu ludzi" [Never did a man of war save the lives of so many people], *Wiadomości* 1970, no. 1266, p. 3.

⁹ A. Kossowski, "Drohojowski i łągiernicy" [Drohojowski and gulag prisoners], *Wiadomości* 1972, no. 51/52, p. 10; idem, "Wołanie o program" [Plea for a program], *Wiadomości* 1946, no. 27, p. 2; idem, "Wiara maluczkich i katolicyzm intelektualny" [Faith of little ones and intellectual Catholicism], *Wiadomości* 1951, no. 45, p. 4; idem, "O niezależność sztuki" [On the independence of art], *Wiadomości* 1946, no. 2, p. 1; idem, "Błędy, których się nie widzi" [Errors that one cannot see], *Wiadomości* 1956, no. 515, p. 6; idem, "Co zrobić z arrasami" [What should be done about tapestries], *Wiadomości* 1972, no. 464, p. 10; T. Terlecki, "Adam Kossowski (1905–1986)," *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, April 23, 1986, p. 3; idem, "Kossowski of Aylesford," *Wiadomości* 1952, no. 336/337, p. 4; idem, "Wystawa A. Kossowskiego" [A. Kossowski's exhibition], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, June 24, 1944, p. 3; A. M. Borkowski, "Pustka pełna nadziei" [Void full of hope], *Tydzień Polski* 1999, no. 14, p. 7. Also worth mentioning are texts published in New York: Z. Raciński, "Adam Kossowski – artysta w służbie Boga" [Adam Kossowski – an artist in the service of God], *Przegląd Polski*, May 1, 1986, pp. 6–7, 11; T. Terlecki, "Kossowski wrócił do Aylesfordu" [Kossowski returned to Aylesford], *Przegląd Polski*, September 11, 1986, pp. 8–9, 15.

¹⁰ A. Kossowski, "Prawda o życiu artystów w Polsce" [The truth about artists' life in Poland], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, November 19, 1945; idem, "Publiczność a sztuka nowoczesna" [The public and modern art], *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, February 16, 1945.

¹¹ B. Michałowska, "Religious art," *News and Reviews. The London Guide*, December 29, 1951.

¹² M. Bohusz-Szyszko, "Malarstwo religijne Adama Kossowskiego" [Adam Kossowski's religious painting], in: idem, *O sztuce [On art]*, pp. 225–226.

szak to the editor of the New York-based *Nowy Dziennik*,¹³ and – with regards to Kossowski’s religious art – a sketch by Jerzy Faczyński¹⁴ and a radio statement by Stanisław Frenkiel on the BBC.¹⁵

Texts from the English press, almost without exception, associated Adam Kossowski’s art with the works of art made for the Aylesford monastery and only out of obligation mentioned the painter’s imprisonment in the Siberian gulags. One of the first articles¹⁶ on Kossowski’s ceramic art, which at the same time contributes the most to the state of the research, was published in 1948 in the periodical *Pottery and Glass*.¹⁷

It was followed by a more extensive text published in *Queen & Mother* in 1959.¹⁸ Two references to Aylesford also appeared at that time in *Mary*.¹⁹ An essay by an Oxford University student, Poly Stuart, which cites the artist’s biography and focuses in the second part on the artist’s post-war ceramic work in Aylesford holds a separate place.²⁰ The essay filled in the gaps in research and was based largely on the Aylesford-based Carmelite periodical *Pilgrim’s Newsletter*, the book by E. Fielding²¹ written on its basis, and the *Image of Carmel*.²² The name of the Polish artist also appeared in

¹³ Z. Ruszkowski, “O Adamie” [On Adam], [place and year of publication missing]. Manuscript, University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigratopn (hereinafter: AE); Z. M. Groszak, typescript of a letter to the editor of *Nowy Dziennik*, May 2, 1986, AE.

¹⁴ J. Faczyński, “Sztuka religijna Adama Kossowskiego” [Adam Kossowski’s religious art], July 27, 1970, Liverpool, typescript, 8 pages. (The typescript present in the Archives of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and in the AE)

¹⁵ S. Frenkiel, “Adam Kossowski a sztuka sakralna w Anglii” [Adam Kossowski and sacral art in England], broadcast of December 28, 1986. Typescript, AE.

¹⁶ The first chronological article in the Archive of the Victoria Archives & Albert Museum in London appeared in *The Tablet* on October 4, 1947.

¹⁷ L. M., “3 ceramic artists,” *Pottery and Glass*, December 1948, pp. 33–36.

¹⁸ G. D. Walton, “Adam Kossowski,” *Queen & Mother*, May–June 1959, pp. 2–4.

¹⁹ [Note], *Mary*, July–August 1959, pp. 2, 4–5; idem, May–June 1960, pp. 20, 64–65.

²⁰ P. Stuart, *A study of the life and work of Adam Kossowski*, Oxford [no year specified].

²¹ E. Fielding, *Courage to build anew: the story of the rebuilding of The Friars, Aylesford, taken from the newsletters of Malachy Lynch*, London 1968.

²² *Image of Carmel. The art of Aylesford*, Aylesford 1974. Other works that should be mentioned are: I. Conlay, “Art,” *Catholic Herald*, November 13, 1964, p. 7; idem, “Where serving God is a joyful thing. Space and colour at E. Acton,” *ibidem*, July 28, 1961; idem, “Downside Abbey’s New Shrine,” *ibidem*, March 8, 1957; idem, “Biggest ceramic in England,” *ibidem*, September 1963; S. Hunter, “An exhibition of catholic art,” *The Tablet*, October 4, 1947, p. 219;

the *Daily Telegraph*,²³ *The Times*,²⁴ the *Leyland Guardian*,²⁵ *The Sunday Times*,²⁶ *The Messenger*,²⁷ the *Western Mail*,²⁸ and the *Periscope*.²⁹

A lot of attention to Adam Kossowski's creative individuality is also paid in publications on Aylesford.³⁰ The artist's short biographic note was included by David Buckman in the latest dictionary on artists working in Great Britain.³¹

The primary sources of information necessary to outline the artist's biography are archival and documentary materials held in two archives: the Emigration Archives at the University Library in Toruń (which holds iconographic materials and archival materials related to the artist's life and activities in London, as well as his cooperation with the emigre press) and the the Victoria & Albert Museum Archive (the Archive of Art and Design section), which holds Adam Kossowski's actual archive, deposited by Stefania Kossowska.³²

"Catholic artist and catholic art," *ibidem*, January 29, 1949, p. 74; "Ceramic for Downside," *ibidem*, April 28, 1956, p. 396; "Cardiff Cathedral," *ibidem*, February 28, 1959, p. 202; [Note], *The Universe*, April 27, 1956; "Former prisoner's work for church," *ibidem*, March 31, 1961; [Note], *ibidem*, March 8, 1968; T. D. Jones, "Four European artists," *Theology*, September 1987, pp. 373–381.

²³ "History of Old Kent Road," *Daily Telegraph*, August 16, 1966.

²⁴ [Note], *The Times*, September 1, 1966.

²⁵ P. C., "New church will be circular in design. Many beautiful features answer problem of art integration," *Leyland Guardian*, July 6, 1962.

²⁶ G. Smith, "Cabinet of curiosities," *The Sunday Times*, October 25, 1953, p. 5.

²⁷ "A Polish artist," *The Messenger*, June 1956, p. 20.

²⁸ "Eighteen years later a great task has been fulfilled," *Western Mail*, March 3, 1959.

²⁹ A. Jones, "Aylesford blooms after 300 years," *Periscope*, July 16, 1965.

³⁰ J. H. Sephton, *The Friars, Aylesford*, Aylesford 1999; B. Little, *Abbeys and priories in England and Wales*, London 1979, p. 170; W. McGreal, *The history of The Friars, Aylesford*, Norwich 1998.

³¹ D. Buckman, *Dictionary of Artists in Britain since 1945*, Bristol 1998, p. 714.

³² This happened at the request of the London-based Victoria & Albert Museum after the publication of the album edition of the book *Adam Kossowski. Murals and Paintings* – a letter from Stefania Kossowska to the author dated April 22, 2003.

POLISH AND ENGLISH BIOGRAPHY

Adam Kossowski was born on December 16, 1905 in Nowy Sącz. He came from an impoverished landowner family. His father Zygmunt was an Austrian official, and his mother Oktawia (née Mniszek) was a teacher. As a student at a high school in Nowy Sącz, Adam was a member of a scout unit, where he rose to the rank of scoutmaster and led one of the unit's groups. There he became friends with Zbigniew Racięski – later an émigré journalist and editor of *Orzeł Biały*.³³ He was also friends with Antoni Chruściel, later a general, and Józef Wąsowicz, later a professor of geography at the universities of Lviv and Wrocław.³⁴

In 1923, at the age of seventeen, he took his high school graduation exam. After the exam, the Kossowski family moved from Nowy Sącz to Warsaw. Adam began his studies at the Faculty of Architecture of the Warsaw University of Technology, where the lecturers were the best architects. This field of study seemed to be the most suitable given his drafting skills. More than once, with a sketchbook in hand, he would go to Warsaw's Old Town, where students made drawings of churches and other elements of architecture. After two years of study, with almost a "half degree" in architecture, he made the decision to abandon the study of architecture in favor of painting. During the summer vacation of 1925, Kossowski traveled to Cracow to take the entrance exams for to study painting at the local Academy of Fine Arts, which enjoyed the reputation of the best in the country, which he successfully passed. He stayed with his brother, who as a young doctor was affiliated with the University of Cracow. In the second year of his studies, Kossowski's paintings were displayed in the corridors of the Academy, as a kind of *exemplum* for other students. At the time, the artist had not developed any particular painting style of his own. He made references to Post-Impressionism as well as to French painters, primarily

³³ Racięski wrote an article recalling his friendship with Kossowski since his school years: "Adam Kossowski – artysta w służbie Boga" [An artist in the service of God], pp. 6–7.

³⁴ S. S. Nicieja, "Adam Kossowski," pp. 267–277.

Cézanne – like the entire Academy.³⁵ Kossowski was particularly interested in the Italian art of the early Renaissance, likely due to the influence of his Cracow professors. Initially he studied in the studio of Wojciech Weiss,³⁶ then under the direction of Felicjan Szczyński Kowarski³⁷ in the studio of monumental painting,³⁸ which brought together the best students of the last two years of study. Kowarski brought Leonard Pękalski from Warsaw to run the technical studio for mural painting.

In 1927, the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts was commissioned by Adolf Bohusz-Szyszkowski to reconstruct the paintings of the friezes and the ceilings of the Wawel Castle – the best example of a Renaissance castle north of the Alps. This commission provided well-paid employment and apprenticeships to almost all of Kowarski's students for several years (1927–1928, and partly in 1931),³⁹ and his studio with Pękalski as an assistant was Wawel's experimental laboratory. Kossowski was then in his third and fourth year of study. This was an important moment in his artistic career, as it raised his interest in mural painting. Almost simultaneously with the work in Wawel, Kowarski received a second major order: the polychromy of the newly restored and added sections of the Pauline monastery on Jasna Góra.

In 1933, Kowarski engaged Kossowski to reconstruct the painting *The Lord's Supper* in the chapel – the place used for giving communion to pilgrims.⁴⁰

³⁵ An interview with Adam Kossowski, 1978 by Fr. Martin Sankey OCarm, in: Adam Kossowski, *Murals and Paintings*, introduction by B. Read, London [1991] p. 66.

³⁶ See: "Rozmowa z Adamem Kossowskim" [A conversation with Adam Kossowski], a biweekly supplement to *Ostatnie Wiadomości* 1954, no. 30 (296), p. 1.

³⁷ Kossowski wrote a commemorative essay to Kowarski in the first volume of the collective work titled *Straty kultury polskiej. 1939–1944* [Polish culture's losses. 1939–1945] (Glasgow 1945, pp. 399–412).

³⁸ See: T. Chrzanowski, "Adam Kossowski," p. 7.

³⁹ See: A. Kossowski, "Felicjan Kowarski," pp. 399–412.

⁴⁰ A few years earlier, Kowarski had painted the painting himself, basing it, according to the monks' wishes, on Leonardo da Vinci's famous work. Soon, however, due to poor insulation of the walls from the embankment into which the chapel was deeply embedded, moisture almost completely destroyed the painting. In 1933, for the great jubilee of Jasna Góra, the Pauline Fathers wanted to have the painting restored. Kowarski intended to re-paint the entire picture on canvas and place it on a loom at some distance from the

In the academic year 1928/1929, when both works (in Wawel and on Jasna Góra) were at the final stage, there was a personal conflict at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts between its rector, A. Bohusz-Szyszko, and a group of professors who nominated their own candidate to replace the outgoing Axentowicz.⁴¹ Kowarski and his students supported the rector, and consequently – after their loss – they moved to the Warsaw School of Fine Arts.⁴²

Adam Kossowski's work at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw proceeded as follows: From October 1, 1931 to June 30, 1934, he was the manager of Professor Leonard Pękalski's studio. In the 1934/1935 academic year, he conducted practical classes in the decorative painting technology. From September 1, 1935 to January 1, 1938, he was employed as a junior assistant at the Department of Decorative Painting headed by Professor L. Pękalski. After a short break and his return from art studies abroad, he was appointed as a senior assistant at that Department until the Germans closed the Academy (from June 10 to November 10, 1939).⁴³

In the 1930s, the Pryzmat group was formed by people associated with Felicjan Kowarski, which consisted mostly of his students, including Adam Kossowski. The first exhibition of Pryzmat members was held in 1933 at the Warsaw Institute of Art Propaganda.⁴⁴ The group did not want to set a specific program or manifesto. For most of its members, color was an

wall. However, the monks wanted to save time and Kowarski engaged Kossowski for the reconstruction, which was completed on time.

⁴¹ A. Kossowski, "Felicjan Kowarski," pp. 399–412.

⁴² At the Warsaw Academy, Kowarski no longer ran the decorative painting studio, which Prof. Trojanowski handed over to L. Pękalski. Kowarski's paintings were very well received by both the Academy and Warsaw's main art groups: Rytm and Bractwo Św. Łukasza. In his color preferences, Kowarski advocated the dogma that a wall should be painted almost monochromatically, using little differences in color. This approach to wall painting was dictated by Kowarski's peculiar prudence, for such a method ensured that uniformity would be maintained. Kossowski was critical of this "monochromatization," especially in Kowarski's later decorative works, arguing that one could get the impression that the artist used this approach to make his own work easier.

⁴³ The data was taken from the personnel file folder of the Records Archive of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, no. K-RP-36.

⁴⁴ A. K. Olszewski, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej 1890–1980* [History of Polish art 1890–1980], Warsaw 1988, p. 60.

important factor in the construction of a painting, but it was never a decisive goal in itself.⁴⁵

Czesław Poznański believed that the Pryzmat members were by definition more realistic than the Capists and for them the visible reality was a basic element of art to an even greater extent.⁴⁶ Kossowski's four paintings from the late 1930s, created among the members of the Pryzmat group, are well known; characterized by their cool colors, they show the lyrical nostalgia typical of the painter at the time. Those paintings are: *Most nad Lutynią* [Bridge over Lutynia], *Trzy dziewczyny w ogrodzie* [Three girls in a garden], *Portret St. Szurleja* [Portrait of St. Szurlej], *Dom w Słupia* [House in Słupia], and *Krajobraz słupieński* [Słupia landscape] (1939).⁴⁷

The contribution of Pryzmat's members to Polish painting was not limited to still lifes, portraits, and landscapes, but also included monumental art, where Kossowski's achievements were thoroughly original.⁴⁸ In 1935, together with Pękalski, he decorated the chapel on the M/S Batory liner

⁴⁵ Kowarski himself treated color, lightened under the influence of colorists in the 1930s, as one of the elements in the construction of a painting with monumental forms conveying a romantic and epic content. In the early 1930s, he painted *Wędrowcy* [Hikers] (1930), *Wiosłarze* [Rowers] (1931), Italian landscapes, and *Rząd Narodowy 1863 r.* [The National Government of 1863] (1937). L. Pękalski definitely built his paintings with color, but he subordinated it to the overall structure and content. In his still lifes he was closer to the tradition of Chardin or Cézanne, and in figural compositions – to the art of classicism (*Portret siostrzenicy* [Portrait of a niece], 1935, *Podchorążowie na moście Sobieskiego w 1930 r.* [Cadets on Sobieski Bridge in 1930], 1939, and *Martwa natura z zającem* [Still life with a hare], 1936). Among those exhibiting with Pryzmat, Karl Larisch was the closest to the doctrine of “pure” colorism. Painting flowers, nudes, landscapes and social picnics which were most characteristic of his work, he used a wide range of colors, from thick patches to quasi-pointillist color spots. The combination of excellent color skills with a tendency to monumentalize the form, in a decorative spirit, characterized the work of Waław Taranczewski.

In still lifes and interiors built with color planes, it was somewhat reminiscent of Matisse (*Still life with a violin on a green background*, 1933–1934; *Still life with a blue vase on a carpet background*, 1938; *A nude with a green curtain*, 1937–1938). More intimate was the work of Lucjan Adwentowicz, the author of landscapes, figural scenes, and portraits painted in tones of violets. (Quoted after: A. K. Olszewski, *Dzieje sztuki* [History of art], p. 60.)

⁴⁶ C. Poznański, “Plastycy polscy w Wielkiej Brytanii” [Polish visual artists in Great Britain], *Nowa Polska* 1945, book 1, pp. 64–74.

⁴⁷ S. S. Nicieja, “Adam Kossowski,” p. 270.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 269.

ship.⁴⁹ In the same year they made the designs for frescoes and the main altar for the cathedral church in Chełmno, which were never implemented.⁵⁰ A year later, the artist painted frescoes for the parish church in Górzno near Siedlce. In the winter of 1936/1937, he was employed to work on the renovation of the parish church in Dawidówka in eastern Poland.⁵¹

In November 1937, Adam Kossowski received a government scholarship and traveled to Italy to study mural painting there, especially its techniques. The artist stayed in Italy until the summer of 1938. He made his first stop in Rome, then he traveled to Florence, Naples, Sicily, and back to Rome, where he studied for some time the techniques of tempera and *sgraffito*.⁵² In the Eternal City, he had the opportunity to admire the magnificent mosaics at the Santa Maria Maggiore basilica, where he was even able to climb a ladder to get a closer look at them.⁵³ In Rome, he met Józef Natanson, his friend from the Warsaw Academy. The two of them toured and discussed the historical buildings of the Eternal City. Then Natanson went to Sicily and Kossowski promised to join him there as soon as he finished studying wall painting.⁵⁴ In Agrigento in western Sicily, after rejoining Natanson, Kossowski met his future wife, Stefania Szurlejówna (1909–2003), a young Warsaw journalist (a correspondent of *Wieczór Warszawski*, *ABC*, and the literary weekly *Prosto z Mostu*), a daughter of a prominent Warsaw lawyer, Stanisław Szurlej, a defense attorney in high-profile political trials.⁵⁵

After his return from Italy, in 1938 Kossowski designed and made a polychromy for the church in Wola Okrzejska near Garwolin, the theme of which is related to the *Quo vadis* novel, as Okrzeja is Henryk Sienkiewicz's place of birth.⁵⁶ The main part of the polychromy, done in tempera, is the

⁴⁹ See: A. K. Olszewski, *Dzieje sztuki* [History of art], p. 63.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*; see also: A. Kossowski, "Felicjan Kowarski," p. 409.

⁵¹ See: Adam Kossowski, *Murals and paintings*, London 1990, p. 110; see also: A. M. Borkowski, "Pustka pełna nadziei" [Void full of hope], p. 7.

⁵² "An interview with Adam Kossowski," p. 67.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁵⁴ J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej się bramy* [The screeching of an opening gate], Warsaw 2003, pp. 70, 75.

⁵⁵ S. S. Nicieja, "Adam Kossowski," p. 270.

⁵⁶ See: S. Szurlejówna, "Okrzeja – Henrykowi Sienkiewiczowi" [Okrzeja – to Henryk Sienkiewicz], *Prosto z Mostu* 1938, no. 45, p. 4.

plafond over the nave, divided into a series of paintings depicting scenes from the life of St. Peter.

For example, one fresco depicts St. Peter before the crucifixion, against a background of a city and a landscape with features of classical architecture, and to the side there is a kneeling silhouette of a Roman who is making a cross out of beams. Jerzy Faczyński considered the polychrome in Okrzeja to be an important work in Kossowski's creative development, which revealed the essential personal, ideological and painterly elements of heroic allegory, which would occupy a permanent place in the artist's consciousness and work.⁵⁷

Kossowski and Szurlejówna got married in 1938 in the church in Wola Okrzejska, and their witness was Leonard Pękalski, with whom in the same year Kossowski jointly made a *sgraffito* for the Royal Arsenal in Warsaw and monochromatic plafonds⁵⁸ in the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁹

In the late 1930s, construction of Warsaw's representative Main Station, designed by Czesław Przybylski, began. The decoration of that building was to be the largest undertaking in Polish monumental art of those years.⁶⁰ In the construction of the Station, architects collaborated with painters and sculptors for the first time in the Polish construction sector on such a large scale.⁶¹ Tempera and oil paintings, *sgraffito*, sculptures, and bas-reliefs, graphics, stained glass, and finally mosaic compositions were to be placed in many of the station's spaces. Some themes were designed in competitions. The competition for the mosaic and sculptural composition in the departure hall was won by Kowarski,⁶² and the competition for the

⁵⁷ J. Faczyński, "Sztuka religijna" [Religious art], p. 3.

⁵⁸ A. Kossowski, "Felicjan Kowarski," p. 410.

⁵⁹ Adam Kossowski. *Murals and paintings*, p. 110.

⁶⁰ S. S. Nicieja, "Adam Kossowski," p. 270.

⁶¹ T. Dziągiewski, S. Jelnicki, "Parę słów o budowie Dworca Głównego" [A few words about the construction of the Main Train Station], *Architektura i Budownictwo* 1939, no. 3, pp. 8–13.

⁶² The theme of Kowarski's mosaic was to be the riches of Poland, geniuses symbolizing the months, and figural allegories of the five parts of the world. The mosaic was to serve as a background for a bronze statue of Polonia raising an eagle with both hands (sculptors

decoration of the station bar was won by Adam Kossowski's design.⁶³ The completion of the decoration was prevented by a fire that consumed the station buildings three months before the outbreak of the war.⁶⁴

In September 1939, the Kossowski couple were separated by the outbreak of war. Stefania and her parents left Warsaw for Lviv; Adam stayed in Warsaw, awaiting the arrival of his mother and sister, who lived in Poznań. He then went to Lviv, where, having learned that his wife was in Romania, he tried to get through to her. In November 1939, while trying to cross the Romanian border, he was arrested by the NKVD.⁶⁵ He was first imprisoned in Skolem (in the Eastern Carpathians), and in December 1939 he was imprisoned in Kharkiv in the USSR. He was sentenced to five years of hard labor in labor camps on the Pechora River in northern Siberia. His life was saved by a doctor who placed him in a lazaretto. She was sent from Moscow because the Kremlin was concerned that the railroad would never be finished if there was such a high death rate among the prisoners. Each prisoner had to undergo a routine visual inspection. The doctor decided that Kossowski was to be excused from any work in the mine or in logging and transferred to the lazaretto.

Kossowski recovered slowly; they found paper, pencils, pens, and ink for him because he drew portraits of the nurses, guards ("pridurki"), and even cooks, who gave him extra portions of food as payment.⁶⁶ During his time in the lazaretto, he became a religious man. He then made a promise to God that if he survived, he would show gratitude to Providence through his art.⁶⁷

Elwira and Jerzy Mazurczyk). (Quoted after: A. K. Olszewski, *Dzieje sztuki* [History of art], p. 63.)

Dzięgielewski and Jelnicki mention that the work was distinguished by its compositional advantages and the use of an interesting technique involving the use of glazed 5 × 5 cm ceramic tiles.

⁶³ T. Dzięgielewski, S. Jelnicki, "Parę słów" [A few words...], p. 11.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 8. See also: A. Kossowski, "Felicjan Kowarski," p. 411.

⁶⁵ S. S. Nicieja, "Adam Kossowski," p. 271.

⁶⁶ These memories, heard from Kossowski, were written down by his friend, the artist Józef Natanson, in the book *Zgrzyt otwierającej się bramy* [The screeching of an opening gate], p. 216.

⁶⁷ "An interview with Adam Kossowski," p. 70.

The conclusion of the Polish-Soviet agreement in July 1941 resulted in the release of those imprisoned in the Soviet Union and enabled the formation of an army subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief in London.⁶⁸ On September 22, 1941, Kossowski, locked together with a few hundred Polish gulag prisoners in a separate barracks of the huge Pechlaga distribution camp, awaited release.⁶⁹ Kossowski reached the Polish troops in the spring of 1942, after a long journey on the Amu-Darya river, via Uzbekistan. He described this journey in the English-language catalog for the exhibition titled *Polish soldier's journey*.⁷⁰ During his journey, Kossowski painted and noted in his sketches the places and faces he saw. Kossowski's friend, a Polish doctor, bought him a sketchbook and watercolors.⁷¹ He saw Polish soldiers in Iran.⁷² Kossowski spent the entire month of April 1942 in Pahlavi and was assigned to work on the evacuation of the Polish Army hospital. He helped with the reception and assignment of patients who came from various military units. At the end of April, his unit was sent in trucks to the Persian capital Tehran.⁷³ There, the artist was commissioned to draw anatomical diagrams for nurses and paramedics who were taking courses held at the camp.

In early June 1942, along with one of the last truck convoys, Kossowski was sent to distant Palestine, via Hamadan, Kermanshah, and Baghdad. Then he went to Port Said and Suez. At the port, he boarded the liner M/S Scythia, which was carrying Italian prisoners of war to the United Kingdom. Natanson writes that it was Stefania Kossowska, having learned that her husband was alive and in Persia, who made an effort to bring him to England.⁷⁴ During the nine-week voyage by ship around Africa, Kossowski made

⁶⁸ See: *Druga Wielka Emigracja 1945–1990* [Second Great Emigration 1945–1990], vol. 1: A. Friszke, *Życie polityczne emigracji* [Emigre political life], Warsaw 1999 (“Więź” Library, vol. 113).

⁶⁹ A. Kossowski, “Szkicownik z opisem zwolnienia z łagrów” [A sketchbook with a description of release from the gulag] [no year specified]. Typescript, AE, p. 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁷¹ A. Kossowski, *A Polish soldier's journey: reminiscences in paint* [exhibition catalog], London 1944, p. 3.

⁷² See: J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej* [The screeching], pp. 216–217.

⁷³ A. Kossowski, *A Polish soldier's journey*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej* [The screeching], p. 216.

many sketches and portraits of fellow voyagers. In exchange, he received his first English lessons.⁷⁵ He also managed to bring with him to England some drawings from the gulag, and later from his wanderings in Russia.⁷⁶

THE ENGLISH PERIOD

The British liner *Scythia*, along with troops destined for the 1st Division in Scotland, via Aden, Mombasa, Durban, and Cape Town, reached the Scottish port in October 1942. Kossowski was first put in a hospital where his advanced tuberculosis was treated; it took several months before he reached London. In London⁷⁷ he was employed in 1943 at the Polish Ministry of Information, where, together with Józef Natanson, he was in charge of preparing exhibitions (“Poland,” “Polish Sea,” etc.), among other things.⁷⁸

While the war was still in progress, the Ministry commissioned him to document what Stalin’s gulags were on 12 boards. Kossowski made sixteen boards in ink and gouache⁷⁹ illustrating real-life episodes and experiences of Polish prisoners of a Kharkiv prison and prisoners of a gulag on the Pechora River.⁸⁰ The original charts, placed in a portfolio, titled *Polish soldier’s*

⁷⁵ A. Kossowski, *A Polish soldier’s journey*, p. 11.

⁷⁶ J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej* [The screeching], p. 217.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 216. He also had a studio at Hampstead, 6 Froggnal Gardens.

⁷⁸ Adam Kossowski, *Murals and paintings*, p. 126.

⁷⁹ 1) *Long prison in Kharkow, 1940*, 2) *The searching of prisoners in Kharkow Prison*, 3) *Prisoners in their 15-minute exercise period, Kharkow*, 4) *Embarkation of prisoners bound for labour camp, Narian More, Mouth of the River Pechora, October, 1940*, 5) *Under the deck of the slave-barge; the removal of a dead prisoner*, 6) *Prisoners marching over the frozen river Pechora, November 1940*, 7) *The arrival at the camp of the new party of prisoner workers*, 8) *Interior of the “Palatha” – a large tent of canvas on a wood framework, holding up to 200 prisoners*, 9) *The column of workers leaving “the zone” for work in the darkness of polar night*, 10) *Work on the railway line*, 11) *Column of Polish prisoner workers prepared to leave the camp, after the so-called “amnesty” (following the German attack on Russia), Korzwa, October, 1941*, 12) *Free at last. On the way to Kotlos. October, 1941*, 13) *Banks of Amu-Daria: ex-prisoners on the way to join the Polish Army. March 1942*, 14) *Polish ex-prisoners disembarked in Pahlevi, Persia; awaiting bath and uniforms. April, 1942*, 15) *In the bath house at Pahlevi*, 16) *In uniform: first mass in the desert*.

⁸⁰ They were published in the London-based *Wiadomości* and in the Canadian literary quarterly *Mosaic*, published by the University of Manitoba, with a short introduction by

journey,⁸¹ and provided with a legend, were given by Kossowski to then the secretary general of the Ministry of Information, Jan Drohojowski, who shortly thereafter switched allegiance to the communist regime. Then the works “disappeared” without a trace. Drohojowski is said to have sent or taken the portfolio with him to America, allegedly in an effort to protect the document from being bombed in London. Kossowski kept only with photographs and sketches.⁸²

Kossowski's first individual exhibition in London was opened on June 7, 1944 at the gallery at 61 St. James Street. It was titled “Polish Soldier's Journey” and was a kind of painterly diary from the Soviet gulags and the journey to England.⁸³ The artist presented two oil paintings: *The house I lost. Słupia near Poznań* and *Self-Portrait*, as well as dozens of drawings and sketches of great historical value, which documented the realities and the journey that the Polish soldier-artist had to take during World War II.⁸⁴ The exhibition features a map on which a red line outlines the route of the artist's forced migration, going from the center of Poland up to the Arctic Circle above Pechora, through the country of the Uzbeks, the Caspian Sea, Persia, Syria, Palestine, around Africa, and all the way to the British Isles.⁸⁵

In October 1944, Kossowski took part in the collective “Polish Exhibition” held at the Graves Art Gallery in Sheffield.⁸⁶ The catalog for that exhibition lists five of his paintings (four oil and one watercolor painting).

In the same year, Polish artists, members of the Trade Union of Polish Visual Artists in Great Britain (including Gotlib, Koper, Natanson, Kos-

Kossowski on his stay in Soviet Russia.

⁸¹ See: A. M. Borkowski, “Pustka pełna nadziei” [Void full of hope], p. 7.

⁸² A. Kossowski, “Drohojowski i łagierownicy” [Drohojowski and gulag prisoners], p. 10.

⁸³ See: “Adam Kossowski, tegoroczny laureat nagrody” [Adam Kossowski, this year's winner of the prize], p. 7. See also: “Droga polskiego żołnierza” [A Polish soldier's path], *W Drodze* 1945, no. 9, pp. 4–5.

⁸⁴ Paweł Kądziała, in his “Wspomnienie o Adamie Kossowskim” [Memory of Adam Kossowski] published in *Przegląd Katolicki*, erroneously states that the exhibition took place in 1943 and that 12 boards made in ink and gouache were exhibited (they were lost, as mentioned above).

⁸⁵ T. Terlecki, “Wystawa A. Kossowskiego” [A Kossowski's exhibition], p. 3.

⁸⁶ Adam Kossowski. *Murals and paintings*, p. 126.

sowski, Ruszkowski, Topolski, and Żuławski), presented their paintings at the invitation of the London-based Allied Circle.⁸⁷

A month later, on November 23, at an international competition of religious art organized by the publishing company Mowbray and the Central Institute of Art and Design, Kossowski won the second prize for his painting *Annunciation* made in the *sgraffito* technique while on leave from the army in 1942–1944⁸⁸ (the painting is now in a private part of the monastery complex in Aylesford). The sketch for this painting was drawn two years earlier in the gulags and the artist managed to preserve it and bring it back to England. Two of Kossowski's works, *Annunciation* and *Jesus Carrying the Cross*, were exhibited in March 1945 at the Leger Galleries at Bond Street in London, where an exhibition of religious paintings and drawings was held. These were the first works fulfilling the artist's promise made in Siberia to devote himself to religious art.

As a result of the competition, Kossowski's name was popularized in the English press.⁸⁹ His works attracted the interest of the Guild of the Catholic Artists. At that time he met and befriended its president, the English sculptor Philip Lindsey Clark, who, together with the architect John Goodhard-Rendell, offered the Polish artist membership in the Guild's Art Council.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ "Wystawa malarzy polskich" [An exhibition of Polish painters].

⁸⁸ "Rozmowa z Adamem Kossowskim" [An interview with Adam Kossowski], p. 1. See also: "An interview with Adam Kossowski," p. 72; E. Fielding, "Courage to build anew," p. 25; D. G. Walton, "Adam Kossowski," pp. 2–4.

Some authors state that Kossowski received the second prize for the painting *Christ Carrying the Cross (St. Veronica)* (See, among others: Z. Racięski, "Adam Kossowski – artysta w służbie Boga" [Adam Kossowski – an artist in the service of God], pp. 6–7; P. Kądziała, "Wspomnienie o Adamie Kossowskim" [A memory of Adam Kossowski], p. 6; A. M. Borkowski, "Biography," in: *Adam Kossowski, Murals and paintings*, p. 126). They probably derive this erroneous information from: "Religious paintings and drawings exhibition at The Leger Galleries," *Art Notes* (London) 1945, Summer Number, p. 20.

The author of the work refers to the words of Kossowski himself, who said in two interviews (in 1954 and 1970) that he received the award for the painting *Annunciation*. E. Fielding in his book and G. D. Walton in his article make the same statement.

⁸⁹ See for example: "Religious paintings and drawings," pp. 18–20.

⁹⁰ "An interview with Adam Kossowski," p. 72.

In March and April 1945, another exhibition of Polish art was held at the Castle Museum and Art Gallery in Norwich, with works exhibited by artists from The Society of Polish Artists in Great Britain. Adam Kossowski's name was listed under three watercolors and four oil paintings.⁹¹

In 1946, Józef Natanson initiated the establishment of the Decorative Arts Studio⁹² at Old Brompton Road in London, the members of which, besides Natanson, were Adam Kossowski, Peggy Erskine, and Witold Mars.⁹³ The charter of the association, which they called Decorative Arts Studio,⁹⁴ was drafted by Stanisław Meyer, who worked at the Ministry of Information and Documentation and managed Polish exhibitions, together with a lawyer. The association was to provide assistance to artists in the performance of their profession and was given the premises of the studio established by Natanson. The latter also became its first chairman, but, as he recalled, only formally, since everyone decided for themselves what they would do.

The artists decided that each of them would choose a section of decorative art, according to their skills, which they could exploit commercially.⁹⁵ Kossowski, Mars and Natanson opted for ceramics. Natanson bought a small pottery kiln.⁹⁶ Initially, they experimented with small objects, mainly ceramic jewelry (which was Natanson's idea) and hand-painted tiles. This was followed by small figurines, then larger figures, and eventually figure groups.⁹⁷

The studio bought clay from Fulham Pottery, and the glaze came from Wengers Ltd. A potter's wheel was ruled out, as it would require years of practice. So the artists created small platters, baskets, jugs, and figurines. They also bought white dishes, on which they painted patterns of their own

⁹¹ See the catalog: *Exhibition of Polish art, March–April 1945*, Norwich: Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

⁹² L. M., "3 ceramic artists," pp. 33–36.

⁹³ A daughter of William Erskine, the British ambassador in Warsaw, studied at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts before the war; W. Mars – a painter and colleague of Kossowski. He studied at the Academy in Warsaw when Adam was a teacher there.

⁹⁴ J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej* [The screeching], p. 232.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ L. M., "3 ceramic artists," pp. 33–36.

design. Since it was difficult to purchase white dishware, Natanson went to the Wedgwood factory, as their pottery was characterized by a simple form. He told the factory director about the association and his plans related to ceramics. The director promised to help and manufacture a special batch of cups, plates, and pitchers without the company's name embossed on the bottom so that the artists from Decorative Arts Studio could sign their decoration.⁹⁸ Kossowski himself kneaded oval platters in clay, on the center of which he painted simple still lifes.

From the very beginning, the individual preferences of the group members were noticeable: Kossowski made religious scenes, Mars made delicate and cheerful figures and groups in contemporary costumes, Peggy Erskine made figures of strange animals, mainly horses, and Natanson made small baskets with woven walls. Kossowski's figurines and groups of figures thematically referred to scenes from the New Testament. They were stylistically simple, even primitive in form, and sometimes even grotesque. Kossowski's earlier groups showed affinity with medieval religious wood sculptures. Later he stopped using the sculptural technique in his work and started taking advantage of the more visual-art characteristics of clay.⁹⁹ Kossowski expanded the scope of his work. On the one hand, he returned to flat ceramic works – painted tiles and plaques; on the other, he made single figurines and figure groups in contemporary costumes.¹⁰⁰ The colors of his ceramic works are distinguished by strong and clear yellow and green. Lady Erskine, Peggy's mother, organized an exhibition for the artists in 1947, opened by the Duchess of Kent, who also purchased some ceramics.¹⁰¹

In December 1947, a small exhibition of their work was held at Heal's gallery in London, which was very successful and resulted in another exhibition six months later.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej* [The screeching], p. 233.

⁹⁹ L. M., "3 ceramic artists," pp. 33–36.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰¹ J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej* [The screeching], p. 235.

¹⁰² L. M., "3 ceramic artists," pp. 33–36. See also: A. M. Borkowski, "Biography," p. 127.

In the spring of 1952, a second individual exhibition of Kossowski's paintings took place in London, this time at the Ashley Gallery, opposite the Westminster Cathedral. The artist exhibited more than twenty paintings, including eight oils, one *sgraffito*, and fourteen watercolors – sketches for ceramics and paintings. Added to this were two cartons with *sgraffito* designs for Aylesford and thirteen ceramic representations. In the opinion of Tymon Terlecki, the exhibition showed a kind of “backstage”: the background, and atmosphere in which the works were created for the Carmelites.¹⁰³

Over the next twenty years Adam Kossowski did a lot of work, mostly in ceramics, in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and even for the Carmelites in Chicago. Most were works with religious themes.

In addition to Aylesford, one of Kossowski's most important projects is the work in *sgraffito* technique for St. Benet's Chapel at the Queen Mary's College in London. It was made in 1964 and illustrated scenes from the Apocalypse of John.¹⁰⁴ Also noteworthy is a series of ceramics, following the pattern of a triptych, commissioned for the Chapel of the Sacred Heart in the Gothic Benedictine Church in the Downside Abbey in 1956.¹⁰⁵ The theme of the three main compositions is Gospel episodes featuring St. Mary Magdalene.

During the English period, Kossowski mainly created art of a religious nature. However, his output also includes quite a large “secular” ceramic work (80 feet long, 10 feet wide) adorning the exterior wall of the municipal library at the North Peckham Civic Centre in the London Borough of Southwark (1963–1966).¹⁰⁶ This large ceramic wall *panneaux*, which consists

¹⁰³ See: T. Terlecki, “Kossowski of Aylesford,” p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ See: T. Terlecki, “Faith by intellectual effort,” in: *Adam Kossowski. Murals and paintings*, pp. 99–107; I. Conlay, “Art,” p. 7; “The University Chapel of St Benet, Queen Mary's College, Mile End Rd.” [year and month not specified].

¹⁰⁵ See: *Downside Abbey Church guide, Durham West and Sons Paulton*, Bristol 1956; I. Conlay, “A new Shrine at Downside; Ceramics for Downside,” p. 398; “A Polish artist,” p. 20; I. Conlay, “Downside Abbey's new Shrine,” 1957; [Note], *Universe*, April 27, 1956; [Note], *Wiadomości* 1957, no. 12, p. 6; A. Milker, “Adam Kossowski i jego prace” [Adam Kossowski and his works], *Gazeta Niedzielną*, June 10, 1956, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ See: S. Essberger, *Monopoly London. The Monopoly player's tour of London*, Cambridge 1987, p. 29; Daily Telegraph Reporter, “History of Old Kent Road in £6000 mural,” *Daily Tel-*

of 2,000 ceramic pieces, depicts a number of scenes from the history of the Old Kent Road – a road that remembers the occupation of the British Isles by the Romans, the pilgrimage to Canterbury (from Chaucer’s and Henry V’s pilgrims to *cockneys* in carnival costumes).

On January 30, 1970, Kossowski was awarded the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation’s prize in New York.¹⁰⁷

Adam Kossowski died of a heart attack at the Charing Cross Hospital in London on March 31, 1986. The Carmelite Fathers offered him a final resting place in their monastery cemetery in Aylesford.¹⁰⁸ A ceremonial funeral was held on April 4, 1986. In 2003, Stefania Kossowska was also buried at the same cemetery.

“The Friars” in Aylesford

The history of the Carmelite Priory in Aylesford, a place commonly known as “The Friars,” begins in 1242. The golden era of the Carmelites fell on the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, when it experienced both rapid quantitative development (for 50 years the order spread throughout the British Isles, with almost 40 monasteries established in England alone).¹⁰⁹ In 1534, all monks had to take an oath of

egraph, August 16, 1966; agn., “Nowy sukces Adama Kossowskiego” [Adam Kossowski’s new success], *Tydzień Polski*, September 17, 1966, p. 5; a leaflet of North Peckham Civic Centre (*Old Kent Road mural, Camberwell Beauty Butterfly Sculpture*); A. Drwęska, “Nowa ceramika Adama Kossowskiego” [Adam Kossowski’s new ceramics], p. 3; a signed photo with Kossowski’s ceramics, in: *The Times*, September 1, 1966.

¹⁰⁷ The members of the Advisory Committee in 1970 were: Jan Fryling, Aleksander Janta-Polczyński, Jerzy Krzywicki, Ludwik Krzyżanowski, and Szczepan P. Mierzwa (Stephen P. Mizwa). (Quoted in: *The Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation Awards for 1970*. New York 1971, pp. 6, 10, 15.)

¹⁰⁸ S. Frenkiel, in a BBC radio broadcast on December 28, 1986 concerning Kossowski, incorrectly reported that he was buried in the Relic Chapel of the monastery in Aylesford, surrounded by his own works. He compared Kossowski with the architect Christopher Wren, whose tomb in St. Paul’s Cathedral bears the following inscription: *Si vis monumentum CIRCUMSPICE* (if you are looking for a monument, look around).

¹⁰⁹ B. Panek, “Karmelici, Zakon Braci Najświętszej Maryi Panny z Góry Karmel” [Carmelites. Monks of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel], in: *Encyklopedia katolicka* [Catholic encyclopedia], vol. 8, Lublin 2000, gal. 804–808.

loyalty to King Henry and Queen Anne and swear that the Pope had no more authority than any other bishop.

In addition, their sermons were checked for content. In addition to the oath, which they did not take, an inventory of valuable items and portable possessions was to be carried out – the commissioners showed up at the monastery in 1535.

The end came on December 13, 1538, when Richard Ingworth, the Bishop of Dover, received the White Friars' house in Aylesford from the King. This is how the English province of the Carmelites came to an end, and despite years of efforts,¹¹⁰ it was only in 1926 that the Carmelites were reinstated in England.¹¹¹ In 1570, the monastery was donated to the family of John Sedley of South-fleet, who began converting the monastery buildings into a so-called *country house*. Sedley demolished the church and a part of the cloisters. He transformed the remaining buildings by adding new windows. He divided the wing with the refectory into three stories, and in 1595 the entrance gate (*gate-house*) was erected. In the mid-17th century, the estate passed into the hands of Sir John Banks of Maidstone.¹¹² Banks made a fortune when he got into a syndicate supplying food to the navy. Between 1677 and 1679, Banks carried out work to transform the medieval monastery into a *country house*. The cloisters were enclosed, new windows were installed, and the stone walkway was replaced with black and white marble. A new main entrance was made in the east wing and the old hall was divided into rooms. The west wing on the side of the entrance gate was enlarged to accommodate a dining room. The old refectory was transformed into a ballroom with Dutch-style decor. Banks paid a lot of attention to gardens, as evidenced in the garden surrounded by a wall and a conservatory.

Over the following centuries, the owners of the estate changed and it was neglected. During World War I, the property was rented from the Earl

¹¹⁰ E.g., in 1687 the Prior General of the Carmelites wrote to King James II, filing a lawsuit to return the monastery to the order.

¹¹¹ The Carmelites returned to Kent in 1926, taking over the Catholic parishes of Faversham and Sittingbourne. The general of the order, Fr. Elijah Maginnis, came to Kent for a visit and traveled with Fr. Elijah Lynch to Aylesford to see the former Carmelite property.

¹¹² He purchased it from Lady Rycout for the price of 8,413 pounds.

of Aylesford's Estate, where Alice and Copley Hewitt took up residence in 1920.¹¹³ Ten years later, a fire broke out in the former monastery and destroyed the decorative ceilings and stairs, exposing the old Gothic walls. The southern and western wings of the cloisters were burned out. The north wing and the courtyard survived. Mr. and Mrs. Hewitt negotiated the acquisition of "The Friars" from the Board of the Earls of Aylesford, and the relevant deed was ready in March 1932. Then the Hewitts began to rebuild the estate, referring to its medieval monastic style. The cloisters were restored in a 15th-century style, and the old refectory at the western end of the cloisters received a Gothic stained glass window. The old chapel in the south wing was adapted for worship.

The Carmelites returned to Aylesford on October 31, 1949. Over the next few years, the buildings were transformed. A kitchen sector was built, and the Pilgrim's Hall became a hospitality center for visitors. The religious community began to grow, and soon a workshop was established and a group of craftsmen (lay and religious) gathered to rebuild buildings and arrange chapels in them. In addition to craftsmen, artists were employed to rebuild The Friars.

Philip Lindsey Clark¹¹⁴ and his son Michael Clark¹¹⁵ are two sculptors, but according to McGreal, Philip Lindsey Clark's greatest contribu-

¹¹³ Copley Hewitt (1871–1941) worked in the City of London as Commissioner to the Inland Revenue (1929–1930), High Sheriff of Kent, and an assistant county commissioner for the scouts. His wife Alice was in charge of the Girl Scouts, so the place soon became a kind of a scouting center. The meetings were held at the Pilgrim's Hall.

¹¹⁴ Philip Lindsey Clark (1889–1977), a sculptor, learned his skills first from his father, Robert Lindsey Clark, then at the City and Guilds School (1910–1914) and the Royal Academy Schools (1919–1921). He exhibited his first sculptures at the Royal Academy in 1920, and at the Paris Salon in the following year. In addition to the oak sculptures of St. Teresa of Ávila, St. Thérèse of Lisieux, and St. Simon Stock, and the stone sculpture of the Scapular Vision made for Aylesford, he also produced the following works: the Cameronians War Memorial 1914–1918 (Glasgow), the St. Saviour's War Memorial (Southwark), the Belgian Soldiers Memorial (Kensal Green), as well as works for the Westminster Cathedral and the English Martyrs Church in Wallasey. He was a member of the Royal Society of British Sculptors.

¹¹⁵ Michael Clark (1918–1991), studied at the Chelsea School of Art. After World War II, he enrolled in the City and Guilds of London Art School in Kennington (1947–1950). A member of the Royal Society of British Sculptors since 1960, he was the president of that society from 1971 to 1976. In 1960, he was awarded the Otto Beit Medal for the statue of Our Lady

tion was to introduce the Polish immigrant artist Adam Kossowski to the prior.¹¹⁶

The Carmelites of Aylesford had already become familiar with Kossowski's work on the occasion of exhibitions where the artist displayed his religious works. However, the decisive factor was the intercession and support of the sculptor Philip Lindsey Clark (then the president of the Guild of the Catholic Artists, of which Kossowski was a member), who persuaded the prior to get the monastery to hire a Polish emigre for the artistic work. The initiative came from Aylesford and Kossowski received an invitation from the prior. The artist recalled that Clark came to his studio and said: "Aylesford is the place where you should work. You must meet with Father Malachi." The Pole did not know what Aylesford was, or who Father Malachi was. In addition, he was reluctant to have any meetings due to his poor knowledge of the English language at the time. Nevertheless, Clark arranged the meeting a few days later. Kossowski went to the prior, whose first idea was to paint pictures to illustrate the history of the Carmelites and Aylesford.¹¹⁷ Making these paintings was not an easy task for the artist, given such a long break in painting. Fr. Malachi's next order was to make the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary Way in ceramics. They were to be installed in the monastery garden so that they would be visible to pilgrims. At the time, Kossowski only fired small ceramic representations and, as he recalled, had no ambition to become a ceramist. In addition, he did not have a suitable furnace in his workshop. For these reasons, he was afraid to accept this kind of order. However, the prior's steadfastness on this issue and his firm conviction that Kossowski was the right artist to take on this

of the Assumption, made for the Carmelites in Aylesford. He also created a monumental depiction of St. Joseph the Protector for the abbey, and his other works include a statue of Christ above the Westminster Abbey's west door, installed in 1967 to commemorate the 900th anniversary of Westminster Abbey's foundation. M. Clark was also a sculptor and liturgical advisor for the restoration of early 19th century temples in London: the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Church of St. John Wood.

¹¹⁶ W. McGreal, *The history of The Friars*, p. 41.

¹¹⁷ See: "An interview with Adam Kossowski," p. 75.

task¹¹⁸ meant that the Pole completed this order after all, which actually started his career as a ceramic artist.

Adam Kossowski's works for the Aylesford friary

Kossowski's work dominates almost every building in the monastery complex.

The official publication of the Carmelites in Aylesford states that the first impression aroused by his works is one of sheer quantity.¹¹⁹ The artist has left here more than a hundred individual works in ceramics, tempera, *sgraffito*, oil, mosaics, ceramics, wrought iron, and stained glass, which almost leads to the conclusion that Aylesford is home to a kind of Adam Kossowski's museum. More than twenty years of his creative work are documented here. Aylesford is where two of the artist's specializations meet: the former, acquired in the free homeland, and the new one learned in exile: monumental painting and colorful ceramics. From these works it is possible to trace the artistic development and evolution of Kossowski's art: from paintings, through stained glass and floor designs, to almost exclusively the practice of monumental ceramics. Kossowski uses an iconographic program that reflects the veneration of the Mother of God and St. Joseph the Husband. Other themes of the visual imagery, which are part of the canons of Carmelite art, include: the Vision of St. Simon Stock, the prophets Elijah and Elisha – the patron saints of the Carmelites, and representations of the Carmelite saints.

In one of his conversations with the prior, Kossowski said that art is a prayer.¹²⁰ This conviction was inherent in his work in the restoration of The Friars. It can be said that the purpose of iconography for this artist is, in a way, to raise the piety of the faithful with the help of artistic creation.

¹¹⁸ O. Lynch told Kossowski these words (famously and often quoted later): "Adam, I am sure Our Lady has sent you here for that purpose." This fact brings to mind Matisse, who, when completing the decoration of the chapel in Vence (1947–1951), which he considered the work of his life, supposedly said, "I did not choose this work, I was chosen for it." (Quoted after J. Czapski, *Patrząc* [Looking], Cracow 1996, p. 357.)

¹¹⁹ Quoted after: J. H. Sephton, *The Friars*, p. 67.

¹²⁰ See: *Pilgrim's Newsletter* (Aylesford) 1968, no. 93, p. 2.

1. A series of seven tempera and two *sgraffito* paintings made for the former Chapter Room (1950–1951)

In the room where monastic chapters used to meet (Chapter Room), there are seven paintings done in tempera on hard fiberboard on empty white walls. They depict the main events in the history of the Carmelites in the English monastic province. The paintings were created in 1950–1951 at the request of the prior, Fr. Malachi Lynch OCarm, and were the first order placed by the monks, the work for whom was to take Kossowski over twenty more years.

The first work is on the north wall of that room, a series of six more paintings is on the east wall, and the last work in the series, a tempera with two depictions of Carmelite saints on its sides, is on the south wall of the former Chapter Room.

1. *The Giving of the Rule before 1214*

To the right of the painting, on a throne with an architectural motif, sits a bearded man in pontifical garb, holding an unrolled sheet of paper in both hands. On the left side there is an arcade where four monks are kneeling. The only one with a tonsure on his head is placed in the foreground, immediately in front of the bishop. The other monks, clad in striped mantles,¹²¹ have their hands folded, with architectural motifs outlined behind them. The scene shows Albert of Vercelli presenting the Rule to St. Brocard. The artist placed the following inscription: ALBERTUS DG / HIEROSOLYM. ECC. PATRIARCH: / DILECTIS IN CHRISTO ET CAET.EREMITIS / IUXTA FONTEM ELIAE IN MONTE / CARMELI.

¹²¹ As for the iconographic costumology of the Carmelites, in the 13th century the Carmelite habit consisted of a hooded robe made from dark brown or black wool, girded with a leather belt, a white mantle with brown or black stripes, of equal width (about 10 cm), and a pair of boots. Initially, the habit varied as to its color, and the mantle as to its width and the arrangement of the stripes. The stripes were vertical or transverse, brown or black. The Carmelite habit of the old Syrian type was dark brown, and the mantle was striped. At the end of the 13th century, the monks started to wear white hoods, and finally the habit consisted of a black robe and a scapular of the same color. On top they wore a large white hood with a large white collar. In 1285, Pope Honorius IV allowed the striped mantle to be replaced with one in solid white.

At the top left, in the mandorla, there is the Mother of God with Child in her arms, surrounded by four angels. Below is a river with a ship sailing on it. In the bottom left corner of the painting, the artist placed his signature: A. KOSSOWSKI A.D. 1950.

2. *The invasion of Mount Carmel by the Saracens*

Three praying monks were murdered by a Saracen on horseback coming from the left side of the altar, depicted very dynamically. This brings to mind a fragment of a painting by Paolo Ucello *The Battle of San Romano* (1435–1436), displayed in the National Gallery in London, depicting in a very similar pose the condottiero Niccolò da Tolentino, seated on the back of a pristinely white horse.

Behind the depicted figures, there is the architecture of the hermitage, where the monks were allegedly burned while singing the hymn *Salve Regina* (Kossowski placed the inscription: SALVE REGINA, MATER OF MISERICORDIAE). One of the hermits in the background flees to a waiting boat.

3. *The arrival of the first hermits at Aylesford in 1242*

In the central section there are four hermits standing with white hoods on their heads; the one in the center has a beard and holds a golden coffer. To the right of them, there is the armed Sir Richard de Grey with his squire wielding a shield.

To the right of the painting there is a piece of architecture, in the back there is a river with an outline of the architecture of the Rochester Castle.¹²² There are two ships on the river with their sails rolled up. On the bank, there is a worker carrying a sack on his back and a monk walking in front of him.

In the bottom right corner of the painting, there is the following inscription: AD. MCCXL. FRATRES / ORDINIS BEATE MARIAE GENITRICIS / DEI DE MONTE CARMELI PRIMO / VENERUNT IN ANGLIAM.¹²³

In the bottom left corner of the image: ANNO JUBILAEI / M C M L.

¹²² In the identification of de Grey's figure and the dominant outline of Rochester Castle's architecture in the background, I am referring to the work of James H. Sephton (*The Friars*, p. 68).

¹²³ In 1240, the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel first arrived in England.

4. The first general chapter of the order held at Aylesford in 1247

On the left side of the painting there sits a leaning monk – a scribe with a pen in his hand, taking notes. To the right of him there are five Carmelites sitting in niches. The first, a gray-haired man with facial hair and a halo over his head, crossed his hands and his gaze is fixed *en face*. He is larger than the other monks, who are busy talking. Its niche is topped with an ogive, while the tops of the other niches are more cubic. So let us move on to a brief description of these four monks. The first on the left side also gray-haired; with the index finger of his right hand he is showing something that unfortunately is out of sight of the viewer, and has a red book placed on his left knee.

Next to him there sits the second *hermit*,¹²⁴ slightly leaning with his body towards his interlocutor, the entire surface of his left hand pointing to his left side. In his right hand, he is holding a brown book resting on his left knee its back against it.

The third monk, without facial hair, is sitting with his head slightly lowered, his gaze directed toward the inscription placed on a ribbon held by three angels located at the bottom of the image. That monk embraces in both hands, resting at knee height, the halves of the white mantle in which he is clad.

The fourth and final monk is sitting sideways to the viewer; he is bearded, and his eyes and gaze are directed downward. The right fist, as if in the “Lamb of God” gesture, is placed on the left side of the chest, while the left fist rests on the railing of the throne.

At the bottom of the painting, there are three angels with halos, with only the top half of the body depicted, holding a ribbon with the following inscription: FLOS CARMELI VITIS FLORIGERA SPLENDOR CAELI VIRGO PUERPERA SINGULARIS.¹²⁵

The dominant color of this scene is yellow – the architectural niches of the monks and the scribe’s seat are in this color. In terms of color, the background of Simon Stock’s niche stands out (let us recall that this niche

¹²⁴ *Hermit* – a religious recluse.

¹²⁵ Flower of Carmel, Vine Branch draped with flowers, Adornment of heaven, Virgin bearing the Son of God in her body.

is the largest), because it is kept in purple tones, while the niches of the other monks are dark blue.

5. *Building the priory church, 1248*

On the right side of the painting, a kneeling man is shown busily pounding out something in a stone block with a special tool he is holding in his raised right hand. Above him, in the upper corner, Kossowski depicted a coat of arms in red, representing the seal of the prior, as well as a ribbon surrounding the upper part of this image, with the following inscription: ASSUMPCIONIS VIRGINIS GLORIOSE.

The left side of the painting shows the figures of three monks leaning over a sheet of paper showing a blueprint of the church's building. Only the Carmelite who is holding the blueprint in his left hand and a compass in his right is clad in a white scapular with a rolled-up cuff and a measuring instrument in his left hand. Behind the figures, in the background, there is the white architecture of the parish church buildings with a wooden scaffolding and the Medway River with a white bridge¹²⁶ and architectural outlines. A ribbon with the following inscription is stretched above the representation of the monks: AD. MCCXLVIII IN HONORE.¹²⁷

This is the first part of the inscription, and the second part is the inscription mentioned above, located above the image of the prior's seal. Both ribbons are woven into the scaffolding set up at the temple being built. On the left edge of the painting there are figures of two monks walking along the road and carrying stones.

6. *The dissolution and the defacing, 1538*

The painting shows the departure of the Carmelites from Aylesford as a result of a decision ordering the dissolution of religious houses owned by mendicants. In the foreground, on the right side of the painting, there is Henry VIII, surrounded by soldiers, holding a sheet of paper from which he is reading a proclamation. He is the only person dressed in black, which

¹²⁶ *Ragstone bridge* (ragstone is a hard sandstone or limestone; the etymology of the word dates back to the 13th century).

¹²⁷ The entire two-part inscription reads: "Year of the Lord 1248 in honor of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

makes him stand out in the painting. To the right of the king, standing with their backs to the viewer, there are monks leaving the monastery. Behind them there is white architecture with a red roof. Above the heads of the Carmelites there is the Mother of God in a mandorla spreading her mantle as a sign of her protection, with two angels on her sides. Above the roof of the monastery, there is a ribbon with the following inscription: ...PROCEDE TO THE DISSOLUTION / AND THE DEFACING... 1538.¹²⁸

7. *The friars' return, 1949*

In the center of the composition there is the gate of the monastery (the gate-house) and the road leading to it, which gives the work perspective and a sense of depth.

To the right and left are shown Carmelite monks with black prayer books in their hands. The first one on the left is standing with his back to the viewer and holding a cross. The figures of the monks approaching the monastery are portraits of the participants of the historical ceremony of return to the Aylesford monastery.

From left to right the following persons are shown: Br. P. Anthony McGreal of Faversham (holding the cross in his hand), Fr. Dr. E. Kilian Lynch (general of the order), Fr. Carmel O'Shea (Irish provincial supervisor), Fr. W. Malachi Lynch (prior of Aylesford), Fr. Seiger (prior of the Carmelite International College in Rome), Fr. M. Elijah Lynch (prior of Faversham), and Fr. Alexander of Malta.

Above the monastery gate there is the figure of the Mother of God with her hands put together, the moon at her feet, and a halo over her head. Mary's figure has two angels on her sides embracing the wind-blown tail of her mantle. The Mother of God, the sky, and the angels are painted in tones of blue with a touch of purple. Above the angels there are two blue ribbons. The ribbon on the left side has the following inscription: AD MCMXLIX / MATER MITIS SED VIRI NESCIA.

And on the right side: CARMELITIS DA / PRIVILEGIA * STELLA MARIS.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Solution and destruction procedure.

¹²⁹ The entire inscription reads: "A.D. 1949. Gentle Mother, incomprehensible to man, grant your grace to the children of Carmel, Star of the Sea."

There is more light in the painting that comes from Mary and the angels, symbolizing joy and hope.

On the sides of the painting, which illustrates the return of the monks to the Aylesford monastery, there are two vertical compositions by Kosowski, made in *sgraffito*, depicting two clergymen, Thomas Walden and St. Peter Thomas, as we learn from the inscriptions placed by the artist in the lower part of these paintings.

On the left side: “Thomas Walden”¹³⁰ – this is a depiction of a man standing *en face* in a niche, clad in a white coat, holding in his hands a golden book with the following inscription: DOCTRINALE FIDEI ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE CONTRA WICLEVISTAS ET HUSITAS.¹³¹ In the upper right and left corners there are two coats of arms of the Carmelite order.

“St. Peter Thomas”¹³² – Kossowski presented a depiction of a man with facial hair, wearing a hat, with a halo, standing in an *en trois quarts* position (with the right profile visible), with hands placed together, against the background of a niche. The saint’s attributes include a pastoral staff leaning against a niche and a bishop’s mitre, placed in the lower part of the painting. Two coats of arms of the Carmelite order are located in the upper right and left corners of the painting.

Tymon Terlecki associates this series of seven large *panneaux* illustrating the history of the Carmelite Order with representational, official, or didactic painting.¹³³ After twenty years, Kossowski himself wondered why he created the paintings of such a significant size (125 × 182 cm). These works are characterized by a form that is monumentalized and simple at

¹³⁰ Thomas Walden (d. 1430), at Oxford he held the position of Master of Theology and became the superior of the province of the English Carmelites. He also traveled on missions to Poland and Lithuania. He went to Poland in 1419 on behalf of Henry V on a diplomatic mission to Władysław Jagiełło for peace between Poland and the Teutonic Order.

¹³¹ The Doctrine of the Faith of the Catholic Church against the Hussites and the followers of Wycliffe.

¹³² St. Peter Thomas (d. 1366) was a philosopher and theologian of the Latin Patriarchate in Constantinople.

¹³³ T. Terlecki, “Kossowski of Aylesford,” p. 4.

the same time. The structural element of the painting is color, and the composition is based on color contrasts.

Although the content of these paintings was not chosen by the painter, he combined his historical and visual imagination, and the sense of composition with the sense of color. Kossowski integrated the depicted events into a backdrop of architecture understood in Giotto's terms, and into a background of nature: trees, river, and sea.

It sets and binds into one a variety of perspectives that in reality exist separately. These images are both spare and complete, completely clear and bright. They are characterized by a harmony of colors and a balance of forces: rapid movement and deep calm.

2. The decoration of the Main Chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (The Main Shrine) (1958–1960)

The number of pilgrims coming to Aylesford contributed to the need to raise the question of restoring the medieval church, whose foundations have been uncovered, but the decision to restore it was not an easy one for the Carmelites. There was an urgent need for a separate shrine for pilgrims, but the monks did not have the financial resources necessary to build a sufficiently large church, suitable for the number of pilgrims increasing each year.¹³⁴ In such a situation, the community's superior, Fr. Malachi, decided on a design for an open-air shrine, with three chapels extending from it in a radial fashion.

In 1951, medieval foundations were uncovered. This entire area was then paved (lined with stones) in the form of a *piazza*. The location of the medieval foundations was marked by using white paving slabs contrasting with the gray color of the concrete. The location of the Grey family's crypt was marked with a white stone cross placed on a paving slab in front of the chapel steps.

A temporary limestone altar, designed by Philip Lindsey Clark in 1951, was placed on the exact same spot as the medieval altar. It was shielded

¹³⁴ Every Sunday, starting from May until the end of October, 6 to 8 thousand pilgrims come. A total of about 250,000 people come to Aylesford each year.

from the weather by a copper canopy. Wooden benches were set up in the square to accommodate about two thousand pilgrims. A plaque on the wall to the right of the chapel was intended to commemorate the beginning of the restoration. This plaque was blessed by Bishop Cyril Cowderoy on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on September 8, 1954.

The new main chapel, dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was built east of the previous medieval monastery church between 1958 and 1960. The innovative open-air shrine, with adjacent apse chapels in a layout based on the motif of the Jerusalem Cross,¹³⁵ was designed by Adrian Gilbert Scott (1882–1963), who was a member of a well-known family of architects. His son, Antony Gilbert Scott, was Adrian’s deputy in Aylesford; both worked there as volunteers. The shrine’s design was intended to reconcile the needs of the Order with the historic remains of the monastery’s architecture.

The creation of the shrine and the adjacent chapels began in the summer of 1958. Concrete pillars that covered 30–40 feet of soft ground formed the foundation of the temple.¹³⁶

The work manager and master stonemason was Percy Kitchen (d. 1966) of Kent, one of several local craftsmen who knew how to handle ragstone – hard sandstone or limestone.

Kitchen trained eight Italian stonemasons in the art of laying slab stone structures. One of them was named Giuseppe Miccoli. Two brothers from Spain, Brother Simon and Brother Nonio, worked on the construction from its start. Another works manager was Clifford Jones (d. 1963).

Ragstone came from local quarries and the remains of a Roman villa in Eccles. Some of the stone was taken from the vicinity of Boxley and

¹³⁵ The so-called *Crusader Cross* – iconographically, is depicted as four small crosses between the arms of a larger cross. A total of five crosses symbolize the five wounds of Christ. The Jerusalem Cross was first used for the Latin Kingdom in Jerusalem. This mark was borne by Godfrey of Bouillon, the first ruler of Jerusalem after its liberation from the Muslims. During the Crusades, this sign was referred to as the Crusader’s Cross. The four small crosses also symbolize the four Gospels preached to the four corners of the world, and the large cross depicts Christ.

¹³⁶ James H. Sephton reports that “skilled craftsmen from the Netherlands, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and England” worked on the construction (*The Friars*, p. 72).

Maidstone. The tiles for the main chapel came from a demolished brewery in Maidstone.¹³⁷

Above the entrance ogive leading to the main chapel, called the Chapel of the Assumption, the motif of the Jerusalem Cross was placed. In the center of the chapel there is a niche, also in the form of an ogive, with a large sculpture depicting the Assumption. The figure has its hands and eyes raised, and a moon at its feet. The sculpture was made in 1960 by Michael Clark from African hardwood.¹³⁸ The background of the niche was filled with two thousand small ceramic tiles, designed by Kossowski and fired at the monks' ceramics workshop. Most of the tiles were made in blue (symbolizing the heavens); there are also shades of navy blue, black, and green. Clark recalls that he spent a lot of time discussing with Kossowski how to harmonize the design of his sculpture with the Polish artist's overall design of the chapel.¹³⁹

Behind the statue of Our Lady of the Assumption, in the center of the niche, the artist created a circle out of light blue and light green tiles – perhaps suggesting Our Lady's mandorla. On both sides of the figure, from the center of this circle, wide rays spread out, arranged from yellow ceramic tiles, formed into the shape of teardrops with edges highlighted by black lines, as if carved on the edges of the tiles (two straight lines on each tile).

Behind the altar, on the wall below the niche, Kossowski made a frieze in the *sgraffito* technique in two colors: pale green and red. The frieze is divided into five vertical compositional strips. In each strip there are ribbons with Mary's titles, which are prayer invocations taken from the Litany of Loretto, illustrated with simple representations. Each segment was separated by a representation of a palm tree.

The upper part of the first segment from the left shows a ribbon with the inscription ROSA MYSTICA,¹⁴⁰ under which there is an image of a rose flower. Further below there is a depiction of architecture with a tower

¹³⁷ Style and Winch Brewery.

¹³⁸ The sculpture won the Otto Beit Medal from the Royal Society of British Sculptors.

¹³⁹ See: *Image of Carmel. The art of Aylesford*, pp. 5–7.

¹⁴⁰ *Rosa Mystica* (Latin) – Spiritual Rose.

topped by a Star of David. At the very bottom there is the invocation *TURRIS DAVIDICA*.¹⁴¹

The second strip is crowned by the inscription *ORA PRO NOBIS*,¹⁴² under which Kossowski depicted the Ark of the Covenant in the form of a rectangle topped by a trapezoid, on which there are two burning candles, with a cross between them. Below there is a ribbon with the invocation *FOEDERIS ARCA*.¹⁴³ In the lowest part of the frieze of that segment, there is a geometric representation composed of standing rectangles; this pattern also extends to the next two strips.

Another compositional segment is located under the statue of the Mother of God; in its upper part there is a ribbon with the inscription *DOMUS AUREA*,¹⁴⁴ and under it Kossowski depicted an architectural representation topped with a dome.

The penultimate strip is topped by the request *ORA PRO NOBIS*, under which there is an image of a gate, illustrating the litany invocation below, which compares the Mother of God to the Gate of Heaven (*JANUA COELI*).

The last, fifth strip is crowned by a ribbon with the inscription *STELLA MATUTINA*,¹⁴⁵ which is alluded to by the representation of a large multi-pointed star below. Below it there is a depiction of a five-story tower with a dome, which is an illustration of the final invocation placed in that frieze: *TURRIS EBURNEA*, or Ivory Tower.

It is worth adding that it is possible to observe an alternating rhythm of the shape of the ribbons in the upper parts of all compositional strips. Specifically, the first, third, and fifth ribbon, which are invocations to the Mother of God, take the traditional shape of an arch, while the second and fourth ribbon, which are supplication antiphons *ora pro nobis*, are placed in an inverted arch.

For the altar in that chapel, Kossowski made a crucifix with the figure of Crucified Christ in cream-colored ceramics. The perizoma and the plaque

¹⁴¹ *Turrus Davidica* (Latin) – Tower of David.

¹⁴² *Ora pro nobis* (Latin) – Pray for us.

¹⁴³ *Foederis Arca* (Latin) – Ark of the Covenant.

¹⁴⁴ *Domus Aurea* (Latin) – House of Gold.

¹⁴⁵ *Stella Matutina* (Latin) – Morning Star.

with the inscription INRI placed over the Savior's head were made of white ceramics. The arms of the cross are decorated with small red rectangular plaques with a white stripe in the middle of each. The artist placed two such plaques on the horizontal beam of the crucifix, and three on the vertical beam – one above Christ's head and two below his feet. There are five in total, which could refer, especially due to the red color of the ceramics, to the five wounds of Christ.

The crucifix was placed on a rectangular bar, the elongated side of which on the front side was decorated in the central part with a skull and bones motif in white ceramics surrounded by a white and yellow geometric pattern.

On both sides of the crucifix there are six identical candle holders designed and made by Adam Kossowski. Their shape refers to a cuboid with a cup-shaped head. Each candle holder is characterized by two ogive clearances placed one above the other.

On the antependium of the altar in the chapel dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the artist fixed twelve separate ceramic plaques against a black background.¹⁴⁶ They all refer to symbols of salvation. Between these plaques there are rectangles as if engraved on a black background – this is a geometric decoration. The ceramic representations attached to the antependium are in yellow tones, with black shading. Looking from the upper left corner, the following representations were placed in sequence: the first plaque shows a seven-branched Jewish candle holder referred to as menorah.¹⁴⁷ On the second plaque there is a depiction of a man playing a harp (the biblical David) with his head bowed and leaning against the top of the instrument, with the fingers of his hands placed on the strings. The third shows the outline of a fish in the waves referring to the Greek word *ICHTYS*.¹⁴⁸ The fourth plaque depicts a long cross entwined

¹⁴⁶ Kossowski discovered the possibility of placing ceramics on a black background, the so-called *black slips*, which would henceforth appear in virtually all of the artist's ceramic images, very often with some ornament, usually geometric, scratched into these blocks.

¹⁴⁷ See: Book of Exodus (Exod.) 25:31–40.

¹⁴⁸ The letters forming the word *ICHTYS* are the first letters of words that mean in Greek: Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Savior. The Greek sound of the word was like Christ's monogram.

by a serpent, which is a reference to the Old Testament motif where Moses made a copper serpent and placed it on a high stake in the desert.¹⁴⁹

The copper serpent is a figure of the Crucified Christ, since just as “the Jews by looking at the copper serpent were saved from death, so through the cross of Christ eternal life was given to men.”¹⁵⁰ The fifth plaque shows a representation of the head of the Paschal Lamb in a halo, a symbol of Christ sacrificed for the sins of the world.¹⁵¹ The sixth depiction also corresponds with the sacrificial theme, as Kossowski showed here a pedestal with a large flame on it, signifying a sacrifice burning on the altar.

The next plaques show a building topped with a dome (the Jerusalem Temple)¹⁵² and the tablet with the Decalogue of God’s Law revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai.¹⁵³ Another ceramic shows Christ’s monogram composed of the letters X and P¹⁵⁴ against a background of flames. The tenth plaque depicts a bunch of grapes symbolizing Christ,¹⁵⁵ but also the Old Testament sacrifice of Melchizedek.¹⁵⁶ The penultimate plaque shows three stars against the background of a mountain – this is the Carmelite emblem, where Mount Carmel rises between stars symbolizing Faith, Hope, and Love. Finally, the last ceramic representation shows a boat in the midst of waves, with a small house on the boat, which are symbols of Noah’s Ark.¹⁵⁷

On the antependium of the altar, there is an accumulation of motifs referring directly to the Holy Bible, predominantly to the Old Testament. All these plaques are bound together by the theme of imagery, oscillating around the symbols of salvation.

Set high on the inner walls of the shrine’s chapel, three each to the right and left of the altar, there are six ceramic works by Kossowski, depict-

¹⁴⁹ See: Book of Numbers (Num.) 21:4–9.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted after: C. Zieliński, *Sztuka sakralna* [Sacral art], Poznań 1959, p. 525.

¹⁵¹ Cf: Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb) 10:1–18.

¹⁵² See: First Book of Kings (1 Kgs) 6 and 7; Second Book of Chronicles (2 Chr) 3 and 4.

¹⁵³ See: Exod 20:1–21.

¹⁵⁴ These are the first two letters of the Greek word *XPISTOS* meaning Christ. It means “anointed” and was used in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew word *masiah*.

¹⁵⁵ See: Gospel of John (John) 15:5.

¹⁵⁶ See: Genesis (Gen) 14:17–20.

¹⁵⁷ See: Gen 6–9. Noah’s ark symbolizes the Crucified Christ; the tree from which the ark was built resembles the tree of salvation of the cross.

ing angelic figures, all in the same yellow and black tones, made between 1962 and 1964. The largest glaze on the right is located directly above the entrance to St. Anne's Chapel. It depicts an angelic choir – eight angels in three rows. To the right of this ceramic there are two more, on which the artist placed individual figures of angels. The first is St. Michael the Archangel depicted frontally, with both hands supported by his attribute – a sword on which his invocation is inscribed: *QUIS UT DEUS*.¹⁵⁸ A star is placed above his head. The second frontal depiction shows the figure of the Archangel Gabriel (not the angel of Aylesford, as stated by J. H. Sephton),¹⁵⁹ holding in his hand an architectural design – that of the monastery chapel. Above his head there is a star, and at the height of the angel's feet there are outlines of the village of Aylesford and the 14th-century bridge.

On the left side of the altar there is an analogous arrangement of ceramics: the closest to the altar is the largest one, depicting an angelic choir of ten figures, among whom one holds a rose and one a lily. The central ceramic is a frontal depiction of the Archangel Uriel¹⁶⁰ with a staff in his right hand.

He raises his left hand up, three fingers are straightened, two bent, as if in a gesture of warning. There is a star above his head.

The final image in this group is a frontal depiction of the Archangel Raphael, who is shown holding both hands upward, as if in ecstasy, with a prayer on his lips; above his head there is a star, and between his feet there is his attribute in the form of an image of a fish.

The figures of angels and especially archangels are monumental. They impress the viewer with their spatial arrangement and static expression of four elongated, quite hieratic human figures with large eyes.

¹⁵⁸ *Quis ut Deus* (Latin) – Who is like unto God.

¹⁵⁹ *The Angel of Aylesford*. Cited after: J. H. Sephton, *The Friars*, p. 73.

¹⁶⁰ The name Uriel is not mentioned in the Bible at all, but instead appears in apocryphal Hebrew writings as the name of a leading angel, sometimes mentioned with Michael and Gabriel. In Hebrew, this means: "God is my light/fire." In some Jewish traditions, Uriel is the angel of thunder and earthquake, he warns Lamech of the end of the world.

3. The decoration of St. Anne's Chapel (1961–1963)

To the southeast of the Chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary there is a chapel dedicated to St. Anne, the mother of Mary. Its interior was designed and made simultaneously with the main chapel. Italian plasterers spread two layers of green plaster on the walls and the ceiling. The choice of green as the dominant color was meant to indicate blossoming, sprouting, and awakening of new life. Adam Kossowski scratched *sgraffito* patterns on the walls. On either side of the altar, stained-glass windows with abstract images, topped with trefoil arches, are placed in tripartite windows. On the left side of the altar, they are dominated by a range of green and yellow, while on the opposite side the colors are blue and yellow. About two thousand glazed tiles, fired in the monastery's pottery workshop, were installed on the concrete floor and then arranged in abstract compositions. All of this was designed by Adam Kossowski.

On the walls of that chapel, against the background of a *sgraffito* decoration in various shades of green, the artist arranged ceramic compositions.¹⁶¹ The ceramics depict excerpts from apocryphal stories about St. Joachim and St. Anne, the grandparents of Jesus. These images, placed two on each wall, are designed to be placed on the sides of the tripartite windows. Looking from the left, from the entrance to the chapel, there is a composition depicting the story of how St. Joachim learned from an angel about meeting his future wife, St. Anne, at the city gate. Joachim is standing frontally on the right, wearing a white robe, barefoot, with a yellow halo above his head, a green staff in his left hand, his right arm bent, his hand held to his chest in a gesture of disbelief, as if he were pushing or chasing something away. St. Joachim lifts his head up to his right and looks at the angel's figure above. The angel, with spread wings, clad in a long robe, with a halo, looks down on Joachim. At the same time, he extends his outstretched arms toward him. His entire figure is made of dark yellow ceramic. The composition is set against a *sgraffito* background depicting trees, hills, two sheep, and some buildings.

¹⁶¹ J. H. Sephton recalls the artist's words that the ceramics conceived by Kossowski for this chapel, as well as his decoration done in the *sgraffito* technique describe the "springtime of faith" in the Aylesford monastery. See: idem, *The Friars*, p. 76.

The second ceramic composition on that wall shows Joachim and Anna's meeting at the gate. We see them facing each other and embracing each other by the forearms. Both have halos above their heads. Anna is standing on a step, sideways to the viewer, with her eyes lowered, and above her Kossowski additionally placed a ceramic yellow arch. She is clad in a white maphorion and a yellow robe. St. Joachim, also standing sideways to the viewer, is looking at St. Anne, his right foot resting on the step on which she is standing. His attire is a white turban and a long white robe and a mantle. Buildings and trees are drawn against the green background of the *sgraffito*.

On the opposite wall, the first ceramic representation from the altar is the scene of the Nativity of Mary. Actually, it consists of two ceramics placed one above the other. Higher up there is a yellow bed with white pillows, on which lies St. Anne, clad in a white maphorion and a pink gown, holding little Mary wrapped in a white baby sleeping bag. Both have yellow halos over their heads and a yellow arcade arch above them, resting on two columns. Below this depiction there is another one, smaller in size, which shows a servant girl in a pale pink robe with rolled-up sleeves and a white apron, bending over a yellow bowl with water, holding a white sheet in her hands. Next to the bowl there is a yellow dish. Against the green background of the wall, Kossowski depicted tree motifs, outlines of buildings, and geometric patterns.

The final, fourth representation, which closes the artist's narrative on the apocryphal story of the Holy Family, is a scene with Mary in a temple. It consists of three figures presented sideways to the viewer. On the left there is St. Anne, with a halo, wearing a white maphorion, a pink dress with black patterns, and light-colored boots on her feet. She is directing her eyes ahead, slightly downward, looking at the little Mary walking in front of her. St. Anne is extending her right outstretched hand toward her daughter, with her right arm bent at the elbow held to her chest. Mary, who is in front of her mother, is pictured with a halo and dark hair, wearing a long blue dress and shoes of the same color. She is keeping her hands placed together, putting her left foot on the first step, and heading towards the priest awaiting her. The celebrant is on the second – highest step in the composition, leaning slightly toward the approaching girl, raising his slightly upright arms toward her. He is clad in a long pink gown tied with

a *cingulum*, with a yellow outer garment resembling a dalmatic on top of the gown, and a priestly headgear. Above Mary's and the priest's heads extend two arches of yellow ceramic. Against the green *sgraffito* background there are motifs of circular architecture, stairs, a hill, and leaf motifs. The letter M is repeated in the lower part of the plaster decoration, while the letter A is repeated on the opposite wall.

When looking toward the altar, one can see the focal point in the form of an ogive-shaped niche with a 15th-century sculpture by the German artist Riemenschneider depicting St. Anne holding Mary and Jesus inside. It was donated to the monks by a Jewish industrialist. In the inner strips of the niche, Kossowski placed five four-sided convex ceramic tiles each, with yellow and light green glaze. The entire wall around the niche is covered with green *sgraffito* with predominantly abstract motifs, among which one can find a geometric thread, a sort of simplified architectural outline, as well as leaf and cross motifs. On the right side of the niche, an image of a cross is scratched, with three nails and a spear below it.

The antependium of the altar is decorated with a ceramic cladding made by Adam Kossowski. In general, it is filled with abstract motifs in two shades: yellow and a tint of green approaching blue, with the former predominating. However, among these non-figural motifs, in the very center of the antependium, one can notice the engraved monogram of Christ with two letters, A and M, slightly on its sides. Between the two-color abstract ornament, one can also recognize a cradle motif in green with a shade of blue, located in the upper right corner of the antependium.

A ceramic crucifix and two candle holders stand on the altar. However, they differ from those in the Shrine Chapel of the Assumption. The red crucifix, supported by a yellow bar, was made very originally, as its arms are surrounded by a yellow oval, as if in the shape of a mandorla, and on either side of it, against the background of that mandorla, the artist placed two figures: Mary, with her hands put together and lowered (on the right side of the cross) and St. John, looking at the Savior, with his hands put together and raised up (on the left side).

To the left of the chapel entrance, on a green *sgraffito* background, there is an inscription dedicated to Anna Maria Cowderoy (January 27, 1868 –

February 28, 1957), the mother of the Archbishop of Southwark: IN MEMORY OF / ANNE MARIE / COWDEROY / BORN JAN. 27. 1868. DIED FEB. 26. 1957 / MOTHER OF CYRIL 7TH BISHOP / OF SOUTHWARK.

On the opposite wall, to the right of the chapel entrance, there is a long inscription calling to honor Christ's grandparents placed symmetrically on a green background: LET US CELEBRATE THE MEMORY OF / THE GRANDPARENTS OF CHRIST / AND WITH FAITH LET US BESEECH / THEM FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE / SO THAT SALVATION MAY BE / ASSURED FOR ALL THOSE WHO / CRY. O GOD BE WITH US / O THOU WHO DIDST GLORIFY / THEM ACCORDING TO THY WILL.

St. Anne's Chapel is a kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk* – a total work, made by Adam Kossowski. This is because, in addition to the wall and antependial ceramic decoration, in addition to the *sgraffito* decoration, the crucifix, the candle holders in colored glaze, and the stained glass designs, the artist created the floor design. The floor is completely covered with tiles. The top step – the altar step – is decorated mostly with square-shaped tiles, predominantly blue-black, but also a few brown ones. In front of the altar, they are arranged in the motif of the Jerusalem Cross. The rest of the floor is covered with tri-colored tiles: mostly black-green, with a few brown ones, which take on abstract patterns of squares, triangles, and ovals.

4. The decoration of the Relic Chapel (1962–1966)

The Relic Chapel is located to the southeast of the main chapel. It can be accessed through a long corridor. To the right and left of the entrance there are vessels for holy water made of brown ceramic, with green edges and a carved image of a cross, made by Adam Kossowski. Fixed on the left wall of the corridor is a cross with two wooden sculptures on its sides, made by Philip Lindsey Clark, depicting St. Teresa of Ávila holding a pen, and St. Thérèse of Lisieux, with her attributes: a cross and roses. Further on the wall, there is a fragment of Kossowski's ceramic mosaic depicting the head of an angel, in yellow and red; it is an incomplete work, installed after the artist's death.

Adjacent to the chapel are three additional small apse chapels. Across from the entrance, behind the altar, there is an apse with a massive reliquary of St. Simon Stock. To the right of the entrance, southeast of the

Relic Chapel, there is an apse with the Chapel of Carmelite Saints. The last space here is the Chapel of the English Martyrs, located to the left of the entrance, northwest of the Relic Chapel.

In the early 1960s, Kossowski visited the church of St Germain des Pres in Paris, which became the inspiration for the layout of the Relic Chapel. There, the artist first saw the new liturgy, celebrated at a freestanding altar with pulpits on either side of it. He also sent preliminary sketches to Aylesford from there. Today's appearance of the chapel amazingly resembles those drawings.¹⁶²

A frieze consisting of fifteen ceramic representations of the Way of the Cross, commissioned from the artist in 1963, surrounds the walls around this chapel. Although normally the Way of the Cross has fourteen stations,¹⁶³ Kossowski took the liberty of adding one more – the Resurrection scene – which is the keystone of the previous ones and serves as their punch line, as it were.

This is the image of the Empty Tomb, to which the women came and where they saw an angel.¹⁶⁴ This ceramic, almost twice the size of the others, was placed, not coincidentally, above the altar, above the passage to the apse containing the reliquary, which catches the viewer's eye from the very entrance. Below this scene, the artist put the following inscription: RESSUREXIT SICUT DIXIT. On the right, there is a figure of an angel with a long cross in his hand, sitting on a stone rejected from the entrance of the empty tomb. In the very center of the composition, there is the entrance door to the place where the Savior was buried. To the left of the ceramic there are three women in blue robes; the one standing in the center holds a vessel for holy oils in her hands. The figure of the angel heralding the Resurrection is much larger than the Jerusalem women. It is very dynamic not only due to its size, but also due to the gesture made with the right

¹⁶² See: *Image of Carmel*, p. 21.

¹⁶³ *Via Dolorosa* – the Way of the Cross is reproduced in fourteen stations located in the church. Nine stations originate from Gospel texts and five come from tradition: Jesus falling three times under the weight of the cross and Jesus encountering his mother and St. Veronica.

¹⁶⁴ See: Gospel of Matthew (Matt) 28:1–8.

hand, the crossed feet, the inclined head, the unfurled tail of the mantle, and the diagonally held cross.

In the various Stations of the Cross, the human figures made of ceramic are placed on a black background, which is not smooth, but has gouged fragments of architecture or there are carved faces of people and outlines of figures in the crowds accompanying Jesus on the way to Calvary. The stations are numbered and signed at the bottom of each scene, on a yellow ceramic strip.

In these ceramics, Kossowski pays less attention to the role of color, which he limits to yellow (architecture and ground), red (cross), and white (robes), focusing more on the shape and texture of the composition. The expressiveness of the representations is particularly emphasized by the contrast between the yellow ceramics and the black background.

The first station (JESUS CONDEMNED TO DEATH) is located on the wall to the left of the altar. On three steps there is a seat on which Pilate is sitting *en face* in a white long robe. His body tilts to his left, where on the lower steps a servant is kneeling on one knee, girded with a white band, and in his arms outstretched upwards he is holding a yellow bowl, over which Pilate extends his hands. Next to him, there is Christ standing frontally, with his hands crossed and tied with a cord, and his eyes lowered. He has a crown of thorns on his head, as well as a visible halo, and is holding a reed in his hand. He is girded with a white perizoma, with a purple mantle put on his back. Above this depiction, there is an arch made of yellow ceramic over Christ's and Pilate's heads.

The second station (JESUS CARRIES THE CROSS) depicts Christ on the left, clad in a white long gown, tied at hip level, without the purple mantle. He is standing with his hands straight up, grasping the beam of the cross handed to him by a Roman soldier, which, in a shade of purple, occupies the central place in the composition. To the right, there is a Roman soldier standing, wearing a white robe and a helmet on his head. With his right hand he is supporting the beam of the cross, and in his left hand he is holding a spear, also purple in color. The cross is the central element. Kossowski did not fill the entire image inside with a black background, by which he would have obtained a regular, square frame for the scene, but allowed the cross to stand out by, as it appears, projecting above the

composition. The cross is given an additional accent by leaving a black border around its top.¹⁶⁵

In the background of the ceramic composition, we can see architectural outlines more clearly than in the others: windows, doors, and roofs, which results in a more intricate modeling than in Kossowski's previous ceramic depictions.

The image is completely flat (the artist did not use any perspective to convey depth). Both the figure of Christ and the figure of the soldier are set on the same base line.

The third station (JESUS FALLS FOR THE FIRST TIME) depicts Jesus' first fall under the weight of the cross. We see him kneeling on the yellow cobblestones, pressed down by the cross, which he is embracing with his right hand, while with his left he is propping himself against the ground in an attempt to get up. Above there is a yellow arcade arch, beside which there is a soldier standing with his back turned towards the arch, wearing a white perizoma and a helmet, with a red spear in his hand, inclining his head indifferently over Christ. The ground on which Christ fell is composed as if it had been shattered into small, irregular pieces by being struck with a hammer.

The fourth station (JESUS MEETS HIS MOTHER MARY) is placed not at the viewer's eye level, but high above the entrance to the Martyrs' Chapel. On the right side of the image, there is the figure of Jesus, bent and crouched under the weight of the cross; he is directing his gaze and his left hand towards his Mother, standing in front of him, who, clad in a white long gown and a maphorion, extends both arms in front of her, towards her son. The scene is set against the background of a piece of yellow architecture.

The next station (SIMON OF CYRENE HELPS JESUS CARRY HIS CROSS) shows in the center of its composition a man in a white robe and a turban on his head supporting the cross with both hands. Next to him stands a faint Christ with his head bowed down. On the other side of Jesus, Kos-

¹⁶⁵ In his essay, P. Stuart draws parallels between the ceramics and the *sgraffito* works with scenes taken from the Book of Revelation, which are found in the chapel of Queen Mary's College in London, seeing the analogy in the fact that some objects were given stronger outlines.

sowski placed another man, wearing a green perizoma and a head scarf on his head, who is looking at the beam of the cross, while supporting it with an upright and raised left arm.

The sixth station (VERONICA WIPES THE FACE OF JESUS) shows two figures: on the right, a standing Jesus, leaning with his body against the beam of the cross, which he is supporting with both hands, and looking at a female figure standing in front of him, wearing a white robe and a maphorion, and extending a white headscarf in front of him in both hands. In this depiction, one can very clearly see a row of lamenting women, Mary directing her gaze to her son and extending her hands toward him, and Roman soldiers, whose figures Kossowski carved into the black background of the *sgraffito*.

Two more stations are placed high on the wall above the entrance to the Relic Chapel. The first (JESUS FALLS FOR THE SECOND TIME) shows Jesus on his knees, with his hands resting on the ground, with his head bowed very low to the ground. Behind him, at head height, there is a man standing, wearing a white perizoma and a headgear, who is supporting the beam of the cross with both hands. The second station (JESUS SPEAKS TO THE WOMEN OF JERUSALEM) depicts Jesus carrying the instrument of passion in the center, surrounded by the women of Jerusalem. Two of them are standing with bowed heads behind Jesus, who turns his gaze to a group of four women with a small boy, lamenting at the sight of Jesus carrying the cross.

The ninth station (JESUS FALLS FOR THE THIRD TIME) shows the third fall of Christ, who, in Kossowski's artistic vision, is literally knocked to the ground. The whole figure lies lifelessly on the ground, and behind it there are two men standing: one only girded with a perizoma and wearing a turban on his head, with both hands holding the cross in a horizontal position, and a soldier standing next to him, with a spear in his right hand, and supporting the beam of the cross with his left hand.

The next station (JESUS IS STRIPED OF HIS GARMENTS) depicts Jesus standing in the center with his head lowered and his hands spread out, being stripped of his garments by a man standing to his left, wearing a white perizoma and a headscarf. Behind them, the tree of the cross is supported by a man girded with green cloth and wearing a headgear of the same color. A Roman soldier is also standing nearby, supporting himself with a spear.

Another ceramic image (JESUS IS NAILED TO THE CROSS) is placed above the entrance to the Chapel of the Carmelite Saints. This is the scene of Jesus being nailed to the cross: he is lying on the ground, parallel to the beam of the cross, and supporting with his right elbow on the ground. He is directing his gaze toward the viewer. His left arm is held upright, it is nailed to the wood by the man kneeling above, wearing a perizoma, with a red hammer. Scattered nails and pincers are laying nearby. Standing by Jesus' head, watching the event, is a soldier leaning on his spear.

The twelfth station (JESUS DIES ON THE CROSS) depicts in its center a cross stuck in the ground with a white plaque with the inscription INRI¹⁶⁶ and Jesus' body nailed to it with his head lowered. To the right of the cross there is a soldier raising a spear to the heart of the Crucified Christ, and to the left there is St. John looking at Jesus and embracing the faint figure of Mary, standing with her head lowered and her hands crossed. Under the cross, there is a skull and crossbones.

The next station (JESUS IS TAKEN DOWN FROM THE CROSS AND PLACED IN HIS MOTHER'S ARMS) shows the removal of Jesus' body from the cross. On the right side of the composition there is a ladder leaning against the cross and a man standing on it (St. Joseph of Arimathea),¹⁶⁷ supporting with his right hand the elbow of Jesus's being taken down from the cross, embraced at the chest by St. John and at the elbow by Mary, both located on the left side of the cross.

The fourteenth station (JESUS IS PLACED IN THE TOMB) depicts the placing of Jesus' body in the tomb.¹⁶⁸ In the rock grotto, there is a red bench on which the dead Jesus is resting. At the head there is the same man who took Jesus' body down from the cross – St. Joseph of Arimathea, and at the feet there is St. John' both are covering the body with a white sheet. Three female figures are pictured in the background, with heads bowed down and

¹⁶⁶ On the vertical post of the cross, a plate is placed at the top with an inscription with information for the reason for the condemnation to crucifixion. The plate on Christ's cross had the inscription written in three languages: Latin, Greek, and Aramaic. See: Matt 27:37; Gospel of Mark (Mark) 15:26; Gospel of Luke (Luke) 23:38; John 19:19.

¹⁶⁷ See: Matt 27:57–61; Mark 15:42–47; Luke 23:50–56; John 19:38–42.

¹⁶⁸ Two synoptics mention that Christ's tomb was carved in the rock. John adds that it was surrounded by a garden. See: Matt 27:59–60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:50–53; John 19:38–41.

hands put together. The first on the right holds in her hands a red vessel for oils to anoint the dead. Above this composition there is a yellow arch made of ceramic. The fifteen station, Resurrection, which was mentioned earlier, binds together and completes the representations of the various stations of the *Via Crucis*.

The antependium of the main altar was decorated by Adam Kossowski with red ceramics on a black background, meant to represent Calvary: in the center there is the cross of Christ, with two crosses of thieves on its sides. Both ends of the ceramic cladding of the antependium show architectural outlines.

The altar on the celebrant's side also has a glazed decoration. In the entire plane of the antependium, Kossowski designated three compositional fields separated from each other by rectangular geometric plaques: in each field there is a niche of sorts. The central one contains the monogram of Christ, while the two niches on the sides contain the Greek letters *alpha* and *omega*.

There are two pulpits in this chapel, both with red ceramic motifs. The front edge of the pulpit top located to the left of the altar contains a motif of elongated rectangles, with an arch inside each.

Below, the first plaque from the top depicts the motif of a cross, followed by two geometric narrow plaques, then again a larger one with a representation of an angel (a symbol of Matthew the Evangelist), a sequence of another two narrow plaques, and the last one, at the very bottom of the pulpit base, depicts a lion (a symbol of Mark the Evangelist).¹⁶⁹

The pulpit located on the right side of the altar is similar in formal terms: a top with the same geometric motifs, then three plaques separated from each other by double, narrow, rectangular plaques. The first plane from the top contains the monogram of Christ, the middle plane contains the head of an eagle (a symbol of John the Evangelist), and the last plane contains the head of a bull/ox (a symbol of Luke the Evangelist).

¹⁶⁹ A lion is also a figure of Christ – the lion of the generation of Judah (Revelation of St. John (Rev) 5:5), who conquered death through his resurrection and who sleeps in the tomb, with eyes open and heart alert. The lion, the king of animals, is a figure symbolizing the royal nature of the God-Man.

In the part of the chapel where the altar is located, Kossowski placed iconographic images that are thematically related to the Resurrection. This is the focal point of this chapel, because it contains the altar on which the Eucharistic sacrifice is performed that commemorates the Passion, the Death, and the Resurrection of Christ. The decoration of the altar with images of the cross refers to this idea of rising from the dead; it was not just an instrument of passion and death; instead, the Resurrection was accomplished through the cross. At the same time, within that space, above the altar, the artist placed a ceramic vision of the Empty Tomb, which closes the Stations of the Cross.

The stained glass windows are of great importance in this chapel. Designed by Adam Kossowski and made by a Benedictine monk, Louis Charles Norris of the Buckfast Abbey.¹⁷⁰ He used an innovative technique developed in France in the late 1920s to make the stained glass windows. To imitate the depth of color and texture of medieval glass, he used thin glass pieces embedded in concrete or mastic. Norris mentions that because Kossowski's designs involved the traditional technique of glass embedded in lead frames, he had to adapt them to his technique of glass pieces placed in a resin mixture. His modification involved two things: he had to increase the spaces between the glass and slightly darken the colors, which are very pale in Kossowski's design.¹⁷¹

High up in the four corners of the Relic Chapel, twin multi-part stained glass windows ending in a pointed arch were installed in the walls. Each pair of stained glass windows was given a well-defined iconographic meaning. The stained glass windows in the northwest corner were to depict "Hope and Faith." The dominant color is green, identified as the color of hope.

¹⁷⁰ He joined the Buckfast Abbey in 1930. He began working as a stained glass artist in 1933 and studied especially 12th- and 13th-century works at the Canterbury and Chartres cathedrals. From 1938 to 1939 he worked under Professor E. W. Tristram at the Royal College of Art, specializing in fresco, tempera, and mosaic. In 1959, he began working with glass pieces and cement, which he later replaced with a resin mixture. In addition to his stained glass windows in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel at the Buckfast Abbey and Aylesford, he made commissioned works of various sizes for nearly seventy Catholic and Anglican churches. In 1943, he was awarded the Order of the British Empire (MBE).

¹⁷¹ See: *Image of Carmel*, pp. 36–37.

In the right-hand stained glass window emerges a cross, in the center of which is inscribed a yellow oval in the shape of an egg, symbolizing new life. The stained glass windows in the northeast corner are kept in a range of orange. In his design, Kossowski titled it "Zeal and Prayer." Its central motif is a cross. "Solitude and Contemplation" is the title of the third set of stained glass windows, located in the southeast corner of the chapel. The right-hand window shows a solitary cell, in orange and red. The purple-orange-red cross in the right-hand window suggests that contemplation is the fruit of solitude. The stained glass windows in the southwest corner of the chapel depict "Penance and Sacrifice," in light purple and blue.

In the right-hand stained glass window, the motif of the cross is repeated several times, and purple, symbolizing repentance and sacrifice, is used in addition to the two dominant colors mentioned above.

In the stained glass windows installed in Relic Chapel, Kossowski showed a specific, thoughtful iconographic program that refers to the charism of the order, which originally had a strictly eremitic character – such ascetic practices as solitude, poverty, silence, and fasting were carried out, and physical labor was an important element. After the arrival of the eremites in Europe (mid-13th century), the originally few cenobitic elements (common mass and chapters) were enriched (e.g. common liturgical prayers) due to the need to adapt the rule to the new living conditions. This led to the transformation of the order into a mendicant-contemplative one. The Carmelites recognized the prophet Elijah as their spiritual father, seeing in him a model of eremitic-contemplative life, as well as an example of apostolic zeal.

On the axis of the Relic Chapel, in an apse-shaped niche just behind the altar, there is a massive reliquary with the skull of St. Simon Stock, which draws the viewer's attention from the very entrance to the chapel. The relics were placed there in September 1951.

The reliquary took the form of a carefully designed 11-foot-tall turret. The design was prepared by Kossowski, who was assisted by Charles Bodiam (who made the wooden frame for casting the concrete core) and Percy Kitchen (who built the reinforced-concrete turret) in its implementation. This entire work was decorated with black cladding, to which the artist attached white ceramic tiles, covered with real gold. All of them were fired

three times. The gold on the white glaze added a touch of nobility to the design.

The reliquary can be divided into nine component parts: it is supported on a base in the shape of a standing rectangle with geometric decorations. The second part is a truncated trapezoid, on which rests the main part of the reliquary, namely the rectangular box containing the holy relic. The trapezoid is decorated on each side: on the side of the altar it bears the emblem of the Carmelite order, then a cross with two birds on its sides (an early Christian representation), on the back there is the motif of the Cross of Jerusalem, and on the fourth side of the trapezoid there is a figure of the Virgin Mary with the Child in her arms leaning towards a kneeling figure of St. Simon Stock, holding a scapular in his hand. All these four motifs are surrounded by a geometric ornament.

The artist paid the most attention to the decoration of the box with the relics. A pane of glass is placed on each side, surrounded by ceramic decoration. Around the four walls there is a golden inscription: FLOS CARMELI VITIS FLO-RIGERA / SPLENDOR CAELI VIRGO PUERPERA SINGULARIS / MATER MITIS SED VIRI NESCIA / CARMELITIS DA PRIVILEGIA STELLA MARIS.¹⁷²

The glass of the box on the altar side, having the form of an arcade, has two kneeling angels on its sides, with bowed heads and hands put together (the same images appear on the other three sides). Above them there is a ceramic decoration with the motif of a cross, with the following invocation below: ST SIMON OF ENGLAND PRAY FOR US. A tall reliquary coping in the form of six rectangular plates, decreasing in size conically towards the top, is installed on the box. It is meant to represent Mount Carmel. Kossowski decorated each of the six levels with white and gilded (the motif of a cross and geometric patterns) ceramic tiles, taking the shape of triangles, with black-filled holes cut in the center. The triangles were meant to suggest the goals of the hermits on Mount Carmel.

According to the description, the Reliquary of St. Simon Stock received a decoration whose iconography refers strictly to the history of the order. This is indicated by the monastic emblem, the Vision of the Scapular of

¹⁷² Flower of Carmel, Vine Branch draped with flowers, Adornment of heaven, Virgin bearing the Son of God in her body, Gentle Mother, incomprehensible to man, grant your grace to the children of Carmel, Star of the Sea.

St. Simon, the Latin motto with an invocation to the Mother of God (*Flos Carmeli*), the content of which is attributed to that very saint, and the motif of the hermitage of the first hermits living on Carmel.

5. The decoration of the Chapel of the Carmelite Saints (1964–1965)

To the southwest of the Relic Chapel there is an apse that contains a chapel dedicated to the Carmelite Saints. Kossowski declared the entire chapel with ceramics in only two colors: white and brown – the color of the Carmelite habit.

The antependium of the altar is decorated with white ceramics on a brown background. A gate/entry motif is placed in the center, surrounded by motifs of architectural buildings. The artist intended these to be the caves – cells of Elijah and other hermits. On the wall behind the altar, there is a mosaic decoration arranged from small ceramic rectangles in pink, pale blue, and gold. This cladding was lined in the shape of a niche, providing the background for a sculptural group made in wood and depicting the Mother of God with the Child in her arms, blessing a scapular held by St. Simon Stock. The origin of this sculpture is unknown.

On either side of the sculptural Scapular Vision there are Adam Kossowski's wall ceramics: on the right side there are depictions of female Carmelite saints and on the left side there are depictions of male Carmelite saints. All the depicted saints stand grouped in three rows against a brownish background with architectural motifs.

The Carmelite saints are wearing the traditional brown habits, white cloaks, and women are additionally wearing black veils. Two Carmelites are depicted in pontifical attire. All the figures, with the exception of one nun, have halos above their heads, in which the artist placed their names. The canonized Saints have full halos, and those beatified have only crescents. In these depictions, Kossowski refers to the Renaissance artist Fra Angelico and his magnificent depictions with choirs of saints in heaven. Two works in particular can be mentioned: the Retable made for the Dominican church of San Marco in Florence (1438–1440), depicting the Madonna and Child surrounded by angels and eight saints, and the Retable from Bosco ai Frati (1450), commissioned by Cosimo de Medici for the

Franciscan monastery in the town of Bosco ai Frati, with a similar scene. Both depictions contain illustrations of monks in habits, with attributes in their hands or with their hands put together, and inscriptions with the names of the saints placed in golden halos. Both retables are located in the Museo di San Marco in Florence.

In the first row from the bottom, on the left side, St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi is standing with her left side facing the viewer and with her head slightly bowed and her hands put together. Next to her, depicted *en face*, with her eyes turned to her right, there is St. Teresa of Jesus, embracing in both hands a black book with a cross engraved on it. Next, in the same position, with her eyes lowered, St. Teresa Margaret is standing, grasping a golden cross in both hands and a cord in her left hand.

In the second row, above, there are three figures of nuns, no longer with entire silhouettes, but only with a half of the body shown. The first from the left is Blessed Frances Ambroise in an *en face* position, with her eyes closed and a golden crown in her hands. In the middle stands St. Thérèse of Lisieux, gazing into the distance, with a golden rose in her hands. Next to her is St. Joachima, leaning her head down and holding her hands put together in prayer.

The third row depicts four female Carmelites, with only a half of their bodies drawn. First on the left is St. Joan of Toulouse with her head tilted to the right and eyelids closed. Next to her, there is Blessed Teresa of St. Augustine with a palm in her hand. The next figure is Sister Benedicta, also holding the martyr's palm. This, too, is an extraordinary thing. Adam Kossowski presented this nun with the halo afforded to beatified persons, even though Sister Benedicta had not been elevated to the altars. This did not happen until almost 20 years later, and she is now known as Sister Benedicta of the Cross.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ She was born as Edith Stein in Silesia to a Jewish family in 1891. At the age of 32, she converted to Catholicism. In 1933, she joined the Carmelite order. On August 9, 1942, she died a martyr's death in Auschwitz. On May 1, 1987, Pope John Paul II beatified Edith Stein in Cologne, declared her a saint in Rome on October 11, 1998, and the following year declared her a co-patroness of Europe.

Finally, the last nun depicted in that panel is an unnamed Carmelite nun, without a halo, with her head lowered and her hands put together. She embodies all the saint and pious sisters of the order, of whom the world will never hear and who will not be elevated to the altars. To the left of the sculpture depicting the Mother of God and Child, Kossowski placed a ceramic panel with depictions of Carmelite saints and blessed, also arranged in three rows.

In the first row on the left, there is St. Peter Thomas standing sideways to the viewer, wearing a black hat on a slightly bowed head, with facial hair and his hands put together. Next to him, *en face* and in pontifical attire, stands St. Albert of Jerusalem. His right hand is raised as a sign of blessing, in his left hand he is holding a golden pastoral staff, he has a beard and a mitre on his head, and the mantle on his shoulders is decorated with gilded motifs of the cross and the Cross of Jerusalem. The third bearded monk with a tonsure is St. Brocard. He is holding a scroll in his right hand and is pressing his left hand to his chest. He is the only one of the monks pictured here with a mantle with black horizontal stripes.

In the second row there are three other monks, who are depicted only up to waist height. The first on the left, with his hands put together, is St. Albert of Sicily. The next is St. John of the Cross, with facial hair and his attribute – a cross in his hands. Next to him, Kossowski placed St. Andrew Corsini in pontifical attire, standing sideways to the viewer.

In the last row there are four monks, visible up to the middle of the body. The shortest of them, standing on the left, a man with a tonsure and a beard, is Blessed Nonio Alvarez. Next to him there is Blessed Baptista of Mantua with a book in his hands. The third Carmelite, with a tonsure on his head and his hands put together, is Blessed John Soreth. The last monk depicted by Kossowski is Fr. Titus Brandsma, a Carmelite who had not yet been proclaimed as blessed at the time (this did not happen until almost fifteen years later).¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Titus Brandsma, born 1881 in Friesland (Netherlands), took perpetual vows in Carmel in 1899, received a doctorate in philosophy in 1909, and was the rector of the University of Nijmegen (1932–1933). He openly protested the Nazi anti-Semitic campaign

Adam Kossowski absolutely intentionally depicted both Sr. Benedicta and Fr. Titus Brandsma with halos of the blessed above their heads. Although these saints were elevated to the altars only many years later, the artist anticipated this fact with his pioneering vision. Both of the blessed were contemporaries of Kossowski. Moreover, they share a common experience of the difficult years of occupation, during which all three were prisoners in camps – Stein and Brandsma in Nazi camps, and Kossowski in Soviet camps.

The two ceramic panels depicting the Carmelite saints are bound together by an elongated band of decoration located below. It is made of brown blocks, with engraved architectural motifs and elements in a shade of green. To this plane are affixed white ceramic decorations depicting three hills (the middle one and the highest probably symbolizes Mount Carmel) with elements of architecture and trees.

6. The decoration of the Chapel of the English Martyrs (1965–1967)

To the northwest of the Relic Chapel there is an apse with a chapel dedicated to English martyrs. The viewer's initial impression is dominated by the accumulation of ceramic decorations in only one shade: deep red, the color of martyrs.

The facade of the altar depicts the killing of St. Thomas Becket on the steps of the Canterbury Cathedral (the first stage of the decoration). The antependium is covered with black cladding, with a carved motif of a portal and other architectural details. On top of this, the artist installed a ceramic decoration: human figures are placed in three niches with architectural framing. At the bottom of the central niche, Kossowski depicted the three steps of the Canterbury Cathedral, where St. Thomas Becket is standing in the gesture of an adorant, in pontifical attire and with a halo. He is turning his eyes to his right, where two killers, with swords in their hands, are emerging from a neighboring niche toward him. The first from the right is already standing with one foot on the first step of the cathedral,

and was arrested by the Gestapo in January 1942. Killed in Dachau on July 26, 1942, he was beatified by Pope John Paul II on November 3, 1985.

his right arm bent at the elbow is held raised at head height, and he is swinging his sword at the bishop. Behind him is his companion, who is drawing his sword from its scabbard. In the third niche, to the right of the bishop, there are also two killers, intending to kill Becket, one drawing his weapon, the other with his sword upright in front of him aiming at the bishop. All four are clad in soft armor – pointed helmets with chainmail around their heads and knee-length knight's robes, with sword scabbards tied to their belts.

On the wall behind the altar there is a two-part stained glass window ending in a trefoil pointed arch, made by Norris OSB according to Kossowski's design. The artist depicted on it the symbols of martyrdom – three yellow crowns piled one above the other in a field of a green palm tree on an orange-red background, which harmonized seamlessly with the red-purple decor of the chapel.

On either side of the altar there are depictions of two saints, showed *en pied*. On the left side there is an image of St. John Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, standing *en trois quarts*, wearing a mitre and with a pastoral staff in his left hand, lifting his right hand in a gesture of blessing.

The second saint depicted is Thomas More, the chancellor of England, standing *en face* and wearing a coat with fur sleeves and a collar. He is wearing a Renaissance-style hat on his head and a chain on his chest, and his hands are held put together. The two figures are placed on a black *sgraffito* background with carved ornamental motifs, in a frame with the shape of a standing rectangle closed with a gabled arch, made of red ceramic.

Fisher and More are well-known English martyrs who lived in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. They were friends and both objected to recognizing King Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine, and later refused to swear an oath on an act of supremacy recognizing the king as the head of the Church of England, for which they were imprisoned in the Tower of London and beheaded.

On the side walls of the chapel, Adam Kossowski made a ceramic decoration, in red-purple color (the black background of the *sgraffito* shines through in some places) around the niches with stained glass windows. On the wall to the left of the altar, on the sides of the stained glass windows there are ceramic plaques on which are inscribed in red letters the names of

twenty English martyrs (ten names on each side),¹⁷⁵ placed against a black background and with a grooved black palm branch next to each name. These plaques are framed within a *sgraffito* border with an engraved cross motif. Above the window recess, at both ends, the artist placed a narrow strip of ceramic, depicting a cross inscribed in a circle with flames, and in the central part he placed the figures of two angels supporting the monogram of Christ surrounded by a wreath. On the other hand, beneath the stained glass windows there is a wide ceramic panel that reaches almost to the floor and consists of three images, separated from each other by a narrow black strip with engraved cross motifs. In the central part, there is a representation of the gallows from the execution site in Tyburn.¹⁷⁶ Kossowski depicted this gallows as three horizontal beams supported on three vertical piles. The same gallows can be found in William Hogarth's 1747 work titled *Execution at Tyburn* (from a series titled *Industry and idleness*). An executioner is sitting on the gallows smoking a pipe, and the entire composition field is filled with a group of onlookers who have come to see the spectacle. The convict is riding in a cart, along with his coffin, escorted by guards on horseback.

Returning to Kossowski's composition in the Chapel of the English Martyrs. A ladder is supported against the gallows and there is a kettle next to it, with a dense veil of flames rising upward from it. These instruments of execution and martyrdom are surrounded by motifs of buildings. The other two images on both sides of the central ceramic are identical to those in the strip above the window, which show the motif of a cross placed on the background of a fiery rim, only enlarged in size.

¹⁷⁵ The names on the left side of the window recess: Luke Kirby, Richard Gwyn, Margaret Clitherow, Margaret Ward, Edmund Jennings, Swithin Wells, Eustace White, Polydore Plasden, John Boste, and Robert Southwell. The names placed on the right side: John Houghton, Augustine Webster, Robert Laurence, Richard Reynolds, John Stone, Cuthbert Hayne, Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, Alexander Briant, and John Payne.

¹⁷⁶ The first permanent gallows in Tyburn were built in 1571. It was, along with Smithfield and Tower Hill, the main site of public executions in London (until the 18th century, when it was replaced by the Newgate Prison). It was famous for the so-called *triple tree of Tyburn* - a gallows built with three horizontal beams. Tyburn was located near today's Marble Arch, on the northeastern edge of Hyde Park.

On the opposite wall, Kossowski made an analogous decoration surrounding the niche with stained glass windows, repeating some iconographic motifs.

On either side of the niche he again placed the names of twenty other English martyrs.¹⁷⁷

Above those ceramics artist placed a strip with a tripartite decoration: on the sides there are duplicated motifs of a cross inscribed in a circle of flames, and in the center there is an inscription in black letters, saying that the martyrs pleased God by victoriously passing the test: GOD DID BUT TEST THEM / AND TESTING THEM FOUND / THEM WORTHY OF HIM.

The ceramic panel below the stained glass windows in the central section depicts England's most famous place of torture and execution – the Tower of London, amidst abstract ornamentation. Below the Tower there is an axe placed on a square block – an symbol of an instrument of death.

7. The decoration of St. Joseph's Chapel (1966–1971)

The chapel dedicated to St. Joseph is located northwest of the main chapel of the shrine. Chronologically speaking, it was created as the last one. Its spatial arrangement is somewhat similar to that of the Relic Chapel. Behind the main altar, there is an analogous apse niche, which houses a monumental wooden sculpture on a pedestal depicting St. Joseph, commissioned from Michael Clark in 1963.

Kossowski's ceramic representations were created from 1967 to 1971, in four phases. The first is the simple marble altar in amber color, with a black cross motif. Behind it, on the walls of the northern apse, the artist created a *sgraffito* decoration in dark green with an addition of black. Kos-

¹⁷⁷ The names on the left side of the window recess: Henry Walpole, Philip Howard, John Johns, John Rigby, Anne Line, Nicholas Owen, Thomas Garnet, John Roberts, John Almond, and Edmund Arrowsmith. The names placed on the right side: Ambrose Barlow, Alban Roe, Henry Morse, John Southwark, John Plessington, Philip Evans, John Lloyd, John Wall, John Kemble, and David Lewis. In total, on both walls Kossowski placed the names of forty English martyrs, including thirty-seven men and three women.

sowski alluded here to the idea of ecumenism by depicting the architecture of different temples.

Strips of decoration placed under the windows of that niche include a representation of a Jewish menorah. On the wall behind the figure of St. Joseph, in the central part, there is an outline of the Vatican Basilica. Above the Basilica's dome, the artist placed the only silver element – a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit. On the right side, one can also see images of architecture with domes, above which there are several onion-shaped domes, characteristic of Orthodox churches. On the tops of some roofs, Kossowski placed symbols of Orthodox crosses. Outlines of cathedral architecture, portals, vaults, and medieval stained glass windows are shown on the left side. This is the only place where the artist placed engraved Greek symbols, such as the letter X, combined with the letter P, which starts the name – “XP” XPISTOS (Christ).

Kossowski made the floor covered with white and green square tiles, located in the northern apse and in the altar area. Around the sculpture of St. Joseph, the artist planned to depict the symbols of the four Evangelists. They are arranged with white tiles and the letters of their names – with green tiles. Immediately behind the altar there is the angel of St. Matthew, to the left there is the lion of St. Mark, behind the sculptural representation of St. Joseph there is the ox of St. Luke, and to the right there is the eagle of St. John. On the floor under the altar stone there is an image of the Carmelite emblem and the following inscription: A MAN WHOSE NAME WAS JOSEPH.¹⁷⁸

Above the altar, there are ceramic panels describing the main episodes in the life of St. Joseph. Starting from the left above the altar, the following scenes are shown (clockwise): “The betrothal of Mary and St. Joseph,” “St. Joseph's dream,” “The Birth of Christ,” “The Flight into Egypt,” and “Finding Jesus in the Temple.”

In the first image, Mary and St. Joseph, with halos above their heads, are standing *en trois quarts* holding each other's right hand. Between them there is a celebrant conducting the ceremony, standing frontally in the gesture of an adorant and with eyes closed, wearing a light brown robe. Mary's

¹⁷⁸ Luke 1:27.

head is slightly bowed down and she is holding her maphorion under her chin with her left hand. She is clad in a long white robe, with stripes of gold, and boots on her feet. St. Joseph, slightly taller than Mary, is looking upward. He has facial hair and his clothes are very similar to those of his future spouse. He is wearing a turban on his head and sandals on his feet.

Behind Mary, there are three women standing on a wooden platform, wearing green-blue-gold clothes and maphorions, with their hands put together. Two men with facial hair, wearing turbans on their heads and clothes analogous to those of the three women, are standing on a platform behind St. Joseph. The first man behind St. Joseph is looking at the young man, and in his hands he is holding a long branch with green leaves.

His companion is looking ahead and holding his hands put together on his chest. Above the heads of Mary and St. Joseph there are two window openings made of golden ceramic. The background of this image is dark brown *sgraffito* with gouged architectural motifs (doors, windows, domes) and the motif of a cross. The scene is framed by a basket-handle arch, with frame made of long yellow ceramic rectangles.

The second scene from St. Joseph's life, placed above the scene of his betrothal, is "St. Joseph's Dream." As if awakened from sleep, St. Joseph is sitting on a long bench in a semi-reclining position, with his left leg tucked under. He is supporting his hands and head on a rectangular raised platform. To his left, a rolled-up mantle and two vases (a larger red one and a smaller green one) are lying on the bench. On the right side there is a builder's square and a large compass. In the background, some buildings can be seen: a slender three-story building and another, stocky and covered with a dome. St. Joseph is looking upward, to his right, at the angel above, who is turning toward him. The God's messenger is almost touching him with his right hand (it seems that the angel is withdrawing it after St. Joseph woke up), and with his upright left hand is showing the direction in which St. Joseph should go. This gesture and the wind-blown tails of his mantle enhance the dynamism of the angel's figure, and his silhouette is depicted as if he were diving into water.

The central image in the series of these ceramic panels is "The Nativity of Christ," placed above the altar, above the entrance to the north apse, with "St. Joseph's Dream" to its left and "Flight into Egypt" to its right.

The ceramics of the “Nativity” are the largest. In the center of the composition, there is an image of a kneeling Mary on the left; on the right, there is St. Joseph leaning over Jesus, extending his hand over him, and holding a staff in the other. The mother is blessing the baby with one hand and holding the other on her chest. Jesus is pictured as a naked baby, placed frontally, as if standing, surrounded by an oval of a golden mandorla. A low rectangular pedestal serves as the manger. The Holy Family is located in a rock grotto, with a lying bull with a bell around its neck on one side (the animal is placed behind the figure of Mary) and a donkey on the other side, behind the figure of St. Joseph, turning its head back in the direction of a procession of the Three Kings approaching the grotto. The first king, with facial hair, clad in orange and greenish robes, is holding a golden goblet in his hands. He is followed by a black-skinned king in red and yellow clothes, carrying a red vessel. The last mage is wearing green clothes and holding a coffer of a similar hue.

On the opposite, left side of the composition, three barefoot shepherds are approaching the grotto. That procession is led by a man holding a brown basket in one hand and a long maroon shepherd’s staff in his left hand. He is wearing a gown made of sheep’s wool. He is followed by a second shepherd, playing a flute (only his head is visible). The last figure in the procession is a third man carrying a lamb in his arms, dressed in a long-sleeved yellow robe and wearing a green cap on his head. The rock grotto is overgrown with green trees, while at the very top, in the center of the composition, there is a large radiant star of Bethlehem in a golden hue.

At the bottom of the composition, against the background of a yellow ceramic strip, the artist placed the following inscription: A WISE AND FAITHFUL SERVANT SET OVER YOUR FAMILY AS GUARDIAN AND FOSTER FATHER OF JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD.

The “Flight into Egypt” shows St. Joseph walking bowed down due to the weight of a heavy sack which he placed on his back and is holding with his left hand, while supporting himself with his right hand on a staff. He has facial hair and is clad in a long orange-brown-green robe and a turban, has a halo over his head, and is wearing laced-up sandals.

He is looking behind his back at Mary on a donkey, holding the wrapped baby in her arms. Mary is sitting on a red cloth sheet serving as a saddle. She is dressed in cream-blue and light brown cloths and a maphorion, and has a halo above her head. Behind St. Joseph there is a tall tree with a very large oval crown. Shrubs, grass, and mushrooms are growing on the ground on which they are traveling.

The last scene from the life of St. Joseph in this group is "Finding Jesus in the Temple," placed below "The Flight." The composition is topped with a basket-handle arch, like "The Betrothal," and is divided into two equal parts by arches supported on a column located on the axis of the image. On the right side there is little Jesus teaching people gathered in the temple. The child, wearing a white robe and with a halo over his head, is sitting frontally on a red throne with a high rounded back. He is holding his right arm bent, his index finger straight, and his left hand resting on his chest. On either side of him there are scribes. The one on the right side is sitting on a red stool two steps below, raising one hand up. The listener on the left is sitting frontally right next to Jesus, supporting his face with his left hand in a gesture of thoughtfulness, and holding his right hand in his lap. There are two scribes behind the throne, propping themselves up against the backrest and looking at Jesus.

The other part of the composition shows Mary and St. Joseph. The mother is walking in front, with a concerned expression on her face and both arms stretched out in front of her. She is wearing a pale blue and yellowish robe, with a halo over her head and yellowish boots on her feet. St. Joseph is walking behind his spouse, carrying a sack on his back, which he is holding with his right hand, and holding a long staff in his left hand. He is dressed in blue and yellow clothes and is wearing sandals on his feet. Above the heads of the scribes and Jesus' parents there are two window openings made of yellow ceramic. The scene is surrounded by a frame of yellow ceramic rectangles.

An apse with the Tabernacle is located at the eastern wall of the chapel. Kossowski decorated the entrance to that chapel with a series of ceramics. On the left side, he depicted the figure of St. John the Baptist with a halo over his head, a belt of cloth wrapping his body, and laced-up sandals. In his left hand he is holding a long golden cross, entwined with a white ribbon,

which St. John is holding in his other hand. On the ribbon, Kossowski made the following inscription: BEHOLD, THE LAMB OF GOD WHO TAKES AWAY THE SINS OF THE WORLD.

On the right, the artist depicted the figure of St. John the Evangelist with an eagle, as an attribute, at his side. He is shown as a gray-haired man with facial hair, clad in white and yellowish clothes, and holding in his hands a frontally unrolled roll of paper with the following inscription: IT IS THE SAME DISCIPLE THAT BEARS WITNESS OF ALL THIS AND HAS WRITTEN THE STORY OF IT; AND WE KNOW WELL THAT HIS WITNESS IS TRUTHFUL. THERE IS MUCH ELSE BESIDES THAT JESUS DID; IF ALL OF IT WERE PUT IN WRITING I DO NOT THINK THE WORLD ITSELF WOULD CONTAIN THE BOOKS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE WRITTEN. JOHN XXI, 24–25.¹⁷⁹

Above the entrance arch of the chapel with the tabernacle, there is a horizontal ceramic illustrating the scene of Transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor. The dominant feature of the composition is the centrally placed figure of a frontally standing Christ. Clad in a snow-white robe,¹⁸⁰ with a beard and half-length hair, he is standing with a halo above his head on the background of a golden mandorla, with his right hand giving a blessing and his left hand held slightly bent at the elbow and tilted away from the body.

The static and majestic figure of Christ has two prophets, Moses and Elijah, on its sides; they are gazing at his glowing face and at the same time provide a contrast because of their very dynamic depiction (twisted bodies, vigorous hand gestures, and unfurled tails of their mantles). The three figures are located on a small hill and on their sides, slightly lower, there are the figures of the Apostles. On the left side there is sitting St. James, supporting his crossed arms against his left knee, his gaze directed at Christ. Behind him kneels a frightened young man – St. John, St. James' brother, also gazing at Jesus, resting his hands on the back of the sitting Apostle. On the right side of the composition, there is St. Peter, kneeling on his right

¹⁷⁹ John 21:24–25.

¹⁸⁰ See: Matt 17:1–8.

knee, with his arms raised and put together in prayer. Like the other disciples, he is gazing at his Master.

The entire scene is placed on a background imitating a mountain, composed of rectangular yellow and green ceramic tiles. Above the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, at the height of the heads of the prophets from the Transfiguration scene, Kossowski placed two ceramic circles. In the one above John the Baptist, yellow rays spread from the black center, with green ornamental motifs woven in between them. In the other, yellow circle, black S-shaped rays are inscribed with small circles on them.

St. Joseph's Chapel is also dedicated to the prophet Elijah, as the artist placed two huge ceramics dedicated to episodes from Elijah's life on the wall opposite the altar. His figure is particularly important for the Carmelite order. He is one of Israel's most famous prophets. He summoned the idolatrous people and priests to Mount Carmel and proved to them by a miraculous sacrifice on which fire came down from heaven that Yahweh is the true God, he revived faith in the people of Israel, and he had the priests of Baal killed, as was commanded by the law of Moses.

The first ceramic illustrates this very scene, a description of which can be found in the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings.¹⁸¹ The artist depicted, as it were, two levels: on the higher one, symbolizing the peak of Mount Carmel, with the altar of the Lord and the flames consuming it, there is prophet Elijah, standing, deep in prayer, and on the lower one, there are the terrified people of Israel. The two levels are separated by a narrow strip of yellow ceramic. Elijah is pictured here frontally, with his head raised and both arms in a sign of a supplicatory prayer offered to Yahweh. His white clothes are blown by strong gusts of wind, revealing his torso. Behind Elijah, there is a tail of his mantle lifted upward by the wind. To his right, Elijah set up an altar of twelve stones¹⁸² and dug a trench around it, which was filled with water (Kossowski depicted this using green pottery and S-shaped lines to symbolize water). On the altar, there is an

¹⁸¹ 1 Kgs 18:20–40.

¹⁸² According to the number of generations of James' descendants (1 Kgs 18:31).

offering of a quartered calf laid on firewood (brown and blood-red ceramic tiles). The entire altar, down to the base, is surrounded by a tall pillar of fire sent by Yahweh, with clouds of fiery smoke with red-brown-orange flames rising up.

Below, there are the people of Israel participating in this showdown between Elijah and the pagan prophets. In the foreground there are seven men and one woman standing in long clothes with their sides to the viewer, raising their heads high up in the air; their facial expressions show surprise and horror, and some figures have their mouths open in disbelief, pointing with their hands to the huge pillar of fire. In the background of the composition, there are outlines of the silhouettes of Israelis (mainly heads and hands), but in a completely different convention: not realistic, as these are geometrized faces, and reduced to a kind of “cubes.”

In this composition, the artist achieved a greater impression of depth than in the previous depictions. By presenting a second row of figures, he gave the viewer the illusion of a larger crowd of people. This ceramic is full of emotion and expression, due to both the vivid colors of the flames and the facial expressions and positions of the figures. The entire scene evokes dynamism and movement. We can see how Kossowski focused on modeling the figures, giving more of a “feel” to the texture than, for example, in the “Resurrection” ceramic in the Relic Chapel, where his approach had a more painterly form.

The second ceramic on this wall, above the entrance to the chapel on the southern side, is a scene depicting Elijah anointing Elisha as a prophet.¹⁸³ In the center of the composition, there are two men on a background of a field and outlines of architecture. The figure on the right, kneeling on one knee, is Elisha, girded with a white tunic around his hips. He is keeping his head lowered and his arms put together. An elderly man with facial hair is leaning over him and putting a white mantle with both hands on the kneeling man, which is a symbol of consecration and anointing. Both men are depicted with halos. Behind them, a fragment of a red plow emerges. To the right and left, placed symmetrically in two rows, there are six white

¹⁸³ 1 Kgs 19:15–21.

oxen with red harnesses in each row. According to the Bible, Elijah found Elisha plowing with twelve oxen.

The third and final image in this series is a two-part ceramic representation of Elijah taken into heaven.¹⁸⁴ The lower panel of this artistic vision depicts Elisha, standing with his back to the viewer, girded at the hips with a tunic, with his arms raised high in the air. The background for that figure is a two-band landscape (the lower band with yellow houses, fields, and cattle, and two human figures with their arms raised and looking up; the upper band with maroon buildings, fields, and green trees).

Above this ceramic panel, there is a second, monumental image illustrating Elijah ascending to heaven in a fiery carriage pulled four fiery destriers (the dominant shade of the ceramic is orange). In the carriage there is a bearded man standing, with a halo above his head (the prophet Elijah), and below him, at the very bottom of the panel, Elijah's white mantle is falling to the ground for Elisha as a sign of his anointment as a spiritual son and successor to the prophet. The composition is tied together by the figure of a horizontally placed angel extending his straight right arm over Elijah's head and his left arm held lowered, as if pointing at Elisha.

On the western wall of the chapel there is a second entrance, above which there is a scene with the Adoration of the Cross. The following inscription can be seen underneath the cross made of yellow ceramic: BEHOLD I MAKE ALL THINGS NEW, while on its sides there are images of angels in white robes, golden halos, and wings. The angel on the left side is bent at the waist and leaning, holding a laurel wreath in his hands. The angel on the other side is kneeling on his right knee and bowing his head, holding his face in his hands.

On the sides of the entrance there are two plaques with quotations from the Scripture written in gold ceramic letters fastened to a black *sgraffito* with carved geometric motifs. To the left, the plaque is topped with a gold monogram of Christ, under which there is an excerpt from the Letter to the Corinthians: THEREFORE, IF / ANYONE IS IN / CHRIST / HE IS A NEW /

¹⁸⁴ 2 Kgs 2:1–17.

CREATION; THE OLD HAS / PASSED / AWAY, / BEHOLD, / THE / NEW HAS / COME, 2COR 5, 17.

It should be added that Kossowski also depicted early Christian motifs here: two golden peacocks¹⁸⁵ and fish.

The plaque fixed to the right of the chapel's entrance contains a quote from Psalm 90, which precedes the image of a seven-branched candle holder: BEFORE THE / MOUNTAINS / WERE BROUGHT / FORTH, OR EVER / THOU HADST / FORMED THE / EARTH AND / THE WORLD, / FROM / EVERLASTING / TO / EVERLASTING / THOU ART. / GOD, PS 90(89), 2.

As can be seen from the above review, the leitmotifs in the iconography are, on the one hand, St. Joseph the Protector and, on the other hand, the Prophet Elijah, the protoplast of the Carmelites on Mount Carmel. Adam Kossowski supplemented this concept with additional ceramic representations on the other two walls of the chapel so that the St. Joseph's Chapel as a whole visually represents a combination of the Old and the New Testaments. The connectors chosen by the artist are the Transfiguration scene, the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, the large inscriptions with excerpts from both the Old and the New Testaments, and the motif of the Adoration of the Cross.

8. Construction of the Rosary Way in the monastery's park (1950–1951)

After Kossowski produced a series of tempera paintings featuring the history of the Carmelite Order in England; the artist was encouraged by the prior, Fr. Malachi, to make a Rosary Way in the monastery garden. It was to consist of a total of fifteen images depicting the three Mysteries of the Rosary: Joyful, Sorrowful, and Glorious. The artist depicted each mystery in a separate shrine. He chose ceramics as the artistic medium. However, the wooden “house-like” enclosure of these ceramics was made by craftsman

¹⁸⁵ Two peacocks depicted on each side of the chalice, sometimes with a cross at the top, symbolize faithful Christians drinking from the fountain of life. In addition, a peacock is a symbol of vigilance, because of the “eyes” on his feathers.

Charles Bodiam. This was the Carmelites' first order for ceramic works, and it was followed by a whole avalanche of subsequent orders, as discussed earlier in this article.

Kossowski made fifteen ceramic images illustrating the various mysteries, which were placed in closed oak frames – shrines (modeled on Polish roadside shrines) designed by the Polish artist. Already in the first work in this series – the *Annunciation* – the artist sketched a design for a closing wooden enclosure in the form of a shrine in the upper right corner of the cardboard box.¹⁸⁶

The Joyful Mysteries are attached to the garden wall. The Sorrowful Mysteries are placed along the northern path in freestanding shrines. The first two of the Glorious Mysteries are located by the eastern path, and the last two by the southern path. These freestanding shrines are supported on stone column foundations or attached to tree trunks. They all resemble Polish wayside shrines, passions of Sorrowful Christs. The artist did not have much time to look for completely new forms of expression. Years later, he wrote in his notes that, for a long time, these themes, scenes, and figures had been encoded, as it were, in him and, looking back, he wouldn't have made them differently. He transformed them very quickly into ceramic forms, whose freshness of color and directness of concept, and even a kind of naiveté of form are distinctive features found in the art of the Italian naive artists.

The events and figures, and the backgrounds (architectural and depicting elements of nature) located in the foreground of the ceramics are three-dimensional, while in the background they are convex, and further into the perspective they are drawn in clay with a sharpened piece of wood or a metal stylus.

The Rosary Way, marking the way for processions praying the Rosary, became somewhat of a peculiarity in Aylesford, and the prior, encouraged by its success, commissioned from Kossowski a ceramic – giant (as the artist himself called it), which was placed in the northeast corner of the monastery garden, in an unusual chapel that closes the perspective of the long alley. Specifically, in a four-meter high ogive niche, made of stone

¹⁸⁶ This cardboard box is kept in the Museum of the Archdiocese of Warsaw.

(*ragstone*), a monumental ceramic by Adam Kossowski was placed, consisting of fifteen parts, with a “Vision of the Scapular of St. Simon Stock.” The Mother of God with the Child, supported on her left hand, is standing in the contrapposto, wearing a brown robe and a long white mantle slung over her right shoulder. She is leaning slightly to her right toward St. Simon Stock who is kneeling at her side, wearing a brown habit and a white mantle, and with a tonsure on his head. The saint is gazing at Mary’s face, and in his hands he is holding a brown scapular, which Mary is touching with her right hand as a sign of blessing. The vision is surrounded by a depiction of five half-figures of angels in green ceramic on a dark blue background. A full suspended arch, made of narrow white rectangular ceramic tiles, surrounds the scene. The peculiar bordering of that scene is further enhanced by the depiction of six angelic figures made of four hundred tiles in yellow-gold glaze, holding three ribbons with Mary’s well-known Carmelite titles: *Flos Carmeli*, *Stella Maris*, and *Mater Mitis*. From the top, this composition is tied together by a multi-pointed shining star, probably referring to the invocation “Star of the Sea.” At the bottom, there is the following inscription: ECCE SIGNUM SALUTIS,¹⁸⁷ with two Carmelite coats of arms on its sides.

The images of angels and the inscription on the base were the first attempt to cover a large space with a composition divided into hundreds of irregular tiles, arranged like a puzzle and cemented to the wall.

The matrix of this image is made from 25 pieces, fired in a large obsolete coal and coke kiln at the Fulham Pottery, a pottery workshop established in the 17th century. The kiln could only maintain one temperature level (1,200 degrees Celsius) and could only fire one type of glaze. No changes could be made and each part could be fired only once. So the colored glaze had to be applied right away. The chapel was completed in July 1953.

The making of “The Vision of the Scapular” was a very important step in Kossowski’s artistic evolution as a ceramicist and prepared him to undertake work on large ceramic panels for chapels in Aylesford, which he did in the following years. He did his major ceramic works practically after break of several years, during which, while awaiting the completion of the reconstruction of the main chapel, he was busy working on other projects.

¹⁸⁷ Here is a sign of rescue/safety.

This does not mean, however, that over the years he completely stopped making works commissioned by the Carmelites. This did not happen, and the artist occasionally delivered his works, such as paintings for the refectory.¹⁸⁸ Throughout this period, Kossowski made advances in terms of the techniques he used. His painterly rather than sculptural approach to ceramics¹⁸⁹ was modified in some ways: color became less important than shape and modeling. This change is evident in the Stations of the Cross, which were commissioned in 1963 for the Relic Chapel.

Religious art by Adam Kossowski

Religious art is a broad concept in each faith and has its own specific and distinct thematic expression related to the beliefs, depending on the ideas, tasks, people, and teachings that serve as the visual theme for artists of that religion.¹⁹⁰ Religious art includes any imagery that is somehow associated with religion, regardless of where that imagery appears. Religious art, in a broad sense, is also Christian art.¹⁹¹

On the other hand, church art is a concept with a different meaning. It has a narrow, if not strict, definition that refers to art that serves the Church in its religious worship directly or indirectly. This art is enclosed within the edifice of worship and plays a specific role in it: it builds, furnishes, equips, decorates, or preserves. The term “church art” includes everything found in temples: portals, reliefs, paintings, mosaics, frescoes, architectural sculpture, supports, consoles, tombstones, tombstones, etc.

¹⁸⁸ See: *Image of Carmel*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. “Notes /1/: On Aylesford ceramics. Thoughts in retrospective” [no year specified]. Typescript, AE.

¹⁹⁰ C. Zieliński, *Sztuka sakralna* [Sacral art], p. 40.

¹⁹¹ S. Grabska, “Sztuka sakralna w świetle zmian liturgicznych wprowadzonych przez Sobór Watykański II. Uwagi dla praktyków” [Sacral art in the light of liturgical changes introduced by the Second Vatican Council. Comments for practitioners], in: N. Cieślińska, ed., *Sacrum i sztuka. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej przez Sekcję Historii Sztuki Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Rogóżno 18–20 października 1984 roku* [Sacrum and art. Materials from the conference organized by the Art History Section of the Catholic University of Lublin, Rogóżno, October 18–20, 1984], Cracow 1989, p. 106.

The laws governing church art are dictated by the authority of the Church. The content of each work is determined by the Church and religion, since it is intended to serve the purposes of worship, which is established by the Church. As the legislator of church art, the Church recognizes any expression of artistic creativity that corresponds to its tasks and goals, regardless of what artistic direction it represents. Therefore, the Church does not single out any style and does not consider it exclusively ecclesiastical.¹⁹² It does not object to modern art that is an expression of a particular creative period, if that art preserves the proper liturgical or ecclesiastical character. The Church reserves the right to issue binding ordinances and regulations on church art and to pass authoritative judgments on individual works of art.¹⁹³

The distinction between sacral art and religious art was introduced by the Second Vatican Council. An immensely important date is 1963, when the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy¹⁹⁴ was promulgated, the seventh chapter of which (articles 122–129) is devoted to issues of art.

The significance of that Council is groundbreaking: for the first time, the solemn council document contained the word *ars* (art).¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² C. Zieliński, *Sztuka sakralna* [Sacral art], pp. 40–41.

¹⁹³ Church regulations, reminding the clergy of their duty to watch over the ecclesiastical character of works of church art, both in the construction and in the interior furnishings and equipment, in renovations, maintenance, and decoration of the edifice of worship, contain the following demands: 1) to take into account the forms and shapes sanctified by Christian tradition; 2) to maintain faithfully the norms of the sacred character of the works of church art; and 3) not to act without the participation of experts, insofar as their participation is necessary. Church regulations do not in any way impede the progress of church visual art, nor do they demand faithful imitation of the works of art of past periods. However, the Church stipulates in the regulations that everything pertaining to church art should be capable of influencing the inner life of the Faithful. (Quoted after: C. Zieliński, *Sztuka sakralna* [Sacral art], pp. 41–42.)

¹⁹⁴ Promulgated by Pope Paul VI on Dec. 4, 1963, and effective as of Feb. 16, 1964.

¹⁹⁵ J. S. Pasierb, "Problematyka sztuki w postanowieniach soborów" [The problem of art in the decisions of church councils], *Znak* 1964, no. 12, pp. 1460–1482.

Finally, the unique characteristics of art and the significance of its formal issues have been recognized.¹⁹⁶ Sacral art has been defined as “signs and symbols of the highest matters,” and its works are called upon to express God, who is beauty, and to elevate human minds toward Him – a departure from the concept of illustrative art.¹⁹⁷

One article argues for a high artistic level of church interiors, and rules out shoddy, mediocre, and unoriginal art (qualities presented by Sulpician kitsch). Church interiors are supposed to speak with its authenticity, which should consist primarily in the demonstration of the material.¹⁹⁸

In 1963, Adam Kossowski was finishing work on St. Anne's Chapel, and beginning work on the Relic Chapel. The changes introduced by the Council had an impact on the designs of the chapels. One of the basic liturgical reforms was the change of the position of the celebrant at the altar and placing him with his face toward the faithful. In art, this was expressed by putting the altar forward, which should be visible and give the impression of the heart and center of the church. The altar is accented by both its placement and raising, and by the proper organization of light inside the church building. The reform emphasized the equivalence of the two parts of the Mass: the part devoted to the reading of the Word of God and the Eucharistic part. Before the Council, the first part was treated as less important. It became important to properly position the pulpit for the reading next to the altar so that it would be accessible to both the celebrant and the lectors.¹⁹⁹

Adam Kossowski is one of those British artists who were involved in the reconstruction and restoration of Catholic churches after the war. Benedict

¹⁹⁶ Previous councils, including the Council of Trent, dealt exclusively with *imagines sacri* and their themes. The problem of form did not occur as an artistic issue, but only as a matter of clear editing of the theme. Hence, their decisions did not really go beyond the demand of correct illustration of biblical events, truths of the faith, or lives of saints. (Quoted after: J. S. Pasierb, “Problematyka sztuki” [The problems of art], p. 1460.)

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 1480.

¹⁹⁸ E.g., wood cannot imitate stone, and reinforced concrete cannot imitate marble. (*Ibidem*, p. 1481.)

¹⁹⁹ S. Grabska, *Sztuka sakralna* [Sacral art], pp. 106–107.

Read points out²⁰⁰ that for three decades since 1945 there had been an unprecedented campaign related to the construction and decoration of new churches and cathedrals, among others in Liverpool and Cardiff.²⁰¹ What was important was the fact that the number of Catholics in England increased, which resulted in the growing need for restored or new temples.²⁰²

For Kossowski, like for other artists, churches became the main place of decorative work after the war. His work in Aylesford, which lasted from 1950 to 1972, occupies an important place in the artist's *oeuvre*. Beginning with his first artistic creations for the Carmelites, Kossowski gained notoriety outside Aylesford, and from the mid-1950s, over the next twenty years, the artist made a significant number of commissioned ceramic works. In addition to Stations of the Cross (e.g., in Pontypool and two churches in Cardiff), Kossowski also made narrative reliefs (e.g., in the Downside Abbey, the colossal tympanum in Leyland, the reliefs on the walls of the Baptistry in Acton) and ceramic basins for holy water (e.g., in Faversham, Llantarnam, and Neath).

From the very beginning when Adam Kossowski started making sacral art, he had a clear definition of that concept. This is confirmed by the artist's short press response, published in the pages of *The Catholic Herald* in 1953,²⁰³ to an article by Fr. J. D. Crichton on the problem of modern art in church interiors. Kossowski disputes the author's claim that the first and only purpose of liturgical art is to help Christians pray. The artist wrote that in his opinion this was a fundamental mistake. He argued that the entire history of the Church and art clearly indicates that the first and

²⁰⁰ B. Read, "Introduction," in: *Adam Kossowski. Murals and paintings*, p. 15.

²⁰¹ In 1940, the Catholic Cathedral in Cardiff burned down – only the walls, built in the 19th century by the Victorian architect A. Pugin (1812–1952), remained. When the reconstruction of the cathedral was undertaken fifteen years later, the architect in charge of the reconstruction, T. G. Price, commissioned Adam Kossowski to create the Stations of the Cross. Ceramic works of a rather large size (120 cm high) were placed on both sides of the main nave. The artist made them in the unglazed technique, in three natural colors of clay: blue-black, ivory, and light yellow. Against the matte background, only the cross shines with a scarlet glaze.

²⁰² G. A. Beck, ed., *The English Catholics 1850–1950. Essays to commemorate the centenary of the restoration of the hierarchy of England and Wales*, London 1950, p. 587.

²⁰³ A. Kossowski, "Art and worship. First aim of art," *The Catholic Herald*, May 15, 1953.

most important purpose of sacral art is to praise God. Kossowski added that otherwise the magnificent cathedrals, huge frescoes, and countless paintings, sculptures, and mosaics would not exist at all. However, the practical, and important, purpose of that art is of secondary importance. A true artist cannot, in Kossowski's opinion, create his or her works by intentionally subordinating his artistic taste to the taste of the average person. This would impose such limitations on the artist that he or she would not be able to create the best works worthy of God. Kossowski cites the words of the Psalmist: *Domine, dilexi decorem domus Tuae*, which he proposes as a motto for any artist creating religious art. Let us recall that the aforementioned definition of art that identifies art with prayer, which Kossowski formulated while working for the Carmelites.²⁰⁴

Tymon Terlecki noted that for Kossowski each sacral theme was a new religious experience that grew out of spontaneous emotions and was an affirmation of faith. Among Kossowski's readings, he cited Pascal and Teilhard de Chardin, whom the artist had read, as well as stressing the importance of the Revelation of St. John.²⁰⁵ Marian Bohusz-Szyszko spoke in a similar vein: for him, the works of Adam Kossowski, based on thorough technical and professional preparation, were "a rare example of religious art – true both as art in general and as religious art specifically."²⁰⁶

The artist's work is part of those areas of artistic culture of our time in which the personal experience of the artist and the service of God through art result in the artistic originality of the works. Adam Kossowski's religious art was "born" in the Soviet gulags. This is well illustrated by the drawings and gouaches with depictions of his Siberian experiences, in which one could see parallels with depictions of Christ's passion. In the naked, martyred prisoner of a Soviet gulag, a corpse carried from under the deck of a Siberian barge, do we not recognize the echoes of the descent from the cross and the laying of Christ's body in the tomb. Perhaps it was

²⁰⁴ See footnote 151.

²⁰⁵ T. Terlecki, "Faith by intellectual effort," p. 103; see also: *ibidem*, "Kossowski wrócił do Aylesfordu" [Kossowski returned to Aylesford], p. 9.

²⁰⁶ M. Bohusz-Szyszko, "Malarstwo religijne Adama Kossowskiego" [Adam Kossowski's religious painting], p. 226.

inevitable that the pictorial language of torment and pain developed over the centuries in scenes of Calvary, compounded by the artist's own experiences on the inhuman ground, suggested to the artist these forms and gestures of the body.²⁰⁷

In the visions of the artist-prisoner, who depicts the martyrdom of his fellow countrymen with accuracy and realism, one can find the key to the understanding of the development of Kossowski's personal style, which he devoted to sacral art. Powerful ceramic compositions with a dramatic vision and deep human and liturgical content, integrally connected with architectural assumptions, gained increasing recognition from artists seeking to modernize church art and raise its level. On this path of monumental religious art, Kossowski made a breakthrough by bringing an invigorating new tone to the contemporary English tradition.

Stanisław Frenkiel noted that Adam Kossowski's name became associated with the blooming of modern religious art in England, to which he brought modern techniques and an individual style that did not follow any conventions, but was in line with the tradition of the Church. Moreover, Kossowski became one of the most recognized pioneers of modern sacral art in the British Isles.²⁰⁸

According to Jerzy Faczyński, Kossowski's religious compositions conform to demands regarding colors and follow the trend of modern Polish decorative art of the interwar period. The art forms speak with the vividness of the colors and the compact structure of the form.²⁰⁹ The monumental ceramic compositions "live" in the interiors and on the walls of churches, constituting an expression of an authentic experience, in all the exquisiteness of content, composition, and color. Stylistically simple and

²⁰⁷ A. M. Borkowski, "Pustka pełna nadziei" [Void full of hope], p. 7.

²⁰⁸ S. Frenkiel wrote that the modern interpretation of sacral art in England is linked to the reconstruction of the Anglican cathedral in Coventry with the participation of modern artists like Piper and Sutherland. Graham Sutherland made a 23 × 13 m decorative tapestry design for that cathedral, the theme of which was "Christ in Glory," surrounded by four six-winged creatures, symbolizing the Evangelists. See: (mamal), "Anglicy i sztuka sakralna" [Englishmen and sacral art], *Tygodnik Powszechny* 1958, no. 18, p. 6; S. Frenkiel, "Adam Kossowski a sztuka sakralna w Anglii" [Adam Kossowski and sacral art in England].

²⁰⁹ J. Faczyński, "Sztuka religijna" [Religious art], p. 1.

austere, full of static élan and rhythmic figural styling, the ceramic works are filled with subtlety and finesse in terms of form and harmony of color.

Contemporary English and Polish critics perceived in Kossowski an artist striving to renew Christian iconography, which was in crisis, by saturating it with individual thought content. This is reflected in the high opinions of his work, such as the one presented in Hubert van Zeller's book *Approach to Christian Sculpture*, where the author writes that Kossowski had deservedly made a name for himself; his ceramic compositions are truly religious in feeling and truly sculptural in form.²¹⁰ The sculptural nature of the ceramics is also emphasized by Winifrede Wilson in *Christian art since the romantic movement*, where the author declared Kossowski's primacy among other Europeans creating their works in this technique.²¹¹

In his works, Adam Kossowski drew inspiration from early Christian art, characterized by the linear flatness of the figures, further emphasized by the planar use of color. The decorations of the Roman catacombs are characterized by strong linearism, modeling of shapes with color and sharp chiaroscuro, clumsy proportions of human figures, and summary grasp of movement. The themes of early Christian iconography include motifs from the Old and New Testaments in addition to bucolic themes symbolizing the ideal of fullness of life (figures of adorants, shepherds, scenes from daily life, various species of animals, birds, trees, and flowers).

A rich repertoire of biblical scenes is presented in the catacombs at Via Latina in Rome, where entire cycles are featured, including the stories of Adam and Eve, St. James and St. Joseph, and Moses, as well as single scenes –

²¹⁰ “[...] The only Catholic to have made a name for himself, and deservedly, is the expatriate Pole, Adam Kossowski, whose ceramics are truly religious in feeling and truly sculptural in form” (quoted after: H. van Zeller, *Approach to Christian sculpture*, London [no year specified], pp. 148–149).

²¹¹ “[...] It is impossible to enumerate all the competent ceramists at work in European churches before devoting a little more space to Adam Kossowski (b. 1905) who is perhaps the most interesting of all. [...] A fine colorist, his Expressionist vision is best realized in ceramic panels of sculptural character” (quoted after W. Wilson, *Christian art since the romantic movement*, London [no year specified], p. 163).

for example, Noah, Job, Jonah, Daniel, Elijah's ascension in a chariot to heaven, and the bow of the Three Kings.²¹²

During Christian antiquity, mosaics became the primary form of decoration for walls, vaults, and especially church apses. In mosaic representations the common biblical cycles, especially in tomb art, were dominated by the motif of Christ's triumph, the Transfiguration, and the transmission of the religious message to his successors – the Apostles. A blossoming center of mosaic art was Ravenna, and the decoration of San Vitale (c. 540) represents, both content-wise and stylistically, the classical apogee of the development of that art.²¹³

The second important source of inspiration in Kossowski's work is Romanesque art. Romanesque sculpture is mostly relief – plastic and strongly connected with the substance of the block from which it was extracted. What is important in Romanesque relief is the interdependence and interconnectedness of all members of the composition, so that the individual elements, figures of people and animals, meet or at least are connected by complementary contours. In Romanesque sculpture, there is a hierarchical gradation of scale and plasticity. Christ and Mary on thrones on the axis of a tympanum not only rise above the accompanying figures of saints and founders, but also tower over them in more prominent relief.²¹⁴ Frenkiel finds in Kossowski's art a distant kinship with the Burgundian sculpture of Gislebertus of Autun in the specific flattening of space and in the expression of the figures' movement.²¹⁵

Romanesque paintings adorning church interiors in monumental form were pictorial recreations and interpretations of the mystery happening on the altar, the words proclaimed during the liturgy being celebrated. Large wall planes, intended for painting decoration, were usually divided horizontally into strips in which the sequential scenes from the Old and New Testaments and from the lives of saints and martyrs developed, and

²¹² See: E. Jastrzębowska, *Sztuka wczesnochrześcijańska* [Early Christian art], Warsaw 1988, p. 91.

²¹³ Ibidem, p. 233.

²¹⁴ See: Z. Świechowski, L. Nowak, B. Gumińska, *Sztuka romańska* [Romanesque art], Warsaw 1976, pp. 280–281.

²¹⁵ S. Frenkiel, "Adam Kossowski a sztuka sakralna" [Adam Kossowski and sacral art].

prophets, saints, angels, majestic images of Christ, and representations of the reigning Mary were depicted. The central themes of the painting decoration were the Creator as Pantocrator surrounded by a mandorla, and symbols of the four Evangelists, apostles, or saints. Romanesque artists, like Byzantine artists, gave these images a form that dominated the rest of the decoration due to its size, monumentality, hieratic nature, and solemnity. The technique used for Romanesque paintings, usually applied over dried plaster and damp mortar, imposed a limitation on the range of colors. In wall paintings mainly simple colors were used: blue, yellow, green, red, brown, and black. On the flat background, two-dimensional architectural structures, stylized vegetation, and human figures were applied, usually surrounded by a strong contour.²¹⁶

Adam Kossowski's ceramic works are a large-scale phenomenon in the 20th century. One can recall the name of the Catalan architect and craftsman Antonio Gaudí (1852–1926) and his works in La Sagrada Família (1882–1926 and later),²¹⁷ the Park Güell (1898–1917), Casa Batlló (1904–1906), Casa Milà, and Casa Vicens (1883–1885), and be tempted to say that there are technical and ideological similarities between the two artists. The Catalan artist's architecture gives a strong impression of Catholic art.

Mystical and religious references can be seen in the most diverse details, both in strictly iconographic works and in what is symbolic. Gaudí is classified as the author of the most organic Art Nouveau. All of his work is characterized by a desire to capture wholeness, proportion, and balance. Gaudí was convinced that architecture should be in harmony with the surrounding nature and even be an organic part of it. He modeled his work on nature: plants, animals, and minerals.²¹⁸ In his architectural creations, Antonio Gaudí used ceramics extensively. The wavy facade of Casa Batlló is

²¹⁶ Z. Świechowski, L. Nowak, B. Gumińska, *Sztuka romańska* [Romanesque art], pp. 338–341.

²¹⁷ The continuation of the construction of the Sagrada Família was undertaken by Gaudí in 1883. The construction was financed almost exclusively by foundations and donations, so it often stalled due to lack of money. Nevertheless, the model and construction plan were already essentially complete by 1906.

²¹⁸ For example, in La Sagrada Família the bases of the columns are shaped like turtles, and the chapiters are bent palmettes. The roof of Casa Batlló, on the other hand, resembles

decorated with a mosaic of colorful glass and ceramic tiles and discs. Loggias formed from parabolic brick arches were also faced with shimmering ceramic mosaics. Park Güell is a “work of all arts,” a system of peculiar “collages” built from fragments of stone, porcelain, and ceramics.²¹⁹ Gaudi designed a total work of art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) – also furniture, stair treads, balustrades, doors, handles, gates,²²⁰ etc. were individually treated works of art, integrated into the entire building.

Another artist whose work may have inspired Adam Kossowski is Georges Rouault (1871–1958), considered the most prominent representative of modern sacral art. His name often came up in discussions about art with his friend, painter Zdzisław Ruszkowski.²²¹ Rouault’s paintings²²² are characterized by a monumentalized, simple form, reminiscent of medieval stained glass windows, a static view, and black contour lines connecting individual planes filled with color.²²³ Commissioned by Vollard, Rouault produced a number of pieces of graphic art (such as the *Miserere* series published in 1948), in which he used a radically simplified form, defined by thick contour lines and strong contrasts of white and black. White and black were sufficient for the artist, as they enabled his art to be more solemn; lack of color, made it show austerity and simplicity.²²⁴

When discussing the work of Adam Kossowski, one can recall two analogies found in Polish art. The first is Stanisław Wyspiański’s artistic activity in monumental decorative art. Wyspiański got a taste for using multi-level wall planes, the rhythm of ornaments, and the fusing of bare walls into

the curved back of a lizard, topped with amorphous structures, and the stairs in Park Güell feature a dragon, clad in a mosaic of glazed ceramic tiles.

²¹⁹ See: G. Fahr-Becker, *Secesja* [Art Nouveau], Cologne 2000, p. 195.

²²⁰ Gaudi designed the so-called “Dragon Gate” made of wrought iron – the entrance to the Güell estate in Barcelona (1884–1887).

²²¹ Z. Ruszkowski, “O Adamie” [On Adam].

²²² E.g.: *Crucifixion* (1939), *Veronique* (1945), *Head of Christ* (1937–1938), and *The flight into Egypt* (1940–1948).

²²³ Cf. J. Turowicz, “Rouault,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* 1958, no. 9, pp. 1–2.

²²⁴ M. Arland, “Artistic grandeur. Human grandeur,” in: G. Rouault, *Miserere*, Paris–Tokyo 1991, p. 49.

a colorful new whole.²²⁵ His first completely independent work of monumental art was the design of a stained glass window for the Lviv Cathedral. The theme of the depiction was the scene of the vows taken by King John Casimir in the cathedral in Lviv, combined with the composition titled *Polonia*, which was a major artistic achievement. One can also notice here a completely new approach to sacral art, so characteristic of Wyspiański's later stained glass works and his wall paintings.

Aiming to create national art that was contemporary and full of simplicity, he introduced folk figures with common faces and often downright ugly features into works with religious themes. After returning from Paris in 1894, Wyspiański was fascinated primarily by monumental painting. In 1897–1902, he oversaw the restoration of a Franciscan church. He was commissioned to make polychromes and stained glass windows for the church. His works there is evidence of the artist's special love for flowers,²²⁶ which are given the meaning of a symbol. Sharp purple thorns surround St. Francis' head, blooming with golden roses. Next to the figure of Christ, there are dark irises. St. Salomea is surrounded by bright yellow daffodils and lilies. The *Panneau* with the polychrome "Caritas" depicts two girls holding each other in a sisterly embrace, while in the lower plan there is water with two iris-shaped lilies, white and blue, growing from it. And so the girls' simple gesture turns them into natural virtue (white) and spiritual nobility (blue). The two virtues fuse into Caritas. In the side windows of the presbytery, Wyspiański placed stained glass windows depicting the four elements. By introducing macroscopy, i.e., the enlargement of plants to supernatural dimensions, the artist achieved the verticality of the composition emphasizing the Gothic structure of the temple; he also gave great decorative importance to the planar stained glass compositions.²²⁷

The western window of the Franciscan church was filled with Wyspiański's most magnificent stained glass, "Become," depicting God the

²²⁵ See: J. Bojarska-Syrek, *Wyspiański. Witraże* [Wyspiański. Stained glass windows], Warsaw 1980, p. 5; see also: Z. Kępiński, *Wyspiański*, Warsaw 1984; H. Nelken, *Stanisław Wyspiański*, Warsaw 1959.

²²⁶ According to Kępiński, flowers and colors are for Wyspiański the equivalents of the chief elements of the chemistry of the world – the equivalents of the Elements.

²²⁷ J. Bojarska-Syrek, *Wyspiański*, p. 11.

Father leading the world out of chaos. The monumental figure of the Creator appears in flaming streams of glowing colors as in a burning bush.²²⁸ In 1904, Wyspiański created his final stained glass window design of extraordinary importance. It was the “Copernicus’ solar system” designed for the Doctors’ House in Cracow. Among the blue and sapphire trails, gods – planets are circling next to the huge figure of Apollo, monumental in its expression. Apollo – Sun tramples the Earth. His figure dominates and stands out with the force of its color.²²⁹

Stanisław Wyspiański’s stained-glass windows were only a “stage” in his quest to create a unified, monumental work of art that the interiors he created were: for example, the design of the dining room in the Żeleńskis’ apartment in Cracow, the “Common Room” of the Society of Fine Arts in Cracow, and the staircase in the Doctors’ House in Cracow.

Adam Kossowski has an independent parallel to his work in the art of icon paintings by Jerzy Nowosielski. Nowosielski’s work combines the highest artistry with deep theological thought. For that artist, painting is a way of communing with a higher dimension, a place for the manifestation of the spiritual. It is characterized by its peculiar elementariness, strict clarity, and hieratic and static nature of the painting composition. When painting an icon, Nowosielski does not act as an imitator. Nowosielski justifies the immutability of the artistic transmission of the three dogmas: Resurrection, Ascension, and Assumption, by the independence of the formation of these visions through the centuries and their constant relevance. His depictions of Christ and the Madonna, frozen in hallowed canons, are merely a modern synthesis of those messages and suggest the contribution of the hand and thought of a contemporary artist. At the same time, the paint itself, no longer subject to the old secrets of Alchemy, is more brutal due to its total unity and simplicity, and thus closer to modernity.

²²⁸ See: Z. Kępiński, *Wyspiański*, pp. 48–69 (the author discusses the decoration of the Franciscan church in terms of the cosmological model).

²²⁹ The analysis of this stained glass window was undertaken in: K. Czerni, “Witraz ‘Apollo’ Stanisława Wyspiańskiego dla Domu Lekarskiego w Krakowie” [Stanisław Wyspiański’s “Apollo” stained glass for the Doctors’ Home in Cracow], *Folia Historiae Artium* 1993, vol. 29, pp. 129–149.

Nowosielski completely overtly abandons a more complicated form in favor of a simple, perhaps in a sense primitive one, in order to acquire a material without becoming a slave to its properties.²³⁰ The artist treats human figures summarily, enclosing them in a synthetic contour. They are almost typified, simplified in the drawing and color. Nowosielski has his own canon of drawing: an elongated oval of the face, a sharp contour of the body, monumentalism of the figure, simplicity of the drawing and gesture, economy of the expression. Everything is reduced to the minimum as much as possible. Nowosielski is a mystic of the paintbrush, strict in his treatment of every theme.²³¹

Three of Nowosielski's largest and most complete paintings are located in the interiors of Catholic churches (Wesoła, Warsaw's district of Jelonki, and Cracow's district of Azory). His religious or sacral paintings, either by their content nor by the fact that they are placed in Orthodox or even more so in Catholic church interiors, do not conform to the canons of icon theology: they are not consecrated and have no identifying inscriptions, without which an image cannot be an icon in the canonical sense.²³² Jerzy Nowosielski transforms the icon canon in his own way, developing his own artistic language. He is one of the few contemporary artists for whom art, in order to fulfill its mission, must remain in the sphere of the sacrum, in the circle of sanctity. This understanding of art, as well as the combination of the work of painting with the theology practiced by the artist, brings Nowosielski closer to true iconographers.

Both Nowosielski's and Kossowski's creative attitude is determined by the artist's ideological commitment. This unique element of the artists' personalities has played an indispensable role in religious wall art, which

²³⁰ K. Jerzmanowicz, "Poszukiwania w ikonie" [Explorations in icons], *Życie i Myśl* 1967, no. 11/12 (161/162); see also: J. Pollakówna, "Zielony pejzaż. O obrazie Jerzego Nowosielskiego" [A green landscape. On Jerzy Nowosielski's painting], *Res Publica* 1988, no. 3 (6); T. Jank, *Krótką historią niejednej ikony* [A brief history of more than one icon], Gdańsk 1998.

²³¹ Z. Strzałkowski, "Malarz współczesnej ikony" [The painter of the modern icon], *Życie i Myśl* 1964, no. 7/8 (121/122), p. 179.

²³² This subject is discussed broadly in: B. Dąb-Kalinowska, "Nowosielski," *Przegląd Powszechny* 1986, no. 11 (783), pp. 258–262.

both of them practice. For both of them, ideological beliefs go hand in hand with the high artistic status of the religious works they create.

Adam Kossowski's artistic creations are numerous. He has made dozens of large-scale color ceramics in more than twenty temples in Britain, Ireland, and the United States. Starting with the works for the Aylesford monastery in the mid-1950s, for the next two decades Kossowski was at the center of religious art in England, being one of the leading contemporary artists of sacral art, besides Eric Gill and Graham Sutherland. Simple and austere, full of static élan and rhythmic figural styling, full of subtlety and finesse in terms of form and color harmony, Kossowski's style of monumental ceramics caused the British press to call the compositions made for Aylesford the only example of modern art in Britain,²³³ and the artist himself to become a large-scale pioneer in monumental religious ceramic relief.

Adam Kossowski collaborated with other English religious artists: the main altar in the Acton church is the undertaking of Graham Sutherland; Artur Fleischmann²³⁴ carved the Stations of the Cross, and other sculptural works are made by Philip Lindsey Clark, Georges Campbell, and Arthur Ayres.

However, it was Kossowski's compositions that received the highest ratings in the press.²³⁵ Marian Bohusz-Szyszko wrote in one of his sketches: "If I wanted to bring out the heaviest work of conquest in the battle for the triumph of Polish creative invention in monumental art in England – it is undoubtedly the ceramic sculpture by Adam Kossowski."²³⁶

²³³ See: J. Faczyński, "Sztuka religijna" [Religious art], p. 7.

²³⁴ Artur Fleischmann (1896–1990), a sculptor. He studied at the Academies of Art in Budapest, Prague, and Venice. His works can be found in churches in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, and the Great Britain. In 1958, at the World Exhibition, he exhibited the work *Resurrection* in the first Vatican Pavilion. The author of busts of popes Pius XII (Australia), John XXIII (Rome), and Paul VI (Rome).

²³⁵ See: I. Conlay, "Where serving God; From our notebook. Cardiff Cathedral," *The Tablet*, February 28, 1959, p. 202; "Conversion of St. Paul in ceramics," *The Universe and Catholic Times*, July 1, 1966.

²³⁶ M. Bohusz-Szyszko, *O sztuce* [On art], p. 213.

The apogee of Kossowski's work came in the postwar years, which he spent as an emigre in England. However, it should be remembered that these great artistic achievements in exile were preceded by successes achieved in the field of monumental decorative arts in Poland in the interwar period. Thus, Adam Kossowski is also an integral part of the history of Polish art.

Original issue: "Archiwum Emigracji" 2006, no. 1-2 (7-8)

https://www.bu.umk.pl/Archiwum_Emigracji/gazeta/ae_7.pdf

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“An English Woman in Paris.” Halina Korn-Żuławska’s Letters to Her Husband (May–June 1950)

For Polish visual artists living in Britain after the war, Paris of the early 1950s was a very important point on the map of modern art and continued to serve as the capital of Europe and the intellectual capital of the world. Since Polish newspapers provided little coverage of art events in France, artists listened to BBC broadcasts and read the British art press, headed by *The Studio*. News of Poles exhibiting their works in Paris reached London through a handful of press notes appearing in the Paris-based *Kultura*, *Wiadomości*, and *Dziennik Polski*. If Zdzisław Grocholski, a journalist writing for *Kultura*, is to be believed, Paris was the city where the largest community of Polish artists outside Poland lived, created, and exhibited their works. The most numerous was a group of artists who had lived there for a long time, often since the beginning of the century, and who had their own studios, pre-war achievements, and a relatively – in the Parisian conditions – established position in the world of art. Grocholski listed the following artists among them: Konstanty Brandel, Mela Muter, Władysław Jahl, Waclaw Zawadowski, and Alfred Aberdam. A slightly younger group, which arrived in Paris shortly before the war, comprised, according to Grocholski, Ludwik Lille, Zdzisław Cyankiewicz, Katarzyna Librowicz, Kazimierz Zielenkiewicz, and Lutka

Pink;¹ Marek Szwarc returned to Paris from England just after the war. Most of these names appeared at a major exhibition devoted to Polish artists living in Paris, organized by the local Polish-French Friendship Association, which was opened at Galerie Beaux-Arts in early 1948. Even though, as Pierre Descargues wrote for the Cracow-based *Przegląd Artystyczny*, the exhibition primarily paid tribute to several deceased Polish artists: Józef Pankiewicz, Olga Boznańska, Louis Marcoussis, Eugeniusz Zak, and Tadeusz Makowski.

In the early 1950s, artists from the École de Paris circle were still the most recognized in the Polish art community in France. There was a shortage of opinion-forming critics. The Literary Institute, which would award its art prizes a few years later, did not yet play a major role, and Józef Czapski, who lived in Maisons-Laffitte, had not had exhibitions since the war. The Polish Galerie Lambert of Zofia and Kazimierz Romanowicz was not to be built until nine years later.

On the other side of the English Channel, a community of Polish artists had been forming and growing for many decades. The artists who settled in Britain just before the war included Henryk Gotlib, Marek Żuławski, Stefan and Franciszka Themerson, Jan LeWitt, Jerzy Him, and Feliks Topolski. During the turmoil of the war, by various routes, many Polish visual artists arrived in England. Some as refugees, most as soldiers who ended up in France after the September defeat, only to make their way to the British Isles after France's defeat in 1940. Such a route was taken by Jankiel Adler, Józef Natanson, Zygmunt Haupt, Aleksander Żyw, and Witold T. Mars. During the war, Piotr Potworowski, Józef Herman, and Zdzisław Ruszkowski² settled in England.

¹ Z. Grocholski, "Plastycy polscy w Paryżu" [Polish visual artists in Paris], *Kultura* 1948, no. 5, pp. 153–154.

² S. Teisseyre, "Polscy malarze w Anglii" [Polish painters in England], *Przegląd Artystyczny* 1947, no. 4–5, pp. 3–5; most complete information on the topic of successive waves of emigration: M. A. Supruniuk, "Sztuka polska w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1940–2000. Źródła i stan badań" [Polish art in Great Britain in 1940–2000. Sources and state of research], in: *Sztuka polska w Wielkiej Brytanii 1940–2000. Antologia* [Polish art in Great Britain in 1940–2000. An anthology], selected, prepared for print, and with an introduction by idem, Toruń 2006, pp. 20–21.

Five years after the war, Polish artists in Britain still believed that in order to really make a name for oneself in art, to achieve both artistic and commercial success, one should come to Paris and try to organize an exhibition there. Such an attempt was made in May 1950 by Halina Korn, a Polish painter living in London since 1940. After the success of her first individual exhibition entitled "Paintings of London Life" in January 1948 at London's Mayor Gallery and the positive reviews that appeared in both British and Polish press,³ she decided to make a name for herself in the art market in France as well.

Halina Korn – this is how she signed her paintings – was born as Halina Julia Korngold on January 22, 1902 in Warsaw, in a Jewish family. Her father Julian Korngold was a representative of foreign leather goods companies. Her mother, who had a petty bourgeois background, grew up in a small provincial town near Lyon, France; hence both Polish and French were spoken in Halina Korn's family home.⁴

After graduating from the private Antonina Walicka's Girls' Gimnazjum in Warsaw, she began studying journalism at the Warsaw School of Political Science. At the same time, she studied singing with Professor Adela Comte-Wilgocka and Stanisława Korwin-Szymanowska, Karol Szymanowski's sister. Before the war, she gave several performances in War-

³ See, among others: "[...] Halina Korn, who is exhibiting at the Mayor Gallery, seems to me to rely on disarming us by the pleasant scumblings of her paint and by an accidental naivety which really arises from the fact that she has not carried her pictures fully through"; C. MacInnes, "[Ever since Henri Rousseau shoved us...]" *The Observer*, January 18, 1948. "[...] Instead of the stereotyped 'sitting' she shows people at Zoo, men and women in pubs, customers in shops and passengers waiting at bus stops. All her subjects are doing something – even if is only standing on Hampstead Heath, watching fireworks or waiting for trains. None of them is a picture of a man or woman just sitting to have a picture painted." J. Bouverie, "John Bouverie's Journal: Smile, Please," *News Chronicle*, January 8, 1948. "In January this year, a group exhibition of paintings, drawings, and sculptures by Halina Korn was opened at London's Mayor Gallery, under the theme 'Paintings of London Life.' The Polish artist gained great popularity in England and her name is listed in the prospectuses of the most prominent London galleries." "Sztuka polska za granicą" [Polish art abroad], *Przegląd Artystyczny* (Cracow), 1948, no. 2 (26), p. 11.

⁴ University Library in Toruń, Archives of Emigration (hereinafter: AE), Archive of Halina Korn-Żuławska, ref. no. AE/HKŻ/1, biographical materials.

saw. She particularly enjoyed performing 18th-century Italian songs and works by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Gabriel Fauré.⁵

A year before the outbreak of World War II, at the famous Ziemiańska café, she met Marek Żuławski, a painter and former student at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts who had lived in London since 1935. The artist came to Warsaw in connection with the 10th (last) Salon of the Institute of Art Propaganda (IAP), in which he participated.⁶ In August 1939, they met during the summer vacation in St. Malo in Brittany and were still there when the war started. Marek, who had an English visa, returned to London, while Halina stayed in France, trying to find work in Paris. As early as in October, she was given the job of a stenographer at the Ministry of Social Welfare, and in November, she moved from Paris to Angers with the Polish Government-in-Exile. In May 1940, sharing the fate of thousands of Poles, she left France on a ship, which arrived after a few days in Falmouth on the coast of Cornwall. She ended up in a refugee camp in England and from there she made contact with Marek, who came to get her. They lived together in his London studio, located on the fifth floor of Dudley Court, where the air Battle of Britain was fought over their heads. Until the end of the war, Halina Korn worked at the Polish embassy in London. On February 10, 1948, Halina and Marek were married.⁷

At the end of the war, she learned that her entire large family (she had three brothers and an older sister) had been murdered during the German occupation of Poland. This caused her nervous breakdown and triggered her illness (alternating states of depression and euphoria), with which she struggled for the rest of her life.⁸

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ The last, tenth, Salon of the IAP was held in November 1938. Works (paintings, graphics, sculpture) by more than 180 artists were exhibited; see: A. Wojciechowski, ed., *Polskie życie artystyczne w latach 1915–1939* [Polish artistic life in 1915–1939], Wrocław 1974, p. 418; M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], Toruń 2009, p. 158.

⁷ M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], pp. 159, 255–256. Marek Żuławski's first wife was Eugenia (Imogena) Różańska (1906–1982), a painter and illustrator; they married in 1937 and divorced on January 30, 1948; *ibidem*, pp. 184–185.

⁸ Halina Korn was diagnosed with cyclothymia. She was repeatedly treated in psychiatric clinics; AE, Archive of Halina Korn-Żuławska, ref. no. AE/HKŻ/I, materials on health.

Halina Korn did not have academic training as a painter, but she was able to enlist the help of her husband, who was an academy graduate. As she repeatedly emphasized, he gave her only two pieces of advice: "Keep your paintbrushes clean and don't try to imitate anyone."⁹ She started painting and sculpting relatively late in life (she was about 40 at the time) and virtually by accident.

One day, as Marek Żuławski recalled, she painted Adam and Eve on a closet door in her studio; their naked elongated figures resembled Cranach's nudes.¹⁰

This is what she wrote in the introduction of one of her catalogs:

[...] after marrying in London the painter Marek Żuławski and by the temptation of palette-cum-brushes close to my hands I took up painting myself. A year later, in 1948, I had my first one-man show at the Mayor Gallery; the second in 1952 at [London's] Beaux Arts Gallery, where I also exhibited my sculpture. I have shown work with the London Group, the R. A. [Royal Academy], and in many mixed exhibitions in London and Paris galleries.

I love to paint, I love the smell of oil and turps. I love bright colours – the taste I probably inherited from my father, who used to spend all his weekends painting red, green and gold whatever he could lay his hands on in our home. I find subjects for my paintings everywhere; they follow me and sometimes I have to write them down for fear of forgetting them. I never draw on the spot, I only watch intensely and draw from memory when back in my studio.

I love everything that is paintable; thus I love human beings, not Humanity (you cannot paint Humanity, can you?). But you can paint street markets in Whitechapel (and, by Jove, how beautiful are the fat buttocks fisherwomen!). To me an acrobatic act in the circus is not less dramatic than a crucifixion, and a bunch of human faces at Lyons is as beautiful as a bunch of flowers. The landscape of Kilburn High Road gives me a same kick as the most picturesque Italian landscape.

I am neither looking for beauty nor for ugliness. [...]

Some people think my painting is "slightly satirical." Nothing upsets me more. I never attempt to show the ridiculous side of life, because I cannot see

⁹ "Nota" [Note], in: *Halina Korn*, Gallery One [exhibition folder], [London 1960].

¹⁰ M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], p. 400.

it. Perhaps I have no sense of humor? And if some faces in my paintings appear funny – it is their fault.¹¹

The main subject of Halina Korn's works was everyday life, as observed and captured on London's streets, and human beings. She did not understand and did not like abstractions. She painted in her own way the world around her and people: women in a mechanical laundry, a boy with a large cut of meat, store mannequins in the display window, coalmen, men and women on an escalator and in a café. She depicted scenes from a park, a psychologist's office, a funeral, a circus, and strip-tease bars. A frequent motif appearing in her works, especially in sculpture, was motherhood. Marek Żuławski wrote that "everything that was born in London in the 1950s found its expression in her work. [...] Authenticity transformed into a symbol, translated into art, and filled with poetic content. Not sentimental, but poetic."¹²

Halina Korn's work, classified as a naive painting by Aleksander Jackowski and Ignacy Witz, among others, does not easily lend itself to this classification. Other critics and artists, such as Victor Musgrave, Marek Żuławski, and Feliks Topolski, noted her unfailing sense of composition and form, as well as her great sensitivity to color.¹³

Jackowski, after all, in his encyclopedic outline on naive artists, emphasized that: "It would be a misunderstanding to speak in this case of naiveté of the kind we know from the paintings of Nikifor, Więcek, and Rybkowski,"¹⁴ and Ignacy Witz wrote in the catalog of an exhibition organized by the Warsaw Society of Friends of Fine Arts:

¹¹ "Nota" [Note], in: *Halina Korn*, Gallery One [exhibition folder], [London 1960].

¹² M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], pp. 308–309.

¹³ V. Musgrave, "Introduction," in: *Halina Korn* [exhibition folder]. Camden Arts Centre, London, May 17–June 7 1981, [London 1981]; M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], pp. 306–310; F. Topolski, "Halinka," *Wiadomości* 1979, no. 3 (1712), p. 5. See also: P. Vann, "In search of their roots. Three immigrant naive painters whose images reflect their origins in spite of the influence of a changing world," *The Artist* 1985, no. 3, pp. 18, 20.

¹⁴ A. Jackowski, *Sztuka zwana naiwną. Zarys encyklopedyczny twórczości w Polsce* [The art called naive. An encyclopedic outline of art in Poland], Warsaw 1995, p. 86.

There was talk of the naiveté of Halina Korn-Żuławska's painting. However, this is neither the naiveté of a child nor that of a brute. Instead, it is the mature and conscious simplicity of an artist who knows how to remain in part both a child and a brute, despite and perhaps even contrary to what one knows and understands. So there is a naiveté, primitiveness to her painting, evident not only in the vision, but also in the definition of the form, in the contour, the composition, in the use and alignment of colors. It is not something invented, not something resulting from some self-imposed programs, but something most certainly and completely authentic, flowing from the entire psychological structure of the artist.¹⁵

Halina Korn's period of artistic activity lasted just over twenty years. During that time, she had numerous exhibitions, both individual and group ones, in London, Edinburgh, and New York, as well as in Poland: in Warsaw, Cracow, Gdynia, and Katowice. She was a member of the Artists International Association (AIA) and a founding member of the Arts Society of Paddington, but also showed her works in exhibitions of the London Group, the Royal Academy of Arts, and the Women's International Art Club, among others. In the mid-1960s, due to her deteriorating health, she had a neurological surgery, after which she stopped creating.

She sat on the bed like a good girl and seemed completely cured of her depression. Only later did it turn out that this was not the case. It is true that she stopped wringing her hands, but she also stopped singing, painting, and sculpting. [...] The operation was successful – it completely changed her personality.¹⁶

She painted her last painting in the clinic under pressure from doctors. It shows a small figure of a man in a white apron against a black background. Its title is *Sanitariusz* [Male nurse].¹⁷

In about 1957, she began writing childhood memoirs illustrated with her own drawings titled *Wakacje kończą się we wrześniu* [Holidays end in Sep-

¹⁵ I. Witz, [Note], in: *Halina Korn-Żuławska* [exhibition folder], Warsaw: Society of Friends of Fine Arts, 1967, p. [5].

¹⁶ M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], p. 218.

¹⁷ National Museum in Warsaw, *Sanitariusz* [Male nurse], 1967, oil, fiberboard, 56 × 38 cm.

tember] (they were published with an introduction by Stefan Themerson in Warsaw in 1983). In the memoirs, she recreated Warsaw before World War I and recalled her last summer vacation spent with her family in the countryside near the capital. What is unusual about the book is that the narrator is a ten-year-old Halinka, in her language of the time, with her vocabulary and childish way of thinking.

In the last years of her life, she slowly withdrew from activity, both in private life and as an artist:

[...] she was submissive and obedient. The demon that lived inside her had left her forever. A void was left behind.¹⁸

She died on October 2, 1978 in London; she is buried in the Kensal Green Cemetery in that city.

Halina Korn's works can be found in the National Museum in Warsaw (a large collection of 32 paintings and 200 drawings and sketches),¹⁹ the National Museum in Poznań, and the University Museum in Toruń,²⁰ among other places. Some of her works can also be found in London's Ben Uri Gallery²¹ and in many private collections, including a large American collection of naive art owned by Anthony Petullo.²²

¹⁸ M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], p. 218.

¹⁹ In 1985, Marek Żuławski donated 29 paintings, drawings, and sketches to the Warsaw museum. The other two paintings were purchased on the occasion of a series of exhibitions Halina Korn had in Poland in the 1960s, and one was donated to the Museum's collection in 1990; see: AE, Archive of Halina Korn-Żuławska, ref. no. AE/HKŻ/VIII, Artistic activities, a letter from Marek Żuławski to the director of the National Museum in Warsaw, dated March 15, 1984; Information based on a search at the National Museum in Warsaw.

²⁰ The University Museum in Toruń owns 34 paintings, a sculpture, and more than a thousand drawings. The works of art and archival legacy of Halina Korn and Marek Żuławski are a gift from Maria Żuławska, the artist's third wife.

²¹ W. Schwab, J. Weiner, eds., *Jewish artists: The Ben Uri collection. Paintings, Drawings, Prints and Sculpture*, London 1994, p. 60.

²² *The Anthony Petullo Collection of Self-Taught and Outsider Art*, [Urbana 2001], pp. 86–87.

"AT HOME IN PARIS"

What did artistic Paris look like in the late spring and early summer of the early 1950s from Halina Korn's perspective? This can be determined on the basis of the letters exchanged between the spouses (Marek stayed in London, where he supervised the renovation of the studio). The excerpt of their correspondence presented below, which illustrates this issue, was selected from the letters written by Halina Korn and Marek Żuławski in May and June 1950 and circulating between Paris and London.²³ In her first letter, sent shortly after her arrival in Paris, Halina asks her husband to send some forgotten items, including tea and a coat, and describes the trip. It should be emphasized that to Halina Korn Paris was not a strange place where it would be difficult for her to find her place. As Marek Żuławski wrote in his *A Study for a self-portrait*:

Paris with Halinka was an inhabited city. Her intimate knowledge of the language, her elegance, her friends, her cousins... She felt at home in Paris.²⁴

A great advantage of these letters is the language, often biting and ironic. Both Halina Korn and Marek Żuławski had a gift for observation and writing. In addition to periodically writing about art for magazines and preparing broadcasts for BBC Radio for many years (in the 1950s Halina worked with him preparing exhibition reviews for the "Round the Galleries" program), Żuławski was the author of two (actually three)²⁵ volumes of autobiographies. Halina Korn's literary abilities can be seen by reading, among other things, a volume of childhood memoirs.

Colorful language, accuracy of judgment, and interesting, insightful observations can also be found in Halina Korn's rich extensive with many people.

²³ The correspondence is part of the artists' legacy, held in the collection of the Emigration Archives (ref. no. AE/HKŻ/XIV, AE/HKŻ/XVI).

²⁴ M. Żuławski, *Studium do autoportretu* [A study for a self-portrait], p. 215.

²⁵ The first and second parts of the autobiography were published in Warsaw by Czytelnik (1980, 1990). The entire autobiography, including the previously unpublished third part, was published in Toruń in 2009.

The fact that she made copies of most letters is very valuable. Kazimiera Żuławska,²⁶ Marek Żuławski's mother, was very fond of receiving messages from her daughter-in-law; she especially asked for reports from Paris, a city she herself had visited many times in her youth and knew very well. She was very complimentary about Halina's letters, to which the latter replied: "I am greatly flattered by your high opinion of my letters; I have a great ease of writing, the same as of talking, and that is probably it."²⁷ Her sensitivity and emotionality when confronted with the variety of experiences in Paris made it necessary for her to pour her impressions onto paper. After a two-week stay, this is what she wrote to her husband:

I decided to write a Paris diary, so as not to murder you with the need to read too often. Because I have to speak out, otherwise I'll burst. So I will write long letters [...] etc. ... and I will send them once in a while. This way I will save money on stamps and I won't have to keep looking for mailboxes, which are much better camouflaged in this country than the most important military facilities during dangerous military operations (letter dated May 12, 1950).

The main "heroes" of the letters are the Paris galleries Halina Korn visited during the month of May and her circle of acquaintances and friends, both Polish and French. In the galleries, she held conversations, trying to generate interest in her art and attempting to organize an exhibition. During these meetings, economic aspects often came up, such as the desire to sell her own and her husband's works, the cost of the preparation of an exhibition, renting the exhibition room, etc. In her letters, she repeated-

²⁶ Kazimiera Żuławska (1883–1971), a romanist and translator; the wife of Jerzy Żuławski (1874–1915), a poet and playwright. Since 1910, the Żuławski family lived in Zakopane; their villa "Łada" became a meeting place for well-known personalities from the world of literature and art, including Stanisław Przybyszewski, Leopold Staff, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, and Tymon Niesiołowski. In 1921, Kazimiera Żuławska moved to Toruń, where she ran a boarding house and literary salon in the villa "Zofijówka." Besides Marek, she had two sons: Juliusz (1910–1998), a writer and translator, and Wawrzyniec (1916–1957), a musician and composer who tragically died in the Alps; see: J. Belkot, "Żuławska Kazimiera," an entry in: K. Mikulski, ed., *Toruński słownik biograficzny* [Toruń biographic dictionary], vol. 3, Toruń 2002, pp. 258–259.

²⁷ AE, Archive of Halina Korn-Żuławska, ref. no. AE/HK/XVII, Correspondence, a copy of a letter from Halina Korn to Kazimiera Żuławska, March 23, 1965.

ly mentioned that she would like to meet Helena Rubinstein,²⁸ a wealthy cosmetics manufacturer and art collector who was in Paris at the time.

The friends and acquaintances who appeared in the letters were mostly people with links to art: critics, painters, and sculptors.

Among the closest were the prominent art expert and critic Karol Sterling²⁹ who had lived in Paris since 1925 (an employee of the Louvre since 1929) and the painter Katarzyna Librowicz.³⁰ They both remembered Halina Korn from their childhood years in Warsaw. When the book *Holidays end in September* was published, Karol Sterling wrote in a letter to M. Żuławski:

I was very touched by Halinka's book. Her memory is utterly remarkable – disturbing. It suddenly occurred to me that her entire illness, which erupted as a result of her sister's death, consisted or was rooted in a desire to take

²⁸ Helena (Chaja) Rubinstein (1872–1965), a Polish woman of Jewish descent, the founder of the Helena Rubinstein Inc. cosmetics company, an art collector and patron of many artists, including Elie Nadelman, Louis Marcoussis, and Alicia Halicka; see: A. Halicka, *Wczoraj. (Wspomnienia)* [Yesterday. (Memoirs)], an authorized translation by W. Błońska, Cracow 1971, pp. 148–152; M. Fitoussi, *Helena Rubinstein: kobieta, która wymyśliła piękno* [*Helena Rubinstein: the woman who invented beauty*, London 2013], Warsaw 2013, pp. 112, 276.

²⁹ Charles Sterling (1901–1991), an art historian. One of the most prominent experts on European painting of the 14th to 19th centuries. In 1924, he graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Warsaw. From 1925 he lived in France. From 1929–1961 (with a break during World War II, when he was the curator at the Metropolitan Museum in New York) he worked at the Louvre. He is the author of, among others: *La Peinture française. Les Primitifs* (Paris 1938), *La nature morte de l'antiquité à nos jours* (Paris 1952) – Polish translation: *Martwa natura: od starożytności po wiek XX* [Still life: from antiquity to the 20th century] (Warsaw 1998); see: J. Białostocki, *Karol Sterling doktorem honoris causa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [Karol Sterling to receive the title of honoris causa doctor of the University of Warsaw], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 1983, no. 3–4, pp. 454–458.

³⁰ Katarzyna (Katherine) Librowicz (1912–1991), a Polish painter and graphic artist who lived and worked in Paris. She specialized in children's portraits, which were very popular. Her uncle was Roman Kramsztyk (1885–1942); from 1949, she lived in his Paris studio. After Halina Korn died, she wrote to Marek Żuławski: "I recall that evening when you invited me to dinner – she was home at the time and you showed me her so very beautiful paintings. And I still remember from the days of The Saxon Garden how she used to come with her sister – with whom we used to play – me and my sister – so many years ago"; AE, Archive of Marek Żuławski, correspondence, a letter from Katarzyna Librowicz to Marek Żuławski dated October 30, 1978.

refuge in childhood. I am one of the few witnesses of her accuracy – I played with her in in The Saxon Garden, she wore a red dress...³¹

Halina Korn's close acquaintances included the singer Maneta Radwan,³² who, after divorcing the sculptor August Zamoyski, married the French sculptor Jean-Claude de Saint-Marceaux. During her stay, Halina Korn met a young art critic Bernard Dorival,³³ whom she wanted to make her protector, and tried to make contact with Jean Cassou,³⁴ the then director of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris. She met with Dr. Helen Rosenau,³⁵ an art historian and author of the books *Women in art: From type to personality* and *A short history of Jewish art*. Marek Żuławski sent her addresses and names of people she should contact. One of them was the art critic Chil Aronson (1898–1966), who, between the wars, as Francis Biedart, wrote articles on French art and reports on Parisian exhibitions for Warsaw magazines *Głos Plastyków* and *Wiadomości Literackie* (later also for *Wiadomości Polskie, Polityczne i Literackie* in London). After the war, he organized expositions in France presenting primarily the works of artists of Jewish origin; he is the author of a publication devoted to Jewish artists associated with the École de Paris (*Scènes et visages de Montparnasse*, Paris 1963).³⁶

Another person recommended by Marek was Jules Lefranc, a French painter with an extensive collection of naive art, which he donated in the 1960s to the Museum of the Vieux-Château in Laval (which became a mu-

³¹ AE, Archive of Halina Korn, ref. no. AE/HKŻ/XVIII, correspondence, a letter from Karol Sterling to Maria and Marek Żuławski dated December 4, 1983.

³² Maria (Maneta) Radwan, a singer. In Paris, she performed at the Théâtre Beriza, among others. In 1928 she started a relationship with the sculptor August Zamoyski and soon became his second wife. Their marriage lasted until 1939. Her second husband was the French sculptor Jean-Claude de Saint-Marceaux (1902–1975).

³³ Bernard Dorival (1914–2003), an art historian and critic. In 1950, an English edition of his book *Cézanne* (Paris 1948) was published.

³⁴ Jean Cassou (1897–1986), a French writer and critic, a director of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris (1946–1965).

³⁵ Helen Rosenau (1900–1984), an art (mainly architecture) historian. The author of, among others: *Women in art, From type to personality* (London 1944) and *A short history of Jewish art* (London 1948).

³⁶ A. Wierzbicka, *We Francji i w Polsce 1900–1939* [In France and in Poland, 1900–1939], Warsaw 2009, pp. 324, 343.

seum of naive art in 1970).³⁷ Encouraged by her husband, she visited the painter and graphic artist Louis Lille, who settled in Paris in 1937, living alone on Boulevard Saint-Jacques in very difficult material conditions.³⁸

When she did not hold meetings, she sought inspiration for her drawings and paintings on the streets of Paris: she observed two black nuns on the Pont des Arts, silhouettes of people on a crowded bus, and Percheron horses on the street. She often spent time in two Parisian cafes located on Boulevard Saint-Germain, Café de Flore and Les Deux Magots, which have been fashionable continuously since the 1930s and were meeting places for the intellectual and artistic elite of Paris. Before the war, they were frequented by, among others, Picasso and his then-life companion Dora Maar, a painter and photographer, as well as André Derain, Louis Marcoussis, and Mojżesz Kisling.³⁹

The most important reason why Halina Korn came to Paris was to attempt to organize her own painting exhibition. Thanks to her correspondence, we can trace almost step by step her endeavors, the conversations she held, the names of galleries, and the names of friends, intermediaries, and artists. The painter's opinions, often ironic and biting, about the Parisian milieu of Polish artists, art critics, and intellectuals are a description of the hard years of post-war existence of émigrés, but also of internal feuds and disputes.

The exhibition ultimately failed to materialize. Many drawings and sketches have survived from that period, and some of them are in the collection of The Archives of Polish Emigration in Toruń.

³⁷ *1^{er} Salon International d'Art Naïf. Hommage au peintre Lavallois Jules Lefranc*, [Paris 1984]. Jules Lefranc lived from 1887 to 1972.

³⁸ Louis Lille (1897–1957), a graphic artist and painter, he lived in Paris from 1937. After the war, he was one of the founders of the Union of Polish Artists in France, of which he became the president. He was primarily engaged in drawing and graphic art. He was a loner and lived on the brink of poverty, yet he helped many artists materially; see: W. Banach, "[Introduction]," in: *Ludwik Lille. Prace z lat 40. i 50.* [Louis Lille. Works from the 1940s and 1950s], Information brochure from the exhibition organized in the Historical Museum in Sanok on June 25 – July 31, 2004, Sanok 2004.

³⁹ A. Halicka, *Wczoraj* [Yesterday], pp. 123–124.

The letters selected below are a small fraction of the correspondence Halina Korn and Marek Żułowski exchanged throughout their life together. It can be assumed that the entire correspondence, covering the years 1939–1978, is preserved in the collection of the Emigration Archives. The couple often traveled separately, and Halina Korn regularly wrote to her husband during her stays in the hospital. The following excerpts (never published so far) are from twenty-five letters by Halina Korn and eleven by Mark Żułowski, written in May and June 1950. Halina Korn's letters show the sender's address: Hotel de Londres, 3 rue Bonaparte, Paris 6^{ème}; the envelopes are addressed to: Fulthorpe Studio, 3 Warwick Ave, London W2. All the letters are manuscripts. For the purposes of editing, spelling and typos were corrected, and inflectional endings were modernized. The original spelling of phrases and words in English and French is preserved. Possible errors are marked with [!] and doubts with [?]. The cut-out parts of the letters are marked with [...].

LETTERS

May 5, 1950 [Halina]

[...] well I'm already sitting in the Café [de] Flore. [...] On the terrace it is warm, cloudy, full, bustling, and strangely homely + I feel very much at home among the shaggy guys and the maned fancy girls with big eyes. I'm starting to think about drawing with a single line, but I'm afraid I won't succeed because it's more difficult than to smudge in my own way. [...] I have everything I need in my checkered bag: pencils, erasers, sharpeners, sketchbooks, and my little cards – I'm all bachelor and I'm already afraid I won't draw enough for you – but I can't yet. I'm sorry.

Mareczek, I could have transported a piano harnessed to two cart horses – no one even looked at my luggage. I slept all night, I didn't even wake up when we went into the water, only at about 5 o'clock there was a great ruckus near Dunkerque – but the French douane⁴⁰ entered the carriage only in Paris – looked at my checkered jacket, smiled, and that was it! –

⁴⁰ *douane* (French) – customs.

The sculpture emerged from the panties in the hotel and stood on the mantelpiece in front of the mirror – it looks lovely, exceptionally lovely in Paris – my whole scabby room took on a different expression. I will carry it to Karol [Sterling] as soon as I communicate with them. [...]

I had breakfast for 150 fr. with a tip at Beaux Arts: a great chopped meatloaf, fries too. I sip a coffee with one cookie in Flora, I read letters and watch people, nature, and traffic there. People pee in urinals, nature doesn't yet have enough leaves to play a role for Miss Korn, and the damn traffic drives on the wrong side and just waits until I get absent-minded! And I don't – I just watch and pay attention to the right, to the left, and I sweat due to my zeal not to make you a widower.

Saturday, May 6, 1950 [Halina]

[...] Now it's 11 a.m. I'm sitting in the sunlight on Flora's terrace – lots of adorable quacks and much less adorable English "compatriots" are basking lazily – and chattering, chattering, chattering!!! After I drink my coffee (with milk, please Mr. Mark, no black!) I will go to Galerie Caputo.⁴¹ Mrs. Caputo told me that there was an excellent Israeli landscape painter, a great success, the Jews from the government were buying. I said that I was writing for the Hebrew Section [BBC]⁴² – a great stir – I am supposed to go there and meet Mr. Artist himself. [...] He – supposedly a landscape painter – is going to London with an exhibition⁴³ so you'll see what it's like – and I'll write you from here what I think about it – again, we will spend a couple of guineas. But there is something else – Halusia [Halina Sterling] asked me if I could make a pattern for wallpaper, something tapestry-line – 50 thousand francs can be earned just like that. So I said no, what else could I say?

⁴¹ Galerie Billiet-Caputo was established in Paris in 1947. It was run by Gildo Caputo and Myriam Prévot (at the end of 1950, they took over the management of the Galerie de France, which became one of the most important galleries in Paris in the 1950s and 1960s).

⁴² The Hebrew Section of the BBC existed in the years 1949–1968.

⁴³ Aharon Kahana (1905–1967). He had an exhibition at London's Zwemmer Gallery in June 1950.

But your roosters!⁴⁴ I'll give you the sizes and requirements on Monday because I'll see Sterlings in the evening: there will be the dirty Aronson at the dinner – Halusia says he can sell me something. I will take the sculpture or have it transported by Karol. I am sorry to part with it, it looks beautiful! [...] Mareczek, wouldn't it be a good idea to make me a Jewish painter?

One has to think about it and jump into Israeli shoes – *pourquoi pas?* Have you talked to Olhy?⁴⁵ There is no rush but do it when you have a chance. And remember that the singer and the horse are rather for the Gimpels.⁴⁶ Communicate with them, he wants to come and you have a lot of good new stuff. These two upholsterers are great! You have to collect your stuff and mine from them (my *La belle de La Ciotat*).

May 8, 1950 [Marek]

[...] I received your letter and two postcards and I am v[ery] happy about everything you do and see. Greetings to the Karoleks [Sterlings]. Lud[wik] Lille's address ([Witold] Mars⁴⁷ asked to give it to you when thanking you for the card) is 51 Boulv. St. Jacques.

I had a good mention in *Art Review* of the mining exhibition at A.I.A. [Gallery].⁴⁸

⁴⁴ This is about a painting by Marek Żuławski titled *Cock and Hens*, oil on canvas, dated 1948 – privately owned.

⁴⁵ William Ohly (1883–1955), a British art collector and owner of London galleries (including Berkeley Galleries, established in 1942).

⁴⁶ Gimpel Gallery – a London art gallery established in 1946 by brothers Peter and Charles Gimpel.

⁴⁷ Witold Tadeusz Mars (1912–1985), a Polish painter and graphic artist. He was a graduate of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. After World War II, he stayed in England, where he participated in exhibitions of the London Group and the Society of Scottish Artists, among others. In 1952 he moved to New York and focused almost entirely on book graphic art; see: S. Jordanowski, *Vademecum malarstwa polskiego w USA* [Vademecum of Polish painting in the USA], Wrocław 1996, s. 168.

⁴⁸ The exhibition *The Coalminers. Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by Coalminer and Professional Artists*, organized by the Artists International Association took place from April 20 to May 17 at the AIA Gallery at 15 Lisle Street in London. Its participants were professional and amateur artists. The first group, along with Henry Moore, Paul Hogarth, and James Holland, among others, included at least two Poles: Józef Herman and Marek Żuławski; see:

I started painting [...]. And you, darling, don't try par force to do something – it will come by itself – watch and ingest what you see. It would be good for Karolek [Karol Sterling] to buy (this is quite a strange thing because, after all, he himself returned twice to this topic and stated that he was buying [...]) it would be good because, as I found out today, I have £18 of overdraft in the bank and it's the beginning of the month. [...]

[May 8, 1950] [Halina]

[...] Yesterday I went to Galerie Billiet-Caputo and had a kind of non-binding *interview* (that I write for the Hebrew Section, that in view of the fact that he is going to London with an exhibition I will try to send them, if they want... it, etc.) with the artist Kahana. An exhibition of things of this nature is rather good: Jankiel Adler not abstract but "abstracting" and "formalizing"; however, with a starting point from nature what reconciles me with it. The texture is not licked but vivid, the color is vivid and pleasant. Referring to the mood and traditions of Phoenician art – the influence of undoubtedly decorative local art, although it seems to me, of course, that Braque and other gentlemen are also painted.

A German-born artist⁴⁹ came out, as he told me, of this art (present) to which, after passing the influence of Gustave Courbet, he returned completely at the moment. He showed me his classical period in photographs – he agreed. He has exhibited with the entire group at Galerie de Berri,⁵⁰ and the current exhibition is the first one man show in Paris.

He will be in London in June at Zwemmer's [Zwemmer Gallery]. He took your phone number and will contact you. It seems that he was very *impressed* by my photographs. Maybe if you see the exhibition at Zwemmer's you can write something for Ludwig [Gottlieb]?⁵¹

L. Morris, R. Radford, *The Story of the AIA: Artists International Association 1933–1953*, Oxford 1983, pp. 83–84; G. S. Whittet, "London Commentary", *The Studio* 1950, vol. 140, no. 689, p. 61.

⁴⁹ Aharon Kahana was born in Stuttgart.

⁵⁰ Galerie de Berri was located at rue de Berri. It was headed by L. van der Klip.

⁵¹ Ludwik Gottlieb (1914–1985), worked at the BBC, among others, in the Polish Section and as the director of the Hebrew Section; see: K. Pszenicki, *Tu mówią Londyn. Historia Sekcji*

[...]

In the evening at 8 o'clock

[...] I spent the whole day with the Karoleks [Sterlings] in the car. A wonderful road through the Seine Valley on the path of the victorious American army through the mutilated French land which is miraculously being rebuilt. Only no longer Renaissance houses with blackened wooden carvings, but modern and unfortunately not always successful buildings. A wonderful landscape. One with a pink fallow, gray sky, a black horse, black crows, and a black old lady in a Sunday "chapeau" dramatic and magnificent! I will paint for sure when I get back. At home, I also have a wonderful still life of cacti and a brown wall. *La petite Catherine*⁵² will lend me the *gouache*.

I haven't done anything yet but I already have a lot in my heart: the back of the bus stuffed with vertical, funny silhouettes of standing people – they look like herrings in a green pot – at the bottom a steel-gray street, at the top a fawn-gray sky – Wonderful!

Sorry, I'm chattering again. [...] Send me a set of your photos – I don't know if Galerie de Berri will give me them back and I want to show Aronson and others. Bernard [Dorival] is delighted and charmed by you. [...]

May 9, 1950 [Halina]

[...] Yesterday Aronson came to the Sterlings' for dinner, and I and some other American antiques buyer and a nice crazy lady director of the Musée du Cinema. A great dinner – your sculpture in a wonderful place with its behind facing the mirror, and me – the birthday girl that your wife, that herself a child prodigy, that "oh – she has a lovely profile – like a Florentine artist?" (Aronson). And that my painting is half primitive and half childish, that I have a lot of talent. [...] About this Kahana said the same thing I wrote and considers him a great artist – he will be writing about him I will get

Polskiej BBC [This is London speaking. History of the Polish Section of the BBC], Warsaw 2009, p. 44.

⁵² Catherine Sterling-Binda, the Sterlings' daughter and a well-known art restorer in France.

the article and copy it. He gave me a press review for Salon de Mai⁵³ – I'm going tomorrow. [...]

I drew a very chiseled and elaborated *Still life with a cactus* (?). I wonder if I manage to paint it – the rest – when I stop flying. [...]

Karol is so kind and helpful to me, so delighted with the sculpture, and he produced it in front of people so proudly talking about you with the highest praise. Aronson praised the form a lot and said he would like to see more – oh, how funny and at the same time angelic and holy he is with his exultation for art and total insensitivity to worldly matters. [...]

I wanted to go to Lascaux, but it's expensive and a one-way trip would cost more than 7,000 francs – there's no way I will do it [...]. I have a lot to do and see here. On Friday I'm going to Mrs. *Something Rather Saint Marceau* [!] *de Passy* – this is Maneta I voto Zamoyska, she said she knows you very well and asked very much to greet you and inquired nicely about you. [...]

[Annotation in the letter on the first page:] Aronson fully condemns Jankiel Adler and speaks very badly of [Henryk] Gotlieb's painting.⁵⁴ He thinks I know something about painting – huh!

May 11, 1950 [Halina]

[...] We'll be saving when we get back and besides, you'll probably get a portrait and I – if the inspiration is right – should push some drawing to the snobs here. The exhibition here is hopeless: the cynicism of the gallery owners is completely unparalleled. [Galerie] Drouant David⁵⁵ charges 300,000 fr. for the room – last year he mentioned 150,000! And shit sells. [...]

It is terribly expensive here – money leaks out like water. But it's so wonderful and I'm so comfortable here that it's going to be the goal of my life to come here regularly and be able to do some serious work. My

⁵³ The VI Salon de Mai was held at the Musée d'art moderne de la Ville de Paris from May 9 to May 31, 1950.

⁵⁴ The person in question is Henryk Gotlib (1890–1966), a Polish painter, graphic artist, and art critic, living in London since 1939. He is the author of the following books: *Polish Painting* (London 1942) and *Wędrówki malarza* [A painter's wanderings] (Warsaw 1947).

⁵⁵ Galerie Drouant-David – a gallery operating from 1942 to 1958 at rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, headed by Armand Drouant and Emmanuel David.

head is so full of topics that I haven't started anything yet – thank you for absolving me – I'll calm down any day and start working [...].

What are you painting, puppy? I drew and finished a still life and now I am drawing a boy with boxes: a black sweater and wide trousers, a gray Courbet wall, a long Modigliani face and a *bleu* Corot scarf around his neck – and boxes like Braque's still lifes: brown, train-like with black letters. After all, it's not a rip-off, but the world is, after all, made up of everything that all painters have seen in it, right? The drawing is getting good, but will the painting work out? My pencils break, I bought a razor blade – I'm going to cut myself in half. [...]

May 12, 1950 [Halina]

[...] So yesterday Galerie de Berri. Van der Klipa is lovely, apologizes, remembers, excuses herself, asks to come on Wednesday at 11 o'clock because she will have plenty of time *pour bavarder*. It was in the morning. Then sitting in the sun on the Champs-Élysées with eyes squinted because of the wonderful light and looking out for the incessant *cortège* of wonder. Crazy-haired gals with worked-out rococo waists, with active butts, on high heels, with wonderfully delicate feet and lecherously thin stockings, guys with the chicness of East End spivs – jackets up to their knees, linen ties, and shoes on lard as big as crates and as tall as [missing passage] buckets. Everything went out for the estrus. [...] This is undoubtedly the magic of France – its sunshine, its wine, and this is what England does not and will not have. [...]

I was at Salon de Mai 1950⁵⁶ – there was nothing I liked. Fortunately, there is no abstraction – but this is not a positive advantage. Some drawings and lino are good, two nice terracotta – the rest is crap – I have an illustrated catalog so you will see for yourself.

So today to this Maneta.

⁵⁶ See footnote 54.

May 12, [19]50 [Marek]

[...] Pass to Aronson my warm regards. He is an authentic guy. What does he do for a living and how did he survive Hitler? Maneta probably confuses me with Jacek [Żuławski],⁵⁷ but that's okay.

At Potwor[owski]'s opening Gimpel himself talked to me about your singer – that she was so good.⁵⁸ I am putting off his visit because I still want to paint something and I can't do anything in this mess. [...]

But try above all there in Paris to make as many contacts as possible and benefit as much as possible in every way. Have you seen Picasso's new paintings? Apparently, there is an exhibition. Have you been to Le Franc? [!] and Clavé?⁵⁹ [...]

I am sending you separately some photographs but don't give them away and keep them (especially *Women of Dieppe* and a still li[fe] with brushes that are not in the film – these are recent copies).

Is your room bright and good? Have you started drawing anything besides the cactus yet? [...]

May 13, [19]50 [Marek]

[...] Dr. [Helen] Rosenau was here – v[ery] friendly and clever. I also showed her a couple of your paintings. She's going to Paris because she's writing a book on French utopian architecture⁶⁰ – an amazing topic. She said that if I was German or Jewish she would help me a lot, and when she learned that you were Miss Korngold she absolutely wanted to meet you in Paris. She

⁵⁷ Jacek Żuławski (1907–1976), a Polish painter, graphic artist, mountaineer, and lecturer at the Academy of Fine Arts in Gdańsk. He was Marek Żuławski's cousin; see: W. Zmorzyński, ed., *Marek i Jacek Żuławscy: malarstwo, rysunek* [Marek and Jacek Żuławski: painting, drawing] [exhibition catalog], Gdańsk 2002.

⁵⁸ This probably refers to the painting *The Liedersinger (The Singer)*; reproduction in: *The Artist* 1985, no. 3, p. 19.

⁵⁹ Antoni Clavé (1913–2005), a Catalan master painter, printmaker, sculptor, stage designer and costume designer. In October 1947 he had an exhibition of paintings at the Anglo-French Art Center in London. He then visited Marek Żuławski in his studio and expressed a favorable opinion about his painting.

⁶⁰ *The Ideal City in Its Architectural Evolution*, London [1959].

asked you to call her (preferably early in the morning). [...] You must definitely do it, she knows all the Friends of the Tel Aviv Gallery and other rich Jews who buy paintings here. In general you can do it without worries. [...]

Wednesday, May 17 [Halina]

I am very curious about what can be arranged in this de Berri, although, of course, I am not counting on anything.

Yesterday I had breakfast at de St. Marceaux's. It was extremely nice – we are already going by first names – [...] talking about art, about love, about war, about books. He considers me a natural born sculptor and says that some of my drawings (e.g. the Welsh poney) he could sign *un grand maitre* [!] “*un drôle de phénomène que vous êtes*” [!].⁶¹ They really wanted to see your photographs, but I only found them in the evening. I will see them many more times – they will go with me to the Karoleks [Sterlings] or we will meet. On June 17 they are going to London so we will see them. I've been to his studio – he is working seriously in a classical style, an excellent craftsman – large sculptures – he complains that artists can't make a living and she's doing some extra work somewhere – they have a delightful studio but I prefer ours. He said I should chisel with the sculpting temperament he sees in me, took me to the courtyard, gave me a hammer and a chisel, and said he could show me the technique if I stayed longer. How wonderful it would be to make a florist or a singer in stone. It will probably end there, because something is pulling at me terribly. Only the whole anatomy will have to be insured first, eh?

Yesterday I was at Lille's – sad suburban squalor, filth, tip, helplessness, painting similar to Mack [?] – worse in color – some weddings, veils, gatherings, charcoal drawings much better than painting and sadness, helplessness, gutlessness in everything. A good guy, kind as honey, helpful, pecked to death by life.

He watched everything, said nothing – I think he liked it. The same with your photographs. He gave various decent tips – we'll see each other again. I like him. [...]

⁶¹ (French) – the grand master “you are a funny phenomenon.”

May 18, [19]50 [Marek]

[...] In addition, go to Galerie Louise Leiris,⁶² 29 bis rue D'Astorg, 8^{eme} where there is supposedly a good exhibition of Braque, Picasso, Léger etc. At Maeght's⁶³ there are Chagall's last things – see them. I am sending you the AIA form for the summer exhibition. If you want to send it – fill it out, sign it, and send it back to me right away.

Did you get the photographs of my stuff? But please don't do things for me, but for yourself. You can only pass on my stuff on occasion or if someone, like Aronson – wants to see them specifically. [...]

Friday – May 19 [1950] [Halina]

[...] Puppy – I'm working – I'm already doing my third big drawing – I'm getting things done. And according to the plans: *Still life*, *Boy with boxes*, *La petite communiant*e. Now it will probably be *Pansy Club – Quartier Latin*.

I run around the city and people like a devil. I was at Paczkowska's⁶⁴ – only Polish ladies – talking about costumes and personal remarks – boring. Yesterday a meeting at Alma⁶⁵ with Rosenau: smart – right – talkative – quite nice. [...] – a friendship established.

Today is the first day with no plans – that is, I just want to see Bonnard's exhibition and Odilon Redon. I have to call Clavé and Lefranc and also I am writing a card to Katarzyna Librowicz and I want to see my discovered cousin Marcelli Natkin,⁶⁶ whom I have not seen for 20 years. He is

⁶² Galerie Louise Leiris – an art gallery in Paris established in 1920 by Daniel Henry Kahnweiler, who handed it over to Louise Leiris (1902–1988) in 1940. One of the most famous artists who sold works through the gallery was Pablo Picasso.

⁶³ Galerie Maeght was established in 1936 in Cannes. The Paris branch, headed by Aimé Maeght, was opened in 1946. It mainly exhibited contemporary artists from France and Spain

⁶⁴ Irena Paczkowska-Gabaud (1898–1963), the wife of the poet Jerzy Paczkowski, who was an employee of the Polish Embassy in Paris from 1935 to 1939. She worked at Galerie Lambert from its inception in 1959 until her death.

⁶⁵ This is probably about Place de l'Alma.

⁶⁶ Marcel Natkin (1904–1962), a photographer and author of books on photography.

a children's photographer, reportedly well-known and respected – he is successful. Married to an English woman.

At Galerie de Berri it seems to be all right. She said to give her a couple of small sculptures, one or 2 pictures – a drawing so she will hang it and keep at her place. At the end of next week I'll visit her with the pictures that are at Karol's. Maybe Zbyszek will take it by car because I want to take everything – she wants to see the color. She is serious and nice. Doing an exhibition at the moment is hopeless – not enough sales – indeed, I have not seen a single sticker. I will still go to that sophisticated "Galerie la Hune"⁶⁷ – to show what I do and talk.

I need to buy a fixative and fix the last drawings. [...] I am arranged comfortably and I try to save money. I'm going to ask Karol [Sterling] what the American situation is. [...]

May 21, 1950 [Halina]

[...] I will go to various galleries – but I don't want too much, because my brilliant predecessors rather disturb the vision of my world and Paris. The only ones who help me are Goya, Ensor, Watteau, and the one who has such a lovely name and paints lovely colorful little people prettier than mine. Also Paolo Ucello. But I have those in London. [...]

May 23, 1950 [Halina]

Puppy, I'm sitting over a glass of vermouth at Pam-Pam on the Champs-Élysées. It's 12:45 and the big parade *en marche* is going on at full speed. I am full of admiration for the life and color of this landscape, and of course, as always when some emotion comes I have to talk it out. And, of course, only to you, because you are the only one who understands me and feels the same as I do myself, and sometimes even better. I am more and more in awe of this city and more and more I dream to being old here and not somewhere else. To drag my scabby bones from bistro to bistro, to eat

⁶⁷ Galerie la Hune was located in Paris' 6th arrondissement at 170 Bd St-Germain, near the Café de Flore and Les Deux Magots.

as much as I can pay for and my stomach can withstand, and to paint everything I see... [...]

Yesterday on Goëthe⁶⁸ [!] I saw an exhibition of Géricault:⁶⁹ what a beautiful painter! Damn, how he paints those horses, and I am starting a landscape with a horse (drawing no. 5, Paris 1950 series, private collection), I get so tired: one time I get a pig, another time a piano – I went out this morning to draw Percheron horses on the street [...].

May 25, 1950 [Marek]

[...] You write me about so many things and about exhibitions, but haven't you, you little barbarian, been to the Louvre yet? Are you really not attracted to it at all? I think you should go around all the museums and even maybe take notes for yourself (you have almost free entry with your A.I.A. card). Whether you like it or not, in museums there is precisely the entire legacy of what we call human civilization. You need to know it – and this is more important than modern experimental stuff – just as you need to know the monuments of literature to be a fully cultured person. [...]

Saturday, May 27, 1950 [Halina]

[...] I'm a little afraid of you because I didn't draw much, because maybe I didn't see what you would have liked. But I have a lot of impressions and desires. With Galerie de Berri I'll probably make a positive agreement, I saw lots of people, I sold your sculpture (because various diplomatic sayings strongly contributed to the fact that Karol [Sterling] decided that he would pay a little bit at a time!) – so seemingly the profit of staying here is pure and simple. I'm sad today because Whitsun is approaching, the weather is bad, everyone is somehow preoccupied with themselves [...]. There is

⁶⁸ Probably rue Goethe.

⁶⁹ Théodore Géricault (1791–1824), a French painter and graphic artist, also known as the "painter of horses and madmen," who worked during the Romantic era. The exhibition in question is "Géricault, cet inconnu... Aquarelles, gouaches, dessins," which took place in May and June 1950 at Galerie Bignon in Paris.

no one to tell me where the horse's legs grow out of its butt, or how to sit a guy so he doesn't fall off a bench, and without your guidance I get so terribly discouraged about all my so-called "art." Sure I'm capable as hell, sure I eventually get lovely things out of this "sawing," but I can't, I really can't manage in life without you and only with you can I be happy. [...]

May 31, 1950 [Halina]

[...] Yesterday I was at the Galerie du Siècle: admiration for everything – that I would publish the drawings in a book (I impudently said that I was designing a London–Paris book as I would have more drawings from Paris), the terracotta are *très intéressants*, the paintings are beautiful in color – for only 65 thousand I can have an exhibition right away – at the end of June – they are asking [for] an immediate response. On my part, simple indignation – on the part of the gallerist – ironic coldness. Finally – a positive willingness to accept at any time 5-6 terracottas, a few drawings, and small pictures to hold *en dépôt* [!] in the gallery. The terracottas will go into a neat glass display case in his office in the gallery. I'll talk to Berri and I'll write about everything to you. Caputo will call me whether it's better with Berri or Galerie du Siècle – I think since I'm not under any contract – it's better with both. [...]

I'll already be reasonable and run around less – I'm not a tourist but a crazy woman-enthusiast. And in addition, I do not know the value of my strength, which, although they are horse-like, have limits. I'm slowing down – but it's not the physical pace that makes me tired – it's the experience of constant awe, it's this state of relish in Paris that gets me tired and at times it delightfully but suffocatingly leaves me breathless. And it's not Louvre, not my brilliant predecessors who teach me painting: it's the bustling dusty streets, the colorful people, the big-assed gals, and the halfwit elegant men, the picturesque poverty of the Quartier Latin and the roguish splendor of the Georges 5s⁷⁰ and the Ritzes that are my teachers. Still lifes in bistros have more eloquence than the most beautiful Chardins⁷¹ and

⁷⁰ Hotel George V – a luxury hotel in Paris at 31, avenue George V.

⁷¹ Jean Chardin, actually Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin (1699–1779), a French painter, he was a master at painting still lifes.

what I myself feel in my fingers seems to me bigger and more important than what everyone else has done so far. I have consciously developed my attitude towards painting: "The whole world is a big picture that I have not yet painted"! I have lived this saying and feel it deeply now.

It may be arrogant and barbaric what I write, but God is my witness that it is as unfalsified and true as my own ass!

I will go to Louvre and I will go to Petit Palais. On Tuesday at 11 o'clock I am going to Clavé. Tonight – to St. Marceaux's. Tomorrow I will write all the plans and cost estimates. [...]

June 1, 1950 [Halina]

[...] The place has been bought. I can't go earlier because I'm supposed to see Clavé and surprisingly, de Berri, after seeing my pictures, asked me to come on Monday morning – *je veux réfléchir ce que je veux faire!*⁷² Of course, it will be the same as everywhere else but the woman is interested – that's the most important thing. On Monday evening I am to visit Katarzyna Librowicz. [...] And most importantly, I am "drawing at full speed": I'm doing *Un picnique [!] à Rambouillet* and I really think I should find people to publish the book: *Paris-Londres par un peintre naïve [!]* – I'll talk to Karol [Sterling] he knows all publishers! He says that my last drawings are completely "crazy" – Douanier Rousseau *tout craché*.⁷³ Indeed, they are intense and nuts – the sixth is in the making. I can't draw the furt horse, maybe I will finish at home. One stylist will probably make me a hat for a drawing – I can then sell it in London. [...]

I still want to see "L'Art Moderne Italien" and if I can after visiting Berri I want very much to also see Dorival (Cassou is seriously ill!) to make him my protector. And – because I'm very afraid of you – I have to be in this Louvre and Petit Palais – but if I don't make it you won't beat me. It will be so enjoyable to see the horror in the eyes of Maciuś [Mars]⁷⁴ that I didn't see it! [...]

⁷² (French) – I have to think about what I want to do!

⁷³ (French) – a living image, very similar.

⁷⁴ "Maciuś" was how friends called Witold T. Mars, see: J. Natanson, *Zgrzyt otwierającej się bramy* [The screeching of an opening gate], Warsaw 2003.

June 2, 1950 [Halina]

[...] Since six o'clock this morning I have been drawing on the street: the rue Bonaparte with *dustbins* in the morning light. I already have 14 drawings. All of them are good! Really the idea of the book *Paris-Londres par un peintre naïve* [!] seems great to me. A few more weeks like the last two and I'll have plenty of material. I'll just need the text and a publisher. [...]

Oh, that Louvre and that French painting are still hanging over my head. But you see how I have been working like this the last couple of days, when I "saw off" my drawings I'm sick and tired of visual arts. It's almost afternoon – as it is now – after 4 o'clock and it's too late. Do I really have to? [...]

I don't want to go to [Marek] Szwarc⁷⁵ anymore – I'll probably just spend these last days messing up and, God willing, drawing. I'm already starting to count the hours and I'm actually getting fed up with student wandering. [...]

So I was at the Petit Palais: *La Vierge dans l'art français*. Painting and mostly sculpture – beautiful! In one room, 19th-century amateur paintings mostly on the topic of thanking the Our Lady for miraculous rescues, well it's wonderful I say – some guy run over by the 1st train, a child rescued from underneath rowdy horses, a praying woman with a vision of the Virgin Mary. Complete wonders. Well, and the French chef d'oeuvres, I discovered La Tour, and [brothers] Le Nain (wonderful!). Chardin, [illegible].

Monday June 6, 1950 [Halina]

[...] You have no idea what I saw. École de Beaux Arts ball at 5 o'clock in the morning – on the street, crumpled and knocked-off girls in ball gowns, red velvet drapes (Venice 16th century), guys in tailcoats like black ravens among costumed pageants, squires in leotards, pierrots, and oth-

⁷⁵ Marek Szwarc (1892–1958), a Polish painter and sculptor. In 1910–1914, he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. At that time, he lived in the legendary La Ruche, where he met, among others, Soutine and Chagall. In 1914, he returned to Poland. After World War II, he settled permanently in Paris and focused mainly on stone sculptures and bronze castings. He had a studio at Boulevard Arago; *Notice biographique*, in: *Marek Szwarc 1892–1958*, Paris 1960, pp. 5–7.

er devils. Bistros are opened, I lost admirers, and with a charming quite strange Swedish painter I went at 7 o'clock in the morning to Bois de Boulogne. There I felt like taking off my shoes and walking barefoot on the wet grass. [...].

But that's not the most important thing (although it's nice!) – the most important thing was the image of the ball street – it was pure Ensor in color and mood: the fantastic nature of the theme, a bit of doom in the mood of the crumpled ravers, and the miraculous colors: the cold color of the morning, the white and purple dresses, and the mass of bare arms and tits. Death with a scythe in the corner of the bistro and with two skeletons with flowers and Ensor like no other! But it will prevent me from painting my own painting, although I may succeed! [...]

I've seen a lot of things and I don't want any more, now only Clavé, Galerie de Berri and du Siècle, Catherine Librowicz, Karoleks, St Marceaux's – and back home. [...]

It seems that the early 1950s was the last moment for Polish artists in exile to think of Paris as the capital of art. From London, which was becoming an important center of European artistic events during that period, people looked with interest at the United States, mainly New York and Washington. America offered a guarantee of income and professional prestige. Halina Korn, too, would turn her eyes in that direction a few years later and successfully hold her exhibition overseas at a New York gallery in 1962.⁷⁶

Original issue: “Archiwum Emigracji” 2012, no. 1–2 (16–17)
<https://apcz.umk.pl/AE/article/view/AE.2012.013>

⁷⁶ The exhibition titled “Halina Korn: paintings, drawings and sculpture” took place at Galerie Norval on January 9–22, 1962. The introduction to the catalog was written by Pierre Rouve.

