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THE CRACOW GROUP AVANT-GARDE AND TRADITION

The criticism of recent decades that has introduced the concepts of *Zeitgeist* and *genius loci* so important for the development of new art also allows us to look afresh at the artistic output of places and milieux that had, from the perspective of avant-garde criticism, been relegated to terminal provincialism and second-league status.

The ruling *Zeitgeist* of the new art has not favored particularism. The avant-garde with its cult of universalism has created a utopia of the artistic *kosmopolis* where one common language was to oblige. And though ever-new innovators have subjected its grammar to continual transmutation, the postulated actuality of an "internationale of free expression" that had mastered some species of *Weltsprache* was never questioned.

Admission to that supranational community required the jettisoning of one's own dialect and the acquisition of the new language's syntax. So at least it seemed from peripheral vantages, although neither Kandinsky, introducing motifs from Russian folklore into his abstract visions, nor Chagall, who only in Paris gave tongue to the language of his oneiric

recollections of a domestic, Jewish–Russian world, nor Klee, nor Mondrian, who unchangingly accented the specific lineages of their creativity, nor de Chirico, nor so many others, did so. Yet the art of the periphery was assessed by other, uniformizing gauges of the degree of *keeping pace with* or, more commonly, *not keeping pace with* the current of transformation designated by the metropoli.

Polish art, of which Pierre Restany, in an article tellingly titled "*En 10 ans les peintres polonais ont rattrapé leur retard sur l'art contemporain*", could write, "The Poland of today manifests itself as a country lacking a truly modern artistic tradition and also sundered from the living springs of its folklore"¹, gives the lie to this viewpoint.

There is no space here to recall the tradition of the Polish avant–garde movement (the French critic himself does so, cursorily). Yet it is worth casting a more acute eye upon an artistic milieu that incontestably belies simplifications of this ilk, revealing both the *continuity* and the *specificity* of Polish avant–garde art. Such a milieu is the *Grupa Krakowska*².

The prototype of this association of artists, formally founded in 1957, was the "first *Grupa Krakowska*" that arose in the 1930s among radical students at the Cracow Fine Arts Academy who combined leftist convictions with an avant–garde program for the renewal of art. However, the real history of the *Grupa* began during the occupation, in a circle of friends and adepts of painting whose *spiritus movens* was Tadeusz Kantor and who organized with him in conditions of the greatest danger an experimental underground theater. Aside from "a strong instinct of rebellion and negation" they were animated by a desire to maintain the "continuity of avant–garde art" that had been sundered by the war: in the first months after the cessation of hostilities, they could manifest in the *Grupa Młodych Plastyków* ("Young Artists' Group") their own programme and impose their own *ton* on the "modern" camp that was forming.

Like their predecessors in the pre–war *Grupa Krakowska*, they acknowledged the combination of a programme of autonomous plastic forms with the ethical engagement of art in real life as their goal. This will to engage with the new times is

expressed in their 1946 manifesto *Grupa Młodych Plastyków po raz wtóry* (Yet Again): *Pro domo sua* published by Tadeusz Kantor and Mieczysław Porębski, the group's principal critic, in the pages of *Twórczość*.³ They proclaim the principle of "intensified realism" that leads to the postulate of "confinement to real life in a decidedly artistic form, depicting it intensified and thus universally convincing".

In the new social situation, this program certainly sounded ambivalent. Yet it had little in common with the socialist realism that was to be decreed the official artistic doctrine three years later. This anti-naturalistic "essential realism" lay much nearer to Kandinsky and his concept of "great realism" that was identified with "great abstraction". If we compare the programmatic pronouncements that Kantor and Porębski enunciated during the exhibitions with Kandinsky's texts, and especially his article *Über Formfrage* (in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac of 1912) which was so fundamental to the theory of modern art, there can be no doubt of the analogous apprehension of the idiom of art. In the 1948 *Tezy do dyskusji* (*Theses for Discussion*) we clearly read:

"1. The social *raison d'être* of painting as an independent art is the distinctness of the plastic language, whose effect can be supplanted by no other.

2. The plastic language is a *directly communicative* language, like that of music. The plastic language does not tell, but *demonstrates* and *suggests*. Conceptual, narrative, and symbolic moments eclipse the purity of plastic speech and hinder its direct effect on the percipient.

3. Like the language of music, the plastic language is an *emotional* language. Its task is organizing the percipient's emotions."⁴

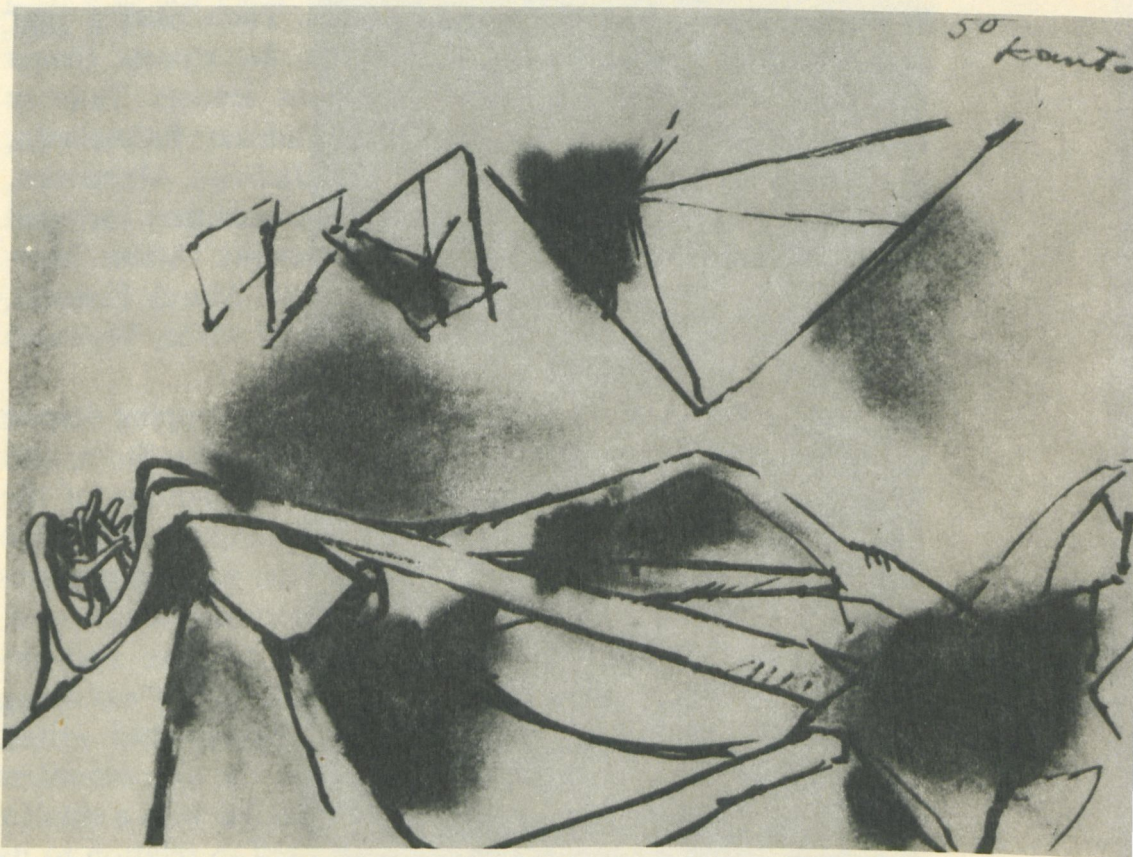
The group that was gathered around Tadeusz Kantor, unanimously regarded as their "battlefield leader," thus shares all the traits of the avant-garde, beginning with the faith expressed above – a central *credo* in the twentieth century *avantgarde* – in the universality of the language of art and the possibility of universal, direct communication in the avant-garde style: belligerence and arbitrariness, a taste for programs, manifestos and discussion, and a restlessness inten-

ded to delineate as wide as possible a front line in the battle for ideals⁵. And even if these artists, novices, after all, can be shown to have resorted formally to means that belonged to the repertoire of the language of the art of those times from post-Cubist deformation to surrealism in the spirit of Miró and Klee yet their work is not by nature a compilation, despite frequent legible borrowings, but rather breathes the authentic and is imbued with a dramatism and life that throw into relief an emotional tension whose source is an artistically felt reality.

Having got off to such a good start, their development was cut short from on high, just at the point, one might say, of culmination. The fact that modern art in Poland presents itself especially from a foreign perspective as a succession of sundered facts, and not a *continuum* possessed of its own logic, is in large part a consequence of external pressure, of politics intruding upon the sphere of artistic freedom.

In January 1949, the First Exhibition of Modern Art at the Cracow Palace of Art, the largest and most important manifestation of new attitudes in Polish art, prepared on the initiative of Kantor and his fully mobilized group, was closed by official decision. This was the first symptom of the "tightening of the screw," of the changes in the hitherto liberal policy towards culture and of the Stalinization of all of life.

The artists from Kantor's circle mostly opted for the sidelines. Years of isolation and solitude followed, most eloquently expressed by the works of the period: Kantor's "metaphoric" drawings and pictures presenting the figures of "suffering, galvanized, paralyzed" creatures set in a vacant, terrifying space, twisted in tentacle-like convolutions. More testimony comes from Tadeusz Brzozowski's pictures full of melancholy and a tragism that is by turns quiet and pathetic-grotesque (*Organki Harmonica*, *Prorok The Prophet*, *Kuchenka The Cooking Alcove* 1950). Maria Jarema, the prematurely deceased muse and artistic and spiritual authority of the whole group, said that she experienced certainty only when she painted. This was a true *Kidnapping of Europe* (the title of a 1953 Kantor painting), of the Europe that this ambitious generation, starved for wider perspectives, seemed to have achieved after the years of wartime torment.



Tadeusz Kantor, *Metamorphoses*, 1950

When it was again possible to exhibit after successive turnings of the political calendar, it turned out that this had been a period of an only apparent retardation of creative development for artists who had undertaken the effort and risk of individual experiment in spite of everything and at great psychological cost. Goggled at in its time, the "*miracle polonais*" when Western critics discovered after the 1959 Venice and Paris reviews that modern art existed in an iron curtain country was also the fruit of the "irreconcilables" of the Kantor group. A Paris critic wrote, "As opposed to the majority of young Parisian artists, the Polish painters know *why they are painting*"⁶.

The re-entry of the artists from the old *Grupa Młodych Plastyków* into official artistic life was marked by the institutional beginning of the postwar *Grupa Krakowska*. First,

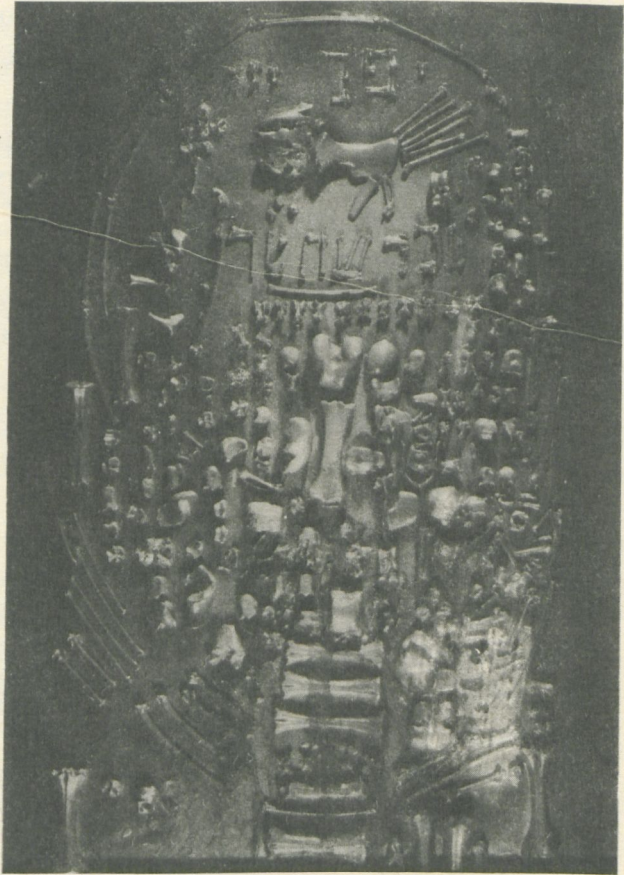
Kantor's "Cricot-2" theater was founded. Then, after a year and a half of trying, the *Stowarzyszenie Artystyczne Grupa Krakowska* was founded. Aside from its leaders Tadeusz Kantor, Maria Jarema, Jonasz Stern, Tadeusz Brzozowski, Jerzy Nowosielski, Kazimierz Mikulski, Jadwiga Maziarska, Erna Rosenstein and Jerzy Skarżyński the members included Janina Kraupe-Świdorska, Jerzy Tchórzewski, Adam Marczyński, Andrzej Pawłowski, Karol Pustelnik, Marek Piasecki, Marian Warzecha, Teresa Rudowicz, Daniel Mróz, Wojciech Krakowski, and critics. Others joined later.⁷

The assumption of the name of the pre-war grouping despite the actual continuity in the persons of Jaremińska, Stern, and Marczyński, despite the connection with the tradition of the first "Cricot" theatre had a more symbolic import. After five years' suspension of the public activity of the painters connected with Cracow, they emerged as mature individuals and, despite still being mobilized by Kantor's creative and organizational energy, there could be no more talk of mounting a common "assault" program. As Jerzy Nowosielski writes, "We reformed the group so as to confront the expressionless great official milieu, devoid as it was of prestige, with a smaller community that set higher demands for itself in relation to its work and to its exhibitions and public activity"⁸.

Yet was this elitist criterion of quality and high creative morale all it took to hold the group together for more than thirty years, down to the present day? Questions about the reasons for the endurance and vitality of the *Grupa Krakowska* have never ceased to fascinate critics and fans. The coexistence of such distinct and predominantly differentiated creative personalities is no common occurrence. Of course, the members of the *Grupa* shared the same "infection" with the "bacillus" of *informel* and the painting of matter. Most sensitive to the effects of innovation, Kantor brought the *dernier cri* back from Paris, but, as everyone knew, the constitution of the *Grupa* no longer had anything in common at that moment with the avant-garde principle of closed ranks.

If we staged an ideal exhibition along the lines of the annual shows of the *Grupa's* accomplishments it would include Stern's "memory board" bone collages, Jaremińska's transparent,

Jonasz Stern, *Red Board*,
collage, 1971



restless monotypes, Brzozowski's expressionistic and intricate vivisections, Marczyński's geometrical arrangements, Maziarska's encaustic reliefs, Nowosielski's arealistic yet fleshly nudes, Mikulski's erotic "little theater," Tarasin's musical abstractions, Tarabuła's hieratic structures, etc. And there would have to be sculpture: Bereś's "monsters" engrossing the space of an altar and Pinińska's frivolous pink metaphors of female existence with their wilful associations of form.

Each of these reviews fosters the most unexpected comparisons and juxtapositions. Does this mean that there is too great a love of eclecticism, bordering at times on a tepidity of evaluation? Rather a liberal *laissezfaireism*, "leaving the artist a totally free hand" as Tadeusz Chrzanowski defined it⁹, unity in diversity, artistic *universitas*, than a little school with a monolithic program.

When we look back we find that the Kantor milieu harbored such an inclination from the very start. In his memoir of working together under the occupation, Kantor wrote: The names of the great avant-garde painters sounded like Comanche war cries when we talked," and yet "individual inclinations and idiosyncracies were more important"¹⁰. Nowosielski formulated it in a similar way: while they were indeed united by "a negative attitude to the accepted and acknowledged forms and commonplaces of aesthetic evaluation," still, as he says, "each of us went his own way".

Perhaps it is this spirit of toleration *in nuce*, combined with "dissent thinking", that accounts for the nonconformist survival of the *Grupa Krakowska*.

It would be hard not to associate these traits with the place in which and out of which this artistic community grew with Cracow and its *genius loci*. As Andrzej Kostolowski, a member of the *Grupa* living in Poznan and one of the most interesting critics of his generation, wrote, "the *Grupa Krakowska* by its very name is linked with one of the most peculiar and mysterious of cities. As everyone knows, this is a place of myths, of reflexive attachment to tradition, but also a city that has never lost its Local Genius despite marked decay and disintegration due to the invasion, one might say, of new people who keep arriving with various new enterprises and hopes and are then bitterly disappointed but still stay on and grow more and more profoundly nostalgic about a misty 'elusive Cracow'. The strange saturation of the air of this blue-grey city by the vaguely acidic and stuffy mixture of industrial effluents and swaggering dreams, make possible an appropriate exaggeration in connection with a certain elegance and irony... The Local Genius stubbornly exudes its miraculous, stupefying vapors that change each brutal grafting into one more stone in the pluralistic mosaic"¹¹.

The Cracow *genius loci* is thus a Genius of Paradoxes, creating a perfect nutrient for artistic creativity. This metropolis with provincial traits, at once open and closed, stable and falling apart, vigorous in spite of university-clerical ossification and ritual, creates an atmosphere of *freedom among principles*. This, as well, is why it never entered anyone's mind

to "burn the museums", although the city has witnessed many radical outbursts. On the contrary: "In Cracow, everyone... becomes a conservative even in the preservation of his own avant-garde heritage" as a critic wrote while placing the paintings of Nowosielski, Kantor and Brzozowski, and the sculptures of Pawłowski among the nineteenth century works in the national gallery in the Sukiennice on the Main Square.¹²

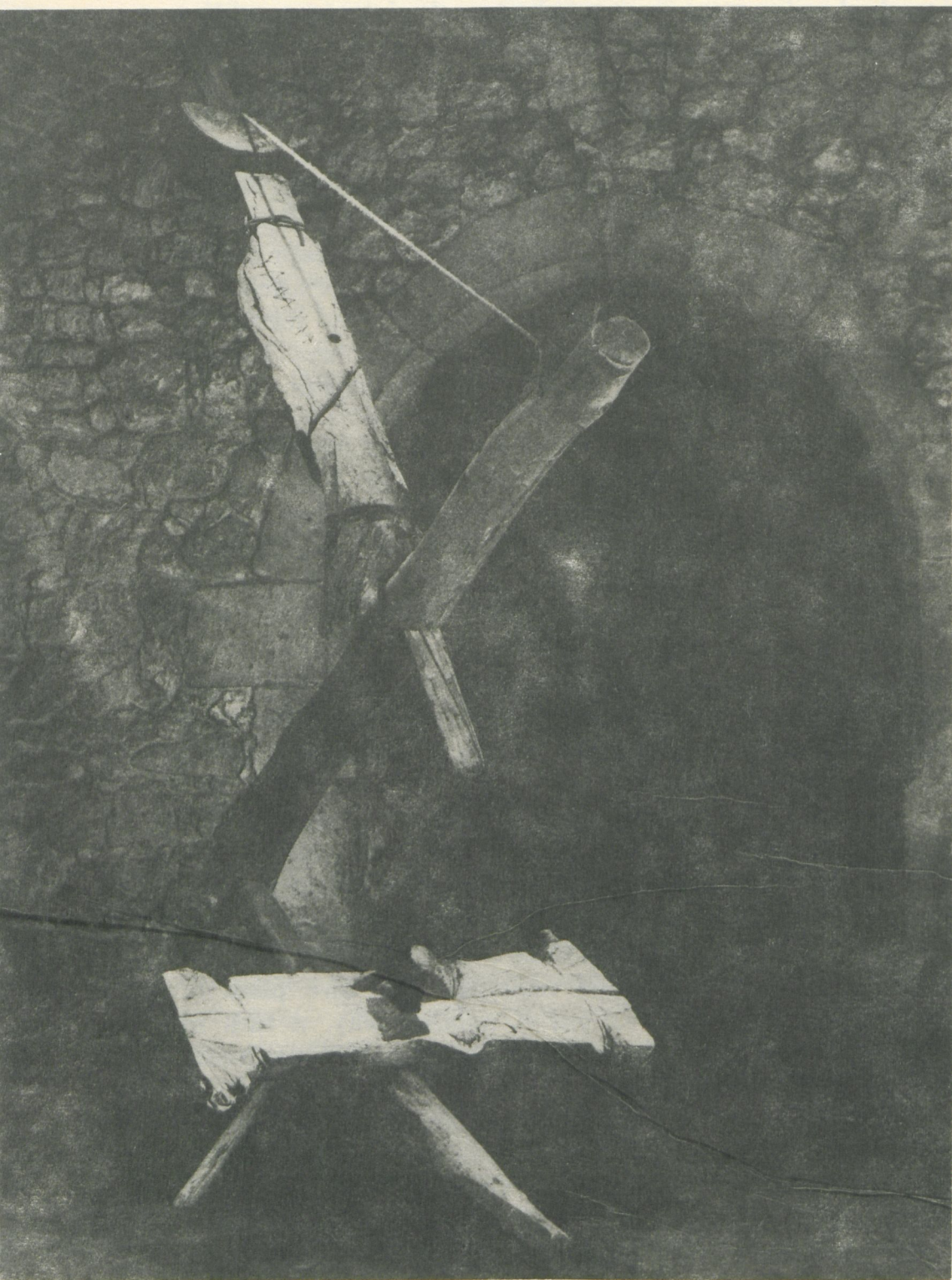
Of course, the cellars of the Krzysztofory, beneath a centuries-old palace, are a splendid context for the coexistence of modernity and tradition. For more than thirty years, the gallery and café of the *Grupa* have been located here. Kantor compared this magnificent interior, which possesses its own *genius*, to

"... famous *dives*,
those true pantheons of the 20th century
La Coupole
Le Dôme
Le Select
Les Deux Magots"¹³.

During the opening of the gallery on June 21, 1958, a memento in a highly Cracovian style was recalled: "*noblesse oblige*". Yet what does the conservatism of this unique artistic *bohémérie* depend on?

Conservatism can be understood in many senses. We are interested in its wider significance, as an active and creative attitude¹⁴, a remedy for both cosmopolitanism cut off from its fatherland and for the mentality that grows out of particularism. Suspended between these two poles, conservatism is a knack for discovering and defining one's own place in universal categories or, to put it another way, a skill in speaking in one's own language, one's own dialogue, about things that affect everyone.

Among artists of the *Grupa*, this attitude is well exemplified by the work of *Tadeusz Brzozowski*, who was born in Lwów in 1918, and died in Rome in 1987. He was long regarded by critics as a conservative and at the same time as one of the most creative painters of the Polish avant-garde. Not only because of his control of all the mysteries of the craft of the old masters



Jerzy Beres, *Oracle II*, object shown at the Cracow Group in the Krzysztofory Gallery

(with all the grounds, scumbles, and varnishes that make rapid painting impossible) and his use of them in even the most abstract of his paintings, but also and above all because of his declared attachment to tradition, which is so visible in his *Prorok (Prophet)* modelled on the Polish Sorrowful Christ, and at the same time on Stańczyk the court jester and which later conceals itself allusively in the convulsions, twists, and intricacies of apparently abstract forms.

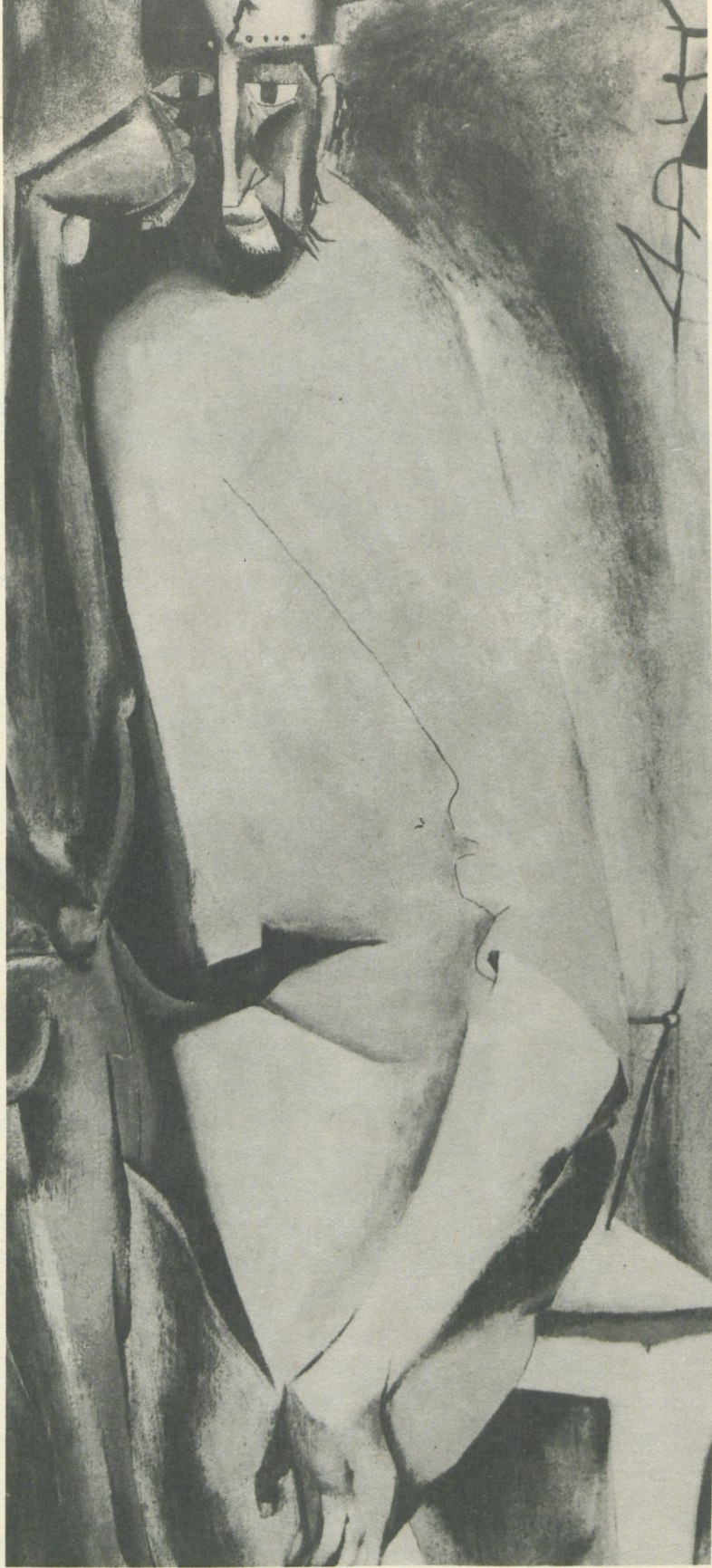
"In my life, especially when I was much younger, I had a compulsion for the complete rejection of tradition, which always sat on my shoulders like the old man in the Grimm fairy tale", he said in a 1966 interview. "In the end I stopped paying attention, and even started liking my companion." At the same time, he made it clear that, "I treat tradition like the lymphatic system rather than the cardiovascular, since the actual is, for me, the bloodstream of what I do."¹⁵

His mature painting was formed under the influence of those two forces that he managed to control and reconcile.

Having won a position for himself among the international forefront of the avant-garde of painting at the beginning of the 1960s, at the time of that legendary "*miracle polonais*", he still realized that what really infused his imagination was not the perspective of the defiguring asceticism towards which his paintings were tending at that moment, but the elemental forces of forms, imaginings, myths, and archaisms that intertwined in his natal periphery. "A man, unless he is a travelling salesman, is planted somewhere," he wrote, "in some sort of province of his own, where interesting things are happening that could only come about in that place. ... I try to be true to myself, although doing so is unfashionable. That is why I keep trudging along the same rut, making it deeper, in the desire that my art will be deeper and deeper, more and more perfect, although I do not know if I will succeed."¹⁶

Brzozowski's ancestry is Polish Baroque, Polish Romanticism with its love of pathos, dramatism, and all forms of exaggeration; it is the old-fashioned province of the Dual Monarchy with its petrified rituals, manikins, and wealth of linguistic fossils.

He was seen as a contemporary incarnation of the Sarmatian



Tadeusz Brzozowski, *Prophet*, 1950

noble, but also a "terrible German" delighting in the mannered charms of Urs Graf, Cranach and Altdorfer, or the expressionism of Grünewald. Essentially, a baroque grandiloquence governs Brzozowski's pictures: inflated, nimbale forms heavily filling space in contrast with minute, barbed, trenchant ones. This organic, strikingly bombastic material of his artistic arrangements can be traced right back to the words "arch-rare, old-fashioned, forgotten, pushed into oblivion, scruffled out of queer little crannies of the language, out of the drawers, steamer trunks, packing crates, attics, crawlspaces and lofts of the Polish language, grubbed out or dreamed up, skittishly tongue-in-cheek, threatening, dandified, frenchified, Sarmatically viscid, macaronical, pharmeric, courtly, jibbery-jabbery, learned, parrotishly pea-fowlsh" as Mieczysław Porębski commented with a Sarmatian glibness of his own.¹⁷ *Meszt, Meczyje, Lafirynda, Dyrdy, Androny, Reprymenda, Zgaga, Imperatrycja, Fajerki*. What can be the purpose of this rhetoric save the very summoning of evocative sounds, suggestive, harking back to a long-forgotten climate? Rescuing the vestigial word, Brzozowski makes of it a vehicle of emotions, since painting is made of tension and emotion, from the inside, shamefully concealed. It speaks of the human condition, of its fragility and hobbledness, "and of the fact that we can overcome the handicap."

The artist does so rebelliously. His artistically painterly preparation mimics the human bowel, creating a labyrinth of palpably swollen, pulsating, soft, injured, suffering forms. And if they do not exude coprophilia, or repel, it is because this is where we seek the immortal soul that is packed into the makeshift body.

Jerzy Nowosielski's painting is evidence that "we are a mysterious entity, all beautiful, inside and out," without the brutal jests and grotesquery of his predecessor. Nowosielski speaks of the holiness of human things in a language appointed for this derived from the tradition of the icon. "For me, the icon is a means of putting together my vision of man, of the human face and body, in such a way that as many elements of the reality of the flesh as possible are elevated to a higher plane of man's spiritual consciousness"¹⁸, states the artist, attributing to

the icon the role of pre-eminent example of the conjunction of universal form and content, which is also capable of dealing with the situation of contemporary man.

The starting point of Nowosielski's painting is the reality of the "beings banished from Paradise": vacant landscapes, melancholic figures locked in hieratic motionlessness amidst mundane objects, isolated figures, confined within the spaces of the city, lovers who stand side by side but cannot meet. And yet through the "spiritual action" of art he tries to project that image of reality formed after the catastrophe of the primal sin into an eschatological perspective, restoring the Edenic unity of the empirically existent and the spiritual within the sphere of "resurrected reality."

There is no way to penetrate further into Nowosielski's aesthetic and theological ideas, constructed in many strata, in which we find many rich reflections and motifs that refer to the condition of artist and man. At this moment the important thing for us is that Nowosielski's strong creative self-awareness, which seems to bear the stamp of traditionalism, would not be possible without the experience of contemporary art.

The origins of his "Byzantine nostalgia," as Kantor called it, date from the time of his youth. Wanting to devote himself to art, he began as a novice in the Orthodox monastery of St. John the Baptist in Lwów, but it was not his lot to become an Orthodox monk and icon painter, since the war forced him out of the monastery. And yet before he could become a "lay" icon painter, he had to try his skills in the new language of art – to pass through surrealism and abstraction. "If not for surrealism... my ideas about the relevance of the icon... would have been impossible," he says. "It was surrealism that invalidated a certain logic in the development of art, the idea that it had to move in one direction, from the past to the future."¹⁹ Surrealism also enabled him, when after the war he drifted away from religion for a certain time, to maintain a subconscious contact with metaphysical reality, but then so did abstract painting, which he calls "a form of reaction to supra-intellectual consciousness on the part of our human consciousness."



Jerzy Nowosielski, GIRL'S HEAD

It is difficult, however, not to ask how it was possible to reconcile the imperative of the autonomy of the work of art, so important to the contemporary movement, with the restrictive rules that govern iconic art.

Nowosielski is an opponent of the unbounded freedom that leads to "a sort of flabby vagueness, a sort of entropy." "Only where there are strong conventions," he asserts, "is there great artistic freedom, since such freedom must appear against some sort of background. If there is no background, if there is no frame... there is no freedom. The tension between limitation and the desire to exceed the limits stops existing then."

Renewing the art of the icon, he sees a chance to combine two orders, two languages – the abstract and the realistic. As he says in an interview, "These two tendencies meet on one plane in the icon, in identical proportions... and in identical concentrations. In the icon the openness of abstraction is just as important as the delusiveness of the reality of the figure."

Nowosielski paints icons, whether they are portraits, nudes, landscapes, still lifes, or, obviously, pictures in an Orthodox church. His program for the sacralization of reality extends to all spheres of life. The image of the transient world becomes purified, concentrated, and imbued with intense color to such an extent that the division between what is real and spiritual, sacred and profane, disappears. This unity of opposing elements appears most intensively where the body and the problem of corporeality come into play in the faces and female nudes that open the possibility of the fullest synthesis of spiritual matters with the world of physical existences.

Nowosielski is no ascetic, unlike the earlier icon painters. However, like the earlier masters, he is an exponent of faith. This is why he also speaks of the redeemed reality that is our reality.

But the most fascinating result of this struggle with tradition is to be found in the works of Tadeusz Kantor.

Kantor's attitude to tradition cannot be unambiguous. If he resorted to tradition it was "not so as to cultivate it, nor to glorify it." His nature was closer to renegation than continuation:

after the act of cult and pathos
came the act
of heresy and blasphemy

he writes in his last text, a statement about Wyspiański, included in the present volume.

This text has major significance, since it explicitly demonstrates even in these hurried jottings what a challenge Wyspiański was to Kantor, how many propinquities link these two greatest Polish artists, whose versatile creative personalities unite the beginning and end of our century. Yet these affiliations were neither willingly nor openly acknowledged by Kantor. In the notes to his legendary staging of Wyspiański's *Return of Odysseus* in the wartime theater, he prefers to speak of his apostasy. With all his Romantic *Młoda Polska* baggage, Wyspiański loomed as "A TOTAL BUSKINED BORE" – a negative tradition that had to be overcome.

Kantor, that "living seismograph" of the contemporary, continually renewing his battle for modernity, could only return to Wyspiański when he had formulated the Theater of Death that was uniquely his own, that took for its material the *past perfect tense*, his own history and that of his generation, real and mythologized, freed of the " cliché of memory."

No Polish artist has managed to give the myths, stereotypes, fears and expectations that inhabit our collective imagination such a universal form as that which Kantor's theater embodied: from *The Dead Class* (1975) to the last production, *Today Is My Birthday*, which has been completed by the actors. Only Kantor steps beyond the curse of Polish romanticism – the buskined pathos and the uncommunicativeness. Perhaps this is why he struggled at the beginning with Wyspiański, but also with Słowacki, Malczewski and Matejko, ascending the heights marked out by the national sages and then breaking free of it with the skill of a magician, uniting the roles of the artist as priest and jester.

Kantor reduces the whole Polish *Theatrum Mortis* to the perverse conventions of the "market stall," creating a blatantly melodramatic "theatre of emotions" that plays in the *family place, the shared place*, which thus becomes universal and

speaks to everyone. "Among all the *things* of the past, the home is the easiest to evoke," wrote Gaston Bachelard. "It only takes one sign to set in motion the common layers of reminiscence"²⁰.

This is what Kantor does as, with the gesture of a demi-urge, he summons the figures of the dead out of oblivion. The mannequin-spectres that inhabit his "little room of the imagination," which is at once his childhood room, and – almost as in Malczewski – the night studio, and the "shared room" of the brother artists, both the one on Cracow's Kurniki street where the proud but poor artists of the pre-war *Grupa Krakowska* lived, and also a café, surely one of those famous "dives," are lodgers under the same roof, school classmates, and characters from his own theater. Through the stigma of death, they are distant, but familiarly near, tragic but also ridiculous, injured, deformed in their suffering, but also beautiful. They do not wear buskins, they have no historic mission to fulfil, unless they are the phantoms of Fate and History that enter into the throbbing rhythm of the Parade March.

One Italian critic called Tadeusz Kantor "*una tipica anima mitteleuropea*." Are not the sneering-benevolent "Sarmatian" Tadeusz Brzozowski; Jerzy Nowosielski who constructs his eschatological painterly vision "between the Kaaba and the Parthenon," at the crossroads of the Latin West and the Hellenic East; Jonasz Stern, erecting a stele-ossuarium that is a relic of his own death and miraculous survival, a memento of the epoch that witnessed the *Shoah*, out of fish bones; and finally the slightly younger Jerzy Bereś who continually re-creates the Polish spell and the Polish romantic mass in his peasant *Altars*, also "*typical Central-European souls*" despite, or perhaps thanks to the generality of the definition?

To use Tadeusz Kantor's words, the artists of the *Grupa Krakowska* are "THE AVANT-GARDE OF RECOLLECTION, MEMORY, THE UNSEEN, EMPTINESS AND DEATH"²¹, who have no wish to forget the Genius, or

perhaps rather the Demon of this Place, which changes the life of each generation into a tragic, but also miraculous "true theatre of the emotions."

¹ *La Galerie des Arts* no. 12 (1963–64), p. 23.

² The *Grupa Krakowska* has been written about by, among others, M. Porębski, *Pożegnanie z krytyką* (Cracow–Wrocław, 1983), which includes profiles of artists from the years 1956–1978 and numerous commentaries; P. Krakowski, W. Krakowski, "Nowoczesne malarstwo krakowskie" in *Sztuka współczesna. Studia i szkice*, ed. Józef E. Dutkiewicz (Cracow, 1959); P. Krakowski, "Ostatnie pokolenie awangardy," *Magazyn Krakowski* no. 14 (1973–74); P. Krakowski, "Grupa Krakowska" in *Kunst uit Krakau vanaf 1947: Oversichtstentoonstelling van de Grupa Krakowska* (Zeist, 1990); A. Wojciechowski, *Młode malarstwo polskie 1944–1974* (Wrocław–Warsaw–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1983). A valuable introduction to the history of the *Grupa Krakowska*, on which subject no monograph exists, is provided by the annotated calendar (1942–80) by J. Chrobak in the catalogue *Wystawa Grupy Krakowskiej* (Nowy Sącz, 1988).

³ *Twórczość* no. 9 (1946); J. Chrobak, ed., *W kręgu lat czterdziestych: Rysunki, grafiki, akwarele i formy przestrzenne cz. I* (Cracow, 1990), pp. 96–102.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 40.

⁵ M. Porębski, "Traits particuliers de l'avantgarde", *Studia Ioanni Bialostocki sexagenario dicata* (Warsaw, 1981).

⁶ A. Jouffroy, "Révélés à Venice et à Paris: Les jeunes peintres polonais champions de l'art moderne derrière le rideau de fer", *Arts* no. 744 (1959), p. 15.

⁷ In subsequent years Julian Jończyk, Janusz Tarabuła, Danuta Urbanowicz, Witold Urbanowicz, Jerzy Wroński, Jan Tarasin, Jerzy Beres, Wanda Czełkowska, Maria Stangret, Maria Pinińska-Beres, the composers Bogusław Schaeffer, Zygmunt Walaciński, and others, would join the *Grupa Krakowska*.

⁸ Jerzy Nowosielski, "O Grupie Krakowskiej", *Biuletyn Rady Artystycznej ZPAP*, no. 2 (1979); Chrobak, ed., *W kręgu lat czterdziestych*, p. 14.

⁹ T(adeusz). C(hrzanowski)., "Pochwała Grupy Krakowskiej", *Tygodnik Powszechny* no. 27 (1963), p. 6.

¹⁰ T. Kantor, "Teatr niezależny w latach 1942–45", *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 12 (1963), p. 165.

¹¹ A. Kostołowski, "O znaczeniu Grupy Krakowskiej", *Wystawa Grupy Krakowskiej* (Nowy Sącz, 1988).

- ¹² "Widzieć i pojmować (Voir et concevoir)", an exhibition prepared by M. Porębski and A. Pawłowski for the Congress of the AICA, 1975; M. Porębski, *Pożegnanie z krytyką*, p. 191, and "Absences polonaises", *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, 12 (1983).
- ¹³ T. Kantor, "List do Marii Jarema", *Maria Jarema* (Cracow, 1988–89), p. 51.
- ¹⁴ I consider this issue more fully in "Szukanie Europy", *Znak*, no. 413–415 (1989).
- ¹⁵ J. Stajuda, "Rozmowa z Tadeuszem Brzozowskim", *Współczesność*, no. 3 (1966), p. 5.
- ¹⁶ M. Markiewicz, *Tadeusz Brzozowski* (Warsaw, 1987), p. 70.
- ¹⁷ *Tygodnik Powszechny*, no. 21 (1987), p. 4.
- ¹⁸ M. Porębski, "The Eschatological Realism of Jerzy Nowosielski", *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 20 (Vienna, 1989), p. 180.
- ¹⁹ Zbigniew Podgórzec, *Wokół Ikony. Rozmowy z Jerzym Nowosielskim* (Warsaw, 1985).
- ²⁰ G. Bachelard, *La Terre et les rêveries du repos* (Paris, 1984), p. 96, 101.
- ²¹ T. Kantor, *Klasa Szkolna. Dzieło Zamknięte* (Bielsko-Biała, Cieszyn, 1991).