TABLE OF CONTENTS

Of decisive political significance for state boundaries in Europe after the First World War were the Fourteen Points of US President Woodrow Wilson, a statement of principles for peace that he presented to the Congress on 8 January 1918. A radically different position on nation states than Wilson's was presented by Rosa Luxemburg (Róża Luksemburg), a leading Communist born in Zamość in what is today central Poland, according to whom the national idea was an obstacle on the path towards a global revolution and the political emancipation of the working class. The process of the emergence of new nation-states, so burning for the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Balts, coincided with revolutionary turmoil not only in Russia but also in Germany, where pacifist, anarchist, radically leftist, and internationalist ideas carried the day. An important role on the German left was played by Polish-born activists, members of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL): Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marchlewski, Leon Jogiches—participants in the Berlin Revolution of November 1918 and the Spartacist Uprising, co-founders of the Communist Workers Party of Poland (KPRP) in December 1918 and the German Communist Party in January 1919. In 1920, at the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International (Comintern), the different national organizations subordinated themselves to the Russian Bolshevik party, which governed the world's first proletarian dictatorship.

The State as a Hypothesis

Tracing the personal and artistic connections between avant-garde artists makes us aware of the very unobvious territorial shape of the reborn Polish state, which was a result of a number of factors: from the geographic distribution of Polish speakers in the 1920s, through the various political and military victories and defeats, to the resonance of pretences to the historical borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. An illustration of this is provided by Lucjusz Dura's *Mapa rozsiedlenia ludności polskiej: z uwzględnieniem spisów władz okupacyjnych w 1916 r.* [Map of the geographic distribution of the Polish population, taking into account the censuses of the occupation authorities in 1916], which is based on the Kingdom of Poland's boundaries of 1772.[2] During the over century-long period of lack of independence, the territories represented there had become part of the state organisms of the partitioning empires, connected with them by strong ties, not only economic but also cultural. The work of the Bunt [Revolt] artist collective is an example of this process. The group formed in what was still Wilhelmine Germany, manifesting its existence with an exhibition that opened in Poznań on 1 April 1918. The poster for the show was bilingual, Polish-German, indicating that the young artists oriented themselves towards the German art scene. The art-and-culture periodical *Zdrój*, founded by Jerzy Hulewicz, associated with Bunt from

2
L. Dura, *Mapa rozsiedlenia ludności polskiej: z uwzględnieniem spisów władz okupacyjnych w 1916 r.* (Warszawa: Biuro Pracy Społecznej, after 1918).

the group's early days, changed its layout, becoming similar to Franz Pfemfert's Berlin-based *Die Aktion*. The Bunt members—Stanisław and Margarete Kubicki, Jan Wroniecki, Władysław Skotarek, or Stefan Szmaj—were artists of outspoken revolutionary views who found no equivalent in the Polish art world at the time. Their art echoed the same sentiment that gripped German society following the Empire's defeat in the war in the West. It dealt with the moral devastation of war and expressed a yearning for a reawakening of humanity, which was represented using Christian iconography, employed at the time for example by the anarchists.[3] The Expressionists shared some common ideological points with the more nationally-oriented Hulewicz, however, who advocated the idea of reviving the Polish state through a spiritual revival. The year 1918 saw intense collaboration between Bunt and *Die Aktion*. The latter's gallery held a Bunt show, and Franz Pfemfert devoted two issues of the periodical to the Poznań collective, in June and September, respectively.[4] Hulewicz broke ties only in July 1920, when the Tukhachevsky army was approaching Warsaw and *Die Aktion*, in keeping with the decisions of the 2nd Comintern Congress, supported the Bolsheviks, in the hope that the Russian revolution would connect with the German one.

Ethnic Poles were dispersed throughout the great expanses of the Russian Empire, some having travelled for work or study, others having been sent into exile or resettled for political reasons. In Kyiv, for example, Poles made up nearly ten percent of the city's population during the First War, according to Dura. It is from there that Karol Hiller, who had been studying at the Ukrainian State Academy of Arts since December 1917, returned to Łódź in 1921. The Ukrainians were eager to seize the opportunity availed by the collapse of the Tsarist regime to establish an independent nation-state. During his residency in Kyiv, Hiller witnessed the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (November 1917), the city's capture by the Bolsheviks (February 1918), its occupation by the Germans and the restoration of the UPR (March 1918), the government of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi (April–November 1918), the directorate of Symon Petliura (December 1918–February 1919), Kyiv's capture by the Bolsheviks (February 1919), by Denikin's White Guard (August 1919), by the Bolsheviks again (December 1919), by the Poles and Petliura's Ukrainian forces (May–June 1920), and the final seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. When Hiller had already left, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the eastern part of Ukraine) became a founding member of the Soviet Union on the principles of autonomy and Ukrainization. Wealthy Kyiv, a major centre of the sugar industry, was a cultural hotspot in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Among the students of the Kyiv Art School were sculptors Alexander Archipenko and Nathan (Antoine) Pevsner, or painters Aleksandra Ekster and Oleksandr Bogomazov. All of them, except the latter, had been to Paris before the First World War. They were interested in Cubism and Futurism. Two influential exhibitions took place in Kyiv, inspiring the city's art scene: *Zvono* [Link] (1908), organized by Ekster, and *Koltso* [Circle] (1914). Karol Hiller kept in touch with neither the Polish colony nor with Kyiv's avant-garde community; he studied with a charismatic painter, Mykhailo Boychuk, who sought to revive Ukrainian culture by tapping into the traditions of Kievan Rus' and Byzantium. Boychuk had contacts with Poles, both through his studies in Lviv and Kraków and mountaineering expeditions with Polish companions as well as through his marriage to an ethnic Pole, the artist Zofia

3
See for example the significantly titled anarcho-communist magazine *Kain*, published by Erich Mühsam in 1911–1914.

4
Die Aktion, no. 21–22 (1918, Bunt special issue) and no. 35–36 (with illustrations by Jerzy Hulewicz).

artistic life in the Republic of Lithuania, 1918–1940] not only their desire to be distinguished from the Neo-Classicist and Romantic inclinations of the art of Polish Vilnius, but also their rejection of Constructivism, associated with the Soviet aggressor.[31] The country's political falling-out with Poland, Russia, and Germany led Lithuanian artists to Paris, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Scandinavia. In a similar way, Paris and French art became important for the newly created state of Czechoslovakia, which had old scores to settle with Hungary and Germany and a border conflict with Poland. The contacts between avant-garde artists went across those divisions. Polish-Lithuanian relations were animated not only by Strzemiński's close acquaintance with Kairiūkštis, but also by Henryk Stażewski's affiliation with the Lithuanian avant-garde periodical in Paris, the *MU-BA* (1928). Viktoras Liutkus writes that Wanda Chodasiewicz and Jan Brzękowski's *L'Art Contemporain – Sztuka Współczesna* magazine, launched a year later, was considered a continuation of the Lithuanian project.[32] In the 1930s, it should be assumed, those relations became more complicated. In 1932, Kairiūkštis, an activist of the Lithuanian Education Society, moved from Poland to Lithuania (first to Panevėžys, then to Kaunas). His former student, Vladas Drėma (Władysław Dremo), studied in 1931–1936 at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius under Professor Stanisław Lorentz, among others. Like Kairiūkštis, he belonged to a tiny (two per cent) Lithuanian minority in a predominantly Polish (and vigorously patriotic) city. One of the bulwarks of Lithuanian culture in Vilnius was the Vytautas the Great Junior High School, which both Kairiūkštis and Drėma attended. The latter published in *Żagary*, shared a house with Miłosz, and visited the salon of Krystyna Wróblewska, a graphic artist, wife of the University rector, and mother of Andrzej, the future painter. Having completed his studies with Kairiūkštis, Drėma forsook exercises in Constructivism and started designing posters and leaflets of immediate political significance. He was a member of the Union of Independent Socialist Youth (ZNMS), a student organization dissolved by the authorities in 1938.[33]

Official Polish-Lithuanian relations were difficult due first and foremost to the problem of the historical capital, Vilnius. In the city itself, in the adjacent counties of Grodno, Lida, Ashmyany, and Švenčionys, and south of Daugavpils, Poles constituted an absolute or relative majority (over fifty per cent of the population or the largest ethnic group). The situation was different in those provinces that today are in Belarus and Ukraine; the share of persons declaring themselves as Polish in the overall ethnic make-up averaged from ten per cent in Belarus, through some thirty per cent in Western Ukraine, to ten to twenty per cent in Podolia. Polish official policy towards the Ukrainian majority in those areas varied, but it invariably clashed with the Ukrainians' aspirations to statehood. In the 1920s, Soviet Ukraine could appear as a viable alternative due to its relative autonomy within the USSR and the official policy of Ukrainization. That was why Malevich in 1928–1930 saw possibilities of further creative work in association with the Ukrainian State Academy of Arts in Kyiv and was able to continue publishing his texts in *Nova Generatsiia*, which was no longer possible in Leningrad. The international and interdisciplinary magazine, published in 1927–1930 in Kharkiv, featured, for example, Szymon Syrkus's essay on functional architecture.[34] Among the contributors was Pavlo Kovzhun, a Lviv-based Ukrainian artist and close friend of the *Nova Generatsiia* founder, Mykhailo Semenko, from the days of their Futurist youth in Kyiv.

31
J. Mulevičiūtė, *Modernizmo link: dailės gyvenimas Lietuvos Respublikoje, 1918–1940* (Kaunas: Nacionalinis M.K. Čiurlionio Dailės Muziejus, 2001).

32
V. Liutkus, *Herold Litewskiej awangardy…*, p. 76.

33
J. Kotłowski, *Vladas Drėma (1910–1995). Twórczość artystyczna i działalność naukowa* (Toruń: UMK w Toruniu, 1999).

34
Nova Generatsiia, no. 11–12 (1930). See O. Kaszuba-Wołwacz, *Mistetski storinki „Novoi Generatsii" 1927–1930* (Kyiv, 2016).

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Workers Party of Poland, held in 1923 in Moscow, adopted a resolution on the right of ethnic minorities to self-determination, including their separation from Poland. A decision was made to create within the KPRP autonomous structures of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the Communist Party of Western Belarus, with the intention of eventually merging the relevant territories with the Soviet republics. In the 1930s, news of the Holodomor (1932–1933) and of reprisals against and executions of members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (1937) significantly affected the views and tactics of Ukrainian political organisations active in Poland. Participating in the cultural life of the Polish state was not only the international Jewish diaspora, but also a very numerous Ukrainian émigré community with its main centres in Prague, Berlin, and, of course, Paris. Many Ukrainian artists from all over the world contributed works for exhibitions organized by the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists (ANUM), co-founded by Pavlo Kovzhun in 1931 in Lviv. Those shows also featured artists from Soviet Ukraine.

State of Crisis

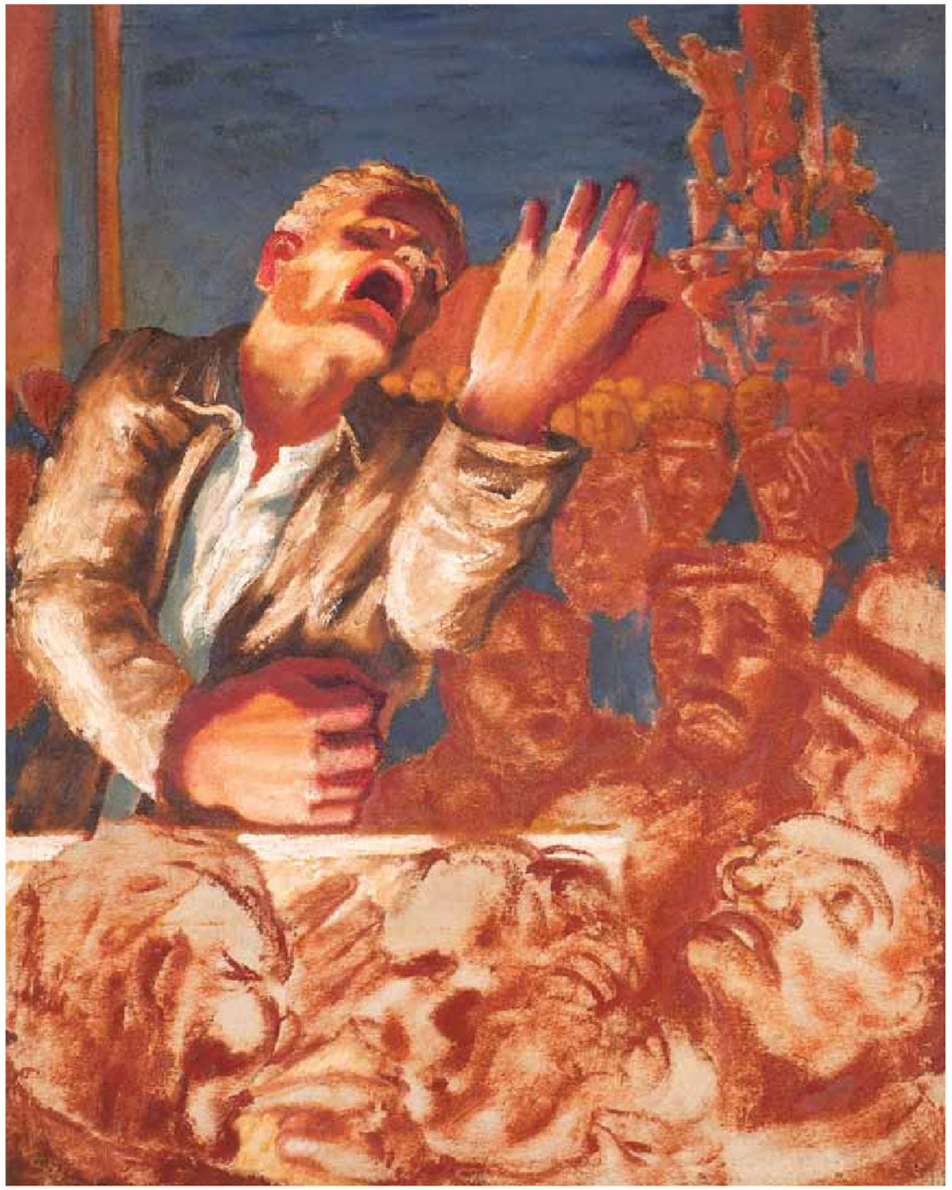
When the shock waves of the Great Depression (1930–1935) reached Poland, causing mass unemployment, a slump in industrial output, a sharp rise in the prices of consumer goods, and an impoverishment of society and the state, artists responded by turning towards the union movement. Władysław Strzemiński had participated in it since at least 1932, first as a member of the regional Union of Visual Artists (ZAP), then of the national Trade Union of Polish Visual Artists (ZZPAP). Through these organisations, he met the young artists of the Kraków Group and of the Lviv collective Artes. Strzemiński's role in co-creating the "a.r." group's collection of contemporary art for the Municipal Museum won him the City of Łódź Award for Visual Arts, and he became a public figure. Since he combined professional commitment with journalistic activity, we can learn more about his views. In 1934, Strzemiński offered a diagnosis of the culture sector's condition in the wake of the Great Depression, responding to an article by Tadeusz Cieślewski, Jr. that urged the creation of a national art.[35] In "A Blockade of Art," Strzemiński writes that the "havoc wrought by the economic crisis has revived concepts that weren't fully overcome in the past" and need to be defeated again. He rejected the allegation that avant-garde art is "un-Polish," and argued that political action is needed to defend progressive, rational attitudes because art won't defend itself. Still, he didn't support the politicisation of art: "the conditions for the absorption of good art by the masses should be sought beyond art itself,"[36] ergo in the fields of economics and education, as the context suggested. Interestingly, both of the periodicals involved in the polemic were associated with the regime. *Gazeta Artystów*, where

35
T. Cieślewski (Syn), "O sztukę, w której się duch tłumaczy," *Pion*, no. 27 (1934).

36
W. Strzemiński, "Blokada sztuki," *Gazeta Artystów. Tygodnik artystyczno-społeczny*, no. 3 (1934), pp. 1, 2.

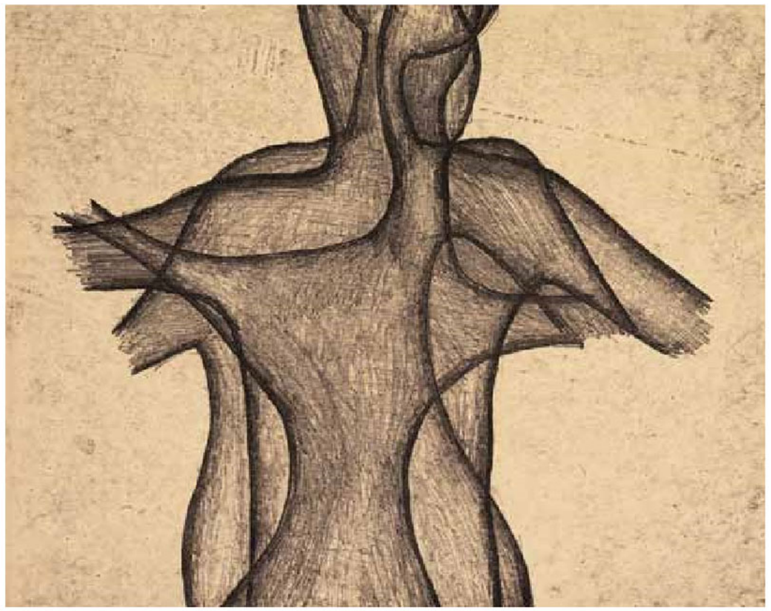
il. 59
Leon Chwistek,
Karuzela. Przemarsz wojsk przez park, 1936
Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi

il. 60
Karol Hiller,
Robotnicy, ok. 1938–1939
Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi



il. 67
Tadeusz Wojciechowski,
Mówca, 1935
Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi

il. 68
Karol Hiller,
Na krze, 1938–1939
Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi



il. 78
Maria Jarema,
Rysunek-Akty, 1953
Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi

il. 79
Jonasz Stern,
Kompozycja, 1953
Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi

of his friend, Hans von Riesen, the later translator of *The Non-Objective World*. He then published in *a bis z* the article, "proletarische kunst" [Proletarian art], which was a conclusion of his discussion with Malevich concerning the artistic situation in post-revolutionary Russia. In a polemical, open correspondence with Seiwert, Kubicki called proletarian art a "*contradictio in adjecto*."[35] By the way, Malevich, like Kubicki, is an example of a multiple identity, something he expressed during a Polish-Russian exhibition at Moscow's Lemercier Gallery (1915), where he joined the Polish section and issued a proclamation to young artists in Polish.[36]

Though Kubicki's anarchistic sympathies are documented until 1925 by his contacts with Tristan Rémy of Le Tournesol, whom he had met in Düsseldorf, and with members of the Belgian group La Lumière, and from 1927, at Berlin's Hufeisensiedlung [Horseshoe] housing estate, with Erich Mühsam and Heinrich Vogeler, his internationalist fervour gradually abated. Instead, he devoted himself more and more to nature studies, which he had already pursued during his studies in Berlin (1909–1911), as well as to photographic experiments, conducted together with Hausmann, who captured him in front of *The Saint and Animals* at Kubicki's studio. Dialoguing intertextually with his friend's art, the ex-dadaist used light-and-shadow effects to recreate his linocut portrait from 1918—a grim primitivistic mask, an expressionist *memento mori*. August Sander, in turn, the "court photographer" of the Gruppe progressiver Künstler, showed Kubicki, in a portrait from his famous series, *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* [People of the Twentieth Century]—a manifesto of New Objectivity and a panorama of modern society (1929)—sitting on the garden steps of his home at the Bruno Taut-designed Hufeisensiedlung. Significantly, he looks more like an aristocrat here than like an anarchist, "Bunt's most radical member"[37]—a leftist agitator, as Polish research branded him for years—and so unlike his friend, Erich Mühsam, photographed, at Kubicki's bidding, in an identical pose, in the company of two other "revolutionaries" from the Munich Soviet Republic, in the same setting a block away.[38]

35
S. Kubicki, "proletarische kunst," *a bis z*, no. 12 (1931), p. 66. (There also Seiwert's reply, pp. 67–68).

36
A. Turowski, *Malewicz w Warszawie: rekonstrukcje i symulacje* (Kraków: Universitas, 2004), pp. 214, 229, 396; Głuchowska, "Station Warsaw. Malevich, Lissitzky and the two traces of cultural transfer between 'East' and 'West,'" *Centropa*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2013) pp. 241–257, here: p. 245.

37
J. Ratajczak, *Zagasły „brzask epoki". Szkice z dziejow czasopisma „Zdrój"1917–1922* (Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskie, 1980), p. 214.

38
Reproduction in *Bunt – Ekspresjonizm – Transgraniczna awangarda*, p. 154

Aesthetics Is Not Neutral. Artistic Identity and National Historiographies of Art

Aesthetics is not neutral. Associated with a particular political or national orientation, it usually determines the acceptance or rejection of artists, groups, or entire stylistic-ideological formations. An artist's identity is defined as much by their self-awareness and strategies of self-creation as by the interpretational context of their work, which conditions either the artist's ennoblement or exclusion. The polyphonic story of an artist's achievements, filtered through political determinants and the subjective vision of experts, is transformed with time into an apparently objective construction—the canon of national art history. That, in turn, particularly in syntheses, often includes black-and-white images, which levels the ambivalence characteristic to many artists' poise. A characteristic example of this in Polish art criticism and history is the portrayal of the native Avant-garde, and especially its only openly expressionist collective—the Poznań-based Bunt. Most spectacular in this regard has been the fragmentary reception of the achievements of Stanisław Kubicki (1889–1942), an avant-garde "internationalist," who, paradoxically, was also a courier for the Polish resistance movement during the Second World War and a great patriot. Acknowledged as the first consistent abstractionist in Polish art, Kubicki is considered among the most interesting representatives of the Central European Avant-garde.[39] Although his work is closer to French *esprit* than to German expression, it is usually interpreted in the context of his role in Bunt and his linocut, *The Tower of Babel* (1917)—a symbol of the Promethean formation of the Avant-garde[40]—from the poster of the group's first exhibition in April 1918 in (then still German-occupied) Poznań.[41] Although as a para-dadaist, grotesque revision of catastrophism was not foreign to him, it was work done in the spirit of the metaphysical wing of Bauhaus that marked the apex of his achievement.[42] As a member of the generation of the "constructors of the world," Kubicki sought to revolutionise not only the image of art but also of society, and like all his peers was doomed to confront the ruthless totalitarian systems of the twentieth century—communism and fascism.

39
J. Malinowski, *Co robić po kubizmie?* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1984), p. 136; T. O Benson, ed., *Central European Avant-Gardes: Exchange und Transformation 1910–1930* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), pp. 319, 392.

40
See L. Głuchowska, *Stanisław Kubicki – in transitu*, pp. 108–116, 120–121.

41
A. Turowski, *Budowniczowie świata. Z dziejów radykalnego modernizmu w sztuce polskiej* (Kraków: Tow. Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2000), p. 9.

42
See L. Głuchowska, *Avantgarde und Liebe*, pp. 209–214.

Identity, Totalitarianism, and the Dusk of the Avant-garde

Just like Stalinism in Soviet Russia before, so National Socialism in Germany after 1933 paralyzed the impetus of the Avant-garde, forcing many of Stanisław Kubicki's friends to emigrate, among them Adler and Hausmann. Kubicki himself left for Poland in late summer 1934. That was the moment when he fell silent as a painter. His last work, *Moses and the Burning Bush* (1933/1934)—a metaphor of relations between art, power, and religion—remained unfinished.[53]

Kubicki's departure and his friendships with radical artists and intellectuals triggered the SA and the Gestapo searches at his Berlin home. For more than ten years to come, the modus vivendi of his wife, Margarete, would be that of inner emigration. As a result, she managed to save Kubicki's works as well as those of their shared friends, members of Bunt and Yung-yidish, La Lumière, or Die Kommune, Hausmann, Seiwert, Chagall, Dix, Felixmüller, Čapek, and other members of the international Avant-garde. She also supported Polish forced labourers hiding next door, and they, on their return to Poland, presented her with a bag of sugar that helped her and her son survive the years of post-war misery.[54]

Patriotic Ethos, Strategies of Exclusion, Aristocracy and the Avant-garde

While widely recognized as an anarchist internationalist, Kubicki was also a romantic Polish patriot. As a middle-school student, he joined underground Polish organisations and wrote numerous literary pieces on national topics. Some of those he published around 1910 in Polish-language periodicals, and some he publicly recited, for example, at an event devoted to Juliusz Słowacki.[55] Despite that, he acutely experienced exclusion from official Polish art institutions as someone "who doesn't represent 'national art,'" as confirmed by a letter sent by Mieczysław Treter of the Society for the International Promotion of Polish Art [Towarzystwo

53
L. Głuchowska, *Avantgarde und Liebe*, p. 260; and her, "Ostatni obraz. *Możesz przed krzewem gorejącym* Stanisława Kubickiego," in M. Poprzęcka, ed., *Wielkie dzieła – wielkie interpretacje* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 2007), pp. 215–228.

54
Bunt – Ekspresjonizm – Transgraniczna awangarda, p. 56.

55
Głuchowska, *Stanislaw Kubicki – in transitu*, pp. 169–171.

Szerzenia Sztuki Polskiej wśród Obcych, TOSSPO] to art critic Eckhart von Sydow, rejecting the latter's suggestion that Kubicki's works be included in an exhibition of Polish art in Berlin (1930), or by Seiwert's review from another show at the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Decorative Arts) there (1925).[56] Yet right upon his arrival in Poznań in the autumn of 1934, the artist actively joined the local art scene. His most spectacular gesture confirming his patriotic ethos was the execution, at Count Wojciech Mycielski's estate in Kobylepole near Poznań, of a monument devoted to Józef Piłsudski and his soldiers from Wielkopolska [Greater Poland] (1935–1939). The outcome of a nationwide competition, it was the only classicistic entry and the only one to be actually commissioned (following, *nota bene*, the abandonment of a more interesting, cubistic design). The memorial was also an echo of a cult of the Marshal, widespread already in the times of *Zdrój*, and of the appeals published there in 1917–1919, protesting separatist tendencies in Poland's westernmost region of Wielkopolska. In the autumn of 1937, in a letter to his wife, who was originally supposed to make a bronze relief with an image of Piłsudski for the memorial, Kubicki wrote that the press in Warsaw, Poznań, and Kraków had reported about the Kobylepole realisation. He attached photographs of his work received from *Ilustrowany Kurier Krakowski*; they don't yet show the inscription "In Eternal Memory," added in 1939 at the latest.[57] In 1934–1939, Kubicki "socialized with the aristocracy," earning the name of the "last true bohemian … in the solid and stable, bourgeois Poznań."[58] He collaborated with Poznań Radio, ran an amateur youth theatre, and was active at the Polish Writers Trade Union [Związek Zawodowy Literatów Polskich]. At the same time, he continued working on a book presenting his cosmological concepts, which he intended to be illustrated by Hausmann's photographs. As a *Reichsdeutscher*, he constantly faced the threat of extradition from Poland, for despite a pro forma divorce necessitated by the Nazi policies, he didn't apply for Polish citizenship, believing that Hitler's regime would collapse and he would be able to reconcile with his family in Berlin.

Burnt Poems, Conspiration, and a "Romantic Death"

In 1933, the Nazis burnt a heap of avant-garde literature at Bebelplatz. In 1939, when they reached Poland, the flames consumed almost the entire print run of a Polish-language edition of Kubicki's *Poems* at Stefan Dippel's publishing house in Poznań.[59] That was a symbolic closure of Kubicki's biography, as recorded in the history of literature and art.

56
"Zur Graphik-Ausstellung der polnischen Regierung im Kunstgewerbe-Museum," *Sozialistische Republik* (4 April 1925), p. 59 and following.

57
L. Głuchowska, *Avantgarde und Liebe…*, p. 80; and her, "Der „fremde Krieg" und der „neue Staat". Polnische Kunst 1914–1918," in M. Sapper, V. Weichsel, eds, *Totentanz. Der Erste Weltkrieg im Osten Europas* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2014), pp. 312–316.; and her, "Between 'isms,' , internationalism and patriotism. The case of Stanisław Kubicki," in I. Kossowska, ed., *Poszukiwanie tożsamości kulturowej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 1919–2014* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015), p. 243.

58
A. Bederski to M. Kubicka, from Poznań, 1935, private archive, Berlin; T. Kraszewski, "Jeszcze o cyganerii słów kilka…," in T. Świtała, T. Kraszewski, eds, *Poznańskie wspominki z lat 1918–1939* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1973), pp. 522–524.

59
S. Kubicki, *Poezje* (Poznań, 1939); see L. Głuchowska, *Stanislaw Kubicki – in transitu*, p. 170.