

## | Marjan Paszkiewicz: A Forgotten Critic

“I know Marjón Paskiewisch [sic], [...] incredibly well informed about modern art, who was painting according to generic rules à la Severini.”

SALVADOR DALÍ, 1927<sup>1</sup>

“M[arjan] Paszkiewicz, who stayed in Madrid and went on to become an advisor at the embassy, gained immense popularity in Spain and for many years exerted his influence on young artists; he often gave conferences at the Ateneo, which were attended by all intellectuals in Madrid.”

JAN WACŁAW ZAWADOWSKI in his letter to Prof. Stanisław Jaworski<sup>2</sup>

Marjan Paszkiewicz remains a virtually unknown figure in Poland. His role as a critic and theoretician of art in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was recounted in Poland in the exhibition *The Pope of the Avant-Garde. Tadeusz Peiper in Spain, Poland and Europe*. However, an attempt at reconstructing the life and work of this man – who, owing to the former political divisions of Europe and the vicissitudes of his personal life, remained beyond the scope of interest of Polish historians of culture – seems more than justified. After all, in the turbulent formation period of avant-garde art and literature, Paszkiewicz was among the most valued theoreticians in Spain. He also did great service to Polish culture, both as a critic and as a diplomat in Madrid and Lisbon. Numerous luminaries of the Spanish art world, including Rafael Alberti and Salvador Dalí, were aware of his knowledge and expertise.

Until recently, one would be lucky to find even a dozen sentences about Paszkiewicz in Polish scattered across various publications. The situation in Spanish literature is markedly different: Paszkiewicz was repeatedly referred to by Juan Manuel Bonet, Eugenio Carmona underlined the role he played in the development of modern visual arts in Spain, and he was

<sup>1</sup> Fèlix Fanés, *Salvador Dali: The Construction of the Image, 1925–1930* (Yale, 2007), p. 9 [online], [retrieved: 5 November 2016], at: <[https://books.google.pl/books?id=bDpziok\\_K7gC&pg=PA9&dq=%22a+la+severini%22&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwiU\\_qeXqIDQAhWEixoKHdtUDzwQ6AEIHDAA\\_v=onepage&q=%22a%20la%20severini%22&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=bDpziok_K7gC&pg=PA9&dq=%22a+la+severini%22&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwiU_qeXqIDQAhWEixoKHdtUDzwQ6AEIHDAA_v=onepage&q=%22a%20la%20severini%22&f=false)>. Like many foreign authors, Dalí twisted Paszkiewicz's surname, classifying him as Russian. The Polish critic exerted an influence on Dalí's art, alongside the painting of Matisse and Ultraist Rafael Barradas. In line with the form Paszkiewicz used throughout his life, this article spells his name as “Marjan.”

<sup>2</sup> Letter of November 1971, see Emilio Quintana, “Pięć listów Wacława Zawadowskiego do Stanisława Jaworskiego,” in *Papież awangardy. Tadeusz Peiper w Hiszpanii, Polsce, Europie* (Warsaw, 2015), p. 141. See also the Spanish edition of the catalogue – *Tadeusz Peiper. Heraldo de la vanguardia entre España y Polonia* (Warsaw, 2015), p. 143 [in the further part of the article, references to the Spanish version of the catalogue have been simplified – editor's note]. What is meant here are lectures at the Ateneo on Calle del Prado in Madrid. Zawadowski repeatedly mentions Paszkiewicz in his letters to Prof. Jaworski.

also the subject of extensive commentaries written by Emilio Quintana, Ewa Pałka and Isabel García García.<sup>3</sup> Over the last couple of years, there have been several Polish publications that discuss him in more detail, starting from a book written by Beata Lentas, who was the first to outline the Polish milieu in Madrid, to Monika Poliwka's article on the Madrid-based Polish art community, which provides the most extensive description of Paszkiewicz's activity in the Spanish capital.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the protagonist of this text has remained a rather mysterious character, whose fate prior to his stay in Spain and after he left the country remained unknown. In order to retrace it, it was necessary to delve into Polish and Swedish archives and make contact with his family so as to reconstruct – with the use of dozens of brief notes dispersed across Spanish, Portuguese, French and Polish newspapers and magazines – the twists and turns of his life and the unique milieu, in which he was an important, sometimes even a central figure.<sup>5</sup>

Marjan Paszkiewicz was born on 26 March 1890 in Sambir in a family of landed gentry.<sup>6</sup> He went to the University of Lviv, most likely in 1908, and later moved to Krakow, where between 1910 and 1912 he continued his studies at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University.<sup>7</sup> In the course of four semesters, he attended lectures in the history of the Polish and French literature, philosophy and art history (Prof. Jerzy Mycielski's course in the painting of

<sup>3</sup> See entry on Marjan Paszkiewicz in: Juan Manuel Bonet, *Diccionario de las vanguardias en España (1907–1936)* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 467–68; Juan Manuel Bonet, “Mensajes en botellas (a propósito de tres cuadros de Marjan Paszkiewicz, Alfonso Ponce de León y Federico Castellón),” in *In sapientia libertas. Escritos en homenaje al Profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 749–56; Id., *El Ultraismo y las artes plásticas* (Valencia, 1996); Eugenio Carmona, “Itinerarios del Arte Nuevo (1910–1936),” in *Ismos. Arte de vanguardia (1910–1936) en España* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 14–15; Emilio Quintana, Ewa Pałka, “Jahl y Paszkiewicz en Ultra (1921–1922). Dos polacos en el nacimiento de la vanguardia española,” *RILCE. Revista de Filología Hispánica*, II-1 (1995), pp. 120–38; Isabel García García, *Orígenes de las vanguardias artísticas en Madrid (1909–1922)* (Córdoba, 2004). Paszkiewicz's name also appears in a number of doctoral dissertations on the Spanish avant-garde, among which particularly noteworthy is Javier Pérez Segura's thesis *La Sociedad de Artistas Ibericos (1920–1936)* [online] (1997) presented at the Complutense University: in it, he rather extensively discusses Paszkiewicz's beliefs in the context of aesthetic disputes taking place in Spain at the time – [retrieved: 15 November 2015], at: <<http://eprints.ucm.es/2478/1/T22384.pdf>>.

<sup>4</sup> Beata Lentas, *Tadeusz Peiper w Hiszpanii* (Gdańsk, 2011); Monika Poliwka, “Polacy a ultraizm,” in *Papież awangardy...*, op. cit., pp. 89–98. See also the Spanish version of the catalogue – pp. 91–105. Another recent publication is Martyna Rabajczyk's article “Barcelona, Sagunto, Madryt – drogi polskich artystów w Hiszpanii w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów UJ*, no. 10 (2015), pp. 81–94, in which the author gathers together a range of information dispersed across Spanish source literature. After the war, Paszkiewicz's name was first mentioned by Gabriela Makowiecka in *Po drogach polsko-hispańskich* (Krakow, 1984), p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to all those without whom it would not have been possible to recreate the life of Marjan Paszkiewicz in such detail. First of all, I want to thank his son, Marjan Karol Paszkiewicz (USA), for providing me with various information and documents. I am deeply grateful to the Polish Consul in Stockholm, Ms. Barbara Sośnicka, for her assistance in obtaining copies of documents from Swedish archives. Further acknowledgments go to Prof. Isabel García García (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Paweł Gaszyński (Jagiellonian University Archives), Paweł Ceranka (Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Anna Czarnocka (Polish Library in Paris), Ewa Bobrowska (Paris), Isabel Lote, Patricia Gourdin, Bengt Gabrielson (Karlshamns museum), Luis F.R. Vazquez (Reunión Recreativa e Instructiva de Artesanos, Coruña), Bogusława Hrynowska for providing me with correspondence and Światosław Lenartowicz (National Museum in Krakow) for his help in finding it. I would like to thank Dr. Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski for his invaluable comments and corrections to the text. I am also grateful to Monika Poliwka and Juan Manuel Bonet for their assistance and inspiration.

<sup>6</sup> His parents were Karol Sebastian Paszkiewicz (d. 1906) and Maria, née Knapik (d. 1941). Paszkiewicz had a sister and a brother. Most biographical information comes from Swedish state archives: Statens utlänningskommission (SUK) 1944–1969, ref.: SUK, Kanslibyrån, vol. F1B:3579 and Justitiedepartementets arkiv 1840–1996, ref. no.: Justitiedep., huvudkrivet, medb. akt 10 november 1961 nr M21.

<sup>7</sup> Entered in the register of the Jagiellonian University as a full-time student of the Faculty of Philosophy in the second semester of 1909/10 and first semester of 1911/12. The register specifies Józef Knapik, local govern-

Raphael and German art and Prof. Michał Sobieski's course in the philosophy of art.)<sup>8</sup> In 1912, he broke off his studies and went to Paris. This was not unusual: his peer, Tadeusz Peiper, did a similar thing two years later. Edward Ligocki described those years as follows: "They came running in droves to the banks of the Seine, maybe a little more sober and careful – as if their subconscious whispered: take advantage, while there's still time. Writers and artists arrived in greater numbers than usual. There was a triangle between the Luxembourg Garden, avenue de l'Observatoire and Montparnasse Avenue, where most of them would meet."<sup>9</sup>

## Paris

In the years preceding the outbreak of the Great War, Paris became the home of many of Pankiewicz's peers: Moïse Kisling, Simon Mondzain, Jan Hrynkowski, Władysław Jahl, Wacław Zawadowski, Jan Rubczak. As André Salmon noted: "Go to Paris. I cannot teach you anything else. I could only teach you to imitate me," was what they were told by Pankiewicz, professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow and old friend of the French Impressionists."<sup>10</sup> Leopold Zborowski, who would go on to become Modigliani's and Kisling's art dealer, also settled down in the capital of France.

Young Paszkiewicz found his place among the Polish diaspora in Paris as an art critic, associating himself with the Society of Polish Artists. He is supposed to have lived at Jan Wacław Zawadowski's in the famous "beehive" – La Ruche in the Montparnasse – already in 1912.<sup>11</sup> In the same year, Moïse Kisling painted his portrait (**fig. 1**).<sup>12</sup> The young critic sent reports about Parisian exhibitions to the Polish magazine *Sztuka*;<sup>13</sup> he also spoke in public: on 31 January 1914 he gave a speech *On Contemporary Painting* at the Society's new seat on 250 rue Saint-Jacques, and another one on Cubism on 28 February.<sup>14</sup>

ment clerk residing in Monasterzyski, as his guardian; the person in question was probably Paszkiewicz's uncle, Franciszek Knapik, referred to years later in correspondence exchanged with Jan Hrynkowski.

<sup>8</sup> Records of the Faculty of Philosophy of Jagiellonian University 1849–1945, ref. no. WF II 1-548, Mail register of 1911–13. I would like to thank Paweł Gaszyński from Jagiellonian University Archives for providing me with copies of Paszkiewicz's documents. Among his numerous lecturers, the following professors deserve to be mentioned here: Ignacy Chrzanowski, Marian Zdziechowski, Stanisław Stroński, Stanisław Windakiewicz, and Władysław Heinrich.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Ligocki, *Dialogi z przeszłością* (Warsaw, 1970), p. 89. The year in question is 1913.

<sup>10</sup> André Salmon, *Piekło i raj. Życie Modiglianiego* (Warsaw, 1963), p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> This is recounted by Isabel Lote in her memoirs *Zawado. Souvenirs d'Isabel Lote*, written in the autumn of 2006 (MS, p. 9). I would like to thank Ewa Bobrowska for this piece of information; see Ewa Bobrowska-Jakubowski, *Le milieu des artistes polonais en France 1890–1918. Communautés et individualités*, doctoral dissertation supervised by Françoise Levaillant, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne (Paris, 2001), p. 678.

<sup>12</sup> Dated at 1912. This painting was in the Segal Collection in Paris; it was reproduced by Georges Charensol, *Moïse Kisling* (Paris, 1948) and Jean Kessel, *Kisling* (Paris, 1989), p. 100. I would like to thank Prof. Jerzy Malinowski for this piece of information.

<sup>13</sup> His article and review of the exhibition *Salon de la Société des Artistes indépendants* entitled "Najmłodsza Polska plastyczna a współczesne prądy artystyczne" were published in *Sztuka*, no. 5/8 (1914). See Anna Wierzbicka, *Świadectwa obecności. Polskie życie artystyczne we Francji w latach 1900–1939. Część I. Lata 1900–1921* (Warsaw, 2012), p. 307. Characteristically, the first artist whose works he discussed was Jan Wacław Zawadowski.

<sup>14</sup> See Wierzbicka, op. cit., pp. 305–6. Information on the lecture was published in *Kurier Warszawski*, Ann. 94, no. 32 (1914).

The circle of young émigrés would soon be joined by Tadeusz Peiper, who came to Paris in the summer of 1914. The Polish community was rather close-knit, frequenting the same cafés, numerous exhibition openings and lectures. Perhaps the only known photograph of Paszkiewicz from that period depicts the Society of Polish Artists' trip to Chantilly on 15 June 1914, where he can be seen with Peiper and Tadeusz Makowski in the company of other writers and artists (fig. 2).

The young critic was quite close to the latter.<sup>15</sup> Years later, when he recalled the Paris years in a letter to Jan Hrynkowski, inspired to do so by the publication of Makowski's memoirs, Paszkiewicz spoke very critically of the painter's oeuvre. In the same letter, he was equally critical of the emerging legend of the Parisian art dealer and his alleged great friendship with Kisling. The form of private correspondence exchanged with a good friend such as Hrynkowski clearly influenced the severity of his opinions, but it is nevertheless worth citing them – according to the author of a monograph on Zborowski, there is little information about the early years of his stay in Paris, and the art dealer's life “before he came to the French capital may remain forever shrouded in speculations and hearsay.”<sup>16</sup> Here is what Paszkiewicz wrote about it: “On the other hand, it is true (in the sense of a historical truth that will bring no-one any good) that Kisling regarded Zborowski (and quite rightly so) as an impudent fool and conned him out of a sum of money that could be considered substantial in Montparnasse circles [...] he thrust his kitschy works, of which he made two a day, on Zborowski, demanding pots of money – he exerted vulgar pressure on him and terrorized him in the nastiest of ways, all that under the supervision of Mrs. Anna, whom Zborowski at one point (after I left Spain) bought out from Kulesza (there was such a scallywag in Paris) for several dozen francs. I have to admit that after I read Zborowski's glorification (commentary no. 130)<sup>17</sup> ‘at first with laugh derisive, soon to pity my heart was stirred,’ as the poet rightly says.<sup>18</sup> My word, how does such baloney even end up in print... Zborowski did not arrive in Paris as a young poet intending to enrol in l'École du Louvre, as [...] he was not a poet, for he never wrote a single poem, and this is because he simply couldn't write in any language. He could not have enrolled in l'École du Louvre, because he hadn't even passed lower secondary school exams. His entire intellectual career was based on artificially produced stories. The thing with his writing was that his first article entitled *The Evacuated* (about staying at a civilian detention camp, where Zborowski and I got to meet) was edited by me from start to finish, including grammatical corrections,

<sup>15</sup> “In Paris, I got to know Makowski rather well. I would go to his studio first at the Montparnasse (above Delmas' restaurant, and then on Vercingetorix). Among the Poles at the Montparnasse he had the reputation of a ‘Jesuit,’ and as a matter of fact he ostentatiously mingled only with the French. He probably stuck with me because at that time I was a promising art critic [...]. I have to admit that it never occurred to me to regard Makowski as a good painter. In spite of his ‘Cubism’ and ‘constructiveness,’ his painting had already reeked of literature back then, and towards the end of his oeuvre, as I can see, it transformed into literature entirely (letter of 20 October 1961). All cited letters retain their original form; they belong to the private archive of Bogusława Hrynkowska in Paris. I would like to express my gratitude to the archive owner for sharing them and to Światosław Lenartowicz, curator at the National Museum in Krakow, for providing me with their copies.

<sup>16</sup> Lila Dmochowska, *Leopold Zborowski* (Krakow, 2012), p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> What is meant here is in fact commentary no. 138 in Tadeusz Makowski, *Pamiętniki*, edited, with introduction and commentaries by Władysława Jaworska (Warsaw, 1961), p. 389, in which the author presented an idealized, romantic portrait of the art dealer. According to Dmochowska's findings (Dmochowska, op. cit., p. 55), there is no trace of Zborowski's studies in the intactly preserved archives of Jagiellonian University.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted after: Adam Mickiewicz, *Father's Return*, lines 79–80 [online], [retrieved: 5 November 2016], at: <<http://www.bartleby.com/library/poem/3563.html>>.

and his second article in *Polonia*, whose editor in Paris was Mr W. Gąsiorowski, this time about the Parisian exhibition of Polish painters, was entirely penned by me, for which he gave me a fee in the form of a brand-new shirt, which I valued highly, as I had been terribly bitten by lice (after returning from the detention camp in Châteauroux). With this article, Zborowski was somewhat officially introduced into the painting circles of the Montparnasse – in 1915–16.”<sup>19</sup>

After the outbreak of the war, the French authorities interned large numbers of Poles – citizens of the hostile Austro-Hungarian Empire. This convinced a number of people to seek refuge in Spain after they were released from detention. Among them were Pankiewicz, Jahl, Zawadowski and Peiper, who already in 1914 found themselves in various cities on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>20</sup> Paszkiewicz arrived in Spain later, because his 8-month internment was the longest. In the winter of 1915 Leopold Zborowski’s future wife, Anna, met him on Saint-Michel Avenue in the company of the future art dealer, both looking haggard.<sup>21</sup>

Poverty and insecure prospects were probably what caused Paszkiewicz to leave war-time Paris. The atmosphere surrounding Austrian subjects was still unfavourable and suspicions of espionage quite widespread, so the young critic decided to embark on a journey to neutral Spain, in the footsteps of his friend and pupil of Pankiewicz Jan Wacław Zawadowski, the master himself, Moïse Kisling (on leave from the French Foreign Legion) and other Poles.

## Madrid

In early 1915, Zawadowski – who together with Władysław Jahl had also experienced the serious tribulations of internment – was staying in Sagunto (near Valencia) for a couple of months following a brief sojourn in Barcelona (where Pankiewicz had settled). In Sagunto, he was visited by Kisling, who was on leave after sustaining serious injuries on the front line; he probably also met with Artur Rubinstein, who was playing in Valencia, and in the end with Paszkiewicz himself. Zawadowski gave a warm account of meeting his friend again in the first months of 1916, when – as he was roaming the evening streets of the town – he heard a familiar melody of the song of Krakow students. This is how Marjan Paszkiewicz was looking for his friend, walking from town to town along the Mediterranean coast, with all his belongings packed in one suitcase.<sup>22</sup> After a night spent on wine-fuelled conversation, the two companions decided to set off to Madrid on foot.<sup>23</sup> “No quiero preguntarte te [sic] si te recuerdas de nuestra caminata de Sagunto a Madrid por Chiva, Requena, Minglanilla y Aranjuez?”. Paszkiewicz would write to Zawadowski years later.<sup>24</sup> They walked from the Mediterranean coast to the

<sup>19</sup> Letter of 20 October 1961. Further on in the letter there is more information about Zborowski and his relationship with Utrillo, Soutin, Modigliani et al.

<sup>20</sup> See Piotr Rypson, “Tworzyć siebie z siebie. Tadeusz Peiper wyrusza w świat,” in *Papież awangardy...*, op. cit., pp. 26–28. See also the Spanish version of the catalogue – pp. 30–32.

<sup>21</sup> Dmochowska, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Gourdin, *Zawado* (Sanok, 2014), p. 47.

<sup>23</sup> Gourdin (op. cit.) provides a colourful description of their journey, probably relying on Zawadowski’s memoirs; unfortunately, the catalogue lacks bibliographic references.

<sup>24</sup> This is a quote from the first letter Paszkiewicz sent to Zawadowski after several dozen years, dated 3 April 1961 in Karlshamn. The author wrote this emotional, memory-filled letter to his old friend in Spanish, recalling the youthful years they had spent together. A fragment in French is cited by Lote, op. cit., p. 12.

capital, covering over 500 km – with empty pockets, carried by youthful fantasy and the joy of discovering the land of Cervantes.

Madrid had already become the new home of the Pankiewiczzes, Peiper as well as Władysław Jahl and his wife, Łucja Auerbach. The Polish community in Madrid, albeit small, quickly marked its presence in the capital, which during the war experienced a boom in terms of culture and urban planning. However, the newcomers had a hard time: for a while, Pankiewicz and his wife shared a studio with Robert and Sonia Delaunay on Calle de la Virgen de los Peligros, acquiring their livelihood by creating decorative artefacts, ornamented tapestries, upholstery, poufs and curtains.<sup>25</sup> Paszkiewicz initially earned a living through language teaching and translations.<sup>26</sup> Judging by his slightly later achievements, one may speculate that he too began to paint under the influence of Józef Pankiewicz and the entire artistic milieu.

The first two years the Poles spent in Madrid are currently the subject of laborious reconstruction; the few existing memoirs make repeated mentions of the salons they frequented – that of the Delaunays and Pankiewiczzes, of the French consul Marius André (whose wife was a Pole) and, later, of the Czechoslovakian consul Josef Šindler (whose wife, Milada, was a renowned painter) – as well as numerous figures from the local cultural life: Manuel de Falla, Santiago Rusiñol, family of the painter Zuloaga.<sup>27</sup> The apartment and studio of the Pankiewiczzes was probably one of the more frequently visited households, all the more so since the tapestries and appliques designed by Wanda and Józef began to be sought after among the aristocratic circles of Madrid, attracting the attention of even King Alfonso XIII, which improved the financial standing of the spouses (an important role in establishing these relations was allegedly played by Maria Dzieduszycka, wife of the military attaché at the Austrian embassy, count Aleksander Dzieduszycki).<sup>28</sup> Their salon saw a number of famous personages, including Artur Rubinstein (who gave a concert in Pankiewiczzes' salon) and renowned singer Jadwiga Łachowska.<sup>29</sup>

Years later, Zawadowski recalled that the Poles had formed a close-knit community: the painter shared an apartment with the critic on the remote de Oviedo street. The intimacy of the Polish diaspora is documented by portraits of Marjan Paszkiewicz created at that time: one painted by Zawadowski and another by Józef Pankiewicz (**fig. 3**).<sup>30</sup> The sitter's distinctive

<sup>25</sup> For more detailed information on the subject, see *Papież awangardy...*, op. cit., passim.

<sup>26</sup> See report of police assistant Erik Dahlbom drawn up based on a conversation with Marjan Paszkiewicz on 1 September 1961, in SUK Justitiedepartementets arkiv 1840–1996, ref. Justitiedep., huvudrkivet, medb. akt 10 november 1961 nr M21.

<sup>27</sup> See Lentas, op. cit., p. 12; Poliwka, op. cit., passim; Quintana, op. cit., pp. 137–48; Jadwiga Dmochowska, *W kręgu Pankiewicza* (Kraków, 1963), pp. 122–25.

<sup>28</sup> Dmochowska, *W kręgu Pankiewicza*, op. cit., pp. 120–21.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 125. Rubinstein and Łachowska spent the years 1917–18 in Spain, playing concerts in many cities.

<sup>30</sup> These paintings are only known from photographs: portraits by Zawadowski are reproduced by Gourdin (op. cit., pp. 53, 55). The earlier of the portraits is featured in Gourdin's book while still unfinished; above Paszkiewicz's head, Zawadowski placed the (probably humorous) caption "Christo Marinero," which could refer to the sitter's physiognomy. The reproduction of an already finished work is known from the catalogue of the 1926 exhibition of "Cech Jednoróg" in the Krakow Society of the Fine Arts; the date placed in the upper-right corner seems to indicate 1918. Zawadowski first presented the work in Madrid in 1918, and later possibly at his solo exhibition at Czesław Garliński's Salon in October 1922 during his first stay in the homeland. I obtained photographs of Pankiewicz's painting by courtesy of Elisabeth Lote and Ewa Bobrowska as well as Paszkiewicz's son Maurice Paszkiewicz. This portrait, on the other hand, was most likely also presented at Garliński's Salon as part of Pankiewicz's 1924 exhibition; see *Katalog wystawy prac Prof. Józefa Pankiewicza*, exh. cat., Czesław Garliński's Art Salon, Warsaw, November 1924, p. 14 (item 4, *Portrait of Mr P*, 1918). Zawadowski also painted a splendid portrait of Władysław Jahl, which is

features (and undoubtedly his growing importance in the Spanish milieu) would later result in a series of subsequent portraits, drawn and painted by Daniel Vázquez Díaz (**fig. 4**) and Francisco Bores.<sup>31</sup>

Paszkievicz must have been noticed in Spanish modernist circles rather early, since he was invited to publish in the literary monthly *Cervantes*, which gathered well-known authors and would soon transform into one of the first organs of the Ultraist movement. His article *Hacia la unidad plástica* [Towards a unity of the fine arts] was published in May 1917;<sup>32</sup> the author postulated the need to distinguish an autonomous language of art criticism, which would analyse the very painted surface, abandoning literary references and debates on mimesis. The critic pointed to the overriding importance of the synthesis of form and colour in contemporary painting (Cézanne, Cubism). The theoretical character of the text written by Paszkiewicz, whose years in Paris had prepared him well for the role of an art critic, undoubtedly drew the attention of the modernist milieu to this new, important voice on the cultural scene of the Spanish capital. Juan Manuel Bonet also referred to Paszkiewicz's earlier publications in *Filosofía y Letras* of 1915–16,<sup>33</sup> but they proved impossible to track down.

The critic's name, difficult to pronounce for foreigners, became established for good in the Madrid milieu after the opening of an important exhibition of Polish artists at the courtyard of the Ministry of State (Ministerio de Estado) on Santa Cruz square, whose arcaded galleries had for some time been used to organize art displays. The exhibition included the Pankiewiczzes (paintings and tapestries), Zawadowski (who presented, among others, his portrait of Paszkiewicz) (**fig. 5**) and Jahl, while Paszkiewicz wrote the introduction to the short catalogue.<sup>34</sup> The circumstances surrounding this unique exhibition, the selection of works on display and responses it provoked in Madrid press are analysed in detail by Isabel García García in her article published in the present volume.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, I shall solely focus on remarks concerning the introduction penned by Paszkiewicz. As a matter of fact, it is a concise recapitulation of the previous extensive article published in the monthly magazine *Cervantes*. The critic underlines the need for the new painting to break away from the false mission of narrativity, reproduction and mimesis – and focus on the painted surface, which should be subjected to maximum rhythmization, while maintaining the unity of painterly means of expression. He points to the achievements of the new perspective and the abstract potential of painting. According to Paszkiewicz, the overwhelming part of modern art could be referred to as 'colourism.' Colour, free from the baggage of meaning and purged of the values of light and shade, enriched with the synchronism of dispersed hues, becomes the most important element of the artistic structure on the painted surface. The emphasis placed by the critic on the purely formal values of modern painting brings to mind not only his previous

currently held at the National Museum in Warsaw; his other portrait may be seen in a photograph reproduced in Gourdin's publication.

<sup>31</sup> See *Papież awangardy...*, op. cit., pp. 213, 229. See also the Spanish version of the catalogue – pp. 217, 225.

<sup>32</sup> *Cervantes*, no. 10 (1917), pp. 51–61.

<sup>33</sup> Polińska, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>34</sup> *Exposición de los pintores polacos, Wladyslaw Jahl, Jozef Pankiewicz, Mme. Wanda Pankiewicz (pinturas y tapiserías), Wacław Zawadowski*, Patio del Ministerio de Estado, Madrid 1918. No copy of this catalogue has been recorded in Poland; I used a copy held at the Biblioteca del Palacio Real in Madrid.

<sup>35</sup> See Isabel García García, "Madrid at the Crossroads of 1918. Polish Avant-Garde Art" in this issue of the *Journal*.

experience with Parisian art salons and knowledge of Delaunays' synchromism, but also his possible correspondence with Polish Formists, in particular with his friend Jan Hrynkowski. The similarity between Paszkiewicz's theory and the oeuvre of Morgan Russell and Stanton Macdonald-Wright, two American precursors of abstract art who presented their works in Paris in 1913, was already noticed at the time.

The end of the war and establishment of the Polish National Committee in Paris transformed the life of the Polish colony in Madrid. Various actions ultimately aimed at gaining as many advocates for the cause of Polish independence as possible may have begun even at the beginning of 1918. It seems that the exhibition at the Ministerio de Estado could also form part of a larger, albeit improvised scenario. Towards the end of 1918, Paszkiewicz and other notable representatives of the Polish community (the Dzieduszyckis, Pankiewicz, Jahl, Peiper, Zawadowski, Eugeniusz Frankowski, Łucja Auerbach et al.) issued a letter to the aforementioned Committee, in which they as signatories demanded that a legation be established in Spain.<sup>36</sup> The Polish cause gained momentum: on 15 December the Polish Press Agency began operations in the apartment of count Dzieduszycki and announced its presence in Madrid press; in the following year, it would be transformed into the press office of the Polish Legation in Madrid.<sup>37</sup> The Agency and Legation probably provided the focus for some of the activities undertaken by Paszkiewicz – a figure already well-known in the cultural circles and the press, with a good command of Spanish – as well as other members of the Polish diaspora, such as Tadeusz Peiper. This may be inferred from the surviving correspondence between the Legation and the Polish National Committee.<sup>38</sup> The Agency's main tasks were disseminating knowledge about Poland, its struggle for independence, and – most importantly – counter-acting anti-Polish German propaganda, which was very active in Spain. Apart from widely distributed information about the prelection given by ethnographer Frankowski on "Poland's mission in Europe," the Agency also publicized Paszkiewicz's lecture at the Ateneo. It seems that Peiper's journalistic activity in Spain, which began with impetus in late 1918, was also inspired by the Agency. The financial resources received by the Polish Press Agency may have supported both authors.

The visible activity of the Poles and the violent reaction to the exhibition voiced by conservative press attracted the attention of the Spanish secret police. In January 1919, Ministerio de Estado issued a decree expelling Pankiewicz, Paszkiewicz and Zawadowski from Spain; the unclear circumstances surrounding this decision are explained in more detail by Isabel García García. It is possible that the case of the swindler priest Józef Borodzicz could have played a

<sup>36</sup> Lentas, op. cit., pp. 13–14 writes more extensively about this letter and reproduces the signatures of its authors. The same group issued a subsequent letter in December 1918, referring to the discreditable work of priest Józef Borodzicz in the Kingdom.

<sup>37</sup> Agencia de la Prensa Polaca, see Lentas, op. cit., pp. 12–13. The information about establishing the Agency was published in the newspaper *Heraldo Militar*, n° 7826 (19 December 1918) and signed by Eugeniusz Frankowski (ethnologist), Zdzisław Milner (Romance philologist) and Józef Pankiewicz. Peiper was also supposed to work at the Agency. The Polish National Committee appointed count Aleksander Dzieduszycki as its delegate in Madrid, in May 1919 Spain and Poland established diplomatic relations, and in November of the same year, the Legation of the Republic of Poland in Madrid was granted 1<sup>st</sup> class rank, as one of six in the world; see Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski, *Podwójna gra. Rzeczpospolita Polska wobec hiszpańskiej wojny domowej 1936–1939* (Warsaw, 2014), pp. 35–36.

<sup>38</sup> See in particular sets of documents held at the Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN) in Warsaw, ref. 2/39/o/11/1805, 2/39/o/2/64, 2/39/o/2/61. The surviving documents in Paszkiewicz's personal file held in the archives of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London contain information about his work in the delegation of the Polish National Committee to Madrid since late 1918 until September 1919. See file ref. A.11.474/1. and note 77.



part here, or local bodies supporting the German option. Since the two painters were probably already in Paris at the time, the consequences could only be enforced against the Polish critic. It remains unclear whether he did in fact leave Spain at this point, as he gave a speech at the Ateneo in Madrid a mere few months later, in June. The press took note of his lecture on Polish art *Glosas críticas a la pintura polaca* [Critical voices on Polish painting], in which the critic presented the work of Michałowski, Matejko, Gieryski, Podkowski, Pankiewicz, Malczewski and others. The author pointed to the fact that Poland lacked great masters such as Velázquez, Rembrandt or Cézanne, explained that Polish painters eagerly took up patriotic and nationalist subjects, spoke about Matejko's great historical works and concluded with the shift towards purely painterly values, from Aleksander Gieryski to contemporary art. The author of a review of the lecture, signed with the initials A.V. y G., referred to Paszkiewicz as "an outstanding art critic."<sup>39</sup> Both this and subsequent mentions published in Spanish press ended on the same note: "Sr. Paszkiewicz fué muy aplaudido."<sup>40</sup>

The exhibition at the Ministerio de Estado and the activity of the group of Polish painters played a considerable role in the formation of modern visual arts in the capital of Spain. This influence is duly noted by numerous contemporary commentators, such as Isabel García García, and was also mentioned by the poet Rafael Alberti in his memoirs: "También la presencia de otros pintores – como el uruguayo Barradas, los polacos Jhal [sic] y Marjan Paskiewicz [sic], los franceses Sonia y Robert Delaunay, arrojados a España por la Guerra – contribuyó en mucho con su ejemplo a esta batalla de liberación."<sup>41</sup> Paszkiewicz and Władysław Jahl went on to join the emerging Ultraist movement.

### Among the Ultraists

"MARÍAN PASZKIEWICZ. – The impassioned and tormented soul of the arithmetical Pole, who performs post-Kantian reasoning in front of his works, combines beautiful theorems on colour and formulates maxims that go beyond Cubism. His reddish beard brings to mind the steppe characters from Dostoyevsky and illuminates, like flames of fire, his astonished face, rendering his frigid words white-hot" – this depiction of the critic was written by Guillermo de Torre and included in the cycle of portraits of his friends: avant-garde writers and artists, such as Gómez de la Serna, Jean Cocteau, Juan Gris, Vicente Huidobro, Max Jacob and others, published in the monthly *Grecia* in 1920.<sup>42</sup> Paszkiewicz, Jahl and his wife Łucja could have come within the orbit of the Ultraists already in 1918. De Torre recounted that he met

<sup>39</sup> "Conferencia sobre la moderna pintura polaca," *El Imparcial* of 6 June 1919.

<sup>40</sup> "La pintura Polaca," *Heraldo de Madrid* of 6 June 1919. See also mentions in *La correspondencia de España* of 6 June 1919, *La Acción* of the same day, *ABC* of 7 June 1919, and *La Época* of 9 June 1919.

<sup>41</sup> Rafael Alberti, *La arboleda perdida* (Barcelona, 1984), p. 121. In the Polish translation, Zofia Szleyen did not correct the typographical errors [and nor did Gabriel Berns in the English edition – translator's note]: "The works of other painters such as the Uruguayan Barradas, the Polish painters Jhal [sic] and Marjan Paskiewicz [sic], the French couple Sonia and Robert Delaunay, who had been forced to flee to Spain because of the war, all greatly contributed by their example to this battle of liberation" – see Rafael Alberti, *The Lost Grove*, translated and edited by Gabriel Berns (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1981), p. 132.

<sup>42</sup> "MARÍAN PASZKIEWICZ. – Un alma ardiente y sufrida de polaco aritmético que raciocina post-kantianamente frente a sus cuadros, coordina bellos teoremas del color y formula apotegmas más allá del cubismo. Sus barbas rojizas le asemejan a los tipos esteparios de Dostoyewski, e iluminan, como llamas de hoguera, su rostro atónito, encandeciendo sus frías palabras," Guillermo de Torre, "Album de retratos," *Grecia*, n° XLVII (1920), p. 9.

the Poles and other foreign artists either via Huidobro, who came to Madrid in 1918, or at his house, and “this was where the egg of Ultraism hatched, in-between Spanish ‘tertulias.’”<sup>43</sup> A surviving photograph of the young Paszkiewicz held in Huidobro’s archive in Santiago de Chile (fig. 6) seems to confirm de Torre’s words.<sup>44</sup>

In the autumn of 1920 Marjan Paszkiewicz made his debut as a painter at the First Autumn Salon in Madrid with Władysław Jahl – their works were exhibited in a separate room alongside Daniel Vázquez Díaz, Rafael Alberti and the Mexican Amado de la Cueva, among others. The conservative critics did not respond favourably: the right-wing, even nationalistically disposed journalist Luis Gil Fillol, who opposed the avant-garde, reprimanded both Poles in the monthly *Hojas selectas* for wrongly imitating Cubism. The exhibition hall housing the innovators’ works was dubbed “the Rogues’ Room.”<sup>45</sup> José Gutiérrez Solana also got a scolding for the unforgivable dark colours and blacks, including for his new painting *La tertulia de Pombo*, which has since become famous.<sup>46</sup>

There is not much that can be said about Paszkiewicz’s foray into painting: there is one surviving work in a private collection, another one is known solely from reproductions. He probably modelled himself on the oeuvre of Pankiewicz, the Delaunays and the aforementioned American synchromists. His works were presented in Madrid and Paris several times, but it seems that his love affair with painting lasted but a few years. Even though Paszkiewicz did not gain recognition as an artist, his position as a critic among the innovators was ever stronger. This subject was discussed at length by Monika Poliwka<sup>47</sup> and other authors. One of the more interesting accounts of that time comes from Rafael Alberti. Years later, the famous poet fondly recalled the ‘master’ of his youth in a letter to Uruguayan writer and diplomat Eduardo Dieste (fig. 7):

“I was overjoyed to hear that you know Pasckievisk [sic]. Does he still have a blond beard and chase trams after a night spent with a rosy-cheeked evocation of Rubens? It is to him that I owe many youthful moments of happiness. He was one of my masters and I’m proud of the magical consecration he granted to my thoughts when he occasionally agreed with them. He’ll probably remember the sea in Vigo, the windows resembling frames for anchored ships, which I perceived as pictures and problems. ‘Problem’ was a marvellous word back then. It was an invitation – both poetic and rational – to look for a confirmed flight of the spirit in each and every thing. To work, to create, meant to penetrate the corners of the world and immerse in its charms with the solemnity of a quarryman, with laurels to be won for each good deed,

<sup>43</sup> Lentas, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>44</sup> Archive of the Fundación Vicente Huidobro, Santiago de Chile, ref. F130.

<sup>45</sup> Alberti, *The Lost Grove*, op. cit., p. 154. See also the Spanish edition: Alberti, op. cit., p. 122: “En octubre iba a inaugurarse el primer Salón de Otoño madrileño. Jahl, Paskiewicz [sic], un joven mexicano – Amado de la Cueva –, yo y alguien que ahora no recuerdo, formamos, con el pintor de Huelva, una sala especial, que el mismo día de la apertura del Salón fue considerada en el acto como *sala del crimen*.” [In Spanish, *sala del crimen* means “the crime room” or “the murder room,” so the English translator slightly changed the meaning of this metaphor: the rogues’ room literally denotes the set of images or photographs of criminals or suspects used by the police for identification purposes – translator’s note].

<sup>46</sup> Luis Gil Fillol, “El Primer Salón de Otoño en Madrid,” *Hojas selectas*, n° 12 (1920), p. 1129. For more information on Fillol, see Julián Díaz Sánchez, Ángel Llorente, *La crítica de arte en España (1939–1976)* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 209–10. One of the most important representatives of new painting to take part in the exhibition was Daniel Vázquez Díaz.

<sup>47</sup> Poliwka, op. cit., pp. 89–98.

even if it was just the surprise of a friend. When I made an account of one of Pasckievisk's [sic] lectures, he read it very attentively and said with an almost comical air of amazement: 'It's the first time that they say exactly what I've said.' I still have this laurel."<sup>48</sup> According to the account of his son Marjan, Paszkiewicz apparently also dissuaded Alberti from following the path of a painter, suggesting that he should dedicate himself to literature.

Paszkiewicz and Jahl found their place at the centre of the Ultraist movement – this amalgam of “isms” which resembled the Polish Formism. Both “ultra” and “form” were a terminological attempt at rising above the numerous “isms” of the European avant-garde (it is worth mentioning that in the case of Ultraism writers outnumbered artists). Jahl joined Baradas and Norah Borges as one of the main artists and graphic designers of the group, while Paszkiewicz became an important theoretical voice on matters of painting, although he also contributed as an artist. Both Poles took part in Ultraist soirees that were sometimes reported in the press, such as the important one that took place in 1921 in the fashionable Parisiana club, in a room decorated by the Delaunays. During the evening Vázquez Díaz, Jahl and Paszkiewicz presented their works, the latter gave a speech on painting, and Humberto Rivas, Rafael Cansinos Assens, Gerardo Diego, Guillermo de Torre, José Rivas Panedas and many others read their poems. A summary of the soiree was published in the first issue of *Ultra* and repeated by Madrid-based newspapers.<sup>49</sup> Paszkiewicz's lecture was printed in the following issue, and the critic became a regular collaborator of the magazine.<sup>50</sup> Yet another issue featured one of Paszkiewicz's drawings – a sketch for a still life showing the lines of compositional tensions (no. 16 of 20 October 1921) (**fig. 8**). His ideas were referred to by Guillermo de Torre in the article *La ascensión colorista de Vázquez Díaz*, which discussed the latest works of the painter from Cuenca.<sup>51</sup> Poems dedicated to Paszkiewicz testify to his close ties with Ultraist poets, in particular Pedro Garfias.<sup>52</sup>

At that time, the relationship between Madrid's avant-garde circles and the French Dadaists (especially Tristan Tzara, Philippe Soupault, Paul Dermée and Francis Picabia, who shared

<sup>48</sup> Eduardo Dieste's letter to Paszkiewicz of 30 August 1944, written in San Francisco, where they both met during the war as diplomats. The letter, made available by Maurice Paszkiewicz, is currently held at the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. p466/14/6; below you will find the cited passage in its original wording: “Me ha alegrado muchísimo de que conocieses a Pasckievisk [sic] ¿Sigue teniendo la barba rubia y corriendo detrás de los tranvías después de ascender la noche con una rubicunda evocación de Rubens? Le debo horas juveniles muy felices. Fue uno de mis maestros y me enorgullezco de la consagración mágica que daba a veces a mis pensamientos aprobándolos. El se acordará del mar de Vigo, de las ventanas que ponían marco a los buques anclados y que yo veía como cuadros y como problemas. Problema era entonces una prodigiosa palabra. Era una invitación a la vez poética y racional a buscar en las cosas el vuelo confirmado del espíritu. Trabajar, construir, era entrar en los ángulos del mundo, deslizarse hacia su encanto con seriedad de cantero, y toda buena obra tenía su laurel, aun cuando fuera sólo la sorpresa de un amigo. Cuando yo hice la crónica de una conferencia de Pasckievisk, él la leyó muy atentamente y dijo con un aire de asombro casi cómico: ‘Es la primera vez que dicen exactamente lo que he dicho.’ Conservo ese laurel.”

<sup>49</sup> *Ultra*, n° 1 (27 January 1921); see *El Imparcial* of 26 January 1921, p. 5. Laetitia Branciard claims that the Poles had inaugurated the first Ultraist evening already in 1918, yet this seems to be a mistake; see Laetitia Branciard, *Art et littérature. Paris / Madrid / Barcelone* [online], Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes [retrieved: 8 November 2015], p. 102, at: <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmckk9r6>>.

<sup>50</sup> Marjan Paszkiewicz, “Palabras de un pintor,” *Ultra*, n° 3 (20 February 1921).

<sup>51</sup> Published in *Ultra*, n° 8 (20 April 1921). In it De Torre also recounts the opinions of another Pole, Waldemar George, as well as Robert Delaunay. Paszkiewicz's drawing was published in *Ultra*, n° 16 (1921).

<sup>52</sup> Sur cycle of poems in Pedro Garfias, *Alas del Sur (Antología poética 1926–1967)* (Sevilla, 2008), pp. 49–51. The poet dedicated his subsequent cycle to Władysław Jahl.

his time between Paris, New York, Zurich and Barcelona) became decidedly friendlier.<sup>53</sup> It seems that the Pole also experimented with Dada: his polemical “review” of the 6<sup>th</sup> Humourist Salon, directed against its organiser, the critic José Frances, read: “La Exposición = ooooooooo × (José Frances).”<sup>54</sup> In the spring of 1921 Paszkiewicz left Madrid and went to Paris. It is unclear whether he was prompted to do so by the activity of the secret police or his ambition to conquer the French capital as a critic, painter and representative of Madrid’s Ultraists. A solemn farewell to Paszkiewicz, an “outstanding and original painter,” was organized in the final days of April in the Oro del Rhin restaurant on Plaza de Santa Ana. The celebration was attended by the most important Ultraists: Vázquez Díaz, Rafael Barradas, Humberto Rivas, Guillermo de Torre, Rafael Lasso de la Vega and many others, including, of course, Władysław Jahl. At the end of the reception, the gathered guests composed a “departure” poem based on the Dada method of adding subsequent lines without reading the previous one.<sup>55</sup>

In no. 9 of *Ultra* (30 April 1921) we find a short note stating that “the painter Paszkiewicz is leaving for Paris, where he is going to represent *Ultra*.” More than ten subsequent issues (until the beginning of the following year) feature information that correspondence on any matters related to the journal was to be sent to Mr. Marjan Paszkiewicz, 3, rue Joseph Bara, Paris. Right next to it was a note on *Ultra*’s literary correspondents: Tadeusz Peiper in Krakow, Jorge Luis Borges in Buenos Aires and Volné Směry in Prague. On this basis, it may be inferred that the critic stayed at the same Parisian address as Kisling, the Zborowskis, Adolphe Basler and the collector Netter (or at least picked up his correspondence there). André Salmon lived on the opposite side of the street.<sup>56</sup> Paszkiewicz tried to fulfil his task of representing the journal of the Madrid avant-garde: in the June issue, he published short, ironic notes on the Parisian art scene, writing about Dadaists (from the Balkans and Chile who came to the capital to polish their French), about Cubists (apparently there were over two thousand of them, and Cubism was shot at in the military and scientific sense of the word), and painterly purism. These *Alusiones* were signed far away from Paris: in the town of Saint-Raphaël<sup>57</sup> on the southern coast of France, where the painter-critic may have gone in order to paint landscapes. Nevertheless, before the end of the year Paszkiewicz had already returned to the capital on account of painting exhibitions.

It seems that painting was in fact Paszkiewicz’s main preoccupation in Paris (figs 9–10). Although he was supposed to represent *Ultra* at an international congress of avant-garde artists<sup>58</sup> in March 1922 (which probably resulted from closer ties between the editorial board – Guillermo de Torre in particular – and some Dadaists), the event failed to materialize due

<sup>53</sup> See De Torre’s correspondence collected in Eddie Breuil, ed., *Guillermo de Torre. Ultra-Dada entre deux avant-gardes* (Dijon, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> See Poliwka, op. cit., p. 94

<sup>55</sup> This farewell soiree was reported by *La Libertad* of 29 April 1921. Later on, a slightly more extensive mention was published in *Ultra*, n° 10 (10 May 1921). The editorial board assured that the resulting poem greatly surpassed works published in such magazines as *Blanco y Negro* or *La Pluma*, which they were going to prove by publishing it in the subsequent issue.

<sup>56</sup> See Dmochowska, op. cit., p. 156; Kisling lived at this address until 1932.

<sup>57</sup> *Ultra*, n° 15 (30 June 1921).

<sup>58</sup> *Congrès international pour la détermination des directives et la défense de l’esprit moderne*, announced by André Breton in January 1922; Tzara and other Dadaists refused to take part. Paszkiewicz’s participation in the congress was reported by *Ultra*, n° 22 (15 January 1922).

to intrigues between artists. The Pole did, however, take part in two exhibitions: at Café du Parnasse (6 December 1921 – 20 January 1922) and Galerie Crillon (2–26 February 1922). The exhibition at the historical Café du Parnasse – where a part of the artistic bohemia moved from the legendary La Rotonde after the latter had changed hands – featured as many as 120 artists, including various Poles: Henryk Hayden, Józef Hecht, Jan Rubczak, Marek Szwarc, Waław Zawadowski et al. Artur Prędski, who reviewed his compatriots' works for *Nowa Reforma*, placed particular emphasis on the oeuvre of Rubczak, Zawadowski and Paszkiewicz: "Dreamy blue represents Marjan Paszkiewicz, whose simplicity verges on a child's directness in the depiction of form and understanding of the surface."<sup>59</sup>

The second display – a large exhibition *La Jeune Pologne* held at the Galerie du Musée Crillon – was much better documented. Several dozen Poles took part, including all "Madrilenians": Pankiewicz, Jahl, Paszkiewicz and Zawadowski (the latter under a new pseudonym – Zawado). The event, organized by Maria Lednicka-Szczytt and Jan Chmieliński, was the first large showcase of artists residing in the French capital and in Poland after the country regained independence. It was also the first joint display of artists living by the Seine, "Madrilenians" and Polish Formists: Tytus Czyżewski, Leon Chwistek, Waław Wąsowicz, the Pronaszko brothers, Jerzy Zaruba and others. The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue in brochure form with an index of presented works: it features two landscapes signed "Marjan" (or in fact: "P. Marjan") – one of them was reproduced by Waldemar George (Jerzy Waldemar Jarociński) in his review of the exhibition published in *Il Crapouillot*.<sup>60</sup> However, the article makes no mention of Paszkiewicz's painting, and nor does a review penned by Kazimierz Smogorzewski, conservative critic writing for *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*.<sup>61</sup>

The Parisian exhibitions are Paszkiewicz's last known adventures with painting. The critic seems to have returned to Madrid in the autumn of 1922; soon after his return, he gave a lecture on painting at the legendary Residencia de Estudiantes. *Ultra* had already been closed down, and the author began to collaborate with other avant-garde journals: *Horizonte* (articles on Juan de Echevarría's "Spanish Fauvism" and Picasso's Cubism) (**fig. 11**) and the monthly *Alfar* published in La Coruña (1924). This cooperation would last several years. In the latter journal, Paszkiewicz returned to theoretical matters, polemicizing with Eugenio d'Ors: his text on the limits of pictorial criticism (*crítica pictórica*) was illustrated with a woodcut portrait of the author by Francisco Bores (**figs 12–13**). Paszkiewicz's cooperation with *Alfar* – a journal that published the debuts of Alberti and Federico García Lorca, among others, issued thanks to the support of the Uruguayan consul and poet Julio Casal, with the graphic layout by another Uruguayan, Barradas – brought him to La Coruña with a lecture for the Arts and Crafts Society (Reunión de Artesanos). The visit of "the brilliant Polish critic" and "the first eminent Pole to visit Galicia after the country regained independence" was reported in the local press with a photograph of

<sup>59</sup> Artur Prędski, "Artyści polscy w Paryżu," *Nowa Reforma*, no. 19 (23 January 1922). The exhibition was accompanied by a small catalogue *Cent vingt artistes exposent leurs œuvres au Café du Parnasse* (Paris, 1922).

<sup>60</sup> *Catalogue de la 1<sup>re</sup> Exposition du Groupe « La Jeune Pologne »* [...], Galerie du Musée Crillon (Paris, 1922); see Waldemar George, "Les artistes polonaise au Musée du Crillon," *Le Crapouillot*, n° 1 (1922), p. 22. The participation of "our comrades Jahl, Kisling and Paszkiewicz" was also reported by *Ultra*, n° 23 (1 February 1922). Owing to this reproduction, we know two paintings by Paszkiewicz; another one was presented at *The Pope of the Avant-Garde* exhibition, see *Papież awangardy*..., op. cit., p. 202. See also the Spanish version of the catalogue – p. 206. Paszkiewicz's son informed the author of this text about his father's other paintings, which he saw in his house in Sweden.

<sup>61</sup> Kazimierz Smogorzewski, "Wystawa 'Młodej Polski' w Paryżu," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, no. 13 (1922), pp. 200–1.

the critic (fig. 14). In the lecture, Paszkiewicz supposedly analysed new attitudes in art criticism and discussed the possibility of nationalist painting. He probably gave the same speech at the Ateneo in Barcelona on 11 September 1924.<sup>62</sup> The subject matter of both lectures most likely served as the basis for his article published in the following year in the Madrilenian *Revista de Occidente* edited by Ortega y Gasset (fig. 15).<sup>63</sup> The critic maintained his contacts with the Ultraists in Madrid; asked by Guillermo de Torre, he did an ad-hoc interpretation of Tadeusz Peiper's poetry from the *Żywe linie* [Living lines] volume.<sup>64</sup>

At around that time Paszkiewicz made friends with the eminent writer, critic and translator Benjamín Jarnés, who collaborated with *Alfar* and Ortega y Gasset's monthly. Together, they prepared a selection of Polish short stories *Los grandes cuentistas polacos* (1925) published by Biblioteca Patria (fig. 16), and the Spanish chapters of Stanisław Żeromski's *Popioły* [Ashes], which appeared in the popular journal *Por esos mundos* a year later.<sup>65</sup> Theirs was a long friendship, and the most intense contacts between the two critics, confirmed by surviving correspondence, date to the late 1920s. Paszkiewicz took part in a reception hosted for the Spanish writer at the Hotel Nacional in April 1929,<sup>66</sup> and Jarnés wrote an article on the Polish critic for *La Vanguardia* (1933). This piece was later edited as a reminiscence of sorts and published in a Colombian social and literary monthly after the war, when the author was in exile in Mexico.<sup>67</sup>

In mid-1920s Marjan Paszkiewicz belonged to the intellectual elite of Madrid: he gave lectures, published articles and attended cultural events. In 1925, he took part in a reception hosted for Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal, known under his literary nom-de-plume Juan de la Encina – outstanding critic and museologist, who would go on to become the director of the Museum of Modern Art in Madrid.<sup>68</sup> Several days later, he gave a speech at the exhibition of Iberian painters at the Palacio del Retiro. His subsequent lecture, discussing the style of modern painting, took place at the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>69</sup> These lectures were widely commented on in the press, for instance provoking eminent writer and critic Eugenio d'Ors to publish his

<sup>62</sup> In the chronicles of the Society, there is a record of Paszkiewicz's lecture he was supposed to give on 20 September 1924; I would like to thank Luis F.R. Vazquez from La Coruña for this piece of information. Undated snippets from local press held at the archives of the National Museum in Warsaw by courtesy of Maurice Paszkiewicz, son of the critic – “Conferencia de Marján Paszkiewicz” and “La actitud crítica que exige la nueva pintura.”

<sup>63</sup> See Marjan Paszkiewicz, “Reflexiones sobre la pintura nueva,” *Revista de Occidente*, vol. 9, no. 27 (1925), pp. 302–16. See list of Paszkiewicz's publications at the end of this article.

<sup>64</sup> See Lentas, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>65</sup> *Los grandes cuentistas polacos*, selected and translated by Marjan Paszkiewicz and Benjamín Jarnés (Madrid, 1925). The collection included short stories by Józefa Weyssenhoff, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer and Władysław Reymont. Stefan Żeromski, “Siempre heroica,” *Por esos mundos*, n° 22 (1926), pp. 5–34, with introduction by Paszkiewicz and illustrations by Carlos Sáenz de Tejada.

<sup>66</sup> “Banquete a Benjamín Jarnés,” *La Gaceta Literaria*, n° 55 (1929), pp. 1, 5. Correspondence with Paszkiewicz was included in Benjamín Jarnés, *Epistolario, 1919–1939 y Cuadernos íntimos*, Jordi Gracia, Domingo Ródenas de Moya, eds (Madrid, 2003), pp. 15–17; in a letter of 11 September 1925 written in Vigo on headed writing paper of the stately Gran Café Colón, the Pole included humorous and ironic comments on the local art milieu (José Francés) and recalled a number of common friends, such as writer (and future co-founder of the Spanish Falange) Eugenio Montes, Francisco Bores, writer Huberto Pérez de la Ossa, painter and illustrator Cándido Fernández Mazas et al.

<sup>67</sup> Benjamín Jarnés, “Pintura de aquí o de allá,” *La Vanguardia* of 1 April 1933, p. 3; see also Id., “Breve crítica de pintura,” *Revista de América*, n° 28 (1947).

<sup>68</sup> See *El Sol* of 15 June 1925.

<sup>69</sup> See “En el Museo de Arte Moderno,” *ABC* of 12 June 1926, p. 16.

article – polemical, though full of admiration for the Pole.<sup>70</sup> Both polemicists – together with Ortega y Gasset – belonged to the narrow group of critics who set the tone of debates on the new art. Paszkiewicz published a review of the exhibition of modern Catalan art organized by *Heraldo de Madrid* in this very paper, commenting on, and defending, the art of the rising star of painting Salvador Dalí as well as Joan Miró and Joaquim Sunyer, who were much more renowned at the time. The aforementioned d'Ors, in his article published several years later in the Uruguayan newspaper *El Día*, stated that “a few years ago there were possibly only three persons in Madrid equipped with a clear understanding of the directions of new art, none of whom were Spanish according to the constitution. The first was a certain lady of German nationality, the second a certain critic of Polish origin, and the third – Uruguayan painter Rafael Barradas.”<sup>71</sup>

At that time, Paszkiewicz's contacts with the homeland intensified, perhaps stimulated by his diplomatic activities at the Polish Legation, and certainly by renewing his acquaintance with Jan Rubczak and Wacław Zawadowski. The critic's name appears on the list of members of the “Jednoróg” Artists' Guild published in the catalogue of the first exhibition organized at the Society of Fine Arts in Krakow in the spring of 1925.<sup>72</sup> The aforementioned painters were friends and founding members of “Jednoróg” (together with Hrynkowski and Felicjan Szczyński Kowarski). Paszkiewicz was likely meant to be involved as a critic. In the surviving letter to Jan Hrynkowski of 11 April 1926 – perhaps the first one Paszkiewicz sent him – the critic expressed his gratitude for being invited to the exhibition, complained about being kept away from the Guild's matters and about his “undesirable” status (in spite of having sent an article to Rubczak) and repeated his requests for any form of contact and materials for a planned article on young Polish painting. In the letter, he also mentioned having given up painting.<sup>73</sup> Paszkiewicz's name would not appear in any subsequent catalogue of the group, but his image was present at Jednoróg's third exhibition in the form of the above-mentioned portrait Zawadowski had painted in Madrid back in 1918.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See *La Libertad* of 12 June 1925 and *El Sol* of 13 June; the lecture was entitled *Los problemas formales de la pintura contemporánea*; Eugenio d'Ors, “Marjan Paszkiewicz,” *ABC* (20 June 1925), pp. 3–4. The polemic was referred to even a year later, see Benjamin Jarnés, “Música en tono a arconda,” *La Gaceta Literaria*, n° 10 (15 May 1927), p. 6. In his lecture, Paszkiewicz again used the term “painting of the surface,” distinguishing it from paintings that depict and interpret nature. Further on, he focused on the theoretical and technical aspects of Cubism, concluding that Dadaism – which contested Cubist paintings – did not yield satisfying results.

<sup>71</sup> Pablo Rocca, Eduardo Roland, *Federico García Lorca y Uruguay. Pasajes, homenajes, polémicas* (Alcalá la Real, 2010), p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> See *Katalog pierwszej wystawy Cechu Artystów Plastyków „Jednoróg”*, exh. cat., Krakow, April–May 1925.

<sup>73</sup> M. Paszkiewicz's letter to J. Hrynkowski dated 11 April 1926, written on the letterhead of the Légation de Pologne à Madrid, in B. Hrynkowska's archives. “You are probably aware that I'm listed as one of the founding members of Jednoróg and that at one point I attended to this matter in all honesty, as proved by the article I once sent to Rubczak and the entire correspondence I exchanged with him. I don't know how things are with Jednoróg at present and whether I've become so undesirable as to keep me away, so far away, from your movement. [...] I would also like to ask you for some information on Krakow and its artistic life. As you may be aware, I contribute to Spanish magazines and I'm recognized as a ‘persona’ in Madrid among the local men of letters. I've already had a few opportunities to write about young Polish painters who interest me, but to my regret I've always been hindered by the lack of sources and material. Wacek [Zawadowski] didn't even bother to reply to my offer to write an article on him to *Alfar* [...] and in terms of other painters, I have to admit that I had no heart to approach them in the light of my experience so far. [...] What is Pankiewicz up to? Does Wacek exchange letters with you? What does Rubczak do and my other friends and acquaintances from Paris and Krakow?”

<sup>74</sup> *Katalog trzeciej wystawy Cechu Artystów-Plastyków „Jednoróg” w gmachu Tow. Sztuk Pięknych w Krakowie*, exh. cat., Krakow, April–May 1926.

In his letter, the critic asked Hrynkowski to question Władysław Jaroński about the fate of the article on Velázquez which Paszkiewicz submitted to the editorial board several months earlier. The text was published a few months later; in it, the critic performed a formal analysis of some of the most important canvases of the Spanish master held at the Prado Museum in Madrid. Elevating the court painter of Philip IV above other famous representatives of the Spanish school, the author underlined his purely painterly, formal restraint, which rendered him the only one “able to steer clear from the back roads of non-visual attempts and express his glance with tough, unswerving discipline.”<sup>75</sup>

### A Diplomat in Spain

Out of the whirl of cultural events, lectures and publications on art there emerges the figure of Marjan Paszkiewicz as a diplomat. In the cited letter of April 1926, the critic wrote: “I’m doing Polish diplomacy and Spanish literature. In my spare time I also do the theory of painting, as I can no longer do painting itself.” Paszkiewicz had already begun work at the Polish legation in 1919, yet it is only since May 1928 that he was listed in the archive of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a contracted employee in the capacity of a provisional consular attaché.<sup>76</sup> His appointment was effected by the head of the mission, count Władysław Sobański.<sup>77</sup> It was without a doubt a splendid move to involve the most recognizable Pole in the capital, with an established position in cultural circles, in the diplomatic service. This view finds confirmation in the accounts of Poles visiting Madrid. Philologist Stanisław Witkowski, who travelled around Spain in 1925 and complained about the general lack of knowledge about Poland, wrote: “One would wish that there were more Poles in Spain like Mr Paszkiewicz, officer of the Polish Legation in Madrid, art historian, graduate of the University of Lviv. He made a name for himself among Spanish historians of art by publishing works in his field in local academic journals and is invited to lecture even in remote cities of Spain. Such work represents the most efficient propaganda of Poland’s name.”<sup>78</sup> Writer and journalist Mieczysław B. Lepecki, who would go on to become Józef Piłsudski’s aide-de-camp, recalled Paszkiewicz (and the Jahls) (fig. 17) with equal kindness in his book *U wrót tajemniczego Maghrebu* [On the threshold of the mysterious Maghreb] (1925): “Mr Paszkiewicz is an extremely interesting fellow: in spite of

<sup>75</sup> Marjan Paszkiewicz, “Diego Velázquez (1599–1660). Fragment,” *Sztuki Piękne*, Ann. 3 (1926–27), pp. 106–16. Paszkiewicz published a slightly abridged Spanish version of the article: “Tres quadros de Velázquez,” *La Gaceta Literaria*, no. 18 (1927), p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> E-mail information from Paweł Ceranka, senior expert at the Department of Historical Knowledge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 26 May 2014; according to the Journals of the Polish Foreign Service, Paszkiewicz began work at the Legation of the Republic of Poland in Madrid on 15 October 1919 and remained there until 31 December 1933 as a provisional consular attaché and provisional clerk, and went on to assume a post in Lisbon as the appointed attaché of the Legation. I would like to thank Paweł Ceranka for the information he gathered. In a questionnaire completed by Paszkiewicz and held in his personal file in the archives of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London (ref. A.11.474/1/P), the critic provides the following time brackets: September 1919 – May 1928 (contracted officer) and 1 January 1928 – 1 September 1930 (consular attaché) in the 8<sup>th</sup> rank of civil service, and then a specialist clerk (*referendarz*) until 1 July 1933. His work in the Legation is recalled by Ciechanowski, *Podwójna gra...*, op. cit., p. 39, who stated that it began in mid-1920s.

<sup>77</sup> See Ciechanowski, *Podwójna gra...*, op. cit., p. 37. Sobański was the last in the line of Polish aristocrats, traditionally accredited at the Spanish royal court. He ended his mission on 1 March 1927, and was substituted by Jan Perłowski (16 April 1927 – 28 February 1935).

<sup>78</sup> Stanisław Witkowski, “Hiszpania dziś a przed laty dwudziestu,” in Piotr Sawicki, ed. and introduction, *Hiszpania malowniczo-historyczna. Zapirenejskie wędrówki Polaków w latach 1838–1930* (Wrocław, 1996), p. 373.



having landed on the streets of Madrid in difficult circumstances, it took him a short [...] time to perfectly master the language and play a certain role in literary life as a critic and translator of Polish works. Our legate, Mr Sobański, rendered quite a considerable service by hiring him to work at the legation."<sup>79</sup>

The Pole, who spoke impeccable Castilian, was undoubtedly a strong card in the small personal deck of the legation. Thanks to him, Spanish public opinion received information on Polish culture – for example about unveiling a monument to Chopin in Warsaw in 1926. In June of the following year, he gave a speech on contemporary Poland in the Royal Economic Society of Friends of the Country in Madrid (Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País) – an institution that fostered education and philanthropy. In front of a formidable group of listeners – ambassadors of Poland and France, dukes, marquises and military men – Paszkiewicz summarized the first nine years of independence and its most important milestones: from war with the Bolsheviks, through social and economic crises, to the coup d'état of May 1926 and the beginning of Józef Piłsudski's dictatorship. The Polish diplomat underlined Marshal Piłsudski's role as the most important figure on the political scene of the country. It seems that the Spanish listeners were not indifferent to the subject matter of the prelection: a similar, albeit bloodless coup, was staged three years before Piłsudski by General Miguel Primo de Rivera, who – with the consent of King Alfonso XIII – assumed dictatorial rule which would last until 1930. As a matter of fact, the general would soon be honoured with the Polish Order of the White Eagle, and Marshal Piłsudski – with the Grand Cross of the Order of Military Merit.<sup>80</sup>

Owing to Paszkiewicz's diplomatic duties, he probably distanced himself for a while from the group of left-leaning writers and artists of the Generation of '27 (Generación del 27). Over several years to come, his name mostly appeared in the press in the context of various official events: congress of the Societies of Friends of the League of Nations, 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Confederation of Associations of Authors and Composers, receptions and advisor Jerzy Tarnowski's marriage to Zofia, née Karnkowska in Madrid.<sup>81</sup> A stable career was backed with stabilization in private life: in 1926 the critic-diplomat married Sonja Paulina Wilson, a citizen of Sweden, in Madrid.<sup>82</sup> There is no available information on how they met. The couple visited Sweden several times. In 1931, Paszkiewicz took a long (two-year) unpaid leave and went with his wife to her native Karlshamn; this could have been associated with the approaching birth of their second son, Olof Stefan.<sup>83</sup> It is from that seaside town, situated just

<sup>79</sup> Mieczysław Bohdan Lepecki, "U wrót tajemniczego Maghrebu na wojnie marokańskiej," in Sawicki, ed. and introduction, *Hiszpania malowniczo-historyczna...*, op. cit., p. 387.

<sup>80</sup> The content of the prelection is known from the brochure: Marjan Paszkiewicz, *La Polonia actual* (San Sebastián, 1927). The speech was commented on in the press, e.g., in *ABC* of 7 June 1927, p. 28. In 1930 Józef Piłsudski was travelling across Spain by train on his way to Madeira, see Ciechanowski, *Podwójna gra...*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>81</sup> See "La vida de sociedad," *El Sol* of 22 May 1929, p. 3; "Una fiesta diplomática en la Legación de Polonia," *La Época* of 10 June 1929, p. 1. The press also took note of advisor Jerzy Tarnowski's marriage to Zofia, née Karnkowska in St Jerome's church, with legate Perłowski and attaché Paszkiewicz serving as witnesses.

<sup>82</sup> See Swedish police report of 1 September 1961, Justitiedepartementets arkiv 1840-1996, ref.: Justitiedep., huvudrkivet, medb. akt 10 november 1961 nr M21. Sonja Paulina Wilson was born in Karlshamn in 1891; there are surviving photographs from her youth at the local museum.

<sup>83</sup> Their first son, Jan Erik, was born in 1928; the youngest, Marjan Karol – in 1934.

over 200 km from the Polish coast, that he wrote to Hrynkowski about his imminent return to Madrid in June in order to greet his friend at the Estación del Norte in the capital of Spain.<sup>84</sup>

After his return to Spain, Paszkiewicz resumed his activity as a lecturer and journalist. In 1932, his *Compostelanas* were featured in *Cristal* – a journal published in Pontevedra (Galicia) that continued the avant-garde stance. This journal, associated with the Generation of '27, published the works of Juan Ramón Jiménez and Federico García Lorca as well as many other authors and graphic artists.<sup>85</sup> In March of the following year, there was considerable press coverage of Paszkiewicz's lecture on Polish painting organized by the Spanish-Slavonic Committee at the Centre of Historical Studies. "The eminent writer and diplomat" discussed the development of Polish painting until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, moving on to more recent art: the work of the "Rytm" group, the "Jednoróg" association and its dispute with the Krakow-based Society of Polish Artists "Sztuka," and the activity of the Vilnius milieu. In the summer, the critic repeated this lecture at the Ateneo in Barcelona.<sup>86</sup> Before that, in March 1933, his article on Józef Piłsudski was published in *La Luz* newspaper.

## Lisbon

The summer of 1933 was the time when Marjan Paszkiewicz had to bid farewell to his second homeland – the country where he had spent almost two decades, including the most creative years of his life. In the meantime Spain had transformed from a monarchy to a parliamentary republic, and the growing tensions would soon erupt into a bloody civil war. In May, a separate Polish Legation was established in Lisbon; the critic-diplomat was formally employed there since 1 July 1933 as a contracted officer, and since 1 April 1934 – as the appointed attaché of the Legation. We see him already on 12 July 1933 in a photograph commemorating the welcoming ceremony of legate Marian Szumlakowski at the Lisbon railway station and in a photograph published in the Polish newspaper *Panorama* in the company of the legate and other important personas of Polish diplomacy (figs 18–19).<sup>87</sup> His service was to last until July 1941, and he may be seen in a number of photographs from the late 1930s published by Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski in the album *Portugalia, dziękujemy!* [Thank you, Portugal!].<sup>88</sup>

Marjan Paszkiewicz must have maintained his contacts with Spain. In May 1935, the Museum of Modern Art in Madrid headed by Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal – a friend of Paszkiewicz's and one of the most important Spanish art critics, better known under his nom-de-plume

<sup>84</sup> The letter of 11 May 1931 is mostly filled with practical tips concerning Hrynkowski's planned trip to Spain. Paszkiewicz advised him against landscape painting in the summer (heat), and suggested the landscape of Valencia as the most interesting for the painter. He provided the post-box of his brother-in-law, Charles Wilson, as his correspondence address in Karlshamn.

<sup>85</sup> Paszkiewicz published his *Compostelanas* in the 1<sup>st</sup> issue of *Cristal* in 1932. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to obtain a copy of this publication. For more information on *Cristal* and graphic artists collaborating with the journal, see Roberto Vázquez Rozas, "El lineo-grabado en Pontevedra: cristal y spes, los años de la república," *Abrente*, n° 42–43 (2010–11), pp. 417–34.

<sup>86</sup> See ABC of 17 March 1933, p. 37; a summary of the lecture was published in *La Luz* on 21 March. Jarnés also referred to this speech in his article published in *La Vanguardia*, see note 67. The Barcelona lecture was reported by *La Vanguardia* of 18 June 1933, p. 8.

<sup>87</sup> See *Panorama* of 6 August 1933, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup> Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski, *Portugalia. Dziękujemy! Polscy uchodźcy cywilni i wojskowi na zachodnim krańcu Europy w latach 1940–1945* (Warsaw, 2015), pp. 135–72. The dates of Paszkiewicz's service in Lisbon are provided based on the questionnaire from his personal file held at the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London.

Juan de la Encina – organized an exhibition of modern Polish graphic art, showcasing works by 24 outstanding artists. Zygmunt Grabowski's portrait of Piłsudski and probably also a small sculpture by Edward Wittig were displayed in a place of honour. The exhibition was opened by President of the Republic Niceto Alcalá-Zamora and received favourable reviews in Madrid-based press.<sup>89</sup> In his introduction to the illustrated catalogue, de la Encina recalled with nostalgia the exhibition at the Ministerio de Estado and the influence exerted on the young Madrid scene by Pankiewicz, Paszkiewicz and Jahl at a time when artistic youth was opting for new paths, not really knowing where to look for them (fig. 20).<sup>90</sup> This exhibition, probably financed in part by the Polish diplomatic mission, was subsequently shown in Lisbon. There, in April 1936, it was opened with all due ceremony at the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes by the Portuguese Prime Minister, in the presence of the President, various ministers, diplomats and representatives of culture.<sup>91</sup> This time, the concise and rather general introduction to the neatly published catalogue was penned by Paszkiewicz himself (fig. 21).<sup>92</sup>

Apart from organizing the graphic art exhibition, there is no surviving information about his Lisbon years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. We are uninformed as to the character of his cooperation with the head of the legation, Szumlakowski, who held this post between 1933 and 1935, headed the Madrid legation after that and became known as a supporter of the nationalist right-wing faction. In February 1937, Karol Dubicz-Penther was appointed Legate Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and headed the legation until 1943.

In 1938, the diplomat again spent some time in Sweden, probably due to the birth of his third son. At that time, Paszkiewicz also visited Poland, where he likely met with Hrynkowski in the latter's apartment in the Zwierzyniec district of Krakow.<sup>93</sup> The outbreak of the war found him in Lisbon. It is a known fact that following the defeat of France, the capital of neutral Portugal became the only important channel of evacuation for Poles – Polish Jews in particular – fleeing from the Nazis. The Polish diplomatic mission became an important point of the emigration operation, providing assistance to a number of renowned artists, including Paszkiewicz's friend Moïse Kisling, Stefan Themerson and Teresa Żarnower. The latter, who arrived in Lisbon in October 1940, was an eminent representative of Polish Constructivism of Jewish origin, who was additionally associated with the Communist Party of Poland, and

<sup>89</sup> See *La Voz* of 5 July 1935, p. 3. In his review, Ángel Vegue y Goldoni praised the qualities of contemporary Polish graphic arts and lauded the Polish government's involvement in supporting the fine arts, pointing out that the Spanish Republic could draw lessons from that. He further mentioned Paszkiewicz's texts and lectures as well as his interpretation of Velázquez paintings, and recalled Peiper, Mildner, Jahl, Józef and Wanda Pankiewicz. He also praised a small sculpture by Wittig – in all likelihood, this was a model of *Airman* or *Archer* (1914).

<sup>90</sup> Juan de la Encina, introduction to *Catálogo. Grabadores polacos modernos*, Museo de Arte Moderno (Madrid, 1935). The critic and museum director wrote: "Artistas como Pankiewicz, Paszkiewicz [sic] o Jahl influyeron un tanto en aquel ardiente momento español en que la juventud artística buscaba camino sin saber dónde emprenderlo [...]. Porque aquí tenemos algunos nombres, que para nosotros son viejos conocidos, y todos ellos, los amigos y los desconocidos, despiertan recuerdos de un tiempo que va siendo ya viejo, porque el tiempo ha variado de velocidad [...]" – [Artists such as Pankiewicz, Paszkiewicz [sic] or Jahl exerted a certain influence during this ardent moment in Spain, when young artists were looking for their way, not knowing quite where to start [...]. Some names we see here are like old acquaintances, and all of them, friends and strangers alike, bring back memories of a time that has since grown old, because time has changed its speed [...]] [translated by Aleksandra Szkudłapska].

<sup>91</sup> See "Uma notável exposição de gravuras polacas," *Ilustração*, n° 247 (1 April 1936), p. 14.

<sup>92</sup> *Exposição de gravuras polacas*, exh. cat., Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (Lisbon, 1936).

<sup>93</sup> Letter from Karlshamn to J. Hrynkowski of 16 June 1956. During his stay in Poland Paszkiewicz presumably also visited his cousin, judge Franciszek Knapik, in Wieliczka.

perforce exposed to the greatest of risks. Paszkiewicz was officially involved in the effort to procure an American visa for the artist, as is testified by a document reprinted in the recently published catalogue accompanying Żarnower's exhibition. His signature was under the Polish Legation's application to allow the artist to enter the U.S. submitted to the Consul General of the United States. The letter listed her numerous achievements, awards and exhibitions.<sup>94</sup>

In spite of its friendly tone, this was a consular letter, presumably one of many that the Polish Legation must have issued. What is noteworthy, however, is the article titled *Teresa Żarnower* published in Lisbon-based monthly *Foco* in June 1941 (and reprinted in the aforementioned catalogue). The author of the text in the journal edited by Laurentina Cordeiro (only three issues of which were published in that year) clearly set out to describe the artist as a victim of the war. At the same time, he or she chose to present her oeuvre as traditional, figurative art, whose emotional descriptions were illustrated with photographs of works that had probably been created while Żarnower was still a student of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw. The article made no mention of her proper art, the activity of "Blok" group, the heroic avant-garde period, photomontages, the utilitarian and propaganda variant of Constructivism present in the work of the artist and her partner, Mieczysław Szczuka, or her cooperation with communist publications in Poland. In a nutshell: readers of *Foco* were presented with an entirely different version of Żarnower than the one we know.

What is more, the article reiterated certain phrases from the letter of the Polish Legation (an award in the "Sculpture" competition held by the Society of Fine Arts in Warsaw) and ended with a "wish to find a stable place, with a psychological atmosphere that would be genuinely favourable for the development of her talent."<sup>95</sup> The entire line of reasoning seems to imply that the message was directed not so much to the Portuguese reader as to the diplomatic missions of countries that could grant political asylum to the artist. One of the main obstacles here was the fact that the American Emergency Rescue Committee could not find anyone to confirm that Żarnower was in fact an artist. The circumstances and timing of the article suggest that it was initiated, if not written, by Marjan Paszkiewicz. In the end, after dramatic twists of events, the artist embarked on a journey to the U.S. in December 1941. As she was not allowed to enter the country, she went on to Canada and spent the following 17 months, until the summer of 1943, in Montreal.<sup>96</sup>

### The Emigration Years

However, even the attaché had to take care of his future as well as that of his wife and three sons. According to Stanisław Schimitzek, in the spring of 1941 Paszkiewicz and consul Marian Semiczek applied to HICEM, a Jewish aid organization, for financial assistance to go to Canada.<sup>97</sup> In a letter the diplomat wrote years later to Jan Hrynkowski, he mentioned having met Kisling in Lisbon ("he had already become terribly kitschy"), said that he last heard news

<sup>94</sup> See Milada Ślizińska, Andrzej Turowski, *Teresa Żarnowerówna (1897–1949). Artystka końca utopii*, exh. cat., Muzeum Sztuki, 2014 (Łódź, 2014), p. 45. The artist submitted her résumé to the Legation.

<sup>95</sup> Ślizińska, Turowski, op. cit., pp. 268–71.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 56–60.

<sup>97</sup> Stanisław Schimitzek, *Na krawędzi Europy. Wspomnienia portugalskie 1939–1946* (Warsaw, 1970), p. 350. HICEM provided assistance to many persons, including Stefan Themerson.

about his friends from Zawadowski in 1939 – and that he left Europe in 1942.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, he managed to visit Spain before that to collect his archive that had been deposited there.

In fact, Paszkiewicz probably left Portugal earlier, departing for Montreal in the autumn of 1941 in order to begin work at the Polish Consulate on 15 September (as he much later declared to the Swedish authorities). This date is confirmed by the diplomat's article published in the Montreal-based *La Revue Moderne* in November of the same year (Paszkiewicz wrote about the refugees in Portugal and the local authorities' attitude towards this problem) (fig. 22).<sup>99</sup> After less than a year in Canada, the diplomatic post in Montreal was closed down, and the émigré from Lisbon was transferred by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Edward Raczynski, to the Polish Consulate in San Francisco.<sup>100</sup> According to surviving official documents, the closing down of this post in 1945 marked the end of Paszkiewicz's diplomatic service. His financial standing suffered as a result, and – as he himself claimed – the People's Republic of Poland deprived him of his citizenship.<sup>101</sup>

In spite of his former milieu being devastatingly affected first by the Spanish Civil War and then the Second World War, Paszkiewicz stayed in touch with his Spanish and South American friends, as may be inferred, for example, from the aforementioned letter written by Eduardo Dieste. Perhaps Jarnés' decision to reprint his detailed and extended article about Paszkiewicz in the Colombian monthly *Revista de América* stemmed from the fact the stateless Pole was looking for a new occupation.<sup>102</sup> This and other efforts presumably resulted in the critic being employed as the secretary of the Venezuelan Consulate in San Francisco in the early 1950s.<sup>103</sup> After that, according to his son Maurice Paszkiewicz and declarations made before Swedish authorities, he worked in various companies, including as a purchasing manager on trade cruises to Casablanca and Vancouver.

<sup>98</sup> Letter to Hrynkowski from Karlshamn of 15 June 1956. Kisling arrived in Lisbon via Marseille, having met with the dying Pankiewicz. He had a brother-in-law in Portugal: painter Adriano de Sousa Lopez; the artist left for USA via Bermuda in 1941.

<sup>99</sup> Marjan Paszkiewicz, "Les réfugiés au Portugal," *La Revue Moderne*, n° 7 (1941), pp. 7–8, 38. In the article, the author describes a river of refugees, which starts in Poland and ends in Portugal; a product of the "barbaric German method of [waging] total war", emphasizing the economic aspect of their situation and social unrest resulting from the rise of fascism in Spain.

<sup>100</sup> According to the aforementioned personal questionnaire from the archives of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, Paszkiewicz's employment at the Polish Consulate in Montreal between 15 September 1941 and 1 January 1942 was financed from the refugee fund, and he later worked as a contract officer until 1 August 1942. He was employed by the San Francisco Consulate on 1 August 1942. Following the closing down of this post in 1945, the former diplomat and his family fell into financial difficulties; his personal file contains correspondence concerning aid provided by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in London for Paszkiewicz's health-related expenses in 1945. There are no more documents on file.

<sup>101</sup> Karlshamn police report of 10 January 1956, see the aforementioned Swedish archives.

<sup>102</sup> Jarnés, "Breve crítica...", op. cit.

<sup>103</sup> Edmund S. Urbański, *Od Wikingów do Indian. Wspomnienia wojenne i powojenne ze Skandynawii, Hispamoameryki i USA* (Stevens Point, 1987), p. 187; in his memoirs of 1950–51, the author writes: "the secretary of the Venezuelan Consulate was Marian Paszkiewicz, former consul of the Republic of Poland in California, and secretary of the Polish Legation in Madrid and Lisbon before that. This good man, who by that time was rather elderly, left for Sweden, where his wife came from. They had three sons, each of whom was born in a different country." I would like to thank Dorota Gębicka from the Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN) in Warsaw for this piece of information. Here it is worth recalling a standing *Portrait de Nada Pachevich* painted in 1948 by Salvador Dalí, who at that time was a frequent visitor to California. Owing to the lack of photographs depicting Paszkiewicz's wife in that period, it is difficult to ascertain whether she might be the subject of this work.

In 1955 the Paszkiewiczzes decided to return to Sweden. This last stage of the journey, through Denmark and Malmö to Karlshamn, is documented by dry police and official reports concerning applications for permanent residence and then citizenship as well as several surviving letters to Jan Hrynkowski and Paszkiewicz's son's accounts. The resulting image is that of two elderly people who led a peaceful life in an equally peaceful town on the Baltic Sea, in a house overlooking the sea.<sup>104</sup> Maurice, Paszkiewicz's youngest son who visited his father in Sweden, claimed that towards the end of his life he was solely absorbed in the philosophy of Kant. In letters to Hrynkowski from that time, full of warm feelings for his friend, Paszkiewicz asked him about his family, friends, painters they both knew; he recalled Pankiewicz, Rafał Malczewski and many others. He also commented on Hrynkowski's painting, praising him for abandoning abstraction and grumbling about the 'Picassoism' of contemporary art. Health-related concerns were more and more frequent, too, but the friendship, rekindled after so many years, inspired Paszkiewicz to write the introduction to a catalogue of graphic works created by Bogusława Cholewa – Hrynkowski's future wife. The last letter is written with the hand of a seriously ill man.<sup>105</sup>

Marjan Paszkiewicz died on 21 February 1969 in Karlshamn. Elder citizens remember his energetic posture, as he strolled around the town with his wife. Hardly anyone knew anything about his past.<sup>106</sup>

Translated by Aleksandra Szkudłapska

<sup>104</sup> Initially, the spouses stayed with Ms. Knuttson on 1 Parkgatan, and later moved to a house on 24 Drottninggatan. When entering the country, the Polish diplomat solely presented his affidavit made before the California state authorities on 15 October 1955. In 1961, Paszkiewicz was granted Swedish citizenship.

<sup>105</sup> At least eight letters to Hrynkowski have been preserved, and an exchange of letters between the addressee and Marjan (Maurice) Karol Paszkiewicz following his father's death. Sonja Wilson Paszkiewicz died on 28 April 1965. The eldest son, Jan Erik, died in an assisted living facility in San Francisco; the younger, Olof Stefan – in Long Island (USA) in 2009. According to an account of the youngest son, Marjan, the family owned numerous memorabilia, including a painting by Sonja Wilson. The archive of the Emigration Museum contains two notes sent by Paszkiewicz around 1966 to the editor's office of *Wiadomości* in London (file ref. AE/AW/CCXL/5).

<sup>106</sup> E-mail from Bengt Gabrielson from the Karlshamn museum to the author of this text of 6 November 2015.

### Bibliography of found texts by Marjan Paszkiewicz

- "De arte pictórico. Hacia la unidad plástica," *Cervantes*, n° 10 (1917), pp. 51–61.  
 Introduction in *Exposición de los pintores polacos*, Władysław Jahl, Józef Pankiewicz, Mme. Wanda Pankiewicz (pinturas y tapiserías), Waclaw Zawadowski, Patio del Ministerio de Estado (Madrid, 1918).
- "Palabras de un pintor," in *Ultra*, n° 3 (1921).
- "Alusiones," in *Ultra*, n° 15 (1921).
- "25 F.," in *Horizonte*, n° 2 and 3 (1922) (signed "P. Marjan").
- "El monasterio cúbico," in *Horizonte*, n° 4 (1923), p. 2 (unsigned).
- "Exposiciones," in *Horizonte*, n° 4 (1923), p. 12 (signed "P. M.").
- "El cubismo de Pablo Picasso," in *Horizonte*, n° 5 (1923), p. 2.
- "La pintura de Echevarría," in *Horizonte*, n° 5 (1923), p. 11.
- "La superficie intacta," in *Alfar*, n° 37 (1924), p. 9.
- "Xenius cicerone," in *Alfar*, n° 38 (1924), pp. 3–4.
- "El valor plástico y su representación," in *Alfar*, n° 41 (1924).
- "Sobre los límites de la crítica pictórica," in *Alfar*, n° 44 (1924), pp. 3–4.
- "La actitud crítica que exige la nueva pintura," 1924 (I only found a snippet from an unknown Spanish newspaper).
- "Reflexiones sobre la pintura nueva," in *Revista de Occidente*, n° 27 (1925), pp. 302–16.
- "Valoraciones. La construcción solo puede ser elemento pictórico como engarce del color y la línea," in *El Heraldo de Madrid* of 26 January 1926, p. 3.
- "Monumento a Chopin en Varsovia," in *El Heraldo de Madrid* of 13 November 1926, p. 1.
- "Tres quadros de Velázquez" in *La Gaceta Literaria*, n° 18 (1927), p. 3.
- "Diego Velázquez (1599–1660). Fragment" in *Sztuki Piękne*, Ann. 3 (1926–27), pp. 106–16.
- La Polonia actual* (San Sebastián, 1927).
- Prólogo del traductor* in Stefan Pomarański, *Piłsudski, vida y obra*, Gráfica Universal (Madrid, 1932), pp. 3–7.
- "José Piłsudski," in *La Luz* of 26 March 1933, pp. 8–9.
- Introduction in *Exposição de gravuras polacas* (Lisbon: Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes, 1936).
- "Les réfugiés au Portugal," in *La Revue Moderne*, n° 7 (1941), pp. 7–8, 38.
- Introduction in *Monotypie Bogusław Cholewy* (Warsaw, 1969).