

Alina Szapocznikow in Paris: worlds in action and in retrospect.

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Alina Szapocznikow's extensive retrospective held in Paris at the Musée de la Ville de Paris in May 1973, was tragically posthumous. My interest in her work began many years ago when I found the catalogue of this exhibition in a box of bargains, in the Galerie J & J Donguy, near the Bastille. I was intrigued by the attractive, smiling woman on the cover – and shocked by the unexpected vision of her *Tumours* illustrated inside; I realised at once she was an important artist – a contemporary of a Gina Pane in Paris or a Hannah Wilke in America. Why had I never heard of her? I was proud to present her *Self-portrait I* (1966) in 'Paris, Capital of the Arts, 1945-1968' (London and Bilbao, 2002), prior to her inclusion in 'Flesh at War with Engima' (Basel, 2004). In our London catalogue, Kasia Murawska-Muthesius's essay spelled out the role that Paris, not New York, played as a beacon for artists in Eastern European countries under Soviet domination after 1945.¹

The excellent scholarship that has been produced on Szapocznikow in Poland in the last few years, and the resituating of her sculpture in an international context – comparisons with Eva Hesse or the later work of Louise Bourgeois, for example - are enterprises that have so far missed out on the Paris story. Alina shared her life in Paris that not only with her second husband Roman Cieslewicz and her son Piotr, but on the networks of friendship and artistic competition during a period of extraordinary intellectual vibrancy, the 1960s and early 1970s - just preceding and following the revolutionary moment of May '68.

An important dimension here, one of the focuses of my talk, is the place for women artists in a context so dominated by men, that the exhibition 'Twelve years of contemporary art' staged as an official gesture at the Grand Palais by Georges Pompidou in 1972 (otherwise known as '72 for 72') had just two female participants: Niki de Saint Phalle and Sheila Hicks – pitched against seventy men.² The Mouvement de la Libération des Femmes – the French 'Women's Lib' movement - which demonstrated outside '72 for 72' was in its infancy. This proportional representation corresponds almost precisely with the American statistics Linda Nochlin gives in her article of 1971, 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?'³ The times were those in which the philosopher Jean-François Lyotard described the genre of the *essai* – and by extension writing and thought itself – as the province of the male, despite the fact that the concept of *écriture féminine* was developing during this period.⁴ And the

feninist manifesto ‘Enfermement –Rupture’ (Enclosure-Rupture’, February, 1977), declared: ‘Our common cause is the violence done to us, the bars and cages which surround us. The canvas, the frame, the stretcher, horizontal and vertical lines, surface or dark room ... all are cages and prisons inherited from the bourgeois era.’⁵

My generation conceives of an era of great French exhibitions beginning at this point in early 1977, when the Centre Georges Pompidou opened with France’s first Duchamp retrospective followed by ‘Paris-Berlin’, ‘Paris-Moscow’, ‘Realisms between Revolution and Reaction’, ‘Paris-Paris’ – and finally ‘Polish Presences’ at the time of Solidarity in 1983. Many are unaware of the pioneering series of retrospectives held at the CNAC (Centre National de l’Art Contemporain) from 1967 onwards, where future Pompidou Centre team players such as Germain Viatte or Agnès de la Beaumelle worked on catalogue design with Alina’s husband, Roman Cieslewicz. The CNAC organised pioneering American shows such as that of Edward Kienholz (1970), or of international newcomers to Paris such as the Greek, kinetic artist Takis or Daniel Spoerri’s ‘Anecdotic Topography of Chance’ (both in 1972).⁶ Cieslewicz was almost solely responsible for a certain ‘look’ of post-’68 Paris: he also designed the newspaper *Libération*, the influential art review *Opus International*, and would of course go on to give the Pompidou Centre itself its logo and graphic insignia.⁷

Cieslewicz’s poster of a green Mona Lisa with a purple tear, remains a melancholic sign of his presence - and Alina’s loss - in the studio he shared with her in Malakoff (a suburb south of Paris), where artist friends such as Annette Messager and Christian Boltanski still live. I made a pilgrimage to the studio in mid-May, where I was welcomed by Chantal Petit, herself a sculptor and painter of distinction, and the partner of Roman Cieslewicz in his later life. There were very, very few memento pieces by Alina, some lips, some very small, hand-sized bronzes and a mirror- in the bedroom – but still a spirit of the original couple haunting the place. Chantal pointed out to me the intertwining of a fig tree and a cherry tree, two trunks together, against the fence, an almost too perfect symbol of love... She showed me the double height, white studio space that was Alina’s and which is shortly to be transformed forever. [At this point in my talk I showed a photograph of the *Tumour* sculptures resting on a patch of grass in the garden].

Another of Alina’s friends, Claudine Martin, played an important role in her life, showing her work - including the pioneering installation of the *Tumour* pieces (as ‘Disintegration of personality’, 1971) - and Cieslewicz’s too, in the Galerie Aurora in Geneva. She received me with her partner, the painter Olivier O. Olivier, in his studio in the ‘Gaité’ quarter of Montparnasse. They remembered wonderful dinners with Alina and Roman

in Malakoff, where they came with the artist and other members of the group ‘Panique’: an important circle for Alina. ‘Panique’ was founded in 1962 with the Polish illustrator, poet and theatre producer Roland Topor, the Spanish playwright and film director, Fernando Arrabal, the Chilean filmmaker and Tarot specialist Alejandro Jodorowsky, and the fantasy, sci-fi writer Jacques Sternberg. Here black humour – humour to the ‘third not second degree’ reigned – in an intensely creative world where theatre, film, mime, poster design and the *bande dessinée* came together. Claudine remembers Alina’s fabulous clothes – a multi-coloured feathered 60’s outfit ‘like a little parrot’... It was moving at the Warsaw conference to encounter the idea that Alina, after her ordeals, lived in Paris with Roman, with Piotr, with her friends, in her atelier – in a ‘trance of happiness’ (*très jousive*, said Piotr).

And yet there was Alina Szapocznikow the serious sculptor – and indeed a world of female creativity of which she was part. After the excitement of Warsaw, I was able to meet Piotr Stanislawski again in Paris. Alina’s first trip to Paris, from late 1947-1950 in the aftermath of the second world war, coincided with the period when Nathan Rapoport cast his great *Monument to the Partisans of the Warsaw ghetto* there, with its stern warriors so reminiscent of those by François Rude on the Arc de Triomphe; its structure so reminiscent of Rodin’s *Gates of Hell*. Piotr confirmed the importance of the Musée Rodin for Alina; (I had not previously thought of the connection between Rodin and Szapocznikow’s erotic and blood-soaked drawings...). It was Rodin who was the great precursor and point of reference for the 1940’s sculptor Germaine Richier. She assumed his mantle via her teacher, Rodin’s own disciple, Emile Bourdelle, and would emerge as the most eminent female artist in the immediate postwar period. Surely Alina would have visited the exhibition of Richier’s bronzes and plasters at the Galerie Maeght in 1948, and read the catalogue-review, *Derrière le Miroir*, in which the poet Francis Ponge wrote eloquently on the work of the anomalous female sculptor?⁸ The analogies one can make between Richier’s *L’Homme-Fôret* (Forest-Man) and Szapocznikow’s *People Tree* – works with the ‘existential’ aura of the epoch, are convincing in this context.⁹

Returning to Paris definitively in 1963, Szapocznikow took Piotr several times to the Musée Rodin. Rodin’s play with mutilation and dismembered limbs, reduction an enlargement must have struck Alina on each visit (as it had informed her key piece, *Exhumed*, in 1955). And she would surely have visited the Claes Oldenburg exhibition held in the Musée Rodin in **1964**, in which the ice-cream spirit of his Pop Art world found both estrangement and confirmation in this context. Szapocznikow’s important formal relationship

with the sculptor César – Richier’s most important epigone – has been investigated. It marks the passage for both artists from postwar bronze to the coloured, fluid world of new plastics and poured substances that signal their engagement with Nouveau Réalisme and the world of critic Pierre Restany: though Restany was alert, as we are today, of Szapocknikow’s infinitely greater eroticism: the contrast between black rubber and veined, female flesh she managed so to create with new materials. There could not be a more poignant contrast between César’s massively enlarged breast – a monument for the Rochas perfume factory grounds in 1966 – and Alina’s cup of ice-cream breasts: (*Desert III*, 1971), so disturbingly pastel, so disturbingly playful (a joke with Oldenburg too, of course). Alina lightly inscribes her secret, her own condition of imminent loss, within sculptures’ constant obsession with mutilation – or the desire to mutilate.... The psychoanalytic readings invited by these works are vastly different.¹⁰ César’s breasts offered a female complement to his thumb sculptures (initially phallus-size, in orange polyurethane for Claude Bernard’s group exhibition ‘The Hand’ 1965). A thumb was expanded to two metres high for the 1966 Salon de Mai (a *doigt d’honneur* to Alina’s *Goldfinger* success there in 1965?) It was overdetermined symbol for the machismo and self-confidence of the Nouveau Réaliste group, where even Niki de Saint Phalle, Alina’s far more visible contemporary, suffered from ‘girlfriend’ status. Niki’s violent 1960’s work also involved a dimension of destruction, mutilation – and self-hatred – disguised by her glamour and fashion sense, and her *alter ego*, in sculptural terms: the pneumatic and flowery Nana sculptures.¹¹ We may compare Szapocznikow’s more disturbing plaster torso, *Niania*, with De Saint Phalle’s celebratory *Black Venus*, both of 1967.¹²

In my talk, however, I wished to render homage to Suzanne Pagé and her team, who from 1973 onwards, ran the contemporary spaces of the Musée d’Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, and put on retrospectives of women artists which rest unmatched in focus and quantity ever since in France. ‘ARC’ as the space was called, stood for ‘Animation, Research, Confrontation’. Following her precursor, Pierre Gaudibert, Pagé’s brief, in a period of increasing international networking, was complex. From the late 1960s onwards, ARC had enjoyed a pioneering role; now Pagé mixed the programme of contemporary women’s art, (dating from the 1971 Ruth Francken retrospective) with the first presentations of American conceptual art, and confrontations between European ‘Narrative Figuration’ and American Hyperrealism, the first photography retrospectives and the first video shows.¹³ This is the decade which Alina missed – framed by Polish shows; the decade between her own 1972 retrospective, and Magdalena Abakanowicz’s exhibition, plus ‘A museographical experiment, Artistic exchange, Poland-USA, 1931-1982’ (no female artists) at the dangerous

end of the decade. Szapocznikow's retrospective was followed by the abstract, conceptual work of Tania Mouraud in the same year; In 1974, her Malakoff friend, Annette Messager staged her now historic show, *Annette Messager collectionneuse*, in between exhibitions of conceptual and hyperrealist art from the Ludwig collection, a decade of Joseph Kosuth's work (1963-7-); a video show in confrontation with the first John Hearfield retrospective (organised from East Germany), with Fluxus and Wolf Vostell to end the year. In 1975, 'Hessie' had an exhibition 'Survival Art', for which a film, *Trans-perce*, by the Czech artist, Misia Kolesaar, was shown at the opening; Titiana Maselli, the post-futurist 'Queen of La Ruche' (the historic Montparnasse 'beehive' of artists) in March was followed by Jacqueline Dauriac in May. While 'Hessie' – who has disappeared – has not even her dates inscribed on the label of the small and delicate state purchase currently on show in *elles@centrepompidou*, and my friend Mythia Kolesaar (the far too self-effacing widow of the painter Jean Dewasne) is now frail, Jacqueline Dauriac – one of Szapocznikow's many 'sister' artists – currently pursues a successful career working with light in urban and landscape installations. The eroticism and sexual provocation of Dauriac's androgynous, photo-based work (Duane Michels and Diane Arbus were sources) shown at ARC in 1975, in particular the inverted 'smile' of *Carol's cunt*, 1974, corresponds precisely with the moment of publication of Hélène Cixous' article on 'The smile of the Medusa': (itself generated by the castrating vision of Aubrey Beardsley's *Salome*).¹⁴ I mention this link – (discovered while working on Myriam Bat-Josef) – specifically because decontextualised studies of French *écriture féminine*, or textbooks of *The Cixous Reader* genre, are incapable of evoking for us the context of these women's work and their complex relationship to the artworld in Paris and beyond.¹⁵

The Jacqueline Dauriac exhibition of 1975 in the ARC space was juxtaposed in a daring curatorial gesture with Jochen Gerz's first major show in Paris (there seemed to be a deliberate welcoming of German artists both historical and contemporary at the time). Gerz's *Exit/Materials for the Dachau-Project*, 1972, was surely the first show in Paris explicitly to raise – for a post-1940s public – not only the question of the Holocaust, but disturbing questions surrounding the museumification of its sites. The 'invisibility' of this dimension of Szapocznikow's *Tumours* – their silent screams – was inscribed within a climate of repression and deliberate *insouciance* in the 1960s and early 1970s that would slowly give way to a greater historical awareness during the 1980s. (Christian Boltanski did not exhibit at ARC until 1981; Lyotard's *Heidegger et 'les juifs'* – whose genesis, I contend, was linked to his *Histoire de Ruth* (Ruth Francken), did not appear until 1988).¹⁶

It was my pleasure, in the context of the Warsaw lecture, to present work by other female artists – all exhibited in the ARC space – who were Szapocznikow’s contemporaries, such as Eva Aëppli (the first companion of Tinguely), Joan Mitchell, together with the pioneering retrospectives of Hannah Hoch (1976) or the lesser-known Paris-based photographer Ruth Henry (works from 1927-8, 1978). Some of these artists are still working in Paris – the Hungarian artist Judith Riegl (shown in 1976) whose work has recently been exhibited for the first time at Tate Modern, for example. Ruth Francken, who died so recently, was supported by Herbert Read, Michel Tapié, Jean-François Lyotard — yet her entire life’s work was auctioned away two years ago. Unlike Alina, she had no child, no Piotr to care for her legacy; the moment of rediscovery came just too late.¹⁷ We may compare one of her most famous works, the taut, polyester, body-moulded *Man-Chair*, 1971, with Alina’s far more abject, liquifying *Chair project* of 1967 (a juxtaposition first made by Dagmara Budzbon).¹⁸ Both women engaged actively with the spirit of their epoch in Paris, working first with clay, plaster and bronze, then with plastics, moving from model to living flesh and body moulds... Both, astonishingly, escaped mention in the new anthology of women’s art in France by Catherine Gonnard & Elisabeth Lebovici (2007); both appear – far too discreetly – in *elles@centrepompidou*, 2009. Both women came from Eastern Europe, their lives affected by their Jewish origins and touched by the Holocaust; they chose to create in postwar Paris... They have so far escaped the attentions of American feminist scholarship.¹⁹

I ended my lecture with an evocation of Poland’s position in Paris: with the apprehensions of another Polish sculptor, Magdalena Abakanowicz, as she prepared for her Paris retrospective with Suzanne Pagé in 1981: ‘*Despite the shame of denudation, the fear of indifference, we defend our truths.... ARC 14 January-21 February 1982. Night. A muffled sound wakes us. 4 am, 13 December 1981. I listen. The terrible din evokes childhood memories. Tanks. War. Now I see them arrive one after the other... Tanks, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, twenty one... My show at ARC?...*’ And the quotation in the ARC commemorative volume (so important for my talk) around the exhibition, ‘A museographical experiment, Artistic exchange, Poland-USA, 1931-1982’ *If you eliminate the impossible, only the possible remains. It was in this spirit that the ARC team, Pontus Hulten and I got together a Polish and American art show in the summer of 1982 when Poland was in a state of complete war* (Anka Ptaszkowska, April 1983).²⁰ This was the genesis, evidently, of Hulten’s *Presences Polonaises* at the Pompidou Centre in 1983; the Solidarity banner was displayed on the façade of the building

throughout the show. Three pieces by Alina Szapocznikow were exhibited. Ryszard Stanislawski never mentioned his wife – or her art to me, in any of our subsequent encounters.²¹

Postscript with Piotr Stanislawski, July 2009

On July 4th, 2009, I visited the Chapel of the Polish Pallotines with Piotr Stanislawski; my aim was to see the *Herbarium XII (Head of Christ)*; Alina's smashed polyester face-cast of her son, created in the knowledge of her imminent death; a conflation of earthly image and Veronica's veil... Another Paris network was revealed – a world I had previously ignored and which, I believe, has profound implications for understanding Szapocznikow's last decade.

The Pallotines, founded in Rome by Vincenzo Pallotti in 1835, proposed to unite the factions of East/West Christianity, within a Union of the Catholic Apostolate; their mission was to reach out to lay communities; their motto *Contat Christi urget nos* (the love of Christ impels us...) The Pallotins established themselves in France (named a 'Region of Divine Mercy') in 1946, many priests fleeing nazi persecution. The Pallotins functioned not only from their chapel and meeting place in Paris, but their centre outside Paris in Osny (near Pointoise) where, with their printing press, they ran the Éditions du Dialogue. When little Piotr hurt his leg in 1963, Alina took him to Osny to recuperate – the first of many trips. Here Alina met the priest, Jozef Sadzik - and encountered an alternative, Polish philosophical, literary and above all theological milieu. In the very year of their meeting, Sadzik published his thesis on Heidegger's aesthetics, with its reflections upon materiality, tools, 'informed matter', problems of truth and non-truth and the concept of *l' être sauvegardé de l'oeuvre* (being saved in the work / the saved 'being-ness' of the work).²² This seems particularly poignant in terms of her preservation of Piotr's body in the *Herbarium* series and the Christ-like, inclining, polychrome *Piotr* of 1972. Sadzik commissioned stained-glass windows on the theme of the Apocalypse for the Pallotine chapel – a meeting place also known as the Centre du Dialogue – from the well-known Polish artist, Jan Lebenstein in 1970.²³ (Lebenstein's Paris exhibition catalogues of 1968 and 1971 were designed by Cieslewicz).²⁴ And from the great writer, Czesław Miłosz, who had epitomised Poland's tragic postwar condition in *The Captive Mind*, 1953, Sadzik commissioned translations of the *Psalms*, *Job*, *Mark* and the *Apocalypse* – illustrated by Lebenstein and Cieslewicz.²⁵ The windows, with their conflated bestiaries and baroque twist shed a warm coloured light on a

Polish modernist architecture complemented by the distinctly constructivist, white plaster altar. These elements sit in strange relationship to the sacred austerity – disconcerting, fleshly realism – of the *Herbarium* Christ-head imprint, with its barbed-wire crown (currently substituted, alas, with a large painting of the Merciful Jesus of the shrine of the Divine Mercy, Krakow.²⁶)

Milosz described Lebenstein's illustrated projects as witnesses in themselves to Josef Jozef Sadzik's 'tragic religiosity'.²⁷ It is the milieu of the Pallotines, I suggest, which offers an entrée into the darker and more spiritual dimension of Szapocznikow's work, which, like a consubstantiation, coexists with its extreme sensuality. With what I learned in Warsaw of Alina's previous life, I imagine the consolation of a place outside the 'trance of happiness' – significantly outside the Paris art world – where she might have indeed, have spoken of the 'unutterable' past, the paradoxes of her double survival as victim of both fascism and Stalinism - and the injustices of the present. 1968 for Szapocznikow signalled not a moment of revolutionary joy in May, but one of urgent reaction to the new wave of anti-semitism in Poland, generated by the political crisis there in March. This entailed the loss of her *atelier* in Warsaw; a hasty marriage in Paris with Roman Cieslewicz, the return of anguish that she surely thought banished – a situation coincident with the self-devouring advent of her tumours, which lead ultimately to the decision to create the commemorative *Piotr* and *Herbarium* series; their dimensions embraced not only of that of the Jewish Christ, but her own, spiritual motherhood. This gesture, Piotr, her model, confirmed, left her at the end, with her emaciated tumour-ridden body, 'a fulfilled woman' (*iune femme accomplie*). The intertwinings of personal and Christological meanings in Alina's last works – with her son and for posterity – and the wider relationships between images, ethics and the 'theopolitical' raise questions I first discussed in Strasbourg, so soon after conversing with Piotr, and invite further development. Alina's multiple worlds in their richness and complexity will continue to elude us.²⁸

¹ Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius, 'Paris from behind the Iron Curtain', in Sarah Wilson et al, *Paris: Capital of the Arts 1900-1968*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2002, pp. 250-61; (illustrating *Headless Torso*, 1968 and Alina in her Malakoff studio with *It's Running Red*, 1967, figs 95-6, p. 260). See also French, German and Spanish (Guggenheim Bilbao editions). We showed Alina's *Chewing Gum* photosculptures in the Courtauld Institute of Art's East wing Collection, 2008-9.

² *Douze ans de l'art contemporain*, Paris, Grand Palais, 1972 (design Roman Cieslewicz).

³ In *Art News* 68 (March 1969–February 1970), Nochlin cites two articles on women painters out of 81 major articles; in *Art News* 69 (March 1970–February 1971), ten out of 84 (nine, including Nochlin's own, in the special January women's issue); and in *Artforum* 1970–1 five out of 74 articles on women. See Linda Nochlin, 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists? Thirty Years After', in Carol Armstrong and Catherine de Zegher, eds., *Women Artists at the Millennium*, Cambridge, MA, and London, MIT, October Books, 2006, pp. 21–32.

⁴ Lyotard, 'Écriture mâle', a section of 'Feminité dans la métalangue', ('Eventi 75', *Annuario 76*, Archives of the Venice Biennale, p. 925 ff) *Rudiments païens*, Paris: UGE, 10/18, 1977, p. 213 ff.

⁵ 'Enfermement / Rupture', *L'Humidité*, 24, Spring, 1977.

⁶ See Clothilde Rouillier, *Le Centre national d'Art contemporain, du service artistique au Musée national d'art moderne, 1965-1983*, unpublished, 2004, and CNAC catalogues.

⁷ See Margo Rouard, *Roman Cieslewicz*, Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1993.

⁸ See my text, Germaine Richier, disquieting matriarch', *Sculpture Journal*, December 2006, pp 51-70.

⁹ The juxtaposition here was made by Amy Chmielecki, *Alina Szapocznikow's 'Body' of Work: Sculptures 1953-1972*, 2006, under my direction.

¹⁰ In 1966 César made a mould of the breast of a dancer at the Crazy Horse night club which was enlarged to a 5 metre diameter (2.5 metres high) for the fountain of the Rochas Perfume factory in Poissy.

¹¹ The Nanas and the association with Jean Tinguely have curiously 'written out' Niki from serious consideration by American feminist scholars- despite her double nationality (why must their 'Great women artists' be tragic?) See my text 'Tu es moi: The Sacred, the Profane and the Secret in the work of Niki de Saint Phalle', *Niki de Saint Phalle*, Tate Liverpool, 2008.

¹² Again a juxtaposition I showed with acknowledgements to Amy Chmielowski's MA thesis (above) **CHECK**.

¹³ See Jean-Marie Deparis, *Histoire de l'ARC, 1967-1972*, thesis, Paris I-Sorbonne, 1981. For the full range of ARC's activities and Anabelle Ténèze, *Exposer l'art contemporain à Paris, L'exemple de l'ARC, Au Musée d'art moderne de la Ville de Paris (1967-1988)*, Paris, Ecole de Chartes, 2004, four volumes, <http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/document143.html>

¹⁴ See Hélène Cixous, 'L'affiche décolle', *Cahiers Renaud-Barrault*, 83, 1973, Aubrey Beardsley number, p. 31, 34-5; and 'Le rire de la Méduse', *L'Arc*, 61, 1975, pp. 39-54; compare *The Hélène Cixous Reader*, Susan Sellers ed., London, Routledge, 1994.

¹⁵ See my essays 'Rites of Passage: Myriam Bat-Yosef and Performance', *Myriam Bat-Yosef, Paintings, Objects, Performances*, ed. Fabrice Pascaud, Paris, Editions Somogy pp. 92-107,

2005 (following 'Axell: One+One' Evelyne Axell, *from Pop Art to Paradise*, pp.23-40 with the same publisher, 2004, both bilingual in English and French).

¹⁶ See Lyotard, *Histoire de Ruth*, 1983 in *Ruth Francken, Werke, 1950-1994*, Magdeburg, Kloster Unser Lieben Frauen, 1994, p. 16ff; and *Heidegger et les 'juifs'*, Paris, Gallilée, 1988;

¹⁷ My text, 'The Song of Ruth', *Ruth Francken*, Sprengel Museum, Hannover 2004, (bilingual) was reprinted in English, unsourced, in O. Doutrebente, *Succession Ruth Francken*, Pairs, Drouot, 20-21 Spetmebr, 2007.

¹⁸ See Dagmara Budzbon, *Alina Szapocznikow: The Ecstatic Carnaval of Forms*, MA, Courtauld Insitute of Art, 2008, (under my direction).

¹⁹ See Catherine Gonnard & Elisabeth Lebovici. *Femmes Artistes/Artistes Femmes: Paris, de 1880 à nos jours*, Paris: Hazan, 2007; *elles@centrepompidou*, Camille Morineau ed., Centre Geroges Pompidou, 2009. In terms of unpublished scholarship – featurring little work by alina, it is important to note Diana Quinby's, *Le collectif: Femme/Art*, Sorbonne, Paris I, 2003 and Rakhee Balaram, 'Femmes Révolutionnaires': *The Politics of Women's Art, Theory andPractice in 1970's France* PhD Courtauld Institutute of Art, 2009, with full bibliography, focuses on women artists' 'invisiblity', militant political practices –(the 'MLF') counter-Marxist psychoanalytic groupings, etc.

²⁰ *Magdalena Abakanowicz, Altérations*, ARC, 13 January- 21 February, 1982; 'A museographical experiment. Artstic exchange, Poland-USA, 1931-1982', a Lodz museum initiative, generated by Sam Francis and Henryk Stazewski; curators Rysard Stanislawksi, Pontus Hulten, Suzanne Pagé. Quotations from *ARC 1973-1983*, Suzanne Pagé and Juliet Laffon eds., Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1983.

²¹ For example our prolonged encounter in 1990, for the exhibition 'Henryk Stazewski : pionero polaco del arte concreto', Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno.

²² The full bibliography in Sazdik's *Esthétique de Martin Heidegger*, (thesis , University of Freiburg, 1962) Paris, Éditions Universitaires, 1963, combines German and French sources with the Polish, such as W. Tartarkiewicz, *L'évolution en art*, 1913; *Concentration en reverie*, 1934 *Hisotria estheiqtik*, Warsaw, 2 vols, 1960,

²³ The Centre du Dialogue served as an ecumentical meeting-place; there is a smaller chapel nearby in the building used for daily mass.

²⁴ *Lebenstein, 1966-68*, Galerie Desbrière, 27, Rue Guénégaud, Paris, 15 May-8 June, 1968, and *Lebenstein, 1968/71* Galerie du Triangle (at the same address).

²⁵ See Czeslaw Milosz, *La Pensée captive. Essai sur les logocraties populaires*, Paris, 1953; *Ksiega Hioba* (illustrated by Lebenstein), Paris, Editions du Dialogue, 1981; *Ksiegi piecu megilot*, Editions du Dialogue, 1982, illustrated by Cieslewicz, *Evangelia wedlug Marka/Apokalipsa* (Editions du Dialogue, 1984, text) Lublin, Catholic University, 1989, illustrated by Lebenstein.

²⁶ This painting, signed 1944, with version '3197/2009' (soc), inscribed on the back, is a perfect exemplar of Polish religious art 'Saint-Suplicien' style – the analogy being with the multiply reproduced work of socialist realism in the USSR or Mao's China, as I explained in my Strasbourg lecture.

²⁷ Czeslaw Milosz, 'Lettre a Jan Lebenstein' (Berkely, 1985; *Kultura*, 7-8, Paris, 1985), *Jan Lebenstein*, Galerie Zacheta, Warsaw, 1992, np, in French and Polish.

²⁸ My plenary lecture 'Two Christs (Germaine Richier, Alina Szapowcznikow), Ecumencism, sexuality, incarnation', was given at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, 9 July 2009, for the international conference of ACE (Art and Christian Enquiry) : 'Image(s) and Ethic(s) / L'éthique de l'image'; the relationship of both female artists to the mother-figure in the trope of *Pieta* was particularly problematic. Thanks to Piotr Stanislawski, Pawel Leszkowicz and Maria Matuszkiewicz for their help with images; and for the welcome I received at the Pallotine chapel, Paris.