

TERESA ŻARNOWER

BODIES AND BUILDINGS

By Adrian Anagnost

Enlightened peasant:
He has a car, a motorcycle, a bicycle / A
House of reinforced concrete
(Designed by Miss Żarnower) / An
Electric kettle,
Shiny-cheeked children,
A library with thousands of volumes,
And a canary that sings the *Internationale*
– Julian Tuwim, 1928

Polish artist Teresa Żarnower (1895?–1950) is recognized as belonging to the utopian strand of the interwar avant-gardes, those artists, architects, and writers whose works evinced a faith in technology and progress. Writing in the catalogue for the Constructivist-oriented *Wystawa Nowej Sztuki* (New Art Exhibition), held in the Polish-Lithuanian city of Vilnius in 1923, Żarnower described a new collective “delight” in the “simplicity and logical structure” of machines, “the equivalent of which is located in the simplicity and logic of artworks.”¹ The following year, Żarnower co-founded the Warsaw avant-garde group Blok, active from 1924 through 1926, and she co-edited the group’s journal. Along with the groups Praesens (1926–30) and a.r. (1929–36), Blok was one of a number of avant-garde artistic constellations in interwar Poland that encompassed Cubist, Suprematist, and Constructivist tendencies.² What these groups shared was not style alone, however, but an investment in architecture as a guiding principle for aesthetic production. Formal experimentation in various artistic mediums was a way to reflect upon a future built environment and, by extension, a future relationship of art and daily life. However, as art historian Andrej Turowski points out, diverse approaches to this problem would soon cause the dispersion of the Polish Constructivist avant-garde.³ Architect Szymon Syrkus, who left Blok to form Praesens, would go on to play an active role in Warsaw urban planning during the 1930s and 1940s. Sculptor Katarzyna Kobro, a fellow member of Blok and Praesens, spoke of her work as “laboratory experiment(s) that will define the architecture of future cities.”⁴ However, Kobro and her partner, painter Władysław Strzemiński, split from Praesens in 1929 because of its functionalist aesthetics and “excessive” focus on architecture. In forming the a.r. group, Kobro and Strzemiński remained committed to art as an experimental practice that influenced, yet remained autonomous from, instrumentalized design.



Fig. 1. Teresa Żarnower. Untitled (late 1910s), medium and size unknown.

Żarnower herself occupied a middle point on this continuum. Though she collaborated on modernist building designs with her partner, Mieczysław Szczuka, and with various architects, these designs went unbuilt.⁵ But, in contrast to Kobro, her artistic production was not an essentialist investigation of the medium of sculpture.⁶ From early work in sculpture, Żarnower’s practice developed to encompass graphic design, typography, architectural proposals, and photomontage, those mediums Szczuka described as “utilitarian art.”⁷ Żarnower’s interwar career thus seems to exemplify Constructivism fulfilling itself as an aesthetic pursuit and moving into the social realm.⁸

Yet rather than Constructivist formal experimentation, machine logic, or rationalist architecture, Żarnower’s works remained engaged with the arbitrary, the bodily, and the indeterminate. And in their impure Constructivism, Żarnower’s works manifest the ambiguous position of Polish artists vis-à-vis the better-known artistic avant-gardes both East and West: her Constructivist ethos belongs to neither Vkhutemas nor Bauhaus, her forms resemble neither Tatlin’s Counter Reliefs nor Kurt Schwitters’s Merzbau. Across a variety of media, Żarnower’s works display tensions between monumentality and fragility, between rupture and the persistence of tradition, between annihilation and renewal.⁹

While these tensions can be seen as fundamental to the fraught project of the historical artistic avant-gardes, Żarnower's works were rooted in the particularity of interwar Warsaw, in the problematics of architecture and urbanism for a city in flux. What characterizes Żarnower's works over the early decades of the twentieth century is not simply vanguardist formal investigation, but an aesthetic and thematic engagement with the cyclic destruction and visionary rebuilding of Warsaw's urban fabric during the political turmoil of the 1920s through 1940s. Żarnower's was a Constructivism of ambiguity, of forms that refused to resolve as purely geometric or corporeal. In her art practice, buildings were like bodies, and bodies like buildings, in that both occupied states of perpetual construction and perpetual ruin.

Interwar Poland was a crucible for aesthetic practices suspended between East and West.¹⁰ Though art historical narratives of the twentieth century have focused on Constructivism as the key field of innovation for interwar Polish artists, their careers demonstrated considerable aesthetic diversity.¹¹ After a long nineteenth century (1795–1918) spent partitioned among Austria-Hungary, Prussia-Germany, and Russia, the newly independent Second Polish Republic (1918–39) saw its artistic avant-garde working with elements of Russian Constructivism, Viennese and German Expressionism, Dutch Neo-Plasticism, and the transnational syntaxes of Cubo-Futurism and functionalist architecture.

Żarnower's works display this stylistic heterogeneity, while demonstrating her persistent concern with problematic monumentality across styles. Compare an early sculpture of a seated female nude from the period just following her study at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts during the late 1910s (Fig. 1), with the small, materially ambiguous *Architektur-Plastik* (Plastic Architecture) sculpture exhibited at Berlin's *Der Sturm* gallery in 1923 (Fig. 2).

The earlier figure departs from the model of Żarnower's teacher, Vienna- and Paris-trained Polish sculptor Edward Wittig, and reflects the indirect influence of French sculptor Aristide Maillol. As Rosalind Krauss has described, in Maillol's works, "compression of the separate parts of the body occurs, resulting in an adjustment of the body toward a simplified, compact geometric volume," as in the cuboid nude of Maillol's 1902 slouched bronze *Study for "Thought."*¹² Żarnower's figure assumes a pyramidal form: a Brancusi-like head is tucked underneath the triangular bend of an elbow, whose angle is doubled in the heavy fold of the upright knee and echoed in the solid triangular base of the folded bottom leg. But rather than suggesting an idealist "consonance between the internal structure of the body and its external form," the angular composition of Żarnower's figure occupies a transitional phase between the roughened Neoclassicism of her teacher and the abstract geometries of Constructivist sculpture.¹³ That is, instead of Maillol's classical proportions, Żarnower's work displays a mismatch between the more delicate forms of the figure's head, neck, and bosom, and the behemoth, more purely abstract limbs of the lower body. This is not the psychologically coherent figure of Maillol's neoclassical nude, with her

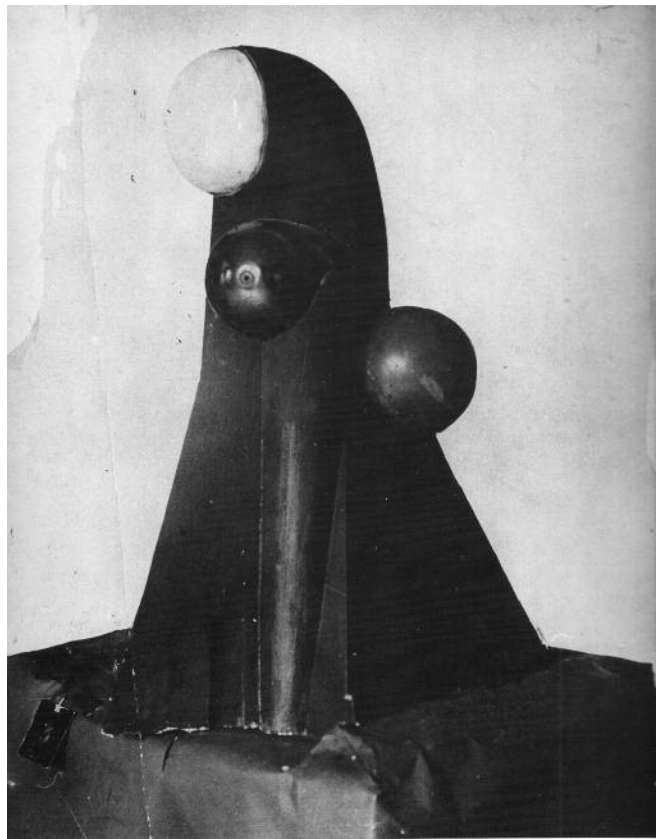
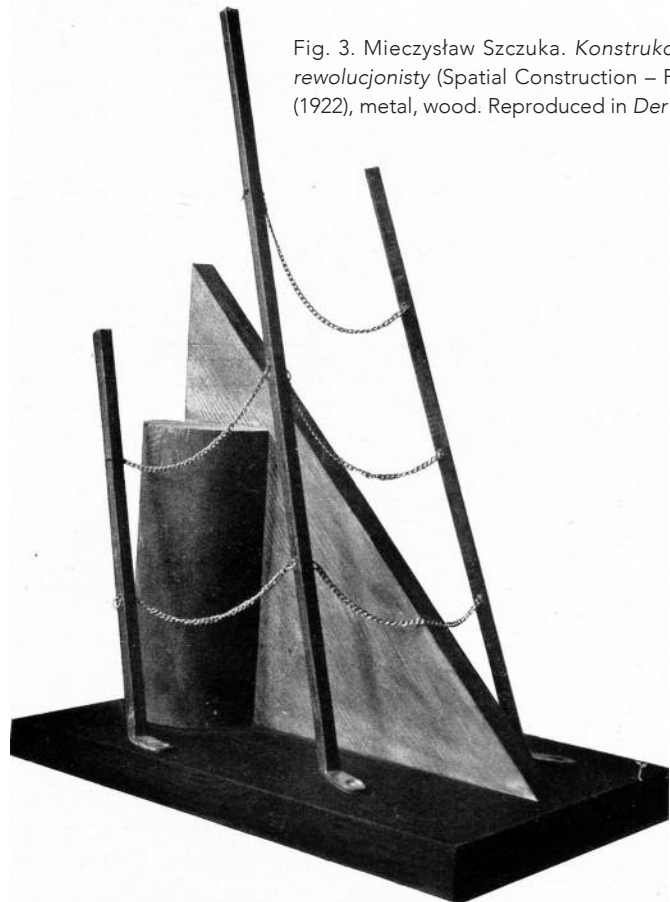


Fig. 2. Teresa Żarnower. *Architektur-Plastik* (Plastic Architecture) (1923), medium and size unknown. Reproduced in *Der Sturm* [Berlin] (June 1923).

inwardly directed gaze. But nor does Żarnower's work exhibit the theatricality found in the draped limbs and exposed body of Wittig's most famous work, *Ewa* (1912), which suggests a Northern Renaissance Rape of Europa painting.¹⁴ Lacking the psychologizing of Maillol and the sexualized drama of Wittig, Żarnower instead demonstrates detachment through a mode of abstraction in which the human body is schematized in basic geometric forms.

At the same time, Żarnower's figure also formally engages with the problem of indeterminate settings for artworks: would sculpture sit in the interior of the gallery or in a public space? Maillol's early sculptures typically rested on bronze or marble bases whose geometric shapes defined the outer edges of the figure's volume.¹⁵ In contrast, Wittig draped his female nude across a craggy solid resembling geological features.¹⁶ Where Maillol's neoclassical figures sit on orderly volumes in the cozy interiority of the Beaux Arts museum or gallery—the space of culture—and Wittig's seem to inhabit the natural world, Żarnower's female nude gestures toward a nascent Constructivist space. An abstracted human form unfolds from a geometric base, suggesting one way that human bodies might come to inhabit a built environment being reformulated on Constructivist lines. Indeed, early in her career, Żarnower would exhibit at the Corso Cinema in Vilnius (1923), and the inaugural exhibition of Blok (1924) was held at the Laurin & Klement automobile showroom in Warsaw, rather than in an art museum or a salon. Constructivist artworks were assimilated

Fig. 3. Mieczysław Szczuka. *Konstrukcja przestrzenna – portret rewolucjonisty* (Spatial Construction – Portrait of a Revolutionary) (1922), metal, wood. Reproduced in *Der Sturm* [Berlin] (June 1923).



into spaces for display of new technologies, i.e., the medium of film, or industrial design objects like new automobiles. Within these mechanized spaces of contemporary urban society, Żarnower blurred the division between sculpture and base, as well as between human body and constructed environment.

At Berlin's *Der Sturm* gallery in 1923, Żarnower exhibited various nudes, a model for a movie theater project, a sculptural *Monument* in concrete, and a watercolor *Mechanical Man* (all now presumed lost). The juxtaposition of architectural proposal and monument, Cubist nudes and a (Léger-like?) mechanical figure suggests that Żarnower was working through variations of answers to the question: how would the human body assimilate to a modern cityscape? In the only extant text attributable to Żarnower, written that same year, she spoke of an engagement with urban space through monumental sculpture.

If we introduce into sculpture (which is a solid, pushing off the air that surges upon it from all sides) materials requiring large surfaces, like concrete, iron and glass, it is only on the streets, squares etc. that we can find sufficiently great masses of air. There it will find its uses as a monument that is not in discord with its surroundings.... Elements introduced by the NEW ART eliminate randomness and provide MONUMENTALITY, which is determined by CONSTRUCTION using equivalences whose interdependences give a sense of balance.¹⁷

In its discussion of balanced construction, this text resembles the rhetoric of de Stijl theorist Theo van Doesburg, who wrote in

1918, "The consciousness of the new plasticism implies cooperation of all the plastic arts in order to attain a pure monumental style on the basis of balanced relationship."¹⁸ One might expect that,

moving forward, Żarnower's works would come to resemble the agglomerative architectonic structures of van Doesburg, Vladimir Tatlin's tautly balanced corner reliefs, or the tensegrity of works by Latvian-Russian sculptor Karl Ioganson.¹⁹ However, even as Żarnower's sculptures became more resolutely abstract, they did not visually evoke these precedents.

Żarnower's 1923 *Architektur-Plastik* continues her earlier explorations in merging geometric volumes and human form, suggesting a body crossed with a building.²⁰ While this sculpture is often held up as exemplary of Żarnower's Constructivist practice, it does not share the architectonic character of Constructivist sculptures by Tatlin, fellow Blok artist Katarzyna Kobro, or even Żarnower's partner, Szczuka (1922; Fig. 3). Rather than defining volumes with planes of wood or metal and linear filaments of wire, Żarnower's sculpture is a monolithic, irregular pyramid of indeterminate materiality featuring a single eye on its "face." This composition, as well as other sculptures from the mid-1920s illustrated in *Blok*, display vague formal affinities with Cubist figures such as Alexander Archipenko's *Frauenfigur*, illustrated in the May 1923 issue of *Der Sturm*, and Jacques Lipchitz's *Man with Mandolin* (1916–17).²¹ A more local reference is Polish sculptor Xawery Dunikowski: the silhouette of Żarnower's *Architektur-Plastik* echoes that of Dunikowski's 1917 copper sculpture *Tchnienie* (Breath). However, the 1923 *Architektur-Plastik* fits oddly in this lineage. Like all these models, Żarnower's sculpture is only incompletely abstract. But where the Cubist precedents are basically upright human figures composed of geometric forms, *Architektur-Plastik* retains its sense of a humanoid presence via the odd eye protruding from its pyramidal "face." The overall silhouette remains that of a building or monument, and a tiny vertical rectangular depression at "ground-level" seems to suggest a doorway, as if the sculpture possesses an interior. This fits the claim of Żarnower's 1923 text in the catalogue for the New Art Exhibition in Vilnius, in which she wrote that "a technical raising up of a monument made of concrete and iron produces empty space inside which can be used for practical purposes."²² Finally, also like a building, Żarnower's sculpture meets the ground directly, without the mediating form of a pedestal or base. Even as it rejected a traditional sculpture-base relationship, Żarnower's *Architektur-Plastik* retains the seemingly retrograde form of the monolith rather than the contingent, agglomerative, discontinuous, worldly character of modernist sculpture.²³ In this, Żarnower's works diverge dramatically from those of her colleague Kobro, whose open plane sculptures demonstrate that, "The organic law of sculpture is to unite with space, to be intimately related to space, to meld into and absorb space."²⁴ Rather than the modernity of Tatlin's ever-changing *Monument to the Third International* (1919–20), with its inner structure displaced to the exterior, Żarnower's work formally mimics the weighty volumes, the rootedness, that historically characterized nineteenth-century

monumental sculpture. However, the seeming retrograde character of her work—its belated monumentality—occurs in relation to the medium of sculpture, while Żarnower was in fact thinking about artworks in relation to their urban surroundings, where “sufficiently great masses of air” would counterbalance the large swathes of concrete and iron made possible by recent technological advances.²⁵ The balanced composition endorsed by both Żarnower and van Doesburg would be achieved not within a particular artwork, but through artworks in relation to their surroundings. This was an artwork whose Constructivist character was always contaminated by bodies.

As Poland emerged from over a century of partition in the late 1910s, the newly independent state paradoxically saw a nationalist reinvigoration of architectural tradition alongside radical visions of tabula rasa urbanism.²⁶ In part, these dueling commitments respond to the city’s recent history of destruction. World War I saw departing Russian and German armies leave a trail of destruction in their wake; they sabotaged transportation networks and elements of urban infrastructure, even stealing tramway tracks.²⁷ Rejection of the city’s partition-era past meant that many buildings evoking Russian rule were intentionally razed during the 1920s, creating gaps in the cityscape.²⁸ At the same time, with the end of its role as a Russian garrison city, Warsaw dismantled nineteenth-century fortifications and expanded its territory by around 250 percent during the 1910s.²⁹ As a frontrunner for capital city of the newly re-created Polish state, Warsaw became the focus of a number of urban planning schemes.³⁰ Despite having the highest population density of interwar Europe—or perhaps because such density made the inadequacies of its urban infrastructure all the more palpable—Warsaw was the focus of modernist urban planning by architects such as Szymon and Helena Syrkus, who were involved with the *Congrès International d’Architecture Moderne* (CIAM).³¹ Both planned and unplanned, sweeping urbanization governed life in interwar Warsaw.

Amidst the 1920s urbanization of Warsaw, Żarnower’s circle of artists—those of the Blok, Praesens, and a.r. groups—were steeped in discussions of architecture and urbanism. Several members of the Praesens group, including its leader, Szymon Syrkus, were themselves architects, while Katarzyna Kobro of a.r. imagined her sculptures to project the forms of “future cities.”³² Żarnower herself occupied a middle ground between practical work in architecture informed by aesthetic concerns and artistic practice as a visionary projection of future life. Throughout the mid-1920s, the pages of *Blok* juxtaposed images of paintings, sculptures, and graphic design

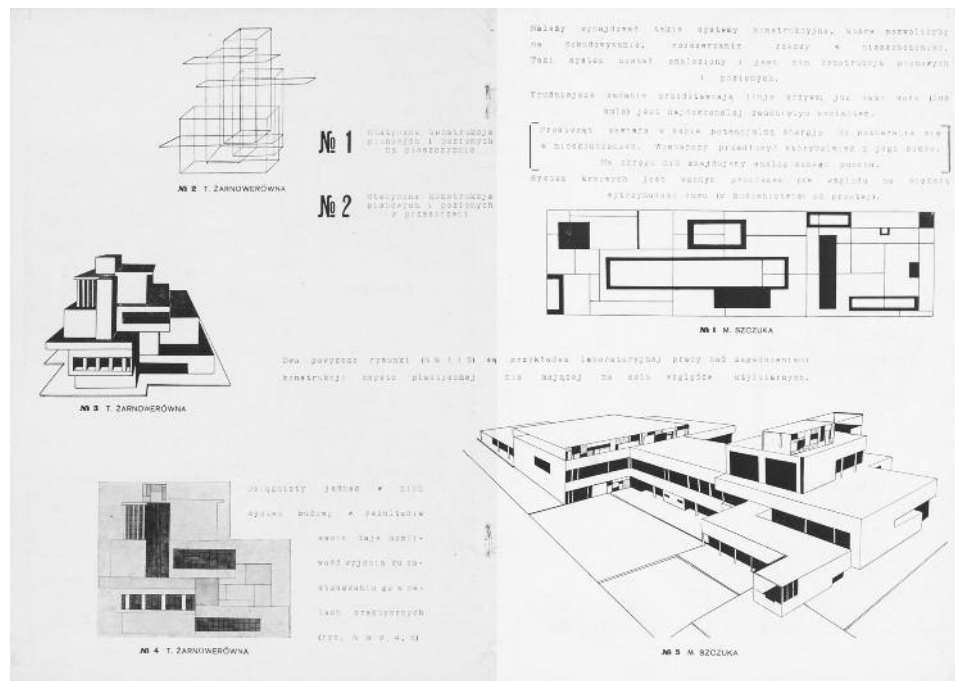


Fig. 4. Mieczysław Szczuka and Teresa Żarnower. 1 & 2: Static Constructions, 3, 4, & 5: Practical Applications, *Blok* 8-9 (November–December 1924).

with formally congruous designs for architectural projects, both Polish and international. The final issue of *Blok* even served as a catalogue for the 1926 International Exhibition of Modern Architecture in Warsaw. However, even as Szczuka and Żarnower pivoted *Blok* towards architecture, their own architectural designs were largely projective rather than pragmatic solutions to Warsaw’s interwar housing problems.³³ Drawing upon the precedents of Dutch artist Theo van Doesburg as well as Russian Constructivists El Lissitzky and Kazimir Malevich, Szczuka designed Constructivist spaces in which geometric areas of color covered interior surfaces. Also during the 1920s, both Szczuka and Żarnower produced “spatial compositions” or “spatial studies” that segued into architectural designs (Fig. 4).³⁴ Five images in a 1924 issue of *Blok* show Żarnower and Szczuka working through examples “of laboratory work on issues of purely plastic construction, not aimed at utilitarian consideration,”³⁵ as well as potential applications of these spatial compositions as buildings. These designs are, ultimately, paper architecture that remained in the realm of the bourgeois interior and the elite single-family residence, rather than a vision of collective housing that was sorely needed at that time in Warsaw. Of course, this is a well-trod path for the historical avant-gardes, one that encompasses the seeming retreat from the world of Piet Mondrian’s *de Stijl* environments and the fantastical forays into world-making proposed by certain Soviet artists such as Malevich.³⁶ At this point, then, these artists’ architectural designs played with modernist forms but offered no solutions for modernity’s problematic urban milieu.

Even as Żarnower’s architectural practice remained theoretical, her designs for buildings were permeated with a logic of the human body. A 1926 project for a cinema, jointly

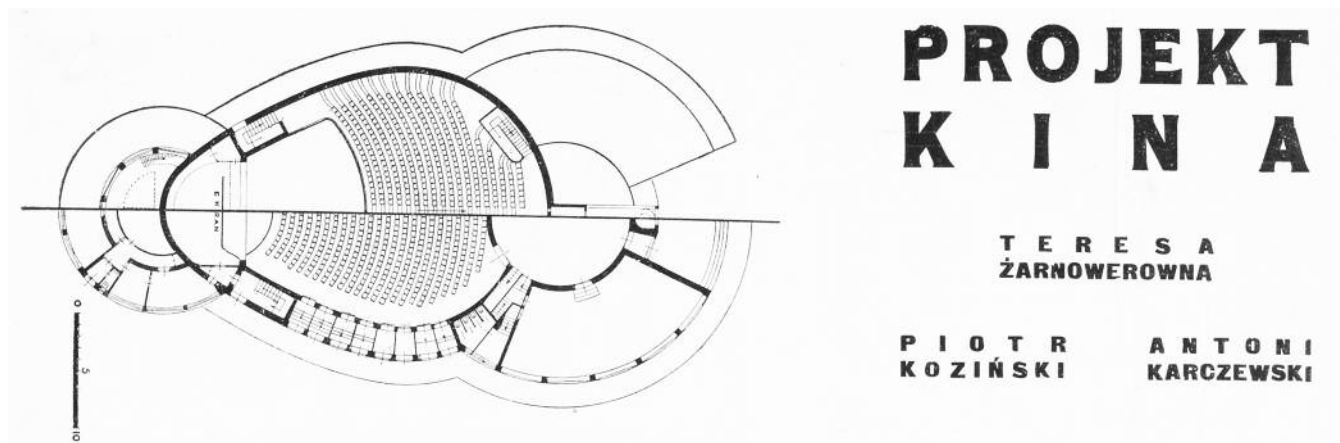


Fig. 5. Teresa Żarnower, Piotr Koziński, and Antoni Karczewski, Cinema Project, *Blok 11* (March 1926).

designed with architects Piotr Koziński and Antoni Karczewski, was deeply anthropomorphic. The symmetrical facade of the entrance resembled a face, with two small dark windows for eyes and a setback suggesting the shape of a human cranium. The floor plan of the theater itself looked like a human eyeball (Fig. 5), with the film projection paralleling the process of human vision in two ways. For one, the projection room sat at the top of a narrow spiral staircase centered over a circular lobby, whose shape resembled that of a cornea, iris, and pupil in relation to the seating space as an eye's vitreous body. The film projector sent light through the pupil—here, a small hole in the projection chamber wall—which passed through the vitreous humor of the theater space and was projected onto the screen, which acted like the retina of an eye. But there was a doubling of this optical process as the audience members received the images. Like the entrance lobby, the backstage area resembled the circular cornea, iris, and pupil of an eye, with the light entering the cinema “eye” towards the audience members. In this model, the audience members would act like an eye's rods and cones, receiving visual information and transmitting it through the optical nerve to the brain—perhaps standing in for a larger social body. This is a slightly different take on the kino-eye than the famed rhetoric of Soviet filmmaker Dziga Vertov: “I, cinema-eye, I, the mechanical eye. I, the machine, show you the world as only I can see it.”³⁷ As Żarnower had written in 1923, “Impressions received via technology replace us—or further mediate received experience from nature. Machines delight us [emphases added].”³⁸ Żarnower's was not the autocratic stance of the (male) filmmaker's singular vision, augmented by the technical support of the camera. Instead, her “cinema-eye” consisted of *collective* viewing by a film audience, an audience acting as optical nerves for a social brain. And where Żarnower's earlier sculptures made bodies architectonic, here one can see a building becoming bodily.

This shift, from bodies as buildings to buildings as bodies, happened not in three dimensions but in two, via a series of graphic experiments in which Żarnower played with abstractions of human bodies and the built environment. Her graphic compositions deployed solid and dashed lines in a variety of thicknesses and orientations, overlapping wedges or

planes, curves that seem to dance upon the page, dots marching in orderly rows, and assorted geometric shapes delineated or suggested by discontinuous lines. Many resemble the diagrammatic, fragmented pseudo-machines of French Dadaist Francis Picabia's 1910s mechanomorphs or Swedish Dadaist Viking Eggeling's pre-cinematic abstract studies.³⁹ Żarnower made explicit the cinematic character of her formal explorations, even denoting one of her graphic compositions *Konstrukcja filmowa* (Film Design) (1923/4; Fig. 6).⁴⁰ Long, staggered wedges, stacked waves of curved lines, and concentric bulls-eyes suggest patterns of angled light and movement. But even as these graphic design layouts evoke abstract film, there is a sense of lights bouncing off, upon, and through objects in a built environment. “Light waves” bounce against a building corner formed of thick perpendicular lines, with a few of the waves transformed to wedgeslike light passing through a window.⁴¹ This sensation becomes explicit in the relationship between untitled graphic compositions in *Blok 1* of March 1924 (Fig. 7) and *Blok 5* of July 1924 (Fig. 8) and a maquette for a theater set in *Blok 10* the following year (1925; Fig. 9). The lines emanating from a circular form become, in the theater set, three dimensional

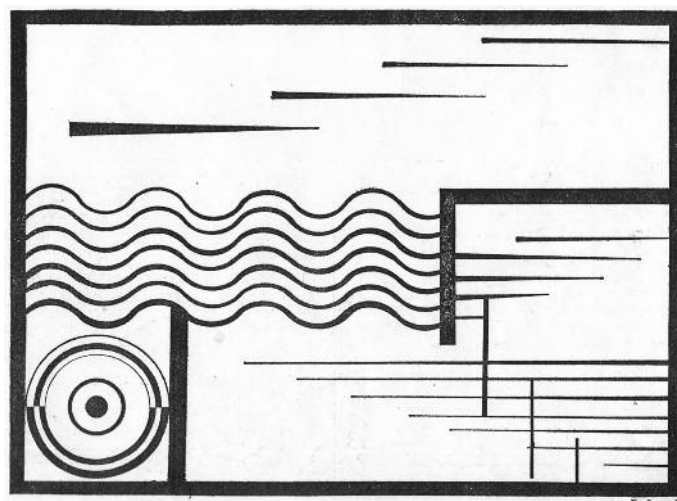


Fig. 6. Teresa Żarnower. *Konstrukcja filmowa* (Film Design), *Blok 8–9* (November–December 1924).

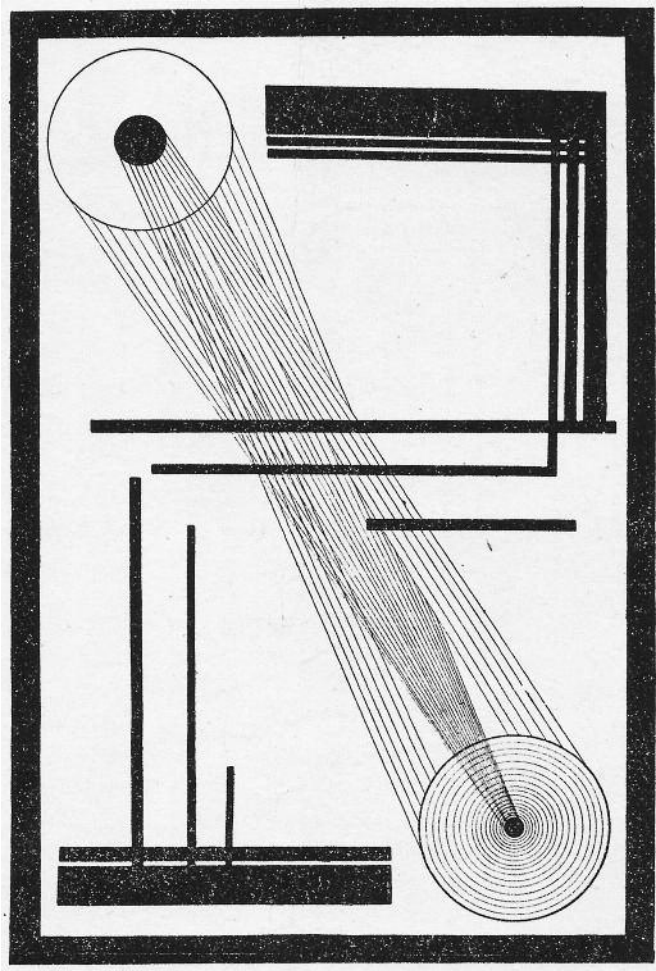


Fig. 7. Teresa Żarower. Untitled, *Blok 1* (March 1924).

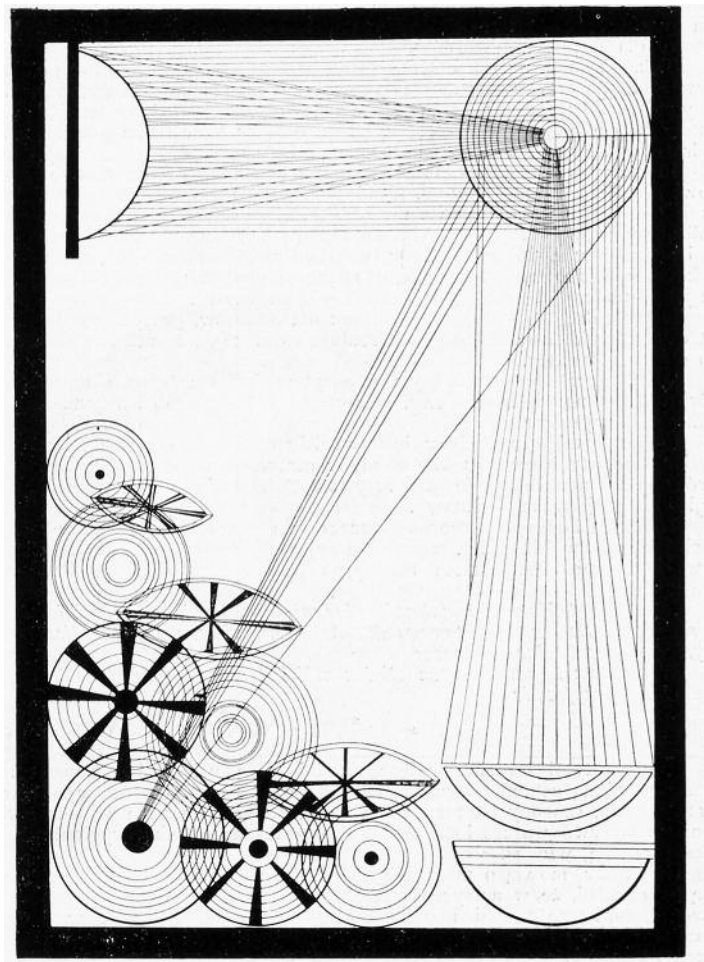


Fig. 8. Teresa Żarower. Untitled, *Blok 5* (July 1924).

strands stretching from one side of the stage to the other, as light cast upon tiny model structures and a human form atop a pedestal, ambiguously occupying a role between statue and living being.

Żarower's most intriguing graphic composition, and one where she departs most convincingly from the graphic precedents of Picabia and Eggeling, is a work that embeds graphic design in the realm of architecture and urbanism, not via mimetic representation, but diagrammatically, in a work titled *Typografja* (Typography) (1924; Fig. 10). Throughout the 1920s, urban planning in Warsaw responded to a city that had already experienced damage to buildings and infrastructure, in an intellectual climate that promoted radically functionalist planning approaches. As urban planners worked to envision a new Warsaw, they designed new buildings and restored damaged ones, tearing down others to make way for wider boulevards or new structures. And as each proposal or change occurred, a new map of Warsaw emerged. In her 1924 graphic design work, Żarower drew upon patterns found in these cartographic representations, from the darkest wood grain of dense urban agglomerations, to repeated crescents marking stands of trees, to the linear blue pattern of the Vistula River. The 1924 map of Warsaw (Fig. 11) that seems to have provided the direct inspiration for Żarower's *Typografja* displays the

tiny gridded city center of Warsaw against a larger region of irregular topography, presenting the streets of Warsaw as a minuscule detail within a continuous, improvisatory flow of different textures on the map—representing water, vegetation, and an older built environment. In contrast, Żarower's *Typografja* plucks out fragments of each texture and rearranges them orthogonally into a grid, using typographic conventions to produce a wry commentary on the possibilities of tabula rasa planning. Żarower's composition—fragments of river and earth, house and street, corralled into orderly rows—repurposes the conventional symbols of mapmaking in the non-referential framework of the grid.⁴² While this abstract pictorial language is an avant-garde strategy, it simultaneously references the local reality of attempts to remake the physical plant of Warsaw with radical urban planning schemes.

In the late 1920s, Żarower's practice shifted away from architectural designs, and her involvement in avant-garde exhibitions ceased. This occurred around the same time as the untimely death of her personal and artistic partner; Szczuka's death has thus been seen as the major impetus for Żarower's artistic shift. More convincing explanations can be found in the professionalization of architectural practice in a newly independent Poland, and the growing militancy of Poland's left following the 1926 May Coup. By the 1930s, trained architects

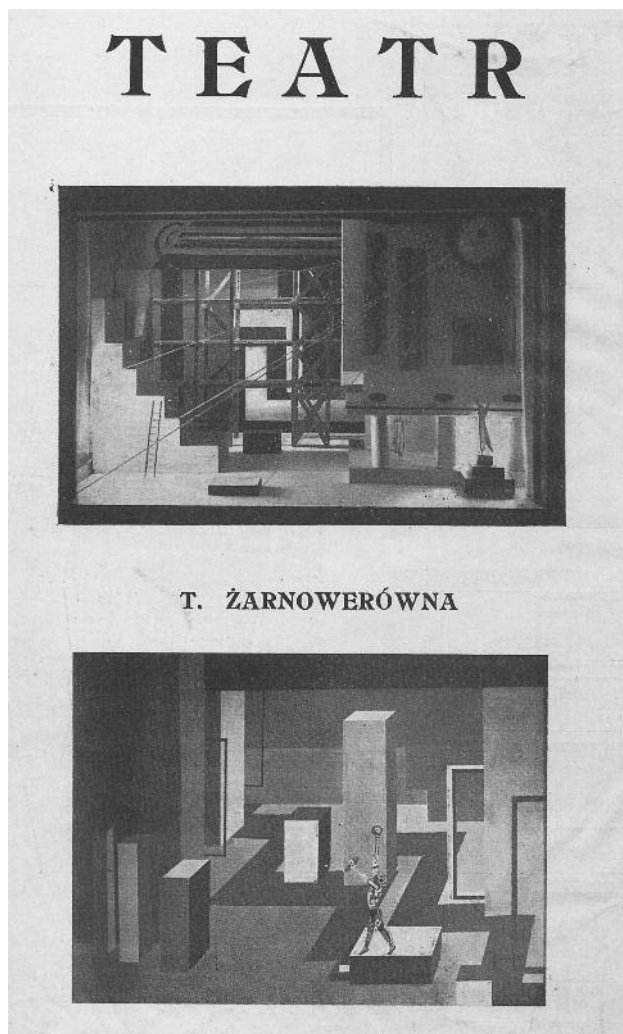


Fig. 9. Teresa Żarnower. Untitled (Theater design), *Blok 10* (April 1925).

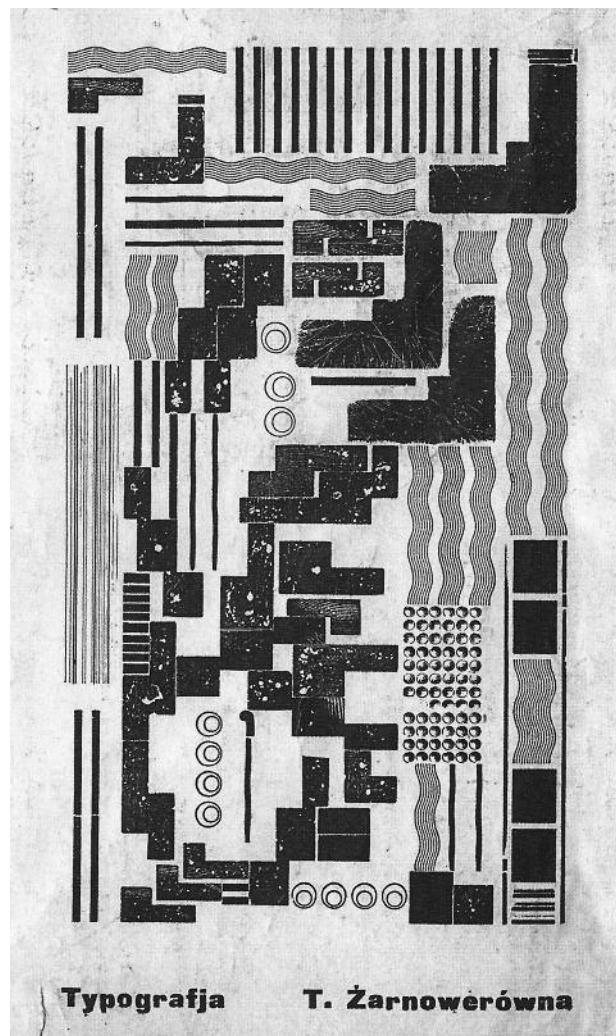


Fig. 10. Teresa Żarnower. *Typografja* (Typography), *Blok 2* (May 1924).

like Szymon and Helena Szyrkus, who participated in CIAM meetings, could design buildings that were actually constructed.⁴³ As avant-garde utopianism met concrete reality, artists like Żarnower were either unequipped or not inclined to follow through on construction of their visionary designs.

In lieu of architecture, the medium of photomontage offered a mode of world-making independent of the social applicability of such designs; and in place of avant-garde artistic journals, Żarnower's works were increasingly featured in political publications. During the late 1920s and 1930s Żarnower produced photomontages and graphic layouts for the Hebrew-language press, leftwing political posters, and socialist publications such as *Czerwony Sztandar* (The Red Banner), published by the Central Committee of the Polish Communist International.

On a 1931 cover of *Czerwony Sztandar*, a statue of Lenin emerges from a vertiginous mash-up of buildings and figures at various scales, including a photographic image of Stalin, a nameless female agricultural worker, and faceless

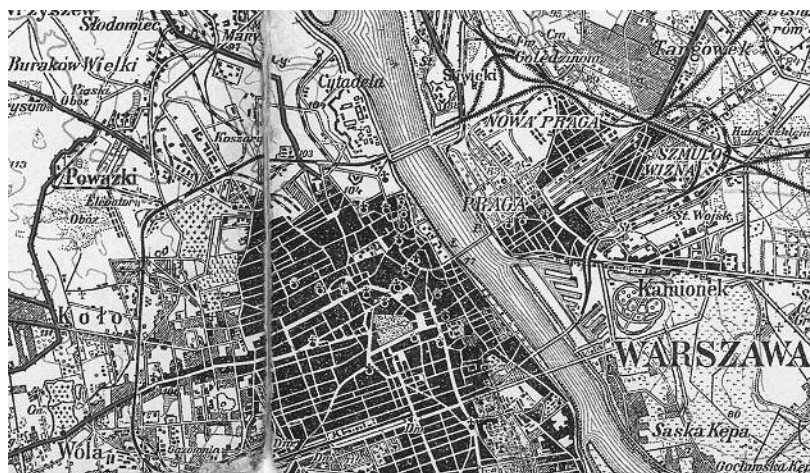


Fig. 11. Detail from *Mapa Topograficzna okolic Warszawy* (Topographical map of Warsaw) (1924). *Wojskowego Instytutu Geograficznego* (Military Geographic Institute), Warsaw.

masses filling the streets. These montage works continued Żarnower's intertwining of architecture and the human body. However, in place of aesthetic solutions to social issues (e.g.,

the challenge of comfortable and affordable housing in rapidly urbanizing cities), Żarnower's photomontages addressed explicitly political problems of the day with the melodrama of a theater scene.⁴⁴ If architecture was a slow and perhaps ineffectual way for artists to remake contemporary life, propaganda had the appeal of immediacy. To reshape cities, perhaps one must first reshape the ideas of the people who inhabited them. The 1930s saw Żarnower's artistic output diminish, perhaps in response to the increasing precariousness of her position as a Jewish Pole and her eventual departure from Poland. The 1926 May Coup, supported by leftist organizations including the Polish Socialist Party, the Peasant Party, and the Polish Communist Party, had ushered in a period of relative stability for Poland's Jewish population. However, the death of moderate military leader Józef Piłsudski in 1935 saw a rising atmosphere of anti-Semitism, propelling Żarnower's flight through Western Europe to North America from 1937 through 1942.⁴⁵ There is evidence that Żarnower attempted to paint small-scale works while in Paris (1937–40), in Lisbon (1940–41), and in Montreal (1941–42), though her letters from this time express creative frustration; artworks from this time period are presumed lost.⁴⁶ Yet, as the situation in Central Europe grew increasingly dire during the 1940s, the exiled Żarnower would return to the medium of photomontage in order to express anger and sorrow over the decimation of Warsaw.

The photomontage in Figure 12 (1942) shows a city in ruins. Young girls stricken by misery, or perhaps the scent of corpses, can be glimpsed through the bars of an upturned cart heaped with bundles. Impossibly, Warsaw Castle still stands in the distance, framed by a cataract of hay, a lifeless arm hanging from the cart, a rubble-filled square and a small child's corpse. Thrust against the picture plane, a downcast youth in a striped shirt crouches upon a pile of bricks before the shell of a destroyed building. Beside him, bare earth gives way to a single house among rows of isolated chimneys along a burnt-out street. Above, between hay cart and ruin, another child's cherubic blond head juts out at us, his stunned visage offering an accusatory rebuke to viewers.

This image is one of five photomontages Żarnower created for the book *Obrona Warszawy* (Defense of Warsaw), published in 1942 by the left-wing Polish Labor Group in New York.⁴⁷ The book was intended to publicize Polish suffering during the bitterly fought 1939 Siege of Warsaw, when German aerial bombardments razed thousands of buildings, paving the way for the German army to take over the city.⁴⁸ Żarnower had already left Poland for Paris, in 1937, and by 1940 she was struggling to leave Europe via Lisbon; over fourteen months in the Portuguese city, increasingly desperate letters show her seeking money and travel documents. Turned back on her initial attempt to enter the U.S., she spent over a year in Montreal before settling in New York City in 1943. It was during this turbulent period that Żarnower completed her designs for *Obrona Warszawy*. Żarnower's experience of the siege was thus mediated through the very mass media whose images served as material for her photomontages.⁴⁹

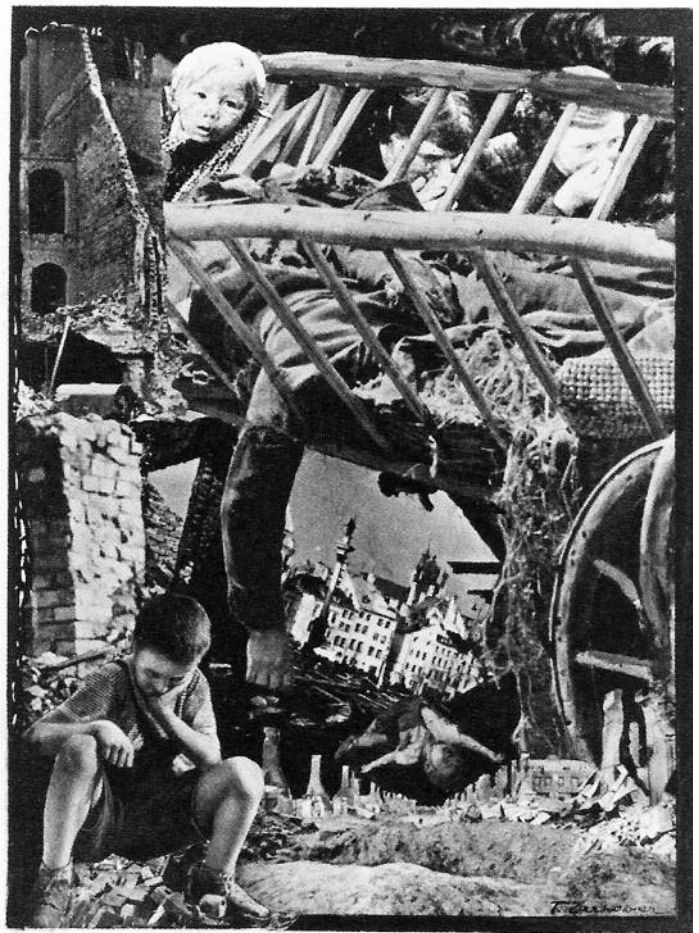


Fig. 12. Teresa Żarnower. *Obrona Warszawy* (Defense of Warsaw) (1942), photomontage (back cover of book).

In *Obrona Warszawy*, Żarnower turned the fragmentary nature of modernist photomontage to the task of representing literal fragmentation—of humans, of a city. For art historian David Crowley, this is “a bitter irony.”⁵⁰ Żarnower, “like many avant-garde artists in the 1920s, had seized on the fragment as both a kind of metaphor for Modernity and a revolutionary device to hasten the modern world into being.... But by 1942, the fragment, in the form of broken bodies and shattered buildings on the cover of *Obrona Warszawy*, was a tragic demonstration of the destructive power of modernity.”⁵¹ That is, in the 1920s, Żarnower's employment of montage disjunction invoked a modernist revolution in perception as a utopian project. By 1942, Crowley asserts, the fragmentation of Żarnower's *Obrona Warszawy* merely reflected the nefarious reality of a violent modernity.

It would be a mistake, however, to understand Żarnower's use of photomontage as simply a naturalistic representation of the destruction wreaked upon Warsaw in 1939. For one, the fragmentation that gives these images their emotional force resulted from Żarnower's alteration of the documentary source photographs through clipping and assembly.⁵² She did not, that is, simply reprint images of destroyed buildings. A film of the siege by U.S. documentarian Julien Bryan showed “restraint” by displaying “no blood or close-ups of corpses ... and no severe brutality.”⁵³ Żarnower's images, created for the necessarily

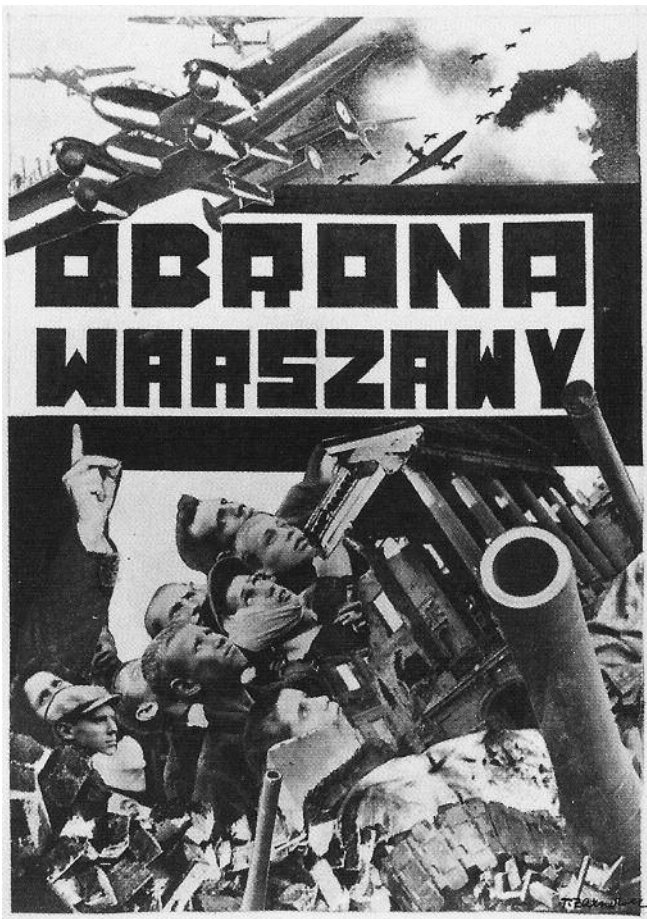


Fig. 13. Teresa Żarnower. *Obrona Warszawy* (Defense of Warsaw) (1942), photomontage (front cover of book).

restricted audience of a Polish-language volume published by an organization linked to the Polish Socialist Party in America, needed no such restraint. Her emphatic intertwining of bodies and buildings, limbs and rubble, were indeed calculated to draw upon a visual and embodied memory of Warsaw to achieve maximum emotional effect.

In image after image of *Obrona Warszawy*, the characteristic architecture of Warsaw is invoked not simply as backdrop, but in formally significant ways. What Crowley characterizes as “broken bodies” on the cover of *Obrona Warszawy* (Fig. 13) are in fact the upturned heads and pointing fingers of Warsawians alert to encroaching warplanes overhead. Their directed gazes and gesturing arms parallel the barrels of tank cannons, turned defensively skyward in front of the columns of Warsaw’s *Pałac Komisji Rządowej Przychodu i Skarbu* (Palace of the Government Commission of Revenue and the Treasury). Though the tank seems to surmount a pile of rubble, the backdrop of the image is the dynamically oriented Palace, whose fractured façade has been partially mended by Żarnower’s collage work. Poignantly, in the source photograph for this image, which postdates the 1939 Siege, this section of the façade is revealed to be all that remains of the structure.⁵⁴ In Żarnower’s photomontage, the mangled ruins of the building are concealed by a crowd of faces. Melding bodies and building, the photomontage implies that the Palace is still whole,

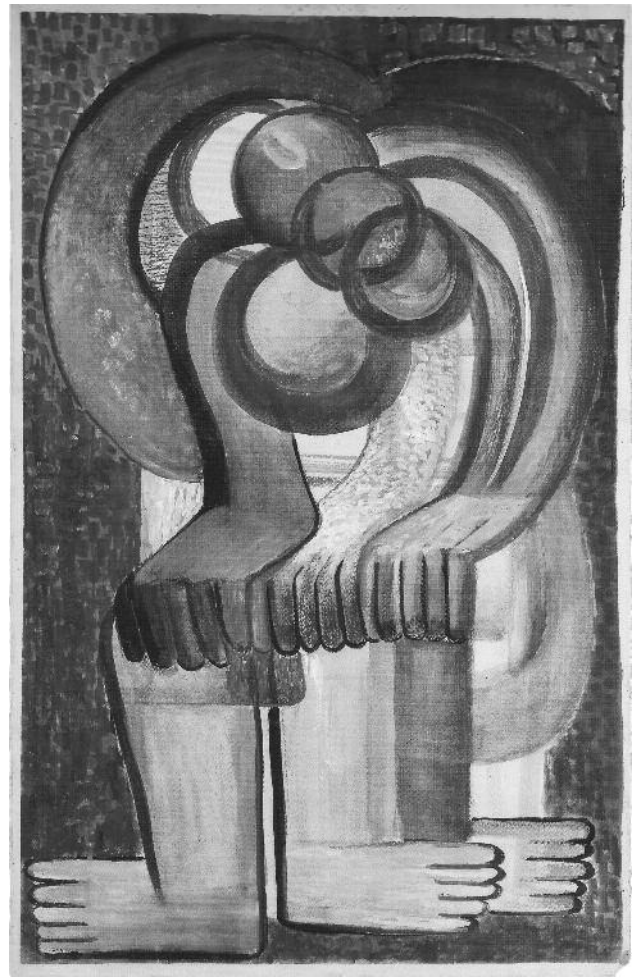


Fig. 14. Teresa Żarnower. *Expectation* (1946), gouache.

metonymically asserting the continuing legitimacy of a fragile Polish nation and a defiant city of Warsaw.

Żarnower’s approach did not foreground the disjunctive qualities of the medium of photomontage, as practiced by the Berlin Dadaists. Instead, Żarnower’s images fulfill the “need to construct *iconic* representations for a new mass audience,” that Benjamin H. D. Buchloh ascribes to late Soviet practices emerging from photomontage.⁵⁵ However, the very narrowness and specificity of Żarnower’s audience, centered on Polish exiles in the U.S., meant that the suturing tactics she employed were jarring precisely because exiles’ memories of Warsaw were put to the test. Moreover, such suturing continues the formal explorations she began in the medium of sculpture. Just as avant-garde photomontage would make use of the fragment, so modernist sculpture was deeply invested in the logic of the human form dispersed, disintegrated, or deformed, from Cubist figures to Giacometti’s attenuated figures. But Żarnower’s centripetally oriented sculptures rework the avant-garde logic of the fragment in favor of an agglomerative mode of composition, something akin to a city rebuilding itself in stages, in pieces and parts.

By marshaling the evidentiary power of photographic documents in order to conceal present realities, Żarnower’s

work does in fact participate in the strategies of iconic image-making described by Buchloh—but to what end? Several photomontages inside the book include dramatic images of violence, bodies, and rubble; however, Żarnower began and ended the volume with images of intact and recognizable buildings. On the front cover, Warsaw's Commission Palace still stands, despite the fact that it lay in ruins by the end of the 1939 Siege. And though it is located in the background and glimpsed through a tunnel of horrors, it is an image of Warsaw Castle, intact, that closes the volume. The city of Warsaw, Żarnower suggests, will return.

Written into art history as a pioneering Constructivist in interwar Warsaw, Żarnower's subsequent career has largely been forgotten. Settled in New York City in the late 1940s, she returned to making "art for art," leaving behind her Constructivist and agitational past in favor of biomorphic gouaches that would be exhibited at Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery in 1946. How can one understand these works in light of her earlier practice? Following Benjamin Buchloh's claim that postwar Constructivist practices were merely watered-down, depoliticized, and aestheticized versions of the true avant-garde work of the previous generation, it makes perfect sense for a politically committed artist to leave behind Constructivism as mere fashion in the postwar period.⁵⁶ However, in a text to accompany Żarnower's 1946 exhibition at Art of This Century, painter Barnett Newman offers a slightly different account of Żarnower's shift away from Constructivism: [Żarnower] now, in her first exhibition of work done here [in the U.S.], feels that purist constructions in a world that she has seen collapse around her into shambles and personal tragedy are not enough, that an insistence on absolute purity may be total illusion.⁵⁷ Newman's characterization of Żarnower centers on the ideological emptiness of Constructivism following the tragic end of the modernist and avant-garde projects, as they found themselves perverted or realized—depending on one's point of view—in totalitarian politics, or the postwar corporatization of avant-garde aesthetics.⁵⁸ But unlike Buchloh's accusations, that former Constructivists devolved to corporate skills through strategic self-fashioning, Newman explains Żarnower's postwar career in response to personal losses, psychologizing her artistic trajectory in terms of individual sorrow and post-traumatic withdrawal.

One should be particularly wary of such psychologizing in the case of female artists. As Yve-Alain Bois points out with regards to Żarnower's fellow Polish avant-garde artist Katarzyna Kobro, the "abrupt halt" of her career must be understood to emerge from the internal progressive logic of her work, "and not, or not only, as the result of circumstances" ranging from childbirth to war to depression to Stalinist persecutions.⁵⁹ Żarnower's identity, both as a woman and as an Eastern European Jew, has subsumed her work to an overdetermined narrative of intimacy, loss, trauma, and caesura that takes the death of Szczuka and her exile from Poland as the keys to understanding her artistic development.⁶⁰ But rather than understanding the heterogeneity of Żarnower's practice as a result of a

peripatetic life, this essay has argued for a practice unified by aesthetic engagement with the built environment. Even her biomorphic gouaches, in the end, are concerned with the coherence of the human figure as something both fragile and monumental. The ambiguous pyramidal form of Żarnower's youthful sculpture (Fig. 1) is echoed in the figure of her 1946 gouache, *Expectation* (Fig. 14), whose colossal feet and legs are surmounted by a head and shoulders flickering from position to position. The bodies-cum-monuments of Żarnower's early works find here their shadow twin, in the stilted movements of a colossal form caught between stillness and movement, in expectation that must ultimately go unfulfilled. For Żarnower, in the end, the avant-garde tension between world making and world destroying was embodied in the material experience of the city of Warsaw and, ultimately, the wartime fate of its people. •

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NOTES

1. "W maszynach zachwyca nas prostota i logika konstrukcji – równowaznik swój znajdujca w prostocie i logice DZIEŁA SZTUKI." Teresa Żarnower, "Chęć zbadania niezbadanego..." [The Desire to Explore Uncharted...], *Katalog Wystawy Nowej Sztuki* (Vilnius: Lux, 1923), 22–23 (hereafter, Żarnower (1923)). In the pages of the journal *Blok*, mechanical items such as cars, zeppelins, and typewriters were frequently illustrated alongside artworks.
2. a.r. stands for "artyści rewolucyjni; awangarda rzeczywista" [revolutionary artists; real avant-garde], while *Blok* means "block," and *Praesens* is Latin for "present" or "immediate."
3. Andrzej Turowski, "Autour du constructivisme: L'art organisant la vie et ses fonctions," in *Présences polonaises: l'art vivant autour du Musée de Lodz* (Paris: Centre George Pompidou, 1983), 142.
4. Katarzyna Kobro, "Rzeźba stanowi..." [A Sculpture is...], *Głos Plastyków 1-7* (1937), quoted in *Katarzyna Kobro, 1898-1951* (Łódź: Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi, 1999), 169.
5. S. Syrkus, M. Szczuka, and T. Żarnowerówna, "Villa project. Plans, elevations and cross-section," *Blok 10* (1925). Teresa Żarnowerówna, Piotr Kosiński, and Antoni Karczewski, *Cinema Project, Blok 11* (March 1926): 15. T. Żarnowerówna, M. Szczuka, P. Kosiński, A. Karczewski, "First Project," *Dźwignia [Lever] 1* (March 1927): 48–50.
6. On the medium specificity and, thus, the modernism of Kobro, see Yve-Alain Bois, "Strzemiński and Kobro: In Search of Motivation" (1984), *Painting as Model* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 123–55. Yve-Alain Bois, "Kobro and Strzemiński Revisited," *October 156* (Spring 2016): 3–11.
7. See Szczuka's flowchart distinguishing "sztuka dla sztuki" (art for art) from "sztuka użytkowa" (utilitarian art) in the Marxist-leaning journal he edited, *Dźwignia*, nos. 2–3 (1927): 36–37. "Art for art" was illustrated by neoclassical architecture and paintings by Kazimir Malevich and Fernand Léger. "Utilitarian art" included photomontaged stamps, posters, newspapers, and books. The chart accompanied Szczuka's essay, "Obituary for Suprematism, a review of Malevich's 1927 exhibition at the Polish Arts Club in Warsaw.

8. An exemplary claim by art historian Stanisław Czekalski reads, "With his famous poster *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge* of 1919, El Lissitzky brought Suprematist abstraction to propagandist concreteness." Stanisław Czekalski, "The Internationale of Automobile Salons and the Hagiography of Revolution. Mieczysław Szczuka at the Crossroads of New Art" [1998], *Art in Translation* 4, no. 2 (2012): 213. See also Turowski (1983), 142. "The first phase of Polish constructivism asserted structural laws characteristic of painting, sculpture, the poster, typography, architecture, ... rejecting an art of reproduction and a 'decorative' aesthetic." Subsequently, "we can speak of the coexistence of two trends: the tendency to deepen the structural knowledge of classical art forms, such as painting and sculpture, and the tendency to expand the scope of [Constructivism] to set design, photography, photomontage, film, typography, etc."
9. As art historian Ralph Ubl has traced, "the [interwar] avant-garde took up this problematic [a tension between artistic originality and automatic procedures] and radicalized it by giving equally urgent emphasis to both technicity and originality." Ralph Ubl, *Prehistoric Future: Max Ernst and the Return of Painting between the Wars*, trans. Elizabeth Tucker (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2013), 4.
10. Stanisław Czekalski notes that Jewish artists often served as hubs in this international artists' network, citing Jerzy Malinowski's study, *Grupa Jung Idysz i żydowskie środowisko Nowej Sztuki w Polsce, 1918–1923* (The Young Yiddish Group and the Jewish Context for New Art in Poland, 1918–1923) (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Sztuki, 1987), 50–51.
11. See, for example, a recent key art historical text developed by scholars surrounding the journal *October*, in which the only entry devoted to Polish artists reads "1928a – The publication of 'Unism in Painting' by Władysław Stzreminski, followed in 1931 by a book on sculpture he coauthored with Katarzyna Kobro, *The Composition of Space*, marks the apogee of the internationalization of Constructivism." *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2011).
12. Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 90. The angular composition of Żarnower's figure also resembles the exaggerated bodies and folded postures of Picasso's *rappel à l'ordre* bathers paintings from around 1920.
13. *Ibid.*
14. The splayed body of Wittig's *Ewa* also presages the torsion of Maillol's *Air and River* sculptures from circa 1939.
15. As Rosalind Krauss has described, "the function of [the] pedestal is to bracket the sculptural object from natural space, declaring that its true ambience is somehow different from the randomly organized world of tables, chairs, and windows." Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, 55.
16. These are closer to the Hellenism of Maillol's late works, which play with the drama of a body contorted and limbs extended outward beyond a rectangular base to intrude upon the space of viewers; such works are often situated in a landscape or garden setting.
17. Żarnower (1923).
18. Theo van Doesburg, "Notes on Monumental Art with Reference to Two Fragments of a Building (Hall in Holiday Center at Noordwijkerhout)" [1918], trans. Hans L.C. Jaffé, in *De Stijl* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971).
19. See Maria Gough, "In the Laboratory of Constructivism: Karl loganson's Cold Structures," *October* 84 (Spring 1998): 90–117.
20. Another of Żarnower's sculptures with a similarly bodily/built character is illustrated in *Blok* 3–4 (June 1924), in which the work is dated to 1921.
21. Archipenko's work had previously been illustrated in Polish avant-garde publications including *Zdrój*, by the Poznań-based *Bunt* (Revolt) group, 1917–20, and the Krakow-based *Formiści* [Formists] journal, 1919–21. On the role of Cubist precedents for Polish sculptor Kobro, see Bois, "Kobro and Strzemiński Revisited," 5.
22. Żarnower (1923).
23. See Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *October* 8 (Spring 1979); and Krauss, *Passages*, 113–14.
24. "Łączność rzeźby z przestrzenią, nasycenie przestrzeni rzeźbą, wtopienie rzeźby w przestrzeń i powiązanie jej z przestrzenią - stanowi prawo organiczne rzeźby." Katarzyna Kobro and Władysław Strzemiński, "Composing Space/Calculating Space-Time Rhythms," *October* 156 (Spring 2016): 14.
25. Żarnower (1923).
26. Or, as Anna Jozefacka puts it, "nationalism grounded in the veneration of one's pre-modern past, and urban reform (or urban renewal) informed by interest in modernization." Anna Jozefacka, "Rebuilding Warsaw: Conflicting Visions of a Capital City, 1916–1956" (PhD diss., New York Univ., 2011), 8.
27. *Ibid.*, 50. See also Harold H. Worrell, Jr., *The Battle Of Warsaw, 1920: Impact On Operational Thought* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1994), 28. Estimates of wartime damages suggest that around 1,837,000 buildings were destroyed in Poland between 1914 and 1921. See Katrin Steffen and Martin Kohlrausch, "The Limits and Merits of Internationalism: Experts, the State and the International Community in Poland in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies *EUI Working Papers* 41 (2009): 10n63.
28. Jozefacka notes that onion-domed Russian churches were especially targeted for destruction. Jozefacka, "Rebuilding Warsaw," 118.
29. This expansion occurred in 1916. *Ibid.*, 48–49, 86.
30. See, for example, the 1916 *Szkic Wstępny Planu Regulacyjnego m. st. Warszawy* (Preliminary Sketch for Regulatory Plan of the City of Warsaw). On urban planning in Warsaw during this period, see David Crowley, *Warsaw* (London: Reaktion, 2003); Stanisław Różański, "Planowanie przestrzenne Warszawy (1916–1939)" (The Spatial Planning of Warsaw [1916–1939]), *Studia Warszawskie* 1 (1968): 321–46; Martin Kohlrausch, "'Houses of Glass': Modern Architecture and the Idea of Community in Poland," in *Making a New World: Architecture & Communities in Interwar Europe*, ed. Rajesh Heynicks and Tom Avermaete (Leuven, The Netherlands: Leuven Univ. Press, 2012), 93–104; and Chapter 1, "Embodying the Capital City (1916–1939): National Independence and Warsaw's Re-designation as the National Capital," of Jozefacka, "Rebuilding Warsaw."
31. Martin Kohlrausch, "The Communication of Architecture as Transnational Experience: Poland in the Interwar Period," in *Le Centre canadien s'études allemandes et européennes* (CCEAE) Working Paper Series, no. 16 (2008).
32. Szymon Syrkus, "Preliminarz architektury," *Praesens* 1 (1926): 7. Katarzyna Kobro, "A Sculpture is...," *Głos Plastyków* 1–7 (1937), cited in Katarzyna Kobro, *1898–1951* (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 1999), 169.
33. At the same time, *Blok* remained a venue for showcasing a pan-European artistic avant-garde; in addition to texts and artworks by Polish avant-gardists working in both visual arts and architecture, issues of *Blok* reproduced paintings by artists including Polish-Russian Suprematist Kazimir Malevich and French Cubist Henri Laurens, sculptures by artists such as Paris-based Lithuanian Cubist Jacques Lipchitz, and translations of avant-garde texts by figures such as German Dadaist Kurt Schwitters and Dutch de Stijl artist Theo van Doesburg.
34. Żarnower's *Static Construction of Vertical and Horizontal Space* resembles Cornelius van Eesteren's *Anti-Construction*, reproduced in the July 1924 issue of *Blok*, while the building designs by both Żarnower and Szczuka in *Blok* 8–9 (Fig. 4) are similar to Theo van Doesburg's *Construction*, also illustrated in the July 1924 *Blok*.

35. "... przykładem laboratoryjnej pracy nad zagadnieniami konstrukcji czysto plastycznej nie mającej na celu względów utylitynych" *Blok 8-9* (1924), n.p.
36. On "de Stijl's environmental utopia [as] no mere ideological dream," see Yve-Alain Bois, "The De Stijl Idea," *Painting as Model* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 101-21. On Rodchenko's 1925 design for a workers' club not as "interior design in the utilitarian style of international modernism ... but rather an entirely new kind of art object," see Christine Kiaer, "Rodchenko in Paris," *October* 75 (Winter 1996): 3-35.
37. Vertov, "Cinemas: A Revolution," *Lef 3* (June-July 1923): 141.
38. "Zanik lasów, dziko wegetującej roślinności – na to miejsce fabryczne i mieszkalne kuby – druty telegraficzne – regularność szos – żelazo mostów i szluz – pobraza betonowe – ruch maszyn komunikacyjnych itd. Wrażenia odbierane od techniki zastępują nam – a może są poniekąd i bliższe od wrażeń odbieranych od natury. W maszynach zachwyca nas prostota i logika konstrukcji – równoważnik swój znajdująca w prostocie i logice DZIEŁA SZTUKI [emphases added]." Żarnower (1923).
39. Relevant works by Picabia and Eggeling were published in the pages of the Zürich-based *Dada* journal during the late 1910s, in particular the May 1919 *Anthologie Dada*. The formal congruences between works by Żarnower and those by Picabia and Eggeling point to the Polish Constructivist avant-garde's interest in Western European Dada.
40. See *Blok 8-9* (1924). Żarnower's 1923 essay in the "New Art" exhibition catalog had already asserted the cinematic character of "new art" across a variety of mediums.
41. One wonders if Żarnower was aware of recent developments in quantum physics. In its simultaneity, Żarnower's film design is strikingly different from the two film projects illustrated by Szczuka in issues of *Blok*, which show sequences, i.e., "five moments of an abstract film." *Blok 1* (March 1924): 2.
42. Rosalind Krauss has noted that the grid is simultaneously abstract and concrete, an inherent tension that made the grid an ideal formal strategy for the avant-garde. Rosalind Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 157-61.
43. Helena Szyrkus did not complete an architecture degree, but took architecture classes at Warsaw's Technical Academy. Czesława Frejlich, Janusz Antos, et al., *Out of the Ordinary: Polish Designers of the 20th Century* (Warsaw: Adam Mickiewicz Inst., 2011).
44. In fact, these photomontages formally resemble the arrangements of bodies and stage sets in photographs of "workers' theater" published in *Dźwignia*.
45. See Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews During the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2003), 19-20.
46. Milada Śliżińska, "Teresa Żarnower: An Artist in a World That She Has Seen Collapse around Her into Shambles" (paper presented at Lost Avant-Garde. Teresa Żarnower and the Artistic Left, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi, Łódź, Poland, May 16-17, 2014), available in Polish at <http://msl.org.pl/static/upload/teresa-zarnower.pdf>.
47. The Polish Labor Group was linked to the Polish Socialist Party in America. In 1938, it registered as a publishing agent of the Polish government in exile. Iwona Drąg Korga, "The Information Policy of the Polish Government-in-Exile toward the American Public during World War II," *Polish American Studies* 64, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 35.
48. On the material effects of the siege, see Steven J. Zaloga, *Poland 1939: The Birth of Blitzkrieg* (Osceola, WI: Osprey, 2002), 70-78.
49. The image of the boy in the striped shirt was taken by U.S. documentarian Julien Bryan in September 1939. Geoff Alexander, *Academic Films for the Classroom: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2010), 32. Several of Bryan's photographs were published in *Life* and *Look Magazine* in late 1939; none of these published images are the source of Żarnower's clipping. Julien H. Bryan, *Siege* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940).
50. David Crowley, "Shadows over Poland," *Eye: The International Review of Graphic Design* 21, no. 83 (Spring 2012): 91.
51. Ibid.
52. On the uses and misuses of Julien Bryan's Warsaw Siege photographs, see Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2004), 34-39.
53. Critic Daniel Eagan argues that it was the "precise and damning" nature of Bryan's images that rendered his film *Siege* so effective at mounting an argument against Germany. While Bryan had photographed and filmed scenes as graphic as those Żarnower clipped, his film did not foreground these images. Daniel Eagan, *America's Film Legacy: The Authoritative Guide to the Landmark Movies in the National Film Registry* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 314.
54. One area of the building that Żarnower "mended," a corner of the triangular pediment, was not damaged in bombing, but cropped by the photographer.
55. On the Soviet shift from montage techniques that emphasized texture and fissures to strategies of iconic representation, see Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," *October* 30 (Autumn 1984): 95.
56. Benjamin Buchloh, "Cold War Constructivism," in *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris, and Montreal, 1945-1964*, ed. Serge Guilbaut (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 85-112.
57. Barnett Newman, "Teresa Żarnower," *Teresa Żarnower: 16 Gouaches* (New York: Art of This Century Gallery, 1946), reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992), 103-05.
58. On the relation of modern ideals and the Nazi state, see Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* [1969] (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009). On Stalinism as the analogue to the Soviet avant-garde's remaking of society, see Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* [1988] (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992). On the corporatization of the avant-garde, see Buchloh "Cold War Constructivism."
59. "It is obvious that these factors are all relevant. I simply do not believe that they explain everything." Bois, "The De Stijl Idea," 131, 298 n29.
60. Śliżińska. Turowski (1983), 143. Andrzej Turowski, *Budowniczość świata: z dziejów radykalnego modernizmu w sztuce polskiej* (Builders of the World: The History of Radical Modernism in Polish Art) (Kraków: Universitas, 2000). Aleksandra Idzior, "Response to a Catastrophe: Mixing 'High' and 'Low' by Teresa Żarnowerówna in 'The Defense of Warsaw'" (paper presented at *High and Low*, conference of the European Network for Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies, Department of Art History, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland, September 9-11, 2010). Monika Król, "Collaboration and Compromise: Women Artists in Polish-German Avant-Garde Circles, 1910-1930," in *Central European Avant-Gardes: Exchange and Transformation, 1910-1930*, ed. Timothy O. Benson (Cambridge: MIT Press), 354. Cf "In Memory of Teresa Żarnower," by Polish poet Czesław Miłosz: "Without friends, with no relations, in a great big city / A graveyard of lunatic ships / Teresa died, she had no strength / To overcome the past's already icy hand / ... Teresa died - over years, not hours."