

Portraits of Kraków's Places and People: Reconciling Cultural Identity and Modernity at the Turn of the Century

Meredith Miller



Fig. 1: Stanisław Wyspiański, *View of Kosciuszko Mound as seen from the Artist's Studio*, 1905, pastel, 47 cm x 62 cm, National Museum, Warsaw.

Through his 1905 pastel drawing *Widok na Kopiec Kosciuszki* (Figure 1), Stanisław Wyspiański illuminated the tensions present in the

population of turn-of-the-century Kraków's attitudes towards modernity. Kraków teetered on the precipice of modernization while still clinging to its glorious medieval past. *Widok na Kopiec Kosciuszki* depicts this paradox of modernization. Wyspiański rendered a road covered in snow leading southeast out of Kraków towards the Kosciuszko Mound. Named for Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a Polish hero who fought against Russia and Prussia in 1794, this earthen mound symbolized Poland's struggle for freedom and reunification after being partitioned by the ruling powers of Central Europe in 1795. Poles formed the mound from 1820-1823 by bringing clumps of earth from around Poland to create a monument commemorating those who stood against Poland's partitioners.¹ Wyspiański places the mound at the picture's horizon line and draws the viewer's eye towards it using a road receding into a bare wood. Upon first glance, the viewer does not see the railroad tracks and utility poles that line the road. Wyspiański disguises these utility poles as barren trees, inserting symbols of modernity into the pastel while also hiding them. Similarly, the ties of the railroad are evident in the foreground yet become part of the scenic landscape as they recede into the distance. Wyspiański uses these modern constructions to emphasize the Kosciuszko Mound, a symbol of Polish heritage and unity. The railroad tracks indicate movement of people and goods in and out of Kraków, while the utility poles infer movement of information into and out of the city. In this drawing, Wyspiański relies on aspects of modernity to construct his composition without fully admitting their presence: he acknowledges modernity without accepting its penetrating developments. The artwork of Wyspiański, along with that of other visual artists from Kraków during the same era, mixed the rural and the modern to question Kraków's national and international identifications.

This essay will focus on two avant-garde artists, Stanisław Wyspiański and Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (commonly referred to as Witkacy), who explored shifting identities of self and nation through their literary and visual output. Krakovian artists engaged in vibrant dialogue using art, philosophy, and literature to examine the self and, in return, examine their societal context. Many of the artists' personal tensions and internal struggles echoed those present in the development of Kraków. Wyspiański and Witkacy had complex relationships with Kraków and the city's modernization. Their artistic output was in dialogue with the modernization of Kraków, simultaneously propelling and informing its developments. The artists used ideas rooted in modernity within the city's context before the physical city modernized. However, they were also concerned with national heritage in a time of rapid globalization. Krakovian artists did not cause Kraków to modernize, but they certainly catalyzed its development into a modern city by the end of World War I. This essay

¹ Jacek Purchla, *Heritage and Transformation*, trans. Jan Maciej Glogoczowski, Anna Rucinska-Barnas and Jessica Taylor-Kucia (Cracow: International Cultural Center of Cracow), 37.

argues that, at the turn of the century, the work of innovative Krakovian artists paralleled and even anticipated the tensions that resulted from modernity by asking questions of the self, of their nation's romanticized past, and of how they would be affected by this looming and unknown modernity.

Kraków represented Poland, yet Poland did not exist. Poland was not a unified entity but rather an imagined place distributed among three empires that Poles wished to one day reconstruct. The Polish community saw themselves as belonging to the historic nation of Poland and thus defined themselves in opposition to their situation in a peripheral province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Krakovians with nationalistic fervor augmented the city's medieval history, and the city remained in its aggrandized past by holding onto its medieval roots much later than other major cities of Western and Central Europe, most of which industrialized during the first half of the nineteenth century. As the cultural capital of medieval Poland, Kraków acted as a monument to a unified past in the midst of a dissociated Poland. Over one hundred years earlier, Poland had been partitioned between Prussia, Russia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1795. It was not reunified under a single state until the Austro-Hungarian Empire's demise in 1918 at the terminus of World War I. A major Polish uprising in 1846 prompted Austria-Hungary to incorporate Kraków into Galicia, the poorest province of the empire on the fringe of its borders. The Hapsburg rulers deemed Kraków the capital of Galicia and built a wall around the city in an attempt to both control insurrection and discourage encroachment of Russia and Prussia.² Despite the Austro-Hungarian Empire's ultimate authority, Poles had a great deal of autonomy in the administration of Kraków. Kraków operated under Austro-Hungarian law but Poles held over ninety percent of influential administrative posts.³ Poles governed the city that epitomized Polish culture. Nationalism, a questioning of identity, and, eventually, a desire to modernize like Western European cities surged through Kraków's artistic circles.

As the cultural hub of the Polish-speaking community, Kraków produced many artists who were influential in bringing the city into modernity, both physically and psychologically, by means of their relationships with culture and visual explorations. The artists grappled with questions of collective memory and personal identity, looking inward to their heritage while also desiring to reach outward, striving to participate in the progress, which they recognized in Western Europe. These artists were embedded in the social atmosphere of Kraków and its tensions by

² Nathaniel D. Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010), 7.

³ Timothy Snyder, "Early Modern Ukraine (1569-1914)," in *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 127.

attempting to reconcile the intelligentsia's nationalist mythology with a rapidly modernizing West.⁴ The intelligentsia so revered the Kraków of ages past that their notions of the city's history were far removed from reality and, to an extent, encompassed newly created memories. Through their work, Krakovian artists wrestled with the idea of Kraków being both a city dedicated to Polish nationalism and one situated next to imminent modernization. They questioned how modernization would affect them as intellectual individuals immersed in the city's atmosphere. American philosopher Marshall Berman beautifully described the tumultuous progress of finding identity in the midst of modernity in his essay, "All That is Solid Melts Into Air." He stated, "To be modern...is to experience personal and social life as a maelstrom, to find one's world and oneself in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, 'all that is solid melts into air.'"⁵ During this time of change, the artists of Kraków felt such strains and worked through questions by using visual language borrowed from history and abroad. The artists struggled with the tensions Berman mentioned, as they contradicted themselves by embracing and rejecting technology, holding onto the past yet reaching towards the future, and embracing their Polish heritage while rejecting it for an international community. In essence, the artists of Kraków were struggling to make sense of their world and used their artwork as a means to probe their realities. It seems as if the artists did not fully understand their place in society and their role in the city's urban metamorphosis. Krakovian artists were modern in their stylistic approaches as well as in their international sources of inspiration and experiences in the world, but they simultaneously shied away from modernity's effects on the identity of the nation and self.

Most contemporary scholarship on turn-of-the-century Kraków, and Poland as an imagined whole, focuses on how the resurgence of nationalism in the nineteenth century affected the city and its cultural production. The presence of nationalism was so embedded in the mindset of Krakovian artists and intellectuals that it should not, and cannot, be removed from this discussion. Nationalism, however was not the only notion being interrogated by the Polish intelligentsia in their search to better understand their rapidly changing lives and city. Historian Nathaniel Wood challenges this view in his 2010 book *Becoming Metropolitan*, in which

⁴ According to E. Garrison Walters, the intelligentsia was the most crucial social class in Poland for the furthering of nationalism. The group was composed of individuals who performed "mental work" rather than manual labor. They were not necessarily intellectuals but people with education who composed a type of middle class interested in development of ideas. E. Garrison Walters, "Interwar Poland," in *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 180.

⁵ Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 15.

he concentrates on city-building rather than nation-building as a creator of identity in turn-of-the-century Kraków.⁶ He argues that reactions against as well as inspiration from the core of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and other Western cities led to Kraków's development from a medieval town on the periphery to an international, modern city. In this essay, I reconcile the city-building and nationalist narratives by looking at tensions in Kraków through the lens of two of its most celebrated artists' self-portraits. I will break down the grand, formative schemes of current scholarship to explore how the visual arts influenced the direction of Kraków's progress. The artists themselves were working in Kraków, being affected by its changes, and exploring questions of self-identity and personal development that seemed to parallel Kraków's own questions associated with identity and progress.

Kraków produced a number of prolific artists during this period, many of whom were not only visual artists but also philosophers, playwrights, poets, and theorists. They have left behind their artistic output for us to examine. These crafted words and visual representations demonstrate the density of the artists' thoughts while attempting to convey their worldview and understanding of society through a very intimate means of communication. According to Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, intellectuals played a vital role in both creating and unraveling the tensions present in Eastern and Central Europe during this period.⁷ Although intellectuals comprised the majority of the population neither in Kraków nor in other Eastern European metropolises, they played a central role in the cities' self-conscious understanding of the times in which they were situated.

I will use the artistic output of Wyspiański and Witkacy to explore how tensions present in their oeuvres between 1890 and 1918 paralleled and influenced the development of Kraków. Oscillations, anxieties, queries, and booming cultural vibrancy filled turn-of-the-century Kraków and prompted visual artists to attempt to make sense of these traits in their work. By examining Stanisław Wyspiański's pastels, plays, and use of symbolism as well as Witkacy's understanding of reality through his Formist compositions and photography, one can begin to decipher these artists' attitudes towards modernity.

These artists grew up in a pre-metropolitan Kraków where development lagged behind that of many Central and Western European cities. In 1900, Kraków's population numbered only eighty-five thousand inhabitants, twenty times smaller than that of Vienna, and thus the city could still have been considered a provincial town by population standards

⁶ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 3-21.

⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, "Intellectuals in East-Central Europe," *European Politics & Societies* 1 (1987).

despite its prominence in the Polish cultural community.⁸ Galicia was the poorest province in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Kraków was representative of the province. Polish writer Stanisław Przybyszewski famously said that at the turn of the century, the only thing the Vistula River brought into Kraków was malaria.⁹ On average, Kraków's inhabitants lived only thirty-four years and in terrible conditions, making revival seem unlikely in this trapped medieval city.

Many of Kraków's obstacles to modernization resulted from Poland's partitioned status during the rest of Europe's crucial years of urbanization. Due to the 1846 peasant uprising outside of the city, the Austro-Hungarian Empire built walls around Kraków, while the rest of Europe tore down their medieval fortifications.¹⁰ These walls made Kraków a garrison-like city for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as Kraków was located only fifty kilometers from Prussia and twenty-five from Russia. Its decentralized location within the empire further hindered its path towards modernization. Industrialization of Polish cities near state borders required cooperation of all three empires, which rarely occurred, particularly concerning the development of the Vistula. Each empire could only develop the portions of the river within its territory, making this waterway fairly ineffective for Kraków because its section of the Vistula did not last long before disappearing into the territory of Russia or Prussia.¹¹ The city itself remained in its medieval state with no electric lighting or plumbing. The Wawel Royal Castle dominated Kraków's skyline, acting as a symbol of Poland's glorious past. Thus, modernization and the rise of nationalism were inherently linked in turn-of-the-century Kraków, as it was Poland's partitioning that created obstacles for modernization. Kraków's geographic and political locations hampered its modernization, while also making its citizens more aware of their Polishness.¹²

While slow to modernize, Kraków developed a distinctively modern form of nationalism. An increasingly self-conscious Polish identity created a politically charged atmosphere in Kraków. The Liberal Democrats wanted to promote Kraków's heritage to give the city legitimacy, as

⁸ David Crowley, "Castles, Cabarets and Cartoons: Claims on Polishness in Kraków around 1905," in *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, eds. Malcolm Glee, Tim Kirk, and Jill Steward (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), 102.

⁹ Henryk Markiewicz, *Tadeusz elenski Boy o Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1968), 13, in Jan Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art, 1890-1918* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 42.

¹⁰ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 8.

¹¹ Geoffrey Drage, "Pre-War Statistics of Poland and Lithuania," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 81, no. 2 (1918): 278.

¹² The term "Polishness" has appeared in the last few decades to denote a sense of national identity of the Polish people not defined by politics but by a spiritual, symbolic community.

Kraków could not compete on an industrial level with comparable cities.¹³ Nationalism became the expectation. It ennobled the petite bourgeoisie, heightened the status of peasants to that of Poles in the minds of townsmen, and led to preservation of historic monuments that harkened back to Kraków's medieval glory days. Local artists restored monuments in an effort to combat modernism by emphasizing the maintenance of the old over the creation of the new. Conservatives promoted Kraków as a "Polish Athens," a city with relevance through the preservation of its glorious heritage.¹⁴ Kraków had already surrendered its identity in one sense when the partitioning powers engulfed Poland in 1795, and so Krakovians once again feared their city would be deprived of its identity as a cultural hub to the impending modernization coming from Western Europe. Thus, Kraków developed a peculiar historicism furthered by a number of conservative institutions. Kraków cultivated an awareness of self not only through aggrandized nationalism but also through the active minds of the city's intelligentsia.

Kraków modernized in mind and spirit before it arrived in a physical sense. The intelligentsia dominated Kraków's cultural, social, and political scenes. Bauman writes on the power of the intelligentsia in Eastern Europe and, in his article, comes to the conclusion that "the intellectual idiom... instilled in the European mind of the nineteenth century the belief that thought could be potent enough to destroy and create social realities."¹⁵ The intelligentsia shaped the people's understanding of Kraków's current state and was intertwined in the city's development. The intelligentsia and the atmosphere of turn-of-the-century Kraków produced and challenged one another. Although the intelligentsia did not constitute the majority of Kraków's population, their ideas permeated the population through contemporary means of communication such as print culture and verbal dialogue that occurred on the streets and in cafés. The Green Balloon, a café "renowned for iconoclasm" became a watering hole for Krakovian intelligentsia, jolting Kraków with its modern and radical intellectual conversations.¹⁶ The situation in Kraków gave its intelligentsia the need to assert their relevance and preserve their own identities through various means, whether through words, writing, or visual art.

A substantial number of people in Kraków participated in this artistic dialogue either through producing artwork or engaging with it socially. Conservative groups with primarily nationalistic objectives such as the Society of Friends of Kraków's History and Monuments clashed with radical groups growing in prominence over ideas of preservation versus innovation. These radical artistic communities emerged in Kraków

¹³ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 6; Purchla, *Heritage and Transformation*, 38.

¹⁴ Purchla, *Heritage and Transformation*, 36.

¹⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, "Intellectuals in East-Central Europe," *European Politics & Societies* 1 (1987): 162-187.

¹⁶ Crowley, "Castles, Cabarets and Cartoons," 107.

in the late 1890s. In 1895, the Kraków School of Fine Arts solidified the influence of these radical groups when its administration reformed it into one of the most progressive art schools in all of Europe.¹⁷ The reformed school then produced progressive artists who contributed to the Kraków-based art journal *Lybie*. Translated as *Life* in English, *Lybie* was an appropriate name for the journal, as art was densely woven into Krakovian life and culture. The journal criticized realism and named the burgeoning group of experimental artists in Kraków Young Poland. The name Young Poland portrayed the international nature of these artists by referring to other emergent groups in Western Europe such as Young Belgium, Young Scandinavia, and Young Ireland. The name Young Poland, however, also refers to an underground Krakovian movement that contributed to the city's 1835 insurrection in hopes of reunification. *Lybie* spread through Eastern Europe and even made its way to France while holding fast to its Krakovian roots. The journal's creation, distribution, and nomenclature contributed to Kraków's understanding of itself through simultaneously reaching inward and searching outward.¹⁸

A new artistic group emerged in 1897 in reaction to the conservatism that continued to prevail in certain Krakovian institutions such as the Kraków Association of Fine Arts. *Sztuka* developed as a form of opposition, and thus its conception was indicative of the modern nature of the group's members. The idea for *Sztuka* was developed by a group of Polish artist working in Paris, but the name itself is the Polish word for art.¹⁹ From the beginning, *Sztuka* connected the international art scene to its members' Polish heritage. Art historian Jan Cavanaugh describes *Sztuka* as "a diaspora, a widely dispersed community of artists with broad international experiences but a common commitment to Polish interests."²⁰ They participated in local and foreign shows, from Budapest to St. Louis. Many *Sztuka* artists contributed to *Lybie* and painted murals on the walls of the Green Balloon while also participating in the Wiener Secession's exhibitions in Vienna. *Sztuka* artists had modern experiences by participating in foreign shows, frequenting cafés, and contributing to international publications. Furthermore, they rendered their artwork in an avant-garde style far before Kraków developed into a metropolis.

The Kraków artistic community amalgamated modernity with Polish heritage, using cultural creations to illuminate and discuss social tensions. Kraków's artists travelled to major European metropolises. They went to art school in Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Paris and

¹⁷ Jan Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art, 1890-1918* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 56

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁹ Stefania Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska Piotr Mizia, "‘Sztuka’, ‘Wiener Secession’, ‘Mánes’. The Central European Art Triangle," *Atribus et Historiae* 27, no. 53 (2006): 219.

²⁰ Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 63.

participated in foreign exhibitions. Their artistic ventures exposed them to urbanized European metropolises, and thus Krakovian artists were able to anticipate the voids that modernity would create. They used their visual output to grapple with these ideas before the city of Kraków entered into the twentieth-century. Wood attempts to emphasize the narrative of the city's modernization instead of nationalism in forming Krakovian identity and thus claims, "Young Poland was somewhat limited in its international capability by its nationalistic tendencies," after referring to Kraków as "insufficiently civilized."²¹ In fact, the contrary is true. Kneading national identity into avant-garde art allowed Krakovian artists to promote themselves, their city, and their art on an international stage. The Viennese bourgeoisie looked down on Kraków because of the city's lack of modernization but celebrated the city's artists as innovative and dedicated to the artistic canon.²² As this essay will illuminate, Krakovian artists used the avant-garde not as a decadent self-edifying construct but as a tool to explore the self, the nation, the past, and the modern.

Artists like Wyspiański and Witkacy used self-portraiture to make sense of these seemingly paradoxical ambitions. Self-portraiture is a frequented genre in the history of art because it gives artists the opportunity to directly examine and promote themselves through the same means in which they examine the world around them. Facial expressions are content-based, as are the intentional decisions given to clothing, lighting, and composition, especially when depicting the self. Self-portraits can depict the true nature of how one looks or be "psychologically naturalistic;" the genre can even accomplish both tasks while alluding to the artists' understanding of their societal context. Polish artists seemed to interrogate their understanding of nationalism and work out the effects of modernization on their lives through self-portraiture. Maciej Szymanowicz conveys the power of the self-portrait in describing the work of Witkacy by stating, "Witkacy's most arresting portraits can be seen as an attempt to reveal the real 'I' of their sitter, to glimpse the true identity that lay behind the social mask. Trying to pierce the veil concealing the human psyche"²³ Witkacy's particular self-portraits will be discussed later, but these ideas of identity, the real "I", and the veil of the human psyche, too, permeated discussions of other Krakovian artists in turn-of-the-century Poland such as Stanisław Wyspiański.

²¹ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 24 and 47.

²² Crowley, "Castles, Cabarets, and Cartoons," 102.

²³ Czartoryska, "Laboratorium 'psychologii nieeuklidesowej' czyli o fotografiach Witkacego," 35, in Maciej Szymanowicz, "In the Private Sphere: The Photographic Work of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz." In *Object: Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art*, eds. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 8.



Fig. 2: Stanisław Wyspiański, Self-Portrait with Wife, 1904, pastel, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie.

Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907) produced a great number of self-portraits during his short yet active life dedicated to artistic development. Wyspiański was one of Poland's best-known modern artists whose oeuvre opened up Polish modernism to contemporary Western scholarship. He was born in Kraków in 1869 and began studying under the great history painter Jan Matejko in 1880. The Division of Drawing at the Kraków School of Fine Arts admitted him purely based on talent and he went on to study art history at the renowned Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Historians at Jagiellonian University criticized the romanticized national narrative stirring within Poland at the turn of the century, and so Wyspiański's studies at this institution taught him early on to consider principles that stretched outside of a nationalist context.²⁴ Wyspiański traveled to Paris multiple times in the early 1890's, but during this period he remained closely connected to Kraków. He co-founded *Sztuka* and directed the visual arts section of *Lycie* at the appointment of the publication's editor.

Although a consummate painter, Wyspiański also successfully wrote plays and poetry. In his visual output, he moved beyond the traditional

²⁴ Marta Romanowska, "Stanisław Wyspiański : Life and Work," *Culture.PL*, last modified April 23, 2014. <http://culture.pl/en/artist/stanislaw-Wyspiański#zycie-tworczosc>.

medium of oil painting and genre of history painting to incorporate book illustration, stained glass, and costume design into his oeuvre. The city of Kraków commissioned Wyspiański to restore traditional Krakovian sites like the Franciscan Church and the Wawel in 1905. The city rejected the stained glass panels he created for the Franciscan Church, as they were too modern to be installed in a site of Polish national heritage.²⁵ Wyspiański died shortly after in 1907 and the city of Kraków paid for his funeral.²⁶ In 1910, Gaston Riou published an article in Paris about the impact Wyspiański had had on his understanding of tragedy. Even only three years after Wyspiański's death, Riou understood the impact this artist would have on Kraków, and described him as the "personnification vivante de la Pologne actuelle."²⁷

Wyspiański's 1904 self-portrait with his wife (Figure 2) effectively illustrates the artist as a personification of modern Poland. He married Teodora Teofile Pytko, a peasant woman from the outskirts of the city, in 1901.²⁸ The pastel portrait depicts Teodora in her traditional peasant dress and Wyspiański in a chic vest and collared shirt as a Krakovian townsman. Wyspiański depicts his peasant wife as solid and confident. She gazes confrontationally towards the viewer, while Wyspiański shifts his eyes questioningly to the right. Through his diaphanous form, one can see the purple background behind the peach used to shade his face. His body is secondary to her sturdy, opaque one. Together, Wyspiański and Teodora's bodies form a single mass that occupies the majority of the picture plane.

Stylistically, this work is considered very modern, on par with Western European post-impressionists of the same era such as Gauguin, but Wyspiański imbues the image with symbolism connecting it to Kraków. At the turn of the century, it was fashionable for city men of Kraków to go into the countryside and bring back a rustic peasant woman to wed. The patchy economic development of the late nineteenth century in conjunction with fairly developed train networks allowed the average person to first-handedly see stark contrasts between the rural countryside and the urbanizing city.²⁹ Modernity made these rural communities accessible while foregrounding the juxtaposition of rural and urban. The adjacency of rural and urban, also present in Wyspiański's portrait with his wife, makes evident the widening difference of these two concepts around 1900 and defines them in opposition to one another.

These Krakovian men desired to be modern but relied on visualizations of the rural to justify their nationalism. In his 1983 text

²⁵ Waclaw Borowy, "Wyspiański," *The Slavic and East European Review* 11, no.33 (1933), 618.

²⁶ Romanowska, "Stanislaw Wyspiański : Life and Work."

²⁷ Gaston Riou, "Foi et Vie," *Revue Bi-Mensuelle de Culture Chrétienne* 6, no.1 (1 January 1915), 50.

²⁸ Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 144.

²⁹ Mark Sandberg, "Vanishing Culture," in *Living Pictures Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 153.

Simulations, Jean Baudrillard eloquently described the relevance of nostalgia in a modern context:

When real is no longer what is used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity, and authenticity. There is an escalation of the true, of the lived experience; a resurrection of the figurative where the object and substance have disappeared. And there is a panic-stricken production of the real and the referential, above and parallel to the panic of material production.³⁰

Kraków began to rapidly modernize around 1900, pushing the rural lands on the outskirts of the city continuously further away from its epicenter. Kraków city-dwellers, like Wyspiański, felt the need to preserve their rural heritage, the heritage of unified Poland, by integrating the rural into their lives through matrimony before modernization completely overtook Poland's authenticity. Modernity and rural heritage both created and threatened one another. The railroads connected metropolitan men to rural women. Peasant women attracted urban men, particularly artists, because they represented Polish nationalism, a concept which Kraków's artists reinforced through their work. Wyspiański struggled with and visualized these tensions in his self-portrait and further investigated them in his plays.

Wyspiański explored this same theme three years before *Self-Portrait with Wife* in his most famous play, *The Wedding*, a symbolist drama in which the Host, a city man from Kraków, marries a peasant girl from the countryside. Wyspiański based the story around an actual friend from Kraków's wedding, but it is difficult not to see an autobiographical, almost prophetic, nature in the play's storyline. In *The Wedding*, historical Polish figures confront characters of the wedding party after an animated rose bush puts them all into a dream-like stupor. The historical figures confront the opinions of the wedding party and inspire the Host to lead an insurrection although he ends up falling asleep instead.³¹

The Wedding's plot can be interpreted as Wyspiański's call for Poland to rise up against the oppressive empires who partitioned its state in 1795. Wyspiański inserted many nationalistic references throughout. In act 1, scene 24, the Host and Poet speak of the dignity of the peasants and of the trials of Poland's recent history. In act 2, scene 8, the Bride has a dream about going to Poland, but she is already there, in a town surrounded by walls. The town is most likely Kraków, as the Austro-Hungarian Empire

³⁰ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (Los Angeles: Semiotext, 1983), 171.

³¹ Stanisław Wyspiański, *The Wedding: A Drama in Three Acts*, trans. Noel Clark, originally presented in Cracow, 1901 (London: Oberon Books, 1998).

only tore down Kraków's walls in the first decade of the twentieth century.³² The bride will move to Kraków to live with her husband but does not yet reside there. Krakovian culture surrounds her in the people, dress, and atmosphere of her own wedding, although she is not yet physically in the city. Wyspiański, however, also placed many references to modernity in the play. In act 1, scene 1, the Headman discusses the Opium Wars, emphasizing the globalized world in which he lives. The Journalist questions why peasants would care about China and the Headman responds, "To bring us closer to the world."³³ Throughout the play, the characters discuss the stark differences between the city and the rural. Rachel speaks French, which alludes to her international, metropolitan nature. Ultimately, the occurrences at the wedding are merely visions. Wyspiański emphasized the hollow essence of ceremony because "what is actually alive in the community is futile, and what is strong is only a memory or vision."³⁴ History does not come back to life and no insurrection actually occurs. The play ends in everyone mindlessly dancing like melancholy puppets attached to strings. The play is laden with feelings both of hope and despair; the author desired insurrection yet mocks it. Through *The Wedding*, Wyspiański

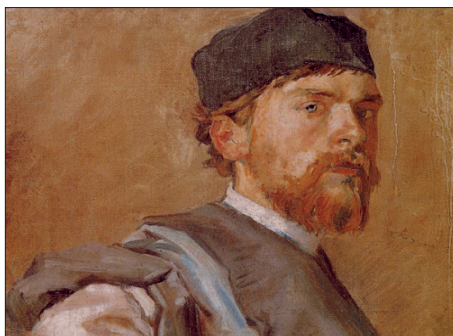
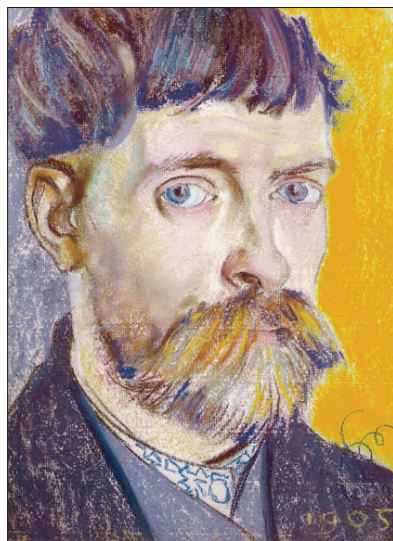


Fig. 3: Stanislaw Wyspiański, *Self-Portrait in a Robe of Ancient Polish Noble*, 1892-94, oil on canvas, 35 x 46.5 cm, National Museum, Wroclaw, (left). Fig. 4: Stanislaw Wyspiański, *Self-Portrait*, 1905, pastel, 31.3 x 24 cm, private collection (right).



illustrated his anxiety by contradicting himself.

The Wedding and Wyspiański's *Self-Portrait with Wife* comment on the artist's view of nationalism and modernity at the turn of the century, as Kraków was beginning to become a modernized metropolis. The

³² Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 28.

³³ Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 21.

³⁴ Borowy, "Wyspiański," 627.

juxtaposition of Wyspiański's self-portraits from 1892 (Figure 3) and 1905 (Figure 4) elucidates how these critical thirteen years leading up to the city's physical modernization changed Wyspiański's perception of himself and his environment.

In both portraits, Wyspiański depicts himself from the shoulders up, cropping the top of his head, in a three-quarter profile turned slightly to the right. The compositions are quite similar but Wyspiański's facial expression and the style in which the self-portraits are rendered are drastically different. Wyspiański's 1892 self-portrait depicts him in medieval Polish garb in muted, natural colors. The traditional medium of oil painting along with his period dress place the portrait in line with grand historical paintings of Matjko despite the work's small size. Wyspiański stares at the viewer, confident yet with suspicion. In his 1905 self-portrait, Wyspiański tightly crops his portrait and uses vivid complementary colors that remove the setting from reality. He wears the shirt and cravat of a metropolitan man, but his face appears weary and troubled.

Both of these self-portraits reveal a sense of artificiality in how Wyspiański represented himself. The 1892 self-portrait was a romantic charade. Wyspiański was not an ancient Polish noble, and he did not live during the medieval period. His confident gaze conveys nationalistic sentiment, as it seems to demean anyone who is not Polish or noble. Wyspiański's 1905 self-portrait's artificiality stems from its employment of an unnatural light source to illuminate Wyspiański's expression. Yet, Wyspiański seems uncomfortable in the portrait. Confidence from the 1892 self-portrait has morphed into concern; his look of suspicion is now one of worry. The complementary colors make these tensions on his face evident. No candle or ray of sunlight could produce such vivid colors so starkly contrasted. Electric lighting came to Kraków by 1905 and thus could have actually been used in the creation of this portrait.³⁵ Like Wyspiański, Witkacy also experimented with how electricity and mechanizations affected the individual's view of himself. In his drama *Gybal Wabazar*, the main character explains himself using electric devices as metaphors, "I am a lone and solitary spirit—like the steam engine, like the electrical energy in the battery. But then I really do have a machine under me, and not some living pulpy mush. My officials are automate, like the ones you see in train stations."³⁶ Witkacy played with Wyspiański's understanding of nationalism and modernization but ultimately rejected it, giving himself space to define such notions based on personal experience.

Modernization changed the way the people of Kraków understood themselves, and such development is evident in the evolution of Wyspiański's self-portraits. Wyspiański trifled with the viewers of

³⁵ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 25.

³⁶ Christine Kiebuszinska, "Witkacy's Theory of Pure Form: Change, Dissolution, and Uncertainty," in *Intertextual Loops in Modern Drama* (London: Associated University Press, 2001), 67.

his artwork, creating paintings that conveyed the uncertainty in his life. Wyspiański consciously played with tensions between the urban and rural, the technological and the pastoral, and the relationship between the metropolitan man and the traditional woman. In a way, reaction to what came before defined modernity. Wyspiański's poignant symbolism became secondary to a new style developed by the young artist Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, better known as Witkacy (1885-1939). Like Wyspiański, Witkacy used self-portraiture to grapple with questions of the self that were in dialogue with the questions being asked in Kraków in this crucial moment in Polish history. Wyspiański explored identity through drawing and design, but Witkacy chose the camera as his medium through which to make self-portraits in the years leading up to and during World War I. Wyspiański and other Sztuka artists created depictions of themselves by rendering contours with their own hands. Witkacy used a similar concept to these artists but rejected symbolism, using his camera to subvert his supposedly realistic subjects to simultaneously depict the psychological state of himself and the cultural capital of Poland during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Photography was a "scientific" medium that, in theory, regurgitated the reality in front of the lens. Through his photographic compositions, Witkacy manipulated this process to construct identities and emotional states through photographic self-portraiture.

Witkacy's father sparked his son's fascination with photography from an early age. Witkacy was named for his father, one of the great Zakopane artists practicing at the end of the century. The elder Witkiewicz rejected romanticism for realism and believed in making art based on observations of the world around him. Witkiewicz stemmed from the same generation as Wyspiański and had many of the same convictions, although he supported realism rather than symbolism. Witkiewicz was more an art critic than an artist, and students at Kraków's Academy of Fine Arts avidly read his reviews as soon as they were published.³⁷ He imbued his criticism and visual output with a sense of the present and gave it meaning through its connection to his societal and physical surroundings. Witkiewicz used photography as a tool to capture images of the natural world in his paintings and urged his son to do the same.

Witkacy's accomplished father taught art to him. He lived with his family in Zakopane, a small spa town in the south of Austro-Hungarian Poland where elites and intellectuals gathered. He grew up over fifty miles from Kraków, yet was engaged in its artistic and intellectual circles. From 1904-1905, Witkacy attended the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków and lived in the city until 1914. While at the Academy of Fine Arts, Witkacy would have certainly been exposed to Wyspiański's work and probably met the elder artist as well. Witkacy's exposure to Wyspiański may have contributed to his later interrogation and rejection of the artist's themes. During this period, he frequently travelled back and forth between this

³⁷ Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 27.

growing metropolitan center and the rural town of Zakopane, and he also spent a few months in Paris studying the French avant-garde movements. While Witkacy's father taught him basic artistic techniques, his travels in Europe opened his eyes to Western trends that influenced his style. It was the city of Kraków, however, that informed Witkacy's choice of subject and mindset that was crucial to the development of his artwork and philosophies.³⁸ Witkacy's father and the Kraków Academy of Fine Arts trained him as an artist, but he was a self-taught philosopher. In 1902, Witkacy penned his essay "On Dualism" through which he grappled with the agency of the individual within a broader context of space and time.

"We attempt to explain our existence by what lies outside of us, i.e., by motives from outside, i.e., by physical causes, we quite abstractly reach the conclusion that we are only links in a huge chain of something that reveals itself to us in time and space as unconditionally subject to the law of causality."³⁹

Witkacy believed everything has adequate cause for existence, a rational antecedent, and thus nothing can contradict nature. Context informs

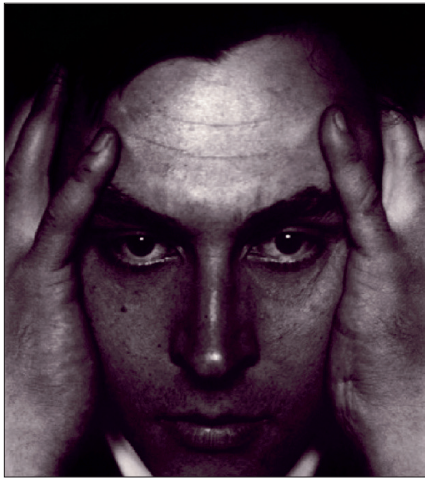


Fig. 5: Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, Self-Portrait, 1912, photography, gelatin silver print.

one's way of being and thus how people function within their given frameworks of reality.

Through his 1902 essay, Witkacy argued that everyone in society contributes to the grander narrative, although he or she may be unaware of the direction or the existence of this narrative until after already contributing to its advancement. Witkacy struggled with the law of causality as a philosopher yet succumbed to it as an artist. He contributed to Kraków's grand narrative in the first two decades of the twentieth century by embracing modernism and Polish nationalism. His photographs used

³⁸ Maciej Szymanowicz, "In the Private Sphere: The Photographic Work of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz," in *Object: Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art*, ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), <http://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Szymanowicz.pdf>, 3.

³⁹ Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, "On Dualism," written December 1902, in *The Witkiewicz Reader*, ed. and trans. Daniel Gerould (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 49.

the modern medium of technology to replicate the world. They can be duplicated, which creates many “originals,” and therefore no true original work of art exists in photography. Yet, Witkacy's belief in individuality is evident in the close up views of his early photographic portraits that particularize the sitter. The tensions in these photographs echoed the tensions present in Kraków and contributed to the angst in Witkacy's work. Such angst was quintessentially Polish, as it struggled to reconcile the rural and the modern, an angst of rejecting the past yet being indebted to it. Were Poles individuals even in an increasingly globalized world? Was Polish heritage special and something to celebrate or was it to become part of Austria-Hungary's narrative, destined to be lost in the monotony of urbanization?

Through his photography, Witkacy was indebted to his father's influence yet rejected his father's principles by incorporating Western European influences and grounding his portraits in a psychological reality rather than a physical one. Witkacy's 1912 self-portrait (Figure 5) is representative of his early photography, in which he captured likenesses of close friends and family members in tightly cropped frames.⁴⁰ In this self-portrait, Witkacy's face fills and even extends outside of the border of the image. He focuses on his own individuality by accentuating his face and emotions, but anxiety permeates his expression and is made further evident by the gesture of his hands. The photograph constrains him, allowing the viewer to closely examine the expression on his face while providing no information about the rest of his being. Witkacy's magnified face exposes his emotions and internal consciousness, his psychological state. Witkacy feared modernity as he thought social progress would lead to the decline of individuality.⁴¹ He looked to the future with boredom as he did not see hope in modernity and ceased to believe in the grand schemes of Polish nationalism.

Witkacy created his self-portraits within the context of an imagined Poland, and he was surrounded by the culture of a revived Kraków on the brink of modernization. Witkacy's artwork and philosophy were inherently linked to Kraków as a place because as Roman Ingarden so eloquently stated, “He [Witkacy] pondered issues with which he lived, in which he was personally interested, and which moved him deeply... In philosophy he found a way to calm the storm that nevertheless did not cease to rock the foundations of his being.”⁴² Witkacy and the city of Kraków gained a sense of freedom through the shortcomings and uncertainties in their manifestations of identity, but both Kraków and Witkacy seem nervous

⁴⁰ Szymanowicz, “In the Private Sphere,” 5.

⁴¹ Daniel Gerould, “Introduction,” in *The Witkiewicz Reader*, ed. and trans. Daniel Gerould (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 3.

⁴² Daniel Gerould, “Contemporaries and Moderns Comment on Witkacy,” in *The Witkiewicz Reader*, ed. and trans. Daniel Gerould (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 342.

about modernization, reaching to the point of fear. While Witkacy created his art, Kraków was experiencing modernization, and so Witkacy was experiencing its effects. The sentimental disappears in his photographs as tensions resulting from modernization increase.

Through his philosophy, Witkacy realized the limitations of photography as an artistic medium. It simply could not convey exactly what he hoped it would. Thus, Witkacy kept many of his photographs private, but this privacy freed him to experiment and to explore the self.⁴³ He was not constrained by expectations of Polish artistic communities or photographic techniques. He could explore what it meant to reveal oneself and was able to experiment with different ways of conveying this message. The camera was not a new tool, but Witkacy used it in a new way. Witkacy could examine himself, his nationality, and his relationship with the West with fewer consequences and greater resources than Kraków's artists ever had before.

Witkacy took advantage of this opportunity by refusing to use photography in a conventional way. Landscapes were the primary genre of Polish photography at the turn of the century. Landscapes were appropriate



Fig. 6: Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, *Multiple Self-Portrait Reflected in Mirrors*, 1915, photography, Museum of Art, Łódź.

for the medium as it was a genre of oil painting and thus seemed to raise photography to the status of a “high art.” Additionally, artistic depictions

⁴³ Szymanowicz, “In the Private Sphere,” 5.

of authentic Polish landscapes untied Poland in people's minds, giving the photographs a nationalistic agenda.⁴⁴ Witkacy rejected landscapes in his own artwork during this period. He did not need to prove that photography was a "high art" because he created it privately. Witkacy did not desire to create a patriotic narrative because he was trying to overcome the boundaries of nationality rather than construct them like his father. A western sense of modernism made its way into Witkacy's ethos. Through his photography, Witkacy defined himself in opposition to the times before. This definition through opposition is depicted in his 1915 photograph, *Multiple Self-Portrait Reflected in Mirrors* (Figure 6).

Witkacy took this photograph of himself after voluntarily enlisting to fight for the Russians during World War I. Polish citizens were fighting on both sides of the war, but Witkacy's Polish nationalism revealed itself in his decision to fight for Russia. He supported the tsarist army to combat Austria-Hungary, in a way, to fight against the empire that controlled his native Galicia. The photograph shows Witkacy in his Russian military uniform staring at four reflections that reveal different angles of his body. The viewer only sees the back of the "real" Witkacy. The other Witkacys are mere reflections, yet these apparitions are the only evidence the viewer has as to what the "real" Witkacy looks like. He is Polish yet depicts himself as Russian, but maybe this Russian façade allowed him a way to rebel against the Austro-Hungarian Empire to which his portion of Poland was subordinated. In *Multiple Self-Portrait Reflected in Mirrors*, the Russian reflections are separated from his actual person. They are useful to the viewer because they show us who Witkacy is, but they are not Witkacy. This photograph does not offer solutions, but instead only raises questions.

Witkacy reacted against his own nationality throughout his life but does not fully take on the identity of another. This portrait pairs nicely with seemingly contradictory correspondence Witkacy sent to his friend Malinowski living abroad. In May of 1921 Witkacy wrote, "I'd so like you to become Polish again. It's a pity to lose one's nationality that way. Remember how we considered Conrad a traitor."⁴⁵ Two years later, Witkacy advised Malinowski in the opposite direction, writing, "Don't be a fool and come back to Poland. We shall die in our posts in this fantastic land, which by mere, pure accident is our native country."⁴⁶ Witkacy maintained Polish nationality but in an alternative manner to the romanticized notions of his father. This was well explained through the contorted plot of his play *The New Deliverance*. This play was Witkacy's recreation of Wyspiański's 1903 play *Deliverance* in which a character from one of Adam Mickiewicz's

⁴⁴ Szymanowicz, "In the Private Sphere," 1.

⁴⁵ Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, "Letters to Malinowski (1921-23)," written 26 May 1921, in *The Witkiewicz Reader*, ed. and trans. Daniel Gerould (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 143.

⁴⁶ Witkiewicz, "Letters to Malinowski (1921-23)," 145.

romantic poems is the main character. In his version, Witkacy forces this character to question the romantic context Mickiewicz wrote him into.⁴⁷ He is not rejecting the nationalist narrative completely, but questioning it. He creates tension in hope of finding a version of the nationalist narrative that makes sense of the world, thus fitting into his increasingly modernized context at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century.

Witkacy spoke out against losing one's nationality yet does exactly this in his 1915 self-portrait. Witkacy struggled with the tensions of building an identity from the past versus looking outward, whether it be to Paris or to Russia in order to discover this identity. Kraków's analogous tensions defined its cultural challenges at the turn of the century. Should the city discover its identity by looking inward to its past or by looking outward to European modernization?

Kraków had modernized by the end of World War I. Stanisław Broniewski described the second decade of the twentieth century as a "watershed period in the life of Kraków, in which it reshaped itself from an old-fashioned little town to a modern city."⁴⁸ From 1900-1915, Kraków's population grew eightfold and entered an increasingly globalized marketplace.⁴⁹ At the terminus of World War I, Poland was finally reunified into a single state. The barriers to modernization that the nation's partition created ceased to hold Kraków back from becoming a European metropolis. The city became part of the state it had only imagined for the past two hundred years. Poland reached statehood and Kraków modernized, but artistic tensions did not cease to be present in Kraków's cultural spheres. Ultimately, Witkacy, Krakovian artists, and the city of Kraków itself had to "think internationally, explore locally" to reconcile what it meant to be simultaneously Polish and modern.⁵⁰

The artists of Kraków were vital to the city's development and understanding of itself through its process of statehood and modernization. Artists such as Stanisław Wyspiański and Witkacy used self-portraiture to explore the tensions they felt as a result of these seemingly contradictory aspirations in Kraków in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Krakovian artists traveled around Europe but always seemed to find worthwhile reasons to return to Kraków. The Royal Statistical Society's (of Great Britain) 1918 report of Poland's population described Kraków as "the Mecca of the Pole."⁵¹ This Western European institution defined Kraków as a site of pilgrimage for the Pole, placing it not only in the context of modernized Western Europe, but also as a cultural symbol of Polish history. Bauman also recognized the unique

⁴⁷ Kiebuszinska, "Witkacy's Theory of Pure Form," 67.

⁴⁸ Wood, *Becoming Metropolitan*, 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵⁰ Marek Bartelik, *Unity in Multiplicity: Early Modern Polish Art* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), 62.

⁵¹ Drage, "Pre-War Statistics," 237.

atmosphere of Kraków at the turn of the century and wrote, “Nowhere else in modern times has there developed such a deep belief in the well-nigh magical power of the word and of cultural symbols in general; nowhere else have such far reaching hopes and formidable fears surrounded their use.”⁵² The power of visual images and literary output catalyzed and manifested the struggles associated with Kraków's modernization, leading artists like Wyspiański and Witkacy to explore and create new realities for the city of Kraków.

⁵² Bauman, “Intellectuals in East-Central Europe,” 172.

Bibliography

- Bartelik, Marek. *Unity in Multiplicity: Early Modern Polish Art*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulations*. Los Angeles: Semiotext, 1983.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. "Intellectuals in East-Central Europe." *European Politics & Societies* 1 (1987): 162-186.
- Berman, Marshal. *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.
- Borowy, Waclaw. "Wyspiański." *The Slavic and East European Review* 11, no. 33 (1933): 617-630.
- Cavanaugh, Jan. *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art, 1890-1918*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.
- Chmielewska, Agnieszka. "Realism as a Solution to the Problems of Modernity." In *Reinterpreting the Past: Traditional Artistic Trends in Central and Eastern Europe of the 1920s and 1930s*, edited by Irena Kossowska, 193-1202. Warsaw: Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2010.
- Crowley, David. "Castles, Cabarets, and Cartoons: Claims on Polishness in Kraków Around 1905." In *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, edited by Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk, and Jill Steward, 101-122. Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999.
- Drage, Geoffrey. "Pre-War Statistics of Poland and Lithuania." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 81, no. 2 (March 1918): 229-321.
- Kiebuszinska, Christine. "Witkacy's Theory of Pure Form: Change, Dissolution, and Uncertainty." In *Intertextual Loops in Modern Drama*, 47-87. London: Associated University Press, 2001.
- Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, Stefania, and Piotr Mizia. "'Sztuka', 'Wiener Secession', 'Mánes'. The Central European Art Triangle." *Atribus et Historiae* 27, no. 53 (2006): 217-259.
- Purchla, Jacek. *Heritage and Transformation*. Translated by Jan Maciej Glogoczowski, Anna Rucinska-Barnas and Jessica Taylor-Kucia. Cracow: International Cultural Center of Cracow, 2005.
- Riou, Gaston. "Foi et Vie." *Revue bi-mensuelle de culture chrétienne* 6, no.1, (1 January 1915).
- Romanowska, Marta. "Stanislaw Wyspiański : Life and Work." *Culture.PL*. Last modified April 23, 2014. <http://culture.pl/en/artist/stanislaw-wyspiański#zycie-tworczosc>.
- Sandberg, Mark. "Vanishing Culture." In *Living Pictures Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity*, edited by Mark Sandberg, 145-177. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

- Snyder, Timothy. "Early Modern Ukraine (1569-1914)." In *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, 105-132. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Szymanowicz, Maciej. "In the Private Sphere: The Photographic Work of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz." In *Object: Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909-1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art*, edited by Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014. <http://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Szymanowicz.pdf>.
- Walters, E. Garrison. "Interwar Poland." In *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945*, 171-188. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989.
- Witkiewicz, Stanisław Ignacy. *Multiple Self-Portrait Reflected in Mirrors*. 1915. Photography. Museum of Art, Łódź. <http://www.ghs-mh.de/migration/schools/images/ploscho4.jpg>.
- Witkiewicz, Stanisław Ignacy. *Self-Portrait*. 1912. Photography, gelatin silver print. <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/27/37/b8/2737b83fa37b8c0a319b7a5437fefe90.jpg>.
- Witkiewicz, Stanisław Ignacy. *The Witkiewicz Reader*. Edited and translated by Daniel Gerould. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992.
- Wyspiański, Stanisław. *Self-Portrait*. 1905. Pastel. 31.3 cm x 24 cm. Private collection. <http://artyzm.com/elobraz.php?id=8199/>.
- Wyspiański, Stanisław. *Self-Portrait in a Robe of Ancient Polish Noble*. 1892-94. Oil on canvas. 35 cm x 46.5 cm. National Museum, Wrocław. <http://artyzm.com/elobraz.php?id=2504>.
- Wyspiański, Stanisław. *Self-Portrait with Wife*. 1904. Pastel. Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. [http://en.wahooart.com/Art.nsf/O/9CVVYQ/\\$File/Stanislaw+WyspianskiPortrait+Of+The+Artist+And+His+Wife.JPG](http://en.wahooart.com/Art.nsf/O/9CVVYQ/$File/Stanislaw+WyspianskiPortrait+Of+The+Artist+And+His+Wife.JPG).
- Wyspiański, Stanisław. *The Wedding: A Drama in Three Acts*. Translated by Noel Clark. Originally presented in Cracow, 1901. London: Oberon Books, 1998.
- Wyspiański, Stanisław. *View of Kocziusko Mound as seen from the Artist's Studio*. 1905. Pastel. 47 cm x 62 cm. National Museum, Warsaw. <http://artyzm.com/elobraz.php?id=8835>.
- Wood, Nathaniel D. *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow*. DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010.