

Neocenzurowano. Polska sztuka niezależna lat 80.

Redakcja: Tadeusz Boruta, Richard Drury, Daniel Echaust

Anglojęzyczna monografia pt. „Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s.” Wydawca: CSW Zamek Ujazdowski i Instytut Adama Mickiewicza. ISBN 978-83-67203-17-3, wym. 24x33 cm, 216 stron.

Bogato ilustrowany katalog wystawy o sztuce niezależnej lat 80. zawiera reprodukcje prac prawie pięćdziesięciu artystów aktywnych w okresie bojkotu instytucji wystawienniczych po wprowadzeniu stanu wojennego w 1981 roku w Polsce oraz fotografie Erazma Ciołka, Chrisa Niedenthala, Jarosława Macieja Goliszewskiego i Tadeusza Boruty dokumentujące wystawy w kościołach, pracowniach twórców oraz spontaniczne działania artystyczne na ulicach miast. Teksty historyków sztuki przybliżają fenomen kultury niezależnej w turbulentnym okresie schyłku komunizmu.

„Dzięki świetnej warstwie graficznej katalogu otrzymujemy przypomnienie znakomitych i ważnych wciąż dokonań polskiej sztuki lat 80. Wtedy to artystom chciało się intensywnie tworzyć dzieła o niezwykłej symbolice i sile wyrazu, niezależnie od politycznych okoliczności, które z wielu powodów nie tylko cenzury zwykle bywają niekorzystne dla twórczości. (...)”

Autorzy wystawy i książki polemizują z dotychczasowymi ustaleniami krytyków sztuki, którzy fenomen polskiej sztuki lat 80. usiłowali przedstawić ze świeckiej perspektywy. To intencja godna poparcia, jak każdy wysiłek kontestujący status quo w polskiej kulturze artystycznej, w której poza krótkimi okresami polemicznych zrywów dominują postawy przystosowawcze.”

Fragmety recenzji Jana Stanisława Wojciechowskiego, artysty, krytyka sztuki i profesora Akademii Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie

Artystki i artyści: Maria Anto, Piotr Augustynek, Zbigniew Bajek, Grzegorz Bednarski, Krzysztof M. Bednarski, Maciej Bieniasz, Tadeusz Boruta, Tadeusz Brzozowski, Ewa Ciepielewska, Erazm Ciołek, Mirosław Dembiński, Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski, Ryszard Grzyb, Zbysław Grzywacz, Barbara Jonscher, Jerzy Kalina, Marian Kępiński, Marek Kijewski, Grzegorz Klaman, Grzegorz Królikiewicz, Jerzy Kośnik, Paweł Kowalewski, Stanisław Markowski, Jerzy Medyński, Aldona Mickiewicz, Piotr Młodożeniec, Jarosław Modzelewski, Andrzej Możejko, Eugeniusz Mucha, Chris Niedenthal, Grzegorz Pabel, Włodzimierz Pawlak, Janusz Petrykowski, Jerzy Piotrowicz, Stanisław Rodziński, Teresa Rudowicz, Jan Rylke, Marek Sapetto, Jacek Sempoliński, Bożena Sienicka, Stanisław Sobolewski, Leszek Sobocki, Jacek Sroka, Teresa Stankiewicz, Wiesław Szamborski, Tomasz Tatarczyk, Jerzy Tchórzewski, Krzysztof Tchórzewski, Andrzej Wajda, Ireneusz Walczak, Jacek Waltoś, Włodzimierz Wasyluk, Ryszard Woźniak

Teksty:

Barbara Schabowska, Bogusław Tracz, Tadeusz Boruta, Richard Drury, Piotr Kopszak, Dominika Górowska, Piotr Bernatowicz

exhibition catalogue

Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Edited by Tadeusz Boruta, Richard Drury, Daniel Echaust



This richly illustrated catalogue of the exhibition presenting Polish independent art of the 1980s features reproductions of works by almost fifty artists active during the boycott of official institutions that followed the introduction of martial law in Poland in 1981. It also contains photographs by Erazm Ciołek, Chris Niedenthal, Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski, and Tadeusz Boruta, documenting exhibitions in Catholic churches, artists' studios and spontaneous artistic activities in public spaces. Essays by art historians discuss, from various perspectives, the phenomenon of independent culture in the turbulent period of the decline of Communism.

“Thanks to the superb layout of the catalogue, we are given a reminder of the lasting achievements of Polish art in the 1980s. At that time, artists focused intensely on creating works of extraordinary symbolism and expressive power regardless of political circumstances that, for many reasons besides censorship, are usually adverse to creative expression.”

“The exhibition curator and authors of this book polemically with the findings of art critics who have, until now, sought to portray the phenomenon of 1980s Polish art from a secular perspective predominant in the European Union. This different approach is worth supporting, as is every effort to contest the status quo in Polish artistic culture that, apart from brief periods of polemical outbursts, is otherwise dominated by adaptive attitudes.”

Excerpts from a review by Jan Stanisław Wojciechowski, artist, art critic and professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw

Artists: Maria Anto, Piotr Augustynek, Zbigniew Bajek, Grzegorz Bednarski, Krzysztof M. Bednarski, Maciej Bieniasz, Tadeusz Boruta, Tadeusz Brzozowski, Ewa Ciepielewska, Erazm Ciołek, Mirosław Dembiński, Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski, Ryszard Grzyb, Zbysław Grzywacz, Barbara Jonscher, Jerzy Kalina, Marian Kępiński, Marek Kijewski, Grzegorz Klaman, Grzegorz Królikiewicz, Jerzy Kośnik, Paweł Kowalewski, Stanisław Markowski, Jerzy Medyński, Aldona Mickiewicz, Piotr Młodożeniec, Jarosław Modzelewski, Andrzej Możejko, Eugeniusz Mucha, Chris Niedenthal, Grzegorz Pabel, Włodzimierz Pawlak, Janusz Petrykowski, Jerzy Piotrowicz, Stanisław Rodziński, Teresa Rudowicz, Jan Rylke, Marek Sapetto, Jacek Sempoliński, Bożena Sienicka, Stanisław Sobolewski, Leszek Sobocki, Jacek Sroka, Teresa Stankiewicz, Wiesław Szamborski, Tomasz Tatarczyk, Jerzy Tchórzewski, Krzysztof Tchórzewski, Andrzej Wajda, Ireneusz Walczak, Jacek Waltoś, Włodzimierz Wasyluk, Ryszard Woźniak

Essays: Barbara Schabowska, Bogusław Tracz, Tadeusz Boruta, Richard Drury, Piotr Kopszak, Dominika Górowska, Piotr Bernatowicz

Texts in English

Graphic design: Anna Warzyńska

Softcover

24 x 33 cm, 216 pages

Colour and black&white illustrations

ISBN 978-83-67203-17-3

Published by the Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art

Co published by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute

Warsaw 2023

This book was created to accompany the exhibition *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* staged in Warsaw and in Kutná Hora.

EXHIBITION at
Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art
in Warsaw
8 April — 18 August 2022
Director: Piotr Bernatowicz
Curator: Tadeusz Boruta

Artists: Maria Anto, Marcin Apel,
Zbigniew Bajek, Grzegorz Bednarski,
Krzysztof M. Bednarski, Maciej Bieniasz,
Tadeusz Boruta, Tadeusz Brzozowski,
Zbigniew M. Markiewicz (Mark Carrot),
Ewa Ciepielewska, Erazm Ciołek,
Miroslaw Dembiński, Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło,
Jan Dziędziora, Halina Eysymont,
Janusz Eysymont, Stefan Gierowski,
Ryszard Grzyb, Zbylut Grzywacz,
Barbara Jonscher, Janusz Kaczmarek,
Jerzy Kalina, Marian Kępiński,
Marek Kijewski, Grzegorz Klaman,
Paweł Kowalewski, Bogdan Krasniewski,
Grzegorz Królikiewicz, Maja Kwiatowska,
Jerzy Medyński, Aldona Mickiewicz,
Piotr Młodożeniec, Jarosław Modzelewski,
Andrzej Możejko, Eugeniusz Mucha,
Olaf Olszewski, Grzegorz Pabel,
Włodzimierz Pawlak, Janusz Petrykowski,
Jerzy Piotrowicz, Jerzy Puciata,
Józef Robakowski, Stanisław Rodziński,
Teresa Rudowicz, Jan Rylke, Teresa Stankiewicz,
Marek Sapetto, Jacek Sempoliński,
Bożena Sienicka, Jacek Sienicki,
Stanisław Sobolewski, Leszek Sobocki,
Jacek Sroka, Wiesław Szamborski,
Tomasz Tatarczyk, Jerzy Tchórzewski,
Krzysztof Tchórzewski, Marian Terlecki,
Andrzej Wajda, Ireneusz Walczak,
Jacek Waltoś, Ryszard Woźniak,
Andrzej Zwierzchowski, and “Dementi” Agency
(documentation of the Orange Alternative
happenings in Wrocław)

Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art
Jazdów 2, 00–467 Warsaw, Poland
www.u-jazdowski.pl

The exhibition was financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage
of the Republic of Poland.

EXHIBITION at
GASK - Gallery of the Central Bohemian Region
in Kutná Hora
27 May — 17 September 2023
Director: Jana Šorfová
Curator: Tadeusz Boruta
Curator for GASK: Richard Drury
Curator for *U–jazdowski*: Daniel Echaust

Artists: Maria Anto, Piotr Augustynek,
Zbigniew Bajek, Grzegorz Bednarski,
Krzysztof M. Bednarski, Maciej Bieniasz,
Tadeusz Boruta, Tadeusz Brzozowski,
Zbigniew M. Markiewicz (Mark Carrot),
Ewa Ciepielewska, Erazm Ciołek,
Miroslaw Dembiński, Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło,
Janusz Eysymont, Stefan Gierowski,
Ryszard Grzyb, Zbylut Grzywacz,
Barbara Jonscher, Janusz Kaczmarek,
Jerzy Kalina, Marian Kępiński,
Marek Kijewski, Grzegorz Klaman,
Jerzy Kośnik, Paweł Kowalewski,
Maciej Macierzyński, Jacek Marczewski,
Stanisław Markowski, Aldona Mickiewicz,
Piotr Młodożeniec, Jarosław Modzelewski,
Andrzej Możejko, Eugeniusz Mucha,
Teresa Murak, Chris Niedenthal,
Grzegorz Pabel, Włodzimierz Pawlak,
Jerzy Piotrowicz, Stanisław Rodziński,
Jan Rylke, Teresa Stankiewicz,
Marek Sapetto, Jacek Sempoliński,
Bożena Sienicka, Jacek Sienicki,
Stanisław Sobolewski, Leszek Sobocki,
Jacek Sroka, Wiesław Szamborski,
Tomasz Tatarczyk, Jerzy Tchórzewski,
Marian Terlecki, Andrzej Wajda,
Ireneusz Walczak, Jacek Waltoś,
Włodzimierz Wasyluk, Ryszard Woźniak,
Krzysztof Wójcik, Andrzej Zwierzchowski

GASK
Barborská 51–53, 284 01 Kutná Hora, Czech Republic
www.gask.cz

The exhibition was organised by GASK, Ujazdowski Castle
Centre for Contemporary Art and the Adam Mickiewicz Institute.

Exhibition partner: Polish Institute in Prague

GASK is a contributory organisation of the Central Bohemian Region. Further
financial support for the exhibition was provided by the Czech-Polish Forum,
a grant programme run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.



U–jazdowski

GASK



Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the Czech Republic



Central Bohemia Region

Uncensored
Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Warsaw 2023

Uncensored
Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

contents

essays

Barbara Schabowska Polish Culture – Unique But Universal	6
Bogusław Tracz The Phenomenon of Independent Culture	8
Tadeusz Boruta Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s	10
Richard Drury Hallowed Ground: Searching for Freedom in the 1980s	18
Piotr Kopszak Enclave of Freedom. The Warsaw Archdiocese Museum in the 1980s	56
Dominika Górowska Andrzej Wajda Towards the Polish Post-War Reality	64
Piotr Bernatowicz Christian Neo-Avant-Garde	70
	78

artworks

Maria Anto	
Zbigniew Bajek	
Grzegorz Bednarski	
Krzysztof M. Bednarski	
Maciej Bieniasz	
Tadeusz Boruta	
Tadeusz Brzozowski	
Ewa Ciepielewska	
Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło	
Stefan Gierowski	
Ryszard Grzyb	
Zbylut Grzywacz	
Jerzy Kalina	
Marian Kępiński	
Marek Kijewski	
Grzegorz Klaman	
Paweł Kowalewski	
Jerzy Medyński	
Aldona Mickiewicz	
Piotr Młodożeniec	
Jarosław Modzelewski	
Eugeniusz Mucha	
Teresa Murak	
Włodzimierz Pawlak	
Jerzy Piotrowicz	
Stanisław Rodziński	
Teresa Rudowicz	
Jan Rylke	
Marek Sapetto	
Jacek Sempoliński	
Leszek Sobocki	
Stanisław Sobolewski	
Jacek Sroka	
Teresa Stankiewicz	
Tomasz Tatarczyk	
Ireneusz Walczak	
Jacek Waltoś	
Ryszard Woźniak	
Suitcase Exhibition	
Barbara Jonscher	
Jarosław Modzelewski	
Andrzej Możejko	
Grzegorz Pabel	
Janusz Petrykowski	
Marek Sapetto	
Bożena Sienicka	
Wiesław Szamborski	

addendum

Orange Alternative	
Erazm Ciołek	
Jerzy Kośnik	
Chris Niedenthal	
Krzysztof Wójcik	
Floral Crosses	
Jacek Marczewski	
Chris Niedenthal	
Włodzimierz Wasyluk	
Piotr Augustynek	
Stanisław Markowski	
Exhibitions at artists' apartments	
Erazm Ciołek	
Exhibitions at Catholic churches	
Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski	
Tadeusz Boruta	
Erazm Ciołek	

list of works

list of illustrations	198
index	204
	210

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Polish Culture – Unique But Universal

Barbara Schabowska

The exhibition *Uncensored* is dedicated to Polish independent art of the 1980s. It is important to accentuate the word ‘independent’, because it was created during the tightening of Communist censorship – starting from the day when martial law was imposed on 13 December 1981, until the collapse of socialism in Poland and the beginning of the system transformation back in the memorable year 1989.

Each and every work featured in the exhibition carries a strong message – not only expressed in its subject, but also in its technique and form. Artistic voices of defiance against the totalitarian regime, gestures of solidarity with the persecuted, as well as calls to fight for a better future together have always been and will remain universally relevant. A distinctive value of the exhibition lies in portraying the phenomenon of Polish independent art, seen as a fascinating testimony to the era.

Through its projects, the Adam Mickiewicz Institute strives to ensure that Polish culture becomes better known and understood. While respecting distinctiveness, we also acknowledge the commonality and equality of whatever local diversity there is. We draw attention to the expectations of our partners and their audiences. Consequently, this enables us to work even in those areas that are burdened by painful historical reminiscences and we often tackle difficult topics – exemplified by the exhibition *Uncensored*, presented in the Czech Republic and addressing the history of interned artists and the murder of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, and above all by the good, partner-oriented and empathetic cooperation on joint projects, for instance, with Israel and Lithuania.

Not only do we cultivate manifestations of a distinctively Polish culture, linked to its individual past and present, but we are also aware of its cosmopolitan potential. Poland’s cultural uniqueness is marked by the broad horizon of its contexts, be they historical, geographical or spiritual. In turn, its universal values, such as shared ideas and common emotions, can engage audiences and encourage them to interact with Polish visual and performing arts, music, literature, cinema, philosophy and design. Fostering interest in Polish culture – both in Poland and abroad – has been a goal the Adam Mickiewicz Institute has been pursuing for more than twenty years. What we are doing now is to

encourage creators and organisers of culture and the arts. As their actions become more internationally recognised, this is followed by a greater awareness of the diversity and high value of Polish culture in all its social, material and spiritual aspects.

The Adam Mickiewicz Institute collaborates with numerous foreign institutions, giving it the opportunity to reach a wider audience. We have been actively looking for co-organisers as well as for initiatives through which we can build and develop cultural dialogue. The institute is a place for passionate people – enthusiasts of all the arts, their experts and creators. We are committed to recalling historical and co-creating new artistic phenomena through our support. Study visits and residencies organised by the institute place Polish artists in a broader European and even global context, while at the same time making it possible to depict the full nature of our abundant cultural heritage.

Our extensive experience with regard to international cultural and diplomatic contacts, coupled with our knowledge of the art market and our practical involvement in the creation and production of interesting projects – through the sharing of acquired knowledge – additionally allows us to support domestic institutions.

Since 2020, the Adam Mickiewicz Institute has delivered more than five hundred cultural events fostering Polish culture and promoting it internationally. In the years to come (2023–2028), not only will the AMI continue to develop the existing paths of support for Polish cultural policy revolving around the existing thematic pillars, but it will also expand its activities to include new areas such as the Three Seas region.

We care deeply about Polish culture. We are evolving with it and for it. You are welcome to follow our activities – I am sure that each and every one of you will find something new, something unusual in the institute’s projects, something that will lead to a new fascination with Polish culture and will inspire you with new strength.

Barbara Schabowska

Director of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute

Manager, columnist, TV and radio journalist, former director of the TVP Kultura state-owned TV station. Director of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute since 2020. She graduated (M.A. programme) from the Institute of Philosophy of the University of Warsaw, and has an MBA from the Warsaw University of Business. She is also a Secondary Music School graduate (major: flute). For over 10 years, she was part of the Polish Radio Channel Two team; responsible for preparing and hosting programmes with a focus on the history of culture and philosophy; the author of cultural, historical and social reportage programmes, including the *Głosy Solidarności* (Voices of Solidarity) series to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the Solidarity '80 movement. She co-hosted the auteur programme *Rachunek myśli* (Account of Thought) with Professor Robert Piłat. In 2017, she was appointed director and editor-in-chief of TVP Kultura, having begun cooperating with the station one year earlier. She continues to host the programmes *Pegaz* and *Scena klasyczna* (Classic Stage).

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

The Phenomenon of Independent Culture

Bogusław Tracz

On the night of 12/ 13 December 1981, tanks stood on the outskirts of Polish cities and patrols of police officers and soldiers started to appear on the streets. Even before midnight, people recognised as opponents of the Communist system of power began to be arrested according to previously prepared lists. This was the end of the “carnival of Solidarity”, as the period of liberalisation that began with workers’ strikes in August 1980 is commonly referred to. During these sixteen months, the scope of civil liberties was significantly expanded, independent unions and organisations were allowed to operate, and censorship was reduced.

One of the changes brought about by the “Solidarity revolution” was the loosening of government control in the culture sector. After August 1980, many areas gained an autonomy that was unprecedented in Eastern-Bloc countries. The loosening of censorship made it possible to expand cultural exchange with the West. The names of authors hitherto overlooked or published in such small editions as to be inaccessible to readers appeared on the pages of magazines and on bookstore shelves. Theatres staged plays that were released from censorship restrictions. Art galleries became spaces of genuine discussion and discourse, not simply a place for presenting works by artists recognised by the authorities or considered “safe”, i.e. not contesting the foundations of the system. This expansion of the space of freedom brought with it hope for a partial, and in many areas complete, rejection of the cultural monism that the Communists ruling Poland since the Second World War had tried to enforce with varying intensity and success.

The introduction of martial law was a blow aimed at the public activity of most culturally active groups and communities. The fact that a military *coup d'état* was carried out during the third day of the Polish Culture Congress – the first meeting of Polish intellectuals, artists, and scholars in post-war Poland – came as something of a symbol. The congress was described with the adjective “independent”, intended to emphasise the freedom and authenticity of the deliberations,

which this time were not dictated by the authorities. On the morning of Sunday, 13 December 1981, its participants found the doors of the Dramatyczny Theatre, where the third day of the proceedings was to begin, shut tight. Those gathered were informed that the congress had been cancelled and were ordered to return home. However, not all got there. Those whose names were on the special lists mentioned above were interned.

The imposition of martial law would be a step back on the path chosen by the majority of Poles after August 1980. For the vast majority, what happened on that December night was a complete surprise. Many disbelieved, some barely suppressed their anger, most feared what the next few days would bring. Even those who sympathised with the regime felt uncertainty and fear. All the more so after the bloody pacification of a strike at the Wujek coal mine in Katowice, where the security forces opened fire, killing and fatally wounding nine miners. Various reprisals were also directed against culture professionals. Laws restricting the freedom of speech were tightened again, public events and gatherings were banned, theatres, galleries and museums were all closed. Artists unions and associations, cultural institutions and numerous galleries were forced to discontinue their activities; exhibitions were cancelled. The publication of cultural magazines, including those specifically devoted to fine arts, was also suspended.

At the same time, the authorities tried to woo artists who enjoyed popularity and public confidence, to gain their support for martial law. Some of those detained on 13 December were released from internment a few days later. Efforts were made to convince the undecided that the decision to take the army on to the streets was right, and that their return to theatres, galleries and official mass media would be the best possible solution, as by supporting the military junta they would contribute to de-escalating possible social tensions, conflicts and attempts at resistance.

In April 1982, some artists in Warsaw signed a statement eloquently titled *The Voice That Is Silence*, in which they called for a boycott of official exhibitions and artistic events. It was not only visual artists who opted to boycott the official regime media and institutions. Many actors, entertainers and writers spurned lucrative invitations to appear on television and did not bother to visit theatres and galleries when the authorities agreed to open them in the spring of 1982. For many of them it was a difficult decision, as institutional supervision meant that the state was the main and often only employer.

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Tadeusz Boruta

In the 1980s, Polish culture found itself in a unique situation. Most outstanding artists identified themselves with the pro-independence protests of August 1980, which led to the establishment of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity", and consequently to an overall liberalisation and reduction of state censorship.

The imposition of martial law by the Communist regime (13 December 1981) dramatically interrupted this period that was known as the "carnival of Solidarity". Despite mass repressions, increased surveillance, arrests, beatings and political murders, job dismissals, the dissolution of trade and artist unions and the presence of armed soldiers and riot police on the streets, the authorities failed to suppress the spirit of freedom, which manifested itself in various forms of resistance throughout the 1980s, culminating in 1989 in the political transformation in Poland, which was also the starting point for many political changes in the entire world at that time.

Artists reacted very quickly to the imposition of martial law. Supporting the oppressed society, many refused to cooperate with the structures of the Communist state. They boycotted the

cultural policy of the authorities by refusing to perform in theatres, philharmonics or on TV, to publish books with official publishers and articles in state-sponsored newspapers or to present their works at public galleries. At the same time, organised within the underground, independent structures of the Solidarity trade union, artists cooperated and led a dialogue with society. They undertook strictly underground activities, using their artistic and technical skills. They designed and made political posters, banners, stamps for independent mail, stencils for street graffiti, illustrated underground publications and often became printers of independent press and literature. It was no less important for artists to practise uncensored forms of sharing their work with the public, free from government interference, to express the specific zeitgeist as well as experiences and emotions shared by both the general public and individuals.

The idea of sharing art with the public was much more than simply a reaction to the introduction of martial law, aimed at manifesting who stands where and laying down the foundations for the development of an autonomous cultural circuit. From the beginning, the independent movement was an attempt to build a new identity for free people: to educate the worker, the intellectual and the artist towards freedom. Its aim was to integrate and forge community. As early as January 1982, the Independent Culture Committee (KKN) was established by the Regional Executive Committee of the Solidarity Masovia Region



Paintings by Stanisław Rodziński at the exhibition *Towards a Person* in the cloisters of the Dominicans' monastery in Krakow, 1985, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

(RKW Mazowsze) by intellectuals and artists associated with Solidarity. The establishment of the KKN was also the art community's reaction to the suspension by the authorities of the Association of Polish Artists and Designers (ZPAP) and the Association of Polish Stage Artists (ZASP). The KKN supported independent cultural initiatives and the creation of similar structures in other regions. In addition, it supported underground publishing houses, funded scholarships, inspired and subsidised exhibitions, symposiums, church galleries and other forms of independent cultural activity. The activities were financed, from sources such as the Fund for Assistance to Independent Literature and Polish Science, established in Paris at the initiative of Jerzy Giedroyc and Czesław Miłosz (the president). Janusz Ściskalski became the chairman of the KKN and Teresa Bogucka became the secretary. The committee was divided into thematic sections, for which artists active in the "second circulation" were responsible, namely literature (Andrzej Kijowski, Kazimierz Orłoś), theatre (Marta Fik, Kazimierz Kaczor, Andrzej Szczepkowski), music (Tadeusz Kaczyński, Krzysztof Knittel) and visual arts (Aleksander Wojciechowski, Andrzej Osęka). The KKN was a kind of underground ministry of culture, creating conditions for the implementation of independent artistic projects. At the initiative of Aleksander Wojciechowski, meetings of the fine arts section of the KKN were held regularly (once a month) until the political transformation in 1989.

They were aimed at: coordinating exhibition initiatives in Poland, animating new events within the independent culture movement, exchanging information and distributing publications accompanying independent events. Artists representing various circles in the country, art critics involved in the "second circulation" and exhibition organisers all participated in the clandestine meetings of the art section of the KKN. Among them, between 1983 and 1989, actively representing the Krakow scene, was the author of this essay.

The first, independent forms of presenting recent art had an intimate character. They took place in apartments, in attics or directly in artists' studios. Only a few "insiders" came to these independent exhibitions. These shows, especially in large cities, sometimes took the form of an exhibition series called "Open Studios" or "Open Doors". There was a sensation caused by the activity of the Warsaw artist Jan Rylke, who, having opened the doors of his studio to various artistic activities, never "closed" them again, organising hundreds of exhibitions outside the censorship in the 1980s. In an interesting initiative, "second-circulation" art critics organised visits (known as "pilgrimages") throughout the country to artists' studios in order to research recent art, which in the initial years after the introduction of martial law was not shown anywhere. As part of this "reconnaissance" or "pilgrimage", artists' studios in Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Wroclaw, and Poznan were

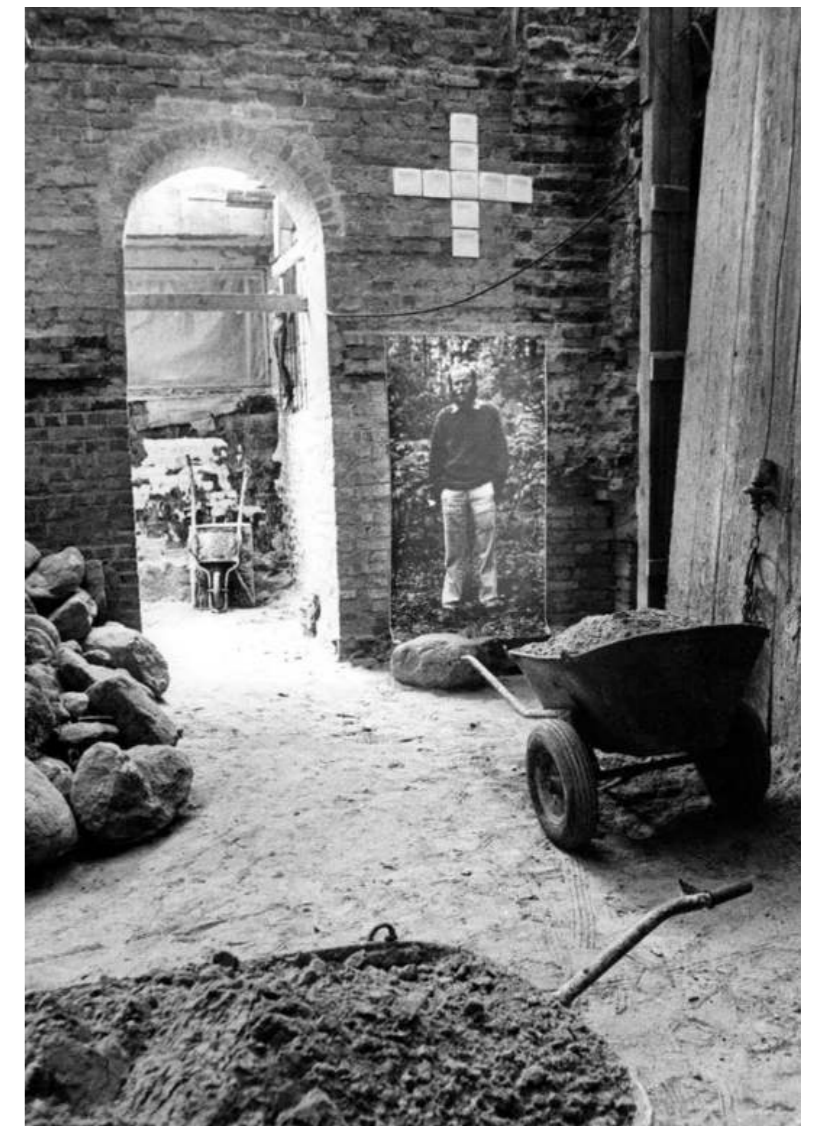
visited. These trips, organised by Aleksander Wojciechowski, provided the knowledge necessary to conceive independent exhibitions, and also made it possible to learn about and survey the work being done by artists who debuted in the 1980s.

One of the first, original forms of creating an independent cultural scene were "suitcase exhibitions", so named because, according to the intention of the originator, the painter Marek Sapetto, the invited artists made small paintings or miniaturised replicas of large works that were carried in a suitcase from home to home, where presentations of art not subject to ubiquitous censorship took place. Several "print and drawing portfolios" circulated throughout Poland, taking a similar form of portable exhibition.

Some artists, defending their artistic independence, confined themselves to ephemeral forms of activity and presentation throughout the 1980s. However, most artists, wanting to share their work with the public, were looking for exhibition spaces that were open to everyone. The independent exhibition movement quickly found a place in the Catholic Church, which at that time was an important social force and opened itself up to artists boycotting the Communist regime. Without asking the artists about the confession and artistic form of the presented works, it allowed art to be presented that was not subject to political censorship. The Church spread a kind of protective umbrella over the activities of the artists participating in the boycott. Artistic events within the walls of churches could be carried out on a large scale, with a mass audience, and thus they offered a real alternative to official institutions. Carried out on an ambitious scale, these church exhibitions had a diverse character. They can be divided into three categories:

1 – Artistic manifestations of a political nature, in protest against the introduction of martial law, the banning of Solidarity and the crimes committed by the Communist regime. These manifestations include the exhibition organised on the anniversary of August 1980: *Visual Artists for Shipyard Workers* at the St Nicholas Basilica in Gdansk (1984), and the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice (1985), as well as presentations commemorating national anniversaries: *Time of Sorrow, Time of Hope* (1985) and *Polish Pietà* (1986) – both staged at the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows in Poznan and then shown at other churches in Poland.

2 – A large number of exhibitions were strictly artistic, giving the opportunity to find out what was being created at the time, what forms of expression were dominant. Shows such as *About Graphic Design* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice (1984), the Young Painting Biennial *The Way and the Truth* in the Church of the Holy Cross in Wroclaw (1985, 1987), and the cyclical group exhibitions staged under the title *Presence* at the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw, helped demonstrate the mass support of various artistic circles for independent culture and the attitude of boycotting



A work by Paweł Kwiek at *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition in the ruins of the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw, 1983, photo: Erazm Ciolek / Forum

the authorities. They also forged a sense of community between artists and tormented society.

3 – The most famous of all were the thematic exhibitions whose conception was based on thinking about culture in connection with existential, philosophical and theological Christian reflection: *The Sign of the Cross* at the Church of Divine Mercy in Warsaw (1983), *Apocalypse – Light in the Darkness* at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw (1984), *New Heaven, New Earth?* at the Church of Divine Mercy in Warsaw (1985), *Towards the Person* (1985), *All Our Daily Affairs* (1987) at the Dominican Monastery in Krakow and *Mystery of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, which was included in the liturgy of the Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow (1986). These most famous exhibitions were characterised by an extremely open formula, both in an artistic and ideological sense, with the exhibitions themselves being one-of-a-kind artistic installations, emphasising ecumenical values as well as anthropological and philosophical reflection.

The close cooperation between artists and the Church undoubtedly left its mark both on the work of individuals and on the nature of the entire independent culture movement. It resulted in a huge number of independent exhibitions involving about 1,700 artists, the creation of



A sculpture/textile by Irena Palka and a painting by Krzysztof Skarbek at the 2nd National Youth Biennial *The Way and the Truth* at the Church of the Holy Cross in Wroclaw, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

several dozen church galleries, the printing of posters and publications accompanying artistic events (catalogues and critical magazines), and the organisation of numerous research meetings. The independent exhibition movement was massive and multi-generational; it was an artistic-cultural-political phenomenon that combined political protest and religious-social reference with a creative pursuit of visual form. Looking back at the reality of the independent culture of the 1980s, it should be emphasised that it was a diverse and multifaceted phenomenon covering all fields of art and unprecedented in history on this scale. Countless artistic, literary, theatrical and musical works were created free of censorship, with their creators manifesting their independence with the awareness that only an independent culture is able to express the fundamental human experience that is the desire for freedom.



A sculpture by Jerzy Beres, (in the background) an installation by Jerzy Kalina and paintings by Jan Dobkowski at the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, 1985, photo: Andrzej Stawiarski



A painting by Tadeusz Boruta and a sculpture by Jerzy Beres at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s exhibition

Tadeusz Boruta

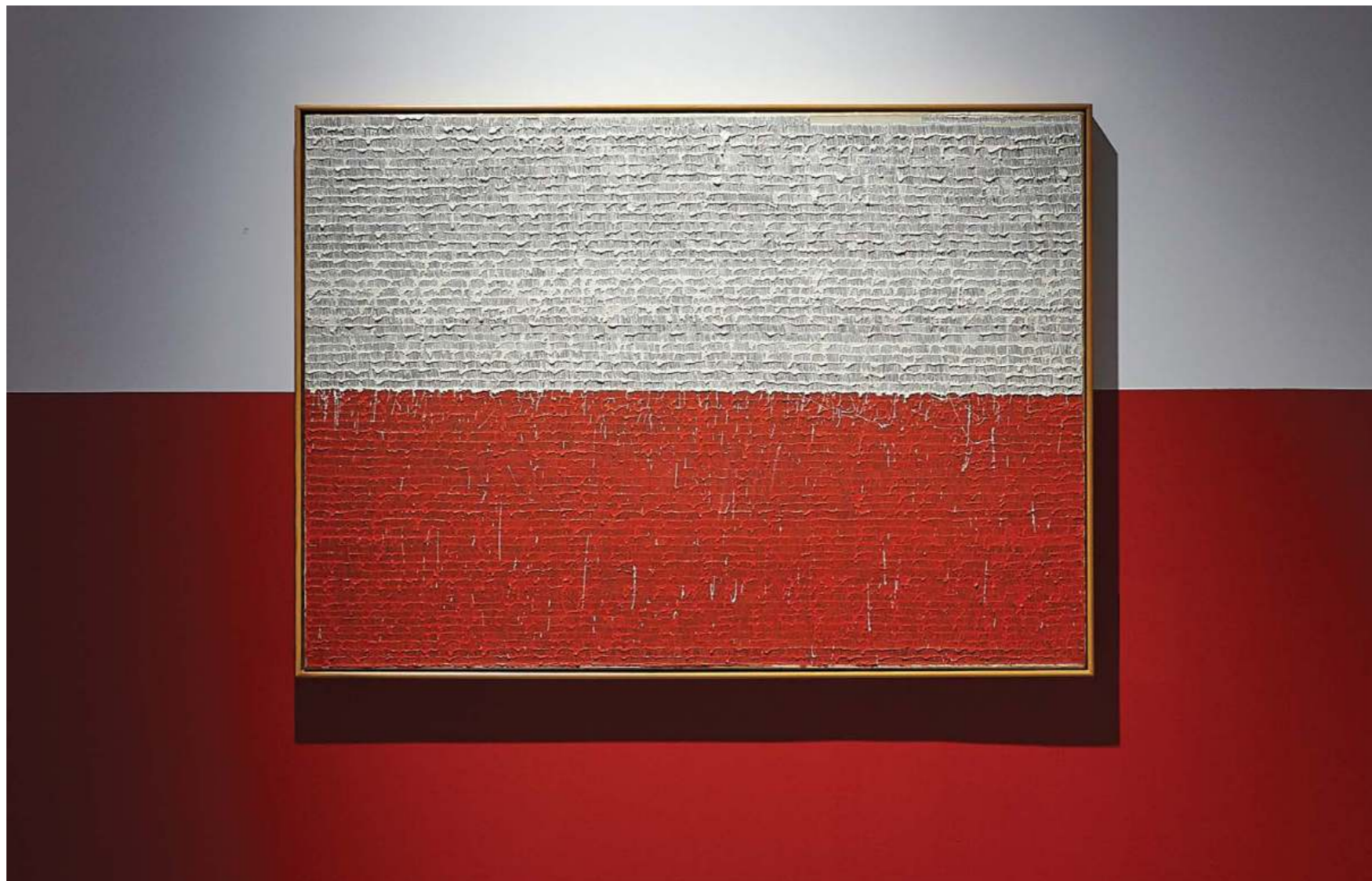
The exhibition *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* was staged for the first time at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw. On show from 8 April to 18 August 2022, it met with great interest from the public and the media. Then, from 28 May to 17 September 2023, it was presented at GASK – Gallery of the Central Bohemian Region in Kutná Hora (Czech Republic). This repeat showing was staged in collaboration between GASK and Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art, the Adam Mickiewicz Institute in Warsaw and the Polish Institute in Prague. The general concept of the exhibition remained unchanged, but the unavailability of some objects and smaller exhibition spaces meant that some changes were made in the selection of exhibits and a new arrangement of the whole was designed. Being presented in another country, some of the show's themes relating to independent culture were expanded, because we thought that they would correspond with the Czech experience of the Communist era, while others that might be hard to understand were illustrated through a smaller number of works than in Warsaw.

Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s presented a broad panorama of artistic phenomena in which artists demonstrated their independence against the Communist authorities of the Polish People's Republic, which tried to kill the libertarian aspirations of society by using repressive apparatus, riot police and the army.

It was an attempt to show the phenomenon of the independent culture movement of the 1980s in the context of a creative dialogue between artists and society after the imposition of martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981. The communal dimension of the art of the 1980s was emphasised by both exhibitions, which were built around the main artistic phenomena being beyond the control of the then ubiquitous state control. By presenting socially and politically engaged independent art, the exhibition asked questions about our spiritual condition at that time and how we came out of this historical experience.

At the exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art, two works symbolically spanned the cultural aspect of the socio-political experiences of the 1980s: the show opened with Krzysztof M. Bednarski's *La Rivoluzione Siamo Noi (Omaggio a Joseph Beuys)* (1986), ironically expressing the ideological superstructure of the Communist system, and closed with Włodzimirz Pawlak's *Poles Forming the National Flag*, painted in 1989.

Krzysztof M. Bednarski
La Rivoluzione Siamo Noi (Omaggio a Joseph Beuys)
at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw,
photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Passing through the successive galleries, the viewer was guided by works comprising thematic spaces, whose names were taken from the titles of important independent exhibitions of the 1980s and artworks significant at that time. Each of these spaces presented paintings, sculptures, and installations produced between the introduction of martial law and the establishment of the first non-Communist government in 1989. Although the independent exhibitions of the 1980s also included works created before December 1980, and artists would also create works referring to the experiences of that period after 1989, these were not featured, because the aim of the exhibition was to show works expressing that specific time of social resistance, created directly in those years. We wanted to present the phenomenon of independent art in Poland in the 1980s, to show the specific iconography, subjects matter and themes of the works created at that time, as well as the variety of forms of artistic expression through which the artists' independent attitude and resistance to political and ideological indoctrination was manifested.

Włodzimirz Pawlak
Poles Forming the National Flag
at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw,
photo: Adam Gut

All Our Daily Affairs

(Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art)



Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (left) paintings by Grzegorz Bednarski, (middle) paintings by Tadeusz Boruta and Stanisław Rodziński, (right) paintings by Ireneusz Walczak; photo: Adam Gut

The first part of the exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle took its title from a religious song by Franciszek Karpiński, sung in the old days at the end of the day. The same title was also given to an independent exhibition staged in 1987 in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow (see pp. 23, 196–197). It presented works of an existential nature, showing the then “here and now”, expressing the physical and spiritual condition of the individual. The direct realism of most of the works depicted the scenery of everyday life in the Polish People’s Republic in the 1980s, and at the same time posed questions about the values that allow us to preserve our humanity. Such works from that time were shown in three consecutive rooms of Ujazdowski Castle.

Immediately upon entering the exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle, the viewer saw the installation *Good Morning* (1989) by Jerzy Kalina, which was an ironic commentary on the prose of life in the Polish People’s Republic (see p. 115). Opposite it hung paintings by painters from the Krakow-based group *Wprost*: Leszek Sobocki, Maciej Bieniasz and Jacek Waltoś, who had been making politically and socially engaged art since the

1960s. The works of Stanisław Sobolewski, Jan Rylke, Jacek Sroka presented a blunt and, at the same time, metaphorical and ironic image of the everyday life of that time. The next room was dominated by expressive paintings conveying various emotional states, depicted by a figure in the process of transformation (Ireneusz Walczak, Grzegorz Bednarski) and the motif of the skull (Jacek Sempoliński, Jacek Sienicki, Grzegorz Bednarski) – paintings with visible thick paint and free, in places aggressive, painterly brushstrokes.

Installed in the centre of this space was a monumental printout of a photograph documenting the 1987 exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs*, showing an arrangement of paintings by Jacek Sempoliński, then bearing the title *The Torn Veil of the Sanctuary*. (see p. 149)

The next space presented works reflecting the experience of everyday life and the psychological states resulting from it (paintings by Tadeusz Brzozowski, Aldona Mickiewicz, Andrzej Zwierzchowski), sometimes illustrated through biblical or

mythological narratives. There were also posters by Piotr Młodożeniec, characteristic of that time, which accurately and succinctly expressed society’s attitude towards the Communist regime. The main wall of the space was filled with a printout of Erazm Ciołek’s photograph documenting one of what were known as “suitcase exhibitions”. Fifteen paintings that were originally presented on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel were displayed over the image in an attempt to reconstruct that exhibition (see pp. 166–167).

In the adjacent tower, photographs documenting the happenings of the Orange Alternative were on display. An artistic and ludic form of street protests initiated in many Polish cities by Waldemar “Major” Fydrych, this phenomenon was also the subject of Mirosław Dembiński’s 1988 film *Orange Alternative* (*Pomarańczowa Alternatywa*).

The space entitled *All Our Daily Affairs* did not appear at the GASK exhibition under that name; the objects presented there were divided into four differently-named sections.



Installation view of Mirosław Dembiński’s 1988 film *Orange Alternative* at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Adam Gut

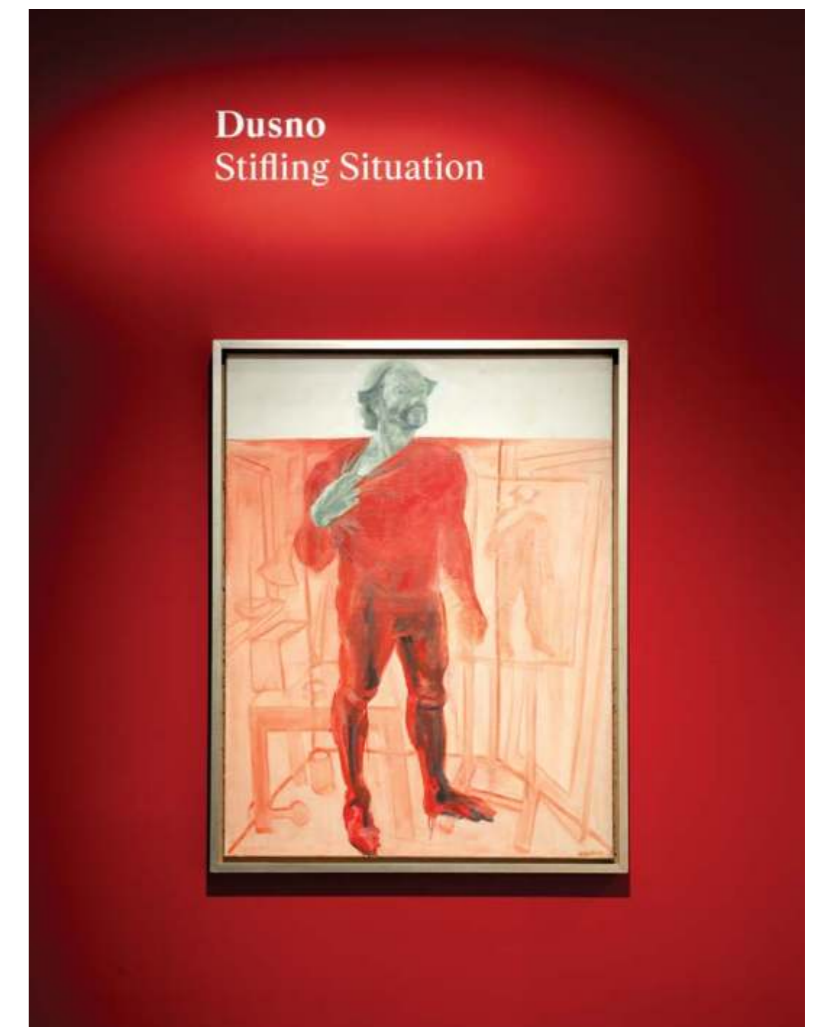


Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (from left) works by Jacek Sroka, Stanisław Sobolewski and Jacek Waltoś; photo: Adam Gut

Stifling Situation (GASK)

This part of the exhibition, and the entire show at GASK, opened with Leszek Sobocki's painting *Stifling Situation* (which also lent its name to the first section, see pp. 31, 80). In the painting, the artist shows himself trying to get free from a suffocatingly tight jester's costume, and from the ubiquitous red (symbolising Communism), which sets the tone for all reality. Just like the exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle, the GASK show featured in its introductory part Krzysztof M. Bednarski's sculptural installation *La Rivoluzione Siamo Noi (Omaggio a Joseph Beuys)* (1986), expressing the ideological, Marxist, superstructure of the Communist system (see pp. 96–97). Opposite was the installation *Good Morning* by Jerzy Kalina, serving as an ironic commentary on the mundane character of life in an enslaved Communist country (see p. 115). The artist used simple means to create a contrast between the idea of a welfare state – symbolised by bottles of milk delivered to homes every morning – and the enclosedness and hostility of the system, poignantly evoked by the series of identical steel prison-cell doors. Displayed opposite were Zbigniew Bajek's photograms from the series *Scenes from the Road...* (see pp. 30–31, 92–93), which make the viewer aware that building individual and communal identity is sometimes a very difficult, complex process stretched over time. The artist juxtaposed his official image from an identity card with a photographic self-portrait that was a manifestation of artistic creation, contrasting the official identity with the self-creation of a free artist.

Leszek Sobocki's *Stifling Situation* at GASK in Kutná Hora,
photo: Tomáš Souček



Zbigniew Bajek's photograms from the series *Scenes from the Road...*
at GASK in Kutná Hora,
photo: Tomáš Souček



Orange Alternative (GASK)

Next, there were photographs taken during the anarchist, anti-Communist happenings of the Orange Alternative, a youth formation known for organising artistic and ludic street demonstrations in the form of pacifist events, initiated in the 1980s by Waldemar "Major" Fydrych, who defined the ideas of the movement in the *Manifesto of Socialist Surrealism*. The phenomenon was the subject of Mirosław Dembiński's 1988 documentary *Orange Alternative*, a film shot with a hidden camera under the threat of police repression. A special hallmark of many Orange Alternative events was that of dwarfs painted on the walls, usually in places where political independence slogans had been painted over by the security services. Orange dwarf hats were also worn by participants of the street happenings.

The further part of the exhibition included works by members of the Krakow group Wprost (Maciej Bieniasz, Zbylut Grzywacz, Leszek Sobocki, Jacek Waltoś), who as early as the 1960s were making art that was politically and socially engaged. Jacek Waltoś's painting *Night Visitor* (see pp. 32, 69) captured the moment of arrest, and the painting *Bad Light (Self-shadow)* (pp. 32, 162) symbolically showed the destructive influence of ideology. Orange Alternative graffiti inspired two paintings by Leszek Sobocki, in which the artist presented himself against the background of a painted-over Solidarity logo with the added image of a dwarf (see pp. 32, 151, 191, 196).

The aesthetics of street inscriptions and graffiti were also embraced by Piotr Młodożeniec, whose political posters were able to accurately express society's attitude towards the Communist regime in a concise, symbolic form (see pp. 33, 128–129).



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Leszek Sobocki with Orange Alternative dwarfs, (front) Maciej Dembiński's *Orange Alternative* documentary, (right) photo documentation of Orange Alternative happenings by Jerzy Kośnik, Chris Niedenthal, Erazm Ciołek, Zbigniew M. Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot, Maciej Macierzyński and Krzysztof Wójcik; photo: Tomáš Souček



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) Jacek Waltoś's paintings: *Night Visitor* and *Bad Light (Self-shadow)*, (middle) Jerzy Kalina's installation *Good Morning*, (right) Piotr Młodożeniec's *The Strike (May 1988)*; photo: Tomáš Souček

Suitcase Exhibition (GASK)

The main wall of this space was filled with a printout of a photo taken by Erazm Ciolek, a photographer associated with the independent culture movement, showing the artist against the backdrop of a "suitcase exhibition" presented on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel. This exhibition of small-format paintings by outstanding Warsaw painters was carried in a suitcase from 1982 and presented in private homes, attics, studios and other unusual places. In the exhibition, the 15 original paintings were hung on a large-format photograph, exactly in the places where they hung in the photographed exhibition, in an attempt to reconstruct that event.

Next there were paintings by Jan Rylke, ironically commenting on the political circumstances of the division of the world into superpower spheres of influence (*Privyet from Yalta*) and, symbolically, on the condition of cultural enslavement (*Polish Mouseion*, see p. 144).

On display opposite were works by Stanisław Sobolewski, who, by skilfully framing reality, created compositional tensions expressing the tragedy of human life (*Thanatos*, see pp. 35, 152 and *Close to the Sky II*, from the series *Hospital Landscapes*, see pp. 35, 153) and the freedom-destroying modes of the totalitarian system (*Merry-Go-Round I*, from the series *Amusement Park*, see pp. 35, 153).



Presentation of works from the "suitcase exhibition" on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel, November 1982 (reconstruction of 2023 at GASK in Kutná Hora)
original photo: Erazm Ciolek (present in the photo)
2023 photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; paintings by Jan Rylke (*Green Crow*) and Stanisław Sobolewski (*Merry-Go-Round I*, *Close to the Sky II*, *Thanatos*),
photo: Tomáš Souček

The Cenacle (GASK)

At the exhibition at GASK, *The Cenacle* space was placed in the middle of the exhibition sequence. This marked a significant change from the presentation at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art, where *The Cenacle* closed the exhibition.

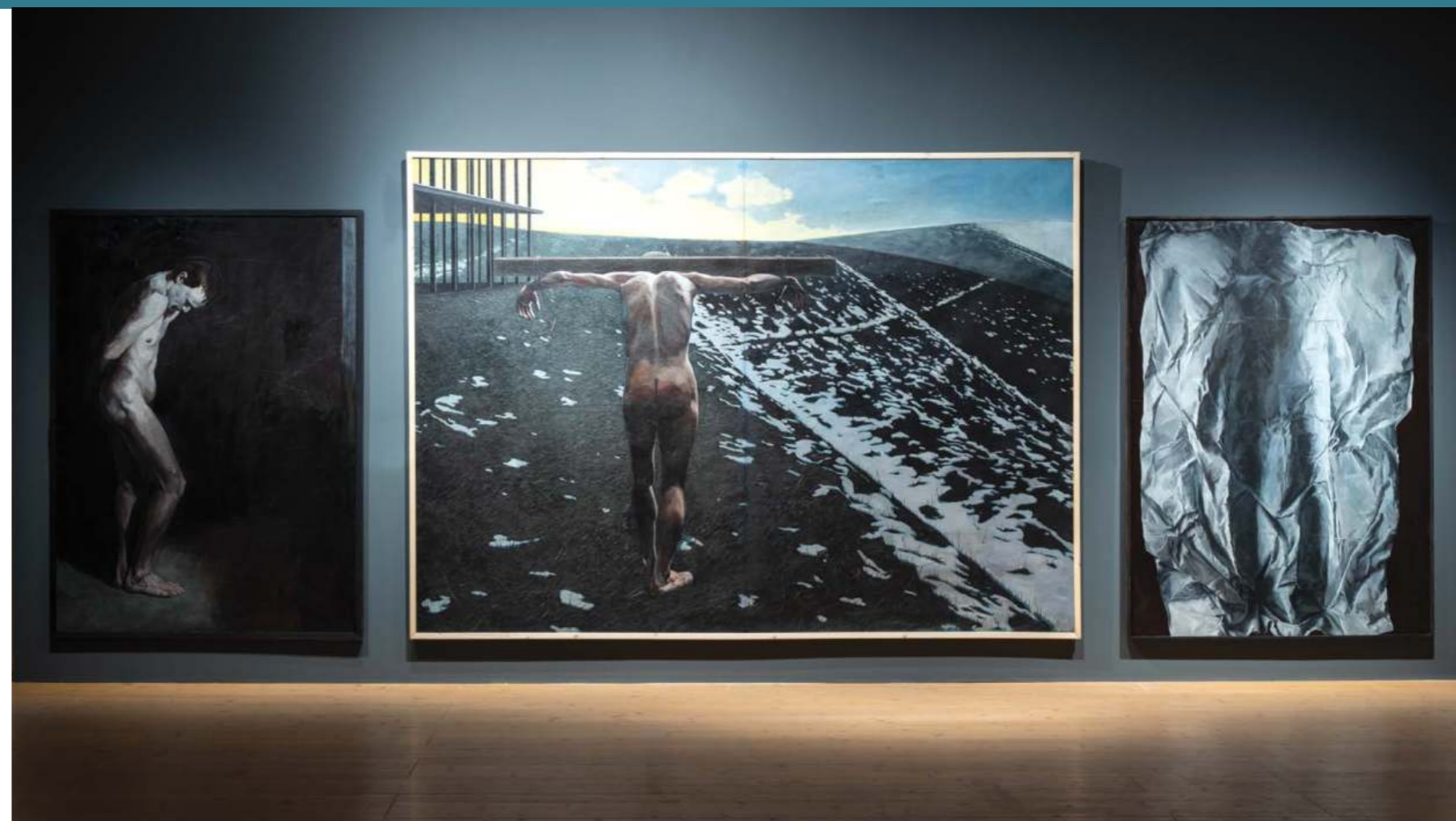
The room opened with still lifes by Zbysław Grzywacz. After the introduction of martial law in Poland, the artist was interned by the security services in a prison in Wiślica. After his release, Grzywacz made a series of paintings called *Wiślica Recollections*, reflecting the drama of imprisonment, and at the same time the experience of unity with his companions in misery. The painting *Links in a Chain* (see p. 112), in which slices of bread lying on a prison table are tied with a chain, is one of the most famous works illustrating the experience of community.

Paintings by Maciej Bieniasz, Marian Kępiński and Aldona Mickiewicz alluded to the symbolism of bread in the liturgical dimension. Mickiewicz is able to convey mental states and emotions related to the experience of loneliness, but also the experience of community, through painted objects. In the painting *The Cenacle* (see pp. 126, 190), a table with broken bread is shown, symbolising the communal sharing of food, with

the folded sheets of the tablecloth expressing the threat of annihilation to the community. Eugeniusz Mucha's *Sower* (see p. 133) and Jarosław Modzelewski's *Sower and Reaper* (see p. 132) also indirectly referred to the symbolism of bread.

The space featured a film recording of a staging of Ernest Bryll's drama *The Cenacle*. The performance had its première in the ruins of the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw in 1985 (see p. 14), then it was presented in several independent venues. Directed by the most famous Polish director, Andrzej Wajda, the performance had its première and was then shown in the Church of St Maximilian Maria Kolbe in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, among other venues, featuring some of the most outstanding Polish actors who boycotted the policy of the Communist authorities. This staging of *The Cenacle* is widely regarded as the most important event of 1980s independent theatre. The exhibition featured Andrzej Wajda's sketchbook with notes made during the production of the performance (see pp. 71–77).

Toil (GASK)



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; paintings by Tadeusz Boruta, photo: Tomáš Souček



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Zbysław Grzywacz, Aldona Mickiewicz, Jarosław Modzelewski, (right) Eugeniusz Mucha, Marian Kępiński and Maciej Bieniasz, photo: Tomáš Souček

Named after a painting by Tadeusz Brzozowski, the doyen of the avant-garde Krakow Group (see p. 102), the section *Toil* brought together figurative works dealing with introspective and existential themes in which artists sought to find ways of expressing the physical and spiritual condition of living in the reality of martial law, while trying to universalise the experience of existing in a "poor time", in every "here and now". The room was dominated by expressive paintings, with visible thick paint and free, in places aggressive, painterly brushstrokes.

They expressed various emotional states depicted through a figure shown in the process of transformation, restriction, disintegration (Ireneusz Walczak, Grzegorz Bednarski), or using the motif of the human skull (Jacek Sienicki, Grzegorz Bednarski). In the *Cohesion* series of paintings, Ireneusz Walczak pressed a human figure into a cube, limiting, fragmenting, and deforming it (see pp. 160–161). The artist poses questions about our identity and the

relationship of the individual with the place of existence that determines them. Grzegorz Bednarski's ecstatic paintings conveyed a state of permanent danger, which in the work *With a Shadow – NI MÁŠ NI MENOS XIX* (see p. 95), evoked the experience of being cornered or interrogated by the police.

This space also included paintings that, depicting the tragedy of existential experience, incorporated the iconography of the Passion (Tadeusz Boruta, Jerzy Piotrowicz). The painted drapery covering the human body in *Shroud* expressed the drama of death, but also of overcoming death (see p. 101).

The Sign of the Cross

(Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art)

The title of this section was taken from the two-week art meetings organised in June 1983 by Janusz Bogucki and Nina Solarz at the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street, ruined since the Warsaw Uprising. *The Sign of the Cross* meetings accompanied John Paul II's second pilgrimage to Poland. They were among the most important events of independent art, as they established a platform of dialogue between the Church and the art world, which was then explored further in problematic exhibitions constructed around existential and social issues in the context of Christian philosophical and theological reflection. This intellectual, formative aspect of Church projects meant that, in addition to exhibitions, discussions and theoretical meetings,

independent theatre and music performances were also organised. In order to evoke the atmosphere of the Żytnia Street space, we created an annex with a documentary recording of the performance *Ascent* by Poznań's Teatr Ósmego Dnia, and we rounded off the entire space with a monumental printout of a documentary photo showing a green cross overgrown with cress, designed by Teresa Murak for the apse of the church ruins for *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition (see pp. 40, 132–133); it was a sign of hope, a symbol of new life. In fact, the church on Żytnia Street was something of a hope symbol in itself – this continual construction site, gradually rebuilt from ruins, gathered artists who regularly organised various events there. Along with

the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum on Solec Street, it was the most important place in the capital for independent culture.

Many exhibitions took place on Żytnia Street. The topic of hope in "poor times" was taken up by Marek Rostworowski's famous exhibition *New Heaven, New Earth?* staged in 1985. It was one large art installation in which the works of 34 artists were presented. The curator led the viewer through a labyrinth of various spaces marked by the works of contemporary artists: from the world of the dead in the crypts, through Jerzy Tchórzewski's monumental polyptych *Golgotha* in the apse, to two artistic installations at the end of the journey:

burning bonfires (Hope, Dignity, Love, Truth, and Freedom) by Jerzy Bereś and a high-suspended green meadow by Jerzy Kalina. With an apocalyptic and eschatological message, the exhibition asked questions about fundamental values and hope. The show included works presented in the ruins of the church in Żytnia Street, as well as works from other church exhibitions – such as the *Polish Pietà* exhibition (1985) organised by Jerzy Brukwicki at the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows in Poznań on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Poznań uprising of June 1956, or the *Time of the Cross* exhibition (1985) by the same curator, which took place in the Capuchin Church of the Exaltation of the Cross in Bytom.

In the works of the 1980s, Christian iconography was used to convey existential and metaphysical themes, but it also had social references. Floral crosses, such as those depicted by Maria Anto, Marek Sapetto (see pp. 43, 146, 166) and Wiesław Szamborski (see pp. 42–43, 167) were placed in the squares of many Polish cities as a form of grassroots social protest against the oppression of the Communist regime.

At the GASK, the space *The Sign of the Cross* was significantly reduced compared to the presentation at Ujazdowski Castle, being limited to works that were shown at the art meetings in the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw in 1983. On the other hand, paintings of floral crosses formed a separate space in GASK, complemented by photos documenting this specific form of resistance in Polish cities in the 1980s.



Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; paintings by Jerzy Tchórzewski and a sculpture by Grzegorz Kłaman, photo: Adam Gut

The Sign of the Cross (GASK)



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Janusz Eysmont, (middle) photo of Teresa Murak's installation, (right) painting by Stefan Gierowski and an assemblage by Jerzy Kalina
photo: Tomáš Souček

It was mostly the classics of the Polish avant-garde whom, in June 1983, Janusz Bogucki and Nina Solarz invited to the space of the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street, lying in ruins since the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, for two-week art meetings called *The Sign of the Cross*. Due to the high quality of the art presented, the event became one of the most important events of independent art, as well as initiating dialogue between the Church and the art world. Soon church exhibitions would be accompanied by theatrical performances, music concerts, and poetry readings. In order to more closely evoke the atmosphere of the ruins of the church in Żytnia Street, in addition to several paintings, we presented in this part of the exhibition a documentary recording of the performance *Ascent*, based on the poetry of Osip Mandelstam, staged by the avant-garde Teatr Ósmego Dnia in that space.

The section concluded with a monumental printout of a documentary photo showing a green cross overgrown with cress, a work by Teresa Murak created in the apse of the ruins on Żytnia Street as part of *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition. It was a sign of hope, a symbol of new life. In fact, the Church of the Divine Mercy itself was a kind of symbol of hope, because it was gradually rebuilt out of the ruins, in the process gathering a community of artists who regularly organised various events there. It was the most important place in the Polish capital where independent culture found its outlet.

Floral Cross (GASK)

Brutally dispersed by riot police, strikes and street marches were not the only forms of social protest. A specific form of resistance was the spontaneous arrangement of several-metre-long crosses made of flowers, fir branches and candles in city squares. The security services usually removed them under the cover of night. The first "floral crosses" were created shortly after the introduction of martial law in 1981. This "floral battle" with the regime was most often the work of often elderly women along with children. Individually or in groups, they brought bunches of flowers, sprigs of conifers, ribbons, pennants and candles, building an increasingly complex shape of the cross, which took the form of symbolic graves and commemorations of the victims of the regime. The authorities reacted to this peaceful form of protest in an often violent way. On 31 August 1982 in Lublin, three people were killed by bullets fired by the riot police, and a dozen or so were injured. Sometimes the "fighting with flowers" took the form of arranging other symbols. On the Market Square in Krakow, local residents arranged flowers in the shape of the letter "V" in the place where, on 21 March 1980, the baker Walenty Badylak had immolated himself in protest against the concealment of the truth about the Katyn massacre committed by the Soviets against Polish officers during the Second World War.

At the exhibition, we presented paintings by several Warsaw artists who were inspired by the spontaneously arranged crosses made of flowers (Marek Sapetto: see pp. 43, 146, 166, Wiesław Szamborski: see pp. 42–43, 167). Their works were placed next to photos by outstanding photographers who, despite the risks, were able to document this form of social resistance (see pp. 172–179). In the same space, there were also paintings by Jerzy Tchórzewski (see pp. 38–39, 43) and Stanisław Rodziński (see pp. 140–141), which, by referring to the iconography of the Passion, expressed the tragedy of those days, filled with social and individual traumas.



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Wiesław Szamborski and Marek Sapetto, (right) paintings by Jerzy Tchórzewski, photo: Tomáš Souček

Against Evil, Against Violence (Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art)

Behind the wall with Jerzy Tchorzewski's *Golgotha* (see pp. 38–39), we hung several paintings (by Maria Anto: see pp. 90–91, Marian Kępiński: see pp. 116–117, Halina Eysymont, Janusz Kaczmarek: see p. 45) referring to the martyrdom of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko. Among them was a photograph documenting Jerzy Kalina's installation *Bethlehem Vehicle* (see pp. 44, 82). The title of the room was borrowed from the title of the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* organised four months after the murder of Father Popiełuszko, in February 1985, and held at the Church of St Maksymilian Maria Kolbe in Krakow-Mistrzejowice (see pp. 22, 189). As Aleksander Wojciechowski, the curator, wrote in the catalogue: "The exhibition is a symbolic bouquet of various flowers placed by the artists on his grave." Nearly forty artists from all over the country presented their works, which were a spontaneous reaction to the murder of the Solidarity chaplain by the secret police, and at the same time a protest against political murders and violence.

Against Evil, Against Violence (GASK)

The works gathered in this room developed the theme of martyrdom – characteristic of a large part of independent Polish art of the 1980s – reflecting artists' reaction to the brutal murder of Father Popiełuszko, the chaplain of Solidarity, by the security police.

Two installations by Jerzy Kalina dominated here: *Bethlehem Vehicle*, created in 1984 as a Christmas nativity scene (see pp. 45, 82), and *Resurrection*, created as the Lord's Tomb in 1985 in one of Warsaw's churches (see p. 44). Both works gathered crowds of Warsaw people shocked by the recent tragedy. *Bethlehem Vehicle* in particular aroused great emotions, the artist having placed a newborn baby Jesus in the boot of a Fiat 125, directly referring to the way in which Father Popiełuszko was abducted and killed.

In the same room, there were paintings and prints (by Maria Anto, Janusz Kaczmarek, Marian Kępiński, Piotr Młodożeniec) that were presented at the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* in February 1985 at the Church of St Maximilian Maria Kolbe in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, four months after Father Popiełuszko's murder. Maria Anto's *Dyptych Polish Prayer* (see pp. 90–91), in which the artist presented a huge number of banners of the outlawed Solidarity, brought from all over Poland to Warsaw for the funeral of the murdered priest, served as an interesting document of the era.



Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; printed photographs of Jerzy Kalina's installations: (closer to the camera) *Resurrection* by Jacek Marczyński, (in the background) *Bethlehem Vehicle* by Zbigniew M. Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot, photo: Adam Gut



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (from left) printed photograph of Jerzy Kalina's installation *Bethlehem Vehicle*, Piotr Młodożeniec's poster *I'm Convinced*, Janusz Kaczmarek's painting *Untitled (Father Jerzy)*, Stefan Gierowski's painting *CCCXCV* and Maria Anto's *Dyptych Polish Prayer*, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Mad Dog on a Green Background (Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art)

Two green-painted rooms presented works by artists who debuted after the imposition of martial law and worked in the vein of aggressive expression. This part of the exhibition was named after a painting by Paweł Kowalewski that was important for this artistic formation (see p. 122). The works by Grupa, a collective of Warsaw artists, of which Paweł Kowalewski was a member, dominated this part of the exhibition, but there were also monumental paintings by Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, Tomasz Tatarczyk (see pp. 158–159), and works by the Luxus group from Wrocław. Almost all of these artists participated in the National Youth Biennale *The Way and the Truth* organised by Father Mirosław Drzewiecki and Konrad Jarodzki at the Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław in 1985 and 1987 (see pp. 20, 194–195). These were the largest manifestations of independent art made by artists whose debut took place in the 1980s. Despite the security services' efforts to prevent the shows from taking place, about 100 artists presenting over 300 works participated in each of them. The exhibition showed a variety of artistic outlooks, but the dominant form was known as "wild expressiveness", characterised by momentum, freedom of gesture, mocking narrative, play, fun and mockery.



Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw;
Ryszard Woźniak's paintings +++ and *Temptation of Jesus*,
photo: Adam Gut



Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (from left) Ryszard Woźniak's painting *The Transfiguration*, Ryszard Grzyb and Ryszard Woźniak's painting *Laying Down to Sleep*, Paweł Kowalewski's painting *Mad Dog on a Green Background*, Jarosław Modzelewski's gouche *Schiller's Head* and paintings *Sower and Reaper* and *Ride of the World*,
photo: Adam Gut

Jail Painting (GASK)

The space entitled *Mad Dog on a Green Background* at the exhibition in GASK was divided into two parts, because we created a separate room called *Jail Painting*.

In the last two rooms, where the walls were painted green, the art of young artists, debuting after the introduction of martial law, was presented. The Polish "Neue Wilde" were laid-back, provocative, taunting and mocking, sometimes aggressive or witty. They were heavily involved in the independent exhibition movement, though they often felt constrained by the martyrological-and-patriotic corset that dominated art fighting against Communism, which they expressed in their mocking works. They looked for exhibition venues that would be alternative to both the Church and state institutions. Marek Kijewski's *King Sigismund III's Meditations on a Despondent Woman* (see pp. 118–119, 51) is a sculpture of such a mocking character, in which the artist juxtaposed two symbols of Warsaw in a provocative narrative.

Next on display were two nonchalantly executed expressive paintings by Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło (see pp. 106–107), oozing carnality and sex, along with Jacek Sroka's monumental painting *Jail Painting* (see pp. 48–49, 154), showing a dissident in a cage guarded by a police officer, set in an idyllic landscape, with angels looking down from above like in a folk holy picture. Next to it hung another painting by the same artist, symbolically showing the Pińczów jail (see pp. 48, 155), where a large number of opposition activists were interned after the imposition of martial law. Ewa Ciepielewska's painting *Brigate Rosse* (see pp. 49, 105), in which the artist recalled the "lion's face" of the anarchist, extreme left-wing Italian terrorist organisation, was also on display in that space.



Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (from left) Jacek Sroka's paintings *Pińczów Jail* and *Jail Painting*, Ewa Ciepielewska's painting *Brigate Rosse*, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Mad Dog on a Green Background (GASK)

The exhibition concluded with a room devoted to the work of Warsaw's most famous art collective, Gruppa. Although all its members have been linked by critics to the international phenomenon of *Neue Wilde* painting, each of them tried to develop a certain area of artistic autonomy in their work, which they sometimes suspended when they undertook to paint together, as in the painting *Laying Down to Sleep* by Ryszard Grzyb and Ryszard Woźniak. The space featured Paweł Kowalewski's *Mad Dog on a Green Background* (see p. 122), which is a kind of artistic manifesto of Gruppa, characterised by its raw, aggressive, expressive form, provocative title and political context. Ryszard Grzyb's *To Be or Not to Be?* (see p. 111) and *Herod, the Girl and John* (see p. 110) combined an anti-aesthetic, garish form with messy yet blunt imagery and a title rooted in cultural references. Another Gruppa member, Ryszard Woźniak, has often drawn on biblical symbolism

and religious themes in his work, conducting his own unorthodox painting exegesis (*The Transfiguration*: see pp. 164–165). Włodzimierz Pawlak's *Wolves* (see p. 137) alluded to the poetic song *The Wolf Hunt* by Jacek Kaczmarski, the bard of Solidarity. Jarosław Modzelewski (see pp. 130–131), on the other hand, was inspired by aesthetics and illustrations from Soviet reading books and Russian-language-learning textbooks. In addition to paintings by the Gruppa artists, this room also featured an expressive sculpture by Grzegorz Kłaman, *Kneeling Man in a Red Coat* (see pp. 50, 120–121), which concluded the exhibition at GASK. The work depicts a citizen of a Communist state who tries to get up from his knees and throw off the ideological burden, represented by a red steel coat.

Installation view at GASK in Kutná Hora; (from left) paintings by Włodzimierz Pawlak, sculpture by Grzegorz Kłaman, painting by Jarosław Modzelewski, sculpture by Marek Kijewski, gouche by Jarosław Modzelewski; photo: Tomáš Souček



The Cenacle

(Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art)



The last part of the exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle was separated by a five-metre-high canvas hanging from the ceiling with a printed photo of Jerzy Kalina's *The Last Supper* installation, which was presented at *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition in 1983 (see p. 114). Above the table and chairs, covered with rubble symbolising a community threatened with non-existence, a huge white-and-red flag emerged, torn in the upper part in the shape of the letter "V", a sign of victory. Paintings in this section by Aldona Mickiewicz, Maciej Bieniasz, Marian Kępiński and Andrzej Zwierzchowski also took up the theme of community and the threats facing it. All of them referred to the idea of the Upper Room and incorporated the symbolism of bread.

Screenings of three theatrical adaptations of Ernest Bryll's drama *The Cenacle*, each produced at a different time, were

presented in the next part of the room. The earliest staging, directed by Andrzej Wajda, had its première in 1985 in the ruins of the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw, and was then shown at the Church of Maximilian Maria Kolbe in Krakow-Mistrzejowice and other venues. It is widely regarded as the most significant and influential events of independent theatre of the 1980s. Years later, after the political transformation, in 2001, Bryll's *The Cenacle* was staged by Grzegorz Królikiewicz as a television drama. The play was staged for the third time by Krzysztof Tchórzewski in 2017 at the Oratorium Theatre, by the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus on Kawęczyńska Street. Each of these performances is an outstanding work and the questions it poses seem to be still valid as they diagnose the state of the community in different periods of recent history. The screenings were the only element of the exhibition from outside the 1981–89 period, and their presence in a historical exhibition of independent art was meant to emphasise that artworks from that time can also pose questions relevant to individuals and society today: who are we and what values are we guided by?

Opposite the projection, Zbigniew Bajek's photograms from the series *Scenes from the Road...* were on display on a white-and-red wall (see pp. 30–31, 92–93). These works make the viewer aware that building an individual and common identity is a road – sometimes a very difficult, complex process stretched over time – but it leads to a certain shaping of community, which was symbolically expressed in the exhibition by Włodzimierz Pawlak's painting *Poles Forming the National Flag* (see pp. 26–27).

Installation view at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (from left) *The Cenacle* staged by Krzysztof Tchórzewski, Grzegorz Królikiewicz and Andrzej Wajda, (middle) a printed photograph of Jerzy Kalina's installation *The Last Supper* by Erazm Ciolek, (right) Zbigniew Bajek's installation *Scenes from the Road...*; photo: Adam Gut

The exhibition *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s*, staged at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, was conceived and curated by Tadeusz Boruta.

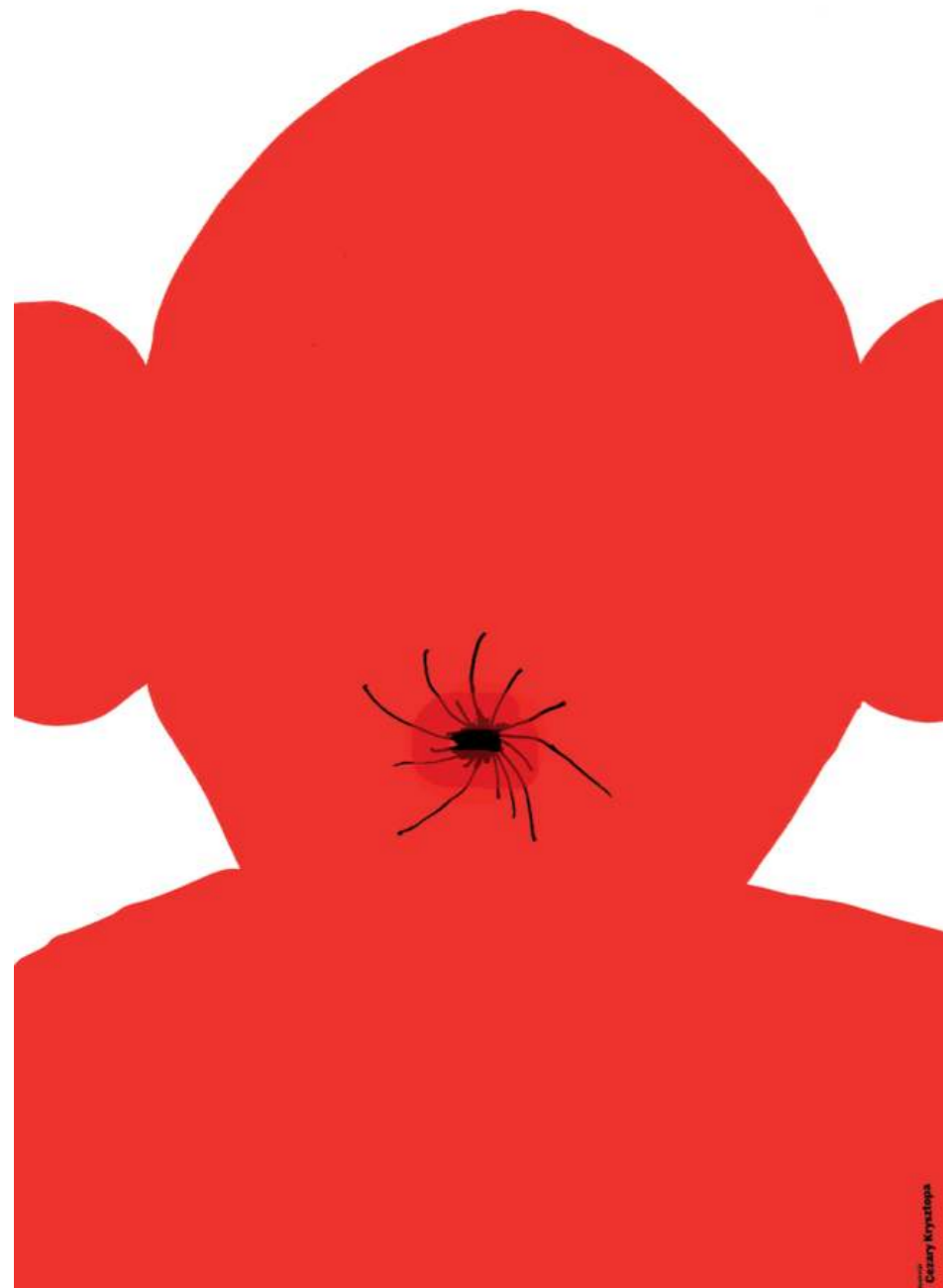
The exhibition featured 225 artworks (paintings, sculptures, installations, posters, photographs, and films) by 65 artists, and the GASK repeat showing featured 130 artworks by 61 artists.

Ujazdowski

08/04—18/08/2022
wystawa

Nie ocenzurowano

Polska sztuka niezależna lat 80.



Poster of the 2022 exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, design by Cezary Krysztopa

The exhibition *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s*, staged at GASK – Gallery of the Central Bohemian Region in Kutná Hora, was conceived and curated by Tadeusz Boruta. The curator for GASK was Richard Drury. The curator for Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art was Daniel Echaust.

neocenzurováno
polské nezávislé umění 80. let



© Piotr Młodożeniec

Poster of the 2023 exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora with a stencil by Piotr Młodożeniec, design by 20YY Designers

Tadeusz Boruta

(b. 1957) is a painter, art theoretician, curator of exhibitions and a professor employed at the Institute of Fine Arts of the University of Rzeszów. He is a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow, the curator of independent exhibitions in the 1980s. He has presented his paintings at some 400 individual and collective exhibitions in Poland and abroad, including at venues such as the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin, the Schirn Kunsthalle in Frankfurt, the National Museums in Gdansk, Krakow, Warsaw, and Wrocław, as well as the Zachęta – National Gallery of Art in Warsaw. His paintings are in the collections of the National Museums in Gdansk, Krakow, Warsaw, and Wrocław, the Silesian Museum in Katowice, the Upper Silesian Museum in Bytom, the Museum in Radom, and the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum. The author of polychrome paintings, stained glass windows and paintings in sacral buildings. The author of essays on art and the books: *Szkoła patrzenia* (2003), *O malowaniu duszy i ciała* (2006) and *Figuracje* (2009). The recipient of numerous awards, decorated with the Gold Cross of Merit, the Gloria Artis Medal for Merit to Culture and the Per Artem Ad Deum Medal.

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Hallowed Ground: Searching for Freedom in the 1980s

Richard Drury

**When I look at how to hold a rifle
And I'm not sure of the next day
Then I think of my generation
Who've forgotten there's a God**
Deuter, Song about My Generation (1988)¹

Connections

There were several circumstances that brought the exhibition *Uncensored – Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* to GASK – Gallery of the Central Bohemian Region in Kutná Hora. The first was our gallery's long-standing wish to showcase Polish art of the 1980s. An intense period of collaboration between GASK (then called the Czech Museum of Fine Arts) and Polish institutions between 1995 and 2003² was intended to continue with a staging of the travelling show *Banana Republic – Expressive Art of the 1980s*³ at the gallery's new home at the former Jesuit College in Kutná Hora. Due to a sudden change in the gallery's management in 2009, however, this plan never came to fruition. In 2020, I was involved in producing the major publication *Art Breaks Free – Art in the PPR, CSR and HPR in the 1980s* mapping independent art in what are now the four Visegrad states: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.⁴ Writing my survey of the unofficial Czech art scene during this critical period in modern European history, I arrived at the conclusion that the art of the 1980s in these four countries remains relatively unexplored in terms of overarching context, stating (with only a little exaggeration) that the untold story of the 1980s is a 'missing link' in understanding the art of today. What we're talking about here isn't purely art historical interpretation, but the broader reality of social and political transformation that was set in motion during the 1980s and that profoundly influenced newly democratic societies in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989. Just as there were heterogenous trends of artistic expression during the 1980s, now there are different (and often polemical) approaches to reading the meaning and relevance of such trends in light of recent history and the present day. The issues at stake are nothing less than the cornerstone principles of democracy: freedom, pluralism and independence.

Together, the connections I mention above formed a kind of 'springboard' for my decision to embrace the project *Uncensored*. Truth be told, there is another reason, one stemming from deeply personal experience. As a student of Russian and Czech at Cambridge University, I spent an academic year on a course of Russian (!) at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. When I arrived in October 1988, the Solidarity movement

was still illegal (although this didn't prevent old ladies selling Solidarity badges at St Bridget's Church in Gdansk when I was there). When I left in May 1989, the course was set for the first free elections in the then Eastern Bloc since the takeover of Communism more than forty years earlier. In the intervening months, I experienced first-hand the day-to-day reality of a country in which the ill-tempered repressiveness of an exhausted regime contrasted dramatically with the energy of young people determined to forge their own future – one based on real human values, not on the empty rhetoric of state organs. The desire for change germinated in the souls of fearless idealists resolved not to become another generation of powerless 'cogs' in the mechanisms of undemocratic society. They knew that the key to transforming society lay in peaceful civic activism and many of them, as I remember, drew their strength from personal spiritual belief. Today it seems almost flippant to say, but in late 1980s Poland, university students considered running the gauntlet of ZOMO riot police water cannons something of an adrenaline sport. My transformative year in Poznan symbolically culminated in seeing the Corpus Christi procession of 25 May 1989 passing under the balcony of my flat on what was still called Red Army Street.⁵ This mass gathering of ordinary people was both a religious celebration and a civic protest – Jesus and Solidarity, as it were, rolled into one.

The Czech(oslovak) 1980s

It was clear from the outset that the exhibition *Uncensored – Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* wasn't going to be a purely historical survey. Returning to art of the 1980s, which consciously distanced itself from (and, in many cases, was actively opposed to) political ideology in states of the then Eastern Bloc, involves issues that, as I indicated earlier, go far beyond the art itself – and which remain contentious even today. Before ultimately considering the exhibition *Uncensored* from a Czech perspective, I should first of all provide a brief (and necessarily incomplete) outline the situation of unofficial art in the 1980s in the then Czechoslovakia.

An overview of the situation of Czech art in the 1980s should begin with an account of the period it emerged out of. Following the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968, in 1971 the curtain definitively came down on the dynamic and pluralist cultural development that had taken place in Czechoslovakia since the Thaw of the late 1950s. A hard-line doctrine was implemented that sought to sever Czechoslovak society from the pre-invasion years of democratisation and increasingly Western-oriented culture. This doctrine, a form of bloodless neo-Stalinism, was

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Enclave of Freedom. The Warsaw Archdiocese Museum in the 1980s

Piotr Kopszak

Few museums in the world can boast of a list of exhibitions published with marked censorship cuts.¹ One that can is the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum.

In an inventory of its exhibitions, compiled by Krzysztof Burek, four dashes in square brackets are repeated like a mantra with the annotation “[Act on the Control of Publications and Shows of 31 July 1981, Par. 2, Item 6 (Journal of Laws No. 20, Item 99, as amended in 1983, Journal of Laws No. 44, Item 204)].” We will never know what the Communist authorities were afraid of, because the uncensored text of the list has not survived, but we can guess. Until the end of the 1980s, all mentions of Solidarity, the great national movement, which today is known only as a trade union (which it formally was, although everyone realised at the time that the form of a trade union had only been adopted because it would be more difficult for the Communists to fight a trade union than, for example, a political party). In the 1980s, the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum became one of the spiritual strongholds of Solidarity. In an interview about the museum, Danuta Wróblewska said: “What is interesting to me is that the beginning of the 1980s stopped us in our pursuit of the world. Before that, like with the economy, everyone was trying to

surpass or at least catch up with the West and enter the global art world by means of the artistic standards promoted there. The 1980s, on the other hand, turned us back to ourselves (some believe it is parochialism). We turned our backs on the West. We took care of ourselves and the universe. It was an extremely important, intra-Polish confrontation: ourselves with our fate and our creative power.”²

Andrzej Osęka, in the catalogue of the collection *Testimony of Community (Świadectwo wspólnoty)*, defined the programme of the future gallery of contemporary Polish art, which on the one hand should be a testimony to the changes in the art of the 1980s, and on the other hand should itself become something significantly new: “Is a gallery of contemporary art possible – today – that would be something else? I think so; if ever, now is the time to look at art differently, to think about what artists *really* have to say to people, and to gather together a certain number of works that say important and true things: something about hopelessness and hope, something about people who themselves decided to bear witness to *values*. Most likely, these will be values related to the Christian canon of moral principles. I think that the Archdiocese Museum, as we have been able to observe over the past few years, is a natural place for such a gallery.”³ Such a venue started to be organised



Installation view of *Mystery of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ* exhibition staged at the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum and the building of the parish of St Trinity at Solec Street in Warsaw, paintings by Wiesław Obrzydowski and Stanisław Sobolewski; photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Andrzej Wajda Towards the Polish Post-War Reality

Dominika Górowska

[...] the artist's fundamental duty towards Polish reality is to speak the truth¹

Andrzej Wajda

Although Andrzej Wajda did not want to be associated with politics until the political transformation of 1989 and its aftermath, he was a committed artist who supported – sometimes indirectly – anti-Communist and opposition activities in the People's Poland. *Ashes and Diamonds*, one of his first feature films, which won international critical acclaim, culminating in the prestigious FIPRESCI award at the Venice festival, tells the story of a former Home Army soldier, an anti-Communist activist, who is given the task of carrying out a death sentence against a Party activist. The character of Maciek Chełmicki, played by Zbigniew Cybulski, whose distinctive style quickly migrated to pop culture, embodies the failure of the freedom-fighting underground and, as a result, as the plot unfolds, the triumph of the new regime. Such is the suggestive vision of the post-war reality that appears both to the reader of the original book by Jerzy Andrzejewski and to the viewer of Wajda's film adaptation. An interpretation of the subject matter of the work leaves no illusions: *Ashes and Diamonds* is a work maintained in the convention of the then current Socialist Realist doctrine, which is clear especially in terms of the unequivocal evaluation of the characters' behaviour, the legitimisation of Communist power, and the presence of the language of socialist propaganda. In his book, Andrzejewski kept silent about the disgraceful role played by the Red Army and the NKVD during the liberation period, and he did not mention the nation's negative attitude towards the new regime.² Wajda took the literary original and based his film on it, taking into account the time and circumstances in which he happened to be working. However, this did not prevent him from orchestrating the film's plot in such a way that it came to be a thorn in the side of Communist ideologues. Maciek Chełmicki embodies the tragedy of a protagonist torn by an internal moral conflict – on the one hand obliged by his commander's order to terminate a Party apparatchik, on the other hand scarred by the cruelty of war, wanting to quickly forget about it and live an ordinary life. Bearing in mind the liberalisation of the system that took place in October 1956, Wajda decided on several narrative solutions that did not resonate with the assumptions dictated by Socialist Realism, which consequently allowed for the production of a film whose main character is a full-blooded man, with the dilemmas and doubts so typical of a generation that experienced the atrocities of war. In addition to the individual reading of Chełmicki's character, he also comes across as the personification of the tragedy of an entire generation of Home Army



Andrzej Wajda, sketch for *The Cenacle* staged in 1985, Andrzej Wajda Archive, Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology

soldiers. According to the ideologues of the bygone system, such a presentation of his character could, in the eyes of the public, disproportionately distinguish and endorse attitudes inconsistent with the popular government's official historical narrative. As Wajda's monographer, Tadeusz Lubelski, writes, the director deliberately smoothed out the propaganda message of Andrzejewski's book and strived to revive the myth of freedom in conditions of enslavement, which is still present in the collective consciousness of Poles.³ In addition, Wajda deliberately places shots, scenes, dialogues and music in the film that resonate with the enduring tradition of Polish Romanticism. Every scene in *Ashes and Diamonds* is filled with dramatic anxiety about the decision that the protagonist, entangled in the story, will make. Before the viewer's eyes, a terrifying internal battle of an individual is resolved, torn between what his duty dictates (towards his commander, towards colleagues who sacrificed their lives on the altar of the homeland, and finally towards the country) and what he himself desires. The choice is difficult because, as Krzysztof Kornacki writes, Szczuka, whom Chełmicki is supposed to kill, is in fact a noble and idealistic Communist. So how should he behave? The presentation of the dilemmas tormenting the protagonist hinders making an unambiguous moral assessment of his conduct, which the young director undoubtedly intended. Wajda engages in a quiet dialogue with the viewer and makes several references to topoi from national literature, as in the scene where he mockingly portrays the participants of a hotel banquet – representatives of the Communist elite, whose attempts at a polonaise resemble more an awkward shuffle than a refined ceremony.⁴ Despite the fact that, years later, the film was accused of perpetuating a false historical narrative, it is worth mentioning that it was Wajda, with

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

Christian Neo-Avant-Garde Piotr Bernatowicz

In Elena de Varda's documentary *Artists on Strike*, the juxtaposition of two public funerals from 1984 comes across as extremely significant.

The first is the funeral of the leader of the Italian Communist Party, Enrico Berlinguer, in June 1984. The second is the funeral of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, murdered by the Polish Communists in October of the same year. Crowds attended both. Berlinguer was widely liked and the Communist Party under his leadership was not only one of the main political forces in Italy, but the largest Communist party in Europe. It owed its support to the image of a party that distanced itself from Moscow, condemned the invasion of Afghanistan and supported Polish Solidarity. It showed there are still ideological Communists who respect human rights! Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, a man who knew the Communist system from the inside out, would write warmly about Berlinguer in his *Diary Written at Night*, pointing to his support for Polish dissidents suffering from the reprisals of martial law.¹ However, archival materials reveals that this seems to have been just a tactical break with Moscow. In fact, as shown by the collection of documents of the CPSU Central Committee published by Vladimir Bukovsky, the Italian Communist Party was firmly bound to Moscow by a financial umbilical cord.² Nevertheless, the funeral was attended by crowds, with red flags with a black hammer and sickle on a white background fluttering overhead, but also the odd rainbow flag to be seen. The march proceeded to the rhythm of the song *Bandiera Rossa*, and on the tribune, next to the suit-wearing comrades of the various Communist parties, including comrades from Moscow (Mikhail Gorbachev), Yasir Arafat's characteristic black and white scarf could be seen. The November funeral in Warsaw saw no such significant officials. The million-strong crowd, over which rose the occasional red and white flags and banners with the characteristic Solidarity logo, stretched out their hands in a victorious "V", so it was – despite the sad circumstances – full of optimism. The rhythm of the Holy Mass, religious songs and the ringing of bells accompanied the procession of the coffin with the body of the martyr murdered by the Communist security apparatus, as it was carried on the shoulders of workers: miners and steelworkers from Huta Warszawa, where Father Popiełuszko was a minister.

Ideologically and spiritually, these two funerals – which were separated in time by several months and in space by less than fifteen hundred kilometres – could not be more different. The chasm is all the greater because many things seemed to be

almost the same. Here and there it involved the workers, here and there it was trade-union members contesting the government. And Italian Communist trade unions in fact actively supported the outlawed Solidarity and its activists. But behind the similarities were fundamental differences, best reflected in the art of the time.

In Włodzimierz Pawlak's painting *Lie Down Next to Me* (1983), we see a symbolic funeral of Communism. On an orange, slightly earthy background, two pale green skeletons have been represented hugging a sickle and a hammer. This image is like a pendant to the famous Moscow monument by Vera Mukhina, *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman*, in which gigantic figures of Communist heroes stretch their arms upwards in a dashing, as if dancing, stride, holding the symbols of the international Communist movement – a sickle and a hammer – in their hands. In Pawlak, the heroes have been reduced to mere skeletons, and the slightly flirtatious-encouraging *Lie Down Next to Me* is addressed to those who would like to follow the champions of the revolution. Pawlak's painting is a modernisation of the Baroque theme of *danse macabre*, in which the skeleton figure reminds everyone – including the rulers of this world – to "remember about death!" Pawlak extends this reminder to Communists as well.

In the meantime, however, although Communism was already a corpse in the minds of Poles, the reality of the Communist state still persisted, still pressing on society. A metaphor of this state was well captured by Leszek Sobocki in the painting *Stifling Situation* (1984). It shows the artist in the studio, but almost the entire surface of the painting is covered with a red filter, blending with the tight red costume covering the artist's figure. Red seems to be a liquid in which the artist is immersed up to his neck, and at the same time a kind of Dejanira shirt that bites into his body. The gesture of detaching the shirt from the body, tearing off this costume, is one of breaking with the stuffiness of a system permeated with fear and lies. However, this picture can be interpreted differently. The tight red costume can be read as a jester's attire, identified in the Polish tradition with Jan Matejko's *Stańczyk*. The gesture of tearing off the costume is, so to speak, dialectic: on the one hand, it is a sign of breaking with the buffoonery and irony, a call for seriousness; on the other, it evokes the figure of *Stańczyk*, a serious clown who, amid the splendour and carelessness of the court, symbolised care for the republic and a sober outlook.

This is an important gesture in the context of post-war Polish art. After the traumatic experience of Socialist Realism, when pathos and seriousness were the mandatory,

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

artworks

zbigniew bajek



Scenes from the Road...

1982–1984

photographs, oil and collage on board
(26×) 100 × 50 cm

property of the artist



Ni mas, ni menos V
1984
oil on canvas
150 × 120 cm
Krzysztof Musiał collection



Throne II from the series Movement with an Ecstatic Figure
1987
oil on canvas
190 × 310 cm
National Museum in Krakow



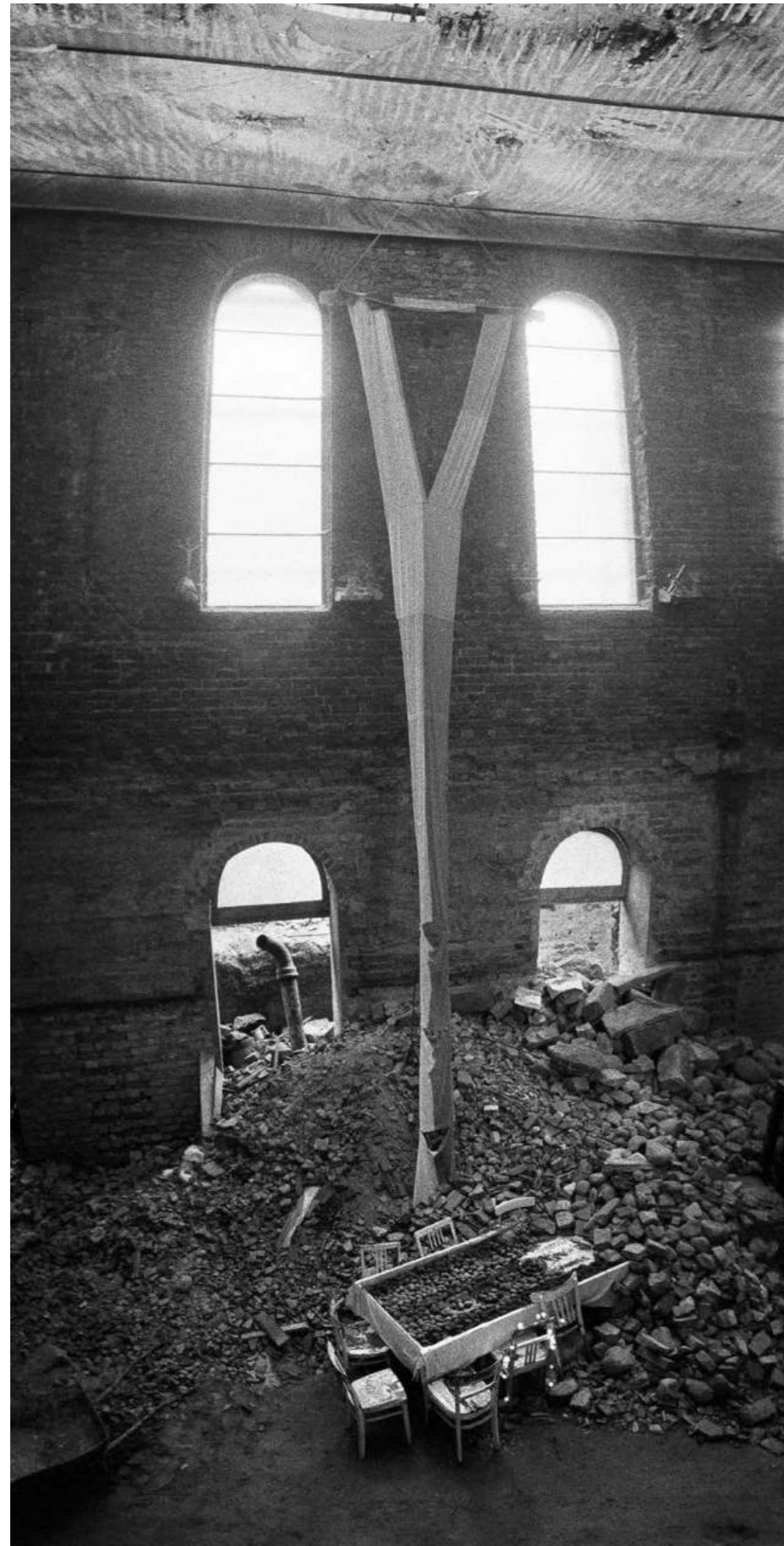
With a Shadow – NI MÁS NI MENOS XIX
1985–1986
oil on canvas
185 × 125 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum



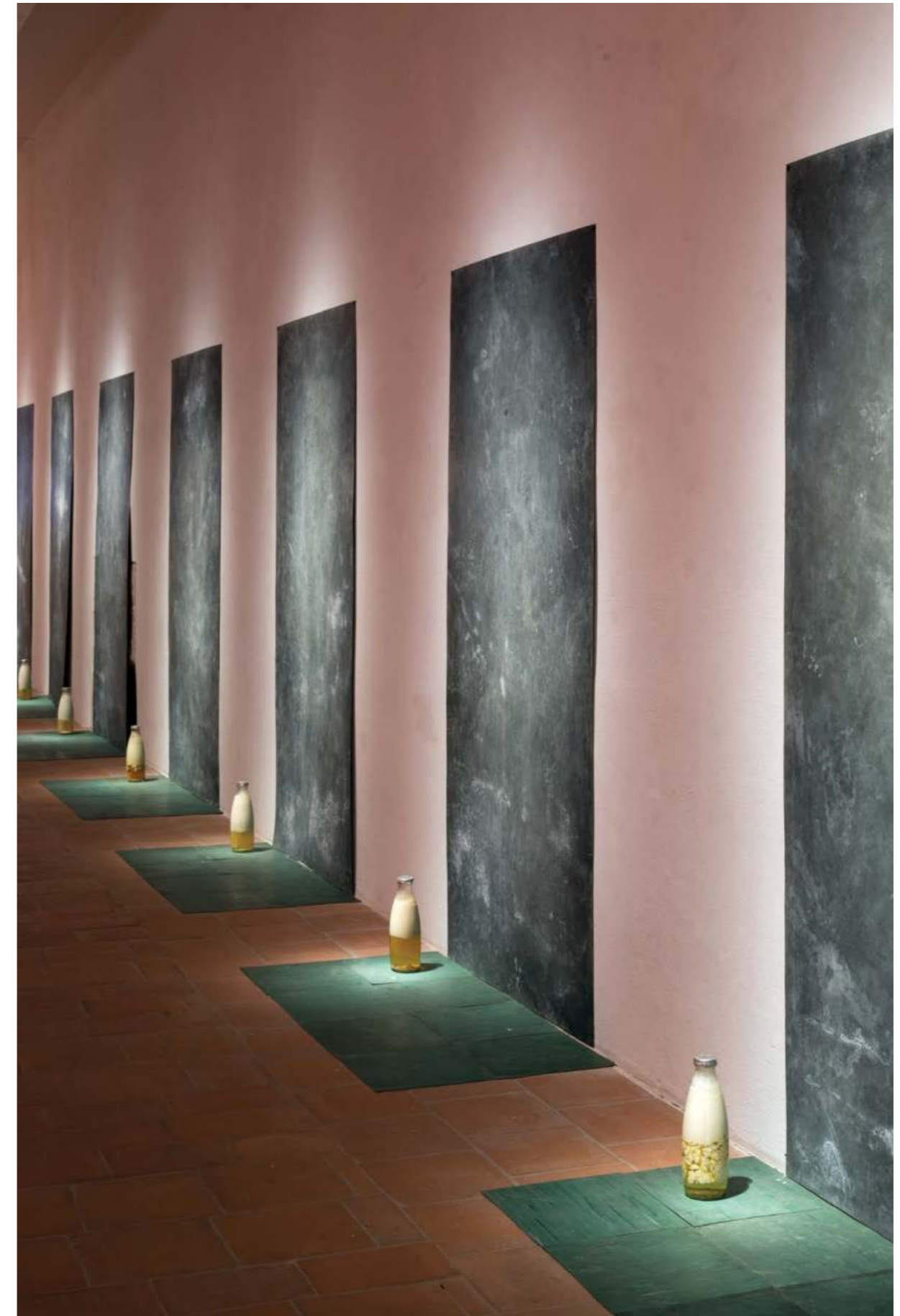
Via Crucis
1986–1987
oil on canvas
210 × 290 cm
private collection



Shroud
from the series *Eli, Eli,
lema sabachthani?*
1984
oil on canvas
182 × 133 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum



The Last Supper
1983
installation, cloth, table, chairs, rubble
property of the artist
photo: Jacek Kucharczyk / Forum



Good Morning
1989
installation, galvanised sheet metal, linoleum, milk bottles
property of the artist



The Cenacle
1986
oil on canvas
99 × 118.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum



Icarus I
1988–1989
oil on canvas
75 × 110 cm
property of the artist



The Guttled One
1987
oil on canvas
85 × 135 cm
property of the artist

jacek sempoliński

An installation *The Torn Veil of the Temple* made of Jacek Sempoliński's paintings, staged at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987

photo: Tadeusz Boruta





Thanatos
1984
oil on canvas
184 × 104 cm
property of the artist



Merry-Go-Round I
from the series *Amusement Park*
1986
oil on canvas
130 × 97 cm
property of the artist



Close to the Sky II
from the series *Hospital Landscapes*
1982
oil on canvas
100 × 128 cm
property of the artist



Jail Painting
1987–1988
oil on canvas
170 × 360 cm
property of the artist



Pińczów Jail
1987
oil on canvas
120 × 130 cm
property of the artist

suitcase exhibition



Presentation of works from the "suitcase exhibition" on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel, November 1982 (reconstruction of 2022)
original photo: Erazm Ciołek (present in the photo)
2022 photo: Tadeusz Boruta

1. Bożena Sienicka
Playing Yoyo
early 1980s
oil on canvas
30 × 30 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

2. Grzegorz Pabel
Untitled
early 1980s
oil on canvas
35 × 16.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

3. Grzegorz Pabel
Untitled
early 1980s
oil on canvas
35 × 16.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

4. Jarosław Modzelewski
Untitled
early 1980s
acrylic on plywood
17.8 × 27 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

9. Andrzej Możejko
Untitled
1983
oil on plywood
29 × 18.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

10. Wiesław Szamborski
On Victory Square in Warsaw II
1983
acrylic on canvas
32.5 × 40 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

11. Wiesław Szamborski
3.5.31.8.10.11
1982
mixed media on canvas
40 × 30 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

12. Andrzej Możejko
Untitled
1983
oil on plywood
29 × 18.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

5. Marek Sapetto
Exorcisms
1983
acrylic on canvas
26.5 × 20.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

6. Marek Sapetto
Floral Cross
1983
acrylic on canvas
30.5 × 24.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

7. Barbara Jonscher
The Black Madonna I
1982
oil on canvas
41 × 33 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

8. Jarosław Modzelewski
Kazimir Malevich, the Pope of Painting
early 1980s
acrylic on plywood
26 × 34 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

13. Wiesław Szamborski
Floral Cross II
1983
acrylic on canvas
37 × 20 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

14. Marek Sapetto
Candle
1982
acrylic on canvas
26.5 × 19.5 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

15. Janusz Petrykowski
Reality
1983
mixed media
35.5 × 47 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

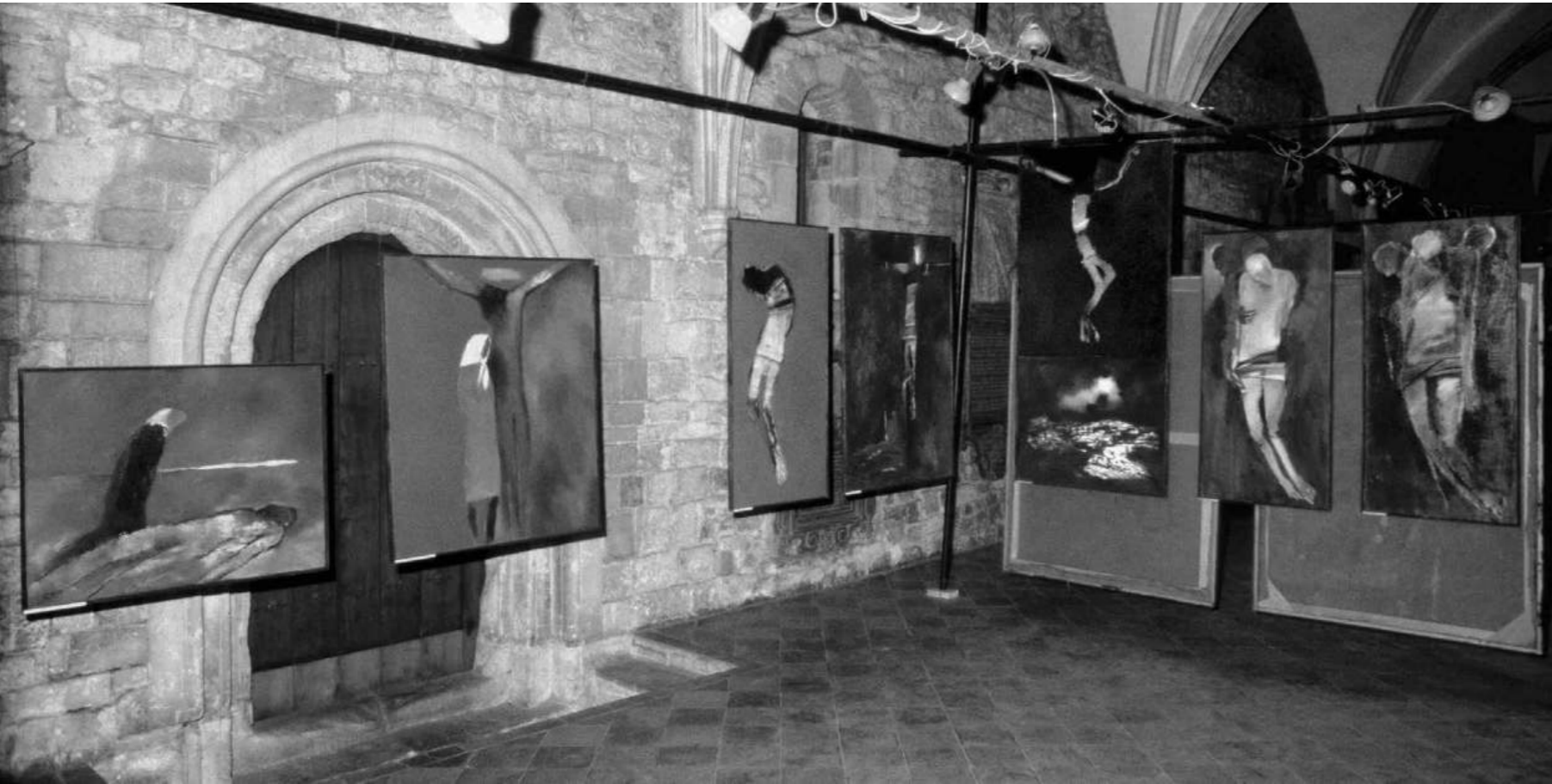
16. Jarosław Modzelewski
Two Jet Planes
1981
acrylic on plywood
16 × 20 cm
Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

addendum

exhibitions at catholic churches



Paintings by Stanisław Rodziński at the exhibition *Towards a Person* in the cloisters of the Dominicans' monastery in Kraków, 1985
photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Paintings by Zbylut Grzywacz at the exhibition *Towards a Person* in the cloisters of the Dominicans' monastery in Kraków, 1985
photo: Tadeusz Boruta



An installation by Jerzy Kalina, (in the background) paintings by Marian Kępiński and Maria Anto at the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, 1985
photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum



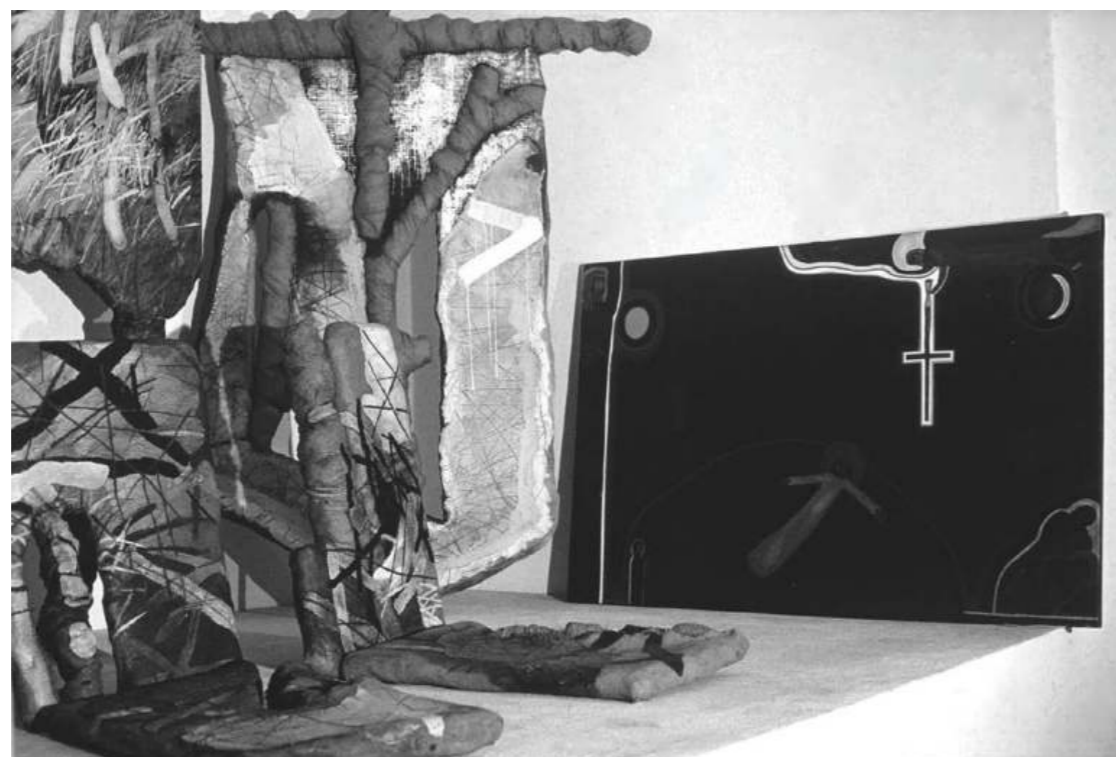
The exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, 1985
photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

exhibitions at catholic churches



Paintings by Maciej Bieniasz, Zbylut Grzywacz and Aldona Mickiewicz at the exhibition *Mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, included in the liturgy of Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow, 1986

photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Sculptures by Adam Brincken and a painting by Teresa Stankiewicz at the exhibition *Mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, included in the liturgy of Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow, 1986

photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Sculpture by Adam Brincken, paintings by Leszek Sobocki at the exhibition *Mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, included in the liturgy of Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow, 1986

photo: Tadeusz Boruta

exhibitions at catholic churches

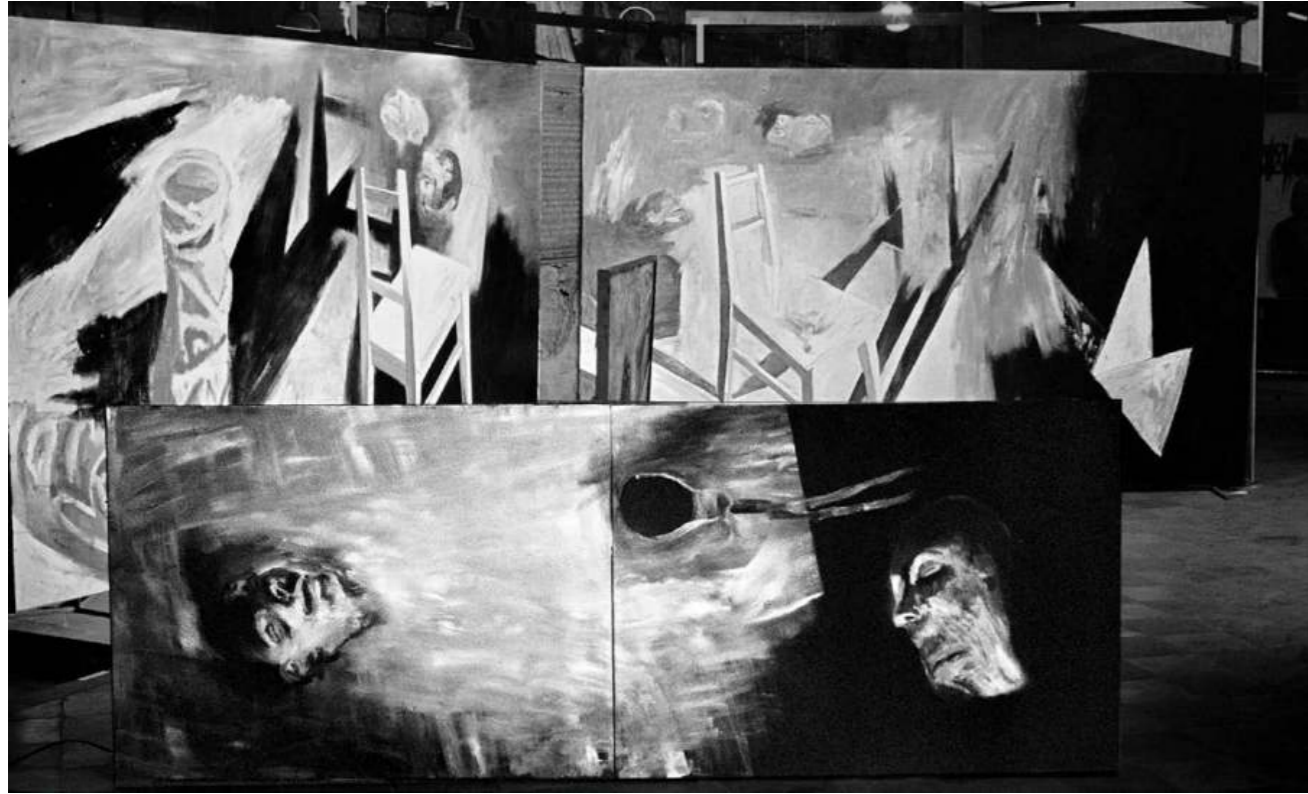


Tadeusz Boruta's paintings at the 2nd National Exhibition of Young Painters
The Way and the Truth at the Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław
1987
photo: Tadeusz Boruta



2nd National Exhibition of Young Painters *The Way and the Truth*
at the Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław
1987
photo: Tadeusz Boruta

exhibitions at catholic churches



Paintings by Grzegorz Bednarski at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow
1987

photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Paintings by Leszek Sobocki and Wiesław Obrzydowski and works by Zbigniew Bajek at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow
1987

photo: Tadeusz Boruta



Sculpture by Jerzy Bereś at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow
1987

photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

list of works

exhibited at *U–jazdowski* and GASK

1. Maria Anto, *31017*, 1984, oil on canvas, 80 × 60 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*).
2. Maria Anto, *Dyptych Polish Prayer, Part I*, 1984, oil on canvas, 90 × 130 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
3. Maria Anto, *Dyptych Polish Prayer, Part II*, 1985–1986, oil on canvas, 100 × 135 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
4. Piotr Augustynek, 'V' (Victory) sign made of flowers, at the well in Krakow's Main Square, where Walenty Badyłak burned himself to death on 27 August 1982 in protest at the 'Katyn lie', photo, photographer's archive (GASK).
5. Zbigniew Bajek, *Scenes from the Road...*, 1982–1984, photographs, oil and collage on board, (26×) 100 × 50 cm, property of the artist (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
6. Krzysztof M. Bednarski, *La Rivoluzione Siamo Noi (Omaggio a Joseph Beuys)*, 1986, steel, plaster, oil, aluminium, electrical wiring, lightbulb, 140 × 120 × 300 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
7. Grzegorz Bednarski, *Reclining Figure (Doll)*, 1980–1981, oil on canvas, 110 × 135 cm, private collection (GASK).
8. Grzegorz Bednarski, *White Skulls II*, 1983, oil on canvas, 100 × 130 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*).
9. Grzegorz Bednarski, *Ni más, ni menos V*, 1984, oil on canvas, 190 × 120 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection (*U–jazdowski*).
10. Grzegorz Bednarski, *Ni más, ni menos*, 1985–1986, oil on canvas, 210 × 100 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection (*U–jazdowski*).
11. Grzegorz Bednarski, *With a Shadow – NI MÁS NI MENOS XIX*, 1985–1986, oil on canvas, 185 × 125 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
12. Grzegorz Bednarski, *Throne II*, from the series *Movement with an Ecstatic Figure*, 1987, oil on canvas, 190 × 310 cm, National Museum in Krakow (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
13. Maciej Bieniasz, *Little Box IV*, 1981–2006, oil on canvas, 98.5 × 69.5 cm, Museum of Katowice History (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
14. Maciej Bieniasz, *Bread*, 1987, acrylic on card, (3×) 48 × 69 cm, Katowice Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
15. Tadeusz Boruta, *In the Dungeon*, from the series *Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?*, 1983, oil on canvas, property of the artist, 185 × 135 cm, property of the artist (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
16. Tadeusz Boruta, *Shroud*, from the series *Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?*, 1984, oil on canvas, 182 × 133 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
17. Tadeusz Boruta, *The Corpse*, from the series *Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?*, 1985, oil on canvas, 130 × 182 cm, National Museum in Wrocław (*U–jazdowski*).
18. Tadeusz Boruta, *The Marriage (after the Arnolfini Portrait by Jan van Eyck)*, 1985, oil on canvas, 130 × 182 cm, National Museum in Warsaw (*U–jazdowski*).
19. Tadeusz Boruta, *Via Crucis*, 1986–1987, oil on canvas, 290 × 210 cm, private collection (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
20. Tadeusz Brzozowski, *Toil*, 1980s, oil on canvas, 130 × 90 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
21. Tadeusz Brzozowski, *Crusher*, 1983, oil on canvas, 131 × 102 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
22. Ewa Ciepielewska, *Brigate Rosse*, 1985, acrylic on canvas, 120 × 100 cm, Werner Jerke collection (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
23. Erazm Ciołek, Presentation of works from a suitcase exhibition on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel, 1982, photo, estate of the photographer (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
24. Erazm Ciołek, Orange Alternative happening in Warsaw's Old Town, June 1988, photo, estate of the photographer (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
25. Mirosław Dembiński, *Orange Alternative*, 1988, film, tódż Film School (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
26. Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, *Lithuanian Riders*, 1986, oil on canvas, 200 × 160 cm, property of the artist (GASK).
27. Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, *The Fall of Women to Hell, According to Rubens*, 1986, oil on canvas, 200 × 160 cm, property of the artist (GASK).
28. Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, *The Captors of Moscow*, 1987, oil on canvas, 400 × 500 cm, Piotr Marzec collection (*U–jazdowski*).
29. Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, *The Sinking of a Raft Full of Communists*, 1987, oil on canvas, 400 × 480 cm, property of the artist (*U–jazdowski*).
30. Jan Dziędziora, *The Beaten One. Abstract Composition*, 1986–1987, oil on canvas, 146 × 97 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*).
31. Halina Eysymont, *The Mother*, 1985, oil on canvas, 75 × 60 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*).
32. Halina Eysymont, *The Son*, 1985, oil on canvas, 75 × 60 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*).
33. Janusz Eysymont, *Streak in Brown Space*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 130 × 89 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
34. Janusz Eysymont, *Epitaph for the 19th October*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 100 × 85 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
35. Stefan Gierowski, *CCCXCV*, 1980s, acrylic on canvas, 152 × 119 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
36. Ryszard Grzyb, *Herod, the Girl and John*, 1985, oil on canvas, 110 × 110 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
37. Ryszard Grzyb, *To Be Or Not to Be?*, 1989, oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
38. Ryszard Grzyb, Ryszard Woźniak, *Laying Down to Sleep*, 1985, oil on canvas, 126 × 150 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
39. Zbylut Grzywacz, *Help*, 1982, oil on canvas, 60 × 73 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
40. Zbylut Grzywacz, *Links in a Chain (Stage IV)*, from the series *Wiślica Recollections*, 1982, oil on canvas, 73 × 88 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
41. Zbylut Grzywacz, *Stage I – Bowl*, from the series *Wiślica Recollections*, 1982, oil on canvas, 39 × 50 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
42. Barbara Jonscher, *The Black Madonna I*, 1982, oil on canvas, 41 × 33 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).
43. Janusz Kaczmarski, *Untitled (Father Jerzy)*, 1984, oil on canvas, 180 × 80 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (*U–jazdowski*, GASK).

44. Jerzy Kalina, *The Last Supper*, 1983–2022, large-scale printed photo of an installation in the exhibition *The Sign of the Cross* in the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw, 1983, photo: Erazm Ciolek, estate of the photographer (U–jazzdowski).
45. Jerzy Kalina, *Bethlehem Vehicle*, 1984–2022, installation in front of St Stanisław Kostka Church, Warsaw, December 1984, photo: Zbigniew M. Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot, Fotonova (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
46. Jerzy Kalina, *The Black Madonna*, 1984, assemblage, wood, steel, galvanized sheet metal, velvet canvas, wax, 39 × 39 × 7 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum, Radom (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
47. Jerzy Kalina, *Resurrection*, 1985–2022, large-scale printed photo of an installation staged in the crypt of the Holy Cross Church, Warsaw, 1985, photo: Jacek Marczyński, from the artist’s archive (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
48. Jerzy Kalina, *Good Morning*, 1989, installation, galvanised sheet metal, linoleum, milk bottles, (8x) 200 x 90 x 50 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
49. Marian Kępiński, *The Sacred*, 1984, oil on canvas, 46.5 × 74 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
50. Marian Kępiński, *The Everyday*, 1985, oil on canvas, 40 × 50 cm, ‘Washerwoman’s House’ Gallery of Contemporary Sacred Art, Kielce (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
51. Marian Kępiński, *Bread II*, 1987, oil on canvas, 40 × 50 cm, ‘Washerwoman’s House’ Gallery of Contemporary Sacred Art, Kielce (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
52. Marek Kijewski, *King Sigismund III’s Meditations on a Despondent Woman*, 1987, papier-mâché, textile, hemp, wood, 290 × 320 × 400 cm, Centre of Polish Sculpture, Orońsko (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
53. Grzegorz Klaman, *Kneeling Man in a Red Coat*, 1987, polychrome wood, sheet metal, 130 × 180 × 90 cm, Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
54. Jerzy Kośnik, *Dwarf – a symbol of Orange Alternative*, Warsaw, 1983, photo, Forum (GASK).
55. Paweł Kowalewski, *Mad Dog on a Green Background*, 1982, oil on canvas, National Museum in Kraków (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
56. Paweł Kowalewski, *O Lithuania, My Homeland*, 1988, oil on canvas, 120 × 140 cm, Upper Silesian Museum, Bytom (U–jazzdowski).
57. Paweł Kowalewski, *17 September. Juliusz Słowacki, Adam Mickiewicz, Czesław Miłosz, Władysław Jagiełło, Józef Piłsudski*, 1988, oil on canvas, 130 × 160 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
58. Bogdan Kraśniewski, from the series *Towards the Light*, 1987–1988, oil on canvas, 102 × 76 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz (U–jazzdowski).
59. Grzegorz Królikiewicz, *The Cenacle*, 2001, film, TVP (U–jazzdowski).
60. Maja Kwiatowska, *Signs*, 1985, oil on canvas, 88 × 68 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
61. Maciej Macierzyński, *Orange Alternative happening in Warsaw city centre*, 1988, photo, photographers’s archive (GASK).
62. Maciej Macierzyński, *Orange Alternative happening in Warsaw’s Old Town, June 1988*, photo, photographer’s archive (GASK).
63. Jacek Marczewski, *Floral Cross at St Anne’s Church, Krakowskie Przedmieście Street in Warsaw*, 1985, photo, Forum (GASK).
64. Zbigniew M. Markiewicz vel Mark Carrot, *Martial Law: the photo shows some of the first dwarfs painted on painted-over anti-government messages, Śródmieście district, Warsaw, March 1983*, photo, Fotonova (GASK).
65. Stanisław Markowski, *Cross made of flowers at St Mary’s Church in Krakow, 31st August 1983*, photo, photographer’s archive (GASK).
66. Jerzy Medyński, *Polish Signs and Stamps*, 1986, acrylic on cardboard, postage stamps, 43 × 100 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum, Radom (U–jazzdowski).
67. Aldona Mickiewicz, *The Cenacle*, 1986, oil on canvas, 100 × 120 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
68. Aldona Mickiewicz, *The Guttled One*, 1987, oil on canvas, 85 × 135 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
69. Aldona Mickiewicz, *Icarus I*, 1988–1989, oil on canvas, 75 × 110 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
70. Piotr Młodożeniec, *1970–1980*, 1981, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
71. Piotr Młodożeniec, *No Entry for Tanks*, 1981, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
72. Piotr Młodożeniec, *PZPR – The Polish United Workers’ Party*, 1981, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
73. Piotr Młodożeniec, *December ‘81*, 1981–1982, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
74. Piotr Młodożeniec, *The Solidary Ones*, 1982, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
75. Piotr Młodożeniec, *I’m Convinced*, 1984, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
76. Piotr Młodożeniec, *Poland, Matthew 27:30*, 1984, stencil, 70 × 100 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
77. Piotr Młodożeniec, *Lech! Keep Your Course!*, 1987, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist (GASK).
78. Piotr Młodożeniec, *Marek H. (Birth)*, 1987, oil on canvas, 137 × 101 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (U–jazzdowski).
79. Piotr Młodożeniec, *The Strike (May 1988)*, 1988, oil on canvas, 124 × 82 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
80. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Untitled*, early 1980s, acrylic on plywood, 17.8 × 27 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
81. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Two Jets*, 1981, acrylic on plywood, 16 × 20 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
82. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Kazimir Malevich, the Pope of Painting*, 1984, acrylic on plywood, 26 × 34 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
83. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Head*, 1985, gouache on brown paper, 200 × 197 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski).
84. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Ride of the World*, 1985, dispersion, pigments, 182 × 239 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski).
85. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Schiller’s Head*, 1985, gouache on brown paper, 200 × 197 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
86. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Sower and Reaper*, 1986, oil on canvas, 136 × 180 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
87. Jarosław Modzelewski, *Child’s Swing*, 1987, oil on canvas, 136 × 190 cm, Zderzak Gallery collection (GASK).
88. Andrzej Możejko, *Untitled*, 1983, oil on plywood, 29 × 18.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
89. Andrzej Możejko, *Untitled*, 1983, oil on plywood, 29 × 18.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
90. Eugeniusz Mucha, *Sower*, 1987, oil on canvas, 130 × 109 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
91. Eugeniusz Mucha, *The Crucified One*, 1987, oil on canvas, 91 × 66 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazzdowski).
92. Eugeniusz Mucha, *Those Made to Fall Asleep*, 1987, oil on canvas, 120 × 90 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
93. Teresa Murak, *a cross overgrown with cress placed in the apse of the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw at The Sign of the Cross exhibition in 1983*, photo: Erazm Ciolek, estate of the photographer (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
94. Teresa Murak, *a cross overgrown with cress placed in the apse of the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw at The Sign of the Cross exhibition in 1983*, photographs: Marcin Apel, from the artist’s archive (U–jazzdowski).
95. Chris Niedenthal, *Martial Law: the first floral cross created by protesters on Victory Square on the third day after the Communist regime declared martial law, Warsaw, 16 December 1981*, photo, Forum (GASK).
96. Chris Niedenthal, *Cross of Cardinal Wyszyński on Victory Square, Warsaw, 1982*, photo, Forum (GASK).
97. Chris Niedenthal, *Martial Law: action by the riot police (security forces) at the flower cross on Victory Square, Warsaw, August 1982*, photo, Forum (GASK).
98. Chris Niedenthal, *Martial Law: Victory Square (now Piłsudski Square), a ZOMO riot squad using water cannons to disperse women gathered at a floral cross, Warsaw, August 1982*, photo, Forum (GASK).
99. Chris Niedenthal, *Orange Alternative happening on election day in Warsaw’s Old Town, June 1988*, photo, Forum (GASK).
100. Olaf Olszewski, *Refuge for a Majority*, 1989, film, Video Studio Gdańsk (U–jazzdowski).
101. Grzegorz Pabel, *Untitled*, early 1980s, oil on canvas, 35 × 16.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
102. Grzegorz Pabel, *Untitled*, early 1980s, oil on canvas, 35 × 16.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
103. Włodzimierz Pawlak, *Wolves*, 1985, oil on canvas, 170 × 150 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
104. Włodzimierz Pawlak, *Self-portrait with a Pyramid and a Map in the Background*, 1986, oil on canvas, 160 × 130 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
105. Włodzimierz Pawlak, *Poles Forming the National Flag*, 1989, oil on canvas, 143 × 90 cm, National Museum in Warsaw (U–jazzdowski).
106. Janusz Petrykowski, *Reality*, 1983, mixed media, 35.5 × 47 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
107. Jerzy Piotrowicz, *Pheretron II*, 1984, oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
108. Jerzy Piotrowicz, *White Veil I*, 1984, oil on canvas, 130 × 120 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
109. Jerzy Puciata, *Light of the Sign of the Cross 3/85*, 1985, oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum, Radom (U–jazzdowski).
110. Jerzy Puciata, *Light of the Sign of the Cross 2/85*, 1985, oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum, Radom (U–jazzdowski).
111. Józef Robakowski, *From My Window 1978–1999, 2000*, video, Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art (U–jazzdowski).
112. Stanisław Rodziński, *Consummatum est*, 1981–1982, oil on canvas, 100 × 79 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
113. Stanisław Rodziński, *Pietà 81*, 1983, oil on canvas, 100 × 125 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
114. Stanisław Rodziński, *The Flagellation*, 1983, oil on canvas, 152 × 70 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
115. Stanisław Rodziński, *Pietà*, 1985, oil on canvas, 100 × 125 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
116. Stanisław Rodziński, *The Beaten One*, 1988, oil on canvas, 125 × 100 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
117. Teresa Rudowicz, *Crucifixion*, 1986, oil on canvas, 70 × 50 cm, Marian Warzecha collection (U–jazzdowski).
118. Teresa Rudowicz, *Crucifixion*, 1986, oil on canvas, 70 × 50 cm, Marian Warzecha collection (U–jazzdowski).
119. Teresa Rudowicz, *Crucifixion*, 1986, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm, Marian Warzecha collection (U–jazzdowski).
120. Jan Rylke, *Polish Mouseion*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 38 × 55 cm, property of the artist (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
121. Jan Rylke, *Green Crow*, 1984, acrylic on canvas, 116 × 89 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
122. Jan Rylke, *The Martyrdom of Father Jerzy*, 1984–1985, acrylic on canvas, 65 × 81 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
123. Jan Rylke, *Privyvet from Yalta*, 1985, acrylic on canvas, 41 × 33 cm, private collection (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
124. Jan Rylke, *Foreigner*, 1986, acrylic on canvas, 65 × 50 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
125. Marek Sapetto, *Candle*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 26.5 × 19.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
126. Marek Sapetto, *The Door (Possibility of Choice – Key at the Concierge)*, 1980, acrylic on canvas, 160 × 130 cm, National Museum in Kraków (U–jazzdowski).
127. Marek Sapetto, *Untitled*, 1980s, oil on canvas, 79 × 64 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski).
128. Marek Sapetto, *Exorcisms*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 120 × 100 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
129. Marek Sapetto, *Exorcisms*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 26.5 × 20.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
130. Marek Sapetto, *Floral Cross*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 130 × 110 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
131. Marek Sapetto, *Floral Cross*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 30.5 × 24.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
132. Jacek Sempoliński, *Crucifixion*, 1980s, oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
133. Jacek Sempoliński, *Skull*, 1985, oil on canvas, 99.5 × 79.5 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
134. Jacek Sempoliński, *The Torn Veil of the Temple*, an installation of paintings at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* staged in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Kraków in 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta (U–jazzdowski).
135. Jacek Sempoliński, *Mięćmierz/Vistula*, 1989, oil on canvas, 75 × 65 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection (U–jazzdowski, GASK).
136. Bożena Sienicka, *Playing Yoyo*, early 1980s, oil on canvas, 40 × 30 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazzdowski, GASK).

137. Jacek Sienicki, *Skull*, 1983, oil on canvas, 46 × 55 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
138. Jacek Sienicki, *Skull*, 1984, oil on canvas, 149 × 89.5 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (U–jazdowski, GASK).
139. Jacek Sienicki, *Interior of a Studio*, 1985, oil on canvas, 147 × 97 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski).
140. Jacek Sienicki, *Interior*, 1987, oil on canvas, 145 × 97 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
141. Leszek Sobocki, *Fortified*, 1981–1982, oil on canvas, 80 × 67 cm, National Museum in Kraków (U–jazdowski).
142. Leszek Sobocki, *Graffiti III*, 1984, oil on canvas, 70 × 50 cm, Upper Silesian Museum, Bytom (U–jazdowski, GASK).
143. Leszek Sobocki, *The Return (of the Prodigal Son)*, 1984, oil on canvas, 160 × 116 cm, Silesian Museum, Katowice (U–jazdowski).
144. Leszek Sobocki, *Stifling Situation*, 1984, oil on canvas, 160 × 116 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (U–jazdowski, GASK).
145. Leszek Sobocki, *Staffage I*, from the series *Polish Graffiti*, 1986, oil on canvas, 141 × 135 cm, Historical Museum of Kraków (U–jazdowski, GASK).
146. Stanisław Sobolewski, *Close to the Sky I*, from the series *Hospital Landscapes*, 1982, oil on canvas, 100 × 128 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
147. Stanisław Sobolewski, *Close to the Sky II*, from the series *Hospital Landscapes*, 1982, oil on canvas, 100 × 128 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski).
148. Stanisław Sobolewski, *Thanatos*, 1984, acrylic and oil on canvas, 184 × 104 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
149. Stanisław Sobolewski, *Merry-Go-Round I*, from the series *Amusement Park*, 1986, oil on canvas, 130 × 97 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
150. Jacek Sroka, *The Byzantine Series. Brezhnev*, 1982, oil on canvas, 82 × 97 cm, property the artist (U–jazdowski).
151. Jacek Sroka, *Pińczów Jail*, 1987, oil on canvas, 120 × 130 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
152. Jacek Sroka, *Jail Painting*, 1987–1988, oil on canvas, 170 × 360 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
153. Teresa Stankiewicz, *Flag*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 38.2 × 27.4 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (GASK).
154. Teresa Stankiewicz, *Guardian Angel*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 60 × 50 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazdowski, GASK).
155. Teresa Stankiewicz, *Pietà*, 1987, acrylic on canvas, 65 × 65 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazdowski, GASK).
156. Wiesław Szamborski, *3.5.31.6.10.11*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 150 × 120 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
157. Wiesław Szamborski, *3.5.31.8.10.11*, 1982, mixed media on canvas, 40 × 30 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
158. Wiesław Szamborski, *Floral Cross II*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 37 × 20 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
159. Wiesław Szamborski, *On Victory Square in Warsaw II*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 32.5 × 40 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
160. Wiesław Szamborski, *The Cross*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 145 × 95 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
161. Tomasz Tatarczyk, *Pyre*, 1986–1989, oil on canvas, 179 × 260 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (U–jazdowski, GASK).
162. Tomasz Tatarczyk, *Pyre*, 1987, oil on canvas, 130 × 180 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit (U–jazdowski).
163. Jerzy Tchórzewski, *Crucifixion (In Memory of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko)*, 1983, acrylic on Bristol board, 92 × 70 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
164. Jerzy Tchórzewski, *Golgotha*, 1985, polyptych staged in the exhibition *New Heaven and New Earth?* in the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw, photo, Krzysztof Tchórzewski archive (U–jazdowski).
165. Jerzy Tchórzewski, *Pietà*, 1985, acrylic and tempera on Bristol board, 72 × 100 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
166. Jerzy Tchórzewski, *The Way to Golgotha (Carrying the Cross)*, 1985, acrylic on Bristol board, 70 × 100 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
167. Jerzy Tchórzewski, *Golgotha II*, 1986, acrylic and tempera on black paper, 98 × 67 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
168. Krzysztof Tchórzewski, *The Cenacle*, 2019, film, TVP (U–jazdowski).
169. Marian Terlecki, *Ascent*, 1984, film, Video Studio Gdańsk (U–jazdowski, GASK).
170. Andrzej Wajda, *The Cenacle*, a sketchbook, 1985, 17.5 × 12.5 cm, 240 pages, Andrzej Wajda Archive at the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, Krakow (GASK).
171. Andrzej Wajda, *The Cenacle*, 1985, film, TVP (U–jazdowski, GASK).
172. Ireneusz Walczak, *Cohesion – Nameless*, 1989, oil on canvas, 150 × 200 cm, estate of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
173. Ireneusz Walczak, *Cohesion IV – Out of the Way*, 1989, oil on canvas, 150 × 200 cm, estate of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
174. Ireneusz Walczak, *Cohesion X – One’s Own Little Place*, 1989, oil on canvas, 150 × 220 cm, estate of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).
175. Jacek Waltoś, *Night Visitor*, 1981–1982, oil on canvas, 99.5 × 81 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum, Radom (U–jazdowski, GASK).
176. Jacek Waltoś, *Bad Light (Self-shadow)*, 1983, oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm, Gliwice Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
177. Jacek Waltoś, *The Cloak of the Good Samaritan III*, 1983, substitute sculpture, crayon, tempera on paper, 100 × 200 × 200 cm, Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, Krakow (U–jazdowski).
178. Jacek Waltoś, *On Both Sides of the Gate: The Holy Saturday*, 1983, oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm, National Museum in Wrocław (U–jazdowski).
179. Jacek Waltoś, *The Cloak of the Good Samaritan VI*, 1984, oil on canvas, 73 × 100 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection (U–jazdowski, GASK).
180. Włodzimierz Wasyluk, *Martial Law*: pictured is the Solidarity floral cross on Castle Square in Warsaw in April 1982, photo, Forum (GASK).
181. Ryszard Woźniak, *Barrel*, 1983, oil on canvas, 60 × 73 cm, National Museum in Kraków (U–jazdowski).
182. Ryszard Woźniak, *Temptation of Jesus*, 1987, oil on canvas, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz (U–jazdowski).
183. Ryszard Woźniak, *The Transfiguration*, 1987, oil on canvas, (3×) 180 × 90 cm, Zachęta National Gallery of Art (U–jazdowski, GASK).
184. Ryszard Woźniak, +++, 1988, oil on canvas, 200 × 314 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum, Radom (U–jazdowski).
185. Krzysztof Wójcik, *Relatively Large Manoeuvres against the Ministry of National Defence – Security Service*, 1988, organised by the Independent Students’ Association and Orange Alternative at the campus of the Military Department of the University of Warsaw in Żwirki i Wigury Street, photo, Forum (GASK).
186. Krzysztof Wójcik, *Relatively Large Manoeuvres against the Ministry of National Defence – Security Service*, 1988, organised by the Independent Students’ Association and Orange Alternative at the campus of the Military Department of the University of Warsaw in Żwirki i Wigury Street, photo, Forum (GASK).
187. Andrzej Zwierzchowski, *Judith and Holofernes*, 1985, oil on canvas, 140 × 180 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum (U–jazdowski, GASK).
188. Andrzej Zwierzchowski, *Judith and Holofernes*, 1985, oil on canvas, 140 × 180 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski).
189. Andrzej Zwierzchowski, *The Last Supper*, 1987, oil on canvas, 140 × 200 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski).
190. Andrzej Zwierzchowski, *The Order*, 1987, oil on canvas, 280 × 200 cm, property of the artist (U–jazdowski, GASK).

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

list of illustrations

- **page 12**

Performance by Wiesław Pożarski at an exhibition of Andrzej Bieńkowski’s paintings at Jan Rylke’s studio in Warsaw, 1987, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

- **page 13**

Exhibition of paintings by Marek Sapetto on the fence in front of his studio in Warsaw, establishing the idea of “suitcase exhibitions”, November 1982, photo: Erazm Ciołek

- **page 14**

Krystyna Janda and Olgierd Łukaszewicz in a performance of *The Cenacle* directed by Andrzej Wajda, presented at the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw in 1985, photo: Andrzej Stawiarski

- **page 15**

An exhibition of Eugeniusz Lokojski’s photographs staged during two weeks of art meetings called *The Sign of the Cross*, accompanying John Paul II’s second pilgrimage to Poland, at the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw, June 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- **pages 16–17**

Józef Łukomski’s installation at the *Apocalypse – Light in the Darkness* exhibition staged in 1984 at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

- **page 19**

Paintings by Stanisław Rodziński at the exhibition *Towards a Person* in the cloisters of the Dominicans’ monastery in Krakow, 1985, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- **page 20**

A sculpture/textile by Irena Palka and a painting by Krzysztof Skarbek at the 2nd National Youth Biennial *The Way and the Truth* at the Church the Holy Cross in Wrocław, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- **page 21**

A work by Paweł Kwiek at *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition in the ruins of the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw, 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- **page 22**

A sculpture by Jerzy Bereś, (in the background) an installation by Jerzy Kalina and paintings by Jan Dobkowski at the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, 1985, photo: Andrzej Stawiarski

- **page 23**

A painting by Tadeusz Boruta and a sculpture by Jerzy Bereś at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- **page 26**

Krzysztof M. Bednarski, *La Rivoluzione Siamo Noi (Omaggio a Joseph Beuys)*, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- **pages 26–27**

Włodzimierz Pawlak, *Poles Forming the National Flag*, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Adam Gut

- **page 28**

Installation view of the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (left) paintings by Grzegorz Bednarski, (middle) paintings by Tadeusz Boruta and Stanisław Rodziński, (right) paintings by Ireneusz Walczak, photo: Adam Gut

- **page 29**

Installation view of Mirosław Dembiński’s 1988 film *Orange Alternative* at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Adam Gut

Installation view of the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (from the left) works by Jacek Sroka, Stanisław Sobolewski and Jacek Waltoś; photo: Adam Gut

- **pages 30–31**

Zbigniew Bajek, *Scenes from the Road...*, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **page 31**

Leszek Sobocki, *Stifling Situation*, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **pages 32–33**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Leszek Sobocki with Orange Alternative dwarfs, (front) Maciej Dembiński’s *Orange Alternative* documentary, (right) photo documentation of Orange Alternative happenings by Jerzy Kośnik, Chris Niedenthal, Erazm Ciołek, Zbigniew M. Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot, Maciej Macierzyński and Krzysztof Wójcik, photo: Tomáš Souček

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) Jacek Waltoś’s paintings: *Night Visitor* and *Bad Light (Self-shadow)*, (middle) Jerzy Kalina’s installation *Good Morning* (right), Piotr Młodożeniec’s painting *The Strike (May 1988)*, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **page 34**

Presentation of works from the “suitcase exhibition” on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel, November 1982 (reconstruction of 2023 at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora), original photo: Erazm Ciołek (present in the photo), 2023 photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- **page 35**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; paintings by Jan Rylke and Stanisław Sobolewski, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **page 36**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Zblyut Grzywacz, Aldona Mickiewicz, Jarosław Modzelewski, (right) Eugeniusz Mucha, Marian Kępiński and Maciej Bieniasz, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **page 37**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; paintings by Tadeusz Boruta, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **pages 38–39**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; paintings by Jerzy Tchórzewski, sculpture by Grzegorz Kłaman, photo: Adam Gut

- **pages 40–41**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Janusz Eysymont, (middle) photo of Teresa Murak’s installation, (right) painting by Stefan Gierowski, work by Jerzy Kalina; photo: Tomáš Souček

- **pages 42–43**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (left) paintings by Wiesław Szamborski and Marek Sapetto, (right) paintings by Jerzy Tchórzewski, photo: Tomáš Souček

- **page 44**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; printed photographs of Jerzy Kalina’s installations: *Resurrection* by Jacek Marczyński and *Bethlehem Vehicle* by Zbigniew M. Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot, photo: Adam Gut

- **page 45**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (from left) printed photograph of Jerzy Kalina’s installation *Bethlehem Vehicle*, Piotr Młodożeniec’s poster *I’m Convinced*, Janusz Kaczmarek’s painting *Untitled (Father Jerzy)*, Stefan Gierowski’s painting CCCXCV and Maria Anto’s *Dptych Polish Prayer*, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- **pages 46–47**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (from left) Ryszard Woźniak’s painting *The Transfiguration*, Ryszard Grzyb and Ryszard Woźniak’s painting *Laying Down to Sleep*, Paweł Kowalewski’s painting *Mad Dog on a Green Background*, Jarosław Modzelewski’s gouche *Schiller’s Head* and paintings *Sower and Reaper* and *Ride of the World*, photo: Adam Gut

- page 47**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; Ryszard Woźniak’s paintings +++ and *Temptation of Jesus*, photo: Adam Gut

- pages 48–49**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (from left) Jacek Sroka’s paintings *Prińczów Jail* and *Jail Painting*, Ewa Ciepielewska’s painting *Brigate Rosse*, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 50–51**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora; (from left) paintings by Włodzimirz Pawlak: *Wolves* and *Self-portrait with a Pyramid and a Map in the Background*, sculpture by Grzegorz Klaman *Kneeling Man in a Red Coat*, painting by Jarosław Modzelewski *Child’s Swing*, sculpture by Marek Kijewski *King Sigismund III’s Meditations on a Despondent Woman*, gouache by Jaroslaw Modzelewski *Schiller’s Head*, photo: Tomáš Souček

- pages 52–53**

Installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw; (from left) *The Cenacle* staged by Krzysztof Tchórzewski, Grzegorz Królikiewicz and Andrzej Wajda, (middle) a printed photograph of Jerzy Kalina’s installation *The Last Supper* by Erazm Ciołek, (right) Zbigniew Bajek’s installation *Scenes from the Road...*, photo: Adam Gut

- page 54**

Poster of the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, 2022, design by Cezary Krysztopa

- page 55**

Poster of the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK in Kutná Hora with a stencil by Piotr Młodożeniec, 2023, design by ZOYY Designers

- pages 58–59**

Opening of Confrontations I, Grafická Street, Prague, May 1984, pictured: sculptures by Josef Pluhař and Marius Kotrba, paintings by Antonín Sifřížek, Martin Mainer, Petr Vaněček, Jan Bačkovský and Jiří David, photographs by Jiří Pliešтик, photo: archive of Stanislav Diviš

- page 60**

Opening of Confrontations IV, Mozartova Street, Prague, April 1986, pictured: works including those by Margita Titlová-Ylovsky (large drawings at top left), Petr Sládek (paintings in right foreground) and Michal Gabriel (tree sculpture in centre foreground), photo: Hana Hamplová

- page 62**

The opening of the first exhibition by the 12/15 Better Late Than Never group at the riding hall of Koloděje Castle near Prague on 24 April 1988. The Stubborn Ones group (right) presenting gifts to 12/15 (left), from left: (standing) painters Jiří Načeradský, Jaroslav Dvořák, sculptor Kurt Gebauer, painter Michael Rittstein, sculptor Jiří Beránek, painter Petr Pavlík and (kneeling) Vladimír Novák, from right (standing): glassmaker Zdeněk Lhotský, painters Stanislav Diviš and Jiří David, and (kneeling) painter and sculptor František Skála Jr, in the background: 12/15 flags and a Stubborn Ones banner, photo: Magdalena Bláhová

- page 63**

Installing Confrontations V, October 1986, Svárov, from left: Jaroslav Róna, Magdalena Rajnišová, Stanislav Diviš, from left: paintings by Stanislav Diviš, painting by Magdalena Rajnišová and painting by Jaroslav Róna, photo: archive of Stanislav Diviš

- page 65**

Installation view at the *Mystery of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ* exhibition staged at the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum and the building of the parish of St Trinity at Solec Street in Warsaw, paintings by Wiesław Obrzydowski and Stanisław Sobolewski, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- page 66**

Installation view at the *Mystery of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ* exhibition staged at the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum and the building of the parish of St Trinity at Solec Street in Warsaw in 1987, works by

Zbigniew Bajek, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 68–69**

Installation view at the *Mystery of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ* exhibition staged at the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum and the building of the parish of St Trinity at Solec Street in Warsaw in 1987, paintings by Jacek Waltoś and Jacek Sienicki, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 71–77**

Andrzej Wajda, sketch for *The Cenacle* staged in 1985, Andrzej Wajda Archive, Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, photo: Andrzej Wajda Archive, Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology

- page 80**

Leszek Sobocki, *Stifling Situation*, 1984, oil on canvas, 131 × 102 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit, photo: Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz

- pages 80–81**

A cross overgrown with cress by Teresa Murak installed in the apse of the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street in Warsaw, (left) paintings by Stefan Gierowski, (right) paintings by Julian Raczko and the *The Last Supper* installation by Jerzy Kalina at *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition, June 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek

- page 82**

Jerzy Kalina, *Bethlehem Vehicle*, 1984, installation in front of the St Stanisław Koszka Church, Warsaw, December 1984, photo: Zbigniew M. Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot / Fotonova

- pages 84–85**

Jerzy Bereś, *Romantic Manifestation*, 1981, performance on the Main Market Square in Krakow in November 1981, photo: Jan Szmuc, courtesy of The Maria Pinińska-Bereś and Jerzy Bereś Foundation

Jerzy Bereś, *Romantic Manifestation*, 1981, performance on the Main Market Square in Krakow in November 1981, photo: Jan Szmuc, courtesy of The Maria Pinińska-Bereś and Jerzy Bereś Foundation

- pages 90–91**

Maria Anto, *Diptych Polish Prayer, Part I*, 1984, oil on canvas, 90 × 130 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Maria Anto, *Diptych Polish Prayer, Part II*, 1985–1986, oil on canvas, 100 × 135 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 92–93**

Zbigniew Bajek, *Scenes from the Road...*, photographs, oil and collage on board, (26 ×) 100 × 50 cm, property of the artist, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Adam Gut

- pages 94–95**

Grzegorz Bednarski, *Ni mas, ni menos V*, 1984, oil on canvas, 150 × 120 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection, photo: aTAK Gallery

Grzegorz Bednarski, *Throne II* from the series *Movement with an Ecstatic Figure*, 1987, oil on canvas, 190 × 310 cm, National Museum in Krakow, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Grzegorz Bednarski, *With a Shadow – NI MÁS NI MENOS XIX*, 1985–1986, oil on canvas, 185 × 125 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

- pages 96–97**

Krzysztof M. Bednarski, *La Rivoluzione Siamo Noi (Omaggio a Joseph Beuys)*, 1986, steel, plaster, oil, aluminium, electrical wiring, lightbulb, 140 × 120 × 300 cm, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at GASK Kutná Hora, photo: Tomáš Souček

- pages 98–99**

Maciej Bieniasz, *Little Box IV*, 1981–2006, oil on canvas, 98.5 × 69.5 cm, Museum of Katowice History, photo: Museum of Katowice History

- pages 100–101**

Tadeusz Boruta, *Via Crucis*, 1986–1987, oil on canvas, 210 × 290 cm, private collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Tadeusz Boruta, *Shroud*, from the series *Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?*, 1984, oil on canvas, 182 × 133 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

- pages 102–103**

Tadeusz Brzozowski, *Toil*, 1980s, oil on canvas, 130 × 90 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

Tadeusz Brzozowski, *Crusher*, 1983, oil on canvas, 131 × 102 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection, photo: aTAK Gallery

- pages 104–105**

Ewa Ciepielewska, *Brigate Rosse*, 1985, acrylic on canvas, 120 × 100 cm, Werner Jerke collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 106–107**

Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, *The Fall of Women to Hell, after Rubens*, 1986, oil on canvas, 200 × 160 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, *Lithuanian Riders*, 1986, oil on canvas, 200 × 160 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 108–109**

Stefan Gierowski, CCCXCV, 1980s, oil on canvas, 152 × 119 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, © Stefan Gierowski Foundation

- pages 110–111**

Ryszard Grzyb, *Herod, the Girl and John*, 1988, oil on canvas, 123.5 × 139.5 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz, photo: Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz

Ryszard Grzyb, *To Be Or Not to Be?*, 1989, oil on canvas, 100 × 89.5 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit, photo: aTAK Gallery

- pages 112–113**

Zbylut Grzywacz, *Links in a Chain (Stage IV)*, from the series *Wiślica Recollections*, 1982, oil on canvas, 73 × 88 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

Zbylut Grzywacz, *Help*, 1982, oil on canvas, 60 × 73 cm, Leon Wyczółowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit, photo: Leon Wyczółowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz

- pages 114–115**

Jerzy Kalina, *The Last Supper*, 1983, installation view at *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition staged at the Church of Divine Mercy at Żytnia Street in Warsaw, photo: Jacek Kucharczyk / Forum

Jerzy Kalina, *Good Morning*, 1989–2023, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibiion at GASK in Kutná Hora, photo: Tomáš Souček

- pages 116–117**

Marian Kępiński, *The Everyday*, 1985, oil on canvas, 40 × 50 cm, ‘Washerwoman’s House’ Gallery of Contemporary Sacred Art, Kielce, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Marian Kępiński, *Bread II*, 1987, oil on canvas, 40 × 50 cm, ‘Washerwoman’s House’ Gallery of Contemporary Sacred Art, Kielce, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Marian Kępiński, *The Sacred*, 1984, oil on canvas, 46.5 × 74 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

- pages 118–119**

Marek Kijewski, *King Sigismund III’s Meditations on a Despondent Woman*, 1987, sculpture, Centre of Polish Sculpture, Orońsko, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibiion at GASK in Kutná Hora, photo: Tomáš Souček

- pages 120–121**

Grzegorz Klaman, *Kneeling Man in a Red Coat*, 1987, sculpture, Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibiion at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Adam Gut

- pages 122–123**

Paweł Kowalewski, *Mad Dog on a Green Background*, 1982, oil on canvas, 96.5 × 105 cm, National Museum in Krakow, installation view at the *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibiion at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, photo: Adam Gut

- pages 124–125**

Jerzy Medyński, *Polish Signs and Stamps*, 1986, acrylic on cardboard, postage stamps, 43 × 101 cm, Jacek Malczewski Museum in Radom, photo: Marcin Kucewicz

- pages 126–127**

Aldona Mickiewicz, *The Cenacle*, 1986, oil on canvas, 99 × 118.5 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Aldona Mickiewicz, *Icarus I*, 1988–1989, oil on canvas, 75 × 110 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Aldona Mickiewicz, *The Guttred One*, 1987, oil on canvas, 85 × 135 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 128–129**

Piotr Młodożeniec, *No Entry for Tanks*, 1981, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist

Piotr Młodożeniec, *Poland, Matthew 27:30*, 1984, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist

Piotr Młodożeniec, *I’m Convinced*, 1984, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist

Piotr Młodożeniec, *December ’81*, 1981–1982, stencil, 100 × 70 cm, property of the artist

Piotr Młodożeniec, *The Strike (May 1988)*, 1988, oil on canvas, 124 × 82 cm, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art, photo: Zachęta – National Gallery of Art

- pages 130–131**

Jarosław Modzelewski, *Sower and Reaper*, 1986, oil on canvas, 136×180 cm, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art, photo: Zachęta – National Gallery of Art

Jarosław Modzelewski, *Schiller’s Head*, 1985, gouache on brown paper, 200 × 197 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 132–133**

Eugeniusz Mucha, *Those Made to Fall Asleep*, 1987, oil on canvas, 120 × 90 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Eugeniusz Mucha, *Sower*, 1987, oil on canvas, 130 × 109 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 134–135**

A cross overgrown with cress by Teresa Murak installed in the apse of the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street, Warsaw, at *The Sign of the Cross* exhibition, June 1983, (left) works by Stefan Gierowski, (right) Julian Raczko, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- pages 136–137**

Włodzimirz Pawlak, *Self-portrait with a Pyramid and a Map in the Background*, 1986, oil on canvas, 160 × 130 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit, photo: aTAK Gallery

Włodzimirz Pawlak, *Wolves*, 1986, oil on canvas, 150 × 170 cm, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz, photo: Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum, Bydgoszcz

- pages 138–139**

Jerzy Piotrowicz, *Pheretron II*, 1984, oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

- pages 140–141**

Stanisław Rodziński, *The Beaten One*, 1988, oil on canvas, 125 × 100 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

Stanisław Rodziński, *The Flagellation*, 1983, oil on canvas, 152 × 70 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

Stanisław Rodziński, *Consummatum Est*, 1981–1982, oil on canvas, 100 × 79 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Stanisław Rodziński, *Pietà*, 1985, oil on canvas, 100 × 125 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

- pages 142–143**

Teresa Rudowicz, *Crucifixion*, 1986, oil on canvas, 70 × 50 cm, Marian Warzecha collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Teresa Rudowicz, *Crucifixion*, 1986, oil on canvas, 70 × 50 cm, Marian Warzecha collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Teresa Rudowicz, *Crucifixion*, 1986, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm, Marian Warzecha collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 144–145**

Jan Rylke, *Polish Mouseion*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 38 × 55 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Jan Ryłke, *Green Crow*, 1984, acrylic on canvas, 116 × 89 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 146–147**

Marek Sapetto, *Floral Cross*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 130 × 110 cm, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, photo: Warsaw Archdiocese Museum

Marek Sapetto, *Exorcisms*, 1983, acrylic on canvas, 120 × 100 cm, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art, photo: Zachęta – National Gallery of Art

- pages 148–149**

Jacek Sempoliński, *The Torn Veil of the Temple*, an installation presented at the *All Our Daily Affairs* exhibition staged in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 150–151**

Leszek Sobocki, *Fortified*, 1981–1982, oil on canvas, 80 × 67 cm, National Museum in Krakow, photo: National Museum in Krakow

Leszek Sobocki, *Graffiti III*, 1984, oil on canvas, 70 × 50 cm, Upper Silesian Museum, Bytom, photo: Upper Silesian Museum, Bytom

- pages 152–153**

Stanisław Sobolewski, *Thanatos*, 1984, oil on canvas, 184 × 104 cm, property of the artist, © Stanisław Sobolewski

Stanisław Sobolewski, *Merry-Go-Round I* from the series *Amusement Park*, 1986, oil on canvas, 130 × 97 cm, property of the artist, © Stanisław Sobolewski

Stanisław Sobolewski, *Close to the Sky II* from the series *Hospital Landscapes*, 1982, oil on canvas, 100 × 128 cm, property of the artist, © Stanisław Sobolewski

- pages 154–155**

Jacek Sroka, *Jail Painting*, 1987–1988, oil on canvas, 170 × 360 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Jacek Sroka, *Pińczów Jail*, 1987, oil on canvas, 120 × 130 cm, property of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 156–157**

Teresa Stankiewicz, *Guardian Angel*, 1982, acrylic on canvas, 60 × 50 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Teresa Stankiewicz, *Pietà*, 1987, acrylic on canvas, 65 × 65 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 158–159**

Tomasz Tatarczyk, *Pyre*, 1986–1989, oil on canvas, 179 × 260 cm, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Krzysztof Musiał collection deposit, photo: aTAK Gallery

Tomasz Tatarczyk, *Pyre*, 1987, oil on canvas, 130 × 180 cm, Krzysztof Musiał collection, photo: aTAK Gallery

- pages 160–161**

Ireneusz Walczak, *Cohesion X – One’s Own Little Place*, 1989, oil on canvas, 150 × 220 cm, estate of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Ireneusz Walczak, *Cohesion IV – Out of the Way*, 1989, oil on canvas, 150 × 200 cm, estate of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Ireneusz Walczak, *Cohesion – Nameless*, 1989, oil on canvas, 150 × 200 cm, estate of the artist, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 162–163**

Jacek Waltoś, *Bad Light (Self-shadow)*, 1983, oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm, Gliwice Museum, photo: Gliwice Museum

Jacek Waltoś, *The Cloak of the Good Samaritan VI*, 1984, oil on canvas, 73 × 100 cm, Anna and Robert Wolak collection, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 164–165**

Ryszard Woźniak, *The Transfiguration*, 1987, oil on canvas, (3 x) 180 × 90 cm, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art, photo: Zachęta – National Gallery of Art

- pages 166–167**

Presentation of works from the “suitcase exhibition” on the walls of the Warsaw Citadel, November 1982 (reconstruction of 2022), original photo: Erazm Ciołek (present in the photo), installation view at *Uncensored. Polish Independent Art of the 1980s* exhibition at Ujazdowski Castle Centre for

Contemporary Art, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 170–171**

Dwarf – the symbol of Orange Alternative, Warsaw, 1983, photo: Jerzy Kościak / Forum

Orange Alternative happening on election day in Warsaw’s Old Town, June 1988, photo: Chris Niedenthal / Forum

Orange Alternative happening in Warsaw’s Old Town, June 1988, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

Relatively Large Manoeuvres against the Ministry of National Defence – Security Service organised by the Independent Students’ Association and Orange Alternative at the campus of the Military Department of the University of Warsaw in Żwirki i Wigury Street, photo: Krzysztof Wójcik / Forum

Relatively Large Manoeuvres against the Ministry of National Defence – Security Service organised by the Independent Students’ Association and Orange Alternative at the campus of the Military Department of the University of Warsaw in Żwirki i Wigury Street, photo: Krzysztof Wójcik / Forum

- pages 172–173**

Floral Cross laid during the funeral of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko in front of the St Stanisław Kostka Church in Warsaw, 3 November 1984, photo: Jacek Marczewski / Forum

Floral Cross at St Anne’s Church, Krakowskie Przedmieście Street in Warsaw, 1985, photo: Jacek Marczewski / Forum

- pages 174–175**

Martial Law: the first floral cross created by protesters on Victory Square on the third day after the Communist regime declared martial law, Warsaw, 16 December 1981, photo: Chris Niedenthal / Forum

Martial Law: action by the riot police (security forces) at the floral cross on Victory Square, Warsaw, August 1982, photo: Chris Niedenthal / Forum

Martial Law: Victory Square (now Piłsudski Square), a ZOMO riot squad using water cannons to disperse women gathered at a floral cross, Warsaw, August 1982, photo: Chris Niedenthal / Forum

Cross of Cardinal Wyszyński on Victory Square, Warsaw, 1982, photo: Chris Niedenthal / Forum

- pages 176–177**

Martial Law: pictured is the Solidarity floral cross on Castle Square, Warsaw, April 1982, photo: Włodzimierz Wasyluk / Forum

- pages 178–179**

‘V’ (Victory) sign made of flowers by the citizens of Krakow on 27th August 1982, at the well in Krakow’s Main Square, where Walenty Badylak burned himself to death on 21st March 1980 in protest at the ‘Katyn lie’, photo: Piotr Augustynek

Cross made of flowers at St Mary’s Church in Krakow, 31st August 1983, photo: Stanisław Markowski

- pages 180–181**

A visit by artists and art critics to Marek Sapetto’s studio, Warsaw, 1983; from left: Joanna Krzymuska, Magdalena Hniedziewicz, Wiesław Kruczkowski; photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

Exhibition at Wiesław Szamborski’s studio in Warsaw, 1983 (turned away from the camera: Wiesław Szamborski, Wiesław Kruczkowski, Aleksander Wojciechowski, Barbara Majewska; facing the camera: Janusz Eysymont, Dorota Jarecka, Andrzej Jarecki), photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

Aleksander Wojciechowski at Andrzej Możejko’s studio during the art critics’ “pilgrimage” to independent artists’ studios, November 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- pages 182–183**

An exhibition at Barbara Zbrożyna’s studio, 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum
A visit by artists and art critics to Tomasz Tatarczyk’s studio, 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

A visit to Wiesław Kruczkowski’s studio as part of the art critics’ “pilgrimage” to independent artists’ studios; turned away on the left: Aleksander Wojciechowski and Andrzej Możejko, centre: Marek Sapetto, right: Magdalena Hniedziewicz, Warsaw, November 1983; photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

A visit to Marek Sapetto’s studio as part of the art critics’ “pilgrimage” to independent

artists’ studios; on the stairs: Magdalena Hniedziewicz, Warsaw, November 1983; photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- pages 184–185**

A visit by artists and art critics to Tomasz Tatarczyk’s studio, Warsaw, 1983; left: Janusz Eysymont, centre: unknown, right: Andrzej Możejko; photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

A visit by artists and critics to Jacek Sienicki’s studio, Warsaw, 1983, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

A group exhibition at Maria Anto’s studio in Warsaw, 1984; standing from left: Paweł Baranowski, Ryszard Woźniak, Ryszard Grzyb, behind them: Jarosław Modzelewski, turned away: Jolanta Szymanowska-Grzyb with her son Marcin; photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

Viewers at a group exhibition at Maria Anto’s studio; in the background, paintings by Jarosław Modzelewski, 1984; photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- pages 186–187**

Composition devoted to the memory of murdered Father Jerzy Popiełuszko at *Apocalypse – Light in the Darkness* exhibiiti on staged in 1984 at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

Włodzimierz Borowski’s installation at *Apocalypse – Light in the Darkness* exhibition staged in 1984 at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

Professor Janusz Bogucki (curator of the exhibition) at *Apocalypse – Light in the Darkness* exhibiiti on staged in 1984 at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

- pages 188–189**

Paintings by Stanisław Rodziński at the exhibition *Towards a Person* in the cloisters of the Dominicans’ monastery in Kraków, 1985, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Paintings by Zbylut Grzywacz at the exhibition *Towards a Person* in the cloisters of the Dominicans’ monastery in Kraków, 1985, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

An installation by Jerzy Kalina, (in the background) paintings by Marian Kępiński and Maria Anto at the exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, 1985, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

The exhibition *Against Evil, Against Violence* at St Maximilian Maria Kolbe Church in Krakow-Mistrzejowice, 1985, photo: Erazm Ciołek / Forum

- pages 190–191**

Paintings by Maciej Bieniasz, Zbylut Grzywacz and Aldona Mickiewicz at the exhibiiti on *Mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, included in the liturgy of Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow, 1986, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Sculptures by Adam Brincken and a painting by Teresa Stankiewicz at the exhibiiti on *Mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, included in the liturgy of Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow, 1986, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Sculpture by Adam Brincken, paintings by Leszek Sobocki at the exhibition *Mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, included in the liturgy of Holy Week in the crypt of the Piarist Church in Krakow, 1986, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 192–193**

Easter installation by Nina Smolarz and Michał Bogucki as part of *The Path of Light* – ecumenical meetings at the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street, Warsaw, 1987, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

Installation by Janusz Bogucki, Nina Smolarz and Jan Turnau as part of *The Path of Light* – ecumenical meetings at the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street, Warsaw, 1987, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

Installation by Janusz Bogucki, Nina Smolarz and Jan Turnau as part of *The Path of Light* – ecumenical meetings at the Church of Divine Mercy in Żytnia Street, Warsaw, 1987, photo: Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski

- pages 194–195**

Tadeusz Boruta’s paintings at the 2nd National Exhibition of Young Painters *The Way and the Truth* at the Church of the Holy Cross in Wroclaw, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

2nd National Exhibition of Young Painters *The Way and the Truth* at the Church of the Holy Cross in Wroclaw, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

- pages 196–197**

Paintings by Grzegorz Bednarski at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Paintings by Leszek Sobocki and Wiesław Obrzydowski and works by Zbigniew Bajek at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Sculpture by Jerzy Bereś at the exhibition *All Our Daily Affairs* in the cloisters of the Dominican Monastery in Krakow, 1987, photo: Tadeusz Boruta

Uncensored

Polish Independent Art of the 1980s

index

Maria Anto 2, 39, 44, 45, 90–91, 185, 189, 199
Zbigniew Bajek 2, 30–31, 53, 66, 92–93, 196, 199
Grzegorz Bednarski 2, 28, 37, 94–95, 196, 199
Krzysztof Michał Bednarski 2, 26–27, 30, 96–97, 199
Jerzy Bereś 22, 23, 39, 84, 85, 87, 197
Maciej Bieniasz 2, 28, 32, 36, 52, 67, 98, 190, 199
Andrzej Bierkowski 12
Janusz Bogucki 15, 38, 41, 187, 193
Michał Bogucki 192
Anna Beata Bohdziewicz 16
Tadeusz Boruta 2, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 28, 37, 54–55, 61, 65, 66, 69, 100–101, 148, 188, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199
Jerzy Brukwicki 39
Ernest Bryll 36, 52, 53, 75
Tadeusz Brzozowski 2, 28, 37, 102–103, 199
Adam Bujak 16
Ewa Ciepielewska 2, 48, 49, 104–105, 199
Erazm Ciolek 2, 13, 15, 16, 21, 29, 33, 34, 81, 134–135, 166–167, 171, 180–185, 189, 199, 200, 201
Leszek Danilczyk 15
Miroslaw Dembiński 2, 29, 32, 33, 199
Jan Dobkowski 22
Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło 2, 46, 49, 106–107, 199
Father Mirosław Drzewiecki 15, 46
Jan Dziędziora 2, 67, 199
Halina Eysymont 2, 44, 199
Janusz Eysymont 2, 40–41, 180, 184, 199
Marta Fik 20, 76
Waldemar “Major” Fydrych 29, 32
Jerzy Giedroyc 20
Stefan Gierowski 2, 41, 67, 80–81, 108–109, 134–135, 199
Jarosław Maciej Goliszewski 12, 16–17, 186–187, 192–193
Przemysław Gintrowski 67
Marek Grechuta 67
Ryszard Grzyb 2, 46, 50, 110–111, 185, 199
Zbysław Grzywacz 2, 32, 36, 67, 112–113, 188, 190, 199
Henryk Hermanowicz 16
Krzyszyna Janda 14, 72
Konrad Jarodski 15, 46
Janusz Kaczmarski 2, 44, 45, 199
Kazimierz Kaczor 20
Tadeusz Kaczyński 20
Jerzy Kalina 2, 22, 28, 30, 32–33, 39, 41, 44, 45, 52, 53, 81, 82, 83, 114–115, 189, 200
Marian Kępiński 2, 36, 44, 45, 52, 116–117, 189, 200
Krzysztof Kiesłowski 67
Marek Kijewski 2, 48, 51, 118–119, 200
Andrzej Kijowski 20
Grzegorz Kłaman 2, 38–39, 50–51, 120–121, 200
Krzysztof Knittel 20
Jerzy Kośnik 2, 33, 170, 200
Paweł Kowalewski 2, 46, 50, 122–123, 200
Grzegorz Królikiewicz 2, 53, 200
Cezary Krysztopa 54
Paweł Kwiek 21
Eugeniusz Lokajski 15
Zdzisław tapiński 67
Olgierd Łukasiewicz 14
Józef Łukomski 16–17
Maciej Macierzyński 2, 33, 200
Stanisław Markowski 2, 16, 179, 200
Zbigniew Marian Markiewicz aka Mark Carrot 2, 33, 82, 200
Aldona Mickiewicz 2, 28, 36, 52, 126–127, 190, 200
Czesław Miłosz 20
Piotr Młodożeniec 2, 29, 32, 33, 45, 55, 128–129, 200
Jarosław Modzelewski 2, 36, 46–47, 50, 51, 130–131, 166–167, 185, 200

Andrzej Możejko 2, 167, 181, 183, 184, 200, 201
Eugeniusz Mucha 2, 36, 132–133, 201
Teresa Murak 2, 38, 40–41, 80–81, 82, 87, 134–135, 201
Chris Niedenthal 2, 33, 170, 174–175, 201
Father Wiesław Aleksander Niewęglowski 12, 67
Jerzy Nowosielski 66
Wiesław Obrzydowski 65, 196
Kazimierz Orłoś 20
Andrzej Osęka 20, 65, 67, 68
Irena Palka 20
Włodzimierz Pawlak 2, 26–27, 50–51, 53, 79, 136–137, 201
Jerzy Piotrowicz 2, 37, 87, 138–139, 201
Father Jerzy Popieluszko 9, 44, 45, 67, 79, 83, 84, 86, 87, 186, 202
Father Andrzej Przekaziński 66, 68
Wiesław Pożarski 12
Julian Raczko 81, 135
Stanisław Rodziński 2, 15, 19, 28, 42, 67, 140–141, 188, 201
Marek Rostworowski 15, 39
Zofia Rydet 16
Jan Rylke 2, 12, 20, 28, 35, 144–145, 201
Marek Sapetto 2, 13, 21, 39, 42, 43, 146–147, 166–167, 180, 183, 201
Jacek Sempoliński 2, 28, 67, 148–149, 201
Jacek Sienicki 2, 28, 37, 69, 184, 202
Krzysztof Skarbek 20
Hanna Skarżanka 67
Nina Smolarz 15, 38, 41, 192, 193
Leszek Sobocki 2, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 67, 79, 80, 86, 150–151, 191, 196, 202
Stanisław Sobolewski 2, 28, 29, 35, 65, 152–153, 202
Jacek Sroka 2, 28, 29, 48–49, 154–155, 202
Andrzej Stawiarski 14, 22
Dorota Strynkiewicz 67
Janusz Ścisłowski 20
Wiesław Szamborski 2, 39, 42, 43, 167, 180, 202
Andrzej Szczepkowski 20
Tomasz Tatarczyk 2, 46, 158–159, 182, 184, 202
Jerzy Tchórzewski 2, 39, 42, 43, 44, 67, 202
Krzysztof Tchórzewski 2, 53, 202
Father Tadeusz Uszyński 12
Andrzej Wajda 14, 36, 53, 71–77, 202
Ireneusz Walczak 2, 28, 37, 160–161, 202
Jacek Waltoś 2, 28, 29, 32, 33, 67, 68–69, 162–163, 202
Aleksander Wojciechowski 20, 21, 44, 67, 68, 82, 84, 86, 180, 181, 183
Ryszard Woźniak 2, 46, 47, 50, 164–165, 185, 199, 202, 203
Krzysztof Wójcik 2, 33, 171, 203
Danuta Wróblewska 65, 66, 67, 68
Andrzej Zwierzchowski 2, 28, 52, 203

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank all the museums, galleries, photo agencies, estates, collectors and artists for lending works for the exhibition

Centre of Polish Sculpture in Orońsko, Eastnews, Forum, Gliwice Museum, Historical Museum of Krakow, Jacek Malczewski Museum in Radom, Katowice Archdiocese Museum, Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum in Bydgoszcz, Łódź Film School, Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology in Krakow, Museum of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, Museum of Katowice History, National Museum in Krakow, National Museum in Warsaw, National Museum in Wrocław, Silesian Museum in Katowice, TVP, Upper Silesian Museum in Bytom, Video Studio Gdańsk, "Washerwoman's House" Gallery of Contemporary Religious Art in Kielce, Warsaw Archdiocese Museum, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art

Zbigniew Bajek, Tadeusz Boruta, Agata Ciołek, Zbigniew Maciej Dowgiałło, Werner Jerke, Jerzy Kalina, Aldona Mickiewicz, Piotr Młodożeniec, Jarosław Modzelewski, Teresa Murak, Krzysztof Musiał, Jan Rylke, Jerzy Skolimowski, Stanisław Sobolewski, Jacek Sroka, Krzysztof Tchórzewski, Ireneusz Walczak, Marian Warzecha, Anna and Robert Wolak, Andrzej Zwierzchowski

CATALOGUE

Edited by **Tadeusz Boruta, Richard Drury** and **Daniel Echaust**

Scholarly review: **Jan Stanisław Wojciechowski**

Publishing coordination: **Arletta Wojtala, Sabina Winkler-Sokołowska**

Translation: **Marcin Wawrzyńczak**

Proofreading: **Nick Faulkner**

Creative concept & Graphic design:

Anna Warzyńska / studiofullglass

Publisher: **Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art**

Co-publisher: **Adam Mickiewicz Institute**

Printing and binding: **Argraf**

© Authors, Artists and Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art

Warsaw 2023

ISBN 978-83-67203-17-3

The catalogue was financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Republic of Poland.

Uncensored
Polish Independent Art of the 1980s



Ujazdowski

GASK



Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the Czech Republic



Central Bohemia Region