

Łesia Chomycz: About the Exhibition in Boryslav. Bruno Schulz's Two Debuts

Around 1918, after returning from Vienna to Drohobych, Bruno Schulz became active in the regional intellectual and artistic environment. In 1920, his name was listed among the members of the artistic group “Kalleia”¹. However, little is known about his life and work during this period. The artist worked on his *The Booke of Idolatry*, tried to improve his artistic skills by establishing contacts with artistic circles in Lviv, and looked for support for his “artistic aspirations”². He exhibited his works publicly for the first time at the 1st Exhibition of Jewish Art³. Later, in May 1921, he took part in an exhibition in the building of the Drohobych junior high school⁴. These were group exhibitions. His first

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- ¹ The “Kalleia” Society – a Jewish society of lovers of fine arts and sciences, was established in Drohobych on February 15, 1919. It was then headed by Herman Sandig. The society had its premises in Nappe’s tenement house at ul. Mickiewicza (second floor). In the fall of 1921, the society changed its name to “the Scientific and Literary Circle”, and its president was Klemens Funkenstein. It probably existed until the end of 1922. See DALO (Derzhavny Archive of the Lviv Region), f. 1, op. 54, p. 426. “Sprawa pro rejestraciju polskoho kulturno-proswitnickoho towarystwa ‘Koło naukowo-literackie’ (Act of registration of the Polish cultural and educational society Koło Naukowo-Literackie), ark. 7. See also: “Bruno Schulz i drohobyćka tworcza spółka Kalleja”, [in:] B. Łazorak, L. Tymoshenko, Ł. Chomycz, I. Czawa, *Widomyj i newidomyj Bruno Schulz* (sociokulturnyj portret Drohobycza), ed. L. Tymoshenko, Drohobych 2016, p. 234–266 (Б. Лазорак, Л. Тимошенко, Л. Хомич, І. Чава, Відомий і невідомий Бруно Шульц (соціокультурний портрет Дро гобича), ed. Л. Тимошенко, Дрогобич 2016), hereinafter: B. Łazorak et al.
 - ² Letter from Bruno Schulz to Ostap Ortwin from May 1921, [in:] B. Schulz, *Dziela zebrane*, t. 5: *Księga listów*, zebrał i przygotował do druku J. Ficowski, uzupełnił S. Danecki, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2016, p. 33.
 - ³ U. Makowska, “*Dziwna awersja*”. *O wystawach Schulza*, “Schulz/Forum” 13, 2019, p. 14. English translation available in this issue.
 - ⁴ On May 22, 1921, in the auditorium of the King Władysław Jagiełło State Junior High School in Drohobych, the opening of a collective exhibition of seven artists took place: of Włodzimierz Błocki, Ludwik Misky, Antoni Markowski, Kazimierz Łotocki, Adolf Bienenstock, Bruno Schulz and Estera Bienenstockowa (de domo Weingarten). The paintings could be viewed and purchased for two weeks, every day from 11.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. The exhibition included nearly eighty works, including a dozen by Schulz. Compared to the exhibition in Boryslav, the reviewer distinguishes two works by Schulz – the pencil drawing “Omfale” and the painting “Dziewczęta” [Girls]: (fr), *Zbiorowa wystawa obrazów*, “Świt”, April 15, 1921, no. 8, p. 7; *Wystawa obrazów*, “Świt”, May 15, 1921, no. 10, p. 7; *Wystawa obrazów w Drohobyczu*, “Chwila”, May 29, 1921, no. 849, p. 10; Al. Stewe, *Z wystawy obrazów*, “Świt”, June 1, 1921, no. 11, p. 6–7.

individual exhibition, as it recently turned out, took place in the second half of March 1921 in Boryslav⁵.

Most scholars agree that Schulz worked on *The Booke of Idolatry* before he started to concentrate on literature; it is generally believed that his literary talent was revealed quite late⁶. Jerzy Ficowski admits that Schulz made attempts at writing in an earlier period, but the earliest specific information he offers is for the period of 1925 to 1926⁷. The only test of “mastery of words”, according to Ficowski, must have been correspondence with confidants and friends, but the lack of epistolary proof from this period in the writer’s archive does not allow us to determine if that was indeed the case. Jerzy Jarzębski assumes that Schulz’s literary work began suddenly, and immediately became fully mature and perfect⁸. Władysław Panas draws attention to the masterful literary debut Schulz made in his early forties. Panas, the author of the concept of the “infinite intrigue” in the life and work of Bruno Schulz, also writes about “the Schulz phenomenon”, “which is characterized, among other things, by an almost infinite ability to generate ever new and new and new stories”⁹. Today, another new story, a new biographical thread appears before us.

This essay will discuss the individual debut of Schulz, the visual artist, as well as the hypothetical literary debut related to it¹⁰. The issue of Schulz’s participation in exhibitions in Boryslav has been partially discussed before¹¹. The hypothesis about the artist’s literary attempts in the early 1920s, though, is put forward here for the first time.

The collection of the Lviv Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library includes incomplete annuals of the Boryslav-Drohobych biweekly “Świt”¹². The uncut pages of the newspaper showed that it was being read for the first time¹³. There

5 *Kultura i oświata. Urządzona staraniem Sekcji Oświatowej Z.U.N. wystawa obrazów i grafiki oryginalnej Brunona Schulza, “Świt”, March 15, 1921, no. 6, p. 6.*

6 “Debiut literacki”, [in:] *Słownik schulzowski*, oprac. W. Bolecki, J. Jarzębski, S. Rosiek, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2006, p. 80.

7 J. Ficowski, *Regions of the Great Heresy. Bruno Schulz: A Biographical Portrait*, translated and edited by Theodosia Robertson, New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company 2003, chapter “The Prehistory and Origin of Cinnamon Shops”.

8 J. Jarzębski, *Schulz*, Wrocław: Ossolineum 1999, p. 6.

9 W. Panas, *Willa Bianki. Mały przewodnik drohobycki dla przyjaciół (fragmenty)*, Lublin 2006, p. 16.

10 This was the first publication in the press.

11 B. Łazorak et al., op. cit., p. 374; Ł. Chomycz, “Do charakterystyki twórczości Bruno Schulza u perszji połowyni 20-ch rokiw (za materiałami borisławsko-drohobyckoj hazety Świt)”, w: *Drohobyckij krajeznawczyj zbirnyk*, ed. L. Tymoshenko, W. Aleksandrowycz, Ł. Winar, Ł. Wojtowycz, vol. XIX–XX, Drohobycz–Koło 2017, p. 307–315; U. Makowska, op. cit., p. 5–34.

12 “Świt. Organ urzędników naftowych w Borysławiu”, R. 1: 1921, no. 1–24; R. 2: 1922, no. 25–36; R. 3: 1923, no. 49–53, 66–71; vol. 4: 1924, no. 73–83 (Lviv Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine, Marian and Ivanna Koc Scientific Department of Periodical Editions).

13 The research visit was conducted at the beginning of 2016 while I was working on the collective monograph *Widomyj i niewidomyj Bruno Schulz (sociokulturnyj portret Drohobycza)*.

Kumer podwójny.

№ 39800

ŚWIT

ORGAN URZĘDNIKÓW NAFTOWYCH W BORYSLAWIU.

Wychodzi co 1. i 15. każdego miesiąca.

REDAKCJA I ADMINISTRACJA: DROHOBYCZ, DESKARNIA LORWENKOPFA.
REDAKCJA PRETYBLICE W KATOLICZANIE OD 11.—12. PRZEPOL. — REKORISOW NIE ZWIERA SIĘ

Ceny ogłoszeń i Ceny stron: Mj. 3000.—, 1/2 str. Mj. 2000.—, 1/2 str. Mj. 1400.—, 1/2 str. Mj. 700.—, 1/2 str. Mj. 400.—.
Dobrym i ładnym po Mj. 32.— za słowo w tygodniowym druku; za druk listy podwójnej.

Cena egzemplarza podwójnego 60 Mk.

Nr. 25-26 Boryslaw-Drohobycz, dnia 15. stycznia 1922. Rok II.

Roczny bilans naszej pracy.

Dnia 1. stycznia 1921. opadł prąd pierwszy numer „Świta”. Rozpoczął się miesiąc ciężkiej pracy, wśród pięknym się nierzadnie przeszkód, które walczyć musielimy na każdym kroku. Kłód z nas nie pamięta oszczędzić, jakie na nas szłażano po wyjściu pierwszego numeru? Mamo wszystko wystrząsnąć.

I dał, barzo na zachęcając prąd, a dąm, możemy skomunikować, że opublikujemy nakazony na nasz obowiązek. W końcu: czuj! tego obowiązek, dla dobra kolegów, nie zapomniał podwójny. Hitem naszym było „wspólnie pracować i wspólnie walczyć o poprawę naszego bycia i o wywołanie „naszego dachu” (Nr. 1). W programowym artykule tego numeru czytamy dalej: „Jako pracownicy myślowi widzimy w robotach naszych braci. Jemy ten sam gorzki chleb i tę samą masę dążeń do godności ludzkiej. Z wspólnych sił do wspólnych ideałów naprzód, tam, gdzie świat”. W imię tych ideałów rozpoczęliśmy wydawanie naszego organu. W lasem, niejaki piór jeden z kolegów: „Przyśła nasz walczyć nie będzie targiem z drobną wspania data, ale będzie walczyć o inne jelsa”.

Pierwszy numer wydał ogólną sensację. Kole'cy z entuzjazmem wzięli własny organ, który tak energicznie podjął obronę ich interesów. Rozpoczął się w każdym kierunku dyktando na temat zadań kulturalnych naszej pracy, dzięki której ogłoszono cykl wykładów i odczytów. Nowy prąd refleksyjował Zagłębie. Zobowiązania naszego towarzyszy poczęły czuć wiarciłość duchowe. Z drugiej strony przewodnicy nie stawiali w miastem oszczędzić, chęć nas w ten sposób zastąpić. W artykule „Z naszej trybuny” (nr. 1) pisaliśmy: „Odczuwamy dobrane siłki naszych oszczędzić, przeto nam skierowanych. Przypadłowa identyczność nazwy naszego numeru nawet zagrozić piórnika o rzekomo więcej niż radykalnych tendencjach, była między innymi wywołana bronią w rękach naszych przeciwników”.

numerze sekcji kulturalna asystacja dalszy postę przez ogłoszenie szeregu karnów i wykładów. Zastano prawnego rodzaju oszczędzić, który dalszy się liczą brkewencja.

Zawierła w grudniu 1920 umowa, skutkiem której wzmocniła dalszy, nie zapomniała w całości zgład kolegów. Waleczność nowy numeru, którego pierwszy (sic!) do dnia dalszego się wstrzymywano. Memorjał ten stanowczo opozycyjny zawierał podstawy natury ekonomicznej i społecznej.

Trzeba również zwrócić uwagę, że wśród wielu kolegów skomunikowałyśmy zwrócić własnej godności. Ten numer w artykule „Dobrota własnej godności”, wstrząśną kolegów do ustanowienia własnego „pr”, osobliwej godności. Natomiast, że niektórzy dyrektorowie, dla których niema się świętego, prócz mamony, który wogóle w bagaż boryslawskim zatrudni wszelkie poruczenie sprawiłaśności, wrode pomócili się na autorów artykułu.

Dnia 9. lutego 1921. odbyło się Walne Zgromadzenie Z. U. N. Nowy, składające sprawozdanie z działalności sekcji redakcyjnej, omówiło znaczenie organu i zapowiedziało, że „Świt” będzie stał na straży wspólnych interesów, prócz tego chce być także wybitnym czynnikiem kulturalnym i przeciwnikiem najczarniejszych ideałów.

W imię Związku rozpoczęły się jednakowe targi, co do jego charakteru i kierunku. Ciężka, bezczelności, których wiktoryi nigdy nie pracowała dla Związku, idąc na lep oszczędzić, ale bez treści, bezcelowej, bez głębszego objęcia naszego problemu ekonomicznego, bez zastosowania się nad naszymi stosunkami, postanowiła narodzić nam swoje przekonania. Redakcja, która stała na stanowisku wolności prasy, nie chciała się pomać na takie stanowisko.

Zwołano w tej sprawie poraż wstę Nadzwyczajne Walne Zgromadzenie, po referencji przewodniczącego Redakcji, uchwalono, że Z. U. N. mając na celu poprawę stosunków ekonomicznych i kulturalnych współpracowników

30 20 10 0 10 20 30
A. P. J.

Title page of the bi-weekly magazine Świt [Dawn] (1922, issue 25–26). Vasył Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv

on the next page excerpt from Marceli Weron's short story Undula **Undula**

odwizyta się za zaproszeniem i bezpartijnym Związku. Zamierza swoich ludzi, słownie program pracy porzywać, odnieść, by z niej wyłonił cel jutra.

Rozpoczęła się praca: miedzi między gorliwa, ale spokojna, którzyby mogli sprowadzić nasze życie zawodowe na normalną tory. Niestety, wypadki sprawdził nas stając na przeszkodzie. Długotrwałe pertraktacje z robotnikami zwróciło, Pracodawcy nie chcieli „zmać” między zamiana, ani też zgodzić się na dotychczasowy faktyczny stan rzeczy. W artykule wstąpił pisałiny wiedzy: „Nie mając oparcia w silnej organizacji, jaką stworzyć mogliśmy, lecz nie chcieliśmy, zasilił się teraz między motem a kowadłem”. Wybuchł strajk majowy. Pracodawcy, wykorzystując naszą ciężką pokorzenie, wydali skłócić, by urzędników, którzy przystąpił do strajku, zamykając wydali. Równocześnie zarządy firm wzywają urzędników do jasnej deklaracji, że poddają się ich dyspozycjom. Sytuacja była w najwyższym stopniu przykra. Obłotnik Izby Pracodawców przekazał nas dobić o sposobach postępowania naszych panów. Wydział Związku, mając przed sobą faktem dokonany, pomysł długie, zaciągającego wobec robotników, rozwił jedynie na hookie dostrojenia, celem ochrony warunków pracy przed ewentualną zakłócenia elementarna. Wydział chciał też zapobiec możliwej interwencji wojskowej. Z tą ką na sercu możemy jeszcze raz zapewnić — codziennie wyjeżdżali na stację lwowskim — że nam nawet przez myśl nie przeszło, sikodzić robotnikom. Tymczasem niektórzy nieczekali mówić, w sposób demagogiczny wykorzystując się okoliczność, baryli ich przeciwko nam, a niektóre z działaników interesowanych pozwoliły sobie

zamieścić notatki o takiej treści, że reagować na nie byłoby bardziej naszej godności.

Przed wprowadzeniem wolnego handlu, „Swir” wracał się parę razy do kolegów, zwoływał zgromadzenia celom naradzenia się nad salicemion własnej kooperatywy. Temu zadaniu poświęcono specjalnie dwa artykuły: „Słaby społeczny” i „Ides kooperatywny”. W nich podano cel i znaczenie kooperatywy, przytem wstawiono na pierwsze zwłaki brytyjskie, które — male z pomocą — z biegiem czasu zamieniły się w obywatelstwo stowarzyszenia społeczne, zatrudniające tysiące robotników i urzędników.

W sierpniu postanowił Związek Urzędników we Lwowie rozpocząć kroki, mające na celu scentralizowanie wszystkich związków urzędniczych Małopolski. Dnia 4 września odbyła się we Lwowie konferencja naukowców ze wchodnią i zachodnią częścią kraju naszego. Na konferencji tej, w której wzięli udział prawie wszyscy członkowie Redakcji, padło hadzi ustawowego uregulowania norm pracy i płacy drogą Ich Urzędniczych. Tu nawiązywaliśmy kontakty z kolegami krakowskimi.

Dnia 28 września odbył się Zjazd wszystkich urzędników kraju. Redakcja i Związek wysłały swoich przedstawicieli. Zapadło od kolegów, by każdy był członkiem organizacji. Droga cępieł rezolucji domaga się legalnego zastępowania urzędników na zwiazek, oraz ustawowego uregulowania norm pracy i płacy. Zjazd był wypadkiem o doniosłym znaczeniu. Wszyscy w kraju pozostały nowe znaczenia: zorganizowali się urzędnicy drzewni, chemicy etc. tylko w nas — lenistwo i apatia nadal świdrzyły tryumfy.

FELJETON.

H. H.

Z A L.

Pogrzebane w grzechach my

*Wiatr rozwiłwa smętna liry
W dali głucha baryz dwoim...*

*Z steni twięgła wstaje mgła,
Taka smętna, jak ta liry,
Taka rozpaczna, jak jęł wron...*

*I jęłz mył przepraszaj ciek
Dawnych marzeń, dawnych ciek
I podobny oła lot.*

*Dziś — nie wolał — cicho — cęł —
Choć pogodny błętny lot*

Jak przystępny oła lot.

MARCELI BERG.

(Przedk i postępek bez powodu
w Redakcji wstawiony).

URDULA.

Musiły już spłynąć tygodnie, wieszące, od kiedy zamknęły jestem w tej samotni. Zapadłem wciąż na nowo w sen i mój się budzę i majaki jawy płonąć się z wytworami otoczony wosnej. Tak spływa — czas. Zdale nie się, że w tym długim krzywym pokoju już kiedyś dawno mieszkałem. Czasem odpornię to nad miazę wielkie meble sięgające do sufitu, że stały i prostego dębu, najelone zakorkosnymi grzami. Wielka, wiersamienna lampa z starej cęty zwiesza się ze stroga, kołysząc się z wika.

Leży w rogu długiego ślękiego łóżka, wypełniając zaledwie trzecią jego cępieł mem ciałem. Są chwile, w których pokój oświetlony żółtem światłem lampy glinie mi gładzi a oczu i czuję tylko w ciężkim berwałdzie myśli potęgny spokojny rytm oddechu, którym moja pierś się mierzowo podnosi. I w zgodzie z tym rytmem idzie oddech wszystkich rzeczy.

Sąży się czas mdłym spoczeniem lampy słonowej. Stare sprząty trząpkają i trzeszczą w ciury. Pasa mąz w głębi pokoju czają się i spiskują cienie, śpiżniane, krywe, polnane. Wyciągają długie szyje i zaglądnę mi poprzez ramiona. Nie odwracam się. I postępy?

is an interesting notice on one of the columns: "Exhibition of graphic works by the young artist Mr. Bruno Schulz"¹⁴. It might seem like just a small press release, but it aroused a lot of interest as a testimony to Schulz's first personal exhibition, about which nothing was known before.

Let us offer some detail about the source. The biweekly "Świt" was the official paper of the oil industry in Boryslav¹⁵. It was published from January 1, 1921 to June 1924. The position of responsible editor was held by: Konstanty Jaworski (January 1, 1921 – March 1, 1921), Wiktor Koreywo (March 15, 1921 – October 15, 1921) and Klemens Funkenstein (November 15, 1921 – June 1924). The periodical was created on the initiative of the latter¹⁶. The editorial office and administration were initially located in Boryslav, and from September 15, 1921 in Drohobych. The newspaper was printed in Józef Loewenkopf's printing house in Drohobych. As the editorial office reported, "Świt" was the only press organ in the oil basin. The newspaper was published biweekly – on the first and fifteenth day of each month – and the circulation in 1921–1924 ranged from 900 to 1,000 copies. The issues consisted of 8–12 pages of small format. In the first issue, the editors presented their goals to the readers, emphasizing that as free citizens of a free country, they want to follow the slogan of cultural development and progress¹⁷. "Świt" discussed issues of the oil industry, published current news from the Drohobych-Boryslav oil basin, and addressed subjects related to education, culture, literature and artistic life in the region. Poems and literary sketches appeared frequently. Many of the publishing authors were members of the Drohobych group "Kalleia", including, among others, Dr. Ludwik Alter, Dr. Michał Friedländer, Maks Propper, Zygmunt Sternbach, Juliusz Witkower, and Marek Dörfler. In June 1924, the newspaper changed its name to "Dwutygodnik Naftowy" [Oil Weekly] and was published under this title from August 1, 1924 to December 15, 1926¹⁸.

14 *Kultura i oświata*, "Świt", March 1, 1921, no. 5, p. 7.

15 "Świt", initially addressed only to administrative officials in Boryslav, soon also gathered representatives of other organizations of white-collar workers in the Boryslav oil area, especially the Association of Petroleum Technicians. As early as in 1923, it became the governing body of the Team of Unions of Intellectual Workers in the Oil Industry in Boryslav. See *Nowy rok – nowa praca*, "Dwutygodnik Naftowy", January 1, 1926, No. 1 (119), p. 1.

16 B. Łazorak et al., op. cit., p. 244.

17 *Nasze cele*, "Świt", January 1, 1921, no. 1, p. 1

18 "Dwutygodnik Naftowy. Organ Zespołu Związków Pracowników Umysłowych Przemysłu Naftowego w Borysławiu" [Dwutygodnik Naftowy. Organ of the Association of White-collar Employees of the Oil Industry in Boryslav]. The decision to change the title and format of "Świt" was made on January 14, 1924, during the extraordinary general meeting of the Association of White-collar Workers of the Oil Industry in Boryslav. The process of establishing a new editorial board lasted over half a year. Finally, on August 1, 1924, the first issue of "Dwutygodnik Naftowy" was published. Until April 15, 1925, the newspaper was the organ of the Union of White-collar Employees

It is not known exactly why Schulz chose Boryslav as the venue for his first individual exhibition. In the interwar period, it was a city full of contrasts. According to Stanisław Nicieja, it offered a combination of American panache with eastern backwardness. Despite the abundance of natural resources in the region, it was strikingly poor. Among the modern buildings, there were crooked cottages and poor shop windows next to rich ones. The widespread filth made a particularly off-putting impression. The streets were drowning in mud, from which only unusual wooden sidewalks on high stilts saved them¹⁹. The intelligentsia stood out among the oil officials; apart from them, most of the sixteen thousand inhabitants of the city were workers, some of them – people of low moral culture, louts and rowdies²⁰. Most likely, the location of the exhibition in Boryslav was chosen by its organizer – the Educational Section of the Boryslav branch of the Association of Oil Officials (Związek Urzędników Naftowych, hereinafter referred to as ZUN). The events organized by it were mostly held in Boryslav and then repeated in Drohobych.

The Association of Administrative Oil and Wax Officials in Galicia, based in Boryslav, was established in 1920–21²¹. The idea of creating a cultural centre was

of the Oil Industry in Boryslav; from May 1, 1925 to December 15, 1926 – a body of the Trade Union of White-Collar Workers of the Petroleum Industry in Poland. Until January 1, 1926, Klemens Funkenstein was the editor-in-chief; in the last year of publication (1926) – Benedykt Klimek took the role. The editors intended to combine the values of the work of administrative officials in "Świt" with the former work of technicians in the "Ropa" magazine – "Dwutygodnik Naftowy", unlike its predecessor, limited the section of fiction and art criticism to a minimum. Most of the attention was paid to the issues of the oil industry not only in the region, but also throughout Poland. Regular columns included Professional Affairs; Zagłębie Chronicle; National Oil Chronicle; Foreign Chronicle; Legislative Chronicle; Oil Values; Culture and Education; From the Concert Hall; From Books and Magazines Sent. Column headings had their own vignettes; the vignettes, including the title one, were designed by Władysław Kara. Among literary publications, the largest group were poems by Juliusz Witkower. Among his collaborators from the times of "Świt", Schulz's friend, Emanuel Pilpel, continued to publish in the paper. He was probably a member of the editorial staff, too. His area of interest was the oil industry in Poland and abroad. Pilpel's texts, especially in the years 1925–1926, appeared in virtually every issue, sometimes even several at a time. The most extensive and different from the other texts is the psychological sketch "Tłum". Cf. Emanuel Pilpel, *Chińskie cienie. Sylweta redakcyjna*, "Świt", June 15, 1921, no. 12, p. 2–3; idem, *Chińskie cienie. Migawki z Truskawca*, "Świt", August 15, 1921, No. 16, p. 2–3; idem, *Targi Wschodnie* "Świt", October 15, 1921, no. 19–20, pp. 2–3; idem, *Światowy problem gospodarczej odbudowy*, "Świt", April 15, 1922, no. 31–32, p. 1–3; idem, *Tłum*, "Dwutygodnik Naftowy", July 1, 1926, No. 13 (131), p. 5–7; and individual publications: July 15, 1926, No. 14 (132), p. 5–7; August 1, 1926, No. 15 (133), p. 7–9; August 15, 1926, No. 16 (134), p. 4–6; December 1, 1926, No. 23 (141), p. 5–8; December 15, 1926, No. 24 (142), p. 3–5.

19 S. Nicieja, *Kresowe Trójmiasto. Truskawiec–Drohobycz–Boryslav*, Opole 2009, p. 168–172.

20 In 1921, Boryslav had 16,400 inhabitants, including almost 2,000 intellectuals. See W. Pawłowski, *Boryslav – stolica Polskiego Zagłębia Naftowego (do 1939 roku)*, "Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Przyjaciół Ziemi Drohobyckiej" 2017, no. 20, p. 41, 43; Al. Stewe, *Oświata w Zagłębiu Boryslawskim*, "Świt", May 15, 1922, no. 33–34, p. 5.

21 Jews predominated there – 90% of the administrative staff were people of Jewish origin. Cf. W. Pawłowski, op. cit., p. 48.

born in the community, and gained support in the region. For this purpose, the ZUN Education Committee was established. It was divided into four sections devoted to educational, play and drama, music, and propaganda²². The educational section was particularly active. It occupied a premises in ul. Pańska in the building of Bloch's Warsaw Café²³. Its activities included Saturday discussion evenings, public readings and lectures, exhibitions, concerts and other events. Meetings with famous writers were popular²⁴, including Józef Wittlin, Jan Lechoń, Antoni Słonimski, Julian Tuwim²⁵, Juliusz Kaden Bandrowski²⁶, Waclaw Sieroszewski²⁷, and reciter Kazimiera Rychterówna²⁸. Incidentally, Schulz probably had one of these meetings in mind when, years later, he mentioned it in an exalted letter to Julian Tuwim, in which he informed the addressee of the "despair of helpless admiration" he experienced during his performance²⁹. The educational section also organized foreign language courses and established a library. The main places of activity in Boryslav were the People's House, the "Sokół" building, the ZUN headquarters, and the House of the Technicians' Union³⁰.

We can only guess how the exhibition was organised. Some work must have been done by Izidor Schulz, who had just been appointed director of the representative office of the joint-stock company "Galicja" in Warsaw³¹ and was a member of the National Petroleum Society³². Similarly, Schulz's cousin Henryk Kuhmärker must have helped, too; in the 1920s, he became the director of the

22 fr., *Kultura i oświata*, "Świt", January 1, 1921, no. 1, p. 9.

23 *Kultura i oświata*, "Świt", January 15, 1921, no. 2, p. 6

24 On December 19 and 20, 1921, Józef Wittlin's author evenings were held in Boryslav and Drohobycz: Al. St., *Odczyty Józefa Wittlina*, "Świt", January 15, 1922, no. 25–26, p. 10.

25 At the end of October 1923, an "evening of three authors: Lechoń, Słonimski and Tuwim" took place in Drohobycz. It gained considerable publicity: the evening "was the scene of vulgar scenes and wild brawls, bordering on scandal. When Julian Tuwim appeared on the stage, a dozen or so school-age students, for unknown reasons, began to howl terribly and threw a hail of rotten apples at the famous poet. Panic broke out in Sokół's room, and Mr. Tuwim, under the pressure of such arguments, had to withdraw from the stage" – *Wieczór 3 autorów*, "Świt", November 15–December 1, 1923, no. 70–71, p. 9–10.

26 Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski gave a lecture on the role of the book in contemporary Polish literature – (st), *Odczyty*, "Świt", April 1–April 15, 1924, no. 79–80, p. 9.

27 Waclaw Sieroszewski gave a lecture titled *Na wulkanach Japonji* [On the Volcanoes of Japan] on May 16, 1924: St. St., *Odczyty*, "Świt", June 1924, No. 83, p. 9.

28 In October 1923, Kazimiera Rychterówna recited poems on stages in Boryslav and Drohobycz. It was then that Bruno Schulz became acquainted with her. *Z teatru. Kazimiera Rychterówna*, "Świt", September 15–October 1, 1923, no. 66–67, p. 11; (Elgot), *Kazimiera Rychterówna*, "Świt", October 15–November 1, 1923, no. 68–69, p. 10.

29 B. Schulz, *Księga listów*, op. cit., p. 49.

30 (m.), *Z pracy oświatowej w Boryslawiu*, "Świt", April 1, 1921, no. 7, p. 6.

31 B. Łazorak, *Wpływowy brat Izidor (Baruch, Izrael) Schulz*, "Schulz/Forum" 3, 2014, p. 99.

32 Izidor, elected as a member of the society's branch in the early 1920s, remained a member until his death. Cf. *Krajowe Towarzystwo Naftowe "Świt"*, February 15, 1922, no. 27–28, p. 6. DALO, f. 1, op. 54, sp. 1185: National oil company in Lviv, ark. 116; B. Łazorak, op. cit., p. 100.

Drohobych refinery “Galicja”³³. Both had influence and relationships among oil officials.

However, most likely, Schulz’s relationship with the “Kalleia” group played a key role. Its members were the promoters of the exhibition: the president of “Kalleia” and editor of “Świt”, Klemens Funkenstein. It likely that Schulz met him in Vienna, where Funkenstein lived for some time as a correspondent of “Gazeta Warszawska”³⁴; Stanisław Weingarten – oil company official, admirer of Schulz’s art works³⁵; Dr. Michał Friedländer – member of the board of the “Kalleia” society, and most importantly, chairman of the Educational Section of ZUN³⁶.

33 A. Kaszuba-Dębska, *Kobiety i Schulz*, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2016, p. 307.

34 Klemens Funkenstein (1875–January 26, 1939) was known as an activist of professional organizations of white-collar workers. He attended schools in Lviv, then started law studies in Vienna, where he gained popularity with his first literary texts published, among others, in “Arbeiter-Zeitung” and “Oesterreichische Monatshefte”, he was also a correspondent of “Gazeta Warszawska”. He interrupted his studies and started working on the state railways. At the end of 1918 or at the beginning of 1919, he moved to Drohobych. He took a job at the Silva Plana oil company, where he actively tried to organize white-collar workers in the oil industry, and over time he expanded his activities to all employees. In 1922, he moved to Lviv. He founded the Union of Oil Workers, and also organized the General Trade Union, which he headed for many years, and the Lviv District Council of the Union of Intellectual Workers. He was the co-founder and editor-in-chief of the newspapers “Świt” (1921–1924) and “Dwutygodnik Naftowy” (1924–1925), in the years 1921–1922 he was the chairman of the Scientific and Literary Society (formerly “Kalleia”), a member of the Union of Oil Officials in Boryslav. See BP, *Klemens Funkenstein*, “Chwila”, January 27, 1939, no. 7129, p. 6; B. Łazorak et al., op. cit., p. 244.

35 Stanisław Weingarten (ca. 1890–1943) was born in Kamionka Strumiłowa (now Kamionka Bużańska), and attended schools in Lviv. However, it is known that on September 7, 1914, he left Drohobych for Vienna. Apparently, he moved to Drohobych earlier and returned after the war. For many years, he was employed as a clerk at the “Galicja” Oil Company. Because of his duties, he moved to Lviv and then to Łódź. In 1939, looking for salvation, he returned to Drohobych. In 1943, together with the last group of Drohobych Jews, he was murdered in the Bronicki Forest. Weingarten was a lover of art and music. In the 1920s, he was a member of the Drohobych creative group “Kalleia”. He had a lasting friendship with Schulz. He collected the artist’s works. It was thanks to Weingarten that Schulz’s works were transported to Łódź and were saved from destruction. The only surviving oil painting by Bruno Schulz, “Spotkanie” [Meeting] (1920), comes from this collection. See *Słownik schulzowski*, p. 408–409; *Księga pamiątkowa i adresowa wygnańców wojennych z Galicyi i Bukowiny 1914–1915* and *Album pamiątkowy, cz. III: Prowincya i Bukowina*, Wiedeń 1915, p. 39

36 Michał Friedländer (1894–1942/1943?) was born in Skole. In 1912, he graduated from high school in Drohobych. He began his studies in Vienna. In the early 1920s, he was a member of the Drohobych group “Kalleia”. In 1921–1922, he worked as an oil official in Boryslav. From January to April 1921, he headed the Educational Section of ZUN. Perhaps he resigned on his own initiative due to criticism of his activities. However, he apparently returned to his position, since the following year he was again mentioned as Section Chairman. In 1923, he began working as a teacher at the Private Junior High School and Co-educational Secondary School of the Private Polish Real Junior High School Society for Boryslav and Tustani. Therefore, he resigned from active membership in ZUN. For his services in creating the trade union library (opened on July 1, 1922), on March 10, 1924, he received the title of honorary member of ZUN. He was a collaborator of the ZUN organ – the biweekly “Świt”, later renamed “Dwutygodnik Naftowy”. At that time, he published under pseudonyms and codenames (M.Fr., fr, Al. Steve, Al. Steve, Al. St., al. st., st.). On May 15, 1921,

Friedländer was an exceptional figure – he published a lot, also under a pseudonym and codenames. He was interested in education and culture, he worked as a teacher, he gave public lectures, published several brochures on literary topics³⁷. He was the author of most of the notes related to the Schulz exhibition. He also personally opened the exhibition on behalf of the Educational Section.

Schulz's opening took place on Sunday, March 13, 1921 at 11:00 a.m. at the House of the Technicians' Union³⁸ at ul. Kościuszki 82, near the city hall. The building was owned by the Folk School Society, and the Association of Drilling Technicians also had its premises there³⁹. On the ground floor, the veranda of

he withdrew from the editorial office for personal reasons, but until the end of 1924, in addition to official statements as the chairman of the ZUN Educational Section, he continued to publish his own texts under a pseudonym. At the end of 1924, he moved to Cracow, where he continued his educational activities. According to the testimony of Leopold Held, Friedländer was murdered by the Nazis in Brody. The exact date of his death is unknown (approximately 1942 or 1943). Cf. *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji C. K. Gimnazjum im. Franciszka Józefa w Drohobyczcu za rok szkolny 1912*, p. 92; DALO, f. 1., op. 54, pp. 426: *Sprawa pro rejestrację polskiego kulturno-proswitnickiego towarzystwa "Koło naukowo-literackie"*, sheet 6; Dr. MF, *List do Redakcji*, "Świt", April 15, 1921, No. 8, p. 6–7; *Kronika*, "Świt", May 15, 1921, no. 10, p. 5; *Jedna z młodszych*, *Głos młodej koleżanki*, "Świt", April 15, 1922, no. 31–32, p. 7; *Walne Zgromadzenie Z.U.N.*, "Świt", February 1, 1923, no. 51, p. 2–4; *Z ruchu zawodowego*, "Świt", March 1–15, 1924, no. 77–78, p. 6; Z. Zagórowski, *Spis nauczycieli szkół wyższych, średnich, zawodowych, seminarjów nauczycielskich oraz wykaz zakładów naukowych i władz szkolnych*, vol. 2, 1926, p. 130; W. Pawłowski, op. cit., p. 44; I. Michalska, *Nauczyciel dla nauczycieli i wychowawców. Michał Friedländer jako popularyzator wiedzy o wychowaniu w latach międzywojennych*, "Studia Edukacyjne" 2018, no. 48, p. 133–149; *Słownik pseudonimów i kryptonimów pisarzy polskich oraz Polski dotyczących*, vol. 3: *Wykaz nazwisk pisarzy*, Kraków 1938, p. 31; *Słownik pseudonimów pisarzy polskich*, vol. 3, edited by E. Jankowski et al., Wrocław 1996, p. 251; *ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 623; L. Held, *A Tyśmienica nadal płynie*, <https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Borislav/Borislav.html> Accessed: December 29, 2019.

37 Al. Stewe, *Romain Rolland i jego "Jean Christophe"*, *Drohobych 1921*, "Biblioteka Epoki", no. 1) As far as we know, a pamphlet titled *Walt Whitman, the Apostle Poet* was being prepared for printing. "Świt" published a review of Al Stewe's first brochure: *M. Propper*, "Biblioteka Epoki", "Świt", August 1, 1921, no. 14–15, p. 10; M. Pr., *Z książek nadesłanych*, "Świt", November 15, 1921, no. 21–22, p. 10.

38 *Kultura i oświata. Urządzona staraniem Sekcji Oświatowej Z.U.N. wystawa obrazów i grafiki oryginalnej Brunona Schulza*, "Świt".

39 In November 1904, a group of representatives of the management staff of oil mines established an association called the Association of Drilling Technicians in Boryslav. Its aim was to defend the rights and interests of the management staff of oil mines. Initially, the union had 76 members. After the war, it changed its name to the Association of Polish Drilling and Oil Technicians in Boryslav. In 1911–1914, the Association published the union magazine "Ropa" [Oil], later – in 1937–1939 – "Biuletyn Związku Polskich Techników Wiertniczych i Naftowych" [Bulletin of the Association of Polish Drilling and Oil Technicians]. The headquarters of the Association was a building at ul. Pańska (later ul. Kościuszki), opposite the Carpathian Gate. The presidents of the Association were, among others, Julian Bittner, Józef Lewicki, Tadeusz Łaszcz, Leopold Słotwiński and, most recently, Wiktor Bobrowski. Various trade unions in the oil basin initially competed with each other, but due to the lack of available premises in Boryslav, they were forced to establish relations. In 1922–1923, the unions merged into the Complex of the Unions of White-Collar Workers of the Oil Industry in Boryslav. See *Sprawa wspólnej organizacji*, "Świt", January 15, 1923, no. 49–50, p. 6; *Z ruchu zawodowego*, "Świt", September 15–October 1, 1923, no. 66–67, p. 3–4; W. Pawłowski, op. cit., p. 47–48; T. Porembalski, *Wspomnienia naftiarza*, Warszawa 1978, p. 83–88.

Mizerski's restaurant ran along the entire building. Inside, there were a hall, an office, management board room, billiard room and Bazylewicz's buffet. On the first floor – living rooms and a casino⁴⁰. Schulz's exhibition in this building took one room⁴¹, in which the artist himself hung several dozen works⁴², including his drawings⁴³.

Dr. Michał Friedländer opened the exhibition with a public lecture on behalf of the Educational Section. Stanisław Weingarten then introduced the audience to Schulz's "world of artistic creation". The speaker "in a beautiful and profound talk" contrasted Schulz with the masters, whose school he originated from and showed the differences between eroticism in the works of Goya, Rops and Klinger and the form that Schulz gave to this intimate aspect of life in his works⁴⁴.

The author of the review from the exhibition emphasized the theme of the works: "Everywhere and always, one main idea: tame a man, throw him at your feet"⁴⁵. Based on the reviews, at least eight works can be mentioned:

1) a "big city corso"⁴⁶, with a woman waling; around her there are the faces of men,

2) a painting with a woman in one stocking, with a shoe next to her,

3) a portrait of a woman – above her, there are naked bodies with guitars or harps in their hands,

4) "two portraits" – one introduces us to the artist's studio furnished with great luxury, the author does not describe the other;

5) "Spring Awakening", a painting that differed from the other items in its Art Nouveau technique and showed several boyish figures,

6) pastel portrait of a woman,

7) portrait of a woman with an elegant shoe; thoughts hover above her like birds,

8) Circe – a watercolour with subtle tones: "two women, one dressed in a short skirt, with her hand on her hips, with the conscious shamelessness of a street girl, and the other – a nude – with perfect harmony in the lines of the whole body, sitting, with her hand hanging limp in of silent delight, with a face full of longing, contemplation and pious prayer. At the feet of these women crawl men,

⁴⁰ W. Pawłowski, op. cit., p. 47.

⁴¹ Unfortunately, the building has not survived to this day. According to some locals, it stood in the city centre at ul. Kościuszki (currently Taras Shevchenko Street).

⁴² S. N-owa, *Wrażenia z wystawy. (Wystawa obrazów Schulza), "Świt"*, March 15, 1921, no. 6, p. 2.

⁴³ This was emphasized in the first announcement of the exhibition, and then in the text by E. Menar, *Kultura i oświata, "Świt"*, March 1, 1921, no. 5, p. 7; E. Menar, *Sztuki graficzne (Z okazji odbyć się mającej wystawy grafiki oryginalnej w Borysławiu), "Świt"*, March 1, 1921, no. 5, p. 2–4.

⁴⁴ *Kultura i oświata. Urządzona staraniem Sekcji oświatowej Z. U. N. wystawa obrazów i grafiki oryginalnej Brunona Schulza*, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴⁵ S. N-owa, op. cit., p. 2–3

⁴⁶ *Corso* – this was the name of the former ul. Mickiewiczza (now Shevchenko Street) in Drohobych.



Boryslav, Kościuszki Street, after 1915, postcard,
9×13 cm. Polish National Library.

whose contorted faces radiate all the ugliness and destruction of the world of the senses”⁴⁷. We provide this detailed description of the last painting to emphasize that in content and technique – according to the reviewer – it differed from the work “Mademoiselle Circe and her troupe” that Schulz scholars have paid some attention to. Apparently, there was another “Circe”.

Apart from the fact that, thanks to a thorough analysis, Stanisław Weingarten “managed to completely solve the apparent mystery that immediately strikes the unprepared viewer”⁴⁸, it is not known what the average viewer’s reaction to Schulz’s works was. If we believe the few notes from “Świt”, the exhibition was a success and “became a nice attraction in the monotony of the dullness of Boryslav”⁴⁹. Moreover, the subjectivity of the source should be taken into account, as the biweekly was an organ of the ZUN, whose Educational Section organized the exhibition.

The newspaper advertised Schulz’s exhibition on every occasion: emphasizing that the audience in Boryslav was given the opportunity “to become acquainted with such an outstanding talent as Bruno Schulz undoubtedly is”⁵⁰ as well as that Schulz’s exhibition completed the first stage of the Educational Section’s work; further, it was stressed that “one exhibition of paintings and graphics at the House of Polish Technicians” was an important cultural undertaking of the Section⁵¹; the announcement of the exhibition in Drohobych notes great interest in Schulz’s works presented in Boryslav⁵², and once again a year later the exhibition is remembered as an example of a successful revival of cultural life in the region⁵³. In total, she was mentioned nine times, always in a positive sense⁵⁴. The fact that from the income from the exhibition the Educational Section donated 150 marks to the newspaper’s fund was probably of no small importance here⁵⁵. Izydor Schulz might have also provided financing for the newspaper.

In addition to minor notes about the opening of the exhibition, three extensive articles related to it were published. It is worth analysing them in more detail.

47 S. N-owa, op. cit., p. 2–3.

48 *Kultura i oświata. Urządzona staraniem Sekcji oświatowej Z. U. N. wystawa obrazów i grafiki oryginalnej Brunona Schulza*, op. cit., p. 6.

49 Ibidem.

50 Ibidem.

51 (m.), *Z pracy oświatowej w Boryslawiu*, op. cit., p. 6.

52 (fr), *Zbiorowa wystawa obrazów*, op. cit., p. 7.

53 Al. St., *Wystawy, “Świt”*, April 15, 1922, no. 31–32, p. 10–11.

54 *Kultura i oświata, “Świt”*, February 15, 1921, no. 4, p. 7; *Kultura i oświata, “Świt”*, March 1, 1921, no. 5, p. 7; S. N-owa, op. cit., p. 2–3; *Kultura i oświata. Urządzona staraniem Sekcji oświatowej Z.U.N. wystawa obrazów i grafiki oryginalnej Brunona Schulza, “Świt”*, p. 6; twice in: (m.), op. cit., p. 6; (fr), op. cit., p. 7; Al. St., *Wystawy, “Świt”*, April 15, 1922, no. 31–32, pp. 10–11; E. Menar, *Sztuki graficzne*, p. 2–4.

55 *Na fundusz prasowy ofiarowali, “Świt”*, March 15, 1921, no. 6, p. 6.

On March 1, 1921, “on the occasion of the exhibition of original drawings”, a text by E. Menar was published. Titled “Graphic arts⁵⁶, the article was a brief outline of the history of the development of drawing as an artistic form. The author discusses some techniques (copperplate engraving, etching, etching), emphasizing the importance of the original cliché-verre technique. I quote: “Here we must pay attention to the technique indicated by Corot, called cliché-verre. It involves drawing with a needle on a glass plate coated with a type of varnish that does not transmit light, and this transparent drawing burns sunlight onto paper coated with silver bromide, thus creating a faithful print. We will have the opportunity to see this type of technique at the announced exhibition”⁵⁷. We can conclude from this that Schulz included at the exhibition works from *The Booke of Idolatry* because in it he mainly (apart from bookplates) used the cliché-verre technique⁵⁸. Then, E. Menar, briefly presenting the history of etching, listed the masters of this technique. He considers Rembrandt, unrivalled in his professionalism, to be the father of *peintres graveurs*. He also mentioned Rubens and Callot, who loved street scenes. He considered Goya to be the only graphic genius at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, whose influence had reached contemporary draftsmen. Discussing the latest masters, the author highlighted the eroticism in the works of Félicien Rops and the wonderful “poetry” of Max Klinger⁵⁹.

It is worth emphasizing the detail and professionalism of this description of visual arts in the paper published by oil officials. It is impossible to determine who E. Menar, the author of the text, really was. We do not know if it is a real name or a pseudonym⁶⁰. It never appeared in the newspaper again. The authenticity of the first edition is evidenced by the lack of a cross-reference, which was regularly used in the case of reprints. As I mentioned above, a lecture on a similar topic was given by Stanisław Weingarten at Schulz's opening. It was most likely prepared on the basis of the artist's own reflections.

Perhaps it was the text of that lecture that was published as Menar's article. This kind of publication practice was nothing exceptional. On the eve of the exhibition in Drohobych in May 1921, for example, the text of a lecture by Adolf

56 The text appeared two weeks before the opening, in the same issue of the newspaper as the announcement. The author did not mention the name of Bruno Schulz, but it is obvious that we are talking about his exhibition, as there was simply no other exhibition at that time, much less an exhibition of original cliché-verre graphics. See E. Menar, *Sztuki graficzne*, p. 2–4.

57 *Ibidem*, p. 4.

58 M. Kitowska-Łysiak, “Cliché-verre”, [in:] *Słownik schulzowski*, p. 59.

59 E. Menar, *Sztuki graficzne*, p. 4.

60 I wonder if it is a coincidence that the signature “E. Menar” reminds one of the name of the painter René Emile Ménard (1862–1930) or with that of René Joseph Ménard (1827–1887) – a French painter, writer and critic. One of the most famous books of the latter is *La Mythologie: Dans l'Art Ancien Et Moderne*.

Bienenstock intended to be delivered at the exhibition was published⁶¹. Either way, the connection between Menar's text and Schulz is obvious. The cliché-verre technique that Menar so aptly discusses was little known and rarely used. It is not even known how Schulz himself mastered it. Authors of the Schulz dictionary conclude that he must have learnt about cliché-verre from professional literature and was the only draftsman in Poland who used this technique⁶². In "Świt", we find texts and announcements of lectures on art by Adolf Bienenstock⁶³ and Mark Doerfler⁶⁴; however, there is no reason to suspect they published this particular article under a pseudonym.

The second text, the only attempt at a review from the exhibition – "Wrażenia z wystawy (Wystawa obrazów Schulza)" [Impressions from the exhibition (Exhibition of Schulz's paintings)] – was signed with the code name "S. N-owa". The review is vague. The author writes: "Bruno Schulz is a talent with deep intuition and rich imagination. The one-sidedness of the themes, which is striking at first glance and carries the danger of mannerisms, indicates that the painter has not yet reached the depths of his soul and spread it. The Creator has within himself rocky thresholds which require a fight with himself to overcome. In order to extract from life what is its essential content and find new paths, a struggle is necessary"⁶⁵. The author emphasizes the influence that Goya, Rops, Klinger, Klimt and, interestingly, the writer Frank Wedekind had on Schulz's work⁶⁶. From this review, as already mentioned, we learn about the content and theme of the exhibition. Nothing is known about the author of the text. In a review of Schulz's exhibition in Drohobych, signed as "Al. Stewe" (Michał Friedländer), the following sentence appears: "On the occasion of the exhibition of Schulz's works

61 On the eve of the opening of the exhibition of seven artists on May 22, 1921, Adolf Bienenstock published a text on contemporary painting in "Świt". He then hosted the vernissage, and on May 29, while the exhibition was still running, he gave his lecture. Interestingly, in the "Biblioteka Epoki" series, in 1921 his brochure on a different topic was being prepared for print: *Einstein i teoria względności* [Einstein and the theory of relativity]. See A. Bienenstock, *Kształt i barwa (O malarstwie współczesnym słów kilka)*, "Świt", May 15, 1921, no. 10, p. 2–3; *Wystawa obrazów, "Świt"*, May 15, 1921, no. 10, p. 7; *Biblioteka Epoki, "Świt"*, August 1, 1921, no. 14–15, p. 10.

62 M. Kitowska-Łysiak, "Cliché-verre", p. 59–64.

63 The figure of Adolf Bienenstock is rather well known in Schulz studies. He was the author of a review of Schulz's exhibition in 1922. The artists jointly participated in the exhibition in Drohobych in 1921. Urszula Makowska recognizes Bienenstock as the patron of Schulz's participation in the group exhibition in Lviv in 1920. See A. Bienenstock, *Z wystawy wiosennej. Prace graficzne Brunona Schulza, "Chwila"* 1922, no. 1213 (July 8), p. 5; *Wystawa obrazów, "Świt"*, May 15, 1921, no. 10, p. 7; B. Łazorak et al., op. cit., p. 164–165; U. Makowska, op. cit., p. 14.

64 On March 13, 1921, Marek Dörfler (Doerfler) gave a lecture on Art in Antiquity, in which he discussed the art of Egypt, Assyria, Greece and Rome in the context of their historical development. Cf. (K.), *Odczyty, "Świt"*, March 15, 1921, no. 6, p. 7.

65 S. N-owa, op. cit., p. 2–3. For a reprint of texts about exhibitions, see: B. Łazorak et al., op. cit., p. 226–233.

66 Ibidem.

in Boryslav, we discussed in more detail the nature of his work”⁶⁷. However, it is not possible to confidently assign another pseudonym to Michał Friedländer.

And now about the new thread.

Nine months after Schulz's exhibition in Boryslav, on January 15, 1922, “Świt” published a work which, in my opinion, is directly related to his work. It was about Marcelli Weron's short story “Undula”. The title character is the embodiment of the ideal woman from the Schulz's *The Booke of Idolatry*⁶⁸. As we remember, at the exhibition, which was a local success, the artist included, among others, works from *The Booke*.

The main female character from Schulz's drawings, together with her characteristic features, “travels” to Marcelli Weron's story: “Undula lies in her fragrant bed in the embrace of a heavy sleep, which drains from her the memory of all the orgies and frenzies. Her inert and soft body, stripped of the tightness of gauze, panties and stockings, takes the darkness under her like a big furry bear, encloses it in her four huge paws and gathers her white, velvety limbs into one sweet and soft handful, over which she pants her purple tongue”⁶⁹. We do not know the origin of the name “Undula”⁷⁰. It is probably a name Schulz created without a specific source. According to Jerzy Ficowski, “Undula” is associated with Undyna – a fairy, from the Latin *unda* – with a wave, stream, whirlpool, anxiety⁷¹. Włodzimierz Bolecki combines Schulz's Undula with Undine (Ondine) by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué. Undine, the title character of the novel popular in the 19th century, is a water nymph, or mermaid, a creature with a dual nature, which belongs to the human world and the water element. This image of female characters is typical of romantic fantasy. The nymph (meaning “girl” in Greek), a being intermediate between deity and man, lives a very long time without ageing, although she does not seek immortality. Schulz's nymph Undula symbolizes the female figure in general⁷². Ficowski claims that Undula, who reigns in *The Booke of Idolatry*, is the first variant of the image of Rachel, an actual servant in the Schulz house, to whom the writer gave the name Adela in his literary works⁷³.

The first comparison of the text of Weron's story with Schulz's prose allows us to discover some common features – for example, certain syntactic peculiarities: the use of subordinate clauses in direct speech. Other similarities are,

67 Al. Stewe, *Z wystawy obrazów*, p. 7.

68 See chapter “Xięga bałwochwalcza (1920–1922)”, [in:] B. Schulz, *Księga obrazów*, zebrał, oprac., komentarzami opatrzył J. Ficowski, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2012, p. 231–268.

69 M. Weron, “Undula”, p. 4.

70 M. Kitowska-Łysiak, “Undula”, [in:] *Słownik schulzowski*, p. 401–402.

71 J. Ficowski, *Regiony wielkiej herezji i okolice*, p. 275.

72 W. Bolecki, *Witkacy–Schulz, Schulz–Witkacy: wariacje interpretacyjne*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” 1994, No. 1 (85), p. 88–90.

73 J. Ficowski, *Regiony wielkiej herezji i okolice*, s. 275–276.

among other things, the interweaving of reality and sleep, the use of the concept of awakening, and the masochistic eroticism typical of both authors. There are also clear affinities, for example, in the use of child characters, the maid Adela, the Demiurge, as well as the figure of a crab or a roach.

The beginning of Marceli Weron's story is somewhat reminiscent of Schulz's novella "Loneliness". The entire text is accompanied by the hiss of an old oil lamp, and events take place in a constant intertwine of dream, dream and reality.

A common feature of Weron's and Schulz's stories seems to be masochistic eroticism, but while in the former it is overt, in Schulz's, although ubiquitous, it remains, as Jerzy Ficowski noticed, hidden⁷⁴. Like the man in Schulz's engravings, Marceli Weron's character is the "humble Lazarus" at Undula's feet, an awkwardness (which is the figure of a man) in the splendour of perfection (which is the figure of a woman – a statue). Undula sentences Weron's character to "suffer until the end the error of the Demiurge" who created him⁷⁵. As we know, the figure of Demiurge – the creator, the father – is also present in Schulz's fiction.

The text also contains stylistic similarities with Schulz's stories. The eponymous Undula, for example, in Weron's story "took the darkness under itself like a big furry bear"⁷⁶, and in Schulz we read: "Lying face downward on the furry lap of darkness, we sailed in its regular breathing into the starless nothingness"⁷⁷. Another vivid example can be found in the following episode: "Large black cockroaches stand still and stare mindlessly into the light. They seem dead. Suddenly, these flat, headless hulks begin to run in an incredible crab-like manner and cut diagonally across the floor"⁷⁸. And in Schulz: "In the corners, large cockroaches sat immobile, hideously enlarged by their own shadows which the burning candle imposed on them and which remained attached to their flat, headless bodies when they suddenly ran off with weird, spiderlike movements"⁷⁹.

Weron's character (and narrator), who follows Undula, will have to "walk blindly, with sleep on his eyelids, up some old stairs, climbing up many dark floors, crossing black attic spaces, climbing overhead galleries" until he finally reaches a quiet, a familiar corridor and he will realize that he has stopped in front of the entrance to the apartment from his own childhood. He is greeted by his former maid, Adela, "treading silently on the velvet stoppers of her slippers"⁸⁰. Analogies come to mind here with the description of Schulz's family home in

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 440.

⁷⁵ M. Weron, op. cit., p. 4.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁷⁷ B. Schulz, "Tailor's Dummies", [in:] idem, *The Street of Crocodiles and Other Stories*, translated by Celina Wieniewska, London: Penguin Books 2008, s. 27.

⁷⁸ M. Weron, op. cit., p. 3.

⁷⁹ B. Schulz, "Visitation", [in:] idem, *The Street of Crocodiles and Other Stories*, p. 12.

⁸⁰ M. Weron, op. cit., p. 3.

his story "A Visitation". Moreover, these "groping journeys" in Weron harmonize with the motif of the labyrinth, one of the important motifs of Schulz's prose⁸¹. The maid Adela is one of the three most important characters in Schulz's world⁸².

Marceli Weron's story ends with a search for his childhood apartment. The figure of the child is interesting. The character has the impression that he has heard the "monotonous song" of the kerosene lamp earlier, at the beginning of his life, "when – a sick and tired infant – he was capricious and whining through long, crying nights". And he wonders further:

"Who called me then and turned me back as I was groping for my way back to my mother's proto-nothingness?"⁸³. An analogy with Schulz's "returning childhood" immediately comes to mind⁸⁴. The figure of the child belongs to the "iron capital" of Schulz's fantasy⁸⁵. Many similar examples can be provided. Weron's text is as if a mixture of Schulz's paintings and at the same time a combination of different worlds of his work, for example, the characters of Undula and Adela. The shared motifs in Weron's work appear deformed, and the story as a whole seems to be an echo of Schulz's well-known works. However, Schulz's prose as we know it today did not exist at that time, so it was impossible to copy, imitate or interpret it.

All this allows us to boldly assume that the author of the story "Undula" was Bruno Schulz himself, and Marceli Weron was his pseudonym⁸⁶. The main reason for its use may have been the masochistic-erotic content of the story. Innate modesty or shame made it difficult for Schulz to publish it under his own name. Already a renowned writer, Schulz confessed in one of his interviews that he would not be able to write a masochistic work – "I would be ashamed"⁸⁷. As we know, the same reality was expressed in Schulz's drawings and prose, differing in both forms only in a fragment and in the fullness of expression⁸⁸. However,

81 J. Jarzębski, "Labirynt", [in:] *Słownik schulzowski*, p. 186–187.

82 S. Rosiek, "Adela", [in:] *Słownik schulzowski*, p. 13–14.

83 M. Weron, op. cit., p. 4.

84 See letter from Bruno Schulz to Andrzej Pleśniewicz of March 4, 1936, [in:] B. Schulz, *Dzieła zebrane*, t. 5: *Księga listów*, zebrał i przygotował do druku J. Ficowski, uzupełnił S. Danecki, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2016, p. 120–121.

85 "Bruno Schulz do St. I. Witkiewicza", [in:] B. Schulz, *Dzieła zebrane*, t. 7: *Szkice krytyczne*, koncepcja edytorska W. Bolecki, komentarz i przypisy M. Wójcik, oprac. językowe P. Sitkiewicz, Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria 2017, p. 7.

86 It is possible that the nickname comes from the name of one of the leading French aestheticians of the second half of the 19th century, art theoretician and publicist Eugène Véron (1825–1889). *L'Esthétique*, published in 1878, was his most important work, which was published in Poland in 1892 in a translation by Antoni Lange. Interestingly, Véron provided an afterword to the book of the already mentioned Ménard, *La Mythologie: Dans l'Art Ancien Et Moderne. Suivie d'un appendice sur les origines de la mythologie*, Paris 1878.

87 J. Nacht, *Wywiad drastyczny. (Rozmowa z Brunonem Schulzem)*, "Nasza Opinia" 1937, no. 77, p. 5.

88 "Bruno Schulz do St. I. Witkiewicza", p. 8.

in his opinion, the written word carried a greater charge of emotion and risk. According to Ficowski, it was shame that prevented the exposed erotic idolatry from gaining wider access to the much fuller world of Schulz's prose⁸⁹. In the case of "Undula", however, it should be remembered that it would represent the early writing attempts of the young Schulz, only selected, trimmed and polished years later. It is difficult to be certain here, since the "early" Schulz is unknown to us.

An additional reason for using the pseudonym could have been the reservations of Izydor Schulz, who, although he supported his brother's extravagant work, could not jeopardize his reputation and high position in the oil industry.

An interesting view on the interpenetration of literature and art in Schulz's work from the early 1920s – that has not gained widespread acceptance of Schulz scholars, though – was expressed by Serge Fauchereau⁹⁰. He assumes that Schulz's original idea for *The Book of Idolatry* was to be a hybrid literary work, which, in addition to drawings, would also consist of a written text presenting the history of Undula⁹¹. Schulz, realizing that illustration that is not limited by the written word contains a deeper meaning, decided to abandon his original intention. This hypothetical text, according to Fauchereau, was never published and disappeared along with the author's other manuscripts⁹². Perhaps Weron's (Schulz's?) "Undula" is part of this lost text? We are getting lost in guesswork. Marcell Weron's short story was probably written in the spring of 1920 or 1921, together with a drawing of Undula. It was probably published in its entirety in "Świt", as there was no announcement from the editors of a sequel⁹³. Significantly, this is the only publication of all the preserved issues of "Świt" with a disclaimer that prohibited reprinting without permission.

Interestingly, in the next issue a review of the monthly poetry magazine "Skamander" appeared for the first time under the codename "mw" (Marcell Weron?). The author emphasized the importance of the monthly for Polish literature, comparing it to such literary periodicals as "Życie" and "Chimera", and considering the group of poets gathered around "Skamander" as the most outstanding contemporary talents⁹⁴. However, the review is limited to reproducing the table of contents, and the reviewer's full name is missing.

89 J. Ficowski, *Regiony wielkiej herezji i okolice*, p. 437.

90 S. Fauchereau, *Twórczość Brunona Schulza [wstęp do francuskiego wydania Xięgi bałwochwalczej]*, przeł. A. Trznadel-Szczepanek, "Twórczość" 1985, no. 7/8, pp. 153–166; B. Schulz, *Le Livre Idolâtre*, préface de S. Fauchereau, postface de W. Chmurzyński, Quimper 1983.

91 Jerzy Ficowski considered this information to be fictitious – *Regiony wielkiej herezji i okolice*, p. 277–278.

92 S. Fauchereau, op. cit., p. 155.

93 There may have been other similar publications, but it is difficult to determine because the complete annuals of the biweekly "Świt" have not survived. The biggest gap is the lack of issues of the newspaper from June to December 1922.

94 (mw.), *Z książek nadesłanych. Skamander*, "Świt", February 15, 1922, no. 27–28, p. 10.

It is possible that *Undula* was also critically received by the audience. In the issue that followed its publication, there was a response to a letter from a certain Mr. Adam Z. Let us quote a fragment of it: “Our ambition is to be read in the widest possible circles and, of course, we will have even more powerful weapons. So don’t let the cultural section or column irritate you! As for the value of the latter, we are so immodest that we shall ask you to, please, leave us an assessment. The relevant part of your letter was apparently written under the influence of ignorant people”⁹⁵. In the “Feljeton” column mentioned in the letter, next to “*Undula*”, there was only a short poem entitled “*Żal*” [Sorrow]⁹⁶.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that Bruno Schulz’s exhibition in Boryslav, despite favourable notes in the local press, probably did not play a major role in promoting his work, as we do not find any evidence of wider interest in it in nationwide newspapers, for example in the Lviv press. However, this was the artist’s individual debut in his home region. Therefore, the belief that Schulz avoided presenting it in the Drohobych area due to the “risky nature” of the subject matter of his artistic works should be corrected. Most importantly, the analysis of exhibition activities revealed Schulz’s hypothetical literary origins from the early 1920s. However, the relationship between visual and literary representations of *Undula* requires deeper research. If our hypothesis were confirmed, it would fundamentally change the views on the beginnings of Bruno Schulz’s literary work, as the story *Undula* appeared twelve years before the publication of *Sklepy cynamonowe*. So maybe Schulz debuted in two fields at the same time?

Translated by Language Extreme from the Polish translation by Adam Pomorski



⁹⁵ *Odpowiedzi Redakcji*, “*Świt*”, February 15, 1922, no. 27–28, p. 8.

⁹⁶ H. H., *Żal*, “*Świt*”, January 15, 1922, no. 25–26, p. 2.