The Memory of an Artist of Memory

Krzysztof Pleśniarowicz

I.

He was the last truly great artist of the avant-garde, "the artist of the end of the twentieth century," as a French book about him was titled.¹ His painting and theatre expressed the truth of our times: the century of the "Golgotha of the Peoples" and of totalitarianisms that crushed the individual. His work also critiqued the subjection of mass art to ideology and the market place, as well as spectacular actions under the banners of the avant-garde. He imposed his fears and anxieties on our declining world, and he made a place in history for his "little room of imagination," crammed with "memory photographs" of the small town of Wielopole that lives forever between the church and the synagogue. There is also the atmosphere of medieval-modernist Kraków, where the legacies of Wyspiński and Veit Stoss intersect (perhaps somewhere near the Cricot 2 premises on Kanonicza Street). Kantor had few rivals in his ability to rework the experiences of the twentieth-century avant-gardes and all the -isms he helped create and bridled against into individual works of historic dimensions. He left his mark in constructivism and dada, abstraction and happening, the art of the gesture and post-modernism, and he made his own personal "corrections" to each. Yet he was always the same Kantor, from Wielopole and Kraków, the heir of Polish symbolism and the successor of Witkiewicz, Schulz, and Gombrowicz.

He called this universal space of art, fading as he himself was fading into the past, "Café Europa." As a Cracovian and a European he never joined the chorus of "anti-art" or the prophets of the end of art, and he never renounced his special status as an artist. He had gone beyond imitating, expressing, and mediating; now he intervened, shocked, and cast his spell. The only idea he trusted completely and without reservation was the absolute freedom of the surrealists. The consistency of his artistic development, his compulsion for self-contradiction, his facing the risks of "accidental" discoveries ("each one gets the accidents he deserves," he liked to say), and finally the extraordinary unity-in-diversity of his work can best be seen against European horizons. This work was made up of contradictions that connected the post-constructivist imperative of progress with the dadaistic grimace of the jester and connected the experience of the sacrum with the gesture of blasphemy. His conquest of new regions of art depended on the Eternal Return, on journeying simultaneously towards birth and death.

He called his own life a great journey. As with the lives of all great figures, it was not marked off into separate realms of the private and the artistic. The last stage in Tadeusz Kantor's Great Journey had often been foreshadowed by his art. His work had always been touched by that other, unknown side. As he put it in one of his manifestos, "if we only turn everything around, the poor room of the
imagination that we have tried in vain to furnish with the mechanisms of memory becomes a room in the other world."² The greatness of Tadeusz Kantor's work always had a metaphysical dimension.

II.

Roger Planchon has written: "The domain of the specters of Tadeusz Kantor is the domain of our past and ourselves, citizens of the world—and perhaps these old-fashioned Polish pictures are the ironic foreshadowing of our future."³ Tadeusz Kantor managed to find a unique solution to the dilemma of the Polishness versus the universality of his art. He was able to create and impose on the world that "poor room of imagination" where shreds of his own life and his individual memory were imbued with the tradition and history of his nation and that of Polish art as a part of the European experience. It is hard to find a better example in contemporary Polish culture of personal, "solitary" expression that could also be such a distinct part of global, collective consciousness, and contemporary artistic myth, a witness to the universal fears and anxieties of the end of our century. He expressed not only the fears and desires of his century, but also left his stamp upon it. In his artistic journey, Kantor was always rebelling against received conventions, against institutions and authorities, and against himself.

In one of the interviews that I had the occasion to conduct with him while preparing my book Tadeusz Kantor's Theatre of Death,⁴ Kantor said:

"Every work of art, no matter how avant-garde, is doomed to being fixed, to immobilization. It is hard for me to predict what will happen in the case of Umarla klasa (The Dead Class). It seems to me that unusual things happen in the immobilization, the rigidification, the academicizing of the avant-garde work. For instance, I observed the phases that the influence of constructivism underwent. When I was studying at the Academy before the war, I had the admiration for the constructivists—Russian, Polish and German—instilled in me. In those days, that was the highest ideal of the avant-garde. Later, during the war and afterward, that idea grew pale for me. I lost my faith in constructivism and found a place for myself in the informel art trend, which was also known as abstract expressionism or lyrical abstraction. I felt then that constructivism would never return. And yet it started to revive after a certain time. Everything that goes under the name of 'visual' art or American op-art is just the rigidification of constructivism, which had simply become academic. At that time, I had nothing but resentment and complaints against constructivism, which were expressed in the happening period. Today, on the other hand, in the days of the ubiquitous avant-garde and the universal acceptance of the open work of art, I have gone back to thinking about constructivism. I believe that it still contains a truth that can be helpful to us in the present stage. Similarly, the admiration that I felt for that trend before the war has now returned. This hardly means that I have regressed. Every work of art is fated to go through the most extraordinary phases after the death of its creator.
Reaction and reception, as well as explication and commentary, are completely independent of the artist's intention.

"This levy in mass of the avant-garde, which I describe in my Theatre of Death manifesto, is so colossal all over the world thanks to the effects of Saint Information that it has become completely meaningless. It no longer possesses the kind of significatory value that could have any influence on reality. It seems to me that in our latest epoch there are certain transformations underway, which very few people are aware of because the whole of universal criticism is fascinated by Saint Information, by the message, communicating, the consumption of art, that whole line—from the artist through the work to the perceiver. And the thread along which those three elements are strung seems to me to be unimportant. I hold that whoever deliberately talks (because in this case they are not thinking) about the perceiver will never reach that perceiver. On the other hand, something completely different might get through to the perceiver. Because authentic creation means thinking first of all about yourself. About your art."

The foundation of Tadeusz Kantor's imagination was always that "leaving unsolved," that unfulfillment, that sphere of the "in-between," the "borderline," the "approximate" that is so typical of the Polish tradition (and not necessarily of the avant-garde), the nagging feeling of unpreparedness and unripeness, Gombrowiczian formlessness, and Schulzian "diffusion beyond its borders." The foundation of Tadeusz Kantor's imagination was also encirclement and closing within the snare of illusion, which turns out to be the stereotype or the symbol that weighs on the imagination in spatial and conceptual emballages, in the trap of the Bio-Object, in the Memory Photograph. His "Poor Room of Imagination" could be a prison for dead, impossible memories or a snare for Odysseus and the Dearly Departed, as well as a domain of freedom for the artist, an asylum constantly threatened by "that mob" which finally demolishes and annihilates it in the last, unfinished production, Dziėś są moje urodziny (Today Is My Birthday).

The artist's childhood, spent between the church and the synagogue in the mythologized town of Wielopole, "on the way to eternity," already seemed like one of his theatrical scripts. Another experience, equally fundamental, was that of the two world wars. The first of them exterminated the space of the remembered family home. The experience of the second bore fruit in the discovery of "reality of the lowest rank" and the obsession with the destruction of fiction, the illusion that falsified truth, the suspicious interrogation of a sign, allegory, and symbol (including wartime patriotic phraseology), and making the ideal of freedom an ideal in art and in life.

The demand for "reality" to which art is supposed to measure up has that particular historical pedigree that Kantor emphasized: "The radicalism achieved in the [Occupation period] theatre resulted from our attitude and from the effect of the extraordinarily condensed reality of wartime." That opinion comes back time and time again. It initially concerned the opposition between the illusion of the received work of art and the merciless time of unfolding history, but later, both in the period of socialist realism and during the 1980 revolution, when
Wielopole played in the Gdańsk shipyard, it was reversed: the reality of the artistic act "tested" the illusion of the historical game.

"I believe," Kantor said, "that the existence of contradictory attitudes and characters is very important to the work of art. This is my opinion, my own. This is the driving force of art, but also a necessity. Otherwise, it would be impossible to create anything." The constructivist and the destructionist, the admirer of illusion and the proponent of the "activization" of reality, the exponent of the ideals of abstraction and the devotee of symbolism must all coexist in conflict. "In my art," Kantor said on another occasion, "you can always see the contradiction between symbolism and abstract art."

This contradiction also had its historical origins. In the first of my interviews with Kantor, he spoke about his little-known staging in August 1945 of the "catastrophic morality piece" Niegodzień i godni (Unworthy and Worthy) by the avant-garde Polish poet Józef Czechowicz, who was killed in September 1939. Kantor said:

"We had survived the war [and we knew very well] that for Czechowicz the whole catastrophe had followed the conventions of the commedia dell'arte, since in spite of the danger people were still having fun and there was still a festival of colors. I remember that the pre-war Cricot 1 theatre had been of the same kind, built on Blok's Balaganchik (The Puppet Show), on the Russian avant-garde and the whole sphere of the Parisian bohème. There was the festive atmosphere of the commedia dell'arte, the circus, colorful games. People were having fun, they were very colorfully dressed, everyone had managed to forget about the time [of catastrophe] that was approaching, and about which Czechowicz spoke, although it was fashionable to be a catastrophist. A pre-war production of Czechowicz would have relied mainly on recitation, and would have been very un-theatrical. Everything was still a game (soon after that catastrophe [Czechowicz's characters] find themselves in heaven, on a green meadow) although one could say: it's a bad game. We were unable to accept that, we could not [simply see them] on the meadow, changed into some sort of beings from whom the reality of the catastrophe had been lifted. We had to leave them in that reality which that catastrophe had brought. This is what our answer, our interpretation of that symbolic-poetic text, had to be like.

"I used the metaphor of movement: the whole performance was divided into sequences of movement. One sequence flowed into another. Each actor made a movement in reference to the actor next to him. This added up to a certain linear composition, but not in the sense of rhythm. It was a composition of movement in time. [Thus designed,] the situation overwhelmed the text. This is the technique that I always applied in the theatre (and which today I have made very precise): I construct a situation, which is not an illustration of the text, but rather arises according to the principle of contradiction as the surrealist had already been doing in the theatre of surprise, or the futurists. [This still applies in my theatre to the present]: I have to find a situation that will have nothing in common with
the words—it will [on the other hand] create a great deal of tension and be shocking.”

The symbolism in Kantor's work consists of motifs and themes from the Polish national tradition; they are obsessive visions of crusades, enchanted circles, Man and Nation crucified, dreams of Fame and Deed "borrowed" from Wyspianski, Malczewski, and Wojtkiewicz. They are always accompanied by the unchanging solitude and alienation of the artist around whom flow the images and slogans of the "National Pantheon," so often subjected to the operation of "reduction to the lower rank." "Yes, those are the stereotypes that we have been familiarized with since childhood," said Kantor in a discussion with Porebski. "Christ, the Church, religion, along with the whole crucified nation."10

Kantor also introduced changes to the slogans of "The Holy Avant-Garde" to reflect the confrontation with historical realities, particularly the experience of wartime. He proposed to replace abstract art's crossing of the threshold of mimeticism and significance with the introduction of the "empty" object "of the lowest rank," carrying a sense of "the other side." He thought that he could match the strangeness of the surrealists by manipulating the ingredients of banal and raw reality, deprived of any practical reason for existence. Constructivist "installations" are ultimately unnecessary to achieve the effect of disillusion and truth. It suffices to appeal to borderline objects and phenomena "on the edge of the abyss" and to "everyday, banal, boring" activities "in which no one has any hope."

Art can preserve the truth not through the choice of themes or techniques, but through the authentic suffering of the author himself. The statement, "I am the pure source of significances,"11 is one of the most striking manifestos of the Eternal Avant-Gardist, who "chose to take its place opposite fear."12 The contradiction between illusion and reality, fundamental in the history of Cricot 2, should perhaps be understood as the falsehood of all aesthetics (including that of the avant-garde) against the naked brutality of life, the degradation of the patriotic stereotype in collision with its "not measuring up to history." All the rest is that "dance of -isms" in which Kantor willingly joined: abstraction, informel, happening, conceptual art, and also his perceptions of the "stages" of the Cricot 2 Theatre, specifically, "commedia dell'arte in abstracto" (1956), "informel" theatre (1961), "zero" theatre (1963), "happening" theatre (1967), Impossible Theatre (1972), and, finally, the Theatre of Death (1975-1988). Kantor himself called his participation in the adventures of the avant-garde "a game of chance full of sleight-of-hand and perversions," "falling under influences" and "escaping from thieves," the struggle against the "levy in mass of the avant-garde" and against one's own form, which immobilizes and limits.13

Kantor shared the contemporary conviction about the separation of the world of things from the world of signs, about the fissure between reality and the domain of presentation. This is why he so eagerly used negated symbols, placed between the quotation marks of reduction, profanation, or downright desecration.
Hence the linking of the sacred and the profane, of sanctity and blasphemy, that
is so striking in his work.

"Have a look at the religious connotations of his theatre," Guy Scarpetta
wrote. "We can feel the same ambiguity. On the one hand, these signs are
transparently ironic and parodic: a tango performed by two cardinals in purple
robes and a priest who forfeits his dignity by joining the macabre and frenetic
dance, a comical Jewish doctor and the gesticulation of two twins in Hasidic garb
trying to tear the Torah out of each other's hands. But at the same time we see
the exalted figure of the priest, full of humility and mercy, crucified above the
Last Supper in Wielopole as well as the moving horror of Rabbi Szmul in I Shall
Never Return. [. . .] Mallarmé called such a weird blending 'the vortex of the
ridiculous and the horrible'—this formula applies splendidly to Kantor's
theatre."

Kantor was truly the "artist of the end of the twentieth century" and it was
precisely his "uncanny melding" of these and other contradictions that most fully
expresses the truth of our time. The main idea of Kantor's famous Theatre of
Death contains the formula of the "Impossible Return" to the dead past, the only
traces of which are the accidental and worn-out Memory Photographs. These
photographs are the only true reality for the artist who manipulates them and for
all art subject to the imperative of the avant-garde utopia or the continual renewal
at the "zero point," the inauguration of revolutionary development towards a new
future, the harmonious symbiosis of the New Art and the New Life. For life, as
Kantor saw it, can be expressed "in art only through the absence of life."

Absence testifies to presence, and the essence of existence is appearance, absence,
and unfulfillment.

In those years of flourishing and fame for the so-called neo-avant-garde,
Kantor's Theatre of Death was an exceptional challenge to the faith in the infinite
and spiral of development. As a unique foreshadowing of the convulsions that
would shake the world at the end of the twentieth century, The Dead Class was
taken as a symbolic closing of the neo-avant-garde era in contemporary art and
as an expression, which promptly developed into theatre theory, of the penetrating
artistic self-awareness of the creator of the Theatre of Death. The Dead Class
was joined in succession by Wielopole, Wielopole (1980), Niech sczezng artyêci
(Let the Artists Die, 1985), and Nigdy tuż nie powrócç (I Shall Never Return,
1988).

The final "stage" of the Cricot 2 Theatre, Today Is My Birthday, was to be
the definitive expression of that self-awareness. In his last work, Kantor
introduced the game of illusion and reality, of dead and living pictures, into his
studio. In the final scene, the studio was to be invaded by the "massed powers
of history" just before the symbolic, staged funeral of the Artist (the work
premiered in January 1991, shortly after his actual death).

Speaking of "the need for freedom" in an interview I conducted a few
months after the fall of the Berlin Wall and a few months before his death,
Kantor expressed his fears about the world that stood in opposition to the euphoria of the times:

"How do I understand the concept of freedom? . . . During the Cricot 2 Theatre festival and the international session held in Paris in June, 1989, I said:

"Artistic freedom is not a gift from politicians or the authorities./ It is not from the hands of the authorities that art receives freedom./ Freedom exists within us, and we must fight for freedom against ourselves./ In our most interior intimacy,/ in solitude/ and in suffering,/ This is the most delicate material./ The domain of the spirit./ That is why/ I do not have any great faith in the theatres/ and in general in the artistic proceedings/ of which many have sprung up/ in recent years/ the dictatorship of the proletariat/ with (an priori) program/ of clandestine fighting/ fighting for political freedom/ religious fighting./ It is worse when/ avant-garde pretensions/ are subsumed under these slogans."

"I have not mentioned this because I have any intention of presenting a picture of general reality, but because those mass movements which are of no interest to me are terribly harmful to artists. I have always said that politics is harmful to art — they should be kept separate! There is one freedom: political freedom, which is a human matter. But there is also another freedom (André Breton wrote about it perfectly) which is known in art as absolute freedom, total freedom.

"People in the West are terribly attracted to and fascinated by the freedom that has broken out here. I look at my surroundings exclusively in the light of art, painting and theatre, and ask: has anything changed? Has there been any kind of discovery, like those of, for instance, Cezanne, Malevich or Tatlin? (Then, there was no division into East and West.) Today’s chattering about freedom has created a new mythology, completely false. Perhaps those social movements will have some sort of resonance later.

"The whole world is controlled by Those Serious Gentlemen, as I refer to politicians, the people with power. We Poles have been going down the same road, although we ought to be a little bit different. We would have a better chance at winning through art and culture than through economic abilities. Then we would start to be appreciated.

"Art is becoming more and more servile. And no one knows what is worse, political terror or the terror of the market. That mass ideology, mass market, mass entertainment, holidays, communication. Will it lead to any new forms in art—collective forms? I do not believe in collective forms such as those, for instance, of the Gothic period. If something new arises, it will only be where there are people thinking individually about themselves (not in the sense of expression and forms) who can overcome the mass phenomena that are dominating the whole of life."\(^{16}\)

III.

There will continually appear new interpretations that immobilize and surround the Machine of Dead Memory, that when still in "unceasing
development" kept escaping from the snare of any semantic or structural order. Is there, however, any way to preserve the memory of those experiences and the remains of those encounters in which we took part—we, selected by accident and united in a special way as the most global theatrical audience of our times? "Kantor is a light," says Peter Brook. "In order for that light not to go out and for its energy not to be scattered in space, much more ought to be done than merely trying to store the photographs and documents in gloomy archives."

This is the problem for the institution that Kantor created in Kraków, hoping it would endure for many years: the Cricoteka, known during his life as the Cricot 2 Theatre Center and, at present, as the Center for the Documentation of the Art of Tadeusz Kantor.

Tadeusz Kantor created the Cricoteka as a Living Archive of his theatrical work in order to preserve his own ideas "not in a dead library system, but in the thoughts and the imagination of future generations." According to his wishes, a unique collection of objects and theatrical machines from the Cricot 2 productions, theoretical writings, drawings and plans, films and video recordings, and finally thousands of reviews in many languages, dozens of special issues of magazines and books, has been assembled in the gallery-museum at 5 Kanonicza Street and in the "Cricoteka Annex," Kantor’s last studio, preserved intact at 7 Sienna Street. Kantor himself wrote that the "CIRICOTEKA [. . .] is intimately and directly connected with the work of the Cricot 2 Theatre. It is the only guarantee that this work will endure, fixed in people’s consciousness, conveyed in a dynamic state to future generations."

The term "Cricoteka" is a combination of the name of Kantor’s theatre, "Cricot" (a French-sounding anagram of a Polish expression meaning "it’s a circus") with the suffix ",-teka," which comes from the ancient Greek "theke" and means "storage place." In contemporary Polish, the Hellenism "teka" can designate a thematically, homogeneous collection of archives, drawings, or articles, as well as a kind of "package" containing a collection of documents organized according to a given scheme. As in other European languages, the ending ",-teka" also serves to universalize the concept of "a collection" or "the place where it is kept."

But Tadeusz Kantor was not interested merely in copying a European method of word formation. The name of the museum and theatrical archive also fully expresses the fundamental ideas of his own work. First, there is its ambiguous, metaphysical circus-like quality ("cricot" or to cyrk: the formula of the "Poor Fairground Booth," as Kantor called his theatre). Second, the principle of "reversibility," of exaltation through humiliation, the expression of life through the evocation of death, of "poor" reality through the degradation of the symbol, of the sacred through the profane (the figure of the anagram inscribed in the name "cricot"). Third, the method of "hiding," of "packaging," or "emballage," one of the most interesting and original methods used by Kantor in painting, happenings, and theatre ("teka"). "Packaging" frequently recurs as an idea and a theme in his work: as a series of folders, bags, knapsacks, and suitcases.
Because of this series of "packaging" attributes, the idea of "place" expressed by "theke" develops into the theme of "journeys" and even "eternal wandering in search of a place."

This is a very authentic and very dramatic realization of the history of the Cricot 2 Theatre, which never existed in the legal sense and which had no permanent home for most of its existence, wandering all over the world. Perhaps for this reason, the theme of "PLACE" returns continually and even obsessively in Kantor's texts and drawings: in letters to the authorities and memoranda about the space for the Cricot 2 Theatre, in the essay "The Theatrical Place," in projects for the interior design of the Cricoteka (even its furniture was made according to Kantor’s plans), and in his designs for his "HOME," as he called the beautiful studio-gallery constructed in Hucisko near Kraków.

Nine months before his death, at a meeting with journalists which I had the honor of conducting at his request, Kantor said: "The work of the Cricot 2 Theatre covers 35 years, not counting the Occupation. [. . .] Since that work is now drawing to a close, the most important thing for me at present, as it has been for the last ten years, is the Archive. That is the Cricoteka on Kanonicza Street in Kraków, where masses of young people come from all over the world to write their doctoral dissertations and scholarly papers, to study. [. . .] The Archive is something that will remain, as they say, for posterity, for the younger generation which is already here, which has taken over. And I ask all of you for your support for the Cricoteka, for that institution which will pass on the memory of all this."20

According to its creator's plans, the Cricoteka plays a double role: Museum and Research Institute. It is to be a "Living Archive," where "works, achievements, experiences and ideas" are to be preserved. Kantor's status and the international interest in his work are what make the Cricoteka a living place, according to the words of the artist himself in 1990: "a living theatrical archive center and museum known all over the world."21

The Cricoteka, with its continually expanding amount of classified and catalogued documentary material, the material vestiges of theatrical works, the recording of visions and accomplishments, is an inexhaustible catalogue of information. But the primary function of the Cricoteka is to COMMUNICATE THE IDEAS, preserved and disseminated in the form of numerous international publications. In the future, a hope to be able to save "the past and tradition" and to "ensure the continuity of culture" with the help of modern technology. And above all, a realization of the idea of Memory, the most important of the themes of Kantor's art:

"When a human being and a work of art cease to exist, memory, a record sent into the future, into the next generation, remains," wrote Kantor. "Memory is a necessary condition for development, and development in turn is the essence of life. The ARCHIVE is the memory of the Cricot 2 Theatre. [. . .] The Living Memory. Neither a library collection, nor a collection of old costumes, dead props, consecrated relics, nostalgic albums, or of dry memorabilia as is often the
case, but a collection of IDEAS, that were born in opposition to all that is, in protest against the values exhibited on the stages around the world."\textsuperscript{22}

The Cricoteka is a different realization of Tadeusz Kantor's Art of Memory, one that is directed towards the future.

\textbf{Notes:}

2. Tadeusz Kantor, Unpublished ms. in the Cricoteka collection, n.p.
15. Kantor, \textit{A Journey Through Other Spaces} 112.
17. Peter Brook, "Le pouvoir de l'artisan" in \textit{Kantor, l'artiste à la fin du XXe siècle} 171.
19. Ibid.
Concentrating on the period extending roughly from 1860 to the present, Modernism/Modernity focuses systematically on the methodological, archival, and theoretical exigencies particular to modernist studies. It encourages an interdisciplinary approach linking music, architecture, the visual arts, literature, and social and intellectual history. The journal's broad scope fosters dialogue between social scientists and humanists about the history of modernism and its relations to modernization. Published three times a year in January, April, and September.

Forthcoming issues will include article clusters on Fascism and Culture, Wyndham Lewis, the Mind of Modernism, and more…

Prepayment is required. Annual Subscriptions: $28.00, individuals; $56.00, institutions. Single issue prices: $9.50, individuals; $19.00, institutions. Foreign postage: $4.00, Canada & Mexico; $8.50, outside North America. Payment must be drawn on a U.S. bank in U.S. dollars or made by international money order. MD residents add 5% sales tax. For orders shipped to Canada, add 7% GST (#124004946).

Send orders with payment or credit card information to:
The Johns Hopkins University Press, P.O. Box 19966, Baltimore, MD 21211, U.S.A.

For fastest service, order by Visa or MasterCard:
Telephone: 1-800-548-1784 • Fax: (410) 516-6968
Email: jlorder@jhunix.hcf.jhu.edu. Please include name of the journal, length of subscription (one or two years), credit card number, expiration date, and your name, address, and daytime phone number.