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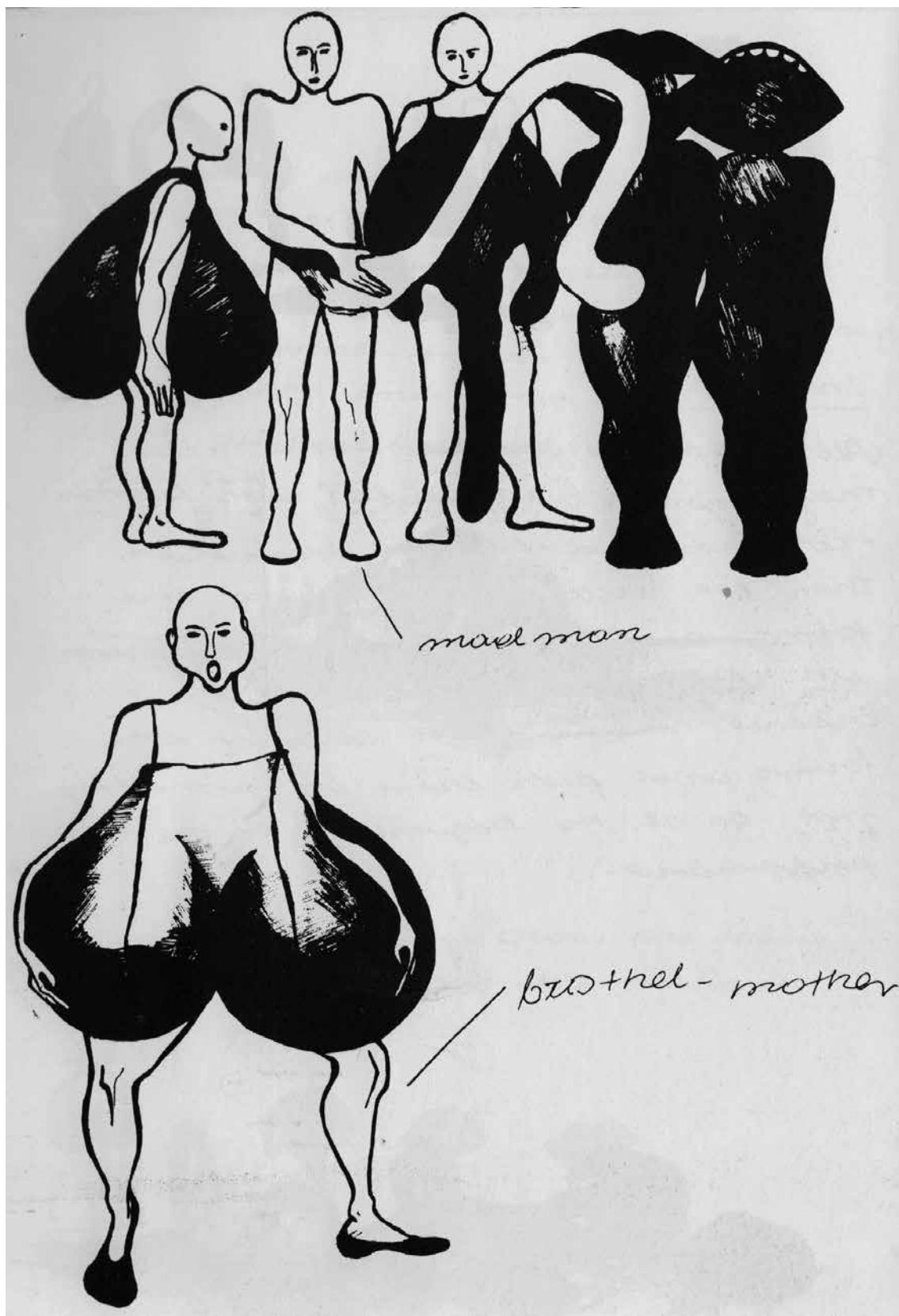
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HAMDI EL ATTAR AND KASSEL'S *STOFFWECHSEL* SHOWS OF THE EIGHTIES: NOTES ON THE OFF- MAINSTREAM PRESENCE OF POLISH ARTISTS

To explore in depth the contemporary art that has been presented in Kassel, one ought not to stop at the quinquennial *documenta*, a popular and influential festival of Western art which - obviously - has been promoting one unquiet narrative after another. There is a richer subtext available if one examines phenomena in general situated away from the central current of Western art; phenomena whose voices, although in fact carried by the latter tide, testified to the existence of alternative directions but were not widespread until many years later. What I have in mind here is art originating outside the cultural centre of the West: that of African countries and other former colonies, emancipated eventually at the *documenta 11* in 2002, on the initiative of Okwui

Enwezor, in addition to the neo-avant-garde of Central and Eastern Europe, recognised by Ruth Noack and Roger M. Buergel fifteen years ago. As I understand it, the example for the three of them was provided by shows curated by Hamdi el Attar, a lecturer at Kassel's Kunsthochschule and curator interested in non-Western pursuits, of Egyptian descent himself. His projects, spanning the period of 1982 to 1992, occupied the post-industrial K18 hall and included works from Polish artists too. These were exhibitions brought about by surveys of developments shared by territories deemed exotic by the contemporary art milieu at the time.

In this paper I reflect on how subversion against the widest publicised artistic events can complement the image of art in general and, in

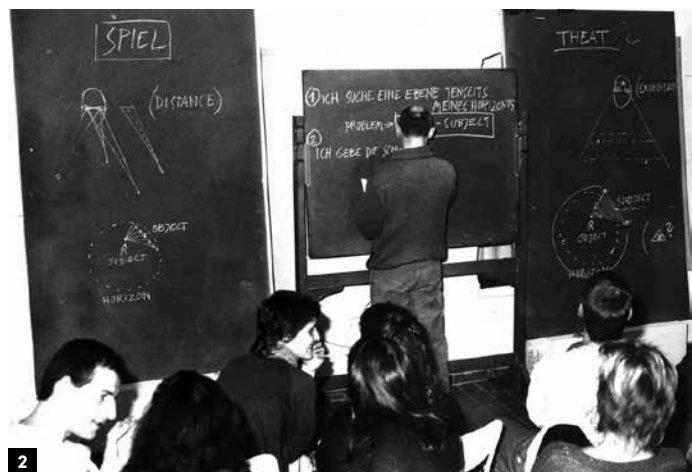
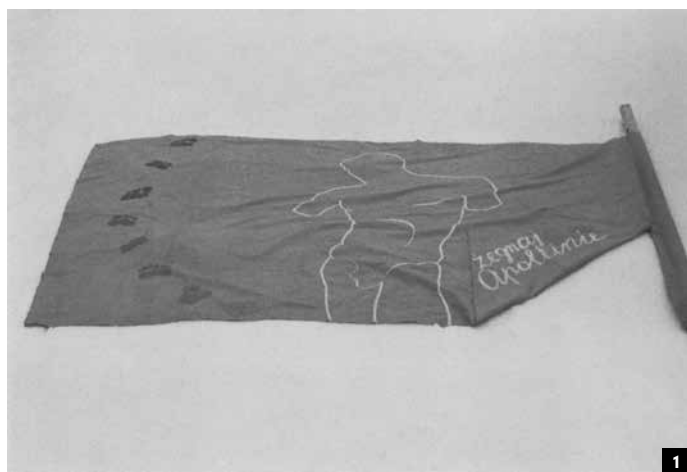


Aleksandra Holownia, sketch for performance *Ulysses*, 1986. Courtesy of the artist

particular, that of the history of contemporary art in the later phases of Iron-Curtained Central and Eastern Europe, namely in the eighties. The paradigm builds upon the horizontal approach to art history - a proposition challenging all hierarchical narratives - and places at its centre the relation between an artist and where he or she lives and works.¹ The paper aims at examining a certain part of the output of Polish artists (Wincenty Dunikowski-Duniko, Maria Pinińska-Bereś, Anna Kutera, Maciej Toporowicz, Bogdan Korczowski, Alexandra Hołownia, Kooperatywa artystyczna THEAT (THEAT Artists' Cooperative), and the groups Koło Klipsa and Gruppa) and interpreting their presence within three shows curated by el Attar: *Stoffwechsel* (1982), *MuKu – Multimedia Kunst* (1985), and *Künstlergruppenzeigen Gruppenkunstwerke* (1987) - in the contexts of Poland's artistic, political, and existential reality after the introduction of Martial Law in the country in 1981. Remarks concerning the region's geographical factors, shaping the artistic map when barriers for Poland were reinforced, are made because of those artists' presence in the Western (although, let me stress: non-mainstream) circulation of art. Their experience of multifaceted separateness justifies speaking about them in the metaphorical terms of activity pursued 'on the boundaries'² and when the decade in question had only begun, political and artistic boundaries between the worlds were more evident than ever. Still, the period examined here includes great variation in terms of the levels of oppression exercised by the Communist regime in Poland: the fact of Polish works or artists being featured on the global scene at the *Stoffwechsel* show in 1982, while domestic social life faced the harshest suppression, is of different significance to the *MuKu – Multimedia Kunst* show in 1985, or the exhibition *Künstlergruppenzeigen Gruppenkunstwerke* of 1987, when the Polish authorities were becoming - rather unwillingly - less and less oppressive.

Metabolism - Theory as Defined Through the Practice of Exhibiting

The search for otherness and the penetration into peripheries is deeply rooted in the biography of Hamdi el Attar - both in his artistic practice and organisational activity, and in the theory emerging between these two fields. Born in 1938 in Egypt, he received his artistic education in Stuttgart, to hold the position of an academic professor at Kassel's Kunsthochschule from 1974 through to 1999. A cultural emancipator, backed by the West German elites, he inspired them to look at art differently and embrace what was not considered central. As an artist and a designer he worked with textiles, and as a curator he attracted artists by experimenting with materials, which often produced brilliant site-specific installations. Being employed at the university did not stop him from criticising art institutions or the curatorial elite.³ Rather, it is artists who were his kin, and it is their self-organised undertakings, modestly structured, that were his mode - one aiming to blur the polarising professional boundaries dividing the artist, the critic, and the curator. He travelled the world and mapped the art scenes in places whose atmosphere was set by the people and their work, and not by state institutions. That method would guide him both in the early eighties, when he looked for ways to introduce textiles into the field of the visual arts, and ten years later, when he took an interest in the art of Islamic, Caribbean, and African countries⁴ - issues demonstrated in the *K18 Stoffwechsel (K18 Textile Metabolism)* show of 1982 and in *Begegnung mit den Anderen (Encountering Others)* of 1992, respectively. He rejected the tendency to gravitate towards an emphasis on curatorial narratives and attempts to legitimise them by featuring the same artists over and over. This is a trend that was pointed out repeatedly to many independent and charismatic curators who presided over *documenta* or other major festivals. Charles Green and Anthony Gardner even dared to name a few giants, such as Harald Szeemann, Rudi Fuchs, Okwui Enwezor, or



1. Maria Pinińska-Bereś, *Standard: Farewell to Apollo*, 1976. Courtesy of Maria Pinińska-Bereś and Jerzy Bereś Foundation

2. *THEAT Lecture*, 1984. Courtesy of Zygmunt Piotrowski

3. Wincenty Dunikowski-Duniko, *Ready for Use*, photo Horst Hoheisel. Courtesy of the artist

Massimiliano Gioni, and impute their complicity, claiming they helped certain individuals by creating a demand for the latter's products that would by far exceed their supply.⁵ In his practice and writings, el Attar openly objected to the commodification of art. Active as an artist, he developed an alternative model for the practical verification of theories - one produced in a position of academic authority but at the same time devised against everything we know from all sorts of rational or economic propositions. That model was to pursue artistic experimentation and demonstrate the result in the format of a problem-oriented exhibition. So, el Attar consolidated other artists around himself to engage them in his projects, also extending this circle to include students and correspondents from the entire world. As far as Poland's artistic context is concerned, he owed his grasp of it in the early eighties to the Kraków-based critic and curator Stanisław Urbański, while in the second half of that decade he had the performer Alexandra Hołownia working closely with him.

It had not taken el Attar very long to perceive the benefits of collective work: there were projects signed by the K18 Stoffwechsel Project Group (Projektgruppe K18 Stoffwechsel) in the

late seventies already, and their collective identity came to be confirmed by the *K18 Stoffwechsel* show in 1982.⁶ Preparations for the exhibition spanned a period of four years, during which the idea to transform the matter by employing alternative substances in the artistic process and in the field of visual arts, grew and matured.⁷ However, as the boundaries between art and design were still clearly defined at the time, the K18 Stoffwechsel Project Group appeared as intruders in a domain not entirely theirs - that is, outside the bounds imposed on them by the designers' competences. K18's work bore the experience of meanings which manifest themselves in the way a substance is employed when creating, and in trespassing into the field of design, where the rules of pragmatic use apply. The collection displayed in the K18 hall in 1982, being a survey of the applications of textiles in contemporary art, brought about reflection on what the significance of situations like that might be.⁸ The show enjoyed exposure and was commented on widely, being covered in more than a dozen reviews printed in dailies, in both local and nationwide German press. The artists mentioned most, the authors of pieces reproduced in the articles, included Ilona Ruegg, Akiko Hamatani,



Veerle Dupont, the group *En avant comme avant*, E.R. Nele, and Horst Hoheisel.⁹

Obviously, making form and substance change in an artistic process entails the creation of new meanings, and conceptual experiments of the previous decade had carefully deconstructed such phenomena. What the eighties saw, in turn, were the formulas of allusive expression—a language found in the productions of Polish artists featured in the *K18* exhibition in Kassel. The piece by Maria Pinińska-Bereś bearing a likeness of an ancient statue of Apollo (*Fahne. Abschied mit Apollo* (Standard: Farewell to Apollo), 1976) took the shape of an abandoned standard, with an inscription in Polish: *Żegnaj Apollinie* (Goodbye, Apollo), and was possibly a nostalgic reflection on the fading of classical ideals - that of beauty, among others - overwhelmed by the current brutal reality. Pinińska-Bereś didn't make it to the show: the closed border and lack of passport kept her from leaving the country; in addition, having the works shipped back to Poland caused a lot of problems and generated an exorbitant cost.¹⁰

It was a different case with regard to the situation of Wincenty Dunikowski-Duniko: already a resident of West Germany, he was the only

featured Pole to attend the exhibition in person. His was a site-specific installation for the space of the former factory, titled *Ready for Use*. The artist used tree branches and trunks painted white, red, and black and similar glossy foil applications. The form of these objects conjures up an abandoned or stranded ark, or a forsaken warehouse full of dust-covered standards or banner poles, symbols of power, and life-saving appliances.

The piece by Anna Kutera, missing today, titled *Równoległa projekcja tautologiczna* (Parallel Tautological Projection), made an appearance at the show as records alone: photographs were displayed on slides. The great variety of media featured in the exhibition could be seen as untamed experimentation from the Western point of view - but to me, the organisational difficulties faced by the Poles only signified the existential disaster in the country. Fittingly, the *K18* hall, formerly a site of Henschel-Werke, repurposed in the thirties and forties to manufacture locomotives and APCs for the army. During World War II, forced labour from Eastern Europe was used there, and in 1982 the halls were dirty, damp, permeated with grease. The brick structures with complementary steel elements and ceiling-mounted lighting fixtures provided

some 21.5 thousand square feet of context which had nothing in common with the elegant interiors of the neoclassical edifice of the Fridericianum housing the concurrent *documenta 7*.

In that edition of the festival, designed content-wise by Rudi Fuchs, the reception has seen a reaction to the previous one (*documenta 6*), propounding an understanding of art as a tool for social change above all else. In the early eighties, Fuchs unhesitatingly drew on the traditions - the notions of beauty or artistic individualism - and some of the artworks on show were representational; the exhibition actually celebrated expressionist painting. Only one artist from Poland was featured: Edward Dwurnik, with his series of canvases titled *Sportowcy* (Sportsmen).¹¹ The rulers of the Polish People's Republic allowed him to travel to West Germany for the opening in exchange for his promise to refrain from boycotting the country's official art institutions as called for by the cultural circles after the introduction of martial law. The case of Dwurnik diverges from those of the Polish artists featured in the accompanying event: while the former's decisions were pragmatic and individualist, intended to make a name for himself in the world's professional circulation of art, the latter believed instead in the ideal of the artistic process and the benefits it brings to any alternative community.

Towards a Collective Effort

Another large project of the K18 Stoffwechsel Project Group to follow, assumed the form and formula of the *MuKu Multimedia – Kunst* show (1985). In it, the multimedia genre of art was defined as creation which combines various means and procedures of expression in order to free oneself from any conventional limitations. The practice of multimedia, where the work is given both spatial and temporal dimensions, was meant to turn the artist's and the viewer's attention away from the tangibility of an object, from the technical aspects of its execution - from anything, in general, that could engender commodified perceptions. The process

of commodification was viewed as something fatal to the institutions and the personnel of the art world. Similar claims were being set forth by the Group in their programme notes: worded in the first-person plural, these were indicative of a collective effort and so emancipated the formula of artistic organisation, theory, and practice pursued collaboratively. Looking at the Group's printed materials from the period in question, we can see how the visual identity of their activities developed, incorporating certain brand-building features, such as the logotype.¹²

Several Polish entries into the exhibition had been accepted too. For the opening on June 15, émigrés Maciej Toporowicz, living in Munich at the time, and Bogdan Korczowski, based in Paris, produced an installation-performance titled *Zwei Künstler fern von zu Hause* (Two Artists Far From Home). They erected a room made of black foil, with a fluorescent Greek cross as a dominant. On the floor, a negative of that shape was placed, to be filled by the two with freshly mixed concrete during the event. The whole set-up was bathed in ultraviolet light, Korczowski appeared in white scrubs, and Toporowicz, bandaged up from head to toe. The performance, stemming from Malevichian mysticism, seems to be lauding the creative ways of the avant-garde. On a flyer accompanying the action, the artists issued a reductionist declaration defining their action in negative terms: "it is not a demonstration ... nor contestation ... politics ... nor a rite, not a beginning nor an end. Still, it is art."¹³

The idea for the stage piece by Alexandra Hołownia, titled *Ulisses* (Ulysses), was based on an imagined nocturnal city like those found in the literary experiments from James Joyce - a grotesque realm where procurers and prostitutes abound. The play had originally been produced in Warsaw's Buffo theatre in 1984, then rerun in Pracownia Dziekanka (Dean's Workshop), although in a smaller version, reduced for political reasons. The actors didn't make it to Kassel because they weren't granted passports - the artist arrived on her own, bringing colourful sculpture-costumes made of painted canvas. In the end she herself appeared before the audience, in the company of

unnaturally large mouths, arms, legs, breasts, a penis, and buttocks.

In 1985, Kassel's K18 also welcomed the THEAT Artists' Cooperative, led by Ukio (Zygmunt) Piotrowski and formed by a multinational array of individuals based in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland (Jürgen Fritz, Ulrike Hedwig, Andrzej Komorowski, Ina Pohorely, Hélène Prevost, Tomáš Ruller). The artists defined their practice as operating on the boundaries between extended theatre, philosophical activity, and alternative education. Their team effort was one of an open, improvised play or game manifesting the connections between people who engage in a creative process together.¹⁴ In roughly the same period, Piotrowski founded an international artists' group called Aufmerksamkeitschule (The School of Attentiveness). To them, being attentive constituted a means for the complete mental and physical understanding of any space where performance artists are to perform. In Kassel, Fritz presented records of what the Cooperative had done as well as their postulations.

The actions mentioned above shared the idea of a work of art determined by a communal effort - even if external factors sometimes prevented that from taking place. Over the second half of the decade, el Attar developed a theory for works to which multiple artists contribute, devoting one project of his after another to that matter. In 1986 he travelled to Poland: while in Warsaw, he spent time in Pracownia Dziekanka, a cult site of the movement who called themselves Kultura Zrzuty (Pitch-In Culture), and in Poznań he visited the city's Academy of Fine Arts and met the internationally recognised Polish conceptualist Jarosław Kozłowski. Going on a tour of Poland, arranged for him by his later long-term collaborator Alexandra Hołownia, el Attar joined Klaus Groch and Jorge Glusberg in the fellowship of organisers of the international art world who expressed an interest in the avant-garde of the Eastern Bloc. Unlike the other two, he witnessed a disastrous time, when Poland's artistic circles were polarised and the country's alt-culture, remote from the official circulation, instituted

affairs of great importance.¹⁵ The organisation of artistic life was then shifting towards collective formulas, justified by the political circumstances and serving as carriers for generational defiance and pronouncement.

El Attar's Polish journey was followed by the K18 show *Künstlergruppenzeigen Gruppenkunstwerke* of 1987,¹⁶ which can be examined as an exemplification of collaborative phenomena in the artistic domain. The exhibition displayed an adverse reaction to the individualistic treatment of artists and to the competitive disposition of the art world. Accordingly, el Attar's curatorial practice can be situated in the contexts of ever diminishing modernist attitudes (if these are understood as idiosyncratic expressions of particular subjects) and the increasingly familiar postmodernist approach, welcoming the not entirely predictable interplay of multiple actors and factors. After all, the latter mode had been guiding the K18 Stoffwechsel Project Group for several years. Critics in Germany recognised the significance of the show and appreciated its input into the development of notions about the installation genre as well as its take on the heterogeneous reality of art.¹⁷ Hołownia and Bożena Kowalska contributed to the exhibition content-wise, with the latter's text, dealing with modernist origins of Poland's contemporary artistic collectives, included in the catalogue for the event.¹⁸

Two Polish groups were included in the show. In arranging their *Wystawa 5* (Exhibition 5), the Poznań-based Koło Klipsa - Mariusz Kruk, Leszek Knaflewski, Krzysztof Markowski - employed fable-like scenographical objects, such as a dwarf and a serpent. Warsaw's Grappa - the painters Ryszard Grzyb, Ryszard Woźniak, Paweł Kowalewski, Jarosław Modzelewski, Marek Sobczyk, Włodzimierz Pawlak - spent a couple of days working together on an installation of monumental proportions. Titled *Kuda Gierman*, the piece had been supposed to feature representations of the vagina, personifications of the classical elements, as well as demons and gods, but in the course of the work the artists decided to efface each individual composition - a gesture of

erasing any individuality and giving in to the logic and rules of group work.

The two groups' inputs and outcomes have already been reconstructed, comprehended, and interpreted. Aleksandra Alisauskas discerned in the show an instance of Western perceptions of Communism, relating and comparing it to Poland's post-1981 models of collective work.¹⁹ In the country, efforts made collectively in the 1980s were significant in political terms, while the perspective assumed by any display in the West could treat those simply as propositions of alternative formulas for artistic production and participation. Either way, the interpretation is determined by the interpreter's position in relation to the boundary between the Western world and Central-Eastern Europe. The extended formula of an art group applies to both these views and allows for the subversion of fatal forces that act in various systems, be they those entrenched in art markets or sanctioned by totalitarian states.

Conclusion

The guiding idea of this paper has been an attempt to cover the relationships between what was receiving much exposure and what was considered off-mainstream - two realms which I, according to the applied horizontal methodology, do not see as entirely separate, although they are oriented towards separateness and function as such in the discourse. The *Künstlergruppenzeigen Gruppenkunstwerke* show ran concurrently with the celebrated *documenta 8*. That edition, conceived by Manfred Schneckenburger, seemed modelled after some handbook or manual of postmodernism: the end of grand narratives, on the one hand, and programmatic eclecticism, on the other, were manifested outright.²⁰ As concepts these are not far from the theses derived from the cooperative pursuits of the K18 Stoffwechsel Project Group. Also, the same festival featured several performance acts by Black Market, formed on the occasion by Boris Nieslony, Jürgen Fritz, Norbert

Klassen, Zygmunt Piotrowski, Jacques van Poppel, Tomáš Ruller, and Zbigniew Warpechowski. Their pieces, bearing the common title *Das Brakteatenstück* and presented at Neue Galerie, dealt with tensions between the personalities of individual members of the collective and of the combined artistic organism.²¹ What shape, then, does the introductory metaphor of 'the boundaries' take if the flows between the communicating vessels of the art system are so strong? Once established, the boundary - even if it is not airtight - becomes a constituent of the two fields delineated on its sides. The current, however anchored in the best-exposed circulations, secured by the market, and responsive to the demands of contemporarily operating theories, founds a hierarchy like those taught in textbooks. It is being defined in opposition to the less endowed off-mainstream distribution, which came to be expressed so bluntly in Kassel's K18 hall in the eighties. Alternative directions had been destined to find their definitions in practice, with successive exhibitions serving to advance the methods of collective work and ultimately arrive at a vast multifarious mosaic, effected through the use of montage and offering a genuine experience of multiplicity. The method introduced by el Attar is traceable in his own profession - his interest in textile arts. Knowing the socially engaged artistic practices of the sixties, one ought to understand any collective activity in the field of art as something more extensive than just redefining the work of an artist, his or her means and media, and the related practicalities and theoreticalities - that is, one often ought to include in this understanding the artists' aspirations of redefining the very public sphere.²² In academic research on the design of textiles and clothing, it is fairly consensual to relate the histories of those to - broadly speaking - formulas of cooperation and communal action, for their ability to bond people with each other and communicate a person's affiliation of any kind, be it culture, ethnicity, gender, or politics.²³ Textiles are emanations of one's life in society, demonstrating political and moral entanglements as well as wealth or poverty.²⁴ With the conceptions put forward by

el Attar, artistic pursuits were meant to dissolve the individuality of an artist, and in this respect their stance departed from the well-known past of other avant-garde formations, such as the Dadaists or the Surrealists, where ideologists and leaders had been named. Perhaps that - this dissolution-wise orientation on the part of el Attar - was the reason why his project never bloomed into full actuality in the art field. The artists themselves would accept the entry conditions to strive later for sheer self-promotion. The members of Koło Klipsa eventually claimed that their *Exhibition 5* had been shown at *documenta 8* - a platitude so sound it even found its way as fact into one recently published monograph on Poland's artistic output of the eighties.²⁵ Despite an utmost willingness to write the history of art democratically, artists seem to keep compromising plans like those discussed here. In line with the logic of a Pole's success in the West, they kept setting up their identities on the periphery, warmed by the blaze of someone else's glory.

Translated by Błażej Bauer



Notes

- ¹ Piotr Piotrowski, "O horyzontalnej historii sztuki," *Artium Quaestiones* 20 (2009): 66.
- ² Following the December 13, 1981, many artists left Poland and attempted, on unequal terms, to make names for themselves locally in the West; others succeeded in having their work featured abroad only to realise they were unable to attend the shows in person due to administrative or financial reasons.
- ³ Paolo Bianchi, "Vom Anderssein der Anderen" (On Being Other than Others)," *Kunstforum International* 119 (1992): 526–41; Alexandra Holownia, "Inne definicje sztuki," *Artluk*, published electronically, accessed 28.07.2022, <http://www.artluk.com/eart.php?id=89>.
- ⁴ Hamdi el Attar and Elisabeth Herr, *Al Fan-Die Kunst Zeitgenössische Kunst in den islamischen Ländern* (Kassel: Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1995); Hamdi el Attar, *Türkische Kunst heute am Beispiel der Universität Mimar Sinan Istanbul* (Kassel: Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1990); *Karibische Kunst heute* (Kassel: Projektgruppe Stoffwechsel-Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1994), Exhib. cat.
- ⁵ Charles Green and Anthony Gardner, *Biennials, Triennials, and documenta. The Exhibitions That Created Contemporary Art* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 124.
- ⁶ The *K18 Stoffwechsel* show ran from June 20 to September 29, 1982; it is worth noting that the exhibition had been slightly desynchronised with *documenta 7* (June 19 through to September 28, 1982) - a shift attributable to the wish that the openings be kept from coinciding with each other.
- ⁷ It is no coincidence that the group as well as the show got their names from the process of metabolism—conversion of the energy (*Stoffwechsel* in German); cf. Hamdi el Attar, "Preface," in *Stoffwechsel K18, Internationale Kunstausstellung*, edited by Hamdi el Attar, Vera Kipp, and Karin Ohlenschlager (Kassel: Thiele und Schwarz, 1982), n.p.
- ⁸ "K 18 – Textile Metabolism," 37–40.
- ⁹ *K-18 Stoffwechsel Internationale Kunstausstellung Presseberichte 20.06–29.09.1982*, a file containing press materials collected by the Project Group Stoffwechsel is kept in the Archives of the Maria Pinińska-Bereś and Jerzy Bereś Foundation in Kraków, Poland.
- ¹⁰ In a letter to Andrzej Kostolowski, Maria Pinińska-Bereś spoke about herself being featured in the *K18 Stoffwechsel* show: "Also, I took part in a sideshow to Kassel's *documenta*, at their invitation. And what a terrible ordeal this business was - struggling with all sorts of impossibilities. All in all, it cost me my peace and a lot of money too. For instance, I was forced to pay for the return of my works, through foreign exchange dealings! I am beaten, completely." The correspondence is kept in the Archives of the Maria Pinińska-Bereś and Jerzy Bereś Foundation in Kraków, Poland.
- ¹¹ *documenta 7* (Kassel: D+V Paul Dierichs, 1982), Exhib. cat. See: Richard Flood et al., "Documenta 7: Continued," *Artforum* 21, no. 2 (1982): 81-86.
- ¹² Hamdi el Attar, "Multimedia Kunst," in *MuKu Multimedia – Kunst, June 15 to July 15, 1985, K18 hall* (Kassel: Universität GH Kassel, 1985), n.p.
- ¹³ "Unsere Aktivität ist: keine Manifestation, keine Kontestation (...) keine Politik (...) kein Ritual (...) es ist kein Anfang, kein Ende aber es ist Kunst."
- ¹⁴ Andrzej Komorowski and Ukio Piotrowski, *Kooperatywa artystyczna THEAT (The THEAT Artists' Cooperative)*, Brochure.
- ¹⁵ The so-called 'third-site / third-space chromatics' (chromatyka trzeciego miejsca) - the position of Poland's independent young artists within the country's circumstances of the eighties - was defined by Piotr Piotrowski, *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945* (Poznań: Rebis, 1999), 220–35.
- ¹⁶ Hamdi el Attar, ed., *Künstlergruppen zeigen Gruppenkunstwerke* (Kassel: Universität GH Kassel, 1987).
- ¹⁷ Florian Rötzer, "Künstlergruppen zeigen Gruppenkunstwerke," *Kunstforum International* 91 (1987): 309-14.
- ¹⁸ Bożena Kowalska, "Künstlergruppierungen in Polen," in *Künstlergruppen zeigen Gruppenkunstwerke*, edited by Hamdi el Attar (Kassel: Universität GH Kassel, 1987), 38-48.
- ¹⁹ Aleksandra Alisauskas, "Communists like them. Polish Artist Groups at Künstlergruppen zeigen Gruppenkunstwerke," in *Rejected Heritage. Polish Art of the 1980s* (Warszawa: MSN, 2011), 130-41.
- ²⁰ *documenta 8* (Kassel: Weber & Weidemeyer GmBH & Co KG, 1987), Exhib. cat.
- ²¹ *Ibidem*, 302.
- ²² See, e.g. Richard Sennett, *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (New Haven: Yale University, 2012).
- ²³ Janis Jefferies, "Editorial Introduction," in *The Handbook Of Textile Culture*, ed. Janis Jefferies, Diana Wood Conroy, and Hazel Clark (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 7-8.
- ²⁴ See, e.g. Annette B. Weiner, ed., *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, DC: Jane Schneider Smithsonian Scholarly Institution, 1991).
- ²⁵ Jakub Banasiak, *Proteuszowe czasy. Rozpad państwowego systemu sztuki 1982–1993* (Warszawa: MSN, 2020), 254.

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