

In Search of the Forgotten “Artistic” Olympians – Three Polish Architects in the Olympic Art Competitions

By Natalia Camps Y Wilant and Kamil Potrzuski

During the first part of the 20th century, the Olympic Art Competitions formed part of the Olympic programme and almost 1,800 artists competed in the disciplines of painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, and music. Olympic medals were awarded to the winners and can therefore be regarded as “artistic” Olympians. Considering the high number of participants it is surprising that not much is known about the life and *œuvres* of these participants. Only in the last 20 years has Olympic history research started to look more closely at their backgrounds.¹

Concerning the lack of interest in the “artistic” Olympians among sports historians, only assumptions can be made. Central reasons may be that their published biographies omit information on the Olympic Art Competition and that the artists’ biographies are not published internationally. The latter was the case for the “artistic” Olympians with Polish backgrounds. This article takes a look at the interesting history of three such architects – or to be precise, two architects and a sewage systems engineer.

The photograph

The photograph of a decaying swimming pool, taken in June of 2017, took the authors on an informative journey back in time and is also related to Olympic history. Preliminary background information unveiled that it was part of a health resort in the spa town of Ciechocinek in Poland. Designed and built by the architect Romuald Gutt (1888–1974) and the sewage engineer Aleksander Szniolis (1891–1963) in 1931, the complex consisted of both a thermal and a saline swimming pool, surrounded by sports and other supporting infrastructure. The well-composed functional distribution of the different areas and buildings served patients’ needs as well as recreational purposes. For example, the dimensions of

the swimming pool, 100 m long and 40 m wide, made it suitable for competitive sport and, consequently, the 1936 Polish swimming championships took place there. The resort was inaugurated in 1931 with a grand opening ceremony attended by Poland’s president Ignacy Mościcki. The Polish art historian Michał Duda described the reasons for the fascinating impression the complex building had on visitors: “all its elevations are simple, but not boring [...] they look equally interesting from all possible perspectives and no one dominates the others.”²

For decades, the swimming pool was appreciated by patients as well as by spa tourists. Since it was shut down in 2002, however, it has been in a state of rapid decay. Nevertheless, it is considered as one of the most significant examples of modern architecture built for public services in Poland during the interwar period.

The competition-ready dimensions of the swimming pool was the reason why the authors suspected a link between its architects and Olympic history, more precisely the list of the Olympic Art Competitions participants – and were proved to be correct. Gutt and Szniolis indeed participated in the 1936 artistic competitions held in Berlin as did their colleague, Edgar Norwerth (1884–1950), four years earlier.

A short overview of the Polish participants in the Olympic Art Competitions follows, before we turn to the lives and projects of these successful architects.

The Polish artists in the Olympic Art Competitions

Pierre de Coubertin’s vision to combine sport and art became a reality when the Consultative Conference on Art, Letters and Sport in 1906 resolved to include artistic competitions in the Olympic programme. But it was not until 1912 that the first Olympic Art Competitions took place “on the same footing as the sport competitions”.³ Though they were initially planned to take place in 1908, the first



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artistic competitions were cancelled due to organisational time constraints. Nevertheless, Coubertin pushed on with the idea of integrating an artistic element into the Olympic Games and came up with an architectural contest, which was realised in 1911.⁴ According to Richard Stanton, 21 architects submitted 200 works. About the winners, Eugène Monod and Alphonse Laverrière, the founder of the *École Libre d'Architecture* Gaston Trèlat wrote: "Their plan was designed for a lakeshore area near Morges. The 200 hectares area was divided into a nautical sports part with a yacht port, course for rowing competitions, spectator galleries, and a swimming pool. The other part comprised a football field, tennis courts, a stadium, and administration buildings. All elements were connected by an avenue."⁵ The authors have not been able to verify any Polish participants for this competition.

Concerning the Polish participants in the Olympic Art Competitions that followed, Stanton's list of participants enabled the authors to uncover some information as well as statistical facts.⁶ While Poland did not participate in the artistic competitions before the 1920s, 98 Polish artists competed in all five disciplines between 1928 and 1948. With 71 submissions the discipline of painting was the most popular, followed by sculpture with 18 submissions; literature and music had three participants each. The discipline of architecture had only two submissions: one in 1932 and the second one, a collaborative project, in 1936. Unfortunately, none of the submissions in architecture won any awards. Nevertheless, three gold, two silver, and three bronze medals as well as ten honourable mentions prove that Polish artists participated in the Olympic Art Competitions successfully.

Romuald Gutt (1888–1974)

Romuald Gutt was born on 6 February 1888 in Warsaw, but spent his childhood in Switzerland.⁷ After school, he started his academic career studying architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zurich and the School of Technology in Winterthur.

Gutt spent almost all of his professional life in Warsaw. His first projects as an architect comprised mostly private houses, cottages, and cosy school buildings in the so-called manorstyle, popular in Poland in the first years of

its independence. At only 22 years of age, he made his first international appearance with a pavilion design for the International Art Exhibition in Rome in 1911.⁸ Starting in 1926, Gutt's designs changed to functional forms and he started to use grey silicate bricks on the elevations of buildings, which became a characteristic decoration.

Together with Aleksander Szniolis, the architect Romuald Gutt (right) designed the large swimming pool in the spa town of Ciechocinek, which is known for its brine springs.

Left: entrance to the Health Resort in 1931, right: how it looked in 2017.
Photos: Polski Słownik Biograficzny [Polish Biographical Dictionary],
Architektura i Budownictwo [Architecture and Construction].

Among Gutt's famous projects during the 1920s and 1930s are a hotel for military officers in Plac Inwalidów (1925), Warsaw's Nursery School (1928) and the School of Political Sciences at the Wawelska Street (1928–1933), as well as his collaboration on a health resort in Ciechocinek (1931).

In parallel to his architectural projects, Gutt taught in Warsaw at the Academy of Fine Arts and the University of Technology, and later became the dean of its Faculty of Architecture. He continued to teach during the Second World War. Although the School for Construction where he taught was an institution accepted by the Nazi occupiers, the Academy of Fine Arts was not, so he had to teach in secret there. The war years were also a time of suffering for Gutt, including the loss of two of his children and poor living conditions for the once wealthy family.⁹

These might be reasons why, after the war, Gutt participated in restoration projects and became a member of the Principal Council of Warsaw's restoration in 1947. Examples of his contributions include the war cemetery in Warsaw's Wola district and at the Pawiak, a former Nazi prison and execution site, as well as the cemeteries at Palmiry (30 kilometres from the city centre), Majdanek, and Auschwitz (Oświęcim).¹⁰ His best-known building of the post-war period, besides those related to war commemoration, was Warsaw's Central Statistical Office (1948–51).

For his achievements, Gutt was awarded the Honourable Award of the Society of Polish Architects in 1966, which is today considered the most prestigious architectural award in Poland. He died in Warsaw on 3 September 1974.

Two well-known representatives of Polish modernism: Aleksander Szniolis (left), who, together with Romuald Gutt, submitted Ciechocinek's swimming pool design for the 1936 Olympic Art Competitions. Right: Edgar Aleksander Norwerth, who participated in 1932.

Photos: wikipedia commons



Aleksander Szniolis (1891–1963)

Gutt's partner in the spa project was Aleksander Szniolis. He was born on 13 September 1891 in Vilnius (Wilno) in present-day Lithuania.¹¹ Not much is known about his childhood and youth. The only information available on this time states that he finished high school (gimnazjum) in 1911 and began to study at the Institute of Technology in St. Petersburg, where he graduated in 1917.¹² He returned to Wilno where he worked at the Polish State Railways (DOKP) as a manager for its water department. In 1924, he changed to the field of public sanitary engineering, working at the National Hygiene Unit (PZH). In the same year, he received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and studied at Harvard's Graduate School of Engineering until 1926. On his return to Warsaw in the same year, he worked at the Polish National School of Hygiene, where he founded the Department of Sanitary Engineering two years later.¹³ From 1936 to 1944, Szniolis served as director of the School of Hygiene – one of the institutes of higher education allowed to continue their work under German occupation. Although the documentation is scarce in this respect, it can be assumed that it took Szniolis great effort to overcome administrative, bureaucratic, and personal obstacles while leading Poland's first research and teaching centre.

When the Warsaw Uprising was crushed, Szniolis was imprisoned in a labour camp in Breslau (after 1945 called Wrocław in Polish). Freed after the city's liberation, he went on to establish the National Hygiene Unit as a branch of the National Institute of Hygiene.¹⁴ While working at Breslau's University of Technology, he built the Faculty of Sanitary Engineering in 1950 and became its dean a year later. This job was followed by a position as chairman of the Water and Sewage Department, where he designed more than a dozen urban and industrial sewage farms.

As an academic, Szniolis wrote an impressive amount of 66 articles on sanitary engineering, such as "Germicidal properties of silver in water" (1936), "Control of typhoid fever in Poland" (1947), and "The fixed oxygen balance as basis for scientific planning to protect rivers against pollution" (1960).¹⁵ He was also editor-in-

chief of the Polish journal *Gas, Water, and Sanitary Engineering*. Less known is that he was involved with pro bono activities for the Lower Silesian Division of Polish Gas, Sewage and the Sanitary Technicians Association (PZITS), among others.

For his achievements in sanitary engineering, Szniolis received numerous awards, such as the Polonia Restituta Knight's Cross.¹⁶ The main auditorium of the Sanitary Engineering Building of the University of Technology as well as one of Breslau's streets carries his name. As Szniolis enjoyed a good reputation abroad, he was offered a consultant position at the World Health Organisation (WHO). The reasons for his refusal are unknown, but it can be assumed that negative reactions by the communist authorities influenced his final decision. Nevertheless, Szniolis's reputation in the field of sanitary engineering is uncontested. His achievements influenced younger generations, and his work was continued by researchers and specialists on water and sewage technologies, such as Apolinary Kowal (1925–2013), Henryk Mańczak (1921–1983), Edward Kempa (1927–2006), and Jerzy Kurbiel (1933–2002).

Aleksander Szniolis died on 13 May 1963 in Wrocław, where he is buried at St. Laurent cemetery (cmentarzśw. Wawrzyńca).

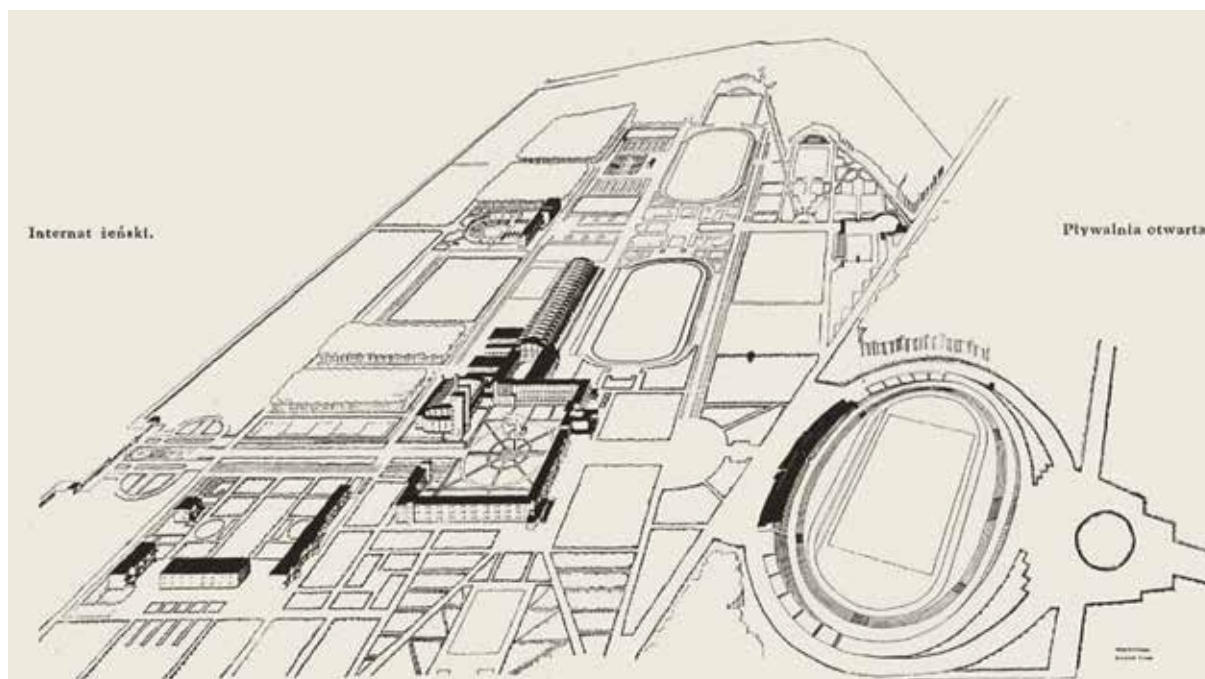
Neither the publications about Szniolis nor the ones about Gutt mention their participation in the Olympic Art Competitions. A look at the list of participants of the Olympic Art Competitions reveals that four years earlier, another Polish architect had taken part in the 1932 Olympic Art Competitions held in Los Angeles.¹⁷

Edgar Norwerth (1884–1950)

Edgar Aleksander Norwerth was born on 7 April 1884 in Versoix, Switzerland, as the only son of the Polish couple Jan and Joanna (née Niedzielska).¹⁸ According to Tomasz Śleboda, in 1887, the Norwerths went back to Krywe Ozero, the town in which the parents had married.¹⁹ Six years later, the family moved to Moscow. Norwerth's academic career took him from Moscow's College of Technology (graduation in 1901) and the Institute of Transport Engineering to the Institute of Civil Engineering in St. Petersburg. From 1917 to 1924 he worked as an academic in Moscow, was apparently never involved in political issues, and did not join the communist party until leaving Soviet Russia.²⁰

While completing his academic career, Norwerth developed an interest in architecture. Although it is currently unknown what educational path he took in this discipline, he left behind a number of achievements in this field. In 1919, Norwerth participated in a monument project for the Lev Tolstoy Basic Vocational School in Iasna Polana organised by the Soviet People's Commissariat for Enlightenment (NARKOMPROS) and won

Edgar Aleksander Norwerth's design for a sports centre in the Bielany district of Warsaw with the Central Institute for Physical Education (CIWF).



first prize. It can be assumed that Norwerth participated in other NARKOMPROS competitions, i.e. for rural schools, small houses, and worker settlements. A year later he was teaching at the Higher State Artistic and Technical Workshops in Moscow (WChUTEMAS).²¹ His models for the National Bank in Moscow and the Bacteriology Institute in Smolensk were contributions to Moscow's First Architectural Workshop, whose purpose was to reconstruct the city and other urban areas.²²

In the summer of 1924, Norwerth attended the First International Congress for Architectural Education in London, leaving the USSR and applying for British citizenship. Unfortunately, there are no sources that help to understand his motivations for such a risky decision of leaving the country illegally. When his application was rejected, Norwerth and his wife moved to Poland, where his younger sister lived, and where he soon found employment. Between 1925 and 1939 he was commissioned by the Polish Army and the Ministry of Military Affairs for buildings such as the railway station in Będzin (Upper Silesia, 1927–1931), a casino for a military recreational area in Cetniewo (Pomerania, 1931–33), a resort hotel in Truskawiec (Eastern Lesser Poland, now Ukraine, 1933), a military sanatorium in Otwock (Mazovia, 1935), and a culture and community centre in Kielce (Świętokrzyskie).

Norwerth joined the Society of Polish Architects (SAP) in 1927.²³ Two years later, he participated in the Common State Exhibition (Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa) (PeWuKa) in Poznań. The event is considered to be the most important exhibition of applied and commercial art in interwar Poland and was held to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Poland's independence.²⁴ During this time, Norwerth lectured at the Warsaw University

of Technology and designed his most outstanding project: the Central Institute of Physical Education (CIWF) in Warsaw. Today known as Józef Piłsudski University of Physical Education, the complex was built in 1929 but followed only 60–70% of the original plan as the stadium for international sporting events was not realised.²⁵

Among Polish art critics and historians, the CIWF is considered to be Norwerth's opus magnum and one of the most significant examples of modern public service architecture during Poland's interwar period.²⁶ In 1932 he participated in the Olympic Art Competitions in Los Angeles, but, unfortunately, the submitted project remains unknown. As in the biographies of Gutt and Szolis, there is no mention of Norwerth's participation in the Olympic Art Competitions.

Besides architecture, Norwerth had two additional passions. First, he was also interested in book illustrations (ex-libris). According to Ettinger, he participated in his first book illustration exhibition in



The Central Institute for Physical Education (CIWF) in Warsaw, which opened in 1929.

Photos: Polski Słownik Biograficzny [Polish Biographical Dictionary], Architektura i Budownictwo [Architecture and Construction].

Cross-section of the Central Institute for Physical Education (CIWF).



Hospital and courtyard, right: entrance hall of boarding school.



Photos: *Architektura i Budownictwo* [Architecture and Construction].

Kazan in 1922.²⁷ Three years later, the public library in Leningrad exhibited some of his works in the show *Russian Ex-libris and Figures*, although he was no longer living in the USSR.²⁸ In 1929, Zagreb's National Museum presented the *First Exhibition of Slavic Ex-libri*, with 400 exhibits that included works by Norwerth. Further, the Zacheta art gallery in Warsaw and the Industrial Museums in Kraków, Lublin, and Lwów exhibited his works.²⁹ His second passion was photography, which might have been influenced by his work as a journalist.

From 1918 until 1933, he wrote for magazines, such as *Architektura i Budownictwo* (Architecture and Construction) and *Arkady*, illustrating his later articles with his photographs. In 1930 he also became a member of the Institute of Fine Arts Promotion (Instytut Propagandy Sztuki).

When the Second World War started in September 1939, Norwerth was evacuated from Warsaw together with the employees of the Ministry of Military affairs and lived in Tarnopol (now Ukraine), leaving his sister in Warsaw. Although his sister died during the siege of the city, Norwerth worked for the German occupiers in the Department for Construction Engineering from 1940 to 1943. Because of the tragic personal experiences, such as his sister's death, poor living conditions, and his fragile health, Norwerth and his wife moved to Czarny Dunajec, a mountain area, where he hoped to recover.

Upon their return to Warsaw on 18 April 1945, Norwerth worked at the Department of Urbanism in Warsaw's

Restoration Office (BOS). Until his death on 19 September 1950, his main responsibilities were to accompany the city's restoration process as well as the development of the Central Institute of Physical Education.

Conclusion

The background information uncovered by the authors about these three men illustrates the impressive amount of projects they undertook and how their ideas influenced the development of the discipline of architecture in Poland. Furthermore, the authors discovered that the three all took a multidisciplinary approach in their projects, bringing together ideas from architecture, engineering, urban planning, and other creative fields. The list of their projects and the accompanying photographs demonstrate their familiarity with large-scale projects and their understanding and skill in combining considerations of design, site-specific conditions, and the intended functions.

The art historian Andrzej Kazimierz Olszewski confirms this assessment with his description of Norwerth's architectural heritage as follows: "[Norwerth's] concern was for the quality of the whole urban space, for its realisation and its surroundings, aspirations to integrate it with the landscape, and to use existing terrain and green spaces as extensively as possible."³⁰ This commitment to high quality applies equally to Gutt and Szniolis.

This information on the architects Gutt, Szniolis, and Norwerth enhances the existing information on the participants of the Olympic Art Competitions. Although the authors have not yet been able to uncover details about the works they submitted to these competitions, the fact that Norwerth, Gutt, and Szniolis made important contributions to their respective fields of architecture and sewage engineering in Poland challenges the notion that the Olympic Art Competitions were discontinued due to the poor quality of the works submitted by the participants.

In sum, the findings of this article shows that further research into the backgrounds of other "artistic" Olympians is worth while, adding valuable information and deepening our understanding of the Olympic Art Competitions. ■

- 1 Pierre Gricius, "The Only Artist to Win Two Olympic Gold Medals", *Journal of Olympic History*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2018), pp.61–67; Natalia Camps Y Wilant, "A Female Medallist at the 1928 Olympic Art Competitions: The Sculptress Renée Sintenis", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 33, issue 13 (2016), pp. 1483–1499; Richard Stanton, *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2002), pp. 268–336; Pierre Gricius, "Painter Jean Jacoby and Sculptor Frantz Heldenstein – A pair of Unknown Luxembourg Medallists and the story of the Olympic Art Competitions", *Journal of Olympic History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2010), pp.9–16.
- 2 Michał Mateusz Duda, "Romuald Gutt – portret architekta [Romuald Gutt – Portrait of an Architect]," accessed 2 July 2019, <http://sztuka-architektury.pl/article/7955/romuald-gutt>.
- 3 Pierre de Coubertin, *Une campagne de vingt-et-un ans (1887–1908)* (Paris: Plon–Nourrit, 1909), p. 194.
- 4 Pierre de Coubertin, "Une Olympie Moderne," *Revue Olympique* 49, January (1910), pp. 9–13; Pierre de Coubertin, "Le Concours International d'Architecture", *Revue Olympique* 60 December (1910), pp. 179–80; Pierre de Coubertin, "Rapport sur le Concours d'Architecture", *Revue Olympique* 68, August (1911), pp. 116–20.
- 5 Stanton, *The Forgotten*, p. 28.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 374–412.
- 7 For Gutt's biographical data, see Tadeusz Zieliński, Grażyna Jonkajtys-Luba et al., *Romuald Gutt* (Warsaw: Arcady, 1968), p. 11; as well as the National Digital Archive, signature 20–43.
- 8 The exhibition was also the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Italy's unification. The pavilion was considered to be Polish unofficially, because at that time Poland was still divided between Germany, Austria–Hungary, and the Russian Empire.
- 9 Anna Dybczyńska-Bułyśzko, "Otwartość i pragmatyzm. Architektura organiczna Romualda Gutta" [Openness and pragmatism. Organic architecture of Romuald Gutt], in: Błażej Pindor, *Warszawa Gutta [Gutt's Warsaw]* (Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Architektury i Urbanistyki, wydawnictwo Raster, 2018), pp. 141–179. His children were Maria (1918), Jan, Aniela and Michał (1928). The first three were members of the resistance movement during the occupation. Jan was killed during the occupation; Aniela and Maria were arrested and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where Maria died. Aniela survived and moved to Switzerland after Poland's liberation. Michał lived his life in Warsaw.
- 10 Dybczyńska-Bułyśzko, "Otwartość", p. 172; Anna Cymer, "Romuald Gutt – twórca" [Romuald Gutt – a creator], accessed July 2, 2019, <https://culture.pl/pl/tworca/romuald-gutt>.
- 11 Andrzej M. Dziubek, "Zasłużeni – Aleksander Szniolis" [Distinguished – Aleksander Szniolis], website of the Polish Gas, Sewage, and Sanitary Technicians Association, accessed February 25, 2019, http://www.pzits.nots.pl/docs/zasluzeni_bio/Szniolis.pdf. Wilno's agitated past is not mentioned here. For more information, especially about the Polish, Soviet, and Lithuanian heritage in modern Vilnius architecture see Edmund Małachowicz, *Wilno: dzieje, architektura, cmentarze* [Vilnius: History, Architecture, Cemeteries] (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1996).
- 12 Stanisław Sroka, "Szniolis Aleksander Bronisław 1891–09–13–1963–05–16", *Polski Internetowy Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Online Biographical Dictionary], accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/aleksander-bronislaw-szniolis>. See also Jan Trzynadłowski, *Uczni wrocławscy, vol. 1 (1945–1979)* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowym. Ossolińskich, 1980).
- 13 Sanitary engineering, also known as public health engineering or wastewater engineering, is the application of engineering methods to improve the sanitation of communities.
- 14 The Polish name of the institution was "Państwowy Instytut Higieny", whereas the term Państwowy is not easily translatable into English, meaning "run by the state".
- 15 A. Szniolis, H. Marcinkowska-Lapieńska, "The iodine content of Polish waters in connection with goiter", *Arch. Chem. Farm.* (1935); J. Just, A. Szniolis, "Germicidal properties of silver in water", *Journal of American Water Works Association* (1936); A. Szniolis, "Control of typhoid fever in Poland", *Polski tygodnik lekarski [Polish Journal of Medicine]* (1947); A. Szniolis, "The fixed oxygen balance as basis for scientific planning to protect rivers against pollution", *Breslau University of Technology Papers [Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Wrocławskiej]* (1960).
- 16 As no date is given in Szniolis's biographies, it cannot be stated when the award was given to him. The Polonia Restituta, awarded since 1921, is, like the White Eagle's Award and the Virtuti Militari, an important award in Poland. It was established by the Parliament's Bill from February 4, 1921. There are five classes of Polonia Restituta: the Knight's Cross, the Officer's Cross, the Commander's Cross, the Commander's Cross with the Star, and the Great Cross. For more information, see Zbigniew Puchalski, *Dzieje polskich znaków zaszczytnych* [The history of Polish Prestigious Distinctions] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2000).
- 17 Stanton, *The Forgotten*, p. 399.
- 18 For biographical information, see Tomasz Śleboda, *Edgar Norwerth 1884–1950. Artysta i człowiek* [Edgar Norwerth 1884–1950. An Artist and a Person] (Warsaw – Toruń: Polski Instytut Badań nad Sztuką i Wiadomości, wydawnictwo Tako, 2018), pp. 24–28, 316. Paweł Fruba, "Norwerth Edgar Aleksander 1884–1950", *Polish Biographical Dictionary* [Polski Słownik Biograficzny] (Wrocław – Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowym. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1978), pp. 185–186. Fruba incorrectly researched the name of Norwerth's mother, which was Otylia Kostecka.
- 19 Śleboda, *Edgar Norwerth*, p. 26.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–62.
- 23 The SAP was founded in 1926 in Warsaw and stands in the tradition of Polish architectural societies, the oldest of which is Krakowskie Towarzystwo Techniczne [Kracow Engineering Society] established in 1877. In 1934 the SAP became Stowarzyszenie Architektów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (SARP) [Architect's Society of the Republic of Poland] and has kept the name until today. See website accessed July 2, 2019, http://www.sarp.org.pl/pokaz/historia_sarp,1833/.
- 24 The PeWuKa was organised by Poznań's government in cooperation with the State authorities and took place between 16 May and 30 September 1929. It had around 4.5 million visitors of which 200,000 were from foreign countries (mostly from Germany and Czechoslovakia). See: Zbigniew Kopeć, *Poznań między wojnami. Opowieść o życiu miasta 1918–1939* [Poznań Between the Wars. A Story of the City] (Łódź: Księży Młyn, 2013); Maciej Roman Bombicki, *PWK – Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa* [PWK – Common State Exhibition] (Poznań: Ławica, 1992).
- 25 The Polish name is Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego Józefa Piłsudskiego (AWF), which was given to the institution in 1938.
- 26 Jarosław Zieliński, *Bielany – przewodnik historyczny* [A Guide Through Bielany History] (Warsaw: Urząd Dzielnicy Bielany m.st. Warszawy, 2015), p. 155.
- 27 Paweł Ettinger, *Polski exlibris w Moskwie w 1922 r.* [Polish Exlibris in Moscow in 1922] (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Książki, 1946).
- 28 Śleboda, *Edgar Norwerth*, pp. 249–258.
- 29 Now Lviv in Ukraine.
- 30 Andrzej Kazimierz Olszewski, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej 1890–1980* [Polish Art History 1890–1980] (Warsaw: Interpress, 1988), p. 52.