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First published in 1980, the *Rutgers Art Review* is an open-access journal produced by graduate students in the Department of Art History at Rutgers University. It is dedicated to publishing original scholarship by graduate students in art history and related fields. In 2012, the *Rutgers Art Review* transitioned from a subscription-based, print publication to a digital journal. All future issues will be published online and available for download from the *Rutgers Art Review* website and EBSCO.

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Francesca Giannetti, the Digital Humanities Librarian at Rutgers, provided invaluable advice as we migrated our website to a different server. We benefitted from her timely recommendations about custom domains, external hosts, and other technical matters. Veronica Armour encouraged us to utilize the School of Communication and Information's online resources and offered new collaborative opportunities with doctoral students in other departments. We look forward to strengthening the relationship between our two programs. Francesca Stoppa, a recent graduate of the Mason Gross School of the Arts, handled the graphic design for this volume. Her attention to detail and mastery of InDesign greatly simplified the process of digitization.

The five members of our Editorial Board were instrumental when reviewing submissions and considering which ones to advance to the round of peer review. Their close readings and varied perspectives made for stimulating conversations about each manuscript. Finally, we recognize our faculty advisor, Professor Erik Thunø, for serving as a useful sounding board over the past eighteen months. We hope you enjoy reading Volume 36 of the *Rutgers Art Review*.

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During the phenomenon known as "peasant-mania" in *fin-de-siècle* Poland, many artists viewed peasants as embodiments of national strength and morality. Stanisław Wyspiański's (1869–1907) pastel *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* (1904) and drama *The Wedding* (1901) were produced in this climate and are centered around the relationships of male artists with peasant women. This essay examines Wyspiański's visual and literary output in relation to nineteenth-century Polish sociohistorical discourse on class identity and Wyspiański's own interclass marriage. I argue that Wyspiański addressed the same issues of class identity, nationalism, and patriotism in both *Self-Portrait* and *The Wedding*.

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Since its founding in 2002, *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* has been a key innovator in the burgeoning field of Digital Art History. In this interview, Professor Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, one of the journal's inaugural editors, reflects on *NCAW*'s early days, growth, and plans for the future. Topics covered range from the journal's open-access model and sources of funding to its collaborations with outside foundations and joint sponsorship of an annual graduate student symposium with the Dahesh Museum of Art. Chu's robust engagement with digital humanities projects and her willingness to rethink the possibilities of art historical scholarship are particularly relevant today.

La femme à la chasse: Anne Vallayer-Coster's Paintings of the Hunt

by Kelsey Brosnan

Still life painter Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818) was one of four *académiciennes* admitted to the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in the late eighteenth century (Fig. 1). Throughout her career, Vallayer-Coster painted a range of textures, alternately organic and artificial, luxuriant and quotidian. Though she is typically characterized as a painter of flowers and fruit, Vallayer-Coster also produced at least three representations of the hunt.[1] However, these works have garnered little attention—perhaps because they constitute a rather small subsection of her œuvre, and they seem to adhere to the hunting trophy formula established by her academic forbears, François Desportes (1661–1743) and Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755): hunting dog, gun, and thick piles of dead game, situated in landscape settings.[2]

Art historians have recently begun to consider the political and cultural dimensions of the hunt, and the implications of its representation in eighteenth-century French art.[3] Amy Freund, for example, has explored the formation of masculine identities in eighteenth-century hunting portraits and animal paintings.[4] Freund's interpretation of these images requires that the viewer identify with the hunter; she explains, "We the viewers take the position of that man, surveying what we have killed, and what still remains to be killed."[5] The presumed complicity of the hunter, artist, and viewer is perhaps best illustrated by Desportes's reception piece, *Self-Portrait in Hunting Dress* (Fig. 2). With this work, Desportes was admitted to the Academy as a *peintre d'animaux* [animal painter] in 1699. Despite the apparent rigidity of the hierarchy of genres at the turn of the eighteenth century, Desportes's self-portrait offers evidence of the hybridity, or perhaps the porousness, of the genre of the hunt. These scenes often required proficiency in rendering the human likeness, a natural landscape, animals dead and alive, as well as the textures of other objects associated with still life painting. The portrait was subsequently installed in the assembly room of the Academy at the Louvre, and came to serve as a prototype for this subgenre of male portraiture, soon emulated by Oudry and others.[6]

In *Self-Portrait in Hunting Dress*, the artist presents himself as the protagonist of the hunt, asserting his dominance over his slain subjects: we can imagine that the artist himself hunted and killed the very animals that he depicts laying in a heap beside him. He offers his viewers (and potential patrons) a kind of vicarious pleasure, allowing them to imagine themselves in a position of masculine dominance over nature. Indeed, Desportes frequently

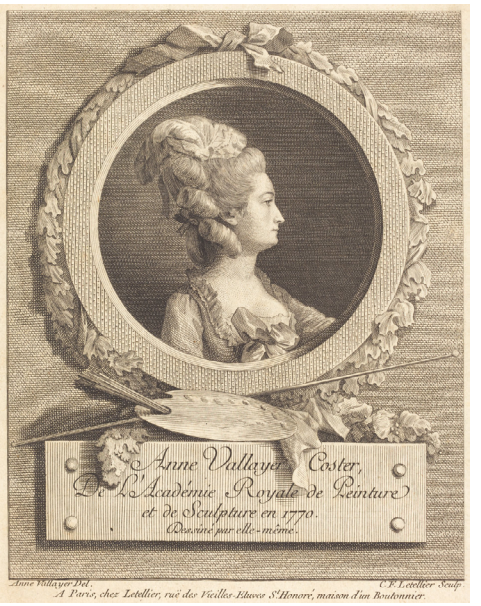

Fig. 1. Charles François Le Tellier after Anne Vallayer-Coster, *Anne Vallayer-Coster, Académicienne*, after 1781, etching and engraving, 9 1/4 x 7 3/8 in. (23.4 x 18.6 cm), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Image open access, courtesy of National Gallery of Art.

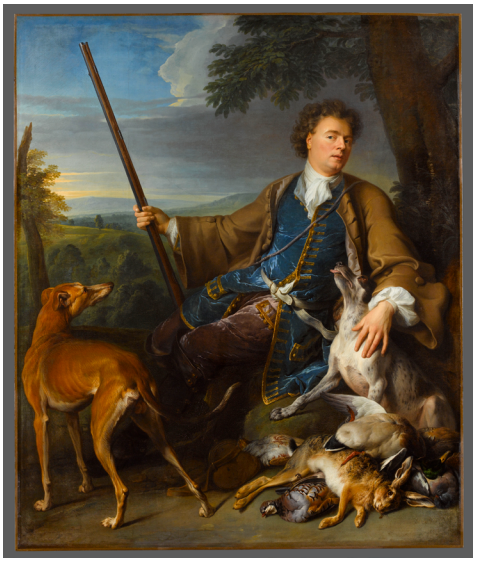

Fig. 2. François Desportes, *Self-Portrait in Hunting Dress*, ca. 1699, oil on canvas, 77 1/2 x 64 1/5 in. (197 x 163 cm), Musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

attended the *chasse royale* [royal hunt], sketchbook in hand—thereby gaining access to the greatest *chasseur* [hunter] and patron of all, the king.[7] Desportes was thus quite capable of allying himself with the "hunter-patron" and producing images that recalled his trials and successes in the woods.

What, then, do we make of Vallayer-Coster's paintings of the hunt? How does her work complicate Freund's argument? As the daughter of a goldsmith, who lived her entire life in Paris, Vallayer-Coster probably never participated in this primarily masculine and aristocratic form of recreation. What did it mean for a woman to paint a gun in the eighteenth century—much less to wield one? If representations of the hunt served as a form of vicarious pleasure for aristocratic men, what was the appeal for a female artist or viewer?

Vallayer-Coster certainly inherited the tradition of the hunting trophy; yet unlike her male predecessors, Vallayer-Coster was forced to imagine the hunt's pleasures from a distance, through a close examination of its material attributes. I argue that Vallayer-Coster's representations of the hunt are rife with contradictions. The artist emphasizes the sensual textures of the dead animal bodies, as well as the weapons used to slaughter them, which suggests a conflicted attitude towards the subject. This sense of ambivalence ultimately serves to undermine the patriarchal violence and power associated with the hunt—the same power represented in similar paintings by Desportes and Oudry. In order to contextualize Vallayer-Coster's interventions in this genre, I first investigate the gendered dynamics of this practice and its representations in several eighteenth-century portraits. I subsequently explore contemporary ideas about women, weapons, and game, and employ these ideas in my visual analysis of Vallayer-Coster's work.

La femme à la chasse

Even if Vallayer-Coster never attended or participated in a *chasse royale*, there is evidence that elite women in the eighteenth century did—so it is with this social history that I begin, in order to better understand the implications of a woman as huntress. The hunt was largely a royal pursuit, and a fairly regular one at that. Louis XV (1710–1744) hunted three times per week on average; during the reign of his grandson, Louis XVI (1752–1793), the ritual took place almost daily. Yet the *chasse royale* was more than just a monarchical form of recreation; it was a symbolic expression and consolidation of masculine, absolutist power over people, animals, and land. French law asserted hunting as the exclusive privilege of the nobility—although the *petite chasse* was also widely and illicitly practiced, as suggested by the title of Antoine Trémolières de St. Saturnin's 1724 treatise, *L'art de la chasse, pour le divertissement de la noblesse, et de tous ceux qui aiment cet exercice* [The

Art of the Hunt, for the Amusement of the Nobility, and All Those Who Enjoy this Exercise].[9]

It seems to have been quite common for female members of the court to follow the course of the hunt on horseback or in a carriage, rather than directly participating in it. Three women close to Louis XV, for example, frequently attended the *chasse royale*: his mistress, Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour (1721–1764); his oldest daughter, Louise Élisabeth de France (1727–1759); and his grandson's bride, the future Queen Marie Antoinette (1755–1793).[10] Pompadour's meteoric rise from a tax farmer's wife to the king's favorite may be partially attributed to Louis XV's enthusiasm for the hunt, and her strategic appearances before his hunting party. It was apparently during a 1744 expedition in the Sénart forest, near her château at Étiolles, that Louis XV first took notice of the newly married Pompadour riding alone in an elaborate barouche (a four-wheeled, horse-drawn carriage)—a spectacle evidently designed to draw the attention of the king.[11]

For the duration of her affair with the king, Pompadour continued to make her presence felt on the hunt through a series of strategic commissions. At the Château de Fontainebleau, one of Louis XV's favorite hunting lodges, she installed a portrait of herself in the guise of Diana, the Greek goddess of the Hunt, by Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–1766).[12] Nattier, among Pompadour's preferred portraitists, employed the same mythological theme for nearly a dozen other *portraits déguisés* [allegorical portraits]—including the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Madame Bergeret de Frouville as Diana* (Fig. 3).[13] The similarities between the portraits of Pompadour and the young, aristocratic Bergeret de Frouville recall Diderot's criticism of Nattier's formulaic practice: "All his portraits look alike; one thinks one is always seeing the same face."[14] Both subjects appear with cheeks rouged and hair tightly curled (a fashionable mid-century hairstyle called *tête de mouton* [sheep's head]), wearing titillating costumes of sheer white chemises and leopard furs draped loosely around their shoulders; gold quivers and bows further enhance their guises.

The material attributes of Diana—theatrical props likely belonging to Nattier's studio—situate Mesdames Pompadour and Bergeret within the broader genre of the hunt; yet it is difficult to imagine them engaged in the bloody and sweaty enterprise of chasing and killing an animal. Their flimsy garb, delicate grips on their symbolic weapons, and the absence of game seem to preclude these huntresses from participating in anything resembling the contemporary, mortal sport. Indeed, Nattier's Diana portraits share more in common with François Boucher's erotic fantasies of the goddess of the hunt than they do with contemporary male hunting portraits.

The fantastical nature of these Diana portraits is particularly evident when they are contrasted with Nattier's more rugged portraits of men on the hunt. One of his *chasseurs*, pictured in a portrait now in a private collection, sports simple knee-high boots and a deep blue *justaucorps* [tight-fitting coat]

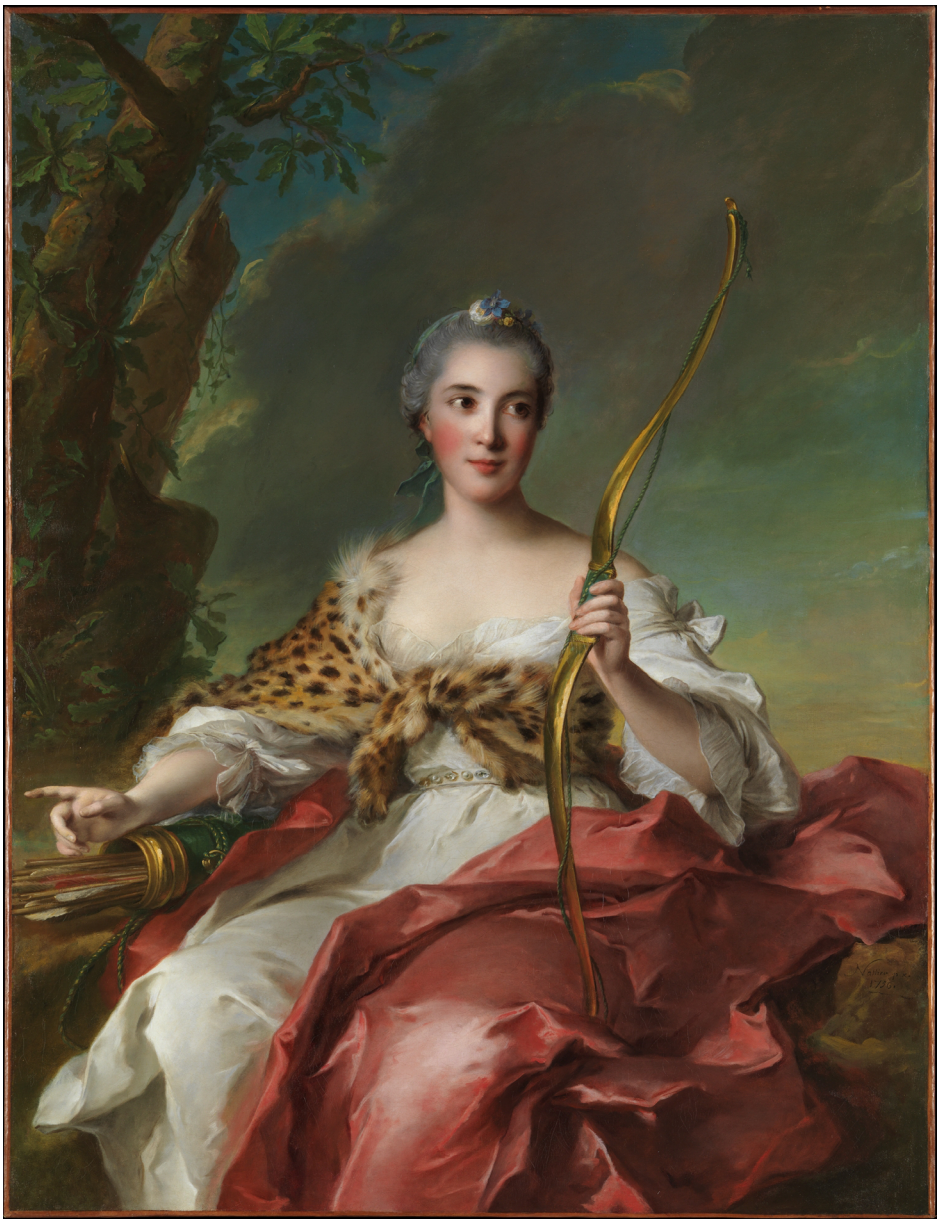

Fig. 3. Jean-Marc Nattier, *Madame Bergeret de Frouville as Diana*, ca. 1756, oil on canvas, 53 3/4 x 41 3/8 in. (136.5 x 105.1 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

with a particularly cool swagger.[15] Like Desportes's self-portrait, Nattier's subject is surrounded by hunting tools: a royal blue and gold-trimmed saddle, a hunting knife, a *pulvérin* [powder horn], and a hunting dog, perched on a coarse sack stuffed with dead game. The butt of this hunter's *fusil de chasse* [hunting rifle] rests on his upper thigh, and the gun's long barrel projects towards the upper right corner of the canvas. The hunter grips the handle of the cocked gun with confidence and ease, as though it were an extension of his own body; his finger rests assuredly on the trigger, poised to pull.

In her essay "Men and Hunting Guns in Eighteenth-Century France," Freund uses Trémolières de St. Saturnin's *L'art de la chasse* to understand the relationship between hunters and their weapons in mid-century portraits. She suggests that de St. Saturnin's descriptions of his own gun are "couched in bodily terms. The gun is made to a man's measure and functions as an extension of his person. Because of its identification with the man who owns it, the gun is naturalized as an integral part of the elite male body."[16] Given this phallic understanding of the weapon, it is perhaps unsurprising that eighteenth-century women are almost never depicted wielding a gun—or that female artists, like Vallayer-Coster, would be unlikely to paint them.

There do exist a handful of paintings of royal women dressed in contemporary *costumes de chasse* [hunting costumes]. Yet even in these exceptional images, the tools of the hunt that endowed Nattier's *chasseur* with such potency are almost entirely absent. Queen Marie Antoinette's personal fondness for the hunt has been well-documented, but she was never represented with weapons or game.[17] Although guns are absent from her portraits, there is evidence that the queen bought and used them herself. The queen gifted a set of twelve *fusils de chasse à silex* [flintlock guns], complete with a velvet-lined case filled with tools to clean and maintain the weapons, to her mother, Empress Maria Teresa of Austria; one pair from that set now belongs to the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature. Another flintlock fowling gun owned by Queen Marie Antoinette was likely a gift from her husband; Pierre de Saintes, who had been appointed the official gunmaker to Louis XV in 1763, inlaid the weapon with gold and silver. Finally, a manuscript in the Archives nationales, *État des chasses de l'équipage de la reine et de Monseigneur comte d'Artois pour le sanglier* [State of the Hunting Equipment of the Queen and the Monseigneur comte d'Artois for the Boar Hunt], tells us that the queen, along with her brother-in-law, the comte d'Artois (1757–1836), purchased and maintained the duc d'Orléans's entire hunting equipment between 1784 and 1786.[18]

Even if their portraits depict them as impotent spectators of the hunt, these royal women possessed the power to buy and use elaborately decorated guns. Non-royal women, we must speculate, did not have the same privilege, despite the relatively low cost of a standard firearm. In *Historique de la Manufacture d'Armes de Guerre de Saint-Étienne* [History of the Manufac-

ture of the Arms of War of Saint-Étienne] (1900), Raymond Dubessy estimated that a basic flintlock cost as little as seven *livres* [pounds], making simple, functional firearms accessible to a wide range of customers; yet the vast majority of gun owners were likely men.[19] Louis-Sébastien Mercier notes one important caveat in *Le tableau de Paris* (1781): as was true in many family workshops in the *ancien régime*, the wives of gunmakers were often responsible for sales—requiring them to become familiar with their products, if not to operate them recreationally.[20]

According to one eighteenth-century author, the primary deterrent to female gun ownership was feminine sensitivity to the gun's explosive sound and ricochet—that is, the sensory experience of shooting a gun. In *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie* [Memoires of Ancient Chivalry] (1781), Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye wrote of women: "There are only a very small number to be found among them who dare to familiarize themselves with the noise of firearms and the idea of the dangers to which their usage sometimes exposes [the user]."[21] Indeed, men and women were believed to experience and respond to sights, sounds, tastes, and smells differently—much as they were understood to think, write, and paint in different ways. In his *Système physique et moral de la femme* [Physical and Moral Systems of Women] (1775), for example, physician Pierre Roussel wrote of a woman's "difficulty in shedding the tyranny of her sensations that constantly binds her to the immediate causes which produced them"—namely, to the material stimuli that provoked various physical sensations.[22]

For many, a woman's gentle nature and aversion to violence made her ill-suited for wielding a firearm. After all, it was through hunting and warfare that boys became men. In Rousseau's *Emile, Or On Education* (1762), the narrator-tutor argues that hunting would purge a young man of "the dangerous inclinations born of softness"—the feminine influences of childhood. He continues, "The hunt hardens the heart as well as the body. It accustoms one to blood, to cruelty."[23] In an earlier text, *Discourse on Inequality* (1754), Rousseau had identified early man's proclivity for hunting, in contrast with his female counterpart's sedentary nature, as the anthropological origin of the differences (indeed, the inequality) between the sexes.[24] This sentiment persisted into the Revolutionary era, when the procurator-general of the Commune, Pierre Gaspard Chaumette, declared: "[Nature] has said to man: 'Be a man: hunting, farming, political concerns, toils of every kind, that is your appanage.'"[25]

If hunting was central to the formation (or "hardening") of the male ego, and the gun was a phallic symbol of this emotional and physical transformation, the armed huntress was truly exceptional, even paradoxical. As Mary Zeiss Stange writes in *Woman the Hunter*, "To the extent that hunting has served both patriarchy and feminism as a root metaphor for men's activity in the world, Woman the Hunter is a necessarily disruptive figure."[26]

Consider, for example, the utter strangeness of a portrait by Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), known to us through a 1727 engraving by Benoît Audran II (1698–1772) (Fig. 4). The engraving depicts the female subject seated in a landscape, accompanied by two hunting dogs. With one hand, she pets her furry, faithful companion; with the other, she fingers the feathered wing of a dead partridge dangling from a tree branch. A still life arrangement at the huntress' feet (a hunting purse, a *pulvérin*, and a single-barrel *fusil de chasse*) offers evidence of her active role in the hunt and aligns her with the hunters of Desportes, Oudry, and Nattier. The woman's full skirt and feathered tricorne hat are the only material markers of her femininity.

Fig. 4. Benoît Audran II after Antoine Watteau, *Retour de Chasse* [Return from the Hunt], 17 1/2 x 13 3/8 in. (44.5 by 34 cm), Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.

The Goncourt brothers identified the subject of the painted portrait as the *chasseresse* [huntress] Madame de Vermanton, a niece of the *amateur* [elite art enthusiast] Jean de Jullienne (1686–1766). Guillaume Glorieux has advocated an alternative: the oldest daughter of Pierre Sirois (1665–1726), an art dealer and major patron of Watteau, who facilitated the publication of several prints after Watteau's paintings.[27] In either case, the original painting represented a truly remarkable image of a non-royal woman's active participation in the hunt. Yet the historical identity of the portrait subject becomes less significant given the form in which the huntress' image was circulated in the eighteenth century: as a black-and-white print, bearing the vague title of *Retour de chasse* [Return from the Hunt].[28] Engraved, colorless, and anonymous to viewers in the late eighteenth century and beyond, the woman's transgressive potential is mitigated. She has been relegated to the more abstract, symbolic realm of a divine huntress, a vague specter of female violence and aggression; her close contact with, and manifest lethal use of, the gun becomes less problematic as a result, and she is no more of a threat than a semi-nude Diana.

Painting Hunting Trophies

Vallayer-Coster's exceptional representations of guns must be situated within this gun culture of eighteenth-century France—to which women were, at best, peripheral. The artist primarily pictured the humble material culture of the *petite chasse*—the individual pursuit of small game by a "thrifty rural resident, be he Bourgeois or simple Gentleman," in Trémolières de St. Saturnin's words.[29] In *Emile*, Rousseau's narrator recalls his father's love of the *petite chasse* and contrasts it with the artificial ceremony of the *chasse royale*. Rousseau specifically names the objects associated with the *petite chasse*—the very objects that populate Vallayer-Coster's paintings:

> I remember the heartthrobs that my father experienced at the flight of the first partridge, and the transports of joy with which he found the hare he had sought all day. Yes, I maintain that my father, *alone with his dog and burdened with his rifle, his game bag, his kit, and his little prey*, returned in the evening—exhausted and ripped by brambles—*more satisfied by his day than all your ladies' men* [chasseurs de ruelle] *passing as hunters* who, riding a good horse and followed by twenty loaded rifles, do nothing but change rifles, shoot, and kill things around them without art, without glory, and almost without pleasure (emphasis mine).[30]

Here, Rousseau implies that the individual pursuit of game was more masculine than the *chasse royale*, which was populated by "ladies' men passing as hunters." In this phrase, we can infer a double meaning. Rousseau refers to the men of the court who, more interested in *repas de chasse* [meals on the hunt] flirtations than the *chasse* itself, simply dressed the part of the hunter. On the other hand, we are prompted to recall the various royal women who attended the hunt on horseback sporting the eighteenth-century equivalents of menswear, who might pass as huntresses, but whose actual contributions to the hunt were negligible. Whether participating in the *chasse royale* or the *petite chasse*, however, Rousseau's description makes clear that material accessories were essential to both the formation of the hunter and his pleasure in the woods.

Vallayer-Coster likely never knew the pleasures of the hunt, yet she painted both guns and game. How, then, can we describe the artist's relationship to these objects? I suggest we approach this question by examining descriptions of guns by one of Vallayer-Coster's female contemporaries, Charlotte Charke (1713–1760), a cross-dressing British actress. In her autobiography, Charke writes about her beloved childhood gun and the adolescent trauma of being disarmed by her mother, who was appalled by her daughter's "ungentlewoman[ly]" delight in the weapon. In remembering and

describing her gun, however, Charke recovers the pleasures it once provided her. In literary theorist Jade Higa's essay "Charlotte Charke's Gun: Queering Material Culture and Gender Performance," she argues:

> Charke's transient relationship to things enables her to navigate the circumference of her body. Rather than settle on the side of a binary, she moves beyond gender binaries. For Charke, material culture is a means through which she can both access and express gender fluidity.[31]

Without making any claims for the artist's gender identity, I wish to use Charke's writing about her gun as a way of understanding Vallayer-Coster's paintings of them. Engaging with the traditionally masculine material culture of the hunt, Vallayer-Coster disrupted the traditional binary gendering of these objects. Unlike Desportes, who painted himself in the guise of a hunter in order to explicitly align himself with the pleasures of the sport, Vallayer-Coster describes the very textures of that gender-transcendent fantasy: the glory and pleasure of being alone in the woods, wielding a gun and conquering prey. By staging and painting the material attributes of the hunt, Vallayer-Coster exceeded the culturally determined boundaries of her own body.

As I argue, however, her exploration of that fantasy is rife with contradictions, which suggest a simultaneous reticence toward her subject. The psychological concept of ambivalence is perhaps the most apt term to describe these paintings, generally defined in *Frontiers in Psychology* as a "conflict between opposing implicit or explicit evaluations" about an object. Importantly, ambivalence is "not the same as feeling neutral or indifferent," but rather "is characterized by simultaneously having strong positive and negative associations."[32] We might think of Vallayer-Coster's hunting trophies, produced over the course of the 1770s and 1780s, as visual ambivalence, as the artist simultaneously celebrates and undermines the hunt through her representations of its material culture—that is, dead game and guns.

Game

In a handful of early works, Vallayer-Coster positioned dead game in a shadowy kitchen nook, alongside sliced ham and radishes.[33] Indeed, it was probably in the context of the kitchen or dining table that she first encountered game. There, dead animals were often strung upside down in order to drain excess fluids, facilitating the preservation and tenderization of their meat. Though unskinned and unplucked, the furry hare and feathered partridge are nonetheless situated in the context of the consumable.

In several later works, however, the artist positions the bodies of hares and birds not in the kitchen, but closer to their source in nature, and

accompanied by the tools of their slaughter. The same bodies are isolated from the cycle of distribution, preparation, and consumption that characterize other foodstuffs in Vallayer-Coster's paintings, and are instead embedded in the recreational sphere of the hunt. Within this context, the use value of the game is secondary to the personal victory that they represent: the hunter's triumph over nature. This contextual shift is significant to understanding the desires of the hunter-patron. According to Freund,

> Hunting is defined as an activity that, while valuable as a means of educating noblemen, *is essentially disinterested*, suitable for men who are not bound to the production and exchange of foodstuffs and goods. The hunter is instead a man who mind and body are bent on the acquisition of power, knowledge, and pleasure (emphasis mine).[34]

The ideal hunter thus enjoyed the recreational pursuit and killing of game, but would have had no interest or role in the preparation of its meat or the use of its fur.

Vallayer-Coster's careful representations of game in landscapes were designed to appeal to this recreational disinterest of the *chasseur*. Yet these paintings might also be described as the expressions of her own interest in shape, line, color, shadow, light, texture, and materiality. Indeed, much has also been written of Jean-Siméon Chardin's (1699–1779) formal interest in the substance of small game (Fig. 5). Charles-Nicolas Cochin's 1779 biography of the artist begins with an anecdote that has come to represent Chardin's entire still life practice:

> The first lessons Monsieur Chardin had derived from nature committed him to continue studying it assiduously. One of the first things he did was a rabbit. The object itself seems very insignificant, but the way he wanted to do it made of it a serious study… "Here," he said to himself, "is an object to be rendered. In order to paint it as it is, *I have to forget all I have seen and even the way these things have been treated by others.* I have to place it at such a distance that I no longer see its details. I must above all faithfully imitate its general masses, color tones, volume, and the effects of light and shadows." In this he succeeded; his rabbit reveals the first fruits of that discernment and magical execution which ever since have characterized the gifts that have distinguished him (emphasis mine).[35]

According to Cochin, Chardin made himself "forget" the rabbit—his own memories and experiences of its fur and meat, as well as other images—in order to produce a truthful representation of it. In other words, formal interest requires personal *disinterest* in dead animals and in the hunting culture they represented in the paintings of Desportes or Oudry.

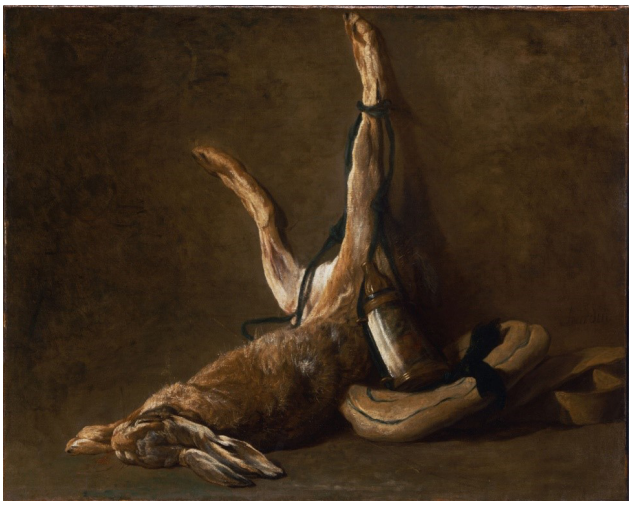

Fig. 5. Jean-Siméon Chardin, *Still Life with a Hare*, 1730, oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 32 in. (65.1 x 81.3 cm), Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Henry P. McIlhenny, 1958-144-1. Image open access, courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Cochin's formalist reading of Chardin's painting has been deconstructed in recent scholarship. In "Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of Animal Soul," Sarah R. Cohen suggests that Cochin was influenced by the "empiricism and sensory apprehension" of eighteenth-century scientific discourse, rather than by Chardin's own attitude toward his subject. Cohen argues instead that Chardin's paintings of animals are sympathetic meditations on the "material substance of the animal." Citing texts by the physician and materialist Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751) on the existence of an animal "soul," Cohen suggests that Chardin's paintings "argue as forcefully as did La Mettrie for a sensitive, animal essence."[36]

Like Chardin, Vallayer-Coster carefully studied the "material substance of the animal," and her paintings compel us to examine their forms.[37] This attentiveness may be evidence of the artist's sympathy for her subjects, but I suggest that her works espouse a more ambivalent attitude. Unlike Chardin, her paintings may be read as celebrations of the ambient pleasures of the hunt: fresh air, vivid blue skies, untamed pastoral landscape, and the fleshy fruits of a successful harvest. Hunting was considered to be one of the primary means of experiencing the rural landscape; as Rousseau's narrator exclaims, "Is one really in the country if one does not hunt?"[38] These dead animals simultaneously represent the fulfillment of one hunter's desires, and the stimulation of another's—that is, the viewer's own desire to hunt.

Yet Vallayer-Coster's work also probes the ambiguities of those desires. Perhaps more than her predecessors, she emphasized the sensuality of intertwined animal bodies in a way that seems to belie their deadness.

The artist also offers viewers direct access to soft, tawny tufts lining hares' bellies, as well as the densely plumed breasts of pheasants, inviting us to dwell on the appeal of soft feather and fur, and to indulge our own longing

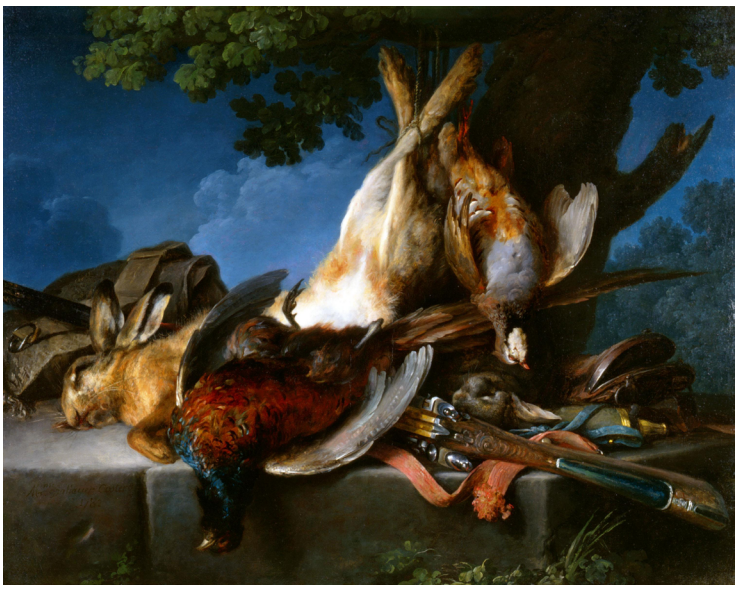

Fig. 6. Anne Vallayer-Coster, *Still Life with Game*, 1782, oil on canvas, 28 x 35 1/4 in. (71 x 89.5 cm), Toledo Museum of Art. Image open access, courtesy of Toledo Museum of Art.

for proximity to other bodies.[39] Perhaps the most voluptuous example is the inter-species orgy in the 1782 *Still Life with Game* (Fig. 6), commissioned by Girardot de Marigny (1733–1796), a partner in the Parisian banking firm Girardot et Cie.[40] The tawny hare, gray rabbit, small brown pheasant, and long-tailed pheasant are so entangled in a post-mortem snuggle that they are nearly indistinguishable from one another.

Indeed, Vallayer-Coster's game animals represent various other states of in-betweenness. The freshly killed game simultaneously attract and repel, because they seem to occupy the "eerie threshold between sleep and death" (as Shao-Chien Tseng described Courbet's paintings of game).[41] So close to the moment of their slaughter, the perished bodies may still be soft and warm, yet we know stiffness and decay are imminent. Moreover, their flesh and fur have yet to be harvested, so while they are no longer wild prey, they are not yet consumable commodities.

The artist provided more explicitly repulsive details in two earlier works. *The Attributes of Hunting and Gardening* (Fig. 7) was probably commissioned by the abbé Joseph-Marie Terray (1715-1778) during his brief tenure

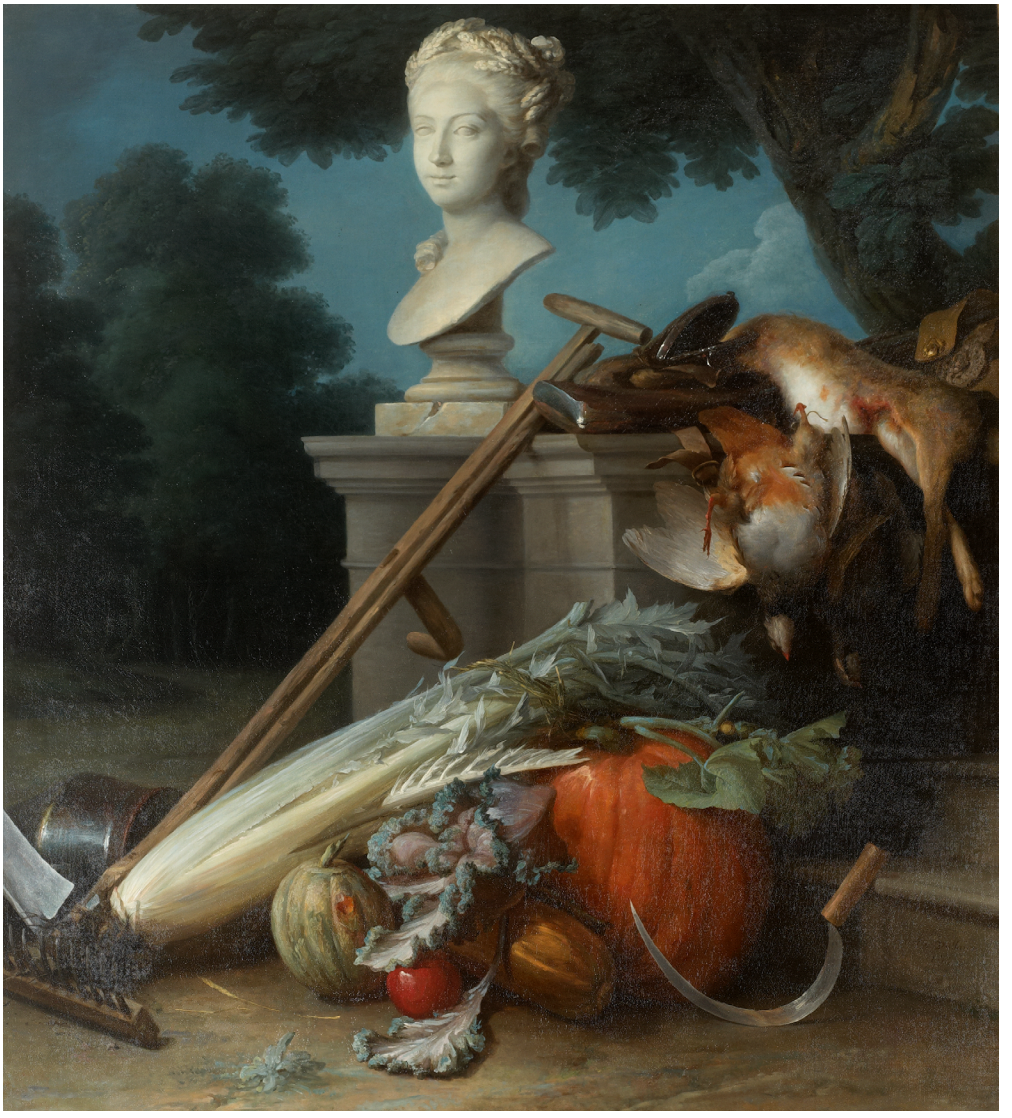

Fig. 7. Anne Vallayer-Coster, *The Attributes of Hunting and Gardening*, 1774, oil on canvas, 60 x 54 in. (152.4 x 137.2 cm), Basildon Park, British National Trust, Lower Basildon, England. © National Trust Images.

as the Director of the *Bâtiments du Roi* [King's Buildings] from July 1773 to August 1774.[42] We know, for example, that the young *académicienne* Vallayer-Coster was present during the October 2, 1773 meeting of the Academy, over which Terray presided.[43] In this work, Vallayer-Coster juxtaposes the fruits of the forest and the field, representing the natural wealth and abundance that Terray had hoped to cultivate in France as Louis XV's *contrôleur général des Finances* [controller general]. A marble bust of the Roman goddess of agriculture, Ceres, reigns over a group of animals, vegetables, fruits, and tools, piled in front of a regal stone staircase in the shade of a bent tree, beyond which the clearing of a thick wood is visible. Those lush trees, the placid blue sky, and the elements of the harvest all evoke the final sighs of summer, the season most commonly associated with Ceres. The setting probably also reminded Terray of his grand rural estate, the Château de La Motte-Tilly, which was situated along the Seine, fifty miles southeast of Paris; the painting may even have been specifically designed to echo that landscape.[44]

In celebrating man's command over nature, and the abundance yielded from his efforts, Vallayer-Coster engaged in a much broader literary and artistic tradition in which nature is characterized in feminine terms. Within this patriarchal paradigm, nature is entirely subject to the desires of men.[45] This theme was undoubtedly designed to flatter Terray, whose own political and cultural authority was predicated upon this idea; it remains all the more remarkable, therefore, that it was a female artist, culturally segregated from the pleasures of the hunt, who effectively painted a trophy to that form of leisure.

With this painting Vallayer-Coster effectively appealed to her hunter-patron's desires, primarily through her use of paint. The artist lavished much attention on the fertile textures and colors occurring in nature. She painted a heavy, bulbous pumpkin, green melon, light orange gourd, bright red tomato, and two leafy vegetables: a large, pale-green cardoon, and a head of green and purple cabbage. The latter vegetable is perhaps the most loosely painted passage of the canvas: thick strokes of lavender and violet comprise the leaves, while minute squiggles and dots of dark turquoise evoke the cabbage's curly fringe. The attributes of the hunt are represented by a musket (only the butt of which is visible), an agape hunting pouch, and the bodies of a hare and pheasant. The wound in the belly of the rabbit finds an echo in the blemished surface of the green melon on the lower left; a missing chunk in its waxy surface reveals the sweet orange flesh beneath. The subtly rendered "wounds" of the gouged melon and the freshly slaughtered hare invest the painting with pungency, which is underscored by the presence of a long wooden rake and a handheld scythe, with white impasto on the scythe providing the effect of a gleaming blade.

Trophies of the Hunt, also painted in 1774, is a related work—perhaps a study for Terray's *Attributes*, or a subsequent iteration of the same subject.[46]

In both canvases, two pieces of game are draped precariously off a ledge. Both pheasants hang by the tail feathers, with their spindly legs unnaturally splayed. The hares, limp and belly-up, bear subtle wounds in their lower abdomens. These incisions are most likely not the result of the fatal gunshot, but rather refer to the traditional method of field dressing—that is, slicing the dead animal from ribcage to groin and removing the internal organs by hand. Field dressing was performed as soon as possible after the kill in order to preserve the quality of the meat and to lighten the triumphant hunter's load.[47] Just as the hunter was required to probe the meaty interior of his dead game without qualm, the artist was not squeamish in describing her dead game's wounds, although she refrained from excessive gore. Vallayer-Coster employed a deep crimson pigment at the center of the cut, alluding to the animal's visceral interior, and a lighter rust color to indicate the dried blood stains on the surrounding white fur. In the smaller *Trophies of the Hunt*, she added an additional liquid detail: several droplets of red paint trickling from between the hare's legs.

A standard psychoanalytic reading of these two paintings might assert that the wounds function as symbols of the vagina—and in the latter painting, of menstruation.[48] For Freudian psychoanalysts, the (human) vagina, primarily characterized by its lack of a phallus, represents the threat of male castration; the fear of this bloody mutilation has various consequences for the male ego. The female ego, in realizing her own lack, also suffers a "narcissistic wound," resulting in penis envy. A woman might compensate for this envy by assuming certain masculine qualities—for example, professional ambition or recreational sport.[49]

In the context of this interpretation, it seems significant that an unmarried *académicienne*, who dreamed of her own studio and lodging at the Louvre, would lay her subjects' wounds bare, particularly in representations of the hunt. Her frankness is particularly striking in contrast with Chardin's general aversion to the violent and bloody facts of the hunt; his hares are almost always depicted unbloodied and whole. In Chardin's *Rabbit and Copper Pot*, now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, a rabbit is suspended over a stone ledge and a few dry dabs of red paint appear directly beneath the rabbit, a mere trace of the violence inflicted upon it. The animal itself, however, appears unwounded.[50] For Stephen Eisenman, this exemplifies Chardin's "poetic" approach, which "repeats the ancient pathos formula [. . .] that aestheticizes violence" against animals.[51]

Vallayer-Coster makes explicit the "deadness" of the disemboweled and castrated hare in an immediate, wet, and material way that distinguishes her from Chardin. The original sex of the hare is unclear, but whether it was once male or female hardly matters. The dead animals are depicted in a liminal, sexless (or de-sexed) state, their lack—their total subjugation at the hands of the artist-hunter—made manifest. Here, we might draw a parallel

between the artist's own desire to transcend the limitations of her own gender, performed by engaging with the materials of the *chasse*.

Guns

While the dead animals in Vallayer-Coster's paintings can be read as expressions of gender-transcendent fantasies, their representation is not entirely sympathetic. Consider the fact that the artist frequently draped their dead bodies over the very tools of their execution, and that these weapons are rendered with the same textural detail. By including guns, Vallayer-Coster clearly situates her dead game within the context of both the hunt and the cynegetic tradition of Desportes and Nattier. As previously discussed, these artists used guns to endow the subjects of their hunting portraits with masculine authority; the presence of guns in several of Vallayer-Coster's still life paintings might suggest the artist's own affinity for hunting or her aspirations to the power associated with its tools. (It is important to note here that Chardin occasionally painted rabbits with hunting purses and power horns, but only once with a gun—in a painting now in the Norton Simon Museum.)[52]

Though the guns in Vallayer-Coster's paintings vary slightly in terms of color and design, they are all luxurious examples of single- and double-barreled flintlock rifles. The flintlock technology was invented in the early seventeenth century by French gunmaker Marin Le Bourgeois (ca. 1550–1634), and by the late eighteenth century it had become ubiquitous in Europe. Less volatile than older mechanisms (such as the matchlock or the wheellock), the flintlock was still complicated and unwieldy to operate. In order to load the gun, the hunter had to place gunpowder into the muzzle and secure it with a lubricated wad of paper or fabric, followed by ammunition (small metal bullets) and yet another wad. Each layer of material was loaded into the barrel with the aid of a thin ramrod. A small amount of gunpowder was then dispensed into a small pan, directly underneath the flintlock mechanism.[53]

To fire the flintlock, the hunter positioned the lock, gripped the gun with both hands, placed the butt against his shoulder, pressed his cheek against the stock, aimed, and pulled the trigger. In response, the hammer (or cock) gripping a piece of flint would strike a piece of steel, known as a frizzen. The resulting spark ignited the powder in the pan and propelled the ammunition out of the muzzle of the gun.[54] The igniting powder produced a bright flash of light, a small burst of smoke, and a sharp boom. As the ammunition discharged, the gun would recoil, suddenly and hard, into the shoulder of the user. In order to fire another shot, the hunter had to repeat this entire process.[55]

Eighteenth-century flintlocks all functioned in the same way, but could be distinguished by the length, texture, and number of their barrels.

Pistols have shorter barrels, ideal for close-range duels. Rifles and muskets were designed to hit far-range targets and have much longer barrels—typically between four and five feet.[56] Musket barrels are smoothbore, while rifle barrels have grooved interiors. The grooves improved the rifle's accuracy, but also required frequent cleaning in order to function properly. For these reasons, (more accurate) rifles were preferred on the hunt and (more efficient) muskets were used in the military. Although we cannot see the entire length or the interior of Vallayer-Coster's barrels, an eighteenth-century viewer would likely have identified them as rifles based on their context. Finally, Vallayer-Coster's paintings depict both single- and double-barrel flintlock rifles. Multi-barreled guns enabled users to fire multiple shots without stopping to reload, but were more expensive and riskier to load and fire.[57]

Vallayer-Coster's representations of guns may be precise enough for us to identify their type; yet I argue that her treatment of them is as equivocal as her representations of game. In the aforementioned hunter portraits by Desportes and Nattier, the entire lengths of the *fusil de chasse* are pictured; their barrels project into the air, ready to shoot. In contrast, Vallayer-Coster's guns lie prone and skewed, buried underneath a thick pile of dead game. She provides only a fragmented view of the butt, stock, and lock and obscures the triggers and barrels, rendering the gun impotent. The guns have been arranged in visually frustrating orientations; yet the unusual angles from which she paints them suggests that she observed a gun directly, rather than copying a representation of one. Contemporary prints, such as the *Fabrique des Armes* plate in the *Encyclopédie*, or a 1750 engraving now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 8), described the gun's profile or dissected its individual parts, but did not provide the skewed perspectives represented in Vallayer-Coster's paintings.

Vallayer-Coster offers us glimpses of a few different types of guns, always accompanied by a soft brown leather hunting purse (designed to carry ammunition, but represented agape and empty) and a *pulvérin* made of porcelain or a hollow horn, with a gilded spout. The gun that appears in *The Attributes of Hunting and Gardening* (Fig. 6) is a simple weapon; faced with the butt of the gun, we can see its wooden exoskeleton but little else. More elaborate models, more closely associated with royal and aristocratic hunting practices, appear in *Trophies of the Hunt* and *Still Life with Game* (Fig. 7). In the former, the edge of the silver-plated butt of a single-barrel flintlock, further adorned with a red velvet cheek pad, is visible. The bodies of the dead game obscure most of the gun's mechanisms, though we can discern the serpentine shape of the metal flintlock. In the latter painting, we view a double-barrel gun from above. We cannot see the barrels themselves, but we can see the silver-plated cleavage between the two barrels, and flintlocks on both sides of the gun. These mechanisms are more clearly described, although their legibility is compromised by the peculiar angle of the weapon.

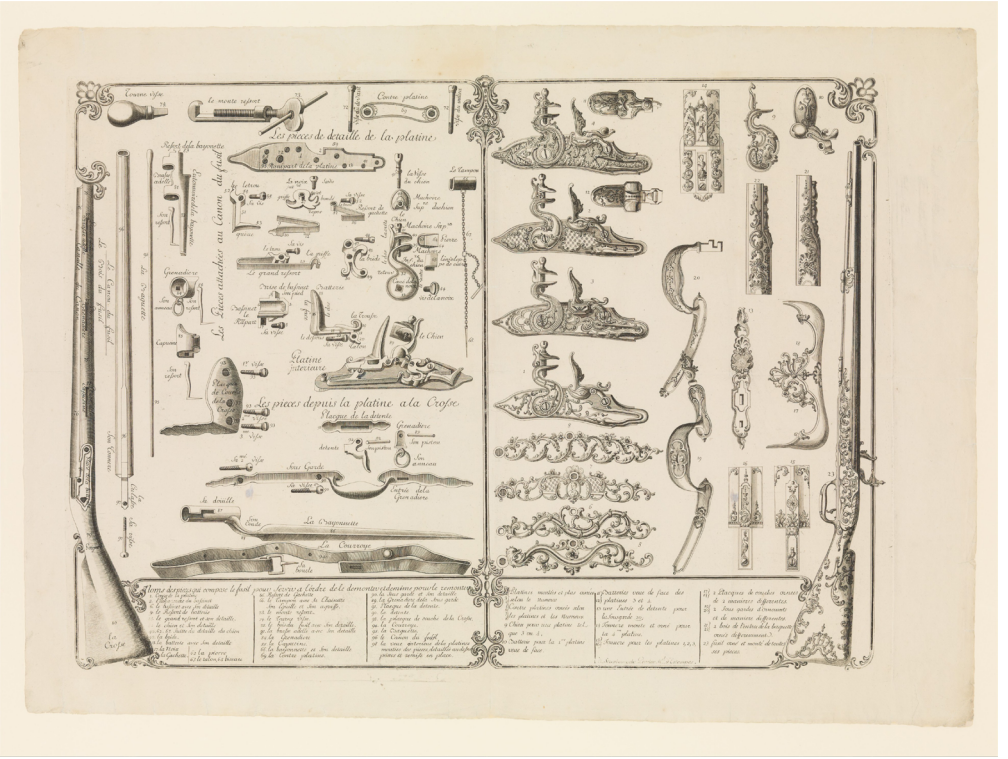

Fig. 8. Perrier, *Engraving of Firearms Parts*, ca. 1750, ink on paper, 18 3/4 x 25 1/4 in. (47.5 x 64 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image open access, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The gun is further adorned with a delicate marquetry design on the wrist, between the lock and the dark turquoise velvet cheek pad. This subtle embellishment is typical of the more sober, linear designs of late eighteenth-century guns, which replaced the figurative and abstract rococo ornaments that had flourished on firearm surfaces earlier in the century. The addition of velvet cheek pads to eighteenth-century flintlocks seems to have been a relatively rare modification. Only a handful of examples have survived—notably, Catherine the Great's (1729–1796) hunting rifle with a green velvet cheek pad, now in the collection of the Smithsonian, and a flintlock with a crimson velvet cheek pad that bears the Comte de Châteaudun's name, now in a private collection (Fig. 9).[59] Velvet was a tufted textile typically associated with luxurious objects that came in close contact with the body, such as the upholstery of a chair or the trim of fashionable court dress; these guns with velvet cheek pads were likely designed for elite consumers who preferred to press their cheek against a soft, rich fabric, rather than hard wood or cold metal.[60]

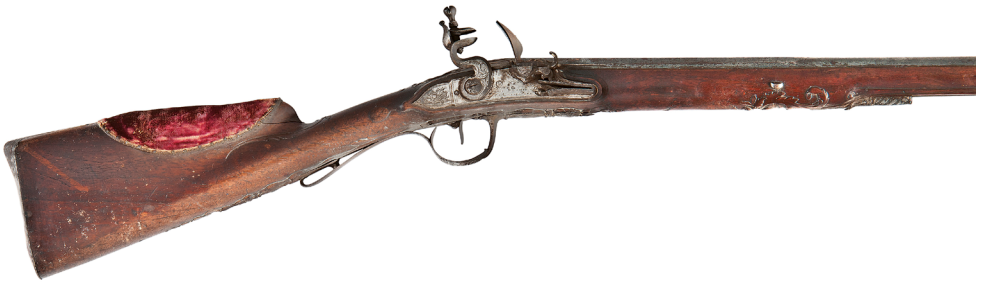

Fig. 9. Detail of French 20-Bore Flintlock Sporting Gun, ca. 1775, Christie's, walnut, iron, and velvet. Image courtesy of Christie's, Inc.

The velvet cheek pad served Vallayer-Coster's purposes, as well—that is, her interest in representing a range of organic and manmade textures: shiny metal, smooth wood, luxe velvet, worn leather, frayed ribbon, ruffled feathers, and fur matted with sweat and blood. Yet the artist's interest in these textural elements comes at the expense of the gun itself. By making the gun's shape strange and nearly unrecognizable, and draping it with velvet and fur, she compromises the legibility and potency of its mechanisms—thereby undermining its lethal function and its powerful, masculine symbolism. Her representations of guns can thus be characterized by her ambivalence towards them.

Vallayer-Coster's emphasis on sensual textures is typical of her still life painting practice; yet, as I have argued, the artist's interventions in the subgenre of the hunt also betray a sense of ambivalence about the material she paints. We might describe these works as gender-transcendent fantasies, yet they are also symptomatic of her alienation from the hunt by virtue of her sex; her paintings *perform* these fantasies and frustrations. Vallayer-Coster's equivocal practice thus differs significantly from that of the nineteenth-century French animal painter Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899), who, a hundred years later, would gain legal permission to don trousers in pursuit of her subject matter at horse fairs and slaughterhouses—physically transgressing the cultural boundaries that Vallayer-Coster could only imaginatively transcend.[61]

Notes

1. Anne Vallayer-Coster is the artist's hyphenated married name, which she used to sign her paintings after 1781 (a practice also employed by married women artists like Adélaïde Labille-Guiard and Élisabeth Vigée-LeBrun). Prior to 1781, she went by "Anne Vallayer." To avoid confusion, I use "Vallayer-Coster" consistently throughout this essay. The two major secondary sources on Vallayer-Coster are Marianne Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer Coster* (1744-1818) (Paris: Comptoir International du Livre, 1970); and Eik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie Antoinette*, exh. cat. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2002).

2. See Georges de Lastic and Pierre Jacky, *Desportes* (Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau: Monelle Hayot, 2010); and Hal Opperman, *J.-B. Oudry*, exh. cat (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1983).

3. See Philippe Salvadori, *La chasse sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Fayard, 1996); Michael S. Aradas, "The Etiquette of Social Violence: Hunting and the Nobility in Early Modern France" (PhD diss., Purdue University, 2011); and Catherine Girard, "Rococo Massacres: Hunting in Eighteenth-Century French Painting" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014). For a nuanced reading of Oudry's own conflicted attitudes towards the cruelties of the hunt, see René Démoris, "Oudry et les cruautés du Rococo," *Littérature et arts à l'âge classique: Littérature et peinture au XVIIIe s., autour des Salons de Diderot* (October 5, 2007), https://www.fabula.org/colloques/document614.php [repr. René Démoris, "Oudry et les cruautés du Rococo," *Revue des sciences humaines*, no. 296, special issue, *Bestiaire des Lumières* (September-October 2009): 143-77].

4. See Amy Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jennifer Germann and Heidi Strobels (New York: Routledge, 2016), 19; and Amy Freund, "Good Dog! Jean-Baptiste Oudry and the Politics of Animal Painting," in *French Art of the Eighteenth Century: The Michael L. Rosenberg Lecture Series at the Dallas Museum of Art*, ed. Heather MacDonald (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 66-79.

5. Freund, "Good Dog!," 72.

6. As Hannah Williams has shown, however, the Academy considered Desportes's self-portrait to be a still life and he was admitted to the institution as a specialist of the category of animal painter. Later, the artist would paint dozens of hunting trophies, as well as portraits of Louis XIV's beloved hunting dogs. Hannah Williams, *Académie Royale: A History in Portraits* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 131.

7. Alexandre-François Desportes, *Still Life with Dressed Game, Meat, and Fruit*, National Gallery of Art, 2019, https://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.157526.html.

8. As landscape historian David L. Hays has written, "The privilege of hunting was the cornerstone in the legislated construction of nobility in France. From 1396 until the Revolution, commoners in France were legally forbidden to hunt game animals, even on their own land." David L. Hays, "Landscapes within Buildings in Late Eighteenth-Century France," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, eds. Dianne Suzette Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 169.

9. Antoine Trémolières de St. Saturnin, *L'art de la chasse, pour le divertissement de la noblesse, et de tous ceux qui aiment cet exercice* [1724] (Rodez: Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron, 1996).

10. Freund, "Good Dog!," 79n10.

11. It was not until a masked ball at Versailles in the winter of 1745, however, that the king, dressed as a Yew tree, and Pompadour, dressed quite deliberately as a wood nymph, first exchanged words. Rosamond Hooper-Hamersley, *The Hunt after Jeanne-Antoinette de Pompadour: Patronage, Politics, Art, and the French Enlightenment* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), 72-75.

12. Xavier Salmon, ed., *Madame de Pompadour et les arts* (Paris: Reunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002), cat. 23.

13. Xavier Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier, 1685–1766*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 1999), pp. 184, 266-70, cat. 76.

14. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhemar, *Diderot: Salons*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 206. "Tous ces portraits se ressemblant, on croit toujours voir la même figure." All translations by Kelsey Brosnan, unless otherwise noted.

15. Jean-Marc Nattier, *Portrait of a Man as a Hunter,* 1735, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, private collection; reproduced in Salmon, *Jean-Marc Nattier*, 99-100.

16. Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns," 18.

17. The Queen's fondness for riding horses, well-established by her biographers, likely trumped her passion for the hunt itself. See Caroline Weber,

Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution (New York: Macmillan, 2006), 81-93; and Dena Goodman, *Marie Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

18. See Élisabeth Caude, Jérôme de La Gorce, and Béatrix Saule, *Fêtes et divertissements à la cour* (Versailles: Château de Versailles, 2016), cat. 9.

19. Raymond Debussy, *Histoire de la Manufacture d'Armes de Guerre de Saint-Étienne* (n.p.: n.p., 1900). Cited in Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns," 32.

20. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Le tableau de Paris* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1781). Cited in Jacob D. Melish, "The Power of Wives: Managing Money and Men in the Family Businesses of Old Regime Paris," in *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2015), 77-90.

21. Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, vol. 3 (Paris: Chez la Veuve Dechesne, 1781), 183; qtd. in Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns," 26. "En effet il ne s'en trouve maintenant parmi elles qu'un très-petit nombre qui ose se familiariser avec le bruit des armes à feu et l'idée des dangers auxquels leur usage expose quelquefois."

22. Pierre Roussel, *Système physique et moral de la femme, ou Tableau Philosophique de la Condition, de l'État organique, de Tempérament, des Mœurs, et des Fonctions propres au Sexe* (Paris: Chez Vincent, 1775), 30. "que la difficulté de se dérober à la tyrannie des sensations, l'attachant continuellement aux causes immédiates qui les produisent." Discussed in Anne C. Vila, "Sex and Sensibility: Pierre Roussel's *Système physique et moral de la femme*," *Representations*, no. 52 (1995): 76-93, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928700; and Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Women's Nature in the French Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 37.

23. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education* [1762], trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 326; qtd. in Linda Zerilli, "'Une Maîtresse Impérieuse': Woman in Rousseau's Semiotic Republic," in *Feminist Interpretations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Lynda Lange (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 294.

24. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse on Inequality* [1754] (New York: Open Road Media, 2016), n.p.

25. Pierre Gaspard Chaumette, speech to the Commune of Paris, November 17, 1793; qtd. in Darlene Levy, Harriet Applewhite, and Mary Durham

Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 1789-1795 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 215.

26. Mary Zeiss Stange, *Woman the Hunter* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 2.

27. Guillaume Glorieux, *À l'enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le Pont Notre-Dame, 1694-1750* (Seyssel: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2002), 96-97.

28. The print was announced in the *Mercure de France* (December 1727): 2677.

29. Trémolières de St. Saturnin, *L'art de la Chasse*, 6; qtd. in Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns," 19. "…nôtre économe rural, soit Bourgeois ou simple Gentilhomme."

30. Rousseau, *Emile*, 353.

31. Jade Higa, "Charlotte Charke's Gun: Queering Material Culture and Gender Performance," ABO: *Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640-1830* 7, no. 1 (2017): 6, http://doi.org/10.5038/2157-7129.7.1.1153.

32. Iris K. Schneider et al., "The Path of Ambivalence: Tracing the Pull of Opposing Evaluations Using Mouse Trajectories," *Frontiers in Psychology* 6 (2015): 996, https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00996.

33. For example, Vallayer-Coster, *Still Life with Dead Hare*, 1769, collection of Jeffrey Horvitz, Boston. See Kahng and Roland Michel, *Vallayer-Coster*, 197, cat. 10, pl. 3.

34. Freund, "Men and their Hunting Guns," 26.

35. Qtd. by Pierre Rosenberg, *Chardin 1699-1779*, exh. cat., trans. Emilie P. Kaish and Ursula Korneitchouk, ed. Sally W. Goodfellow (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1979), 143. "Les premières leçons que M. Chardin avait reçues de la nature l'engagèrent à en suivre l'étude assidûment. Une des premières choses qu'il fit fut un lapin. Cet objet paraît bien peu important; mais la manière dont il désirait le faire le rendait une étude sérieuse. Il voulait le rendre avec la plus grande vérité à tous égards et cependant avec goût, sans aucune apparence de servitude qui en pût rendre le faire sec et froid. Il n'avait point encore tenté de traiter le poil. Il sentait bien qu'il ne faillait pas penser à le conter ni à le rendre en détail. 'Voilà, se disait-il à lui-même, un objet qu'il est question de rendre. Pour n'être occupé que de le rendre vrai, il faut que j'oublie tout ce que j'ai vu, et même jusqu'à la manière dont ces

objets ont été traités par d'autres. Il faut que je le pose à une distance telle que je n'en voie plus les détails. Je dois m'occuper surtout d'en bien imiter et avec la plus grande vérité les masses générales, ces tons de la couleur, la rondeur, les effets de la lumière et des ombres.' Il y parvint et y fit paraître les prémices de ce goût et de ce faire magique, qui depuis a toujours caractérisé les talents qui l'ont distingué."

36. Sarah R. Cohen, "Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of Animal Soul," *Eighteenth-Century Studies 38*, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 56, https://doi.org/10.1353/ecs.2004.0054.

37. Ibid.

38. Rousseau, *Emile*, 352.

39. Jennifer Milam, "Rococo Representations of Interspecies Sensuality and the Pursuit of *Volupté*," *The Art Bulletin 97*, no. 2 (2015): 192-209, https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.2015.979104.

40. Salon of 1783, cat. 76; Roland Michel, *Vallayer-Coster*, cat. 286; Kahng and Roland Michel, *Vallayer-Coster*, 208, cat. 69, pl. 34. Girardot de Marigny's collecting practices are described at length in Colin B. Bailey's *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 131-62.

41. Shao-Chien Tseng, "Contested Terrain: Gustave Courbet's Hunting Scenes," *The Art Bulletin 90*, no. 2 (June 2008): 225, https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.2008.10786391.

42. As Louis XV's *contrôleur général des Finances*, Terray exerted a powerful influence over French politics; by 1770, he was a member of the Triumvirat, a powerful trio of *Secrétaires d'État* [Secretaries of State], and had initiated a series of major economic reforms. Terray was dismissed from his position as Director of the *Bâtiments du Roi* soon after Louis XVI came to power in 1774. See Bailey, "The abbé Terray: An Enlightened Patron of Modern Sculpture," *The Burlington Magazine* 135, no. 1079 (February 1993): 121-32; and Vincent Bastien and Gwenola Firmin, *De Versailles à La Motte-Tilly: L'abbé Terray, ministre de Louis XV* (Paris: Ed. du Patrimoine and Château de La Motte Tilly, 2015).

43. Anatole Montaiglon, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, vol. 8 (1875-92; repr. Paris: Nobele, 1972), 173-74.

44. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste*, 75-76. This work also recalls Oudry's 1719 reception

piece, *Abundance with her Attributes*, in which agriculture personified is surrounded by attributes of the hunt and harvest, which earned him the title of history painter. Oudry, Abundance with her Attributes, 1719, Musée National du Château de Versailles. See Opperman, *Oudry*, pp. 97-99, cat. 6.

45. Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in *Women, Culture, and Society*, eds. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 68-87.

46. Vallayer-Coster, *Trophies of the Hunt*, 1774, oil on canvas, 35 7/8 x 28 3/4 in. (91 x 72 cm), formerly Galerie Gismondi, Paris; see Kahng and Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer-Coster*, cat. 13.

47. Walt Harrington, "Cleaning Rabbits," *The American Scholar* 71 no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 69-74.

48. Incidentally, female rabbits do not menstruate regularly or independently: "Females of the European rabbit [. . .] are reflex (or induced) ovulators that require the act of copulation to stimulate ovulation, which occurs about 12 hours after mating." A.T. Smith, "Lagomorpha (Pikas, rabbits, and hares)" in B. Grzimek et al., *Grzimek's Animal Life Encyclopedia* (Detroit: Thomson/Gale, 2004), 479-89.

49. This Freudian theory is summarized well in Sylviane Agacinski, "Versions of Difference," in *Contemporary French Feminism*, eds. Kelly Olivier and Lisa Mae-Helen Walsh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 50.

50. Chardin, *Rabbit and Copper Pot*, ca. 1735-1739, Nationalmusuem, Stockholm, NM785. See Ewa Lajer-Burcharth's investigation of Chardin's work in *The Painter's Touch: Boucher, Chardin, Fragonard* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018). Lajer-Burcharth is primarily interested in the "deep materiality" of Chardin's works, analyzing his idiosyncratic compositional arrangements and painting techniques, rather than the gendered and culture implications of his touches, and their specific meaning in his few representations of the hunt.

51. Stephen F. Eisenman, *The Cry of Nature: Art and the Making of Animal Rights* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 91.

52. Chardin, *Dog and Game*, 1730, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, F.1972.56.P.

53. See "Conservation of Three Historic Firearms in the Museum's Collec-

tions," Philadelphia Museum of Art, http://www.philamuseum.org/conservation/19.html?page=1.

54. Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns," 20; and Clive Ponting, *Gunpowder* (London: Chatto and Windus 2005), 152-53.

55. Several YouTube videos capture the process of loading and firing eighteenth-century flintlock rifles. See for example "Loading and shooting a flintlock rifle slow motion," December 19, 2014, video, 2:10, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eA8vZxJslgw.

56. Freund, "Men and Hunting Guns," 32.

57. See Brenda J. Buchanan, ed., *Gunpowder, Explosives and the State: A Technological History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006) for a historicized summary of the evolution of gunpowder.

58. See Stuart W. Pyhrr, "Snuffboxes that Shoot: Two Rococo Firearms," in *Philippe de Montebello and the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1977-2008 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 89-92; and Donald J. La Rocca, "Pattern Books by Gilles and Joseph Demarteau for Firearms Decoration in the French Rococo Styles," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 43 (2008): 141-55, https://doi.org/10.1086/met.43.25699091.

59. "French 20-Bore Flintlock Sporting Gun, Third quarter of the 18th century," Antique Arms, Armour and Collectors Firearms, Christie's, London, South Kensington, 26 September 2012, lot 75, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-french-20-bore-flintlock-sporting-gun-signed-5601592-details.aspx.

60. On the interactions between bodies and textiles in domestic contexts, see James Parker, "French Eighteenth-Century Furniture Depicted on Canvas," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24, no. 5 (January 1966): 177-92; and Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in *Eighteenth-Century France*," Eighteenth-Century Studies 32, no. 4, *Sites and Margins of the Public Sphere* (Summer 1999): 415-45.

61. James M. Saslow, "'Disagreeably Hidden": Construction and Constriction of the Lesbian Body in Rosa Bonheur's Horse Fair," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 187-206.

Peasant Identity and Class Relations in the Art of Stanisław Wyspiański*

by Weronika Malek-Lubawski

Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907) was a painter, playwright, and leader of the Young Poland movement of artists who merged the national tradition of history painting with Symbolist visions and elements of Art Nouveau.[1] He frequently tackled the theme of Polish class relations in his works, and he was so appreciated during his lifetime that the funeral after his premature death from syphilis turned into a national memorial parade.[2] Wyspiański's reputation persists into the twenty-first century in Poland, where high school students read his famous drama *Wesele* [*The Wedding*] (1901) as part of their general education curriculum, but he is not widely known outside his home country.[3] This essay examines *The Wedding* and Wyspiański's pastel, *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* (1904), in relation to nineteenth-century Polish sociohistorical discourse on class identity and Wyspiański's own interclass marriage (Fig. 1). Inspired by the real-life nuptials of Wyspiański's acquaintance, *The Wedding* narrates the union of an upper-class poet and a peasant woman in a ceremony that later becomes the stage for supernatural events and patriotic ambitions. *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* depicts Wyspiański, an upper-class member of the intelligentsia, and his spouse, a peasant and former domestic servant, wearing costumes that deliberately confuse their class identities. One of Wyspiański's best-known works, it is also his only double portrait in which the artist himself appears. Both the play and the pastel reflect Wyspiański's efforts to navigate the class divisions of Poland's changing social landscape.

Unlike some of his peers, who sought artistic inspiration in the countryside, Wyspiański remained in the city for most of his life, but he married a peasant woman and commented on peasant-gentry relations in *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* and *The Wedding*.[4] *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* reveals both the artist's investment in and ambivalence towards Polish national identity and peasant-mania. Whereas other artists portrayed peasants as representative members of their class, Wyspiański presented his wife, Teodora Teofila Wyspiańska (née Pytko, 1868–1957), as an individual, emphasizing their marital relationship over her peasant origins.[5]

The line between representation and role-play is blurred in *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife.* Wyspiański masquerades as a peasant, and Teodora wears a *krakowska* [Cracovienne] folk dress that entangles peasant tradition, city fashion, and national symbolism.[6] By dissembling their true

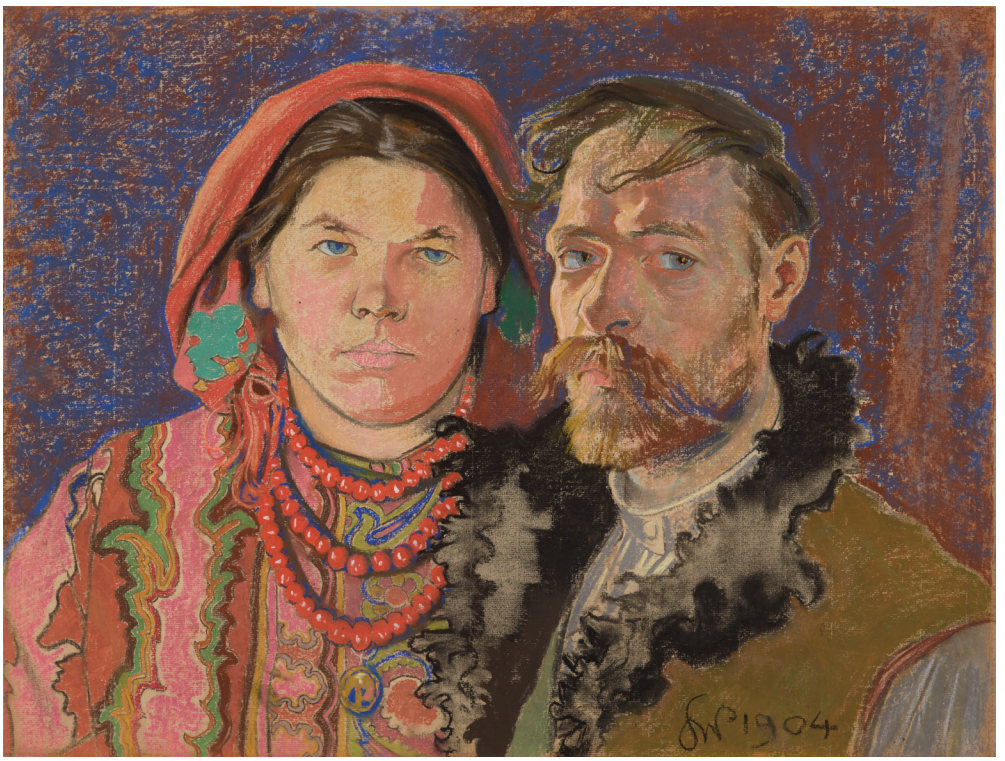

Fig. 1. Stanisław Wyspiański, *Autoportret z żoną* [Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife], 1904, pastel on cardboard, 18 3/4 x 24 1/2 in. (47.7 x 62.2 cm), Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Museum in Kraków], Poland, MNK III-r.a.-10895. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie.

class identities, Wyspiański commented on the fraught relationship between Polish nobles and peasants during the late nineteenth century. In *The Wedding*, Wyspiański complicated the national myth of an upcoming independence uprising. The text points to the unresolved tensions between Polish social classes and alludes to both *kosynierzy* (scythe-wielding peasants who fought for Polish independence in 1794) and the Galician Slaughter of 1846, in which peasants rose against Polish landowners, in order to articulate the stakes of these relations.

Most of the scholarship on Wyspiański considers his artistic and literary activities separately, with the exception of certain biographies.[7] The recent long-running retrospective *Wyspiański* at the National Museum in Kraków (November 28, 2017–May 5, 2019) attempted to integrate Wyspiański's writings with his visual art by including quotes from his plays in the didactics, but the emphasis was still on his visual art. The challenge in juxtaposing Wyspiański's visual and literary bodies of work lies in their formal

and thematic differences. His plays have complicated plots and are full of insightful social commentary, while his non-commissioned paintings usually depict genre scenes from everyday life. What unites his works, however, is the complex social and historical context in which they were made. I argue that by using different formal means, Wyspiański addressed the same issues of class identity, nationalism, and patriotism in both *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* and *The Wedding*.

Peasant-Mania and Nationalism in Partitioned Poland

At the turn of the twentieth century, Polish artists developed an increased fascination with the countryside and peasant folklore in a phenomenon known as *chłopomania* [peasant-mania]. The term "mania" hints at the intense interest that artists evinced towards peasants. For example, some upper-class Polish artists married peasant women, which had been socially unacceptable in previous generations, and moved to the countryside to create art and participate in peasant culture there. Polish peasant-mania was connected with a broader interest in peasants among European and Russian artists. Germanic, Scandinavian, and Slavic painters linked peasant imagery with nationalist movements.[8] Monica Juneja sees the French interest in depicting peasants as a manifestation of certain existential and political crises, and the idyllic views of peasants in Polish painting respond to similar upheavals.[9] Peasant-mania, however, did not merely manifest a *fin-de-siècle* nostalgia for a simpler and more natural way of living.[10]

In the context of partitioned Poland, which had been occupied by the Russian Empire, Prussia, and Habsburg Austria from 1795 until 1918, peasant-mania also reflected the political stakes of Polish independence aspirations. Proponents of peasant-mania considered peasants to be embodiments of patriotic values, but still aspired to shape and refine the peasants' national identity. Russia, Prussia, and Austria had taken over Polish land gradually, beginning with the territories closest to their borders in 1772, annexing more land in 1793, and ultimately occupying the whole of Poland in 1795.[11] Each of the three partitions had different ramifications for local residents, who dealt with varied political restrictions, industrial initiatives, and land reform proposals. The Austrian partition where Wyspiański lived, known as Galicia, was the most densely populated and economically disadvantaged.[12] The peasant community there comprised over six million people.[13]

Although the Republic of Poland did not even exist on maps throughout the nineteenth century, a sense of Polish national identity remained strong among the Polish nobility and intelligentsia, who often spoke of Poland's 800-year history of statehood.[14] The occupiers, particularly in the Prussian and Russian partitions, attempted to assimilate Polish subjects into

their own nations and were met with resistance.[15] Polish language, culture, and Catholicism, which became entangled with Polish national identity during the time of the partitions, were central to that resistance. Poles had also attempted to win back their homeland militarily. The Polish nobility attempted to reclaim their political sovereignty in several national uprisings, the most consequential of which were the November Uprising of 1830 and the January Uprising of 1863.[16] The failure of the January Uprising, which resulted in harsh reprisals for the participants and their families—including confiscation of property and forcible exile to Siberia—made the independence fighters realize that future efforts would only have a chance to succeed if peasants joined the cause more enthusiastically.[17]

The class divisions between the aristocracy, impoverished nobility, gentry, intelligentsia, and bourgeoisie became increasingly fluid throughout the nineteenth century. In this essay, I refer to wealthy landowners as "nobles" or "the upper classes." Wyspiański, his fellow artists, and members of the intelligentsia generally hailed from noble families or had social ties to nobility. Peasants remained a distinct social class, however, due to their habitation in the countryside, poverty, and local culture.[18] Prior to the partitions, peasants were serfs who tilled noble farmland, but thanks to gradual land reform during the nineteenth century, they began cultivating their own fields under the partitions.[19] This increased freedom complicated their relationship with both the occupiers and the nobility, and also impacted their sense of Polish national identity.[20]

To help mobilize peasants to join the fight for an independent Poland, artists began depicting peasants as morally pure and physically healthy, emphasizing the military potential of peasant men and the wifely virtues and mothering instincts of peasant women.[21] In so doing, however, they fetishized and idealized peasant life, leaving little room for individuality or deeper dialogue between peasants and nobles. Wyspiański and his peers also realized that peasants were more attached to their land than to the idea of an independent Poland. As a result, they attempted to make Polish-speaking peasants feel more included in the national culture and to reinforce positive stereotypes about them among the nobility and intelligentsia.[22] For example, they encouraged peasants to see theatrical performances during Sunday trips to Kraków.[23]

Polish culture was key to preserving Polish national identity for future generations, who would have no memory of an independent Poland. During the second half of the nineteenth century, artists and intellectuals created works *ku pokrzepieniu serc* [to invigorate the hearts] of their compatriots and aimed to sustain Polish national identity through painting, poetry, and literature. These works celebrated the eight centuries of Polish sovereignty, presented from the perspective of the nobility.[24] By the turn of the century, however, artists had shifted their attention to other social classes. Novellas

about the misery of factory workers appeared alongside paintings of rural landscapes, and the writer Władysław Reymont (1867–1925) won a Nobel Prize for *Chłopi* [The Peasants] (1909), a novel narrated exclusively from a peasant perspective.[25]

Wyspiański belonged to a generation which did not remember an independent Poland or independence uprisings and would learn about them through culture and oral histories. His family had personal ties with the fight for Polish independence. After the death of his mother in 1876, Wyspiański spent the remainder of his childhood under the care of his aunt Jadwiga Stankiewiczowa. Her husband, Kazimierz Stankiewicz, had fought in the January Uprising and maintained friendships with other veterans and the cultural elite of Kraków.[26] Wyspiański also attended the prestigious Gimnazjum Św. Anny [St. Anne's Junior High School], whose curriculum emphasized Polish history and literature.[27] Thanks to his aunt and uncle's social connections, Wyspiańki became acquainted with the painter Jan Matejko (1838–1893), who trained him in history painting and helped jumpstart his artistic career.[28] Matejko was a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków and a patriot whose art aimed to show glorious scenes from the Polish past. After finishing his education, Wyspiański departed from Matejko's style of history painting, but national discourse remained important in his art.

Transcending Class in an Interclass Marriage: *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife*

Wyspianski's marriage to Teodora four years before painting *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* was considered a misalliance by his peers.[29] The upper-class social circles in Kraków, Wyspiański's hometown and the cultural center of Galicia, were not shocked because he had married a peasant woman. On the contrary, the marriages of artists and writers to peasant women had become almost fashionable during peasant-mania. Two of Wyspiański's friends, the painter Włodzimierz Tetmajer (1861–1923) and the poet Lucjan Rydel (1870–1918), married into peasant families and moved to the countryside.[30] Wyspiański, however, did not meet his wife in the countryside or move to a village. Instead, Teodora came to the city to work as a domestic servant and gave birth to an illegitimate son, the identity of whose father is unknown.[31] She later found a job in the household of Wyspiański's aunt, where she probably started a relationship with the artist. Before marrying Teodora, Wyspiański had already fathered two children with her, but formalizing their union still shocked Wyspiański's family.[32] After their marriage, the artist also legally adopted his wife's firstborn son.[33] Therefore, it seems that society condemned Teodora not for her peasant origins, but

rather for her reputed promiscuity and for the circumstances under which she met Wyspiański.[34]

Building on this prejudice, Wyspiański's family and friends also sneered at Teodora's supposed lack of manners and education—something for which Rydel's and Tetmajer's peasant brides were not criticized.[35] They also doubted whether Teodora could adequately care for Wyspiański, who had already been diagnosed with syphilis before meeting her, and whose health deteriorated throughout their marriage.[36] While marrying young, presumably chaste peasant women tallied with the romanticized notion of the morally pure countryside, Teodora—a year older than Wyspiański and the mother of three illegitimate children—did not satisfy this ideal. Her nonconformity resulted in social ostracization. For example, Rydel, whose nuptials inspired Wyspiański's drama *The Wedding*, refused to invite Teodora to his ceremony in person, as the custom required, until Wyspiański intervened by threatening not to serve as a witness to Rydel's marriage unless his own wife was invited properly.[37] Additionally, when Teodora remarried after Wyspiański's death, her alleged character flaws were leveraged against her during legal proceedings over the custody of her children, who were ultimately placed under the guardianship of Wyspiański's friend Adam Chmiel.[38]

Wyspiański's acquaintances recounted that he "could not stand" questions about his private life and declined to answer them.[39] However, when it was hinted to a theater director that Wyspiański would not be good at his job because of his wife, the artist expressed his visible annoyance and disappointment with the Kraków social circles in a letter to that director:

> It is all a "social" comedy, because they cannot comprehend that my wife is not of the "city folk," from the so-called intelligentsia, and they would wager half of their life for some scandal which they are craving...[40]

As a sharp observer of social life, Wyspiański was painfully aware that society would invent and disseminate negative gossip about his marital situation. To counter this malicious gossip, Wyspiański created a marriage portrait in which he celebrates his wife's peasant ancestry and their conjugal union.

Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife is a pastel which emphasizes unity and partnership between two individuals with different class backgrounds. Wyspiański created it in his studio, where he would likely have shown it to his patrons.[41] Feliks Jasieński, a prominent art collector, purchased the pastel in 1906 and hung it in his living room, where he displayed the most valuable objects from his art collection, and later donated it the National Museum in Kraków in 1920.[42]

The relationship between Wyspiański and his wife in the pastel is forged through the overlap of their bodies, their relative placement in the composition, the interplay of light and shadow on their faces, and the icono-

graphic significance of their clothing. Wyspiański and Teodora stand side by side, with barely any space separating them, and gaze directly at the viewer with serious expressions on their faces, looking self-assured and almost confrontational. Wyspiański, dressed in an olive vest, is positioned in front of his wife and depicted in three-quarter profile, with much of his face in shadow. Teodora, wearing a floral dress, chaplet necklace, and coral headscarf, is much more brightly lit. She looks healthier than her husband, whose skin is tinted blue, purple, and sickly green, perhaps an allusion to his venereal disease. Stationed close to the picture plane in a shallow, undefined space, the couple dominates the composition.

Teodora was one of Wyspiański's most frequent models, and she posed for other multi-figure compositions such as *Motherhood* (1904) (Fig. 2).[43] In each of these works, the pastel technique allowed Wyspiański to experiment with loose lines and detailed ornamentation, as he did for the pattern on Teodora's dress. At the same time, *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* is executed with more care and precision than *Motherhood*, as though for an oil painting, and the layering of colors emulates the effect of glazing.[44] Carefully rendered lighting is evenly distributed on Teodora's face and neck, but creates dramatic shadows on Wyspiański's visage, encouraging the viewer's gaze to travel back and forth between them. The contrast between Teodora's festive dress and her husband's duller apparel emphasizes her role as a richly-attired muse posing for an artist.

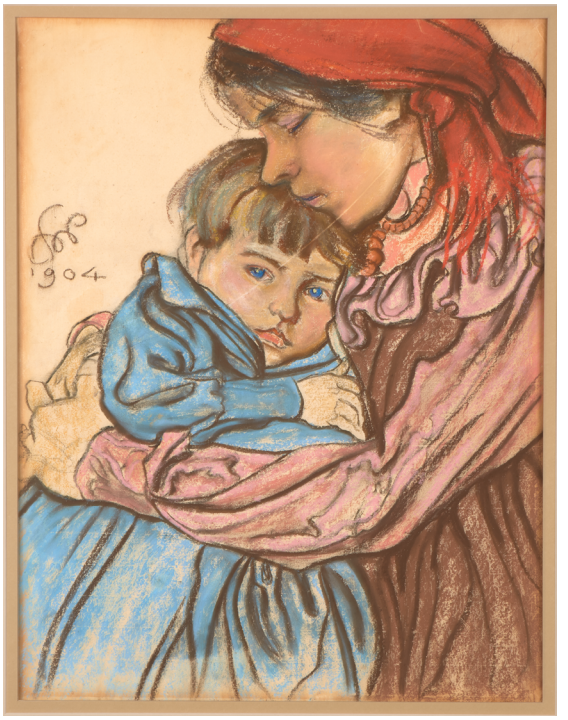

Fig. 2. Stanisław Wyspiański, *Macierzyństwo* [Motherhood], 1904, pastel on cardboard, 24 7/16 x 18 11/16 in. (62 x 47.4 cm), private collection. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Museum in Kraków], Poland, ND-12402.

The relationship between Wyspiański and his wife is further nuanced by their costumes, which deliberately muddle their class identities. Teodora's ensemble has nationalistic and religious connotations. Her traditional *krakowska* dress was originally worn by folk dancers in

villages around Kraków at the turn of the eighteenth century, before being appropriated by the upper classes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[45] It eventually gained the status of a national costume, and it is still worn today during national and religious celebrations in Kraków and beyond, including by Poles abroad.[46] Teodora's chaplet necklace, whose beads are carefully rendered to indicate its importance, also emphasizes her ties to Polish folk culture and Catholicism.[47] From the lowest string of beads hangs a medallion of the Virgin Mary. Wyspiański used strokes of ultramarine, the conventional color of Mary's mantle in Western painting, to indicate the Blessed Mother. Yet Teodora's jewelry is an unstable class marker. Made of real coral, the necklace was an expensive gift from Wyspiański, something a peasant could not have afforded.[48] In effect, Teodora poses as an upper-class woman impersonating a peasant, a highly meta role.

Wyspiański's attire is equally ambiguous. His olive vest, with its distinctive black fur collar, evokes similar garments worn by peasants. However, many Polish intellectuals also donned such vests as visible manifestations of their (supposedly) egalitarian views or as a means of currying favor with peasants.[49] In contrast to Teodora's vibrant dress and accessories, Wyspiański's clothing is much duller and more weathered in appearance, suggesting that he belongs to a lower strata of society—even though the opposite was actually the case. His collar seems to take on a life of its own, reaching towards Teodora's necklace and asserting spatial dominance within the picture space. Like Teodora, Wyspiański participates in a social masquerade, and both of their ensembles demonstrate class fluidity and mobility in turn-of-the-century Poland. Although it was easier for artists and intellectuals to settle in the countryside and associate with peasants than for the lower classes to move to urban centers and rise beyond their circumstances, the latter was not unheard of.[50] Teodora herself succeeded in making this upward transition—from a peasant, to a domestic servant, and ultimately to the wife of an esteemed artist.[51]

Neither Teodora nor Wyspiański would have worn these outfits in everyday life. Teodora likely donned her *krakowska* dress for special occasions, such as weddings or patriotic festivals, but Wyspiański would not have been seen in Kraków sporting a peasant vest.[52] *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* should thus be understood not simply as a faithful depiction of Wyspiański's and Teodora's appearances, as attested by period photographs, but also as an allegory of an interclass marriage (Fig. 3). Rather than striving for a kind of ethnographic realism, Wyspiański sought to capture the unique social dynamics of peasant-noble relationships, including his own. Scholars who have analyzed this portrait through the lens of Wyspiański's biography note that the artist stands almost protectively in front of Teodora, as if he wanted to shield her from criticism about their union.[53] Their confrontational gazes were likely intended for people who questioned the propriety of their

Fig. 3. Józef Eder, *Stanisław Wyspiański and Teodora Teofila Wyspiańska*, ca. 1901, albumen silver print, Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa [Historical Museum of the City of Kraków], Poland, MHK Fs4001-IX. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa.

marriage or circulated rumors about Teodora, because most of Wyspiański's family and friends considered Teodora an inappropriate partner for him.[54] Through the double portrait, Wyspiański made a bold statement about his alleged misalliance and challenged Kraków's high society to accept his peasant wife. Teodora certainly appreciated Wyspiański's efforts to protect her from public censure and secure her social respect. Despite some social backlash and Wyspiański's terminal illness, Teodora later described their marriage as the happiest time of her life.[55]

Galician Slaughter, National Trauma, Peasant Activism, and *Kosynierzy* in *The Wedding*

If *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* proffers interclass marriage as one possible solution to class conflict in Poland, *The Wedding* contextualizes that conflict within ongoing struggles for independence from Austria, Prussia, and Russia. One of the drama's underlying threads is the shared trauma of the Galician Slaughter. On the eve of a planned uprising of Galician nobles against the Austrian occupying forces in 1846, Galician peasants violently rose against those very nobles.[56] Over the course of a few days, they murdered the inhabitants of over 470 mansions.[57] Their revolt only ceased when the Austrian army decided to restore order. The Polish nobility believed that the Austrians had incited this peasant riot, and the national myth of Austrians having manipulated the peasants in order to prevent an upper-class uprising was born.

This anti-Austrian narrative was strengthened by stories about peasants receiving salt from Austrian officials as payment for murdering nobles. Jan Lewicki's painting *The Galician Slaughter 1846* visualizes this version of events (Fig. 4). Uniformed, cleanly shaven Austrian soldiers are depicted doling out money to impoverished civilians, who carry decapitated heads as evidence of their horrific deeds. A military scribe is seen meticulously itemizing the silverware looted from the victims' mansions. He is seated under a signpost bearing the Austrian coat of arms, indicating that he and his colleagues are acting on official orders. Bloodied corpses lie in the shadows in the foreground, while a mob of people wielding pikes, one of which displays a severed head, occupies the background. Interestingly, even though Lewicki's painting blames the Austrian occupying forces for the peasants' aggression, it also features an Austrian soldier giving money to a father of five children. This compassionate act humanizes the Austrians and their role in the Slaughter. However, Lewicki's painting acknowledges neither the history of tensions between Galician landowners and peasants nor the fact that peasant rights slightly improved under Austrian rule.[58] The Galician Slaughter was the product of a feudal system that benefitted nobles to the

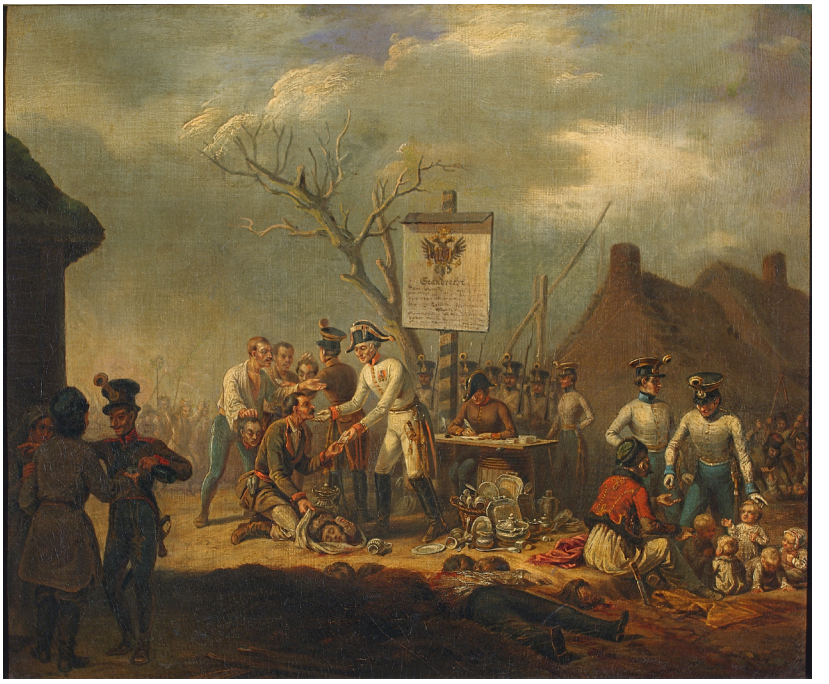

Fig. 4. Jan Nepomucen Lewicki, *Rzeź Galicyjska 1846* [The Galician Slaughter 1846], 1846–1871, oil on canvas, 18 5/16 x 21 7/8 in. (46.5 x 55.5 cm), Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie [Polish Army Museum in Warsaw], Poland, MWP 30305. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie.

detriment of peasants. In Polish collective memory and visual culture, however, the Galician Slaughter became a national trauma and a failed instance of peasant military involvement in the struggle for independence.

For artists and intellectuals in Wyspiański's generation, the memory of the Slaughter complicated their idyllic view of peasants. For example, the very first act of *The Wedding* features a dialogue between a Grandfather and a Father whose peasant daughter is about to marry a nobleman. Their conversation offers insight not only into Wyspiański's thoughts on the Slaughter, but also generational differences in peasant attitudes towards interclass marriages. The Grandfather, who remembers the Galician Slaughter, asks his son's opinion about the bride and groom belonging to different social classes. The Father, representing a new, more optimistic generation of peasants, responds:

> Why should we care for each other's class?
> Ah, the nobleman liked her.
> All people are the same.
> Ah, the nobles are bored alone,
> So they have beautiful fun with us.[59]

The Father does not care that his future son-in-law hails from a different social class than his daughter, claiming that all men are equal. The Grandfather is more skeptical about their marital prospects, because he witnessed "the blood, the slaughter" firsthand and doubts that the nobles will ever truly forgive the peasants.[60] He finds it remarkable that his great-grandson will become a nobleman.[61] At the theatrical premiere of *The Wedding* in 1901, Leon Stępowski, the theater director and Wyspiański's friend, played the part of the Grandfather and allegedly acted out the word "nobleman" with visible hatred and pain.[62] Later in the play, the Grandfather has a supernatural encounter with Jakub Szela, the peasant leader of the Galician Slaughter and a personification of his own lingering guilt. Bleeding and wearing ragged clothes, the phantom of Szela greets the horrified Grandfather, who attempts to chase him away from the wedding. The ghost, however, wants to wash the blood off himself and take part in the celebrations. Their encounter was depicted in a postcard produced to promote *The Wedding* during its premiere in Kraków in 1901 (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Postcard of Bolesław Puchalski as the Phantom and Leon Stępowski as the Grandfather in *The Wedding*, 1901, photomechanical print, 5 5/8 x 3 9/16 in (14.1 x 9.1 cm), Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa [Historical Museum of Kraków], Poland, MHK-Fs1065/VI. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa.

Upper-class activists for Polish independence in the late nineteenth century were disturbed by the memory of the Galician Slaughter, but they also rediscovered a positive historical model for peasant military involvement. In 1794, General Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817) started an uprising to defend the remaining Polish territories from the third and final partition of Poland.[63] He convinced a large number of peasants to join his cause.[64] Since there was a shortage of weapons, some peasants armed themselves with scythes and therefore became known as the *kosynierzy* [scythe fighters].[65] The *kosynierzy* were decisive

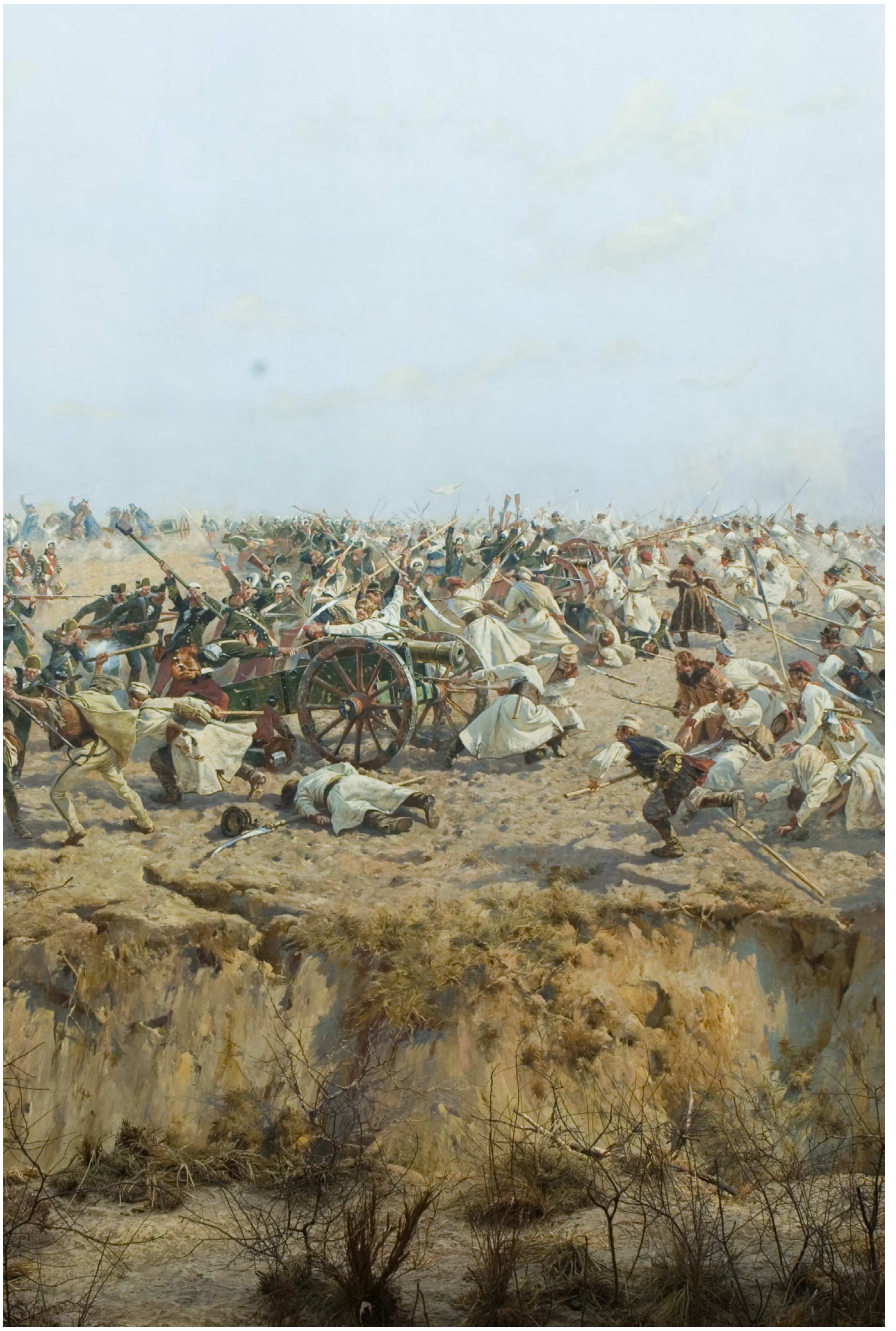

Fig. 6. Jan Styka, Wojciech Kossak, and assistants, detail of *Panorama Racławicka* [The Racławice Panorama], 1893–1894, oil on canvas, 590 9/16 x 4488 3/16 in. (1500 x 11400 cm), *Panorama Racławicka* branch of the Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu [National Museum in Wrocław], Poland. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu.

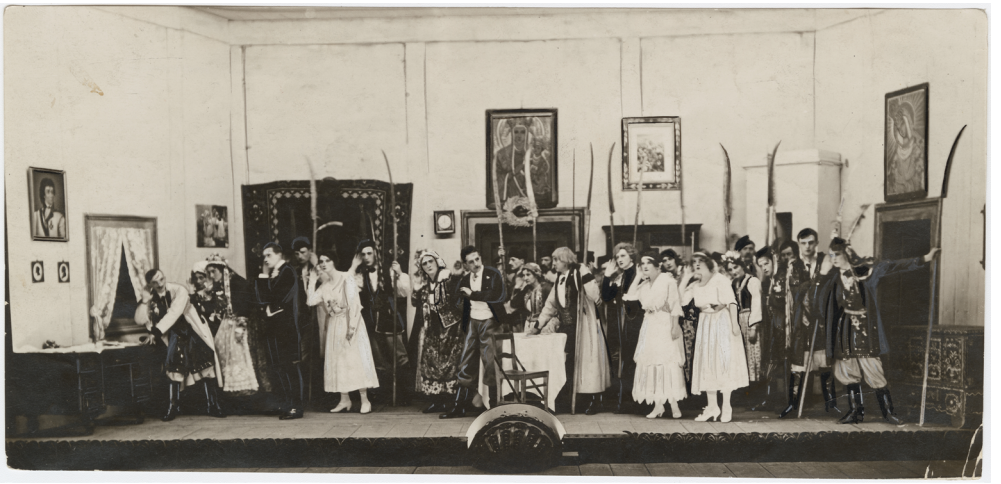

Fig. 7. Wacław Szymborski, *Scena zbiorowa ze sztuki "Wesele" Stanisława Wyspiańskiego* [A Group Scene from Stanisław Wyspiański's "The Wedding"], 1918, gelatin silver print, 4 5/16 x 9 7/16 in. (10.9 x 23.9 cm), Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa [Historical Museum of Kraków], Poland, MHK-Fs1071-VI. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa.

to the Polish victory against the Russian forces in the Battle of Racławice on April 4, 1794, and they became a cultural symbol that was often contrasted with that of the Galician Slaughterer. One of the most monumental Polish cycloramic historical paintings, *The Racławice Panorama*, completed in 1894 by a group of ten painters (Wyspiański's friend Tetmajer among them), commemorates their contributions to this battle (Fig. 6). In the fragment illustrated here, two *kosynierzy* heroically seize a Russian canon, while another peasant named Wojciech Bartosz covers the canon's fuse with his own hat to prevent it from firing.[66] Dressed in white, the *kosynierzy* literally and conceptually dominate the Russian soldiers in this painting.

The Wedding alludes to the 1794 uprising in several ways. In the finale, the entire cast of nobles, artists, peasants, children, and a priest hold scythes aloft and wait for a signal to begin an insurrection of their own. When this play was performed in Kraków in 1918, seventeen years after its debut, the set design for its closing scene included a framed portrait of Kościuszko on the far left wall, making the historical reference even more conspicuous (Fig. 7).[67] During the finale, when the characters were listening for the call to action, they faced the Kościuszko portrait, cupped their hands to their ears, and held scythes in their hands. In this photograph from the 1918 production, two portraits of the Virgin Mary are visible, one from Częstochowa, Poland, and the other from Vilnius, Lithuania. Together, they symbolize the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and emphasize the ties between Polish national identity and Roman Catholicism.[68]

However, the hoped-for uprising never comes to fruition in *The Wedding* due to a dramatic plot twist. Earlier in the play, a prophet called Wernyhora entrusted a magical horn to the wedding host, a nobleman who had embraced a peasant lifestyle. This nobleman, in turn, passed the artifact to an irresponsible peasant named Jasiek, who ultimately misplaced it, thereby ruining any chance of a national uprising. Instead of hearing the long-awaited signal to begin revolting, the characters hear the song of a mischievous supernatural being called Chochoł. They then fall into a stupor, discard their scythes, and begin dancing—a surprising, bitter, and somewhat comic conclusion to the play.

The Wedding was received with enthusiasm upon its premiere in Kraków in 1901 and permanently entered the canon of national Polish literature. One of the reasons for its lasting success is its deft oscillation between the real world and the realm of fantasy.[69] The original viewers could see clear parallels between the play and the real-life wedding of Rydel, and they reacted favorably to Wyspiański's satirical indictment of Polish society. Through a series of philosophical dialogues between humans and supernatural beings—the Grandfather and the ghost of Jakub Szela, the Groom and an aristocratic traitor of the Polish state, the Poet and a medieval Knight—Wyspiański linked Poland's failure to reclaim sovereignty with class conflict. Although interclass marriages helped make amends between nobles and peasants, *The Wedding* suggested that they were not enough to rally these social groups to fight for independence together, as the finale made clear. The proponents of peasant-mania sought to eradicate the memory of the Galician Slaughter and promote the 1794 uprising as a model of military cooperation between peasants and nobles, but Wyspiański emphasized the complexity of such collaboration in *The Wedding*.

Whereas the male characters dominate the political arena in *The Wedding*, the women assert agency in the domestic sphere. The Bride, the play's leading peasant female character, offers an example of the ideal Polish wife. Under partitioned Poland, the *Matka Polka* [Polish Mother] emerged as the paradigmatic self-sacrificing woman who thrived in her roles as parent, spouse, and Pole. When upper-class men were fighting in national uprisings, killed in battle, or exiled due to their revolutionary activities, their wives became responsible for providing for the family and raising their children to be "Polish."[70] Although the *Matka Polka* instituted near-impossible standards for women, it also granted noblewomen some agency by creating opportunities for them to demonstrate resilience.[71] Even peasant women were considered capable of instilling their children with certain innate values associated with peasant life, such as health, strength, and morality.

These stereotypical gender roles are encapsulated by one particular dialogue between the Bride and Poet, which offers one of the most touching commentaries about Poland in the play. The Bride recounts a dream in

Fig. 8. Postcard of Bolesław Zawierski as the Groom and Maria Przybyłko-Potocka as the Bride in *The Wedding*, 1901, photomechanical print, 5 3/8 x 3 7/16 in (13.7 x 8.8 cm), Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa [Historical Museum of Kraków], Poland, MHK-Fs1276-VI. Image courtesy of the Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa.

which she was taken in a carriage to Poland.[72] She does not know, however, where Poland is located. The Poet asks her to put a hand on her heart and explains that Poland is there. The Bride's ignorance was personally offensive to Rydel's wife, who inspired the character, but was meant to symbolize a lack of schooling and national identity amongst Polish peasants.[73] Her concept of Poland is intuitive (manifested in dreams) and connected with nature (her beating heart). By contrast, the Poet understands Poland's place in history and is prepared, along with other educated men, to pass this knowledge onto the next generation. Yet, in my view, Wyspiański did not mean to

diminish the role of the Bride in the drama or in Polish society. *The Wedding* grants women a distinct role in nation-building, if not necessarily in Polish cultural life: they are charged with raising and nurturing the next generation of Poles. Without her fiancé, the Bride might not understand her Polish heritage, but without his wife-to-be, the Groom would not be able to start a family and enlist his children's help in securing independence for Poland. They complement each other, offering a model for how nobles and peasants can coexist and benefit from one another. This codependence is reflected in the Bride and Groom's similar costumes. Picture postcards and other period ephemera related to *The Wedding* depict the couple wearing folk outfits in the *krakowski* style (just like Teodora in the *Self-Portrait*), a sign of their successful partnership (Fig. 8). In this postcard from the 1901 production, the couple's complementary headdresses and physical closeness emphasize their codependence.

Teodora herself also played an important role in the play's conception. Before attending the nuptials of Rydel and a seventeen-year-old peasant named Jadwiga Mikołajczykowa on November 20, 1901, Wyspiański allegedly told his wife to observe the guests carefully and exchange stories with him afterwards, so it is quite likely that her insights entered into this famous Polish drama.[74] In addition, according to the memoirs of Wyspiański's friend Michał Siedlecki, Wyspiański was inspired by Teodora's folk stories:

> Mrs. Wyspiańska knew many folk songs and stories and was quite good at telling them. Wyspiański often listened […] to her voice. I am sure that he was able to feel the character of our folk in its strongest qualities, to a significant extent thanks to his wife.[75]

Teodora seems to have been a great admirer of the play and she reportedly recited verses from it on her deathbed.[76] Even if Teodora's impact on *The Wedding* was indirect, she was certainly responsible for Wyspiański's fascination with the countryside and interclass relationships. Perhaps Wyspiański would have tackled these topics in *The Wedding* even if he had not known Teodora, but, as Siedlecki insisted, he understood the Polish peasantry better thanks to her.

Conclusion

Both *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* and *The Wedding* problematize issues of peasant identity and class relations, but in different ways. In the pastel, Wyspiański and his wife engage in role-playing to transcend their class backgrounds. Teodora's costly chaplet-necklace and traditional *krakowska* dress cast her as a stylish, aristocratic woman mimicking a peasant, while

Wyspiański's muted vest transforms him from an upper-class artist to a peasant. Their overlapping clothing, confident expressions, and unflinching gazes attest to the strength of their partnership, despite it being an interclass marriage.

The Wedding comments more directly on Poland's social and political problems under the partitions. For some wedding guests, such as the Grandfather, the trauma of the Galician Slaughter looms large in their imagination and reconciliation between peasants and nobles seems dubious. Others, including the Bride's Father, are more optimistic about interclass marriage and the possibility of collaborative military action in the struggle for Polish independence, looking to the 1794 uprising as a model. Men and women are assigned different roles in nation-building, with the *Matka Polka* ideal serving a paradigm for the female characters to emulate. Both works reflect a loosening of boundaries between Polish classes, Wyspiański's participation in the phenomenon of peasant-mania, and the complex relationship between class identity and national identity in turn-of-the-century Poland. They also suggest that Wyspiański was a modern artist who was involved in, but not entirely beholden to, a discourse of national identity.

Notes

*I am grateful to Andrei Pop, Professor of Art History, University of Chicago, for advising my Master's thesis, from which this paper derived. I would also like to thank Robert Bird, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago, and Savannah Esquivel, PhD Candidate, University of Chicago, for offering feedback on earlier drafts.

1. Irena Kossowska and Łukasz Kossowski, *Malarstwo Polskie: Symbolizm i Młoda Polska* [Polish Painting: Symbolism and Young Poland] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Arkady, 2011), 13-19.

2. Roughly 40,000 people were in attendance. See "Pogrzeb Wyspiańskiego [Wyspiański's Funeral]," *Głos Narodu* [The Voice of the Nation], no. 549 (December 3, 1907): 1-2. Cited by Monika Śliwińska, *Wyspiański: Dopóki starczy życia* [Wyspiański: As Long as Life Lasts] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2017), 9.

3. For the most recent mandatory book list for Polish high school students, see "Podstawa Programowa Kształcenia Ogólnego z Komentarzem" [General Education Core Curriculum with Commentary], 25-27, https://www.ore.edu.pl/wp-content/plugins/download-attachments/includes/download.php?id=23135.

4. Wyspiański's homes, activities, and relationships are traced in his most recent biography. See Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 234-45, 443-54.

5. Jan Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art*, 1890-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 146. Cavanaugh's book is the first comprehensive, English-language study of Polish *fin-de-siècle* art. It seeks to broaden the definition of European modernism to include the Polish modernist movement. Teodora is called "Wyspiańska," because Polish surnames have different feminine and plural forms. Stanisław Wyspiański's wife would be Mrs. Wyspiańska, and the couple together would be Mr. and Mrs. Wyspiańscy.

6. For more on the *krakowska* dress, see Anna Kowalska-Lewicka, "Ludowy strój krakowski—strojem narodowym [The peasant 'krakowski' costume—as a national costume]," *Polska Sztuka Ludowa—Konteksty* [Polish Folk Art—Contexts] 30, no. 2 (1976): 67-74.

7. A rare exception is Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*.

8. Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 140.

9. Monica Juneja, "The Peasant in French Painting: Millet to Van Gogh," Museum International 36, no. 3 (September 1984): 168-72, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0033.1984.tb00133.x.

10. For attitudes towards peasants in Russia, see Rosalind P. Blakesley, *The Russian Canvas: Painting in Imperial Russia, 1757-1881* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 193.

11. See maps in Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland, rev. ed., vol. 2, 1795 to the Present* (1981; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 83, 113, 140.

12. Jacek Łukasiewicz, "Okres 1795-1918 [The Period 1795-1918]," in *Historia Polski w Liczbach* [History of Poland in Numbers], ed. Franciszek Kubiczek (Warsaw: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych, 1994), 66-80.

13. Ibid.

14. Jan Ostrowski, "Art in the Service of an Oppressed Nation: Introduction to the History of Polish Painting in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Naked Soul: Polish Fin-de-siècle Paintings from the National Museum*, Poznań, exh. cat., ed. Agnieszka Ławniczakowa (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1993), 2.

15. Stefan Kieniewicz, "Poland in Malczewski's Time," in *Malczewski: The Vision of Poland*, ed. Agnieszka Ławniczakowa (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1990), 29.

16. During the January Uprising, the Polish nobility promised the peasants free land in exchange for their military support, but had no political means of fulfilling that pledge. At the same time, Russian authorities implemented gradual land reform in the Russian Empire in 1861 and in the Russian Partition between 1861 and 1864. Some peasants considered the Polish proposal more beneficial and supported the uprising (around eighty peasants in the Russian partition were sentenced to death for their support), but others were distrustful of the Polish promises and embraced the Russian reform. For further information, see Henryk Samsonowicz et al., *Historia Polski* [The History of Poland] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2007), 480-85, 514-28; and Stefan Inglot, ed., *Historia Chłopów Polskich* [History of Polish Peasants] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1995), 141-47.

17. Unlike forcibly relocated nobles, many Polish peasants moved to Siberia willingly for economic reasons. Peasants constituted 61% of the Polish dias-

pora to Siberia in 1897. See Sergiusz Leończyk, "Dzieje Polaków na Syberii [The History of Poles in Siberia]," *Rodacy na Syberii* [Countrymen in Siberia], http://www.rodacynasyberii.pl/teksty/3/artykuly/2/3/, accessed September 28, 2019.

18. Members of the upper classes who identified as Polish were usually united by the Polish language, their education about Polish history, and Roman Catholicism. Members of the lower classes in the cities, such as factory workers, were not a common subject in the visual arts and are not discussed in this article, but Polish writers began to include them in their novels and short stories at the end of the nineteenth century. For more on peasant identity versus Polish identity, see Keely Stauter Halsted, *Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland*, 1848-1914 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 1-11.

19. Peasants gained ownership of their land in 1848 in the Austrian partition and between 1808 and 1872 in the Prussian partition. Samsonowicz et al., *Historia Polski*, 480-85, 515-28.

20. Ibid., and Inglot, ed., *Historia Chłopów Polskich*, 141-47.

21. Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 141.

22. The upper classes considered Polish-speaking, Catholic peasants to be Polish, regardless of their views on national identity (or lack thereof). Peasants were a diverse social class, and while some took active part in local or national politics, some felt more attached to their land and agricultural way of life than to Polish identity. On peasant national identity in Galicia, see Stauter Halsted, *Nation in the Village*, 1-11.

23. Jan Nowakowski, "Wstęp [Introduction]," in Stanisław Wyspiański, *Wesele* [The Wedding] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1984), XLIX. Nowakowski notes that lower-class patrons attended Sunday matinee performances. The large number of Sunday matinees for *The Wedding* suggests that the play was popular with this audience.

24. However, Henryk Sienkiewicz's epic novel *Potop* [The Deluge] (1886) episodically features a group of heroic peasants who prevent a Swedish assassination attempt on a Polish king. Even though Sienkiewicz's novel is presented from the perspective of the nobility, the peasants play a key role in saving the king and cooperating with the nobles against their common, foreign enemy.

25. Reymont, a descendent of impoverished nobles, was the son of a village

organist and lived in various villages throughout his life. Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 146.

26. Luba Ristujczina, *Wielcy Malarze: Wyspiański* [Great Painters: Wyspiański] (Warsaw: Edipresse Polska S.A., 2017), 8-9.

27. Today this high school is known as I Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. Bartłomieja Nowodworskiego [Bartłomiej Nowodworski High School]. Admission remains very competitive.

28. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 40-41, 59-68.

29. For period commentary on Wyspiański's marriage, see Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 236-46.

30. Nowakowski, "Wstęp," LI, LXI; and Lesław Eustachiewicz, *"Wesele" Stanisława Wyspiańskiego* ["The Wedding" by Stanisław Wyspiański], 2nd ed. (1975; Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1991), 46.

31. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 145.

32. Ibid., 195, 236-37, 480-82.

33. Teodora's firstborn son was apparently unaware that Wyspiański was not his biological father until after Wyspiański's death. He tried to become an artist, but suffered from a mental illness and died in an asylum. His true parentage must have been kept secret, because Wyspiański's cousin Witold Wyspiański wrote in his diary that the son tried to be "great like his father" [chciał być wielkim, jak ojciec], and some doctors suspected that his mental health problems were the result of inherited syphilis. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 480-82.

34. Wanda Matejkówna, a friend of Wyspiański's family, recalled that the artist's aunt Jadwiga Stankiewiczowa was worried that reading Leo Tolstoy's *Resurrection* (1899) had driven Wyspiański to marry Teodora. Tolstoy's protagonist is convinced that he needs to marry his former maid to pay for his mistakes. See Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 236-37.

35. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 236-45.

36. Wyspiański's worsening illness functions as a leitmotif in Śliwińska's biography of him. Śliwińska speculates that Wyspiański contracted syphilis either during his studies in France or during his youthful years in Kraków. By the time Wyspiański met Teodora, his disease was probably no longer

contagious, but his own health progressively deteriorated until his death in 1908. See Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 156-61.

37. See Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 246-47, 276-77 for other criticisms of Teodora by Wyspiański's friends.

38. Ibid., 473-84.

39. "(…) podobnych pytań, dotyczących jego spraw osobistych, nie znosił…"Adam Chmiel, cited in Łukasz Gaweł, *Stanisław Wyspiański: na chęciach mi nie braknie…* [Stanisław Wyspiański: I will not lack in will…] (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2017), 223. All translations by Weronika Malek-Lubawski, unless otherwise noted.

40. "Wszystko zaś jest komedia «społeczna», gdyż nie mogą przenieść na sobie tego, że moja żona nie jest z «miastowych», z tak zwanej inteligencji i daliby połowę życia za jaki skandal, którego się doczekać nie mogą zrozpaczeni, za jaką udaną intrygę lub wszelkiego rodzaju podłość." *Listy Stanisława Wyspianskiego różne: do wielu adresatów* [Letters from Stanisław Wyspiański: To Many Recipients] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1998), 145-46. Cited in Danuta Godyń and Magdalena Laskowska, eds., *Wyspiański: Catalogue of the Exhibition of Works from the Collection of the National Museum in Kraków*, exh. cat. (Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 2017), 37.

41. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 338. Wyspiański's friend Chmiel recalled seeing the artist's double portrait with his wife there, along with other portraits. See Danuta Godyń and Magdalena Laskowska, eds., *Rysunki, akwarele i pastele z kolekcji Feliksa Jasieńskiego w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie* [Drawings, Watercolors, and Pastels from the Collection of Feliks Jasieński in the National Museum of Kraków] (Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 2015), 40-50.

42. Jasieński would often buy Wyspiański's works in the same year that they were created, so the two-year gap between Wyspiański's creation of *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* and Jasieński's purchase of it was likely the artist's decision. In 1906, Wyspiański sold a few pastels depicting his family in order to take out a loan and purchase property. Jasieński bought *Self-Portrait with the Artist's Wife* at this time. Period photographs from 1914 show it hanging on a wall in Jasieński's house. See Godyń and Laskowska, *Rysunki, akwarele i pastele*, 46-48, 286.

43. *Sketch for "Motherhood"* (1904) was sold to a private collector on Decem-

ber 14, 2017 for 4,366,000 PLN (about 1,206,000 USD), a record price for a Polish artwork. See "*Macierzyństwo* Wyspiańskiego najdroższym obrazem na polskim rynku [Wyspiański's *Motherhood* as the Most Expensive Painting on the Polish Market]," http://rynekisztuka.pl/2017/12/15/rekord-stanislaw-wyspianski-najdrozsze-dzielo-polski-rynek-sztuki/, published December 12, 2017, accessed May 16, 2018.

44. One of the reasons for Wyspiański's use of pastel was his allergy to oil paint. Wyspiański painted his last oil painting in 1894 and specialized in pastel thereafter. Godyń and Laskowska, *Wyspiański*, 21.

45. Kowalska-Lewicka, "Ludowy strój krakowski—strojem narodowym," 67-71.

46. Ibid.

47. For a discussion of Roman Catholicism during the partitions, see Marian Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski Porozbiorowe 1795-1921* [A History of Partitioned Poland 1795-1921] (London: B. Świderski, 1961), 49-50; and Davies, *God's Playground*, 207-25.

48. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 339.

49. Kowalska-Lewicka, "Ludowy strój krakowski—strojem narodowym," 70.

50. Kossowska and Kossowski, *Malarstwo Polskie*, 334; Franciszek Ziejka, *Wesele w kręgu mitów polskich* ["The Wedding" in the Context of Polish Myths] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1997), 16-18; and Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In*, 143.

51. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 145.

52. Kowalska-Lewicka, "Ludowy strój krakowski—strojem narodowym," 68-70.

53. Ristujczina, *Wielcy Malarze: Wyspiański*, 70; and Gaweł, *Stanisław Wyspiański*, 260.

54. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 246-47, 276-77.

55. She did so during a conversation with her daughter-in-law, who mentioned this remark in a radio audition for Radio Kraków in 1981. Cited in Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 484.

56. Nowakowski, "Wstęp," XLVIII; and Norman Davies, *God's Playground*, 147-48.

57. There were more than 1000 casualties in total. See Samsonowicz et al., *Historia Polski*, 502.

58. Kai Struve, *Bauern und Nation in Galizien: Über Zugehörigkeit und soziale Emanzipation im 19. Jahrhundert* [Peasantry and Nation in Galicia: Belonging and Social Emancipation in the 19th Century] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005), 83-84.

59. "Co tam po kim szukać stanu. / Ot, spodobała się panu./ Jednakowo wszyscy ludzie. / Ot, pany się nudzą sami / to się pięknie bawiom z nami." Stanisław Wyspiański, *Wesele*, Act I, Scene 26 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1984), 65.

60. Ibid., 66-67.

61. Ibid., 67.

62. Adam Grzymała-Siedlecki, *Niepospolici ludzie w dniu swoim powszednim* [The Everyday Life of Extraordinary People] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1962), 184.

63. Inglot, *Historia Chłopów Polskich*, 93.

64. On May 7, 1794, Kościuszko issued a document that granted peasants some benefits, such as allowing them to fight for their rights in disputes with landowners. See Marcin Dobrowolski, "Jak Kościuszko nieśmiale wyzwalał chłopów [How Kościuszko was Coy in Liberating the Peasants]," https://www.pb.pl/jak-kosciuszko-niesmiale-wyzwalal-chlopow-825806, published March 24, 2016, accessed September 28, 2019. However, even contemporary historians emphasize the peasants' patriotic, rather than practical, motivations for joining Kościuszko's army. See Inglot, *Historia Chłopów Polskich*, 93; and Jacek Staszewski, "1696-1795," in *Historia Polski*, 427.

65. Nowakowski, "Wstęp," XLIX.

66. General Tadeusz Kościuszko promoted Bartosz to officer for his heroism and gave him a noble surname: Wojciech Bartosz Głowacki. Głowacki perished in the Battle of Szczekociny under Kościuszko's command, which solidified his future position as a national peasant hero. Staszewski, "1696-1795," 427. The entirety of the *Panorama of the Battle of Racławice* can be seen on the official website of the National Museum in Wrocław, with the cannon

and *kosynierzy* in the center. See https://mnwr.pl/en/category/branches/panorama-of-the-battle-of-raclawice/, accessed September 27, 2019.
67. Alicja Okońska, *Scenografia Wyspiańskiego* [The Scenography of Wyspiański] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1961), 120.

68. Ibid.

69. Ziejka, *Wesele w kręgu mitów polskich*, 31-35.

70. Izabela Kowalczyk, "Visualizing the Mythical Polish Mother," in Bojana Pejić, ed., *Gender Check, a Reader: Art and Theory in Eastern Europe* (Cologne: W. König, 2010), 213-19.

71. Ibid.

72. Wyspiański, *Wesele*, Act III, Scene 16, 213-15.

73. For apologetic correspondence between the couple and Wanda Siemaszkowa, the actress who played the bride, see Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 268-70.

74. Jan Lubicz-Przybylski, "Wprowadzenie [Introduction]," in Ristujczina, *Wielcy Malarze: Wyspiański*, 5.

75. "Pani Wyspiańska umiała bardzo dużo pieśni ludowych i opowieści ludowych i zupełnie dobrze je opowiadała. Wyspiański nieraz słuchał jej całkiem niełądnego i nieuczonego, ale bardzo charakterystycznego głosu. Jestem pewien, że zdołał odczuć charakter naszego ludu w jego najmocniejszych cechach w znacznej mierze dzięki swojej żonie." Michał Siedlecki, "Wspomnienia o Wyspiańskim i Reymoncie" [Memories of Wyspiański and Reymont], in *Wyspiański w oczach współczesnych* [Wyspiański through Contemporary Eyes], vol. 2 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1971), 198, cited in Godyń and Laskowska, *Wyspiański*, 35.

76. According to her daughter-in-law, Teodora was very moved during the premiere, especially when her husband nodded and smiled at her while standing onstage during the ovation. Śliwińska, *Wyspiański*, 484.

Interview with Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, Co-Founder of *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*

BB: This is Brigid Boyle, Franchesca Fee, and Virginia McBride of the *Rutgers Art Review* (*RAR*) interviewing Professor Petra Chu of Seton Hall University in South Orange, New Jersey, on September 17, 2019. So, *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (*NCAW*) was founded in 2002 by you, Peter Trippi, and Gabriel Weisberg in part to fill a scholarly gap created by the discontinuation of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Could you describe your motivations for establishing the journal and also some of the logistical challenges that you faced?

PC: The launch of *NCAW* was not a direct response to the discontinuation of *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, though they happened in the same year, 2002. Around 2000, I was the President of the Association of Historians of Nineteenth-Century Art (AHNCA); the association had been founded in 1993 and it was well-established, but after a lot of activity in the beginning, not many new things were happening. So the AHNCA board felt it might be a good idea to put together a questionnaire and ask the members what they thought the association could do. Overwhelmingly, the membership wanted to have a journal because there really wasn't one at the time. It is true that the *Gazette des Beaux-Art*s was heavily (though not exclusively) focused on the nineteenth-century, but it was mostly devoted to French art.

We formed a small team, comprised of Gabriel Weisberg, Peter Trippi, and me. Initially we were not very forward-thinking and tried to create a paper journal. We found a publisher, and we were about to sign a contract, when he came up with some provisions that made us extremely uncomfortable, and so we didn't sign it. That put us a bit in a bind. First of all, we had promised the membership that we would publish a journal. Secondly, we had received $10,000 to launch the journal from the Swiss art historian Hans Lüthy, who, after he retired, had created a foundation to support art history projects. So we felt that we had to do something and we decided to start a digital journal. We had no idea what we were getting into, but it seemed doable. We didn't need a publisher; we could do it ourselves and thus weren't dependent upon others. We were very lucky to find Emily Pugh, who was at that time a graduate student at CUNY (The City University of New York), which had a digitally published graduate student art history journal—I'm not sure whether they still have it—which Emily had developed. So, she designed the journal, and this is how it all got started. It was a bit serendipitous, really, and it wasn't what we originally had planned.

VM: Can I ask, if you recall, what are some of the conditions stipulated by the publisher that made you nervous?

PC: I don't remember. It was twenty years ago, but I think it had to do with some financial issues that the publisher had not made clear to us in the beginning—or that we had not understood.

VM: That makes sense.

FF: Okay, shall we move to the third question? Your current staff includes five Editors, a Web Developer, an Access and Preservation Advisor, and an Editorial Board comprising fourteen members from across the globe. How large was your initial team and how have your staffing needs changed since 2002?

PC: So initially we only had two Editors, whom we called Managing and Executive, in addition to a Book and Exhibition Reviews Editor. The Managing Editor does the front end of the production and the Executive Editor the back end. It's a crucial position that was initially held by Peter Trippi, then by Martha Lucy, and currently by Isabel Taube. The Book and Exhibition Reviews Editor, originally Gabriel Weisberg, now David O'Brien, works pretty much in his own niche. After a couple of years, we began to feel, "Well, this is all nice, we have this e-journal, but it might as well be a paper journal online." We weren't really using the medium effectively. So, that's how we came up with the idea of Digital Art History (DAH), because, of course, most digital humanities projects can't be properly published in paper journals.

At the time, I was a visiting scholar at the Getty Center, and the scholar who had the office next to me was Anne Helmreich, who was then, and still is, very active in DAH. (In fact, her current position is Associate Director of Digital Initiatives at the Getty Research Institute.) She encouraged us to embark on that road. We applied for and received a Mellon grant to do a series of DAH articles, and in 2012 we published our first DAH article by Anne Helmreich and Pamela Fletcher, together with David N. Israel and Seth Erickson. We immediately realized that publishing DAH articles was a much bigger job, on our end, than traditional articles. I know you have more questions about this, so we'll come back to it later, but we felt that we had to add someone with more technical expertise to the Editorial Board who would just deal with the DAH articles. Our first DAH Editor was Elizabeth Buhe, who also contributed one of the Mellon-funded articles. So that was one addition to the Editorial Board. At some point we also added an Editorial Board member who could help us with access and preservation. At first, this was an art his-

torian, Sura Levine, who did many good things for *NCAW*, including getting us an ISSN number. Later we invited Alexandra Provo, a librarian at NYU, to be our Access and Preservation Advisor, as we found that librarians know a great deal more about this than most art historians. In addition to the board members, we have a Web Developer. Emily Pugh was the first to hold that job, now it is Allan McLeod. And we have copyeditors. Now to the Editorial Advisory Board—do you have an Editorial Advisory Board?

BB: We have a student Editorial Board.

PC: It's not particularly useful to us and that is really our fault. We ask individual members sometimes to review an article or to recommend a reviewer. But that's about it. We could make much better use of Advisory Board, but it would require more time and effort on our part.

BB: Yeah, that's good to think about.

VM: So from the beginning, *NCAW* has been committed to open access, which means it does not charge readers or institutions to read, download, distribute, or print its content. How did adopting this open-access model affect the way that you operate, particularly in terms of finances?

PC: Yeah, it's a very good question. From the beginning, the three of us were committed to open access, and we were able to do so because we were part of AHNCA. AHNCA has something like 300 members, and they pay membership dues, and the organization doesn't really use the membership dues for much. It has a newsletter that comes out twice a year, but it's also electronic, so it's not that costly to produce. Maybe 50% of our budget comes from the AHNCA membership. Moreover, by the time we started *NCAW*, AHNCA had already applied for 501(c)(3) status. That was handy because we could accept gifts (including the $10,000 starting grant that we received) and grants. In addition to membership dues and grants, we raise money. Almost all the money we have raised, with the exception of the DAH grants from the Mellon and Terra Foundations, has come from dealers and collectors. In the beginning, we used this money for operating expenses. In the last few years we have begun raising money for a *NCAW* endowment. Our ideal would be to have an endowment of half a million dollars. If the rates were not totally miserable, we could run the journal from the interest, maybe still with assistance from the AHNCA dues. But, raising money for an endowment is difficult. We are maybe a little bit over one-fifth of the way.

VM: That's something!

PC: And again, the people who have given to the endowment have been dealers and collectors. Very little from universities. Do you get some money from Rutgers?

BB: Our budget has fluctuated year to year.

PC: Well that's what we have found. In the past, many people told us, "Why don't you have a university adopt the journal?" And in the beginning we thought, "Yeah, that's a great idea." Well, my own university had no interest, nor did another university, with a great deal more money, that we approached. But, even if there were a university that wanted to adopt *NCAW*, I would worry about the continued support.

VM: Quite.

PC: That's been my fear. But the funding is a constant worry. We have also thought of connecting with a publisher, but there are not many publishers who want to publish open-access journals.

VM: Right.

PC: We are looking at all options. If we could build our endowment, that would be the ideal, because then we would be independent.

VM: Do these art dealers who contribute operational funds ever ask to advertise on the site?

PC: Yeah, they sometimes do and that's no problem. Our main problem with dealers is that some of them have shifted their interest from nineteenth- to twentieth-century or contemporary art.

VM: Of course.

PC: So at that point they are not interested in supporting us anymore—understandably. For many years we had a yearly grant from FADA, which is the Fine Art Dealers Association. Many of its members, the majority of them, were focused on nineteenth-century art. Almost all of them right now have moved on to twentieth-century art.

VM: That's a real shame.

PC: Yeah well, that's the way it goes…

BB: This is something that we've struggled with at the *RAR* as well, because we transitioned from a subscription-based, print journal to an online model in 2012, and that cut off some of our existing revenue streams. And a lot of students don't have the knowhow or time to fundraise, so it's been an ongoing problem.

PC: We get a little bit of money from EBSCO. Are you in EBSCO?

BB: We are.

PC: Apparently for the amount of users that come through libraries to your site, you get a little percentage. For us it's not negligible.

BB: Earlier you mentioned Emily Pugh, who served as your Web Developer for over a decade and helped design your original website using the Joomla! Content Management System. We were curious what features or criteria were most important to your team when you were building that first website?

PC: Well we initially did not use Joomla!.

BB: Oh okay.

PC: I forget what our first content management system was. We moved to Joomla! later. However, I'm interested in your question, because we now would like to redesign our site again. We've postponed it a little bit because of recent staff changes, including a new Book and Exhibition Reviews Editor and a new Digital Humanities Editor, Carey Gibbons. But in any case, we want to develop a short questionnaire to be sent to all AHNCA members and maybe other readers. We could ask such a basic question as, "What do you/don't you like about the site?" That would give us some pointers as to how to redesign it. We should also look at some other open-access art history journals developed in recent years. The *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* has just been redesigned. And then there are digital periodicals such as *British Art Studies*, *Panorama*, and *Journal18*. We need to look at all of them and come up with some ideas for our redesign.

BB: Yeah, sometimes we benchmark our own site against others, too.

PC: Which reminds me—I wanted to tell you that with several open-access e-journals in art history, we have formed a consortium. It's kind of informal, but we do get together at every College Art Association (CAA) meeting, and it is very helpful to talk to fellow editors, even if we usually just get togeth-

er for one or two hours. If one of you is going to this year's meeting, you should come. It's interesting to hear about new developments in e-publishing and also to learn about the different ways that journals approach peer review, production, and archiving.

BB: That would be great.

VM: Yeah, that would be really cool to hear about.

FF: Digital publications have some obvious advantages over print scholarship, and we've talked about some of these. For example, *NCAW* does not limit the number of images that can accompany an article or review. What other benefits does electronic publishing offer?

PC: Well, the number of pages is also, essentially, unlimited. We can go with a five-page article or with something really long, like a hundred pages. We don't really like long articles because our major cost—I'm not sure about yours—is copy-editing. From the very beginning we felt that we had to have a well copy-edited journal because, particularly in the beginning, people looked a little askance at online journals. There were a lot of scholars who didn't want to publish in them because they thought it wouldn't count for their tenure or promotion. This attitude has, I think, pretty much disappeared. But still, to have a journal that is not properly copy-edited is harmful to our reputation. So copy-editing is really our major expense, and a hundred-page article, unless it's very well written, is cost-prohibitive. But we have basically no requirements or restrictions on the length of the text. Another advantage, and this is really from the point of view of the authors, is that we have a quick turnover. August 15th is the deadline for our spring issue. If the article is okay, and the peer reviewers say yes, it will come out in March. To get that kind of turnover in a paper journal is impossible.

Another benefit of the open-access e-journal is that the outreach is unlimited. People in China or Australia can read our articles, as long as they have a computer. When we first started—I still remember this, because I was moved by it—maybe the second year, I got a check for $25 in an envelope. It was from somebody who taught at a small American college that had no library to speak of. She wrote, "We have no art history journals in our library, but now, thanks to your journal, I can assign scholarly articles to my students to read."

Finally, an advantage of e-publishing that is often cited is that you can make changes, but that is a mixed blessing. If, after going online you find a mistake that is really egregious, you can correct it, which is nice. But you cannot

begin to allow authors to make changes all the time. We've actually just recently made a policy to severely limit that option.

BB: Right.

VM: So in the spring of 2012, *NCAW* received an Andrew Mellon Foundation Grant to support new approaches to digital research. Between 2012 and 2015, you published six articles that incorporated zoomable images, time-lapse maps, 3D modeling, and other innovative features. What were your biggest takeaways from this experimental series?

PC: It has been an incredible adventure and we have learned a lot from it. As for the biggest and most unexpected takeaway, it has been that DAH articles require new ways of thinking about peer review.

VM: Really?

PC: Well because, ideally, in a DAH article or project, the conclusions come from the digital tool the author has developed. So, the tool comes first, the article second. If we put the peer review at the end of the process, and we reject the article, the author will have spent a great deal of time on developing a tool without the desired result of publication, at least not in *NCAW*. This is even more problematic because all of our DAH articles are grant-funded, and since the grant money goes to the development of the tool, it is difficult to reject the article in the end. Our former Digital Humanities Editor Elizabeth Buhe has been very helpful in creating a special peer review process for DAH articles, whereby we ask DAH authors to submit very detailed proposals, which we then send out to two peer reviewers: a technical peer reviewer, who looks primarily at the proposed digital tool, and a content peer reviewer, usually an art historian specialized in the area of the proposal. And that has worked, up to a point. We ask that authors have a research question that their digital tools may answer, and we ask them to think about the conclusions that may come out of it, realizing that, in the end, the conclusions may be different. But, at least there should be a hypothesis. Once authors have completed their digital tools and written their articles, we send both the article and the digital tool to a peer reviewer again. So it's a cumbersome process that takes a large amount of time. The timespan that we have for a regular article, whereby you submit August 15th and you publish in March, is impossible for the digital humanities articles. They require at least a year, and sometimes even more.

BB: Have you ever been in the situation of funding a digital humanities project that then, after peer review, you decided wasn't suitable for the journal?

PC: Let's put it this way, some articles have been better than others. But in the end, we have published all that were accepted in the approval stage, except for one, but that was because the authors withdrew.

BB: Have your technical reviewers come from museum contexts or from outside the field?

PC: Some from museums, some from universities. Many universities right now have digital humanities professors. That's all they do. They come from different backgrounds so it is a question of finding one with an interest related to the project at hand.

VM: As the site's technology continues to improve, are there new types of digital research that you're especially excited about featuring?

PC: We are looking for a certain amount of variety. Many of the projects that are proposed to us are mapping projects, and though they have obvious merit, they are not all equally exciting. On the other hand, 3D projects are appealing, but they're very expensive. In the last few years, we have changed our minds a little about DAH projects; initially we were very rigorous, and we felt that in a serious DAH article, by definition, the conclusions had to come from the digital tool. But ever since we did the special issue on Hiram Powers's *The Greek Slave* in the summer of 2016, which had a good deal of low-tech features that served to enhance the articles rather than shape them, we have become more lenient, as we received so much positive feedback.

BB: That was a fantastic issue. We really loved that one. As a follow-up to that, you mentioned that you received another grant from the Terra Foundation to publish digital humanities articles on American topics. I'm curious as to how those digital projects have compared to your earlier Mellon-funded articles, in terms of sophistication?

PC: The main change, I think, is that there is now more open-source software available, and that the software is becoming increasingly user-friendly. I also believe—but perhaps it is wishful thinking—that increasingly software programs are designed with archiving in mind. Archiving, of course, is especially problematic with these digital humanities projects, and no one quite knows what the future will bring.

VM: It's a huge problem. Nobody really knows what to do, so you're certainly not alone.

BB: So with both the Mellon and the Terra articles, have you had any way to measure the performance of their different digital features in terms of popularity, like the number of clicks or downloads that they have?

PC: To tell you the truth, most of our performance measurement has been through anecdotal means—feedback we have received from readers. *The Greek Slave* issue, for example, was very popular and we have received quite a bit of feedback as a result. The same is true for the article by Sally Webster and David Schitek on the Lenox Library Gallery, which is visually quite stunning and has a more immediate impact than some other projects.

FF: In 2017, the *RAR* began soliciting digital humanities projects in its annual Call for Papers, inspired in part by *NCAW*. So far we have not received any projects for consideration. How can we help make the digital humanities more accessible and attractive to graduate students?

PC: I'm not surprised. We really have had to work hard to find projects, even with money to offer—thanks to the Mellon and Terra grants. There are not that many people doing DAH projects. We know because we have put out many calls for proposals. If you have no money to support them, it's even more difficult. I really have no answer to your question. Perhaps it would be useful to contact some professors who supervise thesis projects and ask whether any of their students are involved in the digital humanities. This is definitely something that a younger generation of art historians is interested in.

BB: Yeah, we could take a more active approach to recruiting.

PC: Yeah, just putting it out there is not enough. Now, there's also a new digital humanities affiliate society of CAA called the Digital Art History Society. Did you know about this? It will have its first session at the 2020 annual conference in Chicago, where, I presume, people are going to talk about their projects. I think that is the purpose. I have not been that involved, but we're trying to make our consortium an affiliate of this society.

VM: Yeah, I think you're right that there are a lot of people who, even if they have an interest in conducting digital humanities research, don't have the skill set or the training. I was talking to someone just yesterday at the University of Virginia who was telling me about their new year-long digital humanities training program. For the first half of the year, they teach you different digital skills. In the second half of the year, you are encouraged to implement them in a collaborative project with other graduate students.

BB: That's fantastic.

VM: Yeah, it sounds really cool. Universities are starting to help inculcate some of this skill set. But, we have a lot further to go, it seems.
PC: Yeah, when looking for DAH articles you could also write to some of these new digital humanities specialists, you know. You have a digital humanities specialist at Rutgers?

VM: Yes, Francesca Giannetti is the Digital Humanities Librarian at Rutgers, and she's consistently offered us great advice.

PC: Of course, when you talk to these specialists you will find that some people work on very large digital humanities websites. For example, we were contacted by someone who did a huge website on World War I. But we don't want to publish websites. We are a journal, and a journal publishes articles, in which authors have to make a point; there has to be an argument.

VM: We talked a bit about digital preservation initiatives, but we'd like to ask you specifically about the Mellon-funded project Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe (LOCKSS).

PC: Yes, that's a very good question.

VM: You partnered with them in 2004. It's operated out of Stanford, and it seeks to safeguard data. Can you describe the services that this project provides?

PC: Yes, we did partner with them in the beginning, but when we switched to Joomla! LOCKSS discontinued the partnership. That's why we invited Alexandra Provo, who is a librarian in New York, to join our board and look into the sustainability issue. Now we are archived by NYARC (New York Art Resources Consortium). NYARC is a Mellon-funded initiative of the Frick Art Reference Library, the Brooklyn Museum, and the Museum of Modern Art. Among other initiatives, they archive digital publications. For the last three years, our consortium has also met with a representative of JSTOR. And JSTOR is interested in incorporating open-access journals into their digital library. They don't want to just link to the site, they want to put them into their own format, so that basically means archiving. Now JSTOR does everything by discipline. We have to wait until they get to art history, and we don't know when this will happen. To be part of JSTOR would be great because it is also a major indexing tool, so it would benefit both access and preservation.

Speaking of access, searching, and indexing, perhaps I should say a little bit more about impact factors. For many years, we had very few submissions from European authors. I talked to a European colleague about it and she said, "Well you're not in the Web of Science." The Web of Science is a citation index, which measures articles' impact factor. In America, especially in the humanities, the impact factor is not that important. But, in Europe, if you apply for a job, you have to indicate the impact factor for each one of your articles.

VM: Wow, I did not know that. That's horrifying.

PC: I know, it's scary, but it is important to know. We realized that European authors did not want to publish in *NCAW* because it was not indexed in the Web of Science. So now we are indexed there, but the process has been quite difficult.

BB: Along similar lines, in 2018, the journal joined Crossref, a not-for-profit organization affiliated with the Digital Object Identifier (DOI) Foundation, which of course helps publishers assign stable links to articles, making them easier to find and cite. Have you enjoyed that collaboration with Crossref?

PC: Well, I think you have to do it. Librarians feel that you're not serious if your articles don't have DOI numbers. It's a mark of professionalization. From our point of view, there are two aspects to DOI numbers. One is that your own articles get such numbers; the other is that you need to encourage authors to use DOI numbers for digital articles that they cite. That's not always easy.

FF: One challenge shared by both digital and print publications is navigating copyright laws and image licensing policies. Does the journal's open-source model present obstacles to image publication? Are the image reproduction possibilities offered by an electronic format somewhat tempered by rights restrictions?

PC: In the beginning, we went about obtaining permissions in the traditional way, and we told authors to obtain licensing agreements for all of their images. But to our surprise and shock, the licensing agreements that were sent to us were for limited time periods. So, authors received a license for, let's say, three or six months, but when that period was over, the license had to be renewed, and the authors or *NCAW* would have to pay a relicensing fee. Or else, the image would have to be removed from the site. You understand that that would be impossible. If the journal were to continue for more than a few years, we would need a full-time person to deal with the relicensing,

and the accumulated fees would become prohibitive. Today museums have given up on the idea of relicensing for online publications. But because this issue came up right at the beginning, we became very nervous about the licensing issue. As I gave a talk at CAA about digital publishing and image licensing, I fell in with an informal group of art historians and editors interested in licensing and copyright. We met several times and consulted with a lawyer who was an expert in copyright. He explained to us that there is a big difference between copyright and licensing. The first has a firm legal basis, the second does not. Because *NCAW* is a journal of nineteenth-century art history, it doesn't have to worry about copyright, because, with a few exceptions, the works of the artists discussed in NCAW are in the public domain. Of course, there is the issue of the photographer's copyright. This was the subject of a lawsuit in 1999, Bridgeman Art Library v. Corel Corp. The ruling was that a reproduction of a two-dimensional image, though it may require some technical skill, is not an artwork, and so it can't be copyrighted. It's a little different with sculpture, since there's art involved—you know, Edward Steichen photographing Auguste Rodin—and the same is true for architecture. As for the licensing, we try to bypass it. For images of two-dimensional artworks, we encourage our authors to get their images from sources other than the museums or collections that own them, unless these museums have abandoned licensing fees, as many recently have. There is much open-source imagery available right now, even for images of three-dimensional artworks, and we list some of these sources on our site. In the case of sculpture or architecture, authors can also take their own photographs. Copyright and licensing were our biggest worries in the beginning, but now that's not the case anymore.

VM: It's a pretty refreshing approach, actually. To turn to the content of the journal, a typical issue of *NCAW* contains four or five articles and ten to fifteen reviews. However, you also publish periodic thematic issues, beginning with "The Darwin Effect: Evolution and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture" in the spring of 2003, which was guest-edited by Linda Nochlin and Martha Lucy. How did this collaboration come about?

PC: Well, at that time, Martha Lucy was on our Editorial Board.

VM: There you go.

PC: She approached us about publishing the symposium papers in *NCAW*. At first we thought of making it into a regular issue. But then we felt that it would have too much of an impact on our regular submission and acceptance flow. So we decided to do a special summer issue, and since then all of our special issues have been published in the summer. Many requests

have come to us for these special summer issues, but we don't have a budget for them, so the condition is that the guest editors of the special summer issues have to find their own money. That is a bit of a barrier, though it's not really that expensive. Many of the proposals for special issues are the result of symposia, like the Darwin issue, and sometimes the organizers of a symposium can find money for the special issue from their universities or from the agencies that funded the symposium. In the case of the *Greek Slave* issue, the Terra Foundation and the Yale Center for British Art paid for it.

BB: As a follow-up to that, since "The Darwin Effect," you've published thematic issues on Art Nouveau, British Art, the *Greek Slave*, and also a special issue dedicated to Patricia Mainardi. Do you have any upcoming thematic or special issues in the works?

PC: We have a special issue coming up in summer 2020. The multi-year Terra grant that we received is for six articles and a special summer issue on "The Ambient Interior." It's on the effects that interiors have on the people living in, or visiting, them—with a focus on the late nineteenth century. We had a very successful symposium on this topic in New York in February 2019.

FF: In the spring of 2006 you debuted "New Discoveries," short articles in which authors highlight previously unpublished artworks that either resurfaced at market or were recently acquired by a museum. For example, the first installment of "New Discoveries" discussed an unsigned portrait that had been newly attributed to Eugène Delacroix. What prompted this new content section?

PC: Well, I told you that we receive much support from art dealers and collectors.

All: Yes.

PC: We felt that the "New Discoveries" articles might be of interest to them. We wanted to show that we had something to offer to the art market—that we publish not just academic articles, but also pieces about new works that have resurfaced, often thanks to dealers. Generally speaking, we have tried to bridge the gulfs that exist between academia, museums, and the art market, as we feel that they have much in common and much to offer one another.

VM: Since 2003, *NCAW* has co-sponsored an annual graduate student symposium with AHNCA and the Dahesh Museum of Art. Each year, one

presenter is awarded a $1000 prize and given the opportunity to publish her paper in *NCAW*. How did this partnership come about?

PC: Peter Trippi, when we started *NCAW*, worked for the Brooklyn Museum, and then became Director of the Dahesh Museum. As the Director of the Dahesh Museum, he started a graduate student symposium. It was really his idea, and it was a Dahesh Museum initiative. But, because Peter was part of *NCAW*, and *NCAW* was affiliated with AHNCA, we became close to the Dahesh Museum, which has been very generous both to AHNCA and the journal—one of our staunchest supporters, in fact. When the Dahesh Museum closed, we were afraid that the graduate symposium would disappear. But Pat Mainardi, the Programming Chair on the AHNCA board, continued it at other locations, and the Dahesh Museum continued to fund it. Part of the funding is used for awarding a prize for the best paper, which then may be published in *NCAW*.

BB: To backtrack slightly, you yourself have contributed several reviews and "New Discoveries" articles to the journal over the years. What's it like to publish in a journal for which you yourself are Managing Editor?

PC: Well I told you already that the book and exhibition review section is rather separate. For a long time this was Gabriel Weisberg's domain, but since 2019, the Reviews Editor has been David O'Brien. Whenever I did write a book review, it was always because Gabe Weisberg had asked me. The "New Discoveries" section is different. It is not peer-reviewed. Sometimes an author comes to us with an idea; at other times, we hear of a newly discovered work, which we then try to match with an author. Finding an author is not always easy, and sometimes if I am desperate, I just do it myself.

FF: In your inaugural issue, you asked five scholars to reflect on future areas of growth in the field of nineteenth-century art history. Among other things, they envisioned an increase in interdisciplinary studies and intermedial approaches, and they argued that nineteenth-century art would remain relevant in the new millennium. Seventeen years later, how have their predictions borne out?

PC: It's a good question. I'm not sure whether you heard Pat Mainardi's talk at CAA a couple of years ago about where art history is going ["The Crisis in Art History," 2011]. She, of course, feels that there is an increasing emphasis in academia and museums on contemporary art, and that this emphasis comes at the cost of the art of earlier periods. There's some truth to that. If you were to study art history faculty replacements over the past ten years, you would probably find that a number faculty members teaching, let's say,

medieval, baroque, or nineteenth-century art have been replaced by specialists in contemporary art. Is that true at Rutgers?

VM: I don't feel that way, but we may just be behind the curve a little bit.

FF: I think we've got a good balance.

BB: At least right now.

PC: In the art market too, there is a shift away from nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century art to contemporary.

VM: Oh yeah.

PC: However, all of that being said, we still get many proposals for articles for *NCAW*, and I feel that there is still a lot of interest in the field. Much of it is, indeed, interdisciplinary: in fact, I am just now working on the spring issue and sending submissions to peer reviewers, and I felt that almost every article needed to be sent to an art historian and to someone in a different discipline, to do justice to the interdisciplinary character of the article. Judging by the submissions we receive, the field is getting more interdisciplinary and less Franco-centered. I am not sure whether this is because authors feel that *NCAW* is more open to non-French art or because more people are, in fact, working on non-French art. Among students, would you feel that to be the case?

BB: Certainly at Rutgers. We have a strong Soviet art collection at the Zimmerli Art Museum that attracts students working on Russian art, for example.

PC: Would I like to see more non-French and particularly non-European article proposals? Yeah, we have never published anything about nineteenth-century art in Africa, and we publish very little on Asian art.

VM: To follow up a little bit more on broadening the purview of the journal, I'm curious whether you sense that your international readership has grown over the years. We've been talking about the movement to look beyond France, Britain, the United States, and Germany as the main countries of nineteenth-century scholarship, and I'm curious if you find that the readership of the journal itself has also become increasingly international?

PC: Good question. We have used Google analytics primarily to determine the total number of readers and the length of their engagement with the site. We have not looked much at the geographic distribution. Much of what we

know about our international readership is anecdotal. Certainly it's pretty widely read in Europe, including Russia, and also in Latin America—particularly Mexico because we have published a number of articles on Mexican art, so I think people know us there. But it might be worth looking more closely at Google analytics with regard to the geographic distribution of our users. Of course, there is not that much we can do to change the numbers.

VM: Yeah, it would be interesting to see.

BB: Has *NCAW* ever considered publishing articles in languages other than English?

PC: That's another good question. Yes, we have thought about it, but we have not done it. It's a tricky problem. If you do it for one language, you have to do it for all. And then you run into problems with reviewing, peer reviewing, and copy-editing. From our point of view, for academic purposes English has become the Latin of the twenty-first century, and if our journal is international and worldwide, English, for better or worse, is the language to publish it in. Of course, we do realize that this choice presents problems for some authors, who need to find money to translate their articles into English. We have helped to an extent, but our resources are limited.

FF: How have approaches to digital humanities changed since the journal's founding?

PC: I don't know how to answer this question. When the journal was launched in 2002, very few people were involved in the digital humanities. The field as a whole has really emerged in the last ten years—twenty years ago, we barely knew what digital humanities was.

BB: Now it's a hot-button topic.

PC: Now most universities do have a digital humanities specialist, or they have a digital humanities faculty group and they award small digital humanities grants. Another thing that has changed is the availability of open-source software. In the beginning, people had to go to an expert, or they had to learn coding and become experts themselves. Now there is a much open-source software available on the internet. In fact, one of the things that we would like to do with the consortium of e-journals is to create an inventory of open-source software, with a very brief description of what can be done with it, and a user assessment section. That would really be helpful, I think. We are looking for a volunteer to put this together.

VM: Do you feel that the journal has influenced some of these developments? Do you claim any credit for all of this?

PC: When we started, we were the only open-access digital art history journal; now there are probably a dozen. We have been asked by many of them for advice on how to start such a journal, and while we don't claim credit for the burst of open-access journals, as it was bound to happen, I do think we have cleared the way.

VM: Is there any other advice that you have for people managing digital journals—particularly graduate student digital journals?

PC: Well, can I ask you some questions?

VM: Yeah, absolutely.

PC: Do you get a lot of submissions?

VM: It could definitely be more robust. Students want to save their best work for publication in non-graduate student journals, which is a natural impulse.

PC: You know for the next issue we received two submissions based on undergraduate theses. There was much good in them, but they were not quite at the level of a scholarly journal and we turned both of them down. Could I have referred them to you? Would you publish very good undergraduate articles? There are undergraduate journals, too, I guess, but they are always interdisciplinary right? There are no undergraduate art history journals?

BB: We limit our submissions to graduate student papers, but we might consider a manuscript from a master's student that is derived from her undergraduate thesis, or something like that.

PC: It would be nice for the undergraduate theses to get some visibility.

BB: What we've found is that even if the submission is somewhat strong, the student needs to have the skills of at least a master's student to do the revisions and follow-up.

PC: Yeah that's true. Well what other advice can I offer—where to find money?

BB: That's something of a concern for us.

PC: Yes, it is for everyone. Do you make a budget for each year? We have

found that, in addition to our major expenses, copy-editing and web development, there are smaller budget items that we sometimes forget about: the site registration, Crossref, etc.

BB: We do all of the copy-editing in-house, so we don't have that expense. And since becoming an open-access online journal, our expenses have decreased. The biggest challenge is that we transitioned our website from a different platform to WordPress recently. We chose WordPress because it's free and fairly user-friendly, but not all of us have extensive digital skills, and we've discussed the possibility of outsourcing some of the work, but we would need more reliable funding to do so.

PC: Oh, so currently you do most of the work yourself?

BB: Yes, it's a bit of a crash course in digital art history, which is great.

PC: Yeah, but it takes a lot of time. You do the copy-editing also? Wow, that's like a full-time job right?

BB & VM: It's a lot of time.

PC: Is it just the three of you, or do you have more people?

BB: We're the three Editors and then we have board members, who help us review submissions earlier in the process.

PC: So how much time do you spend on average? You do two issues annually right?

BB: We publish one annual issue, which typically has between three to five articles, and we usually do three to four rounds of edits for each article.

PC: And you have no book or exhibition reviews?

VM: Historically we have had them, in the distant past. We're open to reviews and interviews like this one.

FF: Exhibition reviews are something we've discussed.

PC: Our reviews section is very popular. People really love the reviews. And that's another advantage of the e-journal: we can do the reviews relatively quickly. For exhibitions they sometimes come out when the exhibition is still on view. Of course, we are not as fast as a newspaper, but then again, the reviews are more thoughtful.

VM: And it's nice that you review things that wouldn't get as much coverage in classic venues for exhibition reviews.

PC: Yeah that was Gabe Weisberg's doing; he liked promoting the "underdogs"—exhibitions no one else was reviewing. But I think that's good—you don't have to review every show in the Met, many of which already have been reviewed a hundred times over.

BB: That's true. We'll keep that in mind for the future.

We thank Petra Chu for sharing her insights and experience with us, and also for her gracious hospitality.

The *Rutgers Art Review* invites all current graduate students, as well as pre-professionals who have completed their doctoral degrees within the past year, to submit articles for publication. Please find current submission guidelines on our website, rar.rutgers.edu.

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