

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GREAT EXPECTATIONS:

THE SOUTH SLAVS IN THE PARIS SALON CANVASES OF  
VLAHO BUKOVAC AND JAROSLAV ČERMÁK

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores how the notion of anticipation, broadly considered, informed a host of discourses, practices and institutions related to visual production in the nineteenth-century Croatian lands. Focusing on the South Slavic-themed Salon paintings of two painters who worked in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century—Vlaho Bukovac (1855–1922, born in then-Austrian Dalmatia) and Jaroslav Čermák (1831–1878, born in then-Austrian Bohemia)—the project explores how an art on the verge of becoming seemed to hold the power to breathe life and credibility into a people on the verge of becoming. In other parts of Europe, a preoccupation with unattainable ideals was linked to the belief that the ancients had succeeded in getting closer to ideal art than could ever be managed in the present-day world. Quite differently, the standard in Croatia for idealist aesthetics was not the ancient past, but a truly fictive future that had no existence outside the minds of those who dreamt about it. Calling for art, rather than dealing with actual art, kept a vision of seductive clarity intact.

A sustained anticipation of native art and belief that an indigenous and important South Slavic visual art would emerge, notwithstanding its presence, lasted nearly the entire duration of the long nineteenth century in Croatia. The imaginary future art was a powerful utopian vision that satisfied a feeling of lack and offered a positive alternative to a geopolitical reality of fragmentation. The idea of art came to be invested with incredible hopes—the most extreme of which was autonomy or independence from the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. Art could both show the South Slavs what they would look like in the future and retroactively manufacture a common history and tradition. To protect this schema, every native work of art was cast as a first step. No work, no artist, could possibly satisfy the great expectations of a public that preferred dreaming. If they tried, the punishment was unusually severe.

Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the South Slavs attained a visually recognizable form as a people at the Paris Salon through the conventions of conservative French painting belonging broadly to academic and Orientalist traditions. They entered into history through history painting. This people, “new” to the French, were “new” to themselves in a sense. The South Slavs were in the process of becoming in their nineteenth-century permutation. As identities shifted, morphed, melded, broke apart and were contested, various parties projected their desires into painting in order to imagine the kind of national body and national art (Dalmatian, Croatian or Yugoslavian) they hoped would emerge at some future time when the South Slavs freed themselves from the imperial powers that ruled the Western Balkans.

Centering on Jaroslav Čermák’s *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (1861), Chapter I foregrounds cultural exchange between the Slavic minorities of the Habsburg Empire and France. It focuses, in particular, on how the Czech artist’s painting mapped onto French matrices of history painting, new knowledge about the Balkans, and fashionable Orientalism, as well as the South Slavic imagination of the Paris Salon as a kind of world stage. Chapter II, “Great Expectations,” explores the notion of potentiality both as a way of interpreting the formal qualities of Vlaho Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (1878), and to introduce what I argue is a fundamental characteristic of Croatian art discourse in the nineteenth century. Chapter III highlights the transnational character of the narrative in which Bukovac was cast by commentators in Croatia as an heir in gestation to Čermák, who had died just prior to the opening of the 1878 Paris Salon. By picturing the romantically heroicized Montenegro—the “Sparta” of the Slavic South—cultural actors like Bukovac were seen as helping a perpetually budding Croatia blossom into a modern-day “Athens.” Chapter IV considers poetic interpretations of both Bukovac and Čermák’s *oeuvres*. In

their verses, poets consistently expressed a belief that painting was uniquely positioned to fuse together a nation *in potentia*. Poetry, however, not only interpreted painting, it sought to control and guide what was considered an infant art. Chapter V charts how nascency permeated the institutions of art, craft and art history that began to spring up in the 1870s and 1880s in Croatia's capital city of Zagreb. Modeled closely on Vienna, Zagreb's new institutions ushered in a new age of "scientific" art history and criticism following the lead of Rudolf von Eitelberger (1814–1885), Austria's first professor of art history. Musing on the disappearance of Vlaho Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (1878), Chapter VI reflects on the impossibility that any artist could satisfy the deeply entrenched discourse of desire in nineteenth-century Croatia. The nineteenth-century commentators who wrote at length about the role of art for an emerging people and paintings by Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák placed great stakes in their written accounts of images. I saw it as my job to take their earnest accounts seriously while at the same time attempting to loosen the grip of both their words and mine over the pictures. In the coda to this dissertation, a painting is allowed, finally, to make an appearance on something like its own terms.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1878, Vlaho Bukovac (1855–1922, born Vlaho Fagioni), the Dalmatian artist canonically considered to be the father of modern painting in Croatia, debuted at the Paris Salon with a picture of a Montenegrin woman wearing exquisite national costume with a dagger in hand. The painting was called *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro*) and purported to picture an event in the ongoing war between Ottomans and Montenegrins in the Balkans (fig. I.1).<sup>1</sup> In Paris, the painting received little notice from the various papers that commented on art, which were occupied with reporting on the World's Fair and more high-profile paintings at that year's Salon. In the Croatian lands, however, news that work by a native son had been chosen to hang in the revered Salon for the very first time reverberated triumphantly between Zagreb and Dubrovnik.<sup>2</sup> All the world would see that the homeland had produced a remarkable artist. Bukovac was imagined to be the first native son to have fulfilled the dual mission that the Croatian public knew him to be on: publicizing the national struggles for independence against the imperial entities that controlled the region, and proving the land of his birth to be civilized on the world stage by his talent in art. *Episode from the War of Montenegro* was Bukovac's most earnest contribution to a self-consciously nascent Croatian art.

In theme and execution, Vlaho Bukovac's debut canvas strongly resembled the work of another artist whose career was rooted in Paris, the Czech painter, Jaroslav Čermák (1831–1878), who died just days before the opening of the 1878 Salon. Two of

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<sup>1</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro*) [in Croatian literature *Montenegrin Woman on the Defense* (*Crnogorka na obrani*)], oil on canvas, 170 x 110 cm. Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>2</sup> The Croatian lands in the nineteenth century consisted of Croatia and Slavonia (subject to Hungary) and Dalmatia (subject to Austria). For the sake of simplicity, I refer to them as "Croatia" or "the Croatian lands" throughout.

Čermák's most memorable works hung at the concurrent Paris World's Fair, in the Austrian section of the Art Exhibition: *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold* (*Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l'Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues*) of 1868 and *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé*) of 1873 (figs. I.2 and I.3).<sup>3</sup> A Bohemian in Paris, as the press loved noting, Čermák began making images of the South Slavs and their struggles with the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s, winning him medals in history painting in France and undying fame in the Western Balkans. Čermák's interest in depicting these exotic locales, novel and therefore attractive to French audiences, was spurred by Czech notions of South Slavic cultural purity and cemented by socialization with Croatian patriots and the Montenegrin royal court during trips to the Balkans in 1858 and 1862–1865.

When Čermák died suddenly of heart failure at the age of forty–seven, the Croatian press mourned the loss of the Czech artist while simultaneously dubbing Bukovac his successor. Bukovac was poised to fill the shoes of the departed Čermák, an artist whose *oeuvre* was crucial

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<sup>3</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold* (*Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l'Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues*), 1868, oil on canvas, 240 x 394 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Belgium; and Jaroslav Čermák, *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé*) [*The Wounded Montenegrin (Ranjeni crnogorac)*], oil on canvas, 226 x 114 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb.

to shaping Croatian art discourse:

The young man from Cavtat, Vlaho Bukovac... has already this winter finished a painting ... which as of May is exhibited at this year's [Paris] Salon. Mr. Bukovac is young ... still a student, his work has been accepted among the very best artists! He is the first of our people to have this honor. May God grant that Bukovac replace the departed Čermák!<sup>4</sup>

What was it that Vlaho Bukovac was supposed to replace Jaroslav Čermák in doing?

Press art in to the service of nation. Press art into the service of hope. Commentators consistently stuck to their hope that art would bring about a new geopolitical reality, a position that feels close to our contemporary moment. By picturing a yearned-for future, art could somehow hurry its arrival and make it come true. Art, and in particular painting, held the magical promise of giving Croatian desire for sovereignty a tangible, seeable body before sovereignty could possibly be achieved.

Cemak's death—providential to Bukovac's career—set him up to fulfill a dream: he was seen to be on the verge of creating an art for a people on the verge of becoming. Through an examination of the Paris Salon canvases of Jaroslav Cermak and Vlaho Bukovac over the course of roughly twenty years, I explore how the related notions of becoming, nascency, anticipation and potentiality, inform a host of discourses, practices and institutions related to visual production in nineteenth-century Croatia. This dissertation is the story of great expectations for an art that was always just out of reach.

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<sup>4</sup> Anon., "Bukovac i Mančun," *Slovinac* 1, no. 2, May 16, 1878, 16.

## 1. VLAHO BUKOVAC: “UN SLAV D’AUTRICHE UN PEU AMÉRICANISÉ”<sup>5</sup>

I originally imagined this project along the lines of Bradford R. Collins’s (ed.), *Twelve Views of Manet’s Bar*,<sup>6</sup> a wonderful comparative study in which each essay approaches Édouard Manet’s (1832–1883) famous painting *Bar at the Folies–Bergère* (1882) from a different disciplinary point of view. Along these lines, my dissertation would focus on one set of key related paintings by Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák. Each chapter would consider the paintings from a different perspective, and from within a separate geographical locale, proving that the historical interpretations of their works varied so enormously between audiences as to escape any one fixed mode of interpretation. I thought of France, Croatia, the Czech lands and Montenegro, though the list could be expanded. After more than a few years, I realized the folly of the plan. My desire for broad scope—a sweeping view that would encompass the formations and multiple receptions of these two Slavic artists working in mid to late nineteenth-century Paris—was beginning to resemble the ill-fated *Key to All Mythologies* in George Eliot’s *Middlemarch: A Study of Provincial Life*.<sup>7</sup> I changed course to avoid being crushed by the weight of impossible ambition like poor Edward Casaubon. As a result, there are many stories left untold, leaving the door to future work very much open.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Apollo Mlochowski de Béline, *Nos Peintres dessinés par eux memes* (Paris: E. Bénard et Cie Imprimeurs–Éditeurs, 1883), 162.

<sup>6</sup> Bradford R. Collins’s, ed., *Twelve Views of Manet’s Bar* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> George Eliot, *Middlemarch: A Study of Provincial Life* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1874).

<sup>8</sup> One could, for example, explore in depth the relationship of high art paintings to ethnographic projects like that of Théodore Valerio (1819–1879) in France, or the reception of Čermák in Belgium, where he was a frequent exhibitor. Another interesting avenue of exploration would be how the South Slavs figured as an essential Slavic self in Czech painting, the apotheosis of which might be Alphose Mucha’s (1860–1939) murals for the Bosnian Pavilion at the World’s Fair in Paris 1900. One could investigate the representation of the Muslim Slavs, before and after Austria–Hungary’s occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, or non–Slavic “others” who lived in the South Slavic lands, such as Jews, Albanians or Gypsies. One could explore the reception of Čermák’s works in the lands he pictured most often, Herzegovina and Montenegro, or in Bosnia and Serbia where he was quite well known. Another interesting study would be Čermák’s reception in the center of the Habsburg Empire, in Vienna.

This modest study represents the exploration of a single theme that has sustained my mind for more than a decade. In my probing of the Croatian scene, I hit upon a thread that ran consistently through the historical record: the notion of potentiality, expectancy, hope or nascency. We can put a remarkably apt face to what the emotion looks like with the help of the illustration of “Hope (*L’espérance*),” in Charles le Brun’s famous 17th-century treatise of general and particular expression, an indispensable source for facial expressions that Western artists working in classical tradition drew on for centuries (fig. I.4).<sup>9</sup> “Hope,” wrote Le Brun, is a passion that “keeps all parts of the body suspended between fear and confidence, in such a way that one portion of the eyebrow signals fear, and the other confidence.”<sup>10</sup>

In newspaper and journal articles, poems, manifestos, private correspondence, institutional mandates and artworks, the theme of anticipation stood out in sharp relief. It was not a theme I found highlighted in any of the secondary literature. The theme of nascency provided me with a means of understanding the fundamental character of art discourse in a not-yet-existent nineteenth-century Croatia that poured energy more idealistically and fervently than anywhere else into a particular iteration of the Yugoslav idea. A “discourse of desire” reigned for roughly a century; desire for an art whose realization was held to the impossible standard of a bright, idealized future—a new geopolitical reality. Hope for art was intrinsically linked to an even greater hope: hope for nationhood. These hopes were, very much like Le Brun’s illustration, “suspended between fear and confidence.”

The Czech painter Jaroslav Čermák was arguably one of the most well-respected artists in the second half of the nineteenth century in Croatia, and Čermák’s South Slavic-themed

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Le Brun, *Conférence de Monsieur Le Brun, Premier Peintre du Roy de France, Chancelier et Directeur de l’Académie de Peintre et Sculpture. Sur l’expression générale et particulière* (Paris: E. Picart, 1698), 22, plate 15.

<sup>10</sup> Le Brun, *Conférence de Monsieur Le Brun*, 23.

*oeuvre* was singled out as an ideal to which budding Croatian artists should aspire. We can think about Čermák as having brought the South Slavs half way on their dual mission: he had indeed created noble pictures of the South Slavs, but because he was not one of them, he could not prove them to be a civilized people. This was something only an indigenous artist could do. The end goal of fostering native art was to take charge of the production of their own image. Čermák was, according to this logic, assigned a fatherly role relative to Croatia's hoped-for art, a relationship naturalized by the fact that Czechs and Croats were interpreted as members of one greater ethnic Slavic family.

As much as commentators claimed to want native artists, they constantly denied that indigenous art was maturing. They thwarted or turned a blind eye to the progress of the very art they desired. Much like a united Slavic South, art held tenuously to the verge of becoming. Native artists were, accordingly, thought about more or less exclusively in the future tense. Paradoxically, a fully-developed native art could not exist according to the discourse of desire. Calling for art, rather than dealing with actual art, kept an idealistic vision of seductive clarity intact. Indigenous art was an ever-moving target.<sup>11</sup> Art in the realm of pure potentiality was perfection. The idea of art came to be invested with impossible hopes—the most outrageous of which was autonomy or independence from the Habsburg Empire. To protect this schema, every native work of art was cast as a first step. No work, no artist, could possibly satisfy the great expectations of a public that preferred dreaming. If they tried, the punishment was unusually severe.

Seventeen years after Čermák exhibited his first South Slavic-themed canvases at the Paris Salon, a young artist from Dubrovnik made an earnest attempt to follow in his footsteps.

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<sup>11</sup> I would like to thank my advisor, Martha Ward, for coming up with the wonderfully precise phrase of “ever-moving target.”

The first native son to exhibit on the world stage of the Paris Salon submitted an ideological picture to aid the becoming of the South Slavs: *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (1878) (fig. I.1). Inside the vertical canvas, a beautiful Montenegrin woman clutches a dagger and looks apprehensively over her shoulder, readying herself for an encounter with unseen *Bashi–Bazouks* no doubt.

The artist was Vlaho Bukovac. Bukovac's iconic images from the turn of the century are familiar to anyone who has visited Zagreb. His grand cycle of history paintings glorifying and unifying Croatia's past in an academic style tempered by impressionism still enjoy high visibility today: *Gundulić Imagines 'Osman'* (*Gundulić zamišlja Osmana*, 1894) holds a place of honor in the Modern Gallery, and *Glory to Them* (*Slava njima*) is the enormous ceremonial curtain of the National Theater.<sup>12</sup> But Bukovac began his career not with grand compositions that celebrated great figures of Croatian history. He began his career in Paris following Čermák's provenly successful example with a meaning-laden image of a Montenegrin woman.

Bukovac set out from Dubrovnik to seek artistic training in the French capital in 1877. He was the only Dalmatian artist in Paris at the time. It was quite unusual that he chose Paris. He might have been successful at winning a government stipend for study in Vienna. Dalmatian artists had historically sought training in Italy, and indeed, Bukovac had originally intended to study in Rome.<sup>13</sup> Bukovac grew up bilingual like most of his compatriots on the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia, speaking his native variant of South Slavic as well as Italian. He also spoke fluent

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<sup>12</sup> See my master's thesis: "Mapping National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Croatia: The History Paintings of Vlaho Bukovac" (University of Arizona, 2004), and "'The secessionists are the Croats. They've been given their own pavilion...': Vlaho Bukovac's Battle for Croatian Autonomy at the 1896 Millennial Exhibition in Budapest," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no.1 (2007) [http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring\\_07/articles/ross.shtml](http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_07/articles/ross.shtml) (last accessed February 16, 2014).

Vlaho Bukovac, *Gundulić Imagines 'Osman'* (*Gundulić zamišlja Osmana*), 1894, oil on canvas, 185 x 310 cm, Modern Gallery, Zagreb; and Vlaho Bukovac, *Glory to Them* (*Slava Njima*), 1895, oil on canvas, 800 x 1000 cm. Croatian National Theater, Zagreb.

<sup>13</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj život* (Zagreb: Književni jug, 1918), 99.

English, having spent some childhood years in New York, and three years in San Francisco as a young man (1874–1877).<sup>14</sup> His return to Europe was fueled by American esteem of Old World training. His ultimate choice of France was owing to the influence of his friend, the radical South Slavic Slavophile Count Medo Pucić [also Orsat Pozza] (1821–1882), man of letters, patrician, and poet.

Bukovac and Pucić arrived in time to see Čermák's latest work at the annual Salon: *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi–Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (*Des Herzégoviniens, de retour dans leur village pillé par les bachi–bouzoucks, trouvent le cimetière ravagé et l'église détruite*, 1877) (fig. I.5).<sup>15</sup> Multiple levels of networking were at play. Pucić had hoped that Čermák would take Bukovac on as a student. However, Čermák recommended that Bukovac apply to the studio of Alexandre Cabanel (1823–1889) at the *École des Beaux–Arts*. Bukovac's excellent knowledge of Italian language helped him endear himself to Cabanel who had spent several years in Rome. He introduced himself as an American during this first meeting with the teacher he would study with for the next three years as an *élève libre*.<sup>16</sup> He indeed appeared to be a “somewhat Americanized Austrian Slav (*un Slav d'Autriche un peu américanisé*)” (fig. I.6).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Bukovac lived in New York from 1866–1871 and San Francisco from 1874–1877.

<sup>15</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi–Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (*Des Herzégoviniens, de retour dans leur village pillé par les bachi–bouzoucks, trouvent le cimetière ravagé et l'église détruite*) [*Bosnia in the Year 1877 (Return to the Village) Bosna v roce 1877 (Návrat do vsi)*], 1877, oil on canvas, 200 x 149 cm. Prague Castle, Office of the President of the Republic, Prague.

<sup>16</sup> Given the circumstances of how, as he recounts in his autobiography, Bukovac became Cabanel's student, it is most likely that he was admitted to Cabanel's studio as an *élève libre*, a non–matriculated student at the *École des Beaux–Arts*. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 75–80. By personal application to head of studio, and without going through the rigorous *Concours des places*, students could be admitted to one of the three painting studios at the *École*—in 1878, these were the studios of Alexandre Cabanel, Jean–Léon Gerôme and Henri Lehmann. They were, however, excluded from the major competitions sponsored by the *École* including the prestigious *Prix de Rome*. See: Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth–Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abeville Press Publishers, 1991), 15–18. See also my “Mapping National Identity in Nineteenth–Century Croatia,” 26.

During the decade and a half Bukovac lived in Paris (1877–1893), he became a successful Salon painter, maintaining all the while constant contact with the homeland. Like Čermák, Bukovac’s life in Paris was followed closely by the domestic press in Croatia, which saw him as a sort of cultural ambassador working to publicize the national struggles for independence against the imperial entities that controlled the region. At the same time that Bukovac’s artistic endeavors were celebrated for their patriotism, however, he was held in stasis as a budding “young” artist whose mature work was always just around the corner.

The chapters that follow are the story of the meaningful intersections of the Paris Salon canvases of Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák, from the 1860s to the 1880s, with art discourse in the second half of the nineteenth century in Croatia. I believe that the theme of anticipation is an interpretive key that is faithful to the spirit of the time, one that identifies a frame of mind specific to artmaking and commentary in Croatia. Ultimately, this perspective throws into stark relief the differences in mentality between the art milieu in France and Croatia. There are parallels to be made with discourses operative in France, as I make clear in the coda of the dissertation, however, the Croatian connection of national identity and artistic anticipation is unique.

## 2. INSPIRATION

In seeking to interpret Croatian art discourse and art objects in the age of nationalism, my first aim is to provide an account of an area almost entirely unknown in Anglophone scholarship, one that differs from the existing narrowly national or biographically-oriented accounts. I have been inspired and aided by many projects along the way.

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<sup>17</sup> Bélina, *Nos Peintres dessinés par eux memes*, 162.

W.J.T. Mitchell's "What do Pictures Want?" is a stimulating essay that I went to over and over again. I have come to believe that paintings neither mean nor want anything that can be formulated in words.<sup>18</sup> I would not, however, say that the story I tell in this dissertation is the same one that would emerge, as it were, exclusively from the pictures' point of view. The story of potentiality I tell is woven from the threads within the historical archive of images and texts that suggested themselves most strongly to me. The nineteenth-century commentators who wrote at length about the role of art for an emerging people and paintings by Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák placed great stakes in their written accounts of images. I saw it as my job to take their earnest accounts seriously while at the same time attempting to loosen the grip of both their words and mine over the pictures. Of its own accord, this story of potentiality unexpectedly tracks a situation where commentaries and paintings never seem quite to match up, but are held apart by the different expectations and practices of their mediums. In the coda to this dissertation, a painting is allowed, finally, to make an appearance on something like its own terms.

In venturing off the beaten linguistic track of art history, I was encouraged to find kindred studies that investigate Eastern Europe in dialogue with the "West." As Larry Wolff reminds us, we must be careful not to project our contemporary notions of "Eastern Europe" over historical terrain.<sup>19</sup> His pioneering studies of the interactions between east and west, north and south, fiction and fact are compelling resources I turned to again and again. Anna Brzyski's excellent consideration of *fin de siècle* Poland provided me with a solid set of questions to put to the

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<sup>18</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, "What do Pictures Want?" in his: *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 28–56.

<sup>19</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); idem, "The Rise and Fall of 'Morlacchismo': South Slavic Identity in the Mountains of Dalmatia," in: Holly Case and Norman M. Naimark, *Yugoslavia and its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 37–52; and idem, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

material.<sup>20</sup> Working from the opposite direction, Nina M. Athanassoglou–Kallmyer’s study of images of the Greek War of Independence in France helped me think about the importance of Paris as a world stage for far–away national causes through art.

Within the French sphere of reception, Bukovac and Čermák’s images of the South Slavs fall squarely within the realm of Orientalism, demanding some engagement with the considerable body of literature on the subject. I wholeheartedly proceed from the idea put forth in Edward Said’s seminal book, *Orientalism* (1978), that there is no such thing as disinterested knowledge.<sup>21</sup> In the early stages of this dissertation, I was inspired by Reina Lewis’s investigation of gender, in which she asks if women painters might have been in a position to be truer and more sympathetic to their female Oriental subjects than male painters.<sup>22</sup> I wondered if I could substitute a closeness of gender for a closeness of ethnicity, and pose a similar question about male Slavic painters making Orientalizing images of their South Slavic kin. Though examples of subversions of the genre exist that might lead one to believe such was indeed the case, I did not, in the end, find this approach particularly productive for understanding my central concern with nationalism and its anticipatory discourse, nor was I motivated by a desire to save the painters from the perceived moral decrepitude of Orientalist painting.<sup>23</sup> Many of their works

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<sup>20</sup> Anna Brzyski, “Between the Nation and the World: Nationalism and Modernism in Fin de Siècle Poland,” *Centropa* 1, no. 3 (September 2001): 165–79; and eadem, “Modern Art and Nationalism in Fin de Siècle Poland” (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), esp. 9–15.

<sup>22</sup> Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Jaroslav Čermák’s *Harem Interior* (*L’Intérieur d’un harem*) [*Montenegrin Women in a Harem* (*Černohorky v harému*)], undated, oil on canvas, 49 x 69 cm. Whereabouts unknown. In this composition, two clothed South Slavic women stand in the background of a typical harem scene of beautiful nude women lazing about a pool of water. The younger one is frightened while the older one is stoically resolute.

Some examples of studies that attempt to morally salvage Orientalist painters are: John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theater and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); and David Kopf, “Hermeneutics versus History,” *Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 39: no. 3 (May 1980): 495–506.

are arguably morally repulsive.<sup>24</sup> Bukovac and Čermák's works certainly resemble the exoticized, sexualized images made by their French counterparts—both were painted in a realistic, academic style that rendered an Orient transparent and knowable as argued by Linda Nochlin in her seminal essay “The Imaginary Orient.”<sup>25</sup> Ultimately, however, in analyzing the Croatian context, with its preponderance for poetic, extra-visual interpretation of artworks, I came away with a very different reading based on a different set of criteria. Croatian eyes never roved over the beautiful bodies fixed on canvas, in fact, their eyes hardly roved over the paintings at all. They were, rather, shut tight dreaming.

There is an outstanding new body of art historical scholarship on Central Europe that brings the polyglot Empire of Austria–Hungary into the spheres of post-colonial studies, world's fairs, historiography, etc. I would have been lost without it. Serving as guides for conceptualizing Chapter IV, “Towards a New Slavic Painting,” were Diana Reynolds–Cordileone's work on the intersections of Austrian institutions with the folk art in the “peripheries” of the Empire, and Matthew Rampley's masterful account of art history's entanglement with the imperial and cultural politics.<sup>26</sup> Libuše Jirsak's pioneering dissertation on Izidor Kršnjavi's relationship to the Vienna School of Art History is exceptional.

Barbara Weinberg's *The Lure of Paris* provides a wonderful model for dealing with the problem of founders of indigenous modern arts being trained and making their careers on foreign

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<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Čermák's *After a Raid (Après une Razzia)*, 1862, oil on canvas, 85 x 63 cm., whereabouts unknown.

<sup>25</sup> Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient” *Art in America* 71 (May 1983), 118–31, 187–91.

<sup>26</sup> Diana Reynolds–Cordileone, “The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry: Historicism and National Identity in Vienna 1863–1895,” *Austrian Studies* 16, *From Ausgleich to Jahrhundertwende: Literature and Culture 1867–1890* (December 2008): 123–41; and Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

soil.<sup>27</sup> In a similar vein of privileging cosmopolitanism as a model is Igor Zidić's important 2009 exhibition catalogue, *Vlaho Bukovac: A Cosmopolitan Croatian*.<sup>28</sup>

I am by no means the first to be examining the *oeuvres* of Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák. The reception of Jaroslav Čermák in Paris has been admirably sketched by Markéta Theinhardt.<sup>29</sup> Vera Kružić-Uchytíl's *Vlaho Bukovac: Life and Work* with a catalogue raisonné is simply superb.<sup>30</sup> Vjera Borozan's art historical research on both artists and the connections between the South Slavs and Czechs was an indispensable resource.<sup>31</sup> I relied heavily on the impeccably-researched picture Ljerka Dulibić and Iva Pasini Tržec paint of Croatia's most prominent patron of the arts, Bishop Strossmayer (1815–1905), the powerful proponent of the Yugoslav idea in Zagreb. Artur Schneider's writing from the interwar period on Strossmayer's aesthetics remains fresh and pertinent today.

### 3. CHAPTERS

Working outwards, inwards, backwards and forwards from a series of paintings exhibited at the Paris Salon, beginning with Jaroslav Čermák's *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (*Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien del'Herzégovine (Turquie)*) in 1861 and ending with Vlaho Bukovac's *Episode from the War of*

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<sup>27</sup> Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abeville Press Publishers, 1991).

<sup>28</sup> Igor Zidić, *Vlaho Bukovac: A Cosmopolitan Croatian* (Den Haag: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 2009).

<sup>29</sup> Markéta Theinhardt, "Jaroslav Čermák et la critique française," in: Voisine–Jechova, Hana, ed. *Images de la Bohême dans les lettres françaises: Réciprocité culturelle des Français, Tchèques et Slovaques* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 2004), 113–19; and eadem, "Jaroslav Čermák, un peintre tchèque entre Paris et les Balkans," *Cultures d'Europe Centrale* no. 3, *Le Voyage dans les confins* (2003): 43–56.

<sup>30</sup> Vera Kružić-Uchytíl, *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo*, 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> Vjera Borozan, "Jihoslovanská tematika v díle Jaroslava Čermáka 1858–1878" (Master's thesis, Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy Ústav pro Dějiny Umění, 2002; and eadem, "Three chapters of shared art history: The mutual relations between Czechs and South Slavs in the field of the fine arts between 1861 and 1922" (PhD Dissertation, Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy Ústav pro Dějiny Umění, 2011).

*Montenegro* in the critical year of 1878 when the Balkans were remapped, this dissertation explores how nascency, anticipation and potentiality, broadly considered, inform a host of discourses, practices and institutions related to visual production in nineteenth-century Croatia (figs. I.1 and I.7).<sup>32</sup> Paintings especially salient to the meta-narrative of potentiality are given lengthy visual analyses, while others receive a shorter treatment.

The organization of this dissertation is thematic. It does not follow a straight chronology. I jump liberally from place to place and time to time throughout the chapters. Because the cast of characters is likely unfamiliar to most readers, I have included a timeline of political history, artists, patrons, institutions, etc. as an appendix (appendix 1). The appendices also include lists of Vlaho Bukovac, Jaroslav Čermák and Théodore Valerio's paintings exhibited at the Paris Salon, and facsimiles of the poems examined in Chapter IV (appendices 2, 3, 4 and 6). The bibliography is organized thematically for easy reference. Illustrations are taken from graphic reproductions wherever possible, out of solidarity with the historical actors I have spent so much time with.

Chapter I, "A Bohemian in Paris: Jaroslav Čermák, *Razzia de bachi-bouzouchs dans un village chrétien del'Herzégovine (Turquie)* (1861)," foregrounds the importance of the cultural exchange between the Slavic minorities of the Hapsburg Empire and France. It tells the story of nineteenth-century South Slavic identity bodied forth in tandem with high art production in Paris, of paintings designed to function both in the cosmopolitan capital and for export. The chapter begins with an extended look at the French reception of Čermák's *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* at the Paris Salon of 1861, focusing in

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<sup>32</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (*Razzia de bachi-bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l'Herzégovine (Turquie)*) [*The Abduction of a Herzegovinian Woman*], 1861, oil on canvas, 250.2 x 190.5 cm. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York.

particular on how the painting mapped onto matrices of history painting, new knowledge about the Balkans, and fashionable Orientalism (fig. I.7). From 1860 until his untimely death in 1878, Čermák’s painterly gaze was fixed on the Slavic South, and his mature *oeuvre*—much of which hung at the Salon in Paris—came to inform discourses of national identity and the role of art in the Croatian lands. The Slavs living in the Hapsburg Empire imagined the Paris Salon as a kind of world stage where one could communicate with the entire globe. Had Paris not been of such paramount importance, it is unlikely the Czech artist’s paintings would have been attended to or invested with such exalted hopes.

In Chapter II, “Great Expectations,” I explore the contemporary notion of potentiality both as a way of interpreting the formal qualities of Vlaho Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (1878), and to introduce what I argue is a fundamental characteristic of Croatian art discourse in the nineteenth century (fig. I.1). I sketch a brief history of the recurring trope of the youth with great expectations. Bukovac was, in fact, one of several native sons who had been invested by commentators with the promise of saving the nation through art, but kept forever young. In this vein, I examine the first monumental history of South Slavic art, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski’s (1816–1889) *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists (Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih)* (1858–1860). Like the perpetually fledgling artists, the work never reached full maturity.<sup>33</sup> The never-completed *Lexicon* catalogued hundreds of artists and artisans, recovering a past rich in indigenous artists that had either been forgotten or appropriated by neighboring countries. Reconstituting native tradition endowed a future native art with the aura and authority of continuity.

This is one of those stories in which the timing of an artist’s death coincides uncannily

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<sup>33</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, 5 vols. (Zagreb: Narodna Tiskarna L. Gaja, 1858–1860).

with the course of the History of Art. Intervening in what have tended for the past century to be insular histories of art, Chapter III, “The King is Dead, Long Live the King!” highlights the transnational character of the narrative in which Bukovac was cast by commentators in Croatia as an heir in gestation to the Czech artist, Jaroslav Čermák, who had died just prior to the opening of the 1878 Paris Salon, leaving the younger artist ready-made subjects. Other borders were crossed in this tale of inclusivity as opposed to the exclusivity with which the region is associated today. By picturing the romantically heroicized Montenegro—the “Sparta” of the Slavic South—cultural actors like Bukovac were seen as helping a perpetually budding Croatia blossom into a modern-day “Athens.”<sup>34</sup> Athens and Sparta, in the nineteenth-century cultural landscape of the Slavic South, at least in the minds of those who imagined a proto-Yugoslavia, were not enemies, but allies fighting against the common evil of imperialism. I explore how Montenegro figured for South Slavic Slavophilic commentators in Zagreb and Dubrovnik as a brave and authentic Slavic highland, a relationship that has fallen out of favor in recent decades.

In 1879, on the heels of his success at the Salon of 1878, Vlaho Bukovac took his first trip to the real Montenegro. The encounter shattered the idealized, epic vision his supporters in Dubrovnik promoted. Against this backdrop, Chapter IV, “Grey Falcons: Painting in the Talons of Poetry,” considers poetic interpretations of both Bukovac and Čermák’s *oeuvres*. In their verses, poets consistently cast the artist as the homeland’s ambassador to the foreign world, and expressed a belief that painting was uniquely positioned to fuse together a nation *in potentia*. Poetry was the dominant artistic medium in Croatia at the time, one whose continuity with an internationally-regarded tradition of oral poetry gave it incredible authority. Its relationship with

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<sup>34</sup> The extent to which the Balkans are perceived as factious can be seen in the definition of the word “balkanize”: “to divide (a region) into a number of smaller and often mutually hostile units, as was done in the Balkan Peninsula in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, 1989) s.v. “Balkan.”

painting was one of domination: poetry not only interpreted painting, it sought to control and guide what was considered an infant art.

I include case studies of five key poems dating from 1862–1885 (see appendices 6a–6e). “To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter,”<sup>35</sup> (1879) by ethnographer and educator Vid Vuletić Vukasović (1853–1933), is a short, epic-style poem that describes the role of the native artists through the allegory of a falcon, a prominent figure in the South Slavic oral tradition. Man of letters and medical doctor Ivan August Kaznačić’s (1817–1883) poem, “To Jaroslav Čermák [on his Way] to Cetinje,”<sup>36</sup> (1862, published 1866) attributes the fragmentation and enslavement of the South Slavs to disunion, and entrusts Čermák with making a painting that will bring harmony and reconstitute them as a nation. Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski, a politician and man of letters, published “Slaves” in Zagreb and Novi Sad, Serbia, in 1870.<sup>37</sup> Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s wildly successful poem was written in a style that self-consciously evoked oral poetry and the Anti-Turkish tradition. Incredibly modern in imagery and style, Proto-Realist writer August Šenoa’s “Lightning from Gabela: A Poem after Čermák’s Painting,” interprets Čermák’s 1861 *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* as a rebuke to hypocritical Europe (fig. I.7).<sup>38</sup> In a willful conflation of art and life, Šenoa retroactively invested Čermák’s painting with having sparked the Uprising in Herzegovina that had begun a few months before the poem’s publication in late August of 1875. The final poem examined is Catholic priest, poet, ethnomusicologist and translator Grgur [Gregorija] Zarbarini’s

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<sup>35</sup> Vid Vuletić [Vukasović], “Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 17, September 1, 1879, 262.

<sup>36</sup> Ivan August Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” *Dubrovnik: Zabavnik narodne štionice Dubrovačke za godinu 1867* 1 (1866): 392–94.

<sup>37</sup> Og[njeslav] Utješenović–Ostrožinski, “Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: ‘Roblje, Hercegovina 1863’—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli,” *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 129–30.

<sup>38</sup> A[ugust] Š[enoa], “Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici,” *Vienac* 7, no. 35 no. 35, August 28, 1875, 555–56.

Italian language “To Biagio Bukovac: Epode.”<sup>39</sup> Written during Bukovac’s long sojourn in the Dalmatian city of Split in 1885, Zarbarini tasks Bukovac with painting a future masterpiece that will bring concord to the people of Dalmatia.

Launching off the painting from which Bukovac lifted the title of his debut canvas—Jaroslav Čermák’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda*—Chapter V, “Towards a New Slavic Painting,” explores how nascency permeated the institutions of art, craft and art history that began to spring up in the 1870s and 1880s in Croatia’s capital city of Zagreb (fig. I.3). Modeled closely on Vienna, Zagreb’s new institutions ushered in a new age of “scientific” art history and criticism following the lead of Rudolf von Eitelberger (1814–1885), Austria’s first professor of art history. Through the writings of Izidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927), a student of Eitelberger who rose to the position of Minister of Education and Religion in the 1890s,<sup>40</sup> I examine a new visually-oriented turn in art commentary, in marked contrast to poetic, literary interpretation. I trace the foundations of Zagreb’s network of institutions to Rome, where a group of influential Croatian patriots, enthralled by the recently unified Italy, solidified plans to foster national arts and crafts back home. The group included Izodor Kršnjavi, Renaissance historian Dušan Kotur (1853–1878), poet and essayist Rikard Jorgovanić (1853–1880), Croatian painter Ferdinand [Ferdo] Quiquerez (1845–1893), art critic Ladislav [Lacko] Mrazović (1849–1881), and Josip Juraj Strossmayer.

I explore Kršnjavi and Mrazović’s textual engagement with the World’s Fair in Vienna of

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<sup>39</sup> Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo* (Split: Tipografija S. Artale, 1885).

<sup>40</sup> See: Libuše Jirsak’s groundbreaking recent dissertation, “Die Rezeption der Wiener Schule in der kroatischen Kunstgeschichte. Izidor Krsnjavi, der erste kroatische Kunstgeschichteprofessor und seine Tätigkeit 1870–1890” (PhD Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2007); and Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj: Izgradnja i obnova obrazovnih, kulturnih i umjetničkih objekata u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesnicara umjetnosti, 1986).

1873, a crucial exhibition for the minorities of Austria–Hungary. Both subvert a particularly Central–European model that placed faith in institutions of art and art–industry to improve national taste and financial well–being in order to rationalize the kind of manufacture of tradition they envision for Croatian arts and crafts. I go on to visit an essential institution in the Roman circle’s plan to cultivate art in Croatia: Strossmayer’s Picture Gallery, a relatively modest universal history of art collection imagined to serve as the tasteful foundation upon which a national, modern and Croatian art would be built. Čermák’s *Episode* was one of the most celebrated contemporary works in the Gallery when it opened in Zagreb in 1884. For the younger generation, it was a shining star in a glittering pan–Slavic universe of progressive art that would correct all the mistakes of the nineteenth century. Strossmayer’s twin project of Đakovo Cathedral, where he had commissioned Nazarene painter Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869) to draw cartoons for the murals, reveals a gaping divide in taste for models of Croatia’s future art. Finally, I investigate the role folk art and ethnography played for commentators in their imagination of a future “national art” as a means of authenticity and particularization.

In the fall of 1878, Bukovac sent his *Episode from the War of Montenegro* to his benefactor, Bishop Strossmayer, in Croatia and it disappeared. In the final chapter, “*La Contadina montenegrina: Woman on the Verge of History Painting*,” I reflect on the suppression of Bukovac’s debut Salon painting, and on the impossibility that any artist could satisfy the discourse of desire in nineteenth–century Croatia. By giving the public what they dreamed of—that is, by achieving some level of fame with a painting of a native subject—he had upset the well–established paradigm of anticipation. Bukovac’s supporters in Dubrovnik continued to follow his career, imploring him to make a history painting that visualized the unification of the South Slavs. Such an endeavor was provenly dangerous. Franjo [also Francesco] Salghetti–Drioli

(1811–1877) had been reviled for his *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara*, 1870), an enormous canvas commissioned by Strossmayer for the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (fig. I.8).<sup>41</sup> Bukovac's novel solution for satisfying a discourse used to luxuriating in the hypothetical, was to keep his most ambitious painting in the realm of potentiality. He never painted it. Dalmatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962) had the good fortune to be Croatia's new golden boy of promise when reality finally did change course for reasons that had little to do with art. The spell of the discourse of potentiality finally broke on Meštrović when the South Slavs were united in the First Kingdom of Yugoslavia at the close of World War I.

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<sup>41</sup> Franjo Salghetti-Drioli, *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara)*, 1870, oil on canvas, 473.3 x 304.2 cm. Gallery of Fine Arts of the National Museum, Zadar.

## CHAPTER I

### A BOHEMIAN IN PARIS: JAROSLAV ČERMÁK, *RAZZIA DE BACHI–BOUZOUCHS DANS UN VILLAGE CHRÉTIEN DEL’HERZÉGOVINE (TURQUIE) (1861)*

He has drawing, color,  
Reality, vigor,  
So many things that one loves;  
It is very pleasant for a *Bohemian!*

*Il a le dessin, la couleur,  
La réalité, la vigueur,  
Autant de choses que l’on aime;  
C’est fort joli pour un Bohême!*<sup>1</sup>

May 1, 1861. The Salon in Paris opened with a new, democratizing layout. The paintings, with the exception of the *Salon Carré*, were organized alphabetically.<sup>2</sup> In the *salle* with paintings by artists whose last names began with “C,” two remarkably similar canvases faced each other across the room. They were roughly the same size and featured nude women in nearly identical poses writhing in the arms of male captors. On one side was Alexandre Cabanel’s lighthearted *Nymph Abducted by a Faun* (*La Nymphe enlevée par un Faune*) (fig. 1.1).<sup>3</sup> On the other was Jaroslav Čermák’s deadly serious *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina* (*Turkey*) (*Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie)*) (figs. I.7 and I.2).<sup>4</sup> The luminous female forms that are the main focus of both canvases recall the

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<sup>1</sup> Le Guillois, *Diogène au Salon de 1861, revue en quatrains* (Paris: Desloges, 1861), 30.

<sup>2</sup> The jury has tried a new classification: the artists are placed according to the letters of the alphabet... this classification by letter has the advantage of silencing the jealousies or pangs of self-love (*amour-propre*) among the artists who all aspire to the honors of the grand *Salon Carré*. That [room] is the only exception to these measures: it is entirely consecrated to battles, official portraits or genre paintings representing the deeds of the imperial family.

Madame Jane d’Enval, *Salon de 1861* (Paris: Typographie de Cosson et Comp., 1861), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandre Cabanel, *Nymph Abducted by a Faun* (*Nymphe enlevée par un faune*), 1860, oil on canvas, 243 x 142 cm. Musée d’Orsay, Paris. Sylvain Amic and Michel Hilaire’s recent exhibition catalogue is an excellent account of Cabanel’s life and work: *Alexandre Cabanel (1823–1889): La tradition du beau* (Montpellier: Musée Fabre, 2010). See the entry on *Nymph Abducted by a Faun* on p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina* (*Turkey*) (*Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie)*) [*The Abduction of a Herzegovinian Woman*], 1861, oil on canvas, 250.2 x 190.5 cm. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York. See sections 3 and 4 in the Bibliography for extensive primary and secondary sources on Čermák.

serpentine Baroque bodies of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's (1598–1680) *Rape of Proserpina* (1621–1622) or Giambologna's [Jean Boulogne (1529–1608) *Rape of the Sabine Women* (1581–83) (figs. 1.3 and 1.4).<sup>5</sup> Quite possibly both artists were inspired by the very same sculpture.<sup>6</sup> Though contrasted by many critics in the contemporary press, the two artists were friends. In the painting by Cabanel, the French professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, a nymph playfully resists her would-be captor as part of a game of seduction.<sup>7</sup> In the “superb scene of violence” by Čermák, the Czech painter born in Austrian Bohemia, a very earthly woman resists enemies in earnest with all her might.<sup>8</sup>

Čermák's painting is a disturbing, xenophobic image of abduction, carnage and sexual violence. It depicts a fair-skinned woman with dark hair being forcefully torn from a burning home by three darker-skinned *Bashi-Bazouks*—irregular Ottoman soldiers “notorious for their lawlessness, plundering, and savage brutality”<sup>9</sup>—dressed in sumptuously embroidered Oriental costume. The woman, whose expression communicates absolute horror, struggles energetically to free herself, digging her fingers deep into the cheek of one of her assailants. The legs of a dead infant, of the same plump fair flesh of the mother, protrude from behind the foot of the central *Bashi-Bazouk* at the lower left right. At the lower left, the hand of the woman's dead husband reaches out from the dark threshold of the smoking house. His hand still tightly grasps the white

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<sup>5</sup> Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Rape of Proserpina*, 1621–1622, marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome; Giambologna, *Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1581–1583, marble. Piazza Signoria, Florence.

<sup>6</sup> See Roger Diederer's discussion in *Telling Tales I: Classical Images from the Dahesh Museum of Art* (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art, 2001), 33, and 36–37. As Diederer notes, one contemporary who made the association with Giambologna was Earl Shinn [pseudonym Edward Strahan] in his: *Art Treasures of America*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1879), 135.

<sup>7</sup> Auguste-Philibert Chaalons d'Argé, *Notices explicatives... sur les principaux ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées. Année 1861* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1861), 17.

<sup>8</sup> Théodore de Banville, “Le Salon de 1861,” *Revue fantaisiste* 2, no. 10 (1861), 228.

<sup>9</sup> *Bashi-Bazouk*: “A mercenary soldier belonging to the skirmishing or irregular troops of the Turkish army; notorious for their lawlessness, plundering, and savage brutality.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition (1989), s.v. “*Bashi-Bazouk*.”

garment that has been ripped off the woman, exposing a nude body. A neck chain with a cross lies broken on the ground. These heart-wrenching devices consciously recall Eugène Delacroix's (1798–1863) well-known paintings of the Greek War of Independence earlier in the century meant to elicit sympathy and solidarity for the suffering of Christian subjects living in the Ottoman Empire, such as *The Massacre at Chios* (1824), a scene of carnage and abduction, and *Greece on the Ruins of the Missolonghi* (1827) which also foregrounds the disembodied hand of a dead man at the feet of an imploring woman.<sup>10</sup>

A caricature in Galletti's *Salon de 1861: Album caricatural* capitalized on the obvious resemblance between Čermák and Cabanel's works.<sup>11</sup> By placing the two side by side on one page, Galletti made it impossible for viewers who might have missed the connection in the physical exhibition space not to perceive their similarity (fig. 1.5).<sup>12</sup> He gave titles that emphasized the difference between the two types of abductions pictured: Cabanel's painting was "By gentleness (*Par la douceur*)," while Čermák's was "By Force (*Par la violence*)." Running underneath and connecting the caricatures are the last two lines from Jean de la Fontaine's fable set to rhyme, "The Lion and the Rat (*Le Lion et le Rat*):" "Patience and time achieve more than strength or rage (*Patience et longueur de temps = Font plus que force ni que rage*)."<sup>13</sup>

Amédée Cantaloube highlighted Galletti's opportune juxtaposition in his review of Cabanel and Čermák's works at the Salon of 1861, and several other critics also felt compelled

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<sup>10</sup> Eugène Delacroix, *The Massacre at Chios*, 1824, oil on canvas, 417.2 x 354 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Eugène Delacroix, *Greece on the Ruins of the Missolonghi*, 1827, oil on canvas, 213 x 142 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.

<sup>11</sup> On the caricatures of the Paris Salon, see Julia Langbein's "Salon Caricature in Second Empire Paris," (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Galletti. *Salon de 1861: Album caricatural*. Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1861, plate 15.

<sup>13</sup> Jean de la Fontaine, "Le Lion et le Rat," in: *Fables choisies mises en vers* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1668), 71–72. In the poem, a little mouse sets the infinitely stronger king of beasts free by slowly gnawing through a rope that has imprisoned him.

to relate them.<sup>14</sup> Madame Jane d'Enval commented: "The whole world loves the painting of Mr. Cabanel; it is vigorous and at the same time sweet to look at. [...] Mr. Čermák, placed opposite [Cabanel], reproduces by chance the same scene, but without mythological allegory."<sup>15</sup>

Comparisons of the two works hinged mainly on the questions of nudity, decency and painterly treatment. As T.J. Clark observed, the "burden of the nude" in the mid-nineteenth century was to reconcile "propriety and sexual pleasure."<sup>16</sup> Mythology had furnished Cabanel with the pretext for his erotic subject, making the nudity in his composition decent according to the norms of academic painting. For some, the lack of such a pretext in Čermák's canvas was scandalous. For example, Emile Perrin complained: "Mr. Jaroslav [sic] Čermák also wanted to try his *Antiope*.<sup>17</sup> A *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks* has furnished him with the occasion to paint a female figure of the most complete nudity. I confess that that nudity shocks me a bit."<sup>18</sup> Etienne-Jean Delécluze was outraged by the work's deviant eroticism, which he found to be at odds with the empathy the subject ought to provoke in viewers:

I reproach ... the use [of the nude] when it damages the subject, as is the case with the work by Mr. Čermák... Why reproach here the parade (*l'étalage*) of the nude in this composition[?]: the fact of the abduction of this woman is moving enough by itself that it should be presented simply, and without this nudity that can cause ideas to be born that are absolutely opposite from those that should result from the subject.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See: A[médée] Cantaloube, *Lettre sur les expositions et le Salon de 1861* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1861), 66.

<sup>15</sup> See: Enval, *Salon de 1861*, 27.

<sup>16</sup> See: T.J. Clark, "Olympia's Choice" in: *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 130.

<sup>17</sup> Antiope: "This Theban woman was impregnated by the Greek god Zeus, who had taken the form of a satyr. She gave birth to future kings of Thebes, Amphion and Zethus." David Leeming, *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Antiope."

<sup>18</sup> Emile Perrin, "Salon de 1861," *Revue Européenne* tome 15 (1861): 585.

<sup>19</sup> É[tienne]-J[ean] Delécluze, "Exposition de 1861," *Journal des débats*, May 8, 1861, 2. Note that Delécluze contrasts Čermák negatively not with Cabanel in his review, but with William-Adolphe Bouguereau's (1825–1905) *The First Discord* (La Première Discorde [he calls it: *Eve and her two children* (*Eve et ses deux enfants*)], a work in the which he finds the nudity of the figures "de rigueur."

Mathurin-François Adolphe de Lescure passed similar judgement in his "Le Salon de 1861," *La Gazette de France. Édition du soir*, July, 14, 1861, 1: "I reprove Mr. Čermák for that energy of color and ardor of realism that trouble the visual and emotional effect (*l'effet à l'oeil et au coeur*) and debase the expression." Théophile Thoré also

Čermák had painted abduction in a contemporary, albeit exotic, setting, and in doing so, touched a nerve: he had laid bare the hypocrisy of mythological scenes of rape.<sup>20</sup> As Delécluze's judgement reveals, viewers were aware that without the guise of mythology, there was something wrong about enjoying the sexual spectacle of a nude woman being carried off by strong assailants against her will. Though it issued from different ideological imperatives, the radical nudity—nakedness, really—of the woman in Čermák's *Raid* was just as shocking as Edouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863) exhibited at the Salon four years later. While many found it outrageous and revolting, for some critics, Čermák's canvas created a welcome reality effect.<sup>21</sup> Léon Laurent-Pichat wrote: "M. Jaroslaw [sic] Čermák has also painted an abduction (*razzia*); it is an expedition of *Bashi-Bazouks* in a christian village in Herzegovina. It is less mythological, more true, and for that, more sad."<sup>22</sup>

The nakedness of Čermák's struggling female figure went hand in hand with the question of painterly treatment. Didier de Monchaux wrote: "Mr. Čermák, like Mr. Cabanel, was inspired by ... the female. Here ... [is] not a faun, but a furious [man] who, covered in blood, abuses his brute force to ravish (*ravir*) and later sell, no doubt, an unfortunate christian woman... This painting has the opposite fault of Mr. Cabanel's. If one desires a bit more energy in the one, the

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found the painting "shockingly vulgar: "the brigands who abduct the nude woman are of a hideousness shocking for their vulgarity." See his: *Salons de W. Bürger 1861 à 1868 avec une préface par T. Thoré*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie de Ve Jules Renouard, 1870), 72.

Gustave Bertrand's assessment of the painting would seem to be an example of "opposite" ideas resulting from the nudity of the female figure: "The abducted Christian woman twists and struggles with true horror. What a superb type. Here is proud publicity for the Slavic madams (*mesdames les Esclavonnes*). I leave tomorrow for Herzegovina." See his: "Salon de 1861. – C," *L'Entr'acte*, no. 145, May 25, 1861, 2.

<sup>20</sup> See: Diane Wolfhal, *Images of Rape: The "Heroic" Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Jérôme Delaplanche, "Images d'une pulsion: Les représentations d'enlèvement à travers les arts," *Libres cahiers pour la psychanalyse* 25 (Spring 2012): 151–64.

<sup>21</sup> Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, oil on canvas, 130.5 x 191 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. See T.J. Clark "Olympia's Choice," 79–146. *Olympia* is often compared by scholars to another erotic allegorical canvas of Cabanel's, *The Birth of Venus* (1863).

<sup>22</sup> L[éon] Laurent-Pichat, *Notes sur le Salon de 1861* (Lyon: L'Imprimerie du progres, 1861), 29.

other has a hard and sharp aspect [*un aspect dur et tranché*].”<sup>23</sup> Le Guillois similarly criticized Cabanel for his lifeless treatment:

<i>Si Cabanel était moins froid,</i>	If Cabanel was less cold,
<i>J’amerais son Faune</i>	I would love his Faun
<i>Au ton jaune</i>	Of yellow tone
<i>Et sa nymphe à l’œil plein d’effroi.</i>	And his nymph with eyes full of dread <sup>24</sup>

Whether critics liked or disliked Jaroslav Čermák’s *Raid*—Maxime du Camp, for example colorfully described the “unpleasant” painting as “heavy fellows dressed up as date merchants [*costumés en marchands de dattes*]... abducting that robust cook who is completely nude [*cette forte cuisinière toute nu*]”—they took note of the young Bohemian in droves.<sup>25</sup> Čermák’s *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* was a breakthrough sensation at the Paris Salon. It was the most shocking work the artist from Prague would ever exhibit.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Didier de Monchaux, “Revue des beaux-arts. – Exposition de 1861. – VII. MM. Acard, Cabanel, Cermak, Clément,” *La Patrie*, June 14, 1861, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Le Guillois, *Diogène au Salon de 1861*, 21. Anatole la Forge also found Cabanel’s *Nymphe Abducted by a Faun* lacking in energy. See his “L’Art Contemporaine. – Salon de 1861,” *Le Siècle*, no. 9522, May 10, 2: “She [the nymphe] seems charming (*adorable*) to me, but I still judge her admirer a bit too calm, especially for a Faun.”

<sup>25</sup> Maxime du Camp, *Le Salon 1861* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1861), 64.

Other negative reviews include: Louis Brès, who, judged the “too violent” painting an unsuccessful mix between the battle scenes of Horace Vernet (1789–1863) and the Roman peasants of Jean–Victor Schnetz (1787–1870) in his “Salon de 1861,” *Moniteur des arts* tome 4, no. 180 (June 22, 1861): 3; Auguste Cordier, who deemed the painting a “sad spectacle” of a painter who was guided solely by the bravado of manual skill rather than the soul, in his: “Le Salon de 1861,” *La Critique française* 1 (1860): 512; Delécluze, “Exposition de 1861,” *Journal des débats*, 2; Léon Lagrange, “Salon de 1861,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts: Courrier Européen de l’Art et de la Curiosité* 11, liv. 1, July 1, 1861, 66; Jean Rousseau found the types in the painting “banal” in his “Salon de 1861,” *Le Voleur illustré* 10, no. 245, July 12, 1861, 173; Olivier Merson’s *Exposition de 1861. La Peinture en France* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1861), 154 was scathing: “*The Abduction of a Christian Woman by Bashi–Bouzouks* attracts the attention of those who love garish tones (*tons criards*) and for those for whom the largest gestures (*les plus grands gestes*) are the best. ... At first glance, the painting by Mr. Čermák could give a semblance of reason for the exhilarating appreciation that one reads [about it]; but as soon as one submits it to the test of examination, one finds that its value is trifling. It is of false vigor, of false coloring, false drawing, false truth, that is to say that it is of self-possession rather than audacity, of bombast (*enflure*) rather than of strength (*force*).”

Augustin–Joseph Du Pays’s review was overall positive, however, he observed that “the harmony of the whole composition was sacrificed to scattered details.” See his: “Salon de 1861,” *L’Illustration* 37, no. 954 (1861): 362.

<sup>26</sup> *After a Raid (Après une Razzia)*, 1862, oil on canvas, 85 x 63 cm., whereabouts unknown, is the only work I am aware of that is just as disturbing as the *Raid* for its implicit sexual violence. This work was not, however, exhibited at the Salon in Paris. Goupil bought the work at the auction of Stamuck Mayer in April 1866. See: *Catalogue de*

Čermák's *Raid* attained a high profile not because it caused French audiences to sympathize with the plight of the Christian Slavs in the Balkans—in fact, those who picked up on the work's "message" for the most part found it to be misplaced, along similar lines as Theodor Adorno's 1960's thoughts on the danger of aestheticizing violence<sup>27</sup>—but because, while it maintained continuity with the tradition of academic painting, it also broke certain of its rules. Rather than being seen as simply scandalous and destructive relative to established pictorial idioms, however, the work was hailed as a great success by the majority of critics because it was taken to revitalize history painting by its bold treatment.

The *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* was experienced as "vigorous,"<sup>28</sup> "virile,"<sup>29</sup> "brutal" or "savage,"<sup>30</sup> "energetic" or "forceful"<sup>31</sup>

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*tableaux modernes importants formant la galerie d'un amateur de Vienne, dont la vente aura lieu Hotel Drouot, Salle no.5 Les vendredi 27 & Samedi 28 Avril 1866, a deux heures et demie précises* (Paris: Renou & Maulde, 1866), 5. The description from the auction catalogue reads: "A Montenegrin woman, stripped of her clothes, is extended half-dead on the ground, galloping horsemen flee into the mountains, evening effect." The painting was sold May 1, 1866 to Peter Kaeser of Vienna. See the entries in Stockbook 3 of Goupil & Cie., No. 2208, Page 80, Row 2, Getty Research Institute: <http://archives.getty.edu:30008/getty%5fimages/digital/resources/goupil/jpgs/900239-vol3-080.jpg> (last accessed March 1, 2015).

Goupil publicized the work in a photo-engraving entitled: *Brigands (Herzégovine)*. A copy of the print is conserved at the BnF (Richelieu, Department of Prints and Photographs) in the file: CA19E-1 (CZERMAK, Jaroslav)–FOL. The engraving probably dates to 1875, when a notice of its publication was printed in the *Bibliografie de la France* no. 873, May 8, 1875, 263, entry no. 873.

<sup>27</sup> "It stands that the memory of the massacres in Herzegovina and Lebanon come and go like an accusing ghost in the halls of diplomacy. But it is not the mission of art to perpetuate the memory of crimes that human justice seeks to punish and *erase* [original emphasis] with the blood of the guilty ... I know well that no one dreams of glorifying crime, especially when the assassins, still unpunished, still have weapons, fist and foot on their victim. But ..." Claudius Lavergnier, "Beaux-Arts. Exposition de 1861," *Le Monde* 173, June 26, 1861, 1–2. Lavergnier's unease with Čermák's *Raid* is in the same vein as Theodor Adorno, who argued: "but the way in which, by turning suffering into images, harsh and uncompromising though they are, it [art] wounds the shame we feel in the presence of the victims. For these victims are used to create something, works of art, that are thrown to the consumption of a world which destroyed them." See his "Commitment," in: *Aesthetics and Politics*, Ronald Taylor, trans., (London: Verso, 1977), 189.

<sup>28</sup> "The painter [is of a] vigor equal to that of the model." Banville, on Čermák's *Study of a Slavic Rayah (Herzegovina) (Etude de raïa slave (Herzégovine))* in his: "Le Salon de 1861," *Revue fantaisiste*, 229; "Mr. Čermák has ability, verve, and audacity. His *Raid by Bachi–Bazouks* recalls certain compositions and qualities of Mr. Horace Vernet. The group is vigorously constructed." Edmond About, "Salon de 1861," *L'Opinion nationale*, no. 178, July 1, 1861, 2; "[The *Raid*] is rendered with a vigor of drawing, modeling just as strong and coloration of such force, that ... nothing at the Salon can be compared." Lavergnier, "Beaux-Arts. Exposition de 1861," *Le Monde*, 1; "The artist found, in his subject [the *Raid*], ample material for a vigorous and sincere (*franche*) painting... The painting by Mr. Čermák acquired an uncommon vigor (*une vigueur peu commune*), and it has, among all his works, qualities

Gustave Bertrand declared Čermák “a young man whose verve overflows and whose convictions are violently affirmed in color just as well as in drawing. If he makes mistakes, it is for exuberance; what a happy flaw (*heureux défaut*)!”<sup>32</sup> Charles–Aimé Dauban was lavish in his praise:

Mr. Čermák does not belong to that school of painters who use grey or purple systematically (*qui font gris ou violet par système*). In color, strength of tone, boldness of brushwork and pride in [his] paintbrush, one of the most remarkable pieces in the Exhibition is *A Scene of Carnage* and abduction (*rapt*) in a village of Herzegovina. ... He will bring us that which is too often missing in the French School, a colorist, but a colorist who knows how to draw, a colorist who does not use trickery, who paints frankly what he sees, matching his colors with ability, without steering his paintings toward tones that are more harmonious than true, more learned (*savants*) than natural, more ingeniously refined than powerful.<sup>33</sup>

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that make him one of the best painters of our age.” H.H., “Salon d’Anvers.” *L’Illustration* 38, no. 969 (1861): 182; “throughout the whole composition [of the *Raid*] a vigor of color and a surety of drawing reigns.” Edouard Gerney, “Salon de 1861,” *Le Moniteur de la mode*, no. 3 in June (1861): 133.

<sup>29</sup> “That reality, unfortunately sorrowful, is rendered with a virile touch.” Enval, *Salon de 1861*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> “A *Raid* ... by Mr. Čermák, imperiously attracts one’s gaze for a certain forceful and bright brutality (*une certaine brutalité puissante et lumineuse*.” Gautier, *Abécédaire du Salon de 1861*, 98–99; “that work, that for its brutality and a certain reality too real (*réalité trop positive*). Camp, *Le Salon 1861*, 64; “This young artist has much power (*force*) and talent, a somewhat brutal power; a reckless talent, somewhat brash.” Perrin, “Salon de 1861,” *Revue Européenne*, 585–86; and “the effect of that painting is of an energy so striking and savage.” M. de. Lescure, “Le Salon de 1861,” *La Gazette de France. Édition du soir*, July 14, 1861, 1.

<sup>31</sup> “I reprove Mr. Čermák for that energy of color and ardor of realism...” Lescure, “Le Salon de 1861,” *La Gazette de France*, 1; and “It has certain qualities of force that we appreciate more than others, and some exaggeration.” Laurent–Pichat, *Notes sur le Salon de 1861*, 29.

<sup>32</sup> Gustave Bertrand, “Salon de 1861. – C,” *L’Entr’acte* no. 145, May 25, 1861, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Charles–Aimé Dauban, *Le Salon de 1861* (Extrait du “Journal général de l’instruction publique,” Juin 1861) (Paris: Imprimerie Administrative de Paul Dupont, 1861), 20.

Not all critics were as satisfied with Čermák’s draftsmanship as Dauban. Several posited the artist’s talent for color as being to the detriment of his drawing. In particular, they found fault with his articulation of the human form, judging his figures too “soft.” See, for example: “The *Croatian Peasant Woman* is painted well, and her apron is of the finest embroidery, but why does she sink her four fingers and thumb into the soft flesh of her child? Gustave Bertrand, “Salon de 1861. – C,” *L’entracte* no. 145, May 25, 1861, 2; “We also like very much the *Young Peasant Woman and her Infant (Croatia)*. All the details of the picturesque costume ... are rendered with both breadth and precision. ... – As for the infant, he is undoubtedly very charming, but a bit too soft, because his flesh gives like *pâté* under the pressure of maternal digits.” Gautier, *Abécédaire du Salon de 1861*, 99; “but the victim is of a touch a bit too soft, the modeling of the body lacks accentuation. We address the same critique to the *Young Croatian Peasant*, who holds an infant in her arms.” Jacques, “Salon de 1861,” *L’Univers Illustré*, 222; “The drawing is not severe, certain parts are also flabbily described (*mollement écrites*), on the leg and above all the articulation of the ankles. It is there that the distinction one would like to find in the figure is lacking.” Louis Richard, “Beaux–Arts. Salon de 1861. IV,” *La Ville de Paris*, 2e serie, no. 26, June 30, 1861, 3; “Seeing how that woman seems to defend herself resolutely against the two men who do violence to her, should not one see on that body that is has been exhausted by the struggle, that the muscles contort, that the tendons pop out, the veins swell, the naked flesh contracts, the bones come to the skin on the knees ...? ... But the artist simplified the difficulty. He

Čermák was one of an ever-growing number of foreign artists who sought an artistic homeland in the French capital. However “cosmopolitan” they might be, foreigners were perceived as always retaining “certain particularities” of their home countries. “In matters of art, the [various] nationalities are marked very evidently.”<sup>34</sup> It was easier to forgive Čermák than a French painter for breaking the rules. Furthermore, Čermák could be praised without being in competition with his French colleagues for national prestige. I would argue, however, that it was not out of ignorance that Čermák violated the canon—he must have expected the scandal his *Raid* created. He had studied painting in the Academies of Fine Arts in Prague and Antwerp, subsequently becoming the sole student of well-regarded Belgian history painter Louis Gallait (1810–1887) in Brussels (c. 1848–1851). Regardless of the origins of his rule-breaking, Čermák’s foreignness marked him with difference. His “brutal energy” promised something of paramount importance to many French critics: it promised to reinvigorate the languishing genre of history painting. Exotic makers of images, just like exotic subjects of images, held the potential to revitalize a culture perceived to be over-civilized.

Another reason for the success of Čermák’s *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* was because it tapped into the love of Orientalist imagery that pervaded French taste throughout the nineteenth century. The canvas figured as one of “the sites and scenes of the Orient [that] have become an indispensable ornament at our Exhibitions.”<sup>35</sup> As Léon Lagrange wrote about the 1861 Salon: “The scenes of the customs and landscapes that contemporary art seeks under the sky of the Orient still retain a strange and thrilling flavor,

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simply scraped clean (*ratissé*) the skin of a gold-beater’s parchment (*baudruche*), he painted it with pink and white reanimated (*réchauffée*) with a little ocher.” Merson, *Exposition de 1861*, 154–55.

<sup>34</sup> Théophile Thoré, *Salons de W. Bürger 1861 à 1868 avec une préface par T. Thoré*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie de Ve Jules Renouard, 1870), 59.

<sup>35</sup> Delécluze, “Exposition de 1861,” 2. Cf.: François Beslay, “Salon de 1861,” *Revue d’économie chrétienne* 17 (1861), 506.

although public taste has had time to form since the first attempts of [Antoine–George–Prosper] Marilhat, [Alexandre–Gabriel] Descamps and Mr. [Eugène] Delacroix.”<sup>36</sup>

One signifier that definitively located the Čermák’s painting in the Orient was the consciously chosen first word in his title. Rather than “*enlèvement* (abduction),” Čermák chose “*Razzia*,” a word adopted through France’s colonial contact with the Arab–speaking world that would have immediately registered as exotic: “neologism. Word of Arab origin, used to designate invasions by soldiers on a foreign or enemy territory, in order to seize (*enlever*) cattle, grain, etc. It is used, in the common language, to signify any abduction (*enlèvement*). To make a raid (*razzia*) on a market.”<sup>37</sup> The “*razzia*” of a Herzegovinian woman implied a set of connotations worlds away from Cabanel’s “*Nymphe enlevée*.” Čermák’s Eastern–flavored version of the classical abduction scene is linked to plunder and the perceived cruelty of the Orient.

Visually, Čermák’s *Raid* had a lot in common with other works produced by French Orientalist painters. It has the drama, contrasting skin tones, energetic violence of Eugène Delacroix’s *African Pirates Abducting a Young Woman* (1852) and *Massacre at Chios*, not to mention similar costumes.<sup>38</sup> In the latter, one vignette is strikingly similar to Čermák’s composition: the horseman abducting a fair–skinned woman with one wrist bound with rope. The nude woman struggles with an arched back and arms in the air.

The canvases Čermák would paint after 1861 also looked a lot like the paintings of his French Orientalist counterparts. The appropriation of Orientalist tropes and imagery undeniably

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<sup>36</sup> Lagrange, “Salon de 1861,” 66.

<sup>37</sup> Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, vol. 4 (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1874), 1494, s.v. “*razzia*.”

<sup>38</sup> Eugène Delacroix, *African Pirates Abducting a Young Woman*, oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm., Musée du Louvre, Paris.

locates his *oeuvre* in the universe of Orientalism. Borrowings, copyings, recyclings, revisions and repetitions are precisely part of the institutional and self-perpetuating nature of Orientalism, which has been pointed out by Edward Said in his seminal *Orientalism* (1979).<sup>39</sup> Čermák's *Herzegovinian Girl Giving Water to Horses* (*Jeune fille de l'Herzégovine menant des chevaux à l'abreuvoir*, 1874) is a dead ringer for Delacroix's 'Circassian' *Holding a Horse by its Bridle* (c. 1858) (fig. 1.6).<sup>40</sup> Both feature a lithe young woman dressed in long Oriental dress from head to toe, with exotic headgear, standing beside a white horse positioned in exactly the same way in profile.

The *Bashi–Bazouks* who populate many of Čermák's canvases—fierce in the 1861 *Raid*, but bored and complacent in other works<sup>41</sup>—are familiar characters. A comparison of Čermák's *Captives* (1870) and a painting by the most well-known French Orientalist artist of the day, Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), painted two years earlier, *A Bashi–Bazouk Drinking* (1868), suggests that Čermák copied almost exactly the figure from Gérôme's painting for his composition in mirror image.<sup>42</sup> Certain visual artifacts featured in the Bohemian artist's works were part of an established body of Orientalist knowledge, already firmly “fixed” upon the stage

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<sup>39</sup> See especially the chapter “Orientalist Structures and Restructures,” in: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). Čermák also recycled motifs, figure and models liberally within his own oeuvre, a fact that some critics picked up on. See, for example: Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne, “Salon de 1874,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1, 1874, 678.

<sup>40</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Herzegovinian Girl Giving Water to Horses* (*Jeune fille de l'Herzégovine menant des chevaux à l'abreuvoir*), 1874, oil on canvas, 104 x 85 cm. Whereabouts unknown; Eugène Delacroix, 'Circassian' *Holding a Horse by its Bridle*, c. 1858, oil on canvas, 32.4 x 40.6 cm. Tokyo Fuji Art Museum, Tokyo.

<sup>41</sup> The vice of idleness, embodied by the figures of the guards in Čermák's paintings, was commonly held by Westerners to be a manifestation of the decadence of Oriental societies. See: Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” in her: *The Politics of Vision* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 39.

<sup>42</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Captives*, 1870, oil on canvas, 162 x 116 cm. National Gallery, Prague; Jean-Léon Gérôme, *A Bashi–Bazouk Drinking*, 1868, oil on canvas, 40.5 x 30 cm., lost.

On Gérôme, see: Gerald Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme with a Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Sotheby's Publications, 1986); and Laurence des Cars, ed., *The Spectacular art of Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1824–1904* (Milano: Skira, 2011) an exhibition catalogue.

of painting.<sup>43</sup> The Balkan particularizations were, however, still generally “unexpected” and “completely new” and therefore held an added attraction for viewers.<sup>44</sup>

Goupil, who sold and publicized many of Čermák’s paintings, printed a high-quality photo engraving of the *Raid* after the closing of the Salon on October 1, 1861. He changed the title to *Episode from the Massacres in Syria. Herzegovina – 1860* (*Épisode des massacres de Syrie. Herzégovine – 1860* (fig. I.7)).<sup>45</sup> The modification of the geographical designation and the addition of a precise temporal moment were not slippages, but rather the well calculated moves of a master publicist. Goupil astutely sensed that the French public would recognize Syria more readily than Herzegovina—and judged that the public’s knowledge of Herzegovina’s location in the Ottoman Orient was likely quite hazy. The Balkans and Levant were interchangeable. The transformation of “Herzegovina (Turkey)” into the nonsensical “Syria. Herzegovina” in the year 1860 immediately linked Čermák’s image to the Druze–Maronite conflict in then–Ottoman Syria. Most notoriously, there had been a terrible massacre in Damascus in July of 1860.<sup>46</sup> The conflict had received wide visibility in the press. France ended up intervening on behalf of the Christians. Napoleon III negotiated a treaty with the Ottoman Porte to send European troops, half

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<sup>43</sup> Said describes the West’s construction of the Orient as a “closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe.” The Orient was a “stage on which the whole East is confined.” See his: *Orientalism*. 63.

<sup>44</sup> Charles Clément described the artist’s “strange types, severe, unexpected and of a somewhat savage grace, but so alluring and so striking... and finally his costumes, his attire, so picturesque and completely new for us.” See his: “Exposition Universelle. – Beaux–Arts,” *Journal des débats*, May 2, 1878, 2. He had made similar points five years earlier in his, “Feuilleton du Journal des Débats du 28 Mai 1873. Exposition de 1873,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, May 28, 1873, 2.

<sup>45</sup> A copy of the print is preserved at the BnF (Richelieu, Department of Prints and Photographs) in the file: CA19E–1 (CZERMAK, Jaroslav) –FOL.

Goupil’s new title stuck with the painting when it crossed the Atlantic and came into the American collection of Theodore A. Havemeyer, as documented in Strahan’s [Shinn], *The Art Treasures of America*, 135–36, and n.p. See: Lisa Small Small, *Telling Tales II: Religious Images in Nineteenth–Century Academic Art* (New York: Dahesh Museum of Art, 2001), 41–42.

<sup>46</sup> Christian Maronite peasants rebelled against their Druze overlords, and the Druze retaliated with massacres and the destruction of churches and villages.

of which were French, to reestablish order.<sup>47</sup> Emile Lafon had a much-reviewed canvas at the same Salon of 1861, depicting doomed Christians taking refuge inside a church, that cashed in on the high profile of the terrible current events: the *Massacres of Syria* (*Massacres de Syrie*).<sup>48</sup> Several critics, in fact, had connected Lafon and Čermák’s dreadful scenes of carnage.<sup>49</sup> One critic even erroneously identified the *Bashi–Bazouks* in the *Raid* as dark-skinned Druzes.<sup>50</sup> Goupil’s insertion of the word “massacre” into the new title of Čermák’s *Raid* linked the work to both Lafon’s composition and also Delacroix’s famous *Massacre at Chios*.

Nadar authored a caricature that posited the Bohemian artist’s work as a scene from the Syrian conflict (fig 1.7). “A Druze excited by Mr. Čermák had the indelicacy to bite the belly of a Maronite (*Un Druze excité par M. Cermak a l’indélicatesse de mordre le ventre d’une Maronite.*)”<sup>51</sup> Nadar placed his caricature next to a comical rendition of André Charles Voillemot’s (1833–1893) *Springtime Nymph* (*Nymph du printemps*), probably picking up on Henri Delaborde’s review of the Salon, which contrasted the two works, finding Voillemot outmodedly conventional and Čermák striving too hard to be original.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> See, for example: P. Gérardy–Saintine, “Damas. – Les Chrétiens. – Les Massacres, etc.,” *Musée des familles* 27, no. 12 (September 1860): 379; Pitre–Chevalier, “Le Liban et la Syrie, Le Pays et la population,” *Musée des familles* 28, no. 1 (October 1860): 25–32; and idem, “Nouveaux détails sur la Syrie,” *Musée des familles* 28, no. 4 (January 1860): 125–27.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example: François Beslay, “Salon de 1861,” *Revue d’économie chrétienne* 17 (1861), 502; Camp, *Le Salon 1861*, 63; nval, *Salon de 1861*, 50; Laveragner, “Beaux–Arts. Exposition de 1861,” *Le Monde*, 1; Olivier Merson, *Exposition de 1861. La Peinture en France* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1861), 150; Dubose de Pesquidoux, “Beaux–Arts. Salon de 1861. 8e article,” *L’Union*, July 1, 1861, 2; and P. Santive, “Salon de 1861,” *Messenger des theaters et des arts: edition hebdomadaire* no. 46, June 13, 1861, 2.

M. Omer Charlet also exhibited a Syrian-themed canvas at the 1861 Salon: *La Syrie chrétienne en 1860. – Victime de toutes les cruautés, de tous les outrages, la Syrie tressaille à l’arrivée de l’armée française.*

<sup>49</sup> See, for example: Camp, *Le Salon 1861*, 63–64; and Laveragner, “Beaux–Arts. Exposition de 1861,” *Le Monde*, 1–2.

<sup>50</sup> Anon., “Salon d’Anvers,” *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature, peinture, sculpture, gravure, architecture, musique, archeology, bibliographie, belle-lettres, etc.* 3, no. 17, September 15, 1861, 136.

<sup>51</sup> Nadar et Darjou. “Nadar Jury su Salon de 1861.” *Le Journal amusant*, no. 286, June 22, 1861, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Henri Delaborde, “Le Salon de 1861,” *Revue des deux Mondes*, June 15, 1861, 883–84.

Where exactly was the mysterious Oriental land of Herzegovina located? Who were the people that inhabited it? Herzegovina was situated in the Western Balkans, populated in large part, by people who spoke various related South Slavic dialect. Since the fifteenth century, Herzegovina had been a *sanjak* in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>53</sup> French audiences might have seen some of the earliest images of the broader region in the Western Balkans—which came to be known as the Slavic South by the latter part of the nineteenth century—its people, traditional dress, customs and landscapes in Abbé Alberto Fortis’s (1741–1803) sensational *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774).<sup>54</sup> Typical “morlaque” costumes of the inhabitants of Austrian Istria were illustrated in Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur and Sylvain Maréchal’s *Costumes Civils actuels de tous les Peuples connus* (1788).<sup>55</sup> In the early nineteenth century, France briefly possessed coastal parts of the Western Balkans and some hinterland as the Illyrian Provinces seized by Napoleon I (1809–1815). Texts and images that studied the habits, costumes and physiognomy of the people of the Dalmatian coast and mountainous interior of Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia and Croatia, began to trickle back to Paris. The inhabitants were called Illyrians, Slavs or Morlaques—designations and their spellings were still very much in flux, an indication of how new and strange everything about the Balkans were to the French in the early part of the nineteenth century. Ethnographic types were found in Balthasar Hacquet’s, *L’Illyrie et la Dalmatie ou moeurs, usages et costumes de leurs hanitans et de ceux des contrées voisines* (1815).<sup>56</sup> *Voyage Historique et Politique au Monténégro* (1820), a travelogue authored by Vialla

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<sup>53</sup> “In the former Turkish Empire, one of the administrative districts into which an *eyalet* or *vilayet* was divided.” Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition (1989), s.v. “*sanjak*.”

<sup>54</sup> Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Venezia: Presso Alvise Milocco, 1774).

<sup>55</sup> Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur and Sylvain Maréchal, *Costumes Civils actuels de tous les Peuples connus*, vol. 2 (Paris: Pavard, 1788).

<sup>56</sup> Balthasar Hacquet, Trans. Jean Baptiste Joseph Breton de La Martinière, *L’Illyrie et la Dalmatie ou moeurs, usages et costumes de leurs hanitans et de ceux des contrées voisines*, 2 vols. (Paris, Nepveu, 1815).

de Sommières (1764–1849), a French officer who spent six years as governor in Kotor (today in Montenegro) during the French occupation of the Illyrian Provinces, featured several illustrations that gave readers a picture of what this largely unknown part of the Balkans looked like (fig. 1.8).<sup>57</sup> Keen French interest in the region continued as the Eastern Question—the gradual dismantling of the Ottoman Empire and the struggle for power in the void left behind—became a major geopolitical concern in Europe.

Entertaining fictions inspired by knowledge of the Western Balkans also began to appear in the French capital. Gérard de Nerval's (Gérard Labrunie, 1808–1855) *Les Monténégrins*, an opera-comique set to music by Armand Limnander (1814–1892) was first performed in 1849.<sup>58</sup> Nerval drew heavily from his friend, Prosper Mérimée's (1803–1870), *The Guzla, or a Selection of Illyrian Poems Collected in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegovina* (1827).<sup>59</sup> The book was a literary hoax.<sup>60</sup> The twenty-three-year-old Mérimée, masquerading as an anonymous translator and commentator, presented the book as a collection of folk songs recorded from a made-up *guslar* from the hinterland of Dalmatia named Hyacinthe Maglanovich. Maglanovich was depicted as an older man with enormous white whiskers, sitting cross-legged and playing the one-stringed *gusle* on the frontispiece of the book (fig. 1.9). The one and only authentic

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<sup>57</sup> Le Colonel L. C. Violla de Sommieres, *Voyage Historique et Politique au Monténégro*, 2 vols. (Paris: Alexis Eymery, Libraire, 1820).

<sup>58</sup> See: Michel Brix and Jean-Claude Yon, *Nerval et l'opéra-comique: Le dossier des Monténégrins* (Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 2009). Contemporary reviews are found in "Appendix II: *Les Monténégrins* et la press," 215–44.

<sup>59</sup> [Prosper Mérimée], *La Guzla, ou Choix de poesies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, La Croatie et l'Hertzegowine* (Paris, F.G. Levrault, 1827).

<sup>60</sup> See: Voyslav M. Yovanovitch [Vojislav Mate Jovanović], "*La guzla*" de Prosper Mérimée: *les origines du livre, ses sources, sa fortune; étude d'histoire romantique* (Grenoble, Allier frères, 1910); and Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, 226.

ballad in the book was the “Mourning Song of the Noble Wife of Hasan Aga (*Triste ballade de la noble épouse d’Asan–Aga*),” lifted in translation from Fortis’s *Voyage in Dalmatia*.<sup>61</sup>

Théophile Gautier (1811–1872) wrote two ballets situated in East Central Europe: *Giselle, or The Wilis* (*Giselle, ou les Wilis*, 1841) and *Yanko the Bandit: a Ballet–Pantomime in Two Acts* (*Yanko le bandit: Ballet–pantomime en deux actes*, 1858). *Giselle*, set in Austrian Silesia, was inspired by the myth of the *Wilis*, or *Vilas*, Slavic spirits Gautier had read about in Heinrich Heine’s *De l’Allemagne* (1835).<sup>62</sup> The colorful costumes and place names in *Yanko the Bandit*, set somewhere in the Danube basin, were inspired by the ethnographic images of a French artist he championed repeatedly in the press: Théodore Valerio (1819–1879),<sup>63</sup> whom he dubbed the “Christopher Columbus of the Danube Provinces.”<sup>64</sup> Gautier was attracted to the watercolors and etchings from Valerio’s suites “*Souvenirs de la monarchie autrichienne* (1854–64)” and “*Les Populations des Provinces Danubiennes en 1854* (1855),” the second of which had been commissioned by the Ministry of Education (*Ministère de l’Instruction*) for “art and science” and purchased for the *École des Beaux–Arts* by the State following their exhibition at

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<sup>61</sup> “*Xalostna pjesanza plemenite Asan–Aghinize / Canzone dolente della nobile sposa d’Asan Aga*” in: Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, vol. 1, 98–105.

<sup>62</sup> In Slavonic mythology: a fairy, a nymph, a spirit. *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, 1989, s.v. “*vila*.” Heinrich Heine wrote: “There exists in a part of Austria a tradition . . . of nocturnal dancing known in Slavic countries under the name of *Wili*. The *Wilis* are affianced maidens who have died before their wedding–day.” See his: *De l’Allemagne*, vol. 2 (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1855), 60. In Gautier’s ballet, a peasant girl named Giselle dies of heart failure after finding out her lover is betrothed to another. Seductive and deadly as mermaids, the *Wilis*, female spirits who dance men to death, summon Giselle from her grave.

See: Cecile Nebel, “Gautier and the Wilis,” *Dalhousie French Studies* 39/40 (Summer/Fall 1997): 89–99.

<sup>63</sup> See: Claudine Lacoste–Veyseyre, Helene Claverie and Sarah Mombert, eds., *Théophile Gautier, Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur, 2003), 892, fn. 13. A contemporary review of *Yanko the Bandit* is: A. de Rovray, “Revue musicale,” *Le Moniteur universel* no. 115, April 25, 1858, 517.

<sup>64</sup> “. . . he did not discover them geographically, they exist on the map . . . but one can say he is the first artist to have visited them in detail.” See Gautier’s: “Feuilleton du 11 juin 1859,” *Moniteur universel* reprinted with annotations in Wolfgang Drost and Ulrike Henniges *Théophile Gautier: Exposition de 1859* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1992), 52.

Valerio was a student of the military painter Nicholas–Toussaint Charlet (1792–1845). An excellent in–depth contemporary biography of the artist and his extensive travels in what we today call Eastern Europe is: P.–C. Parent, “Oeuvres et voyages de M. Théodore Valério,” *Le Courrier artistique*, no. 11 (August 14, 1864): 43–44; no. 13 (August 28, 1864): 49–50; and no. 14 (September 4, 1864): 53–54. See the section 6 in the Bibliography for sources on Valerio.

the World's Fair in Paris of 1855 (fig. 1.10).<sup>65</sup> Beginning in 1851, Valerio was exploring firsthand the zones of contact between the Austrian, Turkish and Russian Empires including Hungary and the Slavic South: Croatia, Slavonia, the Military Frontier and Bosnia. He traveled to Dalmatia and Montenegro in 1863 publishing two more suites of etchings and executing some oil paintings, causing P.–C. Parent, like Gautier before him, to comment on the novelty of his enterprise: “Mr. Valerio ... has given Montenegro to French art, as [Prosper] Marilhat gave the Orient to it [French art].”<sup>66</sup> Valerio's decidedly ethnographic images, which became inextricably bound up with the staple scenes of travelogues on the region, seems to have been the first to picture the South Slavs in the high art context of the Paris Salon. He exhibited over thirty pictures with South Slavic subjects from 1855 to 1878 (see appendix 4).

The Slavic and Slavophilic painter Jaroslav Čermák was just a few years behind Valerio in claiming the South Slavs as a novel subject. The visual overlap of the two artists is most dramatically evident in the shared motif of a woman with a rifle watching over a resting infant and adult(s) in a recessed space: Čermák's *The Outlaw's Wife* (*Žena psancova*, 1860)<sup>67</sup> and Valerio's 1864 etching *Female Weapons Guard at the Entrance of the Cetinje Monastery*

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<sup>65</sup> Christine Peltre, “Gypsy heart: Ethnographical watercolours made by Théodore Valerio in the 19th century of the lords of the Danube.” *FMR: The Magazine of Franco Maria Ricci* no. 52 (October 1991), esp. 92 and 94.

See Gautier's reviews of both suites: “Album ethnographique de la monarchie autrichienne,” *Le Moniteur universel*, no. 70, March 11, 1854, 277, and no. 77, March 18, 1854, 305; and “Variétés: Album ethnographique de M. Théodore Valerio. Les populations de provinces danubiennes en 1854,” *Le moniteur universel*, no. 127, May 7, 1855, 503–504.

<sup>66</sup> P.–C. Parent, “Lettres d'un simple littérateur sur le Salon de peinture de 1864. VIII,” *Le Courrier artistique* 4, no. 4, June 26, 1864, 13.

<sup>67</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *The Outlaw's Wife* (*Žena psancova*), 1860, oil on canvas, 77 x 95 cm. National Gallery, Prague (inv. no. O 5196). There is also a beautiful watercolor sketch of the bust of the woman in the collection of the National Gallery in Prague: Jaroslav Čermák, *Montenegrin Woman—Portrait study of the Outlaw's Wife*, watercolor on paper, 33.5 x 25 cm (inv. no. K 1462). Many thanks to Kristýna Brozova for sharing this information.

(*Gardeuse d'armes à l'entrée du monastère de Cettigne*, 1864) (figs. 1.11 and 1.12).<sup>68</sup> But while Valerio was an artist–ethnographer, Čermák was a painter’s painter with ethnographic appeal.

The primary difference between Jaroslav Čermák and his French counterparts lies in the arena of motivation. That difference is not necessarily visual. The artist from Prague appropriated the Academic conventions, Orientalist idioms and ethnographic motifs of his predecessors and contemporaries with a romantic and nationalist agenda. Čermák’s images were no less essentialized and formulaic than those by French artists, but in the Slavic world, he was, and still is, celebrated as a patriot. His self–declared aim was to foster Pan–Slavic solidarity and strive for the independence of all the Slavs living under foreign domination, including his fellow Czechs within the Habsburg Empire. Though French audiences would pick up on the stereotypical characteristics of the people depicted (i.e. archaism, bravery, noble suffering), they were largely uninterested in the political aspirations the Slavs invested these paintings with.

Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the South Slavs attained visually recognizable form as a people through the conventions of conservative French painting belonging broadly to the academic tradition. They entered into history through history painting. This people, “new” to the French, were “new” to themselves in a sense. The South Slavs were in the process of becoming in their nineteenth–century permutation. As identities shifted, morphed, melded, broke apart and were contested, various parties projected their desires into pictures by Čermák and others to imagine the kind of national body and national art they hoped would emerge at some future time when the South Slavs freed themselves from the Ottoman and Austro–Hungarian Empires. This dissertation aims to tell that story.

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<sup>68</sup> Valerio executed a version of the composition as an oil painting, exhibited at the Salon of 1868 as *Gardeuse d'armes, de pipes et se berceaux à l'entrée du monastère de Cettigne (Monténégro)*.

## 1. THE ROUGH–ROCK THRONE OF FREEDOM<sup>69</sup>

I have never seen that country  
[Montenegro], but I am sure that Mr.  
Čermák has represented it with extreme  
veracity.<sup>70</sup>

At the Salon of 1861, Čermák's *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* was widely perceived to be the debut of the thirty–year old “Bohemian” painter, as the press loved to note (figs. I.7 and I.13).<sup>71</sup> As Théophile Gautier put it “this exhibition is ... the debut of Mr. Jaroslaw [sic] Čermák. From his first attempt, [*du premier coup*] he knew how to stand out from the crowd, and make himself seen amidst that immense rabble of paintings.”<sup>72</sup> It was one of the most commented–on paintings of the 1861 Salon, whose daring character won Čermák a medal for history painting.<sup>73</sup>

Čermák had, however, in fact, been living in Paris since 1851 and had exhibited twice before at the Salon.<sup>74</sup> In 1853 and 1855, he submitted historical compositions drawn from his Czech homeland: the *Old Age of Lomnický–z–Budče (Vieillesse de Lomnický–z–Budce)* set on the Charles Bridge in Prague and the *Propagation of the Catholic Faith in Bohemia (Propagation de la foi catholique en Bohême)*.<sup>75</sup> Independently wealthy, and born into a patriotic

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<sup>69</sup> From Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem “Montenegro,” in: *Ballads and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1888), 183.

<sup>70</sup> Charles Clément, “Feuilleton du Journal des Debats du 28 Mai 1873. Exposition de 1873,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, May 28, 1873, 2.

<sup>71</sup> The one exception is Du Pays, who wrote: “[Čermák] ... already attracted attention at previous exhibitions with interesting works that had a foreign flavor [*une saveur étrangère*].” See his: “Salon de 1861,” *L'Illustration*, 362.

<sup>72</sup> Gautier, *Abécédaire du Salon de 1861*, 101. See also: Banville, “Le Salon de 1861,” *Revue fantaisiste*, 228: “Mr. Čermák, a debutant in our parts (*chez nous*);” [Edmond] Jacques [Bazire], “Salon de 1861,” *L'Univers Illustré* no. 161, June 13, 1861, 222: “He is just debuting, but he debuts with great success. Who has not seen his *Raid of Bashi–Bazouks?*”; and Edouard Gerney, “Salon de 1861,” *Le Moniteur de la mode*, no. 3 in June (1861): 133: “Mr. Jaroslaw [sic] Čermák, a new name for us at least, has made himself known at his first attempt [*du premier coup*] with a masterful composition, *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)*.”

<sup>73</sup> For a comprehensive list of 1861 Salon reviews, see section 3 in the Bibliography of this dissertation.

<sup>74</sup> Čermák also exhibited regularly at the Salons of Anvers, Brussels and Gand in Belgium throughout his career.

<sup>75</sup> *The Old Age of Lomnický–z–Budče (Šimon Lomnický zebra na pražském mostě)*, 1853, oil on canvas, 92 x 120 cm. National Gallery, Prague. *The Propagation of the Catholic Faith in Bohemia (Po bitvě na Bílé Hoře (Protireformace) or Šíření katolické víry v Čechách)*, oil on canvas, 135 x 190 cm. National Gallery, Prague. *The*

family in Prague, Čermák, by all accounts, believed his painterly craft should be put to use in the service of nation.<sup>76</sup> His submissions to the Salons of 1853 and 1855 seem, however, to have barely registered as blips on the radar screen of French criticism. He redirected his painterly gaze to what he perceived to be an essential Slavic homeland. Setting out for the Balkans in 1858, he found a new, romantic subject that would bring him success until his untimely death in 1878: the South Slavs.

Writing to his friend, fellow Czech painter Soběslav Pinkas (1827–1901), Čermák declared his voyage to be a “pilgrimage” to “bright light and stronger colors” of the “Slavic Orient, [a] land of a heroic and epic glory.”<sup>77</sup> The preoccupation with light and color cannot help but recall the obsessions of many a French Orientalist painter, but here we have a peculiar strand of Orientalism motivated by radical Slavophilism, in which Southeastern Europe represents an uncorrupted, uncolonized, version of the Slavic self.<sup>78</sup> Čermák was enthralled by the same spell of idealization as Ludvík Ritter von Rittersberg in his “Ideas on Slavic Painting (*Myšlenky o slowanském malířství*, 1848),” which posited that the South Slavs, due to their proximity to Greece, offered the Slavs a chance to claim their own particularly ethnic version of classical antiquity. Rittersberg recommended that Slavic painters depict “noble” South Slavic subjects—the “vigorous Illyrians”—who, different from other Slavs who had been spoiled by “European

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*Propagation of the Catholic Faith in Bohemia* was exhibited as part of the Belgian pavilion at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. It had been exhibited in Brussels the year before. See: *Exposition générale des beaux-arts 1854: Catalogue explicatif* (Brussels: G. Stapleaux, 1854), 33.

<sup>76</sup> Markéta Theinhardt, “Jaroslav Čermák, un peintre tchèque entre Paris et les Balkans,” *Cultures d’Europe Centrale* no. 3, *Le Voyage dans les confins* (2003): 50.

<sup>77</sup> Letter from Čermák to Pinkas, in: František Xaver Jiřík, *Soběslav Pinkas* (Prague: Jan Štenc, 1925), cited in: Theinhardt, “Jaroslav Čermák, un peintre tchèque entre Paris et les Balkans,” 52–53.

<sup>78</sup> On the idealized attraction the perceived archaic South Slavs held for Czechs in the nineteenth century, see: Miroslav Válka, “The Reflection of the South Slav in Czech Social Magazines of the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century as a Source of Study of the Formation of Ethnic Images,” *Český lid: Etnologický časopis* 98, no. 3 (2011): 307–25.

civilization” still “conserved the costume of their forefathers.”<sup>79</sup> Influenced by a famous “Report on Montenegro and Montenegrins” (1850) authored by his friend, doctor and biologist, Vilém Dušan Lambl (1824–1895,<sup>80</sup> he planned to venture from coastal Dalmatia to the mountainous hinterland of Montenegro, a tiny country widely admired by all Slavdom for having fiercely protected its independence from the many empires that sought to engulf it over the centuries: Ottoman, Venetian, Austrian. Accordingly, the images Čermák would paint of the Orthodox Christian people of Montenegro, dubbed the “Sparta” of the Slavic South for the stark existence they led in a state of perpetual war, depicted an idealized highland with an epic air.

During his 1858 trip, Čermák was prevented from visiting the Land of the Black Mountain by heavy snow that made the narrow serpentine roads impassable. He travelled through parts of Croatia and Dalmatia, probably made an excursion into Herzegovina, and stayed longest in Dubrovnik where he made friends—radical Slavophiles dedicated to the cause of a united Slavic South—with whom he would continue to socialize in Paris and when he returned to the Balkans four years later. The spiky agave plant at right in his 1861 *Raid*—a Central American import that grows all over coastal Dalmatia, ubiquitous in typical depictions of Mexico—is the one detail in the composition that attests he had truly been in the region.

During his second trip to the Balkans (1862–1865), Čermák rented a large house in the picturesque village of Mandaljena just south of Dubrovnik, and spent a few memorable months in Montenegro in 1862. During that thrilling visit, Prince Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (1841–1921) showed Čermák a truly good time: he brought him to battle-fronts with the Ottomans and gave

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<sup>79</sup> Ludvík Ritter von Rittersberg, “*Myšlenky o slowanském malířství*,” *Květy a plody* 12, no. 3 (1848): 57–64, no. 4 (1848): 85–93, no. 6 (1848): 137–146. Quotes taken from Theinhard, “Jaroslav Čermák, un peintre tchèque entre Paris et les Balkans,” 48.

<sup>80</sup> Vilém Dušan Lambl, “Zpráva o Černé Hoře a Černohorcích,” *Časopis českého musea* IV (1850): 512–39. On Lambl’s trip to Dalmatia and Montenegro, see: František Šístek, “*Drugi o nama: Odnosi čeških zemalja s Crnom Gorom*,” *Matica crnogorska* (Spring 2011): 172–73.

him native costume to dress up in. Čermák sent three portraits of the Montenegrin royal family back to Paris for the Salon of 1863, a publicity–generating move that surely pleased the highland monarch.<sup>81</sup>

Following his sojourn in the Slavic South, Čermák traveled in Italy from 1865 to 1867. He submitted work to the Salon again in 1868. It was an enormous, more demure, canvas that continued the theme of South Slavic distress at the hands of the *Bashi–Bazouks* in Herzegovina: *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople to be Sold There* (*Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l’Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues*, 1868) (figs. 1.2 and 1.14).<sup>82</sup> The 1868 work depicted what might have been the next episode in the sad fate of the woman begin dragged from her home in the *Raid*. Does the *Bashi–Bazouk* at lower right resemble Théophile Gautier?<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> These were: *Portrait of Her Highness, the Princess Darinka, Widow of Danilo I, Prince of Montenegro* (*Portrait de S. A. la princesse Darinka, veuve de Danilo Ier, prince du Monténégro*), 1862, oil on canvas, 82 x 61 cm.; *Portrait of Her Highness, the Princess Milena, Wife of Nikola I, Prince of Montenegro* (*Portrait de S. A. la princesse Milena, épouse de Nicolas Ier, prince du Monténégro*), 1862, oil on canvas, 85.5 x 64.5 cm.; *Portrait of Mirko Petrović, Grand Vojvoda General–in–Chief of the Montenegrin Army* (*Portrait de Mirko–Petrovich, grand voïvode et général en chef de l’armée du Monténégro*), 1862, oil on canvas, 108.3 x 90 cm. All three paintings are in the collection of the Museum of the Palace of King Nikola, Cetinje, Montenegro.

Parisian critics took little note of the portraits. An Orthodox Christian from Bosnia, Dmitri Stephanowitch, who took on the *nom de plume* of J. Girard de Rialle, was the only critic to write about the portraits at any length: “Mr. Čermák ... continues to seek his subjects in the Slavic South. This year he has sent three portraits: two of them merit to be counted among history paintings ... I regret however, that Mr. Čermák, a man of great talent, only presented portraits this year. A scene of the struggle between the Montenegrins and the Turk would have enjoyed the greatest success.” See his: *A travers le Salon de 1863* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1863), 57.

The portraits were forwarded on to the Salon in Brussels in the Autumn of 1863, where they were exhibited along with one more canvas, *The Mirror* (*Le Miroir*) which Ch. Brun interpreted as simultaneously a “Montenegrin” and “Vlach” subject. See his: “Exposition belge,” *Le Courrier artistique* 3, no. 13, September 13, 1863, 50. The actual title was: *The Mirror; Slovak Interior* (*Le miroir; intérieur slovaque*). See: *Exposition générale des beaux–arts 1863: Catalogue explicatif* (Brussels: Charles Lelong, 1863), 35.

<sup>82</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold* (*Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l’Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues*), 1868, oil on canvas, 240 x 394 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Belgium.

<sup>83</sup> Čermák invited Gautier to his studio in the spring of 1868 to give him advice on his new “large painting that he brought back from my long trips in Turkey (*un grand tableau que je rapporte de mes longs voyages en Turquie*)” before its exhibition at the Salon. See letter dating March 1868 from Čermák to Gautier reproduced in: Claudine

The South Slavic-themed works Čermák painted were influenced more by his romantic pan-Slavism, combined with an inculcation of the conventions of Academic and Orientalist painting, than his first-hand experience of the region. Čermák depicted Montenegrin subjects before he actually saw Montenegro in 1862, as we have seen with the example of his *Outlaw's Wife* (1860). Čermák exhibited his *Montenegrin Woman and her Infant (Femme monténégrine et son enfant)* in the Goupil Gallery, and the Brussels Salon of 1860.<sup>84</sup> The work garnered a full-page reproduction in *Le Monde illustré* (fig. 1.15).<sup>85</sup> The charming painting has a Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic. It features a beautiful, melancholy woman dressed in elaborate national costume sitting by an open window with a sleeping babe slumped at her side and a bird perched on her finger. On the wall behind her hangs a sabre, reminding us that she is always ready to fight to enjoy motherhood and tenuous freedom. The image was reprinted on the front page of *Le Journal illustré* five years later to illustrate the nature of the Montenegrins who had been so much in the news lately: “that heroic people (*peuplade*), energetic barrier against the Turks, highland warrior

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Lacoste-Veysseyre, ed., *Théophile Gautier: Correspondance générale 1868–1869*, vol. 10 (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1996), 98–99.

<sup>84</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Montenegrin Woman and her Infant (Femme monténégrine et son enfant)*, 1859, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. See: *Exposition générale des beaux-arts 1863: Catalogue explicatif* (Brussels: Charles Lelong, 1860), 32: “*Monténégrine et son enfant*.” A watercolor (23 x 29.9 cm.) dated 1859 is conserved in the Amsterdam Museum as *A Croatian Woman with Child (Een Croaatsche vrouw met kind)*.

Reviews include: A. J. D., “Galerie de tableaux de la Maison Goupil et comp., éditeurs d’estampes,” *L’Illustration, Journal universel* 35, no. 889, March 10, 1860, 156; and E. Saglio, “Exposition de tableaux modernes dans la Galerie Goupil.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* tome 7, no. 1, July 1, 1860, 51.

Émile Perrin, while wrong about 1861 being Čermák’s first time at the Salon, was alone in connecting the Bohemian artist with work that had been shown in the Goupil Gallery: “Mr. Jaroslav [sic] Čermák appears for the first time in French exhibition, it is not, however, a completely new name, because he has already made himself known through certain productions noticed in the gallery of Mr. Goupil and welcomed with favor by other painting merchants.” See his: “Salon de 1861,” *Revue Européenne*, 585.

In addition to *Montenegrin Woman with her Baby (Femme monténégrine et son enfant)*, Čermák also exhibited *The Goat (la Chèvre)* at the Goupil Gallery in 1860, and sold a painting entitled *Peasant Woman from Montenegro (Paysanne du Monténégro, 1859)* in March of 1860. Presumably it too had been on display in the Gallery. See the entries in Stockbook 1 of Goupil & Cie., pages 102, 107 and 112, Getty Research Institute: <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/goupil/servlet.starweb?path=goupil/goupil.web> (last accessed February 18, 2015).

<sup>85</sup> Leo de Bernard, “Exposition de Bruxelles. – Femme monténégrine et son enfant. Tableau de M. Jaroslav–Cermak, appartenant à la galerie de MM. Goupil et Cie,” *Supplément au journal le Monde illustré* no. 179, September 15, 1860, 185.

tribe who have long held in check the Osmanlis, ... is one of those rare small peoples who have still preserved, despite being placed amidst devouring Powers, their ancient independence.”<sup>86</sup>

Thirteen years later, at the Salon of 1873, Čermák would exhibit a masterful apotheosis to the Montenegrin freedom fighters: *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé*) (fig. I.3).<sup>87</sup> In this picture, Montenegrin mothers are shown actively engaged in battle.

Joining the *Raid* at the Salon of 1861 was the *Study of a Slavic Rayah (Herzegovina)* (*Étude de raïa slave (Herzégovine)*), in actuality a portrait of Dušan Lambl (figs. 1.16 and 1.2).<sup>88</sup> The handles of the pistol and sabre of the Christian *Rayah*,<sup>89</sup> perhaps setting out to avenge or rescue his abducted compatriot from the *Raid*, peek out of his voluminous red cloak.<sup>90</sup> Visitors to

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<sup>86</sup> H. de Hem., “Femme monténégrine et son enfant,” *Le Journal illustré* 2, no. 55, February 26, 1865, 1.

<sup>87</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé*) [*The Wounded Montenegrin (Ranjeni crnogorac)*], 1873, oil on canvas, 226 x 114 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb.

<sup>88</sup> Whereabouts unknown. A watercolor sketch is in the collection of the Prague City Gallery, Prague.

The identity of the model is widely known in Czech and South Slavic literature. Among French critics of the time, Léon Lagrange seems to be alone in knowing the *Rayah* was a portrait of the artist’s friend, and not based on an authentic eye-witness account. See his: “Salon de 1861,” 68.

The graphic reproduction of the painting with an article about the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey-in-Europe endows Čermák’s image with ethnographic veracity: Anon., “Un raïa slave (Herzégovine),” *Magazine pittoresque* tome 30, January 1862, 17–19.

Galletti made a caricature of the work. See: “Cermak. Jud...” in: Galletti, *Salon de 1861: Album caricatural* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1861), plate 17.

The same red hooded cloak, sabre and pistol seem to have been used as props in Louis Gallait’s painting *Sentinel, The Croat*, 1854, oil on canvas, 166 x 109 cm. Museum of the Academy of the Arts, Petrograd. The date of this work seems to indicate the costume and weapons were acquired prior to Čermák’s first trip to the Balkans.

<sup>89</sup> *Rayah* (also *raia*, *raya*, *raiah*, and *rajah*): “A subject of the Ottoman Empire (esp. a non-Muslim) who is not a member of the ruling class, and is therefore liable to pay a poll tax.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, draft revision 2009, s.v. “rayah.”

<sup>90</sup> The distinctive red hooded cloak reminds one more of the *Saressaner (Serežani)*—irregular Habsburg military police in the Croatian Military Frontier who wore folk costume rather than uniform—than Herzegovinian dress. See: David Hollins, *Austrian Frontier Troops, 1740–98* (Oxford, Osprey Publishing, 2005), 34–35.

the Salon also saw *Young Peasant Woman and her Infant (Croatia) (Jeune paysanne avec son enfant (Croatie))*, 1860) (figs. 1.17, 1.18 and 1.2).<sup>91</sup> The young Croatian mother and her baby are a stark contrast to the *Raid*:

The other picture: *Young Peasant with her Infant*, is as calm as the other is tormented: a woman and baby surrounded by flowers amidst greenery, a simple and completely graceful scene that we prefer to the uproar of the first.<sup>92</sup>

Peaceful and idyllic, golden fields of wheat symbolizing fertility and the classical capitals of the arbor behind her hinting at the ancientness and Classical inheritance of the Balkans, *Young Peasant with her Infant* is the picture of how the life of the abducted Herzegovinian woman, whose infant and husband were ruthlessly slain, should have been. The two women even resemble each other physically.

Thus, at the opening of the 1861 Salon, the pictorial nucleus of Čermák's South Slavic universe was already fully-formed. Over the course of his career, he would tell the same story over and over, a story that often centered upon mothers—allegories of the ability of nations to reproduce and therefore project themselves into the future. To create these essentialized narratives, Čermák adopted the sweet, slumping infants and young children of his Belgian

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<sup>91</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Young Peasant Woman and her Infant (Croatia) (Jeune paysanne avec son enfant (Croatie))*, 1860, oil on canvas, 140 x 97 cm. Private collection. The Salon painting resurfaced after many years at the Vltavín Auction Hall, Prague, on May 6, 2012 (lot 00022).

The photoengraving by Bingham, published by the Galerie Durand-Ruel on November 17, 1860, is entitled *The Young Mother (La Jeune Mère)*. An engraved version of the composition with a different background (the same landscape minus the pergola), based on an oil painting, entitled *Montenegrin Woman (La Monténégrine)* was engraved by Jos. Bal and published by Ch. Chardon in 1865 (fig. 1.21).

Čermák also exhibited a fourth work at the Salon of 1861: *Portrait de Mme J. C...* No information about this work is available. He sent the three South Slavic-themed canvases to the Salon in Anvers, Belgium, in 1861, along with *Young Jewish Woman Praying at the Cemetery (Jeune juive priant au cimetière)*. See: *Exposition nationale: catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et dessin, exécutés par des artistes vivants, et exposés au Salon d'Anvers ouvert par la Société Royale pour l'Encouragement des Beaux-Arts le 4 Août 1861* (Anvers: J.P. Van Dieren et. Comp., 1861), 56; Anon., "Salon d'Anvers," *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature ...*, 136; G.-J. Dodd., "Les Beaux-Arts au Salon d'Anvers en 1861," *Revue Trimestrielle* 8, tome 3 (July 1861): 312–13; and H.H., "Salon d'Anvers," *L'Illustration* 38, no. 969 (1861): 181.

<sup>92</sup> Enval, *Salon de 1861*, 26–27.

teacher Louis Gallait for a new purpose.<sup>93</sup> The untroubled mothers of Croatia, in their fecund, agricultural setting, reproduced in prosperity.<sup>94</sup> In noble Montenegro, stoic freedom fighters reproduced under duress. Embattled Montenegrin mothers are never far from a sabre or a rifle. In enslaved Herzegovina, reproduction was interrupted, in distress. The obvious subtext of images of abduction is a fear of miscegenation. Over the course of almost two decades, Jaroslav Čermák created a remarkably coherent body of works at the Paris Salon as his painterly gaze remained fixed on the Slavic South, on a people on the verge of becoming.

## 2. PARIS, CAPITAL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY<sup>95</sup>

Love of your people  
 Forces You into the wide world  
 That with your skillful brush  
 You might paint the divine beauty  
 Of our beloved mother Slavdom,  
 To make all people fall in love with her  
 If freedom is dear to them<sup>96</sup>

How did South Slavic audiences in what we today call the former Yugoslavia<sup>97</sup>—Banat, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Sanjak, Serbia, Slavonia, Slovenia, Vojvodina—experience and utilize these pictures of themselves?

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<sup>93</sup> See, for example, Louis Gallait's *Bohemian Woman and her Infants* (*La bohémienne et ses enfants*), 1875, oil on canvas, 118 x 92.5 cm. Brussels: Royal Museums of Belgium; *Falling Leaves* (*La Chute des feuilles*), 1858, oil on wood panel, 78.5 x 63 cm. Brussels: Royal Museums of Belgium; and *War* (*La Guerre*), undated, oil on wood panel, 27 x 18.7. Brussels: Royal Museums of Belgium.

Čermák “adopted” Gallait’s real children too for some years when he ran off with his wife, Melle Hyp. Gallait, née Pic, in the house in Mandaljena near Dubrovnik, where they masqueraded from 1862–1865 as a biological family to avoid scandal. See: Slavica Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić, književnik i kulturni djelatnik* (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1993), 105; and Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike* ([1941] Čakovec: Hrvatski Zapisnik, 2002).

<sup>94</sup> Čermák also painted a few Dalmatian scenes, such as his *Dalmatian Wedding* (*Noces dalmates*) [*Dalmatska svatba*], undated, oil on canvas, 113 x 174 cm. National Gallery, Prague (fig. 4.6).

<sup>95</sup> The heading title is taken from Walter Benjamin’s famous essay, “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” *Perspecta* 12 (1969 [1935]): 163–72.

<sup>96</sup> Ivan August Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” *Dubrovnik: Zabavnik narodne štionice Dubrovačke za godinu 1867 1* (1866): 392, lines 5–11.

<sup>97</sup> *Jugoslavija*, a combination of the words *jug* = south and *slavija* = Slavdom.

Consideration of that question represents a launching point of this dissertation. Paris provides a crucial part of the answer, and it is for that reason that I have included a broad sketch the reception of Jaroslav Čermák's sensational 1861 *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* and its connection with a host of French interests—ethnography, colonial knowledge, academic practice, the slow death of history painting, etc.

First of all, apart from the select few who were privileged enough to spend Springtime in Paris, (or be in Vienna or Prague at just the right moment), the Slavic South experienced Čermák's works exclusively as grey-toned reproductions. Those produced in France were generally very good. Those made by local engravers for the illustrated journals were often very poor. Čermák's compositions also circulated in the colored medium of oleography (also called chromolithography).<sup>98</sup> Above all, however, the Slavic South experienced Čermák's works as their transliteration into the printed word: news from Paris that often exaggerated the fame of the paintings bombastically.

The Salon in Paris, the “capital of the nineteenth century,” was the undisputed stage of the world where art was concerned. Vienna was the cultural hub for the intelligentsia of the minorities of the Habsburg Empire, where Croats, Czechs, Poles, Serbs and Slovenes were educated, published dictionaries and collections of folk poetry that codified their national languages, formed networks of pan-Slavic solidarity and plotted autonomy or independence from the Empire.<sup>99</sup> But Vienna, though in possession of a venerable Academy of Art, lacked the luster of Paris in the realm of the visual arts. The whole world paid attention to the annual Salon. By the end of the nineteenth century, every nation of the world could boast of at least one

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<sup>98</sup> See: Krunoslav Kamenov, *Oleografija u Hrvatskoj: 1864–1918* (Osijek: Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, 1988), 8.

<sup>99</sup> The most well-known examples are the volumes of oral folk poetry, dictionaries and grammars published in Vienna by Serbian folklorist and language reformer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864).

representative vying for glory on behalf of his people on that prestigious global stage. Come each first of May, fervent South Slavic actors scanned the papers or the high exhibition walls for some image of or by themselves. Jaroslav Čermák was the first sympathetic Slavic “brother” to break the long silence.

South Slavic audiences would have paid little attention to Čermák if he had not gone abroad. Painting on behalf of nation required an international witness.<sup>100</sup> Affirmation from the outside world was weightier than that of locals, therefore the artist doing important national work had to be abroad. The best place to do this was Paris.

Čermák’s success in Paris was real. The publicity he received in French press and the incredible sums his canvases fetched were closely followed in the Balkans. But the belief that his works were creating visibility for the South Slavic cause was willful. As we have seen, the historical record shows that French viewers were keener on connecting Čermák’s painting to domestic discourses of art. We can surmise that South Slavic audiences would have been distressed to know that the Čermák’s 1861 *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* that was to save their Herzegovinian brothers from oppression was represented to many in France as a scene from Syria (fig. I.7). Likewise, we can surmise that critics and patrons in the Slavic South, who were for the most part extremely conservative in their artistic tastes, would have been interested in claims in French criticism that Čermák represented a bold path by which history painting would be revitalized only in as much as that boldness brought the artist and the Slavs in general fame. The shocking nature of Čermák’s Orientalist images was something that either did not register with them or only mattered insofar

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<sup>100</sup> See: Anna Brzyski, “Between the Nation and the World: Nationalism and Modernism in Fin de Siècle Poland,” *Centropa* 1, no. 3 (September 2001): 165; and eadem, “Modern Art and Nationalism in Fin de Siècle Poland,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999).

as it was able to win him public recognition. South Slavic audiences had visual priorities and sensibilities quite different to those in France. Čermák's pictures of women were consumed purely for their narrative content, as mothers of the nation in distress, issuing a call for assistance to the rest of the world.

Obdurately turning a blind eye to reality, South Slavic commentators invested painting with the power to effect change in the real world. They were sure that the watching world would be compelled to act upon witnessing the injustice, heroism or indubious signs of cultural autochthony in paintings such as those by Čermák. Paintings were irrefutable evidence of the nobility of the South Slavs, either by disclosing the terrible conditions in which they lived under the Turkish yoke, their bravery, or the originality and ancientness of their folk traditions.

Paris was a radicalizing space for the Slavic national minorities of the Hapsburg, later Austro–Hungarian, Empire. It meant working outside regular channels without the support of government stipends. It was empowering to work in Paris. It meant living in the city whose production of contemporary art was admired as the best by the world at large. It meant immersion in a decidedly non–Central European aesthetic environment where artists were numerous and their work was taken seriously.<sup>101</sup> The French styles and lifestyles artists brought back home became carriers of marked difference and radical new expression. The fact that the expression was academic did not diminish its radicality.<sup>102</sup>

The expatriation of a Slavic painter like Čermák from Austrian Bohemia to France, and his real success there bolstered by cosmopolitan Slavophilic patrons, helped enable his romantic,

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<sup>101</sup> Barbara Weinberg's study of cosmopolitan exchange in her book *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth–Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abeville Press Publishers, 1991) provides an excellent model for thinking about the question of extra–national artistic training.

<sup>102</sup> These ideas were developed through coursework and conversations with Katherine Taylor at the University of Chicago.

anti-imperial commitment. Then as now, the passion of nationalism grows strong in the diaspora. In Paris, Čermák's romantic dedication to the Slavic South could grow in a realm of idealization far from the on-the-ground reality. At dinner parties, he socialized with the fervent and well-heeled South Slavic patriots he had met during his time in the Balkans: jurist and law historian Baltazar Bogišić (1834–1908) and Count Medo Pucić. One native Frenchman was also a regular cohort: Louis Léger (1843–1923), a pioneer in Slavic studies and Chair of Slavic Literature and Language at the Collège de France. With the glitter and glamor of Paris as a heady backdrop, Čermák's circle dreamed the dream of the power of art to alter history's course. But in that dream, a native son was needed to cast the spell of art in its full power. For although Čermák was a brother Slav who showed the world the South Slavs in their noblest aspect, they needed a painter of their own to prove themselves civilized. Only the civilized nations produced talented painters.

### **3. SOUTH SLAVIC IDENTITY THROUGH PAINTING: *O ILIRI, JOŠTE ŽIVI / HEJ SLAVENI, JOŠTE ŽIVI*<sup>103</sup>**

Before further addressing the role accorded painting in the formation of South Slavic identity, it will be helpful to back up a moment and ask: just who were the South Slavs? The question was terribly important to some of the myriad of groups who made up the imaginary melded South Slavic self, and less important to others. To an influential sector of the population living in the mostly Catholic Croatian lands that were fragmented between the kingdoms of

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<sup>103</sup> “Hey, Slavs, you are still alive (*O Iliri, jošte živi*)” are the opening words of Dragutin Rakovac's “The Slavic Spirit (*Duh slavjinski*),” adapted from Samuel Tomášik's wildly popular 1834 Slovak-language pan-Slav anthem “Hey, Slavs (*Hej, Sloveni*)”. In his: *Pěsmarica. Sbirka I: Pěsme domorodne izdane po D[ragutinu] R[akovacu]i L[judevitu] V[ukotinoviću]* (Zagreb: *Franjo Suppan*, 1842), 74. Rakovac's poem, slightly altered, remained popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and became the anthem of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia “Hey, Slavs (*Hej Slaveni*)”.

Austria (Dalmatia) and Hungary (Croatia and Slavonia, after 1867, Croatia–Slavonia), throwing their lot in with the other people in the Western Balkans who basically spoke the same language held the promise of cultural survival and geopolitical salvation. By attaining cohesion with the other South Slavs, diverse in religion, and regional and ethnic self–identifications, they would gain the strength in numbers to overthrow their respective foreign overlords and achieve autonomy. As certain of the other modern nation–states of the Balkan Peninsula began to emerge independent from centuries of Ottoman rule, a desire for some form of unification was urgently felt in the Croatian lands. Tiny Montenegro was *de facto* independent. Serbia achieved autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in 1830 and internationally–recognized independence in 1878. Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupied by Austria–Hungary in 1878, had been Ottoman *sanjaks* since the fifteenth century. Vojvodina was administered by Hungary. Slovenia (Austrian) and Bulgaria (independent in 1878, previously Ottoman) were also sometimes included in imaginings of the Slavic South, through the languages spoken there were not as similar.

The South Slavic idea originated in Renaissance discourses of ethnicity that sought to fuse the South Slavs, who were divided by religion and empire, together into one synthetic body that spoke one synthetic language.<sup>104</sup> In the nineteenth century, ideas of a future South Slavic self, in their Croatian iterations, underwent various revisions and existed in multiple competing models. Always, these were discourses of anticipation: if the union of the South Slavs occurred, then a number of wonderful results would ensue. In the first part of the century, the Zagreb–based Illyrian movement (roughly 1838–1849) worked hard to standardize the literary language of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, and bring that language close to the one being codified as

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<sup>104</sup> I am indebted to Olga Nedeljković for this interpretation. See the manuscript of her forthcoming book: *The Origins of South Slavic Slavophilism as a Discourse*.

“Serbian.”<sup>105</sup> The plurality of visions in the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrate that the “participation identity,”<sup>106</sup> shaped both at the ground level and by literate elites, of the South Slavs was very much in flux. Yugoslavism issued from the rapidly growing capital city of Zagreb. In Dubrovnik, Serbophilic supporters of a united Slavic South banded together under the banner of *Slovinstvo*, which, like the word “Yugoslavia,” referred literally to a land of South Slavs in the local idiom. Both posited that all the South Slavic speaking people were brothers of the same family. Geographically smaller ideologies uninterested in joining forces with a greater Slavic South also existed. The People’s Party wanted to unify Dalmatia with Croatia–Slavonia, reconstituting the medieval Triune Kingdom.<sup>107</sup> The Autonomists were regionalists who wanted an autonomous and ethnically heterogeneous (Slavic and Latin, i.e. Italian) Dalmatia within Austria–Hungary.<sup>108</sup> Regardless of differences, all these unification movements were guided by the principle of concord, of the coming together of parts into one greater self. All were imbued with expectancy.

Painting had become a desirable medium for the South Slavic cause for a number of reasons. Although it was accepted as a universal language, however, no commentator trusted paintings to make their cases without the aid of words. In fact, what paintings actually looked

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<sup>105</sup> In 1850, writers from Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia met to discuss the unification and standardization of their languages at the so-called Vienna Literary Agreement.

Within the Croatian territories, multiple languages were spoken. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin was the official language in Hungarian-administered Croatia and Slavonia, while Italian was the official language in Austrian-administered Dalmatia. Local populations spoke three distinct dialects of South Slavic language: *Štokavski*, *Čakavski* and *Kajkavski*. Ivo Goldstein, *Croatia: A History* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1999), 59.

On the Illyrian movement, see: Elinor Murray Despalatovic, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975)

<sup>106</sup> Participation identity: the way people think of themselves and their relationship to others. I borrow the term from: Roger Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class Community and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), see esp. chapter 1.

<sup>107</sup> The eleventh-century Triune Kingdom was a medieval kingdom that included Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia.

<sup>108</sup> On the Autonomist movement, see Josip Vrandečić’s excellent “The Autonomist Movement in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia” (PhD Dissertation, Yale, 2000).

like mattered far less than their literary publicization and poetic interpretation. One of the most radical conclusions I have come to in researching this topic is that few people really cared or paid close attention to what art looked like. The extra-visual reception of painting that marked Croatian art discourse begs for a new way of thinking about Orientalist imagery.

While the project of unifying the Slavic South was overwhelmingly textual, over the course of the nineteenth century art gradually came to be invested with considerable expectations. The visual arts, quite unlike words, could make both the future and the past seeable, tangible. Art could give form to a dream, and make it seem real. Art was a magical mirror to hold up to a self that had no form in the physical world. Art, therefore, was uniquely positioned to bring a proto-Yugoslavian people closer to the threshold of melding and becoming. It could both show the South Slavs what they would look like in the future and retroactively manufacture a common history and tradition. Finally, if they could make art themselves, it could make them civilized in the eyes of the world, for the world believed only the most civilized nations produced high art.

## CHAPTER II

### GREAT EXPECTATIONS: VLAHO BUKOVAC, *ÉPISE DE LA GUERRE DU MONTÉNÉGRO* (1878)

Now I return to this young fellow. And the communication I have got to make is this, that he has Great Expectations.<sup>1</sup>

May 1, 1878. The Salon in Paris. Vlaho Bukovac (1855–1922) debuted at the Paris Salon with two canvases: *Portrait de Mme la comtesse de C.* and *Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro* (fig. I.1).<sup>2</sup> The first, depicting the bust of a “good-natured” woman, foretells the interest in and exceptional talent for portraiture that would mark Bukovac’s artistic career.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, the second, more ambitious painting that concerns us here. Referencing current events and depicting a Montenegrin woman in distress, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*—a work located explicitly within the genre of Orientalist South Slavic imagery upon which Czech artist Jaroslav Čermák (1831–1878) built a successful career in Paris—was Bukovac’s first, and perhaps most earnest, contribution to a self-consciously nascent Croatian art.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations* ([1861]; repr. New York: E.P Dutton and Co., 1907), 128 (Mr. Jaggers). This passage from G.K. Chesterton’s introduction to the 1907 edition of Dickens’s novel by (page ix) illuminates my appropriation of the title, *Great Expectations*, in this dissertation:

All his [Dickens’s] books are full of an airy and yet ardent expectation of everything; of the next person who shall happen to speak, of the next chimney that shall happen to smoke, of the next event, of the next ecstasy; of the next fulfillment of any eager human fancy. All these books might be called ‘Great Expectations.’ But the only book to which he gave the name ‘Great Expectations’ was the only book in which the expectation was never realized.

<sup>2</sup> *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 25 mai 1878* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1878), 33. The *Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro* hung in Salle 21 of the Paris Salon with works by painters whose last names began with A and B. See: Anon., *Les 1000 curiosités du salon de 1878. Guide pratique pour trouver immédiatement les toiles et sculptures qui ont, à un titre quelconque, piqué la curiosité du public avec tables et plans explicatifs* (Tours: Imp. Paul Bouserez, 1878), 34.

<sup>3</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Episode from the War of Montenegro (Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro)* [in Croatian literature *Montenegrin Woman on the Defense (Crnogorka na obrani)*], 1878, oil on canvas, 170 x 110 cm. Whereabouts unknown.

No tombstone information for the portrait is known, and I have been unable to find any photographic reproduction. As noted by Kružić–Uchytíl in her *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 22, the only description, from which the “good-natured” quote is taken, of the *Portrait de Mme la comtesse de C.* seems to be found in Th[éodore] Véron, *Dictionnaire–Véron: Ou Mémorial de l’art et des artistes de mon temps: le Salon de 1878 et l’Exposition Universelle*, vol. 1 (Paris: M. Bazin, 1878), 99.

A beautiful dark-haired woman waits uneasily on the surface of Bukovac's canvas, dagger in hand. Like a specimen caught between two pieces of glass, an angry praying mantis, the woman is trapped in the shallow illusionistic space of *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (fig. I.1). She is pushed right up to the imaginary screen that separates the foreground of the painting from the space of the viewer by a large boulder against which she has recoiled in an awkward *contrapposto*. Behind her, a steep wall of forest effectively closes off the background. The impossibility of free movement, of running, of escape, is amplified visually by the woman's footlessness and the long skirts she wears, which merge the legs into a single mass, anchored to the ground. This anchoring is further emphasized by the weighty triangle created by the lines dividing shadow from light on the boulders, moving inwards diagonally from the bottom corners of the painting and culminating in the upturned peak of her belt. The minimal twists of her rigid body can but protest in vain against the heavy triangular base and law of upright lines that govern this painted scene of expectancy. A vertical figure in a vertical frame, the woman is locked firmly into place at the center of the composition by the sentinels of her heavy arms, and the lines of spherical buttons decorating the inner hem of her long vest. Frozen by dread, and illuminated before the dark background of the forest, the woman waits.

She waits and she listens.<sup>4</sup> We imagine that she waits to spring upon someone or something not seen within the borders of the painting, someone or something she suspects will come from her right, the direction in which her wide eyes and weapon are pointed, someone or something she fears as a woman. The pose—a choreography *in potentia*—tells us this as well. All the woman's weight is concentrated uncomfortably in her slightly bent left arm, in the palm

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<sup>4</sup> Although I do not do so in the present text, it would be interesting to think about the auditory aspects of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. See, for example: Anne Leonard and Martha Ward, eds., *Looking and Listening in Nineteenth-Century France* (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2007), an exhibition catalogue.

of her left hand pressing down onto the large boulder behind her. When she pushes off, her arm will straighten, the pent-up energy will be released and she will pivot backwards on her straight right leg. The dagger hitherto protecting her soft belly will follow this turning movement, as her stiff right arm swings backwards from the fulcrum of her shoulder to slash at something as yet unseen.

She waits and she listens, ready to strike. The *Episode from the War of Montenegro* depicts an extremely pregnant moment, but one that hardly can be said to follow Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's (1729–1781) dictum to choose the “most suggestive [moment] and from which the preceding and succeeding actions are most easily comprehensible.”<sup>5</sup> Characteristic of later nineteenth-century painting, the work is certainly “suggestive,” but offers more “blanks” than clues as to what has led up to this moment of waiting and what will transpire afterwards.<sup>6</sup> The viewer is tasked with imagining both the past and the future of the scene. About the past, the viewer can only guess. Was the woman waiting for her sweetheart when she sensed another presence? Is she in the midst of fleeing? Or is she watching with frustration as a male relative delivers the blow she had prepared herself to strike?<sup>7</sup> Visual cues within the *Episode*—the knife, the pose, the expression of the face—move the scene primarily forward in time, in anticipation of the future. We understand the woman is prepared to use her weapon. Who or what will she attempt to strike? Will she deliver a successful blow? What will happen to her? An infinite number of scenarios are possible.

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<sup>5</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick ([1766]; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 78.

<sup>6</sup> On the idea of “blanks”—the room that must be left for the supplementing imaginative activity of the beholder—in history painting, see Peter Geimer, “Picturing the Black Box: On Blanks in Nineteenth-Century Paintings and Photographs,” *Science in Context* 17, no. 4 (2004): 467–501, and Wolfgang Kemp, “Death at Work: A Case Study on Constitutive Blanks in Nineteenth-Century Painting,” Raymond Meyer, trans., *Representations* 10 (Spring 1985): 102–123.

<sup>7</sup> I would like to thank Darby English for suggesting this possible reading of the painting.

With its almost total lack of visual information about the “preceding and succeeding actions,” Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro* pushes the limits of the pregnant moment. It likewise pushes the limits of the first term in its title, “episode,” which implies action or a story. The seventh edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, published in the same year Bukovac’s painting was exhibited at the Paris Salon, in 1878, defines an “*épisode*” as the “incidental action linked to the main action of a poem, of a novel. . . . in painting, any action or secondary scene adjoined to that which comprises the principal subject of a picture.”<sup>8</sup> Neither the “action” of the secondary scene nor the principal subject to which the *Episode* is adjoined, the *War of Montenegro*, have any existence outside the imagination. Only external knowledge about that war, gathered perhaps from a newspaper, illustrated journal or travelogue, can complete the missing past and future of the painted moment. What we see on the surface of the canvas hardly seems to be an *Episode* at all, but rather the prelude to an *Episode*, its anticipation. It is solely in the mind that the *Episode* may be transformed into a true *Episode* and not simply the image of an armed woman alone in a forest, waiting—waiting, to be invested with meaning.

I suggest that it is within a framework of anticipation that the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* can be most fruitfully read, using concepts of the “nascent,” “potential,” “emergent,” “anticipatory” or “expectant” as the interpretive keys to Bukovac’s debut canvas. Indeed, I employ these terms in an effort to shed light not only on the work at hand, but on the fundamental character of Croatian art discourse in the period during which the *Episode* was made. Later nineteenth-century Croatian art discourse was a discourse of desire, desire for an art

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<sup>8</sup> The entry in its entirety reads: “incidental action linked to the main action (*l’action principale*) of a poem, of a novel. Also, a story introduced in a didactic poem to give it more variety, more interest. Also, in painting, any action or secondary scene adjoined to that which comprises the principal subject of a picture. Also, figuratively, certain facts or incidents, seemingly isolated, but more or less connected some larger event.” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française, septième édition*, tome 1 (Paris: Librairie de Firmin–Didot et Cie, 1878), 661, s.v. “*épisode*.” “Episode” in Old Greek Tragedy was: “the interlocutory parts between two choric songs, because these were originally interpolations.” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, 1989) s.v. “episode.”

whose realization was not, as in, for example, France, weighed down by the burden of a brilliant past, but rather by the burden of a brilliant future.<sup>9</sup> Intellectuals of the time were certainly engaged in writing a glorified history of Croatian art, but it was not against the brilliance of history that contemporary art was measured.<sup>10</sup> Art was held less to the standard of its past self, than to its imagined future self. The unrealized future could tantalizingly be dreamed of as more perfect than any version of the past.

Art, in Croatian discourse, was an ever-moving target, one whose mastery promised to bring the nation international recognition of a high level of civilization, a goal at whose extreme stood a desire for political autonomy. An always present, always watching, outside world was a crucial actor in the story of national art being written in Croatia. As Maria Todorova, has rightly noted: “all Balkan nations are intensely conscious of their outside image.”<sup>11</sup> The outside world was a witness whose opinion more often than not had more weight than that of locals. The witness’s approval was imagined to hold the keys to civilized nationhood, in whose eyes Croatia’s transformation into a modern-day “Athens” could be legitimized.<sup>12</sup>

It would be going too far to claim that Bukovac, with his *Episode from the War of*

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<sup>9</sup> Cf., for example, Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); Elisabeth A. Fraser, *Delacroix, Art and Patrimony in Post-Revolutionary France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Marc Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and eadem, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> Nineteenth-century texts on the history of Croatian art tended to be focused on individual biographies. Cf., for example: Anon., “Glasoviti slikari ilirski,” *Danica ilirska* 4, no. 27, July 7, 1838, 105–106; Anon., “Julijo Klovio” *Vienac* 6, no. 5, (January 31, 1874), 65 and 78–79 and no. 6 (February 7, 1874), 91–93; Anon., “Vjekoslav Karas,” *Vienac* 6, no. 3, January 17, 1874, 45–46; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, 5 vols. (Zagreb: Narodna Tiskarna L. Gaja, 1858–1860); and Ćiro Truhelka, “Andrija Medulić: Njegov život i rad,” *Glasnik društva za umjetnost i umjetni obrt u Zagrebu* 1 (1886): 33–62.

<sup>11</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 60.

<sup>12</sup> One of the main conclusions drawn from the 2009 conference organized by Matthew Rampley, “Art History in Central Europe: The Vienna School and its Legacy” (the British Academy, London), was that art historians in the minority states of Austria–Hungary, such as Croatia, often sought validation from scholars elsewhere in Europe as a means by which feelings of marginality or backwardness could be overcome.

*Montenegro*, intended to make a painting about the anticipation of painting. And yet, the young Dalmatian artist was keenly aware of the anticipatory hopes that hung on his career. There is plenty of evidence that he internalized or at least played to the stakes with which his supporters invested his hoped-for success. In early letters from 1877 and 1878 to his first Croatian patron, the Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905), for example, he adopts the standard motif of achieving fame as a means to serving the nation: “if I should ever gain renown (*ako dođem do kakvog glasa*) in that art to which I have dedicated my life” or “with your [monetary] aid, I could become famous and be of honor to my people.”<sup>13</sup>

That the main figure of the *Episode* waits in anticipation was almost certainly not a deliberate reflection by Bukovac on the state of affairs in Croatian art discourse of the day, and no critic read the composition of the *Episode* explicitly as a direct allegory of Croatian art itself on the verge of becoming. Still, I believe that drawing a connection between the formal qualities and reception of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*—emblematic of the reception of countless works of art by native sons—in the Croatian presses is warranted. Just as the woman in the *Episode* waits on the threshold of some action, so critics of art saw Bukovac’s debut canvas as poised on the threshold of a national art. Just as the visual drama of the *Episode* requires a substantial imaginative outlay from the viewer to complete it, so the reception of the painting in Croatia cast the net even wider, imagining what the painting foretold of the artist’s future fame and, by extension, the fame of the nation.

Critics of art waited and listened. For decades, they had been scouring foreign newspapers, hoping that some native artist would deliver a well-calculated blow. But the

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<sup>13</sup> The first quote is from a letter from March 7, 1877, the second from October 8, 1878. See: Ferdo Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer,” in: *Zbornik iz Dubrovačke prošlosti: Milanu Rešetaru o 70oj godišnjici života* (Dubrovnik: Knjižara Jadran, 1931), 380 and 384.

impossibly steep list of ambitious desires pegged to art saw to it that like the woman in Bukovac's *Episode*, commentators on art too were frozen stiff by their expectations. Each new work was seen as a step toward some great work—a great history painting—in *potentia*. For the next two decades, until his perceived triumph at the Croatian Pavilion of Art at the Millennial Exposition in Budapest in 1896, Bukovac would be cast as “young” in the Croatian presses, each work one in a series of halting first steps.<sup>14</sup> Such a fate was not particular to Bukovac. In nineteenth-century Croatian art discourse, one finds more often than not that every step by a native artist is cast as a youthful first step. Commentators tended to describe artists in their potentiality, moving towards, but never arriving at, a state of illustriousness requiring foreign confirmation. Croatian art discourse held artists in a state of suspended, promising youth, and was most comfortable when recognizing the first glimmers of talent in an artist, when that artist's future career, because it had not yet begun, could be freely imagined and aggrandized.

## 1. CIVILIZED ACTIVITIES

Announce to the world, forever incredulous,  
That this is a land of arts and of songs<sup>15</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the age of nationalism and intense international rivalry at venues like the World's Fairs, art was considered the crowning human endeavor: a “civilized activity.”<sup>16</sup> An artful, civilized people had the means of political survival. Herein lay art's use-value to an embattled Croatia, subsumed within Austria–Hungary. As one commentator

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<sup>14</sup> See: Vera Kružić-Uchytel, “Prvi nastupi hrvatskih umjetnika na međunarodnoj umjetničkoj sceni od 1896. do 1903. godine,” *Peristil* 31 (1998): 193–98; and my: “‘The secessionists are the Croats. They've been given their own pavilion...’ Vlaho Bukovac's Battle for Croatian Autonomy at the 1896 Millennial Exhibition in Budapest,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no.1 (2007) [http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring\\_07/articles/ross.shtml](http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_07/articles/ross.shtml) (last accessed February 16, 2014)

<sup>15</sup> *annunzia al mondo, maisempre incredulo,  
che questa è d'arti terra e di cantici.*

Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo* (Split: Tipografia S. Artale, 1885), 2 (lines 29–30).

<sup>16</sup> Y., “Uljudna djelovanja. F. Salghetti,” *Zora Dalmatinska* 22 (1844): 174–175.

succinctly summed up at the end of the century:

The greatest products of the human soul are works of art... both history and modern experience teach us that the world is often interested in a people solely on the basis of their artistic products, in which their highest abilities are reflected. The foreign world, looking at those art works, judges that the people who made that work have the right to live, are not barbarians, can be useful members of humanity and must not be allowed to be oppressed or destroyed... [producing works of art] is the most worthy and noble way to fight for the prosperity of one's own people.<sup>17</sup>

Vlaho Bukovac was one of a handful of artists tasked by the public with launching Croatia into a world skeptical about its possession of the “greatest products of the human soul.” Art was invested with a remarkable power to put a “civilized” face on Croatia. But while the public was anxious for the world to recognize the nation’s civilization through art, it seemed nervous about its living artists being up to the task. The “young” artist was always on the verge of mastering his craft, on the verge of proving Croatia to be a “useful member of humanity,” was a safe bet. Perhaps because the desired result of sovereignty was so fantastically implausible, commentators were happiest with artists at the very beginning of their careers, when they were essentially blank slates who could not disappoint with a failure to bring about a new geopolitical reality.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, more than one artist was imagined to be the budding messiah of Croatian culture to the incredulous outside world. Witness how unchanged the trope of the youth with great expectations remained over the span of forty–odd years:

Why should one native son [Vjekoslav Karas] not, with generous aid, acquire mastery over the necessary things, in order to shine to the glory of the Illyrian homeland as an artist after a few years? ... you have here a diamond in the rough.<sup>18</sup> (1838)

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<sup>17</sup> Anon., “Uspjeh naših umjetnika,” *Prosvjeta* 4, no. 11, June 1, 1896, 351.

<sup>18</sup> The last sentence literally reads in full: “you have here a diamond that needs to be polished (*vi imate ovdě jedan briljant, koi trěba da se obrusi*).” Franjo Kos od Kosena, “Dopis iz g[rada] Karlovca,” *Danica ilirska* 4, no. 26, July 7, 1838, 104. The text was occasioned by Vjekoslav Karas (1821–1858) setting off for artistic training in Italy. See

[Franjo Salghetti–Drioli is] showing himself capable of catching up to all the other illustrious men from foreign parts (*inostrane slavnike*), who have glorified their homelands (*koji su svoje otačbine odičili*).<sup>19</sup> (1844)

I think he [Ferdo Quiquerez] could become something (*Mislím, da bi moglo iz njega nešto biti*), so it would be better if he went to a good school, like the one in Munich.<sup>20</sup> (1870)

...the Croatian Ivan Rendić from Brač in Dalmatia. He is a student [of sculpture] at the Academy of Fine Arts in Venice, and, as one can see, he follows subjects from our Croatian world with love. ... It would be a great gain for mankind if the Croatian people, with their fresh and young souls, seriously cultivated all the branches of art, including sculpture.<sup>21</sup> (1871)

... we can be glad that in [Izidor] Kršnjavi we have a painter before whom is an open road to advancement and even greater fame.<sup>22</sup> (1872)

We think that Mr. [Nikola] Mašić could become an important artist, to the honor of Croatia!<sup>23</sup> (1877)

... this young man [Vlaho Bukovac], who will one of these days bring honor to our people.<sup>24</sup> (1877)

According to experts, the paintings are quite artistic and, based on that, one can divine that [Celestin] Medović will become a famous painter.<sup>25</sup> (1882)

The discourse of desire persisted with incredible force, maintaining a sense of general anticipation for decades. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century, one could argue that it made sense that artists talked about exclusively in the future tense. The Illyrian movement

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this excellent publication by Nikola Albaneže for further reading on Karas: *Vjekoslav Karas 1821–1858*, exh. cat. (Zagreb: Umjetnički Paviljon, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Y., “Uljudna djelovanja. F. Salghetti,” 174–75. Ivo Petricioli’s *Franjo Salghetti–Drioli*, exh. cat. (Zadar: Narodni muzej, 2003) is an outstanding source on Salghetti–Drioli’s life and work.

<sup>20</sup> Letter from Franjo Rački to Bishop Strossmayer, October 28, 1870. Quoted from Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1928), 115.

<sup>21</sup> Anon., “Umjetnost,” *Vienac* 3, no. 43, October 28, 1871, 695–96.

<sup>22</sup> Anon., “Dva slavenska slikara,” *Vienac* 4, no. 46, November 16, 1872, 740.

<sup>23</sup> The quote comes from the end of an in–depth description of four paintings by Nikola Mašić (1852–1902) on display in Zagreb’s Albrecht and Fiedler University bookstore. Anon., *Hrvatski svjetozor* 1, no. 8, August 19, 1877, 71.

<sup>24</sup> [Josip Juraj Strossmayer], “Nove slike u galeriji preuzv. gosp. Biskupa Strossamayera,” *Vienac* 9, no. 21, May 19, 1877, 338.

<sup>25</sup> Anon., “O. Celestin Medovic,” *Slovinac* 5, no. 15, May 21, 1882, 238.

produced an abundance of decorative arts, but native fine artists were truly few and far between.<sup>26</sup> By the time Vlaho Bukovac debuted at the Paris Salon in 1878, however, there were several up and coming Croatian artists. Nevertheless, a cult of searching for a youth talented in painting stubbornly persisted. Bukovac was but one youth who was “discovered” by predominantly aristocratic or ecclesiastical individuals.

Over the course of the 1870s and 1880s, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* was one of many works by Bukovac and other artists that excited the public’s great expectations. But after hearing the initial news about the painting’s inclusion in the Paris Salon in 1878, and seeing it reproduced but once in Dubrovnik’s illustrated magazine *Slovinac* in 1879, the public moved on. As if stuck in a loop, they would again and again prefer to find a new painting or new artist to embody Croatia’s first step towards art rather than deal with an actual object. Art was always better in the imagination than on canvas. Canvases that had the gall to demand sustained attention met with swift punishment. It was not strange then that Bukovac’s *Episode* or any of his early paintings were hailed as proof that Croatia had achieved its own art, but rather, were always seen as tiny steps toward that art. The attraction any individual work by any individual painter held for the discourse of desire had little to do with the objects produced by the painter—it was their promise to become something greater that caused commentators to wax lyrical.

Longing was their *modus operandi*.

There is a clarity in longing and a poetry to wishing. Potentiality is the perfect, ideal state. As a means of mobilizing national dreams and exciting the imagination, the presence of realized art would always appear trifling and inadequate in comparison to the as-yet-unrealized art of the future. The act of calling itself was the most important to stir national energies, because

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<sup>26</sup> See the exhibition catalogue: Nikša Stančić, ed., *Hrvatski narodni preporod 1790.–1848.: Hrvatska u vrijeme Ilirskog pokreta* (Zagreb, Muzej Grada Zagreba, 1985).

it allowed the outlines of the goal to appear in sharpest focus. In other parts of Europe, a preoccupation with unattainable ideals were linked to with classicism and the belief that the ancients had succeeded in getting closer to ideal art than could ever be managed in the present-day world. Quite differently, the standard in Croatia for idealist aesthetics was not the ancient past, but a truly fictive future that had no existence outside the minds of those who dreamt about it. Actual art-making by default, therefore, would always have a difficult time satisfying the discourse of desire.

## **2. FROM A TO S: IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI'S *LEXICON OF SOUTH SLAVIC ARTISTS***

The history of art presented a further complication to the discourse of desire. In order to be seen as civilized, the nation needed artists both dead and alive in its arsenal. While the “young” artists of the present had an added advantage of vigor, freshness and energy in contrast to their counterparts from more industrialized nations, prevailing ideas about national spirit and authenticity demanded proof of lineage. As one critic wrote: “The people have only as much right as is their awareness of their past.”<sup>27</sup> Various recovery projects in the history of art began constructing narratives of continuity.

It was crucial that art in the Croatian lands be seen as having always been part of the Western tradition. One persuasive explanation of why the West was unaware of the nation’s great artists of the past and their contribution to the classical inheritance was that they had been unjustly claimed by other nations. Foreign lands kept stealing native artists to populate their own history books. This rationalization soothed anxieties over a perceived lack. Implied here was an

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<sup>27</sup> “Narod ima samo onoliko prava, koliko mu je u svijesti njegova prošlost.” [Ladislav] M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” *Vienac* 6, no. 8, February 21, 1874, 124.

inversion of the equation: lack was transferred to the foreign nations that needed to appropriate Croatia's great men in order to fill in their own histories.

Searching through all the centuries, we arrive at one truth: that our tiny nation is gifted with an abundance of innate talent, that geniuses arose from our people; but we will see that everywhere those geniuses either relied [monetarily] on foreign culture or were crushed by poverty, the idiocy of their contemporaries, coarseness or vandalism. . . . Wasn't Julijo Klovijo,<sup>28</sup> a Croat from Grižan, the most famous miniaturist of his time [?] . . . But the Italians claim that Klovijo . . . [is] theirs. In our parts, there was no national, literary or artistic life—in our parts there was no spiritual life. It is not strange then, that foreigners continually plunder the Croatian past. What to say? They plunder the present too. . . . And we here at home? There is much cowardliness and barbarism. This must be truthfully told, for only then can one find the remedy for the disease . . .<sup>29</sup>

Seeking to remedy the ignorance that allowed cultural “plunder” to continue, various intellectuals worked to reclaim the native artists whose glory had been stolen by foreign lands. Early on, the rescue effort was taken up sporadically in periodicals.<sup>30</sup> Mid-century, historian and politician Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889) took up the cause methodically with an ambitious *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists (Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih)* (1858–1860).<sup>31</sup> The mission of the *Lexicon* was to address the “disgraceful” lack of such reference books among the Slavs in general, since “only by the history of [their] sciences and arts is the education and

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<sup>28</sup> Julijo Klovio [Julius Clovius, or Giulio Clovio] (1498–1578), a sixteenth-century illuminator born in Croatia, mostly active in Renaissance Italy.

<sup>29</sup> Anon. “Vjekoslav Karas,” *Vienac* 6, no. 3, January 17, 1874, 45.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, early fragmentary efforts, such as the article “Illustrious Illyrian Painters (*Glasoviti slikari ilirski*),” in *Danica Ilirska* 4, no. 27, July, 7 1838, 105–106, which reclaims three artists born in Dalmatia who trained and worked in Italy, including: Gargur Schiavone [Gregorio, or Gregono Schiavone] (active c. 1440–1470), Bernardin Porečanin [Bernardo Parentino, or Bernardino da Parenzo] (c. 1450–c.1500), and Andrija Medulić [Andrea Medella, or Andrea Schiavone] (1510–1563).

<sup>31</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, 5 vols. (Zagreb: Narodna Tiskarna L. Gaja, 1858–1860). On the lexicon, see: Ivana Mance's excellent recent book, *Zèrcalo naroda: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: Povijest umjetnosti i politika* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2012); and eadem, “Kukuljevićev *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*: Povijest umjetnosti kao bibliografski univerzum,” *Radovi Instituta povijesti umjetnosti* 32 (2008): 285–96. For a biography of Kukuljević Sakcinski, see: Tade Smičiklas, “Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski” in: Franjo Marković and Tade Smičiklas, *Spomen–knjiga Matice Hrvatske od godine 1842 do godine 1892* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1892), 148–72.

enlightenment of every people judged.”<sup>32</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski underscores the novelty of his monumental undertaking, describing how difficult it was to assemble research materials and see works of art first hand.

Kukuljević Sakcinski reversed the much-lamented appropriation of native artists into the written histories of other countries, by including foreign-born artists who worked in the Slavic South in his *Lexicon*. “I compiled the lives of all the artists known to me who were either born in these regions or who lived and worked in them, for these latter, even if foreign by birth, belong in the history of the arts of the South Slavic people.”<sup>33</sup>

The *Lexicon* catalogued a few hundred artists and craftsmen, past and present, from Slovenia to Bulgaria, thereby contributing to the synthesizing project of idealistic Croatian Yugoslavianism.<sup>34</sup> In keeping with the symbolically generative role Vlaho Bukovac’s native region held in the cultural landscape of nineteenth-century Croatia,<sup>35</sup> however, he privileged Dalmatia: “that precious stone of Croatian and South Slavic spiritual life in general, [which]

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<sup>32</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník*, vol. 1, i:

In today’s enlightened age there are almost no people who alongside their histories of art do not also have lexicons of their artists. ... Only the Slavs, the largest people in Europe, do not have adequate works in their literature. ... We must regrettably admit, that the lack of such works is an inadequacy, not to say disgrace, because only by the history of [their] sciences and arts is the education and enlightenment of every people judged.

The project of inserting Croatia into universal history has a long history, dating to the efforts of Illyrian historiographers during the Renaissance. Olga Nedeljković’s manuscript for a forthcoming book, *The Origins of South Slavic Slavophilism as a Discourse*, treats this matter extensively.

<sup>33</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník*, vol. 1, ii.

<sup>34</sup> “The other South Slavic regions [i.e., those outside of Dalmatia] are not completely devoid of arts past and present.” Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, vol. 1, ii.

<sup>35</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, Dalmatia, and in particular the formerly independent Republic of Dubrovnik, figured as the unjustly-separated historical core of the fragmented Croatian lands. As one writer succinctly put it in 1870: “In this place [Dubrovnik] our people were their own people, not bound by anyone else’s influence, on this tiny spot [our people] proved that they were capable of fulfilling all the universal conditions for culture.” Anon., “Dvor dubrovackoh knezova,” *Vienac* 6, no. 28, July 11, 1874, 441. For further reading, see: Ivo Banac, “Ministration and Desecration: The Place of Dubrovnik in Modern Croat National Ideology and Political Culture,” *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 149–75.

As I argue in my “The secessionists are the Croats. They’ve been given their own pavilion...,” later in his career, Vlaho Bukovac came to embody the symbolically generative role of Dalmatia.

gave me the most material for my tortuous task.”<sup>36</sup> As Marija Stagličić has noted, the art of Dalmatia had attracted European attention beginning in the eighteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Fueled by Neoclassicism, foreign researchers, travelers and archeologists were drawn to the monuments of classical antiquity. Dalmatia was a Grand Tour destination slightly off the beaten path. Written accounts tended to focus on the region’s Roman heritage. Kukuljević Sakcinski was the first to claim an ethnic Croatian mark on the development of art in Dalmatia. He especially valorized Early Medieval monuments built after the arrival of the Slavs on the Adriatic Coast, and discovered the names of the local artists and artisans who built them. Up until that time, the period had been interpreted negatively as the barbarian destruction of the classical tradition.

If recent history had offered few painters, sculptors, artisans and builders to be catalogued, the *Lexicon* asserted that the Slavic South had been rich in indigenous artists in the past. The promise of the *Lexicon* was that by recovering a past, a past that had either been forgotten or wrongfully appropriated by neighboring countries, the present could overcome its current stasis and reconnect to the native greatness that by rights belonged to it. As musicologist Franjo Kuhač wrote to the author: “With great effort and sacrifice, you collected and organized material on the history of art of the South Slavs. You showed [to the artist] the path that should be followed.”<sup>38</sup> The recovery of history was part and parcel with fostering contemporary art.

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<sup>36</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, vol. 1, ii.

<sup>37</sup> Marija Stagličić, “Povijest povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji u 19. Stoljeću,” in: *Zbornik I. Kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2004): 339–42.

Some of the most famous early travelogues of Dalmatia include: Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Venezia: Presso Alvise Milocco, 1774); Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London: Printed for the author, 1764); and Louis François Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l’Istrie et Dalmatie* (Paris: [P. Didot], 1802).

On foreign interest in Dalmatia in the eighteenth century see Larry Wolff’s excellent *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> Letter from November 26, 1869 from Franjo Kuhač to Kukuljević Sakcinski, as cited in Smičiklas, “Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski,” 165.

While there is vastly more to be said about this encyclopedic work, here I will conclude by emphasizing two points. First, the *Lexicon* is exemplary of the tendency in nineteenth-century Croatian high culture in which the literary precedes the visual, word precedes image, and theorization precedes practice. Secondly, similar to the artists who were held forever “young” by the discourse of desire, the *Lexicon* was never completed. Only five of the projected six volumes were published, to partially through the letter “S.” The potential greatness held by the elusive letters “T” through “Ž” would be left to tantalize the imagination. The reason may have been financial hardship or, as Tade Smičiklas speculated in 1892, that Kukuljević Sakcinski, feeling his monumental project was unappreciated by his contemporaries, lost the enthusiasm needed to see it through to completion.<sup>39</sup> The *Lexicon* ends dramatically, mid-sentence, recounting the sad story of how a young, contemporary painter, Nikola Strahinić, went insane trying to paint an ambitious composition: *The Resurrection of Croatian Nationality (Uskrsnuće narodnosti hrvatske)*.<sup>40</sup> The eighteen-year old budding artist, pure in his intentions but without guidance or support, was overwhelmed by the task he had set himself. Convenient for the discourse of desire, this native artist did not survive to full maturity. Realized, a serious work such as the *Resurrection of Croatian Nationality* would be sure to disappoint, while *in potentia*, it could be

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<sup>39</sup> As Kukuljević Sakcinski wrote in the introduction to the *Lexicon*, “because of the huge expenses this work incurred, I am obliged to publish it in installments.” In: *Slovník*, vol. 1, iii. Smičiklas speculated that Kukuljević Sakcinski became depressed by “being too long alone in our new era of literature.” See his: “Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski,” 165.

<sup>40</sup> Nikola Strahinić, according to Kukuljević Sakcinski, was born c. 1830 in the sparsely-populated Žumberak region, located in Croatia’s Military Frontier. The last passage in the *Lexicon* (vol. 5, p. 432) reads:

Encouraged by this patriotic support [a watercolor depicting a Neapolitan family had been purchased for the *Narodni Muzej* in Zagreb in 1847], [Strahinić] decided to paint a large painting, the “Resurrection of Croatian Nationality (*Uskrsnuće narodnosti hrvatske*),” however, working on and contemplating this painting, having no one to advise him on his difficult undertaking, he took ill and went crazy. In the year 1848, when the whole world, enthused by noble thoughts and national movements, was engaged in civic and municipal business, our young man was adrift (*tumario je*)...

part of a grandly–imagined future.<sup>41</sup> The abrupt unfinishedness and tragic note on which the *Lexicon* ends may also be an allegory of Kukuljević Sakcinski’s unfulfilling experience of compiling the work. The artist is a kind of stand–in for Kukuljević Sakcinski himself. The subtext of the ending is an admonition, warning that without a support system, art could never flourish in Croatia.

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<sup>41</sup> Nikola Strahinić was one of the “young hopes” that Kukuljević Sakcinski included in his *Lexicon*, who either died young or was prevented in some other way from realizing a meaningful career. Including young, tragic, artists such as Strahinić was symbolically strategic, because they illustrated the obstacles Croatia faced to develop a native high art, while at the same time holding the promise of a better future. My sincere thanks to Ivana Mance for sharing her insights about Kukuljević Sakcinski’s last entry with me.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE KING IS DEAD, LONG LIVE THE KING!<sup>1</sup>

When one day, the lush flower of art finally blooms in Croatia, it will have reason to follow the trail that Čermák blazed.<sup>2</sup>

Let us return to the new pretender, to Vlaho Bukovac's painting at the Salon in Paris, 1878 (fig. I.1). Illuminated at the center of the dark vertical canvas is the nearly full figure of a beautiful young woman, fair-skinned, dark-haired and dark-eyed, dressed in what registers at first glance as Oriental costume. Although she alone inhabits the painted world about her, her defensive posture, furrowed brows and anxious eyes tell us that another presence lurks somewhere just outside the picture's edges, in the dense mountain forest of the painting's background. Looking fearfully over her shoulder and readying a dagger at the end of an arm locked protectively over her lap, the woman is clearly preparing for the arrival of undesirable company.

It is the title of the painting, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, that clues us in to "the principal subject of the picture,"<sup>3</sup> and the identities of the pictured and non-pictured protagonists: a Christian Montenegrin woman (her identity can be deduced by a knowledgeable observer from the clothes she wears) whose safety is threatened by omnipresent, Muslim Turks. Naming "the War of Montenegro" let audiences of the time situate the nascent "Episode" within the so-called Eastern Question, specifically, the latest anti-Ottoman revolt in the Balkans that had been sparked by the Uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875. The Eastern Orthodox

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<sup>1</sup> *The king is dead, Long live the king!*: "[after French *Le Roi est mort. Vive le Roi!*, supposedly announced upon the death of King Charles VI of France and the accession of his son Charles VII in 1422]: used to imply continuity through a period of change." *Oxford English Dictionary*, third edition, September 2009.

<sup>2</sup> M.G., "Jaroslav Čermak, rodjen u Pragu 1. kolovoza 1831., umro u Parizu 23. travnja 1878.," *Hrvatski Svjetozor* 2, no. 45, May 5, 1878, 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, septième édition*, tome 1 (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1878), 661, s.v. "épisode."

Christian Montenegrins, of course, had been at war with the Turkish Empire for centuries in order to maintain their de-facto freedom. This was the primary reason for which they were admired as noble highlanders by the world at large, but especially the Slavic world, and known as the “Sparta” of the Slavic South. The protagonist of the *Episode* might be an Amazon: she has to do a man’s job, to fight using a sharp weapon, even kill perhaps. Under the leadership of the monarch, Prince (*Knjaz*), later King (*Kralj*) Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (1840–1921, ruled 1860–1918), Montenegro entered the peninsula-wide war against the Ottomans in 1876. By the time the Salon opened in late May of 1878, the Russians were also involved and the Ottomans had been forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. The treaty radically remapped Southeastern Europe, significantly edging out the Turks and recognizing the full independence of a number of Balkan states, including Montenegro. In June, the Western powers would modify the Treaty at the Berlin Congress in an effort to restore balance between the various Empires, seeing to the continued existence of Turkey-in-Europe albeit in diminished form.<sup>4</sup>

In the world of Bukovac’s painting, however, Montenegro had not yet put down its arms.<sup>5</sup> Although the titling of the *Episode* located the painting’s subject matter in the present, visual referents that might link the scene to the modern world are lacking. The woman in the forest might have been grasping her archaic weapon centuries ago. The splendidly exotic, handmade costume, the blouse cut to well below the breasts, worn by the Montenegrin woman imbues her—and by extension, her plight—with timelessness, ethnographic fascination and sensual allure. What will happen when the Ottomans catch up with her? Will she kill her pursuers, or will she be abducted? Or taken to the slave market to be sold to some Eastern

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<sup>4</sup> For a condensed account of events, see “Map 35: The Balkans, 1878–1885” in Dennis Hupchuck and Harold Cox, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Eastern Europe* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), n.p.

<sup>5</sup> Bukovac likely began painting the *Episode* while the war was still raging.

despot? The twenty–three year old artist, with just a year’s training as an *élève libre* in the studio of Alexandre Cabanel at the *École des Beaux–Arts* under his belt, clearly aimed to depict a grand subject: the conflict between Muslim aggressors and Christian resisters. To do so, he tapped into the popular and titillating Orientalist visual idioms of the day.

The *Épisode* is a precocious painting. Bukovac pushed himself to make a picture, the seriousness of which he was not ready for. Not yet equipped with the experience needed to create a complex multi–figure composition, Bukovac relied on a combination of public knowledge about conflicts in the region and the expressive, anticipatory gestures of the lone heroine in the forest to produce the drama implied by the title: *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. The “episode” we imagine might occur subsequent to the pictured scene unfolds only in the mind. The painting is as pared–down as can be, the exaggerated pose of the protagonist, a figure who might be playing a game of charades, must evoke an action that has not yet taken place, and characters who are not yet visible.

The pale–skinned, dark–haired woman braces herself for the arrival of the Turkish pursuer who her senses tell her will be arriving at any second stage left. Her wide eyes and knife–point indicate the direction in which she will spring when the footsteps draw closer. Quietly, we sense, she has deposited the coarsely woven cloak and pack that would otherwise hinder her movement on the boulder on which she leans for support. The painted forest behind her offers the terrified yet resolute citizen of Slavic Sparta no chance of escape—it is a steep, impenetrable wall that hems the woman into the shallow space between the mountain face and the real world in which we, the viewers, stand looking, waiting. That the Montenegrin woman, an allegorical mother of the nation—or Christianity itself—in peril, will bravely defend herself or take her own life is certain. Even if she were to try to elude her pursuer, she cannot run away,

for she is moored to the bottom edge of the canvas without feet.

At the Salon in Paris, the protagonist of Vlaho Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro* waited on edge in her painted world, but received little notice from the dozens of French periodicals that commented on art. The reviewers, occupied with more high-profile paintings at that year's Salon and reporting on the exhibitions of the World's Fair, passed her by. Bukovac was not awarded any medals, and with plenty of ethnic *paysannes* wearing equally magnificent folk costumes to compete with, the simple, single-figure canvas did not bring overnight fame to the young foreign artist in the French capital.<sup>6</sup> Bukovac's Paris breakthrough would come four years later in 1882 with the racier *La Grande Iza*, a sensual portrayal of a bathing nude based on the novel of the same name by Alexis Bouvier (fig. 3.1).<sup>7</sup>

In Croatia, however, the initial news that Bukovac's debut painting—whose renaming in the local papers as *Montenegrin Woman on the Defense (Crnogorka na obrani)* logically shifted narrative attention from the unseen “War of Montenegro” to the protagonist herself—had been chosen to hang in the revered Salon reverberated exultantly up the coast from Dubrovnik to

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<sup>6</sup> Cf.: Richard R. Brettell and Caroline Brettell, *Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Skira, 1983); James Thompson et al., *The Peasant in French 19th Century Art* (Dublin: Douglas Hyde Gallery, Trinity College, 1980); Susan Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830–1870* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006); and Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., *Redefining Genre: French and American Painting 1850–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> The novel, *La Grande Iza*, was first published in Paris by J. Rouff in 1878. In the Salon catalogue of 1882, the inspirational passage from the novel is reproduced under the title of the work: “*Lorsque rafraichie par ses parfums orientaux, les cheveux dénoués, elle s’étendait nue et superbe sur les velours noir...*”

Marko Car, in his 1883 essay, “Biagio Bukovac, pittore dalmato,” invests the painting with some of the critical radicality of Eduard Manet's *Olympia* (1863): “A French critic, classic in his taste, reprimanded the young artist [Bukovac] for the banality of the ‘*petite bonne qui massait les jambs de la belle fille.*’ He [the critic] would have preferred to see in her [the servant's] place a young slave, nude herself, in the act of drying *La Grande Iza*, who ought to have been called Criseide or Climene.” M[arco] G[iovanni] Zar [Marko Jovan Car], *Annuario Dalmatico* 1 (1884): 75.

See also: *Famous Pictures Reproduced from Renowned Paintings by the World's Greatest Artists Selected from the Best and Most Noted Art Galleries in France, England, Italy, the United States and Many Other Countries* (Chicago: Stanton and Van Vliet Co., 1917), 326–27.

continental Zagreb before the Salon had even opened.<sup>8</sup> The local presses made the totally unsubstantiated and exaggerated claim that the *Episode* was being “praised broadly by artists.”<sup>9</sup> More important than what French critics might have actually been saying about Bukovac’s painting at this earliest stage of his career and at this moment in Croatian art discourse (they were not, in fact, saying much of anything) was the perceived illustriousness of the deed. A native son, the “first” of his ethnic countrymen, had achieved the “honor” of exhibiting in *the* premier Fine Arts venue in the world.<sup>10</sup>

The Croatian public, in constant anticipation of triumphs of this sort, was well prepared with prescribed responses that required little embellishment from the actual circumstances of Bukovac’s participation in the 1878 Salon. Already the year before, Zagreb’s *Hrvatski svjetozor* had announced hyperbolically that Bukovac was “betraying great talent” in Paris “so that he, though still young, is destined precisely for international fame according to the judgment of the best French artists.”<sup>11</sup> Bukovac’s “discoverer” in Dubrovnik, the polyglot Count Medo Pucić,

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<sup>8</sup> This title, *Montenegrin Woman on the Defense (Crnogorka na obrani)*, was used by the anonymous authors of: “Bukovac i Mančun,” *Slovinac* 1, no. 2, May 16, 1878, 16; “Domaće vjesti (Vlaho Bukovac),” *Galeb* 1, no. 1, June 1, 1878, 3, and “Tvorna Umjetnost [Vlaho Bukovac],” *Hrvatski Svjetozor* 2, no. 51, June 16, 1878, 408. Dubrovnik’s (at that time) bi-monthly *Slovinac* was the first to carry the news on May 16, 1878, nine days before the Salon opened, followed by Bakar’s *Galeb* on June 1, 1878 and Zagreb’s *Hrvatski Svjetozor*, which stated that the news has been garnered from *Galeb*, on June 16, 1878. When the painting was reproduced the following year as an engraved image in *Slovinac*—it bore the title *Montenegrin Woman Ready for Defense (Crnogorka spremna na obranu)* (fig. 4.1). See: *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, 233. In his, “Biagio Bukovac, pittore dalmato,” *Annuario Dalmatico*, 73, Marko Car titles the painting *Montenegrin Woman in Revenge (Montenegrina in vendetta)*.

<sup>9</sup> The nearly identical texts in *Galeb* and *Hrvatski Svjetozor* state that “... Bukovac ... finished the painting, ‘Montenegrin Woman on the Defense,’ which artists are praising broadly (*koju umjetnici na veliko hvale*).” Cf: “Domaće vjesti (Vlaho Bukovac)” and “Tvorna Umjetnost [Vlaho Bukovac].”

<sup>10</sup> The anonymous author of “Bukovac i Mančun” (p. 16) states it thus: “He is the first of our South Slavs (*prvi naš Slovinac*) who has had this honor.” Medo Pucić made a similar statement to Strossmayer in a letter to Bishop Strossmayer, dated December 9, 1878: “the ‘Montenegrin Woman,’ that was exhibited at the Paris Slon – [was] the first work of a South Slavic (*jugoslavenski*) artist that had this good fortune.” As quoted in Ferdo Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaho Bukovca i Strossmayer,” in: *Zbornik iz Dubrovačke prošlosti: Milanu Rešetaru o 70oj godišnjici života* (Dubrovnik: Knjižara Jadran, 1931), 384.

<sup>11</sup> Anon., “Tvorna umjetnost [Hrvatski slikar Fagioni],” *Hrvatski svjetozor* 1, no. 13, September 23, 1877, 103. The full notice reads “The Croatian painter Fagioni, from Dubrovnik, is betraying great talent in Paris, where he lives with the [financial] support of Bishop Strossmayer, so that he, though still young, is destined precisely for international fame (*svjetski glas*) according to the judgment of the best French artists.” Fagioni was the last name

announced the portentous discovery of a native son returned home from the New World to his fellow citizens in Dubrovnik with the Latin words “*Habemos pictorem!* (We have a painter!).”<sup>12</sup> To Josip Juraj Bishop Strossmayer, who, with Pucić’s coaxing, would become Bukovac’s first patron, Pucić characterized him thus: “an exceptional talent of the kind who has—at least as far as I know—never been born in our country, and precisely in that discipline where we are weakest (*u struci će smo najslabiji*)—in painting.”<sup>13</sup> Strossmayer himself, clearly infected by Pucić’s enthusiasm, devoted several paragraphs to the young artist in an 1877 article in the Zagreb literary magazine *Vienac*.<sup>14</sup> In describing the hopes he had for the young artist who was setting out for Paris in search of a solid artistic education, and from whom he had received the untrained but promising work *Young Sultanness* (*Mlada sultanija*), he wrote “... not one of our young painters have yet put such a charming and superb composition (*umotvor*) on canvas (fig. 3.2).”<sup>15</sup> Strossmayer concluded his article by writing “... one of these days, he will certainly be

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with which Bukovac was born. He Slavicized his name before leaving for Paris in 1877. See: Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj život* (Zagreb: Književni jug, 1918), 75. In the first few years in which his name appears in local periodicals, both versions were frequently used. Outside Dubrovnik, there was sometimes a certain degree of confusion as to the fact that both names belonged to the same person.

<sup>12</sup> Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike* ([1941] Čakovec: Hrvatski Zapisnik, 2002), 233. For a biography of Pucić, see: Franjo Marković, *Knez Medo Pucić* (Zagreb: Dionička Tiskara, 1883).

Bukovac lived in San Francisco from 1874–1877. See his account in the section of his autobiography, “U Kaliforniji” in: *Moj život*, 58–71.

<sup>13</sup> As quoted in Ferdo Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer,” in: *Zbornik iz Dubrovačke prošlosti: Milanu Rešetaru o 70oj godišnjici života* (Dubrovnik: Knjižara Jadran, 1931), 380.

<sup>14</sup> [Josip Juraj Strossmayer], “Nove slike u galeriji preuzv. gosp. Biskupa Strossmayera,” *Vienac* 9, no. 21, May 19, 1877, 335–38. The article describes five new paintings acquired by Strossmayer for his Picture Gallery “by Slavic hands,” among which is Bukovac’s *Young Sultanness*. Cf. a resumé of the article in: Anon., “Likovna umjetnost [Biskup Štrosmajer...],” *Hrvatski Svjetozor* 1, no. 1, July 1, 1877, 6.

<sup>15</sup> [Strossmayer], “Nove slike u galeriji,” 337. Vlaho Bukovac, *Young Sultanness* (*Mlada sultanija*), oil on canvas, 87.5 x 116 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb. In his autobiography, Bukovac called the painting *Turkish Woman* (*Turkinja*). See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 75.

In an early text on Vlaho Bukovac, Marco Car, who knew of the painting only from hearsay, called the painting a “*Circassian Odalisque*.” M[arco] G[iovanni] Zar [Marko Jovan Car], “Biagio Bukovac, pittore dalmato,” *Annuario Dalmatico* 1 (1884): 74. Many of the pale-skinned concubines and odalisques of the Imperial harem in Istanbul were reputed to be extraordinarily beautiful Circassians. Lidia Zhigunova discussed the sexualized imaginings of Circassian women in the nineteenth century in her paper, “Re-Possessing the Body: The Representations of the Circassian Women in Literature and Art” delivered at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Annual Conference, Philadelphia, November 2008.

the first among our young artists to achieve European recognition. ... I am grateful to Count Medo Pucić for giving me the opportunity to help this young man who, one of these days, will bring honor to our people.”<sup>16</sup> At the same time he is “certain” he is also uncertain, projecting the time of Bukovac’s artistic triumph into the hazy future of the twice mentioned “one of these days.”

What Anna Brzyski has argued about art criticism in Poland in the 1870s finds a parallel in the Croatian case: not only was it assumed that any painter working abroad was doing so on behalf of the nation, as an ambassador of sorts, but the primary place of the national painter at that time *was* abroad.<sup>17</sup> Painting on behalf of the nation required an international witness. It was only abroad that the painter could show his talent and the likenesses of his people to the world. As a result, the world would be forced to recognize the high degree of culture of the nation that had produced an artist capable of working in the elevated medium of painting. It was widely believed that only the most civilized countries produced great artists.<sup>18</sup>

According to this logic, Bukovac, with his debut at the Paris Salon, was imagined to be

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A similar slippage of terms can be seen in and E. Saglio’s review of Čermák’s painting of the *Goat (la Chèvre)* on display in the Goupil Gallery in 1860: “Mr. Čermák, with his painting *The Goat*, a souvenir from Circassia.” See his: “Exposition de tableaux modernes dans la Galerie Goupil,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* tome 7, no. 1, July 1, 1860, 51.

<sup>16</sup> [Strossmayer], “Nove slike u galeriji,” *Vienac*, 337–38. See also: Anon. “Likovna umjetnost [Biskup Štrosmajer...],” *Hrvatski Svjetozor*, 6: “the great patron [Strossmayer] predicts a great future for the young artist if he should persist on this path.”

<sup>17</sup> Anna Brzyski, “Between the Nation and the World: Nationalism and Modernism in Fin de Siècle Poland,” *Centropa* 1, no. 3 (September 2001): 165. See also her dissertation, “Modern Art and Nationalism in Fin de Siècle Poland,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999).

Working abroad was not without perceived dangers. Commentators worried that painters might lose sight of their national allegiance, melting into their foreign host countries. See, for example Ivan Krst. Krapac, “Vjekoslav Karas slikar,” *Dragoljub* 1, no. 40 (1867): 636. “However, those artists who turn apostate from their people, have not an ounce of national pride or self-awareness, and where there is none of that ... sooner or later he become a slave of others.”

<sup>18</sup> As Eva Forgacs has noted, artists from Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century “made use of the idioms of Western art as previous generations had used Latin—that is, as the universal language of erudition.” See “How the New Left Invented East-European Art,” *Centropa* 3 no. 2 (May 2003): 93. The allegory of Latin is particularly apt, as generations of Croatian patriots wrote in that universal medium precisely for its ability to deliver content helped along by the elegant persuasion afforded by the language.

making an admirable first step in the dual mission that the Croatian public knew him to be on: on the one hand picturing the national self in its noblest, bravest or most glorious moments, or suffering for virtues such as freedom or truth, and on the other, proving Croatia to be a civilized nation, a modern-day “Athens,” on the world stage by his talent in art. I would argue that, in turn, it was with his first Salon painting more than with any other he would exhibit during the seventeen years he lived in Paris that Bukovac himself seems to have wholeheartedly accepted that contract between artist and people, undertaking to speak to the world on behalf of his homeland.

Structuring the Croatian public’s positive assessment of Bukovac’s debut in Paris and its unwavering confidence that he was off to a good start, was not only its love of first steps, but also a narrative in which he was seen to be following in the footsteps of the much-admired Czech painter, Jaroslav Čermák. Neatly enough for this story, Čermák had just passed away. Over the years, Čermák had been cast by a number of commentators as a fatherly model for a much-desired but not-yet-existing Croatian art.<sup>19</sup> Alongside such notables as the Polish Jan Matejko (1838–1893), a place of honor was made for Čermák in a bombastically imagined pantheon of contemporary Slavic artists out of whose glittering heights a Croatian art would someday issue forth. Slavic ethnicity and fame were the main requisites for inclusion in the pantheon, but Čermák, the “illustrious talent, excellent representative of the Slavic soul in art,”

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<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Ognjeslav Utješonović–Ostrožinski’s treatise on painting in his, *Vila Ostrožinska: Sitne pjesme i osnova estetike, drugo i znatno povećano izdanje* (Vienna: L. Sommer, 1871), 278. Čermák “our Czech brother” is the only contemporary painter mentioned alongside Old Masters. See also: Vladimira Tartaglia–Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” *Radovi Arhiva Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 2 (1873): 178; and Bishop Strossmayer’s letter to Franjo Rački from 7 August, 1873, reproduced in: Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1928), 233.

Slovenian painters were also cast as potential sons of Čermák in the Croatian press: “As ‘Soča’ reports, the Academy of Fine Arts in Venice has awarded a golden medal to the Slovenian artist J. Šubić ... May God grant that he achieve the [same] fame as Čermák and never forgets the Slavic South.” Anon., “Umjetnost,” *Vienac* 7, no. 35, August 28, 1875, 570.

held a special role for commentators, having pioneered the picturing of a heroic Slavic South and consistently drawn on this theme in his oeuvre.<sup>20</sup> The “terrible scenes” Čermák had “seen for himself” of the suffering of the Orthodox Christians at the hands of the Ottoman Turks “made a strong impression on his soul and at the same time became the basis for his great and deserved fame, the subject matter for his most beautiful paintings.”<sup>21</sup> Čermák therefore represented a truly concrete model for the Croatian art that was imagined to be gestating, and often referred to as “our Čermák.”<sup>22</sup> In turn, Čermák himself cultivated a closeness to the South Slavic subjects of his paintings in correspondence with his patrons and friends in Croatia. Writing to Strossmayer about a work the Bishop passed up the chance to buy, for instance, he said “it is good that other countries get to know and interest themselves in our woes and our sufferings (*nos douleurs et nos souffrances*) through my paintings.”<sup>23</sup>

The large number of texts about the Czech artist and reproductions of his work in Croatian periodicals bear witness to Čermák’s prominent position within art discourse in the tiny nation fragmented within Austria–Hungary. Čermák was one of the most admired artists in the

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<sup>20</sup> The quote is from the anonymous obituary: “Jaroslav Čermak,” *Vienac* 10, no. 18, May 4, 1878, 295.

<sup>21</sup> The quotes are taken from the obituary by M.G., “Jaroslav Čermak, rođen u Pragu 1. kolovoza 1831., umro u Parizu 23. travnja 1878.,” *Hrvatski Svjetozor* 2, no. 45, May 5, 1878, 354. The passage reads in full:

At that time [1862] the terrible Herzegovinian Uprising had burst forth (*planuo*), presenting the artist with the opportunity to see with his own eyes the terrible scenes of tremendous suffering our people in that region endure from the Turks. Those scenes made a strong impression on his soul and became both the basis for his great and deserved fame and the subject matter for his most beautiful paintings.

The obituary goes on to further elaborate the Slavic South’s claim on Čermák:

Because Jaroslav Čermák was in body and soul devoted to his Czech people, he therefore chose the subjects for his paintings from [the Czech people’s] history and life, and perhaps in a greater measure—[greater] because in the more mature phase and [executed] with greater artistic perfection—from the life of South Slavs.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example: Strossmayer, “Nove slike u galeriji,” 335.

<sup>23</sup> The painting in question is *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi–Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (*Des Herzégoviens, de retour dans leur village pillé par les bachi–bouzoucks, trouvent le cimetière ravagé et l’église détruite*), 1877, oil on canvas, 200 x 149 cm. Prague Castle, Office of the President of the Republic, Prague (fig. I.5). The quote is from a letter from Čermák to Strossmayer, dated January 21, 1878. Letter no. 1, “Pisma Jaroslava Čermáka Strossmayeru,” HAZU, Zagreb. I would like to thank Ljerka Dulibić for bringing this letter to my attention and generously sharing it with me.

second half of the nineteenth century in Croatia, and his oeuvre was singled out more than that of any other artist as an ideal to which Croatian artists should aspire.

In the Spring of 1877, Pucić succeeded in dissuading Bukovac from his original plan to pursue artistic training in Italy.<sup>24</sup> Instead of seeking an education in the cradle of Western art, where Bukovac could easily communicate in Italian, he persuaded him to perfect his craft in the capital of art of the modern world.<sup>25</sup> He accompanied Bukovac to Paris in time to see the Salon, and place him under the tutelage of the father-figure Čermák.<sup>26</sup> Most likely due to Čermák's poor health, the matchmaking did not work out. Čermák recommended instead the studio of his friend Alexandre Cabanel, which Bukovac succeeded in entering as an *élève libre* (a non-matriculated student) at the *École des Beaux-Arts*.<sup>27</sup> There he received a solid, academic training.

Bukovac was not the only artist to aspire to study with the admired son of Prague.<sup>28</sup> During a time when there were few Croatian artists to speak of working inside or outside the homeland, before any schools or academies of art had been established, the career of Čermák was followed with great interest in Croatia. Furthermore, the artist had lived for three years in the Dalmatian village of Mandaljena just a few miles north of Bukovac's native Cavtat where he made many influential friends among the intellectuals and elites of the Dubrovnik area, including

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<sup>24</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 75.

<sup>25</sup> Bukovac grew up bi-lingual, speaking and reading both his regional dialect of South Slavic and Italian.

<sup>26</sup> In a short manuscript draft of Bukovac's life story conserved in the Vlaho Bukovac House Museum archives, ("Životopis V.B. – raznih lica i vlastiti" [no inv. no.]), penned by the artist and other authors (most likely his daughters), the initial meeting with Čermák is described thusly: "When B[ukovac] arrived in 1877 in Paris, he wanted to enter the school of the illustrious Czech painter Jaroslav Čermák. But since Č[ermák] was on his deathbed, B[ukovac] went to the famed painter Alexandre Cabanel instead and asked him to accept him in his atelier." This particular version of events did not make it into the published autobiographies of 1918 and 1925. For further evidence that Bukovac set out to study with Čermák, see: Bukovac's autobiography, *Moj život*, 75; Šišić, "Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer," 380; and [Strossmayer], "Nove slike," *Vienac*, 337.

<sup>27</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 75–79.

<sup>28</sup> The Croatian painter, Ferdinand Quiquerez, also wanted to study with Čermák two years earlier. See Vladimira Tartaglia-Kelemen, "Ferdinand Quiquerez u Italiji: Prilog za slikarevu biografiju," *Radovi Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1 (1972): 113 and 127.

Pucić.<sup>29</sup>

When Čermák died suddenly of heart failure at the age of forty–seven on April 23, 1878, just months before seeing Montenegro proclaimed an independent kingdom at the Berlin Congress, the papers were flooded with accounts of his life and work. The King was dead, and he had left unfinished business. He had been working on a new history painting with sixteen life–sized figures, which he had described to Bishop Strossmayer as “faithful to [his] affections ... representing a modern South Slavic subject (*un sujet jugoslave moderne*).”<sup>30</sup> The enormous charcoal sketch on canvas (c. 350 x 550 cm.) for the uncompleted work, *A Halt with Captured Herzegovinians – Study* (*Na odpočinko se zajatými Hercegovkami – studie*), still set up in his atelier in the avenue de Wagram as if in expectation the master would return home, was reported on in all the Croatian periodicals.<sup>31</sup> Čermák’s last, and presumably, best work was left unfinished, *in potentia*:

The contour drawing (*oris*) of a painting, commissioned by the Czech Society of Art (*Umělecká Besěda*), is still on display in the studio of the deceased [Čermák], and every day artists and lovers of art come to examine it closely. The contour drawing depicts Montenegrins, surrounded and captured by Turks in the ruins where their house once stood. On the left, next to a demolished window, is a tall, dry and stooping person: behind him sit two Turks, of brutal and savage faces, playing cards. At the front stand pretty Montenegrin women, who

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<sup>29</sup> Montenegro was Čermák original destination in 1858, however extreme snowstorms blocked the roads and he was forced to stay in the area around Dubrovnik. He made a second trip in 1862 to Montenegro. See: Vratislav Černý, “Jaroslav Čermák 1830–1878,” in: Vratislav Černý, F.V. Mokřý and V. Náprstek *Život a Dilo Jaroslava Čermáka* (Prague: Výtvarný odbor Umělecké besedy, 1930), i–ii.

<sup>30</sup> Faithful to my affections (*fidèle a mes affections*), I am working at the moment on a very large painting [original emphasis], (16 life–sized figures), representing a modern South Slavic subject (*un sujet jugoslave moderne*). It is commissioned by the Museum of Prague, [in] my native city.” Letter from Čermák to Strossmayer, dated January 21, 1878. HAZU Archive, Zagreb.

The unfinished work referred to is *A Halt with Captured Herzegovinians – Study* (*Na odpočinko se zajatými Hercegovkami – studie*), 1878, charcoal on canvas, c. 350 x 550 cm. National Gallery, Prague, inv. no. K 184. The National Gallery in Prague also conserves a small pencil drawing on paper of the composition under the same title (1878, 41.8 x 53.2 cm., inv. no. K 185). Many thanks to Kristýna Brožová for the providing object information.

<sup>31</sup> *Slovinac* reported: “It is a real shame that he did not finish a painting from the last Russian–Turkish war which was commissioned by *Umělecká Besěda* and he had [in his studio].” Anon., “Jaroslav Čermak,” *Slovinac* 1, no. 2, May 16, 1878, 16. The sketch was also reported on in: M.G., “Jaroslav Čermak,” 354.

sorrowfully dwell upon their unfortunate fate (*udes*).<sup>32</sup>

Čermák had been cut down in the prime of his life. His last work was orphaned. Who would adopt those abandoned sixteen figures, fill in their expectant contours and breathe life into them?

Perhaps when Croatia's young artists were grown up enough, they could pick up where Čermák had left off. Zagreb's *Hrvatski Svjetozor*, at the end of a long obituary that began on the front page of the May 5, 1878 edition, suggested as much:

With [the passing of] Jaroslav Čermák, a noble (*plemenit*) talent and pride of art has been laid in the grave... we Slavs, especially in his Czech and Croatian homelands, to which he was bound by his work, have good reason to dress ourselves in black and lay a laurel wreath on his grave.<sup>33</sup>

When one day, the lush flower of art finally blooms in Croatia, it will have reason to follow the trail that Čermák blazed.<sup>34</sup>

Art in Croatia is, in no uncertain terms, cast by the writer as a practice *in potentia*.

Croatian art—we do not know if the writer sees it as a seed or seedling—has not yet flowered, but promises to bloom in the future, a process that will be helped along by looking to the fully-mature example of the Czech artist, Jaroslav Čermák. Čermák's fatherly position relative to Croatia's hoped-for art is clear. Being that Czechs and Croats were interpreted as members of a greater ethnic Slavic family, the transference projected onto the imagined relationship between Čermák and his future Croatian followers was naturalized.<sup>35</sup>

The timing of Čermák's death with the news that Bukovac's painting had been accepted in the Salon was such that at the very same moment Čermák's loss was mourned, the young

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<sup>32</sup> Anon., "(Ostanci Jaroslava Čermaka)," *Galeb* 1, no. 3, July 1, 1878, 4.

N.B. There is a great deal of variation in the historical and contemporary titling of many of Čermák's works. The designations of Montenegrin, Herzegovinian and sometimes Bosnian are interchanged fairly haphazardly by various parties. Undoubtedly, however, the captured people were meant to be Herzegovinians,

<sup>33</sup> The clause "to which he was bound by his work" serves as an explanation as to why Croatia is being cast as a second homeland for Čermák.

<sup>34</sup> M. G., "Jaroslav Čermak," 354.

<sup>35</sup> See Marta Filipová on Austro-Slavism versus Pan-Slavism in the nineteenth century: "The Construction of a National Identity in the Historiography of Czech Art" (PhD Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2008), 34–35.

Croatian artist was dubbed his successor. The King is dead, long live the King! The subject matter of Bukovac's canvas and even its title "*Episode*" seemed to be directly derivative of Čermák, so that French critics with no stakes in linking the two artists made the connection: "*bon tableau, genre Cermak*,"<sup>36</sup> Six weeks after announcing Čermák's passing, the same *Hrvatski Svjetozor* printed what appeared to be a sign that "the lush flower of art" might be budding on the "trail that Čermák blazed"<sup>37</sup>:

Vlaho Bukovac... at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, in the studio of the celebrated (*slavni*) painter Cabanel, finished the painting "Montenegrin Woman on the Defense," which artists are praising broadly. May God grant that Bukovac, who is just twenty-two years old, replace [for us] the celebrated departed Čermák (*Dao Bog, da nam Bukovac, kojemu je tek 22 godine, zamieni slavnoga pokojnika Čermaka*).<sup>38</sup>

It would be willful to infer that the editors of *Hrvatski svjetozor* made the connection between their two articles as strongly as I am making it here, namely, that Bukovac, in promising to "replace the illustrious departed Čermák," might put Croatia on the trail to obtaining "lush flower of art."<sup>39</sup> Much of the news reported in the Zagreb paper was copied from other sources. The memorable passage ending with "God grant that Bukovac ... replace the celebrated departed Čermák," had been lifted from Bakar's *Galeb*, which in turn had been culled from a somewhat longer text in Dubrovnik's new and highly ideological literary magazine *Slovinac*.

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<sup>36</sup> Véron, *Dictionnaire Véron*, 99.

I do not believe it was a coincidence that the name of Bukovac's debut canvas was so similar to Čermák's most famous work in Croatia: his 1873 canvas, *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé*). The painting was commissioned by Bishop Strossmayer and gifted to the Gallery of Paintings that opened in Zagreb in 1884. See more about the subject in Chapter V of this dissertation.

<sup>37</sup> M. G., "Jaroslav Čermak," 354.

<sup>38</sup> Anon., "Tvorna Umjetnost [Vlaho Bukovac]," *Hrvatski svjetozor* 2, no. 51, June 14, 1878, 408.

<sup>39</sup> There may have been some confusion in *Hrvatski svjetozor* as to Bukovac's identity: nine months before he had been called "Fagioni" from Dubrovnik, whereas in the 1878 announcement he was "Bukovac" from "Kartat," most likely a sloppy misspelling of Bukovac's native town of Cavtat. See: Anon., "Tvorna umjetnost [Hrvatski slikar Fagioni]," *Hrvatski svjetozor*, 103, and Anon., "Bukovac i Mančun," *Slovinac*, 17, "rodom Kartačanin."

In Dubrovnik, the center of the southern Dalmatian region where Bukovac was born, this link between the deceased Čermák and native son Bukovac was explicitly made on the pages of the second issue of the brand–new *Slovinac*, an illustrated bi–monthly to which Bukovac’s first supporters were regular contributors, indeed founders.<sup>40</sup> *Slovinac*’s contributors knew well who Bukovac was and were deeply invested in his replacing the “illustrious departed Čermák,” for internal and external reasons. Locally, Čermák’s heroic Christian Orthodox subject matter promised to help fuse together a fractured Slavic South. Abroad, his successful paintings were emissaries of the South Slavs’s greatness to a skeptical world.

Čermák’s death and Bukovac’s Salon debut were announced on two consecutive pages of Dubrovnik’s *Slovinac*, in such a way that the transfer from the dead to living artist is materially palpable. The two are literally bound together (fig. 3.3). Čermák’s obituary begins on page fifteen, spilling over to the top of page sixteen under which, on the left hand side framed by a decorative border, is notification of Bukovac’s inclusion in the Salon.<sup>41</sup> The closing words of the obituary bid farewell to “Celebrated Jaroslav! In the dancing circle (*u kolu*) with the entire Slavic and South Slavic world, Dubrovnik, whom you kissed with your soul and gladly stayed in at length, with a sorrowful heart, tear–stained face and grateful soul shouts: May your memory be forever, and may the earth rest lightly on you (*laka ti zemlja*)!”<sup>42</sup> The text on Bukovac was a more detailed version of the one in Zagreb’s *Hrvatski svjetozor*, and read in full:

The young Dubrovčan artist from Cavtat, Mr. Vlaho F.[agioni] Bukovac, whom Medo Pucić brought last year to Paris and secured him a place in the French *École des Beaux–Arts* (the only place given to a citizen of Austria) in the

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<sup>40</sup> In 1882, the short–lived *Slovinac* would begin coming out tri–monthly rather than bi–monthly. The magazine ceased production in 1884. About *Slovinac* see: Nikola Ivanišin, *Časopis “Slovinac” i slovinstvo u Dubrovniku* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Odjel za filologiju, 1962).

<sup>41</sup> Anon., “Jaroslav Čermák” and “Bukovac i Mančun,” *Slovinac* 1, no. 2, May 16, 1878, 16–17.

<sup>42</sup> Anon., “Jaroslav Čermák” 17.

“*Laka ti zemlja*” is the Croatian translation of “*sit tibi terra levis* (may the earth rest lightly on you),” a Latin funerary inscription from antiquity.

workshop of the celebrated professor of painting Mr. Cabanel, has this Winter completed such a [good] painting, “Montenegrin Woman on the Defense,” that his strict professor granted him permission to submit it to the jury of this year’s Salon; the jury, made up of the most renowned (*najglasovitiji*) French painters, judged that it was worthy of the public, therefore it has already been on display in the Salon since the first of May. Mr. Bukovac is a young man of twenty–two years, only one year into his professional studies, and though still a student, his work has been accepted among the works of the very best artists! He is the first of our South Slavic people (*prvi naš Slovinac*) to have this honor. [Dear] God, grant that Bukovac replace the departed Čermák! And for that we shall remain grateful to the blessed hands of Bishop **Strossmayer** [original emphasis] who has helped the young Dubrovčan up to now with the nice sum of 1000 florins.<sup>43</sup>

The notice paints the picture of a “young” artist (the adjective is used three times in the passage) poised for a kind of success never achieved by a native son: Bukovac is the “first” South Slav to have ever exhibited in the Paris Salon. Despite Bukovac’s messianic status, one of the paradoxes of the discourse of desire reveals itself, called out, perhaps, by the unsettling object of his actualized painting, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. At the very same time Bukovac’s triumph is announced, a pair of contenders appear to vie for the public’s great expectations, illustrative of the tendency for halting rather than sustained interest in artists’ careers. The first is within the very same framed section of text on Bukovac. We read that in “other joy[ful news]” another Dubrovčan, P[etar] Mančun, had received a prestigious award in Rome for etching.<sup>44</sup> The second is more baffling. On pages 14 and 15, we find Count Medo Pucić in Paris visiting the Salon two years prior in 1876. Amidst all the tragic history paintings that caused his “eyes to burn” and made him feel the need to “take a nap,” his attention was drawn to a breath of fresh air, a painting of a transatlantic steamship in the Port of Le Havre. The artist was Michel Willenich. Recognizing the Gallicized version of a local South Slavic last

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<sup>43</sup> Anon., “Bukovac i Mančun,” 16.

<sup>44</sup> Anon., “Bukovac i Mančun,” 16. “The renowned copperplate engraver P[etar] in Rome was awarded with the knight’s cross of the Italian crown for art.” Petar Mančun (also Pietro Mancion, 1803–1888): a printmaker born in Dubrovnik who worked primarily in Rome.

name, Vilenik, he tracked the painter down to the address of the studio he found in his copy of the Salon catalogue. His hunch was correct: the artist's father, a seafaring man, was from Dubrovnik.<sup>45</sup> Following in his father's footsteps, in an alternative manner, the son had become a painter of maritime scenes. As if hedging his bets, Pucić let the public know that he had "discovered" another budding talent. Readers putting two and two together could deduce that in fact it was Willenich, not Bukovac, who was the "first" South Slav to exhibit at the Salon in Paris.<sup>46</sup>

Being that both were minor artists, however, the public invested neither Willenich or Mančun with the kind of expectant weight reserved for Bukovac. Bukovac stood out. His role as Čermák's successor had been carefully constructed. He promised to become the South Slavic painter who made the South Slavs famous, with history paintings that did not make ones "eyes burn." As Bukovac's most knowledgeable biographer, Vera Kružić-Uchytíl, notes, "Bukovac entered the Paris Salon modestly, in the well-worn path of Jaroslav Čermák."<sup>47</sup> I would agree

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<sup>45</sup> See Pucić's "Miho Vilenik slikar u Parizu," *Slovinac* 1, no. 2, May 16, 1878, 15–16. Michel Willenich (died 1891) was born in Alexandria, Egypt. His parents were naturalized French citizens. Willenich's father, a native of Dubrovnik, had entered the French navy when Napoleon's forces took over the so-called Illyrian provinces.

Pucić's positive appraisal of a minor maritime scene in contrast to his negative assessment of history painting represents a major departure from the norm. It may be revealing of Pucić's taste, or may simply be a rhetorical device to make Willenich's work appear to stand out.

<sup>46</sup> Willenich's work had been accepted at the Paris Salon as early as 1870, when he exhibited two paintings: *Le sauve-qui-pent; steamer sombrant effet de soleil couchant* and *Coup de vent; navire désespart à la côté*. See page 388 of the *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées, le 1er mai 1870* (Paris: C. De Mourges, 1870).

He also exhibited maritime scenes at the Exhibition of Fine Arts in Rouen in 1872, 1874 and 1876. See: *Ville de Rouen. Catalogue de la vingt-troisième exposition municipale de Beaux-arts, ouverte au musée de Rouen le 31 Mars 1872* (Rouen: J. Lecerf, 1872), 72, nos. 381–83; *Ville de Rouen. Catalogue de la vingt-quatrième exposition municipale de Beaux-arts, ouverte au musée de Rouen le 14 Mai 1874* (Rouen: J. Lecerf, 1874), 100, no. 626; and *Ville de Rouen. Catalogue de la vingt-cinquième exposition municipale de Beaux-arts, ouverte au musée de Rouen le 1er Octobre 1876* (Rouen: J. Lecerf, 1876), 97, nos. 536–38.

Bukovac and Willenich's names appeared together for the first time as two "South Slavic artists" two years later in a notice about their respective submissions to the Paris Salon in 1880. See: Anon., "Dubrovački umjetnici u Pariškom Salonu 1880," *Slovinac* 3, no. 12, June 16, 1880, 237.

<sup>47</sup> She goes on to argue: "... he gradually achieved his own renown and finally claimed a permanent and secure position over the course of sixteen years. There is no doubt that the Salon, especially in the beginning, influenced the development of Vlaho Bukovac's artistic personality, just as there is no doubt that, in a sense, it also influenced

that the young artist probably entered into the pact with eyes wide open. By following Čermák's provenly successful Balkan Orientalist formula, he could be sure of producing the kind of picture his patrons and supporters back home would appreciate. Like Čermák, he may have sincerely believed in the Illyrian ideas of South Slavic unity espoused by Strossmayer in Zagreb and the intellectuals of Dubrovnik, or he may have been playing to their sympathies in the hopes of receiving further financial support.

Pucić must have talked a great deal to Bukovac about Jaroslav Čermák as they journeyed by train together to Paris in the Spring of 1877, preparing his young protégé for the impending meeting during which he hoped his old friend would take Bukovac on as a student. We know that Bukovac visited Čermák's studio with Pucić upon their arrival in Paris, where he saw his paintings firsthand. At the Salon, Pucić would have directed his attention to Čermák's newest history painting, *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bachi-Bozouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed*, an enormous history painting depicting Christian survivors in the midst of barbarous Ottoman destruction (fig. I.5).<sup>48</sup>

Bukovac did his best to follow the example of the mature Czech artist with his debut painting, *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. In his autobiography, forty years later, the artist himself described the genesis of the *Episode* thusly:

When I saw the Salon for the first time in 1877, I felt how insignificant I was in comparison to those master [painters]. It hurt, but I did not lose strength. "God willing," I said to myself, "one day, I too will be among them!"

In agreement with *gospa* Medo [Count Medo Pucić] I decided on the "Montenegrin Woman." I did not tell him whither my desires were aimed,

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its deformation." Vera Kružić-Uchytel, *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005) 172–73.

<sup>48</sup> Pucić was so enamored with the grand composition that he lobbied Bishop Strossmayer to purchase it for his collection as a pendant to Čermák's 1873 *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda*. See: Ferdo Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1929), letters 483, 484, 485, 487, 488, and 489 dating May 25, 1877 to July 13, 1877, pages 109, 111, 114, 115, 116 and 117.

because I was ashamed of my daring.<sup>49</sup> In that way I began [working on] “Montenegrin Woman on the Defense.” My father obtained the costume, and I executed the study of the rocky terrain and cliffs in the Fontainebleau forest (later I found out that Čermák had in this [same] way made his Montenegrins).<sup>50</sup>

The setting of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* does look like the Fontainebleau forest. We know for a fact that Bukovac made sketching excursions there on occasion, as evidenced by numerous photographs documenting the artist enjoying the change of scenery from urban Paris with friends (fig. 3.4).<sup>51</sup> While it is interesting to think about Fontainebleau masquerading as mountainous Montenegro in parallel to a Parisian model masquerading as a brave Montenegrin woman, here I would like to press on Bukovac’s leeriness of appearing overly emulative of Čermák. The question of originality was ideologically charged in the later nineteenth century and Bukovac was careful to frame his following in Čermák’s footsteps as a stumbling onto the latter’s working method by chance. Another “coincidence” he recounts in the autobiography concerns his other father figure, his teacher Alexandre Cabanel. Bukovac tells the story of how he met his first model on the Boulevard St. Michel, “a beautiful Italian woman wearing the full national costume of the Roman ‘Campagna.’” As it prophetically turned out, she was a model who often posed for Cabanel named Maria, and the painting he made of her helped him convince the French professor to take him on as a pupil.<sup>52</sup> Bukovac wants to persuade us that he was intuitively drawn to the same source materials as the established masters.<sup>53</sup> If he was

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<sup>49</sup> Presumably, Bukovac means that he did not inform Count Medo Pucić of his intention to submit the painting to the Salon. Unfortunately, the correspondence between Bukovac and Pucić has only been very partially preserved. There is a partial, torn-up letter, conserved in the State Archives in Dubrovnik in which Bukovac describes the finished painting—the “*Montenegrin Woman (Crnogorka)*”—and how he planned to have it photographed. PUC III D1, Arhiv Pucić, “Fragmenti jednog pisma Vlaha Bukovca.” State Archives, Dubrovnik.

<sup>50</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 80.

<sup>51</sup> There are numerous photographs of Bukovac either alone or with friends in the Fountainbleau forest preserved in the Archives of the Vlaho Bukovac House Museum.

<sup>52</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 77–78.

<sup>53</sup> As Mark Gotlieb astutely observes, one strategy nineteenth-century artists used to avoid the negativity associated with imitation was going “back to the same sources the old masters had mined,” the safest of which was nature

going to “replace” the great departed Čermák, metaphorically finishing the tantalizing sketch left behind in the King’s atelier, he would do so as if guided by the invisible hand of fate.

## 1. THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM: ATHENS AND SPARTA<sup>54</sup>

Let us now ask the obvious question: what is a Montenegrin woman doing here at the beginning of modern Croatian painting? It is a seemingly simple question. Why did Bukovac not paint a Dalmatian woman? A Croatian woman? The subject is, understandably, an unpopular one, and I do not belittle the reasons why. To ask the question of why Bukovac chose to picture a Montenegrin woman at the earnest outset of his career begs answers that do not fall neatly within a national narrative.<sup>55</sup> Twentieth-century art histories have tended to privilege insular narratives. Extra-national excesses have been dealt with superficially, ignored, avoided or actively suppressed. Part of what is at stake in insisting on asking what has become an extremely uncomfortable question is recovering a chapter in the history of art in which the birth of a national art takes place in a transnational context. It is precisely for this reason that I find the painting so wonderfully compelling. In asking the question of why a Montenegrin woman figures in Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, we retrieve a historical moment of incredibly elastic openness and inclusivity as opposed to exclusivity. We are forced to rethink the category of “national art.”

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itself. Marc Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), esp. 73 and 96. On Emulation, see also, Thomas Crow’s seminal *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>54</sup> *Elephant in the room*: an originally American phrase, meaning “(b) a significant problem or controversial issue, which is obviously present but ignored or avoided as a subject for discussion, usually because it is more comfortable to do so.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, draft additions March 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Bukovac exhibited canvases with Montenegrin subject matter at the Paris Salon in 1878, 1879, 1880, 1883 and 1885 (see appendix 3). The last phase of his career, spent as a professor at the Fine Arts Academy in Prague, was also characterized by scores of idealized scenes of picturesque rural life in Montenegro, which continued to be popular in Bohemia and later Czechoslovakia (fig. 4.20).

Montenegrin scholarship alone has purposefully engaged with the large corpus of Montenegrin-themed works of art produced by foreign artists, distinguished as *stranci* (non-Slavic foreigners) such as Théodore Valerio (1819–1879), and *izvanjci* (non-Montenegrin Slavs, literally, “those from outside”) including the Czech Jaroslav Čermák, the Serbian Pavle “Paja” Jovanović (1859–1957) and Croatians including Vlaho Bukovac, Ferdinand Quiquerez (1845–1893), Mato Celestin Medović (1857–1920) and Ivan Rendić (1849–1932).<sup>56</sup> As Anđe Kapičić has persuasively argued, Montenegro held a romantic attraction for artists of the nineteenth century, especially Slavic artists.<sup>57</sup> The framework for most of these studies is valorization of Montenegrin culture through the interest of outsiders. My focus here is different: recognizing Montenegrin, and, more broadly, South Slavic subject matter as the means to an end in Croatian visual discourse, I want to discover what that end was.

The story of how a Montenegrin woman came to be a spokesperson for the beginnings of Croatian art is not narrowly confined to the case of Vlaho Bukovac’s debut canvas. Many of Bukovac’s compatriots across the arts similarly pictured Slavic Sparta as they worked to rebuild the temple of a Croatian Athens, perceived to have crumbled when the free Republic of Dubrovnik ceased to exist in 1806.<sup>58</sup> Probing the subject matter of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, therefore, has the merit of getting at broader features of the cultural landscape of

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<sup>56</sup> Cf., for example: Toman Brajović, *Crna Gora u delima likovnih umetnika drugih krajeva i naroda xix i početkom xx veka* (Cetinje: Obod, 1967); Ivan Esih, “Crnogorski motivi u umjetnosti Jaroslava Čermaka.” *Stvaranje* no. 7–8 (1957): 624–27; Miodrag Ibrovac, “Teodor Valerio i Teofil Gotje, slikari nasih tipova.” *Narodna Starina* 35 (1935), 33–58; Jovanović, Radivoje. “Jaroslav Čermak na slovenskom jugu.” *Stvaranje* nos. 9–10 (1967), 1117–28; Anđe Kapičić, *Bukovac i Crna Gora* (Cetinje: Matica Crnogorska, 2002); eadem, “Bukovac na Cetinju,” *Glasnik Cetinjskih muzeja* 8, tome 8 (1980): 153–88; and eadem, *Kralj Nikola u djelima likovnih umjetnika* (Cetinje: Obod, 1991).

<sup>57</sup> Kapičić, *Kralj Nikola u djelima likovnih umjetnika*.

<sup>58</sup> In an impassioned coda to an article by Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the writer August Šenoa sums up the notion that Croatia’s new capital of Zagreb should reclaim Dubrovnik’s former glory: “Oh Zagreb! Zagreb! You intend to take the name of our celebrated Dubrovnik and call yourself our Athens.” See the last paragraph of: “Nove slike u galeriji preuzvisenog biskopa Strossmayer,” *Vienac* 9, no. 21, May 19, 1877, 338.

later nineteenth-century Croatia. The Montenegrin woman was a sort of “front man” to Bukovac on what I previously termed the “dual mission.” She responded to a domestic desire for pictures of an admirable, essentialized national self, while at the same time satisfying what hyperconscious commentators thought the outside world would respect and esteem.

As we have seen, Jaroslav Čermák provides part of the answer to our question.<sup>59</sup> Čermák had given budding artists in Croatia a script for success. “Follow[ing] the trail that Čermák blazed,” that is, following the example of the fatherly Czech role model who had done so well in France, bestowed an aura of power on Montenegrin subject matter.<sup>60</sup> Commentators hoped Bukovac would “replace the departed Čermák!” in struggling, as the art critic Ladislav Mrazović had put it four years earlier, “not with weapons ... but by means of art” against the subjugation of the Slavs living in the Dual Monarchy.<sup>61</sup> Čermák’s images of a nation engaged in real war allegorized the cultural war waged by many Slavic peoples for sovereignty under Austria and Hungary. Montenegro was a romantic symbol of freedom for all the Slavs living under foreign domination, but especially for the Czechs and Croats ruled by the Austro–Hungarian Empire. If the “Spartan” Montenegro depicted by Čermák fought their Ottoman oppressors with knives, rifles and yataghans, a cultural war was the only war possible for a Croatia that fancied itself as the “Athens” of the Slavic South to Montenegro’s “Sparta.” Those who fought by pen (and brush), thus, were inspired by those who fought by sword. If truly native sons like Bukovac could produce images in the genre of painting Čermák had pioneered, Croatia could prove itself a civilized nation, a modern-day “Athens.”

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<sup>59</sup> Apart from Bukovac’s beginnings in Paris, his life and work continued to be intertwined with Čermák’s legacy. Bukovac spent the last years of his career as a professor at the Fine Arts Academy in Čermák’s native city of Prague.

<sup>60</sup> M. G., “Jaroslav Čermak, rodjen u Pragu ...,” 354.

<sup>61</sup> Anon., “Tvorna Umjetnost [Vlaho Bukovac],” 408; and [Ladislav] M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” *Vienac* 6, no. 8, February 21, 1874, 125.

The fashion for Orientalism supplies another part of the answer to why Athens pictured Sparta. In painting, music, fashion, and literature, all things Eastern were in vogue not only in Paris, but throughout the globe.<sup>62</sup> Montenegro, with its elaborate demi-Ottoman dress and tales of archaic military conflict, was definitely part of the Orient as popularly imagined.<sup>63</sup> Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Montenegro was becoming a known quantity in Western media.<sup>64</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, it gained increased visibility due to the Eastern Question (fig. 1.8).<sup>65</sup> A passage from the famous 1820 travelogue of Colonel L. C. Violla de Sommieres sums up the idealized perception of Montenegro as a pre-modern warrior society:

In constant danger of being invaded by the Turks, Montenegrins have no interests outside their defense against the neighboring barbarians. Arts, sciences, and the humanities, all of these objects of European glory are nothing to them.

His gun, his knife and his bible, that he kisses more than he reads, this is what suffices for the Montenegrin; and perhaps he is happier for [that reason], if it is true that happiness consists in staying as close to nature as possible!<sup>66</sup>

The exoticism and perceived purity of Montenegro fascinated French audiences, fitting into pre-existing matrices of Orientalist knowledge and doing much to ensure the positive reception of works of art that featured it. Part of the Croatian public's investment in images of

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<sup>62</sup> See, for example: Holly Edwards, ed., *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>63</sup> For example, the decapitated heads of Turks were exhibited on the often-depicted *Tablja* (a tower on a round base designed for defense) built by *Vladika* Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851, ruled 1830–1851) in Cetinje. The practice was abolished in 1850.

<sup>64</sup> Some of the early works, mainly travelogues, include: Le Colonel L. C. Violla de Sommieres, *Voyage Historique et Politique au Monténégro* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, Libraire, 1820); François Lenormant, *Turcs et Monténégrins* (Paris: Didier, 1866); Xavier Marmier, *Lettres sur l'Adriatique et le Monténégro* (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1854); and *Mémoires du Maréchal Marmont Duc de Raguse* (Paris: Perrotin, Libraire-Éditeur, 1857).

<sup>65</sup> Notable works from the late nineteenth century/early twentieth century include: Henri Avelot and Joseph de La Nézière, *Monténégro, Bosnie, Herzégovine* (Paris, H. Laurens, 1895); Georg Baumberger, *Blaues Meer und schwarze Berge: Volks und Landschaftsbilder aus Krain, Istrien, Dalmatien, Montenegro* (New York: Benzinger, 1902); Pierre Bauron, *Les Rives illyriennes: Istrie, Dalmatie, Monténégro* (Paris: Retaux-Bray, 1888); Albert Dumont, *Le Balkan et l'Adriatique* (Paris, Didier et Cie., 1878); Mary Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904); Gabriel Frilley and Jovan Wlahovitj, (1876) *Le Monténégro contemporaine* (Paris: E. Plon et Cie., 1876); Vico Mantegazza, *Al Montenegro, note ed impressioni (agosto-settembre 1896)* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1896); and Charles Yriarte, *Les Bords de l'Adriatique et le Monténégro* (Paris: Libraire Hachette et Cie, 1878).

<sup>66</sup> Sommieres, *Voyage Historique et Politique au Monténégro*, vij–viii.

“our heroic Sparta in the Slavic South” certainly had to do with the simple fact of their success abroad.<sup>67</sup>

To a greater extent, heroic images of Montenegro fed into the cultural imagination of an expansive self: a composite South Slavic body made up of many tribes, among which the Montenegrins were the bravest, the most archetypal and least corrupted by modern society. Owing to the tenuous independence Montenegro had maintained from the Ottomans, the tiny country was idealized as a Slavic highland where all members of society participated in the admirable struggle for liberty since time immemorial, as in Jaroslav Čermák’s 1873 canvas *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (fig. I.3). Montenegro offered a glimpse of an authentic self from the distant past where men were men, and women were not only beautiful, but brave too. This was land of valiant people dressed in gorgeous costume, with blind bards who sang long poems by heart. Life had an epic air, as from the time of Homer. Both insiders and outsiders consistently drew parallels to the classical world, thereby continuing the eighteenth-century valorization of the Balkans as a window on antiquity.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Even images by foreign non-Slavic artists, like Théodore Valerio were interpreted this way. The quote is from an anonymous text accompanying an engraving of Valerio’s *Female Weapons Guard at the Entrance of the Cetinje Monastery* (*Gardeuse d’armes à l’entrée du Monastire de Cettigne*, 1864), reproduced as *Montenegrin Woman* (*Crnogorka*) in: *Hrvatska Vila* 1, no. 10 (1882): 203 (fig. 1.12). The accompanying text from which I quote, “Naše slike — Crnogorka,” is found on page 211. It reads, in its entirety:

Here is a picture from our heroic Sparta. Here [in Montenegro] there is no live person (*nema ni žive duše*) without weapons. In front of a cave sits a Montenegrin mother rocking her dear child in a cradle, while his father rests in the interior of the cave. She is on guard duty, a hero (*junakinja*), she knows neither fear nor danger. How could her little son also not become a hero, when he is raised alongside the horse and spear?! Yes, he will be of his mother’s heart, and he will be his father’s right hand: For the honorable cross and golder freedom!

<sup>68</sup> Writing about two history paintings by Čermák on display in Paris at the 1878 World’s Fair, Tullo Massarani muses:

...when we return to look at the *Wounded Montenegrin* and the *Herzegovinian Refugees*, we must *sincerely lament* the loss of this artist, who put on these pages along with the best of his convictions, all the character of ancient and the almost Homeric dignity (*carattere di antica e quasi omerica fierezza*) that belongs to the belligerent tribe of Montenegro, even more than the

Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro* reveals the will to create an all-embracing, far-reaching national self. The South Slavic Slavophilic sentiments of his supporters were rooted in Renaissance discourses of ethnicity that promised to fuse the South Slavs, who were divided by religion and empire, together into one integral, synthetic body.<sup>69</sup> In the nineteenth century, these discourses transformed into the Illyrian and later Yugoslav movements, which posited that all the Slavic-speaking people from Slovenia to Bulgaria were brothers of the same family. United under one name with one common language, they could stop “drag[ging] [themselves] through the world nameless, so that [they] cease to be reviled and mocked by everyone.”<sup>70</sup> By attaining cohesion, the South Slavs could grow strong and numerous enough to overthrow their foreign overlords.

In the rapidly expanding capital of Zagreb, Strossmayer and others worked to disseminate the Yugoslav idea. In Dubrovnik, supporters of a united Slavic South banded together under the banner of *Slovinstvo*, which, like the word “Yugoslavia,” referred literally to a land of South Slavs in the local idiom.<sup>71</sup> Their mouthpiece was the magazine *Slovinac*, whose first issue

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Littoral dwellers of the Neretva [delta].

See his: *L'arte à Parigi* (Rome: Tipografia del senato di Forzani e Comp., 1879), 329–30. The paintings Massarani references are: *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (1873) and *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi-Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (1877).

<sup>69</sup> I am indebted to Olga Nedeljković for this interpretation. See the manuscript of her forthcoming book: *The Origins of South Slavic Slavophilism as a Discourse*.

<sup>70</sup> Anon., “Koje je naše ime?” *Slovinac* 1, no. 4, June 16, 1878, 4. The text continues:

Let us accept the Herzegovinian dialect as the foundation for our language as we already partially have, and let us look at the example of the Italians who have done so. And they recently wrestled over how to call their language since they chose the Tuscan dialect for their literary language. ... The Italians chose the Tuscan dialect and called it by the general Italian name: we do the same.

<sup>71</sup> See the mission statement of *Slovinac*:

As far as the name goes, *Slovinac* is an ancient man (*davni starac*) and entrenched among the common people in our coast ... it also offered a vein toward ... Herzegovina, which cultivated the best language in our South and we accepted it as the foundation for the literary language for all four tribes (*plemena*) in the South. ... the famous Academy in Zagreb ... is not called Croatian, nor Serbian, but rather Yugoslavian [South Slavic], because it was also founded [for the benefit of] the Bulgarian and Slovinian (*kranjsko*) [people]... and we began to cooperate with the Academy to achieve the literary unification of our South as soon as possible.

appeared two weeks before Bukovac debuted at the Paris Salon.<sup>72</sup> These citizens of the crushed, once-independent largely Catholic Republic looked for protection in what was termed Serbophilism. Some began to identify as “Serbo-Catholics.”<sup>73</sup> Scholarship has generally interpreted this as a survival mechanism; an attempt to revive what had for centuries been the center of culture in the region from the slow death of backwater provincialization. By throwing their lot in with the Eastern Orthodox Christians of neighboring Herzegovina, Montenegro, and ultimately Serbia, Dubrovnik and by extension the rest of Dalmatia, might fare better than under Austrian rule. The turbulent 1870s had brought geopolitical unrest to a head. With the 1875 Uprising in Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia entering into war with Turkey 1876, and the 1878 occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, Dubrovnik was flooded with Eastern Orthodox refugees and volunteer soldiers.<sup>74</sup>

The inclusive vision self-espoused by Bukovac’s advocates in *Slovinac* was not without contention. There were other competing national movements in Dalmatia at the time. The Autonomist Party (*Autonomaška Stranka* or *Autonomaši*), for example, though interested in the heterogeneous coexistence of Slavic and Latin (i.e. Italian) people and traditions in Dalmatia,

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See: Pero Budmani, Antun Kazali, Dr. I[van] Kaznačić, Medo Pucić, Jovo Sundečić, Vuko Vrčević, Luko Zore, “Proglas,” *Slovinac* 1, no. 1, May 1, 1878, 4.

Returning to the question of the name “*Slovinac*” again in an article entitled “What is our name?” an anonymous author wrote: “we think that the best name for ourselves is *Slovinac* because the people themselves chose it ... Why shouldn’t we embrace this name?” The author goes on to argue that if the language should be called *Slovinski* then the land itself should, along the lines of Italy, be called “*Slovinija*.” See: Anon., “Koje je naše ime?” 4. The question of name was revisited yet again in the seventh issue. See: Anon., “Opet o našem imenu,” *Slovinac* 1, no. 7, August 1, 1878, 67.

<sup>72</sup> On *Slovinac* see: Nikola Ivanišin, *Časopis “Slovinac” i slovinstvo u Dubrovniku*, (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Odjel za filologiju, 1962); and idem, “Značajke lirike u časopisu ‘Slovinac,’” *Anali Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 2 (1953): 369–82.

<sup>73</sup> See: Ivo Banac, “The Confessional ‘Rule’ and the Dubrovnik Exception: The Origins of the ‘Serbo-Catholic’ Circle in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia,” *Slavic Review* 42, no. 3 (Autumn, 1983): 448–74; Nikša Stančić, “Srbi i srpsko-hrvatski odnosi u Dalmaciji u vrijeme narodnog preporoda 1860–1880,” *Zadarska revija* 39/5–6 (1990): 587–619; and Trpimir Macan, “O pristupu srpsokatoličkom fenomenu (U povodu nekih interpretacija),” *Dubrovnik*, nova serija 1, no. 1–2 (1990): 232–46.

<sup>74</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 28.

promoted the autonomy of the coastal region within Austria–Hungary rather than its unification with Croatia–Slavonia or a greater Slavic South. In Dubrovnik, many still harbored resentment over Montenegrins pillaging on the heels of the French invasion in 1806. The passionate defense of *Slovinac*'s ideology of unity by its contributors reveals there was fierce resistance to it.<sup>75</sup> The overwhelming number of poems and articles devoted to brotherly unity among the South Slavs, especially the Croats and Serbs, is indicative that such a love would need to be consciously cultivated.

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<sup>75</sup> For example, responding to criticism that the magazine was printed in two scripts, (Latin and Cyrillic), Budmani et al. wrote:

... As concerns the double alphabets (*dvojaka pismena*), until one or the other wins out, or some third solution [should overpower the existing two], we do not see dualism ... but think, rather, that it would be straightforward (*prosto*) for our contributors to be able to use both Latin and Cyrillic, since our four tribes in the South use both alphabets [...] It is only in this way that we can become renowned (*znameniti*), that is, in the unity of the literary language for all four branches (*grane*) of our [race].

See: Pero Budmani et al., "Proglas," *Slovinac*, 4.

## CHAPTER IV

### GREY FALCONS: PAINTING IN THE TALONS OF POETRY

“Well, I assure you they knew they had lost something,” I said, “they all know by heart a lot of poetry. ... they know thousands of lines of folk-poetry about the defeat of the Serbs at Kossovo, and it gives an impression of a great civilization.”<sup>1</sup>

August, 1879. One year after its exhibition at the Paris Salon, a reproduction of Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, retitled *Montenegrin Woman Ready for Defense* (*Crnogorka spremna na obranu*), appeared in Dubrovnik’s *Slovinac* (fig. 4.1).<sup>2</sup> The Croatian retitling, in describing the narrative content of the picture, effectively highlights the work’s anticipatory character: a woman “ready” to defend herself. Local audiences had no trouble imagining from whom.

The medium of wood engraving, with its language of intersecting lines that approximate volume, shading and tone, made for an image quite different from the original oil painting. Like all translations, it betrayed: *traduttore, traditore*. The contrasts between light and dark, already severe in the painted *Episode*, appear even more so in the printed reproduction. Very little remains of the liquid middle tones. The upper half of the background is nearly pitch black. The dots not filled in by the tightly-packed waves of half-curved lines appear as stars glittering in the night sky, stars that seem uniformly to be migrating diagonally upwards and to the right. The forest of what now looks like a nocturnal scene too has become more dynamic. Shedding its painted murkiness, the vegetation growing on the left side of the painting, defined with hard outlines, seems alive and rather terrifying. Stretching what seem almost to be tentacles with

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca West in dialogue with her husband in her: *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia* (New York: The Viking Press, 1941 (New York: The Viking Press, 1941), 494.

<sup>2</sup> “Crnogorka spremna na obranu,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, 232.

clusters of fingers towards the woman behind her back just below her shoulder, the plants are an embodiment of the sinister presence she senses is coming.

Relentless hatch marks break down the integrity of the figure. The hatching, in its overzealous effort to define volume and shadow, eats away at what was a luminous mass in the painting. Apart from the shading, the proliferation of lines that trace the contours of the embroidery and the lines of beads decorating the inner hem of the vest make the costume appear darker. Darker too is the skin, perhaps in an effort to distinguish body from clothing, perhaps indicating the engraver's interpretation of the exoticness of the subject. Darkest though, is the forest, out of which the Ottoman enemy will spring in some future moment.

Certain faults of the painting are laid bare: the awkwardness of the figure is more pronounced. The hands in particular, seem clumsier than in the painting, the clenched left hand appearing even more disproportionately small in comparison with the right. The larger right hand looks like it is encased in a thick glove, a glove that is overly animate, with drumming fingers ready to crawl away, a glove that cannot help but recall Max Klinger's (1857–1920) 1881 series of etchings *Paraphrase on the Finding of a Glove* to the modern viewer. Finally, the eyes do not seem to be quite aligned on the same horizontal axis and the crease marking the furrowed brow is overly strong, exaggerated and theatrical.

Bukovac actively assisted with the promotion of his first Salon painting. He had the work photographed, arranged to have a wood engraving executed in Paris for the Dubrovnik magazine, and in all likelihood hand-delivered it to the editors of the magazine.<sup>3</sup> Illustrations were costly, and each issue of *Slovinac* contained on average one

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<sup>3</sup> Vlaho Bukovac returned home in the Summer of 1879. See his autobiography: *Moj život* (Zagreb: Književni Jug, 1918), 82–83.

per issue.<sup>4</sup> These were generally quarter–page sized documentary images: portraits of great men past and present, pictures of monuments or views of cities and towns. His *Episode* or *Montenegrin Woman Ready for Defense* stood out as an “original picture (*izvorna slika*)” that took up one full page.<sup>5</sup> As such, it followed in the footsteps of just one illustrious precedent: Čermák’s 1874 *Herzegovinian Girl Giving Water to Horses*, printed in July of the previous year along with a smaller portrait of the deceased artist (fig. 1.6).<sup>6</sup> Bukovac continued to be bound to Čermák in *Slovinac* in other ways as well. Just as news of Bukovac’s debut at the Salon had been coupled with the Czech artist’s obituary one year before, the printed image of the *Episode* was followed by a prominent advertisement for a reproduction of Čermák’s last Salon painting before his death: *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bachi–Bozouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (1877) (fig. I.5).<sup>7</sup>

The woodcut rendition of Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro* for *Slovinac* was not a great reproduction. Although artists such as Ferdinand Quiquerez would complain about the poor translation of their work into the reproductive images that began appearing in

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“Since it was photographed, the skillful Pierron in Paris engraved it for our magazine.” [Luko] Z[ore], “Umjetnost,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, 233. Bukovac mentions having the work photographed so that it can be made into a *cliché* for *Slovinac* in a letter to Medo Pucić. PUC III D1, Arhiv Pucić, “Fragmenti jednog pisma Vlaha Bukovca.” State Archives, Dubrovnik. Curiously, the print seems not to have been published in France. Indeed, it is rather surprising that the file on Vlaho Bukovac at the BnF’s Department of Prints and Photographs of holds reproductions of only two works, although many of Bukovac’s paintings were reproduced as prints in French publications. These are: *La grande Iza* of 1882 and *Une Fleur* of 1887 (both exhibited at the Paris Salon). See: “Recueil. Oeuvre de Viacho [sic] Bukovac (SNR–3),”

<sup>4</sup> In 1878, there were 13 illustrations over 16 issues; in 1879 there were 25 illustrations over 24 issues.

<sup>5</sup> The term is lifted from Luko Zore’s text on the work, “Umjetnost,” 233.

<sup>6</sup> *Slovinac* 1, no. 6, July 16, 1878, 50. A brief text appears on page 56, describing the work as “a beautiful painting from our Slavic life.” Čermák’s portrait, based on his photographic *carte de visite*, appeared on page 47. N.B. There had been one other full–page reproduction prior to the printing of Bukovac’s *Episode*: a group portrait of Baron Stefan Jovanović with his entourage in *Slovinac* 2, no. 4, February 16, 1879, 60.

<sup>7</sup> The advertisement announced that Goupil’s copperplate engraving (*bakrojed*) of “the last painting by the renowned painter Čermák,” here renamed *Herzegovinians Return to the Ashes of their Village* (*Hercegovci se vraćaju na garište svojega sela*) would be given to all members of the Zagreb–based Art Society (*Društvo umjetnosti*). *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, supplement, n.p. A brief text about the Society on page 240 of the same issue urged readers of *Slovinac* to become members.

Croatian periodicals in the mid–1870s, one has the impression that the majority of the public was content with the quality of the pictures they consumed in the illustrated magazines.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the public was less likely to find fault with the quality of reproductions since each time an original image by a local artist was reproduced it was cast as yet another first step. Poor reproductions left plenty of room for improvement.

The *Episode* that appeared in *Slovinac* in August of 1879 was accompanied by a full page, mainly biographical, text about Bukovac entitled “Art,” authored by one of the magazine’s founders, Luko Zore (1846–1906).<sup>9</sup> Zore expressed no discontent with the reproduction. On the contrary, he wrote: “How our heart beat [with joy] and swelled with satisfaction, when we first heard about this important (*zlamenita*) painting, and when we saw it etched for our magazine, it is not necessary to say [how we felt], because each reader will be struck by it according to his own sensibility.”<sup>10</sup>

Readers could finally see with their own eyes the work that had put the South Slavs on the world stage of art one year before at the Paris Salon. Zore’s text was full of many picturesque metaphors, however, his interpretation of the work had very little to do with what the picture actually looked like. Zore described the painting as follows:

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<sup>8</sup> Instances of Quiquerez complaining about the poor translation of his work into reproduction for the Zagreb magazine *Vienac* can be found in his letters to Ladislav Mrazović reproduced in Vladimira Tartaglia–Kelemen, “Ferdinand Quiquerez u Italiji: Prilog za slikarevu biografiju,” *Radovi Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1 (1972): 122–23, 127–28 and 132. “Not only are those wretched xylographers incapable of copying contours, not to mention doing something tasteful with shading and light, but they also have the nerve to [intervene in the] composition of my images. Mercy on the man whose hand is rotated [so that it faces] palm up.” (page 132) Izidor Kršnjavi also was vocal about his dissatisfaction with *Vienac*’s illustrations: “I was very angry when *Vienac* printed Čermák’s picture [and wrote] ‘whoever wants to can frame it;’ what horror! I could only forgive [such a thing] if someone decorated their bathroom with woodcuts, but never in the parlor!” See: eadem, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” *Radovi Arhiva Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 2 (1973): 206.

<sup>9</sup> Z[ore], “Umjetnost,” 233. The nucleus of the biography would be reproduced in the many texts on the artist that would be written in the years to come. Cf.: Marko Jov[an] Car, “Vlaho Bukovac. (biografične crte),” *Slovinac* 4, no. 6, March 16, 1881, 104–106; M[arco] G[iovanni] Zar, [Marko Jovan Car], “Biagio Bukovac, pittore dalmato,” *Annuario Dalmatico* 1 (1884): 67–78; Vjekoslav Klaić, “Vlaho Bukovac,” *Vienac* 17, no. 16, April 18, 1885, 252–54, and no. 17, April 25, 1885, 270–71; and Bukovac’s autobiography, *Moj život*.

<sup>10</sup> Z[ore], “Umjetnost,” 233.

Today we can finally show our readers a female warrior (*vojka*) who sprouted (*nikla*) in the ruins of our hill–fort, but who sprouted wild (*samonikla*) rather than being transplanted from foreign lands. With these words we can understand today’s original picture (*izvorna slika*) “Montenegrin Woman Readied for Defense (*Crnogorka spravna na obranu*)”<sup>11</sup> by our compatriot, the young painter, Vlaho Fagioni–Bukovac... [...]

[...] His father sent him the Montenegrin costume from here in which Vlaho dressed up the young Parisian woman so that she looked like a real Montenegrin type ... with furrowed brows, a fierce face, wide–open eyes, and knife in hand as she senses Turks in the vicinity.<sup>12</sup>

Although Zore delights in the theatrical artifice of the work’s facture—in the fact that the “Montenegrin Woman Readied for Defense” is a dressed up Parisian model acting out the part of a Montenegrin—his appreciation for the *Montenegrin Woman Readied for Defense* is primarily invested in the the shared South Slavic ethnicity of the artist and his subject.<sup>13</sup> Using botanical language to communicate the idea of indigenoussness, he describes the Montenegrin Woman as a non–cultivated wild flower. There is an understood conflation of the autochthony of the painting’s subject and the painter at play. Bukovac is the generator, the native seed out of whom the work of art “sprouted wild.” No longer would Zore and his cohorts have to rely on foreigners to make pictures of the noble South Slavs. They had a native son to do it. They finally had the means of production in their own hands.

## 1. RETURN OF THE NATIVE

“The place he’s been living at is Paris,” said Humphrey, “and they tell me ‘tis where the King’s head was cut off years ago.”<sup>14</sup>

Vlaho Bukovac had come home at the end of the Summer of 1879 when *Slovinac* printed

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<sup>11</sup> The title varies slightly in Zore’s text. He uses “readied (*spravna*)” instead of “ready “*spremna*.”

<sup>12</sup> Z[ore], “Umjetnost,” 233.

<sup>13</sup> Zore does not seem to know that the charade was even greater: the model was in all likelihood an Italian model living in Paris. See Chapter VI of this dissertation.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native* ([1878] New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1922), 124.

his *Episode* attempting to drum up interest in his work. The young artist of humble background was struggling financially. A poor student, he had to live by his wits. At one point, he exhibited under three different names at the Salon— Paul Andrez, Blaise Bukovac, and Biagio Fagioni—a risky practice, which was strictly forbidden.<sup>15</sup> He was beginning to build a client base, but it would be a few more years before Bukovac hit his stride in Paris. He turned to *Slovinac*: the hub of his staunchest supporters on the homefront. In March, his likeness joined the ranks of the great men whose portraits graced *Slovinac*'s pages (fig. 4.2).<sup>16</sup> The magazine reported on the young artist several times over the course of 1879, and followed Bukovac's every move once he had returned home.<sup>17</sup> As Zore wrote: "we hear that Bukovac is currently in a tight economic situation."<sup>18</sup> It even published a short letter written by Alexandre Cabanel urging Bukovac's countrymen to support his pupil while he finished his artistic training (fig. 4.3).<sup>19</sup> After returning

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<sup>15</sup> See the Salon catalogue: *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure, et lithographie des artistes vivants exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysée le 1er mai 1892* (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1892), 2, 29 and 61. The fictional Paul Andrez is listed as being "born in Paris to Spanish parents, student of his father," with a studio address of "Rue de Martyrs, 84," exhibiting *Portrait de Mme O...* and *Fantasie* (nos. 15 and 16). The fictional Biagio Fagioni is listed as being "born in Genova (Italy), student of M. Tojetti," with a studio address of "Rue de la Barre, 40" exhibiting *Portrait de M. Pierre G...* (no. 648). This identity contained certain grains of truth. Fagioni, was the Italian last name Bukovac was born with, inherited from his Italian grandfather, who had been born in Genova. Biagio is the Italian equivalent of Vlaho. Tojetti had been Bukovac's teacher in San Francisco, and Rue de la Barre, 40, had been his address in 1888–1891. The real Blaise Bukovac gives the true details of his identity: "Born in Cavtat (*Ragusa-Vecchia*) (Austria), student of Cabanel" with a studio at "Rue de la Barre, 49," exhibiting *Portrait de M.V.B...* (no. 306). Blaise is the French equivalent of Vlaho. It was under this name that Bukovac generally exhibited at the Salon in Paris.

<sup>16</sup> See the engraving: "Vlaho Fagioni–Bukovac," *Slovinac* no. 6 (March 16, 1879), 85, with accompanying text on p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> These are (in chronological order): Z[ore], "Umjetnost," 233; Anon., "Potpore za umjetnost," *Slovinac* 2, no. 17, September 1, 1879, 270; Vid Vuletić [Vukasović], "Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru," *Slovinac* 2, no. 17, September 1, 1879, 262; Anon., "Lijepe umjetnosti," *Slovinac* 2, no. 18, September 16, 1879, 287; Anon., "Naš mladi slikar Bukovac," *Slovinac* 2, no. 19, October 1, 1879, 304.; and Anon., "Naš Bukovac," *Slovinac* 2, no. 21, November 1, 1879, 336.

<sup>18</sup> Z[ore], "Umjetnost," 233. He had received a sum of 500 florins from Bishop Strossmayer when he set out for Paris in 1877, and again the following year, but no stipend from the Dalmatian *sabor*. In his autobiography, Bukovac gives the impression that he was doing fairly well financially through commissioned portraits, however, the timeline of his recollections is skewed in places. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 80–82.

<sup>19</sup> "... that his compatriots come to his aid by furnishing him with a subvention that would permit him to pursue his career in a manner that does honor to his patrons." Alexandre Cabanel, as printed in: Anon., "Naš mladi slikar Bukovac," 304.

to Paris in the Fall of 1879, Bukovac sought commissions remotely through *Slovinac*.<sup>20</sup>

Bukovac held a small exhibition of paintings in the *Općinska Kafana* featuring what *Slovinac* dubbed his “new Montenegrin”: the *Montenegrin Girl* (*Jeune Monténégrine*) from the Salon of 1879 (fig. 4.4).<sup>21</sup> The painting depicts the isolated figure of a young girl before a dark, neutral background. Although the figure is cropped below the waist, we can imagine that the girl sits on a step or a cushion, as her knees are pulled up a little towards her stomach. She is much younger than the woman Bukovac depicted in his *Episode from the War of Montenegro* of the previous year and slighter in form, but possesses similar physical features: large dark eyes, thick dark hair, thin lips, a round chin, round pendulant earlobes, and smooth, flat cheeks. The two models might very well have been sisters. At this point early in his career, Bukovac did not possess a large collection of props. He recycled parts of the costume from the *Episode* of the year before: the cap (without headscarf), the white skirt, and the striking embroidered vest with a row of closely-spaced spherical metal beads along the inner border.

The *Montenegrin Girl* wears a simpler blouse than her counterpart in the *Episode*. It is white, with wider, somewhat crumpled sleeves, out of which her thin wrists protrude. She sits

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<sup>20</sup> An article printed in May 1880 praised a portrait Bukovac had painted of Božo Bošković, based on a photograph the deceased’s brother, Niko, had sent him in Paris. Bošković was portrayed holding a copy of *Slovinac*. The anonymous author called “anyone who wants to commission [a portrait] to contact our Bukovac. In that way one would help him out of a tight [financial] situation, and receive a nice painting for oneself. The painting was praised by Professor Cabanel in Paris and valued at 2000 francs, which Mr. Niko Bošković paid...” See: Anon. “Naš Bukovac u Parizu.” *Slovinac* 3, no. 10, May 16, 1880, 197. Two weeks later, readers learned that Bukovac had sent a genre scene, *Beggar with Violin* or *Italian Violinist*, to Mr. Pero Marić where it was for sale. “We hope the painting will fetch a good price, because the buyer will receive a real work of art and at the same time help our painter.” See: Anon. “Naš Bukovac.” *Slovinac* 3, no. 11, June 1, 1880, 219.

<sup>21</sup> The whereabouts of the *Montenegrin Girl* are unknown today. The exhibition in Dubrovnik likely took place in September as *Slovinac* reported on the exhibition in the October 1, 1879 issue. See: Anon., “Naš mladi slikar Bukovac,” 304.

As the year before, Bukovac had also exhibited a portrait alongside the *Montenegrin Girl* at the Paris Salon of 1879: *Portrait de Mme J...* . According to his autobiography, the portrait was of an American: Mrs. Rathbon, to whom he had been introduced through a letter by a Californian acquaintance, Tiburcio W. Parrot, who had commissioned a portrait from San Francisco. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82.

with shoulders hunched slightly forward, elbows planted firmly on her knees and thighs supporting the weight of her torso. The right arm, the upper portion of which is foreshortened a bit too much, crosses over her chest so that the hand rests atop a wooden flute incised with simple geometric ornamentation. The girl's pointer finger is slightly arched as if its tip has sought out and found the mouth hole. The left hand falls in studied carelessness over the knees and a feedbag of coarse wool woven in a pattern of stripes. The girl looks straight ahead with a somewhat blank stare. Her facial features are perfectly calm, composed, untroubled. The little, contextless shepherdess, in contrast to her older, distressed sister, has no enemies and makes no pretensions to history painting. She is content to be an ethnic type, a South Slavic variation of the rustic French *paysanne* or Italian *contadina*. One year later, she would return to Dubrovnik in the guise of a barefoot and saccharine *Italian Violinist* (1880) and *Head of a Girl with Yellow Fabric* (c. 1880).<sup>22</sup> The *Montenegrin Girl* looks to be a citizen of Arcadia rather than Sparta. The war, after all, was over. The quiet girl waits for no drama, no Turks, no great nascent Croatian art. She waits only for the artist to finish painting her portrait.

The fictional little *Montenegrin Girl* accompanied Bukovac to the real Land of the Black Mountain. Although it was the subject of his two signature Salon canvases, the young artist had never seen the country that lay just south of his native Konavle region in Southern Dalmatia firsthand. He was clear about this in his autobiography: "I had never known any Montenegrins from up close (*nijesam iz bliza poznao Crnogorce*) but I decided all the same to make a study

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<sup>22</sup> The same young model of the *Montenegrin Girl* wears the costume of the Roman Campania in *Italian Violinist* or *Beggar with Violin* (1880) and *Head of a Girl with Yellow Fabric* (c. 1880). I speculate that both she and the model for the *Episode* were Italian. Italian models often had their own native costumes. The barefoot girl strikes the sentimental pose of a Bouguereauian Italian pauper playing violin in the streets for coins. This was the painting Bukovac had sent to Dubrovnik to be sold by Mr. Pero Marić. Cf. footnote 20 of this chapter.

Vlaho Bukovac, *Italian Violinist (Talijanska guslačica)* or *Beggar with Violin (Prosjakinja s violinom)*, 1880, oil on canvas, 131 x 97 cm. Private collection; and *Head of a Girl with Yellow Fabric (Glava djevojke sa žutom tkaninom)*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, 50 x 56.6 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.

for my painting, and let God decide my fate.”<sup>23</sup> Bukovac’s visual experience of Montenegro was more or less pure fantasy. The world and people he meant to evoke with the two paintings he had made thus far were based on the costume his father had sent him, which he had recycled and now used twice, the paintings by Čermák he would have seen in Paris, some in original, some in reproduction, and illustrations from periodicals and travelogues.<sup>24</sup>

It was Bukovac’s supporters from *Slovinac* who suggested that he journey to Montenegro: “when I exhibited the painting [the *Montenegrin Girl*] in Dubrovnik, many advised me to set out for Montenegro and show it to Prince Nikola [I Petrović Njegoš] at his court in the royal capital of Cetinje.”<sup>25</sup> On the one hand, there was financial incentive for making such a journey, which paid off. Prince Nikola I indeed bought the *Montenegrin Girl*. He also commissioned a portrait of his son, Danilo, the heir to the throne.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, Bukovac painted a portrait of the Montenegrin Archimandrite, which he liked enough to exhibit in the Paris Salon the following year.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, there was the ideological attraction. Bukovac may have hoped to discover fresh, new painterly motifs, but he was certainly sure to delight his supporters in Dubrovnik by undertaking a trip to the Sparta of the Slavic South. In

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<sup>23</sup> The 1925 edition of the autobiography, edited by Bukovac’s old friend and first biographer, Marko Car, contains this reflection in reference to Bukovac’s preparations for his 1878 canvas *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. The quote does not appear in the 1918 first edition of the autobiography. See: Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj život*, second edition, preface and notes by Marko Car (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1925), 89.

<sup>24</sup> Bukovac would have seen original paintings by Čermák when he visited the artist’s studio in 1877 upon his arrival in Paris. He saw *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi–Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* at the Salon of 1877, and would have seen it again, along with Čermák’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (1873) from Strossmayer’s collection at the World’s Fair of 1878. A large number of Čermák’s paintings were reproduced by Goupil in Paris. While no reproductions of Čermák’s work are found in the Vlaho Bukovac House Museum Archives, this does not mean the artist did not own any. Much of his estate was dispersed after his death.

<sup>25</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82.

<sup>26</sup> Prince Nikola I purchased the *Montenegrin Girl* for 600 francs and paid the same amount for the portrait of his son. “In that way, I covered the costs of my return to Paris and had some money left over.” Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82. See also: Anon., “Naš Bukovac,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 21, November 1, 1879, 336.

<sup>27</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82. The portrait was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1880 under the title: *Portrait de Mgr Hilaire, métropolitain du Monténégro*.

doing so, he was again following in the footsteps of Jaroslav Čermák, who famously traveled to the royal Montenegrin capital of Cetinje in 1862.<sup>28</sup> The young artist's supporters hoped that going to the same source as the Czech master would furnish Bukovac with the tools to produce similarly meaning-laden works. Seeing Montenegro firsthand should set him on the track to making the kind of paintings they desired: heroic history paintings that synthesized all that which was most noble, brave and authentic among the Southern Slavs. *Slovinac* sent him off in the literary idiom that was the exemplary parallel to everything that they wanted from painting: poetry that evoked the oral, epic tradition. (appendix 6.a):

<p><i>S hladne si mi Sene doletio Lakim letom, moj sivi sokole, I na timor kršni odletio, U kriocce majke sokolice, Da te grli dika ostarjela ... — Kad ti perje krila okitilo Poletarić, za pljen cijučući, Rano si joj gn'jezdo razvrgao, Zavio se nebu pod oblake, I zbrojio žarke suncu trake, Shukao se bijelijem sv'jetom Uz orlove i stare sokole, A danas joj vrh Lovćen planine Oštrijem se vidom nadazrio, Da pribrajaš slovinske l'jepote, Gavran–vegje, mišce Obilića, Da jih kitiš silom umjetnicom Na tanahno ub'jeljeno platno,</i></p>	<p>You flew to me from the cold Seine With weightless flight, my grey falcon, Then soared away [from me] towards a craggy peak, Into the bosom of your mother falcon, That your aged dear one might embrace you ... 5 — When feathers adorned your wings [As a] fledgling, shrieking for plunder, You broke off from her nest precociously, You plunged into the sky under the clouds, And counted the dazzling rays of the sun, 10 You went screeching through the foreign world Abreast the eagles and old falcons, And [thus] today the peak of Mount Lovćen<sup>29</sup> You survey from above with keener vision, To collect the beauty of the South Slavs, 15 Raven–eyebrows,<sup>30</sup> the muscles of Obilić<sup>31</sup> To embellish them with the power of the artist On delicate, whitened canvas,</p>
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<sup>28</sup> See: Vratislav Černý, “Jaroslav Čermák 1830–1878,” in: Vratislav Černý, F.V. Mokry and V. Náprstek *Život a Dilo Jaroslava Čermáka* (Prague: Výtvarný Odbor Umělecké besedy, 1930), i–ii.

<sup>29</sup> Mount Lovćen is a high peak that rises dramatically over the bay of Kotor in Montenegro, celebrated as a stronghold of freedom and resistance against the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans.

<sup>30</sup> While the raven (*gavran*) is usually a negative creature, a symbol of something ominous and foreboding in South Slavic epic poetry, it seems that here Vukasović simply uses it to evoke the epic world and to describe black color. I would like to thank Olga Nedeljković for drawing this issue to my attention.

<sup>31</sup> Miloš Obilić: a Serbian noble immortalized in the epic poetry of the Kosovo cycle. At the 1389 Battle of Kosovo fought “between the armies of the Serbian prince Lazar and the Turkish forces of the Ottoman sultan Murad I ... [Obilić] made his way into the Turkish camp on the pretext of being a deserter and forced his way into the sultan's tent and stabbed him with a poisoned dagger.” See “Miloš Obilić” in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, 2014.

<p><i>A rosicom iz srca natapljaš, Da sv'jet pozna i naše vrline Te nam' ime u zv'jezde ukreše, I proslavi Slovinkinju vilu, Koja ti je na porodu bila, Te svojega <b>Vlaha</b> zabavljala Jutrnijem nježnijem vjetarcem, Dok ga sebi čila odgojila, To na diku rodu i plemenu.</i></p>	<p>Which you saturate with dew from your heart, So that the world may know our virtues 20 And thus blaze our name into the stars, And celebrate the <i>South Slavic vila</i>,<sup>32</sup> Who was present at your birth, And amused her [little] <b>Vlaho</b> With a gentle morning breeze 25 Until she raised him [Vlaho] to be vigorous To the glory of [his] <i>clan</i> and <i>race</i>.<sup>33</sup></p>
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The enthusiastic poem, occasioned by Bukovac's impending trip to Montenegro, was entitled "To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter." It was authored by Vid Vuletić Vukasović (1853–1933), a regular contributor to *Slovinac*. Vuletić was an educator from Dubrovnik engaged in the "salvage ethnography" of the folk traditions of Southern Dalmatia.<sup>34</sup> The texts he authored in *Slovinac* often included folk poems, sayings and stories he had recorded. Vuletić also published original poetry in the magazine written in the spirit and cadence of traditional oral verse, such as the twenty–seven lines he dedicated to Bukovac.

Written in the decasyllabic meter most typical of the folk poetry recorded in the nineteenth century, "To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter" self–consciously evokes the cadence and imagery of South Slavic heroic poetry, a canon stretching back to the Middle Ages and still sung by heart as a living tradition throughout many parts of the Western Balkans. The

<sup>32</sup> *Vila*: In Slavonic mythology: a fairy, a nymph, a spirit. *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, 1989. In the poem, the *vila* is specifically a South Slavic nymph (*Slovinkinja vila*).

<sup>33</sup> Vid Vuletić [Vukasović], "Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru," *Slovinac* 2, no. 17, September 1, 1879, 262. All emphases (bolding, and italics) in the poem are original. I would like to thank Olga Nedeljković and Nada Petković for their generous help with the translation of this poem.

<sup>34</sup> The term "salvage ethnography"—the documentation of traditions perceived to be vanishing—was coined in Jacob W. Gruber's critique of nineteenth–century ethnography: "Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 6 (December 1970): pages 1289–99. Sanja Potkonjak contextualizes Vuletić's work in this context in her "Vid Vuletić Vukasović i spasiteljska etnologija," *Studia Croatica Ethnologica* 16 (2004): 111–39. Vuletić worked as a teacher on the island of Korčula and later in Dubrovnik. He lacked formal training in ethnography but is universally considered to be a major figure in the discipline's nineteenth–century beginnings in Croatia. He collected folk poems, sayings and folk stories, as well as textiles. He began collaborating with the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences "Council for Collecting Monuments of Traditional Literature (*Odbor za sabiranje spomenika tradicionalne literature*)" in the 1880s. He was elected Vice–President of the International Folklore Association at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. See Potkonjak, esp. 113–15, 124–25 and 127.

poem is populated by a cast of characters, type-scenes and formulaic phrases familiar from folk songs, such as the grey falcon, the *vila* (nymph), Mount Lovćen, and the hero, Miloš Obilić. The opening passage, which describes the arrival of a falcon from a far-away city evokes the beginning of the *Fall of the Serbian Empire* (*Propast carstva srpskoga*) from the *Kosovo Cycle*, a South Slavic epic that had “gone viral” in the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> “From that high town, holy Jerusalem / Flying came a swift grey bird, a falcon (*Poleto soko tica siva / od svetinje od Jerusalima*).”<sup>36</sup> With his poem, thus, Vuletić linked the world of the epic, which “knows only a single and unified world view, obligatory and indubitably true for heroes as well as for authors and audiences,” to the world of painting.<sup>37</sup>

Bukovac arrived not from holy Jerusalem as the falcon in the *Fall of the Serbian Empire* with a “message from the Holy Virgin,” but from Paris, the worldly capital of art. The “grey falcon” that personifies Bukovac was a frequent allegory for heroes in medieval South Slavic epic poetry and enjoyed resurging relevance in the nationalistic nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The motif

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<sup>35</sup> “Of, designating, or involving the rapid spread of information (esp. about a product or service) amongst customers by word of mouth, e-mail, etc. *to go viral*: to propagate in such a manner; to (be) spread widely and rapidly. *Oxford English Dictionary*, draft additions January 2015, s.v. “to go viral.”

<sup>36</sup> Translation take from: Rootham, trans., *Kosovo: Heroic Songs of the Serbs*, 25.

Another example of a keen-eyed falcon from the Kosovo cycle is found in the “Death of the Mother of the Jugović”: “Give me, God, the keen eyes of a falcon ... I would seek the wide plain of Kossovo / I would see the Jugovitch—nine brothers / And the tenth, the Jug Bogdan, their father / Thus she prays to God—her prayer is granted / God gives her the keen eyes of the falcon ... And she seeks the wide plain of Kossovo / Dead she finds the Jugovitch—nine brothers / And the tenth, the Jug Bogdan, their father.” Translation take from: Rootham, trans., *Kosovo: Heroic Songs of the Serbs*, 85.

Line 4 “Into the bosom of your mother falcon” may intentionally recall “On the hand a golden ring is shining / See, they drop in it the mother’s bosom (*A na ruci burma pozlaćena / Bacaju je u kriocje majci*) from the same “The Death of the Mother of the Jugović.” Translation take from: Helen Rootham, trans., *Kosovo: Heroic Songs of the Serbs* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 89. I would like to thank Olga Nedeljkić for drawing this parallel to my attention.

<sup>37</sup> M.M. Bakhtin, “Epic and Novel,” in: Michael J. Hoffman and Patrick D. Murphey, eds., *Essentials of the Theory of Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 54

<sup>38</sup> Falcon imagery was widespread. The magazine *Slovinac* in which Vuletić’s poem appeared self-identified much like the poet cast Bukovac, as a recently-matured fledgling. In an announcement marking the end of the magazine’s first year, we read: “*Slovinac* ... was a hatchling then a fledgeling and now a juvenile (*podraslić*).” Anon., “Oglas!” *Slovinac* 1, no. 16, December 16, 1878, 196.

was popularized in the English language by the title of Rebecca West's famous 1941 travelogue of the Balkans *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*.<sup>39</sup> The falcon in Vuletić's poem was invoked as a conscious reference to the canon of epic poetry, but also served as a metaphor for what Vuletić understands the artist's job to be. Perhaps projecting his own occupation as ethnographer on Bukovac's profession, Vuletić's heroic "grey falcon" is a species of up-to-date artist/ethnographer who "surveys," "collects," and interprets (lines 14–15). The culmination of the artist/ethnographer's work is to publish his research; to render the beauty of his native region into ideal form on "delicate whitened canvas," to "embellish" what he has surveyed and collected "with the power of the artist" (lines 17–18). Surveying with his professional gaze the people from whom he originated but now stands apart, he is tasked with delivering a message about their "virtues" to the world at large. It is a heroic mission, one whose successful completion will be rewarded with no less than recognition of the South Slavs' greatness in the heavens: "So that the world may know our virtues / And thus blaze our name into the stars." (lines 20–21).

Vuletić's "To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter" essentially provides guidelines to Bukovac as to his role as "Painter" to the "South Slavs." Vlaho Bukovac is Painter *of* and *to* the South Slavs; his duty lies with nation. He is an exemplary member of the group, a visual

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A poem by Jovan Sundečić, called *To the City of Zagreb (Gradu Zagrebu)*, compares the "budding" capital city of Croatia to a falcon preparing to take wing<sup>38</sup>:

<i>Toliko li hrame diga'</i>	How many temples you raised
<i>Znanju, umlju i vještini,</i>	To knowledge, wisdom and skill
...	...
<i>Izgledaš mi kao sokô,</i>	You look to me like a falcon,
<i>Kad razvija krila laka,</i>	When his light wings spread out
<i>Te se sprema da se vine</i>	And he prepares take off
<i>K vedru nebu vrh oblaka:</i>	Toward the clear sky atop the clouds.

Jovan Sundečić, *Gradu Zagrebu*, in: Jovan Sundečić, *Izabrane pjesme*, introduction and notes by Hugo Badalić (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatske, 1889), 65.

<sup>39</sup> Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia* (New York: The Viking Press, 1941).

spokesperson. If the world should recognize Bukovac's talent, then it must recognize the "South Slavic *vila*, / who was present at [his] birth," that is, it must recognize his ethnicity (lines 22–23). Like many of his compatriots engaged in documenting folk language and forms, Vuletić's conceptual framework was rooted in Johann Gottfried von Herder's (1744–1803) romantic nationalism, in which individuality was not as important as belonging to a group.<sup>40</sup> Vuletić's poem is about the position of the artist as intermediary between the homeland and the foreign world, eloquent promoter of the "*clan and race*," a painter whose pictures must speak to the "world" (lines 20, 27). How does such a remarkable individual acquire skills, go about his work and what are the desired results? Full of desires and imperatives, the poem is an allegorical script for future action by the painter.

"To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter" is a poem about where home and abroad stand relative to the artist's project. Bukovac had just returned to Dubrovnik from Paris—"you flew to me from the cold Seine with weightless flight"—and was about to set out for Montenegro—"and then soared away [from me] towards a craggy peak, / into the bosom of your mother falcon" (lines 1, 3–4). The world outside the Slavic South was a hostile place. On the "cold Seine," people were ignorant of the worth of the nation Bukovac represents. They had not yet "learn[ed] of our virtues." For the artist, going out into the hostile world was a two-fold necessity. On the one hand, it was out in the world that artistic training took place. "Keener

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<sup>40</sup> See F. M. Barnard, ed. and trans., *Herder on Social and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 7:

Herder's central political idea lies in the assertion that the proper foundation for a sense of collective political identity is not the acceptance of a common sovereign power, but the sharing of a common culture. For the former is imposed from outside, whilst the latter is the expression of an inner consciousness, in terms of which each individual recognizes himself as an integral part of a social whole. To the possession of such a common culture Herder applies the term nation or, more precisely, *Volk* or nationality. The principle source of both its emergence and perpetuation is language. It is through language that the individual becomes at once aware of his selfhood *and* of his nationhood. In this sense individual identity and collective identity become one.

vision”—the ability to look with a painter’s eyes—was honed by “screeching through the foreign world / abreast the eagles and old falcons”—that is, by learning from the famous artists of Paris, like Bukovac’s teacher Alexandre Cabanel (lines 11–12, 14). It was only by leaving home that the artist attained his supernatural powers of vision. Leaving home was the first step of a rite of passage: the artist/ethnographer/falcon plunged through clouds and flew near to the sun. Because of these experiences, he was able to observe the “beauty of the South Slavs” with detachment (line 15). Had he not broken away from the “nest,” he would have lacked such powerful vision. Upon rendering the material he collected ideal, the artist was tasked with returning to the foreign world to acquaint it with “our virtues.” The goal was to force the world to witness the grandeur of the South Slavs, so that they ceased to be considered uncultured barbarians. Herein lies what Vuletić considers the main importance of artistic creation.

Fully in keeping with the mainstream Croatian discourse of desire, Vuletić’s poem projects into the future. It is about what the poet wants the painter to do, rather than what the painter has already accomplished. Bukovac is poised on the threshold of an important artistic mission. He is, as he would always be for the first two decades of his career, *in potentia* as far as the public in Croatia was concerned. Although Bukovac undergoes a rite of passage, transforming from a precocious “fledgling, shrieking for plunder” into a young falcon, all the language used to describe him revolves around the idea of youth (line 7). Tellingly, the last image in the poem is a prescient flashback of Vlaho Bukovac as a baby being amused by a South Slavic *vila* watching over his cradle, preparing him for greatness.

By sending Bukovac to Montenegro, Vuletić and his cohorts in *Slovinac* were guiding him to a cradle of the epic tradition. “Spartan” Montenegro, rather than coastal Cavtat where Bukovac was born or Croatia’s “Athenian” Dubrovnik, figures as an essential homeland. In the

poem, Bukovac is described as returning (although he had never been) to the “bosom of ... mother falcon” atop the rugged peak of Mount Lovćen, the peak in Montenegro whose invocation was shorthand for the idea of freedom from foreign oppression (line 4). Vuletić wills Bukovac’s imminent journey to inspire him to begin picturing motifs from epic poetry, motifs that would both communicate the “virtues” of the South Slavs to the outside world and fuse together an inclusive national body. Neither the *Episode* or the *Montenegrin Girl* had accomplished this. They may have had “raven–black eyebrows” but they lacked the literary references that would grant them access to the longed–for realm of meaning–laden history painting.

## 2. TO JOIN THE PAINTING OF MANKIND<sup>41</sup>

Vuletić’s “To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter” can be situated within a corpus of poems dedicated to artists and their works.<sup>42</sup> From the Illyrian movement, when Franjo Kos od Kosena sent Vjekoslav Karas off to Italy for artistic training with the words: “That worthy experience will guide / Our young man to famed peaks; / Because an ability is within him / For

<sup>41</sup> In his “Slavic Peoples (*Slawische Völker*),” Herder recommended that the Slavs gather the “vanishing remnants of their customs, songs and legends, and finally give a history of the people,” so that they might join “the painting of mankind.” In: Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* vol. 4 (Riga and Leipzig, 1791), chap. 16, para. 4. Quoted from Erin Dusza’s translation in: “Pan–Slavism in Alphonse Mucha’s *Slav Epic*,” *Nineteenth–Century Art Worldwide* 13, no 1 (Spring 2014) (<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring14/dusza-on-pan-slavism-in-alphonse-mucha-s-slav-epic>), note 20.

<sup>42</sup> A list, by no means comprehensive, would include (in chronological order): Franjo Kos od Kosena, “Reč zahvalnosti,” *Danica Ilirska* 4, no. 26, July 7, 1838, 105; Ivan August Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” *Dubrovnik: Zabavnik narodne štionicice Dubrovačke za godinu 1867* 1 (1866): 392–94; Og[njeslav] Utješenović–Ostrožinski, “Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: ‘Roblje, Hercegovina 1863’—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli,” *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 129–30; Fr. Ciraki, “Dolazak Hrvata na obalu sinjega morja,” *Vienac* 2, no. 41, October 8, 1870, 648; A[ugust] Š[enoa], “Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici,” *Vienac* 7, no. 35, August 28, 1875, 555–56; Vuletić, “Vlahu Bukovecu: Slovinskomu Slikaru;” Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo* (Split: Tipografija S. Artale, 1885); D., “Pupoljeima slikarijâ mladoga umjetnika Dragutin Inchiostri–a,” *Narodni List* 27, no. 26 (1888): 3; Rikard Katalinić Jeretov, “Crnogorska Judita. Po slici J. Huttary–a,” *Narodni List* 29, no. 50 (1890): 1; F. Kovačević–Josipov, “Priekor (sa Čermakove slike ‘Hercegovačko Roblje,’” *Lovor* 1, no. 11 (1897 [1895]): 85; [Arsen] W[endzelides], “Dolazak Hrvata (slika Celestina Medovića),” *Narodni List* 40, no. 10 (1901): 1.

paintings strong and grand ... [Oh] Illyria, famed and beloved, / [Let] the worthy works of your son / unfurl their wings through the world / Like [those of] the immortal Raphael,” through the First World War, the use of poetry to interpret and essentially guide the infant art of painting was widespread in Croatia.<sup>43</sup> Poems were one of the most if not the most important verbal forms for the interpretation of art in nineteenth-century Croatia.<sup>44</sup> The concept of art and artists they imparted remained fairly consistent for a century, revolving around the ideas of potentiality, fame and national unification.

Some of the poems describe the enterprise of painting in general, while others ostensibly interpret specific visual works. Painting was valued as a catalyst for real world change. Its perceived ability to generate publicity made painting a visual ambassador; its thing-ness forcing the world to witness the greatness or distress of the people. Many of the poems served as rallying points for the Yugoslav idea at home, i.e. the unification of the South Slavs. Common to all, and remaining unchanged for decades, were the imperatives poetry delivered to painting, in the grammatical sense of commanding. The literary sought to control the visual, and inscribe the relationship with a structure of power. Part and parcel with the will to dominate was the discourse of desire’s obsession with youth, keeping painting in a perpetual state of potentiality.

The *oeuvres* of both Bukovac and Čermák were subject to the imperatives of poetry. While neither artist seems to have ever submitted to poetic will in visual practice, they sometimes placated their patrons in words. For example, in 1877, when Bukovac sent the *Young Sultaness* (1877), an amateur work, to Bishop Strossmayer in the hopes of

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<sup>43</sup> Kos od Kosena, “Reč zahvalnosti,” 105: “*Da naš mladić slavne varhe / Bude iskustva doprjet vreda; / Jer sposobnost ka je u njemu / Živopistva krēpka i vela ... Ilirio slavna i mila, / Tvoga sina vrēdna dēla, / Da po svētu rastru krila / Ko neumarlog Rrafaela.*”

<sup>44</sup> Apart from the occasional in-depth biography, news of art was otherwise usually relegated to the short notices on the last pages of periodicals.

receiving financial support, we find him find most likely fibbing about the cause and effect relationship between the textual and the visual (fig 3.2):

I will send You a painting, which, although I know it is not worthy of Your praise, still I think that Your Eminence will graciously accept it when I tell You that I painted it thinking of that poem by our Medo [Pucić], which is found among his [poems] under the name of the “Pasha’s Wife (*Pašinica*)” precisely when:

(*Mekom rukom biser broji*      With soft hands she counts the pearls  
*Od đerdana sitnih svoji*)      of her delicate necklaces<sup>45</sup>

She will remain for You a token (*zlamen*) of my progress in painting, when I will have finished with Your help my training and then sent to Your Eminency something worthier, I hope, of Your benevolence.

The painting, executed in the licked–finish manner of Domenico Tojetti (1807–1892), an Italian artist born in Rome, with whom Bukovac had studied in San Francisco, was painted in California before the artist’s return to the homeland.<sup>46</sup> While Pucić’s poem had been printed prior to 1877, it is highly improbable that Bukovac was actually inspired by it, due to the fact that he only met Pucić upon his return to Dalmatia.

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<sup>45</sup> The poem “Pašinica,” which Bukovac claims his *Young Sultaness* was based upon, was written in Istanbul in 1858. It was widely reproduced, including: *Pjesne Meda Pucića* (Karlovac: Abel Lukšić, 1862), 9–11; August Šenoa, *Vienac izabranih pjesama hrvatskih i srbskih* (Zagreb: Albrecht i Fiedler, 1873): 169–170; and *Pjesme Meda Pucića Dubrovčanina* (Pančevo: Štamparija braće Jovanovića, 1879), 49–51.

<sup>46</sup> While in San Francisco, from 1874–1877, Bukovac took lessons with an Italian painter from Rome by the last name of Tojetti. See: Bukovac, *Moj Život*, 66–67. The painter in question was almost certainly Domenico Tojetti (1807–1892) an Italian artist born in Rome, who moved his family to San Francisco in 1871. In San Francisco, Tojetti taught at the School of Design and also had many private students. See: Christina Orr–Cahall, ed., *The Art of California: Selected Works from the Collection of the Oakland Museum*, Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1984), 56.

As Bukovac recounts in his autobiography, *Moj život*, 73:

I exhibited a painting that I had brought from America in Dubrovnik. This was, “Turkish woman in the harem (*Turkinja u haremu*) [*Young Sultaness*].” The painting was very much liked by all and astonished everyone. No one could comprehend that it was the work of a local youth. One didn’t think about art in our part of the world back then! – From that moment, I felt that the period of wandering and poverty had passed, that I had found my way, the way that God had marked from my birth: Art.

A new life began for me now.

We can speculate that it was in consultation with Medo Pucić, who would have first seen the painting when Bukovac exhibited it in Dubrovnik, that the young painter decided to fabricate the story of having been inspired by the poem.

Artists who did accept poetry as the rightful original to painting were not guaranteed success. A prime example would be the 1875 trip to Montenegro undertaken by Ferdinand Quiquerez where, among other themes, he made copious sketches illustrating scenes from Ivan Mažuranić's popular epic-style poem, "The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić (*Smrt Smail-age Čengića*, 1846)."<sup>47</sup> He was not rewarded for his compliance. The discourse of desire that demanded painters take their cues from poetry was by definition unsatisfiable. Not only are the ontological imperatives of poetry and painting different, but the thing poets wanted from painting, namely, a transformation of reality, was not yet possible.

Leaving aside the question of how seriously artists themselves bought into the poetry-painting model, let us return to the poems themselves. A good number of the poems dedicated to painting, like Vuletić's, evoked native poetry. Writing about painting in an idiom that imitated or referenced folk poetry was attractive for several reasons. Firstly, poetry was the dominant art form in the region.<sup>48</sup> Poetry was everywhere. A quick perusal of periodicals attests that all sorts of people were composing poems for all manner of occasions. Poetry was a comfortable, familiar medium. Secondly, folk poetry was tantamount to authenticity. Following Herder's ideas,

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<sup>47</sup> Mažuranić's poem was first published as "Smert Čengić Age" in: *Ivan Havliček, ed., Iskra: Zabavni Sastavci od vise domorodnih spisateljah* (Zagreb: Tiskarnica Dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1846): 181–228. The title was revised to the title we know it by today in the second edition of 1857.

Even before his trip, Quiquerez was negotiating with the publishers Albrecht and Fiedler in Zagreb to prepare illustrations of scenes Mažuranić's epic poem. The project did not come to fruition. See Vladimira Tartaglia-Kelemen, "Ferdinand Quiquerez u Italiji: Prilog za slikarevu biografiju," *Radovi Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1 (1972): 113. Letters to Ladislav Mrazović regarding the project are found on p. 128 (Rome, January 18, 1875); p. 131 (Kotor, July/August 1875); and p. 132 (Cetinje, June 1876).

The drawings are conserved in the Croatian Historical Museum (Hrvatski Povjesni Muzej) in Zagreb, inv. no. HPM/PMH G. 1388. Quiquerez also undertook illustration Peter II Petrović Njegoš's (1813–1851, ruled as Prince-Bishop of Montenegro from 1830–1851) famous epic poem/play, *The Mountain Wreath* (*Gorski Vjenac*, first published in 1847) while in Cetinje, Montenegro. See: Marina Bregovac Pisk, *Ferdinand Quiquerez 1845.–1893* (Zagreb: Hrvatski Povjesni Muzej, 1995), 24 and 105.

<sup>48</sup> On image/text relations in the history of Croatian Art in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Matko Peić, *Hrvatski Umjetnici* (Zagreb: Znanje, 1968), 8. "... it is not strange that literature, in which the word is the medium of expression, of all the forms of art in Croatia in that period had the most important role in the revival..."

language was considered to encapsulate the essence of the national soul.<sup>49</sup> Thirdly, South Slavic oral poetry had achieved international notoriety. Its primeval originality had been publicized abroad by enamoured luminaries such as Alberto Fortis (1741–1803) and Jakob Grimm (1785–1863), who compared it to the epics of classical antiquity.<sup>50</sup> Long-standing poetry, therefore, exerted a special primacy over the newcomer art of painting, whose history was spotty. Poetry itself was thought of as both a refined and quintessentially ethnic medium. It could lend these qualities to painting. Most poets imagined such a transfer being achieved by painters drawing their subject matter directly from epic poetry.

Language—the building blocks of poetry—was the chief arena in which the majority of Croatian intellectuals made plans for the longed-for unification of the South Slavs. Language was the premier common denominator. Various projects including dictionaries and collections of oral poetry worked to bring the written languages used in the various South Slavic territories closer together. A visualization of this was the symbol of Ljudevit Gaj's (1809–1872) paper *Danica ilirska* (founded 1835), which embodied the idea that the nation could be fused together through song and poem—one and the same word: “*pjesma*.” The emblem features a lunette populated by various instruments of music, agriculture and war in the middle of which stands a large harp inscribed with the word “unity (*sloga*)” (fig. 4.5).<sup>51</sup> Folk poems evinced a shared heritage valorized by Croats, Serbs, etc. alike as well as the outside world. The published body of historical folk epics, predominantly of Serbian subjects such as the events and characters of the

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<sup>49</sup> “A people, and especially a non-civilized one, has nothing dearer than the language of its fathers. Its whole spiritual wealth of tradition, history, religion, and all the fullness of life, all its heart and soul, lives in it.” Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämtliche Werke* vol. 17 (Riga, 1793), 58, quoted from Dusza, “Pan-Slavism in Alphonse Mucha's *Slav Epic*,” footnote 18.

<sup>50</sup> Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 23.

<sup>51</sup> The Zagreb periodical was called *Danicza horvatska, slavonska y dalmatinska* in the first year of its printing (1835). In 1836, the title was changed to *Danica Ilirska*.

Battle of Kosovo, lent a pedigree to the literary language codified in the nineteenth century. As Andrew Wachtel summarizes, the nineteenth-century publication of oral poetry aimed to foster “the recognition of an existing common culture.”<sup>52</sup>

Twentieth-century scholarship has generally credited the folk poetry collected in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Croatian littoral and published by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) as “provid[ing] the basis for a contemporary Yugoslav literature.” His reputation is so immense, that he is commonly referred to by just his first name. Vuk called the poems he collected from the peasants “Serbian” while the Croatian Illyrians and subsequent pro-Yugoslav generations hoped to use “them, as well as language itself, as a unifying force.”<sup>53</sup> Vuk’s importance to the privileging of folk poetry may be overblown in the context of nineteenth-century Croatia. As Bogdan Rakić argues, “considering the tremendous amount of oral production among the South Slavs,” it is not surprising that authors were utilizing the “creative potential inherent in the dialogue between oral and written tradition” as early as the sixteenth century.<sup>54</sup> A selfconsciousness of oral poetry as an authentic expression of the “folk,” therefore, had a long tradition in Croatia independent of and predating Vuk’s work.

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<sup>52</sup> Andrew Brauch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 32. Vuk Stefanović Karadžić published numerous volumes of oral folk poetry, the first of which was *Pismenica serbskoga jezika po govoru prostoga naroda napisana* (Vienna: Schnierer, 1814). He published a *Serbian Grammar* in 1814 and a *Dictionary* in 1818. His efforts led Serbia to overcome a long-standing linguistic diglossia and begin to adopt the vernacular as the written language. Croatia did not have the same problem of diglossia, rather a multitude of diverse regional dialects and orthographies. Ljudevit Gaj introduced spelling reforms in 1830.

<sup>53</sup> Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, 32.

<sup>54</sup> Rakić notes that the first example of incorporating folk songs into a literary text in South Slavic literatures was *Fishing and Fishermen’s Conversation (Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje)* (Venice, 1558), by Petar Hektorović (1487–1572), a nobleman from the Dalmatian island of Hvar. The two folk songs he recorded in his text “may well be the first published folk songs in the entire European literary tradition...” See his “Subverted Epic Oral Tradition in South Slavic Written Literatures,” in: Phil Bohlman and Nada Petković, eds., *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 34–35. Furthermore, famous events like the Kosovo battle were recounted in humanist works such as Mauro Oribni’s *Il regno degli Slavi, hoggi corrotamente detti Schiavoni, Historia di don Mauro Orbini Rauseo, abate Melitense. Nella quale si vede l’Origine quasi di tutti i Popoli, che furono della Lingua Slava, con molte e varie guerre, che fecero in Europa, Asia, e Africa; il progresso dell’Imperio*

Words were, however, not enough to fuse the nascent nation together. Commentators throughout the nineteenth century found it of vital importance that the art of painting take root in Croatia. Poets saw it as their duty to call painting into being and ensure that pictures followed a precise script. Painting had something words did not: the immediacy of the image, the ability to show, the capacity to give a tangible face to a South Slavic nation that did not yet exist, making its becoming seem real.

### 3. DRAW HER IN DISTRESS

A significant number of poems in the corpus of poems devoted to artists and their works addressed the *oeuvre* of Jaroslav Čermák, the Czech artist who we have seen was widely admired in Croatia as a father figure for a budding native art.<sup>55</sup> Like Vuletić's, "To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter," the first poem devoted to Čermák also marked the occasion of his setting out for Montenegro.

Appearing before any reproductions of the artist's work enjoyed public circulation in Croatia, Ivan August Kaznačić's (1817–1883) poem, "To Jaroslav Čermák [on his Way] to Cetinje (*Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje*)," was published in the sometimes–annual *Dubrovnik: Zabavnik narodne štionicice Dubrovačke* in 1866, and likely composed in 1862, when the Czech artist set out for the Montenegrin capital of Cetinje (appendix 6.b).<sup>56</sup> Kaznačić was a medical

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*loro, l'antico culto e il tempo della loro conversione al Christianesimo. E in particolare veggonsi i successi de' Re che anticamente dominarono in DALMATIA, CROATIA, BOSNA, SERVIA, RUSSIA e BULGARIA* (Pesaro, 1601).

<sup>55</sup> Poems include: Kaznačić, "Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje" (1866); Utješnović–Ostrožinski, "Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka," (1870); Š[enoa], "Munja od Gabele," (1875); and Kovačević–Josipov, "Priekor (sa Čermakove slike 'Hercegovačko Roblje,'" (1897 [1895]).

<sup>56</sup> The poem was also reproduced in Vratislav Černý's account of Čermák's engagement with the Slavic South: "Jaroslav Čermak 1830–1878," *Zapisi* 2, nos. 1–2 (1928): 9–10. As Černý tells it, Čermák set out with his student Josef Huttary (1841–1890) for Montenegro in August 1862, and remained there until the end of December (p. 11).

doctor and a man of letters.<sup>57</sup> A cosmopolitan who was educated in Vienna and Padua, he came of age during the Illyrian movement and dedicated his mature years to the homeland, working in his native Dubrovnik not only as a doctor, but also in the fields of folklore, literary criticism, history, historiography and monument preservation.<sup>58</sup> Kaznačić also composed poems of his own. He took an active role in several patriotic periodicals, including *La Favilla*, *Zora Dalmatinska*, *L'Avvenire*, *L'Osservatore Dalmato* and *Slovinac*.

Kaznačić met Čermák during the artist's first visit to Dubrovnik in the winter of 1858.<sup>59</sup> The Czech artist returned in 1862, taking up residence in the village of Mandaljena south of Dubrovnik, making excursions to Montenegro and the hinterland of Herzegovina.<sup>60</sup> On the heels of the resounding success of the South Slavic-themed canvases he had exhibited at the Salon of 1861 and sold through Goupil & Cie following his earlier trip, and the strong ties he had established and maintained with intellectuals primarily from the Dubrovnik area, Čermák returned for a long stay of three years (1862–1865) seeking new painterly motifs.<sup>61</sup> Kaznačić was part of the circle of radical patriots including the brothers Medo and Niko Veliki Pučić (1820–1883), and Baltazar Bogišić, who frequently socialized with Čermák in Mandaljena. The house the artist rented, in fact, belonged to a maternal relative of Kaznačić's.

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<sup>57</sup> For an excellent history of Kaznačić's cultural work, see: Slavica Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić, književnik i kulturni djelatnik* (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1993).

<sup>58</sup> Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić*, esp. 41–49 and 169–71. See, for example, his collections of oral poetry: *O narodnim pjesnama jugoslavenskiem / Dei canti popolari degli Slavi meridionale* (Dubrovnik: Pier Francesco Martecchini, 1851); and *Vienac gorskog i pitomog cvietja: Hrvatsko–srbska pjesmarica* (Dubrovnik: D. Pretner, 1882 [first edition 1875]) which contained both folk and newly-composed poems.

<sup>59</sup> Kaznačić recorded Čermák's arrival in Dubrovnik in November of 1858. Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić*, 105.

<sup>60</sup> Čermák resided in Mandaljena with the wife of Belgian teacher Louis Gallait, Melle Hyp. Gallait, née Pic, and her two daughters, who masqueraded as the painter's family to avoid scandal. See: Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić*, 105; and Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike* ([1941] Čakovec: Hrvatski Zapisnik, 2002).

<sup>61</sup> See the stockbooks of Goupil & Cie. and Boussod, Valadon & Co., in the collection of the Getty Research Institute, and accessible online at: <http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/goupil/servlet.starweb?path=goupil/goupil.web> (last accessed February 10, 2015).

“To Jaroslav Čermák [on his Way] to Cetinje” is composed in octameter verse with a loose rhyming scheme. As Slavica Stojan notes, while enamored with folk poetry, the majority of Kaznačić’s generation wrote in what many twentieth-century critics felt to be an outmoded classical idiom, still under the influence of the Latinists of the turn of the eighteenth century basking in the twilight of Renaissance humanism.<sup>62</sup> The poem contains an amalgam of folk, classical and Biblical imagery. The medley of motifs include heroic “Montenegrin falcons,” the Turkish weapon *hanjar* (*handžar*), classical Genius, the bitter gall of the Bible, the medieval legend of St. George and the dragon, and the Renaissance idea of the dawning of a “new age.”

<i>O Česki sine čestiti</i>	O righteous Czech son	
<i>Kog' znana Praga porodi,</i>	Who well-known Prague gave birth to,	
<i>Kojega narav odliči</i>	Whose character is distinguished,	
<i>Svetim pečatom Genija,</i>	By the sacred stamp of Genius,	
<i>Ljubav Te tvoga naroda</i>	Love of your people	5
<i>Tjera po sv'jetu široku</i>	Forces You into the wide world	
<i>Da bi tvim vještīm pernikom</i>	That with your skillful brush	
<i>Naslikô divnu krasotu</i>	You might paint the divine beauty	
<i>Mile nam majke Slavije,</i>	Of our beloved mother Slavdom,	
<i>Da je svi ljudi zaljube,</i>	To make all people fall in love with her	10
<i>Ak' im je draga sloboda</i>	If freedom is dear to them	
<i>I vječno pravo naroda,</i>	And the eternal right of the people	
<i>A da je njeni sinovi</i>	And to make her sons	
<i>Iz onog' jaza uzdignu</i>	Raise her out of the abyss	
<i>Gdje je tiranstvo zbacilo.</i>	Into which tyranny cast her.	15
<i>Kada nje sliku napraviš</i>	When you paint her picture	
<i>Za Crnogorske sokole</i>	For the Montenegrin falcons	
<i>Nemoj Ti risat djevojku</i>	Do not draw a maiden	
<i>Kade nje glasom nevinim</i>	When with her innocent voice	

<sup>62</sup> “With their verses and linguistic expression, they mimicked oral poetry, unable [however] to overcome the canon of classicist composition based on an assigned theme, in which the inspiration was subordinate to poetic form.” Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić*, 169; cf. Nikola Ivanišin, “Značajke lirike u časopisu ‘Slovinac,’” *Anali Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 2 (1953): 369–82. Ivanišin argues against critics who have traditionally dismissed the production of the Dubrovnik poets in this period as stagnant.

Twentieth-century perception of poetic production such as Kaznačić’s as “backward” or “retrograde” is akin to the fate of nineteenth-century academic art in twentieth-century scholarship. I believe it is most productive to accept these “backward” cultural artifacts as expressions of the mainstream, and examine them on their own terms.



<i>Prole, mudrom besjedom,</i>	With a wise word, they [the Montenegrin sons]	60
<i>Da podlu nakaz neslogu</i>	Will destroy the vile monstrosity	
<i>Megju Slavjanim' unište,</i>	Of disunion among the Slavs,	
<i>Ne treba boja krvavog'</i>	There is no need for bloody battle	
<i>Nit treba život gubiti,</i>	Nor to lose one's life,	
<i>Neg' na narodnu prosvjetu</i>	But rather to push forward with all force	65
<i>Upr'jeti sa svim silama;</i>	For the enlightenment of the people;	
<i>Njezine zrakom svjetlosti</i>	By the ray of its [the enlightenment's] light	
<i>Ljubav megj braćom granuće,</i>	Love among brothers will begin to glow,	
<i>Mržnje će stare nestati</i>	The old hatred will disappear	
<i>Novo će doba postati,</i>	A new age will come into being,	70
<i>I tada majka Slavija</i>	And then mother Slavdom	
<i>Kako nebeska kraljica,</i>	Like a heavenly queen,	
<i>Nogom će svojom zgaziti</i>	With her foot will crush	
<i>Paklenog zmaja neslogu.</i>	The hellish dragon of disunion.	

Kaznačić began “To Jaroslav Čermák [on his Way] to Cetinje” with a description of the inescapable necessity of working abroad for the artist who acts on behalf of the nation. The attention Kaznačić, like Vuletić writing about Bukovac a decade and a half later, gave this matter likely indicates an anxiety that needed to be soothed, perhaps over the number of artists whose fame had been absorbed by the foreign countries in which they resided. It also reveals a hyperconsciousness of being subject to the outside world’s scrutiny and desire for approval. Conversely, the first lines of the poem also imply an admonition to the outside world, a sort of attack as a means of defense over feeling inadequate. Europe would be revealed to be hypocritical if it should fail to “fall in love” with the South Slavs “If freedom is dear to them / And the eternal right of the people” (lines 11–12).

The painter’s mission was dual, directed both outward and inward, to foreign and native viewers. Painting leads each set of viewers to a different course of action. Following his introduction, Kaznačić turns to the main theme of his poem, namely, the role of painting on the homefront. He casts the South Slavs—the insider audience for Čermák’s paintings—as a family of quarrelsome brothers, sons of “beloved mother Slavdom,” whose separation is the cause of

their living as “slaves / Under the cursed foreigner yoke” (lines 9 and 49–50).<sup>65</sup> He endows the art of painting with the power to reconstitute them as a nation.

Kaznačić puts great faith in painting having the power to trigger the divided South Slavs to unite, or rather, reunite. He has very specific ideas about how painting will do this. Like a magic mirror that reflects an inner truth, painting would literally *show* the brothers the folly of “disunion among the Slavs” (line 62), causing them to amend their bad behavior.

Kaznačić describes existing individual works that Čermák has already completed. He might have remembered some in sketch form from Čermák’s first visit to Dubrovnik in 1858/1859. The artist may have brought those sketches, or variations thereof, back with him in 1862, refreshing Kaznačić’s memory. Some of the South–Slavic themed works had been printed as engravings in the interim of 1859–1862, which Kaznačić likely had access to. Rather than praising these works, as we might expect, however, he finds them inadequate to the task. He instructs the painter *not* to draw mother Slavdom as he has already done “for the Montenegrin falcons” when he goes to Cetinje (line 17). The poem, in effect, is a roadmap for the re-education of the painter and his audiences abroad and at home.

“Do not draw a maiden.... / ... when the wedding party leads her / with the thunder of many rifles / Escorting her as the bride / Into the house of her intended” undoubtedly refers to the dramatic composition, *Dalmatian Wedding* (*Noces dalmates*, undated) (lines 18, 26–29) (fig. 4.6).<sup>66</sup> A wedding party on horseback galloping at breakneck speed and firing rifles in the air

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<sup>65</sup> Decades later, the motif of quarrelsome brothers being the cause of the enslavement of the South Slavs was still potent. See, for example, the poem “Inferior Race (*Inferiorna rasa*),” by Jovan Hranilović, published in *Vienac* 22, no. 10, March 5, 1892, 145: “... the yoke seizes them: ‘You didn’t want to be brothers / Come then under the yoke, brother to brother ... You are not yet for freedom / Your necks are for the yoke’ (...*ih jaram hvata: ‘Ne htjedoste braća biti / Ajd’ u jaram brat do brata ... Za slobodu jošte niste / Za jaram su vases šije*’).”

<sup>66</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Dalmatian Wedding* (*Dalmatská svatba*), undated, oil on canvas, 113 x 174 cm. National Gallery, Prague, inv. no. O 2308. There is also a drawing *Noces dalmates* dated February 22, 1859, pencil, pen and ink on paper, 12.5 x 19 cm., in the collection of the National Gallery in Prague, (inv. no. K 42765), however, the

enter the walled courtyard of an estate. Above the open gate, a celebratory laurel garland is just being hung. To the right of the gate are a young girl dressed in black and a blind bard playing a *gusle*, a vignette Čermák later isolated as a composition of its own (fig. 4.7).<sup>67</sup>

“Nor with a child on her breast / The firstborn child of her love / When she nurses him with the milk / Of the heroism of the righteous Serb” could refer to one of several paintings Čermák had executed prior to his return to the Slavic South in 1862 (lines 30–33). Like his Belgian teacher, Louis Gallait, Čermák excelled at tender pictures of women with slumping infants and sweet children. Kaznačič might have known *Slovak Mother in a Field* (*Slovanská matka na poli*, also known as *Slovak Mother with a Child* / *Slovanská matka s deckom*, 1859) either from the oil painting, a sketch or lithograph. In this composition, a woman in national costume nurses an infant under a makeshift shelter of three long sticks to which a hammock–like bassinett is tied, covered with a cloak (fig. 4.8).<sup>68</sup> The shelter is set in a field where the woman is obviously engaged in agricultural work, with a rake prominently visible in the left foreground. Alternatively, he may have been familiar with *Young Montenegrin Mother* (*Jeune Mère Monténégrine*, 1859, exhibited at the Brussels Exposition of 1860) as an early sketch, the 1860 photoengraving published by Goupil in Paris, or the full–page print in *Le Monde Illustré* in 1860 under the title *Montenegrin Woman and her Infant* (*Femme Monténegrine et son enfant*) (fig.

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wedding party is not seen entering a house in his composition. Many thanks to Kristýna Brožová for providing object information. Two additional versions (1874 and 1875) are conserved in the in Prague City Gallery (*Galerie hlavního města Prahy*).

<sup>67</sup> This is the: *Blind Guslar* (*Slepý guslar*), before 1874, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>68</sup> An oil on panel version is conserved in the Amsterdam Museum as *A Hungarian Woman with Child* (*Een Hongaarse vrouw met kind*), 1859, 39.5 x 55.5 cm. This may very be the painting Čermák exhibited at the Salon of Gand in 1859, entitled *Young Mother (Hungary)* (*Jeune mere (Hongrie)*). See: *Exposition nationale et triennale de Gand: Salon de 1859*. Gand: Imprimerie de Eug. Vanderhaeghen, 1859), 28. An untitled lithograph executed by Lemercier is conserved in the BnF in the file: CA19E– 1 (CZERMAK, Jaroslav) –FOL. The lithograph differs from the oil painting in Amsterdam, in that it reproduces the central section of the horizontal painting as a vertical composition.

1.15).<sup>69</sup> The work features a melancholic young woman wearing a striking headdress and full national costume sitting at a window with a sleeping babe on her lap and a bird perched on her finger. Behind her hang the clothes and sword of her husband. Other possibilities include an early version of the so-called *Montenegrin Madonna* (fig. 4.9),<sup>70</sup> depicting an exotically-dressed young woman setting a sleeping infant into a wooden crib, or *Young Peasant with her Infant (Croatia)* (*Jeune paysanne avec son enfant (Croatie)*, 1860, exhibited at the Salon of 1861). Kaznačić may have been familiar with a lost sketch variant of this latter, or the photoengraving titled, *Young Mother (La Jeune mère, 1860)* (fig. 1.17).<sup>71</sup> In this work, a young woman wearing a wide-sleeved white blouse with embroidered sleeves (the same blouse as in *Slavic Mother with a Child*), a full white skirt and apron embellished with delicate lace stands in a verdant field with hollyhocks in front of a pergola nuzzling an infant. All three of the above-mentioned works feature beautiful women in elaborate Slavic costume with infants. As evidenced from the plurality of retitlings, their ethnic designations were fluid for foreign publics. Čermák certainly took artistic license in combining costume elements, but Kaznačić would have recognized the second two as more or less Montenegrin and the last as from continental Slavonia.<sup>72</sup>

As was widespread throughout Europe and beyond in the nineteenth century, Kaznačić posits a woman as a personification of the nation: “beloved mother Slavdom.” In the poet’s view,

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<sup>69</sup> Dimensions and whereabouts of the painting are unknown. Goupil’s photoengraving after Bingham’s photograph in 1860, entitled *Montenegrin Woman and her Infant (Monténégrine et son enfant)*, is conserved in the BnF in the file: CA19E-1 (CZERMAK, Jaroslav) –FOL. A woodcut engraving appeared in *Le Monde Illustré*, no. 179 (September 15, 1860): 185, and in *Le Journal illustré* 2, no. 55 (February 26 – March 5, 1865): 1. A watercolor (23 x 29.9 cm.) dated 1859 is conserved in the Amsterdam Museum as *A Croatian Woman with Child (Een Croaatsche vrouw met kind)*.

<sup>70</sup> *Montenegrin with an Infant (Černohorka s dítětem)*, oil on canvas, 122 x 89 cm., National Gallery, Prague. The National Gallery dates the painting to 1865 based on F. V. Mokřý (in: Černý, Mokřý and Náprstek, *Život a dílo Jaroslava Čermáka*, figure 25, *Černohorka s děckem u kolébky*), however, F. X. Harlas, in his *Jaroslav Čermák: Život a dílo* (Praha: Topič, 1913), dated it to 1860. Many thanks to Irena Nývltová for this information.

<sup>71</sup> Photographed by Bingham, the print was published by the Galerie Durand-Ruel, November 17, 1860.

<sup>72</sup> Many thanks to Marina Desin for her help in identifying the costume of *Young Peasant with her Infant (Croatia)*. The white blouse, skirt, apron and headscarf are typical of Slavonian costume along the Sava River. The Eastern-style short vest displays Ottoman influence and was likely an exotic touch added by Čermák.

Čermák's depiction of the allegorical mother of the South Slavs as a beautiful, youthful, peaceful woman with affectionate children gave the deceptive impression of calm, prosperity and untroubled reproduction. Such images would not provoke the action he desired. The sons of mother Slavdom were not placid babes, but unruly boys who could not get along and therefore threatened to make their mother so sick she would perish. Tyranny and the "disunion" of her sons caused her to be "wretched." The South Slavs would continue to live fragmented under various "cursed foreigner yoke[s]" (line 50) if they did not recognize their relatedness and unify. The survival of the nation depended on it.

Kaznačić dismissed Čermák's idyllic existing images, furnishing the artist instead with imperatives for a future picture to show to the "Montenegrin falcons" when he arrived in Cetinje. The national self Kaznačić desired Čermák to paint was a self in distress<sup>73</sup>: "Rather draw her in distress / In the peak of youth, but old / Ravaged by grave illness / The illness of grave disunion" (lines 34–37). Religious difference was at the heart of division: "He [the Priest] among Christian brothers / Following the law instead of love / Sows the seeds of the disunion of faith" (lines 42–44). Painting would expose the essence of disunion to be a "vile monstrosity," a "hellish dragon" (lines 61, 74). Once outed, the revelation of the truth would be a catalyst for change: "Before such a [horrible] painting will be inflamed, / The heroic heart [of her Montenegrin sons] / Then they will praise the *hanjar* / Still drenched with Turkish blood, / To defend their sorrowful mother / In such bitter misfortune" (lines 52–57).

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<sup>73</sup> Interestingly, Kaznačić ignores Čermák's sensational Salon painting *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (1861). The work epitomizes the distress of an allegorical mother of the nation. Perhaps he was unaware of the work (it was not reproduced as a photoengraving until 1863), or perhaps willfully ignored it because he felt the Anti-Turkish theme to be detrimental to the kind of unification he envisioned for the South Slavs.

Kaznačić cashed in on the currency of Anti-Turkish rhetoric, which had served since the Renaissance as a means of “building social communities and collective identities for the South Slavs both under and threatened by Turkish rule,” but turned the traditional discourse on its head.<sup>74</sup> The Ottomans are not, in fact, the enemy. The enemy is within. The source of mother Slavdom’s distress was the failure of her sons to unite and recognize their familial ties under one nation. Living under the “cursed foreigner yoke” was a symptom, not the cause, of disunity.

Combat was not the way to vanquish this foe, as proscribed by traditional Anti-Turkish literature. Disunion could only be overcome by peaceful means, through the enlightened recognition of truth. Kaznačić endowed the revelatory power of art to effect change: “Then You [Čermák] restrain their hand; / Forbid that blood be spilled in vain / With a wise word, they [the Montenegrin sons] / Will destroy the vile monstrosity / Of disunion among the Slavs, / There is no need for bloody battle / Nor to lose one’s life, / But rather to push forward with all force / For the enlightenment of the people” (lines 58–66). As Čermák prepared to set out for Cetinje, Kaznačić hoped his future paintings of a nation in distress would convince the Montenegrins to throw their lot in with his pro-Yugoslav compatriots in the Croatian territories and work for the unification of all the South Slavs, rather than just freeing themselves and the surrounding population from the Ottomans. Čermák’s paintings should demonstrate to them that they were part of a wrongfully divided family; that they had Catholic and perhaps even Muslim brothers. In what constituted a will to radically re-educate, Kaznačić wants Montenegro to put down its sword—what it was known for doing best—and take a leading role as a new kind of gentle hero.

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<sup>74</sup> The “patriotic feeling and concern for the present and future of their native land and its people” in Anti Turkish discourses “generated a great creative effort and contributed to the emergence of a coherent and monolithic ideology of South Slavic Slavophilism.” See Olga Nedeljković’s manuscript of her forthcoming book, *The Origins of South Slavic Slavophilism as a Discourse*.

Kaznačić's poem is also, fundamentally, addressed to his fellow countrymen, especially in Dalmatia. He published it, after all, in a periodical printed in Dubrovnik. Kaznačić's embracing of the Orthodox South Slavs in Montenegro was particular to the "Serbophilic" network of Dubrovnik intellectuals of which he was part. The fallen Republic of Dubrovnik had been a Catholic Republic in which the congregation and burial of Jews, Muslims and Orthodox Christians had been strictly regulated.<sup>75</sup> Montenegro was not universally beloved. Collective memory of 1806, when the Montenegrin army, siding with Russia against Napoleon, entered the region and pillaged the countryside was still strong. The casting of Montenegro as the homeland of positive highland leaders, archetypal South Slavs, was a project that required conscious cultivation. Kaznačić dipped into the world of the epic as a surface touch of ethnic authenticity, a way of including Serbs, Montenegrins and other Eastern Orthodox South Slavs in a specifically Croatian dream of Yugoslavia. His belief that painting was uniquely positioned to help bring forth a nation *in potentia* made up of the various South Slavic tribes added cultural refinement to the campaign.

At the end of the poem, the allegorical mother of the nation is redeemed. "By the ray of its [the enlightenment's] light / Love among brothers will begin to glow, / The old hatred will disappear / A new age will come into being" (lines 67–70). Mother Slavdom is transformed into the "heavenly queen" she always was, and appears out of the sky to "crush / The hellish dragon of disunion" (lines 72–74). She is young again. The South Slavs are, after all, a nation on the verge of becoming.

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<sup>75</sup> "The fallen Republic, which made so many concessions to foreign powers, showed itself to be inflexible on the subject of religious unity." Austrian sovereignty of Dalmatia after the fall of Napoleon's Illyrian provinces, granted the Eastern Orthodox community certain new rights. In 1817, the first plans for a cemetery within the walls of the city were underway. The Church of the Assumption, designed by architect Emil Vecchiotti in a neo-Byzantine historicizing style, was finally erected 1870–1877. See: Goran Vuković, "Preobrazba Dubrovnika početkom 19. Stoljeća," *Radovi instituta za povijest Umjetnosti* 24 (2000): 49–51.

#### 4. SLAVES (*ROBLJE*)

The next poem dedicated to Jaroslav Čermák, “Slaves (*Roblje*),” appeared three years later in Zagreb’s *Vienac* in 1870 (appendix 6.c).<sup>76</sup> The author was Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski (1817–1890), a politician and man of letters from the tiny village of Ostrožin in the Kordun region of Croatia’s Military Frontier (*Vojna Krajina*) near the Bosnian border.<sup>77</sup> A polyglot of the Eastern Orthodox faith, Utješenović–Ostrožinski rose to prominence during the Illyrian movement of the first half of the nineteenth century. He worked to promote unity among the South Slavs and the independence of the Croatian territories of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia within Austria–Hungary until his death.

Different from his colleague Ivan August Kaznačić in the Mediterranean South, Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s “Slaves” is devoted to the interpretation of one specific painting.<sup>78</sup> It may very well be the first of its kind.<sup>79</sup>

While in Vienna during the winter of 1869, Utješenović–Ostrožinski had seen Čermák’s enormous painting from the Paris Salon of 1868, *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold*, 1863 (fig.

<sup>76</sup> The full title was: “Slaves. Accompanying the Beautiful Painting of Jaroslav Čermák: ‘Slaves, Herzegovina 1863’—in the Royal Museum in Brussels (*Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: ‘Roblje, Hercegovina 1863’—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli.*)” See the poem by Og[njeslav] Utješenović–Ostrožinski in *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870: 129–30. The poem was also published more or less concurrently in Novi Sad’s *Matica: List za književnost i zabavu* 5, no. 3, January 30, 1870, 49–51. It was also reproduced in Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s collection of poems and essays the following year: *strožinska. Sitne pjesme i osnova estetike*, 158–63.

<sup>77</sup> For a biography of Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski, see: Milan Grlović, *Album zaslužnih Hrvata XIX. stoljeća. Sto i pedeset životopisa, slika i vlastoručnih podpisa* (Zagreb: Matičev litografski zavod, 1898–1900), 407–413. For a study of Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s literary production, see: Divna Zečević, “Književna djelatnost pučkog pjesnika Ognjeslava Utješenovića Ostrožinskog (Ostrožin 21. august 1817.–Zagreb, 8. juni 1890), in: Drago Kekanović and Čedomir Višnjić, eds., *Ljetopis srpskog kulturnog društva “Prosvjeta”* (1996): 128–45.

<sup>78</sup> I am aware of two other poems dedicated to this painting by Čermák: F. Kovačević–Josipov, “Priekor (sa Čermakove slike ‘Hercegovačko Roblje,’” *Lovor* 1, no. 11 (1897 [1895]): 85; and Nikola I Petrović Njegoš’s (1910?) poem, “Herzegovinian Slaves,” printed in Vratislav Černý, “Jaroslav Čermak 1830–1878,” *Zapisi* 2, nos. 1–2 (1928): 12–13.

<sup>79</sup> Later in the same year, Fr. Ciraki’s poem, “Arrival of the Croatians at the Coast of the Blue Sea (*Dolazak Hrvata na obalu sinjega morja*),” appeared in *Vienac* 2, no. 41, October 8, 1870, 648. It was an interpretation of Ferdinand Quiquerez’s painting *Arrival of the Croatians at the Sea (Dolazak Hrvata k Moru)*, 1870, oil on canvas, 300 x 200 cm. Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

I.2).<sup>80</sup> The painting, “a scene from the Herzegovinian Uprising of 1863,” was on a tour of European exhibitions after being bought at the *Exposition général des beaux-arts* in Brussels in 1866 where the Belgian government bought it for the record sum of 20,000 for the Museum of Modern Painting: Paris (1868), Gand (1868) and Vienna (1869).<sup>81</sup> It was at the Künstlerhaus in the Austrian capital when Utješenić–Ostrožinski had the chance to study it.

Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s retitling of the painting, *Slaves, Herzegovina 1863 (Roblje, Hercegovina 1863)* probably derived from the prefix to the Salon title in Brussels adopted in Goupil & Cie’s reproductions albeit with the date of 1863 rather than 1862: *Spoils of War. Herzegovina, 1863 (Butin de guerre. Herzégovine, 1863)*.<sup>82</sup> To this concise, salient title, he added a narrative description: “Six Herzegovinian girls tied with rope, captured by *Bashi–Bazouks*, who are leading them to Edirne (Jedren) to the bazaar [to be sold] into Turkish harems

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<sup>80</sup> Anon., “Bašibozuci vode hercegovačke djevojke na pazar u Jedren,” *Vienac* 7, no. 28, July 10, 1875, 457.

<sup>81</sup> Čermák’s painting is still conserved in Brussels at the Royal Museums of Belgium under the title: *Spoils of war (Hercegovina, 1862). Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople to be Sold There. (Butin de guerre (Herzégovine, 1862). Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l’Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour y être vendues)*. Oil on canvas, 240 x 394 cm. I would like to thank Davy Depelchin for generously furnishing me with the museum’s object information for the painting.

<sup>82</sup> Čermák’s 1868 Salon painting was published as photo–engravings by Goupil & Cie in 1869 and 1872. Unlike several of the artist’s other works, Goupil & Cie was not the intermediary for the painting’s sale. Two prints are conserved in the Bibliothèque National de France: “BUTIN DE GUERRE (HERZEGOVINE 1863) Jeunes filles chrétiennes enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Adrianople pour y être vendues” in CA19E–1 (CZERMAK, Jaroslav)–FOL; and “BUTIN DE GUERRE” in SNR–3 (CERMAK, Jaroslav). See three entries in the *Bibliographie de la France* for publication dates: “Butin de guerre, d’après Jaroslav Cermak,” vol. 58, no. 21, May 29, 1869: 267, no. 666; vol 58, no.45, “Butin de guerre, d’après Cermak,” (November 6, 1869): 549, no. 1257 [Musée Goupil]; and vol. 61, no. 10, “Butin de guerre, d’après Cermak,” (March 9, 1872): 110, no. 297.

N.B. Goupil’s prints of the work, as well as Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s poem date the purported event pictured in the canvas to 1863. The discrepancy in dating (1862 or 1863) as well as the sometimes present word “there (y)” in the titles at various venues and in various media probably stems from the *Exposition générale des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles*, where it was exhibited in 1866 as *Butin de guerre (Herzégovine, 1862). Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l’Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour y être vendues*. See the catalogue : *Exposition générale des Beaux-Arts des Bruxelles* (Brussels : Charles Lelong, 1866), 4. The same title was used at the *Salon de Gand* 1868, where Čermák’s painting was exhibited following the Paris Salon (opened September 14, 1868). See: Lobel, J. ed., *Salon de Gand* (Gand, J. Lobel, 1868), 5–8. The huge canvas must have been a sensation in Gand. It was the first work discussed in Lobel’s book (with an accompanying line drawing illustration) and was also the first work discussed in the series of articles “Le Salon de Gand” by Ad. S. in *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature* 2, no. 18 (September 30, 1868): 131

(*Šest djevojaka hercegovačkih povezanieh konopcima, zarobljene po Bašibozucima, koji ih vode u Odrin (Jedrenu) na pazar za hareme turske*).<sup>83</sup>

“Slaves” appeared before illustrations were being published in Croatian periodicals, so most readers did not have a ready visual reference for the poem. Apparently, it made them want to see it. In the same letter to Bogišić, Utješenović–Ostrožinski boasts that Jaroslav Čermák’s cousin, Karel Čermák, who ran a bookshop in Vienna, came to thank him for the “very successful advertisement for [his cousin’s] painting. . . . Since my poem ‘Slaves’ came out, people have been ordering prints [from him] like mad.”<sup>84</sup> The print in question was without a doubt the photoengraving published by Goupil & Cie in 1869.<sup>85</sup> Vienna in the nineteenth century was the heart of the cultural orbit of the South Slavic intelligentsia who were educated *en masse* there. It was in the capital of the Austro–Hungarian Empire that the South Slavs planned to break free and had easiest access to Čermák’s *oeuvre* in reproduction.

In the long essay that accompanied his poem in *Vienac*, Utješenović–Ostrožinski pointed readers to Karel Čermák’s bookshop, writing: “there is one way that our people can get to know this painting from afar at least . . . (in the bookshop of the artist Čermák’s cousin, Schottengasse), a beautiful large photograph of the painting [suitable] for framing” could be purchased. It was especially worthwhile for “our people to procure at least this picture instead of others that do not

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<sup>83</sup> Edirne: formerly Adrianople, (founded as Hadrianopolis), is a city in the Turkish region of East Thrace, close to its borders with Greece and Bulgaria on the European continent. The Croatian and Serbian name for the city is Jedren

<sup>84</sup> Utješenović–Ostrožinski refers to the publishing of his poem in both *Matica* in Novi Sad and *Vienac* in Zagreb. Letter from Utješenović–Ostrožinski to Baltazar Bogišić, Vienna, dated April 27, 1870 (Letter 16, III, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat). He mentions this again in another letter to Bogišić dated June 4, 1870 from Vienna: “‘Slaves’ is a sensation here, so the bookshop owner Čermák thanked me for the successful advertisement for the painting; people are ordering it like mad, and already I had to send five or six boxes.” (Letter 17, III, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat). Transcriptions of both letters are reproduced in: Drago Roksančić, “Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski i Baltazar Bogišić: Ljudi i pisma,” *Ljetopis srpskog kulturnog društva “Prosvjeta”* (2003): 295–97.

<sup>85</sup> In a footnote in his essay on painting in his, *Vila Ostrožinska. Sitne pjesme i osnova estetike*, 278, Utješenović–Ostrožinski makes it clear that the print in question must be that published by Goupil: “A fine Parisian photograph of this picture can be purchased in the Čermák bookshop in Vienna (Schottengasse).” Cf. footnote 84 of this chapter.

have any importance [for us.]”<sup>86</sup> A contraband reproduction of the photoengraving with Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s poem appeared shortly thereafter.<sup>87</sup> In the ensuing decades, Čermák’s painting *Slaves, Herzegovina 1863* would multiply in various reproductive media throughout Croatia and the Slavic South, becoming one of the most popular images around which a nascent Yugoslavia mobilized.<sup>88</sup> It was printed as an inferior wood engraving on a two–page spread in *Vienac* in 1875 “that could be pasted onto cardboard and framed”<sup>89</sup> and as an oleograph produced by Petar Nikolić in Zagreb in 1889 that one still runs into in private homes and antique shops throughout the former Yugoslavia (fig. I.2).<sup>90</sup> As Krunoslav Kamenov writes: “in addition to awakening national consciousness and patriotism, oleographs played an important role in developing and popularizing painting in the second half of the nineteenth century.”<sup>91</sup>

The poem reads as follows:<sup>92</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Og[njeslav] Utješenić–Ostrožinski, “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 140.

<sup>87</sup> “It [Goupil’s photoengraving] cannot be compared to the picture that someone is selling along with my poem “Slaves” in an unauthorized reproduction (*sredstvom nepovlašćena patiska i pafotografije*, literally ‘by means of unauthorized imitation–print and imitation–photograph.’)” Utješenić–Ostrožinski, *Vila Ostrožinska. Sitne pjesme i osnova estitike*, 278.

<sup>88</sup> See for example: Anon., “Žive Slike (Tableaux Vivants),” *Glas Crnogorca* no. 57, December, 31, 1911, 7: “*To which Serb is this painting not known, that one alongside which we all grew up, so that already in our childhood it was absorbed in our hearts like a Serbian icon!*” Writing in 1928, Vratislav Černý described the painting similarly: “... is considered in Yugoslavia to be *some Serbian icon* and decorates nearly every house in all of Serbdom... [original emphasis].” See his: “Jaroslav Čermak 1830–1878,” 11.

Reproductions of the painting were sometimes incorporated into household furnishings. In Negotina (Serbia), Nenad Makuljević found a metal bed decorated with oleographs of Čermák’s *Slaves, Herzegovina 1863* on the footboard and Serbian painter Uroš Predić’s (1856–1953) *Herzegovnian Fugitives (Hercegovački begunci, 1889)* on the headboard. Many thanks to Nenad Makuljević for bringing this fascinating object to my attention.

<sup>89</sup> A reproduction of the painting appeared as a two–page supplement in 1875 in *Vienac* 7, no. 28, July 10, 1875, n.p. Parts of Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s poem and essay were reproduced in the accompanying text “Bašibozuci vode hercegovačke djevojke na pazar u Jedren,” 457–58. Readers were encouraged to frame the reproduction, and notified they could also purchase a copy of the print on “thicker paper” from *Vienac* (457).

<sup>90</sup> Krunoslav Kamenov, *Oleografija u Hrvatskoj: 1864–1918* (Osijek: Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, 1988), an exhibition catalogue, 8. “Oleography,” also called chromolithography, is a process of making coloured prints by lithography, using a separate stone or plate for each colour. The technique was pioneered in the 1830s but came into wide commercial use in the 1860s. Oleographs are color lithographs made to look like oil paintings. They were varnished and impressed with a canvas grain. s.v. “oleography” in: Michael Clarke and Deborah Clark, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms* (2 ed.), 2010

<sup>91</sup> Kamenov, *Oleografija u Hrvatskoj*, 5.

<sup>92</sup> I would like to thank Olga Nedeljković for her generous and expert help in translating this poem.

<p><i>Jeste l' voljni gledat naše jade, Velje jade na prostoru malom: Pristupite ovoj slici divnoj. Suzama je ona naslikana, Suzama ću vam je tumačiti, I ona će sama besjediti O golemu roda moga jadu, I vama je ronit suze gorke; Nikada vam s uma saći ne će.</i></p>	<p>Are you willing to look at our misery, So much misery in such a small space: Come closer to this beautiful painting. With tears it was painted With tears will I interpret it for you; 5 And it will deliver its own oration About the great misery of my people, And you will weep bitter tears; [The painting] will never leave your mind.</p>
<p><i>Šta to vide mutne oči moje?– Gle, na gori pustoj, kamenitoj, Na sve strane razvaline same, A po njima procvjetalo cvieće. Ta kako bi po kamenju rastlo?– Nije ondje procvjetalo cvieće, Već je kita na razvale pala, Kita cvieća nedavno ubrana, Dragomiljem nekom namijenjena. Tek ubrana, veće izgubljena, I skoro je njojzi uvenuti.</i></p>	<p>What do my clouded eyes see?– 10 Look, upon the desolate, craggy mountain, On every side are only ruins, And atop them blooming flowers. How could [flowers] have grown on stone?– Those are not blooming flowers there, 15 But a nosegay fallen on the ruins, A nosegay of recently-picked flowers, Intended as sweetheart's flowers.<sup>93</sup> Only just picked, and already mislaid, And soon the nosegay will wither. 20</p>
<p><i>Čije cvieće, čije dragomilje? Po čijim li rudinama rastlo? Čije li ga odgojile ruke, U mirisnu divnu kitu vile? Komu li ga od milošte dale? S čih njedarâ opanulo ondje?</i></p>	<p>Whose flowers, whose sweetheart's flowers? On whose greenwards did they grow? Whose hands tended them, And braided [them] into a fragrant, pretty nosegay? To whom were they given out of affection? 25 From whose bosom did they fall there?</p>
<p><i>Oči moje, da l' me ne varate? Čini mi se, naše gore listje! Naše cvieće, naše dragomilje! Po našem rudinama rastlo!</i></p>	<p>My eyes, are you not tricking me? It seems to me, [that that is] one of our kind<sup>94</sup> Our flowers, our sweethearts' flowers! Grown on our greenwards! 30</p>
<p><i>Al' mi nešto jadno srce sluti: Ni'su l' tudje ubrale ga ruke, U mirisnu divnu kitu vile Na razboju, za rose krvave? S mog li roda srca opanulo?</i></p>	<p>But my wretched heart bodes something ill: Have not foreign hands picked them [the flowers] Into a pretty, fragrant nosegay braided [them] On the battlefield, on the bloody dew? Fallen from the heart of my kinsmen? 35</p>

<sup>93</sup> Technically *Tropaeolum minus* L (Dwarf Nasturtium), in folk epic poetry, the collective noun “dragomilje” referred to particular flowers intended for sweethearts.

<sup>94</sup> “Lišće” is a collective noun meaning “leaves, foliage.” The phrase “naše gore lišće” literally means “leaves from our mountain,” however, the colloquial meaning is “one of our kind” or “our compatriots.” The phrase allows Utješenović–Ostrožinski to continue playing with the metaphor of flora.

<p><i>Oči moje, jasno pogledajte! Šta se vije okó kite cvieće? Gle, zmija se okó njeg savila! Mrki vuci vrebaju sa strane! Šta će vuci s divnom kitom cvieće?</i></p>	<p>My eyes, look clearly! What is twisting round the nosegay of flowers? Look, a snake has curled itself about it! Dark wolves lie in ambush from the side! What do wolves want with a pretty nosegay? 40</p>
<p><i>Oči moje, jasno pogledajte! Oči moje, suze proljevajte! To je naša grdna ràna stara!</i></p>	<p>My eyes, look clearly! My eyes, shed tears! That is our immense old wound!</p>
<p><i>Nije ono jedna kita cvieća, Niti zmija okó nje savita, Već konopci okó kite divne, Kite divne našieh djevojakâ; Zla kob robstva njih mi ukobila.</i></p>	<p>That is not a nosegay of flowers, Nor is it a snake curled about it, 45 But rather a rope about the pretty nosegay, A pretty nosegay of our maidens; The sinister fate of slavery has befallen them.</p>
<p><i>To mog roda cvieće odabrano Iz majčina krila potrgano, Konopcima kruto povezano. To su Turci, a ne mrki vuci! Mili Bože, kamo tvoje striele!?</i></p>	<p>Those chosen flowers of my kinsmen Torn from their mother's laps, 50 Roughly tied with ropes. Those are Turks, and not dark wolves! Dear God, whither your thunder-bolts!?</p>
<p><i>–Roblje moje, grdna ràno moja! Roblje moje, šta si Bogu krivo?– “Jas sam krivo Bogu, da sam živo.”</i></p>	<p>–My slaves, my immense old wound! My slaves, what are you guilty of to God?– 55 “I am guilty to God, because I live.”</p>
<p><i>–Roblje moje, šta je tebi žao?– “Žao mi je živu u grob poći!”</i></p>	<p>–My slaves, what are you sorry for?– “I am sorry to go to my grave [while still] alive!”</p>
<p><i>–Roblje moje, koga ćeš da ljubiš?– “Britku sablju želim da poljubim.”</i></p>	<p>–My slaves, who would you kiss?– “I wish to kiss a sharp-edged sword.” 60</p>
<p><i>–Aman Turci, ako Bogu znate! Tužnom roblju razdrješite ruke. Ne mučite djevojačkog tiela. E na muke ne rodi ga majka. Eno krvca konop obalila, Za konopce niesu one ruke, Pustite nam roblje dragocjeno, Mi ćemo ga izmieniti zlatom.–</i></p>	<p>–Have mercy Turks, for God's sake! Untie the hands of the miserable slaves. Do not torment the maidens' bodies. Their mothers did not bear them to be tortured. Look, a bit of blood has stained the rope, 65 Those hands are not for ropes, Set free our precious captives, We will exchange gold for them.–</p>
<p><i>“Valâ, more, roblja vam ne damo, Dok je naše na ramenu glave. Ova roba za turske pazare, E nam valja, da nam Turke radja.”</i></p>	<p>“Begone[!] Give you the slaves we will not While our heads are on our shoulders. 70 These goods are [destined] for the Turkish bazaar, They are useful to us, to give birth to Turks for us.”</p>

<p>–<i>Aman Turci, ako Boga znate!</i>  <i>Medj vukove ne gonite janjce.</i>  <i>Pustite nam roblje dragocjeno,</i>  <i>Na pazaru gon'te našu stoku;</i>  <i>Traž'te, age, što je vama drago.–</i></p>	<p>–Have mercy Turks, for God's sake!  Do not drive lambs among wolves.  Set free our precious captives;  Drive our livestock to the bazaar [instead],  Ask whatever is dear to you, Agas.–</p>	<p>75</p>
<p>“<i>Cuki, bolan, tu nije pazara!</i>  <i>Azurala, kičene djevojke!</i>  <i>Daleko je do Jedrene grada.</i>  <i>Čekaju nas mnoge mušterije</i>  <i>Da kupuju robe dragokupe.</i>  <i>zurala, kičene djevojke!”</i></p>	<p>“Shoo[!] man, this is not the bazaar!<sup>95</sup>  Ready yourselves, adorned maidens!  It is a far way to Edirne city.  Many customers await us,  To buy dearly paid for goods.  Ready yourselves, adorned maidens!”</p>	<p>80</p>
<p><i>Roblje krasno, davor ràno moja!</i>  <i>Krasota je sva krivica tvoja–</i>  <i>Darak neba i paklèna žrtva!–</i>  <i>S krasote je tebi poginuti.</i>  <i>Ti odlaziš, osveta ostaje,</i>  <i>Sustignut će zlobne otmičare,</i>  <i>Ako Bog da i sreća junačka.</i></p>	<p>Beautiful slaves, alas, my dear [ones]!  Your only fault is beauty–  A gift from heaven and a hellish sacrifice!–  You will perish for your beauty.  You depart, revenge remains,  It will overtake the malicious captors,  God willing and with a hero's luck.<sup>96</sup></p>	<p>85      90</p>
<p><i>Odagnaše roblje u sužanjstvo</i>  <i>Kâ bijele na mesnicu ovce.</i>  <i>Čujte, čujte gdje nariče tužno:</i>  <i>“Oj davori, tužna sreća naša!</i>  <i>Mili Bože, goleme nevolje,</i>  <i>Mili Bože, goleme sramote,</i>  <i>Pod nasilje biti turskom ljubom,</i>  <i>Robinjicom u zemlji neznanoj,</i>  <i>Pokraj mnoge braće svoje žive.”</i></p>	<p>They have driven the captives into slavery  Like white sheep to the butcher.  Hear them, hear them as they sadly wail:  “Oh, lament our deplorable fortune!  Dear God, [what] huge misfortune,  Dear God, [what] huge shame,  To be the consort of a Turk by force,  A slave in an unknown land,  Near many of our living brothers.”</p>	<p>95</p>

<sup>95</sup> “*Bolan*” literally the masculine adjective “sick, ill” is elliptical of “*bolan ne bio*” (that you [masc.] not be ill; the feminine equivalent is “*bona*.”) As recorded in oral poetry and used in Bosnia, however, it functions grammatically like a masculine singular. “*Bolan*” is often employed in the context of feeling sorry for the person addressed, but not necessarily. See Đuro Daničić, ed., *Rječnik hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1880–1882), 525, s.v. “*bolan*.”

<sup>96</sup> The phrase “*ako Bog da i sreća junačka*” is common in the oral poetry recorded in the nineteenth century, such as “Marko Kraljević i Arapin” in: Vuk Stephanović Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme, knjiga druga, u kojoj su pjeme junačke najstarije* (Vienna: Jerمنيčki manastir, 1845), 399, verse 366; or “Pop Dragović i Marko Taušan,” in: *ibid.*, *Srpske narodne pjesme, knjiga četvrta, u kojoj su pjeme junačke novijih vremena o vojevanju za slobodu* (Vienna: Jerمنيčki manastir, 1862), 327, verse 190; “Luka iz Kotora i Mujo od Kladuše,” in: Luka Marjanović, *Hrvatske narodne pjesme: Što se pjevaju u gornjoj hrvatskoj krajini i u turskoj hrvatskoj*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: A. Jakić, 1864), 99, verse 148. The variation of the phrase, which appears on line 114 of Utješević–Ostrožinski’s poem, “*što Bog daje i sreća junačka*” was widely attributed to Ban Josip Jelačić (1801–1859), who sought independence for the Croatian territories, when he crossed the river Drava into Hungary with 40,000 men in 1848. See Jan Otto, *Ottův slovník naučný: Illustrovaná encyklopædie obecných vědomostí*, vol. 13 (Prague: J. Ott, 1898), 196.

<p>Čuj pomagaj! Eno odvedoše  Divno roblje u zemlju neznanu!  Šta stojite, braćo moja draga,  Šta stojite, a ne otimate  Čiste žrtve iz nečiste ruke?  U potjeru zlobnim otmičarom!  Krv nek' lije, kom' do Boga nije!–  Stan'te Turci! Tako l' se pazari  Krvlju našom, krstu na sramotu?</p>	<p>Hear and help! There they are leading away 100  The beautiful slaves into an unknown land!  Why do you stand still, my dear brothers,  Why do you stand still, and do not sieze  Pure victims from unpure hands?  Chase the malicious captors! 105  Let the blood pour of whoever cares not for God!–  Stop [there] Turks! Is that how one does business  With our blood [kin], to the shame of the cross?</p>
<p>Na razboju evo vam pazara!  Čik na mejdan! Tako l' se pazari?  Čik na mejdan, ženski otmičari!  Da sabljama zemlju dijelimo  I po zemlji gizdave djevojke:  Pa šta Bog da i sreća junačka!</p>	<p>To the battlefield, there is your bazaar!  Let us duel! Is that how one does business? 110  Let us duel! You feminine captors!  We shall divide the land by sword  And on the land, the ornate maidens:  Whatever God grants and with a hero's luck!</p>
<p>Tko je vitez, tko li dobar junak,  Neka paše britku sablju svoju.  Nasta ora, valja vojevati  Za krst častni, i slobodu zlatnu.</p>	<p>Whoever is a knight, whoever is a good hero, 115  Let [him] gird on a bright sword.<sup>97</sup>  The right moment has come, it is vital to wage war,  For the honorable cross, and golden freedom.<sup>98</sup></p>

Ognjeslav Utješenić–Ostrožinski's sensationalist, epic-style poem about young Christian women being abducted to be sold into Turkish harems was written in decasyllabic meter self-consciously meant to evoke folk poetry. Utješenić–Ostrožinski was, in fact, extremely proud that many who read it felt its connection to the oral tradition. As he wrote from

<sup>97</sup> “Let [him] hang a sharp sword about his waist (*Neka paše britku sablju svoju*) may have been appropriated from folk poetry, such as the song “*Kara Mustafa*”: “Who will gird on thy bright sword? (*Tko da ti paše britku sabljicu?*)” See: Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Južno–Slovenske naordne popievke*, vol. 3 (Zagreb: C. Albrecht, 1880), 62, no. 863. It might also be a reference to the Croatian Latinist tradition, specifically, the famous oration *About Devastated Croatia (De Corvatae desolation)* that Šimun Kožičić–Benja of Zadar (Simon Begnius, ca. 1460–1536) delivered to Pope Lion X in 1516, in which he describes Turkish advances toward the Adriatic coast and argues for a crusade to be organized against the Turks. “Who then, therefore, if a sword hangs at his hip, will not of his own free will go into battle? Who would not happily perish for the Christian faith under your leadership and in front of your eyes? (*Quis igitur, te accingente gladium super femur tuum, potentissime manus conserere ultro non appetet? Quis te duce, te spectatore pro christiana fide libens non obierit?*)” See: *Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrvsiensis, de Corvatae desolatione oratio ad Leonem X, Pontificem Maximum, nonis novembris habita MDXVI*, as quoted from Veljko Gortan and Vladimir Vratović, *Hrvatski latinisti*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1969), 511. My thanks to Olga Nedeljković for the English translation.

<sup>98</sup> About the phrase “for the honorable cross, and golden freedom (*za krst častni, i slobodu zlatnu*),” Tomislav Longinović writes: “‘the honorable cross and golden freedom’ are two dominant motifs repeated throughout the epic poetry collected during this period [the nineteenth century]. They reflect the assimilation of the modern European ideas of nationalism and liberalism into the hybrid religious culture of the Balkans.” See his: “Old Men Singing: Heroic Masculinity among ‘the Serbs,’” in: Phil Bohlman and Nada Petković, eds., *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 243.

Vienna with satisfaction in a private letter to law historian Baltazar Bogišić (1834–1908), “[Fran] Kurelac in Zagreb tells me that my poem seems as if [it had] issued forth from the heart and soul of the people.”<sup>99</sup>

Apart from the meter, Turkish loan-words and recognizable phrases lifted from oral poetry, Utješenović–Ostrožinski adopted a literary device prevalent in South Slavic folk and poems guaranteed to be recognizable, the so-called “Slavic antithesis.”<sup>100</sup> The term was coined in 1865 by Croatian Slavist, Vatroslav Jagić (1838–1923) in his Czech-language article “The South Slavs (*Jihoslované*),”<sup>101</sup> though he was not the first to identify the figure. Jacob Grimm had first drawn attention to this stylistic formula in an 1823 review of Vuk Stafenović Karadžić’s third volume of Serbian folk poetry.<sup>102</sup> In his review, Grimm wrote:

A subject is introduced in a most lively way, such that questions are first posed about similar subjects and then negated before the true one is confirmed. Who does not remember the Mourning song of Hasan Aga (*Klaggesang des Asan Aga*) “[The Mourning Song of the Noble Wife of Hasan Aga (*Hasanaginica*)]”<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Utješenović–Ostrožinski to Baltazar Bogišić, Vienna, April 27, 1870 (Letter 16, III, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat). Transcriptions in: Roksandić, “Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski i Baltazar Bogišić,” 295.

<sup>100</sup> As newer research has found similar literary devices in many other oral/folk traditions dating back at least to the Middle Ages (German, Lithuanian, Neo-Greek, Irish, Welsh, Albanian, Ladino, etc.), literary scholars deploy “negative parallelism,” “negative analogy” or “negative comparison” to replace the term “Slavic Antithesis,” however, the term’s longstanding history has ensured its continued use, even if to argue for its imprecision. See: Muhamed Nezirović, “Is the Slavic Antithesis Truly Slavic?” *Bosnian Studies* 1 (2007): 6–36.

<sup>101</sup> See “slovanské antithese” in: Frant. Lad. Rieger, ed., *Slovník naučný* vol. 4 (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1865), 356. Other important early writings on the Slavic antithesis include: Jan Gebauer, “O metaforických obrazech básnictví národního, zvláště slovanského. V. Antithese,” *Listy filologické a paedagogické* 1 (1874): 225–52; and Luka Zima, *Figure u našem pjesničtvu s njihovom teorijom* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), 85–86. Ricardo Simeon gives the following technical description:

A non A sed B or A lists several completely differing things in a question form. In it, every thing has something in common with the thing it is compared with, so as to finally establish which thing it really is. In non A, the same, already listed things, are listed again in the same order, this time in a negative form, denying that each thing responds to the thing we are looking for, or every particular thing is excluded as not being the one we are looking for. In sed B, it is said what thing it is being spoken about and to what other things it is being compared.

See: Rikard Simeon, *Enciklopedijski rječnik lingvističkih naziva*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatske, 1969), 421–22, as cited in: Nezirović, “Is the Slavic Antithesis Truly Slavic?” 10.

<sup>102</sup> Jacob Grimm, “Leipzig,” *Göttingische Gelehrte Azeigen*, nos. 177–178 (November 5, 1823): 1761–1773. The edition in question is Vuk Stephanović Karadžić, *Narodne srpske pjesme, Knjiga treća, u kojoj su pjesme junačke poznije* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1823).

<sup>103</sup> The poem was first published by Abbé Alberto Fortis as the “Mourning Song of the Noble Wife of Hasan Aga (*Xalostna pjesanza plemenite Asan–Aghinize / Canzone dolente della nobile sposa d’Asan Aga*) in his *Viaggio in*

translated by Goethe, which its original reads:

<i>shta se bjeli u gori zelenoj?</i>	What's so white upon yon verdant forest?
<i>il je snieg, il su labudovi?</i>	Is it snow, or is it swans assembled?
<i>da je snieg vetch bi okopnio,</i>	Were it snow, it surely would have melted;
<i>labudovi vetch bi odletili</i>	Were it swans, long since they had departed
<i>nisch je snieg, nisch su labudovi,</i>	Lo! It is not swans, it is not snow there'
<i>nego schator age Asan-age</i> <sup>104</sup>	'Tis the tent of Aga, Hassan Aga <sup>105</sup>

Probably the most famous South Slavic oral poem of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the history of “*Hasanaginica*’s” reception in European literature and ethnography also reveals the shift from Europe’s perception of the Balkans as a land inhabited by mysterious hinterland Morlachs, to one inhabited by people belonging to modern ethnic nation—Serbs, Croats, etc.—and the attribution of folk identity as “Serbian” despite the best efforts of pro–Yugoslav intellectuals in Croatia to create a pan–South Slavic national body.<sup>106</sup>

“Slavic antithesis” was a kind of mascot for the authenticity of South Slavic folk poetry, affirmed on the inside and outside. Grand Tourers like Alberto Fortis (the first to publish the “*Hasanaginica*”) who came to the Balkans looking for remnants of the classical world and

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*Dalmazia*, vol. 1 (Venezia: Presso Alvise Milocco, 1774), 98–105. Goethe translated from Fortis’s Italian translation of the poem.

<sup>104</sup> Grimm, “Leipzig,” 1768–69.

<sup>105</sup> English translation taken from: John Bowring’s “Hassan Aga’s Wife’s Lament” in his: *Narodne srpske pjesme: Servian Popular Poetry* (London: Thomas Davison, 1827), 52.

<sup>106</sup> As Larry Wolff writes:

In the 1770s Goethe promptly rendered into German the “*Hasanaginica*” that he found in Fortis and recognized it as Morlacchi poetry—*aus dem Morlackischen*—and Herder then included it in his collection of *Volkslieder*. However, when Karadžić published the “*Hasanaginica*” in 1814 and sent a copy of the volume to Goethe, it was inscribed thus: “A Slav sends to the Greatest German, alongside the original of the ‘Mourning Song of the Nole Wife of the Hero Asan Aga,’ also the first publication of Serbian folksongs.” When Goethe then reflected on the subject later in the 1820s, the critical cultural classification was no longer “*Morlackisch*” but rather, in a modern national attribution, “*Serbische Lieder*,” Serbian songs. The “*Hasanaginica*” had already been, in some sense, *démorlaquisé*.

See Wolff’s: “The Rise and Fall of ‘Morlacchismo’: South Slavic Identity in the Mountains of Dalmatia,” in: Holly Case and Norman M. Naimark, *Yugoslavia and its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 44.

“discovered Dalmatia in the age of enlightenment,”<sup>107</sup> came away deeply impressed by the culture of bards who could recite thousands of lines by heart. With the “professionalizing [of] the study of epic ... collectors and scholars transformed the Enlightenment wonderment about epic into the modern disciplines of folkloristics and ethnomusicology.”<sup>108</sup>

Slavic antithesis consists of three essential parts: a question, negative answer(s), and a positive answer: A – non A – sed B. The subject is made memorable through descriptive negative repetitions.<sup>109</sup> Such repetition also aids in memorization.<sup>110</sup> In South Slavic oral poetry, Slavic antithesis is usually limited to a concise introductory verse, as in “Hasanaginica.” In “Slaves,” Utješnović–Ostrožinski extended the formula to define the structure of the entire first half of the poem. Looking up at the craggy mountain, the poet sees “blooming flowers” (line 13). Reflecting that flowers cannot grow on stone, he now thinks what he mistook for live vegetation to be a mislaid nosegay (line 17) around which a snake has “curled itself about” and to the sides of which “dark wolves lie in ambush” (lines 38–39). Upon wondering what wolves would want with a bouquet of flowers, he realizes: “That is not a nosegay of flowers, / Nor is it a snake curled about it, / But rather a rope about the pretty nosegay, / A pretty nosegay of our maidens; /

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<sup>107</sup> I refer here to the title of Larry Wolff’s excellent book, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*.

<sup>108</sup> Phil Bohlman and Nada Petković, “Introduction: Balkan Epic between Myth and History, Past and Present,” in: *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity*, 17.

<sup>109</sup> Andrej Fajgelj, “Phraséologie et idéologie compares dans l’art de l’épopée: Homère, chansons de geste, goslé (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Montpellier III – Paul Vléry, 2009), 182–197; Dragiša Vitošević, *Teorija književnosti sa teorijom pismenosti*, (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1966), 88; and Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 84–88.

<sup>110</sup> As Tanja Popovic writes: “Oral poetry is composed of formulas which consist of groups of words and groups of phrases which are used recurrently in epic versification. ... The formulas were built like modular blocks from simple repetitions of the fixed noun–adjective combinations to elaborate similes, the so–called Slavic antithesis.” See her: *Prince Marko: The Hero of South Slavic Epics* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 188.

The famous theory of “oral–formulaic composition,” linking the oral poetry of the South Slavs to that of Ancient Greece and seeking to explain the process of memorization and improvisation, was developed by Milman Parry and his student, Albert B. Lord. Thus the link between the Classical World and the Balkans, prized during the Enlightenment, continued. See: Adam Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); and. Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

A sinister fate has befallen them. ... Those are Turks, and not dark wolves! / Dear God, whither your thunder-bolts!?" (lines 44–58, 52–53). Similar to Zore's account of Bukovac's *Montenegrin Woman on the Defence*, Utješenić–Ostrožinski likens women to indigenous wild flowers; women are equated with the land itself.<sup>111</sup> The poet's eyes are now able to look clearly, having been cleansed through the shedding of tears.

On the one hand, by extending the series of questions, negative answers, and one final affirmative typical to an introductory verse in South Slavic oral poetry, Utješenić–Ostrožinski could be sure that reader would have plenty of opportunities to recognize the high profile ethnic mark of the literary device he deployed. In the age of romantic nationalism, the hyperconscious South Slavs knew well they were admired for their native poetry. Playing to this fact with his self-consciously folksy poem, Utješenić–Ostrožinski hoped to bolster national pride. On the other hand, the revelatory nature of Slavic Antithesis serves as a metaphor for the deceptive beauty of painting: one must look carefully to see the truth. What appear to be flowers and animals are really human figures in the direst situation.

In the second half of the poem, after rhetorically addressing God ("Dear God, whither your thunder-bolts!?"), Utješenić–Ostrožinski engages verbally with the figures in the painting and addresses the readers of the poem. Now that the true subject of the picture has been revealed, he cross-examines them to discover details of its full horror. Firstly, he poses a series of questions to the captured women who answer collectively as a chorus (in fact the word for "Slaves" that is the poem's title, "*roblje*," is a collective noun). In response to his loaded query "My captives, who would you kiss?" the chorus replies: "I wish to kiss a sharp-edged sword," alluding that like Lucretia of Ancient Rome who was an *exemplum* of female and republican

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<sup>111</sup> "Today we can finally show our readers a female warrior ... who spouted wild rather than being transplanted from foreign lands." Z[ore], "Umjetnost," 233.

virtue, the maidens would (or should) commit suicide to preserve their honor and incite their male brethren to action.<sup>112</sup> He laments their imminent deaths: “Beautiful slaves, alas, my dear [ones]! / Your only fault is beauty— / A gift from heaven and a hellish sacrifice!— / You will perish for your beauty. / You depart, revenge remains” (lines 84–88).

He then turns to the two *Bashi–Bazouks*. They refuse his entreaties to release the captive maidens in exchange for gold, saying “These goods are [destined] for the Turkish marketplace, / And they are useful to us, to give birth to Turks for us ... Many customers await us, / To buy dearly paid for goods” (lines 71–71, 82–83). Like Kaznačić, Utješnović–Ostrožinski is preoccupied with mothers of the nation in jeopardy. For him, however, the continuity of the South Slavs as a race is threatened not by internal brotherly disunion, but external kidnapers and colonial oppressors: the Ottomans. The fear of miscegenation is palpable. Suicide is the interim solution he offers.

In the final verses, Utješnović–Ostrožinski turns his attention from animating the painted scene to anticipating the canvas’s power to cause events to transpire. He addresses the readers/potential viewers of the painting, in an effort to incite action. He guides his readers to understand Čermák’s painting as a plea to liberate the Christian South Slavs living under Ottoman rule. He posits their involvement as a moral imperative, for Christianity and the people’s right to self-determination: “Hear and help! There, they are leading away / the beautiful slaves into an unknown land! / Why do you stand still, my dear brothers, / Why do you stand still, and do not sieze / Pure victims from unpure hands? ... Let the blood pour of whoever cares

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<sup>112</sup> “A legendary Roman heroine, whose story is told in Livy’s Book 1. She was raped by Sextus Tarquinius, son of Tarquinius Superbus, king of Rome, and after urging her father and husband to avenge her she stabbed herself. As a result Lucius Junius Brutus, the king’s nephew, led the revolt which resulted in the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome and the establishment of the republic. In later literature and painting Lucretia and Brutus (ancestor of Marcus Brutus) became models respectively of female and republican virtue.” Dinah Birch, ed. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (7<sup>th</sup> edition), 2009, s.v. “Lucretia.”

not for God!— ... Whoever is a knight, whoever is a good hero / Let [him] gird on a bright sword  
... For the honorable cross, and golden freedom” (lines 100–104, 106, 115–116, 118).

“Slaves” is steeped in Anti–Turkish rhetoric, but rather than using it as a foil to reveal a new internal enemy (i.e. disunion) as Kaznačić had done, it is deployed traditionally to summon the South Slavs together in a common crusade against the Muslim Turks. Utješenić–Ostrožinski also diverges from Kaznačić’s dismissal of the revered epic tradition that aggrandized battle—“Then You restrain their hand; / Forbid that blood be spilled in vain.”<sup>113</sup> “Slaves,” in marked contrast, reads as a call to war. Utješenić–Ostrožinski had achieved fame with a similarly–themed poem published three decades earlier in 1842, “Echo from the Balkans, or the Tears of Bulgarian, Herzegovinian and Bosnian Christians (*Jeka od Balkana, ili Suze bugarskih, hercegovačkih i bosanskih Hristijanah*).”<sup>114</sup> A lament about the condition of the South Slavs living under the rule of the Turkish empire, “Echo from the Balkans,” along with Ivan Mažuranić’s (1814–1890) “Death of Smail–Aga Čengić (*Smrt Smail–age Čengića*, 1846), formed “part of the large action [in Croatia] of acquainting Europe with what was happening on what were at that time its immediate frontiers.”<sup>115</sup> Coming out of a centuries’–long tradition of

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<sup>113</sup> Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” 394 (lines 58–59).

<sup>114</sup> The poem was first published in *Danica Ilirska* 9, no. 10 (March 5, 1842): 37–38. The famous opening verse reads:

*Svemu svjetu sviće zora*      *Dawn breaks throughout the whole world*  
*Kod Balkana nema dana*      *In the Balkans, daylight never comes*  
*usred gorkih suzâ mora*      *amidst bitter tears must*  
*Gori, gori ljuta rana*      *Burn, burn the sharp wound*  
*Koju robstvo zadade*      *Delivered by slavery*

An anonymous writer in 1875 called “Slaves” the “pendant” to “Echo from the Balkans.” See: Anon., “Bašibozuci vode hercegovačke djevojke na pazar u Jedren,” *Vienac* 7, no. 28, July 10, 1875, 457.

<sup>115</sup> Ivo Frangeš, “The Art of Ivan Mažuranić (National and European Tradition),” in: Miroslav Beker, ed., *Comparative Studies in Croatian Literature* (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost i knjizevnost Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1981), 271. The long, epic poem “covered the whole history of the Croats and other South Slavs in their struggle with the Ottoman Empire.” See A.K. “Croatian Literature,” in: Jean Albert Bédé and William Benbow Edgerton, eds., *Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 175.

making appeals to the world at large to liberate the Christian Slavs living under the Ottomans, the fundamental imperative of these literary efforts was to provoke action and change.<sup>116</sup>

As Phil Bohlman has astutely noted, in the age of nationalism, the epic “was not about the nation as it had been, but rather as it would become in the nineteenth century. It was in the nineteenth century, moreover, that the epic would assert itself as the musical and poetic genre of the nation and of nationalism.”<sup>117</sup> Fully in this vein, “Slaves” is about the anticipation of a transformation of reality. The poet wills the painting to incite the action needed to bring about national independence. Utješnović–Ostrožinski envisions a future epic battle in which the Balkans will be liberated from Ottoman rule. “We shall divide the land by sword / And on the land, the ornate maidens” (lines 112–113). The mothers of the nation will be reclaimed, ensuring the continuity of South Slavs.

Utješnović–Ostrožinski’s heroic, epic–style poetic interpretation of Čermák’s painting challenges accounts of Orientalist painting that have been prevalent in Western scholarship since Linda Nochlin’s seminal essay “The Imaginary Orient” (1983).<sup>118</sup> While one could argue that the poet takes some perverse pleasure in describing the desperate plight of the captive “flowers,” witnessing the distress of enslaved women is not an end unto itself. Utješnović–Ostrožinski was drawn to Čermák’s *Herzegovinian Slaves, 1863* not as a sexual fantasy, but as a memorable dramatization he believed could be instrumentalized to induce the men folk of the Slavic South to take up arms against the Ottomans. He interprets the painting as a visual parallel to heroic epic poetry. The “Oriental” Balkans may be sexualized in Čermák’s painting, however local

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<sup>116</sup> See Olga Nedeljković’s manuscript of her forthcoming book, *The Origins of South Slavic Slavophilism as a Discourse*.

<sup>117</sup> Phil Bohlman, “Historiographic Heterophony: Song and the Narration of the Timeless Present,” in: Bohlman and Petković, eds., *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity*, 91.

<sup>118</sup> Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” *Art in America* 71 (May 1983), 118–31, 187–91.

audiences, associating with the “Slaves,” did not hone in on this. They came to view the image as a rallying point for South Slavic liberation. In fact, many probably never viewed the image at all, their only experience of the painting being the facts about its fame as relayed by the press and the poem published by Utješenović–Ostrožinski. This extra–visual reception of painting that marked Croatian art discourse begs invites a new way of thinking about Orientalist imagery.

Like his coetanean Ivan August Kaznačić, Utješenović–Ostrožinski privileged the representation of distress as a means of mobilizing the people to fuse together a national body. Though written in a language incomprehensible to most of the rest of the world and primarily addressed to native readers, both also found distress to be the adequate idiom for generating publicity abroad and admonishing Europe: “Are you willing to look at our misery?” (line 1, Utješenović–Ostrožinski) and “To make all people fall in love with her / If freedom is dear to them / And the eternal right of the people” (lines 10–12, Kaznačić). Utješenović–Ostrožinski further imbues painting with a magical quality: “with tears it was painted / With tears will I interpret it for you ... [The painting] will never leave your mind” (lines 4–5, 9). Both authors shared the opinion that like mirrors of truth that could reveal the terrible conditions under which the South Slavs lived, paintings of distress could be catalysts to effect change in the real world. Indeed, he called Čermák’s *Slaves, Herzegovina 1863* “a mirror of their and our trouble.”<sup>119</sup> In the opening verse of his poem, Utješenović–Ostrožinski had written “this beautiful painting ... will deliver its own oration / About the great misery of my people” (lines 3, 6–7). Likewise, in the critical essay that followed “Slaves” in the same issue of *Vienac* he wrote: “This painting speaks by itself in a fiery language about the insufferable humiliation and ruin of the Christian people in that region, and involuntarily awakens in our hearts a feeling of bitter pain and revenge

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<sup>119</sup> Og[njeslav] Utješenović–Ostrožinski, “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 140.

against the shocking brutality, unknown today anywhere in the educated world.”<sup>120</sup> Although endorsing painting as a universal language, however, neither he nor Kaznačić nor any other commentator in nineteenth-century Croatia trusted paintings to make their cases without the aid of words.

The fact that Utješenić–Ostrožinski devoted his poem to one specific painting that indeed embodied the idea of distress might lead us to believe the poet was satisfied with Čermák’s production. In the critical essay that followed “Slaves,” he elatedly reproduces a good chunk of a positive review of *Slaves, Herzegovina 1863* in translation printed in *Silesia*, a weekly paper printed in the Moravian–Silesian region of today’s Czech Republic, imbuing it with extra power by prefacing that German–language papers were usually loathe to praise anything Slavic.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, Čermák is the one and only living artist Utješenić–Ostrožinski deemed worthy of mention in the treatise on painting he published in his collections of poems and essays on aesthetics the following year: *Vila Ostrožinska* (1871): “... the true artistic spirit ... can be seen in the beautiful painting of our Czech brother Jaroslav Čermák, ‘Slaves from Herzegovina.’ This painting occupies the first place when speaking about our [native] painting, if not by the painter, then at least by the subject of this lovely painting, which ought to hang in every honest Serbian and Croatian house.”<sup>122</sup>

However, despite his professed enthrallment with the painting, he concludes his essay in *Vienac* with a good scolding. First, he chastises Čermák for not letting the Slavic South (Zagreb or Belgrade) have the original painting that by virtue of its subject matter should be “ours”:

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<sup>120</sup> Utješenić–Ostrožinski, “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” 139.

<sup>121</sup> Utješenić–Ostrožinski, “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” 139. The review Utješenić–Ostrožinski reproduced in translation was lifted from: Anon., “Feuilleton. Wiener Briefe. VII. Ein Kunstbericht. – Ueber Jaroslav Čermak’s Bild im Künstlerhaus,” *Silesia: Politische Wochenschrift zur Wahrung vaterländischer Interessen* 10 (March 6, 1869): 122–23.

<sup>122</sup> Utješenić–Ostrožinski, *Vila Ostrožinska*, 278. In a footnote, he makes it clear that he is again advertising the Goupil print of *Slaves, Herzegovina 1863* that could be purchased in Karel Čermák’s bookshop in Vienna.

“unfortunately, it [the painting] has gone far away from the people and homeland of those unfortunate souls who were the subject of this beautiful work by Čermák. ... It is to be lamented that funds could not have been found to save this valuable picture for our people.”<sup>123</sup> Secondly, and more importantly, he presses the Czech artist to draw upon the corpus of national poetry for the content of his paintings. He wants Čermák to illustrate scenes from epic poetry, to study historical costume and famous medieval structures rather than current events: “This illustrious painter would do us a great favor if he would set to work illustrating our national poems (*kad bi se primio ilustracije našieh narodnieh pjesama*), traveling also through Old Serbia [Kosovo] on the trail of Gil’jferding and examining the painted remains (*slikarske ostatke*) among the ruins of our palaces, churches and monasteries, especially with an eye to ancient costume and architecture. ... Such would be a subject as equally rewarding as the illustrations for the Holy Bible executed by the renowned French painter [Gustave] Doré.”<sup>124</sup>

Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski clearly esteemed his Czech “brother” artist, however, he was not fully satisfied with Čermák, just as no Croatian commentator would ever be fully contented with any artist, native or near-native. Perhaps the painting failed to conform to his definition of history painting in some way. In his *Vila Ostrožinska*, he described history painting as the “most important [genre] by virtue of treating man in ideal action (*u njegovoj savršenoj djelatnosti*), uniting his most noble aspect with the most vibrant spiritual expression.”<sup>125</sup> We can

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<sup>123</sup> He continues: “Or to be so lucky that the artist would be willing to make a copy for Belgrade or Zagreb. Maybe we could have even gotten it cheaply, if the King of Holland had not competed [for it], causing it to become more expensive than it should have been for us, who are unable to adequately reward such a famous painter.”

Utješenović–Ostrožinski “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” 140.

<sup>124</sup> Utješenović–Ostrožinski “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” 140. He must be referring here to the travelogue written by the Russian pan-Slavist, Aleksandr Fedorovich Gil’ferding [also Hilferding] (1831–1872) on Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia: *Bosniia, Gertsegovina i Staraiia Serbiia* (Saint Petersburg, Imp. akademiia nauk, 1859); and the Gustave Doré’s (1832–1883) wildly successful illustrations for the Bible: *La Sainte Bible, selon la vulgate traduction nouvelle avec les dessins de G. Doré*, 2 vols. (Tours, 1866).

<sup>125</sup> Utješenović–Ostrožinski, *Vila Ostrožinska*, 278.

only speculate if *Slaves, Herzegovnia 1863* was unsuccessful for Utješenić–Ostrožinski as a history painting, for indeed, he followed his description of history painting with his conclusion focused on Čermák’s painting, leading us to believe he categorized it as such. We can be certain, however, that Čermák’s most glaring lack for Utješenić–Ostrožinski is his failure to recognize folk poetry as the proper source for painting of the South Slavs. The revered oral tradition should stand as the original to the newcomer art of painting.

As would be the case with Bukovac’s supporters, he explicitly pushed Čermák to tether his work more tightly to folk poetry. Čermák’s noncompliance with this model resulted in Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s new poem, which was a place–holder for the old poem that should have been the inspiration for the painting in the first place. Newly–composed poems dedicated to painting were, thus, disciplinary enterprises to some extent—retroactive correctives. They reprimanded painting for its impertinence to spring up without the aid of poetry, and attempted to put it in its proper, subordinate place.

### **5. AD DEUM CONTRA THURCAS<sup>126</sup>**

On August 28, 1875, the famous writer, August Šenoa (1838–1881), published a long, strikingly modern poem, “Lightning from Gabela: A Poem after Čermák’s Painting (*Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici*),” in Zagreb’s *Vienac* (appendix 6.d).<sup>127</sup> Like Ognjeslav Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s “Slaves” printed five years earlier in the same periodical, Šenoa’s poem was devoted to a specific painting by Jaroslav Čermák, in this case, the sensational *Raid by*

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<sup>126</sup> I refer here to: Franjo Trankvil Andreis’s (Trankvillus Andronicus–Parthenius, 1490–1571) *An Oration as a Heroic Poem to God against the Turks: Ad Deum Contra Thurcas Oratio carmine Heroico* (Ingolstadt, 1518). I am indebted to Olga Nedeljković for my knowledge about the poem.

<sup>127</sup> A[ugust] Š[enoa], “Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici,” *Vienac* 7, no. 35 no. 35, August 28, 1875, 555–56.

*Bachi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey) (Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie))*, which had garnered the Czech artist a medal in history painting and attracted much critical attention at the Paris Salon of 1861.<sup>128</sup> Like “Slaves,” “Lightning from Gabela” represented a nineteenth–century permutation of the Anti–Turkish literary tradition. In style, however, the two poems could not have been more different. Where Utješenić–Ostrožinski took pains to emulate the oral folk tradition, Šenoa, a “Proto–Realist,” was utterly contemporary in his language and motifs.<sup>129</sup> Despite this marked difference, however, both Šenoa and Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s poems were products of the same cultural milieu, manifesting a shared worldview on art and the national struggle typical of the continental Croatian territories. Less introspective and obsessed with fame than their counterparts in coastal Dalmatia, Šenoa and Utješenić–Ostrožinski’s poems oscillate between reproaching Europe and calling for the South Slavs to unite against a common foe to liberate their “brothers” living in the Ottoman Empire.

Among the authors of poems dedicated to painting I examine, August Šenoa is the most high profile, and the only one whose sole profession was writing.<sup>130</sup> The most famous writer of

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<sup>128</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey) (Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie))* [*The Abduction of a Herzegovinian Woman*], 1861, oil on canvas, 250.2 x 190.5 cm. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York.

<sup>129</sup> The term “proto–realist” is Aleksandar Flaker’s. See his: “Nacrt za periodizaciju novije hrvatske književnosti,” *Umjetnost riječi* 11, no. 3 (1967): 221.

It would be incorrect, however, to state that there is nothing of the oral poetry tradition in Šenoa’s “Lightning from Gabela.” There is, for example, one passage in the poem that cannot help but recall the “Hanaginica”: “What is that gleaming white beside them? / Oh, a woman! A lamb amidst three wolves (lines 34–35). Utješenić–Ostrožinski also used wolves as a foil to describe the Turks. One might also argue that the opening verses reference the Slavic antithesis without reproducing the formula of the oral tradition: “Europe starts up — asks: Has lightning struck?/ Is Etna overflowing? A church burning? a home? / “Lady Europe!” an echo responds, / “Woe, you are mistaken, these are not lightning embers. / The old storm has flared up again, / From the land of Herzog the alarm cannon [booms]!” (lines 11–16).

<sup>130</sup> For a biography of Šenoa, see: Franjo Marković, “August Šenoa” in: Marković and Smičiklas, *Spomen–knjiga Matice Hrvatske od godine 1842 do godine 1892* (Zagreb Matica Hrvatska, 1892), 175–224; Dubravko Jelčić, *August Šenoa* (Jastrebarko: Naklada Slap, 2006); and Ivan Ulčnik, *Bilješke iz života i rada Augusta Šenoae* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1955). On his literary production, see: Cvijeta Pavlović: *Priča u*

the second half of the nineteenth century, Šenoa is generally credited with bridging Romanticism and Realism in Croatian literature, ushering in modernity in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>131</sup> Although he wrote in 1867 “we need good novelettes more than poetry,” he was a prodigious poet.<sup>132</sup> His verses drew on the free syntax of the spoken language. He used interjections, interrogatives, hyperbolic expressions and exclamatory remarks to heighten the emotional effect.<sup>133</sup> “He created verse with incredible facility; ... the pure and powerful rhyme links the verses together so naturally that it is difficult to judge whether the rhythm created the flowing verse or whether it determined the rhyme. The liveliness of the rhythm in Šenoa’s poems is their greatest artistic distinction.”<sup>134</sup>

A native of Zagreb who grew up speaking and writing German just as well as Croatian, Šenoa’s university days in Prague (1859–1865) converted him to the causes of pan-Slavism and the unification of the South Slavs (especially the Croats and Serbs who were divided by religion). Prague “transformed Šenoa from a law student into a writer.”<sup>135</sup> He abandoned his original studies and began writing poems, short stories and *feuilletons* full time. “Associating with the young representatives of Czech and Polish cultural life in Prague, Czech writers and

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*pjesmi: Pripovjedni postupci Šenoine epske poezije* (Zagreb: Disput, 2005); Zdenko Škreb, “August Šenoa,” in: Beker, ed., *Comparative Studies in Croatian Literature*, 277–98; Tatiana Kuzmic, “August Šenoa, The Habsburg Monarchy, and the Southern Slav Question,” in: “Adulterous Nations: Family Politics and National Identity in the European Novel” (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 2008), 149–81; Slaven Jurić, “Akcenatski (dioni) stihovi Augusta Šenoe i Rikarda Jorgovanića,” *Umjestnost riječi* 40, nos. 2/3 (1996): 101–113; and Dubravko Jelčić, ed., *August Šenoa u očima kritike: Izabrane prosudbe* (Zagreb: Globus, 1983).

<sup>131</sup> Aleksander Flaker, for example, positions him at the end of the “Literature in the function of constituting the modern Croatian nation (1836–1865) and the beginning of “Croatian Proto-Realism and Realism.” He notes of the latter that “The literature of this epoch tends unceasingly to realize a societal-analytic function, but that function cannot be fully realized because the task of fortifying and strengthening the Croatian nation is always present in the consciousness of Croatian authors.” See his: “Nacr za periodizaciju novije hrvatske književnosti,” 219–23, quote from p. 221.

<sup>132</sup> In: Antun Barac, *Sabrana djela Augusta Šenoe*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Binoza, 1931–1934), 143. Translation cited from: Škreb, “August Šenoa,” 282.

<sup>133</sup> Škreb, “August Šenoa,” 284–85.

<sup>134</sup> Škreb, “August Šenoa,” 285.

<sup>135</sup> Škreb, “August Šenoa,” 278–79.

Polish émigrés, the sons of both nations who, like the Croatians, were fighting relentlessly against foreign domination ... Šenoa came to realize just how akin the Slavonic nations were.”<sup>136</sup>

For the entirety of his career, like many other young compatriots of his generation, he would hold West Slavic (Czech and Polish) models as progressive examples for Croatia’s own cultural resistance within the Habsburg Empire.

Back in Croatia, from 1874 until his death in 1881, Šenoa was the editor of *Vienac* in Zagreb, making him a highly public figure. His stewardship of the weekly magazine led to a radical change in visual culture. Introducing, for the first time, regular illustrations in *Vienac* in 1874, he made art accessible to a largely middle–class reading Croatian public on a scale hitherto unimaginable. He also, by default, established the types of images that would comprise that public’s repertoire of patriotic pictures: city views, portraits of great men, historical artifacts and original art picturing aspects of Slavic, especially, South Slavic, history and customs.<sup>137</sup>

Šenoa’s poem “Lightning from Gabela” was the first poem printed in a Croatian periodical in tandem with a high art image.<sup>138</sup> It was accompanied by a woodcut engraving of the Čermák sensational 1861 *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* that ostensibly inspired it, renamed *Turks Abduct a Christian Woman (Turci otimaju kršćansku ženu)* (fig. 4.10).<sup>139</sup> It was the third reproduction of a work by Čermák printed in

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<sup>136</sup> Škreb, “August Šenoa,” 279. On this point, see also: Milorad Živančević, “Ideja slovenske uzajamnosti u hrvatskoj književnosti šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina xix veka (Odlomak iz studije),” in: *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 8 (1964–5): esp. 222–45.

<sup>137</sup> [Anon., presumably, August Šenoa], “Svim književnikom, društvom, knjižarom jugoslavenskim i u obće svim prijateljem ‘Vienca,’” *Vienac* 6, no. 1, January 3, 1874, 15–16.

<sup>138</sup> The first two reproductions of Čermák’s paintings that appeared in Croatian periodicals were: *Young Christian Women from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Edirne to be Sold* (1866) reproduced as *Bashi–Bazouks taking Herzegovinian Girls to the Market in Edirne (Bašibozuci vode hercegovačke djevojke na pazar u Jedren)*, in *Vienac* 7, no. 28, July 10, 1875, two–page supplement, n.p.; and the *Goat (La Chèvre, 1860)* reproduced as *Montenegrin Woman (Crnogorka)* in *Vienac* 7, no. 33, August 14, 1875, 527.

<sup>139</sup> The engraving was reproduced on one full page in the same issue in which the poem appeared: “*Turci otimaju kršćansku ženu*,” *Vienac* 7, no. 35, August 28, 1875, 559.

*Vienac* in 1875. That year, Šenoa also arranged for subscribers to be able to purchase the gorgeous Goupil print of Čermák's *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (1873), which had arrived in Zagreb in June 1875 for a nominal fee (fig. I.3). Negotiating with the Prague-based Czech Society of Art (*Umělecká beseda*) that owned the prints, and with which he had collaborated in the 1860s, he wrote: "my journal has the widest readership in the Slavic South, and my effort is to acquaint our nation with leading phenomena of Slavic literature and art, and besides that, my efforts will certainly recommend the 'Art Society' among the Croatians."<sup>140</sup>

"Lightning from Gabela" was the one and only poem Šenoa ever dedicated to a painting. He never saw the Salon painting *Raid by Bashi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)*. Though there is a slim chance he saw a reduced replica of the work during his student days in Prague, he probably composed his poem looking at the grey-toned reproduction printed by Goupil.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Letter dated February 27, 1875, reproduced in Milorad Živančević "Prilozi proučavanju hrvatske književnosti xix stolecá," *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Odjel za suvremenu književnosti* 12 (1969): 94. Thanks to Christian Hilchey for his help translating from the original Czech.

<sup>141</sup> There are two reduced versions of *Raid by Bashi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (a.k.a. *Turks Abduct a Christian Woman*) in Prague: a watercolor dating to 1861 in the Galerie Hlavního města (*Abduction of a Montenegrin Woman (Únos Černoňorky)*, 21 x 17.5 cm) and an oil on panel dating to 1865 in the National Gallery (*Abduction of a Montenegrin Woman (Únos Černoňorky)*, *Raid (Razzia)*, or *Abduction of a Woman from Herzegovina (Únos ženy hercegovské)*, 68 x 52.5 cm). It is not likely that Šenoa saw the version in the collection of the National Gallery, as that work was only purchased by the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art (*Společnost vlasteneckých přátel umění*), the predecessor of National Gallery, in 1898 in Vienna in an art shop called "Wawra. Many thanks to Kristýna Brožová for sharing this information. Živančević maintains that Šenoa wrote the poem after viewing the painting in the flesh in Zagreb, in 1875, however, this is impossible. At that time, only Čermák's *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862*, was exhibited in the Croatian capital. See his: "Prilozi proučavanju hrvatske književnosti xix stolecá," 92.

Šenoa may have seen the exhibition of Čermák's portraits of the Montenegrin Royal family (those that had been exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1863) organized by the Society of Art in Prague 1865. See Harlas, *Jaroslav Čermák: Život a dílo*, 39.

He never dedicated such a poem to a painting by a Croatian artist. The sustained attention Šenoa gave Čermák's oeuvre in *Vienac* can perhaps be understood within the context of his privileging the West Slavs as models.<sup>142</sup> Witness, for example, his enthusiastic description of Polish literature:

The task of strengthening and consolidating national life leads directly to the popular, instructive and entertaining profession of literature ...

This orientation is especially important in those nations which intend [on] creating their own independent civilisation and retaining their identity in the face of foreign influence. In these nations literature must be tendentious (*tendenciozna*).

Polish literature is the best example of this ...

Even the smallest book written for Polish children is pervaded by the Polish spirit and awakes the Polish souls! This sort of tendentiousness is particularly necessary in our country.<sup>143</sup>

Šenoa recognized in Čermák's work a visual parallel to his ideal of literature serving a social function. As he wrote in 1879:

Why do we write? So that this or that reader, having nothing better to do, might kill time? In that case a short story would be worth no more than those beads which the Turks count to kill time. We want to elevate the people, make them conscious and ennoble them, put right the imperfections of the past and awake in the people a feeling for everything that is beautiful, good and noble.<sup>144</sup>

Šenoa's "Lightning from Gabela" is a poem that shows his new, image-consuming public how images, like literature, play an indispensable role in the national struggle. The poem reads as follows:<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Other scholars have noted Šenoa's admiration of Čermák. Like many of his generation, he also admired the work of the Polish painter, Jan Matejko. See: Živančević, "Ideja slovenske uzajamnosti u hrvatskoj književnosti," 231 and 233

<sup>143</sup> From the essay "Our Literature (*Naša književnosti*) reproduced in: Antun Barac, *Sabrana djela Augusta Šenoe*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Binoza, 1932), 139–41. Translation cited from: Škreb, "August Šenoa," 282.

<sup>144</sup> In: Antun Barac, *Sabrana djela Augusta Šenoe*, vol. 14 (Zagreb: Binoza, 1931–1934), 272. Translation cited from: Škreb, "August Šenoa," 282.

<sup>145</sup> I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Marijan Desin and Nada Petković for their generous help translating this poem.

A great quiet all around,  
 A mute silence has fallen upon the world,  
 Europe has shut her eyes tightly,  
 A heavy slumber has covered her.  
 Through her windows, the crescent moon peeks in, 5  
 Her old bones stretched out on soft silk,  
 She dreams a dream, she dreams — god forgive! —  
 A splendid dream, the dream about–culture.

*(Tišina pusta na široko,  
 Na sviet je pao pokoj niem,  
 Evropa stisla svoje oko,  
 Prekrilio ju je težak driem.  
 Kroz prozore joj polumjesec zuri, 5  
 Na mekoj svili pruža stare kosti,  
 I sniva sanak, sniva–bože prosti! —  
 Ta divan sanak, sanak o–kulturi.)*

A great quiet — Look! Lightning!  
 From the South it thundered! 10  
 Europe starts up — asks: Has lightning struck?  
 Is Etna overflowing? A church burning? a home?

*(Tišina pusta–Gledaj! Bljesnu!  
 Sa juga puče grom! 10  
 Evropa skoči — pita: Munja l' kresnu?  
 Il sipa Etna? Gori l' crkva, dom?)*

“Lady Europe!” an echo responds,  
 “Woe, you are mistaken, these are not lightning embers.  
 The old storm has flared up again, 15  
 From the land of Herzog the alarm cannon [booms]!” [1]<sup>146</sup>

*(“Evropo gospo!” jeka odgovara,  
 “Oj varaš mi se, nije munje žar.  
 Oluja opet planula je stara, 15  
 Iz herzegove zemlje abrdar!” [1])*

“And nothing more?” says Europe,  
 “The *heyducks*<sup>147</sup> celebrate another bloody feast,

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<sup>146</sup> In the first of Šenoa’s footnotes to his poem, he gives the following Croatian and German translation of the Turkish loan word: “[1] *Abrdar* = alarm–cannon (*Abrdar* = *top budnik*. *Allarmkanone*).” *Abrdar*, *aberdar* or *haberdar* can be a a cannon, gun or other means of sounding an alarm, or a herald or messenger. “Land of Herzog,” i.e. Herzegovina. *Herzog* = Duke (German).

A mole digs in my garden;  
I say: Good night and peace!” 20

*(“I ništa više?” veli Evropa,  
“Hajduci slave opet krvav pir,  
Šta krt po mojem perivoju kopa;  
Ja velim: Laku noć i mir!”)* 20

“And nothing more? My old lady!”  
The Spirit of world freedom charged towards her,  
It drags her to the horizon of burning embers  
“Look here at your peace: bloody, damned and deaf!”

*(“I ništa više? moja gospo stara!”  
Slobode svjetske dogrmi joj Duh,  
Do obzorja ju vuče plamnog žara:  
“Tu gledji mir svoj, krvav, proklet, gluh!”)*

Here stands a hill and a house below, 25  
A crimson flame licks it from the roof.

Listen to the cry from —the white coil of smoke!

Oh, the cry — it strikes your heart

As if adders constrict your chest,

As if they cut your heart with a knife. 30

Now the moon flashes — the smoke divides.

Horrors! Three black devils

Next to the burned doorway.

What is that gleaming white beside them?

Oh, a woman! A lamb amidst three wolves 35

Woe!<sup>148</sup> — screamed the woman. All is deaf.

They tore her white raiment.

And the bloody, devilish hand

The snow–white body angrily writhes against,

From the Turkish eye a snake hisses; 40

Wicked laughter reveals their teeth,

And a vile mouth kisses her bosom.

Like a giant the naked woman resists,

Extending her white arms towards the sky,

And screams the scream of final despair; 45

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<sup>147</sup> *Heyduck*: “A term app. meaning originally ‘robber, marauder, brigand’ (a sense still retained in Serbia and adjacent countries), which in Hungary became the name of a special body of foot–soldiers (to whom the rank of nobility and a territory were given in 1605), and in Poland of the liveried personal followers or attendants of the nobles.” s.v. “*heyduck*,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, first edition (1898).

<sup>148</sup> *Vaj*: from the Latin “*vae* (woe),” as in “*vae victus* (woe to the vanquished ones),” also from “*avaj*,” Turkish loan word meaning “woe (*jao*).”

Deep through the mountains her cry resounds,  
 But not a soul heard it. — Miserable woman,  
 There lies your husband crushed,  
 And here your dead child, your son,  
 His life, the devil denied as well, 50  
 If you kill the fruit, eliminate the seed,  
 Let the *giaour*<sup>149</sup> line be wiped out.  
 But god? Around her neck is a cross.  
 It too the fiendish finger tore off,  
 In a fury, he tramples it underfoot. 55  
 What good is your weeping, miserable woman,  
 When the blue sky watches serenely,  
 What the rabid monster does to god.  
 “Oh people! — Peop —”<sup>150</sup> from her despairing chest  
 Her voice cries out with all its might. 60  
 But people? People? There are no people,  
 And where is god?  
 And nothing more? Nothing more?  
 Lady Europe, is it not enough [for you]?  
 You protect dogs, that they might breathe, 65  
 You, mother of glorious humanity!  
 You send holy books of salvation  
 To cannibal corners of the world [2]<sup>151</sup>  
 You gather together black children,  
 To embrace them with gentleness — 70  
 But here — where you brother is in the middle of paradise  
 [He] must suffer a hundred infernal trials,  
 Where chains fall off the miserable slave  
 Only at the gates of the black grave,  
 Where people count only as cattle, 75  
 Where they pay with impalement only, blood,  
 Where cursed is the sweat of every labor,  
 every man is a crushed worm.  
 Where daughters and wives are debauched as plunder,  
 Into slavery where sons are forced, 80  
 Decency is trampled, faith is sullied,  
 Where the scorpion, serpent and hyena rule.  
 Here — good night! — and nothing more?  
 Oh I know you, I know you, desolate lady,

<sup>149</sup> *Giaour*: a Turkish term of reproach for non-Muslims, esp. Christians. See: Oxford English Dictionary, first edition (1899), s.v. “*giaour*.”

<sup>150</sup> On the second time shouting out “people” the woman stops short of announcing the whole word, giving up in despair. In the original, it reads: “*Oh ljudi! — Lju —*.”

<sup>151</sup> Šenoa’s second footnote reads: “[2] It is well-known that the English Bible Society sends Holy Books in every language of the world to all four corners of the globe, even to Central Africa amongst cannibals and in the jungles of Brazil.”

With sepulcher breath, your soul breathes, Your blood wearies in your veins. You climb towers beneath the clouds, You dry the sea, you cut through mountains, You tame lightning–quick rays, Without touch steam plows for you.	85     90
You cut paths through perpetual ice, You chart the course of comets; You count grains of sand in the desert, [3] <sup>152</sup> You draw juice out of hard rock You raze famous structures with gunpowder, [4] <sup>153</sup> You use books to make barricades [5] <sup>154</sup>	95     100
You forge a million bayonets, And stretch a bridge across the sea, You dive to the bottom of the ocean And search for the bones of early man.	100
<i>(Tu stoji brijeg a kuća malo niže, Krvolik plamen iz krova joj liže. Čuj krič iz–bielog zavitlaja dima! Oh krič — ta srdca ti se prima Ko da ti guje prsi stežu, Ko da ti nožem srdce režu.</i>	25     30
<i>Sad sinu mjesec–dim se dieli. Strahote! Do tri mrka vraga Izgorjeloga gle kraj praga. A što se ono do njih bieli? Oh, žena! Janje med tri vuka Vaj! — kriknu žena. Sve je gluho. Razderaše joj bielo ruho. A krvava se vražja ruka O sniežno tielo ljuto svija, Iz turskog oka sikće zmija;</i>	35      40
<i>Vragolik smieh im odkri zube, A gnjusna usta njedra ljube. Ko div se gola žena prieči, Put neba širi biele ruke, I kriknu kričem zadnje muke;</i>	45

<sup>152</sup> Šenoa's third footnote reads: "[3] The European governments spend fortunes exploring Central Africa in the name of civilization, and the members of those expeditions usually lose their heads."

<sup>153</sup> Šenoa's fourth footnote reads: "[4] In the last war, the Prussians did not spare the beautiful cathedral in Strasbourg, and bombarded with grenades the long–time famous Strasbourg Library."

<sup>154</sup> Šenoa's fifth footnote reads: "[5] When the Prussian army arrived before Paris, one troop occupied the villa of the famous statesman Odilon–Barrot. Although there was plenty of material to build a barricade, [the soldiers] erected a "particularly humorous" barricade from the precious books of the famous Frenchman. So recounts a Prussian officer, witness to the cultural joke, in the "Salon" of 1874. With great humor."

*Daleko gorom vapaj ječi,  
 Al ne ču nitko. — Biedna ženo,  
 Ta muž ti leži smrskan eno,  
 A tu ti mrtvo mužko čedo,  
 Ni njemu djavo življet ne do, 50  
 Kad plod si smako, ubij sjeme,  
 Nek kaursko se satre pleme.  
 Al bog? Na vratu joj je krst.  
 I njega strga vražji prst,  
 Bjesomučnom ga gazi nogom. 55  
 Šta plač tvoj, biedna ženo, vriedi,  
 Kad plavo nebo mirno gledi,  
 Što biesna neman radi s bogom.  
 “Oh ljudi! — Lju —” iz sdvojne grudi  
 Svom silom vrisnu glasa svog. 60  
 Zar ljudi? Ljudi? Nema ljudi,  
 A gdje je bog?  
 I ništa više? Ništa više?  
 Evropo gospo, nije l' dosti?  
 Ti čuvaš pseto, neka diše, 65  
 Ti, majko dične čovječnosti!  
 Ti šalješ spasa knjige svete  
 Ljudožderske u strane sviete; [2]  
 Ti crnu djecu odkupljivaš,  
 Blagoćom da ih prigrljivaš — 70  
 Al tu — gdje brat ti usred raja  
 Sto paklenijeh kuša vaja,  
 Gdje lanac pada s biednog roba  
 Na vratih samo crnog groba,  
 Gdje narod samo stoke broj, 75  
 Gdje plaća samo kolac, krv,  
 Gdje proklet svakog ráda znoj,  
 Gdje svako čovjek gažen crv.  
 Gdje plienom bluda kći i žena,  
 U roblje gdje se sinak ćera, 80  
 Poštenje gazi, blati vjera,  
 Gdje vlada jakrep, zmaj, hiena.  
 Tu — laku noć! — i ništa više?  
 O znam te, znadem, gospo pusta,  
 Groboduh dah ti duša diše, 85  
 U tvojih žilah krvca susta.  
 Ti penješ kule pod oblake,  
 Ti sušiš more, siečeš gore,  
 Munjevite ti krotiš zrake,  
 Bez ruke tebi para ore. 90*

*Ti vječnim ledom pute krojiš,*  
*Ti repatica mjeriš tok;*  
*U pustinji ti piesak brojiš, [3]*  
*Iz tvrdog kama vadiš sok,*  
*Obaraš zrnom slavne sgrade, [4] 95*  
*Od knjiga praviš barikade [5]*  
*Milijun kuješ bajoneta,*  
*I preko mora vodiš most,*  
*Ti roniš do dna morskog svieta*  
*I pračovjeku tražiš kost.) 100*

But here — where misery incarnate breathes,  
 Here, good night — and nothing more!

*(Al tu—gdje živa bieda diše,*  
*Tu laku noć—i ništa više!)*

With grandeur, your knowledge is celebrated  
 The whole world bows to you deeply,  
 “For through all humanity you radiate  
 Intelligence, peace and freedom everywhere!” 105

*(Veličju, slavi tvoje znanja*  
*Duboko cieli sviet se klanja,*  
*“Jer s tebe širom ljudskog roda 105*  
*Svud sieva pamet, mir, sloboda!”)*

But they lie — your gospels  
 Only banknotes are made of paper,  
 Your desires are materialistic  
 And all your endeavors are soulless. 110  
 Yes, the antichrist is your priest  
 And your god — an iron cannon. [6]<sup>155</sup>

*(Al lažu—tvoje evangjelje*  
*Od artije su samo banke,*  
*Za trbuhom ti idu želje*  
*I sve pregnuće duše tanke. 110*  
*Dà, antikrst je tebi pop*  
*A bog tvoj—gvozden top. [6])*

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<sup>155</sup> Šenoa’s sixth footnote reads: “[6] No object at the [World’s] Fair in Vienna in 1873 attracted more attention from the German reporters than the colossal Prussian Krupp cannon, that is ‘the supreme moral means of preserving the State.’” The Krupp company began to make steel cannons in the 1840s—especially for the Russian, Turkish, and Prussian armies in their foundry in Essen, (North Rhein–Westphalia, Germany).

You, save the people? — Miserable woman!  
There is no hope! You are not worth [saving].

*(Ti spasit narod? — Ženo biedna!  
Oj u kraj! —Niesi toga vriedna.)*

And you heroes close to the sun 115  
Draw now your *yataghans*,  
Strike from the heights  
Freedom is calling, the day is calling!  
And with your hand, and with your blood  
Prove that you are not worms, 120  
Byzantium and now Rome as well [7]<sup>156</sup>  
Unite with the poignant victims in the smoke  
Cut open the curtain of the temple  
To let the spark of god's flame flare up  
Freedom! Let it be your first word 125  
Inside the storm of the holy war.  
And the world will say: Here come people  
And in the sky, our old god!

*(A vi junaci blizu sunca 115  
Sad trgnite mi jatagan,  
Oborite se sa vrhunca  
Sloboda zove, zove dan!  
I svojom rukom, svojom krvi  
Dokažite, da nieste crvi, 120  
Bizancijo se sad i Rim [7]  
U divne žrtve sljubi dim!  
Razsiecite mi zastor hrama  
Da plane iskra božjeg plama  
Sloboda! prva rieč vam budi 125  
Sred bure svetog boja tog.  
I sviet će reći: Evo ljudi!  
A na nebu nam stari bog!)*

August Šenoa's "Lightning from Gabela" is a creative *mise-en-scène* that dramatizes Jaroslav Čermák's *Raid by Bachi-Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (1861) as an episode of horrific suffering witnessed by an indifferent Europe. Narrated alternately by Šenoa himself and the "Spirit of world freedom," the poem is a bitter reproach to a

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<sup>156</sup> Šenoa's seventh and final footnote reads: "[7] Byzantium and Rome = Eastern Orthodox and Catholics (*Bizancijo i Rim = pravoslavni i katolici.*)"

Europe that passively dismisses the misery of the South Slavic Christians living under the Turkish yoke. Decrepit, hypocritical Europe, personified as a “desolate lady, / With sepulcher breath,” (lines 84–85) who slumbers while the “crescent moon,” a euphemism for the Ottoman Empire, “peeks in” (line 5). “Her old bones stretched out on soft silk, / She dreams a dream, she dreams — god forgive! / A splendid dream, the dream about–culture” (lines 6–8). Europe is awoken from her self–satisfied dream of progress, scientific–advancement and humanitarianism by the sound of thunder from the South. There is a war waging in Herzegovina. Thus identified, she chalks it up as a minor annoyance, and wants to go back to sleep “A mole digs in my garden; / I say: Good night and peace!” (lines 19–20). However, a disembodied echo that originates from within the painting—“the Spirit of world freedom” (line 22), possibly a reference to Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s 1842, “Echo from the Balkans”<sup>157</sup>—commands Europe to look and listen in her half–conscious state, dragging her to the “horizon of burning embers” (line 23), that is the border between Europe and Turkey–in–Europe. The echo compels her to look upon the horror of the scene depicted in Čermák’s painting: “Look here at your peace: bloody, damned and deaf!” (line 24).

The echo describes the atrocities in the painting in vivid detail. Three *Bashi–Bazouks* have set fire to a house, murdered a man and child and are abducting a woman, the wife of the dead man and mother of the dead child. They have roughly torn off her clothes. The woman cries out for help from “people,” but Europe chooses not to hear her. Europe is not humane: “There are no people” (line 61). Speaking for Europe, the echo says: “Miserable woman! / There is no

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<sup>157</sup> Line 118 in “Lightning from Gabela”—“Freedom is calling, the day is calling!”—may also be a reference to the famous opening lines of Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s most famous poem, “Echo from the Balkans, or the Tears of Bulgarian, Herzegovinian and Bosnian Christians”: “Dawn breaks throughout the whole world / Day never comes to the Balkans” (lines 1–2).

hope! You are not worth [saving]" (lines 113–114). Derisively calling her the “mother of glorious humanity” (line 66), the echo chides Europe for being false. Hypocritical Europe does not really defend the universal values of “intelligence, peace and freedom” (line 106) she supposedly holds so dear, not even right in her own backyard “where your brother is in the middle of paradise” (line 71). The Slavic South, “where misery incarnate breathes” (line 101), is described like one of the rings of hell: “Where chains fall off the miserable slave / Only at the gates of the black grave, / Where people count only as cattle, / Where they pay with impalement only, blood, / Where cursed is the sweat of every labor, / every man is a crushed worm. / Where daughters and wives are debauched as plunder, / Into slavery where sons are forced, / Decency is trampled, faith is sullied, / Where the scorpion, serpent and hyena rule” (lines 73–82). Europe’s indifference to the suffering of the South Slavs at the hands of the Turks is encapsulated by the refrain “And nothing more?” which punctuates the whole poem (lines 17, 21, 63, 83, 102).

An inventory of humanitarian and scientific achievements is listed, from sending “holy books of salvation / To cannibal corners of the world” (lines 77–78), to cutting “paths through perpetual ice” (line 91), charting the “course of comets,” (line 92), counting “grains of sand in the desert” (line 93) and diving “to the bottom of the ocean” to “search for the bones of early man” (lines 99–100). These achievements are reduced to meaningless hyperbole. Europe is kinder to dogs and “savages” (lines 65–70) than to her brothers in the Slavic South. She is driven by profit: “Your desires are materialistic / And all your endeavors are soulless” (lines 109–110).

The South Slavs themselves must rise up to fight against tyranny. “Strike from the heights / Freedom is calling, the day is calling! / And with your hand, and with your blood / Prove that you are not worms” (117–120). They are the only ones really fighting for the values the nineteenth century held dear, the rights of humanity: “And the world will say: Here come

people” (line 127). Like Utješenović–Ostrožinski’s “Slaves,” “Lightning from Gabela” ends with a call to arms, for the South Slavs to come together and liberate the territories still held by the Ottomans.

Certain passages in the poem reveal an incredibly astute reading of the painting. Šenoa’s description of the woman who struggles between the three *Bashi–Bazouks* as a “giant” (line 43) is apt. She does, indeed, appear colossal. It is not so much the Rubenesque corpulence of the figure that makes her a giant. Her nakedness has a quality of monumentality, and the low angle from which Čermák depicted her causes her to appear larger than life. The positioning of the three *Bashi–Bazouks* behind her and their uniform darkness in contrast to her shimmering white body also contribute to the impression of massive solidity.

Another perceptive interpretation is the conflation of the “giant” woman’s dead husband and son: “There lies your husband crushed, / And here your dead child, your son / His life, the devil denied as well / If you kill the fruit, eliminate the seed / Let the *giaour* line be wiped out” (lines 48–52). The melding of the husband and son corresponds well to positioning of their figures in the painting, namely, the head and hand of the husband to the left of the woman disappear behind her and reappear on the other side as the legs of the little infant boy. One continuous body, the continuation of a bloodline from father to son, is implicit in Čermák’s composition.

Like the figure of “Truth” who emerges screaming from a well holding a scourge in Jean–Léon Gérôme’s *Truth Coming Out of Her Well to Shame Mankind* (1896), the screaming woman in Čermák’s painting is a figure of reproach.<sup>158</sup> The painting gives permanence to her cry that neither people, nor god, heard: “Deep through the mountains her cry resounds, / But not a

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<sup>158</sup> Jean–Léon Gérôme’s *Truth Coming Out of Her Well to Shame Mankind* (*La Vérité sortant du puits*), 1896, oil on canvas, 91 x 72 cm. Musée Anne–de–Beaujeu, Moulins.

soul heard it. — Miserable woman” (lines 46–47). The motif of Europe turning a blind eye and deaf ear to the plight of the South Slavs under the Ottomans was already well–entrenched in South Slavic literature. Cvijeta Pavlović notes that Šenoa’s “Lightning from Gabela” may be a reference to Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski’s 1848 *Slavs (Slavjanke)*, in particular, the ninth poem, in the second part, addressed to “Europe, Europe!”<sup>159</sup>

<i>Evropo, Evropo!</i> <i>Gdë prosvěta cvati,</i> <i>I ti Azio divna</i> <i>Svih naukah mati.</i>	Europe, Europe! Where Enlightenment flourishes, And you, beautiful Asia Mother of all Science.	
<i>Znati li vi, što je</i> <i>Vaša tvèrdja živa?</i> <i>Što vaš jug i sever</i> <i>Davno sjediniva?</i>	Do you know what is Your living stability? That your South and North From long ago has united?	5
<i>Slavanjski je narod</i> <i>Véz vaš i tvèrdjava,</i> <i>Kojno vama vërno</i> <i>Dvori zabadava.</i>	The Slavic people are Your bond and fortress, Which faithfully Serve you without recompense.	10
<i>On se vama tuži,</i> <i>Moli, jadikuje,</i> <i>Ali nitko od vas</i> <i>Neće da ga čuje.</i>	He [the Slavic people] complains to you, Begs, laments, But no one among you Cares to listen to him.	15

Kukuljević Sakcinski described Europe as a place “Where Enlightenment flourishes” (line 2), a theme that Šenoa elaborated scathingly in “Lightning from Gabela” three decades later. Europe’s cultural and intellectual flourishing was enabled by the Slavic people, “Which faithfully / Serve you without recompense” (lines 11–12). The Slavs were Europe’s “fortress” (line 10), the *antemurale christianitatis* (the ramparts of Christianity) holding the onslaught of the Turks at bay.

<sup>159</sup> Pavlović, *Priča u pjesmi*, 185. Pavlović notes that “although Šenoa was at times a harsh critic of Kukuljević, he continued Kukuljević’s endeavors with ballads and romances.”

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slavjanke od Xa: Sa historičkimi primetbami* (Zagreb: Franja Župan, 1848), 31. Thanks to Renata Garbin and Nada Petković for their generous help translating this poem.

Kukuljević Sakcinski's poem may have been an immediate source for Šenoa, but the writer was certainly conscious of the literary tradition it sprung from.<sup>160</sup> The motif of Europe willfully blind and deaf to pleas for help from Slavic South—"But no one among you / Cares to listen" (lines 15–16)—that faithfully martyred itself to keep the Muslim Ottomans from penetrating further into Christian Europe had a long history in Croatian literature.<sup>161</sup> It was adopted as a key story in nineteenth-century national identity.<sup>162</sup> Believing that Western civilization would have ceased to exist if Croatia had not maintained the border that defended it was a source of pride.

Šenoa's gripe with Europe for not sending help to the Balkans to expel the Turks was a long-standing grievance, rooted in the Anti-Turkish literature of the Renaissance and Baroque. With the advancement of the conquering Ottoman army, beginning in the late thirteenth century, Croatian humanists repeatedly pleaded to European rulers and the Vatican to come to the aid of the people. "Nowhere did Croatian Humanists express their patriotism more vociferously than in their many appeals to the conscience of Europe for help to the Croatians against the Ottoman invasion."<sup>163</sup> "Lightning from Gabela" has much in common with this body of literature.<sup>164</sup> With

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<sup>160</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski was also keenly aware of the literary heritage. As Pavlović notes, he had reprinted Vladislav Menčetić's *Trumpet of the Slavs (Trublja slovinska)* (Jakin, 1665), "in the zenith of Illyrianism" in Zagreb, in 1844. See her: *Priča u pjesmi*, 185. "Italy would have long ago / Sunk into slavery / If lamentable Croatia / Had not crushed the sea of Ottomans (*Od robstva bi davno u valih / Potonula Italija, / O hârvatskieh da se žalih / More otmansko nerazbija*)." In: Menčetić, *Trublja slovinska* ([1665] Zagreb: Franja Župan, 1844), 33. See also: Ivo Frangeš and Milorad Živačević, *Povijest Hrvatske Književnosti*, vol. 4, *Ilirizam, Realizam* (Zagreb: Liber Mladost, 1978), 189.

<sup>161</sup> Ivo Goldstein, *Croatia: A History* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1999), 34. See also: "Mapping History Painting in Croatia Before 1893: The Gift of the Border," in my master's thesis: "Mapping National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Croatia: The History Paintings of Vlaho Bukovac" (University of Arizona, 2004), 29–35

<sup>162</sup> Croatia as a defensive border for Europe was given visual form in Ferdinand Quiquerez's oil sketch, *Antemurales Christianitis*, 1892, oil on canvas, 41 x 57 cm. Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej, Zagreb.

<sup>163</sup> "Their appeals to various popes, emperors and councils are not only highly literate examples of neoclassical Latin rhetoric but moving testimonials to their patriotism. Their theme was always the same: the Croatian people were a wall between the Ottoman might and Western Christendom, and if Catholic Europe allowed that rampart to crumble, it too would be inundated." Michael B. Petrovich, "The Croatian Humanists: Cosmopolites or Patriots?" *Journal of Croatian Studies* 20 (1979): 31.

its piling up of numerous attributes of an almighty, but ultimately indifferent—unhearing, unseeing and unjust—Europe, Šenoa’s poem recalls Latinist Franjo Trankvil Andreis’s *An Oration as a Heroic Poem to God against the Turks (Ad Deum Contra Thurcas Oratio carmine Heroico*, 1518), only in this case, God’s/Europe’s powers are not mythical–biblical but wonders of modern science.<sup>165</sup>

Whereas Andreis’s God “Who inhabits the bright spaces of Olympus and clean places which do not fear to cease to exist, ... with [His] might, shake[s] the Earth and high Heaven, and curb[s] he who with winds stirs up the terrifying open sea of Neptune, and command[s] him to again stir up the waves,” Šenoa’s Europe: “[dries] the sea” and “cuts through mountains” (line 88). Whereas Andreis’s God “hold[s] a red–hot lightning rod in the sacred right hand,” “give[s] strength, life and clean conscience to good men,” and “ always persecute[s] dangerous crimes with innumerable punishments,” Šenoa’s modern Europe “tame[s] lightning–quick rays,”

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<sup>164</sup> Some of the surveys of Croatian Anti–Turkish Humanist works include: Marin Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesansne književnosti*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1983); Vedran Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka* (Split: Logos, 1983); Veljko Gortan and Vladimir Vratović, *Hrvatski latinisti*, 2 vols. (Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1969–1970); Mihovil Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1961); Slobodan Prosperov–Novak, *Povijest Hrvatske književnosti*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 1997). For a wider context of European humanists’ formulations of the Ottoman Empire, see: Nancy Bisaha, “‘New Barbarian’ or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteenth–Century Italy,” in: David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Perception of Other* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999): 185–205; idem, *Creating East and West, Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Kate Fleet, “Italian Perceptions of the Turks in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5, no. 2 (1995): 159–72; Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453–1517* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1967); idem, “Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade against the Turks,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 164–87; Mustafa Soykut, *The Image of the “Turk” in Italy. A History of the “Other” in Early Modern Europe: 1453–1683*, (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 2001); idem, “The Ottoman Empire and Europe through Venetian and Papal Sources,” in: Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock, eds., *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453–1699*, (Cambridge: Scholars Press, 2005), 168–194. I am indebted to Olga Nedeljković for this bibliography.

<sup>165</sup> Though it is tempting to read meaning into it, the fact that Šenoa did not capitalize the word “god” in his poem is not significant. In the nineteenth century, orthography was not standardized in regard to whether “god” must be written with a capital “g” or not. In fact, Šenoa and many of his contemporaries often avoided capitalizing nouns, including “god” in order to difference Croatian from German. I am grateful to Cvijeta Pavlović for sharing this information with me.

Franjo Trankvil Andreis, a native of Trogir, on the Dalmatian coast, delivered his *Heroic Poem to God against the Turks* before Emperor Maximilian and an assembly of German princes in Augsburg, as an envoy of Berislavić, the Ban of Croatia. Exasperated by the inability of the Christian countries to come to an agreement over how to deal with the Turkish threat, as a rhetorical strategy, Andreis turned directly to God for help.

“count[s] grains of sand in the desert,” and “send[s] holy books of salvation / To cannibal corners of the world / ... gather[s] together black children, / To embrace them with gentleness” (lines 89, 93 and 67–70).<sup>166</sup> Renaissance humanists had appropriated well-known motifs from pagan myths of classical antiquity (i.e. Olympus) to give psychological intensity to the present.<sup>167</sup> Šenoa deployed marvels of new technology.

Andreis found numerous awe-inspiring attributes of God to be insignificant when confronted with his willful deafness and blindness to the plight of the South Slavs:

What was the use of those seven strenuous days in which You created Heaven  
And put the elements in their places? Of Christ taking upon himself human  
features for the sake of human beings? ... Even in small danger, You readily  
rushed to the people’s aid. Why, I beg you, are You not moved by our terrible  
losses? You favor some, and to others behave like a stepmother.<sup>168</sup>

*Septeno quid enim coelum fecisse labore  
Prodesset/ certisque locis elementa tulisse  
Humanae sobolis causa: Christumque figuram*

...  
*Sepe vel in paruo praesens discrimine plebi  
Affueras/ cur nostra precor non vltima damna  
Te moueant: aliis faueas: videare nouerca*

Šenoa was just as bitterly disappointed three centuries later. Šenoa turned his back on Europe, with its hollow accomplishments and false god: “But they lie — your gospels / Only banknotes

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<sup>166</sup> Quoted from the facsimile in: Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, 467. English translation by Olga Nedeljković. The passage quoted from in the original Latin reads as follows in its entirety:

*Summe Pater/ rerumque fator/ qui lucida olympi  
Et loca pura tenes nullum metuentia finem:  
Qui quatis imperio terram/ coelumque profundum:  
Horrida Neptuni miscetemque aequora ventis  
Compescis: rursusque iubes attollere fluctus.  
Sacrata accinctus candenti fulmine dextram.  
Das animum/ vitamque bonis/ mentemque pudicam.  
Ad scelera innumeris sectaris perdita semper  
Supplicii/ iusta mundum sub lege gubernans.  
Huc precibus conuerte meis pia numina Castist:*

<sup>167</sup> See Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods, The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1953), 173.

<sup>168</sup> English translation by Olga Nedeljković. Original Latin in: Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, 473–74.

are made of paper, / Your desires are materialistic / And all your endeavors are soulless. / Yes, the antichrist is your priest / And your god — an iron cannon” (lines 107–112). Europe is found out to be a fraud.

In contrast to the *Heroic Poem to God Against the Turks* composed by Andreis in Latin, a language that was universally understood throughout Europe, Šenoa’s poem was written in Croatian, a language that only specialists outside the Western Balkans could read. While ostensibly addressed to Europe, “Lightning from Gabela’s” true audience was not “Europe,” but rather the locals, the “heroes near the sun” addressed in the last stanza, who dare not delude themselves that Europe will come to the rescue. The poem functions as a collective rebuke and empowering anthem for the South Slavs. The local people will fend for themselves without the assistance of the “mother of glorious humanity” (line 66). “And you heroes close to the sun / Draw now your *yataghans*, ... To let the spark of god’s flame flare up / Freedom! Let it be your first word ... And in the sky, our old god!” (lines 115–116, 124–125 and 128) They are a young nation with ancient roots, vital and pure of heart in comparison with the decrepit, desolate, lady Europe.

Šenoa wrote “Lightning from Gabela” at the outset of the 1875 Uprising in Bosnia–Herzegovina. The Uprising began in June, his poem was published in August. The poem is dedicated to the insurgents as much as it is to Čermák’s *Raid by Bachi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)*.<sup>169</sup> Šenoa was particularly inspired by Catholics who were taking part in the rebellion under the leadership of Don Ivan Musić, a pastor at Ravno, in Eastern

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<sup>169</sup> Marković, “August Šenoa,” 203: “Written on the occasion of the Uprising of the Herzegovinian raia in Gabela, vigorously illustrating with one of Čermák’s paintings the suffering of our *rayah* under the Turkish aggression. Satirically naming the enemy of cultural Europe for the trouble of the *rayah*, and elatedly celebrating the heroic rebels.” See also: Josip Horvat, *Politička povijest Hrvata*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1989), 421: “The Croats in the vicinity of Gabela in Herzegovina rose up in the Uprising against the Turks ... and August Šenoa on that occasion wrote his ‘Lightning from Gabela.’”

Herzegovina.<sup>170</sup> As Hannes Grandits recounts, “The case of Don Musić was an exception within the Catholic leadership ... The Catholic priests, that is those in Eastern Herzegovina who came under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Dubrovnik ... and the much more numerous Franciscans who served in Western Herzegovina, were quite supportive of Ottoman rule at the beginning of the ... rebellion.”<sup>171</sup>

In the last stanza of the poem, addressed to the “heroes near the sun,” Šenoa wrote: “Byzantium and now Rome as well / Unite with the poignant victims in the smoke” (lines 121–122). In his seventh footnote to the poem, Šenoa provides an interpretation, lest his meaning be unclear on this point of critical importance: “Byzantium and Rome = Eastern Orthodox and Catholics (*Bizancijo i Rim = pravoslavni i katolici.*)” The word “now” in the phrase “now Rome too” (line 121) refers to the fact that the Catholics had joined in rebelling alongside the Eastern Orthodox population, who were the more frequent insurgents in Herzegovina.

Thus, like the other poets who interpreted patriotic paintings for the public in Croatia, Šenoa’s “Lightning from Gabela” is about a proto-Yugoslavia. The Catholics and Eastern Orthodox have come together to liberate themselves and their brothers from the Turkish yoke. They unite “in the smoke”—that is, in war (line 122). In doing so, they go back to an era uncorrupted by the divisiveness of modern times. They revert to a natural, pure state of being. Line 128, “And in the sky, our old god!” might refer to the age before the great East–West

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<sup>170</sup> On Musić, see: Marko Vego, *Don Ivan Musić i Hrvati u Herzegovinačkom ustanku* (Sarajevo: Državna Štamparija, 1953); and Hannes Grandits, “Violent social disintegration: a nation-building strategy in late-Ottoman Herzegovina,” in: Nathalie Clayer, Hannes Grandits and Robert Pichler eds., *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2011), 121–22 and 291–92.

<sup>171</sup> Grandits goes on to say: “Not incidentally, this also resulted from the fact that Austrian policy, which had a strong influence on the Catholic Church in Herzegovina, firmly recommended this attitude. But this was also connected with the fear of the Catholic Church that it could become integrated into an ‘Orthodox’ Montenegrin or Serbian state if the Ottoman order was to break down. And the official position of the church viewed such a scenario very negatively.” Austria provided significant financial support to the Catholic Church in Herzegovina. See: Grandits, “Violent social disintegration,” 121–22, and 292 (note 46).

Schism in the eleventh century, when the Eastern and Western branches of the Church broke apart and became Catholic and Orthodox. At that time, the Slavs in the Western Balkans were not divided by faith.

In linking Čermák's painting from 1861 to a current event fifteen years later, Šenoa established a scenario of cause and effect. The Catholics and Orthodox, having witnessed the suffering of the nuclear family in *Raid by Bachi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* not only rose up against oppression, they also united despite religious differences. The national body of a proto–Yugoslavia was that much closer to the verge of melding because of painting, because of art. Thus, Šenoa retroactively invested Čermák's *Raid by Bachi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* with having sparked the Uprising.

Using words, of course, Šenoa invested painting with tremendous power. “Lightning from Gabela” told the public, in a language that was fresh, modern and understandable, how important pictures could be to the national struggle. It was a forced conflation of art and life. Very few people in Croatia would have seen a reproduction of Čermák's *Raid by Bachi–Bouzouks on A Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* before its printing in *Vienac* in 1875 in accompaniment to Šenoa's poem.<sup>172</sup> The cause and effect implicit in “Lightning from Gabela” was a willful projection of the results the poet wanted from painting, namely, that painting could effect real change in the real world. Be this as it may, the “echo” of Šenoa's poem, the “Spirit of world freedom” still reverberates today, and the myth that art helped garner the publicity is alive. The poem enjoys a hearty afterlife. In a ceremony marking the one–hundred–and thirty–eighth anniversary of the Uprising in 2013 in Kulina, near Čapljina, Herzegovina, Šenoa's poem was

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<sup>172</sup> Apart from seeing it at the Paris Salon of 1861, the only way to have visual knowledge of the work was through Goupil's reproduction.

read immediately following the national anthem.<sup>173</sup> And a recent official tourist guide to Čapljina, the capital of the Herzegovinian region where Gabela is located, celebrates the connection of the poem to the historical “event that has awakened the [sic] Europe.”<sup>174</sup>

## 6. DALMATIA IS A LAND OF ARTS AND SONGS

Regardless of the specific ideology to which authors subscribed, patriots of all breeds in the Croatian territories privileged the role of poetry in bodying forth a nascent native art and a nascent people. The last poem I analyze differs from the preceding works in that it was not written in any form of the South Slavic language that was the common marker of folk authenticity, and the common denominator for unification of the people of the Western Balkans. The poem, composed in rather convoluted Italian in 1885 and entitled “To Biagio Bukovac: Epode (*A Biagio Bukovac, Epodo*),” is an exception to the rule (appendix 6.e).<sup>175</sup> Nonetheless, the verses revolve around the same themes: anxieties over being found uncultured in the eyes of the world, acceptance of the necessity for the artist to train abroad in order to picture his homeland in ideal form to show an international audience, and faith in painting’s unique ability

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<sup>173</sup> J.Z., “Hercegovački ustanak 1875. godine iscrtao je mape današnje BiH” (June 21, 2013) on “bljesak.info”: <http://bljesak.info/rubrika/kultura/clanak/hercegovački-ustanak-1875-godine-iscrtao-je-mape-danasnje-bih/10136> (last accessed August 7, 2014).

<sup>174</sup> See the section: “Herzegovina Uprising – event that has awakened the Europe” in: Dragan Bradvica, ed., *Čapljina: Paradise on Four Rivers. Tourist Guide* (Čapljina: Herzegovina–Neretva Canton Tourist Board, 2013), 13:

The famous Herzegovina Uprising that has drawn the boundaries of the various European states in the second half of the 19th century has began on the territory of Čapljina municipality. ... The rebellion has awakened Europe pointing to the problem of Slavic people under the centuries of rule of Ottoman Empire ... The poem “Munja od Gabele” (“Thunder from Gabela”) by the famous Croatian writer August Šenoa, testifies the echo of the Herzegovina Uprising [sic].”

Note that the word “*munja* (lightning)” has been translated incorrectly as “thunder” in this passage.

<sup>175</sup> Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo* (Split: Tipografia S. Artale, 1885). The poem was also published in no. 68 of the biweekly “Il Dalmata” of Zadar on September 8, 1885; and under the title “Al pittore Bukovac” in Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *Versi dalmatici* (Split: Tipografia di Antonio Zannoni, 1886), 116–17. The poem was composed in alcaic stanzas, a Greek lyrical meter, as described by the poet in a footnote to the poem appearing in *Versi dalmatici*, 117.

to fuse a divided population, and. Like all the poems examined above, “To Biagio Bukovac: Epode” also exerted the dominance of words over an imagined and longed-for future visual production by native sons.

“To Biagio Bukovac: Epode” was written by Grgur [Gregorija] Zarbarini—Catholic priest, poet, ethnomusicologist, translator—a figure more or less completely unknown to scholarship whose biography has been recently recovered by Miho Demović.<sup>176</sup> Born in Kotor, today part of Montenegro,<sup>177</sup> Zarbarini lived his whole life in coastal cities of the Eastern Adriatic. He attended high school (the *gimnazija*) in Dubrovnik from 1855–1860, after which he enrolled in the theological seminary in Zadar. Alongside his churchly learning, he became a passionate student and collector of music. He spent some time in Vienna, most likely in conjunction with passing state exams. He was a priest in his native Kotor from 1865–1873, after which he moved to Split, where he worked as a professor at the Imperial High School (*Velika realka*) until his retirement in 1903. He then moved north to Zadar, where he lived until his death in 1921.<sup>178</sup>

Zarbarini was a profuse writer, mostly in Italian. He collected and published an incredible volume of traditional Dalmatian church music, especially from his native Kotor. He authored studies about Dalmatian history, and was a passionate translator of “Serbian” poetry into

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<sup>176</sup> Miho Demović “Kotorski svećenik Grgur Zarbarini (1842.–1921.) – (nepoznati) znanstvenik, (etno)muzikolog, pjesnik i prevoditelj,” *Anali Dubrovnik* 46 (2008): 803–26

<sup>177</sup> The entire Bay of Kotor, populated largely by Catholics in the nineteenth century, was governed, along with the rest of Dalmatia, by Austria beginning with the Congress of Vienna (1814). It had previously been a part of the Venetian Republic, as was most of Dalmatia with the exception of the Republic of Dubrovnik. In 1878, Montenegro got access to the sea at Bar, and in 1880, that access extended south to Ulcinj. After 1918, Kotor was incorporated into the newly-created Zetska banovina, a territory that expanded the pre-WWI Montenegro to its entire coast today and parts of Herzegovina and Southern Dalmatia in Croatia. After WWII, the coast that is today part of Montenegro, including Kotor, was made part of the state of that name. See Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 18–33.

<sup>178</sup> Demović “Kotorski svećenik Grgur Zarbarini,” esp. 805–807.

Italian.<sup>179</sup> He also composed original poetry, most notably his *Versi Dalmatici* (1886), a volume of poems written from 1862 to 1886, which included the poem dedicated to Bukovac, published the previous year separately as an individual pamphlet.<sup>180</sup>

Bukovac and Zarbarini met in Split in 1885. The artist had decided to go to Dalmatia in the summer of 1884 “to get to know our people, and, as luck had it, to paint portraits, as many as I could. I took with me some photographs of my works, so our people could see what I had done so far.”<sup>181</sup> He visited in the coastal cities of Zadar, Korčula, Dubrovnik, his native Cavtat, and bustling Split, where a lucrative market prompted him to stay a long fourteen months.<sup>182</sup> He boasts of painting around one hundred portraits there.<sup>183</sup> In his autobiography, the short chronicle of his meeting Zarbarini focuses on the portrait he painted of him “in record time” (just fifty–two minutes) a few days before leaving the lively city.<sup>184</sup> Bukovac is most interested in recounting the speed and circumstances of the quickly–painted portrait. We do not know what they talked about during the sitting. What is certain, however, is that the painter made a great impression on Zarbarini, who, like the other poets discussed in this chapter, saw in the young artist a hope for putting his homeland on the international map of high art. Not long before painting Zarbarini’s portrait, Bukovac had held an exhibition of the works painted during his stay in Split in the Imperial High School where Zarbarini worked, (a first for the city), and gave the profits

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<sup>179</sup> G[rgur] Zarbarini, *Saggio di traduzione dal serbo, con introduzione* (Split: Tipografia di Antonio Zannoni, 1887).

<sup>180</sup> Demović, “Kotorski svećenik Grgur Zarbarini,” 810–22.

<sup>181</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 118.

<sup>182</sup> He was in Split from November 1884 to the end of September 1885. On Bukovac’s stay in Split, see: Radoslav Tomić, “Dodatak za Vlaha Bukovca,” *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 26, no. 1 (1987): 513–20; Marija Tripković, “Bukovčeve slike u Splitu,” in: Kruno Prijatelj and Marija Tripković, *Prilozi o slikama splitske galerije* (Split: Slobodna Dalmacija, 1954), 17–28; Zoraida Demori Stančić, “Rani Bukvac u Splitu,” *Kulturna baština* 13 (1982): 98–101; Nevenka Bezić–Božanić, “Književni odrazi i kulturna zbivanja u Splitu u drugoj polovici 19. Stoljća,” *Dani Hvarskog kazališta* 26, no. 1 (April 2000): 224; and eadem, “Prva likovna izložba u Splitu,” *Kulturna baština* 30 (1999): 219–28.

<sup>183</sup> Tomić believes the number may well be an exaggeration. See his: “Dodatak za Vlaha Bukovca,” 514–25.

<sup>184</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 123–24. The subheading of the section is entitled “In Split – Speed record.”

(presumably from the entrance fees) to the city's poor, a philanthropic gesture that surely appealed to the professor/priest. Zarbarini's favorable impression of the exhibit seems to have been the impetus for his poem.<sup>185</sup>

The poem, composed in September 1885,<sup>186</sup> reads as follows<sup>187</sup>:

*Pera chi ancora crede Dalmazia  
nullo rinserri pregio, ma barbaro  
sia suol, che ferine nutrisca  
d'indole e di vita strane genti! –*

Let whoever still believes Dalmatia  
contains nothing of worth, but is a barbarian  
land, that nourishes strange people  
with a savage temperament and life, perish! –

*Pur tale è, Biagio, la voce pubblica: 5  
e tal la fama, l'ale per l'etere  
battendo a' confini dell'orbe  
buccina colle sue cento trombe;*

And yet, *Biagio*, the public voice is such: 5  
and such is fame, trumpeting with its hundred trumpets,  
beating its wings up to the confines  
of the earthly sphere in the firmament;

*e sol il fato, l'Anglo o l'Elvezio 10  
se qui conduce, se il Franco o l'Italo  
redime il suo nome il mal noto  
Dalmata e la classica sua terra.*

It is fate alone that guides the Englishman or the Swiss, 10  
the Frenchman or Italian hither,  
to redeem the unknown name of  
Dalmatia and its classical land.

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<sup>185</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 123. A partial list of works exhibited is included in Tripković, “Bukovčeve slike u Splitu,” 25–27; and Bezić–Božanić, “Prva likovna izložba u Splitu,” 221–24.

The then mayor of Split, Dr. Vicko Mihaljević, also composed a poem in Bukovac's honor on the occasion of the exhibition, which was plastered all over the city in poster form. See: Bezić–Božanić, “Književni odrazi,” 224, and eadem, “Prva likovna izložba u Splitu,” 224.

<sup>186</sup> We know this from the note at the end of the poem in the 1885 publication.

<sup>187</sup> My heartfelt thanks to Gionata Rizzi for his generous help translating this poem.

*Sì, allor appena modesta vergine  
d'aspose grazie tutti salutanla,  
che i vaghi suoi doni dappresso  
abbiano mirati un sol momento.* 15

At that time barely a modest virgin  
of hidden graces, all those who looked  
only for a moment upon her [Dalmatia's]  
lovely gifts from nearby greeted her. 15

*Alor li vedi balzar di giubilo  
a questo cielo tepido, splendido,  
ai seni stupendi, alle mille  
cicladì dalmatiche natanti.* 20

Then you see them leap with jubilation  
toward this tepid, splendid sky,  
toward wonderful gulfs, toward a thousand  
floating Dalmatian Cyclades [islands]. 20

*Allor da' monti giù per le spiagge  
sôna agli orecchi l'eco di Gloria,  
che fin dagl' Illirî de' prodi  
Dalmati durevole fu il grido;*

Then down from the mountains towards the coast  
the echo of glory resounds in the ears,  
that since [the time of] the Illyrians  
was the lasting shout of the valiant Dalmatians;

*che fin da Diocle, fin da Geronimo  
al Sebenzano, che giace cenere  
non lunge dall'Arno, a' viventi  
genii, de' quali Tu se' l'uno:* 25

From Diocletian and [St.] Jerome 25  
to [Niccolò Tommaseo from] Šibenik, whose ashes lay  
not far from the Arno,<sup>188</sup> [the echo resounds]  
to the living geniuses, of which You are one:

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<sup>188</sup> Niccolò Tommaseo (1802–1874), a man of letters, trained in law and active in politics, was born in Šibenik, Croatia and buried in Settignano, outside Florence, Italy. Tommaseo was a prominent figure in the Autonomist movement in nineteenth-century Dalmatia.

*annunzia al mondo, maisempre incredulo,  
che questa è d'arti terra e di cantici,  
rimpetto alla qual nessun'altra  
emula l'italica cotanto.* 30

Announce to the world, forever incredulous,  
That this is a land of arts and of songs,  
compared to which no other [land]  
emulates Italy so much. 30

*La Tua lo dico Ragusa storica  
e di Salone l'erede, Spalato,  
a Te pur sì cara, ove tanta  
orma Tu relinqui del valore* 35

I say that Your historic Dubrovnik  
and Split, heir to Salona,  
even so dear to you, where  
you leave so many traces of the valor<sup>189</sup> 35

*che i nostri fece Schiavoni celebri  
e Sebenico; quanto Epidaurio  
Tu illustri, Tu sol, sì valente  
e patriotta a questi di raro:* 40

that our [ancestors] the Slavs made famous  
and Šibenik; as much as Cavtat  
You alone, skillful and patriotic as is rare  
these days, render Cavtat illustrious: 40

*dappoi che al còre della metropoli  
d'ogni piacere pur sottraendoTi  
Ten vieni a le Tue Canalesi  
perpetuäre in smaglianti tele.*

After you have drawn every pleasure  
from the heart of the metropolis  
You will come to immortalize Your  
Konavle women in brilliantly-colored canvases.

*Sol una manca, Biagio, alla Patria,  
e prima tela: l'alma Concordia:  
la pingi – Tuo capolavoro –  
veggala Dalmazia, e vi s'informi! –* 45

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<sup>189</sup> Zarbarini is doubtlessly referring to Bukovac's exhibition in Split.

The homeland, *Biagio*, is missing only one thing,  
the first canvas: the *alma Concordia* [life-giving Concord]:  
paint it – Your masterpiece – Let Dalmatia  
look upon it, and model herself after it!–

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Like the other poems in the corpus dedicated to a nascent art in the Croatian territories, Zarbarini's "To Biagio Bukovac: Epode" is addressed both to the outside world, who perceives Dalmatia as a "barbarian land" (lines 2–3), and to the locals who lack unity. Like Vuletić, he acknowledges the painter's need to leave home in order to mature professionally. After gaining experience and drawing "every pleasure / from the heart of the metropolis" (lines 41–42), i.e. Paris, Zarbarini commands Bukovac to return home to Cavtat and immortalize the allegorical mothers of the nation from his home region: "Your Konavle women in brilliantly-colored canvases" (lines 43–44). This was an imperative the artist willingly accepted, in fact such a canvas was, in all likelihood, already in the works. He exhibited *Peasant from the Environs of Dubrovnik; — Dalmatia (Paysanne des environs de Raguse; — Dalmatie)* at the Salon of 1886 (figs. 4.11 and 4.12).<sup>190</sup>

Beyond idealizing his fellow countrymen, Zarbarini gives Bukovac a greater task: to give body to the concept of concord. "The *alma Concordia*: / paint it – Your masterpiece – Let Dalmatia / look upon it, and model herself after it" (lines 46–48). He imagines that the thingness

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<sup>190</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Peasant Woman from the Environs of Dubrovnik; — Dalmatia (Paysanne des environs de Raguse; — Dalmatie)* [*Woman from Konavle in Winter Dress (Konavoka u zimskom ruhu)*], 1886, oil on canvas, 81x 64 cm. Konavle Museum, Čilipi. There is some debate over whether the painting in Čilipi is really the one exhibited by Bukovac in the Salon of 1886. See: Vera Kružić-Uchytel, *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo*, 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 348, no. 280; and Stane Đivanović, "Bukovčeva Konavoka u grafičkoj verziji pariške radionice Rougeron–Vignerot & Cie: Geneza i morfologija," *Anali Dubrovnik* 49 (2011): 209–26.

It is possible that Bukovac discussed plans to paint his *Peasant from the Environs of Dubrovnik; — Dalmatia*, which features a woman wearing the costume of Bukovac's native Konavle region, or showed a preparatory sketch to Zarbarini. A graphic version, featuring a vignette of the figure from the Salon canvas, appeared a few months after their meeting in the Parisian *L'Art et la Mode* 7, no. 2 (December 12, 1885): 23 as "Une Slave d'Autriche (des environs de Raguse), dessin de BUKOVAC" (fig. 4.12). The composition is set in the front garden of Bukovac's family home in Cavtat, which he visited both at the beginning of the Summer of 1884 and at the end of his Dalmatian tour in the early Autumn of 1885. See: Bukovac, *Moj Život*, 120 and 124. If the sketch originated during the first visit to Cavtat, Bukovac would have likely had it with him in September of 1885 when he met Zarbarini. See: Đivanović, "Bukovčeva Konavoka," 209–26.

of Bukovac's not-yet-painted "masterpiece" will bring about the concretization of concord. Painting is endowed with the unique ability to breathe life into the harmony lacking among the people. But it has not done so yet. Fully in keeping with the discourse of desire, in Zarbarini's poem, Bukovac's masterpiece is still unrealized. The hoped for result of unity is a willful projection of a future that cannot be disappointed by an actual work of art, because that work of art has not yet been painted.

Differing from the other poems examined is Zarbarini's singular concern for the unification of the people of Dalmatia rather than the entire Slavic South. Zarbarini was radical follower of the Autonomist Party (*Autonomaška stranka* or *Autonomaši*),<sup>191</sup> a nineteenth-century movement that sought to maintain the autonomy of the Kingdom of Dalmatia within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, rather than unifying with the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia or a broader Slavic South. This fact helps us understand the poet's choice of Italian language, his exclusive focus on Dalmatia, and his unselfconscious appropriation of classical antiquity as part of Dalmatian identity. As Josip Vrandečić cogently describes, the Autonomist movement was a "regionalist" as opposed to a "nationalist" movement that "tried to resist integration with Croatia," aspiring instead to "integrate Dalmatia by embracing its entire populace regardless of cultural differences." Autonomists embraced the classical Roman, Italian and Slavic elements of the territory's inheritance into one master narrative in which ethnic Italians, Croats and Serbs were united by regional identity. The Autonomist vision of Dalmatia was "a proto-national community that failed to develop into a "full," territorialized, modern nation-state."<sup>192</sup> As

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<sup>191</sup> Demović "Kotorski svećenik Grgur Zarbarini," 808.

<sup>192</sup> Josip Vrandečić, "The Autonomist Movement in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia" (PhD Dissertation, Yale, 2000), 2-6.

Vrandečić sums up, the difference between the proto–Yugoslavian vision of patriots in Zagreb and the Autonomists in Dalmatia was:

While in Croatia proper, Croatian nationalism had acquired dissimilationist, Central European overtones in order to stress its national specificity against German and Hungarian assimilation, Dalmatian regionalism developed as a territory–related, assimilationist, cultural regionalism. While Croat nationalism drew on the ethnocultural concepts of Herder, and was based on the common Slavic descent of all Croats, Dalmatian regionalism was based on common attachment to the territory and on the specific culture shared by all in the province regardless [of] their nationality. ... In the province, the language was only a medium, not the essence of the nation as claimed by Central European – Herderian nationalism. In Dalmatia it was possible, even preferable in career, to be an Italian–speaking Slav.<sup>193</sup>

The regionalist Autonomist movement was especially strong in the largest Dalmatian cities of Split and Zadar.<sup>194</sup> The plurality of competing visions of nation in the multi–linguistic/cultural environment of the Dalmatian coast is witnessed by Bukovac’s account of the various reading rooms he frequented in Split: “I was the guest of the Croatian, Serbian and Italian reading rooms (*čitaonice*).”<sup>195</sup>

Like so many authors of the nineteenth century, Zarbarini displays an indignant hypersensitivity to the world’s perception of the Slavic South’s unculturedness: “Let whoever still believes Dalmatia / contains nothing of worth, but is a barbarian / land, that nourishes strange people / with a savage temperament and life, perish! ... Announce to the world, forever incredulous / That this is a land of arts and of songs” (lines 1–4 and 29–30). To demonstrate the falsity of this perception, he recounts the story of the “discovery” of Dalmatia during the age of

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<sup>193</sup> Vrandečić, “The Autonomist Movement,” 91–92.

<sup>194</sup> ... regional identity was more pronounced among the common Dalmatians than Croat, Serb or Italian allegiance. The regionalists controlled the provincial parliament (Sabor/Diet/Landtag) until 1870, governed the city councils of Split and Zadar, the biggest cities in the province, until 1882 and World War I respectively, and had a massive, though dwindling membership until 1914.

Vrandečić, “The Autonomist Movement,” 5. The National Party (*Narodna Stranka*), however, had the majority in the *Sabor* as of 1870. See: Bezić–Božanić, “Prva likovna izložba u Splitu,” 219.

<sup>195</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 123.

Enlightenment by Grand Tourers: "... fate alone that guides the Englishman or the Swiss / the Frenchman or Italian hither / to redeem the unknown name of / Dalmatia and its classical land ... Then you see them leap with jubilation / toward this tepid, splendid sky ... Then down from the mountains towards the coast / the echo of glory resounds in the ears / that since [the time of] the Illyrians / was the lasting shout of the valiant Dalmatians" (lines 9–12, 17–18 and 21–24).

In effect, Zarbarini gives a sort of poetic history of the South Slavs' rising fame in the rest of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The Grand Tourers, delighted by the "unknown ... classical land" they sought out, were astonished by the bards they encountered in the hinterland whose oral tradition possessed a similarly ancient pedigree: "down from the mountain toward the coast / the echo of glory resounds" (lines 21–22). In keeping with his regionalist world-view, it was second nature for Zarbarini to draw a line of continuity between the Latin and Slavic elements of Dalmatia, reconciling the classical Roman inheritance with the folk oral culture of the Slavs.<sup>196</sup> There was nothing forced about it for him. His appellation of Dalmatia as a "land of art and songs" (line 30) is a metaphor for the dual nature of Dalmatia, on the one hand, full of monuments from Antiquity, on the other, full of authentic Slavic oral poetry that likewise preserved an ancient past. For Zarbarini, in fact, the "land of art and songs" is not dualistic at all. All are part of one, harmonious master narrative, in which each culture contributed to the richness of the region.

The poet's enamorment with Italy—"this is a land of arts and of songs / compared to which no other [land] / emulates Italy so much" (lines 30–32)—was similarly in keeping with the

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<sup>196</sup> As Vrandečić notes in his: "The Autonomist Movement," 84–85:

The Dalmatian romantics embraced the Slavic culture of the province. They appropriated Slavic folk-songs about Prince Marko and Skenderbeg as the part of the provincial heritage. ... nineteenth-century Dalmatian writers exploited the authentic "Hesiodic" features of their Dalmatian 'homeland.' ... '*montani cantori* [mountain bards]' ... honored the national Dalmatian spirit in provincial folk-stories, mythology, and genealogy.

regionalist identity that embraced Dalmatia's shared heritage with that country and the numerous ethnic Italians who lived in the coastal cities of the Eastern Adriatic. In a poem entitled "Art and the Dalmatians (*L'Arte e i Dalmati*)," Zarbarini stressed Dalmatia's fraternal relationship to Italy and Greece, as equal, cojoined members that grew out of a common ancestor: the classical Mediterranean world.<sup>197</sup>

Hymns, O virgin Euterpe!<sup>198</sup>  
Eternal glory is [found] in this land of every beautiful art,  
That by the magic of the graces of music  
Has the fortune to resist bitter war.

This is a land of celebrated heroes,  
with Italian and Greek in sweet embrace  
of the sky, of a conjoint sea, in which the same  
classical genius imparts his gifts.

*Inni, o vergine Euterpe!*  
*In questa terra d'ogni bell'arte imperituro è il vanto,*  
*e delle grazie musiche l'incanto*  
*che di fortuna regge all'aspra guerra.*

*È questo un suol di celebrati eroi,*  
*coll'italo e col greco in dolce amplesso*  
*di ciel, di mar congiunto, a cui lo stesso*  
*classico genio imparte i doni suoi.*

As in the poems of Kaznačić, Utješonović–Ostrožinski, Šenoa and Vuletić from the 1860s and 1870s, a major part of Zarbarini's poetic engagement with painting was to force the "forever incredulous" world to acknowledge that the Slavic South was civilized, and not populated by "strange people / with a savage temperament" (lines 29, and 3–4). The classical inheritance, readily visible through the numerous well-known monuments on the coast, such as

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<sup>197</sup> In: Zarbarini, *Versi dalmatici*, 51–52. The passage cited is found on p. 51. The poem "*L'Arte e i Dalmati*" was recited at the Bajamonti Theater in Split on December 21, 1874. See the note on p. 52.

<sup>198</sup> *Euterpe*: "One of the nine Muses, associated especially with lyric poetry and flute-playing." Andrew Delahunty and Sheila Dignen, *The Oxford Dictionary of Reference and Allusion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) (<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199567454.001.0001/acref-9780199567454-e-659>), s.v. "Euterpe."

Diocletian's Palace in Split, was a powerful argument against outsiders' perception of barbarism.<sup>199</sup> Continental authors had to work to incorporate Dalmatia's symbolically generative role into the cultural landscape of nineteenth-century Croatia, but Dalmatians of Zarbarini's political persuasion made the connection reflexively.<sup>200</sup> Reaching deep into antiquity to draw a line of continuity to an illustrious future still *in potentia*, he cast fellow Dalmatian Vlaho Bukovac as heir to an illustrious line-up of "geniuses" including the Roman Emperor Diocletian and Saint Jerome (lines 25 and 28).

Regardless of their specific political affiliation, poets across the board wanted desperately for the world to acknowledge the South Slavs as civilized equals, either through witnessing their greatness (Vuletić and Zarbarini) or great distress (Kaznačić, Utješnović–Ostrožinski and Šenoa). They shared a similar utopian wish for a future art. High art pictures of the South Slavs made by sympathetic "brothers" like Jaroslav Čermák could be good arguments in favor of such a view. The ultimate goal, however, was to take charge of the production of their own image, to gain agency in picture making. The existence of native producers of grand pictures of self would be the ultimate, irrefutable proof of civilization. There was no question that artists, such as Vlaho Bukovac, would accept their duty to the nascent nation, whatever permutation of nation it was.

The nascent art of painting gestated in the shadow of poetry. Poetry's pervasive intervention into the governance and interpretation of painting is crucial to understanding the reception of art throughout the entire long nineteenth century in Croatia. Indeed, I argue that

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<sup>199</sup> See, for example, Robert Adam's famous *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London: Printed for the author, 1764).

<sup>200</sup> Vrandečić notes: "Due to the ancient legacy of the Roman province of Dalmatia, Dalmatians claimed a prominent cultural, religious, and economic place in the Slavic Balkans." See his: "The Autonomist Movement," 8. See also my: "'The secessionists are the Croats. They've been given their own pavilion...'" Vlaho Bukovac's Battle for Croatian Autonomy at the 1896 Millennial Exhibition in Budapest," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no.1 (2007) [http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring\\_07/articles/ross.shtml](http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_07/articles/ross.shtml) (last accessed February 16, 2014).

poetry's will to control visual production is one of the key characteristics of the discourse of desire. Painting was the ideal medium in which potentiality could be materialized. A thing painted is some kind of *thing*—it has a physical existence. The nation *in potential* could see its body before it actually had a body.

The coastal authors were more preoccupied with fame as means of redemption, and more inclined to see disunion as an internal problem. Continental authors leaned heavily on the Anti-Turkish cannon, rallying against a common enemy (whether the Ottomans, the Ottomans as a euphemism for Austria-Hungary, or an apathetic Europe) as a means of achieving unity.<sup>201</sup> Regardless of the source of blame for their woeful reality, all of the poets endorsed painting as a potential catalyst for real-world change, within and without. Painting, which was broadly considered a universal language, provided a reliable and esteemed delivery method to send messages to outsiders in the foreign world.

Paradoxically, however, the universal language of painting had to be particularized in order to be useful to the ideological goals of its proponents. Poetry provided the guidelines for painting's particularization. As the century wore on, the desire to nationalize painting began to shift from subject matter drawn from literature or lofty ideals such as “concord” to the realm of visuality proper, as the idea of medium specificity took hold, albeit with a national tone.

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<sup>201</sup> As Kuzmić astutely notes, nineteenth-century authors from continental Croatia who employed traditional Anti-Turkish rhetoric failed to take into account how to include Muslim Slavs in their vision of a unified Slavic South, in contrast to a Herzegovinian poet such as Aleksa Šantić of Mostar (1868–1924) who came of age when both Serbia and Montenegro were fully independent and “the perception of the Ottoman empire as the impediment to the right of the South Slavic states to define and govern themselves” was greatly weakened. “While the Herzegovinian Šantić is concerned with keeping the Muslim population at home, Šenoa ... is concerned with making peace between Serbs and Croats.” See her: “August Šenoa, The Habsburg Monarchy, and the Southern Slav Question,” 153 and 155.

## 7. SOMEWHERE OVER THE RAINBOW, FALCONS FLY

Somewhere over rainbow way up high,  
There's a land that I heard of once in a lullaby.  
Somewhere over rainbow skies are blue,  
And the dreams that you dare to dream  
Really do come true.<sup>202</sup>

When Bukovac set out for Montenegro in the Autumn of 1879 with the *Montenegrin Girl* he had exhibited at the Salon in May, he also brought with him a photographic reproduction of the work mounted on cardboard, produced by the Graffe photographic studio in Paris in the format of a *carte de visite*.<sup>203</sup> Below the image and above the studio's insignia at the bottom of the card, in a mish–mash of Croatian and French, he wrote in ink “Montenegrin by Bukovac 1879 (*Crnogorka par Bukovac 1879*) (fig. 4.4).”

Contrary to Vuletić's hopes as expressed in his poem “To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter,” Bukovac's first trip to Montenegro did not result in paintings that “blaze[d the] name” of the South Slavs “into the stars” through the representation of the people's epic qualities.<sup>204</sup> The trip, rather, turned the artist to genre scenes. We can see how Bukovac got a better handle on costume in his last Montenegrin–themed Salon paintings, *Montenegrin Woman at a Rendezvous* (*La Monténégrine au rendez–vous*, 1883) and *Montenegrin Women at the Well* (*Monténégrines au puits*, 1885) (figs. 4.13 and 4.14).<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> “Over the Rainbow,” sung by Judy Garland in the *Wizard of Oz*, 1939, music by Harold Arlen and lyrics by Edgar Yipsel Harburg.

<sup>203</sup> Bukovac describes his first trip to the royal capital of Cetinje, Montenegro briefly in his autobiography. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82–83.

<sup>204</sup> Vuletić, “Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru,” 262 (line 21).

<sup>205</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Montenegrin Woman at a Rendezvous* (*La Monténégrine au rendez–vous*) [*Crnogorka na sastanku*], 1883, oil on canvas, 201 x 104 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb; and *Montenegrin Women at the Well* (*Monténégrines au puits*) 1885, oil on canvas, 200 x 105 cm. Private collection.

The back of the cardboard-mounted reproduction of *Montenegrin Girl* is riddled with pen and brush ink sketches (fig. 4.15).<sup>206</sup> Scrawled across the top in the artist's handwriting are the words "Montenegrin Girl that is in the Salon (*Mlada Crnogorka štoje [sic] u Salonu.*" The bottom center is occupied by a static cluster of Montenegrin figures, three men and one woman. A tornado of a line slashes through the men in the group in tight zigzags trying to cancel them out. Hovering in safety above these rejected figures at right is a blown-up study of the profile of the mustached man who stands with his back turned to us holding a rifle as tall as he is. A lamb or dog that looks as if it is smoking a cigarette vies for space with the woman at left; it is unclear who was drawn over whom.

Tiny, lively figures imbued with the artist's enthusiasm brim over the heads of the stiff Montenegrins. Miniature studies of nudes in various poses, some tilted ninety degrees from the Montenegrins, form a sky of constellations. The figures sit, climb, lean, and wrestle. A twirling ballerina claims the top right corner. A close-up study of the head of a dog and a decorative number twenty-five manage to cram in as well. Crowding below the Montenegrins are the study of a hand with the pointer finger extended, a small nude figure, and the head of Christ crowned with thorns, possibly the first *étude* for Bukovac's ambitious history painting, *Suffer the Little Children*, (*Laissez venir à moi les petits enfants*, Salon 1888) (fig. 4.16).<sup>207</sup>

What are we to make of the delightful little sketches packed in around the dreary, crossed-out group of Montenegrins? Perhaps Bukovac, after making an unsatisfactory study of locals, was sitting at a café in the royal capital of Cetinje waiting for an audience with the Prince,

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<sup>206</sup> There is also a sheet of sketches drawn on the back of a letter, possibly from Bukovac's 1879 trip to Montenegro in the collection of the Department of Prints and Drawings (date unknown, ink on paper, 20.7 x 25.2 cm., inventory no. 3064), HAZU, Zagreb. My thanks to Ana Petković for graciously providing images and object information. The sketches depict the full figure of a man in national costume at right, with details of the costume separated out at left. Copious annotations indicate colors and other information pertaining to the individual costume parts.

<sup>207</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Suffer the Little Children*, (*Laissez venir à moi les petits enfants*) [*Isus prijatelj malenih (Pustite k meni malene)*], 1888, oil on canvas, 300 x 440 cm. Franciscan Monastery, Tomislavgrad.

or for his next sitting with the unruly heir to the throne, recounting his life in Paris and illustrating his tales on the spot—the studio, the models who posed for him, the night-life, the compositions he was planning, etc.<sup>208</sup> Or perhaps, bored by his first trip to Montenegro and not finding the inspiration his supporters in Dubrovnik hoped he would, he was simply doodling?

I am inclined to view the sketches on the back of the *Montenegrin Girl* card as an indication that the artist's mind was wandering away from a reality that did not live up to its hype. The one and only subject that caught his interest during his trip was the person of the Montenegrin Archimandrite, “one of our real highlander types (*pravi naš gorštak*),” resulting in the portrait he exhibited at the Salon of 1880.<sup>209</sup> Bukovac's sketches on the back of the *Montenegrin Girl* card are indicative of a new genre he would soon move into at the Salon, nudes: *La Grande Iza* (1882), *The White Slave* (*Les ébats; — étude*, 1883), *A Confidence* (*Une confidence*, 1884), *Andromeda* (*Andromède*, 1886), *A Flower* (*Une fleur*, 1887), *Aurora Dying the Arms of Day; — ceiling* (*L'Aurore mourant dans les bras du jour; — plafond*, 1889) (figs. 3.1, 4.17 and 4.18).<sup>210</sup> Applying himself to this genre proved to be a smart move. He began working with the dealers, the Vicars brothers, in London, where there was a lucrative market for such pictures.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> As he recounts in his autobiography, the young Crown Prince Danilo had a hard time sitting still for his portrait. Bukovac resorted to dressing a servant up in a bearskin to entertain him while he painted his likeness. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82–83.

<sup>209</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 82.

<sup>210</sup> Vlaho Bukovac: *La Grande Iza*, 1882, oil on canvas, 143 x 203 cm. Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection, Novi Sad; *The White Slave* (*Les ébats; — étude*), 1883, oil on canvas, 109 x 198 cm. Whereabouts unknown; *A Confidence* (*Une confidence*) [*Povjerljiva priča*], 1884, oil on canvas, 140 x 105 cm. Galerija umjetnina, Split; *Andromeda* (*Andromède*), 1886, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown; *A Flower* (*Une fleur*), 1887, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown; *Aurora Dying the Arms of Day; — ceiling* (*L'Aurore mourant dans les bras du jour; — plafond*), 1889, oil on canvas?, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>211</sup> Alex Kidson, “Vlaho Bukovac and his Patrons in the North of England.” *British Art Journal* 6, no.3 (Winter): 5–12.

Unlike other artists who were exhilarated by their stays in Montenegro, Bukovac did not experience the great time Prince Nikola showed other artists in the past. Jaroslav Čermák and Ferdinand Quiquerez had accompanied the sovereign to battlefronts dressed up in splendid native costume, leaving Montenegro with their preconceived romantic visions of the land intact.<sup>212</sup> Čermák brought a fantastic bearskin back to decorate his Paris atelier, a souvenir of a hunting trip on Mount Lovcen.<sup>213</sup> Perhaps the violent crossing out of the Montenegrin figures on the back of the *Montenegrin Girl* does not represent Bukovac's dissatisfaction with the sketch itself, but his frustration and even anger over a shattered dream.

"I had never known any Montenegrins from up close (*nijesam iz bliza poznavao Crnogorce*)," wrote Bukovac.<sup>214</sup> It had been better that way. His first-hand experience was a let down. A second and last trip to Montenegro in 1883, which was a bona fide disaster, left him so embittered that he could never be persuaded to return.<sup>215</sup> The young "grey falcon" who flew over the rainbow "towards a craggy peak" much lauded by poets found the reality disappointing—a far cry from the heroic highland he had been led to expect.<sup>216</sup> Bukovac's contact with the real Montenegro failed to stimulate his painterly imagination. His debut Salon painting, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, had been the product of his imagination seeking to satisfy the ideological imperatives of his supporters in the homeland. He would make no more real

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<sup>212</sup> Černý, "Jaroslav Čermak 1830–1878," 10; and Tartaglia–Kelemen, "Ferdinand Quiquerez u Italiji," 132.

During his second trip to Montenegro in 1883, Prince Nikola offered to make Bukovac his "subject (*podanik*), give him a sword and take him to war where he could paint "battles and skirmishes." Bukovac understood this as the "wily (*lukav*)" Prince simply trying to get out of paying him for the portraits he had commissioned. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 112.

<sup>213</sup> Černý, "Jaroslav Čermak 1830–1878," 11.

<sup>214</sup> Second edition of Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj život*, preface and notes by Marko Car (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruka, 1925), 89.

<sup>215</sup> See the section "Crnogorski jadi," in Bukovac, *Moj život*, 105–117, and end of section "Slikarska sezona po Dalmaciji" 124, where he meets Vuko, a man from Cetinje, who tries to convince him to return to the Montenegrin capital to decorate the theater with scenes from Petar Petrović Njegoš's epic poem/play, *The Mountain Wreath* (*Gorski Vijenac*, 1847).

<sup>216</sup> Vuletić, "Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru," 262, lines 2 and 3.

meaning-laden images of the Land of the Black Mountain, and avoided the poets' best efforts to convince him to submit to the will of the epic tradition. But Bukovac did not abandon his first subject altogether. He exhibited more Montenegrin-themed paintings at the Salon: *Montenegrin Woman at the Meeting Place* (1883) and *Montenegrin Women at the Well* (1885). He drew upon his first-hand experience of the Land of the Black Mountain for a two-page illustration entitled "In Montenegro (*Au Monténégro*)," published in *L'Art et la mode* in January 1886, a journal to which Bukovac contributed several images from 1884–1887 (fig. 4.19).<sup>217</sup> He painted numerous tranquil, idealized and idyllic genre paintings of Montenegrin subjects up until his death in 1921. They were successful, pleasant fictions, the products of his own invention guided by French examples of *paysannerie* (fig. 4.20).

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<sup>217</sup> "Au Monténégro. Dessins de Bukovac" in *L'Art et la mode* 7, no. 5 (January 2, 1886): 54–55. Other illustrations by Bukovac for *L'Art et la mode* include: "Petite correspondance. – Dessin original de BUKOVAC," 5, no. 44 (September 27, 1884): 524; "Types Bulgares, dessin original de BUKOVAC," 6, no. 45 (October 10, 1885): 536; "Une Slave d'Autriche (des environs de Raguse), dessin de BUKOVAC," 7, no. 2 (December 12, 1885): 23; "S. M. La Reine Nathalie de Serbie, desssin d'après nature, de BUKOVAC," 7, no. 4 (December 26, 1885): 47; "Les femmes-oiseaux. Dessin de Bukovac. – Legendes de de Valleneuse" and "Andromède, dessin de Bukovac," 7, no. 27 (June 5, 1886): 318–19 and 321; "Dessin original de Bukovac," 7, no. 40 (September 4, 1886): 475; [no title], 7, no. 43 (September 25, 1886): 512; "Peuf de Pâcques, dessin original de Bukovac" and "Dessin original de Bukovac," 8, no. 19 (April 8, 1887): 222 and 223.

## CHAPTER V

### TOWARDS A NEW SLAVIC PAINTING<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robert Chiltern: “You prefer to be natural?”  
Mrs. Cheveley: “Sometimes. But it is such a very  
difficult pose to keep up.”<sup>2</sup>

In the mid–1870s the old mode of casting the artist as a heroic “grey falcon,” whose work was subservient to and best described by poetry, began to give way to a new approach to art history—namely, the new “scientific” approach spearheaded by Vienna’s first professor of art history, Rudolf von Eitelberger (1814–1885).<sup>3</sup> Rationally plotting out to make what had hitherto been a rather hazy dream of awakening “a love of art ... in our people” come true was the central occupation of art discourse. For the history of the history of art in Croatia these were watershed years. While the discourse of desire that held Croatian art in a state of perpetual nascency remained firmly in place, its tone began to change and its base of operations migrated decisively from the coastal towns to the rapidly growing capital of Zagreb.

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<sup>1</sup> The title of this section is in reference to Clement Greenberg’s famous essay about the historical development of abstract art, “Towards a Newer Laocoön,” *Partisan Review* 7, no. 4 (July–August 1940): 296–310.

<sup>2</sup> Oscar Wilde, *An Ideal Husband* (London: Leonard Smithers and Co., –1899), 13.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Rampley, “Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School,” *Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (2009): esp. 61–70.

There is a rich body of literature on nineteenth-century Vienna’s interconnected institutions of art, craft and art history, and its impact on Central and East Central Europe. Some of the most relevant works include: Robert Born, Alena Janatková and Adam S. Labuda, eds., *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 2004); Hanna Egger and Peter Noever, eds., *Kunst und Industrie: die Anfänge des Museums für Angewandte Kunst in Wien* (Vienna: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 52–89; Rampley, “Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School;” idem, “The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1885,” *Art History* 34, no. 1 (2011): 54–79; idem, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Diana Reynolds–Cordileone, “The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry: Historicism and National Identity in Vienna 1863–1895,” *Austrian Studies* 16, *From Ausgleich to Jahrhundertwende: Literature and Culture 1867–1890* (December 2008): 123–41; and Mitchell Schwarzer, “The Design Prototype as Artistic Boundary: The Debate on History and Industry in Central European Applied Arts Museum, 1860–1900,” *Design Issues* 9, no. 1 (1992): 30–44.

The critical protagonists were changing too: the old men of the romantic Illyrian age were being replaced by a pragmatic younger generation.<sup>4</sup> The new generation was not just after fame, but the tantalizing host of benefits that promised to issue forth from proving Croatia's civilizational worth through art. If the Illyrians had been preoccupied with "catching up" and proving the parity (historical and potential present) of the South Slavs with the rest of Europe as a reward unto itself, the new generation saw art as a means to an end.<sup>5</sup> Having grown up in the age of fierce international competition of the World's Fairs, they equated art with the promise of national wealth. Good taste, trickling down from the fine to the applied arts, would bring economic success.

There was a new exclusivity about the project of the new generation. Claiming the forthcoming art's participation in the universality of the Western tradition was imperative, but the nascent art had to be particularized as firstly Croatian and secondly Slavic. The goal was to achieve superiority. With what they saw as an unparalleled love of freedom, a native aesthetic inclination and an arsenal of exquisite authentic folk motifs, the new generation saw the South Slavs poised to make *the* great new painting of the modern age. In this transitional moment, the new generation called for a network of centralized institutions. Taking their cues from lessons learned at World's Fairs, Croatian intellectuals of the fin-de-siècle founded a number of institutions in the capital city of Zagreb to improve national taste and enter the European market for fine and decorative arts, including a Museum of Arts and Crafts, a Cast Collection and a Picture Gallery. To spark the awakening of "a love of art ... in our people" and achieve fame and

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<sup>4</sup> On the Illyrian movement, see Elinor Murray Despalatovic, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, 5 vols. (Zagreb: Narodna Tiskarna L. Gaja, 1858–1860); and Franjo Kos od Kosena, "Reč zahvalnosti," *Danica Ilirska* 4, no. 26, July 7, 1838, 105. "Catching up" is quoted from: Y., "Uljudna djelovanja. F. Salghetti," *Zora Dalmatinska* 1, no. 22, May 27, 1844, 175.

fortune in the bargain, the new architects of the national art put their faith in institutions like the Strossmayer Gallery. The Gallery's great modern masterpiece by Jaroslav Čermák, which featured a little hero *in potentia*, was a key object in a public discussion over how to call a national art into existence.

In 1873, after a three-year hiatus from the Salon, Jaroslav Čermák exhibited a grand, ambitious new work in Paris: *Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé* (fig. I.3). A large *machine*, a solemn history painting, Čermák's *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* was purchased by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer for the Gallery of Paintings he would open one decade later in Croatia's capital city of Zagreb.<sup>6</sup> Čermák's *Episode*, a work rarely on display today, was one of the most celebrated acquisitions for the Bishop's Gallery. It was a high-profile image in a rapidly developing network of institutions modeled on Central European examples that included museums, schools, university departments, art societies and urban planning programs designed to improve public taste and cultivate a perpetually-nascent national art. It is no wonder that Bukovac referenced the work with a truncated version of Čermák's title five years later with

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<sup>6</sup> *Vojvoda* can mean "Duke" or local ruler, but in this case refers to a warlord or military leader.

Strossmayer does not, for some reason, appear in the Salon catalogue as owner of the painting, as was customary. He was certainly the owner when the exhibition opened in Paris. Arrangements to purchase the painting were in place already in 1872, as evidenced by a notice in *Vienac* that Čermák was working on a new painting for Strossmayer, Anon., "Umjetnost" *Vienac* 4, no. 23, June 8, 1872, 368. See also the Bishop's correspondence: "I am also glad that the painting by our Čermák will be so beautiful and valued." Letter from Strossmayer to Voršak, Budapest, March 25, 1872, *Strossmayerova ostavština, korespondencija Josip Juraj Strossmayer – Nikola Voršak*, XI A, 1/ Vor. no. 86, HAZU, Zagreb. I would like to thank Ljerka Dulibić for generously sharing this source with me.

The Strossmayer Gallery opened in Zagreb in 1884. In 1947, Čermák's *Episode*, along with all the other nineteenth- and twentieth-century works, was transferred to the newly-established Modern Gallery in Zagreb. See: Vinko Zlamalik, *Sto godina Strossmayerove galerije 1884–1984* (Zagreb: MTM, 1984), 5, 11 and 167; and Ljerka Dulibić, "A History of the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb," *Journal of Croatian Studies* 43 (2002): 132–42.

his debut Salon painting, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*.<sup>7</sup> Čermák's painting was cast by commentators as a major signpost for young Croatian artists on the road towards a future art of their own. That future art was imagined as a bright star that would shine forth one day within a cosmos of vigorous, young Slavic art construed as the most in touch, among the arts of all the peoples of the world, with the nineteenth century's core values of "nationality, freedom, and nature."<sup>8</sup> In this chapter, I explore the inherent tension between authenticity and artificiality in the project of fostering a national art, and how the manufacture of what was purportedly a indigenous culture was rationalized: through an ethnocentric selection of models, a privileging of folk art, and a subversion of the Viennese example of centralized art institutions in Zagreb. Key among these was the Strossmayer Gallery, whose self-proclaimed mission was to "some day be the Parthenon of Croatian art."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> It is my own conclusion that Bukovac consciously chose to name his debut painting after Čermák's, no source I am aware of has made the same inference. Perhaps this is because Čermák's work came to be known in most languages through the shortened version of the title that isolates the painting's most memorable figure: the *Wounded Vojvoda* or *Wounded Montenegrin*. Indeed, Čermák himself refers to the work as the "*Woiwoda montenegrin blessé*" in his correspondence. See: letter from Jaroslav Čermák to Bishop Strossmayer, January 21, 1878 (letter no. 1, "Pisma Jaroslava Čermáka Strossmayeru," HAZU, Zagreb). I would like to thank Ljerka Dulibić for generously sharing this source with me. See also an undated letter from Jaroslav Čermák to Baltazar Bogišić, probably February 1878 (letter no. 2, SL/5 or XIII, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat). The title of Bukovac's *Episode* was transformed into the descriptive *Montenegrin Woman on the Defence* in Croatian literature. I believe it is likely that Bukovac came up with the title *Episode from the War of Montenegro* in consultation with Medo Pucić and/or Baltazar Bogišić, both of whom were well-acquainted with Čermák's oeuvre, the original French-language Salon title of the *Episode*, and the importance of this particular work by the Czech artist to Bishop Strossmayer and his soon-to-be-realized Picture Gallery. Furthermore, they both knew that Strossmayer was lending the painting to be exhibited in the Austrian painting section at the World's Fair in Paris the very same year of 1878. Bukovac corresponded with both men, and both men corresponded with Čermák. See: letter from Bukovac to Bogišić, February 8, 1878, (letter no. 1, B-XXVI, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat); undated letter from Jaroslav Čermák to Baltazar Bogišić, probably February 1878 (letter no. 2, SL/5 or XIII, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat); Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj Život* (Zagreb: Književni jug, 1918), 80: "In consultation (*u sporazumu*) with Count Medo, I decided [to paint] the "*Montenegrin Woman [Episode from the War of Montenegro]*."

<sup>8</sup> [Ladislav] M[razović], "Skrajnje je vrijeme," *Vienac* 6, no. 8, February 21, 1874, 126.

<sup>9</sup> Ćiro Truhelka, "Strossmayerova galerija slika," *Vienac* 16, no. 43 (October 25, 1884), 684.

**1. JAROSLAV ČERMÁK, *ÉPISODE DE LA GUERRE DU MONTÉNÉGRO, EN 1862. DES FEMMES MONTÉNÉGRINES RENCONTRENT DANS LA MONTAGNE, OÙ ELLES VONT PORTER DES CARTOUCHES AUX COMBATTANTS, UN VOÏEVODE BLESSÉ* (1873)**

Čermák's *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862* depicts what the long original Salon title describes: several Montenegrin women—we must take the title at its word and imagine their packs filled with ammunition—converging at the intersection of two mountain trails, which ascend toward higher ground where the battle (and soldiers requiring bullets as indicated by the bursts of white smoke at to the top right of the painting) must be (fig. I.3). An old warrior, the wounded *Vojvoda*, is being borne on a stretcher down the trail away from the battle by a company of men, one boy in their midst.<sup>10</sup> The ascending women halt on their way to the battlefield in grave acknowledgement of the veteran hero.

As in the painting Bukovac would paint five years later and title so similarly, the Ottomans are an absent presence. They are the reason for the *Episode*, located in the murky background where the *War* is raging. Čermák's *Episode*, however, locates itself historically in a way that Bukovac's debut canvas does not. The year in the title ties it to a specific historic moment, one that Čermák could claim to have witnessed. Furthermore, it is a true *Episode*, a true pregnant moment.<sup>11</sup> The composition gives plenty of clues as to what occurred prior to the scene at hand, and what will happen afterwards. Čermák had been in Paris for two decades by then (since 1851), and a few years in Belgium before that (since 1848). He understood the rules of history painting well. In the vague open space visible through the gap in the rocks at the top of

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<sup>10</sup> The figure of the *Vojvoda* is identifiable as the military leader Ilja Plamenac (1821–1916).

<sup>11</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick ([1766]; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 78.

the painting, we see bright explosions in the distance. That is the main subject, the principal action, the *War* to which the ancillary *Episode* is attached.<sup>12</sup>

The palette is somber, dark and restrained, limited to shades of grey and brown, black, white, and deep muted red. The vertical format of the canvas parallels the verticality of the Balkan terrain Čermák created in this and other Salon works, especially the *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina* of 1868 and the *Rendezvous in the Mountains (Montenegro)* (*Rendez-vous dans la montagne (Monténégro)*) of 1874 picked up on by Cham in a caricature published in *Le Charivari* (figs. I.2, 5.1 and 5.2).<sup>13</sup> Čermák's Montenegro is a land where the ground itself, with the exception of the occasional rocky ledge, is nearly perpendicular to the horizon. We float before the scene, set back from it slightly, at about the same level as the little boy looking down at the wounded *Vojvoda*. Unanchored as we are, our gaze rolls up and down the mountain trail somewhat disconcertingly. As depicted by more than one artist, Montenegro is a strange, steep place, a place at the top of the world, a place whose hard exterior repels rather than invites, a place that must be clung to, a perilous place that one might easily fall from. Perhaps the most exaggerated instance of the treacherous geography is Czech artist František Bohumir Zvěřina's (1835–1908) "*Bora in Montenegro (Bura u Crnoj Gori)*" of 1884, in which a family of goatherds and their animals cling to boulders as a strong wind threatens to send them plummeting to their deaths (fig. 5.3).<sup>14</sup> Still, if we are to believe Vlaho Bukovac, the model for Čermák's vertical world is the rather gentler forest of Fontainebleau.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Episode*: "incidental action linked to the main action of a poem, of a novel. ... in painting, any action or secondary scene adjoined to that which comprises the principal subject of a picture." *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, septième édition*, tome 1, (Paris: Librairie de Firmin–Didot et Cie, 1878), 661, s.v. "épisode."

<sup>13</sup> Jaroslav Čermák, *Rendezvous in the Mountains (Montenegro)* (*Rendez-vous dans la montagne (Monténégro)*), c. 1874, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown; Cham, [Caricature of Jaroslav Čermák's *Rendezvous in the Mountains (Montenegro)* (1874)] in: "Le Salon pour rire," *Le Charivari*, May 10, 1874, 3

<sup>14</sup> *Bora*: "A severe north wind which blows in the Upper Adriatic." *Oxford English Dictionary*, draft revision 2009, s.v. "bora."

Frightful as it appears, nearly every inch of the terrain in *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862* is teeming with people, a richly costumed people—men, women, young and old—who seem to be quite at home in the harsh mountain environment. Although the title locates the scene in 1862, the figures populating Čermák’s painting seem not to be of the modern world, but rather of some indeterminate pre-industrial time. Their clothes are handmade, their weapons archaic, the long rifles carried by the figure looking through the gap at the top right of the painting and the man whose arm is wrapped in a white bandage are the only objects definitely crafted after early modern times.<sup>16</sup> Actions taken to domesticate the landscape have been minimal and decidedly primitive—treading feet have worn down the narrow paths that riddle the mountain, strong arms have hewn a few rough steps from the rock at a particularly steep point. Where human intervention leaves off, the mountain itself seems to have stepped in to accommodate its warrior population, providing it with what looks very much like a naturally-occurring banister at the center of the painting. There is kind of symbiosis between the craggy heights and the freedom fighters they protect, a shared severity, stoicism and uprightness. The women disappearing into the forest at top left seem, like the mythological figure Daphne, to be turning into trees themselves.<sup>17</sup> Only sleeves remain of the woman farthest up the path.

The drama of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862* expands beyond the narrative second half of the painting’s long original title: *Some Montenegrin Women in the*

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František Bohumir Zvěřina, “Bora in Montenegro (*Bura u Crnoj Gori*),” as engraved in: *Vienac* 16, no. 25, June 24, 1884, 397.

<sup>15</sup> “I executed the study of the rocky terrain and cliffs in the Fontainebleau forest (later I found out that Čermák had in this [same] way made his Montenegrins).” Bukovac, *Moj život*, 80.

<sup>16</sup> Musket rifles were invented at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

There is an ethnographic precision to Čermák’s depiction of the figure’s vestments and accessories. The artist had a large collection of costumes, jewelry, weapons and textiles in his Paris studio. Not one of the women wears the same earrings, they all sport different shirts, headgear, caps, cloaks, vests and hairstyles.

<sup>17</sup> In Greek mythology, Daphne was “a nymph who was turned into a laurel bush to save her from the amorous pursuit of Apollo.” *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2005, s.v. “Daphne.”

*Mountains, Bringing Bullets to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda*. The painting is complex: the suggestive setting contains eighteen figures—ten female, eight male—tied together by a web of meaningful glances, gestures and implied relationships. Nearly every pair of eyes follows the descent of the old warrior down the path; he is the fading sun around which the other figures are held magnetically in orbit. The brightest figure in the composition, fully illuminated and swathed in white, it is he who first draws our attention in the composition. He alone, in line with the ledge of rock to the left, is horizontal in the painting.

Lying motionless on a wooden stretcher, the wounded *Vojvoda* is pale as a ghost, the ashen aspect of his skin indicates that he hovers between life and death. The dark clothing of the men behind him contrasts sharply with the pallor of his figure. Encased within layers of richly-adorned clothes, his appearance—encrusted, bejeweled, gilded, luminous, with tufts of soft white hair still springing from his ancient head—is that of still-living bones protected within a costly reliquary case. The striped sash about his waist is precious silk from the Orient. His vest is stiff with golden-threaded embroidery. Silver filigree and precious stones surge in nodes over the hilt of the sword his now-powerless hand still rests upon. With an atmosphere akin to a somber religious procession, the living relic of the warrior is borne through a crowd of the devoted.

Other aspects of the wan figure contribute to a religious reading. The white sheet draped over the lower half of wounded *Vojvoda*'s body like a shroud, coupled with the dramatic foreshortening, cannot but recall Andrea Mantegna's *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (c. 1480).<sup>18</sup> In both works, the figure is laid out on his back, hands limp at either side of the body, head tilted slightly to the right and propped up by a red pillow (in Čermák's painting, the pillow is formed by a rolled-up cloak). Though Čermák's foreshortening is not as severe as Mantegna's

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<sup>18</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, c. 1480, tempera on canvas, 68 × 81 cm. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

dead-on view of Christ, (the vantage point from which we look is higher and his *Vojvoda* is set at a diagonal angle), the similarity is striking.

The most arresting feature in Mantegna's painting are the soles of Christ's feet and the wound from the nails of the cross piercing each one; the punctured feet are the part of Christ's body closest to the viewer, nearly exiting from the picture plane. In Čermák's painting, the blunt, circular ends of the wooden posts of the stretcher carrying the wounded *Vojvoda* function as inverted holes, inversions of the wounds in the feet of Christ. Like Christ, the earthly warrior has sacrificed his life for the people. The warrior's real feet are covered by the white sheet, their forms suggested by two peaks over which the fabric falls, but it is to the protruding cylindrical posts of the stretcher that our attention is drawn. The exposed extremities of the poles are like the exposed stumps of footless legs. Hemming the old warrior in on both sides and running closely along his body, the posts are prostheses announcing that the legs of flesh and blood under the white cloth have lost the ability to walk.

How gingerly the robust man holding the far end of the stretcher seeks his footing down the steps, how careful he is to keep his precious cargo in a horizontal position. He is the second of the pair of colossi who bear the stretcher containing the expiring hero down the mountain trail. At the front, passing out of view at the bottom edge of the canvas in the extreme foreground, is an even fiercer giant, broad chest bared. Illuminated from behind as if by the holy light of the wounded *Vojvoda* himself, he holds the stretcher aloft with massive, upraised arms. His figure reminds one of Atlas, supporting the weight of the celestial spheres, but also of Hercules.<sup>19</sup> More than the muscularity of the figure, it is his extraordinary haircut that factors in to this impression. The front half of the strong man's head is shaved, whereas a shaggy mane of hair billows out

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<sup>19</sup> In Greek mythology, Atlas was "a Titan who was punished for his part in the revolt against Zeus by being made to support the heavens" (*The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2005, s.v. "Atlas.")

from the back of the head falling behind the shoulders.<sup>20</sup> The unruly, fur-like hair resembles the lion pelt Hercules is often depicted wearing over his head.<sup>21</sup>

A strict division of the sexes dictates the arrangement of the figures: a line of descending men arrests and parts a sea of ascending women. The scene is constructed such that the viewer can easily imagine the expansion of the scene backwards and forwards into time. It is a pregnant moment according to Lessing's definition, one in which "the preceding and succeeding actions are most easily comprehensible."<sup>22</sup> The wounded *Vojvoda* has been spirited away from the battlefield where the three bursts of white smoke glow in the distance. As the stretcher bearing the old warrior nears, the women halt, bow their heads, genuflect, kneel. As soon as he has passed them by, they stand up and resume climbing. Čermák makes this progression of action clear with the arrangement of the women up the serpentine path on the left side of the painting. Moving up the trail from bottom to top, the pose of each individual woman represents one instant in the sequential series of movements each woman will in turn enact.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Traveling through Montenegro with the Saxon King Friedrich August II in 1838, Bartolomeo Biasoletto recorded seeing warriors with shaved heads and tufts of hair on the back of the head in: *Reise Seiner Majestät des Königs Friedrich August von Sachsen durch Istrien, Dalmatien und Montenegro im Frühjahr 1838* (Dresden: Gottschalk, 1842). Cited in Tatjana Jović and Milan Jovičević, *Crnogorska vojska organizacija i uniforme 1830. do 1914*. (Cetinje: Nasljeđe, 2006), 15. According to Jović and Jovičević, this mode of wearing one's hair among Montenegrin soldiers was a Turkish tradition. The haircut, probably an ancient one originating from the Avar-Slavic culture of the second to sixth century, was still practiced by certain South Slavs in the nineteenth century. Many thanks to Marina Desin for her helpful insight. More than one artist depicted the haircut as a trace of an authentic past. See, for example, Celestin Medović's imagining of the earliest Croatian settlers reaching the Adriatic in the seventh century in his oil painting *Arrival of the Croats (Dolazak Hrvata)*, 1903, oil on canvas, 315 x 215 cm. Croatian Institute for History, Zagreb.

<sup>21</sup> In Greek mythology, Hercules was a "hero of superhuman strength and courage... The son of Zeus and Alcmena, in his cradle he strangled two snakes which Hera had sent to kill him; in adult life he performed twelve immense tasks or 'labours' imposed on him, and after death was ranked among the gods." (*The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2005, s.v. "Hercules.") In works of art from classical times onwards, Hercules has often been depicted wearing the pelt of a lion over his head and down his back. See, for example the *Marble Statue of a Bearded Hercules* (A.D. 68–98), height 93 3/4 in., at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; or Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and the Hydra* (c. 1475) tempera on panel, 17.5 x 12 cm., Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

<sup>22</sup> Lessing, *Laocoön*, 78.

<sup>23</sup> For more about sequential imagery, see, for example, Laura Colombino's discussion of Ford Madox Ford on Edward Burnes-Jones's painting *The Golden Stairs* (1880):

From this temporal interpretation of the women on the left side of the painting, the moral of the painting emerges as this: only a moment of ceremony can be spared by the Spartan Montenegrins to honor a fallen hero. The halt with which they recognize the tragedy that has befallen the old *Vojvoda* cannot last long. Čermák's *Episode* is true to its title. It is episodal, secondary and brief in comparison to the mostly unseen main action to which it is linked, the *War of Montenegro, in 1862*. The *War of Montenegro, in 1862* against the invisible, but understood, Ottomans is, in turn, only a moment in an ancient war of indeterminate duration. That war has been the way of life in Montenegro for ages is evident: war has shaped the narrow mountain trails that allow for guerrilla defense, war has shaped the strong physiognomies of the people and their costumes: the men's sashes designed to be filled with weapons, the women's packs to be filled with ammunition. Men, women, young and old, the entire Montenegrin population is communally dedicated to an unending struggle for freedom.

The cohesion of the multiple generations pictured in the painting reinforce a reading of unending war and collectively experienced cyclical life. The very young will take up the battle that the very old have fought until stopped by death.<sup>24</sup> The little boy will grow up to be a great warrior like the wounded *Vojvoda* he follows close behind. Unlike in other paintings by Čermák in which a central figure looks out at us the viewers imploring us to witness an awful scene this little boy's gaze is concentrated on the *Wounded Vojvoda*. Slight and small and without a

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the painting ... suggests... the idea of movement. By developing the motif of a single figure iterated in the long sequence of its doubles, the work gives rise to the impression of mesmeric continuum, enlivened only by the slight variance in postures. The eye swiftly guides along the train of bodies. But it is as if it saw only one figure—hardening, crumbling, and reconstructing ad infinitum; oscillating between dynamism and the stability of the *Gestalt*, the return of the same and the departure of the different.

Colombino, *Ford Madox Ford: Vision, Visuality and Writing* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008), 68.

<sup>24</sup> A similar construction, in which there is a strong suggestion that the very young will inherit their forebears' struggle for freedom, can be seen in Théodore Valerio's etching *Female Weapons Guard at the Entrance of the Cetinje Monastery* (1864), from his graphic suite *Le Monténégro*, published by A. Delatre, Paris (fig. 1.12).

moustache, the little boy is between the sexes, not yet a man. His skin is soft and smooth, his features are delicate and rounded, closer to those of the women than those of the haggard men. The weight of the hands on his shoulders (do they belong to his father?) keep him from straying from the male entourage, towards the pivotal woman (his mother?) who perhaps regards him and not the old hero. We imagine the three as a family unit, the boy and his mother linked by their single limp arms that face one another, the father directing the boy to regard the *Vojvoda*, his future self, on the stretcher. It cannot be by chance that our viewpoint from outside the painting mirrors his. It cannot be by chance that it is the little boy, and not the wounded *Vojvoda*, who is the closest figure to the center of the painting. The little boy stands poised to inherit the heroism of the *Vojvoda*: someday he too will be carried off the battlefield an old man, a sacrificial Christ on a stretcher. He is an indivisible part of the national body. Before him lie great expectations of valor, honor and glory. Who better than this little hero *in potentia* to lead the young Croatian artists towards a new Slavic painting based on “nationality, freedom, and nature?”<sup>25</sup> What better painting for Bukovac to name his first Salon painting after?

## 2. FROM “SPIRIT TO MATTER” IN ZAGREB

Today’s painters can only in vain try to follow the old artists  
... Today, other ideas animate the world, and these are the  
ideas of nationality, freedom, and nature.<sup>26</sup>

After the close of the Salon, Čermák’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Of Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Where they will Bring Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda*, which had received favorable reviews in Paris,<sup>27</sup> went on to

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<sup>25</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrieme,” 126.

<sup>26</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrieme,” 126.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example: Charles Clément, “Exposition de 1873,” *Journal des Debats*, May 28, 1873, 2; A. Duparc, “Le Salon de 1873,” *Le Correspondant*, 91 (1873), 813; and Georges Lafenestre, “Salon de 1873,” *Revue de France*,

the Salon d'Anvers, the artist's native Prague, and then to Vienna.<sup>28</sup> By the time the painting reached Zagreb in late June of 1875,<sup>29</sup> the presses, which had been following the painting since it was announced that Strossmayer had commissioned it from the famous Czech artist three years earlier, were ecstatic that, thanks to the Bishop, Croatia's capital city was now home to Čermák's greatest masterpiece.<sup>30</sup> The work was accorded the rare honor of triumphing over words: "making the rounds of Paris, Prague and Vienna, this painting was followed everywhere by the most unspoken (*neizrečen*) praise, indeed, [it was followed by] awe (*udivljenje*): — it is very

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June 30, 1873, 614–15.

<sup>28</sup> In a letter to Nikola Voršak dated April 7, 1873, Strossmayer wrote: "he will exhibit my painting in Paris, somewhere in Holland, in Prague and Vienna." Strossmayerova ostavština, korespondencija Josip Juraj Strossmayer – Nikola Voršak," XI A, 1/ Vor. no. 110, HAZU, Zagreb. Many thanks to Ljerka Dulibić for generously sharing this source with me. In a letter from Čermák to Pucić, sent by Pucić in Croatian translation to Rački, and copied in a letter from Rački to Strossmayer on March 9, 1873, the Czech artist wrote that the painting would go to Prague through Belgium and then to Vienna, but not at the World's Fair, where the "Viennese enemies would cast it in an evil light," rather "where exhibitions are always held," namely the Künstlerhaus. In: Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1928), 210.

This all came to fruition. Čermák's *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862* was exhibited at the Salon de Anvers, Belgium in 1873. See the entry for "Cermak, Jaroslav," in: *Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et dessin, exécutés par des artistes vivants et exposés au Salon d'Anvers, ouvert par la Société royale pour l'encouragement des beaux-arts, le 10 Août 1873* (Anvers: J.E. Buschmann, 1873), 65. Following the Salon d'Anvers, the painting was exhibited by the Society of Art (*Umělecká Beseda*) in Prague in 1874. See: F. X. Harlas, *Jaroslav Čermák: Život a dílo* (Praha: Topič, 1913), 39. The Society commissioned a large-scale engraving (c. 89 x 67 cm) of the work from Goupil in Paris. Čermák's *Episode* then traveled to the Künstlerhaus in Vienna where it was most likely on display in January and February of 1875. According to Wladimir Aichelburg's *150 Jahre Künstlerhaus Wien 1861–2011*, there are handwritten notations for the painting in the catalogue dating between January 1, 1875 and February 15, 1875. See the electronic version of his book: <http://www.wladimirachelburg.at/kuenstlerhaus/einlaufbuecher-der-kunstwerke/1875-2/> (last accessed December 12, 2011).

<sup>29</sup> See a letter from Franjo Rački to Strossmayer dated to June 28, 1875: "First of all, I must inform You that Čermák's painting arrived here [Zagreb] yesterday in two crates. Stampfer will put the frame back together, so that it can be displayed in the hall." Quoted from: Ferdo Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1929), 363.

<sup>30</sup> *Vienac* followed the painting from 1872, when it was announced that Čermák was working on a canvas for Bishop Strossmayer. See: Anon., "Umjetnost," *Vienac* 4, no. 23, June 8, 1872, 368; Anon., "Najnovija djela dvaju slovenskih umjetnika," *Vienac* 5, no. 10, March 8, 1873, 160; Anon., "Listak," *Vienac* 5, no. 36, September 6, 1873, 575; Anon., "Najnovija slika Čermakova," *Vienac* 7, no. 28, July 10, 1875, 458; Anon., "Slavenska umjetnost," *Vienac* 7, no. 19, May 8, 1875, 312; I[zidor] Kršnjavi, "Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac," *Vienac* 7, no. 29, July 17, 1875, 472–73; Anon., "Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac," *Vienac* 8, no. 17, April 22, 1876, 287; and Anon., "Čermakov 'Ranjeni Crnogorac,'" *Vienac* 10, no. 18, May 4, 1878, 295.

likely Čermák's best work."<sup>31</sup> Čermák's painting was put on temporary display in the great hall (*dvorana*) of Zagreb's National House (*Narodni Dom*) in which the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences was housed. In that temple of South Slavic unity, the public could view the brave Spartans—the essentialized highland version of themselves—fighting to stay free of the Turkish yoke every Sunday and Thursday.<sup>32</sup> Reproductions arrived soon thereafter. In July, subscribers to the illustrated magazine *Vienac* were offered a large-scale photogravure that had been printed by Goupil in Paris (fig. I.3).<sup>33</sup> Bishop Strossmayer's ownership of the painting read prominently in the line below the title under the image.<sup>34</sup> The painting, its title shortened to *Wounded Montenegrin (Ranjeni Crnogorac)*, quickly became one of the most attended-to images in

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<sup>31</sup> Anon., "Najnovija slika Čermakova," 458. One can also draw out from the quote how positive reception by foreign commentators fed local appreciation of the work. Such a construction was characteristic of art discourse throughout the smaller nations of Austria-Hungary.

Čermák himself ranked the *Episode* highly within his oeuvre: "My painting for Strossmayer is almost finished... I worked courageously and I hope that his Eminence [Strossmayer] will be satisfied, because all my friends, even the most severe, say that this is one of my best paintings." Letter from Jaroslav Čermák to Medo Pucić, sent by Pucić in Croatian translation to Franjo Rački and transcribed by Rački in a letter to Bishop Strossmayer, dated March 9, 1873. In: Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1, 210.

<sup>32</sup> Anon., "Najnovija slika Čermakova," 438.

<sup>33</sup> [August Šenoa], "Našim citateljem!" *Vienac* 7, no. 29, 17 July, 1875, 474; and Anon., "Ranjeni Crnogorac," *Vienac* 7, no. 40, October 2, 1875, 652. August Šenoa negotiated with the Prague-based Society of Art (*Umělečká beseda*) to order three hundred copies of the gorgeous c. 89 x 67 cm. photogravure made by Goupil with Czech language titles in Paris for *Vienac*. Subscribers paying two forinths received a copy of the print at the end of October 1875. See the letters from August Šenoa to the Artistic Society in Prague dated February 2 and April 9, 1875 reproduced in: Milorad Živančević "Prilozi proučavanju hrvatske književnosti xix stoleća," *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Odjel za suvremenu književnosti* 12 (1969): 94 and 95. A copy of the Goupil print is preserved at the BnF, Richelieu, Department of Prints and Photographs: AA-4 (CZERMAK, Jaroslav). Not all three hundred of the copies ordered by *Vienac* were sold at once. Five years later, *Vienac* ran an inferior woodblock-print version of Čermák's *Episode* on the magazine pages: *Vienac* 12, no. 26, June 29, 1880, 420–21. A brief accompanying text on page 423 let readers know that copies of the Goupil engraving from Paris could still be purchased at the Dionička Printers in Zagreb. Strossmayer may very well have been involved in the *Vienac*'s decision to distribute reproductions to its readers. He certainly approved. See his letter to Rački dated to April 6, 1875: "'*Vienac*' will do well to give [a reproduction of] Čermák's painting to its subscribers." Quoted from Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2., 346. In 1876, *Vienac* readers learned that an oleograph was being prepared in Zagreb by G. Mosé. Anon., "Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac," *Vienac*, 287. An oleographic reproduction was printed in 1877. See Kamenov, *Oleografija u Hrvatskoj*, 8.

<sup>34</sup> Under the title "*Raněný Černohorec (Wounded Montenegrin)*," the next line reads: "*Původní obraz Jaroslava Čermáka, majetek J. E. Jiřího Štrossmayera, biskupa Ďakově (Original image by Jaroslav Čermák, property of His Excellency Juraj Strossmayer, bishop of Ďakovo.)*"

Croatia, and would remain so for decades.<sup>35</sup> It would be a key work in the contemporary art section of the Picture Gallery that Strossmayer donated start-up funds to begin building in Zagreb. He publicly announced his donation on Easter in 1875.<sup>36</sup> The parallel with the religious holiday celebrating the resurrection of Christ was certainly calculated. As the Bishop would write to his colleague Franjo Rački, the instrumental value of exhibiting the painting in the homeland was this: “that a love of art might be awakened in our people.”<sup>37</sup>

Characteristic of the new turn in art discourse was a review of Čermák’s *Episode* published in *Vienac* in mid-July 1875 on the occasion of the painting’s arrival in Zagreb.<sup>38</sup> The author was Izidor Kršnjavi, an ambitious young man who by the 1890s would occupy the most powerful cultural position in the country as the Minister of Education and Religion.<sup>39</sup> A former student of and life-long correspondent with Eitelberger in Vienna,<sup>40</sup> Kršnjavi was the first Croatian art commentator to have been trained in art history proper.<sup>41</sup> His review was a taste of

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<sup>35</sup> The painting was also re-named *Wounded Montenegrin (Raněný Černohorec)* in Bohemia. The same engraved reproduction made by Goupil in Paris offered to *Vienac* subscribers was given to all members of the Society of Art (*Umělecká beseda*) in the Czech Lands in 1875 (fig. I.3)

<sup>36</sup> A front-page announcement “Uskrnsni dar narodu (*Easter Present for the People*),” (Anon., *Vienac* 7, no. 13, March 27, 1875, 193) informed the public that Strossmayer was giving 40,000 forints for a purpose-built structure to house his painting collection in Zagreb as an Easter present.

<sup>37</sup> Letter from Strossmayer to Franjo Rački, August 7, 1873. Quoted from Sišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1., 233.

<sup>38</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472–73.

<sup>39</sup> On Kršnjavi’s career in culture and politics, see Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj: Izgradnja i obnova obrazovnih, kulturnih i umjetničkih objekata u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesnicara umjetnosti, 1986). The position of Minister of Education and Religious Education he held from 1891–1896 would be akin today to a Minister of Culture. Prior to that, he was professor of Art History at the University of Zagreb (1878–1918) and Director of the Strossmayer Gallery (1884–1885).

<sup>40</sup> See Libuše Jirsak’s groundbreaking recent dissertation, “Die Rezeption der Wiener Schule in der kroatischen Kunstgeschichte. Izidor Kršnjavi, der erste kroatische Kunstgeschichteprofessor und seine Tätigkeit 1870–1890” (PhD Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2007).

<sup>41</sup> Kršnjavi had received a multi-year stipend from the Croatian government to study abroad. From 1866–1869, he studied history, art history and philosophy, receiving a doctorate in 1870 under Eitelberger’s mentorship. From 1868–1870, he studied painting in Vienna. From 1870–1872 he studied painting in Munich, after which he traveled extensively throughout Italy, rounding out his exposure to the artistic inheritance of the past. See: Dragan Damjanović, “Bishop Juraj Strossmayer, Izidor Kršnjavi and the Foundation of the Chairs in Art History and Ancient Classical Archeology at Zagreb University,” *Centropa* 9, no. 3 (September 2009): 179–80; Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj*, 21–23; and Vladimira Tartaglia-Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” *Radovi Arhiva Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 2 (1873): esp. 157–71.

the new Central European culture of art that would follow. Quite different from the majority of texts on visual material that had come before in the Croatian presses, Kršnjavi's article must have struck readers with its novelty. Four aspects in particular stand out: the absence of the poetry as an interpretive lens, Kršnjavi's insistence on visually-oriented analysis, his pedagogical imperative and his intense preoccupation with international rivalry.

Clement Greenberg famously narrated the history of modern painting as being determined by a will to autonomy as a medium, the first step of which involved freeing itself from the "domination" of literature.<sup>42</sup> What modernity meant in Croatia versus in a country like France as described by Greenberg was of course quite different.<sup>43</sup> The visual arts environments of the two were worlds apart. In the first place, Croatia lacked the political sovereignty of France. Secondly, there were no patrons, no Academy of Fine Arts, no Salon let alone a culture of exhibitions, and no official art in Croatia for an artist such as Gustave Courbet (1819–1877) to

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<sup>42</sup> Clement Greenberg, "Towards a Newer Laocoön," [1940] reprinted in: Charles Harrison, ed., *Art in Theory, 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 563 and 564:

Now, when it happens that a single art is given the dominant role, it becomes the prototype of all art: the others try to shed their proper characters and imitate its effects. The dominant art in turn tries itself to absorb the functions of the others. A confusion of the arts results, by which the subservient ones are perverted and distorted; they are forced to deny their own nature in an effort to attain the effects of the dominant art.

[...] ... Literature, for a number of reasons, had won the upper hand, and the plastic arts—especially in the form of easel painting and statuary—tried to win admission to its domain.

...

[...] ... It was the signal for a revolt against the dominance of literature, which was subject matter at its most repressive.

[...] ... The campaign for the redemption of painting was to be one of comparatively slow attrition at first. Nineteenth-century painting made its first break with literature when in the person of the Communard, Courbet, it fled from spirit to matter.

<sup>43</sup> The topic of the diversity of modernity around the globe has been the subject of much recent scholarship. See, for example Nancy Condee, Okwui Enwexor and Terry Smith, eds., *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Nicolas Bourriaud, "Altermodern," in: *Altermodern* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009), exhibition catalogue, n.p; Keith Moxey, "Is Modernity Multiple?" Website for Columbia University Department of Art History and Archaeology course "Multiple Modernities," <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/arhistory/courses/Multiple-Modernities/moxey-essay.html> (last accessed February 24, 2012); "Global Art Histories/Multiple Modernities" was also the topic of the centennial session at the 2011 College Art Association conference in New York City. On alternative modernities in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, see: Dubravka Djurić and Miško Šuvaković, eds., *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

rebel against. There was a void. It was, however, a productive void that commentators had come to be quite comfortable with, imagining it ever-ripe to be filled by an always-forthcoming art. As Kršnjavi and his colleagues would candidly say, they did not support an *art pour l'art*.<sup>44</sup> Art was a viable endeavor only in as much as it would aid in achieving political and economic goals. And yet, though art was always subservient to national aspirations, gestures toward medium specificity were an integral part of new generation's project to create a national art.

Language was the fundamental cornerstone of cultural self-identification in nineteenth-century Croatia. Literature was, as we have seen in the previous chapter, *the* dominant art form. The cult of the epic as the authentic, world-recognized soul of the Slavic South permeated visual discourse. The epic, the vessel of a centuries-old literary language, was inescapable. In a milieu in which painting had been inextricably bound to poetry for the entire nineteenth century, Kršnjavi's review of the *Episode* was radical. Art writing up to then had focused on describing, interpreting and asserting power over painting through poetry. Čermák's oeuvre had already been bound to the epic by various authors. Ognjeslav Utješenović-Ostrožinski had urged Čermák to take up themes from the corpus of national poetry as subjects for his paintings,<sup>45</sup> illustrating the compatibility of the two arts with his epic-style poem "Captives."<sup>46</sup> The poem was not old and Čermák's painting was not based on poetry, but Utješenović-Ostrožinski and the majority of his contemporaries willfully naturalized relationship of the two arts through newly-composed poetry that imbued the canvas with the persuasive power of words.

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<sup>44</sup> See, for example: Mrazović, "Skrajnje je vrieme," 126: "I have never shared the sentiment that art, as they say, is self-fulfilling (*da je umjetnost samo sebi svrhom*), that is, that it is too lofty to serve worldly aspirations that stand outside it."

<sup>45</sup> "This illustrious painter would do us a great favor if he would set to work illustrating our national poems (*kad bi se primio ilustracije našieh narodnieh pjesama*). Og[njeslav] Utješenović-Ostrožinski, "Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka," *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 140.

<sup>46</sup> Og[njeslav] Utješenović-Ostrožinski, "Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: 'Roblje, Hercegovina 1863'—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli." *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 129–30.

With a move that came decades later and for reasons other than those described by Greenberg, Kršnjavi began to shift the value of painting from its literary to its formal content, from “spirit to matter.”<sup>47</sup> Although it was an uphill battle that I would argue he ultimately did not win, Kršnjavi fought hard to liberate painting from poetry’s grip, employing instead the “scientific” methods of the Vienna School.<sup>48</sup> Kršnjavi was not employing the kind of formal analysis that took hold in the early twentieth century, but he did do much to recognize painting in its own domain through visually-oriented analysis.<sup>49</sup> He began his groundbreaking text on Čermák’s painting with epic language, “the honorable cross and crescent moon are fighting (*biju se krst častni i polumjesec*),” but leaves off with the metaphors there, as if to prove that they serve only as a poetical flourish.<sup>50</sup> Kršnjavi saw his job as describing what the painting actually looks like. He wrote of foreshortening, of painterly unity, of aesthetic harmony, typicality, energy, fine draftsmanship and technique. He lashed out against those who would interpret the painting through the lens of poetry, writing derisively: “Where did this event take place? Is it an

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<sup>47</sup> Greenberg, “Towards a Newer Laocoön,” 564. In 1876, Kršnjavi published a treatise entitled “On Painterly Beauty,” in which he asks whether beauty lies in content or form and answers “form.” See his: “O slikovnoj ljepoti,” part II in: *Dvije radnje o umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1876).

<sup>48</sup> In Chapter IV of this dissertation, I argue that poetry (the epic in particular) overshadowed painting in nineteenth-century Croatia. I would argue that the literary continued to hold power over the visual well throughout the first half of the twentieth century. For more on the lasting predominance of poetry, see Chapter VI.

Describing the turn to national motifs in nineteenth-century painting, Truhelka assessed positively that “poetry was again the guiding star (*zvezda predhodnica*) of art.” See his “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 766. In his entry on the very same painting by Čermák in the 1885 catalogue for the Strossmayer Gallery (p. 80):

The Wounded Montenegrin by Jaroslav Čermák is one of those paintings that, despite its exquisite realism (*uz prkos finomu realizmu*), will not fail to touch the feelings that overcome your heart when you hear a folk singer (*narodni pjevač*) singing of the struggle and fame of the heroic Montenegrin people.

Slightly diverging variations of the entry, in which the subjective experience of listening to a folk poem was equated with the experience of viewing a painting, were repeated in the 1891 (p. 121), 1895 (p. 127), 1911 (p. 73), 1917 (p. 73), 1922 (p. 136) catalogues of the Strossmayer Gallery. Truhelka’s entry represents a meaningful deviation from Kršnjavi’s own similarly-constructed assessment: “Alongside the outstanding painterly skill, full of painterly beauty, whose unity of light, division of color and beauty of motifs causes one’s heart to skip a beat (*da čovjeku srdce igra*) when one views it.” See: Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

<sup>49</sup> Roger Fry (1866–1934) is a good example of one of the first writers to deploy purely formal analysis.

<sup>50</sup> The honorable cross, i.e. Christianity, and the Crescent Moon, i.e. Islam, is epic language. See Tomislav Longinović, “Old Men Singing: Heroic Masculinity among ‘the Serbs,’” in: Phil Bohlman and Nada Petković, eds., *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 243.

episode from a folk poem? Some critics have asked [these questions]...<sup>51</sup> What Kršnjavi wants to communicate is this: painting does not require a textual original to be understood, the nature of its medium specificity lies herein. The unity of action and purpose expressed by the figures in the painting is an allegory of the closed circuit nature of painting: “All think alike (*misle jednako*), all want the same [thing], all know what is at stake, all look into each other’s hearts,—what purpose would words serve?”<sup>52</sup>

The deeper purpose of Kršnjavi’s formal analysis was pedagogical. Stepping into the public arena with published articles such as this one, his mission was to describe the Fine Arts to those who, in his eyes, were an ignorant people. He endeavored to introduce a visual arts vocabulary, and demonstrate the proper way to analyze paintings. Faithful to his Viennese training, Kršnjavi was a firm believer in the value of the reproduction.<sup>53</sup> While some might actually view Čermák’s painting in the flesh in Zagreb, all readers could ennoble their visual palette with the reproduction being sold by *Vienac*: “each countryman (*našinci*) will have the opportunity to at least see and make [long] use of that creation (*umotvor*) as a copper-plate etching (*bakropis*).”<sup>54</sup> Universally accessible reproductions were one of the major tools by which

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<sup>51</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

Mrazović too seems to find poetry unsuitable to the task of national awakening, lamenting that poetic memory begins only “at the time of our enslavement,” that is from the famous loss at the Battle of Kosovo, obliterating the earlier proud history of independent Kings, which would be great material for history painting and for reshaping the people’s consciousness of the past such that they felt entitled to a better present. Mrazović, “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 124. It must be said, however, that he is not against tragedy as suitable subject matter for national history painting: “we can take the example of the Poles, who have almost exclusively followed this path, and as a result have created an entirely original Polish school, which carries the characteristic trait of their sad history” (126).

<sup>52</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

<sup>53</sup> On reproductions in museums, see, for example: James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Samuel Cauman, *The Living Museum: Experiences of an Art Historian and Museum Director: Alexander Dorner* (New York: New York University Press, 1958.)

<sup>54</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472. Kršnjavi’s arrival in Zagreb from Austria on July 21, 1875 postdates his article on Čermák’s *Episode* (see Tartaglia–Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” 167), meaning that he was not working from observation of the painting in Zagreb. He could, however, have seen it in

taste could be improved among a people whose feeling in that area was perceived to be sorely lacking.

Kršnjavi wrote as if delivering a lecture. This is not surprising as plans to appoint him Croatia's first professor of Art History at the University in Zagreb and Director of the as-yet unbuilt Strossmayer Gallery that would house Čermák's *Episode* had recently been hatched. He likely viewed the article as proving grounds of his didactic skill.<sup>55</sup> Within his review of Čermák's painting, he elaborated an extended discussion—a treatise almost—on the nature of history painting, clearly intending to correct misconceptions about the genre, and distinguish the difference between history painting and historical genre.

A history painting (*historična slika*) is not exclusively that [painting] which shows us some past event (*sbivši čin*). With good reason, we consider religious paintings and allegories to be history paintings. Consequently, we must designate history painting by a broad definition. The painter who represents a noble idea with a painted scene (*prizor*) has made a “history” painting. —One does not ask if the scene really looked that way historically—those are questions that historical “genre” must answer. History painting must satisfy [its own] internal requirements through the aesthetic demands of harmony, typicality (*karikteristčnost*), energy, and style, and [it must satisfy] each of these demands to the same degree (*istom mjerom*), while for historical genre, the requirement of typicality is the first and strongest [demand]. ...

Through his description of history painting's “internal requirements,” Kršnjavi reinforced the idea of genre specificity. The most elevated genre of painting, history painting, answers to no force outside itself: not to reality, not to how something “really looked,” not even to history. While historical genre might need to account for the details of a story or an epic poem, not so with history painting. Preoccupied with internal balance, history painting answers only to the

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Vienna when it was on display in the Künstlerhaus. A second possibility—one that I find quite likely—is that he based his review on the engraving. Nowhere in the text does he discuss color or brushwork in detail.

<sup>55</sup> See: Dragan Damjanović, “Bishop Juraj Strossmayer, Izidor Kršnjavi and the Foundation of the Chairs in Art History and Ancient Classical Archeology at Zagreb University,” *Centropa* 9, no. 3 (September 2009): 176–84; and Olga Maruševski, “Izidor Kršnjavi i ‘dnevnik’ njegove borbe za profesuru,” *Radovi Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti* 7 (1981): 23–39.

aesthetic demands (equal parts of harmony, typicality, energy and style) that arise from within its own nature, and is guided by a coherent and unifying noble idea. Čermák's *Episode* is an exemplary of this:

All those heroes and heroines, in everything they do, think and feel, what is it if not of the noble idea of faith and patriotism? —This painting... in every expression, with every brushstroke interprets such elevated ideas, what is it if not “historic?”

... The time has passed when one considered and acknowledged as history painting only those in which Trojans and Greeks wrestled (*jakarili*) without pants, the time when only that which was frightfully ugly (*grdna*) in color and painted with childishly poor (*detinjastom nevaljalom*) technique was acknowledged as history painting.<sup>56</sup>

It is at this point that Kršnjavi would begin to disappoint Greenberg, who describes how after liberating itself from literature, modern painting, in its ascent toward medium autonomy, saw “the necessity of an escape from ideas, which were infecting the arts with the ideological struggles of society.”<sup>57</sup> A child of the age of World’s Fairs and nationalism, for Kršnjavi, art’s value lay precisely in its value as a tool in the “ideological struggles of society,” in the so-called “cultural war.”<sup>58</sup> Grippled by a fever of international rivalry and defensiveness over the Slav’s faint signal on the radar map of art history and the contemporary European art scene, Kršnjavi used his article both to assert the superior qualities of the Czech painter so beloved by his countrymen and put down the painters beloved of countrymen of other countries. Kršnjavi was invested in technically and visually-oriented analysis, and in freeing the visual arts from literature. As for the majority of art historically trained writers of his generation, however, formal analysis was not his sole motivation. Kršnjavi writing was broad, encompassing a

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<sup>56</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

Kršnjavi likely has in mind Neoclassical paintings such as the *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799) or *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814) by Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) when he described them as works “in which Trojans and Greeks wrestled without pants.”

<sup>57</sup> Greenberg, “Towards a Newer Laocoön,” 564.

<sup>58</sup> Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 684.

hodgepodge of other concerns, politics chief among them. To think of freeing art from politics would have been absurd. Art was important chiefly for its capacity to further the national cause, to prove Croatia's high civilizational level to the world at large and to better the lives of the people by ameliorating their taste.

The great names of German painting satisfied themselves with drawing, and said they cared only about spiritual expression. Fine. But is it not better to have both, and alongside that even more? To tell the truth, Čermák's painting is better than any of those by [Peter von] Cornelius in the Munich Glyptothek, because it is better painted and equally, if not more finely, well-drawn. Let anyone name the painter who could have not just painted but drawn that old man with such difficult foreshortening, let anyone name the man who could have executed the old woman on the left with greater sentimentality and better technique. That young woman, who alerts her friends climbing up the rock to turn around [to see the *Wounded Vojvoda*], is she not a type that has never been created by the entire German school!? —Respect and honor to Cornelius's energy, to [Johann Friedrich] Overbeck's sentiment, and to the fineness of [Wilhelm von] Kaulbach's drawing,—<sup>59</sup> ... [but] all three qualities are united in Čermák. Čermák is a Czech by birth. He studied with the illustrious Belgian painter [Louis] Gallait. . . .<sup>60</sup>

For the German school—the rebellious romantics of the Nazarene school like Peter von Cornelius and Johann Friedrich Overbeck who broke away from Neoclassicism in pursuit of painting's spirituality—Kršnjavi has only scorn. The German painters had betrayed painting, depriving it of the fullness of its fundamental nature, a fullness restored by Čermák. Backed up by formally-inclined analysis, Kršnjavi provides an account in which the new Slavic painting would triumph over an antiquated Neoclassicism (the substandard painters of “Trojans and

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<sup>59</sup> The three painters Kršnjavi names—Peter von Cornelius (1784–1867), Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869) and Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1805–1874)—were all first or second-generation artists of the Nazarene movement, also called the Brotherhood of Saint Luke or *Lukasbund*, a romantic religious movement known for its favoring of line of color in an effort to revive honesty and spirituality in Christian art. Cornelius was among the earliest members of the *Lukasbund* in Rome. Returning to his native Germany, he was commissioned by King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786–1868) to execute the famous murals of the Ludwigskirche and Glyptothek in Munich, and was appointed director of the city's Academy of Fine Arts in 1824. Overbeck was a founding member of the Nazarenes. Leaving the Fine Arts Academy of Vienna for Rome in 1811, Overbeck and his colleagues formed a brotherhood of artists in the capital city of the Catholic faith. Kaulbach was Cornelius's student at the Academy of Fine Arts in Düsseldorf. He followed his professor to Munich where he aided his teacher in completing the fresco cycle of the Glyptothek, and succeeded him as director of the Munich Academy of Fine Arts in 1849.

<sup>60</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

Greeks” wrestling “without pants”) and Pre-Raphaelite Romanticism that neglected color in favor of line. The new Slavic painting would, in effect, correct all the mistakes of the nineteenth century. Kršnjavi masks his intense national rivalry with an aesthetic critique of the German draftsmen who “cared only about spiritual expression.” The best proof of the excellence of Čermák’s *Episode* was the foreign praise the work “grudgingly” received in what Kršnjavi imagined as a hostile environment:

if Čermák were German, and the subject of his painting taken from German life, that grudging praise would be transformed into ecstasy, and the more impartial French would have trumpeted still more loudly in their fine reviews of the painting if they had been able to praise a fellow countryman. —In any event, the Germans and the French had to admit that Čermák’s painting is a first-class painting (*slika prvoga reda*), one of the best of this century—and we are happy... that the painting is—ours.<sup>61</sup>

“That the painting is—ours” was an intentional *double entendre*. The South Slavs had a double claim to ownership of Čermák’s work: it both depicted an essentialized version of themselves and, having been bequeathed by Strossmayer to a gallery in the capital city of Zagreb, belonged to them. While the previous generation construed art as a universal field, content for native artists to study their craft abroad, absorbing the traditions of Italy, Austria or Germany, Kršnjavi’s generation particularized it along national fault lines. The nascent national painting of Croatia must have a Slavic tone: Slavic painters as models, Slavic people as subject matter. For Croatian artists, Čermák’s *Episode* would be an example to aspire to and emulate. For the common people of Croatia, it would cultivate good taste while at the same time boosting their national ego by showing them how they themselves could be the subject of elevated artistic expression that had gained world renown.

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<sup>61</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

As we have seen, Čermák's Slavic ethnicity and the South Slavic subject matter of his paintings allowed the father-figure role to Bukovac he played to be naturalized. On a broader scale, these attributes allowed him to play father to a nation of visually-starved people, who could awaken "a love of art ... in our people."<sup>62</sup> As Bishop Strossmayer liked to boast, the *Episode* was "by our man and represents our affairs (*od našega je čovjeka i predstavlja našu stvar*) [my emphasis]."<sup>63</sup> The Czech artist himself certainly played up the idea of ethnic kinship. We cannot know to what degree he was truly earnest in his passion for pan-Slavic solidarity,<sup>64</sup> or simply have been keyed in to its importance through the friendships he developed during the number of years he spent in the western Balkans. In his correspondence, however, Čermák actively identified with the national struggle of the South Slavic people he depicted:

It is true that my sympathies for the Slavic South took me farther than I had promised. At first, I wanted to draw a small episode, but, little by little, I was drawn to giving the subject greater space and greater importance. So the painting grew to two and a half meters high with twenty figures of academic size (from eighty centimeters to a meter).<sup>65</sup>

Writing in early 1878 to ask the Bishop to lend him the *Episode* so that it might be shown in the *Exposition universelle* in Paris,<sup>66</sup> Čermák collapsed the distance between self and work, becoming, thus, fully "our man"<sup>67</sup>:

The matter at hand is to represent Slavic painting in the Austrian section, and for my own feeble part, I could not choose better than that painting, which at the same time personifies a modern Slavic subject. [...]

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<sup>62</sup> Letter from Strossmayer to Rački, in Šišić, *Korespondencija*, vol. 1., 233.

<sup>63</sup> Letter from Strossmayer to Franjo Rački, April 6, 1875. Quoted from Šišić, *Korespondencija*, vol. 1., 346.

<sup>64</sup> The majority of the literature (both primary and secondary) assumes an earnest Slavophilism on Čermák's part.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Jaroslav Čermák to Medo Pucić, sent by Pucić in Croatian translation to Franjo Rački and reproduced by Rački in a letter to Bishop Strossmayer, dated March 9, 1873. In: Šišić, *Korespondencija*, vol. 1, 210.

<sup>66</sup> When the artist suddenly died, Strossmayer was panicked that Čermák's *Episode* would remain marooned in Paris, and never returned to Zagreb. Ultimately, his worries were assuaged and he allowed the *Episode* to travel from Paris to Vienna after the close of the World's Fair, to hang in a small exhibit of twenty-seven of Čermák's paintings. See letter from Strossmayer to Rački, May 9, 1878, in: Sisić vol. 2, 174; and Anon., "Izložba Čermakovih slika u Beču," *Vienac* 11, no. 21, May 24, 1879, 336.

<sup>67</sup> Letter from Strossmayer to Rački, in Šišić, *Korespondencija*, vol. 1., 346.

it is good that other countries get to know and interest themselves in our woes and our sufferings (*nos douleurs et nos souffrances*) through my paintings.<sup>68</sup>

To the great law historian Baltizar Bogisic, he wrote: “It means a lot to me to exhibit that painting. Along with the one I exhibited last year, the South Slavs (*les Jugoslavs*) will be represented at least a little.”<sup>69</sup> And indeed, through its frequent exhibition abroad, and high profile, the *Episode* became a sort of public emissary for the Slavic South. The work was just one step removed from being *our* painting, from being the national Croatian painting it would help summon forth. The painting Čermák “exhibited last year”—*Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bachi–Bozouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (1877)—was frequently cast as the *Episode*’s pendant by the artist himself and the public at large (fig. I.5). Kršnjavi chose a print of it as the first reproduction to be distributed amongst the members of the newly founded Art Society (*Umjetničko Društvo*), advertising it with another text in the spirit of the new Art History.<sup>70</sup> Thus Jaroslav Čermák’s *oeuvre* is linked to a series of seminal events in the history of art in Croatia all of which were part of an emerging network of historically–conscious institutions meant to foster a future art in Zagreb. A Museum

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<sup>68</sup> Jaroslav Čermák to Bishop Strossmayer, January 21, 1878, letter no. 1, “Pisma Jaroslava Čermáka Strossmayeru,” HAZU, Zagreb. I would like to thank Ljerka Dulibić for bringing this letter to my attention and generously sharing it with me.

<sup>69</sup> Letter from Jaroslav Čermák to Baltazar Bogišić, undated but probably from February of 1878 (letter no. 2, SL/5 or XIII, Baltazar Bogišić Collection, HAZU, Cavtat).

<sup>70</sup> [Izidor] K[ršnjavi], “Hercegovce na garištu svoga sela, (Sa slikom),” *Vienac* 11, no. 30, July 26, 1879, 473. See, for example, this passage:

the little child in the woman’s embrace... leads us from the horror of the picture into a better future... Alongside the strongest light, the deepest shadow draws the eye to the main figure of the painting, the mother holding the child. The light here is diffused on the architecture in such a way that an even stronger coloristic accent is achieved. ... The face of the woman with a cradle on her head is in shadow, illuminated only from reflection below; the face of the old man is likewise in shadow so that Čermák had the happy opportunity to show what a master he is of half–shadows, the most difficult painterly problem.

and School of Arts and Crafts, an Art Society, and Art History as a university–level discipline joined the Picture Gallery that housed Čermák’s *Episode*.<sup>71</sup>

### 3. GRAND TOUR / GRAND IDEAS

Two years earlier in Rome. December, 1873. Kršnjavi and Čermák’s *Episode* had not yet crossed paths. The painting was touring Europe after the close of the Paris Salon. Izidor Kršnjavi was touring Rome: the great repository of the Western world’s artistic heritage, capital city of the Catholic faith and an Italy that had recently been politically unified. He had just married to the wealthy Marietta Fröschl, sister of his Viennese painting colleague Karl Fröschl. The couple was on the Grand Tour, making their way down the Italian peninsula, taking in the antiquities, museums and architecture. Trained first in art history, Kršnjavi was switching gears. He had come to Italy to become a history painter, to learn firsthand from Antiquity and the Old Masters and thus complete his education.<sup>72</sup> This, however, was not to be his fate: he was destined to be more of a man of words.<sup>73</sup> He was soon drawn into a circle of fervent young compatriots scheming how to bring about dramatic change in their nation’s attitude toward art and thus ensure the sovereignty and well–being of their homeland. Kršnjavi was persuaded to abandon his ambitions in painting and instead use his theoretical training to teach, design, direct and oversee

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<sup>71</sup> The Chair of Art History within Zagreb University’s Philosophy Department was established 1877/78, a Society of Art (*Društvo umjetnosti*) in 1879, a Museum of Arts and Crafts (*Muzej za umjetnost i obrt*) in 1880 to which a School of Applied Arts was attached in 1882, an Art Pavilion for contemporary exhibits (1896), an *ad hoc* Plaster Cast Museum (*Gipsoteka*) opened in 1892 with what was meant to be a temporary display in Zagreb’s newly–built grammar school until a permanent location could be arranged. It included an extensive collection of about two hundred copies of antique sculpture including the Parthenon Group from the British Museum. A Museum proper opened in the 1930s. See Tomislav Bilić, “Zagrebačka zbirka sadrenih odljeva antičke sculpture,” *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 41 no.1 (June 2008): 439–56.

<sup>72</sup> His tour of Italy began in Venice in the winter of 1872.

<sup>73</sup> Kršnjavi did continue to paint, but his main energies were funneled into writing, teaching, public life and politics.

a network of art institutions that did not yet exist.<sup>74</sup> In an article issuing from the discussions with his Roman circle, entitled “How to Enrich our Homeland (*Kako da nam se domovina obogatiti*),” he wrote: “One will not be able to speak about the development of a national art or national style ... until there are greater projects that will link together a greater number of artists. ... Style and schools are not the invention of the individual, but the fruit of harmonious[ly related] undertakings (*plod shodnih zadaća*).”<sup>75</sup> The weight Bishop Strossmayer’s involvement brought to the group’s plans saw to it that an art infrastructure, including the Art Department in which Kršnjavi would teach, actually came to be built in Zagreb.<sup>76</sup>

There had been earlier indications of Kršnjavi’s ideological stance, pedagogical bent and desire to intervene into what he saw as a society in need of repair. In 1870, responding to disciplinary currents in Central Europe, he had published a long article entitled “Something on the Arts (*Nješto ob umjetnostih*),” singing the praises of Vienna for advancing good taste among

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<sup>74</sup> That Kršnjavi’s education was originally in Art History was a positive quality in late nineteenth-century Central Europe, where the specialized training of the art historian was increasingly valorized in Museum professionals. See quote from Moritz Thausing’s inaugural speech “The status of the history of art as an academic discipline” at the first Congress of Art Historians held during Vienna’s 1873 World’s Fair in which he despairs of artists running museums: “who would not laugh at the thought of endorsing the opinion of a sculptor today about the origins or authenticity of an ancient sculpture or placing such a person in charge of a collection of historical coin? In some places, it is considered natural to appoint painters as director of picture galleries, while many scholars can still be heard to assert that only a painter can make judgements about a painting, a fallacy which had already been refuted by Rumohr. The confusion about this distinction does great harm to our discipline, not merely in the opinion of the wider public, but also in our own discipline. It creates misunderstandings about our competence as well as our duties. It prevents some of our number from studying the monuments, and leads many to satisfying themselves with purely literary pursuits.” Cited from: Karl Johns, “Moritz Thausing and Road Towards Objectivity in the History of Art,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 1 (December 2009), 9–10. Bohemian-born Thausing was appointed Chair of Art History at the University of Vienna in 1873.

<sup>75</sup> Kršnjavi, “Kako da nam se domovina obogatiti,” *Vienac* 6, no. 21, May 23, 1884, 331.

<sup>76</sup> As Ljerka Dulibić and Iva Pasini Tržec have shown, “traditionally, the meeting of Strossmayer and Kršnjavi in Rome at the end of 1874 has been considered the decisive event for the development of the idea of founding a Department of Art History in Zagreb. However, a comparative reading of archival documents—primarily private correspondence—reveals that the encounter of the two men had, in fact, been carefully prepared by a circle of young Croatian intellectuals one year before.” See their: “Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia,” in: Jerzy Malinowski, ed., *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, vol. 1 (Torun: Society of Modern Art, 2012), 74.

About the milieu of Croatian patriots Kršnjavi was involved with in Rome in the 1870s, see: Andrea Feldman, “Italian Chat – Culture and the Formation of a Liberal,” in her: “Imbro Ignjatijevic Tkalac and Liberalism in Croatia” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2009), 212–26.

the people with its new museums and architecture.<sup>77</sup> Citing the famous *Four Elements of Architecture* (1851) by German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), Kršnjavi recommended collecting folk textiles that could serve as the basis for Croatia to develop its own unique architectural style.<sup>78</sup> But it was in the critical year of 1874, following Rome and the World’s Fair in Vienna, that the discourse of desire came to a head, attaining visibility as a major topic of public discussion, and instigating real world action rather than just longing.

The patriotic circle Kršnjavi had joined consisted of Renaissance historian Dušan Kotur (1853–1878), poet and essayist Rikard Jorgovanić (1853–1880), Croatian painter Ferdinand [Ferdo] Quiquerez (1845–1893), and art critic Ladislav [Lacko] Mrazović (1849–1881), one of the most interesting and overlooked art critics in nineteenth-century Croatia.<sup>79</sup> Over the next few

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<sup>77</sup> Izidor Kršnjavi, “Nješto ob umjetnostih,” *Vienac* 2, no. 20, May 14, 1870, 317–19; and no. 21, May 21, 334–35. Earlier calls for a partially centralized approach to art cultivation were present, however, they were often still immersed in the previous generation’s obsession with fame. See, for example an 1871 notice in *Vienac* that a fund was being established for art students: “our neglected (*zapuštena*) art... that branch of art that can be not only of immeasurable use to the people, but which will show our people to the artistic world in such a light that the most advanced peoples will be envious of our fame.” Anon., “Umjetnost,” *Vienac* 3, no. 52, December 30, 1871, 840.

<sup>78</sup> In his “Nješto ob umjetnostih” (p. 334), Kršnjavi wrote: “folk tectonics (*narodna tektonika*) already developed the main principles of construction, and always strongly influenced architecture.” Gottfried Semper interpreted “barbarian” crafts as the sources of architecture’s basic components in his *Four Elements of Architecture*. Woven textiles, for example, are the source of wall construction.

<sup>79</sup> As Kršnjavi wrote in his memoirs, Mrazović, Kotur and Jorgovanić were “three stars on the horizon of our culture, who seemed as if they would become founding fathers, but instead were quickly extinguished.” See: Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, “Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia,” 76. All three passed away before their time from tuberculosis. Kotur died in 1878, Jorgovanić in 1880 (in addition to tuberculosis, he also developed a sarcoma in the last year of his life that resulted in an amputated leg), and Mrazović in 1881. All three were well aware they were dying. They came to Italy, in fact, partially for the restorative properties of the climate. Kršnjavi’s statement is, therefore, somewhat disingenuous, as he would have known they were dying too and had little chance of surviving to become “founding fathers.” Impervious to tuberculosis, Kršnjavi outlived his young cohorts from the Roman circle, proving to be a fierce political animal who quickly climbed to the helm of the new institutions they had dreamed of together.

The most in-depth biography of Mrazović, who was a fine arts’ writer for *Vienac* and *Obzor* in Zagreb, and also served as secretary to *Matica Hrvatska* and the Ministry for Religion and Religious Education, remains his obituary, Z., “Ladislav Mrazović,” *Vienac* 13, no. 53, December 31, 1881, 849–50. The call with which that text ends, that “soon one of his [Mrazović’s] and the people’s friends will write a more detailed biography and an evaluation of his successful and unselfish work” (p. 850) has not been answered to date. Mrazović’s work in the cultural landscape of nineteenth-century Croatia has, however, received critical attention in the scholarship of Vladimira Tartaglia–Kelemen in her: “Izložba 1874. u Narodnom Domu,” *Zbornik historijskog instituta JAZU* 5 (1963): 377–85; eadem, “Ferdinand Quiquerez u Italiji: Prilog za slikarevu biografiju,” *Radovi Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1 (1972): 109–132; eadem, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” *Radovi Arhiva*

months, they would congregate in Jorgovanić's apartment, "think[ing] about their poor country, feeling that each of them might contribute to a small part of its rescue."<sup>80</sup> Though Strossmayer did not physically join them in Rome until the end of 1874, he was brought on board through correspondence and visits from Mrazović, the circle's initial master architect.<sup>81</sup> We can follow how dreams quickly transformed into concrete plans through a series of articles published in Zagreb's literary magazine, *Vienac*, by the main protagonists: Kršnjavi, Mrazović and Strossmayer.

Indeed, the entire 1874 volume of *Vienac* itself seems to share in the fervor of the Roman circle, emerging as a committed partner to fostering a national art. Under the new editor, August Šenoa, it was in 1874 that *Vienac* was the first magazine in Croatia to begin publishing a steady stream of illustrations, many of them by Croatian artists.<sup>82</sup> By introducing pictures on a regular

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*Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 2 (1873): 157–220; Libuše Jirsak's recent dissertation, *Die Rezeption der Wiener Schule in der kroatischen Kunstgeschichte*; and Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, "Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia."

On Jorgovanić, see: Ivo Frangeš and Milorad Živančević, "Rikard Flider Jorgovanić," in: *Ilirizam, Realizam* (Zagreb: Liber mladost, 1975), 367–69; Slaven Jurić, "Akcenatski (dioni) stihovi Augusta Šenoa i Rikarda Jorgovanića," *Umjetnost riječi* 40, no. 2/3 (1996): 101–113; and Miroslav Šicel, *Rikard Jorgovanić* (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta, 1990).

On Kotur, see: Tade Smičiklas, "Dušan Kotur, doktorand prava u Zagrebu" in: Franjo Marković and Tade Smičiklas, *Spomen–knjiga Matice Hrvatske od godine 1842 do godine 1892* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1892), 278–86.

<sup>80</sup> Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, "Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia," 75.

<sup>81</sup> As Dulibić and Pasini Tržec correctly assert, "It is quite clear from [Kršnjavi and Mrazović's] letters that already at the beginning of 1874, one full year before Strossmayer and Kršnjavi would meet in Rome, Mrazović had conceived of a coherent plan for founding a Department of Art History at the University of Zagreb, having Izidor Kršnjavi in mind as its first professor. See their: "Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia," 75.

<sup>82</sup> "From this day forward, *Vienac* will begin regularly to carry pictures, and only original ones, taken from the life, history and art of the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian peoples... [...] we ask all patriots and artists to send us interesting materials for [our] illustrations... be they old paintings or photographs." [Anon., presumably, August Šenoa], "Svim književnikom, društvom, knjižarom jugoslavenskim i u obće svim prijateljem 'Vienca,'" *Vienac* 6, no. 1, January 3, 1874, 15–16. The very first image to appear in *Vienac*'s 1874 run was a portrait of the famous Renaissance female lyric poet from Dubrovnik, Cvieta Zuzorić [also Floria Zuzzeri] (1555–c.1600) who was of "that time when art—especially poetry—flowered in the free Croatian republic... Dubrovnik was at that time a true Slavic Athens." Anon., *Vienac* 6, no. 1, January 3, 1874, 13. The likeness is based on Zuzorić's portrait in: Pier-Francesco Martecchini, *Galleria di Ragusei Illustri* (Ragusa: P.F. Martecchini, 1841).

Illustrations of works by contemporary Croatian artists in *Vienac* 1874 include: "Yugoslavia (*Jugoslavija*) [*Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara)*] by Franjo Salghetti–Drioli, no. 16, April 18,

basis to a society that was overwhelmingly literary but hungry for a native art.<sup>83</sup> As one anonymous author wrote: “It is time to remove from our homes foreign ‘artistic’ terracotta surrogates from all manner of factories, or colored prints from Frankfurt. L[adislav] Mrazovic and Dr. I[zidor] Kršnjavi have emphasized this in our magazine beautifully...”<sup>84</sup> *Vienac* began to give a body to the art that society so desired.

The nascent nature of Croatia’s art was exemplified by one of the magazine’s first illustrations, a rather clumsy-looking image of a scale model for a never-realized marble sculpture called “Montenegrin Revenge” by the Dalmatian sculptor, Ivan Rendić (fig. 5.4).<sup>85</sup> The representation of Rendić’s proposal reveals the strength of the discourse of desire in 1874. As a model, it is by definition *in potentia*, something in the process of becoming, gesturing to a final product all the more useful because it has not yet materialized. Like the little boy in Čermák’s *Episode*, it is the boy-child in Rendić’s model who vows revenge over the blood-stained shirt of

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248–49, “John and the Seventy Giants (*Jovan i sedamdecet divova*),” by Ferdinand Quiquerez, no. 37, September 12, 585; “Praying Girl (*Moleća djevojka*)” by Ivan Rendić, no. 35, August 29, 559; “The Birth of Nikola Zrinjski (*Porod Nikole Zrinjskoga*),” by Ferdinand Quiquerez, no. 52, December 26, 824; “Dawn (*Zora*),” a bust by Ivan Rendić, no. 45, November 7, 713; a model for “Perkov’s Monument (*Spomenik Perkovec*),” by Ivan Rendić no. 26, June 27, 413.

There was also an effort to illustrate the national art history of Croatia in *Vienac*. See, for example, biographies on the early nineteenth-century painter who committed suicide, “Vjekoslav Karas,” no. 3, January 17, 45–46 with portrait on 33; and sixteenth-century illuminator Julijo Klovio, “Julijo Klovio” no. 5, January 31, 78–79 and no. 6, February 7, 91–93 with a portrait on 65. Illustrations of monuments and artifacts, many of which were making their way into the nascent museums, include ancient Greek vases (no. 31, August 1, 492), and marble statues from antiquity recently unearthed in Srijem (no. 47, November 21, 745).

<sup>83</sup> Peić, *Hrvatski Umjetnici*, 8.

<sup>84</sup> Anon., “Moleća djevojka. (Sa slikom.),” *Vienac* 35, August 29, 1874, 559. The text accompanies an illustration of a work, possibly a model, by Ivan Rendić: *Praying Girl*.

<sup>85</sup> It is interesting to acquaint oneself with the original invention of the young artist. In order that our readers may assure themselves that Rendić possesses creative power (*tvorna sila*), we present a model for a sculpture which Rendić composed according to Sundečić’s lovely poem, the *Bloody Shirt*. The Montenegrin woman kneels, and has spread out the bloody shirt of her husband, and raised her head toward her young son. Pain and revenge appear in her face. Her son stands by her. He looks at the bloody remains of his father and the pained face of his mother and revenge awakens within him. He clenches his hand and clamps his teeth over his finger out of anger. The representation (*prikazanje*) is lively, dramatic and realistic.

The textual description ends with the question: “Couldn’t anyone be found, to allow [i.e. to pay for] our young artist to realize the model in marble?” The answer was no; it was never made. See: Anon., “Osveta crnogorska. (Sa slikom),” *Vienac* 6, no. 2 (1874): 31.

his father and thus points to an as-yet unfulfilled future. The youth might be interpreted as an allegory of Croatian art itself. In its depiction of the violent conflict between Montenegrins and Ottomans, “Montenegrin Revenge” highlights the functionalized role of art in enabling national struggle and the role Eastern Orthodox subject matter played in embodying the essentialized self that struggle. Finally, as an illustration of a poem by Jovan Sundečić (1825–1900) entitled “The Bloody Shirt,” the visual is subordinate to words.<sup>86</sup>

The articles in *Vienac* authored by Kršnjavi, Mrazović and Strossmayer represent some of the most sustained discussions of the role art could and should play in national struggle. These texts have been rightly recognized by scholars as forming an integral program, each contributing different facets to a unified scheme by which Croatia would develop an infrastructure of art and enjoy political and economic prosperity as a result.<sup>87</sup> Calling on the writings from the 1830s by Charles de Montalembert (1810–1870), Strossmayer’s article, “The Second Painting in Đakovo Cathedral (*Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi đakovačkoj*),” inveighs against “vandalism,” demanding the preservation of historical monuments, while warning against the dangers of building “distasteful” structures. Attractive structures would elevate the people’s aesthetic taste. In describing the progress of the frescoes in the Cathedral in Đakovo whose construction and decoration he financed, he outlines his views on contemporary monumental religious painting.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Jovan Sundečić, *Krvava košulja* (Zadar: Demarkir-Ruđerev Pečat, 1864). Sundečić was an Orthodox poet, priest, publisher and man of letters born near Livno in Bosnia. He was educated in Zadar, Dalmatia. He served as personal secretary to Prince Nikola I Petrović Njegoš in Cetinje, Montenegro from 1864–1874. He maintained close contacts throughout Dalmatia and was one of the founders of *Slovinac* in Dubrovnik. See: Milorad Nikčević, “Jovan Sundečić (1825–1900): Pjesnik integracionog slavjanstva,” *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina* 6 (2010): 339–50; Mirjana Strčić, “Jovan Sundečić u kontekstu hrvatske, srpske i crnogorske književnosti,” *Gesta* 10, no. 29/30/31 (1988): 215–22; and eadem, “Prilog poznavanju života i rada Jovana Sundečića,” *Prilozi o zavičajju* 6 (1990): 119–25.

<sup>87</sup> See: Tartaglia-Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” 160; Olga Maruševski “Kako da nam se domovina odbogati?” *Kaj* 33, no. 5 (2000): 53–55; and Jirsak, “Die Ausbildung des ersten Kulturprogramms für Kroatien und die Initiative Kršnjavis, Mrazovićs und Strossmayers in den kroatischen Periodika,” in her: “Die Rezeption der Wiener Schule,” 28–43.

<sup>88</sup> [Josip Juraj Strossmayer], “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi đakovačkoj,” *Vienac* 6, nos. 1, 2 and 3 (1874): 14–15, 29–31 and 44–45. There is also an essay which preceded it, “Prva slika na liepu u novoj stolnoj crkvi đakovačkoj,”

Mrazović called impatiently for the state to intervene in the infrastructure of art as a means of national survival in the second article: “It’s about time (*Skrajnje je vrieme*).”<sup>89</sup> The slogan encapsulates the high pitch discussions of art had reached by the mid–1870s.<sup>90</sup> Written from a self–declaredly “material” point of view, Kršnjavi titled his contribution to the discussion with a pointed question: “How to Enrich Our Homeland?”<sup>91</sup> The answer was to cultivate art and art industry in Croatia through a network of institutions that did not yet exist in Croatia, institutions modeled on those in Austria’s capital and promoted heavily at the 1873 World’s Fair in Vienna.

#### 4. MEET ME IN VIENNA

Meet me in St. Louis, Louis  
 Meet me at the fair  
 Don’t tell me the lights are shining  
 Any place but there<sup>92</sup>

Vienna’s vast 1873 *Weltausstellung* (World’s Fair) housed a dizzying number of displays from all over Austria–Hungary, Europe and beyond. The fair unfolded beneath the glittering arcs of glass and steel that covered the grand Palace of Industry, inside the pavilions of the various nations, the modest cottages of the ethnographic village, and the popular amusements on the

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*Vienac* 5, no. 39 (1873): 620–621, and one which followed it, “Treća slika u stolnoj crkvi djakovačkoj,” *Vienac* 6, nos. 41, 43, 44, 45 and 46 (1874): 653–655, 685–688, 703–704, 717–719 and 734–736. It is with “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi djakovačkoj,” however, with its broad discussion of aesthetics, monumental religious painting and historical preservation, that Mrazović and Kršnjavi explicitly engaged in their articles. The texts by Montalembert Strossmayer cites are: “Du vandalisme en France. Lettre à M. Victor Hugo,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1, 1833, 477–524; “De l’État actuel de l’art religieux en France,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1, 1837, 592–615; and “De l’attitude actuelle du vandalisme en France. 1838.” In: *Du vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l’art*. Paris: Debécourt, 1839, 205–43.

<sup>89</sup> [Ladislav] M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrieme,” *Vienac* 6, no. 7, February 14, 1874, 111–12; and no. 8, February 21, 1874, 124–27.

<sup>90</sup> For example, Strossmayer used the phrase “it’s about time” in his open letter giving his blessing to the newly–founded Art Society. See his: “Pismo preuzv. gosp. Strossmayera ob ‘umjениčkom društvu,’ pisano gosp. dru. Kršnjavomu,” *Vienac* 11, no. 13, March 28, 1879, 199.

<sup>91</sup> Kršnjavi, “Kako da nam se domovina odbogati?” 331.

<sup>92</sup> From the song “Meet me in St. Louis.” in the musical film of the same name, which is set during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition World’s Fair in 1904. Lyrics by Hugh Martin and Ralph Blane.

*Prater*. Here, the interests of centers and peripheries, colonizers and colonized, collectors and collected, urban and rural, rulers and ruled cohabited. Coming not long after the 1867 *Compromise* that created the Dual Monarchy and the 1868 *Compromise* which redefined the terms of Croatia and Hungary's relationship, that cohabitation was not without tension. The 1873 fair was, in the words of one Italian chronicler, "a real contest (*gara*), among the most illustrious countries of the world to give examples of the degree of development of their arts, industries and sciences" as a means of displaying "universal civilization and human perfection."<sup>93</sup> For the small countries bound together in the multinational Austro–Hungarian Empire not recognized as "illustrious" members of "universal civilization," such an exclusion from the real competition of "human perfection" was a great frustration. These minorities were the subjects of ethnography, being subsumed into the museum collections of folk arts that were forming at the time, collections meant to rejuvenate the visual idioms of the Empire's center.<sup>94</sup> Kršnjavi lamented the pitiful, backward showing of Croatia with a lone farmer's cottage thus: "are we destined to always remain barbarians?" (fig. 5.5)<sup>95</sup>

If the Grand Tour monuments and *Risorgimento* of Italy fused together in a master narrative that formed the idealized background to the plan elaborated by Kršnjavi, Mrazović and Strossmayer on the pages of *Vienac*, the World's Fair in Vienna brought the foreground of that plan into sharp focus. The Fair, which the Roman circle knew well either from visiting its exhibitions or reading the many publications that issued from it on art, craft, art education, museums, schools, national budgets and profits, was their ever–present interlocutor. The Fair

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<sup>93</sup> Gaetano Suzzara, "Introduzione," *L'Esposizione universale di Vienna illustrata* 1, no. 1 (1873): 2.

<sup>94</sup> See Reynolds–Cordileone, "The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry," 135–38. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Diana Reynolds–Cordileone for her generous assistance in navigating the literature on the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry.

<sup>95</sup> Kršnjavi, "Kako da nam se domovina odbogati?" *Vienac*, 331.

provided material arguments for what art could do to ameliorate the lives of the people and the nation, and examples by which to begin formalizing a plan to foster it institutionally at home. It so happened that the theme of national improvement by means of Art Education was a major theme of the Fair in Vienna. Gleaning instructions, in essence, on how to get an art infrastructure up and running, the pioneering patriots devised a program to make Zagreb into a center of art. As Kršnjavi had written in 1870, one could study the results of of the countries who had already tried.<sup>96</sup> The imperial center paradoxically enabled the nationalisms that would break it apart.<sup>97</sup>

At the world's fairs, art, like industry, was a field in which nations battled each other for prestige, recognition, economic gain, and ranking in the imaginary ladder that descended from the civilized to the primitive, from tasteful to vulgar, from empire to colony. Kršnjavi's professor Eitelberger called the grand exhibitons "peaceful contests."<sup>98</sup> Art was broadly conceived of in nineteenth-century Western cultures as the apex of human achievement. Possession of a thriving culture of fine art was coveted among the participants who were eager to put it on display at the Fairs.<sup>99</sup> Predisposed to thinking of art as the preeminent marker of civilization and with a highly-developed consciousness of being subject to the scrutiny of the world, Croatia was a self-

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<sup>96</sup> Kršnjavi, "Nješto ob umjetnosti," 317. "It is impossible to give a simple recipe for how one should cultivate [architectural style]; to that end, one must consider how other peoples undertook it, and what the situation is with them now."

<sup>97</sup> Applying a post-colonial framework to the Austro-Hungarian world, Christopher Long argued that anxiety inherent in the Empire over its potential break up produced the desire to create an inclusive modernist idiom that could include all its disparate parts, which in fact helped enable break-away national artistic movements. See his conference paper, "Modernism and National Identity: The Austrian Pavilion at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis," presented at: "Exhibiting the Nation: World's Fairs, International Exhibitions, and the Place of Southeastern and East Central Europe," University of Texas at Austin, October 26-27, 2007.

<sup>98</sup> Reynolds-Cordileone, "The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry," 127.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, the discussion of France's cultivation of an identity rooted in the production of Fine Art and tasteful luxury goods in contrast to the less refined though more heavily industrialized Britain at the world's fairs in Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

conscious latecomer, characterized by an embattled sensitivity. The stakes were high: art was seen as nothing less than a means of political survival.

Across Europe, the search for a national art was fraught with contradictory allegiances: both to the particular and the universal, indigenous traditions and the classical inheritance, the organic and the forced, the unconscious and the willed. For nations such as Croatia, that did not have long-standing academies of art that produced “schools” of art or cultures of professional painting, art and art history would have to be consciously manufactured, a fact that, in an era that increasingly prized the authenticity of folk cultures, raised anxieties over artificiality that contemporary commentators were constrained to address. A key point that emerged from the Roman circle’s engagement with the Fair was the inherent tension between authenticity and artificiality in the project of fostering a national art.

To the numerous groups within which nations vied for recognition at previous world’s fairs—textiles, paper goods, agriculture, machinery, scientific instruments, public works, etc.—a new one was added at Vienna’s 1873 World’s Fair: “Industrial Museums.” This category aimed to show “the various methods by which the different modern museums endeavor to carry out the improvement of the general taste of the people, and the manner in which they promote the art–industry and public instruction of their countries.”<sup>100</sup> On the one hand, the new category demonstrated Vienna’s desire to show off the results of its recently-created “Austrian Museum for Art and Industry” (1863) directed by Rudolf von Eitelberger, who was both the first professor of art history in the Austrian capital, and a leader in the Arts and Crafts (*Kunstgewerbe*)

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<sup>100</sup> This was group twenty-two. Joseph Langl, *Modern Art Education: Its Practical and Aesthetic Character Educationally Considered, Being Part of the Austrian Official Report on the Vienna World’s Fair of 1873*, trans. S. R. Koehler (Boston: L. Prang and Company, 1875), 25. The original German-language text is “Zeichen- und Kunstunterricht,” in: Carl von Lützow, *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe auf der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1875), 479–94.

movement there.<sup>101</sup> More importantly, however, it was symptomatic of the wide-spread Western faith, especially strong in Central Europe, in the model of the South Kensington Museum in London, as the “archetype for improving and regulating artistic taste and production.”<sup>102</sup> Driven by feelings of lack, such museums were imagined to have the power to elevate the people’s taste and equip industry with the means to compete successfully with other countries, above all, France, whose preeminence in the manufacture of luxury goods was widely attributed to the country’s envied “good taste.”

The idea of the “Industrial Museum” demands careful scrutiny here as it was this institution that came to occupy a privileged conceptual place in the Croatian discussion of cultivating the arts in the 1870s. Kršnjavi, who had been Eitelberger’s student in Vienna for two years, would found a “Museum for Arts and Crafts (*Muzej za umjetnost i obrt*)” in Zagreb (1880) to which a School of Applied Arts would be attached (1882). Through such venues, the empowering logic of the “Industrial Museum” crept into the discourse of art in Croatia with its promise of material repayment, so that high art and craft came to be spoken of in the same breath.<sup>103</sup> The idea of art in Croatia in the 1870s, in this sense, underwent a double subordination, not only to the national cause of proving universal worth, but also to an industry that, unlike in

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<sup>101</sup> Reynolds–Cordileone, “The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry.” See also Katrin Pokorny–Nagel, “Zur Gründungsgeschichte des k.k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie,” in *Kunst und Industrie: die Anfänge des Museums für Angewandte Kunst in Wien*, Peter Noever and Hanna Egger, eds. (Vienna: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 52–89. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Eric Anderson for his kind assistance with the literature on Eitelberger and Applied Arts movements in Central Europe.

<sup>102</sup> Mitchell Schwarzer, “The Design Prototype as Artistic Boundary: The Debate on History and Industry in Central European Applied Arts Museum, 1860–1900,” *Design Issues* 9, no. 1 (1992): 35.

Gottfried Semper, writing during the world’s fair in London of 1851, had brought the South Kensington Museum’s mission of refining mechanized industry to the forefront of discussions of applied arts in the German-speaking world. See his: *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst: Vorschläge zur Anregung nationalen Kunstgefühles. Bei dem Schlusse der Londoner Industrie–Ausstellung. London, den 11. October 1851.* (Braunschweig: [s.n.], 1852).

<sup>103</sup> The relationship between Kršnjavi and Eitelberger receives a long-overdue sustained examination in Jirsak’s excellent dissertation, “Die Rezeption der Wiener Schule.”

England or Austria, did not need to be “tamed,” but rather called into being as a positive force.<sup>104</sup> Kršnjavi would write to his collaborator, Mrazović, “my ideal in this is: that we produce such good things that we can export our products. Art must bring us money.”<sup>105</sup> Indeed, his 1874 article “How to enrich our homeland?” seems to echo the mission of Eitelberger’s Museum. Art and art–industry should be fostered “not only to improve national taste, but also principally to increase the peoples’ well–being.”<sup>106</sup> Mrazović, clearly under the same influence, agreed:

ennobled taste, which would universally vanquish as a result of an awakened appreciation of art, ought to substantially influence our native crafts and industry, so that we would certainly stop being the depot of defective wares... [...] It’s about time that art here at home ceases to be a stepchild. Let it play its part and it will pay us back a hundred fold.<sup>107</sup>

He supported his argument by calling on the example of France:

Look at the French, crushed, downtrodden, stripped, they ordained no less than eighteen million francs for the copying of classical paintings in Italy for the Parisian Gallery. Are they so crazy to spend millions on paintings, where the supposedly practical Croat advises buying guns and building fortresses? On the contrary, they are very wise, because they know that they will get those billions that they were forced to pay to the Germans back in a few years’ time, but not with weapons in their hands, but by means of Art, which in France has penetrated into all levels of craft and industry.<sup>108</sup>

An examination of the exhibits in the “Industrial Museums” group in conjunction with those of “Graphic Arts and Industrial Drawing,” “Works of Fine Arts of the Present Time” and “Education, Teaching and Instruction” provided the basis for the official report on “Art

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<sup>104</sup> As Schwarzer, in “The Design Prototype as Artistic Boundary” (p. 32), writes, “Applied arts museums were one expression of a much larger series of attempts during the nineteenth century to hold artistic culture together amid the centrifugal forces of industrialization. ... [they] sought to tame both the machine and industrial society through aristocratic artistic exemplars.”

<sup>105</sup> Letter from November 23, 1875 as cited in Tartaglia–Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874–1878,” 206.

<sup>106</sup> Kršnjavi, “Kako da nam se domovina obogati?” 317.

<sup>107</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 125 and 127.

<sup>108</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 111. An anonymous author writing one decade later in the Zagreb paper *Hrvatska Vila*, gave a synthetic rehash of Mrazović’s material argument. See: Anon. “Pariški salon,” *Hrvatska Vila* 2, sv. 9 (1883):175.

Education (*Kunstunterricht*).”<sup>109</sup> The report was authored by Joseph Langl (1843–1916), an artist, writer and professor in Vienna, who served as an inspector of drawing education in the Austrian school system.<sup>110</sup> Given the commercial competition the fair engendered, the high status of art, and the weight the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry had in setting the tone for discussions of art’s role in the economy, it is not surprising to find that the report was intensely preoccupied not only with art pedagogy for its own sake, but with understanding how particular countries’ artistic pedagogical systems attained material results. Langl reveals his Eitelbergerian viewpoint, writing, in the introduction to his report: “the education of form according to aesthetic principles, is the first condition for the successful development of industry, as well as for the elevation of taste in general.”<sup>111</sup> Langl frames his task as both novel and scientific: the “*causes* [orig. emphasis]” of the improvement in industrial production could for the first time be investigated at Vienna’s fair since “nearly all the states represented in the domain of industry were also represented in the department of art–education, and each state had endeavored to illustrate the efforts it is making in this direction.”<sup>112</sup>

Langl’s report, which we can posit as an official “script” of the *Weltausstellung* also served as something of a conflicted “script” for the discussions of Kršnjavi and Mrazović.<sup>113</sup> The report exudes a tremendous faith in centralized institutions to discharge a multitude of tasks in the service of nation, from the ennobling of taste to the improvement of industry. But as much as

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<sup>109</sup> These were groups number twelve, twenty–five and twenty–six, respectively. Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 25.

<sup>110</sup> See Langl’s biography in the *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950* vol. 5 (Graz: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993), 11.

<sup>111</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 5.

<sup>112</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 6.

<sup>113</sup> Julia Noordegraaf, *Strategies of Display: Museum Presentation in Nineteenth and Twentieth–Century Visual Culture* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004) 14–15. Noordegraaf used the term “script” from the field of the “sociology of technology,” in which it is used to describe the way in which objects, because they are designed with a user in mind, “prescribe a certain behavior in their users.” Inversely, one can look for cases of resistance or misunderstanding of the “script,” and corrective measures taken to “repair” it.

England's South Kensington Museum was admired and emulated as Austria's model, the flaws of that model were readily apparent.<sup>114</sup> Langl had to admit that "the English nation is indeed an art-loving, but on the whole not an artistic nation, as any unprejudiced observer might again have noticed in the Art-Hall. And it will always remain problematic whether art-industry can of itself attain to the highest degree of development in a country in which art proper does not occupy a leading position."<sup>115</sup> France's undeniable superiority in the field of "art proper," and "the causes which have enabled the French to raise themselves to the mastery of the world in the departments of art and of art-industry, and to maintain themselves as the recognized leaders of taste down to the very present" were a great frustration to Langl's argument.<sup>116</sup> France's art industry was not based in the kind of institutions in which England and Austria put their faith. In order to explain how France continued to produce the best paintings, sculptures, chairs and vases, Langl was reduced to invoking concepts of "variety" in the French education system and generous state funding, but most importantly, the nation's past and organic development: "all efforts in the direction of art ... arise unconsciously in every civilized nation."<sup>117</sup>

In order to maintain his faith that Austria might hope to compete with France one day, Langl produced a narrative that did not quite hold together. In this narrative, the borders dividing the unconscious and the forced, the organic and the artificial, the natural and the institutional became fluid in order to accommodate a pre-existing picture of the level of civilization among the Western nations, and prevent transgressions from those not yet deemed worthy to compete.

Among the "civilized nations," the success of France's national art and luxury goods production

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<sup>114</sup> "The first powerful impetus toward a reform in art-instruction was given at the London Exhibition of 1851 ... England herself then proceeded, through the instrumentality of drawing-schools, to regulate taste, which had long been subject to caprice, in accordance with scientific maxims; to introduce uniformity into the treatment of the matter of form..." Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 5.

<sup>115</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 121.

<sup>116</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 85.

<sup>117</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 92 and 85.

is credited to a past that “unconsciously” predisposed it to be artistic. That Italy’s glorious artistic past served as a museum for the rest of Europe, and not the basis for a thriving national art and industry in the present, resulted from the country’s only recently overcome political fragmentation.<sup>118</sup> Because artless England lacked such a past, all efforts, however admirable, to acquire it retroactively through collections of casts and paintings could only go so far. Bookish Germany had achieved the national political unity that was a prerequisite for a national art, but though industrious, was clumsy in taste. Austria, having both an artistic past that England lacked and proximity to Italy, whence the Classical and Renaissance foundations of good taste came, promised to make good on the “Industrial Museum” model.

Hungary is chastised for entering too soon into “competition with the other nations, as far as the highest products of civilization are concerned.” That country, where “art matters are still in an exceedingly primitive condition” would have to be “very careful in filling up the fearful voids which have been left by an idle past... forced production must necessarily be unhealthy, and will either rest upon foreign supports, or will be nothing but show.”<sup>119</sup> In the rather paradoxical logic of Langl’s script, only those nations already considered “civilized” could build institutions designed to foster civilization, otherwise their artistic output would be “forced,” foreign and incapable of expressing true national spirit.

Within the cracks and fissures of Langl’s schema, Kršnjavi and Mrazović articulated a vision of national art that both drew upon and inverted the logic of the 1873 Vienna *Weltausstellung* script. They forged a plan to build an infrastructure to support a national art and

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<sup>118</sup> “Looking over the publications issued throughout the world for purposes of art–instruction during the last twenty years, we shall find that certainly two–thirds of their contents are taken from the monuments of Italy. England, France, Germany and Austria have drawn upon the treasures of this country for the education of their own art, and have employed them as a means for the improvement of taste.” Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 118.

<sup>119</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 28.

art industry in Croatia, taking full license to follow the path of the Empire's capital, but producing a very different reading of Italy and Hungary. Kukuljević Sakcinski's Lexicon had proved that the country did not have an "idle past" in matters of art—if that past was not yet universally recognized, it was only because it wanted reviving from its state of temporary suspension through new art. As Mrazović wrote, the reason Croatia's grand history had been lost sight of was "the break [that interrupted art-making], during which in our parts no art was made that could have aggrandized and immortalized [our history] by chisel and paintbrush."<sup>120</sup>

In his report on Art Education, Langl understandably did not discuss Croatia, whose institutions of art pedagogy were, in 1873, even farther from being "in the process of formation" than those of Hungary.<sup>121</sup> Still, what he said of Hungary seems to have struck a nerve:

Hungary, for a long time to come, will have to direct her attention to the more realistic educational necessities of her people, and will have to provide for general culture by means of the People's and Middle Schools. . . . It is very questionable, therefore, whether the efforts for the advancement of art-education . . . will be able to bear fruit in the immediate future, and whether it would not be wiser to apply all the means at command to the speedy creation of a stable basis for general education, leaving it to time to develop the ideal elements organically and naturally.<sup>122</sup>

In an official report of Croatia's participation in the 1873 *Weltausstellung*, the modest section of "intellectual culture" begins with primary schools, in seeming concordance with Langl's suggestion to create a "stable basis for general education" before attempting to foster "highest products of civilization."<sup>123</sup> Mrazović, as if responding both to the reality of Croatia's situation and to Langl, retorted: "There is time for art, so they say, after we found the primary

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<sup>120</sup> M[rzović], "Skrajnje je vrieme," 124.

<sup>121</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 28.

<sup>122</sup> Langl, *Modern Art Education*, 28.

<sup>123</sup> Pierre Matković, *La Croatie et la Slavonie au point de vue de leur culture physique et intellectuelle. Mémoire pour l'exposition universelle à Vienne en 1873. Traduit du croate* (Zagreb: Imprimerie de la société typographique, 1873), 145–60.

schools. In our parts, it is widely believed that only that person who has already satisfied all his other needs, so that now he doesn't know what to do with his money, can spend it on art."<sup>124</sup> He rejected the chastisement to wait for the "ideal elements" to develop "organically and naturally" and the patronizing suggestion to proceed step by step beginning with primary schools. As proof of the flaw in such thinking, he continued "It is known that Italy, and later France, have done the most for art. In Italy, through the centuries, all of the wealth was spent on art, before there was even one primary school in Italy. So that today, Italy is justly counted among the most cultured countries."<sup>125</sup>

The *Risorgimento*, an inspiration to Croatian patriots who wanted to see the fragments of the Triune Kingdom (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia) reunited, was framed not as an opportunity for Italy to develop an improved national art industry as Langl would have it, but the *result* of Italy's having spent "all of the wealth" in the past on art. Art became the means by which national unity is achieved, the best possible investment in the political future of a nation. While Langl saw political unity as the precondition for high art making, Mrazović treated high art making as a precondition for national unity. Mrazović goes so far as to muse that Dante, "who four hundred years ago wrote verses about the unification of Italy," and his "friends in the field

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<sup>124</sup> M[razović], "Skrajnje je vrijeme," 111.

Strossmayer echoed Mrazović's argument in the speech he delivered at the opening of his Picture Gallery in 1884: "I have heard people say: a painting collection is lovely, but... the money could be spent more wisely and usefully on the material needs of our people. [...] Others say: fine, but could not the money spent on these paintings have been better and more fruitfully invested to spread enlightenment among the people, especially in grammar schools?" The Bishop posited art and higher learning as the "head" of the national body, and grammar and middle schools as the "body." A headless body would be a soulless body. In trickle-down fashion, art would ameliorate basic education. See: Josip Juraj Strossmayer, "Govor pokrovitelja Biskupa J.J. Strossmayer" in: *Spomenica o pedesetoj godišnjici Strossmayerove galerije* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1935), 23, 26 and 27–28.

In the scheme of the infinitely more practical Kršnjavi, however, it must be noted that elementary schools are an important cog in the infrastructure of the art and art industry institutional framework.

<sup>125</sup> M[razović], "Skrajnje je vrijeme," 111.

of art” were more responsible for the “liberation of Italy... than Vittorio Emmanuele.”<sup>126</sup>

In Mrazović’s account, Italy achieved its long–desired unification because “in every step the Italian takes, he sees one hundred monuments of either the glorious past, which will awaken in him pride, or monuments to sad slavery, which will light in him the spark of patriotism and induce him to beneficial action.”<sup>127</sup> The lack of such inspirational monuments in Croatia could be attributed to the span of time during which, as Mrazović had it, “no art was made that could have aggrandized and immortalized [our history] by chisel and paintbrush.” This gap in visible history could be bridged through a kind of emergency intervention; an immediate investment in an infrastructure of art to set Croatia on an expedited path to liberation, making up for the lost four hundred years during which Italy, as distinct from Croatia, had become “self–confident and politically mature... advanced and free–minded.” Exploiting a stress–point in Langl’s text, Mrazović suggests that the unconscious can be consciously cultivated, that artworks were the means by which history, taste, and national pride could be persuasively and retroactively manufactured.

## 5. GROWING UP IN THE PICTURE GALLERY

A privileged site in the Roman circle’s plan to cultivate art in Croatia was “the Gallery that the eminent Bishop Strossmayer, the only connoisseur of art in our country, has acquired for the nation.”<sup>128</sup> Summing up the core purpose of the collection that Strossmayer had begun to amass two decades earlier, Mrazović wrote, “if a gallery of excellent paintings, completed with copies of the best works of the Italian masters of all schools, could be assembled in Zagreb, there

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<sup>126</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 124.

<sup>127</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 111.

<sup>128</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 125.

is no doubt that taste would be corrected in our parts.”<sup>129</sup> The Gallery, conceived as a small-scale fusion of Paris’s Louvre, Luxembourg Museum and Museum of Copies, was meant to serve as the tasteful foundation upon which a national, modern and Croatian art would be built.<sup>130</sup> In keeping with the discourse of desire, its mission depended on the premise that native artists were “young” or non-existent.

The Strossmayer Gallery opened its doors in 1884 to great celebration in Zagreb (fig. 5.6). Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), best remembered today for his long curatorship at the National Museum in Sarajevo, was co-author of its first catalogue with his professor, Izidor Kršnjavi.<sup>131</sup> In an article in *Vienac* that was an interpretive version of the catalogue that would be published the following year, Truhelka expanded upon the Gallery’s mission:

The Painting Gallery is the work of one man ... who all his life has tirelessly aimed to raise the spiritual well-being of the Croats to the highest possible level, so that one day soon they will be grown up enough (*dorasli*) to fight with the other peoples in the cultural war ... For more than fifteen years Strossmayer has worked ... to put together a collection of works of the Great Masters of painting ... he gives it to the people, so that it will be healthy nourishment for a new cultural life. That gallery is a beautiful *pinacoteca*, in which masterpieces of the artists of centuries past are housed, and its mission is to become the Parthenon of Croatian art! [...]

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<sup>129</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 125.

<sup>130</sup> The Louvre was a universal survey museum, housing objects from various periods and locations. See: Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, “The Universal Survey Museum,” *Art History* 3, no. 4 (December 1980): 448–69.

During the nineteenth century (beginning in 1818), the Luxembourg Museum was essentially a museum of contemporary art, exhibiting the work of living artists bought by the State.

About the lavishly-funded Museum of Copies, whose budget and mission were advertised at Vienna’s World’s Fair of 1873, Mrazović, expressing the same views held by both Kršnjavi (p. 331) and Langl, in his “Skrajnje je vrijeme” (p.125) wrote: “Look at the French, crushed, downtrodden, stripped, they ordained no less than eighteen million francs for the copying of classical paintings in Italy for the Parisian Gallery. ... they are very wise, because they know that they will get those billions that they were forced to pay to the Germans back in a few years’ time, not with weapons in their hands, but by means of Art, which in France has penetrated into all levels of craft and industry.” Mrazović does not seem to know that by the time he was championing the Museum of Copies, it was already closed in Paris, a spectacular failure of Third Republic France. See: Albert Boime, “Le Musée des Copies,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (1964): 237–47, Paul Duro, “‘Un Livre Ouvert à l’Instruction’: Study Museums in Paris in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1987): 44–58, and Pierre Vaisse, “Charles Blanc und das ‘Musée des Copies,’” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976): 54–66.

<sup>131</sup> On Truhelka’s life and work, see: Nives Majnarić Pandžić, ed., *Ćiro Truhelka: Zbornik* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1994); Miloš Okuka, “Ćiro Truhelka (1865.–1942.),” *Hrvatska misao* 8, no. 31–32 (2004): 107–122; and Jaroslav Šidak, “Ćiro Truhelka—Njegov život i rad,” *Historijski zbornik* 5, no. 1–2 (1952): 103–110.

I am certain that from among the many [visitors] called [to the Gallery], at least one chosen person (*odabranik*) will be found, who will be stimulated by the collection and apply himself to the fine art of painting, so that his paintings might launch the glorious Croatian past through the world, as poetry (*vila pjesnikinja*) has already celebrated it.<sup>132</sup>

The Gallery was to equip a not–yet “grown up” Croatia with a proper foundation, the “masterpieces” of “centuries past,” upon which it could establish its own art. Fueled by the “healthy nourishment” of these masterpieces, Croatian artists, who within this script do not yet exist, would create their own artworks, preferably history paintings that would “launch the glorious Croatian past through the world,” a mission that had hitherto fallen exclusively to literature. Once its mission was fulfilled, Strossmayer’s Gallery would be transformed from a collection of exemplary models into a “Parthenon of Croatian art”: a historic overview of Western painting culminating in the contemporary native art it bodied forth. Fully in possession of their own artistic production, the “grown up” Croatian artists of the future could then set off to “fight with the other peoples in the cultural war” on the symbolic battlefields of world’s fair exhibitions.

Both the Bishop, the Gallery’s patriotic donor, and Kršnjavi, the Gallery’s first director, agreed that art would be food for an undernourished national soul that lacked taste and needed guidance in matters of style. The universal history of art illustrated by the Gallery’s collection would ensure that the future native art would have proper roots. The newer paintings proved more problematic. For Strossmayer, whose taste in art was “Catholic” both in a religious sense

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<sup>132</sup> In fact, Strossmayer spent thirty years collecting all the pieces in the Gallery. Truhelka’s full article describes each section of the gallery and many individual paintings. See: Ćiro Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” *Vienac* 16, no. 43, October 25, 1884, 684–87; no. 44, November 1, 1884, 700–702; no. 45, November 8, 1884, 718–19; no. 46, November 15, 1884, 734–35; no. 47, November 22, 1884, 750–51; and no. 48, November 29, 1884, 764–66. Quotes are from pages 684 and 766.

The catalogue is: Ćiro Truhelka, *Sbirka slika Strossmayerove Galerije Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1885).

and in conceiving of art as the fruit of universal humanity, the Nazarenes provided an ideal model. For the younger generation, religion had little to do with the soul of the nineteenth century. As Mrazović had written: “Today’s painters can only in vain try to follow the old artists ... Today, other ideas animate the world, and these are the ideas of nationality, freedom, and nature.”<sup>133</sup> Contemporary works such as Jaroslav Čermák’s *Episode* in touch with “nationality, freedom, and nature” would guide the nation toward a new Slavic painting of its own. The problem of how to particularize the future art so that it would attain a specifically Croatian form was a site of contention and generational divide.

By the time it opened its doors in 1884, the Strossmayer Gallery had been coopted by the younger generation, who recast its function as an integral piece of the art infrastructure they imagined, however, the idea for the Gallery was Strossmayer’s and predated the Roman circle significantly. Strossmayer began collecting Old Masterworks for his private enjoyment in 1854, systematically acquiring works from a broad range of schools and periods in order to populate a proper picture gallery. A decade later, the Bishop envisioned his growing collection of paintings as a modest universal survey museum that he would gift posthumously to the nation.<sup>134</sup>

I have the intention of gradually organizing a small collection of old, classical pictures as well as new ones. As long as I live, it will be useful to me for pleasure and spiritual rejuvenation. After my death, it will be the property of my nation, so that our indigenous youth will possess examples from important cultural regions in order to copy them. I already possess a small collection.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> M[rzović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 126.

<sup>134</sup> Strossmayer expressed his wish that his collection would be given to the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb posthumously as early as 1865 in a letter to Nikola Voršak (1836–1880), Canon of the College of St. Jerome and his agent in purchasing artworks in Rome. See: Artur Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih nazarenaca* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1935), 54–55. In 1868, the donation of all of his “present and future works of art” to the Academy was made official: “only after the donator’s death, the Academy shall become its proprietor.” Vinko Zlamalik, “Kronologija i bibliografija,” in: Vinko Zlamalik, ed., *Sto godina Strossmayerove galerije* (Zagreb: MTM, 1984), 7–8.

<sup>135</sup> Letter from Strossmayer to German Nazarene artist Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869), November 5, 1866. Cited from: Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih Nazarenaca*, 50.

Through his involvement with Mrazović, Kršnjavi, Kotur and Jorgovanić in Rome, Strossmayer was persuaded to amend his will and bequeath his collection as soon as an adequate space in Zagreb was prepared to house the paintings.<sup>136</sup> As a result, he let go of the paintings a full twenty years before his death and the Gallery opened in 1884. In 1875, Strossmayer publicly expressed support to the Roman circle's program:

now I wish my collection to be permanently moved to Zagreb, where it will serve not only as a model for friends of art and to spread better taste among the common people, but also as support for the University, which ought not remain long without a Department of Art History.<sup>137</sup>

What kind of collector was Strossmayer? What was the nature of his "small collection?"

The Bishop was a genuine art enthusiast whose private admiration for painting was eclipsed by his patriotic imperative to foster embetterment through education.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, he gave his

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<sup>136</sup> As Mrazović wrote in a letter to the poet August Šenoa in July 1874, he followed Strossmayer to his Summer residence to convince him of the urgency of building the Gallery, and its symbiotic importance to the department of Art History he hoped to see founded at the University in Zagreb:

I came here for a few days to try to convince the Bishop to move his collection to Zagreb as soon as possible. With the aid of Canon Rački, I succeeded without much trouble. [...] in one year's time, we should already have a gallery in Zagreb, which will be the beginning and the basis for artistic work in the homeland. As the gallery's director, we will appoint Kršnjavi, who will, at the same time, teach classes in the History of Art [...]

See: Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, "Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia," 76.

<sup>137</sup> Josip Juraj Strossmayer, "Darovnica za sgradu galerije," *Vienac* 7, no. 14, April 3, 1875, 217. He used the same language in a letter to Franjo Rački dated March 26, 1875. See: Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih Nazarenaca*, 59.

One year earlier, in 1874, a plan to add one floor to the existing building of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences seems to have been in place. See: Anon., "Biskup Štrossmayer i naš muzej," *Vienac* 6, no. 29, July 18, 1874, 463:

The famous patron of the arts regretted very much that the [National] Museum ([*Narodni*] *Muzej*) had no space for a picture gallery. Looking at the nearby Academy building, his Excellency commanded that a plan should immediately be drawn up by which an extra storey, suitable for a picture gallery, could be added, and that he would immediately and by his own expense see it carried it out and transport his formidable collection of paintings to Zagreb. In that way, in a short time, our capital city will take pride in ... the art treasures that ... Bishop Strossmayer collected.

The same news was repeated half a year later in: Anon., "Galerija slika biskpa Strossmayera." *Vienac* 7, no. 9, February 27, 1875, 144.

On March 27, 1875, the Bishop announced his donation of start-up funds for a new, purpose-built structure to house the Gallery. The Department of Art History was founded in 1878.

<sup>138</sup> "From the start ... I took care as much as possible to choose works from all the artistic schools, so that they would be of value to the people and the learning youth. I know all of the paintings in our collection like old friends and acquaintances..." Strossmayer, "Govor pokrovitelja Biskpua J.J. Strossmayera," 16. As Dulibić and Pasini

collection to the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences he helped found.

If we want to fundamentally and comprehensively develop our national strengths, to enlighten not only the minds of the people but also ennoble their hearts and dispositions, then we dare not forget art.<sup>139</sup>

The Bishop's taste was, not surprisingly, religious; his favorite historical period was the late medieval. He was a cautious buyer, purchasing works after much debate through a network of trusted intermediaries, mainly painters and art dealers. The majority of the one hundred and seventeen paintings Strossmayer had amassed by 1868 when his original bequest was made official were old masterworks from Italian schools.<sup>140</sup> Subsequently, the Bishop turned his attention northwards to flesh out the collection, acquiring old master Styrian, German, Dutch, and Flemish works.<sup>141</sup> He acquired some very fine paintings, including Beato Angelico's *Saint Francis of Assisi and the Martyrdom of Saint Peter*.<sup>142</sup>

In the same spirit of retroactively claiming Croatia's participation in the universal history as his contemporary Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski's *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists*,<sup>143</sup> Strossmayer also made a concerted effort to purchase works by the famed sixteenth-century Croatian master

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Tržec have noted: "Strossmayer spent years systematically collecting works ... following primarily one idea. They all had to be educational and reflect Enlightenment. Even though he sometimes leaves the impression of a passionate art collector of art, the moment the Gallery opened to the public in 1884, he completely stopped his activity and in the next twenty years he did not acquire a single work by so-called 'old masters' believing his mission had been complete with the opening of the Gallery." See their: "Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia," note 36, p. 78.

<sup>139</sup> Strossmayer, "Darovnica za sgradu galerije," 217.

<sup>140</sup> Eighty-odd paintings were old masterworks. The majority of these were from Italian schools, purchased in Rome through intermediaries, including the painters Nicola Consoni, Tommaso Minardi, Achille Scaccioni and Carlo Possenti, and the art dealer Domenico Agrestini. Artist Friedrich Overbeck and Art Historian Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle also served as advisors. See: Ljerka Dulibić and Iva Pasini Tržec, "Slike u Strossmayerovoj galeriji starih majstora nabavljene u Rimu do 1868. godine," *Radovi Instituta povijesti umjetnosti* 32 (2008): 297–304; and eadem, "Formazione di collezione di opere d'arte del vescovo Josip Jurak Strossmayer: Contributo del pittore e restauratore Achille Scaccioni," *Zbornik za umjetnostno zgodovino* 47 (2011): 120–39.

<sup>141</sup> Ljerka Dulibić, "A History of the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb," *Journal of Croatian Studies* 43 (2002): 124.

<sup>142</sup> Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, called Beato Angelico (1395–1455). Tempera on wood, 23.3 x 43.8 cm.

<sup>143</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, 1858–1860. As Strossmayer wrote to Kukuljević Sakcinski on October 7, 1859: "Without history, we are without eyes, wandering aimlessly in the dark." In: Šišić, *Korespondencija*, vol. 1, 446.

painter Andrija Medulić (also Andrea lo Schiavone, c. 1510–1563).<sup>144</sup> A conscious reconnection to and recovery of the past is at play. The Strossmayer Gallery made the classical inheritance available for assimilation, and inserted Croatian artists into that inheritance, so that a narrative of continuity could be constructed in which Croatian artists had “not lagged behind their contemporaries,” but rather always been “achieving the same goals as the very best artists.”<sup>145</sup>

As in London’s South Kensington Museum, there would be no qualms about displaying copies to fill in gaps in the history of art illustrated by the collection.<sup>146</sup> Of the two hundred and fifty–six works listed in the Strossmayer Gallery’s initial 1885 catalogue, thirty–one were identified as copies. Eight of the copies were historical,<sup>147</sup> six were by contemporary named or unnamed painters, two of whom also acted as agents for Strossmayer<sup>148</sup> and four are of

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<sup>144</sup> Strossmayer was looking for works by Medulić as early as 1865. See: Artur Schneider, “Strossmayer kao sabirač umjetnina,” in: *Spomenica o pedesetoj godišnjici Strossmayerove galerije* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1935), 54.

In the 1885 catalogue, fourteen works by Medulić are listed (two are copies by other artists). These are: *Allegory of Learning* (no. 165); *Saint Nicholas* (no. 166); *Allegory of Truth* (no. 167); *Allegory of Death* (no. 168); *Allegory of Arithmetic* (no. 169); *Chronos* (no. 170); *Concert* (no. 200); *Flying Angel* (no. 201); *Allegory of Pedagogy* (no. 202); *Allegory of Ethnography* (no. 203); *Mars and Venus* (no. 204); *Allegory of Geography* (no. 206); *Allegory of Hunting* (no. 207); a copy of the artist’s *Self-Portrait* (in the Pitti Gallery, Florence) by [Ivan] Simonetti (no. 205); and a copy of his copy of Titian’s *Saint Mark* by [Ivan] Squarcina (no. 171).

Ivan [also Giovanni] Simonetti (1817–1880): painter and restorer born in Rijeka, Istria, active in Venice, Italy. Simonetti acted as an agent for Strossmayer in Venice.

Ivan [also Giovanni] Squarcina (1825–1891): religious painter born in Zadar, active in Dalmatia and Italy.

<sup>145</sup> Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 735. Medulić’s oeuvre was further valorized as the subject of Truhelka’s 1885 doctorate, published a year later in Zagreb’s *Bulletin of the Society Arts and Crafts*—“Andrija Medulić: Njegov život i rad,” *Glasnik društva za umjetnost i umjetni obrt u Zagrebu* 1 (1886): 33–62.

<sup>146</sup> *Catalogues of Reproductions of Objects of Art, in Metal, Plaster, and Fictile Ivory, Chromolithography, Etching, and Photography: Sel. from the South Kensington Museum, Continental Museums, and Various Other Public and Private Collections* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1869).

<sup>147</sup> These are: the *Madonna with Two Saints*, a fourteenth-century copy of a Giotto–esque fresco (no. 23a); the *Burial of St. Cecilia*, Bologna School drawing after the original (no. 28); two copies after originals by Albrecht Dürer: *Saints Anthony and Paul in the Desert* (no. 55) and *Ecce Homo* (no. 58); two copies of *Battles* after Jacques Bourguignon (nos. 106 and 108); *Laying of Christ in the Tomb*, copy after Anthony Van Dyck (no. 110); and *Death of St. Peter the Apostle*, copy after Guido Reni.

<sup>148</sup> These are: a copy after Josef Kohlschein’s (1841–1915) engraving after Jan Van Orley’s *Madonna* (no. 102); a copy of Raphael Santi’s *Battle of Milvian Bridge*, in the Sala di Costantino, Vatican, by Fr[ancesco] Giangiacomo (no. 94); copies of the likenesses of Raphael and Piero Perugino from Raphael Santi’s *School of Athens, Stanza della segnatura*, Vatican, by [Francesco] Giangiacomo (no. 95); a copy of Raphael’s *Mass at Bolsena* in the Stanza d’Eliodoro, Vatican, by Achille Scaccione (no. 97); and a copy of his copy of *Saint Mark* after Titian by [Ivan] Squarcina (no. 171); a copy of Andrija Medulić’s *Self Portrait* by [Ivan] Simonetti (no. 205).

undetermined origin.<sup>149</sup> Thirteen were contemporary chromolithographs issued by the British Arundel Society, purchased, no doubt, on the recommendation of Izidor Kršnjavi.<sup>150</sup>

The “new” paintings Strossmayer selected to cohabitate with the old masters included works by Friedrich Overbeck and second-generation Nazarene painters such as Eduard Von Steinle (1810–1886), Gebhard Flatz (1800–1881) and Ludwig Seitz, (1844–1908) as well as religious-themed paintings by Italian vedutista Alessandro Castelli (1809–1902). To a lesser degree, the Bishop was also sympathetic to supporting Slavic painters.<sup>151</sup> Even before meeting

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Achille Scaccione was a painter/restorer who acted as the Bishop Strossmayer's agent in Rome. See: Ljerka Dulibić and Iva Pasini Tržec, “Formazione di collezione di opere d'arte del vescovo Josip Juraj Strossmayer – contributo del pittore e restauratore Achille Scaccioni,” *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 47 (2011): 120–139.

Francesco Giangiaco (1782–1864) was a Roman painter and graphic artist. He attended the Accademia di S. Luca and taught at the School of Art in the Ospizio di S. Michele.

<sup>149</sup> These are: two works by Raphael Santi, the *Madonna del cardelino* in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (no. 86) and the *Deposition* in the Gallery Borghese, Rome (no. 88); and two works by Peter Paul Rubens: the *Allegory of the Four Corners of the World* (no. 105) and *Madonna, Jesus and Joseph (Madona Isus i Josip)*, no. 114).

<sup>150</sup> During the nearly five decades of its existence (1848–1897), the British Arundel Society issued a wealth of reproductions of famous works of art (the emphasis was on Italian fresco cycles, classical art and Northern European Masters were also represented to a smaller degree): nearly two hundred chromolithographs (mainly based on watercolors executed by copyists in-situ), thirty-seven engravings, four hundred and thirty casts and electro-bronzes as well as books to accompany their reproductions. The mission of the society was to “preserve the record and diffuse a knowledge of the most important remains of painting and sculpture, to furnish valuable contributions towards the illustration of the history of Art, to elevate the standard of taste in England, and thus incidentally to exert a beneficial influence upon our native and national schools of painting and sculpture.” See: Victoria Button, “The Arundel Society: Techniques in the Art of Copying,” *Conservation Journal*, no. 23 (April 1997): <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/conservation-journal/issue-23/the-arundel-society-techniques-in-the-art-of-copying/> (last accessed January 31, 2014). For further reading on the Arundel Society, see Tanya Ledger, “A Study of the Arundel Society 1848–1897” (PhD Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978). For a comprehensive catalogue of the chromolithographs, see: Noel Johnson, *A Handbook (Catalogue Raisonné) to the Collection of Chromo-lithographs from Copies of Important Works of Ancient Masters Published by the Arundel Society* (Manchester: Whitworth Institute, 1907).

Arundel Society chromolithographs exhibited in the Strossmayer Gallery included: Giotto di Bondone, *St. Francis of Assisi Preaching before Pope Honorius III*, from the upper part of the Assisi Church (no. 24); four works by Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole from St. Mark's Church, Florence: the *Transfiguration* (no. 20), the *Crucifixion* (no. 21), *Christ and Mary Magdalen in the Garden* (no. 25), *Resurrection of Christ* (no. 27); the *Entombment*, from the upper church of St. Francis of Assisi, attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti of the Sienna School (no. 23); Lombard School, *Monument of the Cavalli Family*, Sant'Anastasia, Verona (no. 26); Stephen Lochner (early fifteenth century – 1451), *Tryptich* from Cathedral of Cologne featuring *Adoration of the Magi*, *St. Ursula and her Virgins*, and *St. Geren and his Warrior* (no. 54); Master Wilhelm, *Madonna* (no. 59); Cologne School, *Richard II before the Virgin*, Wilton House, London (no. 60); Hubert Van Eyck and Jan Van Eyck, *Altar-piece in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent*, Berlin (nos. 61, 62 and 63).

<sup>151</sup> Strossmayer's 1877 article about five new paintings “by Slavic hands (*od slavjanskih ruku*)” acquired for the Picture Gallery, accords a special place to Slavic artists who have achieved international fame, and seem to be able to do something for their people. He describes the *Death of the Polish King Przemysł (Smrt poslednjeg kneza polabskoga*, 1877) by Jan Matejko thusly:

Kršnjavi, he had commissioned Jaroslav Čermák's *Episode* and bought paintings by the Dalmatian Franjo Salghetti–Drioli from Zadar. Afterwards, his collecting of Slavic works intensified somewhat.<sup>152</sup> For Strossmayer, however, the idea of “Slavic art” was not the guiding star it was for the younger generation, who cast Slavic artists as the only possible father figures to a nascent native art. The Bishop did not conceive of ethnicity as narrowly influencing style. The efforts of any artist, regardless of his nationality, could be appropriated for the national cause. His understanding of art as a universal human endeavor would help explain his praise of *Saints Cyril and Methodius in front of Pope Hadrian* (1863–1873), a painting he had commissioned from Italian painter Nicola Consoni (1814–1884) to mark the thousand–year jubilee of the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity as “ours”: “The subject is absolutely ours (*skroz i skroz naš*) and our

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Matejko is a painter of European renown. He loves his people greatly. His paintings are drawn from sources of local history. In his paintings, he teaches, encourages, reproaches and admonishes his people. He is a new Polish Skarga, who narrates beautifully through paintings. That [endeavor to teach, encourage, etc.] is in absolute accord with the elevated goal of art.<sup>151</sup>

[...]

Matejko is in every sense a dramatic painter through and through. ... Matejko is the Shakespeare of the Polish people. In his paintings everything is so alive, so agitated that ... the viewer, if he has a gentle heart, is even involuntarily carried away by it [the painting]. In [looking at] our painting a man would have even involuntarily seized a sword and wanted to go into battle, in order to defend the sacred and just things in the painting of the illustrious Premislav [*Przemysł*]. That is as it should be! A painting is not a painting if it does not affect the heart and soul. The Polish people should not allow that any of Matejko's paintings to leave home, unless it is moved to a related (*srodni*) and friendly people. This painting next to [that of] our celebrated Čermák [the *Wounded Montenegrin*] will be a true adornment (*ures*) for our Gallery. ... Matejko's painting does not need monographs [textual explanations], it speaks for itself ...

[Josip Juraj Strossmayer], “Nove slike u galeriji preuzv. gosp. Biskupa Strossmayera,” *Vienac* 9, no. 21, May 19, 1877, 335–36.

Strossmayer's sentiment finds an echo in the letter Čermák sent to him on January 21, 1878: “In any case, it is good that other countries become acquainted with and interest themselves in my painting and our woes and our sufferings.” Letter no. 1, “Pisma Jaroslava Čermáka Strossmayeru,” HAZU, Zagreb. I would like to thank Ljerka Dulibić for bringing this letter to my attention and generously sharing it with me.

<sup>152</sup> On Kršnjavi's recommendation, Strossmayer purchased two landscapes by the Polish painter, Henryk Siemiradzki (1843–1902). Kršnjavi had spent time with the Polish painter in his studio in Rome. See: Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, “Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Founding of Art History Studies in Croatia,” 77.

young critics (*estetici*) should practice judgement and artistic critique [on it].”<sup>153</sup> ... “[This painting] too treats our national life and our future.”<sup>154</sup>

Though Consoni’s painting ended up in Strossmayer’s Gallery, it was originally commissioned to grace the altar in Đakovo Cathedral, another monumental gift of the Bishop’s to his diocese and the nation.<sup>155</sup> We can think of the Cathedral and the collection he amassed for the Gallery in Zagreb as twin projects. Both would provide models of “corrected” taste, both were cast as foundations for a budding, indigenous art. The “young” artists who were already producing work were shut out for the most part and encouraged to keep learning: “When our [Ivan] Rendić is grown up enough (*kad doraste*) he too will have work in our church. We only advise him from the bottom of our soul to learn as much as he can in Florence from Luca della Robbia...”<sup>156</sup>

Construction of Đakovo Cathedral had begun in 1866 and would continue through 1882 based on plans drawn by Viennese architect, Karl Rösner (1804–1867), in a historicizing Romanesque style the Bishop felt to be a connecting bridge between the Western Catholic and

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<sup>153</sup> Letter to Franjo Rački, August 7, 1873, reproduced in Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1, 232–33.

<sup>154</sup> Letter to Franjo Rački, September 8, 1873, reproduced in Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1, 240. The other work Strossmayer refers to is Franjo Salghetti–Drioli’s *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers*, a painting that absolutely “treats our national life and our future.” He wrote in a subsequent letter on September 27, 1873: “I judge that this [Consoni’s] painting will be worthy and will be examined closed and studied by all our people.” Ibid, 245.

Strossmayer’s words may belie some defensiveness. He may have felt under attack by the Roman circle for his decision to give the commission to a non–Slavic artist. For an excellent thorough discussion of the paintings Strossmayer commissioned from Consoni, see: Dragan Damjanović, “Oltarne pale Nicole Consonija za đakovačku katedralu,” *Peristil: Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 51 (2008): 195–206.

<sup>155</sup> Today the painting is housed in the Strossmayer Museum, Đakovo.

<sup>156</sup> [Strossmayer], “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi,” *Vienac*, 45. Ivan Rendić was, in the end, allowed to execute two bas–reliefs, located above the chapel entrance. It must be mentioned that there were a number of skilled Croatian artists and artisans engaged in the Cathedral project. Most prominent among them was the sculptor Vatroslav Donegani (1836–1899), from the northern coastal city of Rijeka, who supervised the decorative stonework, and also carved most of the statues in the Cathedral. See: Julije Adamović and Nicola Mašić, eds., *Stolna crkva u Đakovu: U slavu pedesetogodisnjeg biskupobanja svoga pokrovitelja Josipa Jurja Strossmayera* (Prague: Jugosavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1900) 44–45.

Eastern Byzantine traditions his Yugoslavianism sought to reconcile (fig. 5.7).<sup>157</sup> For Strossmayer, in the Middle Ages, religious feeling in art and architecture had reached its highest point.<sup>158</sup> His views about the history of art along with his reliance on Montalembert help explain his taste for the Nazarenes, and the extraordinary failed commission he gave to an aged Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869) to decorate Đakovo Cathedral with a monumental cycle of frescos.<sup>159</sup>

Overbeck's recovery project of spiritual emulation, in which the appropriation of medieval and Renaissance painting represented a deeply religious and creative form of imitation, appealed to Strossmayer immensely—here was an ardently Catholic model for Croatian art that took the idea of model to heart.<sup>160</sup> Though today the Nazarenes are usually interpreted as having worked to create a specifically “German” style, it seems Strossmayer, apart from admiring the art they emulated, saw their endeavor as “Catholic” in the universal sense as did many at the time.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Rösner had begun working on plans for the Cathedral in 1854. See Dragan Damjanović, “Prvi projekat Karla Rösnera za katedralu u Đakovu iz 1854. Godine,” *Prostor* 15, no. 33 (2007): 2–25; idem., “Stilsko rješenje izvedbenih projekata Karla Rösnera za katedralu u Đakovu iz 1865. i 1867. Godine,” *Prostor* 1 [35], no. 16 (June 2008): 48–63; and idem., *Đakovačka katedrala* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2009). After Rösner's death, Viennese architect Friedrich Schmidt (1825–1891) took over the project.

For a discussion of Strossmayer's views on style (in painting and architecture), see Artur Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih nazarenaca* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1935), 1–6. This excellent publication also reproduces original letters between Strossmayer, Rösner and the Nazarene painters, 49–72.

<sup>158</sup> “Art, dedicated to the sacrifice on Golgotha, should serve God's purpose ... to educate and ennoble the people. There can be no doubt that art from the sixteenth century onward began regrettably to decline in that capacity.” [Strossmayer], “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi,” 14.

<sup>159</sup> Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih nazarenaca*, 7–30.

<sup>160</sup> For a wonderful recent analysis of Nazarene aesthetics as “thematically productive dialogue between appropriation and reinterpretation,” see Cordula Grewe, “Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art,” *Art Bulletin* 59, no. 1 (March 2007): 82–107.

<sup>161</sup> Many in Eitelberger's circle still championed the Nazarenes. Matthew Rampley, writing about Eitelberger's informal teacher, Josef Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), notes:

A friend of the Nazarene painter Franz Overbeck, Böhm was also critical of the loss of religious sentiment in contemporary art, since he believed religion to be the indispensable basis of all art ... Linked to this commitment to Catholicism was Böhm's promotion of medieval art, which had a significant impact on Eitelberger for whom the Middle Ages became a central topic of research. More generally, Böhm's willingness to challenge existing orthodoxy, although partly driven by conservative religious attitudes, laid the foundations of a central aspect of art-historical

Furthermore, the Nazarenes had played an integral role in Ludwig I of Bavaria's (1786–1868) plans to transform Munich into a German "Athens," a fact that could not have been lost on Strossmayer who was himself deeply committed to making Zagreb into a cultured "Athens" of the Slavic South.<sup>162</sup>

Overbeck had been a vital force when he founded the Brotherhood of Saint Luke at the beginning of the century in Rome, but by 1868, when Strossmayer gave him what was certainly the most challenging commission of his career, he was frail and would be dead within one year. At age seventy-seven, the artist's eyes and hands were failing. Nevertheless, he began work on preparatory cartoons for the frescos depicting scenes from the life of Saint Peter to whom the Cathedral in Đakovo was dedicated, perhaps inspired by the tremendous task Strossmayer assigned him: "your work ... will be a school for the young artists of a young nation, full of life and culturally able (*einer jungen, lebensfrischen und kulturfähigen Nation*)."<sup>163</sup> The undertaking was ill-fated from the start. Not only did it emerge that, true to Nazarene ideals, it was with the drawings themselves, and not their execution in color, that Overbeck excelled, but when he began drawing, the exact dimensions on the walls they were to decorate had not yet been determined and so the major part of them ended up being more or less unusable.<sup>164</sup> Kršnjavi, in his review of Čermák's *Episode*, had characterized Overbeck's line-oriented method

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scholarship in Vienna: the suspension of existing aesthetic norms in the name of the comprehensive study of the comprehensive study of art.

See his: "The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna," 59.

<sup>162</sup> Grewe, "Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art," 87.

<sup>163</sup> Letter from Strossmayer to Overbeck, 11 January 1869, as cited in Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih nazarenaca*, 59.

<sup>164</sup> As Lionel Gossman succinctly explains, for the Nazarenes, technique "came to be regarded as the handmaid of illusionistic painting and the mark of the artist's subservience to clients who used him to represent the world as they wanted it to be seen. ... In drawing contour and line were emphasized—that is to say, the most abstract and ideal aspects of art—with a minimum of modeling. ... Color was considered secondary, subordinate to line.... The goal was to reveal the essential truth of things as perceived by the artist's imagination ... rather than to reproduce or enhance the sensuous pleasure produced by external appearance." See his: "Beyond Modern: The Art of the Nazarenes," *Common Knowledge* 14, no. 1 (2008): 67–68.

uncharitably: “The great names of German painting satisfied themselves with drawing, and said they cared only about spiritual expression.”<sup>165</sup>

The father and son team of Alexander Maximilian Seitz (1811–1888) and Ludwig Seitz, (1844–1908), Nazarene painters themselves, were employed to paint the frescos in Đakovo. It took them twelve years to finish, and only three of Overbeck’s cartoons were used in the final compositions (fig. 5.8).<sup>166</sup> Unwavering in his aesthetic convictions, Strossmayer amassed a small collection of Nazarene paintings that, along with the cartoons by Overbeck, would form an important part of his donation to the Gallery in Zagreb.<sup>167</sup> “If,” he wrote in his 1874 article, “Overbeck’s cartoons will not, alas, adorn our Cathedral, they will adorn our national collection in Zagreb and will be an eternal mirror, that must be followed for our young people who will dedicate themselves to art.”<sup>168</sup> Any budding Croatian artist who wanted to “achieve some fame in religious painting,” a genre “valued by other peoples” should study Overbeck “day and night if possible.”<sup>169</sup>

Strossmayer’s trip to Paris in 1867, during which he visited the World’s Fair and saw contemporary religious works in situ in churches by Jean–Hippolyte Flandrin (1809–1864) and by Théodore Chassériau (1819–1856), may have confirmed his faith that monumental religious painting was an arena in which a young painter could achieve “fame,” in an elevated medium “so valued by other peoples.”<sup>170</sup> But though he was astute in perceiving the mania in France for

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<sup>165</sup> Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” *Vienac*, 472.

<sup>166</sup> See Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih nazarenaca*, 6. The Đakovo cathedral, along with its mural program, was completed in 1882.

<sup>167</sup> Zlamalik, ed., *Sto godina Strossmayerove galerije*, 48–49 for a list of paintings and drawings by Nazarene artists collected by the Bishop and in the original collection of the Strossmayer Gallery.

<sup>168</sup> [Strossmayer], “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi,” 14.

<sup>169</sup> [Strossmayer], “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi,” 14; and [Strossmayer], “Prva slika na liepu u novoj stolnoj crkvi djakovačkoj,” 620.

<sup>170</sup> Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo*, 5. Strossmayer undoubtedly undertook the trip due to the fact that plans for Đakovo cathedral were on display in the Austrian section of architectural drawings at the Paris Exposition.

monumental painting and “primitivism,” he was one of the last to champion the Nazarenes, whose days of glory had been some decades earlier.<sup>171</sup> Neither Kršnjavi nor Mrazović would ever share the Bishop’s love of Overbeck nor his preoccupation with religious art. Mrazović wrote, “the religious idea no longer has that strength that it once had, and so today’s painters can only in vain try to follow the old artists ... Today, other ideas animate the world, and these are the ideas of nationality, freedom, and nature.”<sup>172</sup>

Kršnjavi, imagining a very different, secular Đakovo Cathedral, a pan-Slavic foundation for a national Croatian art, wrote:

it would be better if in place of the foreign German specialist ... *Slavic* [original emphasis] artists decorated the church in Đakovo.<sup>173</sup> ... The walls of Đakovo Cathedral could be the beginning of a native school... the first monumental building where *Slavs* [original emphasis] could express their own way of thinking and feeling.”<sup>174</sup>

The younger generation could not fathom the Nazarenes in the Cathedral or the Gallery. The Nazarenes were perceived to have produced an overly philosophical style of religiosity out of touch with the modern world. Even in the official catalogue of the Strossmayer Gallery, one feels a palpable distaste for Overbeck and his followers. The Nazarenes were “not concerned with

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See Dragan Damjanović, “Projekti za đakovačku katedralu na Svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu 1867. Godine,” in: Irena Kraševac, ed. *Zbornik II. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2007), 187–96. For a discussion of the reception of the Nazarenes in France, see Gossman, “Beyond Modern: The Art of the Nazarenes.”

<sup>171</sup> On monumental painting in France see Marc Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>172</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 126. In his “How to Enrich Our Homeland?” (p. 317), Kršnjavi stabs at Strossmayer thus: “It is wonderful to build churches and restore things tastefully, but today the people need artfully-decorated museums, schools, and government buildings,”

<sup>173</sup> The artists Kršnjavi mentions, beside himself, are: [Henryk] Semieradski [sic., Siemeradzski] (1843–1902), [Gabriel] Max (1840–1915), [Miloš Vasilij Aleksandrovič] Kotarbinski (1854–1944) along with Alexander Maximilian and Ludwig Seitz. There was a notion that the Seitzes were of Slavic heritage: “The Seitzes, based on their past, are our people too (*i Seitzi su starinom po svoj priliki naši ljudi.*)” Strossmayer, “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi,” 45.

<sup>174</sup> Kršnjavi to Mrazović, December 26, 1874, as cited in Tataglia–Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog,” 186. One year later, he wrote to his friend: “I am sorry that I did not know the Bishop so well before, I would have saved him thousands [by dissuading him from purchasing] bad neo-Roman paintings (*nevaljale novorimske slike.*)” December 8, 1875, *ibid.*, 207.

form or technique, rather, they were guided by the ideas of Christianity ... [their] paintings are noble in idea, but there is no study of nature or trace of color in them, therefore one can say that they are more beautiful in idea than in form.”<sup>175</sup> Worse still, the majority of Nazarene production was reduced to affectation: “The Nazarenes were not destined to last long. The reason being the sentimentality they obsessively aspired to but that did not flow from the heart from many. That forced sentimentality foiled artists, especially if they were not strong, and art was taken from them; art fails as soon as you whisper to it.” Strossmayer was, however, a gracious loser. In the speech he gave on the opening day of the Gallery in 1884, he said:

It might be said that it was a mistake that most of [the works in] our collection are of religious subject matter. I would respond that if it was truly a mistake, the mistake would not be mine, but of the times. ... religious power and feeling has weakened too much in the world today... and is becoming weaker every day. I believe this is a great loss ... The most advanced period in that regard was the Middle Ages; at that time religious power and feeling permeated all of society... This is the reason religious paintings dominate our collection. It was my wish to cultivate religious sentiment in our people and caution our young artists that God and faith are the eternal source of ideality and sublimity... I wanted to show our people and our youth that this collection of ours, like similar collections all over Europe, the entire Middle Ages and even today's art, are a true *apologia* to the Catholic Church.<sup>176</sup>

The religious paintings by old masters Strossmayer had collected did stay in the Gallery. Overbeck's cartoons were lumped together with medieval illuminated manuscript pages, perhaps a nod to the artist's spiritual project of emulation, perhaps highlighting their irrelevance to the present.<sup>177</sup> They were not, however, destined to “adorn our national collection in Zagreb” forever as an “eternal mirror, that must be followed for our young people who will dedicate themselves

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<sup>175</sup> Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 751.

<sup>176</sup> Artur Schneider opens his excellent text on Strossmayer's relationship with the Nazarene painters with this quote taken from the speech the Bishop delivered on the occasion of the Gallery's opening in 1884. Josip Juraj Strossmayer, “Govor pokrovitelja Biskupa J.J. Strossmayer” in: *Spomenica o pedesetoj godišnjici Strossmayerove galerije* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1935), 31–32. See: Schneider, *Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo*, 1.

<sup>177</sup> This was the sixth and final room of the Gallery: “Cartoons and Illuminated Manuscripts.”

to art,” but rather, after sixty three years, returned to Đakovo where they faded from memory, as they also faded quite literally.<sup>178</sup>

In the section of the Gallery called the “Art of Our Time,” Slavic painters would share space with the Nazarenes, but overshadow them in the public eye.<sup>179</sup> The number of Slavic works was small, but highly publicized. In the progressive history evinced by the collection, Slavic artists of the nineteenth century appeared the most advanced model, functioning as a temporary placeholder for the modern Croatian art the Strossmayer Gallery was meant to help bring into existence.

Contemporary Slavic artists such as Jaroslav Čermák or Jan Matejko were praised by the Roman circle for being in touch with the common people. In his “It’s About Time,” Mrazović recommended looking to the “example of the Poles, who have ... created an entirely original Polish school, which carries the characteristic trait of their sad history... If our painters were to

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<sup>178</sup> [Strossmayer], “Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi,” 14. In 1947, the cartoons were transferred to the Cabinet of Graphics just a few hundred yards away in Zagreb. In 1955, they were displayed in Đakovo in an exhibition marking the fiftieth anniversary of Strossmayer’s death. They remained there in the Diocese Museum until 1991, when they were sent to Maribor, Slovenia to protect them from possible damage due to the war. They were restored in Germany in the 1990s. See: Axel Feuss, “Vierzehn Kartons von Johann Friedrich Overbeck für die Kathedrale von Djakovo / Kroatien,” *Kunstchronik* 47, no. 7 (July 1994): 364–65.

<sup>179</sup> See for example, the informative text in *Vienac* describing the six halls of the Gallery and their thematic contents:

- I. Italian Painting from the fourteenth to middle of the fifteenth century, and Flemish painting of the same period
- II. Art of the classical renaissance
- III. Eclectics and materialists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- IV. Paintings from the Venetian School. In this hall there are fourteen paintings by Medulić (mostly allegories) and two beautiful paintings by Carpaccia (Krpča)
- V. Overbeck’s cartoons and the precious collection of medieval illuminated manuscript pages
- VI. Art of the nineteenth century, when Slavs step onto the stage, claiming a glorious place in Painting. Worthily are here the representatives: Siemiradzki, Kotarbinski, Matejko, Čermak, and our compatriot naš Nikola Mašić.

Note that the actual final two sections are switched here. In reality, the fifth section was “Art of our time” and the sixth “Cartoons and Illuminated Manuscripts.” As a result, the idea that Slavic artists of the nineteenth century are the culmination of the history of art cannot be missed. See: Anon., “K slikam: Strossmayerova galerija slika,” *Vienac* 16, no. 45, November 8, 1884, 722. In Truhelka’s version of the catalogue published in *Vienac*, this switch is also in place, so that the section of Slavic art comes directly before his concluding paragraph, in which he hopes that “at least one chosen person ... will be stimulated by the collection and apply himself to the fine art of painting, so that his paintings might launch the glorious Croatian past through the world.” Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 766.

do the same, we would have not just art created here at home, but an art of the people.”<sup>180</sup> In the Gallery’s script, Kršnjavi and his student, Truhelka, minimized Strossmayer’s mark on the “Art of Our Time,” looking to what they called the “Folk Romanticism” practiced by Slavic artists of the nineteenth century:

Folk Romanticism (*Narodna romantika*) is becoming the main content of modern painting. Everyone has enjoyed viewing the customs of his own people drawn in realistic fidelity; and seeing that people idealized on canvas would carry the viewer to patriotism. In this way, painting has touched the vein which has been interwoven with modern art, and which resounds in the heart of every viewer. The patriotic tendency has expanded the field of art, it has opened to art the path to the heart of the people, so that art, for which it was said had no home, now arrives on native soil.

Slavic artists appear only in the nineteenth century on the stage of art, and patriotism is their characteristic trait. They do not allow themselves to be led by illusory ideas, which would alienate them from the people, rather, they draw the people and its history. That art is perhaps still young, but its first appearances are energetic. ...<sup>181</sup>

Commentators across the board believed the Slavs were destined to be the best artists of the nineteenth century, because they struggled like no other people for the freedom of the people. In August Šenoa’s poetic interpretation of Čermák’s *Raid of Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village of Herzegovina (Turkey)*, Europe is a decrepit, hypocritical old woman “Europe has shut her eyes tightly / A heavy slumber covers her ... With sepulcher breathe, your soul breathes / Your blood wearies in your viens” in contrast to the native sons for whom the poem was written: “And you heroes near the sun ... Freedom! Let that be your first word” (fig. I.7).<sup>182</sup> The struggling Slavs and their contemporary art were “young” and “energetic.” The future was theirs. *Vienac* had lamented Čermák’s “unfortunate death, to the great detriment of Slavic art.”<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 126.

<sup>181</sup> Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 766.

<sup>182</sup> A[ugust] Š[enoa], “Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici,” *Vienac* 7, no. 35 August 28, 1875, 555 and 556 (lines 3–4 and 85–86).

<sup>183</sup> Anon, “Čermakov ‘Ranjeni Crnogorac,’” 295.

*Hrvatski Svjetozor* echoed with “All Slavdom has lost today its most important (*najznamenitiji*) painter”... and recommended that “when one day, the lush flower of art finally blooms in Croatia” it would “have reason to follow the trail that” Slavic painters like Čermák “blazed.”<sup>184</sup>

## A KIND OF NATIONAL SAUCE<sup>185</sup>

What exactly was the nature of the “Slavic art” referred to by all these commentators? We know it pictured the people and their history. But what did it look like when “*Slavs* ... express[ed] their own way of thinking and feeling?”<sup>186</sup> Kršnjavi had implied there was a fundamental difference in the production of Slavic and non-Slavic artists. The idea of “Slavic art” held by Kršnjavi and his contemporaries seems to have roots in both internal and external sources. That is, it developed in tandem with an acute awareness of European criticism.<sup>187</sup> For example, we can sense a protest against widely-dispersed notions of “Slavic art” as coloristic and temperamental, but acceptance of qualities such as melancholy from texts such as Čermák’s obituary in *Vienac*.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> M. G., “Jaroslav Čermak, rodjen u Pragu 1. kolovoza 1831., umro u Parizu 23. travnja 1878.,” 353 and 354.

<sup>185</sup> Gustav Mahler on national particularization in music in a letter to Alma Mahler from Helsinki, November 1, 1907, after hearing Sibelius’s *Vårsång* (Spring Song, 1894) and *Valse triste* (1903). Cited in Erik Tawastjerna, *Sibelius*, vol. 2, 1904–1914, trans. Robert Layton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 76. Sincere thanks to William A. Everett for bringing this quote to my attention.

<sup>186</sup> Kršnjavi, as cited in Tataglia–Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog,” 186.

<sup>187</sup> In the Czech lands, commentators were defining the concept of “Slavic painting” as early as the mid-nineteenth century, as in Ludvík Ritter von Rittersberg’s, “Myšlenky o slowanském malířství,” *Květy a plody* 12, no. 3 (1848): 57–64, no. 4 (1848): 85–93, no. 6 (1848): 137–146. Rittersberg recommended that Slavic painters depict “beautiful and noble” South Slavic subjects who “conserved the costume of their forefathers.” See: Markéta Theinhardt, “Jaroslav Čermák, un peintre tchèque entre Paris et les Balkans,” *Cultures d’Europe Centrale* no. 3, *Le Voyage dans les confins* (2003): 48.

“Following Herder, Rittersberg identified typical and original features of “Slavic aesthetics” and glorified the common people as the carriers of the national artistic tradition.” Marta Filipová, “The Construction of a National Identity in the Historiography of Czech Art” (PhD Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2008), 60. Croatian commentators were undoubtedly familiar with this source.

<sup>188</sup> Anon, “Jaroslav Čermak,” 295:

... there is nothing violent (*silovita*), tempestuous (*burna*), screeching (*krična*), or too sweet (*sladjuša*), soft (*mekušna*)... He attentively avoided the exclusive manner of Matejko’s Slavic tendency and typicality, and [furthermore] did not seek his [Matejko’s] extreme coloristic effects.

While here and there we find suggestive morsels describing the formal qualities of “Slavic art,” all in all it was an illusive category, hazy at best. It was perhaps for this reason that alongside the Slavic artists meant to be models for Croatia’s native sons, the ever–practical Kršnjavi turned his gaze to the *volk*. He looked to the place his Viennese training taught him the people’s unconscious had always been producing art: costume, textiles, pottery, vernacular architecture, and above all, ornament.<sup>189</sup> Here was something concrete that one could go about collecting and studying scientifically. If Đakovo Cathedral, the apotheosis of Nazarene art, clarified the type of native painting Bishop Strossmayer hoped would issue from the classical foundation provided by the Gallery, for Kršnjavi, high art could steady its course by looking to folk art and ethnography.<sup>190</sup>

Folk art was an excellent choice to help particularize the art of a “young” people who lacked sufficient native models. Commentators increasingly prized the living folk traditions at

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... There is something of Slavic melancholy in all of his [Čermak’s] paintings. ... The Slavs have lost a illustrious talent, an excellent representative of the Slavic soul in art.

Contrast this to a text on the artworks displayed at the World’s Fair in Paris of 1878 by German art critic Max Sulzberger (1830–1901), who spent his mature career in Belgium. While noting the “advent of artistic cosmopolitanism, under the initiating influence of France,” he finds that “in general, the Slavs are more colorists than the Germans. Witness the works of the departed Jaroslav Čermak. His *Wounded Montenegrin* falls gradually into black.” Max Sulzberger, *Les Beaux–Arts à l’Exposition Universelle internationale de 1878 à Paris* (Bruxelles: A. N. Lebègur et Cie, 1878), 7 and 43.

<sup>189</sup> As Matthew Rampley has convincingly argued:

The folk art movements in central Europe had specific traits ... that distinguished it from the primitivism of artists such as Gauguin or the exoticism of British, French or German historians writing on Islamic or Indian art. For the latter projected the search for authenticity onto an exotic and/or primitive other, which served as a foil for the modern European subject ... In contrast, the folk–art movement in Habsburg central Europe was narrower in scope, concerned with tracing the roots of specific communities in the search for national renewal. [...]

More generally, the folk–art movement played an important role in giving visible form to the emerging ideologies in the mid to late nineteenth century ... In each case, the folk–art movement saw the peasant culture of the surrounding countryside as having preserved historic traditions and practices that could serve as the locus of authentic national identity.

See his: *The Vienna School of Art History*, 124.

<sup>190</sup> As Kršnjavi wrote, in order to develop a national art industry, “one must first of all nourish its mother—art.” Kršnjavi, “Kako da nam se domovina odbogati?” 317. Interestingly, we find Mrazović sometimes espousing the opposite view when it is convenient. For example, in a review of the first exhibition of the Art Society founded by Kršnjavi, he argues that the applied arts should take priority over high arts in the “aesthetic education of the people,” for “neither upbringing nor learning begin with the most elevated and difficult.” See his: “Umjetnicko–obrtnicka izložba u Zagrebu,” *Vienac* 11, no. 50, December 13, 1879, 799.

home and, seeing that the rest of the world prized them too, could formulate being “young” in the arena of high art as a good thing because it meant being vigorous and unspoiled. Kršnjavi’s despairing “are we destined to always remain barbarians?” is, therefore, somewhat misleading.<sup>191</sup> On the one hand, “barbarianness” dramatized the program put forth by the Roman circle and served as a word of alarm. On the other hand, however, the barbarian represented cultural immediacy. Nothing is more authentic and untouched than the barbarian. And nothing the barbarian makes is more authentic and untouched than his ornamental clothes. In Croatia’s plan to cultivate art at home, therefore, ethnographic collections would develop in parallel with old master paintings and plaster casts of classical statuary. The first would inculcate the principles of what was considered universal good taste, while the second contained exemplars of native creativity, “healthy correctives” to the deadening repetition to which historicism could lead.<sup>192</sup> The barbarian who could appropriate the classical inheritance while remaining vigorously other would be unstoppable.

Folk art also fit into the idea of medium specificity Kršnjavi had assimilated in Vienna. Here was a way to avoid the domination of literature over painting, to foster a South Slavic art rooted in South Slavic visual traditions just as ancient and authentic as epic poetry. Already in 1870, he was advocating the collection of ethnographic materials:

we should collect textiles and other native folk art materials... in our parts, there is a rich source for art [found] among the people themselves. Just as our people sing songs and thus provide material for poetry, so in happier circumstances [such visual folk material] could be the national foundation [for a national art, architecture, industry, etc.].<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Kršnjavi, “Kako da nam se domovina odbogati?” *Vienac*, 331.

<sup>192</sup> Reynolds–Cordileone cites Jacob von Falke (1825–1897) writing in 1878: “A rich abundance of original forms is at our disposal, already proven by centuries of practical use, a positive treasure trove of ornaments.” Reynolds–Cordileone, “The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry” 136.

<sup>193</sup> Kršnjavi, “Nješto ob umjetnosti,” 317.

Folk art might even be superior to poetry, and provide a way for Croatia to invert its reliance on the artistic traditions of foreign lands. Bulgarian cultural anthropologist Ivaylo Ditchev has characterized this type of move as “debt–invention.”<sup>194</sup> For example, in this anonymous text from 1875, South Slavic costume and ornament assume a generative role in the oeuvre of Slavic artists who intuitively recognized in them a primeval quality of “Slavicness,” while non–Slavic artists were compelled by their inventiveness without understanding their deeper ethnic matrix. The motifs preserved among the living South Slavs satisfied a feeling of lack in the arena of contemporary fine arts. Such a proposition represented a new way of making Čermák, who painted so many South Slavic subjects, “ours.” Inverting the flow of influence, Čermák’s oeuvre was cast as deriving from the inspiration provided by South Slavic folk art.

Costume among our people is everywhere very clean and picturesque. Go to Bulgaria or Albania, traverse Bosnia and Dalmatia, visit Slavonia or Montenegro, come to Croatia or the islands, everywhere you will find ... a serious, measured taste in ornament (*ures*).

Neither in our national poems nor stories, nor sayings nor customs, nor dances nor songs are found such a profusion of spiritual invention, and so many traces of great primeval culture of the Slavs in the age when they still lived together (*još u doba zajedničkog im života*), as in these magnificent remains of ornamentation.<sup>195</sup>

The picturesque quality of our national costume delights the painters of every nation. It is well known to our readers how much beauty Jaroslav Čermák has drawn out in Montenegro and Herzegovina. The French painter [Théodore] Valerio, traveling in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Slavonia, etc. recorded many national types and their costumes, and while he neither wanted nor knew how to execute the beauty of details, his drawings and paintings have attracted outstanding interest.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Ivaylo Ditchev, “The Eros of Identity,” in: *Blood and Honey: Future’s in the Balkans* (Vienna: Edition Sammlung Essl, 2003), exhibition catalogue, 90–99.

<sup>195</sup> The writer refers to the ancient time before the Slavs split up into various tribes.

<sup>196</sup> The anonymous author, carried away by his musings on national costume, strayed from a strict description of the illustration based on a print by French artist Théodore Valerio that occasioned the text. Anon., “Narodna nošnja kod Osieka (k slici),” *Vienac* 7, no. 47, November 20, 1875, 771.

True to his training, Kršnjavi believed the folk art of his country to possess rejuvenating qualities, and was likewise enamoured with the materialistic possibilities of folk art.<sup>197</sup>

Decorative arts modeled on indigenous motifs could bring the nation wealth. Kršnjavi would ardently support presenting Croatia with a folksy “national style” at Fairs throughout Europe, such as the Austro–Hungarian Industrial–Agricultural Exposition held in Trieste in 1882 (fig. 5.9).<sup>198</sup> A well designed pavilion based on vernacular styles could be submitted to the judgment of the world with pride.<sup>199</sup>

Like his colleagues all over Europe, Kršnjavi became personally engaged in an ethnographic “rescue project” of “vanishing” indigenous traditions.<sup>200</sup> In the 1880s, he would dedicate enormous energies to documenting and collecting native textiles, costumes,

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<sup>197</sup> Austria was exploiting the visual resources of its provinces to breathe new life into its decorative arts and luxury goods production. See: Reynolds–Cordileone, “The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry,” 135–38. Croatian critics, were quick to register outside valorization, and wanted to do the same at home.

Modern industry does not know how to produce such beauty with its machines. The *Neue Presse* speaks truly on that question on the occasion of the Vienna Exhibition: “the articles of South Slavic cottage industry have countless artistic motifs, which are so original, simple and pure ... which is completely missing from modern decorative art.”

See: Anon., “Narodna nošnja kod Osieka (k slici),” 771.

<sup>198</sup> In an article, “Hrvatski pavillon za tršćansku izložbu,” in *Hrvatska Vila* 1, no. 5 (1882): 111, K[ršnjavi] expresses pride over the “originality” and “beauty” of the pavilion at the 1882 Exhibition in Trieste, built in a “national style” by Hermann Bollé (1845–1926), an Austrian architect involved in several of the most important building projects in *fin-de-siècle* Zagreb. Interestingly, the fact that the architect was not Croatian does not seem to have troubled many. On the pavilion see also: Anon., “Hrvatska na izložbi u Trstu,” *Hrvatska Vila* 2, no. 1 (1883): 20; Anon., “Naša slika — Sgrada za tršćansku izložbu,” *Vienac* 14, no. 20, May 20, 1882, 319–20; Fr[anjo] Š[aver, or Ksaver] Kuhač, “Tršćanska izložba,” *Vienac* 14, no. 36, September 9, 1882, 583; no. 37, September 16, 1882, 590–93; and no. 38, September 23, 1882, 612–15; Anon., “Parižki ‘Illustration,’” *Vienac* 14, no. 43, October 28, 1882, 696; Anon., “Francez o Hrvatih,” *Vienac* 14, no. 49, December 9, 1882, 792. On Bollé, see Dragan Damjanović, “Herman Bollé and Croatian Pavilions at the Exhibitions in Trieste (1882) and Budapest (1885 and 1896),” *Centropa* 10, no. 3 (September 2010): 231–43; and idem, *Arhitekt Herman Bollé* (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 2013).

<sup>199</sup> In addition to those of Vienna in 1873 and Trieste in 1882, Croatia built pavilions in a “folk style” abroad at the fairs of Budapest in 1886 and 1896 (at this latter, the folk style was used for only one of four pavilions, that of forestry).

The products of Croatian “cottage industry (*kućni obrt* [German *hausindustrie*])” were exhibited at local fairs in Zagreb (1864, 1881 and 1891) and abroad at expositions in Vienna (1873 and 1894) Trieste (1882) Budapest (1886 and 1896) and Paris (1889, 1900). See: Aleksandra Muraj, “Odnos građanstva spram narodne nošnje i seljačkoga tekstilnog umjeća,” *Narodna umjetnost* 43, no. 2 (2006): 17.

<sup>200</sup> See: Mark B. Sandberg, *Living Pictures Missing Persons* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), especially the section “Cultural Juxtaposition,” 153–61.

architectural fragments, etc.<sup>201</sup> He was not the first to do so. In their 1874 articles in *Vienac*, both Mrazović and Kršnjavi mention the textile collection of Felix [also Srećko] Lay (1838–1912), a successful merchant turned passionate textile collector from Osijek, Croatia.<sup>202</sup> Lay had amassed a substantial number of costumes and other textiles that toured the World Fair circuit extensively in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>203</sup> Aiming to achieve even wider circulation and promote the collection's use–value, he published a monumental 20–volume edition entitled “*Ornaments of South Slavic Cottage and Decorative Arts Industries*” which rationalized the ornamental motifs drawn from his textiles on luxurious multi–color lithographed gridded folios ready to be used by students and industry (fig. 5.10).<sup>204</sup>

In 1879, at the first exhibition of the Art Society he founded, Kršnjavi displayed textiles from Lay's collection alongside high art and craft.<sup>205</sup> His curatorial *ars combinatoria* is telling of

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<sup>201</sup> In 1881, Kršnjavi journeyed through the regions of Slavonia and Srijem on an ethnographic mission to gather examples of folk art. They were displayed in the second exhibition of the “Society of Art” in Zagreb in 1881–1882. He published a book based on his travels, *Listovi iz Slavonije* (Zagreb: Naklada Pišćeva, 1882), and a long essay, “Narodni građevni styl,” *Glasnik društva za umjetnost i umjetni obrt* 3 (1888): 1–9. See: Tihana Petrović, “Iso Kršnjavi kao etnograf,” *Etnološka tribina* 15 (1992): 150–52; and Muraj, “Odnos građanstva spram narodne nošnje i seljačkoga tekstilnog umjeća,” 21–22.

<sup>202</sup> On Lay see: Muraj, “Odnos građanstva spram narodne nošnje i seljačkoga tekstilnog umjeća,” 17–18. Eric Anderson analyzes Lay's work in ornament in the Central European context in his “Beyond Historicism: Jakob von Falke and the Reform of the Viennese Interior,” (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2009), 194–99. Rebecca Houze discusses Lay in relation to polemics of Hungarian folk art discourse in her “Home as a Living Museum: Ethnographic Display and the 1896 Milenial Exhibition in Budapest,” *Centropa* 12, no. 2 (May 2012): 141.

<sup>203</sup> Lay's collection of textiles was exhibited in Moscow and Paris in 1867, Berlin, Kassel and London in 1871, Vienna in 1873 and Paris in 1878. Parts ended up in the South Kensington Museum in London, as well as in Nuremberg and Vienna. The bulk of the collection was gifted to the nation, ending up in the Arts and Crafts and Ethnographic Museums in Zagreb. Muraj, “Odnos građanstva spram narodne nošnje,” 17–18.

<sup>204</sup> Felix Lay [Srećko Lay], *Ornamenti jugoslovenske domaće i umjetne obrtnosti / Ornamente südslavischer nationaler Haus und Kunstindustrie / Ornaments des arts et metiers des Slaves du sud*, 20 vols. (Vienna: Stockinger & Morsack, 1875–1884). Lay published the 20–volume work on his own expense. The undertaking bankrupted him.

<sup>205</sup> There were eight groups within the exhibition: architectural drawings, sculpture, paintings and prints, textiles, metalwork, ceramic works, carved works and cottage industry objects. Lay's collection was displayed on its own as a whole apart from the aforementioned groups. In his “Arts and Crafts Exhibition in Zagreb,” Ladislav Mrazović described the exhibition and its mission. Now a staunch advocate of elementary education in the scheme of elevating artistic taste among the people, his position had shifted dramatically since authoring “It's About Time” in 1874.

When I speak of art, I do not only mean the three branches of high art: painting, sculpture and architecture; rather I also include applied arts... because for the upbringing of the people, these are much more important than the first. [...] the aesthetic education of the people cannot be achieved through high art alone; neither upbringing nor learning begin with the most elevated and difficult.

the all-encompassing vision he developed in the same Central European “environment” that produced notables such as Rudolf Eitelberger, Jacob von Falke, Alois Riegl (1858–1905), and Gottfried Semper.<sup>206</sup> Kršnjavi’s imperative to combine—an imperative directed at the future cadre of native artists—is summed up by the object he chose to distribute to the members of the Art Society in its first year: an engraving of Jaroslav Čermák’s 1877 *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bachi–Bozouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed*—retitled *Herzegovinians on the Ashes of Their Village (Hercegovci na garištu svojega sela)* (fig. I.5).<sup>207</sup> The choice may have represented a reproach to Bishop Strossmayer for failing to buy what the presses dubbed the “pendant” to the *Wounded Montenegrin* for the Gallery.<sup>208</sup> *Herzegovinians on the Ashes of Their Village* was the last painting Čermák exhibited at the Paris Salon before his untimely death.

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[...] if from their earliest days children see only clean forms and harmonious colors, then their eyes will get used to it, and all that is ugly, unharmonious and irrational will offend them...

L[adislav] M[razović], “Umjetničko–obrtnička izložba u Zagrebu,” *Vienac* 11, no. 50, December 13, 1879, 798–99.

The same mix of ethnographic objects, high art and decorative objects was repeated at the second exhibition of the Art Society in 1880–1881.

<sup>206</sup> See: Rampley “The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna,” 76.

<sup>207</sup> See: Anon., “Društvo umjetnosti,” *Vienac* 11, no. 24, May 14, 1879, 388, which lets readers know that Čermák’s “beautiful picture” had just arrived from Paris to be given to all members of the Society of Art (*Društvo umjetnosti*); and an advertisement in *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, supplement, n.p., that the engraving (*bakrojed*) by Goupil in Paris would to be given to all the members of the Art Society.

<sup>208</sup> The paintings were exhibited together in Paris at the World’s Fair of 1878.

Count Medo Pucić, who was in Paris in May of 1877 in order to establish Vlaho Bukovac with a teacher and see the Salon, seems to have initiated the idea of Strossmayer’s purchasing Čermák’s *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi–Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed*. Negotiations went back and forth between the Bishop and Čermák (through the intermediary of Pucić and Franjo Rački) for a month and half, but in the end, although he had the possibility of paying in installments over two years, he felt the asking price of 20,000 francs was too high. Strossmayer had offered 8,000 over four years. Rački wrote to the Bishop: “I’ve written to Medo in Paris that alas You cannot purchase Čermák’s painting. It is a great shame, that that painting could not [hang next to] the “Wounded Montenegrin.” See: Ferdo Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1929), letters 483, 484, 485, 487, 488, and 489 dating May 25, 1877 to July 13, 1877 (pages 109–110, 111, 114, 115, 116 and 117); quote is from page 115. Čermák framed the failed sale graciously and cleverly:

I acutely regretted that circumstances independent of my will prevented my painting of the “Herzegovinians returning to their destroyed village” from being part of your Gallery. In any case, it is good that other countries become acquainted with and interest themselves in my painting and

Like many of his earlier works, Jaroslav Čermák's last masterpiece dramatizes conflict between South Slavic Christians and Muslim Ottomans. The painting represents refugees standing inside the roofless ruin of their village church. The group consists mainly of women and children, accompanied by an older man wearing the red cloak of Čermák's *Study of a Slavic Rayah (Herzegovina)* of 1861, carrying the same sabre and pistol in his girdle (fig 1.16). The gazes of the figures in the center of the composition are pulled through a functionless doorway onto a gruesome scene in the cemetery. The decapitated heads of their family and friends stare back at them on barbarous spikes. Further enhancing the atmosphere of menace are a flock of black birds taking flight, one imagines they have been scavenging the bodies of the dead

At left stands a woman clearly in shock holding an infant. She has retreated into the one corner of the church still standing and looks off into the distance. The direction of the child's gaze is likewise vague. A sharply foreshortened cannon points directly at them from the bottom left corner of the painting. The instrument that destroyed the church is crippled but remains to threaten the returning villagers like a viscous guard dog.

At right is a third group of figures: There are two older women dressed in black in the shadows. One has fallen to her knees, holding her head in her hands, while the other stands erect balancing a cradle on her head. Between them are the older man and a small boy wearing a miniature version of the hooded cloak. As in the *Wounded Montenegrin*, Čermák created a composition in which our eyes wander through a host of figures communicating a range of emotions before finally resting on a child. The little boy is the only figure who looks out of the

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our woes and our sufferings. I hope that now a new and happier space will be opened and that the martyrs will be consoled.

Čermák to Strossmayer, January 21, 1878, letter no. 1, "Pisma Jaroslava Čermáka Strossmayeru." HAZU, Zagreb. I would like to thank Ljerka Dulibić for bringing this letter to my attention and generously sharing it with me.

painted world at us, the viewers. Čermák tasks the child with delivering the painting's message. Similar to the *Wounded Montenegrin*, he created a relationship of inheritance between male figures. The male child is poised to inherit the role of the older man. When he grows up, he will carry the weapons under his cloak and avenge his village.<sup>209</sup> The grave little boy is the anticipation of what will come. He clutches a richly bound book in his tiny hand. Perhaps he will use culture along with sabres and pistols to enact his revenge in the future.

The gorgeous reproduction, printed by Goupil in Paris, was a roadmap for “young” Croatian painters, an example of what the most elevated genre of a future Croatian art—history painting—might look like. Čermák, a famous Slavic painter, was an ethnically appropriate father figure. The narrative content was patriotic, South Slavic and represented a “noble idea.”<sup>210</sup> Herzegovina, like Montenegro, represented the ancient and least corrupted version of the South Slavic self. Čermák had “draw[n] the people and its history”<sup>211</sup>—its “sad history.”<sup>212</sup> Every figure in the complex composition wears a unique, elaborate costume that exudes the “profusion of spiritual invention” of South Slavic ornament.<sup>213</sup> Various ethnographic objects like the cradle one woman carries on her head are scattered throughout the composition.

The engraving of Čermák's *Herzegovinians on the Ashes of Their Village* synthesized Kršnjavi's overarching scheme to foster all the arts in Croatia. It also reveals how literally

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<sup>209</sup> K[ršnjavi], “Hercegovce na garištu svoga sela,” 473. Kršnjavi's text accompanied a woodprint reproduction in *Vienac* and advertised the better aquatint reproduction by Goupil and by extension, the Art Society. He interpreted the two children as follows: “The little boy standing isolated next to the old man is energy, and the infant on his mother's breast is gentleness; if we read revenge on the face of the first [child], the other announces that there is something holier than revenge ... that is love.”

<sup>210</sup> The “noble idea” figures prominently in Kršnjavi's explanation of history painting in his: “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” 472.

<sup>211</sup> Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” 766.

<sup>212</sup> Ladislav Mrazović's recommendation to model Croatian art on the “example of the Poles, who have ... created an entirely original Polish school, which carries the characteristic trait of their sad history.” See his: “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 126.

<sup>213</sup> Anon., “Narodna nošnja kod Osieka (k slici),” 771.

“superficial” the idea of national art was in the later nineteenth century. What it looked like when “Slavs ... express[ed] their own way of thinking and feeling”<sup>214</sup> was academic painting in which the figures wore new costumes. The Slavs “own way of thinking” did not translate to a fundamentally different approach to painting. The folk elements that particularized Čermák’s work as “Slavic art” were surface touches on what was always a classical base. All a painter needed to do was “dress up” the figures in national costume. It was thus with painting and all the branches of art.<sup>215</sup> The architect could decorate façades with folk ornament. Turn-of-the-century composer Gustave Mahler described this kind of particularization in music as “national sauce”:

At the concert I also heard some pieces by Sibelius, the Finnish national composer who they make a great fuss about, not only here but elsewhere in the musical world. One of the pieces was just ordinary “kitsch” spiced with certain “nordic” orchestral touches like a kind of national sauce.... They are the same everywhere, these national geniuses.<sup>216</sup>

Of course, Kršnjavi and his cohorts had charged art with the gravest mission: proving the high level of civilization of the nation. It never crossed their minds to risk abandoning an academic style, because that style, rooted in the classical tradition, was synonymous with civilization. They were not worried that their idea of national art consisted more in “dressing up” than radical reconceptualization. What did worry them, however, was one glaring problem with

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<sup>214</sup> Kršnjavi, as cited in: Tataglia–Kelemen, “Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog,” 186.

<sup>215</sup> For example, to cultivate a native style of architecture, Mrazovic in his “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” 127, suggested:

When the Croatian architecture student (*tehnik*) finishes his studies in Vienna, Zürich or elsewhere on a government stipend, [the government] should not allow him to wander through the wide world seeking a living, rather should send him for two or three years to Italy to absorb the beautiful forms of the Renaissance, and when he returns home enthralled with classical models, [the government] should hire him in the building division (*graditeljski ured*) to do useful work ... Apart from that, it would be necessary the collection that will be had from Mr. [Felix] Lay be joined by a collection of architectural ornament of our people. Here the learned builder would have the opportunity to thoroughly study our national traits, and would witness at the same time, how the spirit of our people in every aspect was of momentous influence on the Italian Renaissance itself. In that way, building in our parts could be given a marked, unique appearance.

The ultimate goal of the Roman circle was to entice a cadre of professionals schooled abroad to return. In that way, the next generation could be entirely trained at home.

<sup>216</sup> Mahler, as cited in: Tawastjerna, *Sibelius*, vol. 2, 76.

their scheme to call art into being. Namely, that there were already artists at work producing just the kind of national images they wanted, but doing so independent of their efforts.

When the second edition of the Strossmayer Gallery catalogue was printed in 1891, its mission of producing a cadre of Croatian artists had not changed: “It remains for the future to fill in the gaps in our gallery. The art of the nineteenth century is represented by several German, Italian and Slavic painters; it will be the task of the future to fill this section especially with native works...”<sup>217</sup> The author might have added: “Just not too quickly!”

The faith of Kršnjavi and his generation in institutions to body forth the future culture resulted in a discursive need to posit art as a non-entity that would be called into being and naturalized through precisely scripted frameworks. Any art, regardless of its merits, would have to be the child of such a framework in order to have a chance at being found satisfactory.

Contemporary “Croatian art,” however, already undeniably existed and paradoxically made up a very small part of the Gallery’s own collection.<sup>218</sup> Commentators of all generations tried to

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<sup>217</sup> Franjo Rački, “Predgovor,” in: *Akademijaska Galerija Strossmajerova. Drugo preradjeno izdanje* (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1891), vii.

<sup>218</sup> The very last painter Truhelka discusses in his “Strossmayerova galerija slika” was a young, living, Croatian artist: “our compatriot, Nikola Mašić.” He praises Mašić’s (1852–1902) genre paintings, *Idyll* (*Idila*, no. 218) and *Goose girl on the Sava* (*Gušćarica na Savi*, no. 226) in which, “the painter has idealized the beautiful people who live under the Croatian sky.” However, his conclusion denies the possibility that Mašić’s painting has contributed in any way to the “Parthenon of Croatian art” the Strossmayer Gallery was hoped to become in the future. One could argue that the fact that Mašić, the genre painter, did not paint historical scenes that would “launch the glorious Croatian past through the world,” but rather picturesque scenes of village life, might account for his not qualifying for the “Parthenon of Croatian Art.” See: Truhelka, “Strossmayerova galerija slika,” *Vienac*, 766.

N.B. There were two paintings by Salghetti–Drioli in the Gallery: (*The Pharoah’s Dream* (*Faraunov san*, no. 229) and *The Return of Christopher Columbus after his Second Voyage* (*Kolumbov povratak sa drugoga putovanja*, no. 222), however the artist was singled out as being a native artist as with Mašić. In the 1885 catalogue, he is labeled “our Dalmatian Salghetti.” Truhelka, *Sbirka slika Strossmajerove Galerije Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 78.

Another glaring example of “Croatian art” already existing would be the exhibition of Croatian art held in October of 1874, the very year the Roman circle first published their program to foster art in *Vienac*. Included in the exhibition at the People’s House (*Narodni Dom*) in Zagreb were paintings by Kršnjavi, his friend Ferdinand Quiquerez, the young Nikola Mašić, and the aged Salghetti–Drioli. See Vladimira Tartaglia–Kelemen, “Izložba 1874. u Narodnom Domu,” *Zbornik historijskog instituta JAZU* 5 (1963): 377–85. As Tartaglia–Kelemen notes, there had also been an exhibition of Croatian art ten years earlier, within the context of the first Dalmatian–Croatian Slavonian Exposition held in Zagreb. That exhibition, however, was quite hodge-podge in character, consisting of

contain it by casting it as forever “young” and speaking in terms of “growing up,” but there would be more and more of it, and soon art would escape the confines of the discourse that held it in anticipatory stasis. The Gallery, thus, reveals the persistence of certain fundamental stress points in the nineteenth-century Croatian discourse of desire that we have already encountered.

Certain artists were to be disappeared altogether because their improperly acquired skill was so dangerous to the discourse. Kršnjavi’s friend from Rome, Ferdinand Quiquerez, who was producing history paintings since 1870, was not represented in the Gallery at all. Ivan Rendić was held at bay from working in Đakovo Cathedral. Likewise, Vlaho Bukovac’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, a work that had received the ultimate international recognition through its acceptance in the Paris Salon, did not find a place in Strossmayer’s Gallery, but was hidden away from view. As Čermák’s *Episode* sped back to Paris on a train in 1878 to be displayed with pride at the World’s Fair, Bukovac could not have imagined his *Episode* would soon be relegated to oblivion.

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contemporary works of all of amateurs and professionals, as well as by dead artists. See the section “Slikarije, risarije, obrasci i kipotvorine” in: Jos. Ferdo Devidé and Mirko Šuhaj, *Prva izložba dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonska 1864. mjeseca kolovoza, rujna i listopada održavana u Zagrebu glavnome gradu trojedne kraljevine* (Zagreb: A. Jakić, 1864), 245–48.

## CHAPTER VI

### ***LA CONTADINA MONTENEGRINA:* WOMAN ON THE VERGE OF HISTORY PAINTING**

For two days everyone has been saying no to me.  
Now it's my turn to say no.<sup>1</sup>

The reader will probably have noticed that not once have I broached the subject of color in Vlaho Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. The reason is that I have never seen the painting; the whereabouts of the canvas are unknown.<sup>2</sup> My visual interpretation has been based on an image that I have been able to study at length: a high-quality albumen print conserved in the archives of the Vlaho Bukovac House Museum in Cavtat (fig. I.1).<sup>3</sup> Presumably, this was the photograph Bukovac commissioned after the Salon of 1878 came down, and upon which the etching for *Slovinac*—the only reproduction the public in Croatia would ever see during the artist's lifetime—was based (fig. 4.1).<sup>4</sup> A small piece of the upper left-hand corner of the photograph is torn away, perhaps marking the spot where it was once tacked to a wall in Bukovac's atelier. Besides the engraving in *Slovinac*, a copy of which Bukovac also kept, this photograph is the only visual record of the missing work.

Despite all indications that the Croatian public approved of, indeed was ecstatic about Bukovac's first efforts in Paris, the *Episode* was quickly lost. In his autobiography of 1918, Bukovac laments the fact that he did not know "in whose hands" his "first work of art" was—a

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<sup>1</sup> The character, Pepa Marcos, in: Pedro Almodóvar Caballer, dir., *Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (*Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios*), 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Vera Kružić-Uchytíl's describes the palette in her excellent monograph. As she told me in conversation, and is noted in her catalogue raisonné, she saw the painting while working on her dissertation in the 1960s, which became her monograph *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005) 323. At that time, it was in the private collection of Marija Gržetić of Zagreb, Croatia. Since then, however, the painting has disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat, old inventory no. 2/1.

<sup>4</sup> Undated letter from Vlaho Bukovac to Medo Pucić, PUC III D1. National Archives, Dubrovnik: "I shall take a photograph of her [the painting] and send it to you as well as a *cliché* for [the magazine] *Slovinac*." Medo Pucić, of course, saw the painting firsthand when he went to Paris for the opening of the Salon in 1878. Photographic reproductions of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* have appeared in numerous twentieth-century publications, but the printed rendition of the work appeared only once, in *Slovinac*, in 1879.

terming that indicates the weight he gave the canvas within his oeuvre.<sup>5</sup> After the Salon closed in Paris and the *Episode* had been photographed, Bukovac sent it to Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer as thanks for his patronage and in hopes of continued support.<sup>6</sup> What exactly happened after that is not certain.<sup>7</sup> What is certain is that the Bishop, perplexingly, did not make it part of the rich painting collection he gave to the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences, the collection that would open six years later to the public with great fanfare as the Strossmayer Gallery. It seems, instead, that he gave the painting to his sister, the Baroness Magdalena Unukić, who, in turn, gave it to her daughter, Albertina Adrowska.<sup>8</sup> The painting—the “first” by the artist who would come to be seen as the father of modern Croatian painting, and the “first” by a native son to be given the seal of foreign approval by its inclusion on the prestigious world stage of the Paris Salon—has never, in fact, been displayed publicly in the artist’s homeland. This puzzling state of affairs demands a closer look.

The last time the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* was attended to sustainedly was 1931, when Ferdo Šišić (1869–1940) authored a short essay entitled “Bukovac’s First Paintings and Strossmayer.”<sup>9</sup> Šišić, a founder and major figure of twentieth-century Croatian

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<sup>5</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj život*, (Zagreb: Književni jug, 1918), 80.

<sup>6</sup> “She [the painting *Young Sultaness*] will remain a token of my progress in painting, when I will have finished my training and sent you something more valuable...” “My gratefulness to Your Excellency, who alone has helped me up to now, frees me to write You this letter and ask You in advance for your goodness. That Your Excellency might see my progress in painting, I dare to send Your Excellency this last work (*rabota*), which was exhibited in the Salon, the ‘Montenegrin Woman (*Crnogorka*)’ [*The Episode from the War of Montenegro*]. I hope that You will find that you did not help me in vain...” Letters from Vlaho Bukovac to Bishop Strossmayer dating March 7, 1877, and October 8, 1878 cited in Ferdo Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer,” in: *Zbornik iz Dubrovačke prošlosti Milanu Rešetaru o 70oj godišnjici života* (Dubrovnik: Knjižara “Jadran,” 1931), 380 and 384.

<sup>7</sup> Bukovac sent the painting in October of 1878 to the Bishop. In November, he received a notice that it was being held by the railroad authorities in Slavonia, who had been unable to deliver it to Strossmayer. Pucić wrote to Strossmayer in December concerning the painting’s whereabouts, but received no answer.” See: Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer,” 384–85.

<sup>8</sup> This is Ferdo Šišić’s theory, as argued in his, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer,” 385. Vera Kružić–Uchytíl maintains that Strossmayer gave the *Episode* directly to his niece. See her *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo*, 323.

<sup>9</sup> Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca i Strossmayer,” 379–85.

historiography, is best remembered for his work on the medieval period, but also esteemed for his careful documentation of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In his 1931 essay, Šišić, the able archivist, pieces together a series of letters from 1877–1878 written between the artist (Vlaho Bukovac), his discoverer (Count Medo Pucić), and first patron (Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer). The letters—chronologically arranged and interspersed with extracts from Bukovac’s autobiography—shed light on the histories of two early works that hold a prominent place in Bukovac’s own account of his artistic path: the amateur canvas *Young Sultaness* that convinced Strossmayer to finance his first year of study in Paris, and his debut Salon painting, the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (figs. I.1 and 3.2). Bukovac gifted both to Strossmayer. At the time when Šišić wrote the essay in 1931, the two paintings were in private hands. This situation, intolerable to Šišić, was the *raison d’être* for the text. Clearly hoping that his appeal would be bolstered by the archival research presented, Šišić calls, in the conclusion of his essay, on what was then the Yugoslavian Academy of Arts and Sciences to acquire the paintings “a precious monument to our young painting” and place them in Strossmayer’s Picture Gallery in Zagreb where they belonged, or rather, I would add, should have ended up.<sup>11</sup>

It would be interesting to think about the survival and historicization of the “young painting” trope into the twentieth century, but let us keep to the task at hand. It has been eighty years since Šišić’s call to retrieve Bukovac’s early paintings from the private domain. During that time, the *Young Sultaness* was recovered, but the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* was

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Toman Brajović, in his *Crna Gora u delima likovnih umjetnika drugih krajeva i naroda xix i početkom xx veka* (Cetinje: Obod, 1967), xxvi; Anđe Kapičić, in her *Bukovac i Crna Gora* (Cetinje: Matica Crnogorska, 2002), 4–6; Vera Kružić–Uchtyl, in her *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo* (2005), 21–24 and 167–72; and Igor Zidić, in his *Vlaho Bukovac* (Zagreb: Moderna Galerija, 2000) all treat the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, however without the single-minded focus of Šišić.

<sup>10</sup> See: Mirjana Gross, *Suvremena historiografija: Korijeni, postignuća, traganja* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1996), 180–86; and Mira Kolar–Dimitrijević, “Povjesničar dr. Ferdo Šišić kao saborski zastupnik 1908.–1911.,” *Scrinia Slavonica* 3, no. 1 (November 2003): 413–33.

<sup>11</sup> Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca,” 385.

not.<sup>12</sup> If Šišić knew where the *Episode* was in 1931, today its whereabouts are unknown. We might speculate about the reasons why an effort has not been made up to now to locate the *Episode* and place it in an appropriate public museum in Croatia. Such an inquiry would surely illuminate a fascinating afterlife of Bukovac's first Salon painting. For the present study, however, the crucial question must be: why was the painting allowed to be lost in the first place? Why did Strossmayer reject the *Episode* instead of keeping it? Why was the *Episode* not made part of his Gallery, when, by all accounts, it was an excellent and well-received example of a budding Croatian art?

Šišić gives an unsatisfactory answer to the question begged, yet unstated, in his essay: "There is no doubt that Strossmayer, as soon as he received them [the *Young Sultanness* and the *Episode*], gave both paintings to his sister, because he believed that in his Gallery there was room only for old master paintings and not those of beginners."<sup>13</sup> This explanation is both absurd and surprising, coming from Šišić. The scrupulous historiographer could not have been unaware of two key facts. First of all, Strossmayer publicized his original intention to make the *Young Sultanness* part of his Gallery in his 1877 text "New Paintings in the Gallery of His Excellency, the Bishop Strossmayer."<sup>14</sup> Secondly, when the Gallery opened in 1884, one fifth of its collection was made up of contemporary works, including two by the Croatian "beginner"

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<sup>12</sup> The *Young Sultanness* (*Mlada Sultanija*) is today in the collection of the Modern Gallery in Zagreb.

<sup>13</sup> Šišić, "Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca," 385.

<sup>14</sup> [Josip Juraj Strossmayer], "Nove slike u galeriji preuzv. gosp. Biskupa Strossmayera," *Vienac* 9, no. 21, May 19, 1877, 335–38. The article describes five new paintings, by living Slavic artists (among which is Bukovac's *Young Sultanness*) acquired by Strossmayer for his Gallery. Three of the works by Polish painters discussed in Strossmayer's article—the *Death of the Polish King Przemysl* (1877, no. 219) by Jan Matejko, the *Landscape from the Roman Campagna* (c. 1874, no. 215) by Henrik Siemiradzki, and the *Flight into Egypt* (1875, no. 230) by Miloš Vasilij Aleksandrović Kotarbinskij—were part of the Gallery when it opened in 1884 and are listed in the catalogue from 1885. A fourth, a portrait by the Serbian monk A. Maradić, like the *Young Sultanness*, seems not ever to have been incorporated into the Gallery, as it also does not appear in the 1885 catalogue.

Nikola Mašić.<sup>15</sup> The reader will remember that an entire section of the Gallery was devoted to “art of the nineteenth century, when Slavs appear on the stage, claiming a glorious place in the art of painting.”<sup>16</sup> It would not be until 1947, after Šišić was dead, that the Strossmayer Gallery became strictly a gallery of old masterworks and all the nineteenth– and twentieth–century works from the collection were transferred to the new Modern Gallery (*Moderna Galerija*).<sup>17</sup> Šišić’s answer to, or rather, dodging of the question that silently haunts his essay—namely, why did Strossmayer not keep the paintings?—is unsatisfactory at best. Returning to the problem that Šišić side–stepped eighty years ago, I propose that perhaps the *Young Sultanness* and the *Episode*, but in particular the *Episode*, were allowed to be lost because they had failed in certain crucial respects for Strossmayer, just as every ambitious work painted during the period was bound to fail.

Let us look at the two early paintings by Bukovac Šišić wanted the Yugoslav Academy to recover: the *Sultanness* and the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. The two women depicted in each canvas might have been fair–skinned sisters in the fantasy world of Orientalism, the one happily resigned to life in the opulent harem, the other intent upon avoiding that fate (figs. I.1 and 3.2).<sup>18</sup> It seems illogical that Strossmayer the collector preferred the amateur *Young*

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<sup>15</sup> There were c. fifty paintings by nineteenth–century artists and two hundred by Old Masters (fourteenth to the eighteenth–century). See the first catalogue of the Strossmayer Gallery: Ćiro Truhelka, *Sbirka slika Strossmayerove galerije Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1885). The paintings by Mašić are *Idyll* (no. 218) and *Goose Girl on the Sava* (no. 226), today both in the collection of the Modern Gallery in Zagreb.

<sup>16</sup> Anon., “K slikam: Strossmayerova galerija slika,” *Vienac* 16, no. 45, November 8, 1884, 722.

<sup>17</sup> The Modern Gallery was established in 1934. At that time, works of art by living artists and those by Croatian artists dating to after 1914 in the collection of the Strossmayer Gallery were transferred to the new institution. In 1947, it was decided that only old masterworks would remain in the Strossmayer Gallery. At that time, all the nineteenth– and twentieth century works in the collection were transferred to the Modern Gallery. See Vinko Zlamalik, *Sto godina Strossmayerove galerije 1884–1984* (Zagreb: MTM, 1984), 5, 11 and 167. See also Dulibić, “A History of the Strossmayer Gallery,” 132–42.

<sup>18</sup> While Strossmayer sees the *Young Sultanness* as a Christian woman *in potentia*, others understood her to have been a Christian, sold or abducted into the harem. See Marco Car’s essay, in which he describes the subject of the

*Sultanness* to the better-painted *Episode*, that Strossmayer the South Slavic patriot favored an image of resignation over one of struggle, yet the historical record tell us it was so. About the *Young Sultanness*, he waxed lyrical:

The beauty of the young sultanness is so natural and ideal (*uzorita*), her pose so unaffected and pliant, her whole being so charming, so lively and genuine, that one could say that not one of our young painters has not put such a captivating and excellent composition (*umotvor*) on canvas. ...

What especially catches my attention is the spiritual direction of the painting, which agrees with its outer appearance. An ordinary young [painter] would surely have exaggerated in nudity and sullied [the painting] with lechery. Even the best painters, since time immemorial, have not known how to save themselves from similar sins, as in many of Titian's Venuses. ... Here [in Bukovac's canvas] all is innocence, purity and uprightness. Yes! The young and beautiful sultanness dreams and, on the wings of her imagination, flies over the gardens of the globe; ... and her dream and flight are pure and innocent, still a viewer who knows what pure Christianity is, cannot help but regret that the beautiful and innocent creature has not been baptized and re-born through the Holy Spirit, so that she could become a priestess and nurturer of true domestic happiness and delight. ...

Never allow your hand to serve an unclean (*nečist*) purpose.<sup>19</sup>

Perplexingly, the Bishop found positive moral content in the blatantly sensual portrayal of the semi-reclining woman in Oriental costume. With slightly parted lips, the *Young Sultanness* holds the mouthpiece of the sinewy hookah hose gently between her middle and forefingers in her lap and looks out at the viewer with orgiastic eyes. That Strossmayer failed to see the composition as a representation of sexual pleasure—a *Leda and the Swan* transformed into a *Young Sultanness* with a hookah—seems nearly impossible. Could the Bishop have been blinded to her sensuality by the strings of pearls, which in the Western iconographic tradition commonly symbolize chastity and purity? His words lead us to believe that indeed he did, at least in 1877.

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painting as a *Circassian*. See: M[arco] G[iovanni] Zar [Marko Jovan Car], "Biagio Bukovac, pittore dalmato," *Annuario Dalmatico* 1 (1884): 74.

<sup>19</sup> [Strossmayer], "Nove slike," *Vienac*, 337. I would like to thank Nada Petković for her generous help with this translation. Cf.: Anon., "Likovna umjetnost [Biskup Štrosmajer...]," *Hrvatski Svjetozor* 1, no. 1, July 1, 1877, 6.

Perhaps he realized his mistake only later, sometime before the opening of the Gallery, and then decided to give the painting away.

In contrast to his verbose response to the *Young Sultanness*, Strossmayer's utter reticence about the *Episode* is striking. It seems most peculiar that the Bishop was not eager to share his pride over the youth he had such great hopes for, whom he had sent to Paris just one year before and had already proved a worthy investment. Not only did he write nothing for any of the Zagreb periodicals, but he also remained silent regarding the painting in his private correspondence. Šišić, who published an encyclopedic amount of that very correspondence, could find no mention of the *Episode* other than a letter from Count Medo Pucić asking after the painting's fate.<sup>20</sup> No documents, in fact, have yet been found that shed any light on why the Bishop did not keep the painting. Strossmayer suppressed Bukovac's contribution to the native art he was so invested in fostering. For a time, he stopped following the career of the promising young artist completely.

In the absence of hard evidence, we must do our best to speculate. Could it be that Strossmayer found the subject matter of the *Episode* to be vulgar? That, in his mind, it "serve[d] an unclean purpose?"<sup>21</sup> That it offended his religious sensibilities? That somehow the sexually threatened Montenegrin woman was more objectionable than the sexually available *Young Sultanness*? That too much flesh was exposed? That he found the threat of bodily violation implied within the picture, within the knife held firm across the lap of the figure in Bukovac's canvas, to be unbearably coarse? Or that the masculine role of potential warrior the woman plays upset his sense of gender?

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<sup>20</sup> If anyone could have found evidence of Strossmayer's reaction to Bukovac's *Episode*, it would have been Šišić, editor of the four-volume correspondence of Strossmayer: *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, 4 vols. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1928–1931).

<sup>21</sup> [Strossmayer], "Nove slike," 337.

Or could it be that Strossmayer rejected the painting because Bukovac had gotten the stereotype wrong? That by depicting a Montenegrin woman as a type in distress, the young artist had made a fatal mistake? As had been established in the works of the wildly popular Čermák, but also in the oeuvres of numerous other artists, most prominent among whom was the French painter and printmaker Théodore Valerio, Montenegrin women were never threatened as we sense the figure in Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro* is.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary, an epic atmosphere of calm, grace and inevitability pervades the majority of the images. Montenegrin women were generally depicted as stoic, yet feminine, Amazons—Spartan women of the Slavic South, self-confident in their heroicness.<sup>23</sup> The highlanders were of noble bearing: tall, straight, and proud, they wore magnificently exotic costumes that harkened back to a distant age. They spent their days aiding the men in the ancient war effort that kept the Black Mountain free from foreign rule. They carried supplies to the front lines of the battlefields (fig. I.3). They kept watch over their sleeping infants and resting husbands (figs. 1.11 and 1.12). Unmolested by the Turkish enemy, they ensured the continuation of their tribe as mothers and caregivers (fig. 1.15).<sup>24</sup> If there was a violent encounter with a Turk, it was depicted after the Montenegrin woman had successfully vanquished her enemy, as in Josef Huttarý's *Montenegrin Judith*.<sup>25</sup> The latest Balkan war with the Ottomans had ended in Montenegro's favor. By the time Bukovac's canvas reached Strossmayer, the independence of the Sparta of the Slavic South had been recognized

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<sup>22</sup> Théodore Valerio's images of the Balkans were well-known to the Croatian public through their publication in Zagreb's literary magazine, *Vienac*, beginning in 1876.

<sup>23</sup> On the tradition of the representation of East European women as Amazons, (though without a discussion of Montenegro), see: Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu, eds., *Vampirettes, Wretches, and Amazons: Western Representations of East European Women* (New York: East European Monographs, 2004).

<sup>24</sup> There is, to my knowledge, only one image by Čermák in which the safety of Montenegrin women is shown having been violated: *Harem Interior (L'Intérieur d'un harem)* [*Montenegrin Women in a Harem (Černohorky v harému)*], undated, oil on canvas, 49 x 69 cm. Whereabouts unknown.

<sup>25</sup> Josef Huttarý, *Montenegrin Judith (Černohorská Judit)*, 1886, oil on canvas?, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

internationally. Perhaps the Bishop would have found a triumphal image more appropriate. Why should the Judith of the *Episode* be troubled?

Montenegrin women never furrowed their classical brows with apprehension as does the proud but uneasy protagonist of the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*. Bukovac seems not to have understood that the essentialized Montenegrin woman should be depicted as a self-assured heroine. Montenegro was free. It was the women of Herzegovina who were to be depicted in distress, to be pitied, worried over, about whose plight one might be roused to action. It was in Herzegovina that the Christian *rayah* still lived under the Turkish Yoke, it was in Herzegovina that women's bodies were in jeopardy. In stark contrast to the embattled sureness of life in Montenegro, it was Herzegovina that was depicted as a land of interrupted Christian faith and families, where babies were murdered and maidens were abducted, fated to become the unwilling vessels of Ottoman offspring (figs. I.2 and I.7).<sup>26</sup> We cannot be sure that the woman in Bukovac's canvas will triumph over her enemy, what her fate will be. It is in this precariousness that she differs from the established images of Montenegrin women. As a type in distress, who may or may not retain her freedom, her aspect lies closer to the struggling figure of Čermák's 1861 *Raid of Bashi-Bazouks on a Christian Village of Herzegovina (Turkey)* than the serene ammunition carriers of the painting from which the canvas took its name, *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862* (figs. I.7 and I.3).

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<sup>26</sup> Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski gives voice to the dread of miscegenation in his poem "Captives," which is the ekphrasis of Čermák's 1868 painting *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi-Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold*. See his: "Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: 'Roblje, Hercegovina 1863'—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli," *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 130. In the poem, one of the Turks retorts to the narrator: "These goods are [destined] for the Turkish bazaar / They are useful to us, to give birth to Turks for us" (lines 71–72). The captive Herzegovinian maidens lament: "Dear God, [what] huge misfortune / Dear God, [what] huge shame / To be the consort of a Turk by force / A slave in an unknown land / Near many of our living brothers" (lines 95–99).

I think, however, that neither the implication of sexual threat nor misplaced stereotyping embedded in the image were ultimately responsible for Strossmayer's rejection of Bukovac's painting. As we have seen, Strossmayer was untroubled by, indeed, oblivious to the sensuality of the *Sultaness*. Why then would he have had a problem with the *Episode*? If he had found either of the early works truly morally objectionable, he certainly would not have gifted them to a female relative. As concerns the stereotype, while the tense figure of the *Episode* differs in her distress from established depictions of Montenegrin women, there is no evidence that any critics experienced the image's deviance from the norm as problematic.<sup>27</sup> The image of struggle ought to have been ideologically appropriable.

We might surmise that Strossmayer rejected the *Episode* on the grounds that Bukovac had sprung up without proper roots, that his first trained work did not result from that artistic institution in which Strossmayer was most deeply invested, namely, the Picture Gallery. In 1878, the Gallery itself was in a gestating phase—it would not open until 1884. Bukovac had no choice but to circumvent the Croatian capital. Arising not from carefully—choreographed contact with the Bishop's collection of paintings, but a brief affair with Paris, Bukovac denied his benefactor the role of original creative generator. For the Bishop to have held the fact that the work did not issue from the study of his collection as an insurmountable fault, however, would have been unreasonable. At the time, going abroad was the native artist's only possibility for obtaining training. Indeed, the native artist was encouraged to work abroad “so that the world may know our virtues / and thus blaze our name into the stars.”<sup>28</sup> I would further argue that aesthetic taste

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<sup>27</sup> See Luko Zore's 1879 article, “Umjetnost,” *Slovinac*, 233, that accompanied the etched reproduction as well as Medo Pucić's letter from March 17, 1878, quoted in Šišić, “Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca,” 382.

<sup>28</sup> Vid Vuletić [Vukasović], “Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 17, September 1, 1879, 262 (lines 20–21).

likely had little to do with Strossmayer's rejection of the work: as we have seen, the collection he had assembled to give to the nation was quite eclectic.

Let us speculate further: could it be Strossmayer did not keep the *Episode* because it failed for him as a history painting? That the work strayed too far from convention? Just as the woman pictured is caught between confidence and fear, between personifying free Montenegro and enslaved Herzegovina, she is likewise caught between history and genre painting. She is a woman on the verge of history painting, on the verge of taking the leading role in the historical *Episode from the War of Montenegro* conjured up mainly by the words of the work's title.<sup>29</sup>

I would not argue that Bukovac was consciously testing the limits of history painting as were certain artists in France of the time.<sup>30</sup> When he debuted at the Salon, he did not yet have a sense of the place he wanted to stake out in the cosmos of art, where he wanted to stand relative to tradition, continuity, innovation and modernity. Rather, I would attribute the *Episode's* reluctance to disclose a legible narrative to a combination of Bukovac's genuine inexperience and desire to stretch himself beyond his painterly means. The artist had begun his first real formal training in the atelier of Alexandre Cabanel just months before, and had only recently been promoted from drawing plaster casts to the live, nude model. Prior to arriving in Paris, his exposure to the canon of painting had been quite limited.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, being wildly ambitious and no doubt feeling the burden of expectation for history painting from the homeland acutely,

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<sup>29</sup> More than any formal aspect of the work, it is Bukovac's titling of his *Episode from the War of Montenegro* that pushes the painting into the sphere of history painting. A similar case is found with Mexican painter Julia Escalante's *Graziella, Motionless under the Shade of a Fig Tree (A. Lamartine)*, shown first at the National Academy in Mexico City in 1879. The title of Escalante's single-figure canvas references Alphonse de Lamartine's 1849 novella *Graziella*. "[Escalante's] designated title implies that she wanted to establish *Graziella* as more than a mere genre painting." See: Stacie Widdifield, "Art and Modernity in Porfirian Mexico: Julia Escalante's *Graziella* and the *Lechero*," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 29, no. 3 (2010): 342.

<sup>30</sup> See: Peter Geimer, "Picturing the Black Box: On Blanks in Nineteenth-Century Paintings and Photographs," *Science in Context* 17, no. 4 (2004): 467–501, and Wolfgang Kemp, "Death at Work: A Case Study on Constitutive Blanks in Nineteenth-Century Painting," Raymond Meyer, trans., *Representations* 10 (Spring 1985): 102–123.

<sup>31</sup> I refer to the lessons Bukovac took with Italian painter Domenico Tojetti while in San Francisco.

he jumped in with both feet. Grasping at the principles of composition and learning quickly from examples of successful works of art (both contemporary and historical), the young Bukovac proved remarkably adept at crafting an image that would resonate with French viewers enough to be chosen by the jury of the Salon.

His first attempt to make a serious painting resulted in something of a pastiche: a genre painting straining rather awkwardly to be a history painting. As a beginner, a single figure was all Bukovac could manage in 1878. He did not yet possess the skills requisite to create a complex grouping of nude or costumed figures or the kind of convincingly illusionistic setting of architecture or landscape typically associated with history painting. Tasked with taking on meaning outside herself, the figure at the center of his *Episode from the War of Montenegro* is a type gone awry. But for the pose and furrowed brow, she appears to be a *paysanne*, a *contadina*, a woman of the Roman Campagna or Naples as in a painting by Louis Léopold Robert (1794–1835) wearing an Eastern variation of her habitual elaborate native garb.<sup>32</sup> She almost certainly was Italian.<sup>33</sup> It is almost as if the *contadina*—who by rights ought simply to be looked at for her build, coloring and picturesque dress, and contemplated as an object—remnant of the classical Mediterranean—has been unexpectedly startled out of her reverie. She has been asked to put on the clothes of a *Montenegrina* and act something out, to invoke an entire war with pantomimed

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<sup>32</sup> For an excellent discussion of the interpretation of models “dressed up” or “dressed down” as peasants in the criticism of nineteenth-century genre painting, see Widdifield, “Art and Modernity in Porfirian Mexico.” Bukovac’s home audience seems to have delighted in the game of dressing up they understood at once as such. See: [Luko] Z[ore], “Umjetnost,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, 233.

<sup>33</sup> Bukovac describes the general popularity of Italian models in his autobiography: “At that time in Paris, the models were Italian for the most part. Poor villagers from the environs of Rome would come to Paris on foot to earn their daily bread [by posing as models]. ... Due to their beauty and typicality, they often became friends with the best artists. They served them, cleaned their ateliers and when the artists went out for walks or to parties, they watched their houses. Other less fortunate [models] lived in Rue de Mouffetard. All the houses in that street teemed with Italians. Whoever is looking for a model should go there.” Bukovac, *Moj život*, 77. I am fairly certain that the young girl who posed for Bukovac’s 1879 Salon painting, *Jeune Monténégrine* (who also appears in his *Beggar with Violin* (1880) in Italianate costume and *Head of a Girl with Yellow Fabric* (c. 1880) was also Italian. As we learn from Friedrich S. Krauss’s *Streifzüge im Reiche der Frauenschönheit* (no. 10, Leipzig: A. Schumann’s Verlag in Leipzig, 1903), 145, Bukovac was still using Italian models in 1886: the model for his Salon painting of that year, *Andromède*, was a seventeen-year-old Italian girl.

gestures.<sup>34</sup> Bukovac's solution for making a history painting before reaching artistic maturity, to transform a type into a historical actor, is brilliant in its simplicity: he asks his model to play charades.

But the pose he directs her to assume is at odds with itself.

Let us imagine the Italian model in Montenegrin clothes standing beside a wooden chair in the high-ceilinged Paris studio Bukovac rented to work on the painting.<sup>35</sup> With her right hand on her hip and left hand resting on the back of the chair, the *contadina montenegrina* locks her right leg straight to steady herself and allows her left side to go limp: the hip rolls down, and the knee compensates by bending forward. The model has assumed a staple pose: girl awaiting her lover, girl resting at the water well, girl selling fruits at the market stall, etc. Bukovac, however, must somehow endeavor to move the charming *contadina* out of the realm of anecdotal genre into meaning-laden history.<sup>36</sup> He pries her right hand off her hip. Having been introduced to the concept of *contrapposto* at the *École*, he is fixated upon creating contrasting twistings of the body. Perhaps he has in mind the coiled figure of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's (1598–1680) *David* who, like his female personification of tiny Montenegro, is also poised to strike a blow against a

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<sup>34</sup> On depictions of Italian peasants in nineteenth-century French art, see Susan Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830–1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 89–120, and Madeleine Fidell Beaufort, "Peasants, Painters and Purchasers," in *The Peasant in French Nineteenth-Century Art*, ed. James Thompson (Dublin: The Douglas Hyde Gallery of Trinity College, 1980), an exhibition catalogue, 51–54. Of course, there was no colony of Montenegrin models in Paris as there was of Italians. Cf.: R. Paulucci di Calboli, "Les modèles italiens," *La Revue* 38, July, 1901, 113–29.

<sup>35</sup> In a letter to Bishop Strossmayer dated March 17, 1878, Medo Pucić wrote: "He had to rent a high-ceilinged studio, because the painting was too large (two meters high) to work on in his room." Quoted from Šišić, "Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca," 384.

One might suppose that the model herself has adjusted the costume, that she has naturalized it to her native Italian style of dressing. The headcovering, for example, pinned up with several folds, looks to be more Italian than Montenegrin-style headcoverings that tend to lay flatter. On the other hand, one might argue that perhaps Bukovac arranged the costume in a way familiar to him from his home region of Konavle.

<sup>36</sup> "[Paintings of sentiment] were to be distinguished from the category of history painting, comprising labor-intensive, large-scale, moralizing depictions of narratives from significant texts (biblical scripture, histories, mythology, and so forth). By contrast, genre painting lacked a textual foundation, the symbolic luster of the labor-intensive practices of figure painting, and above all, originality." Widdifield, "Art and Modernity in Porfirian Mexico," 341.

disproportionately large enemy (fig. 6.1).<sup>37</sup> He pulls the model's arm down straight across her lap, rotating the torso in the opposite direction of the locked right leg. Having wrapped a sash round his head as a make-shift turban, Bukovac stands to the right of the model and asks her to turn her head away from her torso and look at him. The legs swing right, the torso left, and the head right. Bukovac extends his arm and hands the model a fine dagger. The eyes open wide. He asks the *contadina* to pretend he is a *Bashi-Bazouk* approaching stealthily. He wants her to make as if ready to swing backwards with the weapon in defense. The model, faced with the peculiar request, does her best to point the blade in the direction of the artist, to look both fierce and alarmed. But the resulting pose is stiff, uncomfortable and ultimately untenable.<sup>38</sup> If she follows through on the backhand blow, pivoting on the right leg that was locked straight in anticipation of a peaceful genre scene, she will fall down. The leg will be unsteady. The two poses—one of genre, one of history—do not fuse together successfully. The *contadina montenegrina* will topple over if she tries to enter history.<sup>39</sup>

There was no criticism in the Croatian press that the *Episode from the War of Montenegro* was a genre painting masquerading as a history painting, but the local retitling of work as *Montenegrin Woman on the Defense* makes it clear that the public, by and large, did

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<sup>37</sup> *David* dates to 1623–1624, and is in the collection of the Galleria Borghese in Rome. While the pose is clearly not the same, there are some similarities. Bernini's pose is more believable and masterfully executed. Bukovac may have seen photographs of Michelangelo's *David* by the Italian Alinari firm that had been purchased by the *École des beaux-arts* (inv. no. Ph 17026). There was also a statuette inspired by the original sculpture (maker unknown) in the collection of the *École* (inv. no. MU 3811). It does not seem likely that there was a full-size plaster cast at the *École* as neither the factory of the Louvre, nor the factory in the *École*, possessed a cast of the *David*. My sincere thanks to Emmanuel Schwartz for generously sharing this information.

<sup>38</sup> "I showed the painting [a preparatory oil sketch] to my professor [Cabanel] who told me it was without air (*bez vazduha*) [the French words Cabanel would have used—'*sans air*'—mean 'heavy']. No one explained to me what that meant, neither my classmates nor the teacher himself. I was miserable (*Bijah na sto muka*)." Bukovac, *Moj život*, 80.

<sup>39</sup> The reconstruction of the scene in Bukovac's studio in this paragraph is purely fictional—the product of my own imagination.

interpret it as genre. It was genre with a national theme, certainly, but genre all the same.<sup>40</sup>

Bukovac's Croatian patrons and supporters were waiting for something else: they wanted history paintings that would glorify the South Slavs and their essentially heroic (or alternately suffering) nature to the outside world, they wanted paintings that would bring about a revolution. They wanted paintings that would set history on the right course.

For Strossmayer, the question of history painting was serious. Like the majority of his contemporaries, the Bishop believed that among the branches of painting, history painting was the most important, the most elevated, and that which would best serve the nation.<sup>41</sup> One could argue that his collection did contain a number of genre works, including the *Idyll* (c. 1883) and *Goose Girl on the Sava* (1881) by Bukovac's contemporary, Nikola Masić.<sup>42</sup> Yet the fact remained that of all the branches of painting, history painting alone was seen as being able to contribute to building the nation. As the Bishop's young collaborator Ladislav Mrazović had put it: "Versailles is full of paintings from French history, and every Frenchman knows his history. Our young painters—and these will be formed as soon as there are models [on which they may base their art] (*čim bude uzora*)—should above all throw themselves into the painting of our national history."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Only Medo Pucić, it seems, gestured towards placing the *Episode* within the realm of history painting. In a letter to Bishop Strossmayer, he wrote "he [Bukovac] already this Winter (*zimus*) finished a painting from national history (*iz narodne poviesti*), a 'Montenegrin Woman' who defends herself against a Turk with a *hanjar* in her hands." Letter from March 17, 1878, quoted from Šišić, "Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca," 382.

<sup>41</sup> It was widely held in nineteenth-century Croatia that history painting was the central genre of painting. In a letter to Franjo Rački, dated February 28, 1873, Strossmayer wrote: "I saw Kršnjavi. ... He occupies himself with genre painting. He paints fish and the selling of fish. One can see that he is quite talented. [But] it would be dearer to me if he would [instead] take up biblical and history paintings." quoted from Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2, 209. For an account of history painting in nineteenth-century Croatia, see Marijana Schneider's *Historijsko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Povijesni Muzej Hrvatske, 1969), especially page 20.

<sup>42</sup> See the Gallery's catalogue: Truhelka, *Sbirka slika Strossmayerove Galerije Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, nos. 218 and 226.

<sup>43</sup> [Ladislav] M[razović], "Skrajnje je vrijeme," *Vienac* 6, no. 8, February 21, 1874, 126.

As much as Strossmayer desired the future Croatian artists he envisioned to “throw themselves into the painting of our national history,” he is likely to have interpreted Bukovac’s leap into this realm as premature, and therefore arrogant. From the historical record, we can deduce that the Bishop was predisposed to be disappointed by the rapidity with which Bukovac was completing his training.<sup>44</sup> To rush through training was to make dangerous haste, to undermine a thorough education irreversibly. For the artist to try his hand at complicated compositions too soon was a sign of audacity and vanity. It meant destroying whatever foundation had already been laid. It meant the *contadina montenegrina* was bound to topple over.

The young artist’s swift success was, thus, perhaps not a windfall for the fame-hungry nation, but an unforgivable fault. In his 1877 text about the *Sultanes* Strossmayer had cautioned:

[Bukovac] must remember but one thing: that just as with every science, art too has its alphabet, it’s a, b, c. Our people prefer to skip over it, because in our modern times (*u odrasloj osobito dobi*), it [art’s alphabet, that is, the exercises the student must perform in order to gain artistic skill] seems quite dismal (*nujan*) and monotonous; but it is of a pressing need that cannot be compensated for subsequently (*ali je od priroke i nenaknadive nužde*). Raphael became Raphael because from the time he was a little boy, he practiced that a, b, c... Without foundation, and without tireless work, all of our capabilities remain vainglorious and fruitless.<sup>45</sup>

Faith in a long, solid training in painting, at the heart of which was drawing, was common throughout Europe.<sup>46</sup> In the Croatian context, the emphasis on training was also part and parcel

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<sup>44</sup> In a private letter to Franjo Rački four years earlier, Strossmayer lamented: “I saw [Ferdo] Quiquerez in Venice. I visited his professor. The professor told me that while the young man is full of fantasy and talent, he lacks the *gramatica artis* (grammar of art), that is, drawing, and that it is quite common that young people believe themselves competent to undertake Lord knows what kind of compositions, although they don’t know the *alfa* [i.e. the first thing] about art. That Quiquerez is not ready to undertake any compositions, nor copies, but rather only [to work on] drawing. ... Our young people do not have patience, and without it, nothing extraordinary can ever be accomplished.” Letter from February 28, 1873, quoted from Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 1, 208–209.

<sup>45</sup> [Strossmayer], “Nove slike,” *Vienac*, 338. My thanks to Nada Petković for her generous help in translating this passage. The quote cited in the preceding footnote, in which Strossmayer calls drawing the “*gramatica artis*,” makes clear that the “a, b, c” of painting is the mastery of drawing.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Albert Boime, “Curriculum Vitae: The Course of Life in the Nineteenth Century” in: *Strictly Academic: Life Drawing in the Nineteenth Century* (Binghamton: University Art Gallery of the State University of

of what I have termed the “discourse of desire.” A long training prolonged the infancy, or gestation period, of the artist. The longer the education lasted, the longer the artist was a perfect empty vessel whose future could be filled with dreams of paintings imagined alternately to “announce to the world, forever incredulous / that this is a land of arts and of songs”<sup>47</sup> abroad, and “destroy the vile monstrosity / of disunion among the Slavs” at home.<sup>48</sup> By having a painting accepted at the Salon before finishing one full year’s training, Bukovac cut short the great expectation Strossmayer was comfortable luxuriating in.

The problem with Bukovac’s overnight success was that Strossmayer—no different than the majority of commentators in nineteenth-century Croatia—preferred the potential Bukovac to the realized Bukovac, he liked his own idea of what the young painter might produce better than anything the painter himself ever could or would make. Longing imbued the object of desire with perfection. The diamond in the rough was favored over the polished stone.<sup>49</sup> It was, I believe, ultimately Strossmayer’s attachment to potentiality—that pervasive model for conceptualizing art, which suspended native artists in a state of perpetual nascency—that led him to reject, indeed suppress, the *Episode*. More than the fact that it was a failed history painting, it was the *Episode*’s betrayal in becoming a real thing—and a really good real thing—that led the Bishop to reject Bukovac’s “first work of art,” and not make it part of the Picture Gallery he opened in Zagreb in 1884.<sup>50</sup>

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New York at Binghampton, 1974), 5–15. See also Boime’s *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

<sup>47</sup> Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo* (Split: Tipografija S. Artale, 1885), 2 (lines 29–30).

<sup>48</sup> Ivan August Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” *Dubrovnik: Zabavnik narodne štionice Dubrovačke za godinu 1867 1* (1866): 94 (lines 61–62).

<sup>49</sup> I refer to Franjo Kos od Kosena’s 1838 report about the Vjekoslav Karas’s imminent artistic training: “you have here a diamond in the rough.” Franjo Kos od Kosena, “Dopis iz g[rada] Karlovca,” *Danica ilirska* 4, no. 26, July 7, 1838, 104.

<sup>50</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 1918, 80.

As an untrained, amateur work, the *Young Sultanness* that Strossmayer liked so much in 1877 was proof of promise and capability. It fit easily into the narrative that held Croatian artists on the verge of becoming. Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, in comparison, was a realized work, and, as such, shattered the dream of potentiality. That was its crime. The painting had endeavored to do exactly what the public wanted: to picture the national self, heroic and suffering. The young artist had even achieved a small amount of fame with his painting. He had claimed a little corner of what was widely understood as the world stage of art by having a work chosen to hang in the Paris Salon. While *Slovinac* solved the problem of the artist's rapid success by reducing the *Episode* to a sign that Bukovac was off to a good start, Strossmayer, we may speculate, found the work too bold of a "first-step," too good, too skilled, and, as a result, cut the young artist off seemingly without warning.<sup>51</sup> The *Episode from the War of Montenegro* had to disappear on the one hand because it had failed to do what every realized work of art was bound to fail to do—namely, to bring about the anticipated brilliant future, to unify the South Slavs and compel the "world" to blaze "our name into the stars." On the other hand, it had to disappear because it disrupted the deeply-rooted model for thinking about a native art.<sup>52</sup> That model was so ingrained it was nearly impossible to let go of.<sup>53</sup> The utopian vision afforded by projecting an imaginary art and its effects exclusively into the future offered a positive alternative to the geopolitical reality of fragmented Croatia. I would argue that Bishop Strossmayer purposefully lost Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro* because he was not ready to see Croatian art flourishing. The discourse of desire did not really want to be

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<sup>51</sup> Strossmayer and Bukovac resumed contact in the early 1890s.

<sup>52</sup> Vukasović, "Vlahu Bukovcu," 262.

<sup>53</sup> Thank you to Katherine Taylor for helping me develop my ideas on why groups hold on to models that no longer work.

satisfied. The anticipation of a native art and its ability to promote the nation was more satisfying than a native art itself.

No matter what he had painted or how famous his work became, Bukovac had no way of succeeding with audiences back home as a fully-realized painter in 1878. The great faith the public placed in painting could only be maintained as long as the painting they desired did not yet really exist. The painter was best loved before he began to produce serious work. And so, Bukovac made an ingenious move. He spun a tale, a tale of a painting that could neither fail nor disappoint because it was made not of line and color applied to canvas, but of the same ethereal words commentators used to anticipate art. Bukovac gave the public the anticipation of the grandeur they craved. In order to lull his critics back into the dream of potentiality, he created a painting that was truly *in potentia*: an ambitious history painting that existed only in plan.

## 1. THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST

The burden of great expectations resulted in fantasy and verbosity on the part of the artist. The grandest painting of Bukovac's early period is a painting that he never seems to have executed, a complex, multi-figured history painting depicting South Slavs of various nationalities gathered around a *guslar* (a bard who accompanies himself on a *gulse*, a one-stringed instrument). Following the lead of his supporters who wrote less about his finished works and more about those he hoped he would make in the future, Bukovac told a story of a painting he was on the verge of painting. No sketches for the composition have been preserved, and it remains open to discussion how serious he ever was about completing the work.<sup>54</sup> Most

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<sup>54</sup> Vera Kružić-Uchytíl lists the phantom *Guslar* as a “lost work from 1879,” in the *catalogue raisonné* section of her *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo* (page 326). She rightly states that Bukovac puts the work in his inventory of

likely, he did work out some initial idea for the composition in consultation with his discoverer, Count Medo Pucić of Dubrovnik.<sup>55</sup>

Bukovac's intentions—real or pretended—to paint the work were made public three years after the *Episode*'s debut, in Marko Car's (1859–1953) first critical text on the artist, printed in *Slovinac* in 1881.<sup>56</sup> Car, a literary critic and writer born in Herceg Novi (today, in Montenegro) and active in Dalmatia in the last decades of the nineteenth century, was one of Bukovac's earliest biographers and lifelong friends.<sup>57</sup> As he describes it: wrong

... our young artist has laid the foundations for a ... large painting, namely a *Guslar*, a composition with at least fifteen figures. He began this painting long ago, however due to a lack of resources, he was never able to finish it. This last bit of news [about the *Guslar* painting] delighted me when I heard it, because here [in the painting], according to my understanding, the young artist will gather together representatives of all the Slavic tribes (*svih slavenskih plemenâ*)<sup>58</sup> around

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paintings, in the appendix to his autobiography, no. 28 in the section "Paintings from Paris, 1877–1892." Bukovac, *Moj život*, 154.

I take a harder line: I think that the *Guslar* was not lost but rather never painted as such. Bukovac does not mention the *Guslar* anywhere in the text of the autobiography. Neither the painting, nor any sketches for it, appear in the inventory of works (held in the archives of the Vlaho Bukovac House Museum in Cavtat) that Bukovac's wife and children divided amongst themselves after his death. Furthermore, no similar composition can be identified in any of the photographs of the artist at work in his Paris studio.

<sup>55</sup> A letter from Medo Pucić, dated October 31, 1880, records a fragment of their conversation about Bukovac's intention to paint the *Guslar*: "I hope that if you cannot [paint] the *Guslar*, you will take up some other [subject] to work on that will bring you fame. It is about time, and I think that you too are convinced that if you do not become famous, you will also not make any money (*ako ne dogješ do glasa nećeš ni do pârâ*) and with all my heart I want both for you." Old inv. no. IV/1–3, Vlaho Bukovac House Museum Archives, Cavtat. We might surmise from the letter that the young artist had confided his reservations about successfully executing such a complicated work to Pucić.

<sup>56</sup> Marko Jov[an] Car, "Vlaho Bukovac. (biografične crte)," *Slovinac* 4, no. 6, March 16, 1881, 104–106. Car dates the text to December 1880.

<sup>57</sup> See the entry on Car in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža," 1989), 577–78, and Kosta Milutinović's article "Marko Car kao kulturni borac u Dalmaciji," *Zadarska Revija* 4 (1955): 167–77, 270–78. Car also authored the preface to the 1925 edition of Bukovac's autobiography printed in Belgrade: Vlaho Bukovac, *Moj život* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1925).

<sup>58</sup> Although Car writes "of all the Slavic tribes (*svih slavenskih plemenâ*)," it is clear from both the context of Sundečić's poem "Unite, [Dear] God, Serb and Croat / Bulgarian and Slovene Brothers" and from his subsequent 1883 text in *Annuario Dalmatico* that he means South Slavic (*slovenski* or *jugoslavenski*) rather than Slavic (*slavenski*) tribes. See also an anonymous notice, describing the painting as one of the canvases Bukovac was preparing for the Paris Salon of 1881: "the third will be a collection of fifteen figures (Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians and Slovenians) around an old *gusle* player. ... We wish that the Bukovac would come to our parts, where he would find lovely motifs. What we would most like, however, that our painter take up the important events of our history, in large format..." Anon., "G. Vlaho Bukovac," *Vienac* 8, no. 15, April 9, 1881, 240.



In an expanded version of the *Slovinac* text published three years later in 1884 in Italian translation, Car revisited the above-cited passage, clarifying his desires and sources further.<sup>63</sup> He had not forgotten the *Guslar*.<sup>64</sup> He argued that a history painting whose goal was to hold an ideal mirror to the South Slavic people should draw specifically on the epic poetry that recorded history in exalted, native form.<sup>65</sup>

Now a work of greater size awaits Bukovac, a *Guslar*, a vast painting with costumes (*quadro di costumi*), in which he plans to reunite representatives of the various South Slavic races (*le varie schiatte jugoslave*) around the legendary Serb rhapsodist; a painting for which he long ago laid the foundations, but for various reasons independent of his will, was never able to complete. This work is destined, without doubt, to substantially increase the fame of the young painter.

[...] In a previous report on Bukovac, I recommended to the young painter not to neglect, but on the contrary, to cultivate, the genre of history painting (*il genere storico*).<sup>66</sup> History painting—says Massarani—is that monumental art that every people should wish for itself, as the most beautiful testimony to its own greatness.<sup>67</sup> The glorious Serbian *èpopée*<sup>68</sup> is there to furnish him with inexhaustible arguments.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> M[arco] G[iovanni] Zar [Marko Jovan Car], “Biagio Bukovac, pittore dalmato,” *Annuario Dalmatico* 1 (1884): 67–78. Car dates the text to October 1883. Like Vlaho Bukovac, Car grew up bi-lingual, writing and speaking fluent Italian in addition to his native variant of South Slavic.

<sup>64</sup> One might argue that it is unclear if Car is satisfied with the potential *Guslar* as a history painting, that perhaps he wants one of the long epic poems that make up the bard’s repertoire to come alive in image rather than a simple scene of South Slavs gathered around the bard. I, however, interpret his text to mean that he is encouraging Bukovac to follow through on his idea for the painting.

<sup>65</sup> Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski had made a similar plea in his 1870 text on Jaroslav Čermák, when he entreated the Czech artist to draw upon the corpus of national poetry for the content of his paintings. See his: “Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka,” *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 140.

Izidor Kršnjavi, in his text on Čermák’s *Wounded Montenegrin* indicates how widespread the tendency to link painting and epic poetry was: “Where did this event take place? Is it some episode from a folk poem? Some critics have asked [these questions]...” Kršnjavi, “Čermakov ranjeni Crnogorac,” *Vienac* 7, no. 29, July 17, 1875, 472.

<sup>66</sup> Car is referring to his 1881 text: “Vlaho Bukovac. (biografiche crte),” *Slovinac* 4, no. 6, March 16, 1881, 104–106.

<sup>67</sup> Tullo Massarani (Mantua 1826 – Milan 1905) was a Jewish Italian senator, writer and painter. The quote Car borrows was almost certainly lifted from the Massarani’s text on the Paris World’s Fair of 1878, *L’arte à Parigi* (Rome: Tipografia del senato di Forzani e Comp., 1879), 266–77: “...l’arte monumentale, che ogni grande paese dovrebbe desiderare a sè stesso, come il diplome più autentico della propria grandezza...” Car’s original sentence reads: “La pittura storica—dice il Massarani—è l’arte monumentale, che ogni popolo dovrebbe augurare a se stesso, come la più bella testimonianza della propria grandezza.” The one notable change Car makes has to do with the size of the country in question. Massarani writes that “every large country (*ogni grande paese*)” should desire history painting, while Car has modified the thought so that “every people (*ogni popolo*),” regardless of size, may use history painting as “testimony to its own greatness.”

<sup>68</sup> *Èpopée*: the subject of an epic or herioc poem.

<sup>69</sup> [Car], “Biagio Bukovac,” 77–78.

As many had before him, and many would after him, Marko Car draws a binding link between epic poetry and history painting.<sup>70</sup> He wants an authentic literary foundation for an authentic South Slavic visual production.<sup>71</sup> Epic poetry, with its reputation as such at home and abroad, was the medium *par excellence*. To depict a bard as a way of visualizing poetry was an understandable move, one that Bukovac would return to for the grand cycle of history paintings dedicated to Dubrovnik's most illustrious Baroque poet, Đivo Gundulić, in the 1890s.<sup>72</sup>

The *guslar* was a well established and often represented motif in nineteenth-century Croatian visual production,<sup>73</sup> from Vjekoslav Karas's *Grandfather and Grandson (Djed i unuk)* (1847),<sup>74</sup> a version of which decorated the ceremonial curtain of Zagreb's old theater, to the focal panel of the ceiling decoration Bukovac himself would execute for the Bonda theater in Dubrovnik at the turn of the century (fig. 6.2).<sup>75</sup> The *guslar* had the double virtues of being

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<sup>70</sup> Car's contemporary, Ćiro Truhelka, writing on the opening of the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb, expresses nearly identical sentiments: "... I am certain that then from among the many called [visitors to the Gallery], at least one chosen person will be found, who will be stimulated by that collection and apply himself to the Art of Painting, so that his paintings might launch the glorious Croatian past through the world, as the poetry has already celebrated it." Ćiro Truhelka, "Strossmayerova galerija slika," *Vienac* 16, no. 48, November 29, 1884, 766.

<sup>71</sup> In a later text, entitled *The National Spirit in Literature and Art*, Car would acknowledge the inherent difficulty of creating a "national" art. "A native (*domaća*) art ... must at be a national and global art at the same time. For in the very character of art itself, it encroaches upon the universally human over its own special (national) type." See: Marco Car, *Nacionalni duh u literaturi i umjetnosti* (Rijeka: Izdanje knjižare G. Trbojevića, 1914), 50–51.

<sup>72</sup> See Ivo Banac's "Ministration and Desecration: The Place of Dubrovnik in Modern Croat National Ideology and Political Culture," in: *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 149–75; my master's thesis "Mapping National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Croatia: The History Paintings of Vlaho Bukovac" (University of Arizona, 2004), 36–50; and my article "'The secessionists are the Croats. They've been given their own pavilion...': Vlaho Bukovac's Battle for Croatian Autonomy at the 1896 Millennial Exhibition in Budapest," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no.1 (2007) [http://19thcartworldwide.org/spring\\_07/articles/ross.shtml](http://19thcartworldwide.org/spring_07/articles/ross.shtml) (last accessed February 16, 2014).

<sup>73</sup> As Koraljka Kos has written:

As an instrument which has an indisputably long and uninterrupted history with most of the Southern Slav peoples... the *gusle* gradually became a distinctive element of the traditional music and was elevated to the position of prime national symbol. ... it was a common meeting point [for] the traditional music of most South Slav nations. As such, its context inspired artists to include the *gusle* and its symbolism in many nineteenth-century allegorical or historical pictures.

See: "Representations of the Gusle in Nineteenth-Century Visual Arts," *Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale/ Research Center for Musical Iconography Newsletter* 20, no. 2 (Fall 1995): 61–62.

<sup>74</sup> Karas's painting had a literary foundation: it was inspired by Petar Preradović's poem of the same name (1846).

<sup>75</sup> Bukovac painted ceiling decorations for Dubrovnik's Bonda Theater in 1901.

Bukovac also depicted the *guslar* in various commercial illustrations. For example, he drew a *guslar* from

connected to both the folk and Classical world, the specific and the universal. The *guslar* was a modern-day Homer, usually blind and able to recite incredibly long epic poems in rhyming verses.<sup>76</sup> The *guslar* embodied the idea of a vast national memory. A painting of a *guslar* potentially represented every scene from every epic: the entire repertoire of the bard, the entire history of the South Slavs.

The primary function of Bukovac's *Guslar* was not, however, to depict the history of the South Slavs, but rather to alter its course—to set history on a path even more illustrious than the that recorded by the epic. The blind bard at the center of his history painting *in potentia* was at the same time a soothsayer of the future and an anchor of history, naturalizing the new direction the future would take. With his never-painted canvas, Bukovac was grasping at making the kind of image his supporters back home desired. His *Guslar* would be a visual embodiment of the mission of the magazine *Slovinac*: to unify the four tribes of the Slavic South, collectively the “*Slovinci*” as the Dubrovnik circle would have it (or “Yugoslavs (*Jugoslaveni*)” as in Strossmayer's Academy in Zagreb).<sup>77</sup> In fact, we can think of Bukovac's *Guslar* as a transformation of the magazine's emblem into a work of high art (fig. 6.3). In the emblem, a Renaissance-type muse or nymph rushes with draperies billowing in the wind to crown a *guslar* playing on the seashore with a laurel wreath.<sup>78</sup> The muse is both the *vila* of national folk poetry and of the classical world, thus amplifying the duality of the blind bard's identity. In Bukovac's

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Konavle playing in a Dubrovnik tavern (“*Ein Guslespieler von Canali in Ragusa, der Heldenlieber signt*”) for the Dalmatia volume (vol. 11) of Rudolf, Crown-Prince of Austria's, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1892), 205; and a Montenegrin *guslar* sitting under a tree in a two-page spread entitled “Au Monténégro” in *L'Art et la Mode*, no. 5 (January 2, 1886): 54–55.

<sup>76</sup> The South Slavs were highly aware that their living epic poetry was being used to understand ancient Greek epics. See Chapter IV of this dissertation.

<sup>77</sup> We know that for the contributors to *Slovinac*, the South Slavic tribes included Croats, Serbs, Slovenes and Bulgarians. See: Nikola Ivanišin's study of South Slavic Slavophilism in: *Slovinac, Časopis “Slovinac” i slovinstvo u Dubrovniku* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Odjel za filologiju, 1962).

<sup>78</sup> Many thanks to Kathleen Christian for help with identifying the iconography of the emblem.

painting, the song of *Slovinac*'s lone bard reaches its intended audience and works its desired effect: it succeeds in gathering the disparate South Slavs together. Rooting them in a common past of shared epic songs, the *guslar* augurs a future in which "love among brothers will begin to glow / the old hatred will disappear / a new age will come into being."<sup>79</sup>

It would seem that Bukovac had hit upon the perfect idea for a painting to please his compatriots, so what was it, then, that kept him from painting the *Guslar*? Was it money? Financially, it would have been suicide to take on a "large painting ... a composition with at least fifteen figures."<sup>80</sup> He had spent a considerable amount on the simple *Episode*—having to rent a studio and procure the costume that a model for a more common subject (i.e. an Italian *contadina* posing as an Italian *contadina*) might already have possessed.<sup>81</sup> As a young man of little means, Bukovac lacked the financial incentive to undertake such an endeavor, for who amongst his Croatian supporters could be expected to buy such a large-scaled painting? Bishop Strossmayer, his best patron, was already sending him negative signals about his first Salon painting.

Was his disappointment over losing the *Episode* too great to risk trying another meaning-laden image? Or was it, perhaps, that he realized that this idea was not necessarily a good recipe for a painting? Although the *Guslar* fulfilled the ideological predilections of his South Slavic Slavophile supporters perfectly, as a composition for a history painting, it might have been boring. While adequate as a static symbol (as in the header for *Slovinac*), or to decorate civic buildings (as in the theater curtain of Karas and later theater ceiling decorations he himself would paint), where was the action? Where was the dramatic tension?

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<sup>79</sup> Kaznačić, "Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje," 394 (lines 68–70).

<sup>80</sup> Car, "Vlaho Bukovac," 106.

<sup>81</sup> Besides the high-ceilinged studio Bukovac had to rent due to the size of the canvas, he also had to procure a costume, pay his model, and furnish the canvas with a golden frame: "He had to pay for a fairly expensive model, and they sent him the costume from here [Dalmatia]; he had to buy a golden frame, according to the regulations of the Salon, and the frame alone cost him 150 francs." Letter from Medo Pucić to Bishop Strossmayer, dated March 17, 1878. Quoted from: Šišić, "Prve slike Vlaha Bukovca," 384.

Did Bukovac shy away from completing the *Guslar* because he realized how treacherous it was to try to make a meaning-laden national image? The public, with its great expectations of art was never satisfied precisely with the national images it demanded, because those images never did cause a “new age ... [to] come into being.”<sup>82</sup> Ambitious national images were likely to be the biggest disappointments, and were exposed to the harshest criticism. The public was more fulfilled by its own fantasies of the power of art, especially when the national question was concerned.

Whatever his reasons for keeping the work in the realm of potentiality, it would seem that Bukovac’s instincts not to paint his *Guslar* were sound. The last composition that had aimed to give visual presence to the idea of South Slavic unity had met with disaster. In terms of scale, ambition, subject matter, and heavy-handed ideology, Bukovac’s never-realized composition bears a striking affinity to a painting by a Dalmatian artist from the northern coastal town of Zadar: the *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara)* (1870), by Franjo [also Francesco] Salghetti-Drioli (1811–1877) (fig. I.8).<sup>83</sup> We should also remember that it was precisely the theme of “concord” that Grgur Zarbarini had mandated to Bukovac in an 1885 poem dedicated to the painter: “The homeland, *Biagio*, is missing only one thing / The first canvas: the *alma Concordia*: / Paint it – Your masterpiece – Let Dalmatia / look upon it, and model herself after it!”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” 394 (lines

<sup>83</sup> Franjo Salghetti-Drioli, *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara)*, 1870, oil on canvas, 473.3 x 304.2 cm. Gallery of Fine Arts of the National Museum, Zadar. While the work is officially part of the collection of the Modern Gallery in Zagreb, it is housed in the Gallery of Fine Arts of the National Museum in Salghetti-Drioli’s native Zadar, testimony perhaps to the legacy of its historical unpopularity.

Ivo Petricoli’s *Franjo Salghetti-Drioli* (Zadar: Narodni muzej, 2003), an exhibition catalogue, is an outstanding recent source on Salghetti-Drioli’s life and work.

<sup>84</sup> Prof. G[rgur] Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo* (Split: Tipografija S. Artale, 1885), 2, lines 45–48. See the discussion of the poem in part 5 of Chapter IV in this dissertation.

Formally, Bukovac's concept for the *Guslar* may have resembled an earlier genre scene by Salghetti–Drioli, *Guslar among the Peasants (Guslar među seljacima)* of 1840 (fig. 6.4).<sup>85</sup> The canvas depicts a *guslar* or Morlach bard (*bardo morlacco*), as more than one contemporary source termed the main figure, in an inland village above Zadar surrounded by peasants.<sup>86</sup> The painting taps into the Italian fascination, beginning in the eighteenth century with Alberto Fortis, for Morlachs (or Vlachs) of the hinterland of Dalmatia, who made the Balkan peninsula exotic.<sup>87</sup> As early commentators on the painting noted, the painting represents synthesis on a small scale, as rural types dressed in various national costumes from the environs of Zadar are united around the old bard.<sup>88</sup>

But in terms of the ideology of South Slavic unity that was to be the primary content of his painting, Bukovac's *Guslar* was more akin to Salghetti–Drioli's mature history painting. Here was synthesis on an impressive scale, a synthesis of the entire Slavic South. Nearly five

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<sup>85</sup> The painting is lost today, but thanks to the research of Ivo Petricioli, can be judged from sketches preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawing, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb. As Petricioli writes, the painting was perhaps the “earliest Croatian painting of a *guslar*.” Petricioli, “‘*Guslar među seljacima*’ (1840) by Francesco Salghetti–Drioli,” *Music in Art* 25, no. 1–2 (2000): 97. See also his “Tragom jedne slike F. Salghetti–Driolija s folklornim sadržajem,” *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnost* 22 (1998): 127–31. The painting was exhibited in 1840 in Trieste, and subsequently sold to a local merchant by the last name of Krayger. Kukuljević Sakcinski writes that it was made “for the Trieste exhibition of artworks (*trstjanska izložba umotvorinah*)” (see: *Slovník* vol. 5, 391), probably the first exhibition of Trieste Society of Fine Arts (*La Società Triestina di Belle Arti*, also known as the *Società filotecnica*) of 1840.

<sup>86</sup> Y., in “Uljudna djelovanja. F. Salghetti,” *Zora Dalmatinska* 1, no. 22, May 27, 1844, 175, calls the painting the “an old soothsayer (Morlach bard) signing accompanied by the *gusle* (*starac gataoc (bardo morlacco) gdje uz gusle pjeva*).” Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, in his *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, vol. 5 (Zagreb: Narodna Tiskarna L. Gaja, 1860), 391, calls it “a Croatian *guslar* (Morlach bard) ... singing folk songs accompanied by a maple *gusle* (*hrvatski guslar (Morlacco bardo) ... pjevà uz javorove gusle narodne pjesme*).” In his autobiography of 1874, Salghetti–Drioli refers to the figure as a “a Slavic bard, who is accompanied by the monochord / the *gusle* / sings... (*Bardoslavo, il quale sul monocordo /Gusla/ canta...*)” Autobiography of Salghetti–Drioli, printed in: Radoslav Tomić, “Francesco Salghetti–Drioli – prilog biografiji,” *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 22 (1988): 122.

<sup>87</sup> Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Venezia: Presso Alvise Milocco, 1774). An excellent study of Fortis's famous travelogue and its influence is found in Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

<sup>88</sup> See Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, vol. 5, 391: “he is surrounded by many people wearing various Dalmatian costumes;” and Y., “Uljudna djelovanja, 175: “how varied were the listeners of that honored old man.”

meters wide, the enormous allegorical canvas *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers* had been commissioned in 1865 by Bishop Strossmayer for the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb that would be officially constituted in 1867 (fig. I.8).<sup>89</sup> Like the *Guslar* that would have been the embodiment of *Slovinac*'s mission, the *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers* visualized the mission of the Yugoslav Academy: Croats, Serbians, Bulgarians and Slovenians united together for the common good and enlightenment of all.<sup>90</sup> Salghetti–Drioli worked on the canvas for many years, finally completing it in 1870. In September of 1873, it was put on display in the great hall of the People's House (*Narodni Dom*) of the Academy in Zagreb. It hung there for one year, joining the exhibition of Croatian art held in October of 1874.<sup>91</sup> In local literature, the painting was referred to from the start simply as *Yugoslavia*, (literally, the land of the South Slavs) as in the woodblock print that appeared on a two–page spread in *Vienac* in 1874.<sup>92</sup>

In Salghetti–Drioli's own words:

Concord calls [to] three ancient Slavic kings, Dušan of Serbia, Krešimir of Croatia and Simeon of Bulgaria, and invites them, embracing and concordant, to swear [an oath] before the monument of Yugoslavia for the emancipation of the Slavs from the Ottoman yoke.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> About the genesis of the painting, see Vlatka Stagličić, “N. Tommaseo i F. Salghetti–Drioli: dopisivanje kao poticaj za slikanje,” *Radovi Instituta za povijesti umjetnosti* 24 (2000): 177–78.

<sup>90</sup> Salghetti–Drioli actually left the Slovenes out of his *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers*. Interestingly, Strossmayer defended the omission. See: Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2., 241.

<sup>91</sup> *Yugoslavia* hung in the People's House for one year, joining the exhibition of Croatian art held in October of 1874. On the 1874 exhibition, see Vladimira Tartaglia–Kelemen, “Izložba 1874. u Narodnom Domu,” *Zbornik historijskog instituta JAZU* 5 (1963): 377–85.

<sup>92</sup> The image appeared on pp. 248–49 in *Vienac* 6, no. 16, April 18, 1874, in the first year the magazine had illustrations and began actively promoting the visual arts for the role they should play in the national movement.

<sup>93</sup> Each king ruled his kingdom at its height, i.e. when it was greatest territorially. Stephen Uroš IV, Dušan the Mighty (c. 1308–1355) ruled as King of Serbia from 1331, and as emperor of the Serbs and Greeks from 1346 until his death. Peter Krešimir IV, called the Great (?–1074/1075) was King of Croatia from 1059 to his death. Simeon (864/865–927) ruled Bulgaria from 893 until his death, first as Prince and later as Emperor.

That Salghetti–Drioli writes the “emancipation of the Slavs from the Ottoman yoke” indicates his participation in the long–standing Anti–Turkish tradition in the Balkans. At the time the *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers* was painted, the Ottoman Empire was on the decline. For all the South Slavs to be emancipated, they would also have to be freed from Austria–Hungary.

Discord and falsehood are trampled under their solemn gait while Glory with a *genietto* descends from the sky promising crowns in arduous hope of success.<sup>94</sup>

The narrative Salghetti–Drioli provides plays out legibly on the canvas. The drama unfolds diagonally from bottom left to upper right within a Baroque whirlwind of drapery on a coastal hill. On the left are Dušan, Krešimir and Simeon, racing forward with such speed they appear to be flying. In a literal expression of unity, the three medieval sovereigns meld in an embrace that renders their individual bodies indistinguishable—they appear to be a three-headed creature encased within a mass of wildly billowing robes.<sup>95</sup> Two outstretched arms, reaching the exact center of the composition, recall the three brothers in Jacques–Louis David’s (1748–1825) neoclassical *Oath of the Horatii* (1784). The meaning is clear: the rulers are concordant in purpose. Adding to the dynamism of their surge forward are four figures, two above and two below. Plummeting from the sky from the top left corner is “Glory with a *genietto*”<sup>96</sup> bearing laurel wreaths in anticipatory praise of the action they are about to take. Below them writhe the grotesque bodies of discord and falsehood.

If the left half of the painting is all action, the right half lies quietly in waiting, “in a state of expectancy, remaining in one place or condition so as to be ready for some expected event.”<sup>97</sup> A tall, white stone monument, consisting of a heavy squared base atop which a female personification of Yugoslavia sits regally with two *putti* at her feet, occupies nearly the entire right half of the canvas. Like the two nursing children of allegorical France in Honoré Daumier’s

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<sup>94</sup> See Salghetti–Drioli’s autobiography in: Tomić, “Francesco Salghetti–Drioli—prilog biografiji,” 122.

<sup>95</sup> The number of kings is certainly reminiscent of the three Biblical kings of Orient. The entire composition is articulated in groups of threes: three kings, three female figures (Glory, Concord and the statue of Yugoslavia), three *putti* (one in the sky, two at Yugoslavia’s feet), three grotesque figures (Discord and Falsehood being trampled by the three kings, and the sleeping personification of the Danube at the monument’s base).

<sup>96</sup> Tomić, “Francesco Salghetti–Drioli—prilog biografiji,” 122.

<sup>97</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, draft revision 2009, s.v. “waiting”: “expectation; remaining stationary or quiescent in expectation of something. *in waiting* (predicatively): in a state of expectancy, remaining in one place or condition so as to be ready for some expected event.”

*The Republic* (1848), the *putti* could be the progeny of allegorical Yugoslavia, indicating the continuity of the nascent nation into the future. The monument appears to be ancient, enclosed as it is within a grove of gnarled trees. From her lofty position, Yugoslavia calmly oversees the kings crushing the “hellish dragon of disunion.”<sup>98</sup> On the steps before the monument, the serene blonde maiden “Concord” mediates between the rulers and the embodiment of the new kingdom they are pledging to create. With one hand resting on a *fascis*, she beckons them forward, pointing to the word “*sloga* (unity)” inscribed on a banner held by one of the *putti*.<sup>99</sup> The viewer, thus, cannot fail to understand what is going on. The kneeling *putto* leans to one side in a gesture of supplication, his marble hair beginning to turn golden. The monument is beginning to come to life.

In his translation of the oil painting into monochromatic line, the woodblock carver made a rather important mistake: the *putto* sitting in front of Yugoslavia’s shield is not gazing downwards, but rather is turned away from the viewer, absorbed in the act of intently carving South Slavic heraldry on the tall shield, the top of which is already filled in with the checker-box motif of the Kingdom of Croatia. Like the central placement of Krešimir between Dušan and Simeon, embracing both and leading them forward, the message is this: Croatia is ready to give up its individuality, to meld into Yugoslavia. The others still have to agree, but the process of becoming is underway.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> I have in mind Kaznačić’s hopes that Čermák’s painterly work could end the disunity between Catholic and Orthodox Slavs: “and then mother Slavdom / like a heavenly queen / with her foot will crush / the hellish dragon of disunion.” Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” 394 (lines 71–74).

<sup>99</sup> *Fascis* (Latin): a bundle of rods that symbolizes strength through unity. While each individual rod is fragile, as a bundle they are strong.

<sup>100</sup> See I[van] Dežman, “Jugoslavija. Slika Fr. Salghettia–Driolia. (Svojina jugoslavenske akademije. Izložena u dvorani Narodnoga doma),” *Vienac* 5, no. 36, September 6, 1873, 572:

Krešimir, being in the middle, does not raise his arms but rather embraces his brothers. It is certain beyond every doubt that he already beforehand had agreed to unity; as his figure and central

One sympathetic critic was Ivan Dežman (1841–1873), a medical doctor, writer and great friend of August Šenoa born in Rijeka, Istria who lived in Zagreb during the last decade of his life.<sup>101</sup> When the painting was first put on display in Zagreb in 1873, Dežman wrote:

The nineteenth century, which gave birth to so many advanced ideas, brings one of the greatest before the world: the idea of nationality and ethnic affinity (*plemenska srodnost*).<sup>102</sup> [...] Salghetti–Drioli has thought to show us the idea of the concord of the South Slavs with that painting. [...] ... he brought into concord three incredibly separatist rulers (*tri toli separatistična vladaoca*), representatives of the absolutely separatist aspirations of individual tribes. Did Salghetti not offend the historical value of those rulers by doing so? Not a bit. ... Each and every one of us knows that Dušan would never have renounced his Serbian–ness, nor Krešimir his Croatian–ness, nor Simeon his Bulgarian–ness. ... In the next world, [however], where truth reigns, those heroes have realized that their kingdoms and empires will be ruined since they are not based on the unity of one people ... therefore they decided to renounce their particularity. ... They have risen from their ancient graves, rushing to save [their respective tribes] from demise. [...] Who would not agree to concord seeing how the most illustrious heroes have risen from the grave to suppress their famous pasts in order to secure a happier future for the kindred tribes? Who could doubt in that happier future, when he sees “discord and hatred,” which destroyed our tribes from time immemorial, so crushed and trampled?<sup>103</sup>

As I believe Dežman correctly interprets, Salghetti–Drioli’s *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers* represents a kind of time machine. Prodded by the nineteenth century’s discovery of the idea of “nationality and ethnic affinity,” the medieval rulers Dušan, Krešimir and Simeon, each of whom ruled their respective kingdom at its height, have traveled to the present to correct the mistakes of their “separatist” pasts. Enlightened by the “truth” of the afterlife and with the

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position prove adequately, he was the first to think of that idea [unity] and has persuaded his brothers to step before Yugoslavia.

<sup>101</sup> On Dežman, see: Milan Grlović, *Album zaslužnih Hrvata XIX stoljeća*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Matičev litografski zavod, 1898–1900), n.p.; Irvin Lukežić, “Tragom Ivana Dežmana,” *Sušačka revija* 15 no. 57 (2007): 45–55; Milorad Stojević “Život i književno djelo Ivana Dežmana: (Školski portret o njegovim obljetnicama),” *Flu–minensia* 7, no. 2 (1995): 11–16; F. Marković, “O životu i spisih dra Ivana Dežmana” in his: *Dr. Ivan Dežman, Izabrani spisi* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1896), v–lv.

<sup>102</sup> Dežman’s vision of the nineteenth century is kindred to Mrazović’s: “Today, other ideas animate the world, and these are the ideas of nationality and freedom, and nature.” M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” *Vienac*, 126, though Dežman is more invested in the synthetic idea of a Yugoslavia than Mrazović who focuses on Croatia.

<sup>103</sup> Dežman, “Jugoslavija,” 570–72.

wisdom of hindsight, historical actors awaken to save a present gone awry and guide it to a better future.<sup>104</sup> The critic pinpoints the artificiality of the formula (“did Salghetti not offend the historical value of those rulers?”) but finds no fault with it. Rectifying the past is the right thing to do: “who could doubt in that happier future, when he sees ‘discord and hatred,’ which destroyed our tribes from time immemorial, so crushed and trampled?”<sup>105</sup> Salghetti–Drioli naturalizes his intervention into the fabric of time by casting Yugoslavia as an ancient monument. The idea of a common state for the South Slavs is thus invested with a sense of inevitability. Yugoslavia had been lying dormant for centuries, patiently waiting. The rulers might have awakened her long ago had they realized unification was the true path to salvation.

More than any other work of art made in nineteenth–century Croatia, Salghetti–Drioli’s *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers* gave a discernable body to a fused geo–political entity of South Slavs on the verge of becoming. The painting is a representation of a proto–Yugoslavia, a picture of “nascent” Yugoslavia, a Yugoslavia that is “about to be born or is in the act of being born or brought forth.”<sup>106</sup> It gave art commentators exactly what they had been asking for, and furthermore materialized the sense of on–the–verge–ness that characterized art discourse at the time, the feeling that something wondrous was about to happen, that art could reach into life and transform it. When the South Slavic rulers reach the monument and pledge their oath, their touch will cause the statue of Yugoslavia to come to life. Her marble skin will become real flesh. The *putti*’s hair will turn fully golden. The shield will be fully filled in with heraldry. And the nude male figure in the bottom right corner of the canvas leaning back onto a cornucopia and holding an oar in the crook of his arm, meant to be a personification of the Danube river but interpreted

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<sup>104</sup> Dežman describes the next world as a place “where truth reigns.” “Jugoslavija,” 571.

<sup>105</sup> Dežman, “Jugoslavija,” *Vienac*, 572.

<sup>106</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, draft revision 2009, s.v. “nascent.”

thusly by Dežman “without a doubt, that [figure] represents our people, who, up until now, have been sleeping,” will awaken.<sup>107</sup>

It seems that Bishop Strossmayer initially liked the painting.<sup>108</sup> Within a short period of time, however, he was persuaded to change his opinion. Although its subject matter was exactly right—it was, after all, commissioned to decorate the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences and quite literally embodied the institution’s mission—like Bukovac’s *Episode*, Strossmayer did not make Salghetti–Drioli’s painting a part of his Picture Gallery.<sup>109</sup> The painting was hated. When he died four years after completing *Concord*, Salghetti–Drioli was reviled by Zagreb’s paper *Hrvatski Svjetozor* for his “foreignness”<sup>110</sup>:

Salghetti was esteemed (*čúven*) and loved by his fellow citizens [in Zadar], but foreign learning estranged him from the Croatian people. That he mainly chose subjects from our history for his works (*umotvori*) is mostly thanks to Bishop Strossmayer, who, with his commissions, endeavored to bring him back to the motherland.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Dežman, “Jugoslavija,” 572.

<sup>108</sup> Strossmayer’s initial positive reaction to a photo of Salghetti’s painting is recorded in Šišić, *Korespondencija Rački–Strossmayer*, vol. 2., 241. Zagreb’s magazine *Vienac* also reacted favorably at the beginning. In 1874, it advertised a color reproduction of the painting, contrasting *Yugoslavia* positively against a set of lithographs produced by the German–Hungarian artist Joseph Franz Mücke (1819–1883) published between 1868 and 1870:

As the reproduction is very good [of *Yugoslavia*], the image will decorate every patriot’s home, and we heartily recommend it. It’s about time that as many native and worthy paintings as possible should be multiplied—we say worthy, since up to now we have been unsatisfied with Strossmayer’s paintings. You [have only to] remember, for example, wretched Mücke’s lithographs of Croatian history that offend one’s sense of aesthetics absolutely.

Anon., “Salghettieva ‘Jugoslavija,’” *Vienac* 6, no. 15, April 11, 1874, 238.

<sup>109</sup> The Strossmayer Gallery’s derision for *Yugoslavia* was recorded for posterity in the 1885 catalogue: Salghetti–Drioli, from Zadar, is a history painter (*historički slikar*) ([died] –1877). He trained in Italy, especially in Venice and Rome. The “*Pharaoh’s Dream (Faraunov san)*” (no. 229) is his best work, which far outshines (*daleko nadkrijuje*) “*Yugoslavia*.”

The work was similarly singled out for criticism in the obituary printed in *Hrvatski Svjetozor*:

In the artistic world he [Franjo Salghetti–Drioli] acquired fame (*stekao je liepo ime*), and in our parts, a nice reputation will be left by his paintings: “*Guslar*,” “*Tsar Dušan*,” “*Yugoslavia*,” and “*Berislavić the Croatian Ban*.” *Yugoslavia* is widely known although it is not especially excellent, as has been made much ado about.

Anon., “Umrlí. –Franjo Salghetti–Drioli,” *Hrvatski Svjetozor* 1, no. 5, July 29, 1877, 40.

<sup>110</sup> One might infer that the lengths Bukovac went to in order to “naturalize” himself as a Croat—i.e., changing his last name from Fagioni to Bukovac, or the detail in the autobiography about his Italian grandfather “praying in Croatian language”—was to avoid the kind of scorn Salghetti–Drioli faced. Bukovac, *Moj život*, 11.

<sup>111</sup> Anon., “Umrlí. –Franjo Salghetti–Drioli,” 40.

To actually attempt to make a history painting that visualized the dream of uniting the South Slavic clans, then, was a provenly dangerous proposition. To give visual form to the utopian dream of the “new age” before its arrival was risky.<sup>112</sup> It could be the ruin of a painter. Salghetti–Drioli paid the price by being scorned and all but written out of art history until recently.<sup>113</sup> In precisely the years that a program for national art was being formulated in Zagreb by Ladislav Mrazović, Izidor Kršnjavi and Bishop Strossmayer, Salghetti–Drioli’s spot–on contribution to the nascent Croatian art they so desired was suppressed.<sup>114</sup> Bukovac’s instinct to keep his own great ideological work, the *Guslar*, in a state of potentiality was a wise move. If the *Episode* had been punished for becoming real, and for stretching into the realm of history painting before history was ready, the *Guslar* too would likewise have been doomed as soon as it became a physical object. Had Bukovac painted the *Guslar* in the 1880s, it would have come too early. An intangible, imaginary *Guslar*, on the other hand, could hold the public in comfortable anticipation.

Bukovac’s cycle of Zagreb history paintings and his short–lived triumph with the Pavilion of Croatian Art at the Millennium Exposition in Budapest of 1896 came too early as well.<sup>115</sup> In order for an artist’s work to be truly credited with bringing a “new age ... into being,” that “new age” needed already to have “come into being.”<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” 394.

<sup>113</sup> See Petricioli’s essay “Franjo Salghetti–Drioli, zaboravljeni umjetnik” in his catalogue, *Franjo Salghetti–Drioli*, 9. It is only in the last two decades that the artist’s legacy has begun to be re–evaluated.

<sup>114</sup> See Chapter V of this dissertation.

<sup>115</sup> Although he had returned to the capital city of his homeland as its greatest artist, Bukovac was all but chased out of Zagreb at the end of the nineteenth century.

On Bukovac’s 1890s history painting and the Croatian Pavilion of Art at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest, Hungary, see: Vera Kružić–Uchytíl, “Prvi nastupi hrvatskih umjetnika na međunarodnoj umjetničkoj sceni od 1896. do 1903. godine,” *Peristil* 31 (1998): 193–98; and my “The secessionists are the Croats.”

<sup>116</sup> Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” 394.

Beginning around 1900, art commentators began to bestow the magical aura of potentiality on young Dalmatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović from the hinterland of Split (1883–1962), just as they had with Vlaho Bukovac two decades earlier.<sup>117</sup> With the formation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1918—the Kingdom of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes—however imperfect that conglomerate was, the discourse of desire could finally claim that art had fulfilled its mission and brought about a new political reality.

Meštrović was indisputably a great sculptor, and his visual idiom was more in touch with an early twentieth-century, later interwar, sensibility. But it was neither quality, style, nor following protocol that differentiated him from Bukovac and all the other talented Croatian artists of the nineteenth century. It was timing. Meštrović had the good fortune to be at the top of his career when political tides changed.<sup>118</sup> Writing in the 1930s, Slovene-born American writer Louis Adamic articulated a by-then established narrative that Meštrović's sculptures—his Kosovo fragments in particular—had compelled the Great Powers to support the creation of a Yugoslav State:<sup>119</sup>

All this time [as a student in Vienna and Paris in the first decade of the twentieth century] young Meštrović worked on the idea of producing a colossal monument to the heroism and suffering of his race since the battle of Kosovo.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> On the eve of the Great World War in 1914, Marko Car, in keeping with the discourse of desire, saw potential in Meštrović:

Serbo-Croatian art has made an important step in that direction [the direction of an art in step with the national (*narodni*) aspirations of the day] with the appearance of Ivan Meštrović, who seems to have understood the great ethical and aesthetic importance of [our] national traditions and the latent energies hidden in the monuments of the national past...

Car, *Nacionalni duh u literature i umjetnosti*, 49–50. That Meštrović chose to tackle the Kosovo epic in what we might term “history sculpture” fulfilled Car’s wish from decades before.

<sup>118</sup> One might make the case that Meštrović’s works were easily integrated into the Serbocentrism that characterized the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

<sup>119</sup> Louis Adamic, *The Native’s Return: An American Immigrant Visits Yugoslavia and Discovers his Old Country* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934). The book was a minor sensation in 1930s America. I would like to thank Marina Desin for bringing the work to my attention.

<sup>120</sup> N.B. I have corrected Adamic’s spelling of “Mestrovitch” to “Meštrović,” and “Kossovo” to “Kosovo” in the quoted passage. Meštrović was not the first Croatian artist to picture the Kosovo epic cycle. Ferdinand Quiquirez,

He wanted to put into stone his mother's songs and legends. ... The idea began to take shape under his hands. His famous Kosovo fragments, about fifty in number, were shown at Zagreb in 1911 and later in the same year in the Serb Pavilion of the International Art Exhibition at Rome.

In those sculptures ... he put into startling artistic forms much of the saga, the intense drama of the Yugoslav people's centuries-old national tragedy, idealism and aspirations for freedom, unity, self-realization, and self-expression within a country of their own. He crystallized that idealism and those aspirations in such a way that the great world outside the strife-torn and meagerly understood Balkans on whose good-will and sympathy depended their fulfillment could not help taking respectful notice of them. His vast figures... spoke the language of the Yugoslav *guslari* in a way that anyone could understand them. They were endowed with all the spiritual dignity and strength of the epic.

... the chief value, at least the chief immediate value, of his sculptures was not as art, but as propaganda—the most glorious propaganda any artist ever made for his race.

The Kosovo Fragments once and for all exploded the idea, which the German and Austrian imperialists had spread about in Europe, that the Balkan Slavs were an inferior barbarian breed, without culture, hopeless from the viewpoint of civilization...

So far as the future Yugoslavia was concerned, Meštrović appeared in the nick of time. ...

In 1915 the British government, amazed by the heroism... [of] the tiny Serb and Montenegrin armies... invited Meštrović, then only thirty-two, to exhibit his Kosovo pieces in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington... [...]

In 1915–1916, partly in direct consequence of Meštrović's masterpieces... Great Britain turned into a staunch supporter of the Yugoslav idea—the idea of making a large independent state of Serbia and such parts of Austria–Hungary as Slovenia, Croatia–Slavonia, Vojvodina, Dalmatia, and Bosnia–Herzegovina. Then France, already mildly favorable to the idea, joined Britain in that support; in 1918 Woodrow Wilson became strong for it—and, the war over, Yugoslavia came into existence.

There were other Yugoslav nationalists... who worked toward that idea, but without Meštrović's note-compelling art they in all probability would not have won the Allies and the United States so thoroughly to their cause. And it is incontestable that but for Meštrović entire Dalmatia, which is 98 percent Slavic, would have been given to Italy.<sup>121</sup>

It would, I think, be absurd to take the notion that Ivan Meštrović's Kosovo fragments played the deciding role in persuading the Great Powers to back the creation of the Kingdom of

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for example painted a *Maiden of Kosovo (Kosovska djevojka)* 1879, oil on canvas, 58.5 x 79 cm. Croatian History Museum, Zagreb.

<sup>121</sup> Adamic, *The Native's Return*, 297–301.

Yugoslavia too seriously. Rather, the important thing we can learn from Adamic's text is that the discourse of desire that tasked art with amending reality was so tenacious that it continued to inform thinking well into the twentieth century. The perceived arrival of the positive "new age" caused Meštrović's work to be interpreted as its catalyst, and so it was on Meštrović that the spell of potentiality was finally broken in Croatia. In retrospect, Meštrović would be said to have satisfied all the demands the nineteenth century made on art.<sup>122</sup> His sculpture glorified the history of bravery and suffering of the South Slavs. His works were a universal (visual) translation of the vernacular (spoken) language that bowed to poetry and thematized the epic: "His vast figures... spoke the language of the Yugoslav *guslari* in a way that anyone could understand them. They were endowed with all the spiritual dignity and strength of the epic."<sup>123</sup> Adamic describes how, thanks to his mother's extraordinary repertoire, Meštrović grew up steeped in epic (fig. 6.5):

... when Ivan was a little boy, his mother knew by heart nearly a thousand folk-songs, most of them still unrecorded in print, and many of which took hours to sing, recite or tell from start to finish. She sang, recited and told them to her children, who also heard them from other people in Otavitse. Most of those tales were parts of the great Kosovo epic. They were an essential part of the cultural and spiritual side of the village where Meštrović spent his boyhood. They became a part of him.<sup>124</sup>

Here, finally, was an artist who had accepted the proper relationship between oral poetry and art and could be said to have closed the gap between the two arts, a melding so longed for by critics throughout the nineteenth century. Through Meštrović's sculpture, the unhappy "disunion among

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<sup>122</sup> Kaznačić, "Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje," 394.

<sup>123</sup> Adamic, *The Native's Return*, 299.

<sup>124</sup> Adamic, *The Native's Return*, 298.

Different variations of this story exist. See, for example: Anon. "Mestrovic's Gift." *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 21, no. 1 (January 1927): 8–9. "My first teacher," the artist is quoted as saying, "was a blind *guslar* (singer) of the Yugoslav national ballads. Even though the manner of our expression was different, the purpose which moved his song of living words and my song in stone was identical—the glorifying of sorrow that others may bear it with more strength and courage."

the Slavs” came to an end and a synthetic nation, long in the dream stage, was forged.<sup>125</sup> His forms made the world “know our virtues / and thus blaze our name into the stars.”<sup>126</sup> He “announce[d] to the world, forever incredulous / that this is a land of arts and of songs,” not a land of barbarians.<sup>127</sup>

## 2. X-RAY VISION

As the train sped the *Episode* from the lights of gay Paris to oblivion at the provincial railway station of Osijek, Croatia, Vlaho Bukovac’s first and most earnest contribution to a nascent Croatian art came undone (fig. I.1).<sup>128</sup> As the *contadina montenegrina* pivoted around and toppled over on unsteady legs, the two poses she tenuously held together—one of genre, one of history—split in two directions. On the right, where the painting’s protagonist clenched the long knife in her fist and watched expectantly for the Turk, the *Episode* continued to stretch beyond itself into an as yet unpaintable history painting, a history painting that, as we have seen, Bukovac wisely decided was best left *in potentia*. The suppressed *contadina montenegrina* became storyteller, spinning a tale about a fictional *Guslar* around whom all the tribes of the Slavic South had gathered united, biding her time, waiting for the moment when an ideological national image could safely be painted.

On the left, where her hand rested on rock—the back of a chair in the studio—the *contadina montenegrina* relaxed her stance. Bukovac allowed her to pose as she liked, as she was used to posing, as a charming figure of genre. The next time he painted her, she slipped easily into the role of the *Montenegrin Woman at a Rendezvous* (*Monténégrine au rendez-vous*),

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<sup>125</sup> Kaznačić, “Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje,” 94 (line 62).

<sup>126</sup> Vuletić Vukasović, “Vlahu Bukovcu,” 262 (lines 20–21).

<sup>127</sup> Zarbarini, *A Biagio Bukovac*, 2 (lines 29–30).

<sup>128</sup> Šišić, “Prve slike,” 385.

a painting exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1883 (fig. 4.13).<sup>129</sup> The *Rendezvous* is the untroubled doppelganger of the *Episode*. The very same dark-eyed Italian model, wearing the same earrings and parts of the same costume, finds herself in the same vertical world of the *Episode*.<sup>130</sup> But all menace is gone. The boulder that once hemmed the *contadina montenegrina* in has become a handy prop for her to lean back upon. No longer is she trapped. She has feet—she may go and come as she pleases. No ambitious title demands her to invoke an unseen war. As in the *Episode*, the act of waiting is the central theme of the *Rendezvous*, but all tension has gone out of waiting. The *contadina montenegrina* waits serenely in 1883, without fear or implication of drama. Bukovac's *contadina montenegrina* of the *Rendezvous* represents a new stereotype, calm but divested of the epic charge that came from following in the footsteps of Jaroslav Čermák. She does not wait for history. She does not wait to be invested with meaning. She simply waits for her sweetheart. The reward for her docility has been to live in the museum, the opposite fate of her disappeared high-strung twin.<sup>131</sup>

Relieved from history and of her ideological mission, the *contadina montenegrina* prospered in genre. Some forty years later, the fictional *Guslar* too would find resolution in the lighter branch of painting. At the end of his life in Prague, Vlaho Bukovac returned to his old

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<sup>129</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Montenegrin Woman at a Rendezvous (La Monténégrine au rendez-vous)* [*Crnogorka na sastanku*], 1883, oil on canvas, 201 x 104 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb.

During the time he lived in Paris, Bukovac exhibited two other Montenegrin themes genre paintings at the Salon: *Montenegrin Girl* (1879) and *Montenegrin Women at the Well* (1885).

As with the titling of the *Episode*, with his 1883 painting, Bukovac referred back to Čermák's *Rendez-vous dans la montagne (Monténégro)* of 1874. Bukovac's reliance on Čermák went further than lifting the title. With costume additions he must have acquired on his trip to Cetinje in 1879, Bukovac dressed his model in a nearly identical outfit: a long white skirt covered by a dark, fringed apron, a white blouse over which a magnificent dark long-sleeved jacket with golden embroidery and long white jerkin are worn. Even the satchel at the model's feet, with its vertical stripes, is identical.

<sup>130</sup> The model's features are unmistakable: big black eyes, a slightly protruding rounded chin with a hint of a dimple at its center, full, circular face, long, gently curving eyebrows. She wears the same long white skirt and golden-embroidered white jerkin in *La Monténégrine au rendez-vous* as in the *Episode from the War of Montenegro*.

<sup>131</sup> The *Rendezvous* came into the collection of the Modern Gallery in Zagreb in 1950 when it was purchased from a private collector. Many thanks to Libuše Jirsak for furnishing this information.

story of large, multi-figured canvas featuring a *guslar*, but stripped it of the ideological content that made it so attractive to his compatriot supporters in the 1880s. In the *Montenegrin Guslar* of 1919, Bukovac gathered a group of twelve figures (six male, six female) in semi-circle around an old, blind singer of epic on a picturesque path above a thatch-roofed house (fig. 6.6).<sup>132</sup> They are not “representatives of all the Slavic tribes,” rather all present are Montenegrin.<sup>133</sup> Like Salghetti-Drioli’s *Guslar* of 1840, the composition represents synthesis on a small scale: attentive peasants, who are, perhaps, from various outlying villages, have come to hear the bard sing. Bukovac must have been excited about his big genre painting. Many of the last photographs taken of his studio—and he always choreographed images of his ateliers with great care—feature the large *Montenegrin Guslar* displayed prominently on an easel (fig. 6.7).

The work contains older and newer elements from Bukovac’s visual repertoire. The regular, defined brushstrokes are characteristic of the way the artist painted in the teens. The captivation with light and pastel colors are impressionistic, the thatched roof recalls Claude Monet’s haystacks.<sup>134</sup> The physiognomy of the assembled Montenegrins looks to be drawn from “In Montenegro (*Au Monténégro*),” an illustration he composed for the magazine *L’Art et la Mode* in 1886 (fig. 4.19).<sup>135</sup> The women at left wear pieces of the *contadina montenegrina*’s costume: the belts, the blouse, the apron, and the jerkin. We recognize the young woman with a blanket around her shoulders just left of center, behind and between the two standing men from

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<sup>132</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Montenegrin Guslar* (*Crnogorski guslar*), 1919, oil on canvas, 130 x 200 cm. Museum of King Nikola, Cetinje, Montenegro. The painting was purchased from Bukovac’s son, Agostin Bukovac, in 1928 for the sum of 19,800 dinars. Anđe Kapičić, *Bukovac i Crna Gora* (Cetinje: Matica Crnogorska, 2002), 15.

The phantom *Guslar* was to have “at least fifteen figures.” Car, “Vlaho Bukovac,” *Vienac*, 106.

<sup>133</sup> Car, “Vlaho Bukovac,” 106.

<sup>134</sup> Of the modern movements, Bukovac admired only the impressionists. He credits their study of light and color with saving the art of the nineteenth century. See: Bukovac, *Moj život*, 136–37.

<sup>135</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, “Au Monténégro,” *L’Art et la Mode* no. 5 (January 2, 1886): 54–55.

Bukovac's *Study of a Montenegrin Woman*, dated 1879 (fig. 6.8).<sup>136</sup> Not particularly well placed in the composition, and seeming lost in her own thoughts with downcast eyes, could she be a remainder from an abandoned foundation from the 1880s? Might Bukovac have carried never-completed physical *Guslar* with him from Paris to Zagreb to Cavtat to Vienna and finally Prague? Vera Kružić-Uchytíl speculates that the *Montenegrin Guslar* was based on the *Guslar* Car wrote about in 1881 and 1884.<sup>137</sup> I find her idea compelling. We cannot know to what degree the composition had ever been worked out, or upon what support (paper or canvas), but it is tantalizing to think that the contours of the history painting left *in potentia* might lie beneath the bright, twentieth-century surface of the folkloric *Montenegrin Guslar*.<sup>138</sup> In the absence of x-ray vision, perhaps the little girl in white standing among the women at left knows the truth. Enraptured by the bard's song, the child gazes with upraised arms at the visions of great expectations conjured before her eyes: of a brave *contadina montenegrina* who defended herself valiantly in the forest of Fontainebleau<sup>139</sup> and a *guslar* who long ago dreamt of assembling the South Slavs into a utopian state called Yugoslavia.

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<sup>136</sup> Vlaho Bukovac, *Study of a Montenegrin Woman (Studija Crnogorke)*, 1879, oil on canvas, 40 x 31.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. The work is illustrated in Kapičić, *Bukovac i Crna Gora*, 26, and catalogued in Kružić-Uchytíl, *Vlaho Bukovac*, 325, no. 64.

<sup>137</sup> Kružić-Uchytíl, *Vlaho Bukovac*, 326, no. 82.

<sup>138</sup> It is not Kružić-Uchytíl's suggestion that the *Montenegrin Guslar* was literally painted on top of the never-finished *Guslar*. These are my own musings.

<sup>139</sup> Bukovac, *Moj život*, 80.

## CODA

### MERRY WIDOWS

I did not set out to write a story about art as a dream that was doomed to fail. One prefers to read a story with a happy ending, rather than a frustrating story of love unrequited because the object of desire was desire itself.

The story about potentiality I ended up telling is one of longing as a *modus operandi*. Part of the story is decidedly dark. There is unfinished business (Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists*) and bankruptcy (Felix Lay's *Ornaments of South Slavic Cottage and Decorative Arts Industries*) (fig. 5.10). There are artists cut down for trying to grow up. Young Nikola Strahinić went mad from the burden of creating history painting in a void, and Vjekoslav Karas jumped into a river. Franjo Salghetti–Drioli was reviled for following directions with his *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers* (fig. I.8). Finally, Vlaho Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro*, the work that made the first claim to fame for the South Slavs on the world stage of the Paris Salon, was hidden the moment it had the gall to return to the homeland as evidence that the long–desired art materialized (fig. I.1). For a while, under the heady spell of my own great expectations, I was sure I would eventually locate Bukovac's *Episode* in some private collection and look upon it. I did not.

A sustained anticipation of native art and belief that an indigenous and important South Slavic visual art would emerge—notwithstanding its presence—lasted nearly the entire duration of the long nineteenth century in Croatia. The imaginary future art was a powerful utopian vision that satisfied a feeling of lack and offered a positive alternative to the geopolitical reality of a Croatia fragmented and subsumed within the Habsburg Empire. Art on the verge of becoming

seemed to hold the power to breathe life and credibility into a people on the verge of becoming. Realized art could not be allowed to disappoint that dream.

There are things about this story that are decidedly familiar, the most obvious being that a preoccupation with potentiality is universal to the Western tradition. The Croatian discourse of desire—a preference for an idea of art over art itself—has roots in Plato’s theory of Ideas. For centuries, the classical ideal held sway as the preeminent model from the past, aspired to but acknowledged to be unobtainable in the present or future. That model began losing authority in the nineteenth century at varying speeds in different parts of Europe, nowhere faster than in France. After Édouard Manet’s summing up of past art, a more unspecific future, based on fulfilling the promise of the present moment, held sway with the advent of modernity.

A relationship between art and infancy is another familiar theme. Critics in Third Republic France, for example, infantilized the unfinished appearance of Impressionist canvases. Their innovative technique signaled the possible emergence of a new language recognizable in the present like a child’s stuttering: only time could tell if impressionism could yield a fully mature, fully comprehensible work.<sup>1</sup> Modernists later in the twentieth century like Paul Klee esteemed children’s art as a path to immediacy and true originality, as a way of overcoming artistic formulae.<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth-century Croatian commentators cast their native artists as infants, but not for formal or process-related reasons. As we have seen, though they liked to imagine the visual, few were really interested in what paintings looked like. In the Croatian context, the artist’s immaturity was supremely positive because it allowed critics to develop their own verbal fantasies of what art would do in the future when it grew up. A potential art, a hoped for art, was

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the famous words of Louis Leroy, “L’Exposition des impressionistes,” *Le Charivari* (April 25, 1874): “Wallpaper in its embryonic state is more finished than that seascape.”

<sup>2</sup> Ellen Marsh, “Paul Klee and the Art of Children: A Comparison of Their Creative Processes,” *College Art Journal* 16, No. 2 (Winter 1957): 132–45.

perfect and powerful, undiminished by the inadequacies of realized works. A potential art, a hoped for art, excited the imagination.

The story of the great expectations for art in the second half of the nineteenth century in Croatia is also part of a larger story of the death of history painting. Throughout Europe, even as institutional support waned and audiences were more and more market driven, the imposing shadow of history painting haunted artists with the imperative that their work be significant, moral and large.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the old world and the new, artists continued earnestly trying to paint monumental history paintings for their nations—they remain today as the murals decorating city halls, train stations and libraries—but the genre was a sinking ship in crisis.<sup>4</sup> The precipitous falling into genre of Bukovac's South Slavic-themed works may tell us something about the rise of ethnography and the superficiality of creating successful national history painting at a time when it was so desperately desired. Though the form remained valid and meaningful, national history painting boiled down to “dressing up” more than radical reconceptualization at the end of the nineteenth century in Croatia and elsewhere.

People who visit art museums in Croatia often come away surprised to find Academicism still flourishing at the end of the nineteenth century, wondering where the familiar signs of modernity are: the Realists, the Symbolists, etc. The Academic style that was prevalent and embraced by both Bukovac and Čermák fell out of favor in European areas at varying tempos. Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák formed their artistic identities in Paris, the vibrant city of art on which South Slavic commentators sights were fixed as the ultimate gauge of artistic value. Both Bukovac and Čermák skimmed from the alternatives to Academicism that flourished in

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<sup>3</sup> Cynthia A. White and Harrison C. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World (with a new foreword and afterword)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Marc Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 60–63.

Paris, but were on the whole resistant to deviations from the classical tradition. To risk abandoning academicism would be tantamount to abandoning the mission: proving civilization through art.

Though certain of the actors involved in the discourse of art I examine considered themselves progressive and in touch with the core values of the nineteenth century—as Ladislav Mrazović had defined them: “nationality, freedom, and nature”—the model of artistic development in play among Croatian elites was not in essence one of innovation, but rather the more urgent one of establishing continuity with an indigenous tradition.<sup>5</sup> In this case, a glaring absence of tradition meant that it had to be retroactively manufactured, and done so in such a way that an aura of authenticity was created. The architects of national art had to negotiate the inherent tension between authenticity and artificiality. Projects like Kukuljević Sakcinski’s *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists* and institutions such as the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb endeavored to fill what was self-understood to be an immense void. Most of the elements of the modern art infrastructure that had grown up in France and elsewhere during the eighteenth century were still missing in Croatia at the middle of the nineteenth century, by which I mean academies, museums, private and state patrons, a strong public sphere for art criticism and audience reception, publics, as well as historical accounts of national traditions and strategies to enhance them.

The Croatian intelligentsia threw all the typical elements of nationalist nineteenth-century nation formation—folklore, myth, language and history—into the future, into a space of wondrous potentiality. In a case that could have been included in Benedict Anderson’s seminal book, the future South Slavic state was very much an “imagined community” enabled by the

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<sup>5</sup> Ladislav M[razović], “Skrajnje je vrijeme,” *Vienac* 6, no. 8, February 21, 1874, 126.

consuming publics of “print capitalism” and the pedigree of continuity offered by a codified vernacular language.<sup>6</sup> In a Herderian vein, commentators wanted a visual language that would be equivalent to the vernacular language, their strongest and most familiar marker of authentic identity and proof of civilization. They were vested in native poetry and the power of the word, but also enamoured with the idea that visual art had a power greater than words to materialize their dreams. Commentators willfully believed the paintings of Vlaho Bukovac and Jaroslav Čermák would fuse together a South Slavic body. Of course, they had to account for the fact that their artists trained in foreign lands and participated in an international community in Paris.

Marko Car, Ivan August Kaznačić, Izidor Kršnjavi, Ladislav Mrazović, Medo Pucić, Bishop Strossmayer, August Šenoa, Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski, and the all the other historical actors caught in this web of great expectations were by no means vicious or stupid. They were hopeful. If they were caught in a loop, stuck on repeat, it is because they had no other moves within the belief system they inhabited. They are compelling, interesting figures whose fate it was to be on a futile quest. Looking back on finished business from our position in the present, we know how things turned out. We know that the art that would count most for twentieth–century developments came into being by other means than those prescribed by these historical actors. We know that the dream of Yugoslavia to which these paintings were inextricably linked failed. In fact, the Yugoslavia imagined by the commentators who figure in this story was not the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that was created in 1918 or the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia created at the end of World War II. The nineteenth–century dream of

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<sup>6</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991), esp. p. 22.

Yugoslavia—a utopian state whose earthly details had not been not worked out—never came into being. Like the paintings, that Slavic South remained an unrealized ideal.

What are we to do with the objects in this story of ideals that could not be met in the end? Today, the paintings in this story are artifacts of what turned out to be the “wrong” ideas, generated during the messy process of creating a future nation. I propose we look at them not as failures, but as alternatives: paths to futures never realized. I propose we look at them as really good paintings that defamiliarize the conventions of history painting in an intriguing way. Finally, I propose we look at them because they have been waiting a long time to be really *looked at*.

## 1. A MERRY ENDING

I do not want to end the story on a sad note. As I close the curtain on this tale of great expectations, I imagine a stage set as the twilight of the long nineteenth century. It is the eve of the Great War, the end of a visual idiom, but no one knows it yet. In the fading light, Prosper Merimée’s fictional long-whiskered *guslar*, Hyacinthe Maglanovich, sits stage left playing his one-stringed instrument and singing a folk version of the “Vilja Song” from Franz Lehár’s *The Merry Widow* (*Die lustige Witwe*, 1905), an operetta from Vienna written during the last days of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire featuring Balkan characters (fig. 1.9).<sup>7</sup>

The vaulted ceiling of the theater is a domed sky studded with the faces of putti from the famous mausoleum Ivan Meštrović designed atop the gorgeous promontory in Vlaho Bukovac’s

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<sup>7</sup> Franz Lehár, *The Merry Widow* (*Die lustige Witwe*, 1905. Libretto by Victor Léon and Leo Stein. On the *Merry Widow*, see Micaela Baranello’s excellent “Die lustige Witwe and the Creation of the Silver Age of Viennese Operetta,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 26 no. 2 (July 2014): 175–202. As Baranello notes, the “Pontevedrans” in the operetta were “obvious stand-in[s] for the actual state of Montenegro.” Their names were taken from the royal house. For example, Danilo was the actual crown prince at the time. “The use of Montenegrin costumes was apparently obvious” (p. 187).

hometown of Cavtat (1920–1922) (fig. C.1).<sup>8</sup> The majority of the audience sits with backs turned to the stage, reading or writing: Kukuljević–Saksinski is sighing over the last entry to his *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists*. Marko Car is absorbed in translating the article he wrote about a promising young artist named Vlaho Bukovac into Italian, elaborating his thoughts in the process. A trumpet sounds. All the women who populated the canvases examined in this dissertation enter stage right, single file and proud as in Čermák’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (1873) (fig. I.3). Not bothering to turn around, the men in the audience comment on the undoubted splendor of their marvelous embroidered national costumes and rattle off the names of the villages they come from.

Bereaved of their makers, their admirers, their *raison-d’être*, these allegorical vessels of a South Slavic nation *in potentia* are widows now.<sup>9</sup> The ideology they were wed to is gone. They have been left behind by utopian visions of a future that evaporated. The dream that once embraced and lauded them has vanished, its ashes brushed under a Turkish carpet in an antique shop.

They have been merry widows for the most part. Beginning with the remapping of the Balkans in 1878, and certainly by the close of World War I, the Orientalist, meaning-laden Academic painting pioneered by Čermák and continued by Bukovac fell out of fashion. Such romantic, highly dramatic visualizations of struggle between Christian Slavs and Muslim Ottomans in the Balkans lost their urgency. They were replaced, as we have seen, by ethnographic history painting, genre or the pared down modern formal language of Meštrović that still retained a striking folk veneer. Čermák’s images in particular were able to graft on to

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<sup>8</sup> Ivan Meštrović, *Račić Family Mausoleum*, 1920–1922. Cavtat.

<sup>9</sup> “A woman whose husband is dead (and who has not married again); a wife bereaved of her husband.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version March 2015, s.v. “widow.”

subsequent iterations of South Slavic nationhood, as memorable visualizations of the struggle against imperialism: in the first Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1943)<sup>10</sup> and the second Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1943–1992). Both artists remain popular in Montenegro to this day.

The widows fill the stage. The Dalmatian bride riding sidesaddle on horseback, the melancholy Montenegrin mother with a stuffed pigeon affixed to her finger with ribbon, the little flute player, and the six captured Herzegovinian maidens on their way to Edirne (figs. 4.6, 1.15, 4.4 and I.2). They sing in chorus the only lines from Lehár’s operetta written in their native tongue: “*Mi velimo dase dase Veslimo* [sic]! (We know how to be merry!)” At center stage, the Herzegovinian maidens come together and reassume their solemn poses from *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople to be Sold*. Théophile Gautier emerges from a trap door, having a wonderful time playing one of the colorful *Bashi–Bazouks*.<sup>11</sup> King Nikola I Petrović Njegoš of Montenegro stands up in the first row of the audience and begins reciting the epic–style poem he composed and claimed was the inspiration for Čermák’s painting, naming the captured maidens one by one: Stojka, Mara, Stane, Vidosava, Jane and Andjelija.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The name of the state from 1918 until 1929 was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, at which point the colloquial name, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was officially adopted.

<sup>11</sup> I hypothesize that Gautier may have inspired the likeness of the bored Bashi–Bazouk at lower right in the canvas. Čermák invited Gautier to his studio in the Spring of 1868 to give him advice on the painting before its exhibition at the Salon. See letter dating March 1868 from Čermák to Gautier reproduced in: Claudine Lacoste–Veysseyre, ed., *Théophile Gautier: Correspondance générale 1868–1869*, vol. 10 (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1996), 98–99.

<sup>12</sup> During an extravagant Christmas Party in Cetinje, capital of Montenegro, held in 1910 in the Blue Palace of Crown Prince Danilo, members of the royal family and town elite performed Jaroslav Čermák’s *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople to be Sold There* as a *tableau vivant*. Montenegro had become a full–fledged kingdom with an internationally–recognized King, who was celebrating his fiftieth jubilee as ruler. King Nikola I Petrović Njegoš recited a poem he composed during the performance, claiming it had been the inspiration for Čermák’s painting. See: Anon., “Žive Slike (Tableaux Vivants),” *Glas Crnogoraca* no. 57, December, 31, 1911, 7–9.

But where is the Italian *contadina* from Paris who played charades as a Montenegrin in Bukovac's *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (fig. I.1)? Surely, she should be here too. Why should she be in hiding all these years? She too deserves to have a glass of champagne at the after party at Maxim's, with Stojka, Mara, Stane, Vidosava, Jane, Andjelija, Lolo, Dodo, Joujou Clocio, Margot and Froufrou.<sup>13</sup> The entire cast of characters from our Southeastern European drama has been traveling back and forth to Paris all the while. With this dissertation, I hope to have brought Bukovac's earnest widow back into the limelight. Like Hanna Glawari, the main protagonist from *The Merry Widow*, the *contadina montenegrina* may emerge from the shadows to find a host of art historians lining up to court her and really *look* at her.

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<sup>13</sup> The names of the *grisettes* at the Parisian nightclub *Maxim's* from Lehár's *Merry Widow*.

## APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE

**1774:**

Abbé Alberto Fortis publishes his *Voyage in Dalmatia (Viaggio in Dalmazia)* in Venice.

**1797:**

The Republic of Venice, including its Dalmatian territories, is dissolved during the Napoleonic Wars.

Napoleon I gives Dalmatia to the Austrian Empire in return for Belgium in the Treaty of Campo Formio. The Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) retains its independence.

**1805:**

Austria gives Istria, Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor to France in the Peace of Pressburg.

Napoleon I annexes former Venetian Dalmatia to his Kingdom of Italy.

**1806:**

The Republic of Dubrovnik surrenders to French troops under General Marmont,

**1808:**

The Republic of Ragusa is officially annexed to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy.

**1809:**

Napoleon I moves Dalmatia, along with the Bay of Kotor, Istria, parts of Slovenia and Continental Croatia into his newly-created Illyrian Provinces.

**1811:**

Franjo [also Francesco] Salghetti-Drioli is born in Zadar.

**1815:**

After the final defeat of Napoleon I, the territories of the Illyrian Provinces are granted to the Austrian Empire by the Congress of Vienna.

Josip Juraj Strossmayer is born in Osijek on February 4, 1815

**1827:**

Prosper Mérimée's *The Guzla, or a Selection of Illyrian Poems Collected in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegovina (La Guzla, ou Choix de poesies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, La Croatie et l'Hertzegowine)* is published in Paris.

**1831:**

Jaroslav Čermák is born in Prague on September 1, 1831.

**1836:**

The pan–South Slavic Illyrian movement, led by Ljudevit Gak in Zagreb, begins, c. 1836.

**1838:**

Vjekoslav Karas leaves Croatia to begin artistic training in Italy.

Franjo Kos od Kosena publishes his poem “A Word of Thanks (Reč zahvalnosti)” in Zagreb.

**1845:**

Izidor Kršnjavi is born in Našice, Croatia on April 22, 1845.

**1848:**

Various national revolutionary movements seeking to achieve autonomy or independence threaten the stability of the Austrian Empire.

The Pan–Slav Congress of 1848 takes place in Prague from June 2–12, 1848.

Ludvík Ritter von Rittersberg publishes his “Ideas on Slavic Painting (*Myšlenky o slowanském malířství*)” in Prague.

**1849:**

Jaroslav Čermák leaves the studio of Christián Ruben at the Fine Arts Academy in Prague. He continues his training at the Fine Arts Academy in Antwerp, in the studio of Gustav Wappers.

Under Emperor Franz Joseph, the Austrian Empire enters the Neo–Absolutist era, which lasts until 1860.

The Illyrian movement comes to an end.

Gérard de Nerval’s opera–comique, *The Montenegrins (Les Monténégrins)*, is performed in Paris.

**1850:**

Jaroslav Čermák moves to Brussels, where he is the sole student of Louis Gallait.

**1850:**

Josip Juraj Strossmayer is officially instated as the Bishop of Bosnia and Syrmia with the seat in Đakovo.

Vilém Dušan Lambl publishes his “Report on Montenegro and Montenegrins (*Zpráva o Černé Hoře a Černohorcích*)” in Prague.

**1851:**

Jaroslav Čermák moves to Paris. He continues his studies with Joseph–Nicolas Robert–Fleury.

**1852:**

Čermák travels through Germany and Bohemia with Louis Gallait and his family.

**1853:**

Jaroslav Čermák debuts at the Paris Salon with the *Old Age of Lomnický–z–Budče (Vieillesse de Lomnický–z–Budce)*.

**1854:**

Bishop Strossmayer begins collecting Old Masterworks.

**1855:** Vlaho Bukovac is born in Cavtat on July, 5 1855.

Théodore Valerio exhibits watercolors of ethnographic types from his Danube portfolio (executed in 1854 and commissioned by the French Ministry of Education) at the World's Fair in Paris.

**1858:** Jaroslav Čermák makes his first trip to the Balkans, traveling through parts of Croatia and Dalmatia, with a probable excursion into Herzegovina. He stays longest in Dubrovnik.

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski publishes the first volume of his *Lexicon of South Slavic Artists (Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih)* in Zagreb.

**1860:**

Nikola I Petrović Njegoš 1841 –1921 ascends to the Montenegrin throne. He rules as Prince (*Knjaz*) from 1860 to 1910.

**1861:**

Jaroslav Čermák exhibits his first South Slavic-themed paintings at the Paris Salon.

**1862:** Jaroslav Čermák makes his second and final trip to the Balkans from 1862–1865. He resides in the village of Mandaljena, south of Dubrovnik. He visits Montenegro at length in 1862.

Théodore Valerio travels in Dalmatia and Montenegro.

**1863:**

The Austrian Museum for Art and Industry opens in Vienna.

**1865:**

Jaroslav Čermák visits Italy from 1865–1867.

**1866:**

Construction of Đakovo Cathedral begins. It is completed in 1882.

The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts is founded in Zagreb.

Ivan August Kaznačić publishes his poem “To Jaroslav Čermák [on his Way] to Cetinje (*Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje*)” in Dubrovnik.

**1867:**

The dual monarchy of Austria–Hungary Empire is formed in the Compromise of 1867 (*Ausgleich*, or *Kiegyezés*).

Bishop Strossmayer visits the World’s Fair in Paris.

Srećko Lay’s collection of textiles is exhibited for the first time at the Paris World’s Fair and the Moscow Ethnographic Exhibition.

**1868:**

Croatia–Slavonia negotiates its own Compromise (*Nagodba*) with the Kingdom of Hungary.

Bishop Strossmayer wills his painting collection to the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb after his death.

**1869:**

Johann Friedrich Overbeck dies without completing his cartoons for Đakovo Cathedral.

**1870:**

Ognjeslav Utješenović–Ostrožinski publishes his poem “Slaves. Accompanying the beautiful painting of Jaroslav Čermák: ‘Slaves, Herzegovina 1863’—in the royal museum in Brussels (*Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: ‘Roblje, Hercegovina 1863’—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli*)” in Zagreb and Novi Sad.

Izidor Kršnjavi publishes “Something on the Arts (*Nješto ob umjetnostih*)” in Zagreb.

Franjo Salghetti–Drioli completes his monumental canvas, *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara)*, commissioned five years earlier by Bishop Strossmayer for the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb.

**1873:**

The World’s Fair is held in Vienna. Croatia is represented with a modest cottage in the ethnographic village.

Izidor Kršnjavi socializes in Rome with radical patriots Ladislav Mrazović, Dušan Kotur, Rikard Jorgovanić, and the painter Ferdinand Quiquerez from late 1873 to 1874. He meets Bishop Strossmayer in 1874.

Bishop Strossmayer purchases Jaroslav Čermák’s *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda (Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé)*.

**1874:**

The University of Zagreb is founded.

Under the editorship of August Šenoa, *Vienac* magazine in Zagreb begins printing its first illustrations.

Three seminal texts of art discourse are printed in *Vienac*: Bishop Strossmayer's "The Second Painting in Đakovo Cathedral (*Druga slika u stolnoj crkvi đakovačkoj*)," Ladislav Mrazović's "It's about time (*Skrajnje je vrijeme*)," and Izidor Kršnjavi's "How to Enrich Our Homeland? (Kako da nam se domovina odbogati?)."

An Exhibition of Croatian Art is held in October of 1874 the great hall of the People's House (*Narodni Dom*) of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb.

Vlaho Bukovac lives in San Francisco from 1874–1876.

**1875:**

August Šenoa publishes his poem "Lightning from Gabela: A Poem after Čermák's Painting (*Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici*)" in Zagreb.

Bishop Strossmayer announces his donation of start-up funds for a purpose-built structure to house his Gallery of Paintings on March 27, 1875.

Srećko Lay publishes the first volume of his *Ornaments of South Slavic Cottage and Decorative Arts Industries (Ornamenti jugoslovenske domaće i umjetne obrtnosti)* in Vienna.

**1877:**

Vlaho Bukovac arrives in Paris in the spring of 1877 with Count Medo Pucić. He enters the studio of Alexandre Cabanel as an *élève libre* (a non-matriculated student) at the *École des Beaux-Arts*.

**1878:**

Following the end of the Russo-Turkish War, the Berlin Congress remaps sovereignty in the Balkan peninsula. Ottoman holdings are much reduced. Montenegro and Serbia gain complete independence. Austria-Hungary occupies Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sandžak region.

Vlaho Bukovac debuts at the Paris Salon with *Episode from the War of Montenegro (Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro)* and *Portrait of Mme la comtesse de C.*

Jaroslav Čermák dies in Paris on April 23, 1878. Two of his paintings are exhibited at the World's Fair in Paris: *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862 (1873)* and *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bachi-Bozouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed (Des Herzégoviniens, de retour dans leur village pillé par les bachi-bouzoucks, trouvent le cimetière ravagé et l'église détruite, 1877).*

The magazine *Slovinac* is founded in Dubrovnik. Its final issue is published in 1884.

The Department of Art History at the University of Zagreb is founded. Izidor Kršnjavi is appointed its first professor.

**1879:**

Vlaho Bukovac makes his first trip to Montenegro in the Autumn of 1879.

Vid Vuletić Vukasović publishes his poem “To Vlaho Bukovac: A South Slavic Painter (*Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru*) in Dubrovnik.

Under the leadership of Izidor Kršnjavi, the Society of Arts (*Društvo umjetnosti*) is founded in Zagreb. It organizes its first exhibition of arts and crafts that year.

**1880:**

The Museum of Arts and Crafts (*Muzej za umjetnost i obrt*) opens in Zagreb. A School of Applied Arts is attached the institution in 1882.

**1883:**

Vlaho Bukovac makes his second and final trip to Montenegro.

**1884:**

The Strossmayer Gallery opens in Zagreb.

**1885:**

Vlaho Bukovac holds an exhibition at the Imperial High School in Split to benefit the city’s poor.

Grgur Zarbarini publishes his poem “To Biagio Bukovac: Epode (*A Biagio Bukovac. Epodo*)” in Split.

**1890:**

Austria constructs the “Narentabahn” railway line, from Sarajevo through Mostar to Port Metković. In 1901, a branch was added linking the line to Dubrovnik’s Port Gruž.

**1892:**

An *ad hoc* Plaster Cast Museum (*Gipsoteka*) opens in Zagreb.

**1893:**

Vlaho Bukovac leaves Paris and moves to Zagreb, where he builds a studio.

**1896:**

Vlaho Bukovac organizes the Pavilion of Croatian Art at the Millennium Exposition in Budapest.

The Art Pavilion from the Budapest Exposition is reconstructed in Zagreb as a venue for contemporary art exhibits.

**1898:**

Vlaho Bukovac leaves Zagreb after clashes with Izidor Kršnjavi and moves into his family home in Cavtat, where he builds a studio.

**1902:**

Vlaho Bukovac lives for a brief period in Vienna, and organizes a solo exhibition.

**1903:**

Vlaho Bukovac moves to Prague, where he is appointed professor of painting at Academy of Fine Arts. He teaches there until his death.

**1905:**

Josip Juraj Strossmayer dies in Đakovo on May 8, 1905.

**1908:**

Austria–Hungary annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**1910:** Montenegro is proclaimed a Kingdom. Prince Nikola I becomes King (*Kralj*) Nikola I.

Jaroslav Čermák's *Christian Maidens of Herzegovina, Abducted by Bashi–Bazouks, Being Taken to Adrianople [Edirne] to be Sold* (*Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l'Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues*) is performed as a *tableau vivant* accompanied by a poem by King (*Kralj*) Nikola I by members of the royal family at in Cetinje.

**1912:**

The First Balkan War begins. The Balkan League—comprised of Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria—capture and partition most of the Turkish possessions in Europe. An independent Albanian state is created.

**1913:**

The Second Balkan War begins. Bulgaria, dissatisfied with the outcome of the First Balkan War, unsuccessfully attacks its former allies, Serbia and Greece, resulting in territorial losses.

**1914:**

World War I begins with the assassination of Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austro–Hungarian throne, and his wife, Sophie, in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 by Gavrilo Princip. Austria–Hungary declares war against Serbia.

Bulgaria enters the war on the side of the Central Powers.

**1915:**

Ivan Meštrović's *Kosovo Fragments* are displayed at the exhibition, *Ivan Mestrovic the Southern Slav Sculptor*, at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Previously, they had been shown in the Serbian Pavilion at the 1911 International Exhibition of Art in Rome.

**1916:**

The Central Powers occupy Serbia. The remnants of the Serbian Army escape to the Greek island of Corfu.

**1917:**

Greece enters the war on the side of the Allies.

**1918:**

An Allied army of French, British, Greek and Serbian units attack north from Greece in September, pushing back the Germans and Austro–Hungarians and liberating Serbia.

The Armistice, ending World War I, is signed on November 11, 1918.

Austria–Hungary is dissolved.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, ruled by the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty in Belgrade, is created out of former Austro–Hungarian territories and the Kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia. The official name of the state is changed to the “Kingdom of Yugoslavia” in 1929.

King Nikola I Petrović Njegoš of Montenegro is dethroned. The royal family is exiled to France.

Vlaho Bukovac’s autobiography, *My Life (Moj život)* is published in Zagreb.

**1922:** Vlaho Bukovac dies in Prague on April 23, 1922.

**1927:**

Izidor Kršnjavi dies in Zagreb on February 3, 1927.

## APPENDIX 2: PARIS SALON PAINTINGS OF JAROSLAV ČERMÁK

- 1853: – *Vieillesse de Lomnický-z-Budce.*
- 1855 : – *Propagation de la foi catholique en Bohême.* [Exposition Universelle – pavillon belge]
- 1861: – *Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie).*  
MEDAL (HISTOIRE)  
– *Etude de raïa slave (Herzégovine)*  
– *Jeune paysanne avec son enfant (Croatie)* (Appartient à M. J. Péreire.)  
– *Portrait de Mme J. C...*
- 1863 : – *Portrait de S. A. la princesse Darinka, veuve de Danilo Ier, prince du Monténégro*  
– *Portrait de S. A. la princesse Milena, épouse de Nicolas Ier, prince du Monténégro*  
– *Portrait de Mirko–Petrovich, grand voïvode et général en chef de l’armée du Monténégro*
- 1868: – *Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l’Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues.* MEDAL
- 1870 : – *Portrait de M. Michel Bouquet.*  
– *Portrait de Mlle de S.*
- 1873: – *Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé.*  
– *Chasse et pêche ; souvenirs de Roscoff.*
- 1874 : – *Jeune fille de l’Herzégovine menant des chevaux à l’abreuvoir.*  
(Appartient à M. Van Gogh.)  
– *Rendez–vous dans la montagne (Monténégro).* (Appartient à M. Neyt.)  
\*(exhibited at Salon de Gand 1868 ?)  
– *Portrait de Mlle M. L...*
- 1876 : – *Épisode du siège de Naumbourg. Le chef des husites, Prokop le Chauve, dans une de ses incursions en Allemagne, avait réduit la ville de Naumbourg à la dernière extrémité. Le maître d’école obtint la grâce de la ville, en la faisant solliciter par tous les petits enfants qu’il instruisait.*  
(Appartient à M. de Ladenburg.)
- 1877: *Des Herzégoviniens, de retour dans leur village pillé pas les bachi–bouzoucks, trouvent le cimetière ravagé et l’église détruite.*

### APPENDIX 3: PARIS SALON PAINTINGS OF VLAHO BUKOVAC

- 1878: – *Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro.*  
– *Portrait de Mme la comtesse de C...*
- 1879: – *Jeune Monténégrine.*  
– *Portrait de Mme J...*
- 1880: – *Portrait de Mme ...[Rathbone]*  
– *Portrait de Mgr Hilaire, métropolitain du Monténégro*
- 1881: – *Portrait de M. [Eduard] M[onnier]...*  
– *Portrait de Mlle N...*
- 1882: – *La grande Iza*  
*Lorsque rafraichie par ses parfums orientaux, les cheveux dénoués, elle s'étendait nue et superbe sur les*  
*velours noir... (Alexis Bouvier)*  
– *Plus heureux qu'un roi!*
- 1883: – *Les ébats; — etude*  
– *La Monténégrine au rendez-vous*
- 1884: – *Les pêcheurs de l'Adriatique*  
– *Une confiance*
- 1885: – *Une visite à l'atelier*  
– *Monténégrines au puits*
- 1886: – *Andromède*  
– *Paysanne des environs de Raguse; — Dalmatie.*
- 1887: – *Une fleur*  
– *Portrait de M.E. Molière*
- 1888: – *“Laissez venir à moi les petits enfants”*  
*...Alors, on lui présenta des petits enfants, afin qu'ils les touchant; et, comme ses disciples repoussaient*  
*avec des paroles rudes ceux qui les lui présentaientm Jésus, le voyant, s'en fâcha et leur dit: “Laissez venir à moi*  
*les petits enfants, et ne les empêches point, car le royaume de Dieu est pour ceux qui leur ressemblent. Je vous dis*  
*en vérité, quiconque ne recevra point le royaume de Dieu comme un enfantm n'y entrera point.” (Évangile selon*  
*SAINT MARC.)*
- 1889: – *L'Aurore mourant dans les bras du jour; — plafond (Appartient à M. C.-R. Robert.)*  
– *Portrait de M. Ronsell*
- 1890: – *Une jeune patricienne*  
– *Portrait de M. Gusman*

1891: – *Portrait de Mrs Bernal Bagshawe*  
– *Portrait de M. Samson Fox*

1892: – *Portrait de M. V. B...*  
– *Portrait de Mme O ...* [As Paul Andrez]  
– *Fantasie* [As Paul Andrez]  
– *Portrait de M. Pierre G* [As Biagio Fagioni]

#### APPENDIX 4: PARIS SALON WORKS OF THÉODORE VALERIO

- 1838: – *Intérieur de corps-de-garde flamand*
- 1842: – *Portrait de M. Charlet et sa famille; dessin.*  
– *Portrait de Mlle de St-M..., dessin à la mine de plomb*
- 1848: – *La position critique*  
– *La pêche aux écrevisses*  
– *Intérieur de chenil; aquarelle*  
– *Trois aquarelles; même numéro:*  
    *Famille calabraise*  
    *Les apprentis forgerons*  
    *Les marais pontins*  
– *Trois aquarelles; même numéro:*  
    *Souvenirs des environs de Naples*  
    *Columbarium, route de Pouzzoles*  
    *Une rue de Rome*
- 1855: – *Pâtre hongrois des bords de la Theüs*  
– *Derviche égyptien; armée du Danube*  
– *Bachi-Bozouck, Silistrie*  
– *Femme tzigane, de Servie*  
– *Turc des côtes de la mer Noire*  
– *Turcs de la Morée*  
– *Chef arabe des environs de Damas*  
– *Chef kurde*  
– *Tzigane hongrois*  
– *Tzigane hongrois*  
– *Femme tzigane de Servie*  
– *Paysan hongrois de Szolnok*  
– *Paysan hongrois de Szolnok*  
– *Paysan hongrois du pays des Jazigers*  
– *Paysan hongrois des montagnes du Matra*  
– *Avant-poste égyptien dans la Dobruscha*  
– *Femme serbe de Belgrade*  
– *Bachi-Bozouck albanais, armée du Danube*  
– *Paysan valaque*  
– *Pâtre hongrois des Carpathes*  
– *Femme mariée d'Arokszallas*  
– *Femme croate des frontières de Bosnie*  
– *Forgeron tzigane des montagnes du Matra*  
– *Six eaux-fortes, même numéro:*  
    1° *Jeune fille du comitat d'Hevès*  
    2° *Fermier du comitat d'Hevès*

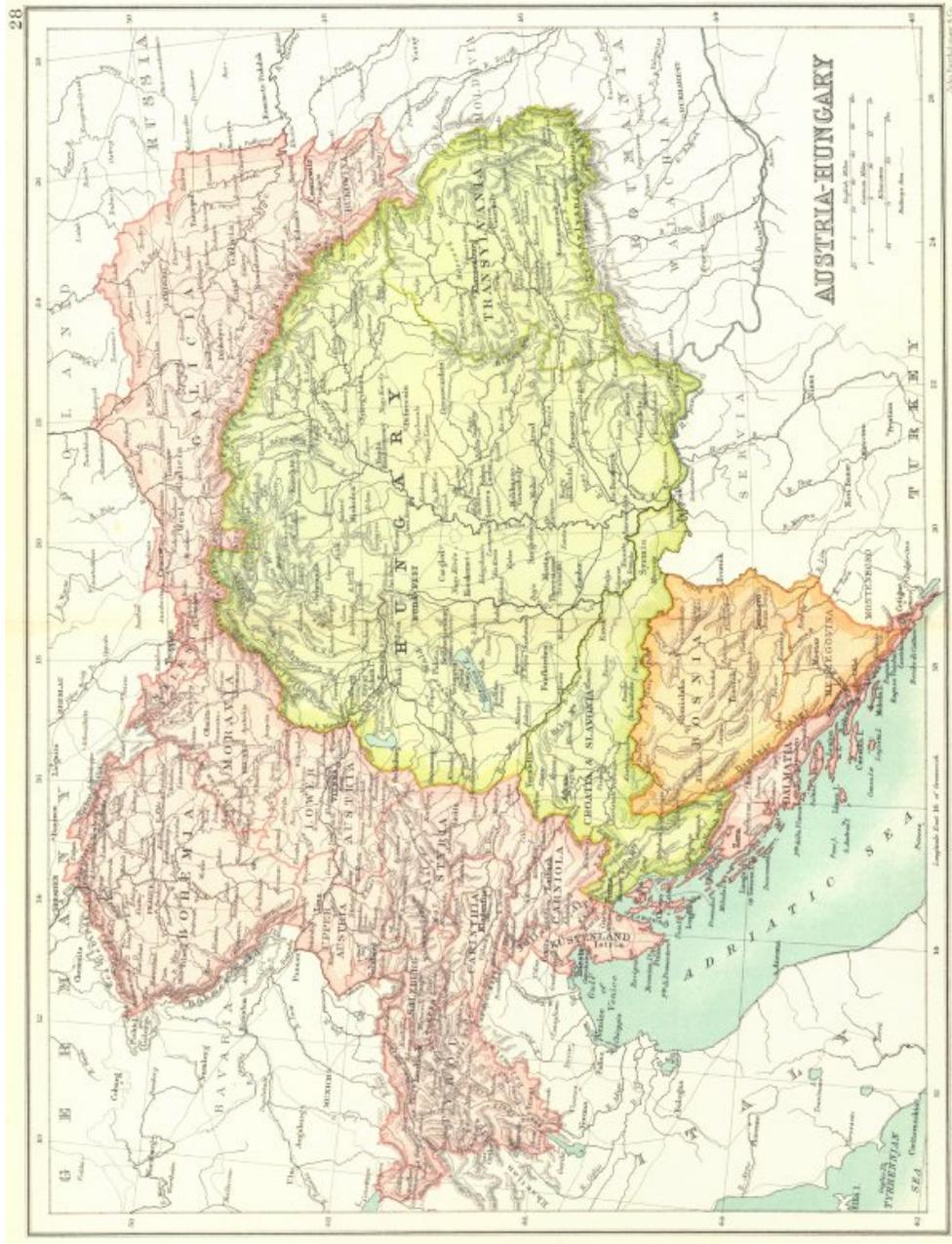
- 3° Serrachamer du régimentfrontièr d'Ottochaz
- 4° Serrachamer du régimentfrontièr de Ilum
- 5° Juhasz de la grande Kumanie
- 6° Femme tsigane d'Uyszasz

- 1857: – *Musiciens tsiganes (Hongrie)*
- *Quatre aquarelles; même numéro:*
    - 1° *Bachi–Bouzoucq nègre; armée du Danube*
    - 2° *Bachi–Bouzoucq nègre; armée du Danube*
    - 3° *Paysan Serbe*
    - 4° *Paysan Serbe*
  - *Arnaute; aquarelle*
  - *Cavas du prince de Servie; aquarelle*
  - *Pandoure de l'herzegowine; aquarelle*
  - *Bachi–Bouzoucq Kurde; aquarelle*
  - *Six eaux–fortes; même numéro:*
    - 1° *Femmes et enfants Slavaques (Hongrie)*
    - 2° *Chef Albanais; camp Kalafat*
    - 3° *Enfants Tsiganes*
    - 4° *Arnauts*
    - 5° *Cavalier Arabe en vendette*
    - 6° *Bacchi–Bouzoucq de l'Armée d'Anatolie*
- 1859: – *Les pêcheurs de la Theiss, dans l'intérieur des steppes (Hongrie)*
- *Tsiganes valaques des frontières de la Transylvanie*
  - *La jeune mère, souvenir de Nice (Piémont)*
  - *Une jeune fille de Belgrade; aquarelle*
  - *Paysanne valaque; aquarelle*
  - *Sept eaux–fortes; même numéro:*
    - 1° *Musiciens serbes*
    - 2° *Serrechaner des frontières militaires*
    - 3° *Bachibozoucq Kurde*
    - 4° *Pâtre des bords de la Koros (Hongrie)*
    - 5° *Prisonnier hongrois*
    - 6° *Pâtre slovaque des Carpathes*
    - 7° *Tsikes des bords de la Koros (Hongrie)*
- 1861: – *Le ghetto de Sienne (Italie)*
- *Fortunata (Sienne)*
  - *Jeune femme de Sienne tressant la paille*
  - *L'oiseau (Sienne)*
  - *Femme de Sienne; dessin*
  - *Pêcheurs hongrois; eau–forte*
  - *Une Pusta (Hongrie); eau–forte*
  - *Un musicien Tsigane (Hongrie); eau–forte*

- 1863: – *Une dévideuse à Assise (Italie)*  
– *Paysane d'Assise*  
– *Le marché aux herbes à Assise*
- 1864: – *Gardeuse d'armes, de pipes et se berceaux à l'entrée du monastère de Cettigne (Monténégro)*  
– *Étude de femme tzigane (Bosnie); aquarelle*  
– *Étude de femme tzigane (Bosnie); aquarelle*  
– *Gardeuse d'armes et de berceaux à la porte d'une église monténégrine; eau-forte*  
– *Berger des frontières militaires du Monténégro; eau-forte*
- 1865: – *Famille monténégrine pleurant ses morts après un combat, à l'entrée du monastère de Cettigne*  
– *Paysannes d'Assise (Italie); aquarelle*  
– *Monténégrin des frontières de l'Herzegowine; aquarelle*  
– *Intérieur d'un village hongrois; eau-forte*  
– *Marchand de Cettigne (Montenegro); eau forte*
- 1866: – *Campement de tsiganes nomades de Transylvanie*  
– *Musiciens morlaques, des frontières de l'Herzegowine*  
– *Gardes du prince de Monténégro; eau-forte*
- 1867: – *Famille Monténégrine pleurant ses morts; souvenir du monastère de Cettigne; aquarelle*  
– *Albanais tenant un cheval; aquarelle*
- 1868: – *Convoi de bachi-bozoucks blessés, traversant un marécage*  
– *Gardeuse d'armes, de pipes et se berceaux à l'entrée du monastère de Cettigne (Montenegro)*
- 1869: – *Chef Kurde et son escorte traversant un gué aux environs de Ruscsuk; souvenir du Danube en 1854*  
– *Aveugles bretonnes, souvenir du pèlerinage de Sainte-Anne la Palude; aquarelle*  
– *Danseuse de Bosnie; aquarelle*  
– *Six eau-fortes; même numéro:*  
    1° – 4° *Mendiantes bretonnes; souvenir du pèlerinage de Sainte-Anne la Palude*  
    5° *Arnautte conduisant un cheval*  
    6° *Sentinelle monténégrine*
- 1870: – *Chevaux bretons sur les falaises de Ris, par un temps de brise; baie de Douarnenez*  
– *Attelage breton à marée montante ; souvenir de la plage de Tresmalouen, baie de Douarnenez*  
– *Chef kurde et son escorte, souvenir du Danube en 1854; aquarelle*  
– *Six gravures à l'eau-forte; même numéro:*  
    *Souvenirs de la Dalmatie et du Monténégro*

- 1872: – *Les pierres druidiques de Carnac (Morbihan)*  
 – *Chevaux bretons à l'abreuvoir; souvenir de la lande de Kermario (Morbihan)*
- 1873: – *L'abreuvoir; souvenir de Carnac (Morbihan)*
- 1874: – *La coupe du goémon, à la grande marée du mois d'août; – souvenir de la plage de Saint-Colomban (Morbihan)*  
 – *La bergère du manoir de Kermo, près Carnac (Morbihan)*
- 1875: – *Un puit d'eau douce, au bord de la mer; – environs de Carnac (Morbihan)*  
 – *Le départ pour les champs; – souvenir de Saint-Colomban (Morbihan)*  
 – *La coupe du goëman; – souvenir des rochers de Kermario, à marée basse*  
 – *Les rochers de Carnac (Morbihan), à marée basse; – aquarelle*  
 – *Pierres druidiques de Kermario, à Carnac; – aquarelle*  
 – *Marée basse, rochers de Carnac; – aquarelle*
- 1876: – *Souvenir de la plage de Tresmalouen (Finistère), par un temps d'orage*  
 – *Vanneuses; – femmes des environs de Carnac (Morbihan)*  
 – *Paysanne italienne; – aquarelle*
- 1877: – *Monténégrins en prière devant les murs du monastère de Cettigne; – aquarelle*
- 1878: – *Souvenir du lavoir de Ploumarch (Finistère)*  
 – *Jeunes filles Monténégrines venant puiser de l'eau aux citernes de Cettigne*  
 – *Paysannes d'Assise (Italie): – quatre croquis*
- 1879: – *La coupe du goëmon, à Carnac (Morbihan)*

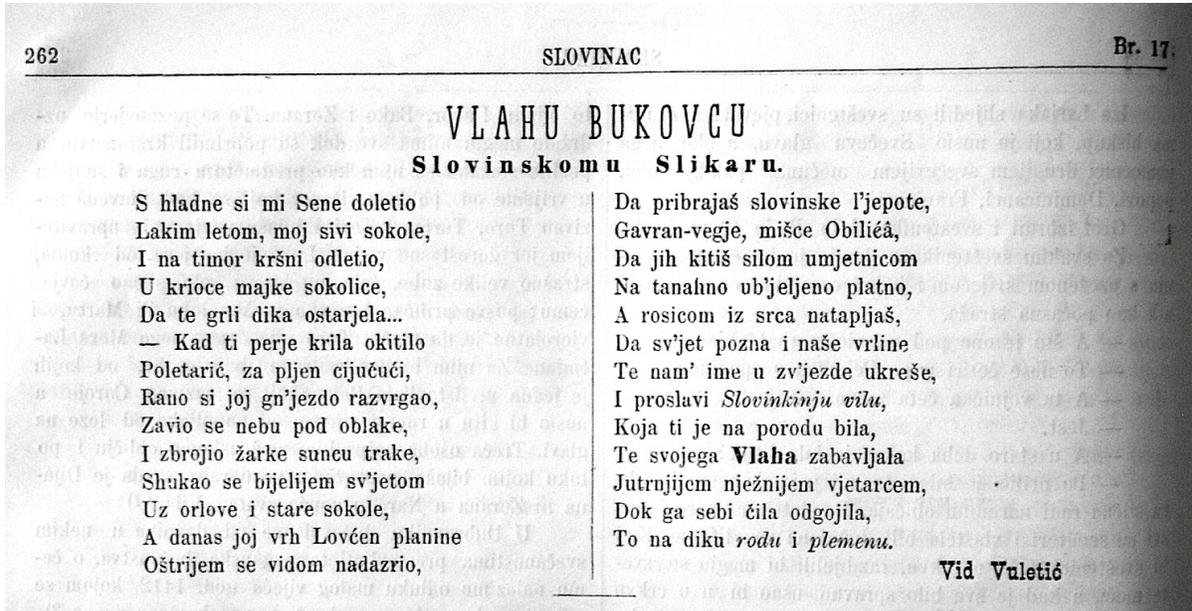
## APPENDIX 5: MAP OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY



“Austria–Hungary.” From: *Cassell's Atlas* (London: Cassell and Co., 1909).

## APPENDIX 6: FACSIMILES OF POEMS

A: Vid Vuletić. Vukasović, "To Vlahu Bukovcu: A South Slavic Painter  
(*Vlahu Bukovcu: Slovinskomu Slikaru*).” In: *Slovinac* 2, no. 17, September 1, 1879, 262.



B: Ivan August Kaznačić, "To Jaroslav Čermák [on his Way] to Cetinje  
(Jaroslavu Čermaku u Cetinje)." In: *Dubrovnik: Zabavnik narodne štionice  
Dubrovačke za godinu 1867 1 (1866): 392–94.*



JAROSLAVU ČERMAKU

U CETINJE.

Česki sine čestiti  
Kog' znana Praga porodí,  
Kojega narav odličí  
Svetim pečatom Genija,  
Ljubav Te tvoga naroda  
Tjera po sv'jetu široku  
Da bi tvim vještím pernikom  
Nasliko divnu krasotu  
Mile nam majke Slavije,  
Da je svi ljudi zaljube  
Ač' im je draga sloboda  
I vječno pravo naroda,  
A da je njeni sinovi  
Iz onog' jaza uzdignu  
Gdje je tiranstvo zbacilo.  
Kada nje silku napraviš  
Za Crnogorske sokole,  
Nemoj Ti risat' djevojku  
Kade nje glasom nevinim  
Začinja pjesme junacke,  
Koje hrabrenost spominju  
Njihovih boja s Turčinom;  
Niti je risaj na polju

Kada sred žetve vesele  
Ljubovne pjesme pripjeva;  
Nit kad je vode svatovi  
Sa gromom silnih pušaka  
Da je doprate nevjestom,  
U kuću njena sudjenog';  
Niti na prsim s djetetom  
Prvencem njene ljubavi,  
Kad ga mljekom zadoji  
Junastvom Srba čestitih.  
Nego je risaj nevojnu  
Staru sred cv'jeta mladosti,  
Haranu teškom bolesti  
Bolosti teškom neslogom.  
Stoji joj blizu Sveštenik  
I od svih muka Hristovih,  
Samo žuč goruku spominjuć  
Kóm ga napoje, Židovi,  
On megju braćom kršćanim'  
Zakona mješite ljubavi  
Zameće vjere razdore  
A njeni oko sinovi  
Srame se majke kukavne  
I braće svoje rogljene,  
Megj sobom kavge zameću  
I vole biti robovi  
Koda prokletog tugjina,  
Nego kod sebe slobodni . . .  
Pred takom silkom planuće  
Srce junačko ujhovo,  
Ončas će hanđar hvatiti  
Još turskom krvi natopljen,

Da brane majku žalosnu  
U lako gorčkoj nevolji.  
Tad Ti njim ruku uzdrži;  
Zabrani krvi zaludno  
Da podin nakaz neslogu  
Probie, mudrom besjedom,  
Megju Slavjanim' unište,  
Ne treba boja krvavog'  
Nit treba život gubiti,  
Neg' na narodnu prosvjedu  
Njezine zdrakom svjetlosti  
Ljubav megj braćom granučé,  
Mrzije će stare nestati  
Novo će doba postati,  
I tada majka Slavija  
Kako nebeska krajica,  
Nogom će svojom zgaziti  
Pakljenog zmaja neslogu.

C: Ognjeslav Utješenović—Ostrožinski, "Slaves. Accompanying the Beautiful Painting of Jaroslav Čermák: 'Slaves, Herzegovina 1863'—in the Royal Museum in Brussels (*Roblje. K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka: 'Roblje, Hercegovina 1863'—u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli.*)" In: *Vienac* 2, no. 9, February 26, 1870, 129–30.

# VIENAC

## ZABAVI I POUCL.

Broj 9.

U ZAGREBU DNE 26. VELJAČE 1870.

God. II.

*Izlazi svake subote. — Godišnja cijena 6 for.; poštom i domaćim u kuću 7 for. — Rukopisi se ne vraćaju.*

Zabava: *Roblje* — Donato Donati — V. spjev Dante-ovog pakla — Zatečeni ženik. — Ponka: Jedna slika od Jaroslava Čermaka — Ženitbeni običaji muhamedanskih Hrvata u Bosnoj. — Listak. — Raspis natječaja.

### R o b l j e.

*K divnoj slici Jaroslava Čermaka:*

„*Roblje, Hercegovina 1863*“ — u kralj. muzeju u Brukseli.\*

Jeste l' voljni gledat naše jade,  
Velje jade na prostoru malom:  
Pristupite ovoj slici divnoj.  
Suzama je ona naslikana,  
Suzama ću vam je tumačiti,  
I ona će sama besjediti  
O golemu roda moga jadu,  
I vama je ronit suze gorke;  
Nikada vam s uma saći ne će.

Šta to vide mutne oči moje? —  
Gle, na gori pustoj, kamenitoj,  
Na sve strane razvaline same,  
A po njima procvjetalo cvieće.  
Ta kako bi po kamenju rastlo? —  
Nije ondje procvjetalo cvieće,  
Već je kita na razvale pala,  
Kita cvieća nedavno ubrana,  
Dragomiljem nekom namienjena.  
Tek ubrana, veće izgubljena,  
I skoro je njojzi uvenuti.

Čije cvieće, čije dragomilje?  
Po čijim li rudinama rastlo?  
Čije li ga odgojile ruke,  
U mirisnu divnu kitu vile?  
Komu li ga od milošte dale?  
S čih njedarâ opanulo ondje?

Oči moje, da l' me ne varate?  
Čini mi se, naše gore listje!  
Naše cvieće, naše dragomilje!  
Po našem rudinama rastlo!  
I naše ga odgojile ruke!

Al' mi nešto jedno srce sluti:  
Ni'su l' tudje ubrale ga ruke,

U mirisnu divnu kitu vile  
Na razboju, za rose krvave?  
S mog li roda srca opanulo?

Oči moje, jasno pogledajte!  
Šta se vije okó kite cvieća?  
Gle, zmija se okó njeg savila!  
Mrki vuci vrebaju sa strane!  
Šta će vuci's divnom kitom cvieća?

Oči moje, jasno pogledajte!  
Oči moje, suze proljevajte!  
To je naša grdna rana stara!

Nije ono jedna kita cvieća,  
Niti zmija okó nje savita,  
Već konopci okó kite divne,  
Kite divne našieh djevojaka;  
Zla kob robstva njih mi ukobila.

To mog roda cvieće odabrano  
Iz majčina krila potrgano,  
Konopcima kruto povezano.  
To su Turci, a ne mrki vuci!  
Mili Bože, kamo tvoje striele!?

— Roblje moje, grdna rano moja!  
Roblje moje, šta si Bogu krivo? —  
„Ja sam krivo Bogu, da sam živo.“

— Roblje moje, šta je tebi žao? —  
„Žao mi je živu u grob poći!“

— Roblje moje, koga ćeš da ljubiš? —  
„Britku sablju želim da poljubim.“

\* Šest djevojaka hercegovačkih povezanih konopcima, zarobljene po Bašibozucima, koji ih vode u Odrin (Jedrenu) na pazar za hareme turske.

— Aman Turci, ako Boga znate!  
Tužnom roblju razdrješite ruke.  
Ne mučite djevojačkog tiela.  
E na muke ne rodi ga majka.  
Eno krvca konop obalila,  
Za konopee niesu one ruke,  
Pustite nam roblje dragocjeno,  
Mi ćemo ga izmieniti zlatom. —

„Valá, more, roblja vam ne damo,  
„Dok je naše na ramenu glave.  
„Ova roba za turske pazare,  
„E nam valja, da nam Turke radja.“

— Aman Turci, ako Boga znate!  
Medj vukove ne gonite janjee.  
Pustite nam roblje dragocjeno,  
Na pazare gon'te našu stoku;  
Traž'te, age, što je vama drago. —

„Cuki, bolan, tu nije pazara! —  
„Azurala, kićene djevojke!  
„Daleko je do Jedrene grada.  
„Čekaju nas mnoge mušterije  
„Da kupuju robe dragokupe.  
„Azurala, kićene djevojke!

Roblje krasno, davor rano moja!  
Krasota je sva krivica tvoja —  
Darak neba i paklena žrtva! —  
S krasote je tebi poginuti.  
Ti odlaziš, osveta ostaje,  
Sustignut će zlobne otmičare,  
Ako Bog da i sreća junačka.

Odagnaše roblje u sužanjstvo  
Ka bijele na mesnicu ovce.  
Čujte, čujte gdje nariće tužno:  
„Oj davori, tužna sreća naša!  
„Mili Bože, goleme nevolje,  
„Mili Bože, goleme sramote,  
„Pod nasilje biti turskom ljubom,  
„Robinjicom u zemlji neznanjoj,  
„Pokraj mnoge braće svoje žive.“

Čuj pomagaj! Eno odvedoše  
Divno roblje u zemlju neznanu!  
Šta stojite, braćo moja draga,  
Šta stojite, a ne otimate  
Čiste žrtve iz nečiste ruke?  
U potjeru zlobnim otmičarom!  
Krv nek' lije, kom' do Boga nije! —  
Stan'te Turci! Tako l' se pazari  
Krvlju našom, krstu na sramotu?

Na razboju evo vam pazara!  
Čik na mejdan! Tako l' se pazari?  
Čik na mejdan, ženski otmičari!  
Da sabljama zemlju dijelimo  
I po zemlji gizdave djevojke:  
Pa šta Bog da i sreća junačka!

Tko je vitez, tko li dobar junak,  
Neka paše britku sablju svoju.  
Nasta ora, valja vojevati  
Za krst častni, i slobodu zlatnu.

*Og. Utiešenović-Ostrožinski.*

## Donato Donati.

*Izorna pripoviedka.*

### VIII.

Neće ti biti teško, dragi čitatelju, pogoditi, zašto je barun Weilen Donata u sobu zvao.

Kako je bio Radaković kazao barunu, da mu ima otkriti neku tajnu i kako se Donato s Ružicom odstranio, stade Radaković pripoviedati. Ima tomu devetnaest godina, reče on, što se zagledah i zaljubih, ali težnji moga srca, da prozovem svojim ono divotno biće, velike se zapreke suprotstavile. Ponajglavnije bile su: moj vojnički stališ i siromaštvo i zaručnice i moje. Videć, da ja te zapreke svladati nemogu, odlučih bar jednu odkloniti i to odreći se časti, za koju sam jedino živio i za koju me jedinu odhraniše. Mislio sam: odpašem li sablju, biti ću nezalica, al dobra volja i dvie radine ruke privriediti će toliko, da se može dvoje s malim zadovoljnih prehraniti.

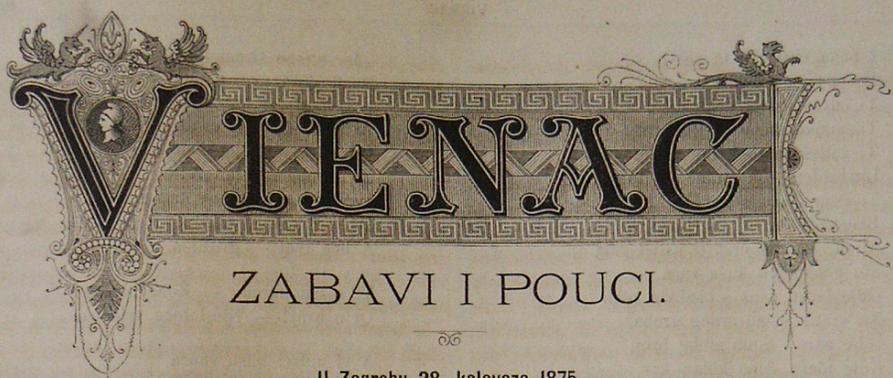
Kolikogod bi zaručnica moja bila želila, da potvrdi crkva, uza što su dva ljubeća, vjerna srca odavno pristala, vidjela je našu očitu nevolju, u koju htjedoh silom da padnem, da pokazem vjeru svoju. Osvjedočena o mojoj vjer-

noj ljubavi i videć me za vojnika upravo rođjena, bila je ona uza svu želju i nagon srca svoga tako plemenita, te me je odvrćala od toga puta. Stadoh već kolebati. U to me pre-miestiše u Granicu: kao da me za pušku i sablju prikovaše. Ja odlučih držati vjeru i živiti štedljivo, jeda li će bog i meni prignuti toliko, da opoštenim zlato svoje. I evo bog je dao, da i meni i Anki mojoj sunce svane.

Nego Oscare, našo se medju nami nenad, čedo ljubavi, i taj nenad dodje bez znanja moga i proti želji majčinoj u nahodište. Oscare, brate, nemoj da ti pripoviedam danas, kako je to sve bilo, da ne diram u jedva zamladjenju ranu. Jedino da ti kažem, da je svatko držao, da ga je majka hotomice izložila. Radi toga nije se ona ni smjela usuditi, da diete iz nahodišta izvadi. Bila bi to učinila, al smjedoh li ja, da spasim diete, žrtvovati majku? Vidiš Oscare, to su bile ljute rane moje, al je bog priskoćio nesretnim u pomoć . . .

Prekinu ga barun Weilen: Dopusti brate, da ja dalje pripoviedam. Došo jednoga dana

D: August Šenoa, "Lightning from Gabela: A Poem after Čermák's Painting (*Munja od Gabele: Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici*).” In: *Vienac* 7, no. 35, August 28, 1875, 555–56.



ZABAVI I POUČI.

U Zagrebu 28. kolovoza 1875.

Br. 35.	Izlazi svake subote na dva arka. — Godišnja cijena 6 for.; poštom i domaćim u kuću 7 for. Rukopisi se ne vraćaju.	God. VII.
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**Munja od Gabele.**  
Pjesma po Čermakovoj slici.



išina pusta na široko,  
Na sviet je pao pokoj niem,  
Evropa stisla svoje oko,  
Prekrililo ju težak driem.  
Kroz prozore joj polumjesec zuri,  
Na mekoj svili pruža stare kosti,  
I sniva sanak, sniva — bože prosti! —  
Ta divan sanak, sanak o — kulturi.

Tišina pusta — Gledaj! Bljesnu!  
Sa juga puče grom!  
Evropa skoči — pita: Munja l' kresnu?  
Il sipa Etna? Gori l' crkva, dom?

„Evropo gospo!“ jeka odgovara,  
„Oj varaš mi se, nije munje žar.  
Oluja opet planula je stara,  
Iz hercegove zemlje abrdar!“

„I ništa više?“ veli Evropa,  
„Hajduci slave opet krvav pir,  
Šta krt po mojem perivoju kopa:  
Ja velim: Laku noć i mir!“

„I ništa više? moja gospo stara!“  
Slobode svjetske dogrmi joj Duh,  
Do obzorja ju vuče plamnog žara:  
„Tu gledji mir svoj, krvav, proklet, gluh!“

Tu stoji brieg a kuća malo niže,  
Krvolik plamen iz krova joj liže.  
Čuj krič iz — bielog zavitlaja dima!  
Oh krič — ta srca ti se prima  
Ko da ti guje prsi stežu,

Ko da ti nožem srce režu.  
Sad sinu mjesec — dim se dieli.  
Strahote! Do tri mrka vraga  
Izgorjeloga gle kraj praga.  
A što se ono do njih bieli?  
Oh, žena! Janje med tri vuka  
Vaj! — kriknu žena. Sve je gluho.  
Razderaše joj bielo ruho.  
A krvava se vražja ruka  
O sniežno tielo ljuto svija,  
Iz turskog oka sikće zmija;  
Vragolik smieh im odkri zube,  
A gnjusna usta njedra ljube.  
Ko div se gola žena prieči.  
Put neba širi biele ruke,  
I kriknu kričem zadnje muke:  
Daleko gorom vapaj ječi,  
Al ne ću nitko. — Biedna žena,  
Ta muž ti leži smrskan eno,  
A tu ti mrtvo mužko čedo,  
Ni njemu djavo življet ne do,  
Kad plod si smako, ubij sjeme,  
Nek kaursko se satre pleme.  
Al bog? Na vratu joj je krst.  
I njega strga vražji prst,  
Bjesomućnom ga gazi nogom.  
Šta plač tvoj, biedna žena, vriedi,  
Kad plavo nebo mirno gledi,  
Što biesna neman radi s bogom.  
„Oh ljudi! — Lju —“ iz sdvojne grudi  
Svom silom vrisnu glasa svog.  
Zar ljudi? Ljudi? Nema ljudi,  
A gdje je bog?

I ništa više? Ništa više?  
 Evropo gospo, nije l' dosti?  
 Ti čuvaš pseto, neka diše,  
 Ti, majko dične čovječnosti!  
 Ti šalješ spasa knjige svete  
 Ljudožderske u strane sviete;<sup>2</sup>  
 Ti crnu djecu odkupljišaš,  
 Blagoćom da ih prigrlljišaš —  
 Al tu — gdje brat ti usred raja  
 Sto paklenijeh kuša vaja,  
 Gdje lanac pada s biednog roba  
 Na vratih samo crnog groba,  
 Gdje narod samo stoke broj,  
 Gdje plaća samo kolac, krv,  
 Gdje proklet svakog ráda znoj,  
 Gdje svaki čovjek gažen crv.  
 Gdje plienom bluda kći i žena,  
 U roblje gdje se sinak čera,  
 Poštenje gazi, blati vjera,  
 Gdje vlada jakrep, zmaj, hiena.  
 Tu — laku noć! — i ništa više?  
 O znam te, znadem, gospo pusta,  
 Groboduš dah ti duša diše,  
 U tvojih žilah krvca susta.  
 Ti penješ kule pod oblake,  
 Ti sušiš more, siečeš gore,  
 Munjevite ti krotiš zrake,  
 Bez ruke tebi para ore.  
 Ti vječnim ledom pute krojiš,  
 Ti repatica mjeriš tok;  
 U pustinji ti piesak brojiš,<sup>3</sup>  
 Iz tvrdog kama vadiš sok,  
 Obaraš zrnom slavne sgrade,<sup>4</sup>  
 Od knjiga praviš barikade<sup>5</sup>  
 Milijun kuješ bajoneta,  
 I preko mora vodiš most,  
 Ti roniš do dna morskog svijeta  
 I pračovjeku tražiš kost.  
 Al tu — gdje živa bieda diše,  
 Tu laku noć — i ništa više!  
 Veličju, slavi tvojeg znanja  
 Duboko čeli sviet se klanja,

„Jer s tebe širom ljudskog roda  
 Svud sieva pamet, mir, sloboda!“

Al lažu — tvoje evanđelje  
 Od artije su samo banke,  
 Za trbuhom ti idu želje  
 I sve pregnuće duše tanke.  
 Da, antikrst je tebi pop  
 A bog tvoj — gvozden top.<sup>6</sup>

Ti spasit narod? — Ženo biedna!  
 Oj u kraj! — Niesi toga vriedna.

A vi junaci blizu sunca  
 Sad trgnite mi jatagan,  
 Oborite se sa vrhunca  
 Sloboda zove, zove dan!  
 I svojom rukom, svojom krvi  
 Dokažite, da nieste crvi,  
 Bizancijo se sad i Rim<sup>7</sup>  
 U divne žrtve sljubi dim!  
 Razsiecite mi zastor hrama  
 Da plane iskra božjeg plama  
 Sloboda! prva rieč vam budi  
 Sred bure svetog boja tog.  
 I sviet će reći: Evo ljudi!  
 A na nebu nam stari bog!

A. Š.

#### Opazke pjesmi:

- <sup>1</sup> Abrdar = top budnik. Allarmkanone.  
<sup>2</sup> Poznato je, da englezko biblijsko društvo šalje sveto pismo u svih jezicah svijeta na razne strane, pače u centralnu Afriku među kanibale i u braziljske šume.  
<sup>3</sup> Evropske vlade bacaju silne novce, da se protraži srednja Afrika sve u ime civilizacije, a članovi tih ekspedicija gube obično glavu.  
<sup>4</sup> Prusi za zadnjeg rata ne poštediše krasne stolne crkve u Strassburgu i spaliliše granatami slavnu od starine strasburšku knjižnicu.  
<sup>5</sup> Kad je pruska vojska stajala pred Parizom, zaokupi jedna četa i villu slavnoga državnika Odillon-Barota. Premda je bilo dosta gradiva za gradnju barikade proti Francezom, podigoše „od osobite šale“ barikadu od knjiga dragocjene knjižnice glasovitog Franceza. Tako pripovieda pruski častnik, ocedivac te kulturne šale, u „Salonu“ od god. 1874. s velikim humorom.  
<sup>6</sup> Nijedan predmet nije od njemačkih novinara za bečke izložbe 1873. toliko slavljien bio, koliko orijaški top Prusa Kruppa t. j. „la suprême raison d'état moral“.  
<sup>7</sup> Bizancijo i Rim = pravoslavni i katolici.

A. Š.

## Crne niti.

Roman. Napisao R. F. Jorgovanić.

(Dalje.)

XIV.

S n i.

Kasno poslije ponoći povratite se Maglaji kući. Svaki njih bijaše zanesen miljem svoje drugarice, osobito otac, kojemu je primjer Kovičevićke silno smutio

glavu. Gle, ona me sama potiče, da nastojim oko nje, „što bi vaši sinovi rekli, da n. pr. mene zenite, šta?“ smijao se starac u svojoj sobi spremajući se u postelju. I dugo poslije ne mogaše Maglaj usnut, prevrćuć se amo tamo. Jedva da bi zaklopio vedje, eto ti pred njim

E: Grgur Zarbarini, *To Biagio Bukovac: Epode (A Biagio Bukovac, Epodo)*  
(Split: Tipografia S. Artale, 1885)

### EPODO.

Pera chi ancora crede Dalmazia  
nullo rinserra pregio, ma barbaro  
sia suol, che ferine nutrisca  
d' indole e di vita strane genti! —

Pur tale è, *Biagio*, la voce pubblica:  
e tal la fama, l' ale per l' etere  
battendo, a' confini dell' orbe  
buccina colle sue cento trombe;

e sol il fato, l' Anglo o l' Elvezio  
se qui conduce, se il Franco o l' Italo,  
redime il suo nome il mal noto  
Dalmata e la classica sua terra.

Si, allor appena modesta vergine  
d' ascose grazie tutti salutanla,  
che i vaghi suoi doni dappresso  
abbiano mirati un sol momento.

Allor li vedi balzar di giubilo  
a questo cielo tepido, splendido,  
ai seni stupendi, alle mille  
cicladi dalmatiche natanti.

Allor da' monti giù per le spiagge  
sôna agli orecchi l' eco di gloria,  
che fin dagl' Illirî de' prodi  
Dalmati durevole fa il grido;

che fin da Diocle, fin da Geronimo  
al Sebenzano, che giace cenere  
non lunge dall' Arno, a' viventi  
genii, de' quali Tu se' l' uno :

annunzia al mondo, maisempre incredulo,  
che questa è d' arti terra e di cantici,  
rimpetto alla qual nessun' altra  
emula l' italica cotanto.

La Tua lo dica Ragusa storica,  
e di Salona l' erede, Spalato,  
a Te pur sì cara, ove tanta  
orma Tu relinqui del valore

che i nostri fece Schiavoni celebri  
e Sebenico; quanto Epidaüro  
Tu illustri, Tu sol, sì valente  
e patriotta a questi di raro :

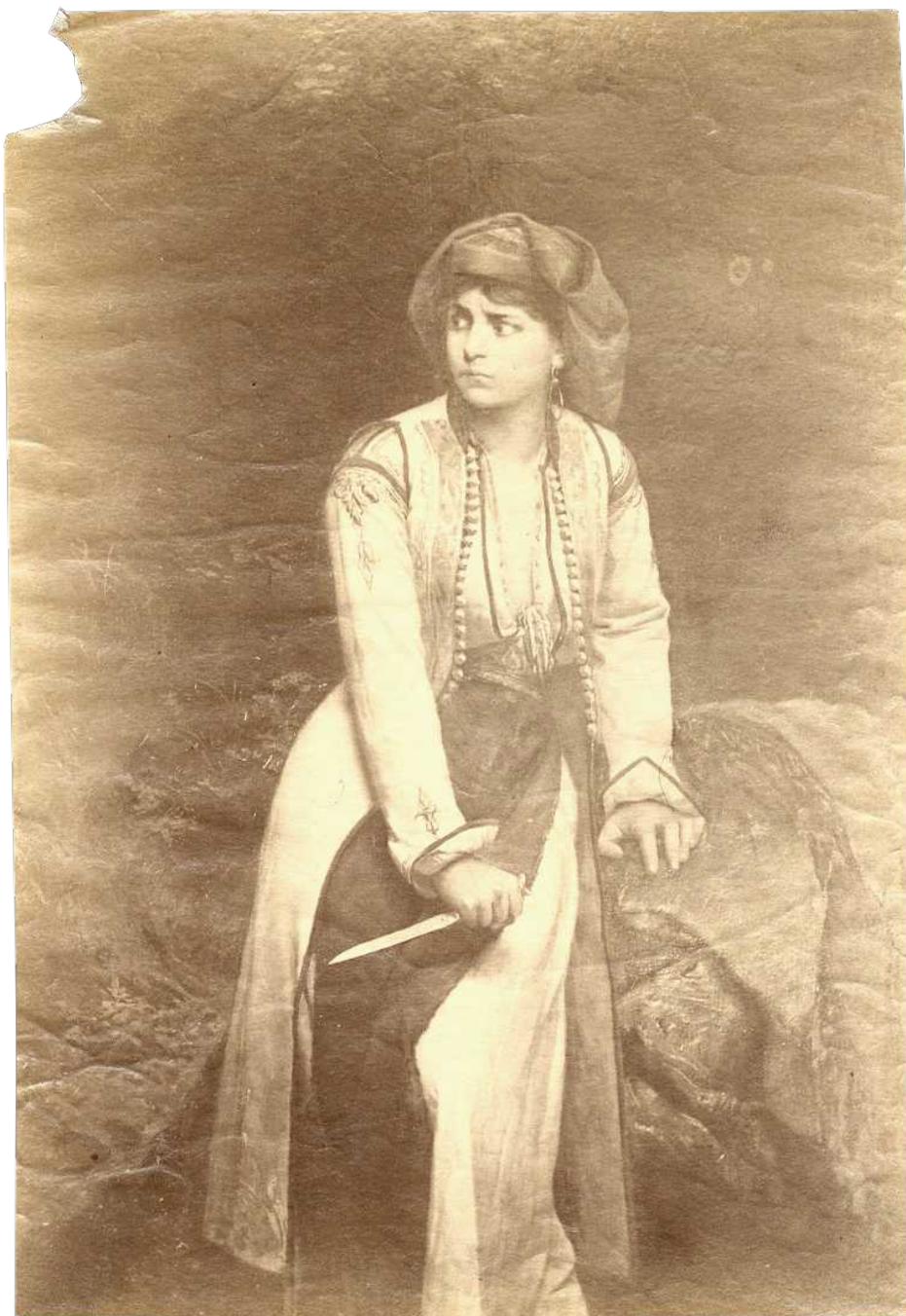
dappoi che al cõre della metropoli  
d' ogni piacere pur sottraendoTi,  
Ten vieni a le Tue Canalesi  
perpetuäre in smaglianti tele.

Sol una manca, *Biagio*, alla Patria,  
e prima tela: l' alma Concordia:  
la pingi — Tuo capolavoro —  
veggala Dalmazia, e vi s' informi! —

*Spalato, settembre, 1885.*

**Prof. G. Zarbarini.**

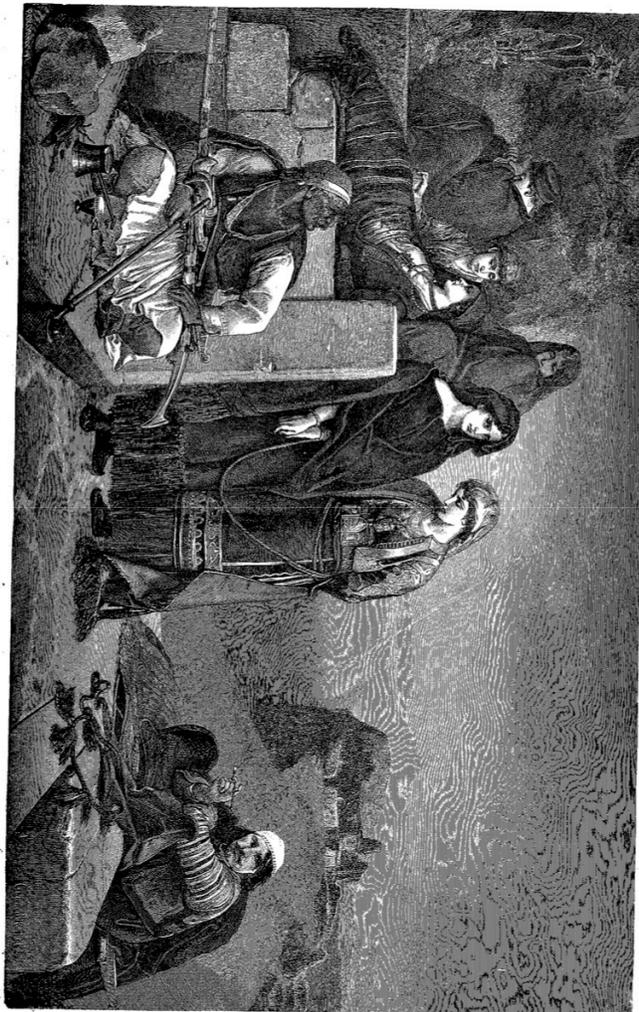
## APPENDIX 7: ILLUSTRATIONS



I.1. Vlaho Bukovac, *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro*), 1878, oil on canvas, 170 x 110 cm. Whereabouts unknown. As documented in an albumen print, 1878, 18.6 x 12.9 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum. Cavtat.

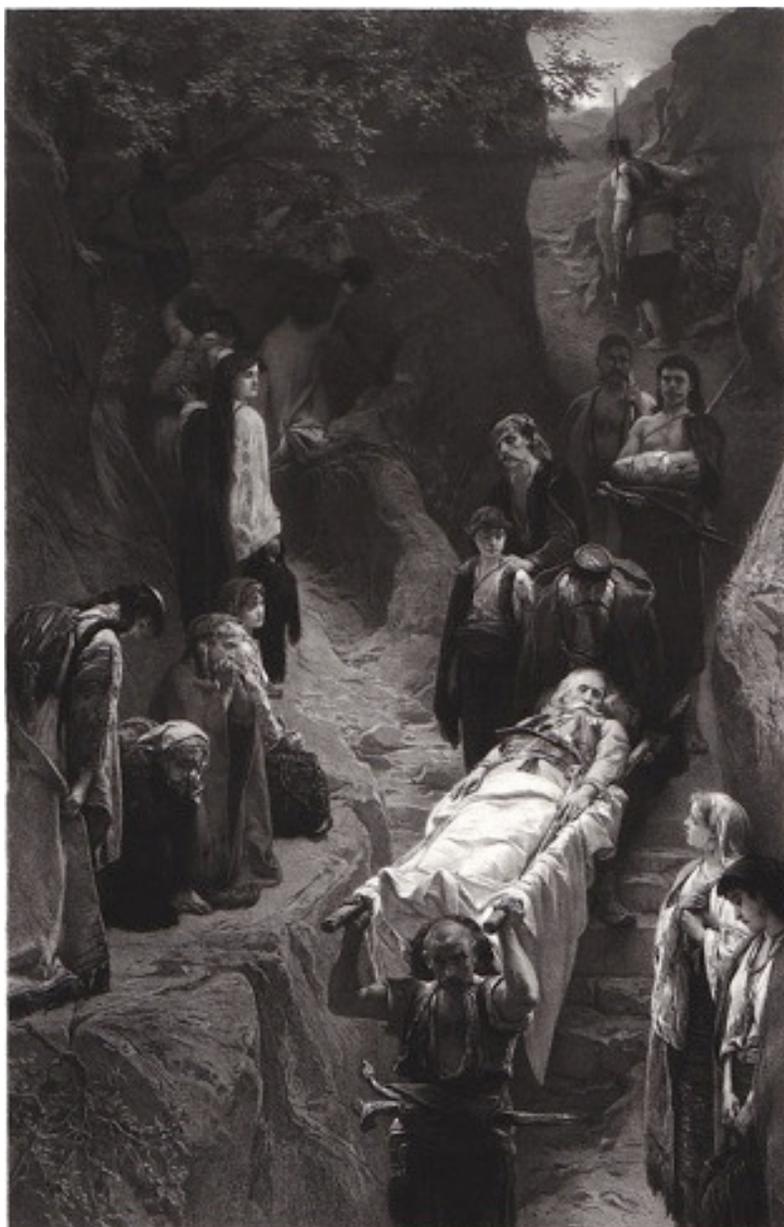
Yves, 1868, Musée de la Ville de Paris

Bašibozuci vode hercegovačke djevojke na pazar u Jedren (1863).  
(izilika: Zvezdovica, Černomahn.)



Priloga "Vijesti" br. 18. 1875.

I.2. Jaroslav Čermák, *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi–Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold* (*Jeunes filles chrétiennes de l’Herzégovine, enlevées par des Bachi–Bouzouks et conduites à Andrinople pour être vendues*), 1868, oil on canvas, 240 x 394 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Belgium. Engraved as “*Bashi–Bazouks taking Herzegovinian Girls to the Market in Edirne* (*Bašibozuci vode hercegovačke djevojke na pazar u Jedren*)” in: *Vienac* 7, no. 28, July 10, 1875, (two–page supplement, n.p.).



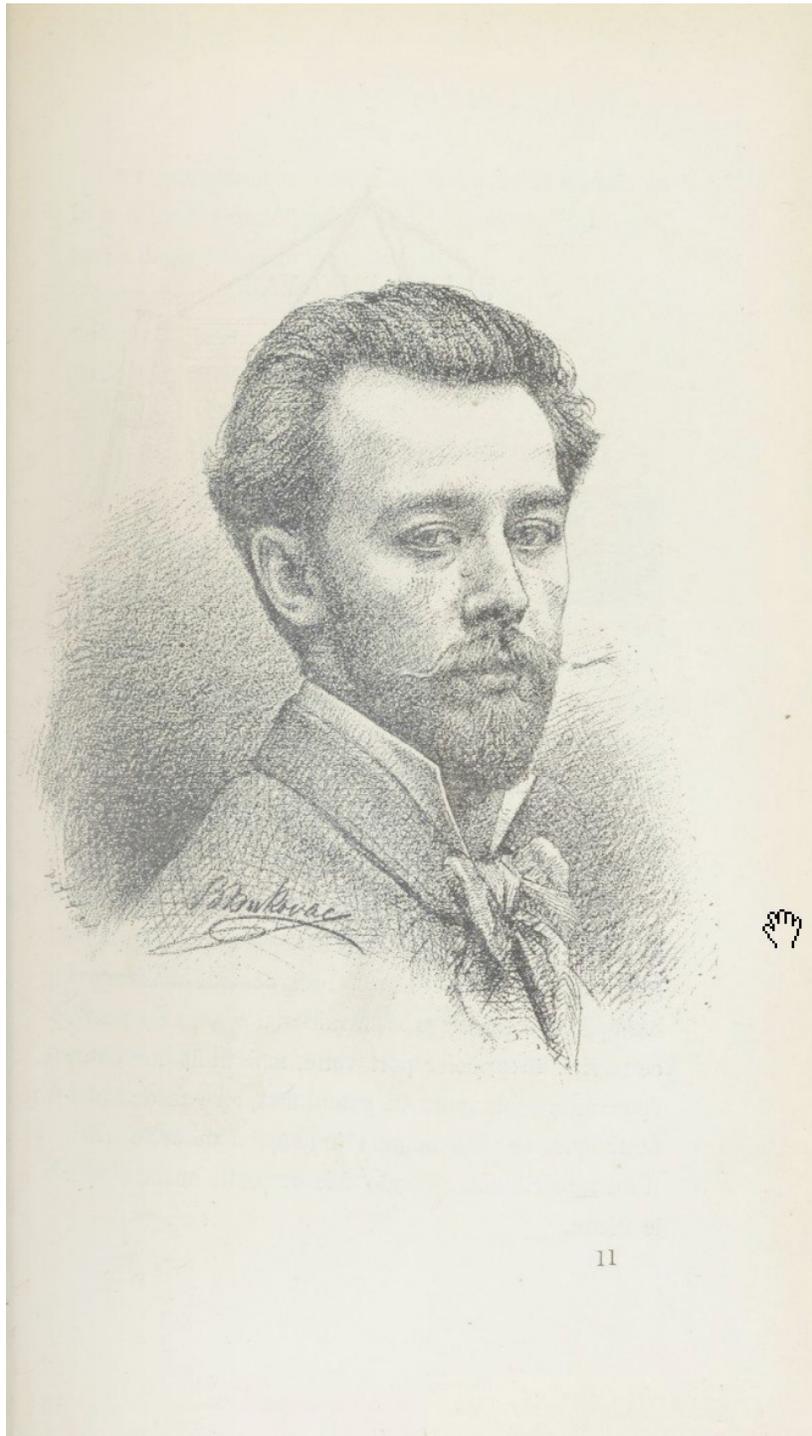
I.3. Jaroslav Čermák, *Episode from the War of Montenegro, in 1862. Some Montenegrin Women in the Mountains, Bringing Ammunition to the Soldiers, Encountering a Wounded Vojvoda* (*Épisode de la guerre du Monténégro, en 1862. Des femmes monténégrines rencontrent dans la montagne, où elles vont porter des cartouches aux combattants, un voïevode blessé*) [*The Wounded Montenegrin (Ranjeni crnogorac)*], 1873, oil on canvas, 226 x 114 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Engraved by Goupil & Cie. as “*The Wounded Montenegrin (Raněný Černohorec)*,” 1875, 89 x 67 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



I.4. "Hope (*L'espérance*)" in: Charles Le Brun, *Conférence de Monsieur Le Brun, premier peintre du Roy de France, Chancelier et Directeur de l'Académie de Peintre et Sculpture. Sur l'expression générale et particulière* (Paris: E. Picart, 1698), p. 22, plate 15. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



I.5. Jaroslav Čermák, *Of Herzegovinians, Returning to their Village Pillaged by Bashi–Bazouks, Finding the Cemetery Ravaged and the Church Destroyed* (*Des Herzégoviens, de retour dans leur village pillé par les bachi–bouzoucks, trouvent le cimetière ravagé et l’église détruite*) [*Bosnia in the Year 1877 (Return to the Village) (Bosna v roce 1877 (Návrat do vsi))*], 1877, oil on canvas, 200 x 149 cm. Prague Castle, Office of the President of the Republic, Prague. Engraving by Jass? as “Herzegovinians on the Ashes of their Village (*Hercegovci na garištu svojega sela*),” in: *Vienac* 11, no. 30, July 26, 1879, 480–81.



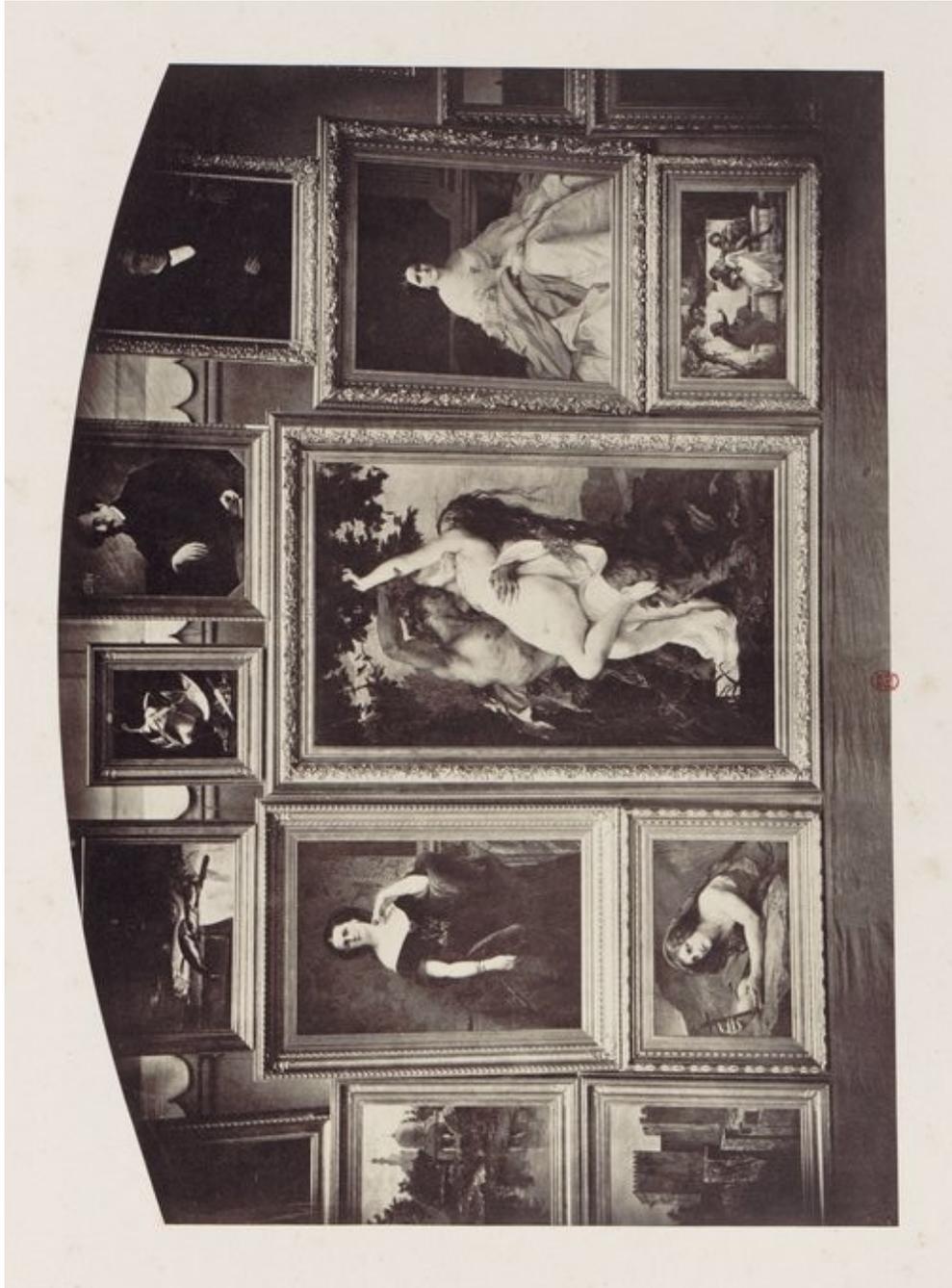
I.6. Portrait of Vlaho Bukovac in: Apollo Mlochowski de Bélina, *Nos Peintres dessinés par eux memes* (Paris: E. Bénard et Cie Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1883), 161.



I.7. Jaroslav Čermák, *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (*Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie)*) [*The Abduction of a Herzegovinian Woman*], 1861, oil on canvas, 250.2 x 190.5 cm. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York. Engraved by Goupil & Cie. as “*Episode from the Massacres in Syria. Herzegovina – 1860 (Épisode des massacres de Syrie. Herzégovine – 1860)*,” 1861. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



I.8. Franjo Salghetti–Drioli, *Concord of the South Slavic Rulers (Sloga jugoslavenkih vladara)*, 1870, oil on canvas, 473.3 x 304.2 cm. Gallery of Fine Arts of the National Museum, Zadar. Engraved by D. Peinlich as “Yugoslavia (*Jugoslavija*)” in: *Vienac* 6, no. 16, April 18, 1874, 248–49.



1.1. Pierre Ambroise Richebourg, [Photograph of Room Containing works by Artists Whose Last Names Begin with "C" at the Salon of 1861] in: *Hall des sculptures et cimaises du salon de 1861: Photographies par Richebourg* (Paris, 1861), no. 16. Alexandre Cabanel's *Nymph Abducted by a Faun* (*Nymphe enlevée par un faune*, 1860) is visible at center. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



1.2. Pierre Ambroise Richebourg, [Photograph of Room Containing works by Artists Whose Last Names Begin with "C" at the Salon of 1861] in: *Hall des sculptures et cimaises du salon de 1861: Photographies par Richebourg* (Paris, 1861), no. 20. Jaroslav Čermák's *Raid by Bashi-Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (1861) is visible at bottom right. At center are his: *Study of a Slavic Rayah (Herzegovina)* (1861) (left) and *Young Peasant Woman and her Infant (Croatia)* (1860) (right). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



1.3. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Rape of Proserpina*, 1621–1622, marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome. Engraved by Nicolas Dorigny as “Rape of Proserpina in the Ludovisi Gardens (*Ratto di Proserpina negl’orti Ludovisi*)” in: Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne* (Rome, Stamperia alla Pace, 1704), no. 74.



1.4. Giambologna, *Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1581–83, marble. Piazza Signoria, Florence. Engraved by Robert van Audenaerd as “Group of Statues from the Rape of the Sabine Women (*Gruppo di statue del ratto delle Sabine*)” in: Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne* (Rome, Stamperia alla Pace, 1704), no. 53.



1.5. Galletti, "Cermak / Cabanel," in his: *Salon de 1861: Album caricatural* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1861), no. 15.



1.6. Jaroslav Čermák, *Herzogovian Girl Giving Water to Horses* (*Jeune fille de l'Herzégovine menant des chevaux à l'abreuvoir*), 1874, oil on canvas, 104 x 85 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced as *Hercegovinian Woman Giving Water to Horses* (*Ercegovka napaja konje*) in: *Slovinac* 1, no. 6, July 16, 1878, 50.



RAZZIA DE BACHI-BOUZOUHS.

Un Druze excité par M. CENAK a l'indélicatesse de mordre le ventre d'une Maronite. Si nous rappelons notre expédition de Syrie, M. Ce-nak ne pourra pas nous donner le pendant de cette belle toile-là. Mais si nous ne la rappelons pas, il y a d'autres inconvénients... Que faire?...

1.7. Nadar et Darjou, "Raid by Bashi-Bazouks (*Razzia de Bachi-Bouzouchs*)" in: "Nadar Jury su Salon de 1861," *Le Journal amusant*, no. 286, June 22, 1861, 2.



Femme du Monténégro.

1.8. "Woman from Montenegro (*Femme du Monténégro*)," in: Le Colonel L. C. Violla de Sommieres, *Voyage Historique et Politique au Monténégro*, vol. 1 (Paris: Alexis Eymery, Libraire, 1820), n.p.



1.9. "Hyacinthe Maglanovich," in: [Prosper Mérimée], *La Guzla, ou Choix de poesies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, La Croatie et l'Hertzegowine* (Paris, F.G. Levrault, 1827), frontispiece.



1.10. Théodore Valerio, *Married Woman from the Village of Skrad* (*Femme mariée du village de Skrad*), from the suite *Frontières militaires*, 1854, etching on paper, 25 x 16 cm. Author's collection.



Црногорка на стражи. Слика Јарослава Чермака.

1.11. Jaroslav Čermák, *The Outlaw's Wife (Žena psancova)*, 1860, oil on canvas, 77 x 95 cm. National Gallery, Prague. Engraved as: "Montenegrin Woman on Guard (*Crnogorka na straži*)" in: *Srbadija* 1, no. 2, November 26, 1874, 29.



1.12. Théodore Valerio, *Female Weapons Guard at the Entrance of the Cetinje Monastery* (*Gardeuse d'armes à l'entrée du monastère de Cettigne*), 1864, from his graphic suite *Le Monténégro*, published by A. Delatre, Paris. Reproduced as “*Female Weapons Guard at the Entrance of the Monastery* (*Gardeuse d'armes à l'entrée du monastère*, 1876), in: Charles Yriarte, *Les Bords de l'Adriatique et le Monténégro* (Paris: Libraire Hachette et Cie, 1878), 446.



1.13. V[ict]or Ninet, [*Carte de Visite Portrait of Jaroslav Čermák*], ], undated, albumen print mounted on cardboard, 4 1/8 x 2 3/8 in. Author's collection.



1.14. "Ouverture du Salon (1er mai 1868)" in: *L'Indépendance parisienne* no. 38, May 10, 1868, 4. Jaroslav Čermák's painting *Young Christian Maidens from Herzegovina, Kidnapped by Bashi-Bazouks and Being Taken to Andrinople [Edirne] to be Sold* (1868) is visible in this view of the *Salon Carré* at top center.



1.15. Jaroslav Čermák, *Montenegrin Woman and her Infant (Femme monténégrine et son enfant)*, 1859, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. As engraved by K? Linton, in: "Exposition de Bruxelles. – Femme monténégrine et son enfant. Tableau de M. Jaroslav-Čermak, appartenant à la galerie de MM. Goupil et Cie," *Supplément au journal le Monde illustré* no. 179, September 15, 1860, 185.

UN RAIJA SLAVE  
(HERZÉGOVINE).



Salon de 1861; Peinture. — Un Raïa slave, par M. Čermák (Jaroslaw). — Dessin de Yan' Dargent.

Ce mot *raïa*, par lequel on désigne les sujets non musulmans de la Porte, est un pluriel arabe qui signifie « troupeau. » Pris dans un sens métaphorique, en vertu de ce préjugé ancien et que l'on rencontre partout à l'origine des sociétés, qui considère les rois comme les pas-

teurs des peuples, il s'appliquait indistinctement, dans le principe, à tous les individus vivant à l'ombre du sceptre des khalifes. Ce ne fut que plus tard, après que la conquête eut établi une distinction radicale entre les *croyants* (musulmans) et les *infidèles* (chrétiens ou juifs), que le

1.16. Jaroslav Čermák, *Study of a Slavic Rayah (Herzegovina) (Etude de raïa slave (Herzégovine))*, 1861, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. Engraved by Yan' Dargent as "A Slavic Rayah (Herzegovina) (*Un raïa slave (Herzégovine)*)" in: *Magazine pittoresque* tome 30, January 1862, 17.



1.17. Jaroslav Čermák, *Young Peasant Woman and her Infant (Croatia) (Jeune paysanne avec son enfant (Croatie))*, 1860, oil on canvas, 140 x 97 cm. Private collection. Engraved by the Galerie Durand–Ruel, Paris, November 17, 1860, as “*The Young Mother (La Jeune Mère)*.” Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



JAR ČERMÁK PINXIT

JOS. BAL. SCULPT

LA MONTÉNÉGRINE.

Imp. Ch. Chardon aux Saussaies, Paris.

1.18. Jaroslav Čermák, *Montenegrin Woman (La Monténégrine)*, as engraved by Jos. Bal and published by Ch. Chardon in 1865. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



3.1. Vlaho Bukovac, *La Grande Iza*, 1882, oil on canvas, 143 x 203 cm. Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection, Novi Sad. As reproduced in: Ad. Braud et Cie, Paris, *La Grande Iza*, 1882, albumen print mounted on cardboard. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.

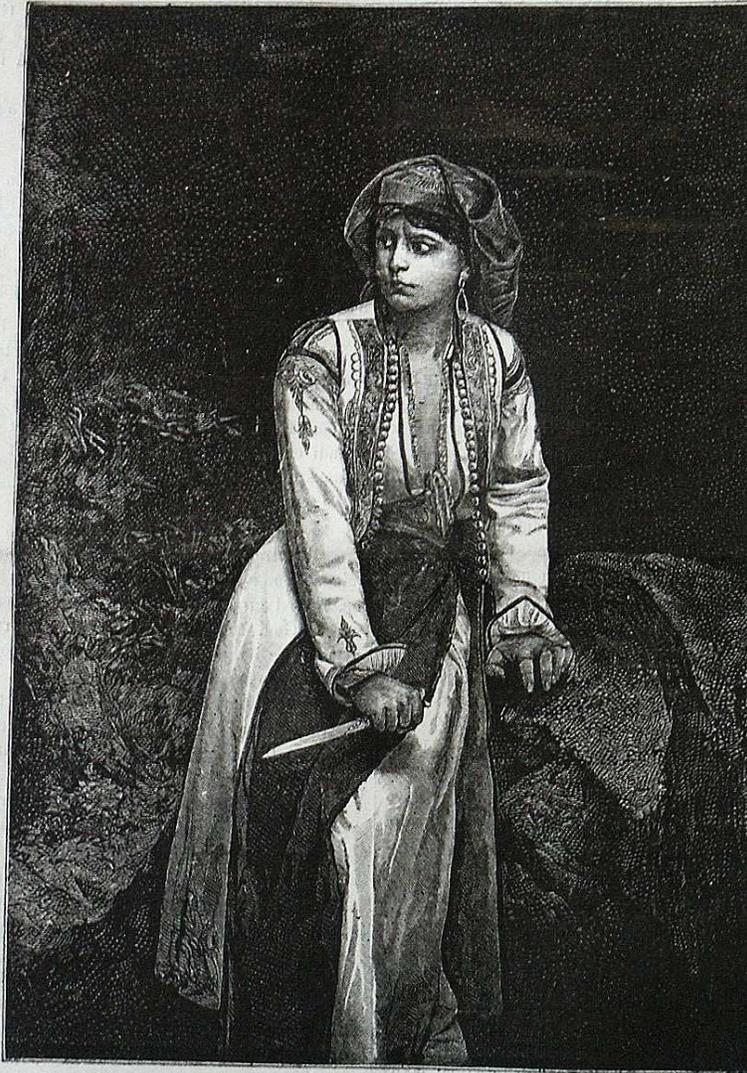


3.2. Vlaho Bukovac, *Young Sultanes (Mlada sultanija)*, oil on canvas, 87.5 x 116 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb.





3.4. [Photograph of Vlaho Bukovac in the Fontainebleau forest], 1885, albumen print, 8.8 x 11.4 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



CRNOGORKA SPREMNA NA OBRANU

Slika Vlaho Bukovca iz Cavitata

Rezo Pierron.

4.1. Vlaho Bukovac, *Episode from the War of Montenegro* (1878), etched by Pierron as “Montenegrin Woman Ready for Defense (*Crnogorka spremna na obranu*),” in: *Slovinac* 2, no. 15, August 1, 1879, 232.

MISANTROP<sup>1)</sup>

Komedija u pet ata Tudisića i Sorkočevića

Lica koja ulaze:

Gjono zaljubljen u Margaritu  
 Frano prijatelj Gjonov  
 Maro zaljubljen u Margaritu  
 Margarita zaljubljena u Gjona  
 Anica rođica Margaritina

Lukša } Markezi  
 Jero }  
 Nikoleta djevojka Margaritina  
 Zdur (straža)  
 Franić dijete Gjonov

At prvi. šena prva.

Frano i Gjono.

Fr. Što ti je, gosparu Gjono, što ti je?  
 Gj. Pusti me, molim te.  
 Fr. Ma bi li se moglo znati što su te trice ...  
 Gj. Pusti me, u dobar čas, opeta ti govorim pusti me, pogji od mene i ostavi me.  
 Fr. Ma kad čeljad s tobom govoru, razlog je barem da ih slušaš i da se ne uznemirivaš.  
 Gj. A ja se hoću uznemirivat i neću slušati nikoga ništa.  
 Fr. Ja ti tvoj način ne razumijem, i za sve da ti sam prijatelj najposlje biću od prvijeh da...  
 Gj. Ja tvoj prijatelj! čisti me iz te knjige, ako si me upisao, molim te; i rijeti ću istinu, dosle ti sam kazivao i službu i prijateljstvo, ma od kad sam poznao što



VLAHO FAGIONI-BUKOVAC.

1) Ovu nam je komediju poklonio i pripremio za štampu prepisavi je iz starog rukopisa g. Gjuro Devic učitelj pri ovoj građanskoj školi, te je dodao i koju primjedu da je stvar jasnija. Evo prve:

Da na tavimo u zabavnome dijelu „Slovinca“ lako čitanje u godnijeh igara starijeh dubrovačana priopćujemo ovo „Misantropa“, komediju u pet ata.

Da je ona i sve po sebi samcata zabava ili radoja bez ikakvog ni nadaljeg doticaja koje grane naše stare književnosti, pak i vrijednosti samo svoje; mi bi je isto voljeli kako milijem dokazom ne nauke ni izučenosti našijeh djedova, nego njihove vesele domišljate dangubne i razgovorne riječi. U njoj, kako u mnogijem priličnijem igrama ostalo nam je najveće vijernih slika što zadahnju stare običaje ondašnjeg mirnog i zabavnog kutnjeg života. Malo zajsto je gdje drugdje naći više prilika one osobite ozbilj šaljive čudi jedne ruke našijeh starijeh građana što ovdje, gdje bi i prijatelje opisivali namjerom do svoj krug i svoj posjed zabave, povesele a i popecaj. Ta misao bila je bližnji povod bez sumnje velikomu onom broju komedija ispisanijeh i u prošastome vijeku.

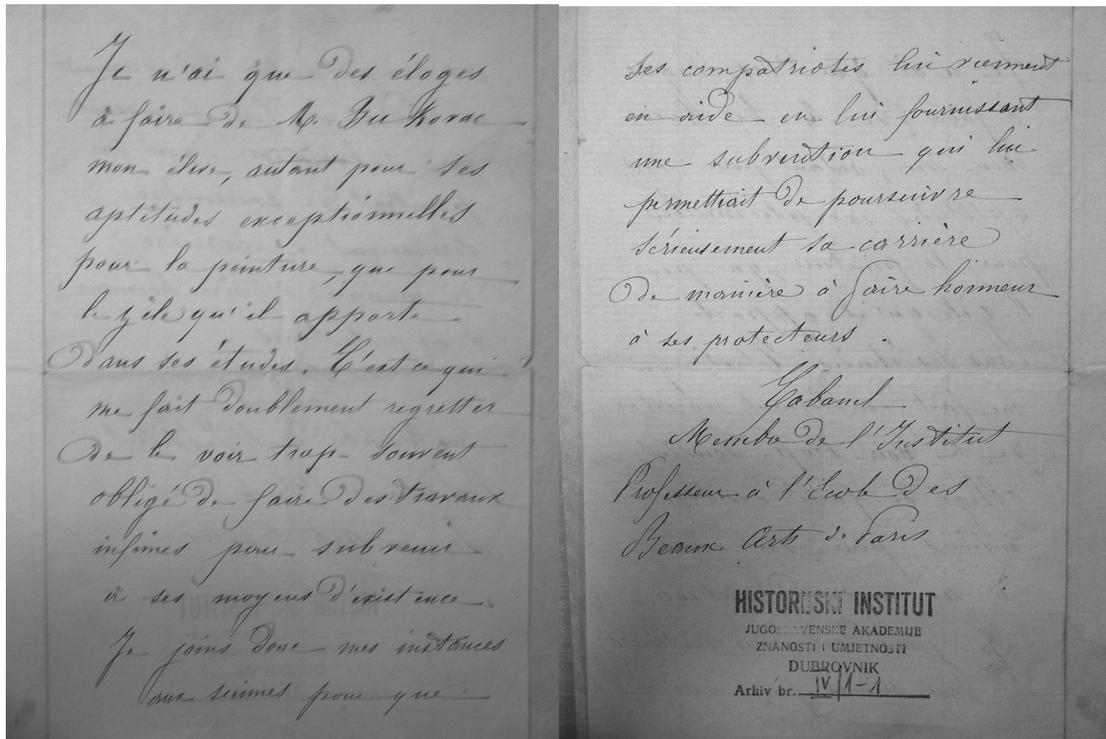
je u tebi i otkrio te kakav si, govorim ti čisto i bistro, da ti po nikomu ne poručivam, da ti nijesam prijatelj po nipošto, i da tvoga prijateljstva među erbo mi tako nije drago.

Fr. Tot po tvomu razlogu, Gjono, ja sam kriv ...

Gj. Pogj otole: razlog bi bio da od srama ne izlaziš ni iz kuće: zajsto tako smješna čovjeka ja nijesam vidio: kad god koga susreteš, počneš se klanjati, grlit ga, ljubiti, nuditi mu službu, činiti prijateljstvo, i uzimat potolast, i takijem himbama dodijevat svakomu koga poznaš i ne poznaš. Pornebore to je biti dosmrdljiv, ponižen, blezga i živina; govorim ti istinu da sam tak, ončas bi se objesio.  
 Fr. Upravo ja ne vidim da je to stvar za koju bi se imo čovjek objesiti, i molim te, nemoj ti biti

Dali Misantrop, mimo sve što mu je za isto razloge sudna jednaka, spada ipak među neke pokuse, da se ne smijedu bez priličnog — ako i kratkog osvrta — mimoći. — Prošastog vijeka, sve do Goldoni, nije ni u Italiji bilo prave komedije, t. j. take da je oblikom i načinom znata ostaviti presebne izrugotine najprostijeh karikatura, za živahan izraz dobra i zla svog vremena. Stoga se je neprestano nastojalo, da se komedija pravim putem-povrati; te kad se stano preragjivati i slijediti tugja izabrana djela, dogje red i na ona glasovitog Moliéra. Po njegovom izgledu i duhu pogju najbolja A. Neff i F. Gigli; ovi pak preradi napose više Moliérovijh igara te mu se i danas Don Pirlone (po Le tartuffe) zaslužno spominje.

Možda ne sve sistog obzira ali svakako najbližeg, pak i u ista doba kad su Moliérova djela bila i kod nas najvećma na glasni uvigja se da je i u našoj komediji novi pravac počeo. Kad se u tomu prvi pokus učini tad se posebno društvo zavazue da dosjetno šalu uz pecivu porugu velikog francuza prenese i prekreji na karaktere i običaje dubrovačke. Tako postane i „Misantrop“. Njega prerade Tudisić i Sorkočević prenesav ovoga Moliérova u mjesto gdje — ko pozna neke stare dubrovačane — mogau je najbolje poživjeti.



— Naš mladi slikar Bukovac i ove godine slavodobitno je prekazao u Pariški Salon svoju novu Crnogorku sa sviralom u ruci, jer izmegju nekoliko hiljada odbačenijeh slika, ona je bila primljena. G. Bukovac donese je sobom ove godine doma i evo ima nekoliko danâ objesi je u općinsku Kafanu da na palogu stoji. U slici, po mnjenju vještaka, vidi se majstorska ruka; na, mlada crnogorka rekao bi da će iz onoga postava iskoćit. Uopće pak sve je prilično i zgodno, i dolikuje našem Bukovcu koji je slijedeće preporučiteljno pismo imao od glasovitog prof. Cabanella u Parizu:

Je n'ai que des eloges a faire de M. Bukovac mon eleve, autant pour ses aptitudes exceptionnelles pour la peinture, que pour le zèle qu'il apporte dans ses études. C'est ce qui me fait doublement regretter de le voir trop-souvent obligé de faire des travaux infimes pour subvenir a ses moyens d'existence.

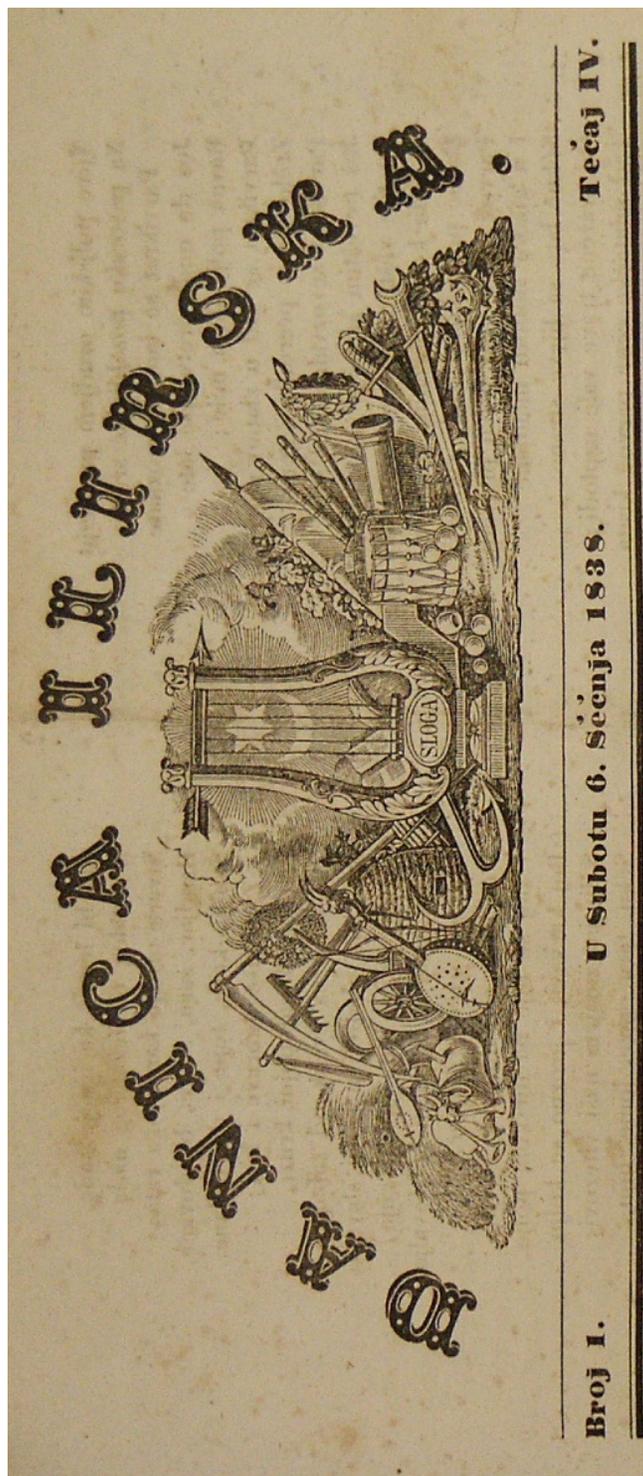
Je joins donc mes instances aux siennes pour que ses compatriotes lui viennent en aide en lui fournissant une subvention qui lui permettrait de poursuivre serieusement sa carrière de maniere a faire honneur a ses protecteurs.

**Cabanell**  
 membre de l'Institut  
 Prof. à l'École des Beaux Arts de Paris

4.3. Alexandre Cabanel, handwritten note recommending Vlaho Bukovac to his compatriots, 1879 [top]. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat. Published version of the note in: Anon., “Naš mladi slikar Bukovac,” *Slovinac* 2, no. 19, October 1, 1879, 304 [bottom].



4.4. Vlaho Bukovac, *Montenegrin Girl (Jeune Monténégrine)*, 1879, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. Documented in an albumen print mounted on cardboard printed by Graffe Phot. Paris, 1879, 16.5 x 10.8 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



4.5. [Emblem of *Danica ilirska*] in: *Danica ilirska* 4, no. 1, January 6, 1838, 1.



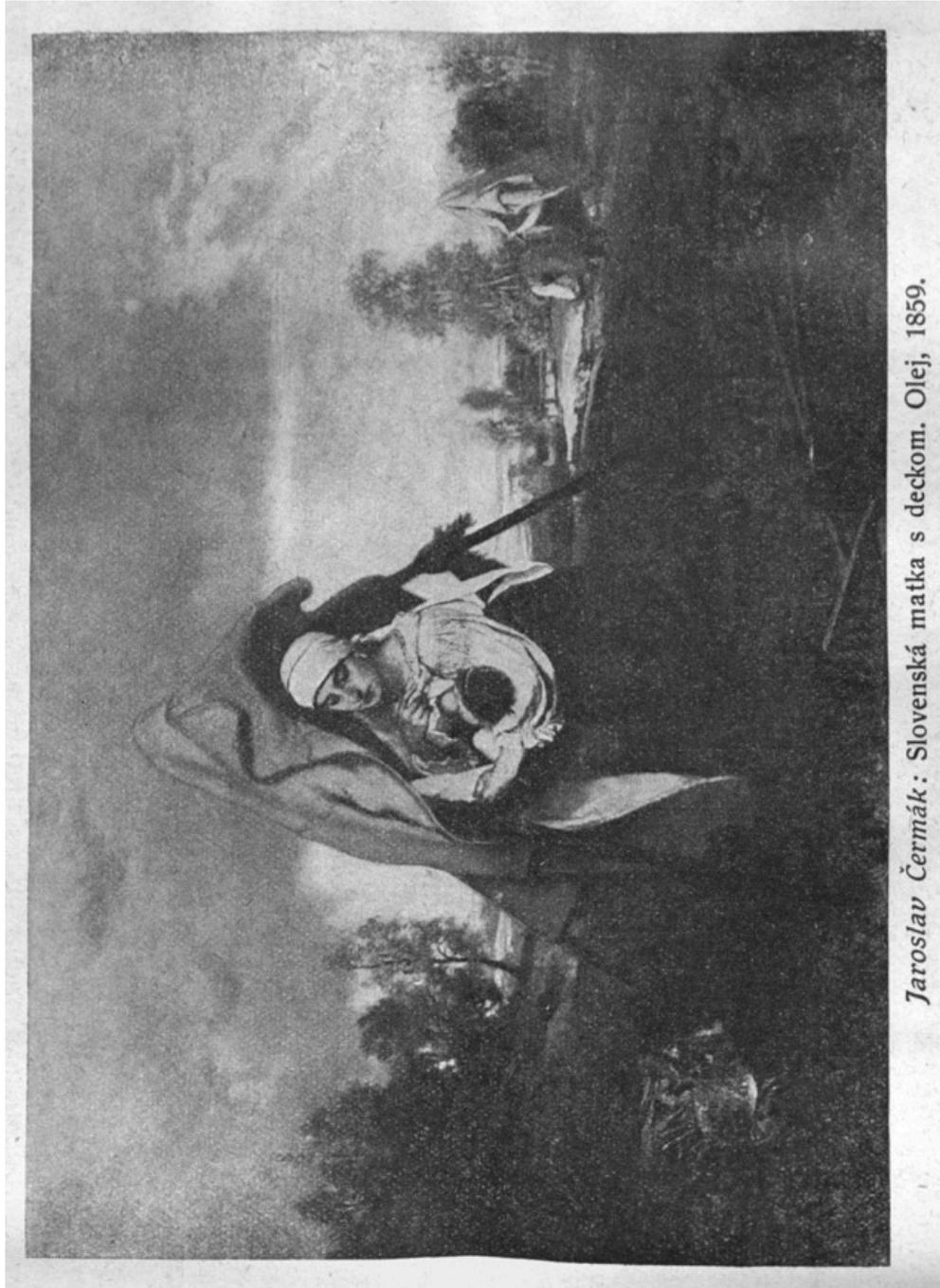
4.6. Jaroslav Čermák, *Dalmatian Wedding (Noces dalmates)* [*Dalmatská svatba*], undated, oil on canvas, 113 x 174 cm. National Gallery, Prague (inv. no. O 2308).



J. Čermák:

Slepý guslar.  
Der blinde Geiger.  
A vak hegedüs.  
Slepý gušlarz.  
Le violiniste aveugle.

4.7. Jaroslav Čermák, *Blind Guslar (Slepý guslar)*, before 1874, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. As documented in a postcard published by D.K. & Co. P., undated, 5 1/2 x 3 1/2 in. Author's collection.



Jaroslav Čermák: Slovenská matka s deťom. Olej, 1859.

4.8. Jaroslav Čermák, *Slovak Mother with a Child* or *Slovak Mother in a Field* (*Slovenská matka s deťom* or *Slovenská matka na poli*) [*A Hungarian Woman with Child* (*Een Hongaarse vrouw met kind*)], 1859, oil on panel, 39.5 x 55.5 cm. Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam. Reproduced as “Slovak Mother with a Child (*Slovenská matka s deťom*) in: *Živena* 19, no. 7 (July 1929): 155.



4.9. Jaroslav Čermák, *Montenegrin Woman with an Infant (Černohorka s dítětem)*, oil on canvas, 122 x 89 cm. National Gallery, Prague (inv. no. O 1747).



Turci otimlju kršćansku ženu. (Slika Jaroslava Čermaka.)

4.10. Jaroslav Čermák, *Raid by Bashi–Bazouks on a Christian Village in Herzegovina (Turkey)* (*Razzia de bachi–bouzouchs dans un village chrétien de l’Herzégovine (Turquie)*) [*The Abduction of a Herzegovinian Woman*], 1861, oil on canvas, 250.2 x 190.5 cm. Dahesh Museum of Art, New York. Engraved as: “Turks Abduct a Christian Woman (*Turci otimlju kršćansku ženu*),” in: *Vienac* 7, no. 35, August 28, 1875, 559.



4.11. Edmond Bénard, [Vlaho Bukovac Painting in his Paris Atelier], c. 1886, albumen print, 21.6 x 26.5 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat. Bukovac's Salon painting *Peasant Woman from the Environs of Dubrovnik*; — *Dalmatia (Paysanne des environs de Raguse*; — *Dalmatie*, 1886) is the large, framed canvas visible behind the seated artist.



4.12. Vlaho Bukovac, vignette from *Peasant Woman from the Environs of Dubrovnik; — Dalmatia (Paysanne des environs de Raguse; — Dalmatie, 1886)*. Etched by Rougeron Vignerot as “A Slavic Woman from Austria (From the Environs of Dubrovnik) (*Une Slave d’Autriche (des environs de Raguse)*),” in: *L’Art et la Mode* 7, no. 2 (December 12, 1885): 23. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



4.13. Vlaho Bukovac, *Montenegrin Woman at a Rendezvous* (*La Monténégrine au rendez-vous*) [*Crnogorka na sastanku*], 1883, oil on canvas, 201 x 104 cm. Modern Gallery, Zagreb. Reproduced as *Young Montenegrin Woman* (*Mlada Crnogorka*) in: *Vienac* 17, no. 16, April 18, 1885, 253.



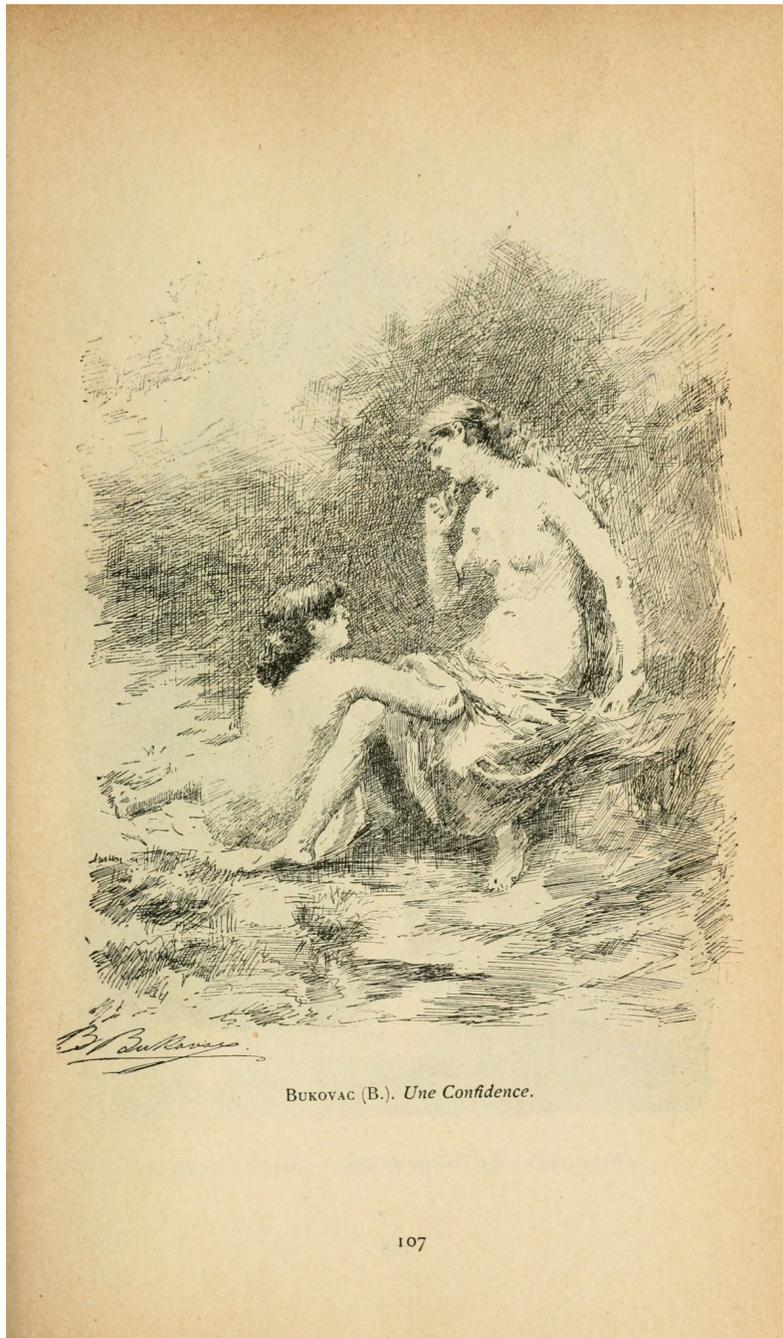
4.14. [Vlaho Bukovac Painting in his Paris Atelier], c. 1888, albumen print, 9 x 9.4 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat. Bukovac's painting *Montenegrin Women at the Well* (*Monténégriines au puits*, 1885) is visible at top right.



4.15. Vlaho Bukovac, [Montenegrin Motifs], 1879, ink on cardboard, 16.5 x 10.8 cm. Verso of an albumen print mounted on cardboard of Vlaho Bukovac's *Montenegrin Girl* (1879), printed by Graffe Phot., Paris, 1879. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



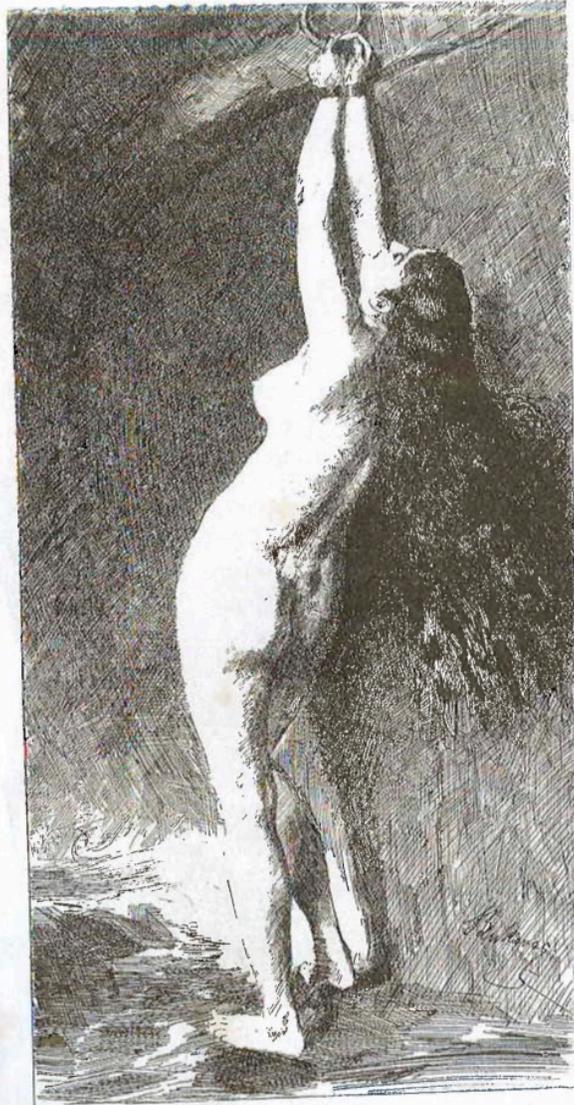
4.16. [Vlaho Bukovac painting Suffer the Little Children, (*Laissez venir à moi les petits enfants*) in his Paris studio], 1888, albumen print, 13.9 x 10.6 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



BUKOVAC (B.). *Une Confidence.*

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4.17. Vlaho Bukovac, *A Confidence (Une confidence)* [*Povjerljiva priča*], 1884, oil on canvas, 140 x 105 cm. Galerija umjetnina, Split. As reproduced in: F.-G. Dumas, 1884. *Catalogue & livret illustrés du Salon, contenant environ 600 reproductions d'après les dessins originaux des artistes* (Paris: L. Baschet, 1884), 107.



БУКОВАЦ (В.). *Андромеда*. — *Андромеда*.

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4.18. Vlaho Bukovac, *Andromeda (Andromède)*, 1886, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. As reproduced in: F.-G. Dumas, 1886. *Catalogue illustré du Salon, contenant environ 300 reproductions d'après les dessins originaux des artistes* (Paris: L. Baschet, 1886), 21.



4.19. Vlaho Bukovac, “In Montenegro (*Au Monténégro*),” in *L’Art et la Mode*, no. 5 (January 2, 1886): 54–55. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



4.20. Vlaho Bukovac, *Waiting Montenegrin Woman (Očekivanje Crnogorke)*, 1919, oil on canvas, 74.5 x 57 cm. Whereabouts unknown. Documented in a photograph, 23.2 x 17.3 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



5.1. Jaroslav Čermák, *Rendezvous in the Mountains (Montenegro)* (*Rendez-vous dans la montagne (Monténégro)*), c. 1874, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced as “The Montenegrine Rendezvous” in: J. Eugene Reed, *The Masterpieces of German Art Illustrated: Being a Biographical History of Art in Germany and the Netherlands, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Gebbie and Co., 1884) n.p.



5.2. Cham, [Caricature of Jaroslav Čermák's *Rendezvous in the Mountains (Montenegro)* (1874)] in: "Le Salon pour rire," *Le Charivari*, May 10, 1874, 3.



Bura u Crnoj Gori.

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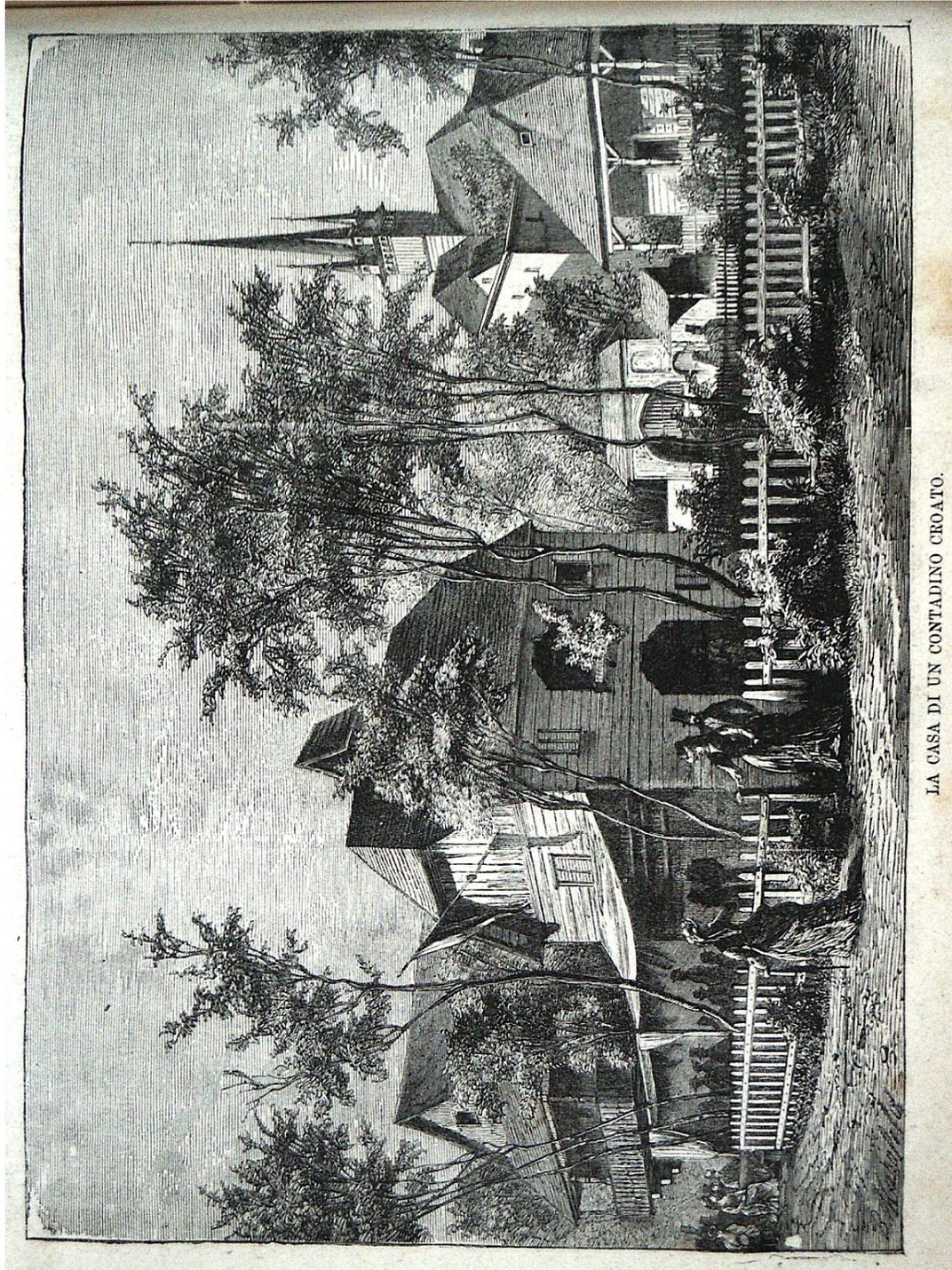
5.3. František Bohumir Zvěřina, “Bora in Montenegro (*Bura u Crnoj Gori*)” as reproduced in: *Vienac* 16, no. 25, June 24, 1884, 397.



Osveta crnogorska.

Model za mramorni kip izumljen po Ivanu Rendiću.

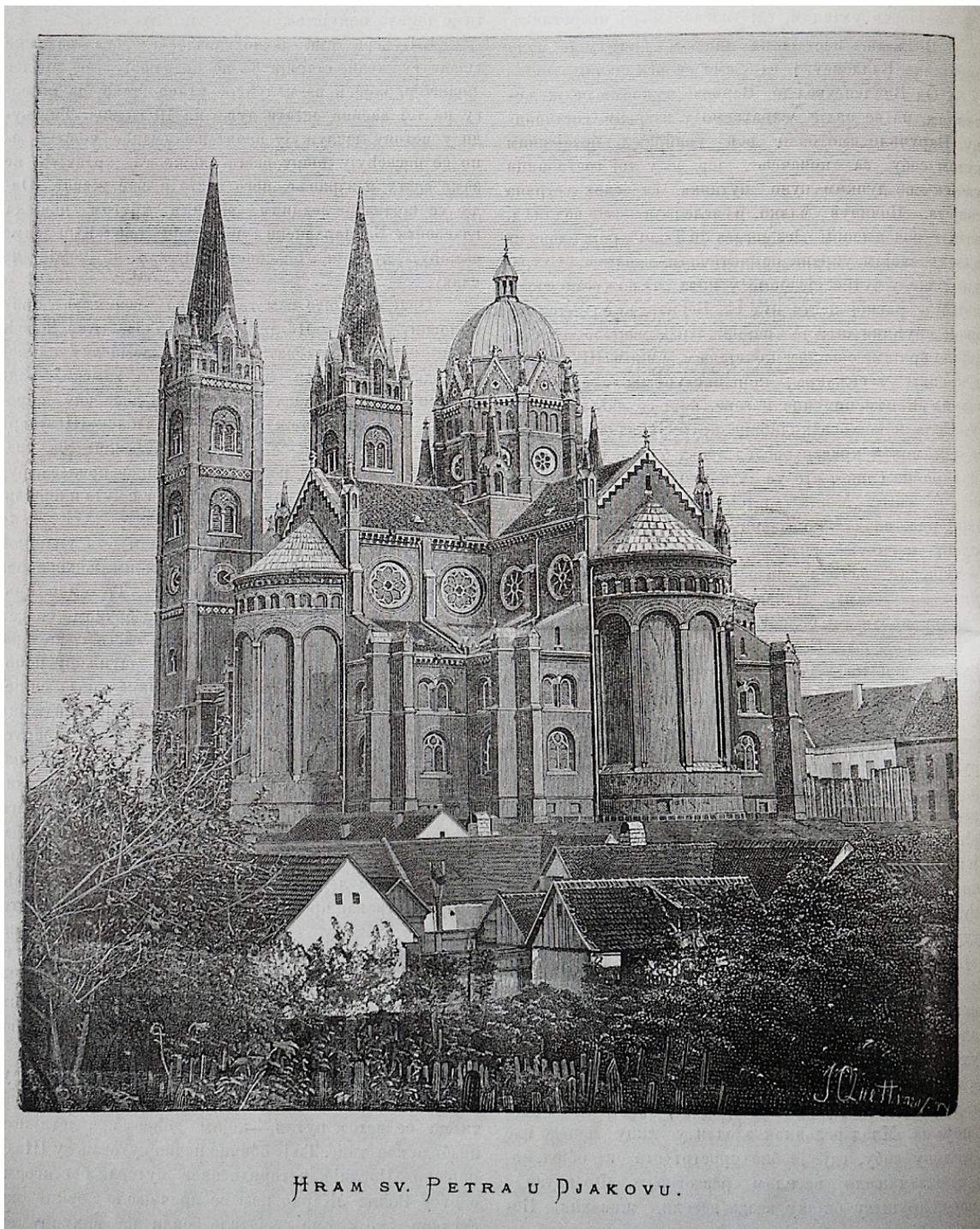
5.4. Ivan Rendić, "Montenegrin Revenge (*Osveta crnogorska*)" as reproduced in: *Vienac* 6, no. 2, January 10, 1874, 28.



LA CASA DI UN CONTADINO CROATO.

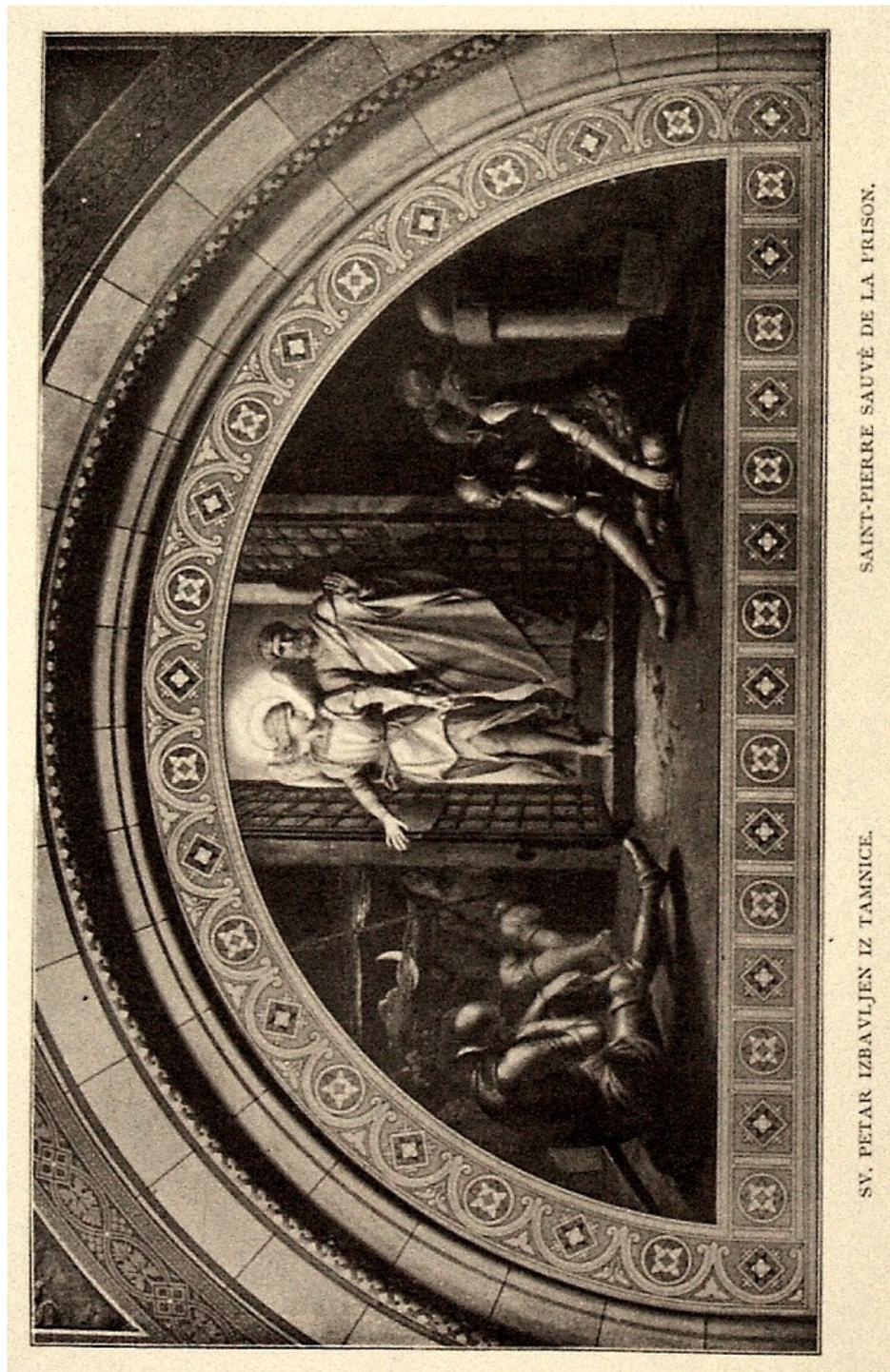
5.5. "The House of a Croatian Peasant (*La Casa di un contadino croato*)" in: *L'Esposizione universale di Vienna del 1873 illustrata* 2, no. 51 (1873): 404.





HRAM SV. PETRA U ĐAKOVU.

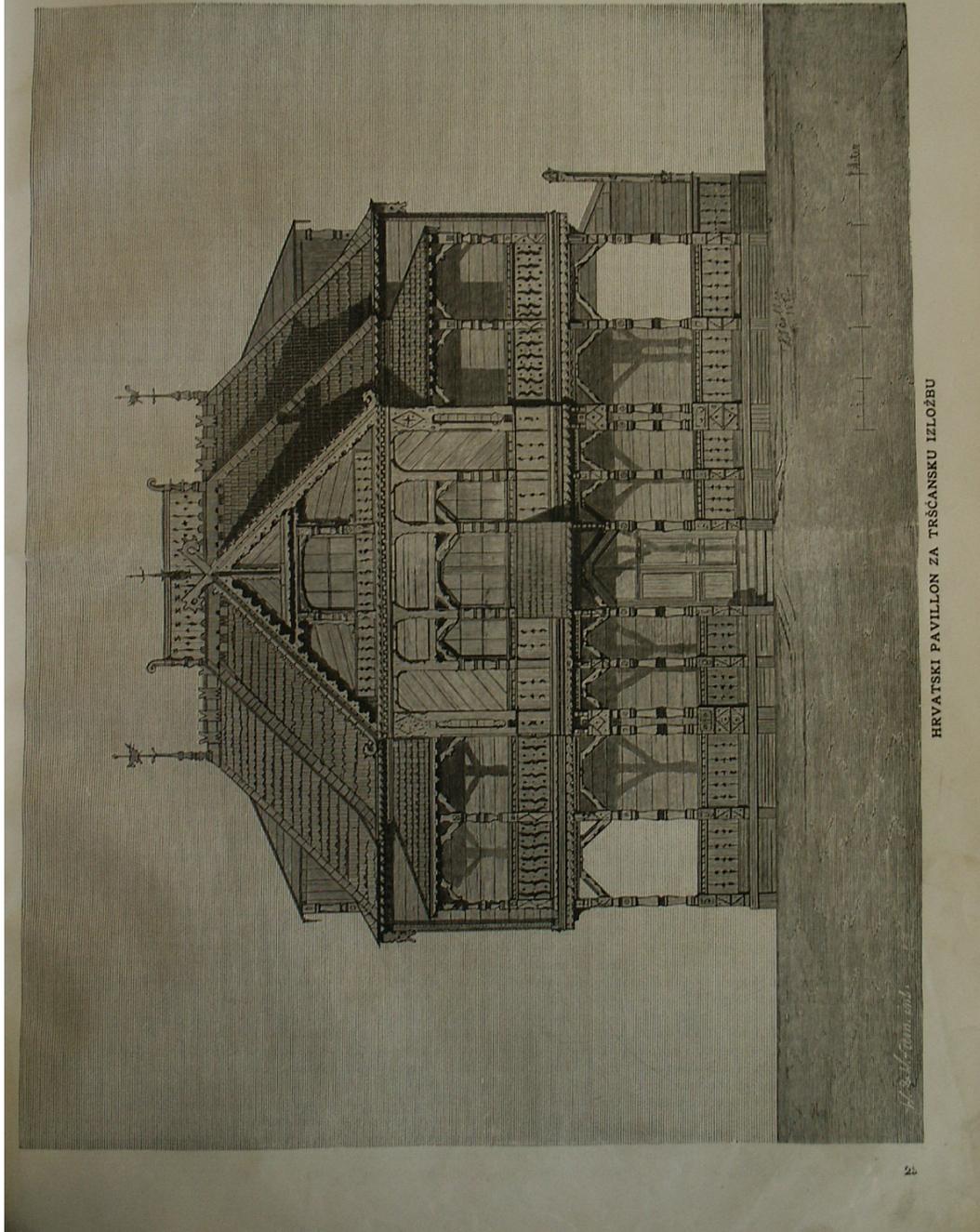
5.7. "The Church of Saint Peter in Đakovo (*Hram Sv. Petra u Đakovu*)" in: *Slovinac* 6, no. 3, January 21, 1883, 40.



SAINT-PIERRE SAUVÉ DE LA PRISON.

SV. PETAR IZBAVLJEN IZ TAMNICE.

5.8. Alexander Maximilian Seitz, "Saint Peter Freed from Prison," fresco, c. 1880. Cathedral of Saint Peter, Đakovo. As reproduced in: *Stolna crkva u Đakovu* (Prague: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1900), 77.



5.9. [Herman Bollé, architect], “The Croatian Pavilion for the Trieste Exposition (*Hrvatski Pavillon za tršćansku izložbu*)” in: *Hrvatska Vila* 1, no. 4 (1882): 89.



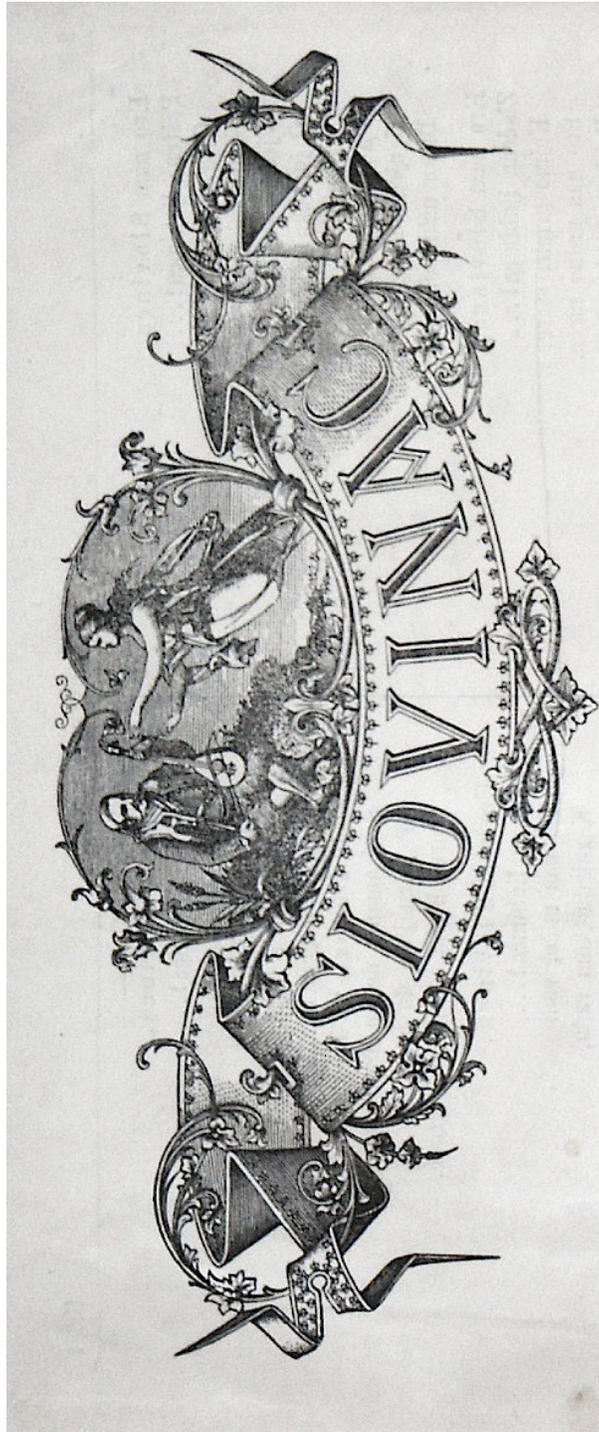
5.10. Page from: Felix Lay [Srečko Lay], *Ornamenti jugoslovenske domaće i umjetne obrtnosti*, 20 vols. Vienna: Stockinger & Morsack, 1875–1884.



6.1. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *David*, 1623–1624, marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome. Engraved by Nicolas Dorigny as “David by the same Cavalier Bernini in the Borghesi Gardens (*David del med.mo Cavalier Bernini. Negl’orti Borghesi*)” in: Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne* (Rome, Stamperia alla Pace, 1704), no. 88.



6.2. Vlaho Bukovac, [Panel for the Bonda Theater in Dubrovnik (The Crowning of Folk Poetry in the Heavens and on Earth)], 1901. As documented in a photograph mounted on board. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



6.3. [Emblem of *Slovinac*] in: *Slovinac* 1, no. 1, May 1, 1878, 1.



6.4. Franjo Salghetti–Drioli, *Guslar among the Peasants* (*Guslar među seljacima*), 1840, pencil on tracing paper, 16.7 x 25.1 cm. Department of Prints and Drawing, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts Zagreb (inv. no. 1291).

# American Art News

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SINGLE COPIES, 10 CENTS.

**SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.**  
The remaining summer monthly issue of the **AMERICAN ART NEWS**, will be published September 18 next. The regular weekly issues will be resumed on Saturday, October 2nd next.

**BRAVE SOLDIER HONORED.**  
The French "Journal Officiel," on July 4 last, published the following regarding sub-Lieutenant of Reserve, Germain Seligmann, older son of Mr. Jacques Seligmann.  
"Germain Seligmann, sub-Lieutenant of Reserve in the 122nd Infantry, serving with his regiment during the five days of savage conflict April 5-9 last, displayed the greatest zeal and bravery."  
Lieut. Seligmann has since received the War Cross, with laurels.

The ART NEWS, with the many friends of Mr. Jacques Seligmann, and those who know his brave son, who became associated with him in business before the war's outbreak—extends congratulations to the young soldier on his deserved honors and to Mr. Seligmann on his son's bravery.

**FRENCH ART TAX.**  
A bill was recently introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies to tax all objects of artistic and historic interest exported from France. This is naturally being opposed by the Paris art dealers. It is proposed that for five years from the passage of the law, an export duty on value shall be charged of 5% up to \$1,000; 10% between \$1,000 and \$4,000, and 15% after \$4,000. It is further proposed that the government shall have the right to prohibit the export of art objects of national interest and to exercise a right of preemption.

**FOR YOUNG ARCHITECTS.**  
The third young architect's competition, that for young architects, will open at Mrs. Whitney's studio, 8 W. 8 St., on September 15 and there will be as before thirteen prizes. Mrs. Whitney again gives ten \$25 prizes. The first prize, as before is of \$200 and the second of \$150. The subject selected by Thomas Hastings is a mausoleum.

**OFFERS \$1,000 IN PRIZES.**  
The "Immigrants in America Review" of which Frances A. Kellor is editor, announces that Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney offers a series of prizes for the best picture, black and white drawing, poster or sculpture on "The Immigrant in America." For the picture, drawing or sculpture there will be a first prize of \$500, a second one of \$250, a third of \$100 and a fourth of \$50. For the black and white drawing there will be a \$100 prize and for the best poster one of the same amount. The contest closes Nov. 1 and all communications should be sent to Frances A. Kellor at 95 Madison Ave. An exhibition of the work submitted will be held at Mrs. Whitney's studio 8 West 8 St. from Nov. 15 to Dec. 15.

**SETTLING THE GORER ESTATE.**  
Edgar E. Gorer, dealer in antique Chinese porcelains in New York and London, who lost his life on the Lusitania, left an estate valued at \$215,731. This does not include several pieces of Chinese porcelain, the genuineness of which has been attacked. Before Mr. Gorer sailed he filed suits in New York and London, and in London, by Joseph J. Duveen and Henry J. Duveen, for alleged slander in declaring that he was dealing in spurious art objects. While the suits died with him, taxation on the alleged spurious art objects has been suspended until it can be definitely decided whether or not they have the value placed on them by Mr. Gorer. The widow, Mrs. Rachel Alice Gorer, receives \$25,000 outright and a life interest in \$250,000, which goes to three sons at the death of Mrs. Gorer. The most valuable item in the stock is a pair of large beakers, appraised at \$20,000.

Stock owned entirely by Mr. Gorer in this city is estimated at \$162,287. This is known as the "Sampson stock" is valued at \$49,303, and the "Davies stock" at \$30,461, in each of which Mr. Gorer owned a one-half interest. A half interest in another lot known as the "joint stock" is valued at \$13,522. In each case where Mr. Gorer owned a one-half interest, the joint owner is Dreicer & Co., of No. 560 Fifth Avenue.

**THAT CLEVELAND COROT.**

(Special Despatch to AMERICAN ART NEWS).  
Cleveland, Ohio, Aug. 12, 1915.  
It is said in local art circles that the purchaser of the large and important Corot "Le Matin," recently sold by Knoedler & Co. of New York, from an exhibition held at the Gage Gallery here for an announced figure of \$60,000, was Mr. Howard Ellis, who has a handsome gray stone residence on Euclid Ave., and who has travelled much abroad and has been a collector of art works in a quiet way for some years past. Mr. Ellis is a member of the Cleveland Union, University, Rowland and Country Clubs, and was graduated at Harvard in 1867. It is also rumored that he will present or bequeath the noted canvas to the new Cleveland Museum.

**MAJOR TURNER RETIRES.**

Major Emery S. Turner has retired from the Presidency of the Anderson Galleries, (Inc.), 15-17 East 40 St., and has been succeeded by Mr. Mitchell Kennerley, the publisher. The other former officers of the galleries remain as before. Mr. W. H. Sampson, Vice-President and Mr. R. Morton Mitchell, Jr., Secretary and Treasurer. Mr. Stanton Howard, the art "expert" and critic of the galleries is in California. The Anderson Galleries (Inc.) are the successors to the former Metropolitan Art Association and Anderson Auction Co.

**ART MUSEUMS BANDED.**

Through the efforts of Clyde H. Burroughs, assistant director of the Detroit Museum, a middlewest association,

**TRASK FOR PITTSBURGH?**

(Special Despatch to AMERICAN ART NEWS)  
San Francisco, Aug. 12, 1915.—It is currently reported in art circles in this city, and the report is also heard in the Art Galleries at the Exposition that Mr. John E. D. Trask, Fine Arts Exposition Director and formerly Manager of the Pennsylvania Academy, is slated to succeed Mr. John W. Beatty as art director of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, whenever the latter resigns. Efforts to communicate with Mr. Beatty at Pittsburgh regarding the matter have not been successful as he is absent at present.

[We give space to the above despatch, received just as we go to press, as the report alluded to, is, if well founded, of importance to the American art world. There have been rumors for some time past of the impending resignation of Mr. Beatty, and Mr. Trask has been credited, for over a year past, with the remark that "The San Francisco Directorship would be his last Exposition job and that he was not therefore especially sensitive as to any adverse criticism of his management."

We hope, however, that the leaving by Mr. Beatty of his post at Pittsburgh, which he has so well filled for many years, to the great benefit of the Carnegie Institute, the cause of American art, and with honor to himself, will be long deferred.—Ed.]

**BUYS THE SULLY DARLEY HOUSE.**

Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia, the well known collector, recently purchased from Gen. Edward de V. Morell, the Francis T. Sully Darley house, 510 South Broad St., for \$72,500, the sum paid by Gen. Morell. The property is assessed at \$140,000. The Darley house adjoins that of Mr. Johnson, and it has been reported that he will use it to house his superb collection of pictures.

**FOUGHT FOR BELGIAN ART.**

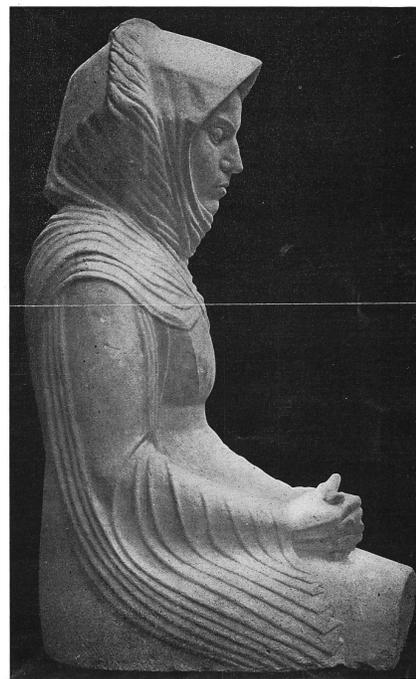
A recent letter to the Associated Press from Furnes, Belgium, says: "The little Flemish town that looked for centuries on the banks of the Yser before being re-awakened to give their names to the history of some of the most dramatic episodes of the war—Nieuport, Dixmude, Ypres—counted little commercially, and only Ypres figured much in history. The importance of the place was, as that of Dixmude, Nieuport and Furnes, chiefly its treasures of art. Those of Ypres were mostly gathered in the Merghelyneck Museum and have been practically all saved, including pictures by Snyders, van Oost, and van Thulden, with rare specimens of wood carving, Spanish leather, jewels, and manuscripts. While the Germans were approaching the line of the Yser, Henri Dommartin, State Librarian at Dunkirk, and from there to Havre. The most precious work in the entire region 'The Adoration of the Wise Men of the East,' by Jordans, valued at \$800,000, was lost at Dixmude. It had been removed from the bombed church to a theatre for safety; the theatre was caved in by a shell and the picture destroyed.

"A number of other works including rare specimens of Cordovan, relics of the Spanish occupation of Flanders, were saved here by M. Dommartin and M. Eugene de Groot, Deputy for Furnes and Dixmude.

"When the French troops went through Loo to meet the Germans along the Yser, they saved a valuable picture, 'Christ Between the Two Thieves,' by Van Brockhorst, pupil of Rubens. Other objects of lesser value were left, but afterward saved by M. Dommartin, with the aid of the Cure of the parish. They were about to leave when the Cure cried: 'I was going to forget the mass book.' The mass book of Loo was one of the most valued relics of Flanders.

"The pride of Furnes was its famous piece of Cordovan leather and specimens of art of the middle ages, when in Flanders every man condemned was required to execute in bronze a reproduction of his crime in the form of the part of the body on which he had committed it, or the part of the body with which he committed it.

"The value of the works of art saved from ruin along the Yser runs high into the millions. The value of what is known to have been lost is also formidable."



THE SCULPTOR'S MOTHER

Ivan Meštrović

See Page 3

In exhibition Victoria-Albert Museum of the Serb sculptor's work.

**A TOUCHING TRIBUTE.**

A small and beautiful memorial window to Miss Josephine Nicoll, daughter of Mr. Delaney Nicoll, and whose untimely and sudden death last Spring so saddened a wide circle of friends, has been placed in the little church of "St. Andrew-by-the-Sea" at Southampton, L. I., which she attended, and was unveiled and dedicated there last Sunday, by the Rev. Dr. Reiland of St. George's Church, N. Y., who officiated at her funeral.

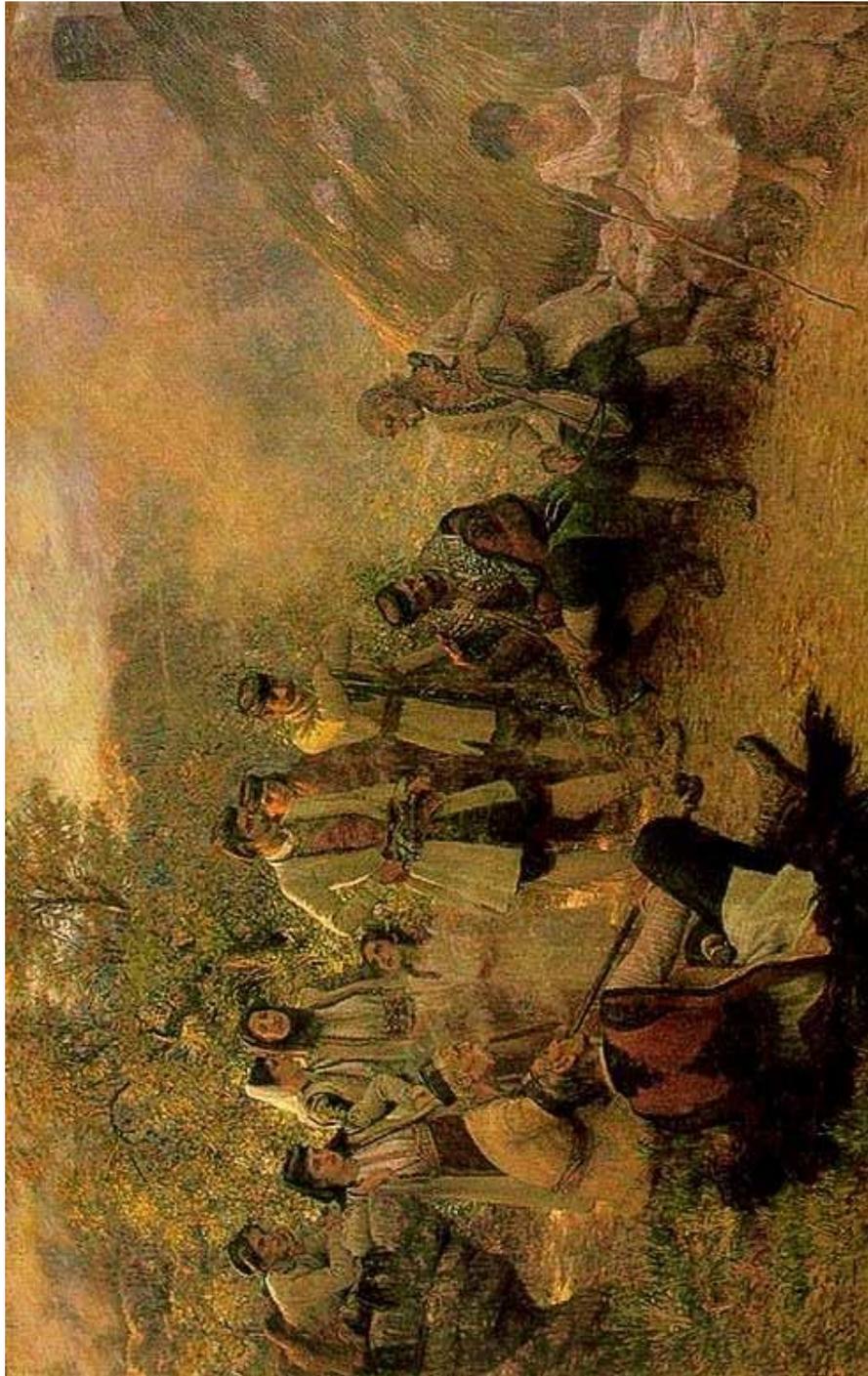
The little ceremony was most touching and pathetic. The window was made and placed through efforts of Miss Nicoll's young men and women friends under the lead of Miss Margaret Trevor. It was designed by the Tiffany Studios.

will be formed by the museums of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Toledo and Indianapolis.

**A G. VANDERBILT MEMORIAL.**

It is proposed to erect in New York, as a memorial to the late Alfred G. Vanderbilt, a drinking fountain for horses, dogs and humans. The Horse Show Association of which he was president, has taken the initiative in the raising of the necessary funds and though subscriptions have been limited to \$100, over \$1,500 has been raised already. Those desirous of subscribing can notify the secretary, Mr. James T. Hyde, 16 East Twenty-third Street, or subscriptions may be sent to the Harriman National Bank, 527 Fifth Ave.

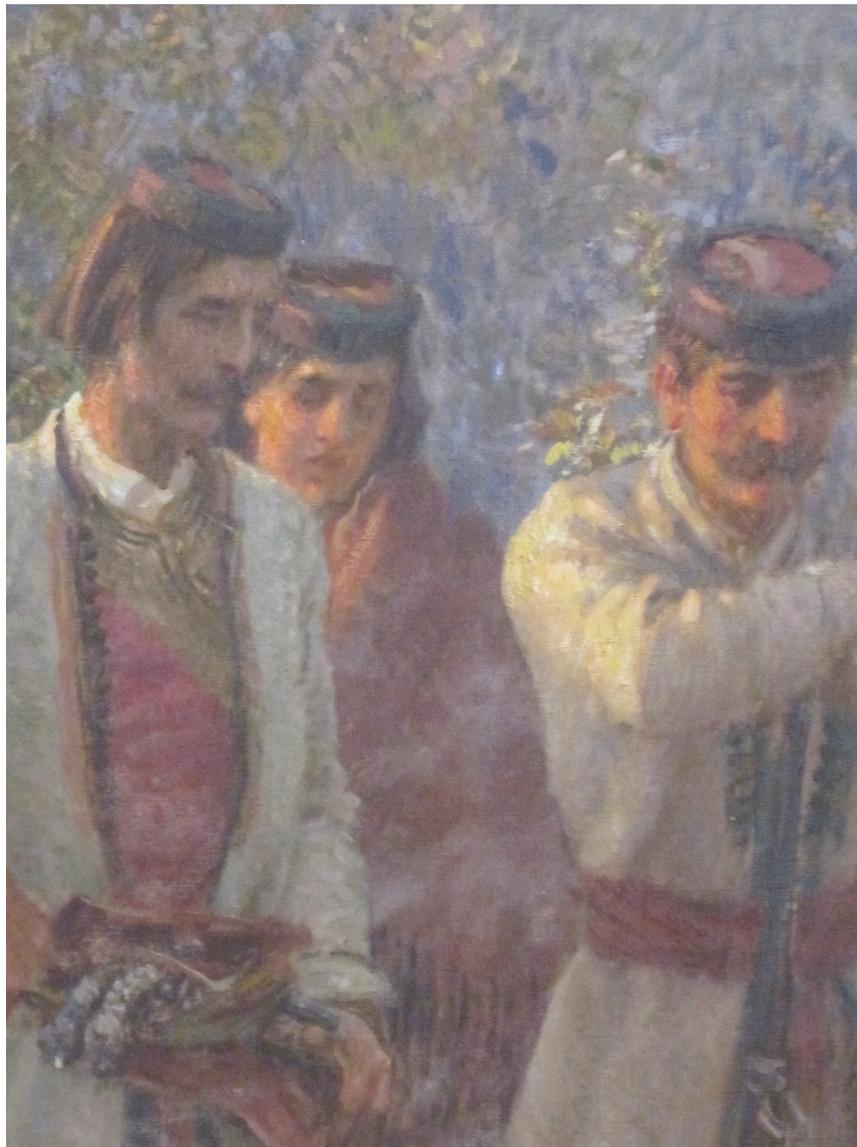
6.5. Ivan Meštrović, *My Mother (Moja majka)*, 1908, marble, 97 cm. National Museum, Belgrade. Reproduced as "The Sculptor's Mother," in: *American Art News* 13, no. 35, August 14, 1915, 1.



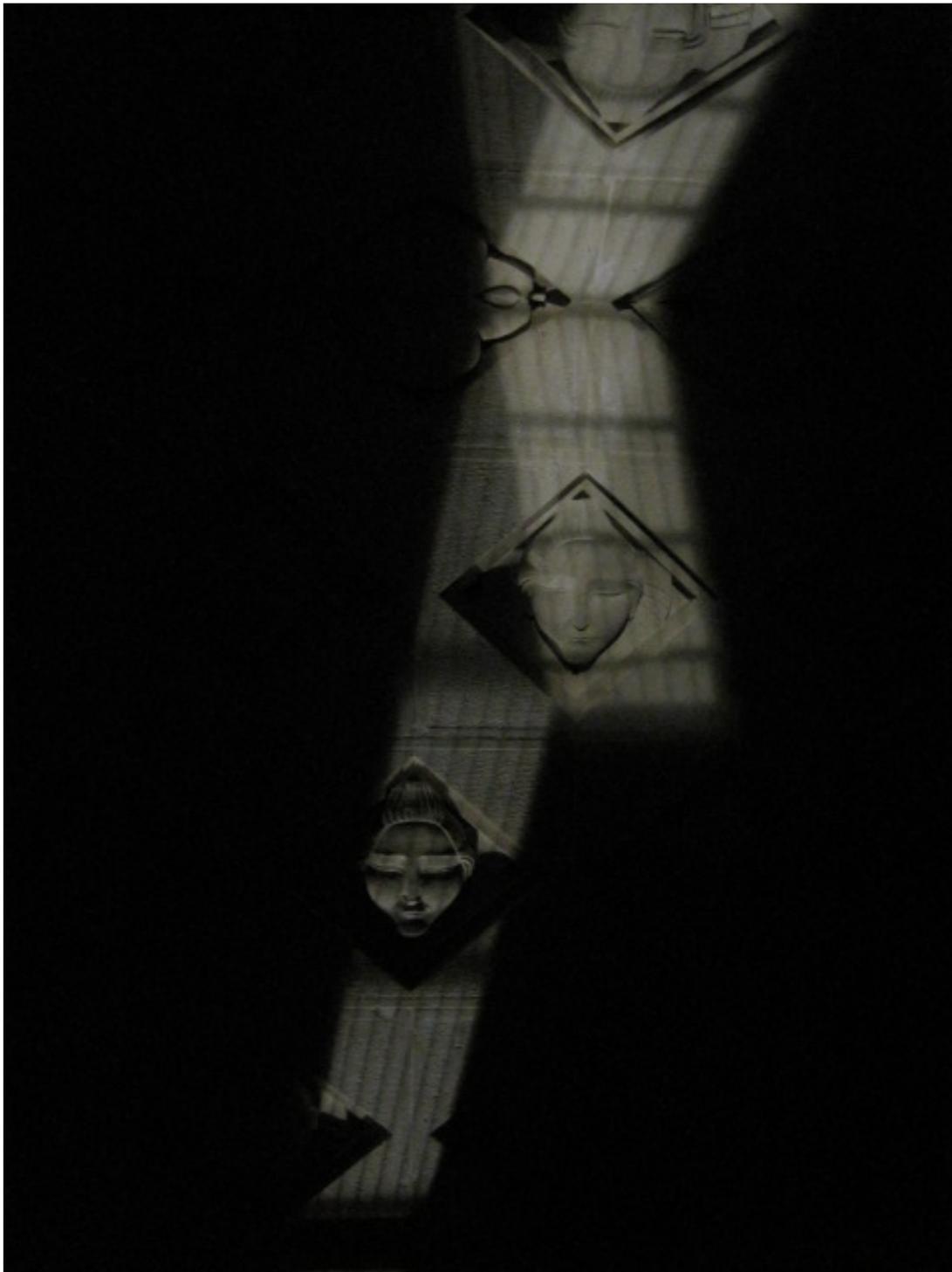
6.6. Vlaho Bukovac, *Montenegrin Guslar (Crnogorski guslar)*, 1919, oil on canvas, 130 x 200 cm. King Nikola Museum, Cetinje.



6.7. [Vlaho Bukovac with his Daughters in his Prague Atelier, with the *Montenegrin Guslar* (*Crnogorski guslar*) set up on an easel], 1921, photograph, 8,5 x 13.6 cm. Vlaho Bukovac House Museum, Cavtat.



6.8. Vlaho Bukovac, detail of *Montenegrin Guslar* (*Crnogorski guslar*, 1919), showing the incorporated the figure from Vlaho Bukovac, *Study of a Montenegrin Woman* (*Studija Crnogorke*), 1879, oil on canvas, 40 x 31.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown.



C.1. Ivan Meštrović, *Račić Family Mausoleum* [Detail of Putti], 1920-1922. Cavtat. Author's photograph.

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<sup>1</sup> An exhaustive bibliography for Vlaho Bukovac, containing over 1,200 entries is found in Vera Kružić-Uchytíl's *Vlaho Bukovac: Život i djelo*. I list only those primary sources that pertain to the early years of the artist's career, as well as secondary sources relevant to this project.

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