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## MARKETING ACADEMISM? HENRYK SIEMIRADZKI'S STRATEGIES OF DISPLAY

“An artist can no longer work without public presentation, without the assertiveness and skill of an art dealer and without publicity in the daily press or propaganda publications financed by galleries” – writes Oskar Bätschmann in *Ausstellungskünstler. Kult und Karriere im modernen Kunstsystem*.<sup>1</sup> In his book he retraces the conversion of the artist, which had already started by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, from a “court” or “commissioned” artist (*Auftragskünstler*) to an “exhibition” artist (*Ausstellungskünstler*). This change would not have been possible were it not for the institutionalization of the public exhibition – the new medium that became “*sujet du délire du XIXe siècle*” (the subject of the XIX century’s frenzy), as stated, not without irony, by Gustave Flaubert (*Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, 1913).<sup>2</sup>

In fact, if in the first half of the century the artist’s status was reliant on official recognition and the means to symbolic and financial consecration were the Academy and the Salon, in its’ second half the “visibility” and position on the art market became of greater importance than

1] “Ohne die öffentliche Präsentation, ohne die Durchsetzungskraft und das Geschick von Kunsthändlern und ohne die Publizität in der Tagespresse oder den durch Galerien finanzierten Propagandaschriften kann ein Künstler nicht mehr arbeiten”. Oskar BÄTSCHMANN, *Ausstellungskünstler: Kult und Karriere in moderne Kunstsystem*, Dumont, Köln 1997, p. 123.

2] Accessible online: <https://dicocitations.lemonde.fr/citations/citation-104108.php>.

the official path.<sup>3</sup> Contemporary art displays, not only world exhibitions, but also locally organised expositions of art lover societies and artistic associations, as well as public museums and art galleries became the place where hierarchy was defined. This evolution is clearly apparent in the marketing strategy of Henryk Siemiradzki, the most outstanding representative of Polish – and Russian – academism, connected to the Roman milieu throughout a considerable part of his career.

The market's gradual evolution and the accompanying modification of the main actors' actions, first and foremost those of the dealers and collectors, contributed to permanent changes in the "Arts Worlds".<sup>4</sup> The Salon and the Academies retained part of their prestige, still playing an important role in building the career of a majority of artists, though they were subjected to a gradual evolution forced by the progressive artistic milieu's contestation of aesthetic norms and spheres of action. National and world exhibitions, dealers and artist's societies promoted works created in opposition to the old structures. The exponentially growing number of artists brought about the need to define original promotion strategies, both group and individual. Those ventures were actively supported by critics – artistic critique became a fully legitimate field of professional activity.

New artistic propositions catered to a new class of consumers, mostly the bourgeoisie. Responding to their needs the previous hierarchy was questioned, historical painting (*grand genre*) lost its dominating position to genre painting, portraiture, landscape and its spectacular dimension to panorama. Contemporary paintings started being seen as a capital investment and an artist's "standing-quotation" (*la cote*) became one of the important factors for the definition of a painting's value. They were shaped mostly by auction sales with spectacular increases in price.<sup>5</sup> The public, including Salon regulars, was looking for novelties and turning their attention towards debutants. Crowds visited painters' ateliers, both those of established

3] See among others: Anne-Marie FUGIER, *La vie d'artiste au XIXe siècle*, Hachette, Paris 2007; Patricia MAINARDI, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993; Gérard MONNIER, *L'art et ses institutions en France*, Gallimard, Paris 1995; Raymonde MOULIN, *L'Artiste, l'institution et le marché*, Flammarion, Paris 1997 (1. edn.1992).

4] Howard S. BECKER, *Arts Worlds*, The University of California Press, Berkeley 1982.

5] The multiple sale of Jean-François Millet's *Angelus* being the most famous example of such an operation.

masters and those of ones only starting their careers, to buy paintings at an affordable price with hopes for future profits. The increasing demand started to shape supply, not only of artworks but also of „multiplied paintings” – reproductions and photographs.

Following initial resistance from the artists connected to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture who saw public exhibition of their works as disparaging act of merchandising, the Paris and subsequently other European academies recognised the value of such exhibitions modelled after the Salon as a tool of confirmation of the reigning views on art and started using it to manifest their artistic monopoly.<sup>6</sup> During the French revolution “independent” artists demanded the “opening” of the exhibitions to all interested and finally the dissolution of the Academy itself.<sup>7</sup> Roman *Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Letteratura dei Virtuosi al Pantheon* organised yearly contests and exhibitions of sacral art, and the Académie de France – showings of resident’s works (from 1809) but artists in the Eternal City also lacked exhibition space.<sup>8</sup>

The actions of Societies for the Encouragement of Arts (ger. *Kunstverein*, *Société des amis des arts* was formed in 1790 in Paris) and artists’ societies (*Künstlerverein*) since 1820 had a significant impact on the increase of temporary exhibitions that contributed to the introduction of contemporary art to public circulation, especially in German-speaking countries.<sup>9</sup> Most of them such as *Verein der Kunstfreunde im Preussischen Staate*, founded in 1825 in Berlin, were formed in close relations, personal and ideological, with the Academic milieu. In Rome the expositions of the *Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti* (1829) at the Piazza del Popolo, the first of such institutions in Italy, were an alternative to popular expositions at the artists’ studios and single displays accompanying frequent diplomatic visits.<sup>10</sup>

6] The Académie Royale, protecting the Salon’s monopoly, held regularly since 1725, obtained a ban in 1776 on competing exhibitions organised by the Paris guild of painters and sculptors.

7] O. BÄTSCHMANN, op. cit., pp. 13, 58.

8] *Maestà di Roma, da Napoleone all’Unità d’Italia*, I: *Universale ed Eterna*; II: *Capitale delle Arti*, Roma, Scuderie Papali del Quirinale, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna, ed. Stefano SUSINNO Electa, Milan 2003.

9] Walter GRASSKAMP, *Die unbewältigte Moderne. Kunst und Öffentlichkeit*, C. H. Beck, München 1989.

10] Rosanna MAGGIO SERRA, *I sistemi dell’arte nell’Ottocento*, in: *La Pittura in Italia. L’Ottocento*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo, vol. II, Electa, Milan 1991, pp. 629-652; Giovanna MONTANI, *La Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti in Roma. 1829-1883*, PhD thesis, Università Roma Tre, 2007.

Mid-century with the establishment of the Second Empire in France, the greatest competition for artistic institutions, mostly the Salon was an increasingly powerful art market: auction houses and art galleries. Visits at the dealers on rue Laffite “the paintings street”,<sup>11</sup> or more so the Hôtel Drouot (opened in 1852) became an important part of social life for the Parisian bourgeoisie.<sup>12</sup> Art exhibitions started being organised in retail spaces (*Bonne-Nouvelle* grand store) or theatres (Odéon). Artists with established renown attempted to reach the audience without the intermediary in the form of official institutions – following Jacques Louis David’s example – the *The Sabine Women* exhibition in his atelier with paid admissions (1779). It was not only the domain of “innovators” like Gustave Courbet or Édouard Manet but also representatives of Academic circles or members of the *juste milieu* such as Henri Gervex or Félix Ziem.<sup>13</sup> One must, however, remember that till the “era” of impressionism (the 1880s)<sup>14</sup> the dealer’s support was dependant on an artist’s success at the Salon.<sup>15</sup>

Model cooperation from as early as 1820 between Adolphe Goupil, graphics publisher and dealer, and academic painter Paul Delaroche, showed how a dealer and an artist can work together to achieve international success,<sup>16</sup> repeated in even greater scale in the case of Jean-Léon Gérôme (fig. 85).<sup>17</sup> Since 1840 Goupil founded subsidiaries in London, New York, Berlin, Hague, Brussels and Vienna. He also supported the Paris and then international careers of Giovanni Boldini, Giuseppe

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- 11] Léa SAINT-RAYMOND, Félicie de MAUPEOU et Julien CAVERO, *Les rues des tableaux. Géographie du marché de l’art parisien, 1815-1955*, “ARTL@S Bulletin”, 2015 (4), no. 1. Accessible online.
- 12] Manuel CHARPY, *Le théâtre des objets. Espaces privés, culture matérielle et identité bourgeoise, Paris, 1830-1914*, PhD thesis, Université François Rabelais de Tours, 2010, pp. 1007-1084.
- 13] *Henri Gervex, 1825-1929*, Jean-François de CANCHY, Jean-Christophe COURVENNEC, Nice, 1992-1993, Paris-Musées, Paris, Bordeaux 1992. Léa SAINT-RAYMOND, *How to Get Rich as an Artist. The Case of Félix Ziem. Evidence from His Account Book from 1850 through 1883*, “Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide”, 2016, Spring, vol. 15, no. 1. Accessible online.
- 14] Harrison and Cynthia White date the new „dealer-critic” system’s birth to the beginning of the 1880: Harrison and Cynthia WHITE, *Canvases and careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1965.
- 15] Linda WHITELEY, *Art et commerce d’art en France avant l’époque impressionniste*, “Romantisme”, 1983, 40, pp. 65-76.
- 16] Pierre-Lin RENIÉ, *Delaroche par Goupil: portrait du peintre en artiste populaire*, in: *Paul Delaroche, un peintre dans l’histoire*, eds. Claude ALLEMAND-COSNEAU, Isabelle JULIA, exhibition catalogue Nantes/Paris/Montpellier, Musée des Beaux-Arts/RMN/Musée Fabre, Paris 1999, pp. 173-199.
- 17] *Gérôme & Goupil: art et entreprise*, ed. Hélène LAFONT-COUTURIER, exhibition catalogue, Paris/ Bordeaux, RMN/Musée Goupil, Paris 2000.

de Nittis and Mariano Fortuny. *Goupil & Cie* was the first enterprise that based its strategy on the turnover of high quality graphic reproductions and photographs of contemporary painting and sculpture.

An increase in international trade strengthened the role of Paris and London as market epicentres. Simultaneously other centres appeared: Berlin, Munich, Vienna which were joined in the 70s by New York. Dynamisation and dispersion of this new market was encouraged by World Exhibitions (London 1851), whose integral part were since 1855 (Paris) arts sections, as well as national exhibitions (*The Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857). Great canvases by the masters of the historical school, from Hans Makart and Jan Matejko to Emanuel Leutze, had triumphant *tournées* around the metropolises of Europe and America. All those manifestations were of even greater importance, since opinions of the public visiting in crowds, professional critique, popular articles appearing in the press and, most importantly, the diffusion of paintings on postal cards and in albums increased the symbolic value of presented works.

In 1818 Louis XVIII inaugurated the *Musée des artistes vivants* at the Luxembourg Palace, which became the model for all such museum institutions in Europe and America. It was but a "temporary" museum – the works of "living artists" were to be in a quarantine of sorts before permanently making it to the Louvre collection, and only Ludwig I of Bavaria decided to fund the Neue Pinakothek a museum "*für Gemälde aus disen und aus künftigen Jahrhunderten*" (for paintings from this and future centuries) inaugurated in 1853.<sup>18</sup> Starting from 1869 Munich was also home to international art exhibitions organised by artists connected with the "Isar Athens". Rome had its *Regia Galeria d'Arte Moderna* (*Galeria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna*) funded in 1881, preceded by contemporary art galleries in Turin (1860) and Florence (1867).<sup>19</sup> It was situated at the first floor of the new *Palazzo delle Esposizioni* erected in the fashionable Via Nazionale for the first international exhibition: the *Mostra Internazionale di Belli Arti* of 1883. The Venice Biennale of art (*Esposizione internazionale d'arte di Venezia*) taking place since 1895 strengthened Italy's position on the world art stage.

Thus in the last two decades of the century, societies of artists supported by patrons and critics created around Europe, in opposition to

18] Volker PLAGEMANN, *Das Deutsche Kunstmuseum, 1790-1870*, Prestel Verlag, München 1967, pp. 217-130.

19] J. Pedro LORENTE, *Les musées d'art moderne et contemporain: une exploration conceptuelle et historique*, L'Harmattan, Paris 2009, pp. 67-68.

official institutions of artistic life – les XX in Brussels, the *Secessions* in Munich, Vienna, Berlin, the *Nemzeti Salon* in Budapest, *Sztuka* in Krakow or Prague's *Mânes*, became the most important promotion centres for the “new art”.<sup>20</sup> Those new structures supported the development of artistic genres that were easier to commercialise: portrait, genre painting and landscapes. Artists modified their “offer” consciously. French painters offered to European (German and English) and American spectators mostly landscapes, whilst painting primarily portraits for their domestic market. Works for Paris exhibitions were more avant-garde than those destined to be exported, as exemplified by the output of Courbet for the German and Austrian market or Fantin-Latour's work for the British customer.<sup>21</sup> The rivalry between *Secessions* influenced the homogenisation of the system of exhibitions and the means of constructing artistic careers on an international scale.

Henryk Siemiradzki pursued the same path as other members of the European “artistic elite” for the whole of his career.<sup>22</sup> An academic painter and a sophisticated man of the world he was a member of the official milieu. His position on the cultural scene was best exemplified by his consecutive academic decorations, the position of professor at the Academy of Art in St. Petersburg, memberships of the Academies in Rome, Paris, Berlin, Turin, and Stockholm, the French *Légion d'Honneur*, Italian distinctions, double Probus Barczewski's prizes (1889 for *Phryne at the Festival of Poseidon in Eleusis*, 1894 for the curtain of Słowacki Theatre in Krakow),<sup>23</sup> and, last but not least, medals at world exhibitions (Russian sections): in Vienna (1873, *Christ and the Harlot*), Philadelphia (1876, *Sale of Amulets*) and Paris (1878, *Nero's Torches*, *Shipwrecked Man [The Roman Beggar]*, *The Vase or the*

20] Béatrice JOYEUX-PRUNEL, *Les avant-gardes artistique 1948-1918*, Gallimard, Paris 2015.

21] Christian HUEMER, “*Une exposition (in)complète*”. *Courbet in Vienna, 1873*, “Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide”, 2012, Summer vol. 11, no. 2. Accessible online; *Fantin-Latour, à fleur de peau*, ed. Laure DALON, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, Flammarion, Paris 2016.

22] In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century public recognition makes artists a new social elite group unconnected to the *Ancien Régime*, whose status is built on work, artistic calling and excellence in accordance with rules of promotion in a democratic system. Nathalie HEINICH, *L'Élite artiste. Excellence et singularité en régime démocratique*, Gallimard, Paris 2005. Publications in German refer to the most talented German and Austrian painters as *Künstlerfürsten: Liebermann. Lenbach. Stuck*, eds. Anke DAEMGEN, Janet ALVARO, exhibition catalogue, Stiftung Brandenburger Tor, Berlin 2009.

23] The only artistic prize on Polish soil, awarded from Probus Barczewski's foundation since 1886 by the Academy of Sciences and Letters [*Akademia Umiejętności*] in Krakow. It was destined for painters and authors of works on Polish history.

*Woman?*) – he also took part in the 1893 Chicago Exhibition (*Phryne, Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*). In 1880 in Melbourne he was the only artist in the Italian section to receive a medal for an oil painting (*Isaurian Pirates Selling their Booty*), despite Italy being represented by, among others, Vito D'Ancona, Giovanni Fattori and Silvestro Lega (fig. 86). A medal at the Paris exhibition in 1878 was an exceptional success which established Siemiradzki's position as a prominent figure in the international artistic circles. To the public he remained forever the author of *Nero's Torches* (or, as the author preferred to call it, *Candlesticks of Christianity*) – one might say that this was one of the most popular works of painting of its time.

Siemiradzki began his career as *Auftragskünstler*. He received his first imperial commission shortly after graduating St. Petersburg's Academy of Arts and being awarded a scholarship for a trip to Rome:<sup>24</sup> Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich Romanov (son of Alexander II), future President of the Academy (1876-1909), commissioned *Christ and the Harlot* – the painting was acquired by Alexander Alexandrovich (future tsar Alexander III) after the Vienna World's Fair in 1873 to be included in the imperial collection. Grand Duke Alexander bought the painting *A Roman Orgy from the Imperial Era* presented at the academic exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1872. Grand Duke Nicholas Konstantinovich (Grand Duke Constantine's son, nephew of Alexander II) acquired the – made on commission? – painting *The Studio of a Fashionable Artist of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (A French Artist of the Time of Louis XV Paints the Portrait of a Marquise)* for his collection.<sup>25</sup> Siemiradzki also completed smaller works for other members of the imperial family and members of St. Petersburg's bourgeoisie (Great Princess and future Empress Mary Sophie Frederica Dagmar or entrepreneurs Alexander Wagulin and Yury Nechaev-Maltsov). Despite protests, he was also officially commissioned for wall decorations at the orthodox cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, between 1876-1877, and for paintings for the local Historical Museum in 1882.<sup>26</sup>

24] The painting *Alexander of Macedon and his Doctor Philip (Alexander of Macedon's Trust in his Doctor Philip)*, for which Siemiradzki received a gold medal and a scholarship, was incorporated into the collection of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts.

25] See Nina MARKOWA, *Some Ideas about French Artist of the Time of Louis XV Painting a Portrait of a Marquise by Henryk Siemiradzki* in this volume.

26] Earlier in 1871 Siemiradzki was commissioned for a painting of Saint Luke the evangelist according to F. Briullov's draft for the Isakievski Sobor in St. Petersburg.

Siemiradzki's future position in the Russian artistic world was most shaped by tsar Alexander III purchase of *Phryne at the Festival of Poseidon in Eleusis* from the artist's exhibition at the Imperial Academy of Arts in January of 1889.<sup>27</sup> *Phryne* was shown separately in the so called Raphael Room and its' presentation becoming the most important event of the capitals cultural season.<sup>28</sup> Alexander III used the occasion to announce his intention of forming a museum for contemporary Russian art open to artists of all nationalities inhabiting his state.<sup>29</sup> This new museum would in its' announced shape be in opposition to the actions of "new school" collectors of Russian painting connected with Moscow, foremost Pavel Tretyakov founder of the Tretyakovska Gallery, whilst fitting within the broad "unification" cultural policy of the emperor. *Phryne*, first painting destined for the future collection, initially shown at the Ermitage made its way to the newly opened "Museum of Alexander III" in 1897 finally cementing Siemiradzki's position as one of or the most important academic painter of the Russian Empire (fig. 87).

Siemiradzki settled in Rome in 1872 considerably expanding the circle of his artistic and social contacts. The former included not only members of the Eternal City's international colony, with Poles and Russians at the helm, but also passing eminent figures from the world of art. The artist's atelier, on Via Margutta, then moved to Via Gaeta since 1883, served as a "business card", opened to visitors – Wednesday was the visiting day (fig. 88). Here took place first showings of new works, enjoying great interest from the public and critics. Among visitors were Queen Margaret (Margherita Maria Teresa Giovanna di Savoia), members of Rome's political and intellectual milieu. The artists had close ties with representatives of official Russian circles – Grand Duke Nicholas paid a visit to the workshop as early as 1872, and so did in 1891 Grand Duke Pavel Alexandrovich (brother of Alexander III), Siemiradzki was a common guest of the embassy, and the ambassador was often at his studio. All the while he maintained contacts with the St. Petersburg academic sphere, where his new paintings were presented and where he went through the ranks of his artistic career.

- 27] Aleksander III also purchased *After the Example of the Gods* (4<sup>th</sup> version) from the exhibition.  
 28] The exhibition enjoyed great interest from the public having more almost 30 600 visitors in the span of two months; "Художественные новости", 1889, 5, p. 123.  
 29] Павел ККИМОВ, Г. И. *Семирадский и Александр III*, „Вісник Харківської державної академії дизайну і мистецтв” (Pavel ККИМОВ, G. I. *Siemiradzki and Alexander III*, "Bulletin of the Kharkiv State Academy of Arts and Design"), 2002, vol. 9, pp. 65-72.



The decision to stay in Rome was motivated mainly on artistic grounds but formed Siemiradzki's new exposition strategy. The "commissions artist" had to become an "exhibition artist" as well, intentionally utilising the cultural infrastructure of Europe's greatest cities without forgetting Poland. He made use of all aforementioned possibilities taking part in international exhibitions organised by the Academies of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg, Berlin or Rome, by artistic and artists' societies, particularly the *Kunstverein* in Munich (in *Glaspalast*) and Vienna (in *Künstlerhaus*), Berlin and the *Towarzystwo Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych* (the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts) in Warsaw (including the 1900 exhibition marking the opening of its' new seat), the *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych* (the Society of Friends of Fine Arts) in Krakow and Lwów (Lemberg, Lviv). Siemiradzki also collaborated with commercial art galleries such as Charles Sedelmeyer in Paris, Hugo Othmar Miethke in Vienna, E. A. Fleischmann Hofkunsthändler in Munich, Arthur Lichtenberg in Breslau, Gracjan Unger and Aleksander Krywult in Warsaw. The success of consecutive presentations brought commissions for author's "copies" or versions of the paintings. The artist took an active part in the preparation of those ventures. Similar to all painters specializing in large format compositions, he was in possession of his own equipment for rolling canvases, which aided work in the atelier and the transportation of paintings. He oversaw the publication as well as the diffusion of photographic documentation and graphic reproductions, attentively followed reactions of critics and opinions published in popular newspapers.<sup>30</sup>

The history of Siemiradzki's presence in European artistic centres begins with the presentations of *A Roman Orgy from the Imperial Era* at the January 1872 *Münchener Kunstverein* exhibition at Königlicher Glaspalast. He became a household name a year later following the success of his *Christ and the Harlot* at the Vienna World's Fair. Before sending it to Vienna from St. Petersburg he showed the canvas to the public in Warsaw. The artist showed the *Sale of Amulets* at the St. Petersburg academic exhibition in 1875, it would find its way to the Russian section of the World Exhibition in Philadelphia the following year to be shown even later in Vienna's *Kunstverein* and Warsaw's *Towarzystwo Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych*. Such would be the case of several subsequent paintings, their presentations strengthening the artist's

30] Anna MASŁOWSKA, *Henryk Siemiradzki's Painting on the European Market of Photographic Reproductions of Works of Art*, in this volume.

international position and bringing in considerable revenue.<sup>31</sup> Limits on this paper's length render it impossible to account the history of exhibitions of Siemiradzki's every work – for the sake of example we should therefore recount the reception of his two most important masterpieces *Nero's Torches* and *Christian Dirce*.

*Nero's Torches* sparked interest even before its completion in 1876. It was seen in the atelier, among others by painters Domenico Morelli, Hans Makart and Lawrence Alma-Tadema, and when finished, by the Russian ambassador as well as future Queen Margarita.<sup>32</sup> Then followed a triumphant *tournee* of the painting: from Rome, through Munich, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Warsaw, Krakow, Lwów, Breslau, the Paris World Exhibition of 1878, Poznań, Berlin, Prague, Moscow (1878-1879), London, Dresden, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Zurich, again to Krakow in 1881 where it would remain forever – donated by the artist in 1879 (marking the jubilee of the writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's) to the future National Museum.<sup>33</sup>

His last great canvas *Christian Dirce* (conceptualised in 1882) was also presented for the first time in the painter's atelier in march 1897, with Queen Margarita again among guests, and then at the *Seconda Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte* (Biennale) in Venice (Russian section), from April to October of the same year.<sup>34</sup> It arrived to St. Petersburg in early 1898, but – *signum temporis* – for an exhibition at the St. Petersburg Artists Association (*Петербургское общество художников*) rather than at the Imperial Academy. It was designated number one in the exposition's catalogue and Siemiradzki was accepted as a member of the society, which was regarded as an honour for the organization.

31] Siemiradzki wrote about the financial side of his exhibitions in his letter to S. Sokołowski: "Browsing through accounts from 89-90 I found the following numbers expressing pure income that flowed into cash box from the exhibition of *Fryne in Eleusis* in three cities encompassed by today's program as well Krakow = 600 zł. r./ so approximately- 1400 Francs/ Bucharest – 2000 Fr./ Pest – 2600 Fr./ summa – Fr. 6000." Henryk Siemiradzki to Stanisław Sokołowski, Roma, via Gaeta 1, villino Siemiradzki, 30 November 1898, manuscript Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, rkps 7490, f. 44- 45.

32] Archivio di Pontificio Istituto di Studi Ecclesiastici, Roma (PISE), 22 – Siemiradzki Legacy, file 1-Henryk Siemiradzki, letters to parents: Roma [first quarter 1876], f. 431v-432; Roma, [first quarter 1876], f. 436v; Roma [second quarter 1876], f. 441-442v.

33] Siemiradzki's gesture encouraged other artists to donate works to the future museum belonging to the city of Krakow but considered to be the first National museum in Poland.

34] Maria ПИТКА, *Organizacja i recepcja wystaw Dirce chrześcijańskiej H. Siemiradzkiego w Europie Zachodniej i Środkowej: z Rzymu do Wenecji i dalej – do Lwowa, Krakowa, Bukaresztu, Budapesztu i Wrocławia*. Paper held at International Conference *Sztuka ponad granicami. Instytucje i artyści: austriacy, czescy, polscy i węgierscy w XIX i XX wieku*. KUL Lublin 01.03-02.03 2018.

After the exhibition was moved to Moscow, the painting was its' closing accent. *Dirce* was shown in St. Petersburg once more, during the People's Exhibition, organised by the St. Petersburg Artists Association for a less wealthy crowd. Despite high turnout, higher in St. Petersburg – a city more favourable to the artist than Moscow – the exhibitions didn't match the success of earlier displays of *Nero's Torches*.<sup>35</sup> The painting was also shown to the public in Warsaw, Lviv, Krakow, Bucarest, Budapest and Breslau – presentations were held in the *Kunstvereine*, except in Breslau where they were at the commercial Lichtenberg Gallery. Stanisław Sokołowski, secretary of Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sztuk Pięknych in Lwów (Lemberg, Lviv), the artist's agent served as intermediary for their organisation. The symbolic success of those showings failed to translate into a financial one. *Dirce*, Siemiradzki's last programme work, did not find a buyer, even in Moscow, Russia's new centre of art collecting.<sup>36</sup> Donated by the artist to the Warsaw Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, it was transferred by his wife Maria in 1903 to Zachęta's collection (today at the National Museum in Warsaw).

An "exhibition painter" needed support of a Europe-famous dealer in gaining the interest of art collectors. Following success at the Paris World Exhibition – despite his failure at the Salon a year later, where he displayed *A Dance among Swords*<sup>37</sup> – Siemiradzki attempted cooperation in 1880 with Charles Sedelmeyer, a dealer from Vienna who operated out of Paris since the 1860s and directed the careers of Mihály Munkácsy as well as Václav Brožík. He organised European *tourneés* for their most famous canvases. His Paris gallery was a true "Salon of artists from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" such as Eugen Jettel, August Pettenkofen, Franz Rumpler or Eduard Charlemont.<sup>38</sup> Sedelmeyer skilfully played on the rivalry between trading and exhibiting

35] Dariusz KONSTANTYNOW, „*Dirce chrześcijańska*” w Petersburgu i Moskwie (1898), „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 2016, vol. LXXVIII/4, pp. 591-621.

36] St. Petersburg was still the centre of aristocratic collecting while Moscow after 1860 was home to a new generation of collectors of new (including Russian) art: Pavel Tretyakov, the Bachrushynov brothers, Savva Mamontov, and from the beginning of the century the brothers Morozov and Sergei Shchukin. The moving of Nikolai Petrovich's and Sergei Rumiancev's collections from St. Petersburg to Moscow (opened in 1831, renamed to Moscow Public Museum of Rumiancev in 1862) can be seen as symptomatic.

37] Paul MANTZ, *Le Salon IV*, „Le Temps”, 20.06.1879, p. 1.

38] Christian HUEMER, *Charles Sedelmeyer (1837-1925): Kunst und Spekulation am Kunstmarkt in Paris*, „Belvedere: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst”, 1999, vol. 2 (Fall), pp. 4-19. Idem, *Paris-Vienna, Modern Arts Markets and the Transmission of the Culture 1873-1937*, PhD thesis, The City University of New York, New York 2013, pp. 38-60. Accessible online.

institutions in Europe. In 1888 he held at the Crystal Palace a presentation of paintings from authors connected to his gallery from “Germany, France, Belgium, England, & c., arranged according to countries, [and] a special cabinet of old or specially famous living masters – [David] Teniers, Gerard Dou, Hans Makart, Munkácsy. Here is the great canvas by Siemiradzki, entitled *The Living Torches of Nero*, which was shown in the Russian section and obtained the medal of honour at the Paris Exhibition of 1878” as reported by *The Times*.<sup>39</sup> *Nero’s Torches*, and *Shipwrecked Man (The Roman Beggar)* were presented at the Victoria Gallery with paid admissions in contrast to The Long Gallery’s free exhibition.<sup>40</sup>

Siemiradzki did however not further cooperate with Sedelmeyer or any other dealer in Paris that could support his career in western Europe or introduce him to the growing American market. *After the Example of the Gods* and a draft of the Krakow’s Słowacki Theatre’s curtain were his last works presented in Paris at the Gallery Georges Petit in 1900 during the *Exposition rétrospective d’oeuvres des Peintres Polonais (1800-1900)*, organised of the occasion of the World Exhibition by Cyprian Godebski. He did not take Paul Mantz’s advice, written in his review of 1879’s Salon, to withdraw from the “toxic entourage” of “Rome’s school of mannerists with false tones that seem to wish the return of decadence”.<sup>41</sup> Neither did he choose the career of a member of the international *juste milieu*, its stylistic eclecticism and sometimes superficial *modernité élégante*.<sup>42</sup> Its painters knew how to skilfully combine official recognition by the Academy and the Salon with the benefits of a growing art market.<sup>43</sup> Though the Polish painter did not follow in Munkácsy’s and Brožík’s “international” steps he could not avoid similar criticism in his own country.<sup>44</sup>

39] “The Morning Post” (London), 31 May 1880, no. 33, 675, p. 6; “The Times” (London), 18 May 1880, no. 29, 884, p. 10.

40] “The Standard” (London), 13 May 1880, no. 17, 414, p. 1.

41] P. MANTZ, *OP. CIT.*, p. 1.

42] *Giuseppe de Nittis. La modernité élégante*, eds. Dominique MOREL, Emanuela ANGIULI et al., exhibition catalogue, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Paris Musées, Paris 2010.

43] Robert JENSEN, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, pp. 138-166.

44] Judit BOROS, *A Hungarian Painter in Paris. Mibály Munkácsy career between 1870 and 1896*, in: *Munkácsy a nagyvilágban / Munkácsy in the World*, ed. Ferenc GOSZTONYI Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest 2005, p. 33-86. Marketa THEINHARDTOVA, *Vaclav Brožík – Czech Painter of Histories in Paris*, in: *Vaclav Brožík (1851-1901)*, ed. Nadezda BLAZICKOVA-HOROVA, Národní galerie, Prague 2003, pp. 111-129.

Siemiradzki's paintings, though present on the European artistic stage and suggestively shaping the public's imagination, didn't conquer the new art market. They could not have as they were part of the surpassed *grand genre*. They failed for a use of themes and formats which missed the expectations of the contemporary art "consumer", and because of the academic-museum scale of the artistic project which the painter carried out since his debut at the St. Petersburg's Academy of Arts and his first official commissions in the Empire's capital. A project whose embodiment were manifesto canvases *Phryne*, *Nero's Torches* and *Dirce*, presented to this day in the National Museums of Warsaw and Krakow as well as at the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg.



85. Goupil & Cie eds., Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Cléopâtre devant César* (Cleopatra and Caesar, 1866), before 1909. Photo in public domain.



86. Ludovico Hart, *Scene in Italian Fine Arts Gallery*, Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880. Photo in public domain.



87. SW, *Visitors at the Alexander III Russian Museum, Gallery XXV, Academic Paintings*, 1914. Photo in public domain.



88. Jabłoński i Ska eds., *Henryk Siemiradzki's atelier Rome*, Portfolio “Kraj”.