

# The Writer as Artist's Model: Repin's Portrait of Garshin

ELIZABETH KRIDL VALKENIER

*The Harriman Institute,  
Columbia University*

ILYA REPIN'S PORTRAIT OF VSEVOLOD GARSHIN, which The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired in 1972, is more than a fine likeness of a significant Russian writer by Russia's foremost realist master. Painted in 1884, at a decisive time in Russian politics, it is closely linked to the efforts of both men as artists and members of the opposition-minded intelligentsia to come to terms with the 1881 assassination of Alexander II by young revolutionaries. Garshin served as a model—both physically and philosophically—for two of Repin's major canvases on the revolutionary theme, *Ivan the Terrible and His Son* and *They Did Not Expect Him*. At the same time as Garshin was posing for his portrait, he was also writing a story about a painter's problems with picturing Charlotte Corday's murder of Marat.

The pensive portrait, then, is not just an expertly rendered likeness of a man of letters. It is redolent with meaningful references to the problems the Russian intelligentsia faced because of a new turn in the revolutionary movement. Regicide had brought this distinctly Russian class, which by some unwritten agreement acted as the conscience of the nation, to anxiously reexamine the full implications of its opposition to autocracy.

The circumstances in which the portrait was painted—the relationship of painter and writer, their shared yet divergent professional and personal interests—shed light not only on the question of who posed for whom and for what reasons but also on the issue of “literariness” in Russian late-nineteenth-century art and its preoccupation with extrinsic rather than intrinsic values.

Painted à la prima, the portrait was the result of several sittings during the summer of 1884, when Repin was preoccupied with, and intermittently working on, two canvases addressing the revolutionary theme: *They Did Not Expect Him* and *Ivan the*

*Terrible and His Son*.<sup>1</sup> Repin shows Garshin sitting at a desk, with his arms resting on a disorderly pile of books and manuscripts. (These are references to aspects of Garshin's work and habits: he constantly rewrote his pieces, was an avid reader, and an amateur bookbinder who liked to converse with friends while engaged in his hobby.) The background is in a luminescent greenish-yellow hue. The face is carefully, even meticulously finished, having an almost enamellike surface. Both head and background are in sharp contrast to the table, books, and papers, which are striking by their painterly rendition. With time the black color of the jacket has darkened (its details are less visible), while the face and background have been somewhat harshly cleaned, which sets up a stronger contrast of dark and light than was originally the case.<sup>2</sup>

The portrait was first shown in 1887 at the 15th Traveling Art Exhibit, which opened in St. Petersburg on February 25 and went on to Moscow in April.<sup>3</sup> Ivan Nikolaevich Tereshchenko (1854–1903), a Kiev industrialist and collector, bought it in 1888 for 500 rubles.<sup>4</sup> It remained in the family's possession even after their emigration following the Bolshevik revolution. In 1929, Boris Aleksandrovič Bakhmeteff, a consulting engineer from New York, bought it from the family in Nice, France. His estate donated the painting to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1972.<sup>5</sup>

Garshin is on record as being well pleased with the portrait, and his friends found it to be “exceptionally faithful.”<sup>6</sup> Evidently Repin was also satisfied. Often critical of his endeavors, this time he left no testimony about doubts or other difficulties, except to communicate how much he enjoyed getting to know Garshin, how much he was taken with his “gentleness,” and how he regarded the sittings as a welcome “rest” from other taxing work.<sup>7</sup>

At the first public showing, however, the response to the portrait was indifferent or adverse. Pavel M. Tretyakov, who had first choice and generally

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bought Repin's portraits of Russian notables for his gallery in Moscow, did not purchase it. (He wanted his gallery to be, among other things, a pantheon of Russia's cultural achievement and commissioned numerous portraits of living or deceased writers, musicians, and painters.) Thus his competitor Ivan Tereshchenko, who was building up a similar collection in Kiev, was able to acquire the canvas.

Nor were there any favorable reviews. Some critics made no mention of the portrait. Others criticized Repin for failing to catch the angelic goodness in Garshin's expression and for conveying instead the writer's unstable state of mind.<sup>8</sup> This curious reaction is due to the fact that Garshin suffered from periodic mental breakdowns; the most recent had been in 1883. Furthermore, since 1881, when Repin had painted Modest Mussorgsky a few days before the composer's death, with unmistakable references to his alcoholism and other excesses, Repin had the reputation of being a relentless, even brutal realist who did not idealize his sitters. In light of this fact and preconception, reviewers judged Garshin's portrait accordingly.

But later generations have judged the canvas far more favorably. Serge Diaghilev chose it to hang in his famous retrospective exhibition of Russian portraiture, held in the Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg in 1905.<sup>9</sup> The following year it was included in another ground-breaking exhibition that Diaghilev organized and sent to Paris to introduce Russian art to the West.<sup>10</sup> And Igor Grabar, a painter and art historian, has ranked the portrait among Repin's best—not quite equal to that of Mussorgsky but of the same caliber as other great works done during the 1880s, the period of the painter's efflorescence.<sup>11</sup>

In 1884, when he painted Garshin's portrait, Repin was the best-known realist painter in the country. His oeuvre, however, was not merely classified as "realist." It was revered for having shaped, in large part, a distinct national school of art attuned to Russia's needs and sensibilities.

Ilya Efimovich Repin (1844–1930) first came to public attention in 1871 (two years before graduating from the Imperial Academy of Arts) with *Barge Haulers on the Volga*. This depiction of twelve men toiling on the banks of Russia's mighty river struck an original and significant note at the time. Never before were ordinary peasants painted in such monumental proportions and with such serious intent. The imperial family bought the canvas and had it sent to the 1873 International Exhibition in Vienna,

where it won a bronze medal. It was sent abroad again in 1878 and won the critics' praise for marking the emergence of a distinctive—i.e., national—mode of artistic expression in Russia.<sup>12</sup> At the time, the liberal intelligentsia regarded the canvas as an icon, as an inspiring image demonstrating the latent force of the Russian people. Like Courbet's *Stonebreakers*' place in the history of French art, *Barge Haulers* is a key picture in the formation of Russian realism.

In 1878, after a three-year sojourn in Paris on an Academy fellowship, Repin joined the Association of Traveling Art Exhibits, an independent organization that operated outside the official establishment controlled by the Imperial Academy and the court. The Association, founded in 1870, was much more than a marketing venture. Given the nature of czarist autocracy and the sensitivities of the educated public, the autonomous Association perforce took on other responsibilities. By and large, its members (usually called the Wanderers in English) did not consider themselves "free" to paint whatever caught their fancy but felt obliged to "serve society" by responding to public issues.<sup>13</sup> This ethos was in keeping with the aspirations of the intelligentsia who idolized the Association for bringing free and meaningful art to the public.

During the first four years of his membership Repin lived in Moscow and enlivened the annual Traveling Art Exhibits with canvases on rural Russia (either expressive portraits of individual peasants or typical group scenes), which spoke to the populist sympathies and preoccupations of the day. It should be noted, parenthetically, that the city intelligentsia's approach to the peasantry was tinged with a large measure of guilt; Repin, born a peasant, had a much more clear-eyed and robust view of the countryside, its inhabitants, and activities and could convey his visceral enjoyment of its color and energy. But with time the novelty of this subject matter, and the attractions of living in the ancient city, wore off. Fed up with Moscow's stifling provincialism and self-satisfied merchant class, Repin moved to St. Petersburg in the fall of 1882, eager to partake in the cultural and political ferment of the capital.

While he still lived in Moscow, Repin had had contacts with the St. Petersburg intelligentsia, and after settling there he became a regular and active member of several liberal salons. He even formed a salon of his own—a group of young writers, often joined by Garshin, would come to Repin's apartment for readings and discussions.

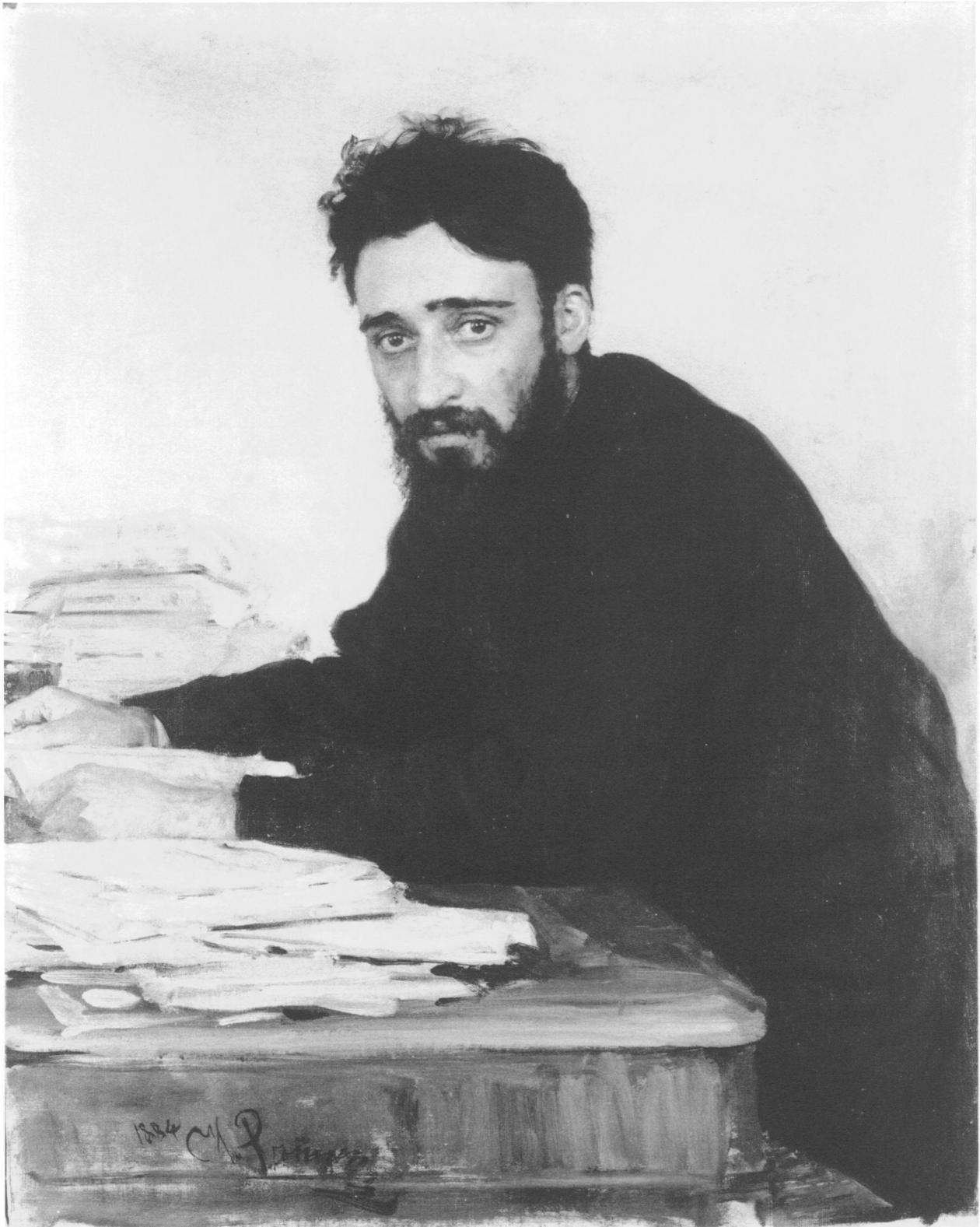


Figure 1. Ilya Efimovich Repin (Russian, 1844–1930), *Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin*. Oil on canvas, 88.9 x 69.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Humanities Fund, Inc., 1972, 1972.145.2

When the two met in late 1882, Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin (1855–1888) was already a highly acclaimed writer. He had become famous overnight in 1877 with the publication of “Four Days,” his second story to appear in print. Based on personal experiences in the Russo-Turkish war, it recounts not so much the physical as the moral agony of a wounded Russian soldier left behind next to the body of a Turk whom he had killed in combat. Garshin went on to write a few more short stories and some children’s fables (his entire oeuvre fills one slim volume) before committing suicide in March 1888 by leaping into a stairwell.

Garshin’s writings were praised for their expression of heightened sensibility on social problems (war, industrial labor, or prostitution) and the moral dilemmas confronting individuals or creative artists, which were often presented in allegorical terms. His was a fresh voice at a time when Tolstoy had given up fiction after finishing *Anna Karenina*, when Dostoevsky was ailing (he died in 1881), and when Chekhov was writing nothing but humorous sketches.

During the 1880s Garshin was idolized by the young liberal members of the intelligentsia for expressing their uncertainties about the proper choice or the righteous path when society’s efforts at peaceful reform had been severely jolted by the tide of revolutionary activity. In the history of Russian literature he holds a lesser but secure place as a master of the concise, well-focused novella and as a precursor of symbolism.<sup>14</sup>

Garshin had gained further renown for acting on his convictions. When the Russo-Turkish war broke out in 1877, he gave up his studies at the Mining Institute, enlisted to fight for the liberation of the southern Slavs from the Turkish yoke, and was slightly wounded in action. Three years later, in 1880, when a young conspirator was condemned to death for attempting to assassinate a high official, Garshin personally pleaded with the intended victim, Count Loris-Melikov, for clemency. Because of this aura of principled courage and suffering, his periodic attacks of depression (which seems to have been hereditary, for two of his three brothers also committed suicide) were attributed by many contemporaries to the blight of the oppressive political system on the writer’s sensitive moral constitution.

Some of Garshin’s writings were on art. He published five reviews of art exhibitions and two short stories that deal with painters. His art reviews are

neither original nor weighty, but they are of interest inasmuch as they typify the positivist spirit of the times. (Furthermore, a greater sophistication in his later views on art’s capacity to edify may well reflect his discussions with Repin, which took place while the portrait was in progress.)

From his student days at the Mining Institute in the early 1870s, Garshin was intimate with several young, minor painters associated with the Wanderers. The artistic preoccupations of that circle are evident in a letter Garshin wrote on its behalf to Ivan Kramskoy, a founder of the Association and its spokesman, seeking clarification of the purport of his canvas *Christ in the Desert*. Garshin was eager to know whether Kramskoy (whom he considered to be the leader of liberalism in art)<sup>15</sup> meant to represent a pensive Christ foreseeing and accepting the path of thorns or the more positive image of someone who had just resolved to combat evil.<sup>16</sup> It was an important issue to the young men who were eager to find in art some guidance for their own stance on public issues.

Garshin’s first art reviews were written in hot partisanship and had the same certitude that he had sought from Kramskoy. Thus, in 1877, he was highly critical of an exhibition held by the Society of Art Exhibits simply because it belonged to the enemy camp, being an offshoot of the Imperial Academy. He disparaged the bland, meaningless landscapes as compared to the trenchant paintings on contemporary themes displayed by the rival, independent Wanderers.<sup>17</sup>

In his early fiction, Garshin similarly juxtaposed two mutually exclusive types of art, the meaningless and the edifying. “Artists,” a story written in 1877, presents two prototypes: Dedov, a lighthearted and self-centered landscapist (described as “a manufacturer of wall decorations”), and Riabinin, a conscience-stricken genre painter. While Dedov aims to please the public and line his pockets, Riabinin is indifferent to worldly success and paints, in anguish, a maimed riveter to call attention to the plight of industrial workers.<sup>18</sup>

These strong convictions about the subject matter and role of art shaped Garshin’s initial attitude toward Repin. Long before meeting the painter, he had admired Repin as a proponent of socially responsive realist art. Hence his review of the 1877 show mounted by the official Society of Art Exhibits underscored the gulf between “artificial” academic art and the “real” art of the Wanderers by express-

ing astonishment at finding Repin's work in the Society's exhibition. Garshin argued that the inclusion of Repin in effect erased the dividing line in Russian art and suggested that if Repin was not a member of the Society, his works should be removed from the exhibition in order not to confuse the public. (In fact, Repin was not a member of the Society, but its sponsor, the Academy, could dispose of his work as it pleased since at the time he was still its pensioner and not free to exhibit with the independent Association of Traveling Art Exhibits. Only in 1878, right after his Academy fellowship had expired, did he join the Association.<sup>19</sup>)

With time, Garshin's views on art, as set forth in both fiction and reviews, lost some of their rough edges, and the conversations with Repin most likely account for the change. Garshin's short story "Nadezhda Nikolaevna," the second with painters as dramatis personae and finished during the time Repin was working on Garshin's portrait, contained no crude juxtaposition of two antithetical attitudes. Instead, it asked some searching questions about what could be expressed with line and color—whether a narrative, no matter how edifying and well intentioned, could be "told" as effectively with a brush.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Garshin's later reviews of exhibitions do not treat art as representative of political trends, but discuss individual works in terms of how their rendition through color and movement contribute to their message or impact on the viewer.<sup>21</sup>

Garshin's greater sophistication or recognition that art had its aesthetic autonomy may in part be an extension of Repin's opinions on the subject. Throughout most of his life, Repin resisted the view that art should be the handmaiden to current-day political or social concerns, a view shared by many prominent Russian painters, critics, and writers. Despite his many canvases of topical relevance, Repin, at least twice in his long career, engaged in spirited polemics on the subject. His first dispute, in 1874/75, was confined to personal letters from Paris to the painter Ivan Kramskoy and to Vladimir Stasov, an art and music critic. Repin defended his right to work as he pleased (his mentors were upset that the young man was being seduced by the French penchant to paint for art's sake at the expense of content) and argued forcefully that "rational concepts . . . drawn from political economy" deprive art of its "poetry . . . warmth and color." Later, in the early 1890s, Repin went public. He took issue with Leo Tolstoy (who was then working on his treatise *What*

*Is Art?*—a diatribe against "pure" art) and published a series of articles in defense of the autonomy of art—a dispute that had considerable resonance at the time.<sup>22</sup>

The portrait of Garshin in the Metropolitan Museum is the second likeness of the writer that Repin painted. The two portraits were executed less than a year apart; in 1883, when Repin undertook the first as a mere "study," he promised Garshin to do a genuine "portrait" at a "more convenient time."<sup>23</sup> Each portrait, however, was quite central to the composition of two major canvases on the revolutionary theme that engrossed Repin after his move to St. Petersburg.

In the fall of 1883 Repin resumed work on a large canvas, *Ivan the Terrible and His Son, Ivan. November 16, 1581* (Figure 2). It shows the czar cradling the body of his son and heir after dealing him a fatal blow. At the same time, Repin was also finishing another canvas, *They Did Not Expect Him*, depicting the enigmatic encounter between a returning political exile and his family. Both were prompted by current events. *Ivan* first occurred to Repin in 1881, after the assassination of Alexander II, when regicide was on everyone's mind. The other painting was related to the amnesty granted on the coronation of Alexander III, when many political offenders were permitted to return from Siberia.

Initially, Repin envisioned *Ivan the Terrible* in terms of violence. The preliminary sketches were cluttered with overturned furniture, the czar still holding the murder weapon in his hand, the czar-evitch sagging under his father's right arm.<sup>24</sup> The finished canvas focuses not on conflict but on its resolution. This message is conveyed through the forgiving gesture of the dying czar-evitch and the father's anguished, loving embrace. At least one perceptive critic at the time noted that the canvas did not simply record a murder but was suffused with religious spirit in depicting how strife between father and son was resolved through Christian love and forgiveness.<sup>25</sup>

The conciliatory embrace was quite probably suggested by two Rembrandt paintings in the Hermitage—*The Prodigal Son* and *David and Jonathan*—which Repin had studied and admired since his school days.<sup>26</sup> Yet the biblical parables and their message were not the only source for the final version of *Ivan the Terrible*. In late 1883 Repin painted Garshin's head in profile as a study for the czar-evitch (Figure 3). More important for the final ver-



Figure 2. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *Ivan the Terrible and His Son, Ivan*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 199.5 x 254 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (photo: Tretyakov Gallery)

sion, however, was not Garshin's physiognomy (he was not the only model; Repin painted a similar study of another artist, Vladimir Menk) but his personality and views. It was these attributes that helped Repin to arrive at a satisfactory and integrated conception of the scene.

Repin regarded Garshin as the incarnation of goodness, both at the time of their friendship and later. He wrote that Garshin's looks expressed goodness—especially his pensive eyes, which were often misted by tears in concern for some injustice—as did his shy and delicate manners, his angelic personality “of dovelike purity,” and his pacifist philosophy.<sup>27</sup>

Interesting suggestions as to why Repin chose the writer as model for *Ivan the Terrible* are provided in Garshin's story “Nadezhda Nikolaevna,” which has obvious parallels to Repin's canvas. It offers insight as well on how a model can serve an artist in resolving his compositional problems with a painting.

There is reason to believe that the discussion of this issue in the story is based on conversations with Repin, who at the time was working out the final composition of *Ivan*. Repin has described how he and Garshin would converse during sittings and then continue their discussions as they walked back and forth between their apartments until their argument was settled or the subject exhausted.<sup>28</sup>

“Nadezhda Nikolaevna” deals with murder on several levels, and, like Repin's canvas, was occasioned by Alexander II's assassination. Its hero, Lopatin, is painting a picture of Charlotte Corday, and he wants to represent Corday at the very moment when she makes up her mind to kill Marat and is thus transformed into a “fanatic for a good cause.” He has a clear mental picture of Corday but needs an appropriate model to represent his vision as he has found it impossible to proceed with a professional model who sits for him faultlessly but has too bland a disposition—“she was incapable of inflicting



Figure 3. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin*, study for “*Ivan the Terrible and His Son, Ivan*”, 1883. Oil on canvas, 47.7 x 40.3 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (photo: Tretyakov Gallery)

wounds.” The solution comes in the person of Nadezhda Nikolaevna, a prostitute but a woman of character and resolve. Her strong personality gives Lopatin a real sense of “flesh and blood,” and he can start with confidence on the final version of his canvas. (Other details show parallels with Repin’s picture. Nadezhda is shot by her former lover, whom Lopatin kills in turn with a sharp, metal-pointed rod that resembles the death-dealing staff lying at Ivan’s feet in Repin’s painting.)

In Garshin’s story the agonizing search for the suitable model who actually personifies the image the painter has in mind and thus enables completion of his canvas corresponds to the way Repin went about many of his larger works. Repin was always on the lookout for the right embodiment for the images in his mind’s eye. For a minor figure he needed only the appropriate physical features. For a figure that was central to the tone of the entire canvas (which gave harmonious “melody” to the

work—to use Repin’s phrasing), not just the looks but the full personality of the model as well became decisive.<sup>29</sup> This was surely the case with Garshin as a model and inspiration for the completion of *Ivan the Terrible*.

Garshin’s features, personality, and views were not so demonstrably related to Repin’s other major painting on the revolutionary theme, *They Did Not Expect Him* (Figure 4). There is no direct evidence either in writing or in preliminary sketches that Repin used Garshin as the model for the returning exile. We know, however, that Repin was finishing that picture concurrently with Garshin’s portrait. It has also been documented by Igor Grabar that as work proceeded during 1883–84, Repin’s conception of the central figure—the returned exile—changed. Initial sketches showed a self-assured person, confidently facing the array of reactions evinced by his family. With time, Repin introduced an element of hesitation—signs of doubt and uncertainty appeared in the exile’s face.<sup>30</sup>

One could argue with some plausibility that Repin’s close association with the introspective and doubt-ridden Garshin during 1883–84 led him to think of the radical less in terms of an unequivocally



Figure 4. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *They Did Not Expect Him*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 160.5 x 167.5 cm. Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (photo: Tretyakov Gallery)



Figure 5. Ilya Efimovich Repin, *Riabinin and Dedov*, Illustration for Garshin's story "Artists," 1888. India ink, pen, and brush, 24.3 x 34.2 cm. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum (photo: State Russian Museum)

positive personality and more as one who questioned the consequences of noble aspirations willfully acted out—both for himself and for society. Such questions were implicit in "Red Flower," a short story Garshin published in the fall of 1883. Its subject is a madman set on destroying a flowering red plant—the incarnation of evil in his eyes—growing in the asylum garden. The story can be read as an allegory on the degeneration of rigid ideals into sick obsession.

However plausible, the connection remains tenuous that Repin had Garshin's views in mind in altering the returned exile's countenance as he finished *They Did Not Expect Him* for the 12th Traveling Exhibit in fall 1884. Nevertheless, the connection between the writer and the central figure was made by Pavel Tretiakov, who bought the painting. The collector did not care for the looks of the returned exile. For that matter, neither did some of the critics, who wondered why Repin had given the radical such an "unattractive" and "semi-idiotic face."<sup>31</sup>

Tretiakov's reservations prompted him in March 1885 (when the Traveling Exhibit had completed its circuit and the picture was hanging in his private gallery) to ask Repin to retouch the exile's face to make him "younger" and "more congenial": "Would not Garshin be appropriate?" he asked suggestively—no doubt having in mind the calm and penetrating gaze of the portrait now in the Metropolitan Museum. Within the month, Repin

obliged and reported laconically: "I did what I could."<sup>32</sup>

There is no way of telling to what extent Repin availed himself of his patron's advice, for, in 1887, the artist went into the gallery when the owner was away and repainted the face to suit his own image of the exile. The collector objected so strenuously that Repin was obliged to repaint the face yet one more time to restore it to the second, Garshin-like variant that Tretiakov had requested in 1885. But this fourth and final version was still not an exact replica of the second; later Tretiakov wistfully referred to the 1885 version—"the one after Garshin"—as the best portrayal of the radical in his own eyes and in those of Leo Tolstoy.<sup>33</sup>

There is an emblematic concluding note to the story of Repin's portrayal of Garshin, which counterpoints their shared, yet disparate concerns.

Soon after the writer's tragic death, his close associates published two commemorative volumes of his poems and of friends' reminiscences and critical essays, as well as their original works.<sup>34</sup> Repin contributed to both. For one, entitled *The Red Flower*, he designed the cover—a crown of thorns intertwining with the flower; for the other, *To Garshin's Memory*, he provided an illustration to Garshin's story "Artists" (Figure 5).

Drafted in 1888 expressly for the memorial volume, the illustration shows the two artists, the care-free aesthete and the conscience-stricken realist,

visiting the shipyard where the latter had found the subject for his canvas. (As Garshin described it in the story, a riveter at his inhuman labor stands inside a caldron, backing up a steel plate with his body, as his mate outside hammers the rivet head with terrific blows.) The features and the tilt of the head of the artist with the acute social conscience closely resemble Repin's first likeness of Garshin—his 1883 profile study (Figure 3) for the czarévitch (Figure 2), innocent victim of Ivan the Terrible. As for the other, the happy-go-lucky artist, his features are too full and ample to suggest Repin's. Nonetheless, it is not a farfetched conjecture that in drawing the two types in conversation, Repin had in mind his long walks and talks with Garshin in 1883–84, and his own resilient, outgoing nature as the model for the artist who confidently points out some positive future to his tortured companion.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## NOTES

1. V. Garshin's letters to his mother, July 30 and Aug. 10, 1884, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. III, *Pis'ma*, Yu. G. Oksman, ed. (Moscow/Leningrad, 1934) pp. 333–334, 336 (hereafter cited as *Pis'ma*).

2. I thank Gisela Helmkampff, conservator in the MMA's Department of European Paintings, for this information.

3. G. Burova et al., *Tovarishchestvo peredvizhnykh khudozhestvennykh vystavok* (Moscow, 1959) II, p. 112.

4. P. M. Tretyakov's letters of March 27, 1888, and of Nov. 24, 1889, to Repin, *Pis'ma Repina. Perepiska s P. M. Tretyakovym*, M. N. Grigor'eva, A. N. Shchekotova, eds. (Moscow, 1946) pp. 132, 140 (hereafter *Pis'ma Repina*). The file on the painting in the MMA's Department of European Paintings has the incorrect information, supplied by Boris Bakhmeteff, that Tereshchenko paid 14,000 rubles for the picture. At that time, only large, multi-figure paintings could fetch anything approximating such a large sum.

5. Boris Aleksandrovich Bakhmeteff (1880–1951), professor of hydraulic engineering in St. Petersburg, was appointed ambas-

sador to the United States in 1917 by the provisional Russian government; he resigned in 1922. From 1931 on, Bakhmeteff taught civil engineering at Columbia University. B. A. Bakhmeteff papers, Bakhmeteff Archive, Rare Book and Manuscript Division, Columbia University.

6. Garshin's letter of Aug. 8–9, 1884, to his mother, *Pis'ma*, p. 336.

7. Repin's letter of Aug. 10, 1884, to Pavel Tretyakov, in *I. Repin. Izbrannye pis'ma*, I. A. Brodsky, ed. (Moscow, 1969) I, p. 298 (hereafter cited as *Izbrannye pis'ma*).

8. S. N. Durylin, *Repin i Garshin* (Moscow, 1926), p. 55; G. Burova et al., *Tovarishchestvo*, pp. 112–123.

9. *Katalog istoriko-khudozhestvennoi vystavki russkikh portretov ustraevaemoi v Tavricheskom Dvortse* (St. Petersburg, 1905) 4, no. 1713, p. 49.

10. Salon d'Automne, *Exposition de l'Art Russe* (Paris, 1906) no. 453, p. 80. The information in the file on the painting in the MMA states that the canvas was also displayed at the exhibition of Russian art in Berlin, held in the same year. However, the catalogue for that exhibition does not list Garshin's portrait among the four paintings by Repin. *Russische Kunst Ausstellung* (Berlin, 1906) pp. 27–28.

11. I. Grabar, *I. E. Repin* (Moscow, 1937) II, p. 460.

12. For French critics' reaction, see Alison Hilton, "Scenes from Life and Contemporary History: Russian Realism of the 1870s–1880s," in G. P. Weisberg, ed., *The European Realist Tradition* (Bloomington, 1982) p. 194.

13. For more information on the founding of the Association and its sense of mission, see Elizabeth Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art, the State and Society* (New York, 1989) pp. 37–48, 115–120.

14. Peter Henry's excellent and detailed biography of Garshin, *A Hamlet of His Time* (Oxford, 1983), discusses Garshin's style and his place in Russian literature on pp. 237–310.

15. Garshin's letter of Feb. 19, 1878, to his mother, *Pis'ma*, p. 157.

16. Garshin's letter of Feb. 14, 1878, to I. Kramskoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg, 1910) p. 506.

17. Vsevolod Garshin, "Vtoraya vystavka Obshchestva vystavok khudozhestvennykh proizvedenii" (1877) *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, pp. 401–408.

18. For a recent translation of "Artists," see *From the Reminiscences of Private Ivanov: and Other Stories*, Peter Henry et al., trans. (London, 1988) pp. 93–109.

19. A decade later, Garshin intended to write a series of essays on the meaning and importance of Repin's oeuvre, a plan that remained unrealized at his untimely death. Durylin, *Repin i Garshin*, p. 64.

20. For a translation of "Nadezhda Nikolaevna," see *The Signal and Other Stories*, Rowland Smith, trans. (Freeport, N.Y., 1971) pp. 156–229.

21. Vsevolod Garshin, "Zametki o khudozhestvennykh vystavkakh" (1887), *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, pp. 428–440.

22. For a more detailed discussion of Repin's aesthetic views, see Elizabeth K. Valkenier, *Ilya Repin and the World of Russian Art* (New York, 1990) chaps. 3 and 6.

23. Garshin's letter of March 15, 1884, to his mother, *Pis'ma*, pp. 315–316.

24. I. Grabar, *Repin* (Moscow, 1963) I, pp. 264–286; O. Liaskovskaya, "K istorii sozdaniya kartiny I. E. Repin, 'Ivan Groznyi i syn ego Ivan,'" in Gosudarstvennaya Tretiakovskaya Gallereya, *Materialy i issledovaniya* (Moscow, 1956) I, pp. 187–197.

25. Neznakometz (pseudonym of A. S. Suvorin), "Na peredvizhnoi vystavke," *Novoe vremia*, Feb. 14, 1885.

26. O. Liaskovskaya, "K istorii sozdaniya kartiny," p. 195.

27. For Repin's views on Garshin, see his letters of Aug. 10, 1884, to P. Tretiakov and of March 16, 1903, to P. N. Asian, in *Izbrannye pis'ma*, I, p. 298, and II, pp. 174–177. A fuller text of the second letter is included in Repin's reminiscences, *Dalekoe i blizkoe* (Kornei Chukovsky, ed., first published in 1937), as two essays. One is simply entitled "V. M. Garshin"; the other, "The Last Encounter with Garshin."

28. Repin's letter of March 16, 1903, to P. N. Asian, in *Izbrannye pis'ma*, II, p. 175.

29. Durylin, *Repin i Garshin*, p. 56.

30. I. Grabar, *Repin* (1963) I, pp. 255–260.

31. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 258, 260.

32. Tretiakov's letter of March 10, 1885, to Repin; Repin's letter of April 9, 1885, to Tretiakov, *Pis'ma Repina*, pp. 100, 103.

33. Tretiakov's letter of Nov. 24, 1889, to Repin, *ibid.*, p. 140. The 1887 version is the one that hangs today in the State Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow.

34. *Krasnyi tsvetok. Literaturnyi sbornik v pamiat' V. M. Garshina* (St. Petersburg, 1889); *Pamiat' V. M. Garshina. Khudozhestvenno-literaturnyi sbornik* (St. Petersburg, 1889).