

INFORMATION TO USERS

While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. For example:

- Manuscript pages may have indistinct print. In such cases, the best available copy has been filmed.
- Manuscripts may not always be complete. In such cases, a note will indicate that it is not possible to obtain missing pages.
- Copyrighted material may have been removed from the manuscript. In such cases, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or as a 17"x 23" black and white photographic print.

Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack the clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, 35mm slides of 6"x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography.

8708264

Betz, Margaret Bridget

THE CARICATURES AND CARTOONS OF THE 1905 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:
IMAGES OF THE OPPOSITION

City University of New York

PH.D. 1984

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1984
by
Betz, Margaret Bridget
All Rights Reserved

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs or pages
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages _____
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered 374. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received _____
16. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

THE CARICATURES AND CARTOONS
OF THE 1905 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:
Images of the Opposition
by
MARGARET BRIDGET BETZ

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1984

COPYRIGHT BY
MARGARET BRIDGET BETZ
1984

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2 May 1984
date

Chairman of Examining Committee

May 2, 1980
date

Executive Officer

Abraham Ascher

Linda Nochlin

Elizabeth Valkenier
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THE CARICATURES AND CARTOONS
OF THE 1905 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

by

Margaret Bridget Betz

Advisor: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

The Russian revolution of 1905 provided a rare opportunity for artists in a controlled society to express openly their opinions about society and government through hundreds of small caricature journals. Their graphics employed a wide variety of styles, from realism to allegory and Symbolism, and directly contributed to the development of modern Russian art.

Enterprising artists and editors devised means for slipping forbidden material past the censor and educated their public to read between the lines, to interpret Aesopian hints and a multitude of disguises, for the Tsar especially, grounded in popular anecdotes. Central to this study is the explication of political implications in the material and analysis of their condensed formal structures and equivocal language of signs, their sources and influences.

Russian caricature's secret language and liberal expressive distortions closely approach the basic premises of international Symbolism. A surprising characteristic of Russian caricatures, one rooted in Symbolism, is a tendency to incorporate religious iconography to convey the

sense of tragedy provoked by the revolutionary events. There are personal and aesthetic links between political caricature and Russian Symbolism, such as the fusion of European art nouveau with traditions of Russian folk art and fairy tales. These two currents are found in some of the best caricatures and cartoons of the 1905 revolution and their union led directly to the evolution of distinctly Russian modern art styles. This distinction is especially evident when Russian caricatures are put in their proper European context and compared with journals such as Simplicissimus and L'Assiette au beurre.

Russian Neoprimitivism and Futurism are two of the modern styles that owe a debt to the caricatures and cartoons of the 1905 revolution. A new approach to emotional subjects, an intentional naiveté, graphic exaggeration and a desire to unite art with the public spurred both movements. Many members of the Union of Youth, a St. Petersburg avant-garde exhibition society, had some previous experience with the caricature press of 1905, either as artists, students of caricaturists or collectors of caricature journals.

Such vital interconnections suggest that the caricatures and cartoons of the 1905 revolution are a neglected facet of the revolution in modern Russian art.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xxii
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES	xxiv
INTRODUCTION	i
Notes to Introduction	19
Chapter	
1: RUSSIAN CARICATURE IN THE 1905 REVOLUTION	24
Notes to Chapter 1	62
2: TSAR NICHOLAS II	69
Notes to Chapter 2	107
3: COUNT WITTE AND THE MINISTERS	113
Notes to Chapter 3	134
4: REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS	136
Notes to Chapter 4	166
5: CARICATURES AND THE AVANT-GARDE	169
Notes to Chapter 5	198
CONCLUSION	205
ILLUSTRATIONS	210
BIBLIOGRAPHY	374

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Viacheslav V. Zauerlender, "Kitaiskii neitralitet" (Chinese Neutrality), Strekoza, no. 8 (20 February 1905), p. 3.
2. Vadim N. Nevsky, "Graf S. Yu. Vitte i ego kabinet" (Count S. Yu. Witte and His Cabinet), Strekoza, no. 45 (13 November 1905), p. 1.
3. Pavel E. Shcherbov, "Tak skazal Zaratustra" (Thus Spake Zarathustra), Shut, 1899; reproduced in Savinov, Pavel Egorevich Shcherbov, opp. p. 16.
4. Shcherbov, "Zanimatelnoe chtenie" (Interesting Reading), Shut, no. 18a (1906), p. 5.
5. Viktor D. Zamirailo, "Progulka" (A Stroll), Zritel, no. 4 (26 July 1905), cover.
6. Yurii K. Artsybushev (attrib.), Zritel, no. 1 (5 June 1905), pp. 10-11.
7. Artsybushev (attrib.), Zritel, no. 4 (26 June 1905), p. 3.
8. Aleksandr A. Kudinov, Zritel, no. 3 (19 June 1905), cover.
9. Kudinov, Zritel, no. 3 (19 June 1905), p. 9.
10. Artsybushev (attrib.), Zritel, no. 17 (2 October 1905), p. 5.
11. Dmitrii S. Stelletsky, "K byline 'Karavai Bogatyr'" (For the Bylina 'The Warrior Karavai'), Zritel, no. 17 (2 October 1905), cover.
12. Lubok: "Slavnoe poboishche tsaria Aleksandra Makedonskago s Porom, Tsarem indeiskim" (The Glorious Bloody Battle of King Alexander of Macedonia with the Indian King Por), detail, ca. 1766, wood engraving; in Rovinsky, Rusksiia narodnyiia kartinki, no. 294.
13. Photographs and drawings in Shtyk, n.d. [1906], [p. 5].
14. Sergei V. Chekhonin, "V tsarstve ptits. Indiuk-Trepov i obshchestvennyi tsyplenok Pobedonosets. Na zemle valiaiutsia broshennyyia kukly-paiatsy i siniia oblozhki. Iz-za zabora gliadiat vlasti" (In the Poultry Kingdom. The Turkey-Trepov and the Public Chicken Pobedonosets [sic]. On the Ground Discarded Toy Clowns and Blue Jackets Lie About. From Behind the Fence Peep the Powers), Zritel, no. 19 (3 November 1905), p. 5.

15. Photographs: General Trepov; reproduced in Review of Reviews (London), no. 190 (October 1905), p. 382.
16. Chekhonin (attrib.), "Chut-li ne darom" (Almost for Free), Verbnyi Bazar, no. 1 (1906), p. 2.
17. Lubok: "Savoska i Paramoshka" (Savoska and Paramoshka), n.d., woodcut; in Rovinsky, Ruskiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 191.
18. M. Stelletskaia, "Radost na nebe novago manifesta radi" (Rejoicing in Heaven Thanks to the New Manifesto), Adskaia pochta, no. 1 (1906), cover.
19. Stelletskaia, "Nebesa na zemle" (Heaven on Earth), Adskaia pochta, no. 1 (1906), [pp. 4-5].
20. Evgenii E. Lanceray, "Trizna" (Funeral Feast), Adskaia pochta, no. 2 (1906), [p. 4].
21. Lanceray, title page for Khudozhestvennyia sokrovishcha Rossii, no. 1 (1904).
22. Thomas Theodor Heine, "Durchs dunkelste Deutschland," Simplicissimus, no. 43 (ca. 12 January 1904), p. 337.
23. Heine, headpiece for Beiblatt des Simplicissimus, last used September 1905; reprinted in Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 10.
24. Boris M. Kustodiev, "Kokovtsov," Adskaia pochta, "Olimp," special issue, no. 3 (1906), [p. 5].
25. Thomaz Leal da Camara, "Les Souverains: Oscar II, roi de Suède et de Norvège," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 19 (8 August 1901), p. 365.
26. Jean-Louis Forain, Zritel, no. 13 (4 September 1905), p. 5.
27. Fidus (Hugo Hoppner), headpiece in Vozrozhdenie, no. 1 (22 April 1906), p. 3.
28. Fidus, "Friede," Jugend, no. 36 (31 August 1905), p. 704.
29. Ivan M. Grabovsky, "Doloi! ..." (Down With! ...), Pulemet, no. 1 (1905), cover.
30. Grabovsky, "Ego Rabochee Velichestvo Proletarii Vserossiiskii" (His Worker Highness, the All-Russian Proletarian), Pulemet, no. 2 (1905), cover.

31. Nikolai V. Remizov, "M. Gorkii i ego ten" (M. Gorky and His Shadow), Strekoza, no. 41 (9 October 1905), p. 4.
32. Grabovsky (attrib.), portrait of N.G. Shebuev, Sochineniia Shebueva, no. 1 (1906), cover.
33. Grabovsky, "U barrikady - Nachalo" (At the Barricades -- The Beginning), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), cover.
34. Grabovsky, "U barrikady - Konets" (At the Barricades -- The End), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 12.
35. Nikolai G. Shebuev, "K semu listu Svity Ego Velichestva General-Maior Trepov ruku prilozhil" (To This Page Major-General Trepov, of the Retinue of His Majesty, Has Put His Hand), Pulemet, no. 1 (1905), p. 12.
36. Remizov (attrib.), "Finliandskii vopros v Dume" (The Finland Question in the Duma), Satirikon, no. 6 (1908), p. 12.
37. Ilia E. Repin, 18 October 1905, or The October Manifesto, 1906-1911, oil on canvas, Russian Museum, Leningrad; reproduced in V.V. Shleev, ed., Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 godov i izobrazitelnoe iskusstvo, 1: no. 37.
38. Vladimir E. Makovsky, 9 January 1905 on Vasilievsky Island, 1905-07, oil on canvas, Museum of the Revolution, Leningrad; reproduced in Shleev, 1: no. 16.
39. Sergei V. Ivanov, The Massacre, 1905, oil on canvas, Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow; reproduced in Shleev, 2: no. 5.
40. Valentin A. Serov, Nicholas II, 1901, oil on canvas; shown at The World of Art exhibition, Spb, 1902.
41. Thomaz Leal da Camara, "Les Souverains: Nicolas II," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 19 (8 August 1901), p. 307.
42. Photograph: Nicholas II, late 1894; reproduced in Marvin Lyons, Nicholas II, the Last Tsar, pls. 84-85.
43. Photograph: Nicholas II, ca. 1904; reproduced in Lyons, pl. 142.
44. Dimitrios Galanis, "Le Tzar rouge," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 201 (4 February 1905), p. 3321.
45. Galantara, "Chronique russe: l'Insensible," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 287 (29 September 1907), p. 1270.

46. Albert Weisgerber, "Die allerhöchste Mausfalle," Jugend, no. 35 (24 August 1905), p. 683.
47. Heine, "Die Befreiung Russlands," Simplicissimus, no. 33 (n.d., ca. 14 November 1905), p. 385.
48. Auguste Roubille, "Prédictions pour 1906: le Tsar sera nommé roi de pique," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 260 (20 January 1906), p. 681.
49. Drawing of the Russian Imperial crown and the Imperial and Romanov coats of arms; reproduced in Tsarskiiia Koronatsii na Rusi, 1971, p. 264.
50. Anonymous Russian broadsheet, ca. 1900, collection of Abraham Herenroth, New York City.
51. Anonymous Russian broadsheet, 1902, collection of Abraham Herenroth, New York City.
52. Serov, The Year 1905: After Quelling a Riot, 1905, pencil and crayon on paper, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
53. A. Ivanov (attrib.), Signaly, extra supplement, 1905, back page.
54. Arnold Böcklin, Selbstbildnis mit fiedelndem Tod, 1872, oil on canvas, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.
55. A. Ivanov, "Die Wonne des Zaren," Der Wahre Jacob, no 523 (7 August 1906), p. 5126.
56. A. Ivanov, "Der Mann in Wolkenkuckucksheim," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 520 (26 June 1906), p. 5089.
57. Stanislav I. Ridiger, Sprut, no. 1 (23 December 1905), p. 3.
58. Georgii Pavlovich Erastov, "Zachitalsia," (He's Engrossed in Reading), Burelom, no. 1 (26 November 1905), p. 5.
59. Erastov, "Sobralisia" (He's Decided), Burelom, no. 2 (1905), p. 5.
60. Anon., "Nochnye koshmary" (Nightly Nightmares), Skomorokh, no. 2 (1907), p. 7.
61. Photograph: the bedroom of Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna in the Grand Palace, Pavlovsk; reproduced in Khudozhestvennyia sokrovishcha Rossii, 106 (15 October 1903), n.p.
62. Wilhelm Schulz, "Louis XVI," Simplicissimus, no. 16 (16 July 1906), cover.

63. A. Ivanov (attrib.), "Pokushenie" (The Attempt), Signal, no. 4 (4 December 1905), p. 4.
64. Anon., Fiskal: Gazeta gazet, no. 2 (1906), p. 16.
65. A. Ivanov, "Pered otezdom za granitsu. Vtoroi zvonok" (Before the Trip Abroad. The Second Bell), Signal, no. 3 (1905), p. 4.
66. Félix Vallotton, "La Manifestation," 1893, woodcut, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Basel.
67. Chekhonin, "Nasha konstitutsiia -- prosiat ne dut . . ." (Our Constitution -- Please, Don't Blow . . .), Zritel, no. 19 (3 November 1905), cover.
68. Nikolai I. Shestopalov, Maski, no. 2 (8 February 1906), p. 8.
69. Böcklin, Faune, eine Nympe belauschend, 1884, detail (?); Private Collection.
70. Rata Langa (attrib.), "Der russische Doppeladler im Kampf gegen den inneren und äusseren Feind," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 485 (21 February 1905), p. 4611.
71. A. Ivanov, "Portnoi" (Tailor), Signal, no. 3 (1905), p. 8.
72. Zinovii I. Grzhebin, "Orel-oboroten, ili politika vneshniaia i vnutrenniaia" (Eagle-Werewolf, or Domestic and Foreign Politics), Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 8.
73. Figure 72 upside-down.
74. Nikolai K. Gorenburg (attrib.), Zabiiaka, no. 3 (26 January 1906), p. 3.
75. Jean Veber, "L'Impudique Albion," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 26 (28 September 1901), p. 416.
76. Ivan Ya. Bilibin, "Sic transit . . .," Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 5.
77. Bilibin, "Osel (Equus asinus) v 1/20 nat. vel.," (Ass [Equus Asinus] 1/20th Natural Size), Zhupel, no. 3 (1906), p. 9.
78. Gottfried Kneller (engraving by P. A. Gunst), Peter I, 1697-98; reproduced in Rovinsky, Materialy dlia russkoi ikonografii, no. 100.
79. Bilibin, Menu for the Eremeev restaurant, St. Petersburg, for the "Week of Peter," 1903.
80. Aleksandr M. Liubimov, Signaly, no. 4 (1906), cover.
81. Vadim N. Nevsky, "Biurokratiia vykhodit iz sebia" (Bureaucracy Loses Its Temper), Sprut, no. 1 (23 December 1905), p. 8.

82. Bilibin, "Tsar Dadon," Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), cover.
83. Adaramakaro, "L'Epée de Damoclès," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 151 (20 February 1904), pp. 2532-33.
84. Chekhonin, "Skazka ob odnoi mamashe i nechistoplotnom malchike" (The Tale about one Mother and an Untidy Boy), Zritel, no. 21 (17 November 1905), pp. 4-5.
85. Detail of Figure 84.
86. Alexandre Benois (attrib.), Colonnade Easter Egg by Fabergé, 1905, collection of the Queen of England.
87. Detail of Figure 86.
88. Chekhonin, "25 siluetov x 4" (25 Silhouettes x 4), Zritel, no. 10 (14 August 1905), pp. 8-9.
89. Detail of Figure 88.
90. Chekhonin, "Prervannyi telegraf" (The Broken Telegraph), Zritel, no. 22 (22 November 1905), p. 2.
91. E[rich?] Wilke, "Ein majestätischer Anblick / Die zerschnittenen Telegraphendrähte," Jugend, no. 50 (6 December 1905), p. 998.
92. Chekhonin, Zritel, no. 23 (27 November 1905), p. 2.
93. Detail of Figure 92.
94. Benois, vignette in Mir iskusstva 8 (1902), p. 5.
95. Chekhonin, "Medal vybitaia v pamiat novago zakona o svobode pechati" (Medal Struck in Commemoration of the New Law on the Freedom of the Press), Zritel, no. 24 (4 December 1905), p. 8.
96. Detail of Figure 95.
97. Viacheslav I. Traubenberg, "Nechto fantasticheskoe, ili chernaia sotnia, provozhaiushchaia elovuiu shishku, kotoraiia saditsia na korabl dlia plavaniia po moriu vnutrennikh volnenii" (Something Fantastical, or the Black Hundreds Accompanying the Pine Cone Which Boards the Ship to Sail over the Sea of Domestic Troubles), Maski, no. 6 (13 March 1906), p. 5.
98. Chekhonin, "Mag Vitte sidiashchii na urne . . ." (The Magician Witte Seated on the Urn . . .), Zritel, no. 20 (13 November 1905), p. 3.
99. Chekhonin, "Chervonnyi tuz, ili plameneiushchee serdtse svobody" (The Ace of Hearts, or the Flaming Heart of Freedom), Maski, no. 1 (1 February 1906), cover.

100. Chekhonin, "Slepoi vlastelin -- 1905 g. poet svoiu posledniuiu pesniu na poliarnom vulkane" (The Blind Ruler -- 1905 Sings His Last Song on a Polar Volcano), Zritel, no. 1 (1 January 1906), cover.
101. Detail of Figure 100.
102. Anon., "Nikolaus und sein Volk." Der Wahre Jacob, supplement, no. 505 (28 November 1905), p. 4882.
103. Olaf Gulbransson, "Grossfürst Alexis," Simplicissimus, supplement, no. 24 (n.d., ca. 6 September 1904), p. 231.
104. Photograph: "The Peacemakers on Board the Mayflower," Review of Reviews (London), no. 189 (September 1905), frontispiece.
105. Albert Weisgerber, "Witte und Kamura," Jugend, no. 33 (10 August 1905), p. 644.
106. G. K., "Ein berühmter Zeitgenosse," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 504 (14 November 1905), p. 4863.
107. A. Ivanov (attrib.), and Nikolai G. Shebuev, detail, Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 3.
108. Vadim N. Nevsky (attrib.), "V kakom vide eshche ne byl izobrazhen graf-Premier" (In What Aspect Has the Count-Premier Not Yet Been Depicted), Strekoza, no. 14 (6 April 1906), p. 9.
109. Al[eksan]dr A. Labudz, "Nabroski" (Sketches), Strekoza, no. 14 (8 April 1890), p. 7.
110. [Various artists], collage arranged by Shebuev, "Riad volshebnykh izmenenii milago litsa" (Series of Magical Alterations of a Lovely Face), Pulemet, no. 4 (1906), p. 11.
111. Kustodiev, "Otstavka. I s levoi, i s pravoi" (Resignation. Both From Left and Right), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 10.
112. Nevsky, "Partiia v svoi kozyri" (A Game in Their Own Trump), Strekoza, no. 46 (24 November 1905), cover.
113. Nevsky, "Skazka o Spiashchei Krasavitse i prekrasnom printse Vi-te-shi-ma" (Fairy Tale of Sleeping Beauty and the handsome Prince Vi-te-shi-ma), part 1, Strekoza, no. 46 (24 November 1905), p. 4.
114. Nevsky, part 2 of Figure 113, Ibid., p. 5.
115. Nevsky, "Oi kupyv dudu na svoiu bidu, da za svoi groshi! . ." (Oh, I bought a pipe for my own trouble, even for my own money! . .), Sprut, no. 2 (4 January 1906), p. 4.

116. Gorenburg, "Govoriashchiia teni" (Talking Shadows), detail, Volshebnyi fonar, no. 1 (4 December 1905), p. 7.
117. Grandville (Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard), "Les Ombres," La Caricature, November 18, 1830, color lithograph; reproduced in Ralph Shikes, The Indignant Eye, p. 153, pl. 156.
118. M. Limin (A. Labudz?), "Svet i teni" (Light and Shadows), Strekoza, no. 38 (23 September 1890), p. 7.
119. Ya(?), Poedinok, no. 1 (1906), p. 2.
120. Nikolai N. Gerardov, "Torzhestvuiushchaia Svinia" (The Triumphant Swine), Seryi volk, no. 25 (23 December 1907), p. 391.
121. Nikolai K. Gorenburg, "Akh, izvenite, grazhdane, Eto -- po oshibke" (Oh, Pardon me, Citizens, That's by Mistake), Volshebnyi fonar, no. 4 (29 January 1906), p. 10.
122. Arpad Schmidhammer, "Englische Verspiegelungen," Jugend, no. 42 (12 October 1905), p. 821.
123. Gorenburg, "Vitte znaet kak spasti Rossiia . . ." (Witte Knows How to Save Russia . . .), Volshebnyi fonar, no. 4 (29 January 1906), p. [6].
124. Bruno Paul, "Die hilfreiche Germania," Simplicissimus, supplement, no. 19 (8 August 1905), p. 225.
125. Bentsel D. Kremer (attrib.), "My znaem kak spasti Rossiia!" (We Know How to Save Russia!), Krasnyi smekh, no. 2 (1906), p. 8; adaptation of design by Auguste Roubille, originally in Le Rire, N.S., no. 6 (14 March 1903).
126. Nikolai Kliuev (attrib.), Pchela, no. 3 (1906), p. 8.
127. Anon. advertisement, "Korpulenz und Krankheit!," Jugend, no. 25 (14 June 1905), p. 475.
128. Detail of Figure 126.
129. Joseph Keppler, "Evils of Drink and Gambling," (1870s), wash drawing, New York Public Library, Prints Division.
130. Hassmann, "The Russian Crown," Puck (New York), no. 1504 (27 December 1905), cover.
131. Chekhonin, "Severnaia khimera. Poliarnyi liudoed" (Northern Chimera. The Polar Cannibal), Zritel, extra issue (24 December 1905), p. 3.
132. Ivan Bilibin, logo design, Adskaia pochta, no. 1 (1906), p. [14].
133. Detail of Figure 132.

134. Georgii P. Erastov, Burelom, no. 1 (1906), p. 5.
135. Isaak I. Brodsky (attrib.), "Boevoi admiral" (Bellicose Admiral), Plamia, no. 3 (23 December 1905), p. 12.
136. A., adaptation of caricature by Jean Veber (Fig. 137), Signal, extra supplement [1905], p. 1.
137. Jean Veber, "La boucherie ou Bismarck," 1899, color lithograph; reproduced in Eduard Fuchs, Die Karikatur (1906), p. 355.
138. Anon., "Stolpnik" (Pillar [of Society]), Strekoza, no. 27 (16 July 1906), cover.
139. A. Ivanov and Shebuev, Pulemet, no. 3 (1905), p. 8.
140. Ivanov and Shebuev, Pulemet, no. 3 (1905), p. 9.
141. Detail of Figure 110.
142. Nikolai N. Karazin (attrib.), Artist (Moscow), no. 11, kn. 4 (December 1890), p. 149.
143. Anon., "Vserossiiskii bomb" (All-Russian Bombs), Bomby, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.
144. Odilon Redon, "Why Should There Not Exist a World Made Up of Invisible, Odd, Fantastic, Embryonic Beings?" from Le Jure by Edmond Picard, 1887.
145. Remizov (attrib.), "Vitte na rasputi" (Witte at the Crossroads), Strely, no. 5 (27 November 1905), p. 9.
146. Viktor Vasnetsov, Bogatyri na rasputi (Warrior at the Crossroads), 1878, oil on canvas, Russian Museum, Leningrad.
147. V. Vasnetsov, "Lavka lubochnykh kartin i knizhek" (The Lubok and Book Shop), n.d., drawing; in Pchela, no. 27 (1875), p. 323.
148. Nevsky, "Kazhinnyi-raz-na-evtom-samom-meste" (sic) (Each Time at That Same Spot), Burelom, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.
149. N. Svn, Zalp, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.
150. Frame of a Russian manuscript, 14th century; reproduced in L. Delavaud, et al., La Russie, géographique . . ., 3rd ed. (Paris: Larousse, 1900), p. 321.
151. Chekhonin (attrib.), Verbnyi bazar, no. 1 (1906), cover.
152. Grabovsky, "Strashnyi sud" (The Last Judgment), Pulemet, no. 2 (1905), pp. 6-7.

153. Lubok: "Obraz Strashnago Suda Bozhiia" (Icon of God's Last Judgment), 18th century, engraving; in Rovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 1012.
154. Serov, "Soldatushki, bravy rebiatushki, gde zhe vasha slava?" (Soldiers, Gallant Boys, Where Now is Your Glory?), Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 5.
155. Eduard Thđny, Simplicissimus, no. 48 (ca. 21 February 1905), p. 478.
156. Serov, sketch for "Soldatushki," 1905; reproduced in O. Serova, Vospominaniia o moem ottse Valentine Aleksandroviche Serove (M-L: Iskusstvo, 1947), p. 84.
157. Erich Wilke, "Caviar für's Volk!" Jugend, no. 5 (26 January 1905), p. 95.
158. D'Ostoya, "Le 22 Janvier 1905" (the date of Bloody Sunday in the Gregorian calendar), L'Assiette au beurre, no. 201 (14 February 1905), pp. 3324-25.
159. Jules-Félix Grandjouan, "La Grève," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 214 (6 May 1905), p. 81.
160. Bernard Naudin, "Liberté, Liberté chérié!" L'Assiette au beurre, no. 263 (14 April 1906), pp. 880-81.
161. Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, "Kak nash slavnyi general nashu krepost pokorial" (How Our Glorious General Our Fortress Conquered), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 12.
162. Lubok: "Prusskii dragun 1759 goda" (Prussian Dragoon of 1759), 1759, wood engraving; in Rovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 317.
163. Lubok: "Podvig praporshchika Shchegoleva pod Odessoiu 10 apreliia 1854 goda" (Heroic Deed of Ensign Shchegolev near Odessa, April 10, 1854), 1854, engraving; reproduced in Vladimir Denisov, Voina i lubok (Petrograd: Izd. Novogo zhurnala dlia vsekh, 1916), no. 16.
164. Lubok: "Neudavshiisia zamysel iapontsev zagravit vykhod iz Port-Artura" (Unsuccessful Plan of the Japanese to Block the Exit from Port-Arthur), ca. 1904, lithograph (?); in Denisov, no. 26.
165. Dobuzhinsky, "Moskva III. Umirotvorenie" (Moscow III. Pacification), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 7.
166. Gulbransson, "St. Christophorus," Simplicissimus, no. 36 (ca. 5 December 1905), p. 421.
167. Anna P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, "Neva" (The Neva River), 1901, etching, Mir iskusstva, no. 1 (1902), p. 17.

168. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, "Novaia Gollandiia" (New Holland [St. Petersburg]), 1901, etching; Mir iskusstva, no. 1 (1902), p. 19.
169. Dobuzhinsky, "Oktiabrskaiia idilliia" (October Idyll), Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 4.
170. Wilke, "Russische Machthaber," Jugend, no. 23 (31 May 1905), n.p. (back cover).
171. W., "Ne smyvaetsia, vashe blagorodie!" (It Won't Wash Off, Your Excellency!), Krasnyi smekh, no. 2 (14 January 1906), [p. 4].
172. Shestopalov, Zritel, no. 23 (27 November 1905), p. 7.
173. Auguste Raffet, "La Barbarie et le Choléra-morbres extrant en Europe," n.d.; reproduced in Eduard Fuchs, Die Karikatur (1901), p. 341.
174. Valentin I. Bystrenin, Molot, no. 1 (23 December 1905), cover.
175. Petr S. Dobrynin, Knizhka za knizhkoï, no. 1 (1906), cover.
176. Honoré Daumier, "Ne vous y frottez pas," L'Association Mensuelle, 1834, lithograph.
177. Gerardov, "Barrikada vziata" (The Barricade is Taken), Molot, no. 2 (1906), p. 5.
178. Edouard Manet, Guerre Civile, 1871, lithograph; reproduced in Anne Coffin Hanson, Edouard Manet, Philadelphia Museum of Art (catalogue). [Philadelphia, 1966], no. 116, p. 130.
179. Anon., Strana mechty, no. 1 (1906), cover.
180. Mikhail M. Chemodanov, Postcard on Russian women's suffrage movement, 1905, lithograph (?); in Review of Reviews (London), no. 191 (November 1905), p. 483.
181. Petr S. Dobrynin, "Koshmar" (Nightmare), Leshii, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.
182. Liubimov (attrib.), Svetaet, no. 1 (1906), cover.
183. Anon., "Smertnaia kazn" (Death Sentence), Kosa, no. 5 (1906), p. 8.
184. Boris I. Anisfeld, Zhupel, no. 3 (1906), p. 10.
185. Anon., "Kazhetsia, uspokoil . . ." (It seems to me, I calmed her down), Vampir, no. 1 (1906), cover.
186. Vasilii N. Masiutin, headpiece to Stanislav Przybyszewski's "Stezeiu Kaina -- Pervaia pesn poemy 'Kheruvim'" (Cain's Path -- First Song of the Poem 'Cherubim'), Zolotoe runo, no. 11-12 (1907), p. 50.

187. Liubimov, Svetaet, no. 2 (1906), cover.
188. Paul Rieth, "Begegnaug," Jugend, no. 51 (13 December 1905), p. 1003.
189. Lanceray, "Moskva II: Boi" (Moscow II: Battle), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 6.
190. Claude Monet, La rue Montorgueil, Fete du 30 Juin 1878, 1878; reproduced in Daniel Wildenstein, Claude Monet: Biographie et Catalogue Raisonné, 3 vols. (Lausanne-Paris: La Bibliotheque des Arts), 1974-79, 1: 316.
191. Detail of Figure 189.
192. Lanceray, "Radost na zemle osnovnykh zakonov radi" (Rejoicing on Earth Thanks to the Fundamental Laws), Adskaia pochta, no. 1 (1906), [p. 8].
193. Photo: Demonstration of Monarchist group in Odessa; Review of Reviews (London), no. 192 (December 1905), p. 598.
194. Lanceray, "Rady staratsia, Vashe prevoskhoditelstvo!" (Glad to Try, Your Excellency!), Adskaia pochta, no. 1 (1906), [p. 5].
195. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, "La Foule," 1898, lithograph; reproduced in Ralph Shikes, The Indignant Eye, pl. 229.
196. Isaak I. Brodsky, "Russkaia simfonia," (Russian Symphony), Leshii, no. 4 (1906), p. 1.
197. Kustodiev, "Moskva I: Vstuplenie" (Moscow I: Entry), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 3.
198. Nikolai K. Gorenburg, "Dolina skorbi (Govoriashchie teni)" (Valley of Grief [Talking Shadows]), Volshebnyi fonar, no. 5 (1906), p. 7.
199. Iosif S. Shkolnik, Kosa, no. 2 (1906), p. 8.
200. Lubok: "Starik i Smert" (The Old Man and Death), n.d., wood engraving; in Rovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 89.
201. Russian miniature painting: "Nishchie" (Beggars), Dukhovnoe Lekarstvo (Spiritual Medicine), 17th century; in Zolotoe runo, no. 7-9 (July-September, 1906), p. 93.
202. Lubok: "Voзраст chelovecheskii" (The Ages of Man), first half of 18th century, copper engraving; in Rovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 738.
203. Anon., "A poka ...*" (And Meanwhile ...*), Sekira, no. 7 (1906), pp. 4-5.

204. Vasilii Ya. Beringer, Paiats, no. 2 (1 January 1906), cover.
205. Grabovsky, "Eia na vysokom kreste raspinali" (They Hung Her on a High Cross), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), pp. 6-7.
206. Félicien Rops, "La Tentation de St. Antoine," etching; in Erastène Ramiro, Félicien Rops (Paris: Pellet et Floury, 1905).
207. František Kupka, "Le Dent," Les Temps nouveaux, 1905; reproduced in Ralph Shikes, The Indignant Eye, p. 221.
208. Adolphe Willette, "V'la les English! .." Le Rire, special issue after no. 263 (23 November 1899), [p. 19].
209. Ivan M. Buriachok, "Dukhy tmy vtikaiut od pershykh prominiv dnia" (The Spirits of Darkness Run from the First Light of the Day), Shershen, no. 3 (20 January 1906), p. 5.
210. Böcklin, Der Krieg, first version, 1896, oil on wood, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; reproduced in Mir iskusstva, no. 2-3 (1901), p. 39.
211. Böcklin, Der Krieg, second version, 1898, oil on wood, Kunsthaus, Zurich; reproduced in Zastrelshchik, no. 1 (1906), p. 16.
212. Shestopalov (attrib.), "Ne bois maloe stado! Ibo Otets vash blagovolil dat vam Tsarstvo" (Luke, 12,32) (Fear not, little flock! For it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom) (Lk 12:32), Zhurnal: Velikaia Moskva, trial issue, (1906), cover.
213. Mstislav V. Farmakovsky, decoration to poem by A. M. Fedorov, Zvon (Odessa), no. 2 (Christmas, 1906), cover.
214. Remizov (attrib.), "Zloi genii Rossii" (The Evil Genius of Russia), Strely, no. 1 (30 October 1905), p. 1.
215. Anon., "Sovremennaia meduza" (Contemporary Meduza), Perets, no. 1 (13 January 1906), p. 8.
216. Nikolai K. Roerich, "Tsar" (The Tsar), Vesy, no. 8 (August 1905), cover.
217. N. (A.A.?) Arapov, "Uzor v iaponskon" (Pattern in Japanese [Style], Vesy, no. 9-10 (September-October 1905), pp. 16-17.
218. Anon., postcard of the pyramid of society, 1900, lithograph (?); reproduced in Fuchs, Die Karikatur (1906), opp. p. 388.
219. George Cruikshank, "Poor Bull," 1819, etching; reproduced in Shikes, The Indignant Eye, pl. 98.

220. Vasilii V. Rozanov, "1907-10," Kogda nachalstvo ushlo . . . 1905-1906 g.g. (Spb: tip. A. S. Suvorina, 1910), p. 427.
221. Dobuzhinsky, decor and costumes for the Crossroads scene of Adam de la Halle's 13th century pastorelle, Play about Robin and Marion, at Nikolai N. Evreinov's Starinnyi Teatr (Antique Theater), St. Petersburg, season 1907-08.
222. Dobuzhinsky, Diavol (The Devil), Zolotoe runo, no. 1 (January 1907), p. 7.
223. Bruno Paul, "Die Pest in Südafrika," Simplicissimus, no. 47 (ca. February 1901), p. 373.
224. Dobuzhinsky, "1905/1906," Zhupel, no. 3 (1906), cover.
225. Kazimir S. Malevich, vignette, candle on a skull, n.d. (ca. 1906-07), ink drawing; reproduced in Malevitch (ex. cat.) (Paris: Centre national d'art et de culture Georges Pompidou, 1978), p. 20.
226. Malevich, Woman in Childbirth, 1908, oil and pencil on board, Georges Costakis Collection, Athens.
227. Galantara, "L'Insensible," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 287 (29 September 1906), p. 1270.
228. Pavel V. Kuznetsov, Rozhdenie -- sliianie s misticheskoi siloi atmosfery. Probuzhdenie Diavola (Birth -- Communion with the Mystical Force of the Atmosphere. Awakening of the Devil), Zolotoe runo, no. 1 (January 1907), p. 5.
229. Lubok: "Tsyriulnik (sic) strizhet raskolniku borodu" (Barber Cutting Off the Beard of an Old Believer), 18th century, color woodcut; in Kovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 227.
230. Mikhail F. Larionov, Officer at the Hairdresser's, 1909, oil on canvas, Private Collection, Paris.
231. Mikhail F. Ivanov, Gamaiun, no. 1 (1906), [p. 5].
232. Liubimov, Signaly, no. 2 (18 January 1906), p. 8.
233. Alexander Salzmann, "Sancta Simplicitas," Jugend, no. 7 (9 February 1905), p. 135.
234. Malevich, Morning in the Village After Snowstorm, 1912, oil on canvas, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
235. Aleksandr A. Labudz, "Na rasputi" (At the Crossroads), Strekoza, no. 1 (7 January 1907), cover.

236. Remizov, "Nikolai Georgievich Shebuev, sredi zimy 'vesnu' delaiushchii" (Nikolai Georgievich Shebuev Making 'Spring' Amidst Winter), Sovremennyi Vsepeterburg, 1908, [p. 11].
237. Photograph: library of Levkii I. Zheverzheev, ca. 1915; in Zheverzheev, Opis moego sobraniia (Petrograd: Schmidt, 1915).
238. A. Ivanov and Shebuev (attrib.), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 3.
239. Olga V. Rozanova, watercolor page decoration for Aleksei Kruchenykh's poem Vzorval (Explodity), (St. Petersburg: EUY, 1913), [p. 4].
240. Rozanova, decorated advertisement for Kruchenykh's Futurist booklets, 1913, watercolor.
241. Vasilii V. Kamensky, "Zhelezobetonnaia poema slntse (lubok)" (Ferro-Concrete Poem the Sun [lubok]), ca. 1913, linocut, Thomas P. Whitney collection, Connecticut.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A study of Russian caricatures is doubly blessed in that the broad dissemination of original documents allowed their preservation in a number of public collections. The best such collection in both range and quality in the United States is that of the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library. Though less complete, the collections of the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution and Peace maintain in fine condition rare examples of these caricature journals. In Amsterdam others may be found in the library of the International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis. I am indebted to the librarians of all these institutions for their assistance in my research. Those of my own university's libraries at Queens College and the Graduate School and University Center provided invaluable support as well.

Many scholars in the fields of Russian studies and art history have encouraged my efforts. I owe much thanks to Dr. Rose-Carol Washton Long of the City University of New York, with whom I worked for over a decade. No one individual has been more important to this work. I am grateful to Dr. Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier of Columbia University's W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union for initially suggesting the topic and for early critical guidance. I owe a great debt to Dr. Aline Isdebsky Pritchard and offer my thanks for illuminating discussions and for a warm, sustaining friendship that goes beyond our shared fascination with Russian culture. I wish to thank also Dr. Abraham Ascher, Dr. John E. Bowlt, Dr. Charlotte Douglas, Dr.

Helmut Friedel, Dr. Jonathan Harris, Dr. Evgenii F. Kovtun, Dr. Boris Sapir and Dr. Dmitrii V. Sarabyanov for their useful advice and inspiring words. I profited enormously through their support. Of course, any errors or omissions in the present study are my responsibility.

A generous stipend from the Swann Foundation for Caricature and Cartoon secured for me a year of unencumbered research and writing and allowed me to pursue research at the Hoover Institution and in Amsterdam. Assistance from the Student Travel and Research Fund of the City University Graduate School, from the Center for European Studies at the Graduate School and from Queens College lightened my financial burden during the course of study. Finally, a grant from the Davis and Long Fund of the Ph.D program in Art History at the City University Graduate School enabled me to provide proper photo documentation for this dissertation, and I thank the Program's Executive Committee for making this grant possible.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

My transliteration follows the modified Library of Congress system used in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted's Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972). Notes and bibliography accord strictly with this system; however, for greater readability, transliterations in the text and captions incorporate the simplifications listed below.

1. ' to indicate the Russian soft sign is not used.
2. In proper last names -y is used at the end in place of -ii, though not at the end of first names. At the beginning of proper names and journal titles Ya- and Yu- replace the standard Ia- and Iu-. Where there is an accepted form differing from the direct transliteration, proper names appear in the established form, with the transliteration in parenthesis the first time; e.g. Benois (Benua).

Dates of events in Russia before 1918 are in accord with the Julian calendar then in use. This is thirteen days behind the Gregorian system used in the West. Translations are my own except where noted.

INTRODUCTION

. . . Dans la caricature, bien plus que dans les autres branches de l'art, il existe deux sortes d'oeuvres précieuses et recommandables à des titres différents et presque contraires. Celles-ci ne valent que par le fait qu'elles représentent. Elles ont droit sans doute à l'attention de l'historien, de l'archéologue et même du philosophe; elles doivent prendre leur rang dans les archives nationales, dans les registres biographiques de la pensée humaine. Comme les feuilles volantes du journalisme, elles disparaissent emportée par le souffle incessant qui amène de nouvelles; mais les autres, et ce sont celles dont je veux spécialement m'occuper, contiennent un élément mystérieux, durable, éternel, qui les recommande à l'attention des artistes. Chose curieuse et vraiment digne d'attention que l'introduction de cet élément insaisissable du beau jusque dans les oeuvres destinées à représenter à l'homme sa propre laideur morale et physique!

--Charles Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire
. . ." 1855

If art is a beacon to history, then caricature and cartoon arts shed a particularly clear light on the quotidian aspects of the period of their creation. Typical and eccentric viewpoints, political left and right, all find expression in this flexible medium. In recent years caricature has received a great deal more scholarly attention than it did in Baudelaire's day. Foundations for the study of caricature and cartoons have been established in the United States and Europe. The Winter 1983 Art Journal is dedicated to "The Issue of Caricature" and contains a number of articles which address the integration of caricature into the history of modern art. The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons won the 1980 American Library Association's award as the outstanding reference set of the year. Several publishers have issued albums of reproductions from famous turn-of-the-century journals of caricature and satire, such as Punch, L'Assiette au Beurre and Simplicissimus. To judge by the number of articles in the New York Times Book Review, caricature and cartoon arts have gained broad scholarly interest as well as appreciation as entertainment.

The necessity to emphasize content and historical context has restrained scholarship in the field of caricature and cartoon from recognizing the value of these materials in the unfolding of artistic styles from age to age. Yet, it is precisely in this direction that they may yield the most surprising insights. Caricatures containing, in Baudelaire's phrase, "an element mysterious, durable, eternal" have at significant times quickened the pulse of artistic development because of

their intense involvement in the present moment and the moment's historical significance. A Russian chronicler in 1903 called caricature "the noisy avant-garde of the future."¹ This discerning phrase might stand as the epigraph to this dissertation, for we shall particularly examine caricature's role in the development of Russian art around the years of that nation's first revolution.

Since the appearance of the genre in the seventeenth century, the term "caricature" has been either strictly defined or broadly applied to the most varied subjects. Originally defined as a portrait charged or loaded with expressive meaning through the exaggeration of certain features, the term over the centuries broadened its domain in common parlance to include situations and events as well as individual personalities. This study adopts the liberal usage that has become customary since the early nineteenth century, when the French publicist Charles Philipon used it in its broad sense as the title of his famous journal of 1830, La Caricature. At the beginning of the twentieth century, as will be explained in chapter 1, the Russian censor understood the term in precisely this broad sense. "Caricature," used interchangeably then in Russia with the phrase "artistic satire,"² signified drawings which exposed the folly and wickedness of contemporary events and personalities through deliberate distortion of the subjects and through irony, derision or visual wit in any form.

By their nature, caricatures are biased documents. Ernst Kris has recorded that their "tendentious character" aims to unmask superficial appearances and reveal the truth.³ The truth presented by caricature is of a particular kind. Individual caricatures mirror the prejudices both of their age and of their creator. They can be partisan in the

extreme and the more effective caricatures seldom reflect moderate views even if their creator happens to hold such an attitude. The spectrum of caricature viewpoints is as broad as the political sphere in the Russia of 1905-07. It spans the radical left, socialists, liberals, moderates, conservatives, and the extreme right wing, the reactionary Black Hundreds.

The complex historical events of the 1905 revolution are more accurately described by political historians than by the images examined in this dissertation. As caricature in general, these works may be accused of distorting historical fact in the interests of expressivity, but that is in the nature of the medium. Because of this, caricature provides inimitable evidence for the more extreme attitudes and judgments provoked by the events and individuals prominent at the time. It presents its various subjects through the visualizing imagination of the artist, sometimes factually, sometimes fantastically. Reciprocally, these subjects shape themselves through caricatures for both contemporary and future generations of viewers. Caricatures thus become one of the chief ways of wringing meaning from tumultuous events as they occur. Immediately accessible to a broad public both physically and intellectually, caricatures are a powerful medium for visual communication and, as Baudelaire suggested in the epigraph above, potentially worthy of the artist's attention.⁴

The appreciation of caricature as an art form in its own right began when Baudelaire wrote in the mid-nineteenth century of the art of Daumier and other caricaturists, emphasizing that the laughter provoked by caricature is intensely human and contradictory, almost satanic, full of grandeur and misery.⁵ Only in the 1890s with the work of Richard

Muther, did serious scholarship take Baudelaire's cue and begin the study of caricature as an art form in relation to the other arts. In this period, which coincided with the dominance of the art movement Symbolism, Muther's Geschichte der Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert was the most widely read book of its kind.⁶ In it he identified caricature and cartoon arts as the gateway by which the depiction of modern life entered the sphere of art, thus paving the way for more trenchant realism in nineteenth century painting and sculpture. Muther's history (particularly relevant to a study of Russian art because its chapter on the arts of Russia was written by Alexandre Benois [Benua]) appeared just a year after Emile Fichte published a systematic study of the artistic traits of caricature.⁷ In a review of Muther's Geschichte, Hugo von Hofmannsthal -- perhaps with Fichte in mind -- noted Muther's higher estimation of certain caricaturists over many respected painters. In a subsequent review of the artist Franz Stuck, von Hofmannsthal mentioned especially Stuck's early work in caricature that enabled him to develop his gift for presenting salient traits. He praised caricature for awakening in artists a new receptiveness to form for its own sake.⁸

Historians in the 1950s renewed the general investigation of the formal aspects of caricature, its basic graphic, black-and-white, surface character. Theodor Heuss approached his topic from the premise that caricature has a wealth of value as art-educational material in the technical sense.⁹ Werner Hofmann made a study of the general appeal and influence of caricature on the development of modern art, specifically of German expressionism. Hofmann identified Muther and Hofmannsthal as his predecessors in the view of caricature as part of a "trend in art toward the translation of reality into formal signs." He

developed Baudelaire's idea of the dual nature of caricature, which "like every revolutionary, is sustained by the system it attacks." Hofmann found caricature a popular medium due to its naive and awkward appearance and appeal as entertainment. At the same time he noted that caricature tends to require both previous knowledge to be understood by its viewers and artistic talent to be successful. Hofmann remarked that caricature casts itself as inescapable fact, even as it consciously escapes reality and creates another world. Modern art, Hofmann concluded, particularly adopted caricature's "intentional naiveté," preferring the primitive's license to alter outward appearances in the interests of achieving a more profound realism.¹⁰ Hofmann's approach laid the groundwork for a more detailed integration of caricature and cartoons into the history of fine arts. More immediately, it has yielded theoretical insights which are useful to the present study.

The Russian materials to be examined here generally adopted -- in order to slip by numerous legal obstacles -- the typical, condensed and compressed structures of political caricature and its necessarily equivocal language of signs. As we shall see, their better examples consciously aim for ambiguity. "From this ambiguity," Hofmann notes,

caricature derives many of its surprise effects: a form that can be read and interpreted many different ways is the visual medium for a joke. And a caricature -- like a visual play on words -- delights in reversed relationships and hidden allusions, and in presenting the spectator with a rebus which he has to solve with his visual flair.¹¹

Varying degrees of simplification, exaggeration and circumlocution are essential components in all successful caricature, and ambiguity is particularly important in the Russian political and cultural context of 1905.

The Symbolist movement, with its emphasis on vague suggestiveness, was a potent literary and artistic force at this time. Russian censorship especially fortified caricature's tendency to compressed structures which, to the uninformed observer today, as indeed in 1905, often seem quite distant from any political significance. This was intentional and so discussion throughout this study will explicate the complex process of abstraction that results in seemingly innocent images which nevertheless contain veiled or coded political dimensions.

The revolution of 1905 is widely acknowledged to be a decisive turning point in Russian history. Lenin called it "the dress rehearsal" for the 1917 socialist revolution, and it has been examined from a great variety of viewpoints, especially as military and socio-political history. It may also be seen as part of a change in Russian culture. This event was noted briefly by Camilla Gray, whose book of 1962 reawakened western art history to the study of modern Russian art. She wrote: "The atmosphere of political turmoil which surrounded the abortive revolution of 1905 was accompanied by a renewed vitality in all the arts."¹² One Soviet historian has called the revolution "a boundary beyond which begins a new phase in the history of Russian culture."¹³ These and subsequent writers, however, have not examined in depth the precise interrelation of the 1905 revolution and this "renewed vitality," nor have they analyzed its significance for the further development of a distinctly Russian modern art.

The reason for this neglect is that the art of this period in Russia is primarily an art of caricature and political cartoons — some of exceptionally high artistic quality. It is an art that appeared not on the walls of museums and exhibition halls during the stormy events of

1905-06, but in the popular, relatively uncensored press. This free press came to an end in mid-1906, the date which marked the consistent reimposition of heavy censorship and sounded the death knell of political cartoons in Russia.

These caricatures and cartoons of the 1905 revolution form a whole chapter of Russia's artistic life that directly responded to the urgent socio-political crisis in the country, and provided thematic and stylistic impulse to the developing modernist sensibility there. The range of political opinion expressed in these images spans the entire spectrum from radical left to reactionary right, from direct illustrations of new political ideas to loathsome, basically anti-Semitic caricatures. Many of the materials chosen because of their artistic quality for this study will present an essentially leftist picture of the 1905 revolution. Some of the most artistically resonant caricatures reflect moderate -- not radical -- political sentiments. They are still, to one degree or another, statements of opposition to the established regime. The young, idealistic artists who executed these potent images opposed stagnation in all its forms. This meant that they were open to innovative graphic devices in contemporary international art, just as they were touched by more liberal political ideologies.

During the revolution, in particular from November 1905 to April 1906, artists who felt themselves to be outsiders had, through the medium of caricature and cartoon, an opportunity to show their solidarity with a society which itself was in rebellion against the prevailing regime. The caricature press of this time may not have enlisted the giants of modern Russian art, but -- as this study hopes to demonstrate -- it was nevertheless thoroughly grounded in the current Symbolist

milieu, and it animated later Neoprimitive and Futurist graphics in both style and subject matter. Caricatures of the first Russian revolution have heretofore been an intrinsic, if little studied, aspect of a revolution in Russian art that goes much deeper than matters of theme, an artistic revolution which parallels the political uprising.

Symbolism and Futurism are the two major artistic trends that mark the parameters of this study. The revolutionary caricature journals appeared at the peak of the Symbolist movement in Russia. This was a broad cultural renovation that had as one of its central principles a belief in the correspondence of all the arts, literature, music and dance, painting and sculpture. Richard Wagner's idea of the Gesamtkunstwerk, the total work of art, was a formative influence in the development of European Symbolism in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was the basis for a perceptible striving for artistic unity.

In Russia, Symbolism developed later and lasted longer than in Western Europe. The most distinctive group of Russian Symbolist artists, the Blue Rose, held its only important exhibition as late as 1907. Like its European counterparts, Russian symbolism emphasized vagueness, alluding to a higher reality accessible only to a select group of initiates. Other terms associate themselves with Symbolism as a movement in the visual arts. French "art nouveau," Russian "modern" and German "Jugendstil" designate a style, especially in the applied arts at the turn of the century, that tended to flat ornamental pattern, broad color planes, simplified shape, dynamic, serpentine line and two dimensional stylization. Its formal characteristics can be found in the decorative arts and crafts, book illustration, painting, architecture and sculpture of the era. As a movement in the applied arts, Symbolism was a

manifestation of "the artist's desire to overcome his isolation from society."¹⁴

Russian revolutionary caricatures at their best make use of some Symbolist traits, particularly flat stylization and stress on art as a secret, allusive language that suggests rather than defines its subject.

Symbolism so dominated the Russian cultural avant-garde from the mid-1890s to 1910 that it split into two generations, the first heavily indebted to French Symbolism, and the second with "far fewer links with France . . . more slavophile on the whole."¹⁵ Like their counterparts in Western Europe, Russian Symbolists published journals that expressed these sentiments in essays and reviews, as well as examples of belles lettres, music, philosophy and the fine arts which embodied their aspiration to unify all the arts in a meaningful new synthesis that might serve to transform society as a whole.

The second generation of Russian Symbolists had so many points of personal and theoretical contact with Futurism, the next avant-garde, that at least one historian has preferred to view the two movements as continuous, "parts of a whole, with no clear border between them."¹⁶ Both Futurism and Symbolism at the time considered themselves to be in opposition to the status quo and the academy, viewing themselves as the true representatives of the art of the future.¹⁷ Futurists, however, felt that they supplanted "decadent" Symbolism in a direct appeal to the broad public through a more vivid style based on native sources. The vanguard attitude, "a slap in the face of public taste" (the name of their first manifesto), marked the Russian Futurists even before the group adopted the term in 1913. Through this stance, these innovators hoped to arouse the Russian public slumbering in the reactionary

atmosphere of post-1905 Russia. The Futurists produced journals and booklets made of shockingly common materials like burlap and wallpaper and rough handwritten or crudely hand printed texts which were even more revolutionary in intent and effect than the publications of the earlier Symbolists. Moreover, as we shall see, both Futurism and Symbolism are also mutually associated with caricature journals in 1905-06. The integral links from Symbolism to the caricature journals of 1905 and to later Futurism will be explored in chapter 5.

The Russian journals of caricature from this revolutionary era have been valued ever since their appearance. They were avidly collected both abroad and in Russia; one of the major collections in fact belonged to the St. Petersburg patron of Futurism, Levkii Zheverzheev. In a nation where the majority of the population was illiterate, the journals' pictorial formats could communicate their messages to many levels of society. The journals also printed an enormous quantity of literature -- essays, political tracts, allegorical tales in the form of veiled political fables and fairy tales -- which falls outside the scope of this study, but is material enough for another dissertation. Though these journals disappeared quickly in 1905 and 1906, a Russian bibliophile reported in 1916 that antiquarian catalogues still made it possible to enlarge a collection of these materials or to begin a new one. When the free press came to an abrupt end, bibliographers carefully compiled and published basic factual information on these periodicals. Relics of a once promising past, they were treasured for their historic importance as part of a rare period of relative freedom.¹⁸

At that time, the element in Russian caricature which set it apart

from both its own past and contemporary European caricature was the use of specific sources in Russian folk art, especially the naive print known as the lubok. Though they do not constitute a numerically large category, caricatures inspired by folklore and popular broadsheets (the Russian version of images d'Épinal) are historically significant because they reach back to a native art form which was a major factor in the emergence of Russian Neoprimitivism.

Caricatures that draw directly on sources in Russian folklore and folk art tend to be flat and stylized and frequently employ the high coloration and crude vigor of the lubok. Even mediocre and poor caricatures not drawn from folk art, rugged and unaesthetic in their draftsmanship, have power to move the emotions by virtue of their appropriateness as vehicles for a highly charged message. That these folk-derived caricatures appeared first during the revolution of 1905 links this important stylistic factor with the feverish political turmoil of the day.¹⁹ In this, we can agree with John Bowlt in his evaluation of Russian Neoprimitivism:

In a wider context Neo-Primitivism confronted the decaying values of an ingrown society with a viable and creative alternative, so that by reverting to their indigenous traditions the first artists of Russia's avant-garde discovered a firm aesthetic conviction and an essential inner strength.²⁰

Other art historians have observed that a burgeoning interest in native Russian art spurred on the development of avant-garde painting. They see this adoption of native imagery and folklore as an attempt by Neoprimitivism and by the Futurism that issued from it, to ally closely with the Russian national ethos, and to communicate with a wide audience while avoiding a decaying, ingrown academic style of painting.²¹ The

present study draws similar conclusions while tracing the emergence of actual use of native lubok devices to 1905 caricatures. This dissertation also brings scholarly attention to a huge body of materials not yet fully integrated into art history, materials which form the necessary basis for a meaningful integration of the revolutionary caricatures and cartoons into the larger fabric of Russia's artistic life.

This is the purpose of the work at hand: to integrate the political caricatures of 1905-07 into the art history of the period and to explore their importance in the emergence of a new Russian art. Such an integration would be incomplete, however, if viewed solely in the Russian context. There are both formal visual characteristics (such as the folk elements) and iconographic features that separate Russian revolutionary caricatures from their European counterparts. To understand the distinctiveness of Russian revolutionary caricatures, it is illuminating to view them in relation to those published in other nations. Of particular interest to the present study are the advanced journals in France and Germany, L'Assiette au beurre, Simplicissimus and Jugend. The latter two have been previously identified as especially important for the development of fine Russian graphics at the turn of the century.²² The extent of the reciprocal exchanges of these journals and Russian graphics, however, is greatly clarified in this study by directly comparing images of the 1905 revolution published in Russian and European journals of caricature.

John Grand-Carteret, French historian of popular culture, first rendered a fair overview of European caricatures critical of Russia in his 1906 book, Nicholas, ange de la paix, empereur du knout. This

volume focuses a critical eye on the Tsar's political power and includes Russian and European caricatures and cartoons from the period 1904-06 to illustrate his point.²³ As a primary document, it provides a comparative survey of the wealth of caricature styles possible at the time, reproducing drawings from America, Spain, Italy, England and other nations. Petr M. Dulsky in his 1922 book, Grafika satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 gg.,²⁴ singles out for special praise the caricatures of the young artists associated with the St. Petersburg group, the World of Art (called miriskusniki because of their work for the group's journal Mir iskusstva [World of Art]). Some of these artists engaged their talents in the service of revolutionary journals widely recognized in 1905-06 for their high quality. In Dulsky's view their graphics represent a revolutionary attitude not only in a political but in an artistic sense. His book briefly recounts the relevant European context of Russian caricatures and, though he treated caricature as isolated from the development of Russian fine arts, Dulsky did evaluate the Russian graphics from an artistic standpoint, the only such attempt ever consistently carried out. Dulsky's conclusions regarding the quality of work by the miriskunsniki are repeated with minor variations in most subsequent studies.

On the twentieth anniversary of the 1905 revolution, Vladimir Botsianovsky published in Leningrad a history of Russian satire and caricature in the 1905 revolution which presents a most detailed account of the caricature journals.²⁵ The major part of the historical, archival and interpretive work was written by Botsianovsky, an editor of caricatures in the press of 1906-07. He based his chronicle on personal experience and primary documents. He read the censors' reports to the

Ministry of the Interior on the activities and attitudes of the satirical press, and reproduced in his book many pertinent documents, letters, reports and banned materials. His listing of satirical journals contains 429 different titles in almost all languages of the Russian empire.

Subsequent histories of the art of this period have drawn from Botsianovsky but have not surpassed him. Eleonora P. Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia's book of 1960 surveys painting as well as graphics during the revolutionary period, and is therefore a less detailed account of the caricatures. Vladimir V. Shleev's albums reproduce a similarly wide range of media and a larger number of images, a most welcome undertaking. The brief texts in this series, however, are marred by their adoption of the conventional Soviet viewpoint that sees all material, paintings, graphics and sculpture, as equal documentation of the class struggle and the rise of the Bolshevik party.²⁶ Such a bias limits the value of the albums because it forces the author to overlook the role played by the best caricaturists whose political views may reflect an outlook more moderate and middle-class than proletarian. By giving pride of place to the rather poor caricatures of the Bolshevik press, these historians would seem to disqualify revolutionary caricatures as a factor in the further stylistic development of Russian art.

In the West, John E. Bowlt has briefly sketched the history of the 1905 revolution and its caricatures, and his work has stimulated interest in this area. His principal focus is on the fine graphics of the miriskusniki in the context of a study of the World of Art group as a whole.²⁷ The present investigation attempts to enlarge the focus of

previous studies by including the work of other caricaturists of 1905 and by seeking the impact of revolutionary caricatures on subsequent art styles.

The recently published Images of Revolution: Graphic Art from 1905 Russia by David King and Cathy Porter²⁸ is a readily available introduction to the images of this tragic era. It contains fine color photographs of caricature journals from the David King and Harold Landry collections. Though limited in scope (it highlights material from two British collections), the book reproduces many important illustrations, which are among those analyzed in the present study. The brief text of Images of Revolution is written in a lively style and it quotes many verbal satires not often seen in translation. As a history of the journals, it is marred by occasional oversimplifications, distortions and harsh judgments about some of the best artists. The book cites few sources and has not researched pseudonymous artists. It does indicate the need for a more wide-ranging and thorough treatment of 1905 caricatures as a part of the overall development of art in this era.

One Soviet scholar has suggested that caricatures from the popular press may have influenced the course of Russian fine arts. Grigorii Sternin concluded (as Richard Muther in the 1890s had in regard to European caricature) that the satirical cartoons of the 1840s to 1860s were important for the development of a vocabulary of Russian realism, because they oriented painting to the profound sociological questions of the day. Though Sternin does not develop this thought, his deduction that caricature occupied a crucial position in the socioaesthetic evolution of art is a conclusion shared by this writer.²⁹ It is hoped that the present study will illuminate this relationship in the unfolding of

modern Russian art while correcting the bias of previous work on the caricatures of the 1905 revolution.

In formulating the structure of this dissertation I decided to start out with a historical survey of the most important and widely read caricature journals produced in Russia during the 1905 revolution, namely, Zritel [The Spectator], Zhupel [Bugbear] and Pulemet [Machine-Gun]. This provides a general background of information about the relationship of certain motifs and the overt and hidden power of government censorship over the language of caricature. The next three chapters focus on caricatures thematically. Chapter 2 deals with images of the Tsar, in which strategies of concealment are particularly operative. The third chapter centers on Count Sergei Witte, who was Prime Minister during the period October 1905 to April 1906, and as such was the most frequently depicted subject in caricature at the time; stylistically, these images comprise the full spectrum of graphic possibilities including the use of the native Russian lubok as a model. The fourth chapter looks at a wide array of images of major revolutionary events, such as public demonstrations, troops firing on unarmed marchers, or naval mutinies, as well as more generalized depictions of the bloody repressions of the era. In this chapter we find that images inspired by native folk arts and using Christian motifs highlight features of the Russian press's response to the revolution that set it apart from the caricatures of its west European neighbors such as France and Germany.

In these chapters I attempt to explicate the political implications of the caricatures and at the same time to analyze their formal structures. In addition, I will be identifying throughout meaningful sources for these images, and from time to time commenting on the

influence of similar works in the other arts. In the concluding chapter I investigate the critical position of the 1905 caricatures in their relation to Russian Symbolism, and trace out their impact on the further development of Russian art, in particular, on the flowering of Russian Futurism.

The 1905 revolution provided Russian art with both new subject matter and a reanimated interest in native sources of artistic inspiration. The caricatures of this period demonstrate that intimate links existed between Russian political events and pictorial art. Their stylistic innovations mark them as a watershed in the "renewed vitality" of all the Russian arts.

Notes to Introduction

¹A.K. Shvyrov and S.S. Trubachev, Illiustrirovannaia istoriia karikatury s drevnieshikh vremen do nashikh dnei (St. Petersburg: P.F. Panteleev, 1903), p. 4.

²"Caricature" and "artistic satire" are used interchangeably in the journals of 1905 and in Shvyrov and Trubachev's history; "caricature" is broadly applied in Edward Lucie-Smith, The Art of Caricature (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); and in Ralph E. Shikes, The Indignant Eye: The Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings from the Fifteenth Century to Picasso (Boston: Beacon, 1969); the term is more strictly used in the sense of portrait caricature in Ernst Kris and E.H. Gombrich, "The Principles of Caricature," Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art (New York: International Universities Press, 1952), pp. 189-203; and in Werner Hofmann, Caricature from Leonardo to Picasso, trans. M.H.L. (London: John Calder, 1957).

³Ernst Kris, "The Comic: The Psychology of Caricature," Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art, pp. 174-75.

⁴Charles Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques," Le Portefeuille, 1855; reprinted in Curiosités esthétiques, L'Art romantique et autres oeuvres critiques, with an introduction by Henri Lemaître (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1962), pp. 241-63.

A more scientific cast has been put on Baudelaire's thought by the E.H. Gombrich and Ernst Kris, who conclude that only in an age which separates art from magical power could caricature be born; Caricature (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1940), p. 15.

⁵Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire."

⁶Richard Muther, Geschichte der Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert, 3 vols. (Munich, 1893-94); translated as The History of Modern Painting, rev. ed., 4 vols. (London: J.M. Dent and New York: E.P. Dutton, 1907); volume 2 contains the chapter on caricature, pp. 14-52.

Muther's thesis has recently been tested in Gail B. Murray's article, "The Theme of the Naturalist Quadrille in the Art of Toulouse-Lautrec: Its Origins, Meaning, Evolutions, and Relationship to Later Realism," Arts, no. 4 (December 1980), pp. 68-75.

⁷Emile Fichte, Über politische Karikaturen: Ein Beitrag zur Ästhetik (Berlin: R. Gaertners, 1892).

⁸Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Moderner Musenalmanach -- Die malerische Arbeit unseres Jahrhunderts," Deutsche Zeitung, 1893; reprinted in Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben: Prosa I (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1950), pp. 165, 168; Hofmannsthal, "Franz Stuck," Neue Revue, 1894; reprinted in Ibid., pp. 197-98; see also Werner Hofmann, "Hofmannsthal als Kunstkritiker," Wort in der Zeit, no. 3 (1955), pp. 39-45.

⁹Theodor Heuss, Zur Ästhetik der Karikatur (Stuttgart: Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, 1954).

¹⁰Werner Hofmann, Caricature from Leonardo to Picasso, trans. M.H.L. (London: John Calder, 1957), pp. 10, 11, 47-48, 52.

Rudolf Arnheim explored the perceptual dynamics of caricature's license to excess, which led to a "more abstract and comprehensive formal expression" for some caricaturists, in "The Rationale of Deformation," Art Journal 43 (Winter 1983): 319-24.

¹¹Ibid., p. 19.

¹²Camilla Gray, The Russian Experiment in Art: 1863-1922 (New York: Abrams, 1971), p. 65; this is a paperback edition of the original book of 1962.

¹³V.N. Petrov, "'Mir iskusstva'," Istoriia russkogo iskusstva, ed. I.E. Grabar' et al. (Moscow: Izd. Nauka, 1968), 10, 1, p. 360.

¹⁴Peter Selz, German Expressionist Painting (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1957), p. 58; "Symbolism" was by far the broader term; see discussion in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

¹⁵Georgette Donchin, The Influence of French Symbolism on Russian Poetry (s'-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1958), pp. 7-18, 26, 66-68, 70-71; on the second generation of Russian Symbolists, see Marc Slonim, From Chekhov to the Revolution: Russian Literature, 1900-1917 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 84, 186-210; James West, Russian Symbolism (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 2-3.

¹⁶Dmitrij Tschizewskij, preface, Anfänge des russischen Futurismus (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), p. 9, as cited in Vladimir Markov, Russian Futurism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 2, 387, n. 2.

Points of contact between Symbolism's second generation and Futurism, in addition to those stated on the text, include:

- 1) "a common feeling of crisis . . .;"
- 2) "a feeling of anarchism, a negation of existing values of thought and artistic creation, . . . a common upheaval of their consciousness;"
- 3) a "striving toward the future" (as in the words of Andrei Belyi and Viacheslav Ivanov of the second generation of Symbolists), a belief that art could transform mankind's future life;

- 4) a "tendency from isolation to community" linking the artist and the public "in a great, all-national art;"
- 5) a common interest in folk art and myth-creation;
- 6) an impressive stream of manifestos;
- 7) a frequent stress on modern, urban culture;
- 8) an innovative use of the word, its capacity for emotional coloring inherent in its sound, a call for unexpected words, metrical experiment, repetition, dissonance.

All these traits are derived from the work of the second generation of Russian Symbolists by Donchin, Influence, pp. 76-77, 84, 99-100, 113-14, 151-63, 164-215; point 4 derives from Viacheslav Ivanov's essay, "Poet i chern," Vesy, no. 3 (March 1904), as cited in Donchin, p. 100; see also Oleg A. Maslenikov, The Frenzied Poets: Andrey Biely and the Russian Symbolists (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 7, 73-75, 219-20.

¹⁷Donchin, Influence, pp. 80-81, 84; for more analysis of Russian Futurism, see Charlotte Douglas, "The New Russian Art and Italian Futurism," Art Journal, no. 3 (Spring 1975), pp. 229-39.

¹⁸Vl. Kranikhfel'd, "Zhurnal'nye otgoloski: O russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistike," Mir Bozhii, no. 12 (December 1905), section 2, p. 119; Sergei R. Mintslov, "14 mesiatsev 'svobody pečhati' (Zametki bibliografa)," Byloe, no. 3/15 (March 1907), p. 123; A. Vengerov, "Satiricheskie zhurnaly 1904-1906 g.," Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' F. Brokgauza i I. Efrona, tom II (dopolnitel'nyi), (1907), pp. 591-93; V.A. Desnitskii, "Predislovie," in Vladimir F. Botsianovskii and Erikh F. Gollerbakh, Russkaia satira pervoi revoliutsii 1905-1906 (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925), p. 5, reports that the English librarian, one Mr. Rait (Wright?), treasures his own personal collection of the 1905 journals; N.N. Vinogradov "Satira i iumor v 1905-1907 gg.: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'," Bibliograficheskie izvestiia, no. 3-4 (1916), p. 125, reports on the renewed availability of caricature journals of 1905-07.

¹⁹Folkish stylistic devices seem to have been rare in European caricature before 1905. A search of nineteenth century caricature journals, for example during the widespread revolutions of 1848, discovered in a multitude of conservative drawings just one political cartoon -- an imitation of the Bayeux Tapestry spread over six pages in the London Punch ("Ye Foraye of the French," Punch 14 [1848]: 33-38) -- rendered in a pointedly archaic style with nationalist overtones to aid in conveying the anti-French political message.

The Paris Commune of 1871, though it produced a huge number of political caricatures, apparently provoked no journals to publish images inspired by French folk art; see James A. Leith, ed., Images of the Commune (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1978), esp. pp. 101-50; and Susan Lambert, ed. The Franco-Prussian War and the Commune in Caricature, 1870-71 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1971).

After the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, however, Le Rire printed occasional cartoons of Russian events in a style derived from Russian folk art, as for instance, in a drawing by L. Métinet no. 396 (7 June 1902). In this piece a frame imitating folk wood carving surrounds a scene of a traditional Russian troika.

²⁰John E. Bowlt, "Neo-Primitivism and Russian Painting," Burlington Magazine, no. 853 (March 1974), p. 140.

²¹Mary Chamot, Gontcharova (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1972), p. 32; Bowlt, "Neo-Primitivism," pp. 133-40; Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Kandinsky's Abstract Style: The Veiling of Apocalyptic Folk Imagery," Art Journal, no. 3 (Spring 1975), pp. 217-28; and Long, Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style (Oxford and New York: Oxford University, Clarendon Press, 1980).

²²Many scholars acknowledge this debt; with relation to the 1905 revolution, we may cite: Grigorii Iu. Sternin, "Grafika russkikh satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 godov," Iskusstvo, no. 3 (May-June 1955), pp. 33-38; Valentin Brodskii, "Russkaia revoliutsiia 1905 goda i izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo zapadnoi Evropy," Iskusstvo, no. 11 (1958), pp. 23-34; John E. Bowlt, The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the "World of Art" Group (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1979), pp. 113-14.

²³John Grand-Carteret, Nicolas, ange de la paix, empereur du knout (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1906).

²⁴Petr M. Dul'skii, Grafika satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 gg. (Kazan: Tatgosizdat, 1922), pp. 37, 76; in general, the journals produced in St. Petersburg are of superior quality, a fact reflected in the illustrations chosen for this study.

²⁵Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, Russkaia satira.

²⁶Eleonora P. Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia, Russkoe iskusstvo i revoliutsiia 1905 goda: Grafika, zhivopis' (Leningrad: Izd. Leningradskogo universiteta, 1960); her article on revolutionary graphics, "Politicheskaia grafika epokhi pervoi russkoi revoliutsii," Uchenye zapiski LGU, no. 220 (1956), p. 80, claims that the work of the talented miriskusniki reflects "an indifference to the role of the people in the revolution . . . ;" similar sentiments color the attitude of her book; Vladimir V. Shleev, ed., Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 godov i izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 3 vols. (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1977-81).

²⁷Bowlt, The Silver Age, pp. 110-16; two articles by Bowlt have covered similar material: "Art and Violence: The Russian Caricature in the Early Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," 20th Century Studies (Canterbury), no. 13/14 (December 1975), pp. 56-76; and "Russian Caricature and the 1905 Revolution," Print Collector's Newsletter, no. 1 (March-April 1978), pp. 5-8.

Robert C. Williams, Artists in Revolution: Portraits of the Russian Avant-Garde, 1905-1925 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), pp. 59-71, includes material on the revolutionary caricatures, but adds nothing new to Bowlt's studies.

²⁸David King and Cathy Porter, Images of Revolution: Graphic Art from 1905 Russia (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983); among the harsh judgments, one may cite the passage describing Bilibin's graphics as "neat, severe and flawed by a terrible passivity" p. 39.

²⁹Grigorii Iu. Sternin, Ocherki russkoi satiricheskoi grafiki (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1964), pp. 83-125, 202-24; and his "Khudozhniki i revoliutsiia 1905 goda: K 70-letiiu pervoi russkoi revoliutsii," Tvorchestvo, no. 12 (1975), pp. [9-11].

CHAPTER 1

RUSSIAN CARICATURE IN THE 1905 REVOLUTION

If some showman had set out to convince the people that their government was at one and the same time both weak and cruel, he could not have arranged matters more aptly than fate arranged them in that mid-Winter of 1904-05. What was needed to keep the people quiet, was perhaps more force and firmness in Manchuria, and less of it at home.

--Geroid T. Robinson, Rural Russia Under the Old Regime, p. 151.

The portentous year 1905 dawned with the thunder of tsarist guns firing on unarmed petitioners in St. Petersburg. This Bloody Sunday massacre of January 9 provoked immediate and sustained response throughout the Empire in the form of riots, demonstrations, even the assassination of the Tsar's uncle, Grand Duke Sergei. Yet this tumultuous climate, its tension and violence were screened by the unnaturally calm facade of the Russian press.

While European journals such as L'Assiette au beurre, Simplicissimus and Jugend poured forth fervid condemnations of tsarist brutality, Russian journals barely squeaked out references to Russia's foreign difficulties, and found it absolutely impossible to print domestic political caricature. This situation changed dramatically after a general strike in October 1905 brought the presses, transportation, telegraph, electricity and other services to a halt. The general strike was the immediate stimulus for the Tsar's October Manifesto, promising basic civil liberties, freedom of conscience, speech and assembly, and a sweeping change of government structure in the form of popular representation. Nowhere was it made clear when and how these reforms were to be made, but the promise of them served to confuse the issue of censorship and to create a situation which fostered the rise of a large and vocal oppositional press immediately after the strike. This chapter will focus on the changing nature of political caricature during the different phases of the 1905 revolution, especially as it is revealed in the efforts of the most important Russian journals of caricature produced

at the time, Zritel, Zhupel and Pulemet. The phases reflected in this narrative of the caricature journals are far from a complete and accurate account of the 1905 revolution. Such a work remains to be written, although for the revolutions's basic outlines, the reader may refer to several histories of this era.ⁱ Within the limitations of the biased caricature medium, we can nevertheless trace a larger theme -- the rise of open opposition to the government, through caricature's bold flowering after the October Manifesto, to its demise during the course of 1906.

For an example of the more tendentious political nature of Russian caricature after the general strike, we may compare two cartoons printed in the long-lived satirical weekly, Strekoza (Dragonfly). In February 1905, it managed to print only an elliptical reference to the ongoing Russo-Japanese War, in an allusion not to Russian defeats nor to any individual responsible for them, but to "Chinese Neutrality" (fig. 1), which was perceived as calculated treachery. In this cartoon a stereotypically dignified mandarin is depicted both from front and back. At the left he demurely protests to an unseen Tsar that he knows and sees nothing; at the right, concealed behind his back, the Japanese prepare their cannonade. This cautious and somewhat obscure drawing contrasts vividly with cartoons and caricatures in Strekoza immediately after the strike, when the journal adopted a more assertive stance toward the tsarist government, and when it began treating political topics closer to home than the distant, still abstract struggle in the Far East.

At this juncture Strekoza printed "Count S. Yu. Witte and His Cabinet" (fig. 2). Instead of avoiding issues of individual blame and recognizable government personalities as in the past, this caricature

depicts a beleaguered Witte, President of the Tsar's Council of Ministers, vainly trying to answer demands from all sides at once. This use of portrait caricature is only the most obvious of Strekoza's innovations here, for behind Witte is a hidden caricature of the Tsar, such as we shall examine in chapter 2. In this rendering, the Tsar's presence is indicated in the guise of an angel whose wings partly conceal his bearded face. Because of an early concern for international disarmament in the late 1890s, Nicholas II had been dubbed "the angel of peace," a title used often in the caricature press of the time.²

Government censorship had a diminishing impact on the unofficial Russian press in the early twentieth century. In the closing months of 1905, however, its control was totally broken first by the printers' strike in October and then by a set of "temporary press laws" issued in November which abolished preliminary censorship for publications issued in cities.³ The policy reversal evident in the two drawings printed in Strekoza was made possible by this series of events, and reflected an optimism in many sections of Russian society that greater liberation would follow.

The general strike of October forced a resentful Tsar to capitulate to long-standing demands for civil liberties, including freedom of speech. On October 17, basic liberties were promised in the Tsar's October Manifesto, drafted by Count Sergei Witte, and this document was widely invoked to guarantee freedom of the press as a part of freedom of speech. The November easing of preliminary press censorship seemed to confirm this extension and opened the floodgates.

Immediately the liberal Russian press assumed a more aggressive attitude. A journalist with the British Morning Post, in St.

Petersburg at the time, wrote: "One has only to buy the Radical newspapers to be convinced that if the Press is not free it is certainly more explicit and more unrestrained in its violence than the Press of any European country, and some of the comic satirical newspapers might have Marat for editor." A Russian observer concurred: "The newspapers of all camps are now [after the October Manifesto] generally savage and bold."³

In a nation of widespread illiteracy, over four hundred journals of humor and caricature poured onto Russian streets, most of them between November 1905 and March 1906, when preliminary censorship was reimposed. They ranged widely in political viewpoints and were printed in almost all languages of the Russian Empire, from Armenian to Yiddish.⁴ This extraordinary proliferation within a few months was in sharp contrast to the entire nineteenth century which saw fewer than a hundred such periodicals.

The majority of 1905-06 caricature journals were small and cheap, averaging eight to twelve pages in length and priced from five to fifteen kopecks (a kopeck is 1/100th of a ruble). Despite the abolition of preliminary censorship, these journals were shut down if they produced material offensive to the government; most were terminated after the second or third issue. They appeared like meteor showers on a summer night, briefly flashing across the dark Russian landscape, quickly extinguished by the police. Often a journal returned after a first closing under a new name and a new editor, like Kornei Chukovsky's Signal/Sig-naly (Signal/Signals) and Zinovii Grzhebin's Zhupel/Adskaia pochta (Bugbear/Hell Post). Very few survived as long as the seven months of Yurii Artsybushev's Zritel (Spectator), which appeared first, heralded

the flood of political caricature and developed stratagems for getting around the censor.

Over two hundred artists, both professional and amateur, contributed to these variously named journals. The major artists involved were all associated with the World of Art group. They include Sergei Chekhonin of Zritel, who had worked with the Symbolist painter, Mikhail Vrubel, at the turn of the century, assisting him with his work in ceramics. All the other important caricaturists worked for Zhupei/Adskaia pochta; among them are Ivan Bilibin, famed for his illustrated fairy tales, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, Evgenii Lanceray (Lansere) and Valentin Serov.

A brief look at Russian caricature in the nineteenth century will clarify how Zritel, the first new caricature publications of 1905, stood out from the usual humorous journals. Throughout the previous century, most Russian journals had been restricted to social satire. As an early historian of Russian caricature noted however, at significant times, such as periods of intense domestic stress, political caricature came to the fore. Only during such crises did the grip of traditional bureaucratic control relax sufficiently to allow publication of strong political caricature.

In 1812 the target of Russian political caricature was Napoleon's invading army. Later in the century, Russia's humiliating defeat in the Crimean War, 1853-56, and public discussion preceding the abolition of serfdom in 1861 effected a liberation, however brief, of the press. Four caricature journals appeared between 1857 and 1863, addressing political issues.⁵ But they and their illustrations were not of high artistic quality, nor could they equal the keen political satire in

Russian literature of the same years. Moreover, Russian caricaturists failed to develop subterfuges for publishing political material during repressive periods.

In 1900 the discerning French observer of Russian caricature, John Grand-Carteret, summed up the situation:

la caricature politique . . . n'existe guère, la Russie, travaillée par un esprit réformateur surtout économique, n'étant pas encore atteinte du mal particulier aux Etats démocratiques ou parlementaires. Si le portrait-charge y fleurit comme partout, il reste strictement borné aux personnages de la comédie mondiane, acteurs, gens de lettres, artistes: impossible de toucher aux fonctionnaires, aux gens en place, aux ministres, personnes sacrées à l'égal du souverain que ne sauraient atteindre ni la plume ni le crayon.⁶

Grand-Carteret's continuing interest in the reflection of Russian political affairs in caricature led him to produce two studies of European caricatures of Tsar Nicholas II at about the same time as the above observation.⁷ His coy reference in the passage above to the "particular evil" of democratic nations, the relative freedom to lampoon government officials, is a subtle compliment to caricature in more libertarian societies.

This is not to say that fine caricature did not exist in Russia at the turn of the century, only that it was limited to "the human comedy, actors, men of letters, artists." The most notable Russian exponent of artistic caricature at the turn of the century was Pavel Shcherbov, whose style influenced the finest caricatures of the 1905 revolution.⁸ Shcherbov (1866-1938) worked for the journal Shut (Buffoon) and was famous for his witty, laconic cartoons of the world of Russian art and culture. Shcherbov typically personified the clash between the old and new art, for example in "Thus Spake Zarathustra" (fig. 3), in the

figures of the nationalistic art critic Vladimir Stasov at the right, with his symbolic trumpet and peasant shoes, admonishing the younger generation of the cosmopolitan journal Mir iskusstva who scramble off to the left, the journal's twin fish insignia just visible on the seat of someone's pants.

Shcherbov's style had developed under the clear influence of international art nouveau and represents a distinct advance over the chiaroscuro styles of virtually all preceding Russian caricature.⁹ Figure 1 is an example of the earlier graphic mode. In contrast to this, Shcherbov's crisp, shadowless rendering and firm lines in "Thus Spake Zarathustra" and "Interesting Reading" (fig. 4) allow his caustic messages to hit home quickly for they shed the graphic complexity that inhibited other caricatures of the day. Because of Shcherbov, talented young miriskusniki gravitated to Shut, and contributed to the production of caricatures for this weekly: Ivan Bilibin, Sergei Chekhonin, Vladimir Chambers, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, Nikolai Gerardov, Vladimir Levitsky and Dmitrii Stelletsy.¹⁰ These artists were to a significant degree influenced by Shcherbov in their work for the better caricature journals of 1905, Zritel and Zhupel.

Throughout the revolutionary period, Shut printed only cautious political cartoons. Shcherbov's own "Interesting Reading," published during the violent uprisings in mid-1906, reveals no overt political theme, unless in a negative sense. By depicting a pair of well-groomed and evidently cultivated people calmly reading by a steaming samovar, Shcherbov implies the failure of intellectuals in general to take truly effective action during the revolution. A subtle, almost unnoticed reference to one of the reasons behind this failure might be seen in the

focus of the man's attention on his companion's breast protruding over the top of her bodice. By this detail, Shcherbov's drawing becomes a cynical barb aimed at the latest preoccupation of contemporary Russian philosophy and literature, a rage "quite without parallel in earlier Russian culture." Eros, sex, was one of the most freely and frequently discussed topics during the 1905 revolution, forming the sensational core of novels of the day like Mikhail Kuzmin's Krylia (Wings) and Mikhail Artsybashev's Sanin. The St. Petersburg apartment of the philosopher and poet Viacheslav Ivanov, the famous "Tower," was the gathering place for the most advanced artists and writers of the day. Eros was often the central theme of their discussions during the winter of 1905-06.¹¹ "Interesting Reading" is a most successful debunking of the affectation of this Symbolist preoccupation.

Shcherbov was invited to join Zhupel, which was to become one of the most important of the revolutionary caricature journals, but the intransigent cartoonist was skeptical of its chances.¹² His error was pronounced as Zhupel and Zritel greatly outstripped their cautious predecessor Shut, and are memorable within the flood of journals. Their participants were in touch with advanced developments, with Symbolism and art nouveau in the European press and artistic circles, while maintaining a strong nationalist current. Zritel was founded by one who knew these currents well, the 27-year-old Yurii K. Artsybushev (1877-1952), son of Savva Mamontov's business partner and a frequent visitor to the art colony at Abramtsevo. "His artistic and social sympathies were formed early, while still at the well-known colony at Abramtsevo," reports his colleague Vladimir Botsianovsky. Artsybushev's family frequented Abramtsevo, and were especially close to the foremost

Symbolist artist, Mikhail Vrubel. Yurii Artsybushev knew Vrubel from the early 1890s, when he would visit his Abramtsevo studio.

Vrubel himself is an important influence on 1905 caricaturists, so we shall briefly examine his position at the turn of the century. He spent some time before his marriage in 1896 living with the Artsybushev family. He painted decorative panels for their house and portraits of the elder Artsybushev and his wife. The young Yurii remained in touch with the painter until Vrubel could no longer physically respond to visitors at the asylum where he died in 1910.¹³

Like many artists of his generation, Vrubel was unable to understand the import of the 1905 revolution, and he did not contribute directly to Artsybushev's venture. Vrubel may have executed at this time private caricatures of Tsars Alexander II, Alexander III, Nicholas II and Major-General Trepov, possibly under the influence of revolutionary caricatures, but such were not published.¹⁴ Vrubel's close disciple and imitator, Viktor D. Zamirailo, did join the ranks of Zritel illustrators. Zamirailo's drawing for the cover of the fourth issue of the journal, "A Stroll" (fig. 5), while appearing innocent enough, contains secret references to the disastrous Russo-Japanese War, especially to the recent sinking of the Russian fleet at the Straits of Tsushima. The woman in the foreground wears black and behind her is a soldier with his arm in a sling. In the background at left, a policeman grimly observes the strollers. Their bland expression conceals as much as their accessories reveal; the widow's weeds and the soldier's bandage hint at the drawing's true intent.¹⁵ In the overall context of the issue, this image partakes of an oppositional spirit, a mood duly noted by the censor. Only in the woman's face is there a glimmer of Vrubel's

style, yet Symbolism's basic idea of a secret language is the foundation of this image's success.

Vrubel was universally revered by younger artists in the first decade of the twentieth century. His work exemplified for them the two most vital currents of modern art -- the same trends that made the 1905 caricatures important for the future development of Russian art: the assimilation of modern European stylistic trends and a revival of ancient Slavic and Russian folk themes and decorative motifs. These are the elements that inform the most clear and resonant caricatures of the revolutionary period. The Russian motifs and forms also distinguish Russian caricatures from those of their European colleagues, just as they set Russian decorative arts off from similar design work by European artists.

In Vrubel younger artists found a colleague who "reconciled in his own work the previous rift between Slavophile and Westernizing artistic sympathies . . . He was thus able to restore a vital balance which had been lacking in the art of his country."¹⁶ During the early phases of the revolution of 1905 the cry for liberation included several points of contention with the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts; one of them was the Academy's failure to honor Mikhail Vrubel. On this one item the Academy yielded to pressure from their younger colleagues and granted Vrubel the title of Academician just as blindness drew the veil over his creative life.¹⁷ As the chief representative of Russian Symbolism, Vrubel exerted a palpable influence on revolutionary caricature. Not only was this felt through his friendship with the editor of Zritel and the secret language he developed for the journal, but Vrubel's blending of east and west, Russian folk art and art nouveau, resoundingly echoed in the best of revolutionary caricatures.

Early in his life the founder of Zritel, Artsybushev, had been imbued with Abramtsevo's "spirit of a genuine, pure, truly free art, which . . . forces one to perceive with a special acuity the miasma oozing from the swamp that was Russian society of the eighties and nineties."¹⁸ This same attitude prevailed among the miriskusniki who joined in the caricature press of 1905.

Though himself an indifferent draftsman, Artsybushev was the guiding spirit and editor of this, the first journal of political caricature to partake of the opposition to the government that prevailed in early 1905. He managed the longest-lived and by far the most popular of the revolutionary journals. In the program presented to the censors when seeking permission for Zritel in December 1904, Artsybushev included the rubric "caricature," with which the censor immediately took issue. Permission for Zritel was granted only "on the condition that the word 'caricature' be excluded from the artistic section of the projected program."¹⁹

For the Russian censor, "caricature" by its very nature contravened laws guarding the personal dignity and honor of a citizen, thereby warranting the accusation of libel. Moreover, in the highly charged atmosphere of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05, Artsybushev's use of the word conjured up the spectre of sedition, for the targets of much caricature, were it allowed to flourish, were bound to be foreign affairs or governmental figures. This mixture of subjects under the term "caricature" was not peculiar to Russia, but reflects the interchangeability of this word with "satire" which was general since at least the appearance of the French journal La Caricature in 1830. In the Russian press, too, these terms were often mixed.

In Russia, government officials, like the Tsar himself, were no longer merely individual citizens, but represented institutions (in the Tsar's case, were institutions) which the censor was duty-bound to protect and uphold. Caricature in Russia traditionally had no right to comment on matters touching either these officials or the business of the sovereign (much as the organs of local self-government, the zemstva, had no right to consider any but local affairs). As Grand-Carteret phrased it, it was "impossible de toucher aux fonctionnaires, aux gens en place, aux ministres, personnes sacrées à l'égal de souverain, que ne sauraient atteindre ni la plume ni le crayon." Government officials, domestic or foreign affairs were simply not material for graphic or literary wit. To breach this code was intolerable.

The political climate of Russia in 1905 was rife with tension, best described by an artist engaged with caricature journals of the day. Evgenii Lanceray (Lansere) expresses the mood of the liberal element of Russian society:

A general indignation with the regime, vague hopes for a juster organization of life gripped us too, a small circle of artists directly linked with the journal, Mir iskusstva. In our daily work we were all far from politics, but in our sympathies we inclined to the liberal disposition of leftist zemstvo leaders. All opposition to the government found sympathy with us.

. . .

Our circle was fully in harmony with that general attitude which gripped liberal society after the defeat in Manchuria, after the 9th of January, after the internal events in Russia.²⁰

Some of these artistic groups published statements calling for greater liberalization of Russian society, for only in a free Russia could art flourish. In January, May and November 1905, different statements

appeared in the press, signed by artists associated with the large exhibition societies, the Union of Russian Artists and the World of Art.²¹ Such was the climate of political and artistic ferment within which Zritel's attempt to publish caricatures was not welcomed by the censor.

Immediately, the young editor was faced with a critical problem: how to express an oppositional stance through Zritel without recourse to traditional pictorial caricature? The journal first distinguished itself by its fresh solution to this dilemma, which it found after nearly six months of wrangling with censorship.

Zritel originally claimed to be merely an innocent outlet "to give artists interested in the printing industry the possibility of working in that area."²² From the first material submitted, the censor realized that the journal had political aims, and was "not merely harmful, but vile in its direction." In his report, the censor continued:

In all, it is not a big work, . . . but a lot is contained in a few lines. The majority of [the pages] are symbolic; there is not one that does not have an advanced fable. It is all images and expressions of attitude, all of them directed not so much to the reader's thought as to his mood. All meaning is in symbols, epithets, . . . word, ellipses, reading between the lines, and exclamations.²³

Soon, Major-General Trepov, Vice Minister of the Interior, began working for the journal's destruction. After seeing the first three issues in June 1905, his letter to the censorship committee cited the journal's "oppositional spirit" and claimed that "it serves, without a doubt, revolutionary aims." The committee responded that it was helpless against the journal, for Zritel presented its material "in allegorical and symbolic form." The committee's hands were tied by the

fact that Zritel's materials did not contravene any specific law. Zritel's "true premises" reveal themselves, the committee continued, "only in the composition of the issue as an entity, since its separate parts mutually reinforce and explain one another."²⁴

As the censorship committee discerned, Artsybushev determined to form each issue of Zritel into a coherent oppositional statement that could be deciphered only as a unity. He hit upon this unique course of coordinating individual elements of quiet irony and indirect reference, when item after item was banned by the censor. Since materials were submitted to the censorship before the journal's layout was established, their overall import could not be understood until the entire issue had been printed. In hiding his intentions, Artsybushev honed the cutting edges of allegory, disguise and the ancient and traditional subterfuge of Aesopian language and images. In addition, Artsybushev drove the censor into a corner by a ruse that might be called "divide and conquer."

The method worked thus: he sent individual items for an issue of Zritel, parts of a pictorial composition, separately to the censor, so that on any one day, he would not see all of the elements of an issue together. The isolated parts would be innocuous enough, or misleadingly titled, so as to receive the censor's stamp of approval. In the layout process, Artsybushev recombined the individually approved elements into compositions expressly forbidden under Russia's strict code. For example, representations of demonstrations were banned. Artsybushev drew two tailpieces and submitted them on different days for approval. One consists only of running feet, and the other of marching boots (fig. 6). When arranged together in the first issue, they form an image, immediately recognizable at the time, of police breaking up a demonstration.

Zritel's editor had gotten away with a "crime" right under the censor's nose.²⁵

Artsybushev used the same subterfuge for a page decoration in the fourth issue (fig. 7) sending in, one after the other, drawings of a man's feet, an overturned taboret, and a large initial letter "G" for the story on this page. Again, the censor suspected nothing in these separate elements. When printed, the three image a hanged man in synecdochic form, clearly a meaningful ensemble in the troubled context of 1905 Russia.

Vice Minister of the Interior Trepov was among those who quickly perceived Zritel's seditious intentions. In the letter cited above, he noted how the second issue as a whole contained references to the events of January 9, Bloody Sunday. He continued:

Number 3 of the journal, according to the contents of its drawings, is a further development of the idea in number 2: on the cover are figures of cossacks; on the main page in the center corpses of murdered men are shown lying in the square, . . .²⁶

The drawings (figs. 8, 9) most likely by the young Aleksandr Kudinov, are not remarkable for their expressivity. Artsybushev accomplished his ruse by submitting them with harmless, misleading titles. The first was called "Singers" and the second, "Study of Sleepers." When laying out the pages for this issue, the editor omitted the titles, thus suggesting the revolutionary theme, as Trepov perceived. There was no statute on the books that forbade the dropping of an already approved title.²⁷

He had fooled them again.

Artsybushev's most famous accomplishment by this method is a call to boycott the upcoming State Duma elections (fig. 10). Under the restricted formula devised at the Tsar's request by Aleksandr Buiygin, many strata of Russian society were to be excluded from enfranchisement. When this scheme was announced in early August, liberal hopes were bitterly disappointed and there was an immediate outcry against the "Buiygin Duma." Artsybushev's graphic reference to the boycott movement is composed of three parts, which he submitted separately to the censor: a cat with its label, "Kot," a picture of a Chinaman with his English nickname, "Boy," and a drawing of the Tauride Palace, home of the proposed "State Duma." Separately, these elements are innocuous enough, but with "Poy" placed close to "Kot," and both arranged in conjunction with "State Duma," the message, "Boycott the State Duma," was clear even to the chagrined censor.²⁸

The cover for this October issue of Zritel carried the portrait of a figure from contemporary Russian history, Admiral Alekseev (fig. 11). For this design Dmitrii Stelletsky, of the World of Art Group, drew upon ancient Russian lubki, such as a wood engraving of Alexander the Great fighting the King of India (fig. 12), or any number of others of this sort. The crudely stylized horse and rider, the decorative treatment of the landscape and the use of lettering were borrowed from images in Dmitrii Rovinsky's popular volumes of Russian folk prints (lubki), that these young artists consulted at the St. Petersburg Public Library.²⁹ Ostensibly, Stelletsky's image is an illustration to a Russian legend, yet the artist has given his subject the face of a Russian military leader whose shameful leadership during the Russo-Japanese War has contributed to the defeat of the Russian forces

in the Far East. In another satirical journal, drawings comment by innuendo on Alekseev's and another military leaders' roles in the war; beneath their photographs in figure 13, two mischievous dwarfs gesture impertinently and a "Brave Rabbit" (as he is captioned) takes flight beneath a Japanese fan.

After fooling the censor repeatedly, Zritel encountered increasing difficulties obtaining permission for any material at all. The censor bridled even when Artsybushev attempted to print material that had already appeared in government newspapers, and absolutely forbade the use of a portrait of the Tsar on the cover of an issue for the feast of St. Nicholas, the Tsar's name day. The censor felt -- rightly -- that the journal's special tone would cast a pall over the most august visage of the sovereign.³⁰

Shortly after Major-General Trepov was removed from the Vice-Ministry of the Interior, Zritel made a direct stab at its old nemesis. During the halcyon days after the general strike put the censors temporarily out of business, Sergei Chekhonin published "In the Poultry Kingdom. The Turkey-Trepov and the Public Chicken Pobedonosets. On the Ground Discarded Toy Clowns and Blue Jackets Lie About. From Behind the Fence Peep the Powers" (fig. 14). In the leading role is a gross hybrid of Trepov's head with the body of a fat turkey. Red accents the center, on the revolutionary flag and the turkey's wattle, and focuses attention on the Major-General's baffled look and dragging gorilla-like arms. A widely reproduced photograph of Trepov (fig. 15) supplied the features for Chekhonin. Comparison of the two amply demonstrates the artist's facility in the realm of portrait-caricature. Magnification of the epaulettes and elimination of the neck transform the noble

characteristics of the minister into a loathsome creature. Behind the fence, above the head of the young revolutionary, one can distinguish waving whips and a visored cap, the latter of the type we shall see associated with the Tsar (cf. figs. 43, 51). Zritel's readers would have seen the cap and the caption, "From Behind the Fence Peep the Powers," as a covert reference to Nicholas II. Chekhonin's large body of caricatures of the Tsar, which will be examined in the next chapter, serve as a measure of liberal society's disaffection with the sovereign.

The government did succeed in closing Zritel after the appearance of its call to boycott the State Duma elections in October, and it did not reappear until almost a month later. Ironically, the journal was saved by the Tsar's October Manifesto promising civil liberties. Artsybushev defended his Zritel by invoking the Manifesto and, with the additional assistance of the general strike, won the right to continue publishing.

By the end of 1905, however, the state mechanism had recovered sufficient strength to close Zritel for good. It attempted to resurrect in 1906 under various titles, Zhurnal, Almanakh (with its caricature supplement Verbnyi bazar) and Maski. Chekhonin took over as editor after the jailing of Artsybushev. His artistic fluency in a number of styles is evident from the wealth of revolutionary caricatures in these journals that may be attributed to him. His unsigned works in Verbnyi bazar (Pussy-Willow Bazaar) for instance, derive from well-known lubki. The witty "Almost for Free . . ." (fig. 16), lampoons the reactionary judge of the St. Petersburg Palace of Justice, Akimov, by placing him in the guise of the famous fools of Russian folklore, "Savoska and Paramoshka" (fig. 17). The learned judge in Chekhonin's rendering sits

astride a goat and tips the scales of justice with his boneless finger.

By the time the last successor to Zritel had published its final issue in mid-April 1906, the state had imprisoned Artsybushev and forced his successor to choose between prison and exile. Chekhonin fled to Paris. Within a year, however, Artsybushev's appeal of his two-and-one-half-year prison sentence met with success. By that time, the venerable Senators on the review committee could no longer see the relation between Zritel's tendentious contents and the Tsar's person and power which it had so superbly ridiculed. From January to March 1908, Zritel again appeared, for a span of eleven issues, but no longer with the same success under the repressive Stolypin government.³¹

In its prime, Zritel prepared ground for the great flowering of Russian caricature in November 1905. It developed successful stratagems for slipping forbidden material through censorship and educated a new generation to read between the lines, to interpret novel forms of allegory and a multitude of disguises for banned subject matter. In purely artistic terms, the quality of Zritel's illustrations was not uniformly high. Its contemporary, the Symbolist journal, Vesy, noted with pleasure Zritel's arrival, but asked, "could it be that the editor of the foremost and ultra-progressive publication adheres, in the realm of art, to conservative and reactionary views?"³²

As if to answer such criticism, another group of artists published a journal of caricature which is acknowledged as the highest artistic and typographical quality, Zhupel (Bugbear). A member of the World of Art, Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva, hosted some of the editorial meetings for that journal. She described the group's general attitude in terms quite close to those of Evgenii Lanceray's statement above:

We artists . . . were gripped with a common mood; we wanted to express our solidarity with the masses, our revolt and indignation against the actions and conduct of the government, and it was decided to publish a satirical journal of an accusatory character, under the name of Zhupel . . .³³

Zhupel's achievements in the realm of graphic art have been universally praised. Its attempt "to express solidarity with the masses" has most often met with disparagement,³⁴ though it forms one of the most intriguing and hope-filled aspects of the endeavor. Both features deserve full examination here.

Zhupel gathered together a group of artists linked with the journal, Mir iskusstva, though not all contributed drawings.³⁵ The miriskusniki held divergent views on the revolution, but basically their outlook and the tone of their contributions to Zhupel ranged from moderate to leftist. They were concerned not only with righting the injustices of the tsarist system, but with improving the quality of life as well. During the turbulent events, it was by no means clear if both goals could be simultaneously upheld. In attempting to do this, these artists joined forces with the realist writers in the circle of Maxim Gorky, the so-called Znanie (Knowledge) group. Decidedly answering a public need, Znanie publications often sold out editions in the tens of thousands,³⁶ while the more esoteric literature produced by Symbolist writers of Mir iskusstva rarely sold out editions of one or two thousand.

Lanceray saw the necessity to explain the union of miriskusniki with writers of a seemingly opposite camp, writers frequently accused by the Symbolists of aesthetic insensitivity and literary barbarism. Lanceray wrote to his skeptical uncle, Alexandre Benois, in July 1905:

Even I don't know whether we [miriskusniki] will be able to get along together with [the Znanie group for long, but] this union must be tried with an open heart, for a very significant event and completely novel alliances might come of it . . .³⁷

In many ways this merger was paradigmatic of the entire 1905 revolution, which by September-October 1905 united virtually all classes in opposition to the acting regime.

Even after working for months together preparing Zhupel, Lanceray's enthusiasm still grew. He wrote glowingly of the merger to Benois:

all youth, the entire quality of life, all hope, all enthusiasm are on the side of the leftists . . . And for that reason, i.e., so that in the future art may occupy its proper place, we must now hold out our hand to the people of the future and build together.

Lanceray continued by explaining Gorky's particular appeal to the miriskusniki, by citing the writer's recent statement at Viacheslav Ivanov's "Tower" apartment across from the Tauride Palace. Echoing the sentiments of Victor Hugo during the Romantic epoch, Gorky called literary and fine artists "the sole bearers of the destiny of culture." In a nation such as Russia, without traditions and without law, "the people of art are the true spiritual, authoritative government of the land."³⁸ Such exalted phrases naturally attracted artists committed to the notion that beauty and art are vital to the quality of life and necessary to the salvation of the world.

On the artistic side of this equation, Zhupel's main aim was publication of caricatures on a par with the best German efforts in this realm, those of Simplicissimus. Zhupel's editor, Zinovii I. Grzhebin (1869-1929), reflected the taste of the majority of his

miriskusniki colleagues in choosing this Munich journal as Zhupel's model. They "placed it higher, valued it as more significant and more interesting than all the Western European humorous journals." They learned much from the journal's illustrators, T.T. Heine, Bruno Paul, "the Magnificent" Rudolf Wilke, and Olaf Gulbransson.³⁹

Grzhebin had trained first in the Odessa school of art, then studied in Munich and Budapest, where he was one of Simon Hollosy's favorite pupils. There Grzhebin met Mstislav Dobuzhinsky and Igor Grabar around the turn of the century; when he arrived in St. Petersburg Grzhebin energetically began to organize Zhupel, giving up painting to devote his considerable talents to publishing.⁴⁰ From his correspondence with Igor Grabar in Munich, it becomes clear that Grzhebin first began agitating for his proposed journal in March 1905. He felt that "it is impossible to stand aloof from the fate of the present and future . . ." The appearance of a satirical journal would demonstrate "that life shines through from all sides, and no sort of censorship, or anything like it, is able to suppress it . . ."⁴¹

Grzhebin enlisted the support of the newspaper Syn otechestva (Son of the Fatherland), and its editor-publisher, S.P. Yuritsyn, who generously put his physical plant (the presses and expert staff of R.R. Golike), his expertise, and his long list of subscribers at the disposal of Zhupel. His paper formed the entire material basis for the new journal of caricature. With the technical possibilities afforded by this link, Zhupel artists were able to exploit polychrome printing for its revelation both of the images' emotional impact and their significance as self-sufficient works of art.⁴²

As Lanceray so warmly testifies, work on Zhupel was exhilarating. Lev Bakst also reported to Alexandre Benois exultantly:

Don't laugh at my enthusiasm, but in Zhupel I can see en réalité what Seriozha [Diaghilev] and the World of Art lacked. Everyone is so fervent and works feverishly . . . I believe that the dawn is nigh.⁴³

The first issue of Zhupel appeared on December 2, 1905. On December 3 it was confiscated by the police. Cited among the "criminal materials" were Mstislav Dobuzhinsky's "October Idyll" and Grzhebin's "Eagle-Werewolf, or Foreign and Domestic Politics." The contents of Zhupel -- of many caricature journals at this time -- are indeed anti-tsarist, and carry the full gamut of forbidden subject matter; these materials will be examined thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

Despite confiscation of this first issue, Zhupel created a widespread sensation. Grzhebin reported triumphantly to Grabar that only five hundred copies had fallen into police hands. Of the remaining copies from the seventy thousand printed, some twenty five thousand were hidden safely away or already distributed.⁴⁴

The second issue on December 24 also provoked an immediate police reaction, despite the fact that it was Christmas Eve. The censorship committee took exception to some of the journal's pointedly anti-tsarist materials, especially a drawing by Ivan Bilibin; but amazingly the police found insufficient grounds in this issue to suspend publication.⁴⁵ The third number, however, finally provided cause, in the form of caricatures by Bilibin and Grzhebin, to hold Zhupel's editor in prison for six months.

After confiscating this final issue and jailing Grzhebin for anti-tsarist materials, the police interrogated all the journal's collaborators, as Dobuzhinsky reports in a letter to Grabar. After a house search, Bilibin was placed under twenty-four hours house arrest. The publisher Yuritsyn was arrested as well, and Golike's press was closed

for its part in the publication of Zhupel.⁴⁶ Materials for future issues, such as drawings by Konstantin Yuon in an "almost primitive" vein, were confiscated and never seen again.⁴⁷

The collaborators immediately regrouped and began again under a new title, Adskaia pochta (Hell Post). Painters Aleksandr Gaush, Konstantin Yuon, Valentin Serov and Konstantin Somov each contributed money toward the publication,⁴⁸ and Lanceray reports that the title "corresponded to [the World of Art] retrospectivism," since it was chosen from the history of Russian caricature, the title of a satirical journal that opened and was suppressed under Catherine the Great.⁴⁹

Two of the striking images for the first number are by one of the few women artists who published drawings in the satirical press, M. Stelletskaia.⁵⁰ Like Dmitrii Stelletsy in Zritel, Stelletskaia adapts Russian icon, church fresco, and lubok imagery to the current political situation. Her cover for the first issue bears its title in ancient calligraphy, "Rejoicing in Heaven Thanks to the New Manifesto" (fig. 18), and within the journal, her double-page spread, "Heaven on Earth" (fig. 19), depicts the old order, the old rituals continuing as an elaborately robed, incense-swinging procession moves by a cowed populace. Only one figure in the lower center looks up toward the reader of Adskaia pochta with an expression of skepticism in his eyes.

The second number of the journal contains Evgenii Lanceray's most famous contribution to caricature journals, "Funeral Feast" (fig. 20), a scene densely packed with the officers of the Semenov Regiment who had commanded the suppression of workers in the December 1905 uprising in the Presnia District in Moscow and afterwards went on a drinking binge. The higher officers sit at table, their stomachs bulging, huge fists and corpulent faces glowering under bestially low foreheads.

Standing in ranks at the background are the younger officers singing a song that brings a smirk to one face at the table and evil laughter to two others. The three-dimensional quality of the representation is combined with simplified treatment of the uniforms, especially of the background figures who close off the space, increasing the claustrophobic sensation produced by the depiction. The three tulip shaped lamps above illuminate the table top, drawing attention to the liquor bottles which occupy the composition's exact center. Closed at the front by the backs of the foreground officers and by the line of officers at the rear, the composition is subtly balanced and almost architectural in its Baroque solidity.

Lanceray derived his inspiration for this scene not only from contemporary events, but also from contemporary literature. Aleksandr Kuprin inspired the artist through his recently published novel, Poedinok (The Duel), "a very timely indictment of the inflexible military training and moral cynicism of the Russian officers corps."⁵¹ The Znanie anthology for 1905 printed this shocking and vehement novel, in which the officers indulge in periodic drunken feasts. The novel's narrator comments at the end of one of these orgies that in their songs and dances there is "something wooden, dead, that makes one want to cry."⁵² Like the novelist, Lanceray stressed the grotesque parody of itself that the once proud military regiment has become. For an artist whose graphics of the year 1904 reflected the myth of the powerful Russian state under the Romanov Tsar (fig. 21), Lanceray's change in imagery is important. His caricatures of 1906 mirror a clear disillusionment with the tsarist government and its henchmen.

Adskaia pochta demonstrated its artists' continuing interest in German graphics by reproducing cartoons by Bruno Paul and T.T. Heine

(fig. 22). In doing so, they maintained the tradition established in Zhupel, in the first issue of which they had proudly proclaimed a debt to their German colleagues; in this Zhupel tribute, Grzhebin chose a familiar Heine motif, which appeared on the cover of Simplicissimus supplements (fig. 23), to frame the following message: "The co-workers of Zhupel send greetings across the heads of the Russian police to their talented comrades from Simplicissimus, still not amnestied by Russian censorship." Clearly, though the Munich journal was banned in Russia, even those artists who had not been abroad knew of Simplicissimus through copies smuggled into the country. An associate of the journal Mir iskusstva, Prince Sergei Shcherbatov, for example, concealed issues of the banned journal in his false-bottomed suitcases on more than one border crossing.⁵³

Simplicissimus was only one of the foreign caricature journals known and appreciated in Russia, though it was clearly the most important. The graphic styles found in L'Assiette au beurre and Jugend were also influential for the developments in Russia at this time. Boris Kustodiev, for example, reveals in his caricature of Minister of Finance Kokovtsov (fig. 24) the stylistic imprint of L'Assiette contributor Thomaz Leal da Camara (fig. 25). The abbreviated, fluid rendering of the forms, the strong outlines and the use of solid dark border are features that both share. The well-known French caricaturist Jean-Louis Forain also had long been appreciated by the miriskusniki. Two of his drawings appeared in Zritel. It is not clear whether the artist himself gave drawings (such as fig. 26) directly to the Russian journal, but this one's tragic theme and mild rendering made it quite suitable to Zritel's needs.

Also published in Zritel were graphics by Bertram Priestman, an English landscapist mentioned in Mir iskusstva reviews,⁵⁴ and prints by Albert Weisgerber, the Jugend caricaturist (former student of Franz Stuck and member of Vasiliï Kandinsky's Phalanx exhibition group in Munich). Another Jugend illustrator, Fidus (Hugo Hoppner), apparently contributed a headpiece to the short-lived St. Petersburg journal, Voozrozhdenie (Rebirth) (fig. 27). Fidus had previously published drawings in Jugend that commemorated Russian political events, as for example "Friede" (fig. 28) on the occasion of the peace between Russia and Japan. Other examples of influence and reprintings from European caricatures will figure in later sections of this study. Their very multiplicity demonstrates their accessibility to Russian artists, making them a vital part in the development of Russia's caricature tradition.

Zhupel/Adskaia pochta provided a brief attempt to unite fine art with the immediate needs of the nation. The same repression that dispersed the oppositional press brought down this noteworthy publication. The World of Art penchant for typographical excellence and its thorough understanding of graphic arts provided a firm basis for the satirical work accomplished by these artists.

The story of Pulemet (Machine-Gun) is similar in many ways to those of Zritel and Zhupel. Like them it was founded for political aims, enjoyed great success and (like Zhupel) it was imitated by other similarly named journals that were founded to take advantage of the speculative value associated with these prize publications.⁵⁵ Like Zritel and Zhupel, Pulemet also incurred the wrath of the censor, but it was more extreme in its leftism. Pulemet's editor Nikolai Shebuev tells in his memoirs of the journal's angering even the Tsar.⁵⁶

Nikolai Georgievich Shebuev (1874-1937), poet and publicist, had worked for the liberal newspaper Russkoe slovo (Russian Word) and with Vladimir Botsianovsky on Rus. In his memoirs, Shebuev states that he wanted a journal that would contain drawings and caricatures as clear and compelling as a naive lubok, powerful enough to reach the masses, and a journal that communicated an oppositional stance with every drop of ink. He wanted it to spit in the government's face. Thus, his choice of "Machine-Gun" as a title.

Shebuev's main colleague in this venture was the artist Ivan Grabovsky, a student at the Academy of Fine Arts under Chistiakov, Repin and Serov. Competent though not an original talent, Grabovsky executed drawings on themes suggested by Shebuev in a variety of styles, straightforward illustrations, or imitations of other artists or of ancient lubki.

The first issue of Pulemet appeared on November 13, 1905. It had been written and drawn in the course of one night, the editor reported, printed in red and black, and produced a sensation. Shebuev recalled that its huge tirage of one hundred to one hundred fifty thousand (under ten thousand, according to the censor⁵⁷) sold out quickly, fetching five times the cover price of ten kopecks even on the first day of sale. The government moved quickly to arrest the journal and its editor, hauling in readers and newsboys as well. After the confiscation, copies still circulating brought five to ten rubles.⁵⁸

The cover of the first issue, "Down with! . . ." (fig. 29), exemplified the tone of Pulemet, its simplicity and daring. Behind a speaker's podium stands an orator in a peasant's shirt, student cap⁵⁹ and jacket, pointing emphatically as he delivers his ringing denunciation.

After Shebuev's arrest for this issue, the prosecuting attorney laughingly described to him the consternation this cover had caused at court. Shebuev reports that when placed before Tsar Nicholas by his uncle, the cover design's significance immediately struck home. The Tsar summoned Durnovo and asked his startled Minister of the Interior, "Down with Whom?" At first Durnovo was speechless. Finally he blurted out "The Co-co-constitution!" "No," the Tsar shot back, "I know who! And you know too!" "Your Highness," Durnovo answered as if to excuse himself, "the issue has been confiscated. The author is already in prison."⁶⁰

Shebuev was jailed for thirty-six hours, and wrote issue number two during this time. His release was affected by the printers' union, which threatened a strike if the press that printed Pulemet and other journals were not reopened. Within a few days, however, Shebuev was back in jail. His wife brought to court the usual bail amount, three thousand rubles, but in the case of editors the sum was set at ten thousand. A Jewish admirer previously unknown to Shebuev produced the required amount in gratitude for an earlier article of Shebuev's that was sympathetic to Jews. Accordingly, he was freed and printed the second issue.

At its publication, the Tsar again became incensed with the implications of the second issue's bold cover, "His Worker Highness, the All-Russian Proletarian" (fig. 30).⁶¹ There was no precedent for the use of the phrase "his highness" for anyone beside the anointed Tsar and his family. Again, Shebuev was jailed.

Despite his arrest Shebuev managed to publish additional issues of Pulemet and, with his wife's assistance, he was represented during

1906 by a fourth and fifth number of Pulemet, by poems in three numbers of the journal Schaste (Happiness) and by a collection of poems and illustrations entitled Sochineniia Shebueva (Shebuev's Writings) for three issues of which his wife served as publisher. The cover of the first issue bears a portrait of the author (fig. 32). Considering Shebuev's wife's assistance to him throughout this period, it is interesting to note that the last, confiscated issue of Pulemet bore images of women revolutionaries on both front and back covers (figs. 33, 34), and of a crucified woman as the double-page main image in the issue (see discussion in chapter 4).

Overall the graphic quality of the Pulemet illustrations is not as uniformly high as, for instance, those of Zhupel, but their clarity brought the journal great success. Certain pages of Pulemet deserve special mention for their innovative fusion of image with message, of form with content. One conceived and executed by Shebuev appeared as the back cover of the first issue. It is composed of the text of the Tsar's October Manifesto promising basic civil liberties; superimposed on the text is a bloody handprint and the whole is entitled "To This Page Major-General Trepov, of the Retinue of His Majesty, Has Put His Hand" (fig. 35). The former Vice-Minister of the Interior was famous for ordering troops not to use blank cartridges and not to spare the ammunition in quelling disturbances. Caricatures fostered the revolutionary myth that Trepov was virtual dictator of Russia until (and even after) his transfer to a post as Palace Commandant after the October Manifesto. This page is a most laconic and expressive caricature of the government's two-faced policies, a telescopic view from the October Manifesto to the crushing of the December uprising in Moscow.

Shebuev's memoirs report that at his trial in December 1905, the prosecuting attorney spread the pages of the first issue so that the front and back covers faced upward, a damaging conjunction (figs. 29, 35). The front, "Down With! . . ." appeared on the right, the orator pointing toward the Tsar's name on the back cover. On the basis of the back page's title, Shebuev made a vain attempt to convince the court that only Trepov -- and not the Tsar -- was implicated in the satire. As editor, Shebuev took all blame for the offensive images, stating that the artist Grabovsky worked only under his orders without any explanation of the themes. In the case of the red hand over the Tsar's Manifesto the editor demonstrated how he alone executed the design by coating his hand with red ink and imprinting it on the page. The prosecutor's arrangement of the covers, however, was too prejudicial for an acquittal. Shebuev was sentenced to a year in prison.⁶²

Each of the four hundred caricature journals might reveal a history like those of the three major publications. It is difficult to discern with any assurance precise political stances among the many artists and journals involved. Of those whose caricature journals come under scrutiny here, political opinions range from vaguely Socialist (Lansere) to Social Democratic (the stated affiliation of some associates of Zhupel). Members of the editorial boards of Zhupel differed strongly on whether to declare an ideological orientation. Igor Grabar stated his preference forthrightly: he said "the foundation of our journal is Social-Democratic but we will be forced to mask it through Aesopian language." Gorky corrected him, though, and asked Grabar to be "more cautious with the term 'Social-Democrat' because not all present [at the meeting] stood in that position."⁶³

There was little time for this confusion to subside. Promulgation of the new Fundamental Laws in April 1906 gave the tsarist regime a basis in law to quash the oppositional press. This took place after the government succeeded in floating a large international loan. The money brought renewed security to Russian autocracy. Liberal elements of Russian society felt an increasing sense of frustration at their own failure to effect any real changes and their presses grew more subdued after preliminary censorship returned in March 1906. Dim reflections of the political goals of the 1905 revolution and muted graphic protests can be found in the occasional publication after this time but the hard flame of graphic outrage was extinguished. The journals Satirikon and Novyi satirikon (Satiricon, 1908-14, and New Satiricon, 1914-18) gathered up a few of the caricaturists who had trained in the combat conditions of 1905.⁶⁴ They kept alive the embers of political caricature but turned their venom toward the members of the body politic rather than its head. The third State Duma is the subject of a typical barb in Satirikon (fig. 36). This Duma was elected on Stolypin's restrictive franchise formula of 1907 and unlike its two predecessors proved an ally of the tsarist government. The Octobrist party moderates predominated in the assembly led by Aleksandr I. Guchkov, pictured appropriately at the right in the caricature. While the Kadet leader Pavel Miliukov paints the map of Finland with the tsarist colors, blue, red and white, Guchkov looks on ecstatically and murmurs "Patriotism has no boundaries." The irony in this depiction is profoundly bitter, for Miliukov had been a leading light in the radical first State Duma.

While many young artists put their talents at the service of the liberal and leftist press during the revolution, flooding the streets

with graphics that amounted to oppositional agitation, other painters and sculptors adopted revolutionary themes and personalities in their studio work, work which could not be publicly displayed until years after the revolution. These fine artists reflected, like their peers elsewhere, the entire spectrum of political opinion. Well-known painters who had been leftists during the latter part of the nineteenth century now maintained opinions that ranged from loyal monarchist to cautiously liberal.⁶⁵ Younger artists in general took a more left-wing position.

The attitudes of the old avant-garde, the well-known peredvizhniki (artists of the Society of Traveling Art Exhibitions, the "Wanderers"), generally were conditioned by their group's "monopolistic position in the elaborate system of the state's administration and patronage of the arts."⁶⁶ Their disposition toward the state in 1905, was, in the best of cases, privately to condemn the repressions and to be appalled at the bloodshed. Any private criticisms they harbored were quietly modified into artistic statements mild by comparison with the graphics of the young caricaturists. Iliia Repin refused to join with his former pupil Valentin Serov in resignation from the Academy when the institution's President (in his capacity as Commandant of the St. Petersburg troops) ordered his soldiers to fire on unarmed demonstrators on Bloody Sunday. Repin felt that Serov's action was prompted by his young colleague's "extreme political convictions."⁶⁷

Repin's painting The October Manifesto (fig. 37) reflects the initial enthusiasm with which many segments of Russian society greeted the document that promised to alter radically the structure of their government. The painting depicts the bourgeoisie and liberals rejoicing at the news of the Tsar's Manifesto. In muted Tsarist colors of red,

blue and white, Repin has crowded his work with a surging mass of people rising to a classic, pyramidal crescendo just slightly left of the center of the huge canvas. At the far left is held aloft a portrait of the Tsar, dimly visible alongside a revolutionary flag. The artist labored over this composition from 1906 to 1911, and the result is emblematic of the sort of political sympathies expected of established, officially recognized painters during the extremely repressive tenure of Prime Minister Stolypin, with whose ministry the work on this painting exactly coincides.

Vladimir Makovsky's 9 January 1905 on Vasilievsky Island (fig. 38) is a painting sympathetic to the plight of the workers whose peaceful march on Bloody Sunday was brutally dispersed. Yet the artist can scarcely be said to have been in sympathy with the revolution merely because he painted one incident. The work was done secretly in the artist's luxurious studio⁶⁸ and the result is particularized and dry, the terrible force of the subject matter dissipated in an overly detailed composition.

The model who posed for some of the figures reports that Makovsky at the time was thoroughly puzzled by the events of 1905:

Handsome, elegantly attired and correct, in my view he was in no way connected with the popular revolutionary masses, and on [hearing] my news of the country's political life, he usually dismissed it saying: "The devil knows what's going on! I don't understand anything! I don't even want to see these disturbances, don't want to know about them! The people have gone out of their minds!

The model goes on to report that the artist showed the painting only to close friends, and never attempted to place it on exhibition. Only in the Soviet period was this possible.⁶⁹ Makovsky, like Repin, however, realized the tremendous significance of these contemporary events and as

a history painter desired to frame them in a major work. He depicted the victims but omitted the villains; despite the red flags, none of the workers appears aggressive, so the viewer's entire sympathy goes out to these inarticulate masses. Even these moderate views, though, were secret at the time.

Generally, because the peredvizhniki failed to speak up publicly criticizing the regime, they were categorized (by artists on the left) with the extreme right and at times with the Black Hundreds.⁷⁰ There were exceptions, of course, especially among the younger artists who exhibited more with the new society, the Union of Russian Artists. One of these, Sergei Ivanov, executed a painting during 1905 entitled The Massacre (fig. 39). This painting is a stirring document as well as a powerfully composed work of art. Like Serov's "Soldiers, Gallant Boys," it is subdued in color but even more emotionally restrained than his colleague's violent work. Rather, it relates to compositions to be discussed in chapter 2 in which the large empty square stands between the people and the government troops (fig. 64). Ivanov's painting is a meditation on the gulf between the powerful state, in the persons of the armed soldiers at the left, and the needs of the people at the right. The snowy square is symbolic of this gaping abyss between the government and the people, which no amount of corpses will fill.

The artist's death in 1910 permitted this work, along with his other scenes of 1905, to be shown publicly at a posthumous exhibition the following year. This Moscow showing was well received and was reported in the European press. One commentator in the London Studio judged The Massacre:

one of Ivanoff's best works. He has here interpreted with consummate mastery the dramatic tension which marks this encounter between the military and the band of scarcely visible demonstrators with their red flag, the breathless stillness of the tragic moment, and also the colour-contrast of the grey square with the luminous red and yellow walls of the houses.⁷¹

Other artists underwent profound crises as a result of the revolution; some left the studio to participate directly in demonstrations, or to pass out illegal literature and tend to the wounded, like sculptor Anna Golubkina.⁷² In St. Petersburg, Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva stopped working:

For a time it seemed that my work, my art was not necessary to anyone, nor to the times, that it did not correspond to the needs of the current day. And then other thoughts presented themselves: "To work in art, to perfect oneself, to try and create good things — that is surely to make a contribution to the culture of one's country, to one's people. That too is important; that too is needed."⁷³

Those who followed this line of thought helped Russian art change its direction. After the refinement and fluency of the Mir iskusstva style, some of the young painters began to incorporate into their work a greater sense of naiveté. In this they were influenced by Russian folk art and by developments in contemporary European painting, both of which had been outstanding factors in the best caricature and cartoons of 1905-06.

Sergei Makovsky, art critic and nephew of the academic painter Vladimir Makovsky, found in 1907 the work of the Symbolist Blue Rose group of painters heralded "that primitivism to which modern art has come in its search for a renaissance at its very sources."⁷⁴ He had long been observing evidence of a return to native Russian sources of artistic inspiration. His articles in the popular Zhurnal dlia vsekh (Journal for Everyone) typically informed readers of such historically based developments in illustrations for Russian fairy tales or the

importance of the work of Andrei Riabushkin, painter of scenes from Old Russia.⁷⁵ Makovsky also wrote the principal essay in the 1906 book on the decorative art of Princess Tenisheva's colony, Talashkino. He related this work to contemporary political events, stating that a Russia on the brink of such tremendous events was destined to revivify its artistic culture. Young Russian artists, artists of the future, would cast a backward glance into folk art because they had been profoundly altered by hopes for a broad social regeneration.⁷⁶

After the revolution Russian art began to move in ever widening orbits of European culture. Paris replaced Geneva as the great center for political emigrés.⁷⁷ In 1906 at the Paris Salon d'Automne Sergei Diaghilev organized a large selection of Russian art which included icons, paintings from his 1905 exhibition of 18th and 19th century historical portraits and (with the exception of the peredvizhniki whom he hated) all periods of art up to 1906. Diaghilev included works by Symbolist painter Mikhail Vrubel and by some young artists whose work would later take the lead in future developments, Pavel Kuznetsov, Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova. Russian collectors like Ivan Morozov and Sergei Shchukin were at the same time bringing back to Moscow some of the best painting and sculpture being done or exhibited in Paris, work of Monet, Cézanne, Gauguin, Matisse and Picasso.

Both native Russian folk art and French modernism were to work together throughout the rest of the decade to change thoroughly the course of modern Russian art. The revolution of 1905, its journals and its caricatures were intrinsic elements of the threshold which these modernists crossed in their journey to a future for Russian art.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹Among the few histories of the 1905 revolution in English, we may recommend Sidney Harcave, First Blood: The Russian Revolution of 1905 (New York: Macmillan, 1964); Howard D. Mehlinger and John M. Thompson, Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); J.L.H. Keep, The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) has a condensed account in chapter 7.

²John Grand-Carteret, Nicolas, ange de la paix, empereur du knout (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1906).

³Charles A. Ruud, Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press 1804-1906 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), chapter 13.

⁴Maurice Baring, A Year in Russia, rev. ed. (New York: E.P. Dutton, [1917?]), p. 119; Sergei R. Mintslov, Peterburg v 1903-1910 godakh (Riga: Kniga dlia vsek, 1931), p.191.

429 titles are listed in Vladimir F. Botsianovskii and Erikh F. Gollerbakh, Russkaia satira pervoi revoliutsii 1905-1906 (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925), pp. 210-22; integrated into the listing of almanacs and periodicals in the collection of Levkii Zheverzheev are almost 500 journals of caricature and humor from the period 1905-1908; Levkii I. Zheverzheev, Opis' moego sobraniia (Petrograd: Schmidt, 1915), vol. 1; these might be increased by the inclusion of numerous illustrated supplements to newspapers that feature caricatures, such as Iskry, supplement to the Moscow paper, Russkoe slovo.

⁵Listok znakomykh (The Leaflet of Acquaintances, 1857-58), Gudok (Hoot, 1859), Zanoza (Splinter, 1863-65), and the especially successful Iskra (Spark, 1859-73); see Mikhail Lemke, "Iz istorii russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistiki," Mir Bozhii, no. 6 (June 1903), p. 263.

⁶John Grand-Carteret, "La Caricature et l'imagerie," in L. Delavaud et al., La Russie, géographique, ethnologique, historique, administrative, économique, religieuse, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, pittoresque, etc., 3d ed. (Paris: Larousse, 1900), p. 401.

⁷John Grand-Carteret, Les Caricatures sur l'alliance Franco-Russe (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1893); and his Musée pittoresque du voyage du Tsar (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1897).

⁸Petr M. Dul'skii, Grafika satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 g.g. (Kazan: Tatgosizdat, 1922), pp. 17-18; M.M. Dal'kevich, "XX-ia akvarel'naia vystavka," Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost' 2 (January 1900): 210-11; Vladimir P. Lapshin, Soiuz russkikh khudozhnikov (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1974), p. 263; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 13; K. Siunnerberg, "Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' Peterburga," Zolotoe runo, no 2 (February 1907), pp. 76-77.

⁹Aleksei N. Savinov, Pavel Egor'evich Shcherbov (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1969), pp. 35-36, states that Shcherbov arrived at his style independently of the work of T.T. Heine and Simplicissimus, but fails to mention the pervasive influence of art nouveau posters and their distinctive flat stylization, or the book decoration of Count F.L. Sologub to Skazka o zolotom petushke (Tale of the Golden Cockerel) in 1890, or A.A. Labudz's stylized caricatures during the 1890s in Strekoza; for the fuller context, see A.A. Sidorov, Russkaia grafika nachala XX veka (Moscow, Iskusstvo, 1969), pp. 60-62; and Jürgen Schultze and Annemarie Winther, Kunst in Alltag: Plakate und Gebrauchsgrafik um 1900 (Bremen: Kunsthalle, 1977).

¹⁰Savinov, Shcherbov, pp. 51, 58; V.N. Levitskii, ["Molodye gody I. Ia. Bilibina i russkoi grafiki"], S.V. Golynets, ed. and comp., Ivan Iakovlevich Bilibin: Stat'i, pis'ma, vospominaniia o khudozhnike (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1970), pp. 137-38.

¹¹James H. Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 492-94; Nikolai Volkhov, Meierkhol'd, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademia, 1929), 1: 218.

¹²Letter from I. Ia. Bilibin to P.E. Shcherbov, 6 July 1905, in Golynets, Bilibin, pp. 77-79.

¹³Iurii K. Artsybushev, "Iz vospominanii o M.A. Vrubele," in Vrubel': Perepiska, vospominaniia o khudozhnike, eds. E.P. Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia and Iu. N. Podkopaeva (Leningrad-Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1963), pp. 273-74; N.V. Polenova, Abramtsevo: Vospominaniia (Moscow: Izd. M. & S. Sabashnikovykh, 1922), p. 79, reproduces a photo which includes K.D. Artsybushev.

¹⁴Aline Isdebsky-Pritchard, The Art of Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 255, n. 25, notes that a group of Vrubel's later caricatures is in the State Russian Museum, Leningrad; see also Dora Z. Kogan, M.A. Vrubel' (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1980), pp. 345-46.

¹⁵Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶Isdebsky-Pritchard, pp. 162-63, 167-68.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 32; Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, the State and Society: The Peredvizhniki and Their Tradition (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1977), p. 141.

¹⁸Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 18; Botsianovskii, "Karikatura i tsenzura v nachale XX v. (Iz vospominanii redaktora satiricheskogo zhurnala)," Byloe, no. 26 (1924), pp. 181-82.

¹⁹Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 18; this book and Botsianovskii's articles offer more accurate accounts of Zritel's activities than does S.I. Stykalin, "Politicheskaia satira v 'Zritele' 1905 g.," A.V. Zapadov, ed., Iz istorii russkoi zhurnalistiki: stat'i i materialy (Moscow: Izd. Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1959), pp. 137-202.

²⁰E.E. Lansere, "Khudozhniki o revoliutsii 1905 goda," Iskusstvo, no. 6 (1935), pp. 40-41.

²¹The Union of Russian Artists published the first statement in support of the demands of the Congress of zemstvo organizations; this appeared in Russkie vedomosti, 7 January 1905; the second, again by members of the Union of Russian Artists, appeared in Pravo, 8 May 1905; the third, by members of the World of Art, was printed by Rus' and Syn otechestva in November 1905; Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, pp. 138, 140; Lapshin, Soiuz, p. 51.

²²Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 18.

²³Ibid., pp. 18-20.

²⁴These original documents are reprinted in Ibid., pp. 176-81.

²⁵This example and those that follow are from Ibid., pp. 23-24, 46.

²⁶Ibid., p. 177.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 46, 180.

²⁸Vl. Kranikhfel'd "Zhurnal'nye otgoloski: O russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistike," Mir Bozhii, no. 12 (December 1905), section 2, p. 118; "boycott" was a term of 19th century Irish origin, a man's name that became an international code for abstaining from voting.

²⁹Dmitrii A. Rovinskii, Ruskiia narodnyia kartinki sobral i opisal, 5 vols. and 7 vol. atlas (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1881-93).

³⁰Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 25.

³¹Ibid., pp. 114-15, 120, 137, 201-02.

³²[Anonymous review], "V zhurnalakh i gazetakh: Zritel'," Vesy, no. 10 (October 1905), p. 117.

³³Anna P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, "Sergei Vasil'evich Lebedev," Akademik Sergei Vasil'evich Lebedev: K Vos'midesiatiletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1954), pp. 30-31.

³⁴Nataliia N. Sokolova, Mir iskusstva (Moscow-Leningrad: Gos. Izd-vo Izobrazitel'nogo Iskusstva, 1934), p. 183; Eleonora P. Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia, "Politicheskaia grafika epokhi pervoi russkoi revoliutsii," Uchenye zapiski LGU, no. 220 (1956), p. 80; M.S. Kagan, "Vliianie revoliutsii 1905-1907 gg. na razvitie russkoi esteticheskoi mysli," *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31.

³⁵Artists: Boris Anisfeld, Lev Bakst (Rosenberg), Ivan Bilibin, Osip Braz, Vladimir Chambers, Igor' Grabar', Zinovii Grzhebin, Mstislav Dobuzhinskii, Akseli Gallen-Kallela, E. Järnefelt, A. Edelfelt, Dmitrii Kardovskii, Vil'iam Karrik, Boris Kustodiev, Evgenii Lansere, Aleksandr Liubimov, Leonid Pasternak and Konstantin Somov; among these, Grabar', Pasternak, Bakst and the Finnish artists may have contributed no more than moral support to the journal; among writers associated with Zhupel in some way are Maxim Gorky (A.M. Peshkov), E.N. Chirikov, Leonid Andreev, Skitalets (S.G. Petrov), Aleksandr Kuprin, Alfred Nurok, Osip Dymov.

³⁶Lev K. Erman, Intelligentsiia v pervoi russkoi revoliutsii (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), p. 132; cited in William H. Richardson, "Zolotoe runo and Russian Modernism: 1905-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976), p. 174.

³⁷E.E. Lansere, in a letter to A.N. Benua (Benois), 1 July 1905; preserved in the manuscript section of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad, A.N. Benua file; quoted by N.L. Priimak, "Novye dannye o satiricheskikh zhurnalakh 1905 goda 'Zhupel' i 'Adskaia pochta'," in Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia Galereia, Ocherki po russkomu i sovetskomu iskusstvu, ed. B. Iashchina (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1965), p. 117.

³⁸E.E. Lansere, letter to A.N. Benua, 5 January 1906; preserved in the manuscript section of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad, file 137, op. 1, ed. khr. 322, pp. 1-7; reprinted in Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve, ed. A.A. Fedorov-Davydov and G.A. Nedoshivin, 7 vols. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1966-70), 7: 407-08.

³⁹E.E. Lansere, "Khudozhniki," p. 41.

⁴⁰Mstislav V. Dobuzhinskii, Vospominaniia 1 (New York: Put' Zhizni, 1976): 242-43, 254; Lansere, "Khudozhniki," p. 41; Eleonora P. Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia, Russkoe iskusstvo i revoliutsiia 1905 goda: Grafika, zhypovis' (Leningrad: Izd. Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1960), p. 122; Sergei K. Isakov, 1905 god v satire i karikature (Leningrad: Priboi, 1928), p. 275.

⁴¹Z.I. Grzhebin, letter to I.E. Grabar', 26 March 1905; preserved in the manuscript section, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, f. 106, letter 3; quoted in Priimak, "Novye dannye," p. 118.

⁴²S.V. Golynets, note in Ivan Iakovlevich Bilibin; p. 78, n. 4; Z.M. Karasik, "M. Gorkii i satiricheskie zhurnaly 'Zhupel' i 'Adskaia pochta'," in Akademiia Nauk, Institut Mirovoi Literatury, M. Gor'kii v epokhu revoliutsii 1905-1907 godov: Materialy, vospominaniia, issledovaniia (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1957), p. 360; Grigorii Iu. Sternin, "Grafika russkikh satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 godov," Iskusstvo, no. 3 (May-June 1955), p. 33.

⁴³Lev S. Bakst (Rosenberg), letter to Aleksandr N. Benua, 9 December 1905, preserved in the manuscript section of the State Russian Museum, Leningrad, f. 137, ed. khr. 671, p. 14; quoted in Mark G. Etkind, Aleksandr Nikolaevich Benua, 1870-1960 (Leningrad-Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1965), pp. 62, 170, n. 9.

⁴⁴Priimak, "Novye dannye," pp. 118-19.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 119-20.

⁴⁶M.V. Dobuzhinskii, letter to I.E. Grabar', 27 January 1906; preserved in the manuscript section, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, f. 106; quoted in Priimak, "Novye dannye," p. 120.

⁴⁷K.F. Iuon (Yuon), "Khudozhniki o revoliutsii 1905 goda," Iskusstvo, no. 6 (1935), p. 43.

⁴⁸A.N. Savinov, "Aleksandr Benua v 1905 godu," Problemy razvitiia russkogo iskusstva 4 (1972): 62.

⁴⁹Lansere, "Khudozhniki," p. 42.

⁵⁰This artist is not mentioned in any of the sources for information on caricature during 1905-07; her relationship to Dmitrii S. Stelletskaia is conjectural; this may be a pseudonym for Stelletskaia.

⁵¹Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 104; Johannes Holthusen, Twentieth Century Russian Literature (New York: F. Ungar, 1972), p. 53.

⁵²Aleksandr Kuprin, "Poedinok," Sbornik tovarishchestva Znaniia za 1905 god 6 (1905): 454-55, 506-10; cited in O.I. Podobedova, Evgenii Evgen'evich Lansere (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1961), p. 95.

⁵³Prince Sergei A. Shcherbatov, Khudozhnik v ushedshei Rossii (New York: Chekhov, 1955), p. 77.

⁵⁴Aleksandr N. Benua writes of Forain in "Besedy khudozhnika," Mir iskusstva, nos. 1-12 (1899), Chronicle section, pp. 51, 95-97; Priestman is named by A. N-k [Alfred Nurok?], "Mezhdunarodnaia vystavka v Londone," Mir iskusstva, nos. 13-24 (1899), Chronicle section, p. 39.

⁵⁵Speculative titles include Moi pulemet, Pulemet and Puli, listed as nos. 240, 305 and 308 in Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh; not so listed is the imitator of Zhupel, by the same name, published in St. Petersburg in 1906.

⁵⁶Nikolai G. Shebuev, "Istoriia moego 'Pulemeta'," Zhurnalist, no. 12 (1925), pp. 21-25; also Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 32-35.

⁵⁷Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 204.

⁵⁸Shebuev, "Istoriia," p. 21.

⁵⁹The student uniform, including cap, is mentioned by the young man who posed as the student in the painting by V. Makovskii, 9 January 1905 on Vasilievsky Island; see N. Kiselev, "O V. Makovskom," Iskusstvo, no. 3 (1964), pp. 66-68.

⁶⁰Shebuev, "Istoriia," pp. 21-22.

⁶¹Shebuev, when criticized that he had modelled this worker after Germanic rather than Russian features, defended his conception as being modelled after Maxim Gorky; Kranikhsfel'd, "Zhurnal'nye otgoloski," p. 128; Shebuev, "Istoriia," p. 23.

Gorky was frequently depicted in the journals of the day, both Russian and foreign, and his characteristic pose with crossed arms was adopted by Grabovsky in his design for Pulemet. A stylized caricature by Nikolai Remizov, "M. Gorky and His Shadow" (fig. 31), shows the writer at the left, with Leonid Andreev as his shadow; the caricature thus comments both on the writers' inseparability in the cultural salons of the era and on Andreev's writings as a more pessimistic and mystical "shadow" of Gorky's realism.

⁶²Shebuev, "Istoriia," pp. 22-23; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 143.

⁶³Igor' E. Grabar', Moia zhizh': Avtomonografiia (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1937), p. 215.

⁶⁴Lidiia A. Evstigneeva, Zhurnal 'Satirikon' i poety-satirikontsy (Moscow: Nauka, 1968).

⁶⁵This is not the story told in Soviet literature on this subject; the simplistic equation posits: portrayal of revolutionary events in art demonstrates revolutionary sympathies in the artist; this approach can be discerned in books and articles that mix together discussions of graphics and paintings of 1905, beginning with Viktor M. Lobanov, 1905-i god v zhivopisi (Moscow: Z.I. Grzhebin, 1922).

⁶⁶Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, p. 138.

⁶⁷I.E. Repin, Dalekoe blizkoe (Moscow-Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1937), p. 452; Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, p. 138.

⁶⁸Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, p. 139.

⁶⁹Kiselev, "O V. Makovskom," pp. 66-68.

⁷⁰Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, p. 139.

⁷¹P.E. [Pavel Ettinger?], "Studio-Talk," Studio (London), no. 222 (1911), pp. 336-39.

⁷²I. Shmidt, "Skul'ptura," in N.I. Sokolova and V.V. Vanslov, eds., Puti razvitiia russkogo iskusstva kontsa XIX - nachala XX veka (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1972), p. 129.

⁷³Anna P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, Avtobiograficheskie zapiski [2]: 1900-1916 (Leningrad-Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1945), p. 64.

⁷⁴Sergei Makovskii, "Golubaia roza," Zolotoe runo, no. 5 (May 1907), p. 25.

⁷⁵Makovskii, "Narodnaia skazka v russkom khudozhestve," Zhurnal dlia vsekh, no. 2 (February 1904), pp. 97-106; and Makovskii, "A.P. Riabushkin," Ibid., no. 5 (May 1905), pp. 289-95.

⁷⁶Makovskii, in Talashkino: Izdeliia masterskoi Kn. M. Kl. Tenishevoi (St. Petersburg: Sodruzhestvo, 1906), pp. 37-39.

⁷⁷Boris Unbegaun, "Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat' v Parizhe do 1918 goda," Vremennik obshchestva druzei russkoi knigi (Paris) 3 (1932): 32.

CHAPTER 2

TSAR NICHOLAS II

In the Government of States, when great events are afoot, the leader of the nation, whoever he be, is held accountable for failure and vindicated by success. No matter who wrought the toil, who planned the struggle, to the supreme responsible authority belongs the blame or credit for the result.

Why should this stern test be denied to Nicholas II? He made many mistakes, what ruler had not? He was neither a great captain nor a great prince. He was only a true, simple man of average ability, of merciful disposition, upheld in all his daily life by his faith in God. But the brunt of supreme decisions centered upon him. At the summit where all problems are reduced to Yea or Nay, where events transcend the faculties of men and where all is inscrutable, he had to give the answers. . . .

--Winston S. Churchill, The World Crisis, pp. 696-97.

The liberal press of 1905 held Tsar Nicholas II (fig. 40) responsible for the nation's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and for the brutal repression of dissent at home. Had the Russian censor loomed less threateningly, there is little doubt that the Tsar would have been the subject of far more caricatures than actually saw the light of day. Those caricatures of Nicholas that did appear demonstrate Russian artists' success in inventing cryptic pictorial codes which communicate their opposition to the Tsar and all he represented while concealing their meaning from the uninitiated. The many overt condemnations of Nicholas in European satirical journals, when added to the Russian images, suffice to show that caricatures of the 1905 revolution were symptoms of the era's stern judgment of the last Tsar and Autocrat of all the Russias.

Nicholas II (1868-1918), with whom the 300-year Romanov dynasty perished in the 1917 revolution, is considered by some "a tragic figure in Russian history." His infant son was found to have hemophilia in late 1904, a blow which, to be sure, made it harder to wage the war in the Far East or to pay full attention to domestic unrest. Increasingly isolated within his palaces, the Tsar was reviled by many during the 1905 revolution for being aloof and indecisive. Even today his merits are bitterly disputed. Though Nicholas II has been canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, most historians have discribed him as weak, obstinate and stupid for failing to change with the times and share his power in a more representative form of government.¹

This latter view is essentially that of caricatures of the Tsar during the 1905 revolution and these caricatures both reflected and fostered current criticism. They attack Nicholas both for personal failings and as a symbol for the inadequacies and crimes of the entire autocratic system. Due to Bloody Sunday and the government repressions of the 1905-07 strikes and uprisings, many different classes of Russian society became disillusioned with the Tsar.² This trend first made itself felt strongly in the caricatures of the European press, which appeared despite numerous Russian bribes to insure a more favorable disposition.³

Compared with European efforts, Russian caricatures of the Tsar were published under much more trying conditions. Penalties for irreverent depiction of the autocrat were severe and in this area, censorship was exceptionally strict. As Tsar, Nicholas II was the embodiment of the state, Russia's "Daddy Tsar." He was Russia's soul and its law.⁴ Russian censorship remained strong despite some easing of restrictions on the press in June 1905. Even after the elimination of preliminary censorship, editors were still accountable for the publication of materials judged seditious or harmful to the common weal. Therefore, artists who would publish their caricatures of the Tsar in Russia's legal press during this era increasingly came to rely on allegories and disguises for the Tsar and their efforts were frequently couched in Aesopian or fairy tale visual language.

One Russian commentator noted this novel theme in December 1905, identifying the Tsar in representations that are "refined, piquant, almost too subtle for the simple-minded." The government, by taking to court journals that produced such caricatures, he concluded,

actually helped spread knowledge of the theme, thus provoking new satires yet more refined and caustic. In fact such proceedings put on trial not the satirist, but the high personage depicted.⁵

European caricaturists could represent Nicholas II full face with impunity, while Russian artists were forced to conceal their depictions of the Tsar. European caricatures freely identified him in captions and dialogue; in Russia they were forced to use highly elliptical captions or omitted such corroboration entirely. Europeans portray the Tsar frequently as an evil vampire; Russians more often as a helpless child. These essential differences led to more artful and cunning caricatures in the Russian press.

A portrait of the Tsar by Valentin Serov (fig. 40) presents a handsome and youthful man. A French caricature (fig. 41) demonstrates a typical distortion of Nicholas's features and elongation of the head, while retaining an overall likeness in the slim figure, receding hairline, the turned-up nose, and the well-groomed mustache and beard. These features, captured in the French graphic and in contemporary photographs, will be important for recognizing the Tsar in Russian caricatures. Photographic portraits of Nicholas had been widespread from his days as Tsarevich. Two such photographs (figs. 42, 43) reveal the traits of personal appearance and official dress (especially the simple colonel's uniform of high boots and plain visored cap) that mark the Tsar throughout his reign.

European caricatures of the Tsar during the 1905 Revolution match the brutal events in Russia with a caustic image of the Tsar. Unfettered by the censorship that reigned in Russia, caricaturists in the West let loose a flood of venomous representations. Two artists working

for the Parisian weekly, L'Assiette au beurre, depicted the Tsar as a vampire in a powerful, flattened style akin to the current style of the poster (figs. 44, 45). In the first, "Le Tzar Rouge" has stained his white dress uniform with the red of the blood of his people, who lie in heaps behind him. Nicholas glowers out at the viewer with eyes blazing in his blackened face. In the second, entitled "L'Insensible" (fig. 45), two long canine teeth protrude from between Nicholas's lips: Behind him a smoky scene of massacre brings a evil leer to his sharply modelled face.

European artists emphasized not only Nicholas's bloody deeds, as in the above, but insinuated that the Tsar was a crafty deceiver, who used the reforms forced upon him by the strikes as part of an overall plan to dupe the Russian people into reconciliation with the existing regime. Rarely in Russian caricatures does one find the Tsar linked directly to this plot, but European artists did frequently make this connection. In a style using the flat patterning of the poster and cartoon, the Jugend artist, Weisgerber, created an image of the Tsar's presumed duplicity in establishing the State Duma. Entitled "Die aller-hochste Mausefalle" (fig. 46), the caricature shows Nicholas II perched atop a huge mousetrap, labelled "Duma," with the Constitution used as bait.⁶ Beside the mousetrap, the former Procurator of the Holy Synod and symbol for all the reactionary forces within Russia, Constantine Pobedonostsev, stands holding the Orthodox cross as a crowd of workers and peasants gathers around the trap.

Both German and French artists depicted the fatal consequences which might befall the Tsar as a result of the 1905 revolution. T.T.

Heine (fig. 47) and A. Roubille (fig. 48) recalled the French revolution of 1789 and the subsequent beheading of Louis XVI as a caution to the Tsar. Heine showed the Tsar trying to stop his own execution, shouting "Halt! Halt! I gave you a Constitution!" The Tsar's face is distorted in this representation, but Heine's title, "Die Befreiung Russlands," plus the caption leave no doubt about the identity of the man about to be decapitated. The Russian clergy and the peasant gulping liquor from a bottle (beneath the blade) locate this scene in tsarist Russia.

Auguste Roubille's caricature of Nicholas is still more incisive, and reveals a widespread European belief that the Tsar might be toppled as a result of this revolution. L'Assiette au beurre printed an issue dedicated to predictions for the new year, 1906; here, in a pastel-colored image, Roubille predicted "Le tsar sera nommé roi de pique" (fig. 48). The title plays on the two meanings of "pique" which are "pike" and "spade", implements of death and burial. Amidst a host of scythes and raised swords in shades of orange, pink, blue and violet, the Tsar's head and heart have been impaled by the angry Russian mobs, a gruesome and powerful distillation of radical French sentiments toward their eastern ally, Nicholas.

The Tsar's distorted features are supplemented by the captions in these cases. In Weisgerber's earlier image of the Duma-mousetrap (fig. 45), Nicholas's schematic features were confirmed by the presence of the bulbous imperial crown. The crown (fig. 49) and captions plainly spelled out the figure's identity and made even the most awkward European caricature a forthright accusation of the Tsar.

Russian caricatures of the Tsar range from concealed portraits to

items symbolic of the Tsar's clothing (such as the high boots or visored cap); from a bump on the head, which had become a symbol of the Tsar's incompetence, to a little boy; from various animals to a giant pine cone and a flaming heart. The exigencies of tsarist censorship encouraged a flourishing inventiveness among caricaturists which is a special delight in the investigation of images of the Tsar. Severe penalties for satirizing his person and office caused much of the wrath of many caricaturists to be deflected to other government figures, such as Count Sergei Witte who, as President of the Tsar's Council of Ministers, was a more frequent target.

Nonetheless, the Tsar remained the most desirable subject for caricature in the revolutionary atmosphere of St. Petersburg in late 1905 and early 1906, during which time the Russian satirical press could not long survive without the protection of law, and significant attempts to satirize the tsarist regime in a relatively free Russian press did not continue beyond the spring of 1906.

Two historians first gathered and examined the caricatures of Nicholas II: John Grand-Carteret in 1906 and Vladimir Botsianovskii in 1925.⁷ Grand-Carteret had closely followed popular Russian culture for over a decade when the revolution provided him with a wealth of materials for his study of political caricature. Botsianovskii provides a first-hand account of the history of the 1905 satirical journals, and an elaborate exegesis for caricatures of Nicholas II, for he edited the satirical supplement to Rus, 1906-07, and the journal Seryi volk (Grey Wolf), 1907-08. Both Russian and European scholars have since relied on these two sources for confirmation of the Tsar's identity in the more obscure of these Russian caricatures. It is now possible to

extend the range of these attributions to include many previously unrecognized depictions of the Tsar.

There is one area of Russian caricatures of the Tsar where Nicholas's features are depicted plainly; that of the anonymous, hand-painted postcard and the illegally printed broadside which were uncensored.⁸ Unlike the regular press which was responsible under Russian law for illicit material, these anonymous articles were circulated underground and were therefore difficult to bring to judgment. For the sake of comparison, it is instructive to step beyond the bounds of Russian satirical journals to examine several Russian caricatures of the Tsar which were printed abroad and smuggled into Russia before the Russo-Japanese War (or were printed secretly within Russia). Two of these anonymous broadsides illustrate attacks on Nicholas as representative of an autocratic system which: (1) depends on the succession of a male heir, and (2) institutionalizes the impoverishment of the peasants for the benefit of the powerful few.

The first broadsheet (fig. 50), printed before the birth of the Tsarevich in August 1904, refers to the Tsar's failure to produce an heir; the accompanying text elaborates on this theme, while the drawing depicts Nicholas confronting a vision of his unborn son. While leaving the Tsar's facial features relatively undistorted, the indecisive stance of Nicholas and his puzzled and dull-witted response to the infant's insulting gesture, hold the autocrat up to ridicule as an incompetent fool. The anonymous artist has emphasized in this profile the snub-nose, the dark hair and full beard and moustache. Nicholas's small stature is indicated by the narrowness of his shoulders compared to the

size of his head and hands. The simplicity of the Tsar's manner of dress, especially the use of his colonel's epaulettes, will recur in Russian caricatures;⁹ the absence of the imperial crown is a feature of this caricature which will become virtually universal in subsequent Russian images. European caricatures, as we have seen, employ the Tsar's regalia with some frequency, and occasionally rely on it for identification.

The second pre-revolutionary broadsheet (fig. 51) "The Tsar and the Peasants," dates from about 1902. It depicts the Tsar in a dark uniform with a plain, visored cap and tall leather boots which can be compared to a photograph of Nicholas in a similar uniform (fig. 42). He gives to his uniformed generals and gentry a bag of money behind his back (labeled "the Noblemen's Banks. Land"), while making an obscure gesture (known as the "fig") to the peasants. His frail stature and facial traits convey more than outward appearances: they point to the Tsar's inner character which the viewer understands to be correspondingly mean-spirited and duplicitous.

These traits of frailty and duplicity appear in a caricature by the painter Valentin Serov, who earlier painted official portraits of Nicholas (fig. 40). This caricature was drawn during 1905 but never printed during the artist's life-time. In a few strokes of the pen (fig. 52), Serov has indicated the plain visored cap (which will stand alone for the Tsar in a later caricature, fig. 68), the moustache and beard of the Tsar who wears his wide pants tucked into high leather boots. Nicholas is shown awarding a cross to a tall officer, presumably for his part in the massacre of civilian women and children who lie at their feet. The Tsar's unconcern is emphasized by the tennis racket

the artist has placed under his arm.

These three examples are of great interest as caricatures of the Tsar, but one must draw a distinction between the realms of the anonymous broadside and unpublished drawing, represented by the above, and that which is the main concern of this study, the responsible, legal, satirical press within Russia during the 1905 revolution. Because they avoided censorship through their privacy (the unpublished drawings) or anonymity (the broadsheets), artists using these media were relatively free to create any sort of caricature they desired. Despite this freedom, these broadsides and the drawing avoid the harshness of comparable European caricatures. They may be bitter and sardonic, but they lack the enmity obvious in the western materials.

Russian depictions of the Tsar in the satirical press, when compared with their European counterparts, almost universally sought ways to prevent detection of this forbidden material. Even during the heyday of freedom from censorship during the crisis of October and early November 1905, not one caricature was printed that depicted the Tsar uncompromisingly and recognizably from a frontal pose. Those Russian caricatures that use Nicholas's features are rare enough because editors habitually chose those that reprinted at least a slight trick in distinguishing the Tsar. By December 1905, the journal, Signal, edited by Kornei Chukovskii, had been brought to court for an astonishingly large amount of anti-tsarist material. Offensive drawings by A. Ivanov had been cited in the censor's report. In one of these (fig. 53), Nicholas II is shown simply dressed in a dark coat, and seated at a table, resting his chin in his hand. He seems to have just paused in his writing, as the quill pen is still held in the right hand which droops over the arm of an elaborately carved chair. The skull

finial at the left is matched by two skulls at the right behind Nicholas, and his face, too, has a skeletal quality. Over his shoulder, Death plucks the solitary string remaining on his boney harp and sings into the Tsar's ear.

This drawing has been modelled after a famous self-portrait by the Swiss painter Arnold Böcklin (fig. 54). The Russian artist has simply substituted the Tsar's figure for Böcklin's, and a writing table for the artist's palette. In both, Death is the "muse" who plays and sings for his companion; but while Böcklin listens attentively in his self-portrait, Tsar Nicholas hunches away from the music behind him. He is melancholy and indecisive, an attitude emphasized by the hand that obscures his chin. Though the likeness is not particularly striking, the Tsar's identity in this print has been noted before, and confirmed by a double-headed eagle barely distinguishable on the carved back of the chair.¹¹

In a series of caricatures published in the Stuttgart journal Der Wahre Jacob between 1906 and 1907, Ivanov was freer to display bitterness toward the Romanov monarch, his bloody repressions and his attitude toward the State Duma (figs. 55, 56). No more the indecisive Nicholas of the Russian publication, Ivanov's Tsar is contemptuous of the lost lives and insulting to the pleas of his State Duma. His careless pose on a throne adrift in a sea of carnage is as gruesome as the drawing is vigorous. The linear vigor of the drawing corresponds to the Tsar's emphatic insulting gesture (the "fig"). Nicholas's identity is confirmed by captions and distinguishing features such as the imperial crown, the high boots and wide pants, and his snub-nose and beard. This and many other plain images in Der Wahre Jacob emphasize the subterfuge of Ivanov's

shadowy drawing in the Russian press (fig. 53) in which the obscure chin is a decided hindrance to recognition of the Tsar.

Using similar partial concealment, another image of Nicholas was printed by the journal Sprut in 1905 (fig. 57), and reprinted almost immediately in John Grand-Carteret's examination of caricatures of the Tsar.¹² The artist, Stanislav Ridiger (pseudonym Hamlet), depicted Nicholas II in profile with the characteristic features of beard and mustache, and receding hairline. The image confirms these hints with a reference to "Little Father" in the dialogue beneath the print. In this gentle cartoon, rather old-fashioned by virtue of its lengthy dialogue, the Tsar points up to a heavenly vision of the Tauride Palace, site of the promised State Duma. He boasts to Mother Russia of the superb temple he has raised to liberty. In the dialogue, she answers that this vision is far overshadowed by the ancient prison, the Peter and Paul Fortress, that looms darker and more substantial in the background of the print.

Though the Tsar's images here are compromised by the concealing hand and the profile view, and though by comparison with the European images these are again quite tame, few Russian artists or editors were ever as daring as this; many cautiously either refrained from signing or put a pseudonym to the work.¹³ Most artists tended to hide the Tsar's features even more and chose angles other than frontality; such artists relied more on significant details of setting or dress to confirm the identity of Nichols II.¹⁴

It is important to keep in mind that although these concealed portraits are difficult to recognize after three-quarters of a century,

they were identified at the time by both journalists and alert readers of the satirical press. Lacking corroboration in captions or imperial regalia, disguised caricatures of the Tsar were commonly deciphered in their own day, through correlation to contemporary oral anecdotes, forming an entire fabric of popular graphic and oral satire on the Tsar. I shall try to use part of this fabric to illuminate these images of Nicholas, and will in this way amplify the work of historians such as Botsianovsky by explaining features of these caricatures that have heretofore been taken for granted.

A set of two concealed portraits of Nicholas II are the work of Georgii Erastov (pseudonym Homunculus). The drawings "He's Engrossed in Reading" (fig. 58) and "He's Decided" (fig. 59) conceal the face of the Tsar in two ways. The first -- in an allegorical representation of the Tsar's blindness to Russia's true situation -- hides all but the brow behind the government newspaper. The second depicts the Tsar from behind. In the second drawing the newspaper is not Russian but Japanese, as indicated by the characters of the left of the newspaper title. The paper lies torn and discarded on the floor. On the trunk that Nicholas is packing, one sees the label "Bjerke," which refers to the location among the fjords of the coast of Finland, Björkö, where Nicholas signed a treaty of alliance with Kaiser Wilhelm in July 1905.¹⁵ These two drawings seem to allude to Russia's readiness to fall into the arms of Wilhelm, after suffering a humiliating defeat in the East, to forge a pact of autocrats against the Anglo-Japanese link.

In these caricatures Nicholas is identified by the distinctive, dark hair and receding hairline and by the wide pants tucked into high boots. In addition, the view behind him could only appear from a window

in the Winter Palace. The spire of the St. Petersburg Admiralty building is visible with a broad square separating it from the window. One other detail, the portrait of the late Tsar Alexander III behind Nicholas, comments on the actions of the figure in these two caricatures. In the first, Alexander III watches over his son's shoulder, while in the second he turns his back as Nicholas packs to leave. In the first caricature rats gnaw unnoticed at the feet of the Tsar's chair and climb onto the high back of the chair as well as onto the Tsar's boot. Outside, the square is the scene of a confrontation between mounted troops and pedestrians, some of whom lie wounded on the pavement. In the succeeding drawing, a rat just peeks in at the lower left and the square outside is deserted.

Concealment of the Tsar's features, as in "He is Engrossed in Reading," becomes a virtual prerequisite to the identity of his presence in any Russian caricature -- paradoxically a proof that he is there. Other details, however, confirm this skillful non-identification as precisely an identification with the Tsar, details of grooming, stature, dress or setting.

Concealment also suggests Nicholas as the subject of a large but previously unrecorded caricature, "Nightly Nightmares" (fig. 60). The principle for identification of the Tsar is the same as in the two by Erastov. "Nightmares" is not unique in depicting an important official in nightly fear of assassination, but by combining the situation and setting (similar to that in a contemporary photograph of the Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna's bedroom, fig. 61) with concealment of the face, the unknown artist provides the key to interpreting the subject as Nicholas II. Were it anyone else, concealment would not be necessary.

"Nightmares" depicts the terrified Tsar pulling an elaborate quilt over his face, showing just his eyes and his thick hair standing on end. At the end of his richly carved and draped bed the figure of a Death-gun slinks toward the startled sleeper. The dress uniform lying over the chair at the left could belong to any high government official, but it bears a strong resemblance to Nicholas's uniform in the portrait by Sërov (fig. 40). There are no other obvious signs in the rich interior that this sleeper is the Tsar, but the small ballerina-lamp at the right edge might be an allusion to Nicholas's affair with a dancer before his marriage.¹⁶ However, again the device of concealment is a clue to Nicholas's identity.

There is a distinct resemblance between this Russian cartoon and one which appeared in mid-1906 in the well-known Munich journal, Simpli-
cissimus (fig. 62). This latter shows a frightened sleeper, Nicholas II, dreaming of the decapitated Louis XVI in an attitude very similar to the Russian cartoon. The Tsar's face is shown and the imperial crown sits on the shadowy night table. The interior setting of the German work is not unlike the Russian caricature, and the wealth of details in the latter's setting compensates for the piquant lack of details in the sleeper's visage. Though the setting in "Nightmares" is unpleasantly cluttered, the richness of the bedroom corresponds closely to the published photograph of the imperial chambers.

"Nightmares" appeared in early 1907 in the journal Skomorokh, one of the last St. Petersburg illustrated satirical journals of the revolutionary era. One reason previous scholars have not noted the caricature of the Tsar here is the fact of this issue's rarity due to confiscation and the journal's immediate closing by the police. The publication of

"Nightly Nightmares" may even have caused this, for the caricature of the Tsar, though ostensibly concealed, would have been obvious even to the police by 1907.

One other caricature linked to the Tsar has rarely been noted due to its rapid confiscation by the government.¹⁷ "The Attempt" (fig. 63) was printed also in Chukovsky's journal, Signal, in early December 1905 and was understood to be a depiction of a revolutionary firing a pistol at an unseen Tsar. Though Nicholas II does not appear at all, the rich black and white pavement and tall columns of the interior suggest the imperial palace, and thus the Tsar as the target of the revolutionary's attack. Such suggestions were sufficient cause for the closing of Signal and for the editor's incarceration.

An untitled caricature (fig. 64) also has escaped investigation by previous scholars, but it contains a bare minimum of details of a concealed personage to assure his identification with the Tsar. This anonymous caricature is outstanding for its elegant and simple composition. At first glance, this drawing in the journal Fiskal reveals the rigid figure of a soldier or gendarme confronting a flag-waving mass of people across an open square. Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the armed policeman is not alone, but is being manipulated by a figure behind him, crouched with head down between extended arms that grasp the policeman at the waist. How would one know this figure is the Tsar, if not for the simple concealment of most of his personal characteristics? This factor, plus certain visible details such as the part in his thick hair, his round, delicate head and hands and his apparent small stature, all promptly recall the Serov portrait of Nicholas II (fig. 40). These few clues are sufficient to associate this figure with the Tsar and also to impute guilt to the autocrat for the massacres and repressions of

1905. This is a unique scene of confrontation, a very different conception compared to the violent action of "Soldiers, Gallant Boys...", with a group of soldiers attacking a passive crowd. That the Fiskal caricature depicts no overt action, no charge, no bodies, and this helps draw attention to the manipulation of the policeman by the barely visible Tsar.

Simple concealment of most of a figure had become tantamount to portraying Nicholas II as early as November 1905. A. Ivanov's small vignette, "Before the Trip Abroad. The Second Bell" (fig. 65) hides the background figures behind a cloud of steam from a train. The figures are so hidden that they might remain unnoticed, certainly unrecognized by a casual observer. However, for the alert reader in 1905 and for censors, the stiff salute of the gendarme in the foreground reveals the presence of an important pair of figures. The simple colonel's epaulettes on the male figure, scarcely visible beyond the steam, the accompanying female figure and the baby carriage at the right as Botsianovsky indicated,¹⁸ hint that the striding man is the Tsar, whose son was just months old in November 1905.

Stylistically, these two caricatures are strongly reminiscent of the graphic art published by the Parisian journal, La Revue Blanche in the 1890s, and in particular, the engravings of Felix Vallotton (fig. 66). The mysterious, empty space in the Russian drawings has an evocative power similar to Vallotton's work that deals with demonstrations and uprisings. The flat, dark shapes and the use of suddenly receding perspective (emphasized by the large foreground figures as well as the steep diagonals in the upper left of these examples) and the sharply flattened forms suggest that these Russian artists were looking to

western Art Nouveau for their stylistic inspiration. Vallotton's mastery of blanc et noir was much admired by the World of Art group¹⁹ and this example, "La Manifestation," was reprinted within the month in the same Russian journal that carried Ivanov's tiny print. Artists around the journal Mir iskusstva were especially attuned to this Art Nouveau current.

One miriskunik, Sergei Chekhonin, used related artistic devices in his diverse series of caricatures of Nicholas II, devices such as limited space, wiry outlines and repeated forms. Chekhonin was by far the most inventive of the Tsar's caricaturists. He used simple concealment of the entire body and face, while showing wide pants tucked into high boots to suggest the person of the Tsar in a cover design for Zritel (The Spectator), "Our Constitution -- Please Don't Blow" (fig. 67). Identified at the time and later,²⁰ the unseen autocrat in high boots and wide pants delicately constructs the new law of the land as a house of cards, fragile and destined to fall with the slightest disturbance, though paradoxically weighing heavily on the even frailer table beneath. Chekhonin achieved this sense of immanent collapse not only in the motif of the house of cards, but also in the extremely attenuated legs of the table and chair, neither of which can long bear the weight of the sovereign.

Nikolai Shestopaloy who had been a fellow student with Chekhonin in the school established by Princess Maria Tenisheva,²¹ and his co-worker on several satirical journals, also used a piece of the Tsar's uniform to stand in for him. The plain, visored cap seen in the early photograph (fig. 43) makes a solo appearance in a caricature printed

in early 1906 (fig. 68). Perched on a pile of money and ringed by the familiar uniform caps of the Russian police (which in turn sit on tangled nooses), the visored cap obviously enjoys a privileged position in St. Petersburg, which is identified by the tall thin spires in the background. Despite the lack of official insignia -- indeed because of this lack -- the viewer is meant to see this cap as a symbol for the Tsar, whose protection by his establishment cannot prevent the scrutiny of the two satyrs at either side. Strongly reminiscent of satyrs by Arnold Böcklin (fig. 69), these two are symbols here for the satirical press (the term satire is of course derived from these mythical creatures) which in its inventiveness and resiliency can surmount any barrier censorship devises and examine even the person and prestige of the autocrat of all the Russias.

Among the numerous disguises Russian caricature invented for the Tsar, none were more natural than the animals substituted for the foibles and follies of human beings in the Aesopian tradition. Like many other European nations, Russia adopted an eagle as its national symbol, but in Russia's case the eagle was double-headed, one head looking East and the other West. European caricaturists found this a ready target in their depiction of the "The Russian Double-Headed Eagle's Struggle Against the Enemy Within and Without" (fig. 70). Here an artist in Der Wahre Jacob portrayed Russia's massacre on Bloody Sunday with the left side of the eagle and her defeat by the Japanese with the drooping right side of the eagle whose claw is caught in a bear trap.

As the chief representative of autocracy, Nicholas II is implicitly contained within the eagle which, torn and limp, receives the nocturnal ministrations of the "Tailor," Count Sergei Witte, in yet another

caricature by A. Ivanov which uses the double-headed eagle (fig. 71). Count Witte's attributes are nearby: his coronet (Witte is often shown with a crown) forms the stand for the tailor's iron, and the bottle and candle at the left recall Witte's establishment of the state liquor monopoly, a lucrative addition to the Tsar's treasury intended to provide the autocracy with a steady income. Since this candle provides the image's sole illumination, the caricature implies that financial security (such as the international loans then in negotiation) will ultimately rescue the regime. This caricature is so closely related to Ivanov's nocturnal scene of the Tsar (fig. 53) as to form a sort of pendant to it.

The artist and editor of Zhupel, Zinovii Grzhebin, cleverly implied a diabolical link between the Tsar and the Constitution in the most famous of all caricatures of the 1905 Revolution, "Eagle-Werewolf, or Foreign and Domestic Politics" (fig. 72, printed without the censor's scrutiny). Grzhebin's caricature has always been interpreted as referring to the Tsar;²² certainly autocracy and, by extension, the Tsar are automatically contained within any representation of the double-headed eagle. A Soviet scholar has suggested that this menacingly stylized bird may in fact have been inspired by the image of a spectral Tsar as an ominous eagle soaring over the land, an image found in Maxim Gorky's 1905 essays.²³ The close collaboration between Gorky and Grzhebin on Zhupel reinforces such a conclusion.

Grzhebin satirizes autocracy in a number of ways in "Eagle-Werewolf;" the mildest of them is the stylization of the eagle's heads in the form of crowned snakes, which the artist achieved by reducing the silhouette of the necks and omitting the feathers. The

heads of the Russian symbol, crowned in gold, rise out of white, spotted wings which spread to either side of an emblem bearing the red letters of the work "Constitution" in place of the usual St. George and the dragon. The eagle's gold claws reach upward instead of down, and the tail is simply fanned out in tones of white above gold. Black curtains with gold laurel crowns form a background for the upper half of the drawing.

The principal satire in "Eagle-Werewolf" is discovered by following a clue in Grzhebin's punning title in which the Russian word for werewolf, oboroten, resembles the verb oborotitsia which means to turn over, swing around. When one turns Grzhebin's image over (fig. 73), it reveals the naked hindquarters of a crowned and robed figure. Somewhat like a playing card, Grzhebin's image has two heads at opposite sides. "Eagle-Werewolf" differs from its common counterpart in being ambivalent rather than symmetrical and in presenting a complete figure whether viewed from either side.

Another crowned figure seen from behind is the subject of an unsigned caricature (fig. 74) depicting an organist playing "I Know How to Save Russia, a romance by S. Witte." The musical piece is rendered in clusters of notes in the form of gallows, whips and cannons. Though the title suggests that the figure is Witte, head and crown recall Grzhebin's image in "Eagle-Werewolf," of slightly earlier. A bearded revolutionary saws away the support of the organist's stool. This motif of imminent collapse is reminiscent of Nikolai Erastov's image of rats gnawing the Tsar's chair, (fig. 59), also an earlier publication. This organist of figure 74 may also be the Tsar or Count Witte, for these two earlier caricatures of Nicholas by Grzhabin and Erastov were immensely

popular and the resemblances among the three are striking. The notion of the Tsar playing a piece of Count Witte's composing, which is one possible interpretation of this design, was a fairly popular concept at this time, for Witte was universally blamed with forcing Nicholas to issue the October Manifesto at the same time that he ruthlessly put down the revolution.

Certain facts argue for one or the other identification. Seen from the rear, this crowned figure displays no facial traits, which in Grzhebin's renowned "Eagle-Werewolf" is sufficient to unqualifiedly settle identity on the Tsar. Witte's face is very rarely obscured in caricature, as we shall see in chapter 3. On the other hand, the organ in figure 73 contains many stops labeled for the numerous political factions that sprang up after the October Manifesto: the "Radical Party", "Constitutional Democrats", "Union of October 17", and others. This would incline us toward viewing the organist as Witte rather than the Tsar. The crown, too, is much like the Count's coronet in figures 70 and 106-108. When we take into account that the journal which printed this image regularly featured caricatures of Witte with a crown, the scale tips in favor of that identification. The drawing's initial resemblance to "Eagle-Werewolf" has provided a lesson in the often tricky analytical process involved in interpreting political caricature in this era.

Grzhebin is exceptionally bold in having the Tsar in "Eagle-Werewolf" show his back side. A French caricaturist achieved a similar effect just a few years earlier in L'Assiette au beurre in which a 1901 image of King Edward VII (fig. 75) reveals the monarch's face in the ample *derrière* of the symbolic figure, Albion (the literary name for

Britain). Neither the Russian nor the French figure appears to be tossing up his robe as in a dance and one identifies the figures' attitudes as a wordless variant of the crude peasant insult still used around the world today.²⁴

Stylistically, Grzhebin's unmodulated image and planar arrangement of the forms differ sharply from the French figure, which laughingly twists into space. The Russian lubok (the peasant broadsheet) and caricatures by T.T. Heine or Olaf Gulbransson in Simplicissimus share features similar to those in the Grzhebin image: heavy outlines and flat, unmodulated areas of color combined with some areas of decorative patterning. Grzhebin had lived and studied in Munich after taking courses at the Odessa School of Drawing; he knew the Munich satirical journals well. In editing Zhupel in St. Petersburg, Grzhebin consciously adopted Simplicissimus as his model and included some of Heine's caricatures of German life and political events in the pages of his Russian journal.

In addition to Grzhebin's caricature of the double-headed eagle, a second feathered creature was substituted for the Tsar in Russian caricatures: a handsome, regally robed cock as drawn by Ivan Bilibin, the World of Art designer famed at the turn of the century for his series of illustrated folk tales. In the first of two Aesopian caricatures of autocracy that were printed in Zhupel, "Sic transit . . ." (fig. 76), Bilibin depicted in black and white an elegant cock contemplating a roast chicken on a plate before him. From the furrowed brow of the cock one can guess his reaction to this sight. The platter's meaning for him is clear: if he is not careful, he will be the next to roast. The readers of Zhupel would have no difficulty in applying

this allegory to the current political situation in Russia; the autocracy was in very real danger from its failure to control strikes and uprisings.

The motif of the cock suggests also Pushkin's folk tale, The Golden Cockerel, in which the legendary Tsar Dadon (who will figure in another of Bilibin's satires on autocracy) is duped and ultimately killed by a golden pullet. Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov drew on the story in 1906-07 for his last opera, whose political satire has been related by other scholars to the 1905 revolution, though not to the caricatures of the Tsar.²⁵

Ivan Bilibin also prepared illustrations to Pushkin's tale, which were finally published as part of his deluxe series in 1910. After Rimsky-Korsakov's death, Bilibin designed the sets and costumes for the 1909 production of The Golden Cockerel in Moscow. Rimsky-Korsakov was revered by members of the World of Art for his aspirations toward artistic synthesis and his experiments in aesthetic correspondences, as well as his dedication to themes from Slavic folklore. During the revolutionary era, Bilibin acknowledged his admiration for the composer by dedicating to him his illustrated Tale of Tsar Saltan.²⁶

Bilibin's second Aesopian caricature for Zhupel is entitled to resemble an illustration in a zoology text: "The Ass. (Equus asinum) 1/20th Natural Size" (fig. 77). This is one of the most notorious caricatures of the Tsar, cited by numerous earlier scholars.²⁷ Its publication resulted in both the closing of the journal and a 24-hour house arrest of the artist. Framed in elaborate rococo drapery, two heraldic griffins lie surrounded by medieval armor, swords, halberds and banners. The figure of an ass is set against a radiant circle in the

midst of all this. The griffins Bilibin borrowed from the Romanov coat of arms, but the rampant griffins of his model have been subdued and are now gisant (compare fig. 49). The ensemble suggests a well-known engraving of a portrait of Peter the Great (fig. 77), from which Bilibin derived many compositional features for "The Ass." From the circular format of the portrait, outward to the drapery and weapons in the frame, Bilibin's caricature is a pastiche of its rococo predecessor. Only two years before, Bilibin had borrowed from this engraving, in a menu design (fig. 78) for the Eremeev restaurant, which in 1903 celebrated a special "Week of Peter" to honor the bicentennial of the Russian capital. The center of the menu was left free for the plat du jour, while in the 1905 caricature the bust of Nicholas's predecessor, Peter the Great, has been replaced by an animal known for its stupidity and obstinacy.

A contemporary anecdote, published in Japan in 1907, also symbolized the Tsar as an ass. In a dream Nicholas sees three asses, one emaciated and ragged, one fat and well-clothed, and a third blind but wearing a golden crown. The hungry ass throws himself on the fat one and strips his fine robes; then both throw themselves on the blind ass. Nicholas cannot understand this dream and has Father John of Kronstadt (a miracle-working priest close to the Tsar's family) interpret it: the thin ass, the priest tells him, represents the Russian people, the fat one the bureaucracy, and the blind ass the Tsar himself.²⁸ Bilibin's caricature, contemporary with this anecdote, was an image the censors could not fail to notice.

Other artists used the ass to symbolize the tsarist bureaucracy, a heavy burden born by the peasantry (fig. 80), and a "New Trojan Horse" (fig. 81) infiltrating the "gifts" of reforms with the old tricks of

tsarist bureaucracy. Embodying the best in incisive political cartoons, these three caricatures, like posters are flat, stylized, and heavily contoured.

If Aesop's fables legitimized farm-yard animals as substitutes for the Tsar, Russian fairy tales contributed another proxy for him in 1905 caricatures, the boy-Tsarevich. This Tsarevich is crucial to understanding another Zhupel satire, "Tsar Dadon" (fig. 82). The critique of the Tsar is here more subtle than in Bilibin's "The Ass;" it employs the disguise of a little boy to satirize Nicholas's naive incompetence. It also is a vastly more complex allegory for the Tsar's Far Eastern adventure (which resulted in the Russo-Japanese War) than hitherto recognized. Building on those scholars who saw the current Tsar somehow in Bilibin's "Tsar Dadon,"²⁹ we can perceive that the artist extrapolated and embroidered a fairy tale scene, using the main character from Pushkin's Golden Cockerel.

Tsar Dadon, a figure from the timeless realm of legend, wears a flowing red beard and elaborate crown, similar to that in "Eagle-Werewolf" though unlike the bulbous Russian imperial crown. He stands gazing out at the moon, as if he would rule over this far-off land too, if he could. His little son stands beside him, picking his nose and trailing a painted wooden toy. Behind them, the sycophantic advisers include a sinister, mongol-featured nobleman who leans close to Tsar and Tsarevich; this may be a subtle reminder of contemporary events such as the recently ended Russo-Japanese War. Bilibin's preference for saturated colors, reds, blues and ochre, carries over from his deluxe illustrated fairy tales of those years. "Tsar Dadon" likewise makes use of a format and calligraphy similar to those of lubki and patterning

after antique Russian brocades and folk ornament.

As a member of the World of Art, Bilibin was most likely familiar with contemporary French caricatures of the Russo-Japanese War, in which Nicholas was satirized as a midget being knocked down by a huge Japanese Samurai (fig. 83).³⁰ Like the artist here, Bilibin suggested the person of Nicholas, defeated and humiliated by the Japanese, in the contrast between the little Tsarevich in "Tsar Dadon" and the looming oriental features of the adviser.

This little boy exemplifies the main tendency of Russian caricatures of Nicholas II, which is to portray him as immature and incompetent, a scrawny little Tsarevich who can't measure up to his powerful father. Indeed, such a situation prevailed during Nicholas's young adulthood. His father, Alexander III, was a stern and intimidating figure who failed to take his son seriously or to initiate him into government work. As a consequence, the 26-year-old Nicholas was sadly unprepared to rule when his father died suddenly in 1894 at the age of forty-nine.³¹ Bilibin's illustration might recall this history to the attentive reader of Zhupel.

Earlier, Bilibin's colleague Sergei Chekhonin had succeeded in portraying the Tsar under the guise of a little boy. "The Tale About One Mother and an Untidy Boy" (fig. 84) is one of the largest Russian caricatures of the Tsar. Printed in pale green on white, this drawing is a complex and ironic linear fantasy which is difficult to grasp at first, and though caricature histories identify the Tsar here, most offer only a brief explanation for it.³²

The central group (fig. 84) contains a little boy with a bump on his head, standing on the ceremonial hat of a cabinet minister with his

back to the viewer. The boy's head is held in the big hands of a maternal figure kneeling on a flowery field, encircled by a spread skirt (from which protrude at the right two gloved, gesticulating hands). Beneath a nanny's cap, the partly concealed face is distinguished by a high forehead and receding hairline; an editor's note to the left of the image identifies the nanny as the Prime Minister, Count Sergei Witte. While tending the bump on the little boy's head, Witte's nose and mouth are hidden. The ditty accompanying this caricature explains this: "Mama wiped his little head, Mama defended him from people, Mama spoiled him, Mama understood him. In a word, they understood each other without a word. And there it is."

There are other caricatures of this type,³³ but an oral anecdote of the day is particularly interesting in portraying Nicholas's wife, Alexandra, as the author of a caricature depicting her husband as a child with his nanny-ministers.³⁴ Chekhonin's "Tale About One Mother" draws on this rich vein of contemporary culture.

Other features of Chekhonin's caricature deserve examination. Behind the central group of boy and nanny hang puppet-like ministers of the Tsar's Cabinet, their dangling strings gathered by Witte. Directly behind Witte's head the facade of the Tauride Palace, home of the future State Duma is visible. Above this are perched two tufted doves, who turn their heads and spread their wings outward in an ironic transformation of the imperial eagle, as Botsianovskii has observed.³⁵ Unnoticed by previous scholars, however, is a possible derivation of these doves from the 1905 Fabergé Easter egg (fig. 86, 87) presented by the Tsar to his wife.

In commemoration of the birth of the Tsarevich Alexis, the long-

awaited heir, Nicholas gave his wife the so-called "Colonnade Egg" at Easter 1905. In this treasure, designed for Fabergé by Alexander Benois of the World of Art,³⁶ the egg rests on a flower-draped colonnade; at the top sits a putto, symbol of the newborn Tsarevich. At the base of the colonnade sit four small girls representing the Tsar's daughters. At the very center of the colonnade beneath the egg perch two platinum doves, billing and cooing, symbolic of the happy father and mother of the newborn heir. Within his domestic circle, Nicholas was a mild and gentle father, and Benois' doves are a felicitous sign for that aspect of the Tsar's character.

However, the political context of Chekhonin's caricature, the transformation of the imperial eagle into turtle doves conveys the idea of the Tsar's incompetence, passivity and political immaturity. Chekhonin caricatures his colleague's symbol of domestic bliss and turns it against Nicholas in a caustic attack. Chekhonin's boy Tsar is less to be feared than the imposing figure of Witte.

The image of the Tsar as a little boy with a bump on his head drew upon a famous incident in which Nicholas, touring Japan in 1891 as Tsarevich, nearly lost his life. While riding through the narrow, police-lined streets of the town of Tosu, a fanatical Japanese policeman lunged at Nicholas and struck him with his sabre. The blow glanced off his forehead, drawing blood and inflicting a serious wound. Nicholas ran, chased by the assailant. His cousin, Prince George of Greece, jumped out of his rickshaw and pursued the attacker, hitting him over the head with his cane.³⁷ The attack very badly frightened the Tsarevich, who broke off his tour. He never spoke publicly of this incident, and came to hate the Japanese. The scar, known popularly in Russia as shishka

(the bump),³⁸ was indirectly associated with the disastrous Russo-Japanese War that had been provoked by Russia's blatant imperialism in the Far East. Count Witte later wrote that Nicholas "became involved in the Far Eastern adventure because of his youth, his natural animosity against Japan, where an attempt had been made on his life (he never speaks of that occurrence), and finally, because of a hidden craving for a victorious war."³⁹ Botsianovskii states:

This incident became general knowledge and there was not a man, it seems, who did not know by heart the impromptu [ditty] by V.A. Giliarovskii prompted by this event:

An adventure in Otsu / Grieved the Tsar and Tsaritsa /
It was hard for the father to read / That his little son
was beaten by the police. / Tsarevich Nikolai, / If you have
to reign, / Never forget / That the police can fight.⁴⁰

The shishka was a symbol of all this.

Chekhnin had used the symbol of the little boy three months earlier, in a headpiece that spread over two pages of the journal, Zritel (figs. 88-89). The reference to the Tsar was difficult then to discern at that time (it took about a week for the director of police to begin any action against the issue), but once discovered it set the pattern for several other Chekhnin caricatures of Nicholas.

The headpiece in question, "25 Silhouettes x 4", presents a frieze of well-known figures in or close to the Tsarist government. The second and third figures from the left are Trepov and Pobedonostsev. Eighth and ninth from the left are silhouettes of Bulygin and Grand Duke Aleksei Aleksandrovich, Nicholas's uncle. Looking up at him is the isolated, "rickety figure of a boy with a bump on his head, by which all ought to, and actually did recognize Nicholas II himself."⁴¹

The boy presents his profile with its distinctive snub nose. He also appears to wear the high boots with wide pants tucked in,

characteristic of the Tsar's usual dress (fig. 43). To the boy's right stand Father John of Kronstadt and Nicholas's father, Alexander III. Father John was a revered St. Petersburg priest and private confessor to Alexander III who was thought capable of miracles.⁴² He was frequently linked to Nicholas II in contemporary anecdotes. The huge figures contrast vividly with the small boy beside them, and the artist's boldness in linking these government figures, especially the Tsar's, with the ultra-rightist Black Hundreds (scantily disguised beneath the title "25 Silhouettes x 4") was astonishing at the time. Again, however, the representation of Nicholas as a puny boy suggested that he was guilty more of striving to emulate his stern, nationalistic father and uncle than of independently creating or heading the Black Hundreds. He was more their instrument than they his.

The issue of Zritel that carried this headpiece enjoyed unprecedented success; sold-out in one day (and fetching 1 1/2 to 3 rubles rather than the cover price of 5 kopeks), the issue was reprinted four times in the next month. The police and censors caught on too late.⁴³

The originality of Chekhonin's boy-Tsar with a bump on his head is best seen in comparison with contemporaneous representations in the European satirical press. Two different visions of the effects of the telegraph strike on the Tsar appeared in late November and early December 1905, the first "The Broken Telegraph" by Chekhonin (fig. 90), and a second by Jugend's Erich Wilke (fig. 91). In Chekhonin's simple, symmetrical arrangement of telegraph poles and clouds, a small boy with a large bump on his head stands looking up at the broken wires; the finger in his mouth suggests helpless puzzlement.⁴⁴ In the German version, "A Majestic Sight/The Cut Telegraph Wires," Wilke clarified

the relationship between the stability of Nicholas's throne and dependable communications such as the telegraph. In the left half of Wilke's composition, a revolutionary muzhik (peasant) and a cooperative bureaucrat chop down a withering fir tree capped with Nicholas's head. To the right, the despondent monarch sits at the base of a telegraph pole, wires dangling behind him. The similarity between the fir tree and telegraph pole conveys the interrelationship between the autocracy and the telegraph.

Chekhonin's image conceals the Tsar's identity beneath a thin anecdotal facade. Wilke's was aimed at an audience not familiar with the web of popular lore that supported the Russian conception and therefore presented the Tsar recognizably. Censorship has formed the first caricature into a disguised image, while the more diffuse narrative of the German version addresses itself unambiguously to the current problems of the Russian Tsar.

Chekhonin's later caricatures of the Tsar again employ the profile silhouette similar to that in "25 Silhouettes x 4," but with more suggestion of Nicholas's mustache and beard, as well as a more prominent bump on the crown of the head. In an untitled page decoration (fig. 92), Nicholas appears as a diminutive stick figure in the upper right. The central form of this caricature is a mound of coins from which the monstrous, wrinkled head of a banker, (identified in the poem below) emerges crowned with vine leaves. At the right of the head a spindly figure wearing high boots, with the profile caricature of Nicholas II (fig. 93) inclines toward the banker. Above Nicholas, an implicit insult, three figs hang down from a drooping, leafless tree.⁴⁵ The poem on the left beneath the caricature relates the banker's concern with the

catastrophic plunge in government securities, while the other poem laments the domestic and foreign woes besetting Russia.⁴⁶ All the other details of this vignette relate to the huge foreign loans secured by Witte that in 1905-06 helped to stabilize the Russian government.

More personal references to the Tsar and his family may have been intended by Chekhonin in this decorative caricature. The candelabrum before the mound of coins contains seven candles and might be seen as an analogue for the seven members of the Tsar's immediate family, with the Tsar in the center and the infant Tsarevich next at the right. This page is a splendid piece of book art in the tradition of the World of Art. Similar decorative work by Alexandre Benois (fig. 94) contains juxtapositions of strong dark masses and curving, wiry lines, solidly centered and symmetrically balanced like the decorations by Chekhonin.

If profile silhouettes of the Tsar seem difficult to identify, such was the artist's intention. A glance at one further profile may help clarify the resemblance. Chekhonin's "Medal Struck in Commemoration of the New Law on Freedom of the Press" (fig. 95) contains a hidden but quite naturalistic profile silhouette of the Tsar beneath the artist's caricatured self-portrait, an artist enchained by the tsarist bureaucracy but nevertheless trying to carry on in any way possible. Beneath the artist's buttocks and heel, to the immediate right of the black ball of the chain, the snub-nosed image of Nicholas faces downward (fig. 96). Opposite this silhouette is a frowning caricature of the Tsar's mother, the Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna, identifiable by her well-known tall hairdo, as another link in the chain. Just above the pine cone is the side-burned face of Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich, Nicholas's uncle and commander of the Imperial Guard that fired upon

the crowds of demonstrators on Bloody Sunday. The bald and wizened face of Procurator of the Holy Synod, Constantine Pobedonostsev, is just above the artist's own; Pobedonostsev is the only figure mentioned by name in the accompanying ditty.⁴⁷

Hands chained behind his back and brush in his mouth, Chekhonin still manages to draft an elegant pine cone on the page before him. Here, the artist signals an ongoing metamorphosis from one symbol of the Tsar into another, from the bump on the head in the profile of the Tsar to the pine cone in Chekhonin's latest drawing -- i.e. that within this very caricature. In doing so, Chekhonin invokes the secondary, botanical meaning of shishka: "cone." While looking sardonically at his latest effort to symbolize the Tsar in the form of a pine cone, Chekhonin tramples underfoot his earlier effort, the recognizable, profile silhouette of Nicholas II.

The pine cone was not destined to assume an important place in the caricatures of the Tsar. A follower of Chekhonin, Viacheslav Traubenberg, published a caricature in a later magazine (fig. 96), entitled "Something Fantastical, or the Black Hundreds Accompanying the Pine Cone Which Embarks on a Ship to Sail the Sea of Domestic Troubles." While Minister of the Interior, Durnovo, clutches the ship's mast and Witte is being crowned as the ship's figurehead, a huge cone receives the reverence of black-clad figures who stand beside the gangplank. Their reverence is clearly intended to equate the pine cone with a personage of outstanding importance, such as the Tsar. The undramatic character of this drawing and its static composition prevent it from achieving the comic form of artfulness of its predecessors, but it represents the full flowering of the pine cone as a symbol for Nicholas II.

If the pine cone is an arcane sign for an outward physical characteristic of the Tsar, Chekhonin found another sign, the flaming heart first noted by Botsianovskii, as a symbol of the inner emotional response of the Tsar to the revolutionary disturbances. The artist adopted this image from countless official statements that typically referred to the Tsar's heart in such phrases: "with the workers' needs close to the Emperor's heart . . ." In the Tsar's speech at the opening of the State Duma on April 27, 1906, he urged the representatives to pay particular attention to "the needs of the peasants, so close to my heart."⁴⁸ The Emperor's heart, burning with concern for his troubled land, became an ironic symbol in Chekhonin's caricature satirizing Count Witte: "The Magician Witte, Seated on the Urn . . ." (fig. 98). Here Count Witte proffers "Someone's" flaming heart in his famous (and much ridiculed) request to striking workers to go back to work. The heart of the Tsar draws, in response, several fists forming "fig" signs at the right side of the image.⁴⁹ Witte tramples underfoot a parchment on which is written: "There is nothing hidden which will not be discovered, nothing secret which will not be found out. Woe to you lawmakers, that you took the key of understanding, did not yourselves enter in, and hindered him who would." The ridicule to which the Tsar is subject here under the sign of the flaming heart can be blamed on Witte and his policies. Ultimate responsibility for all policies, however, rested with the autocratic Tsar as it traditionally had, and he personally felt the sting of these insulting caricatures.

If in the "The Magician Witte" the flaming heart could be mistaken for Witte's own, its identification with absolute power was made clear in a subsequent cover image of the journal Maski (fig. 99), which was

first recognized by Botsianovskii.⁵⁰ In "The Ace of Hearts, or the Flaming Heart of Freedom," the heart has grown into a hybrid creature. Using the red heart as the head, Chekhonin elaborated schematic features in the lower part and grafted onto it a black body, arms crossed over the chest, an eye in place of the navel and a fig leaf lower down. The sole covering the figure is a mantle falling over the globe on which he stands, indicating the scope of his power -- that is, over one tenth of the globe, Russia. The heart-head is criss-crossed with lattice-work and contoured to suggest the brilliant decoration and the swelling shape of the imperial crown (fig. 49), which in Chekhonin's drawing, has grown so large as to swallow up the little head of the Tsar. The artist used this heart-face also as the symbol for the journal Maski, placing it near the title as well as on related publications such as Verbnyi bazar (Pussy Willow Bazaar).

As a caricature of power, "The Ace of Hearts" has the artistic virtues of symmetry and an appropriately iconic presentation that, paired with the repetition of the heart motif in the framing side panels, mark this drawing as one of Chekhonin's most successful images, when viewed from the caricature's ever-present need for simplicity and clarity. The repeated motifs reinforce the effect of the caricature. The simplicity of shapes and line is almost too subtle to be grasped immediately. In the side panels, the vases (from which spring the heart-vines) bear the same form, upside-down, as the "Ace of Hearts" mantle. These repetitions have an almost hypnotic effect on the viewer and, in this, might be likened to certain Symbolist poems.

In one final image of the Tsar (fig. 100) Chekhonin closely approached the European conception of Nicholas II as reigning from a

throne built on the carnage of 1905, on the bones of his people. In "The Blind Ruler -- 1905 Sings His Last Song on a Polar Volcano," the cover image of Zritel, Chekhonin made his most sweeping accusation of Nicholas II. Against a sky of melancholy violet, the lyre-playing dwarf-Tsar sits atop a mountain of blackened corpses. His bulbous crown engulfs his spare features (fig. 101) and his ermine robe trails down behind, already smoking with the imminent conflagration. Chekhonin's basic idea of the Tsar sitting on a heap of corpses is well-known from European caricatures of the Tsar at this time. Artists in Zurich, Stuttgart, Munich and Paris had shown either the Tsar or his infant son in such a way (figs. 102, 103). No other Russian artist, however, had dared so pointedly to reproach the Tsar. Shortly after this caricature appeared, Zritel was finally closed by the censors.

It is indeed difficult to detect a likeness to Nicholas in the dwarf-Tsar, hidden as he is behind the harp, but the swelling form of the imperial crown is the chief distinguishing trait. Compared to this shape, the Tsar's head and beehive-like belly are smaller spherical shapes. The short spindly legs of the Autocrat are almost indistinguishable against the complex surface of the mound -- a sort of burning pyre -- on which the ruler sits like Nero.⁵¹ His mousey face, wrinkled and wizened, shows just a hint of a beard and mustache near the ermine collar that covers the entire back of his head.

Chekhonin again uses the repetition of both large and small shapes within the design to emphasize the main features. The smoke clouds are the reverse of the shape of the mountain, and the reaching hands of the corpses echo the ruler's hands as he plucks the harp. The three spheres of the ruler's body are echoed in the skulls below.

Nicholas II was the target of international caricatures in a wide variety of styles during the 1905 revolution. The Russian caricatures examined in this small group range from the tenebrous portrait in a Böcklinesque mode to the sharp graphic clarity of Chekhonin's "Ace of Hearts." If European artists were free to depict Nicholas without resorting to subterfuge, Russian caricaturists were forced to seek allegries and disguises for their representations of the Tsar, actively encouraged in this pursuit by Russian censorship. As a consequence, Western caricatures remained bound to the Tsar's features, while Russian works became extraordinarily inventive, devising Aesopian and folkloric equivalents for the Autocrat. The best European efforts approached the poster in immediacy and expressiveness, with broad flat areas and bold outlines. The most successful Russian caricatures look both to western art nouveau, and to Russian native traditions in folklore and peasant arts and crafts.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹Howard D. Mehlinger and John M. Thompson, Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 5-6, 327-28; Robert K. Massie, Nicholas and Alexandra (New York: Atheneum, 1967), pp. 113-14, 162-63; S. S. Ol'denburg, Tsarstvovanie Imperatora Nikolaia II, 2 vols. (Belgrade and Munich: Obshchestvo rasprostraneniia russkoi natsional'noi i patrioticheskoi literatury, 1939-49); translated as Last Tsar: Nicholas II, His Reign & His Russia, 4 vols., trans. Leonid I. Mihalap & Patrick J. Rollins (Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1975).

The irony of this judgment lies in the fact that Russia produced rulers much harsher than Nicholas, such as Peter the Great and Lenin; Graham Stephenson, Russia From 1812-1945: A History (New York: Praeger, 1969), pp. 213-14; in 1905 a Russian historian attributed Nicholas's popularity among caricaturists and anecdotalists to his qualities of helplessness and ineptitude, and likens the Tsar to a small child lulled to sleep with fairy tales, a characterization which emphasizes his political immaturity; P. Orlov, Tsar Nikolai II: Ego sreda i sovetniki (Davos: Izd. Akts. Obshch. Davosskoi Tipografii, 1905), pp. 12-13, 53.

Lev Tolstoy in 1902 wrote to the Tsar remonstrating him for his bad advisors and telling him that his people are turning against the very idea of autocracy; included in the anthology, Nikolai II: Materialy dlia kharakteristiki lichnosti i tsarstvovaniia (Moscow: Golos minuvshago, 1917), p. 119.

²See Mehlinger and Thompson, Count Witte; in 1905 this process was implicit in a review in Zritel' of Sergei Diaghilev's exhibition of Russian portraits; the writer noted that in the newer portraits of important government personages (included among these was a portrait of Nicholas II by Serov), one sensed a diminishing reverence toward the subjects, a new approach which emphasized their ordinariness and powerlessness; this review was printed in Zritel' 1 (5 June 1905), and reproduced in part by Vladimir F. Botsianovskii and Erikh F. Gollerbakh, Russkaia satira pervoi revoliutsii 1905-1906 (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925), pp. 44-45; Diaghilev's own thoughts were along the same lines; his speech at the banquet in his honor is printed as "V chas itogov" (At the Hour of Reckoning), Vesy, no.4 (April 1905), pp. 45-46.

³Theodore H. von Laue, Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 160; see also Arthur Raffalovich, L'Abominable vénalité de la presse (Paris: Librairie du travail, 1931), pp. 18-176; and Mehlinger and Thompson, Count Witte, pp. 21, 232-33.

⁴The standard of reverence for the Tsar is apparent in the Russian Orthodox catechism, reproduced in translation by Ann E. Healy, The Russian Autocracy in Crisis, 1905-07 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976), pp. 40-41.

⁵Vl. Kranikfel'd, "Zhurnal'nye otgoloski: O russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistike," Mir Bozhii, no. 12 (December 1905), section 2, pp. 130-31.

⁶The Tsar's true position on the establishment of the State Duma is examined in Mehlinger and Thompson, Count Witte, pp. 18-19, 116, 161, 304; Nicholas would not allow the word "constitution" used in connection with the proposed reforms, though the revised Fundamental Laws were in effect a constitution; see Healy, Russian Autocracy, p. 108.

⁷John Grand-Carteret, Nicolas, ange de la paix, empereur du knout (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1906); Vladimir Botsianovskii in Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, Russkaia satira; these are the bases for subsequent studies and have not been surpassed; Botsianovskii examined the bulk of the Russian caricatures of Nicholas II in "Nikolai II v karikature," Byloe, no. 4 (32) (1925), pp. 222-52; and in Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 47-84.

⁸This material is now exceedingly rare; in New York City the collection of Abraham Herrenroth contains the two examples cited here, as well as a set of hand-illustrated postcards by V. V. Karrik, who published drawings in the journals Leshii, Piatnitsa and Zhupel.

Soviet scholarship in this area comes basically from three historians, E. B. Fainshtein, I Gorodskoi and V. V. Shleev; entries for these are in the bibliography.

⁹Alexander III awarded his son the rank of colonel in the army and, though he later became supreme commander as Tsar, Nicholas never took a higher rank for himself.

¹⁰Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 35.

¹¹Ibid., p. 79.

¹²Grand-Carteret, p. 21.

¹³The journal Signal was brought to court for its satire and caricatures under the editorship of Kornei Chukovskii in late 1905; as a result, Chukovskii went to prison and the journal closed, to open again under a new name scarcely different from the old, Signaly, and a different editor; Kranikfel'd, pp. 130-31.

¹⁴Such a tendency may likewise be identified in the satirical prose and poems printed alongside the caricatures; literary satires are far more frequent during this time than graphic caricatures of the Tsar; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 51-72; Sergei K. Isakov, 1905 god v satire i karikature (Leningrad: Priboi, 1928), pp. 67-81.

¹⁵The history of the Björkö Treaty may be found in Mehlinger and Thompson, Count Witte, pp. 214-17, 239, 383 n.22.

¹⁶Nicholas's affair ended, but the anecdotes lived on; in 1907 a volume of "The Newest Anecdotes about Nicholas II" was published in Nagasaki, which contained, out of twenty-three entries, two dealing with this affair; Noveishie anekdoty o Nikolae vtorom (Nagasaki: Dal'nii vostok, 1907), pp. 21-23.

¹⁷Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 35.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 35, 71.

¹⁹In reviewing western art for Mir iskusstva during the first six months of the journal, Alexandre Benois (Benua) had included Vallotton in three separate articles; see "Khronika, "Mir iskusstva 1 (1899): 51, 97-98, 112.

²⁰Grand-Carteret, p. 20; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 78.

²¹This school was directed by Repin, 1895-98, and open to 1904; among the students, Chekhonin, Bilbin, Plekhanov and Shestopalov participated in the satirical journals during the 1905 revolution.

²²Grand-Carteret, p. 19; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 81; also in Petr M. Dul'skii, Grafika satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 g.g. (Kazan: Tatgosizdat, 1922), p. 38.

²³Z.M. Karasik, "M. Gor'kii i satiricheskie zhurnaly 'Zhupel' i 'Adskaia pochta'," M. Gor'kii v epokhu revoliutsii 1905-1907 godov: Materialy, vospominaniia, issledovaniia (Moscow: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1957), p. 365.

²⁴For an explanation of this insult, see Charles P. Flynn, Insult and Society: Patterns of Comparative Interaction (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977), p. 20.

²⁵Eleonora P. Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia, Russkoe iskusstvo i revoliutsiia 1905 goda (Leningrad: Izd. Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1960), p. 3; Moisei O. Ianovskii, Rimskii-Korsakov i revoliutsiia 1905 goda (Moscow: Gos. Muzykal'noe Izdatel'stvo, 1950) explores the connections between the composer and the revolution, including the satirical journals; see also Abram A. Gozenpud, N.A. Rimskii-Korsakov: Temy i idei ego opernogo tvorchestva (Moscow: Gos. Muzykal'noe Izdatel'stvo, 1957), pp. 162-86.

²⁶Aleksandr S. Pushkin, Skazki Pushkina. Skazka o tsare Saltane, o syne ego slavnom i moguchem bogatyre kniaze Gvidon Saltanoviche i o prekrasnoi tsarevne Lebedi (St. Petersburg: Ekspeditsiia zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1907).

²⁷For example, Grand-Carteret, p. 22; Dul'skii, p. 42; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 81.

²⁸Noveishie anekdoty, pp. 4-5.

²⁹The first to mention this are Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 80, 159, but neither attempts more than a hint that "Tsar Dadon" is somehow a caricature of Nicholas II.

³⁰Russian caricatures of the war use just the reverse iconography; Russia is the colossal muzhik (peasant) defeating the Japanese pigmy; I.P. Belokonskii, "Lubochnaia literatura i iaponsko-russkoi voine," Obrazovanie, no. 5 (May 1904), section 2, pp. 80-91; no. 7 (July 1904), section 2, pp. 105-12; no. 1 (January 1905), section 1, pp. 43-63.

³¹On Nicholas's unpreparedness to rule, see Healy, pp. 37-39.

³²Grand-Carteret apparently missed it, but Botsianovskii examines it in Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 75.

³³Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 43; see also Botsianovskii, "Karikatura i tsenzura v nachale XX veka (Iz vospominanii redaktora satiricheskogo zhurnala)," Byloe, no. 26 (1925), p. 184; another is reproduced in Virginia Cowles, The Last Tsar and Tsarina (London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1977), p. 26.

³⁴Noveiskie anekdoty, pp. 14-15.

³⁵Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 75.

³⁶For about twenty years, Fabergé eggs were an Easter tradition in the Tsar's household; Henry C. Bainbridge, Peter Carl Fabergé (London: B.T. Batsford, 1949), pp. 67-78; Alexandre Benois designed for and corresponded extensively with Fabergé; A. Kenneth Snowman, Carl Fabergé: Goldsmith to the Imperial Court of Russia (New York: Viking, 1979), pp. 95-96; Geza von Habsburg-Lothringen and Alexander von Solodkoff, Fabergé: Court Jeweller to the Tsars (New York: Rizzoli, 1979), p. 41, pl. 129; Z. Berniakovich, "Iuvelirnye izdeliia firmy Faberzhe," Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha 38 (1974): 81-83.

A cartoon by Belomorskii also uses this tradition, substituting the State Duma for the jewelled surprise within the egg, in Satiricheskoe obrazovanie, no. 2 (1906), p. 16.

³⁷Konstantin D. Rostovtsev Pervyi sviatoi i serdechnyi dolg . . . v pamiat' chudesnago izbavleniia dragotsennoi ego Imperatorskago Vysochestva zhizni ot zlodeiskoi ruki 29 apreliia 1891 goda v Iaponii (Sterlitamak, Ufimskoi gubernii: n.p., 1891); also, Nikolai II Oi Romanov (ego zhizn' i 'deiatel'nost'') 1894-1917 g.g. (Petrograd: Plamia, 1917), p. 8; and Prince Esper E. Ookhtomsky, Travels in the East of His Majesty, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, 2 vols., trans. Richard Goodlet (London: n.p., 1896).

³⁸The dictionary defines shishka as "bump, lump; in botany, cone, knot; colloq., "bigwig;" it is also similar to shish, "fig."

³⁹Sergei Yu. Witte, The Memoirs of Count Witte, trans. and ed. Abraham Yarmolinsky (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967), p. 186.

⁴⁰Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 72, credit this ditty and knowledge of its author to Iur. Sobolev, "Revoliutsionnaia satira piatogo goda," Vecherniiaia Moskva, no. 170 (1925).

⁴¹Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 73, 152-53.

⁴²Aleksandr Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, Otets Ioann Kronshtadtskii (New York: Chekhov, 1955).

⁴³Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 74.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁵An explanation for the insult implied by the fig may be found in Desmond Morris and others, Gestures: Their Origins and Distribution (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 147-60.

⁴⁶Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 73.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp 76.

⁴⁸The first phrase was printed in Pravitel'stvennyi vestnik, 13 (26 January 1905, p. 1, in a report by the Minister of Finance Kokovtsev; reprinted in Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 76-77; Nicholas's speech appeared in Polnoe sobranie rechei Imperatora Nikolaia II 1894-1906 (St. Petersburg: Drug Naroda, 1906), p. 75.

⁴⁹The "fig" gesture recalls the hanging fruit in the image of Tsar and banker (fig. 92) which was printed two weeks after this caricature of "The Magician Witte."

A tradition of 19th century political caricature depicting rulers defecating in public seems to be linked with this image as well; such scatological pictures are treated art historically in a paper by James B. Cuno, "Politics and Pornography in French Caricature: Charles Philipon and 'La Poire', 1825-1835," presented at the 71st Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America, Philadelphia, February 18, 1983.

⁵⁰Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, pp. 77-78.

⁵¹Nicholas II is put in the company of Nero in a caricature by W. Lehmann in Der Wahre Jacob, no. 495 (11 July 1905), p. 4743 (the front cover).

CHAPTER 3

COUNT WITTE AND THE MINISTERS

If Nicholas II was the subject of some of the most interesting caricatures of the 1905 revolution, then Sergei Yulievich Witte (1848-1915) was the most frequently depicted. Of all government personages he garnered the most satirical drawings, poems and stories. Caricatures scrutinized virtually every aspect of his public life during this period and even hazarded some guesses about his sleeping habits. Barbs flew at him from the right as well as the left. One of the more clever right-wing attacks gave Witte's name to the punning title of a caricature journal, Vittova pliaska (St. Vitus's Dance). Newsboys hawked the latest satirical editions with the cry, "Witte dances while Trepov drums!"¹

As Nicholas's chief minister after the October Manifesto, Witte was a highly visible target. Depiction of his features allowed the license prohibited to the rendering of the Tsar and the royal family. Partial biographies of Witte and his own memoirs² present an intelligent man, ambitious and innovative in his government functions, yet ruthless, secretive and manipulative. Witte drafted the planned reforms set forth in the October Manifesto for the purpose of preserving the institution of monarchy. He steadfastly believed that Russia could function neither as a liberal democracy nor a constitutional monarchy, but realized that the very act of proposing a limited monarchy and greater personal liberties in Russia was necessary to weaken the almost universal opposition to tsarist autocracy.

Witte's character puzzled all around him; he was universally distrusted. Even the Tsar who appointed him called Witte "a chameleon

of a man" during the worst of the Moscow uprising in December 1905 for so thoroughly changing his position, abandoning reforms in favor of repression.³ His penchant for publicity served the caricature press well during the revolution and, as no substantial segment of Russian society trusted him, he was the butt of some of the most pointed caricatures to appear at this time. We shall examine work in a wide variety of styles, some looking to 19th century precedents in European caricature, others to their contemporaries in European journals, and still others to the native tradition of the lubok for inspiration in treating Count Witte.

No one did more than Witte at the turn of the century to push Russia into the industrial age. His career in the Ministries of Transportation and Finance during the 1890s brought rapid change in both these areas. He completed railroad links with Europe and within Russia, reformed the currency and secured the confidence of European investors, who made substantial loans to Russia for further industrialization. However, this policy of rapid modernization had adverse consequences in city and countryside: it created a stratum of impoverished urban proletariat and it was accompanied by recurrent famines that provoked more than the usual agrarian distress.

Because he did not agree with the Tsar's policy of expansion in the Far East, Witte found disfavor at the court in the early years of this century. Nonetheless, Nicholas brought him back in the summer of 1905 to head the peace negotiations with Japan that were held in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the invitation of President Theodore Roosevelt. A photograph of "The Peacemakers" (fig. 104) shows Witte at the left towering over the Japanese envoy Baron Komura. He secured the

most favorable terms possible for Russia and thus earned the gratitude of his Tsar. Nicholas granted him the title of "Count" immediately upon his return to Russia. In the satirical press Witte became "Count Portmutsky," recalling the location of his successful statesmanship.

Nicholas had found Witte particularly useful for the negotiations because he was well known to the European and American press and understood how to manipulate them. He did not have comparable skill with the Russian press, however. Nor did he secure the confidence of the Tsar, despite the negotiations. In October 1905, Nicholas chose him to head the government only when he found no alternative to promising the fundamental freedoms and reforms demanded by many strata of society. Witte drafted the Manifesto of October 17, 1905 and accepted the post as chairman of the Council of Ministers in order to carry out his plan for the "salvation of Russia" (a phrase which appeared often in caricatures of Witte): the dual tasks of pacifying the nation and implementing the desired reforms. Accomplishing both goals simultaneously was unrealistic and possibly beyond the skill of even a statesman who could command the trust and confidence that always eluded Witte. By the opening of the State Duma in April 1906, Witte resigned, exhausted and embittered.

In appearance Witte was distinguished by exceptional height, a receding hairline, dark hair and moustache, and light eyebrows and beard. His height is a vital factor in the humorous depiction of the peace negotiations by the Jugend artist, Weisgerber. His "Witte and Kamura" (fig. 105) exploits the difference in stature of the two envoys which, judging by the photograph, might be as much as half a meter. The photo provided the pose and features of dress for another German caricature of the new Count (fig. 106), but the artist emphasized

Witte's status by adding a coronet suitable to his recently acquired rank.

This small crown distinguishes many caricatures of Witte and, in Russian caricatures too numerous to be reproduced here, connotes a streak of snobbery and social climbing. Examples of a crowned Witte appear in at least a dozen separate journals in Russia and are not rare in European caricatures. One of the most remarkable of the Russian drawings is attributable to A. Ivanov, whose caricatures of the Tsar were noted in chapter 2. Ivanov's image (fig. 107) is a strange hybrid of the Russian imperial eagle with the head of Count Witte. The wings shelter the head of Minister of the Interior Durnovo at the left, as well as the usual royal insignia which have been somewhat abraded in this edition of Pulemet (compare fig. 238). An attentive focus on Witte's face reveals his sidelong glance which if followed, leads to a round shape, identifiable as the back of a man's head partly concealed by the eagle's wing at the right and by the waving banderole. This head is most likely that of the Tsar, whose features we have seen concealed in a great variety of ways in chapter 2.

In general, Russian caricatures of Witte required only the barest minimum of distinguishing features, so commonly were his name and face in the press. A young student at the Stieglitz Art Institute in St. Petersburg, Vadim Nevsky, satirized this situation in Strekoza shortly before Witte's resignation in April 1906, with the drawing, "In What Aspect Has the Count-Premier Not Yet Been Depicted" (fig. 108). Witte's features and crown adorn a swan, an ashtray, a cork, a fountain, a ham and an old boot. The wiry line and mastery of black and white single out Nevsky's work as strongly influenced by international art nouveau.

In the 1890s, the veteran caricaturist Aleksandr Labudz (still working for Strekoza in 1908) had developed a similarly spare graphic style: firm outlines and severely reduced shadows mark his weekly series of cartoons on themes of social mores in "Sketches" in 1890 (fig. 109). This series paved the way for Pavel Shcherbov's more famous graphic style (e.g. fig. 4), which also reduced shadows and relied on crisp outlines for much of its punch.

The proliferation of Witte caricatures that Nevsky's cartoon lampooned was also the topic for a collage-like arrangement in Nikolai Shebuev's Pulemet (fig. 110). Entitled "Series of Magical Alterations of a Lovely Face," the page gives an indication of the huge variety of barbs aimed at the man. In the upper left are images of Witte with flaming heart and as nocturnal tailor examined in chapter 2; in the center is Chekhonin's "Tale About One Mother and an Untidy Boy." Other renderings show Witte as a tightrope walker, an obstetrician, a nursing mother and an executioner. His twin policies of reform and repression earned him the reputation of being Janus-faced. This is the meaning of Boris Kustodiev's caricature of him in Zhupel (fig. 111), which depicts Witte dejectedly standing between the opposing flags of Tsar and revolutionaries. This work, "Resignation. Both From Left and Right," is an arresting color image. Its pungent distortions of Witte's figure, especially the non-existent neck and bloated torso, reveal the artist as a master caricaturist. Kustodiev was familiar with his subject for he had painted Witte's portrait while assisting Ilya Repin on The State Council, a large official commission in 1901-02. In 1904 Kustodiev visited Madrid and copied paintings by Velásquez.⁴ The Spanish master's influence is apparent in the tapering of Witte's figure at head and foot, a device which increases the impression

of Witte's height by giving the viewer the sensation of looking down at Witte's feet and up at his head. While adopting this compositional technique from Velásquez, Kustodiev rendered the figure in a style inspired by contemporary European graphics, as we noted earlier (compare figs. 24-25) regarding Kustodiev's caricature of another governmental figure.

After his appointment as head of the Tsar's Council of Ministers, Witte was especially distressed that no well-known liberal joined his Council; but these men were

hypnotized by their 'mystique of revolution.' Committed to principle, deeply scarred by the tradition of struggle and hatred against the government, distrustful of Witte, they understandably were unable to meet him halfway, to join in a common effort to reform the old order. They wanted a new order, a fresh basis for society, which were probably unrealistic goals at that time.⁵

The same may be said of the caricature press and the artists working for it. Compromise was alien to their spirit. Revolutionary maximalism was their basic character for the duration of the free press.⁶ In his April 1906 letter of resignation to the Tsar, Witte bitterly complained:

For six months I have been the target of all those who write or shout . . . The revolutionists anathematize me for having lent the entire weight of my authority to the most stringent measure directed against the revolution; liberals curse me because in fulfilment of my oath and in obedience to my conscience, I have defended the prerogatives of the Imperial authority, as I will defend them till my dying hour; finally, the conservatives inveigh against me because they falsely ascribed to me those changes in the governmental regime, which had taken place since the appointment of Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski as Minister of the Interior. So long as I am in power, I shall be the target of bitter attacks on all hands.⁷

Vadim Nevsky continued to caricature Witte through 1905 and into

1906. In November 1905 Strekoza featured several cartoons by him. The cover shows Witte engaged in a card game with General Dedulin, Trepov's successor as Governor-General of St. Petersburg (fig. 112). The drawing is framed by alternating heads of cossacks and police above and by bayonets and cannons below. The card Dedulin holds is marked by a bullet in one corner and a nagaika (cossack whip) in the other. Behind the card players a figure symbolic of the needed international loan peeks in at the door. In a gesture common in caricatures of the time, Witte puts a puzzled finger to his forehead as he contemplates his next play.

Inside this issue Nevsky portrayed Witte as the ill-starred hero of the "Sleeping Beauty" fairy tale (figs. 113-14). Witte as Prince Vi-te-shi-ma (a reference to the disastrous battle at Tsushima in the war with Japan) fights his way through a dense forest -- rendered with the intense, linear decorativeness of art nouveau -- to awaken the maiden. However, the hero falls asleep himself, having pricked his finger on the same spindle as the Beauty. This spindle falls across Witte's shoulder in the second drawing and the decoration on it spells out Ho-ho-ho-ho. Around Witte, spiders with leering faces spin their webs. Beneath his right hand in the second drawing, the spider has the bespectacled face of Procurator of the Holy Synod, Konstantin Pobedonostsev: the forces of reaction have won.

The use of black and white is an important part of another Nevsky caricature (fig. 115). In this image Witte is holding a flute decorated with lashes of two crossed nagaiki. The opposed methods of reform and repression that Witte followed in these feverish months are evoked in an image so spare and delicate, especially in the rendering of the whips, that one almost misses the symbolic meaning of this work.

Stark black and white also distinguish Nikolai Gorenburg's "Talkings Shadows" (fig. 116). The four-line ditty at the left of the drawing identifies Witte and names the Minister of the Interior Durnovo in the next line, suggesting that the obsequious Witte has the repressive Minister Durnovo as his alter-ego. The cat- or owl-like shadow behind Witte is not a common symbol of Durnovo, although it conveys the evil nature universally ascribed to him. The cast shadow allows an imaginative play on the relationship between surface reality and inner essence that was an important part of folk beliefs regarding the shadow,⁸ and which was exploited as early as 1848 in Dostoevsky's famous story, The Double.

Shadow play was well established in caricature during the 19th century. Grandville used it in La Caricature, 1830 (fig. 117) and Labudz of Strekoza imitated this technique in 1890 (fig. 118). Other caricaturists used it during the 1905 revolution as well; one in Poedinok (The Duel, fig. 119) showed a gas-lit tableau of government officials, from the left: Trevov-skull, Durnovo-pig (his most frequent alter ego, fig. 120),⁹ Witte-gorilla, Dubasov-mule and Niedgardt-bull (he was Governor of Odessa and permitted devastating pogroms to go unchecked). Their shadows reveal the essential bestiality of their actions.

Gorenburg, the artist of "Talking Shadows" (fig. 116), satirized Witte also in borrowings from contemporary German caricature. His "Oh, Pardon Me, Citizens, That's by Mistake" (fig. 121) was inspired by a slightly earlier cartoon in Jugend, depicting Delcassé and King Edward VII (fig. 122). In giving a slide lecture, Witte has inadvertently shown his true intentions symbolized by the obscene gesture,

the "fig." This was a very widespread sign in caricatures at this time, and gave ample cause for the charge of "pornography," used to quash a number of these journals. Another of Gorenburg's Witte caricatures is based on Bruno Paul's cover for the 8 August 1905 issue of the supplement to Simplicissimus. Gorenburg depicts Witte aboard ship (fig. 123) reaching for a lifesaver marked Duma, and handing a nagaika to Mother Russia in a small skiff below, as she is about to be dragged into the sea by a huge octopus. In Paul's drawing (fig. 124), Germany is the figure aboard ship, handing a nagaika to Nicholas II as his boat sinks. In this comparison Gorenburg's amateur draftsmanship, not so evident in his "Talking Shadows," softens Paul's firm outlines, makes the composition more conventionally centered and adds considerable agitation of line and modelling to the simple flat areas of water that make Paul's rendering a part of art nouveau.

Several caricatures treat Witte as one half of an inseparable governmental pair with Minister of the Interior Durnovo. In one of these the two appear as twin demons (fig. 125) chanting, "We Know How to Save Russia!" An unknown Russian artist borrowed this composition from the Parisian journal, Le Rire, and altered the faces by adding Witte's high forehead and well-groomed beard to the demon at the left, and Durnovo's mutton-chops and moustache to the one at the right. The decorative bands at top and bottom contain firing cannons.

Witte and Durnovo occupy these same profile positions in an intriguing transformation of a skull (fig. 126) by the amateur artist Nikolai Kliuev, who was a student of civic affairs and political science in 1905. His untitled image reveals a clever assimilation of influence from art nouveau or Jugendstil sources; in fact, it bears a

superficial resemblance to an advertisement in the Munich periodical that gave this style its German name, Jugend (fig. 127). More than this, the linear elaboration in the center of Kliuev's skull image could adorn almost any of the modern arts and crafts found in reproductions of Dekorative Kunst or Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration at the time. Slowly, as one examines this image, the teeth of the skull and the ears of the jaw resolve themselves into the arms and clasped hands of a pair of facing men in profile (fig. 128). The hands hold a dark form toward which their heads incline from either side. Their features contain the distinguishing traits, Witte's beard at the left and Durnovo's mutton chops at the right.

Behind their heads one discerns blue wings above their red uniforms, forming a color scheme of tsarist red, blue and white. The figure-ground relationship reverses itself as the former skull becomes empty background for the figures, and the empty eye sockets become the heads of these figures. Witte and Durnovo stand in an archway, red in color and decorated with nagaiki, sabres, cannons and rifles. The dark form held by the two begins to resemble a human heart, still warm and steaming.

The trompe-l'oeil transformation of a skull into a meaningful figure composition was a standard device in caricature and social satire. Since Giuseppe Arcimboldo in the sixteenth century painted his fantastic, allegorical composite heads, artists have found emblematic combinations in this form to be a rewarding challenge. As Arcimboldo had painted a librarian's head composed of books and Herod's of children's bodies, in the 19th century caricaturists had drawn the head of Napoleon composed of European nations.¹⁰ Just as popular were

vanitas images in which a figure at a mirror is transformed into a skull. Joseph Keppler's wash drawing "The Evils of Drink and Gambling" (fig. 129) from the 1870s is a good example of this sort of composition as well as a close analogy to the Russian caricature. Here two men sit at a table laden with the symbols of their dissoluteness, bottles, glasses and a large die, while one holds up a dark, heartshaped flask.

Keppler, a German immigrant to the United States, founded the satirical New York weekly, Puck. His interest in trompe-l'oeil was influential for later cartoonists in Puck, and in 1905, the illustrator Hassmann responded to the Russian revolution with a trompe-l'oeil drawing rather different from the Russian caricature by Kliuev, also decorated with the jewels and double cross of the Russian imperial crown (fig. 130). Nicholas's rich treasure has been transformed into a potent suggestion of Russia's deadly autocrat.

The government bureaucrats in Russia received rather different treatment than that accorded to Witte. Among the favorite subjects in revolutionary caricatures were the Minister of the Interior and the various Governors-General of areas like Moscow and Saratov. Minister of the Interior Durnovo was lampooned in idiosyncratic and bestial images with a special ferocity due to his elevated position. Even the hated Witte fared better in the caricature press than Durnovo, whose features adorn a number of monsters, such as Sergei Chekhonin's "Northern Chimera. The Polar Cannibal" (fig. 131) and Ivan Bilibin's grinning demon (fig. 132). Nikolai Shebuev recounted in the last issue of Pulemet that Durnovo had been called a swine by Tsar Alexander III, and that this animal was Durnovo's most frequent surrogate (fig.

120). Shebuev went on to state that other "filthy creatures" such as the ass and the spider stand for the Minister of the Interior in contemporary satire and caricature.¹¹ Chekhonin's chimera has the same spherical belly as in his caricature of the Tsar (figs. 92-93) and the chimera perches before the imperial eagle, prepared to eat the man grasped in his claws.

Bilibin's scabrous monster (fig. 132) has not received much attention as a caricature of Durnovo, for the likeness is rather distant. During this time however, Pulemet's editor Shebuev accepted it as Durnovo, to judge by its inclusion in a collage arrangement of Durnovo caricatures printed in the final issue of Pulemet.¹² In his hirsute hand, the simian creature displays an imaginary copy of the journal Adskaia pochta (fig. 133) and on this Bilibin has concealed a diminutive reference to autocracy. The cover here depicts a chess game between a bearded, crowned figure at the left and a dark, scrawny demon at right. The lesson for the king is clear: the devil always wins, so the match's outcome is a foregone conclusion. The common denominator of all men, the mighty and the powerless, is their mortality.

The men in charge of security in the major centers received their share of caricatures as well. Admiral Dubasov, in his capacity as Governor-General of Moscow, was the butt of numerous images. The caricaturist Erastov, whose images of Nicholas II have been discussed, used a similar style in his untitled drawing (fig. 134) equating Dubasov with another famous figure who watched as Moscow burned -- Napoleon. Behind the Admiral smoke rises in undulating curves, lending the image an air of modernity. The young Isaak Brodsky, more facile in his fluid art nouveau images, had begun studying art at the Odessa Art Institute

and during the revolution was enrolled in the St. Petersburg Academy of the Fine Arts. His "Bellicose Admiral" (fig. 135) stands with sleeves rolled before the Kremlin. The wiry lines and considered placement of the figure in this composition mark it as advanced in graphic technique. By projecting Dubasov's head and fist over the frame, Brodsky gave added energy to the burly figure, already given a sense of movement in the fluid curves of the jacket.

One other quite crude image of Dubasov deserves mention here (fig. 136). It is adapted from a famous caricature of Bismarck by the French artist Jean Veber (fig. 137), dedicated to a gory explication of the meaning of Bismarck's policy of Realpolitik in human terms. Bismarck stands before a butcher shop crammed full of bodies and parts of recognizable figures. In the Russian adaptation Dubasov has taken on Bismarck's job as butcher, a comment on his ruthless Realpolitik with its cynical disregard for the value of human lives.

Petr Stolypin, Governor of Saratov, was one of the "most capable and clear-sighted" officials in Russia at this time.¹³ He later became Nicholas's Prime Minister, but in the summer of 1906 his quick and brutal suppression of the disturbances in his region brought him to national attention. Caricaturists did not delay in presenting him in the slanting light of satire, titling one drawing (fig. 138) with a pun on his name, "Stolpnik," Russian for "pillar [of society]." His calm gaze and classical garb here contrast with the smoke and flames of the village behind him.

Sergei Witte was ultimately considered the most crafty and malicious man in the government, powerful despite his isolation. His sly control of the Council of Ministers is the sub-text of numerous

lampoons, such as Chekhonin's "Tale About One Mother and an Untidy Boy" (fig. 84), in which the ministers are puppets of Witte. In a double page spread in Shebuev's innovative Pulemet, A. Ivanov concealed a set of balloon-like images of Witte and the ministers (figs. 139-40). A detail of this Witte collage (fig. 141) reveals that Witte has been depicted with a pipette in his mouth, blowing soap bubbles into the air. This detail is at the lower left of the double page in the journal. In an unusual graphic technique, these heads were printed in red ink to emerge from behind the columns of text. The bubble-faced Durnovo and the other officials are here transformed into ephemeral creations of the whimsical Premier.

The method of printing an image in light ink behind rows of type was not unique to Pulemet, but was part of the revival of graphic art toward the close of the nineteenth century. In Russia this style was occasionally seen in the pages of the cultural weeklies Artist and Sever (North) during the 1890s. The example (fig. 142), attributable to Sever's artistic director Nikolai Karazin, places a pastel image of a Japanese lantern behind the text of an unrelated article on drama, apparently with no other intention than to provide visual interest in otherwise monotonous passages of this art journal.

One other image of Witte and his ministers, exploits a balloon-like rendering of their heads. In a technically unskilled print (fig. 143), the unknown artist has given his notion of "All-Russian Bombs," with Witte and Durnovo recognizable at the lower right. Though they float from the clouds rather than hurtle like bombs, these forms suggest that the artist may have known one of the most serious and mysterious of French Symbolist artists, Odilon Redon. Redon's lithograph,

"Why Should There Not Exist a World . . ." (fig. 144), stretches the face into a balloon, in contrast to the Russian image where the faces are rendered more conventionally, within the spheres. The Russian artist has also made conventional use of perspective and distribution of light and darks, while Redon's enigmatic depths concentrate the darks in the left center, as if in a cave entrance, which emits the "fantastic, embryonic beings" from the bowels of the earth. Redon's creatures rise, while harmless little Russian bombs fall to the countryside and cityscape below.

Redon's work was, in general, known to the cultured elite of the Russian art world. His name had appeared in reviews in Mir iskusstva, and most recently, his work was the main theme for an issue of Vesy (The Scales) in 1904. The art critic Max Voloshin wrote in this issue that Redon's "drawings are rough and unformed like Dostoevsky's style. It is the same pithy insight into the word, insight into an instrument of expression."¹⁴ The Russian artist of "All-Russian Bombs" politicized his image, turning a would-be Symbolist graphic into a less adventurous statement on the situation in Russia. However, he unfortunately lacked "insight into an instrument of expression", the essence of lithography, which could have transformed his quotidian image into one equalling the real terror of those Russian events.

Witte and the Council of Ministers were given the trappings of ancient Russian history and traditional native arts and crafts in a number of images in the revolutionary press. The first (fig. 145) derives its inspiration from Slavic history through the visualizing imagination of the painter Viktor Vasnetsov. His Warrior at the Crossroads (fig. 146), a scene from the Kiev period of Russian

history, fits well the Neoslavophilism of Tsar Alexander III's reign. Such works brought Vasnetsov to national prominence (and into the caricature journals for some light satires on his importance; e.g. the cover of Oskolki [Splinters], 3 April 1899). The artist exemplified a major tenet in the peredvizhnik (Wanderers) ideology — to go to the Russian people for inspiration in the formation of a national style of fine arts. As we saw in chapter 1, however, the peredvizhniki may have gone to the peasantry for themes and subjects (witness Viktor Vasnetsov's drawing, fig. 147, "The Lubok and Book Shop," of ca. 1875), but they consciously avoided the naive style of peasant art which they equated with artistic ineptitude.¹⁵ The light shed by the peredvizhnik reverence for the common people soon spread also to native arts and crafts. Wealthy art patrons began to collect these crafts and, at colonies like Abramtsevo and Talashkino, artists of the next generation intently studied and imitated them. Lubki were collected and published in folio volumes by the jurist and folk art amateur Dmitrii Rovinsky. The arts of Russia's medieval past, icons, frescos, metal- and woodwork, embroidery and ceramics, were revived and integrated into Russian artists' deepening sense of their own national identity.

As a representative of Neoslavophilism in art, Viktor Vasnetsov was a well-known and respected figure. A Nikolai Remizov parody of Vasnetsov's painting, Warrior at the Crossroads is called "Witte at the Crossroads" (fig. 145). While basically faithful to the somber composition of his source, Remizov introduced slight modifications that make his parody more energetic than Vasnetsov's painting. Witte, first of all, is straining forward in his saddle, touching his nose in

puzzlement over the riddle on the stone; Vasnetsov's warrior slouches dejectedly back on his horse. Witte's black nag lifts his head to read the stone, eyes bulging; the white steed in Vasnetsov's work droops his head. Even the raven at the right flaps its wings more vigorously in Remizov's travesty of Warrior at the Crossroads. An amusing touch is the inclusion of the Cabinet of Ministers in a small carved and decorated "cabinet" strapped to Witte's back.

The traditional Russian wood carving alluded to in Witte's cabinet, is an important influence also in "Each Time at That Same Spot" (fig. 148), attributable to Dmitrii Nevsky, the brother to Vadim whose art nouveau caricatures of Witte (figs. 2, 108, 112-15) graced the pages of Strekoza and other journals at this time. Like his brother, a student at the Stieglitz Art Institute, Dmitri Nevsky's crude draftsmanship accords well with the imitation peasant carving which serves as a frame to this scene. In this drawing Witte has fallen from a sleigh, as he drives from a fortified Russian city visible in the background, on the road to Tsarskoe Selo to see the Tsar. The trail of the runners undulates through the mud like the whiplash of art nouveau decoration, but otherwise the drawing disdains the fluid mastery of Vadim Nevsky, following a balancing impulse from native arts that will become stronger in the fine arts as the decade unfolds.

A Jugendstil decorative surface combines with traditional Russian ornament in the image of Witte and Durnovo in the journal Zalp (Salvo), by the monogrammist N. Svn (fig. 149). The two stand before a decorated arch that can be compared to traditional interlace patterns from fourteenth century Russian manuscripts (fig. 150). Their robes are the type worn by the boyars (nobility) of old Muscovy. Through the

arch behind them can be seen a columned facade labelled "State Duma," which shares in the old Russian ornament instead of resembling the neoclassical Tauride Palace. The two officials, identified by their beard and mutton-chops, point accusing fingers at one another before a multitude of bearded Russian faces with downcast eyes.

The traditional popular Russian print, the lubok, served as inspiration for two other caricatures of Count Witte. The first, by Sergei Chekhonin (fig. 151) is the cover for one of the successor journals to Zritel. In this humorous image a green-faced Witte sits hunched at the bottom of a goldfish bowl, a comment on his unhappy situation in the glare of public scrutiny. The water casts streaks of blue across his legs and down the side of the cylinder; yellow defines the braid on his uniform and the fish at either side, as well as the hand that reaches down from above, like the hand of God in religious lubki, to pinch and squeeze the Count (as the words near the hand tell us). The ditty beneath refers to Witte's peace and foreign loan negotiations:

Specially for the workers and intelligentsia,
 With a concession of 120 percent.
 A visitor to America,
 The decider of our fate.
 He decided-decided,
 Concluded peace.
 And therefore "fell into" the bank!
 Next time I won't be naughty! . . .

Though not modelled after any specific lubok, Chekhonin's lampoon has the effect of a lubok through its naive graphic style. Witte's container is more than a goldfish bowl, as well. As the inscription at the top indicates, the hand is reaching down to squeeze the fabric stretched across the top of the bowl. This action recalls a type of popular Russian toy consisting of a clear bowl covered with

flexible material, with a small carved figure (usually a demon), so constructed that by pressing down on the "drumhead", a child might make his captive bounce around inside.¹⁶ Miriskusniki such as Chekhonin were interested in the folk arts, including carved toys, so this image in a caricature of Witte is entirely consistent with the artist's style and approach to political themes during the 1905 revolution.

The caricature of Witte and the ministers that spread over two pages of the journal Pulemet (fig. 152) derives its composition more directly from a well-known lubok of "The Last Judgement" (fig. 153). This scene was among the most popular, as testified by Viktor Vasnetsov's drawing of a lubok shop (fig. 147). Like many of the illustrations to Shebuev's publication, the color scheme of Ivan Grabovsky's print is red, white and black, with red predominating in the lower regions of hell and white in the heavens. Pulemet's artist adopted the tripartite divisions of the original lubok (and comparable icons) to include the ranks of ministers and bureaucrats at the top (with the noticeable absence of the Tsar), Witte in the center and the damned below. These five small lower compartments with souls in torment are labelled according to their crimes: newsmen, zemstvo sympathizers, Jews (Zhids), Polish (Polacks), Union of Unions. In the center, Grabovsky greatly simplified his busy model in order to emphasize Witte's complete isolation in Russian political life. The very choice of this popular lubok composition as a model meant that Pulemet's readers instantly grasped the caricature's meaning.

Count Witte stands in his shirt, alone, as the devil weighs his governmental actions. Apparently Witte's imposition of a state monopoly on the sale of liquor while he was Minister of Finance in the 1890s

(symbolized by the bottle on the scales) was of greater account than the lightweight constitution on the right side of the scales -- by implication, worth no more than the paper on which it is written. Directly beneath Witte's feet stand the enchained ranks of Russian society, such as peasants and students, awaiting their turn in the torture chambers below. A huge serpent decorated with bands labelled for the right-wing and governmental newspapers (Novoe vremia and Grazhdanin [New Time and Citizen], etc.) presides over the judgement, again foretelling the eventual outcome of the abortive revolution.

These varied approaches to caricatures of Count Witte provide a microcosm of the entire production in the Russian satirical press of 1905-07. His high profile in the politics of the time made him a natural target for attack both from left and right. His policy of limited reforms coupled with bloody repression provoked venomous personal caricatures, though the Minister of the Interior was consistently depicted as the more monstrous of the two. We have seen examples of caricatures that relate to precedents in the history of European caricature and help situate the 1905 outburst of Russian creativity within a broad historical context. Others -- the most biting and visually arresting -- draw from ornamental art nouveau and contemporary European work as well as from traditional Russian crafts and the lubok.

Representations of revolutionary events in the next chapter will employ similar sources and add to them a spiritual overtone that seeks a transcendent meaning in the tragic suffering of the time.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹Ann E. Healy, Russian Autocracy in Crisis, 1905-1907 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976), p. 137.

²Theodore H. von Laue, Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963); Howard D. Mehlinger and John M. Thompson, Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), esp. pp. 325-29, present partial biographies and evaluations of Witte; see also Sergei Yu. Witte, The Memoirs of Count Witte, trans. and ed. Abraham Yarmolinsky (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967).

³Mehlinger and Thompson, Count Witte, p. 160.

⁴Brief biographical information on Kustodiev is in Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve, ed. A.A. F-dorov-Davydov and G.A. Nedoshivin, 7 vols. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1970) 7: 424, 432 n. 13.

⁵Mehlinger and Thompson, Count Witte, p. 328.

⁶In this I am in complete agreement with Prof. Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, Dmitri Sergeevich Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age: The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), who thus characterized the artistic and literary rebellion of the Silver Age.

⁷Witte, Memoirs, p. 359.

⁸James G. Frazer, "The Soul as a Shadow and a Reflexion," The Golden Bough: A Study of Magic and Religion, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1911-15) 3: 77-100; Otto Rank, The Double: A Psychoanalytic Study, trans., ed. and intro. Harry Tucker, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), p. 47.

⁹Nikolai G. Shebuev, "Grazhdane, pomogite Pravitel'stvu!!" (Citizens, Help the Government!!), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 3.

¹⁰Werner Hofmann, Caricature From Leonardo to Picasso, trans. M.H.L. (London: John Calder, 1957), p. 65, pl. 5.

¹¹Shebuev, "Grazhdane," p. 3.

¹²Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 11.

¹³Donald W. Treadgold, Twentieth Century Russia (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 105.

¹⁴Max Voloshin, "Odilon Redon," Vesy, no. 4 (April 1904), p. 2.

¹⁵Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, Russian Realist Painting (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1977), p. 122.

¹⁶I am grateful to Dr. Aline Isdebsky-Pritchard for describing a toy of this type she had as a child in the Russian emigré community in Paris.

CHAPTER 4

REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS

Because of especially strict censorship during the Russo-Japanese War, no Russian publication could print references to the country's internal political struggles of 1905, in particular to the violent clashes that began with Bloody Sunday.¹ European caricaturists were therefore first to print depictions of this tragedy and subsequent events. The chronological lead of the publications extended to stylistic areas, with the best graphics employing the compositional techniques and fluid lines of art nouveau and Jugendstil. Russian artists also adopted a broad spectrum of styles when the October general strike won them the freedom to print images of revolutionary events, and their best efforts, as in Europe, are marked by art nouveau tendencies. Moreover, as we noted in previous chapters, Russian artists adopted motifs and graphic devices from their own national heritage, from folk art, fairy tales and -- especially important in these depictions of revolutionary events -- the iconography of Russia's Christian heritage in treating the events' profound universal significance. In these caricatures, Christian iconography is of major significance because the 1905 revolution was viewed by many in Russia as a symptom of a worldwide spiritual and cultural crisis that would define the nature of the new century. Such caricatures, although ignored in Soviet histories of 1905, are clues to the distinctiveness of this facet of Russian popular culture.

A comparison of Russian and European images, many of which have not previously been reproduced, will clarify certain fundamental differences in their views of the revolution, and will in turn illuminate

aspects of the Russian response that contributed ultimately to a distinctively Russian modern art. Of the countless depictions of revolutionary events and bloody repression, certain ones stand out for their artistic quality. The most haunting of these are rendered in a style that approaches -- and often achieves -- a Symbolism comparable to advanced art in Europe at the time, but different in its recourse to native imagery.

Though caricature in Russia could not depict Tsar Nicholas as the "bloody hangman" that many felt him to be, it made little effort to stem the flow of red ink that encrimsoned the images attempting to show that the government was drowning the revolution in blood. The phrase "bloody hangman" in a 1905 book of anti-tsarist verses earned the poet Konstantin Balmont a seven year exile.² With that possibility ever in mind, caricaturists vented their strongest feelings not at the Tsar, but in truly macabre and bizarre images of revolutionary events. These may depict events factually or employ the iconography of fable, folklore or Christianity. Although the government objected to images of demonstrations, such were at least more acceptable than caricatures of the Tsar. Few European images equal their horror. Here, young artists made good use of the medium's inalienable right to exaggerate and distort for the sake of expressing an idea.³

In caricatures of the Tsar and Count Witte there is much wry humor. In the torrent of drawings of revolutionary events it is naturally more infrequent; rather than producing a smile, they provoke either pathos or a grimace. "Things which simply arouse anxiety or displeasure cannot be adapted to comic expression -- to attempt to do so may produce an uncanny effect," writes Ernst Kris.⁴ Death and mutilation, terror, betrayal, scandal and hatred haunted the majority of both the urban and

rural populace and made their lives into one long nightmare. In such a situation the response in caricature and satirical drawings was bound to be diverse and sustained. These are accusatory statements in the sense that by focusing attention on the effects of government oppression, its cause is understood. Any drawings in the revolutionary press where Death reigns supreme, even if unseen, become part of the pervasive oppositional attitude by virtue of such implications of cause. Like much of European Symbolism (as in the literary currents evaluated by Anna Balakian), Russian caricatures depicting revolutionary events form "a danse macabre, in which Death, the great and formidable intruder, waits in the shadows, mingles with us, takes off his mask at the least expected moment."⁵

One of the best-known and most frequently reproduced images from the caricature journals on the theme of revolutionary events is Valentin Serov's "Soldiers, Gallant Boys, Where Now is Your Glory?" (fig. 154), printed by Zhupel after the abolition of preliminary censorship. Serov was widely regarded as the most gifted portraitist of his generation. He had painted the imperial family for Tsar Alexander III, and portraits of Tsar Nicholas II in 1902. He was a member of the Academy of Fine Arts until his resignation in 1905. Serov based his pastel on a scene he witnessed during the clashes between government troops and unarmed demonstrators in the infamous Bloody Sunday massacre of January 9, 1905. On that occasion the painter was working, as he often did, in the building of the Academy of Fine Arts, in the studio of the engraver Vasiiii Maté .when the disturbance began outside, he and Maté watched from the window.⁶

Though based on the actual event, Serov made certain compositional choices that affect both the work's meaning and the viewer's response.

These are best understood in comparison with a print of the same event by Edward Thöny in Simplicissimus (fig. 155), or indeed with Serov's own preliminary sketch (fig. 156) that resembles this published German work. The Russian artist has rendered the instant in the dispersal of a peaceful demonstration when the officer sounds the charge to his mounted troops. The cut-off forms of the soldiers at the bottom (which suggest the influence of Degas) and of the officer in the center are angular, aggressively lunging silhouettes. They are simply and rather flatly modelled in matte dark tones that stand out sharply against the snowy square. Serov retained the rough, unfinished look of his sketch in the final pastel. This accords well with the tenor of the scene itself and with the sense of urgent immediacy required in agitational graphics. The colors are the subdued tones of Petersburg in winter: black, white, brown and tan, with touches of red in the troops' headbands and epaulettes. The shadowless, simplified forms and their setting present a powerful contrast between the inert helpless crowd of unarmed marchers in the upper right and the brutal dragoons in the center and lower half. The title is taken from a popular army song, loosely translated, "Soldiers, soldiers, heroes every one, where is all your glory gone?" It captures the bitter irony Serov intended in his work.

Serov's chief compositional decision involves the choice of a viewpoint above and behind the soldiers. The figures whose backs fill the foreground of this composition are a standard device in art; they act as surrogates for the viewer, forcing him into realization of his complicity with the injustice of this event by placing him with the leading troops, as if riding with them or watching from the first floor of a safe building like the Academy of Fine Arts.

By contrast with Serov's compositional intention here, Thöny places the viewer among the unarmed demonstrators by setting the viewpoint in the midst of the cowering crowd. Serov's sketch reveals that he also considered such a scheme. Color is important though muted in Thöny's graphic. The icy blue of the dragoon's uniform and of the building in the background of the conflict contrasts with the red of the epaulettes and plunging horse. This central figure dominates the scene, here as in Serov's sketch, and signifies the unfeeling, impersonal forces behind his action. The diagonal thrust of his lance is counterbalanced by the horse's back forming an implicit "X" from one corner to the other of the open square with its dead and wounded. In Serov's "Soldier, Gallant Boys" the meaningful open space separating the two groups recalls a similar scene in an oil painting (fig. 39) by Sergei Ivanov, Serov's colleague in the Union of Russian Artists. The choice of this open space and high viewpoint in the published work are clearly part of the work's meaning.

Serov in his own time was considered a naturalist or realist painter. He had trained with the major peredvizhnik, Ilya Repin, and he based his work on observation, though considerably altered by the simplification and stylization of the forms. "Soldiers, Gallant Boys" is rendered in a style unrelated to the withered academism of entrenched peredvizhniki like Makovsky (fig. 38). By the turn of the century the terms "realism" and "naturalism" were tainted with the political and artistic conservatism associated with this earlier generation of painters. Art critics who respected Serov's work attempted to distinguish his style from theirs. Alexandre Benois, in his 1901-02 history of Russian painting, wrote regarding Serov's style: "From a vulgar,

tendentious naturalism, it has changed once again into a warm, full, spontaneous study of life."⁷ In a funeral eulogy for Serov in 1911, the Symbolist poet Valerii Briusov lauded his style in similar terms:

Certainly Serov was a realist in the best sense of that word. He sought one thing -- fidelity to what is. But his gaze saw not only the external covering of the outward semblance, rather penetrating through it to somewhere in the depths, and what he painted unmasked the very essence of the phenomena which other eyes did not know how to see.⁸

As we have seen in the case of Serov's resignation from the Academy in protest over Bloody Sunday and from his work in the caricature press, it was with considerable justification that his friends and associates, Benois and Dobuzhinsky, called him "the conscience of the World of Art."⁹

There were many other European and Russian depictions of the Bloody Sunday massacre. In Germany, the Jugend artist Erich Wilke was the first to publish a response to the tragedy, a small, black and white drawing, "Caviar für's Volk!" (fig. 157). As in Serov's image, white flags and crosses in the upper half indicate the demonstration's peaceful nature. The huge crowd watches, unbelieving, as the guns at the lower edge open fire with scattered shot mentioned in the ironic title as "caviar." Again as in Serov's "Soldiers," a large area of white, symbolic of the unbridgeable gulf, the schism in the Russian nation, separates the two forces.

French images of Bloody Sunday tend to be colored by experience of the labor disputes within that industrialized nation. L'Assiette au beurre's D'Ostoya portrays a more aggressive crowd, led by a figure who represents the leader of the demonstrators, Father George Gapon (fig. 158). Demonstrators and tsarist soldiers plunge toward one another

despite the blood already spilled. The artist places the blame at the feet of the Tsar at left, who says, "Je ferai tout mon possible pour diminuer le nombre des mécontents." Icons held by the Tsar and by the woman in the right foreground face one another across the incomprehensible conflict. In none of these images is there any sign of a red flag; only later, after the October Manifesto, does this revolutionary banner come into play in the demonstrations that continued throughout 1905 and into 1906.

D'Ostoya's hostile crowd is similar to depictions in L'Assiette of strikes and demonstrations at that time in France (and other industrial nations¹⁰). The cover of the May 6, 1905 issue by Jules-Félix Grandjouan (fig. 159) shows the crowd of French workers in a very different mood from that of the peaceful Russian workers on Bloody Sunday. The French, by contrast, are assertive and armed with rocks and clubs. Another image of a demonstration in L'Assiette au beurre by Bernard Naudin (fig. 160) depicts the French masses in this way and bearing red banners as well. Images of Bloody Sunday and subsequent Russian disorders, with few exceptions, depict the populace pacific and helpless before government repression. Stylistically both these French prints are notable for the expressive simplicity of their technique. Grandjouan's use of solid dark shadow at the lower edge of "La Grève" and Naudin's slashing broken lines render in graphic terms the agitation and menace of the scenes.

If the above graphics may be said to be naturalistic in their choice of imagery based on direct observation, then a lubok-inspired work by Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, "How Our Glorious General Our Fortress Conquered" (fig. 161) relies on an imaginative schematization of revolutionary conflict, and allows us to see the opposing poles that

define the stylistic range of caricature at this time. It contrasts also with the previous tragic scenes in its sardonic humor. Printed in Zhupel's second number, Dobuzhinsky's subject is the mutiny of the Black Sea fleet, from which the battleship Potemkin was later immortalized in Sergei Eisenstein's 1925 film of that name. Like Serov's "Soldiers, Gallant Boys" in Zhupel's first issue, this three-color print fully exploits the technical possibilities of the printing facilities provided by the journal, Syn otechestva (Son of the Fatherland). The forms are clean-cut and the cheery colors exactly registered, with few overlaps or gaps, such as are common in the majority of Russian caricature journals.

Dobuzhinsky had trained in Munich under Anton Ažbe and Simon Hollosy, and was well aware of Jugendstil caricatures and cartoons. When he returned to St. Petersburg at the turn of the century he gravitated toward the World of Art and contributed designs for the journal Mir iskusstva. He developed the style and accuracy apparent in "How Our Glorious General" while doing a regular cartoon for Shut in ca. 1902.¹¹ Both forms and colors are the antithesis of Serov's earlier image and may indicate a conscious attempt on Dobuzhinsky's part to offer an alternative to the style of his famous World of Art colleague. The younger Dobuzhinsky was just beginning to establish his reputation at that time and turned to the native lubok for inspiration.

The artist recalled that he was first referred to Rovinsky's volumes of lubki in 1897 by the publisher of Shut, R.R. Golike, who would later provide the presses for Zhupel.¹² Dobuzhinsky found the lubok's graphic qualities helpful in developing his style. He also was no doubt impressed by their seminal position in the history of

Russian political caricature, a fact that was emphasized just around that time by historians of Russian graphics.¹³ For his caricature "How Our Glorious General," Dobuzhinsky drew upon lubki, both ancient and as recent as the Russo-Japanese War.

The composition is very simple. In the foreground a mounted general directs the firing of cannons behind him and in the fort in the right background. At the left in the water, red flags mark the sunken masts of two ships. In the background a cruiser has suffered a fatal explosion amidships and will soon sink, with its large, stiff red banner. In imitation of ancient lubki, Dobuzhinsky has labelled the land "Ours" and the sea "The Others'." Tsarist red, blue and white brighten the general's uniform as well as the flag over the fortress. Clear green tints the grassy bank; yellow streaks the explosion and its reflection in the water; rosy-edged clouds float through a blue sky. The bright colors enhance the crisp parallelisms in the composition and give the whole a rich decorative quality that makes a bitingly ironic comment on the successful government repression.

The model for Dobuzhinsky's general is a lubok, "The Prussian Dragoon of 1759" (fig. 162), known through its reproduction in Rovinsky's famous folio edition of reprints of lubki. Though the uniforms are different, the pose, the firm outlines and the hatched shading are similar, as are the angularity of the horses' legs and the sweeping curves of the neck. The artist has retained the use of words near the rider and has transformed his model's demure features into a reflection of the anger on the face of the Glorious General.

The composition as a whole borrows from two lubki depicting sea battles, the mid-19th century "Heroic Deed of Ensign Shchegolov Near

Odessa, April 10, 1854" (fig. 163), and the 1904 "Unsuccessful Plan of the Japanese to Block the Exit from Port-Arthur" (Fig. 164). From the first model Dobuzhinsky has adopted in reverse the vertical division of land and sea and the zig-zag effect of the shore in the rank of puffing cannons. From the second he has taken the shooting beams of searchlights and the explosions in the water. During the Russo-Japanese War a stream of propaganda lubki like this were issued with the approval of the government. They were derided for their low artistic quality and widely recognized as basically deceitful for portraying events that make the war seem an inevitable victory for the Tsar.¹⁴ Dobuzhinsky skillfully borrowed only those elements that made his own lubok a contemporary statement.

Combining the graphic clarity of the lubok with the elegance of Jugendstil, Dobuzhinsky executed for Zhupel another print depicting the tragic suppression of the revolution, "Moscow III: Pacification" (fig. 165). Using red, ochre and black, the artist depicted the Moscow Kremlin alone and estranged from the people, beneath a rainbow of only one color, red. The city around the Kremlin has been inundated with blood in the repression (the international euphemism was "pacification") that followed the December strikes and uprising in the city. The fortress appears to float as a solitary island in this ghastly sea, haloed by an arc that promises — unlike the biblical rainbow of the Noah story — only more bloodshed.¹⁵

European caricaturists had also used the motif of the sea of blood in treating events in Russia. Olaf Gulbransson of Simplicissimus had recently adapted Rubens' famous painting of St. Christopher in Munich's Alte Pinakothek to a representation of Count Witte as a

latter-day St. Christopher bearing a diminutive and nearly nude Nicholas II through the grim waters (fig. 166). By comparison, Dobuzhinsky's "Pacification" is both more static and more iconic. It is also more purely Russian, suggesting the invisible city of Kitezh. In this legend, the island city is saved from invading Tartars through the prayers of its people, by sinking into the surrounding lake. It was set to music in Rimsky-Korsakov's opera just before the 1905 revolution and produced just afterward on the stage.

Dobuzhinsky's image of the Kremlin reflected in the rising waters shows the influence of a Mir iskusstva colleague, Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva, a close friend of Dobuzhinsky's instructor in printmaking, Vasilii Maté. Her views of Petersburg, especially her treatment of the Neva River (fig. 167) with its reflected buildings seen across an expanse of water, and her "New Holland" in St. Petersburg (fig. 168), through its symmetry and centrally placed motif, bear similarities to "Pacification."

The decorative qualities in Dobuzhinsky's "Pacification" are less apparent in another Jugendstil-inspired graphic he published in Zhupel. His "October Idyll" (fig. 169) is a color print using the same three colors as "Pacification" but with a compositional source in Erich Wilke's scene (fig. 170) of Russian officials climbing out of the window of their office to escape a revolutionary mob, a Jugend caricature which contains virtually the same physical setting as Dobuzhinsky's slightly later work. The design is reversed and certain details such as Wilke's brick wall and window shutters become yellow stone to reflect more accurately the appearance of buildings in St. Petersburg. Dobuzhinsky chose to let an utterly silent street corner tell of the

grim aftermath of a demonstration in which innocent blood has been spilled. By eliminating the people in Wilke's scene and changing the brick to a plainer surface, Dobuzhinsky has created a picture starker and stronger than his source.

The details which Dobuzhinsky added are equally as important as those he omitted. A child's doll lies near the broken glasses and overshoe of a member of the middle class (a man who could afford both items, at any rate). The proximity of these articles to the huge blood stain on the sidewalk leads to the question of who has been slain here; was it the child? the man? both? Blood on the wall has even spattered red on the Tsar's October Manifesto which hangs on the wall above the scene. As one historian noted, Trepov's police order telling his troops to "spare no bullets" often was pasted across this Manifesto, "as if it had been intended as a malicious comment on the 'new era',"¹⁶ the idyllic October promised in the Tsar's important document. As if this irony were not enough, Dobuzhinsky has placed both texts in the shape of a cross next to a Red Cross box for charitable contributions. In the distance the tsarist tri-color flags droop, flanking the scrawny, leafless tree. The virtues here of simplification and synecdoche are doubly apparent when compared with a later Russian adaptation of the scene (fig. 171), in which a policeman directs the cleaning of a bloody street corner. As he points to the stains, a young boy bent to the task tells him, "It won't wash off, your excellency!" The meaning seems somewhat overstated in this cartoon, and the poignancy is diminished.

In depicting revolutionary events many Russian caricaturists had recourse to borrowing from the wealth of new literature on the history of European caricature, as for instance Eduard Fuchs' study of this

genre.¹⁷ Nikolai Shestopalov's image of the rising working class, printed in Zritel (fig. 172), clearly owes a debt to an image reproduced by Fuchs, a nineteenth century depiction by Auguste Raffet of Europe ravished by barbarism and cholera (fig. 173). Waving his broken chains and holding a red banner, this giant with traditional Russian dress and beard is an allegorical figure readily understandable as an emblem of revolution.

Other artists chose to represent the worker as a type, rising in revolt against the feudal oppression of the regime. Revolutionary printmaker Valentin Bystrenin had finished the Academy of Fine Arts in 1902 as a pupil of Maté. He remained in the artistic vanguard and later was a founding member of the Union of Youth exhibition society. His cover design (fig. 174) for the 1905 journal Molot (The Hammer) shows a blacksmith or factory worker swinging his sledgehammer at a vague figure in medieval armor. In this print, strong, angular outlines and the rough texture of the paper enhance the spare modelling of the figure to produce an image of expressive power.

Another young worker with a sledgehammer by Petr Dobrynin appears as the focus of a cover image of another journal (fig. 175), rendered with more of the traditional devices of illusionistic space and rounded, volumetric forms than used in Bystrenin's lithograph. Intended as a commemoration of the first anniversary of Bloody Sunday, Dorbynin's drawing shows a young worker with a bandaged head and mouth open in song, holding a sledgehammer behind his back. The illusionistic scene behind him occupies an ambiguous space. Though it appears that the fallen workers actually lie in an open square behind the young man, the shadow that falls at his feet appears to be cast upon a wall,

transforming the scene behind him into a poster or drawing mounted on the wall. Both interpretations coexist in what must be a conscious equivocation. A dark stain drips down from the lower left edge of the background scene, as if fresh blood still flows from the site of the tragedy, fresh as the memory of the dead conjured up in the worker's revolutionary song.

The massacre scene was the most familiar motif in caricature journals of this time. Dobrynin himself had published other examples as had numerous other artists. His choice of the defiant young worker for this cover image recalls Daumier's image of freedom of the press, "Don't Meddle With It" (fig. 176) from the 1830s. Here as in the Dobrynin print, a brawny laborer stands as the central focus, ready to battle the law, the monarch and military for the sake of his cause. Dobrynin's young worker is drawn with considerable sympathy, with strong outlines and fluid modelling of the rumpled clothes.

The theme of women at the barricades occurs frequently in Russian images of revolutionary events.¹⁸ Two examples were mentioned in chapter 1 (figs. 33-34). Another by Nikolai Gerardov is drawn as if from direct observation. In "The Barricade is Taken" (fig. 177) the diagonally foreshortened position of the figure suggests French precedents such as those barricade images of the 1870 Commune by French artist Edouard Manet (fig. 178), who was honored at the 1905 Salon d'Automne by a special exhibition of twenty-six works. The powerful immediacy of the foreshortened figure in both graphics would seem to attest to the artists' accurate transcription of the scene. As Linda Nochlin has stated in her study, Realism, "the instantaneousness of the image . . . asserts truthfulness to the facts of immediate experience."¹⁹

Other elements in Gerardov's print carry the image's emotional burden. Some details (the broken wire, the fallen tree) add to the sense of a faithful rendering of combat conditions at the Moscow barricades while others (the position of the woman's arms, left hand reaching toward the picture plane, right hand raised even in rigor mortis) suggest the fierceness of the struggle. The very choices both of diagonal placement of her form, isolated against the white ground, and the agitated linear modelling inform the composition with an affecting tension that evokes the viewer's sympathy. The tonal contrasts, especially the deep black spots in the upper left and center, and the blood stains at the woman's head serve as exclamation points, heightening the emotional message, which is already stressed by the very choice of a female rather than a male fallen figure.

An even more grotesque depiction of the death of a woman appears as an anonymous design on the cover of Strana mechty (Dreamland, fig. 179). A woman in student attire has been hung on a gallows, blood pouring from her mouth in a red stain along the ground. Behind her the entire countryside seems to be in flames. The simple black and red and the crude draftsmanship convey a sense of outrage appropriate to the subject. Other caricaturists, as the political cartoonist Mikhail Chemodanov (fig. 180), employed this theme in their work. In the suffragist postcard reproduced here, Chemodanov's style is clear but smoothly modelled, making it look rather tame and old fashioned. The caption, "If Woman is Worthy of the Scaffold, She is Also Worthy to Enter Parliament," is equally genteel and constrained, and cannot draw the emotional response of its cruder counterpart in the caricature press.

The crude power of this anonymous depiction of the solitary hanged woman contrasts also with the image of several hanged men by Petr Dobrynin, "Nightmare" (fig. 181). The bodies of workers and peasants strung up on telegraph poles by military "punitive expeditions" was a grisly but common sight in the Russian countryside at this time. The railroad tracks and streaks of clouds lead the eye into the distance, past the grim reminders of the punishment for civil unrest. Dobrynin uses effectively the convention of aerial perspective, which greys and blurs contours in the distance until the farthest corpse is a mere patch of closely knit zig-zaging lines.

At the opposite pole from both the Dobrynin and the anonymous gallows scene is an Aesopian representation by Aleksandr Liubimov (fig. 182). Here, the forces of reaction are rendered as two square-eyed owls perched over the dead bodies of small birds that hang from the tree. Dobrynin's actual lynching has become Liubimov's fable; the direct language of observation has achieved Aesopian circumspection. Both relate equally to Russia's tumultuous situation and their audiences would so understand them, knowing as they did the history of Russian satire and its frequent recourse to veiled hints and allusions.

With some regularity in the caricature press the reactionary establishment takes the shape of various monsters and vampires preying on the body of an allegorical female figure. The huge scaly creature in the anonymous "Death Sentence" (fig. 183) chews the body of one man while preparing to make a meal of the woman in his left hand. The entire print is saturated in red, with a curving row of gallows forming the backdrop. Miriskusnik Boris Anisfeld also presented Russia's situation allegorically in numerous drawings for Zhupel (fig. 184) and

Adskaia pochta, usually depicting one or more scabrous reptiles imprisoning an allegorical maiden.

Infamous for centuries in popular legend, the Vampire gave its name to one St. Petersburg journal of "artistic satire" in 1906 and appeared in many others. On the cover of the first issue of Vampir in 1906, the blood sucking monster, flames shooting upward from his bat wings, sits on the prone body of a young woman dressed in traditional Russian costume (fig. 185). Though crammed with detail and not of high technical or aesthetic quality, this and other images of the vampire (compare fig. 214) are typical of the grotesque imagination applied by journals of contemporary caricature when treating the government's response to revolutionary events. They also in no small measure fostered the growth of such bizarre freaks as those of Vasilii Masiutin (fig. 186), which appeared in the pages of Zolotoe runo (Golden Fleece) after the failure of the 1905 revolution.

Again, we may contrast this folkloric and Aesopian tendency with the violent iconography of direct observation. The punitive expeditions mentioned in our examination of Dobrynin's "Nightmare" (fig. 181) are also the basis of Aleksandr Liubimov's cover for Svetaet (Day is Breaking, fig. 187). Here he depicted a soldier on one of these acts of official government vengeance holding the severed heads of peasants he has "pacified," the grim trophies of his mission. The artist appears to have been influenced by a contemporary illustration in Jugend (fig. 188), which shows an aging satyr in a similar pose, dragging a rabbit he has killed. Liubimov reversed the figure, straightened the shoulders, and raised the chin to emphasize the drawn lips and bulging eyes in which there is a sense of shock and horror. The grin of the satyr has

been transformed into the grimace of a madman.

Evgenii Lanceray also preferred to stress the full scope of terror in current events by depicting real pogroms and uprisings. His print for Zhupel, "Moscow II: Battle" (fig. 189), presents a panoramic view of urban destruction, with a suggestion of theatrical wings in the crumbling brick walls at either side and a small predella at the bottom. The artist's elevated vantage point created a vision on an epic scale. In the main section of this image flames and smoke rise in the distance, billowing from the factory district of Moscow, identifiable in the smokestacks in the upper part of the scene. This section of the composition might be likened to Claude Monet's La rue Montorgueil Fête du 30 Juin 1878 (Fig. 190), which perhaps suggested the format of a crowded cityscape framed closely by high walls. Lanceray's bird's-eye view is an exaggerated version of that in certain Impressionist paintings. He had trained in Paris in the mid-1890s, first at Colarossi's and then at the Académie Julian, and would have been familiar with such works. Moreover, the repoussoir at the sides is a favorite device of miriskusniki like Benois, and has been adopted by his nephew here to suggest a larger significance to his image; the crumbling brick towers hint at the high, brick Moscow Kremlin, ancient seat of tsarist power.

In the small cartouche below this battle scene (fig. 191), Lanceray has drawn a counterpart image which comments upon and alludes to the ultimate meaning of the battle. In this small area, headless figures in official uniforms flank a smoking object. The smoke obscures the view, but it is possible to detect the legs of an elegant chair. At either side the figures incline protectively toward the chair. At the left a uniformed courtier holds a firing cannon next to a crowned,

barrel-like form who holds a scroll out toward the center. At the right an elaborately robed priest swings incense, while a nagaika-wielding policeman protects the right flank. The figures' obeisance alludes to the presence of the autocrat, commanding the reverence of bureaucracy but lost in the incense, or perhaps going up in smoke like his Moscow, the entire tsarist system crumbling like the brick walls in the scene above.

In "Battle" Lanceray revealed a belief that the uprisings in Russian society would bring down the worn-out regime. In his work for Zhupel's successor, Adskaia pochta, the artist's confidence is noticeably weaker as he lashes out at the enemies of political progress. In two prints Lanceray targeted the Black Hundreds, their demonstrations and orgiastic pogroms. "Rejoicing on Earth Thanks to the Fundamental Laws" (fig. 192) is a mordant attack on the thugs that comprised the "patriotic manifestations" celebrating the promulgation in April 1906 of the revised law code of Russia. The artist portrayed the marchers in this print as corpulent and bestial, their fists already clenching in anticipation of a fight, their dress slovenly and their gait drunken. In the front, at an oblique angle to the picture plane, a marcher bears an elaborately framed portrait of the Tsar; behind him others wave flags with the tsarist colors. These same right-wing elements appear in a contemporary sketch based on a photograph (fig. 193), incorrectly identified in the western press as representing "revolutionaries." Such parades in Odessa in reality spawned the terrifying pogroms which made the city infamous. Lanceray's march is by contrast, all roiling movement and the space claustrophobic. Comparison of these two pictures indicates how the artist uses a proximate viewpoint, exaggeration and

distortion to heighten his message about the rise of the reactionary elements of Russian society.

Lanceray rendered the essence of the pogrom in a companion drawing printed in the same issue of Adskaia pochta (fig. 194), "Glad to Try, Your Excellency!" By contrast to the closed space of "Rejoicing on Earth," the upper portion of this print is lighter, more open, to make the viewer find the police official (presumably checking to see that the pogrom is going as planned) riding by, waving to his loyal helpers. It soon becomes apparent that the light background is produced by the flaming buildings of a ruined section of the city. The dark forms of the pillagers in the middle-ground occupy the viewer's initial attention, and only later does the inert form of a murdered man in the foreground come into focus. To judge by his clothing, this faceless corpse sprawled on the ground may be a member of the middle class: details of his more refined dress, collar, vest and pants, distinguish him from his brutish assailants.

Lanceray's sympathies are evident in these scenes. Like his French counterpart, Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen (fig. 195), Lanceray recoiled from the destructive potential of the faceless mob, and may have been influenced in his composition by Steinlen's depictions. He made similarly effective use of a densely packed scene, which produces in the viewer a trapped sensation, and emphasized the bloated features and unnatural emotions which distort the mob.

Such depictions of real occurrences are legion in the Russian satirical press during the 1905 revolution. Equally numerous are images of the massive destruction of this era featuring the tradition-hallowed figure of Death, the skeleton sometimes cloaked, sometimes carrying the

harvester's scythe. The turbulent movement informing Lanceray's portrayals of the Black Hundreds has become a fluid linearism in the work of the young Isaak Brodsky, who would in the Soviet era achieve wide fame for his portrait of Lenin at the Smolny Institute. His drawing of 1905, "Russian Symphony" (fig. 196), suggests the feverish musical strains of a danse macabre in the swirling lines of the smoky orange atmosphere behind the black cloaked Death, who stands leering at the fallen skeletons.

Of the hundreds of Death figures populating Russian caricatures during the revolution, perhaps the most grisly is Boris Kustodiev's contribution to Zhupel's triptych on the Moscow uprising, "Moscow I: Entry" (fig. 197). Here the energy is concentrated into one forward-thrusting paroxysm. The spurs on the vertebrae add to the sense of bestial fury in the skeleton, racing from behind the barricades of the working-class district of Moscow. A troop of soldiers fires a cannon in the foreground, while the revolutionary mob waves its red banner from behind the barricade and fires a few scattered shots from the windows of the dull green buildings. Cannon fire has already torn away the upper corner of the building at the right. Over all, Death with bloody hands and feet plunges into the thick of battle. Behind him, billows of red smoke, like a wind-swept cloak, pour into the sky.

Simplified and shadowless, the drawing was first sketched in a more static composition, with Death standing, bony arms akimbo, astride the barricade, laughing and crushing underfoot both soldiers and revolutionaries. Perhaps this egalitarian depiction demonstrated too little of both the artist's and Zhupel's sympathies, and the dynamic, more partisan variant was chosen for publication.

This impelling skeleton races across the pages of other journals as well. The eclectic art student, Nikolai Gorenburg, made a stencil of Kustodiev's design for the skeleton and quadrupled his form for a cemetery scene (fig. 198) in the journal Volshebnyi fonar (Magic Lantern).

One image of Death triumphant brings us back to the ancient Russian lubok: the untitled drawing (fig. 199) on the back of Kosa (Scythe) which is replete with the lubok spirit. Signed by Iosif Shkolnik, a future member of the Union of Youth exhibiting society, the drawing exhibits an overall crudity of execution that suggests an untrained hand. However in 1906 when this was published, Shkolnik at age twenty-three was soon to finish studies at the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts. Having come through the rigorous training there, we can be certain that he was a skilled draftsman. The drawing's rough style must then be intentional.

The image is schematically divided into upper and lower registers, with Death sitting in profile in the upper part preparing to sip from a wine glass; to either side, houses are burning. In the lower divisions the central arch contains a cityscape, silent and nocturnal; at the left, an elderly couple sit before heavy doors labelled "Prison," and at the right, as if some time later, three black coffins are thrust through a similar door, half-open. The central arched scene shows a small procession of mourners, three caskets and armed guards, a depiction that again might be seen as a sequel to the vignettes of the side panels; Death in the upper register has intervened, sipping his full measure of blood.

This figure of Death, naively rendered, is similar to one in a

lubok, "The Old Man and Death" (fig. 200). They share a primitive approach to the details of bone structure and a simple planar arrangement. The notion of dividing the picture into two distinct registers relates to seventeenth century Russian miniature paintings, such as an alms-giving scene (fig. 201) from Dukhovnoe likharstvo (Spiritual Medicine), reproduced during 1906 in the magazine Zolotoe runo. The most informative comparison is with the traditional print, "The Ages of Man" (fig. 202), from which Shkolnik derived his basic arrangement of the scenes. In the old lubok the sequence arcs from lower left to upper center and down to lower right. The middle scene of the "Last Judgement" in the lubok has been replaced in the revolutionary graphic by a funeral procession. Formally, Shkolnik has adapted the source's continuity of action, though in greatly changed trappings. The lubok's dignity and tranquility has become Shkolnik's lament and nightmare. This latter quality is conveyed especially by the disarray of shadows in the central scene, which fall both from right to left and left to right, a jarring discord.

Shkolnik's image has a mournfully slow internal rhythm which moves the eye around the composition in stately fashion. Another image of the suffering nation contains a similar dirge-like movement. In a double-page graphic in the journal Sekira (Pole-Axe, fig. 203), a woman in traditional Russian costume represents the bleeding Russian motherland.²⁰ She is shown crowned with thorns, tearfully carrying a heavy wooden cross past government officials and representatives of the social strata in Russia, the intellectuals, peasants and students. She gazes at the viewer as she follows a wreath-laden hearse, probably that of the moribund reforms and freedoms granted in the October Manifesto.

Here, Mother Russia's sufferings during the revolution are equated with those of Christ.

On the cover of Paiats (Buffoon), the crown of thorns surrounds the severed head of a man (fig. 204), a worker judging by his resemblance to Grabovsky's "His Worker Highness, the All-Russian Proletarian" (fig. 30). Held in a huge hand rising from Red Square in Moscow, this head by Vasilii Beringer, like the preceding print, is a religious metaphor for Russia's tragic situation during the brutal events of 1905-07.

The Christian imagery here and in Sekira resonates in other drawings of the caricature press. Perhaps the most startling of these is "They Hung Her on a High Cross" (fig. 205) by Ivan Grabovsky. This double-page lithograph stands approximately fifty centimeters high in the middle of the last number of Pulumet. The scene is saturated in red, with black darkening the land and sky. The nude figure of a woman is nailed to a cross. Below her, fists clutching daggers and nagaiki are raised against her in anger. Her face wears an expression of intense sorrow, but her mouth is tightly closed in silent resignation. Grabovsky, following Shebuev's instructions, has replaced the body of Christ in a traditional crucifixion with the symbolic figure of Mother Russia, stripped and punished for the transgressions of others.

This image shocks by its proximity to the satirical pornography of Félicien Rops, whose work was well known in Russia by 1905. Grabovsky borrowed his crucified nude from Rops' Tentation de St. Antoine (fig. 206), reproduced in 1905 in a book on Rops.²¹ Grabovsky restrained the nude's exuberant sensuality and toned down Rops' erotic overtones. The large Russian print's artistic intentions are quite the reverse of

its source. The allegorical figure elicits the viewer's empathy. Her exposure and facial expression combine to signal the tone of that response, which is distanced from Rops' eroticism. Their shocking similarity only underscores the essential difference in message of the Russian graphic, at the same time riveting our attention to that message.

Secular crucifixions were not peculiar to the satirical art of Russia at this time, but only Russian artists apply this theme to the 1905 revolution. In European caricature, Frantisek Kupka depicted a French worker crucified on a cog wheel (fig. 207), an image that appeared in Les Temps Nouveaux in 1905. Adolphe Willette in Le Rire, 1899, also used a semi-nude allegorical figure to symbolize English oppression in Ireland (fig. 208). Grabovsky's image of Russia is larger than any of these other scenes and, saturated in red and black suggests the revolutionary passions and the governmental repression "crucifying" the nation.²²

Grabovsky's frankly Christian iconography, his equation of repression with the martyrdom of Russia, is unusual but not unique. Early in 1906 the Kiev revolutionary journal, Shershen (The Bee), adopted another biblical motif, the apocalyptic riders, to the terrifying events of the revolution. In Ivan Buriachok's print "The Spirits of Darkness . . ." (fig. 209) he, like Grabovsky, drew inspiration from contemporary European art, in this case from Arnold Böcklin's apocalyptic paintings of Der Krieg (figs. 210-11) of 1896 and 1898. Both versions were well known in Russia. The first had appeared in Mir iskusstva early in 1901,²³ and the second version (fig. 211) was even reproduced on the back cover of a St. Petersburg caricature journal in 1906. Buriachok has combined both versions in

his furies, transforming all the riders into nude women and Böcklin's smoky backdrop into a long, dark banner bordered at the top by skulls. The fierce woman rider is an unusual feature of Böcklin's conception which Buriachok adopted. The mass of horsewomen contrasts with the peaceful countryside below, its calm horizon broken only by the spire of a church. Buriachok's adaptation clarifies the somewhat confusing forms in Böcklin's paintings, presenting the better graphic concept of dark figures against a light sky. The sense of agitation is strengthened by the technique of broken clusters of clipped pen strokes; even the rough double border around the scene contributes to the overall effect.

Some biblical motifs are employed in caricature journals in order to reach the reader immediately with a recognizable image and comprehensible message about the universal scope and significance of revolutionary events. Through such images, the artists seemed to be saying that, as tragic and terrible as they were, such events had before now been a part of a shared spiritual heritage of Christian Russia, which removed the revolution's tragic episodes from the realm of the arbitrary and mundane, and gave current history a deeper meaning. An example of this is the cover of a 1905 successor to Zritel, which opened after its parent-journal was closed and used the talents of its artists and writers. In this print (fig. 212) the artist Nikolai Shestopalov united the revolutionary aspirations of the Russian people with religious thoughts of the inevitable triumph of the downtrodden. A verse from the Gospel of St. Luke captions the image: "Fear not, little flock! For it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom" (Lk. 12:32). This adds a note of optimism to the concept of suffering Russia in Pulemet's crucifixion image. The brilliant, penetrating rays of the sun rising

over the cupolas of Orthodox Kremlin churches, encourage the desperately reaching hands below. The biblical quotation harmonizes with the auspicious rising sun, one of the most common motifs in revolutionary graphics.

The final image in this section suggests a reason behind the reign of Death and a deeply spiritual attitude of hope. The cover (fig. 213) of the Christmas 1905 issue of the Odessa journal Zvon (The Chime) features a hand-lettered poem by the editor, Aleksandr M. Fedorov, surrounded by decoration inspired by Russian religious manuscripts like the fourteenth century interlace border (fig. 150), earlier compared to a caricature of Count Witte. The poem's calligraphy is similar to Old Church Slavonic script as well. The text of the poem is a prayer to Christ who sees all his people, his Russian children, growing cold in their own spilled blood. The poet asks Christ to extend his hand of deliverance, to stop the evil and bless this sacred blood, this holy universe. Fedorov was here asking for more than salvation from Russia's tragic agony. He sought the Savior's benediction so that Russia, her people and the entire universe might be transfigured through this martyrdom.

The poem, as a verbal description and response to Russia's miseries during the revolution, links with Christian iconography in such other images as the figures of Mother Russia on the Via Dolorosa and on the cross (figs. 203, 205). As a group, these drawings in the caricature journals attempt to make sense of the revolutionary events and the suffering they engendered through recourse to Russia's Christian heritage. In this religious iconographic system, suffering plays a cleansing role in the life of an individual or of a nation: it is an essential

step on the road to salvation. Russia's trials in 1905-06 are linked by these artists to Christ's suffering and death and, by extension, linked with hope of future resurrection. Just as the art critic Sergei Makovsky viewed the art of Talashkino in the context of a renaissance of Russia's artistic culture and a broad social regeneration, so these artists pointed to a larger, optimistic significance in the tragedies of the revolution.

Artists in Russia worked in close proximity to the unspeakable horrors of the era. Words were too pale and paltry to convey the monstrous deeds and grotesque travesties of justice that occurred. In the words of the old Russian proverb, "ni v skazke skazat, ni perom napisat" -- "neither tale can tell nor pen can write." Caricature and satirical cartoons presented a solution to this dilemma.²⁴ Artists' intimate knowledge of Russia's ordeal inevitably evoked highly emotional responses. The nature of these responses was conditioned by the great spiritual tension felt so keenly in Russia at the turn of the century. Most historians of this epoch in Russia write of a great sense of spiritual expectation.²⁵ During the revolution itself, philosophers like Dmitrii Merezhkovsky and Nicolas Berdyaev wrote articles on Dostoevsky as the prophet of a spiritual revolution and on the interaction of the revolution of 1905 with the further development of Russia's spiritual life and artistic culture. In the spring of 1905 Berdyaev wrote emphatically:

Our century's realization of a political dream must be linked with Russia's great cultural and religious renaissance. Only then will we know in whose name to act and create. . . . Only then, not abstractly but concretely invested with flesh and blood, will our historic existence have universal significance, wedded with the meaning of universal history.²⁶

It is natural that in such a climate artists should seek to deal with this situation through reference to Russia's fairy tales, folk art and Christian heritage. This tendency in Russian caricatures helps to distinguish the Russian philosophical outlook on the revolution from that of the European caricature press.

Western artists, inexperienced in Russian spirituality and unaware of Russia's messianic aspirations throughout its Christian history, could not have envisioned such profound meaning in the calamity of these years. Their view could not encompass such deeply rooted optimism. Russian artists on the other hand, observed their wretched nation in this larger cultural context, much as Dostoevsky did, and asked for the meaning of her suffering. Not surprisingly, they show Mother Russia in an iconography widely comprehensible to the Russian masses, and with forms that reach back in significant instances to the traditions of popular prints and religious manuscripts as well. This iconography and these artistic devices were chosen to evoke an expressive relationship between tragic recent events and the whole pattern of Russian history.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹Charles A. Ruud, Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press 1804-1906 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 213.

²Konstantin Bal'mont, Pesni mstitelia (Paris: n.p., 1907), p. 9.

³John E. Bowlt, The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the "World of Art" Group (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1979), p. 114, feels that many caricatures display "an unwarranted measure of horror and grotesqueness;" but might we not say that exaggeration was justified by the very nature of the events?

⁴Ernst Kris, Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), pp. 174, 185.

⁵Anna Balakian, The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Appraisal (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 117.

⁶Vera A. Smirnova-Rakitina, Valentin Serov (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1961), p. 290.

⁷Aleksandr N. Benua, Istoriia russkoi zhivopisi v XIX veke, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Evdokimov, 1901-02) 2: 226.

⁸Valerii Ia. Briusov, "Valentin Aleksandrovich Serov," Russkaia mysl', no. 12 (1911), section 2, pp. 119-120; reprinted in Russkie pisateli ob izobrazitel'nom iskusstve (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1976), p. 242.

⁹Aleksandr Benua, cited in Mstislav V. Dobuzhinskii, Vospominaniia (New York: Put' zhizni, 1976) 1: 297.

¹⁰Barbara W. Tuchman, The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War (New York: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 409, 423.

¹¹Dobuzhinskii, Vospominaniia, p. 276.

¹²Ibid, p. 216.

¹³D.M. Gorodetskii, "Zarozhdenie karikatury v Rossii," Literaturnyi vestnik, 1902, p. 404; S.S. Trubachev in A.K. Shvyrov and S.S. Trubachev, Illustrirovannaia istoriia karikatury s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei (St. Petersburg: P.F. Panteleev, 1903), pp. 369-76.

¹⁴I.P. Belokonskii, "Lubochnaia literatura o iaponsko-russkoi voine," Obrazovanie 13 (May-July 1904): section 2, 80-91; 14 (January 1905): section 2, 43-63.

¹⁵Bowlit, Silver Age, pp. 263-64.

¹⁶Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Armed: Trotsky, 1879-1921 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 127.

Dobuzhinsky's design adapted from Jugend was later reappropriated by T.T. Heine for a 1909 issue of Simplicissimus. Heine left the composition almost exactly as Dobuzhinsky modified it, only reversing the building once again and substituting a man's bowler hat for the overshoe; reproduced in Bowlit, Silver Age, between pp. 114-15.

¹⁷Eduard Fuchs, Die Karikatur der europäischen Völker vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit, 2 vols. (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1901-06).

¹⁸This is a theme ready for a full study; its scope has been suggested in James A. Billington's chapter on Russian women revolutionaries in Fire in the Minds of Men (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

Alison Hilton has begun research into art historical evidence for this theme in Russian painting, "The Revolutionary Theme in Russian Realism," in Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, eds., Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978), pp. 108-27; see also Marie Marmo Mullaney, "The Female Revolutionary, the Woman Question, and European Socialism, 1871-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1980), and Mark Chapin Scott, "Her Brother's Keeper: The Evolution of Women Bolsheviks" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1980).

¹⁹Linda Nochlin, Realism (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 70.

²⁰Grigorii Iu. Sternin, "Grafika russkikh satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 godov," Iskusstvo, no. 3 (May-June 1955), p. 36, states that beginning in the spring of 1906 images of the struggling proletariat are superseded by legendary warriors and fairy tale beauties, personifying Russia "in general" with no reference to interneccine battles within the revolutionary factions.

²¹This book is by Erastène Ramiro and was reviewed by Ivan Shchulin in Vesy, no. 4 (April 1905), pp. 56-58.

²²The crucifixion theme will recur in the work of Kazimir Malevich as early as 1911 and remain central to his iconography until his death; he wished to be buried with arms outstretched, in the shape of a cross; Valentine Marcadé, "The Peasant Theme in the Work of Kazimir Severinovich Malevich," Kazimir Malewitsch zum 100. Geburtstag (Cologne: Galerie Gmurzynska, 1978), p. 114.

²³Mir iskusstva, no. 2-3 (1901), p. 39.

²⁴Vladimir F. Botsianovskii and Erikh F. Gollerbakh, Russkaia satira pervoi revoliutsii 1905-1906 (Leningrad: Gos. Izd-vo, 1925), pp. 17-18.

²⁵Nicolas Berdyaev, The Russian Idea (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 219; Viacheslav Ivanov, "Iz oblasti sovremennykh nastroyenii: I. Apokaliptiki i obshchestvennost'," Vesy, no. 6 (June 1905), pp. 35-39; Nicolas Zernov, The Russian Religious Renaissance of the Twentieth Century (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Semen L. Frank, Iz istorii russkoi filosofskoi mysli kontsa XIX i nachala XX veka: Antologiya (New York: Inter-Language Library Associates, 1965).

²⁶Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, "Prorok russkoi revoliutsii," Vesy, no. 2 (February 1906), pp. 27-45; no. 3-4 (March-April 1906), pp. 19-47; the quote is from Nikolai Berdiaev, "Kul'tura i politika," Sub Specie Aeternitatis (St. Petersburg: M.V. Pirozhkov, 1907), p. 289.

CHAPTER 5

CARICATURES AND THE AVANT-GARDE

The caricature journals of 1905-06 occupied a pivotal place in the art of the period. They appeared at the peak of the Symbolist movement in Russian literature and art. Their images drew from this milieu and because they were ubiquitous and avidly collected, they contributed to the radicalism of the next generation. The journals and the men and women who worked on them bridged the past and future of Russian art in tangible ways. Three facets of this bear examination in this chapter: the personal links from one generation to the next; examples of Symbolist literature and theater that drew inspiration from 1905-06 caricatures; and caricatures that individually and collectively influenced future images in Russian art.¹

Though there were countless personal contacts between those involved in the journals of 1905 and important figures in Russian Symbolism, one friendship stands out as an example of their interrelation. Yurii Artsybushev of Zritel had early contact with the Abramtsevo colony, as we noted in chapter 1, and in particular with the chief Symbolist painter, Mikhail Vrubel. Both from a practical standpoint, in the contemporary artistic styles chosen for revolutionary graphics, and in the theoretical connection between Symbolism and caricature, the relationship between Vrubel and Artsybushev is illuminating, for it draws attention to the serious and systematic nature of caricature's use of abstracted, hidden symbols.

In 1905 there were political as well as artistic reasons for a change in the style of the most effective political caricatures. These

could no longer draw inspiration (as we noted in chapter 1) from the earlier critical realism of the peredvizhniki, from the tendency to pass moral judgement on Russian reality through their thematic paintings in the 1870s and 1880s. By the turn of the century these older artists' oppositional attitudes and accusatory subject matter had been tamed by absorption into the establishment. Though they still exhibited, their style and themes had lost their vitality by the 1890s. Their didacticism had been subdued by the very State and Academy that the artists had originally risen up against. The peredvizhnik exhibition during the winter of 1906-07 was condemned in the liberal press. One reviewer wrote of this display:

In general as regards the peredvizhniki, one must say the same thing one would of "academicians:" Their artistic aspirations do not take into account the demands of the time, and they've become even in their own day obsolete, dead, musty forms and ideals, bearing a servile taint, alien to freedom.²

The tasks abandoned by this generation were taken up by young artists working in the satirical press. To adopt the peredvizhnik style of realism, tainted by its links to the government establishment, was anathema to the more advanced youth. Moreover, it would have been politically difficult for the new generation to render their criticism too literally. They sought alternative styles that would reach out and communicate, would startle their readers into comprehending their radical messages while keeping the censor at bay.³ The best, most gripping images are rendered, as we noted earlier, in styles that either employ the formal innovations or hidden images of art nouveau and Symbolism, or reach back to the native folk arts like the lubok.

The censor in 1905 had termed the contents of Zritel "symbolic."⁴ By this he most likely meant the conventional sign system of

allegory (in which the representation merely illustrates a deeper meaning, as for example, the lily of purity or the story of the search for the Holy Grail as an illustration of a personal spiritual quest). It is improbable that the censor had in mind "Symbolism" as it is currently applied to advanced painting at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, in addition to the direct links between the Symbolist artist Mikhail Vrubel and Zritel's Artsybushev which were examined in chapter 1, Symbolism itself had an affinity with the need for hidden meanings and images which were such a crucial aspect of Russian revolutionary caricatures. In other countries allegory's widely recognized conventions may have been adequate to political caricature. However, in Russia during 1905-07 the most important subjects, those deeply touching current political events, produced infinite difficulties for those daring to incorporate them into caricature. For that reason, as we have seen, various methods were devised for concealment.

Zritel adventurously ran the gamut of official prohibitions and succeeded in its Aesopian presentation of current history and prominent personalities, including even the Tsar. Its coordination of text and "symbolic" images was also an innovation generally in the European Symbolist press, but in Russia such coordination in caricature journals applied itself practically to the pressing needs of political expression through caricature. It drew especially, as we have seen, on the rich veins of popular culture in both anecdotal themes and folk imagery for the 1905 journals.

Symbolism in Russia, as in Europe, preferred to suggest rather than define, to hint rather than name. It underlined the congruence of form and contents, as opposed to allegory, where both elements retain

their separate existence.⁵ Russian Symbolists also emphasized the fact that "Symbolism is a language of hints, of secret and immeasurable indications of its depths, a language unfathomable in significance," as one Russian art critic stated in 1905. He continues, "Every art is symbolic. There never was, nor could there ever be an art that is not symbolic."⁶ This rather free interchange of the terms "symbolism" and "symbolic" indicates the breadth of Russian Symbolism's ambition in these early years; it wanted to engulf most of cultural history in its attempt at self-definition. The common thread is Symbolism's preoccupation with hidden meanings, "with what lies behind the external appearance of things."⁷

The pressing need for hidden images, for a secret language, was never greater than under the censorship of the revolutionary years. Caricaturists had to conceal their references to a host of vital subjects they wished to treat publicly: the Tsar, demonstrations, Russian military defeats. In this, some caricatures of 1905-06 might be considered closer to the Symbolist aesthetic than contemporary paintings by older miriskusniki like Benois. Both Symbolism and caricature "reach beyond vision and consciousness into the area of inner vision, whether sublime or grotesque," and could thus be linked.⁸ During the 1890's Symbolism reached the height of its influence in Western Europe. As was explained in the Introduction, just at that time caricature entered the Symbolist vocabulary and received significant appreciation as an art form in the writings of German art historians and critics, Richard Muther and Hugo von Hofmannsthal.⁹

French art theorists Albert Aurier and Maurice Denis gave some insight into this meaningful coincidence. In 1891 Aurier expressed the

Symbolist notion that any object represented in art is chosen "to indicate a wider frame of reference."¹⁰ Such objects, in Aurier's words, "have no meaning at all as objects, but are only signs . . ." Further, "the artist always has the right to exaggerate them, to attenuate them, to deform them according to the needs of the Idea to be expressed."¹¹

The implications of this notion for a potential element of caricature in the fine arts were not lost on such an austere thinker as Maurice Denis. In his 1909 discussion of subjective and objective deformation, Denis wrote:

To the audacities of the Impressionists and Divisionists, the new approach adds awkwardness of execution and an almost caricatural simplification of form: and it is there that symbolism resides.

. . .

. . .the decorative composition . . . authorized for the sake of expression all transformations, even to the point of being caricatural, and all excesses of character. .¹²

Symbolism and Russian caricatures of the 1905 revolution are bound together by their common concern for secret contents, hidden meanings, and their acceptance -- even encouragement -- of exaggeration and deformity for the sake of the underlying idea. Russian artists fully realized the potential within Symbolism for its caricature, and thanks to tsarist censorship, combined the two in answering the needs of liberal criticism during the 1905 revolution.

A major forum for the second generation of Russian symbolists was the journal Vesy. During the 1905 revolution it published only a few

articles of relevance to current events, notably Andrei Belyi's "Lug zelenyi" (Green Meadow) and Dmitrii Merezhkovsky's "Prorok revoliutsii," (Prophet of the Revolution), concerning Dostoevsky as the herald of the coming spiritual revolution. Belyi's essay draws some inspiration from contemporary caricatures for, published in August 1905, it captures the sense of the country's social unrest and reaction from the conservative right in a simile that portrays Russia as a young woman kept in the sleep of reaction by her evil father.¹³ Literary historians have remarked that this essay was "influenced by a well-known anonymous 1905 caricature of a bat-like Konstantin Pobedonoscev on the body of Russia . . ." ¹⁴ This image, "The Evil Genius of Russia" (fig. 214), is attributable to the prolific caricaturist Nikolai Remizov and may have been an influence on Belyi's article, though it was published only after "Lug zelenyi" appeared. Whether the poet saw an unpublished image of this type is perhaps less important than the anecdotal context of the times which generally likened the reactionary Procurator of the Holy Synod to a vampire sucking the lifeblood from Russia. The poet Aleksandr Blok was struck by the similarity of Belyi's image to a section in an essay he was writing in August 1905. Blok continued to use the vampire theme to indicate the government's bloody repression after 1905, as Henryk Baran has pointed out.¹⁵

Belyi though, did rely more closely on the Remizov caricature for a later image in the novel Petersburg. This work's theme is grounded in the 1905 revolution, and Belyi's figure of the government bureaucrat Apollon Apollonovich Ableukhov was modelled on Pobedonostsev. Early in the novel this reactionary bureaucrat comes across the Remizov caricature:

his ears, green all over and enlarged against the bloody background of a Russia in flames. Thus had he recently been portrayed on the title page of a gutter rag, one of those trashy humor rags put out by the kikes, whose bloody covers in those days were spawned with staggering swiftness on prospects swarming with people.¹⁶

There could be no more accurate description of the caricature journals as seen by the government than this passage from Petersburg. Further on in the novel, Belyi alludes to another caricature of Pobedonostsev as a Medusa (fig. 255).¹⁷ Though the Procurator was no longer in office when this caricature appeared, he continued to personify the spirit of reaction.

Another image that pertains to Russia's reactionary institutions appeared on the cover of the August issue of Vesy, Nicholas Roerich's (Rerikh) "Tsar" (fig. 216). Its strong black and white pattern obscures the subject which is a king seated at the right, receiving the abject homage of a dozen of his subjects, who touch their foreheads to the floor in front of a row of heavily armed guards. The theme is unusual for Roerich who generally was known for his interest in medieval Russia and the Viking influence. Unlike his World of Art colleague Bilibin, Roerich did not incline toward fairy tale court imagery, which is the essence of "Tsar." In choosing this theme just at the time of the treaty ending the Russo-Japanese conflict and in masking the subject in dense patterning Roerich appears to offer secret reference to Russia's contemporary political situation that would have been clear to readers of this organ of Russian Symbolism.

Two months later in an issue of Vesy delayed by the general strike of October 1905, another highly complex drawing appeared, N. (Anatolii?) Arapov's Beardsley-inspired "Pattern in the Japanese

[Style]" (fig. 217). At the left in the drawing, a white-robed, bearded figure sits up in bed, surrounded by rich fabrics, and points to an image in the background that depicts a sea snake menacing a white swan.¹⁸ With his other hand he covers his mouth, partly hiding his long, dark beard, a device of concealment familiar from the caricatures of the Tsar examined in chapter 2. Two female figures echo his pointing hand and reach to the background image as well, one of them from behind bars at the right. The varied patterns have little to do with a "Japanese style." The title rather suggests a clue to the possible significance of this image, in the political context of the recent peace treaty between Russia and Japan, and the political violence that shut the presses in October. It suggests that the figure in bed is perhaps a concealed reference to the Tsar, dreaming symbolically of the evil revolution precipitated by the war with Japan, that now menaces his country.

Another image inspired by the nation's social inequities and unrest was widely published as a postal card at the turn of the century, and was adopted into a novel of the revolution, (fig. 218) Tvorimaia legenda (The Created Legend), by the Symbolist Fedor Sologub. The schematic picture of the Russian social pyramid published anonymously by a secret Russian society dates originally from 1900. Based on a traditional graphic conception of hierarchical societies (as for example the English monarchy by George Cruikshank, in fig. 219), the Russian image shows the peasantry and industrial proletariat opposed and struggling at the base of the social strata. Above them, the bourgeoisie are labelled "We eat for you;" the soldiers "We shoot you;" the clergy "We delude you;" the bureaucrats "We govern you;" and the Tsar "We reign over you." At the pinnacle of power, Nicholas and his consort are almost hidden

from the gaze of their servile people by clouds of incense. At the lower left two young intellectuals carry a banner that reads, "Live in Freedom. [Join?] in the Struggle."¹⁹

Sologub utilized this image in the first part of his trilogy, Tvorimaia legenda, which he entitles "Drops of Blood." This first volume appeared in 1907 and is quite conscientiously modelled on many incidents from the 1905 revolution and subsequent repressions.²⁰ The author placed the image of the social pyramid in an early chapter dealing with the political education of the novel's heroine Elizaveta. The young radical speaking with her draws a sharp contrast between the government and the revolutionaries. He says, "Their chief interest, as you very well understand, is to mold a pyramid out of people; ours is to scatter this pyramid in an even layer over the earth."²¹ It is only a fleeting reference, but in the concrete environment of revolutionary events that inspired Sologub, the political postcard deserves mention.

Another Symbolist writer, the philosopher Vasilii V. Rozanov, published political short stories in the years 1905 and 1906. They were again printed in a 1910 anthology and the author ended the collection with his own graphic version of the repression that terminated the revolution.²² Though the drawing (fig. 220) is somewhat timid, Rozanov's presentation of it is closely aligned with the attitude of cryptic references that colors so many revolutionary caricatures. In successive pages, he printed short, suggestive phrases: "1907-1910;" "Alas...;" "What really happened?" and finally, the crude drawing depicting a demon and Baba-Yaga, the fairy tale witch, flying over an earth of wilting flowers. With its folkloric and demonic features, Rozanov's drawing is highly reminiscent of the caricatures of 1905-06.

Caricature had a demonstrable impact on Russian theatre after 1905. Symbolists dreamed of a theatre that could reunite poet and common people, and political caricaturist Zinovii Grzhebin schemed to create a theatre of political satire in St. Petersburg. As two arts with mass appeal, theatre and caricature were already potential allies during 1905 in the highly public arena of political struggle. Both arts aspired to reach beyond class and educational differences to join all society in a common experience, to overcome the debilitating isolation of the artist and to promote an ideal culture combining individual freedom and social integration by means of art. While the philosopher-poet Viacheslav Ivanov and publicist Georgii Chulkov theorized about Mystical Anarchism and a "Theatre of Dionysis,"²³ Grzhebin and Gorky formulated plans for a less esoteric theatre of popular political satire.²⁴

Nothing came of these projects and only in Nikolai Evreinov's *Antique Theatre* and in his later *Crooked Mirror* productions can one find reflections in live stage productions of the caricature satire and parody so prevalent during the 1905 revolution. Like these immediate predecessors, Evreinov's productions cultivated the grotesque and parody as weapons to destroy the prevailing aesthetic system. He used the talents of former caricaturists like Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, whose designs for the 1907-08 production of the thirteenth century pastoral Play About Robin and Marion (fig. 221) epitomize the vital, primitive essence of the historical period that Evreinov wished to recreate for his audience.²⁵ Dobuzhinsky's inspiration came from Evreinov's theory that man's theatrical urge is one of the primordial human endowments, akin to a child's urge to "play." It is grounded in man's earliest experiences, and if properly embodied in theatrical productions, will

convey this most primitive and pre-aesthetic play impulse, accessible to all.²⁶ Thus the whole spirit behind the production of Robin and Marion was childlike; Dobuzhinsky's props especially suggest children's toys, a horse on wheels and a dollhouse castle.

For his productions at the Crooked Mirror after 1910, Evreinov concentrated on satire and parody, pieces that had the effect of caricature implicit in the theatre's title. Appropriately, Evreinov again enlisted the artistic talents of former and current caricaturists, such as Satirikon habitués Aleksei Radakov and Yurii Annenkov, and writers Aleksandr Amfitreatrov and Teffi (Nadezhda A. Buchinskaia).²⁷ Like Satirikon, however, Evreinov's Crooked Mirror managed only with difficulty to exist in the repressive atmosphere of St. Petersburg under Stolypin. The laughter provided by both theatre and caricature inspired the workers of Zhupel. Aleksandr Blok in an essay of 1908 entitled "Irony," called this laughter "destructive," for it was born of despair and thus a symptom of a disease then epidemic in Russia, named in the essay's title. Reverting to the caricature of the reactionary Pobedonos-tsev, Blok concluded that this ironic laughter "is like the bite of the vampire; the person comes himself a blood-sucker . . ."²⁸

These manifestations of the interrelation of Russian literature, drama and the 1905 caricatures are themselves only symptoms of that essential affinity of Symbolism and caricature which is rooted in the theoretical basis of Symbolism as a cultural and philosophical phenomenon.

Both Symbolism and caricature continued to echo through later developments in Russian art, as for instance in the contest in 1906 for an image of the Devil, run by the journal Zolotoe runo (Golden

Fleece). Mstislav Dobuzhinsky's contribution to the contest (fig. 222) was perhaps the most haunting of those printed. Suggestive of the spider-infested bathhouse in Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment,²⁹ it depicts anonymous, huddled men walking round and round in an enclosed prison, under the watchful gaze of a huge masked spider, a scene which resonates with political overtones. Inspired by Van Gogh's 1890 Rond des Prisonniers (in turn, delivered from Gustave Doré's Newgate Exercise Yard, 1871), Dobuzhinsky's design also recalls Bruno Paul's nightmare image of the political turmoil in South Africa (fig. 223). The two images are stylistically and thematically similar and form one more instance of the beneficial contacts between miriskusniki and artists of Simplicissimus.

Dobuzhinsky's earlier "symbolism" in Zhupel caricatures intrigued the Russian police, who questioned the artist's co-workers on the meaning behind his representation of the new year, "1905/1906" (fig. 224). The candle, in particular, puzzled the inspector, who concluded that there was some sinister meaning to the fact that the flame bends sharply "to the right."³⁰ The overwhelming malaise, the despair sensed in Dobuzhinsky's drawing, could be interpreted as a comment on the dominance of the reactionary right, the Black Hundreds.

Dobuzhinsky's graphic style seems to have exerted some influence over the early work of Kazimir Malevich, recently arrived in Moscow in 1904. By 1913 Malevich would be one of the leaders of the Russian Futurists, but some of his early work, small oils and gouaches of ca. 1906-08, were very much influenced by Russian Symbolism.³¹ A small pen drawing of ca. 1906-07 (fig. 225) shows Malevich imitating Dobuzhinsky's motifs and draftsmanship, in a juxtaposition of skull and

candle rendered in simple parallel hatching. This medallion is even inscribed with the artist's initials, K M, in a manner similar to Dobuzhinsky's.

Malevich's small oil painting, Woman in Childbirth (fig. 226), possibly takes a compositional cue from another caricature, one by the Italian artist Galantara, though this suggestion cannot be proven. The theme of this Malevich is related to many contemporary Symbolist paintings by Pavel Kuznetsov of the Blue Rose Group, which were exhibited and reproduced in Russia at that time (fig. 228). However, Galantara's caricature of Tsar Nicholas II, "L'Insensible" (fig. 227), may have had a significant impact on the arrangement of forms in Woman in Childbirth. The caricature shows the head of the Tsar against a background of small embattled figures. Malevich's Symbolist oil depicts the woman against an evocative web of tiny, floating fetuses and babies. The placement of a large head before this type of significant backdrop of small, massed figures is similar in the two images. Though this connection must remain a suggestion, Malevich was an intensely visual person. At the Rerberg private art academy in Moscow where he arrived in 1905, Malevich had access to a broad range of foreign publications.³² This issue of L'Assiette au beurre, entitled "Chronique Russe" contains Galantara's vision of Nicholas II plus a number of other gripping images of the mid-1906 repression. It would have been highly prized by young, socially aware artists in Russia.

In a few years Malevich, like many artists, would reject the "trembling silhouettes and blue diffusions"³³ of Symbolism, exemplified by the work of Blue Rose painter Kuznestov, just as he rejected the servile academism of the peredvizhniki. Neither style contained

traits that could capture the vigorous revolutionary spirit that lingered after 1905. Repressed in the political sphere, this spirit resurfaced in the younger artistic milieu of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Here artists sought inspiration in the bolder, simpler forms of folk art; they desired the direct popular appeal, the close ties with the Russian people epitomized by icons and lubki.

The peredvizhniki, as we recall, who scorned the lubok as a stylistic source because of its suggestion of artistic ineptitude, wanted above all to be accepted as competent painters.³⁴ For Malevich, Larionov and Goncharova and others, however, as for the generation involved in the caricature journals of the 1905 revolution, the lubok's crude power suggested a national basis for a common artistic and satirical heritage open to all classes of Russians. This factor especially appealed to artists and editors engaged in political caricature. By coupling advanced western and archaic, unchanging Russian forms, the artists aspired to a synthesis of styles which could answer the need for a renewal of Russian social and cultural life at its source and, at the same time, preserve a link with the liberal artistic traditions of the West.

The contemporaneous impact of modern French painting (Gauguin, Cézanne, Matisse, Picasso) on the development of Russian Neoprimitivism, and in particular on its colors and textures, is widely recognized. A number of modern European masterpieces were available to young painters in Russia in ca. 1905. However, revolutionary caricatures were more abundant, more convenient and more in tune with the urgent needs of Russia at that time. Influence from earlier Russian painting on Neoprimitivism is incontrovertable, and discussion here will center on the

caricature factor in the development of both Neoprimitivism and its successor, Russian Futurism.

Russian Neoprimitivism followed this important trend in the revolutionary caricatures and blended European modernism with Russian sources such as the icon and the lubok. A commentator in 1916 stressed that the lubok, closely imitated by a number of artists, played a vital role in the discovery of an alternative to the "aesthetic nihilism" of the peredvizhniki.³⁵ In previous chapters we have seen numerous instances of lubok-inspired caricatures, especially by miriskusniki like Chekhonin, Dobuzhinsky and Stelletsky, and by the future Union of Youth member, Bystrenin. In the fine arts, this influence began to inform the painting style of Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov in 1909, though the dates Larionov inscribed on his canvases of those years (e.g. "1907" on figure 230) have made the chronology of his early works the subject of controversy.³⁶ An example of this new influence is Larionov's adaptation of a revered 18th century lubok, "The Barber Cuts Off the Beard of an Old Believer" (fig. 229) to his scene from soldier's life, Officer at the Hairdresser's, 1909 (fig. 230). As John Bowlt has demonstrated, Larionov retained many salient features of the lubok in his painting: the emphatic scissors, the precarious, tilting table, the planar arrangement of the forms, even the arabesque plant in the lubok and the blocks of text in its upper section bears a resemblance to the ornate table leg and the dark drapery in Larionov's painting.

When Larionov and Goncharova first showed paintings inspired by lubki at the third Golden Fleece exhibition in December 1909, they announced to the world of fine arts their appreciation of the fresh

vulgarity of their native folk heritage. They considered the icon, the lubok and Russian folk ornament closer to the East than to the jaded West, and in their manifestos of 1913 announced their renunciation of western influence. Natalia Goncharova asserted, "I shake the dust from my feet and leave the West, . . . my path is toward the East."³⁷ Like their compatriot David Burliuk, Larionov and Goncharova preferred any earlier tradition to the academic art of their own age. Like Kandinsky in Munich, with whom they were linked through the efforts of Burliuk, Larionov and Goncharova collected and studied the lubok and used its images and devices in their paintings of that time. In 1912 Kandinsky included examples of many different folk arts such as the lubok, in both the Blaue Reiter Almanach and the second Blaue Reiter exhibition. Early in 1913 Larionov mounted an exhibition in Moscow which included icons, lubki, images d'Épinal, Persian, Chinese, Tatar and Japanese prints and drawings, mainly from his own collection.³⁸ A general appreciation for Russian folk arts and crafts had been one of the legacies from the World of Art from the workshops of Abramtsevo and Talashkino, but the lubok first emerged as an artistic source, was copied and adapted, specifically in the revolutionary caricatures of 1905-06. As we have seen, the lubok-inspired graphics of this period distinguished themselves from other European graphics of the 1905 revolution by this very feature.

The peasantry, by definition the creators of Russian folk art, came to worldwide attention during the 1905 revolution because of the agrarian disturbances that erupted all over the Russian empire during that time. Throughout the revolutionary caricature journals one finds images that focus on the impoverished and restive peasant. Valentine

Marcadé has recently noted the predominance of the peasant theme in Malevich's oeuvre beginning about 1910,³⁹ but it is interesting to expand the context of this artistic phenomenon by mentioning the coincidental scrutiny of rural questions that accompanied Stolypin's reforms of 1906 and after. These measures were geared to stabilize the peasantry and had a striking effect before the onset of the First World War.⁴⁰

Artists of the avant-garde, Goncharova, Larionov and Malevich especially, focused on peasant themes after 1909. All three had strong personal associations with the countryside, and they coordinated their artistic style with the crude vigor and simple sturdiness of their subjects. Many artists were seeking fresh inspiration by going to the Russian and provincial countryside at this time. Blue Rose painters such as Pavel Kuznetsov and Martiros Sarian transformed their subject matter and artistic styles under the impact of trips to the countryside, Kuznetsov to the Kirghiz steppes and Sarian to his native Armenia. As Camilla Gray related, Goncharova and Larionov went frequently to their parents' homes in the provinces. In his autobiography, Malevich asserts that he, too, felt a strong attachment to the land and the people of the Ukraine and Kursk, where he often visited.⁴¹

The facture of the paintings of Larionov, Goncharova and Malevich from this time does indeed owe a debt to the colors and textures of French painting, while the compositions are inspired by Russian icons, medieval manuscript painting and lubki. The origins of Russian Neo-primitivism are, as Vladimir Markov states, complex, encompassing Scythian stone sculptures, children's drawings, Polynesian art, signboards and French modern painting, among other factors.⁴² However, to this

list it seems we might add the caricatures of the 1905 revolution.

While not considered a "fine art" in its own right, caricature and its powerful expressivity helped legitimize a new approach to painting. Revolutionary caricatures responded to the agrarian disturbances of 1905-1906 with images drawn in styles correspondingly crude. Some journals were marked in their entirety by a hasty, rough appearance. Both then and later the urgency of events was seen as legitimizing anger and provocation in the visual aspects of the satirical press.⁴³ Russian Neo-primitivism, with its rugged spontaneity of appearance, may have partly learned its stylistic grammar from caricatures that displayed a hurried, angry look.

The genre painter Mikhail Ivanov's village scene (fig. 231) is an example of this. It is a crudely rendered image of an impoverished rural community; the snow covered hovels seem ready to tumble down; the spots and smears on the print seem indicative of the abysmal living conditions in the Russian countryside. There are many other similar graphics one could cite. Aleksandr Liubimov's drawing for Signal (fig. 232) depicts Count Witte confronting an angry peasant armed with a club, unimpressed by the Prime Minister's plea to cooperate with the government. Liubimov may here be depicting a member of the new class of peasants who labor in urban industry part of the year, the growing proletariat.

A more traditional view of Russian peasantry is offered in Alexander Salzmann's "Sancta Simplicitas" (fig. 233), published in the Munich journal, Jugend. Here the type, as indicated by the title, conforms to a widespread view of the impoverished rural masses (a view held even by Nicholas II) as the bearers of a simple, orthodox holiness,

untouched by western notions such as a "constitution" which, they speculate in the caption, must be either a new saint or a new liquor.

Both the Liubimov and the Salzman caricatures depict bulky, solid figures in tattered and patched garments with coarse rumpled textures not unlike those in Natalia Goncharova's peasant pictures of 1910-1911. Malevich was influenced by her work at this time and he adopted similar themes.⁴⁴ Though a direct visual correspondence between political caricatures of 1905-06 and the peasant pictures of Goncharova and Malevich is unlikely, the stereotypical image of the stolid laboring Russian peasant remained a constant in Malevich's work until 1912.

There may be a demonstrable link, however, between caricatures of 1906-07 and Malevich's Morning in the Village after Snowstorm, 1912 (fig. 234) which focuses on the life of peasants. Stylistic comparisons have previously linked this painting with: (1) Russian icons, (2) Cubist work of the Italian painter Gino Severini, and (3) Fernand Leger's Nudes in a Landscape.⁴⁵ While all these comparisons are enlightening, Malevich's painting is also close to evocative images from Russia's satirical press, specifically similar to the compositions of the snowy village scene by Mikhail Ivanov (fig. 231), and one by the veteran cartoonist, Aleksandr Labudz, "At the Crossroads" (fig. 235) that appeared on the cover of the long-lived periodical, Strekoza. Comparable features are many: all three have similar compositions, the high viewpoint over a curving village road flanked by snow-covered huts, the high horizon line and the figures of the peasant women seen from behind in the middle of the composition. Labudz's allegorical Death figure and the year 1907 in the sky are omitted from Malevich's painting, but the solidity and simplicity of Labudz's forms, especially the snow-topped huts,

are closer to the rough-hewn forms in Ivanov's scene to Morning in the Village After Snowstorm, which has been further transformed by the impact of French Cubism.

After 1910 Malevich exhibited with an artistic vanguard whose hallmarks were their provocative behavior, boisterous manifestos, and spontaneous and unfinished looking booklets. This new avant-garde is linked to the guiding spirit of the 1905 journal, Pulemet, Nikolai Shebuev, through two little-known personal links with figures associated with the "Union of Youth," Velimir Khlebnikov and Ekaterina Nizen. Because he was respected by many young writers, Shebuev may be seen as a factor in the development of the attitude of aggressive vanguardism that marked the activities of the "Union of Youth." Shebuev's attitude in publishing Pulemet had been "to spit in the government's face all that seethed within."⁴⁶ Despite a prison sentence in 1906, Shebuev continued to have his poems printed, as for instance in the journal Schaste, where his pieces appeared alongside stories of Ekaterina Genrikhovna Nizen, sister of the poet Elena Guro. Nizen, too, had earlier been involved in social-democratic activities for which she had spent some time exiled to Viatka. She became a participant in the activities of the St. Petersburg Union of Youth in the 1910's, translating Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme and contributing to the miscellany of work by new talents, Sadok sudei (A Trap for Judges). Her work appeared there with that of the Burliuk brothers, Elena Guro, Velimir Khlebnikov and Vasilii Kamensky. The literary historian Vladimir Markov called this publication "the real appearance of Russian Futurists as a group,"⁴⁷ although the term "Futurist" was actually adopted only in 1913.

Shebuev also was instrumental in bringing to prominence two young

writers, Vasilii Kamensky and Velimir Khlebnikov (the subject of intense scholarly research at present⁴⁸), who would figure importantly as Russian Futurists. As we have seen, Shebuev managed for a while to remain active in literary circles despite his term in prison. He was released from jail some months earlier than his sentence warranted, due to the persistent efforts of his wife. He had been the first revolutionary editor jailed and was the first out.⁴⁹

In 1908 Shebuev published the literary almanac, Vesna (Spring), for which he hired as editor the young Vasilii Kamensky, who had been involved in political demonstrations in his native Perm during 1905. Fellow journalists noted Shebuev's title for the journal, ironic in the repressive atmosphere of 1908, and Nikolai Remizov parodied it in a witty drawing, "Nikolai Georgievich Shebuev, Making the 'Spring' Amidst Winter" (fig. 236). This gentle caricature hints at the attention the St. Petersburg literary world accorded Shebuev, who was evidently respected for his spirited journalism during the revolution. Vesna was closed after only three months on charges of printing "pornography."⁵⁰ However, by hiring Kamensky for this venture, Shebuev forged one more link in the chain of modernists that would stretch from the caricature journals of 1905-06 to the foundation of the Union of Youth.

Kamensky later recalled reading Pulemet during his imprisonment in Perm. When he met Shebuev later in St. Petersburg, the trembling young author was struck by his openness and extreme friendliness, by his absolute faith in the talent of the younger generation, and by his generous honoraria for articles and illustrations. Kamensky was at work on Vesna when the shy poet, Velimir Khlebnikov, brought his work for

consideration. Upon first reading Khlebnikov's poem, "Iskushenie greshnika" (Sinner's Temptation), Shebuev immediately pronounced it "excellent. Unusual. We'll print it," and offered an advance to the penurious Khlebnikov of twenty rubles.⁵¹ Shebuev and Kamensky thus discovered and first published the work of the poet whose linguistic innovations (later known as zaum, "transrational" language) were among Russian Futurism's chief contributions to literature.

The personal associations fostered in Vesna helped to knit a band of young St. Petersburg poets and painters, the Union of Youth. This occurred because, in addition to editing Vesna, Kamensky began at that time to paint and submitted work for the exhibition organized in part by a friend of the future Union of Youth, Dr. Nikolai Kulbin. At the vernissage for this 1908 "Exhibition of Contemporary Trends in Art" in St. Petersburg, Kamensky recalled seeing many young modern artists, including Larionov, Olga Rozanova, Goncharova, Malevich, Bystrenin, Shkolnik, Filonov and Tatlin. Work by the Burliuk brothers hung there with that of Alexandra Exter (Ekster) and Dr. Kulbin himself. Kornei Chukovsky, who had served time in prison for the contents of his 1905 journal, Signal, was also in the crowd at the opening. For Kamensky speaking with these young artists, it became clear that they would have to address the broad public, "the crowd," directly, so their movement would take on "a social character,"⁵² an attitude that also relates to the revolutionary movement of 1905.

Others in this "Exhibition of Contemporary Trends" had ties with 1905 caricatures. Both Elena Guro and her husband Mikhail Matiushin had been students of the painters and former caricaturists Lev Bakst and Mstislav Dobuzhinsky at Zvantseva's art school. Both became acquainted

with Kamensky and the Burliuks through the exhibition. Somewhat later they also met other future associates of the St. Petersburg avant-garde, Khlebnikov and Malevich.⁵³ The nucleus of the Union of Youth was gathering from the fallout of 1905-06 and the caricature journals.

This group officially formed as an exhibition society in the winter of 1909-10 on the initiatives of Mikhail Matiushin, violinist, painter and composer, and his wife Elena Guro, also a painter and poet, with the financial backing of a wealthy businessman, Levkii Zheverzheev. Other founding members of the Union of Youth had been engaged in the work of these journals: Valentin Bystrenin (fig. 174) and Iosif Shkolnik, the Union's secretary whose lubok-inspired work for Kosa has been discussed (fig. 199). Levkii Zheverzheev, the prosperous businessman known for his collection of theater materials and for financing the exhibitions and publications of the Union of Youth,⁵⁴ was one of the most avid collectors of the 1905-06 caricature journals in St. Petersburg. A photo of his study in ca. 1915 (fig. 237) shows some of the many sketches for sets and costumes he possessed. It also gives the merest hint of the more than 20,00 volumes in his library concerned with Russian art, literature and theater history, and a section of Masonic literature. The published description of his library includes an extensive listing of almost five hundred journals of humor and caricature from 1905-08. One contemporary bibliographer, reviewing this book, took particular note of its large number of caricature journals and added, "of all existing descriptions, Zheverzheev's Inventory is not only the most exact and detailed, but also the fullest listing of them."⁵⁵

Most of Russia's major young artists -- Exter, Larionov, Goncharova, Malevich, Rozanova, Tatlin and Filonov -- whether actual members or not, participated in the Union of Youth's group shows and often riotous public discussions. One of the most dynamic figures of this milieu was David Burliuk. Though himself only a minor poet and painter, Burliuk brought many diverse talents into collaboration through the force of his personality, his eclectic and unconventional interests and his connections abroad, in particular with Vasilii Kandinsky and the Blaue Reiter group in Munich. The literary miscellany Sadok sudei (A Trap for Judges, 1910), which will be mentioned again later, is important as an example of the early collaboration between Burliuk, his artistic brothers and Guro and Matiushin. Burliuk's energetic emphasis on the roots of Russian culture and his knowledge of advanced European art helped transform Neoprimitivism into Russian Futurism, a term adopted by many Russian artists in 1913.⁵⁶

The Union of Youth's intellectual scope was, like Burliuk's, international. Its members were very much aware of contemporary European trends such as Cubism and Italian Futurism, and their journal Soiuz molodezhi (Union of Youth, 1912-13), published such diverse items as Chinese poetry in translation, an article by the French painter Henri Le Fauconnier, that had appeared in the second exhibition catalogue of the Neue Künstlervereinigung in Munich, translations of manifestos by Italian Futurists, and theoretical essays by Union members Olga Rozanova and Vladimir Markov (Waldemars Matvejs). They are remembered as well for their December 1913 production of the Russian Futurist opera, Pobeda nad soltsem (Victory over the Sun), written by the poet Aleksei Kruchenykh with a prologue by Khlebnikov to music by Matiushin,

with decor and costumes by Malevich,⁵⁷ a true integration of the arts along the lines of Wagner's Gesamkunstwerk and the Symbolist tradition of correspondence of one art medium with another.

The milieu of the Union of Youth was resonant with the experience of the revolutionary caricatures: from its founders, Guro and Matiushin, who studied with painters who had also published caricatures, to Bystrenin and Shkolnik, who had contributed to the journals; from writers Nizen and Kamensky, who had suffered for revolutionary activities, to the Union's financier, with his collection of the journals. The 1910 publication of the miscellany, Sadok sudei, brought together some of the boisterous young writers. The following year, the Burliuks and Khlebnikov, along with their friends Vladimir Mayakovsky and Benedikt Livshits, issued their own Slap in the Face of Public Taste, an aggressive manifesto of the young poets which recalls the spirit of anger and provocation that motivated Nikolai Shebuev "to spit in the government's face" with Pulemet. The older publicist passed his spiritual torch to the Union of Youth, and to their vanguard acquaintances in other groups.

In the work of these young innovators, political revolution yielded to artistic revolution⁵⁹ and radical change ruled in their artistic production. Stylistically also, Pulemet seems to have been important for their work. Its startling, novel collaborations of image and text, coordinated by Shebuev, may have affected the book designs of the Union of Youth. In Shebuev's case, as in that of the Union of Youth publications, innovative partnerships were worked out in a spirit of urgent and exciting necessity. In the resulting Futurist publications, as in Zritel's or Pulemet's orchestrated issues, the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

In Shebuev's Pulemet the entire mise-en-page becomes expressive. This journal was perhaps the most vividly eloquent of all revolutionary journals in its page designs. The best of these (fig. 238) contains three separate graphics arranged about the text of an essay entitled, as a parody of Count Witte's plea, "Citizens, Help the Government!!" In the upper right a rectangle filled with tiny skulls bears the inscription "January 9th" in letters made of contorted human figures. In the lower right, an etching by Vasilii Svarog, "Four Freedoms for Three Kopecks," depicts a newsboy hawking his papers. In the upper left the spread wings of the imperial eagle bear the head of Count Witte. Beneath this hybrid, splashes of red ink suggest dripping blood, and add meaning to the rectangle and date above, the date of Bloody Sunday. These red touches highlight the essays underlying insinuations of the murderous nature of the Tsarist government the citizenry is asked to support.

This page clearly communicates a political message with the force of an agitational poster. It also provides a telling comparison with a page from a December 1913 Futurist booklet, Aleksei Kruchenykh's second edition of Vzorval (Explodity), embellished in watercolor by Olga Rozanova (fig. 239). Kruchenykh rubber-stamped the text by hand, some of the letters printed heavily, some so lightly as to be illegible. The rough handwritten quality of the book's other lithographed pages was a factor particularly prized by Futurist book makers as a manifestation of "the freedom of personal choice." Kruchenykh used this phrase in the declaration of purpose signed by himself, Nizen, Guro, the Burliuks, among others in the second Sadok sudei, 1913.⁶⁰ The text of the

page of Vzorval bearing Rozanova's watercolor embellishments reads in part: "Forgot to hang myself/I'm flying off to America." The artist's boldly non-literal strokes of blue watercolor convey associations with both sky and sea mentioned in the text. They expressively evoke rhythmic movement, and the drip of thick blue pigment at the left is particularly successful for its connotations of water as well. Like Shebuev's dripped red ink in Pulemet, Rozanova's blue strokes are at an absolute minimum; form and color, not an image, signal the work's meaning.

Publications by the artists in and around the Union of Youth freely experimented with typography, orthography and materials, mixing text and decoration, painting casually over mimeographed and lithographed texts (fig. 240). They are widely recognized today for their radical renovation of the art of the book, a revolution which affected typography and graphic design worldwide.⁶¹ Kamensky's own poetry of these years (fig. 241) also reflect a merger of the pictorial and textual elements suggested not only by contemporary French poetry like Apollinaire's pictorial calligrams,⁶² but also by Shebuev's expressive mise-en-pages in Pulemet and by the lubok. Kamensky in fact subtitles the example reproduced here, lubok.

At the turn of the century, the English political cartoonist and book designer Walter Crane had written:

It would be a delightful thing if every book were different -- a millennium for collectors! Perhaps, too, it might be a wholesome regulation at this stage if authors were to qualify as scribes (in the old sense) and write out their own works in beautiful letters! How it would purify literary styles!⁶³

The border between the beauty envisioned in Crane's prescription and the disconcerting results of Russian Futurist innovation in book design was

defined by the 1905 revolution which blasted the authority of traditional canons of taste. Russian revolutionary caricature journals were in the background of these avant-garde innovations, a vital, widespread part of that background. The links extended back to Mikhail Vrubel, the central artist of Russian Symbolism, and forward to Shebuev. Both figures were inspirational to the younger generation that formulated Russian Neoprimitivism and Futurism.

Russian writers found inspiration in caricatures from the revolutionary period, and young Russian painters also found striking compositions there. The purely political aggression in Shebuev's spirit was channelled into the young artists' continuing struggle with the older generation's failure to be open to artistic innovation. Political repression under Stolypin forced these energies into the cultural domain. With spoons in their lapels and painted faces, these "Youth" became themselves caricatures of the Symbolist esthetes of the previous generation.⁶⁴

Notes to Chapter 5

¹G. Iu. Sternin seems to be the only one to have suggested that caricature affected the course of painting in Russia; unfortunately, he leaves the thought undeveloped in his Ocherki russkoi satiricheskoi grafiki (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1964), and his "Khudozhniki i revoliutsiia 1905 goda," Tvorchestvo, no 12 (1975), pp. [9-11].

²K.V., "Sovremennoe iskusstvo," Narodnoe blago, no. 2 (8 April 1907), p. 11.

³Compare this with similar creative unrest in European and American painting at the turn of the century; Max Kozloff, "The Anatomy of Disruption: European and American painting 1880-1906," Artforum 19 (December 1980): 62-69.

⁴Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 20.

⁵Robert Goldwater, Symbolism (New York: Harper and Row, Icon Editions, 1979), pp. 5-6, 43.

⁶Viktor Gofman, "O tainakh formy," Iskusstvo, no. 4 (1905), p. 36.

⁷James West, Russian Symbolism (London: Methuen, 1970), p. 113; for a discussion of Vasilii Kandinsky's use of hidden images, see Rose-Carol Washton Long, Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

⁸Aline Isdebsky-Pritchard, The Art of Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 76.

⁹Richard Muther, Geschichte der Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert, 3 vols. (Munich, 1893-94); translated as The History of Modern Painting, rev. ed., 4 vols. (London: J.M. Dent, and New York: E.P. Dutton, 1907); volume two contains the chapter on caricature, pp. 14-52; Von Hofmannsthal's articles mentioning caricature, of 1893-94, are reprinted in his Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben: Prosa I (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1950), pp. 162-69, 196-201.

¹⁰Goldwater, Symbolism, p. 5.

¹¹Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolism en peinture: Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France 2 (1891): 159-64; trans. H.R. Rookmaaker and H.B. Chipp, in Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 91-92.

¹²Maurice Denis, "De Gauguin et de Van Gogh au classicisme," L'Occident; translated into Russian in Zolotoe runo, no. 5 (1909), pp. 63-69; and no. 6 (1909), pp. 64-68; these phrases are cited from Denis, Du Symbolisme au classicisme: Théories (Paris: Hermann, 1964), pp. 113, 119.

¹³Belyi's essay appeared in Vesy, no. 8 (August 1905), pp. 5-16; Merezhkovskii's in Vesy, no. 2 (February 1906), pp. 27-45, and no. 3-4 (March-April 1906), pp. 19-47.

¹⁴Henryk Baran credits John Malmstad for drawing his attention to this image, in "Some Reminiscences in Blok: Vampirism and its Antecedents," paper read at Aleksandr Blok Conference, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, August 1980, typescript, pp. 10, 26, n. 22.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 10-11.

¹⁶Andrei Belyi (Boris Bugaev), Petersburg, trans. Robert A. Maguire and John E. Malmstad (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 5.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 31-32.

¹⁸Actually, this figure is more complex than a swan, for it terminates with the body of a long fish.

¹⁹This image is known in several variants; the original of 1900 was adapted for use by the Bolshevik press in 1905-07; additional phrases and verses were added at the bottom and the flag of the Russian Social-Democratic Party was crudely drawn in at the left; this altered image is reproduced in Vladimir V. Shleev, ed., Revoliutsiia 1905-07 godov i izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 3 vols. (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1977), 1: 30.

Similar in form, but very different in meaning is the social-artistic triangle described by Vasilii Kandinsky in his art theoretical essay of 1911, "O dukhovnom v iskusstve," Trudy Vserossiiskago s"ezda khudozhnikov, 2 vols. (Petrograd: Golike i Vil'borg, [1914]) 1: 49-50; in this image, the advanced artist stands at the pinnacle of the triangle, striving to raise the entire society to higher levels of understanding and enlightenment.

²⁰Henryk Baran, "1905 in a Symbolist Novel: Sologub's Created Legend," paper read at The W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University, November 19, 1980.

²¹Fedor Sologub (Teternikov), Tvorimaia legenda; in his Sobranie sochinenii, 20 vols. (St. Petersburg: Sirin, 1910-14) 18: 48.

²²Vasilii A. Rozanov, Kogda Nachal'stvo ushlo . . . 1905-1906 g.g. (St. Petersburg: A.S. Suvorin, 1910), pp. 421-27.

²³Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, "Theatre as Church: The Vision of the Mystical Anarchists," Russian History/Histoire russe 4 (1977): 122-41; Nikolai Volkhov, Meierkhol'd, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad: Academia, 1929) 1: 220.

²⁴The reaction of the Zhupel group to Ivanov's and Chulkov's ideas is conveyed in a letter by Evgenii Lansere to his uncle, Alexandre Benois, after a special session devoted to theater at Ivanov's "Tower" on January 3, 1906; in this letter Lansere described how he and Maxim Gorky listened patiently to Ivanov's desire to resurrect in his theater:

a cult, almost some sort of liturgy to Dionysius with the requisite chorus, with the participation (in the ideal) of song and dance, and the public. It is amusing, but too improbable, theoretical, archeological. And we thought that after Ivanov's infinitely long and learned speech with proofs of the historicalness of his theory, with Greek, German and French citations, with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, with Wagner, Nietzsche and so forth and so on, that after all that, Gorky simply left.

. . . Independently, Gorky is carried away, together with his wife Andreeva (an actress from Stanislavsky's [theater]), by Grzhebin's idea for a Zhupel theater -- of political satire, small plays and so on . . . Seriozha [Diaghilev] and Valechka [Nuvel] are terribly interested in this undertaking. . . .

Gorky would like to write something completely different for it -- fantastical, with giants.

Both Ivanov and Zhupel wanted the director Vsevolod Meyerhold and his troupe for their projects, however, so they proposed to unite their two opposing ideas for theater, despite their differences; Lansere's letter of 5 January 1906 is preserved in the Russian Museum in Leningrad, and has been published in Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve, eds. A.A. Fedorov-Davydov and G.A. Nedoshivin, 7 vols. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1967-70) 7: 408-09.

²⁵B.V. Kazanskii, Metod teatra: Analiz sistemy N.N. Evreinova (Leningrad: Academia, 1925), pp. 131, 139; Marc Slonim, Russian Theater (Cleveland: World, 1961), pp. 216, 214.

²⁶N.N. Evreinov, Teatr kak takovoi (St. Petersburg: Sovremennoe Iskusstvo, N.I. Butkovskoi, 1912), pp. 29-39.

²⁷Slonim, Russian Theater, pp. 215-16.

²⁸Aleksandr Blok, "Ironiia" (November 1908); reprinted in Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v vos'mi tomakh, ed. V.N. Orlov et al. (Moscow-Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1960-63) 5: 347; cited in Henryk Baran, "Some Reminiscences," pp. 11-12.

Soviet scholar, Lidiia A. Evstigneeva, in Zhurnal 'Satirikon' i poety-satirikontsy (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), p. 14, states that for Leonid Andreev, the word smeshnoe (funny) became synonymous with strashnoe (scary); he called all bloody nightmares, madness and terror by one name, smekh (laughter); krasnyi smekh (red laughter) for him was a sign of flowing rivers of blood; there was a journal by that name during the revolution.

This morbid emphasis on destructive laughter leads one to speculate on a possible connection with Velimir Khlebnikov's poem, "Zakliatie smekhom" (Incantation by Laughter, published in N. Kul'bin's Studiia impressionistov (St. Petersburg: N.I. Butkovskoi, 1910), p. 47.

²⁹Fedor Dostoevsky, Crime and Punishment, part four, chapter one.

³⁰Mstislav V. Dobuzhinskii, letter to Igor' E. Grabar', 27 January 1906, preserved in the manuscript section of the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; quoted in N.L. Priimak, "Novye dannye o satiricheskikh zhurnalakh 1905 goda 'Zhupel' i 'Adskaia pochta'," in Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia Galereia, Ocherki po russkomu i sovetskomu iskusstvu, ed. B. Iashchina (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1965), p. 117.

³¹Margaret Bridget Betz, "Malevich's Nymphs: Erotica or Emblem," Soviet Union/Union soviétique 5 (1978): 204-24.

³²M. Larionov, "Malévitch: Souvenirs de Michel Larionov," Aujourd'hui Art et Architecture, no. 15 (December 1957), p. 6.

³³Sergei Makovskii, "Golubaia roza," Zolotoe runo, no. 5 (May 1907), p. 27; see also John E. Bowlt, "Russian Symbolism and the 'Blue Rose' Movement," Slavonic and East European Review, no. 123 (April 1973), pp. 161-81.

³⁴Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, Russian Realist Art, the State and Society: The Peredvizhniki and Their Tradition (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1977), p. 122.

³⁵Camilla Gray, The Russian Experiment in Art: 1863-1922 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971; reprint of 1962 original), chapters 4 and 5; Vl[adimir] Denisov, Voina i lubok (Petrograd: Izd. Novago zhurnala dlia vsekh, 1916), pp. 23-24.

³⁶Peter Vergo, "A Note on the Chronology of Larionov's Early Work," Burlington Magazine, no. 832 (July 1972), pp. 476-79; "Correspondence," by John E. Bowlt, Leonard Hutton, Ingrid Hutton, Sarah Bodine and Peter Vergo, Burlington Magazine, no. 837 (December 1972), p. 874.

John E. Bowlt, "Neo-Primitivism and Russian Painting," Burlington Magazine, no. 853 (March 1974), pp. 133-40, examines the phenomenon as a whole, and compares the lubok and Larionov painting cited in this chapter.

³⁷Nataliia Goncharova, preface, Vystavka kartin Natalii Sergeevny Goncharovoi 1900-1913 (Moscow: n.p., 1913), p. 1.

³⁸David D. Burliuk, "Die 'Wilden' Russlands," Der blaue Reiter, eds. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc (Munich: R. Piper, 1912), pp. 13-19; a photograph of Kandinsky with a lubok on the wall of his study is reproduced in Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Kandinsky's Abstract Style: The Veiling of Apocalyptic Folk Imagery," Art Journal, no. 3 (Spring 1975), p. 219; Tatiana Logaine, Gontcharova et Larionov (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), pp. 33-37, prints a French translation of the catalogue of this exhibition of icons and folk prints.

Vladimir Markov, Russian Futurism: A History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 35, asserts that Russian lubki were included in the third Golden Fleece exhibition, but the exhibition catalogue does not support this; see the catalogue reprinted in Valentin Marcadé, Le Renouveau de l'art pictoral russe (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1971), pp. 295-96.

³⁹Valentin Marcadé, "The Peasant Theme in the Work of Kazimir Severinovich Malevich," Kazimir Malewitsch zum 100. Geburtstag (Cologne: Galerie Gmurzynska, 1978), pp. 94-119.

⁴⁰Geroid T. Robinson, Rural Russia Under the Old Regime (New York: Macmillan, 1955), chapter 9; W. Sherwin Simmons, Kazimir Malevich's Black Square and the Genesis of Suprematism 1907-1915 (New York: Garland, 1981), pp. 29-39, articulates this same concern in the literary essays of Aleksandr Bolk, which were printed in Zolotoe runo in 1907.

⁴¹Alla A. Rusakova, Pavel Kuznetsov (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1977), pp. 84-90; Gray, Russian Experiment, pp. 91-92; Kazimir Malevich, "Detstvo i imost' Kazimira Malevicha (Glavy iz avtobiografii khudozhnika)," K istorii russkogo avangarda/The Russian Avant-Garde (Stockholm: Hylaea Prints, 1976), pp. 85-127.

⁴²Markov, Russian Futurism, p. 35.

- ⁴³Vladimir Kranikhfel'd, "Zhurnal'nye otgoloski: 0 russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistike," Mir Bozhii, no 12 (December 1905), section 2, p. 118; Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 47.
- ⁴⁴Gray, Russian Experiment, p. 146.
- ⁴⁵John E. Bowlt, "Neo-Primitivism," p. 139; Charlotte Douglas, "The New Russian Art and Italian Futurism," Art Journal, no. 3 (Spring 1975), p. 234; Angelica Z. Rudenstine, The Guggenheim Museum Collection: Paintings 1880-1945, 2 vols. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1976) 2: 482.
- ⁴⁶Nikolai Shebuev, "Istoriia moego 'Pulemeta'," Zhurnalist, no. 12 (1925), p. 21.
- ⁴⁷Markov, Russian Futurism, pp. 8, 25, 53, 55, 118; it is not clear when Nizen was exiled, though it may have been ca. 1898 or 1901.
- ⁴⁸Charlotte Douglas and Paul Schmidt are preparing several volumes of translations and essays by and about the work of Khlebnikov, under the sponsorship of the DIA Art Foundation, New York.
- ⁴⁹Botsianovskii and Gollerbakh, p. 120; this study conveys a sense of Shebuev's prominence among jailed editors.
- ⁵⁰Vasilii V. Kamenskii, Ego-Moia: Biografiia velikogo futurista (Moscow: Kitovras, 1918), p. 95.
- ⁵¹Kamenskii, Put' entuziasta (Moscow: Federatsiia, 1931), pp. 74, 85-88, 91-96.
- ⁵²Kamenskii, Ego-moia, pp. 94-96.
- ⁵³Ibid., pp. 103-07; Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut russkoi literatury (Pushkinskii Dom), Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo Doma na 1974 god (Leningrad: Nauka, 1976), pp. 5, 165.
- ⁵⁴John E. Bowlt, "The 'Union of Youth'," in Russian Modernism: Culture and the Avant-Garde, 1900-1930, eds. George Gibian and H.W. Tjalsma (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), pp. 166-67.
- ⁵⁵U.G. Ivask, "Retsenzii," Bibliograficheskie izvestiia, no. 1-2 (1916), p. 56; Levkii I. Zheverzhev, Opis' moego sobraniia (Petrograd: Schmidt, 1915), vol. 1 (more volumes may have been planned).
- ⁵⁶Charlotte Douglas, Swans of Other Worlds: Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), p. 25, states that Larionov's group called themselves Futurist by 1913; *ibid.*, p. 91, n. 32, states that artists around Burliuk and the Union of Youth called themselves Cubo-Futurists by 1913.

⁵⁷Bowlit, "The 'Union of Youth'," pp. 165-87.

⁵⁸Susan P. Compton, The World Backwards: Russian Futurist Books 1912-16 (London: The British Library, 1978), p. 30; Markov, Russian Futurism, pp. 8-10, 22-28, 45-49.

⁵⁹John E. Bowlit cautions against exaggerating the revolutionary sympathies of the avant-garde in "Art in Exile: The Russian Avant-Garde and the Emigration," Art Journal, no. 3 (Fall 1981), p. 216.

⁶⁰Markov, Russian Futurism, pp. 52-53.

⁶¹Gail Harrison Roman, "The Ins and Outs of Russian Avant-Garde Books: A History, 1910-1932," The Avant-Garde in Russia, 1910-1930: New Perspectives, orgs. and eds. Stephanie Barron and Maurice Tuchman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 102-09; Compton, The World Backwards.

⁶²See Marcel Adéma and Michel Décaudin, Oeuvres poétiques (Paris: Gallimard, Editions de la Pléiade, 1956), and Francis Steegmuller, Apollinaire: Poet Among Painters (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1963).

⁶³Walter Crane, Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New (London: George Bell and Sons, 1905), pp. 294-99.

⁶⁴Gray, The Russian Experiment, p. 115.

CONCLUSION

The caricatures of the 1905 revolution are more than historical documentation of the progress of political opinions and ideologies. As a coherent body of graphic images, the best of these caricatures form an intrinsic part of the sweeping change in Russian art from the refined linear style of the World of Art to the raw spontaneity of Neoprimitivism and Futurism.

The close ties between revolutionary caricatures and the Symbolist aesthetic system, especially the need under censorship for compressed structures and a secret abstract language in political graphics, have revealed themselves in this study to be central to the understanding of many of the best images in the satirical press. As the main subject for hidden representation in caricature, Tsar Nicholas II is found in many works only by those with a knowledge of popular anecdotes, ditties and nicknames for the Tsar, by those familiar with his grooming and mode of dress, his contemporary domestic life and his relationship with his father, the late Tsar Alexander III.

The esoteric and apolitical nature of Symbolist fine arts was tempered in many caricatures by a conscious choice of traditional Russian forms and iconography, so that the message might draw on the rich vein of native political satire in the cheap popular lubki. The crude forms and raw color of these lubok-inspired caricatures accurately reflected the emotional intensity that gave rise to them. Such caricatures represent the first significant penetration of folk art into the broader fabric of artistic life in the early 20th century -- a

penetration far deeper than the decorative imitations on display at the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition. In their direct response to the political tensions of 1905, such caricatures represent a step toward a truly Russian national style of art.

Graphic devices found in contemporary European caricature journals such as Simplicissimus and L'Assiette au beurre were adapted by artists involved in revolutionary caricatures in Russia. In 1905 advanced Russian artists, those in the World of Art especially, were not so much borrowing from their European colleagues as demonstrating their assimilation of a common international art style. However, in significant instances Russian artists inclined toward native motifs; they took stylistic impulse from folk art and iconographic features from their Orthodox Christian heritage. Such traits distinguish these Russian caricatures significantly from their European counterparts.

Personal links from one artistic generation to the next extended through the journals of revolutionary caricature and fostered in the avant-garde a sense of connectedness with Russia's best traditions as well as a boisterous élan and hostility to authority, academic authority in particular. The personal friendships between Russia's leading Symbolist painter, Vrubel, and the editor of Zritel, and between Pulemet's editor Shebuev and writers such as Kamensky and Khlebnikov, who would soon associate with the Russian Futurist movement, indicate the essential continuity, through the hope and tragedy of the 1905 revolution, of the Russian vanguard's social and aesthetic concerns. The "renewed vitality in all the arts," noted by historians of this era, was compounded of many traits that this younger generation could find in the immensely popular revolutionary caricatures and

cartoons, for instance, in their concern for expressivity and folk arts and crafts. Even the modernists' peasant subject matter could be found in many passionate drawings in the caricature press which marked greater attention to the Russian countryside during the revolutionary years.

All these factors promoted the growth of a distinctive national style in advanced Russian art. The caricaturist's rootedness in his society and in the events of the day was an ideal that the vanguard artists attempted to emulate in their riotous behavior and their eagerness to explain their art through aggressive manifestos. Like the caricaturist, young artists, especially around the Union of Youth, sought to bring their art directly to the public's attention and to appeal broadly by their unpretentious, rough-hewn style, deriving its forms from popular folk art and ordinary materials, which they hoped would be perceived as pertaining to the common people.

Never before the 1905 revolution had such a large number of people seen so many political graphics as these in the Russian caricature journals. Their high visibility was later matched by the press coverage and public attention paid to the antics and pugnacious lectures of the Union of Youth. Young artists dreamed, as Symbolist poet and essayist Viacheslav Ivanov had done, of union with the crowd. Like Ivanov, whose "Tower" apartment was the major salon of the era, many of them equated the Russian national spirit with the "folk." As Kamensky recalled, some of the younger artists who exhibited together in 1908 felt the need to create a "social" art, one relevant to the needs of their countrymen, an art based in the art forms of popular culture. These young artists on the one hand maintained an optimism in their power to change society through art. On the other, they used the subversive tools of the

caricaturist in accomplishing their goals, for the general mood after the failure of the revolution was shot through with irony and disaffection with officialdom, whether artistic or governmental.

In the artistic sphere the subversive tendencies of the caricature press were a positive and revolutionary contribution. Though before the turn of the century awareness and imitation of folk arts were gradually transforming the way younger artists painted, the 1905 revolution acted as a catalytic force. It made a social and artistic necessity of choosing a visual language that possessed both a connection to the folk spirit and a capacity to convey the burden of a message larger than the images alone.

Like Symbolism, caricatures employed a visual language that demanded from the spectator a willingness to engage in a mental dialogue in order to ferret out its message. The alert reader of the 1905-06 journals of caricature and satire was "initiated" by an awareness of contemporary events and political anecdotes. Hidden images and visual synecdoche -- parts of a figure or setting to indicate the whole -- trained artist and spectator alike in the step by step interpretation of ever more abstract and arcane symbolism. This "game," so urgently employed, so inventively and extensively developed during the political unrest of the time, was to have ramifications in future work by Russian artists. By drawing upon a common heritage and by a regular confrontation of a willing spectator and a "difficult" art, caricatures nurtured the development of Russian art away from naturalism to a more inclusive concept of artistic reality, one which made the spectator a necessary participant in the art work itself.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Viacheslav V. Zauerlender, "Kitaiskii neitralitet"
(Chinese Neutrality), Strekoza, no. 8 (20 February 1905), p. 3.

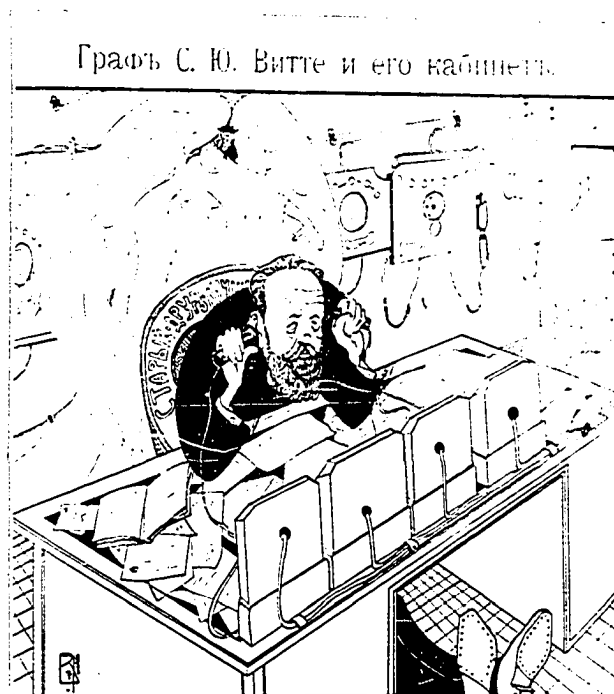


Fig. 2. Vadim N. Nevsky, "Graf S. Yu. Vitte i ego kabinet" (Count
S. Yu. Witte and His Cabinet), Strekoza, no. 45 (13 November 1905),
p. 1.

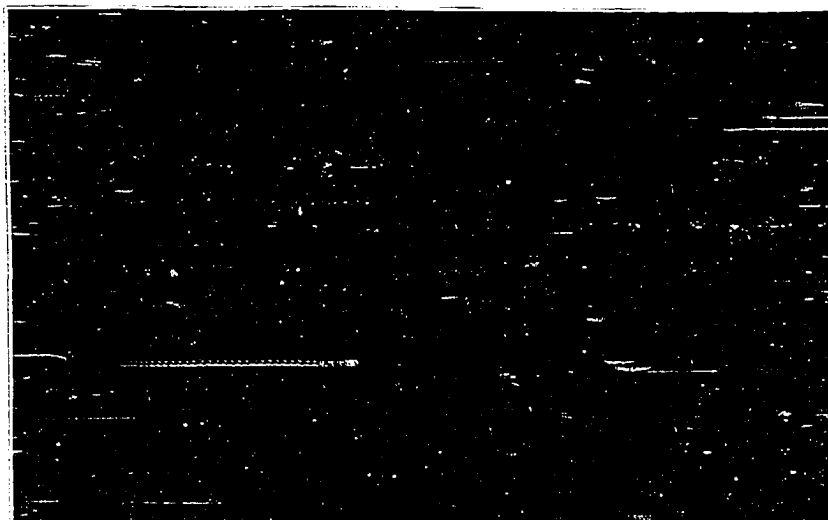


Fig. 3. Pavel E. Shcherbov, "Tak skazal Zaratustra" (Thus Spake Zarathustra), Shut, 1899; reproduced in Savinov, Pavel Egorevich Shcherbov, opp. p. 16.



Fig. 4. Shcherbov, "Zanimatelnoe chtenie" (Interesting Reading), Shut, no. 18a (1906), p. 5.



Fig. 5. Viktor D. Zamirailo, "Progulka" (A Stroll), Zritel, no. 4 (26 July 1905), cover.

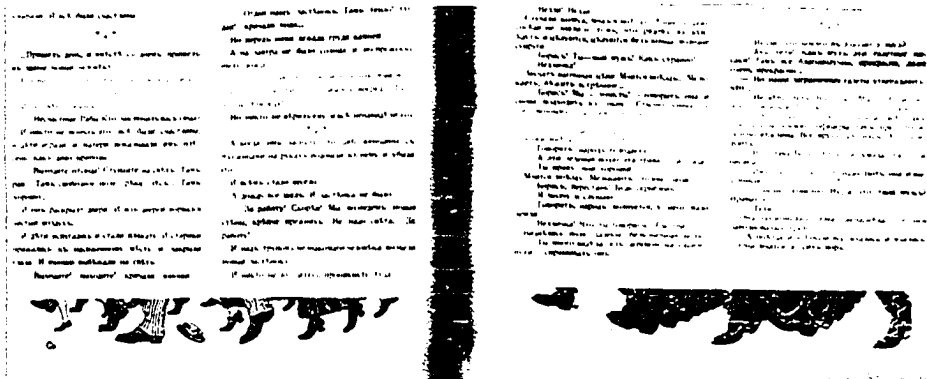


Fig. 6. Yurii K. Artsybushev (attrib.), Zritel, no. 1 (5 June 1905), pp. 10-11.



Fig. 8. Aleksandr A. Kudinov, Zritel, no. 3 (19 June 1905), cover.



Fig. 9. Kudinov, Zritel, no. 3 (19 June 1905), p. 9.



Fig. 10. Artsybushev (attrib.), Zritel, no. 17 (2 October 1905), p. 5.



Fig. 11. Dmitrii S. Stelletsy, "K byline 'Karavai Bogatyr'"
(For the Bylina 'The Warrior Karavai'), *Zritel*, no. 17
(2 October 1905), cover.



Fig. 14. Sergei V. Chekhonin, "V tsarstve ptits. Indiuk-Trepov i obshchestvennyi tsyplenok Pobedonosets. Na zemle valiaiutsia broshennyia kukly-paiatsy i siniia oblozhki. Iz-za zabora gliadiat vlasti" (In the Poultry Kingdom. The Turkey-Trepov and the Public Chicken Pobedonosets [sic]. On the Ground Discarded Toy Clowns and Blue Jackets Lie About. From Behind the Fence Peep the Powers), Zritel, no. 19 (3 November 1905), p. 5.



General Trepoff.

Fig. 15. Photographs: General Trepov; reproduced in Review of Reviews (London), no. 190 (October 1905), p. 382. . .



Fig. 16. Chekhonin (attrib.), "Chut-li ne darom" (Almost for Free), Verbnyi Bazar, no. 1 (1906), p. 2.



Fig. 17. Lubok: "Savoska i Paramoshka" (Savoska and Paramoshka), n.d., woodcut; in Rovinsky, Ruskiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 191.



Fig. 18. M. Stelletskaja, "Radost na nebe novago manifesta radi" (Rejoicing in Heaven Thanks to the New Manifesto), Adskaja pochta, no. 1 (1906), cover.



Fig. 19. Stelletskaja, "Nebesa na zemle" (Heaven on Earth), Adskaja pochta, no. 1 (1906), [pp. 4-5].



Fig. 20. Evgenii E. Lanceray, "Trizna" (Funeral Feast), Adskaiia pochta, no. 2 (1906), [p. 4].

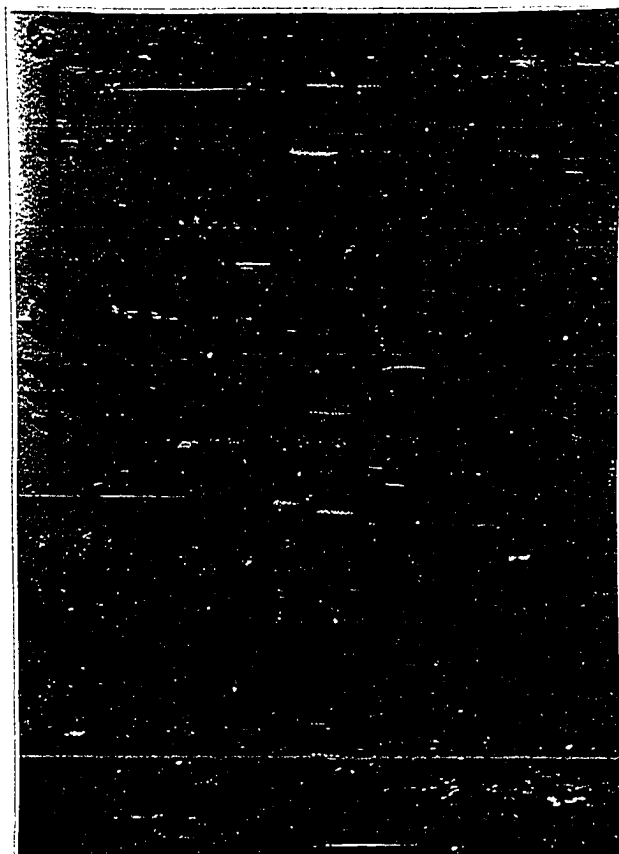


Fig. 21. Lanceray, title page for Khudozhestvennyia sokrovishcha Rossii, no. 1 (1904).

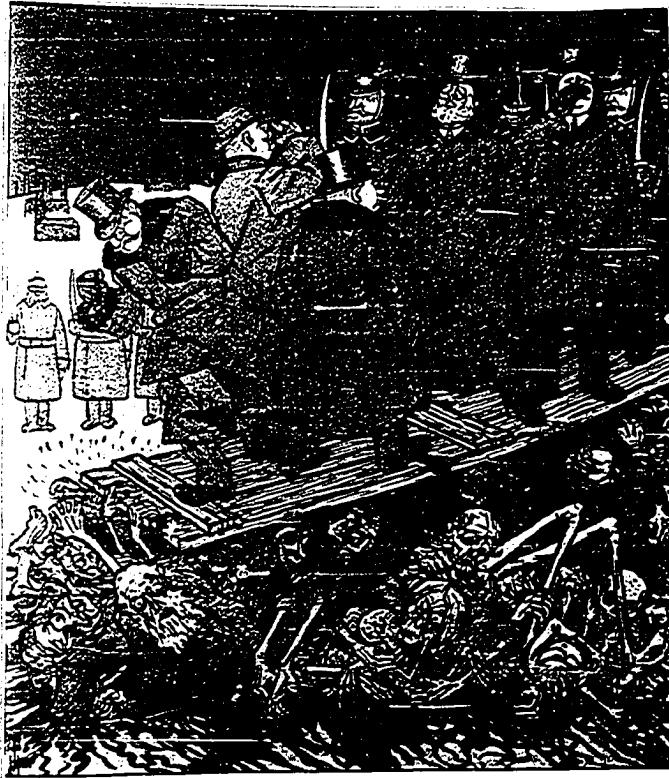


Fig. 22. Thomas Theodor Heine, "Durchs dunkelste Deutschland," Simplicissimus, no. 43 (ca. 12 January 1904), p. 337.

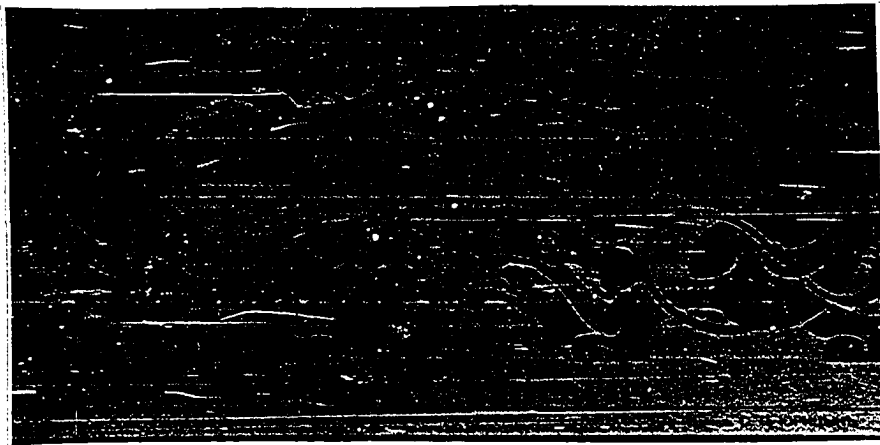


Fig. 23. Heine, headpiece for Beiblatt des Simplicissimus, last used September 1905; reprinted in Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 10.

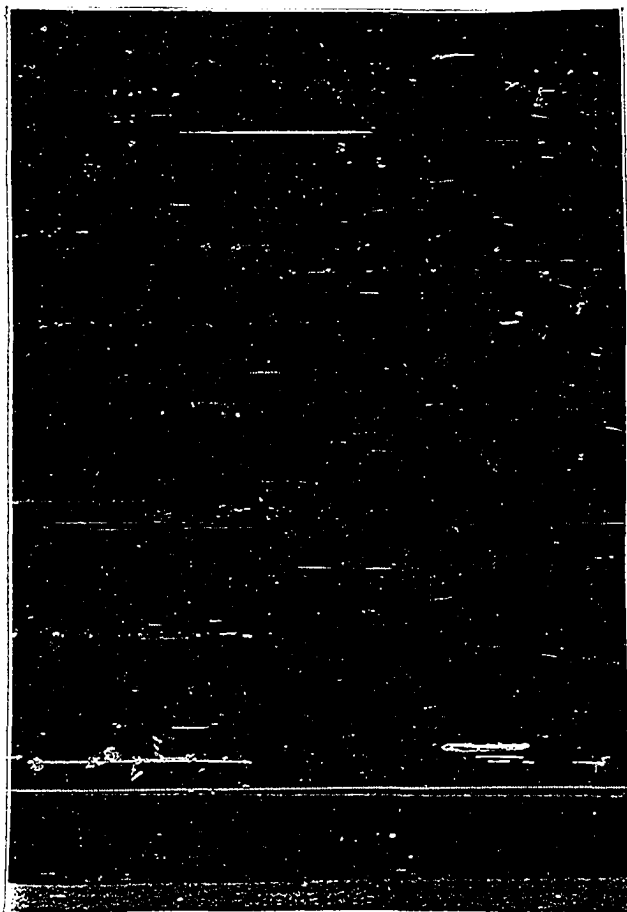


Fig. 24. Boris M. Kustodiev, "Kokovtsov," Adskaia pochta, "Olimp," special issue, no. 3 (1906), [p. 5].



Fig. 25. Thomaz Leal da Camara, "Les Souverains: Oscar II, roi de Suède et de Norvège," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 19 (8 August 1901), p. 365.

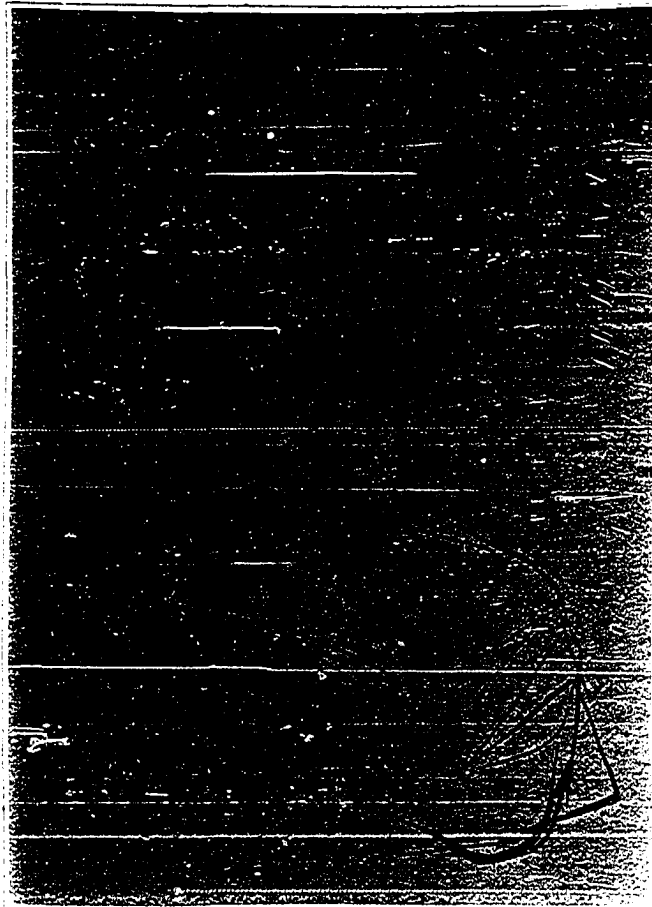


Fig. 26. Jean-Louis Forain, Zritel, no. 13 (4 September 1905), p. 5.



Fig. 27. Fidus (Hugo Hoppner), headpiece in Vozrozhdenie, no. 1 (22 April 1906), p. 3.



Fig. 28. Fidus, "Friede," Jugend, no. 36 (31 August 1905), p. 704.



Fig. 29. Ivan M. Grabovsky, "Doloi! ... " (Down With! ...), Pulemet, no. 1 (1905), cover.

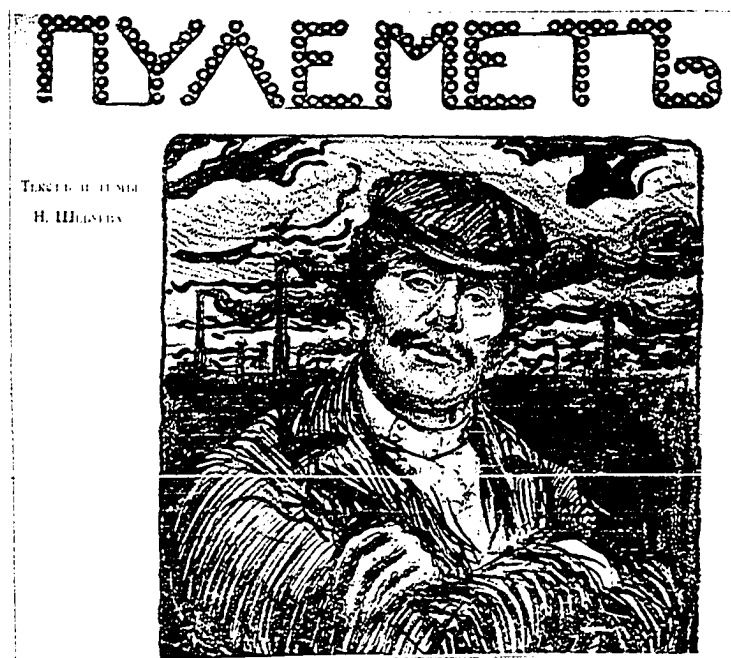


Fig. 30. Grabovsky, "Ego Rabochee Velichestvo Proletarii Vserossiiskii" (His Worker Highness, the All-Russian Proletarian), Pulemet, no. 2 (1905), cover.



Fig. 31. Nikolai V. Remizov, "M. Gorkii i ego ten" (M. Gorky and His Shadow), Strekoza, no. 41 (9 October 1905), p. 4.



Fig. 32. Grabovsky (attrib.), portrait of N. G. Shebuev, Sochineniia Shebueva, no. 1 (1906), cover.



У баррикады — Начало.

Fig. 33. Grabovsky, "U Barrikady - Nachalo" (At the Barricades -- The Beginning), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), cover.



У баррикады — Концы.

Fig. 34. Grabovsky, "U Barrikady - Konets" (At the Barricades -- The End), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 12.



Fig. 36. Remizov (attrib.), "Finliandskii vopros v Dume" (The Finland Question in the Duma), Satirikon, no. 6 (1908), p. 12.



Fig. 37. Ilya E. Repin, 18 October 1905, or The October Manifesto, 1906-1911, oil on canvas, Russian Museum, Leningrad; reproduced in V.V. Shleev, ed., Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 godov i izobrazitelnoe iskusstvo, 1: no. 37.



Fig. 38. Vladimir E. Makovsky, 9 January 1905 on Vasilievsky Island, 1905-07, oil on canvas, Museum of the Revolution, Leningrad; reproduced in Shleev, 1: no. 16.

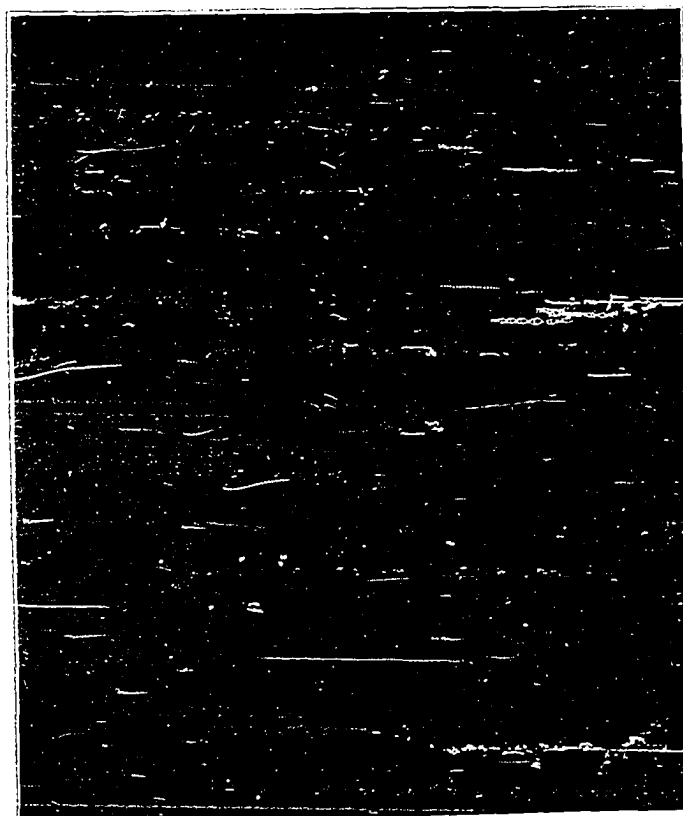


Fig. 39. Sergei V. Ivanov, The Massacre, 1905, oil on canvas, Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow; reproduced in Shleev, 2: no. 5.



Fig. 40. Valentin A. Serov, Nicholas II, 1901, oil on canvas; shown at The World of Art exhibition, Spb, 1902.

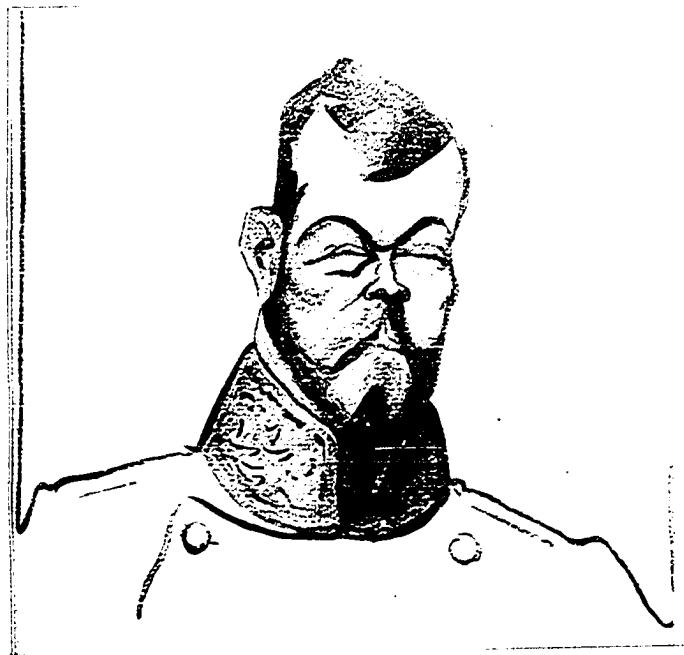


Fig. 41. Thomaz Leal da Camara, "Les Souverains: Nicolas II," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 19 (8 August 1901), p. 307.

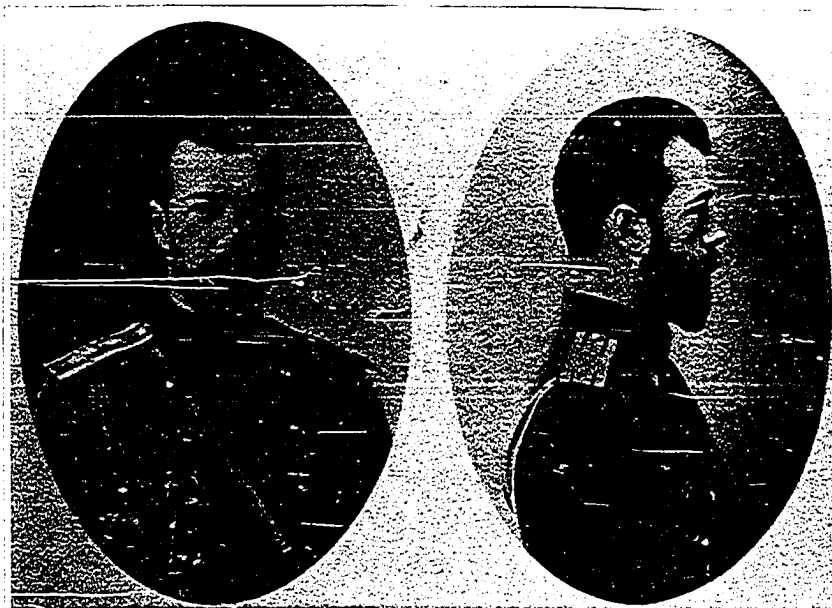


Fig. 42. Photograph: Nicholas II, late 1894; reproduced in Marvin Lyons, Nicholas II, the Last Tsar, pls. 84-85.



Fig. 43. Photograph: Nicholas II, ca. 1904; reproduced in Lyons, pl. 142.



Fig. 44. Dimitrios Galanis, "Le Tzar rouge," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 201 (4 February 1905), p. 3321.

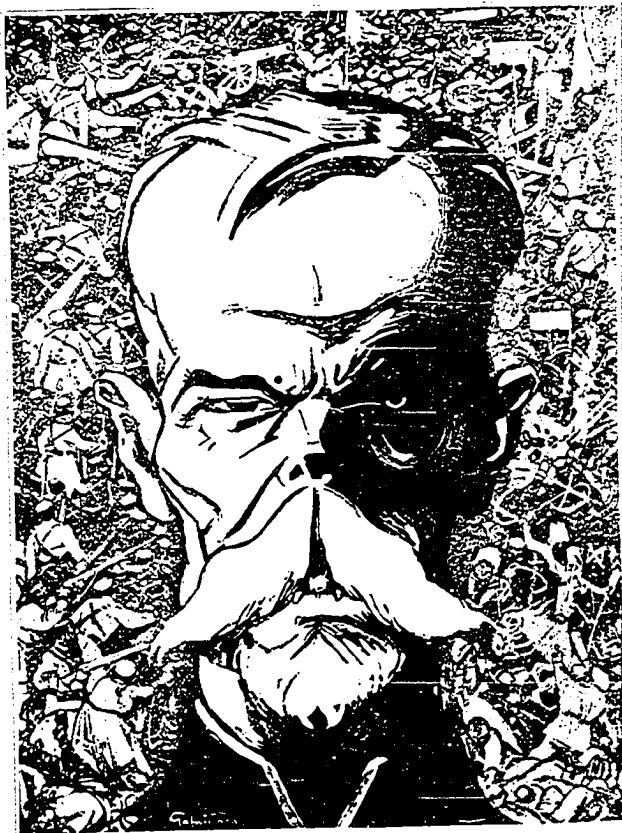


Fig. 45. Galantara, "Chronique russe: l'Insensible," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 287 (29 September 1907), p. 1270.



Fig. 46. Albert Weisgerber, "Die allerhöchste Mausfalle," Jugend, no. 35 (24 August 1905), p. 683.



Fig. 47. Heine, "Die Befreiung Russlands," Simplicissimus, no. 33 (n.d., ca. 14 November 1905), p. 385.



Fig. 48. Auguste Roubille, "Prédictions pour 1906: le Tsar serra nommé roi de pique," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 260 (20 January 1906), p. 681.

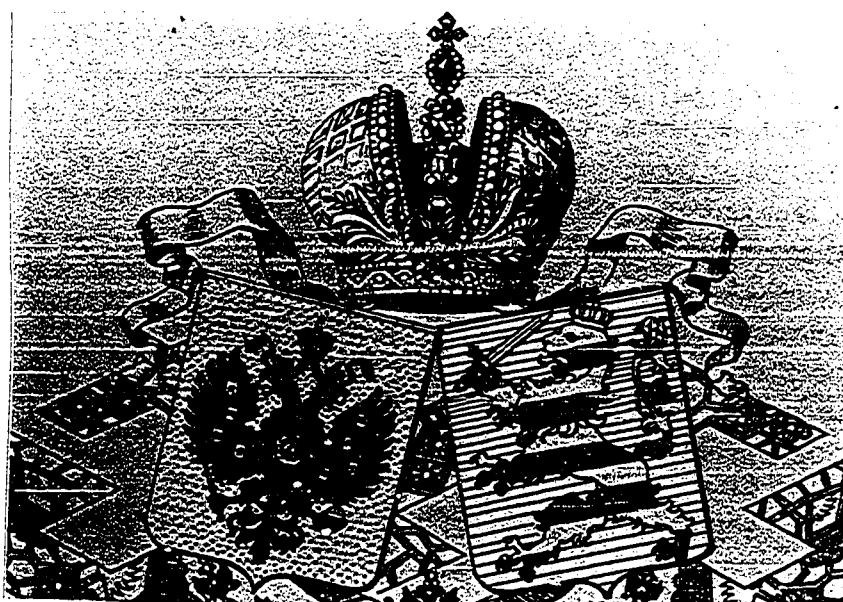


Fig. 49. Drawing of the Russian Imperial crown and the Imperial and Romanov coats of arms; reproduced in Tsarskiiia Koronatsii na Rusi, 1971, p. 264.



Fig. 50. Anonymous Russian broadsheet, ca. 1900, collection of Abraham Herenroth, New York City.



Fig. 51. Anonymous Russian broadsheet, 1902, collection of Abraham Herenroth, New York City.



Fig. 52. Serov, The Year 1905: After Quelling a Riot, 1905, pencil and crayon on paper, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.



Fig. 53. A. Ivanov (attrib.), Signaly, extra supplement, 1905, back page.



Fig. 54. Arnold Böcklin, Selbstbildnis mit fiedelndem Tod, 1872, oil on canvas, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.



Fig. 55. A. Ivanov, "Die Wonne des Zaren," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 523 (7 August 1906), p. 5126.



Fig. 56. A. Ivanov, "Der Mann in Wolkenkuckucksheim," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 520 (26 June 1906), p. 5089.



Fig. 57. Stanislav I. Ridiger, Sprut, no. 1 (23 December 1905), p. 3.

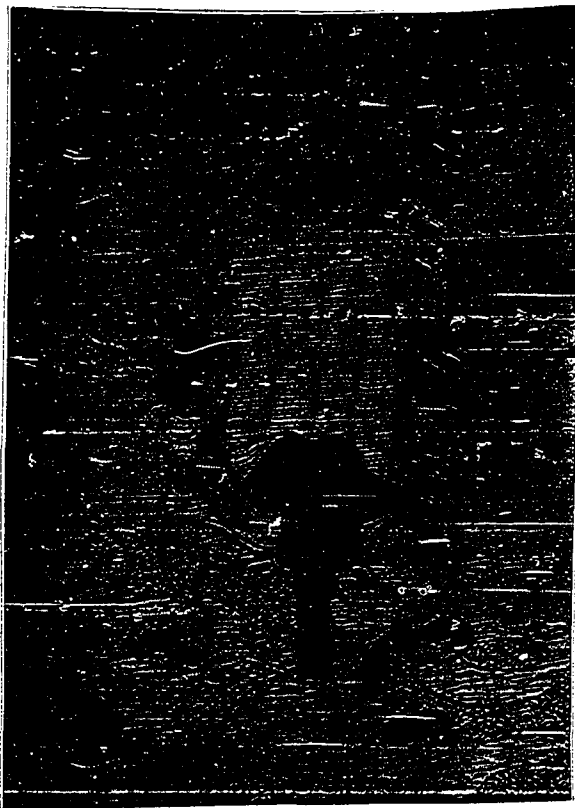


Fig. 58. Georgii Pavlovich Erastov, "Zachitalsia" (He's Engrossed in Reading), Burelom, no. 1 (26 November 1905), p. 5.



Fig. 59. Erastov, "Sobralisia" (He's Decided), Burelom, no. 2 (1905), p. 5.

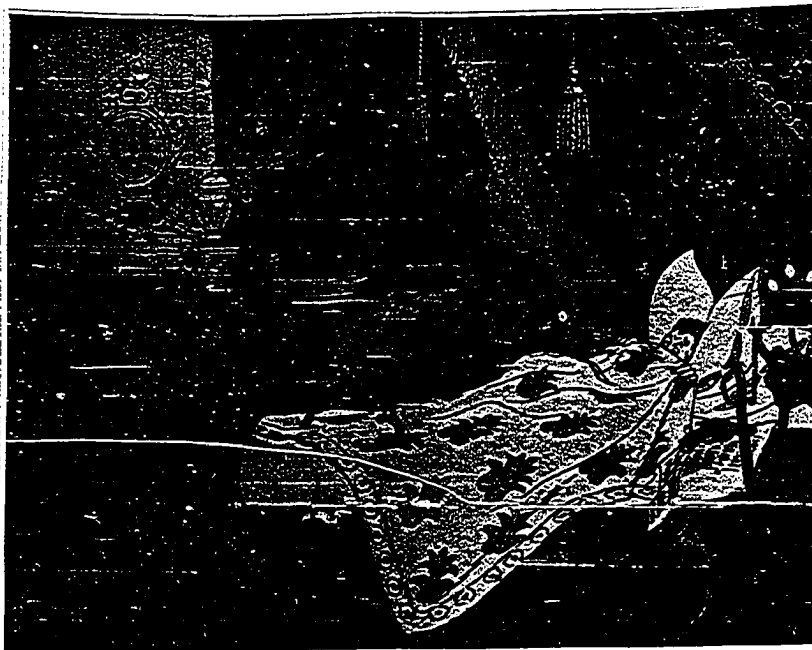


Fig. 60. Anon., "Nochnye koshmary" (Nightly Nightmares), Skomorokh, no. 2 (1907), p. 7.



Fig. 61. Photograph: the bedroom of Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna in the Grand Palace, Pavlovsk; reproduced in Khudozhestvennyia sokrovishcha Rossii, 106 (15 October 1903), n.p.



Fig. 62. Wilhelm Schulz, "Louis XVI," Simplicissimùs, no. 16 (16 July 1906), cover.

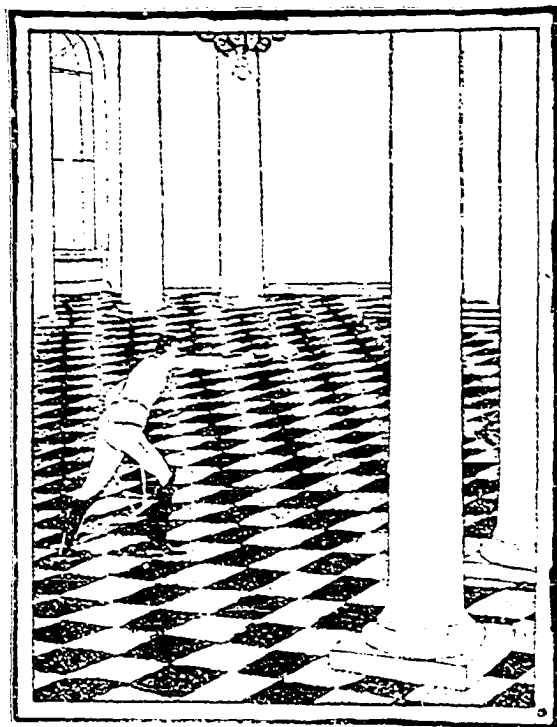


Fig. 63. A. Ivanov (attrib.), "Pokushenie" (The Attempt), Signal, no. 4 (4 December 1905), p. 4.



Fig. 64. Anon., Fiskal: Gazeta Gazet, no. 2 (1906), p. 16.

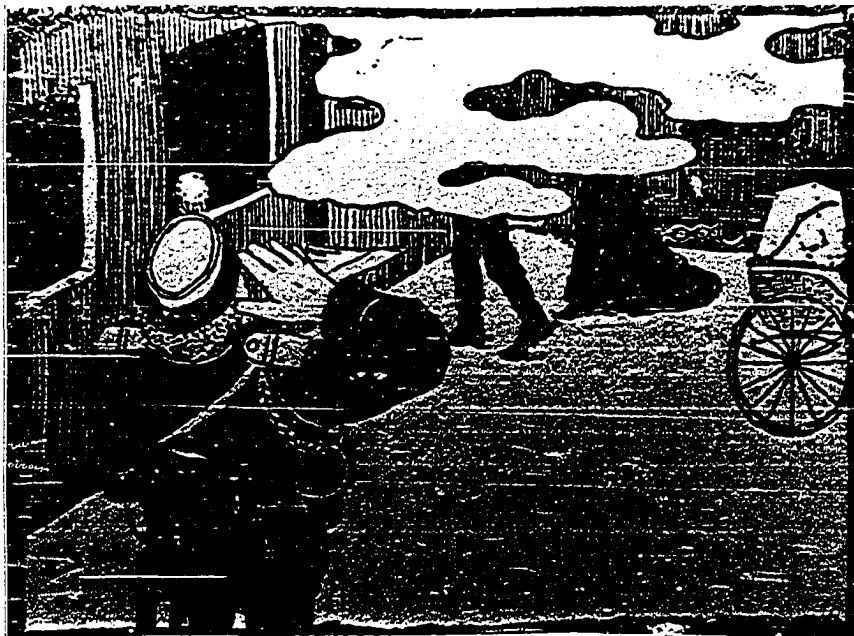


Fig. 65. A. Ivanov, "Pered otezdrom za granitsu. Vtoroi zvonok" (Before the Trip Abroad. The Second Bell), Signal, no. 3 (1905), p. 4.



Fig. 66. Félix Vallotton, "La Manifestation," 1893, woodcut, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Basel.

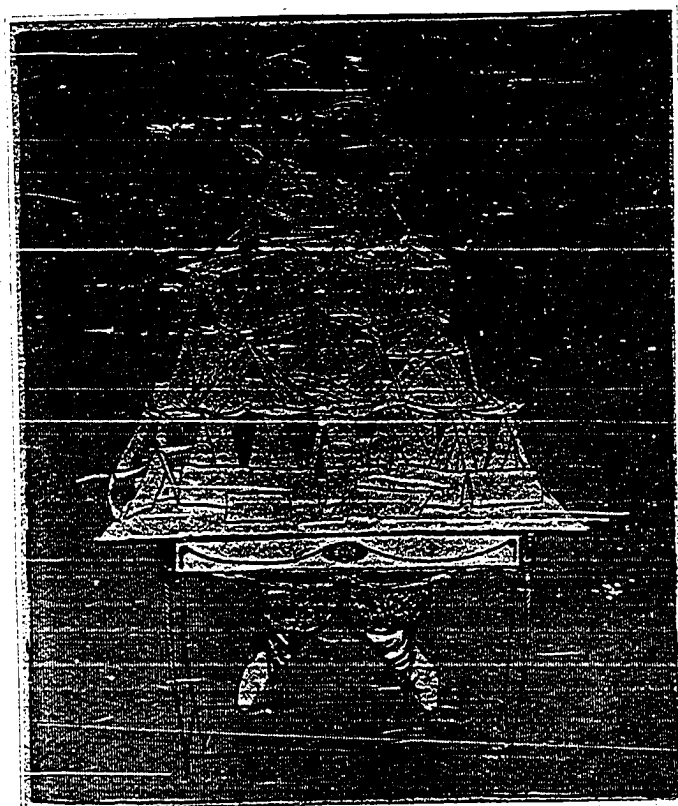


Fig. 67. Chekhonin, "Nasha konstitutsiia -- prosiat ne dut . . ." (Our Constitution -- Please, Don't Blow . . .), *Zritel*, no. 19 (3 November 1905), cover.

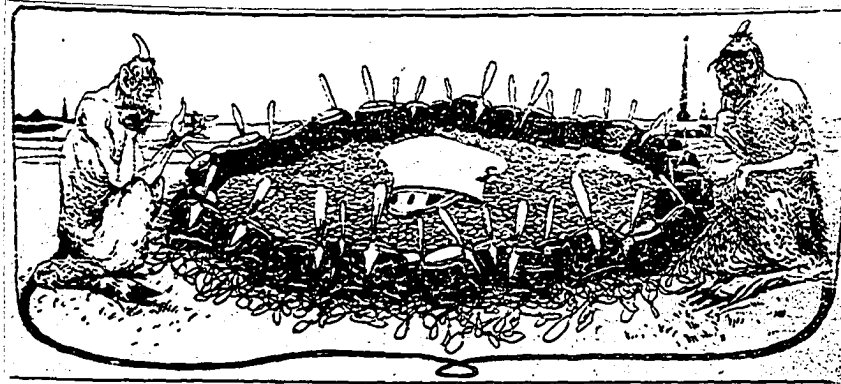


Fig. 68. Nikolai I. Shestopalov, Maski, no. 2 (8 February 1906), p. 8.



Fig. 69. Böcklin, Faune, eine Nymphe belauschend, 1884, detail (?); Private Collection.



Fig. 70. Rata Langa (attrib.), "Der russische Doppeladler im Kampf gegen den inneren und äusseren Feind," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 485 (21 February 1905), p. 4611.



Fig. 71. A. Ivanov, "Portnoi" (Tailor), Signal, no. 3 (1905), p. 8.



Fig. 72. Zinovii I. Grzhebin, "Orel-oboroten, ili politika vneshniaia i vnutrenniaia" (Eagle-Werewolf, or Domestic and Foreign Politics), Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 8.

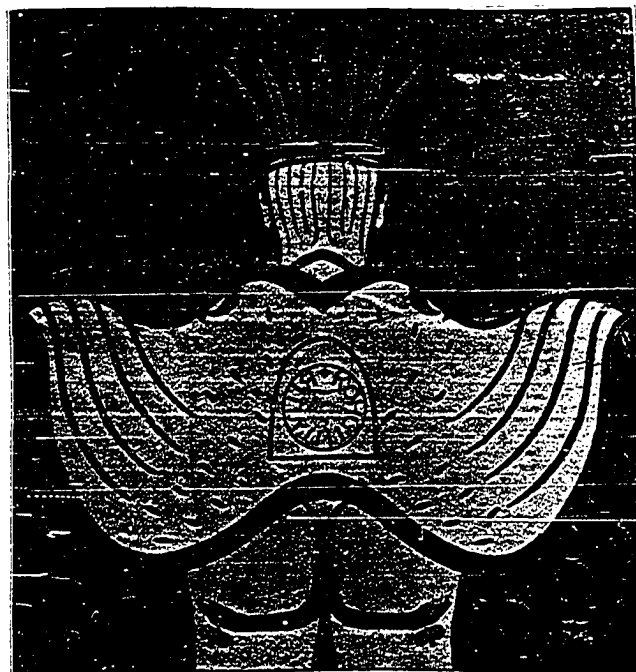


Fig. 73. Figure 72 upside-down.



Fig. 74. Nikolai K. Gorenburg (attrib.), Zabiaka, no. 3 (26 January 1906), p. 3.



Fig. 75. Jean Veber, "L'Impudique Albion," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 26 (28 September 1901), p. 416.



Fig. 76. Ivan Ya. Bilibin, "Sic transit . . .," Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 5.



Fig. 77. Bilibin, "Osel (*Equus asinus*) v 1/20 nat. vel.," (Ass [*Equus Asinus*] 1/20th Natural Size), Zhupel, no. 3 (1906), p. 9.



Fig. 78. Gottfried Kneller (engraving by P.A. Gunst), Peter I, 1697-98; reproduced in Rovinsky, Materialy dlia russkoi ikonografii, no. 100.



Fig. 79. Bilibin, Menu for the Ereemeev restaurant, St. Petersburg, for the "Week of Peter," 1903.



Fig. 80. Aleksandr M. Liubimov, Signaly, no. 4 (1906), cover.



Fig. 81. Vadim N. Nevsky, "Biurokratiia vykhodit iz sebia" (Bureaucracy Loses Its Temper), Sprut, no. 1 (23 December 1905), p. 8.

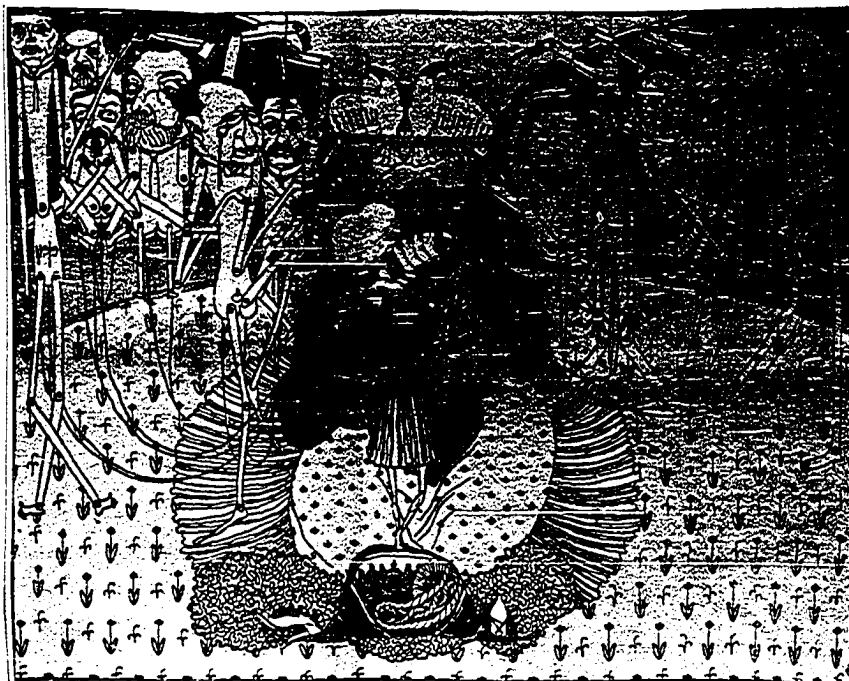


Fig. 84. Chekhonin, "Skazka ob odnoi mamashe i nechistoplotnom malchike" (The Tale about one Mother and an Untidy Boy), *Zritel*, no. 21 (17 November 1905), pp. 4-5.



Fig. 85. Detail of Figure 84.

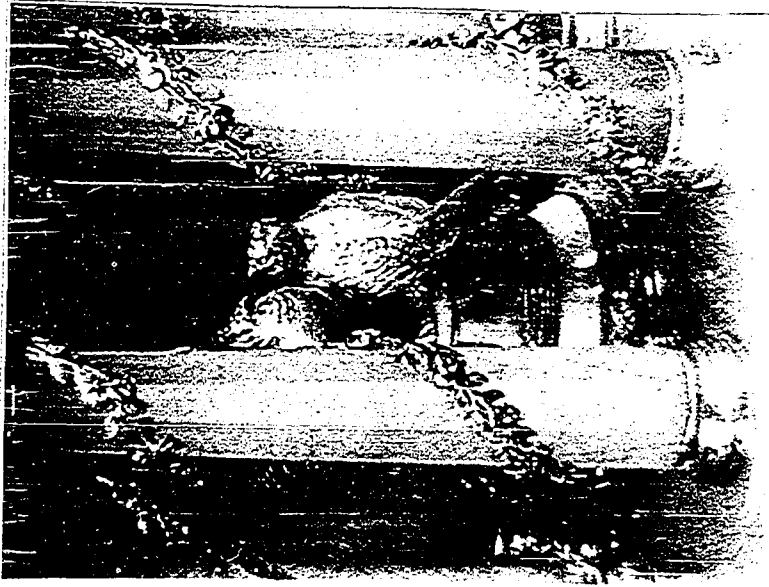


Fig. 87. Detail of Figure 86.



Fig. 86. Alexandre Benois (attrib.), Colonnade
Easter Egg by Fabergé, 1905, Collection
of the Queen of England.



Fig. 88. Chekhonin, "25 siluetov x 4" (25 Silhouettes x 4), Zritel, no. 10 (14 August 1905), pp. 8-9.



Fig. 89. Detail of Figure 88.

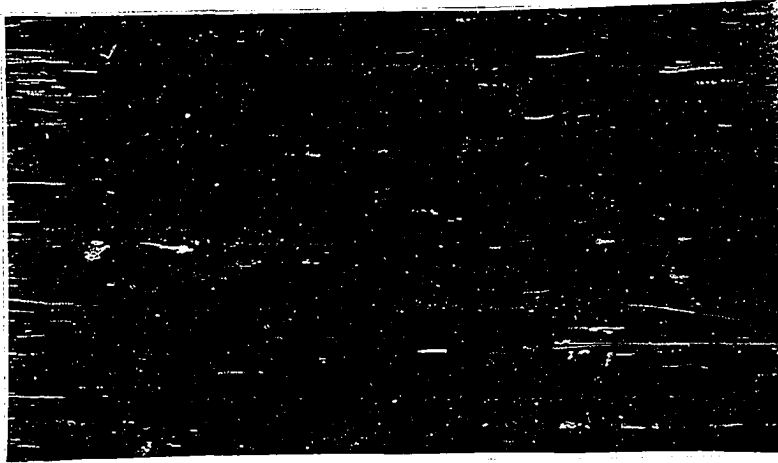


Fig. 90. Chekhonin, "Prervannyi telegraf" (The Broken Telegraph), Zritel, no. 22 (22 November 1905), p. 2.

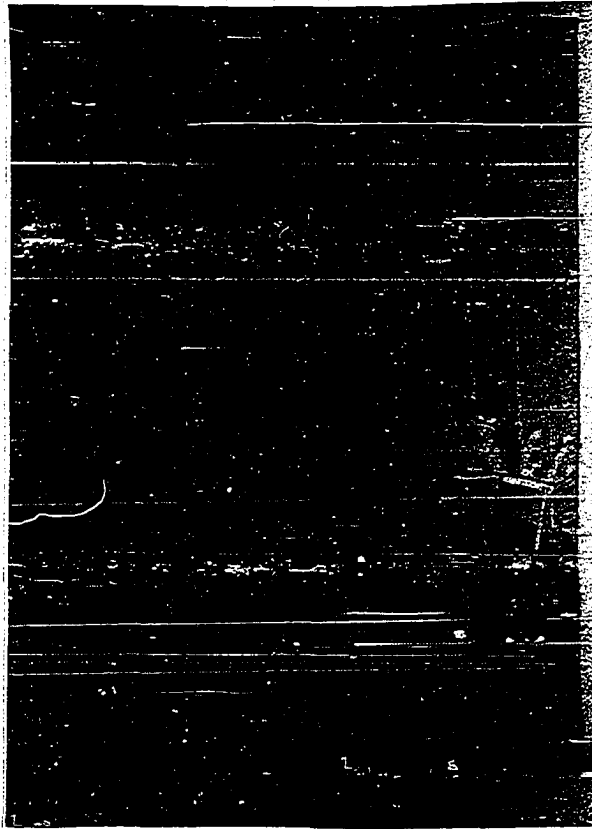


Fig. 91. E[rich?] Wilke, "Ein majestätischer Anblick / Die zerschnittenen Telegraphendrähte," Jugend, no. 50 (6 December 1905), p. 998.

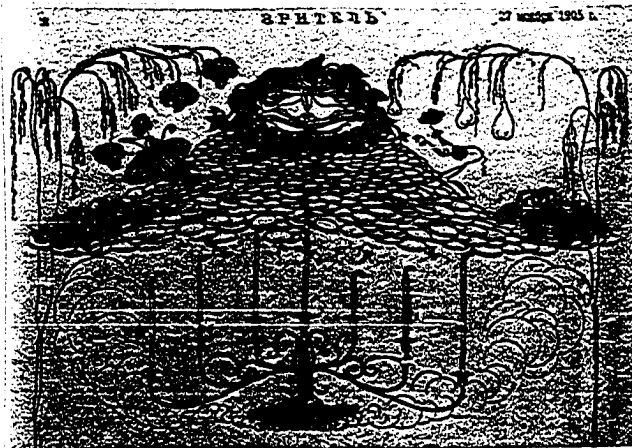


Fig. 92. Chekhonin, Zritel, no. 23 (27 November 1905), p. 2.



Fig. 93. Detail of Figure 92.

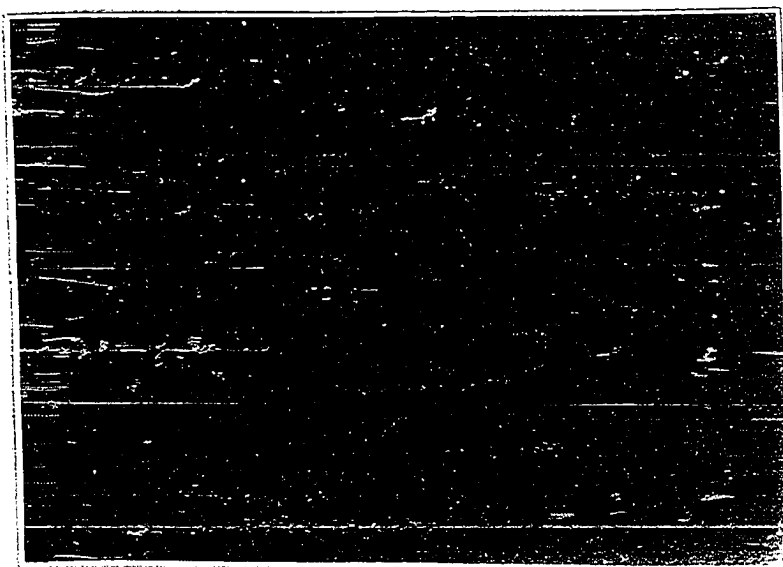


Fig. 94. Benois, vignette in Mir iskusstva 8 (1902), p. 5.

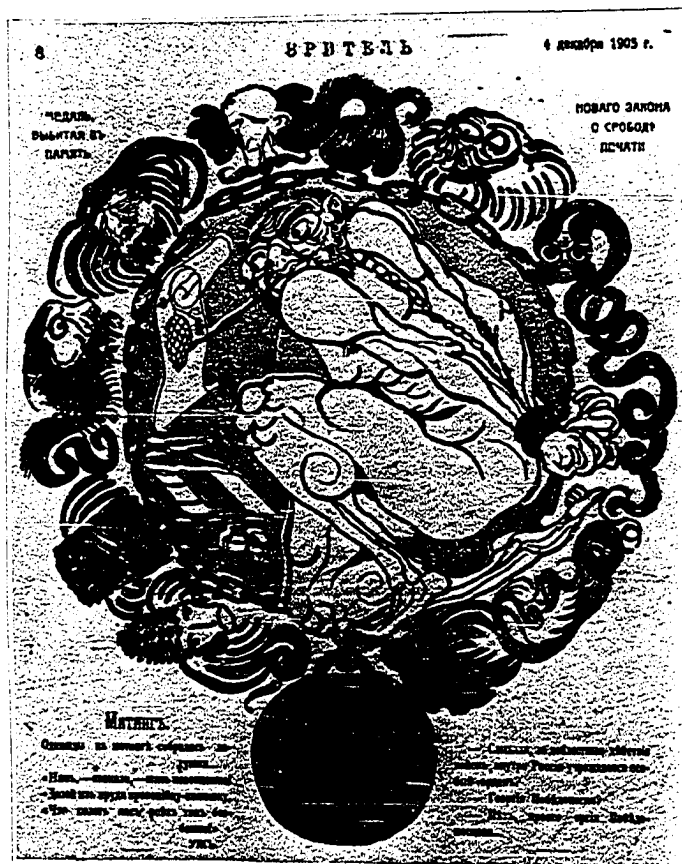


Fig. 95. Chekhonin, "Medal vybitaia v pamiat novago zakona o svobode pečati" (Medal Struck in Commemoration of the New Law on the Freedom of the Press), *Zritel*, no. 24 (4 December 1905), p. 8.

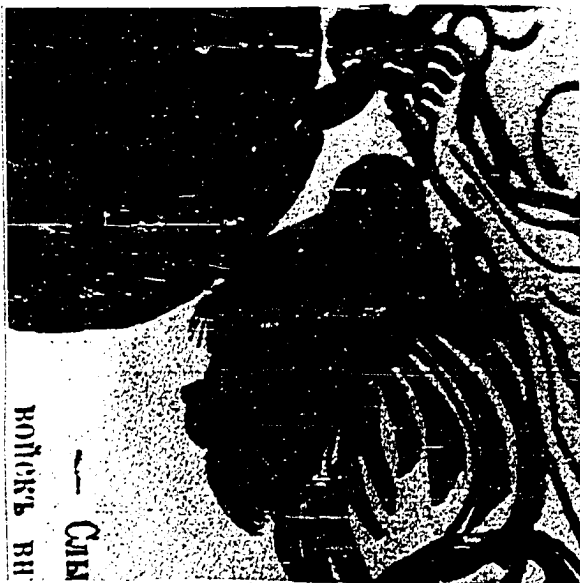


Fig. 96. Detail of Figure 95.

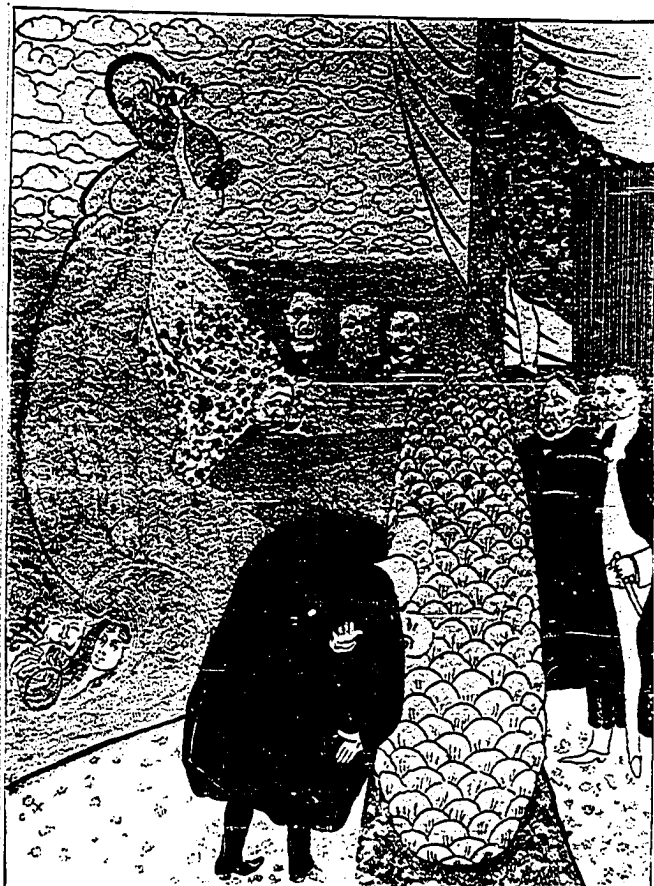


Fig. 97. Viacheslav I. Traubenberg, "Nechto fantasticheskoe, ili chernaia sotnia, provozhaiushchaia elovuiu shishku, kotoraiia saditsia na korabi dlia plavaniiia po moriu vnutrennikh volnenii" (Something Fantastical, or the Black Hundreds Accompanying the Pine Cone Which Boards the Ship to Sail over the Sea of Domestic Troubles), Maski, no. 6 (13 March 1906), p. 5.



Fig. 98. Chekhonin, "Mag Vitte sidiashchii na urne . . ." (The Magician Witte Seated on the Urn . . .), Zritel, no. 20 (13 November 1905), p. 3.

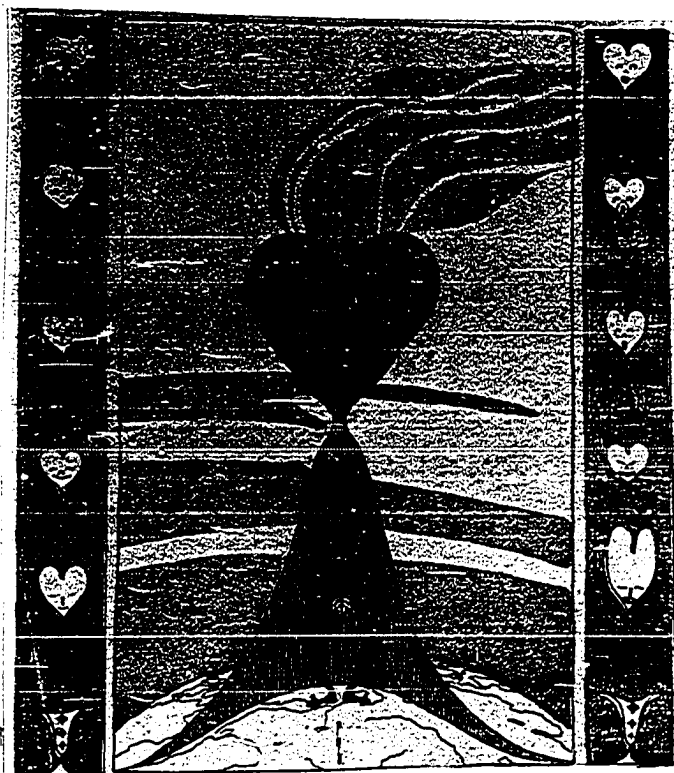


Fig. 99. Chekhonin, "Chervonnyi tuz, ili plameneiushchee serdtse svobody" (The Ace of Hearts, or the Flaming Heart of Freedom), Maski, no. 1 (1 February 1906), cover.



Fig. 100. Chekhonin, "Slepoi vlastelin -- 1905 g. poet svoiu posledniuiu pesniu na poliarnom vulkane" (The Blind Ruler -- 1905 Sings His Last Song on a Polar Volcano), *Zritel*, no. 1 (1 January 1906), cover.



Fig. 101. Detail of Figure 100.



Fig. 102. Anon., "Nikolaus und sein Volk," Der Wahre Jacob, supplement, no. 505 (28 November 1905), p. 4882.



Fig. 103. Olaf Gulbransson, "Grossfürst Alexis," Simplicissimus, supplement, no. 24 (n.d., ca. 6 September 1904), p. 231.



THE PEACEMAKERS
On Board the Mayflower

Fig. 104. Photograph: "The Peacemakers on Board the Mayflower,"
Review of Reviews (London), no. 189 (September 1905),
frontispiece.



Fig. 105. Albert Weisgerber, "Witte und Kamura," Jugend, no. 33
(10 August 1905), p. 644.



Fig. 106. G. K., "Ein berühmter Zeitgenosse," Der Wahre Jacob, no. 504 (14 November 1905), p. 4863.

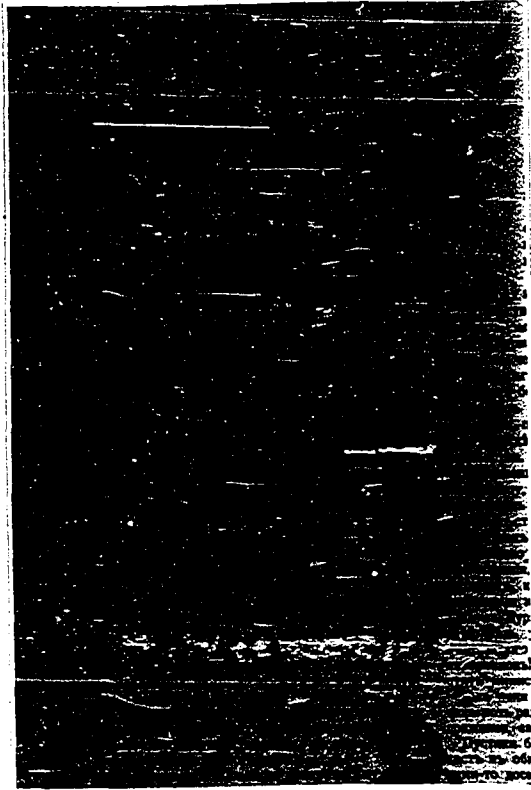


Fig. 107. A. Ivanov (attrib.), and Nikolai G. Shebuev, detail,
Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 3.

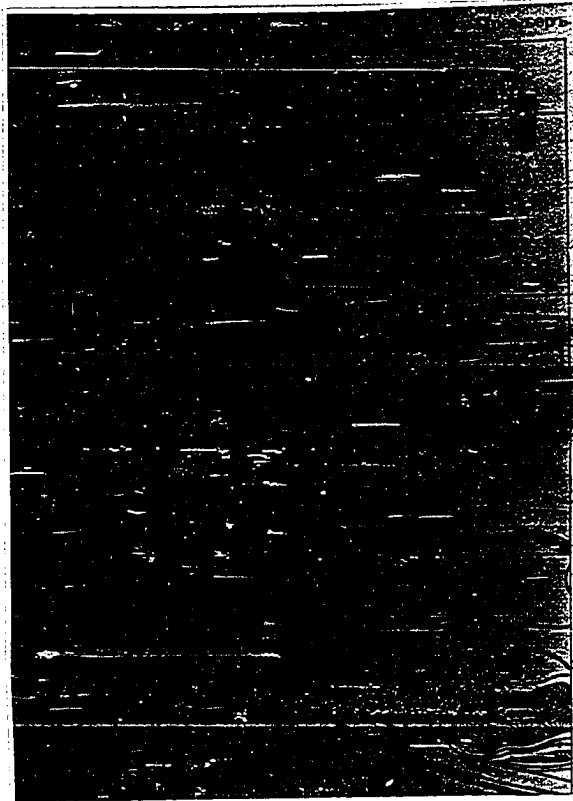


Fig. 108. Vadim N. Nevsky (attrib.), "V kakom vide eshche ne byl izobrazhen graf-Premier" (In What Aspect Has the Count-Premier Not Yet Been Depicted), Strekoza, no. 14 (6 April 1906), p. 9.

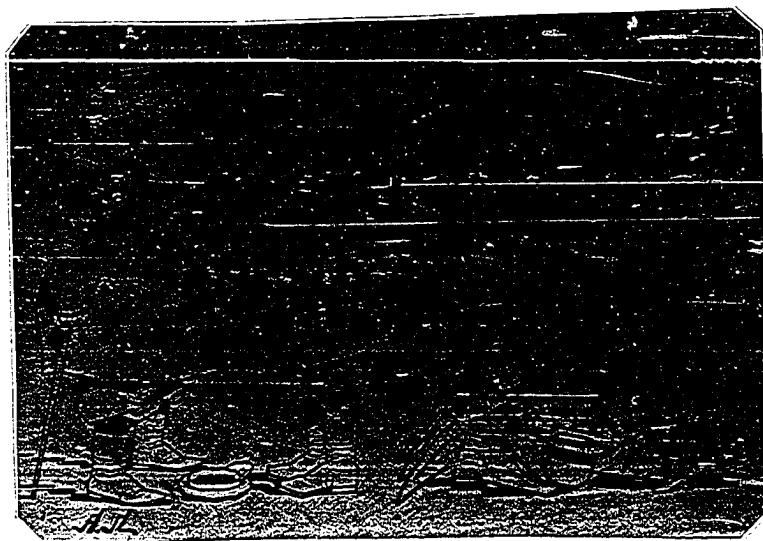


Fig. 109. Al[eksan]dr A. Labudz, "Nabroski" (Sketches), Strekoza, no. 14 (8 April 1890), p. 7.



Fig. 110. [Various artists], collage arranged by Shebuev, "Riad volshebnykh izmenenii milago litsa" (Series of Magical Alterations of a Lovely Face), Pulemet, no. 4 (1906), p. 11.



Fig. 111. Kustodiev, "Otvstavka. I s levoi, i s pravoi" (Resignation. Both From Left and Right), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 10.

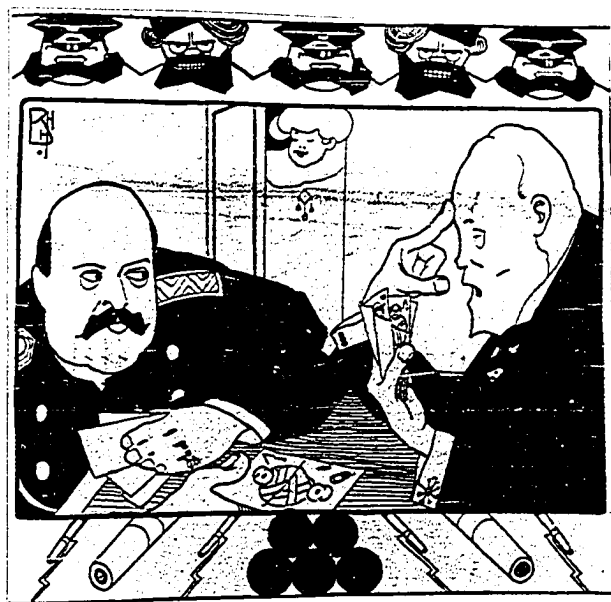


Fig. 112. Nevsky, "Partiia v svoi kozyri" (A Game in Their Own Trump), Strekoza, no. 46 (24 November 1905), cover.



Fig. 113. Nevsky, "Skazka o Spiashchei Krasavitse i prekrasnom printse Vi-te-shi-ma" (Fairy Tale of Sleeping Beauty and the handsome Prince Vi-te-shi-ma), part 1, Strekoza, no. 46 (24 November 1905), p. 4.



Fig. 114. Nevsky, part 2 of Figure 113, Ibid., p. 5.



Fig. 115. Nevsky, "Oi kupyv dudu na svoiu bidu, da za svoi groshi!.." (Oh, I bought a pipe for my own trouble, even for my own money!..), Sprut, no. 2 (4 January 1906), p. 4.



Fig. 116. Gorenburg, "Govoriashchiia teni" (Talking Shadows), detail, Volshebnyi fonar, no. 1 (4 December 1905), p. 7.



Fig. 117. Grandville (Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard), "Les Ombres," La Caricature, November 18, 1830, color lithograph; reproduced in Ralph Shikes, The Indignant Eye, p. 153, pl. 156.

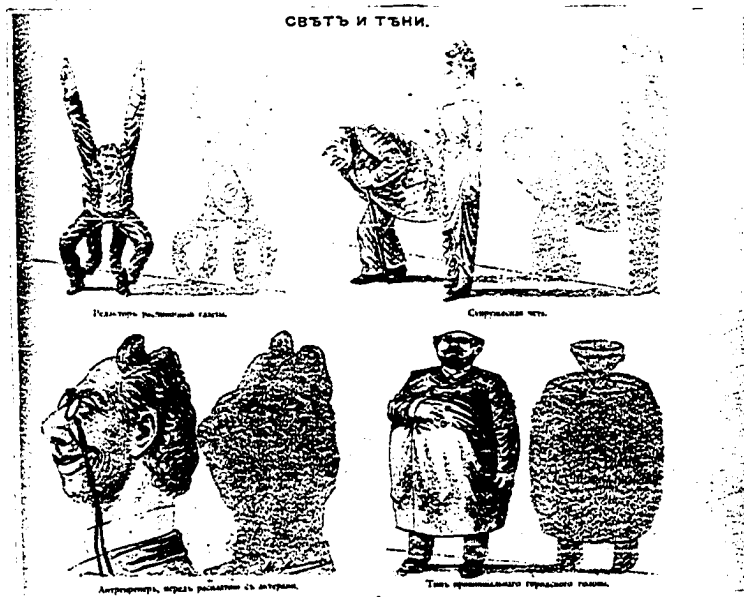


Fig. 118. M. Limin (A. Labudz?), "Svet i teni" (Light and Shadows), Strekoza, no. 38 (23 September 1890), p. 7.

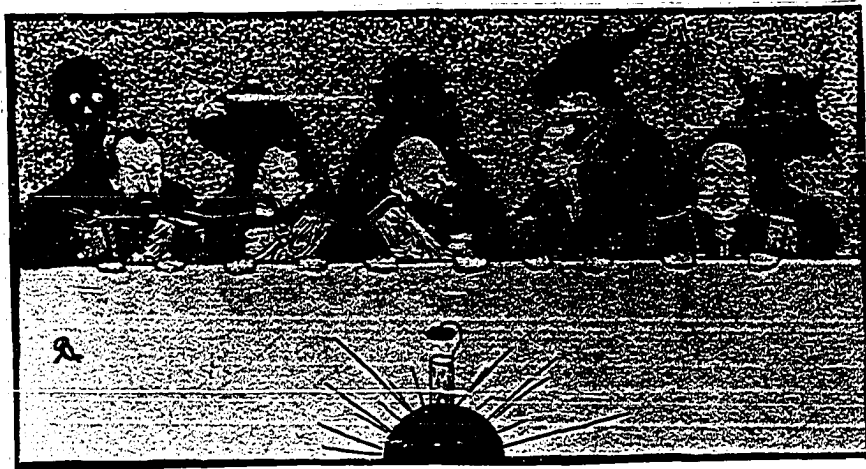
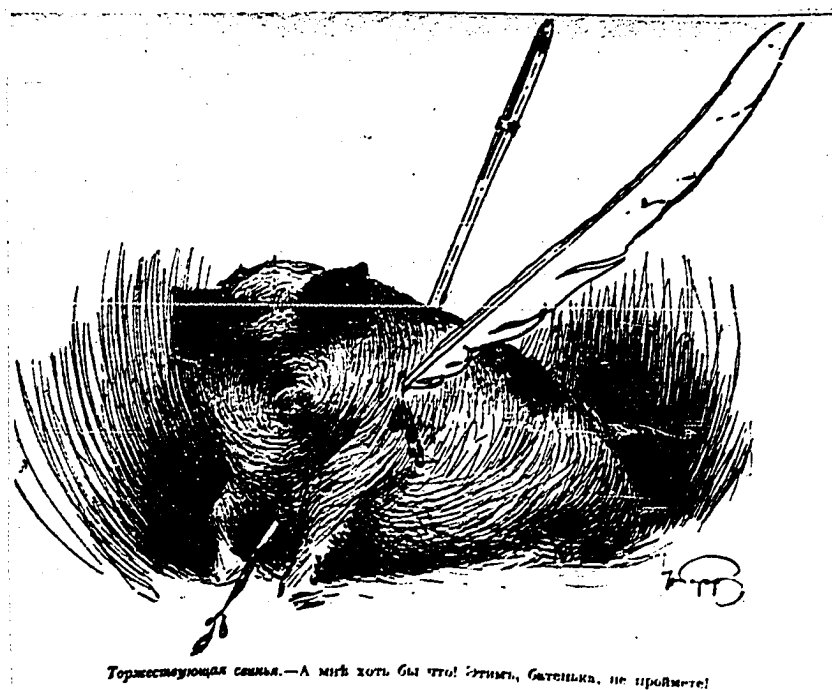


Fig. 119. Ya(?), Poedinok, no. 1 (1906), p. 2.



Торжествующая свинья.—А мне хоть бы что! Этими, батенька, не проймете!

Fig. 120. Nikolai N. Gerardov, "Torzhestvuiushchaia Svinia"
(The Triumphant Swine), Seryi volk, no. 25 (23 December
1907), p. 391.

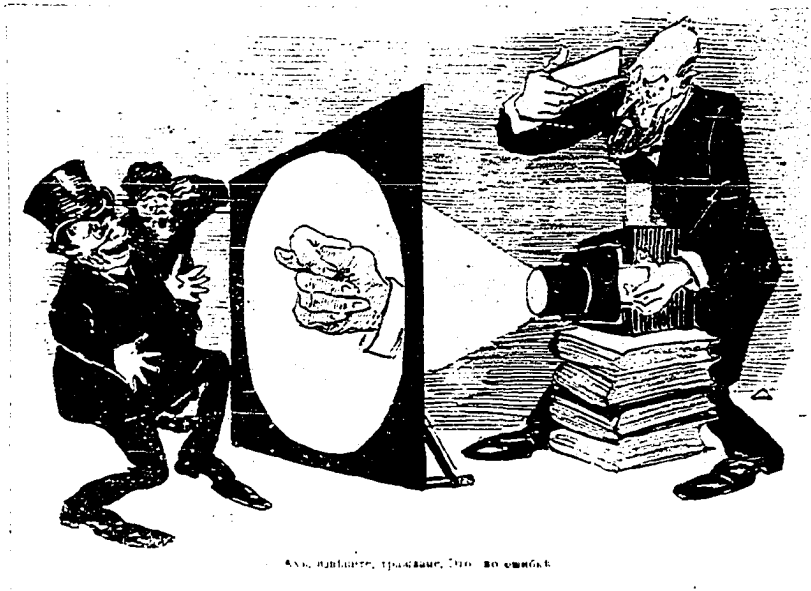


Fig. 121. Nikolai K. Gorenburg, "Akh, izvenite, grazhdane, Eto -- po oshibke" (Oh, Pardon me, Citizens, That's by Mistake), Volshebnyi fonar, no. 4 (29 January 1906), p. 10.

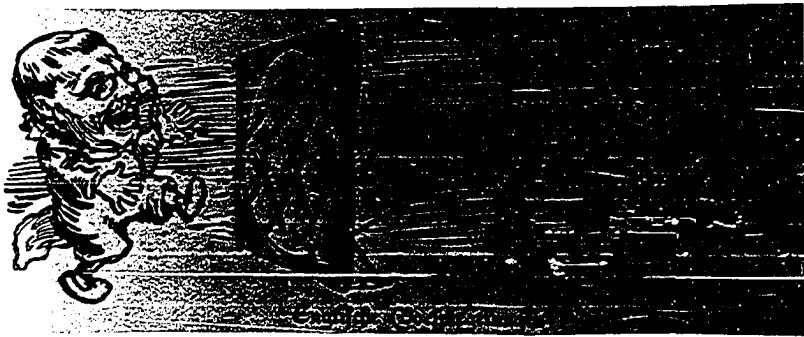


Fig. 122. Arpad Schmidhammer, "Englische Vorspiegelungen," Jugend, no. 42 (12 October 1905), p. 821.



Fig. 123. Gorenburg, "Vitte znaet kak spasti Rossiiu" . . . (Witte Knows How to Save Russia . . .), Volshebnyi fonar, no. 4 (29 January 1906), p. [6].



Fig. 124. Bruno Paul, "Die hilfreiche Germania," Simplicissimus, supplement, no. 19 (8 August 1905), p. 225.

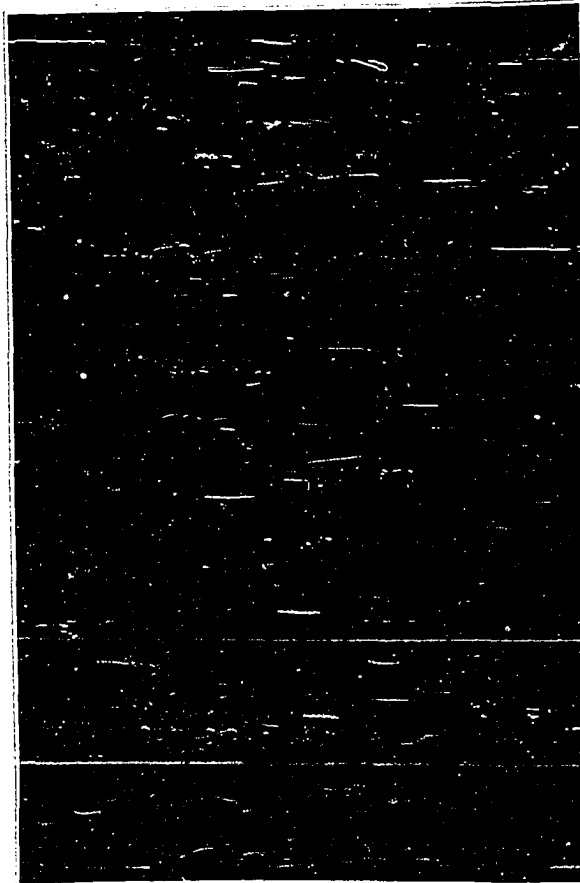


Fig. 125. Bentsel D. Kremer (attrib.), "My znaem kak spasti Rossiю!" (We Know How to Save Russia!), Krasnyi smekh, no. 2 (1906), p. 3; adaptation of design by Auguste Roubille, originally in Le Rire, N.S., no. 6 (14 March 1903).

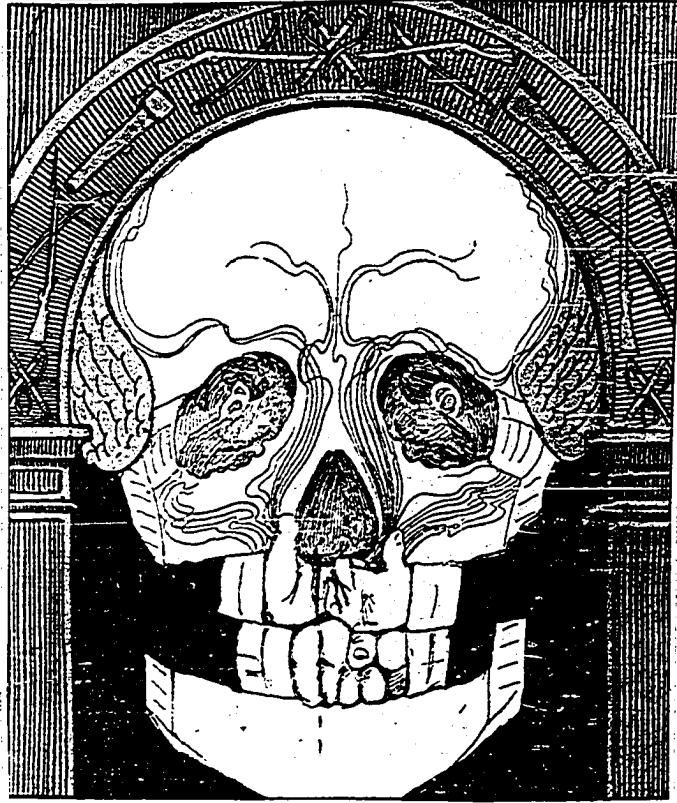


Fig. 126. Nikolai Kliuev (attrib.), Pchela, no. 3 (1906), p. 8.

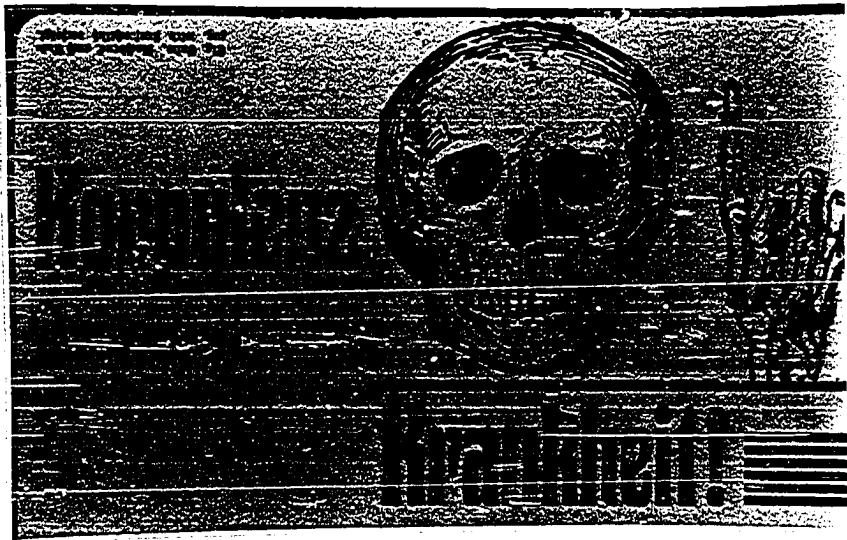


Fig. 127. Anon. advertisement, "Korpulenz und Krankheit!," Jugend, no. 25 (14 June 1905), p. 475.



Fig. 128. Detail of Figure 126.



Fig. 129. Joseph Keppler, "Evils of Drink and Gambling," (1870s), wash drawing, New York Public Library, Prints Division.



Fig. 130. Hassmann, "The Russian Crown," Puck (New York), no. 1504 (27 December 1905), cover.



Fig. 131. Chekhonin, "Severnaia khimera. Poliarnyi liudoed"
(Northern Chimera. The Polar Cannibal), Zritel, extra
issue (24 December 1905), p. 3.



Fig. 132. Ivan Bilibin, logo design, Adskaja pochta, no. 1 (1906), p. [14].

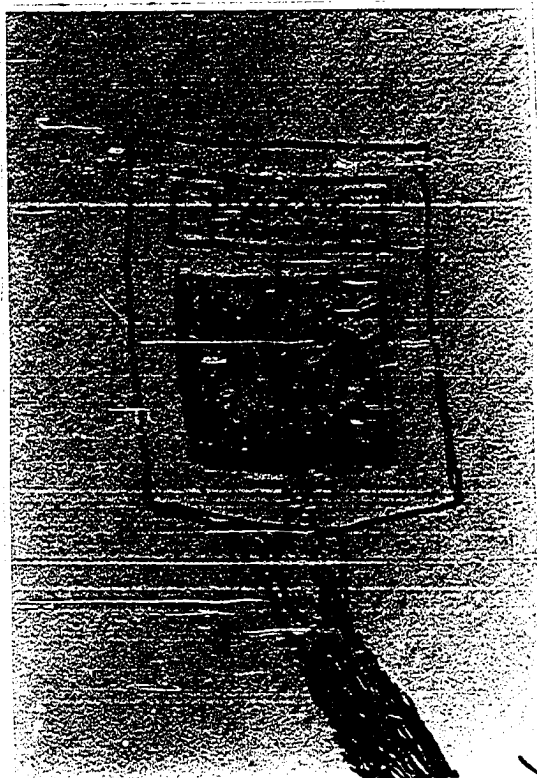


Fig. 133. Detail of Figure 132.



Fig. 134. Georgii P. Erastov, Burelom, no. 1 (1906), p. 5.

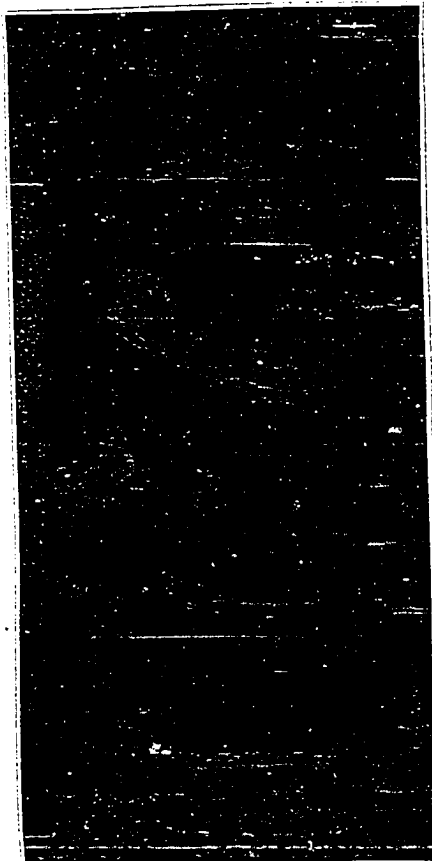


Fig. 135. Isaak I. Brodsky (attrib.), "Boevoi admiral" (Bellicose Admiral), Plamia, no. 3 (23 December 1905), p. 12.



Fig. 136. A., adaptation of caricature by Jean Veber (Fig. 137), Signal, extra supplement [1905], p. 1.

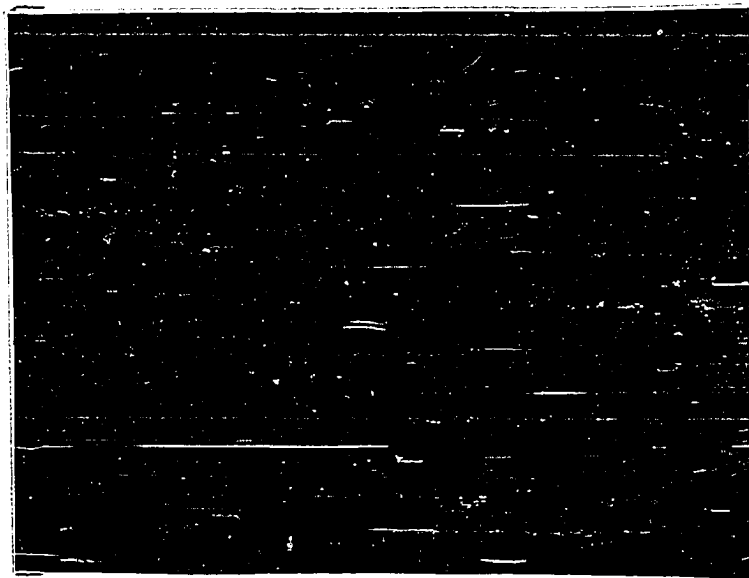


Fig. 137. Jean Veber, "La boucherie ou Bismarck," 1899, color lithograph; reproduced in Eduard Fuchs, Die Karikatur (1906), p. 355.

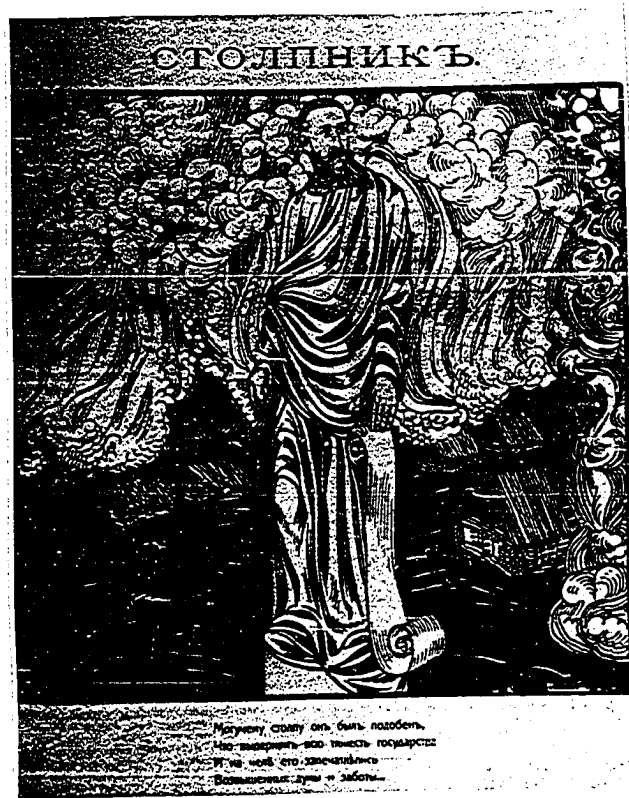


Fig. 138. Anon., "Stolpnik" (Pillar [of Society]), Strekoza, no. 27 (16 July 1906), cover.



Fig. 141. Detail of Figure 110.

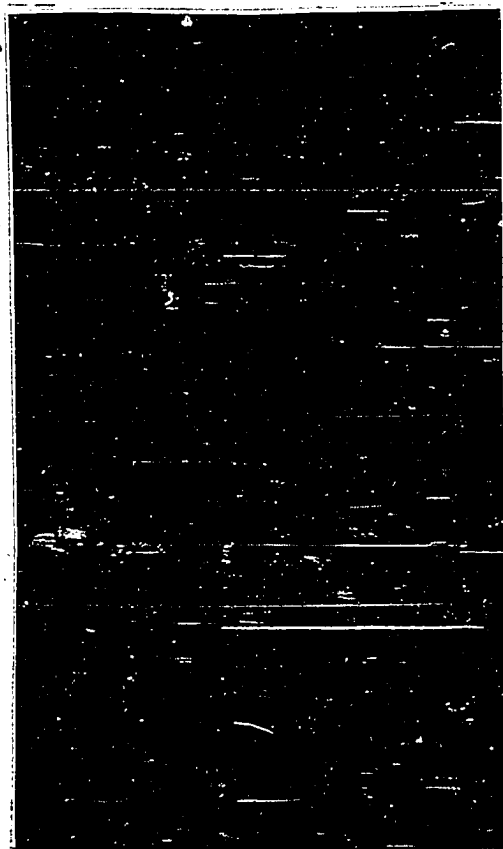


Fig. 142. Nikolai N. Karazin (attrib.), Artist (Moscow), no. 11, kn. 4 (December 1890), p. 149.

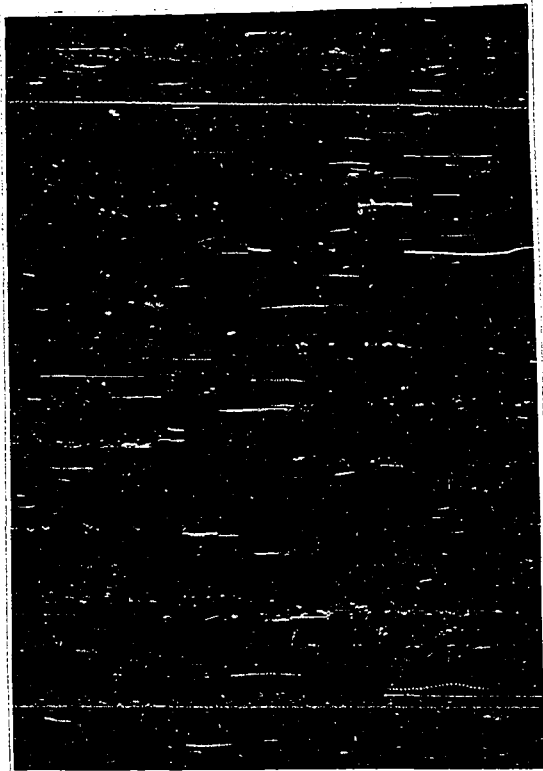


Fig. 143. Anon., "Vserossiiskiiia bomby" (All-Russian Bombs),
Bomby, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.

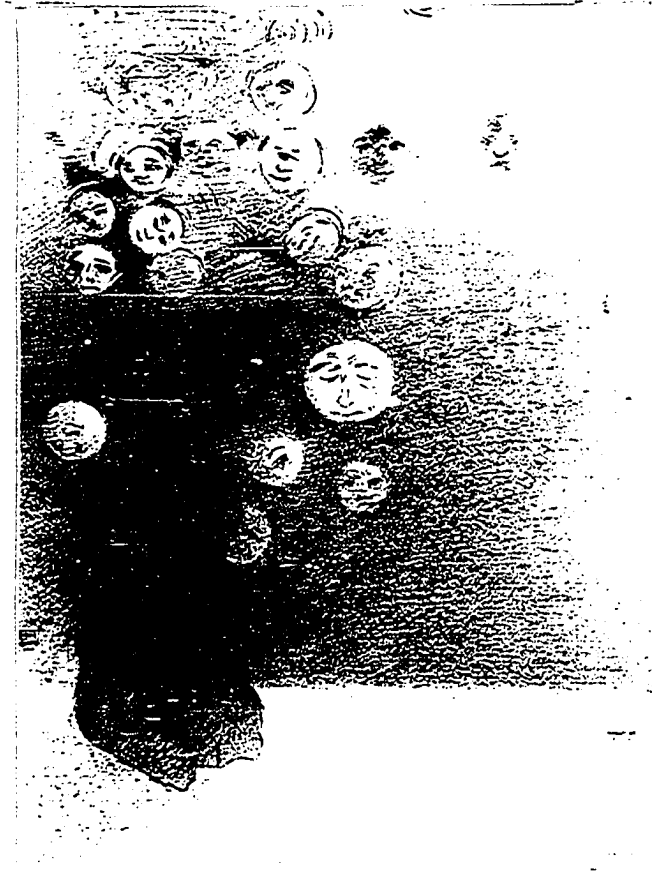


Fig. 144. Odilon Redon, "Why Should There Not Exist a World Made Up of Invisible, Odd, Fantastic, Embryonic Beings?" from Le Jure by Edmond Picard, 1887.

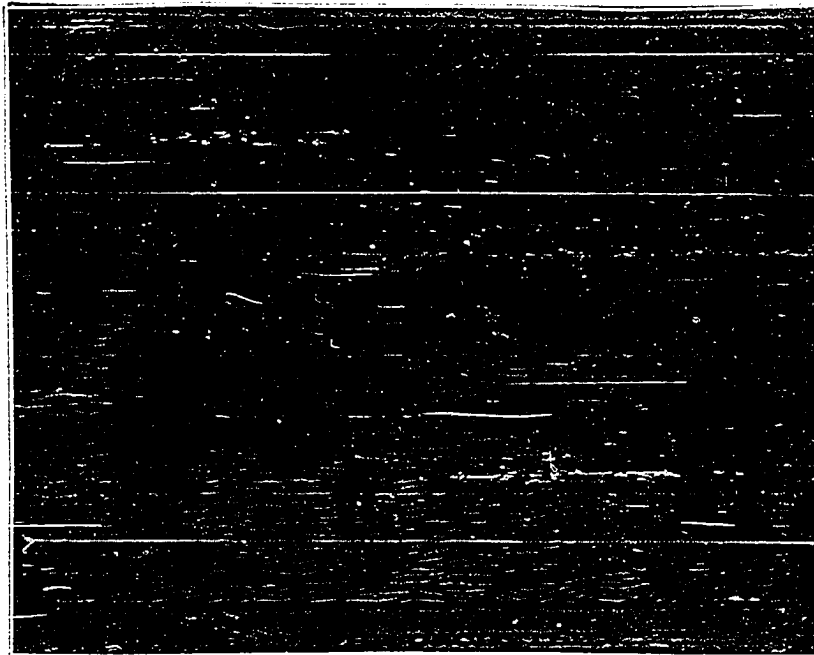


Fig. 145. Remizov (attrib.), "Vitte na rasputi" (Witte at the Crossroads), Strely, no. 5 (27 November 1905), p. 9.

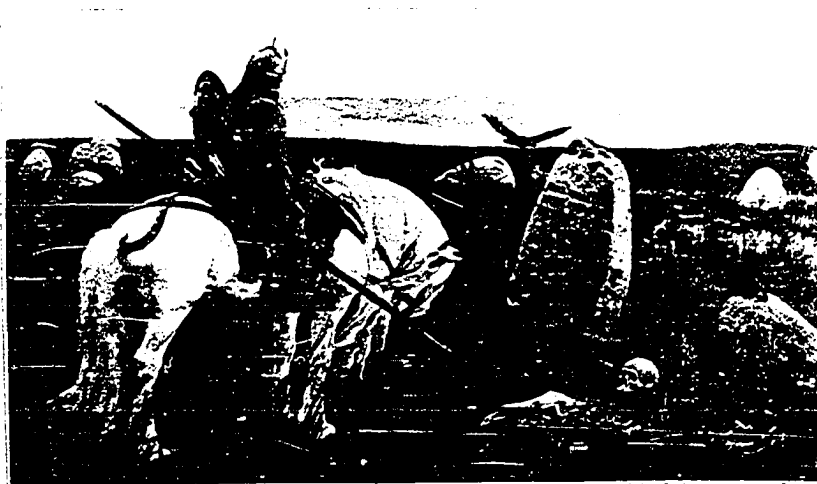


Fig. 146. Viktor Vasnetsov, Bogatyř na rasputi (Warrior at the Crossroads), 1878, oil on canvas, Russian Museum, Leningrad.



Fig. 147. V. Vasnetsov, "Lavka lubochnykh kartin i knizhek" (The Lubok and Book Shop), n.d., drawing; in Pchela, no. 27 (1875), p. 323.

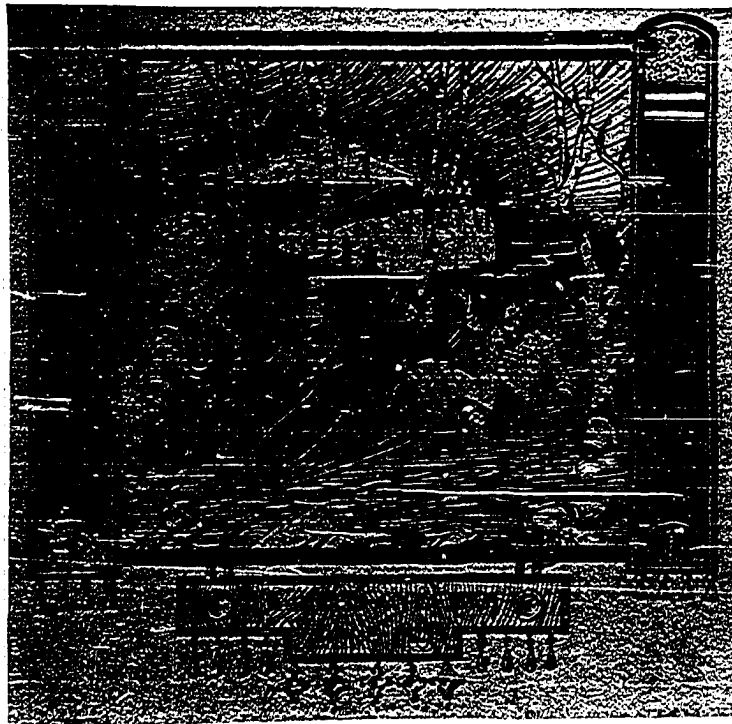


Fig. 148. Nevsky, "Kazhinnyi-raz-na-evtom-samom-meste" (sic) (Each Time at That Same Spot), Burelom, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.



Fig. 149. N. Svn, Zalp, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.

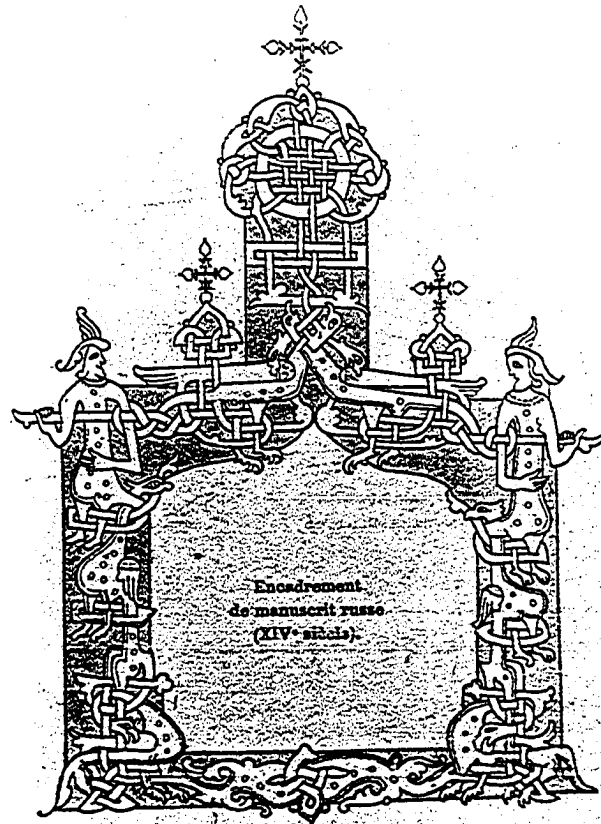


Fig. 150. Frame of a Russian manuscript, 14th century; reproduced in L. Delavaud, et al., La Russie, géographique . . ., 3d ed. (Paris: Larousse, 1900), p. 321.



Fig. 151. Chekhonin (attrib.), Verbnyi bazar, no. 1 (1906), cover.



Fig. 152. Grabovsky, "Strashnyi sud" (The Last Judgment),
Pulemet, no. 2 (1905), pp. 6-7.



Fig. 153. Lubok: "Obraz Strashnago Suda Bozhiia" (Icon of God's Last Judgment), 18th century, engraving; in Rovinsky, Ruskiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 1012.



Fig. 154. Serov, "Soldatushki, bravy rebiatushki, gde zhe vasha slava?" (Soldiers, Gallant Boys, Where Now is Your Glory?), Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 5.



Fig. 155. Eduard Thöny, Simplicissimus, no. 48 (ca. 21 February 1905), p. 478.

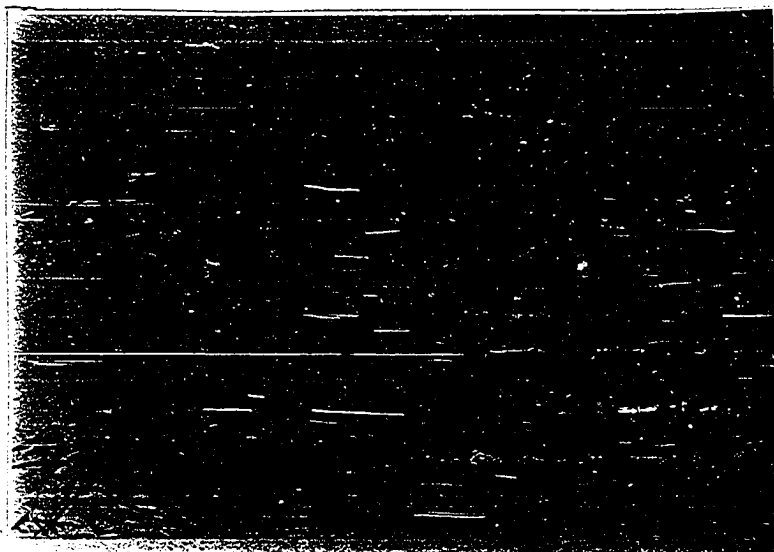


Fig. 156. Serov, sketch for "Soldatushki," 1905; reproduced in O. Serova, Vospominaniia o moem ottse Valentine Aleksandroviche Serove (M-L: Iskusstvo, 1947), p. 84.

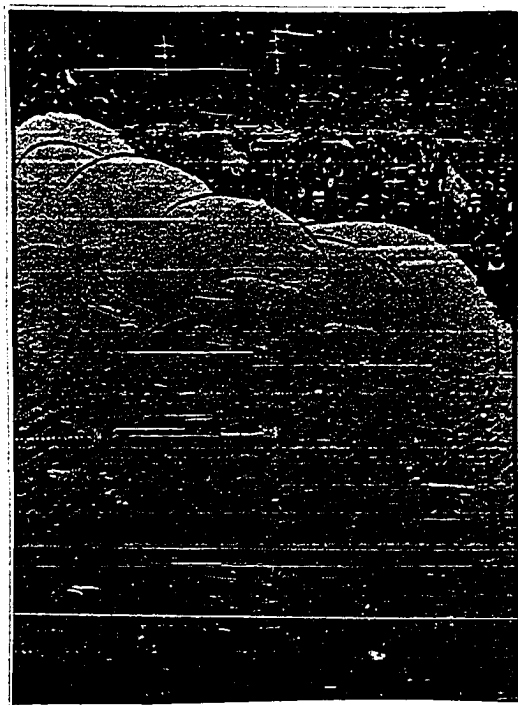


Fig. 157. Erich Wilke, "Caviar für's Volk!" Jugend, no. 5 (26 January 1905), p. 95.



Fig. 158. D'Ostoya, "Le 22 Janvier 1905" (the date of Bloody Sunday in the Gregorian calendar), L'Assiette au beurre, no. 201 (14 February 1905), pp.3324-25.



Fig. 159. Jules-Félix Grandjouan, "La Grève," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 214 (6 May 1905), p. 81.



Fig. 160. Bernard Naudin, "Liberté, Liberté chérie!" L'Assiette au beurre, no. 263 (14 April 1906), pp. 880-81.



Fig. 161. Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, "Kak nash slavnyi general nashu krepost pokorial" (How Our Glorious General Our Fortress Conquered), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 12.

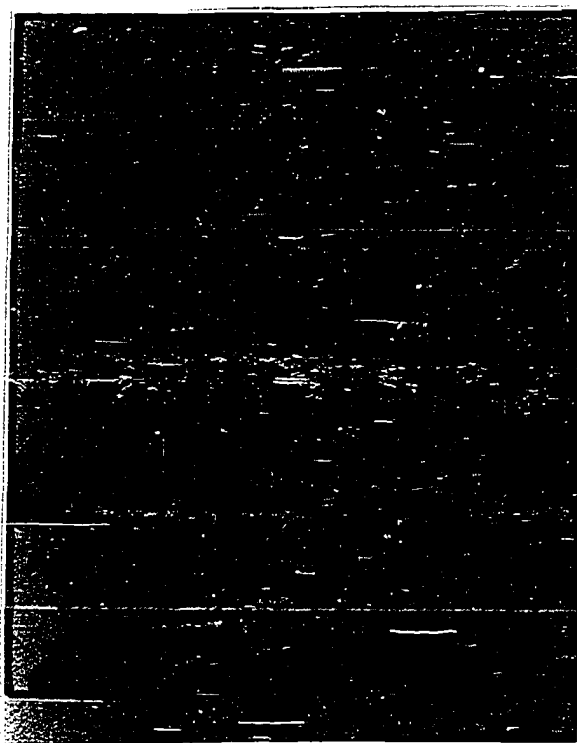


Fig. 162. Lubok: "Prusskii dragun 1759 goda" (Prussian Dragoon of 1759), 1759, wood engraving; in Rovinsky, Russskiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 317.

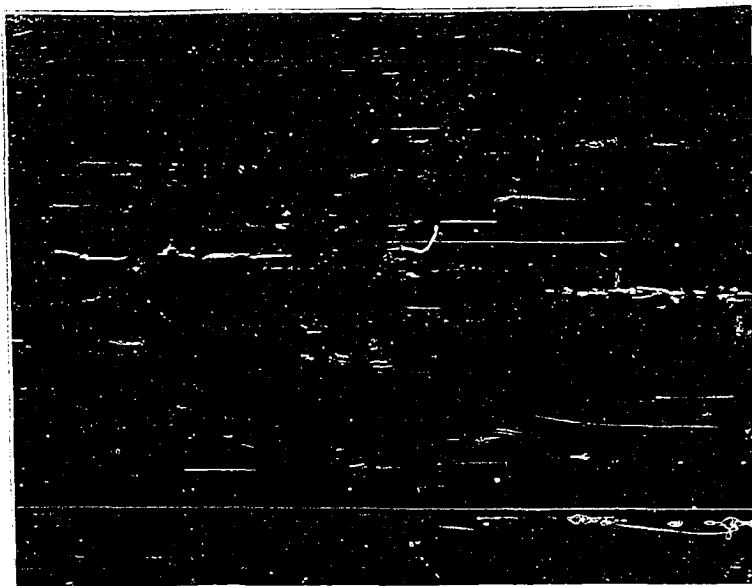


Fig. 163. Lubok: "Podvig praporshchika Shchegoleva pod Odessoiu 10 apreliia 1854 goda" (Heroic Deed of Ensign Shchegolev near Odessa at April 10, 1854), 1854, engraving; reproduced in Vladimir Denisov, Voina i lubok (Petrograd: Izd. Novago zhurnala dlia vsekh, 1916), no. 16.

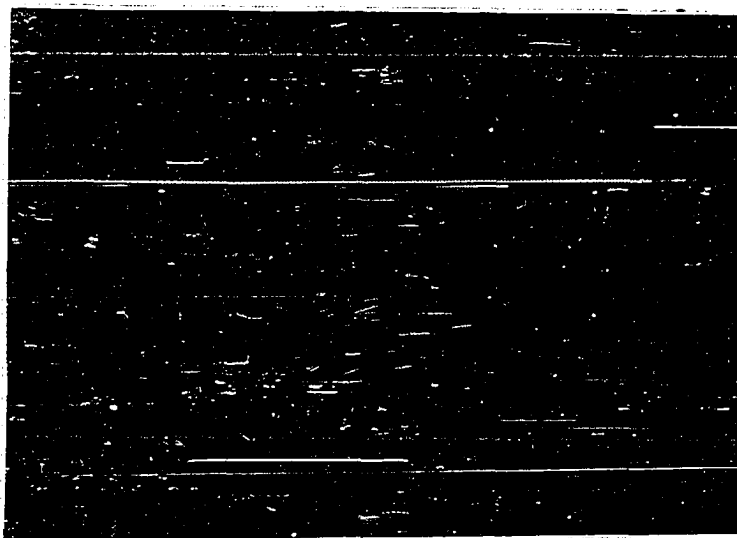


Fig. 164. Lubok: "Neudavshiisia zamysel iapontsev zagradit vykhod iz Port-Artura" (Unsuccessful Plan of the Japanese to Block the Exit from Port-Arthur), ca. 1904, lithograph(?); in Denisov, no. 26.

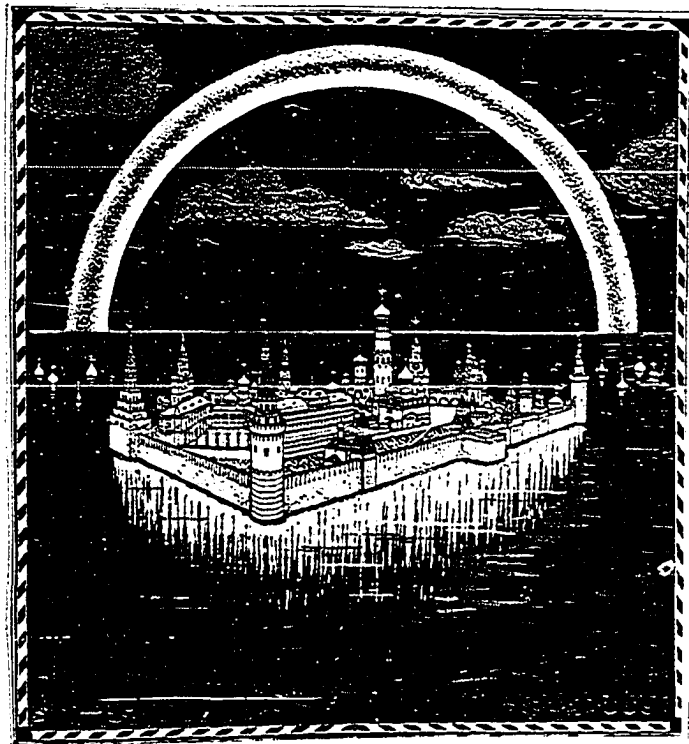


Fig. 165. Dobuzhinsky, "Moskva III. Umirotvorenie" (Moscow III: Pacification), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 7.



Fig. 166. Gulbransson, "St. Christophorus," Simplicissimus, no. 36 (ca. 5 December 1905), p. 421.

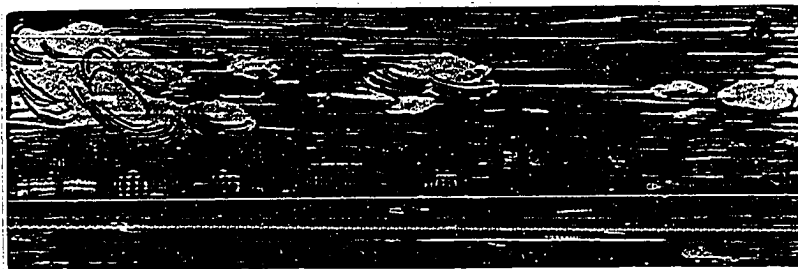


Fig. 167. Anna P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, "Neva" (The Neva River), 1901, etching, Mir iskusstva, no. 1 (1902), p. 17.

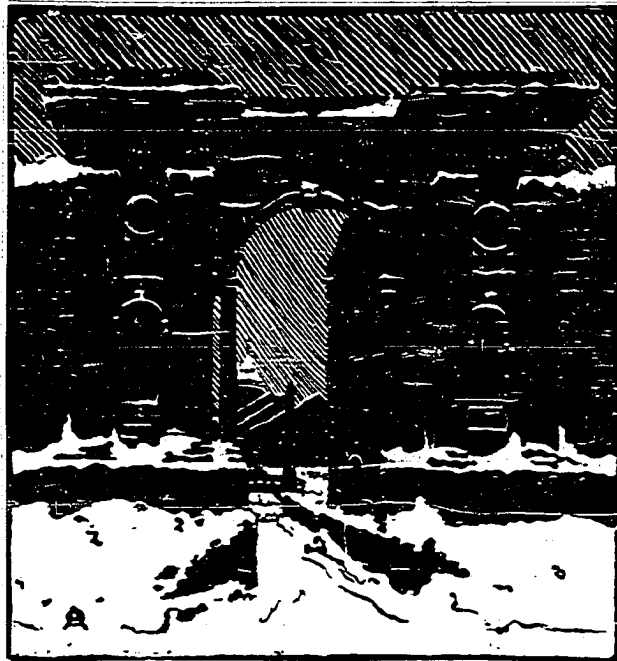


Fig. 168. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, "Novaia Gollandiia" (New Holland [St. Petersburg]), 1901, etching, Mir iskusstva, no. 1 (1902), p. 19.

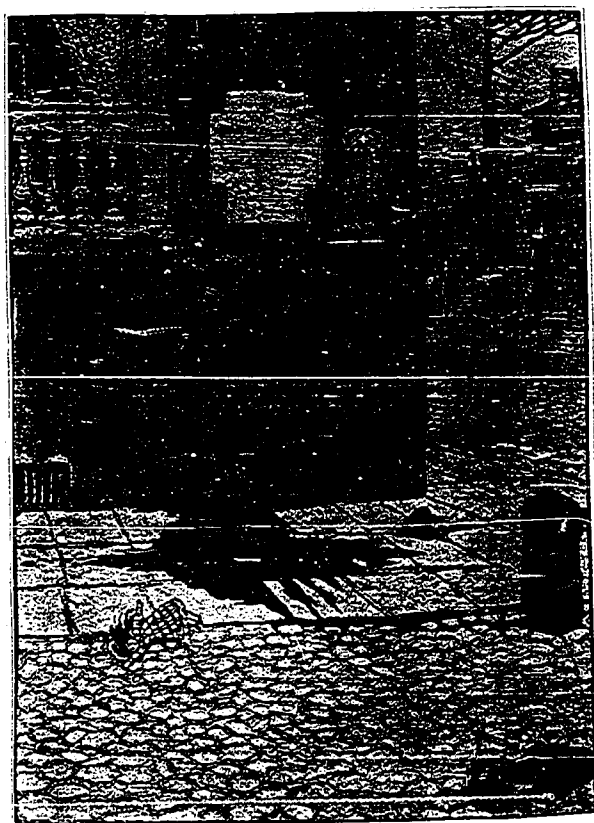


Fig. 169. Dobuzhinsky, "Oktiabrskaa idilliia" (October Idyll),
Zhupel, no. 1 (1905), p. 4.



Fig. 170. Wilke, "Russische Machthaber," Jugend, no. 23 (31 May 1905), n.p. (back cover).

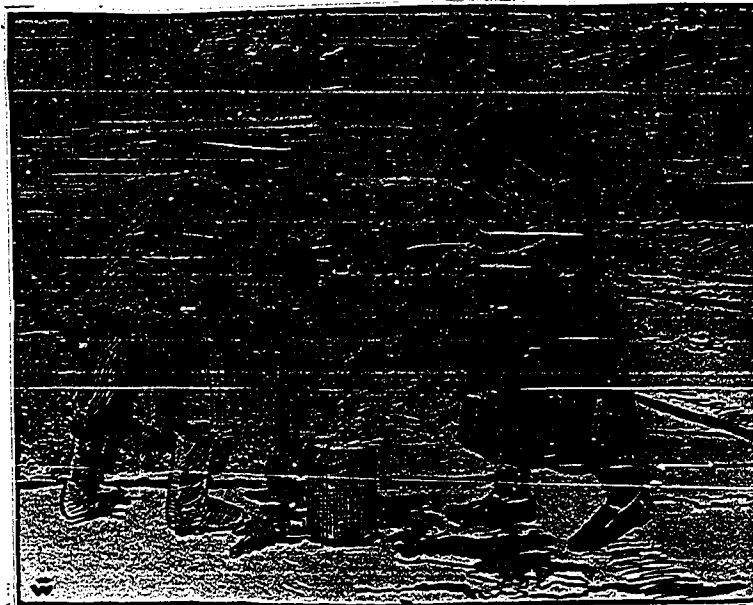


Fig. 171. W., "Ne smyvaetsia, vashe blagorodie!" (It Won't Wash Off, Your Excellency!), Krasnyi smekh, no. 2 (14 January 1906), [p. 4].



Fig. 172. Shestopalov, Zritel, no. 23 (27 November 1905), p. 7.



Fig. 173. Auguste Raffet, "La Barbarie et le Choléra-morbres extrant en Europe," n.d.; reproduced in Eduard Fuchs, Die Karikatur (1901), p. 341.

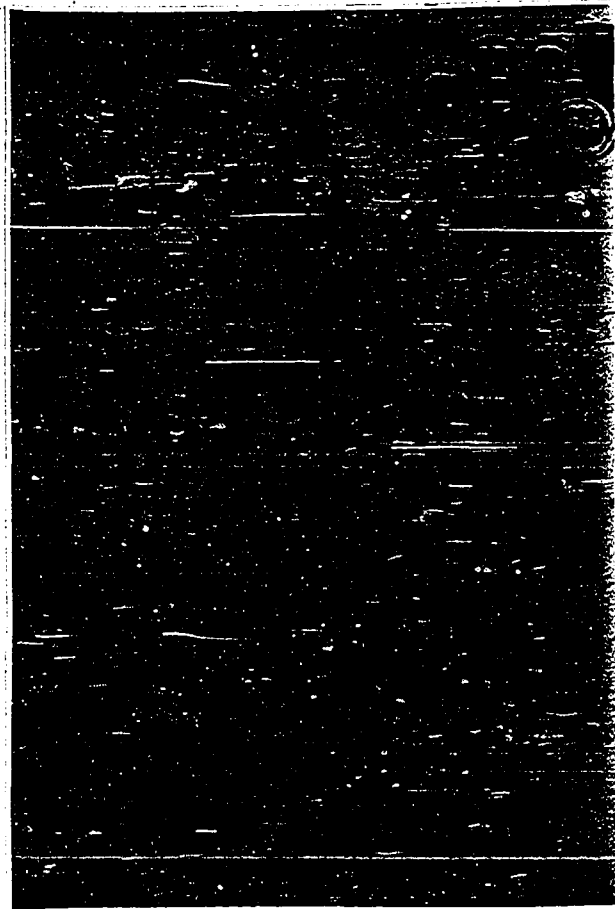


Fig. 174. Valentin I. Bystrenin, Molot, no. 1 (23 December 1905), cover.



Fig. 175. Petr S. Dobrynin, Knizhka za knizhkoj, no. 1 (1906), cover.

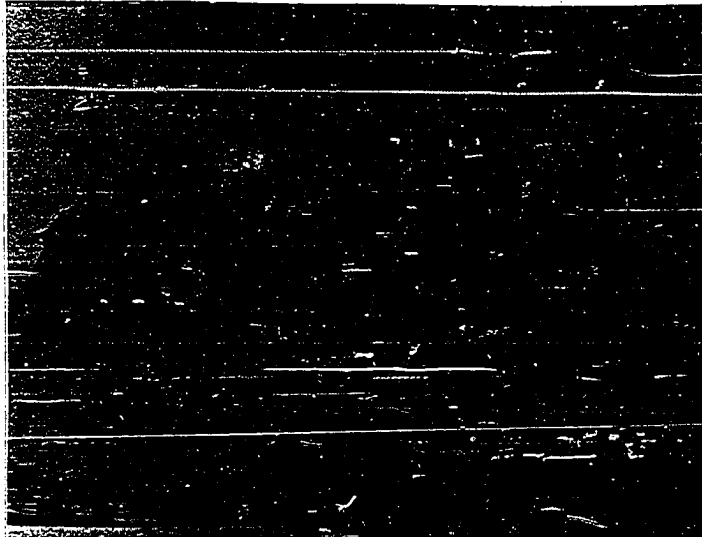


Fig. 176. Honoré Daumier, "Ne vous y frottez pas," L'Association Mensuelle, 1834, lithograph.



Fig. 177. Gerardov, "Barrikada vziata" (The Barricade is Taken), Molot, no. 2 (1906), p. 5.



Fig. 178. Edouard Manet, Guerre Civile, 1871, lithograph; reproduced in Anne Coffin Hanson, Edouard Manet, Philadelphia Museum of Art (catalogue). [Philadelphia, 1966], no. 116, p. 130.



Fig. 179. Anon., Strana mehty, no. 1 (1906), cover.

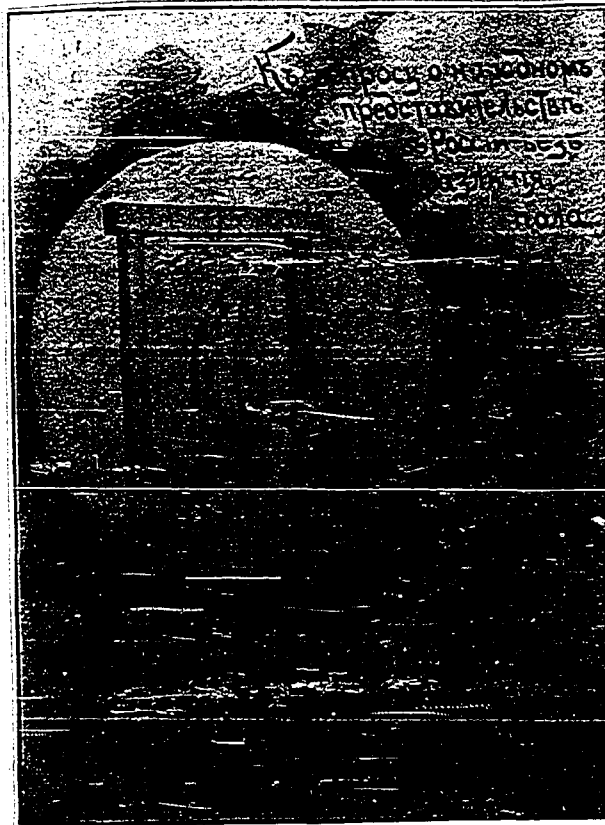


Fig. 180. Mikhail M. Chemodanov, Postcard on Russian women's suffrage movement, 1905, lithograph (?); in Review of Reviews (London), no. 191 (November 1905), p. 483.

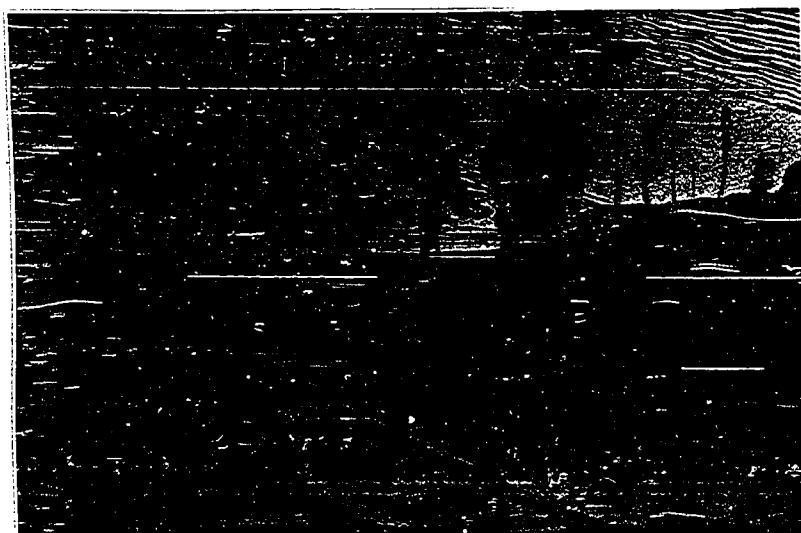


Fig. 181. Petr S. Dobrynin, "Koshmar" (Nightmare), Leshii, no. 1 (1906), p. 8.

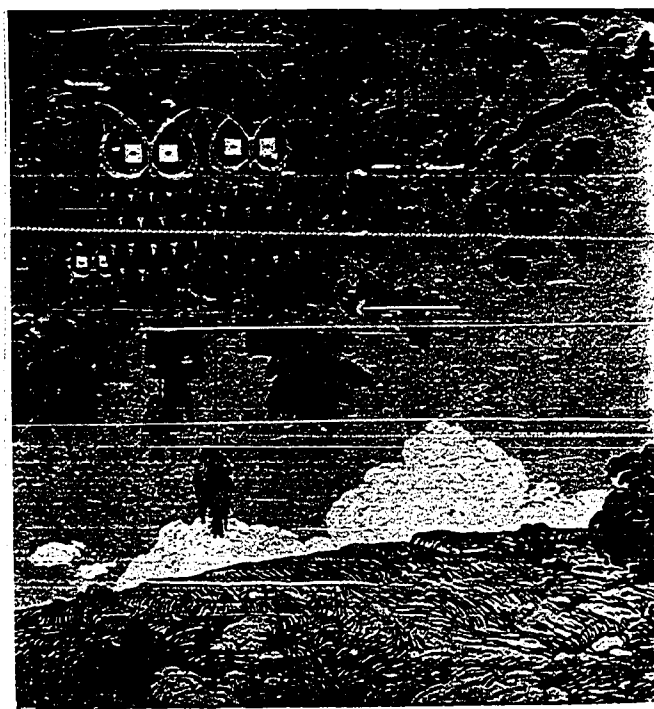


Fig. 182. Liubimov (attrib.), Svetaet, no. 1 (1906), cover.



Fig. 183. Anon., "Smertnaia kazn'" (Death Sentence), Kosa, no. 5 (1906), p. 8.

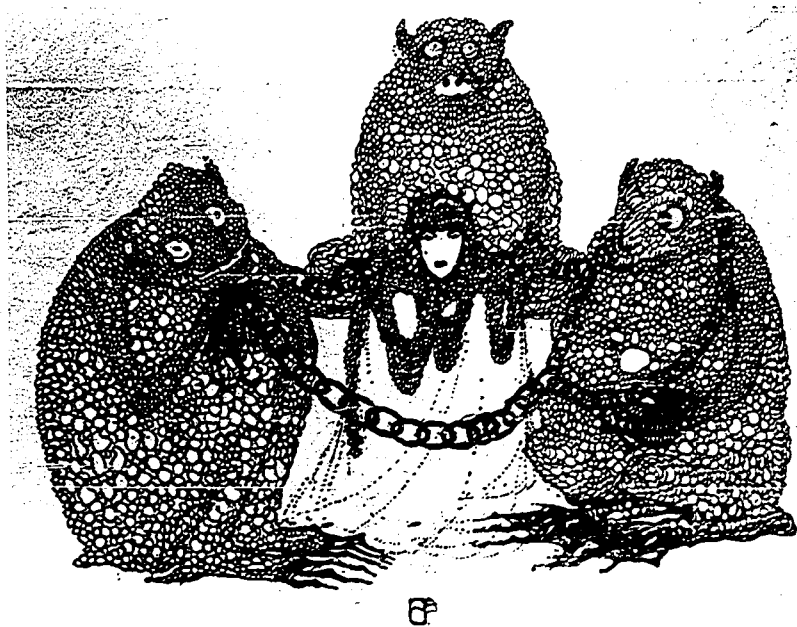


Fig. 184. Boris I. Anisfeld, Zhupel, no. 3 (1906), p. 10.



Fig. 185. Anon., Kazhetsia, uspokoil . . ." (It seems to me, I calmed her down), Vampir, no. 1 (1906), cover.

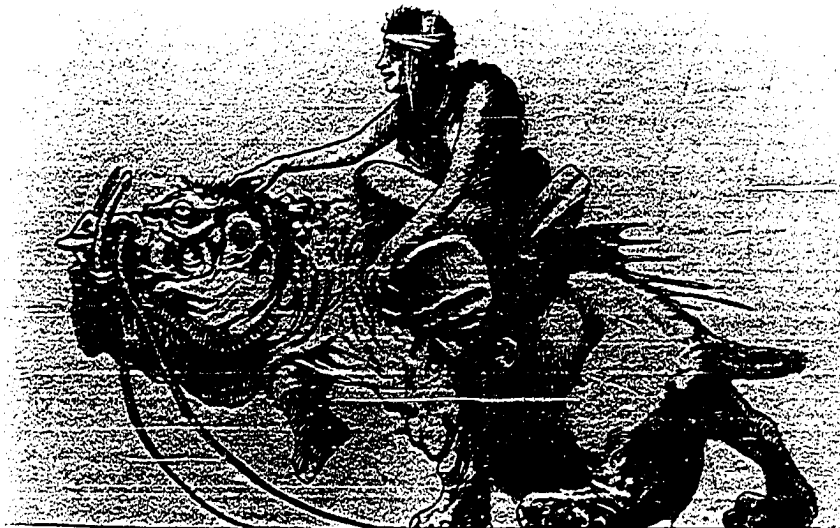


Fig. 186. Vasilii N. Masiutin, headpiece to Stanislav Przybyszewski's "Stezeiu Kaina -- Pervaia pesn poemy 'Kheruvim'" (Cain's Path -- First Song of the Poem 'Cherubim'), Zolotoe runo, no. 11-12 (1907), p. 50.



Fig. 187. Liubimov, Svetaet, no. 2 (1906), cover.



Fig. 188. Paul Rieth, "Begegnung," Jugend, no. 51 (13 December 1905), p. 1003.



Fig. 189. Lanceray, "Moskva II: Boi" (Moscow II: Battle), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 6.



Fig. 190. Claude Monet, La rue Montorgueil, Fete du 30 Juin 1878, 1878; reproduced in Daniel Wildenstein, Claude Monet: Biographie et Catalogue Raisonné, 3 vols. (Lausanne-Paris: La Bibliotheque des Arts, 1974-79), 1: 316.



Fig. 191. Detail of Figure 189.



Fig. 192. Lanceray, "Radost na zemle osnovnykh zakonov radi" (Rejoicing on Earth Thanks to the Fundamental Laws), Adskaia Pochta, no. 1 (1906), [p. 8].



Fig. 193. Photo: Demonstration of Monarchist group in Odessa; Review of Reviews (London), no. 192 (December 1905), p. 598.



Fig. 194. Lanceray, "Rady staratsia, Vashe prevoskhoditelstvo!"
(Glad to Try, Your Excellency!), Adskaia pochta, no. 1 (1906),
[p. 5].



Fig. 195. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, "La Foule," 1898, lithograph; reproduced in Ralph Shikes, The Indignant Eye, pl. 229.

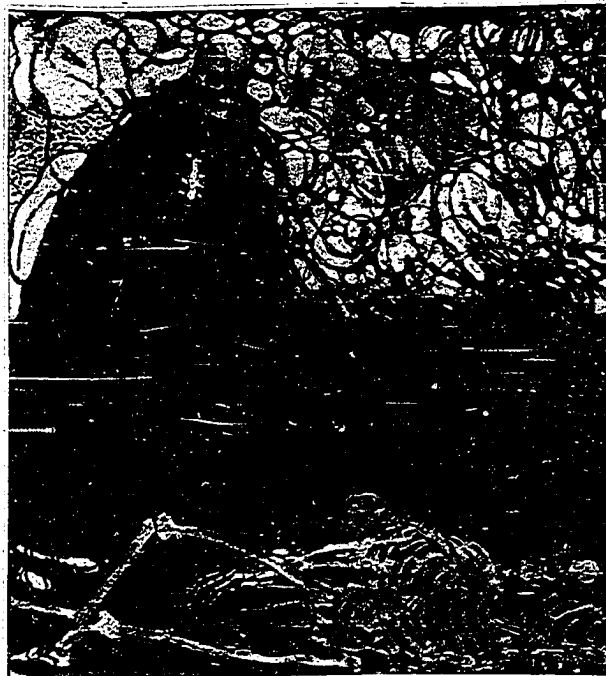


Fig. 196. Isaak I. Brodsky, "Russkaia simfonia," (Russian Symphony), Leshii, no. 4 (1906), p. 1.



Fig. 197. Kustodiev, "Moskva I: Vstuplenie" (Moscow I: Entry), Zhupel, no. 2 (1905), p. 3.



Fig. 198. Nikolai K. Gorenburg, "Dolina skorbi (Govoriashchie teni)"
(Valley of Grief [Talking Shadows]), Volshebnyi fonar, no. 5
(1906), p. 7.

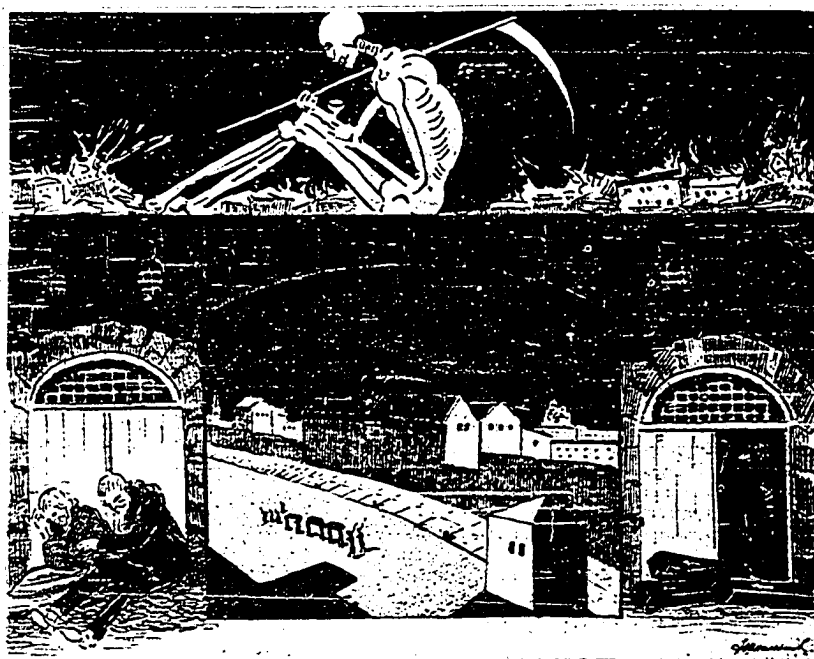


Fig. 199. Iosif S. Shkolnik, Kosa, no. 2 (1906), p. 8.



Fig. 200. Lubok: "Starik i Smert" (The Old Man and Death), n.d., wood engraving; in Rovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 89.

.

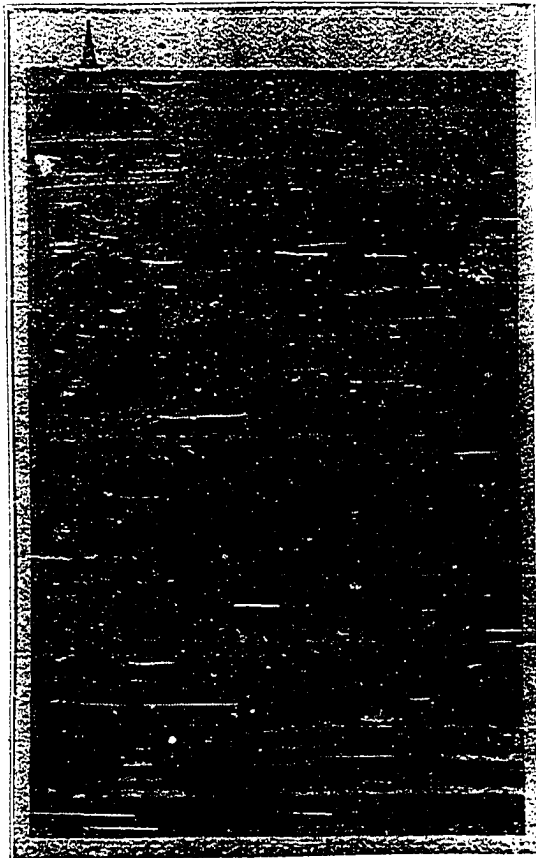


Fig. 201. Russian miniature painting: "Nishchie" (Beggars), Dukhovnoe Lekarstvo (Spiritual Medicine), 17th century; in Zolotoe runo, no. 7-9 (July-September, 1906), p. 93.

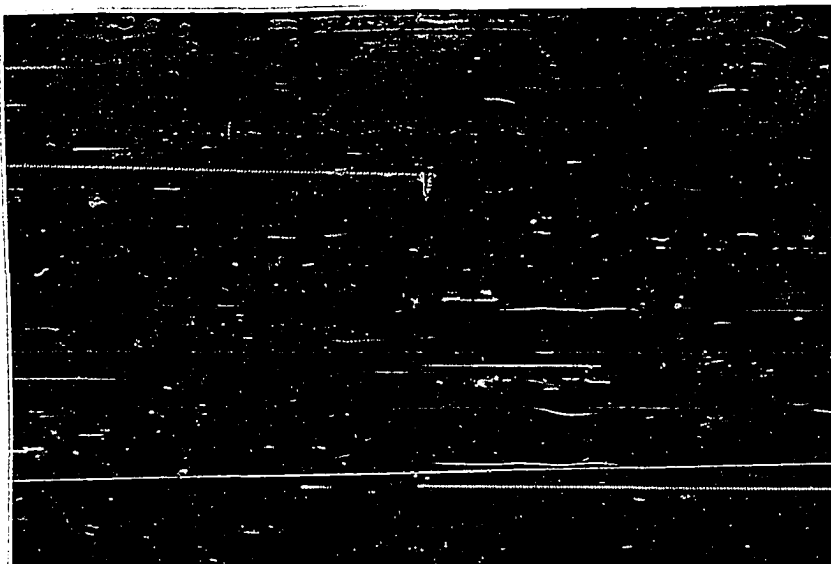


Fig. 202. Lubok: "Vozrast chelovecheskii" (The Ages of Man), first half of 18th century, copper engraving; in Rovinsky, Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki, no. 738.



Fig. 203. Anon., "A poka ...*" (And Meanwhile ...*), Sekira, no. 7 (1906), pp. 4-5.



Fig. 204. Vasilii Ya. Beringer, Paiats, no. 2 (1 January 1906), cover.



Fig. 205. Grabovsky, "Eia na vysokom kreste raspinali" (They Hung Her on a High Cross), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), pp. 6-7.

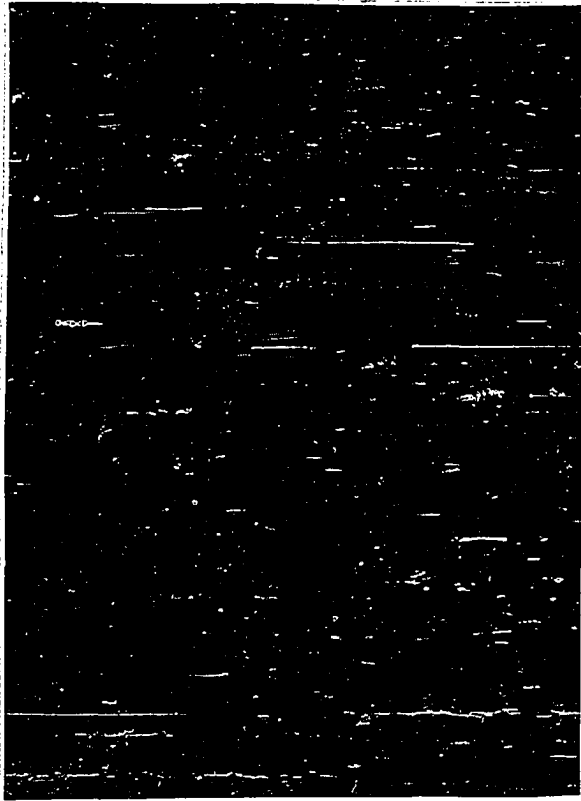


Fig. 206. Félicien Rops, "La Tentation de St. Antoine," etching; in Erastène Ramiro, Félicien Rops (Paris: Pellet et Floury, 1905).

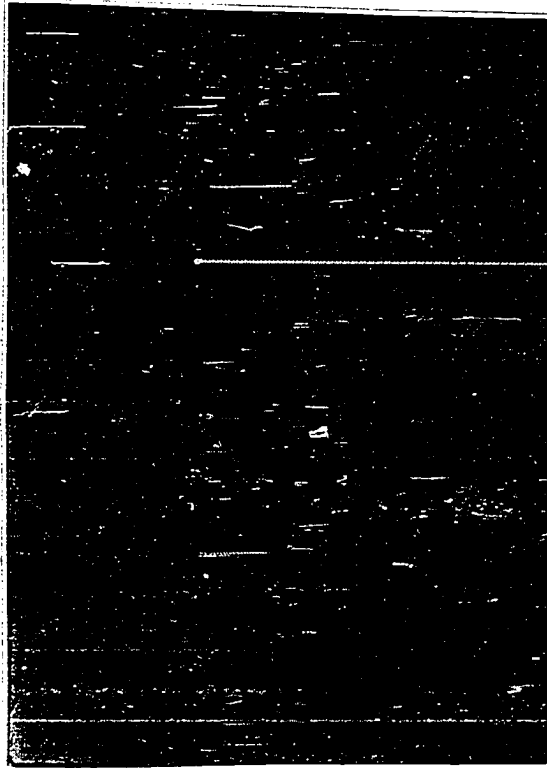


Fig. 207. František Kupka, "Le Dent," Les Temps nouveaux, 1905;
reproduced in Ralph Shikes, The Indignant Eye, pl. 221.

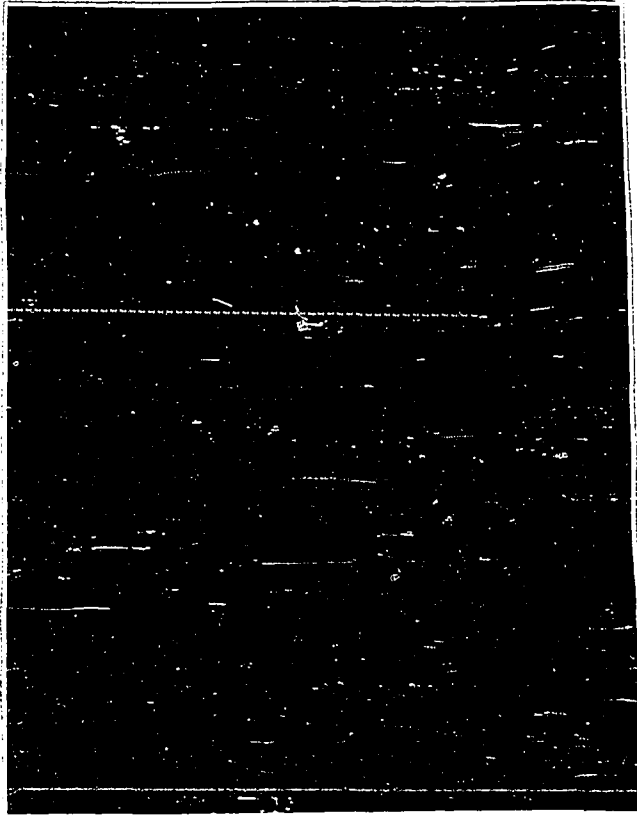


Fig. 208. Adolphe Willette, "V'la les English!.." Le Rire, special issue after no. 263 (23 November 1899), [p. 19].

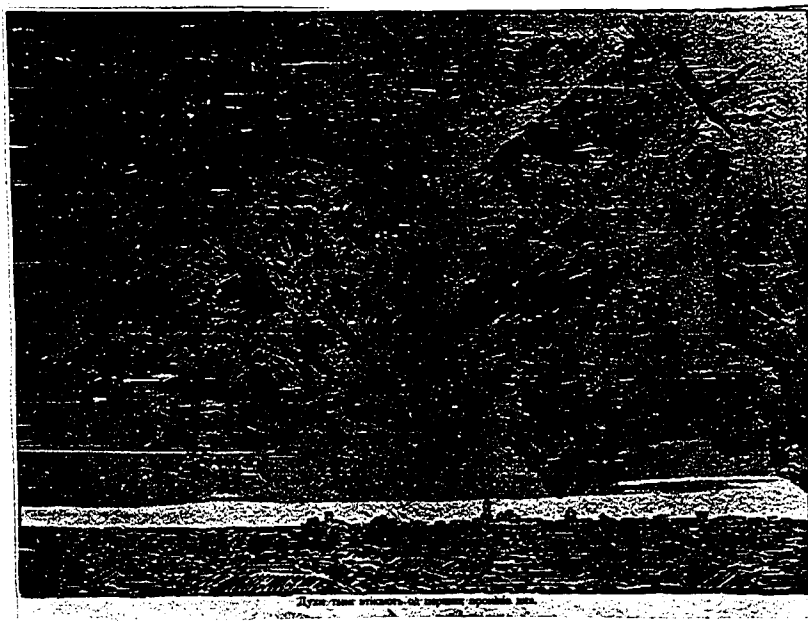


Fig. 209. Ivan M. Buriachok, "Dukhy tmy vtikaiut od pershykh prominiv dnia" (The Spirits of darkness run from the first light of the day), Shershen, no. 3 (20 January 1906), p. 5.

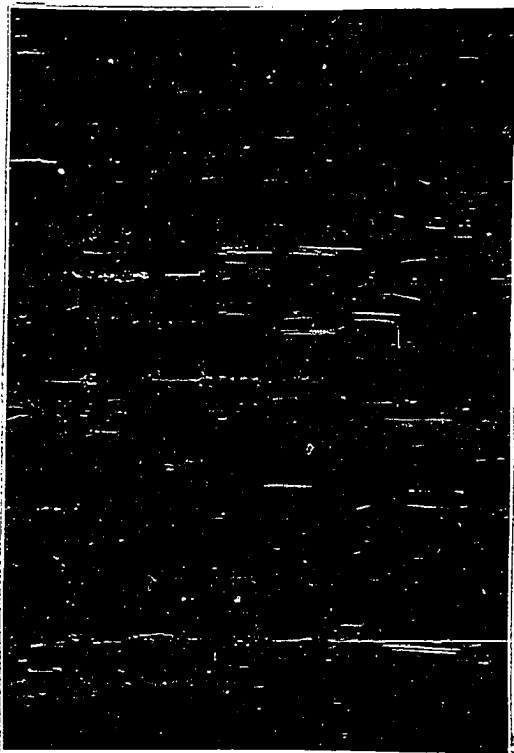


Fig. 210. Böcklin, Der Krieg, first version, 1896, oil on wood, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; reproduced in Mir iskusstva, no. 2-3 (1901), p. 39.



Fig. 211. Böcklin, Der Krieg, second version, 1898, oil on wood, Kunsthaus, Zurich; reproduced in Zastrelshchik, no. 1 (1906), p. 16.

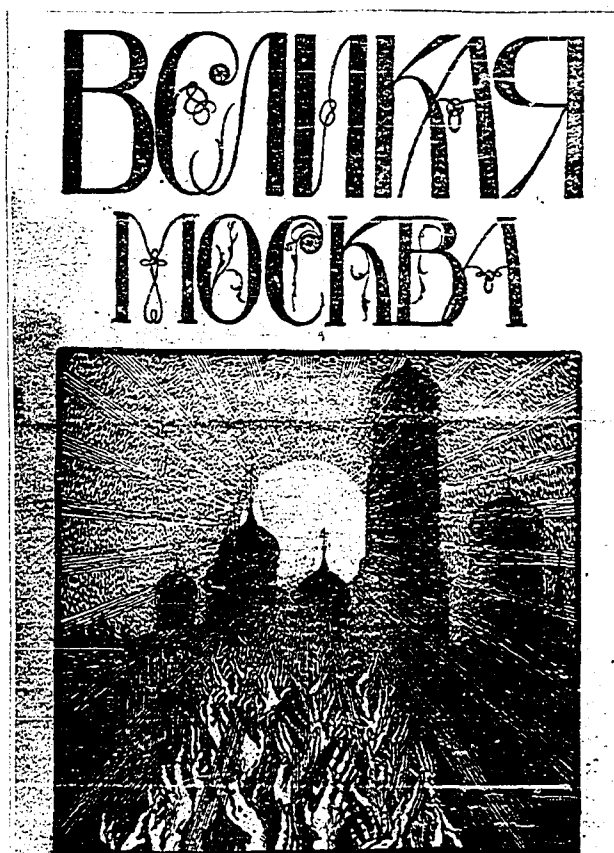


Fig. 212. Shestopalov (attrib.), "Ne boís maloe stado! Ibo Otets vash blagovoilil dat vam Tsarstvo" (Luke, 12, 32) (Fear not little flock! For it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom) (LK 12:32), Zhurnal: Velikaia Moskva, trial issue, (1906), cover.



Fig. 213. Mstislav V. Farmakovsky, decoration to poem by A. M. Fedorov, Zvon (Odessa), no. 2 (Christmas, 1906), cover.

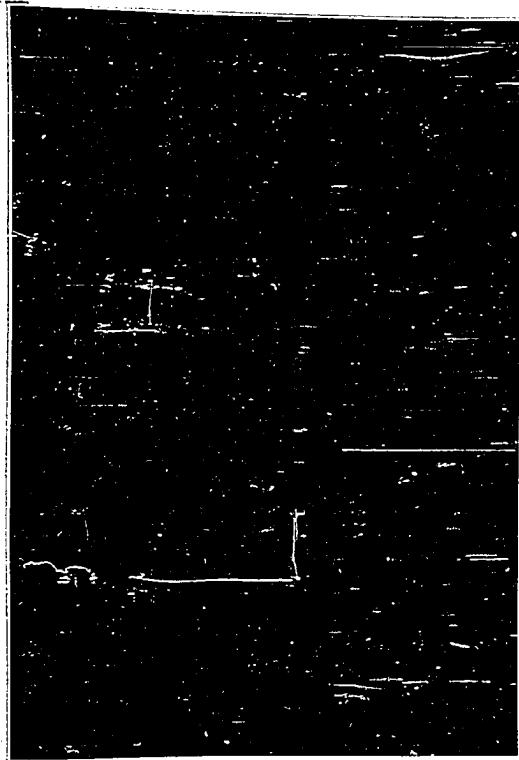


Fig. 214. Remizov (attrib.), "Zloi geni Rossii" (The Evil Genius of Russia), Strely, no. 1 (30 October 1905), p. 1.

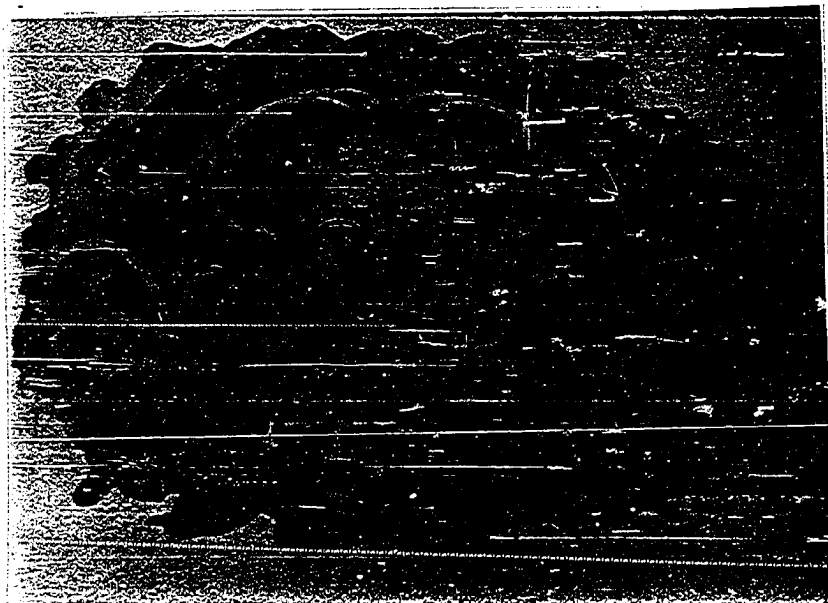


Fig. 215. Anon., "Sovremennaia meduza" (Contemporary Medusa), Perets, no. 1 (13 January 1906), p. 8.



Fig. 216. Nikolai K. Roerich, "Tsar" (The Tsar), Vesy, no. 8 (August 1905), cover.



Fig. 217. N. (A.A.?) Arapov, "Uzor v iaponskom" (Pattern in Japanese [Style]), Vesy, no. 9-10 (September-October 1905), pp. 16-17.



Fig. 218. Anon., postcard of the pyramid of society, 1900, lithograph(?); reproduced in Fuchs, Die Karikatur (1906), opp. p. 388.



Fig. 219. George Cruikshank, "Poor Bull," 1819, etching; reproduced in Shikes, The Indignant Eye, pl. 98.



Fig. 220. Vasilii V. Rozanov, "1907-10," Kogda nachalstvo ushlo ... 1905-1906 g.g. (Spb: tip. A. S. Suvorina), 1910), p. 427.

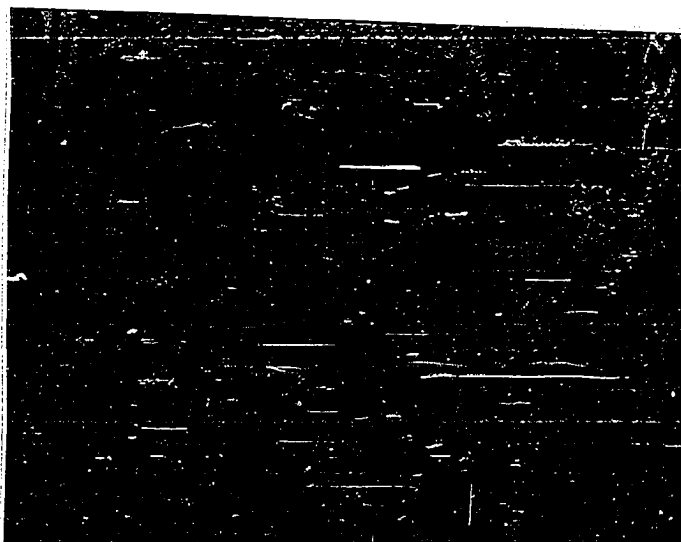


Fig. 221. Dobuzhinsky, decor and costumes for the Crossroads scene of Adam de la Halle's 13th century pastorelle, Play about Robin and Marion, at Nikolai N. Evreinov's Starinnyi Teatr (Antique Theater), St. Petersburg, season 1907-08.

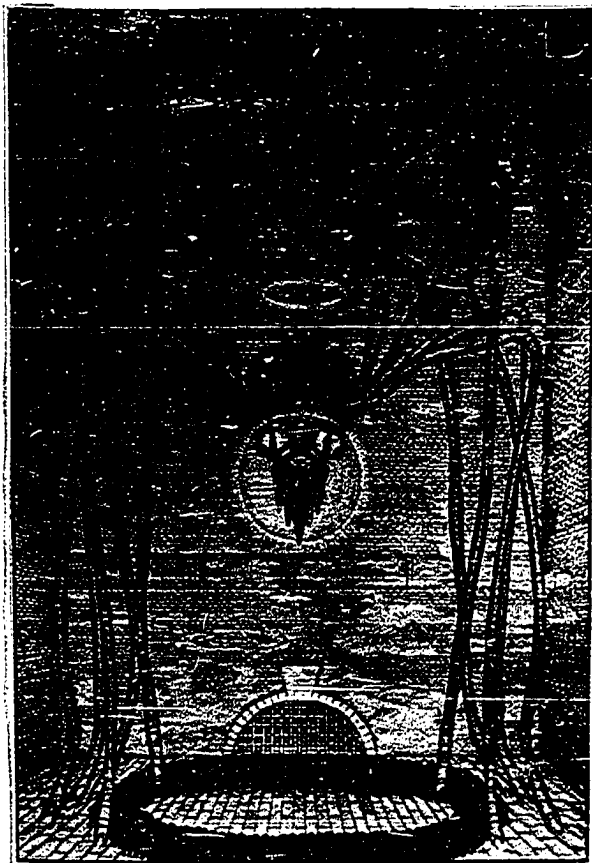


Fig. 222. Dobuzhinsky, Diavol (The Devil), Zolotoe runo, no. 1 (January 1907), p. 7.

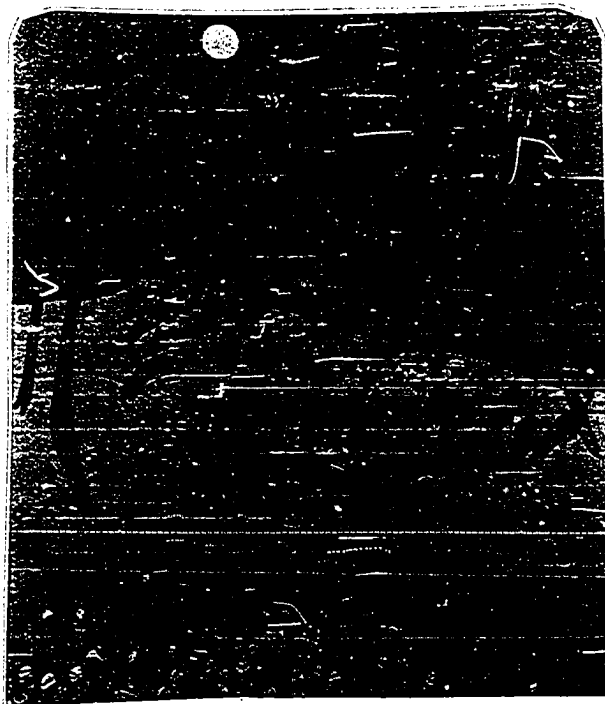


Fig. 223. Bruno Paul, "Die Pest in Südafrika," Simplicissimus, no. 47 (ca. February 1901), p. 373.

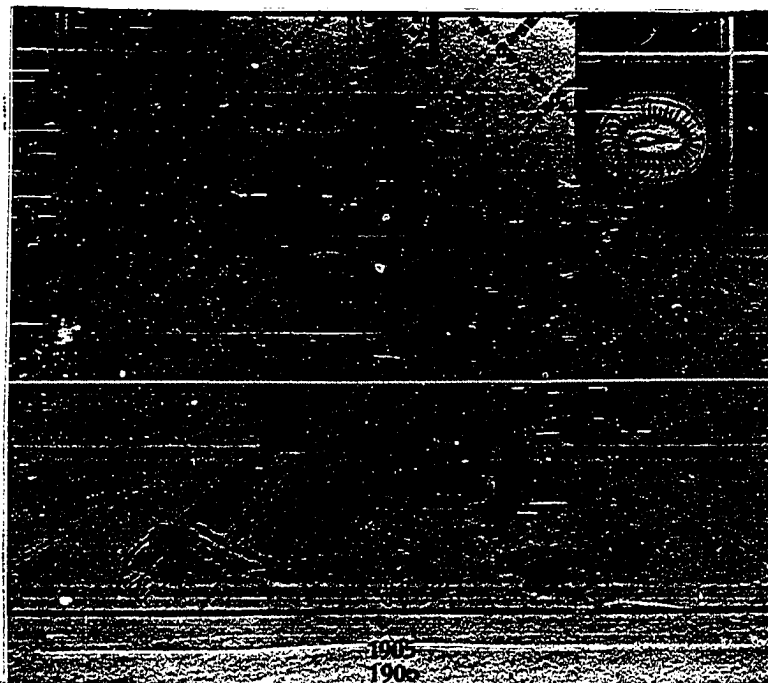


Fig. 224. Dobuzhinsky, "1905/1906," Zhupel, no. 3 (1906), cover.

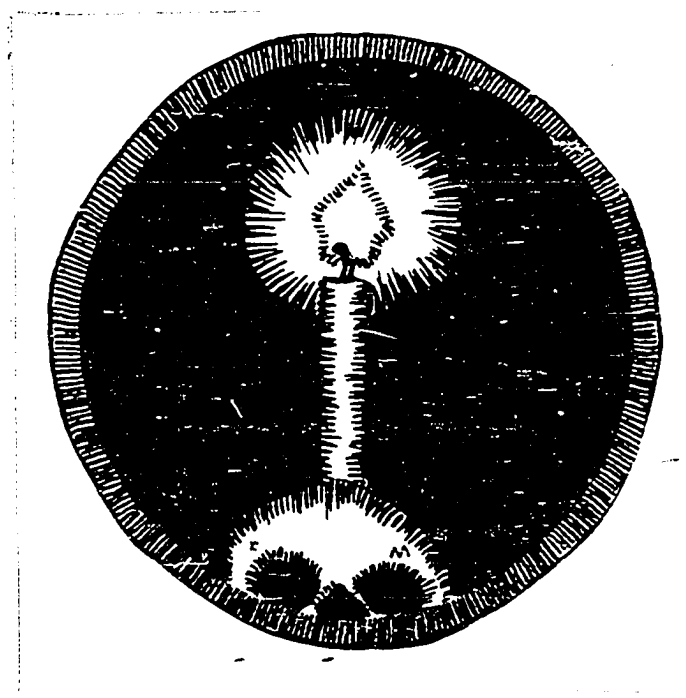


Fig. 225. Kazimir S. Malevich, vignette, candle on a skull, n.d. (ca. 1906-07), ink drawing; reproduced in Malévitch (ex. cat.), (Paris: Centre national d'art et de culture Georges Pompidou, 1978), p. 20.



Fig. 226. Malevich, Woman in Childbirth, 1908, oil and pencil on board, Georges Costakis Collection, Athens.

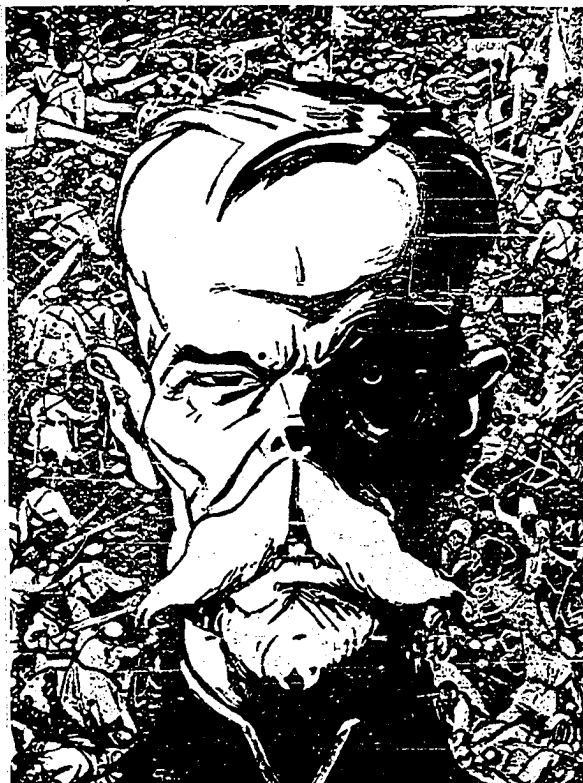


Fig. 227. Galantara, "L'Insensible," L'Assiette au beurre, no. 287 (29 September 1906), p. 1270.



Fig. 228. Pavel V. Kuznetsov, Rozhdenie -- sliianie s misticheskoi siloi atmosfery. Probuzhdenie Diavola (Birth -- Communion with the Mystical Force of the Atmosphere. Awakening of the Devil), Zolotoe runo, no. 1 (January 1907), p. 5.

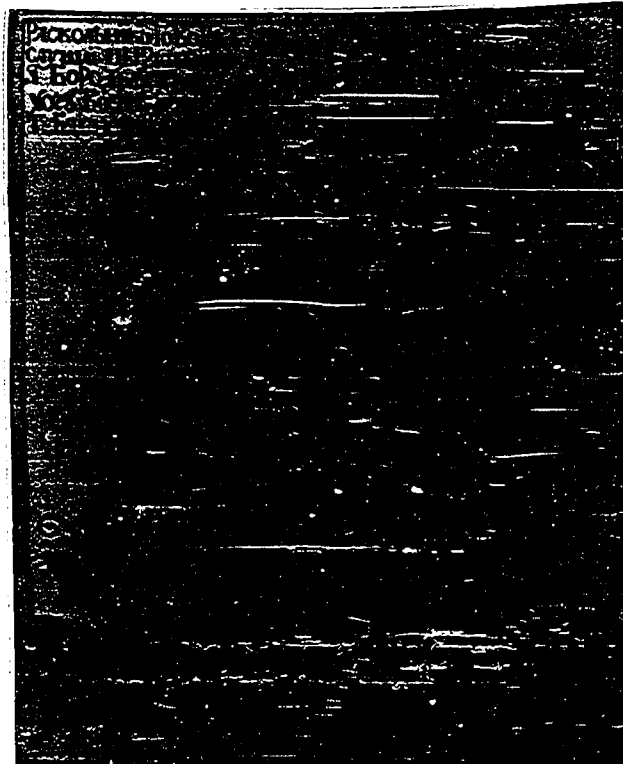


Fig. 229. Lubok: "Tsyriulnik (sic) strizhet raskolniku borodu"
(Barber Cutting Off the Beard of an Old Believer),
18th century, color woodcut; in Rovinsky, Ruskiia
narodnyia kartinki, no. 227.



Fig. 230. Mikhail F. Larionov, Officer at the Hairdresser's, 1909, oil on canvas, Private Collection, Paris.



Fig. 231. Mikhail F. Ivanov, Gamaiun, no. 1 (1906), [p. 5].



Fig. 232. Liubimov, Signalny, no. 2 (18 January 1906), p. 8.



Fig. 233. Alexander Salzmann, "Sancta Simplicitas," Jugend, no. 7 (9 February 1905), p. 135.



Fig. 234. Malevich, Morning in the Village After Snowstorm, 1912, oil on canvas, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.



Fig. 235. Aleksandr A. Labudz, "Na rasputi" (At the Crossroads), Strekoza, no. 1 (7 January 1907), cover.



Fig. 236. Remizov, "Nikolai Georgievich Shebuev, sredi zimy 'vesnu' delaiushchii" (Nikolai Georgievich Shebuev, Making the Spring Amidst Winter), *Sovremennyi Vsepeterburg*, 1908, [p. 11].



Fig. 237. Photograph: library of Levkii I. Zheverzheev, ca. 1915; in Zheverzheev, Opis moego sobraniia (Petrograd: Schmidt, 1915).



Fig. 238. A. Ivanov and Shebuev (attrib.), Pulemet, no. 5 (1906), p. 3.

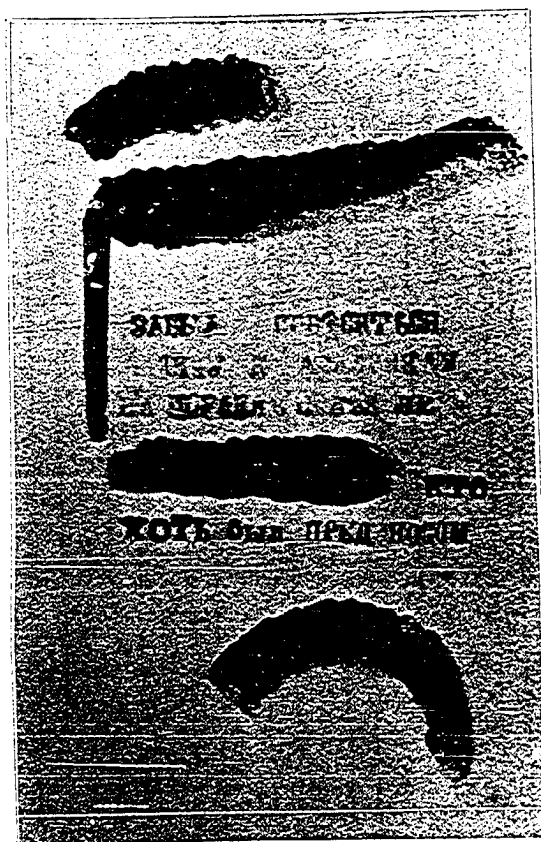


Fig. 239. Olga V. Rozanova, watercolor page decoration for Aleksei Kruchenykh's poem Vzorval (Exploded), (St. Petersburg: EUY, 1913), [p. 4].

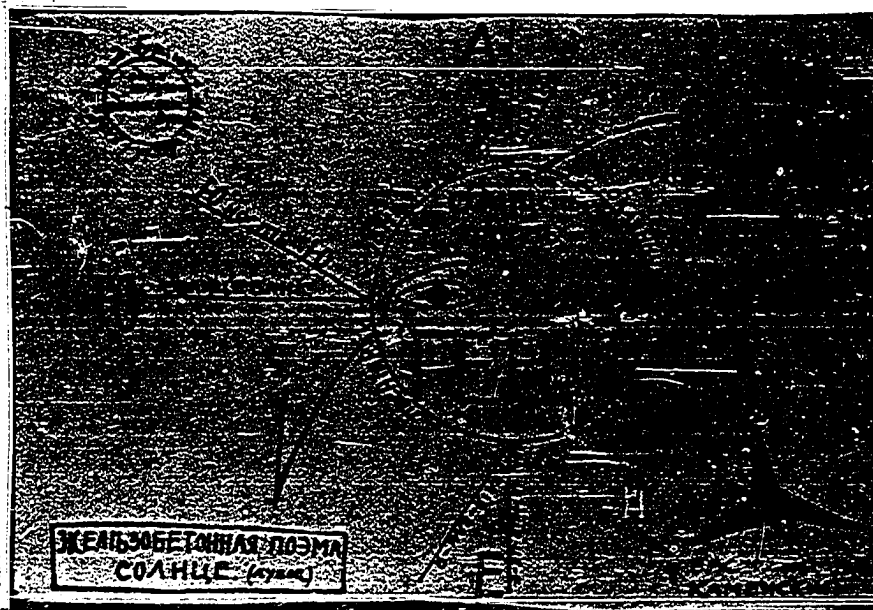


Fig. 241. Vasilii V. Kamensky, "Zhelezobetonnaia poema solntse. (lubok)"
(Ferro-Concrete Poem the Sun. [lubok]), ca.1913, linocut,
Thomas P. Whitney collection, Connecticut.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations: L = Leningrad
M = Moscow
Spb = St. Petersburg

A. Primary Sources

1. Russian and Western Journals and Periodicals

- Adskaia pochta [Hell Post]. Spb. 1906.
Al'manakh [Almanac]. Spb. 1906.
Argus [Argus]. Spb. 1905-06.
Bomby [Bombs]. Spb. 1906.
Bortsy [Fighters]. Spb. 1906.
Bosiak [Tramp]. Spb. 1906.
Bubenchik [Jingle Bell]. M. 1906.
Budil'nik [Alarm Clock]. Spb. 1865-1916.
Budil'nik na rasput'i [Alarm Clock at the Crossroads]. M. 1906.
Buket [Bouquet]. Spb. 1906.
Buksir [Tugboat]. Spb. 1907.
Bulat [Damascus Steel]. Spb. 1906.
Buravchik [Drillet]. Spb. 1906.
Bureval [Storm]. Spb. 1906.
Buria [Tempest]. Spb. 1906.
Chaika [Seagull]. Odessa. 1905.
Chto bylo vchera [What Was Yesterday]. Spb. 1905.
Deviatyi val [Ninth Wave]. Spb. 1906.
Dikar' [Savage]. Spb. 1906.
Dumskii al'manakh [Duma Almanac]. Spb. 1906.
Ezh [Hedgehog]. Spb. 1907.
Fakely [Torches]. Spb. 1906-08.
Fiskal [Sneak]. Spb. 1906.
Fonar' [Lantern]. Spb. 1905-06.
Gamaiun [Hamaion]. Spb. 1906.
Gazeta Shebueva [Shebuev's Paper]. Spb. 1906.
Gnom [Gnome]. Ekaterinburg. 1906-07.
Grazhdanin [Citizen]. Spb. 1889-1918.
Gudok [Hoot]. Spb. 1906.
Gvozdi' [Nail]. Spb. 1906.
Iad [Venom]. Spb. 1905.
Igla [Needle]. Spb. 1906.
Iskry [Sparks]. Supplement to Russkoe Slovo. M. 1900-17.
Iskusstvo [Art]. M. 1905.
Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost' [Art and Art-Industry]. Spb. 1898-1902.

- Iumoristicheskkii al'manakh [Humorous Almanac]. Spb. 1905-06.
Iuvenal [Juvenal]. Spb. 1906.
K svetu [Toward the Light]. Spb. 1906.
Karrikaturnyi listok gazety gazet [Caricature Page of the
 Newspaper of Newspapers]. Spb. 1905.
Khudozhestvennyia sokrovishcha Rossii [Art Treasures of Russia].
 Spb. 1901-03.
Kliuv [Beak]. Spb. 1905.
Knizhka za knizhkoii [Booklet After Booklet]. Spb. 1906.
Knut [Knout]. M. 1906-07.
Kometa [Comet]. Spb. 1906.
Kosa [Scythe]. Spb. 1906.
Kramola [Sedition]. M. 1905.
Krasnyi smekh [Red Laughter]. Spb. 1906.
Krokodil [Crocodile]. Odessa. 1906.
Leshii [Wood Goblin]. Spb. 1906.
Literaturno-khudozhestvennyi al'manakh Shipovnik [Rosehip, the
 Literary-Artistic Almanac]. Spb. 1907-14.
Malen'kii zhurnal [Little Journal]. Spb. 1906.
Maliar [House Painter]. Spb. 1906.
Maski [Masks]. Spb. 1906.
Mefistofel' [Mephistopheles]. Spb. 1906.
Mir Bozhii [God's World]. Spb. 1892-1906.
Mir iskusstva [World of Art]. Spb. 1898-1904.
Miting [Meeting]. Spb. 1906.
Moi pulemet [My Machine-Gun]. Spb. 1906.
Moment [Moment]. Spb. 1907.
Molot [Hammer]. Spb. 1905-06.
Na rasput'ii [At the Crossroads]. M. 1906.
Nagaechka [Little Whip]. Spb. 1905-06.
Nakanune [On the Eve]. Spb. 1907.
Narodnyi kalendar' [Popular Calendar]. Spb: Svobodnaia zemlia.
 1907.
Niva [Field]. Spb. 1870-1918.
Noch' [Night]. Spb. 1906.
Novoe vremia [New Times]. Spb. 1891-1917.
Obryv [Precipice]. Spb. 1907.
Odessaika rezina [Odessa Rubber]. Odessa. 1908.
Ogni [Lights]. Spb. 1906.
Otboi [Retreat]. Spb. 1906.
Ovod [Gadfly]. Spb. 1906.
Paiats [Buffoon]. Spb. 1905-06.
Paiatsy [Buffoons]. Spb. 1906.
Pchela [Bee]. Spb. 1906.
Pereval [Pass]. M. 1906-07.
Pesni bez slov [Songs Without Words]. Spb. 1906.
Petrushka [Petrushka]. Spb. 1905.
Piatnitsa [Friday]. Spb. 1907.
Plamia [Flame]. Spb. 1905-06.
Pluuium [Pluvious]. Spb. 1906-07.
Poedinok [Duel]. Spb. 1906.
Prometei [Prometheus]. Spb. 1906.

- Pulemet [Machine-Gun]. Spb. 1905-06.
Pulemet [Machine-Gun] (Speculative imitator of previous entry).
 Spb. 1905.
Puli [Bullets]. Spb. 1905-06.
Rapira [Rapier]. Spb. 1906.
Rus' [Rus]. Illustrated supplement. Spb. 1906-07.
Ruskiia vedomosti [Russian Records]. M. 1863-1918.
Russkoe slovo [Russian Word]. M. 1895-1917.
Satira [Satire]. Spb. 1906.
Satiricheskoe obozrenie [Satirical Survey]. Spb. 1906.
Satirik [Satirist]. Spb. 1907.
Satirikon [Satiricon]. Spb. 1908-14.
Schast'e [Happiness]. Spb. 1906.
Sekira [Pole-Axe]. Spb. 1905-06.
Seryi volk [Grey Wolf]. Spb. 1907-08.
Shershen' [Hornet]. Kiev. 1906.
Shpil'ka [Twit]. Odessa. 1906.
Shtyk [Bayonet]. Spb. 1906.
Shut [Jester]. Spb. 1879-1914.
Signal [Signal]. Spb. 1905.
Signalny [Signals]. Spb. 1906.
Skomorokh [Mountebank]. M. 1907.
Skorpion [Scorpion]. Spb. 1906.
Sochineniia N.G. Shebueva [N.G. Shebuev's Writings]. Spb. 1906.
Sovremennyi Vsepeterburg [Contemporary All-Petersburg]. Spb.
 1906.
Sprut [Octopus]. Spb. 1905-06.
Strana mechty [Dreamland]. Spb. 1906.
Strekoza [Dragonfly]. Spb. 1876-1908.
Strela [Arrow]. Spb. 1907.
Strely [Arrows]. Spb. 1905-06.
Svetaet [Day is Breaking]. Spb. 1906.
Svistok [Whistle]. Odessa. 1905.
Svoboda [Freedom]. Spb. 1905.
Svobodnyi smekh [Free Laughter]. Spb. 1905-06.
Taran [Battering-Ram]. Spb. 1907.
Teatr i iskusstvo [Theater and Art]. Spb. 1901-13.
Vampir [Vampire]. Spb. 1906.
Verbnyi bazar [Pussy-Willow Bazaar]. Supplement to Al'manakh.
 Spb. 1906.
Vesy [Scales]. M. 1904-09.
Vittova pliaska [St. Vitus's Dance]. Spb. 1905-07.
Vodolaz [Scuba-Diver]. Spb. 1906.
Vodovorot [Whirlpool]. Spb. 1906.
Volshebnyi fonar' [Magic Lantern]. Spb. 1905-06.
Voprosy zhizni [Questions of Life]. Spb. 1905.
Voron [Raven]. M. 1906.
Vozrozhdenie [Rebirth]. Spb. 1906.
Vsemirnyi politicheskii karikaturist [Universal Political
 Caricaturist]. Spb. 1906.
Za zhizn'! [To Life!]. Spb. [1905].
Zabiiaka [Squabbler]. Spb. 1905-06.
Zalp [Salvo]. Spb. 1906.
Zancoza [Splinter]. Spb. 1906.

Zarevo [Glow]. Spb. 1906.
Zarnitsy [Summer Lightning]. Spb. 1906.
Zastrel'shchik [Initiator]. Spb. 1906.
Zerkalo [Mirror]. Spb. 1906.
Zhalo [Sting]. M. 1905-06.
Zhizn' [Life]. Spb. 1906.
Zhupel [Bugbear]. Spb. 1905-06.
Zhurnal dlia vsekh [Journal for Everyone]. Spb. 1896-1906.
Zhurnal "Velikaia Moskva" [Journal "Great Moscow"]. Spb.
 1905-06.
Zhurnal zhurnalov [Journal of Journals]. Spb. 1905-06.
Zloi dukh [Evil Spirit]. Spb. 1906.
Znamia [Banner]. Spb. 1906.
Znanie [Knowledge]. Spb. 1904-13.
Zolotoe runo [Golden Fleece]. M. 1906-09.
Zritel' [Spectator]. Spb. 1905-06, 1908.
Zvon [Chime]. Odessa. 1905.
Zvonar' [Bell Ringer]. Spb. 1906.

b. Western Journals

The Anglo-Russian. London. 1897-1914.
L'Assiette au beurre. Paris. 1901-12.
Cocorico. Paris. 1901-12.
L'Ermitage. Paris. 1903-06.
Le Figaro illustré. Paris. 1889-1911.
Fliegende Blätter. Munich. 1844-1944.
Journal amusant. Paris. 1851-1928.
Jugend. Munich. 1896-1940.
Kladderdatsch. Berlin. 1848-1939.
Lustige Blätter. Berlin. 1886-1944.
Puck. New York. 1877-1918.
Review of Reviews. London. 1887-1936.
Le Rire. Paris. 1894-1939.
Simplicissimus. Munich. 1896-1944.
Le Sourire. Paris. 1899-1922.
The Studio. London. 1893-1927.
Les Temps Nouveaux. Paris. 1895-1914.
Der Wahre Jacob. Stuttgart. 1884-1933.

2. Early Accounts, Lists, and Memoirs

- Alexandre, Arsène. L'Art du rire et de la caricature. Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1892.
- Amfiteatrov, Aleksandr V. Gospoda Obmanovy. Berlin: Hugo Steinitz, 1902.
- Belokonskii, I. P. "Lubochnaia literatura o iaponsko-russkoi voine." Obrazovanie, no. 5 (May 1904), section 2, pp. 80-91; no. 7 (July 1904), section 2, pp. 105-12; no. 1 (January 1905), section 1, pp. 43-63.
- Benua (Benois), Aleksandr N. Vozniknovenie "Mira iskusstva". L: Komitet populiariatsii khudozhestvennykh izdaniï pri Gosudarstvennoi akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury, 1928.
- Botsianovskii, Vladimir F. "Karikatura i tsenzura v nachale XX veka (Iz vospominanii redaktora satiricheskogo zhurnala)." Byloe, no. 26 (1924), pp. 177-206.
- _____. "Khudozhnik dvukh revoliutsii (S. V. Chekhonin)." Byloe, no. 1 (29) (1925), pp. 237-58.
- _____. "Nikolai II v karikature." Byloe, no. 4 (32) (1925), pp. 222-52.
- Botsianovskii, Vladimir F., and Gollerbakh, Erikh F., comps. Russkaia satira pervoi revoliutsii 1905-1906. L: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925.
- Brodskii, Isaak I. Moi tvorcheskii put'. M-L: Iskusstvo, 1940.
- Buchkin, Petr D. O tom, chto v pamiati. Edited by I. A. Brodskii. L: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1963.
- Champfleury [pseud.]. Histoire de la caricature moderne. 2d ed. Paris: E. Dentu, 1885(?).
- _____. Histoire de la caricature sous la réforme et la ligue: Louis XIII à Louis XVI. Paris: E. Dentu, 1880.
- _____. Le musée secret de la caricature. Paris: E. Dentu, 1888.
- Chukovskii, Kornei I., comp. Russkaia revoliutsiia v satire i iumore. Chast' I: 1905-1907 g.g. M: Izvestiia TsIK SSSR i VTsIK, 1925.
- Chulkov, Georgii I. Gody stranstvii. M: Federatsiia, 1930.
- Corinth, Lovis. "Thomas Theodor Heine und Münchens Künstlerleben am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts." Kunst und Künstler 4 (1906): 143-56.

- Denisov, Vl[adimir]. Voina i lubok. Petrograd: Izd. Novago zhurnala dlia vsekh, 1916.
- Dobuzhinskii, Mstislav V. Vospominaniia. Vol. 1. New York: Put' Zhizni, 1976.
- Dul'skii, P[etr M.]. Grafika satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 gg. Kazan: Tatgosizdat, 1922.
- Esswein, Hermann. Thomas Theodor Heine. Munich: R. Piper, 1904.
- Fichte, Emil. Über politische Karikaturen: Ein Beitrag zur Ästhetik. Berlin: R. Gaertners, 1892.
- Fuchs, Eduard. Die Karikatur der europäischen Völker vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit. Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1901.
- _____. Die Karikatur der europäischen Völker vom 1848 bis zur Gegenwart. Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1906.
- Gaultier, Paul. Le rire et la caricature. Préface by Sully Prudhomme. 2d ed. Paris: Hachette, 1906.
- Gor'kii (Gorky), Maxim [pseud.]. Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh. 30 vols. M: Gosudarstvennoe izd-vo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1949-55.
- Gor'kii i khudozhniki: Vospominaniia, perepiska, stat'i. Compiled by N.V. Vlasov. M: Iskusstvo, 1964.
- Gorodetskii, D.M. "Zarozhdenie karikatury v Rossii." Literaturnyi vestnik, no. 8 (1902), pp. 404-19.
- Grabar', Igor' E. Igor' Emmanuilovich Grabar': Moia Zhizn'. Avtomonografiia. M-L: Iskusstvo, 1937.
- _____. Pis'ma: 1891-1917. Edited and compiled by L.V. Andreev and T.P. Kazhdan. M: Nauka, 1974.
- Grand-Carteret, John. L'Actualité en images: Les caricatures sur l'alliance franco-russe. Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1893.
- _____. "La caricature et l'imagerie." In Delavaud, L. et al. La Russie, géographique, ethnologique, historique, administrative, économique, religieuse, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, pittoresque, etc., pp. 389-420. 3d ed. Paris: Larousse, [1900].
- _____. Les caricatures sur l'alliance franco-russe. Paris: Ancienne maison Quantin, 1893.

- _____. Musée pittoresque du voyage du tsar. Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1897.
- _____. Nicolas, ange de la paix, empereur du knout (Paris: Louis Michaud, 1906).
- Gulbransson, Olaf. Berühmte Zeitgenossen: Karikaturen. Munich: Albert Langen, 1905.
- Isakov, S[ergei Konstantinovich]. "O revoliutsionnoi grafike 1905 g." Iskusstvo, no. 6 (1935), pp. 33-38.
- _____. 1905 god v satire i karikature. L: Priboi, 1928.
- Ivanov, Viacheslav. "Iz oblasti sovremennykh nastroyenii. I: Apokaliptiki i obshchestvennost'." Vesy, no. 6 (June 1905), pp. 35-39.
- Jensen, C.E. Karikatur-album: Den evropaeiske karikatur--kunst fra de aeldste tider indtil vore Dage. Vaesenligst paa grundlag af Eduard Fuchs: Die Karikatur. 2 vols. Copenhagen: A. Christiansen, 1906-07.
- Kahn, Gustave. Europas Fürsten im Sittenspiegel der Karikatur. Berlin: Hermann Schmidt, 1909.
- Kamenskii, Vasilii V. Put' entuziasta. M: Federatsiia, 1931.
- Katalog . . . istoriko-khudozhestvennoi vystavki russkikh portretov, ustraivaemoi v Tavricheskom dvortse, . . . Spb: Ekspeditsiia zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1905.
- Kh., D. "Pod pressom." Zhurnalist, no. 12 (December 1925), pp. 28-30.
- Kliachko, S.M. "Kak pechatalis' 'Izvestiia' v 1905 g.: Iz vospominanii chlena Iсполnitel'nogo Komiteta Soveta Rabochikh Deputatov." Zhurnalist, no. 12 (December 1925), pp. 19-20.
- Kranikhsfel'd, Vl[adimir]. "Zhurnal'nye otgoloski: O russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistike." Mir Bozhii, no. 12 (December 1905), section 2, pp. 109-33.
- Krasin, L., and Litvinov, M. "Kak vznikla 'Novaia zhizn'." Zhurnalist, no. 12 (December 1925), pp. 9-13.
- Lansere (Lanceray), Evgenii E. "Khudozhniki o revoliutsii 1905 goda." Iskusstvo, no. 6 (1935), pp. 40-43.
- Lemke, Mikh[ail K.]. "Iz istorii russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistiki." Mir Bozhii, no. 6 (June 1903), pp. 262-302; no. 7 (July 1903), pp. 215-44; no. 8 (August 1903), pp. 227-65.

- Lemke, Mikh[ail K.]. Ocherki osvoboditel'nago dvizheniia "shestidesiatykh godov". Spb: O.N. Popov, 1908.
- _____. Ocherki po istorii russkoi tsenzury i zhurnalistiki XIX stoletii. Spb: Trud, 1904.
- Levshina, E.M. "Sovremennye frantsuzskie illiustratory i karrikatoristy." Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost'. no. 6 (March 1901), pp. 172-78.
- Liubimov, A[leksandr M.]. "Khudozhniki o revoliutsii 1905 goda." Iskusstvo, no. 6 (1935), p. 46.
- Lobanov, V[iktor] M. Kanuny. M: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1968.
- _____. 1905 god v russkoi zhivopisi. M: Z.I. Grzhebin, 1922.
- Lunacharskii, Anatolii V. Religiia i sotsializm. Spb: Shipovnik, 1908.
- Makovskii, Sergei K. Na Parnase serebrianoogo veka. Munich: TsOPE, 1962.
- Mamontov, V[sevolod] S. Vospominaniia o russkikh khudozhnikakh (Abramtsevskii khudozhestvennyi kruzhok). M: Akademiia khudozhestv SSSR, 1950.
- Mintslov, S[ergei R.]. "14 mesiatsev 'svobody pečhati' (Zametki bibliografa)." Byloe, no. 3/15 (March 1907), pp. 123-48.
- Munthe, Gerhard. "Stil' v illiustrirovanii drevnikh sag." Mir iskusstva, no. 3 (1902), chronicle, pp. 56-58.
- Munther, Richard. Geschichte der Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert. 3 vols. Munich: 1893-94. In English, as The History of Modern Painting. 4 vols. rev. ed. London: J.M. Dent, and New York: E.P. Dutton, 1907.
- Noveishie anekdoty o Nikolae Vtorom. Nagasaki: Dal'nii Vostok, 1907.
- Novombergskii, Nikolai Ia. Osvobozhdenie pečhati vo Frantsii, Germanii, Anglii i Rossii: Lektsii, chytannia v Russkoi Vysshei Shkole obshchestvennykh nauk v Parizhe. Spb: Tipolitografiia F. Vaisberga i P. Gershunina, 1906.
- Orlov, P. Ruskaia revoliutsiia 1905-1906 g. Davos: Izd. Akts. Obshch. Davoskoi tipografii, 1906.
- Ostroumova-Lebedeva, Anna P. Avtobiograficheskie zapiski [2]: 1900-1916. L-M: Iskusstvo, 1945.

Rovinskii, Dmitrii A. Materialy dlia russkoi ikonografii. 12 vols. in 6. Spb: Ekspeditsiia zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1884-90.

Russkiiia narodnyia kartinki: Sobral i opisal D. Rovinskii. 12 vols. Description and atlas. Spb: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1881-93.

[Serov, Valentin A.]. Valentin Serov v vospominaniakh, dnevnikakh i perepiske sovremennikov. Compiled by Il'ia S. Zil'bershtein and Vladimir A. Samkov. 2 vols. L: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1971.

Shcherbatov, Sergei A., Prince. Khudozhnik v ushedshei Rossii. New York: Chekhov, 1955.

Shebuev, Nikolai G. "Istoriia moego 'Pulemeta'." Zhurnalist, no. 12 (December 1925), pp. 21-25.

Shvyrov, A[leksandr] K., and Trubachev, S.S. Illiustrirovannaia istoriia karikatury s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei. Spb: P.F. Panteleev, 1903.

Simmerberg, Konstantin. "Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' Peterburga." Zolotoe runo, no. 2 (February 1907), pp. 76-77.

[Somov, Konstantin A.] Konstantin Andreevich Somov: Pis'ma, dnevniki, suzhdeniia sovremennikov. Compiled by Iu. N. Podkopaeva and A.N. Sveshnikova. M: Iskusstvo, 1979.

Teternikov, Fedor K. [Fedor K. Sologub]. Politicheskiia skazochki. Spb: Shipovnik, 1906.

Vauxcelles, Louis. "Puvis de Chavannes caricaturiste." L'Art et les artistes 1 (1905): 9-13.

Vengerov, Al. "Satiricheskie zhurnaly 1904-1906 g." Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' F. Brokgauza i I. Efrona. Vol. 2 supplement (1907), pp. 591-93.

Vinogradov, N.N. "Satira i iumor v 1905-1907 gg. (Bibliograficheskii ukazatel')." Bibliograficheskie izvestiia, no. 3-4 (1916), pp. 121-35.

Zheverzheev, Levkii I. Opis' moego sobraniia. Vol. 1. Petrograd: Schmidt, 1915.

B. Secondary Sources

- Allshouse, Robert H., ed. Photographs for the Tsar: The Pioneering Color Photography of Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii Commissioned by Tsar Nicholas II. New York: Dial, 1980.
- Balakian, Anna. The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Appraisal. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Balmuth, Daniel. Censorship in Russia, 1865-1905. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979.
- Beletskii, P.A. "Russkaia grafika nachala XX v. i iaponskaia tsvetnaia ksilografiia." Kniga i grafika. pp. 226-31. Compiled by E.V. Vengerova-Siling. Edited by F.I. Grinberg. M: Nauka, 1972.
- Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Martha, and Rosenthal, Bernice Glatzer, eds. A Revolution of the Spirit: Crisis of Value in Russia, 1890-1918. Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1982.
- Bowlt, John E. "Art and Violence: The Russian Caricature in the Early Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." 20th Century Studies (Canterbury), no. 13/14 (December 1975), pp. 56-76.
- _____. "Russian Caricature and the 1905 Revolution." The Print Collector's Newsletter, no. 1 (March-April 1978), pp. 5-8.
- _____. The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the "World of Art" Group. Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1979.
- _____. "The 'Union of Youth'." In Russian Modernism: Culture and the Avant-Garde, 1900-1930, pp. 165-87. Edited by George Gibian and H.W. Tjalsma. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.
- Brodskii, Valentin. "Russkaia revoliutsiia 1905 goda i izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo Zapadnoi Evropy." Iskusstvo, no. 11 (1958), pp. 23-34.
- Demchenko, Evgeniia P. "Khudozhniki satiricheskogo zhurnala 'Shershen'." Iskusstvo, no. 11 (1970), pp., 55-60.
- _____. Politicheskaiia grafika Kieva perioda revoliutsii 1905-1907 gg. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1976.
- _____. Satiricheskaiia Pressa Ukrainy 1905-1907 gg. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1980.

- Dixmier, Elisabeth, and Dixmier, Michel. L'Assiette au beurre: Revue satirique illustrée, 1901-1912. Paris: Francois Maspero, 1974.
- Egbert, Donald D. Social Radicalism and the Arts: Western Europe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.
- Erman, Lev K. Intelligentsiia v pervoi russkoi revoliutsii. M: Nauka, 1966.
- Etkind, Mark. Aleksandr Mikhailovich Liubimov. L: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1971.
- _____. Aleksandr Nikolaevich Benua, 1870-1960. M-L: Iskusstvo, 1965.
- Evstigneeva, Lidiia A. Zhurnal "Satirikon" i poety satirikontsy. M: Nauka, 1968.
- Fainshtein, Emmanuil B. "Russkie revoliutsionnye otkrytki." Sovetskii kolleksioner, no. 5 (1967), pp. 33-90.
- _____. V mire otkrytki. M: Planeta, 1976.
- Fraenger, Wilhelm. "Deutsche Vorlagen zu russischen Volksbilderbogen des 18. Jahrhunderts." In Von Bosche bis Beckmann: Ausgewählte Schriften, pp. 168-225. Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1977.
- Goldwater, Robert. Symbolism. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Gollerbakh, E[rikh F.]. Risunki M. Dobuzhinskogo. M-Petrograd: Gos. izd-vo, 1923.
- Golynets, G.V., and Golynets, S.V. Ivan Iakovlevich Bilibin. M: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1972.
- Golynets, S.V., ed. and comp, Ivan Iakovlevich Bilibin: Stat'i, pis'ma, vospominaniia o khudozhnike. L: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1970.
- Gomberg-Verzhbinskaia, Eleonora P. Russkoe iskusstvo i revoliutsiia 1905 goda: Grafika, zhivopis'. L: Izd. Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1960.
- Gorodskoi, Ig. "Podpol'nye otkrytki 1905 goda." Rabochii i teatr, no. 3 (1931), pp. 8-9.
- _____. "1905 god v podpol'noi karikature." Stroika, no. 5 (1931), p. 15.

- Gray, Camilla. The Russian Experiment in Art: 1863-1922. New York: Abrams, 1971.
- Haber, Edythe. "Nadezhda Teffi." Russian Literature Triquarterly, no. 9 (Spring 1974), pp. 454-72.
- Harcave, Sidney. First Blood: The Russian Revolution of 1905. New York: Macmillan, 1964.
- Healy, Ann E. The Russian Autocracy in Crisis, 1905-07. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976.
- Hofmann, Werner. Caricature from Leonardo to Picasso. Translated by M.H.L. London: John Calder, 1957.
- Iankovskii, Moisei O. Rimskii-Korsakov i revoliutsiia 1905 goda. M: Gos. Muzykal'noe izd-vo, 1950.
- Kaplanova, S. "Tema revoliutsii v russkoi zhivopisi 1905-1907 godov." Iskusstvo, no. 12 (1965), pp. 8-14.
- Karasik, I.N. "K voprosu o sud'bakh bytovogo zhanra v russkoi zhivopisi kontsa 1900-kh - 1910-kh godov." Sovetskoe iskusstvoznanie, no. 1 (1976), pp. 174-98.
- Karasik, Z.M. "M. Gor'kii i satiricheskie zhurnaly 'Zhupel' i 'Adskaiia pochta'." In Akademiia nauk. Institut mirovoi literatury im. A.M. Gor'kogo. M. Gor'kii v epokhu revoliutsii 1905-1907 godov: Materialy, vospominaniia, issledovaniia, pp. 357-87. M; Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1957.
- Kiselev, M[ikhail]. "Grafika zhurnala 'Vesy'." Sovetskaia grafika '78 (1980), pp. 200-224.
- Lapshina, Nataliia P. "Mir iskusstva". M: Iskusstvo, 1977.
- Lianda, Nataliia Iu. "Novye materialy o dorevoliutsionnom periode tvorchestva S.V. Chekhonina." Problemy razvitiia russkogo iskusstva, vyp. 6 (1974), pp. 71-77.
- Lyons, Marvin. Nicholas II, the Last Tsar. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Mehlinger, Howard D., and Thompson, John M. Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.
- Milotvorskaiia, M. "[1905-1907:] Grafika." In Puti razvitiia russkogo iskusstva kontsa XIX - nachala XX veka, pp. 111-27. Edited by N.I. Sokolova and V.V. Vanslov. M: Iskusstvo, 1972.

- Pakhomov, N.P., gen. ed. A.M. Gor'kii v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve, 1868-1968. M: Nauka, 1969.
- Plotkin, L.A., and Totubalin, N.I. Russkaia satira XIX - nachala XX vekov. M-L: Gos. izd-vo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1960.
- Priimak, N.L. "Novye dannye o satiricheskikh zhurnalakh 1905 goda 'Zhupal' i 'Adskaia pochta'." In Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia Galereia. Ocherki po russkomu i sovet-skomu iskusstvu, pp. 114-24. Edited by B. Iashchina. M: Sovetskii Khudozhnik, 1965.
- Richardson, William H. "Zolotoe Runo and Russian Modernism: 1905-1910." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976.
- Rosenthal, Bernice Glatzer. Dmitri Sergeevich Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age: The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.
- _____. "Theater as Church: The Vision of the Mystical Anarchists." Russian History/Histoire russe 4 (1974): 122-41.
- _____. "The Transmutation of the Symbolist Ethos: Mystical Anarchism and the Revolution of 1905." Slavic Review, no. 4 (December 1977), pp. 608-27.
- Roshchupkin, S.N. "Tri neizvestnykh satiricheskikh risunka B.M. Kustodieva." Iskusstvo, no. 10 (1970), pp. 53-56.
- Roth, Eugen. Simplicissimus, ein Rückblick auf der satirische Zeitschrift. Hannover: Fackelträger, 1955.
- Sarab'ianov, Dmitrii V. "Noveishie techeniia v russkoi zhivopisi predrevoliutsionnogo desiatiletiia (Rossiia i Zapad)." Sovetskoe iskusstvoznanie '80, no. 1 (1981), pp. 117-60.
- Savinov, Aleksei N. "Aleksandr Benua v 1905 godu." Problemy razvitiia russkogo iskusstva, no. 4 (1972), pp. 56-62.
- _____. Pavel Egor'evich Shcherbov. L: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1969.
- Schapiro, Leonard. "The Vekhi Group and the Mystique of Revolution." Slavonic and East European Review, no. 82 (December 1955), pp. 56-76.
- Schulz-Hoffman, Carla. Simplicissimus: Eine satirische Zeitschrift, München 1896-1944. Munich: Haus der Kunst, 1977.

- Searle, Ronald; Roy, Claude; and Bornemann, Bernd. La Caricature: Art et manifeste, du XVI^e siècle à nos jours. Geneva: Skira, 1974.
- Shikes, Ralph E. "Five Artists in the Service of Politics in the Pages of L'Assiette au beurre." In Art and Architecture, in the Service of Politics, pp. 162-81. Edited by Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978.
- _____. The Indignant Eye: The Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings from the Fifteenth Century to Picasso. Boston: Beacon, 1969.
- Shleev, Vladimir V., gen. ed. Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 godov i izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo. 3 vols. M: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1977-81. Vol. 1: Peterburg, by Vladimir V. Shleev. Vol. 2: Moskva i Rossiiskaia provintsii, by Stanislav N. Roshchupkin, Boris V. Pavlovskii, and Vladimir A. Cherepov. Vol. 3: Ukraina i Moldaviia, by Evgeniia P. Demchenko.
- Shleev, Vladimir V., and Fainshtein, Emmanuil B. Khudozhestvennye otkrytki i ikh sobiranie. M: Gos. izd-vo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva (IZOGIZ), 1960.
- Sidorov, Aleksei A. "Otrazhenie v iskusstve pervoi russkoi revoliutsii." In Russkaia khudozhestvennaia kul'tura kontsa XIX - nachala XX veka (1895-1905), 2: 239-56. 2 vols. M: Izd. Nauka, 1969. Vol. 2: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, arkhitektura, dekorativno-prikladnoe iskusstvo.
- _____. Russkaia grafika nachala XX veka. M: Iskusstvo, 1969.
- Sokolova, Nataliia N. Mir iskusstva. M: Gos. izd-vo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva, 1934.
- _____. "Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Akademii khudozhestv i Uchilishche zhivopisi v 1905/06 g." Iskusstvo, no. 2 (1934), pp. 173-77.
- _____. "Tematika revoliutsii v stankovoi zhivopisi 1905-1907 gg." Iskusstvo, no. 6 (1935), pp. 2-32.
- Stern, Leo, ed. Despotie in der Karikatur: Die russische Revolution 1905 bis 1907 im Spiegel der deutschen politischen Karikatur. Berlin: Akademie, 1967.
- Sternin, Grigorii Iu. "Grafika russkikh satiricheskikh zhurnalov 1905-1906 godov." Iskusstvo, no. 3 (May-June 1955), pp. 33-38.

- Sternin, Grigorii Iu. Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' Rossii na rubezhe XIX-XX vekov. M: Iskusstvo, 1970.
- _____. Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' Rossii nachala XX veka. M: Iskusstvo, 1976.
- _____. "Khudozhniki i revoliutsiia 1905 goda." Tvorchestvo, no. 12 (1975), pp. [9-11].
- _____. Ocherki russkoi satiricheskoi grafiki. M: Iskusstvo, 1964.
- Tikhomirov, A. "Shimon Kholloshi i ego russkie ucheniki." Iskusstvo, no. 8 (1957), pp. 49-52.
- Timonich, A. Russkie satiriko-iumoristicheskie zhurnaly 1905-1907 gg. M: n.p., 1930.
- USSR. Publichnaia biblioteka imeni V.I. Lenina, Moscow. Otdel . redkikh knig. Russkaia satiricheskaiia periodika 1905-1907 godov: Katalog kolleksi. Compiled by Z.A. Pokrovskaiia. M: n.p., 1969.
- Vakhrameev, A. "Revoliutsiei prizvannyi . . ." Iskusstvo, no. 12 (1965), pp. 43-46.
- Von Laue, Theodore H. Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- West, James. Russian Symbolism. London: Methuen, 1970.
- Williams, Robert C. Artists in Revolution: Portraits of the Russian Avant-Garde, 1905-1925. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.
- Zabochen', M. "Oruzhiem iskusstva." Iskusstvo, no. 11 (1979), pp. 60-68.
- Zernov, Nicholas. The Russian Religious Renaissance of the 20th Century. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.