IMAGES FOR THE NEW GENERATION: SOVIET ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BOOKS, 1918-1936

by

ALLA ROSENFELD

VOLUME I

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

2003

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 3135590

Copyright 2003 by
Rosenfeld, Alla

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3135590
Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 2003

ALLA ROSENFELD

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

3/18/03
Date

Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long,
The Graduate Center
Chair of Examining Committee

3/21/03
Date

Professor Patricia Mainardi
Executive Officer

Professor Rosemarie Bletter,
The Graduate Center

Professor Robert Storr,
Institute of Fine Arts

Professor Alison Hilton,
Georgetown University

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

IMAGES FOR THE NEW GENERATION: SOVIET ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BOOKS, 1918-1936

by

Alla Rosenfeld

Adviser: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

This dissertation investigates illustrated children's books in Soviet Russia during the period from 1918 to 1936. During that time, many prominent avant-garde artists produced innovative and highly experimental children's books. In the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, children's books played an important political role in the new Soviet society, aiming at an audience numbering in the hundreds of thousands. The Bolshevik regime regarded children's books as major vehicles for transmitting Soviet ideology and influencing the new generation.

By addressing the complex relationships among the Soviet state, artists, and public, this dissertation explores how the close ties between art and politics of the time manifested in the design for children's books. The dissertation also demonstrates how abstract/realist nexus

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in children's book design was paralleled by a significant development toward a greater abstraction in the fine arts of the time. In seeking to address these concerns, my approach is informed by a variety of sources: aethetics, education, psychology, sociology, and literature.

Chapter One provides a brief overview of the development of children's literature in Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It describes the conflict over fairy tales, which some of the educators of the 1920s condemned as an obstruction to the introduction of the proletarian child to the real issues of everyday life. Chapter Two explores how children's book illustrations reflected contemporary tendencies in painting towards geometric abstraction. Chapter Three demonstrates how the genre of "production book" became one of the most important spheres of practical work for a number of Constructivist artists. It also examines the use of photography in children's books. Chapter Four focuses on issues of figuration and abstraction in Soviet children's books.

The bulk of the research for this dissertation derives from a careful examination of hundreds of published illustrated children's books and mock-ups. Soviet illustrated children's books of the 1920s-30s are now rarities, and only a limited number of copies have survived

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in various libraries all over the world. This interdisciplinary dissertation integrates original Russian archival research, recent work in Soviet cultural and social history, and theoretical studies of children's literature.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people and institutions have supported my efforts to complete this dissertation. Throughout all years of my studies at the Graduate Center, I have enjoyed the loyal support and advice of Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long, who served as my dissertation advisor. I am most grateful for her constructive criticism, patience, and confidence. I would like to thank my supervisory committee: Professor Rosemarie Bletter and Professor Robert Storr, second and third readers, respectively. The fourth, outside reader was Professor Alison Hilton of Georgetown University, whom I wish to thank for her support.

The bulk of my research derives from a careful examination of hundreds of published illustrated children's books and mock-ups, as well as primary resources in archival collections. Soviet illustrated children's books of the 1920s-30s are now rarities, and only a limited number of copies have survived in various libraries all over the world.

My dissertation draws on many unpublished essays in the Soviet press from the 1920s-30s. I am appreciative of the help offered by staffs at many libraries and archives both in Europe and the United States. Those include the Russian

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

State Archive of Literature and Arts in Moscow, the Central State Archive of Literature and Arts in St. Petersburg, as well as archival holdings of the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg and the State Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow.

In conducting research for this dissertation and locating examples of rare 1920s-30s Soviet illustrated children's books and mock-ups, I have visited such libraries in Russia as the Central Children's Library, the Children's Library at the A.I. Hertzen Pedagogogical Institute, the Saltykov-Shchedrin State National Library (all in St. Petersburg), and The State Public Library in Moscow. Dr. Elena Barkhatova, Chief Curator at the State National Library in St. Petersburg, also kindly provided me with her material and knowledge, and made her facility an especially productive and pleasant place in which to work.

I have also explored significant American holdings of Soviet illustrated children's books at the Rare Books and Slavic Departments of the New York Public Library, Donnell Library Central Children's Room, MOMA Library, the Library of Congress Children's Literature Center, Washington, D.C., Princeton University Library, Harvard University Library, and the Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers University in the United States. In addition, I visited a number of Western European libraries with specialized collections of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

children's literature, including the Internationale Jugend Bibliothek (International Youth Library) in Munich, Children's Book Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (both in Germany), Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse in Paris (France), and the National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum (The Horton Collection of Soviet Children's Books) in London, England. I am grateful to the many scholars and librarians who contributed their time and offered important information. Mr. Boris Kerdimun, a collector of Soviet illustrated children's books, Dr. Edward Kazinec, Head of the Slavic Department at New York Public Library, and Dr. James Fraser, Director of Fairleigh Dickinson University Library, are of particular note.

Throughout the years of research and writing this dissertation, I was strongly supported by Phillip Dennis Cate, the Zimmerli Art Museum's Director. A summer leave from the museum allowed me to complete the first draft of the dissertation in a timely fashion.

Many years of my co-editorial work on a number of the Zimmerli museum's publications with Dr. Norton Dodge, a donor of the collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union to the Zimmerli, significantly contributed to my writing and editing skills.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Without the assistance of my parents, who offered me a peaceful retreat to write the manuscript, this dissertation would not have been possible. And, finally, my warm thanks go to my son, Benjamin Rosenfeld, who assisted me with illustrations preparation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

ABSTRACT..... iv-vi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... vii-x

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS..... xiii-xxxii

GLOSSARY..... xxxiii-xxxv

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION..... xxxvi

INTRODUCTION..... 1

CHAPTER 1..... 29

1.1. The search for Russian national identity in illustrated children's books before and immediately after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917..... 29

1.2. Debates about Children's Literature in the Soviet Press of the 1920s-30s: Does the Proletarian Child Need Fairy tales?..... 57

1.3. Revolution of the Mind: Soviet Ideology, Educational Experimentalism, and Children's Literature, 1918-1936..... 81

1.4. Critical Debates around Soviet Children's Literature in the 1920s-30s: An Overview..... 111

CHAPTER 2. VISION TRANSFORMED: ABSTRACTION AND ABSTRACTED IMAGERY IN SOVIET ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BOOKS..... 133

2.1. Realist versus Modernist Art: Major Debates in the Soviet Press of the 1920s-30s..... 133

2.2. Children's Book Designs by El Lissitzky and Georgii Echeistov..... 166

2.3. Children's Book Design of Vladimir Lebedev (1891-1967)..... 199

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 3. SOCIALIZING AND EDUCATING THROUGH CHILDREN'S LITERATURE..... 217

3.1. The Soviet "Production" Book for Children in the mid-1920s-30s..... 217

3.2. Photography as a Sign of Modernity in Soviet Illustrated Children's Books, 1920s-1930s..... 269

CHAPTER 4. FIGURATION VERSUS ABSTRACTION: CHILDREN'S BOOK DESIGN BY THE MEMBERS OF KAZIMIR MALEVICH'S CIRCLE, PAVEL FILONOV'S SCHOOL OF ANALYTICAL ART, AND THE MEMBERS OF OST (SOCIETY OF EASEL PAINTERS)..... 297

4.1. Children's Book Design by the Members of Malevich's Circle..... 307

4.2. Children's Book Illustrations by Filonov's students..... 325

4.3. Children's Book Illustrations by the members of OST (the Society of Easel Painting)..... 336

CONCLUSION..... 349

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 359

VOLUME 2

ILLUSTRATIONS..... 406-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Note: Unless otherwise noted, all illustrations are lithographs.

Abbreviations:
Riabov Collection, ZAM: The George Riabov Collection of Russian Art, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

Dodge Collection, ZAM: The Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

Chapter I, Part 1.

I.1/Fig.1. Karion Istomin, author. Leontii Bunin, engraver. Illustration for *Alphabet*, 1694. Cooper engraving.

I.1/Fig.2. Klavdia Lukashevich, author. Elizaveta Bem, illustrator. Cover for *Moe miloe detstvo* (My Happy Childhood). (Moscow:Sytin,1914). Kinder-und Jugend buchabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Germany.

I.1/Fig.3. O.I. Rogova, author. *Russkie skazki* (Russian Fairy Tales). (Moscow:Stupin,1900). Kinder-und Jugend buchabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Germany.

I.1/Fig.4. Elena Polenova, illustrator. Illustration for Russian Fairy Tales, 1888. Riabov Collection, ZAM.

I.1/Fig.5. Ivan Bilibin, illustrator. Illustration for Russian Fairy Tales, 1899. Riabov Collection, ZAM.

I.1/Fig.6. Alexandre Benois, illustrator. Cover for *Azbuka v kartinkakh* (Alphabet) (St. Petersburg: Izdanie zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1904). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

I.1/Fig.7. Alexandre Benois, illustrator. Illustration for *Azbuka v kartinkakh* (Alphabet), 1904. Riabov Collection, ZAM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I.1/Fig.8. Wilheim Hauff, author. Dmitrii Mitrokhin, illustrator. Color photo-relief illustration for *Zhizn' Almansora* (Almansor's Life)(Moscow:I.N. Knebel,1912). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

I.1/Fig.9. Children's books by the members of Today group. *Right*: Natan Vengrov, author. Ekaterina Turova, illustrator. Cover for *Khvoi* (Confifers) (Petrograd, 1918); *Far right*: Natan Vengrov, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Segodnia* (Today) (Petrograd, 1918); *Below left*: Natan Vengrov, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Myshata* (Baby Mice) (Petrograd, 1918); *Below right*: Walt Whitman, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Pionery* (Pioneers) (Petrograd, 1918). Each cover is linocut. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

I.1/Fig.10. M.Kuzmin, author. Ekaterina Turova, illustrator. Linocut cover for *Dvum* (For Two) (Petrograd:Today,1918).The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

I.1/Fig.11. Natan Vengrov, author. Nadezhda Liubavina, illustrator. Linocut cover for the book *Sebe samomu* (To Myself).The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Chapter I, Part 2.

I.2/Fig.1. Ivan Bilibin, illustrator. Cover for the series *Skazki* (Fairy-tales).(St.Petersburg: Ekspeditsia zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag,1899).Riabov Collection,ZAM.

I.2/Fig.2. Illustration for *Voina korolei*(The War of Kings), from the *Petrushka* series of Yu.Obolenskaia and K. Kandaurov Puppet Theater, 1918. James Fraser Collection,USA.

Chapter I, Part 3.

I.3/Fig.1. S.Bezborodov, author. Photo-relief cover for *Bolsheviki otkryli Sibir* (The Bolsheviks Have Discover Siberia),1932. Dodge Collection, ZAM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I.3/Fig.2. Ke sha (Proskuriakov), illustrator. Vladimir Mayakovsky, author. Study for illustration for the book *Skazka o Sime i Pete* (Tale about Sima and Petia). Gouache on paper. Riabov Collection, ZAM.

I.3/Fig.3. Natan Altman, illustrator. Illustration for *Six métiers* (Six Professions)(Paris:Flammarion,1935). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse, Paris.

Chapter II, Part 2.

II.2/Fig.1. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Illustration for *Suprematicheskii skaz pro dva kvadrata* (The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares) (Berlin:Skythen,1922). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

II.2/Fig.2. El Lissitzky, *Klinom krasnym bei belykh* (Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge), color lithographic poster, 1920. ars libri, ltd, Boston.

II.2/Fig.3. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Designs for illustrations for *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations), 1928. Collection Jen Lissitzky.

II.2/Fig.4. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Designs for illustrations for *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations), 1928. Collection Jen Lissitzky.

II.2/Fig.5. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Designs for illustrations for *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations), 1928. Collection Jen Lissitzky.

II.2/Fig.6. Kurt Schwitters, illustrator. Illustrations for *Die Scheuche Marchen* (Hannover, 1925).

II.2/Fig.7. Uncle Ben Zion [Ben Zion Raskin], author. El Lisitzky, illustrator. Illustration for *Di hun vas hot gevoit hoben a kam* (The Hen that Wanted a Comb).(Kiev/St. Petersburg:Idisher Folks Farlag,1919). The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

II.2/Fig.8. Rudyard Kipling, author. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Slonyonok* (The Elephant Child)(Berlin: Helikon Verlag, 1923). The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

II.2/Fig.9. El Lissitzky. Illustrations for *Chad Gadya* (The Tale of a Goat)(Kiev: Kultur Lige, 1919). The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

II.2/Fig.10. Georgii Echeistov, design for the illustration for the unpublished *Book About Geometrical Figures*, circa 1925, ink and pen and watercolor on paper. Private collection.

II.2/Fig.11. Georgii Echeistov, design for the illustration for the unpublished *Book About Geometrical Figures*, circa 1925, ink and pen and watercolor on paper. Private Collection.

II.2/Fig.12. Mikhail Ilyin, author. Georgii Echeistov, illustrator. Illustration for *Shokolad* (Chocolate)(Moscow: Krasnaia nov',1923). As reproduced in P. Dulsky and Ya. Meskin, *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige*(Moscow: Kazan', 1925), p.99.

II.2/Fig.13. David Jakerson. *Right*: Suprematist Robot Striding with Antenna, 1920; *Far right*: Suprematist Figure Standing Front On, 1920; *Below left*: Suprematist Robot Striding, 1920; *Below right*: Suprematist Robot Standing against a Black Rectangle, 1920. All works: Indian ink and graphite on paper. Private collection, USA.

II.2/Fig.14. Nina Kogan. Stage design for *Suprematicheskii balet* (Suprematist ballet), 1920. Watercolor, gouache, and Indian ink on paper. The State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art, St. Petersburg, Russia.

II.2/Fig.15. Agnia Barto, author. Georgii Echeistov, illustrator. Cover for *Bratishki* (Little Brothers),1927. Riabov collection, ZAM.

Chapter II, Part 3.

II.3/Fig.1. Vladimir Lebedev. *Laundress*, 1920. Gouache and ink on paper. Private collection, St. Petersburg, Russia.

II.3/Fig.2. Vladimir Lebedev, author and illustrator. Cover for *Prikliucheniia Chuch-lo* (The Adventures of Chuch-lo)(Petrograd:Epokha,1922).La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse,Paris.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

II.3/Fig.3 Vladimir Lebedev, author and illustrator. Illustration for *Prikliucheniia Chuch-lo* (The Adventures of Chuch-lo) (Petrograd:Epokha,1922). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse,Paris.

II.3/Fig.4. Rudyard Kipling, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Slonyonok* (The Elephant Child) (Petrograd:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1922). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

II.3/Fig.5. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Tsirk* (The Circus) (Leningrad:Raduga,1925). Riabov Collection,ZAM.

II.3/Fig.6. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Cover for *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream) (Leningrad: Raduga,1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

II.3/Fig.7. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream) (Leningrad: Raduga, 1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

II.3/Fig.8. Vladimir Lebedev. ROSTA Windows poster, 1921. Gouache on paper. The State National Library, St.Petersburg, Russia.

II.3/Fig.8a. Vladimir Lebedev. ROSTA Windows poster, 1920-21. Gouache on paper. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

II.3/Fig.9. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustartion for *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream) (Leningrad: Raduga, 1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

II.3/Fig.10. Victor Deni. *Capital*, 1919. Color lithographic poster. Riabov Collection, ZAM.

II.3/Fig.11. El Lissitzky. *New Man*, 1923. Lithograph from the *Puppet Portfolio* (the creation of the electromechanical peepshow *Victory over the Sun*, written as an opera by Aleksei Kruchenykh in 1913) (Hanover:R.Leunis und Chapman, 1923). The Schreiber Family Collection, New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter III, Part 1.

III.1/Fig.1. Unidentified artist, illustration for *Chto otets rasskazal o zavode*(What My Father Told Me about the Factory), circa 1920. Private Collection, Russia.

III.1/Fig.2. V.Sobolev, author. Nikolai Denisovsky, illustrator. Cover for *Tovarishch Artem* (Comrade Artyom) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). Dodge Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.3. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V.Lantzetti, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Dneprostroi*(Leningrad:GIZ,1930). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.4. Aleksei Laptev, author and illustrator. Illustration for *Piatiletka* (Five-Year Plan) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). James Fraser Collection, USA.

III.1/Fig.5. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.6. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.7. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.8. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.9. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Cover for *Detiam o gazete* (Newspaper Production Explained to Children), 1926. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.10. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Puteshestvie Charlie (The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin]) (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.11. Varvara Stepanova, illustrator. Cover for *Kino-fot* No.2, 1922.

III.1/Fig.12. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Puteshestvie Charlie* (The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin]) (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.13-14. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Puteshestvie Charlie*(The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin]) (Moscow/Leningrad:Gosizdat, 1924).The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.15-16. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Dlia chego Krasnaia armiia?* (What is the Red Army for?)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1927).The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Figs.17-18. N.G. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Pochemu ne bylo baranok*(Why There Were No Bagels?) (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1926).The State National Library, St.Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Figs.19-20. N.G. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Pochemu ne bylo baranok*(Why There Were No Bagels?)(Moscow: Gosizdat, 1926). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/21. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children),1926. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/22. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children),1926. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/23. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Production Explained to Children),1926. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/23a. Vladimir Mayakovsky, text. Aleksandr Rodchenko,design. Newspaper advertisement for the largest State Department Store, GUM, on Red Square, 1923. Private Collection.

III.1/23b. Vladimir Mayakovsky, text. Aleksandr Rodchenko,design. Newspaper advertisement for the largest State Department Store, GUM, on Red Square, 1923. Private Collection.

III.1/24. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Explained to Children),1926.The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/25. Galina and Olga Chichagova,authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children),1926. State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.26. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children),1926. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig. 27. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Cover for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok*(How the Plane Made the Plane)(Leningrad:Raduga,1927). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.28. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok* (How the Plane Made the Plane)(Leningrad:Raduga,1927). Riabov Collection,ZAM.

III.1/Fig.28a. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Study for illustration for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok* (How the Plane Made the Plane). Gouache on paper, 1925. Department of Graphic Arts, The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

III.1/Fig.29. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Cover for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925).Riabov Collection, ZAM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

III.1/Fig.29a. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.29b. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.30. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.31. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Sotsialisticheskoe sorevnovanie* (Socialist Competition) (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1931). Private Collection, Russia.

III.1/Fig.32. Vladimir Lebedev, *Manifestation*. Study for ROSTA Windows poster, Petrograd, 1920-21. Gouache on paper. The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.33. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Sotsialisticheskoe sorevnovanie* (Socialist Competition) (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1931). Private Collection, Russia.

III.1/Fig.34. Ilya Ionov, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Illustration for *Topotun i knizhka* (Topotun and the book) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1926).

III.1/Fig.35. Boris Zhitkov, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Cover for *Pro etu knigu* (About This Book) (Moscow:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).Dodge Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.36. Boris Zhitkov, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Illustration for *Pro etu knigu*(About This Book)(Moscow:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931). The Children's Library, A.I. Hertzen Pedagogogical Institute, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.37. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Cover for *Pochta* (The Post Office) (Moscow/Leningrad:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia, 1931). Dodge Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.38. Evgenii Schwarts, author.Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Study for the cover for *Rynok* (Market), 1925.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gouache on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.39. Evgenii Schwarts, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Study for the illustration for *Rynok* (Market) by, 1925. Gouache on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.40. Evgenii Schwarts, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for a book *Rynok* (Market) (Leningrad: Raduga, 1926).

III.1/Fig.41. Vladimir Lebedev. Illustration for *Azbuka* (Alphabet)(Leningrad: GIZ, 1925). The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

III.1/Fig.42. Elena Dan'ko, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Cover for *Farforovaia chashechka* (Porcelain Cup)(Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.42a. Elena Dan'ko, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Study for the illustration for *Farforovaia chashechka* (Porcelain Cup), 1925. Gouache and watercolor on paper. Graphic Arts Department, The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.43. Unidentified artist. Leather goods shop in Nikolaevskaia Street in St. Petersburg, 1910s. Photograph (detail). Museum of History of St. Petersburg, Russia. From *Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant-Garde Artists* by Alla Povelikhina and Yevgeny Kovtun (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1991), p.156.

III.1/Fig.44. Mikhail Ilyin, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh,illustrator. Cover design for *Kozha* (Leather), 1925. Gouache and ink on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. From *Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant-Garde Artists* by Alla Povelikhina and Yevgeny Kovtun (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1991), p.157.

III.1/Fig.45. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. Evgenia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Sitets* (Printed Cotton). (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

III.1/Fig.46. Mikhail Ilyin, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Studies for illustrations for *Kozha* (Leather), 1925. Gouache on paper. Graphic Arts Department, The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.47. Boris Zhitkov, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Stol*(Table), 1926.

III.1/Fig. 47a. Boris Zhitkov, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Stol*(Table), 1926. Private collection, Russia.

III.1/Fig.48. Semen Polotsky, author. Eduard Krimmer, illustrator.Illustration for *Port*, 1926. Private Collection, Russia.

III.1/Fig.49. Semen Polotsky, author. Eduard Krimmer, illustrator. Cover for *Pro shilo, kleshchi i vsiakie veshchi* (About The Awl, The Princers, and Other Things) (Moscow:Raduga,1928). The Museum of Modern Art Archives, Alfred H.Barr, Jr. Papers.

III.1/Fig.50. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Photo-relief illustrations *for Azbuka metricheskikh mer* (Alphabet of Metric Units)(Moscow:Ekonomicheskaia zhizn', 1925) Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.1/Fig.51. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Cover for *Kak khlopok sitsem stal* (How Cotton Became Printed Cotton)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/Fig.51a. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Back cover for *Kak khlopok sitsem stal* (How Cotton Became Printed Cotton)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.1/52. Lev Kassil', author. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Cover for *Tysiachu plat'ev v den'* (One Thousand Dresses per Day) (Moscow:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse, Paris.

III.1/Fig.52a. Lev Kassil', author. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Illustration for *Tysiachu*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

plat'ev v den' (One Thousand Dresses per Day) (Moscow: OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse, Paris.

III.1/Fig.53. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Illustration for *Kak svekla sakharom stala* (How Beets Became Sugar) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse, Paris.

III.1/Fig.53a. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Illustration for *Kak svekla sakharom stala* (How Beets Became Sugar) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse,Paris.

III.1/Fig.54. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Cover for *Kak svekla sakharom stala* (How Beets Became Sugar) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse,Paris.

Chapter III, Part 2.

III.2/Fig.1. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V.Lantzetti, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Dneprostroi* (Leningrad:GIZ,1930).Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.2. I.Lin, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Deti i Lenin* (Children and Lenin) (Moscow/Leningrad:Molodaia gvardiia, 1924).

III.2/Fig.3. I.Lin, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Deti i Lenin* (Children and Lenin) (Moscow/Leningrad: Molodaia gvardiia, 1924).

III.2/Fig.4. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustartion for *Molodaia gvardiia* (Young Guard), No.2-3 (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1924). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.5. Gustav Klutsis and Sergei Senkin, illustrators. Unpublished illustration for Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, 1925.

III.2/Fig.6. Vasilii Elkin, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Kak otdykhal Lenin* (How Did Lenin Rest) (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1931). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

III.2/Fig.7. Vasilii Elkin, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Kak otdykhal Lenin* (How Did Lenin Rest) (Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.8. Sergei Tretyakov, author. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, illustrators. Photo-illustrations for *Samozveri* (Autoanimals),1926.

III.2/Fig.8a. Sergei Tretyakov, author. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, illustrators. Photo-illustrations for *Samozveri* (Autoanimals),1926.

III.2/Fig.8b. Sergei Tretyakov, author. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, illustrators. Photo-illustrations for *Samozveri* (Autoanimals),1926.

III.2/Fig.9. Varvara Stepanova. *Five figures*, 1920. Oil on canvas. As reproduced in Aleksandr Lavrentiev, *Varvara Stepanova: The Complete Work* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), p.45.

III.2/Fig.10. Vladimir Mayakovsky, text. Aleksandr Rodchenko, design. Color lithographic poster for *Rezinotrest* (The State Trust of the Rubber Industry), 1923.

III.2/Fig.11. V. Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiah* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva,1926). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.11a. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.12. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.13. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.14. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

III.2/Fig.15. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/ Fig.16. Gustav Klutsis. Design for the illustration for *K mirovomu oktiabriu* (Towards the World October) [Revolution], 1924. Photo-collage, gouache, and Indian ink on paper. The State Latvian Museum, Riga.

III.2/Fig.16a. Yurii Lebedinsky, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Illustration for *Nedelia* (The Week),1924. Photo-collage, ink, and gouache on paper. The State Latvian Museum, Riga.

III.2/Fig.17. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-relief cover for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.2/Fig.17a. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-relief illustration for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.2/Fig.17b. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-relief illustration for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.2/Fig.17c. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-relief illustration for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

III.2/Fig.18. I. Stuchinskaia, author. P. Suvorov,illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Krylia sovetov* (The Wings of the Soviets) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.19. E.M. Mindlin, author. P.Suvorov, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Krasin vo l'dakh* (Krasin in the Ice Fields) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1929).Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.20. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V. Lantzetti, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

photograph) for *Dneprostroi* (Leningrad:GIZ,1930).Riabov Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.21. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. M.I. Razulevich, illustrator. Design for the cover for *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow Has a Plan). Photo-collage and gouache on paper,1932. State Russian Archive of Literature and Arts, Moscow.

III.2/Fig.22. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. M.I. Razulevich, illustrator. Design for the illustration for *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow Has a Plan). Photo-collage and gouache on paper, 1932. State Russian Archive of Literature and Arts, Moscow.

III.2/Fig.23. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. M.I. Razulevich, illustrator. Cover for *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow Has a Plan) (Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia/OGIZ,1932).Dodge Collection, ZAM.

III.2/Fig.23a. Gustav Klutsis (Klucis). *Let's Return the Coal Debt to the Country!* Color lithographic poster, 1930. The State Lenin Library, Moscow.

III.2/Fig.24. P. Postyshev, author. Photomontage cover design for *Dozornye urozhaia* (Patrols of the Harvest), (Moscow:Detgiz,1934). State Russian Archive of Literature and Arts, Moscow.

III.2/Fig.25. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V. Lantzetti, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Dneprostroi* (Leningrad:GIZ,1930).Riabov Collection,ZAM.

III.2/Fig.26. Photo-relief cover for *Reka v upriazhke:Volkhovstroi* (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel;stvo, 1928). Dodge Collection,ZAM.

Chapter IV, Part 1.

IV.1/Fig.1. Natan Vengrov, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Linocut cover for *Myshata* (Little Mice) (Petrograd:Segodnia,1918). The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IV.1/Fig.2. Vera Ermolaeva, *The Rooster*, lubok (popular print) for children based on Natan Vengrov's verse, 1918. Linocut tinted with watercolor. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.1/Fig.3. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover design for *Gore-kucher* (Lousy Coachman),1928, gouache on paper. Graphic Arts Department, The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

IV.1/Fig.4. Vera Ermolaeva. Color photo-relief illustration for *Sobachki*(Little Dogs)(Leningrad: Gosudarstennoe izdatel'stvo, 1929). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

IV.1/Fig.5. Nikolai Aseev, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator.Cover for *Top-top-top*(Leningrad:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo). Dodge Collection, ZAM.

IV.1/Fig.6. Vera Ermolaeva. *Woman with a Set Square*, 1926. Graphite on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.1/Fig.7. Nikolai Suetin. *Woman with a Saw*, late 1920s. Oil on wood. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

IV.1/Fig.8. Nikolai Zabolotsky, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Color photo-relief cover for *Khoroshie sapogi* (The Good Boots)(Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo)

IV.1/Fig.9. Lev Yudin and Vera Ermolaeva, authors and illustrators. Cover designs for the books *Bumaga i nozhnitsy* (Paper and Scissors), 1931, and for *Iz bumagi bez kleia* (Of Paper, Without Glue), 1930. Gouache on paper (each). Department of Graphic Arts, The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

IV.1/Fig.10. Vera Ermolaeva. Composition based on Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, 1934. Tempera and pencil on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.1/Fig.11. Aleksandr Vvedensky, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Study for the front cover for the book *Rybaki* (The Fishermen), 1929. Watercolor and tempera on paper. The State Russian Museum, St.Petersburg, Russia.

IV.1/Fig.12. Aleksandr Vvedensky, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Study for the back cover for the book *Rybaki*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(The Fishermen), 1929. Watercolor and tempera on paper. The State Russian Museum, St.Petersburg.

IV.1/Fig.13. Evgenii Scwarts, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover design for *Shariki* (Baloons),gouache on paper. Graphic Arts Department, The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

IV.1/Fig.14. Evgenii Scwarts, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Studies for illustrations for *Shariki* (Baloons), gouache on paper. Graphic Arts Department,The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

IV.1/Fig.15. Vera Ermolaeva. Study for the festive decoration of a building facade. Vitebsk. 1920. Graphite on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.1/Fig.16. Lev Yudin, illustrator. Studies for illustrations for *Zagadki*. Ink on paper.La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse, Paris.

IV.1/Fig.17. Lev Yudin. Design for the back cover of the children's magazine *Chizh* (Siskin),1933. Gouache and collage on cardboard. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.1/Fig.17a. Lev Yudin. Cover for the children's magazine *Chizh(Siskin)*,1935. Dodge Collection,ZAM.

IV.1/Fig.18. Lev Yudin. Cover for the children's magazine *Chizh*(Siskin),1935.Dodge Collection,ZAM.

IV.1/Fig.19. Lev Yudin. Cover for the children's magazine *Chizh*(Siskin),1936.Dodge Collection,ZAM.

Chapter IV, Part 2.

IV.2/ Fig.1. V. Tsaune, author. Pavel Kondratiev, illustrator. Study for the cover and back cover for *Odin... Dva... Dva...* (One...Two...Two...), 1932. Watercolor, pen, colored and black ink, and cutouts on paper. The State Russian Museum, St.Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.2. Alisa Poret. *Bride*, illustration for the Karelian-Finnish epic *Kalevala*, 1932. Black watercolor on paper. The State Russian Museum, St.Petersburg, Russia.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IV.2/Fig.2a. Filonov School. Cover for the Karelian-Finnish eic *Kalevala* (Moscow:Academia,1932). Dodge Collection, ZAM.

IV.2/Fig.3. Ia. Miller, author. Tatyana Glebova, illustrator. Cover for *Kak my otbili Yudenicha* (How we Defeated Yudenich)(Moscow; Gosizdat, 1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.4. Ia. Miller, author. Tatyana Glebova, illustrator. Back cover for *Kak my otbili Yudenicha* (How we Defeated Yudenich)(Moscow; Gosizdat, 1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.5. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustration for *Kak pobedila revoliutsiia* (How The Revolution Was Won)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.6. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustration for *Kak pobedila revoliutsiia* (How The Revolution Was Won)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.7. E. Papernaia and I. Karnaukhova, authors. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustrations for *Ch'i eto igrushki* (Whose Toys are These?)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.8. E. Papernaia and I. Karnaukhova, authors. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustrations for *Ch'i eto igrushki*(Whose Toys are These?) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.9. E. Papernaia, author. Alisa Poret, illustrator.Illustartion for *Vystavka bogov* (Exhibition of Gods)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.2/Fig.10. E. Papernaia, author. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Back cover for *Vystavka bogov* (Exhibition of Gods)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930). The State National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter IV, Part 3.

IV.3/Fig.1. Aleksandr Deineka, *Textile Makers*,1927. Oil on canvas, The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.3/Fig.2. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, author. Konstantin Vialov, illustrator. Cover for *Neboskreb* (Skyscraper) (Moscow:/Leningrad:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). Riabov Collection, ZAM.

IV.3/Fig.3. David Shterenberg, *Table*, 1914. Oil on canvas. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

IV.3/Fig.4. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustrations for *Posuda* (Dishes)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930). Riabov Collection,ZAM.

IV.3/Fig.5. David Shterenberg, *Oil-Lamp and Herring*, 1920. Oil on canvas. The State Russian Museum, St.Petersburg, Russia.

IV.3/Fig.6. David Shterenberg, Lithograph from the series *Texture*, 1922. As reproduced in M.P. Lazarev, *David Shterenberg* (Moscow: Galaktika, 1992),p.160.

IV.3/Fig.7. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Chai*(Tea)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

IV.3/Fig.8. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Chai*(Tea)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

IV.3/Fig.9. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Back cover for *Kukly i knigi*(Dolls and Books)(Moscow:OGIZ,1932).

IV.3/Fig.10. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Cover and back cover for the book *Fizkul'tura* (Physical Exercises)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930).
Riabov Collection, ZAM.

IV.3/Fig.11. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Bobka-fizkul'turnik*(Bobka the Sportsman),1930. Private collection, New York.

IV.3/Fig. 12. Rudyard Kipling, author. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Forty Nord-Fifty West* (Moscow/Leningrad: Giz, 1931). Donnell Library, New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IV.3/Fig.13. O.Gurian, author. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Galu and Matu* (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).Dodge Collection,ZAM.

IV.3/Fig. 14. Agnia Barto, author. Aleksandr Deineka, illustrator. Illustration for *Pervoe maia* (The First of May)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928). La Bibliotheque L'Heure Joyeuse, Paris.

IV.3/Fig.15. Aleksandr Deineka, author and illustrator. Illustration for *Parad Krasnoi Armii* (The Parade of the Red Army)(Moscow:Giz,1930). Riabov Collection,ZAM.

IV.3/Fig.16. Aleksandr Deineka, author and illustrator. Illustration for *Elektromonter* (The Electrician)(Moscow: OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

GLOSSARY

AKhRR: Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia. Organized in 1922, this association advocated a return to representational art in the form of Heroic Realism; its members laid the groundwork for Socialist Realism and functioned primarily as an exhibition society based in Moscow. In 1928 its name was changed to AKhR: Association of Artists of the Revolution. The group was disbanded in 1932.

Inkhuk: Institute of Artistic Culture. Inkhuk was established as a research institute in Moscow in 1920. Its aim was to formulate an ideological and theoretical approach to the arts based on scientific research and analysis. Inkhuk had its affiliations in Petrograd, Vitebsk, and other cities.

IZO Narkompros: Fine Arts Department of the People's Commissariat for Education. Started shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Narkompros was responsible for education, the organization of exhibitions, and publications. It was divided into two principal sections - in Petrograd under David Shterenberg and in Moscow under Vladimir Tatlin. Thanks to IZO many avant-garde artists of the time were given important administrative and pedagogical posts within the new cultural hierarchy. IZO lost its administrative power after 1921.

lubok: (pl: *Iubki):* Russian hand-colored popular prints or broadsides generally used for entertainment and instruction. Often depicting allegorical, satirical, or folk figures from ordinary life, most *Iubki* were copper engravings, but wood - engraved and manuscript examples were also common.

MZhK: Museum of Painterly Culture, Moscow (1919-29).

NEP: New Economic Policy. An economic reform program initiated by Lenin, allowing limited return of private ownership and commerce (1921-28).

OST: Society of Easel Artists. Founded in 1925, this society held four exhibitions between 1925 ad 1928. Most of the members were former Vkhutemas (see note) students. OST was formed as a protest against Constructivism and other

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artistic movements, and its exhibitions demonstrated its orientation toward a figurative art.

Proletkult: Proletarian Culture. This group, established in 1917 and led by Aleksandr Bogdanov, advocated the idea that proletarian art could be realized only by the proletariat and that the art of the past was of little value or relevance to the new society.

Proun: Project of the Affirmation of the New. This name was given by El Lissitzky to his architectonic compositions of 1919-24; indebted to Malevich's Suprematism, the Prouns represented what Lissitzky called the "station on the path of the construction of the new form."

Rosta: Russian Telegraph Agency. Satirical window posters were created in 1919-21 by Russian artists and poets working for the Russian Telegraph Agency. It was an art of the streets, removed totally from the realms of connoisseur and collector. Often these posters were specifically related to the Civil War and other political events. For Rosta posters, artists used a stencil process, and their posters were characterized by simple silhouettes and were reminiscent of folk prints.

Svomas: Free Artistic Studios. In 1918, the old Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture and the Stroganov Art School were integrated to form Svomas. The St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts was abolished, to be replaced by the Petrograd State Free Art Education Studios, later called Svomas.

Vkhutemas: Higher State Art-Technical Studios. Vkhutemas was formed in 1920 for the Moscow Svomas. Although its structure altered during its existence (until 1930), it compromised seven basic Departments - painting, sculpture, architecture, ceramics, metal and woodwork, textiles, and typography. In 1926-27, Vkhutemas was modified to Vkhutein (Higher Artistic - Technical Institute).

Union of Soviet Artists: The single official artists' union of the Soviet Union, authorized and controlled by the state. Proposed in 1932, it was fully realized in 1957.

Unovis: Affirmers of the New Art. In 1919, Kazimir Malevich formed a group in Vitebsk known as Posnovis (Followers of the New Art); in early 1920, the group changed its name to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Unovis. Unovis had affiliations in Smolensk, Samara, and other cities and held exhibitions in Vitebsk and Moscow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

For this dissertation, we have used the Library of Congress System of transliteration of Russian names and titles, with a few modifications. First, the Russian *ye* has been represented by *e* (Evgenii instead of Yevgenii, Ermolaeva instead of Yermolaeva) and we have used *ee* rather than *eye*; second, no symbols have been employed for the Cyrillic soft sign in the personal names. However, in the titles we have used an apostrophe (') to indicate the soft sound (i.e., *knigoizdatel'stvo*).

Many Russian artists and writers spent part of their lives in Western Europe and often their names received various, even contradictory, transliterations from the original Russian into the language of their adopted home. Therefore, for the names of artists, we have combined two methods. For artists who were active chiefly in Russia, we have transliterated their names according to the modified Library of Congress System. In the case of persons well known in the West, we have used either the spelling the artist adopted or the one that has become common in the West (e.g., Alexandre Benois, not Aleksandr Benua; El Lissitzky, not Lazar Lisitsky).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IMAGES FOR THE NEW GENERATION: SOVIET ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BOOKS, 1918-1936

INTRODUCTION

1. Significance of the Topic

This dissertation investigates illustrated children's books in Soviet Russia during the period from 1918 to 1936. During that time, many prominent avant-garde artists produced innovative and highly experimental children's books which they considered to be a form of high art equal to painting. Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the status of children's books had often been ambiguous in Russia. However, in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, children's books played an important political role in the new Soviet society, aiming at an audience numbering in the hundreds of thousands. The Bolshevik regime regarded children's books as major means for influencing the new generation, transmitting Soviet ideology and teaching children about contemporary developments in Soviet Russia.

In February of 1918, the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* published an article devoted to children's literature

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

entitled the "Forgotten Weapon." This article was dedicated to the proposition that children's books should become a significant weapon in the class struggle. Its author, L. Kormchii, stated:

> In the great arsenal with which the bourgeoisie fought against socialism, children's books occupied a prominent role.... In selecting cannons and weapons, we overlook those that spread poisonous weapons. So focused on guns and other weapons, we forget about the written word.... We struggle and we die, but before we drown in our own blood, we must seize these weapons from enemy hands.[1]

During the 1920s, numerous decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party emphasized that children's literature was one of the major channels for influencing the younger generation. The leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, including the Commissar of Education A.V. Lunacharsky, and Lenin's wife N. K. Krupskaia took an active part in the heated discussions surrounding children's literature. By then, the need to create an innovative type of book design to complement revolutionary children's literature became apparent to artists, critics, and publishers. In the turbulent years of the civil war, when there was not enough coal or paper, and when even the

---

[1] L. Kormchii, "Zabytoe oruzhie: O detskoi knige," *Pravda* (Moscow), no. 28, 17 February 1918, 3. Kormchii edited the St. Petersburg journal *Yunyi chitatel'*, c.1899-1906.

"V bogatom arsenale, kotorym raspolagala burzhuaziia dlia bor'by s sotsializmom, vidnoe mesto zanimaet detskaia kniga.... Vybiraia pushki i ruzh'ia, my ne udostoili vnimaniem rasprostranitelei iadovitykh gazov. Zabotias' ob oruzhii, my zabyvaem podchas o pechatnom slove....My boremsia, my gibnem. Zakhlebyvaias' v sobstvennoi krovi, my vyryvaem iz ruk zakliatogo vraga odno oruzhie za drugim. "

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* had a limited run, the theoretical issues of children's literature were discussed in the Soviet press. According to the Bolshevik critics, the religious and bourgeois morality of children's books published before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was harmful to Soviet children. After the Revolution, new Soviet children's literature would impress upon the young readers of the post-revolutionary epoch, many of whom belonged to the working class and peasantry, the need to become active participants in the building of the Communist State.

Following their victory in the Civil War (1918-1921) the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership introduced a policy of reform known as the New Economic Policy or NEP. Market elements were introduced into the economy and cultural restrictions were eased. Many independent publishing houses were able to function in relative freedom. In 1928, under Stalin's leadership, the NEP came to an abrupt end. He launched a program of intense industrialization alongside a repressive campaign in the countryside to collectivize the peasantry within the framework of the first *Five-Year-Plan* The market-based economy was all but abolished and the relative cultural freedom of the NEP gave way to a policy of ideological restrictions. The Civil War, the NEP and the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Five-Year Plan brought about major socio-political transformations that affected all areas of life and culture. A study of children's literature of Soviet Russia reveals much about the values of those times and nature of these events. As a reflection of its time, this literature provides us with ample material for a better understanding of the ideology of Soviet society and allows us to analyze the establishment and development of many complex ideological, aesthetic, and pedagogical ideas of that time.

Many artists involved with avant-garde experimentation, including the Constructivists, were eager to design books for children. The USSR was the first country to introduce state control of book production, with a policy of employing the foremost graphic artists. Between 1918 and 1931, approximately one hundred publishing houses released nearly 10,000 children's titles written by close to 500 authors.[2] The results were astoundingly successful, and the influence of these mass-produced children's books was phenomenal, especially in France.[3]

---

[2] I.I. Startsev, *Detskaia literatura: bibliografiia, 1918-193* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1933), 3.

[3] As James Bettley noted, many of the outstanding French lithographed picture books of the 1930s should be called "franco-russes," in particular the *90 Albums du pere Castor*, over half of which were the work of émigré Russians. (*The Art of the Book: From Medieval Manuscript to Graphic Novel*, ed. James Bettley, [London: V& A Publications, 2001], 97)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As the authors of the *History of Children's Book Illustration*, pointed out: "...during the 1920s and '30s Russia's pioneering use of bold lithographic designs by Lebedev and others in mass produced paperbacks for children clearly influenced European book illustration."[4] In 1925, the children's publications of Raduga Publishing House were awarded a medal at the International Exposition of Decorative Arts in Paris.

In the 1920s, Blaise Cendrars, a French writer, art critic, and friend of Sonia Delaunay, Fernand Léger, Mark Chagall and Pablo Picasso, made numerous trips to post-Revolutionary Russia. As a result, on April 27, 1929 Cendrars organized an exhibition of at least 154 Russian children's books from the period of 1926-29 at the Bonaparte bookshop in Paris. In his introductory address, Cendrars stated: "Everyone knows that in Russia children are the only ones who have 'profited from the Revolution,' the only ones. Everything belongs to them, the country, the towns, the trains, the planes, the future..."[5]

In 1927, as many as twenty nine publishing houses in Russia produced inexpensive children's books with print runs

---

[4] Joyce Irene Whalley and Tessa Rose Chester, *A History of Children's Book Illustration* (London: John Murray with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1988), 197.

[5] Francoise Leveque, "Children and Books," in *Infancia y Arte Moderno* (Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998), 361.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of 20,900. However, during that year, the Committee of Children's Literature prevented the release of 81% of the children's books ready to be printed by the most experimental Publishing House *Raduga* as they were considered to be "...contaminated by harmful bourgeois ideology."[6]

In 1934, the First Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers took place in Moscow. It mandated Socialist Realism as the only acceptable artistic method for Soviet literature and art, which for book design signified a return to traditional, non-experimental typography and design. After the implementation of Socialist Realism as the official aesthetic doctrine of the USSR, the Soviet authorities insisted on going back to traditional and realist art and deliberately ignored modernist contributions from abroad. All artists had to follow specific norms prescribed by official state organizations and the freedom of artistic expression, which they had previously enjoyed ceased to exist.

In 1935, the Communist Party issued a decree, which placed all publishing houses specializing in children's literature under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Komsomol (the Young Communist League). From that time

---

[6] G. Kuznetsova, "U istokov sovetskoi detskoi knigi," *Detskaia Literatura* (Moscow), no. 7 (July 1976): 72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

on, the Komsomol determined the direction of the development of children's literature and established a system of strict censorship over children's publications, which stifled the creative freedom of the artist illustrators.

My study ends in 1936, the year in which an article entitled "O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh" (On Artists-daubers) was published in *Pravda* on March 1. This article initiated a severe reaction against avant-garde experiments in children's book design. Many of the artists of the Russian avant-garde came under increasing attack and were forced to turn to a much more realistic and figurative style. Although these controversial artists were mostly supportive of the Soviet regime, the authorities rejected them, and some were even persecuted by the regime.

This dissertation explores children's books design by a wide range of Russian avant-garde or experimentally inclined artists, from the famous to the unknown. It focuses on the contributions to the field of children's book design by such prominent Constructivist artists as Galina and Olga Chichagova, Gustav Klucis, El Lissitzky, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and Sergei Senkin.

The term "Constructivism" began to be used in Russia in early 1921 and refers specifically to a group of artists who sought to extend the language of abstract art into

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

productive and practical design work, where the distinction between artist and engineer would be eliminated.[7] In the 1920s, the Constructivists created some of their most experimental work in graphic design, rejecting traditional forms of design and affirming the importance of personal freedom in design. They sought to create an innovative type of children's book, which would not be just a simple illustration of the text, but one that would fully integrate word and image.

While significant studies on many of these artists have been published, their children's books are either only briefly discussed or not mentioned at all.

In this dissertation, I intend to situate Russian illustrated children's books of the 1920s within the international context of modern art as well as to reconsider their significance within the history of early-twentieth century Russian art.

2. The State of Previous Research

Most of the studies on Soviet illustrated children's books tend to be surveys. The only English-language book

---

[7] See Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); idem, "Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s," in *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914-1932* (Seattle: The Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington; New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 100-101.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

published to date, *Stories for Little Comrades* by Evgeny Steiner[8] demonstrates an increased interest in this material in the West. Steiner's book is written in a journalistic style for a popular audience and much of the information in this book is anecdotal. Steiner's book is a poetic appreciation instead of an historical analysis of Soviet illustrated children's books. As the author himself admits, it is only an introduction to the subject and contains mostly a brief analysis of ideas and activities. Steiner claims to be investigating not the books' aesthetic qualities but "their impact on children, and the long-term socio-psychological consequences of that impact."[9] Although bringing previously marginalized artists onto center stage, Steiner does not address issues of continuity between Imperial and Soviet traditions, and completely ignores recent work on Suprematism and Russian Constructivism, as well as the growing body of scholarship on children's literature.

Jacqueline M.Olich's dissertation (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999), entitled *Competing Ideologies and Children's Books: The Making of a Soviet*

---

[8] Evgeny Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

[9] Ibid., 46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Children's Literature, 1918-1935, draws on the history of Soviet children's literature to view how the process of creating a new type of children's literature was a contested one. This dissertation, exploring Soviet children's literature as a genre, and drawing attention to children's literature as a revealing historical source in the Russian and Soviet contexts, does not, however, discuss design issues of children's books, concentrating only on literary aspects. In Chapter One, Olich provides a history of children's literature in Russia before 1917. Chapter Two explores how the growing commercialization of children's literature complicated the Party's early efforts to establish controls over the creation and publication of children's books. Chapter Three analyses the pre-school fairy tale s by Samuil Marshak and Kornei Chukovsky. Chapter Four considers the efforts of Party supporters to author. Chapter Five discusses how the Party labored to reformulate Soviet children's literature, while Chapter Six reveals how children's literature reflected the Party's shift to a more conciliatory cultural policy.

A 1997 French publication, *Livres d'enfants russes et sovietiques (1917-1945): Dictionnaire des illustrateurs* by Francoise Leveque and Serge Plantureux contains significant biographical data on major illustrators of Soviet children's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

books.[10] *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi o sebe i svoem dele (Children's Book Illustrators about Themselves and their Work)* edited by Vl. Goltser, [11] provides some primary source material, such as interviews, memoirs, and letters.

Most of the Russian and Soviet historical and critical writings on the subject are traditional, chronological surveys. The most recent 1998 Russian-language publication *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi (Artists of Children's Books)* by L. S. Kudriavtseva provides an updated survey of Russian and Soviet illustrated children's books.[12] Intended as a textbook for students of pedagogical colleges rather than a specialized art historical audience, and covering a broad range of publications from the 17th century to the present, this study presents a rather general outline of the design of books by Vladimir Lebedev as well as other, more traditionally oriented and well-known artists. It completely ignores important contributions to children's book design of many lesser-known avant-garde artists. *Staraia detskaia knizhka, 1900-1930 (Old Children's Book, 1900-1930)* by Yurii

---

[10] Francoise Leveque and Serge Plantureux, *Livres d'enfants russes et sovietiques (1917-1945): Dictionnaire des illustrateurs* (Paris: La Bibliothèque l'Heure joyeuse et Agence culturelle de Paris, 1997).

[11] *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi o sebe i svoem iskusstve: Stat'i, rasskazy, zametki, vystupleniia*, ed. Vladimir Glotser (Moscow: Kniga, 1987).

[12] L.S. Kudriavtseva, *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow: Akademia, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Molok[13] is exclusively devoted to the collection of Professor Mark Rats and is uncritical in nature. *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi (Russian Artists of the Children's Book)*[14] by E.Z. Gankina was written in 1963, when the ideological system imposed serious constrains on any study of the Russian avant-garde art, and therefore Gankina's emphatically Stalinist bias precludes any discussion of experimental work in the book design of the 1920s. As a result, Gankina's study mostly focuses on more realistically oriented artists.

A number of articles by art historians Boris Kalaushin and E.D. Kuznetsov in various Russian journals devoted to children's literature, concentrate on Russian children's books during the period of 1900-1917 as well as on some children's book designs by Leningrad artists in the first half of the 1920s.[15] U.Y. Gerchuk in his essays published in various issues of *Detskaia literatura* magazine[16] in the 1970s

---

[13] Yurii Molok, *Staraia detskaia knizhka, 1900-1930* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo A i B, 1997).

[14] E.Z. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1963).

[15] B. Kalaushin, "U istokov detskoi knigi: Russkaia detskaia kniga 1900-1917," *O literature dlia detei* (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura), no. 33 (1991): 112-121; idem, "Tsel'nost," *Detskaia literatura*, no.8 (1977): 64-73; E.D. Kuznetsov, "Puti i pereput'ia: Razmyshleniia ob iskusstve leningradskoi detskoi knigi," *Detskaia literatura*, no.6 (1975): 61-70; and idem, "Oformlenie destskoi knigi predrevoliutsionnykh let, 1901-1917," Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy, no. 8 (Moscow: Izdanie vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty, 1963), 135-167.

[16] Yurii Gerchuk, "Proizvodstvennaia knizhka: opyt moskovskikh khudozhnikov," *Detskaia literatura*, no.10 (1975): 75-79; idem, "Proizvodstvennaia knizhka: opyt leningradskikh khudozhnikov," *Detskaia literatura*, no.11 (1975): 67-71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and 1980s as well as G. Kuznetsova in her article "U istokov sovetskoi detskoi knigi," published in the 1976 July issue of the same magazine, have briefly surveyed the development of Soviet children's literature of the beginning of the 1920s.[17] Although these articles contain some important factual information, they remain limited in that they address only a small group of selected artists and their short length does not give any opportunity for a thorough discussion of the subject.

There are also a number of publications, both in English and Russian, which are concerned with more general historical, pedagogical, or sociological aspects relevant to the children's literature in Russia. A catalogue of an exhibition organized by the IVAM Centre Julio Gonzales in Barcelona in 1998-99, entitled *Infancia y Arte Moderno (Childhood and Modern Art)* is an invaluable source for placing the Soviet illustrated children's books in an international context as well as for the understanding of the important issue of the involvement of various modern artists in the world of children.[18] This catalogue offers an overall view of this theme, with a selection of examples

---

[17] Kuznetsova, "U istokov sovetskoi detskoi knigi," 70-73.

[18] *Infancia y Arte Moderno* (Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998). (Catalogue for an exhibition at IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, Spain, December 17, 1998—March 8, 1999).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from the most varied aesthetic tendencies from the main European countries.[19]

As *Childhood and Modern Art* demonstrates, during the period from 1910 to 1940 many avant-garde artists developed new ideas for children in their production of toys, dolls, puppets, furniture, posters, and picture books as well as in their designs for schools and summer camps, many of which were connected with new systems of teaching. As the Director of the IVAM Juan Manuel Bonel pointed out in his introduction to the catalogue, an attempt has been made to study the view that avant-garde movements were inspired by children's art, art that played an important role similar to that of the creations of the mentally disturbed or primitive peoples. However, Bonet noted, far less is known about the work which the avant-garde artists produced for children.[20]

Françoise Leveque and Carlos Flores contributed short overviews of the history of Soviet children's books in *Childhood and Modern Art*.[21] However, since the major essays in this publication are devoted to the contributions by the

---

[19] See Petra Timmer, "The Dutch Avant-Garde and the Childhood," in *Infancia y Arte Moderno*, 372-376; Luigi Cavadini, "The Avant-Garde and Childhood in Italy," in ibid., 376-380; and Michael Siebenbrodt, "The Bauhaus in Weimar: Creative Play in the Teaching of Design and the Design of Objects for Children," in Ibid., 381-384.

[20] Juan Manuel Bonel, introduction to *Infancia y Arte Moderno*, 349.

[21] Leveque, "Children and Books," 361-363; Carlos Flores, "Schools and Publications for Children in the First Soviet Five-Year Plan," in ibid., 363-366.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dutch, German, and Italian avant-garde artists, in the rest of the catalogue Soviet children's books and illustrators are only briefly mentioned.

The 1978 book, *Socialisation through Children's Literature: The Soviet Example* by Felicity Ann O'Dell,[22] identifies the specific role assigned to children's literature in Soviet society, the content of the messages conveyed and their relationship to key features of the nature of Soviet society. The major area of O'Dell's study is that of primary school reading books, which the author considers to be an especially significant source of material because they are read by virtually every Soviet child.

O'Dell's book has raised most of the central issues of Soviet children's literature and character- education. However, the limitation of her study is a lack of a thorough examination of individual themes. As O'Dell herself admitted in her introduction, her study constitutes an adequate and reliable starting point for future, more specialized researchers. Although this book provides the reader with some basic theoretical background, most of its examples come from the children's literature of the 1960s and 70s. Since the author's investigations are concerned only with issues

---

[22] Felicity Ann O'Dell, *Socialisation through Children's Literature: The Soviet Example* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of literature and ideology per se, there is no discussion of any artistic aspects of the children's books.

A collection of research papers presented at the symposium organized by the Bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse in Paris on November 17, 1997[23] includes several essays on children's literature in Russia, as well as those on the fruitful collaboration between Lebedev and Marshak and between Vladimir Konashevich and Chukovsky.[24] Macha Daniel's essay in this publication focuses on the place of illustrated children's books in the tradition of the Russian avant-garde.[25] Daniel's quite superficial discussion is a simplified survey of well-known facts related to the history of the Russian avant-garde. As can be seen from Daniel's bibliographical citations, her paper for the publication is not based on archival materials, periodicals of the time, or interviews with artists' relatives but is a compilation of secondary sources such as major, already published books on the Russian avant-garde.

---

[23] *Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants, 1917-1945: Actes de la journée d'etude organisee par la bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse, Lundi 17 Novembre 1997 au Pavillon de l'Arsenal*, ed. Francoise Leveque (Paris: Publications Paris bibliotheques [Bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse], 1999).

[24] Frederique Bey, "La litterature enfantine en Russie: 1900-1940," in *Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants*, 21-23; Odile Belkeddar, "Les premieres images d'une nouvelle poesie pour les 2-5 ans: V. Lebedev, illustrateur de S. Marchak et V. Konashevitch, illustrateur de K. Tchoukovski," in ibid., 45- 54.

[25] Macha Daniel, "Le livre illustre dans la continuite des avant-garde russes," in *Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants*, 25- 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In spite of the limited research on Soviet illustrated children's books, some aspects of this work and artists have received more attention than others. Several studies are devoted to Lissitzky's work in typography and book design, including a detailed account of Lissitzky's *Suprematist Tale About Two Squares in Six Constructions* by Patricia Railing, entitled *More About Two Squares*.[26] Although Railing confined her discussion to the specific work of one artist it contains ample information on Suprematism. This book can be regarded as the first serious study of Lissitzky's work in the area of children's book design.

The 1972 study of Lebedev's experimental children's books by V.N. Petrov is the single most important Russian publication devoted to Lebedev.[27] This biographical monograph fills an immense gap in the study of the subject.

While the above survey of the existing literature is critical for our fundamental understanding of the subject, there remain, as we have seen, certain limitations in all of the earlier discussed studies which highlight the need for not only a new consideration of the work of Russian avant-garde artists in the area of children's book design, but

---

[26] Patricia Railing, *More About Two Squares* (Forest Row, East Sussex: Artists Bookworks and Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990).

[27] V.N. Petrov, *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev, 1891-1967* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1972).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

more importantly, for recognizing the broader significance of the Soviet illustrated children's books of the 1920s and 30s in the 20th century art.

3. Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized around several key issues. By addressing the complex relationships among the Soviet State, artists, and public, I explore how the close ties between the art and politics of that time were manifested in the design for children's books. I also demonstrate how books on science and technology known as "production books" were directly affected by the goal of industrialization and, specifically, by the important role that the concept of technology played in Soviet political thought. I also investigate questions of figuration versus abstraction in Russian children's book design of the 1920s, and demonstrate how this abstract/realist nexus in children's book design was paralleled by a significant development toward a greater abstraction in the fine arts of the time. In seeking to address these concerns, my approach is informed by a variety of interdisciplinary sources.

I have chosen a contextual approach for my dissertation because it allows for an examination of contemporaneous

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

socio-political ideas and tendencies as well as related issues and disciplines such as aesthetics, education, psychology, sociology and literature.

In **Chapter One,** I include a brief overview of the development of children's literature in Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in order to provide a historical framework for my later discussion of the development of children's literature during the post-revolutionary period. Part 1 of Chapter One focuses on the issues of Russian national identity as manifested in the children's book illustrations for Russian fairy tales by such artists as Viktor Vasnetsov, Elena Polenova, and Ivan Bilibin. In part 2 of Chapter One, I describe the conflict over fairy tales, which some educators of the 1920s condemned as an obstruction to the introduction of the proletarian child to the real issues of everyday life. According to this point of view, fairy tales reflected the ideology of the bourgeoisie, and by camouflaging social contradictions harmed the development of the Soviet child. These educators felt that the themes of children's books should deal with the socialist reconstruction of industry and the new technology. They called for the creation of so-called "production books" which would focus on science and technology and take the place of traditional fairy tales.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In Part 3 of Chapter One, I discuss Soviet theory on methods of overt socialization using children's literature in Russia in the 1920s and 1930s. These methods were to reinforce the major objective of the new Soviet children's literature: to turn children into proud Soviet citizens. The image of a positive hero, whose actions were "politically correct," and who would function as a builder of Communism, began to occupy an important place in post-revolutionary children' s literature.

In the 1920s, the common ideals of a new world vision linked the artist and the educator. I will demonstrate that the new Soviet children's literature was a part of educational process and was closely connected with contemporary pedagogical ideas. I will show how the influence of the ideas of American pragmatism, in particular, the theory of John Dewey (1859-1952), was reflected in the Soviet school programs of the early 1920s. This theory rejected the necessity of classroom education and placed all emphasis on "education through social environment." Some leading Soviet pedagogues also stressed that the most important task of the new Soviet school was to introduce the child into the social and working life of the local community. I pay special attention to the science of child development in Russia, known as "pedologiia,"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(pedologie)[28] and demonstrate how this science influenced Soviet children's literature.

In order to show how the Communist Party regarded educational institutions and children's literature almost solely as instruments to serve the political needs of the Soviet regime, I also focus on the major decrees of the Communist Party related to the development of Soviet children's'literature, publishing houses, and the ideological aspects of children's' literature. It is essential to know which virtues were stressed in theory in order to later discuss meaningfully those which were emphasized in practice, particularly in book production.

In Part 4 of Chapter One, I highlight the major focal points of the discussion in the press of the time regarding the goals of the new Soviet children's literature. Arguing that children's literature reflects the ideological views of the ruling social class of a specific era, I will show how the struggle for high quality children's books developed, and how the problems of the relation between tradition and

[28] According to I.F. Svadovsky, the term "pedologie" was introduced in 1893 by Oscar Crisman, one of the students of Granville Stanley Hall (1844-1924). The term was not commonly used by the Western scholars who preferred the tems "child study," "pedagogical psychology" and "experimental pedagogics." "Pedologiia" is the science of the child's development in a certain socio-historical environment. While in pedagogics the main question is "how the teacher teaches," in "pedologiia" it is "how the child learns."(See I.F. Svadovsky, "Krizis burzhuaznoi pedagogiki i lzhenauka pedologiia," in *Protiv pedologicheskikh izvrashchenii*, ed. I.F. Svadovsky [Moscow/Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo, 1938], 5).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

innovation in children's literature were addressed, including the diversity and specificity of genre and style.

In **Chapter Two**, I demonstrate how children's book illustrators' styles and ideas were closely bound up with experiments being carried out by painters at the time. I show why and how their illustrations reflected contemporary tendencies in painting towards geometric abstraction, and how even Soviet propaganda images employed the elements of modernity. For instance, while figurative subject matter continued to play a vital part in Vladimir Lebedev's designs for children's books, in El Lissitsky's *Suprematist Tale of Two Squares*, 1922, images were reduced to geometric abstract shapes to convey utopian ideas and to propagate the Communist future. Simplicity, strong geometric lines, vivid pure colors were the most conspicuous characteristics of Lissitzky's book designs, which closely resembled his painting at that time. Subsequently, Lissitzky's book had an enormous influence due to its novel typography which integrated text and image. By closely examining children's books by both Lebedev and Lissitzky, I hope to bring a clearer definition of their contributions.

Chapter Three demonstrates how the genre of "production book" was one of the most important spheres of practical work for a number of Constructivist artists who were unable

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to work in industry because of material scarcities. As a result, the genre of "production book" became a perfect embodiment of major ideas of the Productivists. Many children's publications of the time reflected hallmarks of the First Five-Year Plan such as construction and urbanization, the conquering of nature, the internationalism, and the "Sovietization" of foreign lands. This chapter is organized around case studies of several significant artists who worked in "production book." Introduced in Soviet Russia in approximately 1925 and addressing the youngest readers, this new type of children's literature had political significance by linking technology to the development of the new state. By focusing on selected artists who remained consistently devoted to the avant-garde experiments rather than on numerous other, more traditional artists who worked in various themes within the genre of "production book," I avoid the linearity of the survey.

Among the first experiments in the "production books" for children was the work of the sisters Galina (1892-1956) and Olga (1892-1956) Chichagova, who were members of the First Working Group of Constructivists. This group, formed during the spring of 1921, proclaimed a new synthesis of art and industry and condemned oil painting as too individualistic, reflecting the old order of bourgeois

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ideals. Instead, the members of the group were interested in the execution of production tasks from the point of view of the new consumer of art. The Constructivists and industrial artists—participants of the scientific-research work of the Institute of Artistic culture and creators of the innovative teaching methods at the VKhUTEMAS (All-Union Artistic--Technical Workshops)[29] rejected the newly formed formal-analytical principles of creativity and teaching, declaring them as unsuitable in the new social conditions. Chapter Three locates these artists and their work in the area of production book within a matrix of powerful ideas common to the modernist era.

In Chapter Three, I plan to show how the geometric style of the Chichagovs' books was reminiscent of the posters of Aleksandr Rodchenko who was their teacher at the Moscow art school (VKhUTEMAS). In the Chichagovs' art, the compass and ruler--two favorite instruments of the Constructivists--substituted for the individualistic brush and pen. Such artists as Evgenia Evenbach, Olga Deineko, Eduard Krimmer, Nikolai Troshin, and Mikhail Tsekhanovsky also contributed greatly to the development of various types

[29] VKhUTEMAS (Higher State Artistic Technical Workshops) was formed in 1920. Although its structure was altered during its existence, it included seven departments: painting, sculpture, architecture, ceramics, metal and woodwork, textiles and typography. It was replaced by VKhUTEIN (Higher State Artistic and Technical Institute) in 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of "production book," and some of their best designs are also discussed in this chapter.

In Chapter Three, I examine as well the use of photography in children's books which depicted the technical and social transformation produced by the building and transportation industries in Soviet Russia in the 1920s. The use of photography in Soviet children's books is very rarely discussed in the context of the photographic modernism of the 1920s and 30s.

I pay special attention to those production books that employed photography instead of drawings since the Productivists believed that photomontage, which was viewed as the most characteristic sign of industrial modernity, was especially useful in children's books to describe actual people and real events. The Productivists rejected the "artistic" ambitions of pictorialism and relied on the ability of the camera to reflect reality and to educate, as exemplified by one of the 'production' books of the time, *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow Has a Plan), 1930, with photo illustrations by the Constructivist artist Mikhail Razulevich. Other Moscow Constructivist artists such as Klucis, Rodchenko, and Senkin were the earliest practitioners of these types of photo-illustrated books. Chapter Three will demonstrate that the photography in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Soviet children's books offered the possibilities for depicting the world to children. For avant-garde artists, illustration and book design was not considered a lesser art, and children's books were held in high esteem.

In **Chapter Four**, I focus on issues of figuration and abstraction in Soviet children's books. In the 1920s, many Russian avant-garde artists experienced the influence of Kazimir Malevich's (1878-1935) oeuvre in one respect or another. I discuss the children's books of Malevich's followers, including Vera Ermolaeva and Lev Yudin. In the early 1920s, Ermolaeva was the rector of the Vitebsk school of art. When the Soviet government ceased financing the Institute, Ermolaeva moved from Vitebsk to Petrograd. The theoretical activities of the Russian avant-garde in the post-revolutionary years took place mainly within the framework of academic and scientific-research institutes. As of 1923, Ermolaeva had been working as an academic assistant at the Institute of Artistic Culture (INKhUK),[30] conducting work in the Cubist section, which was affiliated with Malevich's Formal-Theoretical Department. The three years that Ermolaeva spent engaged in research work there had a definite influence on the consequent development of her art,

[30] INKhUK (Institute of Artistic Culture) was established as a research institute in Moscow in 1920. Its aim was to formulate an ideological and theoretical approach to the arts based on scientific research and analysis. INKhUK had affiliations in Petrograd, Vitebsk, and other cities.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

including children's book design. Yudin was also employed as research assistant at the INKhUK.

Developing in a shared artistic and social milieu, Malevich and Pavel Filonov (1883-1941) took widely divergent paths in seeking to express their perception of the world. If Malevich and his followers strove to move representative art away from a contemplation of the external world, Filonov and his pupils were determined to assimilate art to nature and life. Filonov's analytical method consisted in penetrating internal processes as deeply as possible, with the aim of reproducing a slice of life, at once ephemeral and mutable. Filonov created his analytical method in approximately 1910, and in 1925 he founded the School of Analytical Art. Filonov's pupils illustrated many children's books, creating images drawn with a great deal of precision, reminiscent of images from a kaleidoscope. The motifs and themes in their illustrations changed, but the method remained the same. They would begin with any detail and then go on to another one without worrying about the traditional overall depiction of the subject. The children's book designs of Filonov's followers provide an explanation of the essence of Filonov's analytical method, as well as his "biological approach" to the represented world.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In Chapter Four, I also discuss children's books by the members of OST (Society of Easel Painting), such as Aleksandr Deineka and David Shterenberg. OST members remained committed to the values of figurative art, no matter how stylized or geometric. Although Shterenberg became a firm theoretical opponent of abstract painting, he freely combined elements of abstract art and sharpness of compositional solutions with the concrete depiction of objects in his children's book illustrations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 1

1.1. The Search for Russian National Identity in Illustrated Children's Books before and immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, a new type of children's literature arose. It was characterized by the Soviet themes and forms which reflected the new social and political realities of the times. In 1925, P. Dolsky and Ya. Meksin in their publication *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige (Illustration in Children's Book)*,[31] which was the earliest most important Russian study of the illustrated children's books, distinguished two distinct periods in the development of Russian illustrated books for children: before and after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. They pointed out that the writer of the pre-revolutionary epoch "...is not able to satisfy the workers and peasants with his books any longer," and that "the upper class for whom such a writer had created his books, no longer exist."[32] The authors also argued that

---

[31] P. Dulsky and Ya. Meksin, *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige* (Kazan: Shkola poligraphicheskogo proizvodstva imeni A.V. Lunacharskogo, 1925).

[32] Ibid., 126.

"Rabochuiu i krest'ianskuiu massu ne mozhet udovletvorit' pisatel' dorevoliutsionnoi epokhi, kotoryi tvoril tol'ko dlia odnogo kruga chitatelei, uzhe soshedshikh so stseny zhizni."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the sentimentalism which prevailed in the children's literature before the Bolshevik revolution should be now replaced by the vivid descriptions and analysis of contemporary life. According to Dolsky and Meksin, most of the pre-revolutionary children's literature and illustrations should be now be considered old-fashioned and removed from circulation.[33] Instead, contemporary children's book and illustration should bring up a child as a proud citizen of the new society, a citizen capable of building the new Communist culture of the new world. As Dolsky and Meskin declared, contemporary children's book should educate the new generation in such a way so it would become "... a victor in the new happy life of the collective epoch."[34]

Since post-revolutionary children's literature developed in opposition to the old, pre-revolutionary one, it is important to discuss some of the major characteristics of the pre-revolutionary children's literature and issues related to its development in Russia.[35]

---

[33] Ibid, 126-127.

[34] Ibid., 127.

"...detskaia sovremennaia kniga i illiustratsiia dolzhny tak vospitat' budushchee pokoleniie, chtoby ono muglo smelo i s uverennost'iu voiti pobeditelem v novuiu shchastlivuiu zhizn' kollektivisticheskoi epokhi."

[35] This dissertation provides only a brief outline of the history of pre-revolutionary Russian children's literature and does not aim to discuss its full history. For a thorough discussion see: N.V. Chekhov,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In Russia, the idea of literature aimed specifically at children came about at the same time as in the Western Europe-- during the 18th century. Prior to this time, there were only a few examples of children's books produced, and they were solely intended for the children of the Czar's family. As early as 1574, Ivan Fedorov, the first Russian printing master, soon after printing his first books (such as *Apostle* of 1564), was commissioned by the Czar Ivan IV to print the alphabet for the Czar's family. In 1692, Karion Istomin (1650-1717),[36] a monk and a poet, and the Head of the Printing House between 1679 and 1701, presented his *Alphabet* in manuscript version to Czarina Natalia Kirillovna for her grandson Czarevich Aleksei. In two years, Leontii Bunin engraved on cooper and printed as many as 106 copies of this *Alphabet* **(I.1/Fig.1)**.

At the end of the 17th century a special type of book on Russian history for children, entitled *Tsarstvennyi letopisets* was produced in a form of *lubok* (popular print)

Detskaia literatura (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo pedagogicheskoi akademii, 1909); *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoi literatury (1750-1855)*, ed. A.K. Pokrovskaia and N.V. Chekhov, Trudy komissii po istorii detskoi literatury, vol 1 (Moscow: Izdanie institute metodov vneshkol'noi raboty, 1927); A. Pokrovskaia, *Osnovnye techeniia v sovremennoi detskoi literature* (Moscow: Rabotnik prosvescheniia, 1927); A.P. Babushkina, *Istoriia russkoi detskoi literatury* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1948).

[36] Karion Istomin also wrote *Domostroi*, a pedagogical treatise in verses, in which he presented rules of appropriate behavior for schoolchildren. He was among the first Russians who thought that it was necessary to educate not only boys but also girls. On Istomin see I. P. Eremin, "Karion Istomin," in *History of Russian Literature* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1948), 2, part 2: 355-360.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to be purchased by parents along with toys. Containing educational material on geography, natural history, and history, these *lubki* served not only as entertainment but also as educational tools. Peter the Great studied science with the help of such *lubki* when he was a child. This type of educational *lubki* were the prototype for all Russian illustrated books and encyclopedia. Reforms associated with Peter the Great resulted in literature and education increasingly secular and Western in orientation. Primers of Peter the Great, such as *Yunosti chestnoe zertsalo* (Honorable Mirror of Youth) (1717) and *Pervoe uchenie otrokam* (The First Reader for Youth)(1721) advocated moral education that encouraged well-born young readers to become military and civil servants. *Honorable Mirror for Youth* was also published with the purpose of teaching young Russians elementary rules of behavior and etiquette.

At the beginning of the 18th century, various encyclopedias were translated from foreign languages for the children of nobility. For example, the Russian government ordered that *Orbis pictus* (World in Pictures), the first children's encyclopedia of the world, written by the Moravian bishop and teacher Johannes Amos Comenius(1592-1672) and published in Latin in 1657, be translated into Russian. Containing 150 chapters, this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

encyclopedia introduced children to various concepts of geography, natural history, anatomy, and history.[37]

Initially, most Russian children's books dealing with history, geography, and other sciences were published in Amsterdam, but gradually Russian publishers began producing those types of publications.[38] Children were considered to be no different from adults at a very early age, and their interests were regarded as being similar to those of adults. In an age when a twelve year old boy could enter military service and a girl could marry, and a fourteen year old scion of a noble family could occupy a responsible position, it was considered unnecessary to restrict such children in their reading and create special books for them. In fact, as V.A. Vereshchagin noted in his book *Russkie illustrirovannye izdaniia XVIII i XIX stoletii (1720-1870)* (Russian Illustrated Publications of the 18th and 19th centuries [1720-1870]), it is quite difficult to

---

[37] Johannes Amos Comenius visioned a long period of encyclopedic training during which the student would be introduced to all scientific knowledge. According to Comenius, at first everything was to be taught in " a general and undefined manner," while as the child grew, teaching was to become more exact and specific. This training, Comenius argued, should follow the "method of nature." His plan was to expose the pupil to the world in which he lived, let him observe, and thereby lead him to an understanding of things about him. (S.E. Frost, *The Basic Teachings of Great Philosophers* [New York: The New Home Library], 245)

[38] Among such Russian publications were *Atlas* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science, 1737); *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k matematicheskoi I natural'noi geografii* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science, 1739); and *Detskaia Teka* (Moscow: Tipografiia I. Zelennikova, 1794). The latter was a collection of various drawings with explanatory text. It included images and descriptions of animals, various crafts, and costumes of different nationalities.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

determine what books were intended specifically for children at that time.[39]

The concept of children's literature became one of many ideas in early childhood education taking place at the time. These ideas (including the idea of children's literature) entered Russia in the 1760s.[40] By the end of the 18th century, the educational philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) had been adopted in Russia.[41] Rousseau's new approach to education had a widespread effect on attitudes to children, bringing more attention to the specific interests, surroundings, and understanding of a child.[42] Several types of books for children could now be

---

[39] V. A. Vereshchagin, *Russkie illustrirovannye izdania XVIII i XIX stoletii (1720-1870)* (St. Petersburg: 1898), 72.

[40] R.V. Dlugach, "Deti i knigi, 1770-1860," in *Materialy po istororii russkoi detskoi literatury (1750-1855)*, ed. A.K. Pokrovskaia and N.V. Chekhov, Trudy komissii po istori russkoi detskoi literatury, vol.1 (Moscow: Izdaniee IMBR, 1927), 265.

[41] See N.V. Chekhov, *Detskaia literatura: Pedagogicheskaia akademiia v ocherkakh i monografiiakh* (Moscow: Knigoizdatel'stvo "Pol'za" V. Antik i K°, 1909), 2-3, 28; also see *Materialy po istororii russkoi detskoi literatury (1750-1855)*, ed. A.K. Pokrovskaia and N.V. Chekhov, Trudy komissii po istori russkoi detskoi literatury, vol.1 (Moscow: Izdaniee IMBR, 1927), 26.

Rousseau's writings had been already translated into Russian as early as 1768. Fragment from *Emile* had been translated in 1779 and attracted much attention. Its idealized picture of the Noble Savage influenced a number of Russian children's writers and educators (*Kratkaia literaturnaia entsiklopediia*, ed. A.A. Surkov [Moscow: Sovetskaia Rossiia, 1971], 548-549.)

[42] *Emile*, a treatise on education by Rousseau, first published in 1762, argues that humanity is by nature good, but is corrupted by social conventions. Rousseau describes an imaginary pupil, Emile, who is to have the perfect upbringing and education from Jean-Jacques, his tutor, whose ideas will protect the Natural Man in him from the destructive forces of society. Rousseau declares that the study of languages and history is entirely useless to young children. Education is to be conducted on the principle of whetting the child's curiosity and no more. According to Rousseau, nature is like a hidden tutor who prompts the child to develop different capacities at different stages of growth. If one followed Nature's guidance, it should be possible to bring the child to adolescence with an independent mind. There is no need for religious dogmas

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clearly distinguished. These included preaching discussions; discussions in the form of fairy tales or fables; short stories on different moral subjects, collected into albums; historical novels, encyclopedias and books on popular sciences.[43] Influenced by Enlightenment thought, the Empress Catherine the Great concerned herself with the moral upbringing of a relatively broader stratum of Russian children in hopes of molding an educated and patriotic citizenry. Catherine herself wrote children's books, which described citizens' duties toward their masters, as well as various Christian virtues.

In the 18th century, Russian society was still under the powerful influence of Western European, mainly French, culture. The first books, created specifically for children and adolescents, appeared in Russia in the French language, coincidental with the recognition of French system of

---

or creeds: moral and religious truths are self-evident from observation of the world and from the searching of one's own conscience. *Emile* was condemned by the French parliament for its supposed hostility to church and state.

According to William Crain, Rousseau began the developmental tradition in psychology. He made radical departures from an earlier outlook called preformationism, when people seem to have looked upon children as fully formed, miniature adults and introduced several key ideas into developmental theory. First, he proposed that development proceeds according to the inner, biological timetable. Children are no longer simply shaped by external forces, such as adult teachings. They grow and learn largely on their own, according to Nature's plan. Secondly, Rousseau suggested that development unfolds in a series of stages, periods during which children experience the world in different ways. Third, Rousseau proposed a new philosophy of education, one which is called today "child-centered."(William Crane, *Theories of Development: Concepts and Applications* [Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000], 15-19.)

[43] See *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoi literatury*, 56-66.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

education and the employ of foreign educators. The upper classes brought up their children with the help of foreign *gouverneurs* and with French and German literature.

Several factors played an important role in the widespread knowledge of foreign languages by Russian children. These included the teaching methods of the time, the fact that children of the nobility were surrounded by people who spoke foreign languages, and that they had much leisure time and a lack of Russian books to read. Based on the evidence found in various old journals, as many as about 30 to 50% of Russian children of the nobility spoke foreign languages.[44] Indeed, knowledge of foreign languages gave Russian children the opportunity to read both foreign classics and foreign children's books in the original language. Russian children's literature remained under strong foreign influence even during the first thirty years of the 19th century.

Nikolai Novikov (1744-1818), the Russian publisher, journalist, critic, Freemason, and philanthropist was the most significant driving force behind national children's literature in the late 18th century. Influenced by Rousseau,

---

[44] Dlugach, "Deti i knigi (1770-1860)," in *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoi literatury*,18. As Dlugach noted, while most of Russian noble children of the time knew French, some also spoke English or German. However, it was not until the 1820s that English became popular, and even then mostly in highly cultured and aristocratic circles (Ibid., 18).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Novikov recognized the important, initiatory function of children's' literature. Believing, like Catherine the Great (1762-1796), that the well-being of the Russian people rests on public morality, which in turn depends on upbringing of children, Novikov published *Detskoe chtenie dlia serdtsa i razuma* (Children's Reading for Heart and Mind) (1779-89), the first Russian children's journal. The journal contained instructive articles, original prose, folktales and proverbs, and targeted children between the ages of six and twelve.

In the early 19th century, the majority of Russian children's books were modeled on examples from London and Paris. Sometimes publishers even used engraved plates borrowed from abroad to illustrate their books.[45] As many scholars admitted, despite the stature of Russian literature for adults in the early 19th century, little of distinction was written specifically for children at that time, and published Russian children's literature still consisted of a substantial number of translated Western European books.

However, by the end of the first two decades of the 19th century, the percentage of children's books written by

[45] In the early 19th century Russia, books were mostly illustrated with metal engraving, which was replaced with wood engraving by 1826.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Russian authors had risen to 37 %. From 1830 to the 1850s, the percentage of such books continued to rise to 44 %. The number of translated books for children decreased dramatically. However, by the 1850's only 34% of such books were translations as opposed to 66% from 1800 to 1830.[46]

In most cases, in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the audience for children's books came from aristocratic families, including various members of the Russian nobility, royalty, rich landlords and poor army officers.[47] Thus, the initial idea of children's literature was to teach children of noblemen and government officials norms of behavior and inculcate them with the aristocratic moral code. Boarding schools, for example, did not allow their students to read anything that was not considered "useful" and "serious." [48]

The 19th-century Russian revolutionary democrats, including V.G. Belinsky, Alexander I. Hertzen, N.A. Dobroliubov, and N.G. Chernyshevsky critisized the type of children's literature which lacked artistic quality and did not promote democratic ideals. These revolutionary democrats advocated children's books which would be

---

[46] *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoi literatury*, 83.

[47] Ibid., 20.

[48] Ibid., 74-75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

grounded in realism and which would convey the hardships of the lower classes. Russian children had begun reading some original works, initially intended for adults by their own leading writers, including Nikolai Nekrasov (1821-1878), Aleksandr Pushkin, Lev Tolstoi (1828-1910), and Anton Chekhov (1860-1904). The flourishing of materialistic philosophy in the 1860s also resulted in the publication of many books on the sciences.

The literature for children published in the years immediately before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was extremely diverse. To begin with, the authors who wrote books for children belonged to different social classes and political parties, and their books differed greatly not only in terms of their literary style but also in their social content.

In the years between 1900-17, private publishing houses predominated, and therefore book production was a strictly commercial enterprise. The most characteristic trait of the pre-revolutionary publishing business was the targeting of different audiences based on their class background. Books for the lower classes differed from those intended for the upper and upper-middle classes.

During this period, production of children's books increased considerably. In 1901, 3,243 children's books

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were published. By 1913 this figure has increased to 6,175.[49] These books were published by several publishing houses, which specifically focused on the production of children's books. Sporadically, children's books were published by almost every Russian publisher and even some private individuals.

The I.D. Sytin Publishing House played an important role among commercial publishers, specializing in children's books for the lower classes (peasants and workers). Sytin established a lithographic press in Moscow in 1876, and formed his own company in 1883. He produced a large quantity of inexpensive children's books, charging as little as seven to ten kopeks for a book. As a publisher, Sytin was associated with the democratic movement. At the beginning of the 1880s, he started publishing various editions of collected works for pre-school children. Many of Sytin's books used old-fashioned naturalistic illustrations **(I.1/Fig.2)**.

A.D. Stupin was another publisher specializing in inexpensive children's books for the lower classes. A special place in his production was occupied by the so-called "Stupin's library," which contained over 100 various

---

[49] *Knizhoe delo v Rossii po statisticheskim dannym Knizhnoi letopisi* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 12-13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

titles and included fiction, Russian folklore **(I.1/Fig.3)**, history books, travel books, and books on different games.[50] The literary value of most of these books was quite low, many of them were written in a highly religious mode, and the overall quality of the series was very poor.

The children's books published by M.Kliukin and K.I. Tikhonov were also characterized by a religious spirit and didactic moralizing and their décor was highly naturalistic.

A completely different approach to children's books was taken by M.O. Wolf, whose publications were intended for the children of the Russian aristocracy, high rank army officers, government officials, and the children of the bourgeois intelligentsia.

Since one of the goals of the upbringing of an upper class child was to prepare him to enter the University and pursue a professional career, the main purpose of Wolf's publications was to conceal the real life of Russia and its unpleasant aspects and to introduce the child to Western European literature, which constituted about 90% of Wolf's publications. Wolf published an enormous amount of foreign

---

[50] It is interesting to note that a person, who bought the whole series of collected works published by Stupin, also received a complimentary bookcase to house these books. (Kuznetsov, "Oformlenie detskoi knigi predrevoliutsionnykh let [1901-1917]," *Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy*, vol. 8 [Moscow: Izdanie Vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty, 1963], 143.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literature of all kinds in translation, as well as so-called science-fiction. Elaborate ornaments, medallions and vignettes served as the major decorative elements in Wolf's publications.

Among Russian books, Wolf published many ultra-royalist books that openly called for devotion to the throne, love for the "beloved monarch" and the orthodox church. This trend can be exemplified by Lydia Charskaia (1875-1937), who in her romantic stories of adventure followed this path and, playing on the most basic feelings and sentimental emotions, influenced children, leading them "along the path of monarchism and reaction." As the critic Elena Danko sarcastically remarked: "Images of beautiful girls of Charskaia could be found on the fans, covers of blotters, albums of banal poetry, and on cheap vases that filled up petty bourgeois homes."[51] Danko also noted that Charskaia's vulgar style was a "mixture of naturalistic tendencies and traditions of gothic novels" and that in her stories "all girl-heroines are rich, famous, and blessed with amazing talents."[52].

However, among the books published at that time, there were also those which supported bourgeois ideology much

---

[51] Elena Danko, "O chitateliakh Charskoi," *Zvezda* (Leningrad), No.3 (1934): 125.

[52] Ibid., 126, 133.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

more subtly, in a veiled form. For instance, numerous novels and short stories about poor children, orphans, their suffering and humiliation written by Klavdia Lukashevich (1859-1937) were characterized by dry didacticism and use of cliché images.

The publishing house of A. Devrien specialized in large format deluxe children's editions, intended as gifts. Indeed, these were not books intended for a wide audience. They were very expensive (12-14 rubles), which made them unaffordable even for those people who could normally afford to buy Wolf's books.

V.M. Sablin, who also produced children's books at this time, published exclusively foreign books, many of which were decorated in Russian variant of the Art Nouveau style.

In 1882, a book dealer I.N. Knebel (1854-1926), in collaboration with P.F. Grossman, opened a bookstore in Moscow. In 1895-97, Knebel published his first books, and soon became a pioneer in fine art publishing in Russia. Compared to the other publishers of the time, Knebel's production of children's books was distinguished by a high quality of printing. The best period of Knebel's activity as a children's book publisher falls between 1906 and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1917.[53] Knebel was the first Russian publisher who understood the real importance of book design for small children. He stated that a child will quickly forget the book's content whereas colors, color scheme, and drawing will remain in his memory forever.[54] Between 1906 and 1918, Knebel published a series of Russian folk tales for pre-school children, where illustrations became more important than the text. The idea for such publications belonged to the Abramtsevo circle.[55]

In the late 19th century, besides the foreign models for Russian children's literature, another major source of

---

[53] On Knebel see "Izdatel'stvo 'I.N. Knebel' i khudozhniki detskoi knigi," in *Detskie knigi izdatel'stva I.N. Knebel*, ed. V.I. Siniukov and I.I. Lebedeva (Moscow: Kniga, 1989), 5- 40. This is a reprint of twelve books published by Knebel in 1909-1914.

[54] M.I. Knebel, "Petrovskie linii: Vospominania," Typewritten manuscript, Collection of L.I. Yuniverg, Moscow, 48.

[55] Abramtsevo was the country estate of Savva Mamontov's family, located to the northeast of Moscow. As an art historian Wendy Salmond noted, "it was here in 1885 that Elena Polenova became an artistic director of a small carpentry workshop for local peasant boys" and gradually "created a viable arts and crafts industry that was rooted in the folk art of wood carving but attuned to the aesthetic tastes of the urban middle class." (Wendy R. Salmond, *Arts and Crafts in Late Imperial Russia: Reviving the Kustar Art Industries, 1870-1917* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996], 8.) An art historian Alison Hilton pointed out that beginning in the 1870s, Mamontov invited many important Russian artists to spend summers on the estate. Among them were Vasilii Polenov, Viktor Vasnetsov (1848-1926), Ilya Repin, and later Elena Polenova, Valentin Serov, Mikhail Nesterov, and Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910). (Alison Hilton, *Russian Folk Art* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995], 227-228.) As Salmond stated, the Abramtsevo workshop "records a vital transitional moment in the development of a modern consciousness among Russian artists, as the social concerns and collective goals of the 1860s gave way to an increasingly individualistic and introspective approach to the artist's craft." (Salmond, *Arts and Crafts*, 9.) More on Abramtsevo see Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*, 227-244; and Salmond, *Arts and Crafts*, 15-46. Other important sources on the art colonies include N. Pakhomov, *Abramtsevo, muzei-usad'ba* (Moscow, 1953); Dora Kogan, *Mamontovskii kruzhok* (Moscow, 1972); Stuart Grover, "Savva Mamontov and the Mamontov Circle, 1870-1905: Art Patronage and the Rise of Nationalism in Russian Art" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971); M.K. Tenisheva, *Vpechatleniia moei zhizni* (Paris, 1933; reprint, Leningrad, 1991); John E.Bowlt, "Two Russian Maecenases: Savva Mamontov and Princess Tenisheva," *Apollo* 98, no. 142 (December 1973): 444-53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inspiration was native oral tradition in the form of epic legends, songs, fables, and fairy tales. Similarly, one of the major trends in Russian art of the time was the Neo-Russian style. From the 1870s on, many Russian artists sought an idealized recreation of a "national" style based on the revival of the traditions of Russian folk and medieval culture. This style was to be both new and national.[56]

The most debated issue of the day was the question of how Russia was to develop: should it follow the Western model or find its own national identity? In this context, the creation of a new style was seen as a patriotic duty. The Neo-Russian style, though based exclusively on Russian historical material, offered no preferred hierarchy of artistic sources or periods of history to convey what was considered as most essentially "Russian." Elements and motifs from a variety of folk sources were combined to create more complex, although sometimes highly eclectic, works. One of the major trends in children's book design of the late 19th-century also emphasized traditional Russian folk art motifs, ornament, and architecture. As has been discussed, the Neo-Russian graphic style frequently drew

[56] For a discussion of Neo-Russian style see Hilton, *Russian Folk Art.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inspiration from *lubki* (popular prints) that provided a wealth of material for many Russian artists.[57]

Victor Vasnetsov (1848-1926) and Elena Polenova (1850-1898) were major representatives of the Neo-Russian tendency in the illustration of children's books. At the beginning of the 1870s, Vasnetsov started illustrating Russian folk tales, initially under the strong influence of Western European illustration. Soon, however, he became more and more interested in Russian folk arts and crafts and began using folk elements widely in his illustrations. The best achievement of Vasnetsov in the area of children's book illustration is his series of lithographs for the old Russian epic tale *Pesn'o Veshchem Olege* which was published by the Academy of Science in 1899 commemorating 100th anniversary of A.S. Pushkin's birth.[58]

Polenova, who often collaborated with Vasnetsov in Moscow, was one of the first artists to collect and illustrate Old Russian folktales. She sought to create books that were artistically cohesive, with the illustrations, design, and text each contributing to the

---

[57] *Lubki:* Russian hand-colored popular prints or broadsides generally used for entertainment or instruction. Often depicting allegorical, satirical, or folk figures from ordinary life, most *lubki* were copper engravings, but wood-engraved and manuscript examples were also common.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

total effect. In her letter to the art critic Vladimir Stasov, Polenova wrote: "I think it is very important to illustrate our national Russian fairy tales, and I do not know yet of any book for children in which illustrations would truly recreate the poetry and spirit of Old Russian culture, and Russian children are being brought up on the poetry of British and German fairy tales."[59]

For her children's books, Polenova frequently used folktales and songs which were retold to her by peasants, some of whom worked in the Abramtsevo workshops. Polenova's illustrations, created between 1886 and 1889 reflected the style of her genre and landscape paintings of the same period in which she stressed the singular qualities of the Russian landscape and national types **(I.1/Fig.4)**. Polenova was interested in the precise depiction of ethnographic details. For example, she used a number of studies in oils painted directly from nature during her trips to different villages, as material for her fairy tale illustrations. However, in comparison with the work of the Itinerants,[60]

---

[58] See V.V. Stasov, "V. M.. Vasnetsov i ego raboty: vospominaniia i zametki V.V. Stasova," *Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost'* (St. Petersburg: Obschestvo pooschreniia khudozhestv), no. 1 (1898): 65-96.

[59] E. Sakharova, *E.D. Polenova* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1952), 20.

[60] The Intinerants (*Peredvizhniki*), also called the Wanderers, is the abbreviated title of the Society of the Itinerant Art Exhibitions, established in 1870 and active until 1923. Among its members were the foremost realist artists of the time, including Ilya Repin and Vasilii Surikov. In sympathy with democratic writers of the mid-nineteenth century, particularly Nikolai Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobroliubov, the Itinerants

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Polenova's illustrations are much more simplified and stylized. She often combined handwritten texts and illustrations, which was strongly reminiscent of the *lubki* tradition.

For Ivan Bilibin, another major Russian turn-of-the-century children's book illustrator, as well as for Polenova and Vasnetsov, a primary source of inspiration was the tradition of folk art. During his field expeditions to the Russian north between 1902 and 1904, Bilibin gathered folk arts and crafts, examples of which started playing a significant role in the development of his graphic style. He made extensive use of motifs from *lubki*, Old Russian illuminated manuscripts, peasant embroideries, and carved and painted wooden utensils. Bilibin's illustrations for children's books exemplified Russian *Style Moderne* [61] in its combination of elements of Old Russian art with the stylistics of Japanese woodcuts. As Polenova, he often turned to a realistic rendering of nature with traditional perspective but always included a great deal of ornamentation. Dramatic, almost theatrical compositions of

---

attempted to use art as a vehicle of socio-political criticism. Later, some of their works degenerated into sentimental scenes.

[61] "Style Moderne" was the term most often used in Russia in reference to the movement that made its mark on this country's visual arts and architecture in the 1890s -1900s. Although this movement was similar to the European Art Nouveau style, it also had some specific national Russian traits.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his books, such as *Firebird*, (1899) are filled with intricate details and surrounded by ornate borders **(I.1/Fig.5)**. In illustrating children's books, Bilibin created all the decorative elements for book design, including special typeface, initials, and ornamental vignettes. Bilibin developed a style that had a great impact upon children's book illustration and set a standard for his peers.[62]

The renaissance of turn-of-the-century graphic arts in Russia was associated primarily with a group of artists who gathered in the late 1890s in St. Petersburg around the *World of Art* journal.[63] The World of Art artists brought about the revival and flourishing of the children's book. They evolved a well-conceived, consistent system based on

---

[62] However, while in 1925 Dulsky and Meksin analyzed various children's books with the aim to recommend to the parents and educators which books are better and more suitable to a child's comprehension, the authors came to the conclusion that in early childhood a child needs the most simplified drawings. Therefore, Dulsky and Meksin concluded that Polenova is a better illustrator for children than Bilibin, whose illustrations included numerous elaborate details. (See Dulsky and Meksin, *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige*, 120.)

[63] *Mir iskusstva* (The World of Art), founded by Alexandre Benois, Serge Diaghilev et al. in the late 1890s, arose very much as a reaction against the didactic painting of the Itinerants and aspired towards the cultivation of "art for art's sake." The group issued its own journal of the same name (1898-1904) and organized a cycle of exhibitions (1899-1904; 1906). On the World of Art see: Janet Kennedy, *The "Mir iskusstva" Group and Russian Art, 1898-1912* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977); N.P. Lapshina, *"Mir iskusstva": Ocherki istoriii i tvorcheskoi praktiki* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977); V.N. Petrov, *"Mir iskusstva," in Ocherki i issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1978); 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); and Vsevolod Petrov and Alexander Kamensky, *Petersburg and the World of Art Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Russia* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1991). See also discussion of Benois' children's book *Alphabet* in context of theatrical design as well as book design in Janet Kennedy, "Shrovetide Revelry: Alexandre Benois's contribution to *Petrushka*," in *Petrushka: Sources and Contexts*, ed. Andrew Wachtel (Northwestern University Press, 1998), 51-67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the concept of the books as one integral decorative and graphic entity, whose every component was linked in overall style and rhythm **(I.1/Figs.6,7)**.

Issues associated with the art of the book were addressed by Alexandre Benois (Benua), a painter, graphic artist, art critic and founding member of the World of Art group. In his essay "Zadachi grafiki" ("Goals of Graphic Arts"), Benois stated:

> One should not forget about the architectonics of a book. It is not enough to create a title page, vignettes, and end plates…. A good architect is capable of drawing a good plan of the building to be erected, of creating clever combinations, stunning details, and the one who is recognized by the whole 'anatomy' of the building…. The same applies to a book designer, who first of all should pay attention… to the format; quality, surface, and color of paper; to the placement of the text on a page.[64]

The Japanese woodblock print became one of the most influential factors in the development of the graphic style of the World of Art members. It attracted their attention

---

[64] A.N. Benois, "Zadachi grafiki," *Iskusstvo i pechatnoe delo* (Kiev: Trudy khudozhestvenno-remeslennykh uchebnykh masterskikh pechatnogo dela), no. 2 (1910): 44-45.

"Vo vsiakom sluchae ne nado zabyvat' v ukrashenii knigi ob eia arkhitekture. Malo pridumat' dlia neia zastavnoi list, vin'etki i kontsovki. Gorazdo vazhnee voprosy, tak skazat', "plannogo" kharaktera. Khoroshii arkhitektor uznaetsia po planu sooruzhennogo zdaniia, po ostroumiiu kombinatsii, po stroinosti chastei, po vsei anatomii postroiki. I, deistvitel'no, lish ona podskazhet vsiu dal'neishuiu udachu i krasotu fasadov. Tak tochno i khudozhnik, zaniatyi knigoi, dolzhen obratit' svoe vnimaniie pervym dolgom (i prezhde vsiakikh myslei ob ornamentovke) na osnovnyia trebovaniia krasoty v knige: na vyrabotku formata, na kachestvo, poverkhnost' i tsvet bumagi, na razmeshcheniit teksta v stranitse, na raspredeleniie i sootnosheniie zapolnennykh i pustykh prostranstv, na shrift, na paginatsiiu, na obrez, broshiurovku i t.d. Kniga mozhet stat' prekrasnoi bez edinogo ukrasheniia i, naooborot, vse ukrasheniia ne privedut ni k chemu, esli budut zabyty eti osnovnye trebovaniia, primery chemu my vidim ezhednevno."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

due to its expressiveness of line, astute and unexpected composition, and its negation of illusionist space.[65]

However, the range of themes developed by the World of Art artists was not sufficiently broad. They focused their attention chiefly on fairy tales, legends, and fantasy stories**(I.1/Fig.8)**, and their decorative book designs turned out to be incapable of meeting the needs of the new, post-revolutionary epoch, and accomplishing those tasks which children's books of the new Soviet society had to fulfill. Children's books by the World of Art artists were intended for a small circle of people and editions of their books had a limited run.

In 1908, Alexandre Benois published an article "Koe-chto o elke" (Something about a Christmas Tree) in the royalist newspaper *Rech*. In his article, Benois tried to prove that "all the socially minded, charitable, humanitarian tendency in Russian literature for children does not deserve the respect it commands." Benois demanded to purge children's books of "shoe-makers, ill mothers, tatters, stench, dirt." "Let's cease teaching our children

---

[65] The aesthetics of the Japanese woodblock print began to play a dominant role in the printmaking renaissance occuring in Russia in the 1890s. By that time, the major themes and styles of ukiyo-e prints were already known and appreciated by many artists. (See Dulsky and Meksin, *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige*, 42.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pity and tears," he wrote.[66] This implied precisely a refusal to carry on pedagogical and public function of the literature for children, its transformation from the mode of cognition of the world to an elegant partition that shields children from the world. N. A. Savvin in his 1910 article published in *Detskaia literatura i zhurnalistika za 1908 (Children's Literature and the Journalism in 1908)* strongly opposed Benois' approach, stressing the importance of the educational role of children's literature. [67]

Kornei Chukovsky, in regard to such children's journals as *Yunyi Chitatel' (Young Reader)* and *Yunaia Rossiia (Young Russia)*, also expressed opinions which fully reflected the theory of "pure art" in the literature for children and the ideas of "free upbringing" in pedagogy. Chukovsky blamed these journals for the very fact of publishing numerous articles of an educational nature. He wrote: "Is not the desire to render to a child the world of our trade and emigration, our railroad construction ...

---

[66] Alexandre Benois, "Khudozhestvennye pis'ma: koe-chto o elke," *Rech*, 25 December 1908, 4.

"...vsia grazhdanstvennaia, dobrozhelatel'naia, blagorodno gumannaia tendentsiia russkoi detskoi knizhki—ne zasluzhivaet togo uvazheniia, na kotoroe ona pretenduet."

"No i krome slez v russkoi detskoi knizhke, ect' vse, chemu ne nuzhno tam byt'...Vy vstretite p'ianykh sapozhnikov, bol'nykh materei, lokhmot'ia, von', griaz', sliakot', pritornoe nyt'e.."

"Perestanem uchit' nashikh detei zhalosti i slezam."

[67] N.A. Savvin, "Opyt ezhegodnika detskoi literatury," in *Detskaia literatura i zhurnalistika za 1908*, (Moscow, 1910), 2-13.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

false; isn't it based on that major deception that the child is a small replica of an adult.... However, the real child does not want a smaller size world, does not want a miniature Lincoln, a miniature Marx, miniature progress, or miniature astronomy, ... [and] real life..."[68] In 1917, an ultra-royalist journal *Niva*, that contained a portrait of the Czar, Czarina, and the Heir to the Throne reproduced on each page, launched a supplement under the title "For Children."

At the end of 1916, *Niva* published a preview of this supplement that pointed out that its peaceful pages will not be infiltrated by current worries and hardships, and that "...here everything will be full of joy, sunny and cloudless".[69] A promise of cheerfulness, of sunny, cloudless skies and complete isolation from the life of grown ups, in 1916 at the most difficult moment in World War I, and literally on the eve of the Bolshevik

---

[68] K. Chukovsky, "Dlia materei o detskikh zhurnalakh," in *Russkaia Skoropechatnya* (St Petersburg, 1911), 16-19.

"No ne fal'shivy li vse eti stremlieniia dat' rebenku nashu torgovliu, nashu emigratsiiu, nashe zheleznodorozhnoe stroitel'stvo, nashego inzhenera Brenena—ne osnovyvaiutsia li oni na tom vazhneishem zabluzhdenii, budto rebenok est' umen'shennaia kopiia vzroslago, budto, esli vziat' vzroslago i ravnomerno ubavit' kazhdoe ego svoistvo, to i poluchit'sia rebenok...No ved' nastoiashchii rebenok ne khochet umen'shennago mira, ne khochet mikroskopicheskago Linkol'na, mikroskopicheskago Marksa, mikroskopicheskago progressa, mikroskopicheskoi astronomii, publitsistiki, deistvitel'noi zhizni."

[69] "Anons o vykhode v 1917 g. prilozheniia 'Dlia detei,' " *Niva*, no. 47 (1916): 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Revolution, was fully carried out by the editorial board throughout 1917.

Early in 1918, a new publishing house, an association of artists called *Segodnia* (Today), started publishing books for children. A review of the time said: "The present state of the ruined publishing business has given birth to a new kind of art publishing…. In Petersburg an association of writers and artists has been founded. They do it all themselves: write and engrave, set the type and print."[70]

The Today group was organized by the artist Vera Ermolaeva (1893-1938), who belonged to Petrograd artistic avant-garde associated with IZO Narkompros (Visual Arts Section of the People's Commissariat for Education) headed by David Shterenberg and Nikolai Punin. Ermolaeva was joined by Yurii Annenkov, Natan Altman, Nikolai Lapshin, Nadezhda Liubavina, and Ekaterina Turova. In the years preceding World War I, Ermolaeva was friendly with members of Mikhail Larionov's [71] circle.

"Siuda, na eti zhirnye stranitsy, ne proniknut nashi nyneshniie zaboty i tiagosti, zdes' vse budet veselo, luchezarno i bezoblachno."

[70] A.A. Smirnov, *Tvorchestvo* (Kharkov), no.4 (1919): 24, quoted in Alla Povelikhina and Yevgeny Kovtun, "Signs and the Artists of Leningrad Detgiz Publishing House," in *Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant-Garde Artists* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1991), 158-159.

[71] Mikhail Larionov (1881-1964) was a central figure in the evolution of the Russian avant-garde before the First World War, the emergence of Neoprimitivism and Rayism and in transforming the stage design of the Russian ballet. Rayism was a short-lived movement, ending in 1915 when both Larionov and his companion the artist Natalia Goncharova left Russia to join Serge Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* in Paris.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In her work as a book illustrator, Ermolaeva exhibited great affinity with the Neoprimitivist tendencies[72] in the work of Larionov and his followers. She herself collected painted shop signs and even published an article "St. Petersburg Signs" in the newspaper *Iskusstvo kommuny*. The Today group advocated art that derived from popular Russian art. As a result of these folk-art influences, books of the group were reminiscent of *lubki* and painted shop signs, and their style was expressionistic and Neoprimitivist **(I.1/Fig.9, 10, 11)**. Their covers and illustrations were linocuts, with some copies colored by hand. These small books (10 X 15 cm) consisted of just four pages and were published in limited runs of 125 copies. These books differed from the sentimental naturalism prevalent in many

---

However, it had an important influence on the further development of abstraction in Russian art. During the 1920s, Larionov played a significant role in the School of Paris and continued to live and work in France until his death in 1964. (See Anthony Parton, *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993].)

[72] Neoprimitivism existed in Russia as a cohesive artistic force between circa 1908-13. In 1913, artist Aleksandr Shevchenko published a manifesto entitled *Neo-primitivizm: Ego teoriia, ego vozmozhnosti,ego dostizheniia* (Neoprimitivism: Its Theory, Its Potentials, Its Achievements). (See Aleksandr Shevchenko, *Neo-primitivizm:Ego troriia, ego vozmozhnosti, ego dostizheniia* (Moscow, 1913), trans. in John E. Bowlt, ed.and trans., *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism* [New York, 1976], p. 46).

Neoprimitivist artists propogated the intentional use of naïve, primitive forms and subjects in painting and graphic works. In the Russian variant, Neoprimitivism borrows from the forms of folk art, such as *lubki* (popular prints), the Russian Orthodox icons, painted shop signs, and peasant toys. Neoprimitivism applies methods such as the distortion or rejection of academic perspective and proportions, the emphasis on highly expressive and humorous elements, and the attention to trivial themes. The principal reason why artists chose such methods and forms was to oppose the earlier traditional art. Neoprimitivism as an aesthetic credo was supported by the leading figures of Russia's avant-garde, including David Burliuk, Natalia Goncharova, and Mikhail Larionov, and it also affected the work of such diverse artists as Mark Chagall and Aleksandr Shevchenko, Kazimir Malevich and Vladimir Tatlin.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the children's books of the time, from Vasnetsov's and Polenova's stylized illustrations in Neo-Russian style to those elegant Art Nouveau related designs by the World of Art artists.

Children's books of the members of the Today group were based on innovations in book design initiated by the Russian Cubo-Futurists, who achieved the transition between traditional, representative art and abstract art. Unique handmade lithographed publications of the Cubo-Futurists in the years 1912-1917, including books designed by Mikhail Larionov, Natalia Goncharova, Kazimir Malevich, and Olga Rozanova, became an important component of the special branch of Russian artists' books that developed into what proved to be the major tradition of the handmade book.[73]

The Today group, however, did not exist for a long time; in 1919 the IZO Narkompros sent Ermolaeva to Vitebsk Art School, where such painters as Chagall and Malevich were teaching. Ermolaeva took part in organizing the UNOVIS (Affirmers of the New Art) group and later became a researcher at the State Institute of Artistic Culture in

---

[73] The first Cubo-Futurist books were followed by a spate of small lithographed books of twenty to thirty pages and editions of 300-1,000 copies. Russian Futurists assigned particular importance to handwritten and handcrafted books, believing that only the hand of the poet in the original manuscript was capable of fully conveying the music, texture, and rhythm of the verse. On the Russian Futurist books see Susan Compton, *Russian Avant-Garde Books, 1917-34* (London: The British Library, 1992).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Petrograd. The Today group ceased to exist when the Soviet government confiscated their printing paper.

As the Soviet children's writer Samuil Marshak noted, even the best examples of pre-revolutionary children's literature did not overcome the cheap and tasteless books of low literary and artistic level, which the shrewd [pre-revolutionary] publisher produced. According to Marshak, the gap between rather expensive books for the few and cheap tasteless books for the many has become greater and greater. Marshak believed that it was only the Bolshevik Revolution that was able to overcome this gap. [74]

1.2. Debates about Children's Literature in the Soviet Press of the 1920s-30s: Does the Proletarian Child Need Fairy Tales?

Folklore images and fairy tale themes have long been the subject of Russian art. As the art historian Natalia Solomatina pointed out, although fairy tale themes only became the property of professional Russian art in the nineteenth century, they have been present in Russian folk

[74] S.Ya. Marshak, "Shchedryi talant," *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), 12 May 1962, 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

art for hundreds of years.[75] Fairy tale subjects had always enjoyed a prominent place in the Russian theater, opera, and ballet repertoire.[76] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, fairy tale themes also actively developed in the book illustrations.[77] In every period, the choice and interpretation of the fairy tale has reflected a quest for the artistic ideal of that particular time and style. The fairy tale books of the World of Art were intended not just for children but also for adults able to fully appraise their refined graphic execution.[78]

(I.2/Fig.1). Folklore and fairy tale themes are encountered in the works of virtually all the masters working in Neo-Russian style at Savva Mamontov's estate in

---

[75] Natalia Solomatina, "Russian Art and the World of Fairy tale s," in *Fairy Tales in Russia* (St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2001), 9.

Solomatina noted that fairy tale motifs penetrated all forms of folk art. They are encountered in the stolid peasant huts of the Russian countryside and the utensils passed down from generation to generation. Works on fairy tale subjects were also popular in traditional folk prints known as *lubki*.

[76] Ibid., 12. On fairy tale themes in Russian theater see "Fairy tale s and the Theatre," in *Fairy Tales in Russia*, 357-398.

[77] As Natalia Solomatina noted, secular books with fairy tale s appeared in Russia in the eighteenth century. The need for their illustration demended more professional draughtsmen and engravers, of which there were very few at that time in Russia. The majority of these books, however, were published without illustrations. Often, many years passed between the first publication of a fairy tale and the appearance of its illustrated version. For example, Pyotr Yershov's popular fairy tale *The Little Hump-Backed Horse* was first published in 1834, but it was not illustrated until 1856.(Ibid., 10-11).

[78] Such major World of Art artists as Alexander Benois, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, and Georgii Narbut illustrated the fairy tale s of Hans Christian Andersen. Dmitrii Mitrokhin drew the pictures accompanying the stories of Wilhelm Hauff. The fairy tale s of Aleksandr Pushkin were popular with many Russian artists throughout the ninteenth century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abramtsevo,[79] including Elena Polenova and Victor Vasnetsov, as have been discussed in Part I of this chapter. In the early twentieth century, particularly in the 1910s, many Russian artists turned to national folklore as a source of inspiration. Many avant-garde artists, including Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov, interpreted fairy tale images in their own original styles of Neo-Primitivism[80] and Cubo-Futurism.

Immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, only a few theoreticians, however, supported the fairy tale as a literary genre. One of them was A.M. Kalmykova, who, in her 1918 work entitled *World Literature as a Teacher of Life of Young Generation,* [81] treated fairy tales as a major component in the educational process, one which influences the intellectual and moral development of young readers. Kalmykova pointed out that a hero in fairy tales is always a person without any social class and moral prejudices. According to Kalmykova, a fairy tale does not relay social hierarchy. A shepherd, a Queen, a Princess,

---

[79] Ibid., 11. For example, in the late 1890s and early 1900, a Symbolist painter Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) designed a series of decorative panels based on themes from *bylinas* and other fantastic fairy tale s. In Abramtsevo, a painter Victor Vasnetsov (1848-1926) designed the *Peasant Hut on Chicken Legs* in a corner of the estate in 1883.

[80] Natlia Goncharova offered a whole new interpretation of the musical version of Aleksandr Pushkin's *Tale of the Golden Cockerel.* She also illustrated Pushkin's fairy tale s.

[81] A.M. Kalmykova, "Mirovaia khudozhestvennaia literatura kak uchitel' zhizni iunykh pokolenii," *Pedagogicheskaia mysl,*" no. 1 (1918): 40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Cinderella are all shown as equals in the way they achieve their ideal goals. Kalmykova differentiates between the world of "harsh reality" and the world of "ideal fairy tale" as complete opposites.[82]

Kalmykova was supported by several pedagogues and activists in the field of children's literature. According to a literary critic N. Rumiantsev, for example, a fairy tale gives a child "intuitive feeling of knowledge and broadens his outlook on life. The fairy tale is an especially valuable tool of education in the time of industrialization, which excludes everything mystical and magical from our lives."[83] A writer V.N. Vsevolodsky-Gerngross also considered the fairy tale an important educational element averse to dry didacticism. He juxtaposes the world of everyday life with the world of the fairy tale as two absolutely polar realities.[84] If in 1918, folk legends and fairy tales—both Russian and foreign—constituted as much as 25% of all books published for children, in 1919 they constituted only 5.5%.

---

[82] Ibid.

[83] N. Rumiantsev, *Volshebnaia skazka v detskoi shkole: Khudozhestvennoe rasskazyvanie detiam*, (Petrograd, Kul'turno-prosvetitel'noe kooperativnoe tovarishchestvo, 1918), 23-52.

[84] V.N. Vsevolodsky-Gerngross, "Interpretatsia skazki," *Igra* (Petrograd: Nachatki znanii), no. 2 (1918): 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the 1920s-1930s, a debate raged between those who believed that children's writing should consist entirely of moral and educational tales and those who defended fairy tale s. Many Soviet educators condemned the fairy tale as a return to the values of the old regime, hampering the introduction of the child to the real issues of everyday life and current, contemporary themes. They believed that the fairy tale led the child into the world of dreams and bourgeois romanticism and viewed the fairy tale as a form of literature that contained elements of mysticism and religiosity—elements harmful for the development of the Soviet child who was expected to grow up a realist. The numerous opponents of fairy tales saw in them the reflection of the ideology of the ruling classes that camouflaged social contradictions. All these aspects were considered dangerous from the point of view of the upbringing of the Soviet child. Leftist demands for the complete purging of the fairy tale from children's readings clashed with the convictions of those who demanded a thorough selection of the fairy tales for Soviet children.

Proletkult members, for example, categorically denied the importance of the old fairy tale, claiming that the fairy tale, alongside other pre-Revolutionary literature, carried a hostile ideology. They stated that the old fairy

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tales should not be given to children. Rather, they called for the creation of new, "revolutionary" fairy tales. The 1919 brochure *Novomu rebenku-novaia skazka* (A New Fairy Tale for a New Child) by the Proletkult writer S. Poltavsky, which was intended as an "educational aide for parents and educators" is typical of its time.[85] Its author claimed that folk tales don't have a link with real life and that they are too far removed from contemporary life to be educational. He noted that fairy tales were the response of our ancestors to their hopelessly bleak and monotonous lives, a way out of their miserable existence into the fantasy world. Poltavsky divided all fairy tales into positive and negative categories, according to their influence on the mind of the Soviet child. Negative categories included sorcerers, fairies, and devils and were based on useless fantasizing. Poltavsky argued that a useful fairy tale connects the child to the surrounding world and reflects reality. He proposed to focus on the creation of a new type of fairy tale. As an example, he cited a number of educational, moral and political fairy tales written by him in which the regular fairy tale characters are replaced by allegorical characters and

[85] S. Poltavsky, *Novomu rebenku—novaia skazka* (Saratov: Tsentrosoyuz , 1919).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

images referring to revolutionary concepts. After quoting a fairy tale *How Injustice was Born on Earth*, Poltavsky wrote that any educator can continue this fairy tale, improvising, for instance, how "Injustice" would be overcome by Johnny or Peter or any other child from among the listeners. This attempt to substitute a reflection of real life in literature with some artificial fantasizing, abstract symbols and schemes, an attempt to give precise recipes and thus create a new type of fairy tale for Soviet children was a vivid manifestation of the Proletkult tendencies in the sphere of children's literature.

Fairy tales, in which the authors attempted to reveal to children in simplified form the essence of the class struggle and political events using unsuccessful allegorical imagery, became rather widespread at the time. As a case in point, a fairy tale *October Revolution* by T. Morozova published in 1922, presents the image of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 as a poor girl who at first is rather emaciated and weak, but who grows up and turns into a beautiful young woman and, wherever her feet touch the ground flowers would bloom.

Increasingly the question of whether proletarian children needed fairy tales at all was being asked.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Since many fairy tales preached loyalty to kings and included religious superstitions, it was decided by a number of educators and critics that it is almost criminal to introduce a proletarian child to old morals useful only in a capitalist society.[86] In an article written by N.Potapov in 1925 entitled "Pora polozhit' konets"(It is Time to Put an End), he criticizes some publishing houses for publishing the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen and the Grimm Brothers.[87] Potapov more fully revealed his position in his theoretical article *Is Fantasy Needed in Children's Books,*[88] in which he maintains that the goal of any fairy tale is to turn the child's attention away from the real world **(I.2/Fig.2)**.

Many independent critics expressed negative opinions about the role of fairy tales in the upbringing of Soviet children. In 1924, R. Prushitskaia, in her report presented at the Third All-Union Congress on Pre-School Education, noted the dangerous influence of the old fairy tales in developing beliefs in supernatural powers and religious superstitions. She argued that the fairy tale stands in the

---

[86] See E.S. Stachinskaia, "Spisok knig dlia detei doshkolnogo vozrasta," *Na putiakh k novoi shkole*, no. 9 (1924): 129.

[87] N. Potapov, "Pora polozhit' konets," *Vozhatyi*, no. 11 (1925): 8.

[88] N. Potapov, "Nuzhna li fantastika v detskoi knige?" *Vozhatyi*, no. 11 (1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

way of a growing person who is learning to accept the world realistically. Prushitskaia saw the fairy tale as "a brake on the development of materialistic thinking."[89]

E.V. Yanovskaia, one of the leaders of pre-school education of the 1920s, in her 1925 book *Does a Proletarian Child Need a Fairy Tale?*[90] focused on the role of the fairy tale in the development of the child from the point of view of the "class upbringing." She pointed out that according to the old teachings, the fairy tale had been previously considered the best weapon in the upbringing of the child and the best way to cultivate ideas which otherwise would have been inaccessible or hard to understand for the child.[91] She stressed that the fairy tale was the first attempt to explain the laws of life, nature, and destiny of man by primitive people. She also mentioned that fairy tales reflect the close ties between people and nature, forcing the child to think about the connection between all things.[92]

---

[89] R. Prushitskaia, *Rezul'taty peresmotra raboty doshkol'nykh ucherezhdenii i sviaz' ee so shkol'noi programmoi: Rezoliutsiia po dokladam tret'ego Vserossiiskogo s'ezda po doshkol'nomu vospitaniiu, 15-21 oktiabria 1924 goda* (Moscow: Izdanie Gosmasterskoi Pedadogigicheskogo Teatra Glavsotsvosa, 1924), 13-14.

[90] E.V. Yanovskaia, *Nuzhna li skazka proletarskomu rebenku?* (Kharkov: Knigospilka, 1925), 95.

[91] Ibid., 2-5.

[92] Ibid., 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Yanovskaia emphatically called for the destruction of the fairy tale and all "bourgeois" literature for children, demanding that "this weapon be torn from the hands of capitalist ideologists." As its potential was extremely "menacing" and "dangerous" it would be necessary "to eliminate the fairy tale from all schools and kindergartens." She stated: "We are approaching the full destruction of the fairy tale and all capitalist children's literature." [93] Yanovskaia argued that the fairy tale acts as an obstacle in the development of the materialistic way of thinking. She wrote: "The mask of idealism has been lifted to expose Marxist understanding of historic events ..."[94] As Yanovskaia noted, in the fairy tale everything is possible: an old man turns into a young one; a stupid one turns smart, the poor man gets rich, and an ordinary man becomes a Tsar. She pointed out that fairy tales allow the person to have great powers and do things which otherwise would be impossible in the real world, such as, for example, flying carpets that can carry one to far away lands, invisible caps which allow one to be anywhere one wishes to go, or magic "water of life."[95]

---

[93] Ibid., 95.

[94] Ibid., 16.

[95] Ibid., 22.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Yanovskaia condemned fairy tales for the sense of fear, passiveness, and superstition that they impose on children. Criticizing the story of Cinderella, for example, Yankovskaia called sympathetic attitude toward this heroine "a political catastrophe in the upbringing of a new generation." She concluded:

> The bourgeoisie needs these fairy tales to support their exploitation. Fairy tales are needed so that children who are hungry and cold can escape into the world of fantasy and feel imaginary happiness. … For the exploiting classes, it was important to substitute the existence of the class struggle with sweet dreams of "sugar towns with cakes" and wonderful shores of the rejoicing sea in which the child's fears drown. The exploiting classes were afraid of questions like "Why is one person rich and the other poor?" or "Why does one person work and starve and the other one is lazy and has everything he or she desires?" -questions, to which a child could get very straightforward answers.[96]

Yanovskaia, who believed that all children's literature on contemporary themes should touch upon political issues, pointed out: "To feed the children with fairy tales that are offered by the old school of pedagogy is to create a whole army of children who will be incapable

---

[96] Ibid., 35.

"Burzhuazii nuzhny eti 'volshebnye skazki' dlia podderzhaniia svoei eksploatatsii...Skazki nuzhny dlia togo, chtoby golodnye, izmuchennye malyshi ne chuvstvovali vsekh uzhasov svoei zhizni, blagodaria 'ekskursii v oblasti fantazii,' mogli stat' veselee i shchastlivee...Sushchestvovaniie klassovoi bor'by bylo neobkhodimo zamenit' sladkimi mechtami 'o sakharnykh gorakh s pirozhnymi' i chudnykh beregakh likuiuschego moria—v nikh tonet detskoe gore, detskiie stradaniia, zastavliaiuschiie rebenka zadat' sebe vopros: 'Pochemu odin bogatyi, a drugoi bednyi?' 'Pochemu odin rabotaet i golodaet, a drugie bezdel'nichaiut i zhivut v roskoshi?'... Eksploatatorskiie klassy boiatsia etikh voprosov, na kotorye deti mogut poluchat' iasnye i opredelennye otvety."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of becoming the activists who can make the ideas of communism possible."[97] Yanovskaia also pointed out that the best literature is not the one which offers a Proletarian child "the abstract musical rhythms of the previous epochs," but that which, "with the help of a bright visual form reflects certain aspects of... contemporary life." She stressed that reality should become a new slogan of children's writers.[98] According to Yanovskaia, children's books should be evaluated only on the basis of the amount of the socio-political information they contain.[99]

L. Kon argued that according to Yanovskaia's views each work for children should be turned into a political tract.[100] He pointed out that for Yanovskaia and her followers, literature for children as a special genre did not exist. Aleksandr Fadeev's article "Books by Gaidar" in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* of January 29, 1933 was also directed against Yanovskaia's theory. One of the major Soviet children's writers Samuil Marshak, defending the genre of

---

[97] Ibid., 36.

"Pitat' detei takoi skazochnoi detskoi literaturoi, kakuiu predlagaet nam staraia pedagogika, eto znachit sozdat' tseluiu armiiu detei, kotorye budut organicheski nesposobny itti v riady aktivnykh bortsov za osushchestvleniie idei kommunizma."

[98] Yanovskaya, *Nuzhna li skazka*, 59, 63.

[99] E. Yanovskaia, *Skazka kak faktor klassovogo vospitania* (Kharkov: Knigospilka, 1923), 3.

[100] S.L. Kon, "O 'teorii Yanovskoi," *Literaturnyi Kritik*, no. 4 (1933): 112.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fairy tale, wrote that in each fairy tale some pedagogues notice only one trait, and always a bad one. According to these pedagogues, Marshak noted, fairy tales are either too brutal or too softhearted, or too sad, or too cheerful. Opposing these views, Marshak stressed the great value of fairy tales as a genre of children's literature.[101]

A collection entitled *Skazka i rebenok* (The Fairy-Tale and the Child),[102] published on the eve of the debates in Moscow in 1928, caused Artemii Khalatov to launch an attack on the interest in the fairy-tale in general and Kornei Chukovsky's fairy-tales in particular. This interest was treated as a return to the olden days, a lament over the disappearance of "Old Rus with its folk tales, proverbs, jokes ... [and] the lubok". The very fact of the publication of this collection was considered by Khalatov as the awakening of "bourgeois tendencies." Khalatov viewed the major Soviet children's writer Chukovsky and his style as the last representative of the disappearing world which was still trying to preserve "its economic, social, and psychological positions." The review by Khalatov already

---

[101] S.Ya. Marshak, "Literatura detiam. O nasledstve i nasledstvennosti v detskoi literature," in *Sobranie sochinenii*, ed. I.S. Marshak, et al (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968-72), 7: 300. First published in a shorter version as an article entitled "Literaturu-detiam," *Izvestiia* (Moscow), 23 and 27 May, 1933.

[102] *Skazka i rebenok*, ed. N.Rybnikova (Moscow: GIZ Publishing House, 1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

contained the issues which would become central in the emerging discussions. Khalatov believed that it was dangerous to develop literature that simply "entertains" children.[103] T. Trifonova in her article "O samykh malen'kih i o samykh vazhnykh" (About the Smallest people, about the Most Important Ones) called for the need to substitute "the nice child" with a "real child," ... to substitute "fairy tales with science fiction."[104]

Besides being criticized for promoting an "entertainment" approach to literature, writers of fairy tales were accused of "aestheticism," catering to a small circle of consumers, and reviving the traditions of bourgeois literature. These accusations were often based on a rather simplistic approach to children's literature.

In 1928, during a session of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros), under the chairmanship of A.V. Lunacharsky, the present condition of children's literature was discussed. The major item on the agenda was whether fairy tales should be allowed in Soviet childcare centers. In response to these debates Lunacharsky pointed out in his speech that it would be a great mistake to

---

[103] Artemii Khalatov, "Vozrozhdenie rosseianstva," *Kniga i revoliutsiia* (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo), no. 1 (1929): 25-28.

[104] T. Trifonova, "O samykh malen'kikh i o samykh vazhnykh," *Na Literaturnom Postu* (Moscow), no. 11 (1929): 63-68.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prevent children from fantacizing as, in his view, all children should be allowed to live in a world of games and fantasy. The child's imagination should be free, because "growing up" prematurely is not acceptable "either from a pedagogical or from a psychological point of view." It is in the fairy tale as a genre of children's literature that Lunacharsky saw the great potential for the realization of the real needs of a growing person.[105]

Lunacharsky was convinced that books should be differentiated according to the age of the child readers. In his article he also put great emphasis on the question of the topicality of the subject matter in children's books.

In 1928, the first Soviet critical bibliographical journal, *Kniga detiam* (The Book for Children), focused on various important issues of children's literature and initiated the second phase of the discussion about the fairy tale. In the opening article of its very first edition, two kinds of books for children were singled out: one that tells the child something new, providing an impulse for action, while the other isolated the child from

---

[105] "Nuzhna li nashim detiam skazka: A.V. Lunacharsky protiv nadumannogo realizma detskikh knig. Otchet o vystuplenii Narkoma prosveshcheniia ," *Vecherniia Moskva*, 15 February 1928:4. On the discussion of fairy tales also see "Narkompros o detskoi knige. Otchet o zasedanii kollegii Narkomprosa," *Izvestia,* 15 February 1928.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

real life and was based on superstitions, paralyzing the child's will to action. The participants of the discussion were mostly concerned with "anthropomorphism," one of the major characteristics of fairy tales. They discussed the importance as well as limits of anthropomorphism in children's literature. As E. Mikini pointed out in his essay "Regarding Anthropomorphism", one definition of anthropomorphism has been that it is a special way of looking at the world shared by people in ancient times.[106] He noted that people encounter anthropomorphism in two ways: when they deal with young children and their outlook on the world in the early stages of their mental development (pre-schoolers) and also in the case of folklore (such as fairy tales and myths).[107] Mikini wrote that advocates of the idea that the worldview of a child is similar to the one of a prehistoric man due to the lack of life experience strongly support the necessity of using fairy tale s as learning tools. Mikini argued that around the age of seven a child's mind has developed enough to replace an anthropomorphic worldview with one based more on

---

[106] For example, among the features of antropomorphism was relating human life and nature in a supernatural bond as well as thinking of God as a man or possesing qualities of man.

[107] E. Mikini, "Predel dopustimosti antropomorfizma v detskoi knizhke," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat), no.4 (1928): 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

realistic assumptions: at that point child's worldview changes from an emotional to a more rational one. Mikini concluded that fairy tales become harmless once the child reaches the age of seven or eight when anthropomorphism could be a useful technique in the further mental development of the child.[108]

The author stated that anthropomorphism should be allowed as a literary tool only if it helps to draw a clear picture of an animal, nature, or scientific information to a child.

A. Pokrovskaia, another scholar, was also convinced that anthropomorphism has been very important in children's literature. She pointed out that without anthropomorphism and animism it would be hard to develop a sense of humor in children as well as good comprehension of the world around them. [109]

Many authors harshly criticized stories with anthropomorphized animals,[110] and felt that portraying the emotions of animals with the help of human speech was unacceptable in children's literature. As Mikini stated,

---

[108] Ibid., 4-5.

[109] A. Pokrovskaia, "Znachenie antropomorfizma v literature dlia detskogo chteniia, *Kniga detiam* (Moscow/ Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 2 (1928): 6-8.

[110] N. Kasatkina, "O predelakh antropomorphizma v detskoi knizhke," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow/ Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 2 (1928): 4-5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

using anthropomorphism to create fantastic and frightening images, a product of a writer's wild imagination, should not be allowed.

Most of the discussion's participants spoke out strongly against anthropomorphism, considering it dangerous for children. They argued that anthropomorphism did not help a child to understand the real world and impeded the process of materialist thought. For example, Yanovskaia noted: "Former "old-school" educators were convinced that a child's development is controlled by an internal mechanism and is accomplished biologically without any social influence. Our modern views on children's education are quite different: all the actions and behavior of a child are built from the experience around him."[111] She pointed out that anthropomorphism greatly damaged "the interests of the proletarian child."[112] One of the opinions was that if a child was exposed to anthropomorphism and animism, he could develop illusions of "unreasonable events and fantastical occurrences" and "start believing that they are possible," which might create in his mind "elements of a dual

---

[111] E. Yanovskaia, "Nuzhen li antropomorfizm v doshkol'noi literature," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow/ Leningrad: Gosizdat), no.4 (1928): 7.

[112] Ibid., 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reality." [113] It was also mentioned that while a child made the transition from an emotional and limited understanding of the surrounding world towards a more objective and realistic outlook, no interference should be made. Various studies showed that unrealistic elements or concepts that contradicted real life could slow down the natural development of the child, who maybe unable to deal with dual concepts of reality.[114] Most critics concluded that anthropomorphism in children's literature was harmful to the development of the child.

The discussion of anthropomorphism in children's literature was concluded in the form of a special thesis: "Anthropomorphism as a literary method, is difficult for children of a certain age. It may slow down the child's development by standing in the way of a real understanding of the world."[115]

In 1928, the article "O skazkakh "(About Fairy Tales) by N.Liashko which was published in the newspaper *Chitatel' i pisatel'*, added to the discussion about the use of the fairy tale in the upbringing of the Soviet child. The

---

[113] S. Molozhavy, "Po voprosu o realizme v detskoi literature," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow/ Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 4 (1928): 6-7.

[114] Ibid.

[115] "Redaksionnye tesisy 'O predelakh antropomorfizma kak literaturnogo priema v knigakh dlia detei'," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow/ Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 3 (1928): 3-5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

newspaper published various responses to this problem by many readers, pedagogues, and writers for almost a year, demonstrating a great public interest in this subject.[116] Y.M.Sokolov published an article with the straightforward title: "Zhizn' ili smert' skazke?" (Life or Death to the Fairy Tale?)[117] O.I. Kapitsa argued that fairy tales and fantasy occupy an important place in the child's life and are necessary to him. She mentioned that to turn away from fairy tale would be "careless and premature."[118]

Kapitsa's ideas were supported by professor L.G.Gorshansky, who spoke against the theory of the biologically accelerated development of the child. He considered the suppression of the fairy tale harmful to the development of children. The writer M.Andreev stated that "a childhood without fairy tales dries the brain,"and claimed that "childhood is unheard of without fairy tales."[119] Two main points could be noted in the article written by the representatives of the committee on children's books. The first was that the committee did not

---

[116] N. Liashko, "O skazkakh," *Chitatel' i pisatel'* (Moscow), no.7, 18 February 1928, 4.

[117] Y.M. Sokolov, "Zhizn' ili smert' skazke?" *Chitatel 'i pisatel'* (Moscow), No.18, 5 May 1928, 3.

[118] O. I. Kapitsa, "Disput o skazke v pedagogicheskom institute imeni A.I. Gertzena," *Chitatel 'i pisatel'* (Moscow) No.15, 14 April 1928, 3.

[119] M. Andreev, "O sebe," *Chitatel' i pisatel'* (Moscow), no.36, 8 September 1928, 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consider persuasive the statement that "children love fairy tales" and that they "give them pleasure." As this committee pointed out, children are also pleased with "five pounds of chocolate, five pounds of marmelade, and 1,000 servings of ice cream." However, the committee ironically noted, no one gives it all to children. The second major point of the article is that the fairy tale can be offered to a child only at the age when he would not be confusing it with reality.[120]

Maxim Gorky, an important Soviet writer, was always strongly supportive of the fairy tale and was certain of its wonderful power, which he stressed in his many articles written during the hottest debates of the 1920s.[121]

N.K. Krupskaia drew a sharp distinction between the perception of the child and the adult, and argued that the formula that anybody can write for a child is wrong. She suggested that the form of the old fairy tales be studied, reshaped, and filled with new Communist content.[122]

---

[120] "GUS i obizhennyi pisatel'," *Chitatel' i pisatel'* (Moscow), no.38, 8 September 1928, 3.

[121] See, for example, Maksim Gorkii, "On Folktales," *Soviet Studies in Literature* (Winter 1987-1988): 71. This article originally appeared as idem, "O skazkakh," in *Kniga tysiachi i odnoi nochi*, vol. 1 (Leningrad: Academia, 1929). See also idem, "About Folk Tales," in *Collected Works in Ten Volumes*, vol. 10, *On literature* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982), 68-79.

[122] N.K. Krupskaia, "Kakaia knizhka nuzhna nashim detiam?" *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), 23 November 1932, also published in idem, *Bibliotechnoe delo* (Moscow-Leningrad: Sotsekgiz, 1933), 139-143.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Komsomol which was held in November of 1932 recommended that fairy tales for children's reading be carefully selected, and to accept only those which were free of superstitions and bourgeois morality.

A special role in the discussion on the role of the fairy tale in the Soviet children's literature was also played by the *Detskaia literatura* (Children's Literature) journal. Begining in 1934, A.P. Babushkina, one of the leading critics of the journal, discussed the history of the appearance of the fairy tale, its specific language, and its social and moral functions in various societies. In one of her important essays, entitled "Narodnaia skazka kak sredstvo vospitaniia detei: Repki vytiagivaem" ("The Folktale as a Tool for Bringing Up Children: We are Pulling Up the "Turnip"), Babushkina argued: "The bourgeoisie used... fairy tales as a distraction from public tension and struggle between social classes. They pulled the child into the imaginary world of dreams and bourgeoisie romanticism."[123]

---

[123] A.P. Babushkina, "Narodnaia skazka kak sredstvo vospitania detei: Repku vytiagivaem," *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliographicheskogo instituta), no. 4 (1934): 1.

"V rukakh burzhuazii skazka byla sredstvom otvlecheniia detei ot sotsial'nykh protivorechii, ot klassovoi bor'by. Ona uvodila rebenka v mir grez, v mir buzhuaznoi romantiki."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

She noted that some Soviet educators, including Yanovskaia, decided to completely eliminate fairy tales as a reading material for children. Babushkina, as a scholar, strongly objected to this idea. She wrote:

> Why do we have to think that a realist and a materialist cannot have any imagination? We would not want to make future builders of socialism into dull rationalists, without vivid thoughts. On several occasions, Lenin emphasized that we need dreamers, fantasists, who advance and enrich our thinking ability... Obviously, the goal of children's literature is to bring up a generation of realists, but realists with lively, sparkling minds, full of vivid images.[124]

Analyzing the specific language of the fairy tale, Babushkina pointed out that the fairy tale, using the method of personification, creates a vibrant image, vividly outlining little details in the character. Therefore, she concluded that the form of the fairy tale makes the content livelier. The exactness and wholesomeness of the characters, clearness and precision of the plot, which unfolded in the form of repeated episodes, simplicity and brilliance of the language—all of this, according to

---

[124] Ibid., 2.

"I pochemu my dolzhny dumat', chto realist i materialist dolzhny byt' chuzhdymy igry voobrazheniia? Ne khotim zhe my buduschikh stroitelei sotsializma sdelat' skuchnymi ratsionalistami, lishennymi zhivosti mysli. Kak chasto Lenin podcherkival, chto nam nyzhny mechtateli, fantazery, chto oni dvigaiut vpered mysl'...Ochevidno, zadacha khudozhestvennoi literatury dlia detei—vospitat' realistov, no realistov s zhivoi, iskristoi mysl'iu, bryzzhuschei iarkimi obrazami..."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Babushkina, made the fairy tale "irreplaceable reading material for a child."[125]

Babushkina noted that the major problem of most Soviet scholars and educators who were condemning the fairy tale was that they only used mystical, non-realistic fairy tales as examples in their discussions, completely ignoring those satirical fairy tales that often severely criticized the people's oppressors.[126] Therefore, Babushkina concluded:

> Absolute realism as a final stage of education and careful combination of realistic and pre-realistic methods of educational material—this has to be a practical approach to the Marxist system of education...When we are pulling this "turnip" [i.e. the fairy tale] we have to remember that fairy tales are not simple entertainment but contain deep thoughts and there is no reason to hide them from the child. [127]

From the beginning of the 1930s, especially after the First Congress on Children's Literature of 1936, the period of the rebirth of the fairy tale gradually began.

---

[125] Ibid., 3.

[126] For example, Babushkina pointed out that in the eighteenth century Russian people created the fairy tale *Kak myshi kota khoronili* (How the Mice Buried a Cat), which used anthropomorphism for satirical depiction of Peter the Great. Peter the Great issued an order to kill everyone who dared to tell satirical fairy tales directed against the Tsar or the government. In the 1870s, fairy tales of Afanasief were forbidden because of their mockery of boyars, reverends, clergy, and merchants (Ibid., 3.)

[127] Ibid., 3-4.

"Sovershennyi realizm kak zamechatel'nyi etap vospitaniia i ... kombinatsiia realisticheskogo i predrealisticheskogo metodov podachi vospitatel'nogo materiala—takov dolzhen byt' prakticheskii podkhod v marksistkoi sisteme vospitaniia... Vytiagivaia etu "repku" nam nuzhno ne zabyvat', chto v nei vsegda zalozhen glubokii smysl i nezachem ego skryvat' ot rebenka."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1.3. Revolution of the Mind: Soviet Ideology, Educational Experimentalism, and Children's Literature, 1918-1936

Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, most Russian educators and writers of children's books relied on a multitude of pedagogical and psychological theories created long before the Revolution, and frequently borrowed from the West.[128] Thus, for instance, the so-called

---

[128] On recent interpretation of the history of Russian pedagogics at the beginning of the twentieth century see M.V. Boguslavsky, "Genezis gumanisticheskoi paradigmy obrazovaniia v otechestvennoi pedagogike nachala XX veka," *Pedagogika* (Moscow: Pedagogika), no. 4 (2000): 63-70.

There were two competing Western conceptions of development in education: the Platonic view, according to which education is a time-related process, and the Rousseauian view, that it is an age-related, psychological process. These two conceptions of development in education have been the most influencial ideas that have shaped educational practice.

In Plato's conception, the mind's development is measured, to a significant degree, in terms of the knowledge it learns. Plato's account does not suggest that the mind reaches a stage at which it becomes "ready" to think abstractly. Rather, abstraction is a characteristic of elaborated knowledge, and learning such knowledge actively and directly develops the learner's mind. In Plato's conception, the construction of a curriculum that will allow the vehicle of increasingly elaborated forms of knowledge to carry the mind onward to noesis is the crucial educational task. Rousseau's central and continious theme was that if you want students to understand what you teach, then you must make your methods of teaching conform with the nature of students' learning. The mind, in his conception, goes through an autonomous process. That is, in Rousseau's conception of developement, the knowledge a student learns, the "aliments" (to choose a term used by that most Rousseauian of psychologists, Jean Piaget) of the mind do not profoundly effect its development. Thus, learning mathematics rather than history or anything else will have little general influence on the mind's development.

The conflict between these two ideas has been the basis of the continuing struggle between "traditionalists" and "progressivists" during the twentieth century. For example, the "progressivist" forces argue that history and geography require abstract concepts and are not "developmentally appropriate" for young children and the "traditionalists" argue that any content can be made comprehensible if presented in a sequence of logically organized prerequisite structures.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) was one of the first educators to abandon the standard instructional practice of interminable lectures followed by student recitation in favor of more active, hands-on activities and what he termed *Anschauung*-- "object lessons," or direct, concrete observation. At the school Pestalozzi opened in Yverdon, Switzerland, in 1804, his success with orphans and the previously disenfranchised children of the working class altered the course of modern education. (See Norman Brosterman, "Frobel and the Gifts of Kindergarten," *Cabinet* [New York], [winter 2002/03]: 51-57; Robert B. Downs, *Heinrich Pestalozzi* [Boston: Twayne, 1975]; Henrich Pestalozzi, *The Education of Man*, trans. Heinz and Ruth Norden [New York: Philosophical Society, 1951].)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"recapitulation doctrine" (also known as "the biogenetic law") was borrowed from "bourgeois pedagogy."[129] The simple

---

Drawing on Pestalozzi's experience at Yverdon, a German crystallographer and pedagogical revolutionary named Friedrich Wilhelm Fröbel (1782-1852) developed a revolutionary educational program for children known as "kindergarten" in the 1830s. Fröbel's kindergarten was the most successful system for teaching children about art, design, mathematics, and natural history ever devised. In 1837 in the spa town of Blankenburg, Fröbel opened his first institution for the very young. After formulating the explicit lesson of kindergarten (growth and interconnectedness), Fröbel designed physical tools (or "the gifts") that he theorized would lead to its comprehension. Therefore, kindergarten involved not only nature study, singing, dancing, and story telling, but also play with the Fröbel gifts—a series of twenty educational toys, including building blocks, parquetry tiles, origami papers, modeling clay, sewing kits, and other design projects. Kindergarten's universal, perfect, alternative language of geometric forms cultivated children's innate ability to observe, reason, express, and create. Its ultimate aim was to instill in children an understanding of the mathematically generated logic underlying the ebb and flow of creation. Fröbel believed that learning the sacred language of geometry in youth would provide a common ground for all people, and advance each individual, and society in general, into a realm of fundamental unity.

The original kindergarten spread successfully around the world in the decades after Fröbel's death in 1852. It became entrenched in Russian life before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and its embrace there promised a better, more equitable world for the working class. (See Robert B. Downs, *Friedrich Fröbel* [Boston: G.K. Hall, 1978].)

In his 1997 book *Inventing Kindergarten* , the scholar Norman Brosterman showed how this vast educational program may have influenced the course of art history. Using examples from the work of important 20th century artists who attended kindergarten—including Georges Braque, Piet Mondrian, Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier, among others—Brosterman demonstrated that the design ideas of kindergarten prefigured modern conceptions of the aesthetic power of geometric abstraction. (See Norman Brosterman, *Inventing Kindergarten* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997]; Brosteman, "Frobel and the Gifts of Kindergarten;" Clive Ashwin, *Drawing and Education in German-Speaking Europe 1800-1900* [Ann Harbor: UMI Reasearch Press, 1981]; Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., *9 Commentaries on Frank Lloyd Wright* [New York: The Architectural History Foundation and Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1989].)

Another alternative that was popular in the late nineteenth century was recapitulation. In this view, the human mind was preprogrammed to develop through a sequence of stages that were a recapitulation of the stages that "the human race" had passed through.

[129] In 1866, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel (1834-1919), a German biologist and philosopher, proposed that the development of the individual organism repeats in an abbreviated way the evolutionary history of its species. Although recapitulation theory is now discredited among biologists, it did give a strong impact in social and educational theories of the late nineteenth century. As a case in point, the theory of Granville Stanley Hall (1844-1924), founder of the child-study movement in America, was based on the premise that growing children would recapitulate evolutionary stages of development as they grew up and that there was a correspondence between childhood stages and evolutionary history. Hall argued that it was counterproductive to push a child ahead of its developmental stage. He believed that there was a critical period between five and eight when the child had both the "interest and capacity" to learn and read. If forced upon the learner before this, it will have long-term negative effects. Reading was not to be the center of the child education. Instead, education was to be a practical, hands-on activity rather than text-book study (On Hall see R. I. Watson, Sr., *The Great Psychologists*, 4th ed. [New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1978]; see also D. Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972].)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

idea of recapitulation is that the development of an individual human being proceeds through stages that roughly follow, or recapitulate, the gradual trajectory of evolution of human species. The position asserting that a child's mind goes through stages representative of human evolution[130] led to the ungrounded conclusion that any reading material should be also created according to the stage in the development of humanity that corresponds to the child's current developmental stage. For instance, small children should read only ancient fairy tales, while teenagers should read medieval romances, from the age of feudalism. Books about contemporary technology, and contemporary life, according to this theory, were considered dangerous for children. There was a strong belief among various critics and educators that literature concerned with contemporary life and politics should be reserved for adults.

---

[130] As the scholar on child development and education William Crain pointed out, Rousseau believed that there are four main stages of development of children. According to Crain, Rousseau proposed that these stages *recapitulate* the general evolution of the human species. Infants are similar to the earliest "primitives," who dealt with the world directly through their senses. The next two stages of childhood parallel the "savage" era, when people learned to build huts, make tools, fish, and utilize other skills. Adolescence, finally, parallels the beginning of true social life. Therefore, according to this theory, the human being reaches the contemporary state only as an adult. To disrupt one of these stages means to disrupt an entire process of child's development and this disruption will be felt sooner or later, since the unrealized stage will take its tall in the later age. (See William Crain, *Theories of Development: Concepts and Applications*, 4th ed. [Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000], 36.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the early 1920s, the special science of "pedologiia" had become popular in Soviet Russia.[131] "Pedologiia," commonly known in the United States and Europe as the "child- study movement"[132] was required to

---

[131] According to I.F. Svadovsky, the term "pedologiia" (pedologie) was introduced in 1893 by Oscar Crisman, one of the students of Granville Stanley Hall (1844-1924). The term "pedologiia" was not commonly used by the Western scholars who preferred the terms "child study," "pedagogical psychology," and "experimental pedagogics "Pedologiia" is the science of the child and his development in a certain socio-historical environment. While in pedagogics the main question is "how the teacher teachers," in "pedologiia" it is "how the child learns." (See Svadovsky, "Krizis burzhuaznoi pedagogiki," 5.)

[132] The child study movement played an extremely important role in the development of a scientific approach to the psychology of the child. This movement exercised massive influence on early childhood education, having the questionnaire as its primary methodological instrument and a form of recapitulation theory as its theoretical core (See Joop W.A. Berding, *De partcipatiepedagogiek van John Dewey. Opvoeding, ervaring en curriculum* [John Dewey's participatory philosophy of education. Education, experience, and curriculum] [Leiden: DSWO Press, 1999].) As the scholar Robert H. Wozniak pointed out, by helping to sensitize researchers to scientific standards through its early concern with method, broadening the range of questions asked about children, and emphasizing parents' and teachers' need for scientific information, child study helped shape the overall climate of opinion within which a scientific developmental psychology was to emerge. (See Robert H. Wozniak, *Classics in Psychology, 1855-1914: Historical Essays* [Bristol,UK: Thoemmes Press, 1999]; E.G. Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 2nd ed. [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950]; D.C. Charles, "The Emergence of Educational Psychology," in *Historical Foundations of Educational Psychology*, ed. J.A. Glover and R.R. Ronning (New York: Plenum Press, 1987); E.S. Davidson and L.T. Benjamin, Jr., "A History of the Child Study Movement in America," in ibid.

In 1882, William Preyer provided the first extensive source of information about children's development in his influential book *Mind of the Child*, which described naturalistic observations that he had carried out on his own son. *Mind of the Child* was an immediate success, and soon additional studies of the same sort began to appear. (See William Preyer, *Die Seele des Kindes. Beobachtunen uber die geistige Entwicklung des Menschen in den ersten Lebensjahren* [Leipzig: Grieben, 1882]; translated into English as William Preyer, *The Mind of the Child. Part1: The Sences and the Will; Part 2: The Development of the Intellect* [New York: Appleton, 1888-9].)

At approximately the same time, Granville Stanley Hall (1844-1924), who is regarded as the founder of Child Psychology and Educational Psychology, had begun to employ the questionnaire method in research on children. (See Ross, *G. Stanley Hal.*) Among Hall's most important works is *The Contents of Children's Minds* (1883), which initiated the child-study movement in the United States. In 1883, Hall founded the first psychological laboratory in America at Johns Hopkins University. Experimental works in psychology till then were not done in certified/recognized laboratories and that came into existence by its establishment. The Child Study movement promoted the belief that reliable data could be gathered by minimally trained individuals.

Within a few years, child study had become a full-fledged, international movement, spreading throughout America and Europe to Asia and South America. By 1911, child study had its own journals, bibliographies, and training centers. (See, for example, *Pedagogogical Seminary*, founded by Hall in 1891; *Transactions of the Illinois Society for Child Study*, founded in 1894; *Studies in Education*, first published in 1896; and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

resolve the important questions of how to organize children's practical instruction and education, how to investigate the problems of the group and the individual, and how to improve academic progress. On the basis of a study both of children's individual features and their age-group characteristics, "pedologists" had to work out an effective way of educating children. They declared that the child as an object of investigation will not be "divided up" into different parts by various sciences--sociology, physiology, pediatry, and psychology, but all such knowledge will be brought together and amassed in the science of "pedologiia".[133]

In 1901, the Laboratory of Experimental Pedagogical Psychology under the direction of A.P. Nechaev, was founded in St. Petersburg.[134] It was soon followed by the establishment of the First Russian Courses of "Pedologists." In 1906, the First All-Russian Congress on

---

Northwestern Journal of Education, which began focusing on child study in 1896. See also L.N. Wilson, *Bibliography of Child Study: 1898-1912* [1912; reprint, New York: Arno, 1975].)

[133] *A Search in Pedagogics: Discussions of the 1920s and early 1930s*, ed. F.A. Fradkin, trans. Peter Emerson (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990), 199.

[134] Edouard Claparede, *Psikhologiia rebenka i eksperimental'naia pedagogika*, trans. and ed. D.F. Katsarov (St. Petersburg: Izdaniie O. Bogdanovoi, 1911), 20-22. See also the following French and English editions: E. Claparede, *Psychologie de l'enfant et pedagogie experimentale* (Geneve: Kundig, 1911); and E. Claparede, *Experimental Pedagogy and the Psychology of the Child*, trans. Mary Louch and Henry Holman (London: Edward Arnold, 1911).

On the history of "pedologiia" see also N. Rumiantsev, *Pedologiia, eia vozniknovenie, razvitie i otnoshenie k pedagogike* (St. Petersburg,1910); Ernst Maiman, *Ocherk eksperimental'noi pedagogiki*, trans.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pedagogical Psychology took place in St. Petersburg, and in 1909 Association of Experimental Pedagogics was founded there. In Moscow, such scholars as A.N. Berstein, Ts.P. Baltalon, V.E. Ignatiev, and G.I. Rossolimo presented a series of lectures on "pedologiia" at the Pedagogical Association in 1906. In 1908, this association organized a special laboratory devoted to child studies.[135]

The period immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution was characterized by the active development of pedagogical theorizing, numerous congresses, conferences and round-table discussions on the issues of the form of organization of the new school, methods of education, and goals in upbringing. In 1918 alone, there were 161 congresses of teachers and 81 congresses of members of the local branches of the public education administration held; during the period from 1917 to 1920, fifty three national congresses and conferences of educators were organized.

From 1917 to 1931, the organization, content, and methods of Russian education experienced a spectacular metamorphosis. During the very first days after the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the Commissariat (Ministry) of Education was created with A. V. Lunacharsky

---

A.P. Boltunov (Moscow: Izdanie t-va 'Mir', 1922).

[135] Claparede, *Psikhologiia rebenka*, 22.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

at its head, and almost all educational institutions soon became part of a centralized system controlled by the Commissariat. A drastic reorganization of the entire educational system targeted at promoting general literacy began.

On November 1, 1917, the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros) decreed that the Soviet state should achieve general literacy as soon as possible by organizing a network of schools that meet the requirements of the current state of art in pedagogy and by introducing general obligatory and free education.[136]

A number of decrees regarding the introduction of the new simplified orthography[137] and separation of the church and state and the school from the church[138] followed.

The Communist Party regarded educational institutions almost solely as instruments to serve the political and economic needs of the Bolshevik regime. The school, in the party's opinion, had to serve as a microcosm of and

---

[136] *Sbornik dekretov i postanovlenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva po narodnomu obrazovaniiu*, vol.1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo APN, 1947), 156.

[137] December 23, 1917.

[138] "Dekret Soveta Narodnykh Komissarov ob otdelenii tserkvi ot gosudarstva i shkoly ot tserkvi," 1 January 1918.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instrument for the construction of a socialist society.[139] After the Revolution, the new school students were children not only of another era but also of entirely different social strata. An especially important role was assigned to the proper ideological upbringing of the younger generation.

In February 1918, the article "Zabytoe oruzhie" (Forgotten Weapon), published in *Pravda*, put forward the idea that literature for children should become a serious weapon in the class struggle and thus should not be left "...in the hands of the class enemy." The article said that one should not ignore the impact of books on the child's soul and pointed out that the bourgeoisie made all efforts to make "...children absorb almost with their mother's milk the ideas that subsequently would turn them into slaves." The article noted that the same methods, the same weapon can be used for the opposite purpose.[140] It ended with the conclusion that book for children "...should be cleansed of

---

[139] To encourage enrollment of the "working masses " in institutions of higher education, beginning in 1919 the government established a number of workers faculties (*rabfaki*), which were attached to universities and prepared workers for future studies on the university level.

[140] Kormchii, "Zabytoe oruzhie," 3.

"Burzhuaziia prilozhila vse usiliia k tomu, chtoby nashi deti chut' ne s molokom materi nachinali vpityvat' idei, deliavshie ikh vposledstvii rabami. Ne nuzhno zabyvat', chto te zhe sredstva, to zhe oruzhie goditsia dlia obratnykh tselei."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

poison, dirt, and rubbish" and asked the state to provide the children with new books immediately.[141]

However, the works of literature that would meet these requirements were not yet created. It was necessary not only to review the school programs and teaching methodology but also to restructure fully the entire educational process. The principles of collectivism, internationalism, atheism, socialist attitude to work, and class solidarity were to inform the life of children and to constitute a basis for their behavior.

In 1918, the Soviet government decreed that secular, co-educational Unified Labor Schools were to become the new basis for primary and secondary education. The Unified Labor Schools placed a premium on labor training and polytechnical education, which acquainted the student with the basic processes of agriculture and industry. Courses in religion, ancient languages, and ancient and medieval history disappeared from the curriculum.[142] Recapitualtion

---

[141] Ibid.

"...to, chem seichas pol'zuiutsia nashi deti, dolzhno byt' ochischeno ot iada, griazi i musora. Na nashikh obiazannostiakh lezhit dal'neishee i nemedlennoe pri tom snabzheniie detei novymi knigami."

[142] See Larry E. Holmes, "Bolshevik Utilitarism and Educational Experimentalism: Party Attitudes and Soviet Educational Practice, 1917-1931," *History of Education Quarterly* (Winter 1973): 349.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, a desire to discard cultural heritage manifested itself in both pedagogy and literature. *Proletkult* (Proletarian Culture), established formally in September 1917, advocated that the art of the past was of little value or relevance to the new society and that the proletarian art could be realized only by the proletariat itself. As early as October 1920, V.I. Lenin wrote a draft of a resolution of the First

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

curricula came into conflict with the urgent social needs of the new mass schools of Soviet Russia to prepare the working classes for new kind of work in a rapidly changing economy. A system that brought the child slowly through the cultural history of the human race, reaching the modern world only at the end of the process, was not one that appealed to those who were creating the new progressive curricula for the Soviet schools.

The 1919 Communist Party Congress declared that schools should become vehicles for the transmission of the "principles of communism" and that teachers should "conceive of themselves as agents not only of general but also of communist education." [143] To insure further Bolshevik hegemony over education, state and party functionaries dismissed those teachers and professors hostile to the new Soviet state or critical of official policies.[144]

All-Union Congress of Proletkult groups, in which he argued that Marxism did not discard the most precious achievements of the bourgeois era, but on the contrary absorbed and reworked everything that was valuable in the development of human thought and culture for more than two thousand years. Lenin believed that only further development on this basis and this direction can be considered as the development of truly proletarian culture. (See V.I. Lenin, *Sobranie sochinenii* [Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdanie politicheskoi literatury, 1955], 31: 292.)

[143] *Kommunisticheskaia partiia sovetskogo soiuza v rezoliutsiiakh i reshenііakh s'ezdov, konferentsiii i plenumov TsK*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Politizdat, 1970), 48-49, 81.

[144] In addition, in 1920, authorities imposed discriminatory admissions and student aid policies upon the universities. Students recommended by the Communist Party, graduates of the workers faculties, and those with proletarian or peasant background found it easier than others to gain admission into universities. (Holmes, "Bolshevik Utilitarism," 353.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

After the end of the Civil War in 1921, a transition to a peaceful reconstruction took place in Russia. It was characterized by great difficulties since the country was impoverished by the four year long World War I (1914-1918) and a three year long Civil War (1918-1921). Children's publishing was also in a state of crisis, since World War I and the Civil War had devastated printing facilities and exhausted supplies. Therefore, the period of the Civil War (1918-1921), can be viewed only as a preliminary stage during which new ideological, pedagogical and aesthetic requirements for children's literature were clarified and new tasks were outlined. In 1921, only 33 books for children were published. This was the same "state of deep crisis" which, as the XI Congress of the Russian Communist Party reported, characterized the entire Party and Soviet press and which "resulted from the lack of financial resources, shortage and high price of paper and extremely high publishing costs"[145]

Qualitatively new in form and content, works of literature for children began to be published only after the end of the Civil War when a stable circle of Soviet writers began working in this field and the number of books

---

[145] *KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s'ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TSK*, part 1 (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1953), 643.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

increased dramatically. At the beginning of 1920, there were about one hundred publishing houses in Soviet Russia that produced children's literature.[146]

Due to the implementation of the New Economic Policy, known as NEP (1921-1928),[147] numerous new private publishing houses were organized, including such major ones as Raduga and G. Mirimanov. In the 1920s, "child studies" departments were set up in a number of higher pedagogical institutions, and centers and laboratories of experimental pedagogics were established. By 1921, *Institut Detskogo Chteniia* (the Institute of Children's Reading), a special organization for the study of children's literature and the psychology of children was established in Moscow by the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros). This Institute unfolded a wide range of activities fostering books for children and studying the reading interests of children. From 1922, the Institute started publishing a yearly bulletin *New Books for Children* which featured alongside an annotated list of recent publications for children and

---

[146] State publishing houses, such as GIZ, Molodaia Gvardia, and Krasnaia Gazeta, coexisted with the private ones including Akvilon, Epoha, Siniia ptisa, Ogni, M. Wolf, and E. Sytin, among many others. A number of such major publishing houses as Novaia Moskva, Moskovskii Rabochii, and Rabotnik Prosveshcheniia also published books for children.

[147] NEP (the New Economic Policy) was initiated in response to the dire economic crisis in which Russia found itself at the close of the civil war. During NEP (1921-1928), limited private enterprise was encouraged in order to lighten the burden on the overtaxed centralized apparatuses and to foster higher levels of production and more efficient distribution, especially in agriculture.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their reviews, records of children's impressions and comments on different books. This was the first attempt to create a scientific and pedagogical foundation for the Soviet literature for children. In Petrograd, a comparably important institution in the 1920s was the Children's Library at the A.I. Hertzen Pedagogical Institute, which became the basis for scientific and pedagogical work, and for the collection and analysis of materials and sources in the area of children's reading and children's literature.

By May 1922, approximately 220 private publishers, including many children's book publishers, had registered with the State Publishing House in Moscow and 99 in Petrograd.[148] By 1923, approximately 30 percent of publishing houses were private.[149] While many of the publishing houses produced children's books only sporadically, Raduga, the most successful of these houses, published them regularly.[150]

---

[148] Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts Under Lunacharsky, October 1917-1921* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 264.

[149] S.V. Belov, "L.M. Kliachko i izdatel'stvo 'Raduga' (u istokov sovetskoi detskoi knigi)," in *Voprosy istorii sovetskoi knigi i bibliografii* (1978), 25.

[150] The 1929 report on marketing children's books indicated that there was still a big difference in terms of edition runs and prices between the State Publishing House and private publishing houses, such as those of Mirimanov and Raduga. As the report pointed out, a book, published by Gosizdat (the State Publishing House) would cost on average about 27 copeks, while the costs of one book published by Mirimanov and Raduga were17 and 20 copeks respectively. Similarly, the average edition of the State Publishing House was 17,000 copies, while Mirimanov's and Raduga's average editions were as high as 55,000 and 32,000 respectively. ("Otchet o detskoi knige," *Literaturnaia gazeta* [Moscow], no. 35, 16 December 1929, 1-2.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As the leading Soviet pedagogue of the 1920s, P.P. Blonsky(1884-1941)noted, the pre-revolutionary "pedologists" studied "an average, anonymous child" outside the concrete social situation and environment, and even separately from his own body. The Bolshevik Revolution made the study of a child in isolation from his environment impossible.[151]

The importance of "pedologiia" for the development of Soviet children's literature was in the way many scientific disciplines and methods were concentrated on one object—the child. Among the major concerns of Soviet experimental pedagogics in the 1920s were the following: (1) the link between the child and the environment, the latter understood and analyzed in the terms of Marxism; (2) the course of a child's development in the context of definite social relationships; (3) the influence of the social milieu on the child as well as the latter's influence on the former; and (4) the activity of the child in all the most varied manifestations at a given historical moment.[152]

---

[151] P.P. Blonsky, *A Search in Pedagogics: Discussions of the 1920s and early 1930s* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990), 272, 276. Originally published as "Nekotorye oshibki nashikh pedologov," *K novoi shkole*, no. 6 (1931): 41-50.

[152] Ibid., 276.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The influence of the ideas of American pragmatism, and in particular, the theories of John Dewey (1859-1952),[153] was definitely reflected in the school programs of the early 1920s.[154] These programs were created under the supervision of Blonsky who was the ardent adherent of Dewey's ideas. In 1922, Blonsky[155] stressed that the most

---

[153] John Dewey's work in philosophy and psychology was largely centered in his major interest, educational reform. His philosophical orientation has been labeled a form of pragmatism, though Dewey himself favored the term "instrumentalism," or "experimentalism." The spirit of pragmatism rests with its contention that ideas are valuable if and only if they make a real difference in our day to day lives. Dewey sought a system of education which promotes the sense of individual self-worth coupled with a recognition of our membership and obligations to the society as a whole. He believed that education and social structures are interrelated and, therefore, must be considered simultaneously. Dewey's preferred mode of inquiry was scientific investigation, and he saw the classroom as a laboratory which allowed for creative interaction with children rather than strict, already determined outcomes. He drew heavily on the insights into learning offered by contemporary psychology as applied to children.

Dewey's writings on education, notably his *The School and Society* (1899) and *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902), presented and defended what were to remain the underlying tenets of the philosophy of education he originated. These tenets were that the educational process must begin with and build upon the interests of the child; that it must provide opportunity for the interplay of thinking and doing in the child's classroom experience; that the teacher should be a guide with the pupils rather than a taskmaster assigning a fixed set of lessons; and that the school's goal is the growth of the child in all aspects of its being. Having acquainted himself with the educational experience in the Soviet Union in 1928, Dewey thought that the considerable interest shown by the Communist Party and state leaders toward the transformation of the educational system was a cause of its amazing achievements. On Dewey's theory see *From Plato to Paiaget: The Greatest Educational Theorists From Across the Centuries and Around the World*, ed. William Cooney, Charles Cross, and Barry Trunk (Laham, New York: University Press of America, 1993), 133-148; see also John Dewey, *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2001).

[154] See *Protiv pedalogicheskikh izvrashchenii*, ed. I.F. Svadovsky (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo, 1938).

[155] In the history of Soviet pedagogics, Pavel Blonsky was the first to lay the necessary foundations for creating a pedagogics, which relied on experiments and observations, and which was closely linked with the achievements of biology, psychology and sociology, as well as with the psychology of the higher nervous activity. Blonsky suggested that a necessary condition for the activisation of the academic process was the genetical method of teaching, according to which instruction should be organized taking into account particular phases in child development. Blonsky's idea was that a gradual widening of the child's horizons, and passing from a study of the relationships and culture in his closest environment to his street, then his town, and finally the whole country would facilitate the child's more active studying at school. According to Blonsky, an energetic individual can be brought up only in activities, as he engaged in mastering the tools and means of production. Exercises in such an acquisition of skills must be the most important way of introducing a child to technology. No less important are exercises in resolving such problems as occur in various social situations, when the child has to help a comrade, an adult or his parents.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important task of the new Soviet school was to introduce the child into the social and working life of the local community and pointed out that this kind of school will enhance the child's conscious attitude towards life. He juxtaposed this new school to the old one which was of an abstract character and took no account of the surrounding milieu.[156] It paralleled Dewey's ideas who believed that the school is primarily a social institution and is simply a form of community life.[157] As the scholar Larry E. Holmes pointed out, Marxism also supplied much of the inspiration for the new Soviet school. Marxist history emphasizes the linkage between economic production, social institutions and everyday life. Marx's and Engels' vision of a highly industrialized society emphasized the special importance of labor training.[158]

The 1923 Constitution of the United Labor Schools demanded the teaching of "class and proletarian self-

---

(See *A Search in Pedagogics: Discussions of the 1920s and early 1930s*, ed. F.A. Fradkin [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990].)

[156] P.P. Blonsky, "On the School Oriented Towards Agriculture," in *A Search in Pedagogics: Discussions of the 1920s and early 1930s*, ed. F.A. Fradkin (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990), 74. First published in the magazine *K novoi shkole* (Towards a New School), no.1 (1922): 44-47.

[157] *From Plato to* Piaget, 140.

[158] See Larry E. Holmes, "A New School for A New Society," in *The Kremlin and the Schoolhouse: Reforming Education in Soviet Russia, 1917-1931* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 4. As Holmes argues, although Marx and Engels wrote no separate treatise on education, they proposed locally controlled public schools which would offer a secular and free education to all children regardless of class

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consciousness" and the preparation of students for "useful productive and social-political activity."[159] Similarily, Dewey believed that the school must represent present life as real and vital to the child and that the true center of the correlation of the school's subjects is not science, nor literature, nor history, nor geography, but the child's own social activities.[160]

Blonsky denied the necessity of supplying the child with a certain amount of knowledge, rejected the necessity of classroom education, diminished completely the role of the teacher, placing all emphasis on the "education through environment" and the child's own experience.

Many other Soviet adherents of Dewey's theories claimed that the task of the school was not to educate, but to create the conditions for the development of useful skills. Some pedagogues even suggested that the school should be transformed into a production-consumption entity, and called for the creation of communes with an unlimited workload and hours and without any educational program.

(Ibid., 4). On this subject also see Barry Down, "Marxist History and Schooling: Beyond Economism," *Issues in Educational Research* 4 (1) (1994): 1-17.

[159] *Direktivy VKP (b) po voprosam prosveshcheniia* (Moscow-Leningrad, Narkom prosveshcheniia RSFSR i Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930), 120.

[160] *From Plato to Piaget*, 140-142.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

V. N. Shulgin (1894-1965), the director of the Institute of Teaching Methods at School from 1922 to 1932, and the author of many articles and books on the problems of education, stated that nothing frightful will happen if a child does not know his grammar and his math, but that the important thing was that he participate in the life of his community. Shulgin claimed that the school as institution was bound to disappear. The pedogogical process, according to Shulgin, will be dissolved in the spontaneous and unorganized influences of the social environment, and the teacher will cease to be the central figure in instruction and education. A working environment, Shulgin pointed out, was the best milieu for the education of the proletarian child.[161]

Recent scholarship by cultural historians has modified the traditional appraisal of the NEP era as a time of relatively liberal cultural policies and intellectual freedom.[162] These scholars demonstrated that NEP, on the contrary, was a period of "increasingly systematic control of of intellectual and artistic life and extensive

---

[161] Fradkin, *A Search in Pedagogics*, 399.

[162] See, for example, Pamela Kachurin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Retreat of the Avant-garde in the Early Soviet Era," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, January 1998; and Roger Pethybridge, "Concern for Bolshevik Ideological Predominance at the Start of Nep," *Russian Review* 41, no.4, (Oct.1982): 445-453.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intervention by Soviet authorities into cultural life in general."[163] This chapter, in which the discussing ideological control over children's literature is discussed, supports this view and shows how ideological constraints were gradually placed on children's literature.

The decree of the XI congress of the Russian Communist Party regarding press and propaganda pointed out the necessity of creating children's literature which could be used as a countermeasure to foreign influences on youth and assist in the Communist upbringing of young people. The resolution of the XIII Communist Party Congress stated: "It is necessary to begin creating literature for children under the close supervision and leadership of the Communist party in order to enhance the elements of class-based, internationally conscious, labor oriented upbringing in this literature."[164]

In 1925, in the address of the department of children's literature to the readers of the catalogue *Detskie knigi (Children's Books)*, the following statement was published:

> Contemporary children have completely different interests than the ones of the pre-revolutionary epoch. They have different expectations, different taste, and

[163] Kachurin, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, 15.

[164] *KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh*, 867.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> different aspirations. These fundamental changes in Soviet children's outlook cannot be underestimated while creating children's books. Instead of the old, pre-revolutionary book we see a birth of a new one, in which the pulse of contemporary life is beating strongly, and which considers ... the new interests of Soviet children..., and whose task is not to entertain children... but to help them to comprehend the real world around them and thus to create a new citizen—a fighter for a better life and a builder of a new society.[165]

Published on June 18, 1925, the decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party *Regarding the Party Policy in the Field of Fiction Writing*, pointed out that in class society, neutral art does not and cannot exist, even though the class nature of art in general and literature in particular manifests itself in the forms infinitely more diverse than, for instance, in politics.[166]

In implementing these education tasks, children's literature was to work hand in hand with pedagogy. The Soviet teachers, in the declaration adopted in 1925 by the All-Union Congress of Teachers, pledged to the workers and

---

[165] "Ot otdela detskoi literatury," *Detskie knigi: katalog izdaniii Gosudarstvennogo Izdatel'stva* (Moscow) (10 April 1925): 3.

"Deti nashego vremeni zhivut sovsem ne temi interesami, kakimi zhili deti dovoennoi epokhi. U nikh inye trebovaniia, inye vkusy, inye stremleniia. I s etim korennym izmeneniem detskogo oblika nel'zia ne schitat'sia, podkhodia k detskoi knige...Na smenu staroi knizhke narozhdaetsia novaia, v kotoroi b'etsia pul's sovremennosti, kotoraia schitaetsia...s novymi interesami [tepereshnikh rebiiat]...novaia kniga, kotoraia svoei zadachei stavit ne pozabavit' tol'ko rebenka...a pomoch emu soznatel'no otnestis' k okruzhaiuschemu i tem samym sposobstvovat' sozdaniiu novogo grazhdanina i bortsa za luchshuiu zhizn' i stroitelia etoi zhizni."

[166] "Rezoliutsiia Tsentral'nogo Komiteta Kommunisticheskoi Partii o politike partii v oblasti literatury, 18 iiulia 1925 goda," in *O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati*: *Sbornik dokladov* TsK KPSS (Moscow: Pravda, 1954), 343-344.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

peasants of the country that they "...from now on, will not separate their tasks from the tasks of the Communist Party and its great struggle for the new world."[167]

The decree of Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of 1928 *Regarding the Measures for Improvement of the Press for Youth and Children* pointed out the necessity of combining political significance, aesthetic core and pedagogical value in relation to the books for children. The urgent tasks of literature for children were revealed: namely, to tell the children about the five-year plan, about the Soviet reconstruction, and to present the contemporary Soviet hero **(I.3/Figs.1; 2; 3)**.

As the social historian Sheila A.Fitzpatrick has argued, the year 1928 was a turning point not only for Soviet cultural policy but for policy in all fields.[168] The official government and party line before 1928 was the so-called "soft line." This policy of accommodation with the intelligentsia was based on the premise that the Soviet state needed the services of the so-called "bourgeois specialists." Fitzpatrick notes that the relative cultural

---

[167] "Deklaratsiia Vsesoiuznogo Uchitel'skogo s'ezda," *Narodnyi uchitel* (Moscow: Rabotnik prosvesshcheniia), no.11 (1924): 122-125.

[168] Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 91.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

freedom of the NEP period ended abruptly in 1928 with the notorious trial of the Shakhty engineers on trumped-up charges, as a result of which the loyalty of all of the non-Bolshevik intelligentsia was put into doubt. The new party line became the "hard line" of class war against the "bourgeois intelligentsia," and the struggle against 'danger from right' in party and government cultural policy. As Fitzpatrick has pointed out, the victory of the hard line of cultural class war over the soft line of conciliation coincided with Stalin's victory over his opponents in the party leadership.[169]

In *Kniga detiam* of January 1928, its editors noted that the question of what children should read had been mostly concerned with the issue of what social classes and educational ideas are prevalent during a particular period of time. Therefore, the children's literature of a Socialist country was thought to be different from that of bourgeois Europe. Since the major task of the social upbringing of Soviet children and youth was the preparation of "builders of Communism," the new Soviet children's book was called to reflect this goal.[170]

---

[169] Ibid., 112-113.

[170] "Ot redaktsii," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 1 (1928): 3-4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The article "Without a Steering Wheel and without Sails" published by the newspaper *Komsomolskaia Pravda*[171] opened a debate about literature for children. Yurii Shaturov, the author of the article, pointed out that literature for children constitutes one of the channels for exercising influence on the young generation and labeled as harmful and odd the views that high quality writing is "nonobligatory" for children's literature.

An Open Letter entitled *Join the Struggle for the Book for Children* written by A. Vysotsky, A. Boim, and A. Volkova and published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on June 18, 1929 called for a "class oriented" rather than "commercial" approach to literature for children and the establishing of strict controls over the quality of the final literary product.

On May 9, 1929, the Director of GIZ (State Publishing House) Artemii Khalatov sent a letter to the Commissar of Education Lunacharsky which was signed by such important writers as Marshak, Nikolai Zabolotsky, Chukovsky, Daniil Kharms, Aleksandr Vvedensky, and Veniamin Kaverin. The letter stated that Soviet children's writers fully understand the necessity for pedagogical supervision of the

---

[171] Yu. Shaturov, "Bez rulia i bez vetril," *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (Moscow), 2 February 1929, 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

books for children. However, they believed that only the actual inclusion of the pedagogues into the editorial board and their daily co-operation with the author can really help Soviet literature for children.[172]

In the 1930s, interest in the theoretical issues related to the literature for children grew significantly. This period saw a range of important speeches and articles by Lunacharsky, Lenin's wife Krupskaya, as well as by the writers Gorky, Marshak, and A. N. Tolstoi dealing with the issues of literature for children.

The state of literature for children during the First Five Year Plan period (1928-32), found its vivid reflection in the decisions and decrees of the first conference on literature for children organized by the publishing house Molodaya Gvardia and the Commissariat of Public Education which took place on February 2-6, 1931.

The so-called "intensification of the class struggle," exacerbated by the hard pace of industrialization and the brutal collectivization of agriculture in the villages, made the task of strengthening "communist upbringing," including literature for children more urgent. The conference put forward as its major goal the achievement of

---

[172] Letter to the Commissar of Education A.V. Lunacharskii, 9 May 1929, TsPA IML, F. 132, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 470, L. 58-59.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the change in the thematic character of literature for children in order to realize the task of bringing literature for children closer to "Soviet reality."

The decrees of Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks *Regarding the Publishing House Molodaya Gvardia* (1931) *and Regarding the Publishing House for Children* (1933) were made public. The former called on publishers to pay "...special attention to the most effective weapon of Bolsheviks on the ideological front—literature for the youth and children."[173] It demanded that the book for children has to be cheerful in the spirit of Bolshevism, "...calling for struggle and victory" and should depict the socialist transformation of Soviet Russia through bright and vivid images. The decree also requested that well established writers and artists should be involved in the process of creating books for children.[174] The People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros) was instructed to organize research on the books for children. In 1932, a specialized journal of literary criticism and bibliography *Detskaia Literatura* (Children's Literature) was launched. It published theoretical articles, historical

[173] Ibid., 426.

[174] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and literary research and a great number of reviews of recently published books for children. [175]

On April 7, 1932, at the initiative of the newspaper *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, a meeting took place in which writers decided to write for children in the same serious manner as for adults.[176] That same year, participants of the meeting dedicated to the science of child study held in the Society of Marxist Pedagogues discussed "pedologiia" as a science that emerged in the Soviet Union as a result of the needs of proletarian pedagogics and became especially beneficial for ideological and intellectual development of the proletratian child.[177]

1932 was also marked by the publication of the historic decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of April 23, entitled *Regarding the Restructuring of the Literary and Art Organizations*. It essentially announced the dismantling of the Association of Proletariat Writers and unification of "all writers, who support the Soviet platform and strive to participate in the socialist reconstruction, into one Union

---

[175] See E.P. Privalova, *Russkaia sovetskaia detskaia literatura 30kh godov* (Leningrad: Leningradskii Gosudarstvennyi bibliotechnyi institute imeni N.K. Krupskoi, 1959).

[176] *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), 7 April 1932.

[177] "Discussion on Pedologiia held in the Society of Marxist Pedagogues in 1932," in Fradkin, *A Search in Pedagogics*, 244-270. Originally published in the magazine *K novoi shkole*, no.6 (1932).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Soviet Writers…"[178] This document played an important role in the development and strengthening of Socialist Realist art and literature.

One of the main concepts of Socialist Realism was that every work of art should have "ideological content." The general Soviet attitude to literature which stressed that it must be optimistic and present positive heroic figures who can be admired and imitated by the readers became obligatory for children's writers and illustrators as well.

On September 9, 1933, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks issued a decree *Regarding the State Publishing House of the Literature for Children*. This decree demanded the creation of a number of books which would combine captivating and clear presentation with the high ideological level and would evoke in children an interest in the struggle of the working class and Socialist construction. It called for the creation of a new series of books for young pioneers and also suggested to reprint the best works of world literature. In addition, this decree mandated the creation of a number of entertaining books for younger children

---

[178] *O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati, Sbornik dokladov* (Moscow: Pravda, 1954), 431.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(such as fairy tales, games, and charades).[179] The entire issue of *Literaturnaia Gazeta* of October 17, 1933 was dedicated to the discussion of the above mentioned issues put forward in the decree.

In August 1935, Detgiz (State Publishing House of the Literature for Children) was placed under the authority of the Central Committee of the Komsomol (Young Communist League).[180] In 1936, two All-Union forums dedicated to the literature for children's literature took place: they summarized the achievements and outlined further prospects for its development.

In the mid-1930s, a major role in the development of literature for children was played by the round table discussions held by the Central Committee of the Komsomol. These discussions touched upon not only organizational and practical matters but also theoretical issues related to children's books.

In January 1936, the first round table discussion was held, attended by as many as 117 people—representatives of the Komsomol, writers, artists, directors and editors of the divisions of the Detgiz. The issues under discussion were the state of literature for children and the goals of

---

[179] Ibid.

[180] The activity of Detgiz continued for about eight years (September 1933—May 1941).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this publishing house. The speech by A.A. Andreev can be narrowed down to several major points. As he pointed out, with each passing year, the responsibility of the children's books writer in relation to the Soviet Union and the new generation increased. Andreev also mentioned the almost universal literacy of the population, compulsory secondary education, and an incredible growth of the cultural needs of the workers and collective farmers which created "such a field of action and such favorable conditions which neither our country nor any capitalist country had ever known before."[181]

Detgiz, as Andreev pointed out, is facing the urgent task of "correcting the past mistakes." It is necessary, Andreev stated, to publish books for children of high aesthetic quality about the leaders of the Communist Party as well as collections of poetry and short stories about the "Soviet Motherland."[182] The speaker also noted that special attention has to be paid to the poor quality of the illustrations of children's books, in particular "those illustrations that are nothing but dabblings that distort

---

[181] A.A. Andreev, *O detskoi literature: Rech' sekretaria TsK VKP(b) na 1 soveshchanii po detskoi literature pri TsK VLKSM 19 ianvaria 1936 g.* (Moscow: Partizdat TsK VKP(b), 1936), 7.

[182] A.A. Andreev, "Kakie knizhki nam nuzhny," in *O detskoi literature*, 24-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reality."[183] "Komsomol should put an end to all this and should defend a true realist aesthetic education of children", said Andreev.[184]

On July 4, 1936 the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a resolution *On Pedological Distortions in the System of the Commissariats for Education*, in which "pedologiia" was described as a pseudo-science which relied on anti-Marxist and pseudo-scientific formulae, and was in glaring contradiction with the practice of Socialist construction. As a result, "pedologiia," as a science of child development was officially banned. In 1937, more than 300 Soviet "pedologists" were accused of trying to show, with statistics and mathematical formulae, that spiritually strong people were mainly the offspring of the bourgeoisie and of well provided for families, but that working class children fell into the category of "intellectually weak." It was stated that the "pedologists" created a theory to confirm that poor progress at school was conditioned by inherited burdens and harmful, environmental influences.

---

[183] A. A. Andreev, "O khudozhestvennom oformlenii detskoi knizhki," in *O detskoi literature*, 21.

[184] Ibid., 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These "pedologists" were labeled "the enemies of the people" and persecuted.[185]

1.4. Critical Debates around Soviet Children's Literature in the 1920s-30s: An Overview

In the 1920s and 30s, numerous studies by Soviet literary critics and educators began to examine such issues as the style of children's literature as well as the specificity of the genres. These studies provided the first analysis of ideas that were later developed in-depth and taken to their logical and significant conclusion. The same period witnessed discussions, conferences and meetings on the theoretical issues concerning literature for children. The debates initiated by these events were reported by numerous newspapers, journals of literary criticism and socio-political magazines.

The most important debate in the history of the literature for children occurred at the end of the 1920s—beginning of the 1930s. This debate was initiated by the articles of S. Bolotin and V. Smirnova "The Book for Children in the Reconstruction Period" and of D. Kal'm

---

[185] Fradkin, *A Search in Pedagogics*, 205.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Against Low Quality in the Literature for Children" published in *Literaturnaia Gazeta*.[186] In his article Kal'm viewed such books as *Tsirk*(Circus) and *Bagage*(Luggage) by Samuil Marshak, *Mukha-Tsokotukha*(Tsokotukha the Fly), *Moidodyr*, and *Chudo-Derevo* (The Magic- Tree) by Kornei Chukovsky[187] as harmful for Soviet children and as a failed attempt at solving social problems (For example, in Chukovsky's fairy tale *The Magic- Tree*, there was a phrase: "If you need boots, rush to the magic-tree.") This criticism and biased accusations were aimed at the employees of the children's division of the State Publishing House, and in particular, its chief writer Marshak. The children's division of the State Publishing House was accused of shoddy work, for publishing large numbers of "empty, meaningless" poems by such writers as Marshak and Chukovsky, while on the other hand, rejecting books on contemporary specifically Soviet themes under the pretext of their "assumed low aesthetic quality." Kal'm

---

[186] S. Bolotin and V. Smirnova, "Detskaia kniga v rekonstruktivnyi period," *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), no. 35, 16 December 1929, 1; and D. Kal'm, "Protiv khaltury v detskoi literature," ibid.

[187] Kornei Chukovsky was a writer, translator and literary critic who brought three crucial ingredients to his writing for children: a solid foundation in classical and modern poetry, a thorough knowledge of Russian folklore, and loving curiosity about children. Chukovsky was severely criticized in the Soviet press since his stories neither reflected proper communist class attitudes nor promoted proletarian ideals or heroes nor were grounded in reality. As Jacqueline M. Olich noted in her dissertation, Chukovsky's stories spring from his own aesthetic—his penchant for playful verse, inventive language, and artful turns of phrase – and his own liberal, pro-Western, literature-centric ideology. (Jacqueline M. Olich, "Competing Ideologies and Children's Books: The Making of a Soviet Children's Literature, 1918-1935" [Ph.D. diss., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1999], 112-126.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

further developed these views in his next article "Let's Protect Our Child from Hostile Class Influences." [188]

These discussions determined the criteria for judging the quality of children's books, and, most importantly, addressed the question of whether an "entertaining" book for children has the right to even exist. The first article provoked numerous responses. The newspaper *Literaturnaia Gazeta* published more than ten different opinions under the heading "For the Real Soviet Book for Children." The editorial spoke about the reason for divergent views among the critics of the books for children and about the readiness of the newspaper to do everything possible to become a forum of real discussion. The newspaper envisioned the following task for itself: "...to uncover all kinds of bad writing in children's literature..." [189]

Further development of the discussion brought to light two opposite responses to the statement by D. Kal'm. Some critics supported him, pointing out that up till now, old, bourgeois ideology was still dominant in children's literature. At the very least there was an hands-off attitude as far as content and an excessive enthusiasm for

---

[188] D. Kal'm, "Ogradim nashego rebenka ot klassovo chuzhdykh vliianii," *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), no. 2, 13 January 1930, 2.

[189] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

form.[190] Kal'm's supporters divided all the books for children into two types: one type contained "deeply bourgeois imitations," while the second was based on "dry and biased propaganda." Kal'm's opponents expressed great dissatisfaction with his statement. Boris Zhitkov, Boris Pasternak (1890-1960), and several other important writers signed a statement entitled "Protiv lzhi i klevety" (Against Lies and Slander) in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* on December 30, 1929.[191] Acknowledging that much was still left to be desired, they viewed the activities of the State Publishing House as a manifestation of great success in the struggle for a real contemporary book for children.That same year, the Leningrad group of writers was blamed for neutralizing the thematic thrust of children's books, in favor of "formal" methods in their work in another article published in *Literaturnaia Gazeta*.[192] The "Declaration of the Leningrad Group of Communist Writers for Children"[193] was written as a response to the above-mentioned articles Labeling one group as "bourgeois and petty bourgeois

---

[190] R. Prushitskaya. "Vospitanie lenintsev," *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), no. 3, 30 December 1929, 2.

[191] "Protiv lzhi i klevety," *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), no. 37, 30 December 1929, 2.

[192] This article was signed by K. Sverdlova, E. Mikini, A. Barto, and A. Pravdin.

[193] "Deklaratsiia leningradskoi gruppy detskikh pisatelei-kommunistov," *Kniga detiam* (Book for Children) (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 6 (1929). The "Declaration" was signed by Yu. Ditrikh, N. Oleinikov, and V. Ketlinskaia.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

writers-aesthetes" and declaring war against them, the authors, whether intentionally or not, ended up in the same camp with those critics who attacked the poetic output of the Children's Department of GIZ(State Publishing House). At the same time, they also separated themselves from another group—"writers-chameleons," or conformists, i.e. from those writers that introduced into literature for children the elements of "hurrah-revolutionary slogans and simplification" and used Soviet themes for fostering their careers.

What was new and important in the "Declaration" was a precise and clear understanding that the accusations leveled at the Children's Division of GIZ for supposedly ignoring Soviet themes and lacking relevance vis-a-vis contemporary life, disguised the real goal of the accusers of making GIZ give up its main achievement—the struggle for the artistic quality of books for children. The writers who signed the "Declaration" saw that the campaign initiated by the opponents of GIZ was driven by the desire to drive away from children's literature talented people and pointed out that the task of raising a new generation could not be accomplished with the help of books "that look like memos

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and dry newspaper articles." They called for a creation of "a book of social importance, bright and emotional…."[194]

E.A. Flerina, Chairwoman of the Commission on the Book for Children of the People's Commissariat of Education of RSFSR and the author of many important works on pre-school education, at the beginning of her article "S rebenkom nado govorit' ser'ezno" (One Should Talk to a Child Seriously), supported both statements by S. Bolotin and V. Smirnova and by D. Kal'm. However, unlike the latter, she pointed out the successes and the achievements in the activities of the children's division of GIZ, and explained drawbacks by reference to organizational issues.[195]

The conclusion of the debates was brought about by two 1930 articles of Maxim Gorky "Chelovek, ushi kotorogo zatknuty vatoi: K diskussii o detskoi knige" ("The Man whose Ears are Stopped: Regarding the Debates on the Literature for Children") [196] and "O bezotvetstvennykh liudiakh i o detskoi knige nashikh dnei" ("About the Irresponsible People and the Contemporary Book for

---

[194] Ibid., 4.

[195] E. Flerina, "S rebenkom nado govorit' ser'ezno," *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), 30 December 1929.

[196] Initially appearing in the 19 January 1930 issue of the newspaper *Pravda* (Truth), this article was later reprinted as M. Gorky, "Chelovek, ushi kotorogo zatknuty vatoi (K diskussii o detskoi knige)," in *Sobranie Sochinenii*, vol. 25, *Stat'i, rechi, privetstviia* (Moscow: GIKhL, 1953), 112-115.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Children").[197] Gorky was able to pinpoint the core reason for the emergence of the debate. In these articles Gorky pointed out that illiterate, irresponsible people who publish bad, harmful books and withhold everything that is valuable and truly artistic play into the hands of the enemy of the working class.[198] Although written shortly one after the other, Gorky's articles do not reduplicate each other. Gorky stressed a need to analyze the question about the attitude to the cultural heritage of the past. He argued that it was necessary to create a new culture of "intellectual freedom." According to Gorky, in order to reach this goal, one had to borrow all the best from the culture of the past.[199] He wrote that it was important to explore all that is truly valuable, what was created in the past, all that could serve the development of man's intellect, imagination, intuition, and creative potential.[200] Thus, a statement that "one should speak to a child in an entertaining manner" means, for instance, that "an initial idea about the solar system, about our planet,

---

[197] M. Gorky, "O bezotvetstvennykh liudiakh i o detskoi knige nashikh dnei," in *Sobranie Sochineni*, vol. 25, *Stat'i, rechi, privetstviia* (Moscow: GIKhL, 1953), 167-176.

[198] N. Medvedeva, "Bor'ba A. M. Gor'kogo za sozdanie sovetskoi literatury dlia detei," in *O detskoi literature* (Moscow/Leningrad: Detgiz, 1950), 59.

[199] M. Gorky, "O bezotvetstvennykh liudiakh i o detskoi knige nashikh dnei," in *Sobranie Sochinenii,* 25: 169.

[200] Ibid., 172.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about its countries" should be presented to a little child through games and toys. In relation to older children, this "entertainment" method should help, according to Gorky, in exploring the diverse aspects of human existence. Gorky argued that it is dangerous and even criminal to squeeze children into "serious matters" too early, twisting too roughly their yet unorganized and flexible will.[201] He insisted on such a portrayal of the negative aspects of life which would evoke "contempt and disgusts" to the "criminal" past and noted that children can see that great personalities are just regular people.[202] Gorky also called for using the humor and satire while exposing the evils of the past in the books for children. He argued that the literature for children created by writers such as Marshak satisfied completely the needs of contemporary children in bright and verbally diverse books and that one "should not allow the illiterate "Kal'ms" to hound the talented "Marshaks."[203]

Since Gorky showed no mercy for Flerina's article, he was immediately blamed for "making easy the defense of

---

[201] Gorky, "Chelovek, ushi kotorogo zatknuty vatoi," in *Sobranie Sochinenii*, 25: 114.

[202] Gorky, "O bezotvetstvennykh liudiakh i o detskoi knige nashikh dnei," in *Sobranie Sochineni*, 25: 175.

[203] Gorky, "Chelovek ushi kotorogo zatknuty vatoi," 114.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Chukovshchina" and of what constitutes the "main vice of the literature for children—its apolitical nature"[204] V.Iskrin harshly objected to Gorky that writing for children should not be a game or an entertainment. He argued that "a conscious participation from an early age in the struggle and work of the adults should be the basis of the Communist upbringing of Soviet children..." [205]

I. Razin, the Head of the Children's Division of Molodaya Gvardiia Publishing House, pointed out that Soviet children "insistently demand the literature about contemporary events, about the class struggle."[206] V. Yakovlev saw in the article of Gorky "false alarm" about the "politicization" of the literature for children and "a tendency to separate the children from the struggle and activities of the working class..."[207] The stance taken by Gorky, although significant in the process of the development of the literature for children, did not answer all the questions. For example, debates concerning the necessity for a separate literature for children were still continued in the speeches and articles of N.K.Krupskaia.

---

[204] V. Iskrin, "Ne soglasny," *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (Moscow), no. 2, 25 January 1930, 3.

[205] Ibid.

[206] I. Razin, "Detskaia literatura sovetskoi strany," *Za Kommunisticheskoe Vospitanie,* no. 9 (1930): 97.

[207] V. Yakovlev, "Na novye rel'sy," *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* (Moscow), no. 2, 25 January 1930, 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The most important among them were "About the Book for Children," "Children's Book—A Powerful Weapon of the Socialist Upbringing," and "Books for Pre-Schoolers"[208] Krupskaia's articles provided the reader with a clear idea of the importance of ideological nature of the Soviet children's book.[209]

Books for children written by the major Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky caused other important debates of the 1930s. The literary critic D. Khanin reported on the removal of Mayakovsky's children's poems from the Moscow libraries in 1930 due to an order from Moscow Politprosvet (Regional Division of the Political Education) and Moscow Central Library. "What to be?" was considered the only acceptable poem by this author. Mayakovsky was accused of using "incomprehensible language," and his books were considered as not meeting the requirements of the contemporary book for children.[210] F. Ebin, who described in

---

[208] N.K. Krupskaia, "O detskoi knige," in *N.K. Krupskaia o detskoi literature i detskom chtenii* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1954), 14-18; idem, "Detskaia kniga—mogushchestvennoe orudie sotsialisticheskogo vospitaniia," *Pravda*, 3 February 1931 (also published in idem, *Bibliotechnoe delo*, 136-139 [Moscow-Leningrad: Sotsekgiz, 1933].); and idem, "Knizhki dlia doshkoliat," in *Bibliotechnoe delo*, 143-145 (Moscow-Leningrad: Sotsekgiz, 1933).

[209] N.K. Krupskaia, "Pust' zagovoriat stranitsy detskikh knig o bor'be i pobedakh rabochikh mass," *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* (Moscow), 30 January 1930 (also published in *Za kommunisticheskoe vospitanie*, no.9 [1930], 97.)

[210] A.V. Blium, *Sovetskaia tsenzura v epokhu totalitarnogo terrora, 1929-1953* (St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 2000), 213-214.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his study the conflict between Mayakovsky and the employees of children's libraries[211] noted that almost all books for children by Mayakovsky received negative reviews from the Bibliographical Commission which recommended books to fill children's libraries. Ebin pointed out that in 1930 almost all of Mayakovsky's poems for children were classified as unsuccessful and even harmful.[212]

Khanin sharply criticised such assessments of Mayakovsky. He considered Mayakovsky's books for children to be a valuable contribution to the literature for children, viewing Mayakovsky as a brave innovator who destroyed old canons and sought new forms. Thus, a revision of the views on the works by Mayakovsky was gradually initiated in pedagogical practice and literary criticism.

At the beginning of 1931, the journal *Kniga Molodezhi* (Books for Youth) was launched. The journal promised to lead a merciless struggle against the apolitical nature of children's literature, and "to fight for new genres and

---

Artemii Khalatov, the Head of the State Publishing House, even ordered to cut out Mayakovsky's portrait from one of the issues of the journal *Pechat' i Revolutsiia*, which has been already printed. (See Arkadii Waksberg, *Lilia Brik* [Moscow: Olimp; Smolensk: Rusich, 1999], 239.).

[211] F. Ebin, "Stikhi Mayakovskogo dlia detei," in *O detskoi literature* (Moscow/Leningrad: Detgiz, 1950), 112.

[212] Ibid., 113.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

style, harmonious with the great epoch of Socialist construction."[213]

In an article dedicated to the issues of literature for children, Razin claimed that the book was "one of the most important participants on the front of Communist upbringing of children." He pointed out that the issues of form, and skillful presentation of the material should acquire special significance. Razin arrived at the conclusion that "the problem of creating books for children that cover a new thematic range is at the same time the problem of creating a new form."[214] In the same article, Razin indicated that currently there is the struggle against two extremes: the lack of any educational content and social import, a focus solely on the "play of formal elements" and the presentation of the contemporary theme in a schematic manner, using "gray, lifeless language." He continued to ascribe the same "bourgeois tendencies" to Chukovsky and Marshak.[215]

In January of 1931, the editorial board of the newspaper *Literaturnaia gazeta* published a number of articles under the header "Join the Fight for the

---

[213] I. Razin, "Za proletarskuiu detskuiu knigu," *Kniga Molodezhi*, nos.1-2 (Moscow, 1931): 109.

[214] Ibid., 110.

[215] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Proletarian Book for Children." A. Irkutov, one of the authors, called "to strengthen specialized literature for children with the help of the specialized writer."[216] He also called for the creation of a specialized publishing house for children's books. Various critics expressed their belief that literature for children should not be separated from the general literary movement and referred to the general tasks that unite the literature for adults and for children.[217]

In a similar vein, the goal of the article by T. Trifonova "Books on the Bolshevik Revolution for Children" was to provide the theoretical grounding for the specificity of this genre. Trifonova vehemently denounced the opinion that any theme and any material can be made socially valuable. She saw no justification for the existence of a purely playful, exclusively entertaining book. Trifonova strongly believed that any good proletarian literature for children should be class-conscious.[218]

According to Trifonova, the range of important books on socio-political themes included books about Vladimir

---

[216] A. Irkutov, "Nuzhen li detskii pisatel'?" *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 3, 14 January 1931, 3.

[217] I. Razin, "Kuda napravit' ogon': Zametki o detskoi literature," *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 3, 14 January 1931, 3.

[218] T. Trifonova, "Revolutsionnaia detskaia kniga," in *Detskaia literatur*a (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lenin, books on international themes, historic books about revolutions, books about the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Russian Civil War (1918-1921). Trifonova concluded that a contemporary child is capable of comprehending much more serious content than the one he is currently offered; however, in order for books of new quality to emerge, one had, first of all, to attend to the social significance of the content.

Another critic, T. Bogdanovich, in her essay "Propaganda in the Literature for Children" also stated that "one should not be afraid to talk to children in a serious manner about serious issues."[219]

At the First All-Union Conference on Children's Literature, held in Moscow from February 2 to February 6, 1931, all participants remarked that since 1917 children's literature in Soviet Russia is considered to be one of the most ideologically important areas of education. The key presentations were given by Razin and Krupskaia. The main task of Soviet literature for children was defined by Razin as educational, which would "help developing the qualities of the new man, politically prepared, socially conscious

---

[219] T. Bogdanovich, "Agitatsiia v detskoi literature," in *Detskaia literatur*a, 45.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and internationally minded."[220] The speaker classified the flaws of the literature for children into several major categories. Among them Razin listed the apolitical nature of the books and their separation from contemporary life. The second category, according to Razin, constituted books, which did not exhibit a correlation "between form and content." Those books, which demonstrated a complete disregard of the formal specific requirements of the literature for children, Razin put into the third category. In her speech at the Conference, Krupskaia called for a creation of children's literature reflecting contemporary life.

On February 23, 1931 at the meeting of the directorial board of the publishing house Molodaia Gvardiia, "Chukovshchina"[221] was proclaimed to be a danger for children's literature and its goals were considered a disorientation of the child in his relation to the surrounding world. All the failures in the area of literature for children were blamed on "the excessive influence of the writers who stand aside from the process of Socialist construction and class struggle." The

---

[220] I. Razin, "Detskaia literatura v rekonstruktivnyi period," in *Materialy Vserossiiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature* (Moscow, 1931), 8.

[221] "Chukovshchina" was a derogatory term used by many Soviet literary critics in the 1920s. Chukovsky's writings came to epitomize apolitical, fantastical, and Western-inspired literature for children.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

resolution of the directorial board of Molodaia Gvardia greatly diminished the role of the writer. According to this resolution, the formation of the ranks of the writers should take place within the context of the growing children's Communist movement.[222] A special section was dedicated to the issues of literary criticism. The resolution acknowledged a low level of criticism of the literature for children and at times, a total lack of it. It also pointed out the necessity of providing systematic analyses of the issues of the literature for children in press as well as calling special meetings. The need for launching a specialized bibliographical journal dedicated to the literature for children was announced. *Literaturnaia Gazeta* provided exhaustive information about the conference,[223] echoed by journals *Narodnyi Uchitel'*[224] and *Krasnyi Bibliotekar.'*[225]

A significant event of that year was also the publication of the collection of literary criticism

---

[222] *Rezoliutsii i postanovlenia Pervoi Vserossiiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature,* vol. 1 (Moscow, 1931), 50.

[223] "Na Pervoi Vserossiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature," *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no.8, 9 February 1931, 3.

[224] I. Bokarev, "Detskaia kniga (po sledam I Vserossiiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature), *Narodnyi uchitel'* (Moscow), no.6 (1931): 137-140.

[225] "Pervaia Vserossiiskaia konferentsiia po detskoi literature," *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo), no.3 (1931): 40-43.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Detskaia literatura (Children's Literature) edited and with an introduction by Lunacharsky. This journal became the first critical and analytical attempt to understand the complex and contradictory development of the Soviet literature for children. [226] The major focus of this publication was the discussion of theoretical issues of the literature for children as well as analysis of children's responses to various books.[227]

The year 1933 was a turning point in the development of children's literature. The key articles of Marshak, Gorky, and Zhitkov were all written in 1933. Sergei Tretyakov in his article "Voina skholastam!" (War Against Scholastics), argued that there should be no difference between the serious professional treatment of the book for adults and for children. He considered the literature for children to be "one of the most difficult literary genres."[228]

In Marhsak's 1933 article "Literaturu detiam" (Literature for Children), the author considered necessary

---

[226] *Detskaia literatura: Collection of Literary Criticism* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), 3.

[227] There were two distinct periods in the existence of the journal *Detskaia literatura* (Children's Literature). The first period lasted untill the middle of 1935 when it was still functioning as a thin publication under the name *Detskaia i yunosheskaia literatura (*Literature for Children and Y*oung People).* The second period started when the journal developed into a serious critical and bibliographical publication.

[228] Sergei Tretyakov, "Voina skholastam!" *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 23, 17 May 1933, 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to determine who the reader of children's books is, to determine the level of his interests and needs, as well as the level of his development and comprehension of literature.[229] Marshak noted that the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was not able to preserve all the heritage of the past. He suggested to select the heritage that has to be highly valued and kept as the greatest treasure.[230] Immediately following the publication of the article by Marshak, the June issues of newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* published the article by Gorky "Literature for Children,"[231] which focused on the most urgent task—"to create for children new, vivid, Soviet socialist science-fiction and fiction."[232] Gorky argued that didactic and sometimes crudely biased books should be replaced by cheerful, entertaining books which speak to the child in his own "language of images" and develops in him a sense of humor. Gorky concluded that such task can only be carried out by a

---

[229] This article was originally published as a shorter version under the title "Literatury detiam" in the newspaper *Izvestiia*, 23-27 May 1933, and later reprinted in its extended version under the title "O nasledstve i nasledstvennosti v detskoi literature" in the journal *Literaturnyi Sovremennik*, no. 12 (1933). See also: S.Ya. Marshak, "O nasledstve i nasledstvennosti v detskoi literature," in *Sobranie sochinenii*, ed. I.S. Marshak, et al, vol. 7 (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1971), 279-311.

[230] Ibid., 283.

[231] Maksim Gorky, "Literaturu-detiam," *Pravda* (Moscow), no. 159, 11 June 1933, 3; idem, "Literaturu-detiam," *Izvestiia* (Moscow), 11 June 1933.

[232] Maksim Gorky, *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 27 (Moscow, 1953), 32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

specialized publishing house devoted solely to the literature for children.

In 1933, Detgiz (State Publishing House of Literature for Children), which played an important role in fostering new literature for children, was founded according the decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. Gorky's 1933 article "O temakh" (On Themes)[233] focused on the issues to be faced by this publishing house. For Gorky, the issue of the topics of children's books was first of all the issue of the socialist education of children. He noted that in Russia to educate means to revolutionize, that is to liberate the mind of the child from the modes of thought dictated by the past experience of his fathers and grandfathers, from their prejudices.[234] According to Gorky,"familiarizing children with life" should start from the stories about the past. He considered it obligatory to provide children with the idea of "the road" which was passed by people "from the author of a fairy tale which was an imaginary hypothesis to a great study of Marx which pointed out broad and straight road to

---

[233] The article was published in the newspapers *Pravda* (Moscow), 7 October 1933; *Izvestiia* (Moscow), 17 October 1933, and *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), 17 October 1933. For English translation see: Maxim Gorky, "On Themes," in *Collected Works in Ten Volumes*, trans. Julius Katzer, vol. 10, *On literature*," (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982), 281-295.

[234] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a bright future for a working humanity."[235] In order to implement the plan of creating new literature for children, Gorky urged to gather talented writers "which have the skill to write clearly, engagingly, and meaningfully." Gorky also recommended the involvement of scholars who have diverse life experiences in the production of children's books. Gorky's plan was taken as the basis for the creative activities of Detgiz and its writers.

Testing his theoretical idea in practice, Gorky addressed the children of the Soviet Union through the newspaper *Pionerskaia Pravda* with the questions: what do they read? What books do they like, what books would they like to see written for them by writers? Many children responded to this address: Gorky received more than 2,000 answers. The letters from children provided the newly created publishing house for children with the information about the level of interests of the readers, about the expectations of children, and about their tastes and their needs.

The First All-Russian Congress of Soviet Writers which took place in Moscow in August of 1934 was an event of great political importance. The main focus of the Congress was the issue of Socialist Realism. The speeches made by A.

---

[235] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A. Zhdanov and Gorky served as the basis for further development and research of the method of Socialist Realism in the literature both for adult and young readers. Soviet children's writing, like the country's adult literature, was to be governed by the doctrine of Socialist Realism, which required that all fiction must be optimistic, that the forces of good must always triumph over the forces of evil, and that human beings must be portrayed not as individuals but as an integral part of their society, co-operating towards the common good. The child was regarded as a miniature adult, a citizen of the bright Communist future.

At the Congress, Marshak delivered a key speech on the topic of literature for children. The very fact of making such topic a key speech testified to the importance that was attributed to children's literature in the Soviet state. Marshak's speech was built on the juxtaposition of the Soviet literature for children and the pre-revolutionary one. The speaker presented a shattering commentary on pre-revolutionary literature as a whole, which was due to several reasons. First of all, in the middle of the 1930s, pre-revolutionary literature for children remained poorly studied; many worthy and respected names were forgotten. Secondly, in the historical

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

circumstances in which the Congress took place, it was more important to emphasize the major new contribution of the emerging Soviet writers rather than the connection with the past. In his speech, Marshak also raised the issue of the specificity of the genre of children's literature. He took under consideration the analysis of children's letters about their favorite books, collected at Gorky's initiative.[236] According to Marshak, the book is written in a real children's language if it contains a clear and complete fable, and if its author is not an indifferent observer of the events, but takes the side of one of the book's characters and militates against the others.[237]

---

[236] See S. Marshak, "Deti otvechaiut Gor'komu," in *Sobranie sochinenii,* vol. 7, 312-341.

[237] S. Marshak, "O bol'shoi literature dlia malen'kikh," in *Sobranie sochinenii,* vol. 6, 206.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 2

VISION TRANSFORMED: ABSTRACTION AND ABSTRACTED IMAGERY IN SOVIET ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BOOKS

2. 1. Realist versus Modernist Art: Major Debates in the Soviet Press of the 1920s-30s

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, some graphic artists in Russia continued working in the academic tradition while the most outstanding practitioners in the field, including children's book illustrators, began to respond to what had taken place in contemporary art by taking the path toward nonrepresentational art.[238] In this chapter, children's books of such experimental artists as El Lissitzky (1890-1941), Georgii Echeistov (1897-1946), and Vladimir Lebedev (1891-1967) will be placed within the context of the battle between abstraction and figuration in Soviet art. When this battle began immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, abstraction had the upper hand, but by the mid-30s, when Socialist Realism was

---

[238] I use the terms "nonrepresentational " and "objectless" rather than "non-objective" throughout this dissertation. As the scholar Rose-Carol Washton Long noted: "The term 'non-objective' is a very free (and misleading) translation of the German word gegenstandslos. Although 'without objects' or 'objectless' is a more accurate translation, 'non-objective' has been used in the U.S. as a synonym for abstract art since its introduction and popularization by the German artist and curator Hilla Rebay." (See Rose-Carol Washton

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

declared the only accepted method of Soviet art it suffered a total defeat. As the scholars Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor have pointed out, after the exhibition of works by artists of the Russian Federation dealing with a 15-year period held in Leningrad and Moscow in 1932-3, avant-garde work was not put on display at all, even in historical surveys.[239] By this time, all experimental art began to be perceived as too individualistic, too separated from the masses and thus fundamentally bourgeois rather than proletarian.

The two major topics addressed in this chapter are the relations between the experimental artists and the state and the process of gradual marginalization of the artistic avant-garde in Soviet Russia between 1918 and the mid-1930s.

The scholarship about this period employs a variety of terms to describe the artists associated with Russian Modernism, including "avant-garde," "Futurists," "left-block," and "leftist." As an art historian Pamela Kachurin

---

Long, "Non-Objective," in *Guggenheim Museum Collection A to Z*, ed. Nancy Spector [New York: The Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 2001], 256.)

[239] Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, eds., introduction to *Art of the Soviets: Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-party state, 1917-1992* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wrote in her 1998 dissertation,[240] the latter three terms were used almost interchangeably after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Soviet literature to describe a group of artists – including Natan Al'tman, Osip Brik, Vera Ermolaeva, and Vladimir Tatlin –- which made up the "left wing" of Soviet artists, and went on to work within the Commissariat of Education. As Bown noted, the Russian futurist or left artists of 1918-21 correspond closely to those artists who are termed today the Russian avant-garde.[241] Kachurin pointed out that although a wide range of styles from a Cézannesque Cubism to Suprematism was represented by this group, the artists were uniformly labeled as "lefts." The term "Futurist" was most widely employed in the press, by government officials, and even by Vladimir Lenin to describe the artists who employed various levels of abstraction in their art, even though the great majority of them had little to do with the short-lived "Futurist" group before the Revolution. As early as 1913, Valerian Chudovsky, while discussing the concept of Futurism, stated that Futurism in Russia is something much more than just a school, and that the meaning and

---

[240] See Pamela Kachurin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Retreat of the Avant-Garde in the Early Soviet Era" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, January 1998), 5-6.

[241] Matthew Cullerne Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting* (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1998), 47.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indisputable innovation of the Futurism lies in its absolute negation of the past achievements in art.[242]

Immediately after the Revolution, the term "Futurism" became even more synonymous with any type of leftist art. Many completely different types of artists, such as Vasilii Kandinsky, Tatlin, Kazimir Malevich, David Shterenberg and even Marc Chagall were tied together by the art critics of the time under the umbrella of Futurism. In 1918, Al'tman defined Futurism as "... a revolutionary art that is breaking all the old bonds." [243] In 1919, Puni (Pougni) wrote: "Recently it has become customary to combine all various artistic groups of leftist artists under one term, 'Futurism.' This is not correct, since the Futurism as a specific artistic school does not exist; instead there exist many various artistic associations in Russia as well as in Europe."[244] In his 1923 article entitled "Obzor novykh techenii v iskusstve" (A Survey of New Trends in Art), Punin stated:

> As a general phenomenon in the art of our time, Futurism is a myth. There is not one Futurist to be found in Petersburg, except perhaps at the World of Art

---

[242] Valerian Chudovsky, "Futurizm i proshloe," *Apollon*, no. 6 (1913): 25-30.

[243] Natan Altman, "'Futurizm i proletarskoe iskusstvo," ('Futurism' and Proletarian Art), *Iskusstvo kommuny* (Art of the Commune) (Petrograd), no. 2 (December 15, 1918): 3. Translated in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism*, trans. and ed. John E. Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 161-164.

[244] Iv. Puni, "Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom iskusstve," *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 19 (1919): 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> exhibitions. Since "left-wing" should be regarded as an approximate orientation on materialism, "left-wing art" is a myth.... The new art, i.e. art that is Post-Impressionist in form (technique) and modern in content, is broader than the concepts of Futurism and left-wing. What is particularly important is that the new art were internally composed of elements so contradictory that it would be impossible to reconcile them or even find some sort of unity in this new art. The unity of technique, the expressed will of the new artists, which not so long ago seemed to be a uniting factor, has been destroyed.[245]

Soon after the Bolshevik Revolution, artistic formal experiments were associated with progressive revolutionary art. The theory of "left art" assumes that revolutionary politics must have its equivalent in revolutionary art, while traditional art should be rejected together with reactionary politics. As the leading Russian critic of the 1920s Boris Kushner stated: "Futurism may be characterized as an uncompromising, wholly revolutionary movement." He claimed that "the bourgeosie fought with futurism as desperately and mercilessly as it fought with the Bolsheviks."[246]

---

[245] N. Punin, "Obzor novykh techenii v iskusstve," *Russkoe iskusstvo* (Petrograd-Moscow: Tvorchestvo), no. 1 (1923): 17.

"Futurism, kak obshchee dlia nashego vremeni iavlenie v iskusstve—mif. V Peterburge, pozhalui, uzhe ne naidesh ni ognogo futurista (razve tol'ko na vystavkakh 'Mira Iskusstva'). 'Levoe iskusstvo,' poskol'ku pod levym ponimat' kakuiu-to priblizitel'nuiu orientatsiiu na revoliutsionnyi materializm, tozhe—mif...Novoe iskusstvo, t.e. iskusstvo post-impressionisticheskoe po forme (tekhnike) i sovremennoe po soderzhaniiu shire poniatii: futurism i levoe, i, chto osobenno vazhno, ono vnutri sebia slozheno iz elementov nastol'ko protivorechivykh, chto ni primirit' ikh, ni dazhe naiti kakoe-nibud' edinstvo v etom novom iskusstve nel'zia. Edinstvo tekhniki—eta vyrazhennaia volia novykh khudozhnikov—kotoroe, kazalos', eshche nedavno ob'ediniaiushchim nachalom, razrusheno..."

[246] Quoted in Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 47.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

During this period of profound political and social changes artists and theoreticians of the new art were faced with fundamental questions. What was revolutionary in art? What relationship should exist between art and the new Soviet state and the Bolshevik party? Could proletarian art be created only by authentic workers, or could it also be produced by non-proletarian artists? Debates on these complex issues found expression in diverse publications of that time.[247] This chapter outlines major points of these debates in the Soviet press of the 1920s-30s.

After the decree of November 9, 1917, banning the "counter-revolutionary press,"[248] only political publications that recognized the government were permitted. As the scholar Christina Lodder pointed out, during this period the three journals--*Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo* (Fine Art),[249] *Iskusstvo* (Art)[250] and *Iskusstvo kommuny* (Art of the Commune)[251]-- produced by IZO Narkompros were the most

---

[247] See Christina Lodder, "Art of the Commune: Politics and Art in Soviet journals, 1917-20," *Art journal* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 24-34.

[248] Reprinted in English as "Decree on the Press, issued by the Council of People's Commissars," in *First Decrees of Soviet Power*, ed. Yurii Akhapkin (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1970), 29-30.

[249] Only one issue of *Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo* was published in Petrograd in 1919.

[250] Eight issues of *Iskusstvo* were published in Moscow in January-September 1919.

[251] Nineteen issues of *Iskusstvo kommuny* were published in Petrograd from December 1918 to April 1919. As Lodder pointed out, *Iskusstvo kommuny* not only harnessed existing progressive art to the new aims but also laid the basis for the development of a new theory of art, "production art," founded on the industrial

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

focused on problems concerning the contemporary visual arts in Russia.

Experimental Russian artists sought to be in tune with their own age which brought about their increased interest in the new scientific ideas. They searched for objective knowledge based on scientific analysis, stating that in the "age of materialism" an artist should see in a painting first of all a materialistic phenomenon. They believed that any study of art should be considered an analysis of "material elements" and that any work of art should be based on objective laws of organization of these elements into a composition.[252] This method was known as "formal analysis," "formal-analytical method," or "objective analysis." It focused upon the processes and laws governing the plastic arts, and the specific ways in which contemporary systems of painting had evolved, as well as on the methodology of an objective analysis of the spatial arts, with a strong emphasis on the principles of natural and scientific knowledge.

Natalia Adaskina, a Russian scholar of the Russian avant-garde, has pointed out that "formal-analytical"

---

nature of the proletariat and suggesting that art should become fused with industry (Lodder, "Art of the Commune," 32.

[252] N.N. Punin, "Mera iskusstva," *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 9 (1919); idem, *Pervyi tsikl lektsii, chitannykh na kratosrochnykh kursakh dlia uchitelei risovaniia* (Petrograd: Sovremennoe iskusstvo, 1920).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concepts in Russian literary criticism began to form as early as in 1913 and 1914, both as a theoretical generalization of literary Futurism and as a development of academic science.[253] These concepts were then recorded in the works of the OPOYaZ (Society for the Theory of Poetic Language).[254] Modern painting was often used as a template of modern creativity, in order to bring out the laws of form-creation in literature.

The "formal method" became a method of some major theorists of the new art. In 1914, the German sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand (1847-1927) published his 1893 book in Moscow, entitled *Problemy formy v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve* (Aspects of Study of Form in the Visual Arts).[255] This book, according to the literary and art critic of the 1920s A. G.

---

[253] N. Adaskina, "A Place in History: The Self-Determination of the Russian Avant-Garde of the 1920s," in *The Russian Avant-Garde: Representation and Interpretation, collection of academic papers from the conference at the State Russian Museum* (St. Petersburg: Palace Editions, 2001), 196.

[254] *Opoyaz (Obshchestvo poeticheskogo yazyka*, "Society for the study of poetic language"). The *Opoyaz* was a loosely structured scholarly society whose members were students at St. Petersburg University. They were both stimulated by, and dissatisfied with, the ways of studying literature in the academy, and shortly before World War I they began to gather privately to discuss their own ideas and those of the established scholars. The first members of the *Opoyaz* were V.B. Shklovsky, L.P. Yakubinsky, B.M. Eikhenbaum, O.M. Brik, B.Kushner and E.D. Polivanov. The achronym *Opoyaz* was coined by the members themselves following the revolutionary and military fashion prevalent in Russia at that time. The *Opoyaz* was dissolved in 1923, but its membership was largely absorbed by a better-structured and more political organization Lef. Eventually, former members of the *Opoyaz* joined the faculties of Soviet Universities and research institutes. While the *Opoyaz* members did not entirely succeeded in proving their hypotheses, they generated much interest in the problems of literary language, among Western scholars in particular.(*Handbook of Russian Literature* , ed. Victor Terras [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985], 323-324.)

[255] Adolf von Hildebrand, *Problemy formy v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve* (Moscow: Musaget, 1914). Originally the book had been published in German as *Das Problem der Form in den bildenden Künsten* in 1893.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gabrichevsky,[256] became highly influential among many experimental Russian artists. In 1916, left-front theorist Nikolai Tarabukin wrote a book entitled *Opyt teorii zhivopisi* (Essay on the Theory of Painting), which was published only in 1923. In his book, Tarabukin formulated the subject of the theory of art as an "analysis of the elements of artistic creations."[257] In the first year of the Bolshevik Revolution, Narkompros attempted to make the "formal method" the theoretical basis of artistic education and museum work, and the ideas of the "formal method" formed the basis for the creation of the Museum of Painterly Culture, where artists became concerned with the study of the intristic qualities of painting, and concentrated on such aspects of art as texture, color, form, plane, and line.[258]

In 1919, a leading art critic of the Russian avant-garde Nikolai Punin published an important article in *Iskusstvo Kommuny*, entitled "O forme i soderzhanii" (On Form and Content), in which he noted:

---

[256] A. Gabrichevsky, "Formal'nyi metod," in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Russkogo bibliograficheskogo instituta Granat*, 7th ed., vol. 44, 266.

[257] Nikolai Tarabukin, *Opyt teorii zhivopisi* (Moscow: Vserossiiskii proletkul't, 1923), 6.

[258] See *Muzei v muzee*, ed. Irina Karasik (St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Lack of content is one of the most common accusations made against the new art. They say that we are "formal," that we believe neither in God nor the devil, and that we have no ideals and no spiritual life... Form is the only objective factor of our epoch... Our art is an art of the form because we are the inventors. Our art is an art of the form because we are the proletarian artists, artists of the Communist culture.[259]

The study of modern trends in art led Punin to the creation of his version of the "formal-analytical" theory of art.[260] According to Punin, easel painting could be as organized as a piece of architecture. Punin sought to reduce the value of creative act to: S (Pi+Pii+Piii+ ...P)Y=T, where "S" equals the sum of the principles (P), "Y" equals intuition and "T" equals artistic creation.[261]

Boris Arvatov, closely associated with *Lef* (Levyi front iskusstv--Left Front of the Arts) and a member of INKhUK, pointed out that he called "analytical" all those movements in art, which, after rejecting imitation and formal canons, have taken the path of the theoretical and practical study of various elements of art and art materials and whose aim would be the creative construction

---

[259] N.N. Punin, "O forme i soderzhanii," *Iskusstvo kommuny* (Petrograd), no.18, 6 April 1919, 1.

"Odnim iz khodiachikh obvinenii novomu iskusstvu—otsutstviie soderzhaniia. Govoriat—my formal'ny, ne verim ni v boga, ni v cherta, bez idealov, bez dushevnoi zhizni...Forma iavliaetsia edinstvenno-ob'ektivnym faktorom epokhi...Nashe iskusstvo—iskusstvo formy, potomu chto my—izobretateli... Nashe iskusstvo—iskusstvo formy, potomu chto my—proletarskiie khudozhniki, khudozhniki kommunisticheskoi kul'tury."

[260] See Punin, *Pervyi tsikl lektsii.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of new forms from these materials. Arvatov argued that analytical art developed into a type of Constructivism, which was mostly concerned with "objective and technological construction."[262]

"Formalist" was another term used by Soviet art critics at the time, primarily in negative terms, by 1924. By the mid 1920s, the term "formalism" in Soviet art criticism defined a rather broad category of art which lacked any social content and was thus "alien to the masses," and in which "form was separate from content." The art critic I. Ioffe, criticizing experimental artists in his 1925 book *Krizis sovremennogo iskusstva* (Crisis of Contemporary Art) complained: "...formalist artists as well as engineers consider the work of art in terms of its material and construction, and ignore its social function."[263]

In Soviet Russia, the entire period between 1918 and the late 1920s was characterized by a major struggle between the experimental artists and the advocates of traditional Realism in art for the support of the government and commissions. Initially, during the short

---

[261] Ibid., 51.

[262] Boris Arvatov, *Iskusstvo i klassy* (Moscow-Petrograd: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923), 76.

[263] I. Ioffe, *Krizis sovremennogo iskusstva* (Leningrad: Rabochee izdatel'stvo "Priboi," 1925), 15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

period between 1917-1921, leftist artists,[264] closely collaborating with the new Soviet government, enjoyed freedoms and opportunities which they did not have before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. On November 8, 1917, Narkompros (The People's Commissariat of Education), headed by A.V. Lunacharsky, was established. The Narkompros took administrative charge of education and the arts. IZO (Visual Arts Department) was organized within Narkompros in January 1918 with the Constructivist artist Vladimir Tatlin (1885-1953) in charge in Moscow and the painter David Shterenberg (1881-1948) as its head in Petrograd. IZO Narkompros became responsible for art education, the organization of various exhibitions, lectures and art competitions, the establishment of libraries, the creation of decorations for the revolutionary holidays, and the

---

[264] Left art-- avant-garde art and literature of the 1920s, created as a manifestation of an "artistic revolution," and aimed at the development of a total aesthetic system which could lay the foundations for Soviet culture. The term "left art"was initially applied to all non-realistic art practiced in post-revolutionary Russia. The term may have originated in the *Soiuz deiatelei iskusstv* (The Arts Union), formed after the 1917 February Revolution. Within that organization, Osip Brik, Nikolai Punin, and Vladimir Mayakovsky formed the so-called left block. The major theoreticians of left art were Ossip Brik, who saw art as a creation of utilitarian objects; Nikolai Chuzhak, who developed the theory of sociological poetics; Sergei Tretyakov, who created the concept of literature of fact; and literary critics Victor Shklovsky and Yurii Tynyanov. The first organ devoted to the development of the theory of left art was the newspaper *Iskusstvo kommuny* (Art of the Commune), 1918-19, published by the IZO Narkompros (Fine Arts Division of the Commissariat of Education). In 1923, a new organization—*Levyi Front iskusstv*, or *Lef* (the Left Front of the Arts) was formed, which attempted to refine the principles of left aethetics and to unite left artists. *Lef* existed as a loose association of futurist poets, constructivist artists, and formalist critics. Their journal *Lef* (1923-25) saw itself as a futurist-formalist organ. The idea of a common front of leftist artistic forces was essentially abandoned in 1925 when a convention of leftist groups, frustrated by difficulties in legitimizing the avant-garde in the Soviet state, failed to agree on the organizational character of their association. In 1927, the futurist core of *Lef* reappeared as an organization and began publishing a journal *Novyi Lef* (New Lef), 1927-28, which attempted to reorient left art toward the immediate sociopolitical reality.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

distribution of art commissions. Both Petrograd and Moscow Committees of IZO Narkompros included many important left-wing artists.[265] Osip Beskin, the Chief Editor of *Iskusstvo* (Art) journal, complained in 1933 that during the period of war Communism, "non-representational artists and futurists took over IZO Narkompros."[266] As Bown pointed out, the predominance of the left artists in IZO gave them sway over some of the art press and art education, and allowed them influence over state exhibition and purchase policy.[267]

However, as Taylor argued, Lunacharsky's attitude toward the 'left-wing' artists was not so much one of sympathy, "...but of tolerance and compromise." As Taylor noted, most of the Bolshevik Party leaders had no real sympathy for the experimental artists,but "...more or less seriously compromised between their need to see visible signs of support from the younger intellectuals, and their conviction... that 'radical' art of the avant-garde was a product of bourgeois society and should sooner or later be

---

[265] Petrograd Committee included Natan Altman, Iosif Shkol'nik, Vladimir Baranov-Rossine, a Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, and art critics O.M. Brik and N.N. Punin among others. In Moscow, the similar Committee included K.S. Malevich, N.A. Udaltsova, R.R. Fal'k, O.V. Rozanova, and V.V. Kandinsky as its members.

[266] Osip Beskin, *Formalizm v zhivopisi* (Moscow: Vsekhokhudozhnik, 1933), 59.

[267] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

replaced."[268] For example, Vladimir Lenin approved of traditional art but did not support the modern movement because he considered works of art valuable only when they were easily understood by the masses.[269]

Unlike Lenin, however, Leon Trotsky--the People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, and Lenin's closest ally in the leadership--approved of the modern style in architecture and other avant-garde movements, considering abstract forms of modern art capable of expressing the spirit of the Bolshevik Revolution. For Trotsky, the innovative use of new materials and forms of Constructivism offered an exellent expression of the dynamic progress of the Revolution.[270] Unlike Lenin, Trotsky in his major statement of the early 1920s, *Literature and Revolution*, defined the place of art in a revolutionary society as one of relative freedom. *Literature and Revolution* contained penetrating analyses of Futurism,

---

[268] Brandon Taylor, *Art and Literature Under the Bolsheviks*, vol. 1, *The Crisis of Renewal 1917-1924* (London: Pluto Press, 1991), 33.

[269] Lenin's observations concerning art are discussed in Clara Zekin, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), 12-13. Unlike Lenin, Bukharin argued that free competition of all artistic associations is the only possible way for the creation of a proletarian culture. He also propogated a cooperation with the bourgeosie in the field of art (See I.M. Mikhailov, "O konsolidatsii proletarskikh sil v oblasti izoiskusstva," in *Voprosy razvitiia proletarskogo iskusstva* [Moscow: Izdatel'stvo kommunisticheskoi akademii, 1931], 44-45).

[270] *Literature and Revolution* was published late in 1923. See Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*, trans. Rose Strunsky (New York: International Publishers, 1925), 218. See also Paul N. Siegel, *Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art* (New York: Path Finder Press, Inc., 1970).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tatlin's Tower of the III International, and avant-garde writing. Trotsky did not believe that art should be controlled by the party, and stated that art should not be judged by its social utility but by the law of art. Trotsky stated: "It is wrong to approach art in the same way as politics... because it has its own ways and methods, its own laws of development...."[271] He also felt that a special proletarian art would never exist because the proletariat in bourgeois society is an impoverished class which is not able to create its own culture.[272]

As many recent studies have pointed out, by 1922 Suprematists, Constructivists, and Productivists, as well as many unaffiliated experimental artists who had benefited from the patronage of Lunacharsky' s administartion at Narkompros had entered a period of uneasy reassessment. Kachurin in her dissertation[273] revised the received idea that the early Soviet era, through the mid-1920s, was a period of relative creative freedom and artistic experimentation encouraged by a policy of neutrality towards all the arts and equal financial and ideological

---

[271] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 66.

[272] After Lenin's death, Stalin would have Trotsky expelled from the party in 1928. Trotsky and his followers were accused by Stalinists of being supporters of "art for art's sake."

[273] See Kachurin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

support issuing from the Soviet State. Kachurin demonstrated that the early Soviet period was characterized, instead, by restrictive measures aimed at curtailing, circumscribing, and ultimately controlling all activities in the sphere of the visual arts, thus challenging the conception that the 1920s and 1930s were fundamenatlly distinct periods of Soviet cultural policy. Another scholar, Roger Pethybridge, has also argued that beginning in 1922 the Bolsheviks began to strive for ideological and political dominance and their efforts infiltrated the cultural sphere.[274] The 1990 monograph *Culture and Power in Revolutionary Russia* by Christopher Read[275] also reveals the process by which systematic control over intellectual life was effected by 1922. Taylor noted that 1922 was "...the very year in which the avant-garde or 'left' groups began to feel the winds of change, and in which Soviet art began to diversify into many groups, affiliations, and styles." [276]

In fact, already in April of 1919, a gathering of a proposed Soviet Union of Workers in Science, Art, and

---

[274] Roger Pethybridge, "Concern for Bolshevik Ideological Predominance at the Start of NEP," in *Russian Review* 41, no.4 (October 1982): 445-453.

[275] Christopher Read, *Culture and Power in Revolutionary Russia: The Intelligentsia and the Transition from Tsarism to Communism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

[276] Bown and Taylor, introduction to *Art of the Soviets*, 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Literature adopted the resolution, "On Futurism," published in *Pravda* on 9 April 1919. This resolution described futurism and cubism as non-proletarian art and called upon Narkompros to reduce the influence of these forms. Bown pointed out that by 1922 the Communist Party "increasingly imposed itself in all spheres of life, not least on the arts."[277] As another case in point, on 6 June 1922 *Glavlit*(Central Administartion for Literary and Publishing Affairs), the main censorship body, was created. It controlled the production of posters and mass-produced sculpture as well as literature.

As Bown pointed out, from 1922 to 1929, a period roughly co-extensive with NEP itself, the political conditions simply did not exist for a single narrow line to be imposed upon the arts.[278] Although during the NEP period there continued to be outposts of abstract or experimental activity in the arts, by the mid-1920s there was increased emphasis on social and political content in the visual arts and the new societies of young artists that sprang up in

---

[277] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 64-66.

[278] In 1927, a critic P. Pel'she in his book *Problemy sovremennogo iskusstva* (Problems of Contemporary Art) pointed out that the Soviet government has specific policies on all areas of Socialist construction except art. Claryfing what he means under the term "artistic policy," Pel'she mentions the following: evaluation of art as social and ideological phenomena; determination of the place and meaning of art in society; the principal attitude towards the artistic associations and artists from various social classes. (See P. Pel'she, *Problemy sovremennogo iskusstva* [Moscow: Moskovskoe teatral'noe Izdatel'stvo, 1927].)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Moscow from 1921 onwards were "moving away from the idiom of the left and towards a revival of the concept of 'realism."[279]

In 1928, experimental artists and critics started a campaign against the Soviet realist painting of sociopolitical themes associated with the group AKhRR (Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia).

AKhRR (1922-1932; renamed the Association of Artists of the Revolution in 1928), the most influential single body of artists in Russia, declared as its primary aim to present revolutionary Russia in a realistic manner by depicting the everyday life of the proletariat, the peasantry, and the Red Army.[280] The aesthetics of the AKhRR was based on the principle of the direct and truthful reflection of reality in subject-thematic forms, later laying the basis for Socialist Realism. Discussing AKhRR in the *Zhizn' iskusstva* (Life of Art) newspaper in Petrograd in February 1924, Malevich wrote:

> These artists are social annalists and depict events; the left-wing artists, however, are the creators of a whole new social structure and, thus, participants in revolutionary events... While we are not enemies of the

---

[279] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting,* 70.

[280] AKhRR was founded by Pavel Radimov and Evgenii Katsman with the active support of Civil War generals Voroshilov and Budennyi. As Bown noted, some AKhRR members had very close associations with the Communist Party, to the extent of enjoying permanent passes to the Kremlin. (Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 76).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia, our paths are different. Representational art lies at the heart of their method; for us, it is science and life itself."[281]

The 1928 issue of the journal *Revoliutsiia i kul'tura* edited by Bukharin, published an article by A.Kurella entitled "Artistic Reaction under the Mask of 'Heroic Realism'," in which the author severely criticized the work of AKhRR, calling their art "reactionary" and accusing the AKhRR members of blindly following the realistic traditions of the Itinerants and of the refusal to learn from the best examples of western modernist art.[282] Kurella commented that the ideologists of AKhRR confused "realism with naturalism and the 'heroic' with sentimentality."[283]

In defense of AkhRR, the critic E.M. Yaroslavsky, published an article "Against the Left Phrase and Unscrupulous Criticism" in *Revoliutsiia i kul'tura*.[284]

---

[281] *Zhizn' iskusstva* (Petrograd), no. 6 (5 February 1924): 24.

"Khudozhniki AkhRR—bytopisateli i izobraziteli sobytiia, levye zhe khudozhniki—sami tvortsy inogo byta i uchastniki revoliutsionnykh sobytii...AKhRRu my ne vragi, no puti nashi razlichny: u nikh v osnove 'izobrazitel'nost', u nas—nauka i sama zhizn'."

[282] A. Kurella, "Khudozhestvennaia reaktsiia pod maskoi 'geroicheskogo realizma'," in *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia* by P.I. Lebedev (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962), 371-376. Originally, the article appeared in *Revoliutsiia I kul'tura*, no.2 (1928).

[283] Kurella, "Khudozhestvennaia reaktsiia," 375.

[284] Em. Yaroslavsky, "Protiv levoi frazy i nedobrosovestnoi kritiki (Po povodu stat'i A. Kurrela)," in *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve*, by P.I. Lebedev, 376-384. Originally, the article appeared in *Revoliutsiia i kul'tura*, no. 2 (1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Yaroslavsky was soon joined by the active members of AKhRR, who attacked Kurella in their article "My dozhdemsia svoei kritiki" (We will Wait for Our Critics) also published in the same journal.[285] Yaroslavsky and the AKhRR members accused Kurella of bourgeois tendencies and "cosmopolitanism" and pointed out that Kurella was ignoring Lenin's thesis that art should be understandable for broad masses of people. The AKhRR members argued that Kurella refused to understand that the reasons for the crisis of the leftist art lay in the fact that the left artists employed an abstract language which the people did not understand.[286]

Supporting AKhRR, Robert Pel'she, director of art for *Glavpolitprosvet* and editor of *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* (Soviet Art) commented that the AKhRR "gained the respect of all those who are not suffering from the mental disease of the 'left' radicals, and for having fought against Futurism, Cubism, Expressionism, Verism, Dadaism, Suprematism, against foolishness and laziness, against careless

---

[285] Members of AKhRR, "My dozhdemsia svoei kritiki," in *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve*, by P.I. Lebedev, 385-391. Originally, the article appeared in *Revoliutsiia i kul'tura*, no. 3 (1928).

[286] Members of AKhRR, "My dozhdemsia svoei kritiki," 389.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indifference and doubt; for all of which AKhRR substitutes quality, responsibility and craft."[287]

During the same period, members of the section of Literature and Arts of *Komakademiia* (Communist Academy) with Vladimir Friche (1870-1929)[288] as its head, tried to defend the existence of modernist art on a scientific basis. In March of 1928, the section, with Friche as a moderator, organized a panel discussion on the issue of the current situation in contemporary Soviet art and the goals of the artists. In his introduction, Friche declared thematic pictures on ideological topics as vicious and juxtaposed painting with such "practical" areas as photography, cinema, architecture and design, stating that these forms are socially useful while painting is a pure individualistic form of creation. In future Socialist society, Friche believed, there will be no place for easel painting, sculpture, or graphic arts, which according to

---

[287] R. Pel'she, "One Must Be Able to Cope," quoted in Brandon Taylor, "On AKhRR," in *Art of the Soviets*, 65.

[288] Vladimir Friche, a Moscow State University Professor, was the head of the literary department of the Institute of Red Professors and the head of the literary section of the Komakademia (Communist Academy). Between 1928 and 1929, Friche was appointed Editor-in-Chief of the journals *Literatura i marksizm* and *Pechat' i revoliutsiia*. He was the editor of the first two volumes of *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia* (Literary Encyclopedia), published in 1929-30. Friche's literary works exemplify the first experiments in the application of Marxist theory to critical research of history and literature.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Friche, will completely lose their meaning and any reason for existence.[289]

Unlike Friche, Evgenii Katsman, a founding member of AKhRR and its Secretary, was convinced that the "art of the Revolution is first and foremost an ideological art." He wrote that "everything coming from the VKhUTEIN [Higher Artistic Technical Institute] is ninety percent harmful," and called its professors "aesthetes and apolitical people in conflict with the Revolution." Furthermore, he added: "the bourgeoisie is ruling Europe, while the proletariat is our ruling class. How then can our Soviet artists be in any way similar to the Europeans?"[290]

By 1928, when AKhRR received official permission from the Communist Party to open branches across the country, it had established itself as the dominant force in the Soviet art world.[291] As Taylor has pointed out, during the decade after 1922 AKhRR came nearer than any other visual art organization to becoming an "official" or state

---

[289] *Iskusstvo v SSSR i zadachi khudozhnikov: Disput v kommunisticheskoi akademii*, in *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve*, by P.I. Lebedev, 42. Text of the discussion was originally published in Moscow in 1928.

[290] Evgenii Katsman, "K voprosu ob AkhRovskoi samokritike: stranitsy iz dnevnika," *Iskusstvo v massy*, (Moscow: Khudozhestvennoe izdatel'skoe aktsionernoe obshchestvo AkhR), nos. 3-4 (1929): 37-38.

"V Evrope gospodstvuet burzhuaziia, u nas—proletariat. Kak zhe nashi sovetskie khudozhniki mogut byt' pokhozhi na evropeiskikh?"

[291] Bown and Taylor, introduction to *Art of the Soviets,* 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

organization and it was increasingly favoured by the leading faction of the Communist Party after about 1925-6. AKhRR embraced more artists, produced more art and held more exhibitions than any other group at that time.[292]

As Bown has argued, "the years 1928-9 marked the Great Divide for Soviet society: between collective leadership and the dictatorship of Stalin alone, between a mixed economy and the rigours of full-blown socialist transformation, between a degree of free speech and none at all."[293] With the downfall and banishment of Trotsky, the political defeat of Bukharin, and the forced resignation of Lunacharsky from his post as Commissar of Education, the policy of artistic pluralism had ended and was now directed towards management from above.[294]

In November of 1930, a faction of the All-Union Communist Party of AKhR[295] proposed a project of the platform for "consolidation of the proletarian elements in the visual arts," entitled *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo* (For

---

[292] Taylor, "On AKhRR," 51.

[293] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 110.

[294] Ibid., 111.

[295] In 1928 AKhRR changed its name to AKhR—Association of Artists of the Revolution, and in 1929 it established its own journal *Iskusstvo v massy* (Art to the Masses).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Proletarian Art).[296] This platform contained some major theoretical statements pertinent to the ideology of many realistically-oriented artists of the time. Discussing the historical role of the leftist artists, the platform labeled members of the Jack of Diamond group, the Suprematists and other *bespredmetniki* (advocates of objectless art) as "formalists."[297] The *Proletarian Art* platform pointed out that futurist artists were initially fascinated with the "destructive side of the first phases of the Proletarian revolution in the atmosphere of the open and fierce struggle of the old intelligentsia... against the Soviet power." They equated the Revolution "...with their own destructive tasks in the arts and thus declared themselves to be the allies of the Proletariat--the "Left Front of the Arts." As these "allies" were absolutely "alien to the final goals of the Proletariat and did not understand the real goals of the Proletarian Revolution, however, "they were soon "thrown off the historic path"-- the platform declared.[298] The next group, which the authors of the

---

[296] *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo: Proekt platformy dlia konsolidatsii proletarskikh sil na izo-fronte, Fraktsiia VKP (b), AkhR, OMAKhR, i OkhS* (Moscow-Leningrad: IZOGIZ, 1930), 3-31.

[297] Ibid., 7.

[298] Ibid., 7-8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

platform labeled "bourgeois formalists" (propagators of the analytical method), shared "in the temporary success of the Futurists." The authors of the platform further contended:

> In an atmosphere of deep ideological crisis and the flight of the reactionary bourgeois academics from educational institutions,... these innovators-formalists, who razed to the ground old bourgeois narrative art, have gained the sympathy of the revolutionary petit-bourgeois artistic youth, and with their assistance completely took over artistic institutions...Jack of Diamonds, Cezannists of all kinds, artists practicing nonrepresentational art, Suprematists, Cubists, artists producing counter-reliefs--all represented a unified front of artists, who denied the ideological tasks of art and who were not connected ...with the ideas of the proletarian revolution.[299]

The authors of the platform noted that together with the Futurists, these artists represented the modernist wing of bourgeois art. Severe criticism was also directed toward the artists of *Lef*, October, and OST (Society of Easel Artists). Criticizing Lef, *For the Proletarian Art* stated: "*Lef*...continued the destructive tendency of 'analytical'

"gruppa khudozhnikov, futuristov, ... byla stikhiino uvlechena razrushitel'noi storonoi deiatel'nosti pervykh etapov proletarskoi revoliutsii, uvidela v nikh sovpadeniie so svoimi razrushitel'nymi zadachami v oblasti iskusstva i ob'iavila sebia soiuznikom proletariata—'levym frontom iskusstva.' "

"Buduchi chuzhdymi konechnym tseliam proletariata, ne ponimaia sushchestva proletarskoi revoliutsii.../oni/...byli sbrosheny...s istoricheskikh putei."

[299] Ibid., 8.

"V usloviiakh ideinogo krakha i begstva reaktsionnykh burzhuaznykh akademikov iz uchebnykh zavedenii aktivnoe formotvorchestvo etikh novatorov-formalistov, razrushavshikh staroe burzhuaznoe illiustrativnoe iskusstvo, pomoglo im ovladet' simpatiiami togdashnei revoliutsionnoi melko-burzhuznoi khudozhestvennoi molodezhi, a cherez nikh i khudozhestvennymi vuzami... 'Bubnovo-valettsy', sezannisty raznykh tolkov, bespredmetniki, suprematisty, kubisty, kontrrel'efshchiki i t.p. predstavliali soboi edinyi otriad iskusstva, otritsavshii ego ideologicheskie zadachi i nikakoi storonoi ne sviazannyi s ideiami proletarskoi revoliutsii."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

art, propagating formalist views. *Lef* artists, like other formalist schools, continued to transform art into the process of form-making, into the process of creation of utilitarian constructivist objects." [300] The platform stressed that although Lef was the first ideological group of the technical intelligentsia who greeted the Revolution, its members valued in this Revolution only technical progress.

Thus, it was concluded in the platform, *Lef* propagated "reactionary, bourgeois-formalist ideas," and its members were not able to become "an active creative force at the service of the Proletarian Revolution" since they "denied the social value of fine arts." [301]

In 1930, the Moscow VKhUTEMAS (Higher Artistic Technical Workshops) was closed down. This signified the ousting of the innovative experiments of the progressive art school from the Soviet pedagogy. Thus, by the early 1930s, the avant-garde artists, who initially supported the

---

[300] Ibid.

"Prodolzhaia razrushitel'nuiu tendentsiiu tak nazyvaemogo 'analiticheskogo' iskusstva, stoia na formalistskikh pozitsiiakh, leftisty sviazyvali sebia s revoliutsiei...oni prodolzhali, podobno formalistskim shkolam, vytravliat' ideinuiu sushchnost' iskusstva, prevrashchaia ego v protsess formotvorchestva, v protsess sozdaniia konstruktivno-utilitarnykh veshchei."

[301] Ibid.

"...protaskivaia reaktsionnye, burzhuazno-formalistskie ustanovki i, otritsaia izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, ne smogli stat' aktivnoi tvorcheskoi siloi na sluzhbe proletarskoi revoliutsii."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bolsheviks and the Soviet regime en masse, were loosing their influence in Soviet society. The critic A. Mikhailov in his 1932 book *Izoiskusstvo rekonstruktivnogo perioda* (Visual Arts in the Period of Socialist Reconstruction) pointed out that if in 1928 a questionnaire addressed to Soviet artists revealed that most of them did not accept the idea of "proletarian art," then now (in 1931) "no one denies its rapid development." According to Mikhailov, the main characteristics of proletarian art is "proletarian content, a reflection of contemporary life from the point of view of the Marxist outlook."[302] Mikhailov claimed that "bourgeois-oriented artistic organizations...no longer exist"[303] and called for "the further development of the struggle against bourgeois ideology."[304]

By the mid 1930s, any artist experimenting with modernist styles was accused of being a "formalist," which by then became a serious accusation, since "formalism" was now clearly identified with bourgeois ideology and "decadence." As P. Riabinkin wrote in his 1932 article in the journal *For the Proletarian Art*: "Formalism... eliminates the class content of our Socialist reconstruction and is

---

[302] A. Mikhailov, *Izoiskusstvo rekonstruktivnogo perioda* (Moscow/Leningrad: OGIZ-Izogiz, 1932), 47.

[303] Ibid., 3.

[304] Ibid., 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

characterized by anti-proletarian influences. The fight against Formalism should be conducted within the framework of serious theoretical thought and complete ideological transformation of the world outlook."[305]

By the beginning of the 1930s, the socio-political situation in children's literature was identical to the one that had developed in all the major arts. On December 9, 1933, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a resolution *On the Publishing of Children's Literature*, which stated that "the flaws in children books, noted in a number of Central Committee decisions, have not yet been eliminated."[306] It was decreed that children's publishing should be consolidated into a single children's publishing house which would make decisive improvements in design, "rooting out shoddy hack-work and formalist frills."[307]

After 1932, the "witch hunt" in the visual arts and literature, including children's literature and book design, was initiated, and a Stalinist repressive policy

---

[305] P. Riabinkin, "Za sozdanie podlinno proletarskogo plakata," *Za proletarskoe* iskusstvo, no.6 (1932): 2-4.

"Formalizm...stiraet klassovoe soderzhanie nashego stroitel'stva...Eta bor'ba mozhet dostignut' real'nykh uspekhov lish v tom sluchae, esli ona poidet po linii ser'eznoi teoreticheskoi mysli, po linii ideinoi, partiinoi perestroiki mirovozzreniia khudozhnikov."

[306] *O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati, radio i televidenii: sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: Mysl', 1972), 412.

[307] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

related to the arts was gradually implemented, culminating in 1936.

In 1933, *Iskusstvo* journal published an article "The Path of Soviet Painting, 1917-1932" by M.Bush and A. Zamoshkina which established a canon of "acceptable" Soviet art for the Soviet art criticism. First of all, this article discussed experiments of left-wing artists of the 1910s and 20s in very negative form, stating, for example, that "...these formal experiments, completely isolated from the struggle for the power of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat... were incomprehensible and alien to the masses of workers."[308]

Secondly, this article stressed that the general line of Soviet art was towards Realism, the revolutionary narrative, and the thematic picture which was rejected by the left-wing artists.[309] AKhRR was declared the most important association that played a major role "in the reeducation of Soviet artists" while the members of the Society of Easel Artists were labeled as "propagating bourgeois formalism."[310]

---

[308] M. Bush and A. Zamoshkina, "Put' sovetskoi zhivopisi 1917-1932," *Iskusstvo* (Moscow), nos. 1-2 (1933): 23.

[309] Ibid., 50.

[310] Ibid., 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The relentless compaign against formalism was led by Osip Beskin, the head of the section of art criticism in MOSSKh (Moscow Section of the Union of Soviet Artists) and editor of its two art journals. In 1933, Beskin published the book, *Formalism in Art*, which became a major Soviet theoretical work on "formalism." Pointing out that "formalism" in art is currently "the main form of bourgeois influence," Beskin warned: "There is a real danger of distracting the proletarian public from the real tasks of today's life via formalist painting, and the distortion of the ideology of this spectator."[311] Beskin also stressed that "Form, as the language used by the formalists, reflects their consciousness" since "... an alien world outlook and flight from reality lead to Formalism."[312] He was convinced that the issue of formalism is "a political issue."[313] Justifying his opinion, Beskin wrote:

> Formalist works lead away from the dialectic and materialistic comprehension of reality into a fantasy-world of subjective images-symbols; they frequently distort images of Soviet life. Even when the formalists are trying to grasp Soviet life, they fall under the strong influence of idealism, separating form from

---

[311] Beskin, *Formalizm v zhivopisi*, 13.

"...my imeem na litso ves'ma real'nuiu opasnost' uvoda cherez formalistskie zhivopisnye polotna proletarskogo zritelia v storonu ot real'nykh zadach segodniashnego dnia, iskrivleniia emotsii, iskrivleniia ideologii etogo zritelia."

[312] Ibid., 13,18.

[313] Ibid., 67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> content. Thus, the issue of Formalism is first and foremost a political issue.[314]

Although Beskin admitted that some of the formalist artists are talented, he stated that "...their mastery and craftsmanship are bourgeois and alien mastery, which should be critically exposed.[315]

In January of 1936, the All-Union Committee of Visual Arts replaced Narkompros. Platon Kerzhentsev, a former Proletcult member was appointed its head. With the establishment of this Committee, the system of severe control over all institutions of visual arts was put in place.

Vladimir Kemenov, Director of Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery and the best-known spokesperson for Socialist

---

[314] Ibid., 68.

"...neposredstvenno vmeshivaiutsia v klassovuiu bor'bu, zatrudniaia proletariatu ee vedenie...eti kartiny: 1) uvodiat ot dialekticheskо-materialisticheskogo ponimaniia deistvitel'nosti, uvodia ot samoi deistvitel'nosti v vymyshlennyi mir sugubo-sub'ektivnykh obrazov-simvolov; 2) zachastuiu vozmutitel'no iskazhaiut nashu deistvitel'nost', 3) a kogda pytaiutsia k nei priblizit'sia, to delaiut eto, stoia na idealisticheskikh pozitsiiakh: sovershenno vykholashchivaiut ideinyi smysl , otryvaiut formu ot soderzahniia...Takim obrazom, my ne tol'ko vprave, no i obiazany, ne naviazyvaia kazhdomu dannomu khudozhniku-formalistu reaktsionnykh politicheskikh ustremlenii, rassmatrivat' tvorcheskii vopros of formalizme i kak politicheskii vopros."

[315] Ibid., 71.

"Priznavaia za nekotorymy formalistami masterstvo, my dolzhny otdavat' sebe otchet v tom, chto eto burzhuaznoe masterstvo, --chuzhoe masterstvo, podlezhashchee kriticheskomu razoblacheniiu."

Beskin also denied the role that the Soviet authorities played in prohibiting freedom of artistsic expression. He wrote: "There exists an opinion that Soviet artistic policy is conservative and tradition oriented. This is a disgusting opinion. The leading party of the world proletariat, the Bolsheviks,... and the country involved in the building of Socialism under no circumstances might be accused of being a hamper on the way of the development of new creative artistic methods." (Ibid., 82.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Realism, who by the mid 1930s became "the number one state art critic," continued to stigmatize "formalist elements" in both Western and Russian art in a series of articles that appeared in 1936 entitiled "Formalist Grimace in Painting," "Formalists and the Retrograde Public," and "Soviet Artists and their Themes," published in the newspapers *Pravda* and *Literaturnaia gazeta*.[316] Kemenov wrote: "The images, created by the formalist artists are anti-artistic because they are disfiguring nature, distorting the image of a man, and our Socialist life."[317]

He also stated: "The more the formalist artist is unable to portray reality the faster he has to demonstrate his originality... Formalism is not only unacceptable for us ideologically and politically but it is also unacceptable artistically."[318] After reading Kemenov's articles, Kerzhentsev ordered the reorganization of the permanent

---

[316] See V. Kemenov, "Formalistkoe krivlianie v zhivopisi," *Pravda*, 6 March 1936, 2; idem, "Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v zhivopisi," in *Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve*, ed. P. Lebedev (Moscow: OGIZ, 1937), 20-28 (first published in *Pravda*, 26 March 1936); idem, "Sovetskie khudozhniki i tema," *Pravda,* 21 October 1936; idem, "O formalistakh i 'otstalom' zritele," in *Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve*, 28-35 (first published in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 24 February 1936).

[317] Kemenov, "Formalistskoe krivlianie v zhivopisi," 2.

"Obrazy, sozdannye formalizmom, antikhudozhestvenny prezhde vsego potomu, chto oni s vozmutitel'noi bezotvetsvennost'iu uroduiut prirodu, cheloveka, nashu sotsialisticheskuiu deistvitel'nost'."

[318] Kemenov, "Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v zhivopisi," 22-23.

"Chem bezpomoshchnei khudozhnik-formalist v raskrytii soderzhaniia, razresheniia obraza po sushchestvu, tem nazoilivee i bezzastenchivei toropitsia on domonstrirovat' svoi 'printsipy', prikhvastnut' 'original'nost'iu'...formalizm ne tol'ko ne priemlem dlia nas ideino i politicheski, no on bezuslovno antikhudozhestvenen."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exposition of the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, excluding the works of the "formalists" and emphasizing those by the Realist artists. Another infamous contribution to the campaign against formalism was made by P. Lebedev's essay *"Protiv formalizma v iskusstve"* ("Against Formalism in Art").[319]

On March 1, 1936, an editorial in the newspaper *Pravda* entitled "O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh," (On Artists-daubers) attacked Formalism in children's book design, initiating a severe reaction against avant-garde experiments in this area. Connecting Formalism in other types of visual arts with its presence in children's literature, *Pravda* pointed out:

> In painting and sculpture this type of art was referred to by the artists themselves as 'leftist.' It was pure formalist art. Its bourgeois nature manifested itself in the preference for any type of ugliness and perversion... In illustrations for children, formalist features are exposed to the highest degree. It is in this particular area that Formalism's internal emptiness, dreariness, and decay are clearly visible... Formalists disregard the wider audience. Not only don't they wish to be understood, they consider it an insult to be understood... Due to the patronage of a number of aesthetes—publishers, Formalism has strongly infiltrated children's books. Only a struggle against such leftist ugliness in art will clear the path to realistic design of real significance in children's books.[320]

---

[319] P. Lebedev, "Protiv formalizma v iskusstve," *Pod znamenem marksizma* (Moscow), no.6 (1936): 79-88.

[320] "O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia), nos. 3-4 (1936) 40-42. (Originally published in *Pravda*, 1 March 1936).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many Soviet art critics of the time considered Formalism in children's books to be the "biggest threat," and they believed it could do the "the most damage" because there are thousands and thousands of copies of children's books, circulating across the country. [321]

2.2. Children's Book Designs by El Lissitzky and Georgii Echeistov

While El Lissitzky (1890-1941) made a great contribution to the Russian avant-garde as a painter, an architect, an advertisement designer, and a theoretician of abstract art, he is equally remembered for rethinking the entire concept of the printed book.[322] As scholars Roland Nachtigaller and Hubertous Gassner argued:

"V zhivopisi, v skul'pture eto 'iskusstvo' nazyvalo sebia nekogda peredovym, 'levym'. Ono bylo otkrovenno formalistichno. Ego burzhuaznuiu prirodu razoblachalo pristrastie ko vsiakomu urodstvu, ko vsiakoi izvrashchennosti...Nigde formalizm ne razoblachaet sebia do takoi stepeni, kak v risunkakh dlia detei. Imenno zdes' so vsei siloi vystupaiut ego vnutrenniaia pustota, mertvechina, gnil'...Formalist svysoka i s prezreniem otnositsia k real'nomu miru...Formalizm prenebrezhitel'no otnositsia k shirokoi auditorii. On ne tol'ko ne khochet byt' poniatnym,--on usmatrivaet v poniatnosti oskorblenie dlia sebia...Formalism zabralsia dovol'no gluboko v detskuiu knigu, pol'zuias' pokrovitel'stvom estetstvuiushchikh izdatelei. Tol'ko bor'ba s levatskim urodstvom v zhivopisi otkroet put' dlia podlinnogo i polnotsennogo khudozhestvennogo oformleniia detskoi knigi."

[321] See, for example, G.Romm, "Protiv formalizma v zhivopisi: Na sobranii Leningradskikh khudozhnikov," *Krasnaia gazeta* (Leningrad, evening issue), no.54, 7 March 1936, 2.

[322] Yve-Alain Bois in his article "El Lissitzky: Radical Reversibility" suggests that one should seek a common denominator beneath the multiple aspects of Lissitzky's work as the Jewish artist, the Suprematist, the advertising designer, the Soviet propaganda artist, and the theoretician of abstract art—rather than to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> The change in paradigm from the harmonically designed, richly embellished printed page, pictorially structured around a central axis, to a textually determined, almost haptic surface on which the black of the typographical elements is understood as a lofty, spacially organized construction--that is Lissitzky's great achievement at the beginning of the 1920s.[323]

I chose Lissitzky for my study because his work in book design expresses a strong social vision while it exemplifies at the same time new forms of visual expression.

Lissitzky's achievements in the area of typography had a powerful influence on many progressive artists in Europe and America, including Laszlo Moholy-Nagy(1895-1946), Karel Teige(1900-1951), and Jan Tschihold (1902-74). Tschihold, the German typographer and design theorist, identified Lissitzky as a precursor of the "New Typography."

This chapter demonstrates how El Lissitzky implemented both his suprematist and constructivist views in the typographical design, exemplified by his two children's books, *Suprematicheskii skaz pro dva kvadrata* (The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares in Six Constructions),

---

think of him as diverse. Unlike Bois, Peter Nisbet's implicit thesis of the exhibition at the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard University seems to be that all of these various aspects of Lissitzky's work share no common ground. (See Yve-Alain Bois, "El Lissitzky: Radical Reversibility," *Art in America* [April 1988]: 160-177; *El Lissitzky: 1890-1941*, ed. Peter Nisbet [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums/Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1987]).

[323] Roland Nachtigaller and Hubertus Gassner, "3X3=1 Vesc Objet Gegenstand ," in Vesc' Objet Gegenstand, ed. Il'ja Erenburg and El Lisickij (Berlin 1922; reprint, Verlag Lars Muller Publishers, 1994), 36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1922, and *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations),1928. This chapter shows that for Lissitzky, children's book design was a means to extend the problems of spatial tension he confronted in his paintings.

Like the Constructivists, Lissitzky sought to align his art with the needs of the new revolutionary society. Unlike the Constructivists, Lissitzky did not believe that the design of utilitarian objects was the artist's true work. As an artist, Lissitzky was caught between the agitational and utilitarian goals of the Constructivists and the mysticism of his mentor, the Suprematist artist Kazimir Malevich. As the scholar Alexandra Shatskikh noted, Malevich, who was an opponent and denouncer of Constructivism, considered Lissitzky, after the latter adopted many Constructivist ideas, a "traitor" of Suprematism.[324]

By the early 1920s, Suprematism and Constructivism[325] were two major radical tendencies which called into

---

[324] See Alexandra Shatskikh, "Rukopisi Kazimira Malevicha iz sobraniia N.I. Khardzhieva," *Experiment*, vol. 5 (1999): 85. Also see Malevich's letter to Lissitzky of 1924, where Malevich is accusing Lissitzky of becoming "frightened of Suprematism" and falling under the spell of Rodchenko. Original letter is in the Khardzhiev archive, but the text is reprinted in *Experiment* 5 (1999): 152-154.

[325] Suprematist paintings were first exhibited in *0.10: The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings*, which opened in Petrograd in December of 1915.

According to Lodder, The Working Group of Constructivists, also known as the First Working Group of Constructivists, was formed in March 1921. This group, which coined the term "Constructivism," comprised Aleksei Gan, Varvara Stepanova, Aleksandr Rodchenko, Karl Ioganson, Konstantin Medunetsky, and the brothers Vladimir and Georgii Stenberg. (*Constructing Modernity: The Art and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

question the entire existing aesthetic legacy. In 1919, the artist Ivan Puni (Jean Pougny) (1894-1956), writing about various leftist artistic groups, clearly distinguished these two major movements, referring to one as "Suprematism" and the other as "works from various materials, such as counter-reliefs, metal, wood, and cardboard."[326]

What the two artistic groups representing these tendencies had in common was the aim of revolutionizing art. They were divided, however, on the question of the function of art in society, opposing each other in their concepts of the practicality and utility of created things. As the scholar Christina Lodder noted, Constructivism originated in Russia in a climate characterized by a cultural idealization of engineering.[327] Constructivists shared a commitment to the Marxist, materialist viewpoint.[328] As Aleksandr Rodchenko, the leading Constructivist artist, wrote: "We were rebelling against accepted canons, techniques, tastes and values... We had a vision of a new world, industry, technology and science. We

---

Career of Naum Gabo, ed. Martin Hammer and Christina Lodder [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000], 83.)

[326] Puni, "Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom levom iskusstve."

[327] *Constructing Modernity*, 82.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were inventors and transformers of the world... We created new concepts of beauty and broadened the concept of art itself... We were opposed because of our slogans of "death to art, long live production!"[329] Lodder pointed out that in their draft program of 1 April 1921, written by Aleksei Gan, the Constructivists proclaimed a new synthesis of art and industry, relegating their purely artistic explorations to the status of of "laboratory work," as a prelude to practical participation in the industrial manufacture of useful objects.[330] As Lodder argues: "From the start...the Constructivists were concerned not merely to promote a new aesthetic, but to demonstrate their potential capabilities as designers of real objects and structures."[331]

Whereas the Constructivists elevated the concept of socially useful utilitarian art to the highest artistic virtue, Suprematists strove to limit art to the "supremacy of pure feeling" and propagated the cosmic, universal dimension of the Suprematist utopia with its highly esoteric ideas. In his famous essay, "From Cubism and

---

[328] Ibid.

[329] Aleksandr Rodchenko, unpublished typewritten manuscript, Mayakovsky Museum, Moscow, quoted in Szymon Bojko, *New Graphic Design in Revolutionary Russia* (New York and Washington, Praeger Publishers, 1972), 19.

[330] *Constructing Modernity*, 84. See also Aleksei Gan, *Constructivism* [Extracts], 1922, in John E.Bowlt, *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, 214-225.

[331] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Futurism to Suprematism. The New Realism of Painting," published in Moscow in 1916, Malevich stated: "... intuitive creation has no utilitarian purpose... The forms of Suprematism, the new realism in painting, are already proof of the construction of forms from nothing, discovered by Intuitive Reason."[332] In his other essay, dated December 15, 1920, which served as a preface to his book of thirty-four lithographed suprematist drawings, Malevich wrote:

"... suprematist forms... are no longer relevant to the earth, and they can be treated and studied like any planet or complete system."[333] The program of Malevich's UNOVIS (Affirmers of the New Art) group echoed this statement: "Suprematism moves onto the construction of a world wide space."[334] In his essay "Suprematism" of 1924-26, Malevich noted that "Suprematism is a new, non-objective system of

---

[332] Kazimir Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism. The New Realism of Painting," in *Malevich on Suprematism: Six Essays: 1915 to 1926*, ed. Patricia Railing (Iowa City: The University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1999), 36-37. See also Kazimir Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Painterly Realism," 1915, in John E. Bowlt,*Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, 116-135; Troels Andersen, *Malevich* (Amsterdam:Stedelijk Museum, 1970).

"Intuitivnoe zhe tvorchestvo ne imeet utilitarnogo naznacheniia...Formy Suprematizma, novogo zhivopisnogo realizma, est' dokazatel'stvo uzhe postroiki formy iz nichego, naidennykh Intuitivnym razumom..."

[333] Kazimir Malevich, "Suprematism. 34 Drawings," in *Malevich on Suprematism*, 85.

"Suprematicheskie formy...uzhe ne kasaiutsia Zemli, ikh mozhno rassmatrivat' i izuchat' kak vsiakuiu planetu ili tselostnuiu sistemu."

[334] Program of UNOVIS, Manuscript kept among the documents of Ilya Chashnik, Private archives, St. Petersburg, Russia, quoted in *In Malevich's Circle: Confederates, Students, Followers in Russia 1920s-1950s* (St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2001), 28.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relations between elements through which sensations are expressed." [335] In the same essay, he also pointed out: "Each thing determined by social conditions is temporal but works arising from the sensations of art are outside time."[336]

Lissitzky, a loyal follower of Malevich, based his work on the system developed by Malevich. Lissitzky had already been introduced to Malevich in 1917, when both artists worked for the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and it was Lissitzky who initiated the invitation to Malevich to teach at the Vitebsk School of Art. Marc Chagall's departure from Vitebsk, and the subsequent arrival of Malevich had a major influence on Lissitzky who under Malevich's influence abandoned his figurative mode. Malevich arrived in Vitebsk in October 1919, and Lissitzky switched from Chagall to Malevich, like many other Chagall's students, joining the UNOVIS group and becoming Malevich's desciple.[337]

---

[335] Kazimir Malevich, "Suprematism," in *Malevich on Suprematism*, 101.

[336] Ibid., 106.

[337] There is extensive literature on Malevich's activities in Vitebsk and the history of UNOVIS . See: Tatyana Goryacheva, "UNOVIS: "We Will be Like Fire and will Give the Force of the New," in *Malevich's Circle:Confederates, Students, Followers in Russia 1920s-1950s*, ed. Irina Karasik (St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2001), 13-23; N. Gugnin, "Poslednii god deiatel'nosti Vitebskogo khudozhestvenno-prakticheskogo instituta (1922-1923 uch. God)," in *Sbornik vystuplennyia na navukovoi kanferentsyi prysvechanai 75-goddzyu Vitebskai mastatskai skoly* (Vitebsk, 1994); "K istorii pedagogicheskoi deiatel'nosti K.S. Malevicha," Introductory article by Galina

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1920, Lissitzky published two articles, "Suprematism of Creativity," and "Suprematism in World Reconstruction" in the UNOVIS almanac. In the latter, Lissitzky speaks of the artist as a visionary "who holds the whole world within himself."[338] Lissitzky's longstanding commitment to his mentor Malevich is also expressed in his series of twelve color lithographs[339] which use as their point of departure the famous 1913 Futurist opera *Victory Over the Sun*, for which Malevich created costume and set designs.

The writer and the close friend of Lissitzky's Berlin days Ilya Ehrenburg, writing about Lissitzky, emphasized that Lissitzky also had "an unshakable faith in Constructivism."[340] Lissitzky's *Prouns* (an acronym for "Project for the Affirmation of the New") represent a cross

---

Demosfenova, *Stranitsy istorii otechestvennogo dizaina. Tekhnicheskaia estetika*. Trudy VNIITE, Edn.59, Moscow, 1989, pp.143-170; T.V. Kotovich, *Malevich. Klassicheskii avantgard. Vitebsk-4*, Posviashchaetsia 80—letiiu UNOVISa, (Vitebsk: Vitebskii oblastnoi kraevedcheskii muzei), 2000; A. Shatskikh, "Malevich v Vitebske," *Iskusstvo*, no. 11 (1988): 38-43; idem, *Vitebsk: Zhizn' iskusstva, 1917-1922* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2001); E. Trusova, "Vitebskaia khudozhestvennaia shkola v arkhivnykh dokumentakh," in *Sbornik vystuplennyia na navukovoi kanferentsyi prysvechanai 75-goddzyu Vitebskai mastatskai skoly* (Vitebsk, 1994).

[338] El Lissitzky, "Suprematism in World Reconstruction," reprinted in English translaton in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902-1934*, ed. John E. Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 158.

[339] This series of lithographs was published in Hannover, Germany, by R.Leunis and Chapmann in 1923. Lisstzky developed this series from a set of watercolors that were exhibited in Berlin in 1922. The series, conceived as an electromechanical peepshow, became known as the "Puppet Portfolio."

[340] Ilya Ehrenburg, *Liudi, gody, zhizn': Vospominaniia v trekh tomak*h, vol. I (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1990), 393.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

between Constructivist and Suprematist ideals.[341] Lissitzky wrote that he created the *Proun* out of the square and the circle. In these geometrical compositions, the focus is on a complex notion of simultaneous perception and the issue of a single perspective as well as traditional pictorial space is denied. Lissitzky's *Prouns* were a link between painting and architecture.

The German scholar Hubertus Gasner in his essay for the 1994 facsimile edition of *Veshch* (Object)[342] discusses Lissitzky's significance as a Constructivist artist, thus updating Christina Lodder's position towards Lissitzky. Lodder mentions only Lissitzky's work for the 1928 *Pressa* Exhibition in Cologne in the context of Constructivist art in her important study of Russian Constructivism.[343]

Gasner argues that the concept of the Proun had already made its appearance in Lissitzky's children's book *Suprematicheskii skaz pro dva kvadrata* (The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares in Six Constructions). He points out that in this book for the first time, axonometric constructions and architectural renditions of suprematist

---

[341] The first Proun paintings were reproduced as a set of lithographs and published in the first Proun Portfolio in 1921. Many of the Prouns exist as studies in gouache and watercolor, as lithographs, or as fully developed paintings on canvas.

[342] Nachtigaller and Gassner, "3 X 3=1 Vesc' Object Gegenstand."

[343] Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, 191-2, 225-6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

planar rhythms are united with elements of typesetting and combinations of lines, although the letters still lead a balancing, self-contained life underneath the Proun constructions. Therefore, the images for Lissitzky's *Of Two Squares* **(II.2./Fig.1)** could be viewed as a bridge from Malevich's two-dimensional Suprematist painting to Lissitzky's own *Prouns*, created by architectural projection.[344] It is important to note that Lissitzky studied architecture at the Technische Hochschule in Darmstadt, Germany, from 1909 to 1914. He also studied at the Riga Politechnical Institute from about 1915 to 1917. This education could be perceived as a link to his ideology behind *Proun*, which handles the making of two-dimensional art as if it were three-dimensional. A major part of Lissitzky's architectural training was a study of axonometric projection, frequently used in architecture, in which receding lines remain parallel and do not meet in a vanishing point. As the scholar Yve-Alain Bois pointed out: "Rather than the metaphorical representation, by means of a vanishing point, of an unrepresentable infinity... axonometry makes one reflect on (and no longer *see*) infinity: it

---

[344] For a discussion of Lissitzky as an artist integrating the styles of Suprematism, Constructivism, and Rationalism, see S.O. Khan-Magometov, "A New Style: Three-dimensional Suprematism and Prounen" in *El Lissitzky, 1890-1941: Architect, Painter, Photographer, Typographer* (Eindhoven: Municipal Van Abbemuseum, 1990), 35-46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

suppresses and encompasses perspective as a limited possibility…"[345] Bois noted that Malevich, with very few exeptions, never used axonometry in his paintings and never concerned himself with representing volumes. While Malevich's art was entirely planimetrical, Lissitzky "…invoked axonometry in relation to Suprematism."[346]

The meaning, iconography, and method of reading of Lissitzky's *Of Two Squares* have been the subject of considerable recent scholarly attention. This chapter discusses and analyzes various readings by different scholars of the graphic conception and images of the book and demonstrates how *Of Two Squares* successfully combines Suprematist and Constructivist influences on Lissitzky. Finally, it establishes this book's place in the development of a new approach to children's book illustration, and examines how Lissitzky moved from his early, Chagall-inspired Jewish children's books to the abstract imagery of the Suprematist-influenced *Of Two Squares*.

One of the first comprehensive accounts of *The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares in Six Constructions* was

---

[345] Yve-Alain Bois, "El Lissitzky: Radical Reversibility," *Art in America* (April 1988): 172.

[346] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the 1990 interdisciplinary study by Patricia Railing, which provided much of the groundwork for studies that followed.[347] Various aspects of this book have been also examined by such Russian scholars as P.Dul'sky and Ya. Meskin, Nikolai Khardzhiev, Vasilii Rakitin, and Evgeny Steiner as well as by the Western scholars such as Yve-Alain Bois, Gerald Janecek, Peter Nisbet, Victor Margolin, Roland Nachtigaller, and Hubertus Gassner.[348]

Lissitzky's *Of Two Squares* was conceived in Vitebsk in 1920 while the artist was lecturing on typography at the Vitebsk School of Art and was a working member of UNOVIS. However, the book was not printed until 1922.[349]

The predominance of Malevich's supporters at the Vitebsk School of Art meant that UNOVIS became the most influential structure there, and, therefore, Suprematism

---

[347] Patricia Railing, *More About Two Squares* (Forest Row, East Sussex: Artists Bookworks and Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990).

[348] Dul'sky and Meksin, *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige*, 94;. Nikolai Khardzhiev, "El Lissitzky-konstruktor knigi," in *Iskusstvo knigi, 1958-60* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1962), 154- 155; Vasilii Rakitin, "Dva eksperimenta Lissitskogo," *Detskaia literatura*, no.11 (1970): 46; Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades*, 25-32; Yve-Alain Bois, "El Lissitzky: Reading Lessons," *October* 11 (winter 1979): 113-128; Gerald Janecek, *The Look of Russian Literature: Avant-Garde Visual Experiments, 1900-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 202; *El Lissitzky: 1890-1941*, ed. Peter Nisbet (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums/Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1987): 25-26; Victor Margolin, "El Lissitzky's Berlin Graphics," in *Voices of Revolution: Collected essays*, ed. Patricia Railing (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2000), 188-189.; Nachtigaller and Gassner, "3 X 3=1 Vesc,' 34.

[349] According to the scholar Yve-Alain Bois, the reasons that *Of Two Squares* was printed in Berlin two years later after it was conceived are primarily economic. In 1920, at the height of the Civil War, paper was scarce. There were also technical difficulties, since manual lithography widely used in Russia at the time was incapable of producing the desired precision and evenness of inking. (Bois, "El Lissitzky: Reading Lessons,"116).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

became recognized as the important modern art movement. Publication of the essays on the theory of art was one of the tasks of UNOVIS. The UNOVIS almanac announced Lissitsky's *The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares in Six Constructions* (in all languages) as one such planned publication.

Of Two Squares came out of the tradition established by the Futurist artists and their books as well as out of experiments of Russian Suprematist artists. The many dynamic publications by the German Dadaists of the time also may have had an impact. The book's subject was related to Lissitzky's 1919-20 poster *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*, where the image is as dynamic and active as the words **(II.2/Fig.2)**.

In the design for *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*, Lissitzky's intent was to extend the meaning inherent in suprematist paintings to a new political context. For Lissitzky, unlike Malevich, what was important was the link between arts and politics.

Like many progressive Russian artists of the time, Lissitzky identified with the general outlook of the political revolutionaries and enlisted his art in support of the radical new regime. After the Revolution, he became a member of the state commission for art, which gave him a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

great deal of influence on the development of cultural policy in the Soviet Union.

Conceived according to the laws of the Suprematist system, *Of Two Squares* at the same time reflected the ideas of the Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent triumph of the Bolsheviks in the playful form. It intended to draw children into a thrilling game: "Don't read the story, take paper, sticks, your building bricks and put it together, paint it, build it." Dedicated "to all, all children," the book is a fable about the cooperation of a black and a red square in the dispersal of absolute chaos and the establishment of new order.

In the cover design, Lissitzky formed the book title *About Two Squares* from the Russian word *Pro* (About), the number 2, and an image of the red square, thus creating a rebus out of the title. As Bois noted, each semantic unit must be read within a different frame of reference.[350] The design of the title page defied the rules of symmetry. The title which goes across diagonally connotes energy, force, and action.

Of Two Squares is a sequence of six "constructions," as Lissitzky called the visual compositions which parallel

---

[350] Ibid., 127.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the text. The sequence of pages is distinctly cinematic. It is known that Lissitzky was interested in Viking Eggeling's experiments with abstract films in 1920.

At the beginning of the book, the earth is represented as absolute chaos consisting of rectangular shapes leaning in different directions. The caption reads: "everything is black, anxious." On the following page, a red square, which signifies active force and power, slices into the chaos.

The symbolism of the suprematist square can be found in Malevich's theoretical writings, which, undoubtedly, Lissitzky was familiar with at the time of his close collaboration with his mentor. As Malevich stated, the suprematist square is the primary building block in the suprematist method.[351] He poetically called the square "a living, royal infant" and also noted that the square "is not a subconscious form" but "the creation of intuitive reason," "the face of the new art."[352] According to Malevich, "the three squares of Suprematism stand for definite views of the world and ways of constructing it... They have also acquired further meanings in a social context: black as the mark of economy; red as the signal of

[351] Malevich, "Suprematism," 101.

[352] Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism," 40.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Revolution; and white as pure action."[353] Malevich also noted that the black square signifies the fifth dimension in art.[354] *Of Two Squares* offers ample evidence that Lissitzky did not simply follow Malevich. From Malevich, Lissitzky learned to value the expressive power of geometric shapes. However, whereas Malevich used geometric shapes to signify emotional states, "sensations," Lissitzky gave them a narrative purpose – to promote ideas of the Bolshevik revolution.

Various scholars offered different interpretation of the symbolism of the squares in Lissitzky's *Of Two Squares*. The Russian scholar Vasilii Rakitin argues that the red square is a symbol of freedom.[355] Peter Nisbet rightly opposes the traditional interpretation of *Suprematist Tale Of Two Squares* which regards the red square as positive, embodying the revolution, and a black square as negative. As he noted, the sequence of scenes makes it clear that both squares participate in affirming the new order. According to Nisbet's reading, the black square probably stands for Suprematism and the red one signifies the

---

[353] Malevich, "Suprematism. 34 Drawings," 86.

[354] Ibid.

[355] Rakitin,"Dva eksperimenta Lissitzkogo," 46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

development in a revolutionary, Unovisian spirit.[356] However, as Bois proposes, the black square that comes to help the red square carry out the revolution, could be a reference to the abruptly terminated anarchist movement. Although anarchists were essential at the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution, they were later driven out in March 1921.[357]

Patricia Railing believes that the black square represents "economy and the zero, the end and the beginning of the new," while the red square represents "the new consciousness of space to which man must now aspire."[358]

According to Railing, these two squares "descend upon a black, three-dimensional city, old and traditional, perched on the edge of our globe."[359]

Victor Margolin argues that Lissitzky did not clearly identify the red and black squares as specific political or social forces.[360]

Margolin pointed out that more significant than the book's allegorical meaning is its innovative form. He noted that Lissitzky explored a new mode of reading by creating a

---

[356] Bois, "El Lissitzky: Radical Reversibility," 168.

[357] Ibid., 168-9.

[358] Railing, *More About Two Squares*, 27-28.

[359] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

different graphic syntax from that of the traditional book with its lines of horizontal text and ancillary illustrations. As Railing suggests, Lissitzky, in applying the laws of pictoral Suprematism to his graphic letter and word, created a suprematism of the letter and the word, a suprematism of typography.[361]

The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares was the first of Lissitzky's books in Russian to be published in Berlin in 1922. At the end of 1921, Lissitzky was sent to Germany as an informal ambassador from the Soviet government as he worked at the International Department of IZO Narkompros.[362] The Soviet government sought to restore contact with prominent members of the Western European avant-garde, which was interrupted by the seven-year period of war and blocade and to solidify support for the new communist regime amongst artists active in Germany.

---

[360] Margolin, "El Lissitzky's Berlin Graphics," 188.

[361] Railing, *More About Two Squares*, 38.

[362] Various scholars support this fact. See, for example, Rakitin, "Dva eksperimenta Lissitskogo," 46. Alan Birnholz was the first Western scholar to claim that Lissitzky was sent to Germany as an informal ambassador from the Soviet government (See Alan Birnholz, *El Lissitzky* [Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973], 141). As Steven Mansbach pointed out in his article on Lissitzky, it is evident that Lissitzky would have been an exellent choice to carry out such a mission since he spoke fluent German and had numerous contacts in Berlin. Moreover, as Mansbach noted, the Soviets had no official relationship at that time with the Weimar government; hence, employing an artist as emissary would make sense. Nevertheless, as Mansbach argues, no official documentation has to date been uncovered to verify this claim. (See Steven A. Mansbach, "A Universal Voice in Russian Berlin," in *Voices of Revolution*, ed. Patricia Railing [Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2000], footnote 5.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

From Berlin, Lissitzky had gone on to Weimar to attend the famous meeting of International Constructivists held on September 25, 1922. He also stayed in Holland, where he met members of the De Stijl group. The aesthetic program of the group was so close to Lissitzky's principles that he soon joined the group. While abroad, Lissitzky grew close to such painters as Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931), Hans Arp (1887-1966), George Grosz(1893-1959), and Lazlo Moholy-Nagy(1895-1946), among others. Through the initiative of Theo van Doesburg, the leader of De Stijl group, *Of Two Squares* was published for the second time in Dutch translation in 1922 in the October-November issue, Volume V, of *De Stijl*. Theo van Doesburg wrote a preface to the book, which functioned as an advertisement.

As Railing noted, the horizontal layout and the treatment of letters and their relationships in this second edition was very different from the first Russian language Berlin edition. However, the publication of this work in *De Stijl* is an indication of the international interest in Constructivist design, and, in particular, suggests an affinity between Russian Constructivism and Dutch De Stijl. A third edition in German was never published.

Lissitzky believed that the purpose and the content of a book should determine its structure. He compared a book

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

designed with regard to the purpose it is to serve with a building. In his letter written to Malevich in September 1919, Lissitzky expressed the opinion that in the age of the automobile and the airplane, the book should be transformed from a transmitter of information into a bearer of visually perceptable meanings.[363] In a short article entitled "Novaia kul'tura" (The New Culture), published that same year in the Vitebsk journal *Shkola i revoliutsiia* (The School and Revolution), Lissitzky wrote:" At the moment we have no books in which form corresponds to content. But surely the book is now everything. In our time it has become what the cathedral with its frescoes and stained glass... used to be, what the palaces and museums, whwere people went to look and learn, used to be. The book has become the monument of the present."[364]

In 1920, Lissitzky formulated his concept of the book design in the postface to the UNOVIS almanac: "...You should build the book as a body moving in space and time, as a dynamic relief, in which each page is a surface, containing forms; a new intersection and a new phase of the united

---

[363] Alexandra Shatskikh, "Lazar Markovich Lissitzky: Malevich and El Lissitzky—Leaders of UNOVIS," in *In Malevich's Circle*, 46.

[364] Lazar Lissitzky, "The New Cullture," in *Experiment/Eksperiment, A Journal of Russian Culture* (Los Angeles: Institute of Modern Russian Culture), vol.1 (1995): 261. Reprinted in English translation with the commentary by Peter Nisbet; originally published in Lissitzky, "Novaia kul'tura," *Shkola i revoliutsiia* (Vitebsk), nos. 24-25 (1919): 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

system should be formed during each turn [of the page]."[365] Lissitzky's typographic manifesto, which appeared in Kurt Schwitters' experimental publication *Merz* in July 1923, summarized some of his ideas which he had implemented in practice. Lissitzky stated: " The words on the printed sheet are learnt by sight, not by hearing..." He stressed that the artist should use "... economy of expression—optics instead of phonetics" and pointed out that "...the design of the book-space through the material of the type, according to the laws of topographical mechanics, must correspond to the strain and stresses of the content."[366]

Therefore, Lissitzky rejected ornamental book design of the World of Art artists and proposed Constructivist principles of book design, using innovative means of influencing ways of reading the book and employing only what was to be found in the compositor's type case. These principles are best revealed in a lesser known children's book *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations) **(II.2/ Fig.3)**. Lissitzky conceived this book in 1928 while he was vacationing with his family in Austria

---

[365] El Lissitzky, "Primechanie ne k etoi knige," *UNOVIS*, 1920, The State Treatyakov Gallery Manuscript Department, Moscow, F. 76, D. 9, L. 51.

[366] El Lissitzky, "Typography of Typography," in *Voices of Revolution*, 133. Originally published in *Merz* (Hannover), no. 4 (July 1923).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

after the strenuous effort of the Cologne *Pressa* exhibition. He planned to publish this book as a single strip with a two-page cover and seven folds. The book was never published and only watercolor sketches have survived. These sketches, while demonstrating mathematical operations, also accomplished an important ideological objective of promoting Socialism to children. In this book, type was used as a main visual element, and letters and numbers were transformed into the ideograms signifying human figures**(II.2/Fig.4)**. Letters-humans and numbers, combined in various ways, playfully explained the four arithmetic operations, simultaneously addressing such important socio--political concepts as solidarity of workers, peasants, and Red Army soldiers, or the friendship of the people of various nationalities of the USSR. "Addition," for example, is illustrated as follows: on one drawing an upper case "P" with arms and legs drawn in stands for "rabochii" (a worker), a letter "K" signifies "krestianin" (a peasant), and another "K" means "krasnoarmeets" (a Red Army soldier)**(II.2/ Fig.5)**.Their combination on the next drawing equals the concept of "three friends." On the other drawing, representatives of different nationalities of the USSR —a Turkmen,an Uzbek, a Byelorussian, a Ukrainian, a man from the Caucasus, and a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Russian-- are all grouped together on top of the emblem of the Soviet Union, the hammer and sickle; their combination equals the concept of the "USSR" (See **II.2/Fig.4**).

Four Arithmetic Operations is a perfect example of the "beam and line" typography, as modern elementary book and poster production was then called. This new sign-system, no matter how visually intriguing and unusual it may initially seem, does not work very well in a children's book, as it turns into a rebus rather than a clear explanation of arithmetic operations. It is difficult even for an adult to decipher some of the characters-signs that Lissitzky depicts and for children it is probably almost impossible. However, as Victor Margolin argues, Lissitzky's attempt to integrate the letterforms in his book designs into an overall syntactic order was his major contribution to the development of the new typography.[367]

Lissitzky's *Four Arithmetic Operations* is closely linked to Kurt Schwitter's book for children, *Die Scheuche Marchen* (The Scarecrow's Tale) produced by Apossverlag in Hannover, Germany, in 1925 **(II.2/ Fig.6)**. Lissitzky first visited Hannover in 1922, where he became friendly with Schwitters who had published Lissitzky's manifesto,

---

[367] Margolin, "El Lissitzky's Berlin Graphics," 193.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Typography on Typography," in *Merz 4* in July of 1923. In 1924, while Lissitzky was in Switzerland, the two men co-edited *Mertz 8-9*, entitled "Nasci."

It was Theo van Doesburg who suggested to Schwitters making a picture book using nothing but topographical elements. As the scholar Werner Schmalenback points out, Van Doesburg explicitly cited Lissitzky's *Dlia golosa* (For the Voice) as a precedent when discussing the project with Schwitters.[368] The result was *The Scarecrow*. Schwitters recited his new poem while van Doesburg laid out matches on the kitchen table, arranging them in the shape of a scarecrow. Elements from the type-case were chosen for emotional expressiveness: a diagonal "b" for feet, and a sharply angled "B" for the angry farmer's body. Never commercially published, the book went virtually unnoticed.

Lissitzky did not make the shift to the non-representational design *Of Two Squares* or to the constructivist "beam and line" typography of *Four Arithmetic Operations* abruptly; it was a rather gradual transition. He had arrived at his new Constructivist concept of the book only by 1919, although he began to work

---

[368] See Werner Schmalenbach, *Kurt Schwitters* (New York: Abrams, 1967), 180. Lissitzky's reputation as the founder of new principles of typography was assured after the publication of Vladimir Mayakovsky's *Dlia Golosa* (For the Voice) in early 1923 by the Berlin branch of the Moscow State Publishing House. The Gutenberg Society of Mainz elected Lissitzky as its member for his design of this book.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in book design as early as 1916, when he created a cover for a book of poetry by K. Bolshakov, *Solntse na izlete* (Dull Sun). Lissitzky created *Dull Sun* when he had not yet found his true direction, therefore, this design is characterized by an eclectic manner of adapting graphic principles of the Russian *Style Moderne*[369] to Cubism. Between 1917 and 1923, Lissitzky illustrated a number of Jewish children's books, exploring the possibilities of modernism within the Jewish cultural tradition **(IV.2/Figs. 7-9)**. In these books, Lissitzky employed the tradition of Jewish folk art, devoting much time to a study of its stylistic characteristics and playing a key role in developing professional Jewish art.[370]

Lissitzky's first Jewish children's book was *Siches Kholin* (Small Talk) by Moses Broderson, a children's story based on old Jewish folklore of Prague and published in the spring of 1917. The book was published in an edition of 110 numbered copies. A few copies were created in a form of a

---

[369] As Russian art historians E.A. Borisova and G.Yu. Sternin noted, the terms *novyi stil'*(new style), or *Style Moderne* were most often used by its contemporaries in referring to a movement that made its mark in Russia's visual arts in the 1890s-1900s and which was similar to Art Nouveau. (See E. A. Borisova and G.Yu. Sternin, *Russkii modern*. Moscow: Galart, 1994). E.I. Kirichenko also noted that the so-called "new style" in Russian turn-of-the-century architecture was known as the *Style Moderne*. (E.I. Kirichenko, *Russkaia arkhitektura, 1830-1910 godov* [Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1982].)

[370] For a discussion of Lissitzky's Jewish books see: Chimen Abramsky, "Yiddish Book Illustrations in Russia: 1916-1923," in *Tradition and Revolution: The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art 1912-1928*, ed. Ruth Apter-Gabriel (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1987), 61-71; Ruth Apter-Gabriel, "El Lissitzky's Jewish Works," in ibid., 101-125.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scroll, encased in a wooden casket, resembling that of Torah. The text was written by a professional scribe who writes Torah scrolls. Although he made use of the traditional form of a scroll, Lissitzky adapted it to a new purpose—a modern children's story. He also used a decorative device of slightly curved vertical rules separating column text, which was refined five years later for Lissitzky's and Ehrenburg's avant-garde journal *Veshch* (Object).

In all of Lissitzky's early children's book illustrations, including the Jewish folktale *Had Gadya* (Little Goat) published in Kiev in 1919, his dependence on the works of Mark Chagall was still obvious[371] **(II.2/Fig.9).** The eleven illustrations for *Had Gadya* include the arc of ribbons crowing the images, suggesting synagogue arches inscribed with sacred texts. They recall Hebrew manuscripts and reflect a World of Art concept of the book. While creating illustrations for *Had Gadya*, Lissitzky was also inspired by the Russian medieval illuminated manuscripts and *lubki*. In *Had Gadya*, the stylistic elements of folk art are subjected to modernist interpretation. However, neither Nisbet nor Bois see in the often flat and geometrized

[371] According to Russian scholar Alexandra Shatskikh, Lissitzky met Mark Chagall on 1 May 1919. (See Shatskih, "Lazar Markovich Lissitzky: Malevich and El Lissitzky—Leaders of UNOVIS," 45.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

flying figures of *Had Gadya* the antecedents of the abstract volumes depicted in Lissitzky's *Prouns*.[372] Bois argues that the so-called "cubism" of *Had Gadya* is totally superficial and bears no relation to the work of Braque or Picasso.[373] As Lissitzky's wife reported, Lissitzky himself dismissed his early Jewish book illustrations.[374]

In 1919, Lissitzky moved from Kiev to Petrograd, where he met Chagall, who convinced him to relocate to Vitebsk to teach architecture and graphic arts at the Vitebsk School of Art, opened by Chagall in January 1919.[375] However, rather than continuing to be Chagall's faithful imitator, Lissitzky abandoned all figuration in his art as of the fall of 1919 under Malevich's influence. Margolin rightly argues that it was Lissitzky's encounter with Suprematism, as well as the development of his own Proun paintings that led the artist to apply a new artistic language in his design for *Of Two Squares*. Lissitzky's children's book designs for *Of Two Squares* and *Four Arithmetic Operations* embody such principles of the Constructivists, as

---

[372] Bois, "El Lissitzky: Radical Reversibility," 165.

[373] Ibid.

[374] See Sophie Lissitzky-Kuppers, *El Lissitzky-Life, Letters, Texts* (London: Thames and Hudson; Greenwich, Ct.: New York Graphic Society, 1968), 20.

[375] The Vitebsk School of Art is often referred to as the People's College of Art in official documents. In 1920, it was called the Vitebsk Art Studios or Vitebsk Free Studios (VSOMAS). In 1921, it was renamed the Artistic-Practical Institute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

objectivity, clarity, and economy. These books demonstrate the closeness of formal concerns between Lissitzky and such Constructivist artists as Aleksandr Rodchenko, Liubov Popova, and Gustav Klutsis. In particular, the depiction of energized forms in space and the tension between surface and space was of interest to Lissitzky as well as to Constructivist artists. In retrospect, Lissitzky emerges as a central figure in the International Constructivist movement.

In 1926, in his essay "Our Book," Lissitzky wrote:

> With changes in the language, in construction and style, the visual language of the book changes also…. By reading, our children are already acquiring a new plastic language; they are growing up with a different relationship to the world and to space, to shape and to color; they will surely also create another book. We, however, are satisfied if in our book the lyric and epic evolution of our times is given shape. [376]

Like Lissitzky's children's books, the books created in the 1920s by Moscow artist Georgii Echeistov (1897-1946) are well representative of their time **(II.2/ Figs.10-11)**. Echeistov illustrated more than thirty children's books, however his name has not been mentioned in any of the major surveys of Soviet children's book illustration, although such Russian scholars as Yurii Molok and Evgenii Steiner

---

[376] El Lissitzky, "Our Book," in *Voices of Revolution*, 134, 137. Reprinted in English translation; originally published in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, Mainz, 1926-7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

briefly mentioned Echeistov's illustrations in their essays.[377]

A collector of Soviet children's books Mark Ratz published a short biographical essay of Echeistov which includes only titles, and sometimes brief description of Echeistov's books.[378] Therefore, in our discussion of the general development of book design in the 1920s towards non-representational imagery, it is important to demonstrate how Echeistov's children's book illustrations successfully assimilate the creative principles of Suprematism and Constructivism.

After having finished in 1917 his initial art training at the Stroganov School of Decorative and Applied Arts where he studied wood sculpture, Echeistov took painting lessons from Boris Grigoriev in 1920. He became a member of OBMOKhU (Society of Young Artists, 1919-1922) which was organized by a group of students of the First Free Art Studios, principally by the students of such important avant-garde artists as Aristarkh Lentulov (1882-1943), Georgy Yakulov(1884-1928), and Rodchenko. The members of the society were such prominent Constructivists as

---

[377] See Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades*, 94, 115; and Molok, *Staraia detskaia knizhka*.

[378] Mark Ratz, "Grafika v detskikh knizhkakh Georgiia Echeistova," in *Illustratsiia*, ed. G.V. El'shevskaia (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1988), 140-148.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Konstantin Medunetsky (1899-1936), Rodchenko, and the Stenberg brothers, among many others.

Echeistov entered VKhUTEMAS where from 1922 to 1927 he studied wood engraving under Vladimir Favorsky (1886-1964). Echeistov's first children's book was *Shokolad* (Chocolate) by V. Ilyna, published in 1923, when Echeistov, still a VKhUTEMAS student, started working actively in the field of book design. Echeistov's design for *Chocolate* was noticed by P.M. Dulsky and Ya.P. Meksin, who reproduced one of its illustrations in their 1925 book **(II.2/ Fig.12)**. In its strong linear quality, the stark juxtaposition of the massive black image of the train and the white background of the page, and the symmetrical geometric composition, cover design for *Chocolate* bears a clear resemblance to Rodchenko's and Mayakovsky's advertisements for various consumer goods.

In the mid-1920s, Echeistov worked on several books which were never published. One of them, mentioned in Osip Beskin's monograph under the working title *A Book about Geometrical Figures*, includes only sketches. Most likely, the starting point for Echeistov was Lissitzky's *Of Two Squares*, which Echeistov's book closely resembles. In 1925, upon his return from Germany, Lissitzky taught at VKhUTEMAS where Echeistov was a student.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In Echeistov's *Book about Geometrical Figures*, amusing human or rather anthropomorphic figures are composed of squares, circles, cylinders, cubes, and parallelograms: a fat man with a piece of watermelon in his hand, a watchman with flags, a juggler, and some strange machine-and manlike creatures which can be interpreted as robots **(II.2/Figs.10-11)**. The structure, dynamics and expressive gestures of the figures are expounded in twenty-three drawings in a simplified language.

Echeistov's experiments in creating highly geometricized images of human body are parallel to the ones of other Russian avant-garde artists of the 1920s, including *Suprematist Robots* by one of the most active members of UNOVIS David Jakerson[379] **(II.2/ Fig.13)** or the figure in Nina Kogan's stage design for the Suprematist ballet **(II.2/ Fig.14)**, or Rodchenko's 1924 costume designs for the unrealized production *We* by Evgenii Zamiatin.

In the mid 1920s, Echeistov also created twelve illustrations for the second unrealized book, *Otvazhnyi moriak* (A Brave Sailor). On the one hand, simplified geometrical treatment of the figure of the sailor and a

[379] David Jakerson (1896-1947) was a graphic artist, sculptor and designer. He studied under Yurii Pen in the mid-1900s and at the construction faculty of the Riga Polytechnic Institute. Between 1918 and 1922 he studied at the VKhUTEMAS, and joined the Moscow Union of Sculptors and Artists in 1918. That same year, Jakerson helped Marc Chagall to decorate Vitebsk for the first anniversary of the October Revolution, and in 1919, Chagall invited Jakerson to teach sculpture at the Vitebsk School of Art.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

seascape demonstrate a strong link with the leftist trends in visual arts of the time. On the other hand, Echeistov assimilates the stylistic elements of the Japanese woodblock prints, ukiyo-e, by silhuetting the figure of the sailor and an image of the boat against a flat neutral background and employing astute, unexpected composition and the negation of illusionistic space. Echeistov's interest in the Japanese prints most probably originated when he was a student of Vadim Falileev (1879-1948), a recognized master of woodblock print who carefully studied Japanese ukiyo-e.

In 1927, Echeistov created illustrations for Agnia Barto's book *Bratishki* (Little Brothers), developing the theme of internationalism **(II.2/Fig.15)**. In her book, Barto undescored the similarities among young people across the world. In various countries, each mother puts her little boy to bed and, according to the story, the boys of different races and nationalities dream of work, characteristic of their culture. The Soviet boy, for example, dreams of industrial workers in a factory while his Indian "brother" dreams of turbaned agricultural workers in a field with an ox. The writer discusses in verses such serious topics as exploitation of the workers,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the class struggle, the Socialist Revolution in the world, and the universality of children's experiences.

This book became popular and many new editions were produced. However, in 1933 Echeistov's illustrations were reviewed by I. Zusman, who criticized the artist's "formalist' approach to the book design.[380] The reviewer wrote that figures of "little brothers" in Echeistov's illustrations do not touch the ground but instead are "hanging up in the air." Zusman also commented that their proportions are degenerate, with excessively large heads. As for a "Soviet brother," Zisman sarcastically remarked, "...he is covered with some kind of a red rush." The reviewer also pointed out that Echeistov employed a "formalist" method of reversed perspective and that his manner of depicting a highly generalized and abstracted landscape with a complete lack of modeling is absolutely "absurd." Criticizing Echeistov's illustrations from the ideological point of view, Zusman complained that while depicting a labor, Echeistov, as a proud Soviet citizen, had to clearly contrast the hardness of the capitalist labor with a

---

[380] S. Bolotin and I. Zusman, "Knizhka o kotoroi ne sporiat," *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 8 (1933): 16-18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pleasure of the socialist one. According to Zusman, the artist did not succeed in doing so.

Thus, by the 1930s, Echeistov's illustrations were viewed by the contemporaries as "formalist" and lacking in ideological content. Nonetheless, the geometrical embodiment of Echeistov's illustrations recalls their close relation to Suprematist and Constructivist tendencies and serves as another vivid exemple of a general tendency towards nonrepresentational art in 1920s Russia.

2.3. Children's Book Design of Vladimir Lebedev (1891-1967).

Like Lissitzky's and Echeistov's children's book illustrations those by Vladimir Lebedev also reflected artistic tendencies of the 1920s toward linear and planar abstraction. In particular, Lebedev appeared to share a combination of political commitment and graphic wit with El Lissitzky. Although remaining figurative, Lebedev's illustrations are highly abstracted and influenced by Suprematism.

In the 1920s, Lebedev headed the artistic section of the editorial board of Detgiz (The State Publishing House of Editions for Children), defining its artistic direction

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and immensely influencing the development of children's book design in the years to come. Lebedev and his associates played a major role in the process of creating a new type of special literature for young readers. Challenging realistic traditions of book design, Lebedev and artists of his circle introduced Suprematist and Constructivist concepts into children's book design.

Such Soviet scholars as Nikolai Punin, V.Sushanskaia, E.Z.Gankina, Yurii Gerchuk, M.Flekel, and Vsevolod Petrov unanimously characterized Lebedev as one of the major Soviet artists of the 20th century, a founder of new Soviet poster and book design.[381] Lebedev is discussed as initiating innovative artistic principles in Soviet book illustration based on a thoroughly thought out system. While working in cubist and other modernist styles, Lebedev never abandoned the representational mode. No matter how schematic, abstracted, and stylized, the objects in his drawings are always clearly identifiable. As the artist Valentin Kurdov, who worked under Lebedev at the State

---

[381] See: N. Punin, *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev* (Leningrad: Komitet populiarizatsii khudozhestvennykh izdanii pri Gosudarstvennoi Akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury, 1928); V. Sushanskaia, "V.V. Lebedev kak khudozhnik detskoi knigi," in *O literature dlia detei* (Leningrad: Detgiz, 1958), 3: 139-162; E.Z. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1963), 99-106; Yurii Gerchuk, "Mir veshchei v risunkakh V. Lebedeva," in *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* (Moscow), no. 5 (1965); M. Flekel, "Vtoroe rozhdenie," in *Khudozhnik* (Moscow), no. 8 (1967); V. Petrov, *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1972). It is interesting to note that while Soviet scholars emphasized Lebedev's role in the development of Soviet art of the 1920s, their colleagues in the West rarely, if ever, mentioned his name.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Publishing House recalled in his memoirs, Lebedev stated in the early 1920s: "Nonrepresentational art should only help one to understand the real world. To create objectless works is as useful, as it is helpful to fast in order to start liking the taste of simple bread."[382]

While discussing Russian illustrated children's books, the critics Dul'sky and Meskin in their 1925 publication pointed out that during the period from 1917 to 1925 there were a number of children's books that reflected avant-garde ideas of the left wing of Russian art along with realistic illustrations. Dulsky and Meksin were convinced that these avant-garde experiments "inoculate poison to the new culture with poison."[383] Although criticizing Lebedev's imitation of children's drawings in some of his illustrations, Dolsky and Meksin characterized him as of "one of the most vivid masters and highly promising book illustrators."[384]

The 1972 biographical monograph on Lebedev by V.N. Petrov is the single important publication devoted to the artist.[385] However, Petrov completely separates Lebedev's

---

[382] Valentin Kurdov, "Chemu uchil Lebedev," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 10 (130), (1976): 70.

[383] Dulsky and Meksin, *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige*, 80.

[384] Ibid, 86.

[385] Petrov, *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev*, 42-46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paintings from his children's books and does not relate Lebedev's work to Suprematism.

This chapter places Lebedev's children's books in the context of his art for adult audiences, such as the ROSTA Windows posters, illustrations for satirical journals, and paintings. I will show that all creative spheres of Lebedev's oeuvre were closely related. As Lebedev himself noted: "While working on the illustration for children's books, an artist should never forget his own unique artistic style... Many artists who became successful in the area of children's books are always solving the same artistic problems which they face working in any other artistic field for an adult audience."[386] This chapter also demonstrates that Lebedev's style and ideas were closely bound up with graphic experiments being carried out by other Russian avant-garde artists at the time.

Lebedev's stylistic range encompassed many different trends. An event of great importance for the development of his future style was the 1912 exhibition *100 Years of French Art*, organized by the journal *Appolon* (Apollo) and the French Institute of St. Petersburg. Russian folk art also had a major influence on Lebedev. His early still

---

[386] S. Ya. Marshak, "O risunkakh dlia detei (Beseda s Lebedevym)," *Literaturnyi sovremennik* (Leningrad, OGIZ), no. 12 (1933): 205.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lifes were often created in the cubist mode. Under the influence of the Constructivist artist Vladimir Tatlin, he produced some counter-reliefs. Before turning to book and poster design, Lebedev worked as an illustrator for the satirical journal *Novyi Satirikon*.[387]

Between 1920 and 1925, he created a series entitled *Laundresses* **(II.3/ Fig.1)**, in which the major stylistic elements and the specific manner of his future posters and book illustrations were established. Although Lebedev, like his friends Tatlin and Puni, experimented with Cubism, he stressed that he was a loner who was always outside of any movements, trends, or groups.[388] The artist Nikolai Punin, in his 1928 book on Lebedev, noted that Lebedev's cubist-inspired works of 1920-23 were characterized by highly emotional tone not typical of Cubism. He also pointed out, that unlike other Russian artists of the time, Lebedev never blindly imitated works of French artists but always remained himself, with his unique style. As Petrov recalled, Lebedev's favorite saying was that an artist

---

[387] On this subject see Nicoletta Misler, "A Public Art: Caricatures and Posters of Vladimir Lebedev," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, no. 5 (1987): 60-75.

[388] V.N. Petrov, "Pamiati V.V. Lebedeva," Rech' na zasedanii Soveta Russkogo Muzeia vesnoi 1973 goda, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 165, D. 165, L. 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

should be a disciple of every artist and at the same time of none.[389]

Lebedev began working on children's book design during the first post-revolutionary years, when there existed either refined and expensive books by the World of Art artists produced in small editions or relatively cheap books but of poor artistic quality published by Sytin and Mirimanov. Lebedev's first work for a children's book were his ink drawings for the *Arabian tale* published in 1918. As early as 1921, Lebedev designed several books which exhibited the particular artistic style he would develop in later years. His first children's book was *Prikliucheniia Chuch-lo* (The Adventures of Chuch-lo) of 1922, with a text, written as if narrated by a child, by Lebedev himself **(II.3./Fig.2)**. Imitating a child's handwriting and manner of drawing, the book followed the practice of Russian Futurist publications of the 1910s with the handwritten text printed together with the images using a lithographic method **(II.3/ Fig.3)**. It was in the publications of the Russian Futurists that the white background of a page started playing an important role. For example, all images and words in Malevich's 1913 book *Three* are silhouetted on

[389] Ibid., L. 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a simple white field of the page rather than on the illusory perspective of a space. Such innovative use of a white background was appropriated by Lebedev. Lebedev also developed the experiments of the early avant-garde artist Olga Rozanova, who handcolored her lithographic illustrations, and did it so freely that colored spaces often did not coincide with the contours of the drawing but go beyond the boundaries of the lines. Such coloring technique was reminiscent of *lubki*.

Lebedev's illustrations for Rudyard Kipling's story, *Slonyonok* (The Elephant's Child),1922, became an important turning point in his career as a book illustrator. In this book **(II.3/ Fig.4)**, Lebedev used an innovative approach, by replacing the highly ornamental manner of the World of Art artists, paying attention to the architectonic construction of the book. The artistic expressiveness of the illustrations for *The Elephant's Child* is based on the contrast between extremely generalized forms and a few well-worked -out details. The artist characterizes his personages--hippopotamus, peacock, elephant, and others--by emphasizing only the most typical and expressive body parts. Each depicted animal has its own character, its own specific plastic movement. Highly expressive silhouettes lack any superflous details. Silhouettes in children's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

books were previously frequently used by such Russian illustrators as Elizaveta Bem(**LIFEDATES**) and the World of Art artists, especially Georgii Narbut(1886-1920). However, these artists depicted their personages in a realistically treated space with illusionary perspective which contradicted the flatness of the silhouettes. They also combined their silhouettes with highly elaborate ornamental vignettes. In *The Elephant's Child*, Lebedev avoids the illusion of depth, placing the silhouettes of the animals directly on a white background of the page. Lebedev introduces masses of subtle gradations of black and gray shades, paying close attention to the great variety of the textures of animals' skin and hair such as the roughness of the hippopotamus' skin, the satin smoothness of the skin of the giraffe, and the fluffiness of an ostrich's tail. Lebedev no longer imitates children's drawings, as he did in *The Adventures of Chuch-lo;* rather he employs a style characterized by two-dimensionality, absence of illusionist space, perspective shrinkage, and light modeling relative to children's perception. Opposed to excessive ornamentation, Lebedev shows in his designs no trace of the mannerist decorativeness of pre-revolutionary children's books. The ornament on the book's cover, which was so widespread in the pre-revolutionary books, was now replaced

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by a clear, highly simplified drawing. The title page, which previously was considered an important component of the book, was now absent as Lebedev considered it unnecessary for the child. Here he turned to his experience as a political poster artist when he had to create figures—signifiers of certain social forces and classes, using only minimal details.

Lebedev enriches book design with a new tradition going back to the ROSTA Windows and related to the Russian folk tradition, including *lubki* and painted shop signs.

In 1925, Lebedev produced illustrations for four books by Marshak: *Tsirk* (The Circus), *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream), *O glupom myshonke* (About a Foolish Mouse), and *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today). *The Circus* is the most innovative and witty of the four **(II.3/ Fig.5)**.

The idea and theme of *The Circus* belonged to the artist; Marshak only wrote short poetic inscriptions to Lebedev's drawings. This book was the first instance of the names of both the writer and the illustrator receiving equal prominence on the cover, thus demonstrating a new principle of collaborative work, where the writer and the illustrator are totally equal partners. Indissoluble stylistic and rhythmic unity of the word and image was achieved in all books produced by Marshak and Lebedev.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lebedev lived near the circus, which he often frequented, making sketches during the rehearsals.[390] Although his illustrations were based on direct studies from nature, he noted that an artist should never copy nature but must rework it in accordance with his own ideas.[391] As Lebedev pointed out: "Some artists frequently confuse Realism and Naturalism.... It is not enough to know how many teeth an animal has or how tall it is. The difference between a wolf and a sheep-dog is not in their size or how they use the tail. An artist should understand that they have many different ways of walking.... The most important is to create a specific character, a type." Talking about his use of color, Lebedev noted: "Color illustrations for children should be very intense in color, in addition to being absolutely clear and concrete. But it does not mean that an artist should employ many different colors; instead he should use right color combination."[392]

---

[390] Lebedev liked acrobats and sports in general. The Petersburg artists A. Traugot and V. Traugot in their memoirs about Lebedev recalled that when they first came to see Lebedev at his apartment, they noticed names of numerous sport magazines which he was subscribibg to, listed on his mail box. He did it so a postman would remember what magazines he should be delivering.

[391] Always described as a very well-built and muscular man, Lebedev stated that he preferred wrestling in order to study human's anatomy to the tedious anatomical studies of academic models [see A. Traugot and V. Traugot, "Neskol'ko vstrech s Lebedevym," *Detskaia literatura*, no. 7 (1992): 45-46].

[392] Marshak, "O risunkakh dlia detei (Beseda s Lebedevym)," 205.

"Risunok tsvetnoi, pomimo chetkosti i konkretnosti, dolzhen byt' intensivnym po tsvetu. No intensivnost' eta dolzhna byt' postroena ne na tsvetistosti, a na zhivopisnykh sootnosheniiakh."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In *Ice Cream*, 1925, Lebedev turned to political satire, which he had practiced earlier in his ROSTA Windows posters. The book tells the story of a fat man who ate so much ice cream, that he turned into an ice hill. The figures and objects in this book are highly schematized and geometricized: a sphere becomes a head and a belly, a rectangle combined with a circle form an ice cream cart**(II.3/ Fig.6)**. The absence of perspective shrinkage can be attributed partly to the influence of Cubism, which Lebedev passionately studied in the 1920s. In *Ice Cream*, Lebedev's dynamic arrangement of geometric forms and letters, and their interaction with each other and with the background of the page **(II.3/ Fig.7)** also relate to contemporaneous experiments in typography and book design, including Lissitzky's *Of Two Squares***(see II.2/ Fig.1)**.

All the images of people in Lebedev's illustrations are never those of individuals but rather particular social types, such as "a worker," "a bourgeois" etc. These illustrations shared the same symbolic vocabulary facilitating the readability of the images with Lebedev's ROSTA Windows posters **(II.3/ Fig.8-8a)**. The ROSTA Windows posters attempted to address the often illiterate population in familiar terms. With their use of simplified

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

forms to produce a powerful and easily readable image, the ROSTA posters drew on political cartoons and *lubki*.

In *Ice Cream*, details of the fat man's costume are carefully selected: for example, a golden ring on his finger points to his wealth, while a black top hat, a walking stick and a chain with a pendant in a shape of a heart describe him as a dandy **(II.3/ Fig.9)**. The grotesque figure of the fat man is a satirical social subject that signifies a new type of rich man in Soviet society--the NEP man. In an effort to save the country from the brink of greater disaster, Lenin introduced measures known as NEP (New Economic Policy), allowing private trade in domestic markets and offering foreign investors concessions for a variety of Russian enterprises and natural resources. Lenin's New Economic Policy represented a reversal of fundamental Bolshevik beliefs, and anti-Nepman sentiments prevailed at that time in Soviet Russia. In 1924, the same year as the *Ice Cream* has been published, the Soviet writer Yurii Olesha (1899-1960) wrote a book *Tri tolstiaka* (Three Fat Men) where grotesque figures of gluttons symbolized bourgeois rule. Similar grotesque images of a fat man were used by Lebedev in his ROSTA Windows posters and satirical drawings as well as in the work of other artists of the time. While creating his illustrations for *Ice Cream*,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lebedev could have also been inspired by *Capital*, the famous 1919 poster by Victor Deni **(II.3 / Fig.10)**.

The use of geometric elements in the images of faceless human figures in such Lebedev's books *as Ice Cream*, and *Yesterday and Today*, instantly recall the work of his contemporaries—the Suprematist artists. Lebedev's schematized figures are reminiscent of Lissitzky's robot-like figurines for the "electro-mechanic show" based on the Futurist opera *Victory Over the Sun*, staged by Malevich's followers in Vitebsk in February 1920 **(II.3/ Fig.11)**. Lebedev's figures also recall the graphic cryptogram signifying the human figure in Nina Kogan's 1920 design for the Suprematist ballet **(see II.2/Fig.14)**. However, the realization of the geometric transformation of the human appearance differs slightly in the works of Lebedev and his Suprematist artists--fellows. Lissitzky's figurines are characterized by the inclination toward transformation into a technical construction while Lebedev's characters are more organic and linked to reality. Lebedev's geometrisized anthropomorphic forms are also related to Nikolai Suetin's faceless figures, in particular to Suetin's image of a female figure from the mid 1920s, where a single detail--the light inclination of the oval of the head--imparts softness and femininity to the otherwise impersonal image.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In their rhythmic repetitiveness, images of men behind the ice cream stands in Lebedev's book *Ice Cream* as well as images of peasant women carrying yokes in his book *Yesterday and Today* are reminiscent of Suetin's Suprematist designs for textiles. In the case of the latter the relationship of small rectangulars in union and other geometric forms is based on the principle of the repetition of the one and the same motif.

In his memoirs *Pechatnyi Dvor*, the writer Evgeny Schwarts (1896-1958) recalled that Lebedev always required that any Detgiz artist working under his direction should have a clear understanding of the technical side of the book production, and know all the intricate details of lithographic printing.[393] He required that the artist himself transfer his drawing to a lithographic stone rather than leaving this task to the printer.[394] Talking about his artist-colleagues at Detgiz, Lebedev said that every artist there had his own artistic style. He noted that if he had a student he was always trying to help this student find his own path in art. He believed that none of his students'

---

[393] In 1923, a small group of Leningrad writers and graphic artists gathered around the journal *Vorobei* (Sparrow), later known as *Novyi Robinzon* (New Robinson), which led to the foundation of Detgiz, ideologically inspired by Marshak.

[394] Evgeny Schwarts, "Pechatnyi dvor," *Iskusstvo kino* (Izdanie Soiuza Kinematografistov Rossii), no.9 (1962): 104.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

works looked like his.[395] V.A. Vlasov in his memoirs of Lebedev's friends and students stressed that Lebedev was trying to emphasize and develop the best qualities in his students' work. Vlasov wrote that Lebedev spent much time with each artist at Detgiz, where he was the artistic director, advising and correcting each person's drawings with great passion and persistence.[396] As Petersburg artists A. and V. Traugot recalled, sometimes Lebedev even added his own drawings to his students' illustrations in order to improve the work.[397]

In the 1920s, a number of Soviet figurative artists, including Lebedev, identified themselves as "painterly realists" or "plastic realists," in order to distinguish their work from that of so-called "heroic realists" of AKhRR as well as from the 19th-century realist tradition of the Itinerants.[398] The term "plastic realism" was used in the declaration of *Chetyre Iskusstva* (The Four Arts) society of artists, an association of painters, graphic

---

[395] V.N.Petrov, "Pamiati V.V.Lebedeva," Rech' na zasedanii Soveta Russkogo Muzeia vesnoi 1973 goda, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 165, D. 165, L. 9.

[396] V.A. Vlasov, "Druz'ia, ucheniki Volodi," Friends and Students of Volodia: Memoirs about Vladimir Lebedev, Autograph manuscript, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 209, D. 53, L. 1-16.

[397] Traugot and Traugot, "Neskol'ko vstrech s Lebedevym," 48.

[398] In 1928, several artists, including Vera Ermolaeva, Lev Yudin, Konstantin Rozhdestvensky, Nikolai Suetin, Vladimir Sterligov, and Anna Leporskaia , all Malevich's students and former members of INKhUK, formed creative group "Painterly Plastic Realism."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

artists, sculptors, and architects, which existed from 1925 to 1932. Its members espoused different creative views and ranged from former participants of the Symbolist Blue Rose and World of Art Movements to such Suprematist artists as Kazimir Malevich, Ivan Kliun, and El Lissitzky. Lebedev took part in Four Arts society exhibitions. In their declaration, the Four Arts members stated: "In the context of Russian traditions, we consider that painterly realism reflects best the artistic culture of our times."[399]

According to Petrov, the artist said that he and his artists-colleagues were fighting against narrative tendencies in art.[400] Lebedev noted: "In our country, realism is often confused with naturalism. Naturalism is a passive copying of an image from the three-dimensional space to a two-dimensional space of a paper." He believed that realism is "lively, energetic, and active reaction of a contemporary artist to the surrounding world."[401]

Lebedev's children's books established general stylistic principles of the new phase in book design, as

---

[399] *Vystavka kartin i skul'ptury: Katalog* (Leningrad, 1928-29), 18, quoted in Yevgeny Kovtun, "Artistic Groupings of the 1920s: The Four Arts society of artists, Declaration," in *The Russian Avant-Garde in the 1920s-1930s* (Bournemouth, England: Parkstone and St. Petersburg: Aurora, 1996), 152.

[400] V.N. Petrov, "Pamiati V.V. Lebedeva," Rech' na zasedanii Soveta Russkogo Muzeia vesnoi 1973 goda, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 165, D. 165, L. 8.

[401] Marshak, "O risunkakh dlia detei (Beseda s Lebedevym)," 205.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

well as particular methods, in which these principles were implemented. His emphasis on the position of the figures and objects on the white field of the page rather than on the illusory perspective of a space, the methods of generalization, tension in the movements of stern silhouettes, the expressive texture of the surface—were all accepted and appropriated as the graphic language of the time by many Leningrad artists working with Lebedev at Detgiz.

However, in 1936 Lebedev came under increasing attack for his "formalist" tendencies. An article entitled "O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh," (On Artists-daubers), published in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda*, referred to the "macabre and ugly fantasy of Lebedev," stating that:

> ...even things, ordinary things such as tables, chairs, suitcases, and lamps—are all distorted, soiled, and purposely turned into disgusting objects which no one would have any desire to use. The grimy artist puts his dirty stamp on everything. And after he finishes his horrible deed, he puts his signature: Drawings by V.Lebedev.... His is the art which aims at having as few links as possible with the world of Soviet people.[402]

---

[402] "O khudozhnikakh—pachkunakh," *Pravda* (Moscow), 1 March 1936. Reprinted in *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia), nos. 3-4 (1936): 40.

"Dazhe veshchi, obyknovennye veshchi—stoly, stul'ia, chemodany, lampy,—oni vse iskoverkany, slomany, ispachkany, privedeny umyshlenno v takoi vid, chtoby protivno bylo smotret' na nikh i nevozmozhno imi pol'zovat'sia. Slovno proshel po vsei knige mrachnyi, svirepyi komprachikos, smertel'no nenavidiashchii vse estestvennoe, prostoe, radostnoe, veseloe, umnoe, nuzhnoe, i vse isportil, izgadil, na vsem ostavil griaznuiu pechat'. A sdelav svoe skvernoe delo, raspisalsia s udovol'stviem:
risunki khudozhnika
V. Lebedeva."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The special committee of the State Publishing House of Literature for Children discussed this article and informed Lebedev that he would continue to receive commissions only on the condition that he start working in the Socialist Realist mode, creating images easily understandable for the general masses.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIALIZING AND EDUCATING THROUGH CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

3. 1. The Soviet "Production" Book for Children in the mid-1920s-30s

In Soviet Russia of the 1920s, technology had a romantic aura about it and even art magazines published photographs of ships and planes as didactic examples of the higher utility of form. Russian avant-garde artists glorified the age of the machine -- cars, planes, and speed. Introduced in Soviet Russia in approximately 1925, and addressing the youngest readers, the important genre of children's literature--the "production book" had acquired a political significance by linking machines and technology to the development of the new Soviet state.[403]

The Marxist art critic V.M. Friche in his opening remarks at the 1928 meeting at the Communist Academy in Moscow pointed out that the main task of the artists in the USSR during the cultural revolution was "to make art an organic part of everyday life through the creation of

---

[403] In the pre-revolutionary period, books about production and factory life were rather infrequent. Immediately after the Revolution, there were many books produced on technical and scientific topics but their scientific, literary, and artistic quality remained quite low.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

functional objects."[404] In his speech at the same meeting, the critic I.L. Matsa stressed that one of the main tasks was "to merge art with production, including textile, furniture, and graphic design."[405]

To fulfill their socializing tasks, many Soviet children's authors and graphic artists turned to writing and illustrating books on a variety of industrial and agricultural topics, promoting the industrialization and collectivization of the country. In 1926, the critics E.I. Stanchinskaia and E.A. Flerina in their publication that documented research work conducted by the Pedagogical Studio and the Methodological Committee on the Children's Book[406] stated that Soviet industry and educators consider the production book to be the most necessary and pedagogically important book.[407] The production book was not only designed to promote Soviet social progress but also to appeal to the creativity of the child and to form and direct his perception of the world.

---

[404] V.M. Friche, "Vstupitel'noe slovo," in *Iskusstvo v SSSR i zadachi khudozhnikov*, ed. V.M. Friche (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Kommunisticheskoi Akademii, 1928), 7.

[405] I. Matsa, "Polozhenie sovremennogo iskusstva v SSSR i aktual'nye zadachi khudozhnikov," in *Iskusstvo v SSSR i zadachi khudozhnikov*, 25.

[406] This Committee was a division of the Narkompros (People's Commissariat for Education).

[407] *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige (Analiz proizvodstvennoi knizhki dlia doshkol'nika)*, ed. E.I. Stanchinskaia and E.A. Flerina (Moscow: Doshkol'nyi otdel Glavsotsvosa, 1926), 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Several thematic groups developed within the genre of the production book, such as stories about how things are made, stories about various professions and trades, about different types of machines, and books on agriculture as well as on a great variety of industrial topics **(III.1/ Figs. 1- 3)**.

Having consolidated his power in 1927, Joseph Stalin, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, launched the *piatiletka*, or the First Five-Year Plan, in October 1928 in an attempt to revamp or "modernize" the economic, industrial, social, and cultural sectors of Soviet life.[408] Many children's publications of the time reflected such hallmarks of the First Five-Year Plan as construction and urbanization **(III.1/Fig.4)**.

During the second half of the 1920s, the production book became one of the major spheres of practical work for a number of Constructivist artists, including Galina and Olga Chichagova, Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, and Mikhail Tsekhanovsky. In this chapter, I will discuss the most vivid examples of the various types of the Soviet production book created by these experimental artists. Due to the extent of the subject, my approach will be limited

[408] See Moshe Lewin, "On Soviet Industrialization," in *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization*, ed. William G. Rosenberg and Lewis Siegelbaum (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 272, 280.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to specific themes and selected artists, who remained consistently devoted to avant-garde experiments. Examining the most powerful examples of children's production books of the mid-1920s and 30s, one can see how Russian avant-garde artists strove for creative exploration and experimentation in this area, which they conducted in unison with the general development of the arts towards a closer link between art and life, and art and production.

Unable to implement many of their innovative projects for industry because of material scarcities, Constructivist artists turned to typographical, poster, exhibition, and book design. As a result, the genre of the production book became a perfect embodiment of the major ideas of the Productivists, who sought to collaborate with industry for the purpose of producing useful objects. Therefore, in order to understand the work of artists in this genre, it is important to briefly outline some of the major issues and points of debates concerning Production art in the 1920s.[409]

As the scholar of Russian avant-garde art Natalia Adaskina argued, the notion of production art came to the

---

[409] Among the most recent scholarship on Production art is the following essay: Maria Gough, "Tarabukin, Spengler, and the Art of Production," *October*, no. 93 (Summer 2000): 57- 109. See also: E.V. Sidorina, "Kontseptsiia "proizvodstvennogo iskusstva " i VKhUTEMAS: k istorii sviazei," *Trudy VNIITE* , no. 34 (Moscow: Technicheskaia estetika, 1982), 55-69; idem, *Skvoz' ves' dvatsatyi vek: khudozhestvenno-proektnye kontseptsii russkogo avangarda* (Moscow: Russkii mir, 1994), 117-246.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fore and gathered momentum in vanguard circles during the years 1921-23.[410] The scholar Christina Lodder pointed out that in November of 1921, Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova, and other Constructivists committed themselves to reshaping the conditions of daily existence by creating objects according to Constructivist principles of formal and material integrity, and expediency of function.[411]

Conflicts between the Productivists and the defenders of traditional artistic forms were a hallmark of the years 1923-24. In 1922, in his famous treatise *Konstruktivizm* (Constructivism) Aleksei Gan argued that all so-called "art" was filled with the most reactionary idealism tied to theology, metaphysics, and mysticism, and was a product of the utmost individualism. In response to the question as to what should replace art, Gan replied "labor and technology."[412]

In 1923, a writer, literary critic and theoretician of Production art N.F.Chuzhak, noted that as early as 1921 the avant-garde artists (whom he referred to as "Futurists") called for the creation of a new art which instead of

---

[410] Natalia Adaskina, "The Place of Vkhutemas in the Russian Avant-Garde," in *The Great Utopia* (New York: The Guggenheim Museum, 1992), 289.

[411] Lodder, "Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s," 100-101.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"being an individualistic form of decorating life" would become "a form of production."[413] Describing the development of the Russian avant-garde art from 1921 to 1922, Chuzhak distinguished three distinct periods: "formal-analitical," "propaganda art," and "production art." [414] In 1924, Osip Brik, a member of INKhUK(Institute of Artistic Culture) and Lef, who was later very close to the Constructivists, pointed out:

> The easel picture is not only unnecessary to our contemporary artistic culture, it is also one of the most powerful brakes on its development…. Only those artists who once and for all have broken with the easel craft, who have recognized production work in practice, not only as an equal form of artistic labor, but also as the only possible one – only such artists can grapple successfully and productively with the solution to the problems of contemporary artistic culture.[415]

Brik also noted: "The concepts of 'pure science,' 'pure art,''independent truth and beauty' are alien to us. We are practitioners—and therein lay the distinctive trait

---

[412] A.Gan, *Konstruktivizm* (Tver', 1922), 18-19; 48. Extracts from Gan's Konstruktivizm (Constructivism) were reprinted in English translation in Bowlt, *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism*, 214-225.

[413] N.F. Chuzhak, "Pod znakom zhiznestroeniia (opyt osoznaniia iskusstva dnia)" *Lef* (Moscow-Petrograd) no. 1 (March 1923), 22.

[414] Lodder, "Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s," 21.

[415] Osip Brik, "Ot kartiny k sitsu"(From Pictures to Textile Prints), *Lef*, (Moscow), no. 2 (February 1924), 27-34. Reprinted in English translation in Bowlt, *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism*, 248.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of our cultural consciousness. There is no place for easel painting in this consciousness."[416]

However, there were many critics who were against the idea of production art. For example, a "reactionary" art critic A. Mikhailov argued in 1932 that one of the main characteristics of production art is "a total denial of the ideological function of art." Therefore, Mikhailov argued that artists and critics who promote new industrial art as an antithesis of easel painting are "agents of bourgeois ideology" and "their path is the path of struggle against real proletarian art."[417]

As Lodder pointed out, this tendency towards the renunciation of "easel painting" as "bourgeois individualism" as well as the idea of uniting art and industrial manufacture started developing immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.[418]

The art critic V.O. Pertsov[419] observed that attitudes that later crystallized in the theory of production art

---

[416] Ibid., 245.

[417] A. Mikhailov, *Izoiskusstvo rekonstruktivnogo perioda* (Moscow/Leningrad: OGIZ-Izogiz, 1932), 200-201.

[418] Christina Lodder, "Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s," in *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914-1932* (Seattle: The Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington; New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 99.

[419] Viktor Osipovich Pertsov, primarily an art critic, also wrote on questions concerning Production art during the 1920s. He had worked for Narkompros in the Ukraine before moving to Moscow where he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

began to be formulated on the pages of the newspaper *Iskusstvo kommuny* (Art of the Commune) as early as in 1918-19.[420] As the reporter M.Levin noted, on December 15, 1918 the speaker Tseperovich presented a paper entitled *The Proletariat and Art* at the Palace of Labor, which resulted in a debate on this topic on December 22 involving a wide audience.[421]

In 1919, Brik in his article "Khudozhnik i kommuna: trud khudozhnika" (The Artist and the Commune: The Labor of the Artist) wrote: "The artist reflects life. Who needs it?... Who will prefer a copy to the original?... The artist represents life in his own unique way. It's too bad. It means that he distorts it.... The artist serves beauty...--But this is a complete analogy with monks.... There is no place

---

joined Gastev's Central Institute of Labor and became active in Proletkul't. (See Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, 254)

[420] V. Pertsov, *Za novoe iskusstvo* (Moscow: Vserossiiskii proletkul't, 1925), 56.

The newspaper *Iskusstvo kommuny* was published by IZO in Petrograd between December 7, 1918 and April 13, 1919. Its contributors included theorists and critics Osip Brik, Nikolai Punin, and Boris Kushner and artists Natan Altman and Vladimir Mayakovsky.

[421] M. Levin, "Miting ob iskusstve," *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 4 (1918).

One of the speakers, M.F. Blokh pointed out that artists should realize that easel painting is no longer needed and stated that the artists should merge with the workers. He also noted that before the Revolution, artists painted pictures exclusively for the class of capitalists, and that such art should no longer exist. He claimed that now the artists should participate, along with the workers, in the creation of new objects for everyday use. Kravchenko, another speaker, the major graphic artist of the period and the former art critic for *Novoe Vremia* objected to having the labor of the artist considered as equal to that of the worker. Kravchenko also disagreed with the notion that artists should work at the factory. He believed that art should be like a garden of pleasure, and should be a relaxing activity after hard labor. The Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, who attended this meeting, called for the creation of new forms in art and declared that one should talk about the new life using new words.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for such monks in the Commune…."[422] Brik concluded that only those artists involved in concrete, socially useful work are needed in the new society.[423]

In another 1919 article published in the *Iskusstvo Kommuny*, P. Vaulin argued that many artists are too far removed from the needs of industry and from the production of various goods. He pointed out that artists will be useful only when they will become closer to the production of goods, "when they will work together with workers at the factory's machine-tools… when they will understand the entire essence of production…."[424]

In 1920, describing the underlying concept of a collection of essays, compiled by the Production Section of IZO Narkompros and published under the title *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve* (Art in Production), its editors stated that in the light of the new culture the issues of art merging with production was one of their major concerns.[425] The artist David Shterenberg asserted that as soon as IZO Narkompros was established in 1918, the department was

---

[422] O.M. Brik, "Khudozhnik i kommuna: Trud khudozhnika," *Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo* (Petersburg), no. 1 (1919), 4.

[423] Ibid., 5.

[424] P. Vaulin, "K voprosu ob iskusstve v promyshlennosti," *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 13 (1919).

[425] *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve*: *Sborniki Khudozhestvenno-Proizvodstvennogo Soveta Otdela Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Narkomprosa*, ed. David Shterenberg and Osip Brik (Moscow: Tipografiia Moskovskoi Taganskoi tiur'my, 1921), 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

committed to "the penetration of art into production."[426] In the same publication, Brik declared that the Productivists consider the labor of architects, sculptors, and painters equal to that of engineers, metal workers, weavers, and carpenters.[427] Similar ideas were expressed by the critic D.Arkin, who argued that industrial production culture was characteristic of contemporary life, and that "the main task of the artist was to become an active participant of industrial culture - to create production art."[428]

Thus, the ideologists of Production art denounced easel painting in favor of socially useful art. The truly modern artist in the early 1920s in Russia was one who left "high art" behind and to whom art was a means of changing the environment. As a result, the radical experiments of Productivist artists opened up new avenues of visual expression in the area of book design. They combined ideas from abstract painting with experimental typography to create a new visual language of Soviet children's book design.

Among the first successful experiments in the genre of the production book was the work of two Moscow

---

[426] David Shterenberg, "Pora poniat," in *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve*, 5.

[427] Osip Brik, "V poriadke dnia," in *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve*, 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Constructivist artists Galina (1891-1967) and Olga (1889-1956) Chichagova,[429] who collaborated with the writer N.G. Smirnov. In the 1920s, the Chichagova sisters were students of Rodchenko at VKhUTEMAS (Higher Artistic Technical Workshops) in Moscow. [430] As Lodder has argued, the clearest and earliest formulation of the Constructivist position was provided by Rodchenko, who was one of the major leaders of Constructivism from 1921 to 1924. Rodchenko stated that all new approaches to art arose from technology and engineering and move towards organization and construction.[431] As discussed earlier, the program of Constructivism aimed to overthrow the division between unique and multiple work. Rodchenko's greatest achievement was the realization of this aesthetic ideal in the field of typography. He and his

---

[428] D. Arkin, "Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo i material'naia kul'tura," in *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve*, 16-17.

[429] Very little is known about the Chichagova sisters before they became Rodchenko's students. In the Central Archive of Literature and Arts in Moscow there is a certificate dated October 7, 1907, which states that Olga Dmitrievna Chichagova was born on January 28, 1889 into the family of a "Court Councillor" ("Nadvorny Sovetnik,") she was baptized and educated at the Moscow Orphans' Institute of the Emperor Nicholas I. While there, Chichagova specialized in French and Russian. It is interesting to note, that among other subjects listed in the cerificate, Chichagova studied pedagogy and children's literature. The cerificate allows Chichagova to be employed in the capacity of "domashnei nastavnitsy," or governess. According to Lodder, from 1920 both sisters studied at the Moscow VKhUTEMAS graduating from the Graphics faculty. They both became members of Gan's First Working Group of Constructivists and exhibited with the group at the 1924 First Discussional Exhibition of Associations of Active Revolutionary Art in Moscow. Both sisters were represented at the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne in 1928. (Lodder, Russian Constructivism, 241.)

[430] The major publication on VKhUTEMAS is S.O. Khan-Magometov, *VHUTEMAS. Moscow, 1920-1930*, trans. Joelle Aubert-Yong, Nikita Krivocheine and Jean-Claude Marcade, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions du Regard, 1990). Research on VKhUTEMAS has been also scattered throghout a large number of articles. The principle studies are those of Alexander Lavrent'ev, S.O. Khan-Magometov, and Natalia Adaskina in the journal *Tekhnicheskaia estetika* and the *Tekhnicheskaia estetika* series of the *Trudy VNIITE*.

[431] Lodder, *Russian Constructivism*, 88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students and followers elevated mass printed book covers and brochures, candy wrappers, newspaper advertisements, postcards and labels to the quality of "high art."

Although such scholars as P.Dulsky and Ya. Meksin, Yurii Gerchuk, Jacqueline M. Olich, and Evgenii Steiner have briefly mentioned the Chichagovas' books,[432] no scholar has yet evaluated the important place of these underestimated women artists in the history of Russian avant-garde art. I will place the Chichagovas' book design in the context of the development of Constructivist theory and aesthetics as well as Productivist ideas. I will also demonstrate the Chichagovas' connection to the Constructivist graphic design of Rodchenko.

In November of 1920, a circle of Rodchenko's students, which included Olga and Galina Chichagova among many others, gathered around Rodchenko at his studio at the painting department of VKhUTEMAS where he had been

---

[432] In their 1925 book, Dul'sky and Meksin reproduced *Detiam o gazete* and *Puteshestviia Charli* by the Chichagovas (See Dul'sky and Meksin, *Illustartsiia v detskoi knige*, 96.) In one of his 1975 articles, Yurii Gerchuk pointed to Rodchenko's influence on the Chichagovas' style and mentioned that they illustrated *Detiam o gazete* and *Otkuda posuda?* (See Gerchuk, "Proizvodstvennaia knizhka: opyt moskovskikh khudozhnikov," 76). Later, Gerchuk stated that the Chichagovas' children books were "among the first experiments in the Production book" and mentions the titles of some of their books. (See Gerchuk, *Sovetskaia knizhnaia grafika* [Moscow, Znanie, 1986], 23-24). In her dissertation, Jacqueline M. Olich briefly discussed the writer Anna Grinberg's reception of *Otkuda posuda?* (See Olich, *Competing Ideologies and Children's Books*, 197). In his book, Evgenii Steiner mentioned Chichagovas' *Put' na sever* (1924) and *Egor-monter* (1928). (See Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades*, 135, 155).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appointed professor.[433] In 1921, they formed a student subgroup within the First Working Group of Constructivists,[434] associated with the Moscow INKhUK(Institute of Artistic Culture). During the period of 1920-24, INKhUK was one of the important centers under the aegis of which Constructivism and industrial art developed.[435] In November 1921,INKhUK was reorganized under the leadership of the critics Brik, Arvatov, and Tarabukin, who propogated the concept of "production art."

The development of Production Art, according to its theorists, as well as the system of education at VKhUTEMAS was based on the so-called "objective method," involving scientific experiments with materials. Adaskina pointed out that while for Vasilii Kandinsky analytical work "was merely an interim stage in the quest for synthesis..." for members of the Objective Analysis section at Inkhuk and for

---

[433] Besides the Chichagova sisters, the group included Anatolii Borisov, Grigorii Miller, Lydia Sanina, Anastasia Achtyrko, and E. Mel'nikova.

[434] The history of the Working Group of Constructivists, which was founded in December 1920 and which initially consisted of Aleksei Gan, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and Varvara Stepanova, is well covered in the existing literature on Constructivism. See, for example, S.O. Khan-Magometov, "Pervaia tvorcheskaia organizatsiia pionerov sovetskogo dizaina—gruppa konstruktivistov INKhUKa (1921)," in *Khudozhestvennye problemy predmetno-prostranstvennoi sredy, Collection of academic papers presented at conferences, seminars, and discussions* (Moscow: VNIITE, 1978), 1-9.

[435] On INKhUK see: *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914-1932, exhibition catalogue* (Seattle: The Henry Art Gallery of the University of Washington; New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1990); Christina Lodder, "Towards a Theoretical Basis: Fusing the Formal and Utilitarian," in *Russian Constructivism*, 78-83; S.O. Khan-Magometov, "VKhUTEMAS i INKhUK," *Technicheskaia estetika*, no. 12 (1980): 20-23; A. N. Lavrent'ev, "Pervaia dizainerskaia shkola Rodchenko: INKhUK i rannii VKhUTEMAS," *Trudy VNIITE* , no. 41 (Moscow: Tekhnicheskaia estetika, 1983), 61-77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

teachers in Vkhutemas' Basic Division in 1921-22, analytical work was "no mere sideline or auxiliary stage but an artistic and theoretical value in its own right." As Adaskina argued, for the latter the synthesis of formal and analytical experimentation was production art, which Adaskina calls "a specifically Russian offspring of the analytical stage in the evolution of the avant-garde."[436]

Initially, Rodchenko's student subgroup was to become the scientific branch of INKhUK. What was formed in reality, however, was something between an intellectual theoretical circle, exhibition society and design group. The student subgroup met separately from the main Working Group of Constructivists, and its first meeting took place on March 22, 1921. VKhUTEMAS students were members of this instructional subsection that soon became a model for a new type of art school, in which the theoretical study of art and collective experimental design were combined. As Galina Chichagova recalled, Rodchenko decided to organize a group of students to discuss various theoretical issues of production art, or as it was then called "intellectual production."[437]

---

[436] Adaskina, "The Place of Vkhutemas in the Russian Avant-Garde," 288.

[437] G.D. Chichagova, "Gody VKhUTEMASa", Memoirs, Autograph manuscript, 1965, Archive of V.A. Rodchenko, quoted in Lavrent'ev, "Pervaia dizainerskaia shkola Rodchenko," 65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On April 19, a program of the subgroup, compiled by Gan was discussed and adopted. According to this program, the Working Group of Constructivists had to oversee the activity of its subgroup. The subgroup's work was supposed to be realized as a series of discussions as well as the implementation of concrete projects. The program of the subgroup defined its tasks in terms of the necessity of "drawing its members into the innovative revolutionary activity of the Constructivists."[438] As the declaration of the First Working Group of Constructivists stated: "We do not sentimentalize objects; that is why we do not sing about objects in poetry. But we have the will to construct objects; that is why we are developing and training our ability to make objects."[439] Rodchenko's group, including the Chichagova sisters, took part in many collaborative projects.[440]

---

[438] INKhUK archive, Private collection, quoted in Lavrent'ev, "Pervaia dizainerskaia shkola Rodchenko," 67.

[439] "Declaration of the First Working Group of Constructivists," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism,* 242.

[440] On March 21, 1921 Rodchenko's students created eight cardboard costumes-caricatures which alluded to various subjects taught at the Basic Course of VKhUTEMAS. In the spring of 1921, under the direction of Rodchenko, they also produced two agit-prop projects which became the first area of artistic creativity in which formal experiments were implemented in concrete functional and utilitarian constructions. The Chichagova sisters took part in creating the decorations of the VKhUTEMAS procession dedicated to the elections of the *Mossovet* (Moscow City Council). The Chichagovas also participated in the decoration of Red Square for the May 1 celebrations. (For further discussion see Lavrent'ev, "Pervaia dizainerskaia shkola Rodchenko.")

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1923, the First Working Group of Constructivists took part in the *First Discussional Exhibition of Active Revolutionary Art*. Their exhibits in the show included designs for typographical layouts, items for everyday use including furniture and equipment, industrial clothing, and children's books. The Chichagov sisters exhibited their designs for four children's books created in collaboration with the writer Nikolai Smirnov in the "production section of the children's book." These books, which were not published until 1924-26, were entitled *Otkuda posuda?* (Where do Dishes Come From?),[441] *Kak liudi ezdiat* (How People Travel), *Puteshestvie Charli*(The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin]), and *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children).

Between 1923 and 1929, the Chichagovs produced about twenty books. In conformity with the rules of Constructivism, the Chichagovs' books featured an economy of material and a maximum of functionalism. The Chichagova sisters objected to fantasy in the design for the production book and the visual elements of their books were schematized and resembled technical drawings. **(III.1/Fig.5)**. Straight lines and elementary forms were

[441] It is interesting to note, that the Chichagovas' books *Puteshestvie Charlie* and *Otkuda posuda?* were parts of the series entitled "New Children's Library of the Victory of Labor."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

thought best to correspond to mechanical printing. An object in the Chichagovs' illustrations is usually drawn as a generalized flat silhouette in a way that exaggerates its peculiarities. Compass and ruler -- two favorite instruments of the Constructivists--substituted for brush and pen. This style reflected Rodchenko's artistic ideas expressed in his 1921 statement "The Line": "The brush, which was so essential in the kind of painting that conveyed an illusion of the subject with all its subtleties, has become an inadequate and imprecise tool and has given way to new instruments that provide a convenient, simple, and more appropriate way of working the surface. It is being replaced by the press, the roller, the drafting pen, the ruler, and the compass."[442] The sisters employed only contrasting colors, such as black and red, black and green, and black and blue. An entire page, combining image and text with organizing bold lines was structured as a single constructive unit. The Constructivists propagated only one style of type: massive block letters with sharply cut corners and sans serif. It was this type – simple, geometric, and angular, which the Chichagovas used in their books. The main features of their books were extreme

[442] A. Rodchenko, "The Line," 1921, Private collection archive, quoted in *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism*, 72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

simplicity and functionality, and their style was reminiscent of Rodchenko's posters.

In *Where Do the Dishes Come From?* (Moscow-Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924) **(III.1/Fig.6)** the Chichagovs depicted the complex process of production of dishes and all the tools of production such as, for example, the wheel and the kiln **(III.1/Fig.7)**. At the end of the book, dishes are delivered to the store **(III.1/Fig.8)**. Written at the time when there were vehement debates about the fairy tale in the Soviet press, the book begins with a forword that criticizes fairy tales and calls for the depiction of real life and industrial production by artists and the writers.

Although people involved in the production process are mentioned a number of times in this book, they are not depicted in the Chichagov's illustrations. Only the machines and production tools are of interest to the artists. Absence of perspective and modeling are also characteristics of this book. One of the reviewers of the time commented:

> The drawings are Constructivist, effective in their simplicity but at the same time they are too schematized and not dynamic enough. A better rhythmic organization could have beeen achieved by the use of more color accents. Although three colors were originally intended, in the final version only two colors, black and red, were used during the printing process. As a result, the overall design has lost much. The evaluation showed that when children looked at the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> pictures in the book they demonstrated indifference, and after listening to the text they thought that the book was not interesting. The worst drawback of the book is the dry didactic tone of the story.[443]

On the other hand, Anna Grinberg, a frequent contributor to the journal *Pechat' i revoliutsiia* (Press and Revolution) and a children's author, while identifying some examples of progressive children's books that were "clear in a modern way" and "fun to read without any nonsense," singled out *Where Do Dishes Come From?* and *Newspaper Production Explained to Children* **(III.1/Fig.9)**. She characterized these books as "precise and to the point," and "devoid of sentimentality." According to Grinberg, in contrast to fairy tales, books like *Where Do Dishes Come From?* were "sustained, purposeful, precise, short and concise," and capable of holding a young reader's interest "without resorting to fables, or nonsense." She

---

[443] Z. Dreizin, "Retsenziia: *Otkuda posuda.* N.Smirnov, G.Chichagova i O.Chichagova. M.-L. GIZ.1924," in *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige*, 44-45.

"Risunki konstruktivistskie, khoroshie po svoei prostote, slishkom skhematizirovany, ne dinamichny. Ritmichnost' byla by dostupna kraskami, kotorykh dolzhno bylo by byt' v knizhke tri. No iz pechati ona vyshla tol'ko v dvukh tsvetakh—krasnyi i chernyi i mnogo ot etogo poteriala.

Rebenok, posmotrevshi na eti kartinki, ne ostanavlivaet na nikh svoe vnimanie i, proslushavshi tekst knizhki, govorit: 'Knizhka ne interesnaia.' Osnovnym nedostatkom knizhki iavliaetsia ee strogo povestvovatel'nyi ton."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

argued that Chichagovas' books were innovative in many ways, both conceptually and formally.[444]

The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin] (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924) demonstrates the Constructivist artists' fascination with powerful modern machines. It tells about Charlie Chaplin's journey around the world and about the different means of transportation he used, including a motorcycle, a steamship, an airplane, a train, a steam engine (hydroplane), a motorboat, an automobile, and a tram **(III.1/Figs.10;12-14)**. At the end of the book, Chaplin sends a telegram, thanking sailors, pilots, drivers, and all others who helped him during his journey and also sends regards to "the proletariat of all countries". All the human figures are depicted as flat red featureless silhouettes and are portrayed as generic types rather than individuals. The laboring figures are presented as mechanical beings and look like well-disciplined cogs in the production system **(III.1/Figs.13-14)**. Commenting on similar types of images produced by the Constructivists, the members of the association NOZh (New Painters) noted in their 1922 program: "Constructivism, announcing death to art, depicts man as a mechanical human automaton, whose

---

[444] Anna Grinberg, "Knigi byvshie i knigi budushchie (dlia malen'kikh detei)," *Pechat' i revoliutsiia* (Moscow), no. 5 (June 1925-September 1925), 252-253.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

simple complex of emotions can be very easily organized, according to the Constructivists, along the lines of 'intellectual and material production.' Constructivists turn machinery into a fetish."[445]

The Chichagovas added to the simplified and generalized form of Chaplin several iconic details, such as bowler hat, moustache, checked trousers, and cane to help identify this hero of the silent cinema **(III.1/Fig.10)**. They appropriated the image of Chaplin from the cover of the Constructivist journal *Kino-fot*, produced by by Stepanova (Rodchenko's wife) two years earlier (No.2, 1922) **(III.1/Fig.11)**.

How People Travel (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926) is a brief history of transportation begining with reindeer and proceeding to various modern means of transportation. As in the previous books by the Chichagovs, all drawings are extremely simplified, and images are frequently shown as flat two-dimensional silhouettes. They include few human figures but many "portraits" of various means of transportation.

---

[445] "Nash put': Programma-platforma. Novoe obshchestvo zhivopistsev (1922)," in P. I. Lebedev, *Bor'ba za realism v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962), 105-107.

" Konstruktivizm, provozglashaia smert' iskusstva, myslit cheloveka mekhanizirovannogo, 'cheloveka-avtomata,' neslozhnyi kompleks chuvstv kotorogo... mozhet byt' organizuem sredstvami 'intellektual'no-material'nogo proizvodstva.' Konstruktivisty iavno obnaruzhivaiut zdes' fetishism mashinizatsii..."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In one instance, when Smirnov and the Chichagovs devoted their book exclusively to people-- *Dlia chego Krasnaia Armiia* (What is the Red Army For), they presented the army as a rationalized and militarized work force, placing tremendous emphasis on the graphic device of repetition, in order to create the image of "mechanized collectivism"[446] **(III.1/Figs.15-16)**.

In another book, *Pochemu ne bylo baranok?* (Why There Were No Bagels?)(Moscow: Gosizdat, 1926) the writer Smirnov chose an economics related theme which demonstrated the strong interconnectedness and reciprocal dependency of various parts of the state economy. The story of this book unfolds as follows: a boy goes to a bakery to buy bagels and finds that there are neither bread nor bagels there and that the bakery is closed. He asks why it is closed and the baker answers that he did not get any flour from the mill. Then the boy goes to the mill which is also closed. "Why?" he asks. "Because the grain was not delivered to the mill by the peasants. The boy runs to the peasants: "Why didn't you bring the grain to the mill?" -"I am keeping the grain

---

[446] Manifestations of this "mechanized collectivism" are, according to Aleksei Gastev, "...so anonimous, that the movement of these collective complexes is similar to the movement of things, in which there is no longer any individual face but only regular, uniform steps and faces devoid of expression, of a soul, of lyricism, of emotion..." ("O tendentsiiakh proletarskoi kul'tury," *Proletraskaia Kul'tura*, no. 9-10 [1919]: 35-45, quoted in Kendall Bailes, "Aleksei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism, 1918-1924," *Soviet Studies* 29, no. 3 [July 1977]: 378.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for myself because there will be no new grain. I did not plough the earth this time since I do not have anything to plough with. The factory that produces ploughs is not working. Then the boy runs to the factory and is told there that there is no iron ore since the workers did not receive it from the mine **(III.1/Fig.17)**. It turns out that there is plenty of ore at the mine but the workers are unable to send it because the trains are not running for lack of fuel The boy goes to the pipeline and sees Red Army soldiers there **(III.1/Fig.18)**. "What are you doing? –he asks. –"We are at war. The enemy has invaded us and they want to take our oil. Soon the war ends, trains start running again **(Fig.III.19)**, the ore is delivered to the plant which starts producing ploughs **(Fig.III.20)**, which in turn enable the peasant to plough the soil and produce the grain, which is brought to the mill, from there to the bakery which produces the dough from which bread and bagels are finally made.

In 1926, the story of the book received a positive review by the scholar Flerina, who commented that its authors used the forgotten form of folk art–rhythmic repetition of gradually unfolding analogous actions. Flerina also pointed out that the authors' great

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

achievement was that they were able to present their complex idea in a concrete, clear, and easily understandable form to a seven or eight- year-old. Flerina argued that if in the earlier books by the same authors, stories were told in very general terms – how dishes are made, how a newspaper is produced, how people travel,-- in *Why there were no Bagels* the authors demonstrated the facts using concrete examples. The scholar noted that in their first books the Chichagovs presented dry narrative stories which were not well comprehended by pre-school children. In the Chichagovs' latest book, *Why there were no Bagels*, however, the authors were able to capture the most important trait in a child's psychology – the absence of the abstract mode of thinking. Flerina stressed that Smirnov and the Chichagovs, in tune with educators, promoted the approach of Realism in pre-school children's literature.[447]

However, Flerina considered the Chichagovs drawings much weaker than the text, noting that the Constructivist idiom was more suitable to the depiction of objects rather than people.[448] The reviewer pointed out that drawings

---

[447] E.A. Flerina, "Retsenziia na knigu *Pochemu ne bylo baranok* N.G. Smirnova, Galiny I Olgi Chichagovykh, Gosizdat, 1926," in *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige*, 58-61.

[448] Ibid., 60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

depicting peasants and horses were especially weak, and also noted that when the book was shown to children they could not understand what was depicted on the cover and said the book's title was also difficult to read.[449]

The Chichagovs based their cover design for *Newspaper Production Explained to Children* exclusively on type. The front page of an actual issue of the Soviet newspaper *Izvestiia* was used as a background for assembling the cover, on top of which the title of the book printed in red, clearly stands out **(III.1/ Fig.9)**. *Newspaper Production Explained to Children* **(III.1/Figs.21-22)** is strongly reminiscent of 1923 advertising designs for GUM (State Department Store) by their teacher Rodchenko **(III.1/Fig.23a,b)**.

All drawings in *Newspaper Production Explained to Children* adhere to the general typographical principles developed by the Constructivists, employing a rigid geometrical organization, asymmetry, and sans serif lettering **(III.1/Figs.21-24)**. Schematic drawings similar to ideograms depict faceless people subordinated to the machines **(III.1/ Fig.25)**. Only in one instance in the book do we see a concrete individual rather than a generalized

---

[449] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

type--a photo portrait of Leon Trotsky is woven into the text mentioning his name. In order to distinguish this important leader of the Communist Party from the masses of workers,[450] the Chichagovs, instead of drawing his portrait, turned to the technique of photomontage **(III.1/ Fig.26)**.

Throughout the book, the Chichagovs stressed the simplicity and beauty of typographical material itself, using various decorative elements such as rulers and lines from the printer's moulds. These bold lines are employed to emphasize various slogans or objects and machinery. The Chichagovs used a contrasting combination of red and black, black and blue, and black and green in their drawings. It is interesting to note, that in one of the drawings in the book depicting a newspaper kiosk, the Chichagovs featured the title of *Kino-Fot* **(III.1/ Fig.22)** a Constructivist journal devoted to cinematography and photography, edited by a theorist of productivism Aleksei Gan. It was in this journal that the first experiments with the application of photographic images of the Chichagovs' teacher Rodchenko were published. To a certain extent, *Newspaper Production Explained to Children* bears all the marks of the era's aesthetic legacy, combining the propagandistic state agenda

[450] Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929. At the time of the publication of the book he was still considered an important political leader.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with the formalist achievements of the Constructivists. The Chichagovs' books greatly influenced later children's production books by such Leningrad artists as Vladimir Lebedev and Mikhail Tsekhanovsky.

Lebedev's work in book design is discussed in depth in the previous chapter. However, since he produced several important books related to technology, it seems relevant to focus on them here. In 1927, Lebedev created illustrations for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok* (How the Plane Made the Plane) by Samuil Marshak **(III.1/Fig.27)**. This book, designed in the Constructivist mode - clearly a mode not yet exhausted - depicts planes, hammers, and chisels. Lebedev reveals the structure of the objects – some of the instruments are depicted in cross-section to show their interior components, and to illustrate what they are used for or how they work [451] **(III.1/Figs.28, 28a)**.

The strong, clear composition of Lebedev's *How the Plane Made the Plane* is based on simple geometrical principles and colored shapes. An emphasis on the two-dimensional nature of the page, the absence of illusionary

---

[451] The artists A. and V. Traugot recalled in their memoirs that once Lebedev showed them a catalogue of one of the oldest St. Petersburg department stores, *Gvardeiskoe ekonomicheskoe obschestvo*, later known as the House of Leningrad Trade. In pre-revolutionary times a variety of top quality goods from all over the world were sold there. This catalogue was illustrated with engravings depicting numerous goods such as lamps, hats, tools, etc. Lebedev's extraordinary gift for vividly depicting various objects developed in large part as a result of the influence of the engravings in this catalogue. Another important influence came from

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

perspective and lack of light-modeling are characteristic of Lebedev's illustrations. The typographical character is dominant, with the exclusion of any decorative feature. In the cover design **(III.1/Fig.27)**, Lebedev employed large sans serif letters in a dynamic diagonal arrangement, similar to design by other Constructivist artists of the time. Many of Rodchenko's and Lissitzky's designs are composed of topographical lettering which taking up the entire space, one of the determining characteristics of the Constructivist book. Another unique feature of Constructivist design involved the use of two or three strongly contrasting color tones. In his cover, Lebedev also used contrasts of primary colors: red, blue, and white.

In Lebedev's earlier illustrations for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today) by Marshak (Leningrad: Raduga), 1925, one finds a satirical dialogue between old and new goods: a wax candle and an electric bulb, an ink pen, and a typewriter. The old goods are complaining that the new ones are pushing them out of use. Using the form of the fairy tale, the artist refers to important issues of the day such as the industrialization of Soviet society and

---

painted shop signs. (Traugot and Traugot, "Neskol'ko vstrech s Lebedevym," *Detskaia literatura* [Moscow], no. 7 [1992]: 47.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the victory of progressive technology over traditional ways of life **(III.1/Fig.29)**. In this book, an electric bulb and an oil-stove argue with each other. The oil stove is depicted as an uneducated and narrow minded character while the electric bulb is more sophisticated but arrogant and self-assured, and regards with great contempt the outmoded oil-stove. A row of young Russian peasant women with water-carrying yokes resemble an ornamental border on peasant's embroidery, reflecting Lebedev's desire to create a link to Russian folk art **(III.1/Fig.30)**.

Lebedev, like Rodchenko and Vladimir Mayakovsky, promoted the ideas of progressive technology. In *Yesterday and Today*, he used handwritten text as a method of artistic expression for the story about an ink pen, while for the story about a typewriter he used a text typed on that same typewriter **(III.1/Fig.29a,b)**. Marshak and Lebedev created poetic images of new objects produced by contemporary technology, that replaced older ones. As the literary critic V.Smirnova noted, Marshak considered children's books an important educational tool.[452]

Lebedev's illustrations for *Doska sorevnovaniia* (Socialist Competition Honor Board) (Moscow: Molodaia

---

[452] V. Smirnova, "Samuil Marshak," in *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura*, ed. V.I. Bochkareva, S.I. Liubimova and I.M. Mikhailova (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1956), 164.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gvardiia-OGIZ, 1931) glorify the most productive workers **(III.1/Fig.31)** and criticize the lazy ones. As in Lebedev's posters for ROSTA Windows (Russian Telegraph Agency)of 1920-21 **(III.1/Fig.32)**, only the most typical social traits of the characters are stressed in these illustrations **(III.1/Fig.33)**. A slim but muscular figure wearing a worker's cap represents the proletariat - the politically conscious worker - while the enemies of Communism, such as capitalists, are shown as fat men with distorted faces, top hats and black suits.

By the end of the 1920s-early 1930s, innovative Constructivist designs became commonplace. Lebedev's originality was not in his use of elements of Constructivist design, but in his application of Constructivist principles to children's' books. Lebedev created a specific graphic language attuned to children's visual perception and established a whole new direction in Soviet book illustration in Leningrad frequently referred to as the Lebedev school. Evgeny Kovtun, a scholar of Russian Avant-Garde has argued:

> The expression "Lebedev School" which is often found in the press and lectures on Russian avant-garde is incorrect. A "school" per se did not exist. This term is applicable to a circle of students. Although Lebedev was a mentor for a number of artists in Detgiz, he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> never imposed his artistic principles on them, encouraging each artist to bring his or her own individual style and creative originality into children's books. The only condition which Lebedev strived for was that any book should constitute a unified, intact, and constructively organized work.[453]

Children's books on science and technology by such artists as Mikhail Tsekhanovsky and Evgenia Evenbakh were influenced by Lebedev's innovative works and designs. However, as their books demonstrate, despite the same general guiding principles, each artist developed a unique personal style.

In the 1920s, Tsekhanovsky[454] illustrated an entire series of children's books about technology **(III.1/Fig.34)**, successfully combining the elements of commercial graphics, poster, and photomontage. Boris Zhitkov wrote the text for many of Tsekhanovsky's illustrated books. Zhitkov was an

---

[453] E.F. Kovtun, "Tvorchestvo Evgenii Konstantinovny Evenbakh," 26 September 1976, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 203, D. 294, L. 3.

"Vyrazhenie 'shkola Lebedeva,' kotoroe neredko mozhno vstretit' v pechati i vystupleniiakh, neverno. 'Shkoly' ne bylo. Eto opredelennyi podkhod k krugu uchenikov.

V. Lebedev mudro rukovodil etim kollektivom, ne naviazyvaia svoikh khudozhestvennykh printsipov, dobivaias' togo, chtoby kazhdyi prines v detskuiu knigu svoiu individual'nost' i tvorcheskoe svoeobrazie. Edinstvennoe uslovie, kotoroe stavil V. Lebedev—eto chtoby kniga byla edinym, tselym, konstruktivno reshennym organizmom."

[454] After graduating from the lyceum in 1908, Tsekhanovsky left for Paris and worked there in private sculpture studios. Upon returning to Russia in 1911, he entered the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts and simultaneously took courses at the Department of Law at St. Petersburg University. However, because of the outbreak of World War I he did not graduate. He later moved to Moscow and continued his art training at the School of painting, Sculpture and Architecture. During the Russian Civil War years, Tsekhanovsky worked on posters and decorated propaganda trains as well as various clubs and theaters. He was one of the organizers of the Propeller group that created film posters mostly for American movies. On Tsekhanovsky see V.Kuznetsova and E. Kuznetsov, *Tsekhanovsky* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1973).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

engineer and a professional navigator, who traveled all over the world, visiting India, Japan, and Africa, and crossing three oceans: the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific. After graduating from the Shipbuilding department of the St. Petersburg Polytechnical Institute, Zhitkov was employed as an engineer on a submarine, an airplane, and at a shipbuilding plant, before becoming a regular contributor to various children's magazines.

How do people work in a mine? How were the telegraph and radio developed? Why do electric bulbs burn and what does electric power mean? How are books produced? --Zhitkov answered all these questions in four of his books, illustrated by Tsekhanovsky and published in 1927.

Pro etu knigu (About this Book) was considered one of the best production books of the time **(III.1/Fig.35)**. This book became so popular that it was translated into German and French, and in Russia it was reprinted fifteen times. It describes the process of book printing through the actual copy of the book which the reader holds in his hands - from the manuscript through typesetting, galley pages, editor's work, and printing **(III.1/Fig.36)**[455] Zhitkov even

[455] In any book, the introduction is always printed as well as the rest of the text. Instead, in Zhitkov's book, the introduction is presented in a form of a manuscript, in other words, Zhitkov's first handwritten page is reproduced in the book. He noted: "I have written the title A*bout this Book*, but there isn't any book yet.... I had this handwritten text printed the way it was when I produced it—including all the ink blots, so you

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

considered printing his book using various types and textures of paper for its different pages, so that the reader would understand what role the quality of paper plays in the production of a book, but this idea was never realized. In his illustrations for *About this Book*, influenced by Lebedev, Tsekhanovsky took the objects out of their context and placed them directly onto the white plane of the page without trying to create any illusion of space. He rejected unnecessary details in favor of a generalized image.

However, many reviewers of the book found serious problems with its ideological aspect. One of them, Eikhler, wrote: "Taking this book as an example, we can see drawbacks in many other similar books…. The book and the process of its production are shown by the author without demonstrating the connection with social and economic infrastructure, with our Soviet reality. As a result, the writer presents technology while completely ignoring the people."[456] Another critic, Inozemtsev, felt that much in Zhitkov's books "is not acceptable for the Soviet child."

---

would see how the book starts…" (Gennadii Chernenko, *Vechyi Kolumb:Biograficheskii ocherk o Zhitkove* (Leningrd: Detskaia literatura, 1982), 144.

[456] G. Eikhler, "K voprosu o nauchno-tekhnicheskoi literature dlia detei," *Detskaia literatura* (Children's Literature) (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 3 (1935): 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Inozemtsev pointed out that Zhitkov describes technology without any connection to its social tasks and always presents an industrial production process in total isolation from "human labor." One of the great faults of Zhitkov's books, Inozemtsev believed, was that the major role in his stories is always played by an inventor, a talented individual rather than "the worker's collective."[457] Inozemtsev complained that Zhitkov also fails to demonstrate the important difference between the profit-oriented publishing business of the capitalist countries and that of the Soviet Union.[458]

In another book by Zhitkov, entitled *Telegramma* (Telegram) the reader is introduced to the history of the development of the means of communication, starting from the time when the human voice was the only means of communication through contemporary technology with the telegraph and the radio making it possible to communicate over great distances. Developing his theme, Zhitkov used the method of contrasting the old technology with the new. He demonstrated the inadequacy of one or another technical achievement in the light of more complex tasks, as they

---

[457] I. Inozemtsev, "Boris Zhitkov i problema detskoi technicheskoi knigi," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 7 (1935): 4.

[458] Ibid., 5-6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appear throughout history. Criticizing Zhitkov's book, Zhavoronkova noted that the simplification of its language led to scientific and technical inaccuracy. She pointed out that one should teach children to use special technical terms, explaining and clarifying them.[459] The critic's main concern was that the author did not focus "on the human factor" and socialist achievements. She complained that Zhitkov failed to introduce children to the "social tasks" of the telegraph and radio and fails to demonstrate the industrial relations and conditions of labor as well as the military importance of these means of communication.[460] Inozemtsev went further in his critique:"Zhitkov is still in the web of bourgeois ideology in his highly schematic description of the technological process."[461]

Pochta (The Post Office), written by Marshak and published in 1927, is one of Tsekhanovsky's last works in the field of book design, incorporating all of his best achievements in this area **(III.1/Fig.37)**. The plot of *The Post Office* describes a marathon of the postmen of various countries. It is the story of a letter which, in the process of reaching its recipient - the writer Zhitkov -

---

[459] Zhavoronkova, "Khorosho nachataia i slabo zakonchennaia kniga," 17.

[460] Ibid.

[461] Inozemtsev, "Boris Zhitkov i problema detskoi tekhnicheskoi knigi," 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

travels by train, plane, and by ship all over the world. In his illustrations for the book, Tsekhanovsky uses his favorite method of montage of either superimposing several images on one page or juxtaposing several pictures. For instance, an addressed envelope, which is introduced at the beginning of the book, appears again at the end but with new labels, new stamps, and memos, while the old ones are crossed out with a red pencil, creating a sense of elapsed time. Some critics attacked the lack of a clear ideological position of both the writer and the illustrator of *The Post Office*. K. Sverdlova wrote:

> The Communist Party is working on the creation of a classless society. In the light of this important goal we have to reconsider each educational tool which helps us to bring up five and twelve year old children as fighters for the liquidation of classes and as active builders of the Communist society. Children's literature is one of the most important tools for developing children's class-consciousness.... This book could have been a good opportunity to show the differences between postman's work in the capitalist countries and in the USSR.... By telling about people working in the post office, the author could have shown the great difference in labor conditions between the USSR and in the capitalist countries." [462]

---

[462] K. Sverdlova, review of *Pochta*, by Samuil Marshak, *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 7 (1932): 4-5.

"Nasha partiia perekhodit k neposredstvennomu osushchestvleniiu velichaishei tseli, postavlennoi istoriei,—k sozdaniiu besklassovogo obshchestva.

V svete etoi zadachi nado so vsei politicheskoi ostrotoi peresmotret' kazhdyi instrument, pomogaiushchii vyrastit' iz piati-dvenadtsatiletnego rebenka boitsa za likvidatsiiu klassov i aktivnogo stroitelia besklassovogo obshchestva.

Detskaia literatura—odno iz vazhneishikh orudii, organizuiushchikh soznanie detei...Avtor daet nizovykh rabotnikov sviazi—pochtal'onov raznykh stran; na etom materiale avtor mog by iarkimi shtrikhami pokazat' raznitsu truda pochtal'ona v SSSR i v kapitalisticheskikh stranakh. Esli vziat' tol'ko

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

S. Bolotin and A.Devishev, other reviewers of that time, were dissatisfied with Tsekhanovsky's depiction of postmen in different countries, saying that their images were strongly reminiscent of bourgeois caricatures depicting various nationalities. Devishev was especially upset with Tsekhanovsky's cartoonish image of the Soviet postman. The most significant drawback, the reviewers stated, was the fact that neither the writer nor the artist showed any difference between the Soviet state and the capitalist countries.[463]

This type of critique reminds us that Soviet society at this time was so politicized that even a book which had nothing to do with politics, a book describing the postman's work, was supposed to have the "correct" ideological thrust. It is not suprising, that Lebedev was also severely criticized for his "formalist approach" in depicting images of workers. The 1936 editorial of *Detskaia literatura* (Children's Literature) stated:

> Instead of concrete images of realistically -rendered distinguished workers of the Soviet Union, Lebedev depicts schematic lifeless mannequins. In his drawings, the images of dull monsters, made to look stupid by the

---

odin moment—dlitel'nost' rabochego dnia, to na etom momente vpolne vozmozhno pokazat' raznitsu v rabote soobrazno ponimaniiu doshkol'nikov."

[463] S. Bolotin and A. Devishev, "Blestiashche sdelannye maski," *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura, Kritiko-bibliograficheskii biulleten'*, no. 12 (1933): 21-23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> artist, have nothing in common with the most productive workers of the Soviet Union…. Creating abstract formalist drawings, Lebedev presents us with the images that are a slanderous perversion of the theme of Soviet labor. In these drawings, the irreconcilable conflict between the realism of the heroic theme and the abstractedness of the formalist treatment of the subject is evident.[464]

Evgenia Evenbakh (1889-1981) worked at the Leningrad Detgiz under Lebedev's supervision, and like Tsekhanovsky, she belonged to a group of artists who completely changed the face of the new Soviet children's book design. Evenbakh was a pupil of Nicholas Roerich at the Drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and of the Symbolist artist Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin at the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts, before turning to children's book design in 1923.[465] Each summer, Petrov-Vodkin took his

---

[464] "Protiv formalizma i shtampa v illustratsiiakh k detskoi knige," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia), no. 3 (1936): 43, 44.

"Na risunke V. Lebedeva vmesto konkretnykh zhivykh udarnikov Sovetskogo Soiuza dany bezplotnye skhemy, bezzhisnennye manekeny. Eti tupye, obolvanennye khudozhnikom urody ne imeiut nichego obshchego s rabochimi 'udarnogo tsekha strany.'

Sozdavaia abstraktnye, formalisticheskie postroeniia,—Lebedev dal risunki, kotorye ob'ektivno iavliaiutsia klevetnicheskim izvrashcheniem temy.

V nikh na litso neprimirimoe protivorechie mezhdu zhiznennost'iu geroicheskoi temy i abstraktnost'iu formalisticheskogo resheniia."

[465] Born in 1889 in Kremenchug (Ukraine) into a family of a railway worker, Evgenia Evenbakh received her initial education at the gymnasium in Ekaterinoslav where she started making her first drawings--caricatures related to life at the school. These caricatures angered the school supervisors and she was refused an award for her school achievements. In 1910, Evenbakh entered the St. Petersburg Drawing School for the Encouragement of the Arts, where she studied under Nicholas Roerich, who was the school's director. The Drawing School accepted the children of workers as their students. When on one occasion Evenbakh met Ilya Repin, the famous realist artist he found Evenbakh's drawings not lacking in talent, and suggested that she continue her art studies.V.V. Mate, the head of the engraving class at the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts invited her to study in his studio. At the Academy, Evenbakh studied first with Shukhaev, and then with Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin. During the World War I, Evenbakh worked as a nurse in a medical hospital in Belarus. During the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, she created a series of political

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students to the Russian medieval towns of Pskov and Novgorod to paint *en plain air*. It was there, under the influence of the Novgorod frescos of Dionysius in the St. Ferapont Monastery and the colors of medieval architecture that Evenbakh's specific color scheme originated. A combination of white stone churches, the greenery of meadows, and blue color of Lake Ilmen' with the multi-colored bright palette of the local market inspired Evenbakh to utilize this "Novgorod color scheme" in her children's books. She was also greatly influenced by the stylistics and spirit of Russian painted shop signs.

In the 1920s, the usual situation of subordinating the illustrator of the book to the writer had undergone a drastic change. Now the artist would suggest a theme for a children's book and then would find a writer who would write the verses to accompany the artist's drawings. This was precisely the case with one of the best books by Evenbakh entitled *Rynok* (Market) published in 1926 **(III.1/Fig.38)**. All of the illustrations for the *Market* were created not as a commission for drawings illustrating

---

posters for a soldier's club. Combining her studies with the teaching of drawing at the local trade school, Evenbakh graduated from the Academy in 1923. In 1924, her first illustrations were published in the *Novyi Robinzon* journal. On Evenbakh see V.S. Matafonov, *E.K. Evenbakh* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1988).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a particular text but as independent works, done prior to the text **(III.1/Fig.39-40)**.

The idea for the *Market* originated in Novgorod. As Evenbakh recalled: "Novgorod became the basis for all my work. It was in Novgorod that my children's books were born. I did not illustrate the books per se, but I created sketches from real life which were transformed into color drawings, to which the first Soviet writers would write verses."[466]

When Evenbakh brought the cycle of 1924-25 drawings depicting the market in Novgorod to the Raduga publishing house, its head L.M. Kliachko exclaimed: "It is a rare case when the artist brings completed illustrations for a text which does not yet exist."[467] He then added: "Do not worry, we'll find you a writer. But how come you did not consult us first? What if we would not accept your work?"[468] Lebedev, who was present at that meeting, was so impressed with Evenbakh's work that he immediately invited her to work for the State Publishing House, where he was the artistic director of the children's section.

---

[466] Conversations of Matafonov with Evenbakh, quoted in Matafonov, *E.K. Evenbakh*, 58.

[467] Evgenia Evenbakh, Artist's memoirs, unpublished manuscript, quoted in Matafonov, *E.K. Evenbakh*, 60.

[468] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The illustrations for the *Market* bear a clear resemblance to Lebedev's work. Evenbakh, instead of trying to hide this influence, pays a homage to Lebedev in one of her illustrations **(see III.1/Fig.40)** where she includes a blue ice cream stand with the inscription "Lebedev's ice cream" in the market scene, making a direct reference to Lebedev's book *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream), which had appeared one year earlier and had become extremely popular. When Evenbakh worked on a cover design for the *Market* **(III.1/Fig.38),** she bought a pike at the Andreevsky market in Leningrad, put it into the bathtub in her apartment and made many sketches of the fish. A superimposition of drawings of the pike and the vegetables onto the book's title was also inspired by Lebedev's style, in this case by his book *Azbuka* (Alphabet) of 1925 **(III.1/Fig.41).**

Lebedev commissioned Evenbakh to illustrate a book *Farforovaia chashechka* (Porcelain Cup), written by E.Ya. Dan'ko**(III.1/Fig.42).** In order to create her illustrations, Evenbakh carefully studied the process of porcelain production at the Lomonosov Porcelain Factory in Leningrad. After making hundreds of sketches **(III.1/Fig.42a),** she finally selected some of the most characteristic drawings and transformed them, eliminating unnecessary details and simplifying them to a greater extent, for the children's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

book illustrations. Evenbakh employed only three colors—orange, blue, and black, but using different combinations of these colors she achieved a varied design.

In comparison with Chichagovas' illustrations on the same topic (*Where do the Dishes Come From*?, 1924), which focused exclusively on the technical elements of the production and ignored the depiction of people involved in the production process, Evenbakh included images of the workers of the porcelain factory into her designs.

Evenbakh would come up with the ideas for all of her subsequent production books. As the artist recalled, while walking along the street in Novgorod, she was struck by the simplicity and expressiveness of the old painted shop sign depicting leather, which served as an advertisement for a shoe and leather goods repair store **(III.1/Fig.43)**, and thought of a book about the production of leather and the shoemaker's trade. In Evenbakh's cover design for the 1925 book entitled *Kozha* (Leather) **(III.1/Fig.44)** by Mikhail Ilyin, Evenbakh used the motif of skins, stretched and painted in two colors, which is almost a direct repetition of an earlier, 1910s, sign for a shoemaker shop. She employed simplified shapes and avoided the illusion of perspective and gradation of light and shadow. That the signs had a great impact on Evenbakh's work as a book

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

illustrator is evident not only in her designs for *Leather*, but also in *Sitets* (Printed Cotton) by Il'in(1930) **(III.1/Fig.45)**. In both *Leather* and *Printed Cotton*, Evenbakh was able to clearly express extremely complex technological processes for the production of leather and fabrics **(III.1/Fig.46)**.

The most elaborate and complex among Evenbakh's production books is the 1926 book *Stol* (Table) by Zhitkov **(III.1/Fig.47)**. Using only eight illustrations, Evenbakh depicted many different tools employed in the process of the production of a table **(III.1/Fig.47a)**, and included numerous people engaged in a variety of production tasks. The workers' repetitive rhythm and the positioning of the drawings as strips parallel to the text are reminiscent of an ornamental frieze. Preferring to work from live models, Evenbakh made numerous sketches for her illustrations at the joiner's workshops. It was *Table* that inspired Lebedev, who oversaw the publication of this book at Detgiz, to create his illustrations for *How the Plane Made the Plane* in 1927.

Eduard Krimmer (1900-1974)[469] was among those artists in Lebedev's circle who were especially interested in

[469] Eduard Krimmer was born on November 17, 1900 in the town of Nikolaev, into a family of pioneers of Russian photography. In 1917 and 1918, he designed sets for the local theater. From 1918 to 1922, Krimmer studied at the Odessa Art Institute. From 1926 to 1935, Krimmer was a member of Malevich's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

modern machines and the new technology. The leading designer of the Lomonosov Porcelain Factory in Leningrad from 1950 to 1974, Krimmer is best known for his important contributions in the field of porcelain design. However, in the 1920s, Krimmer both wrote and illustrated over thirty children's books, some of which, including *Port*, *Butylochka* (Little Bottle), and *Pro shilo, kleshchi, i prochie veshchi* (About the Awl, the Pincers, and Other Things) by Semyon Polotsky **(III.1/Fig.48-49)**, belong to the genre of the production book.

In 1923, Krimmer settled in Petrograd and began to collaborate with the Raduga and Detgiz publishing houses. From 1929, Krimmer attended the classes of Kazimir Malevich's circle for the study of modern Western painting. According to Krimmer's stepson Victor Tsaritsyn the artist destroyed most of his paintings created in the 1920s and 30s, fearing persecution since many of his artist friends

---

circle. In 1928, Samuel Marshak and Vladimir Lebedev invited Krimmer to be a designer for the *Siskin* and *Hedgehog* magazines, and he collaborated with these two journals for several years. Between 1928 and 1935, Krimmer worked for a number of Leningrad theaters as a theater designer, and from 1935 to 1937 he created sets and costume designs for Lenfilm and Kiev Film Studios. When World War II broke out he joined the army and held the post of chief officer of the camouflage service of the eighth air base of the Baltic Fleet's airforce. In 1948, Krimmer created works for the Artistic Glass Factory, and from 1950 on worked at the Lomonosov Porcelain Factory in Leningrad. (See Victor Tsaritsyn, "Eduard Krimmer," in *In Malevich's Circle: Confederates, Students, Followers in Russia, 1920s-1950s*, ed. Irina Karasik [St. Petersburg and Italy: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2000], 307-311.) On Krimmer also see N. Kuleshova, "Romantika tekhnitsizma: Khudozhnik Eduard Krimmer," *Detskaia literatura* (Children's Literature), no. 6 (1989): 65-68; N.M. Kuleshova, "Pis'ma Eduarda Mikhailovicha Krimmera," in *Sovetskaia grafika: sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Leningrad: Russian Museum, 1991), 47-64.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were arrested and killed during Stalin's purges.[470] Formulating his artistic credo, Krimmer wrote: "... take only large and typical, expressive phenomena. The articulation that creates the rhythm of the thing will already be within this foundation.... Strain color to the utmost expressiveness.... Form must be drawn immediately from several directions."[471]

This credo is best expressed in Krimmer's illustrations for *Port* by Polotsky (1926). The artist stressed the beauty and, at the same time, great expediency and functionality of modern machines working in the port. In his illustrations, Krimmer assimilated such essential Constructivist concepts as dynamism and a great economy of artistic means. He represented multi-component structures in which the cross-sections, complex combinations and joints of mechanical parts as well as their acute angles and shifts are combined with easily recognizable images of a plane, a ship, and a house **(III.1/Fig.48).**

In most cases, representational imagery remained an essential part of Krimmer's illustrations despite the

---

[470] Victor Tsaritsyn, "Eduard Krimmer," 308.

[471] Ibid.

"Brat' tol'ko krupnye i kharakternye, vyrazitel'nye iavleniia. I uzhe vnutri etogo osnovnogo—chlenenie, kotoroe sozdaet ritm veshchi...Napriagat' tsvet do predel'noi vyrazitel'nosti...formu nado risovat' srazu s neskol'kikh storon."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

strong stylization. However, in one of his illustrations for the *Port*, the figure of a captain looks like an ideogram and resembles stylized figures of peasants in Krimmer's 1929-30 paintings, which he executed under the influence of Malevich's late geometricized and faceless figures.[472]

Two other artists, successfully working in the genre of the production book and producing a large body of work in this area were Olga Deineko (1897-1970)[473] and Nikolai Troshin (b.1897).[474] Troshin was a student at VKhUTEMAS in

---

[472] From 1929, Krimmer attended the classes of Malevich's circle for the study of modern Western painting. According to Krimmer's stepson Victor Tsaritsyn the artist destroyed most of his paintings created in the 1920s and 30s, fearing persecution since many of his artist friends were arrested and killed during Stalin's purges. (Victor Tsaritsyn, "Eduard Krimmer," 38).

[473] Born in the Chernigov area (Ukraine) in 1897, Deineko received her initial art training at the Baron Schtiglitz School of Technical Drawing in St. Petersburg in 1916 –17. In 1918, she continued studying painting in Moscow VKhUTEMAS under the famous painter Ilya Mashkov, a follower of Cezanne and a member of the Jack of Diamonds group. However, she decided to transfer to the graphic arts department, studying under S.V. Gerasimov and N.N. Kupreianov. While a student, Deineko became interested in Russian folk arts and crafts, frequenting villages and making drawings of peasants' costumes, national ornaments, and crafts. Deineko worked as a poster designer and turned to children's book illustration in 1923. The only available information on Deineko can be found in the following small catalogue: *Vystavka akvarelei I risunkov Ol'gi Deineko I Nikolaia Troshina* (An exhibition of watercolors and drawings by Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin), (Moscow: Moscow Section of the Artists' Union, "Moscow Artists" Association, and the Writers' Club, June 1946).

[474] Nikolai Troshin was born in Tula in 1897. His father died when he was several months old and his mother died before he turned five. After his mother's death, Troshin was brought up by a stepfather who was a heavy drinker, so that the boy was neglected until his mother's sister got custody of the boy. When Troshin turned nine years old he was sent as an orphan to study at the Riazan Vocational School, graduating in 1913 as a locksmith's assistant. He had to start working at the Kolomensky plant, but instead he chose the career of a painter and in 1914 entered the Penza Art School, where he studied until 1918. From 1918 to 1920, Troshin continued his art studies at Vkhutemas under Mashkov. In 1920, Troshin began working as a theater designer and an art director at the Red Army Theater and at the Club of Construction Workers in Riazan. From 1922 Troshin worked in Moscow as a graphic designer for *SSSR na stroike* (USSR in Construction) journal, illustrating over fifty of its issues and also writing articles for the *Sovietskoe Foto* (Soviet Photography) journal. In 1929, Troshin published a book *Basic Composition in Photography* and from 1931 on he worked as a designer for the decoration of the central Moscow squares for the May 1 and Bolshevik Revolution celebrations. In 1930, together with Deineko he was appointed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Moscow, where he met Deineko, his future wife. He became a prominent designer of photomontage posters and books and was appointed editor-in-chief of the celebrated review *USSR in Construction*. It was Troshin who had the idea of inviting Lissitzky and Rodchenko to work on the review. In 1927, in conjunction with his work on children's books, Troshin became a member of the special committee which studied the reaction to book illustrations by children at the Institute of Children's Reading. While there, Troshin presented two papers, "Influence of Poster Design on Children's Book Illustrations," and "A New Approach to Illustrating Children's Production Books."

In the 1925 book entitled *Azbuka metricheskikh mer* (Alphabet of Metric Units) by Deineko and Troshin **(III.1/ Fig.50)** letters of the alphabet are used along with drawings and the designs are mostly made up of typographical characters. As Troshin noted in his autobiography, he created this book "for the mass propaganda of the metric system."[475] The artists used various sizes of lettering, thus emphasizing with the

---

artistic director of the exhibition The Five *Year Plan-- in Four* held at the Central Park of Culture and Recreation in Moscow. After this exhibition, he was a poster designer working together with Dmitrii Moor. In 1934, Troshin designed an exhibition of posters *10 Years without Lenin*. (See Troshin's autobiography: Nikolai Stepanovich Troshin, "Kratkie svedeniia avtobiograficheskogo kharaktera I perechen' glavnykh rabot," TsGALI, Moscow, F. 2943, Op. 1, D. 238, L. 1-5.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

large-scale lettering the most important words and enlarging the expressive qualities of the image.

In the mid-twenties, in collaboration with Deineko, Troshin wrote and illustrated many other important production books, including *Kak svekla sakharom stala* (How Beets Become Sugar), *Kak khlopok sitsem stal* (How Cotton Becomes Printed Cotton) **(III.1/Figs.51,51a)**, *Ot kauchuka do galoshi* (From Rubber to Galoshes), *Khlebozavod No.3* (Bakery No.Three), *Na kirpichnom zavode* (At the Brick Works), and *Tysiachu plat'ev v den'* (One Thousand Dresses per Day) **(III.1/Figs.52-52a)**. These books informed young readers where their cotton clothes, bread, and shoes came from.

In the 1920s, many publishing houses organized numerous excursions for their artists-illustrators to the industrial centers and collective farms so that the artists would better understand industry and agriculture and to become closer to the workers and peasants. Troshin and Deineko did the preliminary drawings for all their books directly at the factories.

Deineko's and Troshin's drawings for *How Beets Become Sugar* **(III.1/Figs.53-54)** depicted the entire complex process of sugar production, including the ploughed earth,

---

[475] Nikolai Stepanovich Troshin, "Kratkie svedeniia avtobiograficheskogo kharaktera I perechen' glavnykh rabot," TsGALI, Moscow, F. 2943, Op. 1, D. 238, L. 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the sowing, and harvesting of the beets). It also demonstrated how the beets are washed by the machines, how they are crushed, and then, while mixed with water, how the beet pulp is transformed into juice, syrup, and finally, sugar. The main characteristic of this book is that the whole process of sugar production is revealed through the drawings rather than the text. Deineko's and Troshin's work served as a model of the important and easily comprehensible production book for many other artists working in this area. A Soviet educator Z.Lilina praised Troshin and Deineko's production books as fine examples of new and useful children's literature.[476]

During the late 1920s, special collections of scholarly essays analyzing various examples of the production book were published in Russia and reviews of new production books regularly appeared in the press. The aim of the Methodological Committee on the Children's Book and its publication was to establish criteria for the scientific evaluation of production books.[477]

---

[476] Z. Lilina, "Obzor detskoi literatury Giza," *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad), no. 2 (February 1928): 34.

[477] The Reviewing Committee, consisting of thirty members, included graduate students from Moscow University specializing in children's literature, researchers of the Central Children's Library, writers of children's books and book illustrators. The Committee pointed out that among the production books that it had reviewed there were either dry narrative-based books which did not touch upon children's emotions or books which described the production process, technology, industry, and contemporary life in an unrealistic way, as if it were a fairy tale . The latter type of books, as the committee noted, were the most prevalent. The committee members felt strongly that such books were harmful for Soviet children because of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As a result of this evaluation, the committee distinguished three basic types of approaches to the writing of Soviet production books. The first approach was based on presenting a topic in an entertaining way, often using the method of anthropomorphism, and thus creating a kind of a fairy tale on a production theme which had very little to do with the production itself. Such an approach, according to the committee, completely overshadowed the main theme of production. The second approach was based on a description of the actual production process. The third approach the committee members called the "humanitarian" approach with the author's attention directed not at the production process itself but at social ideas and various human-related factors of production such as collective labor, its organization and usefulness.[478]

---

chaos and confusion they create in a young child's mind. Analyzing examples of production books, the reviewing committee evaluated the topic selected by each author, the artistic means employed, and children's reactions to each particular book. The Committee also analyzed to what important educational issues various branches of industry may contribute , what specific aspects of the production process might be especially interesting for children, etc. The committee compiled a special evaluation sheet for its reviewing members that contained such criteria as pedagogical evaluation, ideological content, the overall quality of the publication, and an analysis of the illustrations. As a result of the reviewing process, a reviewer had to give a general appraisal of the book as to whether he considered it useful or harmful for the child, what age group it could be recommended for, and the best way of utilizing the book in a school (for example, reading, retelling the story, or simply looking at the pictures). [Ibid, 5-10].

[478] Discussing what positive influences the various themes of production books may have on the development of a child, a member of the reviewing committee E.A. Flerina pointed out the following important aspects. The dynamism of the production process attracted children who usually like everything dynamic. The production process also provided rich material for children's sensual response, since it gave them an opportunity to observe various forms, colors, sounds, and smells. In addition, the whole process of the transformation of raw materials or natural resources into some kind of a substance also seemed to be a very exciting phenomenon for the child. A step-by-step presentation of the production process provided the child with a clear understanding of cause and effect, which is especially important for the development of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

S.Margolina, a member of the reviewing committee, noted that if a book on the production of cosmetic powder or women's fans were presented to the committee, it should reject this book out of hand because of the social insignificance of the theme, no matter how well this material has been presented in the book.[479] The next important issue, after the social significance of the topic, was whether the type of production described in the book would be easily understandable by a schoolchild. Margolina was convinced that different types of production have different aesthetic values for a child.[480] The scholar stated that in order for a writer to attract a child's interest, it was crucial not only to select the appropriate branch of industry but also to show the most important and most characteristic facts of any type of production.[481]

---

materialistic and logical thinking. Descriptions of those types of production which were often closely related to nature, demonstrated to a child how society depends on its natural resources. It is also important, Flerina stated, for a child to come to understand the role of human beings and collective labor in any production process [See E.A. Flerina, "Pedagogicheskaia otsenka proizvodstvennykh tem dlia rebenka," in *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detsikoi knige*, 11-13].

[479] Margolina, "Kak podoiti k analizu proizvodstvennoi knizhki?" 16.

[480] According to Margolina, some branches of industry are intriguing and excite a child's interest while others leave him completely indifferent, and still others might cause rather unpleasant feelings. According to Margolina's observations, production books describing and illustrating the work of blacksmiths, millers, or bakers seem to hold a special fascination for children. Margolina believed that children are especially intrigued by and interested in the mysterious atmosphere and unusual lighting of the forge, the blaze of the furnace, the sparkling of incandescent iron, and the rhythmic movement of the wheels of the mill. On the other hand, the production of meat or fertilizer are not of particular interest to children [Ibid, 17-18].

[481] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The First All-Union Conference on Children's literature held in Moscow in 1930 gave a clear definition of the production book as a book that not only deals with issues of technology but also presents these issues in close connection with the general goals of the "Socialist construction of industry"[482] and with "the Socialist organization of labor."[483] As the scholar G.Eikhler pointed out "technical propaganda is an indissoluble part of Communist, and in particular, political education." Eikhler considered literature on science and technology to be "the best and the strongest educational tool of this propaganda."[484] He stated:

> The first and major requirement of Soviet children's books on science and technology is a clear demonstration of the principal differences between Socialist and capitalist technology... Under capitalism technology serves to exploit the working class, and the whole of industry is based on profit. In Soviet society, technology is a means for the Socialist construction of the country and the building of a

---

[482] As an art historian Leah Dickerman noted, "...the common phrases "socialist construction" and "building socialism" referred simultaneously to the creation of an industrial base and to the production of a collective consciousness as a kind of social superstructure. Technology was seen not only to provide the means of economic surplus, but, like revolution, to create a new kind of political entity." (Leah Dickerman, *Building the Collective: Soviet Graphic Design, 1917-1937. Selections from the Merrill C. Berman Collection* [Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996], 13.)

[483] During the conference, it was noted that current children's literature on science and technology was characterized by two extremes: either a very narrow approach when the author did not want to see human beings behind the machine and completely neglected to depict "Socialist construction" or showed the theme of production in purely political and economical terms, forgetting about the technology and the production itself [See A. Zhavoronkova, "Nauchno-populiarnaia literatura: problema politekhnizma ne reshena," *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Literature for Children and Youth) (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 9 (1933): 28].

[484] Eikhler, "K voprosu o nauchno-tekhnicheskoi literature dlia detei," 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> classless society…. Socialism not only transforms old technology using the latest achievements, but it creates new innovative technology. The blast- furnace of the Communist state is totally different from the one of capitalist society since in the West it serves the exploitation of the working class while in the USSR it is a means of strengthening Socialism….[485]

Therefore, the Soviet production book was viewed by most Soviet literary critics and educators as reclaiming the progressive potential of technology, in contrast to its Western counterpart which presumably described the oppressive and alienating labor of capitalist societies.

3.2.Photography as a Sign of Modernity in Soviet Illustrated Children's Books, 1920s- 1930s

From the mid-1920s to the late 1930s, photography and photomontage were often used in those children's books that were devoted to the technical and social transformations in the Soviet Union **(III.2./Fig.1)**. While recent scholarship

---

[485] Ibid., 1-3.

"...pervym i osnovnym nashim trebovaniem k sovetskoi detskoi nauchno-tekhnicheskoi knizhke iavliaetsia vyiasnenie printsipial'nogo otlichiia sotsialisticheskoi tekhniki ot kapitalisticheskoi...

V usloviiakh kapitalizma tekhnika sluzhit tseliam eksploatatsii rabochego klassa, v osnove ee lezhit printsip pribyli i barysha. V nashikh usloviiakh ona iavliaetsia sredstvom sotsialisticheskoi perestroiki strany, postroeniia besklassovogo obshchestva...

Sotsializm ne tol'ko preobrazuet staruiu tekhnicheskuiu osnovu, ispol'zuia vse dostizheniia nauki, on sozdaet novuiu tekhniku, i kommunisticheskaia domennaia pech otlichaetsia ot kapitalisticheskoi v nashikh usloviiakh tem, chto tam ona sluzhit tseliam eksploatatsii rabochego klassa, a u nas—sredstvom ukrepliaiushchim sotsializm."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has made significant contribution to our understanding of Soviet photography and photomontage of the 1920s-30s,[486] Soviet photo-illustrated children's books of this period have not yet become a subject of scholarly attention.

In this chapter, I will discuss the most characteristic examples of children's books that contained predominantly photographic imagery, whether collaged or rephotographed.[487] I will focus on children's books illustrated by the Constructivist artists who became the chief practioners of photomontage, including Gustav Klutsis, Sergei Senkin, Vasilii Elkin, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and Varvara Stepanova. These artists will be the central figures of my study for they demonstrated most clearly the attempts to implement Constructivist principles in the field of photography and photomontage. I will show how their photo illustrated children's books exemplify the Russian avant-garde artists shift from abstract

---

[486] Among some selected essays and books that are benchmarks of a new era in scholarship of Soviet photography and photomontage are the following: *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, ed. Magdalena Dabrowski, Leah Dickerman and Peter Galassi (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1998); Margarita Tupitsyn, *The Soviet Photograph, 1924-1937* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); idem, "Exiting the Avant-Garde: Soviet Imagery under Stalin," in Margarita Tupitsyn, *Arte Sovietico 1928-1945* (Valencia: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1996), 171-178; idem, "From the Politics of Montage to the Montage of Politics: Soviet Practice 1919 through 1937," in *Montage and Modern Life: 1919-1942*, ed. Matthew Tetelbaum (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993), 82-128; *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913-1940*, ed. Christopher Phillips (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Aperture, 1989).

[487] There are only about twenty photo-illustarted children's books of the 1920s-30s that have survived from that period and which I found in various libraries in Russia, Europe, and the United States.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

compositions to works that more specifically incorporated documentary elements and were more capable of reaching a mass audience.

In their quest to address social concerns without resorting to figurative painting--and to circumvent the limitations of abstraction -- the Russian Constructivist artists began to experiment with photographic material. The development of the Russian Constructivists' involvement with photography in the 1920s corresponded to the unfolding of European photographic modernism.[488] Incorporating the photograph into the domain of the printed text, the Russian Constructivists continued the application of photomontage by such Dada artists as Hannah Hoch (1889-1978), Raoul Hausmann (1886-1971), and George Grosz (1893-1959) as well as the experiments of Laszlo Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946) and other designers at the Bauhaus.

By 1924, photomontage was established in the USSR as a useful Constructivist medium that spread rapidly into the fields of advertising and political propaganda, including posters, book covers, postcards, and illustrations for magazines and books. Many experimental Soviet artists, including Klutsis, Lissitzky, and Rodchenko used photomontage in such a propagandistic or promotional

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

capacity during the 1920s and early 1930s.[489] Photomontage was accorded much attention by the artists grouped around the journal *Lef*, founded by Vladimir Mayakovsky in 1923. *Lef* vigorously promoted the aesthetics of Productivism, giving priority to advertisement, posters, and book design.

"Resolutely rejecting room-museum easel painting, the contributors of Lef are fighting for the poster, for the illustration, for advertisements, photos and film-montage, i.e., for those forms of utilitarian graphic art meant for the masses, executed by means of machine technology, and closely connected with the material daily life of industrial workers,"-- wrote one of the theoreticians of the Left Front of Art, Boris Arvatov in 1923.[490]

In 1925, the art historian and theoretician of Production art Nikolai Tarabukin, pointed out that photomontage only appeared on the "left front of art" when abstraction had run its course: "Photomontage came into existence through the agitational aspect of modern art. Realistic expression has become necessary once again for agitational art. But the artist has used it in a different

---

[488] See Peter Galassi, "Rodchenko and Photography's Revolution," in *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, 101-137.

[490] B. Arvatov, "Utopia ili nauka?" *Lef*, no. 4 (1923), 18.

"Reshitel'no otvergaia komnatno-muzeinyi stankovizm, "Lefy" boriatsia za plakat, za illustratsiiu, reklamu, foto- i kino-montazh, t. e. za takie vidy utilitarno-izobrazhaiushchego iskusstva, kotorye byli by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

way than the naturalist. The photomontagist does not see representational art as the end, like the naturalist, but only as the means."[491] Tarabukin also stated:"Photomontage is the most characteristic sign of modernity. In it we may observe the application of many principles of modern 'left-wing' art. Here we see the use of the planar construction of the composition that is such a characteristic method for the majority of 'left-wing' tendencies in art."[492]

Photography became especially useful for children's books describing actual people and real events. In the wake of Lenin's death in 1924, his image in the form of countless paintings, busts, postcards, and illustrated books served as a visual commemoration of the Communist Party leader. In response to Lenin's death, Gustav Klutsis (1895-1938)[493] and Sergei Senkin (1894-1963)[494] employed

---

massovymi, vypolnimymi sredstvami mashinnoi tekhniki i tesno sviazannymi s material'nym bytom gorodskikh promyshlennykh rabochikh."

[491] Nikolai Tarabukin, "The Art of the Day," trans. Rosamund Bartlett, with an introduction by Maria Gough, *October* 93 (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, Summer 2000): 69. Originally published in 1925 as "Iskusstvo dnia."

[492] Ibid., 68.

[493] Born in Latvia, Gustav Klutsis first studied art in Riga. He joined the Red Army during the Revolution, and in 1918 he was sent to Moscow to protect the Kremlin. From 1918 to 1920 Klutsis studied with Kazimir Malevich at the State Art Free Studios. From 1920 to 1921 he continued his studies at the Moscow VKhUTEMAS (Higher State Artistic Workshops), where he also taught for six years, beginning in 1924. After 1924, he devoted himself to photography, photomontage, and graphic design. In 1928, he became a head of the poster section of October group, producing many posters dedicated to the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Klutsis was a participant in the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne in 1928 and was also one of the designers of the Soviet Pavilion at the 1937 Paris World's Fair. Accused of being a "Latvian nationalist," Klutsis was arrested in 1938, and shot shortly therafter at Butovo prison, near Moscow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

photomontage in their children's book *Deti i Lenin* (Children and Lenin) by I.Lin [495] **(III.2/Figs.2-3).**

Children and Lenin described the Communist Party leader's childhood. Photomontage illustrations of this book combined actual photographs of various children from the 1920s, their drawings and letters, as well as photographs depicting Lenin as a boy and his family. One of the book's chapters, entitled *Il'ich i deti* (Il'ich and Children) contains recollections of children who met Lenin.

In *Children and Lenin*, Klutsis and Senkin avoided didactic narrative or simple story telling. The method of photomontage made it possible to disregard the conventions of time and space and show simultaneous events in different places. All illustrations in the book are characterized by the most unexpected juxtapositions, groupings, and changes in scale. This type of composition was associated with the

---

[494] Sergei Senkin attended the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture from 1914 to 1915. He studied at Kazimir Malevich's studio at the Second State Free Art Studios in Moscow from 1918 to 1919, later maintaining contact with Malevich in Vitebsk. In 1922, Senkin exhibited his Suprematist works at the Association of New Trends in Art in Petrograd. He continued his studies at the VKhUTEMAS and produced his first political photomontages in 1924. Senkin accepted Suprematism as a geometrical vocabulary that could be applied to utilitarian ends. Senkin was convinced that art should serve the cause of ideology without compromising its aesthetic effect, as he emphasized in his several publications of the 1920s-30s. Between 1923 and 1925, Senkin was associated with the Constructivist journal *Lef*. In 1924, the critic Osip Brik included Senkin in his list of those artists who "once and for all have broken with easel craft and have recognized productional work in practice, not only as an equal form of artistic labor, but also as the only one possible." [O.Brik, "Ot kartiny k sitsu," in *Lef*, no. 2 (1924): 32]. In 1928, Senkin contributed to the designs of the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne, where he assisted Lissitzky in installing the Soviet pavilion. That same year Senkin became a member of October group.

[495] Published in 1925 (Moscow/Leningrad: Molodaia gvardiia).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

abrupt juxtapositions of cinematic montage.[496] It is known, that Klutsis was interested in the theories and films of Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein and adapted montage techniques to his photomontages.[497]

In 1924-25, Klutsis and Senkin produced analogous photomontage compositions for an adult audience. They created a series of photomontages complemented by elaborate graphic elements and dedicated to Lenin. This series was intended for the special issue of *Molodaia Gvardiia* (The Young Guard: For Lenin), published in Moscow in 1924 **(III.2/Fig.4)**. During this period, Klutsis and Senkin also illustrated Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem *Vladimir Il'yich Lenin*[498] **(III.2/Fig.5)** as well as created a number of political posters and cover designs for various journals.[499] In Klutsis' and Senkin's illustrations, both for an adult audience and for children, photomontage was

---

[496] The "montage technique" is the combining of frames of film in a creative order with the goal of achieving a reality that was more powerful than that of the raw material.

[497] Margit Rowell, "Constructivist Book Design: Shaping the Proletarian Conscience," in *The Russian Avant-Garde Book, 1910-1934*, ed. Margit Rowell and Deborah Wye (New York: Harry N. Abrams and the Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 57; Klutsis' designs for the covers of the magazine *Kino-Front* of 1926 were composed from stills from such films as Vertov's *One Sixth of the World* and Eisenstein's *The General Line*. Klutsis was a member of ARK (Revolutionary Association of Cinematographers) and ODSK (Society of the Friends of Soviet Cinema),and also produced designs for film magazines.

[498] Created in 1925, this book has been never published. The original photomontage compositions for the book are located at the State Museum of Latvian Art, Riga.

[499] Among these early photomontage designs are cover of the *Smena* magazine, 1924, no. 2,4; cover of *Vestnik truda* magazine, 1925, no. 1; cover of the book *Vecher frantsuzskoi revoliutsii v klubakh molodezhi* by S.Yudin (Moscow: Krasnaia nov', 1924) ;cover of the book *Na kapitalisticheskoi katorge* (Moscow/Leningrad: Molodaia gvardiia, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

placed at the service of propaganda and political campaigning. Later, in 1931, Klutsis commented on his early photomontages: "Photomontage appeared on the 'left' front of art at the time when nonrepresentational art lost its meaning. For agit-art one needed realistic representation."[500]

In 1931, Constructivist artist Vasilii Elkin (1897-1991)[501] also turned to photomontage in his designs for another children's book dedicated to Lenin, entitled *Kak Lenin otdykhal* (How Lenin Rested) **(III.2/Fig.6)**. Elkin's book provides an example of the artist's commitment to linking new systems of representation with revolutionary politics. For Elkin, the contemporary development in film presented an example of how to turn the photographic image into a visually effective modernist language. Relaying on an elaborate formal play of verticals, horizontals, and diagonals, as well as including photographic fragmentary images, Elkin created cinematic-like compositions **(III.2./Fig.7)**.

---

[500] Gustav Klutsis, "Fotomontage kak novyi vid agitatsionnogo iskusstva," in *Izofront. Klassovaia bor'ba na fronte prostranstvennykh iskusstv*" (Moscow/Leningrad: 1931), 126, quoted in Tupitsyn, "From the Politics of Montage to the Montage of Politics," 84. As Tupitsyn pointed out, although written in 1930 in connection with the first exhibition of the October group, this article was not published until 1931.

[501] Vasilii Elkin studied in the graphics department at the VKhUTEMAS with Vladimir Favorsky. In 1928, he became a member of October group and participated in creating designs for the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne. In the early 1930s, Elkin was an editor of the magazines *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy* (Construction of Moscow) and *Moskovskii rabochii* (Moscow Worker).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On the cover of the book the image of Lenin is repeated many times, as a series of film-stills. These starkly silhouetted photographic images of Lenin in abruptly shifting scales create unstable spaces that recall Malevich's Suprematist compositions and Lissitzy's PROUNs. The silhouetted image of Lenin, freed from the clutter of context, becomes a symbol of the leader. Elkin's illustrations were executed within the compositional codes of Rodchenko's book designs. Like Rodchenko and many other Constructivist artists of the time, Elkin found little contemporary value in the usual single-image of Lenin. Rodchenko and *Lef* attacked a kind of passive veneration of Lenin. In its place, Rodchenko proposed not one but a series of objective photographic portraits revealing the leader of the Communist Party in different aspects and at different moments. Considering photography to be the most appropriate form for memorializing a leader in all of his contradictory manifestations, Rodchenko argued: "... we refuse to let Lenin be falsified by art. Art has failed miserably in its struggle against photography for Lenin."[502] He pointed out that there is a synthesis of Lenin that is

---

[502] Aleksandr Rodchenko, "Protiv summirovannogo portreta za momental'nyi," *Novyi lef*, no. 4 (1928): 14-16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"...a representation based on photographs, books, and notes."[503]

If Klutsis, Senkin, and Elkin needed to convey a clear political message in their children's books dedicated to Lenin, Rodchenko and his wife Varvara Stepanova[504] in their 1926 collaborative book of children's poems *Samozveri* (Autoanimals) by Sergei Tretyakov[505] were more interested in creating a world of poetic imagination. Unlike other Soviet photo-illustrated children's books which often served as a documentary account of events, in *Autoanimals* the thirty photo- illustrations represent the adventures of the toy-figures in some fairy-tale lands **(III.2/Figs.8)**. These figures could be taken out of the book and used as a children's game. In 1926, the *Pioneer* magazine pointed out that *Autoanimals* was created not only for reading, but also to encourage young pioneers to create new games using the figures. The title itself, "autoanimals" implied that the children would take part in the creation of new variations of compositions involving the figures.

---

[503] Ibid.

[504] Varvara Stepanova (1894-1958) was an important Constructivist artist in her own right.

[505] Sergei Tretyakov (1892-1939) took over from Vladimir Mayakovsky the editorship of the avant-garde journal *Novyi lef* for its last five issues in 1928. Tretyakov himself was a photographer as well as a highly regarded playwright, poet, journalist, translator, screenplay writer, and literary critic. He maintained a keen interest in the critical issues surrounding film and photography, and in 1936 was a co-author, with Solomon Telingater, of the first monograph on John Heartfield.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In *Autoanimals*, the photograph served as a precise instrument for the plastic modeling of human and animal forms in space.[506] The artists used standardized cardboard components to make folding figures which were positioned on a table in some kind of interaction, spotlit and photographed **(III.2/ Figs.8a,8b)**. The auto-animals are made of both flat planes and cylindrical shapes. Strongly influenced by theater, Rodchenko emphasized a dramatic play of light and shadow in his photography of various characters of the book. The anthropomorphic geometrical forms of *Autoanimals* were reminiscent of Stepanova's paintings of the time with their stylized figures of sportsmen, musicians, and clowns, which the artist started creating as early as in 1919 **(III.2/Fig.9)**. These compositions of Stepanova, representing the human body in different situations and actions, were based on geometry, structure, and order. Signs or symbols of the machine-made mechanical human forms, the autoanimals are also reminiscent of Rodchenko's doll-like figures in his advertisements **(III.2/Fig.10)**. With *Autoanimals*, for the first time in Rodchenko's and Stepanova's work photography

[506] The book was not published, but the text was printed in the *Pioneer* journal and the photo-illustrations by Rodchenko and Stepanova were included in the journal *Novyi Lef*, no. 1, 1927.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

became an arena for the synthesis of the arts: literature, design, and photography.

Petiash (Little Peter) by V. Gorny (1926) is another rare example of the employment of photomontage in a Soviet children's book dedicated to the adventures of a fictional, rather than an actual character **(III.2/ Figs.11,11a)**. The main hero of the book, with photoillustrations by Klutsis and Kulagina, is the pioneer Petia. Although the image of the young pioneer is very concrete, Klutsis' and Valentina Kulagina's[507] photomontages combine realistic as well as playful and fantastic elements and are characterized by the juxtaposition of unrelated fragments of different scale **(III.2/ Fig.12-15)**. Employing a method of photomontage, many Soviet children's book illustrators, including Klutsis and Kulagina, often used found photographs as ready-made figurative elements or made photographs themselves for a specific publication. These photographs were juxtaposed or combined in an unusual way, transforming relationships between familiar objects, upsetting the scale, and thus creating a totally new reality. Tretyakov noted that photomontage was not necessarily only a montage of photos

[507] In 1919, Valentina Kulagina (1902-1987) entered SVOMAS (State Art Free Studios) where she studied with Antoine Pevsner and Vladimir Favorsky. Between 1920 and 1921 Kulagina studied at the VKhUTEMAS with Gustav Klutsis, whom she later married. In 1928, she participated in the organization of the Soviet section of the *Pressa* exhibition in Cologne and became a member of the October group.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

but it could also be a combination of photo and text, or photo and drawings.[508]

As an art historian Margit Rowell has pointed out, the more artistically successful the photomontage, the further removed it is from factual truth.[509] Rowell's statement can be exemplified by two other children's books by Klutsis, which are based on the displacement of photographic images from their original "factual" function and content **(III.2/ Figs.16, 16a)**.

Illustrating children's books, the Constructivists wanted to tell children about technological progress in Soviet Russia. As a result, photography, which is the most factual expression, became very important for this type of children's book. The photo illustrated book *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) by N. Smirnov and the Chichagovas sisters (1928) **(III.2/ Fig.17)** serves as a historical document of the time depicting many technological achievements of that epoch such as the electric bulb, a loud speaker, and a tram. The Chichagovas' photo illustrations represent some typical events of everyday life in the 1920s Soviet Union, for example, a crowd of

---

[508]Sergei Tretyakov, *John Heartfield* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1936), quoted in Dawn Ades, *Photomontage*, (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1993), 16.

[509] See Margit Rowell, "Constructivist Book Design: Shaping the Proletarian Conscience," in *The Russian Avant-Garde Book*, 57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

people listening to the radio on the street **(III.2/Figs.17a,b).**

A book-panorama by I. Stuchinskaia, *Krylia sovetov* (The Wings of the Soviets), 1930, tells a story about the travels of the pilot Gromov, his assistant, and passengers on the plane *Krylia Sovetov* to Berlin, Paris, and London **(III.2/Fig.18).** E. M. Mindlin's *Krasin vo ldakh* (Krasin in the Ice Fields), 1929 **(III.2/Fig.19)**, describes a voyage of the Soviet icebreaker *Krasin* to the North Pole to find the damaged hot-air balloon *Italy* which had crashed there, and vividly shows the *Krasin's* struggle in the ice-trap in order to reach those who were lost on the ice.

P. Suvorov, who illustrated both *The Wings of the Soviets* and *Krasin in the Ice Fields*, made use of the ready-made photographic images for his compositions. He combined documentary photographs with variously scaled letter sets and topographical elements -arrows, slashes, and exclamation signs to emphasize the technological rather than the handmade appearance of a book with photo-illustrations. Such integration of text and photograph was also an important issue for the proponents of the New Typography movement in Germany. As Jan Tschichold proclaimed,"We today have recognized photography as an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

essential typographic tool of the present."[510] Excerpts from *Die Neue Typographie* (The New Typography) (1928) by Tschichold were published in Russian translation in the journal *Poligraficheskoe proizvodstvo* (Printing Trades Journal) in Moscow in 1930, which greatly contributed to the popularity of the New Typography movement among the Soviet book designers. Like German proponents of the New Typography, Suvorov as well as many other Soviet book designers in the 1930s, mastered the camera alongside the tools of illustration, layout, and lettering.

Some photo-illustrated children's production books were closely linked to the vital tasks of "agitational art." They celebrated the great work of "socialist construction" that was under way and demonstrated the technological advances and the growth of Russian industry--actual and visible progress witnessed through photographs. With the inauguration of the First Five Year Plan in 1928 as a major program of Socialist construction, photography in general, and photomontage in particular, became effective weapons in the rapid dissemination of the agenda of industrialization.[511] In her 1928 article on

---

[510] Jan Tschichold, *The New Typography* (1928), with an introduction by Robin Kinross, trans. Ruari McLean (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 92.

[511] Tupitsyn, "From the Politics of Montage to the Montage of Politics," 91.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

photomontage, Stepanova pointed out that a group of artists on the left artistic front gave their attention to the problems of production art; she noted that this shift of interest dictated a change in the basic method of work:the use of technique and artistic media "to express documentary truth." Stepanova declared that the Constructivists were using photography "as a viable method of communicating realities."[512]

The book *Dneprostroi* by N. Miloslavsky and illustrated by V. Lantzetti **(III.2/ Figs. 1, 20, 25)**, demonstrated to children the ongoing construction of a hydroelectric station via short stories and numerous photos. It dealt with such serious and important issues as the organization and the methods of construction of the Dneprostroi electrical station, and the deadlines for its completion. For his illustrations, Lantzetti appropriated the Soiuzphoto archive of ready-made press photographs.[513] He slightly manipulated them, using ink and gouache. *Dneprostroi* was followed by *Turksib* by Victor Shklovsky, also illustrated with retouched documentary photographs.

---

[512] Varvara Stepanova, "Foto-montazh. Aleksandr M. Rodchenko," (1928), reprinted in *Fotografie* (Prague), no. 3 (1973), 18-19.

[513] These photographs are currently in the collection of the State Russian Archive of Literature and Arts, Moscow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1928, the *Oktiabr* (October) association was formed, which included architects, mass-media designers photographers, filmmakers, and critics. Such Constructivist artists as Elkin, Klutsis, Rodchenko, and Senkin became members of the October association, united by its opposition to advocates of a didactic realism in art. In 1928, Rodchenko argued: "We are fighting against easel painting... because it is out of step with modern times, weak in its reproductive technique, unwieldy, introverted, and unable to serve the masses."[514] He also noted in another essay that the photograph "presents a precise moment documentarily."[515]

The photography section of the October association was formed in 1930, and for many photographers, October's photography became the prime example of radical photographic representation. October demanded a new level of ideological responsiveness from artists. In their program of 1931, the members of the October Photo Section called for a revolutionary photography aesthetically unconnected with either the traditions of autonomous painting or the experiments of "formalist" leftist photography. The October members stated: "We are for a

---

[514] Aleksandr Rodchenko, "Predosterezhenie," *Novyi lef*, no. 11 (1928), 36-37.

[515] Rodchenko, "Protiv summirovannogo portreta za momental'nyi," *Novyi lef*, no. 4 (1928), 14-16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

revolutionary photography, materialist, socially grounded, and technically well equipped, one that sets itself the aim of propagating and agitating for a socialist way of life and a communist culture."[516] The program of the October Photo Section had also pointed out: "Anyone who joins the October Photo Section must be linked to production, i.e., should work in printing or be involved in newspapers, magazines, etc... For the photo-worker, only concrete participation in industrial production guarantees the social significance of his work."[517]

With the approach of the First Five-Year Plan (1928-1932), there was an immediate need to inform millions of children about the Plan's grandiose economic transformations. This afforded photography a new and unprecedented power. By the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, the theoretical background for avant-garde photographic practice had been established by such key Productivist critics as Brik and Tretyakov. In their articles, written mostly for the journal *Novyi lef*, they convincingly demonstrated that photography was a radical

---

[516] Original publication: "Programma fotosektsii obedineniia OCTIABR," *Izofront. Klassovaia bor'ba na fronte prostranstvennykh iskusstv* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1931), 149-151. Translated by John E. Bowlt in *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913-1940*, ed. Christopher Phillips (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Aperture, 1989), 284.

[517] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and technically advanced art form which was most appropriate for documenting the scope of economic and sociopolitical developments in the Soviet Russia.

The most famous Soviet production book about the First Five-Year Plan, *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow has a Plan), was written by M.Ya. Ilyin[518] in 1930 and illustrated with photomontages of Mikhail Razulevich.[519] The book was translated into English, Chinese, Japanese,and Polish and published in over than twenty countries **(III.2/Fig.21)**.[520]

Moscow has a Plan gave an account of the First Five-Year Plan begun in 1928, and painted a glorious picture of the flawless society which will come of it. It exhorted its readers to play their own part in furthering it. The book explained to the thirteen-year old readers the process of the Socialist construction, giving a general idea about the work done according to the First Five-Year Plan in the various area of economy, and about the importance of the new forms of labor. The First Five Year Plan set high

---

[518]M. Ilyin (1895-1953) is a pseudonym of I.Ya. Marshak, a brother of the famous children's writer Samuil Marshak. Ilyin studied to become a chemist at the Institute of Technology in St. Petersburg. After his graduation, he worked at the chemical laboratory. In 1924, Ilyin began publishing articles on chemistry in the children's magazine *Novyi Robinzon.*

[519] M.I. Razulevich (b. 1904) studied at the Graphic Arts Department of Leningrad VKhUTEMAS from 1923 to 1927. Between 1937 and 1939 Razulevich was an artistic Director of Leningrad Detgiz.

[520] In the USA the book was published under the title *Moscow has a Plan (New Russia's Primer)* (New York and Boston, 1931). The more literal translation is *Story of a Great Plan.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

production targets in key industries in order to achieve manufacturing equality with the West within five years.

Ilyin demonstrated the interdependence of such areas of Soviet industry as the Volga-Don Canal, Ural-Kuzbas, the Siberian Main Line, mining enterprises near Moscow, the rice and cotton industry of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and wheat harvesting in the Caucasus, stressing their interconnectedness under the Soviet Socialist planning system. By the means of the book, Razulevich aimed at the transformation of children into new Soviet citizens.

In *Moscow has a Plan* Ilyin dedicated two chapters to Soviet workers. If the writer Boris Zhitkov in his production books concentrated on the role of creative individuals, Ilyin wrote about the multi-million collective of workers, paying much attention to the description of the supposed drastic improvement in their material conditions.

Technology, economics, and politics were closely interconnected in Ilyin's book. Writing from the position of the political propagandist, Ilyin presented the Capitalist and Socialist systems in strong opposition to oneanother and stressed the advantage of the planned Socialist economy over the Capitalist one. *Moscow has a Plan* was based on the "facts," carefully selected by the author with the intention of demonstrating to Soviet

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

children the great advantage of the Socialist planning system over the "anarchic" Capitalist one.

One chapter of the book is entitled *Sumashedshaia strana* (Crazy Country) and is devoted to the criticism of the overproduction of food and consumer goods in the Western, and in particular the American, economic system. Ilyin chose vivid examples that would stay in a child's memory for a long time. As if quoting American newspapers, Ilyin wrote: "In 1920, thousands of gallons of milk were poured into the rivers of southern Illinois."[521] Talking about the "deep crisis" in capitalist agriculture, Ilyin pointed out: "In October 1921, posters advising farmers that they should burn rye instead of coal were hung along the roads in the mid-West."[522] Demonstrating that he was basing his information strictly on American sources, Ilyin wrote: "The *World* newspaper in New York reported on June 24, 1924: 'Thousands of bags filled with cucumbers and other fresh vegetables have been destroyed today."[523] At the

---

[521] Mikhail Ilyin, *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia/OGIZ, 1931), 15.

"V 1920 godu tysiachi gallonov moloka byli vylity v rechki iuzhnogo Illinoisa."

[522] Ibid.

"V oktiabre 1921 goda v sredne-zapadnykh shtatakh vdol' dorog byli razveshany plakaty, predlagavshie fermeram zhech' rozh' vmesto uglia."

[523] Ibid., 16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

same time, Ilyin noted, "...in the same country millions of unemployed people suffer from hunger."[524]

Asking the question as to who benefited from the capitalist economic system that caused harvests to be burned, food to be thrown away, and used cars to be smashed, Ilyin replied that it is none other than "Mr. Fox and Mr. Pox" (Ilyin's stand-ins for the typical capitalist in the USA). Mr. Fox, Ilyin explained, "orders many tons of grain to be burned, to keep prices high." Similarly, Mr. Pox "...orders that 10,000 bottles of milk be dumped into the river, so that milk won't become cheap."[525]

Often, while describing the deep economic crisis in the capitalist world, Ilyin resorted to the grotesque. Demonstrating the absurdity of American advertising, for example, he mentioned only one fact: "On the roof of a building belonging to one of the companies in America a sign proclaimed: "This sign uses more electricity than the

---

" 24 iiunia 1924 goda v niu-yorkskoi gazete 'Mir' poiavilos' soobshchenie: 'Segodnia na pristani byli unichtozheny tysiachi meshkov s ogurtsami i drugimi svezhimi ovoshchami."

[524] Ibid., 20.

"I v to zhe samoe vremia v toi zhe samoi strane golodaiut milliony bezrabotnykh."

[525] Ibid.

"Mister Foks szhigaet neskol'ko poezdov zerna, glia togo chtoby podniat' tsenu na rozh'. Mister Poks otdaet prikaz vylit' v rechku desiat' tysiach butylok moloka dlia togo, chtoby moloko ne stoilo slishkom deshevo."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

whole town."[526] Further, comparing the USSR and the USA, Ilyin stated: "...each American worker uses as many as 230 'mechanical slaves' (machine-helpers) while each Soviet worker has only 20."[527] Moreover, Ilyin stressed that while in the USA these machines belonged to the selected few rather than to all, in the Soviet Union, these machines belonged to the workers. In the USA, Ilyin declared, "...the machine is not a friend but an enemy since each new machine, each new invention puts thousands of workers out on the street." In the USSR, Ilyin wrote that opposite was true: "...the more machines workers will have, the shorter the work day will be, and thus, the easier and more joyous life will become."[528]

Razulevich represented all events described in the book through documentary-like photographs. For Razulevich, photography was an infinite resource of preexisting imagery, an archive of ready-made press photographs evoking

---

[526] Ibid.,19.

"Eta vyveska szhigaet bol'she elektrichestva , chem ves' gorod."

[527] Ibid., 21.

"U kazhdogo amerikanskogo rabochego 230 mekhanicheskikh pomoshchnikov. A u kazhdogo sovetskogo rabochego... tol'ko 20 mekhanicheskikh pomoshchnikov."

[528] Ibid., 23.

" V Amerike mashina cheloveku ne pomoshchnik, ne drug, a vrag. Kazhdaia novaia mashina, kazhdoe novoe izobretenie vybrasyvaet na ulitsu tysiachi rabochikh. A u nas? Chem bol'she budet u nas mashin, tem legche budet trud, tem koroche budet rabochii den', tem legche i radostnee budet zhizn'."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a far wider range of experiences than that of any one individual. One of the photographs depicts a little girl with a spoon and a plate. The caption reads: "One out of four children in New York does not have enough to eat."[529] A caption under the other photograph, depicting a pile of smashed cars says: "Among this pile of used cars there are perfectly good ones. These used cars were bombed from an airplane so they would become totally unusable. It happened in Chicago, USA."[530] In contrast to the "grim reality" of the capitalist world, when Razulevich depicts Soviet workers and peasants they are always represented as happy individuals, proud of their active participation in the building of Socialism **(III.2/Fig.22)**. In Razulevich's cover design **(III.2/Fig.23)** workers are shown as towering powerful figures seen from below as in the 1930 poster depicting miners by Klutsis **(III.2/Fig 23a)**.

Ilyin included architectural drafts and mock-ups of future major construction sites. He cited a fictional letter as if it were written by a proud citizen of the distant future. In this letter, a fictional future Soviet

---

[529] Ibid., 16.

"Iz chetyrekh niu-yorkskikh detei odin ne doedaet."

[530] Ibid., 17.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

citizen criticized negative aspects of Soviet life which still existed at the time of the publication of Ilyin's book, but, naturally, according to Ilyin, would disappear in the "bright Communist future."

One of the book's reviewers commented that nobody but Ilyin was capable of presenting information about Soviet construction and new machinery in such vivid forms.

The First Five-Year Plan's industrialization and collectivization campaigns were vital to the on-going process of Soviet state building. A part of "modernization" included an emphasis on taming and harnessing the Soviet countryside. During the summer of 1929 the Communist party resolved to reorganize agriculture and strive for higher tempos of collectivization. Collective farms required hydroelectric stations, dams, and other engineering projects.

In June of 1930, the XVI Communist Party Congress which took place in Moscow reported a great success in the mass collectivization of the peasantry and the total liquidation of the *kulaks* (wealthy peasants) as a class. In reality, the forced collectivization of agriculture had already resulted in the death and dislocation of hundreds

---

"Sredi etoi kuchi poderzhannykh avtomobilei est' eshche sovsem khoroshie. Avtomobili ... razrushili bombami s samoleta. Mesto deistviia—gorod Chikago v Soedinennykh shtatakh."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of thousands of peasants and would claim even more victims in the future. However, in a speech made during a discussion on new creative methods of proletarian art in Moscow in 1931, the art historian and promoter of Functionalism I.L. Matsa noted that through the depiction of the images of collective farms and tractors, Soviet writers and artists should mobilize the masses to struggle for the industrialization of the Soviet Union, to transform a previously totally agrarian state into a powerful industrial country, a country of Socialist industry.[531] Therefore, the role of the young pioneers who lived on the collective farms and took part in the collectivization, "socialist" harvesting and "protection of the harvest" became another popular topic for some photo-illustrated children's books of the 1930s. This theme is exemplified by the children's book *Dozornye urozhaia* (Patrols of the Harvest) written by P. Postyshev (Moscow: Detgiz, 1934). It consists of two parts: a speech made by Postyshev on September 28, 1933 at the Kharkov Regional Congress of Distinguished Pioneers involved in patroling and harvesting and an essay by Sergei Tretyakov. In his speech, Postyshev described the difficult existence of peasants and workers

---

[531] I.L. Matsa, "Tvorcheskii metod proletarskogo iskusstva,"*Brigada khudozhnikov*, no. 4 (1931): 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and their exploitation by the capitalists during pre-revolutionary times under the Tsars. Pointing out to the great achievements of the Communist Party in the development of agriculture and the creation of a classless society, Postyshev stressed the major role of Lenin and the Communist Party in the fight against capitalism. Tretyakov in his essay turned to a concrete example of the great contribution made by young pioneers in the collectivization of agriculture. He described the struggle of the young pioneers of the North Caucasus region to bring in and protect the harvest. The main character of Tretyakov's essay is a young pioneer, Yasha, who catches a thief on the collective farm field and is thus treated as a hero. However, Yasha turns out to be an extremely arrogant person and is severely criticized for his behavior by his peers at the meeting of the young pioneers. The Secretary of the Communist Party of the region helps Yasha to overcome the shortcomings of his character and at the end Yasha is sent as a delegate to the Regional Pioneer Rally. The cover image depicts a photo-portrait of Yasha **(III.2/Fig.24)** who is on the alert looking at the collective farm's field. His facial expression, characterized by extreme suspicion and mistrust exemplifies the political atmosphere in Soviet

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Russia at that time with the constant search for "enemies of the Soviet people."

The juxtaposition of the human and the mechanical as well as the glorification of the new advanced technology became another recurrent theme in many Soviet children's photo-illustrated production books of the 1930s. These types of books included photo-illustrations of tractors, looms, and various types of the machines used for heavy industry. Yakov Chernikhov, the Russian avant-garde architect and a theoretician of Constructivism, wrote in 1931:

> In former times machinery was considered something profoundly inartistic, and mechanical forms were excluded from the province of beauty as such.... But now... thanks to the development of the constructivist world view, that machinery not only lies within the confines of artistic conception but also has its own indubitable and convincing aesthetic norms and canons.[532]

As this chapter demonstrated, children's book design incorporating photography and photomontage became one of the few concrete areas of Production art in which Constructivist artists' fascination with the new technology, industry, and machinery could be realized **(III.2/Figs. 25-26).**

---

[532] Yakov Chernikhov, "The Formations of Construction," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, 260. Originally published in Russian as *Konstruktsiia arkhitekturnykh i mashinnykh form* (Leningrad: Obshchestvo arkhitektorov, 1931), 214-21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER IV

FIGURATION VERSUS ABSTRACTION: CHILDREN'S BOOK DESIGN BY THE MEMBERS OF KAZIMIR MALEVICH'S CIRCLE, PAVEL FILONOV'S SCHOOL OF ANALYTICAL ART, AND THE MEMBERS OF OST (SOCIETY OF EASEL PAINTERS).

This chapter focuses on the achievements and ideas of the followers of the Suprematist artist Kazimir Malevich as well as those of Pavel Filonov's School as utilized in the area of children's book design. It also discusses the work in this area of several artists of the OST group (Society of Easel Painters). This chapter will demonstrate how each of these experimental groups turned to embrace an aspect of figuration in their designs for children's books.

Although the literature on Malevich and Filonov as well as on various artists of the Society of Easel Painters is immense,[533] neither the work of Malevich's nor Filonov's

---

[533] See: Troels Andersen, *Malevich* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1970); Charlotte Douglas, *Swans of Other Worlds:Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980); Charlotte Douglas, *Kazimir Malevich* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994); Alison Hilton, *Kazimir Malevich* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992); John Milner, *Kazimir Malevich and the Art of Geometry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Aleksandra Shatskikh, *Kazimir Malevich* (Moscow: Slovo, 1996); ed. Irina Karasik, *In Malevich's Circle:Confederates,Students, and Followers in Russia 1920s-1950s* (St.Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2000); Nicoletta Misler and John E. Bowlt, *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate* (Austin, Texas: The Institute of Modern Russian Culture and Silvergirl, Inc., 1983); *Pavel Filonov i ego shkola*, ed. Evgenia Petrova and Jurgen Harten (Koln: Stadtische Kunsthalle Dusseldorf and DuMont Buchverlag, 1990); Kovtun, *The Russian Avant-Garde in the 1920s-1930s*. For a discussion of various realist groups and painters of the later 1920s and early 1930s, see Charlotte Douglas, "Terms of Transition: The First Discussional Exhibition and the Society of Easel Painters," in *The Great Utopia* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1992), 451-465. On the Society of Easel Painters see : V.I. Kostin, *OST* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1976).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students and followers nor of the members of OST group in the area of children's book design has yet become a subject of special scholarly research.

This chapter will show how Malevich's students Vera Ermolaeva(1893-1937)and Lev Yudin(1903-1941) whose creative development initially was synonymous with the name of Malevich, sought their own route out of non-representational art, and how they varied and reworked Malevich's concepts from Suprematism to later metaphysical figurations in their book designs of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

During this time, a number of Filonov's students, including Alisa Poret(1902-1984) and Tatiana Glebova(1900-1985)also illustrated children's books. This chapter represents an initial effort at analyzing the role of Filonov's students in the area of Soviet children's book illustrations. It reveals that their book illustrations resulted from Filonov's creative method of "analytical art," according to which any work must begin with a persistent and careful elaboration of each individual detail.

The critic V. Voinov was one of the first who discussed a general history of Filonov's School in his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

series of articles of 1928-29.[534] He singled out Filonov's School as a group united by one particular "artistic and ideological principle,"[535] and analyzed the creative method of the group.

Like Malevich's and Filonov's students, members of OST (Society of Easel Painters) such as David Shtereberg(1881-1948)and Aleksandr Deineka(1899-1969)did not reject the achievements of non-representational art. Although OST members supported easel painting as opposed to industrial design, most of their work was highly experimental. None of the OST members were exclusively children's book illustrators. All members of OST painted, created graphic works, worked in the theater, and some of them produced posters and satirical illustrations for various journals. OST artists enriched the thematic variety of Soviet children's book design and influenced its artistic language, bringing children's book illustration closer to the work for an adult audience. Continuing the tradition of children's book on modern Soviet technology developed earlier by the Chichagovs sisters, Deineka, as well as other OST artists, brought

---

[534] V. Voinov, "Iskusstvo v 1928 godu," *Literaturno-khudozhestvennyi sbornik, Prilozhenie k zhurnalu 'Krasnaia panorama'* (Leningrad) (January 1929): 49-54; idem, "Leningradskie khudozhniki," *Krasnaia panorama* (Leningrad), no. 23 (1929): 10-17.

[535] See V. Voinov, "Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo i sovremennost," *Novosti iskusstva, nauki i literatury, Prilozhenie k zhurnalu 'Krasnaia panorama'* (Leningrad), no. 3 (1928): 68-72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

another dimension into the children's book design by successfully incorporating images of workers as major participants in the Socialist reconstruction of the country.

As Dr. Yevgenia Petrova, Deputy Director of the State Russian Museum has admitted, the names of Malevich's professional associates were seldom mentioned in Russia prior to the mid-1980s and their works were hardly ever exhibited.[536] The major 1963 Russian-language publication on the history of Russian children's illustrated books, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Russian Artists of the Children's Book) by E.Z. Gankina refers negatively to the work of these experimental artists as examples of "formalist experiments" in children's book illustrations.[537] None of their books are discussed or reproduced in Gankina's survey.

The 2000 exhibition catalogue of Malevich's students and followers, published by the State Russian Museum, contains some important documents related to Malevich's circle as well as biographical information on these artists, including Yudin and Ermolaeva.[538] However, there is

---

[536] Yevgenia Petrova, introduction to *In Malevich's Circle*, 3.

[537] See E.Z. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1963), 59, 129.

[538] *In Malevich's Circle*, 123-139; 221-229.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

no discussion of either Yudin's or Ermolaeva's children's books, although several of them are reproduced.

A brief history of the *Segodnia* (Today) group, organized by Ermolaeva, was initially written by a Russian art historian Evgenii Kovtun in 1968.[539] The scholar Evgenii Steiner, in his 1999 book *Stories for Little Comrades*, also focused on Ermolaeva's work for the Today group.[540] In his article on Ermolaeva's work in the *Detskaia literatura* journal, which appeared in 1971, Kovtun briefly surveyed the artist's contribution to the area of children's book design.[541] Kovtun further discussed the important influence of painted shop signs on Ermolaeva's work in his 1991 publication *Russkaia zhivopisnaia vyveska i khudozhniki russkogo avangarda* (Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant-garde Artists).[542] However, Kovtun neither analyzed any of specific children's books by the artist, nor related Ermolaeva's work in book design to her research at the Institute of Artistic Culture under Malevich, nor to her paintings and the Suprematist movement.

---

[539] E.F. Kovtun, "Artel' khudozhnikov 'Segodnia,' " *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), 1968,no.4, 44-45.

[540] Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades*, 13-14.

[541] E.F. Kovtun, "Khudozhnik detskoi knigi Vera Ermolaeva," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 2 (1971): 33-37.

[542] E.F. Kovtun and A.V. Povelikhina, *Russkaia zhivopisnaia vyveska i khudozhniki russkogo avangarda* (Leningrad: Avrora, 1991).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like the oeuvre of Malevich's students, that of Filonov's School was completely erased from Soviet art history and criticism during the ruthless campaign against "formalist tendencies" in Soviet art between the late 1930s and 50s. As early as 1927, the critic E.F. Gollerbakh gave the work of Filonov's School the following negative appraisal: "A socio-political grotesque with a bias toward pathological anatomy--this is the most accurate definition of what's on show in the Press House by the Filonov's School."[543] By this time, at the height of the fight against "formalist" art, it became increasingly dangerous to study with Filonov or to be associated with him in any way. In 1930, discussing the work of Filonov's School, the art critic V.N. Gross wrote: "...At this exhibition, there were a number of works by a group of formalists, which can not be described otherwise than the public appearance of the class enemy... In their artworks, they present a distorted view of life... this is a conscious distortion and a sneer at [Soviet] reality..."[544] In 1933, Beskin in his book *Formalizm v zhivopisi* (Formalism in Painting) stated:

---

[543] E.G. Gollerbakh, "Shkola Filonova," *Krasnaia gazeta* (vechernii vypusk), no. 118, 5 May 1927, 5.

[544] Gross V. "Pochemu ne otkryvaetsia vystavka Filonova," *Almanakh: Prilozhenie k zhurnalu 'Krasnaia Panorama'*, no. 3 (1930), quoted in Evgeny Kovtun, "P.N. Filonov i ego dnevnik," in *Pavel Filonov: Dnevnik* (St. Petersburg: Azbuka, 2000), 71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Filonov's analytical school is the fruit of the unhappy love between the rationalism of objectless artists, pathological psychologism, and histerical expressionism…. In Filonov's interpretation, real life is a chaotic conglomeration of crystal-like volumes among which some traces of human contours or organs can be found… Filonov draws three-eyed, multi-legged and multi-handed people, sometimes even without heads…"[545]

As Beskin concluded, Filonov's school represents "…a reactionary movement," "…a monstrous mixture of metaphysics and vulgar materialism."[546]

Filonov's students were asked to renounce their teacher. There were some cases when students attending Filonov's informal classes had to disguise their names, being afraid of consequences.[547] Starting from 1932, they were often called into the GPU and NKVD for interrogations, and some were imprisoned or sent to labor camps. Filonov's stepson was arrested in 1938 and killed in a labor camp; Filonov's wife became paralyzed as a result of nervous

---

[545] Beskin, *Formalism v zhivopisi*, 60.

"Kogda 'ratsionalizm' bespredmetnikov vstupaet v ves'ma protivoestestvennyi soiuz s krainim patologicheskim psikhologizmom i istericheskim ekspressionizmom, to plodom etoi neschastnoi liubvi predstaet 'analiticheskaia shkola Filonova'... No deistvitel'nost' dlia 'analitika' Filonova eto khaos...khudozhnik razlagaet mir na chasti, sozdaet...nagromozhdenie kristalloobraznykh ob'emov, sredi kotorykh razbrosany slabye nameki na chelovecheskie ochertaniia, na otdel'nye chelovecheskie organy. Filonov risuet trekhglazykh, mnogonogikh, mnogorukikh liudei, s golovami i bez golov."

[546] Ibid.

"V litse filonovshchiny my imeem sovershenno reaktsionnoe napravlenie, chudovishchnuiu pomes' metafiziki c vul'garnym materializmom."

[547] In his diaries, Filonov mentioned that he never asked for his students' names. (See Kovtun, "P.N. Filonov i ego dnevnik," 30.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stress. The artist was denied commissions and lived completely impoverished until his death in 1941 during the siege of Leningrad.

Until 1964, when the historian M.A. Boiko devoted several descriptive paragraphs to Filonov's School in his book on the history of Leningrad,[548] there was no single publication on the work of this association. In 1970, the scholar Yurii Khalaminsky dedicated a whole chapter to the history of Filonov's School in his book on Evgenii Kibrik,[549] an artist who belonged to the Masters of Analitical Art association until he broke with Filonov in the 1930s.

During the period between the 1980s and 1990s, such scholars as John E. Bowlt, Nicoletta Misler, P.P. Efimov, Ekaterina Andreeva, Evgenia Petrova, Liudmila Vostretsova, and Evgeny Kovtun[550] surveyed the general history of Filonov's School. These scholars paid special attention to the work of Filonov's School for the theater as well as to

---

[548] M.A. Boiko, *Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo: Ocherki istorii Leningrada*, vol. 4 (Moscow/Leningrad: Nauka, 1964), 849.

[549] Yu. Khalaminsky, "Shkola Filonova," in *Evgenii Kibrik* (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1970), 14-25.

[550] See Evgeny Kovtun, introduction to *Knizhnye oblozhki russkikh khudozhnikov. Nachalo XX veka: Katalog vystavki* (Leningrad: GRM, 1977), 13-14; Misler and Bowlt, *Pavel Filonov*; P.P. Efimov, "Ob'edinenie Kollektiv Masterov Analiticheskogo iskusstva (shkola Filonova)," Panorama iskusstv, vol. 13, (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1990), 103-130; *Pavel Filonov i ego shkola*; E. Andreeva, "O 'Kalevale' filonovtsev," in *Sovetskaia grafika*, ed. A.D. Borovsky (Leningrad: The State Russian Museum, 1991), 23-27; Kovtun, *The Russian Avant-Garde in the 1920s-1930s*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their collaborative work in illustrating the Finnish epic *Kalevala*.[551] Steiner in his study *Stories for Little Comrades* discusses Alisa Poret's 1932 book *How the City Was Built*, but only in terms of its subject matter.[552] Vladimir Glotser's book, *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi o sebe i svoem iskusstve* (Children's Book Illustrators about Themselves and Their Books), includes excerpts from Poret's memoirs and her brief biography.[553] The 1995 Russian Museum exhibition catalogue of Glebova's works contains an updated information about the artist's biography as well as her own essays and recollections about her studies with Filonov. Most importantly, the catalogue provides a complete list of Glebova's illustrated books.[554] However, this catalogue remains limited in that it discusses only Glebova's paintings, her work for the theater, and illustrations for *Kalevala*; her children's books are just listed.

---

[551] On *Kalevala*, illustrated by Filonov's students see: *Kalevala, Finskii narodnyi epos*, ed. D.B. Bubrik, trans. L.N. Bel'sky (Moscow/Leningrad: Academia, 1933); *Filonov i ego shkola*; Andreeva, "O 'Kalevale' filonovtsev," 23-27.

Since *Kalevala* is discussed in great detail by various scholars, it is not necessary to focus on this book in this dissertation. Kalevala could be referred to as a "children's book" only marginally, since it is an epic story primarily written for adults.

[552] Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades*, 161-163.

[553] Glotser, *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi o sebe i svoem iskusstve*, 210-212.

[554] L.N. Vostretsova, "Ia budu raspisyvat' raiskie chertogi: Zhivopis' i grafika T. N. Glebovoi," in *Tatyana Nikolaevna Glebova (1900-1985): Exhibition catalogue*, ed. E.F. Kovtun (St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum , 1995), 7-24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

P.P. Efimov's article in the *Panorama iskusstv* collection of essays includes short biographical information on both Poret and Glebova.[555] The 1979 exhibition catalogue of Poret's work by the Russian scholar Andrei Sarabianov lists her children's books, but offers no discussion of them.[556] V. Kalaushin's essay in *Detskaia literatura* journal includes only titles of children's books by Filonov's students.[557]

An analysis of the role that the OST members played in the development of Soviet children's book design of the 1920s and 30s has not yet been attempted either in Russian or in any of the major Western languages. V. I. Kostin's book on OST [558] does not include any discussion of the work of its members in children's book illustration. Monographs on various members of the group also seldom if ever touch upon this topic.[559]

Focusing on the illustrated children's books of Malevich's and Filonov's students as well as on those by

---

[555] P.P. Efimov, "Ob'edinenie 'Kollektiv Masterov Analiticheskogo iskusstva ' (shkola Filonova)," in *Panorama iskusstv* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik), no. 13 (1990): 103-130.

[556] Andrei Sarabianov, *Alisa Poret: Katalog vystavki* (Moscow: MOSKh RSFSR, 1979).

[557] Kalaushin, "Tsel'nost'," 66.

[558] V.I. Kostin, *OST* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1976).

[559] See, for example, M.P. Lazarev, *David Shterenberg* (Moscow: Galaktika, 1992); I.L. Matsa, *A. Deineka* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1959); V.M. Lobanov, *Vystavka rabot khudozhnika Nikolaia Fedorovicha Denisovskogo* (Moscow:Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1956).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the members of OST, this chapter will demonstrate that abstract art, and traditional representational art represented only the extremes of the spectrum of Soviet graphic arts in the 1920s and early 1930s. Between these extremes, there existed many different but experimental approaches and styles of book design with no single "left" or "right" standpoints.[560]

In the course of 1926-27, many independent group and one-man shows as well as various thematic state-sponsored exhibitions were organized. During that period, in Moscow alone some forty such exhibitions took place. However, in 1932, all artistic groups, discussed in this chapter, were liquidated by the Decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party entitled *On the Reconstruction of Literary and Artistic Organizations.*

4.1. Children's Book Design by the Members of Malevich's Circle

---

[560] As the scholar Brandon Taylor noted, for over 25 years , since the publication of Camilla Gray's *The Great Experiment: Russian Art, 1863-1922* in 1962, Western understanding of Russian art of the first third of the 20th century has been dominated by a relatively limited cast of characters, such as Malevich, Lissitzky, Tatlin, and Rodchenko. Taylor argues that the dominant Western preoccupation with abstract art as the exemplary modernist mode has done much to reinforce this oversimplified and stereotyped history of Russian avant-garde. Although Russian and Soviet art contained many other significant artists, including David Shterenberg, Pavel Filonov, and Vladimir Lebedev, those artists always took second place to the avant-garde modernists such as Malevich and Tatlin. (See Brandon Taylor, "Russians on the Road," *Art in America* [October 1988]: 33).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vera Ermolaeva and Lev Yudin, students and followers of the Suprematist artist Kazimir Malevich, were members of the UNOVIS group (Affirmers of the New Art) in Vitebsk and then worked under Malevich at GINKhUK (The State Institute of Artistic Culture) in Petrograd.[561] In addition to their accomplishments in easel painting, these artists also made an important contribution to the development of Russian children's book design of the 1920s-30s. Kovtun noted that without Ermolaeva any discussion of the art of the book of the 1920s and 30s would be incomplete and wrong.[562] Ermolaeva and Yudin were addressing similar artistic concerns in their children's book design--approximation to nature--while still retaining a large degree of figurative generalization. Unlike the radically non-representational children's book *About Two Squares* by Lissitzky, Ermolaeva's and Yudin's illustrated books combined elements of both representational and abstract art.

---

[561] On GINKhUK see : "Dnevnik formal'no-teoreticheskogo otdela GINKhUKa," with commentary and introduction by G.L. Demosfenova, in *Sovetskoe iskusstvoznanie*, no. 27 (1991): 472-487; *Muzei v muzee.*

The first graduation from the Vitebsk School of Art took place in May 1922. Yudin was among those to graduate from the Institute. In early June, Malevich, Ermolaeva and a group of other students moved to Petrograd, where in August of 1923 Malevich was appointed acting director of the Museum (later Institute) of Artistic Culture, continuing the work he had begun in Vitebsk (see *In Malevich's Circle*, 21, 103).

[562] E. Kovtun, "Khudozhnik detskoi knigi Vera Ermolaeva," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Gosizdat), no. 2 (1971): 35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ermolaeva[563] acquired her initial experience as a children's book illustrator in 1918, when she worked for the artists' cooperative *Segodnia* (Today). Under the strong influence of Russian painted shop signs and *lubki* she created linocut illustrations for such books as *Myshata* (Little Mice) by Nikolai Vengrov **(IV.I/ Fig.1)** and *Pionery* (The Pioneers) by Walt Whitman. Ermolaeva also produced her own *lubok* for children depicting a rooster **(IV.1/ Fig.2)**. In 1919, IZO Narkompros awarded Ermolaeva a teaching post at the Vitebsk School of Art, recently opened by Marc Chagall.[564] As the scholar Antonina Marochkina has argued, Ermolaeva could have also been invited to Vitebsk by Chagall himself, since he was a friend of Ermolaeva and had previously visited her estate.[565] The first UNOVIS almanac included an article by Ermolaeva on Cubism. Working under

---

[563] Vera Ermolaeva was born near Saratov in 1893. Her father was a nobleman, landowner and a leading figure in local public life. He and his family moved to St. Petersburg in the 1910s, where he published a liberal periodical. From 1914 to 1917, Ermolaeva studied at the Institute of Archaeology. At the age of 19, she entered the private studio of Mikhail Bernshtein, where she met Mikhail Le Dantiu, E. Turova, and Nikolai Lapshin. In 1915, the students formed a small artistic circle called *Bloodless Murder*, which mainly confined its activities to the publication of a humorous magazine, 10 issues of which was produced between 1915 and 1916. In 1918, Ermolaeva founded a publishing cooperative called *Segodnia* (Today). In 1919 she was appointed by IZO Narkompros as a teacher at the Vitebsk School of Art. In 1921, Ermolaeva was appointed rector of the Vitebsk School of Art. In 1922, her works were included in the important exhibition, *Die erste russische Kunstausstellung* in Berlin. From 1923 to 1926, she was a research assistant at the Institute of Artistic Culture in Petrograd-Leningrad. Between 1928 and 1930 Ermolaeva worked at the Institute of the History of the Arts and from 1933 to 1934 in an experimental lithographic studio.

[564] *In Malevich's Circle*, 123.

[565] See Antonina Marochkina, "Vera Ermolaeva: Novye fakty tvorcheskoi biografii," *Malevich, Klassicheskii avangard, Vitebsk,* no.4 (Vitebsk: Vitebskii oblastnoi kraevedcheskii muzei, 2000), 37, footnote 14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Malevich's supervision at UNOVIS, Ermolaeva designed the sets and costumes for the Futurist opera *Victory Over the Sun* by Aleksei Kruchenykh.[566]

UNOVIS (Affirmers of the New Art) made its last joint appearance at the *Exhibition of Pictures of Petrograd Artists of All Trends* in 1923, but the previous sense of cohesion was gone. Some of Malevich's former students[567] abandoned the movement, and even his most devoted followers, such as Ilya Chashnik and Nikolai Suetin--rebelled against what they believed to be Malevich's dictatorship.[568] Ermolaeva and Yudin were interested in moderate reforms.

Although UNOVIS split up, its former members, including Ermolaeva and Yudin, continued to collaborate at the Institute of Artistic Culture. In 1923, they became research assistants of the Formal and Theoretical Department headed by Malevich. Under Malevich's leadership, the members of his department researched such modern art movements as Impressionism, Cezannism, Cubism, Futurism,

---

[566] See *In Malevich's Circle*, 123-124.

[567] Nina Kogan and Evgenia Magaril were Malevich's students who abandoned the movement.

[568] *Russian Avant-Garde 1910-1930: The G. Costakis Collection. Theory-Criticism* (Athens, 1995), 575-576.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Suprematism.[569] "Laboratory A" studied color and was headed by Ermolaeva, while "Laboratory B" addressed the concept of form and was led by Lev Yudin. The practical results of the work of the two laboratories were analyzed in the "Theoretical Room." Analyzing form, Yudin concentrated on the study of volume, line, composition, and construction. Besides general themes, the research assistants also studied the work of individual artists. Ermolaeva, for example, focused on the art of Andre Derain (1880-1954) while Yudin specialized in the work of Fernand Leger (1881-1955). Ermolaeva also researched various paintings at the Hermitage, the Russian Museum, and the Museum of Modern Painting in Moscow, analyzing the use of color, tone, intensity, light, and painterly surface. The latter was examined in detail, as if under a microscope, like a material substance. Ermolaeva conducted independent research into the laws governing the visual perception of color in combination with the reactions of the sensual organs.[570]

In 1926, GINKhUK was shut down by the Soviet government as a result of a highly critical article by G.

---

[569] "Rabota nauchogo sotrudnika V. Ermolaevoi (sluzhashchei po Otdelu Zhivopisnoi Kul'tury s 3 po 17 oktiabria 1925g.," TsGALI, St. Petersburg, F. 244, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 48, L.8, 8 reverse.

[570] "Zhizneopisanie nauchnogo sotrudnika Otdela Zhivopisnoi Kul'tury GINKhUKA V.M. Ermolaevoi ," TsGALI, St. Petersburg, F. 244, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 51, L. 212.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Seryi entitled "Monastyr na gossnabzhenii" (Monastery on State Support) published in the major Leningrad newspaper *Leningradskaia pravda*,[571] which accused the GINKhUK leaders of producing anti-Soviet propaganda. Both the teaching and research work were transferred to the Institute of the History of the Arts,[572] where Ermolaeva continued working until 1930.

Ermolaeva turned to children's illustrations again in 1925, when she became employed at the children's department of the State Publishing House. Between 1923 and 1930, Ermolaeva also contributed to the various children's magazines such as *Vorobei*, *Novyi Robinson*, *Chizh*, and *Ezh*. Parallel to her work as an illustrator, she always continued painting. While working at the children's department of the State Publishing House, Ermolaeva was close to the group of poets known as "Ob'edinenie real'nogo iskusstva" (Association of Real Art), abbreviated "Oberiu." Marshak was responsible for involving these poets in the creation of children's literature.[573] Ermolaeva illustrated

---

[571] G. Sery, "Monastyr' na gossnabzhenii," *Leningradskaia Pravda*, 10 June 1926. Reprinted in E.F. Kovtun, *Avangard, ostanovlennyi na begu* (Leningrad: Avrora, 1989), unpaginated.

[572] *In Malevich's Circle*, 110.

[573] *Oberiuty*—participants in the *Oberiu* (Ob'edinenie real'nogo iskusstva, "Association for Real Art"), a Leningrad avant-garde literary and aristic group active from 1927 to 1930. Daniil Kharms, Aleksandr Vvedensky, Nikolai Zabolotsky, Nikolai Oleinikov, Igor Bakhterev, Konstantin Vaginov, Boris (Doifber) Levin, Yury Vladimirov, and others were members. *Oberiu* arose as a result of Kharms's and Vvedensky's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

books by such poets as Aleksandr Vvedensky (1904-1941), Nikolai Oleinikov (1898-1942), Daniil Kharms (1905-1942), and Nikolai Zabolotsky(1903-1958). Significantly contributing to poetry for the young, these poets introduced into their verses elements of games, a good measure of humor, fanciful devices, and palindromes.

Ermolaeva's close collaboration with Malevich continued until 1926. However, rather than following Suprematist tenets, Ermolaeva's children's book illustrations combine strong influences from Russian folk art with Cubist elements. Some of Ermolaeva's illustrations such as those for *Top-Top-Top* by Nikolai Aseev (Leningrad: Gosizdat,1925), *Gore Kucher* (Lousy Coachman)(Gosizdat,1928) **(IV.1./Fig.3)**, *Martyshka i ochki* (Monkey and Spectacles) by Ivan Krylov (Gosizdat, 1929)[574], and *Sobachki*(Little Dogs)(Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1929) **(IV.1./ Fig.4)** bear close resemblance to the work of Lebedev, under whose supervision Ermolaeva worked at the State Publishing House of the Editions for Children.

---

efforts during 1925 to 1927 to unify the Leningrad literary and artistic avant-garde. A common element in their practice involved the dissolution or segmentation of the depicted object, and reliance on collisions between verbal units taken out of their traditional contexts so as to produce new semantic effects. In experimenting with syntagmatics and in subverting customary textual hierarchies, the *oberiuty* continued certain futurist practices. The writings, not to speak of the very existence, of the *oberiuty* were totally unknown until the 1960s, when a rediscovery of the group began in the Soviet Union. (Handbook of Russian Literature, ed. Victor Terras [New Haven: Yale University Press], 312).

[574] From 1929 to 1931, Ermolaeva worked on illustrations for Krylov's *Fables*, which Detgiz published as a series of 12 separate books.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In *Top-Top-Top* **(IV.1/Fig.5)**, the new principles of book design advocated earlier by Lebedev were masterfully adhered to, with all of the elements of book design unified in one structure. The simplified figures of a policeman and a little girl in *Top-Top-Top* are also reminiscent of Ermolaeva's figurative paintings of that time, such as *Woman with a Set Square* **(IV.1/ Fig.6)** and *Woman at a Table* (both 1926, The State Russian Museum Collection). The torso of the little girl resembles Malevich's and Suetin's peasant figures of 1927-29**(IV.1/ Figs.7)**. As Kovtun has noted, the special quality of Malevich's later canvases--"abstraction dissolved in figurativeness"—served as the starting point for many of his followers.[575]

In another group of Ermolaeva's illustrations from the late 1920s-early 1930s **(IV.1/ Fig.8,9)**, the artist clearly demonstrates her close affinity with Russian folk art, particularly with *lubki* and signboards (painted shop signs), which she collected.[576] This group of illustrations includes such books as *Khoroshie sapogi* (Good Boots) by

---

[575] Y.F. Kovtun, *Russkii avangard 1920-1930- kh godov* (St. Petersburg: Bournemouth, 1996), 65.

[576] In 1918-19, Ermolaeva worked in the newly organized Municipal Museum. On October 10, 1918, Ermolaeva delivered a report on Russian painted shop signs there, stressing how important it was to save them. Ermolaeva initiated the creation of the separate section of painted shop signs in the museum. Together with her assistants Nina Kogan and Nadezhda Liubavina, Ermolaeva collected about 100 signs. Her article on St. Petersburg signs was published in the newspaper *Iskusstvo kommuny* 26 January 1919 (See Yevgeny Kovtun and Alla Povelikhina, *Russian Painted Shop Signs* [Leningrad: Avrora, 1991]: 184, 190-193.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nikolai Zabolotsky **(IV.1/ Fig.8)**, *Oden' menia, uznai menia* (Dress me, recognize me)-- both from 1927, and *Kto kogo?* (Who Will Win?), 1928, by Boris Zhitkov, as well as two books on which Ermolaeva collaborated with Yudin, *Iz bumagi bez kleia* (Of Paper without Glue), 1930, and *Bumaga i nozhnitsy* (Paper and Scissors), 1931. Fascinated by the simplicity of the painted shop signs as well as by their directness, Ermolaeva composed her book covers and illustrations following the canons of painted signs. Ermolaeva's children's book illustrations are characterized by compositional simplicity and high expressivity of the images, the brightness of the colors, the rejection of conventional aerial perspective, and the symmetrical arrangement of forms found in painted shop signs.

In some of her books, however, Ermolaeva preferred to use a method of "painterly-plastic realism" which she often employed in her paintings of the late 1920s-early 1930s**(IV.1/ Fig.10)**. During this period, a small circle of artists known as the "painterly-plastic realism group" formed around Ermolaeva. It included other Malevich students such as Yudin, Anna Leporskaya, Konstantin Rozhdestvensky, Vladimir Sterligov, and Suetin. Unlike the narrative works of AKhRR (Association of Artists of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Revolutionary Russia), artists who propagated "painterly-plastic realism," drew their inspiration from the achievements of nonrepresentational art, combining elements of both realistic and abstract art in their work. This type of more individualistic conception of representational art and the general concern with formal, rather than with thematic value favored by members of "painterly-plastic realism" group, gave these artists a distinctive and unconventional stance, distinguishing their works from those that followed the officially approved method of Socialist Realism.

Ermolaeva's study of color at the Institute of Artistic Culture is reflected in her illustrations for such books as *Vostok v ogne* (The East on Fire) by Y. Miller (OGIZ-Molodaia gvardia, 1931) and *Rybaki* (Fishermen) by Vvedensky (Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1930). In these illustrations, outlines of figures are rhythmically repeated and patches of color echo one another. These illustrations, as well as Ermolaeva's later paintings, contrast immobility with hidden dynamism and flatness with deep landscape backgrounds and pale and vivid tones **(IV.1/ Figs.11,12)**.

In the 1920s, it was often the artist rather than the writer who came up with the idea for a new children's book.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1929, Ermolaeva brought back from her trip to the White Sea and Barents Seas a series of gouaches which impressed both Kharms and Vvedensky and inspired them to create literary works based on Ermolaeva's drawings.

As R. Velikanova, an artist who accompanied Ermolaeva on the journey to the Barents Sea recalled that Ermolaeva did not immediately succeed in capturing the sublime world of northern nature.[577] Spaces filled with the intensity and profundity of colors, the intense contrasts and bleak beauty of the color combinations, and the widely drawn horizons-- all these elements of northern nature created a strong impression of grandeur and calm, producing a feeling of the sublime. According to Velikanova, while Ermolaeva made sketches and studies of this seascape, she was angered by the presence of small "genre" goats grazing in the environs of the village which ruined, in her mind, the impression of the sublime nature.[578]

Ermolaeva's *Barents Sea* series of gouaches as well as her illustrations for the children's book by Vvedensky *Rybaki* (The Fishermen), which was based on this series, clearly show the artist's intent of conveying the integral and monumental nature of the universe. Ermolaeva's

---

[577] TsGALI , St. Petersburg, F. 244, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 13, L. 19.

[578] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

virtuostic modeling and the intensification of color accents in these works are intended to express the material aspect of the elements of nature.

In her article published in the UNOVIS almanac, Ermolaeva offered the students of the Vitebsk School of Art possible examples of contrasting forms.[579] Many of these studies later found their way into the artist's own oeuvre and reflected in works with emphasis on volume and flatness, various textures, and unexpected dimensions and proportions.

Among Ermolaeva's illustrations for children's books the one entitled *Shariki* (Balloons) by the writer Evgenii Schwarts reflects the artist's initial interest in Suprematism **(IV.1/ Fig.13,14)**.[580] Although the cover design for this 1929 book depicts a bunch of balloons flying in the air rather than Suprematist geometric figures, its symmetrical repetition of floating geometric forms and a limited color scheme (in this case– red, blue, and white) recall Ermolaeva's *Suprematist study for the Festive Decoration of a Building Facade* in Vitebsk of 1920**(IV.1/**

---

[579] Vera Ermolaeva, "Ob izuchenii kubizma," *Al'manakh UNOVIS*, no. 1 (Vitebsk, 1920); quoted in *In Malevich's Circle*, 126.

[580] Studies for illustrations for this book are found in the graphic arts department at the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fig.15). Ermolaeva's natural feeling for harmony and rhythm allowed her to produce a number of illustrations, where Suprematist circles-balloons form diverse combinations, creating a new dynamic composition every time. Ermolaeva's borrowing of Suprematist formal devices to create these dynamic tensions emphasizes the extent of her interest in representing movement pictorially. However, Ermolaeva's balloons in *Shariki* are much more painterly than her earlier suprematist designs, which reflects her involvement with the ideas of "painterly-plastic realism."

In 1926, Ermolaeva, in a letter to Mikhail Larionov, emphasized her belief that the nature of artistic culture did not depend on political, religious, and social ideas, and that the essence of painterly culture should be nonrepresentational. Ermolaeva rejected the idea that art should follow "the psychology of the public."[581] In the same letter, she pointed out that the members of AKhRR paralyze "any new creative methods" and noted that their exhibition contained "a sea of untalented canvases, deprived of any naturalistic competence, on the most deliberately

---

[581] Vera Ermolaeva to Mikhail Larionov, 1926, The State Tretyakov Gallery Manuscript Department, Moscow, F. 180 (Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova); also published in Kovtun, *Avangard, ostanovlennyi na begu*, 2.

"To, chto my dokazyvaem, ne soglasuetsia s formuloi, chto iskusstvo otrazhaet obshchestvennuiu psikhologiiu i sostoit iz polnoty elementov, soderzhashchikhsia v obshchestvennoi psikhologii, to est' chto ono soderzhatel'no i mozhet soderzhat' Kirgiza i Komsomol."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

revolutionary themes." The members of AKhRR, Ermolaeva complained, "accused us of mysticism and of being idealistic..." [582]

Ermolaeva was arrested on December 25, 1934 and accused of "anti-Soviet activities in the form of the propaganda of anti-Soviet ideas and an attempt to recruit members of the anti-Soviet intelligentsia."[583] The materials of the NKVD investigation stated:

> According to information at our disposal, the artist Vera Ermolaeva, a former noblewoman with previous links to the Mensheviks... recently made the attempt to recruit reactionary elements from among the intelligentsia. Conspiratorial meetings of a group of people united by common political aims take place at Ermolaeva's apartment... Vera Ermolaeva often holds private exhibitions of works by artists connected to her. ... The opinion is spread among them that art in the USSR is on the wrong path and is slowly dying. [584]

---

[582] Ibid., 3.

"Ikh vystavka—eto more bezdarneishikh kholstov, lishennykh kakoi-libo naturalisticheskoi gramotnosti, na samye narochito revoliutsionnye temy."

"...tak vot oni-to i khoteli sorvat' nashu rabotu, obviniv nas v mistichnosti i idealistichnosti."

[583] FSB Archives of St. Petersburg and Leningrad Region, Archive no.48469, D. 1, L. 1; quoted in S. B. Laskin, "Roman so strannostiami," *Zvezda*, no. 11 (1997): 36-37.

[584] Ibid.

"Po imeiushchimsia dannym khudozhnikami Ermolaevoi Veroi Mikhailovnoi byv. <shei> dvoriankoi, rannee sviazannoi s men'shevikami, <...> za poslednee vremia delaetsia popytka sorganizovat' vokrug sebia reaktsionnye elementy iz sredy intelligentsii. U Ermolaevoi na kvartire proiskhodiat zakonspirirovannye sborishcha gruppy lits, kotorykh ob'ediniaet obshchnost' politicheskikh ustanovok...Ermolaeva V.M. u sebia na kvartire chasto ustraivaet vystavki-prosmotry rabot khudozhnikov, sviazannykh s nei...Sredi okruzhaiushchikh Ermolaeva...rasprostraniaet mnenie, chto iskusstvo v SSSR nakhoditsia na lozhnom puti i postepenno otmiraet."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On March 29, 1935, Ermolaeva was sentenced to three years in the Karaganda Corrective Labor camp "as a socially dangerous element" and on September 20, 1937, she was sentenced to death.[585]

Ermolaeva's friend and colleague Yudin was also an inventive illustrator of children's books and magazines.[586] One of the active members of UNOVIS, Yudin frequently expressed his doubts regarding the path that he had selected, following in the footsteps of Malevich.

After returning from Malevich's funeral in 1935, he wrote in his diary:

> K.M. [Kazimir Malevich] was of a completely different mould, a different type of artist, in some ways not only not close to me, but even the direct opposite…. In this sense, I am probably not a student of K.M. At the same time, however, I believe that I must, without failure, lead all my attachments and predilections through his measure, so as not to trivialize, which is my constant fear and worry…. I am extraordinary dependent on his high taste and profundity.[587]

---

[585] Reply to an official request made to the archive of the Karaganda FSB, FSB Archives for St. Petersburg and Leningrad Region, Document No. 10/48469 dated February 3, 1999, quoted in *In Malevich's Circle*, 129.

[586] Lev Yudin was born in Vitebsk in 1903. From 1919, he studied under Vera Ermolaeva and Kazimir Malevich at the Vitebsk School of Art, graduating in 1922. He was a founding member of UNOVIS (1920). He moved to Petrograd in 1923 and became a research assistant at the Formal and Theoretical Department of the Insitute of Artistic Culture, working under Malevich. Between 1922 and 1923 he studied at the VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN in Petrograd. In 1931-33, he was an artistic director of the State Pedagogical Publishing House. He was killed in the Second World War in 1941.

[587] Lev Yudin, Diary entry, 26 May 1935, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L. 2 reverse, 3.

"K.C. sovershenno drugoi sklad, drugoi tip khudozhnika, v chem-to mne ne tol'ko ne blizkii, no priamo protivopolozhnyi...V etom smysle ia naverniaka ne uchenik K.S. I v to zhe vremia ia schitaiu, chto vse svoi priviazannosti i pristrastiia ia obiazatel'no dolzhen provodit' cherez ego merku, chtoby ne razmel'chit'sia,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Yudin regarded Suprematism in its pure form as nothing more than an educational phase. According to Malevich's student Konstantin Rozhdestvensky, Yudin's favorite aphorism was that the best student is the one who is not satisfied with his teacher.[588] Yudin noted in his diary in 1921: "Suprematism is far away. UNOVIS is even farther away... I want to paint, but I cannot paint freely.... It is impossible for a Suprematist, a member of UNOVIS to go and study painting. If he does, it means that he is not a member of UNOVIS."[589] In 1928, Yudin again confided to his diary: "I want so much to be the smallest star in the SKY, and not an important stargazer in his [Malevich's] tower. To hobble along my own little path rather than follow the path of the great."[590] But in 1935, he wrote about Malevich:"Dear teacher, I thank you!... You gave me a

---

chto dlia menia iavliaetsia glavnoi i postoiannoi opasnost'iu...Ia chrezvychaino zavishu ot ego vysokogo vkusa i glubiny."

[588] Konstantin Rozhdestvensky, "In Memory of Lev Yudin," Moscow, 8 August 1962 - March 1973, Autographed typewritten copy, Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 63, L 16-19.

[589] Lev Yudin, Diary entry, 17 November 1921, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 1, L. 10 reverse.

"Supremaizm dalek. Unovis tem bolee...Mne khochetsia pisat', no ia ne mogu svobodno pisat'... Nevozmozhno idti izuchat' zhivopis' suprematistu-chlenu Unovisa. Esli idet—znachit ne chlen Unovisa."

[590] Lev Yudin, Diary entry, 1 February 1928, The State Russian Museum Manuscript department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 24, L. 1 reverse.

"Mne tak khochetsia byt' khot' mel'chaishei zvezdochkoi v nebe, chem vazhnym zvezdochetom na bashne. Kovyliat' svoim malen'kim putem, chem sledit' puti velikikh."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

standard and a scale, but I am destined to say something different. I am destined to say my own thing."[591]

Yudin's illustrations for such books as *Kto?* (Who?)by A. I. Vvedensky (Leningrad: Detgiz, 1934), *Zagadki* (Puzzles)by Samuil Marshak (Leningrad: OGIZ, 1935),**(IV.1/ Fig.16)** as well as his cover designs for the children's magazine *Chizh* (Siskin)**(IV.1/ Fig.17,18)**, represent multi-component structures in which the natural basis remains a recognizable and essential part of the image, despite the strong deformation and stylization. In Yudin's studies for the children's book *Lesnoi tsirk* (Forest Circus) by N.L. Dilaktorskaia (Leningrad: Detizdat, 1937), he also combined the elements he observed directly from nature with abstracted imagery. Yudin commented in his diary that he wanted to receive as many sensations as possible from nature in order to see his own thing in nature.[592]

In many of Yudin's book designs, the multi-component structures formed from a large number of small elements are arranged against a large empty colored background. For example, the structure of Yudin's covers for *Siskin* is

---

[591] Lev Yudin, Diary entry, 18 September 1935, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L. 15.

"Dorogoi uchitel', blagodariu tebia! Ty dal mne tselyi mir...Teper' kak smogu budu sam idti. Ty dal mne merku, masshtab, a skazat' mne suzhdeno sovsem drugoe, skazat'—svoe."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

achieved by an almost mosaic scattering of the individual elements. Refering to his work, Yudin noted: "Rhythmic repetitiveness of the cells; various elements in the cells. Only in this way can I gather together large, impressive areas and simultaneously satisfy my passion for a small, concrete element."[593]

The integral, streamlined and sensual forms in Yudin's children's book illustrations are reminiscent of Western experiments in biomorphic abstraction. He was well aware of the work of Paul Klee, Max Ernst, Joan Miro, and André Masson, and often mentioned these Surrealist artists in his diaries. As Yudin admitted in his diary, he was influenced by Surrealism and regarded this movement to be one of the turning points of his evolution as an artist.

In 1935, the critic A. Devishev, reviewing Yudin's book *Who?* accused him of creating a "formalist" composition, with no relationship to the text. Devishev complained that there was a total lack of connection between various silhouettes in terms of a narrative story

---

[592] Lev Yudin, Diary entry, 22 November 1926, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 13, L. 2.

[593] Lev Yudin, Diary entry, 18 September 1935, The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L. 9, 12 reverse.

"Ritmicheskaia povtornost' iacheek. V iacheikakh raznye elementy. Tol'ko takim putem smogu ia sobrat' bol'shie vpechatliaiushchie ploshchadi i odnovremenno utolit' svoiu strast' k malen'komu konkretnomu elementu."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and that, instead of placing the images into some sort of a landscape or interior, Yudin placed them into an absolutely abstract space.[594]

Under Malevich's influence, Yudin and Ermolaeva assimilated such essential Suprematist concepts as movement, weightlessness, energy, and the economy of means. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, in spite of the influence of Malevich during the initial phase of their professional development as artists, both Yudin and Ermolaeva, as well as virtually all of Malevich's students went on to become independent creative personalities.

4.2. Children's Book Illustrations by Filonov's students

By 1927, when Pavel Filonov's group known as *Mastera analiticheskogo iskusstva*, or *MAI* (the Masters of Analitical Art), was officially established, Filonov was working with over forty artists.[595] By this time, such

---

[594] Victor Shklovsky and A. Devishev, "A. Vvedensky, 'Kto?' Ris. L.Yudin (Leningrad: Detgiz, 1934)," *Detskaia literatura*, no. 5 (1935): 41-42.

[595] Filonov undertook the first attempt to organize an association based on his ideas of analytical art as early as 1914. Right after the disbandment of the Union of Youth group and the closure of its last exhibition on January 10, 1914, Filonov founded the "Intimate Studio of Painters and Draftsmen" in St. Petersburg. Their 1914 manifesto, entitled *Sdelannye kartiny* (Made Paintings) was published as a leaflet in a miniscule edition in February or March 1914 (Reprinted in English translation by John E. Bowlt in Nicoletta Misler and John E.Bowlt, *Pavel Filonov: A hero and His Fate* (Austin, Texas: The Institute of Modern Russian Culture and Silvergirl, 1983), 135; also see "O manifeste 'Sdelannye kartiny," *Apollon*, no. 4 [1914]: 58.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students of Filonov as Alisa Poret (1902-1984), Tatiana Glebova (1900-1985), Pavel Kondratiev (1902-1985) **(IV.1/Fig.1)**, and Alevtina Mordvinova (1900-1980) turned to children's book illustration, which gave them an opportunity to earn some additional money and, at the same time, to use the illustrations as a showcase for demonstrating Filonov's method of analytical art. In this section, I will discuss children's book illustrations by Poret and Glebova, since they created a larger quantity of children's books than any of Filonov's other students.[596]

However, due to the start of the World War I and Filonov's mobilization to the front, Filonov's initial group disintegrated, and the second attempt to form a group of fellow-artists took place only after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

The Exhibition of Paintings by Petrograd Artists of All Trends, 1919-1923 held at the Academy of Fine Arts on May 15, 1923 made Filonov famous, and the Academy even offered him a professorship. However, he requested that he be allowed to implement his own teaching program which the Academy refused to accept. Instead, from June to September of 1925, during the summer vacation period, the Academy allowed Filonov to use its big studio for informal classes which were attended by over seventy students. Although later Filonov did not have any special studio, his own small room where he lived served both as a classroom and as a lecture hall. The artist never used the word "student," but called his students "learning masters." Despite his poor financial situation, Filonov did not charge his students for drawing lessons. He was convinced that he could teach any person to draw within just a month, and he publicly announced his conviction during one of the discussions at the Academy of Fine Arts on May 23, 1925, causing great indignation among the other professors.

The initial core of the Masters of Analytical Art consisted of P.M. Kondrat'ev, V.V. Kuptsov, B.I. Gurvich, E.A. Kibrik, Yu.B. Khrzhanovsky, A.I. Poret, T.I. Glebova, and A.E. Mordvinova among others. In 1930, the Filonov's group split up due to ideological discord concerning some aspects of analytical art. The official reason for the split of the group was the following incident. In May of 1930, works by Filonov's students were included in the exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts. One of the recent group members, Yu.G. Kapitanova, gave totally absurd explanations of the analytical method. Participants of the exhibition requested to expell Kapitonova from MAI, but Filonov refused to do so. Filonov gave the rights for maintaining the official status of MAI to a group of students who preferred to leave their teacher, saying that he was used to being underground.

[596] Glebova created over twenty children's books during the period from 1927 to 1938 (See "Books illustrated by T. Glebova," in L.N. Vostretsova, "Ia budu raspisyvat' raiskie chertogi," 114.) Poret also illustrated about twenty books during this period.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Filonov formulated his method of Analytical art in 1912.[597] This method sought to draw into the sphere of the artistic process the visible and invisible phenomena of nature. Filonov developed the notion of the "seeing eye" and the "knowing eye," believing that such qualities of intellect as intuition should play an important part in the artistic process. According to Filonov, on the basis of intuition, the "knowing eye" captured concealed processes, and the artist painted them "with an invented form," i.e. in nonrepresentational mode. Therefore, in Filonov's works, as well as in the work of his students and followers, figurative representation is so often intertwined with nonrepresentational elements **(IV.2/ Fig 2)**.

The 1914 Filonov's manifesto entitled *Sdelannye kartiny* (Made Paintings) advanced specific points of his worldview, in particular the concept of "madeness" which the artist and his students regarded as an essential component of Filonov's theory of Analytical art.[598]

---

[597] As Kovtun noted, Filonov felt that the artists who were his contemporaries--both Cubists and Realists, interacted with nature in a narrow and one-sided manner, capturing only such aspects as color and form (Kovtun, *The Russian Avant-Garde*, 129). Filonov declared Picasso's work to be "scholastic formalism, and in essence devoid of revolutionary significance since he believed that Picasso was interested only in form and color (see Pavel Filonov, "Deklaratsiia mirovogo rastsveta," *Zhizn' iskusstva*, no. 20 [1923]: 13, quoted in Kovtun, *The Russian Avant-Garde*, 129).

[598] As Bowlt has pointed out, Filonov associated the concentrated attention to the craftedness of the creative process with the word "madeness," having in mind the technical knowledge and skill of the artisan which he had come to value during his experience of icon painting (Misler and Bowlt, *Pavel Filonov*, 138).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, Filonov was among those who formed the GINKhUK. Often emphasizing the value and importance of Russian folk art in his writings, Filonov insisted that GINKhUK would have a museum, which, in addition to a display of Russian icons and of modern art, should also have a section devoted to Russian folk art.[599]

Instructing his students, Filonov suggested: "Make paintings and drawings that are equal to the stone churches of Southeast and West Russia in their superhuman tension of the will."[600]

In all of Poret's and Glebova's children's book illustrations of the late 1920s and 1930s, the artists followed Filonov's analytical method, according to which the object should grow and develop atom by atom as logically and as organically as the process of growth is achieved in nature: "The general arises as the result of

---

In Filonov's program, "Deklaratsiia mirovogo rastsveta" (Declaration of Universal Flowering) of 1923, the artist stated: "I term my principle naturalistic because of its purely scientific method of conceptualizing the object, which is able to see through things sufficiently exhaustively... and to reveal the object in a solution that matches the perception of it... I give as a basis a simple, purely scientific method by means of which each person, whether on the left or on the right, can act in his own way." (Pavel Filonov, "Deklaratsiia mirovogo rastsveta," in Kovtun, *The Russian Avant-Garde*, 130. Originally published in *Zhizn' iskusstva*, no. 20 [1923]: 13-15).

[599] *Russian Painted Shop Signs*, 168-169.

[600] Filonov, "Sdelannye Kartiny" (1914), in Nicoletta Misler and John E.Bowlt, *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate*, 135.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

particular elements being developed to their ultimate degree."[601]

Both Glebova and Poret began their studies with Filonov in 1926.[602] A notable example of a children's book designed by Glebova which follows Filonov's method is *Kak my otbili Yudenicha* (How we Defeated Yudenich) by Ia. Miller(Moscow: Gosizdat, 1930)**(IV.2/ Fig.3,4)**. General Nikolai Yudenich, a World War I veteran who commanded anti-Bolshevik forces in the Baltic, led a botched advance on Petrograd during the Civil War. Glebova made use of deep reds and purples to depict battles, explosions, and casualties strewn along train tracks. Glebova's illustrations, intended to celebrate Yudenich's defeat, glorify the battle and the gruesome slaughter. Made with minute attention and technical accomplishment, her drawings create a special microcosm typical of Filonov.

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, Glebova illustrated about twenty children's books and also worked

---

[601] "Pis'mo P.N. Filonova k Vere Sholpo, July 1928," quoted in *Zhivopis' 1920-1930: Gosudarstvennyi Russkii Muzei*, introduction by M.Yu. German (Leningrad: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1989), 95. Originally published in E.F. Kovtun, "Iz istorii russkogo avangarda (P.N. Filonov)," in *Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo doma, 1977* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1979), 227.

[602] As Glebova recalled, in 1925, she and Poret first saw Filonov's illustrations for the book Propeven' o prorosli mirovoi (Chant of Universal Flowering, 1915). They were so impressed by Filonov's drawings that they immediately decided to become Filonov's students. At the end of 1925, they came to Filonov's studio, but their systematic studies with Filonov did not start until 1926 (Vostretsova, "Ia budu raspisyvat' raiskie chertogi," 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as an illustrator for such children's magazines as *Ezh* and *Chizh*. As she recalled, it was the work under Filonov's leadership on the staging of Nikolai Gogol's *Revizor* (The Inspector General) at the Leningrad Press House in 1927 as well as the collaborative creation of the huge panels on the theme *The Downfall of Capitalism*, which were hung on the walls of the theater auditorium that became "a real Academy" for her and for all of Filonov's students.[603]

In 1930, the same year that Glebova illustrated *How we Defeated Yudenich*, Poret created a picture-book *Kak pobedila revoliutsiia* (How the Revolution was Won) **(IV.2/Fig.5)** by Nikolai Zabolotsky[604] (Moscow: GIZ). Like Glebova, Poret shared with Filonov an interest in treating a picture's surface as a complex of atoms of color and form and her illustrations for *How the Revolution was Won* exemplifies Filonov's concept of "madeness": "Analytical madeness is a means of expressing the maximum concept of

---

[603] Located in the former mansion of the Count Shuvalov, the Press House was an important cultural center of Leningrad, where many lectures, discussions, and meetings with poets and artists took place. The Inspector General, directed by Igor Terent'ev with stage sets and costumes by Filonov's students, was a major public appearance of the Filonov's School. Filonov used the exhibition at the Press House as an opportunity to promote his ideas. The 1927 review of the exhibition of Filonov's School at the Press House, published in the *Krasnaia panorama* journal refers to this show as "one of the most lucid events of the artistic season." Although the work of Filonov's students for the Press House excited interest of the press, there were not that many positive responses.

In the Fall of 1930, a three-day exhibition of Filonov's students held at the Academy was visited by 1,300 people.

[604] Nikolai Zabolotsky's name does not appear in any of the editions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

content via a maximum of persistent work on the object and on the material… In Analytical Art, content determines and conditions form and color."[605]

How the Revolution was Won portrays the most important events of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, such as the strike of the Petrograd workers, the storming of the Peter and Paul Fortress, the announcement of amnesty, and the release of political prisoners from prisons. It also describes Vladimir Lenin's arrival from abroad, the July demonstration and its defeat; finally it recounts the Bolshevik Revolution through a series of various episodes, such as the arrival of the sailors from the city of Kronstadt to Petrograd, the seizure of the telephone stations, the Winter Palace, and the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets.

Poret, who was an astute student of Filonov,[606] was not satisfied with conventional vision. She translated

---

[605] Pavel Filonov, "Sdelannye kartiny" (1914), as quoted in Misler and Bowlt, *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate,* 238.

[606] Poret received her initial art training at the Drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts in Petrograd between 1920 and 1921, and she was later transferred to VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN in Petrograd/Leningrad where she remained until 1925, studying with Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin.

When L. M. Kliachko, Head of Raduga Publishing House, first saw Poret's drawings in 1924, he immediately commissioned her to do a children's book. Soon Poret started working as a book illustrator producing her first children's book *Chepukha-repushistaia* by Vl. Lensky (Leningrad: Tovarishchestvo nachatki znanii, 1925). She also worked at the children's department of the State Publishing House under the direction of Lebedev, where she befriended the writers Marshak, Kharms, Vvedensky, Oleinikov, Zabolotsky, and Schwarts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Filonov's ideas into a purely personal idiom in her illustrations, eagerly seeking out unusual angles and unexpected perspective. She brought the background, middle ground, and foreground onto the same plane by the use of an extremely high horizon, further emphasizing the frontal plane by her bold foreshortening of figures and cityscape elements. In all of her illustrations for *How the Revolution was Won*, Poret selected a high angle of vision, a type of bird's eye perspective, so that one looks down on the small figures of people and up at the distant horizon **(IV.2/ Fig.5,6)**. Such compositional devices as the high horizon which pulls the background forward and the rhythmic arrangement of soldiers and prisoners silhouetted against the white background of the snow are employed in Poret's illustration depicting the release of the political prisoners. There is no middle ground; instead, there is a conflation of space between the figures and the distant wall. Other illustrations include sweeping cityscape vistas observed from a high vintage point combined with dark blue, black, and gray patches of figures abstracted to a simple pattern and placed against the neutral background. Poret employed such spatial devices as an unconventional perspective and placed an overall emphasis on two-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dimensional design, using the broad areas of colors which become flattened forms.

In Poret's illustration depicting the seizure of the Winter Palace, the large area of empty space in the foreground, by exaggerating the composition's asymmetry, intensifies the rush of struggling demonstrators who merge as a black mass streaming up and off the picture plane.

According to Poret, she created *How the Revolution was Won* in collaboration with Glebova.[607] However, Glebova's name does not appear on the cover. Poret explained that she had quite a difficult relationship with Lebedev while the other editor of Detgiz disliked Glebova. Therefore, the two artists decided to draw all illustrations in collaboration but to sign them separately.[608] The collaborative work of Glebova and Poret on the Karelian-Finnish epic *Kalevala* in 1932 also had an important impact on both artists.

Poret's first independent book was *Kibitka-shkola* by Natalia Nikitich (Moscow/Leningrad: Molodaia gvardiia, 1932), dedicated to the establishing of a school in one of

---

[607] A. Poret, "Kak ia stala khudozhnikom detskoi knigi," in Glotser, *Khudozhniki detskoi knigi*, 211, footnote 7.

As the scholar Vostretsova noted, Poret and Glebova were close friends, and they often worked on the same canvas. For example, they collaborated on the work for the Press House in 1927 and on the painting *Dom v razreze* in 1931 (Vostretsova, "Ia budu raspisyvat' raiskie chertogi," in *Tatyana Nikolaevna Glebova*, ed. E.F. Kovtun, 8.)

[608] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the backward regions of the Soviet republic of Turkmenia. In 1934, the critic V. Shteinberg published a review of this book in the *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Literature for Children and Young People) journal.[609] Shteinberg pointed out that particular attention in Soviet children's literature "should be paid to the depiction of prosperous life of various nationalities of the USSR." He criticized the book's author for selecting a completely underdeveloped region of the republic of Turkmenia rather than stressing its "prosperity." The critic expressed concerns that selection of "one of the most backward nomadic regions, which is not yet embraced by the rapid process of Socialist reconstruction" may give the reader of the book "the wrong impression that all of Turkmenistan is like this, that this is the typical level of the national economy, culture, and life in any Turkmenian village." Shteinberg noted that such negative description is the complete opposite of the real situation. The critic stated: "Turkmenistan won a major battle on the front of the development of the economy and culture. Grandiose industrial complexes have been erected in the republic.

[609] V. Shteinberg and A. Vasiliev, "Sotsialisticheskaia kul'tura v turkmenskom aule," *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura*, no. 1 (1934): 9-10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mass collectivization has achieved a great success."[610]

A.Vasiliev, another reviewer, criticizing Poret's unconventional illustrations, wrote:

> All drawings are in a primitivist mode... The artist often distorts the proper scale of the objects and images... On one of the drawings donkeys and sheep are equal in size while the camels are so disproportional and huge that people in comparison to them are only knee-high. The perspective is totally wrong, and sometimes the reverse perspective is used.... In another drawing, an exterior of the house is depicted. However, the reader can see what is happening inside not only through the open door but, to a great surprise, also through the walls, as if one could see through the walls.[611]

The reviewer concluded that such type of drawing is difficult to understand not only for a little child but even for an adult.

Such 1930 children's book illustrations by Poret as *Ch'i eto igrushki?* (Whose Toys are These?)[612] **(IV.2 / Figs.7,8)** and *Vystavka bogov* (Exhibition of Gods),[613] **(IV.2/**

---

[610] Ibid.

[611] Ibid., 10.

"Portit risunki kakoi-to narochityi primitivizm i neskol'ko bol'shaia chem nuzhno uslovnost' izobrazheniia. Khudozhnik chasto narushaet sootnoshenie predmetov po velichine. Na risunke izobrazhaiushchem vodopoi..., ishaki i barany ravny po velichine, a verbliudy nastol'ko veliki, chto liudi edva dostigaiut vysoty ikh kolen. Tak zhe neopravdanno narushaetsia vo mnogikh risunkakh perspektiva. V nekotorykh iz nikh...iasno vyrazheno stremlenie k obratnoi perspektive, no ona ne udaetsia iz-za slaboi kompozitsionnoi slazhennosti illiustratsii. ...na risunke, izobrazhaiushchem soveshchanie baev i mully v kibitke Klycha...Kibitka izobrazhena snaruzhi. No proiskhodiashchee vnutri vidno ne tol'ko cherez otkrytuiu dver', a i cherez steny. Pri etom liudi i veshchi, prosvechivaiushchie cherez steny, izobrazheny neskol'ko inache, chem liudi i veshchi, vidnye v dver'."

[612] E. Papernaia and I. Karnaukhova, *Ch'i eto igrushki?* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1930).

[613] E. Papernaia, *Vystavka bogov* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figs.9,10) are characterized by the richness and diversity of surface resulting from Filonov's creative method.

4.3. Children's Book Illustrations by the members of OST (the Society of Easel Painting).

OST (Society of Easel Artists) arose as an untitled association in 1924 and was established formally by a group of graduates of VKhUTEMAS under the direction of David Shterenberg (1881-1948)in 1925. The platform of the association was based on the premise: "In the epoch of Socialist construction the active forces of art must be participants in this construction; in addition, they must be one of the factors in the cultural revolution affecting the reconstruction and design of our new way of life and the creation of the new Socialist culture."[614]

Unlike the Productivists, the members of OST valued forms of art realized on the easel, but considered it necessary to develop a new representational language that would be characterized by simplicity, dynamic composition, and the clarity of drawing. The society's favorite themes

---

[614] " OST (Society of Easel Artists) Platform, 1929," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, 279.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were industrialization, sport activities, and urban life[615] **(IV.3/ Fig.1,2).** Among the basic lines along which the artwork of the society's members was expected to advance were: "The rejection of abstraction and peredvizhnichestvo [616] in subject matter; the rejection of sketchiness as a phenomenon of latent dilettantism; the rejection of pseudo Cézannism...; revolutionary contemporaneity and clarity of subject matter."[617]

While Leningrad Detgiz artists associated with Lebedev were convinced that the graphic language employed for children's books should have its specific characteristics, the OST members transferred into children's book design the grotesque manner of their drawings for satirical journals as well as a lively sketchiness of the drawings made during their business trips to various factories and collective farms.

In 1929, *Iskusstvo v massy* (Art into Masses)journal announced that the OST members who were sent by the government-run organization *Glaviskusstvo* (Main Administration for the Arts) to the industrial centers and

---

[615] A detailed discussion on OST can be found in Kostin, *OST*. See also Charlotte Douglas, "Terms of Transition: The First Discussional Exhibition and the Society of Easel Painters," in *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915-1932*, 450-466.

[616] A deregatory reference to the art of the *Peredvizhniki* (Wanderers, or the Itinerants). The word might be translated as "hack realism."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

collective farms have brought back to Moscow many studies, sketches, and even some finished paintings.[618]

When such OST members as Shterenberg and Deineka turned to children's book illustrations, they implemented the same ideas and employed the same style which characterized their painting and graphic work for an adult audience.

Best known for his still lifes, Shterenberg received his initial art training in art studios in Odessa. Between 1907 and 1912, he lived in Paris.[619] In July of 1917 Shterenberg returned to Russia. The People's Commissar for Education A.V. Lunacharsky, who thought very highly of Shterenberg both as an artist and administrator, appointed Shterenberg Commissar of Visual Arts. From 1918 to 1920, Shterenberg headed the

---

[617] "OST (Society of Easel Artists) Platform, 1929," 281.

[618] "Khronika: Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' SSSR po khudozhestvennym gruppirovkam Moskvy," *Iskusstvo v massy*, n. 7 (1929): 59. In the same journal, it is noted that in June of 1929 the Government of the RSFSR[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) allocated 25,000 rubles for the organization of artists' business trips throughout the Soviet Union in order to depict life of the peoples of the USSR and the development of Soviet industry (Ibid., 61). As a case in point, drawings by the OST member Nison Shifrin for the children's book Neft' (Oil) by the writer E. Khazin (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1931) served as the artist's report after his business trip to Baku (Azerbaidjan), organized by the publishing house . It feature expressive silhouettes of the oil pipelines. This book. Nikolai Denisovsky's illustrations for V. Sobolev's book *Tovarishch Artem* (Comrade Artem) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930), which depict a dangerous life of the Donbass miners and the process of the production of coal, was a direct result of Denisovsky's trip to Donbass and other metallurgical plants in the south of Russia.

[619] While in Paris, Shterenberg attended briefly Ecole des Beaux-Arts and then Academié Vitti where one of his teachers was Kees van Dongen. While in Paris, Shterenberg participated in such exhibitions as Salon du Printemps, Salon d'Automne (1912), and Salon des Indépendants (1912, 1914, and 1917). He became a part of Appollinaire's circle and befriended such artists as Albert Marquet, Osenfant, Fernand Léger, Maurice Utrillo, Suzanne Valadon, and Pierre Bonnard. Shterenberg lived in the famous La Ruche on Montmartre where among his neighbors were Modigliani, Soutine, and Lipchitz. Many of Shterenberg's works from his Paris period reveal the influence of the Impressionists and the Fauvists as well as his increasing preoccupation with the concepts of Paul Cézanne.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fine Arts Department of IZO Narkompros (Visual Arts Department of the People's Commissariat for Education), thus becoming the person responsible for the implementation of the artistic policy of the new Soviet state. Lunacharsky noted that at the time of Shterenberg's appointment it was necessary to demolish the remains of the czarist art institutions like the former Academy of Fine Arts, to free art schools from the old famous teachers, and to assure the support of the proletarian and semi-proletarian youth. According to Lunacharsky, Shterenberg, whom Lunacharsky called "my old friend," was "an outstanding painter and an honest person well known in the Russian artistic circles of Paris," and was also in complete agreement with Lunacharsky's program. Lunacharsky pointed out that Shterenberg was "a determined modernist himself," and "was supported in his activities by the most radical wing of the leftist artists"[620] Shterenberg was friendly with two opposing groups-- the Productivists, who denied value to easel painting, and painters who rejected the utilitarian function of art in favor of easel painting. However, Lunacharsky noted that Shterenberg assured him many times that he held a neutral

---

[620] A.V. Lunacharsky, "Ob otdele izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv" (1918), as quoted in A. Ermakov, "Iz literaturnogo naslediia Lunacharskogo," *Novyi mir*, no. 9 (1966): 237-238.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

position in the political struggle," even though "his young and energetic assistants made him too leftist."[621]

In 1920, Lunacharsky put Shterenberg in charge of Russian exhibitions traveling internationally and he soon became one of the organizers of the important *Erste Russische Kunstausstellung* at the Galerie van Diemen in Berlin (1922). From 1920 to 1930 Shterenberg was a Professor at Moscow VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN, and from 1925 to 1932, he was a chairman of OST.

In 1925, Shterenberg was appointed director of the Russian section of *L'art decoratif* in Paris, collaborating with Rodchenko on the exhibition design for the Grand Palais. The same year, Shterenberg created his first illustrations for Nikolai Aseev's book *Pushkino*, which was never published. After this initial experience in book design, Shtereberg began working actively in the area of children's book illustration.

In both his paintings and graphic works, Shterenberg was powerfully drawn to the world of objects, particularly to their infinite variety of textures and materials. In Paris, he had begun to move away from three-dimensional space in his still lifes, constructing his compositions by arranging isolated objects on a single plane, often

---

[621] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

resorting to deliberate "primitivization" and adaptation of many of Cezanne's approaches **(IV.3/ Fig.3)**. In Shterenberg's illustrations for *Posuda* (Dishes)(Moscow: Gosizdat, 1930), one can see the same simplicity, even austerity of the composition which was typical of his earlier still life paintings **(IV.3/ Fig.4)**. He was drawn to the essential matter of each separate object, portraying a vase, a fish, a bowl, and other objects on a flat background with no depth or perspective. In some cases, these objects are simply silhouetted or outlined with a thick contour, and only the most important details are accentuated. Shterenberg depicted the objects independently of their surroundings as if floating in space. Instead of being presented as everyday objects they acquire the significance of a symbol or a sign **(IV.3/ Fig.5)**. Although in *Dishes* Shterenberg used a restrictive palette of gray, red, black, green, and ochrish colors, a subtle variations of gray color produce a great variety of texture, and a contrasted juxtaposition of red and black, red and gray, and red and white create a festive impression.

In the 1920s, Shterenberg began experimenting with a variety of textures in both his paintings and graphic works, such as in *Faktura i tsvet* (Texture and Color) series of 1921-24 **(IV.3/ Fig.6)**. This interest in texture

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was later reflected in many of Shterenberg's illustrations for children's books, especially in such books as *Posuda* (Dishes) and *Chai*(Tea),1931 **(IV.3/ Fig.4,7).** In the latter, Shterenberg used paper cut outs and even incorporated an actual stem of a flower or leaves into his illustrations and sprayed them with an air-brush **(see IV.3/ Fig.7).**

The influences of *lubki*, painted shop signs, and the Neo-Primitivist experiments of Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov are evident in such Shterenberg's books as *Chai* (Tea)**(IV.4./Fig.8)**, *Kukly i knigi*(Dolls and Books)(Moscow: OGIZ-Molodaia gvardiia, 1932)**(IV.3/ Fig.9)** and *Moi igrushki* (My Toys).

The children's book *Fizkul'tura*(Physical Exercises)illustrated by Shterenberg contains only pictures and no text**(IV.3/Fig.10)**. These illustrations are distinguished by flattened, highly simplified forms and unusual angles and points of view. Typically for Shterenberg, in *Physical Exercises*, a scene with athletes is seen from the side, in a view from above. Shterenberg interest in the *lubki* tradition is combined here with abstraction, especially Suprematism. Although Shterenberg incorporated human figures in his illustrations, together they form a kind of floating abstract design, which is particularly evident in the cover design of *Physical*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Exercises, as well as in his other book dedicated to sports, *Bobka-Fizkul'turnik* (Bobka the Sportsman) by A.Mariengof (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930) **(IV.3/ Fig.11).**

Another book, *Manoi* (Masterskaia novykh igrushek, or Workshop of New Toys) describes the process of making toys and talks about a doll-pioneer who accompanies a child abroad and has many interesting adventures. An etched cover of *Manoi* is based on a totally abstract design. Shterenberg was well aware of Suprematist movement, and he was even corresponding with Malevich, although they did not always have an easy relationship.[622] In spite of the fact that Shterenberg, as an active member of OST, verbally rejected abstraction and abstracted imagery, most of his designs for children's books contain an obvious references to Suprematism.

Shterenberg also tackled production themes in his illustrations for children's books. His book *Chai* (Tea), 1931, described a process of tea production, while *Pesnia o mame* (Song about Mother) glorified a mother working on a factory. To create the images of figures working at the factory (*Song about the Mother*), the artist imitated

[622] On 11 January 1935, gravely ill Malevich wrote to Shterenberg: "You are the only friend of mine who pays serious attention to my very difficult situation"; as cited in Lazarev, *David Shterenberg*, 205.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

children's drawings with their whimsical compositions, crude expressiveness, grotesque simplification and naively spontaneous perception of life. Shterenberg also employed color combinations typical of Russian folk art--red, green, yellow, and white.

In 1931, Shterenberg created illustrations for R.Kipling's *Forty North--Fifty West* using the technique of wood engraving **(IV.3/ Fig. 12)**. In their style, these illustrations echo Shterenberg's work for *Galu and Maatu* of 1928 **(IV.3./Fig.13)** as well as his earlier wood engravings from the early 1920s. Influenced by German expressionist woodcuts which he may have seen in Germany in 1922, Shterenberg combined in his illustrations for *Forty Nord--Fifty West* reality and fantasy, concrete details and totally abstracted space, various points of view and unconventional angles.

In 1930-31, Shterenberg was severely criticized for "formalist tendencies" in his art in the journals *Iskusstvo v massy* (Art into Masses) and *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo* (For the Proletarian Art).[623] In 1932, when the fight against "formalism" in art reached its peak, the art and

---

[623] See F. Roginskaia, "Litso OST," *Iskusstvo v massy*, no.6 (14), (1930): 13; S. Luchishkin and B. Tiagunov, "Raskol v OST," *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*, no. 3 (1931): 12,14; Ya. Tsirel'son, "O rassloenii na izo-fronte i sozdanii soiuznicheskogo obedineniia sovetskikh khudozhnikov na baze AKhR," *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*, no. 3 (1931): 16-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literary critic Sergei Romov, trying to defend Shterenberg in the newspaper *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*(Soviet Art)pointed out that Shterenberg as an active participant of the post-revolutionary development in visual arts and as a person occupying one of the most important official positions, had the right to experiment, even if his creative experiments were not always easily understood and had little sociopolitical significance.[624]

That same year, Shterenberg bitterly commented that artists in the Soviet Union, who had a unique style, were usually labeled "formalists" by the Soviet art critics only because their work differed from that of less experimental artists.[625]

The 1936 article entitled "Protiv formalizma v sovetskom iskusstve" (Against Formalism in Soviet Art) labeled Shterenberg "one of the most infamous Soviet formalists" and noted that for him, as "for all formalists," the most important goal in art was "to display perception of forms and colors and their subtle

---

[624] Sergei Romov, "David Shterenberg," *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* (Moscow), 15 July 1932, 3.

[625] Archive of Shterenberg's family, Moscow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

variations."[626] The article also blamed Shterenberg in "sacrificing the volume of three-dimensional space."[627] Lunacharsky, who was the dominant figure in Soviet culture until 1921 and was supportive of Shterenberg, retained his post as a head of Narkompros only until 1929, after which time he could no longer protect the artist.

Another OST member Deineka also created many children's books in addition to his paintings and illustrations in satirical journals. Deineka's paintings were dedicated mostly to factory life, new machinery, revolutionary themes, and Socialist reconstruction. The artist chose similar topics for his children's book illustrations. In his illustrations for *Pervoe maia* (The First of May) **(IV.3/Fig.14)** by Agnia Barto (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1928), Deineka depicted the May-day celebrations and parades in a similar manner to his illustrations for satirical journals, which were highly simplified and stylized. Deineka's *Parad Krasnoi Armii* (Red Army Parade) (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1931),[628] exemplifies an explicitly ideological type of picture book

---

[626] P. Lebedev, "Protiv formalizma v sovetskom iskusstve," in *Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve*, ed. P. Lebedev (Moscow: OGIZ, 1937), 51. Originally published in the periodicle *Pod znamenem marksizma*, no. 6 (1936).

[627] Ibid., 52.

[628] In 1930-31, Gosizdat and Molodaia Gvardiia issued 65,000 copies of the book.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

devoid of text. Deineka depicted columns of Red Army soldiers marching, riding motorcycles, and in front of tanks. On Red Square, crowds of children cheer the soldiers. One of the illustrations **(IV.3/ Fig.15)**, depicting robot-like women wearing gas masks is reminiscent of Deineka's paintings of the time. As the book suggests, although the people in the Soviet Union desired peace, they were always ready for war.

In another book for children, which describes the work of an electrician **(IV.3/ Fig.16)**, Deineka created a powerful image of the worker. As in his paintings on the theme of the factory life and production, Deineka produced expressive compositions based on the tension of diagonals, a bold contrast of black and white colors, and highly stylized images of workers.

In spite of Deineka's interest in socially significant themes, he was often criticized in press for his "formalist approach." The 1936 article "Protiv formalizma v sovetskom iskusstve" (Against Formalism in Soviet Art) stated that "attempts to portray social themes and concerns by the formalists... always come out to be a failure."[629] Deineka's works on social themes were criticized in this article for

---

[629] Lebedev, "Protiv formalizma v sovetskom iskusstve," 54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

being "too abstract, not as close to reality" and Deineka was accused of portraying "faceless" people, "without any special features... as if they did not feel anything."[630]

[630] Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSION

Following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, children's books began to play an important role in the new Soviet society as they were seen by the new regime as major vehicles for the transmission of revolutionary ideology and ideals to children.

Recognizing that the creation of an appropriate Soviet children's literature could help legitimize and promote the Bolshevik project, the Communist Party articulated explicit ideological guidelines for this important medium. The Party wanted young people to read about proletarian ideals and internationalism and called for a children's literature grounded in reality and the class struggle. Children's literature would impress upon the young readers of the post-Revolutionary era, the overwhelming majority of whom belonged to the peasantry, the need to become active participants in the building of the new socialist society.

The issue of children's literature engaged Communist Party leaders at the highest levels, including the Commissar (Minister) of Education, Anatolii Lunacharskii, and, Nadezhda Krupskaia, Lenin's wife. It also involved leading Soviet experimental artists, such as Galina and Olga Chichagova, Aleksandr Deineka, Vera Ermolaeva, Tatyana

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Glebova, Vladimir Lebedev, El Lissitzky, Alisa Poret, Aleksandr Rodchenko, David Shterenberg, and Lev Yudin among many others. Throughout the 1920s, such figures designed highly experimental children's books that embraced the principles of contemporary art movements such as Suprematism and Constructivism, and were not only propagandistic tools but also innovative works of art in their own right. The styles and ideas of experimental children's book illustrations were closely bound up with experiments being carried out by the painters of that time. Illustrations by such artists as Lissitzky, Georgii Echeistov, and Lebedev reflected contemporary tendencies in painting towards geometric abstraction, and even their Soviet propaganda images employed these elements of modernity.

Discussions of children's books took place within the broader context of Russian education, the organization, content, and methods of which experienced a dramatic transformation in the aftermath of the Revolution. The influence of the ideas of American pragmatism, in particular, the theories of John Dewey (1859-1952), was reflected in the Soviet school programs of the early 1920s, which emphasized the importance of the social environment on education. Some leading Soviet pedagogues insisted that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the most important task of the new Soviet school was to introduce the child into the social and working life of the country.

While in pre-revolutionary Russia children's literature consisted primarily of fairytales, legends, and fantastic stories, such themes declined rapidly in the years following the Revolution, reflecting the tremendous social upheaval that accompanied the revolution. Folk legends and fairytales constituted approximately 25% of all children's books in 1918, but only 5% the following year.

The appropriateness of fairy tales as subject matter for books designed for Soviet children was the subject of intense debate during the 1920s and 1930s. Although many educators defended fairy tales and their social usefulness, there was vigorous opposition from many other Soviet educators who felt that fairy tales were inimical to the requirements for revolutionary children's literature. In their view, fairy tales were emblematic of the pre-revolutionary era and reflected the ideology of the defunct ruling classes. The mystic, superstitious and religious subject matter of these fairy tales led children into a world of dreams and fantasy, which was incompatible with a true revolutionary education. Indeed, many Soviet pedagogues regarded it as virtually criminal to introduce

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

proletarian children to ideas and concepts that had no place in a socialist society.

To replace the disgraced fairytale, Soviet writers introduced a new genre: the child-oriented production book, which would address socially significant themes reflecting the importance of modernization, science and technology the first Five-Year Plan, industrialization and urbanization. Significantly manufacturing processes of such flighty items as ladies fans or cosmetic powder were considered socially and economically too insignificant to have production books dedicated to them.

Production books also celebrated technology's progressive potential in order to distinguish Soviet publications on modernization and industrialization from their pre-Revolutionary predecessors and Western counterparts, which, as it was presumed by the Soviet educators, described the oppressive and alienating labor of capitalist societies.

During the second half of the 1920s, the production book became one of the most important art forms of the Constructivists, many of whom turned to book design as they were unable to work in industry because of the material scarcities of that time. Their works combined ideas from abstract painting and experimental typography to create a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

new visual language of Soviet children's book design. Among the first successful experiments in this area was the work of two Moscow-based artists, Galina and Olga Chichagova, who in the 1920s were students of Rodchenko at VKhUTEMAS (Higher Artistic Technical Studios). Between 1923 and 1929, the Chichagov sisters produced about twenty books, many of them in collaboration with the writer N.G. Smirnov. Often created with a compass and ruler, the Chichagov book designs embraced the Constructivist machine-like aesthetic, featuring straight lines and schematic, elementary forms that resembled technical drawings and corresponded to mechanical printing. The Chichagov illustrations, which are strongly reminiscent of Rodchenko's advertising designs, adhere to the typographical principles developed by the Constructivists, employing a geometrical organization, asymmetry, and sans serif lettering.

Vladimir Lebedev was another Soviet artist who made significant contributions to the production of children's books. His illustrations emphasized the two-dimensional nature of the page dispensing with illusionary perspective and light-modeling. Lebedev created a specific graphic language attuned to children's visual perception and established a whole new direction in Soviet book design in Leningrad frequently referred to as the Lebedev School.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lebedev supervised a group of artists working at the Leningrad State Publishing House for Children (Detgiz) who completely changed the face of the new Soviet children's book design. These artists included Evgeniia Evenbakh, who based many of her illustrations on close observations of objects and production processes. The type of intimate engagement with the subject manifested by Evenbakh was widely promoted during the later 1920s and 1930s, a time when many publishing houses organized excursions to industrial centers and collective farms for their artists so that they could observe at first hand relevant production processes. Two artists who participated in these excursions were Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, who made the preliminary drawings for their production books on site at the factories they visited.

Some children's books devoted to the technical and social transformation of the country often featured an extensive use of photography which was especially useful for describing real people and events and impressed upon younger readers the importance of the technological and social changes taking place in the country. Another important subject addressed by photo-illustrated children's books of the 1930s was the collectivization of Soviet agriculture and the Young Pioneers' presumed role in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this endeavor. Soviet children's book illustrators often employed found photographs as ready-made figurative elements. Photomontage recurs in the children's book designs of Constructivist artists, including Gustav Klutsis and Vasilii Elkin, who was also influenced by contemporary developments in film.

As this dissertation has demonstrated, abstract art, and traditional representational art, characterized only the extremes of the spectrum of Soviet art in the 1920s and early 1930s. Between these extremes, however, there existed many different approaches and styles of art with no single predominant "left" or "right" standpoint.

Many experimental Soviet artists of the 1920s remained committed to values of figurative art in their children's book designs. Members of Malevich's circle, including Vera Ermolaeva and Lev Yudin, drew their inspiration from the achievements of nonrepresentational art, while still retaining a large degree of figurative generalization. Likewise, in the work of Filonov's students and followers, figurative representation is often intertwined with nonrepresentational elements.

Although members of OST (Society of Easel Artists), including Aleksandr Deineka and David Shterenberg, supported easel painting as opposed to industrial design,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

they did not reject the achievements of non-representational art and most of their work in the area of children's book design was highly experimental.

During the First Five-Year Plan, the Communist Party's ambitious modernizing project for children's literature intensified. Public discourse about the goals and direction of children's literature became more strident and unyielding. Writers such as Maxim Gorky and Samuil Marshak promoted a type of children's literature which would instill in young readers love for the Socialist Soviet Union, an affinity for the collective, and adulation of positive heroes.

To enforce its dictates, the party-state apparatus subjected Soviet artists and writers to a repressive system of control and surveillance, persecuting those seen as not conforming to its strictures. Such measures were implemented as early as 1927, when the Committee for Children's Literature prohibited the release of 81% of the children's books by the most experimental publisher, "Raduga House," as they were seen to be "contaminated by harmful bourgeois ideology." After the implementation of Socialist Realism in 1934 as the official aesthetic doctrine of the USSR, the authorities insisted on a return to traditional and realist imagery.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 1935, the Communist Party issued a decree placing all publishing houses specializing in children's literature under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Komsomol (the Young Communist League), which established a system of strict censorship over children's publications. In 1936 an article entitled "About Artists-Doubters," appeared in *Pravda*, initiating a coercive campaign against avant-garde artists and forcing them to abandon experiments in children's book design in favor of more realistic and figurative styles. That same year, an editorial in the *Children's Literature* journal severely criticized Lebedev for his formalist approach. As official criticism mounted, many children's writers and illustrators along with other artists, writers, intellectuals and party leaders were caught up in a general campaign of terror unleashed by Stalin, known as the great purges, in the course of which many of them were sent to labor camps and some were even executed.

As a reflection of its time, Soviet children's literature of the 1920's and 1930's provides us with ample material for a better understanding of the ideological ferment and cultural wars in Soviet society and allows us to analyze the establishment and development of many

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

complex ideological, aesthetic, and pedagogical ideas in the period between 1918-1936.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVES

RGALI (Russian State Archive for Literature and Art), Moscow

F. 340 (Personal fond of Chuzhak, Nikolai Fedorovich),
Op.1: Ed.khr. 25 (Pis'ma Chuzhaka Chichagovoi); Ed.khr.26 (Pis'mo Chuzhaka Chichagovoi,O.D. IX.10.1927).

F. 2718 (Personal fond of Zavadsky, Yu.A.),
Op.1: Ed.khr. 2136 (Pis'mo Chichagovoi, G.D. Zavadskomu, Yu.A.); Ed.khr. 1186 (Pis'mo Chichagovoi, G.D.)

F. 2627 (Personal fond of Tsekhanovsky, Mikhail),
Op.1: Ed.khr. 20 (*Vzryv*. Risunki dlia kino knizhki, 1927.); Ed.khr. 25 (*Zavod v kastriule*. Illustratsiia i oblozhka dlia knigi M.Il'yina. b., graf.kar., tush', 1928.); Ed.khr.17 (*Za stankom u Forda*. Oblozhka dlia knigi Lebedeva. Tush', akv. 1927.); Ed.khr. 18 (*Igra v miach*. Risunok dlia kino-knizhki [Gosizdat, 1927].)

F. 2943 (Personal fond of Troshin, Nikolai Stepanovich)
Op.1: Ed.khr. 238, ll. 1-5: "Troshin, Nikolai Stepanovich. Kratkie svedeniia avtobiograficheskogo kharaktera i perechen' glavnykh rabot."

F. 630 (Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury [Detgiz])
Op.1: Ed.khr.2197 (Echeistov, Georgii. *Rybii dom*. Ocherk V. Bianki. Bum., akv., guash'.); Ed. khr.1449 (Nauchno-tekhnicheskaia redaktsiia. Polozhenie ob otdele nauchno-khudozhestvennoi literatury [1938-40].); Ed.khr. 2185 (Assanov, N. *Ledokoly i radiostantsii*. Maket s risunka Siniakovoi, M. Bum., akv., 1930.); Ed. khr. 2214 (Vorontsova. *Krasin*. Foto dlia illustratsii, 1932.); Ed.khr. 2237 (Gralitsa, Yu. *Pervaia borozda*. Vera Ermolaeva. Bum., tush'.); Ed.khr. 2247 (Deineko, Olga and Troshin, Nikolai. *1000 plat'ev v den'*. Illustratsiia. Bum., akv., 1930-31.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. 631 (Soiuz pisatelei SSSR)
Op. 15: Ed. khr. 514, L.91-94 (Pis'mo Chichagovoi G.D. v pravlenie SSP v obvinenii A. Zharova v plagiate.)

F. 279 (Anatolii Lunacharsky)

F. 665 (Department of Fine Arts, Narkompros)

F. 680 (Schools of Painting, Scupture and Architecture)

F. 681 (VKhUTEMAS),
Op.1: Ed. khr. 2760 (Chichagova, G.D. Lichnoe delo. Zaiavlenie vo VKhUTEMAS. Svidetel'stvo o rozhdenii [1911.VI.14-1920.IX.22]); Ed.khr. 2761 (Lichnoe delo Chichagovoi, O.D. Zaiavlenie vo VKhUTEMAS. Svidetel'stvo ob obrazovanii [1907.X.7-1920.IX.21].); Ed.khr.2 (Protokoly zasedania Soveta VKhUTEMASa[1918-26])

F. 645 (Glaviskusstvo),
Op.1: Ed.khr. 420 (VKhUTEIN)

F. 941 (State Academy of Artistic Science [GAKhN])

F. 2089 (Vladimir Tatlin)

F. 2341 (El Lissitzky)

F. 2368 (Evgenii Katsman)

F. 76/9 (UNOVIS Almanac No.1)

F. 1938 (Sobranie anket),
Op.1: Ed. khr. 19, l.15 (Echeistov, Georgii. Biograficheskaia spravka.)

F. 677 (Stroganovskoe uchilishche),
Op.1: Ed. khr. 3034 (Echeistov,G.A. Lichnoe delo.), Ed. khr. 2552 (Deineko, Olga Konstantinovna. Lichnoe delo [1919].)

F. 2907 (Vsekhokhudozhnik),
Op.2: Ed. khr. 252 (Deineko, Olga Konstantinovna. Lichnoe delo.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. 2973 (Ender, B. V.),
Op.1, ed.khr.117 (Pis'mo Endera Borisa Vladimirovicha Evenbakh, E.K.)

F. 2650, Op.2, Ed. khr. 420, L.3-12 (Troshin, Nikolai Stepanovich. Katalog vystavki rabot N.S. Troshina i O.K. Deineko.)

F. 2943 (MOSSKh),
Op.1, Ed.khr. 238, L.17-21 (Troshin, N.S. Avtobiografiia.)

The State Russian Museum Manuscript Department, St. Petersburg:

F. 203, Ed. khr. 294, L. 3. (E.F. Kovtun, "Tvorchestvo Evgenii Konstantinovny Evenbakh," September 26, 1976.)

F. 209, Ed. khr. 53, L. 1-16 (V.A. Vlasov, "Druz'ia, ucheniki Volodi," chernovye zapisi o V.V. Lebedeve,1970s, handwritten manuscript.)

F. 209, Ed. khr.50 (V.A. Vlasov. "U kogo uchilsia Lebedev.")

F. 209, Ed. khr. 51, L.1-21 (V.A.Vlasov, "Nachalo." Chernovye zapisi o Lebedeve.)

F. 209, Ed. khr. 51, L. 20-21 (Spisok rabot Lebedeva.)

F. 165, Ed. khr. 165, L. 1-10 (V.N. Petrov, "Pamiati V.V.Lebedeva," Rech' na zasedanii Soveta Russkogo Muzeia vesnoi 1973 goda.)

F. 165, Ed. khr. 255 (Lebedev, V.V. Otzyv Petrova o rukopisi V.E. Flekel "Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev kak khudozhnik detskoi knigi." [27.11.1956].)

F. 165, Ed. khr. 243, L.1-7 (Otzyv V.N. Petrova o rukopisi V. Matafonova "V.V. Lebedev-sozdatel' detskoi knigi." [1971].)

F. 203, Ed. khr. 174 (Lebedev, V.V. Pis'mo k E.K. Evenbakh.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. 145, Ed. khr. 51, L.11-12 (Lebedev, V.V. Stenograficheskii otchet LOSKh [Graficheskaia sektsiia]. Diskussiia o sovetskoi illustrirovannoi knige. Doklad P.E. Kornilova. 07.08.1956.)

F. 177, Ed. khr. 79 (Ermolaeva, Vera. Pis'ma I.M. Zdanevichu [18/IV-1/V 1913].)

F. 177, Ed. khr. 50, L. 39-45 (Ermolaeva, Vera. Pis'mo k nei Zdanevicha.)

F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L. 2 reverse, 3 (Lev Yudin's diary entry for 26 of May, 1935.)

F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L.15 (Lev Yudin's diary entry for 18 of September, 1935.)

F. 205, Ed. khr. 1, L. 10 reverse (Lev Yudin's diary entry for November 17, 1921.)

F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L. 9, 12 reverse (Lev Yudin's diary entry for November 22, 1926.)

F. 205, Ed. khr. 9, L.12 (Lev Yudin's diary entry for September 18, 1935.)

F. 205, Ed. khr. 5, L. 10 (Lev Yudin's diary entry for February 1, 1928.)

Fond 205, Ed. khr. 5 (Pis'ma Malevicha Yudinu i Ermolaevoi.)

F. 195, Ed. khr. 151 (Ermolaeva, Vera. Stenogramma vechera, posviashchennogo pamiati V. M. Ermolaevoi [18.05.1972].)

The State Treatyakov Gallery Manuscript Department, Moscow

F. 12/1018, ll.1-181 (VKhUTEMAS. Vybory rukovoditelei masterskikh uchashchimisia. Proval predstavitelei levykh techenii)

F. 12/1034, ll.81-184 (Zhurnaly zasedanii Glavnykh masterov kasaiushchiesia voprosov prepodavaniia programmy VKhUTEMAS)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. 91/28 (Lebedev, V.V.)

F. 76, Ed. khr. 9, L. 51 (UNOVIS, 1920. El Lissitzky, "Primechanie ne k etoi knige")

Fond 180: Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova

TsPA IML (Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv Instituta marksizma-leninizma) (Central Communist Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow):

F. 132, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 470, L. 58-59.

State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), Moscow

F. 130 (Counsil of People's Commissars [Sovnarkom])

F. 5508 (Union of Art Workers [Rabis])

F. A-1565* (Main Administartion of Professional Education [Glavprofobr])

F. A-2306* (People's Commissariat of Enlightenment [Narkompros])

Note: prefix of "A" before a Fond number indicates its location at the former Central State Archive (TsGA) in Moscow, currently part of GARF.

Central State Archive of Literature and Art (TsGALI), St.Petersburg:

F. 2555, Op.1, Ed. khr. 647, L. 7 reverse

F. 244 (Museum of Artistic Culture and State Institute of Artistic Culture [GINKhUK])

F. 6048, Op.1, Ed. khr. 68 (Tsekhanovsky, Mikhail)

F. 78 (3270), Op. 1-2 (LOSKh [Lichnye dela])

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. 64 (3064), Op.1-3 (Detskaia literatura [izdatel'stvo])

F. 237(4226), Op. 1 (Raduga [izdatel'stvo]): Ed. khr. 68, L.1-2; 4-5; 43-44; 118-120; 126 (Soveshchanie sektsii detskoi literatury Leningradskogo otdeleniia sovetskikh pisatelei sovmestno s Detgizom).

F. 34, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 1, L.1 (Gosizdat)

F. 35, Op. 4, Ed. khr. 1, L. 123-128 (GIZ. Komissiia po obsledovaniu periodiki)

PRIMARY SOURCES

Abramov, A. "Kakoi byla i kakoi dolzhna byt' tekhnicheskaia kniga dlia detei." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia), no. 2 (1935): 46-53.

Andreev, A.A. "O detskoi literature: Rech' sekretaria TsK VKP (b) na Pervom soveshchanii po detskoi literature pri TsK VLKSM 19 ianvaria 1936 g." Moscow: Partizdat TsK VKP (b), 1936.

_____. *O kommunisticheskom vospitanii molodezhi*. Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1938: 62-63.

Andreev, M. "O sebe." *Chitatel' i pisatel'*, no. 36, 8 September 1928, 3.

Andreev, S. "Komsomol—organizator detskoi literatury." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow, Molodaia gvardiia), no. 18 (1938): 3-12.

Arkin, D. "Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo i material'naia kul'tura." In *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve: Sborniki Khudozhestvenno-Proizvodstvennogo Soveta Otdela izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Narkomprosa*, 13-19. Moscow, 1921.

Arvatov, Boris. *Iskusstvo i klassy*. Moscow-Petrograd: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923.

_____. "Utopiia ili nauka?" *Lef* (Moscow-Petrograd),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

no. 4 (August-December 1924): 16-21.

Babushkina, A.P. "Narodnaia skazka kak sredstvo vospitania detei: Repku vytiagivaem." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliographicheskogo instituta), no. 4 (1934): 1-4.

Benois, Aleksandr and Kornei Ivanovich Chukovsky. *Elka(knizhka dlia malen'kikh detei)*. Petrograd: Paris, 1918.

Benois, A.N. "Zadachi grafiki." *Iskusstvo i pechatnoe delo* (Kiev: Trudy khudozhestvenno-remeslennykh uchebnykh masterskikh pechatnogo dela), nos. 2-3 (1910): 44-45.

_____. "Khudozhestvennye pis'ma: koe-chto o elke." *Rech*, 25 January 1908, 4.

Beskin, Osip. *Formalizm v zhivopisi*. Moscow: Vsekhokhudozhnik, 1933.

Bespredmetnoe tvorchestvo i suprematism. Katalog desiatoi gosudarstvennoi vystavki. Moscow: Otdel IZO VTsVB Narkompros, 1919.

Bogdanovich, T. "Agitatsiia v detskoi literature." In *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931).

Bogoraz, N. "Klassovaia sushchnost' filonovshchiny." *Krasnaia gazeta* (Leningrad), no.8, vechernii vypusk, 9 January 1931, 3.

Bokarev, I. "Detskaia kniga (po sledam I Vserossiiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature. *Narodnyi uchitel'* (Moscow), no. 6 (1931): 137-140.

Bolotin, S. "Tvorchestvo Marshaka." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura: Kritiko-bibliograficheskii biulleten'*(Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 8 (1934): 1-5.

Bolotin, S. and V. Smirnova. "Detskaia kniga v rekonstruktivnyi period." *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 35, 16 December 1929, 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bolotin, S. and A. Devishev. "Blestiashche sdelannye maski." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura(Kritiko-bibliograficheskii biulleten')* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 12 (1933): 21-23.

Bolotin, S. and I. Zusman, "Knizhka o kotoroi ne sporiat." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 8 (1933): 16-18.

Brik, O.M. "Khudozhnik i kommuna: Trud khudozhnika." *Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo* (Petersburg), no. 1 (1919): 4-5.

_____. "Ot kartiny k sitsu." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)*(Moscow-Petrograd), no. 2 (1924): 27-34.

_____. "Protiv 'tvorcheskoi' lichnosti." *Novyi Lef* (Moscow), no. 2 (1927): 12-14.

_____. Tak nazyvaemyi "formal'nyi metod."*Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 3 (June-July 1923): 213-215.

_____. "Usluzhlivyi estet." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)*(Moscow-Petrograd), no. 2 (April-May, 1923): 92-103.

_____. "V poriadke dnia." *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve. Sborniki Khudozhestvenno-Proizvodstvennogo Soveta Otdela izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Narkomprosa*, 7-9. Moscow, 1921.

Brodsky, I. "Protiv formalizma v iskusstve." *Krasnaia gazeta* (vechernii vypusk)(Leningrad), no. 40, 19 February 1936, 4.

Bubekin, V. "Sozdadim literaturu dostoinuiu nashikh prekrasnykh detei." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia), no. 2 (1936): 3-8.

Bush, M. and A. Zamoshkina. "Put' sovetskoi zhivopisi 1917-1932." *Iskusstvo* (Moscow), nos.1-2 (1933): 23.

Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. "O

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

politike partii v oblasti khudozhestvennoi literatury(rezoliutsiia TsK RKP." *Pravda*(Moscow), 1 July 1925, 6.

Chekhov, N.V. *Detskaia literatura: Pedagogicheskaia akademiia v ocherkakh i monografiiakh*. Moscow: knigoizdatel'stvo 'Pol'za' V. Antik i K°, 1909.

Chernikhov, Yakov. "The Formations of Construction." In *Konstruktsiia arkhitekturnykh i mashinnykh form*, 214-21. Leningrad: Arkhitekturnoe obschestvo, 1931.

Chudovsky, Valerian. "Futurizm i proshloe." *Apollon*, no. 6 (1913): 25-30.

Chukovsky, Kornei. "Dlia materei o detskikh zhurnalakh." In *Russkaia Skoropechatnia*, 16-19. St. Petersburg, 1911.

_____. "K sporam o detskoi literature. "*Literaturnaia gazeta*, December 1929, 2.

_____. "Moia rabota i zhizn'." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 2 (1937): 40-41.

Chuzhak, Nikolai. "Pis'mo v redaktsiiu." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)*(Moscow), no. 4 (1924): 213.

_____. "Pliusy i minusy." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)*(Moscow-Petrograd), no. 3 (June-July, 1923): 28-33.

_____. "Pod znakom zhiznestroeniia (opyt osoznaniia iskusstva dnia)." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 1 (March 1923): 12-39.

Claparede, Edouard. *Psikhologiia rebenka i eksperimental'naia pedagogika*. Translated and edited by D.F. Katsarov. St. Petersburg: Izdanie O. Bogdanovoi, 1911. (Original French fourth edition is Claparede, E. *Psychologie de l'enfant et pedagogie experimentale*. Geneve: Kundig, 1911).

Danko, Elena. "O chitateliakh Charskoi." *Zvezda* (Leningrad), no. 3 (1934): 124-140.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Deklaratsiia leningradskoi gruppy detskikh pisatelei-kommunistov." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 6 (1929).

"Deklaratsiia Vsesoiuznogo Uchitel'skogo s'ezda." *Narodnyi uchitel* (Moscow: Rabotnik prosveshcheniia), no. 11 (1924): 122-125.

"Detskoi literature—vysokii ideinyi i khudozhestvennyi uroven'." *Za kommunisticheskoe prosveshchenie* (Moscow), 30 May 1933.

Devishev, Alim. "Illustratsiia sovetskoi detskoi knigi." *Iskusstvo* (Moscow-Leningrad), no. 1 (January-February,1939): 129-146.

Direktivy VKP (b) po voprosam prosveshcheniia. Moscow-Leningrad,1930.

Dmitriev, N. "Finskii narodnyi epos." *Khudozhestvennaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Kritiko-bibliograficheskii instituta), no. 7 (1934): 49-50.

Dreizin,Z. "Retsenziia: *Otkuda posuda*. N. Smirnov, G. Chichagova i O. Chichagova. M.-L: GIZ,1924." In *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige (Analiz proizvodstvennoi knizhki dlia doshkol'nika)*. Edited by E.I. Stanchinskaia and E.A. Flerina, 44-45. Moscow: Doshkol'nyi otdel Glavsotsvosa, 1926.

Dulsky,P. and Ya. Meksin. *Illustratsiia v detskoi knige*. Kazan: Shkola poligraphicheskogo proizvodstva named after A.V. Lunacharsky, 1925.

Eikhler, G. "K voprosu o nauchno-tekhnicheskoi literature dlia detei." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 3 (1935): 1-6.

Fausek, O. *Obuchenie gramote i razvitie rechi po sisteme Montessori*. Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924.

Filippov, A. "Proizvodstvennoe iskusstvo." *Iskusstvo v*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

proizvodstve: Sborniki Khudozhestvenno-Proizvodstvennogo Soveta Otdela izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Narkomprosa, 9-13. Moscow, 1921.

Flerina, E.A. "Antropomorfizm v literature dlia doshkol'nika." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad), no. 2 (February 1928): 3-4.

_____. "S rebenkom nado govorit' ser'ezno." *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), 30 December 1929.

_____. "Kartinka v detskoi knizhke." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 1 (1928):7-15.

_____. "Pedagogicheskaia otsenka proizvodstvennykh tem dlia rebenka." In *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige*. Edited by E.I. Stanchinskaia and E.A. Flerina, 11-13. Moscow: Doshkol'nyi otdel Glavsotsvosa, 1926.

_____. "Retsenziia na knigu *Pochemu ne bylo baranok* N.G. Smirnova, Galiny i Olgi Chichagovykh. Gosizdat, 1926." In *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige*. Edited by E.I. Stachinskaia and E.A. Flerina, 58-61. Moscow: Doshkol'nyi otdel Glavsotsvosa, 1926.

Flerina, E.A. and E.Yu. Shabad. *Kakaia knizhka nuzhna doshkol'niku*. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1928.

Gollerbakh, E.G. "Shkola Filonova." *Krasnaia gazeta* (vechernii vypusk), no. 118, 5 May 1927, 5.

Gorky, Maksim. "O formalizme." *Pravda* (Moscow), 9 April 1936, 3-4.

_____. "Literaturu-detiam." *Pravda* (Moscow),no.159, 11 June 1933, 3.

Gorlov, N. "O futurizmakh i futurizme." *Lef(zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 4 (August-December, 1924): 6-15.

Grinberg, Anna. "Knigi byvshie i knigi budushchie (dlia malen'kikh detei)." *Pechat' i revoliutsiia* (Moscow), no. 5 (June 1925-September 1925): 243-54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. "Detskaia literatura." *Pechat' i revoliutsiia* (zhurnal literatury, iskusstva, kritiki i bibliografii)(Moscow), no. 8 (December 1925): 256-59.

_____. "O detskoi sovetskoi literature i detskom chitatele." *Pechat' i revoliutsiia* (zhurnal literatury, iskusstva, kritiki i bibliografii) (Moscow), no. 3 (May 1925): 125-34.

Inozemtsev, I. "Boris Zhitkov i problema detskoi technicheskoi knigi. *"Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 7 (1935): 4-10.

Ioffe, I. *Krizis sovremennogo iskusstva*. Leningrad: Rabochee izdatel'stvo "Priboi," 1925.

Irkutov, A. "Nuzhen li detskii pisatel'?" *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 3, 14 January 1931, 3.

Iskrin,V. "Ne soglasny." *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (Moscow), no. 2, 25 January 1930, 3.

Iskusstvo v proizvodstve: Sborniki Khudozhestvenno-Proizvodstvennogo Soveta Otdela izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Narkomprosa. Edited by David Shterenberg and Osip Brik. Moscow: Tipografiia Moskovskoi Taganskoi tiur'my, 1921.

Iskusstvo v SSSR i zadachi khudozhnikov. Editor V. M. Friche. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo kommunisticheskoi akademii, 1928.

Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige (Analiz proizvodstvennoi knizhki dlia doshkol'nika). Edited by E.I. Stachinskaia and E.A. Flerina. Moscow: Doshkol'nyi otdel Glavsotsvosa, 1926.

Kal'm, D. "Ogradim nashego rebenka ot klassovo chuzhdykh vliianii." *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 2, 13 January 1930, 2.

_____. "Protiv khaltury v detskoi literature." *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), 16 December 1929, 1.

Kalmykova, A.M. "Mirovaia khudozhestvennaia literatura

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kak uchitel' zhizni iunykh pokolenii." *Pedagogicheskaia mysl'*, no. 1 (1918): 40

Kapitsa, O.I. "Disput o skazke v pedagogicheskom institute imeni A.I. Gertzena." *Chitatel 'i pisatel'* (Moscow), no. 15, 14 April 1928, 3.

Kasatkina, N. "Predel dopustimosti antropomorphizma v detskoi knizhke." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad), no. 2 (February 1928): 4-5.

Katsman, Evgenii. "K voprosu ob AkhRovskoi samokritike. Stranitsy iz dnevnika." *Iskusstvo v massy* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennoe izdatel'skoe aktsionernoe obschestvo AKhR), no.3 (1929).

Kemenov, V. "Formalistkoe krivlian'e v zhivopisi." *Pravda* (Moscow), 6 March 1936, 2.

_____. "Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v zhivopisi." In *Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve*. Edited by P. Lebedev, 20-28. Moscow: OGIZ, 1937.

_____. "Sovetskie khudozhniki i tema." *Pravda* (Moscow), 21 October 1936.

_____. "O formalistakh i 'otstalom' zritele." In *Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve*. Edited by P. Lebedev, 28-35. Moscow: OGIZ, 1937.

Khalatov, Artemii. "Vozrozhdenie rosseianstva." *Kniga i revoliutsiia* (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo), no. 1 (1929): 25-28.

"Khronika: Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' SSSR po khudozhestvennym gruppirovkam Moskvy." *Iskusstvo v massy*, nos. 7-8 (1929): 59.

Klutsis, G. "Fotomontazh kak novaia problema agitatsionnogo iskusstva." *Literatura i iskusstvo* (Moscow), nos. 9-10 (1931): 86-95.

Knizhoe delo v Rossii po statisticheskim dannym Knizhnoi letopisi. Das Buchgewerbe in Russland. Nach Statistischen datei der Bibliographischen Zeitschrift "Knizhnaja Letopisj." St. Petersburg, 1914.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kon, S.L. "O 'teorii' Yanovskoi." *Literaturnyi kritik*. no. 4 (1933): 112.

Kormchii,L. "Zabytoe oruzhie: O detskoi knige." *Pravda* (Moscow), no. 28, 17 February 1918, 3.

"Kritika detskoi literatury." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 9 (1934): 1-2.

Krupskaia, N.K. *Moia zhizn'*. Kharkov: Iunyi Leninets, 1925.

_____. "Detskaia kniga—mogushchestvennoe orudie sotsialisticheskogo vospitaniia." *Pravda*, 3 February 1931.

_____. "Knizhki dlia doshkoliat." In *Bibliotechnoe delo*, 143-145. Moscow-Leningrad: Sotsekgiz, 1933.

_____. "Kakaia knizhka nuzhna nashim detiam?" *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 53, 23 November 1932.

_____. "Pust' zagovoriat stranitsy detskikh knig o bor'be i pobedakh rabochikh mass." *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* (Moscow), 30 January 1930.

Kupreianov, N. "Poligrafiia v khudozhestvennykh vuzakh." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 4 (August-December, 1924): 187-195.

Kushner, Boris. "Organizatory proizvodstva (doklad, chitannyi v Institute Khudozhestvennoi Kul'tury 30 marta 1922)." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 3 (June-July, 1923): 7- 103.

_____. "Protiv formalizma v iskusstve." *Pod znamenem marksizma* (Moscow), no. 6 (1936): 79-88.

Lebedev, Vladimir. "O risunkakh dlia detei." *Literaturnyi sovremennik* (Leningrad,OGIZ), no. 12 (1933): 201-206.

Levin, M. "Miting ob iskusstve." *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 4 (1918).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Liadova, V. "O geroiakh v detskoi literature." *Pravda* (Moscow), 25 February 1934.

Liashko, N. "O skazkakh." *Chitatel' i pisatel'*, no. 7, 18 February 1928, 4.

Lilina, Z. "Obzor detskoi literatury Giza." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 2 (1928): 34.

Lissitzky, El. "Novaia kul'tura." *Shkola i revoliutsiia* (Vitebsk), no. 24 (1919): 11.

_____. "Typography of Typography." *Merz* (Hannover), no. 4 (July 1923).

Lunacharsky, Anatolii V. *Detskaia literatura*. Moscow, Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1931.

_____. "Puti detskoi knigi." *Kniga detiam*(Moscow-Leningrad), no.1 (1930): 4-5.

Marshak, S. Ya. "Literatura detaiam. O nasledstve i nasledstvennosti v detskoi literature." In *Sobranie sochinenii*. Edited by I.S. Marshak, et al. Vol. 7. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1969.

_____. "O risunkakh dlia detei (Beseda s Lebedevym)" *Literaturnyi sovremennik* (Leningrad, OGIZ), no. 12 (1933): 204-206.

_____. *O bol'shoi literature dlia malen'kikh*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1934.

Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoi literatury (1750-1855). Edited by A.K. Pokrovskaia and N.V. Chekhov. Trudy komissii po istorii detskoi literatury,vol. 1. Moscow: Izdanie Instituta metodov vneshkol'noi raboty, 1927.

Margolina, S. "Kak podoiti k analizu proizvodstvennoi knizhki?" In *Iz opyta issledovatel'skoi raboty po detskoi knige*. Edited by E.I. Stanchinskaia and E.A. Flerina, 14-21. Moscow: Doshkol'nyi otdel Glavsotsvosa, 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Matsa, I. *Sovetskoe iskusstvo za 15 let(materialy i dokumentatsiia)*. Moscow-Leningrad: OGIZ-Izogiz,1933.

_____. "Tvorcheskii metod proletarskogo iskusstva." *Brigada khudozhnikov*, no.4 (1931): 4.

_____. *Tvorcheskie voprosy sovetskogo iskusstva*. Moscow: OGIZ-Izogiz,1933.

_____. "Zakliuchitel'noe slovo na diskussii po dokladu G. Klutsisa 'Fotomontazh kak novaia problema agitatsionnogo iskusstva." In *Za bolshevistskii plakat*, 79-82. Moscow/Leningrad: OGIZ-Izogiz, 1932.

Mikini, E. "Predel dopustimosti antropomorfizma v detskoi knizhke." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 4 (1928): 3-5.

Mikhailov, A. *Izoiskusstvo rekonstruktivnogo perioda*. Moscow/Leningrad: OGIZ-Izogiz, 1932.

Molozhavyi, S. "Po voprosu o realizme v detskoi literature." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat), no.4 (1928): 6-7.

"Na Pervoi Vserossiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature. *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no. 8 (9 February 1931): 3.

"Narkompros o detskoi knige. Otchet o zasedanii kollegii Narkomprosa." *Izvestia*, 15 February 1928.

"Ot otdela detskoi literatury." *Detskie knigi (katalog izdaniii Gosudarstvennogo izdatel'stva)"* (Moscow), 10 April 1925, 3.

"Ot redaktsii." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 1 (1928): 3-4.

"O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no.3 (1936): 40-42.

Pal'vadre, M. and M. Khudiakov. "Kalevala." *Sovetskaia etnografiia* (Leningrad: izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk), no. 3 (1934): 139-143.

Pel'she, R. *Problemy sovremennogo iskusstva*. Moscow:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Moskovskoe teatral'noe izdatel'stvo, 1927.

"Pervaia Vserossiiskaia konferentsiia po detskoi literature." *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo), no.3 (1931): 40-43

Pokrovskaia, A. K. "Evoliutsiia pouchitel'noi i Obrazovatel'noi detskoi knigi." *Novye detskie knigi*(Moscow), no. 5 (1928): 51-67.

_____.*Osnovnye techeniia v sovremennoi detskoi literature*. Moscow: Rabotnik prosvescheniia, 1927.

_____. "Znachenie antropomorfizma v literature dlia detskogo chteniia." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow and Leningrad), no.2 (February 1928): 6-8.

Poltavsky, S. *Novomu rebenku—novaia skazka*. Saratov: Tsentrosoyuz, 1919.

"Programma fotosektsii obedineniia OKTIABR." In *Izofront. Klassovaia bor'ba na fronte prostranstvennykh iskusstv*, 149-151. Moscow/Leningrad, 1931.

Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve. Edited by P. Lebedev. Moscow: OGIZ, 1937.

"Protiv lzhi i klevety." *Literaturnaia gazeta*(Moscow), no. 37, 30 December 1929, 2.

"Protiv formalizma i levatskogo urodstva v iskusstve." Lebedev, P. *Protiv formalizma i naturalizma v iskusstve*. Moscow: OGIZ, 1937:15-20.

"Protiv formalizma i shtampa v illustratsiiakh k detskoi knige." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia), no. 3 (1936): 43-55.

Prushitskaya, R. "Vospitanie lenintsev." *Literaturnaia gazeta*(Moscow), no. 3, 30 December 1929, 2.

_____. "O knizhke dlia doshkol'nika." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 1 (1928): 16-20.

_____. *Rezul'taty peresmotra raboty doshkol'nykh*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ucherezhdenii i sviaz' ee so shkol'noi programmoi: Rezoliutsiia po dokladam tret'ego Vserossiiskogo s'ezda po doshkol'nomu vospitaniiu, 15-21 oktiabria 1924 goda. Moscow: Izdanie Gosmasterskoi Pedagogicheskogo Teatra Glavsotsvosa, 1924.

_____. "O knizhke dlia doshkol'nika." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no.1 (1928): 16-20.

Puni, Ivan. "Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom levom iskusstve." *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no.19 (1919): 1.

Punin, N.N. "Mera iskusstva." *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no.9 (1919).

_____. *Pervyi tsikl lektsii, chitannykh na kratosrochnykh kursakh dlia uchitelei risovaniia*. Petrograd: Sovremennoe iskusstvo, 1920.

_____. "O forme i soderzhanii." *Iskusstvo kommuny* (St.Petersburg), no.18 (6 April 1919): 1.

_____. "Obzor novykh techenii v iskusstve." *Russkoe iskusstvo* (Petrograd-Moscow: Tvorchestvo), no.1 (1923): 3-18.

_____. *V.V. Lebedev*. 1928.

Razin, I. "Detskaia literatura sovetskoi strany." *Za Kommunisticheskoe Vospitanie*, no.9 (1930): 97.

_____. "Za proletarskuiu detskuiu literaturu." *Kniga molodezhi* (Moscow), no. 1 (1931): 109-114.

_____. "Kuda napravit' ogon': Zametki o detskoi literature." *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no.3, 14 January 1931, 3.

_____. "Detskaia literatura v rekonstruktivnyi period." In *Materialy Vserossiiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature*, 7-39. Moscow, 1931.

"Redaksionnye tesisy 'O predelakh antropomorfizma kak literaturnogo priema v knigakh dlia detei'." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no.3 (1928): 3-5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Rezoliutsiia Tsentral'nogo Komiteta Kommunisticheskoi Partii o politike partii v oblasti literatury, 18 iiulia 1925 goda." In *O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati: Sbornik dokladov* TsK KPSS, 343-344. Moscow: Pravda, 1954.

Rezoliutsii i postanovleniia Pervoi Vserossiiskoi konferentsii po detskoi literature. Volume 1. Moscow, 1931.

Riabinkin,P. "Za sozdanie podlinno proletarskogo plakata." *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*, no. 6 (1932): 2-4.

Rodchenko, Aleksandr. "Predosterezhenie." *Novyi lef*, no. 11 (1928): 36-37.

_____. "Protiv summirovannogo portreta za momental'nyi." *Novyi lef*, no. 4 (1928): 14-16.

Romm, G. "Protiv formalizma v zhivopisi (Na sobranii leningradskikh khudozhnikov)." *Krasnaia gazeta* (Leningrad, evening issue), no. 54, 7 March 1936.

Romov, Sergei. "David Shterenberg." *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* (15 July 1932): 3.

Rubtsova, P.A. "Eksperimental'naia retsenziia detskoi knigi. (Protsess raboty)." In *Novye detskie knigi*. Institut metodov vneshkol'noi raboty, otdel detskogo chteniia. Vol. 4, p. 5-17. Moscow: Rabotnik prosveshcheniia, 1926.

Rumiantsev, N. *Volshebnaia skazka v detskoi shkole: Khudozhestvennoe rasskazyvanie detiam*. Petrograd: Kul'turno-prosvetitel'noe kooperativnoe tovarishchestvo Nachatki znanii, 1918.

Rybnikova, N. ed. *Skazka i rebenok*. Moscow: GIZ Publishing House, 1928.

Savvin, N.A. "Opyt ezhegodnika detskoi literatury." In *Detskaia literatura i zhurnalistika za 1908*, 2-13. Moscow, 1910.

Semashko, N.A. "O zadachakh Detgiza." *Za*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kommunisticheskoe prosveshchenie (Moscow), 9 April 1934.

Seregin, M. "Za proletarskuiu detskuiu knigu." *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo* (Moscow),no. 9 (1932): 11-14.

Shaturov, Yurii. "Bez rulia i bez vetril." *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (Moscow), 2 February 1929, 3.

Shteinberg, V. and A. Vasiliev. "Sotsialisticheskaia kul'tura v turkmenskom aule." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura*, no. 1 (1934): 9-10.

Shterenberg, D. "O novom v iskusstve (Otvet Zalevskomu)." *Izvestiia* (Moscow), 5 January 1918, 3.

_____. "Pora poniat'." In *Iskusstvo v proizvodstve: Sborniki Khudozhestvenno-Proizvodstvennogo Soveta Otdela izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Narkomprosa*, 5-7. Moscow, 1921.

Simonovich-Efimova, N. "Graficheskii iazyk detskikh knizhek-kartinok (Eksperimental'naia retsenziia na knizhki-kartinki)." *Novye detskie knizhki* (Moscow: Rabotnik prosveshcheniia), no. 4 (1926): 93-158.

Sokolov, Y.M. "Zhizn' ili smert' skazke?" *Chitatel' i pisatel'*(Moscow), no.18, 5 May 1928, 3.

"Soveshchanie v GIZe po voprosu o detskoi i iunosheskoi literature." *Kniga detiam* (Moscow), no. 1, (January 1928): 38-47.

Stachinskaia, E.S. "Spisok knig dlia detei doshkol'nogo vozrasta. *putiakh k novoi shkole* (Moscow: Rabotnik prosveshcheniia), no. 9 (1924): 129.

Startsev, I.I. *Detskaia literatura: bibliografiia, 1918-1931*. Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1933.

Stasov, V.V. "V.M. Vasnetsov i ego raboty: vospominaniia i zametki." *Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost'* (St. Petersburg: Obschestvo pooschreniia khudozhestv), no. 1 (1898): 65-96.

Stetsky, A. "Nelepo, neriashlivo oformaliaetsia

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

detskaia kniga." *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo*(Moscow), no. 9 (1932): 10.

Sto knig tvoemu rebenku. Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1931.

Svadovsky, I.F. "Krizis burzhuaznoi pedagogiki i lzhenauka pedologiia." In *Protiv pedalogicheskikh izvrashchenii*. Edited by I.F. Svadovsky, 5-15. Moscow/Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo, 1938.

Sverdlova, K. "O Chukovshchine." *Krasnaia pechat'*, no. 9 (1928): 94.

_____. Review of *Pochta*, by Samuil Marshak. *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no. 7 (1932): 4-5.

Tarabukin, Nikolai. *Opyt teorii zhivopisi*. Moscow: Vserossiiskii proletkul't, 1923.

_____. *Ot mol'berta k mashine*. Moscow: Rabotnik prosveshcheniia, 1923.

_____."Utopiia ili nauka?" *Lef*, No.4(1923):18

Tretyakov, Sergei. "Lef i Nep." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 2 (April-May, 1923): 70-78.

_____. "Tribuna Lefa." *Lef (zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow), no.3 (June-July, 1923): 154-164.

_____. *John Heartfield*. Moscow: OGIZ, 1936.

_____. Voina skholastam!" *Literaturnaia gazeta* (Moscow), no.23, 17 May 1933, 1.

Trifonova, T. "Revolutsionnaia detskaia kniga." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow-Leningrad) (1931): 22-42.

_____. "O samykh malen'kikh i samykh vazhnykh." *Na Literaturnom Postu* (Moscow), no.11 (1929): 63-68.

Tseitlin, A. "Marksisty i formal'nyi metod." *Lef*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv) (Moscow), no. 3 (June-July 1923): 114-118.

Vaulin, P. "K voprosu ob iskusstve v promyshlennosti." *Iskusstvo kommuny*, no. 13 (1919).

Vereshchagin, V. A. *Russkie illustrirovannye izdania XVIII i XIX stoletii(1720-1870)*. St.Petersburg, 1898.

Viaz'mensky, L. "Otstavanie i burzhuaznye vliianiia." *Za proletarskoe iskusstvo* (Moscow), no.6 (1931): 6-12.

Volgar, A. "Kogda zhe deti poluchat svoiu knizhku?" *Za kommunisticheskoe prosveshchenie* (Moscow), 2 June 1934.

Voprosy razvitiia proletarskogo iskusstva (materially diskussii). Moscow: Izdatel'stvo kommunisticheskoi akademii, 1931.

Vsevolodsky-Gerngross, V.N. "Interpretatsiia skazki." *Igra* (Petrograd), no.2 (1918): 11.

Yakovlev,V. "Na novye rel'sy," *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* (Moscow), no. 2, 25 January 1930, 3.

Yanovskaia, E.V. *Nuzhna li skazka proletarskomu rebenku?* Kharkov: Knigospilka, 1925.

_____. *Skazka kak faktor klassovogo vospitania.* Kharkov: Knigospilka, 1923.

_____. "Nuzhen li antropomorfizm v doshkol'noi literature?" *Kniga detiam* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat), no. 4 (1928): 7-9.

"Za chto boretsia Lef? (Programma)." *Lef(zhurnal levogo fronta iskusstv)* (Moscow-Petrograd), no. 1 (March, 1923): 1-11.

"Za knigu, zovushchuiu k bor'be i pobede." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 1 (1932): 1.

Za proletarskoe iskusstvo: Proekt platformy dlia konsolidatsii proletarskikh sil na izo-fronte, Fraktsiia VKP (b), AkhR, OMAKhR, i OkhS. Moscow-Leningrad: IZOGIZ, 1930.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Zhavoronkova, A. "Nauchno-populiarnaia literatura: problema politekhnizma ne reshena." *Detskaia i iunosheskaia literatura* (Moscow: Izdanie kritiko-bibliograficheskogo instituta), no.9 (1933): 28.

_____. "Khorosho nachataia i slabo zakonchennaia kniga." *Bulleten' detskoi i iunosheskoi literatury*, no.10 (1933): 17.

Zhitkov, Boris S. "Chto nuzhno vzroslym ot detskoi knigi." *Zvezda* (Leningrad), no. 7 (1933): 132-7.

Zundelovich, Ia. "O siuzhete v detskoi knige." *Kniga detiam*, no. 5 (1928): 35-38.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adaskina, Natalia. "A Place in History: The Self-Determination of the Russian Avant-Garde of the 1920s." In *The Russian Avant-Garde: Representation and Interpretation, collection of academic papers from the conference at the State Russian Museum*, 195-201. St. Petersburg: Palace Editions, 2001.

_____. "The Place of Vkhutemas in the Russian Avant-Garde." In *The Great Utopia*, 283-293. New York: The Guggenheim Museum,1992.

Ades, Dawn. *Photomontage*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

Akademiia nauk SSSR. *Chetyresta let russkogo knigopechataniia, 1564-1964*. Vol. 2. Moscow: Nauka, 1964.

Andel, Jaroslav. *Avant-Garde Page Design, 1900-1950*. New York: Delano Greenidge Editions, 2002.

Andersen, Troels. Malevich. Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1970.

Andreeva, Ekaterina. "O 'Kalevale' filonovtsev." In *Sovetskaia grafika*. Edited by A.D. Borovsky, 23-27. Leningrad: The State Russian Museum, 1991.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914-1932, exhibition catalogue. Seattle: The Henry Art Gallery of the University of Washington; New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc. 1990.

Babushkina, Antonina. *Istoriia russkoi detskoi literatury*. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1948.

Barry, Florence.*A Century of Children's Books*. New York: George H.Doron Company, 1923.

Baruzdin, Sergei. *Zametki o detskoi literature*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1975.

Belinsky, Vissarion G. *O detskoi literature*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1983.

Belkeddar, Odile."Les premieres images d'une nouvelle poesie pour les 2-5 ans: V.Lebedev, illustrateur de S. Marchak et V. Konashevitch, illustrateur de K. Tchoukovski." Francoise Leveque, ed. *Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants, 1917-1945*. Actes de la journee d'etude organisee par la bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse, Lundi 17 Novembre 1997 au Pavillon de l'Arsenal, 45-54. Paris: Publications Paris bibliotheques (Bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse), 1999.

Belov, S.V. "L.M. Kliachko i izdatel'stvo 'Raduga' (u istokov sovetskoi detskoi knigi). *Voprosy istorii sovetskoi knigi i bibliografii* (1978): 21-35.

Bettley, James ed. *The Art of the Book: From Medieval Manuscript to Graphic Novel*. London: V& A Publications, 2001.

Bey, Frederique. "La litterature enfantine en Russie: 1900-1940." Francoise Leveque, ed. *Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants, 1917-1945*. Actes de la journee d'etude organisee par la bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse. Lundi 17 Novembre 1997 au Pavillon de l'Arsenal, 21-23. Paris: Publications Paris bibliotheques (Bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse), 1999.

Black, J.L. *Citizens for the Fatherland: Education,*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Educators, and Pedagogogical Ideas in Eighteen-Century Russia. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Blonsky, P.P. "On the School Oriented Towards Agriculture." In *A Search in Pedagogics: Discussions of the 1920s and early 1930s*, 71-78. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990.

_____. "Some of the Mistakes of Our Pedologists." In *A Search in Pedagogics: Discussions of the 1920s and early 1930s*, 272-287. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990.

Boguslavsky, M.V. "Genezis gumanisticheskoi paradigmy obrazovaniia v otechestvennoi pedagogike nachala 20 v." *Pedagogika*(Moscow), no. 4 (2000): 63-70.

Boiko, M.A. *Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo: Ocherki istorii Leningrada*. Vol.IV. Moscow/Leningrad: Nauka, 1964.

Bois, Yve-Alain. "El Lissitzky: Reading Lessons." *October* 11 (Winter 1979): 113-128.

_____. "El Lissitzky: Radical Reversibility." *Art in America*, April 1988: 161-180.

Bojko, Szymon. *New graphic design in Revolutionary Russia*. New York-Washington:Praeger Publishers, 1972.

Bonnell, Victoria. *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

_____. "The Iconography of the Worker in Soviet Political Art." *Making Workers Soviet. Power, Class, and Identity*. Editors Lewis H.Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994: 341-75.

Boring, E.G. *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 2nd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950.

Borland, Harriet.*Soviet Literary Theory and Practice During the First Five-Year Plan*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bowlt, John E. "Russian Formalism and the Visual Arts," *20th Century Studies*, no.7/8(December 1972): 131-46.

_____. "Pavel Filonov." *Experiment/Eksperiment* 1 (1995): 141-42.

_____.*The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the "World of Art" Group*. Newtonville, Mass: Oriental Research Partners, 1979.

Bown, Matthew Cullerne. *Socialist Realist Painting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Briggs, Julia. "Transitions, 1890-1914." In *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History*. Edited by Peter Hunt, 167-91. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Brodsky, I. "Illustratsiia v detskoi knige." In *Leningradskie pisateli-detiam: Sbornik literaturno-kriticheskikh statei i publikatsii*. Edited by A. Levonevsky, 348-64. Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury Ministerstva Prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1954.

Brooks, Jeffrey. "The Breakdown in Production and Distribution of Printed Material, 1917-1927." In *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution*. Edited by Abbott Gleason, Peter Kenez, and Richard Stites, 151-74. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

_____. "Public and Private Values in the Soviet Press, 1921-1928." *Slavic Review* 48 (Spring 1989): 16-35.

_____. "Revolutionary Lives: Public Identities in *Pravda* During the 1920s." In *New Directions in Soviet History*. Edited by Stephen White, 27-40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

_____. *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Brown, Edward. Mayakovsky: A Poet in the Revolution. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cavadini, Luigi."The Avant-Garde and Childhood in Italy." In *Infancia y Arte Moderno: Exhibition catalogue, IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, December 17, 1998-March 8, 1999*, 376-380. Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998.

Chernenko, Gennadii. *Vechnyi Kolumb: Biograficheskii ocherk o Zhitkove*. Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1982.

Chernevich, Elena. *Russian Graphic Design, 1880-1917*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1990.

Cherniavskaia, Ya.A. *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura*. Edited by N.M. Druzhinina. Minsk: Vysheishaia shkola, 1971.

Chichagova, G.D. "Gody VKhUTEMASa," Memoirs, 1965, Handwritten manuscript, V.A. Rodchenko's archive. Quoted in A. N. Lavrent'ev. "Pervaia dizainerskaia shkola Rodchenko: INKhUK i rannii VKhUTEMAS." Trudy VNIITE. Vol. 41, 62-65. Moscow: Tekhnicheskaia estetika, 1983.

Children's Literature: An Illustrated History. Edited by Hunt, Peter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Chukovsky, Kornei. *Dnevnik, 1930-1969*. Moscow: Sovremennyi pisatel', 1995.

Clark, Katerina. "Engineers of Human Souls in an Age of Industrialization: Changing Cultural Models, 1929-1941." In *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization*. Edited by William Rosenberg and Lewis H. Siegelbaum. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

_____. *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995.

_____. "Utopian Anthropology As a Context for Stalinist Literature." In *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation*. Edited by Robert Tucker, 180-198. New York, 1977.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Compton, Susan. "The Art of the Soviet Book, 1922-1932." In *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915-1932*, p. 609-621. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1992.

_____. *The World Backwards: Russian Futurist Books 1912-16*. London: The British Library, 1978.

_____. *Russian Avant-Garde Books 1917-34*. London: The British Library, 1992.

Constructing Modernity: The Art and Career of Naum Gabo. Edited by Martin Hammer and Christina Lodder. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Crain, William. *Theories of Development: Concepts and Applications*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000.

Aleksandr Rodchenko. Edited by Magdalena Dabrowski, Leah Dickerman and Peter Galassi. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1998.

Daniel, Macha. "Le livre illustre dans la continuite des avant-garde russes." In *Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants, 1917-1945. Actes de la journee d'etude organisee par la bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse, Lundi 17 Novembre 1997 au Pavillon de l'Arsenal*. Edited by Francoise Leveque, 25-33. Paris: Publications Paris bibliotheques (Bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse), 1999.

Davidson, E.S. and Benjamin, L.T. Jr. "A history of the child study movement in America." In *Historical Foundations of Educational Psychology*. Edited by J.A. Glover and R. R. Ronning, 41-60. New York: Plenum Press, 1987.

The Diaries of Nikolay Punin, 1904-1953. Edited by Sidney Monas and Jennifer Grene Krupala. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1999.

Dickerman, Liah. *Building the Collective: Soviet Graphic Design, 1917-1937*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dewey, John. *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001. (An unabridged republication of the revised edition of *The School and Society* originally published in 1915 by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois; and *The Child and the Curriculum* originally published in 1902 by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.)

_____. *Experience and Education*. New York: A Touchstone Book, 1997.

Dickerman, Leah. *ROSTA (Bolshevik Placards, 1919-1921): Handmade Political Posters from the Russian Telegraph Agency*. New York: Sandler Gallery, 1994.

_____. *Building the Collective: Soviet Graphic Design, 1917-1937. Selections from the Merrill C. Berman Collection*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996.

Dobrenko, Evgeny. *The Making of the State Reader: Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Douglas, Charlotte. "Terms of Transition: The First Discussional Exhibition and the Society of Easel Painters." In *The Great Utopia*, 451-465. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1992.

_____. *Swans of Other Worlds: Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia*. Ann Arbor:UMI, 1980.

_____. Kazimir Malevich. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.

Ebin, F. "Stikhi Mayakovskogo dlia detei." In *O detskoi literature*. Moscow/Leningrad: Detgiz, 1950.

El Lissitzky, *Avtobiografiia*, 1941, The State Tretyakov Gallery Manuscript Department. Quoted in Nikolai Khardzhiev. "El Lissitzky—konstruktor knigi." *Iskusstvo knigi 1958-60*, p. 145. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1962.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

El Lissitzky: 1890-1941. Edited by Peter Nisbet. *Cambridge*: Harvard University Art Museum/Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1987.

Eremin, P. "Karion Istomin." In *History of Russian Literature*. Volume 2, part 2: 355-360. Moscow-Leningrad, 1948.

Efimov, P.P. "Ob'edinenie Kollektiv Masterov Analiticheskogo iskusstva (shkola Filonova)." *Panorama iskusstv* 13 (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik) (1990): 103-130.

Filonov, Pavel. Dairy. 11 December 1934. Quoted in Evgeny Kovtun. "P.N. Filonov i ego dnevnik." In *Pavel Filonov: Dnevnik*, 30. St. Petersburg: Azbuka, 2000.

_____. "Deklaratsiia mirovogo rastsveta." In Evgeny Kovtun. *The Russian Avant-Garde in the 1920s-1930s*, 129-130. Bournemouth, England: Parkstone Publishers and St. Petersburg: Aurora Art Publishers, 1996.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. "Becoming Cultured: Socialist Realism and the Representation of Privilege and Taste." In *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia*, 216-37. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

_____. *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts Under Lunacharsky, October 1917-1921*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

_____. "The 'Soft' Line on Culture and its Enemies: Soviet Cultural Policy, 1922-1927." *Slavic Review* 33 (June 1974): 267-287.

Flores, Carlos. "Schools and Publications for Children in the First Soviet Five-Year Plan." In *Infancia y Arte Moderno: Exhibition catalogue, IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, December 17, 1998--March 8, 1999*, p. 363-366. Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998.

Fradkin, F.A. *A Search in Pedagogics:Discussions of the 1920s and Early 1930s*. Translated by Peter Emerson. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

From Plato to Piaget: The Greatest Educational Theorists From Across the Centuries and Around the World. Edited by William Cooney, Charles Cross and Barry Trunk. Lanham, New York: University Press of America, 1993.

Gankina, E.Z. *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi*. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1963.

_____. *Khudozhnik v sovremennoi detskoi knige*. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1977.

Gerchuk, Yurii. "Proizvodstvennaia knizhka: opyt moskovskikh khudozhnikov." *Detskaia literatura*, no. 10 (1975): 75-79.

_____. "Proizvodstvennaia knizhka: opyt leningradskikh khudozhnikov." *Detskaia literatura*, no. 11 (1975): 67-71.

_____. *Sovetskaia knizhnaia grafika*. Moscow: Znanie, 1986.

_____. "Soviet Children's Poetry: Some Historical Observations." *Phaedrus* 12 (1986-87): 19-23.

Gorky, Maksim. "O temakh." *Sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 27, p. 97-109. Moscow: GIKhL, 1953.

_____. "Chelovek, ushi kotorogo zatknuty vatoi (K diskussii o detskoi knige)." In *Sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 25, p. 112-115. Moscow: GIKhL, 1953.

_____. *O detskoi literature, detskom i iunosheskom chtenii*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1989.

_____. *O detskoi literature. Stat'i. Vyskazyvaniia. Pis'ma*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1968.

_____. "O skazkakh."(1929) *O detskoi literature, detskom i iunosheskom chtenii: izbrannoe*, 90-92. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1989.

_____. "O bezotvetstvennykh liudiakh i o detskoi knige nashikh dnei." In *Sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 25, p. 167-176. Moscow: GIKhL, 1953.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Goryacheva, Tatyana. "UNOVIS:"We Will be Like Fire and will Give the Force of the New." In *Malevich's Circle: Confederates, Students, Followers in Russia 1920s-1950s*. Edited by Irina Karasikk, 13-23. St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2001.

Gough, Maria. "Tarabukin, Spengler, and the Art of Production." *October*, no. 93 (Summer 2000): 57- 109.

Grafica Russa 1917/1930. Manifesti-Stampe-Libri. Da collezioni private Russe. Firenze: Vallecchi Editore Centro Culturale Il Bisonte, 1990.

Graphic Design in the Mechanical Age: Selections from the Merrill C. Berman Collection. Series editor Maud Lavin. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.

Gross, V. "Pochemu ne otkryvaetsia vystavka Filonova." *Almanakh: Prilozhenie k zhurnalu 'Krasnaia Panorama'*, no. 3 (1930). Quoted in Evgeny Kovtun. "P.N. Filonov i ego dnevnik." In *Pavel Filonov: Dnevnik*, 71. St. Petersburg: Azbuka, 2000.

Groys, Boris. *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond*. Translator Charles Rougle. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

_____. "On the Ethics of the Avant-Garde." *Art in America* 81 (May 1993): 110-113.

Hilton, Alison. *Russian Folk Art*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.

_____. *Kazimir Malevich*. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.

Holmes, Larry E. "Bolshevik Utilitarianism and Educational Experimentalism: Party Attitudes and Soviet Educational Practice, 1917-1931." *History of Education Quarterly* (Winter 1973): 347-65.

_____. *The Kremlin and the Schoolhouse: Reforming Education in Soviet Russia, 1917-1931*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Holmgren, Beth. *Criticism, Theory, and Children's Literature*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

_____. *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and the Kingdom of Poland*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998.

_____. "Why Russian Girls Loved Charskaia." *The Russian Review* 54 (January 1995): 91-105.

Ivanov, A.G. "Ocherki po istorii sovetskoi srednei obshcheobrazovatel'noi shkoly (1917-1925 gg.)" Uchenye zapiski. Yaroslavskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii institut. Vol.48, p. 5-185. Yaroslavl, 1961.

Iskusstvo v SSSR i zadachi khudozhnikov: Disput v kommunisticheskoi akademii. In *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia*, by P.I. Lebedev. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962.

Izdatel'stvo I.N. Knebel' i khudozhniki detskoi knigi. Edited by V.I. Siniukov and I.I. Lebedeva. Moscow: Kniga, 1989.

"Iz literaturnogo naslediia Lunacharskogo." *Novyi mir*, no. 9 (1966): 237-238.

Janacek, Gerald. *The Look of Russian Literature: Avant-Garde Visual Experiments, 1900-1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

John Dewey on Education (Selected Writings). Edited and with an Introduction by Reginald D. Archambault. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Kachurin, Pamela. "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Retreat of the Avant-Garde in the Early Soviet Era." Ph. D. diss., Indiana University, January 1998.

Kalaushin, B. "Tsel'nost." *Detskaia literatura*, no.8 (1977): 64-73.

_____. "U istokov detskoi knigi: Russkaia

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

detskaia kniga 1900-1917." *O literature dlia detei* (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura), no. 33 (1991): 112-121.

Kamensky, Alexander and Vsevolod Petrov. *Petersburg and the World of Art Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Russia*. Leningrad: Aurora, 1991.

Kamensky, A. *Natan Altman (1889-1970)*. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1978.

Kennedy, Janet. *The "Mir iskusstva" Group and Russian Art, 1898-1912*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977.

Kenez, Peter. *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Khan-Magometov, S.O. "A New Style: Three-dimensional Suprematism and Prounen." In *El Lissitzky, 1890-1941: Architect, Painter, Photographer, Typographer*, 35-46. Eindhoven: Municipal Van Abbemuseum, 1990.

_____. "Pervaia tvorcheskaia organizatsiia pionerov sovetskogo dizaina—gruppa konstruktivistov INKhUKa (1921)." In *Khudozhestvennye problemy predmetno-prostranstvennoi sredy, Collection of academic papers presented at conferences, seminars, and discussions*, 1-9. Moscow: VNIITE, 1978.

_____. "VKhUTEMAS i INKhUK." *Technicheskaia estetika*, no.12 (1980): 20-23.

_____. *VHUTEMAS. Moscow, 1920-1930*. Translated by Joelle Aubert-Yong, Nikita Krivocheine, and Jean-Claude Marcade. 2 vols. Paris: Editions du Regard, 1990.

Khardzhiev, N. "El Lissitzky-konstruktor knigi." In *Iskusstvo knigi, 1958-60*, 145-159. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1962.

Khudozhniki detskoi knigi o sebe i svoem iskusstve: Stat'i, rasskazy, zametki, vystupleniia. Edited by Vladimir Glotser. Moscow: Kniga, 1987.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kommunisticheskaia partiia sovetskogo soiuza v rezoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s'ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK. Vol. 2. Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1970.

Kon, Lydiia F. *Detskaia literatura v gody grazhdanskoi voiny*. Moscow: Detgiz, 1953.

_____. *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura, 1917-1929*. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1955.

_____. *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura vosstanovitel'nogo perioda (1921-1925)*. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1955.

Kostin, V.I *OST (Obshchestvo stankovistov)*. Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1976.

Kotovich, T.V. *Malevich. Klassicheskii avantgard. Vitebsk-4, Posviashchaetsia 80–letiiu UNOVISa*. Vitebsk: Vitebskii oblastnoi kraevedcheskii muzei, 2000.

Kovtun, Evgeny. *Avangard, ostanovlennyi na begu*. Leningrad: Avrora, 1989.

_____. "Khudozhnik detskoi knigi Vera Ermolaeva." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow: Gosizdat), no.2 (1971): 33-37.

_____. *The Russian Avant-Garde in the 1920s-1930s*. Bournemouth, England: Parkstone Publishers and St. Petersburg: Aurora Art Publisher, 1996.

KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh s'ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TSK. Part I. Moscow: Gospolitizdat,1953.

Kudriavtseva, L.S.*Khudozhniki detskoi knigi*. Moscow: Akademia,1998.

Kuleshova, N.M. "Romantika tekhnitsizma: Khudozhnik Eduard Krimmer. "*Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 6 (1989): 65-68.

Kurella, A. "Khudozhestvennaia reaktsiia pod maskoi

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'geroicheskogo realizma'." In *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia*. Edited by P.I. Lebedev, 371-376. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962.

_____. "Pis'ma Eduarda Mikhailovicha Krimmera." In *Sovetskaia grafika: sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, 47-64. Leningrad: Russian Museum, 1991.

Krupskaia, N.K. "O detskikh bibliotekakh." In *N.K. Krupskaia o detskoi literature i detskom chtenii: Izbrannoe*. Edited by N.V. Medvedeva, 27-30. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1979.

_____. "O detskoi knige". In *N.K. Krupskaia o detskoi literature i detskom chtenii: Izbrannoe*. Edited by N.V. Medvedeva, 14-8. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury,1954.

Kurdov, Valentin. "Chemu uchil Lebedev." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 10 (130),(1976): 69-71.

Kuznetsov, E.D. "Oformlenie destskoi knigi predrevoliutsionnykh let, 1901-1917." Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy. Vol. 8, p. 135-167. Moscow: Izdanie vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty,1963.

_____. "Puti i pereput'ia: Razmyshleniia ob iskusstve leningradskoi detskoi knigi." *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 6 (1975): 61-70.

Kuznetsova, G. "U istokov sovetskoi detskoi knigi," *Detskaia literatura* (Moscow), no. 7 (1976): 70-73.

Kuznetsova, V.and E. Kuznetsov. *Tsekhanovsky*. Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1973.

Lapshina, N.P. *"Mir iskusstva": Ocherki istoriii i tvorcheskoi praktiki*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977.

Lavrent'ev, A.N. "Pervaia dizainerskaia shkola Rodchenko: INKhUK i rannii VKhUTEMAS." Trudy VNIITE, no. 41, 61-77. Moscow: Tekhnicheskaia estetika, 1983.

_____. "Propedevticheskaia distsiplina 'grafika.' VKhUTEMAS 1920-22." *Technicheskaia estetika* (Moscow), no. 7 (1984): 16-21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. *Rakursy Rodchenko*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1992.

_____. *Varvara Stepanova: The Complete Work*. Edited by John E. Bowlt. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988.

Lazarev, M.P. *David Shterenberg*. Moscow: Galaktika, 1992.

Lebedev, P.I. *Bor'ba za realism v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia*. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962.

Leveque, Francoise. "Children and Books." *Infancia y Arte Moderno: Exhibition catalogue, IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, December 17, 1998--March 8, 1999*, p. 361-363. Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998.

Leveque, Francoise. *Infancia y Arte Moderno*. Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998. (Catalog for an exhibition at IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, Spain, December 1998/March 8, 1999.)

Leveque, Francoise and Serge Plantureux. *Livres d'enfants russes et sovietiques(1917-1945): Dictionnaire des illustrateurs*. Paris: La Bibliothèque l'Heure joyeuse et Agence culturelle de Paris, 1997.

Lewin, Moshe. "On Soviet Industrialization." In *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization*. Edited by William G. Rosenberg and Lewis Siegelbaum. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Lissitzky, El. "Our Book." In *Voices of Revolution: Collected essays*. Edited by Patricia Railing. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press,2000.

Lissitzky, Lazar. "The New Culture." Reprinted in English translation in *Experiment/Eksperiment*, 1 (1995): 260-61.

Lissitzky-Kuppers, Sophie. *El Lissitzky. Life, Letters, Texts*. Translated by Helene Aldwinckle and Mary Whittall. London: Thames and Hudson; Greenwich, Ct.: New York Graphic Society, 1968.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Livres illustres Russes et Sovietiques pour enfants, 1917-1945. Actes de la journee d'etude organisee par la bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse. Lundi 17 Novembre 1997 au Pavillon de l'Arsenal. Edited by Leveque, Francoise. Paris: Publications Paris bibliotheques (Bibliotheque l'Heure Joyeuse), 1999.

Lodder, Christina. "Art of the Commune: Politics and Art in Soviet Journals, 1917-20." *Art Journal* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 24-33.

_____. "Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s." In *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914-1932*. Seattle: The Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington; New York: Rizzoli, 1990.

_____. *Russian Constructivism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Lozovoi, Nikolai. "Pavel Filonov's Analytical Method." *Experiment/Eksperiment* 1 (1995): 142-46.

Lupanova, I.P.*Polveka: Sovetskaia detskaia literatura, 1917-1967*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1969.

Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, and Identity. Edited by Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Malevich, Kazimir. "Pis'mo k L.M. Lissitzkomu." *Experiment 5* (1999): 152-154.

_____. "Zhivopis' v probleme arkhitektury." In K. Malevich. *Sobranie sochinenii v 5 tomakh*. Vol. 2, p. 134. Moscow, 1998.

Malevich on Suprematism: Six Essays, 1915 to 1926. Edited by Patricia Railing. Iowa City: The University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1999.

Mally, Lynn. *Culture of the Future: The Proletkult Movement in Revolutionary Russia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Mansbach, S.A. *Visions of Totality: Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Theo van Doesburg and El Lissitzky*. Ann Arbor: Research Press, 1980.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Margolin, Victor. "El Lissitzky's Berlin Graphics." In *Voices of Revolution: Collected essays*. Edited by Patricia Railing, 185-215. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2000.

_____. *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy, 1917-1946*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Markov, Vladimir. *Russian Futurism: A History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Marshak, S.Ya. "Shchedryi talant." *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (Moscow), no. 56 (12 May 1962): 3

Matafonov, V.S. *E.K. Evenbakh*. Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1988.

Matsa, I.L. *A. Deineka*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1959.

Matsuev, N. *Russkie sovetskie pisateli: Materialy dlia biograficheskogo slovaria, 1917-1967*.Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1981.

Mazaev, A.I. *Kontseptsiia 'proizvodstvennogo iskusstva' 20-kh godov*. Moscow: Nauka, 1975.

Medvedeva, N. "Bor'ba A.M. Gor'kogo za sozdanie sovetskoi literatury dlia detei." In *O detskoi literature*. Edited by L.F. Kon. Moscow/Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1950: 37-72.

Members of AKhRR, "My dozhdemsia svoei kritiki." In *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia*, by P.I. Lebedev, 385-391. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962.

Meyerzon, Vladimir. "Detskaya Literatura: Half a Century of Publishing for Children." *Phaedrus: An International Annual for the History of Children's Youth Literature* 11 (1985): 41-42.

M. Gorky o detskoi literature. Edited by N. V. Medvedeva. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1968.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Milner, John. *Kazimir Malevich and the Art of Geometry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Misler, Nicoletta. "A Public Art: Caricatures and Posters of Vladimir Lebedev." *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, no.5 (1987): 60-75

Misler, Nicoletta and John E. Bowlt. *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate*. Austin, Texas: The Institute of Modern Russian Culture and Silvergirl, Inc., 1983.

Molok, Yurii. "Nachala moskovskoi knigi, 20e gody." Iskusstvo knigi 1967. Vol 7, p. 35-61. Moscow: Kniga, 1971.

_____. *Staraia detskaia knizhka, 1900-1930*. Moscow: Izdatelstvo A i B, 1997.

Morozov, A.I. *Konets utopii(Iz istorii iskusstva v SSSR 1930 godov)*. Moscow: Galart, 1995.

"Nash put'." Novoe obshchestvo zhivopistsev (Programma-platforma). Iz kataloga 1 vystavki "NOZH," sostoiavsheisia v noiabre 1922. Reprinted in Lebedev, P.I. *Bor'ba za realizm v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve 20kh godov: Materialy, dokumenty, vospominaniia*, 105-107. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1962.

New Art for A New Era: Malevich's Vision of the Russian Avant-Garde: Exhibition catalogue. London: Barbican Art Gallery, The State Russian Museum, and Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1999.

O'Connor, Timothy. *The Politics of Soviet Culture: Anatolii Lunacharskii*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983.

O'Dell, Felicity Ann. *Socialisation through Children's Literature: The Soviet Example*. Cambridge, London and New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Oginskaia, L. *Gustav Klutsis*. Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1981.

Olich, Jacqueline M. "Competing Ideologies and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Children's Books: The Making of A Soviet Children's Literature, 1918-1935." Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999.

O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati. Moscow: Pravda, 1954.

O partiinoi i sovetskoi pechati, radio i televidenii: sbornik dokumentov. Moscow: Mysl', 1972.

OST (Society of Easel Artists), Platform, 1929. Reprinted in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902-1934*. Edited by John E.Bowlt, 279-81. New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1988.

Pavel Filonov i ego shkola. Edited by Evgenia Petrova and Jurgen Harten. Koln: Stadtische Kunsthalle Dusseldorf and DuMont Buchverlag, 1990.

Pechat' SSSR za sorok let, 1917-1957. Moscow: Ministerstvo kul'tury SSSR-Glavizdat vsesoiuznaia knizhnaia palata, 1957.

Petrov, Vsevolod and Alexander Kamensky. *The World of Art Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Russia*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1991.

_____. *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev, 1891-1967*. Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1972.

Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913-1940. Edited by Christopher Phillips. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Aperture, 1989.

Privalova,E.P. *Russkaia sovetskaia detskaia literatura 30kh godov*. Leningrad: Leningradskii Gosudarstvennyi Bibliotechnyi Institut imeni N.K. Krupskoi, 1959.

Punin, N.N. "Konspekt k dokladu 'Tupik suprematizma,' chitannomu v 'ob'edinenii' 29 aprelia 1923 g." Reprinted in *Experiment/Eksperiment* 5 (1999): 158-161.

_____. "Kvartira No.5: Vospominaniia, pis'ma, dnevniki." Forward, publication, and footnotes by Irina Punina. *Panorama iskusstv 12* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1989): 183.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Puti i pereput'ia: Sbornik statei.Moscow:nauchno-Issledovatel'skii Institut Teorii i Istorii Izobrazitel'nogo Iskusstva, 1994.

Putilova, E.O. "Nuzhna li proletarskomu rebenku skazka? (Po materialam diskussii 20-30kh godov)." In *Umstvennoe vospitanie detei doshkol'nogo vozrasta. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, 104-19. Leningrad: LGPI imeni Hertzena, 1976.

_____. *Ocherki po istorii sovetskoi detskoi literatury, 1917-1941*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1982.

_____. "Voprosy teorii i kritiki v zhurnale 'Detskaia literatura' (1932-1941)." In *Detskaia literatura*. Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1973.

Railing, Patricia. *From Science of Art to Systems of Art: On Russian Abstract Art and Language 1910/1920*. Forest Raw, England: ARTISTS BOOKWORKS,1989.

_____. *More About Two Squares*. Forest Row, East Sussex: Artists Bookworks and Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990.

_____. *Voices of Revolution*: Collected essays. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2000.

Rakitin, Vasilii. "Dva eksperimenta Lissitzkogo." *Detskaia literatura*, no.11 (1970): 44-47.

Read, Christopher. *Culture and Power in Revolutionary Russia: The Intelligentsia and the Transition from Tsarism to Communism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

Rodcenko, A. and S. Tret'jakov. *Samozveri/Selbst Gemanchte Tiere. Facsimile of 1927 unrealized book*. With commentary by Werner Futterer and Hubertus Gassner. Koln, Germany: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther Konig, 1980.

Roman, Gail Harrison. "The Ins and Outs of Russian Avant-Garde Books: A History, 1910-1932." In *The Avant-Garde in Russia, 1910-1930: New Perspectives*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Edited by Stephanie Barron and Maurice Tuchman, 102-109. Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and The MIT Press, 1986.

Ross, D. G. *Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902-1934. Edited by John E. Bowlt. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

Russian Avant-Garde 1910-1930: The G. Costakis Collection. Theory-Criticism. Athens, 1995.

The Russian Avant-Garde Book, 1910-1934. Edited by Margit Rowell and Deborah Wye. New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Harry N.Abrams, 2002.

Russian Futurism. Edited by Petrova, Yevgenia. St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2000.

Russkii avangard: Problemy reprezentatsii i interpretatsii, Sbornik po materialam konferentsii. Edited by Irina Karasik. St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2001.

Rybina, E.F. and E.N.Tomasheva. *Bibligrafiia literatury dlia detei*. Edited by S.A. Trubnikov. Moscow: Kniga, 1984.

Sakharova, E. *E.D. Polenova*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1952.

Sergeev, V.A. *Bor'ba Kommunisticheskoi Partii protiv melkoburzhuaznosti v iskusstve (1917-1932)*. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1976.

Sbornik dekretov i postanovlenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva po narodnomu obrazovaniiu Vol. 1. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo APN, 1947.

Schelomentseva, M.B. *Sovremennaia Sovetskaia nauchno-poznavatel'naia literature dlia detei i iunoshestva po problemam nauki i tekhniki.*(Uchebnoe posobie). Leningrad: Gosudarstvennyi Institut kul'tury imeni N.K. Krupskoi, 1988.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Schmalenbach, Werner. *Kurt Schwitters*. New York: Abrams, 1967.

Schwarts, Evgeny. "Pechatnyi dvor." *Iskusstvo kino* (Izdanie Soiuza Kinematografistov Rossii), no.9 (1962): 102-106.

Shatskikh, Alexandra. "Lazar Markovich Lissitzky: Malevich and El Lissitzky--Leaders of UNOVIS." In *In Malevich's Circle: Confederates, Students, Followers in Russia 1920s-1950s*. Edited by Irina Karasik, 45-51. St. Petersburg: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2001.

_____. *Vitebsk: Zhizn' Iskusstva, 1917-1922*. Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kyl'tury, 2001.

_____. *Kazimir Malevich*. Moscow: Slovo, 1996.

Shatyanko, N.N. "Svidetel'stva epokhi i dokumenty 1919-1920 godov." *Puti i pereput'ia: Sbornik statei*. Moscow, 1994.

Sidorina, E.V. "Kontseptsiia 'proizvodstvennogo iskusstva' i VKhUTEMAS: k istorii sviazei." Trudy VNIITE. No. 34, p. 55-69. Moscow: Technicheskaia estetika, 1982.

_____. *Skvoz' ves' dvatsatyi vek: khudozhestvenno-proektnye kontseptsii russkogo avangarda*. Moscow: Russkii mir, 1994.

Siebenbrodt, Michael. "The Bauhaus in Weimar: Creative Play in the Teaching of Design and the Design of Objects for Children." In *Infancia y Arte Moderno: Exhibition catalogue, IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, December 17, 1998--March 8, 1999*, p. 381-84. Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998.

Siegelbaum, Lewis H. *Soviet State and Society Between Revolutions, 1918-1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Smirnova, V. "Samuil Marshak." In *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura*. Edited by V.I. Bochkareva, S.I. Liubimova and I.M. Mikhailova, 160-183. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1956.

Startsev, I.I. *Voprosy detskoi literatury i detskogo chteniia*. Moscow: Detgiz, 1962.

Steiner, Evgeny. *Stories for Little Comrades*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Stepanova, Varvara. "Foto-montazh. Aleksandr M. Rodchenko." *Fotografie* (Prague), no. 3 (1973): 18-19.

Tarabukin, Nikolai. "The Art of the Day." Translated by Rosamund Bartlett. *October* 93 (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, Summer 2000): 59-77.

Taylor, Brandon. *Art and Literature Under the Bolsheviks*. Vol. 1, *The Crisis of Renewal 1917-1924*. London: Pluto Press, 1991.

_____. "Russians on the Road." Art in America (October 1988): 33-47.

Terras, Victor. *A History of Russian Literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Timmer, Petra. "The Dutch Avant-Garde and the Childhood." In *Infancia y Arte Moderno: Exhibition catalogue, IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, December 17, 1998-March 8, 1999*, p. 372-6. Valencia, Spain: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1998.

Tradition and Revolution. The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art, 1912-1928. Edited by Ruth Apter-Gabriel. Catalogue of exhibition at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1988.

Traugot, A. and V.Traugot. "Neskol'ko vstrech s Lebedevym. *"Detskaia literatura*, no. 7 (1992): 45-49.

Tsaritsyn, Victor. "Eduard Krimmer." In *In Malevich's Circle: Confederates, Students, Followers in Russia, 1920s-1950s*. Edited by Irina Karasik, 307-311. St. Petersburg and Italy: The State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2000.

Tschichold, Jan. *The New Typography*. With an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

introduction by Robin Kinross. Translated by Ruari McLean. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Tucker, Robert. *Stalin in Power: The Revolution From Above, 1928-1941*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1990.

Tupitsyn, Margarita. *El Lissitzky: Beyond the 'Abstract Cabinet.' Photography, Design, Collaboration*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.

_____. "Exiting the Avant-Garde: Soviet Imagery Under Stalin." In *Arte Sovetico 1928-1945*, 171-178. Valencia: IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, 1996.

_____. "From the Politics of Montage to the Montage of Politics: Soviet Practice 1919 through 1937." In *Montage in Modern Life, 1919-1942*. Edited by Matthew Tetelbaum, 83-127. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992.

_____. *The Soviet Photograph, 1924-1937*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Turchenko, O. "A.M. Gorky i detskaia literatura." In *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura*. Edited by V.I. Bochkareva, S.T. Liubimova and I. M. Mikhailova, 5-27. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebno-pedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo Ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1958.

Valkenier, Elizabeth. "AKhRR, Realism and Official Style in the 1920s." *Soviet Union/Union Sovietique* 7 (1980): 197-213.

Vesc' Object Gegenstand. Edited by Il'ja Erenburg and El Lisickij (Berlin, March-April, 1922). Reprint with commentary and translations. Baden: Lars Muller Publishers, 1994.

Volkov-Lannit, L. *Aleksandr Rodchenko*. Moscow: Iskusstvo,1968.

Vystavka akvarelei i risunkov Ol'gi Deineko i Nikolaia Troshina. Moscow: Moskovskoe Otdelenie Soiuza khudozhnikov,June 1946.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Vystavka professional'nogo soyuza Levoi federatsii." *Anarkhiia.*" Reprinted in Malevich, Kazimir. *Sobranie sochinenii v 5 tomakh.* Vol. 1, p. 120. Moscow, 1995.

Waksberg, Arkadii. *Lilia Brik*. Moscow: Olimp and Smolensk: Rusich, 1999.

Watson, Sr., R.I. *The Great Psychologists*, 4th ed. New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1978.

Whalley, Joyce Irene and Tessa Rose Chester. *A History of Children's Book Illustration*. London: John Murray with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1988.

Wozniak, Robert H. *Classics in Psychology, 1855-1914: Historical essays*. Bristol, UK: Thoemmes Press, 1999.

Zhukova, L.K. *Russkaia sovetskaia literatura dlia detei: Programma kursa dlia bibliotechnykh fakul'tetov institutov kul'tury (spetsializatsiia detskikh I shkol'nykh bibliotek)*. Moscow: Ministerstvo kul'tury RSFSR, 1975.

Zubareva, E.E. *Detskaia literatura* (Uchebnoe posobie). Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 1985.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IMAGES FOR THE NEW GENERATION: SOVIET ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BOOKS, 1918-1936

by

ALLA ROSENFELD

VOLUME II

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

2003

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.1/Fig.1. Karion Istomin, author. Leontii Bunin, engraver. Illustration for *Alphabet*, 1694. Cooper engraving.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



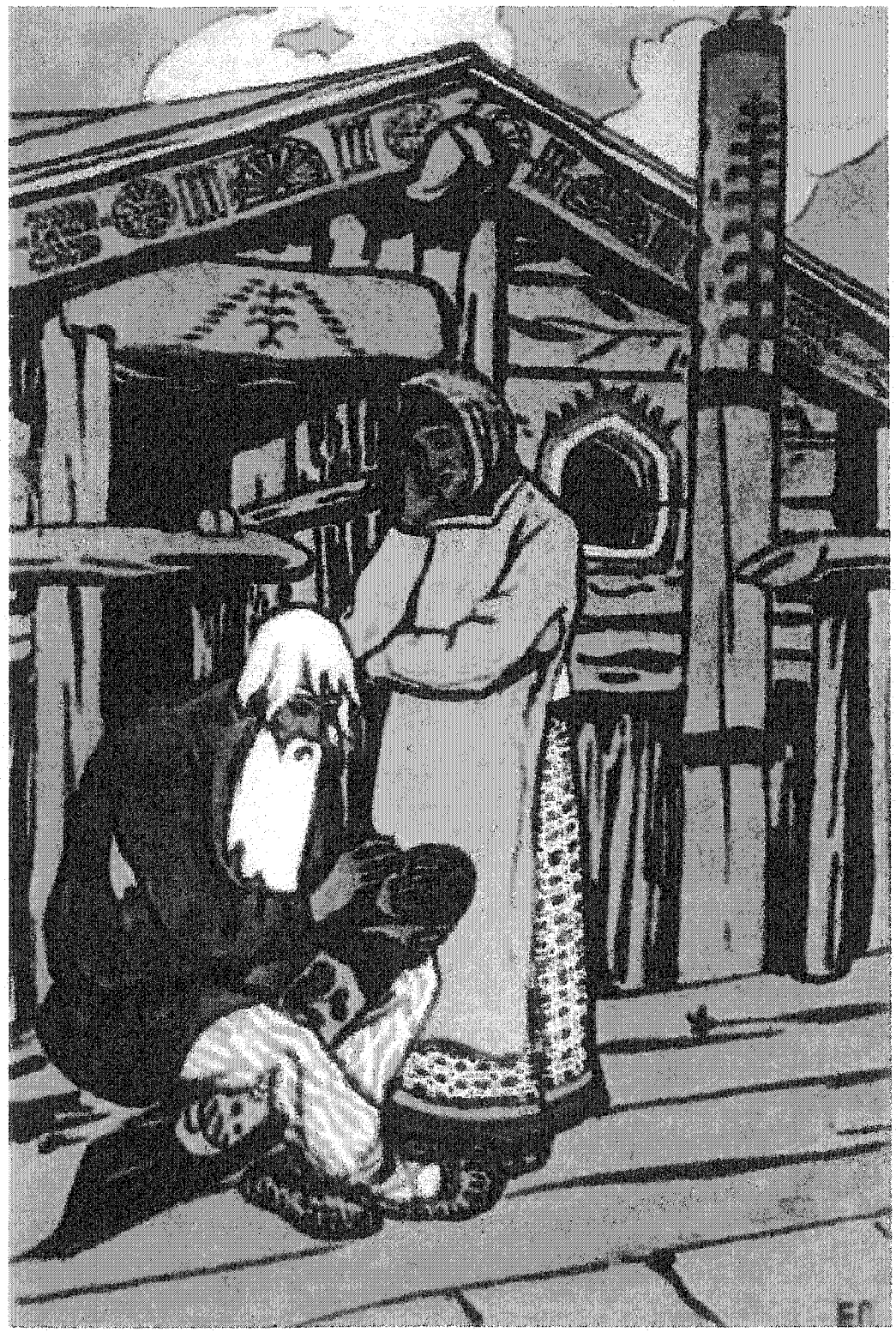
I.1/Fig.2. Klavdia Lukashevich, author. Elizaveta Bem, illustrator. Cover for *Moe miloe detstvo* (My Happy Childhood).(Moscow:Sytin,1914).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.1/Fig.3. O.I. Rogova, author. Cover for *Russkie skazki* (Russian Fairy Tales) (Moscow: Stupin, 1900).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.1/Fig.4. Elena Polenova, illustrator. Illustration for Russian Fairy Tales, 1888.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



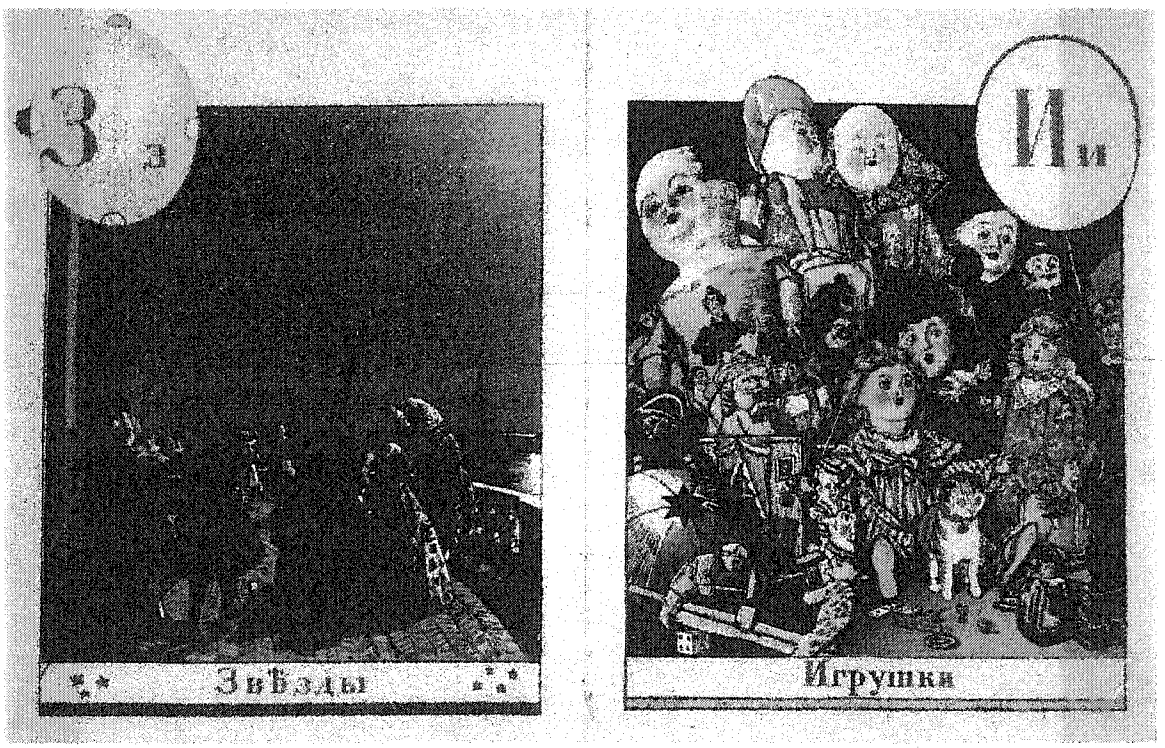
I.1/Fig.5. Ivan Bilibin, illustrator. Illustration for Russian Fairy Tales, 1899.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.1/Fig.6. Alexandre Benois, illustrator. Cover for *Azbuka* (Alphabet).(St.Petersburg:Izdanie Zagotovleniia Gosudarstvennykh Bumag,1904).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.1/Fig.7. Alexandre Benois. Illustration for *Azbuka v kartinkakh(Alphabet)*,1904.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.1/Fig.8. Wilhelm Hauff, author. Dmitrii Mitrokhin, illustrator. Color photo-relief illustration for *Zhizn' Almansora* (Almansor's Life)(Moscow:I.N. Knebel,1912)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



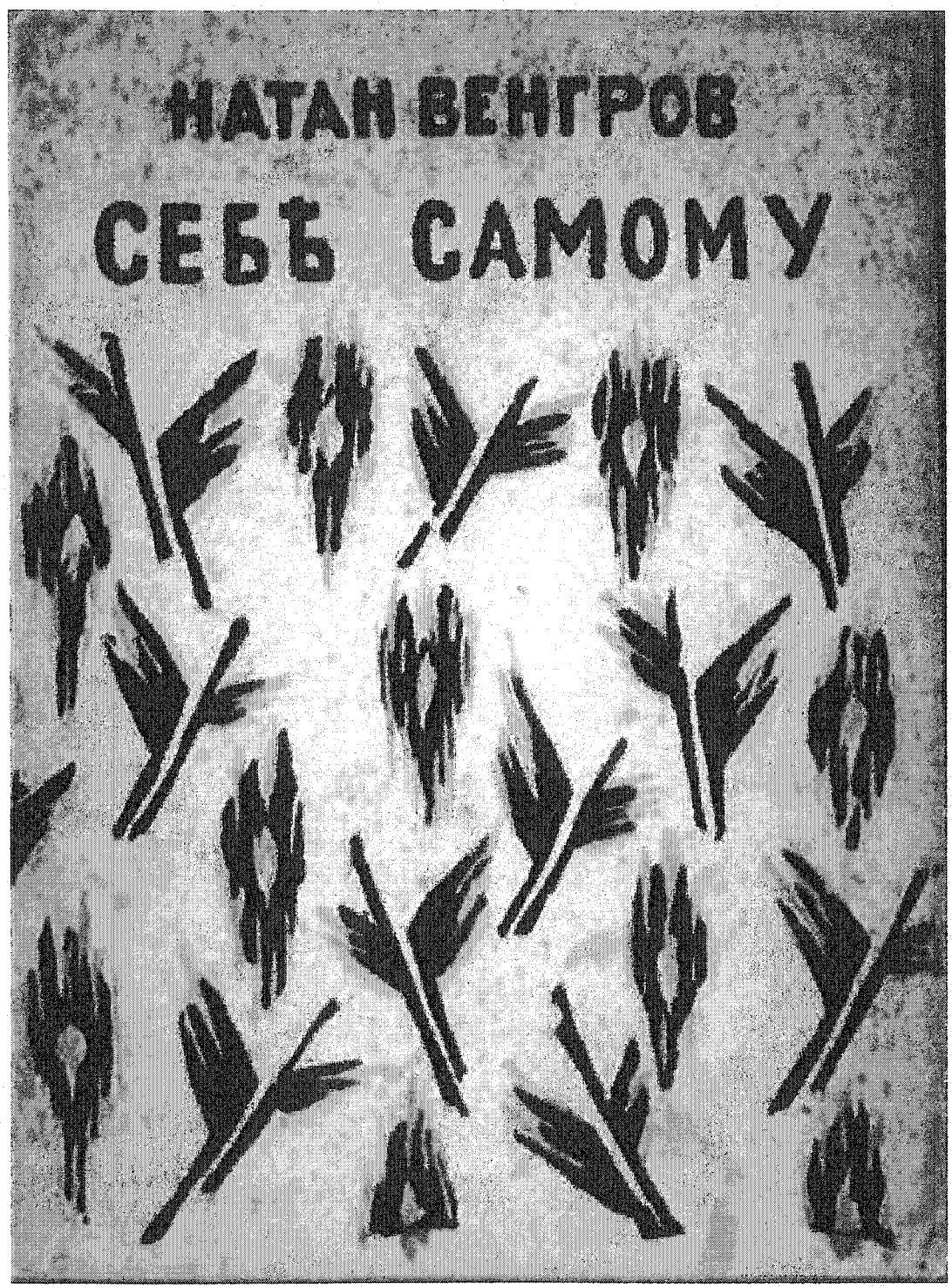
I.1/Fig.9. Children's books by the members of Today group. *Right*: Natan Vengrov, author. Ekaterina Turova, illustrator. Cover for *Khvoi* (Confifers) (Petrograd, 1918); *Far right*: Natan Vengrov, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Segodnia* (Today) (Petrograd, 1918); *Below left*: Natan Vengrov, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Myshata* (Baby Mice) (Petrograd, 1918); *Below right*: Walt Whitman, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Pionery* (Pioneers) (Petrograd, 1918). Each cover:linocut.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



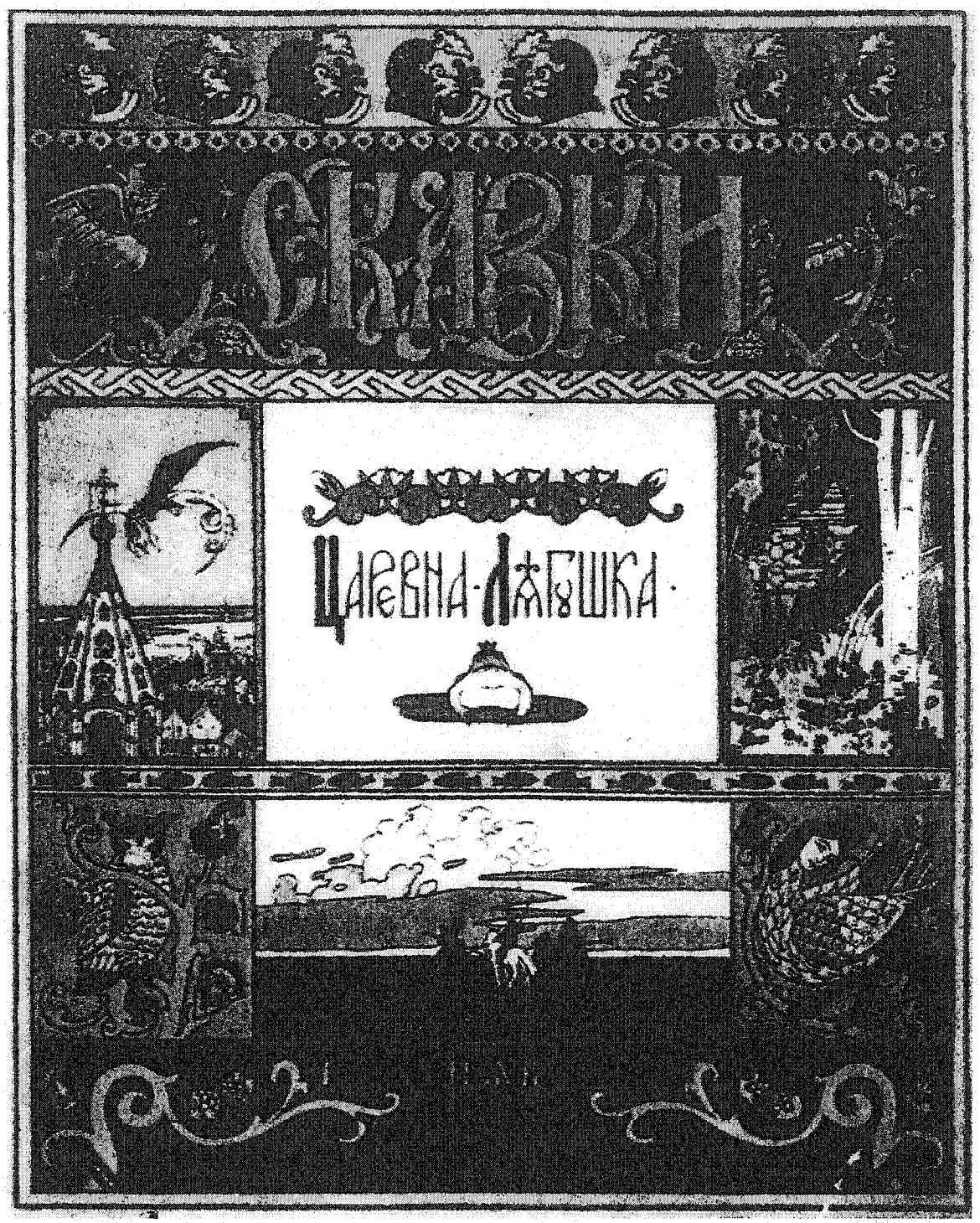
I.1/Fig.10. M. Kuzmin, author. Ekaterina Turova, illustrator. Cover for *Dvum*(For Two)(Petrograd:Today,1918).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



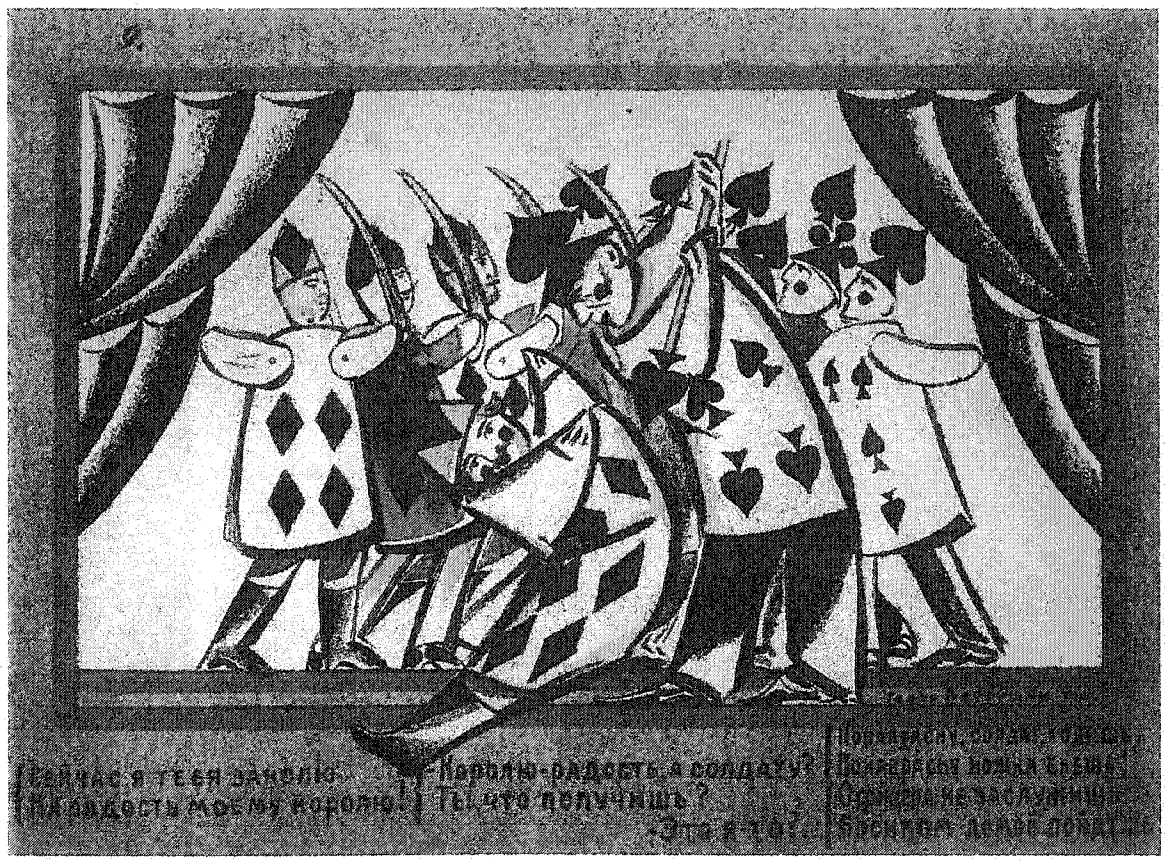
I.1/Fig.11. Natan Vengrov, author. Nadezhda Liubavina, illustrator. Linocut cover for the book *Sebe samomu* (To Myself), (Petrograd:Today,1918).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



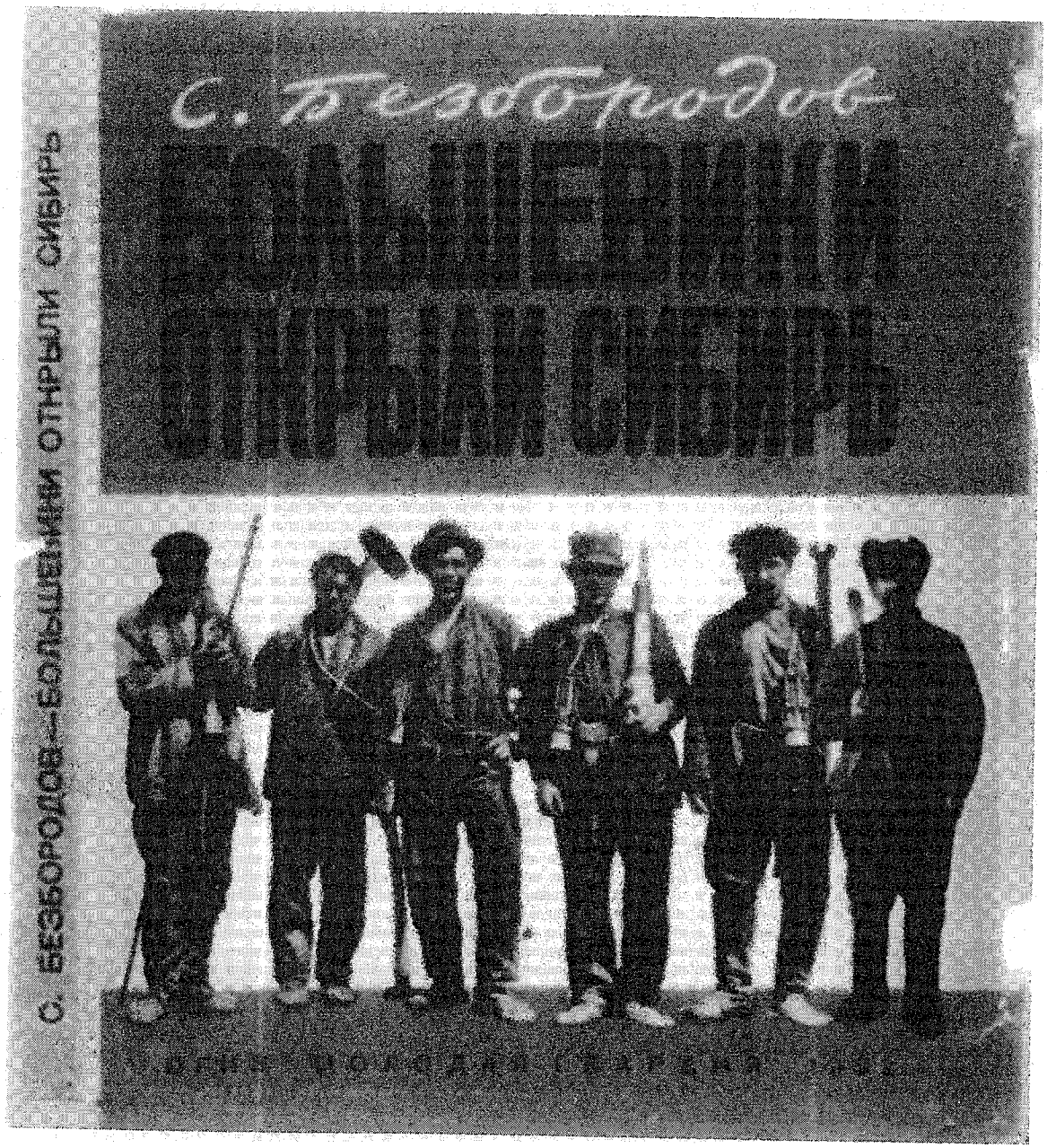
I.2/ Fig. 1. Ivan Bilibin. *Fairy-tales.* Cover for the series published by the Ekspeditsia zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1899.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



I.2/Fig.2. Illustration for *Voina korolei*(The War of Kings), from the *Petrushka* series of Yu.Obolenskaia and K. Kandaurov Puppet Theater, 1918.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



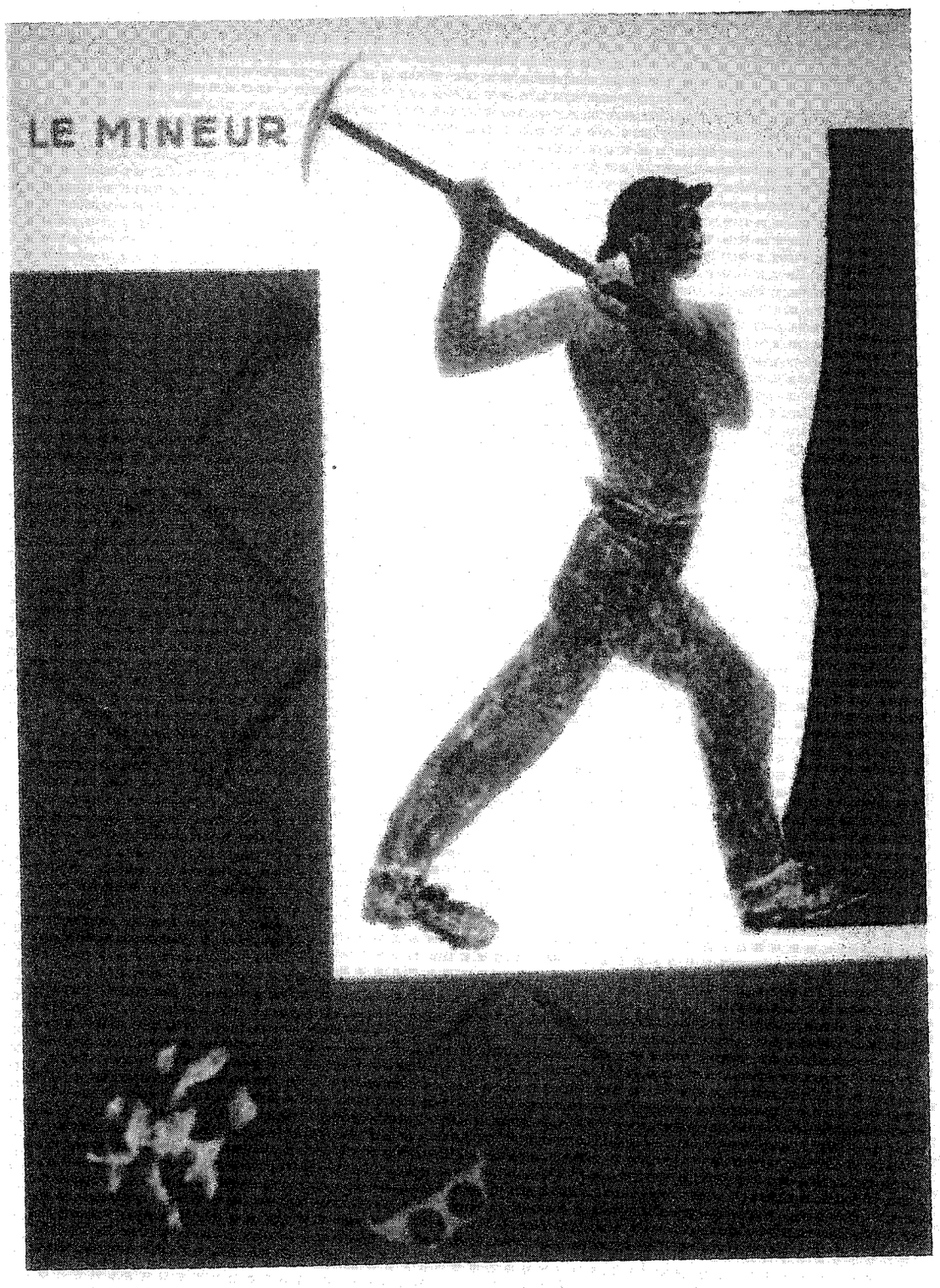
I.3/Fig.1. S. Bezborodov, author. Photo-relief cover for *Bolsheviki otkryli Sibir'* (The Bolsheviks Have Discovered Siberia) (Moscow:Ogiz/Molodaia gvardiia,1932).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



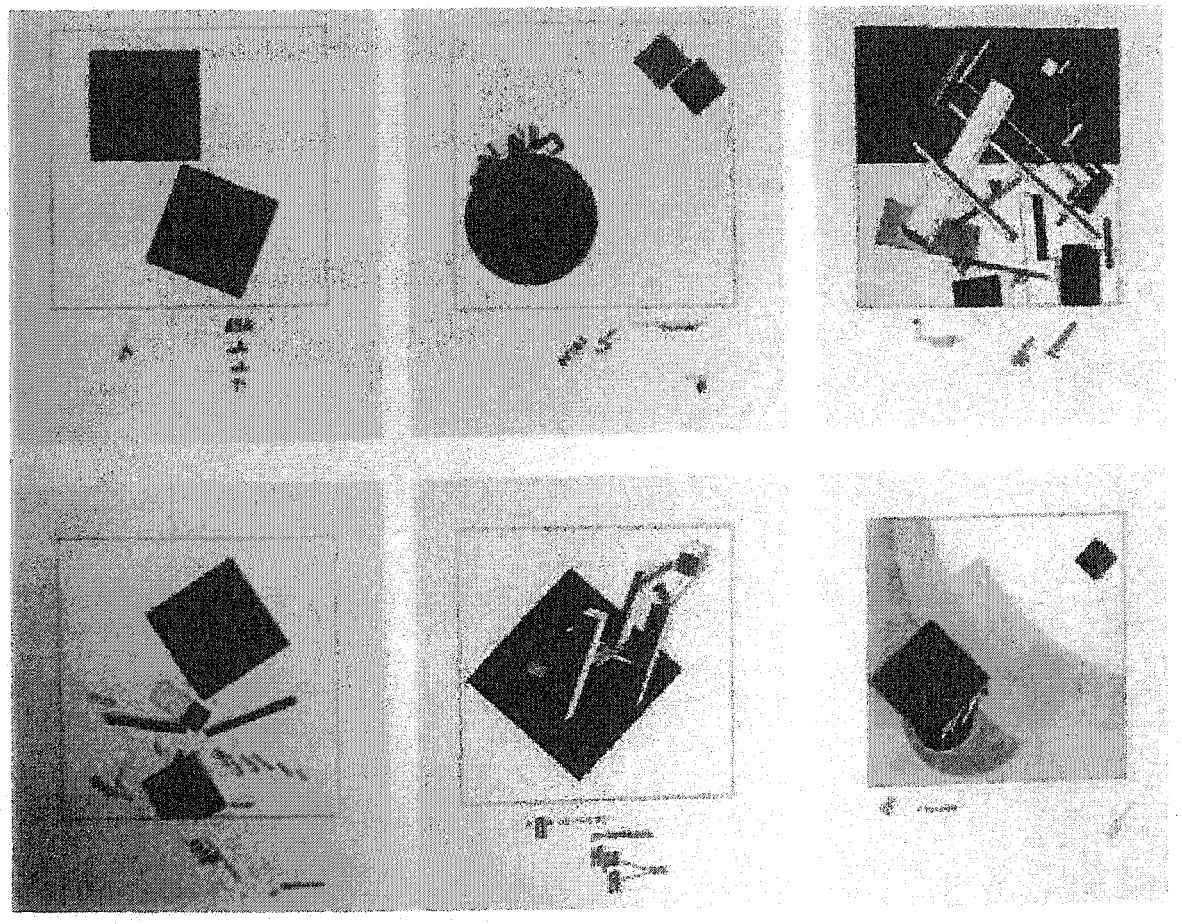
I.3/Fig.2. Ke-sha(Proskuriakov), illustrator. Vladimir Mayakovsky, author. Study for illustration for the book *Skazka o Sime i Pete (Tale About Sima and Petia)*, undated. Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



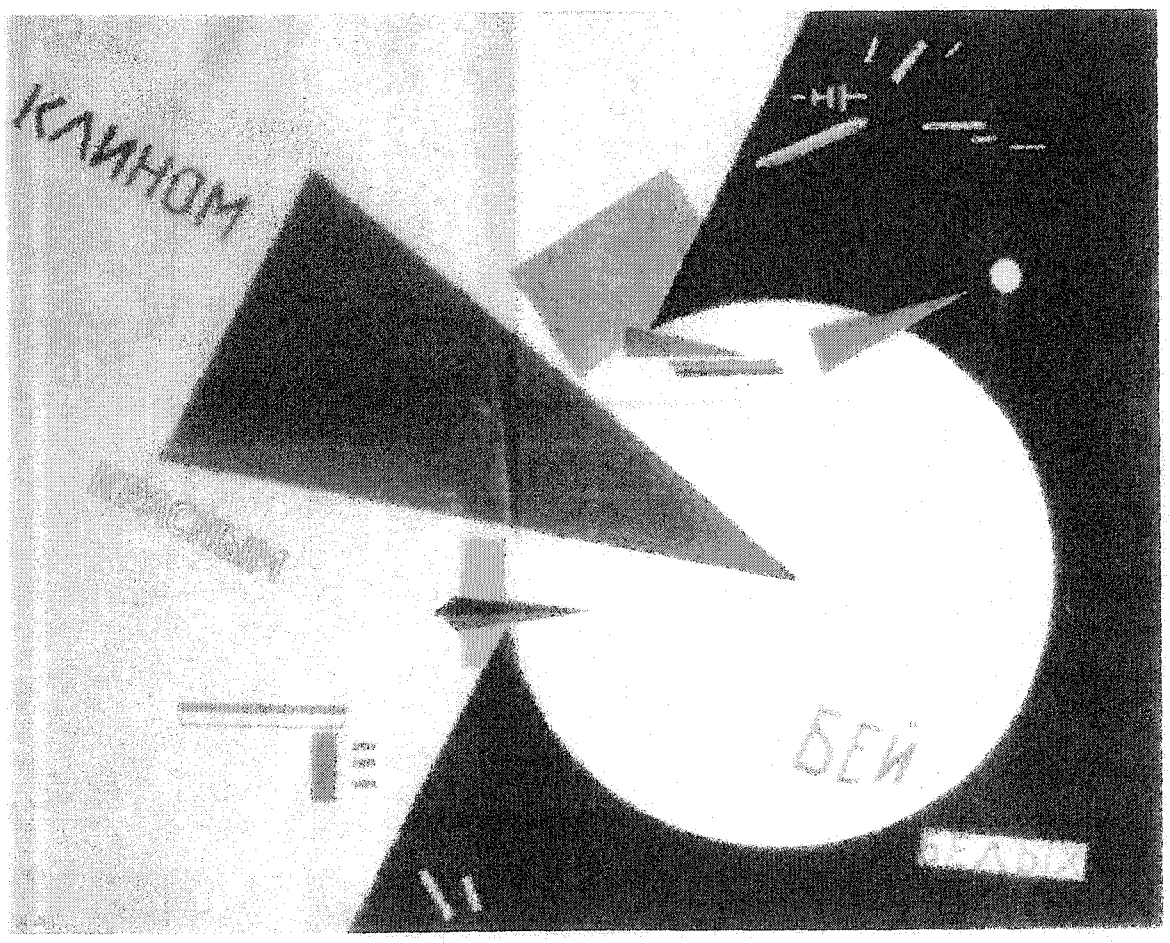
I.3/Fig.3. Natan Altman, illustrator. Illustration for *Six métiers* (Six Professions)(Paris:Flammarion,1935).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



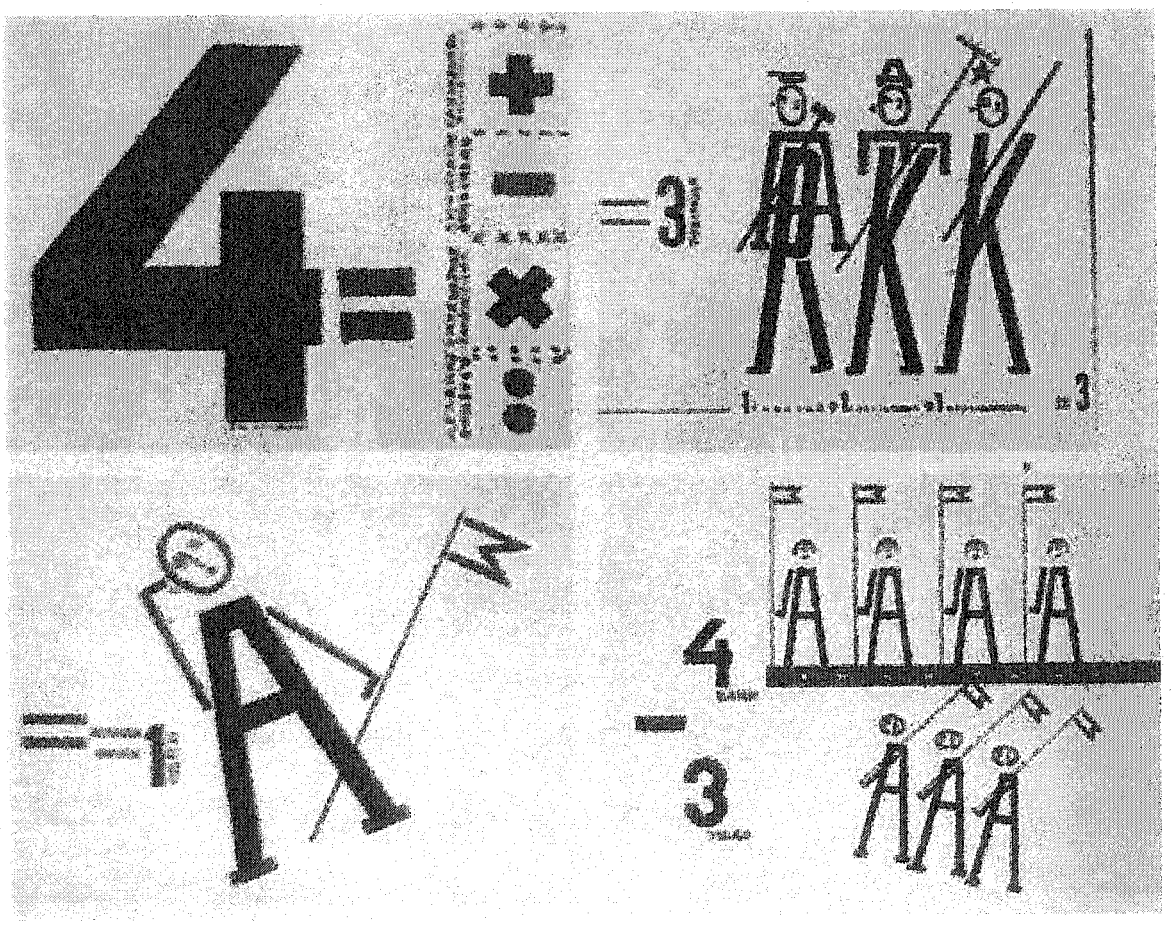
II.2/Fig.1. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Illustrations for *Suprematicheskii skaz pro dva kvadrata* (The Suprematist Tale of Two Squares)(Berlin:Skythen,1922).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



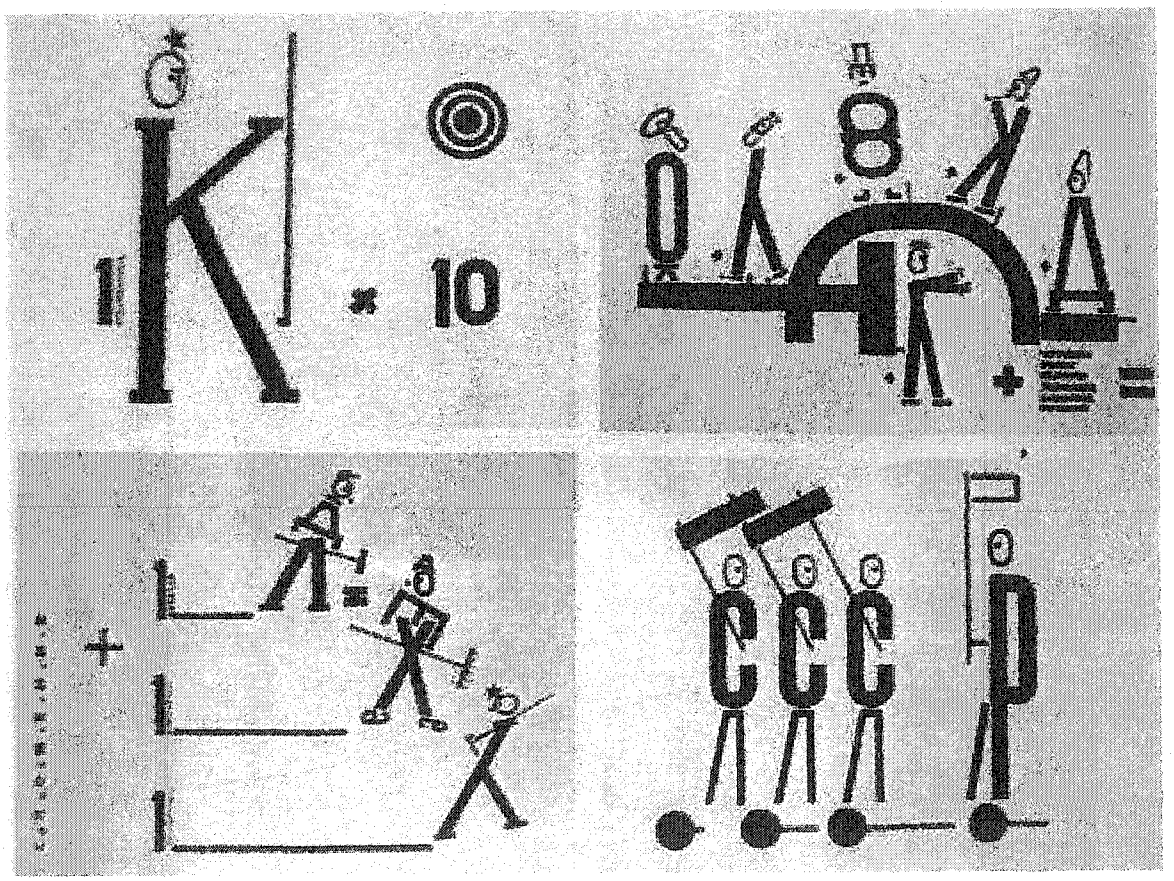
II.2/Fig.2. El Lissitzky, *Klinom krasnym bei belykh* (Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge), color lithographic poster, 1920.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



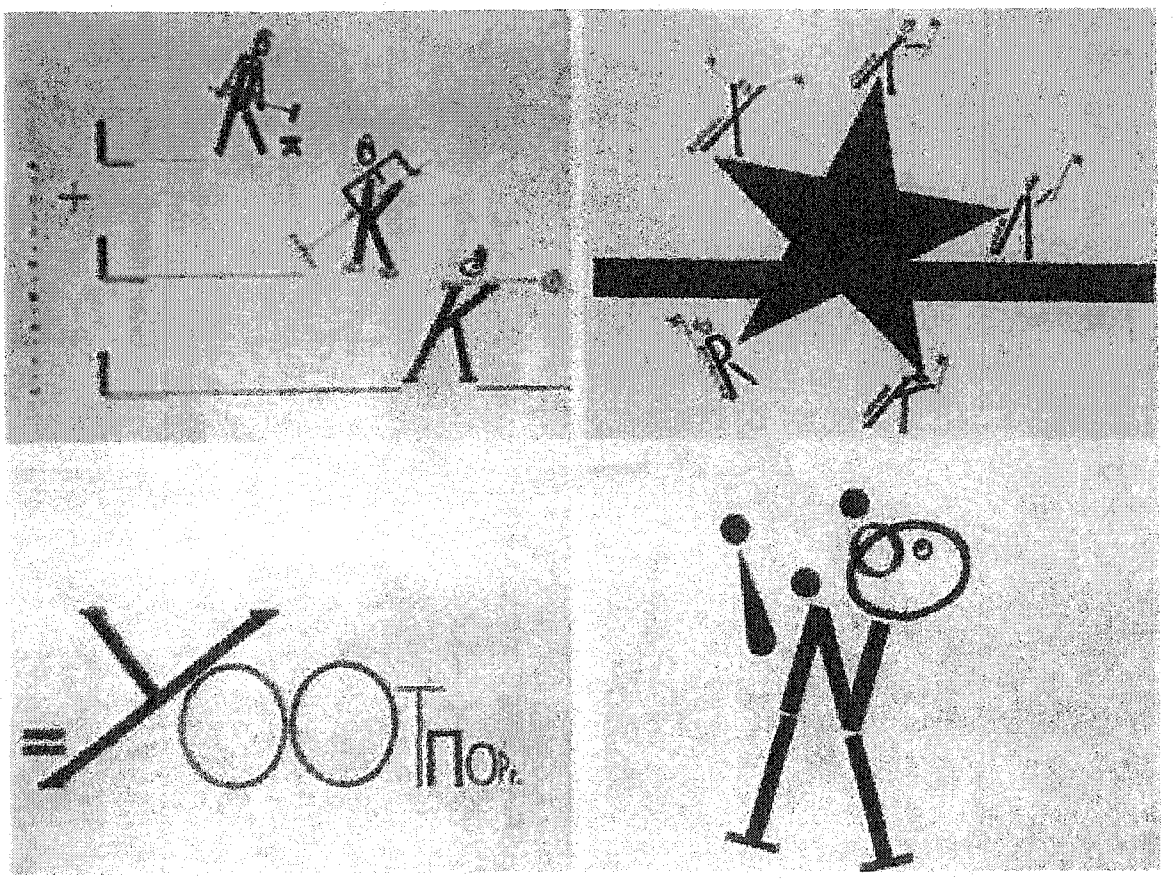
II.2/Fig.3. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Designs for illustrations for *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations), 1928.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



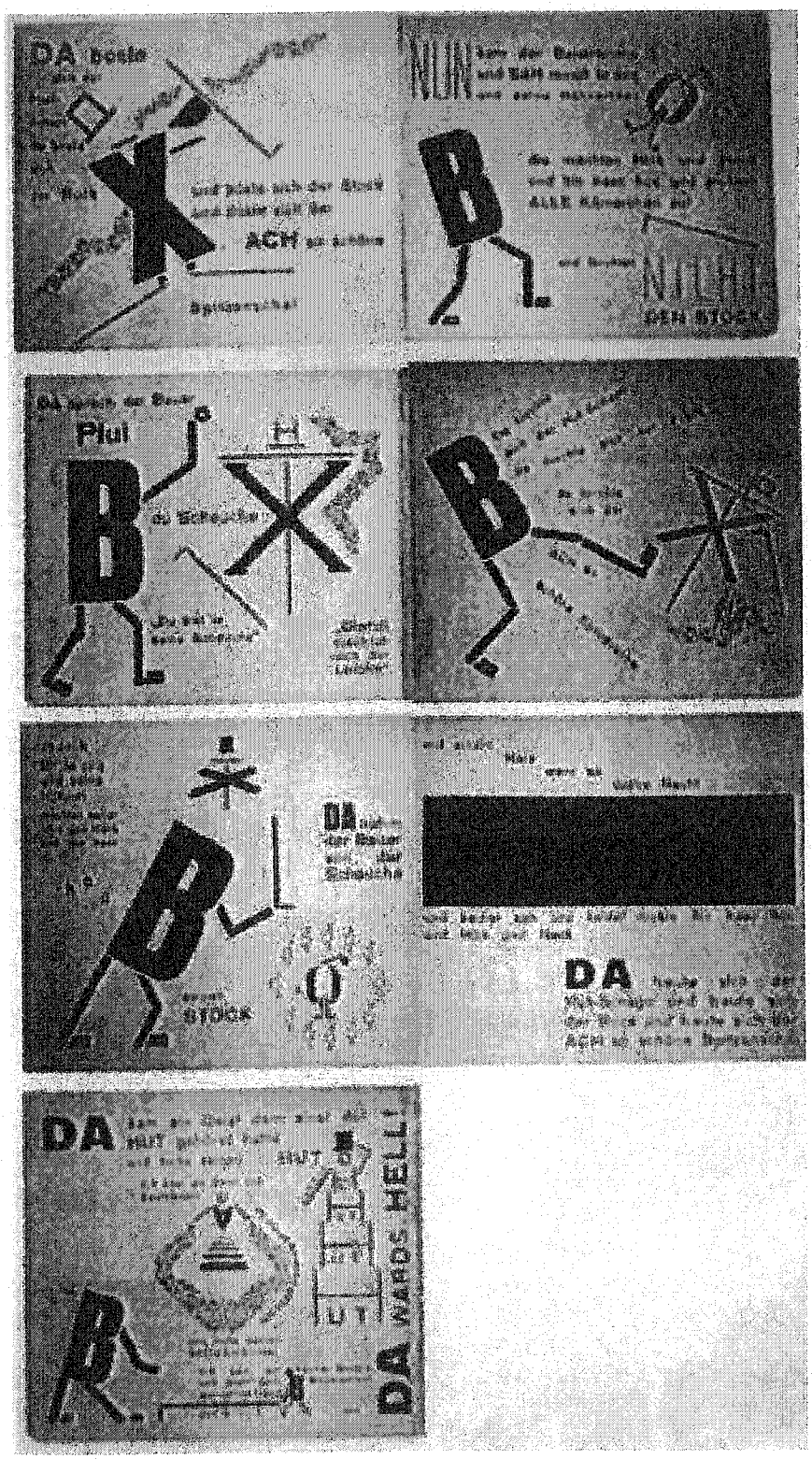
II.2/Fig.4. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Designs for illustrations for *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations), 1928.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



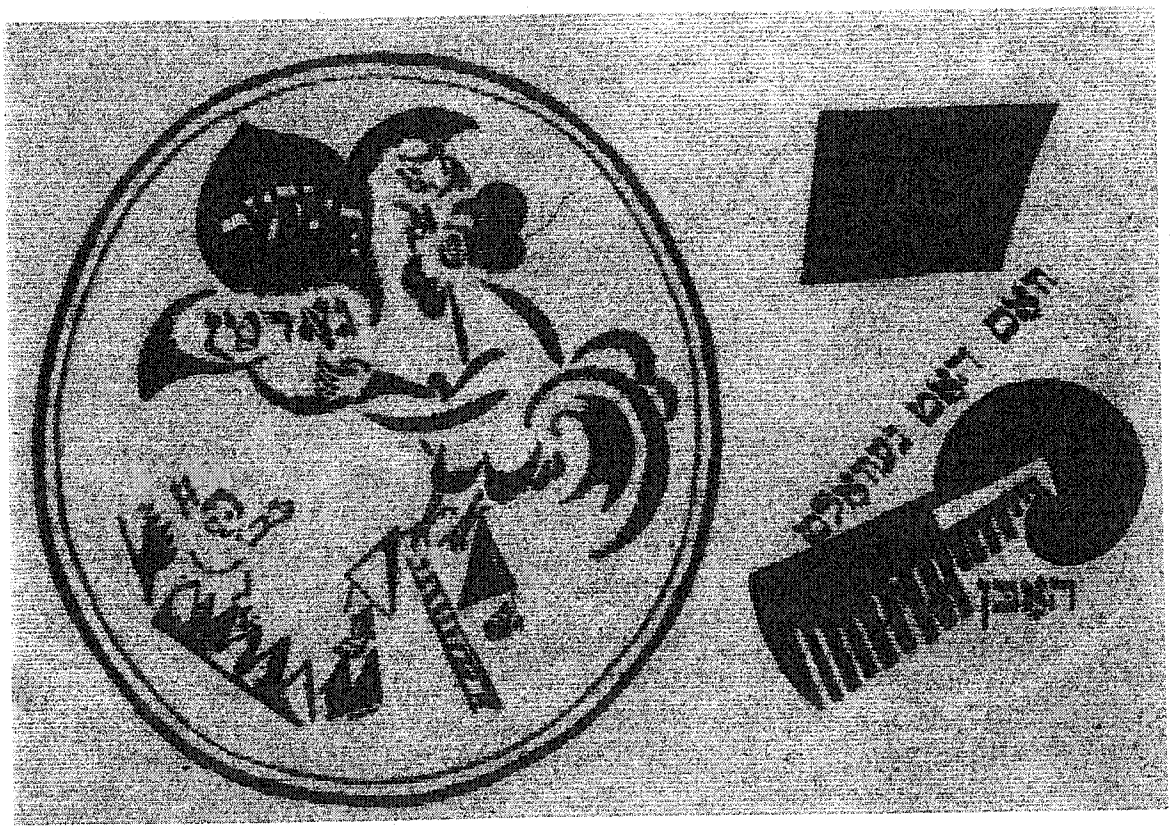
II.2/Fig.5. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Designs for illustrations for *Chetyre arifmeticheskikh deistviia* (Four Arithmetic Operations),1928.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.2/Fig.6. Kurt Schwitters, illustrator.Illustrations for *Die Scheuche Marchen*(Hannover,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.2/Fig.7. Uncle Ben Zion [Ben Zion Raskin], author. El Lisitzky, illustrator. Illustration for *Di hun vas hot gevoit hoben a kam* (The Hen that Wanted a Comb. (Kiev/St. Petersburg:Idisher Folks Farlag,1919).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.2/Fig.8. Rudyard Kipling, author. El Lissitzky, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Slonyonok* (The Elephant Child)(Berlin:Helikon Verlag,1923).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



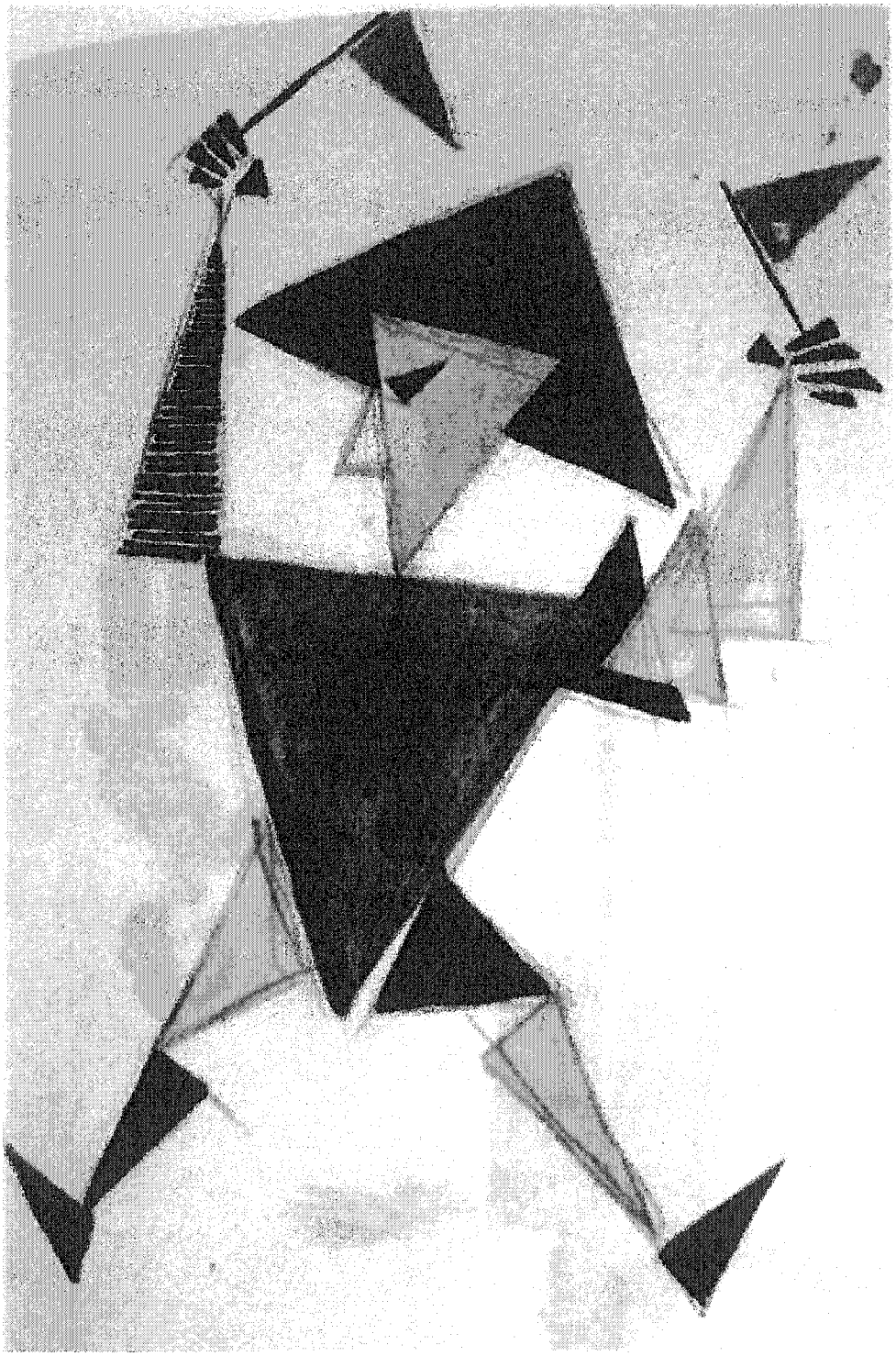
II.2/Fig.9. El Lissitzky. Illustrations for *Chad Gadya* (The Tale of a Goat)(Kiev: Kultur Lige, 1919).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



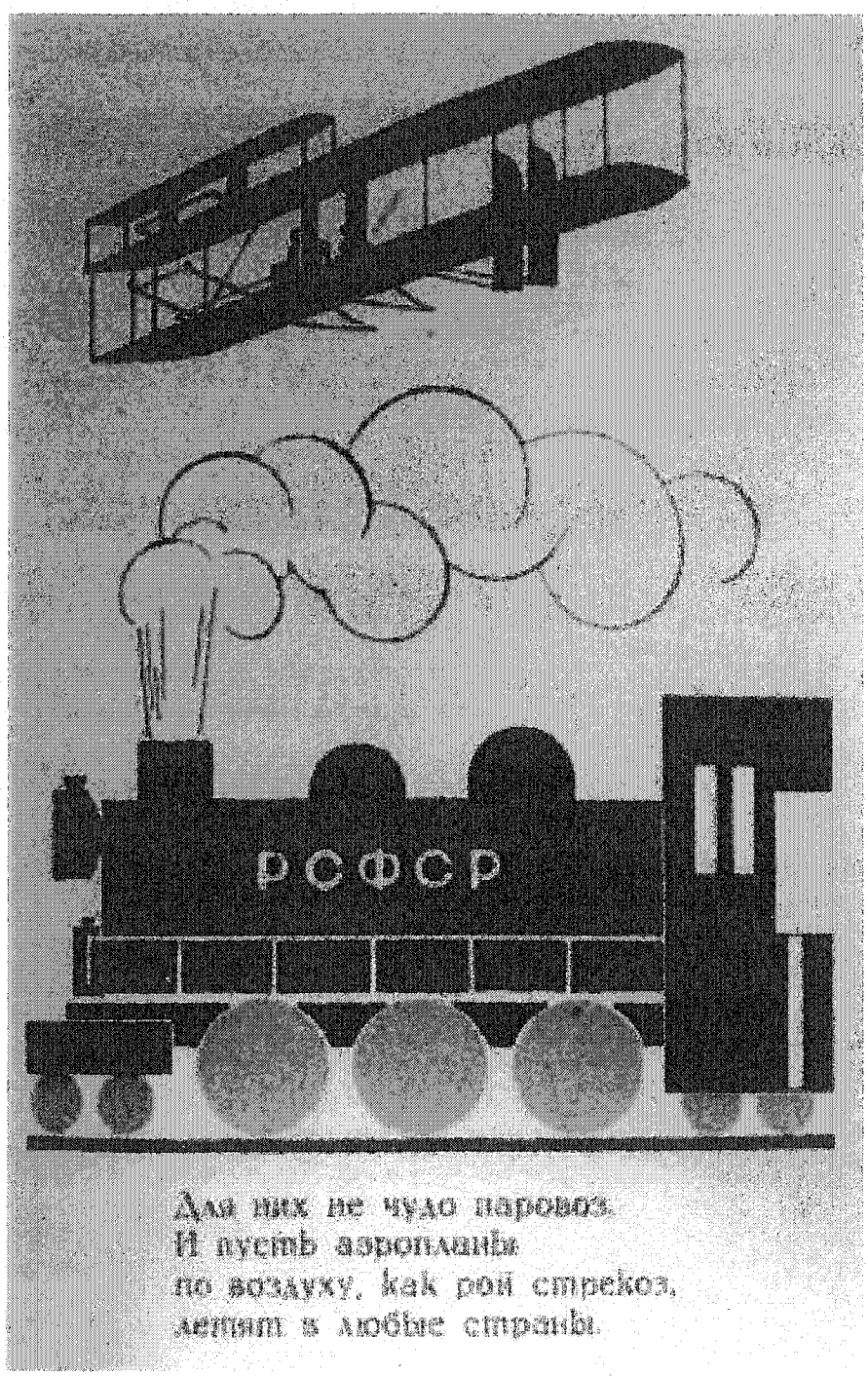
II.2/Fig.10. Georgii Echeistov, design for illustration for the unpublished *Book About Geometrical Figures*, circa 1925, ink and pen and watercolor on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



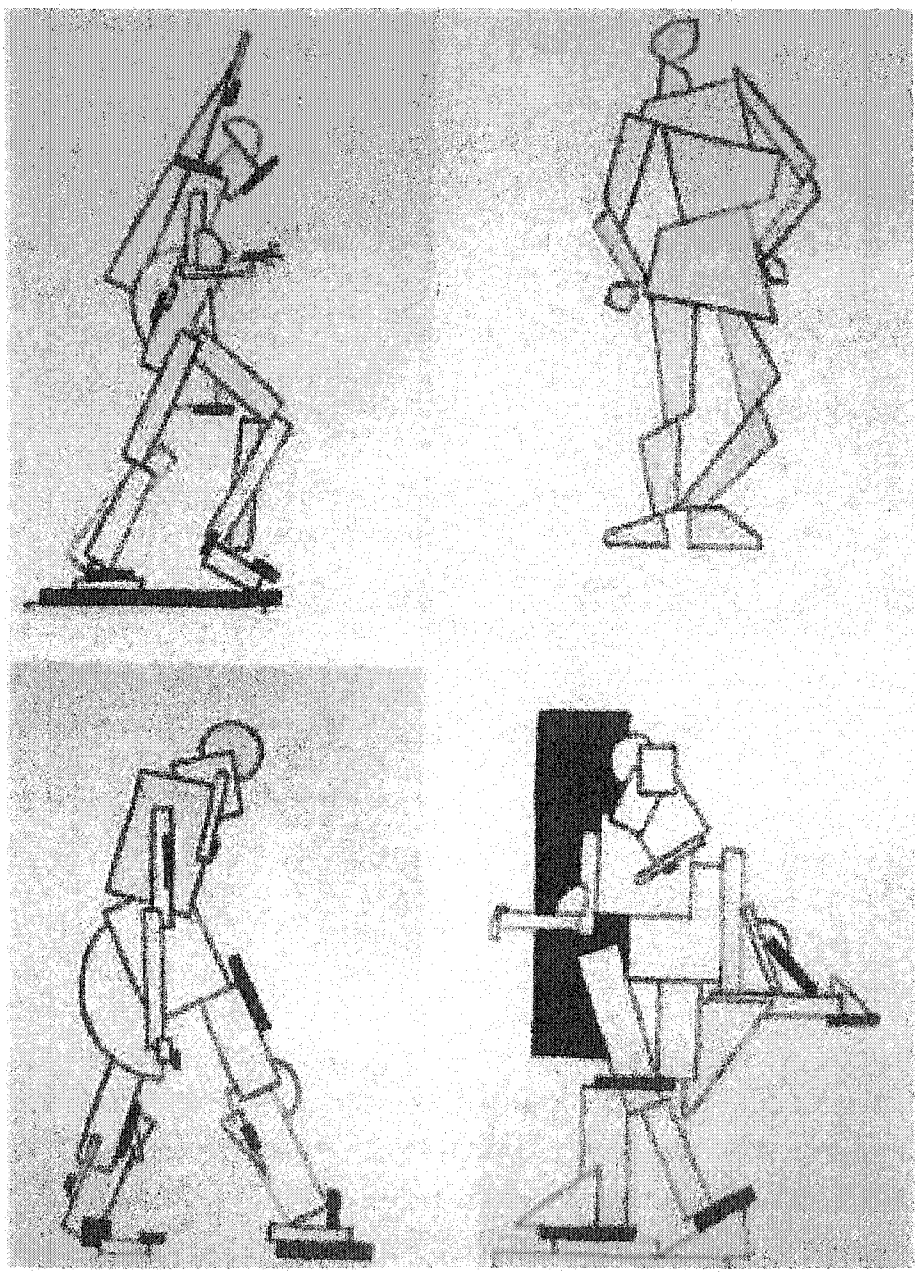
II.2./Fig.11. Georgii Echeistov, designs for illustrations for the unpublished *Book About Geometrical Figures*, circa 1925, ink and pen and watercolor on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



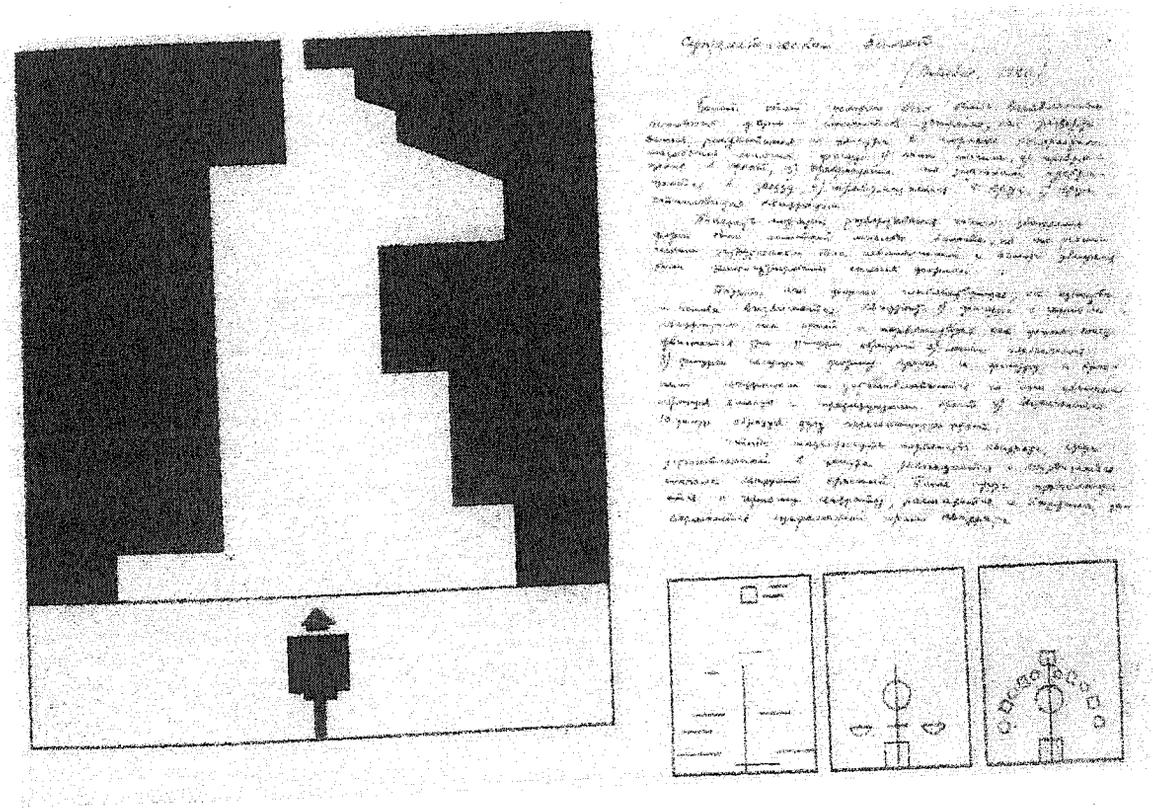
II.2/Fig.12. Mikhail Ilyin, author. Georgii Echeistov, illustrator. Illustration for *Shokolad* (Chocolate), (Moscow:Krasnaia nov',1923).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.2/Fig. 13. David Jakerson. *Right*: Suprematist Robot Striding with Antenna, 1920; *Far right*: Suprematist Figure Standing Front On, 1920; *Below left*: Suprematist Robot Striding, 1920; *Below right*: Suprematist Robot Standing against a Black Rectangle, 1920. All works: Indian ink and graphite on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



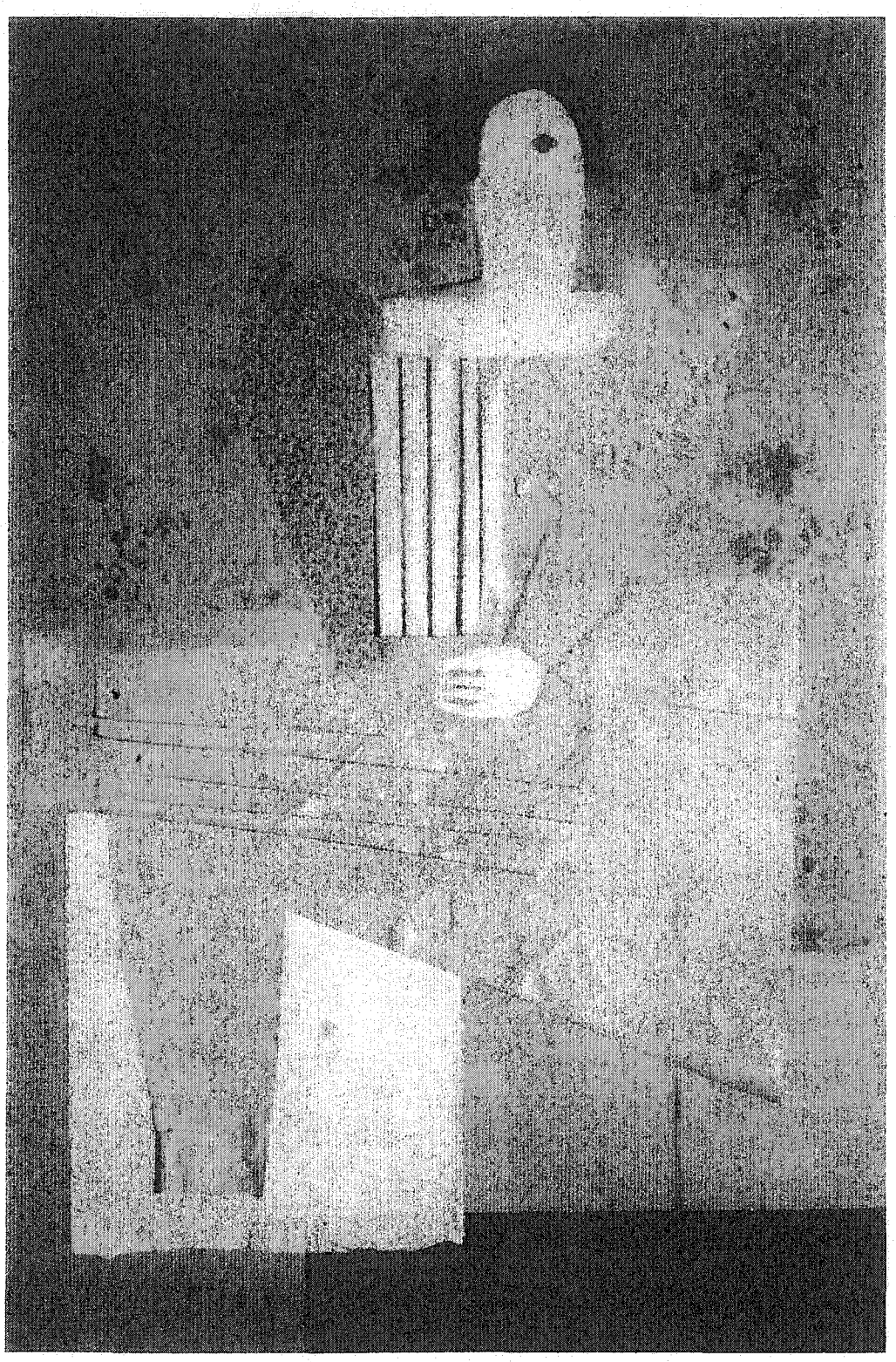
II.2/Fig.14. Nina Kogan. Stage design for *Suprematicheskii balet* (Suprematist ballet),1920. Watercolor, gouache, and Indian ink on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.2/Fig.15. Agnia Barto, author. Georgii Echeistov, illustrator. Cover for *Bratishki* (Little Brothers), 1927.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



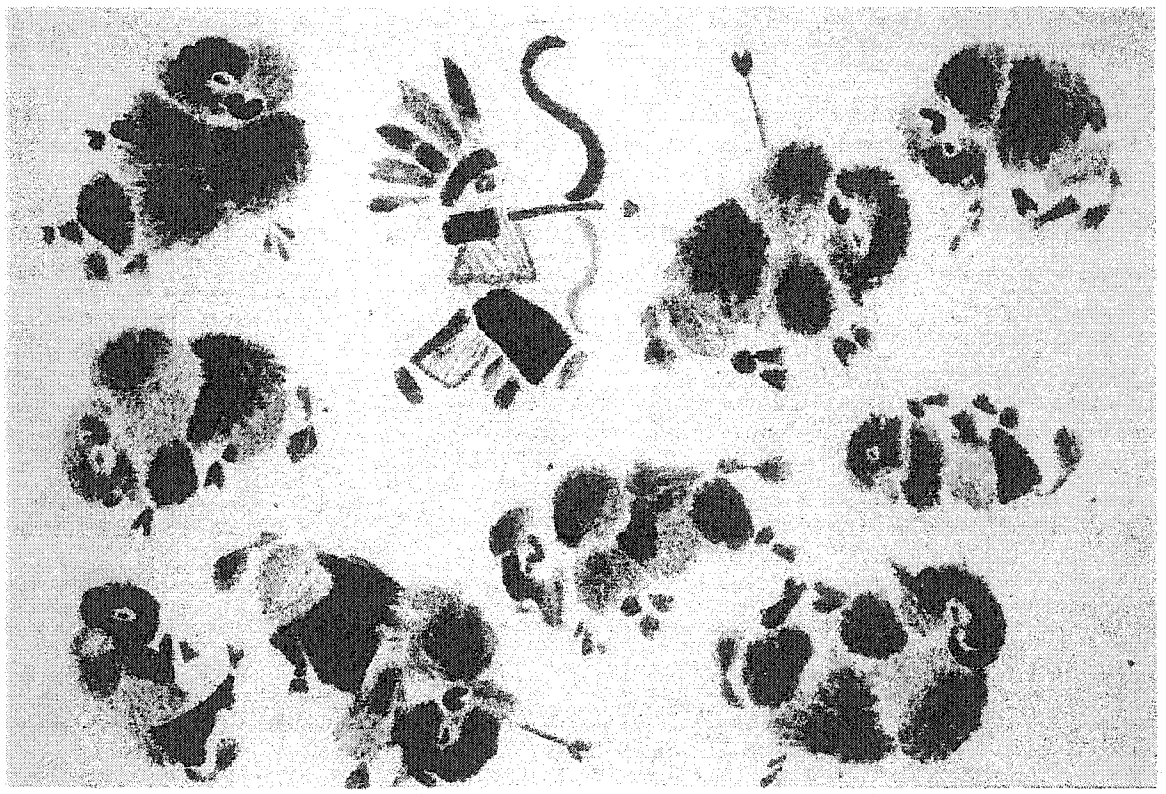
II.3./Fig.1. Vladimir Lebedev, *Laundress*, 1925. Collage and mixed media on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



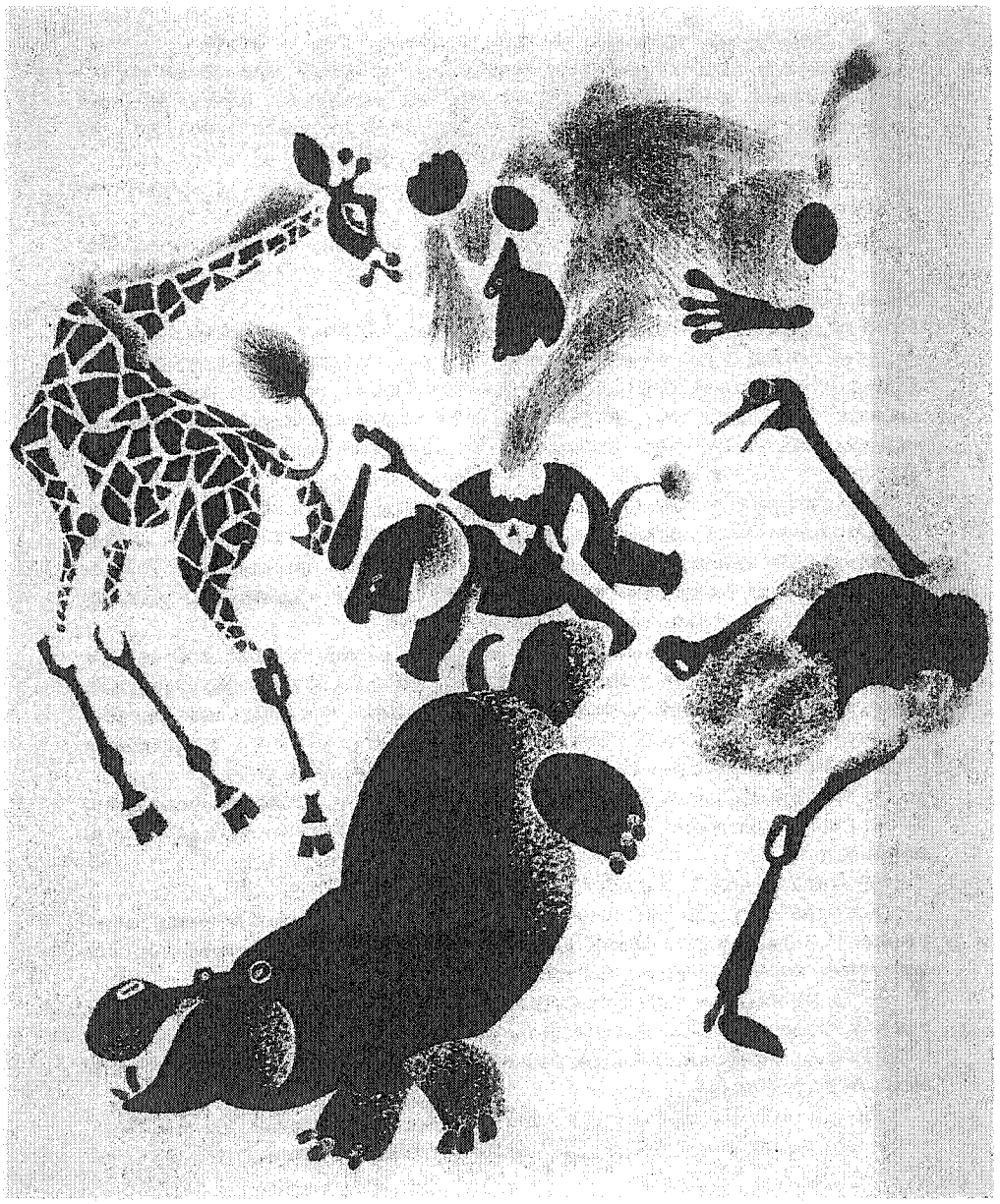
II.3/Fig.2. Vladimir Lebedev, author and illustrator. Cover for *Prikliucheniia Chuch-lo* (The Adventures of Chuch-lo)(Petrograd:Epokha,1922).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



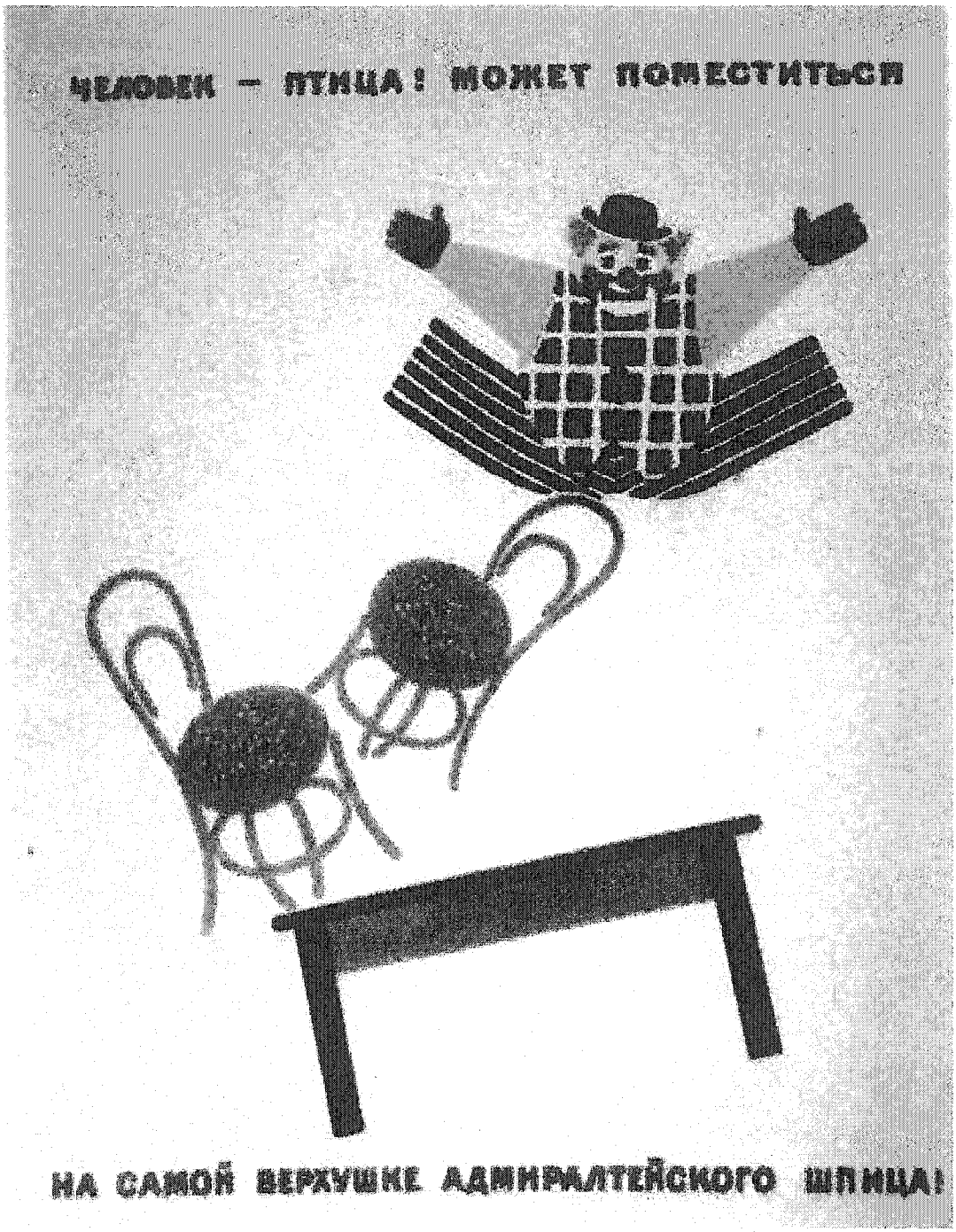
II.3/Fig.3. Vladimir Lebedev, author and illustrator. Illustration for *Prikliucheniia Chuch-lo* (The Adventures of Chuch-lo)(Petrograd:Epokha,1922).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.3/Fig.4. Rudyard Kipling, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Slonyonok* (The Elephant Child)(Petrograd:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1922).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



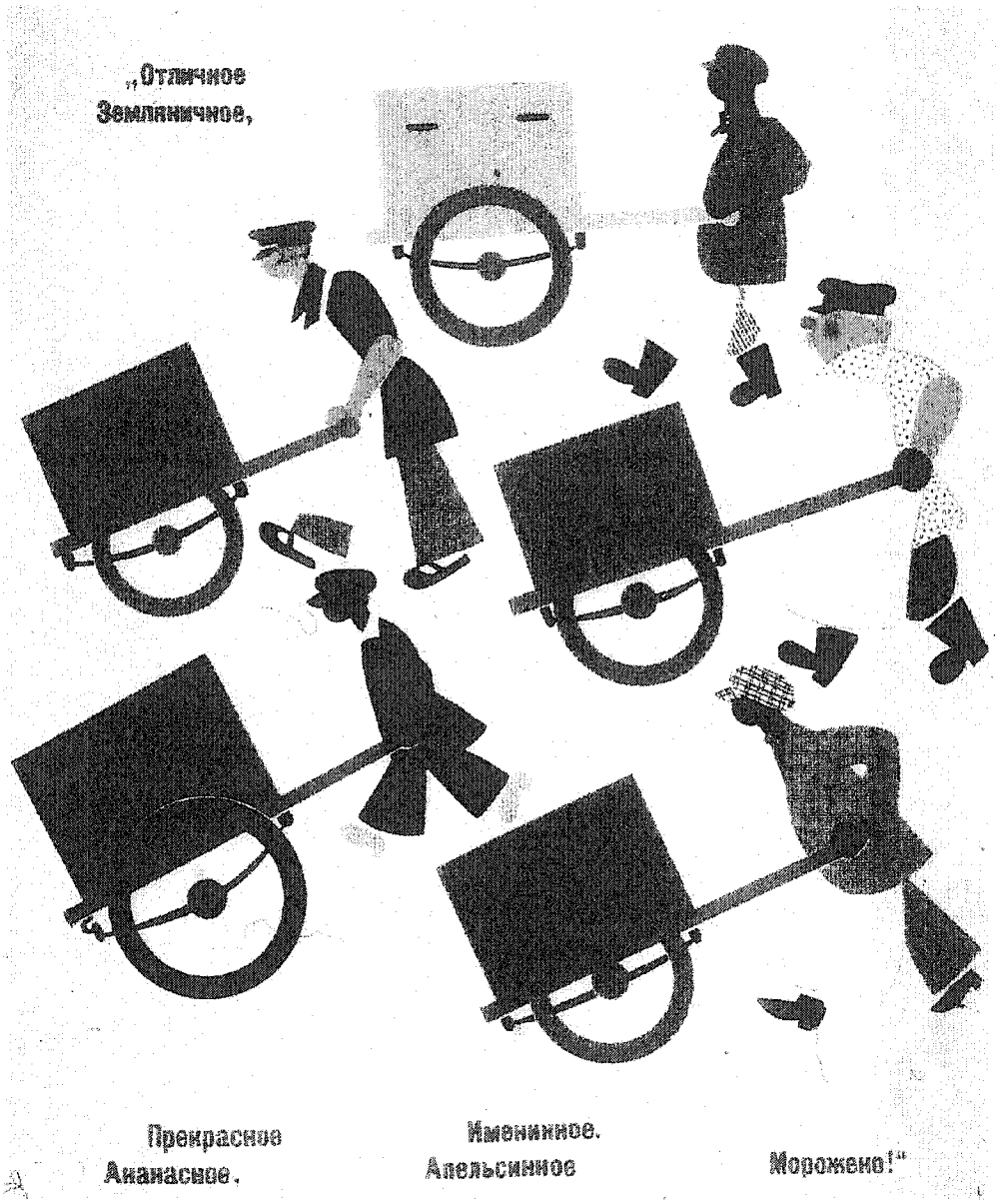
II.3/Fig.5. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Tsirk*(The Circus)(Leningrad: Raduga,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.3./Fig.6. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Cover for *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream) (Leningrad:Raduga,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.3/Fig.7. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.3./Fig.8. Vladimir Lebedev. ROSTA Windows poster, 1921. Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



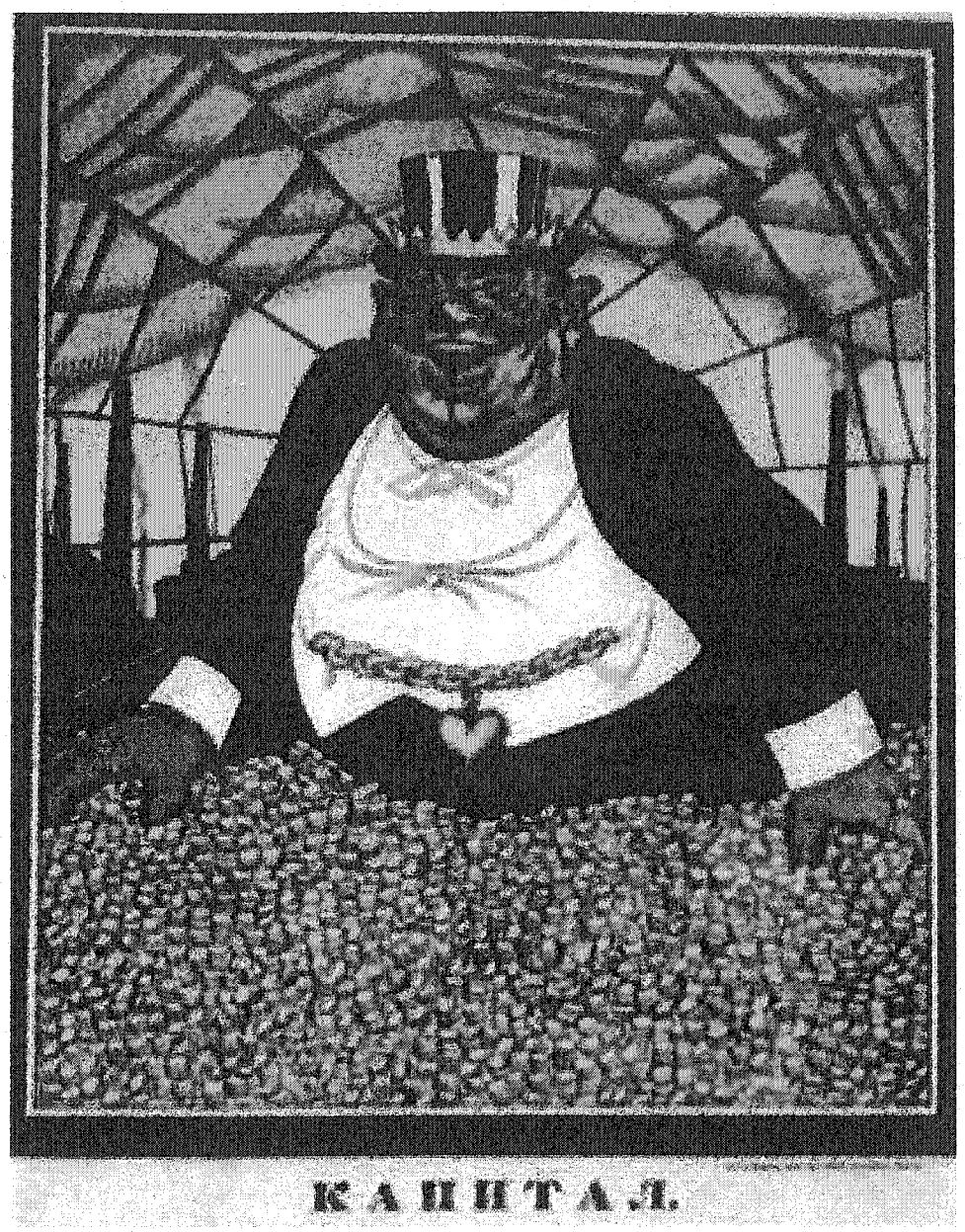
II.3/Fig.8a. Vladimir Lebedev. ROSTA Windows poster, 1920-21.Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



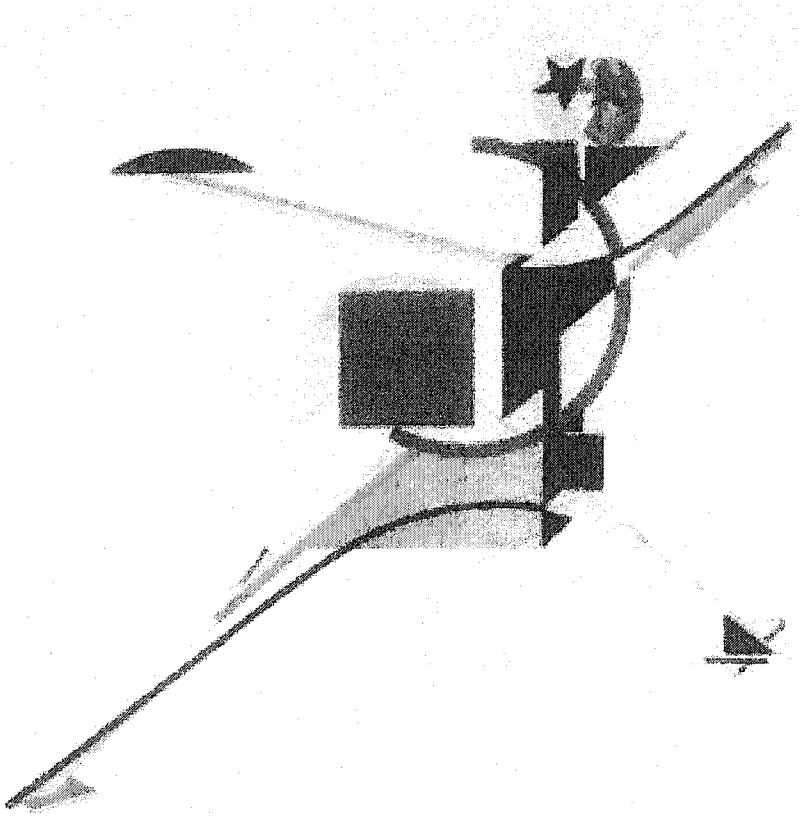
II.3./Fig.9. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Morozhenoe* (Ice Cream)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



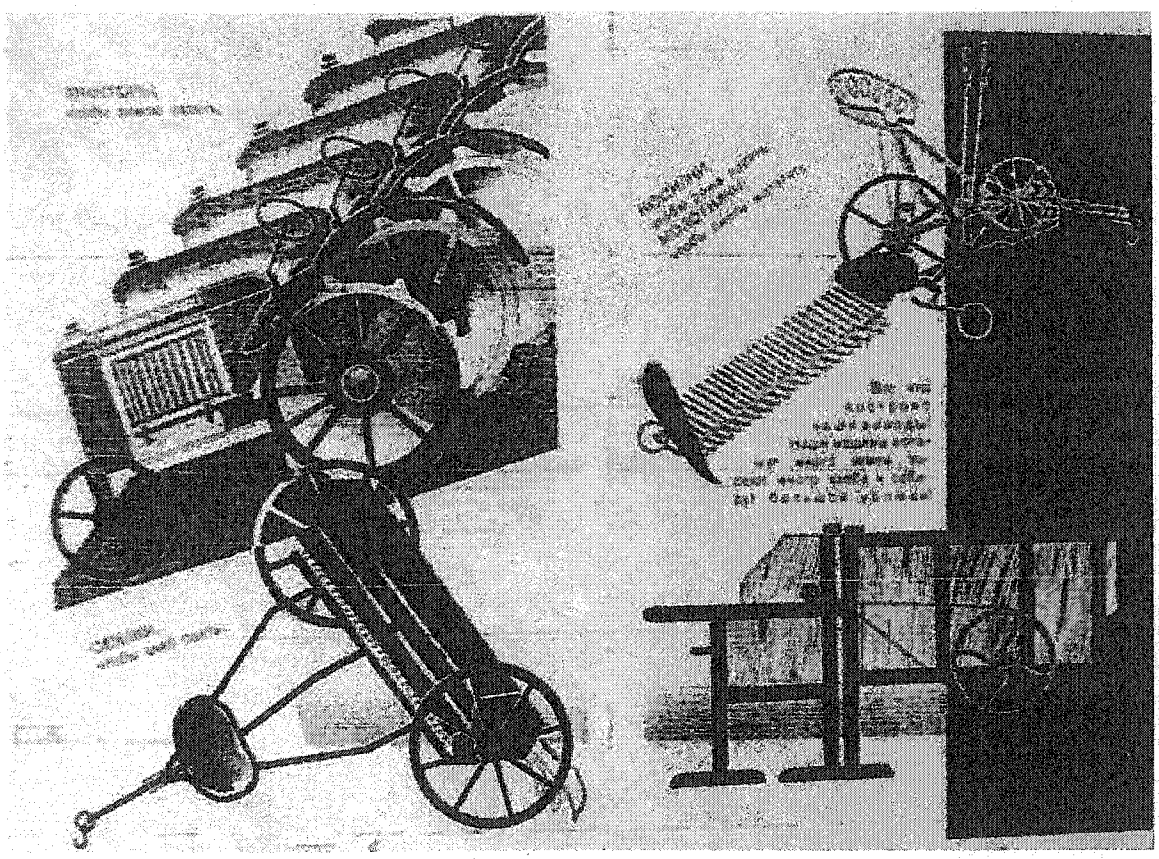
II.3/Fig.10. Victor Deni. *Capital*, 1919. Color lithographic poster.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



II.3/Fig.11. El Lissitzky. *New Man,* 1923. Lithograph from the *Puppet Portfolio* (the creation of the electromechanical peepshow *Victory over the Sun,* written as an opera by Aleksei Kruchenykh in 1913)(Hanover:R.Leunis and Chapmann,1923).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.1. Unidentified artist. Illustration for *What My Father Told Me About the Factory*, circa 1920s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.2. V. Sobolev, author. Nikolai Denisovsky, illustrator. Cover for *Comrade Artiom* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



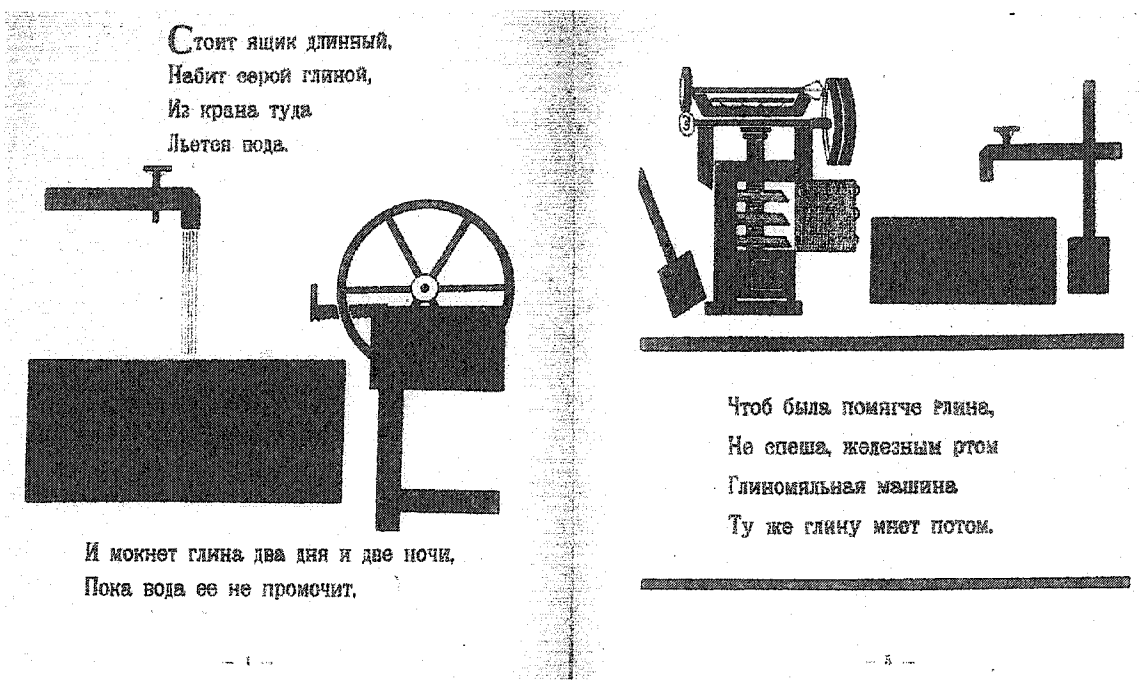
III.1/Fig.3. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V. Lantzetti, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Dneprostroi* (Leningrad:GIZ,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/ Fig.4. Aleksei Laptev, illustration for *Five-Year Plan* (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



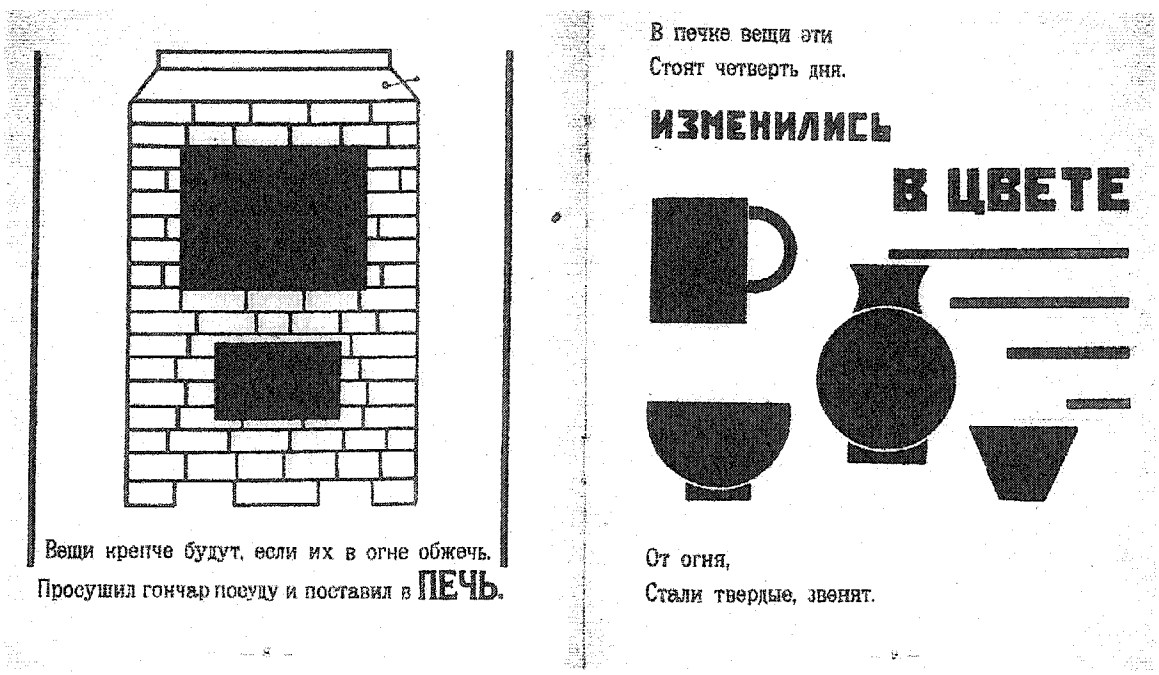
III.1/Fig.5. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd:Gosizdat, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.6. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.7. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?)(Moscow/Petrograd:Gosizdat, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.8. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Otkuda posuda?* (Where Do Dishes Come From?) (Moscow/Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.9. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Cover for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children), 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.10. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Puteshestvie Charli* (The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin]) (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.11. Varvara Stepanova, illustrator. Cover for *Kino-fot* No.2, 1922.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



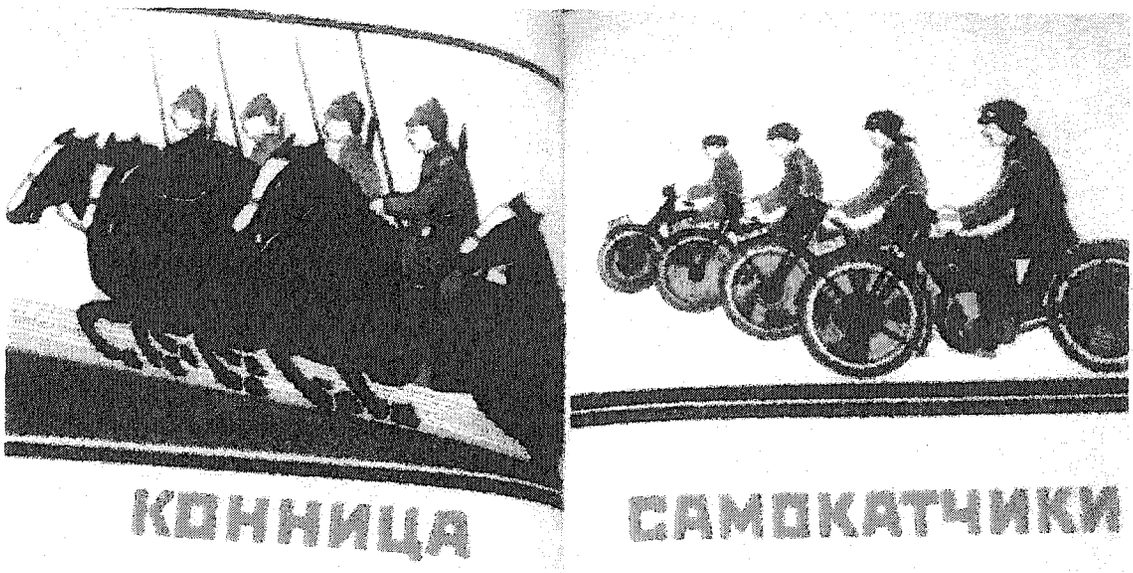
III.1/Fig.12. N.S. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Puteshestvie Charli* (The Travels of Charlie [Chaplin]) (Moscow/Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Figs.13-14. N.G. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustrations for *Puteshestvie Charlie*(The Travels of Charlie[Chaplin]) (Moscow/Leningrad:Gosizdat,1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



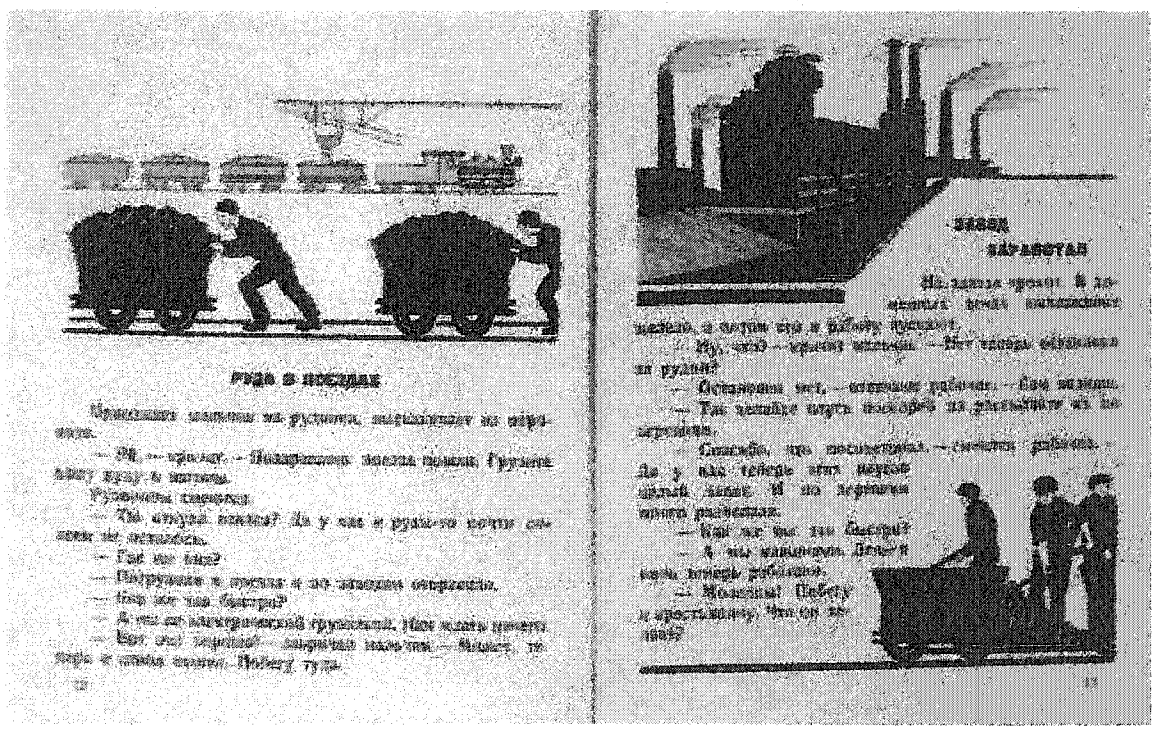
III.1./Figs.15-16. N.G. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Dlia chego Krasnaiia armiia?* (What is the Red Army for?)(Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia,1927).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Figs.17-18. N.G. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Pochemu ne bylo baranok?* (Why There Were No Bagels?)(Moscow:Gosizdat,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Figs. 19-20. N.G. Smirnov, author. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Illustration for *Pochemu ne bylo baranok?* (Why There Were No Bagels?) (Moscow:Gosizdat, 1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.21. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete* (Newspaper Production Explained to Children), 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.22. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete* (Newspaper Production Explained to Children), 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



71

V. Mayakovsky text/A. Rodchenko design, 1923
Newspaper advertisement for the largest State Department Store, GUM, on Red Square
'SEIZE THIS LIFEBELT! EVERYTHING FOR EVERYONE. HIGH QUALITY AND CHEAP! TAKE IT FROM US ON THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY!'
11 x 8¼ in. (28 x 21.2 cm.)

III.1/Fig.23a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



72

akovsky text/A. Rodchenko
, 1923
aper advertisement for
ie State Department Store
ION CANNOT GO WITHOUT A
. THE ONLY CLOCKS AND

III.1/Fig.23b

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.24. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete* (Newspaper Production Explained to Children), 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.25. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete* (Newspaper Production Explained to Children), 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



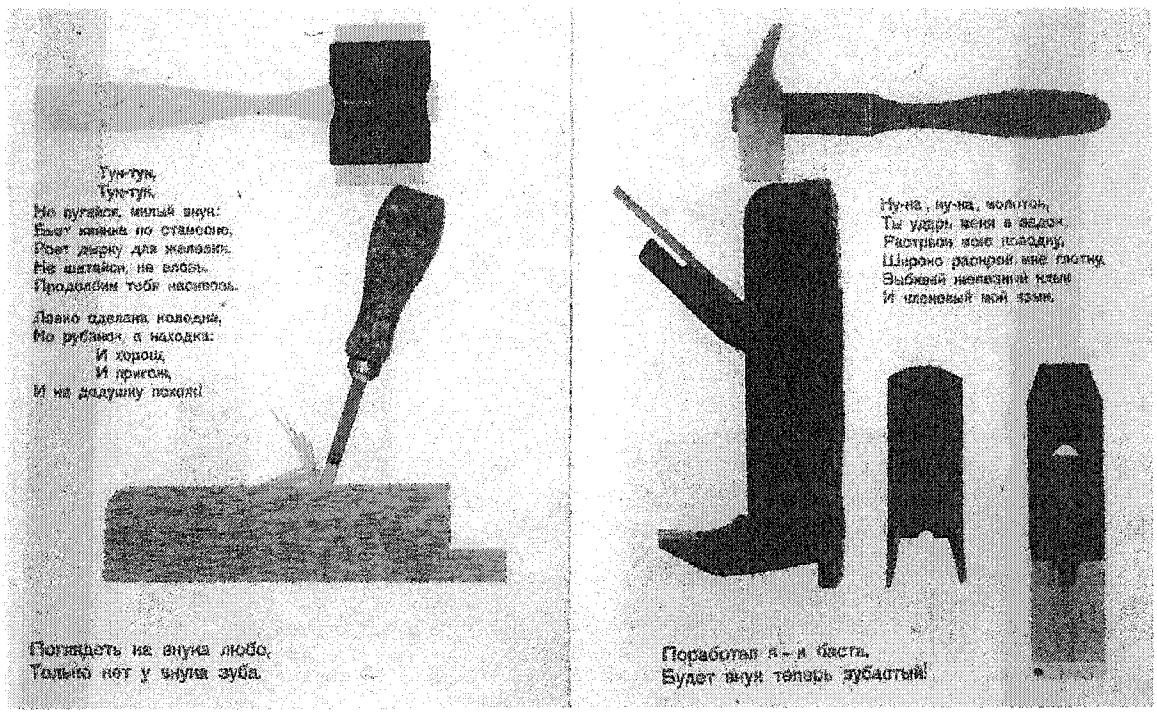
III.1/Fig. 26. Galina and Olga Chichagova, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Detiam o gazete*(Newspaper Production Explained to Children),1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



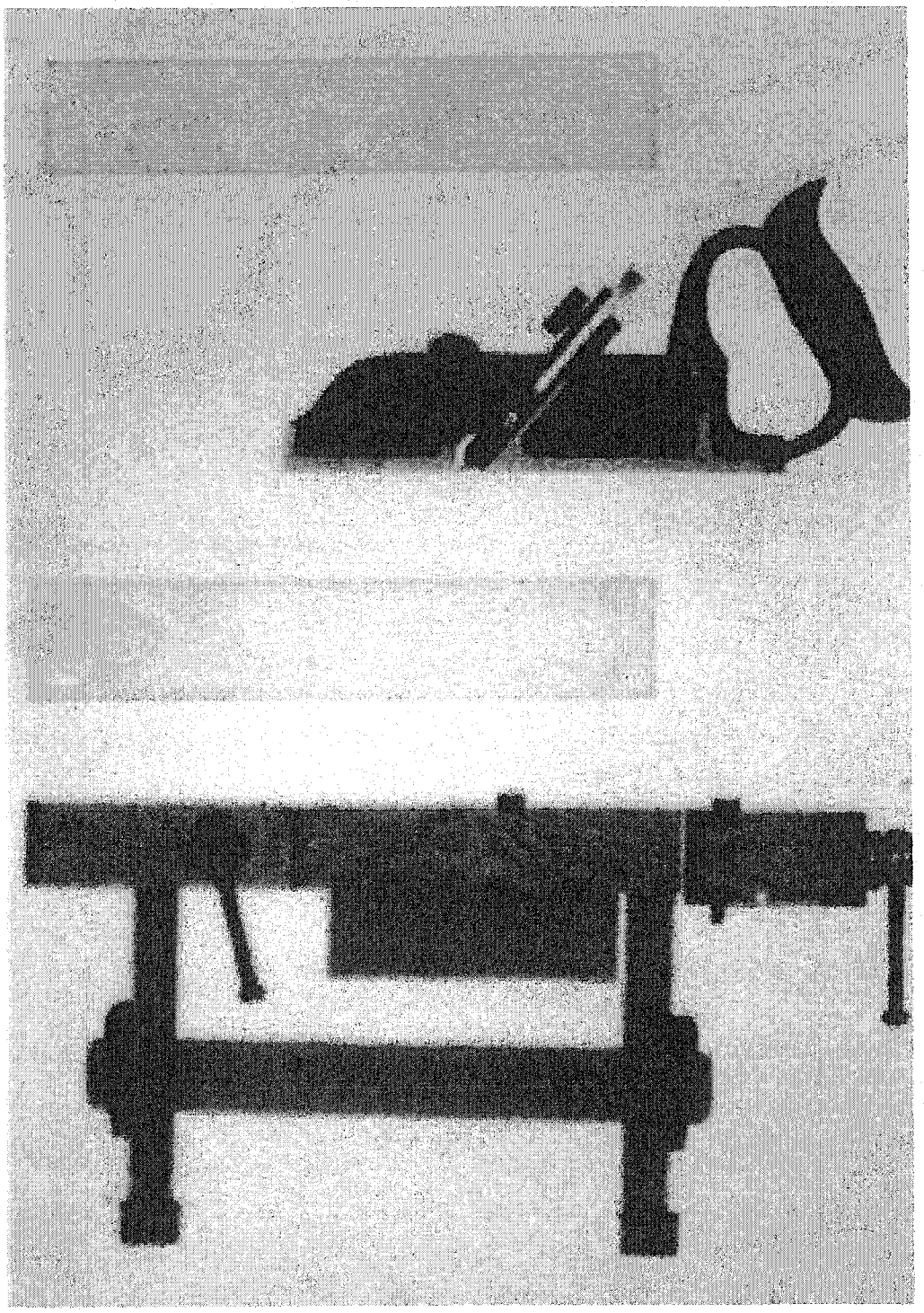
III.1/Fig.27. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator.Cover for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok*(*How the Plane Made the Plane)*(Leningrad:Raduga,1927).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.28. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator.Illustration for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok* (How the Plane Made the Plane)(Leningrad: Raduga, 1927).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.28a. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Study for the illustration for *Kak rubanok sdelal rubanok*(How the Plane Made the Plane),1925. Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.29. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Cover for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



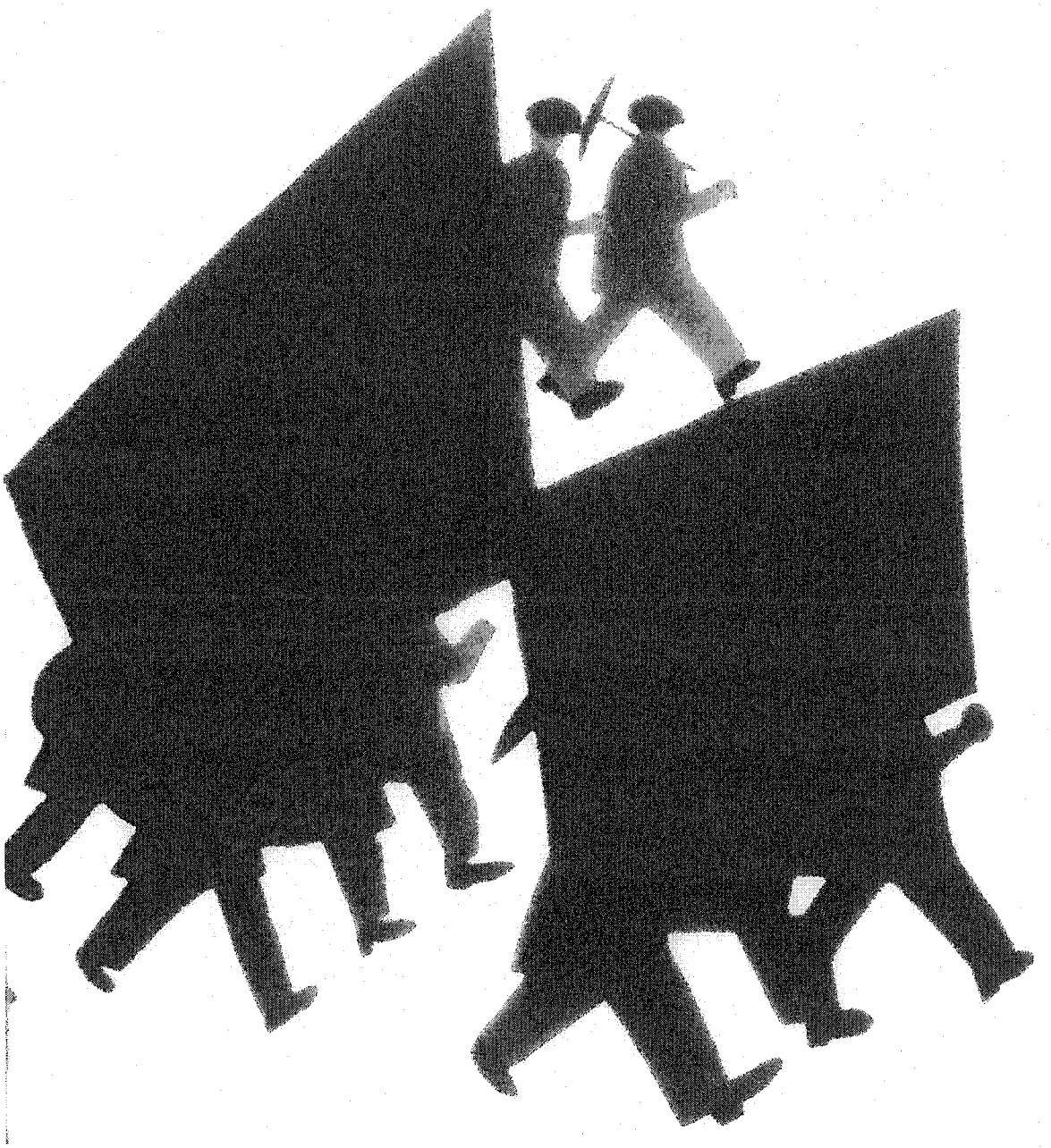
III.1/ Fig.30. Samuil Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Vchera i segodnia* (Yesterday and Today)(Leningrad:Raduga,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



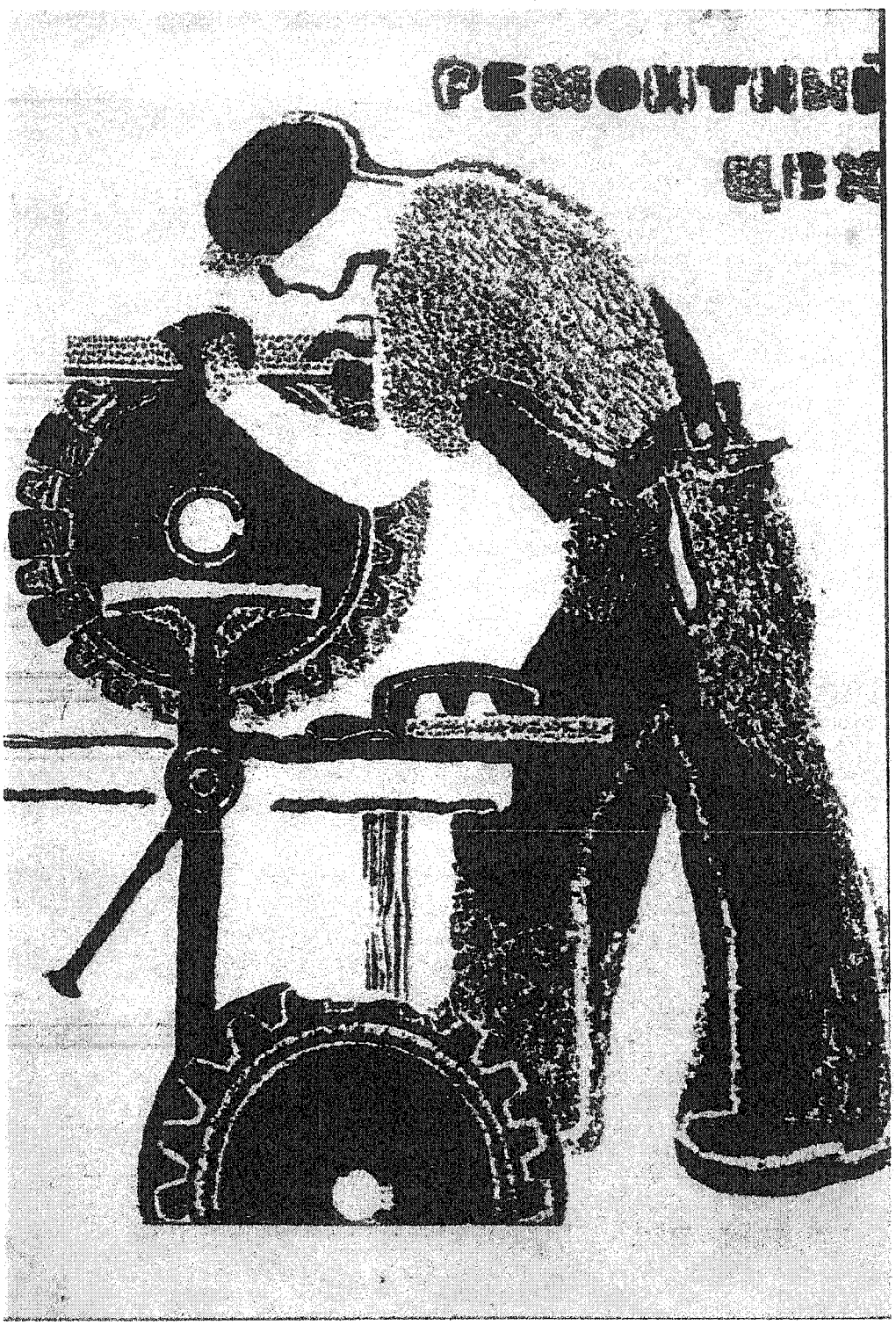
III.1/ Fig. 31. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Socialist Competition* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



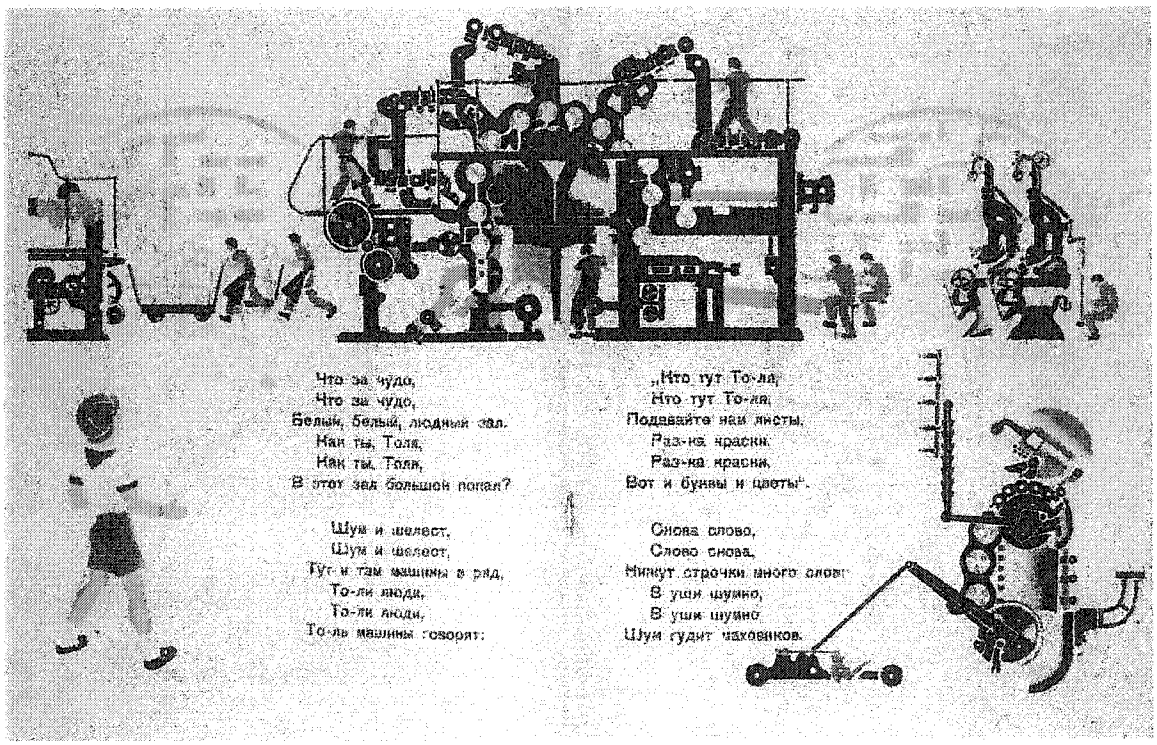
III.1/Fig.32. Vladimir Lebedev, *Manifestation.* ROSTA Windows poster, Petrograd, 1920-21. Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.33. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Sotsialisticheskoe sorevnovanie*(Socialist Competition)(Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.34. Ilya Ionov, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Illustration for *Topotun i knizhka* (Topotun and the book)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



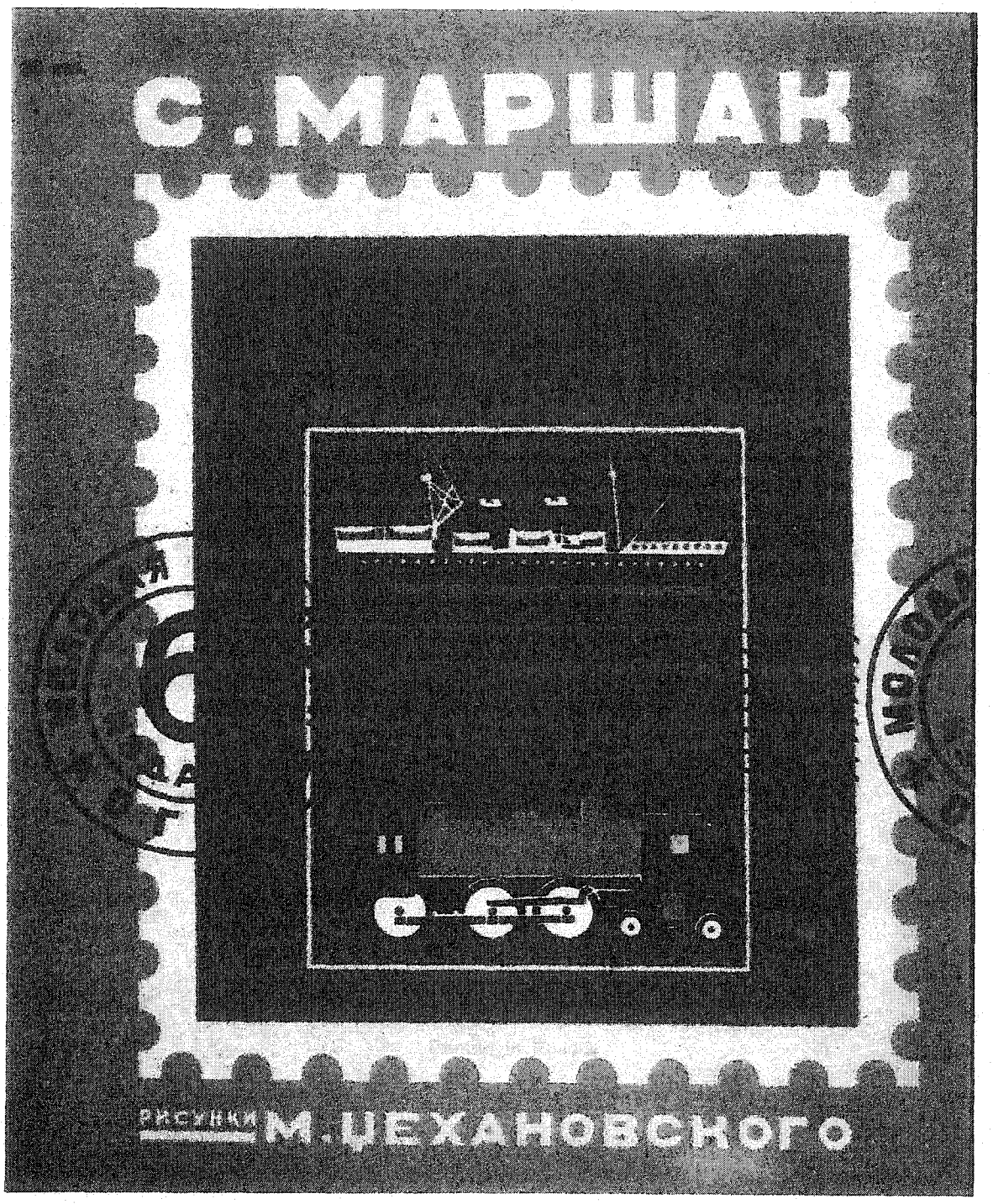
III.1/Fig.35. Boris Zhitkov, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Pro etu knigu* (About This Book) (Moscow:Ogiz/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



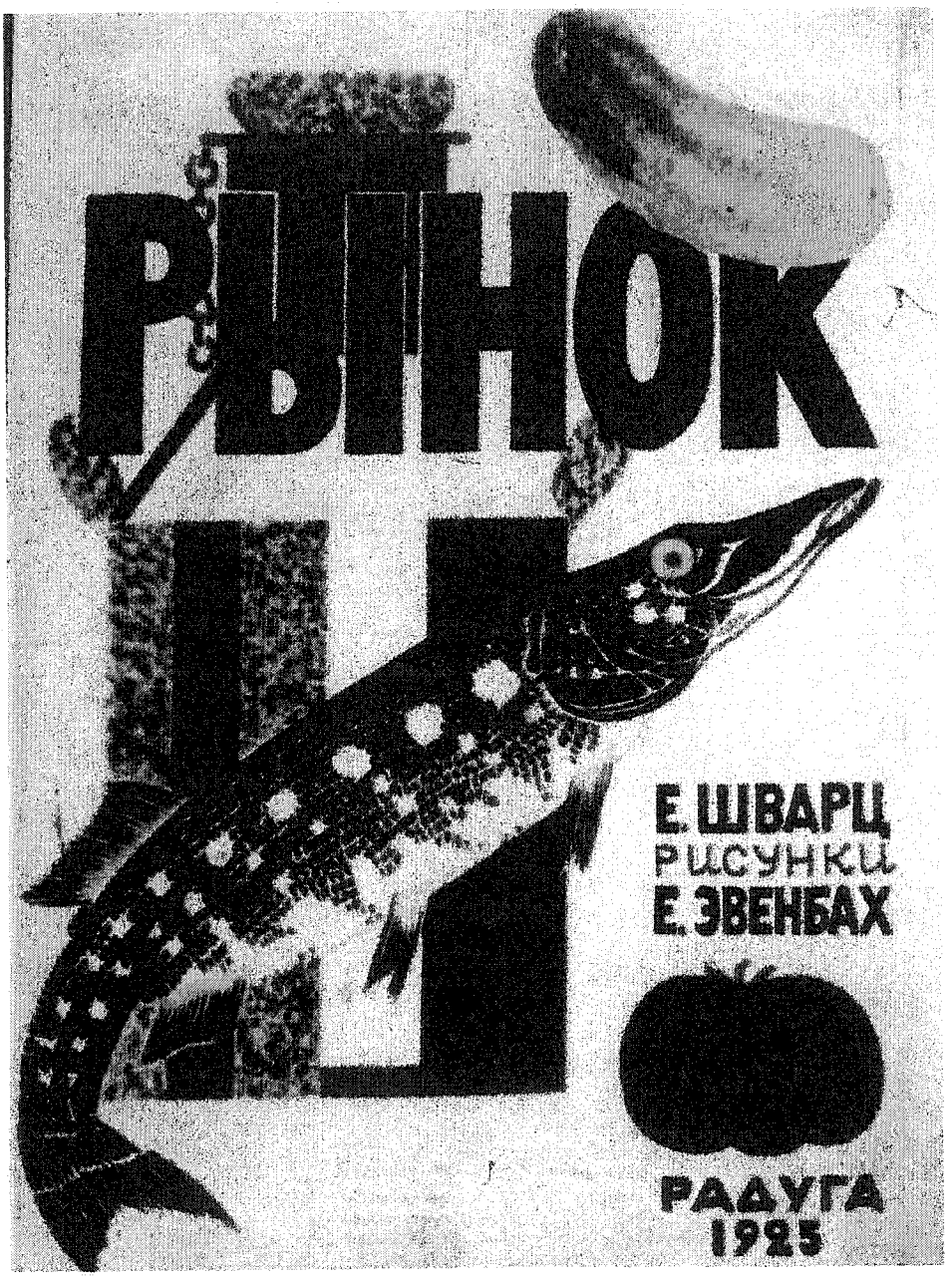
III.1/Fig.36. Boris Zhitkov, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Illustration for *Pro etu knigu* (About This Book)(Moscow:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.37. S.Ya. Marshak, author. Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, illustrator. Cover for *Pochta*(The Post Office)(Moscow/Leningrad:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.38. Evgenii Schwarts, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Study for the cover for *Rynok*(Market),1925. Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.39. Evgenii Schwarts, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Study for the illustration for *Rynok*(Market), 1925. Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



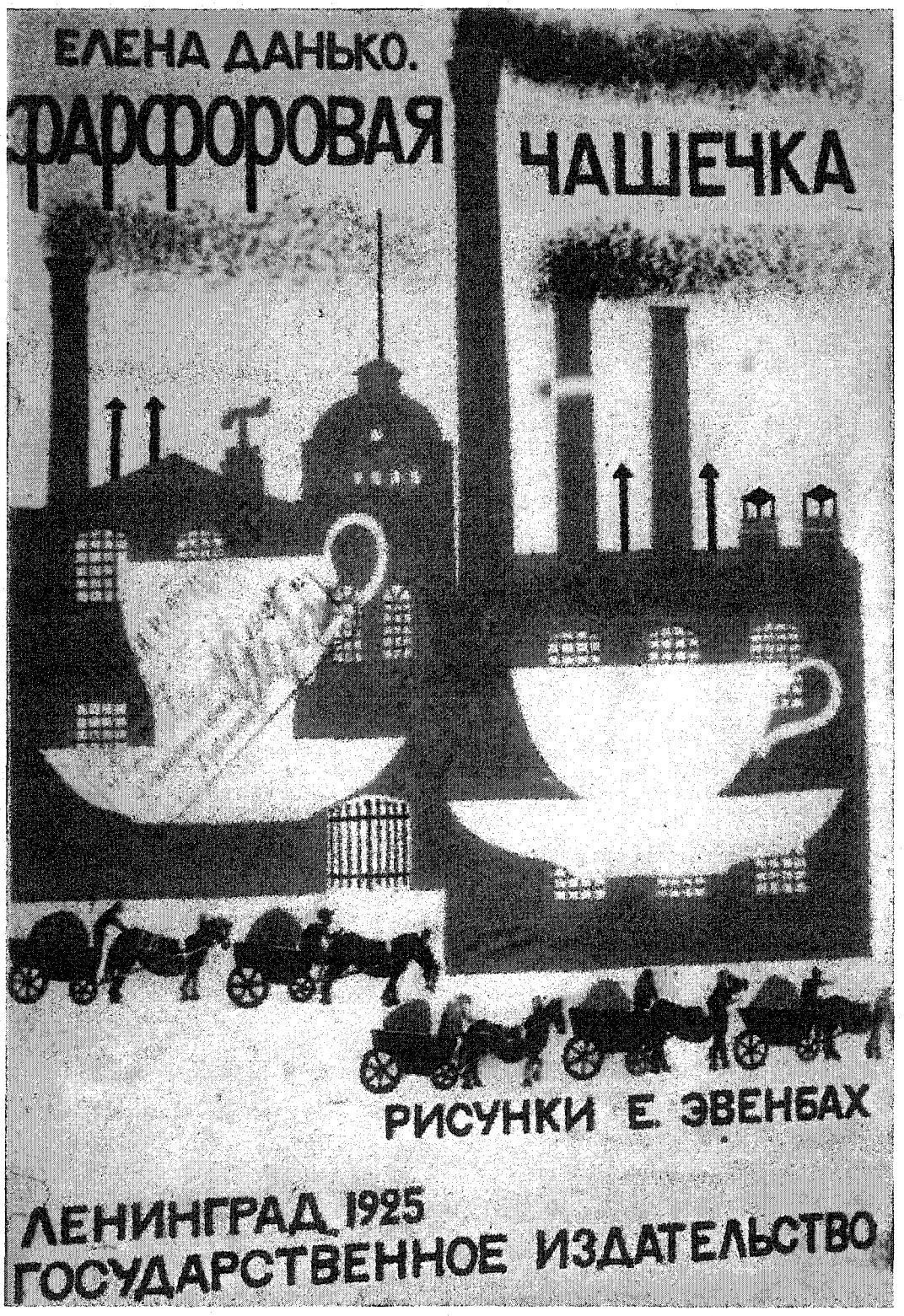
III.1/Fig.40. Evgenii Schwarts, author. Evgenia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Rynok* (Market)(Leningrad: Raduga,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



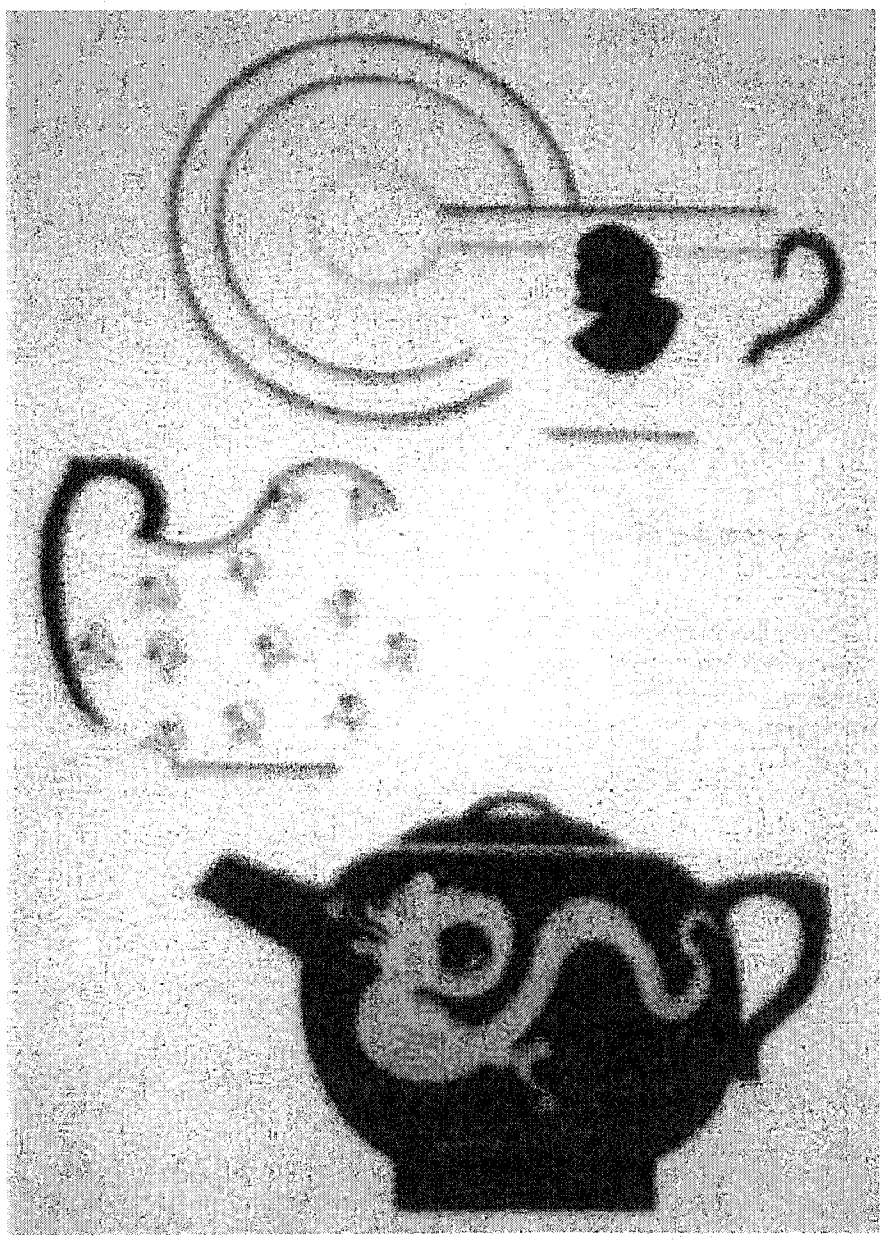
III.1/Fig.41. Vladimir Lebedev, illustrator. Illustration for *Azbuka* (Alphabet) (Leningrad: GIZ, 1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.42. Elena Dan'ko, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Cover for *Farforovaia chashechka* (Porcelain Cup)(Leningrad:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



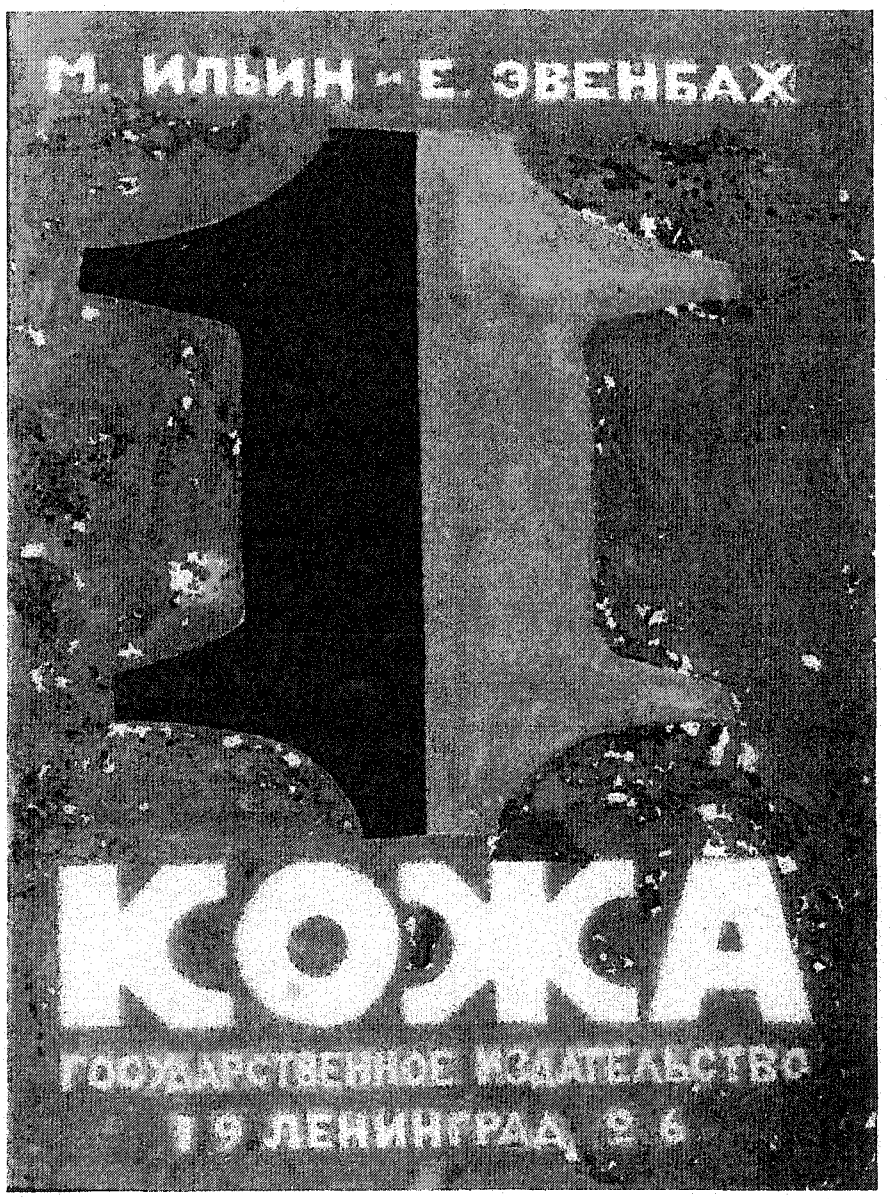
III.1/Fig.42a. Elena Dan'ko, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Study for the illustration for *Farforovaia chashechka* (Porcelain Cup),1925. Gouache and watercolor on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



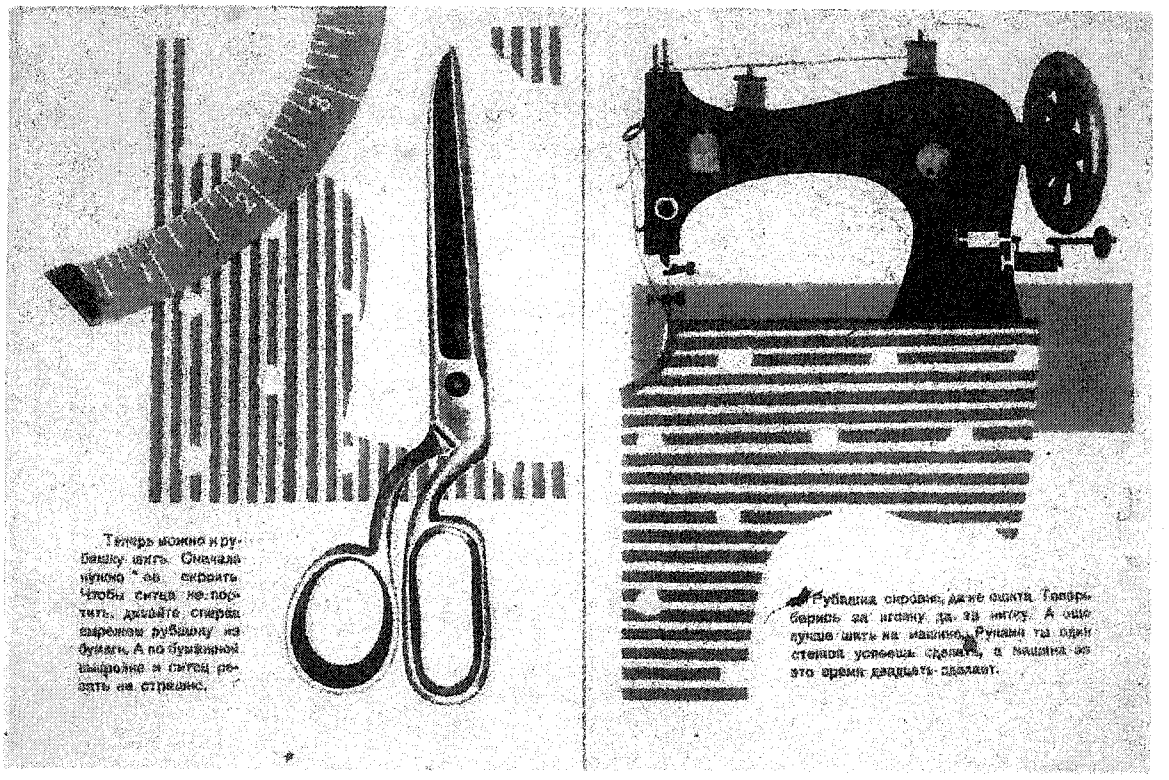
III.1/Fig.43. Unidentified artist. Leather goods shop in Nikolaevskaia Street in St. Petersburg, 1910s. Photograph (detail). Museum of History of St. Petersburg, Russia. From *Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant-Garde Artists* by Alla Povelikhina and Yevgeny Kovtun (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1991),p.156.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



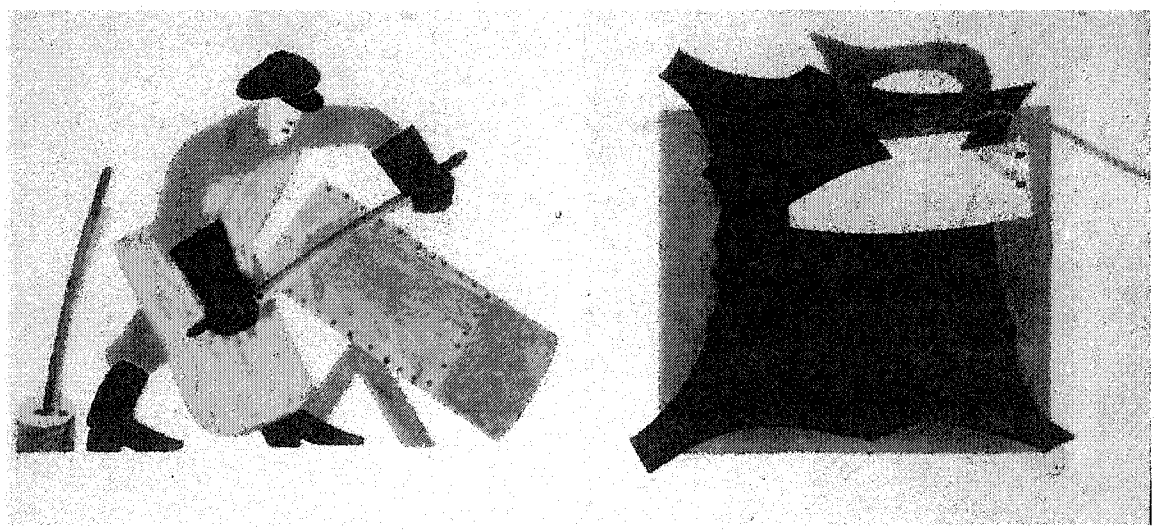
III.1/Fig.44. Mikhail Ilyin, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh,illustrator.Cover design for *Kozha* (Leather), 1925. Gouache and ink on paper. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. From *Russian Painted Shop Signs and Avant-Garde Artists* by Alla Povelikhina and Yevgeny Kovtun (Leningrad:Aurora Art Publishers,1991),p.157.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



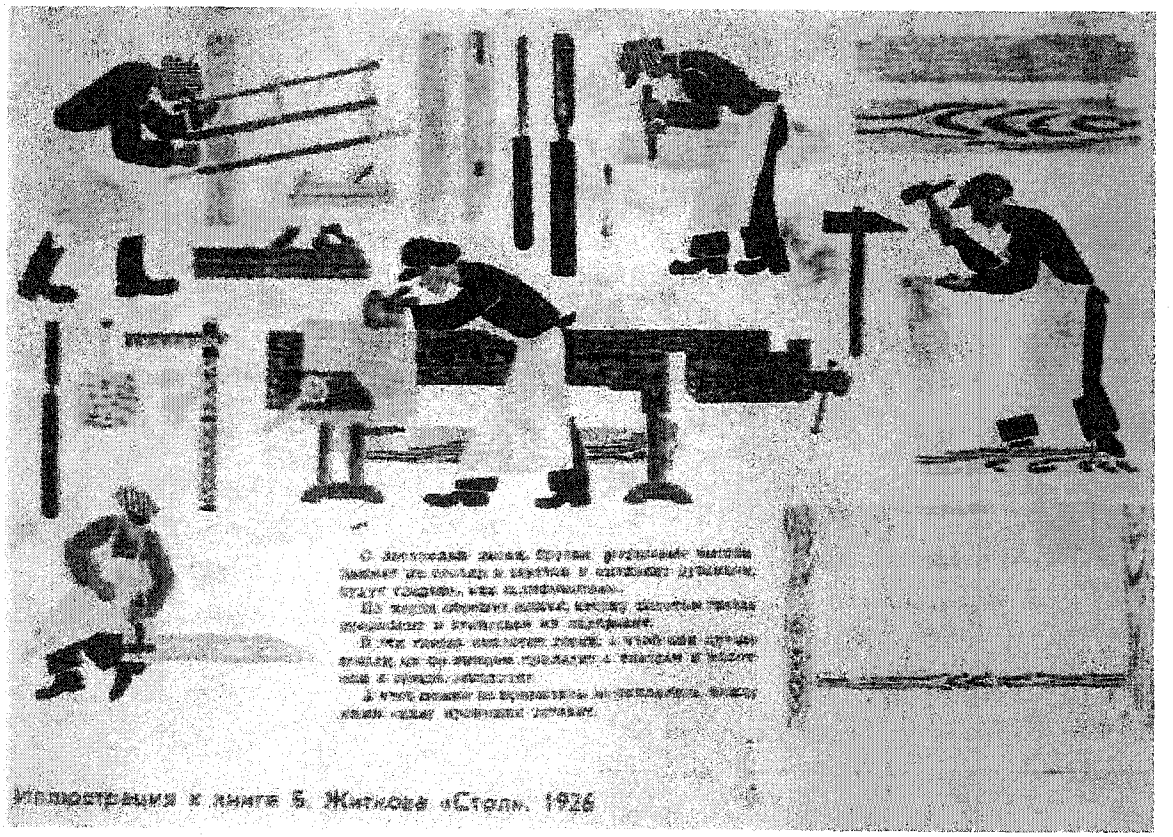
III.1/Fig.45. Mikhail Ilyin, author. Evgenia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Sitets* (Printed Cotton). (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



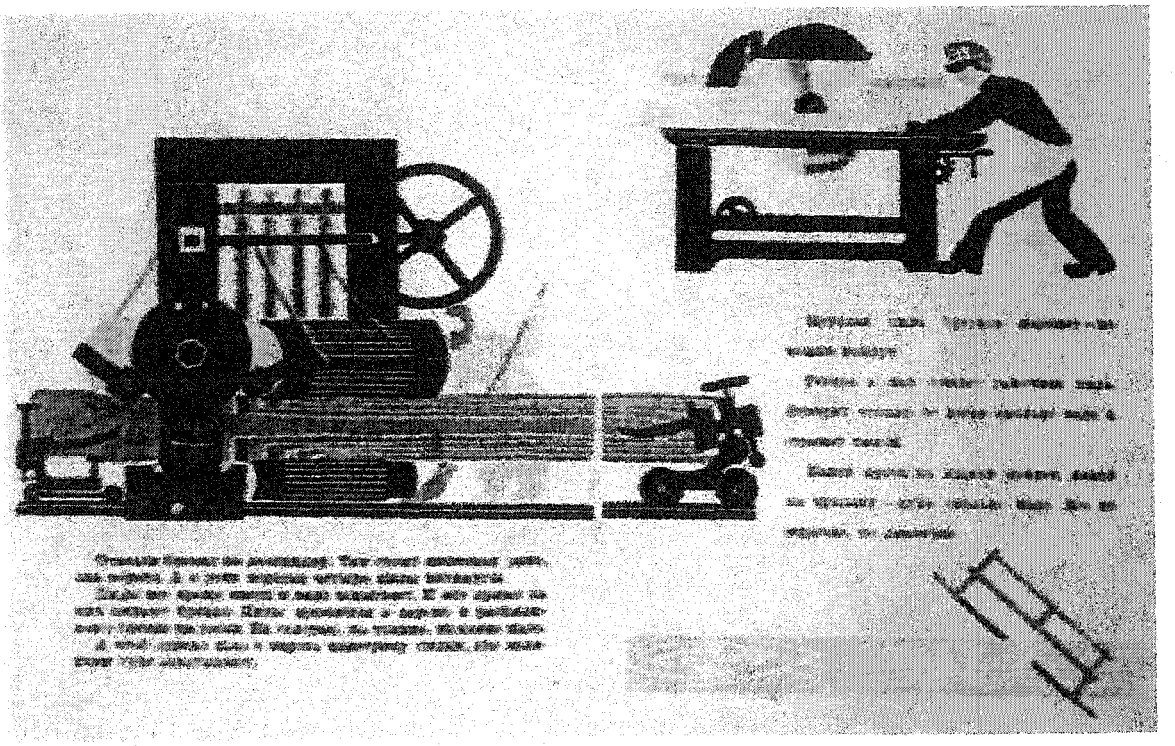
III.1/Fig.46. Ya. Ilyin, author. Evgenia Evenbakh, illustrator. Studies for illustrations for *Kozha* (Leather),1925.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



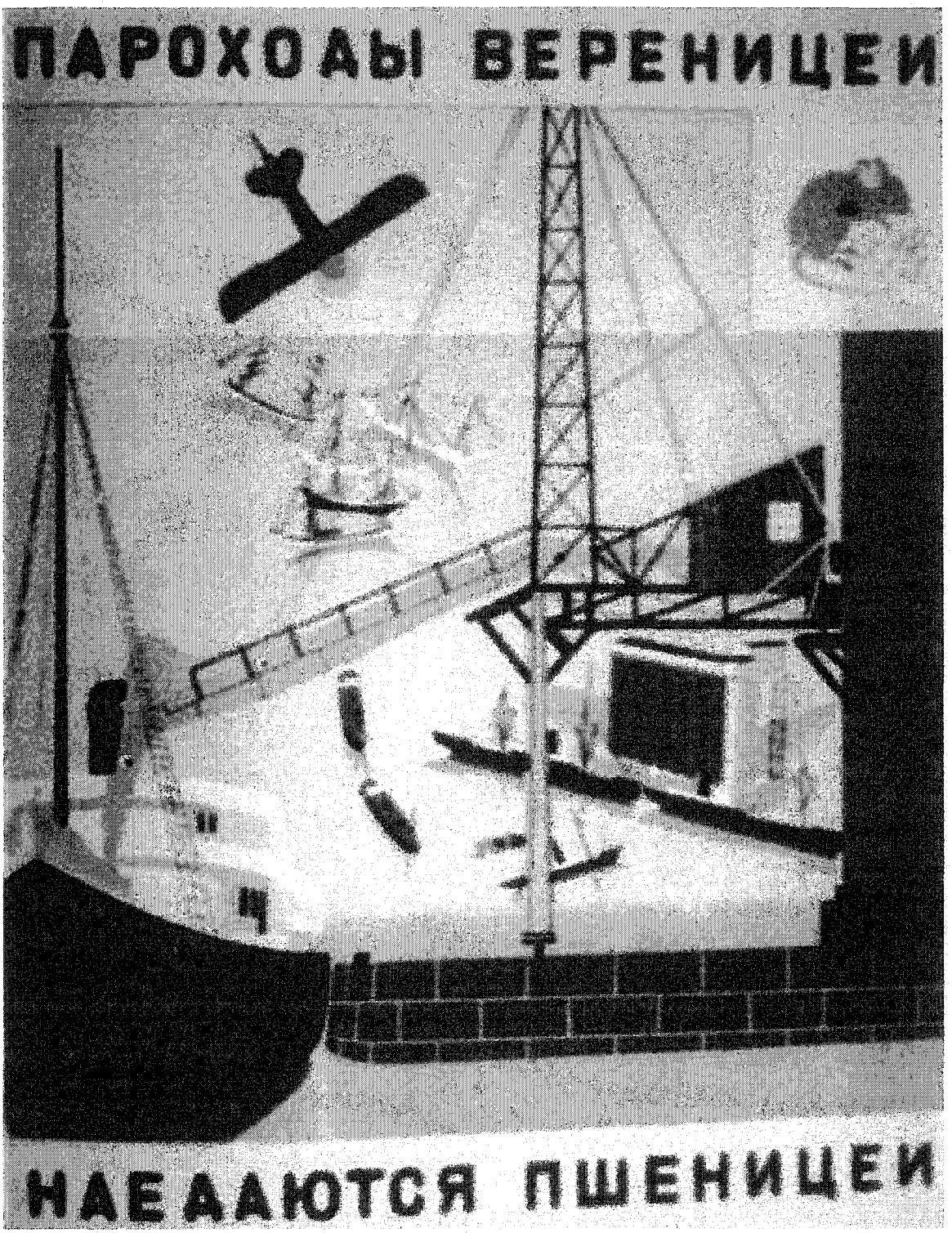
III.1/Fig.47. Boris Zhitkov, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Stol*(Table),1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.47a. Boris Zhitkov, author. Evgeniia Evenbakh, illustrator. Illustration for *Stol*(Table),1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1./Fig.48. Semen Polotsky, author. Eduard Krimmer, illustrator. Illustration for *Port*, 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



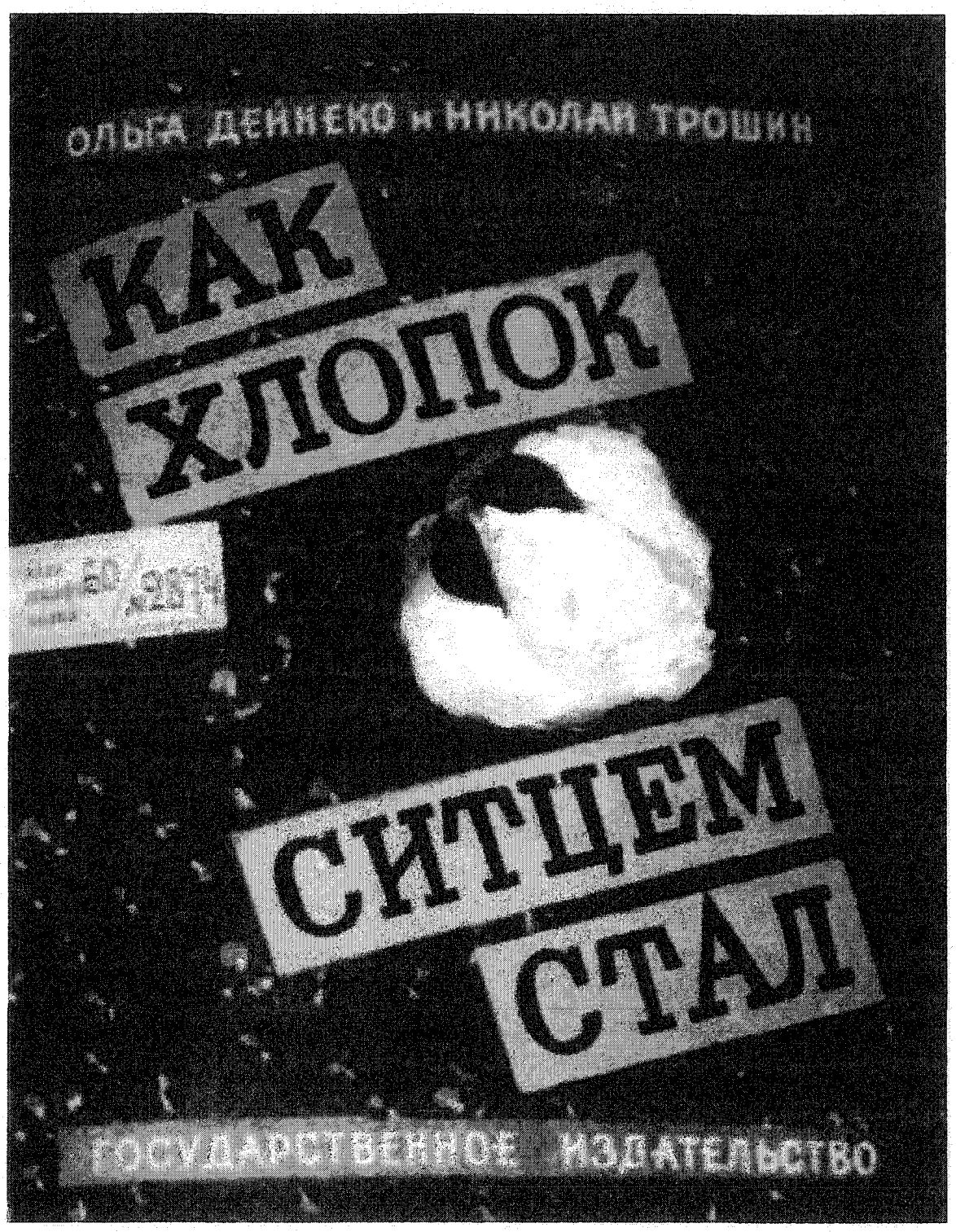
III.1/Fig.49.Semen Polotsky, author. Eduard Krimmer, illustrator. Cover for *Pro shilo, kleshchi i vsiakie veshchi* (About the Awl, the Princers, and Other Things) (Moscow:Raduga,1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



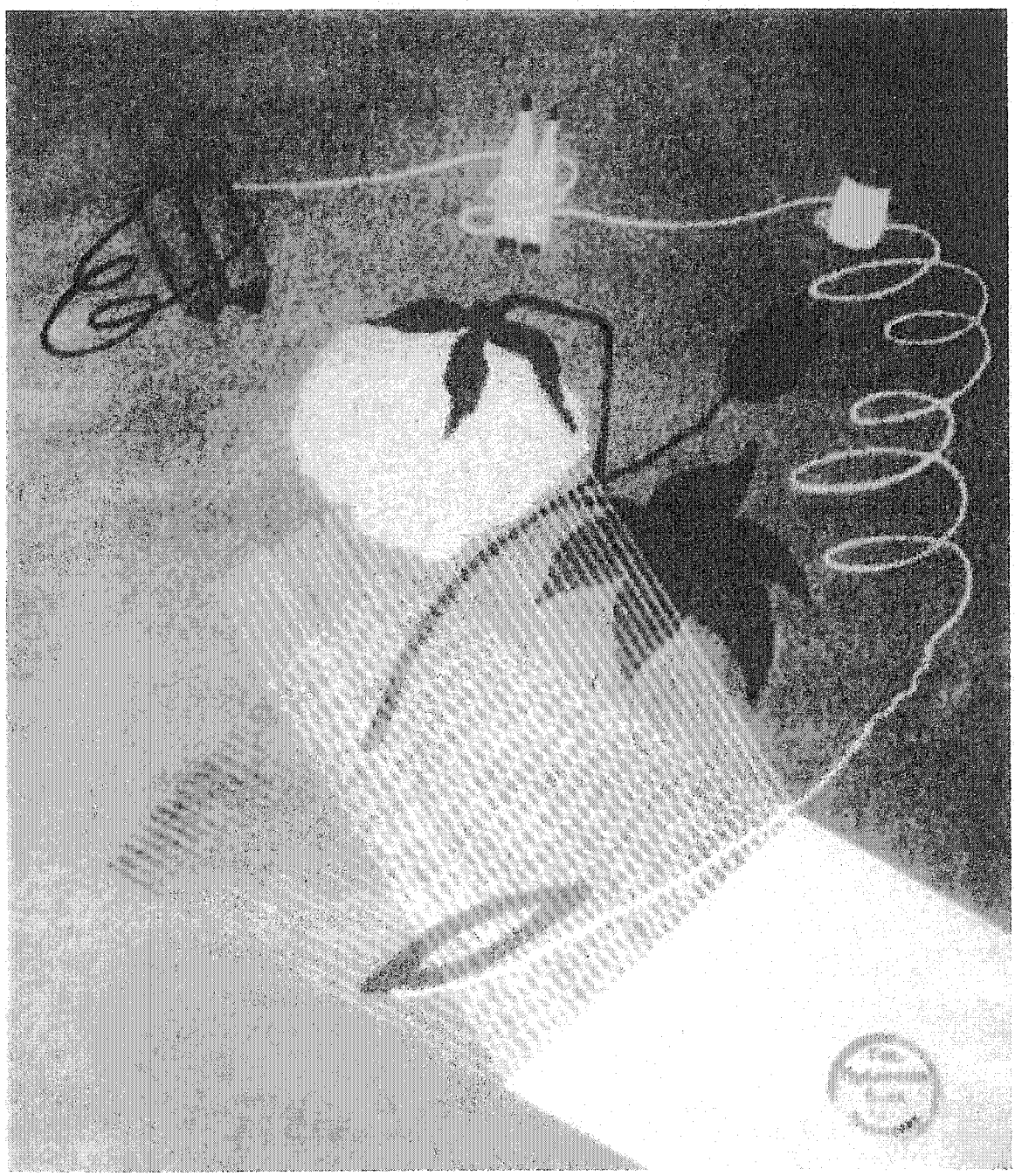
III.1/Fig.50. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Photo-relief illustrations for *Azbuka metricheskikh mer*(Alphabet of Metric Units) (Moscow:Ekonomicheskaia zhizn',1925).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



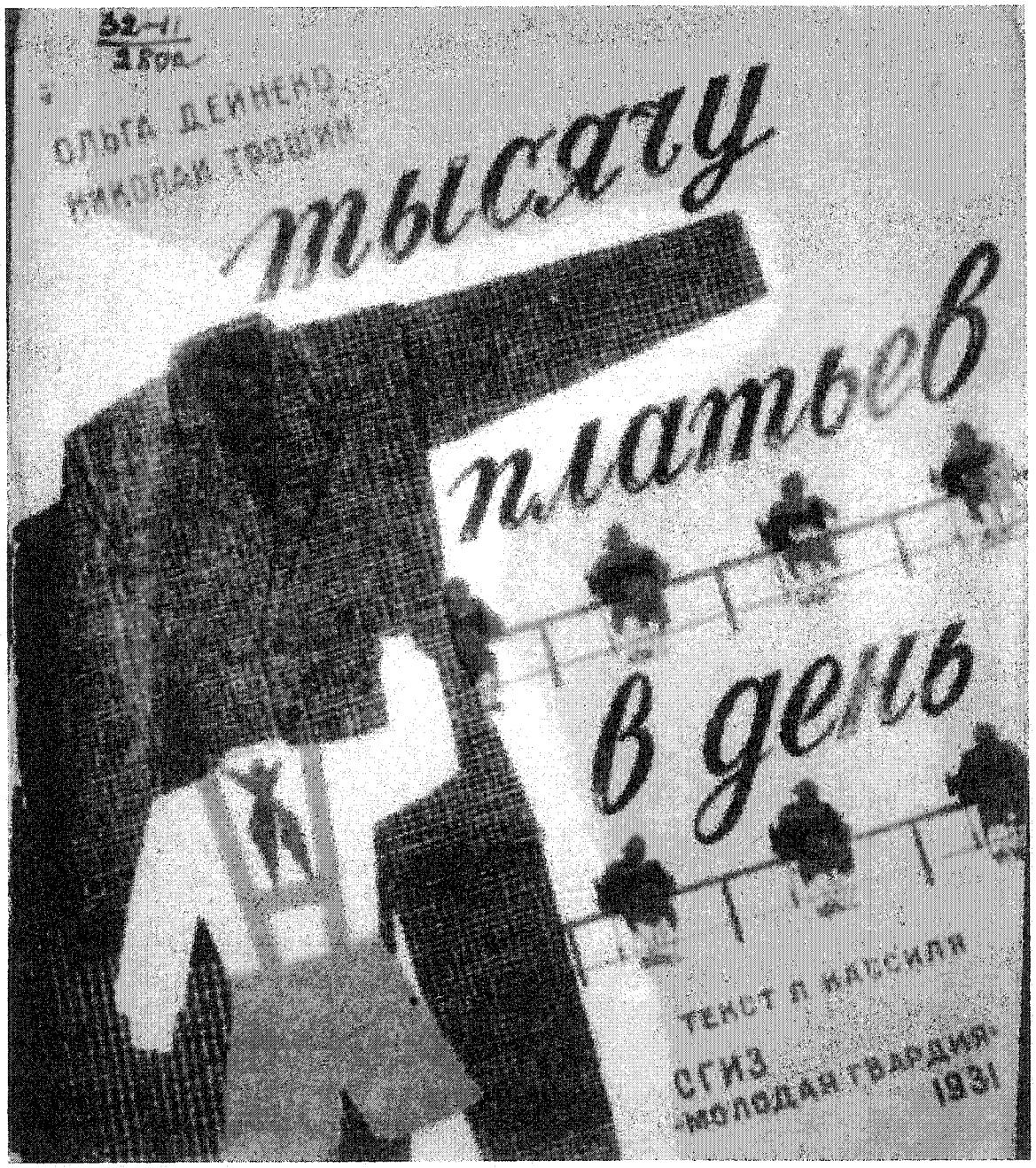
III.1/Fig.51. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Cover for *Kak khlopok sitsem stal* (How Cotton Became Printed Cotton)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.51a. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Back cover for *Kak khlopok sitsem stal* (How Cotton Became Printed Cotton)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



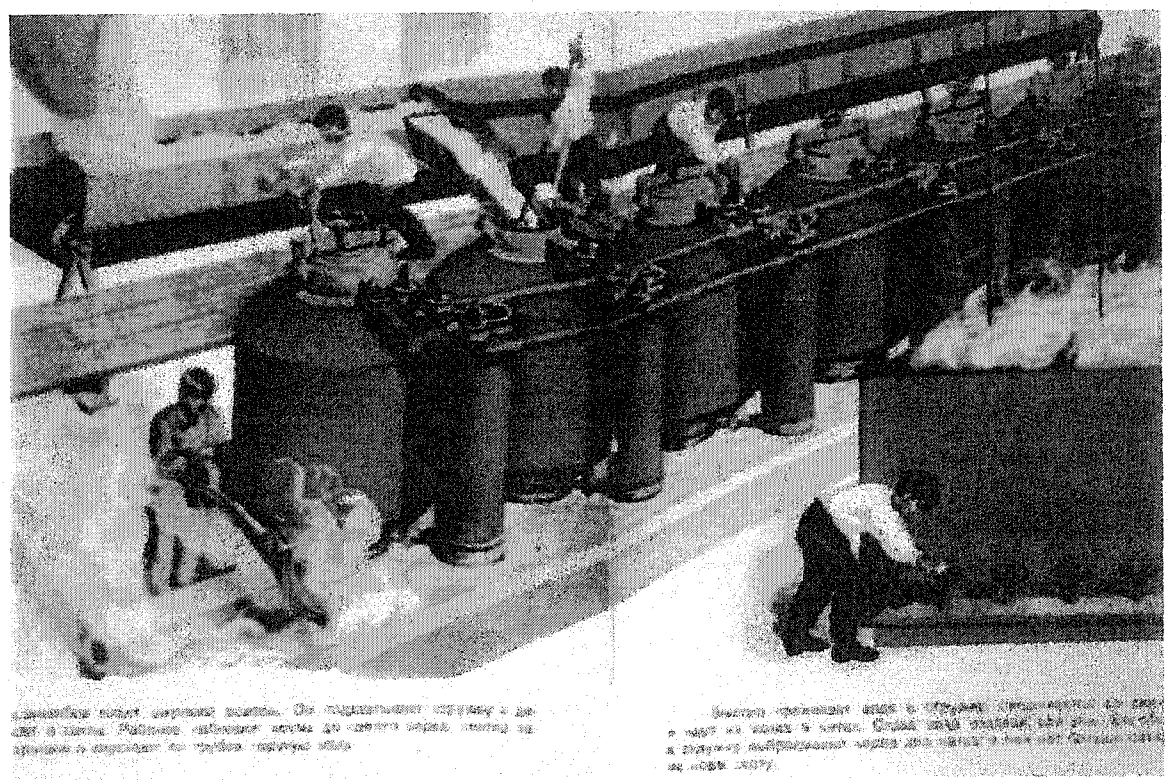
III.1/Fig.52. Lev Kassil', author. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Cover for *Tysiachu plat'ev v den'* (One Thousand Dresses per Day)(Moscow:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



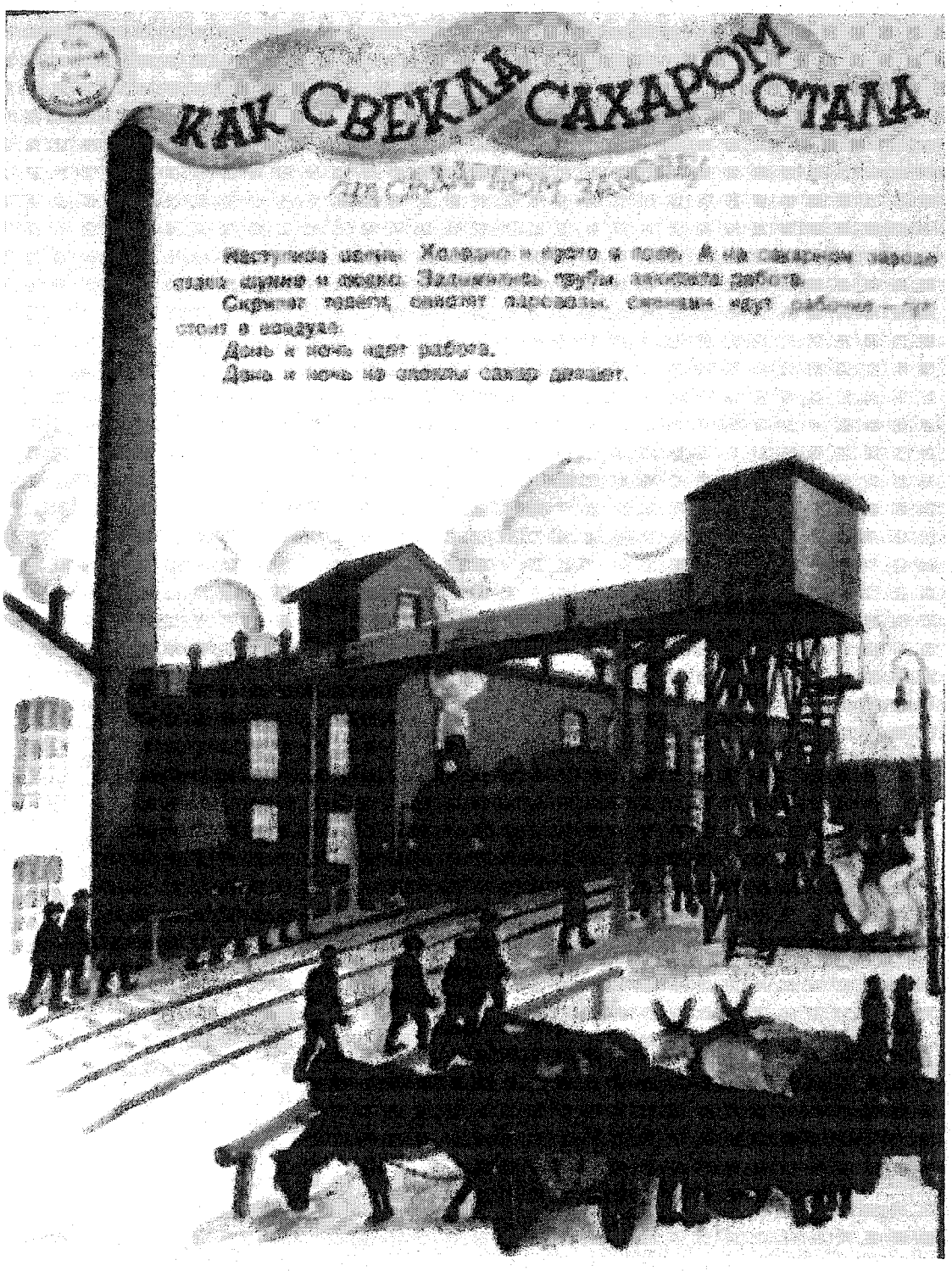
III.1/Fig.52a. Lev Kassil', author. Olga Deineko and nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Illustrations for *Tysiachu plat'ev v den'* (One Thousand Dresses per Day) (Moscow: OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia, 1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.53. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Kak svekla sakharom stala* (How Beets Became Sugar) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



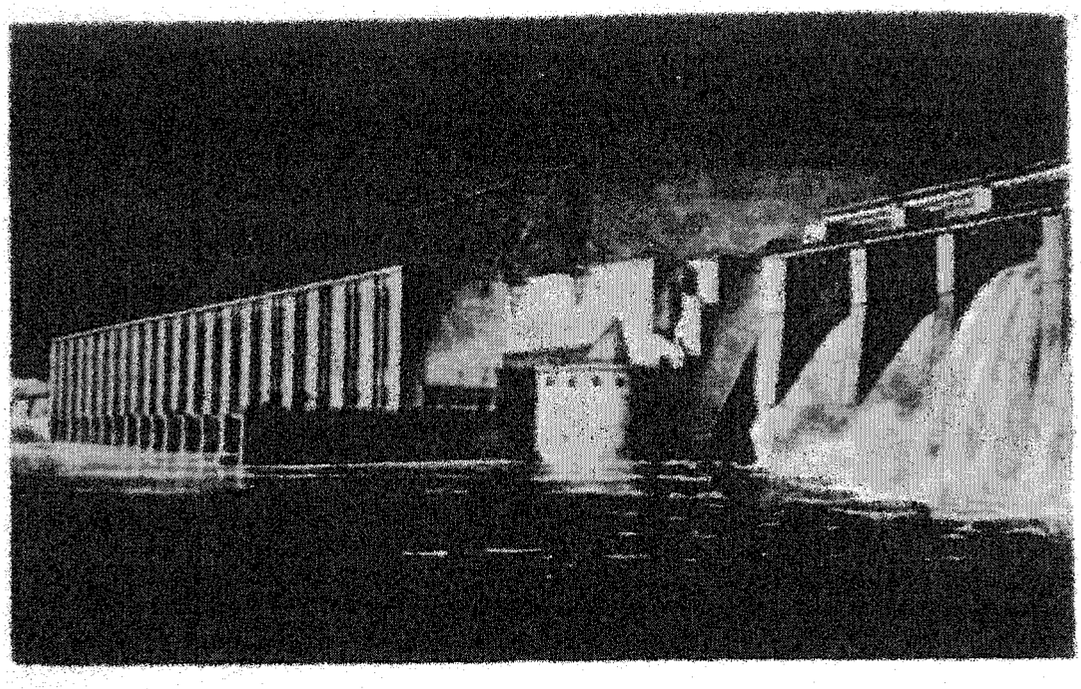
III.1/Fig.53a. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, authors and illustrators. Illustration for *Kak svekla sakharom stala*(How Beets Became Sugar)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.1/Fig.54. Olga Deineko and Nikolai Troshin, illustrators. Cover for *Kak svekla sakharom stala* (How Beets Became Sugar) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Быстро подвигаются работы
НА ДНЕПРОСТРОЕ.

Твердо решили рабочие
окончить свою работу в срок.

1 августа 1932 года
Днепрострой даст
электрический ток.

Вся страна с нетерпением ждет
окончания работ на Днепрострое!

28

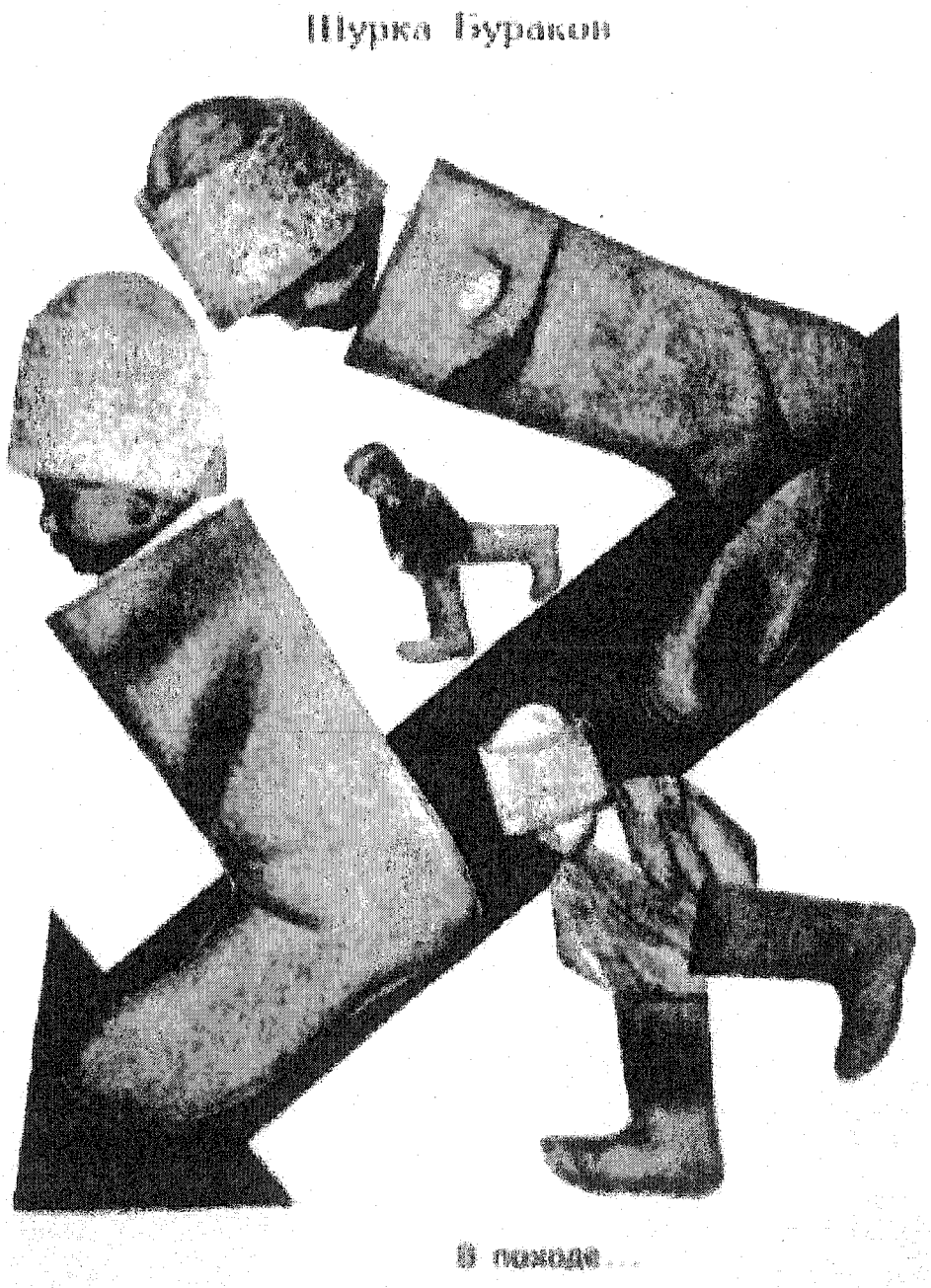
III.2/Fig.1. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V. Lantzetti, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Dneprostroi* (Leningrad:GIZ,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



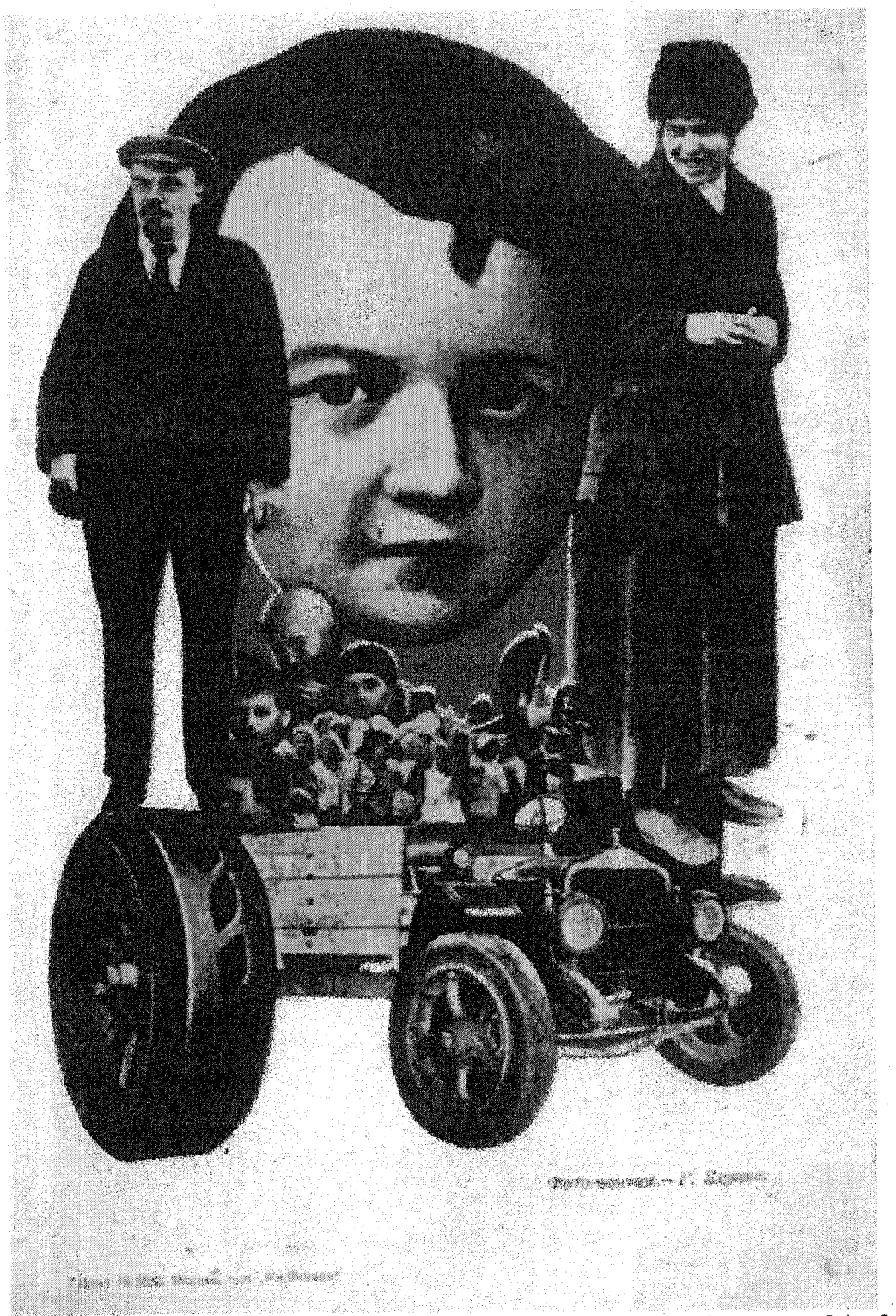
III.2/Fig.2. I.Lin, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Deti i Lenin*(Children and Lenin) (Moscow/Leningrad:Molodaia gvardiia,1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



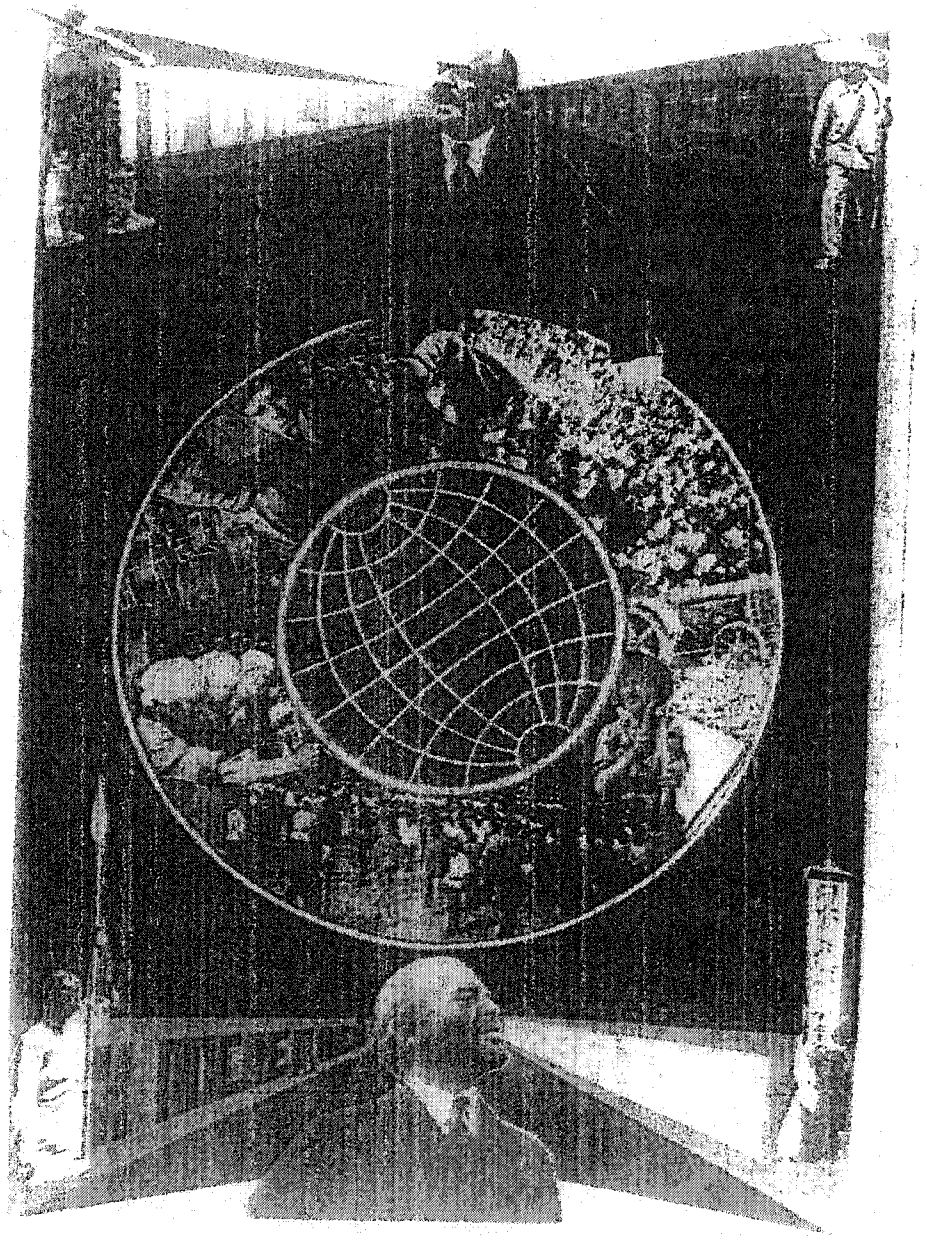
III.2/Fig.3. Ilya Lin, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-illustration for *Deti i Lenin* (Children and Lenin) (Moscow/Leningrad: Molodaia gvardiia, 1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.4.Gustav Klutsis,illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Molodaia gvardiia* (Young Guard)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1924).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.5. Gustav Klutsis and Sergei Senkin, illustrators. Unpublished photomontage illustration for Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, 1925.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



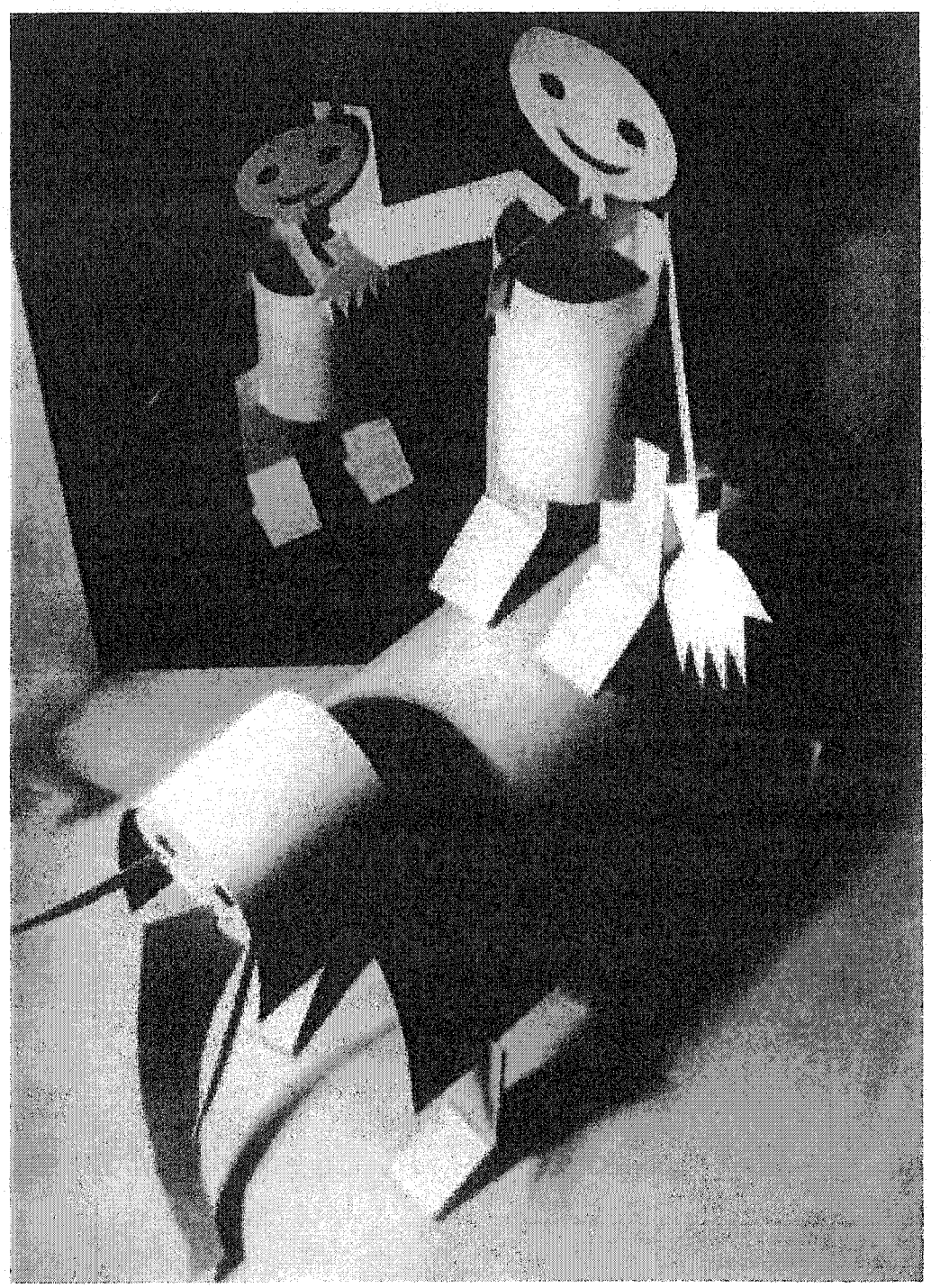
III.2/Fig.6. Vasilii Elkin, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Kak otdykhal Lenin*(How Did Lenin Rest)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



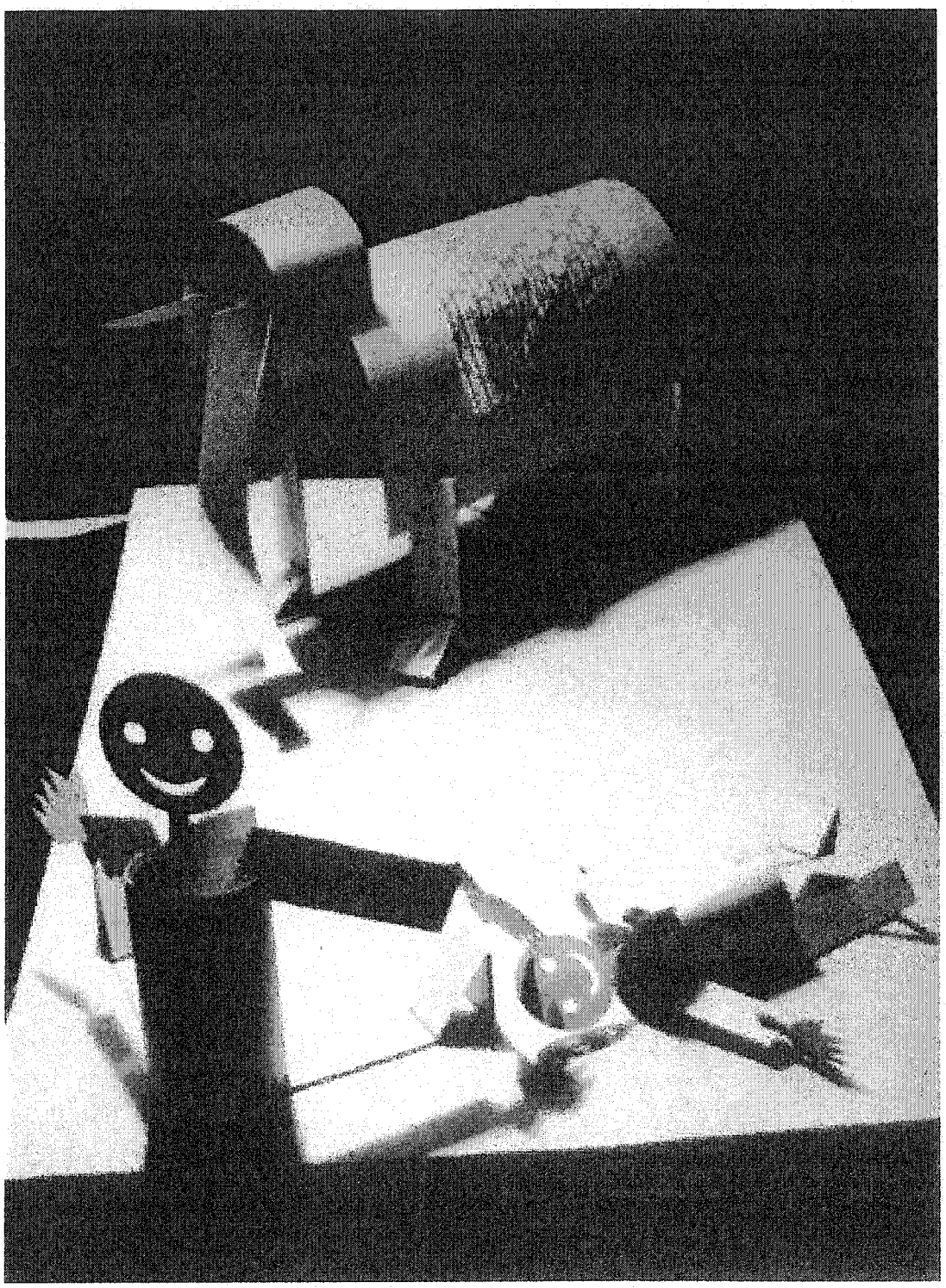
III.2/Fig.7. Vasilii Elkin, photo-relief illustration for *Kak Lenin otdykhal* (How Did Lenin Rest)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



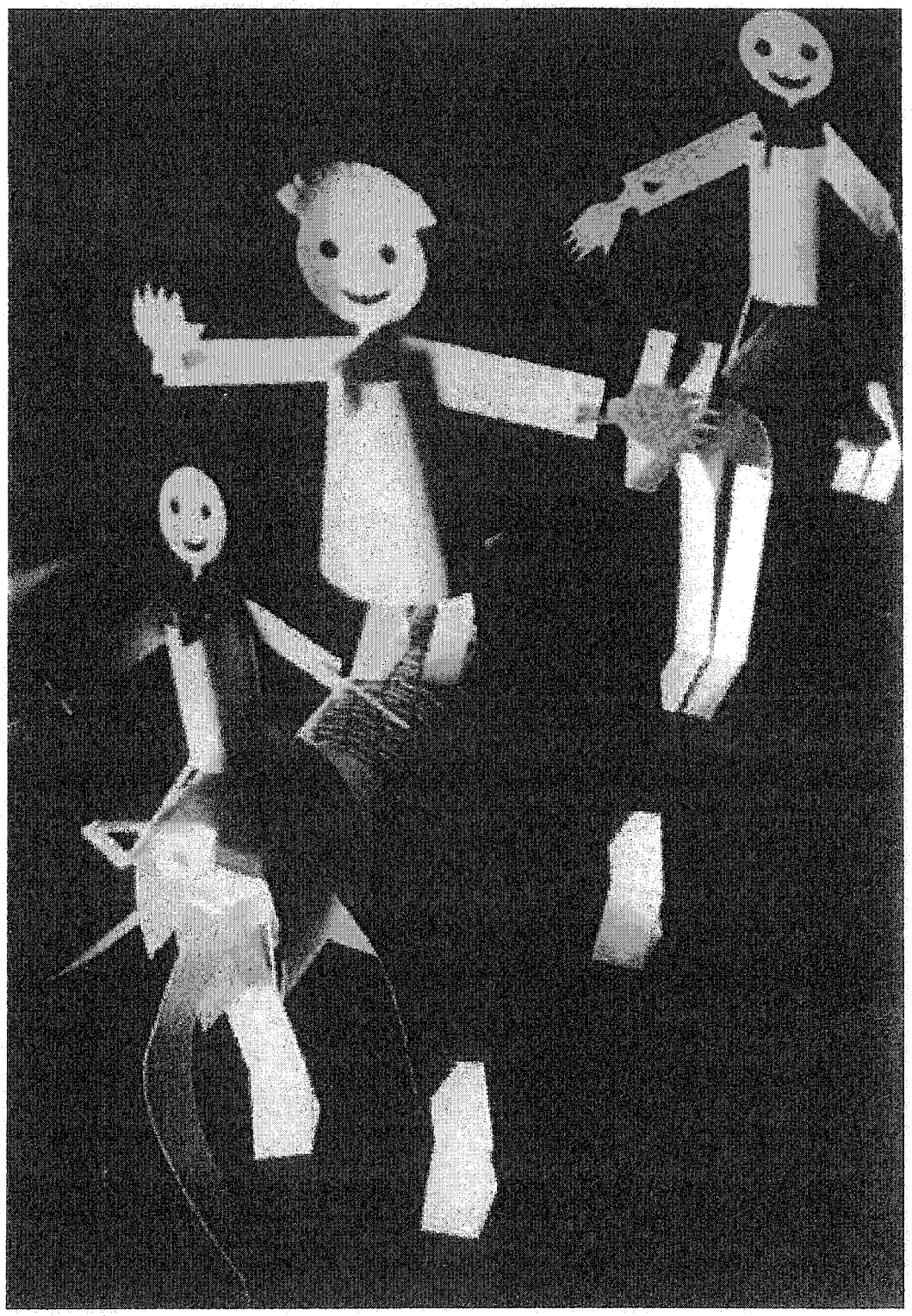
III.2/Fig.8. Sergei Tretyakov, author. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, illustrators. Photo-illustrations for *Samozveri* (Autoanimals), 1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



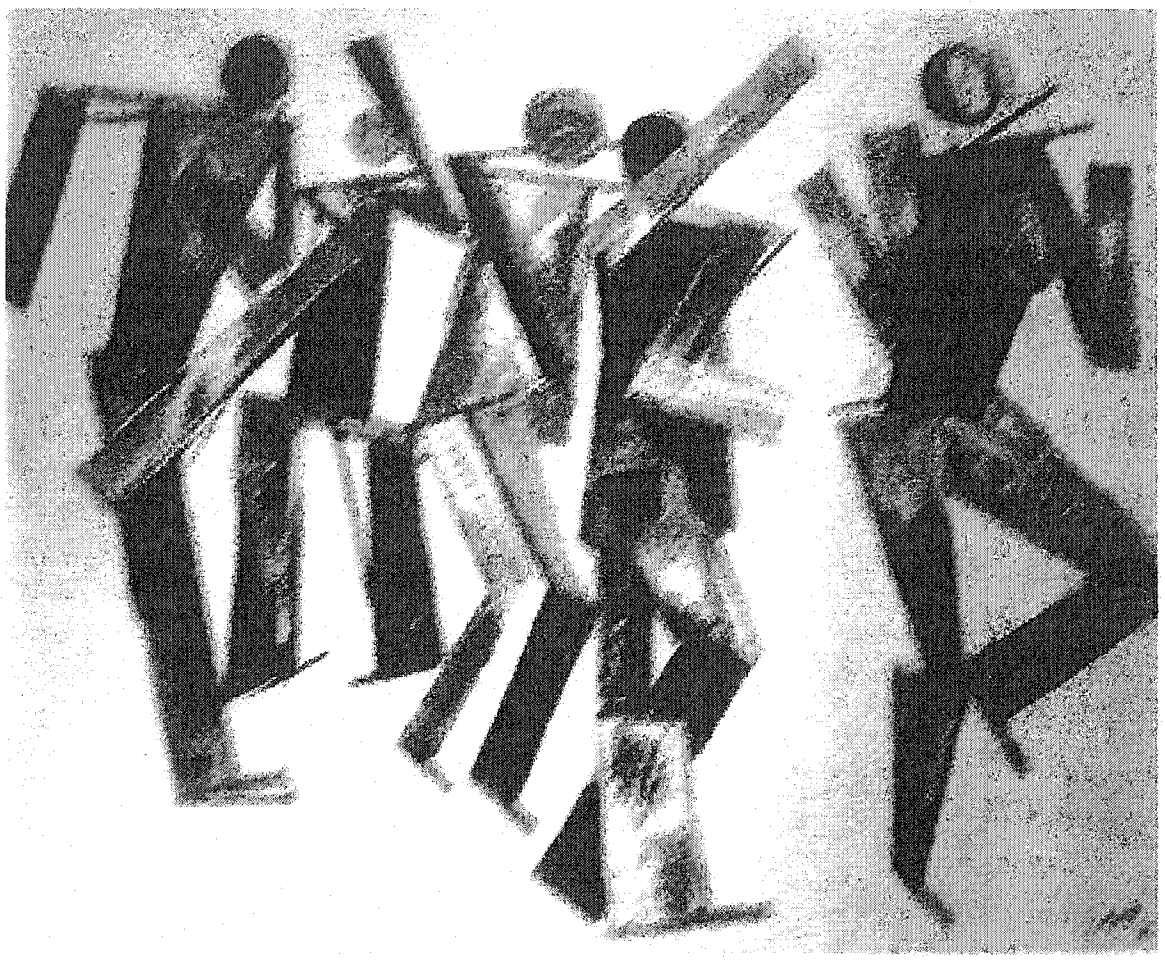
III.2/Fig.8a. Sergei Tretyakov, author. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, illustrators. Photo-illustrations for *Samozveri* (Autoanimals),1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.8b. Sergei Tretyakov, author. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, illustrators. Photo-illustrations for *Samozveri* (Autoanimals),1926.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



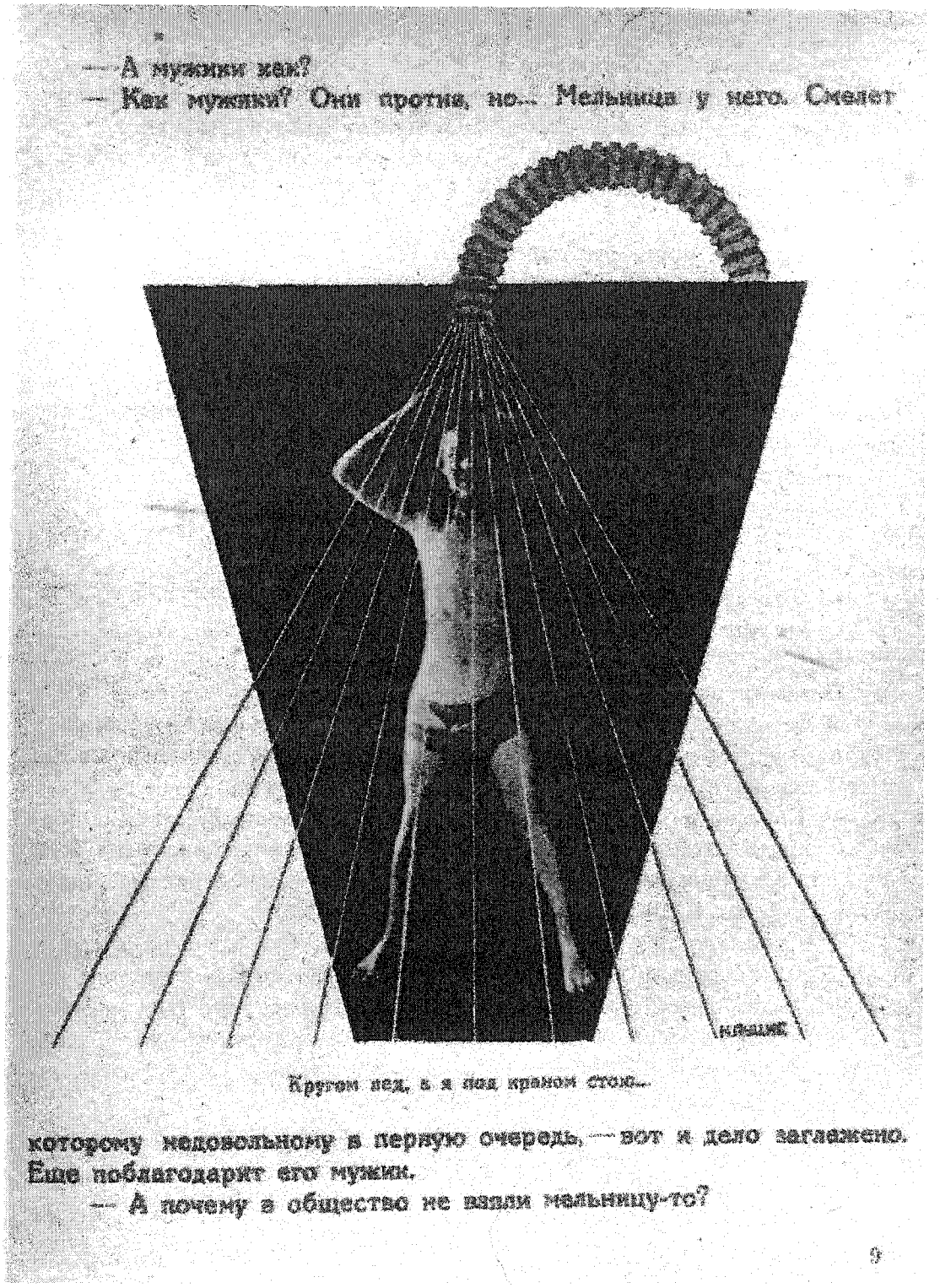
III.2/Fig.9. Varvara Stepanova. Five figures, 1920. Oil on canvas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



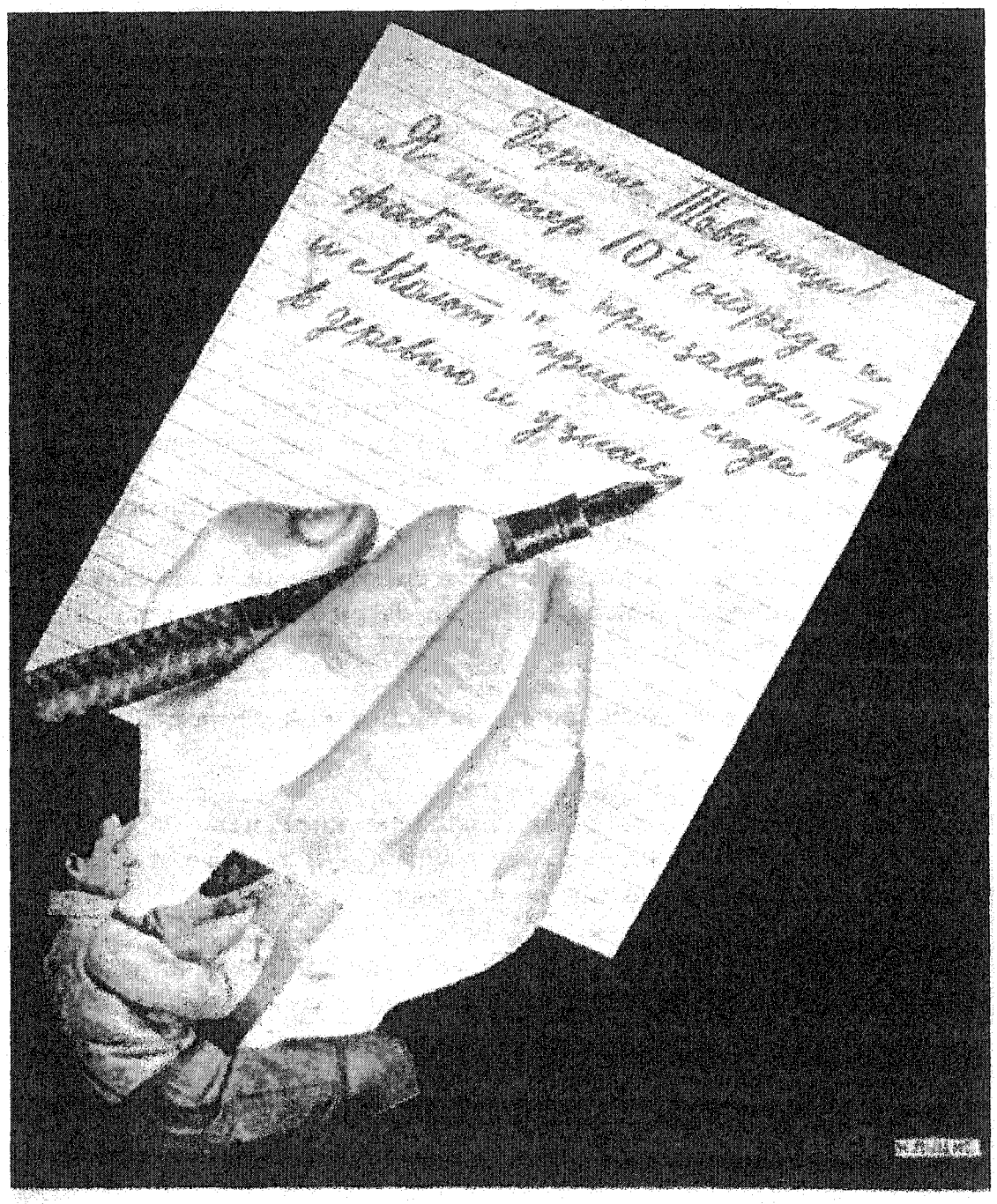
III.2/Fig.10. Vladimir Mayakovsky, text. Aleksandr Rodchenko, design. Color lithographic poster for *Rezinotrest* (The State Trust of the Rubber Industry), 1923.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.11. V. Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Писал он в редакцию центральной газеты...

III.2/Fig.11a. V. Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis (Klucis),illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow:Novaia Moskva,1926).

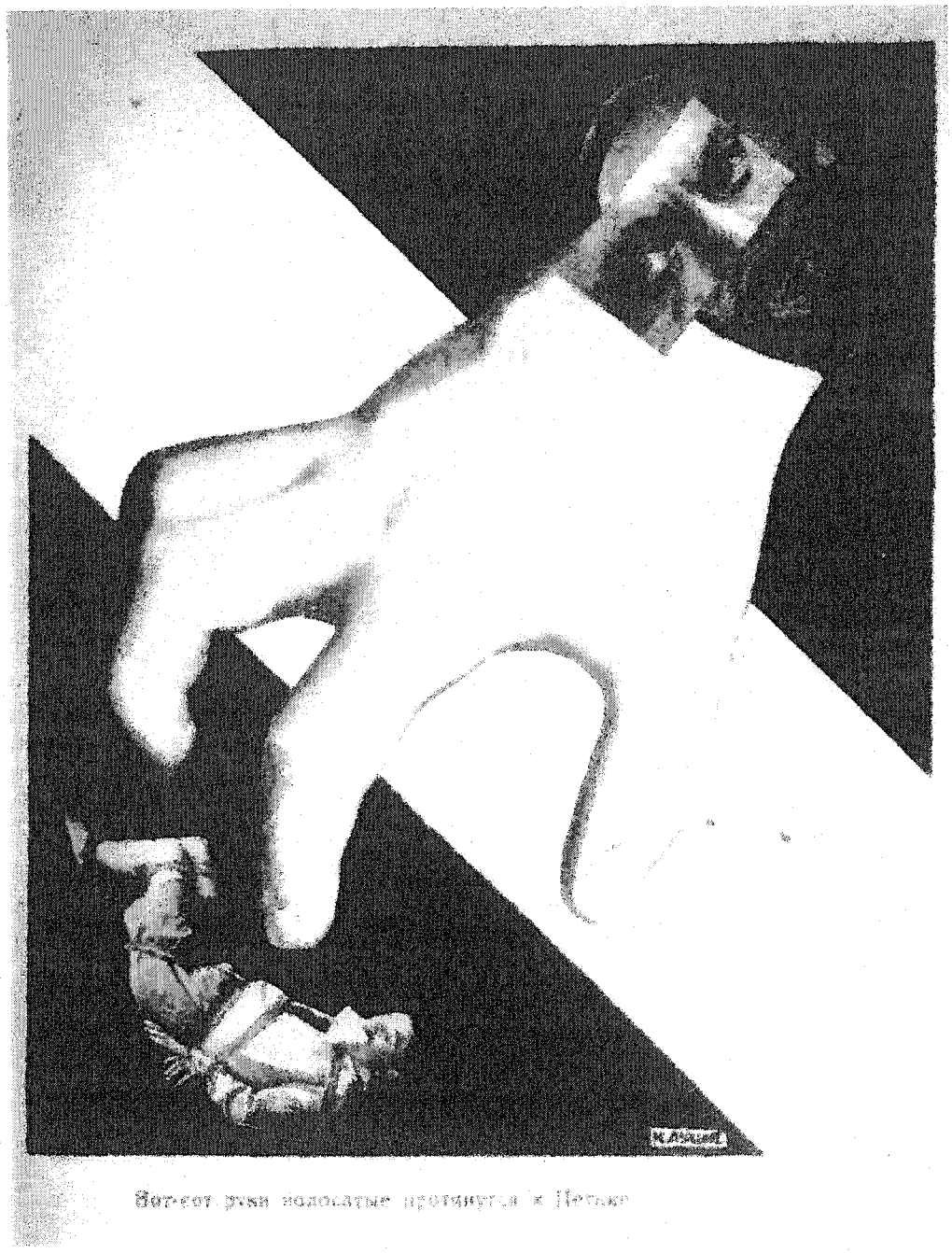
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



И вдруг оба вздрогнули..

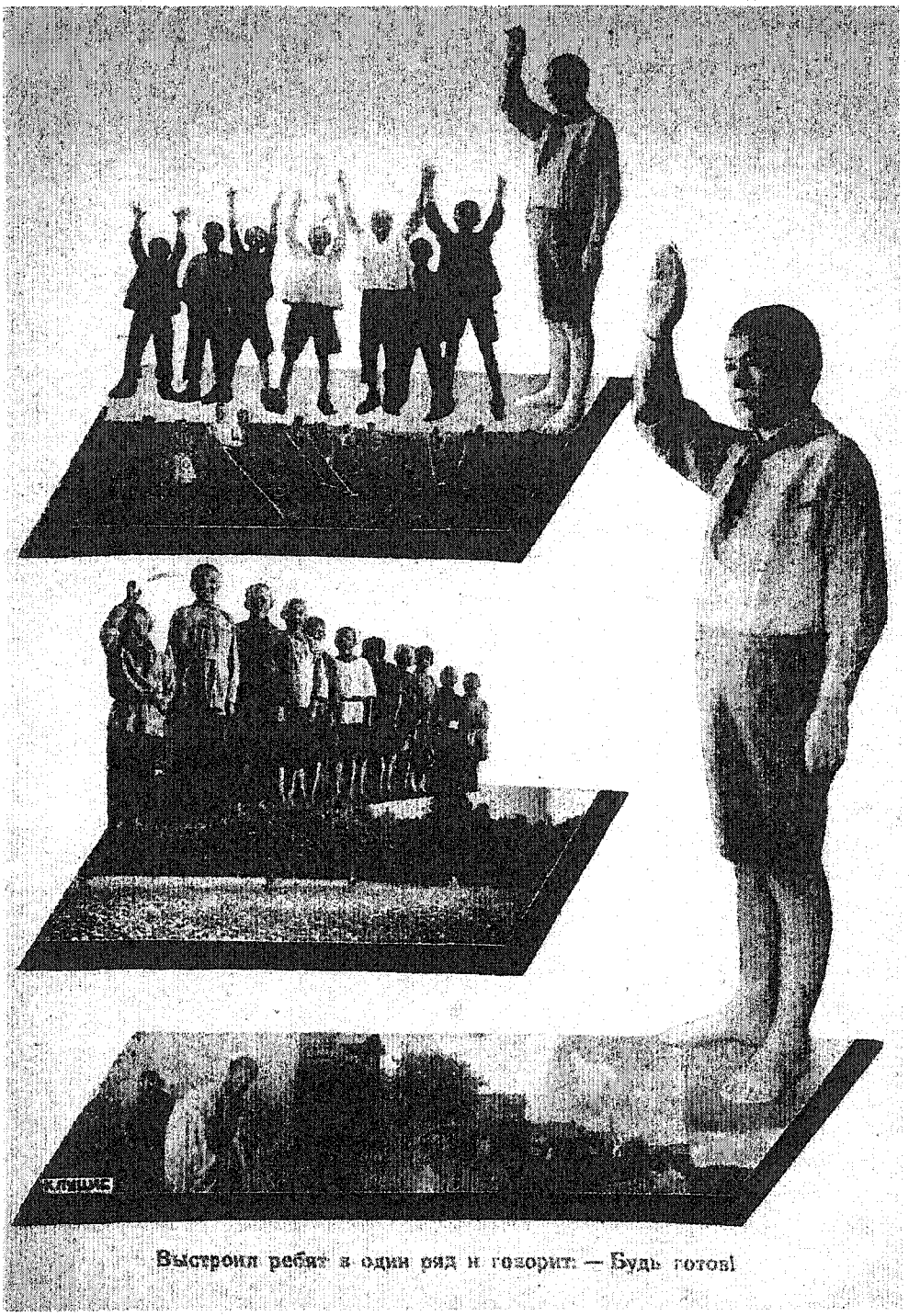
III.2/Fig.12. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photomontage illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow:Novaia Moskva,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.13. V. Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis (Klucis),illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow:Novaia Moskva,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



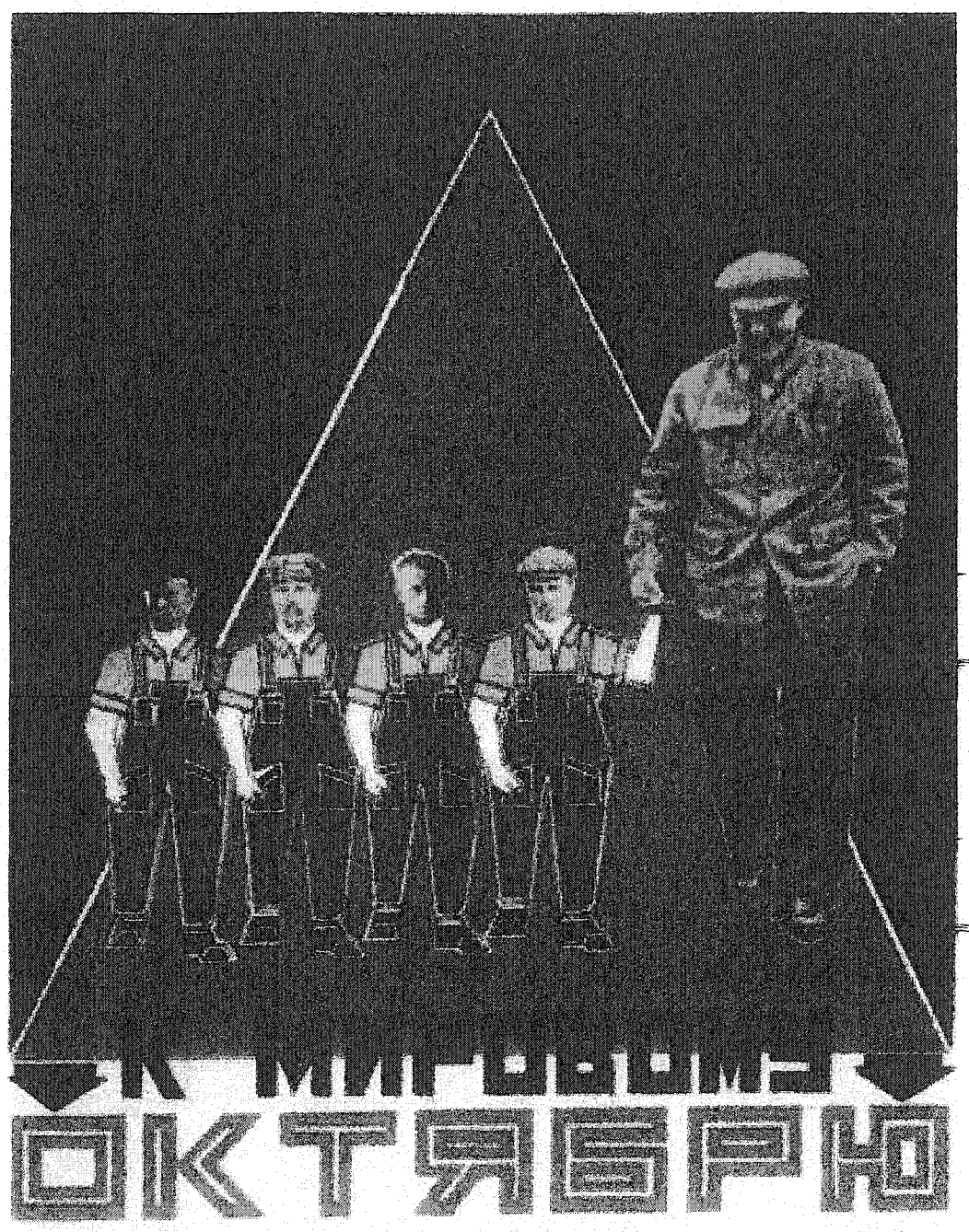
III.2/Fig.14. V.Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photomontage illustration for *Petiash* (Moscow:Novaia Moskva,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



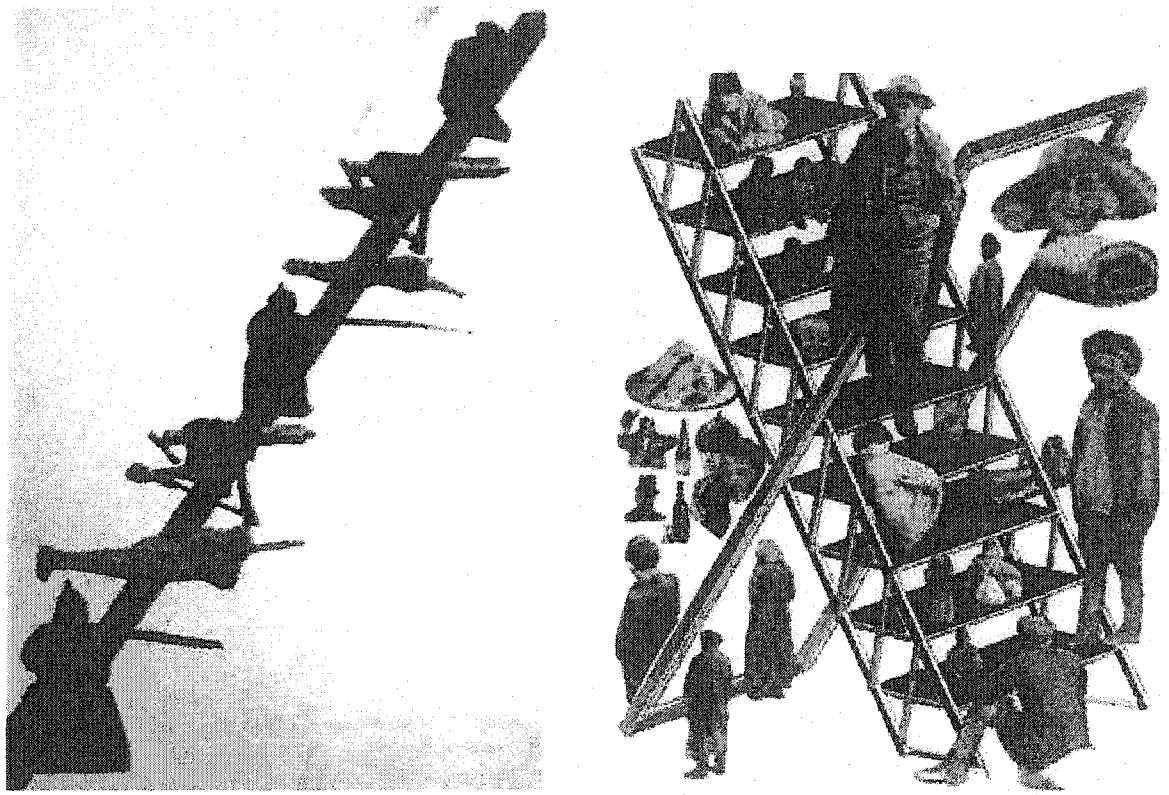
III.2/Fig.15. V. Gorny, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Photo-relief illustration for *Petiash*(Moscow: Novaia Moskva,1926).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.16. Gustav Klutsis. Design for the illustration for *K mirovomu Oktiabriu* (Towards the World October)[Revolution],1924. Photo-collage, gouache, and Indian ink on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



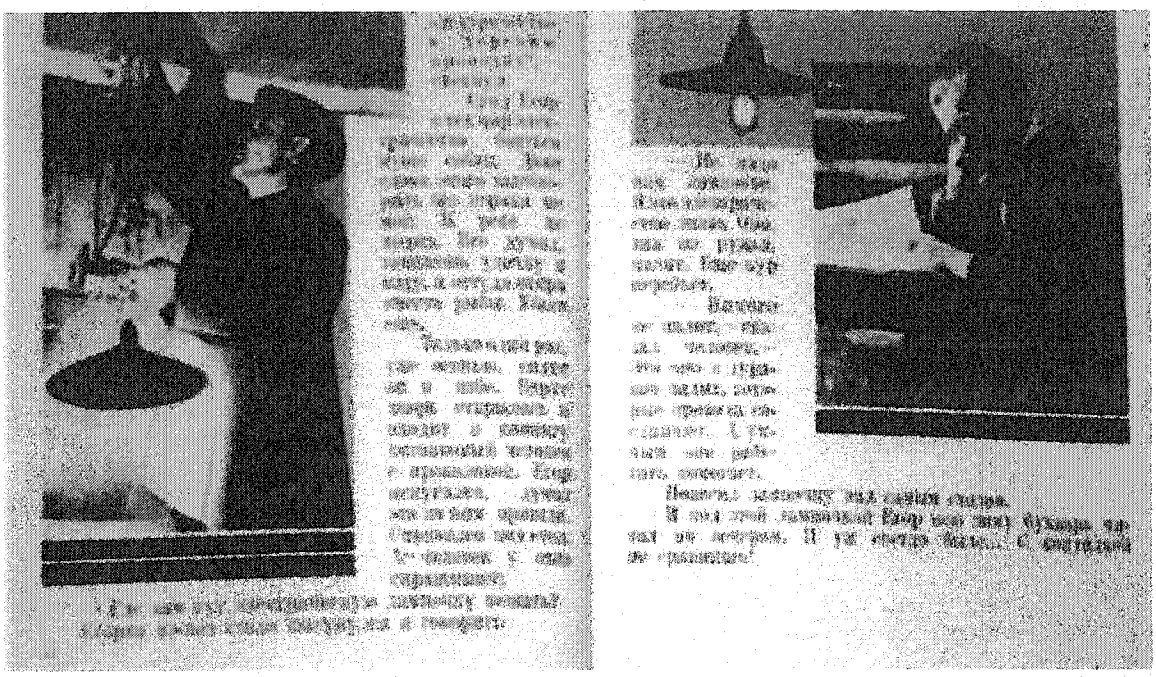
III.2/Fig.16a. Yurii Lebedinsky, author. Gustav Klutsis, illustrator. Illustration for *Nedelia* (The Week),1924. Photo-collage, ink, and gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.17. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-relief cover for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



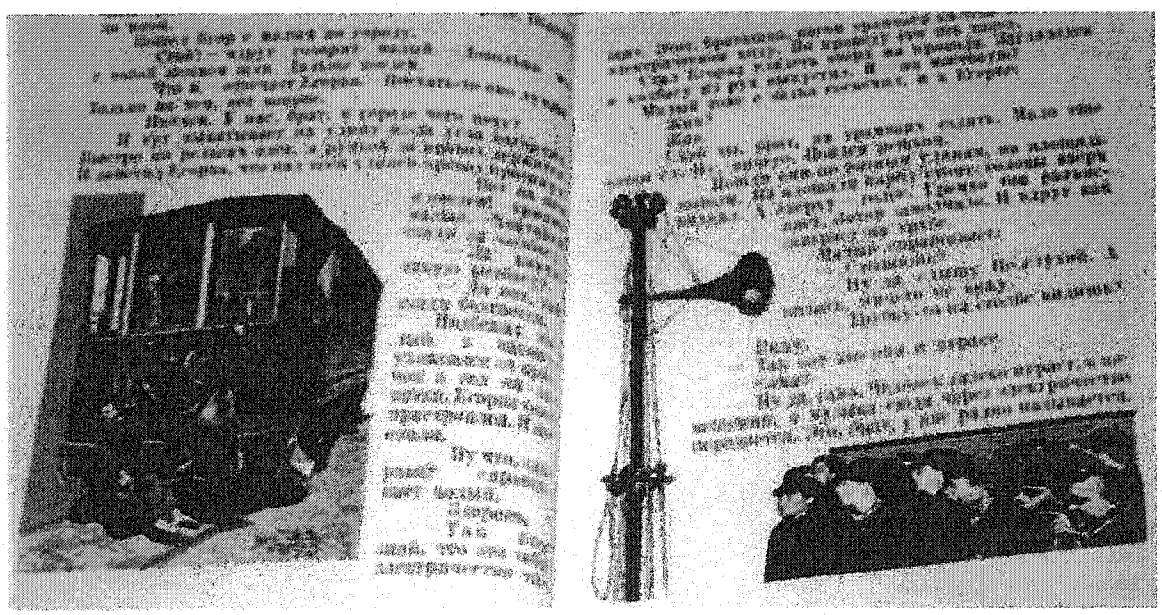
III.2/Fig.17a. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-illustration for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.17b. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-illustration for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2./Fig.17c. Galina and Olga Chichagova, illustrators. Photo-illustration for *Egor-monter* (Egor the Electrician), (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



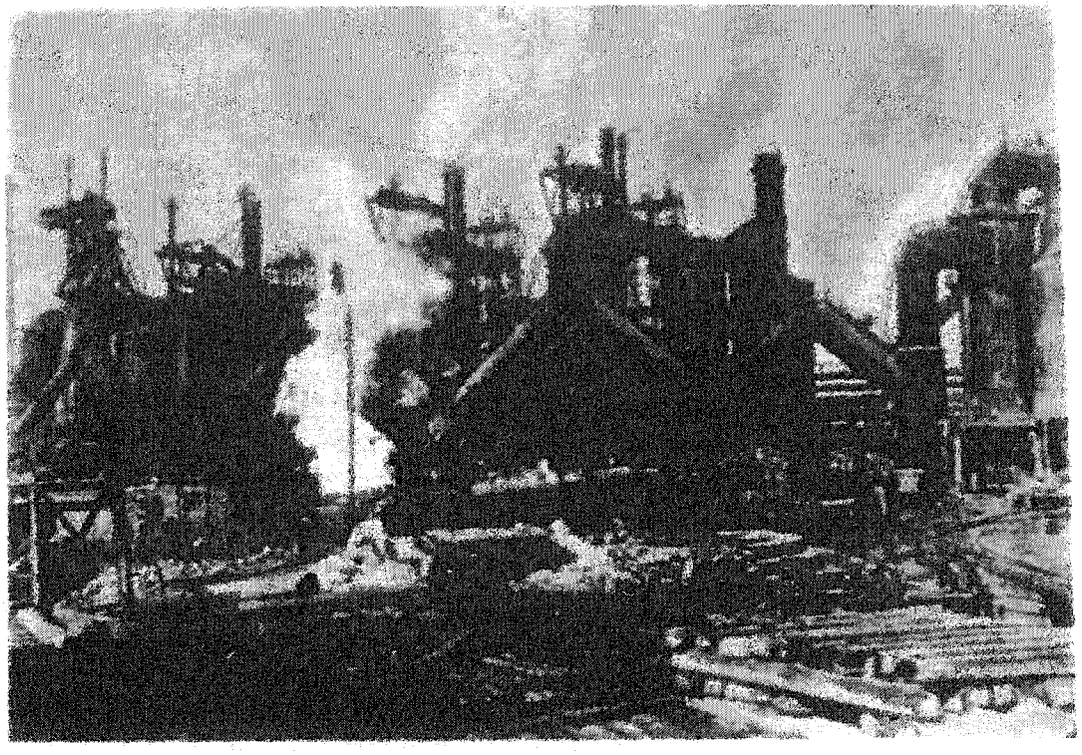
III.2/Fig.18. I.Stuchinskaia, author. P. Suvorov,illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Krylia sovetov* (The Wings of the Soviets) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.19. E.M. Mindlin, author. P.Suvorov, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration(after a photograph) for *Krasin vo l'dakh* (Krasin in the Ice Fields)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1929).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Не одиноки в своей работе днепровские строители.

Во всех уголках нашей страны стучат рабочие молотки.

СТРОЯТСЯ ЗАВОДЫ-ВЕЛИКАНЫ.

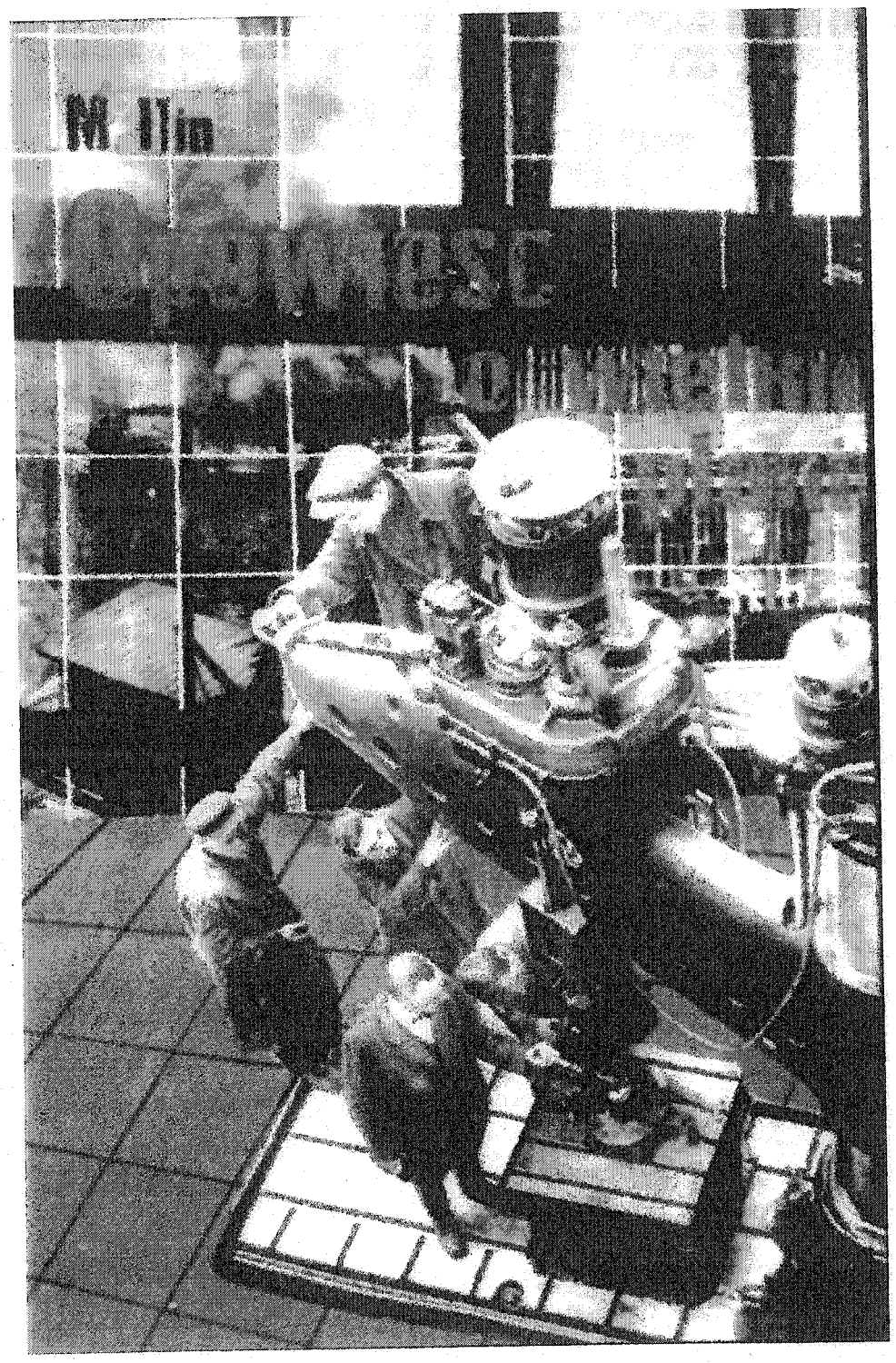
РАСТУТ НОВЫЕ ЭЛЕКТРОСТАНЦИИ.

Стальные рельсы железных дорог проникают в такую глушь, где тёмные, еще неграмотные люди в ужасе разбегаются перед паровозом.

30

III.2/Fig.20. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V. Lantzetti, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Dneprostroi*(Leningrad:GIZ,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.21. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. M.I. Razulevich, illustrator. Cover for *Rasskaz o velikom plane*(Moscow Has a Plan). Photo-collage and gouache on paper,1932.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.22. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. M.I.Razulevich, illustrator. Design for the illustration for *Rasskaz o veikom plane* (Moscow Has a Plan), photo-collage and gouache on paper, 1932.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.23. M.Ya. Ilyin, author. M.I. Razulevich, illustrator. Photo-relief cover for *Rasskaz o velikom plane* (Moscow Has a Plan)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardia/Ogiz,1932).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.23a. Gustav Klutsis. *Let's Return the Coal Debt to the County!* Color lithographic poster, 1930.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2./Fig. 24. P. Postyshev, author. Cover design for *Dozornye urozhaia* (Patrols of the Harvest), photomontage (Moscow: Detgiz, 1934).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



III.2/Fig.25. Nikolai Mislavsky, author. V. Lantzetti, illustrator. Photomechanical illustration (after a photograph) for *Dneprostroi*(Leningrad:GIZ,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



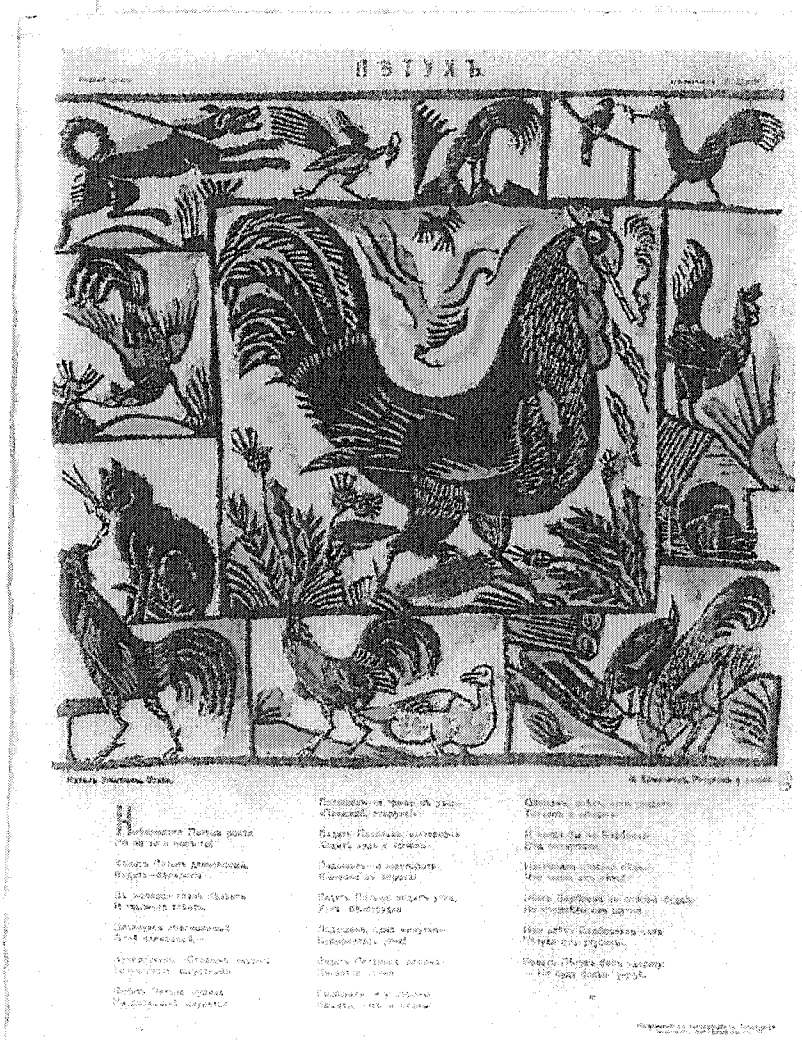
III.2/Fig.26. Photo-relief cover for *Reka v upriazhke* (Volkhovstroi) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



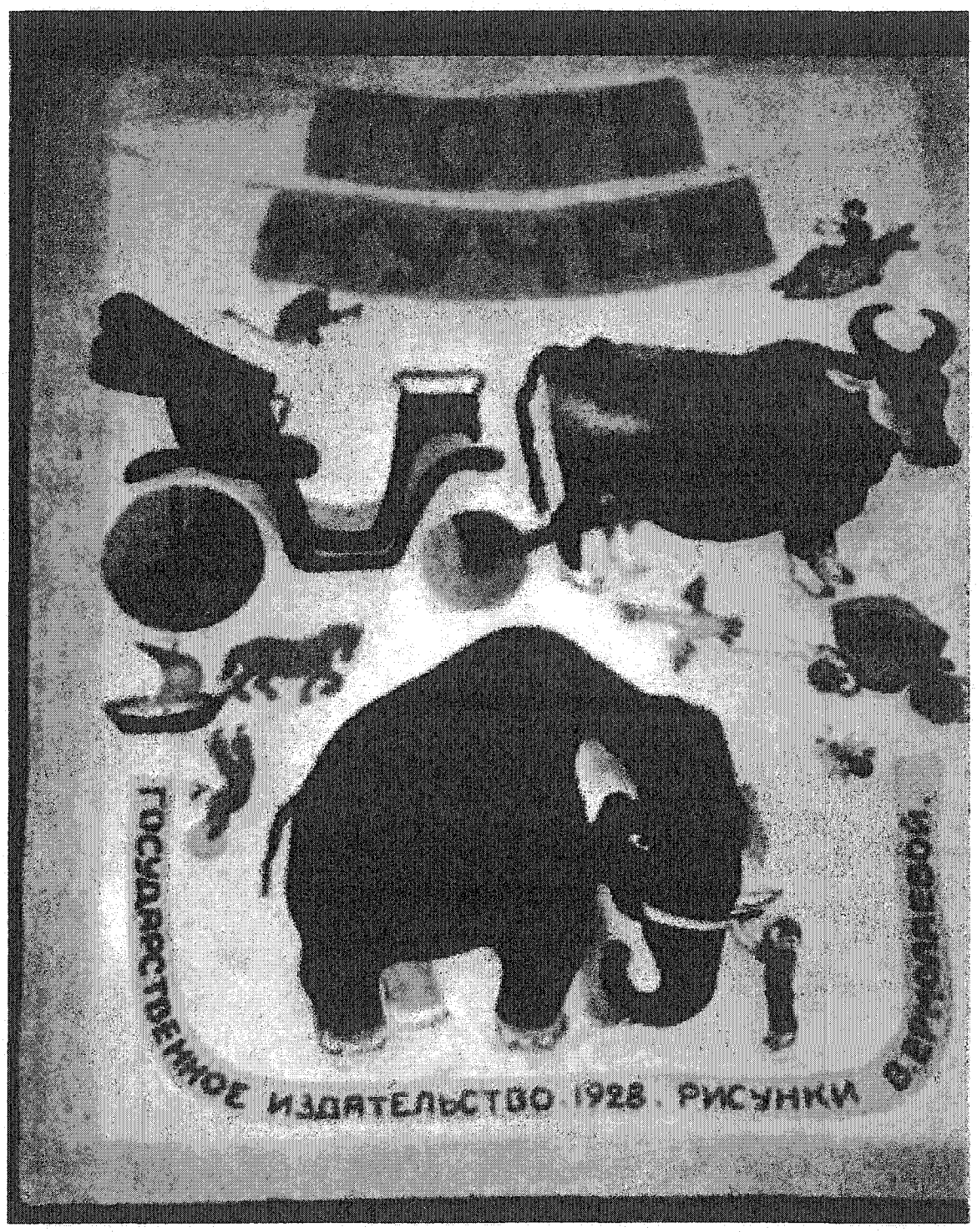
IV.1/Fig.1. Natan Vengrov, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator.Cover for *Myshata* (Little Mice),linocut. (Petrograd:Segodnia,1918).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



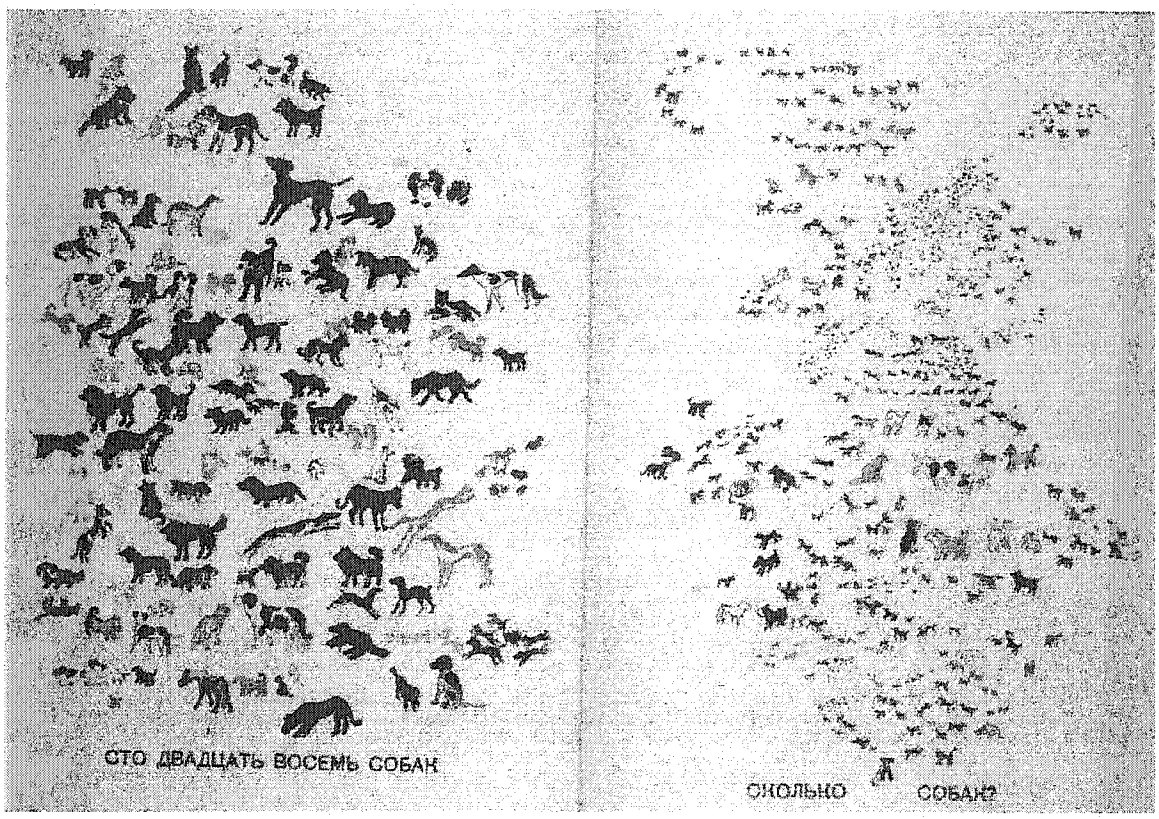
IV.1/Fig.2. Vera Ermolaeva, "The Rooster," lubok (popular print) for children, 1918. Based on Natan Vengrov's verse. Linocut tinted with watercolor.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.1/Fig.3. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover design for *Gore-kucher* (Lousy Coachman), 1928, gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.1/ Fig.4. Vera Ermolaeva. Color photo-relief illustration for *Sobachki* (Little Dogs)(Leningrad: Gosudarstennoe izdatel'stvo,1929).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



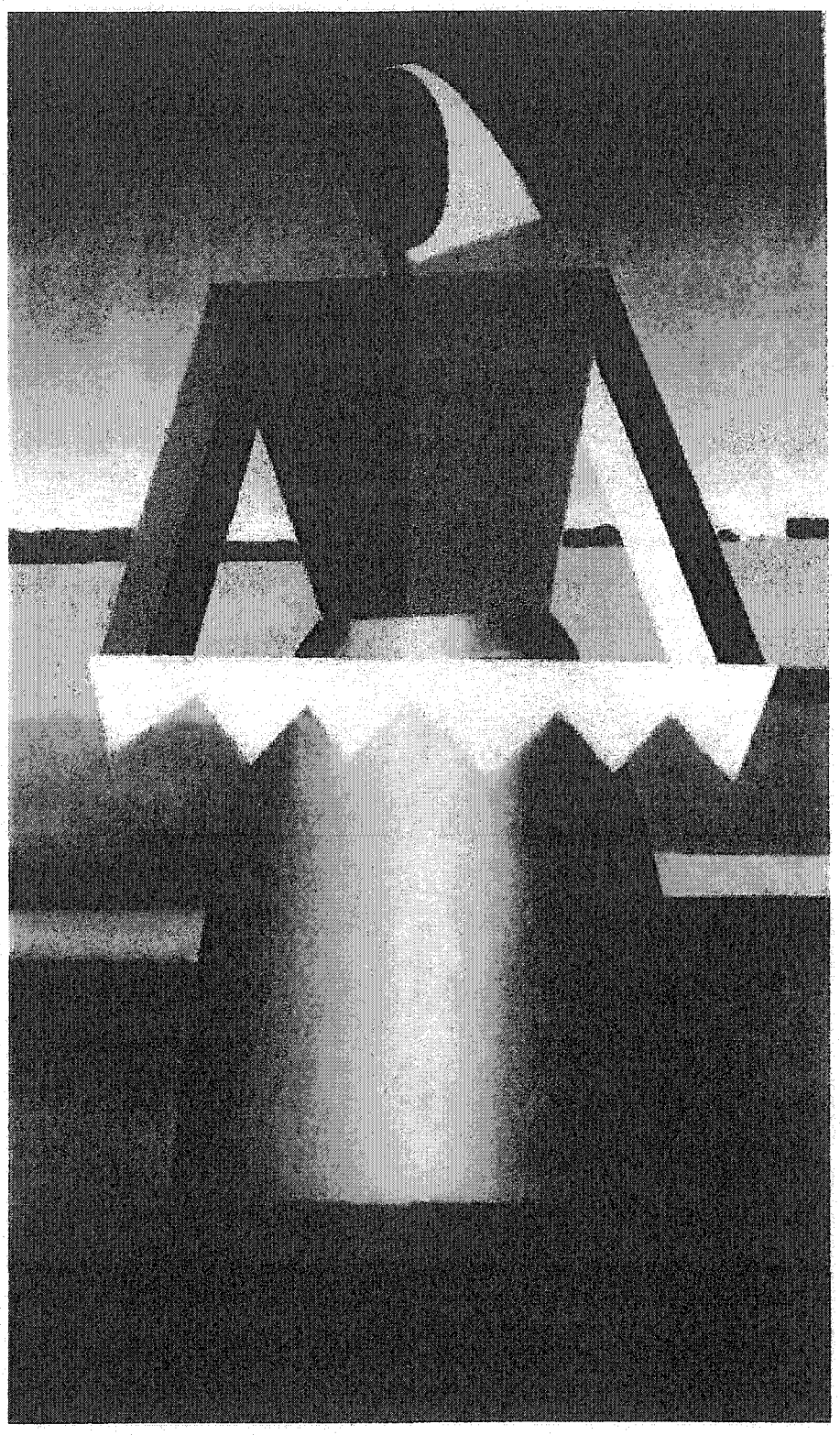
IV.1/Fig.5. Nikolai Aseev, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover for *Top-top-top* (Leningrad:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1925)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.1/Fig.6. Vera Ermolaeva. *Woman with a Set Square,* 1926. Graphite on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



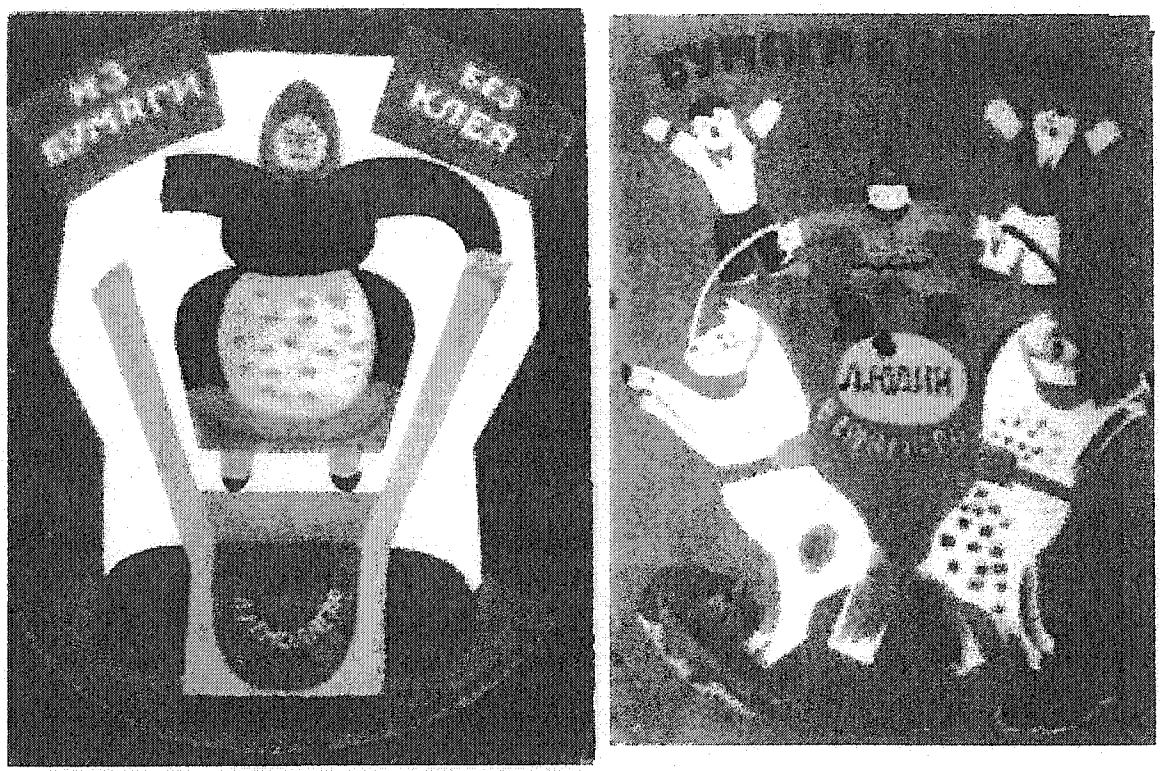
IV.1/Fig.7. Nikolai Suetin. *Woman with a Saw*, late 1920s. Oil on wood.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



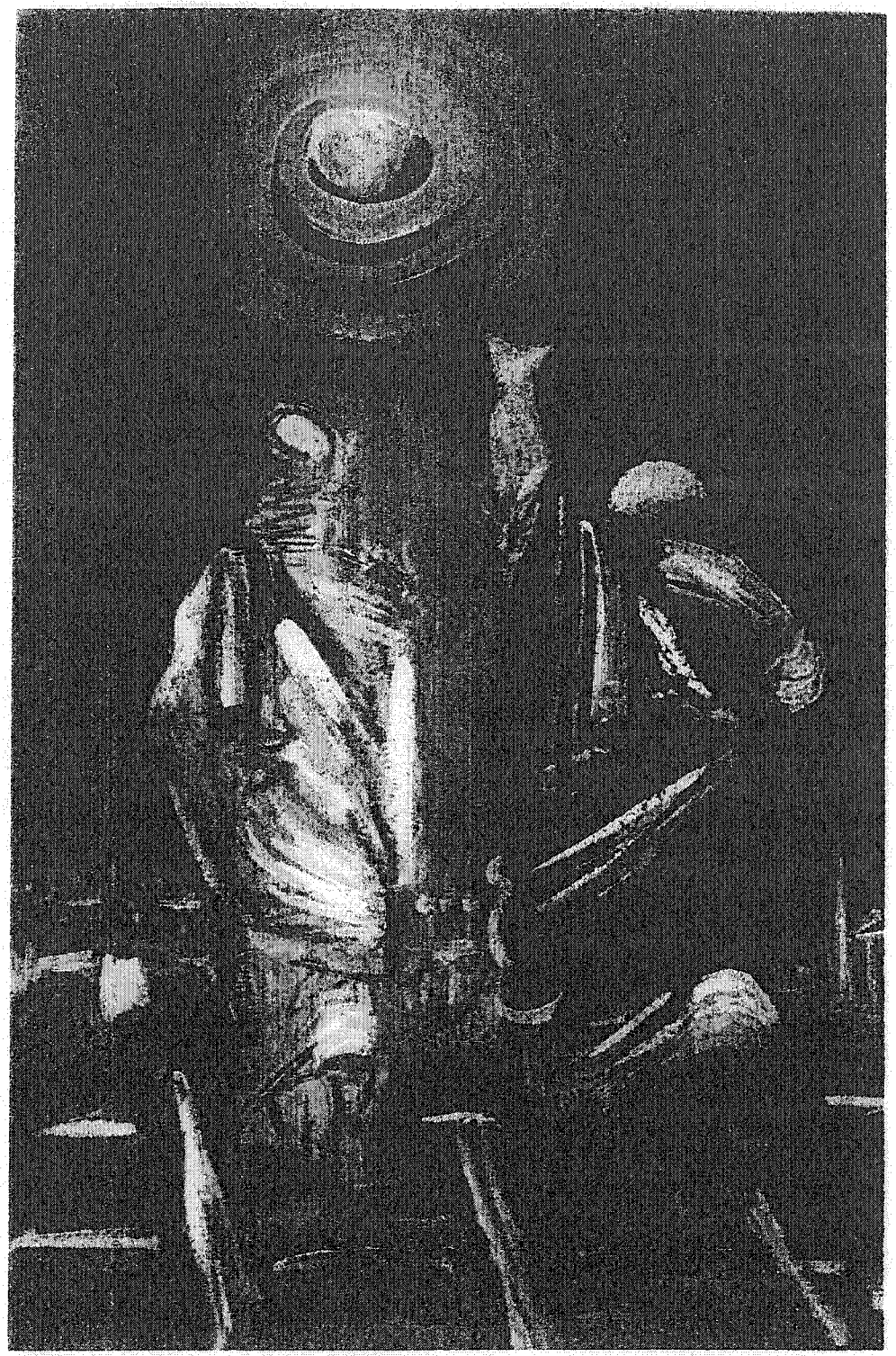
IV.1/Fig.8. Nikolai Zabolotsky, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Color photo-relief cover for *Khoroshie sapogi* (The Good Boots)(Leningrad:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



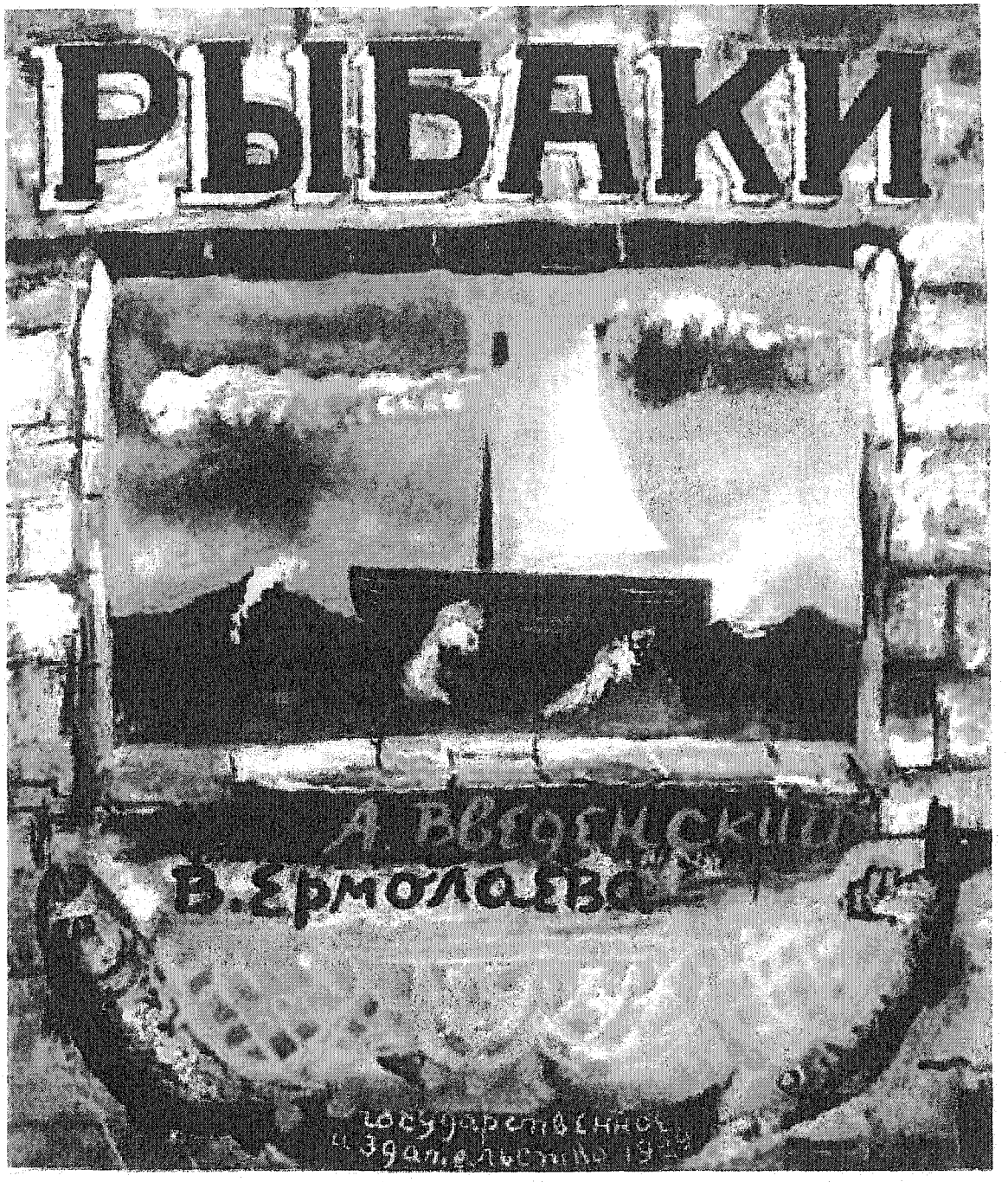
IV.1/Fig.9. Lev Yudin and Vera Ermolaeva, authors and illustrators. Cover designs for the books *Bumaga i nozhnitsy* (Paper and Scissors, 1931) and for *Iz bumagi bez kleia* (Of Paper, Without Glue, 1930). Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



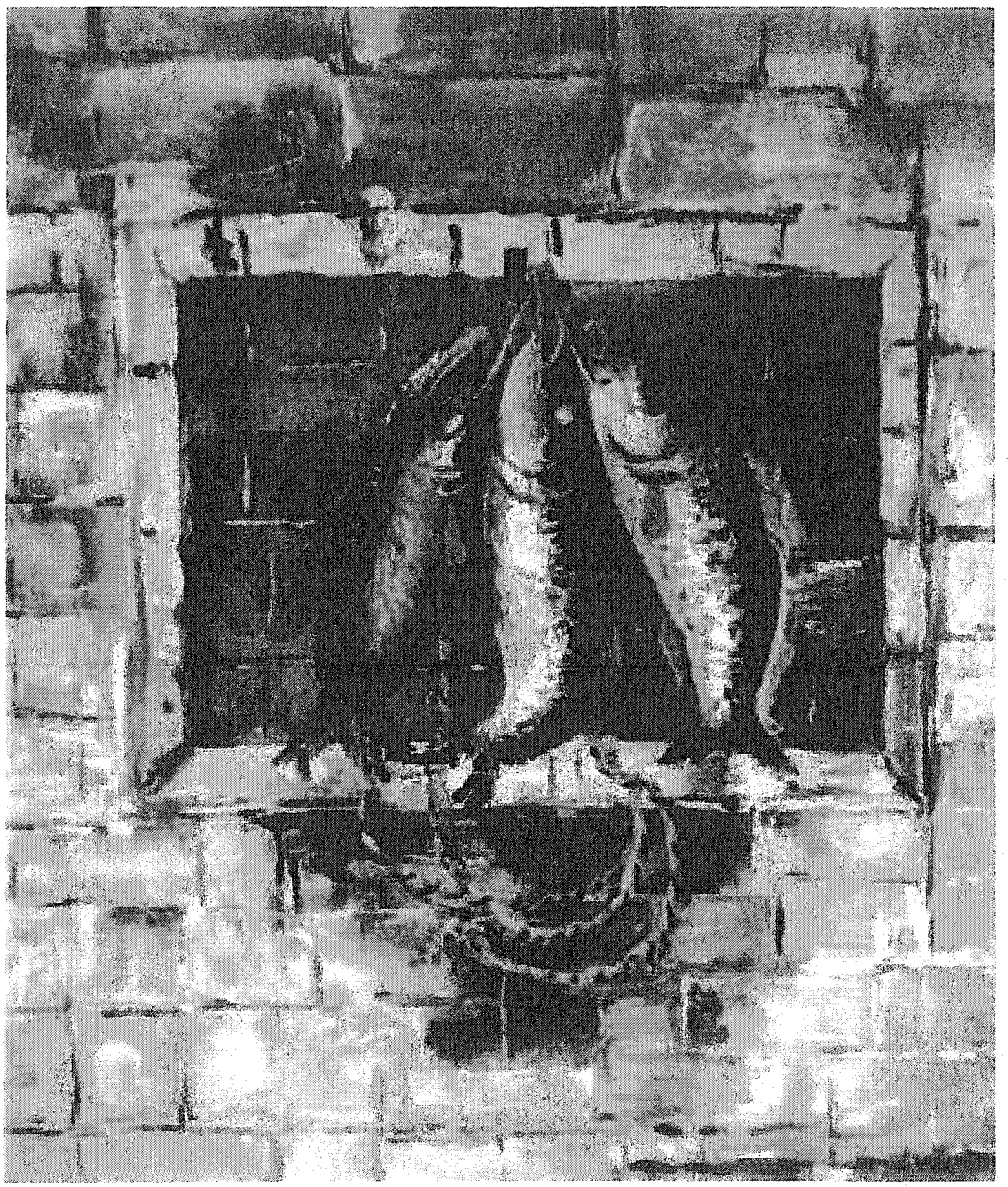
IV.1/Fig.10. Vera Ermolaeva. Composition based on Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, 1934. Tempera and pencil on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



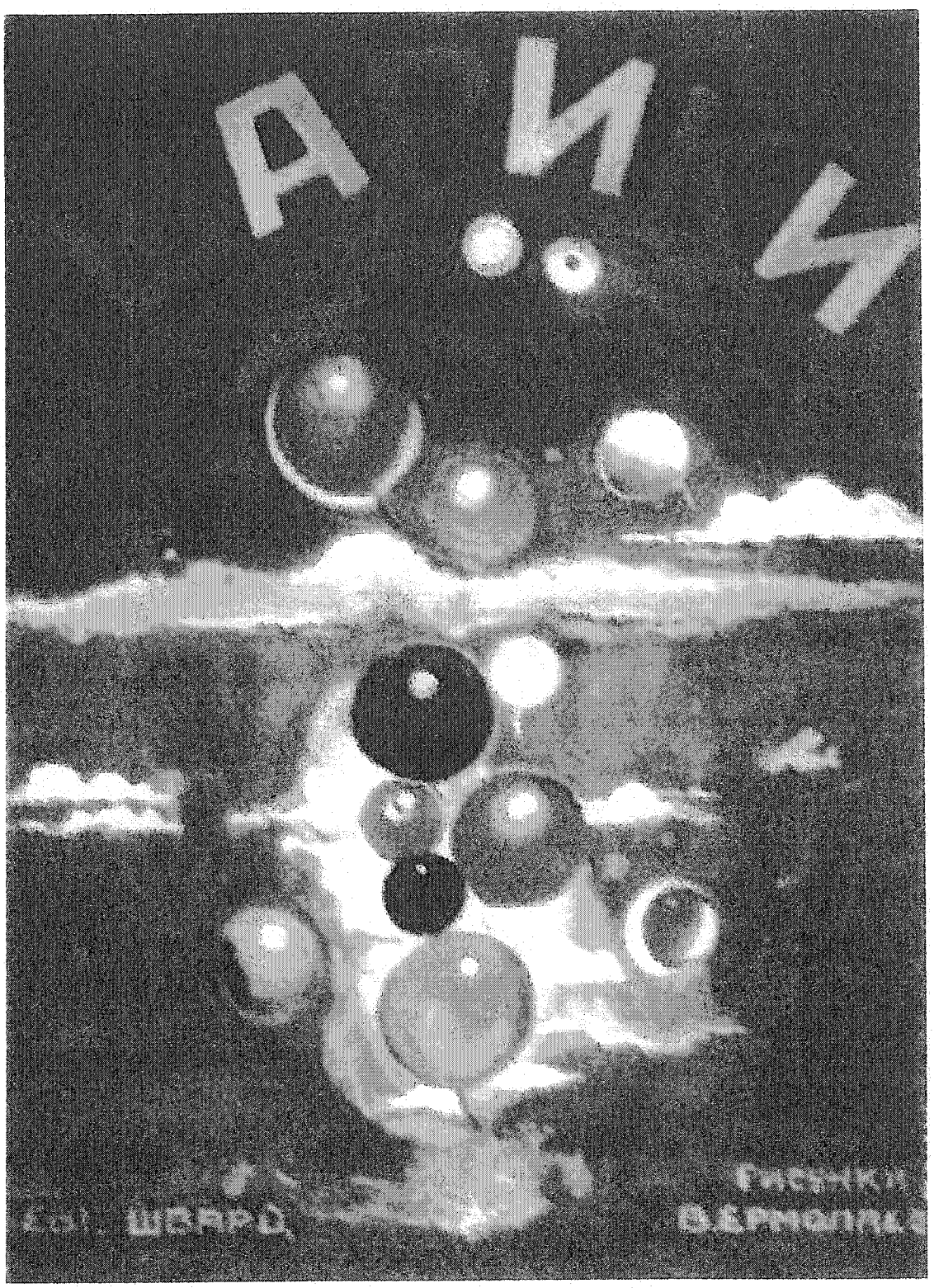
IV.1/Fig.11. Aleksandr Vvedensky, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Study for the front cover for the book *Rybaki* (The Fishermen),1929. Watercolor and tempera on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



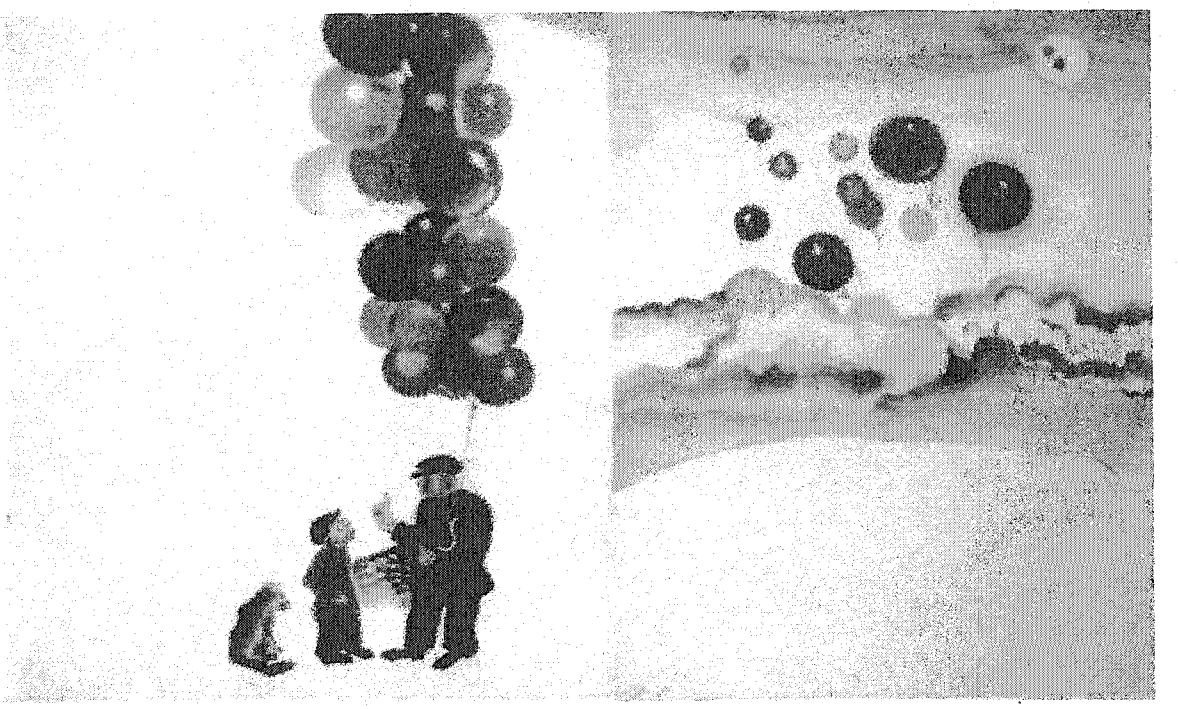
IV.1/Fig.12. Aleksandr Vvedensky, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Study for the back cover for the book *Rybaki* (The Fishermen),1929. Watercolor and tempera on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



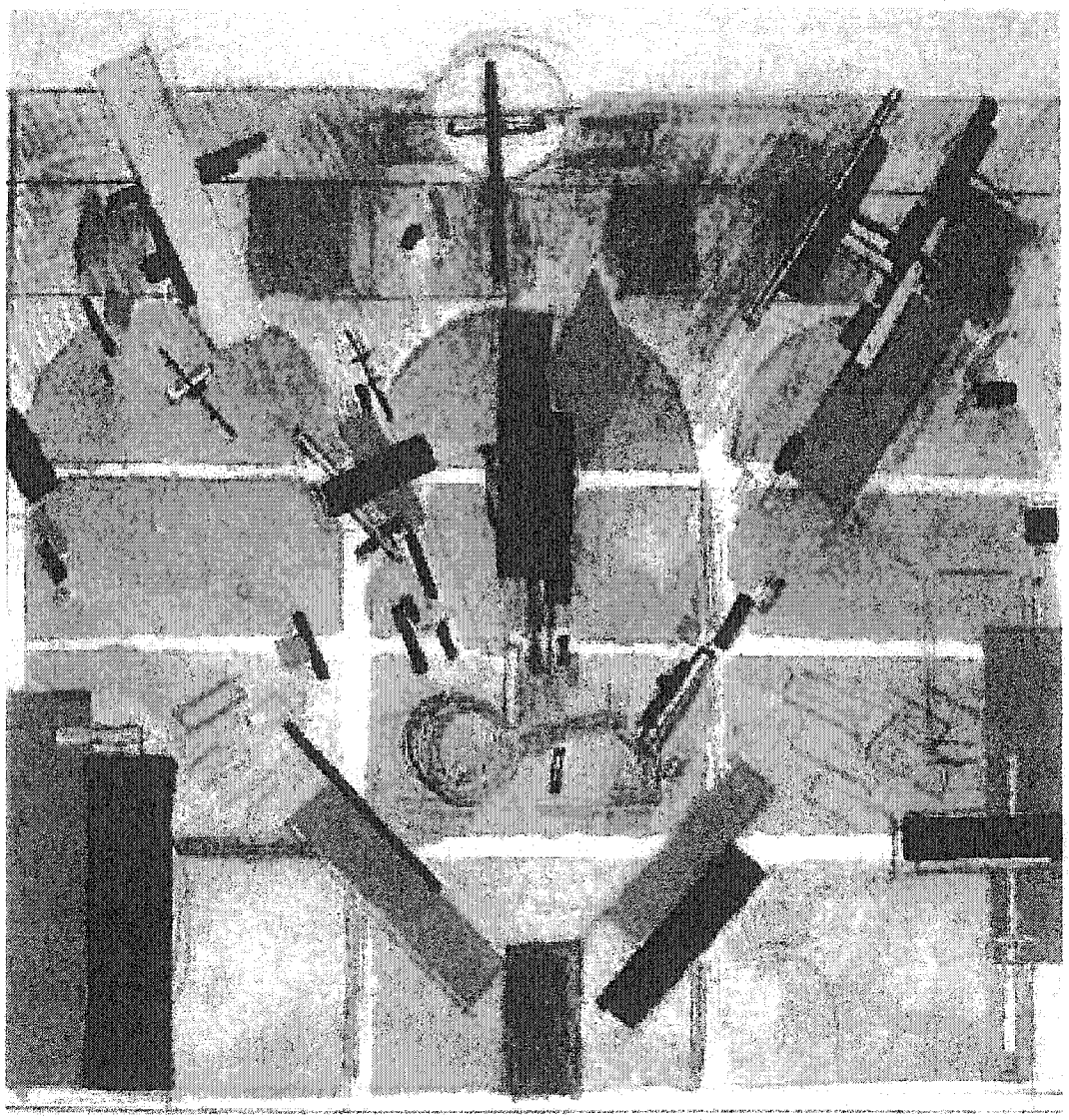
IV.1/Fig.13. Evgenii Scwarts, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Cover design for *Shariki* (Baloons), gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



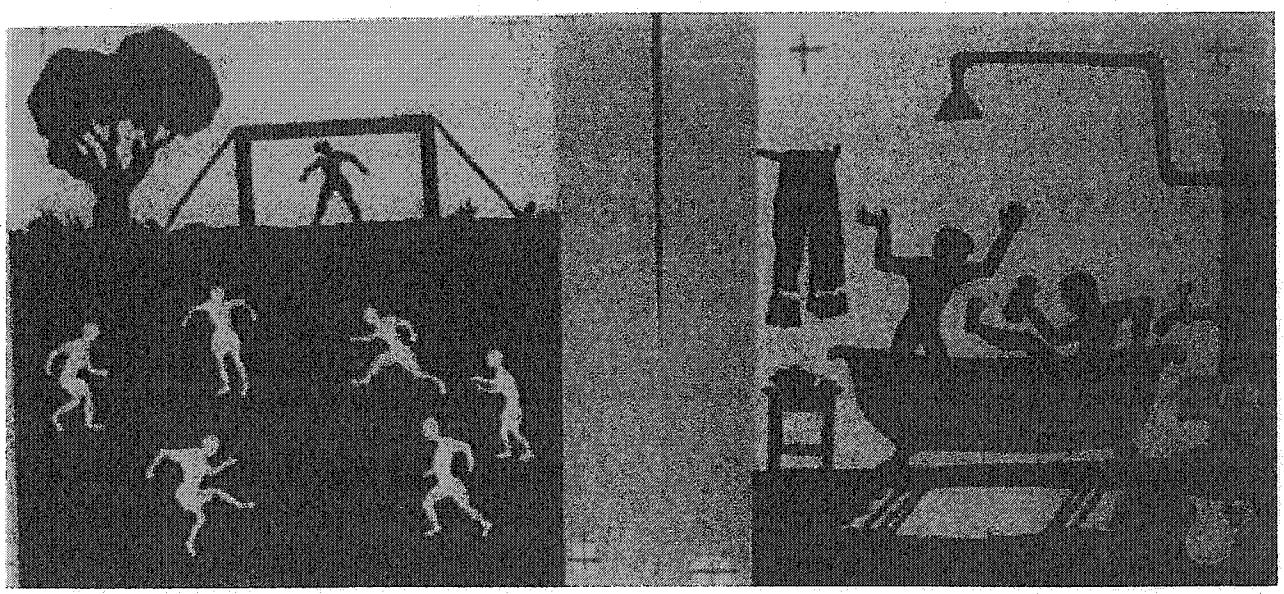
IV.1/Fig.14. Evgenii Scwarts, author. Vera Ermolaeva, illustrator. Studies for illustrations for *Shariki* (Baloons). Gouache on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



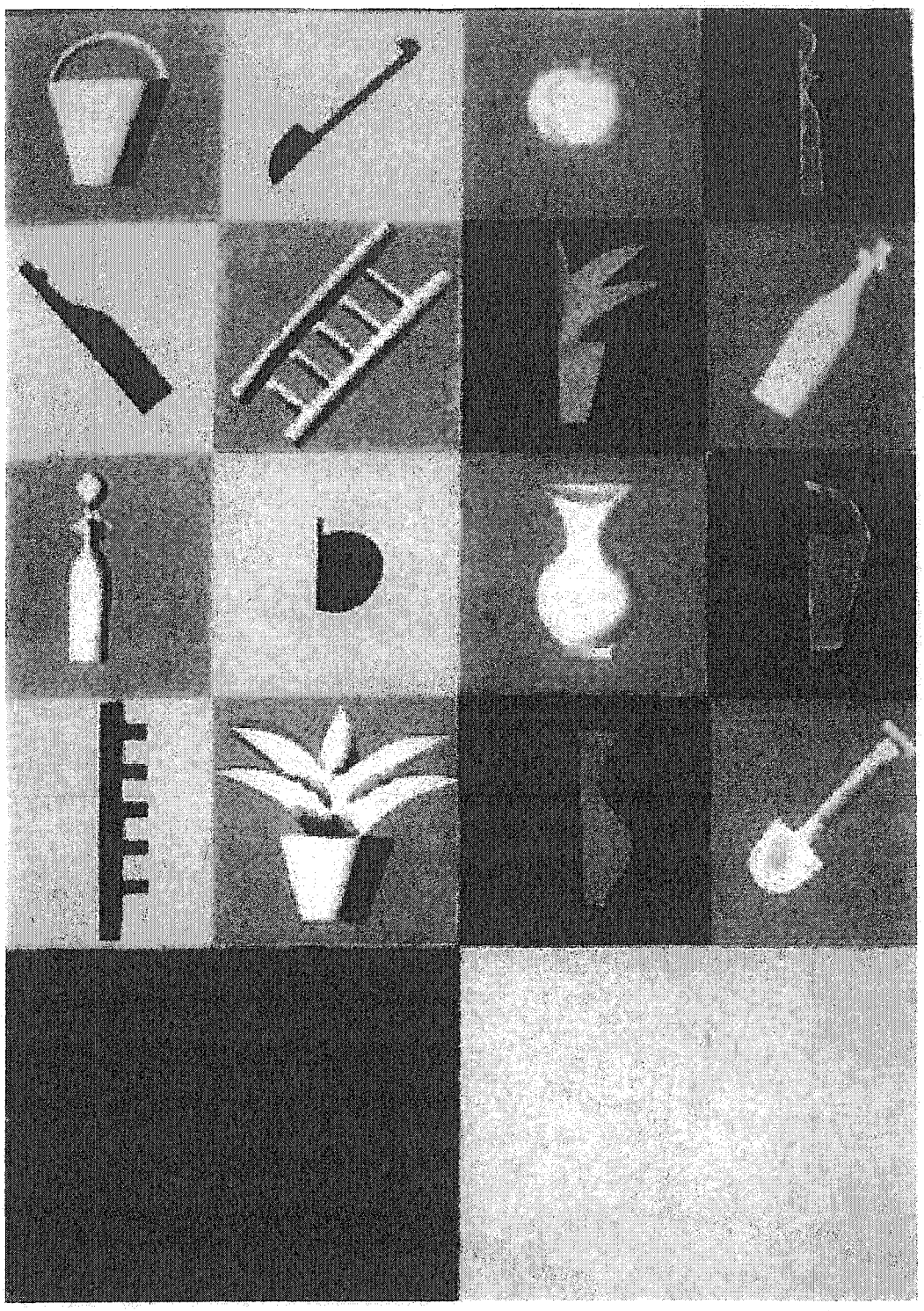
IV.1/Fig.15. Vera Ermolaeva. Study for the Festive decoration of a building facade. Vitebsk. 1920. Graphite on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



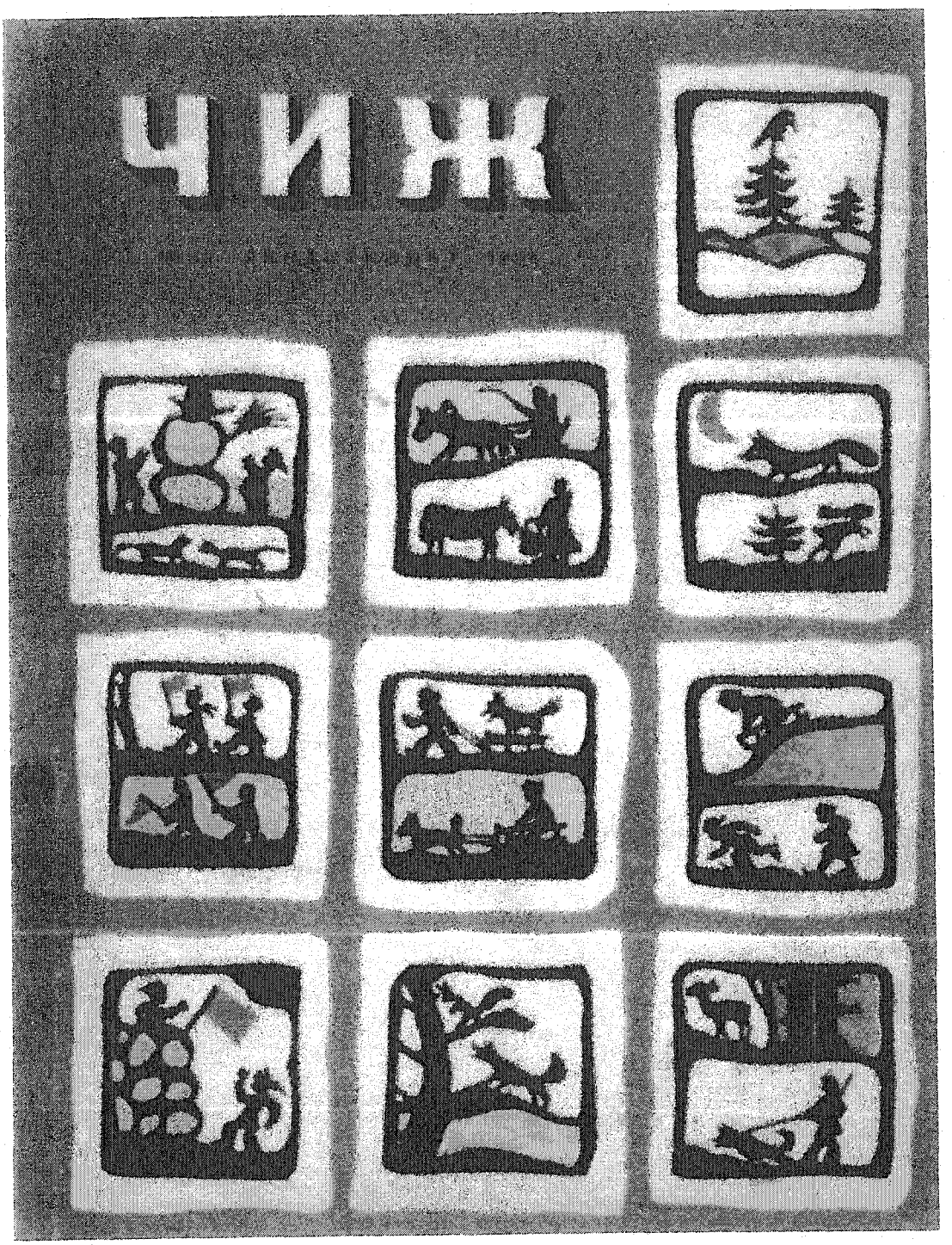
IV.1/Fig.16. Lev Yudin, illustrator. Study for illustrations for *Zagadki*. Ink on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



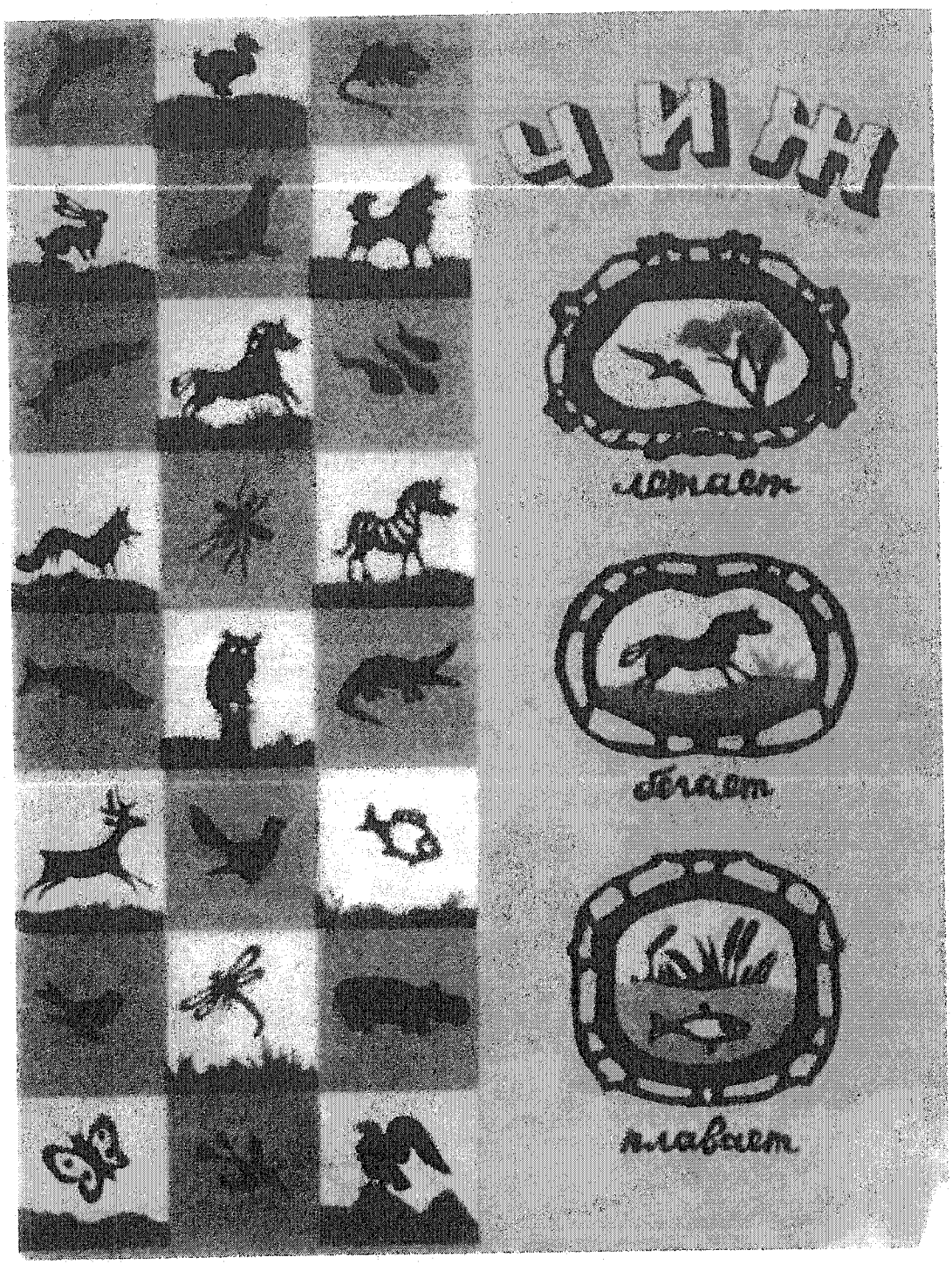
IV.1/Fig.17. Lev Yudin. Design for the back cover of the children's magazine *Chizh* (Siskin), 1933.
Gouache and collage on cardboard.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.1/18. Lev Yudin, illustrator. Cover for the children's magazine *Chizh* (Siskin), 1935.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.1/Fig.19. Lev Yudin, illustrator. Cover for the children's magazine *Chizh* (Siskin),1936.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



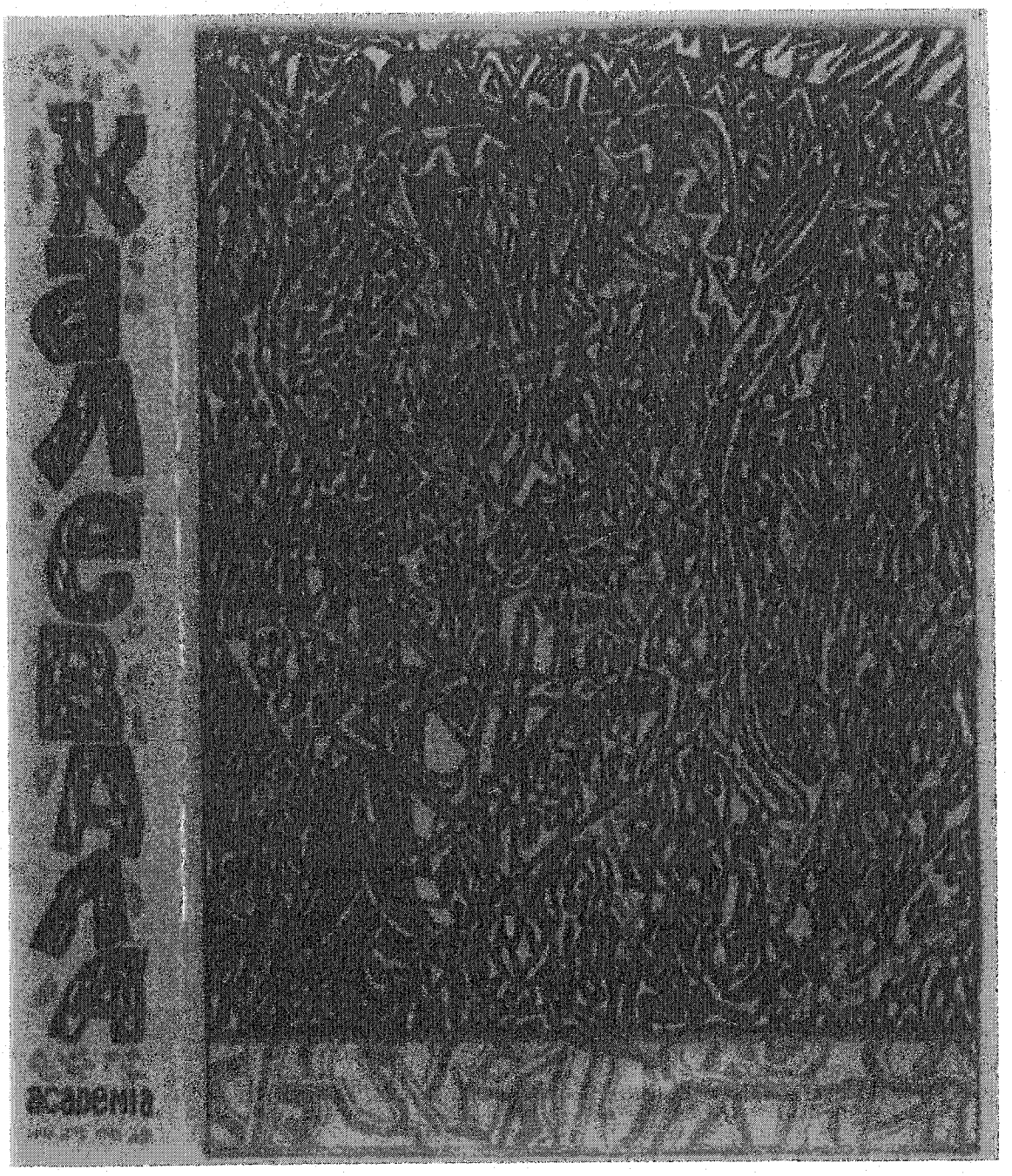
IV.2/Fig.1. V. Tsaune, author. Pavel Kondratiev, illustrator. Study for the cover and back cover for *Odin… Dva… Dva…* (One…Two…Two…), 1932. Watercolor, pen, colored and black ink, and cutouts on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.2/Fig.2. Alisa Poret, illustrator. *Bride*, illustration for the Karelian-Finnish epic *Kalevala*, 1932. Black watercolor on paper.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



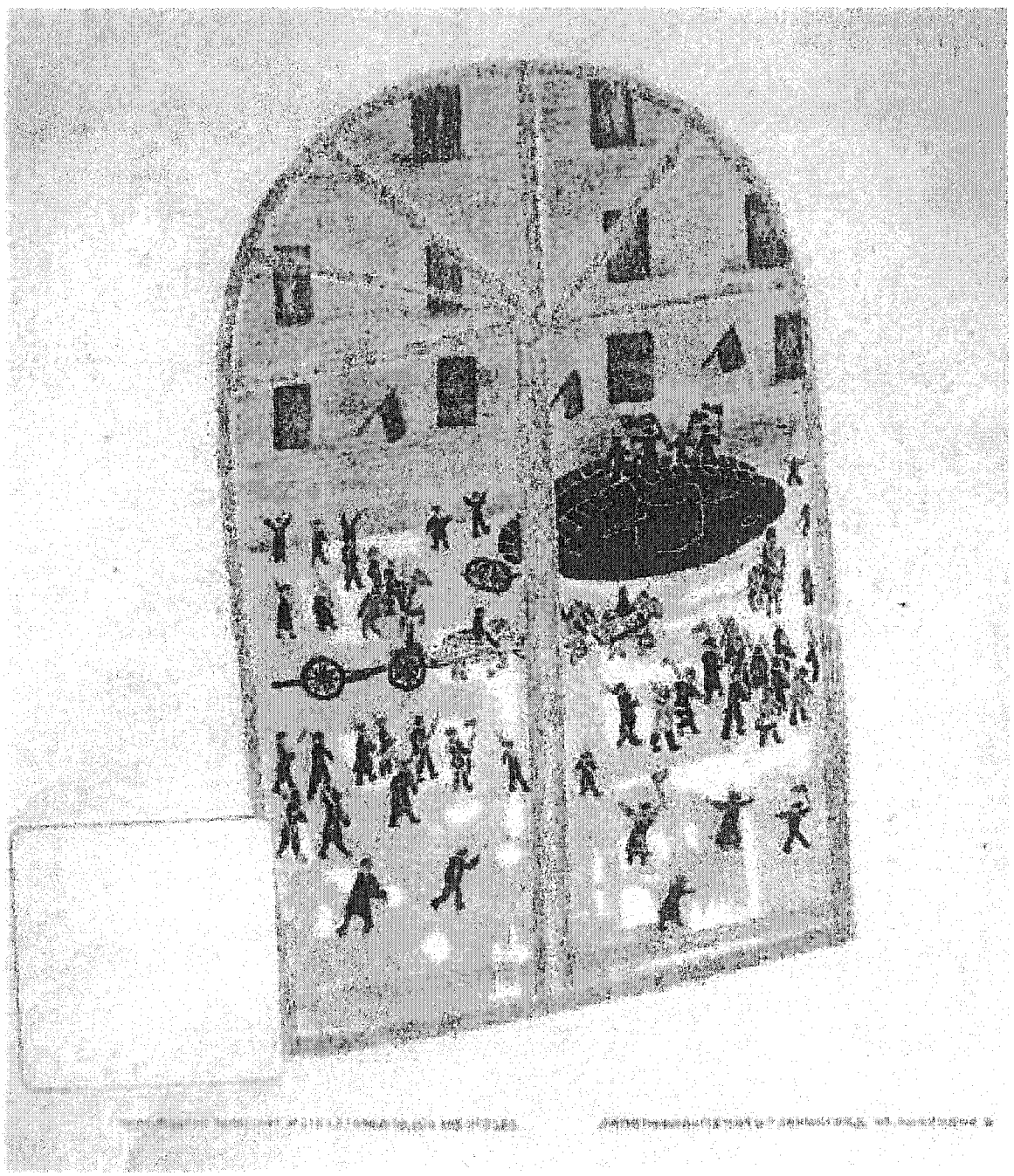
IV.2/Fig.2a. Filonov School. Cover for the Karelian_Finnish epic *Kalevala*(Moscow:Academia,1932).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



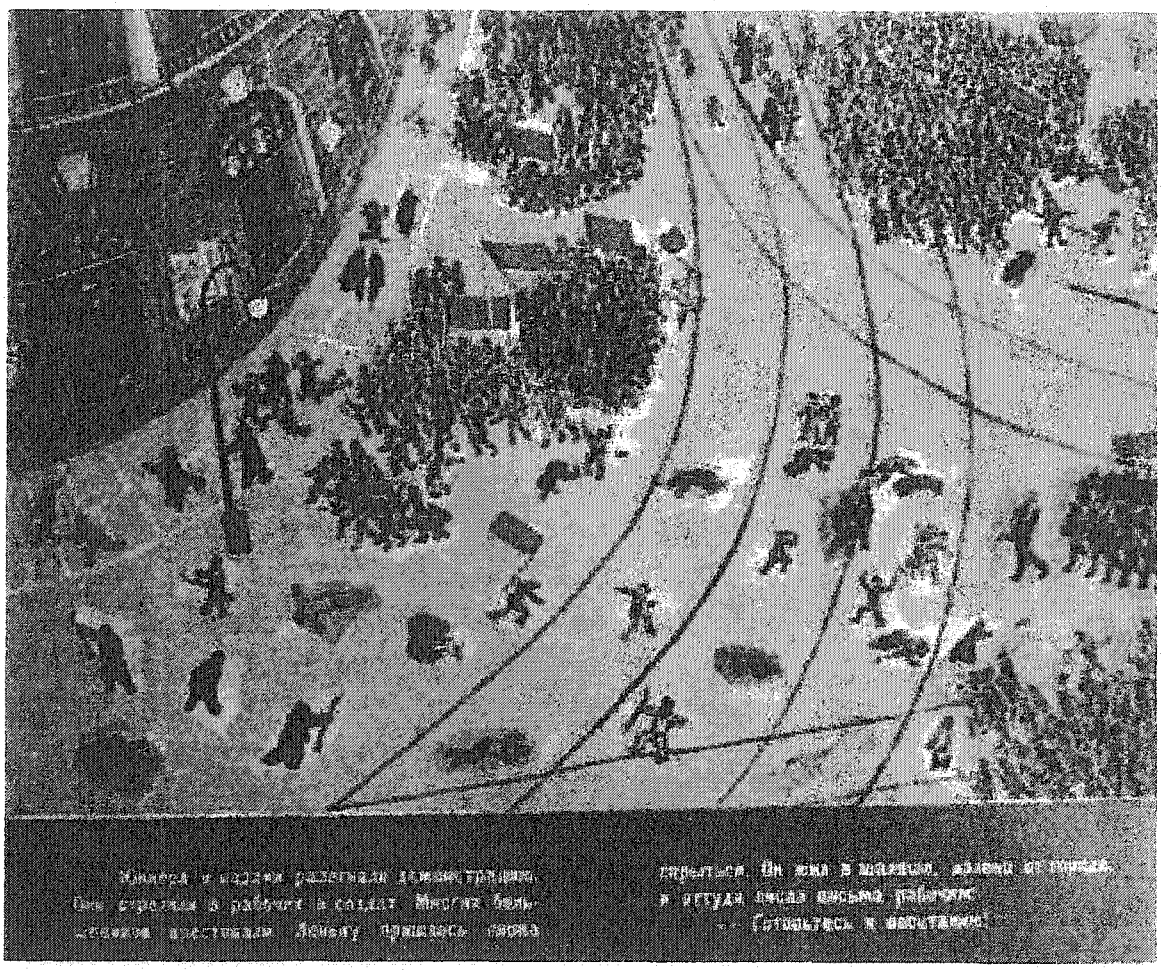
IV.2/Fig.3. Ia. Miller, author. Tatyana Glebova, illustrator. Cover for *Kak my otbili Yudenicha* (How we Defeated Yudenich)(Moscow:Gosizdat,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



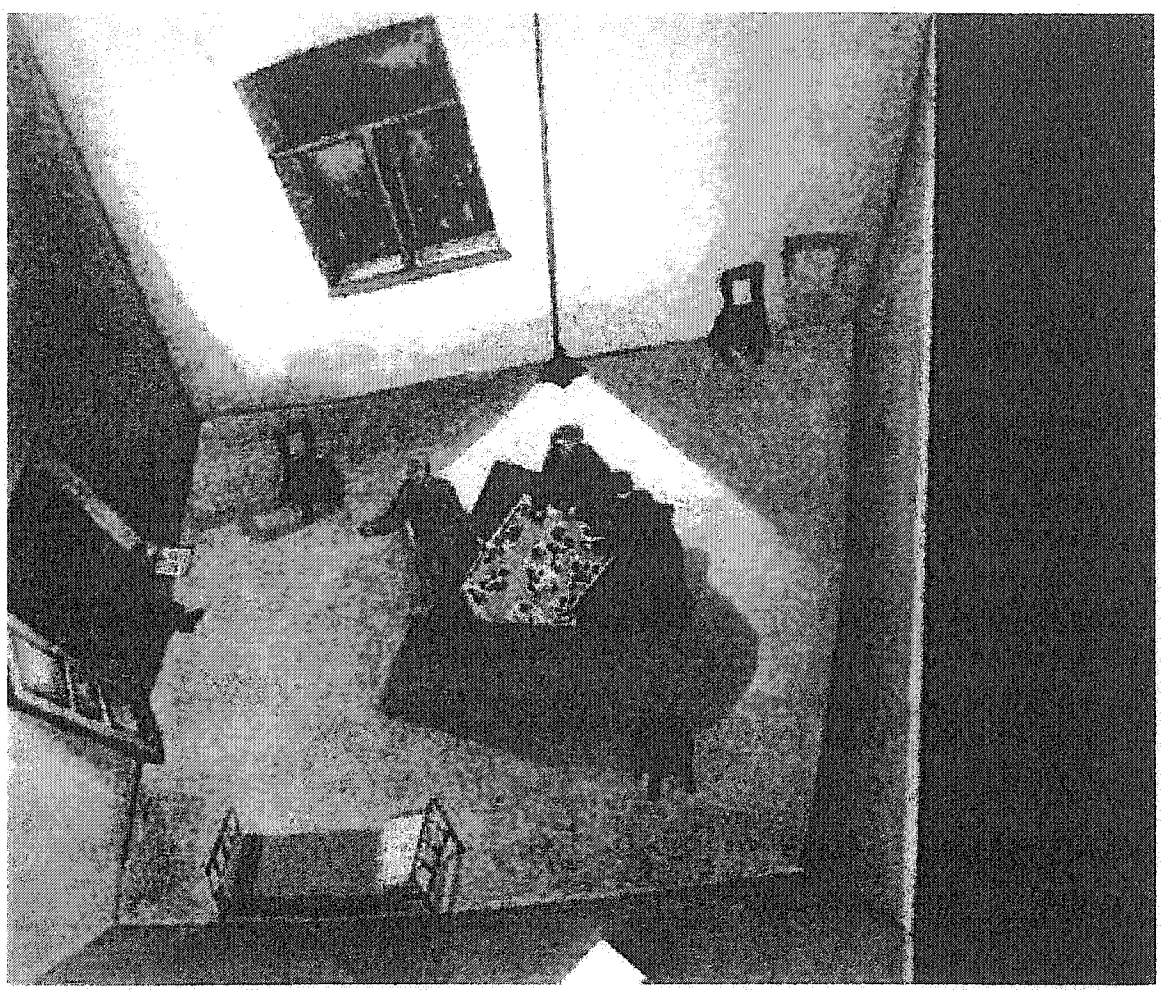
IV.2/Fig.4. Ia. Miller, author. Tatyana Glebova, illustrator. Back cover for *Kak my otbili Yudenicha* (How we Defeated Yudenich)(Moscow:Gosizdat,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.2/Fig.5. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustration for *Kak pobedila revoliutsiia* (How The Revolution Was Won) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.2/Fig.6. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustration for *Kak pobedila revoliutsiia* (How The Revolution Was Won)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



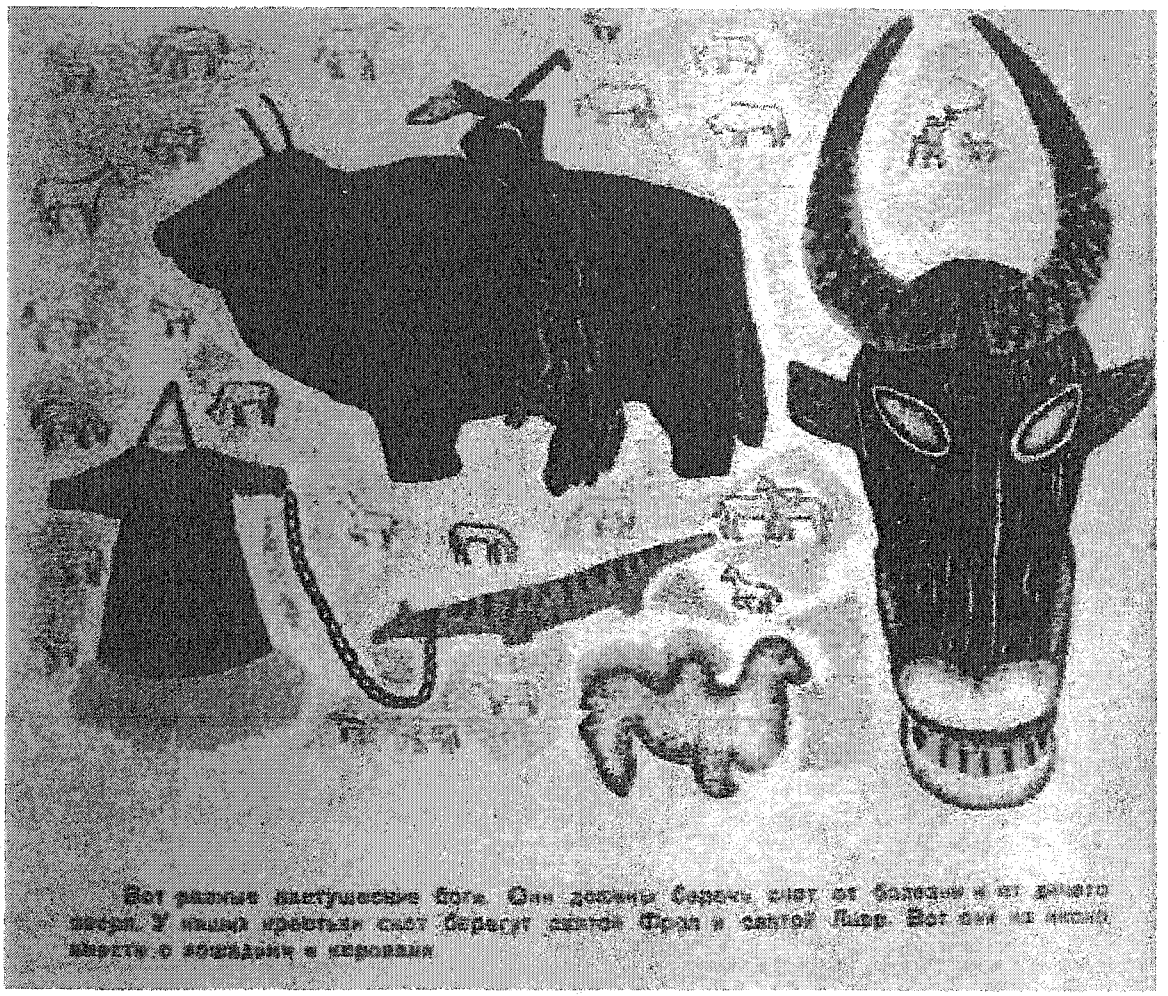
IV.2/Fig.7. E.Papernaia and I.Karnaukhova, authors. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Cover for *Ch'i eto igrushki* (Whose Toys are These?)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



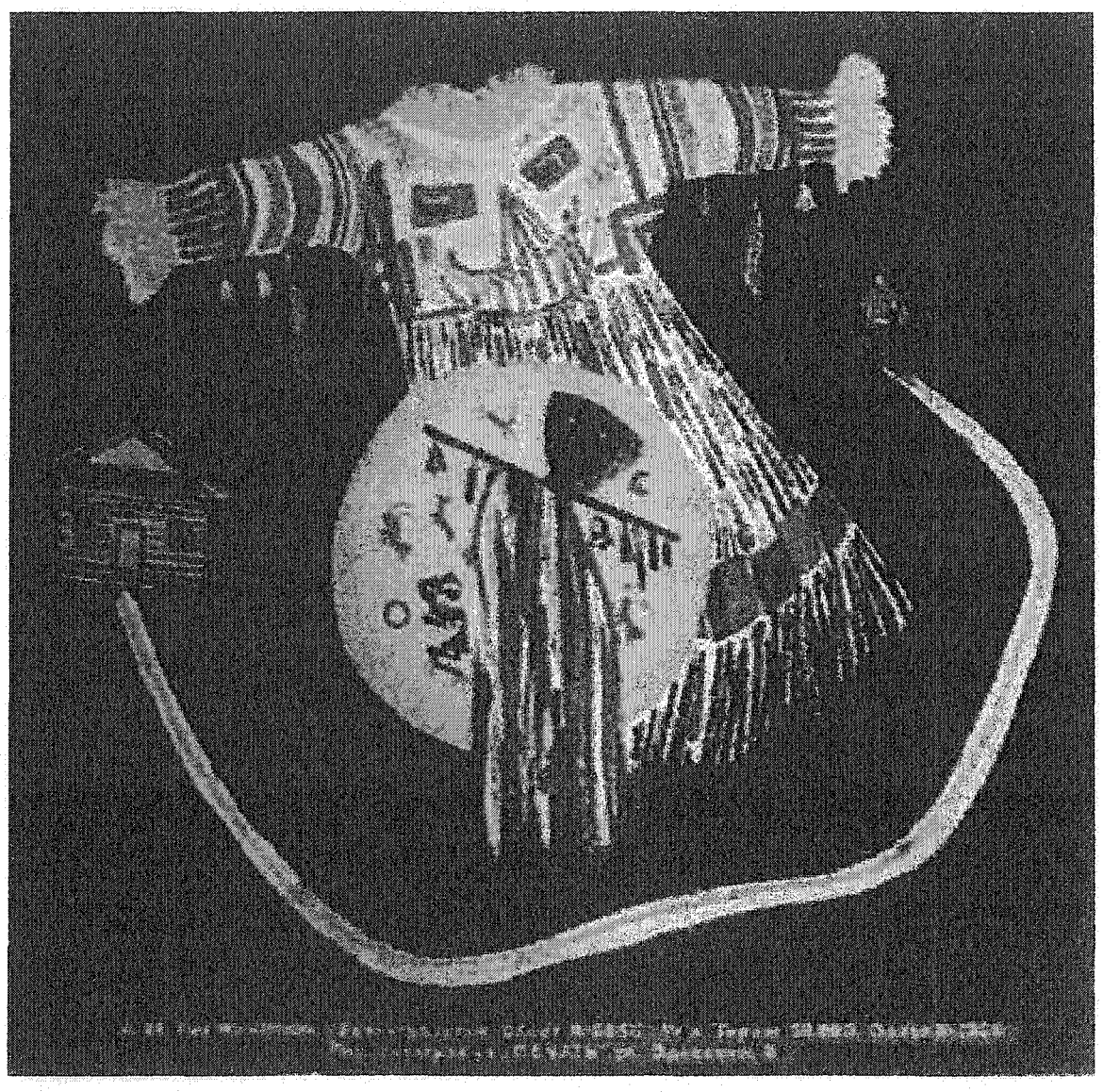
IV.2/Fig.8. E.Papernaia and I.Karnaukhova, authors. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Cover for *Ch'i eto igrushki* (Whose Toys are These?)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



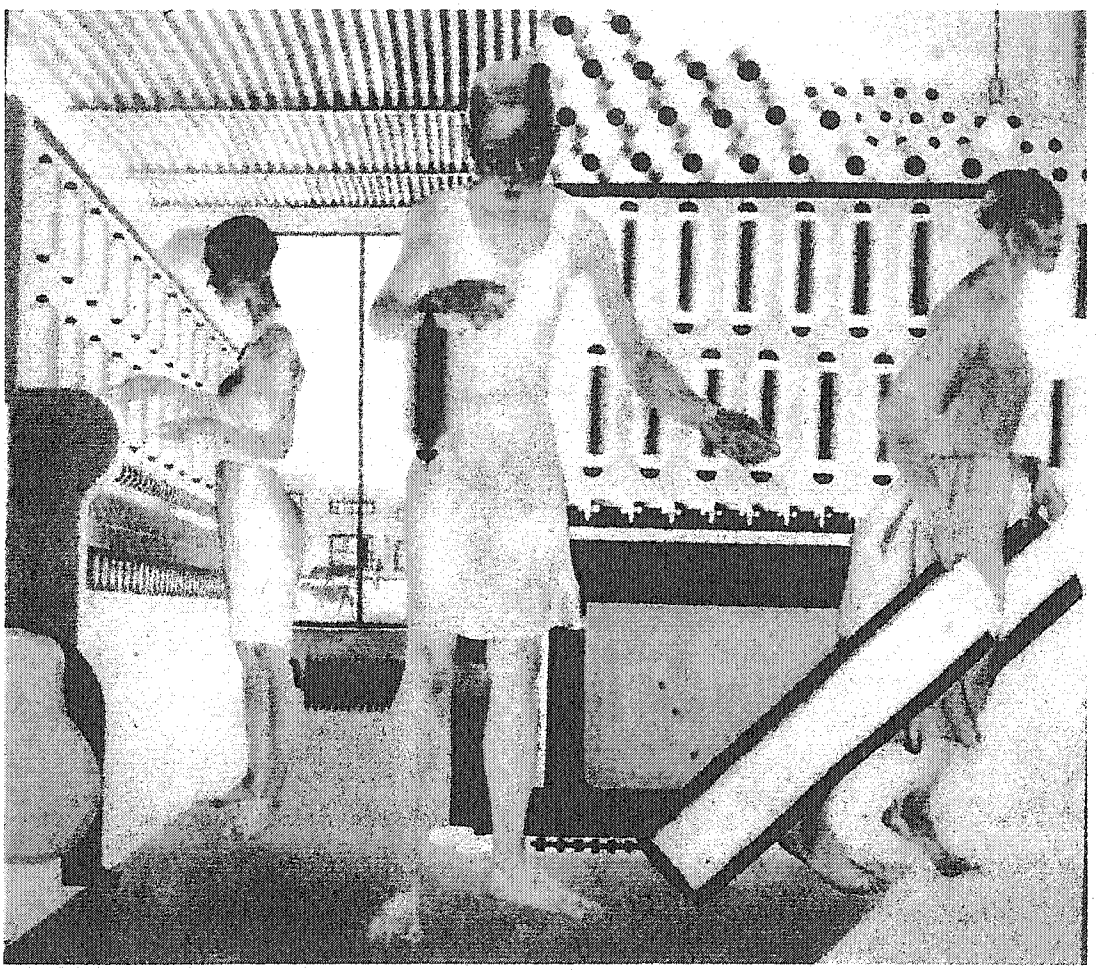
IV.2/Fig.9. E.Papernaia, author. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Illustration for *Vystavka bogov* (Exhibition of Gods)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



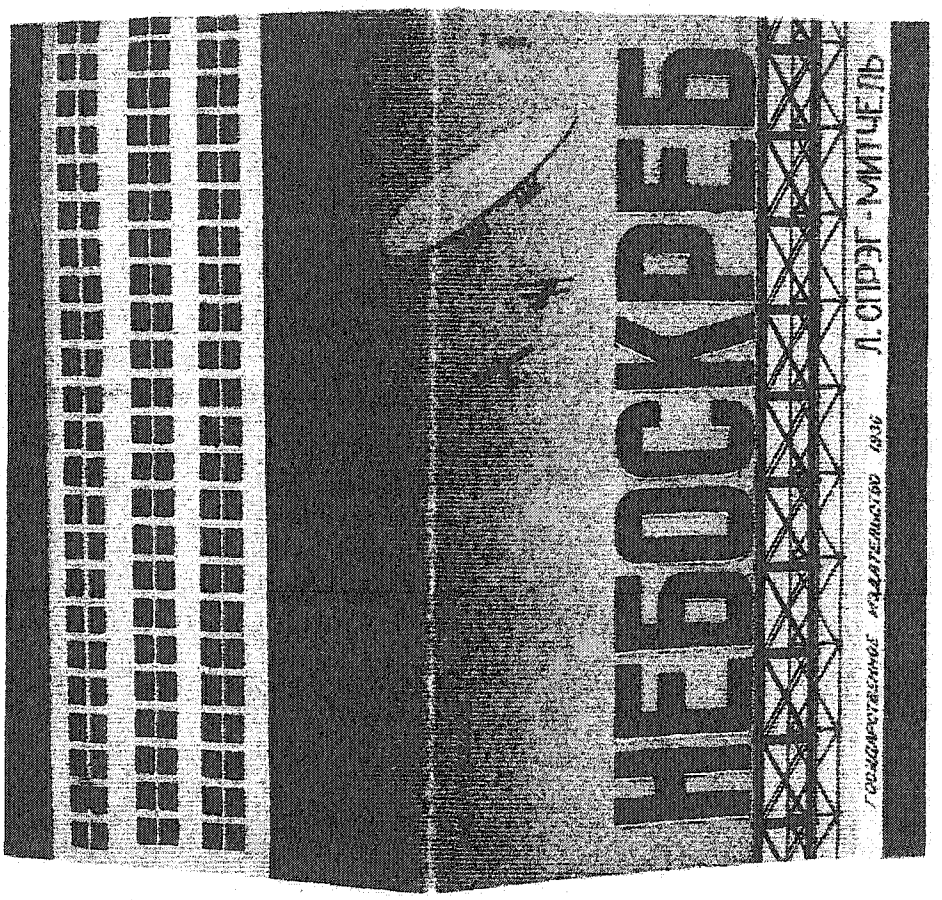
IV.2/Fig.10. E.Papernaia, author. Alisa Poret, illustrator. Back cover for *Vystavka bogov* (Exhibition of Gods) (Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/ Fig.1. Aleksandr Deineka, *Textile Makers*, 1927. Oil on canvas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



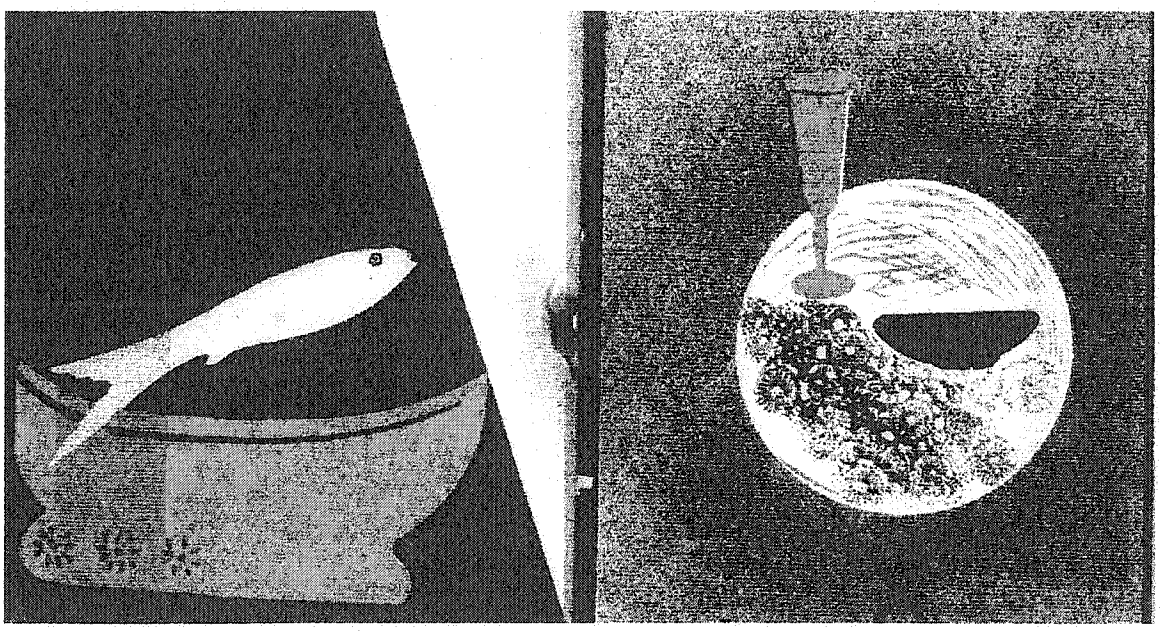
IV.3/Fig.2. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, author. Konstantin Vialov, illustrator. Cover for *Neboskreb* (Skyscraper) (Moscow:/Leningrad:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



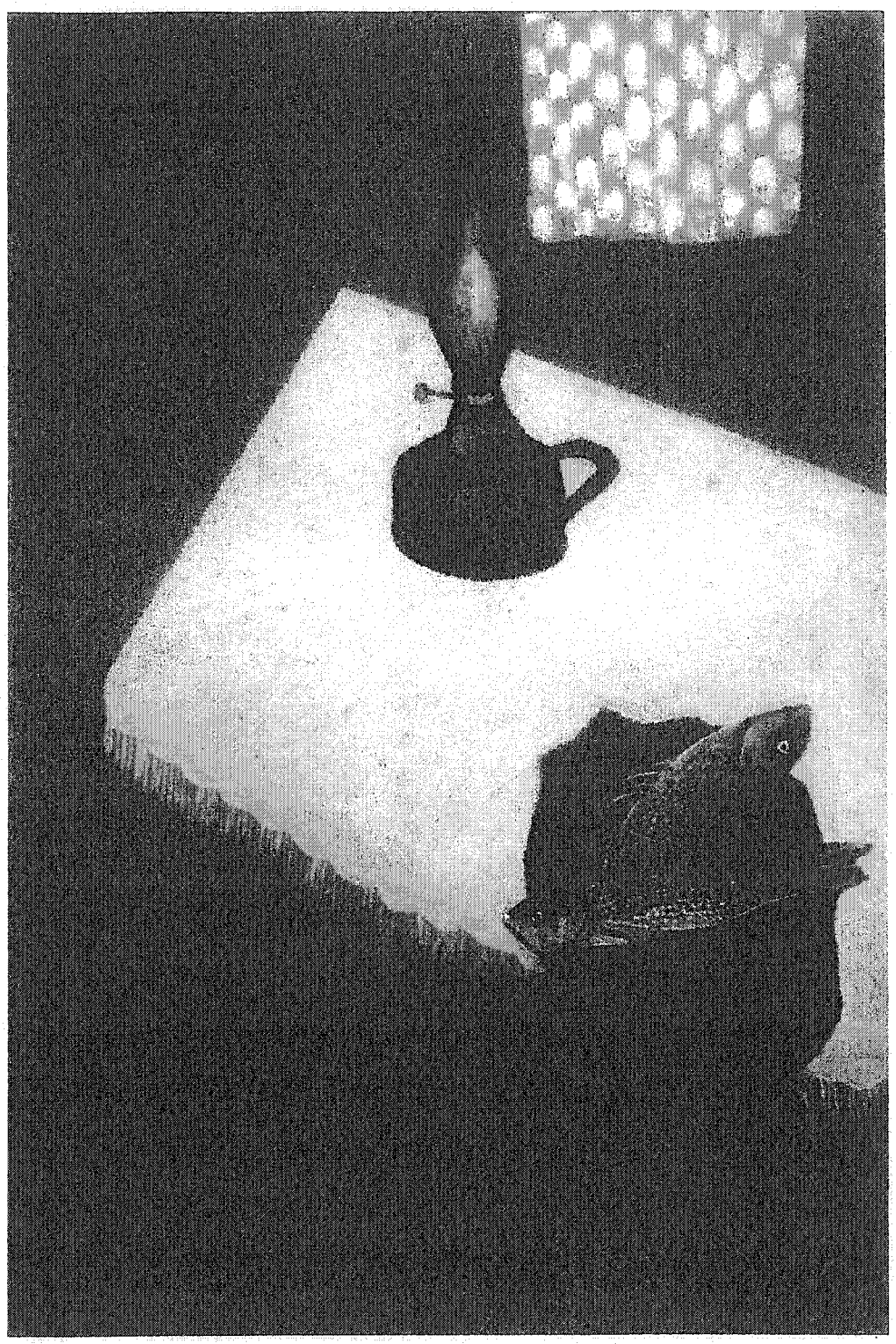
IV.3/Fig.3. David Shterenberg, *Table*, 1914.
Oil on canvas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.4. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustrations for *Posuda* (Dishes)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



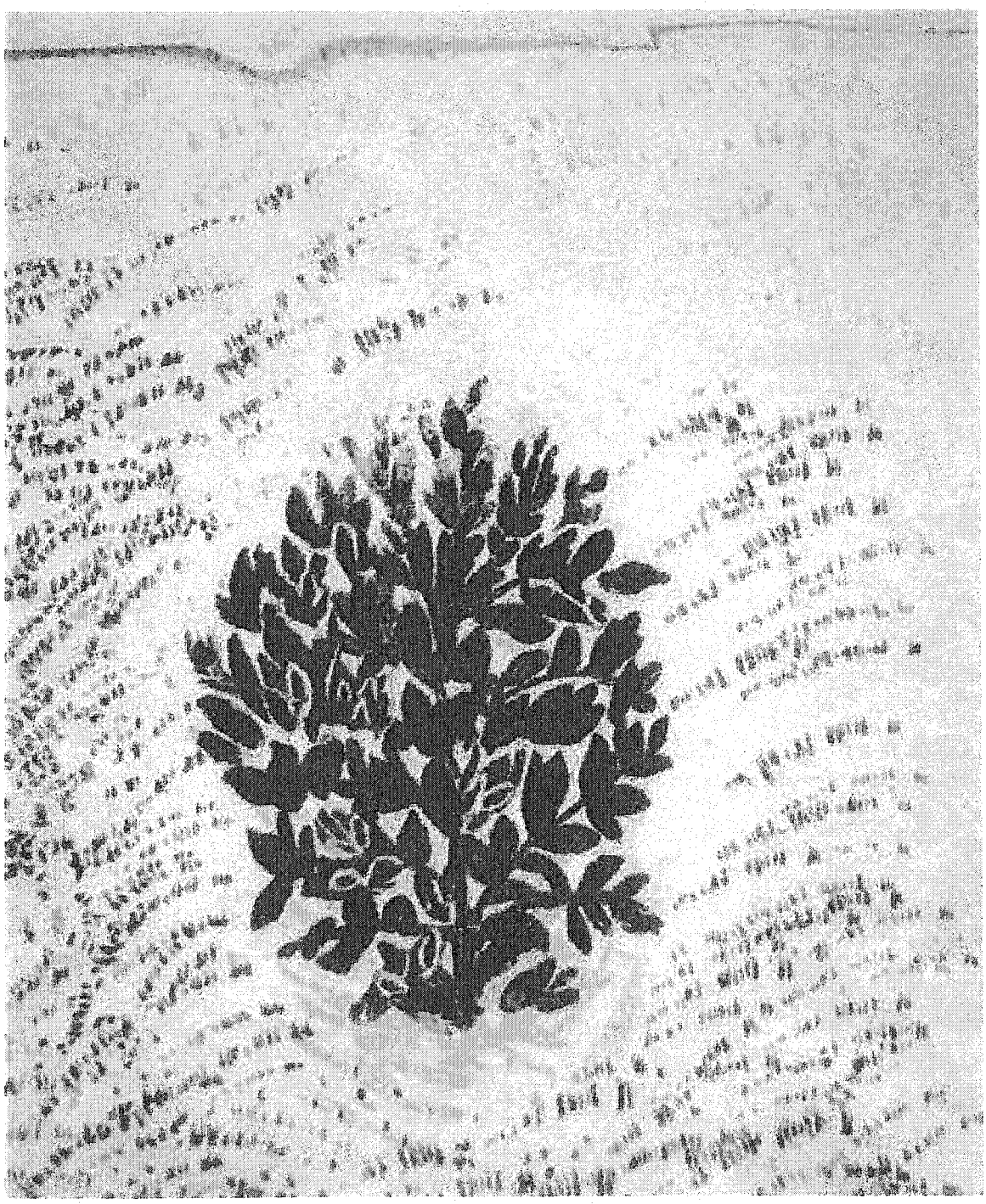
IV.3/Fig.5. David Shterenberg, *Oil-Lamp and Herring*, 1920. Oil on canvas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.6. David Shterenberg, from the series *Texture*, 1922, lithograph.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.7. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Chai*(Tea)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



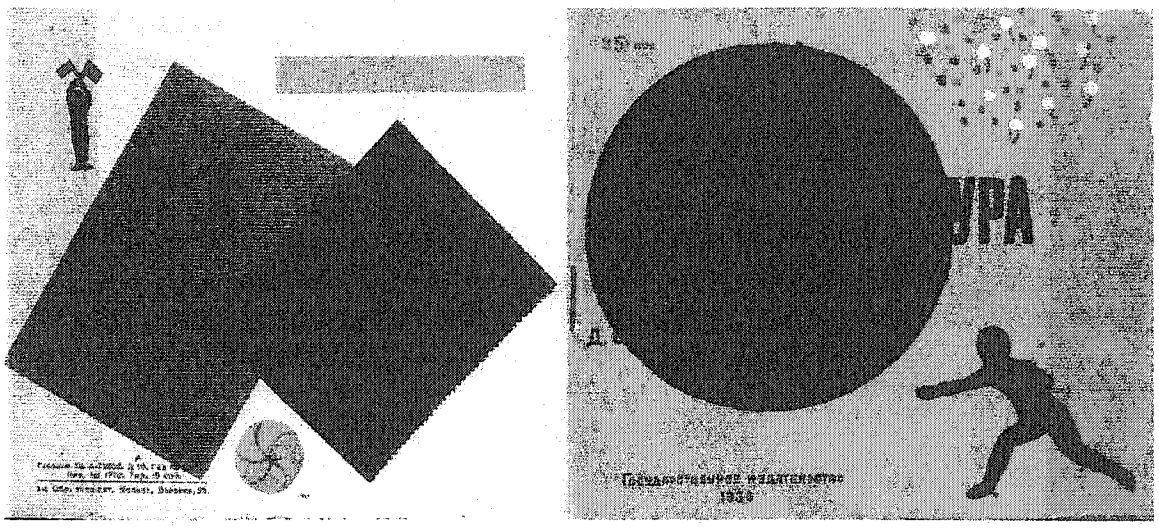
IV.3/Fig.8. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Chai*(Tea)(Moscow:Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



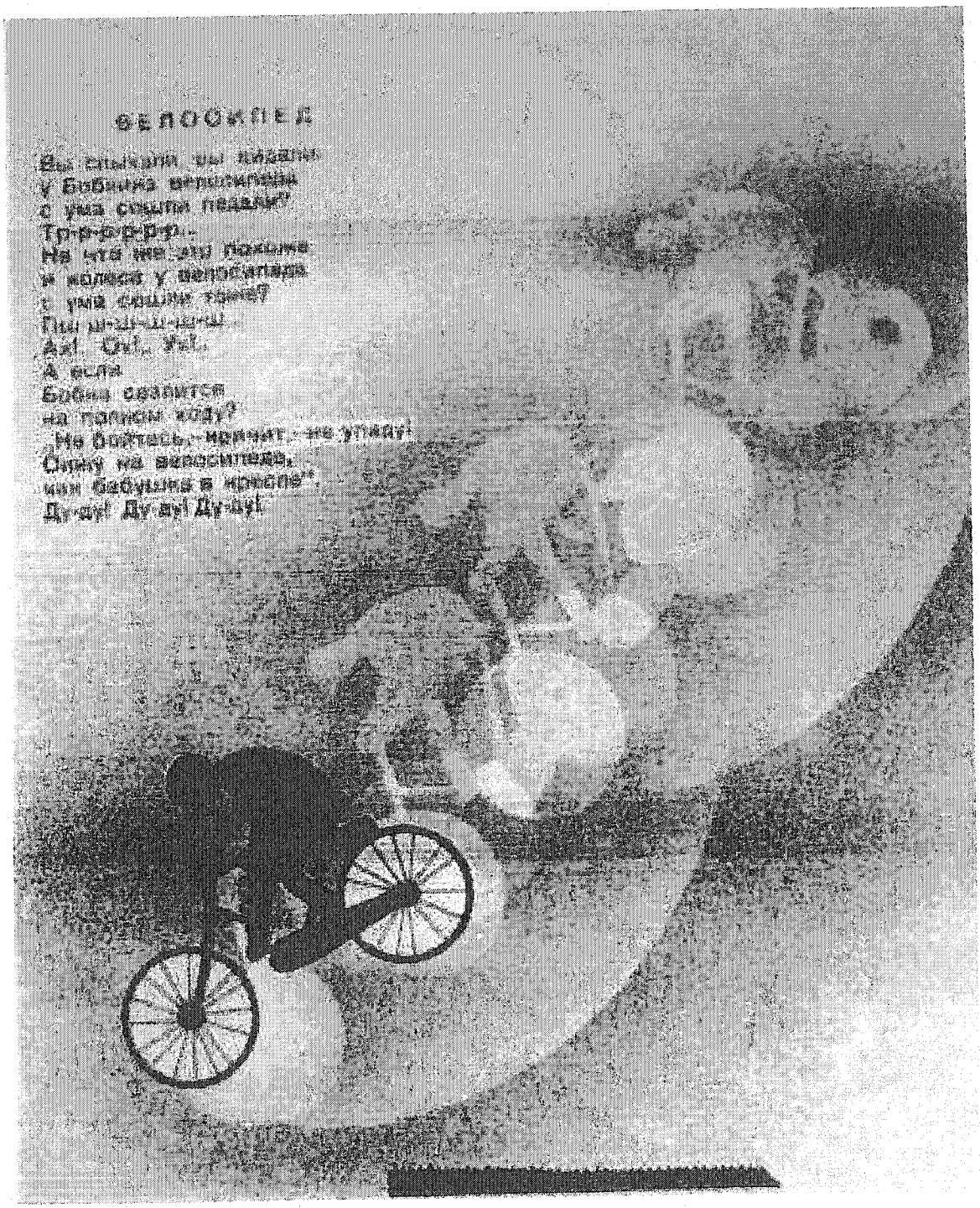
IV.3/Fig.9. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Back cover for *Kukly i knigi*(Dolls and Books)(Moscow:OGIZ,1932).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.10. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Cover and back cover for the book *Fizkul'tura* (Physical Exercises)(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.11. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Bobka-fizkul'turnik*(Bobka The Sportsman),1930.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



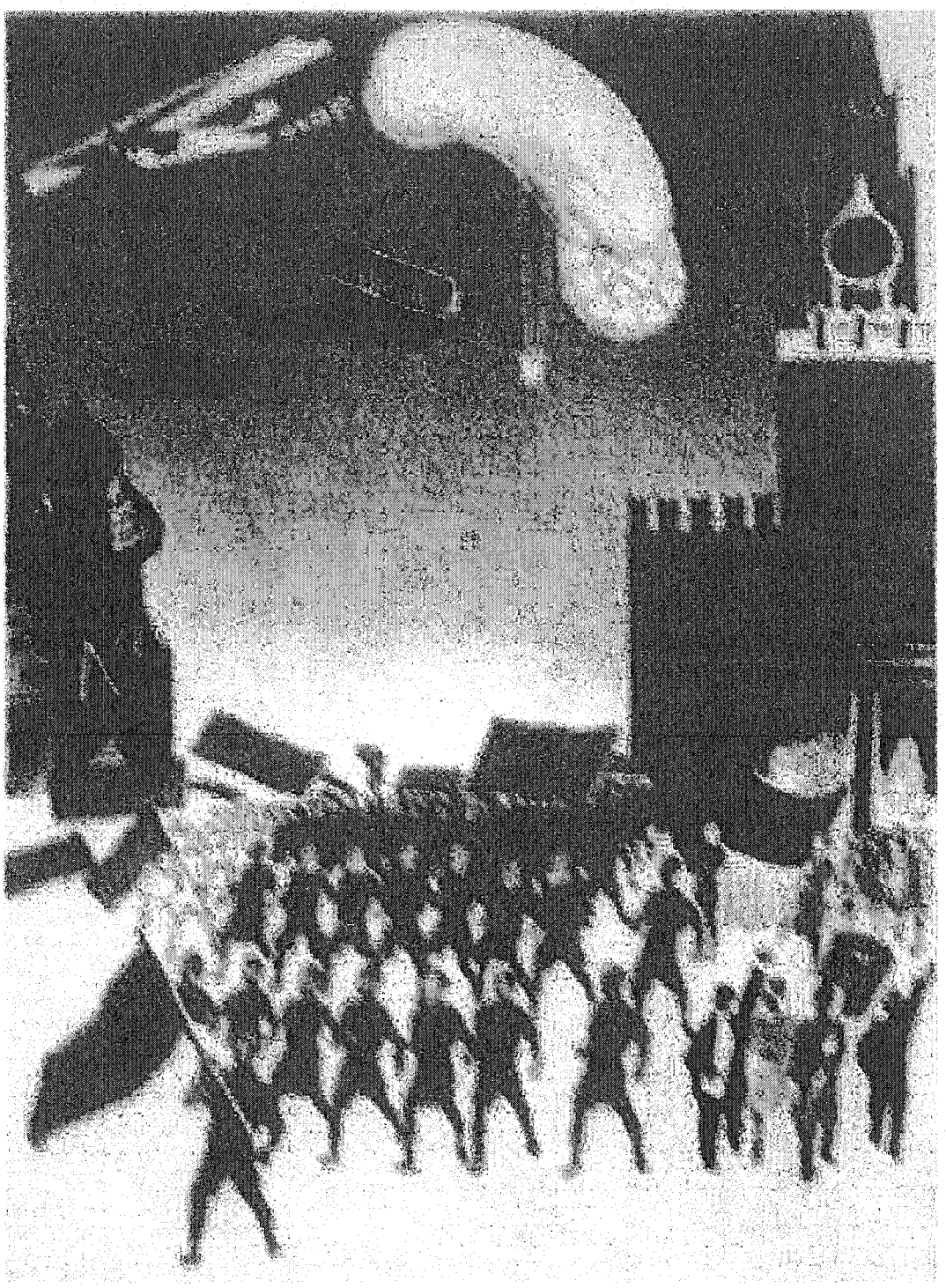
IV.3/Fig.12. Rudyard Kipling, author. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Forty Nord-Fifty West*, 1931.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



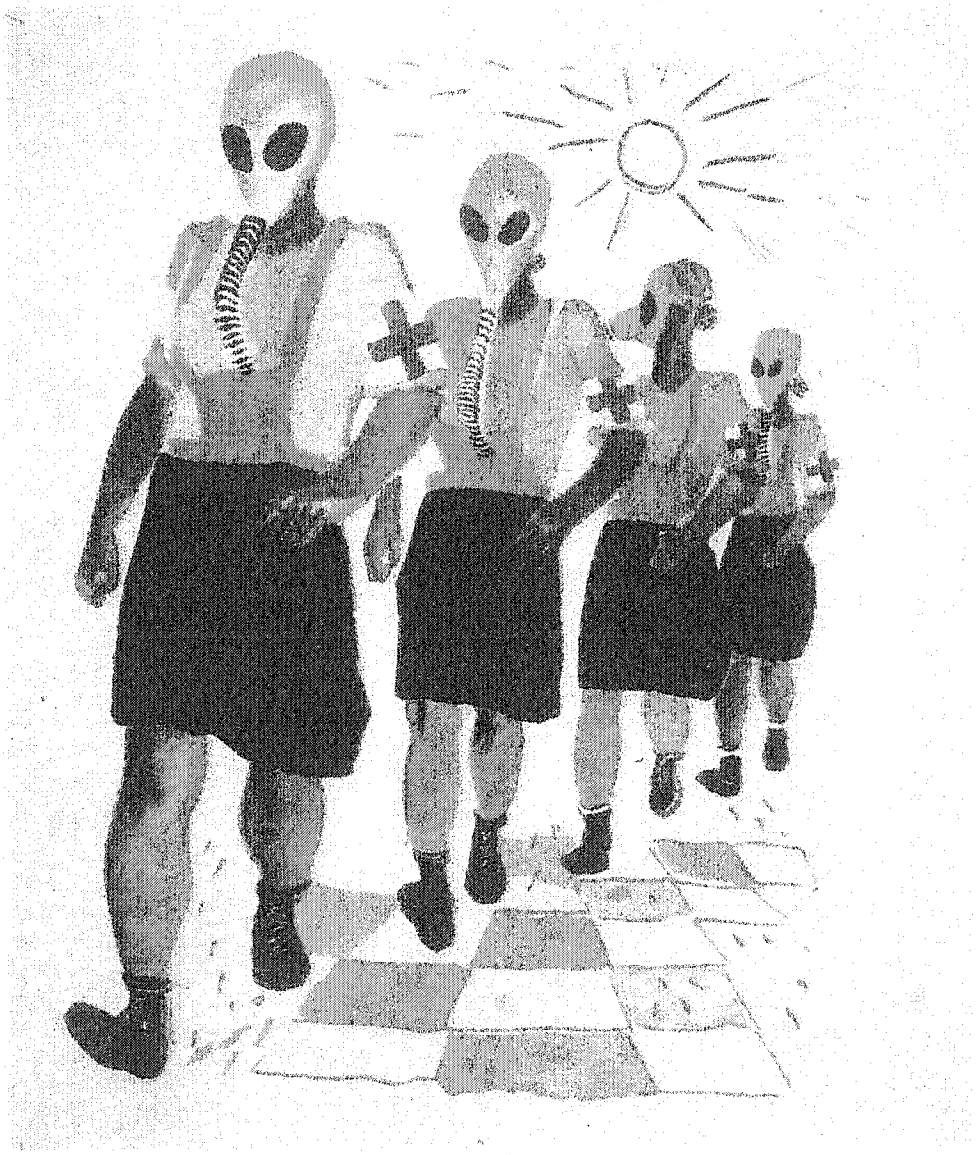
IV.3/ Fig.13. O. Gurian, author. David Shterenberg, illustrator. Illustration for *Galu and Mgatu* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



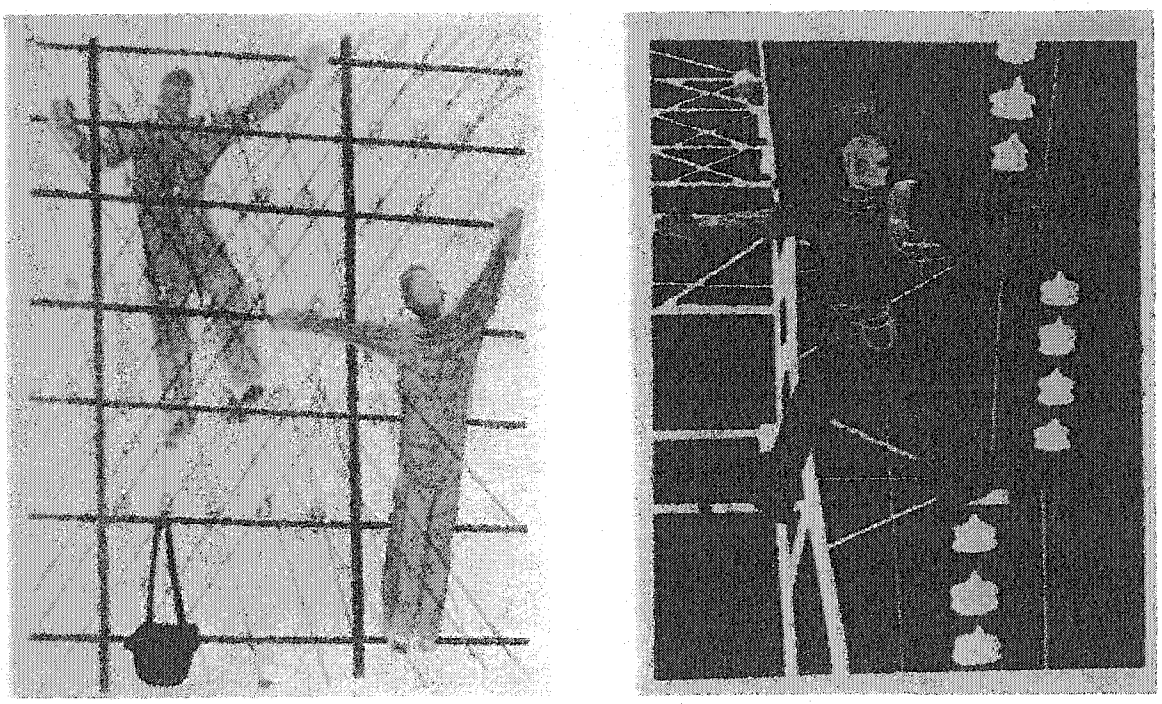
IV.3/Fig.14. Agnia Barto, author. Aleksandr Deineka, illustrator. Illustration for *Pervoe maia* (The First of May)(Moscow:Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo,1928).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.15. Aleksandr Deineka. Illustration for *Parad Krasnoi Armii*(The Parade of the Red Army)(Moscow:Giz, 1930).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



IV.3/Fig.16. Aleksandr Deineka, illustrator. Illustration for *Elektromonter* (The Electrician)(Moscow:OGIZ/Molodaia gvardiia,1931).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.