

**Petersburg Patriotism in 1812: *Lubok* Artists and Russian National Identity**

**By**

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## ***Prelude***

In a sense, 1812 gave Ivan Terebenev the opportunity he always wanted. Born in St. Petersburg in 1780, Terebenev's father pushed his son to follow him into the field of sculpture from an early age. Terebenev senior sent his son to the Imperial Academy in Petersburg when the boy was just five. Ivan dutifully began this career and showcased his skills in many exhibitions. He told a friend, however, that he longed to be a painter. Ivan may have wanted to change his artistic focus, but he did not yet have a subject or an outlet to indulge his desire.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia altered this situation. When the Grand Army entered Russian territory in June 1812, Terebenev's patriotic outrage paralleled that of many of his fellow countrymen. In St. Petersburg, far from the action, Terebenev longed to do something to help the war effort. He decided to paint. Instead of using a canvas, however, Terebenev turned to the Russian popular print known as the *lubok*. Terebenev in 1812 did not just want to indulge in what he saw as idle art; he sought to use his artistic abilities to influence his fellow Russians. The *lubok* was just the source for Terebenev's desires to turn from sculpture, express his patriotic beliefs, and persuade his countrymen to fight against the French. By combining these three elements, Terebenev helped to redefine not only an artistic genre, he also began to redefine Russian national identity.

Terebenev was not alone in this endeavor--two other artists (and several unknown ones) also turned to the *lubok* in 1812 and helped to redefine Russianness in the wake of Napoleon's invasion. Although these artists had been trained in the best Petersburg academies, they turned away from the culture of Peter's capital and sought to define what

it meant to be Russian in other terms. Petersburg patriotism in 1812, therefore, proved to be very anti-Petersburg in nature. The story of these artists and their work is the subject of this article. While many historians have discussed the importance of 1812 as an impetus for the rethinking of Russian identity, few have studied how this process began during the war itself. In addition to exploring this development, this article sheds light on how the redefinition of Russianness and the turn away from Petrine ideas was popularized during the war. To understand these trends it is necessary to explore the lives of Ivan Terebenev and his artistic contemporaries.

### ***Terebenev's Turn***

Ivan Terebenev, despite his desire to paint, became a skilled sculptor. In 1785, while a child, he began studies at the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, where he remained until 1800. The Academy had been established in 1757 and it embraced the artistic ideas of Western Europe, particularly France. Russia's best-known sculptor of the eighteenth century, Fedot Shubin, had studied at the Academy under a Frenchman, and passed on French techniques and ideas to later students, Terebenev included. While a student, Terebenev began to learn classical sculpture, and for his efforts was awarded gold and silver medals.

Terebenev's training, in other words, reflected the tensions of Peter the Great's philosophies about culture, Russia, and his capital, tensions seen quite clearly in the Academy's teaching. On the one hand, pupils at the Imperial art school learned about the techniques, ideas, and styles of Western Europe, keeping with Peter's original intentions about Westernizing Russia. On the other hand, the Imperial Academy's curriculum consisted almost entirely of copying techniques and attitudes toward art in Western

Europe (and, under Catherine II's insistence, even sending promising artists to France or Italy).<sup>1</sup> Russian artists and sculptors learned only to imitate the portraits, landscapes, and sculptures of the West, with little attention given over to any native traditions.<sup>2</sup> Built into the curriculum, however, was a stress on Italian classical themes, particularly historical paintings of Roman antiquity. These themes formed part of the training at academies throughout Europe, including the French Academy in Paris.<sup>3</sup> By learning about the heroes of classical Rome such as Junius Brutus and Mucius Scaevola, Terebenev and his fellow students at the Academy were exposed to concepts of civic virtue and patriotism. The Imperial Art Academy at the time Terebenev studied in many ways perfectly embodied the problems of post-Petrine culture in Russia, one that wavered between imitation and tradition.

Initially, other than his professed desire to switch to painting, Terebenev showed no signs of rejecting this training. After he finished his studies in St. Petersburg, he took a post at a gymnasium in Tver', a town located on the road between St. Petersburg and Moscow. Terebenev's later turn toward Russian artistic traditions nicely corresponds to

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<sup>1</sup> W. Bruce Lincoln, *Between Heaven and Hell: The Story of a Thousand Years of Artistic Life in Russia* (NY: Viking, 1998), 96.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Ely argues that Russian artists had difficulties even attempting to depict the Russian landscape before the 1820s. For artists in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, trained as they were to appreciate the artistic merits of Italian and French pastoral scenes, the Russian landscape simply could not be painted. For more on this subject, see Ely, *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Jacques-Louis David, the famous French artist of the Revolution, had a similar training to Terebenev's in the French Academy of the 1760s-1770s. The stress on Roman history, however, created a generation of artists such as David who celebrated civic virtue and patriotism through the use of classical history. See Warren Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David: Revolutionary Artist* (University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 4-5; and Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (NY: Knopf, 1988), 171-174. Schama discusses how the French Academy's stress on republican Rome encouraged "a new generation of history painting expressly designed to inculcate the public virtues associated with republican Rome: patriotism, fortitude, integrity, and frugality." In particular, heroes such as Brutus, Scaevola, Horatio Cocles, and Scipio were depicted in various Salon shows of the late 1770s. These Roman subjects found their way into the Petersburg Academy as well.

his movement from the Imperial capital closer to Russia's "spiritual" home. The culmination of Terebenev's early career as a sculptor came just before Napoleon's invasion, when Terebenev helped to design some of the bas-reliefs for the newly renovated Admiralty Building in St. Petersburg. The building was itself a symbol of Petrine power, and its golden spire continues to dominate the Petersburg skyline, an emblem of Russia's naval tradition established by Peter, and thus a symbol of Peter's attempt to make Russia into a Western state. Although Peter had originally had the Admiralty built, Ivan Korobov rebuilt the structure in the 1730s. By the time of Alexander I, the building had fallen into disrepair, and some officials even talked of moving the Admiralty to Kronstadt. Alexander I, however, intended to preserve this piece of Petrine Petersburg, and he hired Andreian Zakharov (1761-1811) to redesign the building.

Zakharov studied in Paris and took up a post at the Academy of Fine Arts in 1787. When he began his work on the Admiralty, he commissioned several of his students, Terebenev among them. Terebenev's contribution to the Admiralty can still be seen today—he carved the relief above the main archway of the Admiralty entitled "The Establishment of a Fleet." In this work one can glimpse the tenor of Terebenev's early training and the training of all students at the Imperial Academy. Neptune, the classical god of the sea, hands Peter the Great, also in classical attire, a trident, the symbol of power over the seas.<sup>4</sup> Russian history as an extension of classical Roman history captures the influence of Western concepts of art in Imperial Russia, a tradition from which Terebenev emerged.

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<sup>4</sup> William Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 357.

When Napoleon invaded Russia in June 1812, however, Terebenev turned away (although not completely) from this tradition. Napoleon's invasion and all of its meanings—particularly the explicit attempt to export French culture through the violence of the Grand Army—awakened nationalism in Terebenev and his fellow Russians. For Terebenev, the ideas of the Imperial Academy and his background in sculpture were not the means to give a voice to his patriotism, and so he turned to the popular print known as the *lubok*. In doing so, he helped to transform not only this image and its importance in Russian cultural life, he also helped to transform ideas about Russian nationhood. Terebenev's turn away from the Petersburg traditions of the Academy, in other words, had important ramifications. He was not the only artist to make this turn, just (initially at least) the most significant. Before exploring these topics, however, we turn to the *lubok* before 1812 and why it served as the ideal genre for Terebenev.

### ***Picturing the Russian Past: The Lubok and Russian Culture***

The *lubok*, although long considered to be a manifestation of Russian folk art, has been little studied by historians.<sup>5</sup> These popular prints can best be described as lively illustrations similar to posters or European broadsides with short texts, usually at the bottom of the picture.<sup>6</sup> The term itself, as well as its adjective, *lubochnyi*, derives from an old Russian word meaning “bast,” which is the soft layer of wood taken from trees in the spring then used to make baskets, other containers, and even shoes. In early modern

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<sup>5</sup>The major exceptions are Dianne Farrell, “Popular Prints in the Cultural History of Eighteenth-Century Russia” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980); Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917* (Princeton University Press, 1985); Hubertus Jahn, *Patriotic Culture in Russia During World War I* (Cornell University Press, 1995); and Karen Petrone, “Family, Masculinity, and Heroism in Russian War Posters of the First World War,” in Billie Melman, ed., *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870-1930* (New York: Routledge, 1998): 95-120.

<sup>6</sup>Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read*, 62-63.

Russian culture, artists often used these pieces of bast in place of expensive parchment, and thus the crude woodcut images painted on them became known as *lubochnye kartinki* (or “bast pictures”). Russians eventually came to refer to these cheap prints as the *lubok*, and even as *narodnye kartinki*, or “popular pictures.”<sup>7</sup> The technique used to make these prints was as simple as the finished product. The artist placed a watery tempera on a slight pencil design, and then painted an illustration using pigments diluted in egg emulsion or sticky vegetable substances. When the *lubok* artist painted these materials onto wood blocks and pressed them on cheap paper, the result was a combination of a watercolor and a hand painting that gave the finished image an improvised look.<sup>8</sup>

The first examples of the folk woodblock prints date from the seventeenth century. These *lubki* were cheap icons painted on boards for those who could not afford to buy icons painted by recognized artists. Because of their accessibility, the pictures thrived, and by the time of Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725) they depicted a variety of subjects, from hunting scenes and the life of peasants to satirical pictures of contemporary politics. During the reign of Peter, the visual arts were transformed from exclusively religious in subject to more modern forms of imagery and image making. While this “revolution” changed Russian imagery, the *lubok* tradition had its origins prior to Peter’s time, although the images had not established themselves as truly secular or very popular.<sup>9</sup> What changed in Peter’s time, however, was the function of the *lubok* in Russian culture.

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<sup>7</sup>See James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (University of Chicago Press, 1997), 305-6; and Alison Hilton, *Russian Folk Art* (Indiana University Press, 1995), 308-309.

<sup>8</sup>E.I. Itkina, *Russkii rizovannyi lubok kontsa XVIII-nachala XX veka* (Moscow: Russkaia kniga, 1992), 44-45.

<sup>9</sup>Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*, 307.

Peter himself began to see the importance of images in shaping attitudes, and his Holy Synod attempted to control *lubok* production and sale.<sup>10</sup> Since this effort proved difficult at best, Peter's reign marked a shift in Russian popular imagery from religious to secular contents, and the *lubok* reflected this change. These "popular prints" now disseminated information and government propaganda, while others even criticized government policies. The most famous *lubok* of all, "The Barber Cutting the Beard of an Old Believer (Fig. 1)," dates from the Petrine period and was a criticism of Peter's policies. Once the images became secular, therefore, they often took a stance that ran counter to the culture of Petersburg. "Barber" was produced by Old Believers, and for the rest of the imperial period, tsarist censors remained obsessed with the prints produced by Old Believer communities.<sup>11</sup> In 1812, however, some of the same criticisms, although certainly more subtle, came from officially approved artists. Before that time, however, the *lubok* after Peter the Great (and for the remainder of the Imperial period) functioned as a source of information, as a means to persuade, and as a source of entertainment.<sup>12</sup>

As the content of the *lubok* became more secular over the course of the eighteenth century,<sup>13</sup> the audience for these prints became more "popular," in the broadest sense of

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 307-8.

<sup>11</sup> During the Crimean War, for example, Ivan Snegirev, the Moscow censor responsible for popular prints, wrote in his diary that government ministers frequently referred to their fear of the influence that Old Believer prints might have among other Russians. See I. M. Sengirev, *Dnevnik Ivana Mikhailovicha Snegireva* Vol. II (Moscow, 1904), 25-30.

<sup>12</sup>Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*, 109-112. Hilton states that although the *lubok* "fits into the framework of folk art," its political function separated them from other, more purely decorative varieties of Russian folk art.

<sup>13</sup>D.A. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki* (Vol. I) (St. Petersburg, 1881); Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*, 309, states that three-fourths of all images produced from 1750-1799 were non-religious.



the word.<sup>14</sup> Peasants, city dwellers, and members of the small middle classes all purchased *lubki*, while the artists were mostly townspeople, who depicted government regulations and listened “to the buzz of the marketplace” in coming up with themes.<sup>15</sup> Russians could buy these prints at the shops set up by publishers, at booths located in most large towns, at the various fairs held throughout the country, or from traveling peddlers (see Figures 2-4). As *lubki* became more and more accessible to Russians of all classes, their importance as disseminators of information and their persuasive power continued to grow--thus one can refer to them as “propaganda,” taking a definition that simply means the dissemination of information.<sup>16</sup> The end of the eighteenth century saw hundreds of these popular images in circulation throughout the Russian Empire, meaning that by the turn of the nineteenth century, the *lubok* had become recognizable everywhere.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, prints could be found at the Spasskii Bridge in Moscow, where most publishers had their shops. The demand for prints had created a thriving business. Coloring them had become a virtual cottage industry in its own right, for *lubok* publishers employed self-trained peasant women and children in villages near Moscow. They painted in four shades: green, yellow, purple, and red, in an effort to brighten the prints to make them attractive to their fellow peasants.<sup>17</sup> The colors

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<sup>14</sup>Hilton, *Russian Folk Art*, 112.

<sup>15</sup>Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*, 309.

<sup>16</sup>See Toby Clark, *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1997), 7. Clark rightly notes that the word “propaganda” had a more neutral meaning. Only in the twentieth century, after the Great War, did the term take on negative connotations.

<sup>17</sup>Dmitrii Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, Vol. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1881), 20-31; I. E. Zabelin, *Istoriia goroda Moskv*y (Moscow, 1869), 628; Farrell, “Popular Prints,” 39-41.

helped to connect the *lubok* to the icon, particularly the use of red, which had long been used by Russian icon painters to signify the blood of martyrs and the fire of faith. *Lubok* artists used similar colors in their attempts to create an appealing product.

Strictly speaking, the word *lubok* refers to the images printed onto pieces of bast. These “*lubki*” began to die out by the nineteenth century in Russia, when lithographic processes began to dominate the production of images. However, the *lubok* style of illustrating images in a simple, naive manner continued long after the popular picture itself, as it was originally defined, gave way to lithographs. The production of *lubki* may have changed from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, but the style and the content of these images remained more or less stable. Not quite folk art, but not quite high art, the *lubok* represented a cultural product that appealed to a wide percentage of the Russian population. It was to this tradition and idea that the *lubok* both depicted Russian culture and helped Russians imagine their place within the Russian nation that Terebenev turned to in 1812.

### ***Imagining Russia in 1812***

With the enemy in Russia, Ivan Terebenev wanted to express his outrage and also exhort his fellow countrymen to fight. He also desired to turn away from sculpture and to a form of art that would allow him to express these ideas. Given the short history sketched above, the *lubok* seemed ideal for this task, and so Terebenev began to depict the patriotism that exploded throughout Russia in the wake of 1812. He was not alone in this respect. Ivan Alekseevich Ivanov also moved away from his training in 1812, inspired by Terebenev’s example.<sup>18</sup> Ivanov was born in 1779 in Moscow and entered the

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<sup>18</sup> Biographical information on Ivanov and Venetsianov is taken from A. A. Vereshchagin, *Russkaia karikatura*, Vol. II, *Otechestvennaia voina: Terebenev, Venetsianov, Ivanov* (St. Petersburg, 1912). Also helpful were the works of Rosalind Gray and John Bowlt cited below.

Academy at Petersburg in 1789. Upon his graduation, Ivanov was awarded a certificate of the first degree and the rank of artist [*khudozhnik*]. The same year, Ivanov set off on an artistic expedition to the Caucasus region, including Tauride, where he helped collect prints from that region. After his trip, Ivanov eventually settled into a job at the Imperial Glass Factory in St. Petersburg.

Shortly after Napoleon's invasion, early in 1813, Ivanov took up a position at the Imperial Public Library (now the National Library in St. Petersburg). It was here, in the capital, sometime in 1812-1813 that he saw Terebenev's prints and decided to express his own patriotic outrage by the same means. Like his inspiration, no one knew how Ivanov settled on the *lubok* as a genre to express his beliefs, although, like Terebenev, no doubt it had to do with the influence and popularity the prints enjoyed by the early nineteenth century.

The third significant artist of 1812 was an outsider to the Petersburg cultural scene. Aleksei Gavrilovich Venetsianov was born in 1780, the same year as Terebenev, in Moscow. Venetsianov's father worked as a tradesman, selling flowers, bushes, and similar items in one of the popular markets of the former capital.<sup>19</sup> Like Terebenev and Ivanov, Venetsianov developed an interest in art from an early age. Unlike his more privileged contemporaries, however, Venetsianov did not attend the Academy in St. Petersburg. Instead, he lived in Moscow until 1802, studying art however he could. In 1802, however, Venetsianov moved to St. Petersburg to take up a position as a civil servant. At the same time he also studied with Vladimir Lukich Borovikovskii (1757-1825), the son of a Ukrainian icon painter who had moved to the capital and won acclaim (and commissions) from both Catherine II and Paul I. Venetsianov worked with Borovikovskii for ten years, but developed an ambiguous relationship with the artistic atmosphere in the capital.

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<sup>19</sup> Lincoln, *Between Heaven and Hell*, 146.

On the one hand, Venetsianov loved the opportunities that Petersburg afforded him—he visited the Hermitage often and he learned a great deal from Borovikovskii, an Academy painter.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Venetsianov developed a distaste for the cultural climate of Petersburg that manifested itself in 1807-1808. Late in 1807, Venetsianov decided to found a journal devoted to caricature. Although the genre developed in France and had taken off in England by that year, Venetsianov wanted to establish a Russian tradition in caricature. More specifically, he wanted to use caricature to poke fun at the Francophile ways of the Russian upper classes. As an outsider who had moved to Petersburg, Venetsianov was struck by the predominance of the French language and French manners among Russia's elite. The fact that the Academy of Arts promoted French ideas also entered into Venetsianov's quest for a more "Russian" artistic tradition. Although his caricature journal would borrow a Western genre, it would do so as a means to satirize the Western influence on Russian life.

Venetsianov founded his journal, *Russian Caricature*, and submitted the idea to the censors. It passed, and first appeared in January 1808. On the cover of his third issue, however, Venetsianov placed his image, "The Grandee" (Figure 5). This caricature featured a large Russian official dressed in European clothes and lounging on a couch. With him is his mistress, while important papers lay scattered on the floor. In front of the couch stands a mirror, through which one can glimpse a reflection of the petitioners waiting to see the government official. The meanings of the image hardly need elaboration, nor do the decision by imperial censors to shut down the journal. The Minister of Internal Affairs, Prince A. B. Kurakin, wrote to the Minister of Enlightenment, Count P. V. Zavadovsky, that Venetsianov should "apply his talent to a

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<sup>20</sup> Rosalind Polly Gray, "The Real and the Ideal in the Work of Aleksei Venetsianov" *Russian Review* 58 (October 1999), 657. John Bowlt refers to Borovikovskii as "perhaps the greatest exponent of the Western artistic ideal in Russian painting." J.E. Bowlt, "Russian Painting in the Nineteenth Century" in T.G. Stavrou, ed., *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Indiana University Press, 1983), 114.

much better subject.”<sup>21</sup> Venetsianov’s desires to promote certain ideas through caricature would have to wait.

The wait lasted four years. With Napoleon’s entry into Russia and the appearance of Terebenev’s prints, Venetsianov got his opportunity to develop Russian caricature and to apply his talents to a much better subject. Much like Ivanov, Venetsianov also gained inspiration from Terebenev’s prints. Together the three artists of St. Petersburg began to produce *lubki* that lampooned Napoleon and the French, stressed the significance of Russian traditions, and depicted the significance of the invasion. Their work from 1812 to 1815 allows us the opportunity to imagine the culture of the Patriotic War through the eyes of its producers. Above all, their work gives us the chance to imagine the kind of patriotism produced in Petersburg during the Patriotic War.

### ***Petersburg Patriotism as Antithesis: The Patriotic Culture of 1812***

Terebenev, Ivanov, and Venestianov all turned to the *lubok* during wartime. Although these images had become increasingly popular over the course of the eighteenth century, they had not yet appeared in large numbers to illustrate a specific event. Wars in particular had long defined Russian identity, but only the Seven Years’ War of 1756-1763 and Catherine II’s wars against the Turks produced *lubki*, albeit only twenty.<sup>22</sup> One of these prints, “The Russian Cossack Strikes the Prussian Dragoon” (Figure 6), from the Seven Years’ War in 1759, for example, illustrates the precedents that nineteenth-century Russian artists and publishers drew upon in their own *lubki*.<sup>23</sup> This *lubok* features a single Cossack on horseback dispatching two Germans, one firing a musket vainly at the

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<sup>21</sup> Aleksei Gavrilovich Venestianov: *Stat’i, pis’mi, sovremenniki o khudozhnike* (Leningrad, 1980), 147.

<sup>22</sup> Diane Ecklund Farrell, ‘Popular Prints in the Cultural History of Eighteenth-Century Russia’ Ph.D. Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1980, 200-201. During the Seven Years’ War, four *lubki* featured Cossacks.

<sup>23</sup> The print is reproduced in Vladimir Denisov, *Voina i lubok* (Petrograd, 1916), 1-2.

Russian, the other succumbing to the Cossack's pike. Reminiscent of military prints that depicted Peter the Great dressed as Alexander the Great, folk images of *bogatyrs* such as Ilia Muromets, and popular imagery and myths that date back to the Polish invasion of 1612 during the Time of Troubles (not to mention the long-standing link that connected the *lubok* to the Russian icon), this print indicates that the artists of 1812 drew on older ideas and myths of Russian history. Still, though, the image of 1759 was unusual in that it depicted an event as it happened.

Napoleon's decision to invade Russia in 1812 at the head of the largest army ever raised and with the intention of exporting his conceptions of the French Revolution changed the *lubok* and how it depicted historical events. Terebenev alone would produce forty-eight *lubki* devoted to the Patriotic War. Between the years 1812 and 1814, when Alexander I marched at the head of the Russian army in Paris, 216 popular prints appeared in Russia devoted to the war.<sup>24</sup> In terms of sheer numbers, the war revolutionized the Russian *lubok*.<sup>25</sup>

*Lubok* artists portrayed Napoleon in the early months of the war in a variety of ways, but all of them concentrated their attention on the French emperor. Terebenev's "Napoleon's Treatment in Russia," (Figure 7) one of the first images to appear in St. Petersburg, depicts three Russian soldiers who have stuffed the French leader into a

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<sup>24</sup>M. Peltzer, "Russkaia politicheskaiia kartinka 1812 goda: usloviia proizvodstva i khudozhestvennye osobennosti" in B. M. Sokolov, ed., *Mir narodnoi kartinki* (Moscow, 1999), 176. Rovinskii lists 148 in his collection.

<sup>25</sup>John Bowl, the doyen of Russian art historians, has written that the war of 1812 introduced important changes both in Russian art and Russian caricature. Bowl views the work of Terebenev, Ivanov, and Venetsianov as caricatures that made use of the *lubok* tradition, thus enhancing their appeal. After 1812, Russian caricature experienced uneven growth. While I agree with Bowl's assessment of how Terebenev and his contemporaries blended classical training with the *lubok* to produce a powerful set of images in 1812-1814, I view these caricatures as *lubki*, ones that transformed this genre in the nineteenth century and paved the way for future explosions of popular prints during wartime. The Russian government viewed the 1812 prints as *lubki* and defined them as such in the 1851 law regulating imagery, as did Dmitry Rovinskii, who included the 1812 images in his collection of "people's pictures." For the views of Bowl and how 1812 transformed the Russian art scene, see his two articles, "Russian Painting in the Nineteenth Century" and "Nineteenth-Century Russian Caricature" both in Theofanis Stavrou, ed., *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia*.

barrel. The container is marked “*kaluzhskoe testo*,” or “Kaluga Dough,” after the route Napoleon took to leave Russia (although the language also suggests a reference to a place for excrement (*kal*) and for stagnant, dirty water).<sup>26</sup> Dressed in the uniform of the regular Russian army, a soldier to the right of Napoleon is force-feeding him a large loaf of gingerbread marked “Viazma,” while a Russian to the left pours over him a can of liquid labeled “boiled in the Moscow Fire.” A third Russian soldier stands over the French leader, brewing tea to pour over the French emperor. Around Napoleon’s head, the three have draped *bubliki*, the thick, ring-shaped bread rolls so popular in Russia. The message of the *lubok* is clear: Napoleon may have invaded Russia, but here he has received a “proper” Russian welcome, complete with the snacks one would normally offer such a preeminent guest.<sup>27</sup>

Ivanov’s *lubok* “Napoleon Forms a New Army from Various Freaks and Cripples” suggests that the French army and its leader are weak opponents (Fig. 8).<sup>28</sup> Among the freaks depicted in the *lubok*, which features the French leader placing weakened troops on horseback amidst a host of other unfit soldiers, are two large figures labeled “Polish Cossacks.”<sup>29</sup> The subject resembles that of another Terebenev caricature, “The Retreat of the French Cavalry Who Ate Their Horses in Russia” (Fig. 9),<sup>30</sup> which illustrates a group of ill-fed French troops shuffling behind their leader, who pretends to

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<sup>26</sup> Gosudarsvennaia Publichnaia Istoricheskaia Biblioteka, Otdel Redkikh Knig (hereafter cited as GPIB ORK), Papka 1, ‘karikatury 1812 goda.’. This image was one of the first to appear in St. Petersburg.

<sup>27</sup> This *lubok* resembles a second Terebenev image entitled ‘The Destruction of the Worldwide Monarchy,’ which depicts a Russian peasant and Cossack attacking Napoleon, who flies out of a barrel. Surrounding the barrel are the artefacts of Napoleon’s attempt to establish a ‘worldwide monarchy’: skulls, loot, and boxes labeled with materials taken from Napoleon’s conquests in Holland, Switzerland, Württemberg, and Italy. See GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

<sup>28</sup> GPIB ORK, Papka 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 214. Many Poles fought with Napoleon against the Russians in 1812.

<sup>30</sup> GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

be on horseback. Bringing up the rear of this motley gang is a Mameluke dressed in a woman's coat to keep warm and carrying a horse's leg to eat at home.<sup>31</sup> Forced to eat their horses and shamefully flee Russia, this image suggests that the experience of war has emasculated Napoleon and his troops.<sup>32</sup>

*Lubok* artists also contrasted the French troops, often starving and weak, with Russian women defending their homeland. Venetsianov's *lubok* "The Hungry French Rats, Under the Command of the Old Woman Vasilisa," depicts three French "marauders" captured by Russian peasant women under the guidance of a woman on horseback (Fig. 10).<sup>33</sup> The three French troops attempted to forage for food in a Russian village, and were captured by Vasilisa, who now has them lassoed. One of the marauders kneels before his new commander and is distinguished by his *konfederatka* (the Polish national headgear of the time, known for its rectangular shape and lack of peak), while the other two French soldiers stand despondently, seemingly emaciated. To the right of Vasilisa are a group of three peasant girls and one boy, all waving pitchforks at the French would-be thieves. At the bottom of the image a rooster bites at the top of a staff adorned with the golden eagle, Napoleon's symbol. The image implies that Russia has transformed the French troops, once seen as virtually invincible, into a pitiful, begging lot that even Russia's women could defeat.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 158-159.

<sup>32</sup>As Molly Wesling has pointed out, this image is historically accurate, although exaggerated. French troops did wear women's clothing during their retreat from Russia for lack of anything else to wear. See Molly Wesling, *Napoleon in Russian Cultural Mythology*, 13. For eyewitness descriptions of French soldiers wearing women's clothes, see *Rossiia pervoi poloviny XIX v. glazami inostrantsev* (Leningrad, 1991), 223, 255, 276, 289.

<sup>33</sup>GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

<sup>34</sup>This print lambasts the Poles who decided to fight with Napoleon rather than with Russia. During 1812, a great number of Poles, particularly from the Duchy of Warsaw, joined Napoleon's Grand Army in hopes that a defeat of Russia would create a new Polish Kingdom independent of Russian control. Many Russian memoirs of the war expressed greater hostility toward the Poles who served with Napoleon than the French, and used the presence of Polish troops in the Grand Army to question the loyalty of all Poles. The images of Poles among a foreign army invading Russia also conjured up memories of the 1612



This visual illustration had a factual basis. During the French occupation of Smolensk, an old peasant woman named Vasilisa decided to stand up to the invaders occupying her homeland. She came across two drunken French soldiers in the street one day. Inviting them into her *izba*, Vasilisa got the two drunk. With the Frenchmen thoroughly inebriated, she then burned her hut to the ground.<sup>35</sup>

This caricature of the French found expression in two other *lubki* from 1813. The first, “The French are Frightened by a Goat,” from Terebenev, depicts four French soldiers fleeing from a peasant *izba* guarded by a solitary, old peasant woman (Fig. 11).<sup>36</sup> Through the open window of the peasant hut one can glimpse a goat tied to a small shed. The first soldier, apparently hearing the bleating of the goat, asks the old woman “who is shouting?”, to which the *starukha* replies, “my own goat over there [*tam rodnye v Klevu*].” The second French soldier asks “where is the goat going [*kuda koza?*],” while his comrade, further away, states “there is a Cossack in the yard [*nadvor’ Kozak*].” The fourth Frenchman, nearly out the door in his haste to escape from the “Cossack,” plaintively asks “but where is the Cossack going? [*A chto kuda Kozak?*].”<sup>37</sup> Using a play on words and rhyme (the Russian words for Cossack, *kazak*, and goat, *koza*, sound similar), this *lubok* not only illustrates the fear of the French when confronted by an old

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Polish invasion during the Time of Troubles. For more on the Polish troops and reaction to them, see Janet Hartley, “Russia in 1812 Part I,” 179-180; K. K. Arnol’di, “Frantsuzy v Mogileve-na-Dnepre” *Russkaia starina* 4/8 (1873): 233-237; and Roman Soltyk, *Napoleon en 1812: Mémoires historiques et militaires sur la campagne de Russie* (Paris, 1836).

<sup>35</sup>A. E. Zarin, *Zhenshchiny–geroini v 1812 godu: ocherki i razskazy iz epochi velikoi otechestvennoi voiny* (Moscow, 1913), 20-27; Hartley, “Russia in 1812, Part 1,” 195. Zarin, writing 100 years later as part of the centenary memories of the war, writes, “had Napoleon known of such women he would not have invaded Russia.”

<sup>36</sup>GPIB ORK, Papka 2.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 195. The *lubok* resembles another image, entitled “The French marauders are frightened by a goat.” See Ibid., vol. 2, 159.

woman and a goat, but their lack of intelligence as well.<sup>38</sup> A second *lubok* that echoes these themes is “The Grandmother Kuz’minishna Treats the French Marauders with *Shchi*” (Fig. 12).<sup>39</sup> This image from an unidentified artist, cruder than other *lubki* of the time as a result of poorer production technique, portrays four French soldiers eating *shchi*, a Russian soup, which they find distasteful. One of the Frenchmen, who are all near starvation, complains “Oh, the soup is not good!—Madam!—The soup is awful!,” warning his comrades not to eat too much. The babushka replies “here is good soup for you made from filth, eat up!”<sup>40</sup> The text at the bottom of the image boldly proclaims: “Kuzminishna! You are worthy of your good name, taking four Frenchmen as though for a game.” Again the desperation of the French troops, a state in which their Russian experiences has left them, has led them to be fooled by a Russian peasant woman.

Other images ridiculed the French people in general, including those living in Russia.<sup>41</sup> The print “French Teachers and Artists Leave Moscow” (Fig. 13), also by an unknown artist, depicts six French residents of Moscow leaving the city in the wake of the destruction their former countrymen have brought.<sup>42</sup> From left to right in the image, a cook, coachman, wine-merchant, musician, and a fashionably dressed woman take leave

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<sup>38</sup> Although the text supplies the joke, the subject of image could still be easily interpreted by an illiterate reader who could see an old woman scaring off four French soldiers. As Terebenev and his fellow artists made clear, the texts of their caricatures were primarily meant to add further context to the image itself.

<sup>39</sup> GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 203-204.

<sup>41</sup> In this respect I disagree with the assessment of John Bowlt, who argues that “it was Napoleon, rather than the French people as a whole, who was the target of abuse” from Russian artists. See Bowlt, “Russian Painting,” 121. see also his article, “Art and Violence: The Russian Caricature in the Early Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries” *20<sup>th</sup> Century Studies* (December 1975): 56-76.

<sup>42</sup> GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

of their city, imploring “Forgive us, Moscow!”<sup>43</sup> *Lubki* also ridiculed the French for following Napoleon, their artistic and commercial culture, and their perceived attempts to dominate Europe.<sup>44</sup> One of these prints deserves some commentary. Venetsianov’s image “French Activity in a Store (Figure 14)” allowed the artist the chance to revisit an old theme. The image features an enormous French woman (identified as “the Madam” in Venetsianov’s text) lounging in a daybed within a “store.” Around the woman stand sycophantic French courtiers, while a group of French women sit idly around a table. In this *lubok* Venetsianov has depicted all of French culture as degenerate, but he has used the same figures and structure he captured in his attack on French manners within Russia in 1808 (see Figure 5). During the war against Napoleon, however, Venetsianov’s anti-Petersburg overtones were deemed acceptable.

These depictions had important ramifications within Russia, and partly illustrated actual events of the time. Foreign residents were deported throughout Russia as Napoleon’s army approached Moscow, and again after it left. In Moscow, the city administration expelled thirty-nine foreigners (Germans, Austrians, Swiss, and Prussians as well as French), including Armand Domergue, the stage manager of the Imperial Theater. Many of these deportees had lived in Russia for a long time, while three of the French held Russian citizenship. Similar events transpired in Kaluga, Kozel’sk, and Borovsk.<sup>45</sup> Because of the war, in other words, Venetsianov’s prewar anti-French

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 177. See also Venetsianov’s image “*Izgnanie iz Moskvy frantsuzskikh aktris*” (“The Expulsion from Moscow of a French Actress”) for similar themes, in Ibid., vol. 2, 178.

<sup>44</sup>See Terebenev’s “The Carnival, or the Parisian Musician at Shrovetide,” “Napoleon Sells By Auction His Stolen Antiques,” and the *lubok* from an unnamed artist, “Napoleon’s Impertinence” in GPIB ORK, Papka 1 & 2; and the Venetsianov image “The French Store for Pomade and Perfumes” in Vereshchagin, *Russkaia karikatura*, Vol. II.

<sup>45</sup>Hartley, “Russia in 1812, Part 2,” 406. See also Domergue’s memoirs, *La Russe pendant les guerres de l’Empire (1805-1815)*. *Souvenirs historiques* Vol. 1 (Paris, 1835).

attitudes found fertile ground in Russian culture and certainly crystallized trends within Russian society and government that had appeared before 1812.

The *lubki* of 1812 show how Napoleon and his French troops ignited a nationalistic explosion in Russia when they invaded.<sup>46</sup> The experience of the invasion and subsequent Russian winter rendered Napoleon and his troops powerless, and the *lubki* illustrated this view by depicting the French leader and soldiers as impotent when confronted by peasant women, Cossacks, and peasant men. The popular pictures made during 1812-1813 ensured that Russians who bought them would remember the destruction that Napoleon had brought to Russia, and reassured viewers that the French had paid a high price for what they had done. For the artists who made them, these prints crystallized ideas about Westernization, foreign culture, and Francophobia that had started to surface by the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup> The images of 1812 popularized these notions and helped to shape developments in Russian intellectual and cultural movements for the rest of the nineteenth century.

When they made use of the symbols and figures that they did, the *lubok* artists of 1812-1815 drew on the shared myths, symbols, memories, and traditions of Russians to help their fellow countrymen understand the war and to exhort them to fight. By using the *lubok* tradition and iconic figures such as the peasant and Cossack, these artists did not create a “modern” national identity so much as they refashioned long-standing myths and memories about Russian nationhood. As Anthony Smith has argued, native

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<sup>46</sup>Similar trends can be detected in other arts in Russia after Napoleon’s invasion. Musical compositions performed in Moscow in 1813 included Steibelt’s *The Burning of Moscow*, among others, while patriotic plays, folk songs, intermezzos, and satirical sketches dominated Moscow theaters the same year. See Richard Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power* (ms in progress). I thank Richard Stites for sharing with me portions of this manuscript. In addition to Steibelt’s music, the serf composer Stepan Degtiaryov (1766-1813) also composed patriotic odes in the wake of Napoleon’s invasion, including *Mnin and Pozharsky*, *The Liberation of Moscow*, and *Napoleon’s Flight*, the last one unfinished.

<sup>47</sup> Hans Rogger has noted how many educated Russians began to react against French manners and morals in their country over the course of the eighteenth century. The events of 1812 and Venetsianov’s images helped to spread these ideas throughout Russia. See Rogger, *National Consciousness*.

intellectuals often “rediscovered and reappropriated a selective ethno-history out of pre-existing myths, symbols and traditions to be found in the historical record and in the living memories of ‘the people’” in order to inspire nationalism.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps nowhere does this appropriation appear more clearly than in the Russian popular prints devoted to the Napoleonic invasion.

The artists of 1812 also used their training in the Petersburg academies to blend classical imagery with Russian wartime realities. Ivanov’s 1813 *lubok* “The Russian Curtius” (Fig. 15) depicts a solitary Russian soldier fending off six Frenchmen, one of whom is poised behind the Russian soldier about to deliver a death blow to the defender.<sup>49</sup> In the background of the *lubok* one can make out the Kremlin’s cathedrals, easily identified by their golden onion domes. This print, like “The Russian Scaevola” discussed below, used a legend from Roman mythology to illustrate an episode from 1812. A Moscow militiaman, as the text explains, saw a Polish colonel and thought that he was Napoleon. He attempted to assassinate the colonel but was killed. The *lubok* concludes that this “warrior [*ratnik*] of the Moscow militia is sacrificing his life for the purpose of saving the fatherland [*otechestvo*] from the malicious enemy, Napoleon.”<sup>50</sup> Although faced with such odds, this image suggests, the Russian soldier fought until the very end to defend his homeland, symbolized here by the Moscow Kremlin. His actions

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<sup>48</sup> Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 194. Although theorists of national identity disagree about the origins, development, and significance of nationalism, most acknowledge this process of appropriation and use of symbols. For more on this topic, see Eric Hobsbawm’s work, particularly his volume co-edited with Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), and the collection of essays edited by Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin, *Myths and Nationhood* (NY: Routledge, 1997), among others.

<sup>49</sup> GPIB ORK, Papka 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 208-209. The legend of Marcus Curtius appears in Livy’s *History of Rome*, Book 7 Chapter 5. It tells of how an enormous cavern opened up in the Roman Forum once “owing either to an earthquake or the action of some other force.” When city officials were unable to fill the chasm, they turned to some local seers, who foretold that the city’s most prized possession would have to be cast into it. Marcus Curtius, a young soldier who had distinguished himself in battle, declared that nothing was more valuable in Rome than a courageous citizen, and he rode his horse into the pit, which then closed. The tale is used as an illustration of the glory of dying for one’s fatherland.

clearly inspire fear within the Napoleon look-alike and his troops, who cower to the right side of the action.

The Terebenev caricature “The Russian Hercules Drives Off the French” (Fig. 16) depicts a gigantic Russian peasant wrestling with five puny French troops who cower in fear from this Greek god.<sup>51</sup> A French general, possibly Napoleon himself, crouches behind a bush to the left of the gargantuan peasant, also trembling before the strength of the Russian. In a similar manner to the print discussed above (Fig. 15), but with a different outcome, this image stresses the willingness of the Russian peasant soldier and partisan to fight any number of French troops. In this example, Terebenev symbolizes the strength of the Russian peasant over the French invaders by casting the partisans as a Hercules figure.<sup>52</sup> The text notes that the Russian Hercules “crushed [the French] like a man [*davil kak muzh*],”<sup>53</sup> and the size of the Russian peasant evokes the idea of Russia’s own vast size as a source of its strength.<sup>54</sup>

These examples demonstrate how Terebenev and his fellow artists in many ways could not escape the ideas of the Petersburg Academy. All three artists discussed in this essay had exposure to the classical themes popular throughout Europe at the time, and all three were inspired by them. Terebenev, Ivanov, and Venetsianov used the genre of the

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<sup>51</sup>GPIB ORK, Papka 1. The lubok resembles the *lubok* “The Russian Hercules from the City of Sychevka,” described in Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 160.

<sup>52</sup>The image is strikingly similar to popular prints from later wars, particularly the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, when several *lubki* featured giant Russians tossing aside small Japanese troops. See particularly “Cossack Petrukha” in GPIB ORK, OIK 1578-a.

<sup>53</sup>GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

<sup>54</sup>See also the Terebenev print “The Peasant Taking a Cannon from the French,” which features a solitary Russian partisan stealing from the French while they were away. GPIB ORK, Papka 1. For more Terebenev images featuring Cossacks and peasants, see, for example, the print “With what did he conquer our enemy? The *nagaika*!”, a print that depicts a solitary Cossack thrashing a French cavalry officer with his whip (*nagaika*); “The Firmness of the Russian Peasant,” which features a single Russian peasant refusing to answer the questions of two French marauders; and “The Cossack Hands Napoleon a Visitor’s Pass for a Reciprocal Visit,” which depicts a Cossack holding open a door for Napoleon and one of his marshals, giving them a pass to “Moscow” in return for permission to go to Paris. All of these images are in GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

popular print to depict Roman heroes such as Curtius and classical figures such as Hercules to advance ideas about Russianness. By doing this, the *lubok* artists appropriated various cultures in a way that blurred distinctions between “high” and “low.”<sup>55</sup>

The *lubki* from 1812-1815 also gave examples of what one might call a “Russian spirit” that came to define a unique quality of Russian identity, and a trait that continued to be articulated in future war images. Ideas about this Russian quality had begun to be articulated during the eighteenth century among several Russian intellectuals, but it took an event like 1812 to give these attitudes a popular context.<sup>56</sup> Ivanov’s *lubok* “The Spirit of the Fearless Russians” illustrates this theme best (Fig. 17).<sup>57</sup> The image shows a solitary, bearded Russian peasant standing with his hand over his heart as a French firing squad, commanded by Napoleon himself, takes aim. To the right of the image a larger group of Russians await the same fate. The image proves even more striking in its setting, for these events transpire in Cathedral Square inside the Moscow Kremlin. The text states that the scene depicts “the exemplary firmness of spirit in twenty Russian peasants, whom Napoleon inhumanly [*bezchelovechnno*] sentenced to be shot for their love of faith, Tsar, and the Fatherland [*liubov’ k vere, gosudariu i otechestvu*].”<sup>58</sup> The peasant about to be shot cries out “Remember me, Lord! Forgive me, good people!” as he faces his executioners.

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<sup>55</sup> For an example of how this worked in France, see Roger Chartier, “Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France” in Steven Kaplan, ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984), 229-253. Alison Hilton also discusses this relationship in her article, “Russian Folk Art and ‘High’ Art in the Early Nineteenth Century” in Theofanis Stavrou, ed., *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia*, 237-254.

<sup>56</sup> See Rogger, *National Consciousness*, 82-83.

<sup>57</sup> GPIB ORK, Papka 1.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 180.

This image had a factual basis. The journal *Syn otechestva* published an account in 1812 that described actions taken by Napoleon in response to numerous guerrilla activities of Russian peasants around Moscow. French troops who marauded the towns near Moscow for food and supplies met with resistance from the Russians, prompting Napoleon to order a large number of peasant men to be rounded up and executed in the Kremlin as a warning against future disturbances.<sup>59</sup>

Other *lubki* offered further examples of the heroism of Russians in equally dramatic forms. “The Russian Scaevola” recounts the legend of a Russian peasant captured by the French and branded with the letter “N” (for Napoleon) on his forearm. Based on the legend of Mutius Scaevola, a Roman famous for his courage and patriotism,<sup>60</sup> the *lubok* depicts the interior of a peasant hut, where this striking Russian peasant, clad entirely in white, is in the process of cleaving his branded arm in half with a small axe (Fig. 18).<sup>61</sup> Five French soldiers shy away from the peasant, intimidated by his superior strength and determination. The text states in a matter-of-fact fashion that Scaevola would rather lose an arm “in order not to serve Napoleon, the enemy of the

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<sup>59</sup>Kaganovich, *Ivan Ivanovich Terebenev, 1780-1815*, 100-101. Kaganovich later claims that Terebenev and his contemporaries “never created caricatures on abstract themes—all of them were closely connected with the concrete facts of international life and the course of military actions,” a fact that accounts for the popularity of their images (117).

<sup>60</sup>Mucius Scaevola, surnamed Cordus, became famous when Porsenna, the king of the Etruscans, besieged Rome during the Etruscan wars. Mucius, a patriotic Roman, disguised himself and gained entry into Porsenna’s tent. Mistaking Porsenna’s secretary as the Etruscan king, Mucius killed him. When Porsenna asked Mucius why he committed murder, legend has it that Mucius replied that he was a Roman and had sworn to destroy Porsenna and his men or perish doing so. Out of anger at having failed to accomplish his sworn task, Mucius then plunged his right hand into burning coals without uttering a sound. Porsenna, as the legend recounts, was so astonished by the act that he withdrew from Rome. Mucius obtained the surname Scaevola because he could no longer use his right hand, and had a statue erected in his honor in Rome. The story of Mucius Scaevola appears most famously in Livy’s *History of Rome* (book 2, Chapters 12 and 13), where it is cited as an example of Roman patriotism.

<sup>61</sup>GPIB ORK, Papka 2.



Fatherland,” while praising the “glory of the Russian [*Rossian*] in 1812 during the French invasion of Russia.”<sup>62</sup>

The idea of “Russianness” that the images of 1812 depict stressed the Russian peasant and Cossack, but were not limited just to examples of the Russian “spirit.” While the vast majority of war *lubki* included representations of heroism, intelligence, and military strength, a few images associated Russian patriotism with certain figures and institutions that symbolized Russian culture. Foremost among these were the tsar and the Orthodox Church. Religion, and particularly the dominant role of the Orthodox Church in Russian daily life, has long been associated with Russian national identity, especially its popular variant. The images of 1812 made subtle references to this religious identity and associated it with the emerging definitions of “Russianness” that characterized the iconography of the Patriotic War. *Lubki* such as “The Spirit of the Fearless Russians” (Fig. 17) described how the Russian peasants captured and then executed by Napoleon died because of their “love for their faith, tsar and fatherland,” thus linking these three concepts as components of national identity. Moreover, the peasant at the center of this popular picture dies asking “Remember us, Lord,” words meant to imply that the heroism and spirit of this brave Russian defender come from his faith.<sup>63</sup>

Other images offered more subtle reminders of the importance of Orthodoxy in defining Russian national identity and patriotism. The war *lubok* made frequent reference to the French as “infidels” (*basurmany*) who had to be expelled from Russia. Above all, however, Orthodoxy and its association with patriotism in the 1812 images could be seen in the background of the many war *lubki* that featured Russian Orthodox

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid. Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, vol. 2, 208. This 1813 image from Ivanov was clearly drawn from an 1812 Terebenev image of the same title. See Vereshchagin, *Russkaia karikatura*, 153-154. In addition, at least two other *kartinki* recounting the same legend appeared in 1813-1814.

<sup>63</sup>This association of Russian national identity with faith and the tsar also appears in a proclamation issued by a peasant partisan to his followers in 1812: “You are people of the Russian faith, you are Orthodox peasants! Take up arms for the faith and die for your tsar!” Quoted in Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire*, 134.

Churches.<sup>64</sup> This visual association of “Russianness” with the Orthodox Church reinforced the descriptions of Russians willing to die for their faith and also made it possible for all Orthodox Russians to identify with the patriotism illustrated in the *lubki* of 1812. Virtually every Russian town and village had an Orthodox church, and Russians throughout the empire could define themselves and what made them different from the French by focusing on their faith. Future images of war continued to make this association while also stressing even more explicitly the role of the Orthodox faith in defining patriotism, particularly during the Crimean and Russo-Turkish Wars, which *lubok* artists largely depicted as holy wars.

While the victory over the French and the subsequent celebration of the forces that made this triumph possible continued to be the dominant message of the images of 1812 and early 1813, *lubki* from later in 1813 and 1814 increasingly stressed the role of the tsar, Alexander I, in bringing about “divine victory.” In 1812, the tsar made no appearance in war-related caricatures. Representations of the Russian tsar in 1813 also were accompanied by the mythologizing of Kutuzov in Russian culture. The general, who had commanded Russian forces at Borodino, died in April 1813. Terebenev and other artists immediately began to immortalize him in their images of 1813-1814, then turned to glorifying the tsar.<sup>65</sup> One of Terebenev’s images from this period, “General-Field Marshal Prince Golenishchev-Kutuzov in Smolensk Accepting Command of the Russian Troops in August 1812” was widely copied in other prints (Fig. 19). Terebenev based his portrayal of Kutuzov on a legend that circulated throughout Russia at the time. The legend claimed that when Kutuzov first reviewed his troops after receiving command

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<sup>64</sup>See “The Spirit of the Fearless Russians,” Terebenev’s “Napoleon with S. . . After the Burning of Moscow,” “The Ural Cossack Sila Vkhrev,” and “The Russian’s Chickens,” for examples of images with Orthodox churches in them.

<sup>65</sup>Kaganovich, *Ivan Ivanovich Terebenev, 1780-1815*, 119-121.

of the army, an eagle soared above him, symbolizing the great future in store for him.<sup>66</sup> This omen became a standard element in other *lubki* depicting Kutuzov, and marked a shift away from caricatures of Napoleon and illustrations of Russian bravery toward an identification of the heroic leaders of the war.

The *lubok* “The Liberators of Europe (Fig. 20)” represented Terebenev’s contribution to the growing number of images devoted to the emperor of Russia. This print depicts Alexander parading through the streets of France alongside the leaders of the successful coalition against Napoleon with thousands of Europeans cheering on their liberator. Alexander I and his fellow leaders are depicted in allegoric form, with the Russian emperor illustrated as Apollo, with the kings of Austria, Prussia, and England depicted as Mars, Hercules, and Neptune, respectively. For Terebenev, Apollo represented the ideal form for Alexander, because, as the text written by the artist claimed, “God is in harmony with Apollo,” a sign that the Russian emperor was the most blessed of his European contemporaries.<sup>67</sup>

As Richard Wortman has argued, the apotheosis of Alexander I as a popularly-

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid. I. P. Dreiling, a Riga-born officer in the Russian army that fought at Borodino, recorded in his memoirs that an eagle flew above Kutuzov and his troops on the eve of the battle. According to Dreiling, “the prince saw it first, bared his head and exclaimed ‘Hurrah!’” I. P. Dreiling, “Vospominaniia uchastnika voyny 1812 gody” reprinted in F. A. Petrov, ed., *1812 god: vospominaniia voinov russkoi armii: iz sobraniia otdela pis'mennykh istochnikov Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeia* (Moscow, 1991), 373.

<sup>67</sup> See also, among others, “The Battle Near Paris,” which depicts a scene with close hand-to-hand fighting between the French and Russians, who are led by Alexander I.<sup>67</sup> Describing the way the Russian tsar ‘perfectly smashed’ the French, this 1814 *lubok* from an unidentified artist places the figure of the tsar at the center of the victory over Napoleon. Other images reinforce this new theme. “The Defeat of Napoleon Near Paris by the Russian Emperor Alexander I” also describes the tsar’s final triumph over his French counterpart. Alexander I’s entry into Paris also formed the subject of several *lubki*, among them “The Ceremonial Entry into Paris of the Sovereign Emperor Alexander I,” which depicts a majestic Alexander on horseback parading through the streets of the French capital as a crowd cheers him. The text of the *lubok* stresses the divine nature of the Russian tsar and his triumph, stating that “the hands of all the people clap” for Alexander, while “glad voices praise the tsar,” who “pacified” Europe. Describing the Russian emperor as “all-powerful,” “Godlike,” and a “divine being [*Bozhestvo*],” this *lubok* proclaims not only that Alexander “is worthy of his throne,” but also “the highest of all thrones.” A number of other *lubki* extolled the virtues of the tsar, who by 1813 began to be depicted as the principle architect of the victory over Napoleon. All of these images are located at Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei, Izobrazitel’nyi otdel (hereafter GIM IO), Papka 1204.

perceived divine figure reached its height around 1813-1814, when the tsar's image became associated with the "divine victory" over Napoleon.<sup>68</sup> The war *lubki* from this time reinforce Wortman's argument, as Alexander I was lauded for his "all-powerful wisdom and abundant strength, like a God."<sup>69</sup> While the Patriotic War continued to be celebrated as a "people's victory," a theme that the *lubki* of 1812-1813 made clear, later images began to stress the role of the tsar as the architect of this triumph.

Wortman's assertion that Alexander replaced the "people's victory" as the primary visual message of Russian victory after 1813 does not hold entirely true, however, for the *lubki* celebrating the heroism of the Cossack and Russian peasant continued to be distributed throughout Russia—although now they coexisted with images celebrating the leadership of the Russian tsar. Russian patriotism depicted in the war *lubok* had a "divine" emperor whom viewers could contrast with the "insidious" Napoleon. More importantly, the patriotism espoused in the images of 1812 stressed not only the deeds of individual Russians, but also the overarching influence and guidance of their tsar. This relationship between "tsar and people" continued to be stressed only sporadically throughout the nineteenth century, but by the wars of the early twentieth century it had all but disappeared from the *lubok*.<sup>70</sup>

What is striking about the patriotic culture of the war against Napoleon is its lack of attention to Petersburg. Although the *lubok* artists who produced the images discussed above all had training in the art of the Academy, all largely turned away from this

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<sup>68</sup> Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy, Volume One: From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 215-238.

<sup>69</sup> GIM IO, Papka 1204, "The Ceremonial Entry in Paris of the Sovereign Emperor Alexander I."

<sup>70</sup> The relative absence of the tsar from images of the Russo-Japanese War and the Great War also reflect trends in popular conceptions of nationalism after 1905, when the tsar no longer remained a symbol of Russian national identity. See Josh Sanborn, "The Mobilization of 1914 and the Question of the Russian Nation: A Reexamination" and Scott Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship: The Russian Adult Education Movement and World War I," *Slavic Review* 59/2 (2000): 267-315.

tradition (although a few of the images employed classical themes). In their turn to a more “authentic Russianness” and Russian artistic traditions, Terebenev and his fellow artists excluded St. Petersburg in their ideas about Russian national identity. The war against Napoleon, a defining moment both for Russia’s history and its sense of identity, did not take place in Petersburg, nor did the cultural forms of the capital prove entirely worthy of capturing the essence of 1812. St. Petersburg and all it stood for, in the work of Terebenev, Ivanov, Venetsianov, and other *lubok* artists, had become the antithesis of Russian distinctiveness. Many historians have noted how the war crystallized these beliefs in the years after 1812, but few have discussed this process during the war itself, when this kind of traumatic event initiated new trends in Russian culture.<sup>71</sup> The *lubok* artists and their work helps to illustrate how the turn inward, toward ideas about “Russianness” and thus away from Petersburg, took place as a result of 1812. The popularity of their images in turn helped to advance this concept, and it is to the reception of these prints that we now turn.

### ***Picturing Russian Patriotism After 1812***

The fusing of classical themes, patriotic ideals, and the Russian popular image helped to usher in a new patriotic culture in Russia after 1812. Newspaper reports during

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<sup>71</sup>Historians have studied the changes in Russian patriotism after 1812 in a variety of ways, but rarely have they focused on popular culture during the war itself. For more on the cultural re-orientation in Russia after 1812, see Peter Christoff, *The Third Heart: Some Intellectual-Ideological Currents and Cross Currents in Russia, 1800-1830* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), which explores how Russian intellectuals developed their own sense of national identity during the Napoleonic era and how it influenced the Slavophiles and Westernizers. A more recent account that explores how the Napoleonic era influenced Russian conservative thought is Alexander Martin, *Romantics, Reformers, Reactionaries: Russian Conservative Thought and Politics in the Reign of Alexander I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1997). The war also popularized notions of defining the Russian character as distinct from the West, ideas that had developed in the eighteenth century among literary figures such as Yakov Kniazhnin and Mikhail Kheraskov. For more on this early cultural development, see Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (NY: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 58-59. Napoleon’s invasion also initiated a new interest in Moscow as a site of Russianness, a belief captured in the images from Petersburg artists in 1812. For more on this reorientation, see Sidney Monas, “St. Petersburg and Moscow as Cultural Symbols” in Stavrou, ed., *Art and Culture*; and Richard Wortman, “Moscow and Petersburg: The Problem of Political Center in Tsarist Russia, 1881-1914” in Sean Wilentz, *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985): 244-271.

the war discussed the images of the Petersburg artists and recorded their successful sales. Terebenev's prints in particular sold well, as one journal report confirmed, for "peddlers trading engravings and *lubok* pictures supply the city and the village population with thousands of portraits of the Russian emperor and the distinctive heroes (including Kutuzov) of the war with Napoleon."<sup>72</sup> Other accounts of the *lubok* trade during the Patriotic War note that the images of Terebenev, Ivanov, and others could be found in Petersburg stores, newspapers, journals, and from street peddlers who specialized in the *lubok* trade.<sup>73</sup>

The war years also transformed the popular prints into commercially viable products. Terebenev's *lubki* in particular sold so well that several publishers engaged in a bidding war for his services. Many of the pictures from the war appeared for sale before they had officially passed the censorship committees, such was the demand for the images. Terebenev's in particular attracted a fierce competition for his services. Initially he sold his prints exclusively to Ivan Glazunov, a publisher with stores in St. Petersburg. Glazunov in turn distributed the prints through his various stores and through the peddlers employed to disseminate the prints throughout the country. In March 1813, however, because of the tremendous sales of the Terebenev *lubki*, the artist signed a new contract to work with a different publisher who would pay the artist more and who had offices in Moscow as well as St. Petersburg. Because of the intense competition for the prints, publishers began to denounce one another—in particular, the Petersburg publisher Glazunov issued a statement that he was not related to the publishers of the same name (Ivan and Matvei Glazunov, two brothers). Particularly galling to the Petersburg Glazunov was the fact that his Moscow counterparts had seized on the popularity of the *lubok* and used the traditional markets, which were located in Moscow, to their

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<sup>72</sup>Quoted in Kaganovich, *Ivan Ivanovich Terebenev*, 119.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*

advantage.<sup>74</sup> In the competition over the products of the patriotic culture, Moscow and its publishers defeated St. Petersburg.

The years after the war consolidated the popularity of these prints and helped to make them a permanent part of Russian patriotic culture and memory. Published accounts of participants from the war mentioned the role of the images in capturing the spirit of the times, including an account by a French doctor captured during the retreat from Moscow and taunted by a Russian landowner brandishing Terebenev's prints.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the *raek*, or peepshow popular at Russian fairs, featured *lubki* that were placed in a box and viewed with a magnifying glass. Peepshow storytellers, known as *raeshniki*, provided explanations about the images that helped to make popular prints come to life. After 1812 peepshows featuring wartime *lubki* became increasingly popular.<sup>76</sup> Many of the *raeshniki* were veterans of the war against Napoleon, and they helped to propagate stories about the heroes of 1812 (including their own deeds) to whoever listened. The *lubki* of the Patriotic War, therefore, became the source for popular entertainments for years afterward, and in the process furthered the historical memory of the war itself.

Nineteenth-century Russian scholars also provided assessments of both the *lubok*'s popularity and its impact in Russia during the Napoleonic invasion. Commenting on the images of the Patriotic War, Ivan Snegirev, the tsarist censor responsible for *lubki* but also a scholar of these images, noted in his 1861 work that the Russian government "used the caricatures as a means for excitation in the people an eagerness to protect the

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<sup>74</sup> Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (RGIA), f. 777, op. 27, d. 183, l. 118, no. 183; d. 184, l. 22, no. 137; M. Peltzer, "Russkaia politicheskaiia kartinka 1812 goda: usloviia proizvodstva i khudozhestvennye osobennosti" in B. M. Sokolov, ed., *Mir narodnoi kartinki* (Moscow, 1999), 177.

<sup>75</sup> *Russkaia starina* 1892, t. 73 (March): 594-596. The account is reprinted in Kaganovich, Ivan Ivanovich Terebenev 1780-1815, 118-119. The doctor, de la Fliz, spoke Russian and translated the account himself. According to de la Fliz, these images depicted "all the disasters of the retreat from Moscow," and though they exaggerated their subjects, they "represented the bitter truth."

<sup>76</sup> A. F. Nekrylova, *Russkie narodnye gorodskie prazdniki, uveseleniia i zrelishcha* (Leningrad, 1988), 95-125; A. M. Konechnyi, "Raek v sisteme peterburgskoi narodnoi kul'tury" *Russkii folklor* 25 (1989): 123-138.

fatherland from a powerful enemy.” Snegirev documented the widespread appeal of the wartime images, which captured the “funny and the farcical combined with the awful and even disgusting” features of that war, particularly the French retreat from Moscow. In particular, he praised the work of Terebenev, who truly captured the “national spirit [*dukh narodnyi*]” of the time.<sup>77</sup> Dmitrii Rovinskii’s unsurpassed five-volume collection of *lubki*, first published in 1881, listed a large number of the images from 1812, which he viewed positively. In particular, Rovinskii found the images from the Patriotic War interesting, and while they tended to exaggerate the history of the time, they also helped to establish a popular memory of the victory over Napoleon.<sup>78</sup> He catalogued nearly 150 *lubki* from 1812, listing their texts and the artists who created them in cases where this information was known. Rovinskii wrote that “patriotic *lubki*” were a particularly popular form of these Russian images and believed that popular pictures from the Patriotic War inspired Russians to victory and helped them form a lasting interpretation of Napoleon’s invasion.

Vladimir Denisov, whose succinct work *Voina i lubok* first appeared during the First World War, also attested to the importance of the *lubki* of 1812 and how the memory of the war had found room for the memory of its images. He wrote that “the Patriotic War left deep traces in Russian life,” and that the *lubok*’s depiction of the ultimate victory over Napoleon was “involuntarily” impressed “in the memory of past Russian army successes.” Denisov asserted that the *lubki* of 1812 marked the first time that the patriotic *lubok* came into its own as a carrier of nationalism in Russia, and that its

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<sup>77</sup>Ivan Snegirev, *Lubochnyia kartinki russkago naroda v Moskovskom mirie* (Moscow, 1861), 133-134.

<sup>78</sup>See A. F. Koni, “Dmitrii Aleksanrovich Rovinskii,” in *Ocherki i vospominaniia: publichnyia chteniia rechi, stat’i, i ziamiatki* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 588-590.



significance rested in its popularity and the lasting impressions it made in future images of war.<sup>79</sup>

One cannot conclusively state that the images from 1812 helped to foster a popular patriotism that took hold throughout Russia, but they certainly contributed to the rethinking of national identity that took place throughout Russia in the wake of 1812. The images from the war against Napoleon undoubtedly left a lasting mark. They not only illustrated the “visual world” of the time; they also revealed a great deal about how the artists who produced them defined “Russianness” in 1812.<sup>80</sup> In the years immediately following Napoleon’s defeat, for example, Terebenev’s images were reproduced in newspapers, an illustrated children’s book for learning the alphabet, and even on sets of fine china sold to Russia’s elites.<sup>81</sup> A generation of Russian schoolchildren thus learned to associate the letter “v” with the work “*vorona*,” or “crow,” complete with Terebenev’s *lubok* “French Crow’s Soup (Figure 21).” Terebenev selected the images for his alphabet himself, and even included works by Venetsianov and Ivanov. He wanted to leave a gift to his countrymen that would help to continue the memory of 1812 in the years afterwards, and again believed that the wartime images were the best means to do so. The *Azbuka 1812 goda* eventually became more popularly called “Terebenev’s ABCs.”<sup>82</sup>

The French emperor and his troops, who provided the means by which Russians defined themselves and expressed patriotism throughout this war, continued to be

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<sup>79</sup>Denisov, *Voina i lubok*, 19-21. V.A. Vereshchagin also published a three-volume study of Russian caricature in 1912 to celebrate the “founding date” of Russian imagery. The second volume of the study was devoted entirely to Terebenev, Ivanov, and Venetsianov. See Vereshchagin, *Russkaia karikatura*.

<sup>80</sup>Again, it is useful to note that the ways in which the lubki artists articulated Russian national identity in 1812 corresponded to similar themes in all the arts. See Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia*.

<sup>81</sup>Kaganovich, *Ivan Ivanovich Terebenev*, 140; for the china reproductions, see I. A. Ezerskaia and Iu. F. Prudnikov, *Nedarom pomnit vsia Rossiia: otechestvennaia voina 1812 goda* (Moscow, 1986).

<sup>82</sup>The original Terebenev alphabet book was published in 1815, shortly after his death. It can be found on the internet at: <<http://www.museum.ru/museum/1812/English/Library/Azbuka/index.html>>

depicted in *lubki* from later wars. Every successive Russian war, beginning with the Crimean conflict and including the Great War, gave rise to images depicting the French emperor, reminding Russians of the source of their “popular” patriotism. The Russian government officially commissioned a reprint of all of Terebenev’s Patriotic War images in 1855, during the siege of Sevastopol, in order to inspire its residents and all Russians to defeat the new adversary.<sup>83</sup> During the Soviet era, when the Nazi armies invaded Russia on the same day that Napoleon had, poster artists began to make explicit comparisons between the two “infidels.” Napoleon’s image appeared in countless posters, films, and other forms of popular culture, insuring that the memory of 1812 survived in Russian visual culture and Russian national identity.<sup>84</sup>

The artists who brought about this change in 1812 took different paths after the war ended. Terebenev died at the end of the war, in 1815. His death helped to consolidate his significance as a *lubok* artist and his images continued to inspire future patriotic Russians, particularly after they appeared in Rovinskii’s collection. Curiously (or perhaps fittingly), Terebenev’s son Alexander, wanted to be a sculptor. Alexander studied at the Academy of Fine Arts after his father’s death and eventually made his mark on the St. Petersburg scene. When Nicholas I ordered a New Hermitage building to be constructed (1839-1851), the most important features of the building would be its sculptures. Alexander Terebenev carved the most memorable of these sculptures, the ten

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<sup>83</sup>Kaganovich, *Ivan Ivanovich Terebenev, 1780-1815*, 120. In the midst of the Crimean War, the paper *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* printed a special dedication to Terebenev and his Patriotic War caricatures, which, according to the author, had helped to inspire Russians throughout 1812 and 1813. The author wrote that he remembered viewing Terebenev’s images on the shop windows of St. Petersburg, where they always drew a crowd.

<sup>84</sup>N. G. Miniailo, “Otechestvennaia voina 1812 goda v ‘Oknakh TASS’ (1941-1945)” in E. I. Itkina, ed., *Stranitsy khudozhestvennogo nasledii Rossii XVI-XX vekov* (Moscow, 1997), 75-88. See also the Second World War posters from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace’s Russian and Soviet Poster Collection: RU/SU 2112 (“The enemies and the hordes in great disarray”), RU/SU 1921.4 (“So it was, so it will be!”), and RU/SU 2129 (“The lion and the kitty”) are examples of Soviet posters ridiculing Hitler as another Napoleon.

enormous figures of Atlas that hold up the building.<sup>85</sup> A Terebenev tradition had developed, and the family's relationship to St. Petersburg and its culture came full circle.

Ivanov also took a similar path, returning to St. Petersburg and the familiar confines of the artistic and cultural scene there. It was Aleksei Venetsianov, however, who turned away from St. Petersburg the most. The outsider of the group, his patriotic fervor of 1812 never extinguished itself in the years afterwards. Venetsianov's experience in making prints that celebrated Russianness led him to pursue a career as a painter. Beginning in 1819, he spent his summers at his estate in the Tver province, where he painted scenes of peasant life. Venetsianov established an art school there that explicitly rejected the Imperial Academy. His work in both respects led one Russian critic in 1878 to claim that he began "a national Russian road" in art.<sup>86</sup> Paintings such as *The Threshing Floor* (1822-1823) gained Venetsianov this reputation, but in many respects his peasant art represented a continuation of the themes he developed in his wartime caricatures.<sup>87</sup>

Napoleon's invasion, as the images of 1812 reveal, would not be forgotten by the Russians. By launching an attack on Russia in 1812, the French emperor helped to awaken a redefinition of Russian national identity that would continue to find expression over the course of the century. The patriotism espoused in the prints of Terebenev and his contemporaries served as one of the first expressions of the turn away from Petersburg culture (embodied in the Academy) and toward that of Moscow after 1812. Over the course of the next century, future wartime prints continued to capture this turn—with one exception, all of the prints from the Crimean, Russo-Turkish, Russo-

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<sup>85</sup> Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 403.

<sup>86</sup> Gray, "The Real and the Ideal," 655. Venetsianov married an impoverished noblewoman from Tver' in 1815; he bought the country home the same year.

<sup>87</sup> See Bowl, "Russian Painting" and "Russian Caricature"; Gray, "The Real and the Ideal" for more on Venetsianov after the war. Gray focuses on Venetsianov's paintings and how their depictions of peasants represented a blend of ideals taught in the Academy with the realist tradition underway in Russian culture. In many respects, this blending occurred first in Venetsianov's patriotic *lubki*.

Japanese, and First World Wars featured sites in Moscow or the Russian countryside, but never the Imperial capital.<sup>88</sup>

### ***Coda***

The Great War of 1914 was a momentous event for Vladimir Mayakovsky. Although he had already established himself as an avant-garde poet before 1914, the war gave Mayakovsky the opportunity to indulge in one of his long-standing interests: painting *lubki*. When he was a young child, Mayakovsky spent hours pouring over the collection of Russian popular prints published by Dmitry Rovinskii. He particularly enjoyed the images of 1812 and the patriotic culture captured in the *lubki* of Terebenev, Venetsianov, and Ivanov. Mayakovsky's early poetry, as he later wrote, was an attempt to create a "*lubok* language," one that combined the visual and emotional intensity of the prints to the rhyme of verse. Part of the artistic world of the early twentieth century that "rediscovered" the Russian *lubok* as an important national art, Mayakovsky decided to produce the prints after war was declared in 1914.

His wartime *lubki* drew on the iconography of the Patriotic War prints. Mayakovsky's *lubki* ridiculed the German and Turkish enemies, placed the Russian peasant and soldier at the center of his definition of nationhood, and furthered the patriotic culture established in 1812—a culture that did not include St. Petersburg. After his initial enthusiasm for the Great War, Mayakovsky grew disillusioned (he later regretted his patriotism of 1914). When Nicholas II abdicated in 1917, however, Mayakovsky picked up his art materials again. From February 1917 until the 1920s, Mayakovsky helped to found a visual culture for the Bolsheviks that built upon the *lubok*. His ROSTA windows were explicit attempts to transfer the appeal of the tsarist popular print to the new regime. Mayakovsky's imagery and its significance paralleled that of Terebenev's in one more important way. Just like his inspiration, Mayakovsky also

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<sup>88</sup> See Stephen M. Norris, "Russian Images of War: The *Lubok* and Wartime Culture, 1812-1917" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2002), Chapters 4-7.

wanted to leave a “gift” to the Soviet people that made use of his post-1917 prints. He designed his own Soviet alphabet book for children that remained in use well into the 1970s.<sup>89</sup> In more than one way, therefore, Mayakovsky furthered the legacy of 1812 and the patriotic culture that emanated from that event.

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<sup>89</sup>See, for example, Galina Dutkina, *Moscow Days: Life and Hard Times in the New Russia* (New York: Kodansha International, 1996), 3; and Evgeny Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades: Revolutionary Artists and the Making of Early Soviet Children's Books* (University of Washington Press, 1999). For more on Mayakovsky during the First World War, see Stephen M. Norris, “Russian Images of War,” Chapter 8.



Figure 1

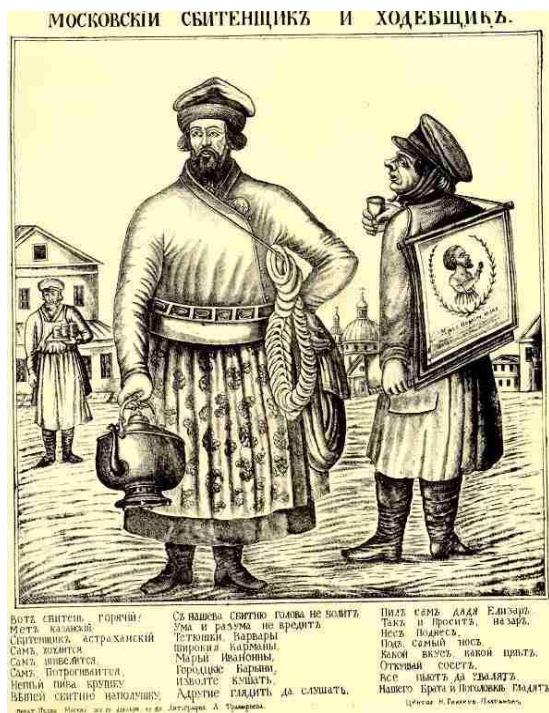
Figure 2: *Lubok* Peddlers





Figure 3: V. Vasnetsov, *Book Sellers*



Figure 4: Petr Sokolov, *Checkers Players* (1869)

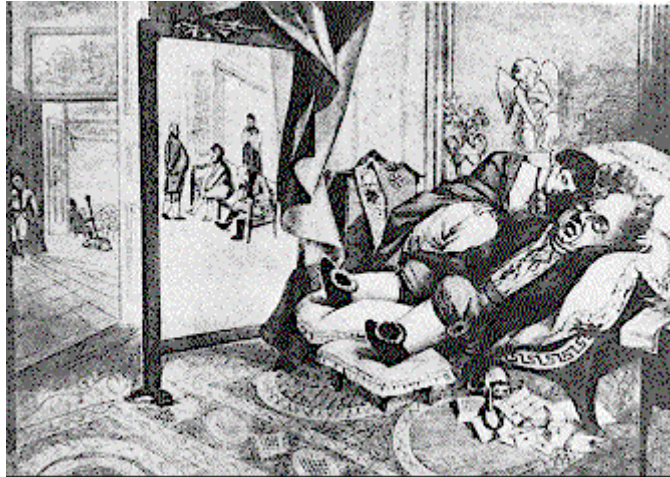


Figure 5

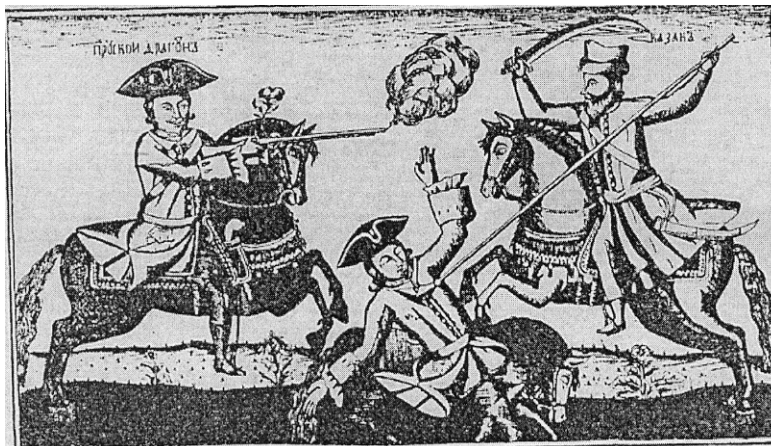


Figure 6





Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10





Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14





Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18





Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21