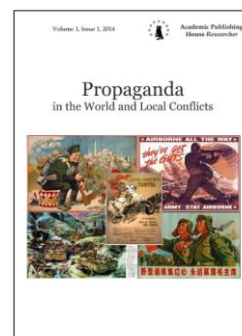


Copyright © 2017 by Academic Publishing House Researcher s.r.o.



Published in the Slovak Republic
 Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts
 Has been issued since 2014.
 ISSN 2500-1078, E-ISSN 2500-3712
 2017, 4(1): 4-16

DOI: 10.13187/pwlc.2017.1.4
www.ejournal47.com



Articles and Statements

Political Caricature during World War I (based on the Examples of Positive Visualization of the “Friends” and Negative Visualization of the “Foes” in the Don Periodical Press Satirical Cartoons)

Maria V. Bratolyubova ^{a, *}, Vladimir P. Trut ^a

^a Southern Federal University, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article deals with the problem of political caricature as a visual-content component of the mass propaganda during the international military-political crisis of World War I, based on the analysis of the satirical drawings presented on the pages of the Don periodical press during the war. We analyze the positive visualization of the “friends” and the negative visualization of the “foes” in the satirical cartoons in the Don periodical press during World War I. We considered the most typical examples of a political caricature, as well as their content and the connection between their visual image and the content. In conclusion, the authors note that the visual sources analysis suggests the artistic primitiveness of the “image of the enemy”. The cartoonists intentionally made the “image of the enemy” artistically unattractive. The worse it was, the greater effect it achieved and the more revealing was the absurdity and vulgarity of the enemy. Thus, it weakened the physical and moral strength of the enemy.

Keywords: Political caricature, propaganda, visualization, World War I, Don periodical press.

1. Introduction

The article attempts to trace visualization specifics and describe the strategies of inclusion and exclusion of the terms “friends” and “foes” in satirical works of the Don periodical press during World War I.

Newspaper cartoons were primarily created for the urban educated classes, for the liberal society part that was characterized by moderate free-thinking, and did not participate in the disputes of the party. Its target were the educated citizens who were interested in politics. The satirical graphic art depicted all stages of the escalating hostility – from the “strangers” to the “enemies”.

It is important to take into account the dual nature of periodicals: it served as a tool for shaping the public mood and, at the same time, it was its indicator. In 1914 the “Great War” with its goals, course, prospects, opponents and allies of Russia attracted the attention of the newspaper world – publishers, editors, publicists, cartoonists, as well as the reading public. The readers’

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: m.bratolyubova2015@yandex.ru (Maria V. Bratolyubova),
trut.vladimir@rambler.ru (Vladimir P. Trut)

demand for war-related daily information increased at that time. There was a growing interest in the periodical press, and, consequently, its influence on the "public opinion of the home country and its allied, neutral and hostile states" grew as well (Senyavskaya, 2006: 63). "All the means" of the press were focused "on the main line – the formation of the image of the enemy" (Senyavskaya, 2006: 63). In our study of the "enemy image", here Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and accordingly German, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish troops are the external enemies. "The image of the enemy is a product of propaganda, which demonizes the political and ideological enemy by using semantic, optical and graphic means in order to (as a rule) legitimize their own domination" (Buchbender, 1989: 18).

We studied the leading Don periodical socio-political publications: liberal newspapers "Priazovsky krai", "Yuzhny Telegraf", "Rostovskaya rech", "Taganrogsky vestnik"; pro-monarchist periodicals "Donskoi krai", "Rostovsky na Dony listok"; official periodical "Donskie vedomosti"; satirical papers "Fugas" and "Falanga" as well as special illustrated supplements of some of the listed periodicals.

The analysis of the Don periodical press revealed that caricature as a phenomenon was absent in a number of newspapers. "Priazovsky krai" and "Yuzhny Telegraf" were the leading mass media in the Don region during World War I, for their content and visual materials. They published military and political caricatures of a high content and on a high graphic professional level.

2. Materials and methods

The article contains the Don region periodicals of different political orientation of World War I period. Materials of domestic and foreign historiography on the problem of studying satire as a visual-content part of mass propaganda during World War I were used in the article. In our work we used a multi-factorial approach, a historical-system method that allows studying the object of the research by isolating its individual structural elements, their direct and indirect functions, their connection with each other and with the whole and the scientific-critical analysis.

3. Discussion

The satirical caricature as an element of political propaganda, especially in the period of acute political and military crises, has relatively recently become an independent subject of special historical studies (Golikov, Rybachenok, 2010; Tsykalov, 2012; Tsykalov, 2012; Obolenskaya, 2001; Lazari et al., 2013; Ryabov, 2005; Kuptsova, 2008; Porshneva, 2001). The prospect of researching satirical graphics in regional periodicals is still relevant, for example, a research of a large mass of poorly studied regional caricature in the Don region during the crisis period of 1914–1917. In addition, the study of visual satire as a historical source is one of the tasks of modern source studies.

4. Results

Caricature is a semiprofessional genre, with an opportunity for collective creativity. Like no other, this genre is close to folklore, which makes it suitable for mass distribution. It seems to us that the visual satire of the studied period was characterized by "folklorization" - the desire to make the solidarity that was created "permanent" and, consequently, national. Visual messages are attributed to have casual connection with reality, and therefore they play a decisive role in visualizing "friends" and "foes". Caricature, as well as photography, forms the image of an "enemy". But the caricature provides its viewer with a prepared image that supports identity, proves its own superiority and thereby contributes to the victory. The "image of the enemy" was formed simultaneously "from below" and "from above", both in the historical memory of society and in the ideological policy of the authorities. Propagandistic images of the states of the Quadruple Alliance in many ways were a continuation of the traditional stereotypes that existed before the war: "The old ideas of the East as something exotic and as an object of expansion influenced the image of a stupid, unfortunate sultan who lives in fantastic luxury. The images of a weak, collapsing empire reflecting rivalry with Austria were projected onto the figure of the old and weak Franz Josef" (Jahn, 1995: 173). The dominant role of Wilhelm in this trio and his supposedly satanic character reflect the Russians' perception of Germany as the most dangerous enemy against which all the greatest efforts should be directed.

Public discourse in the first year of military operations presented the imaginary war in a “hurray-patriotic” way. Propaganda tried to impose on the population a certain pre-designed “image of the foe”, but its concepts were often too abstract (Slavs, Russia's honor, the glory of Russian arms, etc.). The image of the Germans as an enemy during World War I was remade and the caricature referred the informed reader to the earlier era. A German, as a generalized image traditional for Russian society before the military confrontation had a positive character: a teacher of European wisdom, a kind of kulturträger (Filippova, 2012). The anti-German images of the enemy were almost not common in pre-revolutionary Russia. This was due to the fact that Germany was a positive cultural orientation for Russia for a long time and both German culture and German language were significant for the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia. Anti-German caricatures were very rare in Russia in the second half of the XIX century. Even at the beginning of World War I, in the midst of anti-Russian agitation and the “corresponding” image of Russians on caricatures, the situation in Russia did not significantly change. Thus Germany was allegorically depicted as a greedy woman with megalomania, ridiculed by her love for the pay book in the Don caricatures at the beginning of the war.

Russia was also portrayed in an allegorical form, usually as a radiant young man. Both visual concepts did not pursue any immediate demonization goals, but were set up within a distance-setting satirical procedure that sought to belittle the enemy and minimize its threatening potential.

In the initial period of the war caricatures did not pursue any agitation goals and were not aimed at creating horrifying images of the enemy; they were made to expose and ridicule the enemy, often a means of entertainment than means of spreading hatred. The German military was most often depicted in the Don region drawings as miserable, crippled or children.



Fig. 1. Caricature "Dreams and reality" (Priazovsky krai. September 3, 1914)

It was the middle of 1915 when a German was depicted on the pages of the Don newspapers and magazines as a different image, as a soulless beast and a militarist. It was a striking contrast compared with the prewar situation. Thus, the famous Don cartoonist A. Voronetsky in his caricature "The Kaiser's Head" portrayed Germany as a terrible enemy, a monster instilling hatred and contempt.



Fig. 2. Caricature "The Kaiser's Head" by A. Voronetsky ([Priazovsky krai. Illustrated supplement to the newspaper. January 1, 1915](#)).

The negative "image of the enemy" was not immediately implemented in a political cartoon. Germany and its allies gradually appeared as cruel and insidious aggressors, who held the entire responsibility for the war outbreak. It was demonstrated (using religious and quasi-religious images and symbols) that Russia is fighting for the "truth", unlike Germany and its allies. In general, in our opinion, the dehumanization of the enemy during the World War I did not reach the extreme. In 1914-1917 the visual assessments of the Germans were, although negative, but "less emotionally colored, more neutral, often even without malice and simply ironic" ([Senyavskaya, 2006: 105](#)). Thus, the visual satire traces the features of visualization of the "enemy image" at all stages of its formation – "different" – "foe" – "enemy."

The art concept of a caricature, a satirical depiction of certain "assigned" characteristics of the enemy also included the representation of one's own (positive) side. In relation to oneself, the author often established a humorous distance. It is curious that such colorful and holistic images of hostile nations were not accompanied by the same holistic image of Russia itself: "the Russians had a fairly clear idea of who they were fighting against, but not about who, or what they were fighting for" ([Jahn, 1995: 173](#)).

The visual "image of the enemy" became an effective means of mobilizing people. As a rule, the Don caricature involved two main characters - "friend" (national hero) and "foe" (Germans, Austrians or Turkish). In caricatures, the Germans (especially Kaiser Wilhelm II) were credited with such qualities as "cowardice", "stupidity", "arrogance" and "mindlessness"; the Russians had flattering qualities, such as power, courage and strength. Old stereotypes are noticeable in the definitions that were given to the Germans: the repetition of the word "sausage eaters", commitment to money, callousness, impudence, and an ineradicable habit of drinking beer. V. Rozanov wrote: "The Germans' symbol ... is beer. It's not grape wine, not the precious phial of

fragrant moisture, but barrels of beer..." (Rozanov, 1915: 142-148). The main target of local cartoonists was Kaiser Wilhelm II – all possible negative stereotypes were transferred to his image. His image also included traditional Russian clichés about the pedantry of the Germans, their pettiness and narrow-mindedness.

Wilhelm was considered the main culprit of the conflict in the Entente countries. In many local cartoons, the Kaiser is portrayed as a miserable and ridiculous man or even dreaming, to take over the world, like Napoleon.

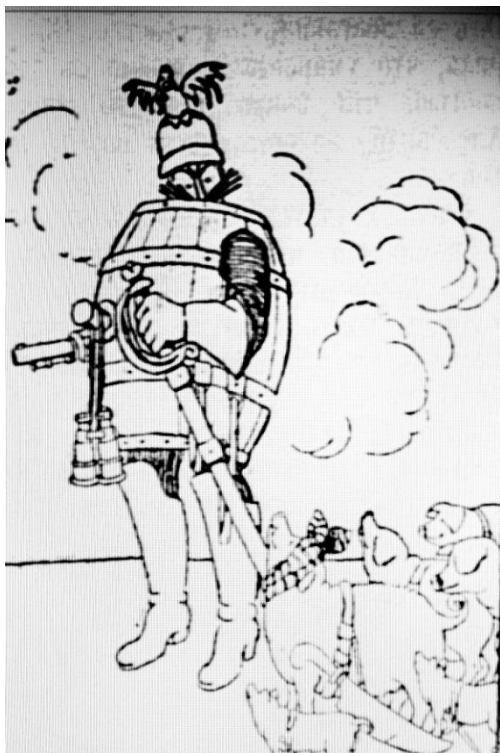


Fig. 3. Caricature "Declaring mobilization in Germany. It will not be difficult to conquer Europe with you, dear children". (Yuzhnyy Telegraf. Weekly addition to the newspaper. August 10, 1914).

The Wilhelm-Napoleon image was extremely popular in the Don regional press. In our opinion, the authorities tried to substitute the commemorative memory of World War I with the cultural memory of the war of 1812 through propaganda. The Don caricature of 1914–1917 followed similar works of visual culture in 1812: it appealed to the struggle for world domination, portrayed the German military troops as miserable, crippled or children and appealed to the flight of Napoleon and the retreat of his army.

Such simple and rather crude methods of propaganda were suitable only for common people, but other motives were intended for a sufficiently sophisticated audience. Germany was turned into a bulwark of militarism. With the pace of war, a German soldier took the foreground. Stories typical only for World War I appeared in the visual satire – those were the caricatures depicting battles with use of the new technology – airplanes, zeppelins and submarines. The image of Germany also changed and the image of a German soldier evolved from "foe" to an "enemy."

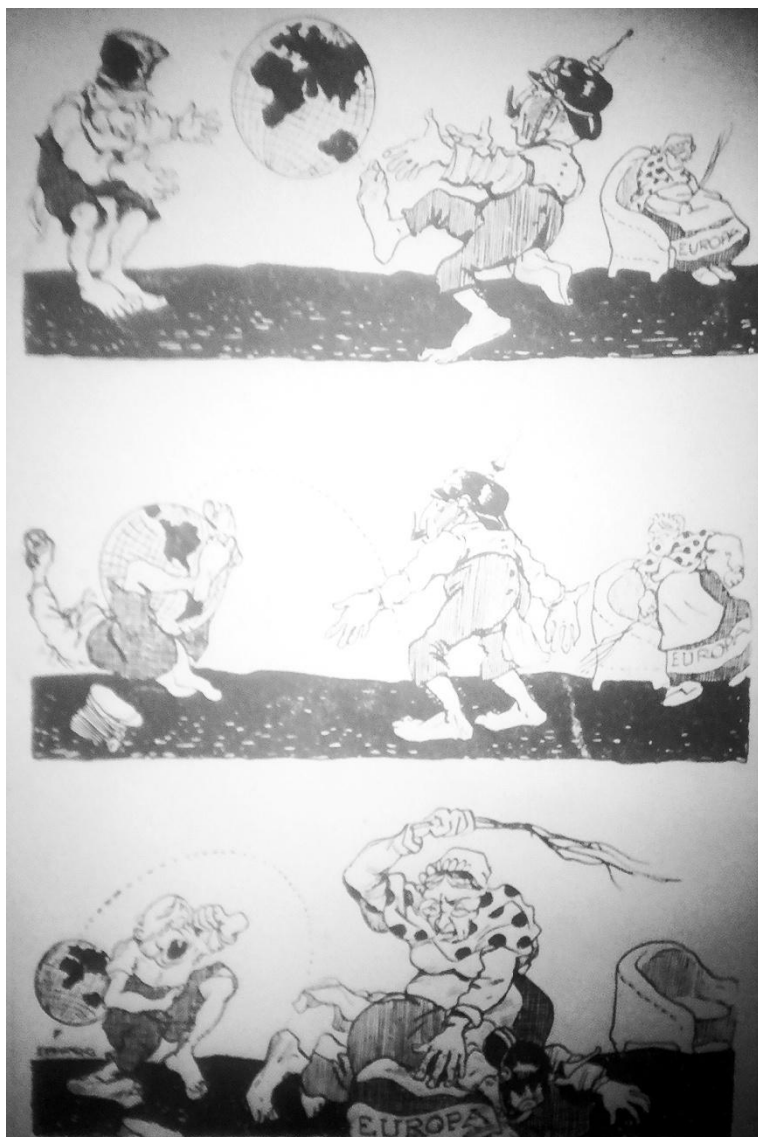


Fig. 4. A caricature "Playing the world globe and its consequences."
 (Priazovsky krai. Illustrated supplement to the newspaper. October 25, 1915)

The body of a hero in the caricature is the antithesis of "alienation" and at the same time it serves as a key for revealing his inner world. The caricature did not claim documentary truthfulness, and it was not tied by the bond of "likelihood". The only thing guiding its creators was a contract with the audience, that is, a requirement for recognition. In this regard, the artists created the "image of the enemy" not in accordance with anatomical atlases, but relying on contemporary ethnic stereotypes and visual agreements. The cartoonists depicted the Germans implausibly thin, stooping, falling or stumbling, often with feminine traits. Russian cartoonists used the existing Europe conventions regarding masculine and feminine physical traits. The femininity of the German soldiers was exaggerated in the caricatures due to their "female lifestyle": Wilhelm II is often portrayed as a woman who sits on a barrel while his soldiers, along with their wives, are plundering Russian villages or sit in a hut surrounded by children and the elderly. The visual manifestations of femininity were perceived as a sign of the incapacity of the enemy, as well as his lack of honor and human dignity.

But not only stereotypes served as the basis for visual alienation and ridiculing of the enemies. Physiognomic skills were useful to Don caricaturists for the depiction of basic feelings that distorted the faces of enemies. In addition, they skillfully used the form of the nose as a universal means of personality recognizing. Enemies, like in 1812 caricatures, were portrayed with

open mouths (a sign of stupidity) and long "Gallic" noses (according to I.K. Lafater, it is a sign of selfishness, dishonesty, propensity to steal and corruption of a character) (Vishlenkova, 2011: 186). The effectiveness of such identification in the national caricature is associated with the traditions of the peasant humour. Visual satire of pre-revolutionary Russia gives an example of how comedy element in different epochs took into account the social order, reflected the image of the enemy and fit into the rigid demands of wartime censorship. Playing on the historical allusions, cartoonists portrayed Germans and Turkish with huge frostbitten noses.

Probably, in this case we are dealing not only with the preservation of plots and the reproduction of scenes in visual metaphors, but also with the spectators' readiness for laughter.

Don caricaturists often used zoomorphism to create an image of the enemy. The opponents were depicted possessing "bestial" instincts and emotions, and "national heroes" demonstrated reasonable, that is, "human", restraint and control of their feelings. Thus, the local cartoonists of the "Priazovsky krai" used zoomorphism to provide a set of expressive means for attributing the enemy with low cultural and psychological properties. A typical example is a drawing titled: "Before a trap", where enemies are depicted in a form of ravens with human faces. The "image of the enemy" served as an anti-image of the Russian hero. The Don caricature was characterized by a dichotomous structure of the plot. The image of the Germans is accompanied by such connotations as "vanity", "arrogance", "robbery" and "inhumanity". It was clear to the public that all these properties represent the complete opposite of a compatriot's moral qualities, for "our man" is humble, kind, peaceful and humane.

The allies of Germany-Austria-Hungary and Turkey were perceived as secondary opponents. The Austrians as an enemy at first were treated with a certain respect, but later the attitude towards them became more rigid, for they, like the Germans, used chemical weapons, and there were also crimes against civilians in the territories occupied by the Austrian troops. The Don caricature was one of the first to create "an image of a Turk". First and foremost, he is a representative of the Ottoman Empire, which is obsolete. The Turk is depicted as a hostile, but senilely weak and feeble old man.

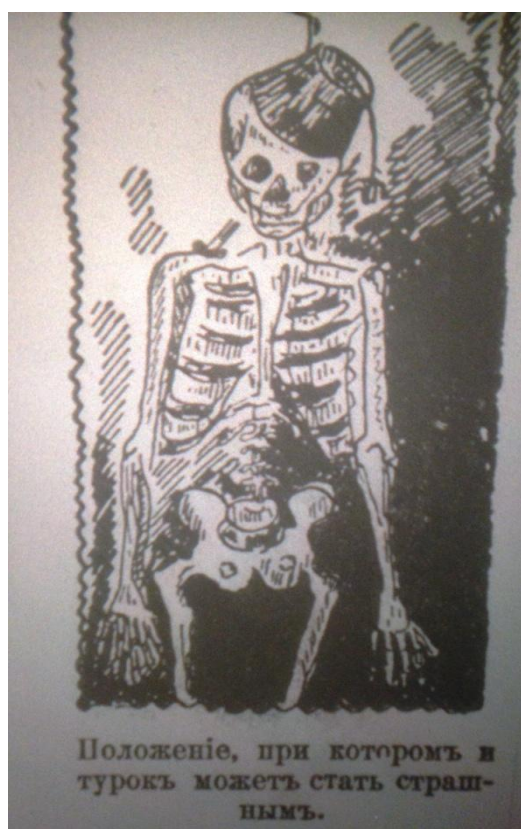


Fig. 5. Caricature "The situation when the Turks look scary."
(Priazovsky krai. December 13, 1916).

The image of a "sick European" corresponded to the cliché existing at that time in Russian journalism, referred to Turkey in the world community. The cartoons "Sire of Sultan", "About the war with Turkey", "In Mesopotamia" depict old senile Turkey, purposefully set against Russia by Germany. The well-known Don artist Voronetsky in his caricature "Turkey is preparing for the war with Russia" draws an "assembly" of a Turkish soldier in the Austro-Hungarian orthopedic workshop. "Yuzhny telegraf" portrayed a Turk as a deceived puppet, which can be juggled with. Reading the visual message, the viewer understood that Germany uses Turkey for his own purposes against Russia and the Slavs and with the help of the "East" the crafty "West" seeks to weaken Russia. A Turk is an obedient tool in the hands of enemies from the West in a generalized visual image. Thus the arch enemy is not the East. We agree with T.A. Filippova, who talks in her works about the theme of "west-eastern" provocation of phobia. She states that the visual satire was intended to show that the East was only a "tool" of geopolitics, used by the experienced, cunning and enlightened pragmatist - the enemy who was in the West (Filippova, 2012).



Fig. 6. Caricature "Turkey is preparing for war with Russia. (In the Austro-Hungarian orthopedic workshop) by A. Voronetsky. (Priazovsky krai. August 10, 1914)

Age difference "game" was characteristic for the Don visual satire. Different traits of the "foe" were shown through the age difference depiction: a German was often depicted as an overgrown child and a Turk – as an old Sultan. We should note that the depiction of a German was very

controversial: it could be an overgrown child, an ugly woman, a beer barrel and etc. Here we can see both the conflict between "male" and "female" and the age categories.

It is impossible not to agree with the Russian researcher D. E. Tsykalov, who noted the absence of the "cult of the bear" in Russia during World War I (Tsykalov, 2013: 75-76). However, after the advance of the Russian army in Galicia in May 1916, the bear again became the protagonist in the cartoon, – but not in the Don region. Caricatures with "Russia the bear" are very rare in the Don newspapers. We found only one single caricature with the image of a bear in the local press, but it turned out to be borrowed from the capital newspaper "Birzhevye Vedomosti" (Novaya illyustratsiya, 1916).

"Priazovsky Krai" and "Birzhevye Vedomosti" commented on the victories in Galicia with the caricature under the title "What did they think about the Russian bear in Austria and what came out of it": Emperor Franz Joseph, performing in the circus, puts his left hand in the mouth of a huge bear. "Now the bear is harmless, it is dormant," - he tells the invisible public. However, the bear only waits for an opportunity to bite off the "trainer's" hand, and so it does. It is very risky to train bears, and such an experienced "trainer" as Franz Joseph had to know this...



Fig. 7. Caricature "What they thought about the Russian bear in Austria and what came out of it". (Priazovsky krai. June 20, 1916).

The specifics of the Don regional press was in the mass replicating of the image of the Cossack. The external threat created conditions with a need for dialogue between the elites and social "low classes". Under these circumstances the visual language became a means of communication of the individual with the others, allowing them to act together, to share common emotions and to accept general behavior standards. The war gave rise to the social activity of the Don society groups who were not previously involved in the public sphere activities, it also influenced the social need for heroes. One of those heroes was a Cossack. In many pictures, one can see a brave Cossack, ready to fight the enemy despite its superior forces as well as the confrontation of the Cossack spirit and new German military equipment. In the caricatures, the German was usually portrayed as well-armed and equipped, but his technical superiority was opposed to the Cossack bravery and wit. The cowardice of the enemy was emphasized by the presence of a Cossack in the caricatures, and in order to enhance this effect his figure was often drawn in the background. The close-up was assigned to the fleeing enemy.



Fig. 8. Caricature "The Prussian sees the Cossack from afar!"
([Yuzhny telegraf. Weekly addition to the newspaper. October 14, 1914](#)).

Another method was mentioning the Cossacks, and this was enough to make the enemy ready to surrender. There were many patriotic drawings that ridiculed the Germans opposed to the Cossacks' valor. For example, in the caricature "In East Prussia", the plans of the Emperor Wilhelm, (who was exaggeratedly portrayed as a dwarf) could not resist the Cossack wit. And Germany's allies were ready to betray each other under the torrent of Cossack power. The Germans were "educated" by the Cossacks, with their lances. The essence of the metaphor was that the Cossack acted as a "parent" in relation to a "misbehaving child", and punishment was interpreted as the only way to achieve "obedience", to restore peace and prosperity. On most of the drawings, the enemy was portrayed cowardly and weak, ridiculous or insignificant. The Cossack, on the other hand, was given such qualities as strength, good nature, wit and nobility. Often a large-scale diminution of the enemy's figures was used to achieve this effect, the enemy was drawn against the backdrop of a Cossack who was portrayed as a good-natured giant.

On the pages of Don newspapers we found caricatures of the French artist Emmanuel Poiret, known in the XIX century under the pseudonym Caran d'Ache. An outstanding caricaturist, a recognized chronicler of the French army, he portrayed the Cossacks-participants in the war of 1812 good-natured, strong and witty. Such images of the Cossacks were in demand at the beginning of the XX century.



Fig. 9. Caricature "Cossack patrols on the border of Austria-Hungary". Caran d'Ache ([Rostovsky-na-Donu listok July 15, 1915](#)).

In the period of World War I, the most acute international military and political crisis, the political caricature became quite important, demanded and very effective visual and purposeful element of mass propaganda.

The Don political cartoon is a linguistic-visual phenomenon and is a genre variety of a creolized text, the texture of which consists of two non-homogeneous parts: verbal (language and speech) and non-verbal (belonging to systems different to the natural language) ([Sorokin, Tarasov, 1990: 6](#)).



Fig. 10. Caricature "Cossacks play cards in peacetime". Caran d'Ache (Rostovsky-na-Donu listok. July 15, 1915).

In the Don political caricature of the early XX century, the word and the image were two equal types of signs. Cartoonists believed that the visual image needs a verbal support, and verbal communication needs some visual mediation. Analyzing the political caricature in the Don newspapers, one can observe a hybrid form of interaction between the verbal and the visual, which forms multidirectional vectors of identification.

5. Conclusion

The visual sources analysis suggests the artistic primitiveness of the "image of the enemy".

The cartoonists intentionally made the "image of the enemy" artistically unattractive. The worse it was, the greater effect it achieved and the more revealing was the absurdity and vulgarity of the enemy. Thus, it weakened the physical and moral strength of the enemy. The image of a German as an enemy was not canonically fixed in the national visual culture. The Russian artists literally created a traced image for the visual "enemizing" of a German. In revealing the orientation of the hostility rhetoric, it becomes clear that behind these processes, on the one hand, there was an intentional construction of phobias and on the other the cartoonists were reproducing historical stereotypes. Stereotypes influenced the "image of the enemy", captured by the means of satire.

The political caricature demonstrated a sufficiently high level of mobilization capabilities of the "enemy image" in the life of the Don region, and in Russian society in general. The study of the caricature makes it possible to reveal the characteristics of the military propaganda, its ways of constructing the "image of the foe" and the function of the "image of the enemy".

At the same time, considering the positive visualization of "friends" and the negative visualization of "foes" during World War I in the satirical graphic of the Don region periodical press, one can see the important role of the political caricatures, their great socio-political significance and a rather successful propaganda effect on the society during World War I.

References

Golikov, Rybachenok, 2010 – Golikov, A.G., Rybachenok, I.S. (2010). Smekh – delo ser'eznoe. Rossiya i mir na rubezhe XIX–XX vekov v politicheskoi karikature [Laughter is a serious

matter. Russia and the world at the turn of the XIX–XX centuries in the political caricature]. Moscow.

Tsykalov, 2012 – *Tsykalov, D.E.* (2012). Karikatura kak orudie propagandy v period pervoi mirovoi voyny [Caricature as a tool of propaganda during the First World War]. *Vestn. Volgogr. gos. un-ta. Ser. 4, Ist. № 1* (21). pp. 85-90.

Tsykalov, 2013 – *Tsykalov, D.E.* (2013). Obraz «russkogo medvedya» v otechestvennoi karikature perioda Pervoi mirovoi voyny (iyul' 1914 – fevral' 1917) [The image of "Russian bear" in the national caricature during the First world war (July 1914 – February 1917)]. *Labirint. Zhurnal sotsial'no-gumanitarnykh issledovaniy. №4*. pp. 68-81.

Obolenskaya, 2001 – *Obolenskaya, S.V.* (2001). Nemetskii vopros i predstavleniya v Rossii o nemtsakh v gody pervoi mirovoi voyny [The German question and the views in Russia about the Germans during the First World War] / *Rossiia i Germaniya*. Moscow.

Lazari et al., 2013 – *Lazari, A. de, Ryabov, O.V., Zhakovska, M.* (2013). «Russkii medved'» v zapadnoevropeiskoi propagande Pervoi mirovoi voyny ["The Russian Bear" in the Western European propaganda of the First World War]. *Labirint. Zhurnal sotsial'no-gumanitarnykh issledovaniy. №4*. pp. 54-68.

Ryabov, 2005 – *Ryabov, O.V.* (2005). Obraz vraga v gendernom diskurse rossiiskoi propagandy perioda Pervoi mirovoi voyny [The image of enemy in gender discourse of Russian propaganda during the First World War] // *Vater Rhein und Mutter Wolga: Diskurse um Nation und Gender in Deutschland und Russland*. / Hrsg. v. Cheure E., Nohejl R. und Napp A. Wurzburg: ERGON Verlag. pp. 263-272. (Identitaeten und Alteritaeten. Sbd. 20).

Kuptsova, 2008 – *Kuptsova, I.V.* (2008). Tema patriotizma v rossiiskoi khudozhestvennoi kul'ture v gody Pervoi mirovoi voyny [The theme of patriotism in the Russian artistic culture in the years of the First world war] // *Granitsy: Al'manakh Tsentra etnicheskikh i natsional'nykh issledovaniy IvGU. Vyp. 2: Vizualizatsiya natsii*. Ivanovo: Ivanovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2008.

Porshneva, 2001 – *Porshneva, O.S.* (2001). Vneshnii vrag v soznanii narodnykh nizov Rossii v period Pervoi mirovoi voyny [An external enemy in the minds of the people of lower ranks of Russia during the First World War] / «Nashi» i «chuzhie» v rossiiskom istoricheskom soznanii. Materialy mezhdunar. nauch. konf. SPb.

Senyavskaya, 2006 – *Senyavskaya, E.S.* (2006). Protivniki Rossii v voynakh XX v.: Evolyutsiya «obraza vraga» v soznanii armii i obshchestva [The opponents of Russia in the wars of the XX century: the evolution of the "enemy image" in the minds of the military and society]. Moscow.

Buchbender, 1989 – *Buchbender, O.* (1989). Zentrum des Bosen. Zur Genesis nationalsozialistischer Feindbilder // *Wagenlehner G. Feindbild. Geschichte-Dokumentation-Problematik. Fr./M., 1989*.

Jahn, 1995 – *Jahn, H.F.* (1995). Patriotic culture in Russia during World War I. Ithaca; L.: Cornell univ. press. XVI.

Filippova, 2012 – *Filippova, T.A.* (2012). "Vrag s Vostoka". Obrazy i ritorika vrazhdy v russkoi satiricheskoi zhurnalistike nachala XX veka ["The enemy from the East." Images and rhetoric of hostility in Russian satirical journalism of the early twentieth century] / pred. V.I. Sheremeta. Moscow: AIRO-XXI.

Rozanov, 1915 – *Rozanov, V.V.* (1915). Voina 1914 g. i russkoe vozrozhdenie [The war of 1914 and Russian renaissance]. Pg. pp. 142-148.

Vishlenkova, 2011 – *Vishlenkova, E.* (2011). Vizual'noe narodovedenie imperii, ili «Uvidet' russkogo dano ne kazhdomu» [The visual ethnology of the empire, or "it's not everyone can see the Russian"]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie.

Novaya illyustratsiya, 1916 – *Novaya illyustratsiya* [New illustration]. *Khudozhestvenno-literaturnyi zhurnal, izdavaemyi pri «Birzhevnykh vedomostyakh. 1916. 27 iyulya* (Karikatura «Kak dumali o russkom medvede v Avstrii i chto iz etogo vyshlo»).

Sorokin, Tarasov, 1990 – *Sorokin, Yu.A., Tarasov, E.F.* (1990). Kreolizovannye teksty i ikh kommunikativnye funktsii [Creolized texts and their communicative functions]. *Optimizatsiya rechevogo vozdeistviya*. Moscow.