

## 第 14 分会：他者与陌生

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SESSION 14:  
OTHERING AND FOREIGNNESS

# Russian Occidentalism: The Hybrid Self in 18th-Century Russian Portraiture

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## We like to say the clothes make the man.

In our time, we have an acute sense of how what you wear matters, that it is meaningful. We feel dressing as a choice—a selection one makes that is limited by one’s income certainly, and to some extent by where one lives—but we feel clothes as a matter of subjective and consumerist enactment, a matter of aspiration, perhaps even a place where certain class contingencies can be wrestled and overcome. In other times though, dress was not quite so much a matter of selfhood, not something quite so negotiable. We often take for granted that our bodies have this kind of capital today. We often fail to recognize what the cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard (1929–2007) called “the labor of investment” that is our constructed subjecthood—its lineage, its difficulties.<sup>1</sup> The goal of this essay is to explore clothing as just such an investment of and in the body. In order to do so I will sift through the cultural products of one strange moment in history—a moment that is now considered a tide shift for one particular nation. For nowhere was the provisional world of outward identity manifestation more invested than in 18th-century Russia.

It began almost exactly with the turn of the new century when, on 4 January 1700, Tsar Peter I (1672–1725) issued a decree that all military servitors, government officials, and merchants were to discard their traditional Russian clothes and wear European styles of dress. A few months later he set deadlines for the acquiring of new wardrobes that also included requirements for women. In the following year an edict was directed to merchants, infantrymen, and musketeers and made clear that all were to wear Western dress. Such clothes were specifically designated as French or Saxon-style top coats and waistcoats for men, as well as German [*nemetskoe*] trousers, boots, shoes and hats. Women and their daughters were to wear German-style [*nemetskoe*] dresses, hats, jackets, and petticoats.<sup>2</sup> Indeed craftsmen were prohibited from making other items, and fines were imposed for anyone of these classes and professions caught wearing them.<sup>3</sup>

In some ways, it is not possible to underscore enough what a tremendous wholesale change this

was for members of Russia’s elite. The few late 17th-century portraits that exist show the elaborate long caftans and robes that had been worn for centuries with trousers underneath. In fact, men and women had dressed fairly similarly, with the exception that for women, headdresses covered the hair almost completely and the modest, shapeless robes hid their bodies, with only the face and hands showing.<sup>4</sup> A few years after the original decrees, in 1705, Peter even released a further order that required male subjects to cut their beards.<sup>5</sup> Those who did not wish to comply with the decree would have to pay a yearly tax depending on their professional and class status.<sup>6</sup>

But how should one assess this change from the standpoint of art history? With what lens should the historian try to understand what it felt like to be a newly shaved and re-clothed member of this society? This was a nation on the verge of modernity, desperate to be taken seriously on the world stage. At a fundamental level, this essay is an investigation into how the changing of one’s clothes at the order of the sovereign remade these people quite literally from the outside in. Autocratic refashioning revolutionized Russia in a particularly terrifying way—creating a sort of “half-defined implied body”<sup>7</sup>—one that made Russian citizens foreign to themselves almost overnight. One of the questions this article seeks to answer is whether there are degrees of “otherness,” and if so, what we should use to measure them. Portraits from this era might stand to show us fundamental things about the nature of othering that perhaps no other cultural institution from this time can—things one might call negotiation, or sublimation, or, more optimistically, transformation.

The preeminent Russian formalist Yuri Lotman (1922–1993) is helpful here; he discussed the issue of the dress reforms in Russia as one in which: “what was needed was to assimilate forms of European daily life while retaining an external ‘alien’ Russian attitude toward them. A Russian was not supposed to become a foreigner; he was merely supposed to act like one...”<sup>8</sup> Thus for Lotman it *was* a matter of degrees of otherness. And what was required was a careful negotiation along a fault line. Far more was being

transformed than just the way Russian people dressed in this time or the way they looked in their public lives. In perhaps the most literal form that the cliché this article began with can take—the clothes really *did* make the man. The new European clothing worn by Russians permeated its wearers, shaping their identity by elaborating their place in the social hierarchy and indicating a newfangled depth. Russians were now not simply heirs to the culture inherent to their birth, but aristocratic hybrids, accumulating and incorporating Western European culture's most important features through their dress and thus marking themselves for such identification by others. And this hybridity made members of Russia's upper classes not only foreign to themselves, but foreigners within their own country. This internal strangeness brought on by the reforms made concrete one's social status, firmly separating the peasantry from the gentry and bringing a startlingly uniform semiotics to the class structure.<sup>9</sup>

But as the scholars Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass point out in their excellent study of Renaissance clothing, the danger of valuing dress as a material marker of identity lies in the very fact that they are detachable.<sup>10</sup> And the daily act of making and unmaking one's image is underscored in strange ways in the portraits emerging from Russia in the 18th century. The buttons on the jacket of the unknown sitter painted by Fyodor Rokotov at midcentury underscore the daily act of making oneself, what Lotman called "play-acting at everyday life."<sup>11</sup> They are uneven and of different sizes. Where are the loops the buttons are supposed to fit into? The more one looks, the more purely decorative those buttons become. They are little more than ornamental additions meant to evoke the "European," but peculiar for their sheer purposelessness. Or so they must have seemed to men and women suddenly wearing this garb after being accustomed to wear largely utilitarian caftans for so long. What the buttons signal at a deep level is a self made entirely through investiture. In their oddity they hint at the performative nature of dressing in this moment. Russians wearing these new clothes would have been acutely and constantly reminded of their own incorporation into something foreign through them. The clothes' very constructedness in paintings like this one hints at the lack of authenticity which ran just below the surface.<sup>12</sup>

Ivan Vishnyakov's *Portrait of Stepanida Stepanovna Yakovleva* bears yet further signs of this internalization of hybridity. Note how emphatically the dress wears its sitter in this mid-century portrait. The flat pattern of the fabric creates an iconographical division of her body, bisecting her down the center and abstracting her corporeally. Her left hand looks as though it is gesturing to open her torso out like a cabinet door to reveal the impossible doll body that must lie beneath.

This is a frequent trope among portrait painters of the time—this gesture of revealing, of opening the clothed body out to sight. None of these women *are* quite occupants of their own bodies; their gestures mark the performance that Western dress was at the time. These hands and their subtle exposing are the locus of a deep semiotics—one of disjoint, of aberration, of difference. And this is markedly different from the gestures of concealment that so characterized the few portraits of women that existed from the years before Peter's edict.

What is also generally so strange about many of the men and women depicted in these years is their lack of substantive corporeality. The portrait of the *Tsarina Praskovia Ioanovna* by Ivan Nikitin shows tremendous bodily inconclusiveness; her thinness is deflected and disfigured by the lack of a prominent clavicle where one would expect it. The three quarter angle of her face and her body's slight skew to the right should produce at least a hint of shadow vertically across the neck to indicate the tendon taut beneath the skin. Instead the painter has given us only the blank white expanse of her chest, without even so much as a shadow to indicate the bosom. All this despite how low cut her dress is as the weight of the ermine-lined cape pulls around and down while encircling her. It does not look as though she is really wearing this garb, but rather as though it is placed in front of her, affixed to her body-less body, more landscape and surrounding environment than inhabited vestment.

This lack of corporal presence is mimicked in other ways. The style of depiction favored by artists and sitters of the time was almost without fail the half-length view. But what is the setting of these portraits? Are those depicted sitting or standing? Why is there no furniture, no background, nothing to place them firmly in time and space? And if the clothes did not possess their decorative elements, would one even know where the bodies begin and end? The chiaroscuro is often so deep here as to render the extremities of the body as missing. The edges of the very torsos are subtly effaced in these works. These are people so molded within their subjectless surroundings that sometimes only bows, brooches, and wigs situate them in space. It is clothes that sustain them as objects to be viewed at all. The paintings from this time demonstrate a first instance of what I have termed "Russian Occidentalism"—the incorporation of Western or Occidental motifs and styles that still remain oddly other, bearing signs of Russian alterity, shifting reflections meant to conjure an embodied whole as citizens and artists sought to possess a cultural tradition not their own.<sup>13</sup> These people have become enveloped by the world Peter is creating; they are amorphous subjects subjected to the materiality of Western modernity—attaining position and status only by their ability to make themselves into material objects.



Taking this further, note how often these portrait sitters are wrapped in layers and layers of clothing, especially fur. One could write this off as a testament to the cold of Russia in winter or as a display of wealth, but fur is at the most basic level just another layer of skin. And it seems to act for these sitters dually—on one hand as a layer of protection like a second skin, a barrier towards whatever “authentic” native tradition lies within and behind.<sup>14</sup> But the furs and fabrics are also pure Occidental fantasy. They are depicted with an undeniable sensualism—all those sumptuous furs and velvets, the delicacy of lace, the crispness of brocade. The skin of the sitters themselves actually contrasts markedly in terms of its own material presence. It is out of focus; its tactile quality suppressed to produce a dematerialized corporealism which denies the existence of blood coursing through veins beneath. There is a toggling between Russian and Occidental here, a jostling between them. And in the battle, flesh has become fetishized; an escape from confrontation with the actual body. By making skin appear “made,” the portraits reinforced the inherent making and unmaking of identity that was the experience of Russian Occidentalism.

But there is another reason skin looks so made in these portraits. It is not just the skin’s resemblance to fabric; it is the skin’s actual “made up” quality that is coming through on canvas. Russian women even in the 16th and 17th centuries had worn heavy powder and bright rouge, but the continuation of this practice with the addition of new European clothes, corsets, wigs, and jewelry made for a startling effect.<sup>15</sup> Women, and sometimes men, applied a paste of white lead mixed with egg-white to their skin; the ideal complexion in the 18th century approximated the whiteness of porcelain.<sup>16</sup> Washed infrequently to avoid ruining the layers of makeup, faces often resembled masks.<sup>17</sup> This fact was noted by contemporary foreign visitors like Peter Henry Bruce (1692–1757), a British officer on service in Russia in 1783 who wrote: “The Russian women [...] might pass for handsome in any part of Europe [...] were it not for that preposterous custom of painting their faces, which they lay on so abundantly, that it may truly be said they use it as a veil to hide their beauty.”<sup>18</sup> Contemporary accounts like this one demonstrate the strange hybridity of Russian Occidentalism—the use of a Western practice (make-up), but with an amalgamated Russian peculiarity that marks it as other. This returns us to Lotman’s analysis of the era and the idea that Russians assimilated the *forms* of Europeanness while still retaining an alien attitude towards them. The portraits of the time attest to that duality; they show women’s active role in the masquerade, but also their “ritualization and semiotization” of what should have been natural.<sup>19</sup>

This specific kind of doubling, a sign-making

out of the ordinary, also shows the burgeoning of another kind of modernity. For in this conflation of the painted body made through paint applied to canvas we see what most art historians usually consider the very foundation of modernism. One that is usually not considered a facet of art making until the likes of Édouard Manet (1832–1883) and the Impressionists began dissolving the border between illusionism and facture in the 1860s. But do not the deep roots of this unwinding already show themselves in the work of Russian artists like Antropov and Nikitin? Their rouged and powdered Russian beauties were already beginning to dissolve the relationship between figure and ground a full century before. There is something about these Russian portraits that steps straight into modernism’s dissolution and contingency. In their very spacelessness, in the collapse of skin with fabrics, we can see a foreshadowing of the Cubist project’s rupture of bodies, the foregrounding of the fragmentary nature of phenomenological perception. We see the outward body dissolve into surfaces, and a series of selves made nothing but superficialities. There is something about these portraits that is so veridical it undoes their seeming naturalism—and that something seems to be the nature of experience which lies behind their production. These portraits are profoundly vatic and the future they predict is terrifying. Their most salient feature is their constructed nature; they speak the truth of the travesty that was the time.

It is thus not a coincidence that these portraits come from the same years that Dror Wahrman has characterized as the birth of the modern self. For him the 1770s and 1780s saw the fruition of a new “understanding of personal identity, one that presupposes an essential core of selfhood characterized by psychological depth [...] and a] unique, expressive individual identity.”<sup>20</sup> For Wharman this fundamental change gave way to “the modern regime of selfhood” and it is the turbulence of this change that can be seen startlingly evinced in these portraits.<sup>21</sup> For in 18th-century Russia, subtlety of effect was not the goal. Exceptional artificiality signaled both the entry of Russia onto the stage of Western European power and the preservation of something “other” in the creative exchange. This was a system in which bodies became allegorized into a sign of the State’s modernity. Real people became metonymic jewels—and indeed the craze for portrait miniatures to be worn as jewelry on the body underscores how real people became signs in this time. These are men and women who have become interchangeable, objectified, and materialized, to be worn like any old broche or bracelet. The citizens that emerged through these reforms became material objects to be flaunted and manipulated for the good of the State. They were Peter’s proof of Russia’s readiness to be taken seriously by the Western world.



No longer would Russians be seen as “barbarians.”<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps nowhere does the image of Tsar Peter I as Pygmalion carving the new Galatean-woman of Russia to display to Europe seem more fitting. And indeed Peter is shown in just this allegorical mode—as Pygmalion forging his new woman—on the rarely reproduced right side of the portrait bust he commissioned from Bartolomeo Rastrelli in the 1720s. This Russian Galatea is, however, not the sexualized receiver of the gods’ life-giving force as usually seen in European works by the likes of Étienne Maurice Falconet. She is instead depicted not as a nude, but emerging already clothed in armor. Like the Russian women of the 1720s she is only half-formed, still bound by the past which contains her, but Peter has fashioned her ready for battle. And thus it was for the Russians who adopted Western dress as a result of Peter’s decrees. Wearing foreign clothes meant being fashioned by the tsar like Galatea was by Pygmalion. It meant coming alive to a new conception of selfhood, but also awakening to a hybridity that has tortured Russia ever since.

Peter I’s decrees on dress facilitated a reworking of material culture whereby the tsar determined what was to be bought and by whom. These people’s property may have been their own, but in a strange sublimation of consumerism, what they owned was entirely at the mercy of the tsar’s ordinance. It could be taken away as quickly as another decree could be issued. And so one’s body became the property of the tsar and was never really one’s own again after this time. Jean Baudrillard wrote in the 20th century of this type of “managed reappropriation of the body” as a means of meeting “capitalist objectives... [one in which the body] is invested in order to produce a yield.”<sup>23</sup> In Russia’s case, the painted body—both painted with

makeup and painted on canvas—was evidence of the profitability of contact and exchange. In these portraits the other and the foreign came to be what constituted the self and the native, conflating and collapsing the ultimate of cultural dichotomies and creating the new hybrid identity that was Russian Occidentalism.

Peter’s dress reforms were a singular moment in history, but would be strangely echoed in later centuries. In the years after the Bolshevik Revolution artists like Vladimir Tatlin (1885–1953) were enlisted to construct a new uniform for the ideal Soviet citizen. And other members of the Russian avant-garde like Liubov Popova (1889–1924) were made to siphon their creative energies from abstract painting into textile designs that would give the new Soviet citizen the ability to wear the ideology of the socialist state. But 1700 was the originary moment. The dress reforms of Peter the Great were the first experiment in making the body a tool managed by the State for maximum profitability. And it was portrait painters who captured the dualism and hybridity of existence at the time. From the way bodies gestured to theatrically present their sitters to the overly decorative nature of the clothes, from the de-corporealized quality of skin and its equation with fabric to the mask-like effect of makeup—portraitists showed the body being appropriated at an ontologically challenging level; they showed the way self was made other almost overnight. The image of a modern Russia was being sold ideologically in these paintings, and both the bodies of her elite and the portraitists who recorded the change were doing the selling. Painters were employed in the transmission of this cultural capital—one in which a new society of simulation and consumption was born.

#### NOTES

- 1 Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 132.
- 2 Lindsey Hughes, “From Caftans into Corsets: The Sartorial Transformation of Women During the Reign of Peter the Great,” in *Gender and Sexuality in Russian Civilisation*, ed. Peter I. Barta (London: Routledge, 2001), 21.
- 3 James Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 123.
- 4 Russia had a long tradition of distinguishing married and unmarried women by hair and headgear. See Philippa Rappoport, “If It Dries Out, It’s No Good: Women, Hair and *Rusalki* Beliefs,” *SEFEA Journal* 4, no. 1 (1999), 55.
- 5 Lindsey Hughes, “From Tsar to Emperor: Portraits of Aleksei and Peter I,” in *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture*, eds. Valerie A. Kivelson and Joan Neuberger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 54.
- 6 George Vernadsky, ed., *A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917*, vol. II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 347.
- 7 Kristin Swan, “Felt Pictures: The Phenomenological Fabric of Alison Watt’s *Shift* Paintings” in *Reframing Representations of Women*, ed. Susan Shifrin (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 132.
- 8 Lotman, “The Poetics of Everyday Behavior,” in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History*, eds. Alexander Nakhimovsky and Alice Stone Nakhimovsky (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 70. Indeed common people viewed the gentry as masqueraders and wore European attire for folk

- masquerades at Christmas.
- 9 This is further evidenced by an edict released April 6th 1722 which stated: “Bearded men [*borodachi*] and Old Believers should wear no other dress than the old style, namely a homespun coat with a standing collar, loose tunics [*feriazi*] and single-breasted caftans with the appropriate neckerchief. Only Old Believers are to wear this costume...” See Lindsey Hughes, “‘A Beard is an Unnecessary Burden’: Peter I’s Laws on Shaving and Their Roots in Early Russia” in *Russian Society and Culture and the Long 18th Century*, eds. Roger Barlett and Lindsey Hughes (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004), 30. By stipulating that certain segments of society should wear the old form of dress, Peter I was entrenching the demarcations among citizens and making religious belief quickly apparent by one’s garb alone.
  - 10 Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 5.
  - 11 “The Poetics of Everyday Behavior,” in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History*, eds. Alexander Nakhimovsky and Alice Stone Nakhimovsky (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 70.
  - 12 Lest one begin to think that details like these are due simply to a lack of skill on the artist’s part, I would encourage looking at a detail photograph of the sitter’s face and observing the skill with which Rokotov has rendered the sheen of the skin across the bridge of the nose. Likewise, there is a profound realism and subtlety to Rokotov’s handling of the dark circle under the sitter’s right eye and a delicacy of facture in that eye’s wetness as it wells ever so slightly just to the right of the iris which rivals the naturalism of Albrecht Dürer in his self-portrait from two centuries before.
  - 13 This term is of course a foil to “Orientalism”—the practice among Western painters and writers (especially prevalent in the 19th century) towards depicting the cultures of the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia in a stereotypically exotic way. I am not the first to use this notion of “Occidentalism,” but I am using it slightly differently in the Russian context. For more on Occidentalism as a phenomenon in Latin American culture, see Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). For more on the specific problematics of Russia in terms of post-colonialism see Piotr Piotrowski, “East European Art Peripheries Facing Post-Colonial Theory,” *non-site.org*, Issue no. 12 (August 12, 2014). He states the issue with profound succinctness in this piece: “In the course of history we have had not only different types of colonization, but also different peripheries that experienced a different relation to the center...” In the case of Peter I and the portraits under study from the period, we have a case of internal colonization and an attempt to make the periphery a mirror of the center. See also in this context: Alexander Etkind, *Internal Colonization: Russia’s Imperial Experience* (Polity, 2011).
  - 14 Claims about cultural authenticity are always difficult to support. But there is evidence (beyond the portraits themselves) of a dualism in Russia nobles’ existence at this moment—between what one might call the native / authentic and the foreign / performative. The Italian castrato singer Filippo Balatari (1682–1756) who lived with Prince Petr Golitsyn (1662–1721) and his family in Moscow describes Peter’s habit of ordering boyars to bring their wives to court balls where he would post guards at the doors to keep guests from leaving early. This shows not only that Peter felt a need to force his female subjects to act publically and performatively the foreign role he prescribed for them (by attending European-style court balls), but also that he feared they would leave quickly to return to their own homes and the comfort of their less rigid European clothes. See Lindsey Hughes’s essay in Rosalind Marsh ed., *Women in Russia and Ukraine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 34.
  - 15 The rouge was often derived from beets. See Pushkareva, *Women in Russian History from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century*, trans. Eve Levin (London: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 115.
  - 16 Helena Goscilo, “Cosmetics—or Dying to Overcome Nature in an Age of Art and Artifice,” in *Women and Gender in 18th-Century Russia*, ed. Wendy Rosslyn (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 95–96.
  - 17 Goscilo, “Cosmetics,” in *Women and Gender*, 95–96.
  - 18 Hughes, “From Caftans into Corsets,” in *Gender and Sexuality*, 24.
  - 19 Lotman, “The Poetics of Everyday Behavior,” 70. The full quote reads: “A direct result of this change in behavior was the ritualization and semiotization of those spheres of life that would be considered ‘natural’ and nonsignifying in a culture that had not undergone such signification.”
  - 20 Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), xi.
  - 21 “The Modern Regime of Selfhood” is the title of Wahrman’s seventh chapter.
  - 22 There are numerous descriptions of Russians as barbaric by visitors to country. Adam Olearius in 1647 stated: “When you observe the spirit, the mores, and the way of life of the Russians, you are bound to consider them among the barbarians.” Quoted in James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 2.
  - 23 Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society*, 131.





Unknown Artist, *Portrait of Tsaritsa Natalya Kirillovna Naryshkina*, late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, Moscow. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natalya\\_Naryshkina#/media/File:Portrait\\_of\\_Tsaritsa\\_Natalya\\_Kirillovna\\_Naryshkina\\_Google\\_Cultural\\_Institute.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natalya_Naryshkina#/media/File:Portrait_of_Tsaritsa_Natalya_Kirillovna_Naryshkina_Google_Cultural_Institute.jpg)



Unknown Russian Artist of the Armory School, *Portrait of Lev Kirillovich Naryshkin*, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, oil on canvas, 204 x 133 cm. State Historical Museum, Moscow. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lev\\_Kir.\\_Naryshkin.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lev_Kir._Naryshkin.JPG)



Fyodor Rokotov, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, ca. 1757, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 33.5 cm. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Unknown\\_officer\\_by\\_Rokotov\\_\(GTG\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Unknown_officer_by_Rokotov_(GTG).jpg)



Ivan Vishnyakov, *Portrait of Stepanida Stepanovna Yakovleva*, ca. 1756, oil on canvas. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ivan\\_Vishnyakov\\_02.jpeg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ivan_Vishnyakov_02.jpeg)



Ivan Nikitich Nikitin, *Portrait of Tsarina Praskovia Ioanovna*, ca. 1714, oil on canvas, 88 x 67.5 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, <https://uploads5.wikiart.org/images/ivan-nikitin/tzarina-praskovia-ioanovna-1714.jpg>



Alexei Antropov, *Portrait of Anna Karlovna Vorontsova*, ca. 1763, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 65 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anna\\_Vorontsova\\_by\\_Antropov\\_\(1763,\\_Russian\\_museum\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anna_Vorontsova_by_Antropov_(1763,_Russian_museum).jpg)

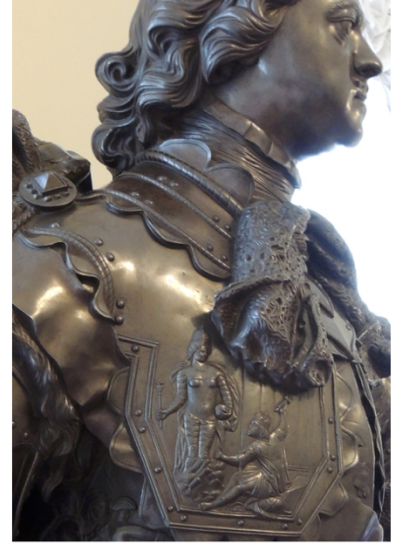




Alexei Antropov, *Portrait of Anastasia Mikhailovna Izmailova*, ca. 1759, oil on canvas, 57.2 x 44.8 cm. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aleksey\\_Antropov\\_-\\_%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%82\\_%D0%90.%D0%9C.%D0%98%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B9\\_-\\_Google\\_Art\\_Project.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aleksey_Antropov_-_%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B5%D1%82_%D0%90.%D0%9C.%D0%98%D0%B7%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B9_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg)



Bartolomeo Rastrelli, *Portrait Bust of Emperor Peter the Great*, ca. 1723-29, bronze, 102 x 90 x 40 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Busts\\_of\\_Peter\\_I\\_of\\_Russia#/media/File:Peter\\_I\\_by\\_C.Rastrelli\\_\(1723-9,\\_GRM\)\\_by\\_shakko\\_02.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Busts_of_Peter_I_of_Russia#/media/File:Peter_I_by_C.Rastrelli_(1723-9,_GRM)_by_shakko_02.jpg)



Bartolomeo Rastrelli, *Detail of Portrait Bust of Emperor Peter the Great*, ca. 1723-29, bronze, 102 x 90 x 40 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph in the public domain. Wikimedia, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peter\\_I\\_by\\_C.Rastrelli\\_\(1723-9,\\_GRM\)\\_by\\_shakko\\_03.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peter_I_by_C.Rastrelli_(1723-9,_GRM)_by_shakko_03.jpg)