< **Fig. 1.** Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861). *Rescue of Kiheiji*, from the series *Ten Heroic Accomplishments of Tametomo* (*Tametomo homare no jikketsu*). 1847–52. Color woodcut. 34.3 x 23.7 cm. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 2597)

When the twelfth-century warrior Minamoto no Tametomo sailed for Japan from the Ryūkyū Islands, he accidentally left his faithful retainer Kiheiji behind. Here, Kiheiji grabs a rope that will haul him to the ship. The scene is based on *Crescent Moon: The Adventures of Tametomo* (*Chinsetsu yumiharizuki*, 1807–11), the apocryphal story of Tametomo's life by Takizawa Bakin.

The Kitaev Collection of Japanese Art in the Pushkin Museum: *Historia Calamitatum*

Evgeny Steiner

The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow predominantly holds antiquities and West European art. It also keeps a collection of Japanese art, especially woodblock prints, that includes a certain residue from the scores amassed by Sergei Kitaev (1864–1927), a Russian naval officer whose ship took him to Japan as he cruised the high seas between 1885 and 1896 (fig. 1). Rumors circulate that the Japanese print collection is "big" or even "the largest in Europe," but no one outside a few scholars in the late 1980s or early 1990s has viewed it. Until recently, only three pamphlets in Russian in conjunction with small exhibitions from the Kitaev holdings have been published. They sketch the provenance of the Kitaev Collection, said to include either twenty-two or twenty-five thousand woodcuts. The prelude to a story of misfortunes begins when Kitaev sent his crated collection to the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow for safekeeping in late December of 1916 or early 1917, when he left Russia, ostensibly for medical treatment abroad.

With the closure of the Rumyantsev Museum in 1924, the Kitaev Collection was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts, renamed the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts ("the Pushkin") in 1937. The number of Kitaev prints claimed in the pamphlets gave grounds to imagine that the Pushkin collection of Japanese prints is a hidden treasure. After the collapse of the USSR, when the cultural policies of the early post-Soviet authorities (consequently, of the Pushkin Museum) became slightly more open, a team of specialists from Japan rushed to Moscow to photograph and briefly describe the prints. In the following year, 1993, a book of minuscule reproductions with short captions was published in what became the first volume of the new Japanese Art Abroad Research Project of the Nichibunken, the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto.[1] That illustrated list, or reference work, the *Pushkin zuroku*, was an important prolegomenon for a future catalogue. The catalogue proper had been, for several decades, a work-in-progress of the curator of the Pushkin Japanese collection, Beata G. Voronova (fig. 2). By early 2006, the curatorial and editorial work had been completed, and two volumes of about five hundred pages each were scheduled to be sent to the printer. Around that time, I happened to be in Moscow and met with Irina Antonova, Director of the Pushkin. She asked me to review the manuscript "for the last look" before it was to go to press "next week." Upon reading it, I advised her to stop production for at least a year for, as I gently put it, "updating and expanding." My

Fig. 2. Beata G. Voronova in her office at the Pushkin Museum. June 2007. Photo by the author

Fig. 3. *Iaponskaya graviura* (Japanese prints), the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue by Voronova; volume 2 open. Photo by the author

suggestions of what had to be reworked and further researched convinced Madame Antonova. She ordered production to be halted on the spot. Her lieutenants were aghast, crying that the sponsors would donate no more money in the event of a delay. Madame Antonova asked me to amplify the catalogue in the capacity, as they call it in Russia, of academic editor. What ensued was a year and a half of very intensive research, rewriting, translation from Japanese, reattribution, compilation of the glossary, updating of the bibliography and contribution of about six hundred new entries. I also examined the history of the collection, discovering a cache of documents concerning Sergei Kitaev. The present essay is an extension of my work on Kitaev and the collection history.

The "Pushkin Catalogue," *Iaponskaya graviura* (Japanese prints), was published in 2008 in two thick tomes (fig. 3).[2] Unfortunately, it added scant visibility to this fabled *collection inconnue*. At the last moment, the Pushkin decided not to include English translations of the entries and introductory essay. The data in Latin letters are romanized names of the Japanese artists and the title and series of each print. I was only marginally successful in insisting on an alphabetical index of artists in Latin letters, to enable those users who do not read Cyrillic letters to find an artist listed alphabetically in a volume of over five hundred pages; Chikanobu (Тиканобу) and Hokusai (Хокусай), for example, come at the end of the Russian alphabet of thirty-three letters. After protracted persuasion, I seemed to have convinced the Pushkin bosses that a romanized index would be useful. The index was published—but without corresponding page numbers!

The incomplete roman index is a minor nuisance compared to the absence of the catalogue in bookstores and libraries. Brill publishers offered through me to distribute the catalogue outside Russia, a tender of no interest to the Pushkin authorities. There are copies in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, the British Library, London, the library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Library of Congress, Washington, DC and the library of Waseda University, Tokyo. Two additional copies are those donated by me to the library of the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, Norwich, UK, and to the Institute's London office. The Pushkin Catalogue was printed in fifteen hundred copies; for roughly a month, it was available for sale for twenty-five hundred rubles (then one hundred dollars) in the Pushkin Museum bookstand. (I was lucky to have friends in Moscow who bought two copies and sent them to me—each set is about five kilos—over eleven pounds.) Since then, the catalogue is virtually unavailable, as it was never released to Russian bookstores.

The century-long story of the Kitaev Collection is, to borrow Churchill's words, "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." According to the Pushkin curator, Voronova, there are about two thousand prints currently in the roster. What happened to the tens of thousands proudly mentioned by the original collector? Why does this catalogue, called in the Pushkin "raisonné," contain only 1546 entries, including insignificant prints in horrible condition, while dozens, if not hundreds, of decent works are left out?[3] (Sometimes the left sheet of a complete diptych is omitted, even though the right sheet is in the catalogue.) I made a start to unravel these contradictions. The fate of the Kitaev Collection is typical of what happens to a noble private initiative in Russia—be it under a czarist, Soviet or post-Soviet regime. Behind these vicissitudes remains the compelling story of Sergei Kitaev and his enchantment with Japanese art.

Fig. 4. Sergei Kitaev on the conning bridge of the cruiser *Admiral Kornilov*. c.1894–96. From V. Yarovoi, "Kreiser *Admiral Kornilov*" (The cruiser *Admiral Kornilov*), *Morskaya Kampaniya* (Maritime campaign) 10 (2007): 17

Kitaev, second from the right, is officer of the watch.

Fig. 5. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi. *The Spirit of a Virtuous Woman Sitting under a Waterfall* (*Seppu no rei taki ni kakaru zu*), from the series *New Forms of Thirty-six Ghosts* (*Shinkei sanjūrokkaisen*). 1892. Color woodcut. 37 x 25.3 cm. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 18756)

On the strip of paper attached at the bottom of the print, Kitaev wrote the version of the story known to him (translated here from the Russian): "Her husband had been crippled by the enemy. In order to propitiate the gods who might heal him, she vowed to bathe one hundred days in a row in a sacred waterfall, but the enemy killed her. Her ghost informed the husband when it would be feasible to finish off the enemy, and justice was restored: the enemy perished."

Hatsuhana's husband was crippled when he injured his knee while searching the country for the man who killed his father. Hatsuhana carried him to a sacred waterfall, under which she prayed until she died. Her husband recovered and killed the murderer. Hatsuhana's ghost then appeared, rising from the waters.

An "Encyclopedia of All the Arts of Japan"

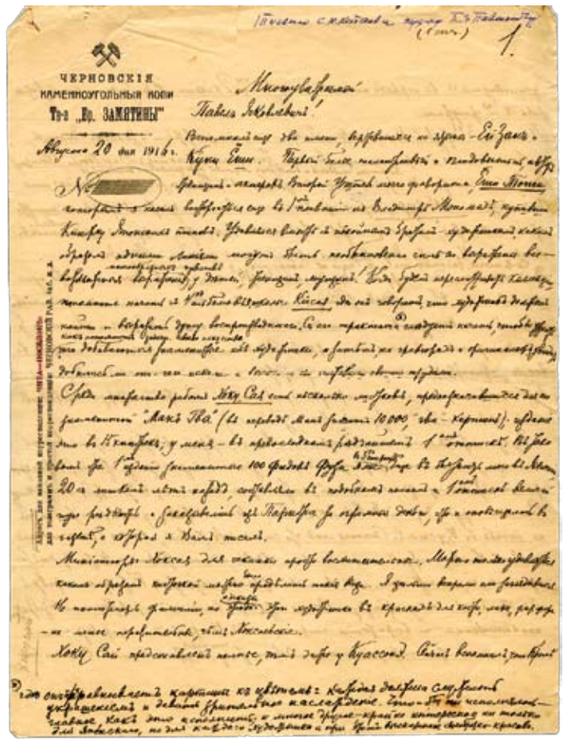
In the late nineteenth century, when the young Sergei Kitaev began to buy Japanese art during his stopovers in Japanese ports (1885–86 and 1893–96), the collecting of ukiyo-e prints in the West was enjoying exponential growth (fig. 4). In Russia, however, he was virtually the first swallow of spring. (Regrettably, this swallow did "not a summer make" of Japanese art in his country.)[4] Kitaev can be included in the brilliant cohort of Russian collectors of his generation: well-educated and well-heeled representatives of the merchant class, who were more aesthetically open and daring than the nobility and gentry-class collectors, who traditionally gravitated toward European classical art. Kitaev looks like a representative man of his time and means, somewhat effete and in the sway of fashionable things Japanese. He was artistically gifted himself, being an amateur watercolor artist and a man with a refined and fragile nature. Not without reason, Kitaev chose as his "favorite" and "soul-mate" Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–1892), the last important and innovative ukiyo-e master, who marked the end of the two-centuries-old cultural tradition (fig. 5).[5] An excessively overwrought—to the extent of the macabre and pathological—decadent who suffered from nervous breakdowns, Yoshitoshi died in his early fifties, as would Kitaev in his early sixties, after a series of ruinous outbreaks of psychic malaise.

Not much is known about Kitaev's life: a dry list of the slowly changing ranks in his personnel file in the Navy archive; brief mentions of his collection in Russian and Japanese newspapers; a few short letters from Kitaev to various officials; and a letter of recollections by his fellow officer (and artist) Pavel Pavlinov (1881–1966), written forty years after their last meeting.

Early Life and Naval Heritage

Sergei Nikolaevich Kitaev was born June 10 (Gregorian calendar: 22), 1864, in the village of Klishino on the Oka River in Ryazan province (now a part of Moscow province), where the Kitaevs had their family estate. He belonged to a well-to-do family bearing the rank of hereditary honorable citizens.[6] Most probably his family made its money from the local sailcloth factory, which had provided sails for the navy since the time of Peter the Great—hence the naval connection of the future collector and his brothers (his father, Nikolai Aleksandrovich Kitaev, was a captain too). From the age of fourteen, Kitaev was educated at the Naval School (later renamed Naval Corps) in Saint Petersburg. He graduated in 1884 salutatorian (his name was incised and gilded on the marble Board of Honor). He served as an officer in Saint Petersburg and on the ships of the Pacific fleet until 1905 and, afterward, in Petersburg until 1912. His highest rank in service was Colonel of the Admiralty ("colonel" because in his last years he served on shore), and when he was discharged due to ill-health, he was promoted to the rank of Major General of the Admiralty (a uniquely Russian title). One very blurred photograph of Kitaev from a Japanese newspaper of 1918 is kno wn, as well as a description from a Russian secret police report of 1904: "medium height, a black French-style beard, mustache pointed up, wears a black-rimmed pince-nez."[7]

Kitaev exhibited at the Imperial Academy of Arts and in the Society of Watercolor Artists. His elder brother, Vasily Kitaev (1849–1894), was also in the navy and an artist; another brother, Alexander (c. 1852–?), was a naval officer who spent time in Nagasaki and published essays about his Far Eastern travels.[8] Yet another brother, Vladimir (1855–1920), ended his life as an émigré in Japan, and died in Nagasaki.



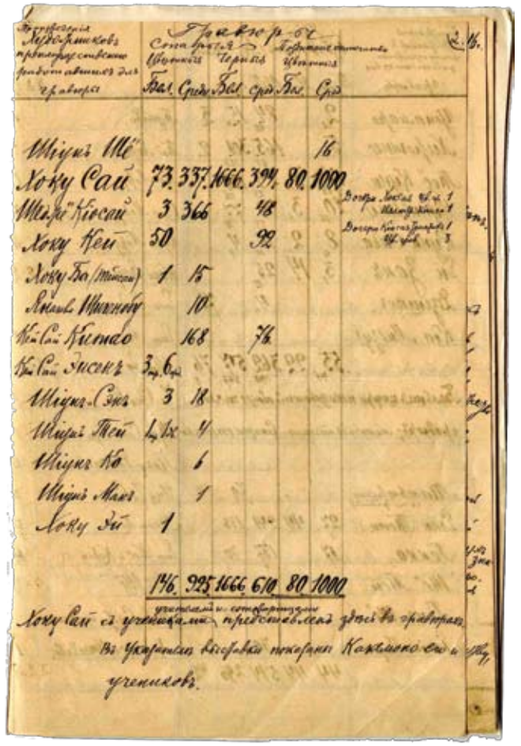


Fig. 6. Letter from Sergei Kitaev to Pavel Pavlinov. Aug. 20, 1916. Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (stock 9, inventory II, document 608)

Kitaev writes that he has all fifteen volumes of the rare first edition of Hokusai's *Manga*. The 2008 Pushkin Catalogue excludes these lines in its transcription of the text and inserts a few words to smooth the gap. There are ten offending graffiti marks on this page, including, in the upper right-hand corner "A Letter of S. N. Kitaev to the artist P. Ya. Pavlinov," and the underlining of names of Japanese artists. Kitaev uses letterhead from the Chernovo Coal Mines of the Zamyatin Brothers Company.

Fig. 7. Sergei Kitaev. One page of the Brief List, a description of his Japanese print collection, from a draft of a letter to Vasily V. Gorshanov. 1916. Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (stock 9, inventory I, document 22)

Kitaev's letter to Gorshanov was published in the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue (vol. 2, p. 549), but without its main component, the Brief List; the second line of Kitaev's list mentions thousands of prints by Hokusai.

Original and Growing Collection

There are two long letters written by Kitaev to the previously mentioned Pavel Pavlinov in which he describes his collection and shares his views on Japanese art. These letters, given by Pavlinov to the Pushkin in 1959, and a list (the "Brief List") in Kitaev's hand of his collection found in the boxes with his prints, yield an engaging portrait of the collector and outline of his original collection (figs. 6, 7). The letters to Pavlinov were written on the 15th (28) and the 20th of August (2 September), 1916, in anticipation of Kitaev's selling the collection to the Russian state. While in a generally good state of preservation, the letters are marred with comments and underlinings in ballpoint ink and pencil by an overzealous researcher, presumably Voronova.[9]

Kitaev did not limit himself to woodblock prints. In his Brief List he enumerates the following groups: hanging scrolls–270; screens (including one purportedly by Ogata Kōrin [1658–1716]–4; handscrolls–12 (including one purportedly by Katsushika Hokusai [1760–1849]); watercolors–650 large and 570 small; ink sketches–1900.[10] Besides these, there was a group of thirteen hundred photographs of Japanese life (street scenes, festivals, customs and the like), thematically grouped in albums, and three hundred negatives.[11] There were hand-colored glass slides for a magic lantern taken, for the most part, from prints on historical and mythological subjects. There were hundreds of books and albums, and finally, thousands of prints. Kitaev writes:

> These are the cities where I was buying: Tokyo, Kyoto, Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe, Shimonoseki, Nagazaki, Hakodate, Nikko, Nagoya, Tsuruga, Kago-shima. In villages: Otsu, Mianoshta [Miyanoshita at Hakone], Inasa, Atami. There were other places, but their names I do not remember. My agents (ojiji san—"old men") canvassed the length and breadth of J[apan] for several years.[12]

Kitaev made acquisitions in all ports from Nagasaki and Kagoshima in the south to Hakodate in the north. He did not miss Otsu, famous for its folk pictures, and "the Russian village" Inasa in Nagasaki Bay, where the Russian naval base was established in 1859. On the other hand, all evident advantages notwithstanding, there was a serious problem: in port towns (especially, Yokohama and Kobe) a significant part of the art market was targeted at foreigners, as discussed below.

Kitaev had every reason to call his collection "an encyclopedia of the arts of all Japan."[13] He was not just an amateur who was buying pictures he liked, without any system. Kitaev took care to represent Japan the country through its art. The bulk of his collection was formed in Japan before 1895, when he reached the age of thirty, although he continued to add items through his agents when he settled in Saint Petersburg. He also thought about the benefits to the public and future specialists. Nagata Seiji noted in his introduction to the catalogue of the collection's 1994 exhibition in Japan: "The huge variety of the materials of this collection is its particular feature. From the scholarly viewpoint, Japanese art is represented in a very strong fashion and conveys the sensibility of the collector. Geographically, it contains everything from the prints of Edo to those of Kyoto, Osaka and Nagasaki. For a foreigner of those days it has a rarely seen breadth."[14]

Given his collecting interests that included even chromolithographs and those prints he called "copies" (facsimiles and recuts, or *akashi-han*), one may ask whether Kitaev was simply omnivorous, as often happens with many well-heeled dilettantes. Yes, by all means he was a dilettante in its original meaning of "delighted one." Its negative connotation of superficial, half-baked amateur does not become him. Judging from his letters, Kitaev had considerable knowledge of books on Japanese art in European languages, and he hired Japanese linguists to translate texts related to Japanese artists into Russian for him; in the letter that contains the Brief List, Kitaev includes excerpts from thoughts about the essence of art by Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889). He frequently communicated directly with artists and antique dealers in Japan, visited old temples to see famous works of art and regularly showed new acquisitions to his "three friends—Chiossone, Bigot, and Gibert"—who visited him on his ship in Yokohama. Edoardo Chiossone (1833–1898) and Georges Bigot (1860–1927) are well-known in the world of Japanese art and do not require any commentary here; the third, Gibert, was a secretary to the French legation. Kitaev was also acquainted with Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913), who visited him aboard ship to view the collection and later invited Kitaev to his Tokyo School of Fine Arts.

The names of ukiyo-e masters mentioned in Kitaev's letters to Pavlinov

demonstrate that he was well-oriented in who was who. He knew the established hierarchy of artists, but he had his own eye and taste. At the start of his collecting, Kitaev was under the spell of Hokusai. "I was enamored with him more than anybody else. . . . Later I found other artists who were more refined and elegant, and some of them no less powerful." Revealing in this excerpt is not his fascination with Hokusai, but Kitaev's ability to admit that there were other artists, perhaps less famous, but more refined and no less powerful: "The works of Hokkei [1780–1850] and Hokuba [1771–1844] I also like very much—there is power and harmony in them." In the same letter, Kitaev muses on the calligraphic nature of Japanese painting:

> And because of this the imagination of the Japanese is incomparably sharper than European; it often allows but a mere hint, whereas ours demands the full elaboration. The consequences of this are manifold. For us, an artist creates volume by shading, whereas, for a Japanese, a sharp outline of familiar objects would be enough. We demand perspective (albeit conventional . . .), and in the Japanese imagination almost all perspective draws by its own facilities: if it is necessary for a hawk to fly over a forest, an artist will draw a few upper tree branches; if the hawk sits on the ground, the artist gives its exact position on the ground and a hint of this ground at the side; sometimes the artist just indicates somewhere at the top a cliff and it is enough—the imagination of the Japanese viewer will find [the hawk] below on the ground.[15]

Kitaev also provides enthusiastic insight into the Japanese aesthetic of displaying paintings:

> In the books on Jap[anese] painting I did not find advice on their characteristic habit which is not to turn (as we do) numerous paintings into elements of interior decoration (which become much too familiar and no longer attract attention) by hanging them permanently on the walls. They change their paintings every day and savor the freshness of perception! Isn't it the case with literature, when it remains more fresh from the distance of time, you always discover in a talented piece new charms that escaped your attention in previous readings. So they applied this method of rereading pictures again and again. You should also add to this the calligraphic nature of their painting, and the aesthetic, visual rereading will appear in all its entirety and total freshness.[16]

Kitaev is talking not only about psychological aspects of visual perception but is also drawing together the Japanese way of conceiving imagery through a combination of the visual and verbal. In this subtle perception possibly lies one of the predilections of Kitaev as collector: *surimono*, with their symbiosis of word and picture.

It is important to stress here that, despite all the love that Kitaev felt toward ukiyo-e prints (these confessions are lavishly scattered throughout his letters), his most serious interest was painting. In a very engaging way he describes scrolls and screens that he bought or could not buy because of price or availability. Kitaev wrote that painting represents Japanese art best of all and called exhibitions of his collection "exhibitions of painting." In this respect, he resembles the first American nineteenth-century connoisseurs of Japanese art, Henry Bowie (1848–1921) and Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), who, while admiring Japanese classical art, were rather luke-

warm about prints. (Fenollosa later changed his mind, possibly because of the art market and job opportunities.) Kitaev mentioned Fenollosa and his collection in two letters.

Sergei Kitaev's dream "Encyclopedia" never became the scholarly catalogue nor his collection the touchstone for future connoisseurs that he envisioned.

Exhibitions

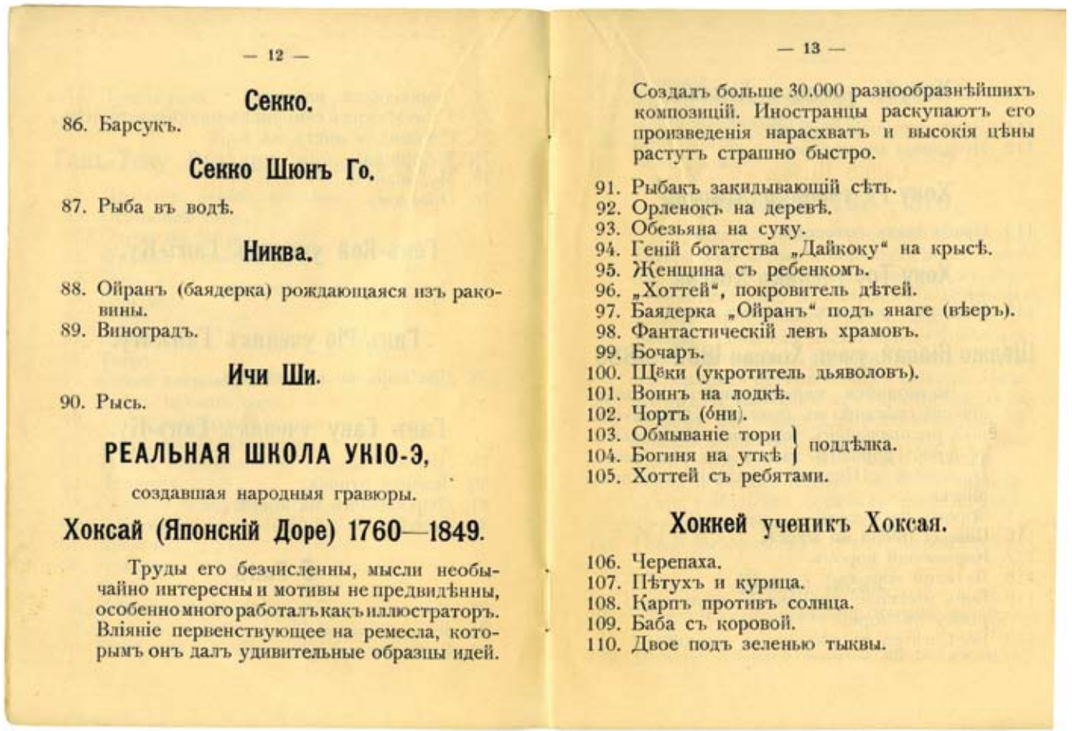
In a letter written in December 1916 to Vasily V. Gorshanov, a member of the Society of Friends of the Rumyantsev Museum, Kitaev gives a short appraisal of his collection:

> Since the time [I formed my collection], a whole series of books on Japanese art has been published. I have them now, and thus I can more clearly understand the colossal material I collected. Besides that, I canvassed all Europe, excluding only Spain, Portugal and the Balkan Peninsula, studying museum and private collections. In 1910, in London, I saw the exhibition "The Treasures of Old Art of Japan" (I have its illustrated catalogue), which was temporarily brought from Japan by the special order of the Mikado on the occasion of the Japan-British Exhibition.[17] It occurred only once in the whole of Japanese history, and the reason was to show it to the British king, the nobility, the members of the British-Japanese Society, and also Franco-Japanese Society, specially invited from Paris. It was not shown to the general public. I saw it as a member of the Franco-Japanese Society, in the club's building, methodically, part by part, during three days, and this was a lucky opportunity to compare my kakemono [hanging scrolls] with those exhibited there. Based on the aforementioned, I was convinced that my collection occupies the second place in Europe, both in quality and quantity. The first would remain forever the collection of the engraver Chiossone, who bequeathed it to the Academy of Arts in Genoa.[18]

Kitaev visited the largest museums in Berlin, Hamburg, Paris, London and elsewhere, meeting with their curators. "Hokusai," Kitaev observes in a letter to Pavlinov, "is represented more fully [in my collection] than even in Chiossone's. He reiterates this claim in several other places in the letter: "Hokusai is just an amazing spontaneous force. You will see this when you look on those thousands that I have. . . . This edition [of *Manga*] is in fifteen books; I have it in the most rare excellent first printing. Likewise, I have the famous *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji* in three volumes in the first edition."[19] In the Brief List, he gives the following numbers: Hokusai color prints–3 large and 337 medium size; black-and-white–1666 large and 394 medium. Besides those he adds 80 large and exactly 1000 medium-sized color prints in late editions.

In October 1896, Kitaev proposed an exhibition of his collection to the vice-president of the Imperial Academy of Arts:

> Your Excellency,
>
> Having spent almost three and a half years in Japan, I collected about two hundred fifty Japanese paintings, several hundred sketches and drawings and several thousand color prints. Among artists, there are representatives of all



— 12 —

Секко.

86. Барсукъ.

Секко Шюнъ Го.

87. Рыба въ водѣ.

Никва.

88. Ойранъ (баядерка) рождающаяся изъ раковины.
89. Виноградъ.

Ичи Ши.

90. Рысь.

РЕАЛЬНАЯ ШКОЛА УКІО-Э,

создавшая народныя гравюры.

Хоксай (Японскій Доре) 1760—1849.

Труды его безчисленны, мысли необычайно интересны и мотивы не предвидѣнны, особенно много работалъ какъ иллюстраторъ. Вліяніе первенствующее на ремесла, которымъ онъ далъ удивительные образцы идей.

— 13 —

Создалъ больше 30.000 разнообразнѣйшихъ композицій. Иностранцы раскупаютъ его произведенія нарасхватъ и высокія цѣны растутъ страшно быстро.

91. Рыбакъ закидывающій сѣть.
92. Орленокъ на деревѣ.
93. Обезьяна на суку.
94. Геній богатства „Дайкоку“ на крысѣ.
95. Женщина съ ребенкомъ.
96. „Хоттей“, покровитель дѣтей.
97. Баядерка „Ойранъ“ подъ янаге (вѣеръ).
98. Фантастическій левъ храмовъ.
99. Бочаръ.
100. Щёки (укротитель дьяволовъ).
101. Воинъ на лодкѣ.
102. Чортъ (они).
103. Обмываніе тори } поддѣлка.
104. Богиня на уткѣ }
105. Хоттей съ ребятами.

Хоккей ученикъ Хоксая.

106. Черепаха.
107. Пѣтухъ и курица.
108. Карпъ противъ солнца.
109. Баба съ коровой.
110. Двое подъ зеленью тыквы.

Fig. 8. List of Hokusai hanging scrolls from Kitaev's guide to the exhibition of Japanese painting in St. Petersburg. 1905. Private Collection, Moscow

The last boldface heading on page 12 reads, "Hokusai (Japanese Doré [Gustave Doré]) 1760–1849." There are fifteen entries for Hokusai on page 13, with nos. 103 and 104 identified as forgeries.

schools of Japanese painting; thus, the exhibition of their works can give an idea of Japanese art.[20]

Striving to enlighten the public, Kitaev organized three exhibitions of his collection: December 1–25 (December 13–January 6), 1896, in the Imperial Academy of Arts (Saint Petersburg); February 1–23 (February 13–March 7), 1897, in the Historical Museum (Moscow); and in late September–October 1905, in the Society for the Promotion of the Arts (Saint Petersburg). Kitaev compiled booklets, or guides, to accompany the exhibitions in 1896 and 1905 (fig. 8).[21]

The first exhibition provoked a flurry of newspaper announcements, reviews and responses. It was preceded by public events and lectures. On November 4 (16), Kitaev showed selected paintings and talked about Japanese art in a high-profile event called Moussard Mondays. The newspaper *Syn Otechest·va* (The Son of the Fatherland) reported: "On the 4th of November, a very lively artistic evening took place in The Salt Town. It is known as Moussard Mondays. Gathered were the chairman, Duke Leuchtenberg, venerated older members such as Professors Lagorio, Karazin, Musin-Pushkin and others. That evening, a Lieutenant Kitaev, who has just returned from Japan, where he brought together a rich collection of Japanese art during his four-year-long stay, showed paintings of Japanese artists and talked about the emergence and development of artistry in that country. . . . The evening was completed by a friendly supper with numerous toasts."[22]

The Moussard Mondays, founded in the nineteenth century by Evgeny Moussard, a former secretary to Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, was an aristocratic charitable society made up of collectors, patrons of the arts and benefactors of artists and their families.

Another well-attended event to publicize the upcoming exhibition was a series of three lectures delivered by Kitaev about Japanese life and art with the demonstration of glass slides using a magic lantern. According to the newspaper *Novoe Vremya* (The New Times), the lectures were attended by a big crowd, including Admiral Pavel P. Tyrtov, former commodore of the Russian Pacific fleet then head of the Naval Ministry; Leonid Maikov, vice-president of the Academy of Sciences; Count Ivan Tolstoy, vice-president of the Academy of Arts; Dmitry V. Grigorovich, director of the Museum of the Society for Promotion of the Arts and other dignitaries.[23] This list of the prominent figures of Russian art, science and the imperial navy who attended a lecture about Japan and its art is rather impressive by itself, but if we recall that the lecturer was a thirty-two-year-old naval lieutenant, it looks more unusual. It is reasonable to conclude that Kitaev was wealthy and well-connected at the highest levels.

The next day, the same newspaper gave more details about the preparation of the exhibition: "Among outstanding works, there will be shown paintings of the Shijō, Kishi, Ukiyo-e, Kano and other artistic schools."[24] In a letter written twenty years later, Kitaev would mention the Tosa school—"these artists I used to buy in Kyoto"—and specified that, among the Kano artists, he had several works by Kano Tan'yū (1602–1674).[25]

Five days after the Moussard Mondays event, the local newspaper reminded its readers: "The Japanese exhibition is to be opened on Sunday, the 1st of December, at 10 a.m. It is organized in the Titian and Raphael Halls of the Academy of Arts, and numbers 283 entries. Some of these exhibits include more than one hundred objects (prints, caricatures and colored photographs illustrating Japanese life). All the preparations are finished. The exhibition consists of three parts: paintings, sketches and drawings, and prints."[26] Within a fortnight, a daily gossip column placed the exhibition first in the lineup of what's on: "Have you seen the Japanese? Listened to the Italians? Watched Duse? Read about the Nelidov audience with the sultan?—These are our hot questions."[27] Instead of closing the exhibition after two weeks, as planned, Kitaev enhanced it with additional works and got permission for its extension until the new year (Gregorian: January 13). The artist Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva (1871–1955), then a student at the Imperial Academy of Arts and later one of the main proponents of Japonism in Russia, recalls the transformative effect of this exhibition many years later in her memoirs: "Don't remember exactly, but it could be 1896, there was the first Japanese exhibition organized by Kitaev in the Academy. I was totally smitten. . . . The works were hung on wooden partitions, without glass, in huge numbers, down to the floor" (fig. 9).[28]

Numerous rave reviews were published when the exhibition traveled to Moscow in February 1897, occupying several rooms of the Historical Museum on Red Square, and again in 1905, for the exhibition organized in

Fig. 9. Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva. *Tsepnoi most* (Chain Bridge [St. Petersburg]). 1914–15. Chromolithograph postcard based on the artist's color woodcut of 1903. 9.1 x 14.2 cm. Arseny Kosmo Collection, Moscow

The postcard was published by the St. Petersburg Society of St. Evgenia of the Red Cross for the series *Art on Postcards*, issued for charity purposes at the beginning of World War I.

Saint Petersburg immediately after the inglorious defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.

All this success among young artists and newspaper reports notwithstanding, it was not easy to organize these exhibitions. The third and last, in October 1905, took place during the difficult time of civil unrest called the First Russian Revolution; the month of October was marked by a nationwide political strike. Kitaev's plan to sell his collection for the benefit of the public met with a complete lack of interest on the part of decision makers.

Into Captivity

Beginning in 1896, Kitaev's attempts to exhibit his collection and to make it available to the public on a permanent basis by selling it to the state encountered all kinds of red tape. In a letter of 1904 addressed to Valerian P. Loboikov (1861–after 1917), secretary of the Russian Academy of Art in Saint Petersburg, Kitaev relates his sad experience in organizing the exhibition of 1896:

> I have to begin from afar. Enthusiastically, I was forming my collection, having in mind to display it for the public without charge. I considered the collection rich enough to provide to my fellow citizens an idea of what kind of a rival (in 1896!) we were dealing with by showing them the arts of the people of Japan and thirteen hundred photographs of the country and domestic life of their nation.
>
> To fulfill my youthful undertaking (I was about thirty at that time), I brought the collection to St. Petersburg and applied to the I[mperial] S[ocie]ty for Advan[cement] of the Arts for a free exhibition space, thinking that the development of the artistic taste of Russian society is included in its mission. And what did I learn? I was told that I had to pay a huge sum (don't remember now—one or two thousand per month) and to take care of all preparation and security. It was the first knife into my heart.
>
> I applied to the Academy of Sciences, thinking that the ethnographic part (the photographs) would be interesting enough to enable this Learned Institution to support my educational goal. A hall they really were willing to give for free, but stark empty. Easels, fabrics, heating, all management, security and organization I had to take care of single-handedly.
>
> It was the second knife; I thanked the administration and declined. There remained the I[mperial] Academy of Arts. The charming Count N. I. Tolstoy and V. G. Makovsky, with your good offices, gave me the space without charge; however, acting by Academy regulations, I had to pay to your bursar a fee for amortization of a staircase carpet (which was never there, by the way), add fabric to upholster the boards, order at my expense shelves for the photographs, hire a cashier, organize and pay for publications and pay for attendants. . . .
>
> The response of press and the public was very different; there were about eight hundred visitors per day, which I did not expect, having in mind the Petersburg December, dark and busy with Christmas preparations. This brought me moral solace. . . ."[29]

As early as 1898, Kitaev began wishing to donate his collection to the future Moscow Museum of Fine Arts, which at that time was in the early stages of construction. He wrote twice to Professor Ivan V. Tsvetaev (1847–1913), the director. Tsvetaev's responses are unknown. A professor of art history at Moscow University and a specialist in Roman antiquities, he made titanic efforts to establish an educational museum filled with plaster casts of classical and Renaissance masterpieces. Possibly, Japanese prints and scrolls were very far from his ideal of a fine arts museum.[30]

In 1904, the newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (Saint Petersburg Gazette) published an interview with Kitaev titled "The Captive." It begins:

> Becoming interested in Japanese painting, I could not resist the temptation to rummage in the immense collection of kakemono of S. N. Kitaev. This is a unique collection in Russia and now, perhaps, the best among all private collections in Europe. . . .
>
> [Kitaev is then quoted.] "I'd be happy to help you, but unfortunately I can't. My Japanese collection is in captivity now . . . and I do not think that it would be possible to deliver it soon. It languishes in Moscow in storage . . . packed in crates and packages and nailed up". . . . S. N. [Kitaev] gave me a shocking example of how the most wholesome and unselfish, almost self-abnegating endeavors are ruined in Russia.[31]

The journalist reports that not a single Russian institution, except for the Stroganov School of Technical Drawing, asked Kitaev if the collection were available to buy. On the other hand, he adds, "several inquiries came from

abroad. . . . There were a few offers from Japan to buy the collection, and Hasekawa was going to travel to Russia to try to overcome the stubbornness of Mr. Kitaev."

But it was only the beginning of the collection's misfortunes (and those of the collector himself). In 1916, Kitaev was preparing to travel abroad for prolonged medical treatment, and he offered the government the chance to buy his collection. Surprisingly, the response went as far as establishing a commission of experts to evaluate the collection. Its members were Sergei Oldenburg (1863–1934), a professor of Buddhism and Indian culture; Sergei Eliseev (1889–1975), a Sinologist who had just returned from Japan; Pavel Pavlinov, Kitaev's fellow naval officer and artist; and Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva, the printmaker who had been impressed by the collection at the 1896 exhibition. It was in anticipation of the examination of his collection that Kitaev sent two letters to Pavlinov to whet the latter's interest. The commission met in Kitaev's home in Saint Petersburg in September 1916 over the course of seven evenings, and recommended to the government that it should buy the collection. However, the purchase fell through because, as Pavlinov wrote forty years later, due to wartime expenses the government could not meet Kitaev's asking price of one hundred and fifty thousand rubles, comparable to about fifty thousand dollars in 1916. That year was the beginning of a huge inflation in Russia; prices skyrocketed in autumn. Before the war, Kitaev's salary would have been about three thousand rubles per annum. An apartment of five or six rooms, with bathroom and electricity, averaged about two hundred per month. In 1898, Kitaev had wanted to sell his collection for fifteen thousand rubles. The difference between that figure and his asking price in 1916 was based on inflation, an increase in prices for Japanese art and the fact that in 1898 he was willing to sell his holdings for a fraction of their real value.

Meanwhile, Kitaev was eager to get out of the country and could not leave his collection in Saint Petersburg; the front line was very close, and there was a real possibility of the German army entering the city. The same Pavlinov, who had some connections in the Moscow Rumyantsev Museum, advised Kitaev to entrust the collection to its custody (fig. 10). In a letter to

Fig. 10. Russian State Library, the former Rumyantsev Museum, Moscow (the old Pashkov House, overlooking the Kremlin). 1784–86. Photo by the author

Vasily Gorshanov, a member of the Society of Friends of the Rumyantsev Museum, Kitaev had asked permission to leave the collection on loan for safekeeping, and mentioned his unsuccessful attempt to sell it to the state. He then wrote a second letter in December 1916:

> Dear Vasily Vikent'evich [Gorshanov]!
> Thank you for your fast and kind reply.
> I beg you to not think that I obtrude myself with my collection.
> I am personally in love with it and am not interested in selling it soon. I only regret that it is not public property, so the people who understand true art could pick up from it a lot of the delight that it provides.[32]

As a footnote to the story of the vanished grandeur of the Kitaev Collection, I would like to mention one virtually unknown reference to its breadth. It is a newspaper review of the exhibition organized by Kitaev in September 1905 in Saint Petersburg:

> In total, there are two hundred and fifty paintings and several hundreds of sketches of the best artists. Next to it there are up to thirteen hundred systematized big photographs taken and artistically colored by the Japanese. . . . Also, there are several thousand pictures printed in color [woodcuts]. Besides these, about one hundred and fifty watercolors of Japanese views painted by Kitaev himself are on view. . . . On top of this, in the exhibition rooms there are many rare Japanese objects made of bronze, porcelain, ivory and screens (among the latter, there are a few of high artistic quality, such as the work of the famous decorative master Kōrin).[33]

It is difficult to imagine the enormous scale of this exhibition, but the number of two-dimensional works (two hundred and fifty paintings, thirteen hundred photographs and several thousand prints) coincides with what is known from other sources, including Kitaev himself. What is most interesting is the mention of decorative and applied arts. There is no material witness or paper trail of these objects or of what happened to them before *or* after Kitaev consigned his crates and boxes to storage in the Rumyantsev Museum basement at the end of 1916. The railroad car with Kitaev's collection probably reached Moscow in January 1917. The collection would have been nationalized by the Bolsheviks in 1918.

Parting with the Collection

The Kitaevs (Sergei, his wife Anna and their twenty-year-old son Innokenty) left Russia, temporarily, or so they thought. Several months later, the Bolshevik Revolution erupted. Kitaev's last years have become known only recently. Ishigaki Katsu, the former Russian bibliographer of the National Diet Library in Tokyo, discovered that the Kitaevs were in Mukden (now Shenyang) between 1917 and 1918.[34] It may be that because of the war the Kitaevs could not go to Europe and went instead to relatives in Chernovo, and from there to neighboring China. In the beginning of the twentieth century there was a strong Russian presence in Mukden; after the Battle of Mukden in 1904, the city fell into Japanese hands.

In October 1918, the Kitaevs were in Yokohama, living at Nakamurachō,

Fig. 11. Utagawa Yoshiiku (1833–1904). *Foreigners from Five Countries Merry-making at the Gankirō* (*Gokakoku Gankirō ni oite sakamori no zu*). 1860. Color woodcut triptych. 36.8 x 72.2 cm. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 29808–10)

Gankirō, "The Palace of Fans," was an entertainment establishment built in 1859 for foreigners in Miyozaki, the brothel district on the outskirts of Yokohama. An American visitor, Richard Henry Dana, described the Gankirō in 1860 as large and handsome, with parlors, reception rooms, dining rooms, a dancing hall and a theater. On the verandah, two women, English and American, are pointing. A courtesan enters the room, catching the attention of a seated Frenchman. The gesticulating figure in a black coat in the center is labeled a "Nankin," or Chinese. Moving around the table counterclockwise are: seated, a bearded Russian, a red-haired Englishman and a Dutchman in grey hat with the generic label "red-haired;" standing, a Russian woman with a bonnet of feathers and a courtesan; seated, a Japanese boy; standing, a bearded American man.

no. 1492. According to a Yokohama newspaper, "while in Japan thirty-three years ago, the artist Kitaev, well-known in artistic circles, collected fourteen thousand works of Japanese art, including three hundred paintings as well as three thousand prints by Kitagawa Utamaro [1753?–1806], Utagawa Kunisada [1786–1856], Utagawa Toyokuni [1796–1825], Hokusai and other masters—in total about eight thousand" (fig. 11).[35] Around that time, Kitaev organized an exhibition in Yokohama of about seventy of his watercolors. In 1921, he moved to the Bluff area. In the Yokohama City Archive, I found a Bluff Directory for 1923. Kitaev was listed there as S. Kitaeff with the house number 179c. It was next to the Ferris seminary (no. 178) and close to the French consulate (no. 185) and the Russian library with the editorial offices of the newspaper *Delo Rossii* (The Russian Cause) (no. 186).

On June 16, 1922, the *Yomiuri* newspaper printed the penultimate short news item about the collector: "Mr. Kitaev, the patron of Japanese art who lived in Yamate in Yokohama, suddenly went insane—possibly because of the painful feelings provoked by the state of affairs in Russia." It happened during the intensive preparations for his one-man exhibition of watercolors at Shirokiya Department Store in Nihonbashi in Tokyo. He had a nervous breakdown. Here it is appropriate to reveal that Pavlinov had mentioned in his letter of recollections about Kitaev that "in 1916 . . . I met Sergei Nikolaevich, who was somehow better after his illness. Doctors recommended he go somewhere abroad for treatment."[36] It may be pertinent that Kitaev's elder brother, Vasily Kitaev, had committed suicide "having a sudden fit of acute insanity" in 1894, as was mentioned in passing in a newspaper obituary.[37]

After an initial hospitalization in Tokyo's Aoyama neurosis clinic, Kitaev was transferred to Tokyo Prefectural Matsuzawa Hospital with the diagnosis of manic depressive psychosis. This occurred in December 1922; soon afterward, their house on the Bluff was destroyed in the Great Kanto Earthquake. Kitaev's wife and son left for America (the name Innokenty Sergeevich Kitaeff is in the 1925 M.I.T. yearbook as a student of civil engineering). Sergei Nikolaevich died in Matsuzawa Hospital on April 14, 1927. The notice of his death appears in the bulletin *Seikyō Jihō* (The Orthodox Messenger), stating that an admiral of the Russian navy, Kitaev, was given the last rites and escorted to a cemetery by a Father Inaga and an attendant, Vasily.[38]

During the following decades, the name of Kitaev was completely forgotten in Soviet Russia. His collection (or what was left of it) entered the Pushkin Museum in 1924, with the closing of the Rumyantsev Museum; between 1929 and 1930 the Kitaev Collection was entered in accession ledgers. In 1950, Beata G. Voronova, the curator referenced earlier, was assigned to the collection. She held that post for the next fifty-eight years.[39]

The Mystery of Big Numbers

Working on the catalogue of the Pushkin prints, I resolved to investigate the huge discrepancy between the original number of Kitaev holdings mentioned in different sources, and what remains. In the Pushkin Catalogue, which had been conceived as a complete presentation of the museum's holdings of Japanese prints, only 158 of Hokusai's works are listed (even including those few with a dubious attribution and coming from other, non-Kitaev, provenances). It is not so small a number in itself, but somehow it is more than twenty times smaller than Kitaev's own estimate.[40]

We may surmise that Kitaev counted as individual sheets all prints in bound albums and books that are not included in the 2008 "catalogue raisonné."[41] Hokusai's complete *Manga* comes to slightly less than one thousand pages, but there is no full thousand in Kitaev's Brief List. Even if we make the rather improbable hypothesis that Kitaev counted the lightly colored pages of the *Manga* among the black-and-white prints, it still won't work: his 1666 black-and-white prints are mentioned as "large," whereas the *Manga* format is small. Luckily, the quantity (one thousand) and the format (medium) in the rubric "late color prints" coincide with the *Manga*, and there is a late edition of the *Manga* in the Pushkin. But where is the first edition of the *Manga*, the possession of which Kitaev wrote about so proudly? He could err in some attributions or dates, but it is less likely that he would boast about a restrike of mediocre quality, even if some unprincipled "agents" had tried to fool him. We should insert here that Kitaev held his "agents" in high esteem: "Araki-san is a traditionally educated, charming Japanese. He frequently visited my ship; together we took to Hokusai, Ōkyo, Tani Bunchō and others."[42]

Not so drastic, but still significant, is the discrepancy between Kitaev's Brief List and extant prints by Utamaro (104 versus 70); Toyokuni (169 vs. 31); Yoshitoshi (450 vs. 53) and many other artists. I suggest that there may be three reasons for this variance. The first and most benign explanation is, as remarked above, that Kitaev may have listed every page in a book as an independent entry. Second, between the compilation of the Brief List and the

time he entrusted his collection to the Rumyantsev Museum for custody in late 1916, Kitaev may have sold a number of objects. Third, between the compilation of the Brief List and the transfer of the collection to the Museum of Fine Arts (later called the Pushkin) in 1924, eight years passed that included the revolution and the civil war. We should add five to six years during which the crates and boxes of the Kitaev Collection were stored in cellars in the museum building on Volkhonka Street without even being inventoried, as prints were not registered in the museum's books until 1929–30.

At the conclusion of his letter of August 15, 1916 to Pavlinov, Kitaev remarks: "Among several thousands of prints, there are more than two thousand that cost, according to foreign prices, between one hundred and four hundred marks each."[43] The 2008 Pushkin Catalogue includes less than two thousand prints (among them, more than one hundred that came from sources other than Kitaev). Furthermore, many of these prints—late, small-format series and some unassuming *surimono*—could not be among the best and most expensive two thousand. We should bear in mind that the 1918 interview with Kitaev in the Yokohama newspaper lists fourteen thousand objects, including about eight thousand woodblock prints.

A serendipitous discovery I made while studying prints in the Japanese collection curatorial room in January 2007 corroborates the theory that Kitaev sold off some of the woodcuts. On the lower left back corner of *A Teahouse in Takanawa* by Katsukawa Shunchō (act. 1780–95), I spotted two owner's seals with the monogram CK, a faint one within a circle and one within a triangle surmounted by a swallowlike bird (figs. 12a, b). The most natural thing would be to think that these are the initials of Sergei Kitaev (his name in Cyrillic read Сергей Китаев). But this print was purchased in 1965 from the collector G. G. Lemlein, who could have acquired it decades earlier directly from Kitaev. At that session, I checked about ninety prints with direct provenance from the Kitaev Collection and did not find the cipher. However, it does not necessarily mean that others do not carry it. My main interest in that session was *surimono*, most pasted into albums, which makes the reverse side unavailable. Among the very few old Russian collectors of Japanese woodblocks there is none with the initials CK. An utterly fantastic assumption that these letters could be roman and belong to a European collector was checked against the lists of owners' stamps and marks. I made inquiries with leading authorities on Western collections of ukiyo-e, and concluded that seals with the monogram CK were the personal seals of Sergei Kitaev.

The assumption that this Shunchō print went from Kitaev to another private collector before 1916 could provide an answer to another serious question: why the condition of many prints that came from Kitaev to the Pushkin is so poor, sometimes just horrible—with faded colors, darkened, soiled and wrinkled paper and torn edges. Kitaev himself wrote about the excellent condition of his prints. The good state of the Shunchō print (only two little foxings, but clean paper overall and unfaded colors) tells us that it enjoyed proper individual care and was not buried for many years in boxes in damp cellars; nor was it subjected to sun-drying after some catastrophic

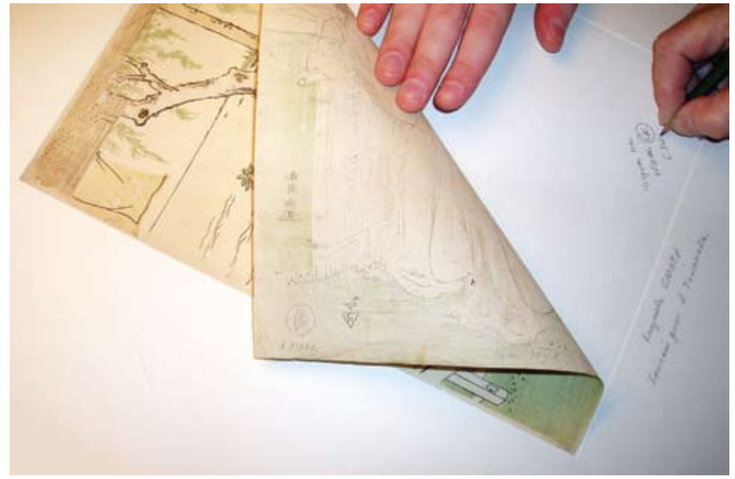


Fig. 12a, b. Kitaev's collector's seals. Reverse of a color woodcut by Katsukawa Shunchō. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 33892). Photos by the author

winter during the period of military communism (1918–21) or other post-revolutionary cataclysms in the old building of the Rumyantsev Museum. The 1924 Pushkin accession receipt (Rus. *Priyomnaya Opis*) of the Kitaev Collection contains notes like this: "# 7/5630. Albums with prints and drawings. The presence of worms is detected; several albums are ruined."

The same accession ledger (entries 5624–5638 constitute the whole of the Kitaev Collection) summarizes the collection in the following numbers:

Drawings on rollers	329
Albums with prints and drawings	555
Bundles with series	53
Books with covers	40
Screens (large)	5
Prints and drawings in total	22,748
Albums with photographs – transferred to the library.	

Unknown registrars may have included all the pages in woodblock-printed books in the category "prints and drawings." This huge number of almost twenty-three thousand prints and drawings may have given some justification for the Pushkin to claim that its collection of Japanese prints is the biggest in Europe. Strangely enough, this claim is attributed to the venerated scholar Roger Keyes by the Pushkin curator Beata Voronova: "According to the American specialist Roger Keyes, who viewed the museum's collection in 1986, this is the largest collection of Japanese art in Europe." Voronova reiterated this comment in her introduction to the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue. While I was editing the catalogue for publication, I was puzzled by her remark, and contacted Keyes for clarification. He asked me to remove the statement from the text.[44]

There is one more piece of documentary evidence of the early dispersal of the Kitaev Collection after its nationalization. In 2007, in the Pushkin archives, I found a file documenting the loan of some Japanese prints to another institution. On May 20, 1924, thirty-four Japanese prints were given

by the Department of Fine Arts of the Rumyantsev Museum to the director of the Ars Asiatica Museum, Fedor V. Gogel, for a temporary exhibition that was to open on the 25th of that month.[45] Nearly four years later, on December 6, 1927, A. Aristova, a senior assistant curator of the Print Department of the Pushkin (note that in 1924 the Kitaev Collection and other objects had been transferred to the Pushkin due to the closure of the Rumyantsev) reported to the curator of the Print Department, A. Sidorov, that those prints had not been returned.[46] There is no evidence that these works by Hokusai, Utamaro, Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), Kikugawa Eizan (1787–1867) and Keisai Eisen (1790–1848) were ever returned. This sort of loan or transfer was probably not an isolated incident.[47] Moreover, there is indirect evidence that shortly after the transfer of the Kitaev Collection to the Museum of Fine Arts (later Pushkin), parts of it may have been sold. Netsuke and ivory carvings donated to the museum from the famous Mosolov Collection were found in a local antique shop in 1925.[48]

When, how and by whose ill-will a sale might have been perpetrated is hard to say. The Pushkin authorities are reluctant to discuss these matters and are quick to cover up anything that might provoke difficult questions. In one telling example, when I received the printed catalogue I noticed some minor mistakes in the text of Kitaev's letters that were made while transcribing them. (Kitaev's handwriting and his obsolete pre-revolutionary orthography are difficult to decipher). I first came upon these errors while editing the catalogue proofs. I marked them for correction. A year later, sitting in front of the newly printed luxury book, I found all these mistakes retained intact. I began to read carefully and found that Kitaev's boast to Pavlinov in his letter of August 20, 1916 that his was the "most rare excellent first printing" of Hokusai's *Manga* had disappeared from the published transcription, and the remaining text had been slightly changed to smooth over the gap.[49] No indication of this cut is given, although in the introduction to the chapter on "Archival materials" it is clearly stated that all excisings of the originals are marked by square brackets and explained.[50]

The "dangerous" information about the full fifteen-volume first *Manga* edition was present in the text file with Kitaev's transcribed letter sent to me to edit (see fig. 8). In my (unpublished) essay for the Pushkin Catalogue "Japanese pictures of the floating world and their 19th-century European collectors and admirers: The view from our day on the meeting of the two worlds," I mention the first edition in a very benign context, emphasizing the original glory of the collection.[51] In its defense, the museum staff may not have known about the discrepancy since the books are lost, yet the authorities, fearing that it could encourage uncomfortable inquiries from their superiors, decided it would be better to conceal it completely—by not publishing my essay and by deleting this information from the published version of Kitaev's letter. [52]

Pushkin Catalogue Postscript

The catalogue of Japanese prints in the Pushkin is not easy for a non-Russian reader to use. My assessments that many prints (about seventy

Fig. 13. Kitagawa Utamaro II (?–1831). *Infant Komachi* (*Osana Komachi*), from the series *Little Seedlings: Seven Komachi* (*Futabagusa nana Komachi*). c. 1803. Color woodcut. 37 x 25 cm. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 3627)

Nearly a quarter of the Kitaev Collection is in this condition.

surimono and others) were recuts of the early 1890s disappeared at the final moment from the English text and were published only in Russian. Who ordered the omission and for what reason, I was never able to find out. In one or two cases they missed deleting my revision (see no. 510 in vol. 1, p. 367). In the Russian description the word "recut" (*peregravirovka*) which I, as the academic editor, put in the title line, was moved by the in-house editors into the entry text, with the added disclaimer "in E. Steiner's opinion this is recut." In many cases it looks odd because immediately after that follows the text (written by me): "No originals are known" (in the case of Setsuri's *Fish and Squid*, no. 144) or "only two originals in such and such museums are known."

My foreword as academic editor with the brief summation of the goals of the edition and my role, as well as acknowledgment of colleagues and organizations that helped me in my work, was published—but without any heading (possibly it was removed at the very last minute because, on the top of that page, six lines are left empty). My foreword is not mentioned in the Table of Contents and appears after the curator's introduction on page 20.

Many of the prints illustrated are in very poor condition: faded, torn, creased, wrinkled and with wormholes. Kitaev himself mentions in one of his letters that he would buy, from time to time, a work that required restoration and would give it to Japanese masters to fix. But many prints, now in poor condition, evidently had never been restored (fig. 13). It is difficult to imagine that Kitaev bought them in this state. My suggestion to exclude these worn prints or at least not to show them in large color illustrations was rejected. On the other hand, a number of reasonably good prints (many Utagawa Kuniyoshi [1797–1861] and Kunisada triptychs, anonymous caricatures of the Bōshin War, as well as *surimono* that can be found in the Japanese *Pushkin zuroku*) were, for unknown reasons, not represented. When I asked the curator, she said that she did not remember; when I delivered the news to the Museum administration that many good prints had not been included, and gave them photocopies of two or three pages from the *Pushkin zuroku* to compare with prints missing from the "catalogue raisonné," they looked rather shocked and ordered a check to see if those works were physically there. A few days later I was told by the head of the Department of Works on Paper that all the objects had been found (I asked to see some of the excluded Kunisada triptychs and found that the condition was quite decent). The explanation I was given was that it was "the curator's choice" as to what to eliminate. Before I try to come up with some rational explanation for this cavalierness, I'd like to point out one more discrepancy. In the *Pushkin zuroku*, there are five *surimono* by Harada Keigaku (act. 1850–60) (nos. 301, 302, p. 51, and nos. 975–77, p. 163). In the Pushkin Catalogue, there are only three (nos. 88–90, p. 88), but one of them (no. 88, a *surimono* with puppies) does not appear in *Pushkin zuroku*. The most reasonable surmise is that, when the Japanese team visited the museum in 1992, not

all the prints could be found, but they resurfaced later. And vice versa—when it came to production of the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, many prints were either misplaced or could not be accessed for some reason or other.

Among the six hundred entries that I rewrote or added, some were inexplicably ignored. One instance involves a large-format *surimono* by Denkosai depicting a xylophone (*mokkin*) with *shogi* (a form of Japanese chess) pieces (no. 62, vol. 1, p. 38, acc. no. A. 29014). There are no inscriptions or signature, just a seal with the name Denkosai. While looking through the private collection of Erich Gross in Zurich in August 2007, I made the connection that this print is actually about a quarter of a large *surimono* (44 x 55.9 cm) printed with several poems signed by Eishi, Karoku, Baika and others and commissioned by Nakamura Utaemon IV to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of the death of his father, the famous kabuki actor Nakamura Utaemon III, and thus should be dated to 1850. Utaemon III used the poetry name Baigyoku. Sure enough, the left half of the *surimono* in the Gross collection depicts a screen with three sparrows on rice panicles. In the upper part is a poem signed *Baigyoku*. This separated section of the print was listed in the *Pushkin zuroku* as an independent entry, a *surimono* by an artist named Baigyoku (no. 978, p. 164, A. 29024). In the manuscript of the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, this "Baigyoku" was completely missing, along with numerous other entries found in the *Pushkin zuroku*. My suggestion to combine these two parts, search for the cut-off upper-right quarter with poems and publish next to it the intact print from the Gross Collection was rejected without explanation. "Baigyoku" was not published. Maybe it could not be found.

It is difficult to highlight any special prints from a typical roster of big names. The catalogue represents the usual fare of Hiroshige and Hokusai series, Utamaro women, Eizan, Eisen. What is distinctive is that they look as though they failed to pass numerous crash tests. Among the almost obliterated prints are rarities such as Hokusai's *Small Shell* (*Kogai*) (no. 439, vol. 1, p. 313) from the 1821 *surimono* series *Genroku Immortal Shell Matching Contest* (*Genroku kasen kai awase*); the only other known example is in the Chiba Prefectural Museum of Art.

Fig. 14. Ryūryūkyo Shinsai. *Still Life with a Target*. 1810s. Color woodcut, *surimono*. 20.7 x 18.4 cm. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 19878)

At the upper right is a drum with strings attached, emblem of the Taikogawa poetry circle.

However, there are still a few unique prints in reasonably good condition, including two *surimono* by Ryūryūkyo Shinsai (1764(?)–1820/23). *Still Life with a Target* was commissioned by the Taikogawa (Drum group) *kyōka* poetry club and bears three poems, one by the group's leader, Dondontei (fig. 14). A similar *surimono* is described by Roger Keyes in his catalogue of the Chester Beatty Library collection as "Bow, Arrow and Target on Stand." Keyes identified it as a Group D copy and indicated that the original was in the Art Institute of Chicago.[53] He did not include an illustration. Upon visiting the Art Institute's Japanese print room in March 2008, I realized that they have a slightly different print—theirs has a bonsai plum tree in blossom, missing in the Kitaev print, and the target stand has a different design. The *surimono* in the Pushkin Catalogue appears to be a previously unknown print from what looks like a small series of Shinsai's *Targets*, not yet identified.

Fig. 15. Utagawa Hiroshige (signed *Utashige*) (1797–1858). *Takumi, Patron of Craftsmen.* Color woodcut, double *senshafuda*, 14.4 x 9.5 cm. Kitaev Collection, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (A. 26892)

The name Kochō, below, may be that of a member of the Hakkaku poetry circle.,

There are also several dozens of never previously studied or published *surimono* of the Osaka and Shijō schools. (Some were in the 1993 *Pushkin zuroku*—but there was not a full presentation there.) The catalogue also contains sections of more marginal material, such as stickers collected by pilgrims visiting temples (*senshafuda*, "stickers from a thousand temples"), book wrappers, folk paintings known as *Otsu-e*, prints on fan shapes and crepe-paper prints (*chirimen-e*) (fig. 15). A large group of mostly anonymous prints known as Bōshin War caricatures satirizes the clashes between pro-emperor forces and their shogunal rivals in 1867–68. Most of these prints were published in the catalogue of an exhibition at the Machida City Museum in 1995–54

Despite its idiosyncrasies, the 2008 catalogue of prints in the Pushkin Museum is a valid contribution to the library of ukiyo-e. It sheds some light on a long-neglected collection, locked away much as was its owner, Sergei Nikolaevich Kitaev, undone by his desire to preserve it.

Notes

1. Japanese Art Abroad Research Project, ed., *Pushkin bijutsukan shozō Nihon bijutsuhin zuroku* (Catalogue of Japanese art in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts) (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1993).

2. This two-volume work for which I served as academic editor is referred to collectively as the Pushkin Catalogue in the present essay and endnotes: Beata G. Voronova, *Iaponskaia graviura* [*Yaponskaya Gravyura*], Evgeny Steiner, academic editor, 2 vols. (Moscow: Krasnaia Ploshchad, 2008). A second edition, published in 2009 and released in 2010, is available in the Pushkin bookstore for about $100.

3. This number corresponds to 1948 accession numbers. Each sheet of a diptych and triptych was given its own accession number; 116 entries came from sources other than the Kitaev Collection.

4. Among the very few of Kitaev's predecessors to buy Japanese arts and crafts was Vice-Admiral Evald A. Stakelberg (1849–1909). As an officer on the corvette *Askold* that sailed to Japan in the 1870s, he spent much time in Japanese ports. He was interested mostly in Japanese armor and decorative art. In 1882, there was a small exhibition from Stakelberg's collection in Saint Petersburg, organized in conjunction with the official visit of Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835–1895). A collection of Japanese porcelain bought by Admiral Konstantin N. Pos'et (1819–1899), Vice-Admiral Alexander E. Kroun (1823–1900) and Captain Vladimir V. Lindstroem was donated around that time to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Saint Petersburg. After several exhibitions from the Kitaev Collection, and with the influence of Japonism and the surge of interest in Japan provoked by the Russo-Japanese War, small collections of Japanese prints were amassed by Russian artists, critics and art collectors: P. I. Shchukin (1853–1912); I. S. Ostroukhov (1858–1929); I. E. Grabar (1871–1960); P. P. Konchalovsky (1876–1956) and others.

5. Kitaev's letter to Pavel Pavlinov, Aug. 20 (Gregorian calendar, 2 Sept.), 1916. Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 9, inventory II, document 608. Here and throughout the present essay translations from Russian and Japanese are by the author.

6. This is a Russian rank established in 1832 for prominent citizens of the entrepreneur class who did not belong to the gentry; it was prestigious and restricted. At the time Kitaev was born, hereditary honorable citizens made up about 0.2–0.3 percent of the

population of Russia. This information is entered in his service record in the Russian state naval archive (Saint Petersburg) and reproduced in facsimile in the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, vol. 2, 550. In *Naselennye punkty Riazanskoy gubernii* (Inhabited localities of Riazan [Ryazan] province), ed. by I. I. Prokhodtsov (Riazan: Riazanskii Gubernskii Statisticheskii Komitet, 1906) an estate of a "gentry Kitaev" is mentioned, which suggests that the wealth and prominent position led the compilers of this statistical book to believe that the Kitaevs belonged to the old gentry class.

7. Report of Captain Chevazhevsky, the acting head of the 1st department of Spassky district of St. Petersburg (1904), Central Russian Historical Archive, stock 6c/102, inventory 1, document 20, p. 92. See *Iz istorii Russko-Iaponskoi voiny* 1904–1905 *gg* (From the history of the Russo-Japanese War 1904–05) (Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg University Publishers, 2005), 384.

8. Alexander Kitaev, "Nagasaki," *Niva* (The Field) 28 (1891): 610–15.

9. The place where these letters were written is not indicated, but from the text it is clear that Kitaev was at that time far from Saint Petersburg. Because they are written on letterhead titled "Chernovskie kamennougol'nye kopi" (Chernovo coal mines), it is natural to assume that the letters were written there (19 km from the Siberian city of Chita), where Kitaev and his family summered with his wife's relatives (the owners of these mines were the Zamiatin brothers, and his wife was born as Anna Zamiatina).

10. These are only selected data from the Brief List. Other entries include twelve hanging scrolls by Hokusai; three hanging scrolls by Hiroshige; scrolls of the Tosa school; hanging scrolls by Kano Tan'yō, etc. This list is found in a draft of a letter to Vasily V. Gorshanov, Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 9, inventory I, document 22. The letter is published in the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, but without its longer component, the Brief List, which is omitted without mention. See Pushkin Catalogue, vol. 2, 549. Kitaev's guide to the first exhibition of 1896 gives more detailed, but slightly different, data: Ōkyo and Shijō school–16 scrolls; Ganku and Kishi school–74 scrolls; Hokusai–13; Kyōsai–11, Tosa school–3, Sesshū school–2, etc. One should bear in mind that not all of Kitaev's attributions were correct.

11. I saw many of these photographs in the late 1970s in the Pushkin's Department of Scientific Documentation, a visual archive that is now part of the museum library. The accordion-style albums were stored in original Japanese upholstered-wood boxes, on the very top of the high shelves (filled with huge boxes of loose reproductions of Western European paintings taken after World War II from the Dresden Gallery as "trophy art"). The location of the Kitaev boxes was not indicated in any finding aids or even catalogued in the ledger books.

12. Kitaev's letter to Pavel Pavlinov. Aug. 20, 1916.

13. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov. Aug. 20, 1916. The underlining is by Kitaev.

14. Nagata Seiji, "Kaette kita hizō ukiyo-e ten" (Exhibition of returning treasures of ukiyo-e), in *Pushikin bijutsukan: Ukiyo-e korekushon no tokusho* (The Pushkin Museum: A special exhibition of the ukiyo-e collection) (Tokyo: Ota Memorial Museum of Art, 1994), 10.

15. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 15, 1916.

16. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 20, 1916.

17. *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London,* 1910 (Tokyo: The Shimbi Shoin, 1910).

18. Kitaev's letter to Gorshanov, Dec. 7, 1916.

19. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 20, 1916.

20. Kitaev's letter to Count Ivan Tolstoy, vice-president of the Academy of Arts, before Oct. 28, 1896. Research Archives of the Russian Academy of Arts, Bibliographic Department, St. Petersburg. Boris Katz identified this source for me.

21. Kitaev, *Ukazatel' vystavki Iaponskoi zhivopisi v Imperatorskoi Academii Khudozhestv* (Guide to the exhibition of Japanese painting in the Imperial Academy of Arts) (St. Petersburg: Tipo-Litografiya R. Golike, 1896); *Ukazatel' vystavki Iaponskoi zhivopisi* (Guide to the exhibition of Japanese painting) (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya I. Kh. Usmanova, 1905). The text of the latter is very similar to the former.

22. *Syn Otechestva* (The Son of the Fatherland) 301, Nov. 6 (18), 1896. I am grateful to Boris Katz for sharing the information from old Petersburg newspapers with me.

23. *Novoe Vremya* (The New Times) 7453, Nov. 25 (Dec. 8), 1896.

24. *Novoe Vremya* 7454, Nov. 26 (Dec. 9), 1896.

25. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 15, 1916.

26. *Novoe Vremya* 7458, Nov. 30 (Dec. 12), 1896.

27. *Novoe Vremya* 7474, Dec. 16 (28), 1896. Alexander I. Nelidov (1835–1910), an influential diplomat, was a Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire.

28. Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva, *Avtobiograficheskie Zapiski* (Autobiographical notes) (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1974), 106–7.

29. Kitaev's letter to Valerian P. Loboikov of June 12 (25), 1904, Research Archives of the Russian Academy of Arts, Saint Petersburg, vol. for 1896. This letter is placed next to the receipt of Kitaev's expenses and an unsigned report saying that Kitaev was made to pay in strict accordance with the law. I thank Boris Katz for sharing the text of this letter with me.

30. The institution evolved from a museum of plaster casts to a true museum of fine arts only after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, when the communist government nationalized all private collections and palaces and ordered their contents brought to the new museum (opened in 1912), although, before 1924, the main collecting point was the Rumyantsev Museum. It should be mentioned here that if Tsvetaev was not sympathetic to the idea of having Japanese collections in his classical art museum, he advised Moscow tea merchant K. S. Popov to collect Far Eastern arts and crafts: "I inveigled him in creation of a museum of Japanese and Chinese art industry in hope that later it would become either an independent museum, or an autonomous addition to the ethnographic department of the Rumyantsev Museum, or the Museum of Stroganov's school of technical drawing." See Tsvetaev's diary entry 285 of April 27, 1899, Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin Museum, stock 6, inventory II, document 18. This quotation was drawn to my attention by Margarita Aksenenko, Pushkin Museum archivist, in her e-mail message to me of March 3, 2008. Kitaev tried to attract the interest of Popov, but was not successful.

31. N. Georgievich, "Plennitza" (The Captive), *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (Saint Petersburg Gazette) 138, Sunday, May 23 (June 5), 1904. N. Georgievich is a pseudonym of Nikolai G. Shebuev (1874–1937), a journalist and author of *Iaponskie Vechera* (Japanese evenings). A Japanese national, Siratori, who lived in Saint Petersburg (and was arrested as a Japanese spy in August 1904) helped him to write it. Kitaev was among visitors to Siratori's apartment and was noticed several times entering through the service entrance. See the report of Captain Chevazhevsky, the acting head of the 1st department of Spassky district of Saint Petersburg (1904), Central Russian Historical Archive, stock 6c/102, inventory 1, document 20, in *Iz istorii Russko-Iaponskoi voiny* 1904–1905 *gg*, 387. The Russo-Japanese War began February 8, 1904.

32. Draft of a letter from Kitaev to Vasily V. Gorshanov, Dec. 7, 1916, Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 9, inventory I, document 22.

33. Arnold I. Gessen, "Vystavka Iaponskoi Zhivopisi" (An exhibition of Japanese painting), *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (Saint Petersburg Gazette) 230, Sept. 24 (Oct. 7) 1905. Gessen (1878–1976) was a young journalist who later became a prominent historian of literature and wrote several books about the poet Pushkin.

34. Ishigaki Katsu, "Serugei Kitaefu to daini no kokyō Nihon" (Sergei Kitaev and his second motherland, Japan), in *Roshia to Nihon* (Russia and Japan), ed. Naganawa Mitsuo (Yokohama: Seibunsha, 2001), vol. 4, 109.

35. *Yokohama Bōeki Shinpo*, Oct. 16, 1918. Quoted by Ishigaki, "Serugei Kitaefu to daini no kokyō Nihon," 108.

36. Pavlinov's letter to V. Z. Kholodovskaya, Apr. 17, 1959, Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 9, inventory II, document 606.

37. *Novoe Vremya* 6690, Oct. 13 (25), 1894.

38. See Ishigaki, "Serugei Kitaefu to daini no kokyō Nihon," 117.

39. It should be noted that Voronova, a very charming lady, worked under the most amazing circumstances. She did not specialize in Japanese art at university. She was assigned to deal with the Kitaev Collection without any previous professional background. There were no specialists in Japanese art in Moscow, and there were never enough foreign books. Traveling abroad to

see other collections was virtually impossible during the Soviet era, and extremely difficult due to the lack of funds in the post-Soviet period. With all these impediments, it was difficult to expect from the curator more than she was able to accomplish.

40. "Prints from early editions in color: large–73; medium–337; black-and-white: large–1666; medium–394. Later editions in color: large–80; medium–1000." The Brief List, Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 9, inventory I, document 22. The 1896 exhibition guide mentions "several thousand prints by Hokusai." See *Ukazatel' vystavki Iaponskoi zhivopisi v Imperatorskoi Academii Khudozhestv*, 35. This guide gives a separate entry for each painting, but allows only one entry for prints and sketches, for instance, no. 253 is described as "26 watercolors by Hokusai" and no. 262 is "100 Sino-Japanese war prints."

41. See Peter Kornicki et al., *Katalog staropečatnych japonskich knig: GMII im. A.S. Pushkina, Gosudarstvenny Musei Vostoka, Rossiiskaya Gosudarstvennaya biblioteka* (Catalogue of the early Japanese books: The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, the State Museum of Oriental Art, and the Russian State Library) (Moscow: Pashkov Dom, 2001), 144. Although Peter Kornicki did the research for this volume, it is listed on WorldCat under the name of his translator, Sergej A. Kazancev.

42. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 20, 1916. When Kitaev did buy a fake, in some cases he recognized and admitted it later. In his 1905 exhibition guide, he mentions two forged Hokusai paintings (see fig. 9 in this essay).

43. Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 15, 1916. (This is the last page of the long letter, even though it is written on the back of the second sheet out of six. On top of this page, Kitaev explains that he unintentionally left it blank and decided to fill it with additional information organized as a table with names and numbers. This page is excluded from the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue.

44. John Carpenter, Matthi Forrer, Roger Keyes and Timon Screech.

45. Beata Voronova, "Iz Istorii Sobraniya" (About the history of the collection), in Kornicki et al., *Katalog staropečatnych japonskich knig*, 10. Also Voronova's introduction to the *Pushkin zuroku*, p. xiii: "American ukiyo-e specialist Roger Keyes confirmed that it is one of the largest in Europe."

46. Roger Keyes, e-mail message to the author, May 3, 2007.

47. Statement no. 29/b of 20 May, 1924 reports the order of the Museum Department of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment. See the Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 5, inventory I, document 478. Ars Asiatica was the museum organized by the decree of the Soviet authorities in late 1918. It changed its name and location several times; since 1992, it has been known as the State Museum of Oriental Art, Nikitskii Boulevard, 12a, Moscow.

48. Department of Manuscripts, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, stock 5, inventory I, document 478.

49. For example, in 1953 dozens of Kitaev prints were transferred to Russian provincial museums in Chelyabinsk, Rostov and Novosibirsk. See *Spisok Proizvedenii Zhivopisi Peredannykh iz GMII v Razlichnye Musei Strany* (Lists of paintings transferred from Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts to different museums of the country in the Russian State Archive for Literature and Art), stock 2329, inventory 4, document 124. The list of prints given to the Cheliabinsk Art Gallery can be found on pp. 12–13; to the Rostov Museum of Fine Arts on pp. 34–34a; to the Novosibirsk Art Gallery on p. 69. Many of these prints were duplicates of *surimono* reprinted in the 1890s (in the case of Matora's *Courtesan Yugiri*, Chelyabinsk was given A. 30230, while the Pushkin Museum kept A. 30229 and A. 30231). It is fine to give duplicate copies to provincial museums; I mention it only to illustrate the dispersal of the original collection. Yet, the discrepancy in numbers remains too great.

50. Nikolai S. Mosolov (1846–1914), a famous engraver, maecenas and collector, bequeathed his fabled collection of prints (mostly Dutch, including 371 by Rembrandt), paintings, Chinese and Japanese bronze and ivories to the Rumyantsev Museum. In June 1925, soon after the closure of that museum and the transfer of its collections to the Pushkin, 126 netsuke and *okimono* from the Mosolov Collection were found by chance in an antique shop. They had been placed there by the Pushkin for sale and were rescued by F. Gogel, director of Ars Asiaticam (now called the State Museum of Oriental Art), Moscow. See the Archive of the Department of Registration, Custody and Acquisition, State Museum of Oriental Art, 1918–25, file 1, p. 109. Quoted in Vladimir Voitov, *Materially po istorii Gosudarstvennogo Muzeya Vostoka*, 1918–1950 (Materials for the history of the State Museum of the Orient, 1918–1950) (Moscow: Skanrus, 2003), 58.

51. The 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, vol. 2, 540. See Kitaev's letter to Pavlinov, Aug. 20, 1916.

52. The 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, vol. 2, 532.

53. "Iaponskie kartinki bystrotechnogo mira i ikh evropeiskie sobirateli i obozhateli 19 veka: vzglyad iz nashikh dnei na vstrechu dvukh mirov." For published excerpts from the essay, see Steiner, "Zrelishcha kvartala Yoshiwara" (The spectacle of the Yoshiwara), in *Sobranie* (Collection) (Fall 2008): 66–77; and Steiner,"Kartinki bystrotekuchego mira" (Images of the fleeting world), in *Novy Mir* (The New World) (Feb. 2010): 127–43.

54. I want to stress that I do not claim with 100 percent certitude that there *was* a full first edition of the *Manga*. Peter Kornicki described the Pushkin (i.e., Kitaev) *Manga*: "In the PSMFA Collection, besides vol. II (Album 321) (a reprint of 1878) printed from the original blocks with an introduction of a poet and novelist Rokujūen Shōjin, there are also 15 volumes of a later edition, without an introduction or colophons, collated in two volumes together bound as one." See Kornicki et al., *Katalog staropečatnych japonskich knig*, 76 (translation into English is mine–ES). Beata Voronova showed me this edition in 2006 (bound as an *orihon*, or accordion book), and I recognized that it was a late edition (at that time I was not familiar with the Kornicki catalogue). There is a chance that Kitaev was wrong in thinking that his *Manga* was the first edition. But the manner in which the present museum authorities responsible for "doctoring" his letter addressed the situation provokes uneasy questions.

It is also worth noting that in 2006, a theft of more than two hundred works of art was discovered at the Hermitage; the curator of that collection was convicted for the crime. President Putin established a government commission for revision of museum collections in August 2006. Two years later, it was reported that after checking about 80 percent of approximately two thousand museums on the list (and the investigation in the biggest museums was not yet completed), about fifty thousand objects had been found missing. Some things disappeared during relocations or had been transferred to other museums without due documentation. A member of the government commission, Ilya Ryasnoy, reported that "the quality of museum registry and description of museum valuables do not bear scrutiny." According to him, "less than two million out of eighty million of objects in the Russian museum reserves have photographs next to their descriptions, and these descriptions often consist of one word." See "Russian museums found missing 50 thousand cultural treasures" <http://lenta.ru/news/2008/07/17/museums/> (accessed July 17, 2008.) At the end of Oct. 2008 (the latest data available) this number jumped to 86,000 museum objects missing for "unknown reasons." See <http://lenta.ru/news/2008/10/27/busygin/> (accessed Oct. 27, 2008).

There are two more examples of deliberate concealment. In Kitaev's first letter to Pavlinov of Aug. 15, 1916, the Pushkin editors excluded the page with itemized numbers of the collection, but mentioned in square brackets that there was a table with names and quantities; see the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, vol. 2, 541. In the publication of a letter from Kitaev to Gorshanov of Dec. 7 (20), 1916, the data of the collection content and numbers—five and a half pages—are excluded without any explanation (see the 2008 Pushkin Catalogue, vol. 2, 547).

55. Roger S. Keyes, *The Art of Surimono: Privately Published Japanese Woodblock Prints and Books in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), 518, no. 148. The print in the Art Institute of Chicago (Gift of Helen C. Gunsaulus, 1954.695) measures 20.7 x 18.5 cm.

56. *Bakumatsu no fūshiga Bōshin sensō o chūshin ni* (On caricatures of the Bōshin War of the Bakumatsu era) (Machida: Machida City Museum, 1995).