



**ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМ / ОКСИДЕНТАЛИЗМ:  
ЯЗЫКИ КУЛЬТУР  
И ЯЗЫКИ ИХ ОПИСАНИЯ**

**ORIENTALISM / OCCIDENTALISM:  
LANGUAGES OF CULTURES VS.  
LANGUAGES OF DESCRIPTION**

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Collected papers

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В настоящий сборник вошли статьи, которые были написаны по материалам выступлений международной конференции «Ориентализм / Оксидентализм: языки культур и языки их описания», состоявшейся в 23-25 сентября 2010 года в Москве. Целью конференции было обсуждение основных аспектов проблемы описания Востока в западной науке, литературе и искусстве.

Ведущие представители культурологии, истории искусства и религии, востоковедения и литературоведения в ходе научных дискуссий проанализировали ситуацию с описанием Востока на Западе и Запада на Востоке, выявили идеологическую, историческую, методологическую ограниченность различных подходов и обозначили перспективные методологии и те научные проблемы, решение которых будет способствовать лучшему взаимопониманию и углублению межкультурного диалога.

Сборник издается на двух языках: русском и английском. Во вступительной статье Е.С. Штейнера подробно разбирается и цитируется большая часть англоязычных статей и докладов.

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## ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

*Кирилл Разлогов*

### ТРАНСКУЛЬТУРАЛИЗМ В ДЕЙСТВИИ

Предлагаемая вниманию читателя книга находится на переднем крае современных дискуссий о взаимодействии культур. Ученые и политические деятели сходятся в том, что невозможно автоматически адаптировать традиционные «восточные» ценности к западным стандартам. Неправильная адаптация или радикальный отказ от модернизации заводят в тупик. Что касается двух других сценариев – выборочной адаптации и коадаптации или модернизации конвергентного типа – их результаты зависят от специфической комбинации ведущих национальных культур и культур меньшинств, а также их взаимосвязи в каждой стране, выявляющие патологии переходного периода. Для каждого из этих случаев требуются различные политические опции. Однако диалог культур, понимаемый в духе последних международных документов<sup>1</sup>, остается основным средством обеспечения устойчивого развития. В этом контексте особенно ярко выявляется актуальность рассматриваемых в книге проблем и различных путей их решений. Авторы в большинстве своем являются не только исследователями, но и носителями различных культур, полноправными членами нескольких культурных сообществ. Это – важнейшее преимущество при исследовании взаимодействия культур с позиций транскультурализма.

Нынешние понятия мультикультурализма (сосуществования многих культур в одном обществе) и даже интеркультурализма (взаимодействия между этими культурами) очень быстро устаревают. На смену им приходит понятие транскультурализма, означающее возможность выйти за пределы своей собственной (суб)культуры и перейти в соседнее, более крупное или просто другое культурное сообщество, расширяя контекст, что может (а может и нет) означать конец глобализации. Это становится повсеместно возможным благодаря Интернету и другим новым коммуникационным технологиям.

Этот аспект не предусмотрен в традиционной концепции культурного разнообразия, ограничивающегося мультикультурализмом –

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<sup>1</sup> Белая Книга о межкультурном диалоге «Living Together As Equals in Dignity» дает следующее определение: «Межкультурный диалог понимается как открытый и уважительный обмен мнениями между отдельными лицами, группами лиц различного этнического, культурного, религиозного и языкового происхождения и наследия на основе взаимного понимания и уважения. Он действует на всех уровнях – внутри обществ, между обществами Европы и между Европой и остальным миром».

сосуществованием этнических культур. На самом деле именно транскультурализм показывает путь в будущее.

Традиционно культурное лидерство означало представление интересов и ценностей культурного сообщества перед внешним миром. В большинстве случаев лидеры представляли свою собственную культуру, но некоторые культурные лидеры действовали как поверенные другой стороны. Ярким примером являются идеологи марксизма, выступавшие от имени рабочего класса, или колониальные защитники прав аборигенов.

Эти последние случаи могут рассматриваться как предвестники пост-постмодернистской концепции культурного лидерства, основанной на необходимости преодолеть последствия культурного разнообразия, сохраняя принцип плюрализма культурных сообществ. Не случайно, что Владимир Ленин, опираясь на английскую традицию, одним из первых указал на существование двух (по крайней мере) культур в каждой национальной культуре. Для него они были: первая прогрессивная, пролетарская, вторая – реакционная, буржуазная, а для нас и авторов этой книги сегодня их стало значительно больше: этнические, гендерные, религиозные, социально-демографические и т. д.

Распад колониальных империй (первой из которых была британская, а последней – советская) узаконил культурный плюрализм, ведущий к множественной идентичности и/или к множеству культур, носителем которых может одновременно быть отдельный индивид.

Тем временем мультикультурализм по-прежнему основывался на отдельном лидерстве в каждом культурном сообществе. Интеркультурализм ввел в оборот концепцию диалога между сообществами (и их лидерами). Следующий шаг – это признание транскультурализма как парадигмы новой концепции лидерства.

Какие профессии и личности способны породить новых лидеров? Мы можем найти их прототипы в реальной жизни, а также в виртуальном и воображаемом мирах, где они существуют как результат художественного творчества. Вот несколько примеров:

- Переводчики (устные более, чем письменные), сближающие людей, говорящих на разных языках;
- Дети от смешанных браков (этнических, национальных, религиозных и т. д.), воспитанные в двух (или более) культурах одновременно;
- Транссексуалы и бисексуалы, сближающие представителей разных полов, сексуальное большинство и различные типы сексуальных меньшинств;
- Приграничные торговцы как локальная версия транснациональных корпораций;
- Люди, много путешествующие по миру и не имеющие постоянного места жительства;
- Атеисты как единственные люди, способные сблизить между собой религиозные фундаментализмы;

- Блоггеры и другие «сетевые люди», живущие в виртуальной реальности больше, чем в реальном мире, и способные произвольно менять собственную виртуальную идентичность;
- Воображаемые персонажи разного рода, особенно оборотни, сближающие человеческий и животный мир...

Общей чертой всех этих (и других) потенциальных лидеров является их способность не только трансформировать себя, адаптируясь к различному окружению (принцип хамелеона в «Зелиге» Вуди Аллена), но также преодолевать различия между культурами и соединять их вместе, используя внутренний индивидуальный транскультурный опыт.

Принцип метаморфоз становится основным механизмом выживания и развития людей, сообществ, наций и человечества в целом. Будущее лежит не только в расширенном информационном обществе, но и в ТРАНСФОРМАЦИОННОМ обществе. Люди, готовящие всех нас к этим изменениям, являются транскультурными лидерами завтрашнего дня. Прислушаемся же к многоголосию мнений, которые они высказывают на страницах настоящего сборника.

## INTRODUCTION

*Evgeny Steiner***EAST, WEST, AND ORIENTALISM:  
THE PLACE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
IN THE GLOBALIZING WORLD**

A major international conference, “Orientalism / Occidentalism: The Languages of Cultures vs. the Languages of Description”, took place from September 23–25, 2010, in Moscow under the aegis of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research. The goal of the Conference was to discuss the principal aspects of description of the East (first of all Asian but also African cultures) in the Western scholarly discourse as well as in art and literature. The idea of the Conference belonged to the current author who, in the Fall of 2008, enlisted the support of Prof. Kirill Razlogov, Director of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research, as a result of which the Institute played a crucial role in the following two-year preparations.

We received about two hundred proposal, approximately half of which were accepted. About 25 per cent of those who accepted cancelled their participation citing a whole gamut of reasons including, but not limited to, visa problems, schedule conflict, prohibitive cost of travel and broken limbs. Many cancellations were received in the last week or two. Thus, the adjustment of the program was an ongoing process until the very last days. The printed program contained 79 papers.

In the process of receiving the proposals and gathering the pool of potential speakers, I made an interesting observation, one that brings us closer – if humorously – to the East-West dichotomy, if we agree to consider Russia as the East.

I witnessed certain “cultural differences” – the quick and steady flow of proposals from Western scholars (there was even one German *Gelehrte* who responded within 5 minutes of my posting the call for papers on the Internet), and no Russian responses at all. They finally came – many on the very last day before the deadline and quite a few many months after. (Oh, by the way, that first German enthusiast eventually did not participate.) Which *modus operandi* is more Oriental, which one is more effective? – “Analyze this!”

An analysis of the interpretations of the East by the West (and vice versa) and their historical evolution has emerged as especially important in the light of ongoing globalization, which has triggered the intensification of ideological, religious, economic and cultural differences between the East and the West.

Orientalism, the European interpretation of the East, bears negative connotations in some Asian societies and among certain Western scholars. Occidentalism, or the depiction of the West as seen from the East, often oscillates between excessively enthusiastic and overly critical portrayals of its subject. This Conference’s presentations and discussions were aimed at dis-

tilling a critical understanding of Orientalist / Occidentalist discourses and to question cross-cultural assumptions. The goal was to provide a forum in which old issues, new data and fresh methodological approaches could be discussed and developed.

The subtitle, “Languages of Cultures vs. Languages of Description”, is no less important. It presumes the semiotic usage of the notion of language, meaning that Culture is understood as Text. But this description is being presented in a different language – a language of methodological narrative and the researcher’s own cultural presuppositions. In other words, this description inevitably turns out to be a translation – with all possible mistakes and misperceptions, *ad hominem* or culturally predetermined. But what is lost in translation is no less – and often far more – interesting.

The breadth of the cultural and geographic scope of the program ensured the problematization of the most basic notions of “East” and “West.” Thus, two panels discussed the theme of “Russia and the Balkans as the Orient for Western Europe.” In addition to the “classical Orients” – Near and Far – Russia had and still has its own, The Caucasus, which, for the Russian Romantic mind, played a role similar to that of the Near East in the mythology of European Romanticism. On the other hand, even China could sometimes be perceived as “the West” – as was demonstrated by Keiko Suzuki (Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto) in her paper “When Westerners were Chinese: Visual representation of foreigners in the Japanese popular art of ukiyo-e.” There were even more radical cases of geographic and cultural relativism: a good example was the paper “More Oriental than Japan: Okinawa in Japan’s national discourse” delivered by Rosa Caroli (Ca’ Foscari University of Venice). Thus, it was only natural that the underpinning of the Conference was a discussion of the notion of the multipolarity of the world. Those familiar (and seemingly primeval and convenient) taxons of “east” and “west” seen from the different points of the polycentric world turn out to be culturally determined, fluid, and highly relative concepts. What might constitute a perfect “Oriental” or a one hundred per cent “Occidental”? What kind of lenses and which language should a researcher employ in order to do justice to the other-cultural object of his description?

Using the word ‘Orientalism’ as the subject of our conference, I sought to imply that the broad meaning of this term was either various kinds of fictional narratives or an academic description of the East (Asian and African cultures) in Western art, literature and scholarly research. This understanding of the word “Orientalism” is as far removed as possible from a peculiar understanding of the term Orientalism (still popular in some circles). (Some of the Conference speakers, such as the first keynote speaker Sergey Serebriany, talked about the metamorphoses and abuse of this term – see “Orientalism: The Good Word Defamed”).

I am referring here to Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), a lengthy polemic long since discredited by serious Arabic and Middle East scholars. Some younger academics, apparently feeling the weight of post-colonial guilt, rail against their predecessors who studied non-European cultures, and are only too happy to accuse them of being lackeys of cultural imperialism and accessories

to the crime. This stance remains so popular among the young and the radical that the very term “Oriental Studies” is often considered a term of abuse, offensive to Muslim peoples everywhere.

Sometimes they take the polemic further east, and impose the post-colonial interpretation of Middle Eastern politics onto Japan. A few years ago there was a lavishly published tome, a patronizing rebuke to traditional Japanese studies in America. For example, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), a passionate enthusiast of Japanese culture, bought up a great deal of classical Japanese art when the Japanese themselves, in the throes of modernization, were perfectly willing to throw it away, and thus founded an incomparable collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; however, he is dismissed as a “pre-Saidian Asiaphile who did not share our discomfort at colonial expropriation...”<sup>1</sup> The work of Jon Carter Covell (1910–1997), the first American scholar to be awarded a doctoral degree on Japanese art (Columbia University), is likened to “colonial writings”.<sup>2</sup> This is very sad, partly because it is reminiscent of the assessments of writers and artists of “the pre-Marxist era” offered by the “socially engaged” Soviet authors of the 1920s and 1930s. (This rather peculiar link with present-day “anti-Orientalists” had been discussed by Vera Tolz in her presentation “Post-colonial scholarship as a “descendant” of Russian oriental studies of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century”).

Much more epistemologically cognizant and methodologically correct is Bernard Faure who, in contrast to the position taken up by the “penitent intelligentsia”, believes, after Bakhtin, that “exotopia”, or “outsidedness”, “is a powerful factor in understanding another culture”<sup>3</sup>. Also, Faure wrote about Said’s methodological naiveté and ideological narrowness, attesting that the latter’s Orientalism is not only an example of reversed ethnocentrism but also fails to notice that the post-Orientalist vision has its own blind spots.<sup>4</sup> This idea – how heuristic and revelatory the vision of the Other could be – is well demonstrated by the case of Nikolai Nevsky, the Russian scholar who became one of the founders of Japanese cultural anthropology. Nevsky was the subject of one of the sections of the Conference. Thus, serious scholars no longer consider Orientalism in the Saidian terms of “power” and “domination”;<sup>5</sup> furthermore, the Far East, and especially Japan, cannot be squeezed into the Procrustean bed of Orientalism à la Said.<sup>6</sup>

The first two keynote lectures dealt with the terminological and methodological repercussions of Orientalism. Sergey Serebriany (Institute of Higher Studies on the Humanities, Moscow) said that, although Said’s book was hope-

<sup>1</sup> Levine, Gregory. *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Faure, Bernard. *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>5</sup> See Clarke, John. *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997, 8.

<sup>6</sup> See Cox, Rupert A. *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, p. 31.

lessly inadequate, it touched on some very real and very important problems of intercultural communication. “Roughly speaking, Said was wrong in his central thesis which claimed that the study of the “Orient” in the 18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was only part of colonialist politics of the West. Said was also wrong in most of his specific factual statements (at least as far as India and Indology are concerned). But he forcefully drew attention to a real and complicated issue: studies of cultures other than one’s own are almost inevitably marked by the presuppositions and even prejudices of one’s own culture. This was especially the case with Soviet oriental studies, because the Soviet ideology, being a simplified and dogmatized version of certain Western ideas, complacently considered itself universally valid and conspicuously lacked self-reflection and self-criticism.” The speaker offered some examples of this not yet fully extirpated Soviet legacy and stressed that, surprisingly, some scholars in “the free Western world” fell into the trap of these ideological delusions.

Vera Tolz (the University of Manchester, UK) revealed some rather unexpected points of departure in Said’s concept. By analyzing how intellectuals in early twentieth-century Russia offered a new and radical critique of the ways in which Oriental cultures were understood at the time, Prof. Tolz demonstrated the major source of inspiration for Said. “Out of the ferment of revolution and war a group of scholars in St. Petersburg (Petrograd, Leningrad) articulated fresh ideas about the relationship between power and knowledge and about Europe and Asia as mere political and cultural constructs, which anticipated the work of Edward Said and post-colonial scholarship by half a century. The similarities between the two groups were, in fact, genealogical. <...> Said was indebted – via Arab intellectuals of the 1960s who studied in the Soviet Union – to the revisionist ideas of Russian Orientologists of the *fin de siècle*.”

The next two presentations transferred the geography of Orientalism from the Near to the Far East. Shigemi Inaga (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto) talked about a special ideological project in Manchugou that looked as a factual conflation of Orientalism and Occidentalism (“Crossing Axes: Occidentalism and Orientalism in Modern Visual Representations of Manchukuo”). While the two often overlap in modern visual representations of Asia, one of the most typical and extreme cases may be detected in Manchugou, “a puppet monarchy to which the Japanese overseas expansionism gave birth in the Northeastern part of China (1931–1945).” Prof. Inaga discussed the geopolitical conditions in which visual symbols of historical deeds and events of the region were highlighted. “The Western Orientalism dwelt in Japanese colonial mentality, whereas a typical Occidentalism also took shape in Japan’s approach to Asia.” As a result, there was an interesting case of the crossover of the two axes in the so-called “Asianism” which aimed to realize “the Greater Co-Prosperity Zone” during the period of the Sino-Japanese War.

The lecture by Timon Screech was devoted to cultural contacts between the West and Japan in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, specifically to the activity of Carl Peter Thunberg, a physician and scholar in the service of the Dutch United East India Company. Thunberg’s activities and extensive collections were widely commented on by Japanese scholars and artists-writers, often in a satirical mode,

when Western science was refurbished in Japan in the spirit of the culture of the floating world, ukiyo-e.

The second day of the Conference was filled by the work of various panels – twenty in total, with four (in a few cases three) papers in each. For the most part discussions followed the major themes designated in the call for papers. The classical Orientalism of the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries had been analyzed along the following lines:

- The Orient of the Romantics from the Maghreb to the Caucasus
- Academic Orientalism: an exotic entourage and the “eternal laws of beauty”
- The erotic myth of the East as sublimation of Western sexual complexes
- The world of wild and cruel passions in Oriental decorations
- The world of Islam seen through the prism of Orientalism
- Chinoiserie and Japonisme

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the problems and angles of discourse changed. The accent was placed on the notion of the East as “The Other” in the Western mind of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Amongst the topics were Cubism’s Africanism, Surrealism and the “Primitive,” Avant-gardism and the “Natives” in mass culture, and the like. Besides these panels, where the different “east” and “west” and their interrelationships were treated, there was also a semi-autonomous section organized by the International Association of Ryūkyūan / Okinawan Studies, IAROS (personally by Evgeny Baksheev and Rosa Caroli): “The Ryūkyū Triangle: Okinawa, the East, and the West.” The four panels of this section discussed the unique position of Okinawa as the recipient of the cultural impact of China, Japan, and the Western world. Several of the papers were dedicated to the role of Nikolai Nevsky, a researcher who made bridges between the East and the West and who was one of the first scholars to begin linguistic and cultural anthropological fieldwork on the Ryūkyū Islands.

Three fruitful days of discussions and debates revealed the whole gamut of approaches and theories to the problem of East-West mutual description. During the final general meeting, one or two participants expressed their surprise that Said and his special *Orientalism* were not mentioned at all in the majority of presentations. These die-hard “post-colonial” scholars tried to make up for the “colonial discourse,” but without much interest from the audience. As the chairman of the session, the present author mentioned that he was glad that Saidism had evidently ceased to be sufficiently important to warrant ritual references to it.

Much more fruitful and heuristically interesting is the understanding that Orientalism seen in broad terms was a European form of the quest for cultural difference. I suggest that European Orientalism in art and letters be seen as a multifaceted expression of globalization. In the guise of Orientalism, it appeared as the beginning of the systemic crisis of the Occidental civilization that was starting to perceive the limits of its own self-sufficiency (on the cultural, artistic, religious, philosophical and economic levels). The West needed its

Other. The early stage of Orientalism was Romantic and Academic (which was Orientalism in the narrow historical sense): largely, it was exotic Oriental motifs and subjects depicted with the help of Western pictorial idioms. In other words, the traditional European formal language had not been basically changed.

The next wave – the Japonisme of Impressionism and Art Nouveau – has been a much more advanced transcultural phenomenon. It can be called a tectonic shift – when not only motifs or subjects, but also formal means of expression were borrowed, *mutatis mutandis*, from the East. Later on came the Primitivism of the Avant-garde and of Surrealism with their interest in and appropriation of African and tribal art. Still later, after the Second World War, the marginalization of the Western artistic discourse was inspired and fed by the language of expression of liminal groups, such as “naïve art” or the art of mentally challenged persons. Together, all this can be seen as successive stages in the broadening (shattering and at the same time infeeding) of the European cultural paradigm – which paved the ways to globalization of the Western world-view and cultural practices. Orientalism can be viewed as the Ur-phenomenon of globalization, or as the process of making the West less Western.

Parallel to this, for about a century, there has been an opposite process: the non-Western parts of the globalized world have witnessed a growing local exclusionism and cultural protectionism. These forces – the champions of home-grown specificity and adversaries of integration – chose Orientalism as a bugaboo of colonial and cultural expansion. (This is, in fact, entirely what Said’s pamphlet is about.) And one of the academic results of this Conference is that, by examining many Orientalisms against the background of various Easts and Wests, the participants succeeded, to a certain degree, in cleansing this term of its political and ideological connotations and moving forward to a better understanding of our interconnected and multipolar world.

In conclusion I would like to thank all those colleagues who helped me to organize this conference and who facilitated to its success: Kirill Razlogov, Nina Kochelyaeva, Irina Alekseenko, Alexei Vasiliev and other fellows of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research, and also Ministry of Culture of Russian Federation and Japan Foundation for their financial assistance.

## ВСТУПЛЕНИЕ

*Евгений Штейнер***ВОСТОК, ЗАПАД И ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМ:  
МЕСТО ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ  
В ГЛОБАЛИЗИРУЮЩЕМСЯ МИРЕ**

Большая международная научная конференция состоялась 23–25 сентября 2010 г. в Москве под эгидой Российского института культурологии (РИК). Ее задачей было обсуждение основных аспектов проблемы описания Востока (преимущественно азиатских, а также африканских культур) в западной науке, литературе и искусстве. Идея конференции принадлежала автору этих строк, который в разговоре с К.Э. Разлоговым осенью 2008 г. заручился его поддержкой, и в результате почти двухлетняя подготовка делалась при помощи людских, организационных и материальных ресурсов РИКа.

Цели и общая идея конференции в Приглашении к участию были сформулированы так: «Анализ истории осмысления и современных интерпретаций Западом Востока и *vice versa* представляется важным и своевременным в свете глобализации и параллельного ей обострения идеологических, религиозных, межкультурных и экономических конфликтов между странами Востока и Западом с его ценностями, восходящими к иудеохристианской традиции. Европейская трактовка Востока получила название «ориентализм», имеющее негативные коннотации на самом Востоке и среди критически по отношению к западной системе настроенных западных же ученых, а изображение Запада, нередко упрощенное и часто отрицательное, азиатскими авторами, известно как «оксидентализм». Анализ истоков, меняющихся парадигм и современной методологической базы таковых описаний позволит выявить культурные стереотипы, эксплуатируемые при описании “чужого”».

Структура конференции предполагала, чтобы ведущие представители культурологии, истории искусства, истории религии, востоковедения и литературоведения в ходе научных дискуссий проанализировали ситуацию с описанием Востока на Западе и Запада на Востоке, выявили идеологическую, историческую или методологическую ограниченность многих частных подходов и обозначили перспективные методологии и научные проблемы, решение которых будет способствовать лучшему взаимопониманию и межкультурному диалогу.

Широта культурно-географического охвата задавала проблематизацию самих базовых понятий «Восток» и «Запад». Например, две секции обсуждали тему «Россия и Балканы как Восток с точки зрения Западной Европы». Кроме того, в дополнение к классическим «востокам» – Ближнему или

Дальнему – Россия имела и имеет свой собственный: Кавказ, который для русского романтического сознания играл роль, сходную с Ближним Востоком в мифологии европейского романтизма. С другой стороны, Западом мог оказаться даже Китай – как то было показано в докладе д-ра Кэйко Судзуки (университет Рицумэйкан, Киото) «Когда людьми с Запада были китайцы». Были даже и более радикальные случаи географического и культурного релятивизма – например, в докладе «Восточнее, чем Япония: Окинава в японском национальном дискурсе» (д-р Роза Кароли, университет Венеции).

Поэтому, как я подчеркнул в своем вступительном слове, конференция подразумевала обсуждение понятия многополярности мира. Удобные (и кажущиеся фундаментальными) таксоны вроде «восток» и «запад», рассматриваемые с разных точек полицентричного мира, оказываются культурно детерминированными, подвижными и относительными концептами. Что может быть стопроцентно восточным или стопроцентно западным? Какую оптику и какой язык описания должен использовать исследователь, чтобы быть максимально адекватным исследуемому инокультурному объекту?

Важно отметить, что задачей конференции является не только и не столько дихотомия «восток–запад», а именно концепции ориентализма и оксидентализма, ибо во главе угла лежала задача подчеркнуть пути и способы восприятия Востока Западом и наоборот. При этом, по замыслу организатора, «ориентализм» должен был пониматься в широком смысле – как разного рода академические описания азиатских и африканских культур в научном исследовании или художественные обращения к ним в западном искусстве и литературе. Такое мое понимание ориентализма резко отличается от популярного до сих пор (преимущественно в идеологизированных левой риторикой кругах) «Ориентализма» Э. Саида (1978) – длинного полемического памфлета, давно критически разобранного (чтобы не сказать, разгромленного) серьезными учеными, специалистами по Ближнему Востоку и арабскому миру. Удивительно, но некоторые молодые западные преподаватели, очевидно страдая от постколониального комплекса вины, по-прежнему обрушиваются на своих предшественников, изучавших неевропейские культуры, и обвиняют их в пособничестве культурному империализму. Это привело к тому, что сам термин «ориентализм», или «востоковедение» (“Oriental studies”), уже четверть века почитается молодыми радикалами политически некорректным и обидным для мусульман. Иногда полемика в саидовом духе отъезжает дальше на Восток и навязывает постколониальную интерпретацию ближневосточной политики даже японоведению. Так, в одной недавно опубликованной работе снисходительной выволочке подверглась вся традиционная японистика в Америке. Например, Эрнест Феноллоза (1853–1908), горячий энтузиаст японской культуры, скупавший в конце XIX – начале XX в. классические произведения искусства, которые сами японцы в порыве модернизации готовы были выбросить, и собравший в итоге в Бостонском музее изящных искусств несравненную коллекцию, заклеивший «досаидовым азиафилом, который не разделял нашего дискомфорта



по поводу колониальной экспроприации»<sup>1</sup>. Работы Джоан Картер-Ковелл (1910–1997), первой в Америке защитившей докторскую диссертацию по японскому искусству (1940), уподобляются «колониальным писаниям»<sup>2</sup>. Значительно более эпистемологически зряч и методологически корректен профессор Колумбийского университета Бернар Фор, который вместо позиции кающегося интеллигента (который, впрочем, чаще шельмуется, нежели кается) считает, со ссылкой на Бахтина, что «экзотопия» (или отстраненность) является мощным фактором для познания другой культуры<sup>3</sup>. Ранее Фор писал также о саидовой методологической наивности и идеологической узости: «В некотором отношении его “Ориентализм” не только являет собой пример обратного этноцентризма, но и оказывается контрпродуктивным, ибо забывает, что даже самый отъявленный ориентализм может иметь какие-то важные прозрения, а также не замечает, что посториенталистское видение имеет свои собственные слепые пятна»<sup>4</sup>. О том, насколько язык описания культурного Другого может быть более прозревающим, чем взгляд изнутри, показывает, в частности, пример Николая Невского, одного из основателей японской этнологии и культурной антропологии. Ему в рамках конференции была посвящена отдельная секция. Серьезные ученые уже не рассматривают ориентализм в саидовских терминах «силы» и «доминирования»<sup>5</sup>, а к тому же Дальний Восток, и в особенности Япония, самым решительным образом не могут быть втиснуты в прокрустово ложе ориентализма по-саидовски<sup>6</sup>.

Подзаголовок конференции – «Языки культуры и языки их описания» – предполагал семиотическое понимание культуры как Текста. Описание (научное или художественное) можно рассматривать как текст на другом языке – языке собственных культурных пресуппозиций исследователя и способа его методологической наррации. Иными словами, идея конференции предполагала рассматривать проблему Ориентализма/Оксидентализма как проблему перевода – со всеми его ограничениями, возможными ошибками и ложными концепциями, как культурно детерминированным, так и просто *ad hominem*. Потерянное в переводе и «неправильно» переведенное – не менее интересно, чем лежащее на поверхности переведенное.

В оргкомитет поступило около двухсот заявок, из которых принято было чуть более ста. В окончательную программу попало 78 пленарных докладов и сессионных выступлений 79 участников. Из них иностранным

<sup>1</sup> Levine, Gregory. *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Faure, Bernard. *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6–7.

<sup>5</sup> См.: Clarke, John. *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter Between Asian and Western Thought*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> См.: Cox, Rupert A. *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, p. 31.

участникам принадлежало 47 докладов, а российским – 31 (двое заявили один доклад, и оба не явились).

Конференция продолжалась три дня. В первый работа проходила в формате общих пленарных заседаний, в ходе которых было прочитано шесть установочных докладов.

Открыл конференцию директор Института культурологии профессор К.Э. Разлогов. С приветственным словом выступил советник по делам культуры посольства Японии г-н Имамура; с организационными моментами – ответственный секретарь оргкомитета Н.А. Кочеляева; с методологическим зачином – председатель оргкомитета Е.С. Штейнер. После этого открылось первое пленарное заседание.

Два первых киноута были посвящены методологическому осмыслению и терминологическому прояснению понятия ориентализм. С.Д. Серебряный, директор Института высших гуманитарных исследований им. Е.М. Мелетинского (РГГУ), в докладе «Ориентализм: искажение достойного термина» начал с того, что «ориентализм» на Западе стал плохим словом с появления книги Саида, но, к счастью, эта мода докатилась до России сравнительно недавно, в силу чего здесь еще можно свободно пользоваться синонимичным ему термином «востоковедение». Книга Саида, продолжал докладчик, безнадежно неадекватна, но в ней затронуты некие важные проблемы межкультурной коммуникации. Саид был неправ в своем основном тезисе, согласно которому изучение «Востока» в XVIII–XX вв. было всего лишь частью колониальной политики Запада. Ошибался он и в большинстве своих фактических сведений и выкладок (по крайней мере во всем, что касается Индии и индологии, – заметил докладчик-индолог). Однако Саид так или иначе провоцировал внимание к реальной и сложной проблеме: изучение культур неизбежно отмечено пресуппозициями, а иногда и предрассудками своей собственной культуры. Это было особенно справедливо для советского востоковедения, поскольку советская идеология, будучи упрощенной и догматизированной версией некоторых западных идей, полагала себя универсально верной и полностью лишена саморефлексии и самокритики. Докладчик привел некоторые примеры этого, еще не полностью изжитого, советского наследия, но подчеркнул, что удивительным образом некоторые ученые в «свободном» западном мире оказались жертвами тех же заблуждений.

Тема причудливого родства саидова «ориентализма» и российской имперской, а после советской, идеологии была продолжена докладом профессора Веры Тольц (глава Центра по изучению России и Евразии Манчестерского университета, Манчестер, Великобритания). В начале XX в. учеными в России было предложено радикальное переосмысление способов рецепции восточных культур. В бродиле революции и мировой войны группа востоковедов в Петербурге (Петрограде, Ленинграде) артикулировала свежие идеи о соотношении знания и власти и о Европе и Азии, как о политических и культурных конструктах. Эти идеи предвосхитили работы Саида и постколониальную теорию по меньшей мере на полвека. При этом общность первых и вторых была не просто типологической, а генеалогической. В докладе было показано, что Саид почерпнул

основные свои положения (через арабских историков-марксистов, учившихся в 1960-е гг. в СССР и читавших по-русски) из работ русских ориенталистов начала XX в. и более поздних советских. Отчасти русскими учеными двигали ревизионистские идеи общеевропейского характера, когда переосмыслению стали подвергаться представления о Востоке, популярные в XIX в., но главным образом ученые России в силу сочетания политических, социальных и культурных факторов вступили в особого рода диалог с российскими неевропейскими меньшинствами и в силу этого выработали особую методологию и особый, критический взгляд на западное востоковедение. В результате, и особенно после 1917 г., была сформулирована влиятельная на многие десятилетия критика империализма и колониализма. Как показала проф. Тольц, есть текстуальные совпадения у Саида и статьей «Востоковедение (Ориентализм)» Большой Советской энциклопедии (1951). Довольно неожиданное, заметим, по всей видимости, родство для западных леваков.

Следующие два доклада переместили географию рассмотрения ориентализма с Ближнего на Дальний Восток: в Японию. Точнее, в докладе профессора Сигэми Инага (Центр по изучению японской культуры, Киото, Япония) речь шла о территории на северо-востоке современного Китая, известной в 1931–45 гг. как Маньчжурское государство (Маньчжоу-го). В докладе «Скрещенье ориентализма и оксидентализма: изображение Маньчжоу-го времени его существования» докладчик поставил целью показать, как ориентализм и оксидентализм взаимно пересекались в изображении Азии в XX в. Создававшиеся под влиянием Японии визуальные символы исторических событий и героев в Маньчжоу-го напоминали идеологически западный ориентализм, который до определенной степени разделяла Япония того времени в отношении этой китайской территории. В то же время японские художники (и среди них создававший в то время героико-патриотические батальные полотна – например, «Штыковая атака советского танка японскими пехотинцами» (1941) – художник Парижской школы Сугихару-Леонард Фудзита) подчинялись некоей пан-азиатской идеологии оксидентализма, ставившей целью пропаганду некоей зоны «совместного процветания».

Доклад профессора Тимона Скрича (завкафедрой истории искусства и археологии Школы востоковедения и африканистики Лондонского университета, Лондон) был посвящен культурным контактам Запада и Японии в XVIII в. В центре его лежала деятельность шведского врача на службе голландской Ост-Индской компании Тунберга, оставившего ценные естественно-научные труды и обширные коллекции предметов материальной культуры. Его деятельность и коллекция были широко комментированы японскими художниками и писателями, преимущественно в сатирическом плане, когда западная наука переосмыслилась в Японии в духе культуры «бренного мира» укиё-э.

Пленарное заседание завершилось докладом профессора Патрика Бейвэра (Высшая школа социальных наук, Париж, Франция) о специфике колониальной идеологии в восточном и западном дискурсах: случай Японии и Окинавы. Докладчик показал, хотя внешне, если подходить

с западными мерками, политика Японии на Окинаве (островах Рюкю) выглядела вполне колониальной, инкорпорирование этих островов, бывших в моменту японской экспансии независимым королевством, осуществлялось по иным культурным механизмам и негативно «колониальным» этот процесс назван быть не может.

Второй день конференции включал работу в секциях. Их было двадцать по четыре доклада (иногда три) в каждой. Рабочим языком большинства секций был английский без перевода на русский.

Большая часть докладов концентрировалась вокруг узловых вопросов, обозначенных в Приглашении к участию. Классический ориентализм XVIII–XIX вв. анализировался по следующим направлениям:

- Восток романтиков от Магриба до Кавказа.
- Академический ориентализм: экзотический антураж и «вечные законы красоты».
- Эротический миф о Востоке как сублимация сексуальных комплексов Запада.
- Мир необузданных и жестоких страстей в восточных декорациях.
- Мир ислама через призму ориентализма.
- Шинуазри и японизм.

В XX в. проблематика изменилась. Здесь акцент был сделан на понятии Востока как «Другого» в западном сознании XX в. – от Африки до Арктики. Вопросами для обсуждения были: африканизм кубизма; сюрреализм и примитив; авангард и «опрошение»; авангард и Дзэн; «дикари» в массовой культуре и др.

В секции «Формы конвергенции: Китай, Япония, Запад» были прочитаны доклады учеными из Японии (Кэйко Судзуки, «Когда людьми с Запада считались китайцы: образы иностранцев в японском искусстве укиё-э»), Италии (Донателла Фаилла, «Соединяя Европу и Японию эпохи Мэйдзи: вклад Эдоардо Киоссоне в официальные представления о классическом искусстве, политике и идеологии японского движения за интернационализацию»), Австралии (Ясуко Кларемонт с докладом о пересечении творческих методов Марселя Пруста и Нацумэ Сосэки) и США (Пола Парк с докладом «Сделано в Китае» о постановке современной версии оперы «Мадам Баттерфляй»).

Отдельная секция была посвящена европейским шинуазри и японизму (докладчики из США и Чехии). Особенно интересен был доклад Филипа Сухомеля (Академия архитектуры и дизайна, Прага, Чехия) «Далекое царства мандаринов в буржуазных салонах на европейской художественной периферии: восприятие неевропейского искусства в центральной Европе первой половины XIX в.» – он ввел практически неизвестную за пределами малых центрально-европейских стран проблематику.

Более традиционная тема обсуждалась в секции «Китайское и японское в Великобритании конца XIX в.», впрочем, и к ней была присоединена франко-африканская тема (Дженнифер Филд, Музей современного искусства, Нью-Йорк, о культурных импликациях этнографической

экспедиции Дакар-Джибути в 1931). Доклады двух британских исследователей детально анализировали синофилию (Сара Чанг, Лондонский колледж Моды, Лондон) и япономанию (Элизабет Крамер, Школа искусств и социальных наук, Лондон) в Лондоне. Особое внимание при этом уделялось малым декоративно-прикладным искусствам и моде и тому, как поголовное увлечение китайщиной и японщиной изменило вкус и интерьеры британского светского общества.

Не обошлось, разумеется, и без гаремных тем и одалисок, западные представления о коих были темой секции «Западноевропейский ориентализм XIX–XX вв. и эротический дискурс». Специалист из Международного центра гендерных исследований в Тюбингене (Германия) Кэйт Рой рассказала о гаремных повествованиях в популярной литературе Германии прошлого и настоящего. Интересно, что ряд ранних модных публикаций был сделан в виде стилизации образованными мусульманскими женщинами (вероятно, типологически это можно уподобить французским романам на русскую тему Андрея Макина – который также удостоился «ориенталистского» разбора). Темой Джоан Лэнгли (Университет Суонси, Великобритания) был танец живота и его роль в мифологизации Востока на Западе. Наконец, Нико Пайдар из Института Курто (Лондон) провела деконструкцию феномена одалисок во Франции 1920-х гг. – в живописи Матисса и в параллельных образах в массовом кинематографе. Указание на синема как источник инспирации Матисса в обход его общеизвестных увлечений алжирскими и марокканскими мотивами вносит интересный акцент в наши представления о миграции культурных кодов в ориенталистских мотивах первой половины XX в.

Гаремная тема не уместилась, кстати, в пределы одной секции и выплеснулась в другую: «Восток в западноевропейском сознании: искусство, музыка и кинематограф». Любопытное сопоставление эротических мотивов с религиозными было сделано в докладе Марии Тарутиной (Йельский университет, Нью-Хэйвен, США) – «От церкви к гарему: ориентализм XIX в. и неовизантийское возрождение». Докладчица проблематизировала бинарную оппозицию «восток-запад» и показала ее подвижность на примере европейской трактовки Византии во второй половине XIX в. Это было опосредованно связано с балканским вопросом и территориальными спорами большой европейской политики. Западная Европа тяготела к изображению Византии как восточной – эзотичной, изнеженной, порочной, роскошной культуры. Россия, Австрия и Пруссия предпочитали другой образ – могущественной христианской державы. Особенно это отвечало задачам России, которая, преследуя свои политические и националистические амбиции, проводила в своем неовизантийском возрождении, по мнению докладчика, оксиденталистскую политику.

В той же секции Ана-Жоэль Фалькон-Вибе (Королевский университет, Онтарио, Канада) проанализировала классический французский ориентализм как обращение к экзотике для решения внутренних культурных потребностей: «Ориенталистские идиомы Декана: толкование Запада через Другого». Александр-Габриэль Декан (1803–60) «в своих ориенталистских работах интерпретировал Запад по-западному, используя язык,

который был не просто принят буржуазными и аристократическими патронами, но служил также для выражения общего недовольства представителей этих классов с определенными аспектами общественной жизни 19 века, особенно во Франции». Как указал докладчик, такая интерпретация начисто лишает смысла наскучившую саидову «ориенталистскую» парадигму.

Напротив, как продукт западного «ориентализма» в духе романтического экзотизма трактовала цыганскую тему выступившая в той же секции Анна Пиотровска (Ягеллонский университет, Краков, Польша) в докладе «Сотворение “цыганских мотивов” в музыке как пример ориенталистского дискурса XIX в.».

К вопросу об авангарде: тема «Российский авангард и Восток» рассматривалась в отдельной сессии. Адель ди Руокка (Университет Южной Калифорнии, Лос-Анджелес, США) рассказала о буддийских мотивах и конкретно фигуре Просветленного в искусстве русского модернизма. Ирэна Бужинска (Латвийский Национальный художественный музей, Рига) в своем докладе о художнике Волдемаре Матвейсе (известном также как Владимир Марков) сделала акцент на его роли как исследователя и фотографа неевропейского искусства. В своих идеологических и эстетических устремлениях Матвейс был вполне человеком своего времени, времени стремительного создания авангардной парадигмы и артикуляции модернистских художественных форм. В материале же, с которым он работал, – искусство черной Африки, искусство острова Пасхи – Матвейс значительно опередил свое время, ибо сколько-нибудь значительный интерес к этим культурам появится в Европе лишь 10–15 лет спустя, у сюрреалистов. Также африканской теме был посвящен и третий доклад – Елены Чач (СПбГУ), которая говорила об африканских путешествиях Гумилева и Булатовича (гусара-схимника) в Эфиопию в контексте культуры Серебряного века.

Несколько сессий было посвящено разбору взаимоотношений России с ее «востоками» – Кавказом, Средней Азией и Дальним Востоком. В секции «Россия и Дальний Восток» неизвестный аспект взаимоотношений российских властей с буддизмом показал Такэхико Иноуэ из университета Хоккайдо (Саппоро, Япония): «Поиск правоты на родине: утверждение Российской империей “девиантности” буддийских монахов» (Его статья на основе переработанного доклада называется «От медицины к ориентализму: лечение калмыцких буддийских монахов в Российской империи в 19 веке».) В попытках обеспечить вакцинацию калмыцкого населения в XIX в., российские власти привлекали к помощи лам и монахов, но поскольку результаты оставляли желать лучшего, калмыцкое буддийское духовенство было неоднократно подвергнуто резкой критике: они не умели толком читать собственные тибетские или монгольские книги и мало соответствовали своему религиозному и социальному положению. Российские академические специалисты по буддизму поддерживали власти в их кампании против «плохих» буддистов на местах. Другой докладчик, д-р Рой Чан (Колледж Уильяма и Мэри, Уильямсбург, США), в докладе «Ломаные языки: раса, жертвенность и геополитика в повести “Бронепоезд № 14–69” Всеволода Иванова»

рассуждал об отношении русских революционеров к своим китайским сотоварищам.

В секции «Центральная Азия как российский Восток» два доклада российских участников прозвучали бы на Западе как подтверждение саидизма, между тем как представленное в них соотношение метрополии и имперских окраин было весьма многоаспектно и отнюдь не однозначно. А.Э. Афанасьева (Ярославский государственный педагогический университет им. К.Д. Ушинского, Ярославль) в докладе «Пищеварение превосходное... способности к наукам небольшие: казахи в текстах российских врачей XIX в.» показала, что «выводы российских врачей о физическом состоянии казахов, их подверженности болезням, о гигиенических условиях быта и особенностях местных медицинских практик вносили существенный вклад в формирование языка описания казахов. На заключениях медиков базировались оценки этнографов, свидетельства врачей становились аргументами в пользу активизации правительственных усилий в Казахской степи. Вместе с тем создаваемый российскими врачами ориенталистский дискурс не вполне укладывался в классические образцы, очерченные Саидом. В описаниях казахов объективирующие характеристики, присущие западной медицинской традиции, сочетались с патерналистскими установками, которые во второй половине XIX в. приобретали специфическую для России народническую окраску». В сходном ключе раскрывалась тема А.Ю. Ледовских (Новосибирский государственный педагогический университет, Новосибирск) «От омерзения до сострадания: специфика восприятия коренного населения Крайнего Севера Сибири публицистами второй половины XIX – начала XX в. (по материалам художественной публицистики)». Особенный интерес вызвало замечание докладчика, что в публицистике делались попытки поднять вопрос о том, что первобытная дикость и необузданные страсти, жестокость, коварство характерны не только для аборигенов Севера, но и для русского населения региона.

Большой интерес вызвала секция, где Россия рассматривалась как Восток по отношению к Западной Европе: «Балканы и Россия как Восток для Западной Европы». С балканской темой выступил Николай Аретов (Институт Литературы Болгарской АН, София, Болгария) – «Ориентализм, окцидентализм и образ Другого в балканском контексте», тогда как все другие были посвящены восприятию России как восточной страны. Мари-Карин Шауб (Парижский университет «Париж-Эст», Париж, Франция) проанализировала истоки представлений о России как восточной культуре. Хелен Даффи (Вроцлавский университет, Польша) назвала свой доклад «Ответный удар Востока, или Миф о России в прозе Андрея Макина», где сосредоточила свое внимание на показе того, как расхожие представления, бытующие в массовом западном сознании, были умело слеплены в «русских романах» Макина и сделали его на какое-то время весьма популярным. Другой, более художественно интересный подход к теме «Россия (или в данном случае, Украина)-Запад» в книге Марины Левицки «Краткая история тракторов по-украински» проанализировала Андреа Балог (Университет Сегеда, Венгрия). Там шла речь о восприятии вполне британской по культуре представительницы второго поколения

выходцев с Украины немолодой украинки, попавшей в Англию после распада Советского Союза и пытавшейся там закрепиться.

Отдельная секция была посвящена философии Востока и Запада и их взаимопроницанию. Стоит отметить доклад «Восток на Западе и Запад на Востоке: арабский мир и средневековые латиняне», весьма художественно исполненный В.Л. Рабиновичем (РИК, Москва). Остановившись на феномене алхимии, он отметил, что она была изначально «самонастроена» для встречи с Востоком. Другим интересным сообщением в той секции был доклад Жозефа Шованича (Высшая школа социальных исследований, Париж) – «Западная философия XX в. и Азия: язык и время в философии Хайдеггера». Он продемонстрировал, что несмотря на до сих пор сохраняющееся во многих западных университетах представление, будто философия есть продукт исключительно западного мира, даже у такого твердокаменного представителя тезиса «только-Запад», как Хайдеггер, есть несколько фундаментальных, но не сразу видных идей, заимствованных из Азии. Докладчик показал, как восточные (под ними он понимал переднеазиатские, т. е. преимущественно еврейские) представления о времени и истории были утилизированы Хайдеггером.

Помимо перечисленных секций, в которых Восток или Запад понимались весьма широко, особую группу представляла секция «Рюкюский треугольник: Окинава – Восток – Запад», работавшая все четыре сессии во время второго дня конференции. Она носила полуавтономный характер и была организована Е.С. Бакшеевым (РИК) и Розой Кароли (Университет Ка Фоскари, Венеция) под эгидой Международной ассоциации исследователей Рюкю/Окинавы (IAROS). В докладах этой секции рассматривалось уникальное положение Окинавы как реципиента культурного воздействия Китая, Японии и западного мира. Кроме того, подробно обсуждалась роль Николая Невского как исследователя, наводившего мосты между Востоком и Западом и первым из ученых приступившего к лингвистическому и культурно-антропологическому описанию островов Рюкю. Среди участников этой секции были ученые из России, Китая, Норвегии, Японии, Италии, Франции и США.

В заключительный день работы конференции состоялось пленарное заседание в форме круглого стола. Работа началась с двух докладов: В.Г. Лысенко (Институт философии АН, Москва) «Ориентализм в свете проблемы чужого: попытка ксенологического подхода» и Тосио Ватанабэ (Директор Центра транскультурных исследований, Лондонский университет искусств, Лондон) «Японизм в XX в.: его развитие между 1920 и 1950 годами». В. Лысенко предприняла попытку описать извечную категорию «чужого» (или Другого) при помощи новой теории, названной ей ксенологией. С основной идеей трудно было не согласиться, хотя в то же время в откликах некоторые участники назвали такой подход умножением сущностей.

В последовавшей затем заключительной дискуссии некоторые участники выражали удивление тому, что идеи Саида не были упомянуты во многих докладах, и попытались вернуться к «колониальному дискурсу». Ведущий заседание Е.С. Штейнер заметил, что он рад тому, что саидизм

перестал быть столь значительным, что его понадобилось бы обсуждать еще и еще. Отношение к нему и его научная оценка были ясно выражены в двух первых установочных докладах. Намного более плодотворной является позиция, которая исходит из того, что ориентализм в широком плане был формой европейских поисков культурной инаковости. В заключительном слове он кратко изложил разрабатываемую им несколько лет концепцию, согласно которой европейский ориентализм в искусстве и литературе следует рассматривать как многогранное проявление глобализации. В обличье ориентализма она возникла как начало системного кризиса западной цивилизации, упершейся в собственную несамодостаточность (в культурном, художественном, религиозно-философском и экономическом – торговом и сырьевом – планах) и нуждавшейся в Другом. При этом ранняя фаза ориентализма была романтической-академической (ориентализм в узком смысле) – т. е. экзотические восточные сюжеты при сохранении западного формального языка выражения. Следующая волна, японизм импрессионистов и модерна, был значительно более серьезным транскультурным явлением – тектоническим сдвигом, когда не только и не столько сюжеты, но и формальные особенности плана выражения были заимствованы на Востоке. Далее пришел примитивизм авангарда и сюрреализма с его обращением к африканскому и туземному искусству, после чего (после Второй мировой войны) маргинализация западного художественного дискурса вдохновлялась языком самовыражения лиминальных общественных групп («наивное искусство», искусство душевнобольных). Все вместе это было последовательными этапами в расширении (расщеплении и одновременно подпитке) новоевропейской культурной парадигмы и прокладывало пути к глобализации западного мировоззрения и культурных практик. Ориентализм можно рассматривать как ур-феномен глобализации, или как процесс делания Запада менее западным.

Наряду с этим уже около ста лет в незападных частях глобализируемого мира существует и все нарастает туземный эксклюзивизм и охранительство. Этими силами – ревнителями самобытности и противниками интеграции – ориентализм выбран в качестве жупела культурно-колониальной экспансии (именно об этом и весь памфлет Саида). Научным итогом конференции можно считать то, что, рассматривая множество ориентализмов на фоне разных «востоков» и «западов», удалось в какой-то степени очистить эти понятия от политически ангажированных коннотаций и продвинуться в понимании взаимосвязанности многополярного мира.

В заключение хочется выразить благодарность коллегам, участвовавшим в подготовке конференции: К.Э. Разлогову, изначально поддерживавшему идею и поддерживавшему ее в сложные моменты как административным ресурсом, так и личной харизмой; Н.А. Кочеляевой, помогавшей в решении многообразных организационных проблем с начала и до конца; И.В. Алексеенко, осуществлявшей контакты с участниками и координировавшей многообразные аспекты подготовки на каждодневной основе; а также А.Г. Васильеву и группе сотрудников РИКа, подключившимся к подготовке в последние дни и помогавшим плавной и эффективной работе конференции.

*Sergei Serebriany*

#### “ORIENTALISM”: A GOOD WORD DEFAMED

“Orientalism” became a bad word in the West after the publication in 1978 of Edward Said’s book titled (rather mistitled) “Orientalism”. I first heard about this book in 1979, from an American professor who visited Moscow. The professor referred to the book with respect, and later I kept reading various praises for Said and his work. It was only in 1991, when I happened to come to the US, that I got a copy of Said’s “Orientalism”. I remember being very much disappointed and surprised with this book. It was obviously so inadequate, so full of false statements and mistakes, so, I dare say, stupid, that I wondered why it had become so popular and so influential. Some years later another American professor on a visit to Moscow told me the background story of this book; and I read more about the personality of Edward Said. All this helped me to understand his book better.

The latter American professor said, that Edward Said, being a Palestinian (or, in any case, an Arab), wanted to write about how the Western world did not understand the Palestinian cause and the Arab world in general.<sup>1</sup> But he did not want to limit himself only to Palestinian or even only to Arab issues, because he thought that in that case his book would not have as strong an appeal as he wanted it to have. So he broadened his theme and wrote also about India and other Asian countries, about which his knowledge was rather inadequate.<sup>2</sup> This story (which seems to be true) explains how Said came to write his book, but does not explain its extraordinary success.

By now I have read a lot of criticism about Said’s book and about Said himself.<sup>3</sup> But so far I have not come across any detailed historical analysis of the success story of Said’s “Orientalism”. My own tentative explanation is that this book, inadequate though it was itself, touched a very important problem and probably at the very right time. I would compare this book with a small spark which may ignite a huge fire or with a small pebble which may cause an avalanche in mountains.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. “The focus of Said’s original inquiry was not so much ‘the Orient’ at large but Egypt and Palestine in particular” (Gregory D. “Orientalism” // Johnston R.J. et al. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* [4th ed.]. Wiley-Blackwell, 2000, p. 567).

<sup>2</sup> Later I tried to read another book by E. Said, “Culture and Imperialism”, and confirmed my opinion that the author’s knowledge about Indian history was inadequate.

<sup>3</sup> I have even contributed a paper to a book which is, in a way, part of the “(Anti-) Saidiana”: *Beyond Orientalism: the work of Wilhelm Halbfass and its impact on Indian and cross-cultural studies*. Rodopi, 1997.

By now I have also realized that my shock while reading Said's "Orientalism" was caused, among other things, by a mistake of perception. As Said was a university professor at a respected American university, I took his book to be a work of a scholarly, academic nature. But in fact the book's genre should rather be defined as political pamphlet. If one takes it as such, one can probably even enjoy it.

As far as I know, earnest scholars mostly do not take Said's book too seriously, though it cannot of course be denied that there are some grains of truth in it. These grains of truth are mostly common places: that human beings, even if they consider themselves earnest scholars, are conditioned by their cultural milieu, by their upbringing and by other subjective circumstances; that even brightest minds have their limitations; that, in particular, Europeans who studied things Oriental more often than not had their European preconceptions which might have predetermined the course of their studies and even the results of those studies; that, finally, politics of all sorts very often influences, if not predetermines, scholarly endeavours, even if scholars themselves are not aware of the fact...<sup>4</sup> All this is obvious. But it is a far cry from Said's claim that Western Orientalists were a kind of agents of Western colonialism, that they deliberately provided distorted presentations of the Orient in order to disorient Oriental people.

I personally deplore very much the fact that Said has disfigured the good old word "Orientalism". Before Said this word had been used in English mainly in two ways: 1) as a term in the history of art to denote the trend in 19<sup>th</sup> century European art characterised by an interest in "Oriental" themes, mostly connected with the so called Near East and 2) (more rarely) as a synonym for "Oriental studies", that is academic studies of the "Orient" (this traditional term denoted, roughly speaking, the cultures of the Old World outside the realm of Western Christianity).<sup>5</sup> Edward Said has turned this word in English almost into a term of abuse.<sup>6</sup>

Let me quote a text that I found in the Internet. It is titled "Saidism" and reads as follows: "*Saidism is the theory founded by Edward Said, that the West's knowledge of Oriental cultures has been, and necessarily is, nothing but a fantasy and a projection which was and necessarily will be only for the purpose of colonial domination and exploitation. Most Historians of Ideas nowadays seem to view Saidism as a phase which was beneficial in its time for stimulating deeper review and self-criticism of the Western intellectual tradition but...*".

<sup>4</sup> Edward Said himself was a kind of Palestinian politician. So his argument may be turned against himself: the validity and the value of his work may be questioned exactly for the reason of his being politically engaged. What Said in his "Orientalism" wrote about the British-American (Jewish) scholar Bernard Lewis may be said about himself: that his "work purports to be liberal objective scholarship but is in reality very close to being propaganda against his subject material", that the "Orientalism" is "aggressively ideological".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lewis B. *Islam and the West*. Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> But it seems that as a term of art history "Orientalism" has not suffered from Said's semantic innovation. Cf. e.g.: Benjamin R., Khemir M. *Orientalism: Delacroix to Klee*. Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2002.

I could not find the continuation of this text, but this final "but" is telling enough.

Fortunately for us this "Saidism" reached us, in Russia, rather late<sup>7</sup> and, as far as know, was not welcome too much, probably because we had been fed up with our own "isms". So we (I mean my colleagues and myself) have no qualms calling ourselves "Orientalists" ("востоковеды") and our field of work "Oriental studies" ("востоковедение"). I hope that in the English language as well the pejorative meaning of the word "Orientalism" will be forgotten sooner or later.

In English, as in other European languages (including Russian), words with the Greek suffix *-ism* have usually the meaning which implies a positive connection with the idea contained in the root of the word. Thus, *pacifism* implies the state of mind which favours peace rather than war, *intellectualism* implies a positive attitude towards intellect etc. If a negative attitude is to be expressed, the Greek prefix *anti-* added, e.g. *anti-intellectualism*, *anti-fascism*, *anti-communism* etc. Before Said, the word "Orientalism" was understood according to these semantic habits (see above). Edward Said violated not only the norms of academic discourse, but also the traditions of the English language, the patterns of its morphology and semantics. The pejorative meaning, which Said has managed to add to the word "Orientalism", would be more properly expressed with the word "Anti-Orientalism".

Here I would like to refer again to one of the most well known opponents of Edward Said, the distinguished British-American scholar Bernard Lewis, who wrote that the study of "Orient" and of other, non-European cultures in general had its roots in European humanism.<sup>8</sup> In other words, it was part and parcel of that cultural and intellectual expansion of Europe during the last several centuries in which we, Russians, also participated and still participate (though we joined this development later than most other Europeans).

Let me come back to Said's "Orientalism". For a Russian with the background of Soviet ("Marxist") education, the very spirit of Said's book (or, to use once again a faddish word, of Said's discourse) was strangely familiar. The self-righteous condemnation of (at best) mistakes and (at worst) allegedly deliberate evil designs of others, the condemnation expressed in a language which itself was so evidently faulty and erratic – all this was so much like our "native" quasi-Marxist exhortations with which we had been treated all through the Soviet years. An explanation of this strange similarity has

<sup>7</sup> The "Orientalism" came out in a Russian translation in 2006: Саид Э.В. Ориентализм. Западные концепции Востока / Пер. с англ. А.В. Говорунова. СПб.: Русский Миръ, 2006. The book has not created a sensation. Most of those who could be interested, must have read the book earlier in the original.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e.g. Kramer M. Bernard Lewis / *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 719-20 (<http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://www.martinkramer.org/sandbox/reader/archives/bernard-lewis/&date=2010-11-13>).

been recently offered to me by a colleague of mine, Vera Tolz, in her new book.<sup>9</sup> Tracing the intellectual pedigree of E. Said, Vera Tolz writes:

“In ... his critique of European Orientalism, Said heavily relied on the works of several Arab authors who in the early 1960s had initiated a major critique of Western Oriental Studies from a perspective which was at the same time Marxist and post-colonial nationalist. The first publication to state clearly what became major charges against Western Orientologists in Said’s work and in works influenced by his arguments was the article ‘Orientalism in Crisis’, published in 1963 by a Marxist sociologist from Egypt, Anouar Abdel-Malek.”<sup>10</sup> And “the first footnote in Abdel-Malek’s article includes a reference to the entry ‘Vostokoveden’e’ (Oriental Studies) in the main Soviet encyclopedia, *Bol’shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia*, of 1951, which summarized the ... critique of European Oriental Studies by [Sergei] Ol’denburg.”<sup>11,12</sup>

Sergei Fyodorovich Ol’denburg (1863–1934) was one of the leading Russian Oriental scholars of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among other things, he was the “permanent secretary” of the Academy of Sciences from 1904 up to 1929. After the Bolshevik takeover in 1917 he tried his best to come to terms with the new rulers of the country in order to preserve the Academy and secure the continuity of scientific and scholarly activities in Russia. He (like quite a number of his colleagues) hoped to “civilise” the Bolshevik rulers. Till 1929 Ol’denburg was more or less successful in his endeavours, but in 1929 (the year of Stalin’s full entrenchment in power) the Academy was heavily “purged” and Ol’denburg himself nearly arrested. After that (and even before that) he had to adjust his public utterances to the whims of the supreme power.<sup>13</sup> The above mentioned entry on Oriental studies in the Soviet Encyclopedia reflected the results of this adjustment: it was a mixture of truths, half-truths and outright lies (like the “Soviet ideology” as a whole). Vera Tolz in her book shows how the academic critique of certain limitation of Western Oriental studies, which Ol’denburg and other Russian scholars expressed first long before 1917, was

<sup>9</sup> Tolz V. ‘Russia’s Own Orient’: *The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*. Oxford University Press, 2011 (see especially chapter 4: “Critique of European Scholarship”).

<sup>10</sup> Abdel-Malek A. ‘Orientalism in Crisis’, *Diogenes*, 44 (1963), 103–40.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Vostokoveden’e (inache orientalistika)’, in *Bol’shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 9 (Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1951), 193–202 = Востоковедение (иначе ориенталистика) // Большая советская энциклопедия, 3-е изд. Т. 9. Москва, 1951, с. 193–202.

<sup>12</sup> Tolz V. *Op. cit.*, p. 100–101.

<sup>13</sup> It was only recently that the first detailed biography of S.F. Ol’denburg in Russian could possibly be written and published. The book has been written by the historian Boris Kaganovich, cf. *Каганович Б.С. Сергей Федорович Ольденбург. Опыт биографии*. СПб.: Феникс, 2006 (Kaganovich B.S. *Sergey Fyodorovich Ol’denburg. Opyt biographii* [= ... An attempt at a biography]. S.-Petersburg: Feniks, 2006). Cf. also my review (in Russian) of the book: *Наука и власть в России. Актуальные размышления над современной книгой: Каганович Б.С. Сергей Федорович Ольденбург. Опыт биографии*. СПб.: Феникс, 2006, 252 с. // Одиссей – 2007. М.: Наука, 2007. The French historian and novelist Zoé Oldenbourg (1916–2002) was a granddaughter of S.F. Ol’denburg. Her father, S.F. Ol’denburg’s son, unlike his father, did not accept the Bolshevik rule and emigrated to France in 1925. Zoé Oldenbourg has written memoirs about her family: *Oldenbourg Z. Visages d’un autoportrait*. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.

transformed later into very non-academic, ideological utterances adjusted to the “Marxist” discourse of the Soviet officialdom. The 1951 entry in the Stalinist “Big Soviet Encyclopedia”, to which the views of Edward Said may ultimately be traced, is a typical example of such Soviet-“Marxist” texts.

The “Marxist” pedigree of Said’s ideas must be one of the reasons why this American university fashion (I mean both “Saidism” as such and the so called “post-colonial studies” in general of which Edward Said is considered one of the founders) has been so slow in reaching Russia.

An Ukrainian observer stated in 2003 that “post-colonialism is the only one among ‘big’ modern theoretical discourses which is proudly and consistently rejected in today’s Russia (imperial habits die hard)”<sup>14</sup> This statement is still largely true in 2011, but I do not think that “imperial habits” are to blame. The main reason, to my mind, is almost an instinctive rejection, by most scholars in today’s Russia, of anything that smacks of Marxism or any “ism” in general. For some time now I kept asking my colleagues, humanities scholars in Moscow, what (if anything) they know about “post-colonial studies”. Most often the answer was like this: “I have vaguely heard about such thing. It looks like one of those American fads that should not be taken seriously. And, as far as I know, those ‘post-colonialists’ are a kind of epigones of Marxism”<sup>15</sup>

In today’s Russia, it seems, only comparatively younger people, who have got no immunity against (or shall I say “allergy towards”?) all varieties of Marxism, may take interest in post-colonial studies and in Said’s books in particular. But such people are rare and far between.

Thus, the most conspicuous exponent of “post-colonial studies” in Russia today is Madina Vladimirovna Tlostanova, who posits herself as an “inner Other” in her native Russia (ethnically she seems to be Tartar, at least to a certain extent). She graduated from Moscow State University in 1991, so her university years coincided with Gorbachev’s “perestroika”, when the grip of the official “Marxism” was already very lax. M.V. Tlostanova has got published several books in Russian and has also a number of publications in English to her credit. But in this country, in the academia, she is rather a marginal figure.

I have also found a Russian scholar who seems to take Edward Said “Orientalism” quite seriously. He is Alexander Markovich Etkind (b. 1955), a brilliant author of several books and many articles. His writings are full of exciting insights. His ambition evidently is to break the canons of the “normal science” (the term of Th. Kuhn) and to find new “paradigms”. In this risky undertaking anybody is bound to make slips. Taking Said’s “Orientalism” at its face value is, in my opinion, one of such slips in A.M. Etkind’s works. It may be explained by his education. A.M. Etkind graduated in 1976 from the faculty of psychology, Leningrad University. His PhD in Russian literature he got in 1998 in Helsinki. At present he is a professor of Russian literature and culture at

<sup>14</sup> Chernetsky V. “Postcolonialism, Russia and Ukraine” // *Ulbandus*. 2003. № 7, p. 34. I quote (and retranslate from Russian) from the editorial introduction to the journal «Новое литературное обозрение» (2008, № 94).

<sup>15</sup> It seems that in the French academia the “post-colonial studies” are not quite welcome either. Cf. Bayart J.-F. *Les Études postcoloniales, un carnaval académique*. Paris: Karthala, 2010.

Cambridge (UK). This shows that A.M. Etkind is a kind of outsider in Russian humanities. I will come back to his writings in a while.

We find interesting information about the reception in Russia of Said's ideas, and of the "post-colonial studies" in general, in several publications on this topic in the bilingual (Russian + English) journal "Ab Imperio", published from the city of Kazan. In the issue 1/2002 there was published a series of five papers under the general title "Modernization of Russian Empire and Paradoxes of Orientalism". On the whole, the authors of the papers treat Said and his "Orientalism" with respect. But David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye (Canada) in his paper titled "Orientalism is a Subtle Matter"<sup>16</sup> comes to a conclusion that "the relevance of Said's theory to the history of Russia remains an open question".<sup>17</sup> A.M. Etkind (mentioned above) in his paper "The Shaved Man's Burden, or the Inner Colonization of Russia" offers a kind of critique (and reinterpretation) of Said's views, finding them inadequate for describing the history of Russian Empire and Russian colonialism. Nataniel Knight (USA) in his paper agrees that "Said's model" is inadequate "when applied in a direct and literal fashion to the distinctive conditions of the Russian Empire", but defends the general heuristic value of "Said's conception".<sup>18</sup> Elena Campbell (St.-Petersburg) in her paper tries to apply Said's scheme to the history of Oriental studies in the Russian Empire and shows that the scheme hardly works in this case. In the last paper of the series, Stephen Velychenko, a Ukrainian scholar from Canada, tackles the question if Ukraine was a colony of Russia. His answer is rather "no", and "on the methodological level this refusal to label Ukraine a colony implies that 'post-colonial theory' is irrelevant to it".<sup>19</sup>

In the 2/2007 issue of the same journal there appeared a paper by Svetlana Gorshenina, a Russian scholar from Lausanne, under the long title: "Is the Marginality of Russian Colonial Turkestan Perpetual, or Whether Central Asia Will Be Included One Day into the Sphere of 'Post-Colonial Studies'".<sup>20</sup> S. Gorshenina deplores the fact that the "post-colonial turn" has not yet reached properly the Central Asian studies. As the Summary in English puts it, "the author suggests that there is a possibility to redefine the history of Russian Turkestan in the spirit of post-colonial studies".<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The title is a paraphrase of a saying by a character in the famous Soviet movie "Белое солнце пустыни" ("White Sun of the Desert", 1969): "Orient is a subtle matter". The movie was called a Soviet "Eastern" (by the analogy with American "Westerns"). The central figure, a Russian soldier, fights and overwhelms a band of "Oriental" guerillas.

<sup>17</sup> Schimmelpenninck van der Oye D. "Orientalism is a Subtle Matter" [In Russian] // *Ab Imperio*, 1/2002, p. 257.

<sup>18</sup> Knight N. "Was Russia its own Orient? Reflection on the Contributions of Etkind and Schimmelpenninck to the Debate on Orientalism" [In English] // *Ab Imperio*, 1/2002, p. 308.

<sup>19</sup> Velychenko S. "The Issue of Russian Colonialism in Ukrainian Thought" [In English] // *Ab Imperio*, 1/2002, p. 365.

<sup>20</sup> The paper (published in Russian) was a preliminary version of the introduction to the book: Gorshenina S., Abashev S. (Eds.) *Le Turkestan Russe : Une colonie comme les autres?* Tashkent and Paris: IFEAC – Editions Complexe, 2009. A critical review of the book, by Alexander Morrison, may be read in the 3/2010 issue of "Ab Imperio" (pp. 345–351).

<sup>21</sup> *Ab Imperio*, 2/2007, p. 258.

In the 2/2008 issue of "Ab Imperio" (pp. 80–92) we find a "Roundtable [discussion]" under the title: "'Sub Altera Specie': A View at Postcolonial Paradigm from Inside Russian/Soviet History". There are for participants: Adrienne Edgar (USA), Sonja Luehrmann (USA), Sergey Abashin (Moscow, Russia) and Elena Gapova (Minsk/Vilnius, i.e. Belarus/Lithuania). The introduction "From the editors" states with a kind of regret that "across the post-Soviet realm... it would be difficult to find an intensive and thorough appropriation of the research agenda of postcolonial studies in the way it exists today in the world" (p. 80; English in the original). Adrienne Edgar feels that her own field, "the history of Central Asia in the Soviet period, would benefit from the judicious application of small doses of postcolonial theory and methodology" (p. 81; English in the original). To Sonja Luehrmann's very interesting and cautious pronouncements I will turn a bit later. Sergey Abashin is also very cautious. He writes (in Russian): "...It is clear to me that the colonial and post-colonial conceptual tradition does not give an exhaustive explanation of all that happened in Eurasia ... in the 20<sup>th</sup> century" (p. 87). Elena Gapova is also skeptical. She writes (in English): "I see the appropriation of the post-colonial agenda in my part of the world as an ambivalent phenomenon..." (p. 88).

So, even in a very internationally oriented Russian journal, published at the most important centre of Russia's "own Orient", in the city of Kazan, the issues of "Orientalism" (in "saidian" – or shall I say "saidistic"? – sense) and "post-colonialism" have been discussed so far mostly by foreigners or by Russian authors living and working abroad. My brief review of the publications in "Ab Imperio" has also pointed, I hope, to some of the reasons why these "isms" have not so far been successfully transferred to the Russian soil. Nevertheless, I think that Said's ideas, if not the "post-colonial turn" as a whole, are relevant enough in today's Russian context, though in a way that Said himself could hardly prefigure.

Edward Said was mostly wrong about Oriental studies in general. But, paradoxically, when I read his book, I felt that his criticism might well be applied to a considerable part of Soviet Oriental studies. Soviet "Marxists" deliberately or indeliberately distorted the reality of the "Orient" (as well as of the rest of the world) with their dogmatic schemes.<sup>22</sup> Thus, I remember that at Moscow University we were lectured about slavery in ancient India, about feudal relations in medieval India, then about the colonialist exploitation, the development of capitalist relations and Indian bourgeoisie, about the working class movement and the communist party of India... When, during my last year at the university, I was lucky enough to get to India, I realized that most of what I had been taught in Moscow (except, of course, languages) had very distant relations to the reality. Nobody had told me that India, in the first place, was quite a different world. This I had to discover myself.

<sup>22</sup> I have tried to describe the most obvious features of this Soviet "Marxist" "paradigm" in an essay in Russian: Серебряный С.Д. О «советской парадигме» (заметки индолога) М.: РГГУ, 2004 (Чтения по истории и теории культуры. Вып. 43). A slightly abridged English translation of this essay has been also published: Serebriany S. On the 'Soviet Paradigm' (remarks of an Indologist) // *Studies in East European Thought* (2005) 57: 93–138.



From 1970 up to 1992, I was a research fellow at the Gorky Institute of World Literature (IMLI) in Moscow and had many opportunities to see how Soviet “Marxist” attitudes impeded our studies of “Oriental” literatures.<sup>23</sup>

It looks like an irony of history: Said’s ideas have been traced to certain Soviet “Marxist” writings, but his criticism now may be read as directed against Soviet “Marxism” itself.

\* \* \*

At the end of my paper I would like to add some comments on the word “Occidentalism”. It seems to be used in several different meanings. Two meanings, very neutral ones, are registered for instance by the American Heritage Dictionary (see: <http://www.yourdictionary.com/occidentalism>):

A quality, mannerism, or custom specific to or characteristic of the Occident.

Scholarly knowledge of Occidental cultures, languages, and peoples.

Cf. the definition of *Occidentalism* offered by Derek Gregory in The Dictionary of Human Geography: “The systematic construction of representations of ‘the West’ (‘the Occident’) as a more or less unified entity”.<sup>24</sup>

In the Wikipedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occidentalism>) we find at least two more meanings:

“The term Occidentalism is used in one of two main ways:

a) stereotyped and sometimes dehumanizing views on the Western world, including Europe and the English-speaking world; and

b) ideologies or visions of the West developed in either the West or non-West.

The former definition stresses negative constructions of the West and is often focused on the Islamic world. The latter approach has a broader range and includes both positive and negative representations. The term was used in the latter [or the former? – S.D.S.] sense by James G. Carrier in his book *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (1995), and subsequently by Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit in their book *Occidentalism: the West in the Eyes of its Enemies* (2004). The term is an inversion of Orientalism, Edward Said’s label for stereotyped Western views of the East. A number of earlier books had also used the term, sometimes with different meanings, such as Chen Xiaomei’s *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (New York: Oxford, 1995).

The corresponding German page of the Wikipedia (<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Okzidentalismus>) refers also to two meanings of the word, one of them identical with one of the English page, but the other quite different:

“Das Wort Okzidentalismus hat in den Kulturwissenschaften zwei diametral entgegengesetzte Bedeutungen.

<sup>23</sup> More details see in my paper which is going to be published in French: “Comparative literature and post-colonial studies: an outsider’s view from post-Soviet Moscow”.

<sup>24</sup> Gregory D. “Occidentalism” // Johnston R.J. et al. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (4th ed.). Wiley-Blackwell, 2000, p. 561.

1. In Anlehnung an und als Replik auf den von Edward Said geprägten Begriff Orientalismus bezeichnet man als *Okzidentalismus* eine Ideologie des Hasses gegen den Okzident, gegen westliche Gesellschaftsstrukturen und Werte. In dieser Bedeutung wurde der Begriff von Ian Buruma und Avishai Margalit geprägt. Sie finden dieses Phänomen u.a. in der deutschen Romantik, der westlichen konservativen Kulturkritik, bei Islamisten und bei antiimperialistischen Linken.

2. Manche postkoloniale Theoretiker bezeichnen dagegen als *Okzidentalismus* einen Ethnozentrismus, der westliche Werte als universal postuliert und andere Kulturen abwertet.

*Literatur*

zu 1: Ian Buruma, Avishai Margalit: *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (2004); Thorsten Pattberg: *The East-West dichotomy* (2009); zu 2: Fernando Coronil: *Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories in „Cultural Anthropology“ 11/1 (1996).*”

These quotations show that usages of the word *Occidentalism* are quite diverse and fluid. As in the case of *Orientalism* in the Saidian sense, it may be remarked that using the word *Occidentalism* in the sense „stereotyped and sometimes dehumanizing views on the Western world“ (Wikipedia, see above) or „the dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies“ (Buruma and Margalit)<sup>25</sup> seems to go against the traditions of the English language. It would be more appropriate to use, for expressing such a meaning, the word *anti-occidentalism*.

\* \* \*

Now, in our post-Soviet Russia, we are free, or at least can be free, from the demands and strictures of any “isms”, local or imported. Of course, we still have our human limitations. But we may be consoled and encouraged, among other things, with the suggestions of the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002), who, in his famous book “Truth and Method” (“Wahrheit und Methode”, 1960), wrote that our preconceptions (in German Vorurteile) are not only inevitable; they are the necessary preconditions of any knowledge. We must only be honestly aware about our preconceptions, so that we could analyse and even overcome them in order to progress to new knowledge – and to new preconceptions.

<sup>25</sup> Buruma I., Margalit A. *Occidentalism. The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*. Penguin, 2005, p. 5.

*Виктория Лысенко*

### **ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМ И ПРОБЛЕМА ЧУЖОГО: КСЕНОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ПОДХОД**

Эта статья состоит из четырех частей:

В первой части я попытаюсь проблематизировать оппозицию «свое-чужое» в терминах ксенологии, которую я понимаю как науку о цивилизационно и культурно чужом.

Во второй части я проанализирую «ориентализм» Эдварда Саида (1935–2003) как случай ксенологической модели.

В третьей части речь пойдет о критике «ориентализма» Саида.

Четвертую часть я бы обозначила как анализ ксенологической ситуации в России в связи с выходом книги Саида «Ориентализм» на русском языке.

1. «Чтобы понять, кто мы такие, нужно понять, кем мы не являемся». Эти слова были эпиграфом к циклу фильмов Андрея Кончаловского, который канал «Культура» показал несколько лет назад. Обращение к другому, чужому помогает нам понять самих себя и как индивидов и как членов группы, определенной культурной общности. Вольно или невольно мы сравниваем себя с другими. Каждый из нас, бывая за границей, не раз думал про себя или говорил «это как у нас», «а это не как у нас». Но как мы сравниваем? По каким параметрам? Является ли такое сравнение объективным? Тут мы и вступаем на почву ксенологии в моем понимании этого термина. Парадокс заключается в том, что мы можем осознать свое культурное «Я» через «не-Я», но это «не-Я» все равно останется конструкцией нашего «Я», поскольку мы будем выделять в нем именно то, что так или иначе перекликается с нашим «Я». Мы замечаем чужое, когда оно отличается от нашего, контрастирует с нашим или же на общем фоне чужого совпадает с нашим. Реакция на чужое – это реакция неузнавания, невозможности автоматически вписать в свой мир. То есть определенные параметры нашего «Я-образа», которые мы даже и не осознаем, уже заложены в саму модель чужого. Иными словами, чужой – это преломление нашего собственного «Я-образа» на разных уровнях нашей собственной идентичности – индивидуальной, родовой (фамильной), групповой (того «мы», с которым мы себя отождествляем, наша привычка говорить от имени «мы» – от лица партии, коллектива и т. п.), культурной и даже цивилизационной. Я называю это первым постулатом ксенологии.

Чужое, о котором я буду говорить, – это прежде всего то, что идентифицируется как чужое с позиции определенной культурной идентичности. Мне хотелось бы проблематизировать и тематизировать чужое как зеркало самопознания. Несмотря на то, что каждая культура наполняет

понятие чужого своим конкретным содержанием, оно является универсалией в том отношении, что подспудно и часто неосознанно связано с самоидентификацией той общности – того «мы», «наше», «свое», – по отношению к которой некто или нечто является «чужим».

Разумеется, «Я-образ» – это сложная многослойная конструкция идентичностей. Вместе с тем любая культурная и даже личная идентичность как правило, актуализируется, вернее, конструируется, при столкновении и конфликте с чужой идентичностью. Греки осознали себя греками на фоне «варваров», испанцы поняли, что они испанцы лишь в столкновении с маврами, с мусульманским владычеством и т. д. и т. п. То же самое можно сказать о любом народе. В какой-то момент его истории появляется вызов со стороны чужого (завоевателей, оккупантов), который помогает ему самоопределиваться как народу, нации. Я называю это вторым постулатом ксенологии.

Подчас в образ чужого человек закладывает больше информации о самом себе, чем о чужом. Я бы выразила это так: «скажи, кто твой чужой, и я скажу, кто ты». Я называю это третьим постулатом ксенологии. Когда кто-то говорит «черномазые» или «понаехали тут!», он рисует собственный психологический или культурный портрет. В том смысле, что он демонстрирует инстинктивный тип поведения, заключающийся во враждебном отношении к чужакам. На научном языке это называется ксенофобией. Ксенофобия имеет свое объяснение – биологическое, психологическое и социальное, однако человек на то и человек, чтобы подниматься над инстинктами через социальные и культурные механизмы. Политики, особенно в нашей стране, очень часто используют ксенофобию населения в своих манипуляциях его эмоциями. Достаточно посмотреть на терминологию кремлевских политтехнологов, создателей молодежных движений – «наши», «мы», «местные». Создаются списки «друзей» и «врагов» России, о последних мы слышим значительно чаще.

Ксенофобская модель всецело основана на отрицательной идентичности чужого: у чужих нет иной идентичности, кроме враждебной и угрожающей нам инаковости. Неважно, кто они, откуда они, они выглядят иначе, чем мы, и этого достаточно, чтобы быть нашими врагами. Радикальные националисты еще больше играют на ксенофобии. Отсюда и убийства на национальной почве. Однако это крайний случай использования образа чужого; случай на границах человеческого, с той стороны, где человеческое сливается с животным. Образ чужого может быть инструментом не только самоутверждения (чаще всего), но и самопонимания, самооценки, самокритики и даже самосовершенствования.

Занимаясь ксенологией, я выделила несколько моделей цивилизационно и культурно чужого, которые отличаются друг от друга по степени инклюзивизма, эксклюзивизма, самоутверждения и самокритики. Первые две – это ксенофобская модель и модель дикаря. Обе демонстрируют только самоутверждение и эксклюзивизм (исключение всего и вся), однако между ними огромная разница. В чем она? Модель дикаря в отличие от ксенофобской представляет попытку познания чужого и какой-то его идентификации. Дикарь – это не чисто отрицательная коннотация.

В некоторых случаях она сближается с моделью «естественного человека». Еще есть модели «антиподов» («они» во всем противоположны нам, что для нас белое, для них черное), пассеистские положительные модели (романтический образ Востока как великого и славного прошлого нашей цивилизации), есть гетеротопическая модель (они иной топос, предельный положительный случай утопии, в России – Индия), есть, наконец, универсалистская модель: «чужие» и «мы» одного рода – рода человеческого, но принадлежим к разным «видам». Хотя во многом они другие, они равны нам в своем бытии людьми. Мы имеем дело с непривычным, непонятым, даже раздражающим, но все же человеческим (современная западная модель). Но здесь, как показывает современная история, универсализация часто происходит на основе «нашего»: «наше» и есть общечеловеческое, а чужое – лишь продолжение или модификация «нашего» (инклюзивизм).

2. Именно это и вменил в вину Западу Эдвард Саид. Прежде всего, важно принять во внимание ксенологическую ситуацию самого Саида. Кратко: он араб христианского вероисповедания, часть семьи которого жила в подмандатной Британской Палестине, родился в Каире, учился там в английском колледже, жил также в Иерусалиме, хотя некоторые авторы оспаривают факт, что у его родителей был там дом, еще подростком приехал США, получил высшее образование в Гарварде, был профессором Колумбийского университета. Мы имеем дело со случаем, который я условно обозначаю как «чужой среди своих, свой среди чужих». Известно, что Саид тяготился жизнью в арабской деревне, куда его в детстве посылали родители, чтобы он не забывал о своих корнях, – мальчик, обучавшийся в английском колледже Каира, был «чужим» среди «своих» в этой деревне. Но после Шестидневной войны в 1967 г. ощутил себя «палестинским беженцем» и стал одним из самых активных и последовательных борцов за дело арабской Палестины, членом Национального совета Палестины, одним из ближайших советников Ясира Арафата, сторонником единого палестинского государства, включающего Израиль, т. е. был фактическим противником государственности Израиля – антисионистом, но при этом, по его словам, не антисемитом! Это психологически понятно и объяснимо: агрессия, столкновение, противостояние провоцируют конструирование идентичности; я назвала это вторым постулатом ксенологии. Но еще раньше, в университетские годы в Гарварде, Саид уже был не вполне «своим» среди «чужих». Не случайно он занялся Джозефом Конрадом – американским писателем польского происхождения. Исследование эмигрантского опыта этого знаменитого американского писателя помогало ему отрефлексировать и вписать в контекст свой собственный опыт. Про себя Саид говорил, что у него «две весьма отдельные жизни». Наверное, мы не будем далеки от истины, если истолкуем его слова как свидетельство разных, возможно, конфликтных идентичностей, сложность отношений между «своим» и «чужим». Однако знаменитым Саида сделали не его академические труды в области литературоведения и музыкальной критики, не то, что написано им с позиции «своего» в мире «чужих», а книга «Ориентализм», которую я бы обозначила как

написанную с позиций «чужого» в мире «чужих». Она демонстрирует парадоксальное отчуждение: отчуждение от западной цивилизации внутри самой западной цивилизации за счет взгляда на нее как бы со стороны, со стороны гипотетического Востока, который автор как бы представляет, «репрезентирует» (его собственный термин), хотя он сам осуждает западных мыслителей за то, что они взяли на себя задачу «представлять» Восток. Фактически, как отмечено в одной из рецензий на русский перевод книги Саида, «Европейское образование позволило Саиду – арабу в изгнании – рассказать Западу на его языке о себе и себе подобных» (газета\_Ru Автономный палестинец.htm).

Саид использует идею М. Фуко о знании как дискурсе власти в таких работах французского философа, как «Археология знания» и «Надзирать и наказывать»: «... без исследования ориентализма как дискурса невозможно понять чрезвычайно систематический порядок, посредством которого европейская культура была способна управлять Востоком и даже создавать его в политическом, социологическом, военном, идеологическом, научном и воображаемом планах в период после эпохи Просвещения. Более того, так как ориентализм был столь авторитетен, то я верю, что ни один пишущий о Востоке, думающий о нем или работающий там, не мог не оказаться в рамках ограничений, накладываемых ориентализмом на мысли и действия. Вкратце: из-за существования ориентализма Восток не стал свободным субъектом мысли или действия и до сих пор не является им».

Запад, по Саиду, конструирует Восток как своего «другого» (я бы сказала, «чужого»), вмещающего все характеристики, считавшиеся незападными, а следовательно, негативными. В этом отношении репрезентация Востока состоит из перевернутых самоимиджей, создаваемых по принципу «различия» и «отсутствия» изменений, прогресса, свободы, разума и других черт, свойственных Европе (т. е. это конструирование образа чужого по модели антипода). Образ Востока стал как бы зеркалом, через которое Европа определяла, оправдывала и возвеличивала себя, одновременно утверждая свое господство над «другими» и накладывая на них свое объективное знание.

Европа стала стандартом, на который надо было ориентироваться и по которому необходимо было судить об остальном мире. Поэтому ориентализм (как научный конструкт и направление в искусстве) может больше рассказать о самом Западе, чем о фактическом Востоке. Э. Саид утверждает, что противопоставление Востока и Запада служит вариантом оппозиции «мы – они», а западное представление о себе (также выраженное в различных дискурсивных практиках) возможно лишь в соприкосновении с конструируемым образом Востока, который наделяется «репрессированными» качествами Запада. В конечном же счете «ориентализм выродился в постоянно повторяющуюся копию самого себя».

Нельзя не отметить точность ксенологического диагноза Саида: принципы объективности, универсальности – то, что Запад предлагает, а скорее, навязывает остальному миру как общечеловеческие ценности, мешает понять и оценить инаковость как инаковость, вписать ее в ее собственный горизонт. Саид, конечно же, попал в болевую точку: слабая

отрефлексированность «Я-образа» на Западе, принятие желаемого за действительное, самоутверждение и самовозвышение за счет унижения других. Появление «Ориентализма» стало важнейшей вехой в интеллектуальной истории XX в. Это была самая радикальная попытка поставить под сомнение святая святых западной гуманитарной науки – ее идеал научности и объективности. После Саида возникло целое направление, которое обозначается как «постколониальные исследования», что подразумевает отмежевание от классических штудий в эпоху колониализма, которые, как предполагается, служили порабощению народов. Слово «ориентальный» исчезло из названий институтов, конференций, книг и статей. В политкорректном дискурсе оно приобрело сугубо отрицательные коннотации.

Что же можно сказать об ориенталистическом проекте Саида в свете принципов ксенологии? Мы уже выяснили, что «ориентализм» – как западная модель чужого – говорит прежде всего о самом Западе, но что говорит идея «ориентализма» о своем создателе – самом Саиде? Очевидно, что все параметры этой модели, ее методология суть западные. Автор ссылается на идеи Фуко, Деррида, Маркса и других западных мыслителей. Фактически автор использует западный инструментарий, чтобы критиковать Запад. Говорит ли Саид что-нибудь о самом Oriente, т. е. Востоке? – ничего кроме того, что он *не такой*, каким его представляет западный дискурс власти. Никакая модель иной, незападной идентичности не предлагается. Вместо положительной контриденности – туманная гипотетическая незападность, самоутверждение сводится к чистому отрицанию, критике ради критики. Мне близка мысль Льва Лосева, которую он высказал в заметке «Смерть Эдварда Саида, или Энергия заблуждения», опубликованной на сайте Радио «Свобода», о том, что Саидом, несмотря на все его политические эскапады, двигала не националистическая страсть, а интеллектуальная, – то, что в другом контексте Раймон Арон назвал «опиумом для интеллигенции»: далеко зашедшая страсть к концептуализации, далеко заводящая вера в собственные теоретические построения. Есть сходство между Эдвардом Саидом и Львом Гумилевым. И тот и другой с большой энергией и талантом исследовали историю Востока, разоблачая общепринятые клише и предрассудки, и представили в своих трудах картину куда более близкую к действительности, чем прежняя. И, не остановившись на этих достижениях, оба начали выстраивать на их основе широкомасштабные политические концепции опасного радикального характера. Пожалуй, политические идеи Саида и поопаснее, поскольку в них нет откровенно фантастических элементов, как у Гумилева.

Любая страсть слепа, и в ее ярком свете исчезают нюансы, неоднозначности, отдаленные последствия. По словам замечательного индолога Вильгельма Хальбфасса, Саид не замечает не только внутренних различий между культурами, но и общего между ними; он не видит неожиданных поворотов и побочных эффектов: например, активность христианских миссионеров в азиатских странах создала предпосылки для роста секуляризма и критики христианства в Европе, а усилия таких «агентов империализма», как Вильям Джонс и Макс Мюллер, создателей научной

индологии, способствовали в отдаленной перспективе расшатыванию и падению системы колониализма.

Я бы добавила к этому еще ряд положительных моментов встречи с Западом для восточных культур, хотя бы на примере Индии.

1. Конструирование собственной национальной идентичности – Индия стала осознавать себя как Индия в борьбе с англичанами.

2. Обретение дистанции для оценки собственной традиции, начало ее изучения, исследования, появление индийской индологии, методология для которой рождалась из рецепции западной и спора с ней.

Но самое главное, что отсутствует в модели Саида, целиком центрированной на Западе как агенте геополитической экспансии, это интеллектуальный познавательный интерес к чужой культуре, независимый от геополитических амбиций, но определяемый другими факторами. Например, одной из главных стран, развивавших индологию в XIX в., была Германия, не участвовавшая в геополитических играх вокруг Индии. Конечно же, ее интерес стимулировался другими внутренними процессами, прежде всего поисками культурной идентичности (сначала яфетическая теория, затем индо-арийский миф). Это лишний раз доказывает, что никакой интерес, направленный вовне, за границы собственной культуры, не возникает на пустом месте, он всегда связан с самооценкой, «Я-образом» (например греки считали открытость и любопытство к чужому важной составляющей своего Я-образа). Этот интерес может быть вызван другими внутренними – цивилизационными, культурными, наконец, личными причинами, кризисами идентичности, переломными моментами, революциями, когда собственная модель перестает работать и возникает нужда в ином опыте. Этот момент тоже не прописан в модели Саида в силу ее слишком узкой политической ориентированности.

Мне представляется, что проблема понимания чужого неотделима от проблемы самопонимания, саморефлексии (первый постулат ксенологии). Гадамер одним из первых среди западных философов усомнился в объективности ученого (для него это позитивистский миф) и его нейтральности в исследованиях. Понимание, по Гадамеру, имплицитно включает предрассудок моей собственной исторической ситуативности и невозможность избежать встраивания в отношении вещей перспективы, определяемой нашей собственной культурной и исторической идентичностью. Человек, пытающийся понимать текст, всегда совершает «акт проекции». По Гадамеру, предубеждения в гораздо большей степени, чем рефлексия, суждения и т. п., составляют историческую действительность бытия человека. Они законны, неизбежны, коренятся в объективных исторических условиях. И дело, следовательно, отнюдь не в том, чтобы отбросить эти предубеждения, а в том, чтобы их осознать, учесть, привести, так сказать, во взвешенное состояние. Тот же, кто, «полагаясь на объективность своих методов и отрицая свою собственную историческую обусловленность, мнит себя свободным от предрассудков, тот испытывает на себе могущество этих предрассудков, господствующих над ним без всякого контроля с его стороны». Именно это можно вменить в вину многим востоковедным исследованиям как на Западе, так и на Востоке.

Благодаря во многом книге Саида и ее последующему осмыслению в научном сообществе современные западные востоковеды острее осознают остроту этой герменевтической проблемы. Во множестве публикаций подчеркивается, что идеал научной объективности, укорененный в европейской академической философской традиции, является мыслительным конструктом нашей культуры. *Экзегеза* инокультурных текстов на поверку оборачивается *изогезой* – невольным «вчитыванием» в них чего-то *своего* (термин Эндрю Така). Как пишет Мэтью Кэпштейн: «Наша проблема состоит не в том, чтобы – преодолевая невозможное – открыть, каким образом представить буддизм, элиминируя все ссылки на западные способы мышления, она, скорее, в том, чтобы определить подход, с помощью которого наша встреча с буддийскими традициями сможет открыть пространство, на котором эти традиции начнут в какой-то степени открывать нам себя, а не нас самих».

4. Споры по поводу основных идей книги Саида продолжают до сих пор. Написаны десятки исследований, прошло множество конференций и конгрессов. Почему же в России его важнейшая книга переведена лишь через 38 лет после ее выхода в свет? Почему ранее детище Саида не вызвало интереса ни у издателей, ни у переводчиков? В силу каких причин проблематика этой книги оказалась невостребованной в российском научном сообществе? Казалось бы, в России – наследнице империи – проблемы, стоящие в книге Саида, должны были бы вызвать интерес и стать предметом широкого научного обсуждения. Однако этого не произошло даже после выхода в свет русского перевода Говорунова. Появление этого перевода не вызвало значимых споров, не стало общественно значимым событием. Устарела книга, устарела сама проблема?

Издание перевода сопровождается послесловием Константина Крылова, которое, на мой взгляд, помогает ответить на эти вопросы. Он соотносит эту проблему с Россией, однако у него Россия оказывается не колониальной, а «колонизованной» державой, тем самым несчастным Востоком, который «ориентализировал» коварный Запад. «Что Запад хочет сделать с Востоком? Понятие *колонии* – ближайший политический аналог понятия наложницы (не забываем, что “Восток” в сознании Запада – край гаремов). Сильные государства имеют много наложниц и получают полагающееся наслаждение. ... Но есть еще и тайная, мякотная подкладка ориенталистского дискурса – “Восток” как *запрещенный соблазн*. Известно, что дикие обычаи Востока позволяют реализовать самые потаенные и сладостные желания зажатого в тиски публичной морали европейца».

Добавив к материалам Саида ряд новых живописных фактов западного «ориентализма», автор на последней странице пишет: «Однако не стоит относиться к изданию Саида как к очередному – и, как кажется, запоздалому – “закрытию пробела” в общем образовании. Возможно, книжка подоспела вовремя: не столько как интересное интеллектуальное упражнение, сколько как образец рассуждения о проблемах, касающихся нас больше, чем нам хотелось бы думать (курсив мой. – В.Л.)». Какие же это проблемы? Обратимся к последнему абзацу послесловия:

«Ибо Восток, даже Ближний Восток – далеко не самая репрессированная область мира. Есть другие области, о которых Запад предпочитает знать ровно столько, чтобы не хотеть знать о них ничего больше. Есть страны, о которых до сих пор рассказывают средневековые небылицы. Есть народы, исключенные из сферы какой бы то ни было “политкорректности”, даже самой минимальной, которую сумели завоевать себе палестинцы. Есть те, кому не только не позволено говорить о себе, но и о которых молчат другие. К северу от Иерусалима. К востоку от Польши».

Нам предлагают догадаться, какая страна находится к северу от Иерусалима и к востоку от Польши? Почему бы просто не сказать «Россия». Но автор уже запустил систему образов, которая в сознании некоторых наших сограждан автоматически тождественна России: – жертва заговора, западных идей, а русский народ – вечный мученик и страдалец, которого все только обманывают и обижают. Тот факт, что книгой Саида из всех наших многочисленных издательств заинтересовалось лишь издательство «Русский мир», а послесловие к ней написал председатель Русского общественного движения, главный редактор газет «Русский Марш» и «Спецназ России» К.А. Крылов, который определяет свои политические убеждения как русский национализм (называет себя «русистом»), – говорит о многом.

Парадоксальность ситуации России состоит в том, что, с одной стороны, она прониклась западной идеей превосходства над «отсталым» Востоком (модель дикаря), на чем и строила свою патерналистскую «цивилизаторскую» политику по отношению к колонизированным ею народам Средней Азии и Закавказья, но, с другой стороны, она сама постоянно ощущает себя объектом западного «ориентализма». Крылов акцентирует именно вторую сторону, которая прекрасно вписывается в русскую националистическую концепцию России как жертвы злокозненных чужих.

Возможно, в научных журналах и появились отечественные статьи о русском ориентализме в первом смысле, но в медийном пространстве, насколько мне известно, не было осмысления проблем, поставленных этой книгой, не было серьезного разговора о ее достоинствах и недостатках. О российском «ориентализме» пишут в основном зарубежные авторы. Кальпана Сахни, индийский русист, издала, к сожалению, совершенно неизвестную у нас книгу «Распиная Восток. Российский ориентализм и колонизация Кавказа и Средней Азии». По ее мнению, Россия заимствовала «ориентализм» у Запада в результате петровских реформ, но в своей «ориенталистической» политике по отношению к другим народам была гораздо более радикальной, чем, скажем, Великобритания в Индии, поскольку стремилась не только и не столько к экономической власти, сколько к полной ассимиляции покоренных ею народов, что привело к тяжелейшим последствиям для их существования.

Чтобы встреча с чужим смогла открыть нам этого чужого, а не превращенный образ самих себя, нужно уметь анализировать свою герменевтическую ситуацию, понимать, что именно в образе чужого идет от нашего культурно обусловленного «Я-образа» (в данном случае образа жертвы). Этот момент явно отсутствует в концепции русских националистов. Как

роль жертвы («самой репрессированной области мира») совмещается с имперским (колониальным) и державным прошлым России? Оказалось, что совмещается. Крылов предлагает рассматривать историю России как «колонизацию без колонизаторов (курсив мой. – В.Л.). То есть колонизаторы были (сначала монголы, потом немцы, потом евреи, теперь кавказцы и азиаты, но началось не с этого. (Обратите внимание, кавказцы колонизовали Россию! – В.Л.) Россию колонизировали ИДЕАЛЬНО, через “модели экономики” и “социальные практики”, которые позарез нужны, но выработать их самостоятельно мы уже не можем – “отбито”. “Это только немцы делают”. Например, сейчас у русских отбили (палками и ружьями) некоторые социальные навыки и желания. А у тех же кавказцев это всё есть, поэтому без “пассионарной черноты” как бы и никуда...».

Выбор роли жертвы с точки зрения психологии абсолютно понятен – потребность инфантильного сознания снять ответственность с себя, переложив ее на кого-то другого: внешних и внутренних врагов, шпионов, еврейский заговор, западных империалистов, международных магнатов, пляшущих «под дудку США», или, как у Крылова, инородцев, которые «отбили» у русских полезные жизненные навыки. Так легче всего оправдать собственные ошибки – «нас заставили», «нам подбрасывают».

Что мешает публично признать ответственность за колонизацию, за преступный характер ленинизма и сталинизма? Почему наша идентичность питается от мифологем особости пути России, особой «суверенной» (и все знают имя этого суверена) демократии, от перекалывания ответственности за то, что происходило с нами, на другие плечи? Отсутствие рефлексии «Я-образа», в образе чужого, который мы создали в противостоянии всему остальному миру приводит к замкнутому кругу: образ жертвы требует «поднимания с колен», а чтобы проводить политику «поднимания с колен», необходимо культивировать образ жертвы (жертвы враждебного влияния Запада), иначе кто будет подниматься с колен? Если кто-то и делает нас жертвой, то это не агенты Запада, а собственный инфантилизм, мифологическое сознание, страх перед взрослой жизнью с ее свободой и ответственностью.

Ana-Joel Falcón-Wiebe

**GABRIEL ALEXANDRE DECAMPS' PERSONAL ORIENTALIST VOCABULARY: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE WEST BY MEANS OF THE OTHER<sup>1</sup>**

During the early 1800's an overt political, archaeological, and artistic interest in the Orient became manifest first through Napoleon's Egyptian campaigns (1798–1801) and the advances of archaeology and ethnography, and later through the numerous travelogues published as a result of the increased travel to the Middle East and the burgeoning fascination with exotic climes so popular in Romantic literature. By the 1820's, representations of the Orient in the visual arts in France were highly imaginative renditions of vibrant, often violent and sumptuous, and ultimately outlandish regions and peoples. Horace Vernet's popular *mamelukes* and Girodet's classicized Turks are examples of this as well as Delacroix's alluring and sensual visions of Algeria and Morocco rendered after his trip to Spain and North Africa in 1832. Exhibited at the Salon of 1827 with Delacroix's monumental *Death of Sardanapalus* Alexandre Gabriel Decamps' *Soldier of the Guard of a Vizier* also known as *Janissary*, indicated a quiet, more subdued and personal Orient. Not only are the dimensions of Decamps' genre scene dramatically smaller than Delacroix's grand format history painting, but its



Fig. 1. Decamps, *Enfants turcs jouant près d'une fontaine*, 1836. (72.5 × 91.6) Oil on canvas. Musée Condé, Chantilly

reflective, intimate, even familiar, atmosphere determines Decamps' innovative Orientalist stance. It was Decamps' version of Oriental scenes that would conclusively launch a vogue of voyages to the Orient and that would establish the parameters for later versions of Orientalist painting. Adrien Dauzats for instance parted in 1829, Mérimée in 1830, Marilhat in 1831, Delacroix the following year, Fromentin in 1846 and again in 1848 and 1852, and Chassériau in

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Sebastian Schütze, my thesis supervisor (Universität Wien), Janet M. Brooke, director of the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (Kingston, Ontario) Dr. Allison Morehead (Queen's University), and Curator Rebecca Wallis (Wallace Collection, London) for their valuable advice and direction in the formulating of my Master's thesis, from which this article springs.

1846. Decamps' tendency of depicting familiar every-day life subjects marked his Orientalist production before and after his trip to the Levant in 1828. In addition, his practice of representing comparable activities performed by Oriental as well as Occidental subjects sets his brand of Orientalism apart from those of his contemporaries, who engaged overtly in the politically laden issues surrounding, and in most cases enabling, an artist's visit to the Orient. Such is the case in Decamps' series of scenes of children entering and being dismissed from school [Fig. 3 and 4], and of children engaged in play. Indeed Decamps' childhood memories spent in the Picardy countryside served as inspiration for these works, but at the same time, by alluding to aspects of common human experience, as are childhood and play, Decamps' Oriental scenes assumed a role the violent, exotic, and far removed Orient of his contemporaries did not accomplish. The merging of lived experience, memory, and imagination in his Oriental idiom served to articulate a "strangely familiar" Orient that escapes on one hand the all too

familiar paradigms of a Saidian theoretical framework, and on the other hand, the longstanding classification of Decamps' work as solely Romantic in its Orientalist stance.

On February 18, 1828 Decamps ventured on a journey to record the battle of Navarino in Smyrna, now Turkey. But abandoning his task, he set out, for nearly one year, to explore the surrounding areas of Turkey, Constantinople, the Middle Eastern littoral, and Greece. Decamps did not execute any paintings while he was in the Orient and the watercolours and sketches that he produced were mostly done in his studio and not after nature. His memories of his experience in the Orient would inform the character of all Oriental works he would produce throughout his life. Decamps returned to Paris, in the words of his biographer Paul Mantz, with a "harvest of memories as precious as the Oriental world [...]" and with the first elements of a revelation.<sup>2</sup> The critic Ernest Chesneau likewise remarked: "this year-long trip sufficed to provide him with an inexhaustible variety of subjects and landscapes taken from places no one before him had dared to approach as a mere tourist".<sup>3</sup> In 1831, Decamps exhibited his first rendition of an Oriental theme based on his first-hand experiences in the



Fig. 2. Decamps, *Les Petits Nautonniers*, 1837. (36.8 × 44.8 cm) Watercolour. Cabinet de Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris

produce throughout his life. Decamps returned to Paris, in the words of his biographer Paul Mantz, with a "harvest of memories as precious as the Oriental world [...]" and with the first elements of a revelation.<sup>2</sup> The critic Ernest Chesneau likewise remarked: "this year-long trip sufficed to provide him with an inexhaustible variety of subjects and landscapes taken from places no one before him had dared to approach as a mere tourist".<sup>3</sup> In 1831, Decamps exhibited his first rendition of an Oriental theme based on his first-hand experiences in the

<sup>2</sup> Paul Mantz, "Decamps," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1862), 104. The original French reads: "une Moisson de souvenirs autant plus précieux que le monde oriental [et] avec les premiers éléments d'une révélation."

<sup>3</sup> Ernest Chesneau, *Chefs d'école* (Paris: Didier et Cie., 1882), 227. Chesneau wrote: "ce voyage d'un an suffit à lui fournir une variété inépuisable de sujets et de paysages venus avec sa palette de ces climats que personne avant lui n'avait osé affronter en simple touriste."

Middle East, *The Turkish Patrol* or *Cadji-Bey, chef de la police de Smyrne, faisant sa ronde*. This work received a positive critical reception in general with critics focusing on what seemed to be a caricature-like satire. Decamps had enlarged the characters' turbans and given them peculiarly slim limbs. But in 1882 Chesneau remarked that the artist's originality was not understood during such early periods neither by the critics nor by the public and thus, Decamps' personal research in his Oriental scenes was misunderstood as a type of caricature or satire.<sup>4</sup>

Decamps not only rendered a view into Oriental customs and costumes through his Orientalist work but he appropriated such themes into a powerful and highly personal translation of a first-hand experience. In this context, Gustave Planche remarked that the painting served as a mnemonic record of the artist's experience in the Orient rather than an accurate record of an Oriental scene. With this insight into the artist's perception and interpretation of a lived experience, the caricature-like and bizarre aspects of the figures might be explained. Such remarks hint towards a more sensitive interpretation of Decamps' personal Orient as a truthful representation of the impressions the Orient had left on his memory.<sup>5</sup> Thus we are presented with an Oriental scene that creates a certain atmosphere and effect through the artist's sensitive translation of first-hand experiences, executed in a style developed for that purpose. The critic Gustave Planche remarked on the primacy of a first-hand experience and on its translation into visual form by means of memory to communicate an *effect* or sentiment. Decamps' first-hand experience of the Middle East certainly held a great deal of authority especially during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the role of a certain familiarity invested in Decamps' Oriental paintings must also be accounted for since his Oriental scenes were consistently perceived as truth-



Fig. 3. Decamps, *Turkish Landscape (Paysage turc)*, c. 1832. (49 × 65 cm) Oil on canvas. Musée Condé, Chantilly

<sup>4</sup> "On ne comprit pas immédiatement la véritable originalité de ces œuvres, qui étaient surtout originales en ce qu'elles n'avaient demandé l'originalité qu'à la seule exactitude des costumes et des types reproduits. [...] quant à la Patrouille turque, qui le dépaysait, il ne vit dans ce superbe élan qu'une caricature peu digne de l'artiste. [...] Déjà il y avait une sérieuse recherche de la difficulté vaincue et des effets de clair sur clair singulièrement réussis." In Ernest Chesneau, *Chefs d'école* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1882), 228.

<sup>5</sup> "De pareilles compositions ne s'inventent pas de toutes pièces: ce que M. de Chateaubriand dit quelque part, en parlant de l'épopée: 'La meilleure partie du génie se compose de souvenirs,' s'applique merveilleusement à la Patrouille turque. [...] Ce qu'il avait vu et senti, il nous l'a montré; et grâce à son talent, grâce à son exécution tout à la fois naïve et sévère, nous l'avons vu et senti comme lui." In Gustave Planche, *Salon de 1831*, (Paris: Imprimerie et fonderie Pinard, 1831), 138-139.

ful, engaging, and naive. The general interest in truthfulness, as evidenced in the Salon criticism of Gabriel Laviron and Bruno Galbacio of 1833 and 1834, characterizes the concerns of critics and artists throughout the 1830's. But to what extent does familiarity contribute to the perception and understanding of an image as more truthful than contrived? To illustrate this, Decamps' *Turkish landscape (Paysage turc)* [Fig. 3] is a case in point.

Decamps exhibited his *Turkish landscape* at the Salon of 1832. Despite the title of this work and the Oriental-like figures and architectural structures, the site for this subject has been identified as belonging to the French countryside rather than to a Middle Eastern landscape, by Dewey F. Mosby in his dissertation on Decamps of 1977. While Decamps was not alone in experimenting with this type of practice, he employed this Oriental-Occidental juxtaposition with frequency in his Oriental scenes. His *Turkish Landscape with a Rounded House* [Fig. 4] (1850–1851) at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre in Kingston,



Fig. 4. Decamps, A Turkish Landscape with a Rounded House, 1850 – 1851. (20.7 × 30.8 cm) Brown ink, brown wash, touches of white, on paper. Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Kingston, Canada

Ontario and his *Enfants turcs jouant près d'une fontaine* [Fig. 1] (1836) at the Musée Condé in Chantilly are some examples of this. Decamps may have synthesized the evocative signifiers of his nostalgic childhood reminiscences of the French countryside with his Oriental experiences and memories to articulate a highly personal Oriental vision meaningful at a personal level. Interestingly, this personal vision found wide success with the public in general and especially with an elite circle of amateurs and patrons.

On one hand, such a universal theme of children playing or running out of school was one which audiences could easily identify with, as was the case with the familiar topography and landscape in scenes like *Paysage turc*. Further examples of this are his *Enfants turcs* (1836), *Petits Nautonniers* [Fig. 2] (1837), *La Sortie de l'école turque* [Fig. 5] (1841) and *Enfants turcs près d'une fontaine*, also known as *Souvenir de la Turquie d'Asie* (1846). On the other hand, it was with members of the nobility, with amateurs and private collectors that Decamps' work found most attention and support. The artist himself cited a certain baron d'Yvry as his earliest and most loyal patron, and from Du Colombier we know that Alexandre du Sommerard<sup>6</sup> (1779–1842)

<sup>6</sup> Du Sommerard was *conseiller-maître* at the *Cour des comptes* in Paris, a French archaeologist and avid traveler and collector of medieval artifacts. In 1843 the French Government purchased his property, the Hôtel de Cluny and his collections, after his death and established the Musée national du Moyen-Âge.

acquired Decamps' *Chasse aux Vanneaux*.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Decamps' *Janissary* would be acquired by the Count James Alexandre de Pourtalès-Gorgier (1776–1855) by 1841.<sup>8</sup> To explain Decamps' success among such an elite group of patrons the critic Ernest Chesneau identified the art of Decamps as a picturesque fantasy and describes it as “an abundance of good taste, a rest, an opportunity of repose for overworked intelligences, a feast for the eyes; it is the toy of old and tired peoples”.<sup>9</sup> Thus it would appear that Decamps' work offered its viewers an escape from the preoccupations of their time and in doing so it enjoyed the support and attention of an *enriched* class. The collections of the fourth Marquis of Hertford and of the duc d'Aumale, two principal collectors of Decamps' Orientalist oeuvre, are now part of the Wallace Collection, London, and the Musée Condé, Chantilly, respectively, and comprise the most significant repositories of Decamps' work together with the Thomy-Thierry and Moreau-Nélaton collections at the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Decamps' most prominent patrons had been directly involved with France's expansionist policies and activities in the Orient and especially in North Africa. As such, Decamps' quiet and subdued Orient presents a rather complex issue. How then is the contentment of Decamps' buyers explained vis-à-vis his Oriental vision, which certainly differed from the reality of a conflictive and violent nature of an Occidental presence in the Orient. Decamps' *Paysage turc* was purchased from the artist by the Marquis de Maison in 1832, and his *Watering Place* was acquired by the Count d'Harcourt. These and other early collectors of Decamps' Orientalist work likely had a perception and understanding of the Orient differing drastically from that of Decamps himself. Both the Marquis de Maison and the count d'Harcourt were aristocrats



Fig 5. Decamps, La Sortie de l'école turque, 1841. (59 × 80 cm) Watercolour. Wallace Collection, London

<sup>7</sup> Decamps writes : “Toutefois, je dus beaucoup à un amateur né avec une imagination et une ardeur d'artiste : M. le baron d'Yvry, par ses bons avis et sa verve chaleureuse, me tira plus d'une fois de l'apathie et du dégoût, ou plutôt du découragement où je tombais de temps en temps : depuis mon début jusqu'à sa mort, cet homme aimable et distingué m'honora de sa bienveillante amitié.” (Dr. [Louis-Désiré] Véron, 202) Mosby believes that Decamps' *Le Vieux Garde, Gassois* (1824–1825), the location of which is unknown, was one of the earliest commissions by the baron d'Yvry (Dewey F. Mosby, 47).

<sup>8</sup> John Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Paintings* vol.2 (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1992), 67.

<sup>9</sup> “Il est un régal de gourmets, un repos, une occasion de détente aux intelligences surmenées, une fête aux yeux ; il est le jouet des vieux peuples fatigués.” See Ernest Chesneau, *La peinture française au XIXe siècle, les chefs d'école : Louis David, Gros, Gérard, Delacroix, Ingres, Eugène Delacroix* (Paris : Didier et Cie, 1882), 201.



crats and officers who led political and military campaigns in the Middle East and northern Africa during the French occupation of Algeria throughout the 1830s. The Duc d'Orléans returned from a campaign in Algeria in 1836; the Maréchal Nicolas Joseph Maison was Commander of the Morée expedition in 1828; the Duc d'Aumale became Governor General of Algeria in 1847; and the Marquis of Hertford traveled frequently to the Middle East as he was attached to the British Embassy in Constantinople as early as 1829.<sup>10</sup> Decamps himself had embarked to Smyrna as part of a mission to commemorate the battle of Navarino, but left the task to his painter friend Garnerey and instead traveled extensively.<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to think of Decamps' activity in the Orient as that of a tourist and to consider his perception of the Orient in terms of a tourist's expedition. The image of the Orient Decamps formulated after his return to Paris, while it became widely popular, was visibly detached from the military and political realities of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Christine Peltre notes that in the case of the Duc d'Aumale, his interest in Orientalism developed in particular through his experience in military campaigns.<sup>12</sup> For the Duc d'Orléans, Decamps' *Enfants jouant près d'une fontaine* [Fig. 1], symbolized a memory of the trip to Africa he completed in 1840 with his secretary Alfred-Auguste Cuvillier-Fleury (1802–1887). Paradoxically, this painting had been commissioned from the artist by the Duc d'Orléans in 1836, that is, four years before the duke's trip to Africa with Cuvillier-Fleury, to whom he bequeathed the painting.

Chesneau suggested that the appeal of Decamps' Orient arose from the opportunity for high-spirited contemplations his scenes elicited. But perhaps Decamps' buyers' interest in his Oriental work also indicates, consciously or unconsciously, a degree of uneasiness and perhaps even disillusionment with the encountered reality of the Orient, whether it be with the changes brought through an expansionist and colonizing contact, or with the irreconcilable differences between the Orient of their imaginations and that of their lived experiences. After all, Decamps' Orient in no way paid homage to the advancements of French colonization or explicitly to modernization, industrialization, or to the changes brought by an increasingly prominent French presence and the ensuing struggle with the Ottoman Turks for political hegemony of the Mediterranean. His Oriental vision is unlike Horace Vernet's glorifying accounts of the conquest of Algeria or Adrien Dauzats' contrived descriptions of colonized Algeria.

In light of these issues Decamps' "strangely familiar" Oriental scenes gain new significance. Decamps' Oriental scenes might simply represent manifestations of his constant search for renewal, originality and innovation. His interests seem to be more aesthetic than archaeological or ethnographic even though his

<sup>10</sup> *The Wallace Collection, London, Catalogue of Pictures II: French Nineteenth Century* Ed. John Ingamells (London: The Trustees of the Wallace Collection; Manchester Square, 1986), 31.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Mantz, "Decamps," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1862), 104.

<sup>12</sup> Christine Peltre, "Du Document au trésor : la collection orientaliste," in *Collections et marché de l'art en France: 1789–1848* (Rennes; Paris: Presses universitaires de Rennes; Institut National de l'Histoire de l'Art, 2005), 323.

type of Orientalism springs from a concern with more accurate physiognomies, customs, and costumes. But it is interesting to note that Decamps never returned to the Middle East to renew his visual imagery or memories. Moreover, Decamps did not discuss his work in writing. His brief autobiography of 1854 is the sole document where the artist addressed aspects of his work focusing on his sentiment of being a failed artist. Whether or not Decamps was conscious of the significance his Oriental vision held among his buyers, his Oriental idiom is one that helps to reveal and to complicate the attitudes and concerns of those who collected his work. By juxtaposing familiar and foreign elements in his Oriental scenes, that is, by incorporating elements of a waning Romanticism and a nascent Realism, by merging childhood memories of his days in Picardy with memories of his experience in the Levant, by combining landscapes of his hunting sites at Fontainebleau with Oriental figures and structures, by investing his Oriental scenes with a Rembrandtesque light rather than an Oriental luminosity, Decamps' innovative aesthetic articulated a highly desirable, highly marketable version of the Orient. But the implications of this quiet and desirable, "strangely familiar" Orient conducive to high-spirited contemplation within the context of a circle of buyers and patrons who were at the core of France's military campaigns in North Africa and familiar with the violence and brutality of the contact between France and the Orient, must yet be accounted for. I propose that further study of the attitudes and concerns of Decamps' buyers and patrons would provide insight into a sentiment of discontentment not only with 19<sup>th</sup> century society but it would also shed light on the process of disillusionment with the actual Orient, which could not sustain the highly exotic and sumptuous character that Romantic writers and artists had articulated throughout the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

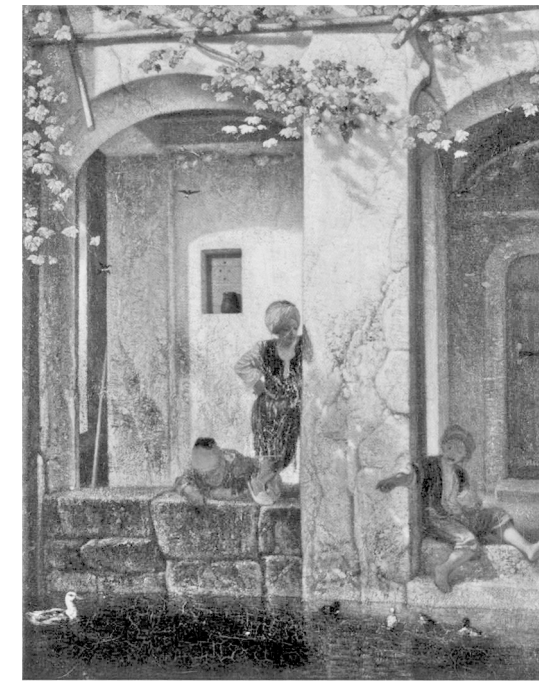


Fig. 6. Decamps, *Souvenir de la Turquie d'Asie or Enfants turcs près d'une fontaine*, 1846. (100 cm × 74 cm) Oil on canvas. Musée Condé, Chantilly

Filip Suchomel

**REMOTE MANDARIN KINGDOMS  
IN THE SALONS OF ARISTOCRATS AND BURGHERS  
ON THE PERIPHERY OF ARTISTIC EVENTS: ECHOES  
OF NON-EUROPEAN ART IN CENTRAL EUROPE  
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY**

In comparison with Western Europe, Central Europe's relationship to the Orient and perception and absorption of its exotic influences is relatively unexplored territory. In short, the borders of the former Habsburg monarchy comprising Austria, Hungary and, of course, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia serve to define this territory. Certain parts of Germany must also be added, especially Saxony and Prussia and, to a certain extent, Bavaria – places that had strong bonds with Austria. This paper, however, will be devoted to the actual heart of Europe – the countries of the former Kingdom of Bohemia, i.e. Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and to the waves of interest in Oriental, foreign and exotic elements manifest in architecture, painting and the decorative arts from the end of the 18th through the first half of the 19th century.

Central Europe, like Western Europe, was confronted with contemporary tastes for the Orient, curiosities or exotic themes in various waves of fashion. Although the region was greatly affected by the Thirty Years' War and, later, by the longstanding Turkish threat, which above all paralyzed the Empire's north, several unique art centers arose to reflect the ascent of Oriental tastes as early as the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. Among others was Sibylla Augusta von Saxe-Lauenburg who, before her wedding, assembled an interesting collection of original lacquerware<sup>1</sup> in the architectural decoration

in her native chateau in Ostrov near Karlovy Vary around 1694. Another example is the Sternberg Palace in Prague, where Bohemian lacquer master Jan Vojtěch Kratochvíl made a lacquer cabinet in 1709 to present a collection of



Fig. 1. Jan Vojtěch Kratochvíl. A lacquer cabinet at Sternberg Palace, Prague (detail). 1709.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ulrike Grimm, "The finest rarities so magnificent and so delicately arranged by such a noble hand in a German palace so distant", on the lacquerwork at the court of Sibylla Augusta Margravine of Baden-Baden, in: Michael Kühenthal ed., *Japanese and European Lacquerware*, München 2000, p. 239.

Oriental porcelain and Delft faience (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> More such premises were created in other aristocratic residences in the 18th century, such as the chateaux in Rychnov nad Kněžnou and Červený Dvůr, the Archbishopric's summer residence, Bon Repos Chateau, Trója Chateau (Fig. 2),<sup>3</sup> or the Benedictine monastery in Břevnov where Bohemian painter Antonín Tvořila completed the painting of a Chinese salon in the impressive exotic style in 1787 (Fig. 3).

The provincial aristocracy of Bohemia and Moravia also began to show greater interest in landscaping in the 1770s, which gave rise to newly designed chateau gardens and large parks, many of which still exist. Here, too, conspicuous exotic elements, such as Chinese pavilions, pagodas and the like, can be found. The fashion of English-Chinese gardens influenced the Czech Lands, too. This deeper wave of curiosity about the Orient can be identified in the rococo period, i.e. from the early 1760s. The trend was reflected not only in an interest in landscaping executed in varying proximity to aristocratic residences, but also in the decoration of certain Oriental-style interiors – chinoiserie-adorned salons with a playful rococo flair. Landscape architecture was undoubtedly influenced by the same sources as in Western Europe, namely the work of William Chambers, designer of the well-known Kew Garden near London, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* published in 1772, or *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils* published in 1757. Compiled by Charles Louis Le Rouge in 1773–1778, the book *Jardins anglo-chinois*, consisting of 21 volumes and describing the best-known gardens of the time, was another major source of knowledge and inspiration. A key text used in the region of the Habsburg monarchy was the five-volume book *Theorie der Gartenkunst*. Published in 1779–1785 in Leipzig, it undoubtedly served as a source of inspiration for many garden designers.<sup>4</sup>

Several rare parks designed in Bohemia and Moravia in this period testify to their owners' great interest in sophisticated and romantic arrangements that included occasional pavilions and other similar structures. Just such a garden was designed for the property of Count Jan Rudolf Chotek in Veltrusy. His interest in exotic themes is documented not only by the fact that he added an Oriental salon decorated with original Chinese wallpaper to his sum-

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Oriental salons at Trója Chateau were dealt with in detail by, among others, Lucie Olivová, "Čínské salony na zámku Trója", in: *Cizí, jiné, exotické v české kultuře 19. století*, Praha 2008, pp. 93–108.

<sup>4</sup> The existence of these publications in the chateau libraries show that they were used to shape the Bohemian and Moravian chateau gardens.

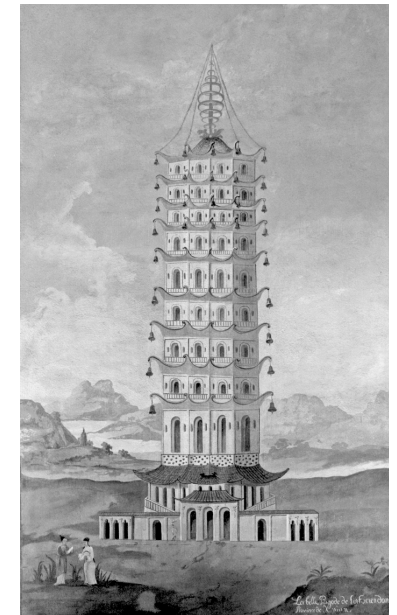


Fig. 2. Unknown painter. Oriental room at Trója chateau, Prague (detail). Late 18th Century.



Fig. 3. Antonín Tuvora. A Chinese salon at the Benedictine monastery at Břevnov, Prague (detail). Dated 1787.



Fig. 4. Unknown architect. A Chinese pavilion, Vlašim. Ca. 1775.

mer residence in the late 18th century, but also that he amassed many Oriental wares of different provenances there. He had the Veltrusy Chateau complex surrounded by a vast park with many pavilions in the classicist style, but also a Chinese pheasantry founded in 1792–1796 designed to breed golden partridges and lavishly decorated with painted chinoiserie and carved parrot heads. Noblemen could also rest in a parasol-shaped Chinese “umbrella” pavilion whose precise form is only known to us from older descriptions. The park was also interwoven with navigable Vltava River boating canals and furnished with statues of Egyptian sphinxes and structures in the classical Greek and romantic styles.<sup>5</sup>

The romantic landscape park in Vlašim founded by the Auersperg family in 1771 is even older. It includes a bizarre Chinese pavilion structure dating from the 1770s, an addition to the other romantic buildings (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> The chateau park in Krásný Dvůr is of a similar character – a Chinese pavilion with an artificial lake and waterfall were added in 1797. The many other accompanying structures included an obelisk, a small classical Greek temple, a Gothicizing temple etc.<sup>7</sup>

The Oriental-style paintings of the summer pavilion of the Mitrovský family in Brno (Fig. 5) and the Oriental pavilion at Pernštejn Castle were completed in the 1780s. The same unknown master – perhaps from the circle of Josef Winterhaleder the Younger or Václav and Josef Waitzmann – decorated these two structures with unique vistas of landscapes modeled on graphic sheets reminiscent of the garden of Marshal Franz Moritz von Lacy of Neuwaldegg.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the Chinese Pavilion in Zdislavice and pavilions of Kroměříž and Vranov nad Dyjí Chateaux and, at

the turn of the 18th and 19th century, the interesting Chinese pavilion in the English garden of Jinošov Chateau etc. were erected. However, many of these

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Wenig, *Veltrusy, park a zámek*, Praha 1917.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Zahrady a parky v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Praha 1999, pp. 418–420. A set of lithographs of V. Berger after models by Antonín Pucherna dated from 1802–1805 is an interesting contemporary document of the park's arrangement.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171–173.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Tomáš Jeřábek, Jiří Kroupa, *Brněnské paláce. Stavby duchovní a světské aristokracie v raném novověku*, Brno 2005.

structures did not last long due to the building material used, and their appearance is known only from contemporary illustrations or designs.<sup>9</sup>

The foundation of a park in the Lednice-Valtice Chateau complex by Alois Josef I of Liechtenstein in 1786 was a major landscaping undertaking. Its owner sought to create an extraordinary park in the English-Chinese style, the likes of which no one had ever seen. Although original expectations for the park had to be lowered considerably, it does present a landscape quite unique in central Europe. Architects Isidore Canevalle, Josef Meissl and, especially, his nephew Josef Hardtmunth, the park's designers, also designed a romantic English garden with classical Greek and Oriental elements, including a minaret, which literally rises from the swamps on a foundation of more than 200 oak pillars. The architects also designed a richly adorned Chinese pavilion dating from 1795 (Fig. 6), whose interior decoration of Chinese Canton-style paintings had allegedly been transferred to Bohemia from Versailles by Cardinal Polignac during the French Revolution. While most of the garden architecture has survived, the small Chinese temple was torn down in the late 19th century, and it is no longer clear what the pavilion interior looked like. Besides paintings, however, it was most likely adorned with the lacquer panels of European provenance that were later framed in the neo-Gothic style and transferred to the nearby chateau, where they can still be seen today.<sup>10</sup>

In the early 19th century, aristocrats and burghers alike built several more Oriental-style structures in small gardens in Bohemia. These included a pavilion at the Bulovka homestead in Prague or the now-gone pavilions in the Kanálka Garden or Prague's Bubeneč quarter. The most interesting example of early-19th-century Orientalism, however, is a pavilion in the Cibulka homestead garden; the exotic structure built on a rock became a dominating element overlooking Prague's Košíře quar-



Fig. 5. Unknown painter. Decoration of the Summer pavilion of the Mitrovský family, Brno. Ca. 1780s.



Fig. 6. J. Ziegler. The Chinese pavilion built by Josef Hardtmunth at the Lednice chateau at 1795. Copper engraving ca. 1800s.



Fig. 7. Cup and saucer decorated with oriental motifs. Hyalite glass. Stříbrný vrch glassworks. 1820s.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Pavel Zatloukal, *Příběhy z dlouhého století, architektura let 1750–1918 na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Olomouc 2002, p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> See further for details about the Lednice-Valtice premises, cf. Pavel Zatloukal, *Příběhy z dlouhého století, architektura let 1750–1918 na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Olomouc 2002, pp. 47–59.

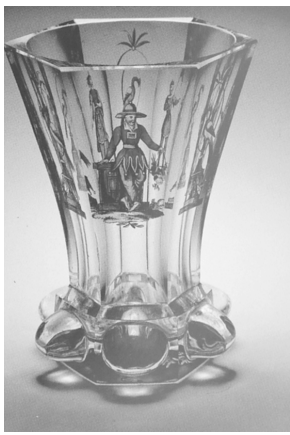


Fig. 8. Friedrich Egermann. Goblet with Oriental motifs. Cut crystal glass. Bor near Česká Lípa. 1830s.



Fig. 9. Ink pot. Porcelain with cobalt and enamel decoration. Loket porcelain manufactory. 1832.

inspiration from the decoration of Japanese lacquerware, which had been imported to Europe in its greatest amounts around 1700.

ter. Several sculptural elements complemented its Oriental appearance. The gradual simplification of designs led to a certain degeneration of the structures' morphology, or to a certain formal simplification of English park designs in this period, when designers were tending toward a formalist style.

The decoration of Liběchov Chateau in central Bohemia is another interesting example of the period's enchantment with the Orient. Its owner Antonín Veit, a wealthy entrepreneur, Enlightenment adherent and patron of the arts, had Josef Navrátil decorate the chateau's ground floor in the Chinese style. The artist referred to contemporary literature and painted the wall panels after graphic models by Thomas Allom, with motifs of a market in a Chinese port, a lantern parade and opium smokers.<sup>11</sup>

The next part of my paper will focus on two typical products of Czech artistic crafts – glass and porcelain. While interest in Oriental forms focused on architectural elements and painted decoration in the late 18th century and was not reflected in Bohemia's decorative arts, the situation began to change rapidly after 1800 and new impulses in ceramics and glass decoration appeared. This change could have been brought about by the old-new taste for Japanese lacquerware decorated with gold ornaments on a black background, which had influenced the production of the Vienna-based porcelain maker Sorgenthal in the 1780s. At that time, factory-produced porcelain wares were decorated in black glaze and painting in gold employing exotic and Chinese-style motifs. However, such decoration was not often used for porcelain or stoneware in the Czech milieu. Nevertheless, as early as 1817 and after many tests, Count Georg Buquoy invented lustrous black and later also red non-transparent glass, which at first glance was no different from older Viennese porcelain. The glass that he called hyalite was produced in the glassworks in Jiříkovo Údolí and Stříbrný Vrch and its production copied the older Viennese porcelain wares right down the chinoiserie motif. (Fig. 7).<sup>12</sup> This shaded decoration of flat landscapes with pagodas, pavilions, flying butterflies and contours of Oriental figures set amid fantastic flora drew much of its

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Anna Masaryková, *Zámek Liběchov*, Praha no. dated.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Olga Drahotová et al., *Historie sklářské výroby v českých zemích*, Praha 2005, p. 288 and further.

Nevertheless, lacquerware was actually on the list of commodities imported from the Far East at the time hyalite glass was invented. To a certain extent, its decoration could be compared with older products; similar motifs with figural staffage in a wild exotic landscape with rocks and phoenixes painted in gold were employed to adorn polygonal rococo glasses produced by the Novosvětské Glassworks near Harrachov around 1770. Hyalite production was such a commercial success that other glassworks followed Buquoy's example. These included some of the best-known ones such as those in Nový Svět in the Krkonoše Mountains or J. Zich in Schwarzaau in Lower Austria. Their products also imitated the shapes of Viennese porcelain – goblets, cups and saucers, and ewers were most frequently made. Colorful hyalite was an excellent article to sell throughout the 1830s and its popularity only waned with the ascent of Biedermeier in the 1840s.

In the 1830s, exotic patterns were not only used in black or red hyalite. Cut crystal glass painted in transparent enamels often bore Eastern-style or Eastern-themed decoration, i.e. in the production of Friedrich Egermann in Bor near Česká Lípa, who seemed to draw inspiration from older porcelains (Fig. 8). Such Oriental-style painted motifs remained marginal, however, and were never produced on a mass scale. They were purchased not only by the nobility, but often by rich burghers, too, for whom the wares became more readily available owing to reduced production costs.<sup>13</sup> Products of the Klášterský Mlýn glass works, which began to produce several Japanese inspired patterns in the 1880s, are another example. They reflect the Japanese influence on Czech arts and crafts after the World Exhibitions in Paris in 1867 and Vienna in 1873.<sup>14</sup>

A survey of interest in Oriental themes in the decorative arts of the first half of the 19th century should include a mention of Bohemian porcelain decoration.<sup>15</sup> In the early 19th century, a number of new porcelain works was founded, particularly in West Bohemia, and their early production conspicuously imitated Saxon and Thuringian models, in which East Asian archetypes could easily be found. These inauspicious beginnings were followed by a notable surge in curiosity about Oriental themes in the early

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278–314.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>15</sup> See further for details about the Oriental influence in decoration of Bohemian stoneware and porcelain: Filip Suchomel, *Odrazy Orientu na českém porcelánu a kamenině*, *Art and Antiques* 4/2005, pp. 108–114.



Fig. 10. Flute vase. Porcelain with cobalt decoration. Loket porcelain manufactory. Ca. 1836.



Fig. 11. Tray with Chinese acrobats. Porcelain with enamel decoration. Rybáře porcelain manufactory. 1860s.



Fig. 12. Dejeuner set. Porcelain with enamel decoration. Klášterec nad Ohří porcelain manufactory. 1850s.



Fig. 13. Unknown architect. Japanese triple-spire pavilion. Rybáře. 1886

1830s, which continued on and off until the 1850s. The most interesting imitations of Chinese and Japanese (Oriental) porcelains were created in this period of some 30 years, as were original variations on Oriental themes. Artists worked with these motifs according to contemporary ideas about distant lands. These tendencies were most noticeably manifest in the porcelain factory in Loket, which – under the leadership of the Haidinger brothers – became the most progressive factory in this style. The first products of this type were made around 1832, their themes mainly drawing inspiration from Japanese and Chinese porcelain in the Imari style, or the Chinese Imari, i.e. porcelain decorated in underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze enamels and gold, as can be seen in the small round box – perhaps an ink pot – owned by the Moravian Gallery in Brno. Bands with landscapes and pagodas covering its surface are complemented by details of Japanese and Chinese flowers (Fig. 9). To enhance the exotic flair, the makers also adopted the shapes of their wares; flute vases whose decoration reflected the artist's familiarity with the 18th-century originals based on genuine Far Eastern traditions were especially popular. The painters employed patterns with unfamiliar exotic flowers, but modified their color and shape (Fig. 10).

The porcelain set decorated in underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze red enamel and gold was produced in this period in colors common in the Imari wares supplied to the European market by Dutch traders from their producers in Arita in the northwest of Kyushu Island. A little later, the first printed patterns with motifs of Chinese

landscapes with pavilions, bent bridges and Chinese staffage were employed, as can be seen in the oval dish with lobed edges and printed chinoiserie decoration on a turquoise background with added painted detail. The garden pavilion motif with Oriental elements suggests the persisting interest in such structures in gardens surrounding the rural and urban residences of Central European aristocrats. In this case, the inspiration came from similar porcelains made by other factories in Germany, particularly Thuringia or Dresden.

The exotic motifs soon reached beyond the activity of a single porcelain factory, spilling over to the production of neighboring ones. The 1836 production range of the oldest Bohemian porcelain factory in Horní Slavkov even included a ware derived from Chinese *wan* rice bowls with lids, but with an added saucer. This type of ware seemed to be designed for serving soup, made easier with the addition of two handles. Openwork and lobing were another interesting addition designed to enhance the exotic decoration depicting two Chinese men and Oriental rulers. The most widespread Japanese-style decoration at the turn of the 1840s and 1850s was made in Klášterec nad Ohří, where new series of

meal service, coffee and tea sets employing “modern French forms” were produced under the factory's new director Karel Venier. In 1850, the factory made a large tea and coffee set with distinct hexagonal pots and cups for tea, coffee and chocolate with ornamentation in the Second Rococo style. For the decoration, the designers used asymmetrical compositions adopted from Japanese Imari porcelain with an outlined chrysanthemum rosette placed eccentrically toward the bottom of the pot. Porcelain decorated in this pattern was an immense commercial success, and was soon emulated by other porcelain factories in Loket and later in Slavkov, Doubi and Dolní Chodov.

Some porcelain factories used decoration representing exotic-looking figures in a landscape with bizarre flora and architecture, such as the porcelain tray made by the small factory of Karel Knoll in Rybáře near Karlovy Vary. Its decoration consists of loosely arranged scenes of Chinese figures standing by a kettle, or perhaps an incense burner, in a landscape with an Oriental-style structure in the background, and with Chinese acrobats, servants and a uniquely-designed insect with outlined character script (Fig. 11). The wooden structure of the so-called Porcelain Pavilion, decorated inside and out with fantastic floral scenes, is an interesting feature of this factory. The triple-spire pavilion, built in 1886 and torn down after 1953, was erected near the factory buildings on the island by Mlýnský Lake, which was fed by the Rolava River. The pavilion attracted public attention and was also used as a restaurant with a popular café (Fig. 13).

Oriental roots can also be traced in some patterns adopted in the 1850s for the decoration of Meissen porcelain, as can be seen in the *déjeuner* set with a cherry tree motif based on an original Chinese model, which was made in the manufactory in Klášterec nad Ohří (Fig. 12). Nevertheless, exotic motifs were gradually replaced with historicizing elements and interest in the Orient faded in this period.

This was the end of an era, in which the decoration of Bohemian artistic crafts was affected by certain archaisms and the inclusion of Oriental decoration in workshop production was heavily influenced by contemporary romanticism. Artists had no opportunity to see the original Asian wares that could reveal the true variety of Asian forms and patterns. This situation did not change until the World Exhibitions that became a major phenomenon in the second half of the 19th century, paving the way to discover the true richness of Far Eastern cultures. That, however, is a different chapter.

Markéta Hánová

**JAPONISME IN THE CZECH VISUAL ARTS –  
AN IDIOM OF MODERNITY  
(at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)**

The frenzy to collect Japanese art among aristocracy in the Czech lands had first emerged way back in the Baroque and Rococo periods relating to the décor of the *Kunstkammer* cabinets of aristocratic households. However, the craze for the things Japanese came out in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with Japanese art displays at the World Fairs in major European capitals. The fondness for Japanese articles quickened not only a new demand for Japanese art but also fashionable imitations of original Japanese art objects, the

so-called *Japonaiseries*, with the purpose of improving the aesthetic quality and craftsmanship of artefacts. In the Czech lands (which were part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) there were many exhibitions of Japanese art launched shortly after the famous London World Fair in 1862 with a special Japanese art display.

Within the context of Japonisme in Central Europe, the perception of Japanese aesthetics and artistic techniques were withdrawn importantly not only at the international fairs but also at the local exhibitions of Japanese art from state and private collections which brought a direct effect to artistic inspiration. The very first impact of Japanese art could be traced in the arts and crafts with the intention to achieve the same product as to a superior quality of workmanship and design of a Japanese original. These *Japonaiseries* entered chiefly in the art of glasswork. In the 1880–90s the glass production in Nový Bor (Haida) and Kamenický Šenov (Steinschönau) in North Bohemia region was inspired by the Japanese shapes and motifs designed after, for example, patterns of paper stencils *katagami* [Fig. 1]. Needless to say that the popularity of *Japoniserie* was not achieved merely in the art of craft (besides the glasswork also ceramics), but also entered into painting and graphic art.

The most influential venue for direct inspiration by Japanese art was Paris with a quality demanding Japanese art market and exhibitions. Japonisme that derived from the principles of Japan's native art and aesthetic instigated innovative creative approaches to works of art, thus becoming a source of modern artistic expression in French avant-garde movements.

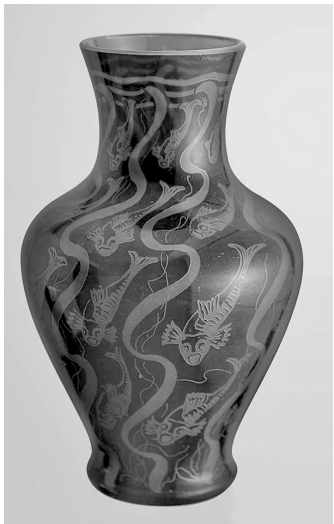


Fig. 1. Carl Goldberg Co., Haida (Nový Bor), Vase decorated with a carp motif, late 19th century, Red-stained glass with etched design, h. 17 cm, Glass Museum in Nový Bor

It is an undisputable fact that Japonisme emerged as one of the chief sources for modern European visual art. Within the milieu of Central Europe Japonisme had come to the forefront in the Czech lands with the onset of the Art Nouveau movement in the 1890s, and was intermediated by the young generation of fine artists seeking a modern expression in art. The younger generation of artists opposed the academic treatment of national historical issues which had shaped Czech art in the second half of the 19th century. As a result, the artistic break from perceiving reality through a mimetic form of representation witnessed a remarkable change. One of the revolutionary influences derived from Japanese forms of artistic expression, with its decorativeness, brushwork, rhythmic ornamentation, types of composition and motifs all offering some modern approaches to the arts of painting, graphics and design. Czech artists residing in or even just visiting Paris absorbed Japonisme through French art, while at the same time Japanese aesthetics could have been seen at various local exhibitions of Japanese art which took place after the World Exposition in London in 1862. Besides art holdings in museum-type institutions, sales exhibitions were of considerable importance as well. Such exhibitions showing art objects of Asian provenance was generally governed by commercial interests. Handcrafted objects mostly of Far Eastern origin were offered for sale at various industry and trade fairs, and through privately-owned shops. The traveller Josef Kořenský succinctly characterized the domestic market in Asian wares as follows: “[...] The founder of the museum (Náprstek) was among the first to have been instrumental in establishing ethnographic collections. There were times when works by Japanese artists could be seen in Prague only in the Náprstek museum, the Museum of Decorative Arts founded in 1885 and in Staněk's memorable shop“. Vilém Staněk (1853–1893) was perhaps the best-known importer and dealer in Chinese and Japanese wares. His firm *Maison Staněk* was located on Vladislavova Street in Prague. Staněk organized two sales exhibitions (1884 and 1887) in his shop on Ferdinandova Street (now Národní Street) and in his huge warehouses on Vladislavova Street, a fact attested to by a number of advertisement photographs and a poster. His brother Emanuel Staněk (1862–1920) went to study in Paris at the time and reflected some Japanese inspirations in his posters for *Maison Staněk*. Needless to say that the social craze for all things Japanese, or so-called *Japoniserie* stimulated altogether with literature the poetic cult of Japan.

Japonisme had come to the forefront in the Czech lands with the onset of the Art Nouveau movement in the 1890s, and was intermediated by the young generation of fine artists seeking a modern expression in art. The emergence of Czech Modernism in the 1890s whetted the appetite to learn about non-Western cultures as sources of inspiration, particularly for imaginative artistic creativity. Czech modern art's essential feature was its quest for a spiritual ideal that would defy the era's reality and its positivist perspective. In the visual arts, the sphere of dreamlike imagination was a spiritual asylum from the traditional, veristic world view, opening up long-gone and exotic events and realms. Whereas previous generations of Czech artists had leant on their historical and national roots and their naturalistic visions of reality had grown from those roots, the young avant-garde fled from reality into the realm of fantasy. Czech modern artists

sought to achieve a spiritual ideal that went beyond a traditional way of viewing reality. Moreover, they strived for an artistic freedom and identity which directed them towards the world of the imagination. Fantasy was an escape from reality which was bound by academic limits and the institutional system governed by the Austrian monarchy. In words of the Czech writer Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic: “*Exoticism was motivated by the Czech reality. It is an exclamation and an escape from the grievousness of the outer world which one is sick of*”.

The Japanese influence in Czech fine arts cannot be regarded as a compact style, but rather as individual elements of Japanese art that were adopted by various art movements of the *fin de siècle*, whose purpose was to find creative originality in art, be it Post-Impressionism, Art Nouveau, Sublime Lyricism, Symbolism or the Decorative Style. Even though Czech art reflected some aspects of Japanese iconography or composition in the 1880s and 1890s, it was still rooted more or less in academic figurative representation. The younger generation of artists centred around the Artistic Association Mánes (founded in 1887) sought to secede from the academic imitation of past masterpieces. Even if the French avant-garde provided a major inspiration, Czech artists focused not only on modern style but also on individual means of expression, avoiding any conventions.

Therefore which elements of Japonisme entered Czech modern art? Needless to say, Czech art reflected several influences from foreign art, which it approached in essentially simultaneous ways. Czech artists were however aware of the innovative power of Japanese culture which had driven European art towards modernity and this tendency was also described in several articles. So far as we know the very first qualified explication of “Japonisme and its influence on European art” was outlined by the art historian František Xaver Jiřík (1867–1947), then an assistant to the Museum of Decorative Arts, in a lecture in 1899, which was subsequently published a year later. Yet his colleague Karel Boromejský Mádl (1859–1932) was then for many years the only scholar who discussed the innovative tendencies including Japonisme in art in his published works and drew attention to the main principles reflecting the decorative tendency of Czech modern painting, which he argued “*spring from Japanese kakemono, makimono or woodcut prints*”. He summoned up the most influential principles, such as the vertical pillar-like shape of *kakemono*, asymmetrical composition and the use of decorative forms. Japanese tendencies in art were reflected not only by art historians but also new generation of Czech artists associated in Mánes who took over the perspective of French avant-garde. Among Czech artists who made remarks on Japanese features in local art was the painter Václav Špála (1885–1946). He emphasized “*a fragmentary feature [...] which appears in modern art in illustration and posters by means of focusing on detail and asymmetrical composition*” (*Volně směry*, 1913, p. 84). There is an example of a pillar-like advertising poster for the magazine *Sport* designed by Karel Šimůnek in 1899.

The interest of Czech modern artists in Japanese original art is documented for example by their intention to prepare an exhibition in Mánes in 1905, which finally failed due to a money shortage. However, Japanese woodcut prints from private collections had already been displayed in public during previous years, backed up by artistic motivations. This is exemplified by the show of the collec-

tion of the Prague-born painter and graphic artist Emil Orlik in 1901. Certainly, Japanese art was available on the local art market, mostly through Oriental art shops in Prague such as the Maison Staněk. These provided a wide source of inspiration for artists seeking to learn Japanese aesthetic principles from primary sources and not by means of mere reproductions.

While the first generation of the Mánes artists appealed to the decorative pattern in the arts of painting, graphics and design, younger artists revolted more in terms of applying the reduction of forms. The first group adapted some motifs from Japanese-style patterns such as the “dead look” of a cresting sea wave in the famous Hokusai composition. The cresting wave in Hokusai’s famous print of „The Great Wave off Kanagawa“ became a well known icon of Japanese visual art, which was widely paraphrased. In the late 1890s Czech modernist art has found its platform in the artistic group of Mánes (established in 1887) with its young artists including Arnošt Hofbauer (1869–1944). He was the author of the first exhibition posters launched at the Mánes group revolting artistic shows at the Topič Salon Gallery from 1898. The young avant-garde artists accepted promulgating inspirations from modern European artistic streams, yet the strongest influence flew directly from Paris where many of the Czech modernists went for a study. So did Hofbauer in 1900 when he started to study

the newest trends in the world of print with an intention to find his place in France as a poster designer. He thus studied with famous French graphic artists such as Florian and especially a lover and collector of Japanese woodcuts Henri Rivière. Hofbauer also visited the 1900 Paris World’s Fair to attain a vivid experience with Japanese woodcut prints as well as original pieces of Hokusai and Kōrin prints. Hofbauer paid special attention to Japanese woodcuts sold at the domestic market (mainly via Maison Staněk) even prior to his trip and created a visually paraphrased Hokusai’s Wave for the *Poster of the Second Annual Exhibition of the Mánes Association* in 1899 [Fig. 2]. Even though the image of a frozen wave (side-reversed) could be read in a context of Japonisme as a striking influence of Japanese art on modern art in the West, Hofbauer put it in a different symbolic narrative: the rough sea meant an ordinary art where a man could have drowned, had he not caught a life belt from a boat. The rescue boat symbolizing “Art” has two labels in the front with two letters “S” and “M” standing for abbreviated capitals for the “Spolek Mánes” (Mánes Association) and its flag bears the name of the gallery launching modern art exhibitions. Thus the Mánes artistic society under the auspices of the Topič Salon could only save a modern artist from the sweeping wave of conventional art considered a lifeless stream. However, it is interesting that in Hofbauer’s interpretation Hokusai’s towering wave focuses

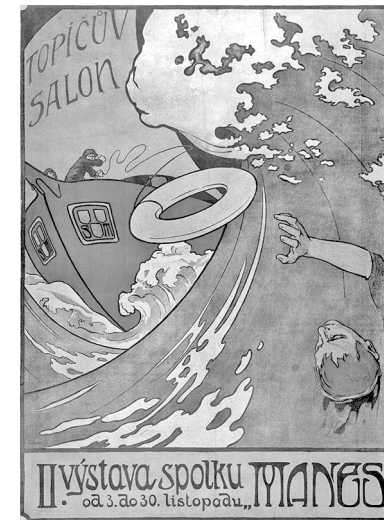


Fig. 2 Arnošt Hofbauer, Poster for the Second Annual Exhibition of the Mánes Association, 1899, colour lithograph, 110 × 84 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague

on a culminated force, which evokes the surviving dangerous power of the conservative art circles capable of sweeping any unconventional pattern of thinking and form away. And we thus witness a serious fight for survival.

The popularity of Hokusai's re-worked pattern can be traced even later in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the graphic works of Wenzel Hablik or in a watercolour by František Kupka, and even in the design of a glass vase by Adolf Beckert made at the Loetz factory in South Bohemia. Needless to say, the wave was depicted with regard to its decorative effect rather than symbolic message.

As we may observe, Japanese patterns entered into various artistic media, including the design of three-dimensional objects. Already by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the glass production of the Haida region in Northern Bohemia adapted designs known from Japanese stencils (*katagami*) such as frolicking carp (mentioned above). Stencil designs and Rimpa floral motifs were reflected in the ceramic art of the female artist Anna Boudová-Sucharďová [Fig. 3] who introduced her pieces around 1900, when the popularity of the floral motifs of Art Nouveau reached its peak in the Czech lands. She was akin to perceiving the Japanese way of compositional framing, which focuses on one magnified detail within a natural setting. Her floral fragments of irises recall the decorative patterns of Rimpa style or *katagami*.

We should also mention that a new platform for modern art of the time was promoted by the emergence of artistic magazines, including the one of the Mánes group entitled *Volně směry* (Free Tendencies). In the Czech lands, the technique of Japanese woodblock printing influenced book and magazine illustration, and this was most effectively shown from 1896 onwards in *Volně směry* art magazine. *Volně směry* responded progressively to modern graphic art, providing a platform for its reproduction. For example, Vladimír Županský's (1869–1928) *Volně směry* (1897) magazine cover is a restatement of Kōrin's irises, rendered in a three-part pictorial frame. In 1908, this art review published the first comprehensive article on Japanese woodblock prints, penned by Hofbauer. Sigismund Bouška (1867–1942), the country's most erudite connoisseur and collector of Japanese prints of the time, evaluated the text as a fine piece of writing, but observed that the author "had drawn chiefly from Seidlitz's work, that had been published in the meantime in a second, revised and extended edition."

It was actually Sigismund Bouška himself who gave the local public their chance to appreciate the first exhibition of Japanese prints in Bohemia. The fact that the event did not escape the notice of the Czech modern artists' circle is

a testament to its significance. Two artists – both painters – critiqued the display: Vincenc Beneš (1883–1979) in *Umělecký měsíčník* (The Art Monthly), the organ of the Group of Fine Artists, and Václav Špála in *Volně směry*. Špála



Fig. 3 Anna Boudová-Sucharďová, A tall, cylindrical vase with an iris design, ca. 1900, White-glazed maiolica, h. 59 cm, signed: AB, Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague

welcomed the exhibition as a presentation of a small, yet distinctive sample of Japanese art that had influenced European art. He pointed out the basic characteristics of Japanese art, saying that it brought into the fields of book illustration and poster production a new "[...] appreciation of the picture cutting-out, and especially a new decorative sensibility, a new sense of space arrangement and the asymmetrical and unrestrained accentuation [...] of unconventional details from nature." Beneš, for his part, underscored the decorative aspect of Japanese art. Compared to Chinese painting, it assumed a handcrafted character through the introduction of the woodblock print and "the complete relinquishment of painting".

While in the first years of the existence of the Secessionist *Mánes* Society of Fine Artists (founded in the spring of 1887) Japanese inspirations were reflected mainly in terms of motifs such as the Hofbauer's frozen wave at the *Poster for the Second Annual Exhibition of the Mánes Association* (1898), Japonisme in the 1910s embraced already the decorative elements of composition, colors and forms in the arts of painting and graphics.

Yet, the younger generation of modern artists appealed much to compositional principles and reduction of forms. The device of focusing on detail became one of the most influential features in landscape compositions, recalling the Japanese transparent perspective of drawing the gaze towards a low horizon by means of a suspended fragment. Such examples could be found in the work of the graphic designer Vojtěch Preissig (1873–1944) which were mostly collected in his album "Coloured Etchings" dating to 1906 and exhibited first in the Topič Salon in Prague two years later. On this occasion, Preissig designed a poster with a geometric plant enlarged in a square. Its emblematic form is accentuated by a white surface and a centred composition which provides room for the artist's monogram, evoking a Japanese seal. The same principle of composition is reflected in a Preissig-designed *ex libris*.

We may suppose that Japanese landscape compositions derived from Hiroshige's and Hokusai's landscapes became popular in Paris around the middle of the 1870s. Czech artists who were close to Parisian artistic life ("Czech Parisians") came across Japanese woodcuts, which some of them also collected. Preissig went to Paris in 1898 to work with Alfons Mucha, remaining for five years. In his work we may discern another decorative pattern known from Japanese woodcuts: use of a grilled foreground. Preissig designed his view of the Prague castle with a compositional device similar to one seen in Japanese prints. In another Pressing etching the grill entered in a rhythmic ornament, which is reflected in a horizontal strip of a stream. The setting of the detail with an enlarged natural fragment in the fore found its interpretation in some etchings of the Czech artist Tavík František Šimon who worked for a few years in Paris. He was attracted to the Japanese landscape as executed by his favourite Japanese masters, which finally took him to Japan in 1926. His prints were usually marked with a seal reminiscent of a Japanese character.

Similarly, a screen made of diagonal lines indicating rain was adapted from Hiroshige by artists such as Walther Klemm. We should not ignore the German and Jewish communities which formed part of the cultural life in Prague and other cities in Bohemia. Klemm was born in Karlsbad in western Bohemia



and belonged to the German-speaking community of Prague. He was influenced in part by his teacher, the German-speaking artist Emil Orlik, who had studied Japanese woodcut technique in Japan between 1900–1901 and worked in Prague after his arrival on his album “Aus Japan”. In October 1902 Orlik opened an exhibition of Japanese art objects including ukiyo-e in Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague. He stimulated artists living in Prague to take up Japanese woodcut technique as well as the decorative pattern of forms and new compositional elements such as the diagonal arrangement, which influenced his student Carl Thiemann. We may even trace the diagonal detail of a mirror with a double exposure of the actress Hana Kvapilova in a poster designed by Arnošt Hofbauer, who paraphrased a print from the series *Seven Women Applying Make-up Using a Mirror* by Utamaro. Even Emil Orlik, a master of graphic techniques, created an oil painting “Eden” which quotes from the landscape composition of Hiroshige’s view on Kai from the series *Famous Places in the Sixty-odd Provinces*. Orlik also painted a standing nude surrounded by Japanese objects composed in *kakemono* format and applying asymmetry and empty space.



Fig. 4 Vojtěch Preissig, Snow-Covered Trees, undated (1920s), Aquatint, 14.7 × 11.5 cm, National Gallery in Prague.  
© 2012 Národní galerie v Praze

Graphic design welcomed the tendency towards simplified natural forms, achieved by means of arabesque used mainly for dividing space. We know this stylistic device from Japanese painting, which applies a solid monochrome band of clouds in order to build a decorative frame. Hokusai translated such arabesques into cherry trees in blossom in woodcut technique. Vojtěch Preissig, for instance, mastered the intricate arabesque decorative patterns of trees in blossom or a snow-covered surface in his aquatint etchings: detailed visual depiction is eliminated and abstract, graphic abbreviations take their place. The *Snow-covered Trees* etching exemplifies how the use of “empty space” and the arabesque pictorial principle blend formal elements into a compact surface [Fig. 4]. These forms represented, for example, by bands of clouds or trees were used in the Japanese ink paintings of the expressive literati tradition which excelled in the *nōtan* technique of stylizing forms into large areas of plain, pure colour.

Interestingly, Preissig was surely aware of this technique which was introduced in *Composition: A Series of Exercises Selected from a New System of Art Education* (1899) by his colleague and friend – an American painter Arthur Wesley Dow (1857–1922) – to his students in Columbia University in N.Y.C. Preissig later taught at the School of Printing and Graphic Arts in Boston and at the Wentworth Institute.

The tendency to abstract forms of expression introduced monochrome silhouette derived from the shadow outlines of figures shining through a Japanese sliding door, *shōji*. This reflects the aesthetic attitude of the Japanese to ex-

press an impression with a visual implication. This type of mysterious feeling is evoked by the print “A Night Mood in Japan” from Orlik’s album *Aus Japan*. Jaroslav Benda found similar inspiration in a silhouette drawing which was used for the design of the cover for Joe Hloucha’s bestseller “Sakura in a Windstorm” from 1905. He combined this with a decorative focus on sakura blossoms.

The art of book illustration provided a wide platform for adapting Japonisme in literature. The most famous Czech writer of fiction about Japan was Joe Hloucha. Besides his most popular book “Sakura in a Windstorm” mentioned above, he also wrote the book “Kisses of Death” which was illustrated by Otakar Štáfl in 1913. The illustrator adapted a Japanese family crest *kamon mokkō* to frame Japanese pictorial motifs inseting them with “Japanese-style” ink drawings. A strong inspiration came also from the *katagami*, which was used not only on a kimono pattern in Štáfl’s illustrations in the afore-mentioned book but also on the jacket design for the book “A Japanese Tale About Two Old Men” by the Czech writer and diplomat Jan Havlasa published in 1919. Here the *jishiro* type of *katagami* was employed, combining archaic characters in a black square (meaning “wishes of long life”) with blossoms of peony. There are many similar stencils featuring a geometric pattern of flowers and Chinese characters on a black-and-white chessboard.

All in all, Japonisme was stimulated not only by literature but also by collectors of Japanese art who organized exhibitions. Among the most remarkable lovers of Japanese art were Padre Sigismund Bouška (1867–1942) and Joe Hloucha. Both were major figures who promoted the awareness of Japanese art in the Czech lands and showed their interest in it also in their work. Bouška became a distinguished connoisseur of Japanese woodblock prints who exhibited his splendid collection in Prague and Brno in 1913. The “Japanese Prints” exhibition, held in Prague and Brno in 1913, was a veritable milestone in the early stage of scholarly pursuits in the field of Japanese woodblock prints. Sigismund Bouška, a priest, writer and both the author of the exhibition’s concept and its commissioner, can be credited with pioneering the field in Bohemia. Bouška provided a written commentary for the Prague exhibition and, for its second showing in Brno, he wrote the first catalogue in Czech language devoted to Japanese woodblock printing. This show was promoted with a poster designed by Valentin Hrdlička, with a view of Mount Fuji reflected on a surface through ornamental architecture. This motif became a recognizable Japanese icon, and was based in a figural composition for another poster for a Japanese show two years earlier in 1911 by Jindřich Hlavín. Moreover, the modern art of the poster became closely associated with the promotion of Japanese entertainment.



Fig. 5 Karel Šimunek, Yokohama – Japanese coffeehouse and teahouse, 1909, Poster, lithograph, 110 × 81 cm,  
© Moravian Gallery in Brno

Joe Hloucha along with his brother opened the first Japanese tea house named Yokohama at the Industrial Exhibition in Prague in 1908, in a Japanese architectural style with *kirizuma yane*. Due to its success it was re-opened in the Lucerna Palace in downtown Prague where it operated until 1924. Yokohama offered a Japanese-style interior with waitresses dressed in kimonos as we can see in a poster by Karel Šimůnek from 1919. The owner's name Hloucha is implied by the Japanese characters 保呂宇波 [ho-ro-u(c)ha] added in the upper right side [Fig. 5]. Another Japanese-style establishment inspired by the popular Yokohama tea house was set up in the Sakura Hotel in a northern suburb of Prague called Roztoky in 1926, which was located next to the famous Japanese-style villa of Joe Hloucha. In the hotel there was a wine bar designed as a Japanese interior, with Japanese beauties painted on the walls. Josef Wenig made an advertising poster which promoted the Sakura Hotel with a Japanese girl under sakura, written also in kanji together with a sign "Roztoky" within a vertical frame, reminiscent of the Japanese inscription used in woodcut prints.

We may also find a few paraphrases of Japanese originals which show a vivid interest in Japanese subjects. In the art of bookplates Padre Bouška draw Hotei – one of the Seven Gods of Fortune – for an ex libris of his friend Julius Kurth, a well-known German collector and authority on Japanese woodcuts. Moreover, Bouška paraphrased Hokusai's famous print "Sanka haku'u" in mirror reverse. A humorous paraphrase of an ex libris by Otakar Vaňáč evokes the famous print "Sekidera Komachi" by Suzuki Harunobu. The bookplate was copied from the original apart from a tiny detail: instead of a bucket the woman carries a tray with books.

Finally, the paper shows in a limited number of examples a few basic facts of Japonisme in Czech modern art: firstly that Japanese visual expression primarily influenced graphic art, and secondly that Japonisme retained its exotic aura with a love for things Japanese, remaining vivid along with related literature in the 1920s.

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*Nikolay Aretov*

### ORIENTALISM, OCCIDENTALISM AND THE IMAGE OF THE OTHER IN BALKAN CONTEXT

The idea of the Other is crucial part of the own identity. People imagine the Other in different ways, very often he/she is presented as a dangerous Enemy, like a screen on which we project our own fears and other emotions on it. Mythical thinking, which is alive even nowadays, uses different tools to name and imagine the Other and to master it.

The well-known book of Edward Said introduced in international humanity studies his specific usage of the term Orientalism, with which he designated "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's place in European Western experience", one specific style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident". Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts, concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind", destiny, and so on. *This* Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx.<sup>1</sup>

This was written in the beginning of the work, which finished with a warring:

Above all, I hope to have shown my reader that the answer to Orientalism is not Occidentalism. No former "Oriental" will be conformed by the thought that having been an Oriental himself he is likely – too likely – to study new "Orientals" – or "Occidentals" – on his own making. If the knowledge of Orientalism has any meaning, it is in being a reminder of the seductive degradation of knowledge, of any knowledge, anywhere, at any time. Now perhaps more than before.<sup>2</sup>

Said knew that this was not just a potential threat. Occidentalism not only exists, its effects are extremely pernicious. Ancient mental constructs and psychological trends, realized in different texts – secular and religious, literary, philosophical, journalistic and what ever, lay beneath the terrorists acts.

The "Orient" reacts in a similar way and tries to deal with the problems in its relations with the West by building (analogical?) mental and linguistic constructions. In some cases Occidentalism may turn to positive strategy, as in the book of Hassan Hanafi *Introduction to the science of Occidentalism* (1992).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul., 1978, pp. 1, 2–3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> See also Stein "Tonnesson, Orientalism, Occidentalism and Knowing about Others". Lecture given at the NEWAS workshop in Copenhagen, 14 October 1993 – [http://www.multiworld.org/m\\_iversity/decolonisation/saidres.htm](http://www.multiworld.org/m_iversity/decolonisation/saidres.htm).

The phenomenon of Occidentalism finds its annalists among politicians, journalists<sup>4</sup> and scholars. The earliest theorizing of the term has been at a session at the 1992 meeting of the American Anthropological Society.<sup>5</sup> Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit are the most famous among authors dealing with this term recently. Their book *Occidentalism: the West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* provoked serious debates and became bestseller.<sup>6</sup> (Not in Bulgaria, unfortunately.) Although the two terms (titles of popular books) were constructed in obviously the same manner, the two phenomena are not entirely analogical, and Buruma and Margalit do not refer to Said. It could be disputed if Orientalism is more early (according to Buruma Islamism on which he focused his attention – is modern phenomenon that have its western roots) but for a long period of time it was more powerful and was backed by and realized through in western colonialist institution and western academic researches of the “East”, that are more elaborated than eastern researches of the “West”. Its roots and reasons could be traced in very different mental and spiritual spheres, there common ground is the believe of the own uniqueness and the hostility of the Other. Scholars find some strongholds of the Occidentalism in the reactions against the universalism of the Enlightenment and French revolution, in some variations of Japanese Shintoism, connected with imperial ideology, in pan-ideologies (Pan-Slavism among them), in different variations of fascism, in Stalinism, etc.

Avishai Margalit and Ian Buruma highlight several [four] “features of Occidentalism”:

- hatred of the City and urban civilization, symbolized by the fabled tower of Babylon; of the state and modern civilization with its attributes (literature, films, pop-music, advertisement), denial of the separation between the private and the public domain, commercialism;
- critic of the bourgeois civilization and its commercialism and addiction to safety and comfort and lack of heroism and revolutionary gestures;
- rejection of Bourgeois Reason, rationality and science, opposed to irrational notions such as spirit, race, blood and soil, etc.;
- denial of feminism, seen as giving too much freedom to women.

As a whole this is rejection of modernity which was associated with the West. The result is one absolutely negative image of the West, containing “a set of attributes, such as arrogance, feebleness, greed, depravity, and decadence, which are invoked as typically Western, or even American, characteristics”.

The conclusion of Avishai Margalit and Ian Buruma was:

<sup>4</sup> Some journalists totally disagree with the concept of Occidentalism. See for example Victor Davis Hanson, “Occidentalism. The false West”. – <http://www.nationalreview.com/hanson/hanson051002.asp>.

<sup>5</sup> See *Occidentalism: Images of the West*. Ed. James G. Carrier. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. 269. See also Review by Christopher Alan Perrius (University of Chicago) – Jupert. *A Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, Published by the College of the Humanities and Social Sciences North Carolina State University, 1997, V. 1, # 1. <http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v1i1/perrius.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> Ian Buruma, Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*, The Penguin Press, 2004.

There is no clash of civilizations. Most religions, especially monotheistic ones, have the capacity to harbor the anti-Western poison. And varieties of secular fascism can occur in all cultures.<sup>7</sup>

Although at first glance, the term “Occidentalism” describes a phenomenon similar to Orientalism, there is at least one difference that should be mentioned. It is linked to attitudes towards others. In Orientalism, this attitude is more arrogant and underestimated, while in Occidentalism it seems to be more radically negative. The orientalist wants to ‘civilize’ and to exploit the Orient; the occidentalist is more inclined to condemn the West, and, in its most radical manifestations, to destroy rather than to exploit it.

This is linked to another problem. Occidentalism can be viewed in two ways. In one case, it can be thought of primarily as a response to Western economic, political and cultural expansion, in other – as a specific manifestation of universal form of attitude towards the other. Buruma and Margalit traced the links that connect anti-Western sentiments with western ideological and mental phenomenon. These links can be result of indirectly influence, but may be also typological, effects of similar causes and motives.

\* \* \*

Anti-modern trends in the Balkans has long been observed, they often take the form of opposition to Catholicism (and later against Protestantism), the researchers found their roots in the Byzantine Empire and even during the Great Schism of 1054.<sup>8</sup> This line is continued by the conservative circles around Ecumenical Patriarchate in which Orthodox fundamentalism was forged.<sup>9</sup> Later, this trend was secularized and passed to a comprehensive anti-Europeanism and anti-modernism.<sup>10</sup>

Among Bulgarians, and to some extent among other Balkan Christians, anti-Western sentiment could also be traced back to the Middle Ages, to the time of Tsar Kaloyan of Bulgaria (1197–1207) and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). Later it will turn out that Orthodox and Muslims images of the Crusaders in the Balkans have common features.<sup>11</sup> In the following centuries these attitudes were maintained by the Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. But the modern version of this phenomenon emerged in the nineteenth century, when the main direct sources of foreign occidentalist sentiments were at least two. To the Greek conservative circles joined Russian Pan-Slavism with its institutions, primarily various Slavic committees that had instruments for a serious impact

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Makrides, Vasilios. ‘Le rôle de l’orthodoxie dans la formation de l’antieuropéanisme et antioccidentalisme grecs’, in G. Vincent ; J.-P. Williams (eds). *Religion et transformations de l’Europe. Strasbourg*, 1993.

<sup>9</sup> See Vasilios N. Makrides, ‘Aspects of Greek Orthodox Fundamentalism’, *Orthodoxes Forum* 5 (1991), pp. 49–72.

<sup>10</sup> If. Roumen Daskalov, ‘Ideas About, and Reactions to Modernization in the Balkans’, *East European Quarterly* 31 (1997), pp. 141–180.

<sup>11</sup> See Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington D.C., 2001).

on the Orthodox Church and education. One could also presuppose some kind of direct impact of Western criticism on Western civilization. Relationship between these two or three sources are not identical in different Balkan countries, they are complex and full of internal conflicts.

To develop a trend, it must exist not only some source but also a favorable environment. As a rule, the most fertile ground for similar sentiments is associated with some kind of dynamic development of something new that confuses and raises fears. This may be a new industrial revolution, the modernization of society, the emergence of radically new technologies, etc. Essential element of the response to such drastic changes is the rejection, which may take the form of a demolition of the material bearer of the new in a Luddite's style, a religious fundamentalism and abundance of proposals for retro-utopian refuges. At late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century throughout the Balkans there were both favorable environment, and sources of anti-Western sentiment and anti-modernism. *Mutatis mutandis* this was also trough in subsequent periods, but that in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century (the era of national revival and the construction of the Balkan nationalisms) when current anti-Western sentiments get their modern shape. Unlike similar trends in the Islamic world, anti-European attitudes in the Balkans are not so directly provoked by any action of the West.

The problem of the image of the Other is widely discussed in the Balkans and in Bulgaria in recent decades.<sup>12</sup> This debate came to the question of Orientalism and led part of scholars to the topic of the Occidentalism<sup>13</sup>. The issue of the Orientalism and the Occidentalism can be viewed from different perspectives; one possibility is through the prism of so called „mental mapping” by which communities organize the world according their own ideas, myths, fears, expectations, etc.

<sup>12</sup> On this topic see: Данова, Н. ”Образът на гърците, сърбите, албанците и румънците в българската книжнина“. – В: *Връзки на несъвместимост между християни и мюсюлмани в България*, С.: Фондация Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, б. д., 57–136; Данова, Н. Представата за ”Другия” на Балканите: Образът на гърка в българската книжнина през XV– средата на XIX век. – *Исторически преглед*, 1993, № 6, 6–7; Образът на ”другия” в учебниците по история на балканските страни. С.: Фондация Балкански колежи, 1998; Представата за ”другия” на Балканите, ред. Н. Данова, В. Димова, М. Калицин. С., Акад. Изд. ”проф. М. Дринов”, 1995; *Pride and Prejudice. National Stereotypes in 19th and 20th Century Europe East to West*. Budapest, 1995; *Да мислим ”другото”*. Образи, стереотипи, кризи (18–XX в.), съст. Н. Аретов, С.: Кралица Маб, 2001; *The Image of the “Other”/Neighbour in the School Textbooks of the Balkan Countries*, ed. P. D. Xochellis, F. L. Toloudi. Athens, G. Dardanos, 2001; *Свој и туђ*. Слика другог у балканским и средњоевропским књижевностима, Институт за књижевност и уметност, Београд, 2006; *Въпреки различията: интеркултурни диалози на Балканите*, съст. Н. Аретов. С.: Акад. изд. Проф. М. Дринов, 2008; Заимова, Р. *Пътят към ”другата” Европа. Из френско-османските културни общувания*. С.: Кралица Маб, 2004; Zaïmova, R. 'Etat présent des études d'imagologie et d'identité nationale en Bulgarie'. – In : [www.Cromohs.unifi.it/13\\_2008](http://www.Cromohs.unifi.it/13_2008) = *Etudes balkaniques*, 4, 2007, 97–104.

<sup>13</sup> The introduction of the term 'Occidentalism' is associated with the International Interdisciplinary Conference "Occidentalism or the "images" that the East projects of the West" (2005) – <http://www.bulg18.com/index.php?pageid=12&lang=bg>

Mental mapping<sup>14</sup> of Europe is extremely important issue. Its essence is in drawing lines of separation and defining where the center is and where – the periphery, pinpointing landmarks that determine the co-ordinate system, etc. "Border" regions like Eastern Europe and Balkans present one crucial element of the process of mapping. Concept like *Mittleuropa* (Central Europe)<sup>15</sup> coined in opposition to Eastern Europe and Balkans also deserves the attention of the scholars. What to say about the similarity of different types of periphery, such as Balkans and Scandinavia, or Balkans and Iberian Peninsula that are imagined in a quite distinct manner.

Larry Wolff's important book<sup>16</sup> traced the origin of the concept of Eastern Europe back to the age of Enlightenment. The study of Maria Todorova<sup>17</sup> scrutinized the genesis and growth of the similar concept of Balkans. Paradoxically enough this peninsula is at the same time more peripheral and, concerning Hellenic civilization, situated at the very heart of Europe. The place of the Balkans on mental maps of Europe was fervently discussed some decades ago, it was painfully actual during the wars in ex-Yugoslavia, than, recently slightly went in the background of the attention, if not of the scholars, at least of journalists and general public.

Referring to and using such type of mental structures and elaborating attitudes towards them, among other things, is a question of terminology. The same phenomena or close to them may be named differently. Researchers use to talk about Counter-Enlightenment (Friedrich Nietzsche, Isaiah Berlin) or anti-Enlightenment (Z. Sternhell) and associate it with philosophers such as Giambattista Vico, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Edmund Burke.<sup>18</sup> Mediated connection with these authors, and with Herder in first place, may be traced at the heart of counter-modern sentiment among the Slavs. In the Balkans such a line can be connected also to the 'anti-Voltairianism' of certain circles associated with the Orthodox Church, with Slavophilism, and with general resistance to modernization. Counter-Enlightenment has its analogies in Bulgarian culture, which may be interpreted as taken from outside, or can be regarded as „native”.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. for example Шенк, Фр. Б. Ментальные карты. – *Новое литературное обозрение*, 2001, 6, № 52, 42–61.

<sup>15</sup> See Pelinka, Anton. 'Mythos Mitteleuropa'. In Peter Gerlich. u.a. (Hg.) *Neuland Mitteleuropa. Ideologied und Identitätskrisen*. Wien, Torun, 1995; S. R. Graubard (Hg.). *Eastern Europe... Central Europe...* Europe. Boulder, 1991; Миллер, А. И. Тема Центральной Европы: История, современные дискурсы и место в них России. – *Новое литературное обозрение*, 2001, 6, № 52, 42–61. One particular Bulgarian approach see at: Григоров, Добромир. „Средна Европа: Защо сме такива”, *Littera et Lingua* (e-journal), Spring 2003, [www.slav.uni-sofia.bg](http://www.slav.uni-sofia.bg)

<sup>16</sup> Wolff, L., *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Todorova, M., *Imagining the Balkans*. New York and Oxford, 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Вж. Sternhell, Zeev. *Les anti-Lumières. Du XVIIIe siècle à la guerre froide*. Fayard, 2006. For the Bulgarian aspects of the problem see Danova, Nadia. *Les anti-Lumières dans l'espace bulgare*. (под печат); Надя Данова, «Отново за "Оксидентализма" като образ на Другия». – В: *Голямото вписване или какво сравнява сравнителното литературознание*. Съст. Р. Станчева. С.: Унив. изд. Св. Климент Охридски, Изд. център Боян Пенев, 2009, с. 34–43.

Another approach to the same issues applies different terminology framework and prefers to talk about anti-modernism (counter-modernism) and / or anti-Westernism<sup>19</sup> and anti-Eupeanism.

One curious methodological problem is associated with the preferred terminological framework. Whether terms as Occidentalism, anti-modernism, Anti-Westernism are synonyms, i.e. whether they refer to the same phenomena?<sup>20</sup> In this case, it is interesting to understand what determines their choice, what are the reasons which led some authors to call one thing ‘Occidentalism’, others – ‘anti-Westernism’, third – ‘anti-modernism’. Whether this is only a question of specialization, or offering a new term is the result of a desire to highlight the own heuristic thinking? Whether the adoption of a terminological system is not a matter of scientific fashion? It is possible to seek some nuances in the use of one or another term, to seek typology and hierarchy of similar phenomena, to ask questions about their genesis and evolution (from each other, or parallel).

The question about the usability of terms like Orientalism and Occidentalism in the context of Bulgarian, Balkan or East European culture is one big challenge for the scholars. Todorova argues that it is not correct to apply Said’s notion and methodology to the Balkans and many authors (including Bulgarian) agree with her. On the other hand, scholars like Milica Bakić-Hayden offered different approach based on the idea about ‘nested orientalism’.

While it is important to recognize the specific rhetoric of balkanism, however, it would be difficult to understand it outside the overall orientalist context, since it shares an underlying logic and rhetoric with orientalism. Balkanism can indeed be viewed as a “variation on the orientalist theme” that distinguishes Balkans as a part of Europe that used to be under Ottoman, hence oriental, rule and, as such, different from Europe “proper.”<sup>21</sup>

Orientalism offers a convenient opportunity to a community or person to think of themselves as a victim of malicious external forces. On the other hand, despite the critical attitude towards Orientalism, the unveiling of orientalist’s features in the own culture (Balkan, Bulgarian) do not pose any serious problem to the observer (unlike the situation in Western Europe). Similar traits actually exist and when referring to them in your own culture you practically claim that it is part of (Western) Europe, seen as prestigious. To find forms of Orientalism, means to distinguish yourself from the Oriental. This distinction is particularly typical for the Balkans, where, in the time of grow up of nationalism and forging its my-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Leften S. Stavrianos, ‘The Influence of the West on the Balkans’, in: Charles and Barbara Jelavich (eds.), *The Balkans in Transition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 184–226, here: pp. 184–187; Vasilios N. Makrides and Dirk Uffelmann. ‘Studying Eastern Orthodox Anti-Westernism: the Need for a Comparative Research Agenda’.

<sup>20</sup> The fluctuation of the title of Buruma and Margalit’s book is significant. Its first variation is *Occidentalism. The Idea of the West in the Minds of Its Enemies, then it became Occidentalism: A Short Story of Anti-Westernism*. Вторият вариант приравнява Occidentalism с Anti-Westernism.

<sup>21</sup> Bakić-Hayden, Milica. ‘Nesting Orientalisms: the Case of Former Yugoslavia’, *Slavic Review*, No. 4, (Winter) 1995, p. 2. For more recent approach see Blažević, Zrinka. ‘Rethinking Balkanism: Interpretative Challenge of the Early Modern Illyrism’, *Etudes Balkaniques* (Sofia), No. 1, 2007, pp. 87–106.

thology the Orient was imagined first and foremost in the figure of the Ottoman “oppressors”. Of course, any such distinction is suspicious, it (may) be a manifestation of uncertainty, uncertainty about own value, inverted insecurity, inferiority complex, etc. In any case, it indicates kinship that is unwonted. So to say, Scandinavian culture hardly needs to deny its Ottoman heritage, while the Balkans’ have and they are very active in doing this, or at least passionately argue about it.<sup>22</sup>

Turks and Muslims are the main enemies in the mythology of Balkan nationalisms. Balkan Christians see them as fierce barbarians that came from Asia with their alien religion, who seized, killed and abduct our treasures – the land, cities, women, faith – this is one key element of Bulgarian national mythology<sup>23</sup>. This is a well-known throughout Europe image that underlies Orientalism, but western imagination works with plenty of other ‘oriental’ representations. Along with bloodthirsty barbarian stands the fabulously rich oriental ruler and his harem, the wonders of the unknown eastern lands with their rare spices, exotic foods and drinks, unseen beasts and birds, mysterious islands in the remote warm seas, etc. The exoticism and femininity of the East are also presented in the imagination of the Balkan Christians, but takes more modest place in it, does not give rise to significant mythic structures; the same is trough about India, China and Japan and their exotic religions and custom. That is, I think, one of the most characteristic distinctions of the Balkan Orientalism.

There is one specific peculiarity in the mythology of Greek nationalism. For its the second most important enemy is Slavs, Bulgarians in the first place, they were also seen as barbarians, really from the North, but somehow close to Orientals.<sup>24</sup> On this basis aroused some seemingly paradoxical coalitions and oppositions. For specific purposes circles around the Ecumenical Patriarchate can be united with the Ottomans against the West,<sup>25</sup> in other cases against the

<sup>22</sup> About these discussions see: B. Lory, *Le sort de l’héritage ottoman en Bulgarie. L’exemple des villes bulgares 1878–1880*, Paris/ Istanbul, 1985. (Лори, Бернар. Съдбата на османското наследство. Amicita, 2002). See als Todorova, Maria. “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans”, *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint in the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. L. Carl Brown, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, p. 45–77. Abridged version in: – Güney Özdo an, Kemâli Saiba ili, eds., *The Balkans. A Mirror of the New International Order*, Istanbul: EREN, 1995, 55–74 and in: – *Etudes balkaniques*, 1994, No. 4, p. 66–81. Вж. и Die Staaten Südosteuropas und die Osmanen. Hrsg. H. G. Majer. München, Selbstverlag der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1989, especially Roth, K. Osmanische Spuren in der Alltagskultur Südosteuropas. See also one very important series “Съдбата на мюсюлманските общности на Балканите” (1997-), published by The International Center for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations (IMIR) in Sofia and especially „Мюсюлманската култура по българските земи” (Съст. Р. Градева, Св. Иванова, 1998) и “История на мюсюлманската култура по българските земи” (Съст. Р. Градева, 2001); Кил, Михел. *Изкуство и общество в България през турския период*. София: Любомъдрие – Хроника, 2002; if. Аретов, Н. “Балканските народи и Османската империя: Едно отхвърлено наследство”. – *Литературна мисъл*, 2008, № 1, с. 55–66. Aretov, N. “The Rejected Legacy”. – In: Detrez, R. & V. Segaeert (eds.) *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans*. Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008, pp. 69–79.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Аретов, Н. *Национална митология и национална литература. Сюжети, изграждащи българската национална идентичност в словесността от XVIII и XIX век*. С.: Кралица Маб, 2006.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Велкова, С. “Славянският съсед” и гръцкият национален “образ Аз”. С., Херон прес, 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Vasilios N. Makrides and Dirk Uffelmann, Op. cit.

Bulgarians; the latter generated one quite widespread among Bulgarians myth. Anti-Ottoman trends undoubtedly brought together the Greeks with Russia, which did not interfere with their hostile attitude towards Pan-Slavism. At the same time (nineteenth century) Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans were naturally more inclined to accept Pan-Slavism, either sincerely, or as a tactical device.

Manifestations of Orientalism can easily be traced in literary and historiographical texts, in political journalism and mass consciousness. Another paradox is that despite a negative valuation of and deliberate distinction from the Oriental, some manifestations of the own Oriental features are relatively readily pointed in certain spheres. This line started earlier and is still current, but its most emblematic embodiment may be sought in probably the most popular not only in Bulgaria Bulgarian literary works “Bay Ganyo” (1895), but also in the whole work of its author Aleko Konstantinov. On the one hand, the Oriental is the dark, imperfect part of the own, its shadow (in the Jungian sense). On the other hand, it is admitted in certain areas perceived as lower, such as the cuisine, some customs, etc.

Thoughts are slightly different, when we deal with Occidentalism. Discovering in the own culture some forms of Occidentalism means to admit that this culture is not “Western”, which despite all elucidations in one particular context means “less of civilization”.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, general public and even scholars reluctantly comment any manifestations of Occidentalism in their own culture and it is difficult to seek the roots of these manifestations. This became obvious in the debates during the conference on Occidentalism, organized by the Bulgarian Society for 18<sup>th</sup> Century Studies in 2005.<sup>27</sup>

Assuming that the hallmarks of Occidentalism are hatred of the City and urban civilization, critic of the bourgeois civilization and its commercialism, rejection of rationality and science, opposed to irrational notions such as ‘spirit’, ‘race’, ‘blood’ and ‘soil’, and denial of feminism, there is no doubt that such attitudes are present in the Balkan cultures. They can be associated with such important elements in national mythology as the figure of the alien rapist or seducer, the plot about the unfortunate consequences of marriage to a foreigner, the nostalgic mood in Bulgarian poetry of the nineteenth century, written abroad (in Russia), the retro-Utopian vision of a ancient patriarchal rural paradise (even the revolutionary Hristo Botev was not immunized for it), anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant propaganda, etc.<sup>28</sup>

And a clarification to these features without entering into details. Rhetoric of Orientalism and Occidentalism is sometimes used instrumentally. In order to gain some advantage for themselves and to hurt the opponent, he is described intentionally as a barbarian or refined villain.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994, p. 43). Wolff is quoting a phrase of marquis de Salaberry “le plus ou moins de civilization”.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. <http://bulgic18.com/index.php?pageid=12&lang=bg>

<sup>28</sup> More details in: Аретов, Н. Що е оксидентализъм и има ли той почва у нас? Предварителни тезиси в търсене на литературните аспекти на проблема. – *Литературна мисъл*, 2005, № 1, с. 123–130.

<sup>29</sup> One typical manifestation was the indirect argument between Vasil Popovich and the Czech scholar Konstantin Jireček, Minister of education in Bulgaria (1881–1882). More details in: Аретов, Н. Проблематичност и напрежения в славянската идентичност. Константин Иречек и българите. – В: *Славянска филология*. Т. 23. С.: 2003, с. 208–220.

Although Orientalism and Occidentalism have opposite orientation, they do not come into serious conflict in the Balkans. (Russian distinction between *pochvenniki* (почвенники) and *zapadniki* (западники) is not identical to the opposition Orientalism – Occidentalism.) Rather, the two trends overlap, sharing particular spheres of influence. Thus, in some plots Orientals (Turks, etc.) are casted for the roles of brutal barbarians, and the western villains (actually Greeks) – for the role of the treacherous seducer. Very often they are even presented as allies, as in some versions of the folk-lore plot about Stoyan Voivode (chieftain).

Particularly interesting are the cases in which those two structures overlap, the instances of internal contradictions, the exceptions. One such curious case presents the well-known and very popular poem “Izvorat na Belonogata” (“The Spring of the White-Legged”) (1873) written by the great Bulgarian poet and political activist Petko R. Slaveykov. It still generates different interpretations; created in the manner of folk songs it was published anonymously and yet fully represents the ideas of its author. In it, something quite rare for Bulgarian culture and in conflict with Occidentalists’ concepts, the Oriental is assigned to the role of a representative of urban civilization, in a sense, even of the modernity. Moreover, unlike its traditional mode of conduct here he neither acts violently, nor seduces Bulgarian beauty by fraud; instead of that he tries to convince her to accept his gifts and to go with him; after the refusal he withdraws quietly.

The plot depicts the encounter of two typical characters: Gergana, young Bulgarian girl, and the rich Turkish vizier, charmed by her beauty. In their conversation two different worldviews, two different value systems come into collision. They meet, enter into dialogue, and do not understand one another and part, each of them remains confident in its own right and values.

But what both characters stand for? Gergana passionately defended her world as it is. Through her words the poet constructs an attractive idyll, filled with beauty and harmony; it was dominated by the calm and humanized nature of the garden. Obviously this was not the real world of the Bulgarians from the era, and not the world that the poet himself depicted in his other works, such as his satires, so we can define it as a utopia. We could call it Bulgarian, traditional and patriarchal, even rural, and to oppose it to the sophisticated urban civilization of the Oriental (Turkish) vizier and his world, which undoubtedly was also utopian. Although the poet clearly prefers Gergana’s utopia, he did not see the world of Vizier in a negative light.

The poem “The Spring of the White-Legged” bears one very distinctive version of the conflict between “own” and “alien.” On the one hand, “alien” generates fear, it is presented as hostile and threatening, on the other hand, it has its charm, its attractive force. Gergana not hesitate and immediately selects the “own”. For better or worse, today Bulgarians largely think of themselves with the categories underlying the “Spring of White-Legged” and other works from that time, that bear similar ideas. Perhaps there are other options, other solutions to the conflict, in fact they are present both in life and in literature.

*Maria Taroutina*

**FROM CHURCH TO HAREM: NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORIENTALISM AND THE NEO-BYZANTINE REVIVAL**

Since the publication of Edward Said's 1978 book *Orientalism*,<sup>1</sup> the study of Orientalist art has often been viewed in terms of a binary opposition between East and West, with Western Europe as the active observer, and the Orient as the passive represented entity. Said contended that Orientalist scholarship was inextricably tied to imperialist politics, where the West was constructed as the norm, from which the exotic, inscrutable Orient deviated. In this scheme the East and West are perpetually antithetical – the Orient is the irrational, weak, feminized and timeless “Other” to the rational, strong, masculine and modernized West. However, an examination of the Neo-Byzantine Revival complicates this long-established narrative. Instead of the clear, demarcated separation between the Western “self” and the Eastern “other” posited in Said's account, European conceptions of Byzantium alternated from Orientalist to Occidental, depending on immediate historical and regional contexts. This essay examines the Neo-Byzantine Revival in all its multiple valences and the implications that they carry for Orientalist discourse.

While the vast amount of extant material furnishes a multiplicity of varied and salient examples, the present account will be limited to the ways in which Byzantium was understood in the *public* imagination, rather than by scholars, specialists and academics. In other words, most of the visual examples in this essay are drawn from the public domain – architecture, theatre, Salon paintings, monumental art, panoramas, popular journals, travelogues and international trade fairs. Some widely circulated and well-known theoretical texts will also be considered, but only in cases where they had a far-reaching effect on the broader public consciousness.

Throughout the Enlightenment period Byzantium was largely seen as unworthy of scholarly or public attention. Prominent Enlightenment thinkers had nothing but contempt for the religiously conservative and politically repressive Byzantine Empire. For example, in 1734 Montesquieu declared that Byzantine history “is nothing more than a tissue of revolts, seditions and perfidies”.<sup>2</sup>

Voltaire described it as a “worthless collection of orations and miracles” and “a disgrace for the human mind”.<sup>3</sup> In his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Hegel described Byzantium as a “disgusting picture of imbecility... Rebellion on the part of generals, assassinations or poisoning of the Emperors by their own wives and sons, women surrendering themselves to lusts and abominations of all kinds”.<sup>4</sup> The most influential text to shape public opinion of the Byzantine Empire was Edward Gibbon's widely read *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* from 1776, which remained the authoritative work on Byzantium for several decades. In Gibbon's narrative, Byzantium emerges as a corrupt and degraded Oriental empire, untouched by Western civilization, and one that has not left posterity anything worthy of admiration or emulation. Describing Constantinople's most celebrated architectural monument, Hagia Sofia, Gibbon had nothing but disdain:

“The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half domes and shelving roofs... destitute of simplicity and magnificence... how dull is the artifice, how insignificant is the labor...”<sup>5</sup>

For these and other Enlightenment thinkers Byzantium remained a salient example of an Eastern, Asiatic despotism, devoid of all the virtues of the Latin West.

However, by the opening decades of the nineteenth century Romantic sensibilities made the European public more receptive to the East. Rejecting Enlightenment rationality, Romanticism embraced alternative sources of knowledge, especially those of the medieval past and the East. Combining both these qualities, Byzantium finally began to attract considerable attention. Scholarly and public interest in Byzantium thus grew steadily throughout the ensuing decades in Austria, Germany, Russia, Britain and France. Architects increasingly turned to Byzantine models as fresh alternatives to the prevailing Neo-Classical and Neo-Gothic orthodoxies in building. Artists, novelists and playwrights looked to Byzantium as a mysterious and exciting novel milieu, which could be mined for new imagery, settings, and narratives. And last, but not least, scholars finally began to consider Byzantine history, culture, and art as worthy of serious academic inquiry and the first major monographs on Byzantium were published in the 1840s and 1850s. However, both the understanding of this ancient civilization and the subsequent imaginative re-interpretations of it varied widely, and were most often intimately linked with competing territorial claims in the Balkans and with the individual nationalist, patriotic, and imperialist aims of the Great Powers.

While exceptions certainly existed in each country, in general, the British and French publics - still largely conditioned by Enlightenment thought – predominantly regarded Byzantium as more Oriental than Western, closer to

<sup>1</sup> Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decline*. Translated by David Lowenthal. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968, p. 196. Quoted in *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 324–1453, Volume 1 by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Vasiliev. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*. Impr. de la Société littéraire-typographique, 1784–89. Quoted in Vasiliev, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*. Translated by J. Sibree. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1900, p. 353. Quoted in Vasiliev, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Gibbon, Edward. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Vol. VII. London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1782–1788, pp. 118–122.

Muslim than Christian culture, and connoting luxury, decorativeness, exoticism, femininity and eroticism. Thus, in his 1849 *A History of Architecture*, British art historian Edward Freeman described Byzantine art in traditionally Orientalist terms:

“As a form of art, Byzantium cannot claim a place equal to those of Western Europe. We have not to deal with Greeks or Romans, Celts or Teutons, but with the East. It is a character fixed, staid, and immutable; it is not Persian or Arabian, not even Caucasian or Mongolian; it is not ancient, modern, or mediæval; but, a term of all ages and races, it is Oriental...”<sup>6</sup>

According to this account, Byzantine art and culture were incapable of transformation or evolution, remaining outside of historical periodization. Like all “Oriental” cultures, Byzantium was seen to persist through time unchanged and unchanging.

Even in his sympathetic account of Byzantine architecture in *Stones of Venice*, John Ruskin continued to rely heavily on stereotypical “Orientalist” tropes of feminization, eroticism, and exoticism. For example, in his discussions of polychromy in architecture, Ruskin claimed that the use of bright color was an “Oriental” impulse and that the Cathedral of San Marco “possesses the charm of color in common with the greater part of the architecture, as well as the manufacturers, of the East; the Venetians deserve especial note as the only European people who appear to have sympathized to the full with the great instinct of the Eastern races”.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise, in the chapter on “Byzantine Palaces” Ruskin insisted that “in the Oriental mind a peculiar seriousness is associated with this attribute of the love of color; a seriousness rising out of repose” in contrast to the “activity... characteristic of the Western mind”.<sup>8</sup> In his descriptions of San Marco in particular, Ruskin used voluptuous, sensuous, and even erotic language, conjuring up seductive Orientalist imagery of serpents and Cleopatra:

“And round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, jasper and porphyry, and deep-green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marbles, that half refuse and half yield to the sunshine, Cleopatra-like, “their bluest veins to kiss” – the shadow as it steals back from them, revealing line after line of azure undulation...”<sup>9</sup>

More importantly, there tended to be a conflation in the British and French public imagination between Ancient Byzantium and contemporary Turkey. The latter was seen as a direct descendant of the former, rather than as a distinctly different civilization. As late as 1915, when commissioned to investigate the causes that led to the Second Balkan War, the British diplomat, Sir George Young wrote that:

“The failure of the Turks is due to Byzantinism... Their corruption and impotence were inherited with their national capital... No democracy, no simple

<sup>6</sup> Freeman, Edward. *A History of Architecture*. London: J. Masters, 1849, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Ruskin, John. *Stones of Venice*. Vol. II. London, Smith, Elder, and co., 1851–53, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> Ruskin, John. *Stones of Venice*, p. 66.

virtues, and no sound vitality could grow in such soil... The decadence of the Turk dates from the day when Constantinople was taken and not destroyed”.<sup>10</sup>

Even at the height of European philhellenic sympathies during the Greek War of Independence of the 1820s, little ethnic and racial differentiation was made in popular representations between the Greeks and Turks. In her influential book, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, Darcy Grigsby devotes an entire chapter to the analysis of Eugene Delacroix’s *Massacre of Chios* (1824), where she stresses the explicit lack of racial and ethnic separation between the defeated Greeks and the victorious Turks. By no means an exception, Delacroix was joined in this tendency by several other prominent French artists such as Théodore Géricault and Auguste Vinchon, who seemed to be entirely disinterested in any kind of ethnographic accuracy, adopting traditional Orientalist pictorial tropes in their depiction of the Greeks. For example, in Géricault’s painting, *Scene of the Greek War of Independence* from 1820, an elderly Greek man in the center of the work is portrayed in a turban and with a very dark complexion, appearing more Middle Eastern than European. Similarly, in Vinchon’s *Modern Greek Subject: After the Massacre of Samothrace*, 1827 (Fig. 1) the mourning man is depicted in a loosely “Oriental” costume, instead of traditional Greek dress. To crystallize this point, one need only look at works by nineteenth-century Greek artists such as Nikolaos Gysis’ *Kou Kou*, 1882 or Theodoros Vryzakis’ *Lord Byron at Missolonghi*, 1861. In these works the artists paid close attention to the specifics of traditional Greek dress and depicted their countrymen and women explicitly as Europeans and NOT Orientals.

Even in terms of European geography, the nineteenth century witnessed a distinct shift from a North/South axis to an East/West one. Modern European geographers such as Adriano Balbi and Malthe Conrad Bruun proposed that the traditional distinction of northern and southern Europe no longer made sense, and suggested a new division into Occidental and Oriental Europe.<sup>11</sup> In his 1833 publication, *Abrégée de géographie*, Balbi reconfigured Russia, Poland, Greece and Turkey into “Europe Orientale”, and Italy, Spain, France, Germany and Britain into “Europe Occidentale.” This marked a distinct shift from previous configurations where Turkey, Italy, Spain and Greece were all part of “Southern Europe,” while Russia, Poland, Germany and Britain were

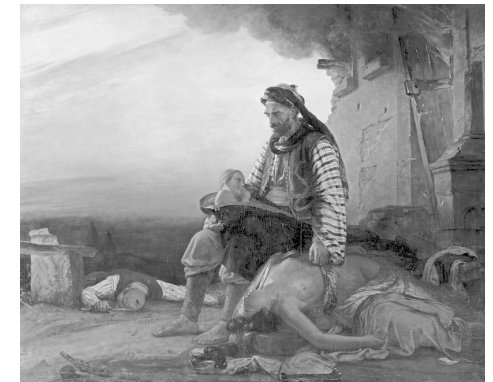


Fig. 1. Auguste Vinchon, *Modern Greek Subject: After the Massacre of Samothrace*, 1827

<sup>10</sup> Young, George. *Nationalism and War in the Near East (By a Diplomatist)*. Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, New York [etc.] H. Milfor, 1915, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> Adamovsky, Ezequiel. *Euro-Orientalism: liberal ideology and the image of Russia in France (1740–1880)*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006, p. 251.



part of “Northern Europe”.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, by the second half of the nineteenth century, both contemporary Greeks and their Byzantine ancestors were firmly situated in the East – geographically, racially and culturally.

It is therefore not surprising that in 1852 it was the Byzantine style that was chosen for the new Cathedral of Marseilles. As discussed by Robert S. Nelson and J.B. Bullen, Marseilles was a focal node between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe, and was considered France’s symbolic “Gateway to the Orient.” Consequently, the architect, Léon Vaudoyer, chose the Byzantine style precisely because it connoted the East, while still being appropriately Christian architecture. This idea is aptly illustrated in Pierre Puvis de Chavannes’ 1869 *Marseilles, Gateway to the Orient* mural, where we see a ship arriving in the Marseilles harbor. The ship is populated by a variety of different ethnic, religious and national groups, loosely connoting “the East.” Among them we see a Greek Orthodox priest (Fig. 2).

One of the most famous nineteenth-century “re-stagings” of Byzantium as the “Oriental Other” in the Anglo-French context was Victorien Sardou’s 1884

play *Théodora*. The play featured Sarah Bernhardt in the leading role as the Byzantine Empress and ran consecutively for 257 performances.<sup>13</sup> It received widespread coverage in France, England and America and illustrations of the costumes and sets were reprinted both in the British and French press. Tributes to the actress in the guise of Theodora even appeared in Salon exhibitions such as Marius Mars-Vallet’s bronze sculpture, *Sarah Bernhardt as Théodora* from 1900 (Fig. 3). The turban on Theodora’s head, her languid posture and bared breasts are more reminiscent of an odalisque than a Christian

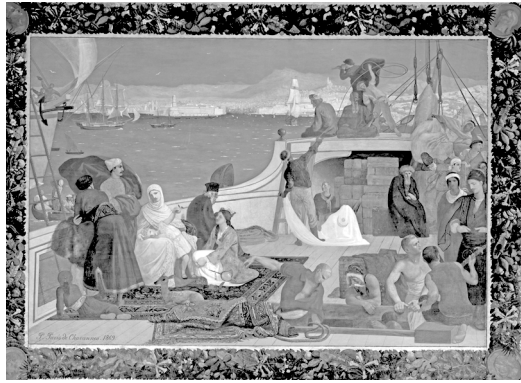


Fig. 2. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Gateway to the Orient*, 1869

Queen. The large, centrally-placed, spherical ornament on her dress in particular recalls the silver platter of Salomé (Fig. 4). As evidenced by this and other contemporaneous works, Sardou’s *Théodora* had much in common with European depictions of Salomé and Cleopatra – a beautiful and enticing, but likewise cruel and decadent fin-de-siècle femme fatale. The huge success of the play inspired numerous other fine art interpretations of the Byzantine Empress, such as Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant’s paintings, *The Empress Theodora at the Coliseum*, 1887 and *Empress Theodora Seated on Her Throne*, 1888. In the first painting, the Byzantine ruler is portrayed as a lethargic and decadent princess, who takes pleasure in a barbaric entertainment. In the middle-ground on the right-hand side of the painting, a tiger leans over two

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 248–252.

<sup>13</sup> Bullen, p. 103.

prostrate, motionless human bodies. This tragic fate was typically reserved for Christian martyrs in Ancient Rome in the early days of Christianity, but it would have been impossible in sixth-century Byzantium since both gladiatorial combat and animal fights had been banned during the reign of Constantine I, who considered them to be vestiges of paganism and at odds with Christian doctrine. At best, Theodora might have watched chariot races at the Constantinopolitan Hippodrome. Consequently, a telling transposition occurs in this painting wherein the evils of Ancient Rome – typically considered to be a part of Western heritage – are projected onto the “Oriental” Byzantium and away from the cultured European self. Eschewing all historical accuracy, Benjamin-Constant’s image is thus pure fantasy and relies heavily on all the standard tropes of Orientalist painting. An eroticized, semi-reclining female figure surrounded by bright colors, sumptuous furs and flowing fabrics – are all reminiscent of popular depictions of Harem scenes and odalisques. Consequently, by the turn of the century, in the British and French popular imagination, Byzantium had become synonymous with a distant and timeless Eastern past, the great Oriental ancestor of the contemporary Ottoman Empire.

By contrast, an entirely different picture of Byzantium emerged in Germany and Russia. The Romantic period in the German states inspired a fervent reappraisal of its medieval past, drawing new attention to early Northern painting and pre-Gothic architecture. In his pioneering study, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, J.B. Bullen demonstrates how the Boisserée brothers were instrumental in generating a reassessment of Byzantine art and architecture throughout the German principalities. Amassing a huge collection of Northern European Medieval Art, they believed it to be “a late flowering of Byzantine work.”<sup>14</sup> According to Bullen, Sulpiz Boisserée wrote that “a fact of which nobody had so far had the slightest inkling, [is] that the earlier painting of Cologne before the van Eycks, no less than the contemporary Italian school, relied on an old tradition of Byzantine models...”<sup>15</sup> In a similar vein, the Boisserée brothers believed that like painting, early Rhenish architecture also had roots in Byzantium. Friedrich Schlegel shared their ideas and in his *Philosophy of History*, the writer claimed that “the style of Byzantine churches was the first and principal model of Gothic architecture” and that it was Byzantine architecture that in fact “breathes the true spirit of the German



Fig. 3. Marius Mars-Vallet, *Sarah Bernhardt as Théodora*, 1900

<sup>14</sup> Bullen, *op. cit.* p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.* p. 17..

Middle Age.”<sup>16</sup> In the ensuing decade such ideas gained considerable momentum so that in 1827 Ludwig I of Bavaria bought the entire Boisserée collection of paintings for the Munich Alte Pinakothek. In the sale catalogue they were described as important representatives of the “Lower-Rhine Byzantine School from the end of the 13th century until the beginning of the 15th century” and were considered foundational for a national gallery of art.<sup>17</sup> Following in his grandfather’s footsteps, Ludwig II commissioned several Neo-Byzantine interiors in the Neuschwanstein Castle, complete with mosaics, rich gilding, Carrara marble, images of Justinian and Greek saints, and even a large, imposing chandelier fashioned after a Byzantine crown. In 1869 he likewise instructed his court architect Georg Dollmann to draw up plans for a new Versailles in the Linderhof valley, to be executed in a Neo-Byzantine style, but the project was unfortunately never realized.<sup>18</sup>



Fig. 4. Ella Ferris Pell, *Salomé*, 1890

Another Germanic royal enthusiast of Byzantine art was Ludwig I’s brother-in-law, Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. As Rob Nelson convincingly demonstrates, Friedrich Wilhelm’s Neo-Byzantine projects such as the Berlin-Glienicke Klosterhof had a distinct political motivation: they were meant to re-invent tradition for the young monarchy, especially in the face of the 1848 revolutionary threat.<sup>19</sup> By artificially creating a lineage with Byzantium, Friedrich hoped to reinforce his own political authority through the invocation of an ancient medieval tradition with a distinct imperial cult and unquestioned royal power. Accordingly, the monarch had a thirteenth-century Byzantine Christ Pantocrator mosaic removed from its original location in the San Cipriano Church in Murano, transported to Prussia, and installed in his palace chapel, the Friedenskirche, in the royal residence of Potsdam. As Gerd-H. Zuchold suggests, “The king’s church was supposed to symbolize that state’s very essence, while the Murano mosaic itself evoked Friedrich Wilhelm’s notion of his own ordination through the grace of God.”<sup>20</sup> A devout Protestant, Friedrich likewise aspired to “re-

<sup>16</sup> Schlegel, Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History: in a course of lectures, delivered at Vienna*. Vol. II. Translated by James Burton Robertson. London: Saunders and Otley, 1835, p. 169. Quoted in J.B. Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered*, London; New York: Phaidon, 2003, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Bullen, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Bullen, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> Nelson, Robert. *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 41.

<sup>20</sup> Zuchold, Gerd-H. “Friedrich Wilhelm IV und die Byzanzrezeption in der preussischen Baukunst”. In *Friedrich Wilhelm IV in seiner Zeit: Beiträge eines Colloquiums by Otto Busch*. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1987, p. 224.

form the German Protestant Church by returning to early Christian liturgy and architecture.”<sup>21</sup> Just as Schlegel and the Boisserée brothers, the monarch believed that the early German church had Byzantine roots, an idea that was increasingly shared by a broader German-speaking public.

In contrast to Britain and France, in the German context the Byzantine style was not considered to be foreign or Oriental. Instead, it was associated with a pure and uncorrupted early Christianity from which Protestantism had descended. By the mid-nineteenth century there was a growing belief throughout many German states that the early Rhine churches were in fact direct descendants of the Byzantine model, which better captured the robust and humble Protestant spirit in contrast to the luxurious and over-wrought Gothic cathedrals. This idea was made concrete in 1861, when a German church conference proclaimed that the early Christian basilica was to be the preferred religious architectural style over Romanesque and Gothic plans.<sup>22</sup> Thus, in the German principalities, Byzantium was invoked to serve a dual purpose. On the one hand, it was constructed as an instrument of ideology to advance the political agendas of individual monarchs. On the other hand, it was simultaneously used as a tool for nation building: a common unifying religious and political ancestor for the German-speaking states at large.

As with Germany, the Neo-Byzantine Revival in Russia became closely linked with political ideology and national identity. The Napoleonic and Crimean conflicts prompted a large sector of the Russian intelligentsia to re-evaluate both Russia’s historical ties to Byzantium and its contemporary relationship with the West. Unlike the unquestioned deference to and emulation of Western European culture that characterized the Enlightenment period in Russia, the 1840s and 1850s saw the rise of Slavophile thought and an increasing interest in Russia’s pre-Petrine past. The Crimean War, in particular, precipitated a painful rupture with Western Europe, and a growing re-orientation towards the East. Both official state policy and the public imaginary increasingly began to associate the Byzantine political and cultural legacy with contemporary Russia. Prominent Slavophile thinkers such as Aleksei Khomiakov, Ivan Kireyevsky, and Konstantin Aksakov argued that Russia’s Byzantine past was the source of her national strength, rather than her weakness. According to them, it was precisely this Byzantine heritage that had ensured that Russia had evolved a religious, political, philosophical and aesthetic value system that ran contrary to the sterile materialism and rationalism of Western culture. In 1850, the professional historian, Timofei Granovsky published an eloquent apologia of Byzantium and a plea for serious Byzantine studies:

“We received from Constantinople the best part of our national inheritance, namely, religious beliefs and the beginnings of civilization. The Eastern Empire brought a young Russia into the family of Christian nations. But besides these connections, we are bound up with the fate of Byzantium by the mere fact that we are Slavs. This side of the question has not been, and could not be, fully ap-

<sup>21</sup> Nelson, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

preciated by foreign scholars. We have in a sense the duty to evaluate a phenomenon to which we owe so much".<sup>23</sup>

Rather than a dark stain in Russia's history, the Byzantine epoch was increasingly understood as a period of cultural flowering and the key to Russia's salvation, since it had safeguarded the nation from adopting the insidious Western institutions of feudalism and the Catholic Church. By the mid-1860s the idea of the Byzantine "East" as a symbol of barbarism, ignorance, and backwardness was gradually giving way to the notion of Byzantium as the source of an uncorrupted Christianity, civilization and culture. To paraphrase the words of the philosopher and poet Vladimir Soloviev, Byzantium was no longer seen as the "East of Xerxes," but the "East of Christ".<sup>24</sup>

Consequently, instead of the Oriental connotations of the Marseilles Cathedral, in the Russian context the Byzantine style evoked Constantinople's historical ties with Kievan Rus, legitimating Russia's own expansionist policies in Eastern and Central Europe. Accordingly, although Nicholas I purportedly intensely disliked the Byzantine style, he saw it as expressing his official ideology: "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality." Ivan Stom, one of the architects of the Saint Vladimir Cathedral in Kiev, recalled Nicholas saying "I cannot stand this style, yet, unlike others, I allow it".<sup>25</sup>

In fact, by the mid-1880s, Byzantine designs became the preferred architectural style in Russia's imperial expansion. From the Ural region and Siberia, along the emerging Trans-Siberian railway, Neo-Byzantine monuments spread further to Bessarabia, Central Asia, northern Caucasus, and the Cossack regions. In recently conquered territories, the imposing scale and rich decoration of these newly built Neo-Byzantine cathedrals functioned as material reminders to local populations of the might and wealth of Tsarist Russia.

That is not to say that Russia did not have an Orientalist genre of its own. In many ways it fit into Said's Orientalist template, seeing the East as a realm to be conquered for the glory of the tsar and the Russian nation. Artists like Vasily Vereshchagin – who studied with the renowned French Orientalist painter Jean Léon Gérôme – adopted the tropes of Orientalist art, portraying the East as a milieu of cruelty, fanaticism and vice. Using typical imperialist language, Vereshchagin explained that the main motivation behind his famous Turkestan series was "to describe the barbarism with which until now the entire way of life and order of central Asia has been saturated".<sup>26</sup> However, such Orientalizing treatment was reserved for the Muslim "Other" of Central Asia and the Caucasus, while the Byzantine past occupied an entirely different imaginary space.

<sup>23</sup> Granovsky, T.N. *Sochineniya*, 4th Edition, Moscow, 1900, pp. 378–9.

<sup>24</sup> Soloviev, Vladimir. *Ex Oriente Lux*, 1890.

<sup>25</sup> Savelyev, Yu. R. *Vizantiyskiy Stil v Architecture Rossii: vtoraya polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka*. Saint Petersburg: Liki Rossii: Proekt-2003, 2005, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> Vereshchagin, Vasili. Letter to Vladimir Stasov, March 1874. Quoted in *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* by David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010, p. 87.

Ever since the Mongol invasions, the Orthodox Church became not only a marker of Russian identity, but also the bearer of its civilization and culture. Thus, in paintings such as the *Metropolitan Alexis Healing the Tatar Queen Taidula from Blindness while Janibeg Looks On* from 1840 by Yakov Kapkov and *The Baptism of the Armenian People. Gregory the Illuminator (IV century)* from 1892 by Ivan Aivazovsky, it is the Orthodox faith that is portrayed as bringing relief, guidance and Enlightenment to the uninitiated "other." In Aivazovsky's work in particular, the composition and formal rhetoric of the painting make the nationalistic and pro-Byzantine message easily legible. Gregory, the representative of the Byzantine Orthodox faith, is depicted in the act of converting the Armenian people from paganism to Christianity. With a cross in hand, and radiating light from his garments, Gregory is shown as a heroic redeemer who brings instruction and illumination to the wild, brutish Armenians, crouching animal-like at his feet and reduced to a mere undifferentiated, dark mass of paint in the middle ground of the painting.

Similarly, late nineteenth-century painters such as Viktor Vasnetsov and Vasili Smirnov staged Ancient Byzantium as a place of order, restraint and respect for tradition; a far cry from the wild, Oriental femmes fatales depicted in French paintings of Byzantine court life. In Smirnov's painting *The Morning Visit of a Byzantine Empress to the Graves of Her Ancestors*, 1890, the Byzantine Empress is portrayed as a virtuous and humble ruler, who begins her day by honoring her ancestors. Unlike Benjamin-Constant, Smirnov set his scene in an actual Byzantine space, the fifth-century Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna. It is of course only logical that given the nature of the Empress's visit, the action should take place in a well-known, ancient mausoleum. However, an observation of the spatial layout and the decorations on the mausoleum walls indicates that Smirnov went to great lengths to achieve archaeological accuracy in his painting. During his repeated travels through Italy in the 1880s, the artist had made numerous studies of Byzantine art and architecture, which he then used to inform this painting. For example, in the lunette immediately above the heads of the Byzantine courtiers, we recognize the image of St. Lawrence from the Galla Placidia, who is depicted standing next to the burning gridiron on which he was martyred. Above him, we see the feet of two apostles and two white doves next to the fountain of life, all of which are almost exact copies of the original Byzantine mosaics. The geometric patterns and abstract ornamentation on the walls were also painstakingly reproduced by the artist, and Smirnov even went so far as to depict the individual mosaic tesserae in oil paint in order to achieve complete verisimilitude. The Byzantine courtiers in Smirnov's painting also radically depart from Benjamin-Constant's Theodora. Depicted standing, in long robes and with reverently bowed heads, these solemn, deferential figures are a far cry from the languid, lounging Theodora. Their garments, evoking both ancient Rome and Medieval Russia, stress their proximity to the Russian self, while simultaneously reminding the viewer of the famous letter of the monk Filofei to the Grand Prince of Muscovy, which proclaimed: "two Romes have fallen, the third endures, and a fourth there will not be." Consequently, the Byzantium that emerges from Smirnov's image is neither "Oriental" nor decadent, but an ancient civilization with its own particular cus-

toms, traditions and culture, all of which are intended to be seen as worthy of respect and admiration.

In conclusion, the largely understudied phenomenon of the Neo-Byzantine Revival challenges the stability and consistency of an East/West and Self/Other dichotomy presumed by Orientalist discourse. Although traditionally, nineteenth-century depictions of the “East” were understood to be an extension of the European imperialist machinery, the visual examples discussed in the present essay complicate this binary opposition between the colonizing West and the colonized Orient, the observer and the observed, the oppressor and the oppressed. Instead of a single, monolithic and fixed Orientalist visual vocabulary, the ways in which Byzantium was understood and represented in Europe were diverse and mutable, conditioned by a variety of external and internal factors. While in France and England the late nineteenth-century depiction of Byzantium was a part of the larger phenomenon of Orientalism, in Germany and Russia it was intimately linked with questions of national identity, religion and past heritage. Thus, even within the European context, notions of the “Oriental” and the “Occidental” were often fluid and heterogeneous, and require still further inquiry and nuanced analysis.

*Кирилл Демичев*

**ОБРАЗ СИКХА КАК «ДРУГОГО» ИНДИЙЦА  
В БРИТАНСКОМ ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМЕ  
ПЕРВОЙ ПОЛОВИНЫ XIX в.**

В первой половине XIX в. в отношении индийского общества в британском ориентализме господствовала точка зрения, согласно которой индийцы находились на крайне низком уровне социального, политического и экономического развития, уступая не только современникам-европейцам, но и европейцам предшествующих исторических эпох. Наиболее законченное выражение такой подход получил в известном сочинении Джеймса Милля «История Британской Индии» (1817). Индийское общество представлялось не просто застойным, но и лишенным внутреннего потенциала для дальнейшего развития<sup>1</sup>.

Для британских ориенталистов достижения индийской цивилизации не были значимы ни сами по себе, ни в контексте развития мировой культуры. Индуизм же, как системообразующая основа индийской культуры, воспринимался в целом весьма критически.

Джеймс Милль, который был не только либеральным мыслителем, но и служащим английской Ост-Индской компании, отмечал то, что «...отвратительные взгляды брахманов привели к их (индусов. – *К.Д.*) разобщенности, следствием чего и стала весьма унижительная и разорительная для индусов система зависимости. В любом случае эта порочная система позволила достичь гораздо более пагубных высот, чем такая же система в других странах. Мы видим это на примере жреческой касты, которая базируется на неразумных, приносящих только огромный вред предрассудках из тех, которые когда-либо поражали человечество. Человеческий разум был просто скован нетерпимостью друг к другу гораздо более, нежели их тела. Обобщив все вышесказанное, деспотизм и жреческая каста, взятые вместе, превратили индусов, и духовно и физически, в самую пораженную часть человеческой расы<sup>2</sup>.

С точки зрения большинства европейцев, индийцы застыли в состоянии полуварварства. Однако при этом у них не признавалось и наличия достоинств и добродетелей «благородного дикаря», как, например, у дикарей Америки, которые бы могли быть противопоставлены недостаткам цивилизованного человека<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mill J. *The History of British India*. In three volumes. Vol. I. London, 1817. P. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* P. 452.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* P. 435.

По мнению Милля, уровень развития современных ему индийцев был невысок. Он существенно уступал не только уровню развития европейцев эпохи Средневековья, но и уровню развития древних греков и римлян эпохи античности<sup>4</sup>. Сопоставление достижений средневековых европейцев с достижениями индийцев проводилось Миллем далеко не в пользу последних. Он прямо писал: «Мы должны отметить, что цивилизация народов Индостана и народов Европы времен феодализма далеко не равны между собой. При ближайшем рассмотрении мы находим, что европейцы были гораздо лучше, несмотря на все пороки папства в религии и схоластов в философии. Они превосходили, несмотря на недостатки феодальной системы, и в органах государственной власти и в законах... То, что в военном искусстве индусы всегда уступали воинственным народам Европы в Средние века, едва ли нуждается в подтверждении»<sup>5</sup>.

В целом подход Джеймса Милля, изложенный в его фундаментальном труде, не только отражал, но во многом и определял отношение англичан к индийцам и индийской культуре на протяжении достаточно длительного периода времени.

В самой Индии чиновники и офицеры английской Ост-Индской компании, которая в этот период контролировала и управляла большей частью субконтинента, в целом разделяли такой подход. Однако ежедневное непосредственное соприкосновение с представителями народов Индии, участие в военных действиях, дипломатических переговорах, а также управлении подконтрольными территориями позволило им сформировать собственную точку зрения на этот непростой вопрос.

Именно представителями Ост-Индской компании в этот период было высказано мнение о том, что среди индийских народов есть те, которые отличаются от полуварварских народов Индостана, застывших в своем цивилизационном развитии. Одним из таких «народов» в их представлении были сикхи, которые воспринимались как «другие» индийцы. Речь шла о тех панджабских сикхах, которые были объединены в единую державу махараджей Ранджитом Сингхом (1799–1839) в начале XIX в.

Безусловно, что англичане имели информацию о сикхах и в предшествующий период. Сардары сикхских мисалей – военно-территориальных объединений сикхов Панджаба – в последней трети XVIII в. неоднократно осуществляли набеги на Дели, а также Рохилкханд, пользуясь ослаблением власти некогда могущественных падишахов Могольской империи, ныне находящихся под контролем Ост-Индской компании<sup>6</sup>. Тем не менее установление официальных дипломатических отношений с сикхами относится лишь к началу XIX в.

В 1800 г. ко двору Ранджит Сингха прибыл агент Ост-Индской компании Юсуф Али-хан, который доставил дружеское письмо и подарки от английских властей<sup>7</sup>. Очевидно, что Али-хан был не только послом, но и

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* P. 461.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* P. 466.

<sup>6</sup> Basu P. *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785–1801*. Lucknow, 1943. P. 52, 53.

<sup>7</sup> Кочнев В.И. Государство сикхов и Англия. М., 1968. С. 72.

шпионом, одна из задач которого заключалась в разборе перипетий политической борьбы в Панджабе, связанной с объединением страны под властью Ранджита Сингха.

Официальное признание сикхского государства со стороны Ост-Индской компании было связано с новым англо-маратхским противостоянием. В январе 1804 г. англичане потребовали от маратхского князя Яшвант Рао Холкара вывести свои войска из Северной Индии, которая входила в сферу британских интересов. Отказ выполнить требование Компании стал поводом к началу новой англо-маратхской войны, которая сложилась для Холкара весьма неудачно<sup>8</sup>. Крепости князя пали одна за другой, а союзники предали, заключив сепаратный мир с непобедимыми англичанами. В конце концов Яшвант Рао Холкар с остатками своей армии был вынужден бежать в Панджаб<sup>9</sup>.

Перспектива заключения союза между маратхами и воинственными сикхами всерьез взволновала руководство Ост-Индской компании. Тем более что одно время Ранджит Сингх начал склоняться к оказанию помощи Холкару. Для предотвращения этого нежелательного союза исполняющий обязанности генерал-губернатора Индии Дж. Барлоу отправил в Панджаб подполковника Дж. Малколма. Результатом этой миссии стало заключение договора о дружбе и сотрудничестве между английской Ост-Индской компанией и Ранджитом Сингхом в январе 1806 г.<sup>10</sup>

На протяжении всего периода правления махараджи Ранджита Сингха сикхское государство оставалось верным союзником Ост-Индской компании. При этом к концу первой четверти XIX в. держава Ранджита Сингха превратилась в достаточно мощную региональную империю, прикрывающую британские владения в Индии с северо-западного направления от гипотетической угрозы из Афганистана и Средней Азии. Все это, а также то, что между двумя государствами установились регулярные дипломатические и торговые отношения, способствовало тому, что англичане сумели получить достаточно полные представления о сикхах.

Уже на ранних этапах знакомства с сикхами англичане начали подчеркивать их двойственную природу: они, с одной стороны, являлись индийцами и противопоставлялись мусульманам Афганистана, Персии и самой Индии, а с другой стороны, существенно отличались от индийцев<sup>11</sup>.

Внешнее, антропологическое описание сикхов у английских авторов исключительно положительное, хотя необходимо отметить, что подобной оценки иногда удостоивались и представители других народов

<sup>8</sup> Griffin, L. *Ranjit Singh*. Oxford, 1892. P. 169, 170.

<sup>9</sup> Cunningham J.D. *A History of the Sikhs. From the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*. Calcutta, 1903. P. 160.

<sup>10</sup> *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, relating to India and Neighboring Countries* / Comp. by C.U. Aitchison, 5-th ed. Vol. I. The Treaties & relating to the Punjab, the Punjab States and Delhi. Calcutta, 1931. P. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Malcolm J. *Sketch of the Sikhs; & Singular Nation, who inhabit the Provinces of the Punjab, situated between the Rivers Jamna and Indus*. London, 1812. P. 188, 189; Hardinge H. *The letters of the first Viscount Hardinge of Lahore to Lady Hardinge and Sir Walter and Lady James, 1844–1847* / Ed. by Bawa Satinder Singh. London, 1986. P. 144.

Индии. Правда, при сравнении хиндустанцев с сикхами англичане отдавали предпочтение последним. Например, путешественник и агент Ост-Индской компании Чарльз Мэйсон описывал сикхов следующим образом: «Физически уроженцы Панджаба превосходят выходцев из нижележащего Индостана. Их члены мускулисты и хорошо сложены, у них крепкие руки и грудь, что редко встречается у индийцев»<sup>12</sup>.

Сходное описание оставил военный секретарь генерал-губернатора лорда Окленда – капитан Уильям Осборн, побывавший при дворе Ранджита Сингха в 1838–1839 гг. Сикхи характеризуются им как высокие, хорошо развитые, пропорционально сложенные люди, чрезвычайно выносливые и, что было особенно ценно в глазах англичан, хорошо приспособленные к тяготам военной службы, как в походе, так и в бою<sup>13</sup>. Показательно, что, оценивая сикхов как солдат, англичане приходят к мысли, что они в целом превосходят сипаев Ост-Индской компании как в личной храбрости, так и в дисциплине. Кроме того, капитан Осборн отмечал, что на марше сикхи не пользуются обозными телегами, «...все, что им требуется, они несут сами, причем их тридцатитысячное войско может быть перемещено с большим количеством снаряжения при меньших расходах и временных потерях, чем три полка Компании на нашей стороне Сатледжа»<sup>14</sup>.

Положительная оценка сикхов подчеркивается и сравнением их с древними римлянами, а также сопоставлением их основных занятий – военного дела и земледелия, которые воспринимаются как безусловно самые достойные занятия<sup>15</sup>. Так, лейтенант Александр Бернс, который посетил сикхское государство с дипломатической миссией в 1831 г., оставил такую заметку: «Наконец мы прибыли в страну сикхов, где все люди или солдаты или земледельцы, как древние римляне»<sup>16</sup>.

Религиозные особенности сикхов как «других» индийцев привлекали внимание англичан уже на ранних этапах знакомства с их культурой. Прежде всего, объектом изучения становились реформы последнего десятого сикхского гуру Гобинда Сингха, который стал создателем воинского бескастового братства сикхов – Хальсы<sup>17</sup>. Процедура пахала – вступления в общину, принятие почетного титула-фамилии Сингх, постоянное ношение оружия, запрет на стрижку волос и пр. – все это существенно отличало сикхов от индийцев и обладало большой привлекательностью

<sup>12</sup> Masson Ch. *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab; including a residence in those countries from 1826 to 1838*. In three volumes. Vol. I. London, 1842. P. 433.

<sup>13</sup> Osborne W.G. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing, with an introductory Sketch of the Origin and Rise of Sikh State*. London, 1840. P. 101–104.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* P. 105.

<sup>15</sup> Burnes A. *Travels into Bokhara; being the account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia; also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the Sea to Lahore, with presents from the King of Great Britain; performed under the orders of the supreme Government of India, in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833*. In III Vol. Vol. III. London, 1834. P. 143; Masson Ch. *Op. cit.* P. 434.

<sup>16</sup> Burnes A. *Op. cit.* P. 143.

<sup>17</sup> Malcolm J. *Op. cit.* P. 180.

для исследований ориенталистов. Процесс милитаризации сикхской общины и ее религиозное обоснование были интересны еще и потому, что сикхи продолжали оставаться главной военной силой в Северо-Западной Индии, то есть в регионе, входящем в зону стратегических интересов английской Ост-Индской компании.

Отличие сикхов от индийцев не сводилось только к внешним и религиозным отличиям, тем более что сикхизм долго воспринимался как одна из многочисленных сект индуизма, правда впитавшая в себя отдельные элементы ислама<sup>18</sup>.

Англичане подчеркивали особый дух сикхов, их воинственность и готовность к изменениям. Последний аспект чаще связывался с харизматичной личностью Ранджит Сингха, который сумел включить сикхскую общину в процесс государственного строительства, идеологически обосновав это выполнением завета гуру. Власть Ранджита Сингха носила абсолютный, самодержавный характер.

При абсолютном характере своей власти махараджа никогда не стремился это подчеркнуть и, тем более, противопоставить себя всей сикхской общине. Объединение страны и последующая завоевательная политика рассматривались Ранджит Сингхом как дело, завещанное сикхскими гуру на благо Хальсы. При этом себя Ранджит Сингх представлял только как верного ученика гуру и слугу всей сикхской общины, чье процветание определялось как его единственная забота, что, в свою очередь, способствовало как сакрализации верховной власти, так и обоснованию широко-масштабных завоеваний.

Сакрализованный образ махараджи Ранджит Сингха как слуги Хальсы был прост и понятен для всех членов сикхской общины, в результате чего институциональные изменения в системе власти и управления страны были восприняты относительно безболезненно, а завоевательная политика активно поддержана большей частью общества. Авторитет сикхских гуру и добровольный выбор Хальсы легитимизировал власть Ранджит Сингха во всех ее проявлениях, поэтому любое покушение на эту власть, также как и противодействие завоевательной политике, превращалось в преступление против государства, общества и религии, а следовательно, влекло за собой не только санкции со стороны государства, но и широкое общественное осуждение.

Положительная оценка была дана представителями английской Ост-Индской компании и веротерпимости сикхов. Отмечая отдельные случаи притеснения и дискриминации мусульман, англичане отмечали, что в целом сикхи стремились к мирному сосуществованию с другими конфессиями. Образ мусульманина как образ «другого» был достаточно близок и понятен сикхам, которые за столетия своей истории приобрели ценный опыт общения с ними как в условиях войны, так и мира, находясь как в подчиненном положении у мусульман, так и осуществляя в отношении

<sup>18</sup> См. например: Steinbach H. *The Punjaub; being a brief account of the Sikhs; Its Extent, History, Commerce, Productions, Government, Manufactures, Laws, Religion, Etc.* London, 1846. P. 155; Masson Ch. *Op. cit.* P. 418–421.

них свои властные полномочия. Все эти факторы обусловили достаточно высокую степень религиозной терпимости, установившейся между представителями религиозных общин страны, что, в свою очередь, способствовало их включению в систему власти и управления Панджабом<sup>19</sup>.

Показательно, что при комплектовании аппарата гражданского управления Ранджит Сингх отдавал предпочтение мусульманам и индусам исходя из их уровня грамотности, опыта и личных заслуг. Впрочем, необходимо отметить, что для многих мусульман и брахманов, которые привлекались махараджей к государственной службе, этот вид занятий был наследственным. Предки этих чиновников служили еще в те времена, когда Панджаб был одной из провинций Могольской империи<sup>20</sup>. Большая часть личных секретарей высших чиновников и сардаров была представлена мусульманами, они в совершенстве владели персидским языком, на котором велась официальная и частная переписка<sup>21</sup>.

Все эти факты учитывались англичанами и влияли на их общую положительную оценку как политических процессов, происходящих в сикхском государстве, так и самих сикхов, воспринимающихся как «стержневая нация» Пятиречья. Подобные примеры становились свидетельством того, что сикхи сумеют постепенно преодолеть недостатки, столь присущие, с точки зрения англичан, всем индийским народам. Сторонником такой точки зрения был упомянутый Чарльз Мэйсон, который писал: «Если сикхи сохраняют независимость своей страны, то можно предположить, что развитие цивилизации устранист следы их варварства»<sup>22</sup>.

В целом англичане не отказывали сикхам в наличии большого потенциала развития в отличие от других индийцев. «Можно полагать, – отмечал Ч. Мэйсон, – что с течением времени они (сикхи. – К.Д.) станут гораздо более просвещенными и превратятся в превосходную нацию»<sup>23</sup>.

Таким образом, по мнению англичан со временем у сикхов имелись хорошие перспективы превратиться в ведущую нацию Индии, помешать чему могла только безответственная политика преемников Ранджита Сингха и усиление конфронтации с Ост-Индской компанией.

Следует отметить, что опасениям англичан было суждено сбыться уже спустя десять лет после смерти махараджи Ранджита Сингха. В 1849 г. в результате двух ожесточенных англо-сикхских войн сикхское государство потеряло свою независимость и было присоединено в качестве провинции к индийским владениям английской Ост-Индской компании. Однако в последующие десятилетия сикхи заняли достойное место в колониальной системе Британской Индии, а отношение к ним не претерпело существенного изменения.

<sup>19</sup> Cunningham J.D. Op. cit. P. 118–121.

<sup>20</sup> Griffin L.H. Op. cit. P. 115.

<sup>21</sup> Prinsep H.T. *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and political of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. With an account of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikh.* Calcutta, 1834. P. 191.

<sup>22</sup> Masson Ch. Op. cit. P. 436.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

*Shigemi Inaga*

**CROSSING AXES:  
OCCIDENTALISM AND ORIENTALISM  
IN MODERN VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS  
OF MANCHUKUO (1931–1945)<sup>1</sup>**

**Summary**

Orientalism and Occidentalism are crossing with each other in modern visual representations of Asia. One of the most typical and extreme cases may be singled out in Manchukuo/ Mǎnzhōuguó 滿洲国, a puppet monarchy which the Japanese oversea expansionism gave birth to in Northeastern part of China in opposition to the Soviet Union (1931–1945). The paper will discuss the geopolitical conditions in which visual symbols of historical deeds and events of the region were highlighted. It will also trace the chronological and geographical development of the politics of visualization which took place on the “new territory.” Through the process Western Orientalism dwelt in Japanese colonial mentality, whereas a typical Occidentalism also took shape in Japan’s approach to Asia.<sup>2</sup> The paper will analyze the crossover of the two axes in the so-called Asianism アジア主義, which aimed to realize the “Greater Asian Co-prosperity Zone” 大東亜共栄圏 during the period of China-Japan War.<sup>3</sup>

**1. Chang-bai-shan/Baektosan**

Let us begin by picking up one anonymous photo taken on Feb. 04, 1936 with the explanation: “the view of the summit of Hakuto-san Mountain 白頭山 (frozen) from the sky at the altitude of 4000 meters.”<sup>4</sup> The huge heart-formed oval caldera of 4.4 km large and 3.6 km wide is located at the altitude

<sup>1</sup> The title gives Manchuguo in a current English spelling, whereas the pinyin transcription is used in the following body of the text. An earlier version of the paper is printed in Japanese in the exhibition catalogue, *Images of Modern East Asia 近代東アジアイメージ*, Toyota City Museum, 2009, pp. 10–14, to which the author was invited to write the essay.

<sup>2</sup> I skip the discussion on the ambiguity of the notion of “Orientalism” and “Occidentalism” here. Refer to Shigemi Inaga, “Critical Re-evaluation of Edward W. Said’s notion of Orientalism”, in Ohtsuka Kazuo et al. (ed.) *For the Study of Islam イスラームを学ぶ人のために* (in Japanese), Sekai Shisōsha, 1993, pp. 276–292, as well as my contribution to “Edward W. Said” in *Iwanami Dictionary of Islam 岩波イスラーム辞典*, Iwanami Shoten, 2001, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> The notion Kyōeiken 共栄圏 seems to have been a translation into Japanese of English “Commonwealth”. But the Japanese term is habitually retranslated into English as the Greater Asian Co-prosperity Zone. My thanks go to Timon Screech for indicating me this etymological possibility.

<sup>4</sup> Former archives Jō Inaga. According to Jō’s diary, he himself was not the passenger on board of the aircraft.

of 2,190 m and surrounded by peaks of ca. 2,800 m high. The Manchuria Air 滿洲航空 had opened commercial lines connecting Shinkyō/Xīnjīng 新京 (Cháng-chūn 長春), 奉天 Hōten/Fèngtiān (later renamed as Shěng-yáng 瀋陽), Harbin 哈爾濱 and other main cities in Manchuria. The photo seems to have been taken during one of such sky tours.

The mountain conveys a symbolic meaning as the ancestral place of the Korean people. Choe Nam san 崔南善 (1890–1957), who had drafted the Korean Constitution at the moment of the March 1. Independent Movement in 1910 and later to be accused of pro-Japanese, published a serial article in the Newspaper *Dong-a Ilbo* 東亞日報 (East Asia Daily) in 1926. His report of the mountaineering is said to have contributed to rehabilitate the mountain as the Sacred Peak of the Korean People. Thus the volcano, which is known to have recorded a massive irruption in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century, has become a national emblem comparable to the Mount Fuji in Japan and Ju-shan (w.) / yù-shan (p.i.) 玉山 or Jade Mountain in Formosa.

The mountain, named Chán-bái-shān 長白山 in Chinese, was also worshipped by the Manchurian Dynasty of the Qing as the place of its origination. Indeed the area around the volcano is the source of three major rivers marking the national border and nourishing the whole northern part of Manchuria. Tū-mén-jiān 圖們江 River runs to the north-east, constituting the national border between Jílín Province 吉林省 and Ham-gyeong-buk-do 咸鏡北道 of Northern Korea, the Second Sōng-huā-jiān 第二松花江 joins the Sōng-huā-jiān which eventually crosses the city of Harbin toward north-east. In contrast, Yālùjiān 鴨綠江 runs to the south separating Liá'ning Province 遼寧省 from Pyeong-an-buk-do 平安北道 of Northern Korea.

The short description above will suffice to show the geographical as well as geopolitical importance of the volcano, which naturally separates Korea from China. Needless to say the keen sense of national border was nourished by Occidentalism, i.e. impregnation of the Western idea of geopolitics. The designation of the sacred mountain also partakes of Orientalism in so far as it was the outcome of the national consciousness in modern era. The combination of the two factors was essential for the new evaluations of the ethnic symbol.

The present paper seeks to investigate the following topic: what kind of seeds did the mountain and the rivers conveyed in fostering the images of Manchuria during the Japanese invasion period? How were the factors of Orientalism and Occidentalism combined in the politics of iconography conducted by the puppet monarchy of Mǎnzhōuguó from 1931 to 1945? In this paper I bear emphasis mainly on paintings and drawings while putting aside photography and documentary or theater movies, which will be studied at another occasion.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For general outline, see Louis Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998. As for cinema, refer to Yamaguchi Takeshi 山口猛, *Mantetsu, Maboroshi no Kinema* 『滿映・幻のシネマ』 (Manchuria Movie Company, Fantom of Kinema, in Japanese), Heibonsha 平凡社, 1989. Kato Atsuko 加藤厚子, *Sōdōin Taisei to Eiga* 『総動員体制と映画』 (Total Mobilization and Cinema, in Japanese), Shinyōsha 新曜社, 2003. Yan Ni 晏妮 *Senji Nicchū Eiga Kōshōshi* 『戦時日中映画交渉史』 (Wartime History of Chinese and Japanese Movies), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2010. On photo and graphic media, see, among others, Genifer Weisenfeld,

Let us at first briefly trace back necessary historical backgrounds. The Qing Dynasty installed in the 51st year of the reign of Kangxi emperor 康熙帝 (1712) a Stella designating the frontier 定境碑 of the Empire at the foot of the Chán-bái-shān Mountain. Two and a half century later, in 1875 the so-called Ganghwado 江華島 incident happens at the mouth of the Hang-gang 漢江 River in Korea, which marks the first symptom of the Japanese military threat to the peninsula. Through the intimidation by the infiltration of a gunship, Japan forced the Choson Dynasty to open its diplomatic gate in conditions unfavorable to Korea.

The following year, in 1876, the Qing Dynasty claimed that the territorial issue with Korea should be clarified so as to avoid further diplomatic dispute. For the purpose, China officially declared that the place name of 土門 (tǔmén) inscribed on the Stella should be recognized as identical with 豆滿 (dòumǎn). This was a tactical maneuver whereby China tried to justify its territorial acclaim over the Gangdo/Jiāndǎo 間島 area marked by the high population density of Korean emigrants. Why did China make such a claim at that point of time? Clearly it was the reaction of the Qing Dynasty to the conclusion of the Friendship Treaty between Japan and Korea 日韓修好條規 in 1876. Indeed, the vast superficies spreading on the western side of the Dòumǎn River 豆滿江 (currently renamed as Túménjiān River 圖們江 so as to rationalize China territorial claim) was under the threat of Japanese control – and it might ultimately be occupied by Japan.<sup>6</sup>

Simultaneously the Qing Dynasty had to deal with another border problem with Russia which had been steadily expanding itself to the south for the last one century. Already the Aigun Treaty 璦琿條約; Àihún Tiáoyuē in 1856 and the Peking Treaty in 1861 had stipulated that Qing Dynasty agree to cede to Russia the current Littoral Province of Siberia (the territory spreading to the east of Wūsūlǐ Jiāng River 烏蘇里江, 烏蘇里江, река Уссури and to the north of Túménjiān River 圖們江). As a consequence, China had lost its unique access to the Japan Sea. It was not until 1886, with the 璦琿春議定書 Húnchūn Protocol that China finally succeeded in recovering part of its territory by extending it along the northern bank of the Túménjiān River down to the point located 15 km upstream from the river-mouth and obtained the right of navi-

“Touring Japan-as-Museum: Nippon and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues,” *Positions*, Vol. 8, No. 10, 2000, pp. 747–793. On music and poetry in connection with Gando area, Shigemi Inaga, “Memories of Songs in the Migratory Situation, Notes from the Colonial Education, 1930s–40s”, 「移民状況のなかの「歌」の記憶1930-40年代の殖民地教育の現場から」 Japanese Society for Musical Education 日本音楽教育学会 (ed.) *Receptions of Other Cultures in Art* 芸術における異文化受容.

<sup>6</sup> Here may be the reason why the Marxist interpretation finds in the year of 1875 the beginning of Japanese Empire's imperial expansion. However, unless mechanically applying the teleological view of expansionism, it would be difficult to reconstruct any consistent program in Japan's overseas expansion. The most typical example is the South Manchurian Railway Charter which Japan obtained by the Portsmouth Treaty in 1906. Overlooking the strategic importance of the charter, Japan willingly tried to concede the charter to an American railway construction tycoon, Harriman. Financially Japan could not afford even maintaining the railway. At this point, the expansion to Manchuria was hardly included in the political agenda.



gation on the River so as to gain direct access to the Japan Sea. Wú Dàchéng 吳大澂 (1835–1902), Chinese diplomat and famous calligrapher, who was in charge of the territorial negotiation with Russia, is celebrated nowadays as a national hero.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Gando 간도/Jiāndǎo Issue 間島問題

The short historical overview above already shows the vital geopolitical importance of the border area between China and Korea, where the interests of Russian, Chinese as well as Korean-Japanese crossed-over in intricate ramifications. With the Japanese expansion toward the continent, the international juristic issues inevitably came to the fore in terms of territorial claims. This is what is commonly known as the Gangdo (K.)/Jiāndǎo (C.)/Kantô (J.) Issue which gains actuality especially since 1906, when Japan set up Protectoral Office of the Resident general 統監府 in the Korean capital after Japan's military victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Due to high Korean population density, the Gando area has become the zone where the Japanese and Chinese authorities dispute their own priority, interests and responsibility. In 1906, Naitô Konan 內藤湖南 (1866–1934), famous sinologist and professor at the Imperial University of Kyoto, presented to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed accounts of the territorial disputes/conflicts of the region which had been recorded both by the Qing local officials and by the Choson Lee Dynasty administrators in a quantity of historical documents.<sup>8</sup>

龍井Lyonjuong (K.)/Lóngjǐng (Ch.)/Ryûsei (J.) was the village in the Gando/Jiāndǎo region where a Japanese civil operation was deployed under the command of Lieutenant Saitô Suejirô so as to set up a detached office of the Japanese Resident-general for the purpose of “protecting the lives and properties of the Korean people” in the region. Shinoda Jisaku 篠田治策 (1876–1946), future and final President of the Keijô University in Colonial Korea, was the scholar in international law who was involved with this intelligence mission. His book, *Stella of the Baektosan* 『白頭山定界碑』 (1938) includes in addendum his earlier pamphlet, “Looking back the Kantô Problem” 「間島問題の回顧」 (1930) a retrospective view, in which he meticulously analyzes the diplomacy on the territory issue.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> One may trace the Orientalism-Occidentalism confrontation in diplomatic negotiations. While in the previous stages the Qing Dynasty had generously allowed Russia to possess the Northern Siberia, regarding the territory as not belonging to the Chinese world order, China took notice of the Western international law by 1886 and felt the necessity of accommodating itself to the Western order so as to protect its own territorial interest. Wú Dàchéng's huge stone statue is now seen elected on the bunker hill facing North Korea in the military restricted zone at the extreme limit of Chinese territory (also a popular sight seeing spot for Chinese tourists since ca. 2002) facing the Russian and North Korean borders. However the location of the statue is carefully selected out of the visibility of the current Russian border.

<sup>8</sup> Naitô Konan 內藤湖南 “Studies in North-East Korean Border.” 「韓國東北疆界攷略」 *CompleteWork of Naitô Konan* 『內藤湖南全集』 Vol. 6, 1972, p. 509–571.

<sup>9</sup> Shinoda Jisaku 篠田治策, “Looking back the Kantô Problem”, 「間島問題の回顧」 (1930) in *Haktôsan Teikaihi* (Border Stella of the Baektosan) 『白頭山定界碑』, Rakurôshobô 楽浪書院, 1938. Several phrases of the pamphlet published in inland Japan are erased because of the censorship. However the edition published in Dairen/Dalian escaped the erasure and allows us to recognize that the irresponsible statements of concession which Shinoda attributes to an identifiable agent in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been eliminated. In this pamphlet in 1930 Shinoda implicitly claims the historical belonging of

Shinoda firstly points out that the Stella implanted by the Qing Dynasty is simply invalid because it failed to designate the watershed. He then remarks that the Choson Dynasty committed a diplomatic error by carelessly accepting and ratifying the forced identification of two different geographical entities, – i.e. 土門 (tǔmén) inscribed on the Stella with 豆滿 (dòu mǎn) River – a forced identification that the Qing Dynasty had claimed for its own benefit. Thirdly Shinoda does not hesitate to sternly criticize the Kantô agreement 間島協約 which Japan had signed with China in 1909. For Shinoda, this agreement was “an ominous mistake that Japan committed in its rule over Korea,” because it contained a clause stipulating Japan's agreement to Chinese territorial claim of the Gando province, based on the above mentioned forced identification. According to Shinoda, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs thereby made an unnecessary and meaningless concession to China. The concession was made so as to secure several diplomatic advantages, such as the railroad charter between Andon 安東 and Fèngtiān 奉天 which was vital for the Japanese interest. In Shinoda's opinion, however, this An-Feng Railway Charter, among others, had been internationally guaranteed by the Portsmouth Treaties. From the viewpoint of international law, it was therefore, he concludes, an enormous diplomatic error and a seer absurdity for Japan to have made a useless concession of the Gando territory to China.

The misjudgment in 1910, Shinoda maintains, was to trigger a silly scandal, in the founding process of Mǎnzhōuguó. The independence of a new Monarchy was declared on March 1, 1932, in consequence of the so-called Manchuria Incident that broke out on Sep. 8, 1931. Shortly before the declaration of Independence, between July 26 and the morning of July 29, 1931, the Stella of the Baektosan was reported to have been illegally removed and lost to the dismay of the authorities. The border guards are reported to have been stupefied by the unexpected loss of the Stella, but this testimony smells a flimsy excuse which cannot help hinting at a camouflaged frame-up.

Shinoda does not hide his resentment toward those who “committed this silly maneuver” of “concealing the historical monument for the purpose of blurring the border”. Objectively speaking, the removal of the Stella could not have been a simple criminal act committed by a private initiative but it should have required a systematic mobilization of main d'oeuvre. Shinoda does not hesitate to suggest that the removal was a “premeditated deed” executed, if not directly by the Japanese border control in mission there, but at least by its tacit approval. Despite Shinoda's instigation the Government-general in Korea was said to have been reluctant to search for the lost Stella, and this fact may also reinforce the conspiracy hypothesis Shinoda had in mind.

Two similar cases of conspiracy are well known. On the one hand, Zhāng Zuólín 張作霖 (1875–1928), head of the Fèngtiān militaristic government was assassinated through the explosion of his train wagon on June 4, 1928. Three

Gando Area to Korea. In 2009, at the centennial of the Kantô Agreement, Shinoda's argument encouraged some sectors in Korea to make a plea to the Korean President that Korea should file the territorial suit of the area against China by bringing the case before the International Law Court in the Haag. Korean translation is published in 2005 from 止善堂.

years later, the minor explosion at Liǔtiáohū 柳条湖 (Sep. 8, 1931) slightly destroyed the South Manchuria railway near Fèngtiān. This incident gave pretext to the Kantōgun Army (which guarded the South Manchurian railway and its annexed territories) to eventually occupy the whole Manchuria within several months before the inauguration of Mǎnzhōuguó on March 1, 1932.<sup>10</sup> Both were the maneuvers plotted by the Japanese detached military headquarter in Manchuria itself and put into effect under the guise of subversive activities allegedly committed by the Chinese soldiers and “bandits” 匪賊. According to today’s Chinese official interpretation, all these Japanese conspiracies had a common willful purpose of justifying Japan’s military intervention which culminated in the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge 盧溝橋事件 which broke out on July 7, 1937.<sup>11</sup> The “accidental” exchange of gun fires gave an appropriate pretext for the Japanese massive infiltration in Huáběi 華北 zone in China through Héběi Province 河北省, including Beijing, lying far beyond the southern borderline of Manchuria, circumscribed by the Great Wall reaching to the Shānhǎiguān Gate 山海關.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> A Japanese writer, Hashimoto Osamu issues an insightful, if not scholarly, observation in his commentary of the year 1931, in an illustrated volume for general readership, *Nihon no Sensō 1, Manshūkoku no gen'ei* 『日本の戦争1：満州国の幻影』 (Japan’s War vol. 1. The Illusion of Manchuguo), Mainichi Newspaper 毎日新聞社 revised new edition, 2010, p.21. He claims on the one hand, that the slogan of “Manchuria, the lifeline of Japan” was the manipulation that the Japanese army took advantage of so as to justify its polity of expansion in the Northern China in the 1930s. Originally “Japan” here did not mean the Japanese archipelago but the Korean peninsula which Japan had to “defend” in Russo-Japanese War. An intentional geographic extrapolation is evident, he says. On the other hand, however, it is clear, he also maintains, that Japan had not seen at any cost Manchuria as its “lifeline” at the point of 1906. For Japan willingly tried to concede the South-Manchurian railway charter to the American so-called “railway Tycoon,” Harriman so as to cover the financial deficit. Lacking in strategic perspective, Japan at the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War was not capable of “invading” the continent nor did it have any resources to make Manchuria a profitable economic market. Only the illusory military glory and the Japanese popular self-conceit gave birth to the uncontrollable and self-destructive Manchurian dreams. Whether fully acceptable or not, from an academic point of view, this hypothesis non-the-less reveals a hidden (lack of) mechanism of Japanese Imperialism and sheds light on one aspect of the Oriental reaction to the Occidental Orientalism.

<sup>11</sup> It remains uncertain whether it was Japanese or Chinese side which shot the first bullet at the Bridge. The Chinese official interpretation sees in the Marco Polo Bridge incident one more example of Japanese habitual provocation for the sake of systematic invasion. Yet the historical circumstances do not entirely support this view, and specialists in international relations still continue to discuss the issue. According to some specialists, the excessive suspicion of the Chiang Kaishek Government toward Japan accelerated the diplomatic tension after the incident and several following incidents lead to the military mobilization which retrospectively constitutes the systematic military invasion that the Japanese government wished to avoid, officially at least, for tactical as well as strategic reasons. The fact of invasion remains but it is an open question whether the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was the premeditated trigger for the whole scheme of the political intention.

<sup>12</sup> During the period of the propaganda campaign was published contrasting the “safe and prosperous earthly heaven” on Manchuria verses “corrupted and horror-reigned Republic of China,” divided by the non-military zone put along the southern proximities of the Great Wall. See Kishi Toshihiko 貴志俊彦, *Manchuria’s Graphic Media Empire* 『満州国のビジュアル・メディア』 (in Japanese), Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館 2010, pp. 91–99.

### 3. Rèhé 熱河 Operation

Between the declaration of Independence of Mǎnzhōuguó in 1931 and the beginning of Japan’s direct invasion in China in 1937, there intervened one major military deployment, i.e. Japanese occupation of Chéngdé 承德, historical capital city of the Rèhé(Ch.)Nekka(J.) Province 熱河, which took place on March 04, 1933, two years after the foundation of the ‘fake’ puppet monarchy (in fact it was only on March 1, 1934, after the completion of the Nekka Operation that Pǔyī 溥儀 finally took the throne). The Rèhé Province, as it was called then, lay in the south-eastern corner of the so-called Manchuria-Mongorian District 滿蒙 neighboring the Northern border of the Republic of China. Historically the province was regarded as the “outside of the border gate” 關外, being located beyond the limit of the Great Wall. Accordingly, Rèhé Province was a restricted zone where the immigration of the Chinese people had been strictly limited up until the end of the Qing Dynasty’ rule.

The city of Chéngdé, located in the Mountain area was designated as the homeland of the Manchurian people and was famous for the Detached Summer Villa 避暑山莊 of the Qing imperial family. It was only after the establishment of the puppet monarchy that a railway was put into service from Jīnzhōu 錦州 to Chéngdé 承德 by 1936. And in the following year, 1937, the line connecting Chéngdé and Lǎoběikǒu 老北口 or the Chéng-Lǎo line was finally completed after difficult construction work in the mountain area, enabling one more railway access from Manchuria to Beijing (then called Běipíng 北平). The occupation of the Rèhé Province and the following construction of railway were also indispensable measures to control the opium trade and to monopolize its transportation, the Manchurian state economy was heavily dependent upon.

In the city of Chéngdé, fountainhead of the Rèhé River (namely hot river as it was not frozen in winter because of the water coming from hot spring), there was a huge villa of the Qing emperor surrounded by (more than) “Eight Exterior Rama Buddhist Pavilions” 外八廟. Especially famous was the one located on the hill just behind the imperial villa and garden. The huge temple building imitating the style of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet, was the main destination of the archaeological expedition lead by Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (1867–1935).<sup>13</sup> After the inspection Sekino pleaded the Manchurian government for its protection, insisting on the urgent necessity of conservation and restoration work (which was declined for lack of political urgency and because of the financial shortage)<sup>14</sup>. The Manchuria Movie Company shut a film, *Ruhe, Terra Incognita* 秘境熱河 (1936), reputed to be one of the most successful scientific documentary pieces of the company. Immediately after the occupa-

<sup>13</sup> Sekino Tadashi 関野貞, Takeshima Suguru 竹島卓(eds.), *Nekka* 『熱河』, Saūhō Kankōkai 座右室刊行会, 1934. See on the issue Xu Subin 徐蘇斌, “A Critical Review of Academism and Nationalism in East Asian Architectural Historiography, Tadashi Sekino and His Research on Chinese History,” (in Japanese with English summary), *Nihon Kenkyū* 『日本研究』, *Bulletin of The International Research Center for Japanese Studies*, no. 26, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, Dec. 2002, pp. 53–142. This is a special issue on “The Establishment of Art History, Architecture History and Archaeology as Academic Disciplines in Modern East Asia,” under the direction of Shigemi Inaga.

<sup>14</sup> Xu Subin, art.cit, pp. 123–124.

tion, the *Osaka Asahi Newspaper*, among others, distributed a color supplement, *Illustrated Document of the Exploration in Nekka* (Rèhé), on the issue of Oct. 1933. Professional painters were also to be dispatched to this historical heritage which had remained inaccessible and practically unknown to the public until then.

Among the first painters at work was Kawashima Riichirô 川島理一郎 (1886–1971), who executed on the spot *The Great View of Shôtoku* 《承德大觀》 (1934). As a prolific essayist, Kawashima reports the local climate by saying that “in summer it is extremely hot in Shôtoku, the temperature climbs up to 120 degree Fahrenheit. In the mainland Japan, it is simply impossible to imagine how difficult it is to make painting here. And yet the brilliantly strong sunshine and limpidity of the air enable us to catch the contours of the objects marvelously clear.” “The painters’ color sensation is thus satisfied to a degree beyond expectation as these splendid buildings are shining gold and the balustrades highlighting cinnabar red under the extremely bright exposure of the sun.”<sup>15</sup> These observations transmit the fascination by which Kawashima was caught in front of the exotic heritage with crude primary colors in arid climate which makes a sharp contrast with the humid atmosphere of the Japanese archipelago.

Kawashima was also amazed at the huge scale of the imperial garden which surpasses the imagination of those Japanese who have been accustomed with tiny “miniature gardens” in the small islands of Japan. He was also surprised by the extreme dimension of the buildings which were beyond any comparison with Japanese wooden structure. The main Rhama Buddhist temple revealed itself as no less imposing and gigantic than the stone-built monuments and palaces in the West. He mentions that the main mausoleum of the temple 普陀宗乘之廟 is “twice as large as” the largest reinforced concrete modern building at the center of the Japanese capital, Marunouchi Building, and he also notes the *Kwanin with one thousand arms* (sahasrabhuja ārya avalokitesvara, 千手觀音), at the Temple Pūningsi 普寧寺, which is “22 meter high and known as the largest wooden sculpture in the world.”

Kawashima’s value judgment is worth analysis. In the hyper-large scale of the construction, the painter saw “a work of a mighty country,” and remarked that “everywhere we can see the traces of the splendid-ness of the glorious past.” “The ruins of 150 years age gathering rust surpasses by far the gorgeousness of the Nikkô Mausoleum” of the Tokugawa Family, and “its grandeur rather bears due comparison with the ruins or Rome or Pompei.” It is not difficult to detect a typically “Orientalist” attitude in Kawashima’s descriptions.<sup>16</sup> He found in Chéngdé such an imposing historical heritage that he felt difficulty

<sup>15</sup> Kawashima Riichirô 川島理一郎, *Midori no Jidai* 『緑の時代』 (The Era in Green), Ryūseikaku 隆星閣, 1936. The above quotes as well as the followings are from pp. 99–112. Other essays by Kawashima treating the Rehe region include *Tabibito no Me* 『旅人の目』 (The Eyes of a Traveler), 1936, and *Hokushi to Nanshi no Kao* 『北支と南支の貌』 (Views of Northern and Southern China), 1939, from the same publisher.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Linda Nochlin, “Imaginary Orient,” (1983) in *The Politics of Vision: Essays in Nineteenth Century Art and Society*, Thames and Hudson, 1989, pp. 33–59. John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism, History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester University Press, 1995,

in finding out any equivalent in Japan. The monumental scale of the ruins also reminded him of the lost glory of the past Chinese Civilizations. The rare opportunity of being selected as the first privileged eyewitness of the newly discovered remains flatters the painter’s pride as a pioneering explorer and tickles his vanity as conquer. Kawashima was the only artist officially dispatched to Chéngdé with a special status: he was treated as a major general 少将待遇 in the military hierarchy.

As a commissioned officer, Kawashima observes that the “beauty of Shôtoku is left in abandonment” and regrets the waste of the precious treasure. He wishes that the cultural heritage could be saved from the current oblivion and misfortune. This “*mission civilisatrice*” behooved on the new ruler, Japan, of which he was an official delegate. Naturally Kawashima expresses his amazement at the remarkable progress he saw in Japanese exploitation, and applauds the new development in public work advanced by Japanese engineers. “The glorious exploit is hardly imaginable unless you see it on the spot with your own eyes.” Kawashima confesses that he “was seized by a pious sentiment of devotion at the sight of the Japan’s New Territory.” He was also astonished to hear that thieves are risking their lives in illegally penetrating the sanctuary almost every night so as to steal the material from the bronze-covered shrine. The anecdote hints at the lack of national consciousness among the Chinese and Manchurian people. He was also marveled at the view of the vast poppy field in full bloom, and felt as if he were straying in the opium flower garden. “I am fascinated by the relentless-ness of the human existence” he is experiencing in the dream-like wonderland.

Full of conviction, Kawashima concludes that despite the difficulties in travel and the climatic harshness notwithstanding, Shôtoku is a place he “strongly recommends his fellow Japanese painters to visit, because of the grandeur of the nature typical of Manchuria, and because of the impressive view of the eight Buddhist Temples of imposing scales and richness.” Painters officially invited to Manchuria were to reply to Kawashima’s invitation.

Yasui Sôtârô (1888–1955), famous for his china taste of the *Portrait of a Woman in Chinese Dress* (1934) entered Chéngdé in 1937 after his mission to the Capital Xīnjīng at the occasion of the Commemorative Exhibition of the Emperor’s Official Visit to Japan 訪日宣詔記念美術展. The railway construction had shortly been completed and the painter took advantage of it. Two pieces of *Rama Temple in Chendu* (*Shôtoku Rama Byô*) (1937–8) are the outcome. The same motif was to be depicted by Okada Kenzô (1902–1982) and others in the following years. Yasui’s views of Chéngdé were to be followed shortly after by Yasui’s colleague, Umehara Ryūzaburô 梅原龍三郎 (1888–1986) through *The Temple of the Heaven* (1939), *Forbidden City* (1940), or *Chang-an Avenue* (1940) executed in Beijing, under Japan’s military occupation.<sup>17</sup>

pp. 43–70. Shigemi Inaga 稲賀繁美, *Orient of the Painting* 『絵画の東方』 (in Japanese), University of Nagoya Press 名古屋大学出版会, 1999, pp. 10–69.

<sup>17</sup> Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, “Representation of Asia in Modern Japanese Paintings,” (in Japanese with English summary), *Nihon Kenkyû* 『日本研究』, Bulletin of The International Research Center for Japanese Studies, No. 26, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, Dec. 2002, pp. 185–220. See also Choi Jaekyuk, “Images of Manchukuo Represented in Japanese Painting

These works have been recognized as marking the highest peaks of the Japanese oil painting in the Pre-war period. Especially, Yasui's *Portrait of a Woman in Chinese Dress* or Umahara's *Forbidden City* have been constantly reproduced in color in the frontispiece of the State-permitted history manuals in use at the junior-high or high school level, without any critical judgment. Even the history manuals edited by staunch Japanese Marxist scholars constantly inserted illustrations of these works regardless of the fact that the view of Chéngdé or Beijing of the period had been executed by privileged bourgeois artists under Japan's military occupation in foreign land.<sup>18</sup>

In my opinion, Yasui's Chéngdé sceneries and Umehara's Beijing series represent the most accomplished form of Japanese-made Orientalist painting, an Asian version and replacement of the Western colonial painting. The excitement that the Japanese felt at the view of the glorious and genuine essence of the Continental Asian culture contains an element of exoticism similar to the one the West had felt in the "Orient". And the pettiness of the Japanese insularity complex seems to have experienced a mental hypertrophy in the midst of the monumental Chinese cultural heritages, which temporarily fell into their possession. A Japanese self-conceit of the conquer of the East 東洋の覇者 was camouflaged under the slogan of the "constructor of the Royal Road reading to the Earthly Paradise" 王道樂土.<sup>19</sup>

The hidden arrogance of the colonizer reveals itself through the pictorial rendering. Here is a typical crossing of Orientalism and Occidentalism. The Orient is depicted here through the Western medium and technique of oil painting that the Japanese Westernizing institutions of art academy had been busy assimilating in the last half a century. Just as Western weapons were means for military invasion, so were Western style oil paintings mobilized for the symbolic subjugation of the conquered land. Of course the oil painting here serves as a metonymy: every available Western measures were adopted so as to achieve the Cause of the East of which Japan claimed to be the champion. By so doing, Japan gradually transformed itself into a dummy of the Western style colonial empire. Orientalist paintings made in China by Japanese artists were just one example of such by-products of mimicry. The famous slogan formulated by Edgar Quinet, "The Orient proposes, the Occident disposes"<sup>20</sup> is somewhat twisted and interiorized in the cultural politics of Manchuria under Japan's military rule.

between the 1930s and 1940s," (in Korean with English summary), Art History Forum, Center for Art Studies, Seoul, Korea, No. 28, June 2009, pp. 111–140.

<sup>18</sup> Shigemi Inaga, "Use and Abuse of Images in Japanese History Textbooks and the History Textbook Controversy of 2000–2001," in James C. Baxter (ed.), *Historical Consciousness, Historiography and Modern Japanese Values*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2002, pp. 19–38, esp. pp. 30–34.

<sup>19</sup> A typical example may be found in the case of Tôyama Ichirô 藤山一郎, Director of the Manchuria Museum, who sent his painting of a Bird-eye view of Chende to his personal friend, Benito Mussolini. See, Shin-Hakubutsukan-Taisei, *What Manchukuo's Museums Tells to Postwar Japan* 『新博物館態勢 – 満洲国の博物館が戦後日本に伝えていること』 (in Japanese), Nagoya Prefectural Museum, 1995, p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> "l'Orient propose, l'Occident dispose" was itself was a parody from the Bible: The human being proposes and God disposes, or "l'homme propose, Dieu dispose."

#### 4. Camel and the Ideal of Five Races in Peaceful Collaboration

The same year 1937 saw the realization of the *Exposition internationale des arts et des techniques dans la vie moderne* in the city of Paris. Yamaga Seika 山鹿清華 (1885–1981), Nishijin weaver from Kyoto was one of the participants and exhibited his *Tapestry of Rêhé* 熱河壁掛 (1937). The following year Yamaga executed a *Hand Woven Tapestry of the Stone Boat* 清晏舫 taking the motif from the unsinkable stone boat at the Běihǎi Park in Beijing.<sup>21</sup> The choice of these motifs suggests the high respect the artist paid to the Chinese culture. And yet the fact remains that both Chéngdé and Beijing have just entered under Japanese military besiege and control. The tapestry undoubtedly contributed to the enhancement of the Japanese national dignity (to which few Japanese felt uneasiness and doubted about its legitimacy). These pieces of art not only manifest Japan's self-recognition as "the constructor of New Asia" (to borrow the term from Ôkawa Shûmei; the slogan of "New Asian Order" will be coined in 1939 by the Kono cabinet); but they also proudly show to the West that the quintessence of the Orient, materialized in the Chinese civilization is now represented by the Japanese artists in replacement of the Chinese or Manchurian craftsmen.

It is not useless to recall the first quote that Edward W. Said made in his *Orientalism* (1978) from Karl Marx: "*Sie können sich nicht vertreten, sie müssen vertreten werden*".<sup>22</sup> Namely, in the context of the present paper, Yamaga's tapestry is implicitly stating as if Chinese or Manchurian people were no longer capable of representing their own artistic heritage; they had to be re-presented (*vertreten*) – by the Japanese. A sense of self-importance is imbedded in Japan's *prise de conscience* of its own historical mission. Such self-esteem is unpretentiously emanating from Yamaga's tapestry fabricated for public exhibitions.

One paradox must be mentioned here. Neither of the three (Yasui, Umehara and Yamada) depicts explicitly military scenes. And yet the seemingly peaceful setting hides the reality of military control. Instead, an apparently respectful attitude toward the glorious past is carefully demonstrated. And yet, underneath the surface, in front of the decrepitude and decline of modern Asia, a subtle feeling of pity creeps in. And this sense of pity secretly sustains Japanese self-righteousness. To use the terms of dramaturgy, it would not be easy to tell whether such a highly sophisticated 'screen setting' and 'choreography' was an intentional concealment by the stage director or not. The *maîtres* may have preferred avoiding any possible censorship by carelessly touching upon military secret; but the selection of non-military subject-matters may also account for the "political unconscious" (Frederic Jameson) of those Japanese establishment in art. Such questions are worthy of investigation.

<sup>21</sup> Exhibition catalogue, Yamaga Seika 『山鹿清華展』, Kyoto Prefectural Museum 京都市立美術館, Asahi Newspaper 朝日新聞社, 1985, pp. 1, 6, 19, 26, 28, 36, 40 show Yamaga's strong aspiration to Chinese history.

<sup>22</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage Book, 1978, p. 21. The phrase comes from Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*.

Whatever the case, the presence of the camel family in front of the Chéngdé Tapestry cannot be innocent, as camel was an important iconography with highly political charge sustaining the idea of “Royal Road leading to the Earthly Paradise” 王道楽土. In fact, Numata Ichiga 沼田一雅 (1873–1954), trained in the factory of Sèvres, and his disciple Funatsu Eiji 船津英次 (1911–1984) executed in the same year of 1937, a series of *Trips in Desert* 《胡砂の旅》, ceramic sculptures representing camels.<sup>23</sup> Such a sudden proliferation of camels in decorative arts cannot be explained without taking the current political situation into account. A typical subject-matter of Orientalist painting, camel was singled out to celebrate the accomplishment of institutional Westernization of the newly founded puppet Monarchy.

It must also be noted that the Chéngdé tapestry superimposes the symbol of Mongolia (i.e. Camels) over the architecture symbolizing Manchuria (i.e. Tibetan Buddhist Temple). The same combination can be observed in contemporary tourist advertisement. This visual emblem exemplarily stands for the cultural properties of the newly integrated territory, as its superficies now cover the entire Manchuria and a part of Mongolia. It will be relevant to note here that the term “Manchuria-Mongolia” 滿蒙 currently used at that period is not a neutral geographical designation. As Tanaka Katsuhiko, specialist of Mongolian language and language politics under Stalin regime has already suggested, “Manchuria-Mongolia” could not be the combination of the two ethnic entities but the expression of a particular political will of integrating the Eastern part of Mongolia into the territory of the Manchurian Empire.<sup>24</sup>

One more element must be added so as to fully recognize the role camel was to assume in the image-politics of Mǎnzhōuguó. In 1938 Kawabata Ryūshi 川端龍子 (1885–1966) executes a huge piece consisting of six panels and more than 7 m long, with the title, *Minamoto no Yoshitsune* 源義経 (1159–1189) a highly popular historical hero of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century who tragically ended his short life. But why is the young samurai on camel back? The popular legend goes that Yoshitsune, instead of being killed at the age of 30, could escape Japan and somehow reached Mongolia to become Temujin or the future Genghis Khan (1164/67–1227). In modern era, the popular baseless belief had been propagated in dead earnest by Suematsu Norizumi 末松謙澄 (1855–1920) or Oyabe Zen'ichirō 小谷部全一郎 (1868–1941).<sup>25</sup>

Suematsu got married with a daughter of Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文, Japan's First Prime Minister and First Resident-General in Korea. A famous diplomat, Suematsu accomplished the mission of explaining Japanese position to the Western statesmen during the Russo-Japanese war, and he is also known as the first translator of the *Tale of Genji* into English. Oyabe Zen'ichirō 小谷部全一

<sup>23</sup> Craft Reforming in Kyoto 1910–1940 『京都工芸の刷新』, Kyoto National Museum of Modern Art 京都国立近代美術館, 1998, p. 87, pp. 101–107. Tsuda Nobuo (1875–1946) also executed bronze sculptures of camels in 1940: 《塞外漫歩》.

<sup>24</sup> Tanaka Katsuhiko 田中克彦, *Nomonhan War* 『ノモンハン戦争』 (in Japanese), Iwanami Shinsho 岩波新書, 2009, p. 75.

<sup>25</sup> Hashimoto Yorimitsu 橋本順光, “Yoshitsune=Genghis Khan and Yellow Peril,” 「義経=ジンギスカンと黄禍」 in Ichiyonagi Hirotaka – 柳廣孝 et al. (eds.) *Woman Transfigures* 『女性に変身する』 (in Japanese), Seikyūsha 青弓社, 2008.

郎 (1868–1941) is also famous for his imaginary identification of the Ainu with the Jewish peoples. Author of a highly popular book, *Genghis Khan is Nobody Else than Minamoto no Yoshitsune* (1924), Oyabe reiterated his conviction in his *Manchuria and Minamoto no Kurou Yoshitsune* (1933).<sup>26</sup> Referring to a fake historical document of the Edo period, Oyabe deploys pseudo-scientific analysis of natural anthropology so as to persuade the readers of his forced identification of two historical heroes.

And yet, fantasy often overshadows reality. Kwabata's huge panel eloquently testify to this fact, and several other artists, like Kobayakawa Shūsei 小早川秋声 with *The Earth is Calling* (1940) or Shibata Yoshizo 柴田儀蔵 *Tapestry of the Aurora Light* (1940) followed suite.<sup>27</sup> The imaginary identification of the Japanese warrior with the founding father of the Mongolian nomadic Empire could not help exercising vast mythological effect. Camel as an exotic animal stimulated the Japanese imagination and induced them to a fictional travel into the deep moon-lit night Desert. A temptation to adventures in search of unknown treasures became favorite subject of popular literature. Bidding a farewell to the tiny archipelago seems to promise the Japanese to appropriate a vast and fertile Manchurian field at their disposal.<sup>28</sup> In their illusory representation of the Mǎnzhōuguó, the vague yearning to the caravan expedition into the Mongolian desert was somehow mysteriously connected with the dream of prosperity of Manchurian Forest and Field which seem to await the immigrant settlers.<sup>29</sup>

Such association of imageries encouraged the Japanese to psychologically legitimize their disproportionate ambition of building up a second Mongolian Empire, like an atavism, under the banner of “Five Races in Harmonious Collaboration”. The Slogan “Gozoku Kyōwa” 五族協和 was a homonymous replacement (at least in Japanese pronunciation) of “Gozoku Kyōwa” 五族共和, the Republican slogan put forward by Sūn Wēn 孫文 (1866–1925) in 1913 at the declaration of Independence of the Republic of China. Of the five ethnic groups Sūn Wēn had in mind, three, namely, Chinese, Mongolian and Manchurian were kept as they were, while Moslem and Tibetan were replaced by Korean and Japanese in the Mǎnzhōuguó version. What kind of allegory was attempted so as to celebrate the slogan of racial collaboration?

<sup>26</sup> 小谷部全一郎 『成吉思汗ハ源義経ナリ』 富山房, 1924; 『満洲と源九郎義経』, 富山房, 1933.

<sup>27</sup> Chiba Kei 千葉慶, “Uneasiness and Illusion: Political Meanings in the Representations of Manchuria in Official Salon Exhibitions,” 「不安と幻想：官展における満洲表象の政治的意味」 (in Japanese), *Report of the Research Project in Humanities and Social Sciences* 『人文社会科学プロジェクト報告』, Chiba University 千葉大学, Vol. 175, 2008, pp. 18–53.

<sup>28</sup> Liu Jianhui 劉建輝, “‘Manchukuo’ – The Illusion and Reality of a Colonial Paradise,” 「満洲国：植民地楽園の幻想と現実」 (in Japanese), in Haga Toru (ed.), *Ideal Places in History, East and West*, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1995, pp. 189–204.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Kimura Ihei 木村伊兵衛 (photo) Hara Hiroshi 原弘 (Layout), *Royal Road and Earthly Paradise* 『王道楽土』 Ars, 1943. Analysis of Manchuria Graphic 『満洲グラフ』 is worth accomplishing (reprint forthcoming).

## 5. Allegory of Ethnic Conciliation

Kawabata Ryūshi was one of the painters who made the sky tour around the Baektosan. The serial feuilleton in the *Tokyo Daily News* 東京日々新聞 includes his bird-eye-view sketch and text (August, 3 1937). In the following period, Rūshi realizes four huge panels under the general title of 大陸策 or *Continent Projects*. The first *Paying Tribute to the Rising Sun* 朝陽拜(1937) is based on the Great Wall. The second is *Yoshitsune* on the Camel back (1937–8), the third *Kōrohō* 香炉峯 (1939) and the last one *Clouds collecting Flowers* 花摘雲 (1940).<sup>30</sup> *Kōrohō* refers to a Classical Chinese poem by Bái Jūyì (776–846), which has been extremely well known in Japan, but the panel directly echoes the painter's experience of looking down the Lúshān 廬山 mountain from the sky. A Japanese fighter aircraft was specially provided for the painter's observation by the army. Curiously the air plain's body is rendered translucent, which seems to prelude the forth panel where the spring winds passing through the Mongolian Steppe are allegorically personified into transparent heavenly maidens, who are blowing up wild flowers. Buddhist female divinities flying in the sky may be counted among possible sources of inspiration.

While allegorical representation of human figures was a commonplace in Western Fine Arts academy, it was not easily understood nor widely accepted in the East. For long, the Japanese artists were rather reluctant to appropriate that part of the Western tradition. The only exceptions were the pieces prepared for decorations in Western style public buildings. Among possible precedents of Ryūshi's allegorical panels, one may point out the mural painting of *Hagoromo* (1921–24) by Wada Sanzō (1883–1967), destined for the Korean Government General Building in Keijō (actual Seoul). The legend of the heavenly maiden who had to stay on earth for lack of feather robe ('*hagoromo*' which served as wings) was a type of folklore the artist selected because the story was widespread all over the East-Asia, including Japan and Korea.

Generally speaking female figures have been preferred in allegory. In the case of Mǎnzhōuguó 滿洲国, Ôki Toyohira's *New Country Manchuria* (1934) represents a woman accompanying two children, all dressed in Manchurian fashion. Two years later Okada Saburōsuke (1869–1939) executed *Peaceful Collaboration of the Races* 民族協和 (1936) for the decoration of the Grand Hall of the State Department of Mǎnzhōuguó 滿洲国. Five Women dressed in ethnic fashion in alignment allegorically represent five races composing the country. It is not clear if the game played in the scene was supposed to be understood by the public, for the game stems from the 'anti-humanistic' negotiation in the female slave trade. Unless the theme was neglected or overlooked, it could hardly be an appropriate theme for the public decoration to promote interracial cooperation of five ethnic groups! During the precedent Rêhé operation, a similar propaganda is known to have been diffused. There, five men from different ethnic background forming a sort of scrimmage. The possibility of re-appropriation of this poster by way of 'feminization' of the five male figures cannot be excluded. Although the treatment of the subject is rather mediocre, the

<sup>30</sup> *Kawabata Ryushi Exhibition* 『川端龍子展』, Shiga Prefectural Museum 滋賀県立美術館, The Mainichi Newspapers 毎日新聞社, 2005.

image seems to be widely reproduced and diffused with some variations both in postcards and mailing stamps.<sup>31</sup>

Most problematical among the allegorical formulation of the Manchurian Ideal may be the case of 興亜曼荼羅 or *Mandala for Aisan Prosperity* (1940) by Wada Sanzō. As Nishihara Daisuke observes, numerous local manners and customs of Bali, India, Tibet, Micronesia, Malay, Mongol, Korea, China etc. can be discerned in stereotypical representations. But they are juxtaposed in a montage which defies any principle of classification. In the middle of these confusions there stands a podium on which a winged angel-like person handles two while horses drawing a carriage.<sup>32</sup> It seems as if Apollo in Greek Mythology were combined with the symbol of the Rising Sun in such an unusual syncretism that its archetypal precedent model is not easily found. Unless new proposal is made as for the source of inspiration, all that can be said on this piece for the time being remains hypothetical: The dream of Manchurian utopia requested a colorful cacophony to which the conventional combination of Orientalism in the motif selection and Occidentalism as a template was not enough to propose any convincing unifying principle. Remodeling the Western style allegory fell short of expectation, and replacement was still to be searched.<sup>33</sup>

## 6. The Khalkha River

Let us turn our attention to the Mongolian border in the period following the break out of Chino-Japanese War in 1937. The area along the Khalkha River was the Western frontier of Mǎnzhōuguó facing Mongolian People's Republic. The Eastern part of the Inner Mongolia or Nèi Měnggǔ 內蒙古, as it used to be called in China, belonged to the territory of the Qing Dynasty. However no agreement had been reached as of the borderline, which caused frequent minor military conflicts (the notion of nation-state border was lacking among the Mongolian clans). In reality, the Mongolian People's Republic (1924–1996) was a *de facto* satellite state of the Soviet Union, whereas Mǎnzhōuguó (1931–1945) including part of the Outer Mongolia was internationally regarded as a puppet monarchy of the Japanese Empire. As Owen Lattimore put it, this situation was enough to make Manchuria "a cradle of conflict".<sup>34</sup>

The COM-intern was convinced by 1932 that Japan had made determination to open massive aggression vis-à-vis the Communists regimes in the near future. This conviction was based on the so-called Tanaka memorandum, allegedly attributed to the Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi 田中義一 (1929), although

<sup>31</sup> Kishi Toshihiko, op.cit., pp. 194–197, 205–207. However Kishi does not question the ambiguity of the subject-matter.

<sup>32</sup> Nishihara Daisuke, art.cit. p. 208.

<sup>33</sup> Kawada Hisaaki 河田久明, "Instead of Allegory: Symbolism in War Time Japan," (in Japanese), in Nagata Ken'ichi 長田謙一 (ed.), *War and Representation/Art after 20th Century* 『戦争と表象: 20世紀以降の芸術』, Bigaku Shuppan 美学出版, 2007, pp. 207–229, develops an insightful comparison between German Nazi propaganda allegory and the lack of equivalent in the contemporary Japanese official Art, at least (if not in the treatment of photography in journalism).

<sup>34</sup> Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria-Cradle of Conflict*, New York: Macmillan, 1932.

the document lacks in authenticity.<sup>35</sup> Japan in fact was far from being ready for the military maneuver suspected by Moscow. Yet Tokyo revealed its incapacity of controlling the disobedient adventurism repeated at the Kantôgun headquarters in Manchuria. The lieutenant-colonel Tsuji Masanobu 辻政信 is regarded as being the main responsible person for the arbitrary decision making in Kantôgun staff.<sup>36</sup>

These circumstances resulted in the so-called Nomonhan incident which broke out on May 11, 1939. The battle ended with the cease fire on Sep. 16, reporting Japan's devastating defeat with more than 20,000 deaths on the field. Recent studies revealed that the casualties in Soviet camp were no less important than the one recorded by the Japanese side.<sup>37</sup> And yet the tactical failure on the battlefield as well as the strategic loss was taken seriously by the Imperial General Staff in Tokyo: the polity of the North Strike Group (favored by the army) was judged untenable and gave way to the South Strike Group (favored by the navy), which eventually resulted in the attack of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese Navy on Dec. 7, 1941.

The most famous painting reporting the incident is undoubtedly the *Battle of Kharkha River* 《哈爾哈河畔の戦闘》(1941) by Fujita Tsuguharu 藤田嗣治 (1886–1968). Let us have a brief look at his artistic career. Being the author of an early *Landscape in Korea* (1913), Fujita stayed in Europe for a long period, experiencing the First World War before returning to Japan in 1932 after a tour in Latin America. Based on his experience in Beijing in 1934, he painted *Wrestlers in Peking* (1935). He also enjoyed a round trip in Manchuria in April 1935 together with Ishii Hakutei and Taguchi Jotei. Their disembarkation at the Port of Dalian is reported in the *Daily Manchuria* on April 23, 1935. One photographic bromide of the period, presumably distributed by the painter himself with his own handwritten signature, is found in my grandfather's archives, hinting at Fujita's sociability as well as the popularity he enjoyed.

The *Battle of Khalkha River* presents a vast panorama of the Mongolian steppe under the blue sky. The huge canvas of 448 cm long and 140 cm high represents Japanese soldiers capturing a Soviet tank. The scene does not evoke any possibility of Japanese defeat. Originally the painting was not officially commanded but was executed by a personal order of the lieutenant-general Ogisu Ippei, who had been put into reserve assuming responsibility of his failed command in the operation. The piece of work is said to be treated as the "document of the military operation" only later when the souls of fallen soldiers in the

<sup>35</sup> Though most of the scholars nowadays agree on the assumption that the Tanaka memorandum was a fake made by some agency in the Republic of China for the sake of manipulation, many analysts from the ex-Marxist regime still do not withdraw their opinion that the long-term strategy of the Japanese Empire had been determined in accordance with the so-called Tanaka memorandum, regardless of the fact that the document in question was a fake.

<sup>36</sup> These general understandings are given in many books of vulgarization. See *Zusetsu Manshūkoku* 『図説満州国』 (Manchuguo Illustrated, in Japanese), Kawade Shobōshinsha 河出書房新社, 1996. Though not scholarly, the book provides accurate and balanced account.

<sup>37</sup> B. Baabar, *From World Power to Soviet Satellite: History of Mongolia*, University of Cambridge Press, 1999, marks one of the first revisions of the issue in Western language.

Nomonhan Incident were to be buried in the Yasukuni Shrine, near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo.

From the night of July 2<sup>nd</sup> to the following morning, Japanese 23<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division crossed the Khalkin Gol to the West by making use of the unique pontoon bridge and occupied Baintsagan Hill. It is said that almost one hundred guns and 60 anti-tank guns were dismounted on the east bank and remounted on the west bank. However, the Russians, perceiving the treat, launched a counter attack with ca. 450 tanks and armored cars. Unable to confront with the armored Soviet force, the Japanese force had to withdraw, re-crossing the river on July 5<sup>th</sup>, leaving behind "thousands of dead soldiers, a huge amount of the dead horses and countless guns and cars" according to the report by the commander, General Georgy Zhukov.<sup>38</sup> Many soldiers were reported to be drawn while crossing the river back to the East bank. The two armies continues to spar with each other over the next two weeks along a 4 km front running along the east bank of the Khalkyn Gol to its junction with the Holsten River.<sup>39</sup>

Kaneko Maki supposes that Fujita's painting depicts the Japanese assault on the Soviet armored force near the above mentioned junction. Japanese 23<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division encircled the Soviet armored force detached from the 11<sup>th</sup> brigade and tried to annihilate it.<sup>40</sup> It is reported that the Japanese soldiers, for lack of heavy artillery, mainly relied on a quasi-suicidal attack of throwing Molotov cocktails or manually putting the mine in the caterpillar so as to immobilize enemy tanks before capturing them. The tactic was partly effective at this stage as the Soviet force was not sufficiently supported by infantry. On July 25 the Japanese disengaged from the attack due to mounting casualties and depleted artillery stores. To this point they had suffered over five thousand casualties. The battle drifted into stalemate.

Several people reported that beside the publicly known piece, Fujita secretly executed another hidden and 'negative' version, so to speak, of the *Battle of Kharlka River*. Rare eyewitnesses agree to have recognized the appalling scene of the definitive annihilation of the Japanese infantry in their desperate counter-attacks.<sup>41</sup> While Japanese army officers wielding swords so as to lead their men into the final charge, *aux armes blanches* leaving behind their ultimate trenches, Advancing Soviet tanks relentlessly crash countless bodies and scatter arms

<sup>38</sup> Georgy Zhukov, *Memory of Marshal Zhukov* (Japanese translation by Kiyokawa Yūkichi et al), Asahi Shinbunsha, 1970, p. 123.

<sup>39</sup> Alvin D. Coox, *Nomonhan, Japan against Russia, 1939*, in 2 vol. Stanford University Press, 1985 remains the classic. In 2009, at the 70th anniversary of the incident, several scholarly international meetings were held so as to examine the issue. "Battle of Khalkhin Gol" in Wikipedia (Sep. 20, 2010) gives a high-quality professional description, to which I refer here.

<sup>40</sup> Kaneko Maki 金子牧, commentary of the work in Hariu Ichirō 針生一郎 et al (eds.), *Sensō to Bijutsu 1937–1945* 『戦争と美術』 (War and Art), Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 2007, p. 205.

<sup>41</sup> Hasegawa Hitoshi 長谷川仁, in *Nichidō Garō gojūnenishi* 『日動画廊50年史』 (Fifty years of the Nichidō Gallery) 1977. Other accounts are quoted in Tanaka Jōden 中穰, Fujita Tsuguharu 藤田嗣治, Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1969, pp. 194–196. Kndō Fumihito 近藤史人, *Fujita Tsuguharu, A Life of an 'Etranger'*, 『藤田嗣治: あるエトランゼの生涯』 Kōdansha 講談社, 2002, pp. 193–195.

and legs of the fallen Japanese soldiers, victims of repetitive artillery and air attacks. Presumably the scene depicts the end of the Japanese 26<sup>th</sup> Division on 25<sup>th</sup> August, when it was pinned down and encircled by two wings of Zhukov's massive armored forces. By the 31<sup>th</sup> August, the overwhelming Soviet mechanized unit controlled the entire battle.

The defeat was kept secret to Japanese public. This forbidden representation of the Japanese infantry in destruction had never been publicly exhibited but kept concealed in the private house of the army general who had ordered the painting. The where-about of the piece remains unknown and specialists suppose that it has already been destroyed for good.<sup>42</sup>

The war painting as a genre in Western tradition used to officially represent the border area or the front line of the Western conquest of the Non-Western world<sup>43</sup>. This institutional apparatus was originally invented to celebrate the Western domination over the Rest of the world. For this reason it constituted one of the important sub-genre of the Orientalist painting. However Asia in 20<sup>th</sup> Century appropriated the Western apparatus so as to represent Asian struggle for political legitimacy and power hegemony in the international scene.

The military confrontation between the Red Army and the Japanese armed forces touched the limit of pictorial representation with Fujita's doomed painting. In a sense the merging of the Orientalism with the Occidentalism reached the point of ir-representability. Far from celebrating the military victory, for which the genre was intended, Fujita's hidden work reveals that the truth of inhuman reality of the war stands in opposition to the purpose of enhancing fighting spirit and militaristic patriotism. How is it possible to call the painter a collaborator of the war? And yet Fujita was accused of war time collaboration by his colleagues after the war and had to choose to exile himself. This brings us to our final topic.

## 7. Political Exiles Crossing the frontiers

So far, the paper briefly examined three major territorial issues of Mǎnzhōuguó in chronological order. It aimed to examine the overlapping of Orientalism and Occidentalism in (1) the Gando Problem (1876–1931: Eastern border), (2) the Rêhé operation (1933–37: Southern border) and (3) Nomohan Incident (1939: Western Border) by taking account of the geopolitical conditions and historical background. In the frontiers of the artificial puppet monarchy that Japan fabricated, the politics of Asian image reveals its problematical profiles. Among the five ethnic groups officially constituting the new monarchy, Korean, Manchurian, Han, and Mongolian positioning toward the Japanese military rule has been respectively highlighted. The visual documents examined above witness to the residing challenges that attempts of demonstrating the ideals of trans-ethnic identity of Asia-ness had to face in the socio-his-

<sup>42</sup> Hayashi Yōko 林洋子, *Fujita Tsuguharu* 『藤田嗣治：作品を開く』, University of Nagoya Press名古屋大学出版会, 2009, despite its discoveries of many new first hand materials, does not offer any unknown key on the issue.

<sup>43</sup> In Russian context, the case of Vasilii Vasil'evich Vereshchagin (Василий Васильевич Верещагин, 1842–1904), among others must be analyzed from this perspective.

torical context of the modern Manchuria. Let us now return to Gando area before concluding the whole discussion.

On March 1, 1932, the very day of the declaration of Independence of Mǎnzhōuguó, a Japanese proletarian poet, Makimura Hiroshi 槇村浩 (1912–1938) published a long poem, *The Song of Kando Partisan* to be arrested immediately in charge of the violation of the Peace Preservation Law治安維持法. Indeed, Gando was famous for anti-Japanese partisan movement, in which Kim Il-sung (1912–1994) made himself conspicuous. Yamamoto Sanehiko 山本実彦 (1885–1952) president of the Influential intellectual monthly, *Kaizō/Reform* visited Lyonjuong the same year of 1932. Japanese underground activists and secret agents, including several members of the clandestine Communist members penetrated the region. Such incident as Mǐnshēngtuán 民生團 affaire (1932–35) is reported in which the Chine Communist Party purged and executed many Korean activists as anti-Communist spies. A distinguished journalist, Ōya Sōichi 大宅壯一 (1900–1970) also visited Gando in 1935, testifying to the importance of the region.

In the meanwhile, the expedition of the Kyoto Imperial University lead by Imanishi Kinji 今西錦司 (1902–1992), famous ecologist, successfully climbed up the summit of Baektosan for the first time in winter season in January 1935. Stimulated by this success, the Mountaineering Club of the Third High School team reached the mountain in the summer 1940, to find out the source of Second Sōng-huā-jīān 第二松花江. Among the members was Umesao Tadao 梅棹忠夫 (1920–2010), founding father of the National Ethnological Museum in the future. It is no exaggeration that some of the most original scholarly contributions in ecological studies as well as in ethnological writing of Mongolia in the post-war period Japan find their origin in the pre-war expedition in the Gando region.

The frontier area around the town of Lyonjuong was also famous for its high standard in education. It was partly because of the Japanese implementation in education, as Shinoda Jisaku proudly stresses, but it should not be overlooked that Kando was also a place where “many anti-Japanese rebellious Koreans have crept in” so as to escape from the pursuit in the peninsula. As a typical “rebellious Korean,” Shinoda points out the case of Yi Sang-Seol 이상설, 李相高 (1870–1917), one of the main figures of the Haag Secret Emissary Affaire in 1907, which resulted from Korean Emperor Gojong's sending confidential emissaries to the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, Netherlands in 1907. Yi Sang-Seol opened a private school 瑞典義 to conduct patriotic teaching. The famous Korean national poet also appeared from the same intellectual background of Lyonjuong. Yun Dongju 尹東柱 (1917–1945) graduated from the Kōmyō Gakuen Middle school 光明学園中学部, a school of Japanese private initiative located in the city, in the year of 1938.

On June 13, of the same year, 1938, General Genrikh Samoilovich Lyushkov (Генрих Самойлович Люшков) (1900 – August 19, 1945), NKVD boss of Russian Far-East in the Soviet Union, crossed the Manchuria-Korean border near Hunchūn 琿春 by driving a car in search of political asylum. Upon arrival, he transmitted the news that a huge scale purge and executions had begun in the Soviet Red Army. It was only one month later that a military colli-



sion took place between the Soviet Army and the Japanese Army. The incident is known as the Battle of Lake Khasan (July 29, 1938 – August 11, 1938) in Russia and known as the Changkufeng Incident 張鼓峰事件 (Zhāng-gǔ-fēng Shìjiàn).<sup>44</sup> The navigation on the Tǔménjiān River was made impractical as the Japanese army placed mines in the riverbed.

The Zhāng-gǔ-fēng incident may be interpreted as constituting a pair with the Nomonhan incident of the following year. If the Zhāng-gǔ-fēng Incident happened on the North-east border, the Nomonhan Incident was to occur at the extreme-Western border of Mǎnzhōuguó. While the Kando problem stemmed from the concern about the “protection” of the Korean population spreading on the border zone, the Nomonhan problem was deeply rooted in the Mongolian clans subdivided by the vague border area (imposed by the nation-state system) between Inner and Outer Mongolia. Two months later than Rushikoff’s (Lyushkov – ed.) defection, captain Vinberg (or Byanba) fled to Manchuria from the People’s Republic of Mongol.<sup>45</sup> His narrative of *The Escape from the Inner-Mongolia* (1939), published in Japanese made a sensation. But this key-person and invaluable source of information seems to be killed abruptly in a combat near the front line of the battle shortly before the cease-fire of the Nomonhan War.<sup>46</sup>

## 8. Toward the Northern Border

These elementary knowledge will help us better understand a painting by Ishii Hakutei 石井柏亭 (1882–1958), *Manchurian Western Border to Soviet Union* (1943). Previously Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867–1943) went so far as to Dolon-nur (多倫 Duōlún) to record the camel caravan proceeding in the desert under the rising sun (1937).<sup>47</sup> The Romantic taste of the painter adds to the allegorical representation of the rising sun, as the “symbol of national glory”, which Fujishima also tried to enhance in his depiction of the Yù-shan (p.i.) 玉山 or Jade Mountain in Formosa (1935).<sup>48</sup> The picture of Baektosan taken

<sup>44</sup> “The Incident is interpreted as an attempted military incursion of Manchukuo (Japanese) into the territory claimed by the Soviet Union. This incursion was founded in the beliefs of the Japanese side that the Soviet Union misinterpreted the demarcation of the boundary based on the Treaty of Peking between Imperial Russia and the Manchu Empire (and subsequent supplementary agreements on demarcation), and furthermore, that the demarcation markers were tampered with.” (“Battle of Lake Khasan” from Wikipedia, Sep. 20, 2010.)

<sup>45</sup> Virberg, *The Escape from the Inner-Mongolia, Notes of Captain Byanba* 『内蒙古逃避行：ビヤンバ大尉の手記』, translated into Japanese by Kogi Toshio 小木俊夫 Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1939.

<sup>46</sup> Tanaka Katsuhiko, op. cit., ch.7. The book gives detailed a bibliography including publications in Russian and Mongolian languages.

<sup>47</sup> Exhibition catalogue, *Fujishima Takeji, 40 years after the death* 『藤島武二没後40周年記念展』, Mie Prefectural Museum 三重県立美術館, 1983. Fujishima’s own recollection is published in Tōei 『塔影』 (Shadow of a Pagoda), Sep. 1937; quoted in Tan’o Yasunori 丹尾安典, Kawada Akihisa 河田明久, *Imēji no naka-no sensou* 『イメージのなかの戦争』, War in the image (in Japanese), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 1996, p. 43.

<sup>48</sup> The mountain was renamed in Japanese as Niitakayama 新高山, or New-High-Mountain, a codename for the Pearl Harbor surprise attack by the Japanese Navy on Dec. 7, 1941, showing the symbolic importance of the site for military operation.

from a airplane in 1936 (which we have examined at the beginning) partakes of a similar sublime feeling that Fujishima wanted to transmit.<sup>49</sup>

However nothing of such spiritual exaltation can be found in Ishii’s landscape of the vast plain spreading over the deserted border area. One may detect here another limit of the Orientalist painting. No relevant Oriental motif can be seen in this empty space. Theatrical setting requested by the Western academy cannot be tenable here, except for a vague sense of uneasiness with which the stillness of the horizon line is menacing us, letting us anticipate an omen of catastrophe to come. What is menacing is the lack of clear demarcation of the borderline. Oriental perception of the Occident is no longer discernable from the Occidental view of the Orient. The Japanese Occidentalized Orientalism seems to be at a loss in front of this northern border. Within two years, the catastrophe comes to true: on August 8, 1945, a massive Soviet armored force of Subbaikal unit, with 2359 tanks and self-propelled guns will rush into Manchuria through this border area so as to put a definitive end to the Orientalist illusion that Japan has fostered in its effort of transforming itself in an Occidentalized colonial empire.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This remark also suggests the necessity of reexamining the iconography of the Mount Fuji in connection with the war time symbolism. See, Shigemi Inaga, “The Interaction of Bengali and Japanese Artistic Milieus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: Rabindranath Tagore, Arai Kanpō and Nandalal Bose,” *Japan Review*, pp. 149–181, esp. pp. 166–168.

<sup>50</sup> Of course this was only the beginning of another story, which I should address on another occasion. Let us just mention the most famous painter who returned alive from the Siberia detention camp, Kazuki Yasuo 香月泰男 (1911–1974), and note an album, Committee for the publication of the paintings by the Siberia detainees (ed.), *Kirameku Hokutosei no shita ni* 『煌めく北斗星の下に』 (Under the Flickering Seven Stars Indicating the North-Pole), 1989. Ishihara Yoshirō 石原悦郎 (1915–1977), a Japanese poet who survived the detention camp, left *Bōkyō to Umi* 『望郷と海』 (Nostalgia of the Homeland and the Sea), 1972, probably the ultimate limit of the description of the Gulag, which deserves comparison with Vasily Grossman’s *Life and Fate*, trans. Robert Chandler, Harper & Law, 1986. On this issue, see Shigemi Inaga, “Resistance to Western Modernity and Temptation of Oriental Absorption,” (English original not published, Japanese translation is forthcoming in, Isomae Ken’ichi (ed.), *‘Overcoming Modernity’ and the Kyoto School: Modernity, Empire and University* 『近代の超克』と京都学派—近代性・帝国・普遍性』, Ibunsha 以文社, 2010–11.

*Keiko Suzuki*

**WHEN WESTERNERS WERE CHINESE:  
VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGNERS  
IN THE JAPANESE POPULAR ART OF *UKIYO-E***

## 1. Introduction

As Europe-originated colonialism and nationalism dominate the discourse of modernity in terms of the Western colonizer vs. the non-Western colonized, it seems inevitable that the global and the local are automatically translated into the West and the non-West. In order to de-essentialize this discursive binary opposition, we have to inquire how the locals, or various others such as “the savage,” “the primitive,” and “the Oriental” interacted and interpreted each other in other time periods.

As a case study, this article investigates how the Japanese townspeople in the early modern period understood the foreigners and their cultures. For that purpose, I will examine how Japanese popular art of *ukiyo-e* or woodblock prints depicted foreigners and their vessels, rare commodities during the Edo Period (1603–1867) when Nagasaki was the only international port for more than two hundred years. Among the *ukiyo-e*, the article especially focuses on advertising posters and illustrated programs for popular entertainments in the early nineteenth century in order to see the popular understanding – not as high culture, but as the reality of everyday life while the townspeople were strolling on the street as consumers and spectators of the entertainments.

This investigation on how the non-elite Japanese visually experienced foreigners and their cultures intends to reveal the importance of *tōjin* as a cultural apparatus, which I refer to as *tōjin-ization* here. *Tōjin* (Tang Chinese) was a general term for foreigners those days, and the popular imagery of *tōjin* that the Japanese constructed out of various foreigners’ “exotic” features formed a general category of foreigner that included both Westerners and non-Westerners. *Tōjin*, thus I argue, helped the townspeople not only understand foreigners most effectively, but also shape their own cultural identity vis-à-vis the *tōjin*.

*Tōjin* is a colloquial and often derogatory term, equivalent to “Chinaman,” although the term was applied for anyone, including the Japanese, who was impervious to reason and common sense, talking nonsense. Ronald Toby (1994) has superbly demonstrated how the Japanese based the image of *tōjin* on Portuguese and Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and only later in the Edo period transposed the image from Iberians to Koreans, Chinese, Ryukyuan, and others.

This article, however, focuses on how *tōjin* worked as a cultural apparatus with its power to recombine and re-present various foreign features under the name of “Tang” by examining its applicability not only to foreigners but also to their vessels which were sometimes called *tōsen* (Tang ship). Furthermore,

in order to fully understand this *tōjin-ization* as a historical process, I will also extend my research to before and after this process occurred, discussing how the preexisting visual images and folk religion affected visual representation of foreign vessels and their passengers, and so did later historical events. By doing so, I argue there existed other kinds of premodern, translocal and epistemological orders, whose research certainly helps historicize and challenge the conventional divide between the West and the non-West.

## 2. Before *Tōjin-ization* Occurred

This section elucidates four examples of earlier vessels and their passengers, related to or inspired by foreigners and their cultures, in roughly chronological order. Predating *tōjin-ization* in the early nineteenth century that I focus on, these images functioned as visual sources and references for later images of foreign vessels and their passengers.

### 2.1. *Ryōtō gekishu*

The first such example is *ryōtō gekishu*. With the name that means “heads of dragon and *geki*,” they are a pair of the most decorative boats: one with a dragon as its figurehead, and the other with a *geki* (a kind of water bird). The boats are representative *Kara no fune* (Tang Chinese boats) which, introduced from China and Korea, the imperial court and temples employed for events, playing music on ponds and rivers in the Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) periods. Besides that, aristocrats employed the pair of boats for their outings (Ishii 1993; see also So, Park, and Zile 2000: Fig. 7–21).<sup>1</sup> That *ryōtō gekishu* were for playing music was reemphasized by the fact that, influenced by Song Chinese entertainers visiting Japan, the *dengaku* folk dance introduced a style in which the “Song Chinese” played music on “Tang Chinese boats” at *dengaku* festivals in temples (Mori 1948: 98).

### 2.2. *Takara-bune* (Treasure Boat)

In the Muromachi period (1336–1573), people started using a print of the treasure boat as a paper charm, placing it under their pillows with the hope that it would bring the good first dream of the New Year, crossing the sea.<sup>2</sup> Although the elite in Kyoto started this custom, the townspeople quickly took it on. While shrines and temples were mostly responsible for publishing the charms in Kyoto, merchants took on the task in Edo.

The majority of the treasure boats carry auspicious symbols, which evolved through time. The most primitive example was a boat with a bundle of rice plants – the essential “treasure” in the Japanese agrarian ideology. Soon the

<sup>1</sup> “*Ryōtō gekishu*” is also pronounced as “*ryōdō gekishu*,” “*ryōtō gekisu*,” “*ryōtō geisu*,” “*ryūtō gekishu*,” “*ryūzu yakusu*.” *Kaishū kotoba no izumi*, 1928, ed., s.v. “Kara no fune;” *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1st ed., s.v. “*ryōtō gekishu*.”

<sup>2</sup> For history of the treasure boat, see Ishibashi 1911; Miyata, ed. 1998; Tanaka 1988.

plants were joined by bails of rice (cf. Fig. 1), as well as other treasures such as sacks of gold and silver, the Cloak of Invisibility and Cap of Invisibility both for repelling bad luck, and the Mallet of Luck. Also included later were auspicious plants such as the pine, bamboo, and plum, and auspicious animals such as the crane and turtle, both symbols of longevity. Finally, Shichi-fukujin (the Seven Gods of Good Fortune) who collectively stressed foreignness became regular passengers on the boat by the middle of the Edo period, although that does not mean that the other, older designs were eliminated.

Believed to be coming from across the sea, and given consideration to the fact that Japan is an island country, the treasure boat is a suitable vehicle for the Seven Gods whose foreignness is prominent. Among the seven, Ebisu is the only native deity. Still, the term Ebisu implies foreignness and uncivilized fierceness, originating as a corrupted form of “Emishi,” which referred to the unconquered peoples in Ancient Japan, including those who were not ethnically Japanese (Yoshii 1999 [1957]).

While Ebisu, despite his otherness and marginality, is still a native deity, the rest of the Seven Gods were from China and India. The other six are Daikoku (Skt., *Mahakala*), Bishamon (*Vaiśravaṇa*), and Benten (*Sarasvatī*) from Hinduism; Jurōjin and Fukurokuju from Taoism; and Hotei from Chinese Zen Buddhism and folk religion. Here one has to remember that “the Three Countries” of Japan, China, and India by and large constituted “the world” for the Japanese until the Western geographical knowledge replaced this worldview in the nineteenth century.

While the treasure boat was most representatively illustrated as a sailboat in the Japanese style, other types of boats were also employed. Since the Seven Gods collectively stress foreignness, it is no surprise that their vessel shows some foreign features, as well. In fact, more than a few prints of the boat – both those published by shrines and temples, and those published as ukiyo-e – show the boat with a dragon figurehead.<sup>3</sup> Like the example of *ryōtō gekishu*, this specific figurehead strongly suggests that the boat could be regarded as a Tang ship.



Fig. 1. Kitao Shigemasa, The Seven Gods of Good Fortune in a Treasure Ship, ca. 1770, Chūban: 284 × 214 mm, Collection of Chazen Museum of Art.

### 2.3. Nanban Ships

The third example of the foreign vessels is the Iberian or Nanban ship. The term *Nanban* (Southern barbarian) originated with the Han Chinese whose Sinocentric view regarded themselves as the most civilized, living at the center of the universe, surrounded by barbarians in all cardinal directions. “Southern

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haags Gemeentemuseum 2000: Fig. 73; Ishibashi 1911: Figs. 11, 15; Shibuyuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan, ed. 1998: Figs. 134 and 135; see also Elvehjum Museum of Art 1990: 1980.2777.

barbarians” referred to peoples south of China. Used by the Japanese, the word came to refer to the peoples of Siam, Java, and the modern day Philippines in the Middle Ages, and the Portuguese and the Spaniards who came to Japan from their colonies south of Japan in the sixteenth century.

Nanban screens were produced between the end of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, and Nanban ships depicted in the screens are identifiable as Portuguese carracks, and later galleons and galliots (cf. Fig. 2). Painted black with coal tar, the ships were also called *kurofune* (black ship) in Japanese. For over three centuries, from 1543 when the first Portuguese arrived to 1853 when American Commodore Matthew Perry’s fleet appeared in Edo Bay, Western “black ships” were literally and figuratively the vehicle for Western culture, and continued to be artistic subjects in not only Nanban screens but also later prints.

Along with the Iberians, always depicted in the screens are “Black” sailors, probably from their colonies such as Goa and Africa. They are assigned to act as lookouts high in the masts and working, often acrobatically, in the rigging of the black ships (Toby 1994; cf. Sakamoto, ed. 1977: Fig. 65). Since the Iberian two- or three-masted sailing vessels for ocean navigation were much larger than Japanese ones, they must have impressed the Japanese, and so must have the masterly skills of “Black” sailors.

### 2.4. Dutch Ships

The last ship that I want to draw your attention is the Dutch one, depicted in Nagasaki-e prints. During the Edo Period, Nagasaki was the only international port for more than two hundred years. It is no wonder, then, that foreign vessels – this time Dutch ones – were a major subject of Nagasaki-e, an offshoot of ukiyo-e, made as souvenirs for local tourists during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The depiction of Dutch black ships, galleons and other kinds, became more accurate than that of Portuguese carracks in Nanban screens (Ishii and Iwao 1984). Yet, different from the screens, sailors conducting acrobatic jobs high in the masts of the Dutch ships are not distinguishable as “Blacks” in Nagasaki-e (cf. Fig. 3).

Besides the sailors, worth noticing are a figurehead and a “trumpeter,” both of which appear in various forms in later examples. According to the text attached to a similar print that probably was based on the same copperplate engraving from Holland, the figurehead is meant to be a lion (Tabako to Shio no Hakubutsukan, ed. 1996: Fig. 6). As for the “trumpeter,” I will discuss in more detail later.

*Picture of a Dutchman* (Fig. 4) depicts a Dutch “kapitan” or representative of the VOC (D: *opperhoofd*), accompanied by two other foreigners.<sup>4</sup> Cal

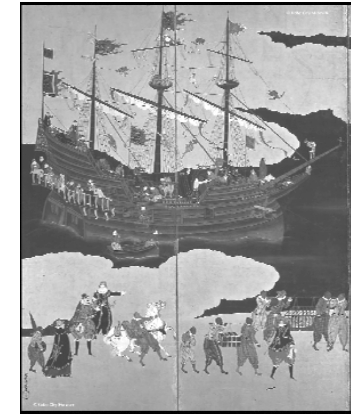


Fig. 2. Kano Naizen, Nanban Screen, Momoyama Period, Color and gold on paper. detail, Collection of Kobe City Museum

<sup>4</sup> See *Picture of a Dutchman (Oranda-jin no zu)* (Hosono 1978: Fig. 11).

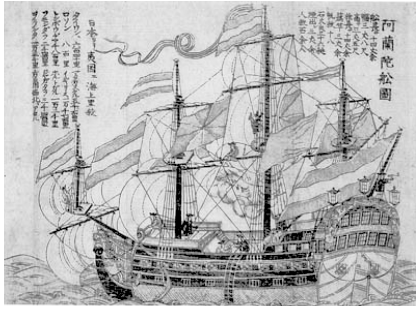


Fig. 3. Artist Unknown, Dutch Ship (Oranda-sen), 1781–1818, 28.3 × 39.6 cm (Tabako to Shio no Hakubutsukan, ed. 1996: Fig. 8)

French mentions that “of all the designs produced by Nagasaki printers over the years, this was probably the most durable of all, and it has come to stand for the entire tradition” (1977: 38). The captain has a long pipe and a walking cane, which were considered peculiar Western attributes. Seldom was a Hollander portrayed without accompanying possessions such as clay pipes, wine flasks, wineglasses, cane, Javanese slaves, and watches. The Dutchman of this print has a hat and curled hair, possibly a wig, while his left arm and hand are impossibly twisted.

His companions are a “Black” slave labeled as “*kurobou*” and a sailor labeled as “*madorasu*”, the term borrowed from *matroos* in Dutch. The slave is holding a sunshade over the cap-

tain. Probably brought from Java, he is barefoot, wearing simpler clothes and wrapping his head with a piece of cloth. “Blacks”, stereotyped with these features, are the only people depicted with Dutchmen in prints and paintings of the Dutch settlement. The sailor is bearing a goblet and wine flask on a tray; he is a European with his curled hair, Western clothes and shoes. As Cal French mentioned, these “exotic” features came to function as visual sources and references for later images of foreigners.

### 3. Tōjin-ization

Explaining four examples that pre-existed before tōjin-ization, this section investigates tōjin-ization process in the early nineteenth century, that is, how various “exotic” foreign features came to be recombined and re-presented in many ways. To examine this point, I will focus on advertising posters and illustrated program for popular entertainments.

#### 3.1. Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship in 1819

Although a “Dutch ship” was on show as early as the Ansei period (1772–80), the first big success of this trend was the *Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship* (*Bīdoro saiku Oranda-sen*) in 1819. Figure 5 is a monochrome advertising poster for the show, which attracted a huge crowd not only for its unprecedented size of about twenty feet and exquisite workmanship, but also because of mechanical dolls of two “Black” crew members climbing up the main mast, standing upside down, walking the halyards, and finally firing a cannon (Asakura 1928: 243). True to the title, this *Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship* captures some distinctive features of “black ships” in Japanese popular imagery those days – the Western-style black body with cannons, distinctive sail, and flags with “VOC” (the logo of *Dutch East India Company*). Another Western influence can be seen in the mechanical dolls to which Western clock-making techniques contributed greatly (Handa 1996: 33; Screech 2006: 112–123). Not to mention glass, which was

still a rare commodity in Japan, heavily associated with Western technology, although there had existed domestic glass.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the *Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship* shows a Western male figurehead with curly hair, Western-style hat and jacket. Still, the ship’s superstructures look rather Chinese than Western (cf. Kuroda 1974: 24–5; Sudō, ed. 1968: 59–61).

Even though historical documents prove the exhibited ship had two mechanical dolls of “Black” crew members, its poster did not show them clearly. There might be two possible reasons for this visual omission. One is that, following artistic conventions of Nagasaki-e prints to depict Dutch ships, the program did not make the mechanical dolls – sailors conducting acrobatic jobs high in the masts of the Dutch ships – distinguishable as “Blacks.” Another reason might be that, since the poster had been made ahead for prepublicity for the exhibition, the poster’s visual information might have been inaccurate, different from the ship actually exhibited.

“Dutch” ships in both Figures 3 and 5 have a “trumpeter” at the stern. While the “trumpet” depicted in Figure 3 has a bend in it, what the person at the stern is holding in Figure 5 looks straight, which might suggest a loud hailer rather than the trumpet, although the loud hailer is more likely to be used from the prow than the stern. In fact, the Dutch did not have a habit of playing a trumpet from a ship. If they needed to make signals, they used flags or a bell.<sup>6</sup>

My research suggests visual conflation and confusion might have occurred here, because of the following reasons among others. One reason is that very little information was available about Western ships, not to mention their maritime customs those days. Another reason must be the existence of *ryōtō gekishu*. Since these Tang Chinese boats had existed for playing music since the Heian period, that might have led the Japanese to assume that so would be some other foreign ships, coming later in history. Yet, the most compelling reason must be that other foreigners who were allowed to come to Japan in the Edo period did play music on shipboard and in many other places.

For example, in his *Zōho kai tsūshōkō* or *Thoughts on Chinese and Barbarian Trade* (1988 [1695]: 105), Nishikawa Joken states that the Chinese played their music not only at the times of arrival and departure at the Nagasaki port, but also when they were loading and unloading a statue of



Fig. 4. Artist Unknown, Picture of a Dutchman (Orandajin no zu), 42.8 × 31.7 cm (Hosono 1978: Fig. 11)

<sup>5</sup> Asakura (1928:244) mentions that the Edokko (Edo natives) in the Bunsei period (1818–30) used “*bīdoro* (blow glass)” and “*giyaman*” interchangeably, but the latter came to mean sculpted glass by the Tenpō period (1830–44). The Japanese term *giyaman* derived from a Dutch word (*Diamant*) meaning diamond as cut or sculpted glass looks like it (Okada 1983).

<sup>6</sup> I would like to thank Timon Screech for his valuable comments on this subject (personal communication, February 22, 2011). See also Morishima 1980[1787]:130.

Mazi (J: *Nosō*), a sea goddess and patron saint of seamen. As for their musical instruments, he refers to gongs and trumpets (or conical oboes).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, diffused from the Chinese in Nagasaki, music of the Ming and Qing dynasties (*Min-Shin gaku*) became very popular among the commoners in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the case of the Koreans and the Ryukyuan envoys, the processional bands of both countries played music while passing through castle towns and the Yodo river between Osaka and Kyoto, as well as in the Edo castle and their lodging houses. Following continental traditions of processional bands, both bands brought musical instruments such as long trumpets (Ch: *lapa*, J: *rappa*), conical oboes (Ch: *sona*, J: *sana-i* or *charumera*), and various gongs and drums. These foreign bands were “intent on making a loud noise” (Lee 1977: 211), which presented a striking contrast to processions of Japanese feudal lords, proceeding in absolute silence, except for the voice ordering bystanders to kneel down on the ground (Watanabe 1986: 137, quoting from Takase, ed. 1905: Appendix 2). In short, these foreign envoys with processional bands offered once-in-a-life-time pageantries to many non-elite Japanese, and for their minds, foreigners and music were inseparable.

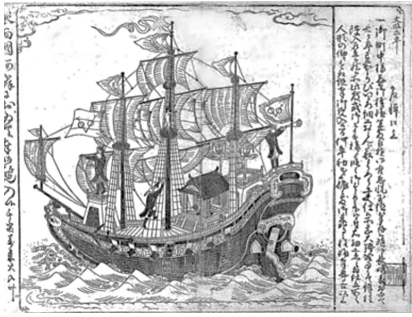


Fig. 5. Artist Unknown, Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship (Bīdoro saiku Oranda-sen), 1819, 35.3 × 47.9 cm, Collection of Toyo Bunko

### 3.2. Kabuki Program in 1819

Interestingly, in the same year of 1819, an almost identical ship appeared in an illustrated program for *kabuki* dance-play entitled *On'nagori oshie no mazebari* (Figure 6). The illustration captures the latter half of the ship from the opposite side, yet without the VOC flags and the trumpeter. The biggest difference between the two ships, however, is that the program has a half-naked Black figure at the top of the main mast.

In this kabuki, famous actor Nakamura Shikan (Nakamura Utaemon III, 1778–1838) performed nine roles by making quick changes. Expecting to capitalize on the unprecedented popularity of the glass-crafted ship, this kabuki that opened a couple of months later than the exhibition included a dance number called “*Kuronbo* (a colloquial and often derogatory term for a Black)” in the nine roles. Not only did this dance-play use a Dutch ship as a stage set, but the actor also copied the mechanical dolls’ movement (Buyō Daihon Kenkyūkai 1988, 1989a). That resulted in a Black figure featured in the program, which makes a big difference from the poster of the glass-crafted ship.

Importance of the kabuki program for this research lies in the fact that the Black figure added at the top of the main mast is acrobatically holding an enor-

<sup>7</sup> In the text, the Chinese characters for trumpets are read both as *lappa* and *charumera* by *kana* syllables for the reading at their sides.

mous branch of coral. The existence of coral may shift the meaning of the ship from a mere foreign vessel to the treasure boat. *Tokiwazu* song accompanied to the kabuki indicates this shift of meaning, which starts as follows:

As a symbol of the peaceful world, a ship from afar is bringing tributes to Japan. This Dutch ship is waiting for good winds at the Chikuraga-oki offshore,<sup>8</sup> with a Black well adjusted to the water.

(Then, a Black appears on stage, holding a three-foot-long branch of coral.)  
(Buyō Daihon Kenkyūkai 1989b: 6)

To explain the song lyrics, the first, “As a symbol of the peaceful world, a ship from afar is bringing tributes to Japan” implies the Tokugawa government’s state diplomacy and state policy toward foreign Others, based on the traditional Sinocentric world view. That is, by treating the foreign countries of Korea, Ryukyu, Holland, and Ezo (Ainu) as tributaries, the government tried to establish, or rather fabricate, Japanese centrality – a practice that intended to produce a Japan-centered world order.<sup>9</sup> In other words, imports brought by the Dutch ships were often treated as tributes, and this kabuki chose precious coral, “a three-foot-long branch of coral” more precisely, to represent not only tributes from afar but also treasure. This was because coral certainly made treasure in Japanese imagery by the Edo period, while it was not included in the classic treasure of the Muromachi-period treasure boat (cf. Shibuyakuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan, ed. 1998: Figs. 135, 137, 139, 140 and 141).<sup>10</sup> As for the combination of the “Black” and the coral, they hardly were an unlikely one for the Japanese those days, since “Blacks” brought by both the Iberians and the Dutch were most likely from Southeast or South Asia, and the Japanese knew that the sea in those areas produced coral. In short, all these elements of this “Dutch” ship in the kabuki program suggest the treasure boat.

One thing we have to remember is that, while the base image of the black ship in the program was from the exhibited Dutch ship, an image of acrobatic “Blacks” can be certainly traced back to Nanban ships in the screens. In this context, Okada’s suggestion is important. He suggests that rich merchants in Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai profiting from Nanban trade commissioned the screens, treat-

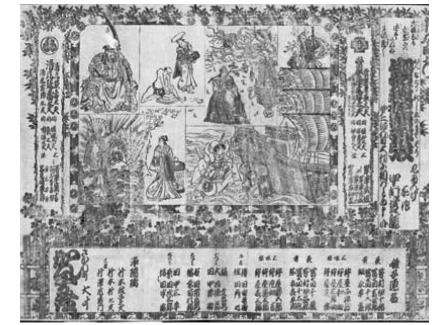


Fig. 6. On'nagori oshie no mazebari. 1819, Collection of Theatre Museum, Waseda University, 6288-01:28-5

<sup>8</sup> The Chikuraga-oki offshore is believed to be where the tides from Japan, China, and Korea meet.

<sup>9</sup> See cf. Asao 1970; Bitō 1977; Emori 1990; Howell 1994; Morris-Suzuki 1998; Numata 1967; Toby 1984, 1994.

<sup>10</sup> Coral continued to be a treasure in Japanese minds. For example, a school textbook for the first-year Japanese published in 1932 includes the story of Momotarō (Peach Boy). The last illustration of the story shows Peach Boy and his retinue pushing a cart full of treasure, among which the most prominent is a big branch of coral (see Kaigo, ed. 1963:577).

ing them as lucky charms like *takara no irifune* (a treasure boat sailing into the port) or a treasure boat (1970: 18–9). Despite obvious differences – expensive screens commissioned by the elite vs. cheap prints with the image of treasure boat, and the Iberian ship vs. the Japanese-style ship (most likely, anyway), if one considers when and where the merchants flourished – it was the late sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century in the Kyoto-Osaka metropolitan area, both images of the black ship and the treasure boat can be understood as different expressions of the same, urban folk culture and religion.

### 3.3. Treasure Boat Sailing into the Great Port in 1823

Although the kabuki program in 1819 does not exactly identify the black ship depicted with a “Black” holding coral as a treasure boat, the link between the “Black” figure with coral and the treasure boat appears more clearly in another monochrome print, a printed poster for another glass-crafted ship on display, *Ōminato takara no iri-fune* (*Treasure Boat Sailing into the Great Port*)



Fig. 7. Treasure Boat Sailing into the Great Port (*Ōminato takara no iri-fune*), 1823, 36 × 48 cm, Collection of Theatre Museum, Waseda University, 11-1346-74-004

(Fig. 7). While the poster is black and white, the ship exhibited in Edo in 1823 was extremely colorful as well as big, about 25 yards long. The boat has all the requirements for a treasure boat – the Seven Gods and classic treasure such as the Cap of Invisibility, Cloak of Invisibility, and Mallet of Luck – as well as a big Chinese character for *takara* (treasure) written on the sail. This treasure boat is equipped with not only a dragon figurehead at the prow but also a mythical Chinese lion (*kara-jishi* or Tang lion) at the stern, which remind us of the *ryōtō gekishu*. Moreover, the boat also has a very elaborate two-story superstructure, and the mechanical dolls onboard are the Seven Gods and *karako* (Tang Chinese children). All of these elements indicate strong continental-court influences, even though, like the

1819 example, this ship of 1823 is glass-crafted with mechanical dolls onboard, thus demonstrating Western science and technology.

Interestingly, this print carries another, smaller, picture in its upper right corner, which shows a Western couple with two servants – a recurrent theme in Nagasaki-e prints – and a half-naked and barefoot Black, pulling a huge branch of coral, bigger than himself, out of the sea. Moreover, this smaller picture has a caption written in quasi-letters, inspired by the Roman alphabet, written horizontally, some of which are decipherable as Japanese.<sup>11</sup>

In short, the print combines images of the treasure boat that shows its own brand of non-Japaneseness (the Seven Gods and a unique boat with figureheads of mythical creatures) with more Western foreignness (the exotic mate-

<sup>11</sup> In this case, the letters look like kana (the Japanese syllabary) in cursive script, toppled over sidelong.

rial of glass, mechanical dolls, the strange caption, the “Black” with coral, and Westerners) which had not been quite clearly connected to the treasure boat before. What happened is inter-nationalization of various foreign ships (*ryōtō gekishu*, the treasure boat, Nanban ship, and Dutch ship), making these representations interchangeable to represent foreign ships in general as well as any specific ship – “Tang” ships on various levels of abstraction.

This can be also interpreted as an attempt to make a variation within the rhizomic network of various kinds of foreignness, some of which, expressed in Nanban screens, went separate ways for about two hundred years. From the point of the treasure boat, what happened is *tōjin*-ization of its symbols. That is, removed or distanced from their original signifieds or provenance, their signifiers are made available to represent *tōjin*-ness or foreignness in general in the Japanese popular imagery.

### 3.4. Glass-Crafted Ship in 1847

In the popularity of glass-crafted ships on display in the first half of the nineteenth century, this trend of *tōjin*-ization continued. There are two prints that show one later example of a glass-crafted “Dutch” ship on show in Edo in 1847. One is *Giyaman saiku Oranda-fune mitsugi no tsumikomi no hikifuda* (*Advertisement of Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship Loading Tributes*), a monochrome print by Kinkōsai Shunsō (date unknown) (Fig. 8; see also Nobuhiro, ed. 1976: Figs. 59–60, and p. 540), and the other is *Kiyamamu saiku-sen* (*Glass-Crafted Ship*), a ukiyo-e made by Utagawa Kuniteru (fl. 1848) (Fig. 9).

The ship itself reveals features that remind us of both the 1819 “Dutch” ship (Fig. 5) and the 1823 treasure boat (Fig. 7). Like the 1819 example, this glass-crafted “Dutch” ship has two “Blacks,” working acrobatically at the ship’s riggings. Its affiliations to the 1819 example can be also recognized in the masts, trumpeter, and black ship with its figurehead of European man with blue eyes, long curly blond hair, and beard. Yet, its elaborately decorated superstructure is closer to that of the 1823 treasure ship, influenced by Continental-court taste. Note that the title of the 1847 ship’s print, *Advertisement of Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship Loading Tribute* (Fig. 19), itself indicates that the boat combines both Dutch features and tributes, i.e., treasure.

The most striking difference between the 1819 and 1847 Dutch ships is that despite the title, except for the “Blacks,” now all the other passengers – mechanical dolls – are related to China (Asakura 1928: 269). In fact, some passengers represent Chinese culture for the Japanese: Minister Kibi no Makibi (695–775), a Japanese scholar-politician, studying in Tang dynasty China; Emperor Xuanzong (J: *Gensō*) and Concubine Yang Guifei (J: *Yō Kihī*), a real Tang



Fig. 8. Kinkōsai Shunsō, Advertisement of Glass-Crafted Dutch Ship Loading Tributes (*Giyaman saiku Oranda-fune mitsugi no tsumikomi no hikifuda*), 1847, 34.5 × 49.0 cm (Tabako to Shio no Hakubutsukan, ed. 1996: Fig. 105)

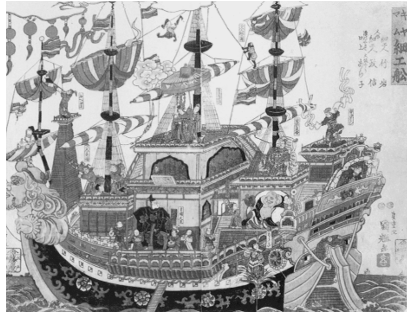


Fig. 9. Utagawa Kunitaru, Glass-Crafted Ship (Kiyamamu saiku-sen), 1847, Ōban diptych (Masupuro Denkō Bijutsukan and Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, eds. 1994:Fig. 1)

Chinese couple famous for their tragic romance; and Hotei, one of the Seven Gods. The ship also includes a trumpeter (“*fue-fuki*”), a female acrobatic dancer with ribbons (“*nuno-zarashi*”), Tang Chinese children (*kara-ko*), playing typical tōjin instruments, all dressed as tōjin in the Japanese popular imagery. As the trumpeter is labeled as “*fue-fuki*,” meaning flutist, one can be sure that the person is playing a musical instrument.

Giving consideration to the fact that the 1847 “Dutch” ship, as well as all the other ships discussed on the above, which demonstrated various foreign elements combined, was on show, it would be safe to think people accepted and enjoyed various playful variations of foreignness, rather than being annoyed by inaccuracy of visual information and blurring distinctions among

treasure, Chinese, and Western ships, and their passengers. For the spectators, perhaps, the question more crucial than the question of accuracy might be if, with all the symbols put together, the ship could command enough foreignness, and thus be exotic enough.

#### 4. After Tōjin-ization Occurred

My research so far demonstrated tōjin-ization in the form of more than a few playful variations within the established rhizomic network of various kinds of foreignness. This section, however, shifts its focus to examination of the network’s historicity. How do actual historical events affect this tōjin-ization?

The best example of this case would be *Ikokusen no zu* (*Picture of a Foreign Ship*, Fig. 10), a print that Lord Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829) commissioned for New Year’s gifts in 1829, the year he died. The print is based on *Kurofune no zu* (*Picture of a Black Ship*) that the famous artist Tani Bunchō (1763–1840) created for his patron Sadanobu. Having studied various schools of painting, including a Western-style one, Bunchō’s black ship looks as realistic as the glass-crafted ships are imaginary. Sadanobu penned the following poem to accompany the print:

*Kono fune no yorutefukoto o yume no mama  
wasurenuka yo no takara nari*

Treasure of the world is not to forget that, even while dreaming, this ship is coming.

The poem, referring to dream, clearly presupposes the original meanings of the treasure boat, but gives an ominous twist to them. What Sadanobu did in terms of making a connection between the black ship and the treasure boat was nothing new, as the ample examples of tōjin-ization demonstrated. However, while the popular association of the two kinds of the ships visually metamor-

phoses the black ship into a “treasure boat”, Sadanobu with his poem goes the other way around, turning the treasure boat to the black ship. With this twist, he warns that ships approaching Japan might not necessarily bring good fortune, drawing attention to their potential danger and ambiguity.

This cautious or rather pessimistic sentiment of his is easy to understand when one remembers Sadanobu’s career. When he was a chief executive of the Tokugawa government, he was troubled so much by Western ships that kept reappearing at Japanese coasts. Still, his trouble was just the beginning of the government’s trouble dealing with the Western colonial power, encroaching on East Asia. Foreign ships kept reappearing at Japanese coasts, which culminated in the arrival of American Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853. In short, Sadanobu found no reasons to be optimistic about ships coming across the sea.

*Picture of a Foreign Ship* provides an excellent proof that the symbolic connection of the treasure boat and the black ship was firmly established in the minds of the Japanese. Yet the print tells us more than that: reinterpreting the connection established between the two types of the ships with new historical materials, Sadanobu changes “the black ship like the treasure boat” to “the treasure boat like the black ship.” By doing so, he alludes to the potential danger and ambiguity of the ships from abroad, sentiments different from those the established connection of the ships usually inspires. What he did, therefore, can be interpreted as what Deleuze and Guattari call “an experimentation in contact with the real (1987 [1980]: 12),” or (re-)wiring among individual entities with multiple entryways and exits within the rhizome of foreignness. The print certainly is a product of the synthesis in this term, improvised by Sadanobu as a social agent, facing historical events. Without addressing the boat’s historical development through its numerous variations, however, one cannot fully understand significance of Sadanobu’s creation.

#### 5. Summary and Discussion

In sum, this article examined visual representations of foreigners and their vessels that appeared in advertising posters and illustrated program for popular entertainments in the early nineteenth century. My examination reveals interchange, pastiche, and replacement of various foreign features, made out of or strongly influenced by the preexisting foreign-related ships’ features. In other words, what happened under tōjin-ization was inter-nationalization of various foreign ships and their passengers, both Western and non-Western, making these representations available to represent foreign ships in general as well as any specific ship. Still, the network for tōjin-ization did not remain ahistorical, as its susceptibility to historical events was demonstrated by Sadanobu’s creation that turned “the black ship like the treasure boat” to “the treasure boat like the black ship.”

Tōjin-ization’s peculiarity derives from how imported information was processed in the early nineteenth century when Nagasaki was the only international port under the Tokugawa government. That means that, for the Japanese everywhere else, their images of foreigners and their cultures were formed mostly from the secondhand information of print and material cul-

tures. An important point here is that information and goods imported by the Dutch and Chinese were pre-mixed by Nagasaki middlemen and then delivered to “Tang goods shops” in urban centers all over Japan. This specific way affected how the Japanese popular imagery was formed, which promoted interchange, pastiche, and replacement of various foreign features in both print and material cultures.

This rather peculiar type of information, both its contents and process, is worth paying due attention. Recent scholarship of Japanese art history has examined Japan’s *international* relations, both imagined and imaged, in visual and material cultures in the early modern period. It, however, tends to focus on Japan’s one-on-one relationship to the other country.<sup>12</sup> This rather fixed focus may allow us to see how the townspeople understood, interpreted, and processed foreign originals, derived from one specific country. Yet, it hardly explores the townspeople’s everyday reality where they must have dealt with information of not one but various foreign cultures, most of which was secondhand rather than firsthand in nature. In order to understand the popular narratives of the world and its peoples – how they organized or categorized the collective Japanese Self vis-à-vis foreign others, therefore, we need to pay more attention to this rather peculiar type of information, both its contents and process.

This case study demonstrated there existed a premodern, translocal and epistemological order, different from the discursive binary opposition of the West vs. the non-West that dominates the discourse of modernity. Historicizing and challenging the divide between the West and the non-West, the research certainly helps de-essentializing the divide. With this case study, I urge further research on how the locals, or various others such as “the savage”, “the primitive,” and “the Oriental” interacted and interpreted each other in periods, pre-modern or earlier.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jung 2006, 2009; Yoon Jihye 2006.

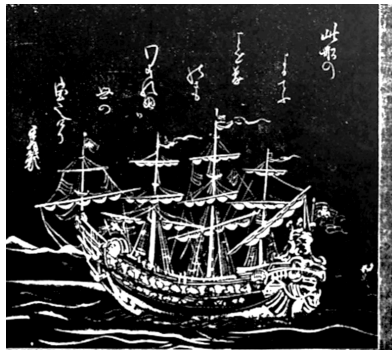


Fig. 10. Matsudaira Sadahobu and Tani Bunchō, Picture of a Foreign Ship (*Ikokusen no zu*), 1829, detail (Tamba 1962: Fig. 14)

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*Timon Screech*

**CARL PETER THUNBERG, KATSURAGAWA  
HOSHŪ AND TWO PRESENTS SENT FROM EUROPE  
TO JAPAN**

Carl Peter Thunberg, sometimes referred to as one of the ‘three scholars of Dejima’, spent over eighteen months in Japan between the summer of 1775 and the autumn of 1776. In the spring of 1776, he met certain important shogunal figures, one being Katsuragawa Hoshū. This paper will consider a present sent by Thunberg to Hoshū after he had departed. It will then also look at another gift sent as a sequel and at Thunberg and Hoshū’s relationship.

Thunberg was a Swede, but had entered the employ of the Dutch United East India Company, the VOC, as a physician. This was not particularly rare, since the VOC employed many non-Dutch staff, notably Scandinavians and Germans. It was not possible for Europeans to visit Japan other than under the auspices of the VOC.

Thunberg was not a typical VOC barber-surgeon. He had studied modern anatomy in Paris, but more particularly, had worked with the great Linnaeus in his homeland, receiving doctorates in medicine and botany from Uppsala University. After graduating, he went to Amsterdam, and it was while he was there that the head of the Hortus Botanicus (one of Europe’s premier physic gardens, which had been laid out by Linnaeus), suggested he travel to Japan, to subject its diverse flora to a full Linnaean analysis, which had not yet been performed. It was Amsterdam merchants who provided the funds for Thunberg to collect plants and seeds *en route*, on the condition that he send these home, in installments, as he sailed, for planting out at their country mansions. Today, the Hortus Botanicus has a Thunberg Bed, reproducing the specimens he sent back. Sadly, on his own voyage home, a storm hit his ship in the English Channel, just days from port, destroying the final and best fruit of his collecting endeavours. Readers who wish to know more about Thunberg’s preparations for travel to Japan, and his time there, may wish to consult Thunberg’s own book, which is now available in a modern English edition, compiled, annotated and introduced by the present author.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

Perhaps the most exciting moment for any European in Japan was the annual trip to the Shogun’s capital of Edo, now Tokyo. As far as the shogunal side was concerned, this was a tribute mission. To the Europeans, it was an embassy. The tension between these expectations opened the way for multiple fric-

<sup>1</sup> See, Timon Screech, *Japan Extolled and Decried: Carl Peter Thunberg and the Shogun’s Realm, 1775–1796* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).

tions and misunderstandings, but Thunberg was particularly lucky in his timing. The trips to Edo had been taking place for 150 years. But the 1770s and 1780s are known in Japanese historiography as the time of *rangaku*, literally ‘Dutch [though better ‘European’] learning’. Scholars in several of Japan’s major cities sought to understand their long-standing trading partner in a way that they had not done – and had not been permitted to do – before.

In the spring of 1776, some ten months after his arrival in Nagasaki, where the VOC factory was located, Thunberg made the month-long trip to Edo. As always, it was not the entire European staff that went, but only the top three members, namely the Chief (known in Japanese as the *Oranda kapitan*), generally with the physician (*Oranda geka* – though *geka* meant a lowly surgeon, which Thunberg emphatically was not) and the secretary (*shoki*). In 1776, these were Arend Feith, an old Japan hand who had gone to Edo many times before, Thunberg, of course, and Herman Köhler.

In Edo, the Europeans always stayed in the same hostel, called the Nagasaki House (*Nagasaki-ya*), run by a hereditary functionary who had a surname (as was the norm in Edo) taken from his business premises, Nagasaki-ya, and a given name of Genzaemon. The Nagasaki House was accessibly in the centre of Edo, and Thunberg recorded meeting numerous people, of both the samurai and the merchant classes. The street outside was unfailingly crowded with rubber-neckers who lacked the credentials (or connections) to get in, but who were consumed with interest. Word went out that a special “Dutch surgeon”, above average, was in town that spring, and the road in front of Nagasaki House was particularly congested. Thunberg records visits by shogunal officers, especially astronomers and physicians. It is the latter that interest us. The first was the venerable and now unjustly forgotten Okada Yūsen, who did most of the talking at first, but, at 70 years old, seems to have met Thunberg only once. With him, however, came Nakagawa Jun’an and our Katsuragawa Hoshū. Both were junior private physicians to the shogunal family. Jun’an would soon be promoted to body physician to the daimyo of Obama, while Hoshū, then just nineteen, would soon take over his father’s post of body physician to the shogun himself. Both came to the Nagasaki House frequently, seizing on their first opportunity to meet a European of genuine intellectual stature. Thunberg gives considerable space to his encounters with them. Both, but especially Jun’an, were fluent in Dutch (or as fluent as Thunberg was) and they could communicate without intermediaries. Thunberg noted that Jun’an and Hoshū were ‘inexpressibly insinuating and fond of learning’.<sup>2</sup> Hoshū would later reciprocate, writing of Thunberg,



Plate 1. Morishima Chūryō, illustration to his *Kōmō zatsuwa*, 1787. Courtesy, National Diet Library, Tokyo

<sup>2</sup> See, Timon Screech, *Japan Extolled and Decried: Carl Peter Thunberg and the Shogun’s Realm, 1775–1796*, p. 153.

'I have got to know some thirty or forty Westerners [*saijin*] in my time, but have never known his equal in complete dedication to the pursuit of knowledge'.<sup>3</sup>

The connection with Hoshū has left more of a mark partly because he lived longer, but also because of his brother, Morishima Chūryō, who was a pivotal figure in the popularisation of *rangaku*, bringing its academic findings to a broader urban audience. Hoshū too was more than a young egghead, and was designated one of Edo's great bon vivants (*daisū*), lionised for his wit and looks as much for his precocious medical interests. Chūryō published uproarious novellas (*kibyōshi*) as well as serious books, and in his ribald, fictionalist persona he succeeded to the mantle of the celebrated Hiraga Gennai, who was also as widely known for his comic skills as for his *rangaku* studies. Hoshū, Chūryō and Gennai are fine exemplars of the unfettered Edo intellectual of the liberal decades either side of Thunberg's visit.

This was a special moment, and the world would change. In 1786, Hoshū lost his post by over-playing his hand in Edo's *demi-monde*, known as the 'floating world' (*ukiyo*). The next year Chūryō wrote a sober-sided work, *Kōmō zatsuwa* (European Miscellany), probably intended to emphasise the diligent, even puffed side of his brother's agenda; the year after that, Chūryō published the first ever Dutch-Japanese conversational dictionary, a masterpiece of lexicographical rigour, but devoid of terms suggestive of much fun.<sup>4</sup> All this was insufficient and he was forced to enter the services of the strict new shogunal chief minister, Matsudaira Sadanobu, a far cry from his lax predecessor, Tanuma Okitsugu, who ruled during Thunberg's time. The age that Thunberg had seen was one of the most liberal of the entire Edo Period, for all its economic woes, which, indeed, would provoke the later reaction.<sup>5</sup>

\* \* \*

Thunberg maintained nostalgic contact with Hoshū and Jun'an after his departure from Japan. He noted in his book that they exchanged 'small acceptable presents' with each other. One has left a wake of information.

A letter survives from Jun'an, written in Dutch and dated 7 March 1778 in the Western calendar, thanking Thunberg for 'four bottled animals'. In return, he said, he was dispatching some seeds and a Japanese medical chest.<sup>6</sup> No thank-you letter survives from Hoshū, but it is clear that, to reciprocate, Thunberg gave him a similar present, for in the *Kōmō zatsuwa* Chūryō mentions a bottle given to his brother, which is illustrated in the only picture he undertook

<sup>3</sup> Katsuragawa Hoshū, appendix to Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'en tekihō* (MS 1792, first published in 1817), quoted in Soda Hajime, *Nihon iryō bunkashi*, p. 192. Soda mistakenly dates the book to 1799.

<sup>4</sup> Morishima Chūryō, *Bango sen* (Edo, 1788). There is no modern edition.

<sup>5</sup> Tozawa, *Katsuragawa-ke*, pp. 304 and 311. Hoshū was demoted from shogunal physician to 'trainee' (*yoriyose*) in 1786, but reinstated in 1793. Chūryō became a retainer of Matsudaira Sadanobu in 1792.

<sup>6</sup> James Smith (ed.), *A Selection of Correspondence of Linnaeus and Other Naturalists* (London, 1821), vol. 1, p. 172.

himself (the others he farmed out to a commercial artist) (See Plate 1). The bottle is labelled '*darāka*', and the text informs us that,

In the primitive tongue [Dutch], dragons are called *darāka* [draak]; there are many in the Cape, located in the South Seas. Sizes vary, but they can reach 3–4 *jō* [9–12m] in length. Many years ago a primitive [European] person named Thunberg sent a baby one to my brother, and it looks as illustrated here. From head to tail it is 1 *shaku* 5 *sun* [45cm].<sup>7</sup>

Since the Japanese language lacks singular and plural, it cannot be determined whether Hoshū received just the one animal illustrated by Chūryō, or four, like Jun'an, nor is it clear if Jun'an had four separate bottles or four animals sharing a bottle or bottles. There is no further information on this, and Jun'an fades from the picture. But Hoshū's sample(s) seem to have done the rounds, perhaps because he himself was so gregarious and in his brother he had a voluble propagandist. Long before 1786, when Chūryō published an illustration of the bottle, it had been seen and sketched by Satake Yoshiatsu, daimyo of Akita (see Plate 2). Akita was the center of copper production, Japan's own Stora Kopparberg, but was suffering a dwindling output. In 1773, Gennai had been called in to experiment with mine-pumping technologies, and, though the copper output did not increase, Yoshiatsu was enthused by Gennai, and became a student of 'Dutch-style painting' (*ranga*), under the atelier name 'Shozan' (See Plate 3). He went on to sponsor what is today known as the Akita Ranga School, the foremost protagonist of which was Odano Naotake. The movement was sadly curtailed by the untimely deaths of Yoshiatsu, in 1780, and Naotake, in 1785; Gennai, the catalyst, had died in 1779.

Yoshiatsu's sketch is inscribed,

Dragon: in the Japanese pronunciation, *tatsu*; in the primitive tongue, *darāka*. Many are to be found in Rimia [Africa].

In the Third Month of the year of the Snake [...] that is, the 8<sup>th</sup> year of An'ei [1779], the Dutch brought this one to the Eastern Metropolis [Edo]. It is stored in preservative liquid kept in glass, and can last a thousand years or more without putrefying.

The Shogunal Physician Katsuragawa Hoshū has established the above to be correct.

If the date is correct, Jun'an received his presents first and Hoshū the year after, Thunberg perhaps respecting the age differences and gifting the elder



Plate 2. Satake Yoshiatsu ('Shozan'), page from his sketchbook, *Shasei chō*, 1779. Courtesy, Senshū Museum of Art, Akita

<sup>7</sup> Morishima Chūryō, *Kōmō zatsuwa*, pp. 454–55.

doctor first. Either year indicates that the objects were sent from abroad, not given while Thunberg was in Japan, and the months indicate they would have been taken from Nagasaki to Edo on the court trips, having arrived the summers before. To take Jun'an's first, in August 1777, the Dutch ship *Zeeduijn* docked at Nagasaki, this time together with the *Roodenrijs*, bringing Feith back as chief. The court trip was earlier than usual, and next spring Feith was in Edo from 20 March to 6 April; a new secretary was present, Albertus Domberg, as Köhler had been promoted; there was still no proper physician in the aftermath of Thunberg's premature departure (the system did not return to balance until 1780<sup>8</sup>), and so the third member was merely an assistant physician, Ertman Poehr. However, these dates are still too late for Jun'an's letter, dated 7 March; on that day, Feith's diary has them relaxing in Miyako. It must therefore be that the bottle was sent up ahead, and passed to Jun'an before the VOC arrival. It was predicted that encounters in Edo would be restricted that year, owing to the

Nagasaki House having burned down and temporary accommodations being used. It is likely that Feith did not expect much in the way of face-to-face meetings with Jun'an. His diary records only a single visit to Edo by 'shogunal physicians'.<sup>9</sup>

The next summer, 1778, Hoshū's bottle(s) would have come. The *Roodenrijs* came with the *Huis te Spijk*, and they docked in August. This time there were problems in Nagasaki, for the in-coming chief, Duurkoop, had died at sea; Feith was required to stay on, and so led the court trip again, with secretary Hendrik Romberg (later to be another long-serving chief) and assistant physician Ernst von Becksteijn; the men were in Edo 8–28 April. The Nagasaki House had been rebuilt,

but intercourse was strained for another reason. The shogun Ieharu's intended heir, Iemoto, died while the VOC representatives were in the city, or, rather, he was in fact killed, and the Dutch were unwittingly complicit. Ieharu had for many years been requesting a Persian horse, which the VOC found nearly impossible to bring because he was so particular about its markings. The *Roodenrijs* had finally brought it, and Feith handed it over, with all ceremony, in the spring of 1779.<sup>10</sup> Iemoto took it out for a gallop, fell off and met his end. The shogun killed many in his agony and fury, for beloved Iemoto, then

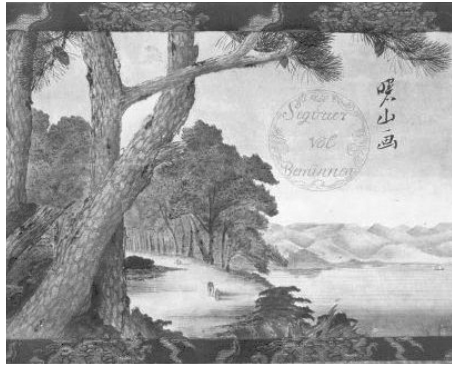


Plate 3. Satake Yoshiatsu ('Shozan'), *Landscape with Lake*, c. 1775. Courtesy, Senshū Museum of Art, Akita

eighteen, was his only son.<sup>11</sup> The Dutch kept their heads down. Feith pulled the braiding from his costume to simulate mourning dress, which earned him praise (Chūryō mentions this in *Kōmō zatsuwa*), but the shogun, in high choler, did not give the VOC their annual audience.<sup>12</sup> This year too Feith recorded just one visit by 'shogunal physicians', on 18 April, but as this accords with the third lunar month stated in Yoshiatsu's sketch, this could have been the moment when Hoshū's dragon was presented.<sup>13</sup>

If Jun'an's bottles arrived in Nagasaki in summer 1777, they would have been sent from Batavia, where Thunberg stayed from January to early July. Jun'an's thank-you letter was penned after Thunberg was gone, and he was then at sea, sailing from Ceylon to the Cape. The next summer, when Hoshū's bottle(s) arrived, Thunberg was some months back in Europe, although not for long enough to have dispatched the bottle from Amsterdam or London. Since Chūryō specifies dragons are found in the Cape, it is likely that Thunberg obtained, packed and sent the gift from there. Thunberg stayed in what is now South Africa for just over a fortnight on his return journey. The *Travels* mentions a couple of matters of importance, such as Thunberg's chance meeting with the famous Scottish natural historian, William Patterson (whom, however, Thunberg, says was English, and 'in fact, a gardener'), but no reference is made to the bottle.<sup>14</sup> As Thunberg re-boarded the *Loo* for Amsterdam, the bottle(s) surely would have gone in the other direction, to Batavia, to be conveyed to Nagasaki.

Sending preserved samples to and fro was a pastime for eighteenth-century scholars. Thunberg was consciously integrating Jun'an and Hoshū into a *communitas* that already spanned most European countries. The Swedish botanist Daniel Solander, in London, sent John Hunter some pickled electric eels, at which the doctor 'danced a jig ... they are so complete and well preserved'.<sup>15</sup> Sweden was not able to generate such items, since in 1772 a law restricting the distillation of alcohol had rendered the pickling of samples impracticable; Linnaeus fretted over this. The king's cabinet, his collection of natural specimens and other items

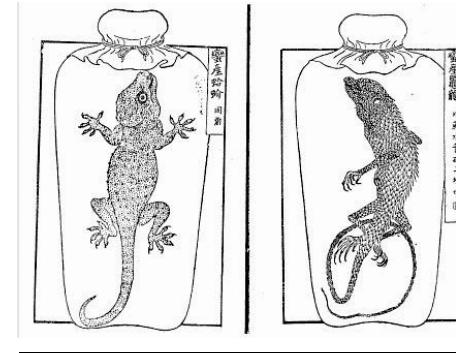


Plate 4. Anon., illustration to Hiraga Gennai, *Butsurui hinshitsu*, 1763. Courtesy, National Diet Library, Tokyo

<sup>8</sup> No physician was appointed until 1780 (i.e. the 1781 court trip), although from 1778 (the 1779 court trip) the Assistant Physician restarted the pattern of multi-year tenure.

<sup>9</sup> Leonard Blussé, Cynthia Viallé et al. (eds), *The Deshima [sic] Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents* (Leiden, Intercontinenta, 1995–2001), Vol. 8, p. 169. Hereafter, DDR with volume and page number.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177 and 180.

<sup>11</sup> I have discussed this incident more fully in Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760–1829* (London, Reaktion Books, 2000), pp. 89–91.

<sup>12</sup> Morishima Chūryō, *Kōmō zatsuwa*, p. 465. Chūryō calls Feith 'Heito' and Iemoto Kōkyō-in.

<sup>13</sup> DDR 8/181.

<sup>14</sup> Carl Peter Thunberg, (Charles Hopton, attrib. trans), *Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa made during the Years 1770 & 1779* (London, Rivington, 1793–95), 4/271. True, Patterson had started life as a gardener, but that was far behind him.

<sup>15</sup> Smith, *Selection of Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 21.

of interest, managed by Sparrman, had ‘a great number of animals preserved in spirits of wine’, but visitors were embarrassed by the thinness of Uppsala University’s collection.<sup>16</sup> More speculatively minded members of the VOC picked up bottled samples along the way, and had them with them in Japan. Someone had installed a decorative set on the mantelpiece of the Factory’s main room, to be seen by all. A scholar from northern Japan, Nagakubo Sekisui, was received on Dejima in 1746, by the Chief, Jan de Win, and he wrote that the samples ‘looked as if they were swimming’.<sup>17</sup> An illustration datable to some fifty years later shows the room (which had been rebuilt in the interim) with bottles still in place.<sup>18</sup> These seem to have been part of the VOC’s permanent interior furniture. But bottles made good presents and might be handed out to, or indeed demanded by, Japanese notables. As early as 1697, a case of an enforced gift had occurred when the Chief, Hendrik Dijkson, had received a note from Niwa Nagamori, governor of Nagasaki, asking for ‘animals pickled in spirits’, which Nagamori desired to have ‘to impress the Lord of Sickuseen’, that is, the daimyo of Fukuoka, Kuroda Tsunemasa.<sup>19</sup> In 1721, Chief Roelof Diodati had been similarly coerced by Matura Atsunobu, daimyo of Hirado, who demanded three samples; Diodati replied that this was unwelcome as the VOC wanted to keep them, ‘to satisfy the curiosity of his fellow-countrymen’. However, although ‘we could hardly bear to part with them’, he sent them along, ‘since it was a request from the prince’.<sup>20</sup> In 1763, Gennai published images of two imported European bottled samples in his *magnum opus* on natural history, *Butsurui hinshitsu* (Varieties of Matter) (see Plate 4).



Plate 5. Hosokawa Shigekata, paintings from his scrapbook, *Mōkai kikan*, 1770s. Courtesy, Eisei Bunko, Tokyo

Hosokawa Shigekata, daimyo of Kumamoto, was known for his natural-history studies. Among his many sketchbooks are four images of bottled fauna. The first is dated to the sixth month of 1759, suggesting it may have come to Edo on that spring’s court visit, led by Johannes Reynouts, with Cornelis Borstelman as physician and Nicolaas Marchant as secretary (see Plate 5). However, since Kumamoto was near Nagasaki, the bottles may have gone to him directly, rather than being carried to Edo for presentation. The next two sketches are undated, and cannot be further traced. The fourth is inscribed as ‘brought by the Dutch in the third month of the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of An’ei’, which points to its coming on the

court trip of 1774 (see Plate 6). That year, the Chief and secretary were as per Thunberg’s trip of two years later – Feith and Köhler; for some reason no physician attended, and the third member was also a secretary, Dirk Vinkemulde. Feith made an intriguing entry in his log just after arrival in Edo that spring; under 6 April (which fell within the third lunar month), he wrote, ‘a high-ranking anonymous official paid us a visit incognito with his daughter and a physician’. Could this have been the science-loving Shigekata coming to hold discussions and pick up the bottle he had previously ordered? The doctor would have been his body physician; Shigekata had six daughters.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Franklin D. Scott, *Sweden: The Nation’s History* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 273 and Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nation and Nature* (Cambridge MA & London, Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 170. Fortia de Piles, ‘Fortia’s Travels’, p. 402.

<sup>17</sup> Nagakubo Sekisui, *Nagasaki kikō* (Tokyo, National Diet Library, 1746), p. 22v.

<sup>18</sup> The image, part of the anonymous *Bankan zukan*, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, France, is datable to c. 1797. For a convenient reproduction, see Screech, *Lens within the Heart*, Fig. 72.

<sup>19</sup> DDR 2/125. ‘Sickuseen’ is a garbling of Chikuzen, the historical name of Fukuoka.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 5/7.

The next-door state to Kumamoto was Kagoshima,<sup>22</sup> and the powerful daimyo of that region, Shimazu Shigehide, perhaps learning from Shigekata, decided on getting some bottles for himself. In 1770, Shigehide made a request to the chief, Olphert Elias, that two bottled caimans (he was specific) be brought for him as a special private import (*eis*).<sup>23</sup> Such an order could take a long time to fulfil, especially if the items were not available in Batavia. Shigehide perhaps had no great hopes of receiving his samples in 1771 when Feith arrived as chief. In 1772, David Armenault, who had previously been chief, was back in Japan from Batavia, also without bottles. Evidently the request had to be forwarded on, to the Cape or even to Europe. Shigehide contented himself with reminding Armenault that he was waiting. In 1773, Feith arrived, similarly bottleless, though since Shigekata’s fourth bottle of the sketch would have been imported that summer, perhaps he underhandedly commandeered the item that was destined for Shigekata. Next season, though, Armenault finally came back with the pickled caimans, and probably passed them over the next spring in Edo. What happened to them after this is unknown.



Plate 6. Hosokawa Shigekata, paintings from his scrapbook, *Mōkai kikan*, 1770s. Courtesy, Eisei Bunko, Tokyo

The obsession with preserved samples went so far as to be open to ridicule. Swift, in his satire of 1704, *A Tale of a Tub*, told of a botanist who invented a ‘universal pickle’ able to preserve anything ‘as well as an insect in amber’, and who went about bottling whole houses, even towns.<sup>24</sup> In Japan too, the mania for these murky samples found its parodists. The writer Santō Kyōden proposed that irate fathers might try bottling their sons, to be stared at by the rest of the

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 8/130. The lunar second month of 1774 had 29 days, so the VOC arrived on lunar 26/2, but 6 April was lunar 1/3. The dates of birth of the daughters are not recorded.

<sup>22</sup> Its historical name was Satsuma.

<sup>23</sup> Martha Chaikin, *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700–1750* (Leiden, Research School, CNWS, 2003), p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> Jonathan Swift, *Tales of a Tub* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 109.

family as object lessons.<sup>25</sup> The artist Keisai Eisen dreamt up the idea of a pickled penis (perhaps with a nod at the quite different genital-preserving practices of Chinese eunuchs); this Eisen discussed, with illustration, in the erotic manual *Kōgō zatsuwa* (Sexual Miscellany Library) (see Plate 7). The book's title is clearly a pun on Chūryō's by-then classic European compendium, *Kōmō zatsuwa*, and the image is thus a direct reference to Thunberg's present to Hoshū. It is labeled 'Dragon' (*darāka*), a garbling of Chūryō's inscription, and, in a second pun, we read it is also known as a 'male dragon' (*yōryū*), which was slang for a large member; the preservative liquid is now said to be 'sexual juices' (*insai*), and, with a well-worn joke, the provenance slides from Holland (*oranda koku*) to 'red-light district' (*oiranda koku*).

\* \* \*

Thunberg's name was restored to the circle of shogunal doctors in 1793, through a most extraordinary concatenation of events. In 1783, a rice ship under the command of Daikoku-ya Kōdayū had floundered, drifted northwards and finally come aground on a desolate northern island. Kōdayū and four surviving crewmen constructed a raft, and got themselves to Kamchatka, from where they trekked to Irkutsk, arriving in 1789.<sup>26</sup> It also happened that a professor of natural science from the St. Petersburg Academy, Eric (or Kiril) Laxman, on a field trip in the Siberian region, was then lodging in the same town. Laxman met the castaways and took them to Moscow and St. Petersburg, where they had diverse experiences of a remarkable kind, and were received by Catherine the Great. Elements in the Russian court were anxious to open trade with the shogunate, although there was also an opposition camp, including Catherine herself, who remarked, 'Let anyone who so wishes trade there, but not I'.<sup>27</sup> But the pro-Japan faction, which now included Laxman, saw the castaways as a means of forcing the issue. They organised a trade-cum-repatriation mission for Kōdayū and the two sailors who agreed to go (two other survivors had converted to Christianity and knew return meant certain death), and



Plate 7. Keisai Eisen, page from his *Kōgō zatsuwa*, 1823. Private Collection

the entourage progressed from St Petersburg back to Irkutsk, laden with presents. Laxman had read Thunberg, and recalling the mention of the keenness of Jun'an and Hoshū, Laxman sent letters and samples to be given to the two doctors whose names he knew.

<sup>25</sup> Santō Kyōden, *Ko wa mezurashiki misemonogatari* (1801); for a convenient reproduction, see Screech, *Lens within the Heart*, fig. 77.

<sup>26</sup> The events are summarised in English in Reinier Hesselink, 'A Dutch New Year at the Shirandō Academy, 1 January, 1795,' *Monumenta Nipponica* 50 (1995): 189–93 and 207–9.

<sup>27</sup> Letter to F.M Grimm, quoted in George Lensen, *The Russian Push Towards Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697–1875* (New York, Octagon Books, 1971), p. 120.

Laxman's son, Adam Kirilovich, a naval lieutenant, was then in Irkutsk, and he was given charge of the final, maritime part of the expedition.<sup>28</sup> They boarded the *Ekaterina*, arriving at the northern Japanese city of Matsumae in summer 1793, exactly a decade after the castaways had gone adrift. The startled local officials at once sent runners to Edo, and the shogunate dispatched a team under Murakami Daigaku, whom Adam Laxman received onboard, giving him the letters and samples, and, as presents for the shogun, two large mirrors and two thermometers.<sup>29</sup> Matsumae was not an open port, so the *Ekaterina* was told to sail to Nagasaki, which it did, one of the castaways dying in the process. At Nagasaki, Kōdayū and his sole remaining fellow, Isokichi, disembarked and were taken to Edo, where they had an audience with Ienari, the new shogun, a distant cousin to Ieharu hurriedly adopted to replace the horse-fallen Iemoto. He desired to see the returnees, and it was decided that they should be accompanied into his presence by Hoshū – who by coincidence had published a book on Russia (culled from Dutch sources) just months before, and who was, of course, implicated through Laxman's gifts.<sup>30</sup> Jun'an would have been of insufficient status to appear before the shogun, but anyway he had died in 1784. Hoshū was still in his down-graded post, so he was reinstated as shogunal body physician.<sup>31</sup> He was instructed to write up a memorandum of the event, and the resulting *Hyōmin goran no ki* (Record of the August Inspection of the Castaways), though not printed, (as standard with works touching on affairs of state) was allowed to circulate in manuscript (see Plate 8). Hoshū wisely donated Laxman's samples to Ienari, and a new shogunal botanical garden (*yakusō-en*) was created for them, beside the Edo castle gate; this was placed under the charge of Shibue Chōhaku, another shogunal body physician, but one who had not blotted his copybook. Isokichi was rusticated to his home region, but, with a kind of poetic justice, Kōdayū was incarcerated inside the garden, for he knew too much for the regime's comfort, and had led a party of double-lawbreakers, who had offended once by going abroad and once more by returning again. He remained there until his death, coincidentally in the same year as Thunberg's.

It was surely for this reason that the next year, 1795, the VOC chief in Nagasaki, Gijbert Hemmij, was quizzed about Thunberg by the translator Kafuku Yasujirō, acting on instructions from the authorities. Hemmij wrote in the official log on 11 July, 'on behalf of the governor [Takao Nobutomi], Yasujirō asked me where the physician Thunberg, who had served here in 1776, was born, in which country he resided at present, and what post he had. He asked for the replies in writing.' Hemmij had no idea, but sourcing the records came up with the fact that, 'according to the muster roll', he was born in Sweden, and 'rumour has it that he is now a professor of botany. Where he is at present Hemmij does not know for sure.' Yasujirō took this to Nobutomi for forwarding to Edo.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99–101.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Katsuragawa Hoshū, *Roshia-shi* (1793).

<sup>31</sup> Tozawa, *Katsuragawa-ke*, pp. 56–62 and 311.

Hoshū rewrote the clipped memorandum into a more accessible book, under the title of *Hokusa bunryaku* (Abbreviated Comments on a Northern Raft). It became a best-seller, although, again, only in manuscript. Hoshū modestly omitted mention of himself in the repatriation saga, but his brother, Chūryō, retraced the sequence of chance events, though somewhat garbled and truncated, in an undated commonplace book entitled *Hōgu-kago* (The Wastepaper Basket). Chūryō stated,

During the An'ei period [1772–80] a European physician called Thunberg came to Kyoto [*sic*]. He was originally from a country neighbouring on Russia, called Sweden. Striving to compile a book on natural history (*bussan*), he came as far as our land. While he was staying at the inn run by Nagasaki-ya Genzaemon, my brother Hoshū *hōgen* [an honorary title awarded in 1783], and the physician of Jakushū [Obama], Nagasaki Junzō [*sic*], formed a master-pupil relationship with him. He never came again [N.B. most physicians stayed for years and came to Edo many times], but travelled on to other places. A pupil of his [*sic*], residing in Russia, met Kō[dayū], and asked him whether he knew anything of my brother, and of Junzō.<sup>32</sup>

Whether Thunberg ever heard of all the above is not known. He would be elected to the St. Petersburg Academy in 1801, and, in thanks, donate some plants to it. This is the last documented connection between Thunberg and his Japanese friends – although Hoshū still treasured his bottled dragon(s), which, Chūryō said, were ‘the most prized possession(s) of our house’.<sup>33</sup>

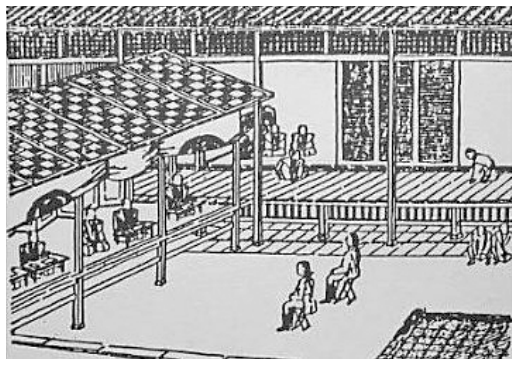


Plate 8. Anon., illustration to Katsuragawa Hoshū, *Hyōmin goran no ki*, 1793. Courtesy, National Diet Library, Tokyo

<sup>32</sup> Morishima Chūryō, *Hōgu-kago*, p. 172. Although Edo people had variant names, Jun'an was never 'Junzō'. Thunberg is referred to as 'Toinberugu' and Sweden as 'Sessai'.

<sup>33</sup> Morishima Chūryō, *Kōmō zatsuwa*, p. 455.

Paula C. Park

**A SPECTACLE “MADE IN CHINA”:  
MARKETABILITY AND CONSUMPTION OF DAVID  
HENRY HWANG’S *M. BUTTERFLY***

**Introduction**

David Henry Hwang's play *M. Butterfly* (1988) stages the common romantic story of a young woman who runs to the arms of an experienced, powerful man. Even before it begins, it evidently echoes the most performed opera in the United States, composed almost a hundred years earlier: Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1898). Thus, this insinuates the predictable archetype of the Asian female figure that is belittled and fetishized by a Westerner male – a story that the reader or the spectator knows.

While Hwang operates within this archetype, the initiative to write the play came about during a casual dinner conversation in 1986, in which a friend mentioned a then-current scandal published by the *New York Times*.<sup>1</sup> The “special” news article revealed a clandestine romance between Bernard Boursicot, a former diplomat at the French Embassy in Peking, and Shi Peipu, a Chinese Opera popular star during the 1960s. It was a perfect reenactment of Puccini's opera, but with a surprising deconstructive twist which left the story unresolved: the lovely Asian Shi Peipu was actually a Chinese *man* in charge of passing numerous classified documents from the French embassy to a Chinese Communist unit. Boursicot supposedly did not know Peipu's gender for twenty years, until he was called on court and confronted by Peipu dressed in a suit. The couple was convicted of espionage against the French government and they were both jailed. This caused a scandal in France and awoke latent questions about the French man's sexual identity: how did Peipu seduce and fool the French diplomat for so long? And reciprocally, how and why did the French man fall into this trap?

Hwang fictionalizes the two characters as Song Lili and René Gallimard. As Gallimard is in jail, he recalls his encounters with Song, whom he calls the “Perfect Woman”. The adaptation to theater in two long acts is faithful to the real events and it further emphasizes the notion of “spectacularity”. We have a spectacle within the spectacle: we are invited to view how Gallimard perceives Song, who stages a show for us as well. In order to understand Gallimard's role as a vulnerable consumer, I will take the performance of opera and theater as a microcosm of the capitalist market of the late 1980s, time in which the play was written. Furthermore, I will evaluate spectators and readers as consumers of the product or spectacle that is viewed or read.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Bernstein. “France Jails 2 in Odd Case of Espionage” *New York Times*, May 10, 1986, p. 7.

In *The Pleasure of the Text* (1973), Barthes suggests that reading is a form of consumption in which the text desires the reader and impacts him. There are two kinds of texts for the French critic: “Text of pleasure: the text that contents, fills, grants euphoria; the text that comes from culture and does not break with it, is linked to a *comfortable* practice of reading. Text of bliss: the text that imposes a state of loss, that text that discomforts (perhaps to the point of a certain boredom)”.<sup>2</sup> *M. Butterfly* is a text of pleasure and a text of bliss. Aply, Hwang sets the play in a culture filled with an excess of meaningless objects. It is a text of pleasure as it does not “break” with this culture of fast consumption. It is also a text of bliss as it inscribes several stereotypes that are discomforting to Asian Americans. However, it would be a cliché to simply point out that these racial stereotypes are misrepresentations of the real as that in itself is becoming a commodified and limited reaction to Oriental productions.

To understand Hwang’s decision of writing a play that would not necessarily represent the Asian American community in a positive light, it is necessary to assume a Barthesian reading, a reading that resorts to a plurality of possibilities. This idea of a productive consumption reminds us of Oswald de Andrade’s *Cannibal Manifesto* (1924), which suggested that Modern Brazil would not reject but consume European literature and ideology. Andrade saw political empowerment in this consumption: “Only cannibalism unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically”.<sup>3</sup> After the cannibalist consumption, Brazil would then reverse the implicated power dynamics and produce something else by vomiting out what was consumed. Similarly, we should not dismiss a work of art or literature by classifying it as reductionist, charged with stereotypes or politically compromising, but choose to consume it consciously, dare to do so, and then assume the “indigestion” through which part of our vision or our insides are re-organized, permanently disturbed.

To evaluate the conception of a daring consumption, I will evaluate the significance of the object of desire as a singer, which allows the voice (non-carnal presence) to appear on stage before the body. She is an actively absent product that will challenge and horrify the male viewer/consumer. This model is also present in Honoré de Balzac’s “Sarrasine” (1830) and Severo Sarduy’s *From Cuba with a Song* (1967), which I will analyze in conjunction with Hwang’s play in order to arrive to a criticism of the mechanics of reception in the Western market, in which the show of the artificially feminized singer is transacted and consumed.

### Masculine Fetish

When Gallimard meets Song for the first time, it is 1960 and they are in a German ambassador’s house. As Song is about to perform the *hara-kiri*, the death scene from Puccini’s opera, Gallimard experiences pity, not because of her musical talent, but because of the dramatic spectacle of the suicide itself. The French diplomat says: “They say in opera the voice is everything [...]

<sup>2</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Oswald de Andrade. *Do Pau-Brasil à antropofagia e às utopias : manifestos, teses de concursos e ensaios* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978), p. 13; my translation.

Here... here was a Butterfly with little or no voice – but she had the grace, the delicacy... I believed this girl”.<sup>4</sup> Gallimard notices her lack of voice; he feels involved in the tragic act of submission and convinced by the melodramatic act of love. Gallimard substantiates the voice as a girl, “this girl”; he constructs an imaginary life and personality out of her singing voice and feels an urge to help her.

The *mise-en-scène* invites us to perceive Song as a character in service of art before anything else. Before she speaks, we hear her musical voice, her voice in performance. She is only partially seen, concealed on a meta-theatrical stage. Thus, the audience has to process Song’s immediate ghost-like absence – her spectacle of absence – and needs to adjust its perception in order to acknowledge her first appearance. Like Gallimard, the audience perceives her aesthetically before acknowledging her as a human character. Song is registered with a specific and directed function; she appears within a *spectacular* space and she will be kept inert in that space. Gallimard will be unable to distinguish her real self from her fictional role as Madama Butterfly. He will not be allowed to see her beyond her staged personality.

Written in an earlier time, the male protagonist in Balzac’s novella is a Parisian sculptor named Sarrasine who goes to Italy and becomes obsessed with a castrato opera singer from the very moment he sees him perform at the Teatro Argentino. The sculptor sees an ideal beauty in La Zambinella, the castrato, and he cannot contain himself. He goes home to imagine and to paint “her” obsessively, trying to capture this individual who is “more than a woman”.<sup>5</sup> Sarrasine “trains” his eyes to see “her”.<sup>6</sup> When he finally talks to her, he finds her “astonishingly ignorant” and “weak”. La Zambinella represents and fulfills the stereotype or the role of the ideal woman in the French bourgeois society of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, Sarrasine is in complete disbelief when he is told that La Zambinella is not a woman and cries: “What a joke! [...] Do you think you can deceive an artist’s eye?”<sup>7</sup>

The pre-condition of the fetishized object is that it is under permanent construction. The question that we must ask ourselves from this particular masculine fetishizer is whether as an artist, he has license to impart vitality to his creation. It is helpful to point out that the fetish – a term rooted in the Latin *facitiosus* meaning “artificial” or “false” – perhaps belongs to the artistic creator, disconnected from the real. When it is revealed and proven that La Zambinella is a man, Sarrasine becomes desperate and makes a plan to kill her. When the fetishizer’s desire or ability is interrupted by a reality outside the sculptor’s workshop, what is the creation’s value? In *S/Z* (1970) Barthes interprets Balzac’s work as a threat of male castration arguing that the truth of La Zambinella’s gender defies Sarrasine’s masculinity; it highlights the desire for what he lacks. The sculptor cannot take possession of the creation that comes to be so distanced from the real person. As it is revealed that La Zambinella is a man, she

<sup>4</sup> David Henry Hwang, *M. Butterfly* (New York: New American Library, 1988), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Honoré de Balzac, “Sarrasine”, in *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), p. 238.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.



becomes “nothingness”<sup>8</sup> and moves to a dimension in which she cannot be registered because she is “outside all classification.”<sup>9</sup> The fabricated product is suddenly removed from the space of the spectacle and can no longer be consumed, not even by its devoted manufacturer.

In *From Cuba with a Song*, a Spanish General is drawn to Cuba and becomes obsessed with Lotus Flower, a Chinese opera singer at the Shanghai Theater in Havana’s Chinatown. The story is set in the 1950s, when the fantastic Caribbean island is at the height of its tourist industry. The Spanish man, described as a “conqueror” or a “butcher ready to fight,”<sup>10</sup> goes to her show and looks for her desperately after her performance. He waits for Lotus Flower outside her dressing room with a bouquet of flowers, anxious to meet her. However, the spectacularly beautiful singer never comes out. Instead, a “skinny bald Chinese man” walks by, and the General does not recognize this unattractive male individual. Evidently, without the cosmetic complexion, the Spanish suitor does not recognize the Chinese man that comes out as the *real* Lotus Flower. The General cannot stand her mysterious absence and like Sarrasine, plans to kill her. Lotus Flower is an intolerable figurative challenge in a society of binary classifications: man/woman, East/West, real/artificial, present/absent. Lotus Flower and *M. Butterfly*’s Song are both man and woman, a Westernized Asian (that is, excessively Asian for a Westerner), real in her artificiality and dynamic in her absence. In them, binaries are proved to be obsolete.

Further comparing these male fetishizers, we can draw a parallel act of naming the desired and exoticized object. The Spanish General calls Lotus Flower “his Chinese cherry, *his* lychee.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, the object of desire literally becomes a consumable/digestible product. Similarly, Gallimard asks Song to recognize that she is *his* Butterfly. The possessive adjectives in both works suggest that before consuming the already familiar product, the consumer or fetishizer wants it to be beautifully packaged and labeled just for him.

GALLIMARD: Are you my Butterfly?

SONG: What are you saying?

GALLIMARD: I’ve come tonight for an answer: are you my Butterfly?

SONG: Don’t you know it already?

GALLIMARD: I want you to say it. [...] Are you my Butterfly? (*Silence; he crosses the room and begins to touch her hair*) [...]

Pause

SONG: Yes, I am, I am your Butterfly.<sup>12</sup>

Even though he knows, or thinks he knows, that Song reciprocates his love, Gallimard insists on having her pronounce this so that she can fully play the role of Puccini’s protagonist. Gallimard considers Song as the love of his life and he feels empowered by gazing at and naming her; he wants her to articulate herself as a Butterfly, to occupy a foreseeable space next to him in. However, the act of

<sup>8</sup> Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>10</sup> Severo Sarduy, *From Cuba with a Song*, trans. Suzanne Jill Levine (Normal, Illinois: Dalkey Archive, 1994), p. 25

<sup>11</sup> Sarduy, *From Cuba with a Song*, p. 31; emphasis is mine.

<sup>12</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, pp. 38–40.

re-naming her is before anything else, a gesture of endearment. He asks her to say it while he caresses her. The French diplomat desires to inscribe her to something he perceives as beauty for beauty’s sake. For him, *Madama Butterfly* represents a “very beautiful story” of “pure sacrifice” – a romance that he cannot fulfill with his French wife Helga. His fantasy is to make Song’s life the parallel of *Madama Butterfly* because within an aesthetic framework that is real love.

Both Gallimard and Sarrasine gaze at the object of desire through a passionate lens. The fetishizers attribute the purest and most idealized forms of beauty that they know. They place their objects of desire at the most elevated heights of their imagination. It is worthwhile to remember the etymology of “aesthetics”, from the Greek *aisthētikos* meaning “of perception”. Gallimard does not and cannot perceive a representation of the real. He can only see a reproduction of what his society presents as the highest form of beauty. According to Song, the West thinks of the East as “good at art,” as wise and as “the feminine mystique.”<sup>13</sup> The West is “trained” not to see beyond that idea. So before criticizing the fetishizers’ manipulative obsession, we must re-consider their failure of seeing as an impotence of seeing, a weakness that is beyond their capacity of perception.

When Gallimard tells his wife Helga about Song’s discomfort being Chinese and playing Cio-Cio-San, a Japanese character, Helga replies “Politics again? Why can’t they just hear it as a piece of beautiful music?”<sup>14</sup> This blunt comment implies that politics cancel out or limit the spectators’ aesthetic vision. Therefore, as the French woman questions: can we suspend a vision of political implications, “anesthetize” them, and see only the “beautiful” (as Orientalized as it may be) from an aesthetic point of view? Is not one of the purposes of fine arts to be displayed and exposed? So why should we not view what is there to be seen?

To perversely justify Orientalized femininity, it is important to evaluate not *what* cannot be known, but *how* the desire for the unknown is executed. In doing so, there must be a clear distinction between representation and simulation. In the works discussed here, the reference of femininity is missing or dead. What rather operates in this archetype of the masculine fetish for the opera singer is a simulation of the feminine, not a representation. According to Baudrillard, “Representation stems from the principle of the equivalence of the sign and the real (even if this equivalence is utopian, it is a fundamental axiom). Simulation, on the contrary, stems from the utopia of the principle of equivalence, *from the radical negation of the sign as value*, from the sign as the reversion and death sentence of every reference.”<sup>15</sup> Song, *La Zambinella* and Lotus Flower disguise the gender underneath their clothes and they simulate (not represent) femininity in their cosmetic appearance. They reside on the limit of the feminine or as Sarduy would suggest about travestism, they exceed it: “Travestism... does not reduce itself to the imitation of a real, determined model, but rather rushes in the pursuit of an infinite unreality and from the beginning of the ‘game’ accept-

<sup>13</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 83.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 6.

ed as such, an unreality that is more elusive and unreachable every time—to be more woman, up to exceeding the limit, going beyond the woman”.<sup>16</sup> The artificial creation constructed in the eyes of the fetishizer is an “finite unreality”, a simulacrum disconnected from the real. The consumers are not expected to look for the realness that it does not represent.

The danger of consumption arises when the fetishizer cannot distinguish the image of its gaze from the actual body that performs, like Gallimard who confuses everything Song does on stage with her actions outside of it. He interprets all of her movements as if they were artistic. Accordingly, Song says: “What I do, even pouring the tea for you now... it has... implications. The walls and windows say so...”<sup>17</sup> Song takes advantage of his Orientalizing eyes and tests how far he will fall victim to this protocol. Whenever they are about to have sexual intercourse, Song insists on keeping her clothes on. “Please”, she begs, “it all frightens me. I’m a modest Chinese girl”.<sup>18</sup> Gallimard swallows his sexual yearning and submits to her request. He takes her shyness as a form of seduction; the refusal to undress is received with an increasingly erotic anxiety.<sup>19</sup> Gallimard ends up understanding femininity precisely through the clothing and the make up, on appearance; being feminine for him means being covered, dressed up to appear on stage at all times. Without her clothes, Song will cease to exist (as it happens with Lotus Flower) because to be seen, Asians have to be disguised.

On the contrary, Western women are perceived as too aggressive in their seduction. At the Austrian Embassy Gallimard meets a French woman called Renee, with whom he begins a wild love affair. Gallimard says that Renee is “someone who wasn’t afraid to be seen completely naked”.<sup>20</sup> Hence he interprets this attitude of being uninhibited and willing as being “almost too masculine.”<sup>21</sup> On the one hand, Western women are excessively corporeal and direct seduction towards nakedness. On the other hand, Asians seduce with an excess of garments. As if they had no body, their seduction consists of an unending strip-tease.

Song cherishes being seen and she is always at the service of the spectators. This also happens outside the stage. Gallimard remembers: “she would start to pleasure me. With her hands, her mouth... [...] but mostly we would talk. About my life. Perhaps there is nothing more rare than to find a woman who *passionately* listens”.<sup>22</sup> Song performs the role of a woman that is faithful to submission. She functions as an import product: the needy calm woman that is in

<sup>16</sup> Severo Sarduy. *Simulación*. Guerrero, Gustavo and François Walk, ed. Severo Sarduy: *Obra Completa* (Paris: Ediciones Unesco, 2000), pp. 1267–1268; translation mine.

<sup>17</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40

<sup>19</sup> When Bouriscot was asked about Shi Peipu’s sexual misidentification, the French diplomat said: “I was shattered to learn that he is a man, but my conviction remains unshakable that for me at that time he was really a woman and was my first love of my life [...] He was very shy... I thought it was a Chinese custom”. Bernstein, “France Jails”, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 49; emphasis is mine.

limited availability or out of stock in the Western bride-market. In the play’s afterword, Hwang says that “Yellow Fever”, that is, the conception of “obedient, domesticated Asian women looking for husbands” would have been exploited with the mythology of the Oriental mail-order bride trades: “catalogues and TV spots appeal to a strain in men which desires to reject Western woman for what they have become – independent, assertive, self-possessed – in favor of a more reactionary model – the pre-feminist, domesticated geisha girl”.<sup>23</sup> Song is Chinese, but she will be a geisha, if that is what will sell more effectively.

Gallimard is so satisfied with Song that one day he suggests that she should go with him to France. Song rejects this proposition saying that she is unworthy. They continue fighting about the future and she decides to leave him for a long period. Gallimard recalls this event: “Butterfly and I argued all night... She went away for several months – to the countryside, like a small animal”.<sup>24</sup> At this point of the relationship, Song is no longer a delicate butterfly, but a domesticated scared animal. We must thank Hwang for having Gallimard call her a “small animal”, because it helps us view the French diplomat as an unquestionably and excessively domineering lover. At the same time, it is crucial to note that Song is the one that calls herself unworthy before Gallimard begins to animalize her. Her submission precedes his subjugation. She is there in the catalogue before the consumer even demands, she is pre-fabricated product.

Later in the play, Song refers to Chinese woman as toys. When she is in court, she says she was always “a plaything for the imperialists” and that she “shamed China by allowing [herself] to be corrupted by a foreigner”.<sup>25</sup> Song’s mother was a prostitute for foreigners, and thus Song claims that she was simply following her mother’s role underlining the Asian conformity to a foreign market. The Asian female is compared to meaningless, cheap toys – like the “stuff” that Renee’s father would export from China: “You know”, the French woman says, “Squirt guns, confectioner’s sugar, hula hoops...”<sup>26</sup>

### Song, “Made in China”

One of the major differences between *M. Butterfly* and the comparative works by Balzac and Sarduy is that while Gallimard and Song develop a relationship in Beijing and Paris, the love for La Zambinella and Lotus Flower is never consummated. Gallimard and Song even have a son. The question to be asked is not biological because we find out that Song fooled him to believe that the son was his, but from this scene we deduce that they had sexual intercourse. The imperative question asked by the judges, the French society of the time and by the spectators of the play is: How is it possible that Gallimard never realized that the doll he was in physical contact with was a man? According to Gallimard, this was because he never saw Song completely naked or that sexual intercourse happened in the dark, for which it is possible to refer to his

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

imperfect senses of perception. How (much) did he see and touch her? It is crucial that his vision ultimately defined what he touched. Gallimard was unable to perceive beyond her appearance because there was nothing else showed or offered by her. As a consumer, Gallimard naturally consumed what was out there in the spectacular market.

Song and Gallimard spend a lot of time together and she is an “obedient” sexual pleaser; nevertheless, they are displaced from each other. They are close, but not together. In regards to this illusive intimacy, in *Consumer Society* (1970) Baudrillard states that we live “in less proximity to other human beings, in deceptive and obedient objects which continuously repeat the same discourse [...] of our absence from one another”.<sup>27</sup> Their relationship is mediated by a system that is highly mechanical, a system in which bodies are made absent and bodily desires are pre-dictated. In the end, Gallimard acknowledges that he was consuming an artificial product: “I’m a man who loved a woman *created* by a man. Everything else – simply falls short”.<sup>28</sup> Now, who or what exactly “simply falls short”? Is it the French society who ridicules him for being ignorant and stupid? Is it the spectators or the readers of the play that find him a fool for taking appearance as reality? Should we allow him to comfortably consume the product once he has confessed that he never desired reality, but his own creation born out of his imperfect/partial gaze?

Returning to Balzac’s novella, Camille Paglia considers how La Zambinella catalyzes a series of art productions. Several artists make statues and paintings of the castrato. Paglia explains: “The transexual castrato is an artificial sex, product of biology manipulated for art. Zambinella *does* give birth – to other art objects [...] The sterile castrato, propagating itself through other art works, is an example of [...] the manufactured object”.<sup>29</sup> After the castrato is painted or sculpted, the works of art go into the hands of her art fanatics; she becomes a product in the art industry. La Zambinella “is a priced art object lent for guarded public display”.<sup>30</sup> Within this framework of the art industry, it is possible to conceive that Gallimard perhaps always knew that he was dealing with a “manufactured object”, a beautiful artistic object in display which was not even made by hand, but by a machine. There was a clear substitution of production for reproduction. Somehow, his inability to see fully is exactly what enabled him to create or rather reproduce the idea of Song for himself.

When he is jail, Gallimard knows that his woman – the unchanging ideal woman – does not exist: it is a personal fabricated vision. He makes it clear that his vision of the Orient is one that *belongs to him*:

There is a vision of the Orient that *I have*. Of slender women in chong sams and kimonos who die for the love of unworthy foreign devils [...] It is a vision that has become my life. [...] *I have* a vision. Of the Orient. That, deep within

<sup>27</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Selecting Writings*, trans. Jacques Murrain (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 90; emphasis is mine.

<sup>29</sup> Camille Paglia, “Cults of Sex and Beauty”, *Sexual Personae* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 391.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

its almond eyes, there are *still* women. Women willing to sacrifice themselves for the love of a man. Even a man whose love is completely without worth.<sup>31</sup>

Towards the end of the play, he does not attempt to coincide his idealist image with the real confrontational male subject. He says he watches the story play out in his head several times; in doing so, he continually separates appearance and reality. He asks: “Why can’t anyone understand? That in China, I once loved, and was loved by, very simply, the Perfect Woman”.<sup>32</sup> It is pointless for him to explain his fetish to the judges or to the audience. The vision of feminine perfection is lost in the past. Gallimard repeatedly declares that she is exceptionally real for him. As Baudrillard points out: “Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal”.<sup>33</sup> Through her calculated simulation of Madama Butterfly Song surpassed the territory of the real. For Gallimard, authenticity was not a precondition for the reproduction of Song. Thus, only Gallimard could understand this “Perfect Woman,” the “Still” woman, the “Hyperreal” woman. If we do not see this, perhaps we are “falling too short”. In the following dialogue, Gallimard reveals how cultural differences functioned as the mere background in his relationship with Song.

SONG: We must conserve our strength for the battles we can win.

GALLIMARD: That sounds like a fortune cookie!

SONG: Where do you think fortune cookies come from?

ALLIMARD: I don’t care.<sup>34</sup>

Gallimard views Song as being a marketed product. She tries to make a wise argument about life and he completely trivializes her. The French diplomat is not interested and does not want to know the history of the Chinese objects that have been integrated into Western culture. By extension, there is no concern for understanding where Song comes from; it is enough to be able to see what he loves and what is familiar to him through Puccini’s opera. He is part of a system of advanced capitalism in which numerous women like Song are marketed as a commodified cultural object. It is a society that reifies the market economy, a “spectacular society”, which in Guy Debord’s words prefers “the sign to the thing signified, the copy to the original, fancy to reality, the appearance to the essence”.<sup>35</sup> Gallimard’s interest in Song concerns him as long as she is a fancy he can enjoy, a product he can consume and transport. He does not question the history or the implications of her importation; she is a product that is “Made in China”.

At the end of Act II, Song turns to the audience and says: “The change I’m going to make requires about five minutes. So I thought you might want to take this opportunity to stretch your legs, enjoy a drink, or listen to the musicians. I’ll be here, when you return, right were you left me”.<sup>36</sup> Then she stands

<sup>31</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, pp. 91–92; emphasis is mine.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 65.

<sup>35</sup> Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1983), p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 79.

in front of a basin of water and a mirror, and starts washing off her makeup. These gestures remind the audience that they have paid a fee in order to see the play, the spectacle. The reader is reminded that he can take a natural break from the text and do something else. This scene is detached from Gallimard's gaze, yet replaced by that of the audience's. The viewer of the play can assume control and consume her freely. This meta-diegetic moment emphasizes that Song is factitious, that the world/story in which she exists is timeless, always there, as she is from China, a "nation whose soul is rooted two thousand years in the past".<sup>37</sup> The spectators are expected to see Song as a foreign and artificialized product: a packaged souvenir of something that keeps a cheap illusion of authenticity. The reader of this play is allowed to break in or break out whenever he wants, because the play will be there, where it was left. The play was made for him.

Song is what the American sociologist David Riesman would call a "standard package", or the "the ideal of conformity" according to Baudrillard.<sup>38</sup> She is a product that is easily displaceable or appropriated. Her racial and gender qualities are hyperbolized in order to be inscribed in the West and trivialized like any other product made in China. The object made for conforming, easy and fast consumption: like fortune cookies. In turn, Gallimard's inability to see beyond what the market offers makes him the ideal consumer. Song and Gallimard are made for each other.

Although the product is evidently from China, it is unnecessarily orientalized for a Western audience that no longer questions or demands authenticity. Hwang gives its reader references that will be acknowledged immediately. For example, at the beginning of their romantic encounters, Song appears dressed elegantly in a black gown from the twenties, "looking like Anna May Wong".<sup>39</sup> Song is a product that circulates within a system that delights on the copy of a sign, an image that resides on her observers and reflects a previous icon – May Wong, the first Asian American actress to be recognized in the international film community. This mention suffices its objective. The playwright and the viewer speak the same language; Hwang knows that reference will be digested well. So now everything is at the consumer's disposition, however, the consumer is not "free" within his space. He is pressured to delight on the excess of comfort products in the market the same way he may be previously forced to labor for them:

Work (in the form of leisure as well) invades all of life as a fundamental repression, as control, and as a permanent job in specified times and places, according to an omnipresent code. People must be *positioned* at all times: in school, in the plant, at the beach or in front of the TV, or in job retraining – a

<sup>37</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 30.

<sup>38</sup> Baudrillard discusses the basic heritage of the middle-class American delineated by Riesman: "Surpassed by some, only dreamed by others, it is an idea which encapsulates the American way of life. Here again, the 'standard package' does not so much refer to the materiality of goods (TV, bathroom, car, etc.) as to the ideal of conformity" (Baudrillard, *Selected, Consumer Society* 37). Baudrillard, Jean. *Jean Baudrillard: Selecting Writings*. Trans. Jacques Mourrain (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 37.

<sup>39</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 27.

permanent, general mobilization. [...] it is now merely the mirror of society, its imaginary, its fantastic principle of reality.<sup>40</sup>

While the Orient mirror a passive role, the suitors mirror the presupposed "position" of the violent rapist. Song comments: "As soon as a Western man comes into contact with the East – he's already confused. The West has sort of an international rape mentality towards the East. Do you know rape mentality?"<sup>41</sup> The violating mentality takes over as the Western man is "positioned" to do so. After Gallimard finds out that Song is a man, he does not know how to take her sudden absence. The Westerner enters a terrain that cannot be registered: it loses its commodified counterpart. Gallimard needs to immediately re-locate Song, re-label her. So at the end, hearing Song's voice in jail Gallimard yells: "You're as real as a hamburger. Now get out!"<sup>42</sup> She ceases to be the beautiful Madama Butterfly and becomes another product: a hamburger, the unquestionable icon of the fast-food industry. This directs us back to a society of advanced capitalism in the West. Song is relocated, rightly placed, in an inventory associated to American production.

The title of the play raises the possibility of a similar re-location of Song as a product in the Western market. Even though the title of the play generates a sense of familiarity as suggested in the introduction, reading the letter "M" in *M. Butterfly* produces a moment of uncertainty. In the same way Barthes perversely interprets "Sarrasine" in *S/Z* ("The title raises a question: *What is Sarrasine?* A noun? A name? A thing? A man? A woman?"<sup>43</sup>) we may ask what the "M." stands for. Although we know it is Monsieur, we pretend not to know. Hwang points out that he initially entitled the play *Monsieur Butterfly*, however, he then abbreviated it, in a French fashion, to make it "far more mysterious and ambiguous."<sup>44</sup> Effectively, several speculations germinate from the single letter. Thus, after a moment of indecision, the readers try to familiarize it or interpret it somehow, pretending to forget it is artificial. So could it also be Madama? Madame? Monsieur? Mister? Miss? Perhaps, like the hamburger, a McButterfly?<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Selecting Writings, Symbolic Exchange*, p. 134.

<sup>41</sup> Hwang, *M. Butterfly*, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>43</sup> Barthes, *S/Z*, 17.

<sup>44</sup> Hwang, "Afterword", *M. Butterfly*, p. 96.

<sup>45</sup> I suggest that the M. can be read in conjunction with McOndo, a generation of young writers in Latin America that planned to incorporate the effects of hypercapitalism in the 1990s, distancing themselves from the idealized conception of Latin America as "Macondo", the setting in García Márquez's internationally acclaimed *A Hundred Years of Solitude*. McOndo is a movement that is tired of swarming yellow butterflies, a recurrent motif in the novel, which interestingly dialogues with the "Yellow Fever", the yellow Butterfly inscribed in Hwang's play. "There another Latin America and, definitely, another Chile that needs to be written, exported and shared. Those that linger in the huasos, the maids and the saries can keep on doing it [...] Chile, at least for now, it's not Macondo nor another garcimarcquean invention. On the contrary: it's McOndo, land of McDonald's and condominiums, of computers and Japanese cars". Alberto Fuguet and Sergio Gómez, *McOndo* (Santiago: Mandadori, 1996), pp. 145–6; translation mine.

### Conclusion: Indigestion

We are now in an age of fast capitalism, in the midst of a system of numerous objects labeled “Made in China” that have nothing to do with Chinese culture. As we consume these objects, we mechanically disassociate them from their origin. We may excuse ourselves, forget the real, and claim that *M. Butterfly* plays with the simulacrum not the representation of the Orient. Yet the jaded question “politics again?” pronounced by Helga in the play, is continually raised, interrupting the consumption of these commodified aesthetic products. Since the product cannot be put out of the market or dismissed from visibility, Hwang asks us to evaluate and recognize that we are “positioned”, that we share a place with Gallimard as consumers of commodities.

We are invited to relax and to enjoy the artifice, but we cannot digest it fully. We have to vomit it. In the same way that Gallimard “ate” Song in the dark, numerous times and in a hasty manner, we live and participate in the fast-paced market and cannot fully perceive what surrounds us. Finally, we cannot help but take in what is assaulting us, what positions us to be capitalistic. However, we must be aware that at some point, the beautiful yellow butterflies that we consumed so comfortably, those butterflies we thought belonged to us because we had paid for them, will not fully settle. They will come out – quite incomprehensibly – tasting like an indigestible hamburger.

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### Adele Di Ruocco

#### IN THE NAME OF THE BUDDHA: THE FIGURE OF THE ENLIGHTENED ONE IN YURY ANNEKOV'S PORTRAIT OF THE POET AND WRITER MAXIM GORKY AND IN BORIS ANISFELD'S PAINTINGS WITH THE BUDDHA

As the well-known Russian Orientologist,<sup>1</sup> Sergei Oldenburg, noted bitterly in his speech honoring the explorer Grigory Potanin: “For many centuries Westerners have looked at the Orient only as the realm of fantastic wonders, as something different, primitive and strange” [Долгие столетия Восток для него (для западного человека *ADR*) был только странною сказочных чудес, чуждою, дикою и странною].<sup>2</sup> What Oldenburg is describing is an image of the Orient which Russians have traditionally associated with the exoticism of the Caucasus<sup>3</sup> and India,<sup>4</sup> as well as Persia and the countries of the Near East and Central Asia. However, despite its main identification with those geographical areas, the Orient as “other” has sometimes also included the Far East, in particular China



Fig. 1. Yury Annenkov, Portrait of the Poet and Writer Maxim Gorky, 1920. Indian ink on paper 22,5 × 15 cm Yury Annenkov: *Portrety* (Petrograd: Petropolis, 1922), 33

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the present article the author will adopt the neutral term “Orientalology”/“Orientalologist” instead of “Orientalism”/“Orientalist” when it refers to the discipline of Oriental Studies (*vostokovedenie* in Russian). This choice has been motivated by the negative connotations which, especially in western scholarship, the word Orientalism has assumed after the publication of Edward Said’s book *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1994. First edition, 1978). This is a distinction which has also been adopted by other scholars, such as Vera Tolz and David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye. See, for instance, D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism. Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010) and V. Tolz, *Russia’s Own Orient. The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> The speech was pronounced at the Society for the Study of Siberia [Общество изучения Сибири] on September 21, 1915 on the occasion of Potanin’s eighty-year birthday. Sergei Oldenburg, “Ne dovol’no,” *Russkaia mysl’* 11 (November 1915): 2.

<sup>3</sup> Especially the Romantics promoted this image of the Caucasus through literary works, such as Aleksandr Pushkin’s *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* (1820–21) and *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai* (1823), Mikhail Lermontov’s poem “The Demon” (1829–39) and his novel *A Hero of Our Time* (1839). Likewise, years later the Realists continued to describe the Caucasus in these terms in works, such as Lev Tolstoy’s *Khadzhi-Murat* (1904) and his military tales “The Raid” (Nabeg, 1853) and “The Woodfelling” (Rubka lesa, 1855) among others.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the topic, see Robert H. Stacy, *India in Russian Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985) and Margarita Albedil’, *Indiia: bespredel’naia mudrost’* (Moscow: Aleteia, 2003).



Fig. 2. Boris Anisfeld, Buddha with Pomegranates, 1916. Oil on canvas 70, 5 × 68 cm Prof. Boris Stavrovski collection, New York

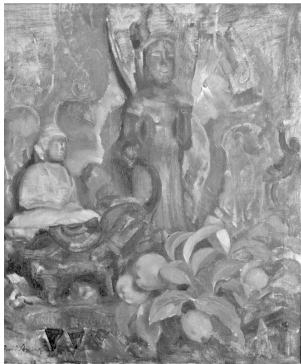


Fig. 3. Boris Anisfeld, Buddha and Oranges. Oil on canvas 81 × 68,5 cm Estate of the artist

and Japan, as the visual arts aptly document. Iconic examples of this geographical stretch are, for instance, Mikhail Vrubel's *Girl Against a Persian Carpet* (1886) and Vasily Vereshchagin's *Japanese Woman* (1903).<sup>5</sup> In both representations, the Orient is manifest in the highly decorated setting and jewelry of the Persian girl, as well as in the stylized floral patterns surrounding the Japanese woman. In these two paintings, Vereshchagin and Vrubel give such prominence to Oriental motifs that the two female figures almost disappear into the scenery.

The predominance of the decorative elements overwhelming the represented subjects, as well as the features which Oldenburg identified in his article, are generally recognized as components of the trend known by the term "Orientalism."<sup>6</sup> With it Buddhist themes have been associated as well.<sup>7</sup> However, despite some common traits, this article aims to give an alternative explanation to the inspirational sources lying behind the figure of the Buddha in Yury Annenkov's *Portrait of the Poet and Writer Maxim Gorky* (1920, fig. 1) and in Boris Anisfeld's *Buddha with Pomegranates* (1916, fig. 2) and his undated paintings *Buddha and Oranges* (fig. 3), *Two Asian Gods* (fig. 4), *Buddha and Other Statue* (fig. 5), *Buddha with Orange Flower Garland* (fig. 6) and *Self-portrait with a Buddha statue* (fig. 7).<sup>8</sup> What I will demonstrate is that in these representations the figure of the Enlightened One did not come from a general fascination with the East, but from the growing interest in Buddhism which was in

<sup>5</sup> To Russian Orientalism in visual arts was devoted the exhibition *Russia's Unknown Orient. Orientalist Painting 1850–1920*. The exhibition was accompanied with the homonymous catalog edited by Patty Wageman and Iness Kouteinikova (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> To the Orientalist vocabulary belongs the series of cultural references, recognizable to a western audience, which Said has described as follows: "In the depths of this oriental stage stands a prodigious cultural repertoire whose individual items evoke a fabulously rich world: the Sphinx, Cleopatra, Eden, Troy, Sodom and Gomorrah, Astarte, Isis and Osiris, Sheba, Babylon, the Genii, the Magi, Nineveh, Prester John, Mahomet, and dozens more; settings, in some cases names only, half-imagined, half-known; monsters, devils, heroes; terrors, pleasures, desires," 63.

<sup>7</sup> See for instance T. Lobanova's analysis of the Buddhist pagodas of Ceylon described by Ivan Bunin in his homonymous poems. T. Lobanova, "Oriental'naia proza I. Bunina i dukhovno-esteticheskoe nasledie narodov Vostoka." E.A. Karimov, ed., *Russkaia literatura i Vostok. (Osobennosti khudozhestvennoi orientalistiki XIX-XX vv)* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo "FAN" Uzbekskoi SSR, 1988), 69-91.

<sup>8</sup> These are only a selection of Anisfeld's works with Buddhist themes; for a complete list see Eckart Lingenauber and Olga Sugrobova-Roth, eds., with a preface by Charles Chatfield-Taylor, *Boris Anisfeld. Catalogue raisonné* (Düsseldorf: Edition Libertars GmbH, 2011).

vogue in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through the distinction between Orientalist and Buddhist motifs I will argue that the generally accepted identification of Buddhist iconography with Orientalist imagery is not applicable to the works under analysis here. In other words, what I intend to demonstrate is that Buddhism and Orientalism represent two mixed, yet distinct movements. The former relates to the increasing popularity that Buddhist collections were having at the turn of the nineteenth century, whereas Orientalism in Russia, as well as in Western Europe, mainly developed from the fashion with "chinoiserie" (китайщина) and "japonaiserie" (японщина), which became popular in the nineteenth century and found its best expression in the French Impressionist passion for Japanese prints.

The reason why Buddhist iconography and Orientalist imagery are generally confused has to do with the frequent combination of these two streams in individual works of art. If we take a close look at Annenkov's portrait of Gorky, for instance, we will notice that the ceramic vase depicted behind the seated statuette of the Buddha exemplifies the stylization of Oriental motifs, which we identify with "chinoiserie." Annenkov probably took inspiration from one of the Chinese vases that belonged in Gorky's private collection. Nonetheless, unlike the vase, which is clearly Orientalism, it is the vogue of Buddhist collections which explains the presence of the accompanying figure of the Buddha. In particular, the Buddha in Gorky's portrait resembles the two Siamese statuettes displayed in 1914 at the recently opened St. Petersburg Buddhist Temple.<sup>9</sup> Stylistically, both Annenkov's representation and the two Siamese statuettes depict the Enlightened One with the same haircut and facial traits, although they offer the image of the meditative Buddha posing with different *mudras* (hand gestures). Annenkov portrayed the Buddha in the so-called *dharmachakra mudra*, that is the gesture of teaching (the hands level with the heart, thumbs and index fingers forming circles). The Siamese interpretation, instead, shows the Buddha with the gesture of "touching the earth" (*bhumisparsha mudra*), also known as the "earth witness" mudra (all five fingers of his right hand touch the ground, symbolizing the enlightenment that he reached under the bodhi tree; his left hand is held flat in his lap in the

<sup>9</sup> The two statuettes were a gift from the King of Thailand and the Russian General Consul, Georgy Planson-Rostkov, who himself collected Buddhist artifacts. On the ceremony accompanying the donation of the Siamese statuettes, as well as on the story of the St. Petersburg datsan, see Aleksandr Andreev, *Khram Buddy v Severnoi stolitse* (St. Petersburg: Nartang, 2004).

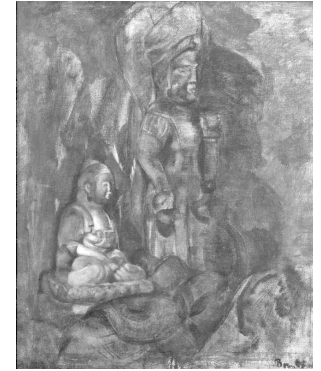


Fig. 4. Boris Anisfeld, Two Asian Gods Oil on canvas 81 × 68,5 cm Estate of the artist

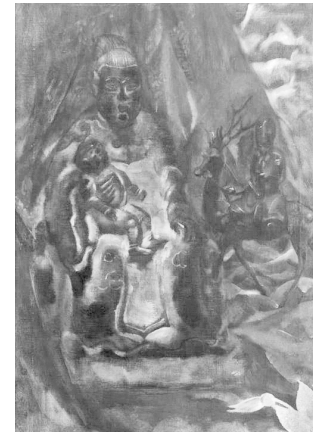


Fig. 5. Boris Anisfeld, Buddha and Other Statue (Madonna) Oil on canvas size unknown Estate of the artist

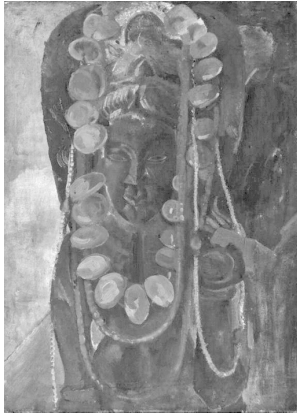


Fig. 6. Boris Anisfeld, Buddha with Orange Flower Garland Oil on canvas 71,1 × 53 cm Estate of the artist



Fig. 7. Boris Anisfeld, Self-portrait with a Buddha Statue Oil on canvas 69 × 48 cm Location unknown

gesture of meditation – *dhyana mudra*). The two mudras combined refer to the union of the method and wisdom, of *samsara* (rebirth) and nirvana.

Annenkov might have seen the Siamese statuettes illustrated in the local press – the magazine *Spark* (Ogonek), for instance, printed them in one of its 1914 issues. If he did not see them in the press, he might have heard of them through Gorky, who knew the group of Russian Orientologists belonging to the building committee of the St. Petersburg datsan.<sup>10</sup> It was the same group of scholars whom a few years later Gorky invited to work in his publishing house, *World Literature*.<sup>11</sup> With the intent to unite western and eastern literary traditions and to produce the most recent and accurate translations of world literature classics, in September 1918 Gorky established his publishing house in the Polovtsov mansion on 36, Mokhovaia Street. He and his close collaborator, Andrei Tikhonov, coordinated the editorial board, which was made up of scholars, writers, and critics. Although it is true that Gorky disliked Buddhism (since he believed the Buddhist passive attitude towards life was irremediably dangerous in a fatalist country such as Russia<sup>12</sup>), he highly respected Russian Orientologists to such an extent that he was prepared to compromise his governmental position to defend them during the arrests that accompanied the early years of Soviet

<sup>10</sup> “Datsan” is the term used for Buddhist pedagogical monasteries that belong to the Tibetan school of Gelukpa (the Yellow hat sect) in Tibet, Mongolia, and Siberia. Members of the datsan building committee were: the Orientologists Vasily Radlov (Chairman), Sergei Oldenburg, Fedor Shcherbatskoi (representative of the building committee), Vladislav Kotvich and Andrei Rudnev. Other members included Prince Esper Ukhtomsky, as well as the two artists Nikolai Roerich and Varvara Schneider.

<sup>11</sup> Participants were Aleksandr Blok, Nikolai Gumilev, Evgeny Zamiatin, Kornei Chukovsky, as well as Orientologists of the caliber of Sergei Oldenburg, Vasily Alekseev, Nikolai Marr, Boris Vladimirtsov, and many others. Descriptions of the meetings were recorded by some of the participants, for example by Evgeny Zamiatin in his “Brief History of World Literature from Its Establishment to Today” (Kratkaia istoriia vsemirnoi literatury ot osnovaniia i do segodnia), in Evgeny Zamiatin, *Sochineniia*, 3 vols. Evgeny Zhiglevich and Boris Filippov, ed., with the collaboration of Aleksandr Tiurin (Germany: A. Neimanis Buchvertrieb und Verlag, 1986), 328–352.

<sup>12</sup> Gorky expressed this opinion on Buddhism in a letter to Ekaterina Poliana on the occasion of Tolstoy’s flight from Iasnaia Poliana in 1910. In his letter Gorky wrote: “You know how I hate this preaching of a passive attitude towards life; you should understand how pernicious Buddhist ideas are for a country steeped in fatalism.” Maksim Gorky, *Selected Letters*. Andrew Barratt and Barry P. Scherr, selected, translated and edited (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 149.

life.<sup>13</sup> It is precisely this connection between Gorky and the exponents of the Buddhist world that explains the presence of the image of the Buddha in Annenkov’s portrait of the writer.

As so for Annenkov it is also true for Anisfeld (who noteworthy was the former classmate at the Odessa Drawing School of the other member of *World Literature*, the artist Zinoviy Grzhebin<sup>14</sup>) that it is possible to outline the mingling of Buddhism and Orientalism in some of his works. For a moment let us leave aside Anisfeld’s paintings of the Buddha and concentrate instead on his painting *The Golden God* (1917, fig. 8) as it better explains my point of view. The clothing which the group of women in the foreground is wearing, and especially the turban on the head of the female figure in the centre, as well as the curtains hanging on the wall with their floral motif, are all influenced by Orientalism. These elements attest to the Russian fascination with all things oriental and align the large figure of “the golden God” on the left. With its multiple arms in various poses, it reminds us of Hindu deities and therefore exemplifies the Orientalist imagery associated with India. That Anisfeld shared this Russian fascination with India is ascertained by some of his works, for example *Indian Legend* (probably 1906), also titled *Buddhist Legend* (fig. 9). The latter masterfully displays both Orientalist features and the mingling of Orientalism and Buddhism, confirmed by the switching from one title variation to the other. Visually, *Indian Legend* and *The Golden God* are very similar: both present a seated enlarged figure left in the foreground, a highly decorated environment and curtains placed all around the background as on stage. In both works Anisfeld immortalized the India that Russians associated with exoticism and whose traits Margarita Albedil summarizes as follows: “In our country, India, remote and foreign, constantly evoked the image of distant heavenly lands, which, invariably, captured the imagination of those

<sup>13</sup> When Sergei Oldenburg was arrested in 1919, for instance, Kornei Chukovsky wrote in his diary: “I’ve just seen Gorky crying. ‘They’ve arrested Sergei Fyodorovich Oldenburg!’ he shouted, running into Grzhebin’s publishing house on his way to Stroev’s office. [...] He started in on a long reply, but it disintegrated into gesticulations. ‘What can I do?’ he finally managed to come out with. ‘I told the bastards – I mean, the bastard – that if Oldenburg wasn’t released this very minute I’d make a scandal. I’d break with them, with the Communists, for good, damn them!’ His eyes were moist” Kornei Chukovsky, *Diary, 1901–1969*. Victor Erlich, ed., and Michael Henry Heim, tr. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005), 53.

<sup>14</sup> Olga Sugrobova-Roth, “The Artist Anisfeld,” *Boris Anisfeld, catalogue raisonné*, note 25, 36.

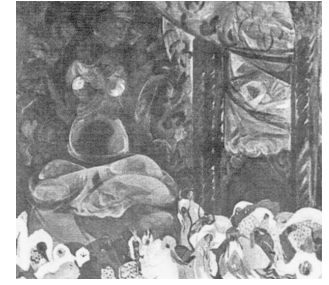


Fig. 8. Boris Anisfeld, The Golden God, 1917 Oil on canvas 142, 24 × 133,35 cm Location unknown Here taken from the book cover of the exhibition catalog The Boris Anisfeld Exhibition (New York: Redfield-Kendrick-Odell Company, Inc., 1918–20)



Fig. 9. Boris Anisfeld, Indian legend (also known as Buddhist Legend), 1906 (?) Oil on canvas 71 × 81 cm Museum of Fine Arts, Arkhangelsk



Fig. 10. Lev Bakst, Costume design for a temple dancer in *The Blue God*, 1912. Watercolor, gouache, gold, charcoal, and pencil on paper 64,8 × 47 cm. Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum, San Antonio

who felt constrained in the daily ‘corridor’ of life. [...] [Russians] always pictured this country in brightly lush, unearthly colors.”<sup>15</sup>

This is the India which Nikolai Rusakov similarly portrayed in *An Evening in India. Roe* (1916). Here the exoticism of the setting is indeed emphasized by the unearthly colors and the Neo-Primitivist style of the Buddha statue. Clearly, Rusakov’s painting can be considered homage to Paul Gauguin and his Tahitian paintings, a tribute emphasized by the women’s postures and their physiognomy as well as the flowers decorating their hair. Anisfeld might have been unaware of Rusakov’s painting; regardless, both shared this Orientalist approach to the subject matter fully documenting the association Russians had with India. Even without considering Rusakov’s painting, Anisfeld’s *The Golden God*, emphasizing the pose of the deity, certainly echoes some of the Orientalist sketches his colleague, Lev Bakst, created for Sergei Diaghilev’s *Ballets Russes*<sup>16</sup> in particular *The Blue God* some years earlier (1912).<sup>17</sup> Bakst’s rendering of a temple dancer, posing with bended legs and twisted wrists (fig. 10), strikingly resembles Anisfeld’s image of the deity. According to Olga Sugrobova-Roth: “Anisfeld often worked from the designs of others, which raises the question of the influence of these artists on his own work... His closest connection

was with Bakst. Anisfeld worked with Bakst twice, executing his designs for *Schéherazade* and *Carnival* both in 1910”<sup>18</sup> [English and Russian translations from the original *ADR*]. Even though there is no direct knowledge that Anisfeld was inspired for his *Golden God* by Bakst’s *Blue God*, the fact that both artists worked on pieces, entitled either “Golden God” or “Blue God” does strengthen the connection.<sup>19</sup> However, apart from those previously mentioned Orientalist

<sup>15</sup> Margarita Albedil’, *Indiia: bespredel’naia mudrost’*, 12.

<sup>16</sup> For more information on Diaghilev’s ballet company, see the recently published exhibition catalog by John E. Bowlt, Zelfira Tregulova and Nathalie Rosticher Giordano, eds., *A Feast of Wonders: Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes* (Milano: Skira Editore S.p.A., 2009). Russian edition, *Videnie tantso: Sergei Diaghilev i Russkie baletnye sezony* (Moscow: The State Tretyakov Gallery, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Unlike Anisfeld, Bakst was inspired by Siamese dancers for his costumes of *The Blue God*. Be it India or Siam, however, the Orientalist imagery associated with South and Southeast Asia remained unchanged. On Siamese dancing and the *Ballets Russes*, see Nicoletta Misler, “Ex Oriente Lux: Siamese Dancing and the Ballets Russes,” *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale* 46 (Naples, Italy: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1986): 197–219.

<sup>18</sup> Olga Sugrobova-Roth, “The Set Designer Anisfeld.” *Boris Anisfeld, catalogue raisonné*, 41.

<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Anisfeld realized set designs for the opera *The Blue Bird*, directed by Giulio Gatti-Casazza with libretto by Maurice Maeterlinck and music by Albert Wolff. As Anisfeld affirmed in an interview, when working at the play he was influenced by Stanislavsky’s *Blue Bird*, which he saw in 1908 at the Moscow Art Theatre (Sugrobova-Roth, 46).

motifs, other features in Anisfeld’s work point instead to possible Buddhist sources and in particular to Buddhist collections. These features introduce the same Buddhist world which almost unnoticed reveals itself behind the rich curtains of the aforementioned *Buddhist Legend* and reminds us as in the story of Siddhartha Gautama that an everlasting spiritual realm exists outside the temporary pleasures of mortal life.

From Buddhist iconography and not from Orientalism, in fact, could have derived in *The Golden God* the deity’s position of the legs. Indeed, Buddha is sometimes portrayed with crossed legs and the sole of his right foot up. The Buddha statuette which Anisfeld owned (fig. 11) and portrayed next to him in his *Self-portrait with a Buddha statue* (fig. 7), may have served as a model for this particular position of the legs and might have also inspired the Buddhist motif in other paintings of his, for example *Buddha and Oranges* (fig. 3) and *Two Asian Gods* (fig. 4). When and where Anisfeld bought the statuette is unknown,<sup>20</sup> but certainly one of the reasons behind his purchase may have come, as Charles Chatfield-Taylor has noted, from his interest in Theosophy and the teachings of Rudolf Steiner,<sup>21</sup> although Anisfeld cultivated an early fascination with Buddhism as well.<sup>22</sup> The artist’s awareness of the esoteric movements, especially Theosophy and its proclamation of the synthesis of all religions may explain the presence of the two Asian gods in the paintings above. Additionally, the proliferation of Buddhist collections in the early twentieth century may have influenced the artist’s decision to acquire Buddhist statuettes for his own use. Clearly documenting this fashion among Anisfeld’s colleagues was Bakst’s own possession of statuettes of the Buddha. Both for Anisfeld and Bakst we don’t know when and where they bought their Buddhist statuettes; what matters is that their existence in both Anisfeld’s and Bakst’s private collections documents a diffused trend of the time. Hence the



Fig. 11 Statuette of the Buddha Sandstone 39 cm high 19,2 × 13 cm base Charles Chatfield-Taylor collection

<sup>20</sup> According to Anisfeld’s grandson, Charles Chatfield-Taylor, Anisfeld bought the statuette in New York in 1918 shortly after his arrival in the U.S. However, Mr. Taylor says, this story is uncertain and Anisfeld might have bought the statuette in Russia and brought it with him. From an email sent to the author on February 23, 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Theosophy was an esoteric movement promoted by Helena Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott in the late nineteenth century. It aimed to unite all religions in the world in search of “the higher truth” – the Divine Wisdom at the heart of all the world’s religions, hence the theosophical motto: “There is no religion higher than truth.” For more information on the history of the theosophical movement, see Maria Carlson, “No Religion Higher than Truth.” *A History of the Theosophical Movement in Russia, 1875–1922* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993). As for Rudolf Steiner, he was the head of the Theosophical Society in Germany and Austria. He soon became dissatisfied with the theosophical predilection for Asian religions, especially Buddhism and Hinduism, and in 1912 founded his own religious movement called Anthroposophy – a religious school which shifted its field of enquiry from Asian to Christian traditions.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from Olga Sugrobova-Roth, “The Artist Anisfeld.” *Boris Anisfeld, catalogue raisonné*, note 35, 37.



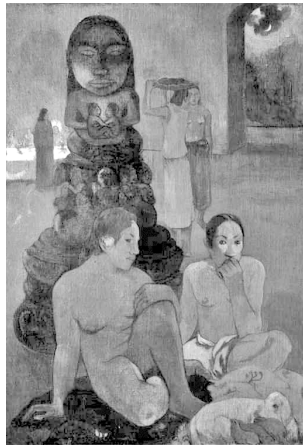


Fig. 13. Paul Gauguin,  
The Great Buddha, 1899  
Oil on canvas 134 × 95 cm  
The Pushkin Museum of  
Fine Art, Moscow

appearance of the Buddhist motif in Anisfeld's "Buddha paintings" may have arisen from these collections and not from Orientalism.

The same observation applies to his *Buddha with Pomegranates* (fig. 2), although the iconography of the Buddha statuette depicted here, in the shape of the mandorla and the style of the crown, traces to a different Buddhist style reminiscent of Lamaist craftsmanship. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were many places selling Buddhist statuettes that Anisfeld might have visited. In St. Petersburg some of these places were the antiquarian shops on Nevsky Prospekt. The area from Sadovaia Street to Fontanka was, as the artist Mstislav Dobuzhinsky defined it, a "gold mine" for collectors of all type of arts.<sup>23</sup> If not on Nevsky Prospekt, Anisfeld might have visited the Buddhist Lamaist collections at the Hermitage or at St. Petersburg Ethnographical Museum, where one of the largest owned Lamaist collections assembled by Prince Esper Ukhtomsky<sup>24</sup> was on display. Ukhtomsky's collection, which Tsar Nicholas II bought in 1902 and donated to the Museums, included approximately 2500 artifacts and was mainly composed of statuettes of the Buddha. Sergei

Oldenburg, who has been mentioned earlier in relation to Gorky, cataloged the collection. That same year the collection was exhibited in the White column hall of the Russian Ethnographical Museum.

Ukhtomsky's collection was well known not only among the scholarly community, but also in artistic and international circles. In 1900 it was displayed at the Paris "Exposition Universelle" in a separate pavilion called the "Section of the Peripheral Regions" (Otdel Okrain).<sup>25</sup> Because of the popularity of Ukhtomsky's collection it is possible that Anisfeld knew about it too and that, if not at the Hermitage or the Ethnographical Museum, he could have seen Ukhtomsky's Buddhist statuettes in the pages of the widely popular travelogue *Travel to the East of His Imperial Highness Heir Tsesarevich 1890–1891*,<sup>26</sup> which Ukhtomsky wrote during Nicholas's tour to Asia. Once back in the capital the objects collected during the tour were shown in 1893 at an

<sup>23</sup> Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, *Vospominaniia*. Grigory Sternin, ed. (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), 405, note 18.

<sup>24</sup> On Ukhtomsky's collection at the Hermitage, see G. Leonov, "E.E. Ukhtomsky. K istorii lamaistkogo sobraniia gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha." R.E. Pubaev, ed., *Buddizm i literaturno-khudozhestvennoe tvorchestvo narodov Tsentral'noi Azii* (Novosibirsk: izdatel'stvo "Nauka" sibirskoe otdelenie, 1985), 101–116.

<sup>25</sup> *Katalog Russkogo oidela na vseмирnoi Parizhskoi Vystavke 1900 g.* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia Isidora Gol'berga, publication date unknown), 472.

<sup>26</sup> Esper Ukhtomsky, *Puteshestvie na Vostok Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudaria Naslednika Tsesarevicha. 1890–1891 gg.*, 3 vols. (Saint Petersburg, Leipzig: F.A. Brozkhauz, 1893). Recently the Tsaritsyno Museum in Moscow has inaugurated the exhibition *Imperial Views (Panorama imperii)* devoted to the objects that the future Tsar brought back from his trip to Asia (the show will be open till May 15, 2011).

exhibition. The art show, arranged by the artist Elena Samokish-Suskovskaia, opened at the Raphael loggias in the Winter Palace, where rooms were divided into sections, each devoted to a visited country.<sup>27</sup> Photographs of the show, nowadays belonging to the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, recorded the event, as did articles in the press. Writers and artists, if they did not visit the show, surely read about the event in *World Illustration* (Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia), which paid broad attention to the exhibition in issues 1290–1304 for the years 1893–94. Although it is true that at the time of the exhibition Anisfeld was still enrolled in the Odessa Art School, he moved to St. Petersburg in 1901 to enter the Academy of Art, meaning that he would have already been in the capital in 1902 when the Ethnographical Museum opened the exhibition of the Buddhist artwork that Tsar Nicholas bought from Ukhtomsky. The visual comparison between the statuettes from Ukhtomsky's collection and the statuette of the Buddha in Anisfeld's painting *Buddha with Pomegranates* suggests that the artist looked at Buddhist Lamaist and not Orientalist sources for the symbolism of his representation. The statuette of the Buddha in Anisfeld's painting stemmed from the growing popularity of Buddhist collections, which the aforementioned imperial collection extensively documents.

Yet, the dividing line between Orientalism and Buddhism blurs when the figure of the Enlightened One is used in other works of art for purely decorative purposes, as in Jean Léon Gérôme's *Japanese Imploring a Divinity* (1880) and Othon Friesz's *Still Life with a Statuette of Buddha* (1910, fig. 12). In both cases the image of the Buddha – Japanese style in the former and Chinese in the latter – stems from the French taste for "japonaiserie" and "chinoiserie." In this respect the depiction of the Enlightened One has a purely ornamental purpose. For Gérôme, notably the teacher of the aforementioned Orientalist painter Vasily Vereshchagin, it fits into the stereotypical image of Japan which the French Impressionist identified with cherry blossoms, kimonos and samurai. Likewise, for Friesz the statuette of Buddha represented another exotic object associated with the unfamiliar Orient. If more evidence is needed to confirm the Orientalist subtext in Friesz's painting, there is the highly ornamented setting in which, similar to Vrubel's *Girl Against a Persian Carpet* and Vereshchagin's *Japanese Woman*, all the objects in the painting blend into a whole, and the roundness of the happy Buddha statuette compliments with the central motif of the panel. Certainly, Anisfeld's "Buddha paintings" share Friesz's French Post-Impressionist style; especially Anisfeld's *Buddha and Other Statue* (fig. 5)

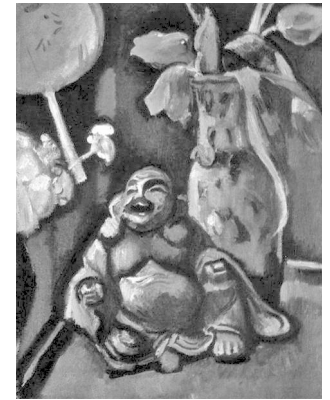


Fig. 12. Othon Friesz,  
Still Life with a Statuette  
of Buddha, 1910 Oil on  
canvas 51 × 42 cm The  
State Hermitage,  
St. Petersburg

<sup>27</sup> *Katalog vystavki predmetam, privezennym velikim kniazem Gosudarem Naslednikom Tsesarevichem Nikolaem Aleksandrovichem iz puteshestviia Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva na Vostok v 1890–91 gg.* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia Ministerstva Putei Soobshcheniia, 1893).

which similarly features Chinese statuettes. However, visual parallels between Friesz's and Anisfeld's rendition of the image of the Buddha are only limited to stylistic features. In other words, if Friesz confined his understanding of the Orient to purely aesthetical principles, Anisfeld went beyond it by investigating the philosophical underpinnings of the Buddhist world. His *Buddha with Pomegranates* (fig. 2), in particular, introduces a deeper level of meaning imbued with Buddhist symbolism, as suggested by the presence of the pomegranates on the foreground.<sup>28</sup>

It is plausible that Anisfeld saw Friesz's *Still Life with a Statuette of Buddha* at the Morozov mansion in Moscow, since Ivan Morozov bought the piece through the artist Maurice Denis who, by 1907, had become Morozov's friend and advisor (the painting is now part of the Hermitage collection).<sup>29</sup> Paul Gauguin's painting *The Great Buddha* (1899, fig. 13), which the Russian magnate bought in 1907 (now at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts), also hung in Morozov's mansion. Russian artists knew the Morozov collection well and certainly saw Gauguin's *The Great Buddha*. As Jacquelynn Baas argues in her book, *Smile of the Buddha. Eastern Philosophy and Western Art from Monet to Today*, the Buddhist motifs in Gauguin's works stemmed from the artist's understanding of nirvana as well as his familiarity with the widely known Buddhist collections in Paris.<sup>30</sup> We find once again that Buddhist collections inspired certain Buddhist motifs in visual arts. However, these motifs usually mingled with other ideas, be they derived from Orientalism or, as in the case of Gauguin's *The Great Buddha*, Christianity. Gauguin's hint at motherhood presented through the depiction of the meditative Buddha holding two fetus-like figures, as well as the scene in the background recalling Christ's *Last Supper* combine both Buddhist and Christian elements, which evidence the artist's search for religious syncretism. This is the same mixture that emerges in Anisfeld's paintings with the Buddha. Likewise, Anisfeld's *Buddha and Other Statue* (fig. 5) directly refers to the concept of motherhood, with the child seated in the Buddha's lap, and the Christian Madonna – a comparison that the artist confirmed writing on verso “Madonna.”<sup>31</sup> Whether coincidental or not, the fact that both painters fused two distinct worldviews on canvas stresses their quest for a spirituality that has nothing to do with Orientalist stylizations.

It was their common search for spirituality, also intended as something unconstrained and primordial, that explains the “primitive” features of Gauguin's aboriginal statue of the great Buddha and Anisfeld's *Buddha with Orange*

<sup>28</sup> The pomegranate, along with the citrus and the peach, is one of the sacred fruits of Buddhism. Anisfeld might have known about its symbolism through his theosophical readings. For the meaning of the pomegranate in Buddhism, see James Hall, *Illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art* (London: John Murray Publishers Ltd., 1994), 156.

<sup>29</sup> On Denis and Morozov, see Beverly Whitney Kean, *French Painters, Russian Collectors. The Merchant Patrons of Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983), 97.

<sup>30</sup> Jacquelynn Baas, *Smile of the Buddha. Eastern Philosophy and Western Art from Monet to Today*. Robert A.F. Thurman, foreword (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 37.

<sup>31</sup> See Boris Anisfeld, *catalogue raisonné*, 164.

*Flower Garland* (fig. 6).<sup>32</sup> As in Gauguin's work, in Anisfeld's painting too the sacred image is characterized by dark skin colors, perhaps a reference to the wooden material it is made of, as well as marked facial traits (pronounced nose, big lips and eyes) – all traits that in the past artists usually associated with non-European “barbarian” cultures. That Gauguin's Neo-Primitivism had an impact on Anisfeld's painting of the Buddha is also evidenced by the orange flower garland strikingly reminding some of the Tahitian garlands that Gauguin used to embellish his portraits of local women. Gauguin's Neo-Primitivist image of the Buddha affected not only Anisfeld but also his peers, thus suggesting that Gauguin's popularity helped the circulation of Buddhist motifs in Russian artistic circles. Because of this circulation when the Latvian-born artist, Vladimir Markov, first saw the Congo statuette of a seated man at the British Museum in 1912 or 1913, he immediately associated it with an image of the Buddha.<sup>33</sup> As Markov describes the African statuette in his article, “Negro Art”:

Sculpture No 21 also appears curious. How did this Buddha turn up in Central Africa, in the Congo, among the Bushoong (Kuba)? Its pose, chest, stomach, realistic legs with toenails, and ringlets around the arms are Buddha's. It is not my intention to establish a link or suggest the influence of Buddhist art on Africa by this observation. I merely want to suggest that at some point (the sculpture is date c. 1790) there occurred a relationship with and brief imitation of this alien art.<sup>34</sup>

Markov, like Gauguin, was aware of the Buddhist European collections, as well as of those formed in Russia after the discoveries made by Russian explorers in Central Asia. In fact, in his review, “The Russian Secession: Concerning the ‘Union of Youth’ Exhibition in Riga,” he openly discusses Petr Kozlov's discovery of the city of Karakhoto in the Gobi Desert.<sup>35</sup> The Buddhist artwork that the Russian explorer brought back to St. Petersburg was exhibited in 1910 at the Imperial Geographical Society.<sup>36</sup> It was a sensational discovery which was discussed both in scholarly and artistic circles. Whether Anisfeld

<sup>32</sup> The same statue is portrayed full length in another undated canvas titled *Oriental God* (Boris Anisfeld, *catalogue raisonné*, ill. P093, 113).

<sup>33</sup> I would like to thank Irena Buzhinska for this Buddhist parallel in Markov's artistic production.

<sup>34</sup> Vladimir Markov, “Negro Art,” *Art In Translation*. J. Howard, tr., page number unknown.

<sup>35</sup> Vladimir Markov, “The Russian Secession: Concerning the ‘Union of Youth’ Exhibition in Riga.” Jeremy Howard, tr. and intr. *Experiment. A Journal of Russian Culture* 1 (1995): 45–54.

<sup>36</sup> The Kozlov collection, today at the Hermitage, consists of 3,500 items, of which some 200 are paintings on silk, canvas, paper, wood, and wall paintings. The St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies owns circa 8,000 items, including most of the xylographs and the drawings accompanied by the text they illustrate. Other objects in the collection include sculptures of clay, wood and bronze, paper banknotes and coins, artwork of local pottery and porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty, various iron, wood and bronze utensils. For more information on this collection, see Kira Samosiuk, *Buddiiskaia zhivopis' iz Khara-Khoto XII-XIV vekov. Mezhdru Kitaem i Tibetom*. Kolleksiia P.K. Kozlova. (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 2006).

knew about Kozlov's collection is uncertain; nevertheless, his acquisition of a Buddhist statuette (fig. 11) in the 1910s chronologically puts him in the center of the period's general trend.

As is abundantly evident in this article, the fashion with Buddhist collections represented a transversal phenomenon which involved tsars and diplomats as well as artists and businessmen. When seen from the perspective of the increasing popularity that Buddhism was gaining both in Russia and abroad at the turn of the twentieth century, thanks to the diffusion of private collections, the figure of the Enlightened One in Boris Anisfeld's "Buddha paintings" and in Yury Annenkov's *Portrait of the Poet and Writer Maxim Gorky* (fig. 1) assumes a totally different focus. It shows the viewer that the Orient "à la *One and Thousand Nights*" was not the only existing image of the East. Quietly, but firmly, another East was asserting its presence, too; an East that, however briefly, shone in the serene face of a depicted Buddha.

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*Takehiko Inoue*

**TRANSITION BETWEEN MEDICINE  
AND ORIENTALISM: MEDICAL TREATMENTS  
OF THE KALMYK BUDDHIST MONKS IN THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY RUSSIAN EMPIRE\***

**Introduction: Tibetan Medicine in the Russian Empire?**

The discussion between Nathaniel Knight and Adeeb Khalid on Orientalism is well known in Russian historiography. Knight criticized postcolonial studies, addressing the case of the Orientalist V. V. Grigor'ev, who was involved in the administration of the Kazakhs. Knight wrote that knowledge of the Orient did not necessarily help Russia in its occupation of the Orient during the Russian empire because Grigor'ev's knowledge was not used to advantage in ruling the Kazakhs. Khalid, on the other hand, focused on the link between Orientalist intellectuals and the power of Russian officials, invoking the career of N. P. Ostroumov, who assisted the imperial rule in Central Asia with his knowledge of Islam and Turkic languages.<sup>1</sup>

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye stressed in his recent book: "This did not mean that the scholars who studied the East at St. Petersburg University saw themselves as handmaidens of tsarist imperialism. Regardless of their politics, which ranged from conservative in the case of Grigor'ev to the more progressive view of Vasil'ev and Oldenburg, their interests were more esoteric. What impassioned the orientologists on the Neva was not how to conquer or rule the East, but such questions as the origins of Mahayana Buddhism, pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, or Kushite inscriptions on ancient coins. By the same token, their attitudes toward the East tended to be positive."<sup>2</sup> It is reasonable to assume that there were some Russian scholars who intensively researched the field of orientology. However, even if some scholars wrote about esoteric themes, people's reading and appropriation were varied among individuals and people often changed the contents beyond the writer's intention. What matters more is how Orientalism was reflected in actual policies, that is, to what extent Orientalism was significant. It seems to be an effective approach to confirm the significance of Orientalist discourse in each policy.

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<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 1 (2000): 74–100; Adeeb Khalid, "Russian History and the Debate over Orientalism," *Kritika* 1, no. 4 (2000): 691–699; Nathaniel Knight, "On Russian Orientalism: A Response to Adeeb Khalid," *Ibid.*, p. 701–715.

<sup>2</sup> David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010): 198.

Based on such a perspective, I will debate the relationship between medicine and power, between medicine and Orientalism in this article. In the most outstanding recent research on medical history in the Russian empire, Anna Afanas'eva reveals that colonial medicine in the Russian empire was analogous to the global spread of western medical knowledge.<sup>3</sup> In her discussion, the following two points are especially interesting in relation to this paper: 1) the Mufti of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly issued an Islamic decision, a fatwa, appealing to young people to go to Kazan' in order to acquire training in Western medicine (page 137) and 2) migrants from Bukhara and their students treated the Kazakhs with variolation (inoculation of powdered scabs from people infected with smallpox, etc.)<sup>4</sup> (page 139), but they were not seemingly employed as cowpox inoculators by the regional administration. The present article differs from others in its focus on the medical treatments of the Buddhist monk-doctors among the Kalmyks.

Recent debates on religious policies toward non-Orthodox believers have shed light on the complicated interdependent relationships between the Tsarist government and religious elites.<sup>5</sup> What did Buddhist religious elites and Russian officials accomplish through their cooperation? How did the two actors work together? One of their collaborative services involved vaccinating the Kalmyk monks for smallpox. The Russian empire had created three separate church-like Buddhist communities (sangha) and sponsored the top lama in each hierarchy. The three Buddhist communities were the Buriats, the Don Kalmyks, and the Astrakhan Kalmyks. The Buriats lived on both sides of Lake Baikal in Eastern Siberia. The Kalmyks lived in the northwest steppe of the Caspian Sea.

The Kalmyks are some of the western Mongolian people in Russia. They moved from the Dzungarian basin in Central Asia to "Europe." These were one of the last westward movements of nomads in Eurasia. Kalmykia, the land of the Kalmyks, is now called "the only Buddhist republic in Europe." Geographically, Kalmykia is not located in Asia, but in Europe. What is critical here is that the geographical concept of Asia has changed historically. The shifting of the boundaries of Asia shifted the lands on which the Kalmyks lived from Asia and incorporated them into Europe. Thus, the Kalmyks became "the only Buddhists in Europe." According to W. Sunderland, in the early eighteenth century, the Russian Empire consisted of "original and essential territories" as well as territories that were "acquired." However, only the "acquired"

<sup>3</sup> Anna E. Afanas'eva, "Osvobodit'... ot shaitanov i sharlatanov": diskursy i praktiki Rossiiskoi meditsiny v Kazavskoi stepi v XIX veke ["To Liberate... from Shaitans and Charlatans: Discourses and Practice of Russian Medicine in the Kazakh Steppe in the Nineteenth Century"], *Ab Imperio* 4 (2008): 113–150.

<sup>4</sup> There is a book in Chinese where the author, Yu Zhengxie (1775–1840), wrote that Russian government (possibly, Prince Vasilii V. Golitsin) had send a Russian doctor to Qing China to acquire the skill of variolation in 1688 and he subsequently had brought it to Russia. Yu Zhengxie, *Gui si lei gao*: 9 juan, a reprinted version (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1966). Concerning the introduction of variolation among various people without Russian people, especially Muslims in the Russian empire, See V. O. Gubert, *Ospa i ospoprivivanie* [Smallpox and Smallpox Vaccination], vol. 1 (Saint-Petersburg, 1896): 13–16.

<sup>5</sup> For example, See Robert Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire and Central Asia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

steppes were parts of Bessarabia and the Crimea. The rest of the European steppe was included in the Russian "original and essential" domain. That is, "New Russia, the Lower Volga, the Northern Caucasus, and the Orenburg" areas were not "acquired" territories but were, if anything, reacquired ones. They were not lands beyond Russia but parts of Russia itself."<sup>6</sup> It stands to reason. The notion of the border between Asia and Europe has been linked with the self-image of modern Russia, and thereby the image of Siberia or Asia has altered drastically. Until the seventeenth century, Muscovite Russia continued to maintain the idea that there were differences between Asia and Europe based on the superior self-image of Moscow, sometimes called the "Third Rome," and the argued that the border between the two regions had no importance. Hence, Russian people applied the ancient European concept that the border was the Azov Sea and the Don. The turning point came in the eighteenth century when the westernization by Peter the Great altered this concept. Russia's new self-consciousness, or its desire to be one of the European great powers, divided Europe from Asia at the Urals.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, it is quite important to consider that the Kalmyks had lost contact with other Mongolians of a similar background and with other Buddhists who shared their beliefs across Central Eurasia when the troops of the Qing dynasty destroyed the Dzungarian khanate in 1757. At that time, the Kalmyks became isolated from Mongolia and Tibet.

This paper discusses the relationship between Orientalism and medicine, especially the discourses about the Tibetan medicine of the Kalmyk monks. This study also exists at the juncture of two research areas, namely, the history of medicine and the history of state policy toward Tibetan Buddhist monks in the Russian empire.

### Typical Orientalism: Charlatanism

A book, published in 1810, attacked the medical treatments of the Kalmyk monks. The author was N. I. Strakhov, the former Kalmyk Chief of Police. He wrote, "Indeed, the very their [the Kalmyks' – Inoue] doctors, who consider themselves great experts in medical science, are national murderers. The medical treatment, if the sickness is not first but third, likely deprives of free life. In fever cases, they give not only wine but some spirits. They manage many diseases with catfish oil and other likely foolish, even with something harmful." "Gelungs (popes) were conferred a right to kill all patients on. They [the Kalmyks] ought to seek the root without reproduction in the form and method of their [monks'] medical treatment."<sup>8</sup> We still cannot find historical materials

<sup>6</sup> Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 110–111.

<sup>7</sup> Tetsuo Mochizuki, "Rosia no Kukan Imaji ni yosete [On the Russian Spatial Images," in *Teikoku no Tairiku* [Eurasia- The Continent of Empires], ed. Kimitaka Matsuzato (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2008), p. 156–157.

<sup>8</sup> Nikolai I. Strakhov, *Nyneshnee sostoianie kalmyt'skogo naroda, s prisovokupleniem Kalmyt'skikh zakonov i sudoproizvodstva, desiati pravil ikh Very, molitvy, nravouchitel'noi povesi, skaski, poslovits i pesni Savardin* [Current situation of Kalmyk people, with Kalmyk

that show whether Strakhov used the Kalmyk monks to spread smallpox vaccination, although his subordinate decided to appoint the monks to inoculate various people with cowpox vaccine in Astrakhan province. What is clear is only that Strahov established vaccination houses and tents, and also free pharmacies for nomads.<sup>9</sup> In other words, according to Strahov, the Kalmyks might have been the people who unilaterally received western medical treatment.

Let us consider other examples to illustrate Orientalist discourses about the Kalmyk monks and their medical treatment practices. N. A. Nefed'ev, an Astrakhan provincial prosecutor, severely criticized the behaviors of the Kalmyk monks in his book in 1834. "Beyond the written here means, Gelungs have a lot of other tricks, which prove their barefaced charlatanism, and incredible blinding and superstition of the Kalmyks." He wrote that in order to cheat patients of money, the Kalmyk monks practiced many wrong ways such as skillfully explaining the patients that their soul had already left their body and that disease indicated the last sign of their ending life. Eventually, the patients anxiously solicited treatment in order to call back their spirits from the monks in exchange of all their possessions.<sup>10</sup>

The following excerpt is from a letter written by the Astrakhan military governor I. S. Timiriazev to the supreme clerical official, the Lama Dzhimbegabung Namkaev, in May 1838. Timiriazev wrote: "It is famous that Kalmyk Gelungs, taking advantage of blind reverence and faith toward them of the Kalmyks at all levels—anywhere from common people to feudal lords – when disease happened to someone of them, [Gelungs] were invited to the sufferers for medical treatment, -[Gelungs] don't understand it, therefore, there were merely interests for the sufferers, -[Gelungs] entirely robbed them of anything and everything: livestock, property, goods, [Gelungs] pointed what he liked, noting that there was cause of the disease in such goods or in such-and-such a livestock. A Patient believed in [him] and did not dare to reject it, recognizing that every refusal [toward the monks] was a grave sin. Thereby, all property of sufferers gradually moved into the Gelungs' hands, then families of the former were left dire poverty. This is abuse of the Gelungs' power, This is their arbitrary exercise of power, ..." <sup>11</sup> Around the same time, Timiriazev instituted the regulation of vaccination among the Kalmyks in 1839, and he mostly succeeded in excluding the Kalmyk monks from the field of the smallpox vaccination project in Astrakhan province.<sup>12</sup>

laws and judicial procedure, ten rules of their Faith, prayers, moral tales, folk tale, proverbs, and a song Savardin] (Saint-Petersburg, 1810), p. 35–37. On the another part, Strakhov, interestingly, contrasted the lands of the Kalmyks with the natural riches of America.

<sup>9</sup> Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii [Archives of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, Moscow], f. 119, op. 3 (1773–1779), d. 1, ll. 3–6b.

<sup>10</sup> Nikolai A. Nefed'ev, *Podrobnye svedenie o volzhskikh kalmykakh* [Detailed knowledge of the Volga Kalmyks] (Saint-Petersburg, 1834), p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respublika Kalmykiia [National Archives of Republic Kalmykia, Elista], f. 7, op. 4, d. 15, l. 2b.

<sup>12</sup> Takehiko Inoue, "19-seiki Karumuikujin Soryo no Syuto Katsudo: Teisei Rosia no Bukkyo Seisaku to Yobou Iryo Seisaku no Kessetsuten [Vaccination by the Kalmyk Buddhist monks in the 19th century: The relationship between the policy toward the Buddhist monks and the preventive healthcare policy]," *Rosiyashi kenkyu* [the Study of Russian History, Tokyo]

The last and most important Orientalist the present article will discuss is K. I. Kostenkov. He was the Chief Official governing the Kalmyks. Moreover, he led an academic expedition, and he also wrote some academic reports. He was a typical military Orientalist, as well as one of the active promoters of converting the Kalmyks to Russian Orthodoxy. In 1869, Kostenkov wrote in an article in the journal of the Ministry of Education: "The medical treatments of the Buddhist monks are very simple and essentially monotonous. Most monks have Tibetan medical books, but that has little meaning because they cannot read the Tibetan language. In general, most monk-physicians were charlatans."<sup>13</sup> Moreover, he pointed out that the medical treatment of the Kalmyk monk-doctor was "quite perfect charlatanism and must be based on some superstition."<sup>14</sup>

Russian officials suggested that this departure from accepted medical standards had to be remedied for the welfare of the laypeople, and they focused on reducing the number of monks who practiced traditional medicine and eliminating their social influence. In this regard, scholars in Oriental Studies supported the discourses of Russian officials.

It is true that the letter from Timiriazev to Lama Namkaev was not accessible, and therefore, this case may be an anomaly. However, the letter is sufficient to prove that the local officials in Astrakhan province expressed negative views of the medical treatments offered by the Kalmyk Buddhist monks. They created an image of the Kalmyk monk-doctors as quackish physicians. Interestingly, there are some similarities between the critiques of the Buddhist monks of the Kalmyks and those of the Shamans of the Kazakhs.<sup>15</sup>

### Medicine as a Practical Science

For a long time, previous research on Russian medical history limited the actors in so-called "modern" or western preventive healthcare policy and public health policy only to Russian (and Western European) doctors, Russian Orthodox clergy people, and enlightened ethnic elites who were educated in the Russian educational system. In particular, regarding the ethnic regions, it was asserted that cowpox vaccination was widely spread by these "new ethnic doctors" who were trained in the new educational institutions. In such discussions, the preventive healthcare treatments that the traditional medical actors offered were not considered. Moreover, smallpox is the only human infectious disease to have been eradicated in the world, and vaccination is the symbolic, brilliant

86 (2010): 77. The *Roshiashi kenkyu* is a journal of the Japanese Society for the Study of Russian History. In this article I considered the history of the joint vaccination service of the Kalmyk monks in the nineteenth century. To put it plainly, it can be divided into 4 (or 5) phases: 1) Co-optation, 2) Restriction, 3) Exclusion, 4) Acquiescence and Acceptance.

<sup>13</sup> Kapiton I. Kostenkov, *Statisticheskie svedeniia o kalmykakh, kochuiuschikh v Astrakhanskoi gubernii* [Statistical Information on the Kalmyks, wandering in Astrakhan province] (Astrakhan, 1868): 55–56. It may be possible to explain that Kostenkov considered orthodox Tibetan medicine to be better.

<sup>14</sup> Kapiton I. Kostenkov, "O rasprostraneni khristianstva u kalmykov [On spread of Christianity among the Kalmyks]," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvescheniia* [Journal of Ministry of National Education] 144 (1869): 115.

<sup>15</sup> Afanas'eva, p. 133.

achievement of “modern” medicine. Further, it has been long thought that the spread of cowpox vaccination was irreconcilable with traditional medicine, although, the method of administering cowpox vaccination was not difficult. As Andreas Renner pointed out, it is correct to say that western-style doctors could function more effectively than the traditional physicians in a new system in which “medical police” controlled and prevented diseases.<sup>16</sup>

Such new types of doctors aspired to find value in the knowledge accumulated by traditional medicine and to acquire it themselves. For instance, Josef Rehmann (Osip Osipovich Reman), a German doctor from the University of Vienna, was a member of the unsuccessful embassy under Count Iu. A. Golovkin traveled to Beijing in 1805. Before the start, in front of people at the Medical Collegium in Saint Petersburg, Rehmann said that travel to China was useful for mankind. Doctors ought to “discover the diseases of people and the secluded sources of malady in various regions of the world [die Leyden des Menschen und die verborgenen Quellen seiner Uebel in verschiedenen Weltgegenden zu erforschen].”<sup>17</sup> He wanted to study eastern medicine, but his study in Beijing was not successful. Instead, he bought a collection of Tibetan medicine in Maimaicheng, the Chinese trade settlement near the border of Russia. In 1811 in Berlin, Rehmann emphasized that this collection held great value in the European medical community.<sup>18</sup> In the Kazakh steppe, several Russian doctors also researched traditional medicine and treatments practiced among the Kazakhs.<sup>19</sup>

Allowing for the problem of whether incorporating the case of the Buriats in this discussion is valid, let us consider another example that illustrates the attitude of Russian officials toward Tibetan medicine. In 1853, the Governor General of Eastern Siberia, N. N. Murav’ev-Amurskii, ordered Tsul’tim Badmaev to deal with a typhoid epidemic. At that time, young Badmaev, a very famous doctor-lama in the Trans-Baikal region, succeeded in halting typhoid fever through the use of Tibetan medical measures. Murav’ev-Amurskii invited Badmaev to Saint Petersburg, where Badmaev eventually converted to Russian Orthodoxy.<sup>20</sup> Incidentally, Nil Isakovich, a bishop

<sup>16</sup> Andreas Renner, “Progress through Power? Medical Practitioners in Eighteenth-century Russia as an Imperial Elite,” *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 27 (2009): 29–54.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Rehmann, “An den Reichsmedicinalrath in St. Petersburg (April, 1805),” in *Mongolei- und Goethezeit: Berichte und Bilder des J. Rehmann und A. Thesleff von der russischen Gesandtschaftsreise 1805/06*, hg. Walther Heissig (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971): 147.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Rehmann, „Beschreibung einer kleinen Tibetanischen Hand-Apotheke,“ *Journal der praktischen Arzneykunde und Wundarzneikunst* 32 (1811): 52.

<sup>19</sup> *Ocherki istorii meditsiny i zdravookhraneniia zapadnoi Sibiri i Kazakhstana v period prisoedineniia k Rossii (1716–1868)* [Essay on History of Medicine and Public Health in Siberia and Kazakhstan in the period of annexation to Russia (1716–1868)] (Nobosibirsk, 1967), p. 9–10. Doctors’ views on traditional medicine were various. Tat’iana Iu. Shestova, *Istoriia zdravookhraneniia Permskoi i Orenburgskoi gubernii v doreformnyi period* [History of public health in Perm’ province and Orenburg province before the era of great reforms] (Perm’, 2000): 156.

<sup>20</sup> Lygzhima V. Aiusheeva, *Tibetskaia meditsina v Rossii* [Tibetan medicine in Russia] (Ulan-Ude: Rinpoche-Bagsha, 2007): 71–72.

in the Irkutsk and Nerchinsk eparchy, published a book about Buddhism in Saint Petersburg in 1858. This book was a thorough description of Buddhism in the Transbaikal region. His activity was oriented toward converting the Buddhists to Orthodoxy, but he was interested in the reason for the spread of Buddhism among indigenous peoples. Nil supported legislation developed by the Siberian Governors, such as the “Regulation concerning the Lamaist clergy of Eastern Siberia” issued under the supervision of the Governor General of Eastern Siberia, Murav’ev, in 1853. This law stemmed from years of preparation and discussions. Nil also highly appreciated the medical treatments of the Buriat monks.<sup>21</sup> In 1886, the Don Cossack administration established sanitary stations with a “koumiss cure” department, which they set up around Astrakhan province. The practice of drinking and applying a poultice of koumiss seemed to have derived from the Kalmyks.<sup>22</sup>

In British India, the shortage of surgeons prevented the effective implementation of medical policy. To train the indigenous people in providing medical care, the administration established the Calcutta Native National Institution in 1824, where Indian people could acquire knowledge of western medicine. In addition, the institution also offered a curriculum of Indian traditional medicine. The colonial government showed a measure of respect for traditional medicine in medical school training. However, after the 1830s, the government adopted an indifferent attitude toward indigenous traditional medicine.<sup>23</sup> In Europe, bacteriology and parasitology developed at a rapid pace in the second half of the nineteenth century; therefore, the dominance of western medicine and issues of public health became apparent. Indigenous people, who were trained in western medical schools, began to forge ahead gradually in various areas of Indian society. The change in such an atmosphere occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. The renaissance movement of Ayurveda emerged around the same time as rising Hindu nationalism. This movement asserted that Ayurveda could incorporate western germ theory; therefore, it had an advantage over western medicine from the viewpoint of comprehensiveness. It is also possible that the theosophical movement influenced this turn of thought.

The movement of “Scientification of Korean traditional medicine” was seen in Korea under the rule of Imperial Japan in the late 1930s. It was oriented toward the scientific reforms whereby Korean traditional physicians, fighting against western medicine, aimed to create a new medicine through mutual exchanges with, instead of exclusion of, western medicine.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Nil, Arkhiiepiskop Iaroslavskii, *Buddhizm, rassmatrivaemyi v otmoshenii k posledovateliam ego, obitaiuschim v Sibiri* [Buddhism, examined in relation to its Siberian followers] (Saint-Petersburg, 1858); Anna Peck, “Missionary and Scholar: Russian Orthodox Archbishop Nil Isakovich’s Perception of Tibetan Buddhism in Eastern Siberia,” *Sibirica* 5, no. 1 (2006): 62–86.

<sup>22</sup> Dittmar Schorkowitz, *Staat und Nationalitäten in Russland: der Integrationsprozess der Burjaten und Kalmücken, 1822–1925* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 63n.

<sup>23</sup> David Arnold, *Science, technology, and medicine in India, 1760–1947* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 61–65.

<sup>24</sup> Takenori Matsumoto, “Shokuminchi Chosen ni okeru Eisei-Iryo Seido no Kaihen to Chosenjin Shakai no Hanno [Reform of the health and medical systems in colonial Korea and

These are the examples showing that traditional physicians confronted the hegemony of western medicine in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. There was also a highly suggestive case at the same time in Russia (ex-USSR), although it should be noted that the case did not involve a medical practitioner but a monk. A great Buriat lama, Agvan Dorzhiev, maintained that Buddhism was compatible with socialism and highly relevant to modern (scientific) European people. In 1926, he wrote: “Shakyamuni Buddha was the first in human history to proclaim the notion of the vital unity of life, not only to human life by itself but all living creatures on earth and also in the other inhabited worlds of infinite space. The truth of this notion on the global level was scientifically proved by the great English scientist Darwin.” “Shakyamuni’s second great notion is his atheistic teaching, [in which he] demonstrates that there is no creator god... In Europe it became possible to speak of such things only after the exact sciences, which emerged as the result of a continuous struggle waged against the theistic ideologies by the European peoples, who still are, on the whole, under the influence of Biblical-Christian theism.” “The Buddha’s teaching on the relativity of all being has been proven in our own time by the relativity theory of the German physicist Einstein ... The only difference is that the Buddha discovered his theory by the speculative method and made it the basis for his regular everyday world-meditation, whereas the German scientist came to his conclusions as an ordinary modern man of science [working] through scientific experimentation.”<sup>25</sup>

These examples suggest two aspects for discussion. First, it is not necessarily the case that medicine as practical science converged on the logic of Orientalism. It is true that medical researchers did not expect some theoretical medical shift but rather sought something that could supplement the existing western medicine in “another” world. However, western doctors believed that there were better treatments and better knowledge in other parts of the world. Second, the status of traditional medicine in the Russian empire was possibly a little different from that in other countries. Tibetan medicine in Russia was partly accepted comparatively earlier in public health policy. The Kalmyk monks were temporally excluded from spreading smallpox vaccination among the Kalmyks, but nevertheless they worked jointly with western medical practitioners. However, this does not necessarily mean that such a relationship applies to the practice of traditional medicine in all the regions in the Russian empire.

### Compromise between Medicine and Orientalism and Resulting Strategies

Occasionally, the medical practice of the Kalmyk monks seemed to be highly acclaimed by Russian officials. The following case was typical. In

the reaction of Korean society],” *Rekishigaku Kenkyu* [Journal of Historical Studies, Tokyo] 834 (2007): 11–12.

<sup>25</sup> John Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia: The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev Lhasa’s Emissary to The Tsar* (London: Vega, 2002): 226–227.

November 1860, the Chief Guardian Officer of the Kalmyks, V. N. Strukov, wrote to the Minister of State Domains about a petition to honor a monk for his medical contributions. According to his suggestion, Bembe, from the Bagatsokhurovskii Great Monastery, was an *emchi* and a *gelung*, that is, a high-ranking Tibetan doctor-lama and had indefatigably worked for the Kalmyk people. Bembe contributed medicine to the poor at his own expense, and not being afraid of death, he attended seriously ill patients in the case of an infectious disease. The Ministry of State Domains commended Bembe on his “philanthropic deeds [chelovekoliubimye postupki],” in spite of his several violations of the medical practitioners law.<sup>26</sup> However, the government’s apparent recognition had another meaning. Strukov explained that ill Kalmyks were avoiding Russian physicians “in accordance with their own natural custom,” and he expected further measures to be undertaken for the public welfare of the kindred people (*odnorodtsev, sorodtsev*). The other side of the testimonial (in Russian) was written in the Kalmyk language, in order to encourage people to acknowledge that the Russian government properly recognized the achievements of Bembe, the lama.<sup>27</sup>

As this case shows, the discourse of the officials in the Russian empire described the Kalmyks as having a special status that needed to be protected. Such discourse created a special legal sphere beyond the existing regulations. The discourse created a special medical sphere beyond the existing medical science, even if there were medical problems. This sphere was different from the legal regulations for the category of “Aliens [inorodtsy].”<sup>28</sup> The problem is that only the officials involved could decide on a “special” action toward the “special” people based on their understanding of the situation at the moment. This approach could potentially lead to the risk of arbitrary administration.

As described above, the Chief Guardian Officer, K. I. Kostenkov, criticized the Kalmyk monks for their “charlatanic” medical treatment in his article in the official *Journal of Ministry of National Education* in 1868, but a divergent viewpoint is seen in the official documents in the Archives in November 1871. There, Kostenkov reported to the Minister of State Domains A. A. Zelenoi that the number of official vaccinators was more than sufficient relative to the population of the Kalmyks, and as a result, the Kalmyk Buddhist monks were non-official vaccinators in the Kalmyk steppe. They accomplished their assignment “with zeal and quite well,” and worked hard to spread cowpox vaccination at the expense of their own pastoral management in the spring season. Therefore, he expressed to the Minister of State Domains his opinion that the government should give a special service bonus to the unofficial vaccinators, that is, to the Kalmyk monks. Then, Kostenkov particularly underlined a point about security for the society, “not only among the Kalmyks but in the entire region.” The nonofficial vaccinators among the Kalmyk monks numbered more than the

<sup>26</sup> Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archives, St. Petersburg] (abbr., RGIA), f. 383, op. 23, d. 35737, ll. 1–10.

<sup>27</sup> RGIA, f. 383, op. 23, d. 35737, l. 9.

<sup>28</sup> John W. Slocum, “Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of ‘Aliens’ in Imperial Russia,” *The Russian Review* 57 (April 1998): 173–190.

official vaccinators, and there were several high-ranking monks among them. The reason for the paradoxical behaviors of Kostenkov yet remains unclarified. The monks seemed to be his strategic choice. I think it is possible to assume that Kostenkov intentionally used such a stereotypical Orientalistic discourse in molding the thinking of the public sphere in the Russian empire. It can be surmised that he called for a political response to the situation because the public health infrastructure was fragile and underdeveloped, and the shortage of physicians was serious.

The problem that we have to consider next is how the Kalmyk monks dealt with such a strategic representation of them on the part of the Orientalists. There is an interesting case in which a monk reminded the Russian government of an earlier situation in which the Kalmyk monks' efforts of spreading vaccination were lost into oblivion. In late August 1828, a high-ranking lama, Bodo gejung, stood at the gate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Kalmyk steppe is about 2000 km from Saint Petersburg. He had come there in order to file a petition that would enable him to receive appreciation from the government for his service to vaccination program. Bodo proved that he had administered the cowpox vaccination not only to the Kalmyks but also to the Russians of Astrakhan province. He had helped the provincial vaccination program at his own expense. Nonetheless, he was the only person to not receive a salary unlike the other Russian doctors, and the local administration had not responded to his petition. Therefore, Bodo had come all the way to the supervisory authority in Saint Petersburg.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, his petition was accepted, and the Russian government awarded him a gold medal with a green ribbon.

He seemingly brought to light the vaccination undertaken by the Kalmyk monks and the unfair response on the local medical front that had been hidden into oblivion. In fact, the following texts were exchanged between the Ministry of Internal Affairs, A. A. Zakrevskii, and the President of the Imperial Free Economic Society, N. S. Mordvinov.<sup>30</sup> When Zakrevskii found out about Bodo's practice of inoculation, he commended Bodo by writing to Mordvinov with delight. He suggested that the award to Bodo could stimulate a competition in spreading vaccination among the related people (*v edinorodtsakh*). Mordvinov agreed with Zakrevskii's suggestion and decided to present an award of a gold medal with a green ribbon to Bodo, pointing out that special incentives were needed to encourage the distribution of smallpox vaccination among nomads.<sup>31</sup> Thus, they fitted the medical service of Bodo into the framework of a specialized conciliation policy toward nomads.

However, we can state that the Russian government, aligned with Orientalist thinking, left the Kalmyk monk with no choice, and that Bodo fully understood the power relationship in the Russian Empire and succeeded in taking independent actions.

<sup>29</sup> RGIA, f. 383, op. 29, d. 52, ll. 1–3.

<sup>30</sup> See Joan Klobe Pratt, "The Free Economic Society and the Battle against Smallpox: A 'Public Sphere' in Action," *The Russian Review* 61 (October 2002): 560–578.

<sup>31</sup> RGIA, f. 383, op. 29, d. 52, ll. 8–11.

## Conclusions

In considering the relationship between medicine and Orientalism in the case of the Kalmyks, it is essential to take into account the two factors: the medical treatments of the Kalmyk Buddhist monks and medicine as a practical science.

The outlook on the medical activity of the Kalmyk monks was based on typical Orientalism on the part of the Russian officials. It interpreted a part as the whole; therefore, all of the medical practice of the Kalmyk monks was viewed as charlatanism. However, medicine as practical science provided room for seeking scientific facts in Kalmyk medicine, although it consistently complemented the western medicine. Moreover, this approach permitted the officials involved to find a compromise in the fragile public health infrastructure, and then the compromise in turn sometimes shaped the strategy of the public officials. The petition of a monk named Bodo against the one-sided forgetfulness of the Russian government that denied the unchanging one-sided representation of the Kalmyk monks. This also showed it was hard for the latter to challenge the forces of power and to bridge the gap between rulers and subjects.

This debate was partially associated with the concept of particularism of T. Uyama. He explained that much research on Orientalism has focused on the assumption that the whole of the West controlled the whole of the East; therefore, scholars missed the diverse approaches in the dominant strategy and governing methods of the West. In fact, most Orientalists confined their research subjects to specific regions and people in the East, and colonial powers, including Russia, were more enthusiastic about classification than about making a sweeping generalization. In addition, he underscored that the classification system was derived from some compulsive idea that the decision had to be made on a case-by-case basis according to people's ethnic characteristics.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, the disregard for the diversity of Russian Orientalism possibly brings Occidentalism.

It is not yet clear what led to the difference in the attitudes toward the traditional medicine of the Kalmyks, the Buriats, and the Kazakhs. There is room for reconsidering this matter.

<sup>32</sup> Tomohiko Uyama, "A Particularist Empire: The Russian Policies of Christianization and Military Conscriptation in Central Asia," in *Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia*, ed. Tomohiko Uyama (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, 2007): 23–63.



*Такэхико Иноуэ*

**КОЛЕБАНИЕ МЕЖДУ МЕДИЦИНОЙ  
И ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМОМ: О ДИСКУРСАХ  
ПО ТИБЕТСКОЙ МЕДИЦИНЕ КАЛМЫЦКИХ  
БУДДИЙСКИХ МОНАХОВ В РОССИЙСКОЙ  
ИМПЕРИИ В XIX ВЕКЕ**

**Краткое изложение**

В данной статье предпринята попытка рассмотрения дискурсов российских чиновников по тибетской медицине калмыцких буддийских монахов в Российской империи в XIX веке. Как показывают труды разных ученых, особенность ориентализма в Российской империи заключалась в многообразии дискурсов.

Прививание калмыцкого народа от коровьей оспы проводилось с 1805 года. Калмыцкие буддийские монахи работали как официальные или неофициальные оспопрививатели в Астраханской области. Астраханская губерния надеялась на сотрудничество калмыцкого духовенства в проведении вакцинации от коровьей оспы в калмыцкой степи ввиду недостатка медицинских работников и неразвитости учреждений здравоохранения на окраинах империи в течение XIX века. Такое сотрудничество с монахами вызывало колебание в дискурсах по применяемой ими тибетской медицине. Кроме того, поиски медицинских истин немало воздействовали на дискурсы ориентализма.

Вышеуказанное состояние дискурсов по тибетской медицине отличалось от других сфер ориентализма.

*Антонина Нефёдова*

**ОРИЕНТАЛЬНЫЕ МОТИВЫ В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ  
ХУДОЖНИКОВ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО  
ДАРВИНОВСКОГО МУЗЕЯ**

В основу коллекции открытого в 1907 г. в Москве Государственного Дарвиновского музея (ГДМ) было положено, помимо собственно естественно-научных экспонатов, также собрание произведений искусства. В то время большинство биологических музеев мира представляли собой, по свидетельству современников, унылое зрелище – монотонные ряды звериных и птичьих чучел. Но основатель и первый директор ГДМ Александр Федорович Котс рассматривал экспозицию музея как своего рода храм научного мировоззрения, где всесторонне раскрывалось бы эволюционное учение. Поэтому он активно привлекал к работе в музее талантливых живописцев и скульпторов<sup>1</sup>, большинство из которых были также профессиональными биологами. А.Ф. Котс разработал особую методику «усовершенствованного показа» художественных произведений. Суть ее заключалась в том, что художникам, сотрудничавшим с музеем, заказывались целые серии работ на определенную тему, иллюстрирующую один из вопросов эволюционного учения. Возможно, что идея создания циклов произведений, в которых последовательно развивалась бы одна определенная тема, была навеяна достижениями кинематографа.

Время основания ГДМ – начало XX в. – было знаковым для русской культуры. Можно сказать, что именно в это время в России происходят серьезные перемены в восприятии Востока. Одной из главных причин этого становится осознание себя если не прямо азиатами («Скифы» А.А. Блока), то по крайней мере жителями рубежа – евразийцами. Многие деятели русской культуры (Н.С. Гумилев, П.В. Кузнецов, В.К. Арсеньев) в это время отправляются в путешествия на Восток. Подчиняясь той же тенденции, а не только из чисто «зоологических» интересов, совершают свои дальние экспедиции художники-анималисты ГДМ: в тропические страны Юго-Восточной Азии (как, например, В.А. Ватагин) или в Среднюю Азию и Монголию (как А.Н. Комаров и К.К. Флеров). Возможно, так они продолжали возникшую на Западе еще во времена художников-романтиков традицию поездок «на юг» где кроме открытия для себя солнечного, сияющего чистыми красками колорита, они приобщались к «легенде Востока», наделявшего первозданной тайной – вечным, не допускающим изменений бытовым укладом.

<sup>1</sup> См.: Государственный Дарвиновский музей. Страницы истории. Основатели музея. Можайск, 1993. С. 60.

Одним из «сооснователей»<sup>2</sup> Дарвиновского музея по праву считается Василий Алексеевич Ватагин (1884–1969) – его сотрудничество с музеем продолжалось 45 лет – с 1908 по 1953 г. С первым директором музея, А.Ф. Котсом, он познакомился еще во время учебы в гимназии: они вместе посещали студию художника-акварелиста Н.А. Мартынова. С ранних лет Ватагина увлекали мечты о путешествиях в дальние страны, «за синие моря», в неведомые края. Кроме того, его отличала явная склонность к искусству, но В.А. Ватагин поступает на естественный факультет МГУ. В студенческие годы художник совершил несколько экспедиций на Кавказ и в Крым. Тогда же, путешествуя по Русскому Северу, он открывает для себя экзотику традиционной русской старины – «нетронутый 17 век»<sup>3</sup>, представший перед ним в шатровых деревянных церквях, ярких сарафанах баб и девок, древних соборах Соловецкого монастыря. На 2 курсе университета Ватагин начинает посещать вечерние классы рисования в художественной школе К.Ф. Юона. Именно здесь, по свидетельству самого живописца, он «...как-то инстинктивно понял, что не всякое (хотя и правильное и точное) изображение животного может быть произведением искусства. Надо искать это искусство. Как? И где?.. Это были глухие времена конца XIX – начала XX в., когда еще не был открыт, скорее не понят, палеолит; искусство Мексики и Перу проклято и забыто; искусство Африки неизвестно или не признано, искусство Китая почти неизвестно; Крит еще не открыт; архаика Греции не признана; Ассирия только возникала из развалин. Только о египетском искусстве было кое-что известно, но в изданиях этого времени можно было увидеть только убогие схемы...»<sup>4</sup>.

В 1913 г. В.А. Ватагин отправляется в длительное путешествие по Индии и Цейлону. Достигнув тропиков, художник был поражен красочным изобилием, контрастом света и тени, отсутствием привычных тоновых переходов: «...Тропическая природа оказалась недоступной для моих изобразительных возможностей. Искусство и культура человечества более привлекали меня. Немного знакомый с мудростью йогов и с чудесами индийской архитектуры и полный надежд и ожиданий, я всем существом стремился увидеть чудеса Индии...»<sup>5</sup> К сожалению, Ватагину не удалось полностью совершить весь намеченный маршрут своего путешествия – ему помешала серьезная болезнь. Тем не менее впечатления от поездки оказали огромное влияние на весь дальнейший творческий путь художника. Через пять лет после возвращения на родину художник создает серию черно-белых литографий, посвященную Индии. Здесь были запечатлены наиболее поразившие его моменты: интерьеры индуистских и буддийских храмов, причудливые статуи, купание слонов, их ритуальная раскраска, а также торжественное ночное шествие процессии жрецов в сопровождении

<sup>2</sup> Архив ГДМ. ф. А.Ф. Котса. оп. № 1. ед. хр. 234. л. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ватагин В.А. Воспоминания. Записки анималиста. Статьи. М.: Советский художник, 1980. С. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Там же. С. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Там же. С. 52.

слонов. Последнее зрелище особенно взволновало Ватагина, он даже хотел создать большую картину на эту тему, но отказался от этой мысли. Кроме того, в Индии художнику удалось собрать материал для своих будущих иллюстраций к «Маугли» Р. Киплинга, и эта тема на долгие годы стала, пожалуй, главной в его творчестве.

Поездка укрепила В.А. Ватагина в мысли о необходимости изучения искусства Востока для художника-анималиста. Всю свою жизнь он любовно, по крупицам собирал различные изображения животных, перерисовывая их в свои альбомы. Ватагин мечтал о создании монументального труда «Образ животного в искусстве», в котором были бы собраны различные декоративные и монументальные произведения искусства всех времен и народов. В своей книге «Изображение животного. Записки анималиста» он подчеркивал важность изучения искусства Древнего Востока – Египта, Месопотамии и Китая, поскольку только там, по его мнению, можно найти примеры «подлинно монументальной скульптуры животных»<sup>6</sup>, когда образы зверей, как воплощений божества, были значительны, как и образ человека.

Работая над различными заказами А.Ф. Котса для пополнения живописной коллекции ГДМ, художник часто использует мотивы искусства стран Востока, – здесь весьма пригодилась его прекрасная эрудиция и непосредственное знакомство с образцами. Композиция картины В.А. Ватагина «Медведь и лось» явно восходит к древнему мотиву терзания хищником жертвы, часто встречающемуся в скифском искусстве. Апелляция к неким классическим образцам в данном случае – попытка ввести в сферу искусства мотив сугубо научно-иллюстративный (эта картина написана на тему «Борьба за существование»). Черты стиля модерн угадываются в творчестве живописца: изысканность красок и линий, тяготение к декоративной картине-панно, где пространство лишено глубины и сводится, по сути, всего к двум планам. Сцена терзания копытного животного (коня, оленя или лося) хищником (львом или грифоном) символизировала одно из основных понятий индо-иранской космогонии – представление о том, что борьба противоположных сил обеспечивает циклическую смену явлений природы и сохранение гармонии мироздания. Композиция сцены борьбы оформилась в переднеазиатском искусстве, где она в древнейшую эпоху изображала астрономическое явление. На небосклоне весной, в период весеннего равноденствия, созвездие Льва сменяло созвездие Плеяд и Кассиопей (по-шумерски они назывались звезда Быка и звезда Оленя), что в изобразительном творчестве трактовалось как терзание быка или оленя львом<sup>7</sup>.

С древнеегипетским искусством В.А. Ватагин познакомился в Берлине, Британском музее и в Лувре. «Это поклонение зверю, изысканная линия, обобщенный силуэт – навсегда останутся для меня недостижимым примером, “камертоном Египта”...»<sup>8</sup> Особое внимание художника привлекли

<sup>6</sup> Ватагин В.А. Изображение животного. Записки анималиста. М.: Искусство, 1957. С. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Кузьмина Е.Е. Мифология и искусство скифов и бактрийцев. М., 2002. С. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Ватагин В.А. Воспоминания... С. 38.

павианы – эти «созданные природой гротески»<sup>9</sup>, – как одни из священных животных древних египтян, связанные с солнечным культом. Дело в том, что павианы громко режут на заре, словно бы приветствуя Солнце (кричать на заре – общее свойство приматов). По замыслу А.Ф. Котса, целый раздел экспозиции музея должен был быть посвящен зоопсихологии (этологи), раскрывающей мир инстинктов у животных. Для этого раздела Ватагин создает триптих «Павианы» – этологи полагают, что из современных обезьян по структуре стада на предков древнего человека наиболее похожа социальная организация павианов<sup>10</sup>.

Левая часть триптиха «Павианы в пути» изображает стадо обезьян, организованно спускающихся вниз со скал. У павианов стадом в несколько десятков голов командует на «коллегиальных» началах группа самых старших по возрасту самцов – иерархов. Когда павианы переходят с места на место, они идут в определенном порядке, который можно назвать походным строем: ядро стада защищено боевыми отрядами самцов – арьергардом, авангардом и двумя боковыми охранениями. На картине изображен авангард стада, состоящий из самцов, за которыми следуют самки с детенышами. Замыкают процессию молодые самцы: их силуэты четко вырисовываются вдаль на фоне золотистого неба. На отдыхе стадо перестраивается в обороняемый лагерь – этому посвящена правая часть триптиха «Павианы на отдыхе». В центре картины изображены самцы-доминанты в окружении самок и детенышей, мирно расположившиеся на скалах. На третьем плане виднеются силуэты выставленных по краям «часовых».

Композиция центральной части триптиха – «Павианы и собаки» посвящена изображению наиболее привлекательной черты павианов – их способности самоотверженно защищать свою семью, вступая в бой с хищниками, даже ценой своей жизни. На первом плане картины изображен взрослый самец-павиан, левой рукой прижимающий к себе испуганного детеныша. Перед обезьянами стоят три злобно оскалившиеся собаки, замершие в нерешительности. Наверху вдаль, на уступах скал находится стадо павианов, несколько крупных самцов приближаются к месту действия.

В триптихе «Павианы» В.А. Ватагин использует классическую пирамидальную композицию: центральная часть с главными персонажами вписывается в устойчивый треугольник. В обеих боковых частях эта конфигурация поддерживается линиями каменных уступов. Очевидно, что пирамидальное композиционное построение было выбрано художником совершенно сознательно. Здесь существуют четкая аллюзия «павианы – Египет – пирамида»: даже формы ровных каменных уступов, на которых располагаются обезьяны, напоминают блоки, из которых состоят египетские пирамиды. В данном случае композиционное решение триптиха раскрывает самую суть изображаемого явления: у павианов самцы соподчинены по этажам иерархической пирамиды согласно своим возрастам. Стремясь подчеркнуть значительность изображаемого, придать ему

<sup>9</sup> Там же. С. 39.

<sup>10</sup> *Дольник В.Р.* Непослушное дитя биосферы. СПб.: Петроглиф; М.: Изд-во «КДУ», 2007. С. 178.

особую монументальность, Ватагин делает фон (небо в боковых частях и скалы на втором плане в центральной), мерцающе-золотистым, напоминая условного золотого фона византийских мозаик или средневековых западноевропейских триптихов-алтарей. Таким образом, в данном произведении живописец наглядно проиллюстрировал несколько важных инстинктов павианов: защита от хищников с помощью мужской части группы, соподчиненной между собой жесткой пирамидальной иерархией.

Дань восхищения искусством Дальнего Востока прослеживается в серии картин Ватагина, посвященной изображению хищных и водоплавающих птиц. Таковы его произведения «Борьба Сокола с цаплей», а также «Бой орла с лебедем». Мотив сокола, нападающего на лебедя или дикого гуся, был весьма распространен в Китае в периоды династий Ляо (960–1125) и Цзинь (1115–1234)<sup>11</sup>. Эта композиция является символическим изображением одного из обрядов весенней охоты киданей. Позднее нефритовые украшения с такими сценами получили название «нефрит весенние воды». Картина «Борьба сокола с цаплей» благодаря своей мягкой матовой структуре напоминает скорее акварель, а не живопись маслом. Этого эффекта художник добивается путем использования очень тонких прозрачных лессировок жидко разведенной краски. «Бой орла с лебедем» благодаря прихотливым линиям рисунка невольно вызывает определенные ассоциации с символом инь-ян. Возможно, это связано и с контрастными цветами двух птиц (белой и темно-коричневой), а также с навеянной сказкой А.С. Пушкина смысловой связью «царевна-лебедь» и «коршун», как противопоставлением женского и мужского начала. Возможно, В.А. Ватагин, как поклонник Бёклина, увлекавшийся в своем раннем творчестве символикой и аллегориями<sup>12</sup>, пытался при помощи подобных сюжетов привести большую художественность и занимательность в научную иллюстрацию.

Несколько особняком в ряду прочих мастеров, сотрудничавших с Дарвиновским музеем, стоит Михаил Дмитриевич Езучевский (1879–1928). Он единственный не был художником-анималистом, а был приглашен на работу в музей в качестве мастера портретной живописи и исторического жанра. Езучевский был давним знакомым А.Ф. Котса и В.А. Ватагина, поскольку еще в гимназические годы вместе с ними посещал студию Н.А. Мартынова. Впоследствии М.Д. Езучевский совершил поездку во Францию, во время которой обучался в парижской Академии художеств. Кроме того, он побывал в Италии, Испании и Северной Африке. К сожалению, творческие изыскания художника были прерваны Первой мировой войной – он был призван в армию и вернулся в Москву, побывав в австрийском плену, лишь в 1918 г. В привычное течение обыденной жизни революция внесла серьезные перемены. Исчез обширный частный заказчик, его место заняли государственные учреждения культуры (музеи, галереи, театр, издательства, учебные заведения).

В 1922 г. В.А. Ватагин рекомендовал А.Ф. Котсу привлечь М.Д. Езучевского к живописным работам в Дарвиновском музее. Во время этого

<sup>11</sup> Сокровища Шанхайского музея. Каталог выставки. 2007. С. 56.

<sup>12</sup> См. *Ватагин В.А.* Воспоминания... С. 37.

сотрудничества художник обращается прежде всего к историческому жанру во всем его многообразии: от портретов исторических личностей до многофигурных композиций. Свое место в творчестве Езучевского находят и ориентальные мотивы. В 1926 г. по заказу А.Ф. Котса художник выполнил оригинальную серию пастелей, которую назвал «Философской». По сути это была своеобразная попытка проиллюстрировать основные этапы человеческой истории в свете «диалектического материализма», показать «тесную зависимость идеологии эпохи от ее экономической и социальной базы»<sup>13</sup>. В эту серию вошли восемь картин: «Египет», «Ассирия», «Древняя Персия», «Древняя Индия», «Греция», «Рим», «Средние века», «Современная эпоха». Композиция всех этих работ строится по одной схеме, напоминающей структуру пространства театральной сцены: общим большим фоном – «декорацией» служит обобщенное символическое изображение религиозных представлений, доминирующих в разные исторические эпохи. Внизу же, как на театральной сцене, разворачиваются узкой лентой «характерные сцены производственно-экономического строя»<sup>14</sup>, причем упор делается на изображении «угнетенных во все времена массах простого народа». Так сказать, буквально изображены «базис» и «надстройка» в соответствии с расхожими представлениями крайне упрощенного марксизма.

Близкое знакомство с французской школой живописи наложило определенный отпечаток на творчество Езучевского. Во всяком случае, восточные мотивы в его работах из «Философской» серии более всего близки к традиционному пониманию «ориентализма» как изображения восточной экзотики. Эти картины М.Д. Езучевского выглядят как театрализованный спектакль, сверкающие яркими красками мистерии. При этом художник тщательно стилизует каждую композицию, посвященную определенной стране и эпохе, используя характерные мотивы. Так, например, на картине «Египет» прямо цитируется рельеф с «плакальщиками» из собрания ГМИИ им. А.С. Пушкина – группа людей на погребальной ладье в верхней части композиции. Свирепой красотой пронизаны мрачно угрожающие композиции «Древней Персии» и «Ассирии». Последняя особенно поражает воображение: колоссальные статуи богов на фоне звездного неба в верхней части и мчащаяся у их подножия боевая колесница с возницей и царем, держащим в вытянутой руке отрубленную голову врага. Несколько выбивается из этого драматического ряда причудливая «Древняя Индия», населенная аскетами – йогами, поклоняющимися священному быку Нанди.

В целом эти произведения художника продолжают лучшие традиции «Мира искусства» с их интересом к историческим сюжетам-реконструкциям и театру. В творчестве М.Д. Езучевского можно выявить свойственные модерну особенности пластического языка – декоративно-плоскостное решение первого плана, усиленную композиционно-ритмическую роль контурного рисунка. К сожалению, активная работа

<sup>13</sup> Архив ГДМ. ф. А.Ф. Котса. оп. № 1. ед. хр. 241. л. 42.

<sup>14</sup> Там же.

художника в ГДМ была прервана его ранней смертью – он ушел из жизни в возрасте 48 лет. Его творческое наследие, составляющее ценнейшую часть коллекции ГДМ, разделило печальную судьбу нашего музея, долгие годы существовавшего в свернутом виде. Яркий своеобразный почерк живописца не нашел понимания в годы, когда главнейшим стилем в отечественном искусстве был провозглашен соцреализм.

Еще одно своеобразное преломление темы Востока нашло отражение в искусстве Алексея Никаноровича Комарова (1879–1977). В своем творчестве он продолжил линию, начатую в русском искусстве такими мастерами, как А.С. Степанов, Ф.А. Рубо, П.О. Ковалевский, Н.С. Самокиш и другие. Это направление может быть охарактеризовано как национально-романтическое течение в русском анимализме. Представители его стремились изображать в своих произведениях преимущественно природу и животный мир России. Художественное образование А.Н. Комаров получил в Московском училище живописи, ваяния и зодчества (МУЖВЗ), в классе Н.А. Касаткина, по праву считающегося одним из основоположников социалистического реализма.

В 1920-е гг. А.Н. Комаров совершил ряд поездок в Среднюю Азию. Живописец, вырвавшийся из холодных и голодных городов послереволюционной России, словно вновь открывает для себя цвет и свет, пытается уловить и запечатлеть их бесконечную игру в своих многочисленных исполненных с натуры зарисовках и акварелях. Но постепенно его увлечение местным колоритом словно бы переходит на иной уровень: художник стремится к изучению восточной изобразительной традиции, декоративные мотивы которой привлекали его своей завораживающей и стройной организацией. На основе этнографических этюдов, наполненных слепящим светом и яркими локальными красками, Комаров создает свои акварели «Козий пастух» и «Калмык», где причудливым образом переплелись традиции персидской миниатюры и приемы академической живописи. К сожалению, в условиях тотального разворота к традиционализму, произошедшего в советском искусстве в 1930-е гг. прошлого века, новаторские формалистические поиски художника были прерваны и направлены в общее русло соцреализма. А.Н. Комаров, как и многие другие художники, был вынужден обратиться к консервативной «передвижнической» стилистике.

Требования, предъявлявшиеся к искусству этого времени – конкретность и оптимизм, определили новую тематику в творчестве живописца. С 1932 г. Комаров стал работать в ГДМ<sup>15</sup>, где по заказу А.Ф. Котса он создает ряд картин на тему «Изменчивость промысловых животных и птиц». Основная идея данной серии – не только показать географическую изменчивость лисиц и фазанов, но и оттенить ее разнообразием антропологических типов людей. Длинной вереницей проходят перед зрителями удачливые охотники различных народов, населяющих СССР: киргиз и туркмен, камчадал и горец, бухарец и казах, китаец и кавказец, алтаец и русский.

<sup>15</sup> Удальцова В.А. Государственный Дарвиновский музей. М.: Белый город, 2007. С. 37

Каждый из них изображен на фоне лесов и полей родного края, зачастую в сопровождении своей охотничьей собаки и лошади. Большинство охотников весело улыбаются и гордо демонстрируют зрителю свои трофеи – добытых птиц и зверей. Во всех случаях колористическое решение картин выдержано в светлой импрессионистической гамме, что подчеркивает мажорный строй полотен. Художник любит нежные краски природы, удалю охотников, особой неброской красотой их практичных национальных одеяний. Во всем этом много подлинного знания и любви, а не простого этнографического интереса к деталям.

Таким образом, постепенно многочисленные путевые зарисовки А.Н. Комарова были использованы им для создания нового, советского мифа о счастливом братстве многочисленных народов СССР «под солнцем Сталинской конституции». Очевидно, что столь легкое вхождение живописца в зарождающийся стиль соцреализма было связано не только с хорошей школой русского реализма, полученного в МУЖВЗ, но и с присущим ему от рождения романтическим взглядом на природу, любовью ко всему национально-своеобразному и экзотическому. Кроме того, обращение к ориентальным темам позволяло Комарову сохранять определенную свободу в рамках нового стиля и, помимо историко-этнографических задач, заниматься решением пластических проблем пленэрной живописи.

Итак, закончив краткий обзор влияния ориентальных мотивов на творчество трех различных живописцев, работавших в стенах ГДМ в начале прошлого века, можно подвести краткие итоги. Обращение художников к теме Востока зачастую было непосредственно связано с их путешествиями и экспедициями. На основе первых этнографически-документальных зарисовок впоследствии создавались серии картин, где живописцы старались выразить свои впечатления от увиденного на Востоке не средствами западного академического искусства, а путем синтеза его с традиционным. При этом некоторые художники, как, например, В. А. Ватагин, не ограничивались простым копированием внешних признаков искусства Востока, но и старались постигнуть скрытый за традиционными формами и символами смысл.

Очевидно, что причиной этого увлечения Востоком следует считать открытие другого, не «западного», отношения к изображению животного. Если в классическом искусстве Запада анималистика уже давно была загнана в «резервацию» научных наглядных пособий или охотничьих трофеев, став маргинальным жанром, то на Востоке изображение животного оставалось священным объектом, воплощением метафизического духа, персонификацией божества. Отсюда – монументальное обобщение и возвеличивание животного, отказ от натуралистических частных деталей. Художники-анималисты ГДМ охотно перенимали не только сюжеты, но и формальные приемы композиций, свободно используя их в своих работах. В заключение нужно отметить, что колоссальное влияние восточного искусства на отечественную анималистику до сих пор явственно ощущается в произведениях современных художников.

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- Архив ГДМ. Ф. А. Ф. Котса. Оп. № 1.

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## ТАШКЕНТ: (НЕ)ЭКЗОТИЧЕСКИЙ ГОРОД?

Возможно ли говорить о Ташкенте XIX – начала XX века как об экзотическом городе в том значении, в котором «Запад» обозначил на своих ментальных картах многие города «Востока» и «Азии», одновременно «экзотизируя» и «ориентализируя» их, как, в частности, Каир или Стамбул?<sup>1</sup>

Несмотря на кажущуюся простоту вопроса, ответ на него должен быть нюансирован. Изучение ряда нарративных и визуальных источников показывает, что определение Ташкента как «экзотического города» не является самоочевидным тезисом, «логично» исходящим из его собственных «экзотичных» характеристик или же из связанных с городом расхожих репрезентаций. С точки зрения экзотизирующих / «ориентализирующих» практик, образ Ташкента как урбанистической структуры<sup>2</sup> далеко не однозначен, даже по сравнению с такими его ближайшими географическими соседями, которые, как, например, Самарканд или Бухара, на протяжении XVIII–XX веков могли периодически появляться как компонент ориенталистических грез «просвещенных» европейцев или же как экзотические воплощения своего «собственного среднеазиатского Востока» в среде интеллектуальной российской элиты. С момента превращения города в административный центр русского Туркестана две противоположные логики – отчуждения и присвоения – переплетались в процессе (не)экзотизации Ташкента, обнаруживая всю неоднозначность процесса «ориентализации» и... «европеизации» города.

### «Экзотизм» объекта vs его экзотизация субъектом

Перед тем как начать анализ того, что можно назвать (не)экзотизированными репрезентациями города Ташкента, необходимо определить ряд ключевых позиций нашего дискурса, в частности, в от-

<sup>1</sup> См., в частности: Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: ACR éditions, 1989; Sarga Moussa, *Le voyage en Egypte. Anthologie de voyageurs européens de Bonaparte à l'occupation anglaise*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 2004; Nabila Oulebsir et Mercedes Volait (dir.), *L'orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs*, Paris: Picard, 2009; Nicolas Monceau (éd.), *Istanbul: Histoire, promenades, anthologie & dictionnaire*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Данная статья не затрагивает анализ репрезентаций населения Ташкента и Туркестана вообще, ставшего основным объектом среднеазиатских экзотизаций.

ношении понятий «экзотизм» и «экзотическое» и их соотношении с «ориентализмом».

Первоначальные объяснения термина крупными русскими толковыми словарями чрезвычайно скупы. Они появились, как думается, впервые в 1861 году в *Полном словаре иностранных слов, вошедших в состав русского языка (составленного по образцу немецкого словаря Гейзе)* (Санкт-Петербург, 1861)<sup>3</sup>, в момент начальных этапов завоевания Средней Азии, когда российские элиты все более и более часто представляли Россию «Европой», призванной привнести «цивилизацию» на отдаленные южные окраины царской империи. Немного позднее термин, отсутствуя в *Энциклопедическом словаре* Брогауза и Эфрона (1890–1907), получает следующую краткую характеристику в *Толковом словаре живого великорусского языка* В. И. Даля (1801–1872)<sup>4</sup>: «Экзотический, чужеземный, иноземный, из жарких стран, о растн.»<sup>5</sup>. Лишь намного позже, уже в советское время, термин приобретает более расширенную трактовку в *Толковом словаре русского языка* (1928–1940) Д. Н. Ушакова (1873–1942). Опуская этимологию слова, традиционно возводимую к греческому термину *exotikos*, составитель объясняет, что «экзотическое» обозначает то, что находится «за пределами обычного (обычных природных условий, обычных нравов и т. п.)», что синонимом ему выступают слова «далекое» или «чужеземное» и что чаще всего оно употребляется по отношению к объектам, происходящим из тропических стран. В то же время он указывает, что это слово может интерпретироваться как «причудливый, диковинный, действующий на восприятие своей странностью, принадлежащей к непривычной, чужой культуре»<sup>6</sup>.

Не останавливаясь более на дальнейших, весьма противоречивых интерпретациях советских и постсоветских словарей<sup>7</sup>, уточним нашу позицию.

Ни один объект, вне зависимости от его природы (оживленный, неживленный, собирательный, единичный и т. д.), не является экзотическим сам по себе в силу некоторых своих собственных свойств и характеристик. В «экзотичный» его превращает взгляд действующего субъекта, устремленный на объект. Экзотизация происходит в момент контакта, когда субъект мысленно очерчивает границы между собой и наблюдаемым

<sup>3</sup> Ekaterina Velmezova, “‘L'exotisme’ et l'exotique’ aux yeux des lexicologues et lexicographes russes”, in Leonid Heller et Anne Coldefy-Faucard, *Exotismes dans la culture russe*, Etudes de Lettres, Université de Lausanne, 2009, no 2–3, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> При подготовке данной статьи нам не удалось просмотреть первое издание Словаря в 4-х томах, которое было осуществлено Обществом любителей российской словесности (Москва, типографии А. Семена, Лазаревского института восточных языков и Т. Рис, 1863–1866).

<sup>5</sup> *Даль В. И.* Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. 3-е изд. [Б. м.], 1903–1907. Т. 4, к. 1529.

<sup>6</sup> *Ушаков Д. Н.* Толковый словарь русского языка. М.: Гос. изд-во иностранных и национальных словарей, 1940. Т. 4, к. 1398.

<sup>7</sup> См. подробную историю толкования терминов «экзотизм» и «экзотический» в русских, преимущественно лингвистических, словарях XX–XXI веков: Velmezova, 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–182.

объектом, который, определяемый как отличный от него самого, размещается умозрительно, согласно определенным идеологическим штампам (тезис Эдварда Саида), по шкале далекое-близкое / знакомое-неизвестное / притягательное-отталкивающие / свое-чужое и наделяется рядом свойств, которые в восприятии субъекта соответствуют понятию «экзотического».

Можно также добавить, что экзотизм одновременно является, с одной стороны, личным выработанным предрасположением наблюдающего. Особое «чувство экзотизма» (*le sens de l'exotisme*), определенное как таковое в 60-х годах XIX века братьями Гонкурами<sup>8</sup>, подталкивает индивидуума искать некие «экзотические» черты – соответствующие выработанным эпохой клише – в разнообразных ситуациях. Всем «открытиям» в «экзотических» странах, как правило, предшествует ассимиляция вербального и иконографического предыдущего опыта: в путешествии стремление подтвердить или опровергнуть ранее прочитанное или увиденное нередко объясняет неспособность разглядеть что-либо действительно новое, тем более что «экзотические маршруты», определяемые как таковые в «жаркие» и «пряные» страны с XIX века, изначально формируют взгляд, подготавливая его к экзотизирующему восприятию, настроенному на угадывание экзотических клише, уже накопленных в символической, литературной и иконографической «базе данных» «просвещенного Запада».

С другой стороны, экзотизм может быть определен и как характер тех отношений, которые субъект устанавливает с наблюдаемым объектом, выстраивая определенную символическую иерархию, нередко напрямую зависящую от опыта территориальной экспансии, расклада доминирующих геополитических сил или логики культурного трансфера. Одним из выводов постколониальных исследований является заключение о фиксированной направленности экзотизаций: от сильного к слабому, от колонизатора к колонизируемому, от западного субъекта к восточному / азиатскому объекту. Вопрос о том, возможны ли экзотизации в противоположном направлении, остается открытым, несмотря на понимание важности анализа «оксидентализма». Попытки проанализировать «ориентализм наоборот» – местное «восточное» видение пришедшего «западного» элемента, которому местное население приписывает некие «экзотичные» свойства, – пока единичны в силу ряда причин, как то: сложность доступа к «оксидентализирующему» среднеазиатскому материалу, немногочисленность среднеазиатских визуальных свидетельств русского / европейского присутствия и лингвистические проблемы самих исследователей<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Leonid Heller, “Décrire les exotismes : quelques propositions”, in Leonid Heller et Anne Coldefy-Faucard, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

<sup>9</sup> В отношении русской Средней Азии отметим, в частности, ряд публикаций, анализирующих местный взгляд на русскую колонизацию: Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, and Dmitriy Yermakov (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Berlin: Schwarz, 1996–2004, vols. 1–4; Jo-Ann Gross, “Historical Memory, Cultural Identity, and Change: Mirza ‘Abd al-Aziz Sami’s Representation of the Russian Conquest of Bukhara”, in Daniel Brower and Edward Lazzarini (eds.), *Russia’s Orient*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997, pp. 203–226;

В этом контексте разведение терминов *экзотика* и *экзотизм*, предложенное Леонидом Геллером, определяющим первый термин как «совокупность экзотических свойств некоего множества предметов и фактов», а второй как отношение к нему («увлечение экзотикой») <sup>10</sup>, требует дополнительного нюансирования (ранее, в словарях советского времени, термины *экзотизм* и *экзотика* определялись иногда как синонимы<sup>11</sup>, хотя *экзотизм* чаще всего просто отсутствовал). Наш отказ принятия тезиса о существовании неких изначальных «экзотических свойств» (*экзотики* как данности) означает, что, во-первых, любой объект может быть на уровне восприятия трансформирован субъектом в «экзотический» (т. е. «иной», «странный», «ино(чуже)-земный», «диковинный», «другой» и т. д.), или, иными словами, экзотизирован в процессе соотнесения его с некими выработанными клише, описывающими «экзотические свойства» и общепринятые в данном контексте не-экзотические «нормы», и, во-вторых, что этот процесс экзотизации возможен исключительно в рамках дискурсивных и репрезентационных практик, подчеркивающих эту инаковость.

Представленный с этой точки зрения «экзотизм» выступает в определенной мере синонимом – менее глобальным и менее емким – саидовско-

Adeeb Khalid, «Representations of Russia in Central Asian Jadid Discourse», in Daniel Brower and Edward Lazzarini (eds.), *Russia’s Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997, pp. 188–202; Anke von Kügelgen, *Die Legitimierung der mittelasiatischen Mangitendynastie in den Werken ihrer Historiker (18–19. Jahrhundert)*, Istanbul: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2002; Beate Eschment and Hans Harder (eds.), *Looking at the Coloniser. Cross-Cultural Perceptions in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Bengal, and Related Areas*, Coll. Mitteilungen zur Sozial- und Kultur-geschichte der islamischen Welt, t. 14, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004; Aftandil Erkinov, “Praying for and Against the Tsar: Prayers and Sermons in Russian-Dominated Khiva and Tsarist Turkestan”, Berlin, ANOR, 2004, no 16; Hisao Komatsu, “From Holy War to Autonomy: Dār al-Islām Imagined by Turkestani Muslim Intellectuals”, in Svetlana Gorshenina et Sergej Abashin (éd.), *Le Turkestan russe: une colonie comme les autres?*, Paris: Complexe, Collection de l’IFÉAC – Cahiers d’Asie centrale, no 17 / 18, 2009, pp. 449–475; Б. М. Бабаджанов, *Кокандское ханство: власть, политика, религия*, Токио-Ташкент: Yangi nashr, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Heller, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 318. Отметим вместе с тем, что по мере углубления анализа сам автор позже подчеркивает не изначально данный, а приписываемый характер «экзотических свойств» объекта. Несмотря на эту, скорее всего, неточность формулировки, анализ Л. Геллера является интересной попыткой теоретизации этого культурного явления, а изданный им с соавторстве с Анн Колдефи-Фокар (Anne Coldefy-Faucard) сборник статей – первой серьезной попыткой приложения теории экзотизма к российскому материалу: Leonid Heller et Anne Coldefy-Faucard, *Exotismes dans la culture russe, Etudes de Lettres*, Université de Lausanne, 2009, no 2–3. См. также рецензию на эту публикацию: Natalia Gamalova, “Leonid Heller, Anne Coldefy-Faucard, eds., *Exotismes dans la culture russe*”, *Cahiers du monde russe*, 2009, vol. 50, no 4, pp. 930–935. Отметим также, что проблемам экзотизма и экзотизирующих практик в русско-советской культуре был посвящен круглый стол “Exotisations / colonisations. Vues et voix russes” [Экзотизация / колонизации. Русские точки зрения и голоса], организованный 16 декабря 2008 года совместными усилиями университета Лозанны и Женевы (Леонид Геллер, Светлана Горшенина, Жан-Франсуа Стасак [Jean-François Staszack] и Мари-Карин Шоб [Marie-Karine Schaub]).

<sup>11</sup> Ковтун Л. С., Петушков В. П. Словарь современного русского литературного языка М.; Л: Наука, 1965, к. 1744–1745.

го «ориентализма»<sup>12</sup>. Вместе с тем его использование, предполагающее многоголосие и разновекторность, позволяет расширить анализ ориенталистического дискурса, предлагая задуматься над следующим вопросом: означает ли «экзотизация» неизбежно «ориентализацию» в саидовском смысле или же позволяет уйти от постколониального тезиса о том, что создание «другого» всегда связано с его колониальным подчинением? Или, другими словами, может ли экзотизация быть реализованной без «ориентализации»?

Выбор Ташкента XIX – начала XX века в качестве объекта анализа, сформулированного подобным образом, кажется с первого взгляда далеко не идеальным. С одной стороны, он не дает возможности для категоричного утверждения о том, что «экзотизм» равен «ориентализму» и что субъект, «экзотизируя» объект, неизбежно «ориентализует» его, вводя в рамки подчинения и негативной для объекта иерархии, как это было бы, возможно, более очевидно в случае с Самаркандом, образ которого гораздо более легко укладывается в схему экзотизации. С другой стороны, он также не доказывает, что «экзотизм», адресуясь исключительно к географическому (дальнее, иноземное), климатическому (тропическое) или стилистическому (пестрое, живописное) компонентам «другого», свободен от колониальных / империалистических построений, как это можно было бы утверждать на примере «русских балетов» Сергея П. Дягилева [1872–1929] в Париже: экзотичные для Европы, но внеколониальные по своей сути, они воплотили скорее парижское экзотическое видение России, потакая нравам парижской публики и самоэкзотизируясь согласно европейским нормам экзотизации. Вместе с тем выбор Ташкента интересен именно своей неоднозначностью, показывающей амбивалентность дискурса экзотизации по мере присвоения объекта и конструирования образа «экзотического другого» на разных уровнях и в разных ритмах (сначала «вне», затем «внутри» освоенного пространства).

### «Вкус к экзотизму» в России

Колониальная встреча между Российской империей и среднеазиатскими ханствами произошла в момент, когда «просвещенные» европейцы, в зените своей колониальной и империалистической истории, начав с определений в лексикографах с XVI века, уже выстроили к середине XIX века типологический ряд разнообразных литературных и иконографических «экзотизмов», от дальневосточного к ближневосточному, не оставив без внимания ни африканский, ни американский континенты<sup>13</sup>. С российской стороны также уже были сформированы к этому времени свои клише «экзотического Востока» в отношении Сибири (с XVIII в.) и Кавказа (с первой половины XIX в.).

Подобная ситуация позволила политическим, научным и художественным элитам царской империи, приступившим с конца 60-х годов

XIX века к обустройству своих собственных среднеазиатских колоний, приложить к ним широкий спектр общеевропейских правил экзотизации, отработанных в других заморских владениях (опыт западных описаний путешествий по российским среднеазиатским владениям также оказывается востребованным). Подобные попытки следовать европейской «моды на Восток» уже имели место в российской истории, начиная со второй половины XVIII века, когда последовательными волнами вкус к «китайщине», «японщине» и «turquérie» захлестнул российские дворцы, особняки и парки<sup>14</sup>. Вместе с тем собственно российский опыт в других колонизированных юго-восточных регионах также не был забыт: в частности, многие экзотические клише, сформированные на Кавказе, перекочевали с небольшими адаптациями в Среднюю Азию.

Однако вопрос о том, в какой степени эти российские экзотизации соответствовали европейским практикам или же, наоборот, представляли иную манеру видения культур других регионов, требует дополнительных исследований. Последние в идеале предполагают многоуровневый и пересекающийся анализ российских и европейских практик экзотизации на примерах литературных и эпистолярных произведений, описаний путешествий и иконографических материалов (фотографии, живописные и графические работы)<sup>15</sup>. Подобное сравнение необходимо, ибо европейские экзотизации, понятые или как готовый к использованию рецепт, или как антитеза, явно обозначают свое решающее присутствие в среднеазиатском контексте, в котором сложно переоценить значение культурного трансфера.

Отметим сразу, что словосочетание «среднеазиатский экзотизм» не стало «классическим» среди других идиом экзотизированного мира Востока. Более того, российские публицисты того времени сознательно подчеркивали не «экзотичность», а «естественность» российского присутствия в

<sup>14</sup> Горшенина С. Многоликий Восток русского художественного ориентализма (XVIII – начало XX века // Культурные ценности – Cultural Values: 2004–2006, Central Asia in Past and Present. СПб.: Ун-т Санкт-Петербурга, 2008. С. 63–64.

<sup>15</sup> Настоящая статья является отражением начального этапа проекта об экзотизации Средней Азии. В то же время несколько статей, соотносимых с этой темой, уже были опубликованы в: Горшенина С. Многоликий Восток.; Горшенина С., Чухович Б. Средняя Азия как феномен чистого ориенталистического эксперимента (1860–1990-е гг.) // Transoxiana. History and culture, Ташкент: Фонд Сороса, 2004. С. 339–346; Svetlana Gorshenina, «L'orientalisme au Turkestan russe: l'héritage des peintres russes et occidentaux», Au fil des routes de la soie, Chemins d'étoiles, no 11, Paris: Transboréal, 2003, pp. 242–250; eadem, «Une avant-garde stoppée en plein élan ou 'une logique de développement interne'», Missives, revue de la société littéraire de la Poste et de France Telecom, numéro spécial: Images culturelles de l'Asie centrale contemporaine, 2001, pp. 76–92; eadem, «Синяя птица среднеазиатского авангарда», Общественное мнение, 1998, с. 125–138. Как наиболее близкую параллель проводимых нами исследований отметим каталог недавно открывшейся выставки, посвященной русскому ориентализму, в котором были развиты большая часть сюжетов, обозначенных в статье «Многоликий Восток...», 2008, op. cit.: Patty Wageman and Inessa Kouteinikova, *Russia's unknown Orient. Orientalist painting 1850–1920*, Gronongen-Rotterdam: Groninger Museum, Nai Publisher, 2010. См. также сайт Бориса Чуховича, посвященный вопросам среднеазиатского художественного ориентализма: <http://www.museeasiecentrale.umontreal.ca/mvacas/artistes/artis2.php?recordID=17>.

<sup>12</sup> Heller, 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 337–338.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 319–321.



Средней Азии, нередко представляемого в рамках турано-арийских теорий как возвращение к истокам, в лоно прародины<sup>16</sup>. Специфическое прочтение российской истории того времени, ставящее акцент на периоде татаро-монгольского ига, пресловутом отсутствии границ на юге Российской империи и многовековых контактах между Российской империей, степью и оазисными ханствами Маверраханра, также способствовало «нормализации» самого среднеазиатского мира по отношению к российской действительности. Подобная точка зрения поддерживалась и на Западе, политические деятели которого, как, в частности, лорд Кюрзон (Georg Nathaniel Curzon, 1859–1925), считали, что завоевание Средней Азии Россией – это завоевание подобного подобным<sup>17</sup>.

«Когда в 1863 году, – писал один из российских обозревателей того времени, – венгерский ученый Вамбери, тщательно скрывший свою национальность под внешностью и одеждой восточного странника (дервиша), проник на несколько дней в Бухару и обозрел ее мусульманские святыни – вся Европа превознесла его подвиг до небес и все географические общества чествовали его, как впоследствии чествовали Ливингстона и Станлея, хотя тот же подвиг, до Вамбери, был совершен многими скромными русскими людьми без всяких передеваний и романтической обстановки»<sup>18</sup>.

Добавим также, что разнообразные производные от слова «экзотизм» нечасто встречаются в описаниях Средней Азии, хотя ханства и вновь образованное в 1867 году Туркестанское генерал-губернаторство все всякого сомнения отвечали некоторым характерным признакам «экзотического», обозначенным в словарях того времени: жаркие и далекие страны, располагающиеся на юго-востоке, необычные для российского глаза.

Вместе с тем, понятие в более расширенной трактовке, предложенной позже Ушаковым, описания Средней Азии с первых моментов открытия ее европейцами должны быть расценены как экзотические интерпретации, в том числе и навязчивые параллели со странами «классического Востока», по сравнению с которыми этот регион всегда представлялся как бледная копия расхожих ориенталистических штампов: среднеазиатским рекам нередко ставились в упрек их маловодность по сравнению с Нилом и отсутствие вдоль их берегов пальм и крокодилов<sup>19</sup>; главной достопримечательностью центрального ташкентского базара были не столько его

<sup>16</sup> Marlène Laruelle, «La question du 'touranisme' des Russes. Contribution à une histoire des échanges intellectuels Allemagne – France – Russie au XIXe siècle», Cahiers du Monde russe, 2004, v. 45, no. 1–2, pp. 241–266.

<sup>17</sup> George Nathaniel Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question*, London, New York: Longmans, 1889.

<sup>18</sup> Среднеазиатская выставка 1891 года в Москве // Нива. 1891. № 34. С. 747, 749: <http://zerrspiegel.orientphil.uni-halle.de/t878.html>

<sup>19</sup> Наблюдение принадлежит Наполеону-Полю Нею (Napoléon-Paul Ney), совершившему путешествие в Туркестан в 1888 году: Svetlana Gorshenina, *Explorateurs en Asie centrale. Voyageurs et aventuriers de Marco Polo à Ella Maillart*, Genève: Olizane, 2003, p. 376.

«пряные восточные товары», часто оцениваемые как очень низкого качества по сравнению с другими восточными рынками, сколько грязь и неухоженность<sup>20</sup>; основным господствующим среди обывателей чувством описывалось не восторженность и удивление перед необычным, а скука...

### Неоднородность экзотизации Средней Азии

В нарративных повествованиях различного характера (описания путешествий, частная переписка, научные записки, журналистские очерки и литературные произведения), в иконографических свидетельствах и в формировании коллекций<sup>21</sup> экзотизирующие дискурс и репрезентации отмечены сильной тенденцией к созданию обобщающего «общетуркестанского» абстрактно-географического экзотического образа. Последний формировался в ходе селекции конкретных объектов, главным образом в столицах среднеазиатских ханств или среди памятных мест, связанных с недавней российской военной экспансией (в частности, взятие Геок-тепе). Основным жанром иконографической экзотизации становятся так называемые «виды и типы», конструирующие, с одной стороны, архитектурные и природные пейзажи в их героико-романтическом величественно-панорамном развороте, а с другой – создающие типологический ряд «рас» среднеазиатского населения, представленного чаще всего с романтизированными позициями.

Привилегированное положение в этом ряду занимал в первую очередь Самарканд, связанный с величественными страницами прошлого как европейского (поход Александра Македонского, крайней точкой которого в Средней Азии стала Мараканда), так и среднеазиатского (империя Тамерлана). Этому также способствовало и то, что город стал первой конечной станцией Закаспийской железной дороги: первое десятилетие после ее официального открытия в 1888 году привнесло с собой резкое повышение числа западных путешественников<sup>22</sup>, целью которых было посещение тимуридской столицы и которые гораздо более сильно экзотизировали русскую Среднюю Азию по сравнению с самими русскими поселенцами (железная дорога достигла Ташкента только в 1894 году, и многие путешественники в течение этих шести лет просто не доезжали до Ташкента; помимо этого, приглашенные генералом Анненковым на инаугурацию железной дороги крупные европейские деятели практически все опубликовали литературное описание своего путешествия в Самарканд, заложив тем самым базу типовым клише среднеазиатского экзотизма).

<sup>20</sup> Добросмыслов А. Ташкент в прошлом и настоящем. Ташкент: А. И. Порцев, 1912. С. 48–49.

<sup>21</sup> Svetlana Gorshenina, *Private Collections of Russian Turkestan in the 2nd Half of the 19th and Early 20th Century*, ANOR-15 (Institut für Orientalistik, Halle, Mittelasienswissenschaft Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, Université de Lausanne), Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Горшенина С. Новые данные к статистике пребывания западноевропейских путешественников в Туркестане во второй половине XIX – первой половине XX века // Общественные науки в Узбекистане. 1999. №№ 9–10. С. 97–101.

За Самаркандом следовала Бухара, имевшая славу святого города в исламском мире, бывшая важнейшим теологическим центром и местом пребывания крупной еврейской общины.

Затем чаще всего упоминались Коканд и Хива, получившие чрезвычайно нелестные характеристики в западном мире благодаря, как писали путешественники, исключительно «варварским нравам» своих обитателей (этноним «тюркоман» в XIX веке стал практически синонимом слова «бандит»), но прославившиеся – особенно Хива, наиболее архитектурно-сохранившаяся, – своими урбанистическими ансамблями и крупными парадными постройками.

Ташкент, будучи до российского завоевания вторым после Бухары крупным городским центром (общая площадь застройки в пределах крепостных стен составляла приблизительно 150 га<sup>23</sup>) и столицей полунезависимого владения то в рамках Бухарского, то Кокандского ханств (с 1810 года под властью кокандского хана), не знал в прошлом грандиозных урбанистических программ, сравнимых с самаркандскими реализациями тимуридов<sup>24</sup>. Несмотря на то что первые прямые дипломатические контакты ташкентских и российских элит датируются концом XVIII века, город долго оставался относительно малоизвестным и не стал объектом первой – до установления стабильного российского присутствия – волны экзотизации, хотя в описаниях Ташкента первых русских и европейских путешественников<sup>25</sup> выстраивается иной среднеазиатский мир, радикально отличный от российского и западного.

Лишь после несанкционированного захвата города в 1865 году генералом Михаилом Г. Черняевым (1828–1898) Ташкент с силой входит в политические прогнозы и анализы, ведомые в столице российской империи по поводу Средней Азии: первоначальная идея создания отдельного, находящегося под российским протекторатом, ханства скоро уступает место проекту создания Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства со столицей в Ташкенте (1867)<sup>26</sup>.

Этим актом определяется новое положение Ташкента, отличное от Самарканда (с 1868 года получившего статус временно оккупированной территории, управляемой временным правительством<sup>27</sup>) или Бухары, сохранившей свое положение столицы эмирата, низведенного однако до статуса российского протектората (1868).

<sup>23</sup> Нильсен В. А. У истоков современного градостроительства Узбекистана (XIX – начало XX века). Ташкент: Изд. литературы и искусства Г. Гуляма, 1988. С. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Азадаев Ф. Ташкент во второй половине XIX века. Ташкент: Изд-во Академии наук УзССР, 1959. С. 20–60.

<sup>25</sup> Маслова О. В. Обзор русских путешествий и экспедиций в Среднюю Азию (материалы к библиографии). Т. I.: 1715–1856. Ташкент, 1955; Т. II.: 1856–1869. Ташкент, 1956; Т. III.: 1869–1880. Ташкент, 1962; Т. IV.: 1881–1886. Ташкент, 1971; Соколов Ю. Ташкент, ташкентцы и Россия. Ташкент: Узбекистан, 1965. С. 49–56, 65–88; Нильсен. Указ. соч. С. 189.

<sup>26</sup> Азадаев. Указ. соч. С. 86–106; Соколов. Указ. соч. С. 131–175.

<sup>27</sup> Милютин Д. А. Воспоминания генерал-фельдмаршала графа Дмитрия Алексеевича Милютина: 1868 – начало 1873 (кн. XVIII–XX). Москва: РОССПЭН, 2006. С. 72–73.

## Ташкент – «Санкт-Петербург Средней Азии»

Будучи местом расположения официальной власти, Ташкент начинает играть роль своеобразной витрины российского присутствия в Азии и, более того, всей Российской империи, вставшей на путь крупных социально-политических реформ Александра II (1818–1881), целью которых было максимально приблизить Россию к статусу европейского государства. Средняя Азия в этом контексте должна была служить доказательством европейской сущности России<sup>28</sup>. Это восприятие сохраняется и в советское время: в ином идеологическом контексте, Туркестан и его столица были неоднократно определены И. Сталиным как модель и передовой плацдарм для распространения революции на Востоке<sup>29</sup>. Именно это качество предопределило быстрое формирование образа нового Ташкента как неотъемлемой части России.

Как следствие этой оценки в символическом треугольнике, сформированном между Европой, Россией и Азией, царские элиты расположили Ташкент ближе к России и к Европе, чем к Средней Азии<sup>30</sup>.

Санкт-Петербург объявляется ближайшей символической параллелью этого города. С одной стороны, на уровне материальных реализаций урбанизм русской части Ташкента воспроизводит основную идею радиального плана Санкт-Петербурга, что регулярно отмечалось как самими проектировщиками, так и российскими колонистами и западными путешественниками. Русский город – первоначально представлявший из себя крепость, окруженную полуказарменными постройками, – был выстроен на левом берегу канала Анхор, на территории бывшей маузы (пригородные возделываемые земли), рядом с развалинами Урды, некогда укрепленной части «старого» города (*Эски шахар*), где до русского завоевания, разрушившего его практически до основания, находились крепость, дворцовые постройки кокандского хана и его ташкентского наместника (хакима), казармы, оружейные склады и казна. Согласно первому нереализованному плану 1866 года, выполненному военным топографом Писаревским, планировка Ташкента должна была быть радиально-кольцевой «с пятью радиусами, веером расходящимися от новой крепости, и тремя кольцами окружающих улиц»<sup>31</sup>. Последующий план, выработанный специаль-

<sup>28</sup> Svetlana Gorshenina, “La marginalité du Turkestan colonial russe est-elle une fatalité, ou l’Asie centrale postsoviétique entrera-t-elle dans le champ des Post-Studies?”, in Gorshenina et Abashin (éd.), 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian colonial society in Tashkent, 1865–1923*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007, pp. 34–38; *idem*, “Entre l’Europe, la Russie et l’Asie : la place de la Tachkent impériale telle qu’elle fut perçue par ses colons tsaristes”, in Gorshenina et Abashin (éd.), 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–383.

<sup>29</sup> Цитируется in Walter Kolarz, *La Russie et ses colonies*, trad. de l’anglais par Jean Canu et Anne-Marie Canu, Paris: Fasquelle Éditeurs, 1954, p. 347. См. этот же тезис: J. Staline, «Aux Soviets et aux organisations de la part du Turkestan» [2 mars 1919], in *Euvres de J. Stalin*, t. 4, 1917–1920, Paris: Éditions sociales, 1955, p. 204; Образование СССР. Сборник документов. 1917–1924, М., Л.: Институт истории АН СССР, 1949. С. 129; Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Robert C. North, *Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927*. A Documentary Survey, Stanford, California: Stanford Univ. Press 1957, p. 160.

<sup>30</sup> Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian colonial society...*, *op. cit.*, 2007, pp. 40–41.

<sup>31</sup> Нильсен, 1988. Указ. соч. С. 38.

ным Организационным комитетом (1866–1870, инженеры Ф. Озеров, А. В. Макаров, затем военный инженер М. Колесников), ставил акцент на регулярной системе планировки с перпендикулярно пересекающимися улицами, идущими в широтных и меридиональных направлениях между каналами Анхор и Саули<sup>32</sup>. И лишь третий план 1870 года инженера А. В. Макарова определил базовую «санкт-петербургскую» структуру города «в русском стиле конструкций» в виде радиально-кольцевой системы, центром которой стала Константиновская площадь (ныне сквер Амира Тимура)<sup>33</sup>.

«Санкт-петербургский» тезис был сознательно усилен музеографией многих туркестанских выставок, которые, переиначивая эпитет Северной Пальмиры «окно в Европу» на «окно в Азию», с силой обозначили параллель между Петром Великим (1682–1725, у власти 1689–1725) и первым туркестанским генерал-губернатором Константином П. Кауфманом (1818–1882, генерал-губернатор с 1867 по 1882) и, соответственно, между двумя городами, выстроенными / обустроенными ими. Так, в частности, на *Политехнической выставке* 1872 года в Москве павильон Туркестана, единственный региональный павильон выставки (остальные регионы Российской империи были расформированы по тематическим павильонам), регулярно отмечался прессой как самый интересный наравне с Морским павильоном, посвященным 200-летнему юбилею Петра Великого<sup>34</sup>. Желание подчеркнуть уникальность Туркестана и свое собственное положение «устроителя края» безусловно исходило от Кауфмана, пытавшегося доказать всеми возможными способами «*raisons d'être*» и рентабельность нового генерал-губернаторства и ангажировавшего для этой цели ученого-натуралиста Алексея П. Федченко (1845–1922). Последний с большим успехом организовал чрезвычайно экзотизированную экспозицию туркестанского павильона в соответствии с пожеланиями Кауфмана и с новейшими европейскими теориями (этому способствовали научная стажировка в Париже, путешествие в Лондон и участие в подготовке Этнографической выставки 1867 года в Москве)<sup>35</sup>.

Наконец, население нового русского Ташкента, чья многочисленность подчеркивалась многими путешественниками, кичилось своим санкт-петербургским произношением и называло себя «европейским», а русскую часть Ташкента – «европейским городом» (это определение, употребляемое так же и в отношении русских кварталов других среднеазиатских

<sup>32</sup> Нильсен, 1988. Указ соч. С. 38–39, 191; Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian colonial society...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>33</sup> Нильсен, 1988. Указ. соч. С. 40. Более подробную историю застройки русского Ташкента в царское время см.: Там же. С. 36–91; Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian colonial society...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–56; Guillemette Pincent, *La réhabilitation des quartiers précoloniaux dans les villes d'Asie centrale*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009, pp. 92–95.

<sup>34</sup> Svetlana Gorshenina, "La construction d'une image 'savante' du Turkestan russe lors des premières expositions 'coloniales' dans l'empire: analyse d'une technologie culturelle du pouvoir", in Gorshenina et Abashin (éd.), 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–178.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155–168.

городов и их местного некоренного населения, глубоко укоренилось в советскую эпоху и даже пережило ее).

### «Ташкентство»

Подобные идеалистические прожекты не всегда соответствовали реальному положению дел, и Ташкент нередко резко критиковался, в частности в романе Михаила Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина (1826–1889) *Господа ташкентцы* (1869–1872)<sup>36</sup>. С момента написания этого наделавшего в свое время шума сатирического романа и «запустившего» в литературный обиход хлесткое словечко «ташкентство» сосуществуют различные манеры его прочтения.

Первый интерпретационный уровень позволяет понять его как реальную критику конкретного города Ташкента, как к тому подталкивает реакция Кауфмана, болезненно отреагировавшего на появление романа и поручившего одному из чиновников своей администрации, М. Т. Бродовскому, написать опровержение, которое скорее всего не получило никакого резонанса<sup>37</sup>. Подобное видение было присуще также, с одной стороны, первым литературным анализам романа, опубликованным в правой славянофильской прессе, в частности Николаем Я. Данилевским (1822–1885), и, с другой стороны, критическим высказываниям представителей туркестанской интеллигенции, с сожалением констатирующей присутствие в Туркестане «ташкентцев»<sup>38</sup>. Затем, с легкой руки крупнейшего русского востоковеда В. В. Бартольда, это выражение, очень осторожно примененное им как синоним «ханжеского провинциального болота» в отношении столичной ташкентской среды<sup>39</sup>, было подхвачено советскими историками в поисках общеприемлемой формулы передачи образа всего туркестанского общества, несмотря на его неоднородность. Эту трактовку впоследствии неоднократно воспроизводили на различных уровнях<sup>40</sup>, отталкиваясь от кочующей от издания к изданию цитаты из романа М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, создававшей ложное впечатление, что его действие протекает в Ташкенте:

<sup>36</sup> Окончательная композиция первой части романа «Ташкентцы приговорительного класса» утвердилась только во втором его издании 1881 г., а вторая часть «Ташкентцы в действии», в свою очередь подразделявшаяся на две части «Ташкентцы на пути к славе» и «Ташкентцы на верху величия», так и не была завершена.

<sup>37</sup> Г. Л. Дмитриев. «Средняя Азия и русская революционная демократия 60-х гг. XIX в.», рукопись, б/д, in ЦГА РУз, ф. П-2866, о. 1, д. 22–23, с. 26–27.

<sup>38</sup> См., в частности, высказывания Н. П. Остроумова в: Лунин Б. В. Научные общества Туркестана и их прогрессивная деятельность. Конец XIX – начало XX в. Ташкент: Изд-во АН ССР, 1962. С. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Бартольд В. В. Научное общество в Ташкенте // Бартольд В. В. Собрание сочинений. Т. 9. М.: Наука, 1977. С. 485.

<sup>40</sup> См. анализ Э. Ф. Шафранской, где цитируются многочисленные производные от салтыково-щедринского «ташкентства» в литературных произведениях второй половины XIX века, в частности в работах Ф. М. Достоевского и Н. С. Лескова, подразумевающие конкретные географические локализации: Шафранская Э. Ф. Ташкентский текст в русской культуре. М.: Art'house Media, 2010. С. 27–31, 41.

«Если вы находитесь в городе, о котором в статистических таблицах сказано: жителей столько-то, приходских церквей столько-то, училищ нет, библиотек нет, богоугодных заведений нет, острог один и т. д., – вы можете сказать без ошибки, что находитесь в самом сердце Ташкента»<sup>41</sup>.

Не вдаваясь в другие «статистические» противоречия, отметим, что публичная библиотека впервые была открыта в Ташкенте в 1870 году, тогда как роман был закончен в 1872 году... Однако подобное прочтение постепенно стало неотъемлемой частью тезиса советской исторической науки 1920–1970 годов, противопоставлявшей царский режим («тюрьму народов»), порождением которого стали «господа ташкентцы», и советский период, «прогрессивный» по определению<sup>42</sup>.

На ином интерпретационном уровне критика Салтыкова-Щедрина воспринимается как обобщающее обличение изъянов царской империи, выведенное в форме метафорической критики «ташкентства». В пользу подобной интерпретации говорит история написания романа. М. Е. Салтыков-Щедрин, чья профессиональная и литературная жизнь протекала между двумя столицами (Москвой и Петербургом) и русской провинцией (Вятка, Рязань, Тверь, Пенза, Тула) и который никогда не был в Ташкенте, на наш взгляд, отнюдь не является создателем документальной хроники о реальном Туркестане. Отталкиваясь от скандальных газетных публикаций второй половины 1860-х – начала 1870-х годов о злоупотреблениях колониальных властей в Туркестане<sup>43</sup>, куда вслед за военными хлынули в поисках легкой наживы авантюристы и чиновники, мечтающие о карьере (служба в Туркестане или на Кавказе для многих была обязательным условием продвижения в табели о рангах), Салтыков-Щедрин использовал имя собственное «Ташкент» в качестве эпитета, позволявшего лаконично и емко заклеить изъяны русского общества периода реакции, наступившей после каракозовского выстрела 1866 года. Его «Ташкент» и «ташкентцы» внегеографичны и вненациональны. «Ташкентство», как и «митрофанство» [тип, выведенный в одной из глав романа], – «имя собирательное», не более чем символ, такой же как и созданный тем же автором город Глупов. Как писал сам сатирик в главе «Что такое “ташкентцы”? Отступление », ставшей своего рода теоретическим определением «ташкентства»:

«О! если б все ташкентцы нашли себе убежище в Ташкенте! Мы могли бы сказать тогда: “Ташкент есть страна, населенная вышедшими из России, за ненадобностью, ташкентцами”. Но теперь – разве мы можем по совести утверждать это? разве мы можем указать на верное, где начинаются границы нашего Ташкента и где они кончаются? не живут ли господа ташкентцы посреди нас? не рыскают ли стадами по весям и градам нашим? [...] Ташкент есть страна, лежащая всюду,

<sup>41</sup> Щедрин Н. (М. Е. Салтыков). Господа ташкентцы (картина нравов) // Собрание сочинений. Т. 3. М.: Правда, 1988. С. 24.

<sup>42</sup> Gorshenina, “*La marginalité du Turkestan*”, 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–36.

<sup>43</sup> Частично эти нападки были связаны с проблемой неопределенности царской политики в отношении дальнейшего завоевания Туркестана.

где бьют по зубам и где имеет право гражданства предание о Макаре, телят не гоняющем. [...] Истинный Ташкент устраивает свою храмину в нравах и в сердце человека. [...] Человек, рассуждающий, что вселенная есть не что иное, как выморочное пространство, существующее для того, чтоб на нем можно было плевать во все стороны, есть ташкентец...»<sup>44</sup>

В дополнение к этой длинной цитате отметим, что реальный Ташкент так и не появляется в романе, а все действие разворачивается в Санкт-Петербурге, Москве, городах русской провинции и русской Польше, где сатирик обнаруживает «Ташкент» в фигуративном смысле слова как собирательный внегеографический символический образ.

Несмотря на противоречивость – и взаимосвязанность – этих двух интерпретаций, произведение М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина подтверждает особый статус города, превращающий его то в своего рода прямую антитезу Санкт-Петербурга (критика реального Ташкента), то в его зеркальное, но негативное отражение (критика общих пороков имперского общества). Критикуя русское коррумпированное и спивающиеся чиновничество, символически обозначенное как «ташкентство», Салтыков-Щедрин далек от описания конкретного города Ташкента и от его экзотизации как Иного (объектом критики выступает исключительно российское, а не местное общество).

Напротив, здесь угадывается другая схема: использование топоса экзотических стран (в данном случае – топонима), через призму которого возможна критика современного общества. Так, среди неоспоримых классиков, предшественников Салтыкова-Щедрина, Монтескье устами Рики и Узбека критикует парижское общество в своих «*Персидских письмах*» (1721) и Задиг, герой одноименного философского романа Вольтера (1748), в далеких восточных странах, в частности в вымышленном Вавилоне, сражается с монстрами «цивилизованной Европы».

Таким образом, на уровне политических и литературных репрезентаций образ города прочно формируется в виде топоса как образ «европейского города», далекой российской периферии и форпоста российской цивилизации в Средней Азии, со всеми его положительными и отрицательными сторонами. В этой ситуации Ташкент – чье наименование могло быть использовано как экзотический троп – не мог быть экзотизирован как диаметрально противоположный Иной в отношении русской метрополии и ее столицы, зеркальное отражение которой он стремился реализовать с первых моментов своего существования. В крайнем случае, полагалось видеть в нем другого, но чрезвычайно похожего.

### Сегрегация и экзотизация

Собственно экзотизирующие описания остаются, как правило, уделом Самарканда, Бухары и Хивы, в отношении которых очень скоро

<sup>44</sup> Щедрин (Салтыков), 1951. Указ. соч. С. 24.

формируется ряд экзотических клише (живописные руины мусульманских памятников, зловонные хаусы со стоячей водой, потребление которой ведет к заражению риштой, разорванные пестрые одежды дервишей, «невыносимая» для европейского уха музыка карнаев и сурнаев, «дикие» развлечения по типу бузкаши и т. д.).

На многочисленных туркестанских выставках образ традиционной Средней Азии реконструируется посредством музеографических репрезентаций этих трех городов, чьи памятники или их элементы (в частности, порталы трех медресе самаркандского Регистана, которым ташкентское медресе Кукельдаш XVI века, гораздо более плохой сохранности, никогда не составляло конкуренции<sup>45</sup>) часто используются для постройки выставочных павильонов и с которыми связаны все реконструкции экспозиционных «восточных базаров».

Эта традиция берет свое начало с одной из первых туркестанских выставок, организованных в Санкт-Петербурге в 1869 году художником Василием В. Верещагиным (1842–1904), в чьих работах, представлявших композиционное ядро этой выставки, был главным образом представлен Самарканд, в штурме которого он лично участвовал<sup>46</sup>. Эта общая тенденция сохраняется и позже. Так, обозреватель журнала *«Нива»* так описывает Среднеазиатскую выставку в Москве 1891 года:

«[...] самый вход в залы выставки был устроен по образцу знаменитой Самаркандской древней мечети [...] Чрезвычайно художественно восстановлены такие бытовые черты и подробности среднеазиатской жизни, которые заставляют нас воображением переноситься на эти далекие окраины. Так, например, одна из зал выставки знакомит нас с путями сообщения в Средней Азии (караванный способ); другая – с уличной жизнью Бухары и Хивы; третья – с восточным базаром, оживленным и пестрым, и блещущим яркостью красок. На этом базаре явилась возможность ознакомить посетителя выставки и с типами среднеазиатских народов, которые и в виде живых людей, и в виде прекрасно исполненных манекенов, очень оживляют и украшают базар выставки»<sup>47</sup>.

Подобный подход заметен также и в выборе сюжетов почтовых карточек и фотографий. Иконография «традиционных» городов, среди которых безусловно лидировали Бухара и Самарканд, чаще всего замыкалась на экзотических клише, представляющих «древности», «виды» или «туземные ремесла».

Незначительность присутствия Ташкента в этом потоке иконографической продукции примечательна, в частности, в рамках крупнейшего проекта фотографической фиксации, задуманной Кауфманом и реализованной Александром Л. Куном (1840–1888) в 1872 году в виде

<sup>45</sup> О памятниках старого Ташкента см.: *Нильсен*, 1988. Указ. соч. С. 25–35. См. также о современной реконструкции старых кварталов: *Pincen*, 2009, *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> *Gorshenina*, “*La construction*”, 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–147.

<sup>47</sup> Среднеазиатская выставка 1891 года в Москве. Указ. соч.

*Туркестанского альбома*<sup>48</sup>: из 1400 фотографий, собранных в четырех частях альбома – археологическом, этнографическом, промышленном и историческом, Ташкент (как город, исключая «этнографические типы») появляется лишь на нескольких – не более двадцати – фотографиях, большая часть которых посвящена изображению резиденции – Белому дому – туркестанского генерал-губернатора и разбитому при нем парку, а также улицам «нового» города. Не случайно, что с появлением интереса к старым фотографиям в научной среде в 1980–1990-е годы, именно Бухара и Самарканд послужили основными объектами ряда публикаций, целью которых было подчеркнуть среднеазиатскую специфичность городов Туркестана<sup>49</sup>.

Русский Ташкент, как и другие русские города Средней Азии (вернее, русские кварталы), в иконографическом плане соотносился с сюжетами, связанными с идеями прогресса и модернизма («цивилизации»), привнесенными русскими в Туркестан. В почтовых открытках изображение «европейского» города чаще всего связано с «европейскими» постройками, с «европейскими» нововведениями (трамвай, конки, кинотеатры, банки), с открытием мемориальных памятников русского присутствия в Туркестане и с «европейским обществом». Как правило, в «видах» «европейского» Ташкента присутствуют – хотя и редко – фигуры русских поселенцев, часто в военной форме; наличие «туземцев» как «экзотического» элемента сильно лимитировано в количественном плане<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> *Светлана Горшенина*. «Крупнейшие проекты колониальных архивов России: утопичность тотальной Туркестаники генерал-губернатора К. П. фон Кауфмана», *Ab Imperio*, 2007, no 3, pp. 321–337; *Kate Fitz Gibbon*, *Emirate and empire: photography in Central Asia 1858–1917*: <http://www.anahitaphotoarchive.com/Home/Essays/Colonial-Period-Photography-in-Central-Asia/colonial1>, pp. 9, 11–16. См. также краткую презентацию еще не защищенной диссертации Хитер Зоннтаг (*Heather S. Sonntag*): “The Turkestan Album – A Brief Material Re-Orientation & Its Antecedents”, <http://www.reseau-asie.com/media3/journee-d-etude-centrasiatique-recherche-de-l-asie-centrale-etat-des-lieux-et-potentialites/heather-s-sonntag-photography-mapping-russian-conquest-in-central-asia-early-albums-encounters-exhib/>, и электронную версию альбома: [http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/287\\_turkestan.html](http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/287_turkestan.html).

<sup>49</sup> *V. V. Naumkin* (ed.), *Samarcande (Juste à temps: les grandes archives photographiques [1871–1898], I)*, trad. de l’anglais par *S. Mendez*, Reading, Garnet Publ.; Paris, EDIFRA, 1992. (английское издание: *Caught in Time: Great Photographic Archives*); *V. V. Naumkin* (ed.), *Boukhara (Juste à temps: les grandes archives photographiques [1871–1898], I)*, Paris, EDIFRA, 1993; *Svetlana Gorshenina*, *La route de Samarcande: l’Asie centrale dans l’objectif des voyageurs d’autrefois, Catalogue raisonné de l’exposition photographique au Musée d’ethnographie de Genève*: Olizane, 2000.

<sup>50</sup> *Голендер Б.* Окно в прошлое. Туркестан на старых почтовых открытках (1898–1917). Ташкент: ЛИА Р. Элинина, 2002. См. также исследовательские работы, посвященные фотографиям дореволюционного Туркестана: *Margaret Dikovitskaya*, “Central Asia in Early Photographs: Russian Colonial Attitudes and Visual Culture”, in *Tomohiko Uyama*, *Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia*, 2005 Summer International Symposium at the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University “Regional and Transregional Dynamism in Central Eurasia: Empires, Islam and Politics”, no 14, Sapporo: Hokkaido University, 2007, pp. 99–121; *Fitz Gibbon*, б/д, *op. cit.*

### Экзотизирующие практики: трангрессия границ и «овосточивание»

Вместе с тем экзотизирующий дискурс не исчезает полностью в отношении Ташкента. Широко используемый при описаниях «традиционных» Самарканда, Бухары или Хивы, он концентрируется в данном случае в части «старого» города или в момент трангрессии границ между «европейским» и «туземным» Ташкентом.

Урбанистическая сегрегация, лежавшая в основе всех «русско-туземных» городов Туркестана и подразделявшая их на «европейские»-«русские» города с геометрической планировкой и «туземные» с хаотичной системой улиц<sup>51</sup>, нашла свое отражение в литературных и иконографических репрезентациях, где соседство «старого» и «нового» города и его представителей регулярно обозначается в виде средства экзотизации пространства. Две выстроенные фотографиями XIX – начала XX века параллели – повседневной жизни российского общества колонистов и «туземного» общества соответственно в «европейском» урбанистическом контексте и в «традиционном» антураже – настойчиво предлагают сравнительную манеру восприятия Туркестана. С одной стороны, предлагается видеть прогрессивно-модернизированный образ жизни российских колонизаторов, с другой – «культурно-отсталую» манеру существования «туземцев». Подобный контраст предполагает подспудно необходимость социального прогресса для последних и оправдание колониального «цивилизующего» присутствия для первых, призванных привнести с собой этот самый «прогресс»<sup>52</sup>.

Сегрегационная граница между «европейской» и «туземной» частями Ташкента, как и других среднеазиатских городов, существовала не только на уровне его урбанистической организации. Сам факт появления фотографии Шлайфера (1903) под названием «Уличная сценка», сюжетом которой является мимолетная встреча двух прохожих – европейски одетой дамы под солнцезащитным зонтиком и мусульманина в традиционной одежде – на мощенной жженым кирпичом улице «европейского» Ташкента<sup>53</sup>, свидетельствует о наличии подобной границы и об экзотизации подобного рода встреч. Характер этой границы был далек от абсолютного: трангрессия между «новым» и «старым» городом была явлением не исключительным. На фотографиях царского времени местные персонажи время от времени появляются в русском городе, нередко затерявшись в толпе, но чрезвычайно редко в качестве «живого штатива», одиноко расположенного стоящего или сидящего персонажа, призванного своим обликом подчеркнуть экзотичность обстановки. Наиболее живописно трангрессия, и вместе с ней экзотизация, предстает на фотографиях, запечатлевших караван верблюдов или медленно продвигающейся по одной из центральных улиц

<sup>51</sup> Нильсен, 1988. Указ. соч. См. также анализ сегрегации среднеазиатских городов в отношении медицины Туркестана: Sophie Hohmann, “La médecine moderne au Turkestan russe : un outil au service de la politique coloniale”, in Gorshenina et Abashin (éd.), 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–352.

<sup>52</sup> Fitz Gibbon, б/д, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Голендер, 2002. Указ соч. С. 76, фото 76.

Ташкента, Романовской, создавая контраст «европейской» архитектуре и русскому военному<sup>54</sup>, или же наглядно воплощая традиционные средства передвижения на фоне вокзала в бухарском Кагане<sup>55</sup>.

В то же время изображения и нарративы собственно «туземного» Ташкента в той же мере близки к «традиционным» Самарканду или Бухаре, как «русский» Ташкент близок «европейскому» Санкт-Петербургу. Не случайно, что почтовые карточки, начавшие с начала XX века – первоначально преимущественно в не-туркестанских или зарубежных издательствах (в Берлине, Стокгольме и Москве) – широко тиражировать среднеазиатские изображения<sup>56</sup>, часто ошибаются в локализации древних памятников этих трех городов, приписывая Самарканду или Бухаре ташкентские постройки «старого города». Общим же топомом для всех «традиционных» городов Средней Азии является констатация очень плохой сохранности как репрезентативных памятников, так и жилой застройки: согласно идеологическим штампам эпохи, руины свидетельствуют о прошлой славе и подчеркивают настоящей упадок туркестанского общества.

В то же время и собственно «русский» Ташкент не смог полностью избежать экзотизации, немного более поздней по времени и иной по характеру. С одной стороны, западные путешественники описывают местное русское общество как весьма специфическое, лишь в небольшой степени менее экзотичное, чем «туземное» общество (в частности, подчеркивая неприемлемость самой идеи жизни в подобных, с их точки зрения, очень тяжелых условиях). С другой стороны, русские колонисты, хорошо устроившиеся в Туркестане, экзотизируют / стигматизируют своих более бедных сограждан, говоря с неприязнью об их слишком далеко зашедшей адаптации к местной жизни. Одним из наиболее болезненных примеров выступают, в частности, русские поселенки в домах терпимости, нередко одетые в традиционные одежды, и бедные русские колонисты, нашедшие себе пристанище в Старом городе, в «туземных», более дешевых жилищах<sup>57</sup> (в 1912 г. писатель Алексей И. Добросмыслов резко критиковал миграционную политику Кауфмана, принимавшего в Туркестан «всякий сброд»<sup>58</sup>).

Помимо этого, архитектура Ташкента, воспринимаемая то слишком «европейской» (застройка русских кварталов в провинциализированном стиле классицизма или модерна), то слишком «банально-среднеазиатской»

<sup>54</sup> Голендер, 2002. Указ соч. С. 64, фото 73.

<sup>55</sup> Gorshenina, *La route de Samarcande*, 2000, p. 44, фото 8. Образ верблюда как маркера экзотичности, объединяющего Туркестан со странами Дальнего Востока, сохранил свою актуальность и в советское время: «[За Оренбургом] они увидели первого верблюда, первую юрту и первого казаха в острокопечной меховой шапке... Началась экзотика, корабли пустыни, вольнолюбивые сыны степей и прочее романтическое тягло» (Ильф И., Петров Е. Золотой теленок // Собрание сочинений. М.: Гос. изд-во худ. лит., 1961. Т. 2. С. 302).

<sup>56</sup> Fitz Gibbon, б/д, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>57</sup> Sahadeo, 2007, *op. cit.*; idem, “Entre l’Europe, la Russie et l’Asie : la place de la Tachkent impériale telle qu’elle fut perçue par ses colons tsaristes”, in Gorshenina et Abashin (éd.), 2009, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–410.

<sup>58</sup> Добросмыслов, 1912. Указ. соч. С. 224.

(традиционная городская застройка), не избежала попыток дополнительной ориентализации («овосточивания») в смысле экзотизации, приведения к неким экзотическим штампам). Так, в 1894 году архитектор Вильгельм С. Гейнцельман спроектировал экзотический архитектурный комплекс в «византийско-мавританских формах», который должен был преобразовать Белый дом туркестанских генерал-губернаторов и прилегающую к нему Соборную площадь; однако подобные ориентализирующие мотивы, несмотря на то что план был серьезно переработан в 1904 году, не нашли финансовой поддержки и не получили воплощения<sup>59</sup>. Более успешными стали попытки стилизации новых «европейских» построек под собственно среднеазиатские формы, представленные в наиболее известных монументальных памятниках (опять-таки Самарканда, Бухары и Хивы), как в частности кинотеатр «Хива», принадлежавший великому князю Николаю Константиновичу (1850–1918) и напоминавший фортифицированный дворец хивинского хана (архитектор Георгий М. Сваричевский (1871–1936), 1912–1916 гг.)<sup>60</sup>. С еще большей силой «экзотические мотивы» прозвучали в оформлении выставочных павильонов в ходе разнообразных выставок (например, павильон виноторговца Филатова для выставки 1900 года в Ташкенте стилизовал купол Гур-Эмира<sup>61</sup>).

\* \* \*

В заключение можно сказать, что баланс экзотизированных и неэкзотизированных репрезентаций Ташкента амбивалентен. Отсутствие монументальных архитектурных ансамблей и репрезентативных построек, не-столичный с исторической точки зрения статус города, недостаточное знание истории Ташкентского владения в России и Европе и обрывочность его первых описаний не позволили создать яркий экзотический образ города к концу доколониального периода, сравнимый с экзотическим мифом Самарканда, Бухары или Хивы. Эта первоначальная неэкзотизация обрела новое звучание благодаря административно важной роли, полученной Ташкентом в качестве столицы русского Туркестана. Став витриной российского присутствия в Средней Азии, город избежал тотальной экзотизации в момент установления российской колониальной власти. Программа форсированной модернизации Туркестана, которая в большей степени сконцентрировалась в его столице и которая была в более широком масштабе продолжена советской властью, лишила Ташкент многих традиционных характеристик, часто цитируемых как экзотические, превратив его в «европейский» город.

Однако феномен экзотизации все же проявился и в ташкентской ситуации. Урбанистическая и социальная сегрегации создали со временем

образ «старого города», населенного как «туземцами», так и бедными российскими поселенцами. Его репрезентации по отношению к традиционному урбанистическому характеру и местным жителям практически вне всяких отклонений выстраивались согласно экзотизирующим практикам, примененным в отношении трех столиц среднеазиатских ханств, но с меньшим успехом. В отношении российских колонистов экзотизация приобретала оттенок стигматизации, но не «ориентализации»: контекст имперского подчинения в данном случае уступил место отторжению «русско-туземной» гибридности, воспринимаемой как явление странное, шокирующее и... дискредитирующее Россию.

Пример «имперского» Ташкента в данном случае показывает, что экзотизация пространства может быть не тотальной, а выборочной, и не только в масштабе всего колониального Туркестана (оппозиция Самарканд-Ташкент), но и в рамках отдельного города (*Эски шахар* – «европейский город»), разворачиваться на нескольких уровнях и с различными скоростями и не всегда зеркально соответствовать ориентализму.

Эта двойственность (не)экзотичного образа Ташкента на иной идеологической базе была сохранена при советской власти, которая, однако, приложила массу усилий к ликвидации собственно экзотических интерпретаций города, отдав предпочтение определению его как «европейского». Новые мифы, сложившиеся в Средней Азии в период независимости, не смогли разрушить эту двоякую структуру, но поменяли акценты и пропорции (не)экзотического: оставаясь для туристов одним из этапов экзотического путешествия в сердце Центральной Азии (согласно рекламным проспектам туристических агентств), каримовский Ташкент стремится предстать как вестернизированный современный мегаполис, в котором вновь вводимые элементы якобы традиционной архитектуры призваны подчеркнуть не его экзотический характер, а преемственность режима с «великим прошлым».

<sup>59</sup> Нильсен, 1988. Указ. соч. С. 52–53. В то же время в бухарском Кагане один из частных домов, в котором ЮНЕСКО нередко организует в наши дни научные семинары, был выполнен в андалузском стиле, с точным воспроизведением геральдики и декора (личное сообщение Пьера Шувена [Pierre Chuvin], 17 февраля 2011 г.).

<sup>60</sup> Нильсен, 1988. Указ. соч. С. 55.

<sup>61</sup> Там же. С. 60.

*Esra Dicle Basbug*

**MASCULINE EAST – FEMININE WEST: THE PERCEPTION OF THE EAST AND THE WEST IN TANZIMAT NOVEL**

Tanzimat is the name of a modernization period in the Ottoman Empire beginning with the declaration of Tanzimat Edict in 1839. The meaning of this word is reforms and arrangements. The main aim of these reforms was to strengthen the Ottoman Empire, which was very hopeless against Europe, that economically, technically and politically developed. Because of that, in this period, lots of changes were made in educational, military, industrial and juridical areas in the Ottoman Empire.

When the method of a reformist program is determined, European countries' arrangements are followed by Ottoman intellectuals. And at this situation it seems like that there is a dilemma in Ottoman Empire's cultural life between eastern and western norms. However, it is not true to believe that Tanzimat intellectuals are seriously affected by this dilemma. The worldview of the Tanzimat is determined by Ottoman Empire's worldview.

At Tanzimat era, novel appeared as a new form for Turkish literature and writers. In novels, Tanzimat intellectuals expressed their ideas about the scope and limits of the reforms. These intellectuals think that westernization in some areas may be innocent under the comprehensive and absolute domination of Ottoman culture. They define all innovative principles in accordance with traditional cultural norms. It meant that Ottoman strengthens its essence in areas of morality, Islamic philosophy and Islamic law. And some of technical modernizations taken from the West accompanies to this period. In other words, behind the idea of modernization, there is an absolute domination of Ottoman culture.

According to Şinasi, who is one of Tanzimat intellectuals, the aim of Tanzimat is "to marry mature mind of the East with virgin ideas of the West." According to this marriage metaphor which Asia is positioned as male, and Europe as female, the certain doctrine of the East is dominant. Also Namık Kemal, another intellectual, defines this period as the marriage between mature ideas of the East and virgin dreams of the West. We know that here, mature ideas represent the male and virgin dreams represent the female. That means, even though the modernization movements essentially include emulation to the West, Tanzimat intellectuals saw the West as a passive part of a male dominant marriage.<sup>1</sup>

In sum, according to Tanzimat intellectuals, the moral and cultural norms of the East should form the base of the modernization movements. The defenders of this worldview is the sultan in the society level, the father in the family

level and the writer in the literature level. In the periods like Tanzimat when the certain authority gets weak, if this absolute worldview still valid, writers take the role of the father. The big danger which strains the father's authority and the evil that corrupt boys in the absence of the father's guidance is not coming from the science and technic of the West but it is sensuousness or carnality taken from the West. So, according to Tanzimat writers, carnality is a part of Western culture and it is one of the most important danger which comes from the West. In Tanzimat novels, father's authority strictly bans the materialistic worldview of the West.<sup>2</sup> They disallowed materialism especially in its physical meaning. The body and the soul are not only separate but also opposite things in the Tanzimat novel. Tanzimat writers divide love into two as emotional and physical love. And accordingly, women characters are categorized as angels or devils. Young men whose fathers passed away and who are separated from the Islamic culture are in danger of following these evil women. Young men who are devoid of father's guidance, will pursue carnality and keep away from Islamic culture. So, surrounded by evil women, drinking and gambling young men will destroy their "home" which represents the Ottoman Empire.

I would like to give two examples from the novels of Tanzimat era. One of the most important novel which handles this matter is *İntibah* written by Namık Kemal in 1876. In this novel, Ali Bey is a handsome, but shamefaced man. His father is dead and he lives with his mother. He is the only child of the family, and all his needs and wills are satisfied by his family. He is well educated and he is only concentrated on his work. One day his friends force him to go to Çamlıca the one of the most favourite excursion places of the city. Writer describes its scenic beauties and its revival on a spring day in detail.<sup>3</sup> Here, Ali Bey encounters with Mehpeyker who is famous with her entrapment of men. She plays the role of a charming but evil woman in the novel. The relationship between Ali and Mehpeyker starts in Çamlıca. The author frequently emphasizes that this relation is not suitable to Ali's character and decency. But Ali can not escape following Mehpeyker's charm.

According to Tanzimat writers, the absence of the father who is the determinant of the dominant rules in the society means also the absence of the willpower. Because, according to this conception, willpower is not something personal but it is collective. So, it takes its power not from the determinacy of the individual but from the norms of the society. For this reason, the relation between Ali and Mehpeyker that relies on only sexual ambition and determined by only motivations coming from the nature of human, is negated. Society approves the relation between man and women as long as it is in accordance with the society's rules.<sup>4</sup> According to the writer, at the beginning of this relationship, "Ali's aspiration was for noble pleasures like emotional, spiritual love but Mehpeyker only wants abject desires like bodily satisfaction. However, though Ali discovers himself and his sexuality, he prefers "bodily desires to spiritual

<sup>1</sup> Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 17.

<sup>2</sup> Parla, *Babalar*, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Namık Kemal, *İntibah Sergüzeşt-i Ali Bey*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1984), 9.

<sup>4</sup> Parla, *Babalar*, 25.



enthusiasm.” And this preference indicates a descent because it denotes a person’s defeat to its infirmities, weakness.

The spinelessness of Ali in his relationship with Mehpeyker is frequently emphasized by the writer. After his falling in love with Mehpeyker, Ali begins to neglect his work, his home and his mother. His mother wants him to marry with a good woman and brings at home a concubine who is called Dilaşup but Ali is not interested in her. In the novel, Mehpeyker is depicted as the hot, fatal and evil woman, and symbolizes the body and materialistic power with her carnality. She is an evil in angel disguise and her love is full of lie and hypocrisy.<sup>5</sup> She is an immoral, dishonorable character, grown up in a very dissolute family. On the contrary Dilaşup is the kind, innocent, angel woman, and represents the spirit with her innocence. Dilaşup is depicted as a literate, cultured, clever and beautiful woman, that is an ideal women representing the norms of the society against materialistic power. However, Ali chooses Mehpeyker, not Dilaşup. On the struggle between bad and good, women like Mehpeyker will always win and women like Dilaşup will lose.

At this point, according to the writer, body becomes a grave for the soul. After that, the passion of Ali causes a series of errors in his life. He takes his physical desire for love, he hopelessly believes in Mehpeyker’s love. One night, Ali goes to the house of Mehpeyker but she is not at home. He waits until morning but she does not come back. He realizes what a big mistake he made. Also his mother and his close friends continue to warn him about that woman. After that, Ali gives up Mehpeyker and starts a new and peaceful life with Dilaşup. However the novel does not finish at that point. The writer goes on. Mehpeyker cannot accept the happy relationship between Ali and Dilaşup. She makes a plan to make Dilaşup humiliated. She lays a trap to Dilaşup and makes Ali believe that Dilaşup is a prostitute. Then Ali sells Dilaşup as a slave and sends her away. Mehpeyker purchases Dilaşup as a slave. However Ali does not come back to Mehpeyker. Then Mehpeyker’s desire for revenge becomes fatal for everyone. She hires a killer to kill Ali. Dilaşup realizes her evil plan and warns Ali to escape. The killer kills Dilaşup accidentally at night since she put on Ali’s coat. Mehpeyker who is terrified by this consequence tells the truth to Ali that Dilaşup was innocent. Ali falls into a deep guilty conscience.

The writer evaluates this ending with these words: “nearly a painter of fate represents faith and sadness with all their disaster on Dilaşup, every kind of scandal with its all kind of fatal final on Mehpeyker and all kinds of terror and force on Ali.”<sup>6</sup> Writer does not allow the happiness of Ali and Dilaşup even Ali regrets and comes back home. Once devilry spreads everywhere and no one can escape from it. Ali has to compensate his wrong choice in the wake of passion and desire. Even though he chooses home and innocence at the end, it is not enough for the forgiveness of his first sin. Just as the novel ends with this sentence: “Regret is futile.”

As I explained before, the Tanzimat intellectuals position the East as a man and the West as a woman. They defend the absolute authority of Ottoman cul-

<sup>5</sup> Kemal, *İntibah*, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Kemal, *İntibah*, 100.

ture in the period of modernization. In this way, they think that can preserve their masculine voice. However they are very aware of the danger of woman who is identified with seductive Europe, unless she is controlled on a passive position. The matter of the son who is the victim of an evil woman is handled by most of Tanzimat novels such as *İntibah*, *Zehra*, *Mürebbiye* (Governess), and *Metres* (Concubine). The first novelists not only interpret the son’s bodily desire as a result of the degenerative effect of Europe, but also they evaluate physical passion as a feminine danger that corrupt the son. Yes, Europe is a woman, attracts son’s interest, however this interest and desire must be domesticated and adapted to the East in order not to cause the disaster of the son. The opposite means becoming European and that means accepting the control of a woman.<sup>7</sup>

Four years after the novel of *İntibah*, in 1880 the novel called *Zehra* is written by Nabizade Nazim. It starts to be published in installments. Although it seems that there are some fictional differences, the matter of these two novels, *İntibah* and *Zehra* is similar: a son without a father, an evil woman, seduction, revenge, becoming homeless, death etc. In both of the novels we can see the basic fear which is frequently handled in Tanzimat novels: the disaster caused by bodily desire and passion. Son who is devoid of father’s guidance derails and then destroys home and family. We can say that, in the period of the weakening of the Sultan’s regime in the Ottoman Empire, these novels announce the danger that if sons make an excessive concession to the Westernization, the society will be collapsed.

I would like to give some details about the similarities between the novels of *İntibah* and *Zehra*. On this novel “Zehra”, the male character “Suphi” is an orphan and lives with his mother. He is a well educated, but passive and bashful boy. These peculiarities of Suphi resembles those of Ali, the male character in the novel of *İntibah*. Suphi falls in love with Zehra who is the daughter of the dealer he works for. This is a love at first sight. The writer indicates that a kind of physical interaction lies on the basis of this love. Narrator consciously uses the word “body” when he talks about Zehra. “The body that he see at the garden engages in breaking of the sallow leaves of a rose tiller.”<sup>8</sup> Because Suphi is a polite boy, he knows that he should not look at a young woman. However he can not step away from Zehra. After falling in love with Zehra he begins to daydream, neglects his work and home like Ali did. Because his boss is a good and tolerant man, he allows Suphi to marry his daughter.

Zehra is a young and beautiful women but she is very jealous. Suphi’s mother takes a handmaiden called “Sırrıcemal” for some housework on the second year of their marriage. And this situation draws Zehra crazy. Their happy and peaceful home becomes a battle area. Zehra’s jealousy is not groundless and it is triggered by Suphi’s weaknesses. Because Suphi indulges in women and especially in bodily pleasures. He discovered his sexuality after he married with Zehra. The writer says that Suphi doubtlessly loves Zehra but he begins to follow bodily pleasures with Sırrıcemal. Sırrıcemal is more feminine and more

<sup>7</sup> Nurdan Gürbilek, *Kör Ayna Kayıp Şark*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2004), 82.

<sup>8</sup> Nabizade Nazım, *Zehra*, (Ankara: Dün-Bugün Yayınevi, 1960), 15.

beautiful than Zehra. As Sırrıcemal realizes the interest of Suphi, she begins to want Suphi with passion. The writer emphasizes the corporal character of Suphi's passion to Sırrıcemal. In time Suphi becomes a bad guy who acts in a mean way. He plans to divorce Zehra. Sırrıcemal pushes Suphi to divorce because she is also jealous of Zehra. While previously Sırrıcemal is like an angel in the novel, she becomes a bitchy and dissatisfied woman. In sum, this bodily passion causes the descent for both Suphi and Sırrıcemal. Moreover this descent paves a way for another physical desire in Suphi's life.

The name of this passion is "Ürani". Ürani is a Rom woman. Zehra hires Ürani to take revenge from Suphi and Sırrıcemal. Ürani is a famous woman who keeps out men's money and then abandons them. One day Ürani invites Suphi to her house. Suphi is not aware of the fact that absolute devilry comes from the western carnalism. He accepts her invitation and then he can not live without Ürani anymore. He does not care neither Zehra, nor pregnant Sırrıcemal. However, by passage of time, Ürani starts to have affairs with other men and she sends Suphi away from home. After that, Suphi falls into poverty and becomes a homeless. Besides, Sırrıcemal suffers miscarriage and than commits suicide. After this tragedy, Suphi with a deep guilty conscience, kills Ürani and ends up becoming a killer. This story line reminds us the story of *İntibah*.

In summary, Suphi has an emotional relation with Zehra, bodily relation with Sırrıcemal and pationate, physical relation with Ürani. He leaves his home, starts to drink deep, so becomes a completely spinless man. On this story the writer indicates that if weak people follow the line of drinking, gambling and physical desires, it causes a big disaster for the man and the society.

We can easily realize that the stories of Ali and Suphi are the same. Both of them are "vehicles" on the metaphoric system of the novels. Suphi and Ali go after the physical passion, women and drinking, and finally they morally descend. In the absence of the father, they can not find their way and make big mistakes in life. They lose their morality, culture and traditional norms, blindly and excessively go after the West and end up with losing their own identity. Consequently the metaphoric axis of the novels is completed.

Tanzimat intellectuals were sons of the Ottoman Empire that lost its authority and power on the society. Intellectuals tried to fill the vacuum of power. They wanted to educate society to keep its identity in the Westernization period. Tanzimat writers evaluated the pozitivism, carnality, morality and seduction of the West as a big threat and they embodied this situation with mortal, malign and feminine woman characters in novels like as Mahpeyker and Ürani. So, they especially underlined the idea that if the Ottoman Empire loses ist masculinity and authority against the carnalistic and charming West, this situation causes a big disaster for them.

*Pelin Aslan*

#### **PEYAMI SAFA AS A SAMPLE: CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON THE WEST IN 1950'S TURKEY**

In this article, firstly, I will try to explain the static interpretations of Turkish intellectuals of the West throughout the 1930s and 1950s. Then, I will mention changing perspectives on the West and present a sample of this new perspective from the articles and some novels of Peyami Safa, a well-known conservative author, who is one of the important representatives of the new perception of the West in 1950s.

The Westernization movement, which is started by the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century, continues after 1923 with the declaration of the Turkish Republic under the light of Kemalist discourse. At this time Westernization is taken much more seriously than ever before. According to the government, through modernization which is based on the West, a new secular, modern identity of Turkey could be established. In this process, new government which defines itself civilized, nationalist and secular, evaluates westernization as the only way for modernization. In this context, the authoritarian governor class of Turkish Republic consisting of the bureaucrats, the intellectuals and the soldiers undertake the role as "social engineers" and these people evaluate Westernization as synonymous with rationalism and positivism.

According to them, in order to make Turkey modern, imaginative, fatalistic and mystical, Eastern world view that was inherited from the Ottoman Empire should be abandoned. In fact, the rational and the scientific world view as in the West should be adopted. The government and the intellectuals who support the government have a main aim which is to leave completely from the Ottoman heritage. To achieve this goal, in the modernization process the West, especially French positivism, is taken as a model. In this context, there are series of reforms quickly performed to catch the Western civilization. Many reforms can be done in an education system. Therefore it can be easily said that as a result of these reforms, Islam is no longer part of a new education. The new secular education is based on the idea that we can understand the world in the light of the law of the nature and the science. This world view is also supported by the materialistic journals. Thus, positivism imported from the West without any criticism becomes the source of modernization.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hasan Bülent Kahraman, "Bir Zihniyet, Kurum ve Kurucusu Olarak Batılılaşma", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, vol. 3, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2007), 127.

In this context the new secular government can be easily described “positivist-otoriteryanist” because it suppresses the opposition. During the single-party period of Turkey, this authoritarian discourse and the state’s perception of the West taking mere way for the enlightenment and the modernization continues until 1950s.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, it can be said that during the single-party period of Turkey, there is an authoritarian Kemalist discourse and the state has a strict understanding of the West which is associated with positivism. In this context, the interpretation of the West and the East by the authoritarian governor class indicates internal orientalism in Turkey, because they attribute the values to the East like the Western orientalist do. So, in those years, during the single party period we can talk about single voiced Turkey. Rationalism imported from the West, especially France becomes the only guide to construct “ideal citizenship” and new “secular, modern Turkey.”

However, in 1940s, this picture begins to change. After the Second World War, as it is known, the totalitarian regimes in the world begin to be questioned and this changing attitude also affects Turkey. In 1945 the single party period ends and then the multi-party period of Turkey starts. Now, the state’s ability to maintain its hegemonic status on the social identity of its citizens weakens. Kemalist ideology loses its superiority and the modernization discourse based on the West also loses its strictness. These developments create a more democratic environment and the new, alternative modernization projects are offered. This brings new interpretations of the West.<sup>3</sup>

One of them belongs to one of the important conservative intellectuals, Peyami Safa. I think what “conservative” means is a controversial subject and to talk about it requires another discussion but here by “conservative” I mean a group of people who offer an alternative modernization project based on a new perception of the West other than Kemalist modernization project.

Peyami Safa perceives the West differently and his new and fresh approach is not as static as it is in Kemalist ideology before. His ideas about modernization are based on a synthesis of the East and the West. He does not exclude the East from the modernization project and also gives equal importance to the West. However, the idea of the East and the West synthesis is not the only new point in his ideas. The real originality is that he brings a new understanding of the West which is very different from the old conception; because according to him, the West does not mean just rationality. So, in this part of my article, first I will try to mention the conditions of the changing image of the West and its details, then the articles and as samples some novels of Peyami Safa, will be discussed.

In the multiple party period Democratic Party, the party in power, quits the secular applications of Republican People’s Party, for instance they close the village institutes which function as the cornerstones of the rural development project and also put an end to the community centers that are established

<sup>2</sup> Nilgün Toker, Serdar Tekin, “Batıcı Siyasi Düşüncelerin Karakteristikleri ve Evreleri: ‘Kamusuz Cumhuriyet’ten ‘Kamusuz Demokrasi’ye”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, vol. 3, ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2007), 84.

<sup>3</sup> Hasan Bülent Kahraman, *ibid*, 234–236.

in 1932 to give formal education to adults. In addition, “ezan”, call to prayer, starts in Arabic, instead of Turkish.

Thus, during those years modernization discourse based on the romantic, idealist European idea ends and strict secularism and statism policy are softened. Moreover, a liberal notion in the economy is introduced, Turkey opens its markets to the world market and impacts of capitalism are intensely felt. These developments create a new perception of the West. Now, new West becomes America which appears as a new power in economy.

As a result of these changes in the social and political life in Turkey, after 1946, especially in 1950’s we can talk about “conservative modernization” tendency. The most important characteristic of the supporters of this new trend is to emphasize the religion, Islam. They respect religion, but mostly as an important aspect of social life. As Nuray Mert, a Turkish critic, puts it, “They believe in historical evolution and gradual social change rather than radical and revolutionary politics. They propose a fine balance and harmony of the old and new, past and present, rather than the total rejection of the present, since they accepted social as a historical imperative.”<sup>4</sup>

In this context, conservatives do not support the radical break of the tradition; instead, they seem to believe that the tradition is indispensable part of the modernization. According to them, science and technology are not the obstacles to experience religion and spirituality. Even, they think spirituality and religious beliefs may help overcome the crisis originated from the rapid developments in technology.

Peyami Safa is one of the most important representatives among the leading intellectuals who can be classified as “modern conservatism’s thinkers” in Turkey. Peyami Safa cannot only be evaluated as a thinker who just wants to revise the Republican ideology. He offers a new, alternative modernization project. As I said before, his ideas about modernization are based on the synthesis of the East and the West. In this synthesis, according to him, the West does not mean just rationality and it is not enough to be modernized.<sup>5</sup>

The important thing here is that, Safa is not against the West, he clearly states his positive attitude towards the Western culture, in various articles and novels in which there are a lot of characters who admit the positive sides of the West.

In fact, Safa underlines the fact that he is against the materialistic thought of the West in the nineteenth century. During the Cold War period, Safa struggles with communism and Western materialistic philosophy. His novel, *Biz İnsanlar*<sup>6</sup> (We are as People) is about a character who realizes that communism and materialism ruins every positive and good thing. According to the character, people lost their all moral values and had no feeling of any affiliation with the family and the nation. But he does not lose his hope about the

<sup>4</sup> Nuray Mert, “Early Conservative Political Thought In Turkey: The Case of a Conservative Periodical, ‘*Türk Dusuncesi*’ ”, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:KbpWwO0u0o0J:www.crvp.org/book/Series02/IIA-18/chapter-5.htm+Nothing+can+be+done+without+Europe,+Peyami+Safa&cd=1&hl=tr&ct=clnk&gl=tr&source=www.google.com.tr>

<sup>5</sup> Peyami Safa, *Doğu-Batı Sentezi* (İstanbul: Yağmur Press, 1976).

<sup>6</sup> Peyami Safa, *Biz İnsanlar* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1980).

future. In the future, there will be no interest in the philosophy of Nietzsche and there will be a new kind of humanity including people who are completely different from Karl Marks.

Besides, in his articles he claims that, communism is the most primitive social formation. Safa often reminds his readers in his articles that “communism which pretends to be a new idea, is in no way new; on the contrary, it is the most primitive social formation. It is sociology which informs us that, only the primitive societies without any division of labor experienced communist regimes.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, for him this old fashion regime brings nothing to the humanity. In this respect it can be seen that in his articles Safa often underlines that he is against materialism and Marxism, not modern Western thought and Westernism.<sup>8</sup>

According to him, in the nineteenth century Western world based on materialistic philosophy and regime experienced the war which causes a huge destruction for humanity. Now, the people in the West are unhappy and they have lost their hope and trust about the future. They realize that materialistic world view cannot protect them from the wars any more. They feel like they are in the emptiness in terms of moral and spiritual aspects. Now they try to find a solution to protect themselves from spiritual emptiness and from the trap of materialism.

In this respect, Safa does not underestimate the European mind and method. To explain his thoughts about materialism and rationalism, Safa often quotes Western thinkers in order to persuade his readers. Thorough this kind of quotations his aim is to indicate that today even Western thinkers have changed his minds about materialism, positivism and rationalism. So, it would be a big mistake, if Turkey does not grasp this change in the West. In this respect, it is an unrecoverable mistake to stabilize the West, to evaluate the West as a static entity which means the West just consists of materialism. Safa thinks that during the years, because of admiration of the Western positivism, Turkish thinkers have ignored tradition, for them tradition undermines the Westernization process. On the contrary Peyami Safa thinks that only the affiliation with the past and cultural heritage protect youth from the destructive materialism. In fact, for him, to attain Western modernization there is no need to quit traditions, habits, ideas which can adjust themselves to the change.<sup>9</sup>

According to Safa, in the past, for a long time Turkish thinkers have seen the only one part of the West, materialistic, rationalistic part and they thought only this part of the West can be the guide to be modernized. For Safa, the people who think like this, are missing the point, because today, the West turns his face to the East and it sees the East as a new refuge, a new solution. The Western thinkers now, discover the spirituality in the East and they add the spirituality to modernization. According to Peyami Safa “the tradition and Eastern culture

<sup>7</sup> Nuray Mert, “Early Conservative Political Thought In Turkey: The Case of a Conservative Periodical, ‘*TürkDusuncesi*’”, <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:KbpWwO0u0o0J:www.crvp.org/book/Series02/IIA-18/chapter-5.htm+Nothing+can+be+done+without+Europe,+Peyami+Safa&cd=1&hl=tr&ct=clnk&gl=tr&source=www.google.com.tr>

<sup>8</sup> Peyami Safa, *Din-İnkılap-İrtica* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1990).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

help Western culture find new sources to overcome the crises resulting from materialism.” In this perspective, Safa strongly emphasizes mysticism and justifies it with Western intellectuals’ thoughts.

He claims that in the twentieth century in Turkey, the scientific view still follows the old, the nineteenth century’s science. However, the West has already left this and new scientific view in the West does not exclude the religion, even tries to be close to it. The West realizes that the religion is not a danger for the development. In the twentieth century the West revises positivism and admits the metaphysical dimension. Now, the West is not positivist anymore, America, England, France, Germany and Italy experience the metaphysics and they discover the mystic part of the religion. As a result of this, they become interested in the Eastern culture which has already had a relationship with mysticism.<sup>10</sup>

In this respect, unlike Kemalist thinkers, Safa does not evaluate the spirituality as the enemy of modernization, instead, for him to get modernized is only possible with both spirituality and science. In this context, Safa emphasizes the role of spirituality in modernization process. For him the rejection of a new way of thinking which includes mysticism as in the West would be a disaster for Turkey. His novel, *Matmazel Noraliya'nın Koltuğu*<sup>11</sup> (The Armchair of Miss Noraliya) reflects his views. This novel is about a young man, Ferit who is hopeless and nihilist. For him there is no meaning in the world and he has no goal in the life. He is an educated man, he graduated from Westernized schools and he reads all important books about materialism and positivism but he is not happy. He loses all moral values and has no expectations from the future. Then suddenly he experiences some metaphysical events and meets Miss Noraliya, a dead old woman. The ghost of her teaches Ferit mysticism. At the end of the novel, Ferit turns into another man, he discovers the soul and realizes that materialistic world view is not sufficient to find a meaning in the world. At the end of the novel, he admits that materialistic part of the West can only bring hopelessness. Now, he meets mysticism the existence of which the Western sciences also approve. Like this novel, Safa’s other novel, *Yalnızız*<sup>12</sup> (We are All Alone) is also about a spiritual transformation of a materialist man. Thus, during this period, Peyami Safa sees the literature as a means of transforming the society through his ideology. His novels become a part of his modernization and westernization project and his main aim is to provide contributions to his East and West synthesis. Through his novels, he tries to prove that the West does not mean mere rationality. Western culture experiences the crisis resulting from materialism and now they discover the East to find overcome this crisis. According to Peyami Safa, if Turkey goes on insisting materialistic West instead of grasping changing West, it will also experience the same crisis. To prevent this, Turkey should find a new way which brings together both the East and the West. And he says” if your heart relies on the East and your mind on the West, you can realize yourself. To sum up, Peyami Safa enforces an alternative brand of modernization and interpretation of the West. He admits that “Nothing can be done without Europe,” and that is why, he proposes the idea of the East-West Synthesis.

<sup>10</sup> Peyami Safa, *Din-İnkılap-İrtica*.

<sup>11</sup> Peyami Safa, *Matmazel Noraliya'nın Koltuğu* (İstanbul: Press, 1974)

<sup>12</sup> Peyami Safa, *Yalnızız* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Press, 1991).

*Anna G. Piotrowska*

### **GYPSY CONNOTATIONS IN MUSIC AS THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY FORM OF ORIENTAL PROJECTION**

The late 18<sup>th</sup> century discovery of the East origins of the language used by the peoples commonly labelled in Europe as Gypsies led to their classification as representatives of exoticism stained with oriental flavour. Consequently Gypsies fell into the orbit of oriental discourse. The reinforcement of this tradition rested mainly on two pillars:

the fact that Gypsies of Central and Eastern Europe inherited the role of wandering musicians actively substituting the Turks known for the type of music-making in that region before the 1683 Vienna siege;

the belief that Gypsies in Spain took place of Arabs after their 1492 expulsion from the peninsula – it was even suggested that the Gypsies might have descended directly from the Arabs.

In that light the discussion of Gypsy music as well as its representation became an emanation of the orientalist projection. The depiction of Gypsy heroes in musical works resembled portrayal of oriental characters, alluding to the same stereotypical associations with the image of the Orient, including the low morale, the openness to demonstrate sexual preferences, the belief in magic, etc. Gypsies were also pictured as fierce people posing considerable threat to the norms of European community. Their music, however, not devoid of externally attributed exotic values, became not only treated as their specific trade mark, but also helped to counter – balance the dominating picture.

#### **Understanding the notion of Gypsy music**

From the historical perspective searching for the simple answer what Gypsy music means has been – since the 19<sup>th</sup> century – a challenge for European intellectuals. Especially since the publication of Franz Liszt's book "Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie" in 1859 Gypsy music has been a constant cause of academic disputes. As the knowledge on Gypsies in general and on Gypsy music especially was very scant in Europe before the 19<sup>th</sup> century and did not extend far beyond the boundaries of legends and common beliefs propagated by chronicles or stage plays, Liszt's work constituted a major breakthrough in studying Gypsy music. Not only was it a scholarly work dedicated to this issue, but it also contributed much to promoting such type of music throughout the whole Europe. Upon its publication Liszt's book stirred a lot of ambiguous feelings and rose high emotions, especially among Hungarians strongly opposing the thesis forwarded by Liszt equaling repertoire *played* by Gypsy musicians in Hungary with Gypsy music.

Hungarians claimed that Gypsies simply performed (with their characteristic manner) the music composed by Hungarians.

In his book on Gypsy music Liszt undertook an attempt to interpret the place of Gypsy music within the framework of European culture. Although the object of his studies was Gypsy music, both the author and the audience of this investigation were non – Gypsies, aware of the fact that Gypsy people had already been stigmatised by a heavy burden of associated with them romanticised visions of free, independent people, and marked with very strong stereotypes concerning their apparently evil nature. They were credited with kidnapping children, stealing, dishonest trading (mainly horses). Despite that, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the supposedly immoral Gypsies were also hailed as very skilful musicians, especially gifted at improvisation. As believed, their improvisation – suspended between poles of melancholy and joy – reflected their tormented soul. Liszt must have been aware that Gypsies as well as Jews were perceived as cultural Others in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe and being deeply influenced by Rousseau's concept of a noble savage, he found its personification in Gypsies, whom he described as "exquisite [...], intense, produced by Nature's marvels".<sup>1</sup>

#### **Oriental connotations attributed to the Gypsies**

Attributing oriental connections to Gypsy people was primarily based on the widespread knowledge of their far East origins. Around the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century European scholars discovered that Gypsy people were descendants from India. Istvan Vali, a Hungarian pastor, while staying at the University of Leiden, was struck by the fact that some of the students coming from the island Malabar, spoke a language similar to the one he had heard among Gypsies. But it was the German historian Heinrich Grellmann, who – having drawn heavily on previous authors and basing the majority of his theories on linguistic analysis – constituted the fundamental shift in the scholarly approach to studying Gypsies in his book "Die Zigeuner" written in 1783. In the consequence he was able to confirm Northern India as a place of Gypsies' origin. In his speculative argumentation Grellmann pointed at the lowest class of Indians, the pariahs (Sudras) as Gypsies ancestors. The oldest discovered sources about the origins of Gypsies also underlined their oriental roots: the chronicle of Isfahan Hamza dating from circa 950 mentions a tribe Zott/Jat, considered as possible ancestors of today's Roma people. The author cites the story of people brought from India, shedding some light on their musical traditions by claiming that during the reign of the Persian monarch Bahram Gur (from 420 to 438) twelve thousand musicians were brought from India. Also the poet Ferdousi referred to this legend in 1010 again while writing about Bahram Gur: the ruler asked his father in law (or brother) – King Senkal of Kannauj in Northern India to send him ten thousand musicians, known as Luri. It is commonly believed that people mentioned in these stories were Gypsies.

<sup>1</sup> Michael Murphy, *Introduction*, in: Harry White, Michael Murphy (eds.), *Musical Constructions of Nationalism. Essays on the History and Ideology of European musical Culture 1800–1945*, Cork: Cork University Press, 2001, p. 20.

The fact that Gypsy people stemmed from a land situated far away from Europe, (across which they spread by the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century) added to the mystery commonly associated with them as well as helped to create oriental appeal, which – especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – attracted a lot of attention to Romany people. Gypsies themselves contributed to the building of the oriental image by claiming that they came from so called Little Egypt. Greek islands – mistakenly described as Little Egypt – were in the 14<sup>th</sup> century one of the stops on their itinerary after the longer stay in Constantinople. Gypsies' claims that they stemmed from Little Egypt led also to the false belief that Gypsies were heirs to Egyptian pharaohs.

### Gypsy musical Orientalism

Gypsy people associated with exotic origins fell easily into the realm of musical orientalism: their alleged musical orientalism was taken for granted because of their origins. As music and orientalism were often seen together, the Gypsy music of Eastern Europe was also considered as representative of exoticism and interpreted (in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries) in accordance with prevailing trends by associating it with a popular by then Turkish idiom. The favoured style *alla turca* enjoyed an enormous popularity as a result of encounters with Turkish culture as well as in the consequence of the appearance of mentioned above publications. With a hindsight the *alla turca* style is regarded as a forerunner of so called *style hongrois* attributed to the Gypsies in Hungary.<sup>2</sup> In fact, it is claimed that the Gypsies in Austrian Empire adopted many features of *alla turca* style and continued it in a slightly changed version, adding simply their own modifications, especially in instrumentation and the preferred manner of performance. In the eyes of most Europeans the oriental origins of both Turks and Gypsies constituted sufficient enough condition to refer to their music as exotic without paying attention to the real characteristics of the musical idiom.

The style – considered as oriental and firstly called Turkish (*alla turca*) and later Gypsy (*style hongrois*) – manifested its alleged exoticism (in the European understanding) in the basic parameters: rhythm, melody, harmony and the used instrumentation. Rhythmicity provoked the comparison with a spoken language. The reference to the oriental melodies was traced in the rich ornamentation. Melodies based on the scale commonly called Gypsy (*c d e flat f sharp g a flat b c'*) abounded with an augmented second – an interval commonly associated with any musical exoticism in European culture. Instruments usually attributed to Gypsies included violins, later also the clarinet and cymbals.

### Oriental depictions of gypsies on stage

#### *Gypsies on stage before the 19<sup>th</sup> century...*

Already the earliest examples of placing Gypsies on the musical stage suggest that composers referred to them while in need of adding oriental colour-

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois", in: *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 1991.

ing. It was so, among others, in the masquerade by Jean-Baptiste Lully "Le Carneval mascarade mise en musique" from 1675, where in the Part VIII (in addition to Spanish, Turkish or Egyptians) also Bohemiennes, i.e. Gypsies were introduced. The comment saying that "Egyptienne dansante, accompagnee est de quatre Boëmiennes jouants de la Guitarra" clearly referred to the Gypsies portrayed mostly in groups playing various instruments. Gypsies regarded as a collective hero (rather than individual) were captured also much earlier, for example in 1621 English mask "The Gypsies metamorphosed" written by Ben Jonson at the request of George Villiers, whose popularity manifested in numerous lute transcriptions. Rinaldo di Capua was the author of the two act intermedium entitled "La Zingara" from 1753.

#### *...and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*

The 19<sup>th</sup> century representation of Gypsies on musical stage was not only influenced by the increasing knowledge on them but more by imaginative and convincing literary descriptions. The success of the 1831 novel "Notre Dame de Paris" by Victor Marie Hugo (1802-1885) resulted in the avalanche of operas and ballets based on the story of beautiful Gypsy Esmeralda: more than thirty musical stage works appeared till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century inspired by the book.<sup>3</sup>

European composers, as representatives of the intellectual elite, actively took part in the 19<sup>th</sup> century creation of the stereotype of Gypsy music. Thus composers succumbed to various influences and mostly reproduced conventionalized images of Gypsy music in their works. Strong interactions between music, literature and academic studies resulted in creating the network of dependencies and relationships which reflected the subtle interpenetration of thoughts and reflections on Gypsies, coupled with artistic imagination. Compounds of the Arts and expertise became specifically visible in stage works where the spoken word and the visual element played prominent role in the creation of a whole. In these works national, racial, and oriental presentations of the Gypsies and their music dominated as a result of an interaction of various factors, often extra-musical that determined the final shape of the work. Compositions intended for stage opened up broad range of possibilities to incorporate Gypsy themes as the leading ones, leaving also a margin in other works where references to Gypsies served as means to "exoticise" or "eroticise" the piece. Gypsy topics were willingly introduced to both serious operas, ballets (even tragic), and to much lighter works: various masquerades or masks. Later they were transmitted to operettas, vaudevilles, and finally to musicals.

Schematics of portraying Gypsy themes in musical works on stage favoured perpetuating stereotypes. Attempts to overcome this regularity were extremely rare, and even if they did appear, the heroes would still be put into typical contexts. These references were regarded as another element colouring the work and consequently composers seldom, if ever, bothered to verify the musical sig-

<sup>3</sup> Arnaud Laster, *Victor Hugo*, in: Joël-Marie Fauquet (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la musique en France au XIXe siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 2003, p. 600.

nifiers they decided to introduce: commonly circulating musical features attributed to Gypsies were known as *style hongrois*. In the consequence composers wishing to stress Gypsy elements in their works usually made use of specific instrumentation (e.g. solo of the clarinet), scales (e.g. so called Gypsy one) and dancing practices (e.g. contrasting slow tempo of *lassan* with the quick one of *friska* as in *czardas*) connected with Gypsies. Composers were familiar with these conventions from works of art, literature, other musical works or from press reports rather than from studying Gypsy culture or music on their own.

### Gypsy love

Since the categories of sensuality and eroticism were in the 19<sup>th</sup> century closely linked with the concept of Orientalism, it is understandable that also the theme of Gypsy love was undertaken in the prism of its alleged corporeality. The fascination with Orientalism offered the opportunity to complete the image of romantic love with corporeal aspect, and so called Gypsy love turned out the ultimate fulfilment of the perfect merging of both: romantic and sensual love. Gypsies considered as a part of oriental culture were – *inter alia* – linked with vigorous eroticism. Gypsy love as a derivative of both romantic and oriental love preserved then the romantic ideal while adding a hint of exotic perversity. Thus the artificially created idea of Gypsy love allowed composers to introduce on stage some aspects of corporeality associated mainly with Gypsy women and their sexuality demonstrated to the fullest in their dance.

Both literary and historical accounts encouraged that kind of viewing Gypsy people, especially Gypsy women. The striking sensuality of dancing Gypsy girls from Spain was for example mentioned as early as 1613 by Miguel Cervantes in one of his twelve “*Novelas ejemplares*” entitled “*La Gitanilla*”, telling a story of a young Gypsy named *Preciosa*. Staying truthful to actual situation Cervantes portrayed Gypsy women dancing and singing in a group made up exclusively of female members.<sup>4</sup> Researchers believe that all – female groups posed considerably less threat to other, non – Gypsy communities, while still remaining attractive especially to their male members. Pleasure and “erotic stimulation of watching young women dance”<sup>5</sup> were the elements of the strategy used by Gypsies in order to assure the economic success. The team presented by Cervantes relies on *Preciosa* – lovely blonde with blue eyes and relatively fair skin, whose looks – indicating the assumed innocence – was heavily contrasted with her actual public appearance and the performance of the song full of sexual references. The coded language used by *Preciosa* in her presentation abounded with symbolic words, where for example ‘nun’ meant in fact ‘prostitute’, etc). The figure of *Preciosa* was constructed as an explicit negation of – propagated by that time in Spain – educational model of a woman, prepared to

<sup>4</sup> Meira Weinzweig, “Flamenco Fires: Form as Generated by the Performer- Audience Relationship”, in: Matt T. Salo (ed.), *100 Years of Gypsy Studies. Papers from the 10th Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, March 25–27, 1988*, Cheverly, Maryland: The Gypsy Lore Society Publication no. 5, 1990, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

become in future a loving mother and loyal wife<sup>6</sup>. Books printed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century dealing with good education recommended especially three virtues: silent behaviour, humble life in seclusion, and sexual modesty. *Preciosa* as a liberated Gypsy presented the ultimate denial of that ideal.

The attractiveness of Gypsy women was also confirmed in historical accounts: voluntary marriages concluded in Spain between Gypsies and non – Gypsies (*payos*) were not that rare there, enough to mention the one from 1590 when a man called Pedro Orejón consented to Gypsies driven by his love to a beautiful Gypsy woman as was revealed during the proceedings of the Inquisition<sup>7</sup>. In 1544 Sebastian Münster wrote in his “*Cosmographiae universalis*” that Gypsies “adopt universally men from neighbouring countries seeking women who mix with them for mishandling relations”<sup>8</sup>.

Gypsy women sustained their reputation of sexually attractive in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when they were also reported as incredible beauties. Polish author Theodore Narbutt confirmed in 1830 that Gypsy women should be regarded as good-looking, “very white” adding that “all women have nice body composition”.<sup>9</sup> Gypsy type of beauty was described as exotic “in the style of the east”.<sup>10</sup> Another Polish writer Ignacy Daniłowicz assured in the 1820s among Gypsies, “female shameless impudence”.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, debauchery was associated with the exoticism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century so widely that in Parisian brothels oriental girls were almost “compulsory”<sup>12</sup>, while in Russia, young, singing or dancing Gypsy constituted a necessary attraction of wild parties.

Connecting exoticism and eroticism was reflected in the stage musical works of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for example in the form of introducing dances performed by half – naked women, usually embodying the image of Orient as “love object of the West”<sup>13</sup>. Characteristically enough in most 19<sup>th</sup> century descriptions of dancing Gypsy girls their (male) authors underlined the fact that female dancers were unmarried as if suggesting allusively the erotic purpose of dancing and indirectly referring to availability of Gypsy women. Narbutt for example wrote that “mostly their girls stay in an unmarried state. They busy themselves with jumping, singing, dancing [...] showing no modesty.. Eye, hands, legs, everything reminds of the feeling of inner lust ...”<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Alison Weber, “Pentimento: the Parodic Text of ‘La Gitanilla’”, in: *Hispanic Review*, vol.62, no. 1, Winter, 1994, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Bernard Leblon, *Gypsies and Flamenco. The emergence of the art of flamenco in Andalusia*, (transl. Sinead ni Shuinear), Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, Gypsy Research Centre, 2003, p.33.

<sup>8</sup> See: Lech Mróz, *Dzieje Cyganów-Romów w Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVIII w.*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, oraz Oświęcim: Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce, 2001, p. 124.

<sup>9</sup> Teodor Narbutt, *Rys historyczny ludu cygańskiego*, Wilno: nakładem i drukiem A. Marcinowskiego, 1830, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Ignacy Daniłowicz P.P.Z., *O Cyganach wiadomość historyczna czytana na posiedzeniu publicznem cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego dnia 30 czerwca 1824 roku*, Wilno: w drukarni A. Marcinowskiego, 1824, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Laure Adler, *Życie codzienne w domach publicznych w latach 1830–1930*, (transl. Renata Wilgosiewicz – Skutecka), Poznań: Wydawnictwo Moderski i S-ka, 1999, p. 52.

<sup>13</sup> Gerard Delanty, *Odkrywanie Europy. Idea, tożsamość, rzeczywistość*, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> Teodor Narbutt, *Rys historyczny ludu cygańskiego*, op. cit., p. 121.

Gypsies – as a part of the exotic discourse – were seen on one hand as an object of sexual desire, but on the other hand were also treated as dissolute, fun – loving children. Thus Gypsies's fondness of dancing was not only explained in conjunction with the eroticism, but also in connection with their unserious approach to life. Narbutt wrote in 1830 that "Gypsy manners are full of gaiety, freedom, fun: everything for them is a kind of joke, humorous, ironic [...]"<sup>15</sup>

### Musical exemplifications: Carmen and Saffi

The most famous Gypsy heroine of the 19<sup>th</sup> century embodying the oriental sensuality and threatening at the same time was Carmen portrayed in 1875 by a French composer Georges Bizet (1838–1875). The libretto was based on the novel by Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870), who originally published in 1845 in "La Revue des deux mondes" a letter describing the love story of Carmen and Don Jose. Mérimée was fascinated with Spanish Gypsies, tried to learn their language and read books on Gypsies and was probably acquainted with Friedrich Pott's book "Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien" from 1845.<sup>16</sup> It was, however, the position from 1841 "The Zingali" by an English traveller and writer George Borrow, that turned out more influential in constructing the image of Mérimée's Carmen. Also other literary sources such as Alexander Pushkin's poem "Gypsies" written in the years 1824–1825 (published in 1827) that had a considerable impact on the creation of the operatic Carmen cannot be omitted. Carmen, the ultimate symbol of female sexuality, ten years after the premiere of the opera was joined by another Gypsy heroine – Saffi from Johannes Strauss's operetta "Zigeunerbaron". Gypsies in the operetta were pictured as "having looser moral or sexual codes"<sup>17</sup> According to C. Crittenden such type of portraying served for European audience as voyeuristic pleasure while maintaining the sense of (apparent) moral superiority<sup>18</sup> over oriental peoples. Additionally, the exotic appeal of the Gypsies was suggested in the operetta with the means of introducing mysterious, although meaningless words, in songs performed by Gypsy heroes: e.g. in Saffi's song from the finale of the Act I the part of chorus is based on baffling "Dschingrah".

Musically J. Strauss referred to the widely understood Orient through the use of conventional, typical musical measures such as instruments including cymbals, introducing free accentuation, rich chromatics and ornaments, as well as characteristic intervals. musical Orientalism suggested by J. Strauss was already known in Europe, especially in Vienna, where firstly as *alla turca* style and later as pseudo – Gypsy *style hongrois* it cherished considerable popularity.

Quasi-oriental stylistics in music, i.e. the one making use of "Oriental signifiers"<sup>19</sup> that European audience readily and happily interpreted as orien-

<sup>15</sup> Teodor Narbutt, *Rys historyczny ludu cygańskiego*, p. 97.

<sup>16</sup> See: Georg T. Northup, "The Influence of George Borrow upon Prosper Mérimée", in: *Modern Philology*, vol. 13, no. 3, July 1915, p. 147.

<sup>17</sup> Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna. Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 182.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>19</sup> Derek B. Scott, *From the Erotic to the Demonic. On critical musicology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 155.

tal without any previous knowledge on the subject was associated with Gypsies also by numerous other composers. Gypsy topics were undertaken later, to name a few, by Franz Lehar or Imre Kalman, and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by a Spanish composer Manuel de la Falla among others.

### Defining gypsy music as an emanation of Orientalism

The interest in Orientalism resulting in the outburst of academic research into the history and culture of Gypsies was characterised, among others, by the pluralistic concept of cultures represented by supporters of the cultural diversity such as J.G. Herder. The interest in other than European cultures (stemming both from East and West) was encouraged, on the grounds that even though different cultures represent various, sometimes incompatible, value scales, it is nevertheless possible to understand them.<sup>20</sup> The commonly adopted rhetoric towards them was, however, full of pictures depicting cruel and savage inhabitants of the Orient. The situation of Gypsies as oriental descendants who were "basically illiterate people"<sup>21</sup> predestined them to the role of exotic barbarians. They were associated with the concept of a *noble savage* in which exoticism was coupled with the Enlightenment belief in the innocent, almost naive nature of the Orient identified with "sentimentality and naiveté".<sup>22</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century writings about the Gypsy people reflect that type of presentation: Gypsies are often described as childish, "lazy to work, sluggish, soft"<sup>23</sup>

Far-reaching repercussions of the concept of a *noble savage* can be also observed in romantic literature on Gypsy culture and music. Liszt characterised Gypsies as free people<sup>24</sup> who value freedom above anything else. Stressing Gypsy love of absolute independence, the composer underlined their total lack of interest in the possession of worldly goods. For Liszt Gypsy music – with its undeniable beauty and sincerity – represented the means of expressing Gypsy most profound feelings. Hence almost all Gypsies were for the composer naturally born musicians.

While highlighting the oriental factor in Gypsy music Liszt assigned to the tradition of evaluating Gypsy culture in the exotic perspective. Modern musicologists trying to reinterpret Liszt's scholarly works point out, however, to other possible understandings of his writings: David Malvinini argues that Gypsy music for Liszt did not equal with sheer exoticism, but manifested the awareness of the role music plays in communication between people. Another Hungarian composer – Béla Bartók also wrote about the attributed Orientalism

<sup>20</sup> Isaiah Berlin, „Giambattista Vico i historia kultury”, in: Isaiah Berlin, *Pokrzywione drzewo społeczeństwa*, (transl. Magda Pietrzak-Marta), Warszawa: Prószyński i Spółka, 2004, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> Lech Mróz, *Dzieje Cyganów-Romów w Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVIII w.*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Gerard Delanty, *Odkrywanie Europy. Idea, tożsamość, rzeczywistość*, op. cit., s. 119.

<sup>23</sup> Teodor Narbutt, *Rys historyczny ludu cygańskiego*, op. cit., s. 80.

<sup>24</sup> See: Michael Murphy, "Introduction", in: Harry White, Michael Murphy (eds.), *Musical Constructions of Nationalism. Essays on the History and Ideology of European musical Culture 1800–1945*, op. cit., p. 20.



of Gypsy music stressing the use of oriental melodies, as well as oriental fantasy of Gypsy musicians.

One of the most evident examples of Liszt's influence on opinions formed in the scope of musicological discourse favouring oriental perspective of Gypsy music is to be found in the article by A.T. Sinclair from 1907, where Gypsy music was closely linked with Arabic music. In the article "Gypsy and Oriental Music" Sinclair argued that "Gypsy music clearly was from the orient, and that a careful investigation of Hindu and Arab music would conclusively prove this to be the case".<sup>25</sup> Sinclair set to prove that Liszt was not mistaken while assigning Gypsy music with oriental roots. The author argued that "there are certain peculiar characteristics common to Gypsy music, and also common to Persian and Arab music",<sup>26</sup> speculating on the impact the transition of Gypsy people through Arabic areas had on their musical culture. "It must be remembered that for many centuries hundreds of thousands of Gypsies have been wandering to and fro all over south-eastern Europe and into and over Asiatic Turkey. During this period they have been the public musicians of the whole territory. Would their music not naturally be Oriental?"<sup>27</sup>

Sinclair's arguments were based on the demonstrating of the similarities between Gypsy and oriental music. The author prepared a list containing 20 positions, richly illustrated with examples. The most striking similarities between oriental and Gypsy music according to him were: the manner of performing, melody, rhythm and harmony. Sinclair stressed the peculiarities in the manner of singing similar among practices of Gypsies, Persians and Egyptians. He noted their predilection to the effect of glissando, unnatural prolongation of high notes (lasting up to several minutes, taking into account the implementation of additional adornments, etc.) and emphasized sudden changes in the way of singing, and evidenced unexpected transitions from soft, muted to loud and aggressive type of expression. He reflected upon improvisational nature of Gypsy music categorising it as a typically oriental feature. In discussing both instrumental and vocal manner of performance, the author underlined the savagery and fury of Gypsy music, writing that "Hungarian Gypsies seem to attempt to depict all the feelings, emotions, and passions, the soft, the tender side of life, sadness, dejection, despair, jealousy, revenge, terror, mirth, jollity, gayety, delight, love, hate to terrify. This is exactly what the Orientalists claim to do..."<sup>28</sup>

Sinclair viewed Gypsy melodies in the context of exploited scales and the manner of performance: full of unexpected changes, violent and abrupt breaks, and large jumps between neighbouring notes. According to the author, melodic contours of Gypsy as well as oriental music were blurred due to the use of excessive ornamentation. Sinclair compared ornamentation of the melody to "a vigorous tree, covered by a thick foliage and with beautiful vines and flowering and creeping plants which nearly conceal even the trunk itself from view".<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> A.T. Sinclair, "Gypsy and Oriental Music", in: *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 20, no. 76, January-March, 1907, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The author paid considerably little attention to the issue of rhythm, restricting it only to indicating such characteristics as the introduction of sudden pauses, multiple changes of rhythmic patterns and meters as well as favouring syncopations. Sinclair defined any attempts to describe harmonics of the Gypsy music as prone to fail: he assessed these trials as similarly difficult as in the case of oriental music. Nevertheless, he mentioned the most characteristic feature of Gypsy harmony – derived from the Orient – i.e. the lack of modulations consequent to the variety of used scales. The author pointed also to the exploitation of the diminished seventh frequently appearing in both Arabic and Gypsy music, as well as the use of dominant chords with augmented fifths.

Although Sinclair was aware of differences between musical idioms of Hungarian and Spanish Gypsies, Gypsy music represented for him one amalgam. He was less interested in discovering and describing differences between music played by Gypsies living in various European countries, than in asserting that "the Hungarian and Spanish Gypsy music have the same peculiar characteristics, whatever they may be, as Arab music, and must have sprung from the same source".<sup>30</sup>

Sinclair represented the romantic tradition of interpreting Gypsy music of different groups under unifying umbrella,<sup>31</sup> abandoned in the modern ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicologists stress the fact that music of Roma people – commonly labelled as Gypsy music – is in fact represented by various groups and sub-groups, predominantly found in Europe but also in Middle East or South Asia. In other words the collective term Gypsy music refers to musical cultures as different as Spanish flamenco, Balkan brass orchestral music or Russian choir tradition. The collective term Gypsy music as used in earlier epochs refers mainly to the older tradition of perceiving music performed by Gypsy people as – among others – emanation of oriental fascination.

### Contemporary influence

The great romantic tradition of perceiving Gypsy music as an exotic phenomenon – orientalist projection is still influencing contemporary understanding of musical practices cultivated by Roma people. Associating Gypsy flamenco with oriental dances,<sup>32</sup> paying more and more attention to the presence of Gypsy people in the East (e.g. in Turkey or Georgia) are just a few examples of nowadays evidence of the impact the 19<sup>th</sup> century discourse has on the image of Gypsy music. However, the 19<sup>th</sup> century understanding of Gypsiness in music was not only an effect of orientalist fascination: other influential intellectual modes such as racism or nationalism also left their traces on the social construct of Gypsiness as defined in European culture.

<sup>30</sup> A.T. Sinclair, "Gypsy and Oriental Music", pp. 21–22.

<sup>31</sup> See: Iren Kertesz – Wilkinson, *Nomadisme et musique: le Cas des Tsiganes*, in: Jean-Jacques Natiez (ed.), *Musiques. Une Encyclopedie pour le XXIe siecle*, Actes SUD, Cite de la Musique, 2005, vol. 3, pp. 279–822.

<sup>32</sup> Henry Cart de Lafontaine, "Spanish Music", in: *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 34th Session, 1907–1908.

Елена Чач

**Н.С. ГУМИЛЁВ И А.К. БУЛАТОВИЧ:  
ПУТЕШЕСТВИЯ В ЭФИОПИЮ  
В КОНТЕКСТЕ СЕРЕБРЯНОГО ВЕКА**

Среди того, с чем ассоциируется имя поэта Серебряного века Николая Степановича Гумилёва, – путешествия в Африку. Они стали для Гумилёва важным источником ярких эмоциональных переживаний и новых мотивов в творчестве. В приступе отчаяния, вызванного безответной любовью и рутинной работой, поэт писал: «Ах, бежать бы, скрыться бы как вору, // В Африку, как прежде, как тогда»<sup>1</sup>. Сказывалось и влияние семьи (отец Гумилёва – морской врач), и чтение приключенческой литературы (любимые писатели – Жюль Верн, Майн Рид, Фенимор Купер, Гюстав Эмар<sup>2</sup>). Но главное – путешествия по восточным краям создавали особый романтический ореол, который был необходим поэту, выстраивающему свой образ как образ героя.

Гумилёв побывал в Африке четыре раза. Первый раз: в сентябре – начале ноября 1908 г. Из Одессы – через Синоп и Стамбул (который в русском сознании оставался Константинополем) – в Пирей, затем – в Афины, откуда – в Египет (в Каир и Александрию). «Осматривал достопримечательности, посетил Эзбекию, купался в Ниле – словом, развлекался сначала как обычный турист. Пока не кончились деньги. Поголодав изрядно и оставив мысль о путешествии в Рим, Палестину и Малую Азию, куда намеревался попасть, он занял деньги у ростовщика и тем же маршрутом, вплоть до заезда в Киев, вернулся домой... <...> ...поездка в Египет, как рассказывала Ахматова, сняла опасность самоубийства»<sup>3</sup>. В Египте Гумилёв вспоминал стихи Брюсова и сам себя позиционировал как туриста («посмотрю сфинкса, полежу на камнях Мемфиса»)»<sup>4</sup>.

Второе путешествие: декабрь 1909 г. – февраль 1910 г. Из Одессы – через Варну и Стамбул – в Александрию, затем – в Каир, откуда – в Порт-Саид; из Порт-Саида – в Джебду, затем – через Аден в Джибути, откуда –

в Харрар<sup>5</sup>. Это была первая поездка, во время которой Гумилёв побывал в Эфиопии (или Абиссинии, как её тогда называли в России). Оттуда он писал Вячеславу Иванову: «Здесь уже настоящая Африка. Жара, голые негры, ручные обезьяны»<sup>6</sup>. В письмах Брюсову – такой же китчевый образ Африки: «Застрелю двух, трёх павианов, поваляюсь под пальмами и вернусь назад», «Здесь уже есть всё до львов и слонов включительно, солнце палит немилосердно, негры голые. Настоящая Африка. <...> Если меня не съедят, я вернусь в конце января»<sup>7</sup>.

Абиссиния стала целью и третьего путешествия Гумилёва, совершённого им с конца сентября 1910 г. по конец марта 1911 г. В письме Брюсову из Царского Села: «Думаю через Абиссинию проехать на озеро Родольфо, оттуда на озеро Виктория и через Момбад в Европу»<sup>8</sup>. Ехал из Одессы через Стамбул, вдоль восточного побережья Средиземного моря, через Бейрут, в Порт-Саид, затем – в Каир, и далее – по Нилу – до Хальфы, оттуда – в Порт-Судан (т.е. был на территории Судана и Нубии). Из Порт-Судана Гумилёв отправился морем через Джебду в Джибути, достиг Аддис-Абебы и, согласно ряду косвенных свидетельств (на данный момент неизвестны какие-либо документы, относящиеся к периоду путешествия Гумилёва после его отъезда из Аддис-Абебы), двинулся через Гинир и Каффу до Момбасы, где сел на пароход до Джибути<sup>9</sup>. Из этого путешествия Гумилёв привёз образцы абиссинской поэзии и коллекцию картин абиссинских художников<sup>10</sup>. Снимки картин были представлены на страницах «Синего журнала», их образы использовал Вячеслав Иванов при написании стихотворения «Роза Царицы Савской»<sup>11</sup>. Сам Гумилёв упомянул эти «картины абиссинских мастеров» в «Пятистопных ямбах»<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Сам Гумилёв сообщал, что сомневался в своей поездке в Джибути, однако, вспомнив об ожидающих его там письмах, «решил быть там во что бы то ни стало» (см.: Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.К. Ивановой-Шварсалон. Каир, декабрь 1909 г. // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 227–228).

<sup>6</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.И. Иванову. Джибути, 5 января 1910 г. // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. 24 декабря 1909 // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 205; Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. 31 декабря 1909 // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 206.

<sup>8</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. Царское Село, 2 сентября 1910 г. // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 209.

<sup>9</sup> Степанов Е. Неакадемические комментарии – 2: Вторая Абиссиния. «Дальняя, загадочная Каффа», осень – зима 1910–1911 гг. // Toronto Slavic Quarterly. № 18 // Режим доступа: <http://www.utoronto.ca/tsq/18/stepanov18.shtml>.

<sup>10</sup> Комментарии // Гумилёв Н.С. Полное собрание сочинений: В 10 тт. Т. 2: Стихотворения. Поэмы (1910–1913). М.: Воскресенье, 1998. (Далее – ПСС.) С. 201–317, 298–299; Степанов Е. Неакадемические комментарии – 2.

<sup>11</sup> Искусство в Абиссинии // Синий журнал. – СПб., 1911. № 18. 23 апреля 1911 г. С. 12; Иванов В. Роза Царицы Савской // Иванов В. Cor ardens: Speculum Speculorum. Эрос Золотыя Завесы. – М.: Скорпион, 1911. Кн. 5. С. 106. Образ царицы Савской фигурировал в пространстве Серебряного века ещё задолго до этих событий: В.Я. Брюсов даже называл «царицей Савской» самого В.И. Иванова (см.: Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. 26.02.1909 // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 203).

<sup>12</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Пятистопные ямбы // ПСС. Т. 2. С. 143–145; Комментарии // ПСС. Т. 2. С. 298–299.

<sup>1</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. «Вероятно, в жизни предыдущей...» // Гумилёв Н.С. Полное собрание сочинений: В 10 тт. Т. 3: Стихотворения. Поэмы (1914–1918). М.: Воскресенье, 1999. С. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Лукницкая В. Николай Гумилёв: жизнь поэта по материалам домашнего архива семьи Лукницких. Л.: Лениздат, 1990. С. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Там же. С. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. 19 октября 1908 // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе / Вступ. ст., сост., лит.-ист. коммент. и именной указ. В.Л. Полушина. М.: Сов. Россия, 1991. (Русские дневники). С. 200.

Наконец, четвёртое путешествие Гумилёва в Африку в составе научной экспедиции Академии наук в апреле–августе 1913 г., когда он был командирован Музеем антропологии и этнографии «в Абиссинию для собирания этнографических коллекций и обследования местных племен»<sup>13</sup>. Гумилёв писал в «Африканском дневнике»: «У меня есть мечта, живучая при всей трудности её выполнения. Пройти с юга на север Данакильскую пустыню, лежащую между Абиссинией и Красным морем, исследовать нижнее течение реки Гаваша, узнать рассеянные там неизвестные загадочные племена. Номинально они находятся под властью абиссинского правительства, фактически свободны. И так как все они принадлежат к одному племени данакилей, довольно способному, хотя очень свирепому, их можно объединить и, найдя выход к морю, цивилизовать или, по крайней мере, арабизировать. В семье народов прибавится ещё один сочлен. <...>

Этот мой маршрут не был принят Академией. Он стоил слишком дорого. Я примирился с отказом и представил другой маршрут, принятый после некоторых обсуждений Музеем антропологии и этнографии при императорской Академии наук.

Я должен был отправиться в порт Джибути в Баб-эль-Мандебском проливе, оттуда по железной дороге к Харару, потом, составив караван, на юг в область, лежащую между Сомалийским полуостровом и озёрами Рудольфа, Маргариты, Звай; захватить возможно больший район исследования; делать снимки, собирать этнографические коллекции, записывать песни и легенды. Кроме того, мне предоставлялось право собирать зоологические коллекции. Я просил о разрешении взять с собой помощника, и мой выбор остановился на моём родственнике Н.Л. Сверчкове»<sup>14</sup>.

Гумилёв выехал из Одессы – через Стамбул – в Джибути, оттуда его маршрут – Дире-Дауа, Харрар, Шейх-Гуссейн, Гинир, Аслахардамо и снова Харрар<sup>15</sup>. Привезённые Гумилёвым экспонаты легли в основной фонд Музея антропологии и этнографии в Петербурге, это три отдельные коллекции (по народам: харрари, галла и сомали). Там же находятся фотографии, сделанные во время экспедиции. Привёз Гумилёв и записанные с помощью переводчика произведения африканского фольклора. Сохранились два «африканских дневника» Гумилёва, относящиеся к периоду экспедиции. По свидетельству Анны Андреевны Ахматовой, существовала книга Н.Л. Сверчкова об этом путешествии, которая «была отдана в И<здательст>во Гржебина и, по-видимому, там пропала»<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Радлов О.Л. Распоряжение в Управление делами Добровольного флота в Одессе. 4 апреля 1913 г., № 2322. Цит. по: Степанов Е. Неакадемические комментарии – 3: Новое о Гумилёве // Toronto Slavic Quarterly. № 20. // Режим доступа: <http://www.utoronto.ca/tsq/20/stepanov20.shtml>.

<sup>14</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Африканский дневник // ПСС. Т. 6: Художественная проза. С. 70–97, 71–72.

<sup>15</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Африканский дневник; Лукницкая В. Указ. соч. С. 153–154; Машинописная запись из дневника Лукницкого об африканском дневнике Николая Гумилёва // Рукописный отдел Института русской литературы (Пушкинского дома) Академии наук. Ф. 754. А. III – 3. № 17. Л. 1–4; Степанов Е. Неакадемические комментарии – 3.

<sup>16</sup> Записные книжки Анны Ахматовой (1958–1966) / [Сост. и подг. текста К.Н. Суворовой; вступ. ст. Э.Г. Герштейн; ввод. заметки к записным книжкам, указ. В.А. Черных]; Рос. гос. архив лит. и искусства. М.: [Б.и.]; Torino: Einaudi, 1996. С. 280.

Четвёртое путешествие Гумилёва максимально приблизило его к типу путешественника-учёного. Став начальником академической экспедиции, он оказался в одном ряду с теми, кто занимался исследованием Востока профессионально. С некоторыми из них Гумилёв общался лично: абиссинский складень<sup>17</sup> подарил профессору Борису Александровичу Тураеву (которого, в частности, называли первым в России «абиссиноведом»), профессор Сергей Александрович Жебелев предложил Гумилёву обратиться в Академию наук и рекомендовал его директору Музея антропологии и этнографии при Императорской Академии наук академику Василию Васильевичу Радлову<sup>18</sup>. Уже после путешествий Гумилёв сотрудничал с востоковедом Владимиром Казимировичем Шилейко при переложении на русский язык древнеавилонского эпоса «Гильгамеш»<sup>19</sup>. Ещё позднее во «Всемирной литературе» Гумилёв вместе с академиком Сергеем Фёдоровичем Ольденбургом работал над пьесой «Будда» (в публикации сочинений Гумилёва – «Жизнь Будды»), а вместе с профессором Игнатием Юлиановичем Крачковским – над кинематографическим сценарием «Харун ар-Рашид»<sup>20</sup>.

Поэт думал об Африке и на фронте (в частности, упоминал в письмах, что война напоминает ему абиссинские путешествия)<sup>21</sup>.

Гумилёв создавал себе образ поэта-первопроходца, но до него в тех же абиссинских землях побывал русский офицер Александр Ксаверьевич Булатович, выполнявший в Эфиопии дипломатические и разведывательные задачи и ставший доверенным лицом негуса Менелика II. Булатович совершил четыре путешествия в Абиссинию: в марте 1896 г. – апреле 1897 г. (сначала был прикомандирован к миссии Красного Креста, затем путешествовал самостоятельно); в сентябре 1897 г. – июле 1898 г. (прибыв в составе российской чрезвычайной дипломатической миссии к императору Менелику, Булатович стал одним из руководителей военного похода, в результате которого эфиопами была покорена Каффа); затем – в

<sup>17</sup> А.А. Ахматова писала о триптихе (см.: Записные книжки Анны Ахматовой. С. 280), т. е., по-видимому, о единственном в коллекции Гумилёва триптихе «Царица Савская и Соломон» (см.: Синий журнал. СПб., 1911. № 18. 23 апреля. С. 12), однако А.Б. Давидсон (см.: Давидсон А.Б. Муза странствий Николая Гумилёва. М.: Наука; Восточная литература, 1992. С. 139) склоняется к мнению, что это не что иное, как диптих, упомянутый Гумилёвым в начале «Африканского дневника» (см.: Гумилёв Н.С. Африканский дневник. С. 70).

<sup>18</sup> Давидсон А.Б. Указ. соч. С. 139, 141; Степанов Е. Неакадемические комментарии – 3.

<sup>19</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. «Не будучи ассириологом...» [Предисловие к изданию древнеавилонского эпоса «Гильгамеш» в переводе Гумилёва (Пг., 1919)] // ПСС. Т. 7: Статьи о литературе и искусстве. Обзоры. Рецензии. С. 214; Комментарии // ПСС. Т. 7. С. 251–537. С. 526.

<sup>20</sup> Алексеев В.М. Годовой отчёт о деятельности коллегии экспертов восточного отдела «Всемирной литературы» (28 апреля 1919 – 28 апреля 1920 г.) // Алексеев В.М. Наука о Востоке. М.: Гл. редакция вост. лит. изд-ва «Наука», 1982. С. 246–255. С. 254.

<sup>21</sup> Лукницкая В. Указ. соч. С. 67, 174; Гумилёв Н.С. Из письма к А.А. Ахматовой // Лукницкая В. Указ. соч. С. 172–174. С. 172; Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к М.Л. Лозинскому. (Действующая армия, 1 ноября 1914 г.) // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 241–242. С. 241.

марте 1899 г. – мае 1900 г. (был командирован по просьбе министра иностранных дел); и, наконец – будучи уже не светским, а духовным лицом – в 1911 г. (по собственной инициативе). В Абиссинии он прославился своей храбростью и выносливостью, его способность преодолевать за короткое время огромные расстояния стала легендарной. Булатович – первый европеец, который пересёк из конца в конец Каффу, нанёс на карту значительную часть речной системы юго-запада Абиссинского нагорья и открыл горный хребет, служащий водоразделом между бассейнами Нила и озера Рудольф. Современникам были известны его книги о путешествиях по Африке – «От Энтото до реки Баро. Отчёт о путешествии в юго-западные области Эфиопской империи в 1896–1897 гг.», «Из Абиссинии через страну Каффа на озеро Рудольфа» и «С войсками Менелика II. Дневник похода из Эфиопии к озеру Рудольфа»<sup>22</sup>. Третья книга Булатовича была весьма популярна и должна была быть хорошо знакома увлечённому Африкой Гумилёву. В «Абиссинских песнях», написанных в то время, когда Гумилёв по опыту путешествий не мог знать язык племён только что завоёванных юго-западных областей Эфиопии, уже возникает «белые бродяги итальянцы»<sup>23</sup> – образ, скорее всего, не случайный, а родившийся после прочтения книги «С войсками Менелика II»<sup>24</sup>. И поэт оказался вторым – после Булатовича – европейцем, побывавшим в Каффе<sup>25</sup>. И, возможно, воспоминание о Васье (негритянском мальчике, подобранном возле озера Рудольфа), которого Булатович привёз в Россию, побудило Гумилёва, направляющегося к тому же озеру Рудольфа, написать Ахматовой: «...Лёве скажи, что у него будет свой негритёнок»<sup>26</sup>.

Более того, Гумилёва и Булатовича в современной им культурной среде связывают личность и деятельность Владимира Ивановича Нарбута, также побывавшего в Абиссинии в составе этнографической экспедиции. Нарбут не только тесно общался с Гумилёвым (они оба были поэтами-

<sup>22</sup> Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. Отчёт о путешествии в юго-западные области Эфиопской империи в 1896–1897 гг. Л.-Гв. Гусарского Его Величества полка поручика Булатовича. СПб.: Тип. В. Киришбаума, 1897. – 204 с.; Булатович А.К. Из Абиссинии через страну Каффа на озеро Рудольфа: [Чит. в Общ. собр. Рус. геогр. об-ва 13 янв. 1899 г.]. СПб.: Тип. В. Безобразова и К°, 1899. – 25 с.; Булатович А.К. С войсками Менелика II: Дневник похода из Эфиопии к озеру Рудольфа. – С 4 схемами, 3 картами и 78 фото-типографиями по фотографиям автора и поручика Давыдова. СПб.: Тип. «Т-ва худож. печати», 1900. – 271 с.

<sup>23</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Военная // ПСС. Т. 2. С. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Слово «бродяга» не является переводом амаринского «фрэндж» («иностронец») или презрительного прозвища «али», которым абиссинцы называли «итальянцев, а вместе с ними и всех белых» (см.: Булатович А.К. С войсками Менелика II. С. 114). «Словом “Гучумба” <...> называли европейцев все племена отсюда [в Колу] до самого оз. Рудольфа. “Гучумба” дословно значит “бродяги”» (см.: Булатович А.К. С войсками Менелика II. С. 179–180).

<sup>25</sup> Встречающиеся в литературе высказывания о повторении пути Булатовича Гумилёвым и Нарбутом свидетельствуют о том, что в период Серебряного века Булатович был единственным русским путешественником по Абиссинии, с которого началась мода на Африку.

<sup>26</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к А.А. Ахматовой. (1913 г.) // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 250–251. С. 251.

акмеистами, их объединял «Цех поэтов», именно Гумилёв советовал Нарбуту поехать в Африку), но и был знаком с Булатовичем (возможно, лично встречался с ним)<sup>27</sup>. По-видимому, именно Нарбут рассказал о Булатовиче Илье Ильфу и Евгению Петрову в 1927 г., что послужило основой для вставной новеллы о «гусаре-схимнике Алексее Буланове» в романе «Двенадцать стульев»<sup>28</sup>.

А.Б. Давидсон и В.В. Бронгулеев при обращении к африканским путешествиям Гумилёва вспоминали о Булатовиче. Давидсон, не сопоставляя Гумилёва и Булатовича, писал о том, что Булатович (который «был самым крупным русским путешественником по Эфиопии») почти за полтора десятилетия до Гумилёва проходил по тем же областям Абиссинии, о несомненном воодушевлении Гумилёва книгами Булатовича (по ним Гумилёв, «конечно, ознакомился с этой страной», это «лучшее, что было издано в России об этой стране»)<sup>29</sup>. В.В. Бронгулеев попытался сопоставить личность Гумилёва и героическую фигуру Булатовича («открывателя новых земель»), отмечая научное значение деятельности Булатовича и его роль в абиссинских военных походах<sup>30</sup>. Бронгулеев, правильно чувствуя одинаковый социальный тип, в качестве черт, объединяющих Гумилёва и Булатовича, выделяет довольно общие вещи: потомственное дворянство, службу в гусарском полку, добровольное участие в Первой мировой войне и воинские награды, поездки в Абиссинию, то, что оба были путешественниками и охотниками, имели отношение к литературе и «пали жертвами “новой эпохи”»<sup>31</sup>. В описании Гумилёвым охоты на льва Бронгулеев усматривает подражание Булатовичу<sup>32</sup>. Однако он тут же оговаривается, что фигура Булатовича могла стать для Гумилёва образцом для тайного подражания «только в сфере реальной жизни», особенно

<sup>27</sup> Тименчик Р.Д. Нарбут Владимир Иванович // Русские писатели. 1800–1917: Биографический словарь / Гл. ред. П.А. Николаев. Т. 4: М.; Пг. – М.: Большая Российская энциклопедия, 1999. (Русские писатели 11–20 вв.). С. 227–230. С. 228. Публикация Нарбута об Абиссинии в журнале «Весь мир» отражает её поверхностное, во многом туристическое, однако достаточно непосредственное восприятие: здесь и экзотическая природа, и городская грязь, проказа и нечистоты, но здесь и «дух библейский», исходящий от крепостных ворот, и образ царицы Савской, и резкие тона абиссинских икон, «кричание о чём-то диком и ветхозаветном», и уродцы-статуи на дворце раса Маконена, носящие имена «побеждённых эфиоплянами итальянских генералов», – «ирония некультурных детей Африки», и... «постоянный аромат древней Эфиопии – смесь ладана с дымом и гарью» (см.: Нарбут В. Город раса Маконена: (Из абиссинских впечатлений) // Весь мир: Еженедельный литературный, художественный, общественный и популярно-научный журнал. СПб.: Слово. № 20. Май 1913. С. 5–9). Впечатления Нарбута свидетельствуют и о том, как сильно были связаны в русском сознании Эфиопия и ветхозаветные сюжеты. О возможном личном общении Нарбута и Булатовича см.: Лекманов О. О чем могли (бы) поговорить Владимир Нарбут и Александр Булатович // Звезда. 2007. № 1 // Режим доступа: <http://magazines.russ.ru/zvezda/2007/1/na14.html>.

<sup>28</sup> Лекманов О. Указ. соч.

<sup>29</sup> Давидсон А.Б. Указ. соч. С. 73–75, 108–109.

<sup>30</sup> Бронгулеев В.В. Посредине странствия земного: Документальная повесть о жизни и творчестве Н. Гумилёва: Годы 1886–1913. М.: Мысль, 1995. С. 190–191.

<sup>31</sup> Там же. С. 196.

<sup>32</sup> Там же. С. 195, 198–199.

учитывая то, что Гумилёв, в отличие от «реалиста» Булатовича, был «мечтателем» и лишь специально стремился сделать себя «и выносливым, и сильным, и, если нужно, жестоким». Пути духовного развития Гумилёва и Булатовича, по мнению исследователя, шли в противоположных направлениях (Булатович – от реализма к «имяславию», Гумилёв – от духовности к – по выражению Бронгулеева – «почти языческому реализму», который «оформился как акмеизм»)». Таким образом, в книге Бронгулеева отсутствуют как детальное и глубокое сопоставление путей и культурных связей Гумилёва и Булатовича в пространстве Серебряного века, так и внимательный анализ отношения их к Эфиопии и влияния на них африканских путешествий. При этом для Бронгулеева Гумилёв (как центр повествования), безусловно, важнее, хотя он уже говорит о Булатовиче не просто как о предшественнике, но как о несомненном образце для подражания (и о реальном существовании этого подражания). Акцент на имени Гумилёва типичен для литературы конца XX – начала XXI в., он отражает современное восприятие фигуры Гумилёва как знаковой для Серебряного века и его известность на фоне почти полного забвения имени Булатовича. Это, однако, не совпадает с соотношением весомости данных имён в период самого Серебряного века. Общественное положение Булатовича, его известность и его историко-культурная роль в эпоху рубежа XIX–XX вв. были намного значительнее роли Гумилёва (это будет показано далее). В частности, хотя путешествия Гумилёва известны больше, чем путешествия Булатовича, их научное значение не сопоставимо с географическими, этнографическими и другими сведениями, добытыми и изложенными Булатовичем.

В биографиях Булатовича и Гумилёва существует ряд совпадений, более значительных, чем перечисленные Бронгулеевым. Это окончание Александровского лицея, храбрость в военных действиях и поиск «военных» приключений, а также восприятие войны как святого дела<sup>34</sup>. Оба побывали в Африке четыре раза, а среди всех африканских территорий выбрали для путешествий Эфиопию (Абиссинию).

В конце XIX – начале XX в. в Эфиопии встретились интересы различных европейских государств, что вызывало к ней повышенное внимание, в том числе и со стороны России. В культуре Серебряного века Эфиопия предстала через призму приключенческих романов, была связана с именем поэта Артюра Рембо, являлась родиной «арапов» (в том числе живших, служивших и учившихся в Царском Селе), помнили и эфиопские

<sup>33</sup> Бронгулеев В.В. Посредине странствия земного. С. 194–197.

<sup>34</sup> О храбрости Гумилёва и Булатовича свидетельствует и то, что во время Первой мировой войны Гумилёв был дважды награждён Георгиевским крестом, а Булатович – наперсным (священническим) Георгиевским крестом. Восприятие войны как святого дела было характерно для Булатовича ещё до начала Первой мировой (см.: Епископ Иларион (Алфеев). Священная тайна Церкви: Введение в историю и проблематику имяславских споров // Режим доступа: <http://hilarion.ru/works/bookpage/russian/imyaslav>. С. 201), в то время как у Гумилёва мотив святости войны появляется только в стихах 1914 года (см.: Гумилёв Н.С. Война // ПСС. Т. 3. С. 53–54; Гумилёв Н.С. Наступление // ПСС. Т. 3. С. 52).

корни Александра Сергеевича Пушкина<sup>35</sup>. Однако Эфиопия – принявшая в IV веке христианство и зависящая от коптской церкви – становилась для России ещё и конфессиональным Востоком, «сказочной страной чёрных христиан»<sup>36</sup>. Идеи близости эфиопской и русской церквей, мысли об их единении и расширении влияния России в Эфиопии возникали как в изданиях, ориентированных на массового читателя, так и в дипломатической переписке<sup>37</sup>. Однако Синод, хотя и признал возможным религиозное единение России с Абиссинией, счёл «неблаговременным» принятие каких-либо мер для этой цели<sup>38</sup>.

Христианство в Эфиопии – ключевой момент для Булатовича, который называл Абиссинию островом среди «находящихся почти в детском состоянии народов», причём «христианская Абиссиния в мировом прогрессе играет прекрасную роль передаточной инстанции европейской цивилизации диким среднеафриканским народам»<sup>39</sup>. Булатович повторял

<sup>35</sup> См., напр.: Давидсон А.Б. Указ. соч. С. 65–66, 95–96, 243, 245–246; Бронгулеев В.В. Указ. соч. С. 184. В ряде новейших исследований была выдвинута версия о том, что Пушкин имел не эфиопские, а камерунские корни (см., напр.: Гнамманку Д. Абрам Ганнибал: Чёрный предок Пушкина / Пер. с фр., вступ. ст., коммент. Н.Р. Брумберг, Г.А. Брумберга; предисл. Л.М. Аринштейна. М.: Молодая гвардия, 1999. – 221 с. – (Жизнь замечательных людей); Телетова Н.К. Жизнь Ганнибала – прадеда Пушкина. СПб.: РАН, «Сад искусств», 2004. – 319 с.)

<sup>36</sup> Именно такое определение дано эфиопам в тексте афиши «Абиссинская выставка» (см.: Афиша «Абиссинская выставка» // Зритель. Год 4. СПб.: Ю.К. Арцыбушев, 1908. № 1 (11 января 1908 г.). С. 16), и в целом в общественном сознании эфиопы были «нашими чёрными единоверцами» и «чёрными христианами», что видно даже по заглавиям книг об Абиссинии и абиссинцах (см., напр.: Наши черные единоверцы, их страна, государственный строй и входящие в состав государства племена / Сост. Вл. Бучинский и С. Бахланов. СПб.: П.П. Сойкин, ценз. 1900. – 239 с. – (Дешевая библиотека «Русского паломника»); Васин Н.А. Страна черных христиан: (Описание Абиссинии – ее жителей и природы). – М.: М.В. Клюкин, ценз. 1905. – 64 с.; Груздев Ф.С. В стране черных христиан: (Очерки Абиссинии) / [Соч.] Ф. Волгина [псевд.]. СПб.: П.П. Сойкин, 1895. – 126 с. – (Полезная библиотека)). Абиссинцы и русские близки друг другу «по силе религиозного чувства и восточной вере, почерпнутой из одного источника», причём «африканские христиане» – это «особенно религиозные люди» (см.: Наши черные единоверцы... С. 3, 13). Это клише («страна чёрных христиан») использует и В.И. Нарбут (см.: Нарбут В. Город раса Маконена. С. 6).

<sup>37</sup> Среди изданий, ориентированных на широкую публику, см., напр.: Наши черные единоверцы, их страна, государственный строй и входящие в состав государства племена. С. 11–12 (пересказ реплик о возможном единении церквей на приём чрезвычайного посольства из Абиссинии); Нарбут В. Город раса Маконена. С. 6–7 (о любви абиссинцев к русским единоверцам и необходимости расширения влияния России в Эфиопии). Предложение послать в Эфиопию русских епископов в донесении Императорского Генерального Консула в Иерусалиме см.: Из донесения Д.С.С. Лишина министру иностранных дел В.Н. Ламздорфу. 1904 г. Аддис-Абеба, 20 июля 1904 г. // Россия и Африка. Документы и материалы. XVIII в. – 1960 г. Т. 1: XVIII в. – 1917 г. М.: ИВИ РАН, 1999. С. 136; Копия секретного письма Обер-прокурора Святейшего Синода К.П. Победоносцева от 31 июля 1904 г. министру иностранных дел В.Н. Ламздорфу. 1904 г. // Россия и Африка. Документы и материалы. XVIII в. – 1960 г. Т. 1: XVIII в. – 1917 г. С. 137.

<sup>38</sup> Копия секретного письма Обер-прокурора Святейшего Синода К.П. Победоносцева от 31 июля 1904 г. министру иностранных дел В.Н. Ламздорфу. 1904 г.

<sup>39</sup> Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 89; Булатович А.К. С войсками Мелелика II. С. 5. Подробная характеристика Булатовичем дебра-либановского толкования

предание о происхождении эфиопских правителей от царя Соломона и царицы Савской, вспоминал версию о том, что именно Эфиопия была легендарным царством «священника Иоанна», писал о периоде в истории Абиссинии, когда она, по мнению Булатовича, была «близка к полному единению с Европой»<sup>40</sup>. И одновременно он подчёркивал, что в Эфиопии рубежа XIX–XX вв. существует «общее убеждение народа» в том, что «Москва – христиан», «тогда как относительно других европейцев они в этом не убеждены», и предполагал, что «в недалёком будущем может произойти присоединение эфиопской церкви к православной»<sup>41</sup>. Булатович писал в Министерство иностранных дел в 1902 г.: «Взаимная любовь наших народов зарождается в Иерусалиме у Святого гроба Господня, среди паломников»<sup>42</sup>. Он утверждал, что «господствующее теперь в Абиссинии Дебра-Либановское верование ближе к православному диофизитству, чем к коптскому монофизитству», а «абиссинский символ веры – дословно наш»<sup>43</sup>. В случае, когда Булатович пожелал избежать в общении с французами обсуждения русских интересов в Африке, он назвал участие к Абиссинии выражением «традиционного сочувствия наших государей и России к слабейшим, угнетённым христианам»<sup>44</sup>. Но существует немало свидетельств того, что в действительности сам Булатович полагал неверным ограничение отношения России к Абиссинии рамками пассивного сочувствия<sup>45</sup>. Его план развития русско-абиссинских церковных отношений опирается на положение о необходимости оказания поддержки абиссинцам в Иерусалиме без заключения договоров, которые могли бы рассматриваться как установление протектората<sup>46</sup>.

основ веры (Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 162–167) сохранилась только в издании 1897 г., в академическом издании работ Булатовича 1971 г. (Булатович А.К. С войсками Менелика II. М.: Наука, 1971. – 352 с.) она не была опубликована.

<sup>40</sup> Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 110–111, 113, 116.

<sup>41</sup> Там же. С. 182–183.

<sup>42</sup> Из докладной записки А.К. Булатовича в МИД «Краткая характеристика современного положения Абиссинии» от 7 июля 1902 г. // Россия и Африка. Документы и материалы. XVIII в. – 1960 г. Т. 1: XVIII в. – 1917 г. С. 133–134. С. 133.

<sup>43</sup> Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 156, 170. Про близость абиссинской церкви именно русской православной, а не коптской, Булатович высказывался неоднократно (см., напр.: Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 161–162, 173, 182; Булатович А.К. С войсками Менелика II. С. 5).

<sup>44</sup> Рапорт № 6 Российскому императорскому чрезвычайному посланцу в Абиссинии действительному [с[татскому] с[оветнику] П.М. Власову состоящего в распоряжении чрезвычайной миссии в Абиссинии А.К. Булатовича, г. Аддис-Абеба, 28 мая 1899 г. // Булатович А.К. Третье путешествие по Эфиопии. М.: Гл. ред. восточной лит. изд-ва «Наука», 1987. С. 29–39. С. 36. Булатович называет сочувствие причиной прямых сношений России с Абиссинией и в своей докладной записке в МИД (см.: Из докладной записки А.К. Булатовича в МИД «Краткая характеристика современного положения Абиссинии» от 7 июля 1902 г. С. 133).

<sup>45</sup> См., напр.: Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 180–183; Донесение № 1 господину начальнику Российской императорской миссии в Абиссинии д.с.с. П.М. Власову состоящего в распоряжении начальника миссии штабс-ротмистра А.К. Булатовича, г. Аддис-Абеба, 6 января 1900 г. // Булатович А.К. Третье путешествие по Эфиопии. С. 79–114.

<sup>46</sup> Булатович А.К. От Энтото до реки Баро. С. 180.

Из своего третьего путешествия по Эфиопии Булатович возвращался в Петербург через Иерусалим. В начале 1903 г. он уволился в запас в звании ротмистра, а затем ушёл в монастырь. На Афоне Булатович принял схиму с именем Антоний, а через некоторое время его рукоположили в священнический сан. В 1911 г. он вновь отправился в Эфиопию. Среди целей поездки – выяснение возможности для учреждения Русской православной духовной миссии и подворья Афонского Свято-Андреевского скита в Абиссинии. Булатович предполагал построить подворье русского монастыря на острове на озере Хорошал, в трёх днях пути от Аддис-Абебы, однако абиссинское правительство отказалось уступить ему этот участок земли, и он был вынужден уехать на Афон ни с чем<sup>47</sup>. Вернувшись на Афон, Булатович стал лидером «имяславия» – догматического движения в Русской православной церкви, утверждающего, что Имя Божие есть Сам Бог, и оказавшегося необычайно популярным в кругах русской интеллигенции. Имяславие стало частью культурного пространства Серебряного века и, среди прочего, сильно повлияло на русских религиозных философов Алексея Лосева и Сергея Булгакова, входивших в философский имяславский кружок начала 1920-х гг.

Во время зарождения движения имяславцев на Афоне (оно возникло среди простых, необразованных иноков Фиваидского скита) иеросхимонах Антоний был на стороне «монахов-интеллигентов» и посмеивался над «фиваидскими мужичками»<sup>48</sup>. А затем, переменив взгляды, в письме к Михаилу Александровичу Новосёлову, игравшему значительную роль в духовной жизни московской интеллигенции начала XX в., восклицал: «Воистину Имя Божие ныне для высокоумных и интеллигентных перушек стало совершенно ничто!»<sup>49</sup> Неизвестно, что именно повлияло на столь резкий поворот во взглядах, однако нельзя полностью исключать возможное влияние поездки в Эфиопию. Путешествия в страну древнего восточного православия, напоминающую о первых веках христианства, страну, где участники богослужения приходят в состояние экзальтации («Богослужение произвело на меня неизгладимое впечатление. Тёмная, похожая на сарай церковь, убогая, нищенская обстановка, но какой экстаз,

<sup>47</sup> Доверительное письмо поверенного в делах посольства России в Эфиопии Б. Чермерзина от 15 декабря 1911 г. министру иностранных дел России А.А. Нератову // Булатович А.К. Третье путешествие по Эфиопии. С. 114–117. По-видимому, полное отсутствие содействия планам о. Антония со стороны эфиопов свидетельствует о некоторой справедливости заявлений секретаря Постоянной дипломатической миссии России в Эфиопии Б.Н. Евреинова о том, что утверждения абиссинцев о единоверии с русскими продиктованы исключительно стремлением добиться расположения русских (см.: Русский дипломат о характере русско-эфиопских отношений и о нецелесообразности содержания в Аддис-Абебе Постоянной дипломатической миссии. [1906] // Россия и Африка. Документы и материалы. XVIII в. – 1960 г. Т. 1: XVIII в. – 1917 г. С. 137–141. С. 140).

<sup>48</sup> Хроника Афонского дела (составлено С.М. Половинкиным) // Архив священника Павла Александровича Флоренского. Вып. 2. Переписка с М.А. Новосёловым. Томск: Изд-во «Водолей», Изд-е А. Сотникова; Центр изучения, охраны и реставрации наследия священника Павла Флоренского, 1998. С. 203–247. С. 203–204.

<sup>49</sup> О. Антоний (Булатович) – Новосёлову. 13 августа 1912 г. Афон // Архив священника Павла Александровича Флоренского. С. 69–70. С. 70.

какая сила веры у этих чёрных христиан. Какая проникновенная молитва, какое глубокое, трогательное чувство сияет на лицах этих беззаветно преданных своей религии людей!.. Воображение невольно переносило меня в первые века христианства...»<sup>50</sup>), по-видимому, могли способствовать присоединению Булатовича к движению «простецов» и обращению – при защите имяславия – к памятникам христианской мысли первых веков и мистическому учению Григория Паламы (исихазму).

Через имяславие Булатович снова стал знаковой фигурой культурного пространства Серебряного века. Именно его письма, обращения, книги и брошюры максимально накаляли ситуацию вокруг «афонского дела». Булатович оказался одним из последовательных и упорных сторонников движения, при этом самым деятельным из всех<sup>51</sup>. Его письмо священнику Павлу Флоренскому свидетельствует о том, что борьбу за почитание имени Божия он воспринимал как продолжение своих военных подвигов<sup>52</sup>. Флоренский не вполне принял «гусарское Богословие» отца Антония, считая его труды не слишком успешным приспособлением учения об Имени к интеллигентскому пониманию и видя в них рационализацию, лишующую христианство необходимой мистериальности<sup>53</sup>. Отец Павел не публиковал сочинения Булатовича в «Богословском Вестнике», однако

<sup>50</sup> Булатович А.К. С войсками Менелика II. С. 70–71.

<sup>51</sup> Об этом свидетельствуют, в частности, материалы Канцелярии обер-прокурора Святейшего Синода (дело об афонских монахах «имябожниках»): Выписка из определения Святейшего Синода, от 16–17 мая 1913 г. за № 4183 // Российский государственный исторический архив (РГИА). Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 12–13. Л. 12 об.; Столичная печать. Около ереси Булатовича // «Биржевые ведомости» (Вечерний выпуск). 18 июля 1913 г. // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 29; Ответ Антония Булатовича архиепископу Никону // «День». 25 июля 1913 г. // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 36; Иеросхимонах Антоний. Кто виноват в афонском погроме. (Письмо в редакцию // «Новое время». 25 июля 1913 г. // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 38; Список монахов-имябожников, являющихся вождями ереси и наиболее упорными её сторонниками // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 100–101. Л. 100 (то же: РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 110–111. Л. 110 об.; РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 113–114. Л. 113); Отношение в Канцелярию Обер-Прокурора Святейшего Синода, М.В.Д. Департамент духовных дел. 14 ноября 1913 г. № 10292 // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 107. Л. 107–107 об.; Выписка из определения Святейшего Синода, от 18–29 января 1911 г. за № 691 // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 126; Доверительное письмо Господину Министру Внутренних Дел. 19 февраля 1914 г. № 39 // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 136; Предложение Святейшему Правительствующему Синоду и. об. Товарища Обер-Прокурора В. Яцкевича 18 июня 1914 г. № 7672 // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 181; Из Департамента полиции в Канцелярию Святейшего Синода 4 августа 1914 г. № 8920 // РГИА. Ф. 797. Оп. 83. П отд. 3 ст. Д. 59. Л. 185.

<sup>52</sup> Иеросхимонах Антоний (Булатович) – Флоренскому. 2 декабря 1912 г. Обитель Благовещения Пресвятой Богородицы на Афоне // Архив священника Павла Александровича Флоренского. С. 77–79. С. 77–78.

<sup>53</sup> Флоренский – Ивану Павловичу Щербову. 13 мая 1913 г. Сергиев Посад // Архив священника Павла Александровича Флоренского. С. 99–100; Иеросхимонах Антоний (Булатович) – Флоренскому. 19 августа 1914 г. Г. Лебедин, Харьковской губ., Марковской вол. // Архив священника Павла Александровича Флоренского. С. 133–134; Флоренский – иеросхимонаху Антонию (Булатовичу). После 24 августа 1914 г. Сергиев Посад // Архив священника Павла Александровича Флоренского. С. 135–136.

написал анонимное предисловие к его «Апологии веры во Имя Божие и во Имя Иисус» и стал анонимным редактором этой «Апологии» (издана М.А. Новосёловым в «Религиозно-философской библиотеке» в 1913 г.)<sup>54</sup>.

Возвращаясь к фигуре Гумилёва, следует сказать, что Африка появляется уже в самых ранних его стихах, её образ – таинственный, благородный, привлекательный и опасный – является романтической декорацией иного, не нашего мира<sup>55</sup>. Критики определяли африканскую экзотику первых поэтических сборников Гумилёва как подражательно-ученическую, ориентированную на французскую поэзию<sup>56</sup>. Действительно, до путешествий Гумилёва в Абиссинию его образ Африки выстраивался в восточно-романтическом стиле, во многом унаследованном от французов. Отсюда – ноты французского ориентализма. И в ранней прозе Гумилёва Африка – пространство, связанное с экзотикой, романтикой, эротикой и язычеством, в этих «африканских» сюжетах и образах исследователи творчества Гумилёва видели увлечение творчеством Леконта де Лиля, романами Райдера Хаггарда и Майн Рида<sup>57</sup>. А самое первое прозаическое произведение Гумилёва, связанное с Африкой («Вверх по Нилу»), отражало и его увлечение оккультизмом<sup>58</sup>. Трудно говорить о самостоятельном существовании Африки в раннем творчестве Гумилёва: она являлась частью размытого экзотического «Востока». И в её образе нет даже намёка на Абиссинию. Абиссиния появилась с началом периода африканских путешествий, причём вместе с приметам места и времени, словами *негус, гета, инджира, тэдж* и т. д.<sup>59</sup>

В советских изданиях утвердилась характеристика Гумилёва как певца российского колониализма<sup>60</sup>. Однако сам мотив «конквистадора»

<sup>54</sup> Хроника Афонского дела. С. 12.

<sup>55</sup> См., напр.: Гумилёв Н.С. Гиена // ПСС. Т. 1: Стихотворения. Поэмы (1902–1910). С. 133–134; Гумилёв Н.С. Жираф // ПСС. Т. 1. С. 142; Гумилёв Н.С. Носорог // ПСС. Т. 1. С. 155; Гумилёв Н.С. Озеро Чад // ПСС. Т. 1. С. 158–159. Иногда поэт использовал лишь отдельные приметы, атрибуты Африки (см., напр.: Гумилёв Н.С. Неоромантическая сказка // ПСС. Т. 1. С. 107–109).

<sup>56</sup> Анненский И.Ф. О романтических цветах // Н.С. Гумилев: pro et contra / Сост., вступ. ст. и прим. Ю.В. Зобнина. СПб.: РХГИ, 2000. – (Русский путь). – С. 347–349; Левинсон А.Я. Гумилев. Романтические цветы // Н.С. Гумилев: pro et contra. С. 351–355.

<sup>57</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Принцесса Зара // ПСС. Т. 6: Художественная проза. С. 52–56; Гумилёв Н.С. Лесной дьявол // ПСС. Т. 6. С. 62–68; Комментарии // ПСС. Т. 6. С. 239–531. С. 285, 365–366, 399; Щербаков Р. Примечания // Гумилев Н. Сочинения: В 3 т. Т. 2: Драмы. Рассказы. М.: Худож. лит., 1991. С. 395–477. С. 430; Давидсон А.Б. Указ. соч. С. 34.

<sup>58</sup> Грант А. Вверх по Нилу // Сириус. Париж, 1907. № 3. [С. 11–12]; Комментарии // ПСС. Т. 6. С. 283–284.

<sup>59</sup> См., напр.: Гумилёв Н.С. Абиссиния // ПСС. Т. 4: Стихотворения. Поэмы (1918–1921). С. 26–29; Гумилёв Н.С. Рождество в Абиссинии // ПСС. Т. 2. С. 99; Гумилёв Н.С. Мик: Африканская поэма // ПСС. Т. 3. С. 7–39. С. 7, 11, 13, 16, 36, 38.

<sup>60</sup> Синяевский А.Д. Гумилёв Николай Степанович // Краткая литературная энциклопедия. Т. 2 / Гл. ред. А.А. Сурков. М.: «Советская энциклопедия», 1964. С. 444–445; про «типичного колонизатора» Гумилёва и его «империалистическую сущность» также см., напр.: Волков А.А. Акмеизм и империалистическая война // Знамя. М., 1933. № 7. С. 165–181; Волков А.А. Знаменосцы безыдейности. (Теория и поэзия акмеизма) // Звезда. Л., 1947. № 1. С. 174–181. С. 175.

Гумилёва в Африке не был типичен для русского сознания, это мотив западной литературы. Показательна параллель, которую неоднократно проводили между Гумилёвым и Кипплингом (в русской литературе аналогии не находили)<sup>61</sup>.

Хотя и в период путешествий лирический герой Гумилёва – «конквистадор», завоеватель, однако ему уже помогает «золотой нателный крест»<sup>62</sup>. Образ христианской Эфиопии появляется в стихотворении «Рождество в Абиссинии», библейские мотивы и христианские образы входят и в другие «африканские» стихотворения Гумилёва<sup>63</sup>. И в прозе – Абиссиния Гумилёва уже не экзотическая, романтическая, языческая Африка раннего творчества, связанная и с оккультными мотивами, а «младшая сестра Византии», первое её проявление в «Африканском дневнике» – абиссинский складень<sup>64</sup>. Путь Гумилёва в Африку всякий раз лежал через Константинополь (слово «Стамбул» встречается только в описании Гумилёвым турецкой части города). Там «откровенно-декоративная красота Босфора», из которого «неподвижная и серая» эскадра европейских держав «тупо угрожала шумному и красочному городу», где в каждом из домов «подозреваетесь фонтаны, розы и красивых женщин как в “Тысяче и одной ночи”»<sup>65</sup>. В Константинополе Гумилёв заходит в храм Святой Софии, называя его «сердцем Византии» и замечая: «К чему мне после Айя-Софии гудящий базар с его шёлковыми и бисерными искушениями, кокетливые перы, даже несравненные кипарисы кладбища Сулемания. Я еду в Африку и прочёл “Отче наш” в священнейшем из храмов. Несколько лет тому назад, тоже на пути в Абиссинию, я бросил луидор в расщелину храма Афины Паллады в Акрополе и верил, что богиня незримо будет мне сопутствовать. Теперь я стал старше»<sup>66</sup>. Ещё во время первого путешествия в Африку в письмах Гумилёва мелькали мысли о поездке в Палестину (неосуществлённой), однако именно в «Африканском дневнике» создаваемый им собственный образ как образ путешественника по дальним странам связан с позиционированием себя как православного, который посещает собор и удаляется от восточной экзотики. А описание Абиссинии отошло от поверхностных эпатажных высказываний об Африке в письмах В.И. Иванову и В.Я. Брюсову рубежа 1909–1910 гг.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> См., напр.: Корнилов В. Гумилёв // Образ Гумилёва в советской и эмигрантской поэзии / Сост., предисл., коммент. В.П. Крейда. М.: Молодая гвардия, 2004. – (Библиотека лирической поэзии «Золотой жираф»). – С. 116–117; Павловский А.О. О творчестве Николая Гумилёва и проблемах его изучения // Николай Гумилёв: Исследования и материалы. Библиография. СПб.: Наука, 1994. С. 3–30. С. 18, 22.

<sup>62</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Африканская ночь // ПСС. Т. 2. С. 156.

<sup>63</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Рождество в Абиссинии // ПСС. Т. 2. С. 99; также см., напр.: Гумилёв Н.С. Вступление // ПСС. Т. 4. С. 12–13; Гумилёв Н.С. Красное море // ПСС. Т. 4. С. 14–15.

<sup>64</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Африканское искусство // ПСС. Т. 7. С. 183; Гумилёв Н.С. Африканский дневник. С. 70.

<sup>65</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Африканский дневник. С. 72–73.

<sup>66</sup> Там же. С. 73–74.

<sup>67</sup> Мысли о возможной поездке в Палестину см.: Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. (19 октября 1908 г.) // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 200; Гу-

И уже после всех своих африканских путешествий Гумилёв читал «Столп и утверждение истины» Павла Флоренского<sup>68</sup>.

Следует подчеркнуть, что цитируемый «Африканский дневник» (или «первый африканский дневник») Гумилёва был литературной игрой. Поэт начал писать его ещё до прибытия в Африку, причём так, «чтобы прямо можно было печатать»<sup>69</sup>. Дневник – неотъемлемый атрибут путешественника, того путешественника, образ которого конструирует Гумилёв. Ему, вероятно, было известно изложенное в дневнике Эжена Делакруа путешествие по Марокко 1832 г., да и Булатович писал «С войсками Менелика II» на основе своего путевого дневника. Но «Африканский дневник» отличается мастерством слога и образной поэтичностью, он лишён как фактических подробностей, которыми насыщен текст Булатовича, так и наблюдений профессионального художника, воспринимающего окружающую действительность как материал для будущих полотен. Начало «Африканского дневника» Гумилёва словно в искажённом виде повторяет начало книги Булатовича, однако вместо реальных проектов – намёк на план арабизации и объединения племён, отдающий штампом из художественной литературы и намеренно «конквистадорской» логикой. Кроме того, «Африканский дневник», сразу выстраиваемый как литературное произведение, разделён на главы и лишён (в отличие от дневников Делакруа и Булатовича) естественной дискретности, свойственной подневным записям. Вероятно, с началом экспедиции Гумилёву стало не хватать времени на литературную работу и дневник прервался. Остальные события его путешествия предельно кратко отражены в его «Втором африканском дневнике», который не имеет отношения к такому жанру научной литературы, как полевой дневник, а представлен двумя записными книжками, первая из которых – опись приобретаемых предметов и различные отрывочные географические, этнографические и исторические сведения, а вторая – краткие подневные записи, отражающие события похода<sup>70</sup>.

В целом Эфиопия в пространстве путешествий Гумилёва и Булатовича связана с Константинополем, Иерусалимом и Афоном. В этом пространстве она страна православного Востока, особенная страна древнего христианства, близкая Византии, страна, где русские люди являются «своими». В контексте духовных исканий Серебряного века путешествия в Эфиопию приобретают особенный смысл. Отношение к ней как Гумилёва

милёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Е. Арнс. (п. шт. Египет, 15–19 октября 1908 г.) // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 221; эпатажные высказывания об Африке см.: Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.И. Иванову. Джибути, 5 января 1910 г. – С. 229; Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. 24 декабря 1909. – С. 205; Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к В.Я. Брюсову. 31 декабря 1909. – С. 206.

<sup>68</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к Ларисе Рейснер. 8 ноября 1916 г. // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 260–261. С. 260.

<sup>69</sup> Гумилёв Н.С. Письмо к А.А. Ахматовой. (1913) // Гумилёв Н.С. В огненном столпе. С. 250–251. С. 250.

<sup>70</sup> Подробности о «Втором африканском дневнике» и его первую полную публикацию см.: Степанов Е. Неакадемические комментарии – 3.



и Булатовича, так и в целом русского общества конца XIX – начала XX в. не вписывается в схему классического ориентализма. Имея иные корни, нежели отношение к Востоку (и к Эфиопии) западноевропейских держав, оно не укладывается и в рамки понятия «ориентализм», предложенного Эдвардом Саидом<sup>71</sup>. Хотя нельзя отрицать стремление России к установлению влияния на Эфиопию, обоснование уместности этого влияния и конструируемый в общественном сознании образ Эфиопии имели свою, чисто русскую специфику.

В позиционировании Булатовича и Гумилёва преобладает героическое начало. Сюжетной основой их литературных произведений, подкрепляющей образ героя, становятся приключения. Однако Эфиопия – страна, подходящая для поиска приключений, – даёт не только «африканский ореол», славу путешественника и героя, новые мотивы в творчестве, но и укрепление на духовном пути, интерес к православию. На православной почве Булатович и Гумилёв снова пересекаются в культурном пространстве. Причина пересечения – имяславие, не оставшееся без внимания близких Гумилёву поэтов-акмеистов<sup>72</sup>. Это пересечение связано также с личностью и творчеством Павла Флоренского – священника, русского религиозного философа, одного из творцов позднего Серебряного века. И здесь, если Гумилёв читает его «Столп и утверждение истины» – книгу, написанную в духе «православного модерна», произведение русской религиозной философии, то Булатович сам оказывает влияние на взгляды Флоренского, являясь лидером имяславцев. И в целом африканская культурная игра Гумилёва (выстраивание образа «поэта и воина») порой выглядит лишь отсветом реальной героики и поэтики жизни Булатовича.

<sup>71</sup> Саид Э.В. Ориентализм: Западные концепции Востока / Пер. с англ. А.В. Говорунова. СПб.: Русский Мир, 2006. – 636 с.

<sup>72</sup> Имяславие и процесс вокруг него вдохновили О.Э. Мандельштама на написание в 1915 г. стихотворения «И поныне на Афоне...» (см.: Мандельштам О.Э. «И поныне на Афоне...» // Мандельштам О. Собрание сочинений: В 4 т. Т. 1: Стихи и проза 1906–1921. М.: Арт-Бизнес-центр, 1999. С. 113), а В.И. Нарбут собирался в 1916 г. погостить несколько дней у о. Антония Булатовича (см.: Нарбут В. Письмо М. Зенкевичу. З/ХП. <1916>. <Нарбутовка> // Владимир Нарбут. Михаил Зенкевич. Статьи. Рецензии. Письма / Сост., подгот. текста и примеч. М. Котовой, С. Зенкевича, О. Лекманова; предисл. О. Лекманова. М.: ИМЛИ РАН, 2008. С. 256–257; Лекманов О. Указ. соч.).

Helena Duffy

**THE EAST AS A CAREER: RUSSIA, THE OCCIDENT AND THE ORIENT IN ANDREĬ MAKINE'S *ONCE UPON THE RIVER LOVE***

To write about the Orient is either to reveal an upsetting demystification of images culled from the texts, or to confine oneself to the Orient of which Hugo spoke in his original preface to *Les Orientales*, the Orient as “image” or “pensée”, symbols of “une sorte de preoccupation générale.”

Edward Said, *Orientalism*

We never went along with other people, we do not belong to any of the known families of mankind, neither to the East nor to the West, and we don't have the tradition of either one.

Pyotr Chaadaev, *Philosophical Letters*

**Orientalism à la russe**

It is widely known that Edward Said construed orientalism not only as “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and [...] ‘the Occident’”<sup>1</sup> but also as “a profitable dialectic” of Western knowledge of and control over the East.<sup>2</sup> Although Said links orientalism mainly – albeit not solely – to the British and French colonial enterprise,<sup>3</sup> the utility of his paradigm has been tested in other imperial contexts, including that of Russia, both tsarist and Soviet. Yet, given the specificity of Russia's relationship with its colonies as well as its role as the oriental “Other” for Western Europe and for France in particular, the applicability of the orientalist model to Russia has turned out to be problematic. Some scholars point out that the early creation and the land-based character of its empire prevent Russia from being considered – or from considering itself – as a colonial power in the style of Great Britain or France.<sup>4</sup> Others claim that the country's vastness and ethnic diversity have helped to blur the borders between Russia proper and its colonial domains, thus pre-empting any discussion about

<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Vera Tolz, “Forging the Nation: National Identity and Nation Building in Post-Communist Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 50, n° (September 1998): 995. Mark Bassin also notes the relative absence of studies of Russian perceptions of its empire. “Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *The American Historical Review*, 96, n° 3 (June 1991): 765.

violent conquest or even involuntary incorporation of non-Russian lands and peoples.<sup>5</sup> Others still think that rather than a colonial power Russia is a “kind of modern polity, [an] activist, interventionist, modern mobilisational state that seeks to sculpt its citizenry in an ideal image,” while the term “Soviet empire” is applicable solely to Russia’s control over its eastern European satellites.<sup>6</sup> As far as the pre-revolution period is concerned, Nathaniel Knight argues that whilst Russian officials may have shared France’s or Great Britain’s belief in their countries’ civilising mission and subscribed to some of the Western stereotypes about the “Asiatics” and the Orient,<sup>7</sup> they hardly deployed their knowledge of the East to rule over the conquered peoples. Rather, they saw the study of the Orient as a way of offsetting Western cultural domination and, pointing out Russia’s cultural kinship with and geographical proximity to Asia, as a study of Russia itself.<sup>8</sup> According to Knight, the particularity of Russian orientalism also stems from Russia’s having been “not only the subject of orientalist discourse, but also its object.”<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Russia has long been seen by Europe and especially by France as synonymous with *Europe orientale*, becoming a victim of many of the assumptions and prejudices traditionally ascribed to the Orient.<sup>10</sup>

Because one of the central concerns of Andreï Makine’s writings is precisely Russia’s attempt to reconcile its imperial status with its sense of cultural inferiority towards the West, it is both fitting and interesting to consider the Franco-Russian author’s work in the light of the afore-cited comments.<sup>11</sup> To do so, the present article examines one of the writer’s early novels that, set in the 1970s in Eastern Siberia, and more precisely, somewhere between Lake Baikal and the Amur river, focuses on the crystallisation of its three central characters’ cultural identity, a process inextricably linked with the boys’ sexual, emotional and intellectual maturation, and catalysed as much by Soviet propaganda as by Western culture. Narrated from the point of view of a Russian writer established in France, *Once Upon the River Love*, which can be easily categorised as Bildungsroman, tells a story of three Siberian adolescents who, united by their shared parental figures – a local prostitute and Jean-Paul Belmondo – may be seen as facets of the same protagonist. Because of being triggered by their exposure to French literature (de Musset, Proust, Flaubert, Zola, Maupassant) and cinema (Belmondo), the three boys’ ontological quest can be easily read as a

<sup>5</sup> See Vera Tolz, “Imaginative Geography: Russian Empire as a Russian Nation State,” in *Russia. Inventing the Nation* (London: Arnold, 2001), pp. 155–190.

<sup>6</sup> Adeb Khalid, “Backwardness and the Quest for Civilisation: Early Soviet Central Asia in Comparative Perspective,” *Slavic Review*, 65, no 2 (Summer 2006): 232.

<sup>7</sup> Vera Tolz, “Perceptions of East and West,” in *Russia’s Own Orient: The Politics of Identity and the Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 47–68.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>9</sup> Nathaniel Knight, “Grigor’ev in Orenburg. 1857–1862: Orientalism in the Service of the Empire?,” *Slavic Review*, 59, no 1 (Spring 2000): 77.

<sup>10</sup> Ezequiel Adamovsky, “Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810–1880,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 77, no 3 (September 2005): 592.

<sup>11</sup> Born in 1957 in Siberia, Makine studied and taught French literature in the Soviet Union before emigrating to France at the age of thirty.

metaphor of Russia’s on-going attempt at self-definition, initiated by Peter the Great’s efforts to westernise his country by, amongst other things, modelling it on colonial powers such as Great Britain or France.<sup>12</sup>

I begin my analysis of *Once Upon the River Love* by demonstrating that it largely endorses the official representation of Russia as a non-imperial state by depicting the annexation of Eastern Siberia as a largely peaceful and voluntary process. Moreover, supporting Mark Bassin’s thesis,<sup>13</sup> the novel represents Russian armies’ eastward sweeps as resulting directly from Western animosity, contempt and mistrust towards Russia, traditionally perceived in Europe as part of the barbarian Orient. I then show that *Once Upon the River Love*, which portrays Russia as a space within which Western discourse about the Orient can be materialised, amply illustrates Said’s proposition that Orientalism “is never far from the idea of Europe, a collective notion of identifying ‘us’ Europeans against all those non-Europeans.”<sup>14</sup> For, one could argue that by reiterating Europe’s cultural, technological, economic and political superiority over the primitive, backward, inarticulate and passive East, Makine aimed to appeal to European and in particular to French readers who at the time still showed little interest in his writing.<sup>15</sup> Hence, given Said’s belief that one does not have to be a Westerner to become an Orientalist,<sup>16</sup> I contend that Makine has chosen, to paraphrase Disraeli, the East as a career. This means that his representation of Russia has, as Said would have put it, “purposes [and] accomplish[es] one or many tasks.”<sup>17</sup> And while one of these tasks consists in capturing the imagination of the writer’s prospective readers, another one is to re-posit Russia as an object rather than a subject of orientalism, and hence as a victim rather than a perpetrator of colonialism.

### The Empire Strikes Back

Although Vera Tolz observes that in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia the general belief in the non-violent nature of Russian colonisation meant that the term “empire” was used only “sarcastically in quotation marks,”<sup>18</sup> she doubts whether Russians will ever be able to define themselves other than an imperial peo-

<sup>12</sup> As Bassin notes, it was after Russia’s victory over Sweden in 1721 that the stardom of Moscow was proclaimed as a modern colonial empire. See “Inventing Siberia,” p. 767.

<sup>13</sup> See Mark Bassin, “The Russian Geographic Society, the ‘Amur Epoch’, and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855–1863,” *Annals of the Associations of American Geographers*, 73, no 2 (June 1983): 244.

<sup>14</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Makine’s path to recognition was thorny and tortuous. His first two novels, both written directly in French, were rejected by many publishers until the writer presented them as translations from the Russian. His fortunes changed when, in 1995, *Le Testament français* was awarded Le Prix Goncourt and Le Prix Médicis as well as Le Prix Goncourt des Lycéens. Since then Makine has been publishing with astonishing regularity and has won many other prizes. He is an author of several novels, essays and a play.

<sup>16</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>18</sup> Tolz, “Conflicting ‘Homeland Myths’ and Nation-State Building in Postcommunist Russia,” *Slavic Review*, 57, no 2 (Summer 1998): 269.

ple.<sup>19</sup> In this light it seems that it is partly because of post-imperial nostalgia and partly because Makine's work is destined mainly for non-Russian readers that when talking about his homeland the narrator of *Once Upon the River Love* repeatedly uses the term "empire." Conversely, "Russia" appears only three times in the whole text and always in relation to the territories west of the Urals. And, like the eighteenth-century propaganda, whose aim was to instil state patriotism in the tsar's subject,<sup>20</sup> Makine's narrator speaks of the "empire" almost always to underscore his country's vastness and/or political, military and economic prowess. For example, Dimitri invokes the empire's fourteen seas<sup>21</sup> or speaks of "the immense empire"<sup>22</sup> and of the "enormous empire" that "crushed", "mutilated" and "bruised" many of its citizens.<sup>23</sup> He also mentions the endless camps "strewn across the empire"<sup>24</sup> or a train journey "across the empire" that lasts over a week.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the narrator summarises Russia's modern history as a sequence of military conflicts that incessantly swept men from east to west across "the twelve thousand leagues of the empire."<sup>26</sup>

Despite his emphasis upon Russia's imperial status, the narrator implies that the numerous wars which constitute Russia's history were defensive and mostly conditioned by his country's unfortunate geographic position as a buffer for the civilised West against the depredations from the savage East. Similarly, Dimitri's account of the empire's creation largely reflects the official – both tsarist and Communist – historiography in which "Russia's territorial expansion was [shown to be] the product of geographic inevitability and security considerations rather than economic expansion"<sup>27</sup> and "as a historically progressive and largely voluntary phenomenon."<sup>28</sup> Visibly influenced by such a discourse, Dimitri, Utkin and Samurai, display a highly uncritical attitude towards the Soviet Union's colonial enterprise. This is evidenced, for example, by their blindness to the parallels between Russia's and America's expansionism,<sup>29</sup> which does not seem surprising allowing that during Makine's youth the United States were the key target of Soviet anti-Western propaganda. While Utkin,

<sup>19</sup> Tolz, "Conflicting 'Homeland Myths' and Nation-State Building in Postcommunist Russia," p. 268.

<sup>20</sup> See Tolz, "Imaginative Geography", p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> Andrei Makine, *Once Upon the River Love*, trans. Geoffrey Strachan (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 98.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Tolz, "Conflicting 'Homeland Myths'", p. 270.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271. Bassin also states that seeing themselves as "God's selected bearer of the civilisation and enlightenment", the Russians believed that their task was "to bring life back to the Asiatic societies which, they felt, had sunk into a lethargic decay". "The Russian Geographic Society," p. 241.

<sup>29</sup> Analogies between America's and Russia's colonialism was already stressed by some eighteenth-century Russian historians who thus likened their country to Western colonial powers. By the same token, the Yakuts were called "Siberia's Red Men". Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," pp. 768–769.

who considers the Red Indians as akin to his "Siberian ancestors" and therefore his "closest brothers,"<sup>30</sup> reproaches the Americans for their brutal treatment of the indigenous peoples, Samurai passionately detests them for their imperial domination over the "little island" of Cuba.<sup>31</sup>

The three adolescents also perpetuate their native region's founding myth according to which the area between Lake Baikal and the Amur river was peacefully incorporated into the empire by the Cossacks in the 1640s and which, curiously, Makine himself endorses.<sup>32</sup> Like the nineteenth-century nationalists who idealised the Russian expansion beyond the Urals and praised the daring exploits of the "courageous and deeply patriotic sons of Russia," extolling the Cossacks' "extraordinary endurance and initiative in traversing, settling, and exploiting these wild domains,"<sup>33</sup> Makine's novel describes the eastward advance of the tsar's agents as an arduous journey through an inhospitable realm.

They were a handful of men overwhelmed by fatigue from their crazy trek into the depths of the endless taiga. The haughty stares of the wolves followed them even into their turbulent dreams. The cold was quite different from that in Russia. It seemed to know no limits. Covered with thick hoarfrost, their beards stood out like ax blades. And if you closed your eyes for a moment, your lashes would not come unstuck. The Cossacks cursed in vexation and despair. And their spit tinkled as if it fell in little lumps of ice on the dark surface of a motionless river.<sup>34</sup>

Furthermore, rather than by the tsar's political and economic interests,<sup>35</sup> the novel presents the conquerors' progress as motivated by the Cossacks' innate distaste for all "constraints, limits, frontiers" which, as the narrator explains, they had encountered in the west.<sup>36</sup> Yet again endorsing the official accounts of the conquest, which represented Siberia as "a vast Asiatic wasteland of barren snowy expanses" "devoid for all practical purposes of human population or as populated by a colourful but sparse and not particularly significant assortment of native Asian people,"<sup>37</sup> Makine's narrator depicts the annexed

<sup>30</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 171.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>32</sup> In an interview Makine states that the Cossacks "symbolise freedom, absence of restriction, and literally, absence of frontiers" and that "the Cossacks 'conquered' Siberia without bloodshed by integrating themselves into the indigenous population". "A Conversation with Andrei Makine," in *A Penguin Readers Guide to Once Upon the River Love* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> See Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," pp. 779–781.

<sup>34</sup> Makine, *River Love*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>35</sup> In his examination of the colonisation of the Amur valley, Bassin explains that the Cossacks were originally motivated by a quest for furs and gold, and later by a desire to exploit the rich agricultural areas east of Lake Baikal and to use the river Amur to transport foodstuffs to the Pacific and from there to the Russian colonies in the north. "The Russian Geographic Society," p. 245 and "Inventing Siberia," p. 767, where Bassin states that in the 1640s one-third of the total state revenues derived from Siberian pelts.

<sup>36</sup> Here Makine may be referring to the Smolensk War against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1632–34) which ended in the defeat of the Russian army.

<sup>37</sup> Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," p. 776.

lands as a quasi-desolate desert of snow. Consequently, although in reality the conquerors came into conflict with the newly established Manchu dynasty in China and were often portrayed as “lawless bands of brigands interested only in their own gain,”<sup>38</sup> according to Dimitri, the only obstacles that they encountered were the wolves and the harsh climate. What is more, he narrator’s definition of Siberia as part of the Cossacks’ “native Eurasia” seems in itself ideologically charged.<sup>39</sup> Not only does the expression re-posit the conquerors’ exploits as their natural expansion into their rightful territory but also invokes the tenets of the Eurasianists who posited the idea of “Russia-Eurasia” as a cultural and historical entity made up of anthropologically, linguistically and religiously different peoples that have nevertheless blended into a single “multi-ethnic” nation.<sup>40</sup>

In *Once Upon the River Love* this “painless” homogenisation of populations is evidenced by the description of Dimitri’s village as “very motley”<sup>41</sup> as well as by characters such as the Russified Chinese whom the three adolescents meet on the train, or by the main protagonist himself whose hair may be blond, but whose eyes are “tilted back slightly towards the temples.”<sup>42</sup> This suggests that Dimitri is a descendant of both the Cossacks and the Yakuts whose intimate relations become an object of the adolescent’s musings as he attempts to resolve the riddle of his cultural identity. Importantly, the narrator’s description of the colonisers’ sexual conquests largely fits Said’s paradigm in which Orientalism is “an exclusively male province” and therefore takes a perverse shape of a “male power-fantasy” that sexualises a feminised Orient.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, whilst for Said the East is passive, irrational, mysterious, fecund and vulnerable, the West is enshrined in metaphors of strength and rationality. That the indigenous women are stereotyped as the Russians conquerors’ oriental Other and are seen from the Cossacks’ metropolitan perspective is clear, for example, from the comparison of their “flat and round breasts [to] the domes of the oldest churches in Kiev.”<sup>44</sup> It is not only the exoticism of the women’s snake-like and muscular bodies that are covered with reindeer fat and impregnated with the scent of smoke but also the impenetrability of their minds that invokes Gustave Flaubert’s description of his Egyptian courtesan’s “display of impressive but verbally inexpressive femininity,” analysed by Said.<sup>45</sup> Thus, like Flaubert for whom eastern inscrutability is fleshed out by Kuchuk – “she never spoke of herself, never represented her emotions, presence, or history. He spoke for her and represented her”<sup>46</sup> –

<sup>38</sup> Bassin, “Inventing Siberia,” p. 780.

<sup>39</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 10.

<sup>40</sup> The Eurasianists were an émigré movement formed in the 1920s. See Georges Nivat, “Les Paradoxes de l’affirmation eurasiennne,” *Vivre en Russe* (Genève: L’Age d’Homme, 2007), pp. 56–70. See also Tolz, “Conflicting ‘Homeland Myths,’” p. 267–294.

<sup>41</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 207.

<sup>44</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 187.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Makine portrays the Yakut women as having “impassive faces that seemed as if haunted by mysterious smiles,”<sup>47</sup> thus inscribing Siberia’s conquest into the bipolar opposition between the eloquent West and the enigmatically taciturn East.<sup>48</sup> Needless to say, the description of the Cossacks’ passage through the Amur region supports the correlated view that the orientalist appropriation is informed by the dynamics of gender, a position represented, for example, by Ezequiel Adamovsky who, applying Said’s paradigm to Russia, contrasts Eastern Europe’s “allegedly feminine spirit” with “the West’s virile nature.”<sup>49</sup> It is therefore logical that in Said’s and his followers’ work sexual penetration becomes an endemic trope of Orientalism and a metaphor for the Western conquest of the East.<sup>50</sup> Yet, while in Orientalism the eastern woman willingly yields to her muscular and articulate coloniser,<sup>51</sup> in Makine’s novel the Cossacks’ “penetration” of the Orient appears, at least at first, as violent: the conquerors must avoid the Yakut women’s bites and, to prevent the slippery bodies from escaping their grasp, wrap their lovers’ tresses around their wrists. Having said that, the indigenous women are soon enough tamed by the Cossacks whose sexual prowess they boost with the Kharg root known for its aphrodisiac qualities. Consensual or not, these sexual rapports result in a visible change in the Siberians’ ethnic makeup, a fact that could undermine the applicability of the Saidian model which, rather than on the assimilation of the conquered is, as Adeeb Khalid has it, “based on the *perpetuation* of difference between rulers and the ruled,” a difference founded on essentialised categories of civilisation, religion or race, and precluding any possibility of bridging the gap between the conquerors and the conquered.<sup>52</sup>

Their blood mixing both coloniser and colonised, Dimitri, Utkin and Samurái effortlessly reconcile their dual identity, simultaneously considering themselves as native Siberians and identifying with the Cossacks. While they imitate their European ancestors by drinking the Kharg root liqueur reputed to have enhanced the Cossacks’ libido, their game consisting in watching their own spit turn into icicles before it hits the ground reverberates with intratextual echoes of the Cossacks’ gesture from some three centuries earlier. Like his forefathers, Dimitri, who wears his shapka “tilted towards one ear [...] [i]n the Cossack manner,”<sup>53</sup> falls in love with a Yakut girl who “ha[s] slanting eyes, the enigmatic smile of a Buddha” and who, like her ancestors, knows the power of the Kharg root. To hold on to his silent lover’s body Dimitri wraps Nivkh’s glossy, black hair around his fists “[a]s the Cossacks used to do it in the old days [...] My desire”, he says “had a memory of that gesture.”<sup>54</sup> Finally, having boarded an

<sup>47</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57. Adamovsky, “Euro-Orientalism,” p. 614.

<sup>50</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 206.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>52</sup> Khalid, “Backwardness and the Quest for Civilisation,” pp. 232–233.

<sup>53</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 49.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

eastbound train, the three adolescents, who would have preferred to travel west, imagine themselves to be following the Cossacks' original trajectory.

Given the three adolescents' identification with their European ancestors, it is hardly surprising that the novel plays down Russia's colonial expansion. As already briefly indicated, it does so by stipulating that the Cossacks' eastward advance resulted directly from Western hostility towards Russia. The conduct of the tsar's agents is further justified or even eulogised by being allegorised as "Asiatic trickery" of the Ussuri tiger, a magnificent and clever animal who to outwit the hunter following in his tracks, moves through the taiga in a great circle until he finds himself behind his pursuer.<sup>55</sup>

In the west, when it had conclusively driven back barbarian Muscovy, Europe had established a line that could not be crossed. And so [the Cossacks] went headlong towards the east. Hoping to reach the Western World from the other end? The ruse of a neglected admirer? The ploy of a banished lover?<sup>56</sup>

Such a rationalisation of Russia's eastward expansion has in fact a historical grounding. According to Knight, "[t]hroughout sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Russia was depicted in Western literature as the quintessential oriental despotism" and, even after Peter the Great's reforms, its "acceptance into the community of civilised Western nations was conditional" and "applied only to the extent that Russian elites were able to shed their native traditions and assimilate into a pan-European culture of aristocracy."<sup>57</sup> Consequently, for some Russian orientalists such as Vasilii Grigor'ev the control, be it intellectual or military, over the East was a vehicle to reconcile Russia's need to assert its autonomy and cultural distinctiveness from Europe with its obsessive preoccupation with the west.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, Bassin observes that Russia's turn to the East was a result of its break with the West and that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century nationalists "saw Russia in the East as the saving counterweight to Russia's ties with Europe,"<sup>59</sup> and as "the best way to reduce the influence of the West."<sup>60</sup>

Thus, like for the Cossacks, for Dimitri, Samurai and Utkin their accidental journey to the empire's eastern limit also becomes a way of reaching the West:

Unable to reach the Western World of our dreams, we had employed cunning. We had headed eastwards [...] all the way to the Far East where the east and the west meet in the misty abyss of the ocean. It was thus that, pretending to run away from the unattainable West, we now found ourselves at its back.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 136.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>57</sup> Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg," p. 77.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>59</sup> Bassin, "The Russian Geographic Society," p. 241.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>61</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 136.

And indeed, in the port town where the three boys disembark and which is likely to be Vladivostok "the presence of the West could be detected,"<sup>62</sup> foreign languages can be overheard and the Russians themselves dress in a more elegant way, wearing – thanks to a milder climate – lighter and more colourful clothes.

### Under the Western Eyes: Sexing Europe, Orientalising Russia

Both the intratextual narrative and the main story line of *Once Upon the River Love* strongly support Knight's observation about the specificity of Russian orientalism which means that the stark dichotomy between East and West on which Said's paradigm hinges becomes "an awkward triptych: the west, Russia, the east."<sup>63</sup> Although Russia may have been a powerful empire, first tsarist and then Soviet, it has also known a deep sense of inferiority towards Europe which, at least since Peter the Great, has been Russia's constituent geographical and cultural Other. In what follows I therefore demonstrate that Makine's three protagonists see France, which in the novel is synonymous with the West, as the ultimate model of an advanced civilisation in relation to which they feel unsophisticated, not to say backward or even barbarian.

Before being deepened by the protagonist's contact with French culture, the dialectical tension in Dimitri's worldview is introduced by the passage of the Transsiberian Express that the adolescent wistfully watches on its westward journey: "Lake Baikal, the Volga, Moscow..."<sup>64</sup> Confirming the bi-polar opposition between the West as an actor and the East as a reactor, noted by Said,<sup>65</sup> the train's mobility provides contrast for the passivity of the observer who must wait, sometimes for hours, to see the express pass. Furthermore, the Western passengers whose bodies Dimitri imagines to be "gloried in the power of their own carnal beauty,"<sup>66</sup> are set against the Siberians for whom physical attractiveness is "the least of [...] preoccupations."<sup>67</sup> The seemingly endless and extremely harsh winters do not foster elegance, either; on the contrary, they force people to wrap up in countless layers of unflattering clothing which, regardless the woman's age or physical attractiveness, inevitably turn her into a matrioshka-shaped babushka: "[The women's] femininity had long since been eroded in the harsh business of daily resisting the cold, the solitude, the absence of any foreseeable change."<sup>68</sup> Likewise, dressed in sheepskin coats, fur hats and heavy felt boots, the men of the taiga resemble the animals they breed or hunt. Finally, the bitter cold and the darkness that reign in the snowy and wolf-infested forests stand in direct opposition to the snug comfort of the warmly lit compartment which triggers in Dimitri, who is an orphan, a longing for the primal fusion with

<sup>62</sup> Makine, *River Love*.

<sup>63</sup> Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg," p. 77.

<sup>64</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 41.

<sup>65</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 124.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the maternal. As if it were a womb, in the adolescent's fantasy the confined space of the train compartment imposes on the passengers intimacy reminiscent of the pre-natal mother-child oneness while the rhythmic swaying of the train through a night that "is long, so long" seems to be an allusion to cradling.<sup>69</sup>

As is often the case in Makine's novels,<sup>70</sup> the maternal figure, embodied here by the Western passenger of the Transsiberian, suddenly turns into an object of desire as Dimitri begins to perceive sexual conquest as the key to his adherence to Western culture. It is worth noting that, like the Cossacks' rapports with the Yakut women, the sexual act that Dimitri fantasised about is essentially violent: "I might hurl myself at [her] knee, kiss it, bite it, tear the stocking, thrust my unseeing face ever higher."<sup>71</sup> Hence, considering that the encounter with the Western woman is supposed to transform the adolescent from "a savage dressed in a sheepskin and a shapka that smells of wood smoke and cedar resin"<sup>72</sup> into an elegant, erudite and eloquent European, and that, like in Said's work, in Makine's novel sexual possession metaphorises colonial conquest, one can see in Dimitri's fantasy the Orient's aspiration to shake off the stigma of the typically feminine passivity and submissiveness, and to embrace the dynamism, the power and the virility attributed to the West.

However, echoing the Cossacks' rejection by Europe, the train's delay deprives Dimitri of the opportunity to contemplate its beautiful female passenger, which renders the adolescent "disillusioned, duped, almost betrayed,"<sup>73</sup> and instils in him a sense of disappointment that may be extended to the whole West. And like the Cossacks who travelled east in the hope of reaching the contemptuous and inimical West, in order to "[o]utflank the beautiful traveller, that glittering woman from the West on the Transsiberian" Dimitri makes love to a local prostitute.<sup>74</sup> That the latter incarnates Russia transpires from her inarticulacy, which is opposed to the volubility that the protagonist ascribes to European lovers, or from the fact that, like that of several other Russian heroines created by Makine, her biography is marked by loss, solitude and resignation.<sup>75</sup> In an inverse movement to that followed by the Western woman from the adolescent's fantasies, the red-haired prostitute metamorphoses from a sexual into a maternal object. This is suggested, for example, by the woman's solicitousness towards her young client (having realised Dimitri's age she rushes to disinfect his genitals) or by the fact that to leave her *izba* the adolescent has to dig a tunnel in the roof-high snow, an activity which invokes birth since it stirs up in Dimitri a memory of being "within warm and protective entrails" and of "pre-

<sup>69</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 41.

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, *Le Testament français* (1995) where the narrator's grandmother suddenly seems attractive and desirable to Aliosha, or *The Crime of Olga Arbeylina* (1998) whose eponymous heroine becomes her son's lover.

<sup>71</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 143.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>75</sup> As an example one can evoke the eponymous heroine of *The Crime of Olga Arbeylina* or Vera from *The Woman Who Waited* (2009).

natal darkness."<sup>76</sup> However comforting the illusion of a reunion with the maternal figure may be, by becoming the protagonist's surrogate mother the prostitute denies him the coveted Western identity instead asserting his Russianness. This is illustrated by the fact that having caught a ride with a lorry driver on his way back from the redhead's *izba*, Dimitri suddenly sees in this quintessential man of the taiga his own future incarnation: "[w]e ha[ve] both of us been ensnared in the same moist wound at the base of [the prostitute's] bell. We would both of us be forever floundering in the same narrow space at the edge of the endlessness of Siberia."<sup>77</sup>

It appears therefore that a sexual act itself is not enough to turn one into a Westerner; rather, one must become accomplished in nuanced erotic games and acquire a vocabulary necessary to express one's emotions and experience. The amorous exploits of characters played by Belmondo and the sophisticated sexual games described by novels such as Alfred de Musset's *Confessions of a Child of the Century* (1836), convince Dimitri of "the unimaginable emotional complexity of the Western world"<sup>78</sup> and make him dream of the "voluptuous West, a realm of unimaginable sensual perversions, of refined erotic flourishes, of capricious emotional entanglements."<sup>79</sup> Such an emphasis on the connection between Western identity and erotic savoir-faire confirms stereotypes found in nineteenth-century French literature where, as Charlotte Krauss contends, "love is [...] closely bound up with civilisation" and "sensuality requires a former acquisition of Western culture."<sup>80</sup> Amongst the examples given by Krauss is Jean Alexandre Paulin Niboyet's 1852 novel *Elim, histoire d'un poète russe* where it is a Frenchman who provides the eponymous hero with necessary erotic education and where French is represented as the only language capable of expressing love. At the same time, *Once Upon the River Love* challenges Said's model in which the Orient is a place of "the excess of libidinous passions"<sup>81</sup> and suggests "not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sexuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies."<sup>82</sup> For, unlike the stereotypical Orientals, the Siberians, as shown by Makine, live in chastity imposed upon them by their country's political system, harsh climate and tragic history: "[I]ove [...] did not easily take root in this austere country [for it] had atrophied in the bloodbath of the war, been garrotted by the barbed-wire entanglements of the nearby camp, frozen by the breath of the Arctic."<sup>83</sup> Thus, when observing men and women walking in the streets of the district town Dimitri perceives them as "[t]wo alien races"

<sup>76</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 16.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>80</sup> Charlotte Krauss, *La Russie et les Russes dans la fiction française de XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1812–1917)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), p. 187. The translations are my own.

<sup>81</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 162.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>83</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 7.

whose appearance and behaviour rule out any possibility of physical contact between them.<sup>84</sup>

And when Siberians do make love, their sex life is then reduced to loveless, hurried and sometimes even violent encounters. These are exemplified by Dimitri's sexual initiation described as an "uneasy coupling beneath a blinding light-bulb,"<sup>85</sup> by the collective rape of the red-haired woman or by the school headmistress's rendezvous with the passing lorry drivers, which, though voluntary, by being staged on the Devil's Corner, a spot where many a driver has met his death, are associated with promiscuity or even mortal danger. Moreover, unlike the French who seem to have at their disposal a whole gamut of words such as "seduction, desire, conquest, sex, eroticism and passion,"<sup>86</sup> the Siberians bring down their dealings with the opposite sex to the lapidary and vulgar pass-partout expression "to have a woman." "No backdrop, no portraits, no erotic imagery."<sup>87</sup> That Makine wishes to depict Siberian lovers as essentially sadistic, not to say animalistic, also follows from an episode that, borrowing Freudian terminology, could be designated as the three adolescents' "primal scene."<sup>88</sup> Like Freud's Russian patient Sergei Pankejeff who on watching his parents make love *a tergo* (or perhaps animals copulate) became convinced of the sexual act's intrinsic brutality, Dimitri, Samuraj and Utkin are traumatised by their witnessing of a coupling of a bull and a cow. It is in the violence of this cowshed scene that one may seek the origins of the boys' subsequent homoerotic and masochistic fantasies, illustrated by Dimitri's vision of being raped by the drunken lorry driver.

Predictably, the Siberians' habits including the sexual ones become modified under the influence of Western culture. Instead of fighting, the men queuing in front of the liquor store joke, and in their shouts and gestures Dimitri recognises those of Belmondo. The protagonist's aunt abandons her mourning to marry a war veteran and Dimitri himself takes to cognac and champagne, and, when making love to Nivkh, recreates his hero's sexual acrobatics. Imitating Belmondo-the writer, Utkin composes poetry, and, emulating the Frenchman's panache, Samuraj challenges a stroppy waiter or fends off the red-haired prostitute's aggressors. Yet, the most striking manifestation of the "Belmondo thaw" that, coincidentally, takes place in spring, is the transformation of the school headmistress: having shed her carapace of woolen clothes, the morose and seemingly charmless woman starts to dress stylishly and to act seductively. Instead of the diesel-smelling lorry drivers she now dates a dashing navy officer driving a Japanese car which, though old and battered, has a "Western air."

Once again Makine's description of the behaviour of his fellows countrymen whose attitude towards life and in particular towards sex alters under European

<sup>84</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 47.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>86</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 101.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>88</sup> The term refers to the child's initial witnessing of a sexual act at an early age which traumatises him/her deeply. See Sigmund Freud, "From the History of Infantile Neurosis," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, 17 (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), pp. 7–122.

influence corroborates Western preconceptions about Russia, this particular one concerning Russian culture's essentially imitative character. For example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Madame de Staël famously commented upon the regrettable inauthenticity of Russian civilisation which, being too recent, "produced cultural 'imitations' only and nothing 'original'."<sup>89</sup> Interestingly, their view was shared by Russian nationalists of the time for whom, as Boris Groys notes, Russian culture "contained no elements which could be considered as its original contribution to the universal world culture"<sup>90</sup> while, as Bassin puts it, Russia's Europeanisation "yielded nothing more than shabby and contrived imitations."<sup>91</sup>

### Russia: neither one nor another

Before agreeing with the nineteenth-century nationalists who, condemning Russia's mimetic desire to imitate the West, postulated their country's historical difference from both Europe and Asia,<sup>92</sup> Dimitri briefly subscribes to the idea of Russia's cultural backwardness in relation to the West and, comparing his fellow countrymen with Europeans, considers them as "savages". At the same time, just as Said claims that "European culture gained its strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self,"<sup>93</sup> Dimitri represents Siberia as an antipodal point of reference for European Russia whose colonial domains provide it with a negative affirmation of its own positive – that is Western – qualities. The adolescent's story therefore illustrates not only Groys's observation that "Russia appears for a Russian man endowed with European consciousness as the Other,"<sup>94</sup> but also the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century perception of Russia's colonial provinces as a reliable contrast for the westernised metropolis.

It is the adolescent's first contact with the West, mediated by films starring Belmondo, that introduces into Dimitri's unitary perspective an opposite point of view and alienates him from his environment:<sup>95</sup> "It was the strangeness of familiar things which were staring at me with curiosity; [...] I shook my head, overcome by a singular dizziness."<sup>96</sup> This profound sense of estrangement is soon extended from Dimitri's *izba* to Siberia and then to the whole of Russia. The protagonist's polarised worldview and his correlated sense of inferiority are reflected, amongst others, in the structure of his microcosm where the Orient's inequality with the West is figured by Dimitri's

<sup>89</sup> Adamovsky, "Euro-Orientalism," p. 597.

<sup>90</sup> Groys, "Russia and the West: The Quest for Russian National Identity," *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 43, n° 3 (May 1992): 187.

<sup>91</sup> Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," p. 779.

<sup>92</sup> Sławomir Mazurek and Guy R. Torr, "Russian Eurasianism: Historiography and Ideology," *Studies in Eastern European Thought*, 54, n° 1/2 (March 2002): 108.

<sup>93</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> Boris Groys, "Russia and the West," p. 190.

<sup>95</sup> Although the film's title is never mentioned in the novel it is most likely Philippe de Broca's *Le Magnifique* (1973) that Dimitri, Samuraj and Utkin watch.

<sup>96</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 116.

hamlet, a depopulated collection of wooden houses that, significantly, is situated on the eastern bank of the stream. That Svetlaya is meant to represent the East is also indicated by its name that, deriving from the Russian word for “light” (*svet*), connotes the Orient as the land of the rising sun, of light and illumination. Conversely, the stream’s western bank is home to a medium-sized town whose brick houses and a cinema that occasionally screens foreign films turn it into an “antechamber to the Western World.”<sup>97</sup> It is therefore no coincidence that the narrator frequently speaks of the sun setting over Nerlug, whereby he underscores the town’s association with the Occident, the Latin word *occido* meaning to set/to fall. By the same token, to watch films starring Belmondo, an actor whose name itself suggests the beauty and the desirability of the Western world, the three adolescents always walk in the direction the setting sun. Finally, pursuing the maternal metaphor established by Dimitri’s fantasy about the Transsiberian, Svetlaya is connected to Nerlug where villagers find work and entertainment by an umbilical cord-like rope that guides the ferry to the western bank, suggesting the hamlet’s quasi-foetal dependence on the town. Accordingly, the traditional maternal connotation of aquatic settings invite a reading of the stream encircling Svetlaya as a metaphor of the amniotic fluid in which the baby is submerged.

If Nerlug has some traits of a Western city, for Dimitri and his community the West really begins on the other side of Lake Baikal and definitely across the Urals which constitute an “invisible but so substantial” a frontier between Europe and Asia.<sup>98</sup> However, this does not prevent Dimitri from designating as “Asiatic” all Russian towns except Leningrad which, built under Peter the Great in the spirit of Russia’s Europeanisation, the protagonist considers “the only truly Western city in the empire.”<sup>99</sup> Even Moscow, though “crushing, cyclopean, endless”, is after all only “an oriental city, and thus very close to [Dimitri’s] Asiatic nature.”<sup>100</sup> Such an imaginative geography corresponds to the eighteenth-century division of the Russian empire into European and non-European components with the frontier no longer on the Don River but on the Urals. It also confirms the traditional antithesis between the Western character of European Russia that has long been best evidenced by the dynamism of St. Petersburg, and the inhospitable, desolate and uncivilised domains in Asia.<sup>101</sup> It was, as Bassin argues, to reassert the European identity of Russia west of the Urals that for most of the nineteenth century Siberia was portrayed as “a barren realm of ice and darkness,”<sup>102</sup> cut off from the metropolis and the populous Asian societies by high mountain ranges. It was also viewed as an economically useless domain of eternal wind and snow and, finally, as “an expansive storehouse for people whose presence in European Russia the authorities deemed to

<sup>97</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 25.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> See Bassin, “Inventing Siberia,” 768. Here Bassin quotes a tsarist bureaucrat who said that “Nevskii Prospect alone is worth at least five times as much as all of Siberia”, p. 771.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 776.

be socially or politically undesirable.”<sup>103</sup> Such a representation of Siberia is upheld by Makine’s novel that portrays the land between Baikal and the Amur as an “austere country”<sup>104</sup> or as “doomed territories,”<sup>105</sup> and as a place of eternal winter, extreme cold, quasi-permanent darkness and violent storms that leave villages entombed in snow for days. That Siberia is also a place of exile for troublesome religious schismatics and criminal offenders of all sorts is illustrated by the novel’s minor characters such as the Old Believers from Dimitri’s village, or the fearsome Gera, an outlaw reputed to steal gold from the state. Moreover, the barbed-wire factory that supplies all the camps and prisons of the region, and the menacing shadow of the nearby gulag remind the Siberians of the empire’s coercive power and increase their sense of imprisonment and isolation already generated by the surrounding endless expanse of the taiga. Finally, Siberia, as painted by Makine, is a realm marked by often gratuitous cruelty, as exemplified by the lumberjacks’ senseless killing of a wolf, the collective rape of the red-haired woman, the attempted sexual assault on Samurai, the brutality of the gulag prisoners towards other inmates or the suffering of the “wounded and pillaged” taiga.<sup>106</sup>

As much as it is by his fascination with the West, Dimitri’s exile is thus motivated by his need to get away from “the sound of the heavy boots of prisoners taken out in serried ranks to do hard labour” and the “strident screaming of the saws biting into the tender flesh of the cedar trees.”<sup>107</sup> And, as if Siberia were one enormous prison, many others share the protagonist’s desire to escape. When they gather to celebrate the anniversary of the Revolution Dimitri’s aunt and her women friends “could see clouds hurrying towards Lake Baikal, towards the Urals, towards siege-struck Moscow.”<sup>108</sup> Likewise, the men of the taiga dream “of a life ten thousand leagues distant from this country – beyond the Urals, at the other end of the empire. They would mention the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Crimea.”<sup>109</sup> Finally, the most poignant image of confinement is provided by two women, both locked in their mourning: while Vera comes every evening to the ferry stop to wait in vain for her childhood sweetheart to return from the war, the red-haired prostitute solicits her clients at a railway platform where the Transsiberian stops.

Like the sunrises and sunsets, or the ferry that endlessly shuttles between the two river banks, the Transsiberian that, no longer a token of the West in Dimitri’s imagination, does no more than execute a to-and-fro journey between the empire’s eastern and western limits, stresses the circularity of life in Russia, which in turn exposes the absence of progress and forestalls the possibility of evasion. Dimitri’s epiphany of his country’s geographically-contingent and thus irremediable in-betweenness finds expression in the comparison

<sup>103</sup> Bassin, “Inventing Siberia,” pp. 771–772.

<sup>104</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 107.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.



of Russia to a pendulum infinitely swinging between East and West, or to the Transsiberian whose vacillating movement and inherent dualism metaphorise Russia's twofold – Asian and European – nature. Mirroring the adolescent's double ancestry, his ambiguous position between childhood and adulthood, and his own quasi-schizophrenic condition as a Russian, which, put together, make Dimitri feel "[n]either one thing nor another,"<sup>110</sup> the train is split into two distinct and mutually exclusive sections. While the first-class, located at the front and reserved for Westerners, is soap-scented and plunged in comfortable silence and darkness, the jam-packed coaches at the rear are "piled high with ill-assorted luggage of travellers who demanded little in regard to comfort, whose humdrum faces and thick clothes were lit by a dim bulb in the ceiling."<sup>111</sup> The third-class carriages are also filled with a smell of rancid food and resonating with gruesome stories about wars, camps, cataclysmic snowstorms, legendary train delays and people's mindless cruelty towards their fellow humans and animals alike. This telescopic or, to use local imagery, *matrioshka*-like tale comes from a Russified Chinese whose ageless appearance and childlike voice are meant to convey the Orient's relative immaturity. To avoid listening to the narrative from which Russia emerges as a country where "everything [is] both fortuitous and fated. Where death and pain were accepted with the resignation and the indifference of the grass on the steppes,"<sup>112</sup> Dimitri moves towards the front of train that epitomises the West. The cultural advancement of the latter is signalled, for example, by the fact that first-class coaches have already crossed the Amur, a river whose name, in French transcription, means "love". While the West's cultural superiority is thus once again linked to erotic savoir-faire, the East's backwardness is confirmed not only by the location of the third-class coaches but also by Dimitri's uneasiness in the company of the female passenger whom he meets during his nocturnal escapade. Intimidated by the Westerner's elegance, beauty, sophistication, self-confidence and phallic power suggested by the woman's smoking a cigarillo – an intratextual echo of Belmondo's blatantly phallic cigar – Dimitri sees himself as a "barbarian" or even "a young bear."<sup>113</sup>

It is as a result of this experience that on his return to his third-class coach the protagonist abandons his binary vision and for the first time sees Russia as awkwardly positioned between Europe and Asia. Likewise, he perceives himself as a Russian, that is as someone endowed with an identity in flux that consists in being neither European nor Oriental.

## Conclusion

Reminiscent of Pyotr Chaadaev's belief in Russia's being part of neither the East nor the West,<sup>114</sup> a belief that is closely bound up with the idea of Russian

<sup>110</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 146.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>114</sup> Boris Groys, "Russia and the West," p. 187.

culture's independence and originality, Dimitri's discovery of his country's double non-belonging fits in with his earlier conviction about the Russian empire's difference from Western colonial powers. Thus, as I postulated in the first part of my discussion, despite insisting upon Russia's imperial status and despite a close correspondence between Dimitri's mythologised account of the Russian empire's creation and orientalist discourse in that both are profoundly gendered and steeped in generalisations, *Once Upon the River Love* reiterates the official historiography in which Russian expansion was a quasi-organic process. Like the myth of the Cossacks' peaceful and at the same time heroic conquest of Siberia, the notion of Russia's historically-contingent separateness from, not to say underdevelopment in relation to the superior West plays a pivotal role in the adolescent's binary construction of his cultural identity. This construction, as I contended in the second part of this article, involves a simultaneous "othering" of Europe, "asianisation" of Siberia and orientalising of Russia. Finally, I argued that, like a typical Bildungsroman where the protagonist's quest for answers and experience resolves in his acceptance of society as he reaches maturity, *Once Upon the River Love*, concludes in Dimitri's ambition to become a Westerner and with his ensuing reconciliation with his Russianness, that is with his inherent duality. Showing the protagonist stroll along the line separating the land from the sea in Brighton Beach, a New York quarter that is home to a large Russian diaspora, the novel's closing scene only confirms Dimitri's borderline position between the East and the West. And it appears that it is precisely this exchange of a totalising identity against estrangement and liminality has clearly generated a powerful surge of creative energy. For he is now a writer, though, by virtue of "stand[ing] at the rim of the East-West divide,"<sup>115</sup> as Said defines the orientalist's position, he has evidently not avoided the trap of myths, clichés and cultural stereotyping. As corroborated by a sample of the protagonist's prose, which narrates an erotic encounter between a Western woman and a Siberian describing himself as "a bear, [a] barbarian, all the way from the land of everlasting snows,"<sup>116</sup> Dimitri continues to harbour a strongly polarised vision where the two contrasting and – it needs to be stressed – imaginary realms of the East and the West are seen through the prism of reductive and schematic categories.

<sup>115</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, p. 246.

<sup>116</sup> Makine, *River Love*, p. 4.

*Josef Schovanec*

**WESTERN PHILOSOPHY OF THE 20TH CENTURY  
AND ASIA: THE EXAMPLE OF LANGUAGE AND TIME  
IN HEIDEGGER'S THOUGHT**

According to a frequently accepted, if not uttered, assumption, philosophy exists only in the West. Few philosophers or philosophy teachers clearly express it, and even fewer do build theories upon it. Nonetheless, even a quick glimpse in usual textbooks of philosophy can show to which extent this axiom might be true and is taken for granted.

This point of view was even more heavily stressed during the climax of German universities, one century ago. Solely German and Greek authors could be quoted in philosophic research and lectures. Roman and Latin heritage was pushed back partly for political reasons (*Kulturkampf*, then Great War against France and Italy), whereas Jewish and Hebrew sources were unmentionable (see the Panbabilonist movement, also known as "Bibel und Babel"; the long-extinct, by the way very heterogeneous, "Babel" entity could not compete with Greece, let alone Germany, and it was also seen as a part of Germany's national greatness, for German scientists were among the global archaeological vanguard).

Heidegger, unquestionably one of Germany's most prominent philosophers and probably the last great one that belongs, or is commonly linked, to the pre-World War II period, was no exception to the rule. Probably even more than his fellow philosophers, he was a proponent of the "one cradle" theory, stressed the role of German and Greek thinkers, and neglected all the remaining ones. He did his utmost to bring to light a concealed link between classical Greece and contemporary Germany. He even became notorious because of his, still highly controversial among scholars, alleged involvement into Nazism and xenophobia. To put it in a nutshell: "The fundamental being of philosophy is such that it first caught the Greek world, and only it, asking for it in order to deploy itself" (*Essais et Conférences* p. X).

Nonetheless this description of Heidegger's thought and life, albeit it prevailed during many decades, would be fairly incomplete and unbalanced. Moreover, it misses one central point: Heidegger was, according to a growing number of scholars in whose footsteps this paper follows, a philosopher keen on Eastern thought and thinkers. Thus, his Euro-centric engagement can be considered a mere posture, refuted by the very content of his philosophy, or better still, a concealing of so to say "trade secrets".

Nowadays, two kinds of research works explore those questions. Historians make research on Heidegger's secretive life, and piece it together again, in particular with regard to his many encounters with foreign, mainly Asian, re-

searchers. This has led to a surprising amount of discoveries, both biographical (Heidegger's master-work *Being and Time* was first translated into Japanese, he was invited to Japan, etc) and intellectual: for instance, C. Werntgen, one of the leading representatives of these researchers, describes Heidegger's thought as a highly organized strategy to take over and hide parts of eastern philosophy or religion (Werntgen p. 134).

The next option are comparative studies between Heidegger and a given "eastern" thinker or school of thought. Virtually non-existent some years ago, many papers were recently published on that topic. Any Internet search instantly gives many texts about, for example, Heidegger and Taoism,<sup>1</sup> Heidegger and Jewish mysticism, etc.

My own paper, brief and global, does not claim to compete with such specialized research works and scholars of "Heidegger studies", to whom I have devoted a major part of my PhD thesis. However, it can help to reach a better understanding of some, not only Heidegger-related, phenomena, and explore some blind corner of more technical research.

The first question I would like to tackle is the issue of the delimitation of Heidegger's, hidden or not, sources. Comparative selective papers prove that Heidegger drew his inspiration from almost any given great master of the past.<sup>2</sup> But the fact that they manage to get through it easily raises the question of the true meaning of such studies. Do similarities between for instance Heidegger and Shankara show that Heidegger has read and liked Shankara? Or that Shankara's theories earn a modern "seal of approval" because they have been taken over by a contemporary philosopher? The dilemma of multiple potential sources of inspiration has more far-reaching consequences. Striking and convincing analogies can be found between Heidegger and dozens of well-known and unknown eastern thinkers. Does it mean that Heidegger has read all of them and then committed a massive intellectual robbery? This task would have exceeded human abilities; on the other hand, biographical research on Heidegger reduces, voluntarily or not, Heidegger to a mere translator or concatenation-maker of each and every idea he had heard during the day.

The Heidegger-issue should probably be handled differently. In the first place, Heidegger cannot be considered in my view an individual philosopher, but a major social phenomenon. His tremendous success, especially in, very roughly said, Catholic countries, should not remain unanswered, nor explained through insults or hate speech.<sup>3</sup> As far as I know, Heidegger is the only philoso-

<sup>1</sup> As of 12 March 2011, the "Heidegger Taoism" keywords give more than 593 000 answers on Google.

<sup>2</sup> Some passages in Heidegger's own narratives can be considered clues for hidden-speech theories. For instance, he said in 1951, according to Bensussan: "during my 30 or 35 years of teaching, I have spoken only once or twice about my things" (Bensussan, p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> Some twists and turns of the still rebounding Heidegger-case led to violent and rather uncommon among scholars trades of insults. Many papers and books by otherwise well-considered scholars, which I intentionally will not make mention of here, explained the success of Heidegger's theories by the stupidity of some philosophers, whereas his opponents were depicted as organized hate groups.

pher whose name has ever been tagged by street artists on the walls of the Paris underground, and to the best of my knowledge no other philosopher or social scientist can, many years after his death, be the topic of lead stories or breaking news in significant non-specialized media outlets. Heidegger's philosophy, in spite of his past during the Nazi era, comes into resonance with today's expectations and humane aspirations.

Secondly, Heidegger's, although rather blurry, relations with the East should not be comprehended as a personal issue, yet on the contrary as a complex attraction-repulsion pattern deeply rooted in the western thought.

Last but not least, Heidegger indirectly raises the highly uncomfortable or even awkward question of possible common paradigms in the depths of sciences and cultures. Many Heidegger-readers in the West had the distinct feeling his books and lectures conveyed something more than those of his fellow researchers. On the contrary, his counterparts in the East sensed that he, despite his extreme Euro-centric appearance, shared indefinable aspects of their own thought.<sup>4</sup>

All those peculiarities seem to reach well beyond the borders of academic disciplines: Heidegger had and has followers in almost every part of social sciences, all the more in disciplines he has never written about. Heidegger's thought is not an array of concepts or results, but an obscure ongoing profound process.

To put in a nutshell, my paper does not aim at proving that Heidegger actually had hidden sources, and that foreign, especially Asian scholars were almost part of his every day's life: historians did prove it far better than I can do here, and it is virtually irrelevant for our purpose. Next, I do not want to compare Heidegger with certain "eastern" thinkers.

I would however like to show how different Heidegger's thought was from the one of other major philosophers. Heidegger managed to promote ideas and ways of thinking diametrically opposite to those of the modern, western universities, probably precisely the way of thought they fought against in order to shape their own identity in the middle-ages and the Renaissance period. The other side of this story could be hypothetical shared points among others, i.e. non-university philosophies and social sciences across the world.

Of course, this is too broad a topic to be dealt with. So, I shall choose two examples or themes in which Heidegger's patterns of thought are clearly expressed, and outline some of the reasons why they can be considered distinct from the western academic tradition.

### **Part 1 : Language: "to free the grammar from logic" (*Being and Time* p. 38)**

As previously said, Heidegger was one of the strongest critics of the West, chiefly of its technology and metaphysics. His relation to language is prob-

<sup>4</sup> For example, Fabrice Midal, a specialist in Buddhism, says that Heidegger "is the most profound philosopher of the 20th century" (Midal p. 74), and that he "makes us think" (p. 75, a sentence in which he simply takes over Heidegger's famous verb *denken*, to think).

ably better known through critics' commentaries on Heidegger's style than by means of Heidegger's own theories on language. To give just one example, Henri Meschonnic, an influential linguist, wrote in 1990 an extremely critical essay called *Language Heidegger*, in which he caricatures Heidegger's style ("ich-ich", p. 18), says Heidegger has lost touch with language, and that his turns of phrases merely reflect Nazism and Auschwitz (p. 22).

Beyond this example and many similar others, it is important to note that Heidegger's proponents and critics pull together as for language, and both underline the fact that Heidegger's style of writing and speaking is unmistakably different from his counterparts. Their difference obviously lies in the reasons and explanations of this particular nature: whereas some ascribed it to influences on Heidegger of Nazi dignitaries, like Walther Darre, others have shown that Heidegger's easily recognizable style was closely related to his theory of language.

The latter could help explain why Heidegger's overall, not only linguistic but also intellectual and academic, style slowly changed, from very conventional research works in his first period, to conferences marked by poetry and unusual patterns of thought. Dissertations gave way to a major, albeit still conformist in its appearance but not anymore as for its content, book, *Being and Time*. Then, Heidegger at the height of his powers became famous for his intermittent conferences, which tackle seemingly unrelated topics, are said (then written) in an almost everyday speech without much visible theoretical edifice (unlike *Being and Time*). They also theorize their own shape, inasmuch as Heidegger lays the foundations of what may be, according to his followers, considered a new way of thinking.

Besides these biographical details, some elements should be given in order to at least exemplify the difference between Heidegger's conception of language and his counterparts' one. Four major themes can be distinguished: the rejection of Aristotle's legacy, the concept of a truth-bearing language, secret and diffusion, and the question of the origin of speech.

Aristotle's *On Interpretation* is widely considered one of the most influential works of ancient Greece and then modern Europe. Not only logic, but almost any kind of science and philosophy are laid on this basis. Roughly said, Aristotle put the concept of proposition in the middle of any truth-seeking process. Contrary to bare words which are neither true nor false (*On Interpretation* chapter 1) or to prayers, orders, etc, propositions are sentences that can be either true, or false (chapter 4), and which are part of a system of logic (logic is both the tool whereby the truth status of propositions can be determined, and is contained in the propositions, which makes them differ from simple words, prayers, orders, etc). On the contrary, Heidegger's system of thought emphasizes the role of key-words: to immerse oneself into these words through repetition and a specific type of etymology,<sup>5</sup> whose final aim is to grasp the very

<sup>5</sup> Heidegger's texts swarm about etymologies, in particular in his late period, after World War II. His etymologies have often been refuted by other scholars as linguistically groundless. Nonetheless, the real question for the topic of this paper should rather be what was the meaning of such an approach through etymology in the broader frame of Heidegger's system of thought.

first meaning of words. For instance, saying “truth” in Greek, *aletheia*, finding its supposedly primary elements, *a-lethe-ia*, is far more relevant than logically complicated theories on the essence of truth. Hearing the word “logic” as the Greek *Logos*, or the Speech, is more important than implementing logical structures in one’s narratives. Such an etymological practice is very common among all the ancient philosophies and cultures I have gone through, in the Indo-European as well as the Semitic world: one’s destiny or character is enshrined in the meaning of his name; it is the same for toponyms, kings, periods of history, names of tribes...

This point has at least two consequences. Contemporary academic research postulates a strict separation between words and things, or, with more technical terms, the signifier and the signified (Saussure), which are linked in a merely conventional way. Exceptions may occur, as for instance those described by Austin or Foucault, but the ideal, academic language should be protected from them. That is why academic papers can be translated in other languages and possess a universal meaning. To the contrary, Heidegger’s point of view necessarily leads to a theory of “truth-bearing languages”, languages in which words and sentences have an immediate an genuine relationship with truth. Heidegger identified two of them: Greek and a, reconstructed by himself, ancient German. Nearly each and every Heidegger’s lecture after about 1940 first attempts to translate the keywords of the lecture’s topic in Greek or “old German”. Other languages, chiefly Latin and French, are not suited for philosophy and thinking (“German has its abilities, whereas French has its limits”, according to the *Letter on Humanism*). This inequality among languages reminds clearly the holy status of given languages in many cultures, be it Latin in Catholic Europe, Slavonic in Russia, Hebrew in the Jewish world, Geez in Ethiopia, Quranic Arabic for Moslems, Sanskrit in North India, etc.

Another main difference between Heidegger and the western academic tradition is the issue of secrecy. Whereas the latter seeks the broadest possible diffusion, as the assessment criterions based on success of a given paper or researcher show it, Heidegger sought secrecy for the most important parts of his thought, which should be known only by a small minority.<sup>6</sup> For instance, only small, cryptic texts were long available. Heidegger did publish only a tiny part of his complete works. The translations came often very late: the French official translation of Heidegger’s masterpiece, *Being and Time*, came out almost sixty years after the German release. His second masterpiece, the *Contributions (Beiträge)*, which enshrines Heidegger’s analysis on the Being, never enjoyed a broad diffusion. Heidegger’s teachings have been for most of his life oral-only. This of course had an impact on his language, gave it an esoteric appearance, and chiefly downgraded the actual text to an *aide-memoir*.

One last dichotomy between Heidegger and the western academic tradition can be mentioned here. Whereas speech shall be spoken by an individual, a “subject”, Heidegger considers speech an emanation of a superhuman

entity, the Speech, the Being, etc. One should merely listen to it and repeat it. Heidegger expressed this through a word game: “die Sprache spricht”, the Speech speaks. This could, by the way, be a modern translation of the fundamental Vaac theory in the Veda. Unsurprisingly, orientalists like Midal view this as one of Heidegger’s main contributions to philosophy, since in Buddhism “the ego does not speak, the speech comes from another place” (Midal p. 76). Sometimes, Heidegger described the origin of language as the “friend”: one should listen to the voice of the friend that every Dasein (human) has in himself (Being and Time p. 163 § 34), and always be next to this friend (*ibid.* p. 887). This could be a translation of the doust figure, also “friend” in Persian, but an embodiment of God in Persian mysticism. In brief, this can be considered an anti-Copernician revolution, for “the world no longer revolves around men, but around the Being” (Bensussan p. 28).

Towards the end of his life, Heidegger summed up his reflections on language in his lecture “Traditional Language and Technological Language” (1962), which shows the very central role not only of language as such in Heidegger’s thought, but also the strict dichotomy between two major possible options.

## Part 2 : Time and history

Besides the question of language, the issue of time and history could be viewed as a second main dimension of the western academic tradition. It can be divided into two more or less related parts: the definition of time as such, and the issue of global history. Due to the restrictions proper to the scope of this paper, I will mainly focus on the latter.

The dominant philosophy of history, since at least the Renaissance and the Enlightenment periods, could be summed up as a slow but constant and almost unlimited progress towards a better situation in each and every aspect of life. Even such a not overly enthralled by philosophy of history thinker as Kant took the tide of global history as granted, that goes without proving it. The idea of all-encompassing progress may have suffered setbacks during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it kept going on partly due to the cumulative principles of science.

Outwardly, Heidegger belongs clearly to a much broader trend in European, peculiarly German academic research, which puts the emphasis on getting an understanding of world history. It can be ascribed to contemporaries of Hegel, who witnessed the climax of Enlightenment optimistic beliefs and the major overhaul of European politics that followed. Their philosophy of history was a kind of global theoretical frame that encompassed and extended those events.

<sup>6</sup> Among whom a knowledge-based hierarchy arises: Midal greets the 1962 introduction to *Being and Time*, because it shows that listening is not enough without obedience (Midal p. 75).

<sup>7</sup> See also Fedier p. 15. Heidegger expressed this through a play on words: “I am”, “ich bin” in German, is close to “bei”, next to. This word game is a good example of Heidegger’s conception of etymology: more than a linguistic scientific approach, he uses older methods of comparison (the inversion of the order of letters is frequently used in Jewish mysticism) in order to obtain also non-academic results (the idea of proximity of the teacher and the pupil is central, again in Jewish mysticism, but also in Indian tradition: Upanishad literally comes from the verb “to sit near”).

It was then modified by the socialist thinkers, taken over, distorted and simplified by the Nazi movement, etc.

In his first years, Heidegger did not focus his attention on global history. His thesis on the judgement in the psychologism, then the one on Duns Scotus, do not address the issue of global history. Even *Being and Time* is more devoted to the role of the individual (*Dasein*) than to philosophy of history; its second half, which should have dealt more specifically with time, was never published.

This question reached Heidegger through at least three channels. First, his personal life and career, chiefly his short but intense involvement in politics, at a moment when the course of global history apparently was on the verge of entering into a new era. Briefly said, he first joined the side of proponents of self-affirmation, advocating a “positive”, unrelentingly enhancing philosophy of history. Then, before the war and especially after it, he entered a Buddhism-like introverted stage (Midal), in which the philosophy of history became the philosophy of the negatively perceived ongoing expansion of technology. These biographical will be skipped, for they have been described at length in many research papers.

The next possible influence on Heidegger’s growing consciousness of philosophy of history may be part of the spontaneous evolution of his thought. His growing efforts to “overcome” (a key Heideggerian verb) an increasing part of the great philosophers of the past may have led him to accept only the most remote ones, namely the Presocratics.<sup>8</sup>

But the third one, that is to say the influence of extra-European philosophers, remains a mystery. This time, unlike the questions of language and Being, India might not have been Heidegger’s main source of inspiration. Its creation-perpetuation-destruction scheme, which certainly was taken over by Heidegger in his analysis of the pulsating movements of the Being, in my opinion has only a loose link with his theory of global history.

The Gnostic heritage might be a better clue. Hans Jonas, a heavily Heidegger-influenced philosopher and also a specialist of gnosis, was among the first discoverers of the deep connection between Heidegger and the ancient time gnosis. Both base their theories on the reality and the presence, threatening or not, of a small number of extraordinary events. First, human beings as well as the world as a whole are courting disaster: death for the former and the little specified “catastrophe” for the latter. Heidegger’s opponents frequently criticized his “being toward death” concept, probably because they could not place it in its cultural and philosophical context. Therefore the individual is facing a dire situation, in which he is “thrown”, “abandoned” (both verbs are Heidegger’s) on earth. This biblical theme (known as “dereliction”) was dramatically strengthened by almost all the dissident religious groups through the long history of Christianity (the same phenomenon exists in Judaism and Islam also): the negative judgement on the world gives to the hope and expectation of the final event its status as the only relevant moment in personal or global history.

<sup>8</sup> The 1936 Freiburg lecture “What is metaphysics?” was probably the one which launched the long-term agenda of destruction (*Destruktion*), later translated as deconstruction by post-Heideggerian scholars, of the history of philosophy.

Shortly before this end, another event occurs in the Gnostic philosophy of time: the Call. The deity contacts by means of supernatural, often very discrete, means the future redeemed one. In Heidegger’s philosophy, this call is attributed to the great masters of the (Presocratic) past, or even the gods of ancient Greece, to whom Heidegger frequently refers not as actual beings, but as bearers of the genuine meaning of Greek words. His followers ascribed this role to Heidegger himself. The title of Francois Fedier’s book, *Listening to Heidegger (Entendre Heidegger)*, could be an example; one can also note the double meaning of the verb “to listen”, “hören”, which means to hear as a physical act, and to obey to a master. In Heidegger’s life, the so called “Kehre” period by Heidegger-scholars, that happened somewhere in the thirties, and whose main peculiarity is the shift towards questions of Being and its mysteries, can be compared with a Gnostic Call-like event. On the Buddhist side, Midal also stresses the importance of this break, and depicts the Heidegger’s “jump” (*Sprung*) theory as a transfer from the “tree of metaphysics” to the “tree rooted in the Being”, as master Chögyam Trungpa did (Midal p. 91).

Next, in both Gnostic and Heidegger’s thought the extremes are the most important parts of history. Contrary to Kant, who specifically forbid attempts to understand the first and last moments of the world, for Heidegger and the Gnostics, as well as for many other minority religious groups, only the beginning and the end matter. The Gnostic beginning is frequently called *pleroma* due to its fullness; at the end of time, after the catastrophe (*kata-strophe* means the turn around) humanity will return to it. Heidegger frequently opposes the Greek dawn with our dusk. The West is, according to him, the *Abendland*, the land of the evening. But this seemingly gloomy consciousness of time is broken by the hope that in the very worst moment the supernatural powers will bring us back to the blessed beginning. One of the most frequently quoted and commented quotations by Heidegger and his disciples is “Wo aber Gefahr ist, wächst / das Rettende auch”, that is, loosely translated: “where the danger is, grows the saving also”.

### Conclusive remarks

Every research work on a well-known philosopher or scientist is sooner or later confronted with the dilemma between exceedingly specialized research and broad, encompassing, and therefore seemingly less well-founded, more polemical studies. Heidegger could be an example *par excellence* of such a thinker, so frequently described and argued upon that each new research on him faces circuitous evaluation procedures and distrustful regards, mainly because of its potential hidden curriculum.

As for me, I did not attempt to deconstruct (if I can use this typically post-Heideggerian word) the “black box”, the internal clockwork behind Heidegger’s intellectual production. Arguments overly focused on the individual, which frequently lead to *ad hominem* derogatory or laudatory comments, only contribute, according to my opinion, to blur the global picture and push aside the relevant questions.

Therefore, I did not aim at reconstructing the diverse non-western sources of inspiration Heidegger has successively been in contact with, nor at answering the question whether he was a mere super-translator, but I simply gave some examples of the numerous similarities between Heidegger and other, frequently hard to identify, extra-European thinkers.

Two concluding remarks should be drawn. First, the words “East” and “West”, which were frequently used in this paper and deliberately kept undetermined, deserve some precisions in the light of Heidegger’s legacy. In Heidegger’s thought, they should not be understood as geographical toponyms, but as convenient designations of two, rather blurry stages, not clearly successive, in human thinking. The “West” can be understood as the stage in which the multidimensional process which began in Greece, continued in Europe, and which blends technology, “theo-logy” (rational description of God), forgetting of being, etc, took place. On the contrary, Heidegger’s “East” encompasses all the rest, Greece before its classical thinkers, and the remaining parts of the world.

Albeit Heidegger’s East can be somehow compared with the well known Saidian and even Hegelian pattern, because it comprehends all geographically or historically remote from the West to which the philosopher belongs parts of the world, and defines them as “lacking” areas, Heidegger cannot be easily labelled an orientalist philosopher. He almost never, as it has been said earlier, at least in his published papers, paid any attention to Asia or Africa. The sole purpose of his rare allusions to non-European philosophy or literature is to depict them as irrelevant or even nonexistent.<sup>9</sup>

This is, according to the thesis of this paper, is predominantly a concealment strategy.

Heidegger’s East comes into being in the very heart of the West, by two means. First, Heidegger’s quest for Presocratic wisdom is a sophisticated reversal of the “one cradle” theory.<sup>10</sup> Next comes the role of the reconstructed old German culture and language.

So, was Heidegger a mere super-translator? The question is almost impossible to answer. The only answer I can give for sure is that his extraordinary success, the fact that he was and still is one of the most influential philosophers for many parts of the social sciences and humanities proves that East and West are more deeply intertwined than is commonly believed, and that their diverse patterns of thought are desperately in search of each other.

<sup>9</sup> His main French follower, Jean Beaufret, for instance forbid to consider there is a Hebrew text of the Bible, because the world goes into total decline as soon as its first word, *bara*’ (created), is pronounced in another language than Greek.

<sup>10</sup> Heidegger’s original or genuine Greece seemingly promotes it, but the fact that Presocratic philosophers were before the foundation of what might be referred to as the West, were opposed to it or at least can be considered opposed to it, shatters that theory. Presocratic studies, in spite of their Greek appearance, can embody the unspeakable East. It is all the more successful because Presocratic writings are extremely short and obscure, which allows many various kinds of exegesis.

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Елена Богатырёва

### ОБРАЗ ВОСТОКА В СОВРЕМЕННОМ КИНЕМАТОГРАФЕ ГЕРМАНИИ

Сразу оговорю основные координаты, исходные посылки моего сообщения. Во-первых, представление о том, что образ *Востока* в европейском сознании является не *периферийным* моментом, а существенной характеристикой этого сознания. В том смысле, что если попытаться схематично (то есть без развёрнутых обоснований) представить ту *систему видения*, картину мира, которая сложилась в Европе в Новое время (более определённо – в эпоху модерна), то образ *другого* и представление о сосуществовании *других* культур окажутся значимыми характеристиками этой картины, проявлением её открытости. Поэтому *Восток* в данном случае является понятием не столько географическим, сколько метафорическим, условным и представляет собой частный случай образа *другого*.

Во-вторых, к исходным положениям относится тезис о том, что в *искусстве* образ *другого* акцентирует сам факт наличия интереса к этой теме, привлекает внимание к её конкретным проявлениям. Как это было, например, в искусстве европейского романтизма, который впервые продемонстрировал возникновение представлений о *разных масштабах*, присущих искусству разных эпох и регионов. Не случайно особую популярность в романтизме приобрели условный «образ *Востока*» и так называемая «тема экзотики». Даже садово-парковое искусство в романтизме оказалось примером наглядного воплощения представлений о культурном многообразии. То есть в романтизме произошло художественное оформление интереса к проявлениям *других* культур.

В романтизме сложились и первые *визуальные образы других культур* (например, в живописи Э. Делакруа и др.). Я привожу эти примеры из области живописи, чтобы в контексте сопоставления рассмотреть, каким образом кинематограф подходит к воплощению образа *другого* вообще и *Востока* в частности. Тема культурного многообразия в современном европейском кино – одна из наиболее актуальных и популярных. Если попытаться сопоставить способы реконструкции образов *других культур* в кинематографе с освоением и воссозданием образа *другого* в европейской живописи конца XIX в., то можно прийти к любопытным аналогиям. Так, в живописи романтизма образ *Востока*, и шире – образ *другой культуры*, воссоздавался на уровне темы, сюжета, как некий собирательный образ неевропейской («экзотической») культуры. Принципиально новый этап визуализации образа *Востока* в европейском искусстве продемонстрировал модернизм. В ряде течений модернистского искусства рубежа

XIX–XX вв. предпринимаются попытки воспроизвести уже *мир глазами другого*, реконструировать *другой способ видения* посредством специфически живописных изобразительных средств (П. Гоген и др.).

Кинематограф, который явно не мог ограничиться находками живописи, нашёл свой путь реконструкции и воссоздания *другой* (по сравнению с западноевропейской) картины мира. Кинематографический «образ Востока» (воспользуемся этим условным обозначением) оказался не только визуальным, но преимущественно *аудиовизуальным*, так как распространённым приёмом его воплощения стало использование музыкальных стилизаций, воссоздающих «аутентичную» этномузыку. Киноискусство чутко уловило динамику образа *Востока* в координатах современных европейских культур. В отличие от того образа *другого*, который можно было наблюдать в изобразительном искусстве XIX–XX вв., это уже не просто *другой* – это *свой-другой*, функционирующий как часть или элемент поликультурного общества. Особенности воссоздания образа *Востока*, темы *Востока* в современном европейском кино рассмотрим на примере кинематографа Германии.

Первый контекст, с которым связана тема *Востока* в современном немецком кино, – это тема иммиграции, и шире – тема дороги, передвижений, мобильности. В эпоху очередного «переселения народов» традиционная для кинематографа тема дороги приобрела практически буквальный смысл. Это уже не просто метафора перемен, а основное содержание и основная проблема современной эпохи. Достаточно вспомнить многочисленные в последние годы кинофильмы о взаимоотношениях различных культурных групп и диаспор, о жизни иммигрантов в поликультурных западных обществах. Фиксируя значимые социокультурные реалии, условный образ *Востока* в сегодняшнем европейском кино расширил область своего определения. Хотя в соответствии с наиболее распространённой версией *Восток* по-прежнему трактуется в духе ориентализма. Поэтому первую тенденцию в интерпретации образа *Востока* в современном европейском (немецком) кино условно так и обозначим: *Восток* как «Orient».

Второй контекст, или вторая тенденция, акцентируют тот факт, что в 90-е гг. прошедшего века «образ Востока» вдруг изменил свои и без того условные координаты. В роли привлекательного *другого* на авансцену вышел уже не тот *Восток*, который открыл для себя романтизм, а скорее Восточная Европа. На фоне европейских интеграционных процессов эта тенденция вполне понятна. Кинематограф зафиксировал то обстоятельство, что восточноевропейские культуры стали рассматриваться с точки зрения собственного своеобразия и оригинальности. Под шапкой привычного именованного «Восточная Европа» кинематограф обнаружил множество культурных различий. В одном из известных голливудских фильмов<sup>1</sup> начала 90-х гг. встречается любопытная оговорка: *знаком* понижения (по службе в издательстве для главного героя становится предположение (высказанное не без лукавства) «подумать о Восточной Европе»

<sup>1</sup> “Wolf” («Волк»), США, 1994 г.

как о вероятно перспективном новом рынке. Буквально за считанные годы восприятие восточноевропейского искусства изменяется в сторону неподдельного интереса и внимания. Одним из вариантов проявления такого интереса к восточноевропейским кинематографиям со стороны собственных же соседей, а также поводом к созданию «новых редакций» образа восточноевропейского *Востока*, являются совместные кинопроекты.

Кинематографическая «иконография» воплощения образа *восточноевропейского другого* в конце 90-х гг. складывалась не без влияния стилистики фильмов режиссёра Э. Кустурицы – отсюда и неперенные стилиобразующие вкрапления этномызыки. Впоследствии находки Кустурицы в плане изобразительных приёмов будут варьироваться и творчески осваиваться кинематографистами, обратившимися к проблемам культурного многообразия в самом широком контексте.

И ещё одна тенденция может быть рассмотрена как вариация темы *Востока* в современном европейском (немецком) кино. Поскольку в европейском кино сегодня «едут все» (и не только в фильмах жанра роуд-муви) и поскольку историями об иммиграции и иммигрантах тема дороги в современном кино не исчерпывается, то «восточное» (в указанных выше двух аспектах) направление нередко выступает как открытый финал и условный выход для метущегося героя. Речь далеко не всегда идёт о путешествии как жанре, поскольку в киноисториях рубежа веков в дорогу пускаются даже те персонажи, которые десятилетиями наблюдали окружающий мир исключительно сквозь экран телевизионного монитора.

Итак, на примере современного кинематографа Германии можно выделить по крайней мере три контекста, в которых фигурирует кинематографический образ *Востока*:

– *Восток* как «Orient»

– *Восток* как Восточная Европа

– *Восток* как направление некоторого условного «встречного» движения, как открытый финал и намёк на возможность «хэппи-энда» за пределами экранного времени.

Первая и вторая тенденции переплетаются с темой миграции и культурного многообразия в пространстве современных европейских культур. В некоторых фильмах последнего десятилетия (“*Tor zum Himmel*” («Врата рая»)<sup>2</sup>, “*Lichter*” («Дальний свет»)<sup>3</sup>, “*Solino*” («Солино»)<sup>4</sup>, “*Gegen die Wand*” («Головой о стену»)<sup>5</sup> и других) эта реальность межкультурных взаимодействий становится просто повседневностью, фоном, жизненным миром, в контексте которого разворачиваются истории современных героев.

<sup>2</sup> “*Tor zum Himmel*”, Германия, 2003 г., режиссёр Ф. Хельмер (Veit Helmer). На Московском международном кинофестивале в 2004 г. фильм демонстрировался под названием «Врата рая».

<sup>3</sup> “*Lichter*”, Германия, 2003 г., режиссёр Х.-К. Шмид (Hans-Christian Schmid). В российский прокате демонстрировался под названием «Дальний свет».

<sup>4</sup> “*Solino*”, Германия, 2002 г., режиссёр Ф. Акин (Fatih Akin).

<sup>5</sup> “*Gegen die Wand*”, Германия / Турция, 2004 г., режиссёр Ф. Акин (Fatih Akin). В российском прокате демонстрировался под названием «Головой о стену».

В интерпретации темы иммиграции в современном немецком кино просматривается ряд направлений: от тенденций, которые условно можно назвать романтизацией, до опытов реконструкции «другого видения». Образ *другого* вообще и образ *Востока* в частности всё чаще пересекаются с темой главных героев. Что касается романтических мотивов в её воплощении, то они проявляются в трактовках, подчёркивающих прежде всего непосредственность, цельность и целеустремлённость главных действующих лиц. В качестве примера можно сослаться на киногероев одного из упомянутых выше фильмов – «Врата рая». Это нелегальные иммигранты, которые ещё не стали частью западного мультикультурного общества, но которые мечтают об этом. «Мечты» разворачиваются в форме музыкальных эпизодов. Музыкальные темы главной героини (молодой индианки) стилизованы под узнаваемые приметы индийского кино. Похоже, что в целом авторы фильма смотрят на своих героев с оптимизмом, поскольку в финале, после всех немислимых приключений, главных героев ожидает «хэппи энд».

В соответствии с другой наметившейся тенденцией и сама тема иммиграции, и связанные с ней киногерои подаются более многопланово, особенно когда создатели фильма стремятся подчеркнуть, что не уклоняются от сложных вопросов и избегают однозначных оценок, проецируя проблему на более широкий социокультурный контекст (например, как в упомянутом выше фильме «Дальний свет»). Тенденцию к реконструкции «другого видения» можно проиллюстрировать на примере фильмов режиссёра Ф. Акина «Солино», «Головой о стену» и других. Режиссёр включает в киноповествование взгляд на проблему с точки зрения героя, которого воспринимают в качестве «другого» (в смысле представителя другой культуры), но при этом сам он своей «другости» не ощущает. В фильме «Головой о стену» этот двойной ракурс подчёркивает сознательно воссоздаваемая стилизованная «экзотика» – свидетельство рефлексивности данного приёма. По ходу действия (как припев) постоянно возникает одна и та же красочная музыкальная картина – исполняющий динамичную этномызыку ансамбль (который к тому же вызывает определённые ассоциации с хором в античном театре).

Как стремление преодолеть привычные стереотипы, связываемые с образом *Востока*, и как продолжение размышлений о культурном многообразии воспринимается документальный фильм “*Die Höhle des gelben Hundes*” («Логово жёлтого пса»)<sup>6</sup>. Режиссёр фильма Б. Даваа начинала свою кинематографическую деятельность в Монголии, а затем училась в Мюнхенской академии кино и телевидения. Киноповествование воспроизводит неспешную размеренную жизнь семьи монгольских кочевников, протекающую в суровых степных условиях. Кинокамера фиксирует тяжёлый быт, с которым люди справляются вполне достойно, постоянную

<sup>6</sup> “*Die Höhle des gelben Hundes*”, Германия, 2005 г., режиссёр Биамбасурен Даваа (Byambasuren Davaa). Её предшествующий документальный фильм “*The Story of the Weeping Camel*” (“*Die Geschichte vom weinenden Kamel*”, «История плачущего верблюда»), 2003 г., был номинирован в 2005 г. на премию Оскар в номинации «Лучший документальный фильм».



необходимость бороться за жизнь, спастись от набегов хищников. При этом герои фильма добры, живут в согласии с окружающим миром, любят своих детей. Режиссёр (она же автор сценария) фиксирует жизнь своих героев с теплотой, которая читается в каждом кадре, но без идиллического пафоса. Зрителю дают понять, что герои фильма ведут этот трудный и необычный с точки зрения европейца XXI в. образ жизни не из особой предрасположенности к нему, а скорее из-за отсутствия материальной возможности переехать в город. Правда, кажется, что эта вынужденность не слишком тяготит их. Автору удаётся передать эту историю без назидательности, с достоинством. И с некоторой иронией по поводу пасторальных изображений стереотипного образа *другого* как «образа экзотики».

Сотрудничество с представителями восточноевропейских кинематографий в форме совместных кинофильмов давно стало популярной и продуктивной тенденцией в современном кино Германии. В качестве одного из примеров таких совместных проектов, дополняющих представление о «восточноевропейском Востоке», сошлюсь на кинофильм “Lost and found” («Потери и обретения»)<sup>7</sup>. Фильм объединяет несколько новелл, созданных кинематографистами в основном из стран Восточной Европы<sup>8</sup>. Идея проекта состояла в воссоздании портрета молодого поколения европейских кинематографистов, поскольку режиссёрам, участвовавшим в создании фильма, не было и тридцати лет. В воплощении представлений о культурном многообразии не последнюю роль играли музыкальные стилизации: лейтмотивом всего фильма стала исполненная динамичных лирических ритмов мелодия из болгарской киноновеллы, дополняющая «страноведческие» кинообразы.

Что касается третьей тенденции, то несмотря на то, что далеко не все киногерои едут на *Восток* (поскольку география «встречного движения» включает все стороны света), тем не менее условное «восточное» направление является распространённым вектором развития киноисторий. Учитывая все рассмотренные выше оттенки его значений. В качестве одного из примеров сошлюсь на фильм, который также является результатом совместного кинопроизводства в данном случае Германии, Казахстана и Франции. Герой фильма «Ульжан» (“Ulzhan”)<sup>9</sup> отправляется «на Восток» и оказывается на территории постсоветского пространства, а именно в Казахстане, где и разворачивается действие киноистории. (То есть образ *Востока* в этом путешествии охвачен во всех перечисленных

<sup>7</sup> “Lost and found”, 2004 г., Германия, Босния и Герцеговина, Болгария, Эстония, Румыния, Сербия, Черногория, Венгрия. В рамках XXVII Московского кинофестиваля в 2005 г. демонстрировался под названием «Потери и обретения».

<sup>8</sup> Режиссёры: Майт Лаас (Mait Laas), Надежда Косева (Nadejda Koseva), Кристиан Минжиу (Cristian Mungiu), Ясмилла Жбанич (Jasmila Zbanich), Корнель Мундручо (Kornél Mundruczó), Стефан Арсениевич (Stefan Arsenijevic). Арт-директором, инициатором и автором концепции выступил Николай Никитин (Германия).

<sup>9</sup> “Ulzhan – Das vergessene Licht” («Ульжан»), Германия / Казахстан / Франция, 2007. Режиссёр Фолькер Шлөндорф (Volker Schlöndorff), авторы сценария – Жан-Клод Карьер (Jean-Claude Carrière), Жан-Мари Камбасерес (Jean-Mari Cambaceres), Режи Гельзбаш (Regis Ghezelbash).

значениях этого слова.) Не останавливаясь более подробно ни на сюжете, ни на анализе самой истории, отметим, что режиссёром фильма выступил представитель «нового немецкого кино» Ф. Шлөндорф, а одним из соавторов сценария – известный французский сценарист Ж.-К. Карьер.

Итак, наряду с выводом о том, что кинообраз *другой* культуры превращается в знак фокусирования внимания, фиксируя наличие интереса к данной теме, можно отметить следующее. Прежде всего, кинематографический образ *другого* вообще и образ *Востока* в частности динамичен, подвижен и представляет собой вынесенный в зону публичных дискуссий своего рода проект для взаимной координации. Картины мира современных европейцев давно вобрали в себя некоторые из тех представлений, которые ещё в начале XX в. рассматривались как *другие* по отношению к ним. (Для сравнения можно вспомнить ряд положений из работы Э. Гуссерля «Кризис европейского человечества и философия».) В процессе социокультурной интеграции образы *другого*, образы *Востока* встраиваются в механизм адаптации, в результате чего осуществляется двусторонний «перевод» непонятого на *свой* язык. То есть проявляется и закрепляется тенденция к превращению *другого* в *своего другого*. А сама эволюция рассматриваемого образа в европейском кинематографе может служить свидетельством интенсификации межкультурных взаимодействий, а вместе с тем и интеграционных процессов. Поэтому есть надежда, что в результате этой художественной коммуникации будет происходить взаимная координация и взаимная «настройка».

community of fate, for lack of a political one, and shared common representations of distinctive attributes and interests seems rather anachronistic in these conditions.

In the 1870s, as Tokyo was taking military and administrative control of the kingdom, the dominant view among Japanese officials, held in particular by the two leaders of the new regime Inoue Kaoru and Ōkubo Toshimichi, was that it had been a dependency of Japan for centuries, and that its inhabitants should therefore be considered as Japanese subjects. Officials of conservative persuasion, reversing the argument, opposed that precisely because of its subordinate and external situation vis-à-vis historical Japan its territory and population being unfit to be integrated into the nation. For the sake of administrative harmonization, territorial consistency and national defense, Tokyo eventually decided to normalize the situation by incorporating the islands within the nation as a prefecture, that is, by placing them under its full sovereignty. Be it called “annexation” or “merging” (the word *heigō*, like the less frequent *gappei*, carries these two meanings), or understood simply as a border adjustment, the ending of the ambiguous political status of that peripheral territory was made tangible to all by a new Japanese-sounding name imposed on it, Okinawa.<sup>4</sup>

It then took more than a decade before Tokyo started implementing administrative reforms, which would bring the new prefecture into conformity with the rest of Japan no earlier than in the 1910s. But prior to those reforms, schools opened in many places, from which a new élite was soon to arise. With an even greater concern than in other prefectures, the people came progressively to attach the utmost importance to education. But in Okinawa, besides the standard objectives of school education, it also became the main vehicle of a long-term policy of civic and cultural “assimilation” to Japan (*dōka*).

As often noted, China was not so prompt as Japan to realize that the western concept of sovereignty, forced upon East Asian countries, meant effective administrative control of territories and populations. More crucial problems at home and on its borders also delayed its reaction to the annexation of its tributary kingdom. In 1880, when Japan eventually accepted China’s demand of negotiations, the English-language press applied itself to spreading its respective arguments for claiming sovereign rights over the defunct kingdom. Through these, each side essentially tried to persuade western representatives and public opinion of its legitimacy and to gain their support. Japan’s justification of its already *de facto* possession of the kingdom’s territory rested on all sorts of considerations relating to geography, history, administration, religion, manners, language and the writing system, and even to a more fallacious parentage between the Ryūkyūan kings and the Japanese emperors. The racial element was absent, or only implicit. China had fewer arguments to oppose, although these had been long known to the world. They centered on the investiture of

<sup>4</sup> The word *heigō* is also the official designation for the annexation of the Japanese protectorate of Korea in 1910. Often rendered as “colonization” or “shift to the status of colony” in that case, it is no less ambiguous than the English “annexation” in that it can refer either to a thorough legal integration or to a subordinate status.

the Ryūkyūan kings by imperial envoys, on the tribute system in general, which meant, at face value, recognition of China’s “suzerainty”, and on age-old cultural influences as exemplified by the use of Chinese era names.

There was, of course, no equivalence between what each party could expect from the negotiations. While Japan aimed at international recognition of its sovereign rights over a Ryūkyū territory which it already controlled, China asked less realistically for the restoration of the kingdom and of its former tributary status. An agreement eventually came out, which provided for a partition and minimal restoration of the former kingdom. But the Chinese government, swayed by the objections of Ryūkyūan aristocrats who had taken refuge in China, never ratified the document. Fifteen years later, Japan’s victory over China would dispel lingering attachments to it.

After this brief introduction focusing on the birth of Okinawa Prefecture, I would like now to examine the concept of “colony”, or “colonization”, as applied nowadays to prewar Okinawa and to try to assess its relevance in comparison with foreign situations. My interest in this topic arose from the observation that the terms “colony”, “colonial” or “colonization” are increasingly used to characterize the situation of Okinawa summarily from its annexation to 1945. This is especially the case with student essays, which often borrow from English sources with little discernment, or with the Internet and all sorts of brief outlines of Okinawa’s prewar history that can be read here and there.<sup>5</sup> But the outright characterization of prewar Okinawa as a colony is also found under the pen of established scholars. Christopher Nelson, for example, in his recent book *Dancing with the Dead*, which is concerned with the material and memorial legacies of the war and U.S. occupation, takes for granted that Okinawa was harshly, and even “brutally”, colonized by the Japanese state, although no evidence is given that this would be the common viewpoint of the population.<sup>6</sup> More hesitant, some authors use the ambiguous adjectives “quasi-colonial” or “semi-colonial”.

Another concomitant reason to be interested in this question is the difficulty I always face, when discussing with western specialists of colonial societies, in fitting Okinawa’s case into a general problematic of colonization, from which, otherwise, Japan’s administration of overseas territories, such as Korea, China or Indonesia, does not differ significantly.

Up to 1945, in Okinawan publications, though what I am about to say is likely true of all Japanese publications, post-annexation Okinawa was definitely not associated with the idea of colonial rule. On the contrary, press references to peoples and territories under Japanese colonial control would implicitly enhance the position of Okinawa as part of the “homeland” (*naichi*), as opposed to

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Hibino Makoto, “Nihon no, soshite Beikoku no shokuminchi toshite no Okinawa (Okinawa as, successively, a colony of Japan and the United States)”, *Pocoapoco (Gei furonto kikan)*, vol. 12, March 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Nelson, *Dancing with the Dead. Memory, Performance, and Everyday Life in Postwar Okinawa*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2008. See pp. 128, 133, 239, 242, *passim*.

the “outside territories” (*gaichi*) such as Taiwan and Korea, whose populations were also recognized as Japanese nationals. The Okinawans were officially ethnic/racial Japanese, and their loyalty to the nation hence was unquestionable. Any infringement on that tenet, especially from mainlanders, was felt as humiliating and aroused the strongest protests in the local press, as illustrated by incidents such as the 1903 anthropological exhibition in Ōsaka, which brought two Okinawan women together with representatives of non-Japanese ethnic groups, the short-lived 1908 project to rescind Okinawa’s prefectural status and to put it under Taiwan’s governorship, or the encouragement to preserve their supposedly non-nationalist state of mind given by the Socialist economist Kawakami Hajime to the Okinawans in 1913.<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly, the prevailing discourse among scholars and journalists during that period tended to consider the kingdom of Ryūkyū as an historical offshoot of Japan, and its annexation as an ethnic or national reunion (*minzoku tōitsu*, *kokumin-teki tōitsu*). Okinawa’s intellectual and economic attrition, in a word its backwardness, was understood as the consequence of centuries of domination by Satsuma. Freed from its old regime, the Japanese state superseded Satsuma to become the purveyor of modernity to Okinawa.

The Methodist missionary Henry B. Schwartz, who settled in Okinawa in 1906, bears witness to those views in an article published in 1910 under the now somewhat misleading title “Japan’s Oldest Colony”.<sup>8</sup> The colonizing power referred here is not the Japanese state but Satsuma, and the author purports to show, statistics in hand, how beneficial to its inhabitants, not to the national budget, Tokyo’s policy has proven to be since the creation of the prefecture. The integration of the kingdom into Meiji Japan is hailed as a liberation from the domination of the Satsuma clan, as a salutary move from a clan dependency resting on the complacency of a conservative and ignorant local ruling class to a national dependency: “Year by year since that time the island prefecture has become more like the rest of the Empire.” With the opening of the first prefectural assembly in 1909, and “in the absence of oppression”, the Japanese government achieved “the close of colonial government in the former kingdom of Loo Choo [Ryūkyū] and its complete assimilation to the Empire of Japan.”

Four years later, in 1914, the influential scholar Iha Fuyū, celebrated as the “father of Okinawan studies”, wrote in the same spirit that he regarded the annexation of the kingdom as a “deliverance from slavery” (*dorei kaihō*).<sup>9</sup>

For the period since 1945, the designation or evocation of prewar Okinawa as a colony is assuredly quite infrequent until the 1990s, except for the publica-

<sup>7</sup> Ōta Chōfu, *Ōta Chōfu senshū* (Selected works of Ōta Chōfu), Tokyo, Daiichi shobō, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 213–216; Oguma Eiji, *Nihonjin no kyōkai. Okinawa, Ainu, Chōsen: shokuminchi shihai kara fukki undō made* (The Boundaries of the Japanese. Okinawa, Ainu, Korea: From the colonial rule to the reversion movement), Tokyo, Shinyō-sha, 1998, p. 48; Ōta Masahide, *Okinawa no minshū ishiki* (Popular consciousness in Okinawa), Tokyo, Shinsen-sha, 1995, pp. 316–319.

<sup>8</sup> Henry B. Schwartz, “Japan’s Oldest Colony”, *Japan Magazine*, vol. 1 (March 1910), pp. 84–91.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Gabe Masao, *Kindai Nihon to Okinawa* (Modern Japan and Okinawa), Tokyo, Sanichi shobō, 1981, pp. 15–17.

tions and leaflets of the pro-independence minority and of all those who temporarily refused the prospect of restoring Okinawa to Japan. The Korean War and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, concluded in 1951 along with the San Francisco Peace Treaty, prompted many of the leftist advocates of Okinawa’s independence to revise their ideas, in line with Moscow’s strategic readjustment, and to rise up against the U.S. occupation with the aim of having Okinawa soon revert to Japanese administration. Such activists organized and spearheaded the “reversion movement” (*fukki undō*) of the 1950s and 60s. As on the mainland, where throughout the 1950s Communist and Socialist opponents to the Security Treaty equated the maintenance of U.S. forces on the Japanese soil to “colonization”, the United States, a one-time liberator of Japan’s from its militarist regime, had turned into a colonizing power.

The idea that Okinawa was a colony of imperial Japan was also suggested by American wartime and early postwar publications. By stressing differences that could breed grounds for resentment against Japan among Okinawans, that literature aimed both at consolidating U.S. authority and at justifying the separation of those islands from mainland Japan.

Since the Second World War historians often have examined Tokyo’s arguments for laying claim to the kingdom of Ryūkyū and debated the meaning and conditions of its absorption into the Japanese state. With few exceptions, they refrain from taking a political stand on the annexation itself.<sup>10</sup> More recently, as in English, and to some degree influenced by western colonial studies, a number of scholarly publications approach the issue of prewar Okinawa in the light of Japan’s Korean and Taiwanese colonial policies.<sup>11</sup> However, the application of the term “colony” to Okinawa remains very careful, and seems greatly influenced, especially in activist publications, by contemporary issues.<sup>12</sup> Significantly enough, in the English abstract of his 2006 article on *Ryūkyū shobun* (literally “the disposition of Ryūkyū”, the period from 1872 to 1879), Yonaha Jun took care to add, in parenthesis, the word “colonization” after the word “integration”, his translation of *heigō*, whereas no proper word referring to “colonization” is to be found in the Japanese text. It is true that in the case of Korea, as specified above, *heigō* is often rendered as “colonization”.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For instance, see the debate between Araki Moriaki and Kinjō Seitoku in Yamamoto Eiji, *Okinawa to Nihon kokka* (Okinawa and the Japanese state), Tokyo, Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2004, pp. 29–31. Kinjō Seitoku gives a larger account of the divergent interpretations of the annexation, in particular regarding Iha Fuyū’s concept of “national unification”, in “Ryūkyū shobun”, *Okinawa daihyakka jiten* (Okinawa Encyclopedia), Naha, Okinawa Taimusu-sha, 1983, vol. 3, pp. 882–883.

<sup>11</sup> Oguma’s book, quoted above, is the best-known example of that approach.

<sup>12</sup> Besides overtly pro-independence publications, the following book offers a fine example of the projection that is made of contemporary issues upon Okinawa’s early 20<sup>th</sup>-century situation, with a focus on the above-mentioned 1903 incident of the Ōsaka anthropological exhibition: Engeki “Jinruikan” jōen wo jitsugen-kai (ed.), *Jinruikan. Fūin sareta tobira* (The pavilion of humankind. The sealed door), Ōsaka, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Yonaha Jun, “‘Minzoku mondai’ no fuzai: arui wa ‘Ryūkyū shobun’ no rekishi/jinruigaku (The Non-Emergence of Nationalism: The Historical Anthropology of the Ryūkyū Annexation)”, *Bunka Jinruigaku*, vol. 70 (4), 2006, see pp. 451, 471.

To my knowledge, the first English scholarly publication fostering the idea that the lot of prewar Okinawans should be likened to the experience of colonized peoples is Alan Christy's often-quoted article of 1993, "The Making of Imperial Subjects in Okinawa".<sup>14</sup> The author points out that "the case of Okinawa is now routinely ignored in examinations of Japanese colonialism", although "many current analyses of Japanese colonialism work on the basic premise that the gravest problem in the control of colonies was the problem of ethnicity, that is, the control of different ethnic groups." In addition to the latter issue, the other "factors in the control of Okinawa from 1879 to the Battle of Okinawa in 1945" were not different from what he enumerates as "hallmarks of Japanese colonial policy throughout Asia", that is, "military invasion and occupation, political annexation, paternalistic enforcement of modernization, and compulsory cultural (especially linguistic) assimilation to Japan." Hence his question: "What justifies excluding Okinawa from consideration in studies of Japanese colonialism?" The bulk of the article focuses on the question of identity, and the author's sensitive analysis of the dialectic between Okinawan and Japanese identities apparently prevents him from taking sides on whether prewar Okinawa should really be considered as a colony. Although the problematic of colonialism works profitably here as a heuristic tool allowing us to understand the intricacies of the Japanization of Okinawa, the actual proximity, cultural and historical, between the Okinawans and the Japanese, as well as the equality of rights between them – genuine, despite prejudices – make it ultimately difficult, in my opinion, to draw too close parallels with Japan's overseas territories.<sup>15</sup>

Another influential article was published in 1998 by Richard Siddle under the unambiguous title "Colonialism and Identity in Okinawa before 1945".<sup>16</sup> A specialist of the Ainu question, Siddle has a keen notion of the differences between development policies implemented in Okinawa and Hokkaidō. Until the Meiji Restoration, only the Ainu inhabited the latter island for the most part. It was then opened to settlement and land exploitation by immigrants from mainland Japan, that is, unlike Okinawa, to colonization in its etymological meaning. Until the Second World War, special governmental offices administered it, which set it apart from both the other prefectures and the overseas colonies. Unlike the Okinawans, the Ainu were to experience segregation on their own territory. In 1899, a law was passed that recognized them as former aborigines, that is, non-ethnic Japanese. Intended for their protection, it actually led to the accentuation of their geographical and social marginalization.<sup>17</sup> Siddle's article dwells more than Christy's on the period prior to the annexation and on the relations of the kingdom with Satsuma. For the main part, though, it is also

<sup>14</sup> Alan S. Christy, "The Making of Imperial Subjects in Okinawa", *Positions* 1 (3), 1993, pp. 607–639.

<sup>15</sup> These territories were ruled by a special colonial administration, whereas the Ryūkyū *han* went under the control of the Home Office as early as 1874.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Siddle, "Colonialism and Identity in Okinawa before 1945", *Japanese Studies*, vol. 18 (2), 1998, pp. 117–133.

<sup>17</sup> In 2008 the Japanese Diet rescinded the 1899 law and recognized the Ainu as an "indigenous people" possessing its own language, culture and religion.

a balanced examination of the various factors involved in the assimilation policy implemented in prewar Okinawa. It highlights, in particular, the contrasted perceptions and experiences which its inhabitants could then have of that process. Although the author seems personally to favor the notion of "internal colonialism", his conclusion – drawn with reference to today's anti-base struggle – underlines the overall lack of a national Ryūkyūan consciousness and the varying interpretations of the past among Okinawans, "the competing definitions of Okinawa as an internal colony or a modernizing region" as he appropriately puts it.

Now let us examine some of the reasons which could justify regarding Okinawa Prefecture as a *de facto* colony. In the "Epilogue and conclusion" of his book *Visions of Ryūkyū*, Gregory Smits lists a series of facts which differentiate Okinawa from the other prefectures.<sup>18</sup>

The first two points are the mainland origin of all the governors and of most of the education officials, and the readiness of the Japanese government to alienate part of Okinawa Prefecture to China during the negotiations with the latter in 1880.

Concerning the governors, Okinawa is far from being an isolated case during, at least, the Meiji era. Prefectures like Saitama, Toyama or Yamanashi, had also all their governors originating from other prefectures. Some had only one governor born locally. More generally, there was a neat predominance of governors hailing from Satsuma, Chōshū or Tosa as these former domains formed the backbone of the Meiji regime. Smits also reports that governors in Okinawa would have had less authority than other governors to implement changes. But this observation should certainly be stated in relation to the size and novelty of the problems encountered in that prefecture. As for the education officials, the lack of trained personnel was obvious. Not only standard Japanese had to be mastered and a school network set up, but also the contents and methods of education, which had been under transformation for years before the Meiji Restoration in the mainland, had to be introduced in their entirety, with no local preliminary experience to rely on. The creation of a school system and the training of teachers in normal schools were indeed made priorities by Tokyo.

As to the second point, although it is China's procrastination that eventually caused the revocation of the agreement by Japan, one may seriously doubt that the latter, which only its still precarious international position led to the negotiation table, would have ever returned any portion of Okinawa and allowed the former ruling family to recover its throne as envisaged by the Chinese. Tokyo's interest in the welfare of the local population may have been weak, but its concern over the consolidation of national territory makes it hard to imagine that it would ever have relinquished that natural extension of the country.

Four other points concern delays in the implementation of reforms or in the enforcement of political rights: 1) Reforms in landholding and land taxes, which took place in 1873 in the mainland and in 1899 in Okinawa; 2) Suppression of

<sup>18</sup> Gregory Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū. Identity and Ideology in Early-Modern Thought and Politics*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1999, p. 149, ca.

samurai stipends, decided as early as 1876 in the mainland, but not until 1909 in Okinawa; 3) Enforcement of universal conscription, 1873 in the mainland as against 1898 in Okinawa; 4) Organization of the elections for the prefectural and national assemblies, which took place for the first time in 1909 and 1912 respectively in Okinawa, instead of 1890 for both kinds of assembly in the mainland. One could add further to this point that it is not before 1920 that the number of representatives to the national assembly was raised from two to five in order to give Okinawa an equality of representation with the other prefectures.

There is no doubt that after the annexation, but while there remained unsettled claims from China, Tokyo showed hesitation and meager interest in developing Okinawa, and that the pace of some reforms could have been quickened. However, it may appear surprisingly unrealistic and biased to black-mark the delay in all those reforms as a sign of a colonial attitude. In addition to the geographical distance and the time lag between the creation of the prefecture and the Meiji Restoration, the huge administrative and developmental gap which existed initially between Okinawa and the mainland should actually be given more serious consideration. Okinawa's landholding and tax systems, for instance, were worlds apart from those of the mainland. The same is true of practices of representation in the villages. One has also to remember that it is not before the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Japan completed its legal reforms and was deemed to be on a par with western countries.

Smits also mentions that Okinawa, although Japan's poorest prefecture, paid much more in taxes to the central government in the 1920s than the central government spent in Okinawa. This is probably true, but the scope of the expenditures taken into account here would need to be specified, and a comparison should be made with the budget of other prefectures.

Another element, of a longer time span, could have been pointed out in the comparison with mainland Japan: the extensive overseas emigration of Okinawans. Initiated in 1899, it was later aggravated by the slump in the sugar industry combined with the prefecture's under-funding. For the period 1899–1940, Okinawan emigrants totaled eleven per cent of the whole Japanese emigration, although its population accounted for less than one per cent of the national population. It may however be noted that the phenomenon of emigration hit other regions of rural Japan as badly as Okinawa.<sup>19</sup>

By contrast with these indications of possible neglect by the Japanese authorities, the priority placed upon school education, as mentioned before, from the 1880s and even slightly earlier, should certainly be underscored. The network of primary schools spread rapidly to the outer islands, and, by 1888, the rate of primary school attendance, based on the number of registered children, was higher than in the mainland (73 per cent to 67).<sup>20</sup> Normal schools and secondary schools were opened in the early 1880s, and vocational schools later.

<sup>19</sup> *Okinawa daihyakka jiten* (Okinawa Encyclopedia), vol. 1, 1983, p. 237.

<sup>20</sup> Kondō Ken'ichirō, *Kindai Okinawa ni okeru kyōiku to kokumin tōgō* (Education and national integration in modern Okinawa), Tokyo, Hokkaidō daigaku shuppan kai, 2006, p. 68.

There was no university created in the prewar period, a situation which is not exceptional among rural prefectures, but quite a few Okinawan students graduated from mainland universities and pursued careers in education, journalism, and civil service, either at the prefectural level or in governmental offices in the mainland or in the colonies. Some Okinawans proved successful in business and created their own companies in the fields of finance, transportation or agriculture. In conjunction with the dissemination of school education, a local press, comprised of several dailies and magazines, developed by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the same liberty as in the mainland.

However, more than administrative procrastination or neglect, it is the issue of “identity”, as Christy emphasized, which underlies critical assessments of Tokyo's policy and could justify the accusation of colonialism. As stressed by Yonaha Jun in the article referred above and in a recent book, the ethnic argument, in contrast to political subjection, was not taken into account by Japan or Qing China in making their cases in the dispute over Ryūkyūan territory.<sup>21</sup> While Westerners had already approached the issue of the international situation of the kingdom in terms of race in the 1850s, it is not until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, influenced by western ideas linking race and human development or civilization, and with the expected back up of a burgeoning and self-assured anthropological science, that the national ideology devised by the Meiji rulers would take an expressly racial or ethnic dimension, such as epitomized by the notion of an imperial family state.<sup>22</sup>

The theory championed by Iha Fuyū and held as a dogma by the intellectual and governmental élites was that the Okinawans and the Japanese mainlanders shared the “same descent” (*dōsorōn*).<sup>23</sup> Folklorists, for their part, tended to see Okinawan culture as preserving basic elements of the Japanese primitive, that is, pre-Buddhist, culture in pristine form. But making Okinawan culture a sanctuary could all the more justify Japan's mission to coach the Okinawans on the path to modernity. In terms of law, the Okinawans were recognized and could effectively exercise the same rights as the other Japanese. Yet, with stronger pressure than on the inhabitants of any other prefecture, they had to discard the singularity of their language, belittled as “dialect”, and of their manners in order, not only to meet the civic requirements expected from all nationals, but also to quench the doubts of the Japanese authorities about their loyalty to the emperor and the country. As in other regions, speaking “dialects” came to be considered as backward and a cause of economic stagnation. Their speech and physical appearance being generally at variance with those of other Japanese people, the Okinawans who emigrated to the mainland for jobs were often sub-

<sup>21</sup> Yonaha Jun, *Honyaku no seijigaku* (Politics of translation), Tokyo, Iwanami, 2009.

<sup>22</sup> Later, for the sake of colonization, the racial/familial mythical approach to the fabric of the nation was toned down so as to stress affinities between the dominated populations and the Japanese.

<sup>23</sup> A similar theory applied to the Koreans, but it had a lesser hold over the élites and was not accompanied by the equality of rights, not to mention obvious differences in methods of control of the population.

jected to discrimination in the workplace and in regard to lodgings and marriage.<sup>24</sup>

In an otherwise highly differentiated society, the assimilation policy engendered a core tension, a sort of ethnic double bind, felt by Okinawans of all conditions. Julia Yonetani sums it up well, writing: “[The] Okinawans [were] regarded as having always been and yet needing to become Japanese”.<sup>25</sup> Unlike them, the Japanese originating from other prefectures, whose vernacular could also differ significantly from standard Japanese, were not questioned on their belonging to the nation and did not themselves experience hesitations about their positioning.

Through the 1920s and ’30s, the assimilation policy regarding language and customs received a clear support from the Okinawan population, a reality that cannot be passed over in silence by supporters of the “colonial approach” to Tokyo’s Okinawan policy. In this respect, the new élites trained in mainland universities played an important rôle in acting as an intermediary for the rest of the population who, in proportion to its degree of involvement in the modernizing process, largely followed in their path.<sup>26</sup> The economic hardships that befell Okinawa during the 1920s did not alter that trend. In fact, the few serious criticisms raised against an indiscriminate enforcement of the assimilation policy were voiced by scholars from the mainland on a visit to Okinawa in 1940, and they met with an immediate and strong rejection.<sup>27</sup> While taking in earnest the value of Okinawan culture in a pluralistic approach to the national culture, these outside observers also feared, from a practical viewpoint, that a hasty acculturation might result in a psychological weakening of the population.

From this necessarily simplified presentation of the situation in Okinawa before the Second World War, three main elements come out: the overwhelming imbalance in terms of both power and socio-political development which initially existed between Okinawa and Japan, the equality of rights between the Okinawans and the inhabitants of other prefectures, and the willing participation of the Okinawans in the disciplinary process of becoming Japanese, despite excesses and lasting prejudices. Let us now insert some distance, geographical and historical, and introduce a comparative perspective in order to examine the validity of using the word colony in the Okinawan context.

If we put apart its ancient meaning, that is, a farming settlement or a trading post which may or not entail domination over the neighboring population, the concrete image that the word colony conveys to the mind of a citizen born

<sup>24</sup> On the living conditions of Okinawan workers in the mainland, see Tomiyama Ichirō, “Okinawa sabetsu to puroretaria-ka (Discrimination and proletarianization of Okinawans)”, in *Shin Ryūkyū shi (Kindai, gendai)*, Naha, Ryūkyū shinpō-sha, 1992, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Julia Yonetani, “Ambiguous Traces and the Politics of Sameness: Placing Okinawa in Meiji Japan”, *Japanese Studies*, vol. 20 (1), 2000, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> A fair outline of the rôle played by the new élite is found in Davinder L. Bhowmik, *Writing Okinawa: Narrative acts of identity and resistance*, London and New York, Routledge, 2008, pp. 20–25.

<sup>27</sup> On that incident, denominated as the “Dialect controversy”, see Bhowmik, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–69, or Christy, *op. cit.*, pp. 628–630.

within a former colonial power differs markedly from the situation in prewar Okinawa. It is first associated with such realities as foreign settlements, often extensive, confiscation of land, large-scale exploitation of indigenous labor and local resources, violence against the native population, from exemplary and limited killings to large-scale massacres, and armed vigilance against any nascent disorder. Colonial prisons were never short of detainees. The history of each of those societies also shows that active resistance is never absent, even if it is limited to narrow circles and only symbolic. The press and other means of communication were under the control of the colonial authorities. Whatever the system of governance – be it a policy of assimilation, association or indirect rule – the political representation of the indigenous population, if it existed at all, was indirect and exerted little impact on the management of its life.

The development of infrastructures, communication and other aspects of material modernity cannot be overlooked as a positive aspect of colonization, although its primary aim was to serve foreign interests. Concern for health and education was not absent either, but limited and circumstantial. Access to secondary education, and sometimes, but very rarely, to higher education in the mainland, was restricted to children of the élite families that cooperated with the colonial power. But even the best students thereafter remained confined to subordinate jobs. At school, the children were taught, often exclusively, the history and literature of the colonizing country, which they were expected to make their own.<sup>28</sup> Although the language of the colonizers was made the official language of administration and education, there was generally no active policy to suppress local languages and customs, save those offending public order.

Regardless of the colonial power’s commitment to improving the people’s condition, the defining element of all colonial societies is the existence of a status barrier that can never be crossed between colonizers and colonized. The inequality of rights, articulated with different sets of laws, is fundamental here. As in Japanese Korea and Taiwan, the indigenous population could be formally granted the same nationality or citizenship as the rulers, but it was never allowed to exercise the same rights, in particular political rights, with an undifferentiated participation in the representative institutions. It actually remained confined to a second rank nationality or citizenship. Although probably all the colonizing powers boasted of a universal civilizing and modernizing mission, the overcoming of status differentiation, sometimes mentioned in golden script on their agenda, was indefinitely postponed to some other era, not by a delay of a few years as in the case of Okinawa. Racial prejudice is, of course, a prerequisite to the social and existential divide between colonizers and colonized, but, owing to the institutional separation of communities and to a shared and implicit understanding of each other’s rôle, its overt expression was certainly much less frequent than in post-colonial, or post-segregationist, egalitarian societies. In other words, racial prejudice, no more than political or economic domination, is in itself coterminous with colonization.

<sup>28</sup> The phrase “Our ancestors the Gauls”, still present in the memories of many Africans who went to French schools, epitomizes the ethnocentricity of colonial education.

Drawing a point-by-point comparison is not necessary to demonstrate what differentiates Okinawa from the colonial societies created in the wake of the European or Japanese overseas expansion. Referring to Christy and others, Yonetani rightly remarks that “the debate over whether Okinawa could be considered as a true ‘colony’ or not is pointless” because of the complexity and ambiguity of its relations with Japan.<sup>29</sup> No “binary framework of analysis” is adequate to account for its position, either before or after the Meiji Restoration. Intimately linked to Japan because of its history and culture, but with characteristics that set it apart from all the other regions, recognized as a prefecture, but at the same time perceived as exotic by mainlanders, Okinawa appears to be, up to this day, in a position of external interiority as regards the Japanese nation-state.

In that respect, Okinawa is not beyond presenting similarities with European regions, and it may be worth putting its relation to mainland Japan in perspective with state formation and nation building processes that took place in Europe from the feudal period, but mostly from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Concern for defense and territorial cohesion, appropriation of new resources, development of exchanges, or simply will to exercise power and establish prestige were among the motivations that rulers could entertain for adding new possessions to their state. Matrimonial strategies were another means of enlarging territories. In the course of their consolidation, central powers also came to suppress age-old prerogatives of local aristocracies which hampered their administrative control. Not unlike in Okinawa, the first step was to establish political and military control over the new possessions. Reforms to harmonize local ways, not always perceived as necessary in pre-modern states, could wait longer. The need for linguistic unification of the populations, in particular, did not generally arise before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is correlated with the emergence of democratic aspirations to education and political participation, and also it served the tightening of administrative control over individuals. Injunctions from the political center and amalgamation of diversities through social mixing led progressively and unevenly to linguistic standardization and to the formation of a more comprehensive culture, which can be labeled as “national”.<sup>30</sup> But in Europe as in Japan, that evolution did not really take place before the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as a consequence, among other factors, of compulsory schooling, growing involvement of the population in the functioning of the state, not the least in its defense, and development of railways.

In France, for example, the teaching of standard French, as defined by the ministry of Education, was forcefully implemented no earlier than by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. As in pre- and postwar Okinawa and elsewhere in Japan, “dialect tags” were used at school to stigmatize children speaking “dialect”, more despicably called “patois”. Some of the French regional tongues, or dialect groups, such as Breton, Basque (not affiliated to Indo-European), Alsatian, Flemish,

<sup>29</sup> Yonetani, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> As exemplified by Okinawa, the ancient cultural strata found in remote regions often gave substance to the idea of an encompassing national culture. As in the case of Okinawa too, school education paid little attention, if any, to local history.

and to a lesser degree Langue d’oc and Corsican (two Romance languages) are in all cases too distant from French to allow mutual understanding. Speakers of those languages experienced difficulty in mastering standard French and often endured prejudices in their everyday lives.

Drawing a parallel between Japan and France is all the more interesting in that both are unitary states characterized by powerful central administrations that tend to regulate all sectors of social life. The Japanese prefectures (*ken*) were precisely modeled on the French *départements* for the sake of ensuring the central administration a strong control over every inch of the national territory through appointed governors directly invested with its authority.

In Meiji Japan as in republican France at the same period, the extension of state authority and its effective acceptance by the populations went together with the recognition of equal rights to all nationals and with the diffusion of state education. The case of Alsace deserves attention in this respect, as it bears some resemblance to the case of Okinawa in its relation to a dominant state. Culturally and politically, Alsace belonged for centuries to the Austro-German sphere. Its progressive annexation to the French Kingdom, following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, proved difficult and met with armed resistance. It was not until the French Revolution, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, when its inhabitants were granted the same citizenship and the same rights as all the other nationals, that a deep and lasting attachment to France took root in that region. This attachment was to resist two periods of annexation by Germany, from 1871 to 1919 and from 1940 to 1944. During the first period, which lasted almost half-a-century, despite their being ethnically German and the German education they received, the Alsatians were not treated legally on an equal footing with the citizens of the German Empire. This may in part explain why, for most of them, their aspiration to recover French citizenship never faded. Today, albeit fully integrated into the French Republic, Alsace retains a strong cultural and linguistic identity, and even special laws which infringe the otherwise prevailing separation of church and state.

Placing Okinawa in a wider perspective than its face-to-face relationship with Japan shows that the process of integration it underwent is more reminiscent of the fate of European regions dragged into the building of nation-states than of the actual colonial situations. For all its exemplarity Alsace is but one among many other European regions which provide evidence for the predominance of the legal issue over the cultural or ethnic issue. It can be stated that the modern European nation-states, regardless of their preference for the right of blood or the right of the soil, are political constructs resting basically on a normative concept of non-ethnic citizenship. Contemporary Japan too, but in theory. Implicit in its body of laws, today infused with a democratic and republican spirit, but which could also claim some sort of universality as an instrument of colonization, is that it is meant for “ethnic” Japanese. Mobilizing the ethnic group for international competition, not the sharing of sovereignty as in Europe, was the key factor in the formation of Japan’s national ideology. Today, its political culture remains imbued, although more questioningly than in prewar years, with that concern for ethnic homogeneity.

Reverting to local history, we can see, with a number of contemporary authors, that the twenty-seven years of U.S. administration experienced by the Okinawans after 1945 tally with the definition of a colonial situation in some major aspects: 1) Military occupation and land confiscation by a foreign power, which appropriates supreme political authority unreservedly; 2) Displacement of the population, with plans, partly implemented, to transfer overseas the inhabitants deprived of land; 3) Establishment of a society based on status inequality between foreign and native populations, a division which overlapped with a racial or ethnic distinction; 4) Limitation of political and judicial rights for the native population. Attempts at reforming the native culture were also made to consolidate the occupying power. Yet, it would not do justice to the U.S. administration not to mention that, on the whole, and despite too many damaging decisions and tragic incidents, it showed more care for the native population and granted it a greater share in governance than the European and Japanese colonial powers.

During the struggle for the restoration of Okinawa to Japanese administrative rule, which started in the early 1950s, demonstrators were intent on denouncing, on their banners, the “domination by a foreign ethnic group” (*i-minzoku shihai*). Japan was then designated as the “fatherland” (*sokoku*, literally “land of the ancestors”). It may surprise one to see that ideologically loaded vocabulary, derived from prewar education, being uncritically re-employed, all the more so as Socialists and crypto-Communists played a dominant rôle in the struggle.<sup>31</sup> In mainland Japan too, as mentioned above, opponents to the presence of U.S. troops after the San Francisco Treaty identified it as colonial intrusion. Even if it were in a now democratic and demilitarized country that the Okinawan demonstrators yearned to recover full citizenship, their discourse could hardly betray less rejection of decades of Japanese acculturation and of the Japanese concern for ethnicity.

It is true that many Okinawans hoped that the U.S. military grip on their territory would sensibly loosen in the wake of its reversion to Japan. But it was not to turn out that way. Almost forty years have passed since the reversion, and the inhabitants of Okinawa Island, where the U.S. installations in the prefecture are concentrated, are still living surrounded by military activities, with their stream of harm to the people and the environment. Although the number of military personnel was reduced by half since 1972, down to some 26,000, and some sites restored to civilian use, Okinawans continue to shoulder a highly disproportionate share of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Thus, 75 per cent of the land occupied by the U.S. forces in Japan and two-thirds of their military personnel are on Okinawa Island, which accounts for scarcely 0.4 per cent of the national territory. The U.S. bases and facilities take up about 18 per cent of its surface, a situation which earns the island designations such as “military colony”, *gunji shokuminchi*, and “base island”, *kichi no shima*. Now, a large majority of Okinawans and most of their representatives oppose the U.S. military presence. But in spite of repeated manifestations of anger on the part of the

<sup>31</sup> On the permanence of the concept of *minzoku* in postwar Japan, see Kevin M. Doak, *A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan. Placing the People*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2007, pp. 250–264.

population, succeeding governments in Tokyo continue to endorse it and even lend massive financial support for updating the installations.

As symbolized by the emperor’s secret message to General MacArthur in 1947, and notwithstanding later sustained efforts to recover these islands, Okinawa would simply be a dispensable and expendable part of the nation.<sup>32</sup> Easily traded off to the United States for Japan’s quick recovery of sovereignty, it would now have to be endlessly sacrificed, stored somewhere in the back of the mind of the pacifist national consciousness, to both the country’s military protection and the United States’ strategic interests.

To many observers, Okinawa’s irreducible singularities account for Tokyo’s lack of serious commitment to ease the plight of its inhabitants, or for the refusal of other prefectures to take a share of their burden.<sup>33</sup> Their lot would have probably not been tolerated so long by any other sector of the Japanese population. This view, however, should be contrasted with the realistic acknowledgment of the initial and unintentional causality in the genesis of the situation. Okinawa’s peripheral location made it a final stepping-stone toward reaching Japan and exposed it, in the context of mid-1945, to be heavily invested by the U.S. forces in preparation of an invasion of the mainland which was to never take place. The rapid hardening of East-West relations could only reinforce its strategic value and pave the way to the present situation.

An accumulation of frustration and grievance, combined with a weakening memory of colonial situations, seems to explain why prewar Okinawa also has now come to be referred to as a colony. Since the ordeal of 1945, the Okinawans have gained pride in their past and culture to the point of often idealizing them.<sup>34</sup> But beyond divergent interpretations and sensibilities, most of them neither call their attachment and acculturation to Japan into question, nor ask to be acknowledged as an indigenous minority. Loyal imperial subjects they proved to be before 1945, as in later decades they showed their eagerness to be restored their Japanese citizenship, and yet, they have to keep fighting for a fairer treatment by Tokyo as regards the practical consequences of the nation’s alliance with the United States. In today’s Japan, they remain *internal others*, or *marked people*,<sup>35</sup> but in fact not so much because of a lasting ethnic prejudice, which they would not be opposed to sharing, as because of the indelible scars of history. The word *colony*, as applied in retrospect to prewar Okinawa, appears to make sense only as a metaphor of its contemporary political helplessness in the face of betrayed trust and unfulfilled integration.

<sup>32</sup> Shōwa Emperor suggested a long-term lease, from twenty-five to fifty years, on Okinawa to the United States for its military use. See Arasaki Moriteru, *Gendai Nihon to Okinawa* (Contemporary Japan and Okinawa), Tokyo, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2001, p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> See Nomura Kōya, *Muishiki no shokuminchi shugi: Nihonjin no beigunkichi to Okinawa* (Unconscious colonialism: The U.S. Bases of the Japanese and Okinawa), Tokyo, Ochanomizu shobō, 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Gregory Smits, “Romanticizing the Ryukyuan Past: Origins of the Myth of Ryukyuan Pacifism”, *International Journal of Okinawan Studies*, vol.1 (1), March 2010, pp. 51–68.

<sup>35</sup> See Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney in “A Conceptual Model for the Historical Relationship Between the Self and the Internal and External Others”, in Dru C. Gladney (ed.), *Making Majorities*, Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 50.



СЕКЦИЯ «РЮКЮСКИЙ ТРЕУГОЛЬНИК: ОКИНАВА – ВОСТОК – ЗАПАД»  
SECTION “RYŪKYŪ TRIANGLE: OKINAWA – EAST – WEST”

*Patrick Beillevaire*

**COLONIALISM IN EASTERN AND WESTERN  
DISCOURSES: A CASE STUDY OF JAPAN AND  
OKINAWA**

Okinawa is the southernmost prefecture of Japan. As island territory, six hundred kilometers long, it occupies the southern half of the island chain stretching from Kagoshima Prefecture, on Kyūshū Island, in the north down to the vicinity of Taiwan in the south. Its current population is 1.4 million. Naha, the capital, located on Okinawa Island, is 1,500 kilometers distant from Tokyo.

Because of its historical, cultural and ethnic characteristics, but also because of its full share of misfortunes in the late century, in particular its retention by the United States after the defeat of Japan in 1945 and the damaging presence of military bases since then, the prefecture of Okinawa continues to occupy a singular place within the Japanese nation.

Until the 1870s, a kingdom, commonly called the Kingdom of Ryūkyū, ruled its territory. Politically it stood in the peculiar position of being tributary to both China and Japan. Often typified as a “dual dependency” or “dual subordination”, this structure of relations was in fact far from symmetrical. While China exerted its ascendancy, mainly diplomatic and cultural, from afar, Japan had a direct hold on the kingdom, economic in the first place, through the mediation of the feudal domain of Satsuma, today’s Kagoshima Prefecture.

The latter’s domination ensued from a military invasion which occurred in 1609. The king and his followers were then forced to pay allegiance to both the lord of Satsuma and the *shōgun*. The kingdom was also deprived of its northernmost islands, which passed under Satsuma’s direct administration. In addition to the introduction of discretionary regulations, Satsuma thereafter levied heavy taxes, counted as part of its domestic revenue by the Edo government, and exerted complete control over the kingdom’s customary trade with China. But the kingdom could maintain its institutions and pursue its time-honored relations with China. Thus, for two centuries, its ruling class proving very compliant, Satsuma rarely needed to intervene in its internal affairs.

By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, however, when foreign threats compelled to depart from political routines, the Ryūkyūan authorities were confronted with unprecedented directives with which they had no other choice than to comply, at the risk of ruining their ties with China. The plan they were required to carry out involved, among other points, the commercial opening of Okinawa and their acting on behalf of Satsuma in the transactions, the enlargement of their trading post in Fujian for its use by Satsuma, and the dispatch of students to Europe. For the purpose of removing any political obstacle to his project, the lord of

Satsuma also ordered, in no diplomatic terms, the dismissal of a minister, the appointment of an assistant to the regent, and the promotion of one of his local confidants to a high office with no regard as to his low family status. Moreover, he ignored the results of the election for a new minister so as to have the candidate with the least votes chosen. The plan was eventually cancelled, but the divide so created in the ruling class between supporters of an opening policy and conservatives would still have their effect a decade later upon Tokyo’s takeover.<sup>1</sup>

The territory of the kingdom became fully part of Japan proper (Nihon) in 1879, twelve years after the Meiji Restoration, when the Japanese government unilaterally decided to depose the ruler, forcing him into exile in Tokyo, and to establish the prefecture of Okinawa in place of the kingdom. The demise of the kingdom actually took seven years, from 1872 to 1879, during which it was demoted to the status of feudal domain (*han*), a rather anachronistic move since the feudal domains had already been abolished in Japan in 1871.<sup>2</sup>

It is uneasy to define the kingdom’s status with regard to Japan prior to its annexation: some people see it as a still fairly independent state on account of its uninterrupted diplomatic and cultural ties with China and of the preservation of its original institutions and internal administrative autonomy; as opposed to that, one may consider it, on better grounds to my mind, as a downright dependency – some would say a theatre state – of Satsuma, owing to the suppression of its sovereign prerogatives in the fields of taxation, defense and foreign relations, not to mention an obligation such as the submission of the choice of the successors to the throne to Satsuma’s approval before its announcement to the Chinese court.<sup>3</sup>

The question being historically indeterminable, it is left open to contemporary subjectivity in a context of resistance to Tokyo’s unflinching backup to the U.S. military presence. The kingdom could well be tightly harnessed to Satsuma, one is still at liberty to fancy that there existed a Ryūkyūan nation, in the modern sense, with an aura of fame dating back to its 15<sup>th</sup>-century thriving seaborne trade. But this would make light account of a rigid social stratification, an absence of a bourgeoisie, and an illiterate peasantry, in addition to a scattered and culturally heterogeneous village society split by the hegemony of Okinawa Island over the southern archipelagos. Imagining that the population of the kingdom, beyond a small minority of aristocrats and officers, formed a

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Beillevaire, “Accounting for Transient Hopes: The French Involvement in Shimazu Nariakira’s Plan to Open Trade with the West in Ryūkyū”, *International Journal of Okinawan Studies*, vol. 1 (2), 2010, pp. 53–83.

<sup>2</sup> The kingdom had already been designated as an “external feudal domain” (*gaihan*) of Japan at least once before, in the mid-1840s, as foreign pressures on Okinawa were becoming a national concern. See *Shimazu Nariakira genkōroku* (Record of Shimazu Nariakira’s words and deeds), Tokyo, Iwanami, 1995, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> The conclusion of conventions with three western powers (namely, the U.S. in 1854, France in 1855, and the Netherlands in 1859) is sometimes mentioned in support of the idea that the kingdom retained much of its independence. Apart from their not being willingly concluded by the Ryūkyūan government, to say the least, the legitimacy of those documents is itself questionable, for they were signed by officials whose names and titles were fictitious, following a secretive habit which applied in any formal involvement with Westerners.

A.P. Jenkins

**TIMEO DANAOS ET DONA FERENTES: RYŪKYŪAN  
INTERACTION WITH THE MISSIONARY BERNARD  
BETTELHEIM**

**Introduction**

The topic addressed in this article is intended to provide those interested in mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Ryūkyū, vis-à-vis Orientalism, Reverse-Orientalism and Occidentalism, with an account of how one set of images of Ryūkyū was supplanted by another, and some general and detailed instances of interaction between the missionary Bernard Bettelheim, 1811–70, and his reluctant Ryūkyūan hosts, most notably reactions to his Protestantism.<sup>1</sup>

A brief summary of Bettelheim's career would include his Jewish origins, ethnic and religious, of course, in Bratislava, then known as Pressburg, and within the Hungarian sector of Austria-Hungary. He thus defined himself sometimes as an Austrian, sometimes as Hungarian subject, thereby providing himself with a multi-dimensional personal identity in a multi-dimensional imperial milieu. Despite parental determination that he should become a rabbi, his own ambitions lay in a medical direction, which he realised on graduating M.D. from Padua in 1836. After short spells in various medical posts which included spells in the Egyptian navy and Turkish army, he fell in with Anglican missionaries in Smyrna and was converted to Christianity in 1840. Thereupon, he moved to London and became a naturalised British subject in 1845. That summer, the leading figures in the small Loochoo Naval Mission (LNM) offered him the post of medical missionary which he accepted. He left in September of that year with his pregnant English wife and small daughter. After a short spell in Hong Kong, and on arrival in Ryūkyū, he was stationed at Gokokuji, a Buddhist temple, now in Naha, but then in Naminoue, a cliff-top village just to the West of the port town, from May 1846 to July 1854, a turbulent eight-years, dur-

<sup>1</sup> The principal primary source for this article is *The Journal and Official Correspondence of Bernard Jean Bettelheim 1845–54 Part I (1845–51)*, A.P. Jenkins, ed., Okinawa-ken-shi shiryōhen 21, kinsei 2, (Okinawa-ken kyōiku iinkai, 2005) xxx+640 pp., hereafter *Journal*, and *Part II* of the same, covering the years 1852–54 published in April 2012 as the page proofs of this article were being checked. The great majority of original MSS for the journal with other revealing LNM files were transferred to Birmingham University Library for public use in 1986 as part of the Church Mission Society Archive. They are also available in microform as described in the catalogue published by Adam Matthew Publications: *Church Mission Society Archive: Section I: East Asia Missions, Parts 1–3* 1997, 119 pp., 'Catalogue of the Loochoo Mission, 1843–1861' (LNM Papers) pp.109–19. A limited number of other original MSS are at the University of the Ryukyus and others at Bettelheim Hall, the diocesan offices of the Anglican Church in Okinawa, but the latter were transferred to the same university in 2012.

ing which he experienced twenty-four-hour surveillance and restriction. He failed to found a church but he translated the key missionary books of the New Testament<sup>2</sup> into Ryūkyūan, and played a rôle in influencing the views of the U.S. naval Commander James Glynn and Commodore Matthew Perry and thus, indirectly, in the opening of Japan. Instead of returning to London, as he had planned, he and his family, then of three children, migrated to the United States where he worked as a pharmacist and physician and where he eventually achieved ordination as a Presbyterian minister. Having lived in various states, he died in Missouri. He was a man with remarkable linguistic and polyglot gifts, and also one with wide scientific and general interests, and even wider powers of observation.

Again, it may be necessary to provide a little background to early-mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century Ryūkyū. Since 1372, Ryūkyūans had had formal diplomatic links with China, and on the foundation of the kingdom in 1429 it became one of the peripheral tributary states (ultimately sixteen) of that empire. That diplomatic status and its resulting close cultural ties continued until the end of the Shō dynasty in the 1870s. *De facto* changes occurred in and after 1609 when the Satsuma *han* successfully invaded Ryūkyū. Thereafter the kingdom was subject to dual subjugation which entailed various kinds of complication and deceit, principally designed to prevent China from being openly confronted with the embarrassment of the domination of one of its tributary states by another power. As a result, Ryūkyū has been termed a 'theatre state', with a permanent but necessarily low profile Satsuma presence to ensure compliance with its and the Shogunate's policies, notably that of national seclusion but, again, only in so far as maintenance of face for the Chinese allowed.

From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the arrival of Western ships became more and more frequent. One result of that and of Ryūkyūan diplomatic obfuscation about its real situation was Hall-M'Leodism, the creation and propagation of a very positive Orientalist mythology about Ryūkyū, but of Hall more later.<sup>3</sup> Western visitors fell into three categories: the earliest, the victims of maritime embarrassment such as Capt. W.R. Broughton, wrecked off the Miyako island group in 1797,<sup>4</sup> next, those who started to come as curious academic tourists, e.g. Carl Gützlaff, Dr Peter Parker and Dr. S.W. Williams, and then from the 1840s those second-wave missionaries from France such as Théodore-Augustine Forcade (backed by French national policy) and Bettelheim himself (backed by *ad hoc* British government resolution or ir-

<sup>2</sup> Missionaries of the period regarded the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's Letter to the Romans as the books of most value in awakening the susceptibilities of potential converts. On Romans, see A.F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History...* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), pp. 55–67.

<sup>3</sup> Dr John M'Leod, 1777–1820, was the other commentator on the celebrated 1816 British naval adventure in Ryūkyū, and author of *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Alceste, to China, Corea, and the Island of Lewchew*: 1st. ed. 1817.

<sup>4</sup> See his *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean... performed in His Majesty's Sloop Providence and her Tender in the years 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798* (London, 1804), reproduced in P. Beillevaire, ed., *Ryūkyū Studies to 1854: Western Encounters* (1990), vol. 1.

resolution). The first two of those three types can be re-categorised as very short-term and the third type as long-term. Naturally enough under the exigencies of the seclusion policy, reactions to the short- and long-termers had to differ significantly.

Ryūkyūan rhetoric on national poverty and insignificance expounded in common to all visitors was intended to discourage any kind of foreign interest in the country. Furthermore, all visitors were treated to a ‘play-within-a-play’ in that they were led to believe they were meeting and dealing with very senior ministers, a little reminiscent, but not entirely, of the team of *Doppelgänger* used by Saddam Hussein to evade certain routine visitors to Iraq. Not even the acutely suspicious Bettelheim managed to penetrate that deceit, though he was astonished at the childish quality of so-called regents and regional administrators,<sup>5</sup> and curious about the way in which they were visibly controlled by lower ranking officials.

Bettelheim has to be seen within that situation, but more needs to be understood of him as a missionary. As such, bringing and seeking to impose his cultural imperatives upon another society, he has been attacked by what is implicitly post-colonialist thought, but beyond that studies of him have been largely innocent of theoretical underpinning, although various kinds of historical approach have treated the wide field of missionary history – quite apart from transparently denominational partisanship. Moreover, he has been largely excluded from wider missionary history, especially by recent historians, for several reasons alluded to in what follows.<sup>6</sup>

As for his reasons for accepting the LNM posting, basic, of course, was his dedication to propagating Evangelical Christianity by the use of methods which were often pragmatic and aggressive. As a Christian of six years’ standing in 1846, his ambitions were notable: first, an expectation of finding one or more of the lost tribes of Israel in Ryūkyū; fulfilment of a prophecy in Isaiah and thereby the conversion of Japan,<sup>7</sup> i.e. playing a rôle in its opening, and thus becoming its apostle; a premillennialist, his greatest aim was instrumentality in the second coming of Christ since, to his way of thinking, Japan was the very last kingdom yet to bow its knee to Christianity.<sup>8</sup> Those are measures of the man’s imagination. His failure in each calls for no com-

<sup>5</sup> *Journal* 25 Jan. 1851, pp.450–1, 24 June 1853. S.W. Williams formed similar opinions using of them the words ‘imbecile’ and ‘simpleton’ in his *A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853–54)*, (Yokohama, 1910), pp. 21, 37.

<sup>6</sup> A recent exception to that is Robert S.G. Fletcher, “Returning Kindness received?” Missionaries, Empire and the Royal Navy in Okinawa, 1846–57’, *English Historical Review* Vol. CXXV no. 514, June 2010, pp. 599–641.

<sup>7</sup> Isaiah 66.19; exegetes commonly take ‘Javan and the isles afar’ to be Greece, (notably Ionia to which the Hebrew יָוָן, Yavan or Ion, presents a linguistic resemblance, *ex inf.* Dr Evgeny Steiner) and the Aegean islands, but Bettelheim preferred to interpret them as Japan and the Ryūkyū Islands. For his position see his Letter to the Duke of Manchester, 25 Sep. 1850, *Journal*, p. 328.

<sup>8</sup> Simply put, ‘The doctrine is called premillennialism because it holds that Christ’s physical return to earth will occur prior to the inauguration of the millennium.’ *Wikipedia*. Bettelheim’s special pleading was that Japan was the last kingdom on earth yet to be converted to Christianity.

mentary, though the reasons do. Next, to achieve universal religious toleration, specifically in Ryūkyū, but by extension Japan, he advocated, preferably Protestant British or American, military intervention.<sup>9</sup> Linked to his attempts to achieve such instrumentality was a secular goal, the opening of Ryūkyū and Japan. Connected to both, but glaringly contradictory in the former case, was his determination to suppress Ryūkyūan religions. Another kind of underpinning to Bettelheim’s outlook while he was in Ryūkyū was an unembarrassed pride in England,<sup>10</sup> and confidence in Western cultural superiority, Ryūkyūans for him being as ‘children with respect to Europeans’ and ‘semi-civilized’.<sup>11</sup> As for his personality, present were something of egomania and of its ugly sister megalomania. He was an archetypal ‘control freak’ and a victim of its corollary, intolerance of being controlled, of which Ryūkyū handed down eight years. Various primary sources show that he tended to alienate people,<sup>12</sup> and so personality failings might further explain his obscurity.

The last chosen context for understanding this missionary is historiography. Briefly, Bettelheim was the hero of the late Meiji-era missionaries in Ryūkyū, notably the Revds. H.B. Schwartz and E.R. Bull, who wrote of him as a protestant holy man<sup>13</sup> – the rose-tinted end of the interpretative spectrum. The first well-established scholar to discuss Bettelheim was Professor W.G. Beasley in his 1951 work *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan 1835–1858*.<sup>14</sup> His sources were British government records from which he analysed the perspectives on Bettelheim from Hong Kong and Whitehall. Apart from one Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, who was more sympathetic, those perspectives were either contemptuous of or indifferent to the missionary and his ambitions. G.H. Kerr made short work of the adulation expounded by Schwartz and Bull in his 1958 *Okinawa: The History of an Island People (OHIP)*, dismissive but very influential criticism which has been accepted and perpetuated in, for example, George Feifer’s *Breaking Open Japan: Commodore Perry, Lord Abe and American Imperialism in*

<sup>9</sup> Bettelheim occasionally cited the example of Turkey in 1844, as a precedent for Japan, *Journal* 27 Dec. 1851, p. 620.

<sup>10</sup> Conveyed in such phrases as: ‘England, the leading mistress of the world’, *Journal* Letter LXXXIV, Dec. 19, 1849, p. 317

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 18 May 1846, p. 88, and 23 Mar. 1851, p. 488; 16 Mar. 1854. Semi-civilised was a term current in Bettelheim’s time and was used to indicate a civil society but one not yet having experienced industrialisation.

<sup>12</sup> One acute example is found in the judgment of Ivan Goncharov quoted in G.H. Kerr, *Okinawa the History of an Island People*, pp. 485–6.

<sup>13</sup> Primarily Bull in ‘Bettelheim as Physician, Jew, Layman, and Translator’, *Japan Evangelist* (Tokyo) vol. xxxi (1925) no. 5, pp. 153–9, ‘The Trials of a Trail Blazer: Bettelheim’, *ibid.*, vol. xxxii (1925) no. 2, pp. 51–9, and no. 3, pp. 87–93. The first edition of Schwartz’s pamphlet, *The Loochoo Islands: A Chapter of Missionary History*, 1907, fails to mention Bettelheim, but the second edition of 1910 introduces him. In between, in 1908, he published a book, *In Togo’s Country: Some Studies of Satsuma and Other Little Known Parts of Japan*, (New York), in which Bettelheim also appears.

<sup>14</sup> *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834–1858*, 1951 (reprinted, Japan Library, 1995).

1853,<sup>15</sup> in which even Kerr's views are extended into burlesque – the violet (or violent) end of that spectrum. More of Kerr later, but his attack aroused anger in Hokama Seishou,<sup>16</sup> a professor at the University of the Ryūkyūs, because of whose reaction his student Teruya Yoshihiko adopted Bettelheim as his doctoral research theme. Teruya's 1969 dissertation is currently the standard secondary source on Bettelheim. Mainly descriptive and chronological, its great contribution is an exploration and exposition of Bettelheim's rôle in several concatenations of overseas diplomatic relations, though the Library of Congress categorises his work as Practical Theology. Teruya's work, admirably structured and thorough in use of sources available up to the 1960s, is far more substantial and judicious than Kerr but, unlike their predecessors, neither Teruya nor Beasley reserve their own explicit judgments on the man.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from Fletcher's recent article noted above, Bettelheim has yet to be placed in a wide, early-mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century international missions context. Likewise, we still need to place him, in some scholarly and even theoretical way, in that space which lies between religion and empire building, for example, vis-à-vis the threats from the West as seen in Tokugawa Japan. Religion and empire is an area which has engaged historians very actively over the last decades, and Bettelheim's ambitions and campaigns provide an interesting case study.<sup>18</sup>

To return to Kerr, despite the merits of his book (e.g., breadth of scope,<sup>19</sup> synthesis of primary and secondary sources, and extensive quotation from the primary ones) it is widely criticised by historians of Ryūkyū for factual inaccuracy and imbalance in its coverage. Historians of Taiwan on which Kerr published three books see him in a similar way.<sup>20</sup> The emotional Kerr identified many *bêtes noires* or scoundrels during the course of his writing and other, more practical projects, and among the dead were Bettelheim and Perry. But let it be clear that Kerr and the author of this article agree that Bettelheim was a rogue: for Kerr, unyieldingly negative but superficially convincing, seemingly a one hundred percent rogue, and for this writer perhaps sixty to seventy percent. On closer examination, Kerr's questionable way of evaluating Bettelheim causes that author's reputation as a historian to be further shaken. He ignored

<sup>15</sup> New York: Smithsonian Books, 2006, xx + 389 pp.

<sup>16</sup> Translator of Perry's *Narrative as Commodore Perry's Visit to Okinawa: Revised Edition* 「ペリー提督 沖縄訪問記」 (球陽堂書房、1975年)

<sup>17</sup> Teruya Yoshihiko, *Bernard J. Bettelheim and Okinawa: A Study of the First Protestant Missionary to the Island Kingdom, 1846–1854* (University of Colorado at Boulder Ph.D. dissertation, 1969); that dissertation was translated as 「英宣教医 ベッテルハイム 琉球伝道の九年間」 改訂新版、2004年, for which *inter alia* Teruya was awarded the Ryūkyū Shimpo Prize in February 2007.

<sup>18</sup> See Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester Univ. Press, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Even in Japanese, prefectural histories tend to be collaborative ventures, e.g. 「沖縄県の歴史、県史47」 (山川出版社、2004年、322 pp.) written by a team of six co-authors.

<sup>20</sup> Taiwan specialists state that there are as many as ten errors per page in Kerr's 1965 *Formosa Betrayed*, an eye-witness account of the 1947 '2:28 incident' (*alias* massacre), and that emotionalism was his driving force, conversation with Dr Chu Hong-yuan of the Academia Sinica, and Taiwan National University, July 2010.

the medical work, e.g., the introduction of smallpox vaccination and effective drugs, and, if he were aware of it, near tireless dedication during the smallpox and typhus epidemics of 1851–52. He belittles Bettelheim's linguistic gifts, failing to mention his Ryūkyūan grammar or vocabulary in the British Library, now sources used in scholarship. He concedes no hermeneutic acceptance of Bettelheim's commitment to the Gospel, which the Anglican hierarchy of that period, though critical of him in other respects, readily acknowledged.

In summing Kerr up as a historian, as this author understand the sources, a count revealed fifty-five errors both of fact and interpretation in his pages on Bettelheim, but as opposed to that, there are eleven passages where Kerr convincingly identifies ways in which we can legitimately reflect upon Bettelheim's flaws and misconduct. Kerr tends to carry forward a narrative by use of bold assertion and unacknowledged supposition while gaps in the evidence are often filled and smoothed over, and qualifications minimised. His strength is macro-level discourse, but errors and confusions at the micro-level are numerous. Kerr, the shaky historian, the son of a Presbyterian minister with extensive China missionary connections, Kerr the atheist, has to be treated cautiously in general and in particular regarding Bettelheim.<sup>21</sup>

In what follows, three points precede and support one main point. The three snapshots are how Bettelheim came to undermine and supersede Captain Basil Hall's views on Ryūkyū, secondly his modification of Ryūkyūan knowledge of the West, and thirdly how he attacked Confucianism, preliminaries to the main theme which is Ryūkyūan reaction to Bettelheim as an exemplar of Protestantism.

### Basil Hall and Bettelheim

Hall, a visitor in 1816 and the archetypal and popular doyen of Ryūkyūan Orientalism, glimpsed a land of pristine purity, and published a best seller in 1818 in his *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island in the Japan Sea*. Translated and widely read, and with further editions, he wasn't swallowed whole by everyone. His account of arms-free pacifism were famously dismissed by Napoleon, and it seems that H.J. Klaproth, too, was sceptical of such romanticised descriptions.<sup>22</sup>

Hall and Bettelheim were indirectly but strongly linked. Hall and Herbert Clifford, founder of the LNM, had been together in Ryūkyū in 1816, and Clifford, having later become committed to evangelicalism, wished to acknowledge its people's humanity of some two decades earlier by giving them

<sup>21</sup> Kerr was not a church-goer in his adult years and left directions that there should be no religious ceremony on his death, Okinawa Prefectural Archives GHK5B01006.

<sup>22</sup> 'Description des Iles Lieou-Khieou extradite de plusieurs ouvrages chinois et japonais' (1824) in which: he expresses his fear that the romantic imagery associated with them in the travel narratives, and which he doubted, might hasten a threatening fate. He warned in particular against the possibility of seeing missionaries bringing 'their spirit of grim and sad bigotry' to those islands, Patrick Beillevaire, 'Scholars, officers and missionaries' in Joseph Kreiner, *Sources of Ryūkyūan History and Culture in European Collections*, Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung, Band 13, 1996, pp. 100–01.

Western medicine and Christianity, the *dona* – gifts – of the title of this article. In 1845, he eventually managed to recruit Bettelheim as a lay medical missionary. Bettelheim's credulity matched his sense of obligation in adopting Hall as his Baedeker, and thus he arrived in 1846 steeped in the Captain's visions of Ryūkyūan society and culture, as is very clear from the text of his journal.

The purpose of this section is to comment on how Bettelheim came to cast Hall's views aside. In his final section describing Ryūkyū, Hall outlined several impressions which can be treated *seriatim*. 1. Hall: Ryūkyūans – simple, gentle, even childlike. Bettelheim, though, came to perceive 'an organised system of malice' and the 'complete corruption of morals' among the dominant *samurē*.<sup>23</sup> 2. Hall: Buddhism the dominant religion but not deeply rooted. For Bettelheim Buddhism soon seemed to be a side show subsumed into Confucianism which proved to be entrenched, but, as will become clear, he did see or choose to see all their syncretistic delineations. 3. Hall: seclusion of women. Bettelheim in the course of medical consultations found several cases of sexually transmitted diseases which proved to his satisfaction the lasciviousness of Ryūkyūan women, and indicated that hypocrisy was a normal feature of life. 4. Hall, though sceptical, reported the absence of a monetary system. Bettelheim discovered the opposite. When his 22,000 Chinese cash were being moved from Naha harbour on his second day there, he heard a mandarin comment 'in a despising tone', 'This... is Canton money, pah!'<sup>24</sup> which suggested knowledge of and preference for Peking or perhaps Fujian coin;<sup>25</sup> a second area of evidence, the wary eagerness with which the most poverty-stricken labourers took and concealed cash, and a third, even children complaining on receiving unequal sums, were other indicators of society-wide awareness of monetary value. On women and money Bettelheim used his journal to record his views repetitively and even obsessively. 5. Hall: an unarmed state (wherein one finds a classic instance of generation of *Saidian* 'binary opposites' in instinctive pacifism vs. essential British defensive and offensive readiness). For eight years, Bettelheim's journal, functioning as a report to the LNM, was similarly repetitive in disproving that claim. Since that is one of the most distinctive claims on behalf of Ryūkyū, it is worth providing an illustrative case. In 1848<sup>26</sup> the Doctor entered, quite unaware, a Satsuma barracks in Izumizaki. He removed a matchlock musket, assumed to be Ryūkyūan and which he was eventually induced to hand back, satisfied with the discovery of further deceit. Forgetfully, in December 1851, he entered the same building. A lamp was extinguished, Bettelheim seems to have broken a paper screen in the confusion, and a furious voice burst forth from above him. He and his wife hastily withdrew, were pursued, walked determinedly on arm-in-arm, were halted and roughly searched, Mrs. Bettelheim

<sup>23</sup> *Journal* Pt. II, 12 July, 20 August, 1852, pp. 150, 157; the word *samurai* is rendered throughout in the Ryūkyūan form, as used by Bettelheim.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 2 May 1846, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup> The Fujian mint was closed in 1824 and was still suspended in 1843 due to lack of profitability, <http://books.google.co.jp/books?id...> [keywords entered: Fujian mint closure]

<sup>26</sup> The whereabouts of the original MSS of the journal from July 1847 to September 1851 are unknown although there are printed summary versions, and B.'s surviving letters provide some evidence for that period, LNM Papers A 1.

collapsing to the ground during the process, on suspicion this time that he had taken a sword. They seem to have spent a couple of days in bed recovering before the traumatised intruder wrote a report for the British government.<sup>27</sup> 6. Hall: no punishments, and good social relations. Bettelheim assiduously noted instances of severe punishment, the death of his martyr uppermost, and cause for an earlier appeal to London.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, far from perceiving a harmonious society, he saw the masses as desperately enslaved to the consumer demands of an idle and oppressive government in Shuri, the capital.<sup>29</sup> 7. Hall: no thefts. In 1847 Bettelheim's cash reserve of \$600 dollars was stolen from his Gokokuji residence, with predictably explosive consequences.<sup>30</sup>

As for other irritating discrepancies, the first, in May 1846, was the high cost of living, Hall's ships having received all their wants free of charge.<sup>31</sup> Next, Hall's diminutive Ryūkyū was re-inflated in June because the Gokokuji mice were big enough to nudge medicine bottles on their shelves and cause some to fall and break. In October Bettelheim encountered a loving old man, in whom he thought 'the good-natured Captain Hall' would have found a prince, a remark which caused LNM committee members to acknowledge that its missionary protégé had fired a 'broadside' against its icon. In November on witnessing a police beating, he remarked on Hall's delusions being dispelled one by one. The next day, on the inhumanity of a Ryūkyūan prison, he wrote, 'Another thread of our extravagant notions of the Loochooan Elysian field will tear, but I cannot help it.' Conscious of the offense he was creating for men acquainted with Hall, he continued, 'I state facts, at the day of which neither Captain Hall nor any of the visitors that followed him could be [aware]'. Thus, exoneration was still entertained. Then, in October 1850, after three years for which no journal manuscripts survive, Bettelheim states conclusively that he had indulged the 'Hallades' for two years,<sup>32</sup> but that his patience was exhausted.

Bettelheim's attitude to his *vade mecum* had started out rock solid, though allowing for alteration due to passage of time, but then came fluctuating responses: qualification as discrepancies emerged; disappointment, irony, and ultimately, by 1848, irreversible rejection of Hall's near pervasive naïveté, and of the *samurē* for systematic deception and hypocrisy – *samurē* whom Hall and M'Leod had much admired and respected.

Paradoxically, the beneficiary was Bettelheim in that he found himself emerging as a new voice on Ryūkyū in varied, scattered publications. The

<sup>27</sup> *Journal* 5 Dec. 1851, pp. 599–600 *et infra passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Sachi Hama, *ibid.* 29 Dec. 1850 *et seq.*, pp. 429–31 *et infra passim*.

<sup>29</sup> e.g. '[The kingdom] exists only by subjugating 4/5 of the population & degrading them to beasts of labour & burden on which the remaining 1/5 feed & revel.' *Ibid.* 23 Nov. 1852.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 5 July 1847, pp. 261–6, 278–9.

<sup>31</sup> As the *Ryūkyū ōkoku hyōjōshomonjo* show, one aspect of the policy of attempting ejection was to charge discouragingly exorbitant prices for commodities to long-term visitors, whereas to short-term callers no charge was made for provisions, repair materials or labour. On 22 Nov. 1852 Bettelheim entered a voluble grocer's shop and learned how cheap most commodities were, *Journal* Pt. II, p.199.

<sup>32</sup> Respectively, *ibid.* 18 June 1846, p. 106, 1 Oct. 1846, p. 155, 18 Nov. 1846, pp. 175–6, 19 Nov. 1846, p. 177, 10 Oct. 1850, p. 377.

SPCK annual reports on Bettelheim's Gospel translations, to take one example, conveyed a sanitised version of his experience by describing Ryukyuan as 'hitherto, from their peculiar political institutions, [an] almost unapproachable portion of mankind'.<sup>33</sup> Most impressively, though, in phrasal echoes of his journal, he can be detected as a subliminal voice here and there in Perry's two publications on his expedition to Japan. Though not here in Bettelheim's phrases, Perry wrote after many conversational hours with the Doctor, whose views he often reflects, 'The description of Basil Hall is a mere romance, the production of the inventive brain of a writer not very scrupulous of historical truth...'<sup>34</sup> The Bettelheim view of Ryūkyū was prevailing. Hall's pristine paradise had collapsed under the weight of Bettelheim's analysis: 'The East of the East seems the darkest part of the globe.'<sup>35</sup>

### Bettelheim's Presentation of the West

'I am not come to learn to become a Loo-chooan, but to instruct you how to become less miserable than you are.'

Bernard Bettelheim, *Journal 18 May 1846*, p. 88.

The means by which Bettelheim hoped to introduce Evangelical Christianity was through knowledge of a successful Protestant West. Being aware to a limited degree of some of the problems he would face as a missionary, he decided to present himself initially only as a physician and to reveal his missionary status when he felt comfortable in his use of the language. His analysis was that British and American success as world powers, and in science, technology and industrialisation, four selling points, sprang from the intellectually liberating force of protestant Christianity. His plan was, therefore, to eradicate Chinese or 'Confucian' scientific lore by implanting in his rotating team of *samuré* minders knowledge of elemental natural science (physical and human geography, astronomy, physics and mechanics, mathematics, anatomy etc.), 'a body of first principles, quite new to the Confucian public mind'.<sup>36</sup> Naturally, challenges to long-accepted orthodoxy produced negative reactions, but the proofs argued and demonstrated with his equipment and *realia* (e.g. atlases, terrestrial and astronomical globes, a telescope, a sextant, and, most popular, a machine to demonstrate electricity) raised some interest, and he was often questioned, and generally listened to. Whereas in the Protestant West, Christianity was the forcing ground for successes, in Ryūkyū and Japan the process would have to be

<sup>33</sup> Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, annual report 1853, p. 87. It comments on Bettelheim's communications, pp. 87–89, and in the following year 1854, pp. 80–1.

<sup>34</sup> Commodore M.C. Perry, *Narrative of the Expedition to the China Seas and Japan, 1853–1854*, (New York: Dover Publications, 2000, near facsimile edition of original), pp. 220–21, also see p. 160; the other publication, *The Japan Expedition 1852–1854 The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry*, R. Pineau, ed., (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968).

<sup>35</sup> *Journal*, 29 Sep. 1846, p. 155.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 12 Apr. 1853, p. 375.

reversed: an understanding of science would, he reasoned, be the convincing, rationalist foundation for the introduction of Christianity.

Beyond natural science, Bettelheim tried to implant a desire for emulation of his vision of British society and its freedoms by contrasting them to oppressive Ryukyuan *mores*. When he praised the social virtues observed in England, the implication was again that Protestantism had provided the conditions for their growth. On such occasions, he met an audience often sceptical but generally eager to hear anything about an exotic land.

To take some of the advantages enjoyed by British women, he emphasised the 'reasonableness of putting honour on the weaker vessel, effectually to counter all the tyranny of power.'<sup>37</sup> He extended his point, amazing his listeners by stating that the sovereign presiding over the British Empire was a queen.<sup>38</sup> As disturbing, though, to Ryūkyūan cultural norms was that Queen Victoria might be seen strolling in St James' and Hyde Parks, areas open to the public, and, further, Bettelheim showed his *samuré* minders pictures of her attending a public concert performed by massed children's choirs published in the *Illustrated London News*, as a 'Christian sovereign who lives among her subjects like a beloved parent'.<sup>39</sup> Thereby, he was condemning the repression of women in Ryūkyū and the customary seclusion of its royal family, and so advocating adoption of British models. A junior British official, T.T. Meadows, based in Hong Kong, reported after an official visit to Ryukyu in 1852, that if dictatorial Bettelheim gained control in Ryūkyū, he would rule with a rod of iron<sup>40</sup> – at one with Klaproth's general perceptions.

To counter the caste structure of Confucian society and assert his claims about an enslaved populace, he portrayed English society as meritocratically mobile. He instanced the mayor of York whose surname was Potter to argue that a family of such low occupational origins could rise to become the mayor of England's second most venerable city.<sup>41</sup>

Having laid down the substructures through the models of science and society, Bettelheim was confronted with the problem of how to make the leap from those, rejected *de jure* but partly accepted *de facto*, to the 'Jesus Religion' which encountered official intransigence, and carry the people with him. He found himself stuck in a sandpit out of which he found it impossible to climb.

Taking an entirely different approach, he tried also to destabilise Ryūkyūan understanding of the West, for instance by immediately demonstrating unqualified friendship with the Catholic missionaries at Tomari, contrary to Ryūkyūan knowledge of religious divisions and hopes of exploiting them. He then used the same tactics vis-à-vis Perry, Shuri expecting a Briton not to cooperate with Americans. Thus, the Ryūkyūans were unsuccessful in soliciting his hoped-for

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 15 Feb. 1851, p. 468; incidentally, women were the most supportive element among the LNM subscribers, a phenomenon common to many missionary societies, LNM papers A 1, subscription lists follow annual reports.

<sup>38</sup> *Journal* 29 May 1846, p. 98, 7 Apr. 1852, p. 97.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 18 May 1846, p. 87. Pt. II, 9 Feb. 1853, p. 319.

<sup>40</sup> British National Archives, Foreign Office files, as quoted in W.G. Beasley, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>41</sup> *Journal* Pt. II, 9 Feb. 1853, p. 319, though no York mayor by that name is known.

aid against the expedition.<sup>42</sup> Tactical, pragmatic or opportunistic contradiction of preconception is an interesting area of image creation.

### Bettelheim's attacks on Ryūkyūan religion

The purpose of this section is to summary-list Bettelheim's lines of attack on Confucianism and ancestor worship, some sincere, many aggressively rhetorical and some intellectually dishonest. First, and the easiest on which to gain agreement through ridicule were the wooden and stone 'idols', which were already something of a joke within Ryūkyūan society among certain people.<sup>43</sup> When his attacks were directed at the core of Confucian dogma, he met a more hostile response. He heavily insisted on the truism that Confucianism was a 'manmade' religion, but also propaganda for the sanctioning of tyranny and enslavement in that Ryūkyūan society functioned to support superior status, ultimately the state, personified in the Shō dynasty, though predictably enough, he conceded nothing to any of its reciprocal benefits. As such, he repeatedly emphasised Confucianism as a religion of the belly, thereby deliberately overlooking Confucius's advocacy of moderate eating.<sup>44</sup> The individual had to be robust to support parents and the state and thereby perpetuated a pernicious system. As for ancestors, the protestant Bettelheim criticised the belief that the dead could mediate problems for the living, and so demanded brief and modest mourning. But more, he tried to eradicate 'sacrifices' of food, candles and incense to the dead both before the tomb and the family altar, the protestant view being that Christ's sacrifice at the time of the crucifixion was sufficient for all time and the only one needful in Godly religion. While walking through the cemeteries he ordered people to halt such practices including 'feasting' before the tomb, again more 'belly worship'. While tombs were acceptable simply as tombs in the Christian sense, he denounced the household altar – conditionally permissible as furniture, but anathema as an object of veneration. In attacking local religion, his alternative was naturally enough Gospel orthodoxy: original sin, Christ's incarnation, death and resurrection, and then redemption and salvation. He emphasised the undeveloped awareness of sin in Ryūkyūan society, its consequences and thus need for repentance. He caused terror from time to time as a way of enforcing his doctrines. One quotation will show how he intimidated a reluctant listener:

... when [you die and your bit of flesh] ... begins to stink in the grave, your worm will never die. ... Your soul will wander a damned vagabond among devils.... It will then have a desire after the body, but it is dead & stinking, & thus you will swim in despair between heaven & the grave, & sink & rise in depths of misery, wishing to drown, but in vain, for the mighty arm of divine vengeance will fling you up & hurl you from torment to torment.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Journal*. Pt. II, 26, 27 May 1853, p. 406.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* Letter III, p. 271.

<sup>44</sup> B. became well read in the Confucian classics, and undertook translations of the *Chung Yung* and *Lun Yu* while in Naha as an exercise with his samuréd minders, *Journal*, p. 624.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 30 Nov. 1851, pp. 596–7.

At least one of the more scholarly late Meiji-era protestant missionaries disapproved of Bettelheim because of his 'disregard of the rights of others' and thereby points to one further aspect of his failures.<sup>46</sup>

### Ryūkyūan reactions to the first exemplar of Protestantism

This section bears most on the Virgilian title of this article, 'I fear the Greeks bearing gifts', and constitutes the heart of the argument about the interaction between Ryūkyūans and their Western visitors and image formation by the former. It specifically demonstrates another development in a spectrum of Ryūkyūan perceptions of the West derived from what for them were new perceptions of that paramount peril, Christianity.

The social and intellectual spectrum of reaction to Bettelheim's Protestantism was wide, and falls into some nine categories. Some Ryūkyūans, mostly artisans and the poor (the group which usually has most to gain from conversion), found it congenial, some responding emotionally but not as he wanted, 'You are our Jesus'.<sup>47</sup> Some in that category, as stated above, derided their temple statuary, producing these results: one claimed martyr, four baptisms and a scattered number of less fully committed adherents. A second reaction was objective interest among, it seems, the better educated which led to factual queries indicative of reductionist, if fallacious, thinking. One proposition: if St Peter's form of death were the more painful, he should be venerated more than Christ.<sup>48</sup> Arising from another false premise, as Bettelheim demonstrated, it was believed that since Bettelheim read and wrote Chinese, he must be a Confucian.<sup>49</sup> A third set, seemingly of varied social background but intelligent, were open minded and spoke in cultural relativist terms saying, 'Christian, Confucian & Buddhist religions were all alike good',<sup>50</sup> 'There may be many religions in the world, as there are different seasons, spring, summer &c.',<sup>51</sup> and all religions were good in their way, or that Confucianism suited Ryūkyū whereas Christianity suited the West. Others, again of mixed backgrounds, compromised and prayed both to Jesus and at the ancestral altar. Similarly, there was cynicism, one saying the ancestral lacquer tablets (*ihai* or *ifē* in their *tōtōmē*) were 'as good as Jesus, [but they] did not speak, nor did he see or hear Jesus'.<sup>52</sup> Another response: if China changed religion, so would Ryūkyū.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Otis Carey, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (New York: F.H. Revell, 1909), p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> *Journal* 19 Nov. 1851, p. 572, also 5 Dec. 1852. Even one of Bettelheim's baptised converts retained his previous religious framework to some degree, 'Ntashi... once called Our Lord the son of Tin-chi, heaven & earth, so hard is it to change the fundamental notion in which men grow up', *ibid.* 16 Jan. 1853.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* Pt. II, 11 Jan. 1852, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* Pt. II, 28 Dec. 1852, p. 260, reported by Itarashiki as an opinion held by some *samuréd* (Itarashiki Chōchū or 板良數朝忠, the principal government chargé for the Bettelheim problem, known to Bettelheim as Ichirazichi, formally Owan Chōchū and later as Makishi Chōchū on gaining promotion. His Perry-period daguerreotype portrait is reproduced in Kerr, *OHIP*, plate 25. For fuller details of his Chinese name etc. see *Journal*, no.1 p. 101).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 20 July 1851, p. 537.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* Pt. II, 28 Dec. 1852, p. 260, uttered by Itarashiki.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 5 Oct. 1851, p. 557.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 10 Aug. 1851, p. 543.

Sixthly, on the hostile side, and again from a wide section of society, one man on hearing of Christ's death declared it a folly to die for others.<sup>54</sup> Others provoked their 'public teacher' by contradicting common knowledge, for example, only Britain and France were Christian states.<sup>55</sup> Rationalisers found irrationality within Christianity. Examples of intellectually aggressive challenges: the absurdity of God having a son and what of a necessarily heavenly mother, and then the moral contradiction of a Christian state waging the Opium War.<sup>56</sup> Itarashiki Chōchū 'supposed Christ must have had some art like that of the Chinese jugglers who feign death & then revive.'<sup>57</sup> Seventhly, and definitely society wide, there were instances of outright ridicule of Christianity: a sneer once when it was explained that Christ might have had his legs broken that really that was too bad for the saviour of the world,<sup>58</sup> a snigger at Bettelheim's un-protestant painting of the crucifixion, and a joke that it must have been painful, but... at least... the private parts were covered,<sup>59</sup> and then very frequently but more incomprehensible, and causing much mirth, Bettelheim's impromptu prayers to an invisible God, to thin air, devoid of ritualistic setting or tangible symbol.

The eighth category, emanating from an educated element in society including his own *samurē* minders, constituted three recorded attacks on his missionary hypocrisy. Once on coming home, rejected by all, he sought sympathy of his guards, only to be treated to Scripture: 'Well, shinshī, you tell us often "through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom of heaven."' <sup>60</sup> Secondly, the missionary occasionally deplored the semi-nudity of Ryūkyūan peasants,<sup>61</sup> in relation to which a young man in a street congregation asked him for his waistcoat, but Bettelheim rejected the immediate observance of the Gospel injunction that the rich give their clothes to the poor.<sup>62</sup> Thirdly, one Sunday, B asked his *samurē* attendants to bring him a book, an opportunity for them mockingly to turn infraction of the Sabbath against him.<sup>63</sup> Averse to conceding defeat, he recorded both details, and his justifications in such bad-loser terms as 'I could not answer for bitterness & shame that thus the Gospel... should be turned into lasciviousness by heathen',<sup>64</sup> but agile-minded Ryūkyūans had very clearly served three centre-court aces, and, it seems clear that in his journal we possess some degree of accuracy as to what happened and was said.

The ninth and last group, constituted of people who would require a degree of education exhibit a set of reactions with clear Confucian foundations. When asserting basic doctrines, Bettelheim sometimes heard deep-rooted filialist re-

<sup>54</sup> *Journal* Pt. II, 25 July 1852, p. 152

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 5 Feb. 1851, pp. 462–3.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 15 Aug. 1846, p. 140.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* Pt. II, 28 Dec. 1852, p. 260.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* Pt. II, 7 Aug. 1852, p. 155.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* Pt. II, 24 Mar. 1852, 27 Nov. 1852, pp. 74, 210.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 21 Dec. 1851, p. 614; shinshī, the Ryūkyūan form of sensei or 先生, teacher.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 18 May 1846, p. 88.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* . Pt. II, 15 Feb. 1852, p. 39 .

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 13 June 1847, p. 251.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 21 Dec. 1851, p. 614.

sponses, 'Can I know this? My father had not told it me.'<sup>65</sup> Worse, Bettelheim was himself an indictment of Christian institutions and society. He reported alleged *samurē* sentiment in the following terms:

In vain, do you talk to us of love if you care so little about your parents, relatives, friends and your own self, and if all these care so little for you, as not to relieve you during all this time... Christianity is a piece of barbarous asceticism... [*far behind*] Buddhist penance.<sup>66</sup>

Himself an example of active and passive abandonment, he had no answer since he had already openly complained of the LNM abandoning him. He well knew the counter-productivity within Confucian society of stressing Christ's words on abandoning parents, family and home, and even more about hating one's parents.<sup>67</sup>

In terms of Confucian discourse on social equity, the crucifixion was incomprehensible. First, how did it come about that if Christ were a good man, he had been accused, found legally guilty and executed, i.e. questions about the inconsistency between justice and the Gospel. It demonstrated the failure of the state, the supreme object of veneration.<sup>68</sup>

Secondly, Christ's execution as a criminal was the ultimate source of shame, and it would bring disgrace on all Christians.<sup>69</sup> Another objection was that Confucius was already in heaven when Christ was on earth, Christ being about 550 years younger. Thus, Jesus was junior. Here the debater Bettelheim was on stronger ground and found his argument had the desired effect:

'Well... according to your reasoning, all the slaves & women that were in China before Confucius are greater than your master because they appeared on earth before him.'<sup>70</sup>

Most Ryūkyūans were spurred on by requirements to comply with the anti-Christian seclusion policy. There was a *de jure* but also a *de facto* rejection among the majority of the population. Despite Bettelheim's remarkable debating skills arising from his Talmudic background, it also seems to me that the Ryūkyūans were frequently winners in their explicit counter-attacks on Christianity of this kind also.

The content of those critiques or attacks suggests ongoing official discussion within the Shuri government as to how to counter Bettelheim's own. One would welcome detailed evidence on the government forum within which discussion on countering religious discourse occurred. There are hints in the *Ryūkyū ōkoku hyōjōshomonjo* but not details.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 17 Nov. 1850, p. 410.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* Letter to the Duke of Manchester 25 Sep. 1850, p. 336.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 2 Mar. 1851, p. 480.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* pt. II, 27 Nov. 1852, p. 210 .

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 14 Feb. 1851, pp. 467–8, also 1 Feb. 1847, p. 204; Bettelheim pushed his point with his *todzies* who conceded it was quite conceivable that an innocent man could be found guilty in the processes of law.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 19 May 1847, p. 240.



## Conclusion

Hall, Bettelheim and Kerr all had something in common with Orientalist writers of their own and a preceding era, in that they became more or less the authorized voices on the mysteries they had discovered in Ryūkyū. Each for a time was almost the only English-speaking voice through which curious co-linguals (and some Europeans in the case of Hall) could read about Ryūkyū. But as such all three have suffered a similar fate. Much as Bettelheim had ultimately done to Hall, Kerr ridiculed Bettelheim. And now, Japanese and Western scholars have sidetracked Kerr.<sup>71</sup>

On Hall, a Virgil to Bettelheim's Dante, Dante wearied of the easily deceived, confused and imperceptive Virgil, and came to rely on his own observations. To shift from literary allusion to simile, Hall was like the notoriously credulous, low to middle-level foreign functionaries, chosen by North Korean authorities to tour and then return home to report admiration and sympathy for that Stalinist state. Hall, M'Leod and Clifford were triumphs for the *bakufu*-Satsuma-Ryūkyū propaganda apparatus: but Bettelheim demonstrated its failure. Yet inertia preserved the propaganda: ossified, and discredited procedures were repeated for Perry seven years after Bettelheim's arrival, Perry the greatest disaster for Shuri since 1609. Shuri should have feared Bettelheim more than it did, and should have taken him as its teacher – not in ways he wished – but as their lodestar for a revision of propaganda policy. From him, Perry learned immediately how things stood in Ryūkyū and received advice on how to respond to theatre state pleas and ploys.

As regards Bettelheim's showcasing of the West, we may challenge his premises, and may charge him with exaggeration, but, if we shift to ponder currently popular post-colonialist discourse, we find that both Bettelheim and Perry have become easy targets because of imposition of their objectives and values. Nevertheless, one might remember that there was a powerful, if somewhat concealed, Ryūkyūan undercurrent in favour of examining Western science and technology, quite clearly in the 1850s, and very much so among later generations of Okinawan intellectuals such as Higaonna Kanjun, Majikina Ankō and others who committed themselves to positive evaluations of Bettelheim's contributions to modernisation.<sup>72</sup>

Shimazu Nariakira, the *daimyō* of Satsuma, sought Western technology and possibly medicine, too. His Ryūkyūan agent, the same Itarashiki, requested of Bettelheim diagrams of steamship mechanisms;<sup>73</sup> Itarashiki also involved him-

<sup>71</sup> I am indebted to Dr Christopher Nelson for these insights, personal communication 3 Sep. 2010.

<sup>72</sup> Higaonna, Majikina and Iha were contributors to E.R. Bull's unpublished *Periru teitoku zen no bunmei shidousha reiden* (1929) pp. 1–2, 22–3, 31–2, resp., Buru Bunko, Univ. Ryūkyūs Library. For other similar views see Shimabukuro, *Densetsu hoken okinawa rekishi* (Okinawa shoshiki, 1952 ed.) pp. 352–3, and Hattori, *Okinawa kirisutokyō shiwa* (Kirisutokyō shimbunsha, 1968) p. 20, for which references I am much indebted to Dr. Teruya.

<sup>73</sup> *Journal* Pt. II, 9 Apr. 1853, pp. 372–3. Bettelheim, the bitter critic who wished to see Japan crushed by Western military intervention, seems somewhat inconsistent in readily providing Satsuma with diagrams of recent military technological advances. It may be the case that display of scientific knowledge trumped diplomatic discretion. See also the masterly arti-

self, on the doctor's advice,<sup>74</sup> in a search for cattle carrying cow pox and for the insects (Spanish fly) from which the febrifuge cantarides was derived.<sup>75</sup>

In the light of that, there may be a tentative case for some revisionism vis-à-vis Japan where the more threadbare kinds of post-colonialist thought are concerned. Benefits from modernisation emanating from the West have certainly served Japan's interests, and, as is known and exemplified in Bettelheim's journal and French missionary sources, there was a demand from within. To decry Perry and Bettelheim, as Feifer does by way of implicitly expressing remorse for Western imperialism, is not entirely consonant with what Japan was beginning to crave even before the Meiji restoration.

As for replacing religion and social structures, Bettelheim still had no conception in mid-1846 of the cohesive strength of Ryūkyūan Confucianism. The strong psychological reality of links with ancestral spirits was so ingrained, and the ruthlessness of the authorities in Ryūkyū and Japan so intense against those who might lapse that his insistent and consequential presence in Naha and Shuri houses and on the markets became a nightmare for most people. Even his later prediction of it taking a generation to break down existing religion was mistaken, the Christian population of Okinawa today being only some three percent, despite lenient Meiji openness to Christian missionaries. The social repression of the Shō era which rendered attractive an alternative faith offering much to the poor was eliminated by historical development in 1879 with the establishment of the prefecture. Despite such a major upheaval, adherence to ancestor worship is still socially pervasive. Only the trivial trappings of Western religion such as white weddings and Christmas presents constitute widespread Occidental inroads. The doctrinal core is generally refused, sometimes even re-creminatively, and otherwise usually met with by but a show of mild curiosity.

As for Ryūkyūan and Confucian reactions to Protestantism, it was an ideologically asymmetrical debate: an ethical system with metaphysical accretions vs. a metaphysical system with ethical accretions. But putting it bluntly, I feel that because of Bettelheim's sense of cultural superiority and high-handed behaviour, his disregard for local religious sensitivities and the appalling punishments which his adherents suffered (e.g. beatings, exile to rural areas and/or house demolition), most Ryūkyūans probably felt ultimate reinforcement in their anti-Christian inclinations.

Finally, Bettelheim still remains largely confined to Ryūkyūan history but is an underrated source, in part due to his failures, due to Kerr, and due to his personality and behaviour. As opposed to that, as Dr. Beillevaire rightly comments, the information in his journal is remarkably dense. This short article has merely hinted at its evident riches in illustrating Orientalist and Occidental thinking, but one should add the detailed and continuous eight-year account of the national seclusion policy as implemented in the Ryūkyūan context against

cle by Patrick Beillevaire, 'Accounting for Transient Hopes: The French Involvement in Shimazu Nariakira's Plan to Open Trade with the West in Ryūkyū', *IJOS: International Journal of Okinawan Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, Dec. 2010, pp. 53–83.

<sup>74</sup> *Journal* Pt. II, 12 Jan., 17 Feb., 3 Mar. 1852, pp. 7, 41, 54 (also p. 675).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 25 Oct. 1851, p. 564.

a foreign missionary. The journal is fairly rich, too, on Bettelheim's reactions to missionary theory and his own developments in that field. Next, it is an almost completely new and extensive but unacknowledged source on Perry and to a far lesser extent on Admiral Putyatin, as well as otherwise unrecorded arrivals. Then, there is medical history, Bettelheim's own and his commentaries on Ryūkyūan medical lore. That, though, is advocacy on the basis of but five areas. The range of information in the commentaries of an intelligent and observant outsider in over 1,300 edited and printed pages provides material for many more categories of historical interest. Given intelligent evaluation based upon historical expertise and intuition, a *sine qua non* for any personal record, and in this specific case allowing for a readiness to peel away his prejudices, misunderstandings and tiresome emotionalism, Bettelheim should be commended as a source.

Almost half of his surviving original journal (as opposed to the selective LNM summaries and abstracts) has been in print only since 2005, and for the remainder, 1852–54, which includes the Perry period, a publication budget was granted for FY 2011, and it appeared as this article was being page-proofread. That has allowed for a last-minute addition of footnote page numbers for more precise references to that latter period. Publication by a bureaucracy allowing for only 100 sale copies of Part I regrettably militated against wide availability. Sales policy on Part II, whether to sell and if so how many copies, has yet to be decided as this is being written. However judicious, free distribution of other copies to libraries specialising in East Asian, ecclesiastical and naval history studies can overcome that limitation, to a small extent. As for Bettelheim himself, he deserves, on the grounds argued, to enter the mainstream of a wider area of history as both a player and a source than has hitherto been the case.

*Жанна Баженова*

## **ПРОБЛЕМА ОКИНАВСКОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ В СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ЯПОНИИ**

Характерный для второй половины XX в. взрыв этнонационализма, как ответная реакция на усиление глобализации, не мог не сказаться и на Японии. В настоящее время «быть японцем» уже не означает амальгамы этнической и национальной идентичности. Разумеется, миф о гомогенности японского общества еще господствует в общественном сознании, но все больше внимания уделяется и региональным культурам. В рамках современного подхода к пониманию новой Японии возникает вопрос: какова сегодня природа окинавской идентичности?

На формирование этнического самосознания рюкюсцев в современных условиях воздействуют несколько факторов: историческая память о существовании собственного независимого государства, дискриминационная политика ассимиляции после включения в состав Японии, трагедия битвы за Окинаву, опыт американской оккупации, взаимоотношения с Японией после возвращения в 1972 г., отношение к американскому военному присутствию на острове.

Многие нарративы окинавской идентичности реализуются через историческое сознание. «Под историческим сознанием, в данном случае применительно к народу-этносу, понимаются сведения или представления, бытующие в среде людей, относящих себя к какому-либо конкретному сообществу-этносу, разделяемые и принятые значительной частью составляющих его индивидов-современников, или имеющие среди них относительно широкое распространение в виде устоявшихся мнений по вопросам происхождения, исторического пути и исторической судьбы народа, его современного состояния как определенного итога этого пути, его положения и места в мире, а также перспектива развития – продолжения его истории на будущее. Основой таких мнений и представлений обычно служит историческая память народа. Очевидно, что в структуре исторического сознания... равнозначными и равновеликими оказываются далеко не все события, явления и процессы, случившиеся в истории за период становления и конкретной жизнедеятельности этноса, а главным образом те из них, которые отпечатались в исторической памяти и в той или иной степени актуализированы в сознании людей, создавая устойчивые представления об исторической судьбе этноса, его состоянии в настоящем и его перспективах»<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Карлов В.В. Заметки на «мосту между прошлым и будущим», или Историческое сознание этноса как феномен и объект изучения // ЭО 2004. № 2. С. 8.

Для окинавцев ключевым моментом национальной истории является существование королевства Рюкю, поддерживавшего дипломатические отношения со многими странами в Тихоокеанском регионе. Экономическое преуспевание королевства – другая тема для воспоминаний, позволяющая отстаивать идею неадекватности настоящей позиции Окинавы как экономически наименее успешной префектуры на периферии Японии.

Другой важный момент, выделяемый в исторической судьбе окинавцев, – дискриминационное отношение после присоединения к Японской империи. Дискриминационная политика, оформленная государством, была направлена на стирание этнических маркеров окинавцев. Американский антрополог Мэтью Аллен отмечает, что «границы Окинавы были заключены в объятия империи с конца XIX в., ее прежнее национальное воплощение превратили в часть пограничья Японии, ее язык, культуру и историю низвели до сносок в истории Японии периода до 1945 г.»<sup>2</sup>.

После насильственного включения в состав Японии в течение раннего периода Мэйдзи (1872–1879) окинавцы были постепенно мобилизованы для службы по всей Японской империи. К этому времени, по мнению многих исследователей, относится появление феномена двойственности окинавской идентичности. Позиционируя Окинаву как «родную» префектуру, а ее жителей – как полноправных подданных Японской империи, японские власти в то же время постоянно подчеркивали их «окинавскость» и необходимость поскорее стать «настоящими» японцами. «Неудивительно, что “двойственность” идентичности – один из самых обсуждаемых аспектов “окинавской проблемы” сегодня»<sup>3</sup>.

Вера в то, что окинавцы стали частью Японии, разрушилась в последние месяцы Второй мировой войны. Битва за Окинаву – пожалуй, самый трагический момент в истории острова, и наиболее серьезный аргумент для обвинения Японии в предательстве и геноциде собственного народа. К весне 1945 г. перед японским командованием стояла задача как можно дольше не допустить высадки врага на «родную» территорию, поэтому Окинава – географически и риторически отдельное (от собственно Японии) пространство, воспринималась как желательное поле битвы. Гибель более трети местного населения и превращенные в бесплодную пустошь значительные территории острова стали той ценой, которую заплатили окинавцы, чтобы отсрочить капитуляцию Японии.

Официальные круги обещали окинавцам защиту со стороны японской армии в обмен на их беззаветную преданность и поддержку. Собирались ли японские военные выполнять свое обещание? Мнение японского командования по этому поводу выразил начальник штаба 32-й армии генерал-майор Исаму Тё: «Самая важная миссия армии – выиграть войну. Мы не можем позволить себе проиграть войну ради спасения гражданских»<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Allen Matthew. *Identity and Resistance in Okinawa*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, inc., 2003. P. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cit. in: Ota Masahide. “Re-examining the history of the Battle of Okinawa” // *Okinawa: cold war island* / Ed. by C. Johnson. Cardiff – Calif: Japan Policy Research Institute, 1999. P. 29.

Для японских военных местные жители скорее воспринимались как потенциальное препятствие на пути выполнения главной задачи – защиты «родной» территории. Опасаясь использования американцами мирного населения в качестве живого щита, командование призывало жителей совершать массовые самоубийства, угрожая в случае попадания в плен жесточайшими пытками со стороны американцев. Более того, поскольку окинавцы – «не настоящие» японцы, они считались ненадежными, легковерными и априори способными на предательские действия в отношении японской армии. Доказательством такого недоверия служили нередкие случаи расстрела окинавцев по нелепым и необоснованным обвинениям в несотрудничестве с силами обороны или в шпионаже. Зачастую поводом для объявления человека шпионом было использование им местного диалекта. Генерал-майор Исаму Тё дважды издавал следующий приказ: «Ни одному человеку, военному или гражданскому, не разрешается говорить ни на одном языке, кроме стандартного японского. Тот, кто использует окинавский диалект, должен быть наказан как шпион»<sup>5</sup>. Язык стал «лакомой бумажкой», по которой проверялось, достоин ли человек доверия. Ведь разговаривая на языке, непонятном абсолютному большинству японцев, окинавцы тем самым использовали символ культуры, который мог быть секретным кодом сопротивления. «Директивы о языке» – наглядная демонстрация того, что окинавцы не воспринимались как японцы, были «другими», т.е. эксплицитно «директивы» выступали как акты недоверия, а имплицитно – идентичности.

Действия японских военных привели к тому, что местные жители стали бояться их больше, чем американцев. Страх этот все более усиливался по мере продвижения американской армии вглубь острова. Отчаяние японских военных нарастало, их жестокость по отношению к местным жителям принимала беспрецедентные формы. Стремясь спастись от огня противника, солдаты искали убежища, где укрывались мирные жители, выгоняли их из укрытий, без раздумий убивали.

К тому времени, как разразилась война, окинавцы верили, что они стали полноправными японскими гражданами, такими же, как жители других префектур в их лояльности к императору и готовности пожертвовать своей жизнью для страны, когда это необходимо. К моменту окончания войны многие окинавцы с величайшей горечью начали осознавать, что все усилия напрасны – отношение к ним совершенно другое. Мэтт Аллен приводит слова школьного учителя из Кумэдзима: «...если японцы хотели, чтобы окинавцы были частью Японии, почему они обращались с ними как с чужими (и безоговорочно низшими по положению) людьми во время войны?»<sup>6</sup>

В списках жертв битвы за Окинаву около 140 тысяч окинавцев. Эта цифра, как и факты гибели гражданского населения острова от

<sup>5</sup> Цит. по: Ота Масахидэ. *Нунгэн га нингэн дэ нау нуру токи. Genocide* (Время, когда люди уничтожают людей. Геноцид). Наха: Окинава тайму-ся, 1991. С. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cit. in: Allen Matthew. *Identity and Resistance in Okinawa*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, inc., 2003. P. 7.

рук японских военных, подверглись после войны «коллективной амнезии». В настоящее время события той эпохи заново переосмысливаются и переоцениваются. В школах проводятся «живые уроки»: к ученикам приходят люди, выжившие в войне, и рассказывают свои истории. Таким образом молодые люди узнают о прошлом их народа. На формирование этнического самосознания современных жителей префектуры воздействует, в том числе, и фактор виктимизации окинавцев во время битвы за остров.

Однако историческая память постоянно реструктурируется в соответствии с современными обстоятельствами. В словах свидетелей тех событий четко прослеживается мысль о том, что основной причиной трагедии, которую им пришлось пережить, стала сама война, и чтобы избежать повторения трагических событий, надо о них помнить. В префектуре с каждым годом увеличивается число музеев, памятников и выставок, посвященных этой битве. В г. Итоман находится уникальный памятник – Краугольный камень мира, установленный в 1995 г. как символ вечного мира, за который ратует Окинава. На нем высечены имена всех людей, независимых от национальности, гражданских и военных, кто погиб во время сражения за остров.

После окончания войны острова Рюкю были переданы под юрисдикцию Соединенных Штатов. За счет Окинавы Япония и США заключили «брак по расчету», что однозначно воспринимается жителями острова как предательство: Япония опять пожертвовала Окинавой, чтобы отстоять собственный суверенитет и стратегические интересы.

Цели и задачи оккупационной политики, которую проводили Соединенные Штаты на территории Японии и Окинавы, существенно различались. В Японии поощрялось развитие экономики, демократических принципов и, в конечном итоге, переход к независимости страны. На Окинаве ставилась задача умиротворить население, заставить его служить стратегическим интересам Америки. Чтобы добиться лояльности островитян власти США приложили немало усилий для возрождения окинавской идентичности: Окинаве вернули ее историческое название – острова Рюкю, начала праздноваться годовщина образования королевства Рюкю, поощрялось использование местных диалектов, спонсировались радиопостановки, рассказывающие об истории королевства. Генерал Дональд Вут приказал дирижеру американского военного оркестра создать рюкюский гимн на основе одной из местных мелодий, в качестве национального символа стал использоваться флаг, на котором изображались регалии рюкюского королевского двора.

Политика «деассимиляции» не принесла результатов. Перестав быть хозяевами на своей земле, жители настаивали на возвращении Окинавы Японии, на «воссоединении с землей предков». Демонстративно позиционируя себя в качестве японцев, они стремились к свободе, обретению прав, которые могло им дать японское гражданство. В рамках «Движения за возвращение» японская идентичность использовалась как некий символический капитал, способствующий политической мобилизации в борьбе против оккупации.

Некоторые проблемы, на решение которых надеялись местные жители после возвращения Японии, были действительно решены. Они получили японское гражданство и паспорта, что давало им свободу перемещения. На них стали распространяться правительственные программы по здравоохранению, социальному и пенсионному обеспечению, борьбе с безработицей. В префектуру хлынул поток ассигнований, призванный вытаскивать ее из экономической пропасти. Уровень жизни островитян несоизмеримо вырос.

Вместе с тем среди сорока семи префектур Японии Окинава остается самой экономически отсталой – доход на душу населения составляет около 70 % от национального уровня. Безработица значительно выше, чем в остальной Японии. Скудость природных ресурсов и наличие американских баз сдерживают развитие экономики. Остров живет за счет массивных финансовых вливаний из национального бюджета. Государственные субсидии зачастую воспринимаются как плата центрального правительства за непротивление местных жителей американскому военному присутствию. Деньги Токио усиливают подчинение американо-японским приоритетам. Образуется замкнутый круг: получить средства для развития местной экономики можно лишь в обмен на поддержку присутствия военных баз. Для окинавцев, мечтающих о выводе американских войск с острова, об автономии от центра, такая экономическая стратегия представляется весьма разочаровывающей.

Префектуральные власти для выхода из экономического кризиса предлагают обратиться к опыту королевства Рюкю, благосостояние которого базировалось на посреднической торговле со странами Восточной и Юго-Восточной Азии. Большие надежды возлагают на особые экономические зоны, создание которых предполагает низкие налоговые ставки на инвестирование, нефиксированные квоты на импорт, стимулирование высокотехнологических инициатив, банковских услуг, открытие учебных центров для подготовки персонала мирового класса. Здесь японские компании могут сократить издержки производства за счет более дешевой рабочей силы, сохранив при этом на своих изделиях бренд «Сделано в Японии», который продолжает высоко котироваться в мире<sup>7</sup>.

Существуют проекты использования в коммерческих целях военные аэродромы, что может представлять выгоду не только для Окинавы, но и для Соединенных Штатов. В настоящее время большинство азиатских штаб-квартир американских транснациональных корпораций располагаются в Тайбэе и Сингапуре. Между тем Окинава лучше подходит для их размещения<sup>8</sup>.

Существует ряд факторов, тормозящих предпринимаемые инициативы: остающиеся высокими налоговые ставки; продолжающийся экономический кризис, сдерживающий инвестиции, без которых невозможно

<sup>7</sup> Георгиев Ю.М. Особые экономические зоны Окинавы // Япония сегодня. 2003. № 2. С. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Hiroshi Kakazu. "Towards the Pacific century: the role of Okinawa and Hawaii" // *Development and conservation in the Asia-Pacific region. Proceedings of Regional conference of East-West century. "Think globally, act locally"*. November 5–6, 1993, Naha, Okinawa, Japan. P. 18.

создание новых предприятий. Развитие свободной экономической зоны тормозится также бюрократическими структурами национального правительства, которые сильно ограничивают экономическую самостоятельность префектур. В Японии давно звучат голоса о необходимости децентрализации процесса принятия решений. Для этого необходимо сломать веками освященный стереотип: Токио – центр, Окинава – неразвитая, захолустная периферия.

Таким образом, пока очевидной альтернативы для решения экономических проблем, кроме как полагаться на субсидии центрального правительства, нет, а это означает необходимость и в дальнейшем «оказывать гостеприимство» американским базам. Окинава несет львиную долю бремени по их содержанию. На территории, которая занимает 0,6% от площади всех Японских островов, сконцентрировано более трех четвертей американских баз. Они занимают 11% всей территории префектуры и пятую часть острова Окинава. Кроме того, если на других островах Японского архипелага американские базы располагаются, как правило, на государственных землях, то на Окинаве под ними занято треть всех частных земель. Согласно принятому японским парламентом в 1987 г. «Постановлению о применении специальных мер по использованию земель для гарнизонных войск» отвод земель под базы стал осуществляться в принудительном порядке. Поправки, внесенные правительством Японии в 1997 г., позволяют автоматически продлевать сроки аренды. В результате американские военные получили возможность использовать эти земли практически без ограничения сроков.

Соседство с базами причиняет жителям много неудобств. Школы из-за рева самолетов вынуждены прерывать занятия, у многих людей развиваются болезни органов слуха. При полетах самолетов происходит много катастроф и авиапроисшествий. Нельзя не упомянуть проблему загрязнения окружающей среды. При этом армия США не обязана компенсировать затраты на ликвидацию последствий экологических нарушений. Негативные последствия пребывания американских баз на территории Окинавы вызывают непрекращающиеся протесты общественности. Особенно остро она реагирует на многочисленные преступления американских военнослужащих.

Как показывает современная практика, процессы конструирования и реконструирования идентичности глубоко связаны с процессами сопротивления и аккомодации. «Неоднократные попытки заново “изобрести Окинаву” временны и во многом политичны. Длительное присутствие многочисленных и часто деструктивных войск США в префектуре – это постоянное напоминание о компромиссах, на которые окинавцы вынуждены идти после тихоокеанской войны, и о двойственности их идентичности»<sup>9</sup>.

Активным противником американского военного присутствия стал бывший губернатор острова Ота Масахидэ. Более чем любой другой

<sup>9</sup> Allen Matthew. *Identity and Resistance in Okinawa*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, inc., 2003. P. 236.

губернатор Окинавы, Ота проводил связь между проблемой баз, или, как ее постоянно называют, «окинавской проблемой», и борьбой за идентичность, автономию и культурные различия.

В 1997 г. на заседании Кабинета член Палаты представителей от Окинавы Косукэ Уэхара гипотетически спросил, что бы сделало правительство, если бы окинавцы захотели обрести независимость от Японии. Государственный министр ответил буквально следующее: «В Конституции Японии не заложено статей, касающихся отделения. Согласно действующей Конституции, ни одна из частей Японии не может быть законно отделена»<sup>10</sup>. Во избежание создания прецедента дебаты продолжены не были, но в свете особой истории Окинавы ее отделение может обсуждаться в будущем<sup>11</sup>.

Либерально-демократические теории государства не отрицают того, что определенный регион со своей отличительной историей и культурой имеет право на ту или иную форму самоопределения. Не отрицает этого и современная Конституция Японии. Конечно, в японском контексте такая идея может оставаться пока только в рамках теории, но совершенно очевидно и то, что две периферийные области страны – Хоккайдо и Окинава – имеют весомые аргументы, способные придать законность требованиям независимости, в основе которых лежит общий фактор – историческая несправедливость.

Необходимо отметить, что идеи о выходе из состава японского государства в окинавском дискурсе остаются пока слишком академичными и политизированными. Несмотря на особую историю и культуру, на непрекращающуюся борьбу против американских баз, на Окинаве пока не зафиксировано значительного популярного движения за независимость, как нет и истории подобных движений. Большинство окинавцев ищет пути для утверждения своей отличительности, сохраняя при этом полное японское гражданство – то, что было невозможно в прошлом в условиях дискриминационной политики. Одним из таких путей является культурное созидание. В последнее время на Окинаве наблюдается взрыв культурной креативности: необычайную популярность имеют фильмы и литературные произведения на окинавскую тематику, выступления традиционных танцевальных и песенных коллективов, у молодого поколения большим успехом пользуются поп-группы, репертуар которых основан на современной аранжировке народных песен. Люди со всей Японии приезжают к окинавским шаманкам в надежде услышать совет, который разрешит их проблемы. Почти в каждой окинавской деревне можно наблюдать празднества, во время которых жители благодарят местных богов за хороший урожай, долгую жизнь и отсутствие бед. Обсуждая и трансформируя собственную историю, политику, культурные, эстетические ценности, островитяне сегодня «ткут сложный гобелен окинавскости».

<sup>10</sup> Taira Koji. “Okinawa – Tokyo relationship. From annexation to secession, or something between” // *The demise of the Ryukyu Kingdom*. Japan, Okinawa, Ginowan-City : Yojushorin, 2002. P. 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* P. 15.

Arne Røkkum

**FORMS OF DIFFERENCE: 19TH CENTURY BRITISH VOYAGERS AND OKINAWANS AT THE POINT OF MEETING**

**Introduction**

The capture and portrayal of a perceived otherness is typical of contact situations, but this paper will use a historical case to show that this may not necessarily result in frozen cultural stereotypes. Through the example of 19th century British mariners entering the waters of the Ryukyu Islands it will be suggested that the strategies deployed by each party – the British and the Ryūkyūans – were to overcome difference by making efforts to include the other in their own moral universe. Artful diplomacy on the part of the Ryūkyūans extended to the British a code of ceremonial gesture which was perceived by the latter as having affinities with a British code of ceremonial gesture. But let me begin, instead, by formulating the negative case: one of purported otherness.

Each age may have its unique rationalizations for subduing the other. A motto of previous centuries was one of liberation from savagery, and in the heyday of colonialism of the 19th century a build-up of display in museums, fairs, and expositions invited the broader audiences to acquaint themselves with “nature peoples,” as one way of naturalizing the colonial enterprise and as one way of measuring own progress. But this is not just a project of the bygone: Such authorship of savagery is very much a contemporary project in the tourism industry (Kulick and Willson 1992). According to Christy (2004: 173), at the 1903 5<sup>th</sup> Industrial Exposition, which was held in Osaka, two Okinawan women in a thatched-hut structure were exhibited along with Chinese, Koreans, and Ainu under a design titled “The House of Peoples”. The exhibit placed them under the control of a man with a whip. This was a live exhibit.<sup>1</sup> Savagery must be felt before it can be subdued: museum anthropology investigated its roots in head-hunting, cannibalism, and polygamy. But as Sahlins (1995) has reminded us, the force of European imaginations can be met by the force of local imaginations, as when the Hawaiians killed Captain Cook for not executing the script for the arrival of the year-god Lono in the vein of myth. A notion of “the other” subsists on difference: they are something that we are not. Colonial history yields ample accounts of such difference of perception.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have previously (Røkkum 2005) made a study of the European origins of such exhibits of dominion. There were projects originating in Germany of actually exhibiting humans and animals as one tight-knit family in the *ethnozoo*.

<sup>2</sup> In Japan, an othering of strangers has deep roots in the graphic portrayals made of Chinese and Europeans as simian-like in their acrobatic features upon the rigs of their ships or as

We may know little about the way the Ryūkyūans perceived the larger world before the annexation by Meiji Japan in the second half of the 19th century, when they practiced trade along the sea lanes of East and Southeast Asia, with the license to do so granted by the Throne of Heaven in Beijing. Diplomatic missions between Chusan of central Okinawa Island and Beijing was what balanced the relationships. Lack of military power was balanced by a mastery of the forms of association and of organization of secular and sacred function at the court. Unlike Japan under the shogunate, it was a civil code rather than a military one which underpinned ways of elite behavior.

This way of association which pivoted on a transaction of the tribute may not have been entirely lost as the civic rule of the Ryukyu Dynasty went into disarray. My own field research on Yonaguni Island made me aware of a plethora of expression of people and entities in higher and lower places within the circuit of public ceremonial: The action groups of the annual festivals maintain structures set up during the age of the Kingdom. The male leaders prostrate themselves before priestesses who preserve incumbencies once a part of dynastic rule, and the rituals themselves deal with the matters of tribute: quantities of banknotes, iron shards as numbered coins, gifts of substance, such as miniaturized offerings of cloth in the guise of strips of paper and yarn in the guise of hemp thread. The ritual ends with sacrifices being destroyed. Ties to another world are cut off either by burning the ritual gift or by turning it upside down.<sup>3</sup>

A hypothesis for understanding the exchanges between British mariners and Ryūkyūans in the early 19th century may be justified by this contemporary glimpse from within the islands themselves on mediation between the inside and the outside. To expand on the imagery gained from the scene of ritual: the more brittle the relationship is, the more it is ceremonialized, and the stronger the call for its ultimate abrogation.

**Limits of Association**

The British, or rather Scot, Sea Captain Basil Hall (1788–1844) published in 1818 an *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the*

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goblin-like in their facial features (Toby 1994). Such strategy of portrayal is no trivial matter: Ryūkyūans were forced to commit suicide by the Japanese Imperial Army to avoid a fate seen as worse than death. We may not yet know the precise discursive techniques deployed by the Japanese Imperial Army to demonize its enemy. But perhaps the groundwork was made during previous centuries of associating the ethnically other with what is simian-like and goblin-like.

<sup>3</sup> A geopolitical orientation impinges upon the supplicant who prostrates at a compass stone, a *karahai*, at the easternmost cape of the island. The site is one of a watch-hut for overseeing the sea route in and out of the island for voyages to central Okinawa. Weapon replicas of a booty, I admit, are flaunted when victories of the past are celebrated. But the articles of warfare, such as sword and bow and arrow, are not delivered onto the festival site as killer instruments but as one kind of *tama*, jewels, along with the multi-colored glass beads worn by women as head dress. Men who own such past articles of warfare are not even allowed to touch them. Only their sisters or their nieces enjoy that privilege. The enemies commemorated in the festivals are *ikokujin-taikokujin* – people of other lands / larger lands. They are not the true inhabitants of other, far-off, places, but far more pointedly, the corsairs who terrorized the islanders some 500 years ago. Ritual life, in this way, mediates a relationship to the outside: to the Court by emphasizing tribute, to other territories by emphasizing defense. Relationships with the outside, to kings and corsairs, must be consummated and abrogated in the end.

*Great Loo-Choo Island in the Japan Sea*. His words about an intelligence mission in the East China Sea (p. 1):

The embassy to China, under the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, left England in his Majesty's frigate *Alceste*, Captain Murray Maxwell, C. B., on the 9th of February, 1816, and landed near the mouth of the Pei-ho-river, in the Yellow Sea, on the 9th of August. Shortly afterwards the *Alceste* and *Lyra* sloop of war, which had accompanied the embassy, proceeded to the coast of Corea, the eastern boundary of the Yellow Sea; for as these ships were not required in China before the return of the Ambassador by land to Canton, it was determined to devote the interval to an examination of some places in those seas, of which little or no precise information then existed.

Navigation along the coast of Korea achieved something in terms of chartering new island locations but little in terms of human contact. One of the sub-headings of Chapter One tells it all: "Unsociable Character of the Natives." The two British ships entered the waters of the main island of the Ryūkyū Kingdom on September 14, 1816 for a stay that would last until October 27. The narrator, Captain Hall is pleased by the variety of the scenery on Okinawa Island (p. 77): "...the numerous groves of pine-trees give some part of it an English air..." And later on (p. 140) in the account, about a hedge: "...it resembled not a little an English lane." Here is the transcript of the first encounter (pp. 61–62):

No people that we have yet met with have been so friendly; for the moment they came alongside, one handed a jar of water up to us, and another a basket of boiled sweet potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. Their manners were gentle and respectful; they uncovered their heads when in our presence, bowed whenever they spoke to us; and when we gave them some rum, they did not drink it till they had bowed to every person round. Another canoe went near the *Alceste*, and a rope being thrown to them, they tied a fish to it, and then paddled away. All this seemed to promise well, and was particularly grateful after the cold repulsive manners of the Coreans.

The British voyagers – even if they are on a diplomatic mission – are seemingly unaware of the geopolitics looming behind the encounters. They are attentive to dispositions and manners, but not to the official injunctions that lie behind the reserve they experience. An understanding of the Ryūkyūans' intentions is not weighed against a context, for example, the situation of a Ryūkyūan king who reports to the Satsuma overlords in Kyushu, who in turn report to a shogunate government in Edo which is quite negative to contact with Europeans. Contextual understanding, instead, materializes from within the encounters itself. Captain Hall reminisces – in a quite depreciative vein – about the dispositions of Chinese, Koreans, and Malays. He has heard that the Ryūkyūans are tributary to China (pp. 63–64), on which ground, he infers a similarity in manners. If not strictly observing the rules of rank in any transaction, they will "invariably repay condescension with presumption." Out of this fragment of cultural assumption comes a blueprint for conduct (p. 64): "At all events, it was evidently much easier at any future time to be free and

cordial with them, after having assumed a distance and reserve in the first instance, than it would be to repress insolence, if at first encouraged by too hasty familiarity."

But the intricacies of measured distance which, as it appears, was mutually perceived as cordiality, turns in fact out to be what keeps the relationship between the two sides going. The British captain reveals a good grasp on the interactional details when describing the leave taken by a nobleman who had been a guest onboard the *Alceste* (p. 91):

On rising to go away, the old man bowed to me, and said that he meant to visit my ship; but this being evidently complimentary, I begged him not to take so much trouble: he, in return, expressed himself obliged to me for being satisfied with the politeness intended. The Ambassador's barge was manned to take him on shore, but as soon as he saw what was intended, he drew back, and declared that he could not land in any boat but his own. As it was supposed that his modesty prevented his accepting this offer, he was urged to overcome his scruples, and land in the manner proposed...

But some degree of easy reciprocity evolves as the days pass, notwithstanding this restraint on granting access to their Great Man, the King. Their side, the Ryūkyūans insisted, was made up of ranks quite unequal to the British: the latter (p. 72) would "...be degrading themselves by such undue condescension."

There is a constant traffic of canoes back and forth between the shore and the two ships. Captain Hall mentions that the whole area between the shore and the ships has been covered with canoes, each with a capacity of 10 persons. The Ryūkyūans provision the ships with water, candles, charcoal, potatoes, eggs, vermicelli, liquor, bullocks, hogs, goats, and fowls. The Englishmen reciprocate with parties and gifts: buttons as tokens of casual favors, wine glasses for men of nobility rank. A more deliberately arranged set of gifts to a Ryūkyūan of apposite rank would comprise (pp. 93–94) bottles of wine, books, glasses, rolls of blue cloth, and a table cloth. A feast held at a seaside temple in honor of the Englishmen amplified prestations and counter-prestations to an even fuller extent (pp. 97–98):

During the early part of the feast, our presents were brought in on trays, and laid at the feet of the Chief: the old man rose and saw them arranged, he then made a graceful bow, and acknowledged his satisfaction, observing that we had sent him too much, and had done him more honour than he was entitled to, and that he could not think of accepting the whole. This we considered matter of form, and in reply lamented our inability to make suitable presents; upon which he sat down and said no more. The other chiefs ran about shewing the list of their presents to their friends among the crowd.

This left no scope for money transactions. Wouldn't the very notion of money have broken the allure of pure association? The Ryūkyūan side turned down a bag of dollars (p. 80). But Basil Hall does not seem to realize that this ban on trade only applies to the present situation of contact, which was rehearsed by the Ryūkyūans in the way of a shadow-play. Ryūkyūan economy was not a subsistence economy. Contact turned out as mutual on the level of manners but

not on the level of interest. Etiquette was bestowed by the one upon the other; a perfect symmetry based on self-denial and self-condescension evolved. But the Englishmen, when reflecting upon the received bulls and hogs, realized a rationale behind the magnanimity (p. 81):

...they gave their assurance, that the stock had been sent on board by order of the Loo-choo government, on their being informed that the King of another country's ships had arrived. No payment they said could therefore be taken. With this Captain Maxwell was satisfied. Their wish seems to be, to prevent our opening any communication with their government, and they appear so decided upon these matters, that they will probably succeed, notwithstanding all our efforts.

Unexpectedly, one day the Ryūkyūans divulge that the gifts are from the king himself. All the stock and vegetable received for their daily sustenance were from him. (p. 127) The Englishmen, upon knowing this, ask to be given permission, in return, to pay their respects. But no answer materializes.

The Englishmen request access to solid turf due to health reasons. The Ryūkyūan side invites for a walk. Each Englishman is held by the arms: escorted back and forth in deep sand on a hot beach. (p. 111) But inch by inch, the Ryūkyūans give in to the wishes for access to a more open vista. A request for a horse for Captain Maxwell of the *Alceste* is granted, even if the Ryūkyūan side at first finds such transport degrading for their honored guests. But the horse succumbs to the weight of the Englishman. The result is a broken finger. This episode triggers a turn in the chain of balancing acts between the British and the Ryūkyūans. A doctor is sent to the ship. He makes a cast according to a recipe unknown to the British, and he wraps it around the finger with the skin of a chicken. Even if the Englishmen have their own ship surgeon, the commander of the ships accepts the offer to be a patient of the Ryūkyūan doctor.

Then, later on, a royal prince – next in rank to the king – announces his entry on the *Alceste* to inquire about the state of health of Captain Maxwell. He is taken to the frigate on a large barge with an awning of blue cloth dotted with white stars, and once on deck he is surrounded by a prostrating entourage of his own noblemen. Basil Hall receives his name card. The British, or most likely, by the Chinese interpreter, reads the name Shang Pung Fwee, and he occupies the 9th and highest order of ranks (p. 181), "...the distinction of which rank is a hatchee-matchee of a pink ground, with perpendicular rows of black, yellow, blue, white, and green spots. He was clothed in a robe of light blue silk, lined with silk a shade lighter, over which he wore a girdle richly embossed with flowers of gold and different coloured silks: in other respects his dress was like that of the chiefs."

Trained as they are in diplomatic sign behavior, the British now see the fulfillment of an existing wish on the part of the Ryūkyūans: a license to reach out beyond the ranks of petty chiefs in their quest for tangible – person-to-person – contact on the highest level.

And they were pleased as well with the respects extended to their own king – whose envoys they were – implied by the inquiries. But a proposal to crown such diplomatic success with an appearance at the Shuri court to pres-

ent their royal credentials was cordially declined. The Ryūkyūan side invoked the attendant forms. Captain Hall captures the gist of the prince's stance (p. 178): "...it was contrary to the laws and customs of Loo-Choo, for any foreigner to see the king, unless sent by his own sovereign, and charged with complimentary presents." An alternative proposal from the Ryūkyūan side that such preparatory steps might include the delivery of a message from the Ryūkyūan king to the British king could not be rejected by the British. On a second occasion, which includes numerous toasts for the health of the respective kings, the British finally manage to make the prince accept a gift. Basil Hall writes about the Ryūkyūans (p. 194) that with their extreme delicacy they refuse any gift that might be interpreted as a recompense for their hospitality. The British invent a gesture that might reduce value in the eyes of the receiver, make it a trinket to be hung around the neck. So having noticed that the Prince has been curious about a thermometer, Captain Maxwell orders it affixed to a ribbon to make it a gift, and then hangs it ceremonially around the guest's neck. Captain Basil does likewise with a cornelian gem stone.

Even when rank is not really the matter, there is mutual attention: The Ryūkyūans include the British in their own thinking of life and death when they arrange a funeral for a dead crew member. They execute the post mortem rites in a way familiar from my own field work on Yonaguni Island: a hog needs to be slaughtered and a procession to the tomb has to be made, with themselves waking *in front* as they notice that the British are lining up *behind* the corpse. The sick among the crew members receive treatment in an on shore hospital: Basil Hall finds them much recovered on his return after a short cruise. They had been served milk, eggs, meat, and vegetables, their arms had been held during walks, and their pipes lighted when resting on a grassy spot. (p. 155)

One Ryūkyūan companion of the British has such an air of confidence around him and the commoners in sight evince so much respect, that they suspect that he cloaks his true identity. In the later days of the stay he reveals his rank. The British are conditioned to the signs of preeminence. Unfailingly, thus, Basil Hall identifies a nobleman, whom he refers to as Madera (pp. 158–159): "Whatever may be Madera's rank in his own society, it is highly curious to discover in a country so circumstanced, the same politeness, self-denial, and gracefulness of behaviour which the experience of civilised nations has pointed out as constituting the most pleasing and advantageous form of intercourse."

The Ryūkyūan prince was saluted from the ship cannons, and so also was their own king later on when the Ryūkyūans could share the joys of celebrating his birthday. Captain Hall estimates the location of the castle at Shuri. Initially the answers from the Ryūkyūan noblemen were evasive: the Great Man? Either they were not sure or, otherwise, he lived in a place too far away to be visited. Another consideration was one of the Englishmen's own welfare. If venturing into the interior of the island they might come across savages. But even casual encounters were civil in character. Let me quote one example (p. 145):

On our entering the village we were met by a man who appeared to be the principal person of the place; he was very polite, shewed us through the



village, and took us over his garden, where he had some sugar-cane growing; this we admired very much, upon which he ordered one of the finest of the canes to be taken up by the roots and presented to us; we immediately gave him a few buttons off our jackets, with which he was quite pleased.

It was a farmer they encountered along the road who could give them a precise answer to their inquiry. Their Ryūkyūan attendant was not able to stop him from suspending the pretense. As result of this verification, the map of Naha and its environs display the locus of the hilltop castle of Shuri. Once, commanding the view of an extensive valley – “more beautiful than we have ever seen” (p. 113) they fixed their eyes on a large building that could be nothing else than the king’s Palace. Basil Hall writes (p. 113): “...our questions, however, on this subject were always answered in so evasive a manner, and with such apparent distress, that we seldom made any allusion either to it or to the King.”

Skills in a goffmanesque craft of impression management on the part of their Ryūkyūans made the British put some restraint on themselves: they wholeheartedly embraced a role-play of hosts and guests under a tutelage of absent kings, one residing somewhere at a mountain-top castle, another, thousands of miles away in Britain. Each party fulfilled their roles as proxies for their monarch, the British more eagerly so than the Ryūkyūans, by eliciting permission to walk ashore and present their credentials in person. They had to satisfy their interest for power play by gazing at the building of the castle from afar, just as they also had to satisfy their interest in the local women by gazing from afar (p. 85):

We see a number of women coming from the country with baskets on their heads. Their outer dress differs from that of the men, it is open in front, and they have no girdle; they have an under dress, or sack, which is also loose, but not open; in some we can see that this comes nearly to the feet, in others just to the knee, and we imagine that those who work in the fields have the short dress: most of them allow their upper garment to flow out with the wind behind them.

Captain Hall brings out a comparison with the Japanese when interpreting the Ryūkyūans’ reserve. In this respect the Japanese are more accommodating. He writes (pp. 207–208): “...they differ from the Japanese, who are said to allow wives to every stranger.”

The make-believe, on the part of both the British and their hosts, made no space for dominance, such puissance that envelopes both the military aspect and the sexual aspect. The visitors erroneously assumed that this was a society placing constraint on women’s exposure in public, although they noted that in contrast to China, only the King was allowed to have concubines. In the Captain’s words: “The women are not treated so well as we were led to expect from the mildness of character in the men, and their liberality of thinking in general.” The British had one woman aboard, a sailor’s wife, Mrs. Loy. Hall writes that although she had no great pretensions regarding her looks (p. 121), she caused a considerable degree of attention. The “natives,” he says, wanted to grant her every indulgence. They even went as far as inviting her for a sight-seeing in the

city, something far beyond the hopes of the male members of the British party. There was no reason for her to worry, no mischief would be done to her. But she could not be persuaded, and the Captain is sorry that the only opportunity to see the town was wasted. One day, while washing clothes on shore, Mrs. Loy was by a visited by a Ryūkyūan “Lady of Rank” surrounded by a group of numerous male guards. Captain Hall describes the encounter after first describing the woman making her entry as (pp. 171–172):

...being about eighteen years of age, well dressed, fair in complexion, with small dark eyes, and not without beauty; her hair was of a glossy jet black, made up into a knot on one side of the head. She wore a girdle tied at the side, and had on sandals like the men. Mrs. Loy wished to touch her, but she shrunk back in alarm. Whether these details be quite correct or not, the circumstance of a lady of rank having visited Mrs. Loy is so far interesting as it denotes a considerable degree of curiosity on the lady’s part, together with the power of gratifying it, which, in a country where the women are strictly secluded, perhaps would not be allowed.

Captain Hall observes a place of worship with offering stones, but he is not told that the officiants are women, the *nuru*, and that they enjoy a respectable status in society. Even in the bureaucratic arrangement at court in the early 19th century there were female officials, the *nyokan*, both for religious and secular functions (Røkkum 1998). Captain Hall is only allowed to meet Buddhist priests, who, somewhat surprisingly to the British, were accommodated quite casually during a formal reception, as if they were of low rank. He also describes structures of horse-shoe shaped tombs in the Chinese style, but again he does not see the women administering the rites, the female *yuita*.

Captain Hall is on an intelligence mission. His observations include cartography and linguistic survey, but he also surveys the moral landscape and the local peoples’ level on the scale of civilization. He compares his own and Captain Cook’s experiences from voyages in the South Sea and the Malay Archipelago with the insights gained during the present sojourn in the Ryūkyūs. It is not technology and military skills but social skills which to this naval officer is the distinguishing feature of progress. In fact, he applauds the Ryūkyūans’ lack of a military culture: “They denied having any knowledge of war either by experience or tradition.” (p. 210)

This British naval officer attributes to his hosts an awareness of how to bring people together by arranging picnic parties, with the dinner brought to the place in boxes. In a present-day retrospect, however, it is likely that these picnics were not per se for socializing, but for entertaining body souls (Røkkum 1998, Røkkum 2006). He sums up his view of Ryūkyūan socializing adeptness thus (p. 221): “They shewed ... a good deal of discernment, and could adapt themselves to the character of the particular persons they happened to be in company with, in a manner very remarkable: but this was evidently the result not of cunning, but of correct feelings, and of a polite habit of thinking.”

Another British naval officer, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, published in 1848 memories from his journey throughout the Ryūkyū Archipelago in two volumes, under the title *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang*. Again

the two sides reached understanding by including the other their own etiquette. Again the British side was denied audience to the personage who this time was seen as an “emperor” of the islands. Again there was a keen observation of ranks in society, through the terms of “class” and “caste.” Again there was an exclusion of other peoples – the Chinese and the Malays – from what was perceived as a conspicuous moral excellence (vol. 2: 68). The British had a specific objective for their cruises: they went out into the East China Sea on intelligence missions, with the intention of setting up observation posts. Captain Belcher did this with more vigor than Captain Hall. On Yonaguni Island, which he names, Y-nah-koo, he was met with objection through a written petition. But not even a denial of the British objective discouraged the British from imposing a consensus through moral appropriation. In Belcher’s words: “I thought that I could discern something not exactly like a want of cordiality, but rather a fear of some influence which prevented the exhibition of that *natural feeling* of friendship so freely exhibited at our last visit.” (Belcher 1848 vol. 1: 312, emphasis in the original).

### An Anatomy of the Encounter

Basil Hall’s account predates ethnography, or perhaps it might be the other way, that ethnography is just a professionalized style of travel writing, and as such, as Comaroff and Comaroff (1992: 9) suggests, the intersubjectivity invoked from fieldwork is itself one way of including the other into a purported dialogue. Basil Hall’s account like the modern ethnographer’s account *elicits* dialogue, an exchange if not through words then through signifying gestures, although he may not be coming to grips with its limitations: that reciprocity should not be allowed to proceed *beyond* that level of gesture. Basil Hall seems to neglect the constraints on contact given by the geopolitical situation of Far Easterner’s interest in avoiding the colonial embrace. Instead he tries to unravel an anatomy of the encounter itself in the vein of an ethnographic writer. It is well worth to note that even in modern writings on the culture of colonialism there is a turn toward what Pels (1997: 169) writes of as “microphysics.” So in a sense Captain Hall is modern ethnographer. He pieces together a few assumptions about the Ryūkyūans to pilot him during the encounters. First and foremost, he needs to deal with them according to a scale of ranks. The two kings in whose names the parties interact provide the balancing point for a symmetry of decorum and positioning. A semiotic expression of *politesse* materializes as a result of these interactions.

The necessity of showing reserve to persons outside such bounds of rank symmetries is made a template for further conduct. Captain Hall’s emerging knowledge of the Ryūkyūans is not a matter of self-evidence in terms of previous notions of Far Easterners based on written accounts and rumor, but a piecemeal putting together of fragments of non-verbal behavior, culinary experience, ceremony, and observation of landscape.

Johannes Fabian’s (Fabian 1995: 48) writes: “Context must be constituted in a practice that is individually and therefore historically situated and determined.” Captain Hall, unlike the creators of fairs and live exhibitions, does

not preconceive a Far Eastern alterity. He does not *assume* the context, but – in the vein of Fabian’s words – he turns all his attention to the context-building at hand. This being an early visit by the British in the waters of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, he must have known that this was a historical situation.

Basil Hall’s cruise in the waters of the East China Sea is one of chartering unknown social landscapes, not for conquest but for an initial, first-hand, understanding. A *negation* of alterity is the first precondition for this to be accomplished. For Basil Hall as for the modern ethnographer, this is the issue: What do I see which matches what I see in myself and in the ones I know? To the British, it is the observation of symmetry and difference through social and behavioral forms that makes the ease or naturalness necessary for relating oneself to the other.

A quite different project of understanding through historiographical representation was achieved by the British in the genre we may call colonial writing, as demonstrated by Nicholas B. Dirks from India: Another Scottish writer of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Colin Mackenzie (Dirks 1993: 281), designed a grand project of recording “...a thick historical archive for peninsular India.”

The British idea of a civilized society promotes the ideal of free association. But this is an oxymoronic naturalness: an *artifice* sustained by perceived difference and style on the part of the European. As Sahlins notes (1995:9), “...’the native point’s of view’ is metamorphosed into European folklore.” Thomas (1989) speaks of an “appropriation” of Fiji by the British by seeing in the upper-class Fijian demeanor a perfect match to their own. In Fiji, however, the brokerage of interest through exchange of etiquette did not stop the British from exerting dominance: Fiji was colonized.

Captain Basil Hall’s positive attitude toward the Ryūkyūans as a civilized people was nourished by what he saw as a consistent mode of self-restraint: consideration for the other while down-playing own interest. It is noteworthy that even if Captain Hall had scientific leanings and was a military man, he did not make an assessment of what he observed in the Ryūkyūs in terms of technological or scientific advances, but in terms of ethics. Another narrative, titled *Travels in North-America, in the years 1827 and 1828* portrays a society which by and large may *not* be characterized through such terms. An American reviewer (*The Southern Review* [1829]) laments that some of Hall’s observations may be appropriate, still he writes (p. 324):

He came hither with preconceived opinions – he is an *homme à système*, and visited us for the purpose of collecting facts to support his theory. He has accordingly seen everything with a partial and prejudiced eye.

Finally, then, in America, the native speaks back.

### Conclusion

For Europeans of the early 19th century colonialism was a project of civilizing peoples. The portrayal of others as savages was a necessary prerequisite for making a moral justification. By and large, museums and fairs did that job.

They provided the graphical portrayal of the discrepancy between the European self and the other. Captain Basil Hall's writings take a different course. They describe an inchoate dialog of signs as something that negates difference. Caught as they were in a never-ending exchange of pleasantries, the British were hesitant in pushing forward their own interests. The evolving symmetries of gesture between two sides gave birth to felt obligation, as hosts and guests. A palpable code of honor began to pervade the transactions. Gradually, the British came to realize that the politics involved was a power of the gift, what Marcel Mauss described as an *obligation* of a moral kind: to give, accept, and return. The momentum of the return fosters enduring relationships. But that – the Maussian turn of the exchanges – was precisely what the Ryūkyūans, for their part, were trying to forestall. Even in the present, ritual etiquette on the southern Ryūkyūan island of Yonaguni displays a technique, not just for eliciting a relationship to a powerful entity but for ending it: either by turning the gift of food offerings upside down or throwing it on glowing embers. This prevents a relationship from evolving further.

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*Владимир Алпатов*

**Н.А. НЕВСКИЙ – ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬ  
ЯПОНСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ**

Имя Николая Александровича Невского (1892–1937) хорошо знают и помнят в Японии. Там не раз публиковались его труды и издана его беллетризованная биография. Японские студенты изучают по его записям айнский язык, еще недавно существовавший в их собственной стране. Обычно игнорирующие иностранные исследования о своей культуре японские специалисты называют его «одним из отцов японской этнографии». Английский профессор Э.Д. Гринстед считал его «великим русским ученым». А у нас имя Невского знает только узкий круг специалистов, хотя Николай Александрович оказался первым филологом, получившим Ленинскую премию. Но награда нашла его через четверть века после страшной смерти в страшном году. И опубликовал учёный при жизни всего одну небольшую книгу по языку цоу на Тайване [1].

Будучи японистом по образованию и по основному кругу занятий (исключая последние годы жизни, когда он, не бросая японистику, много занимался тангутами), Невский и при жизни, и долгое время после посмертной реабилитации имел очень мало публикаций по Японии. На родине в 30-е гг. две небольшие статьи, перевод и учебник для начинающих в соавторстве. Ранее несколько эпизодических публикаций в Японии. А в 60–70-е гг. его работы по тангутам и айнам дошли до читателя намного раньше, чем исследования по японистике; именно за «Тангутскую филологию» учёный получил Ленинскую премию. Поэтому у многих создавалось ошибочное мнение, согласно которому учёный был исследователем тангутов по преимуществу. Например, в третьем издании Большой советской энциклопедии (70-е гг.) статьи о Невском по каким-то причинам нет, во всех статьях о Японии и японистике он ни разу не упомянут, и говорится о нём только в статье о тангутах.

Но тангутами учёный стал заниматься лишь с конца 20-х гг., а всю его творческую жизнь в центре его научных интересов была культура Японии в разных ее проявлениях: религия, мифология, этнография, диалектология. Сюда же вписывалось и изучение культуры единственного сохранившегося из исконных меньшинств Японских островов – айнов. И четырнадцать лет жизни Невский провел в Японии.

Николай Александрович Невский родился в Ярославле 2 марта (нового стиля) 1892 г. в семье судебного следователя, детство его прошло в Рыбинске, где его до сих пор помнят и изучают. В 1910 г. Невский стал студентом китайско-японского отделения восточного факультета Петербургского университета. Одновременно он учился и в Практической

восточной академии, только там преподавали современный язык (в университете изучали в основном классические тексты).

Как позже рассказывал сам Невский, он сначала желал стать дипломатом, но с этой мечтой скоро пришлось расстаться: в царской России человеку недворянского происхождения эта профессия была недоступна. Ему, однако, не нужно было раскаиваться в выборе специальности: еще на младших курсах он увлекся наукой. Позже он напишет: «Я по своему складу более всего чувствую удовлетворение при исследовательской работе» [2].

Восточный факультет в те годы находился на переломе. Классические традиции русского востоковедения основывались на изучении культуры разных народов. Невский всю жизнь оставался верен этим традициям. Однако уже в его студенческие годы на факультете появлялись люди, начинавшие подходить к изучению Востока по-новому, среди них был и его главный учитель, китаист В.М. Алексеев, тогда приват-доцент, позднее академик (среди японистов факультета тогда крупных величин не было). Он в отличие от старших коллег не считал, что основа работы востоковеда – изучение древних рукописей, а исследование современности (включая «простонародную» культуру) недостойно истинного ученого. Невский, как и другие студенты, всецело был на стороне Алексеева. И он учил не только классический, но и современный язык, изучал нетрадиционные тогда для востоковедов науки у лучших петербургских ученых: этнографию у Л.Я. Штернберга, фонетику у Л.В. Щербы. Потом это ему очень пригодилось в Японии.

Алексеев уже в те годы записал в дневнике о своем ученике: «Мой двойник, только сильнее и вообще лучше» [3]. Под его руководством студент написал дипломную работу, посвященную пятнадцати стихотворениям великого китайского поэта VIII в. н. э. Ли Бо. Диплом получил высшую для тех лет оценку «весьма удовлетворительно». Он дошел до нас и в 1996 г. был опубликован [4]. Но при столь основательной подготовке китаистом Невский не стал, а диплом оказался единственной его работой, целиком посвященной Китаю. Его увлекла Япония, что было закономерно для той эпохи: после поражения в русско-японской войне в России резко усилился интерес к этой стране, стремительно ворвавшейся на мировую арену. Китай же не казался столь интересным.

На факультете вместе с Невским или на один-два курса старше или моложе учились Н.И. Конрад, О.О. Розенберг, М.Н. Рамминг, братья Орест и Олег Плетнеры. В Практической восточной академии учил японский язык студент историко-филологического факультета Е.Д. Поливанов. В те же годы первым иностранцем, окончившим Императорский университет в Токио, стал С.Г. Елисеев. Это было блестящее поколение (рождения от 1888 до 1893 г.), быстро превзошедшее старших коллег-японистов, в основном практиков.

Еще студентом, в 1913 г. Невский ездил на три месяца в Японию, а после окончания университета его выпускникам, заслуживавшим, как тогда говорили, «подготовку к профессорскому званию», была положена стажировка в изучаемой стране «для усовершенствования знаний и

приобретения необходимых навыков в разговорном языке». Получив университетскую стипендию, Николай Александрович через год после окончания университета, в ноябре 1915 г. отправился на стажировку. Он ехал на два года, не предполагая, что проведет в Японии большую часть оставшейся ему жизни.

Невский поселился вместе с товарищами по университету Н.И. Конрадом и О.О. Розенбергом, приехавшими туда раньше его, в уютном доме в токийском квартале Хаяси-гё. Его темой стало изучение синтоизма, системы традиционных японских верований, обычаев и ритуалов. До Невского не только в России плохо знали, что это такое, но и в самой Японии синтоизм не был изучен. Лишь Николай Александрович показал, что надо разграничивать официальный синтоизм, искусственно созданный японскими книжниками XVII–XIX вв. на основе толкования древних памятников и ставший затем государственной религией, и народный синтоизм, продолжавший жить в сельских районах страны. Знали лишь официальный синтоизм, а народный синтоизм только начинал изучаться. Невский, к тому времени блестяще овладевший японским языком, включая диалекты, много ездил по стране, иногда в одиночку, иногда в компании первых японских этнографов, забираясь в отдаленные деревни, где никогда не видели белого человека. Он дотошно изучал похоронные обряды, песни при исполнении танца льва, обряд постановки магических фигур, предохранявших от воров и от насекомых-вредителей, начал переводить «Норито» – ритуальные молитвы синтоистским богам неба, сохранившиеся в памятниках VIII в. И беседы о науке с Конрадом, Розенбергом и приезжавшим в командировку Поливановым. Невскому было хорошо.

Внезапно из России пришли сообщения о свержении монархии. У Конрада и Розенберга весной 1917 г. кончился срок стажировки, и они вернулись на родину, еще раньше уехал Поливанов. Невский, чей срок истекал 1 декабря 1917 г., остался в Токио один, продолжая изучать танцы льва и другие обряды. В конце 1917 г. выплата стипендии из Петрограда прекратилась, а из России доходили вести одна хуже другой, особенно от Алексева. В библиотеке университета Тэнри в Японии, где сейчас сосредоточена японская часть архива Невского, сохранилось любопытное письмо учителя ученику от 2/15 ноября 1917 г.: «Не ездите в позорную страну до окончания его судеб <...>. Каждый чувствует себя как бы накануне своей гибели. Россия перестала быть государством. Здесь черт знает что происходит. Кроме насилия, ничего. Жду бесславной, глупой смерти от солдата-хулигана и махнул рукой на работу». Алексеев радовался тому, что хотя бы Невскому ничего не угрожает, и передавал ему научную эстафету: «Вы – лучший из моих учеников. В Вас горит энтузиазм и свет науки. Вам принадлежит будущее. Со способностями Вы соединили редкую любовь к труду и знанию, окрашенную в идеальный колорит, бескорыстный, честный, молодой и яркий <...>. Если больше не увидимся, обнимаю Вас крепко, и желаю Вашей жизни большего смысла и большего успеха, чем то, что выпало на долю мне, но я счастлив был и остаюсь тем, что Вы были моим учеником» [5].

Людам не дано предугадать будущее. Всё получилось как раз наоборот: в жизни Алексева было немало неприятностей, но он уцелел во всех бурях, всегда работал по специальности, стал академиком, дожил до старости, а пуля в затылок досталась его лучшему ученику, которого учителю было суждено пережить на четырнадцать лет.

Но это будет позже, и Невский с Алексеевым всё-таки еще увидятся. А в конце 1917 г., взвесив все «за» и «против», Николай Александрович решил остаться в Японии. Он никогда не считал себя эмигрантом и надеялся, что наступят лучшие времена и он сможет вернуться на родину.

Более года Невский искал работу, в Токио ее так и не удалось найти. Но в 1919 г. удалось получить место преподавателя русского языка в Высшем коммерческом училище в городе Отару на северном японском острове Хоккайдо. Тогда это был небольшой город в японской глубинке, мало европеизированный. Там ученый прожил три года.

В России шла гражданская война, а Невскому было хорошо. В письмах тех лет он рассказывал: «Ярко печатает меня солнце в моем новеньком чистеньком домике. Лежу на татами возле камелька и подставляю то лицо, то спину веселому печатнику. Тепло! Хорошо! <...> Правда, по вечерам здорово холодно, но веселый домик с потрескивающими угольками... скрадывает наружную стужу». «Из окна видно красивое голубое небо и осенние побуревшие горы. Иногда тянет взять посох и отправиться в глубь этих гор и с их вышины петь гимны солнцу». «На днях ездил в курортную местность Дзодзэнкэй (около 5 часов от Отару) и одиноко бродил среди узорчатой парчи гор, умытых золотом и киноварью. Пил утреннюю росу, дышал солнцем и свежей прохладой» [6]. Углубленный в себя по натуре, Невский легко переносил одиночество. Но именно в Отару он встретил Исо Мантани, ставшую его женой.

Переезд на Хоккайдо изменил научные интересы ученого. Там жили айны, загадочный во всем народ, ни на кого не похожий, в том числе на японцев. Происхождение айнов и генетическая принадлежность их языка до сих пор не известны. Мирные и беззащитные охотники и рыболовы вызывали презрение у японцев, которые из-за звукового сходства названия народа *Ainu* и японского слова *inu* ‘собака’ считали их результатом смешения людей и собак. Айнская бесписьменная культура и айнский язык к началу 20-х гг. были очень мало изучены (японские учёные всерьез займутся ими в 50-е гг., как раз тогда, когда они быстро начнут исчезать). И Невский отложил изучение синтоизма ради айнов. За три года он записал десятки айнских текстов, многие из которых сейчас известны только благодаря ему, изучал быт и верования айнов.

Здесь проявились черты характера Николая Александровича, вызывающие симпатию, но не всегда помогавшие его научной деятельности. Он не был честолюбив, и его сам процесс научного творчества интересовал больше, чем результат. Он был азартен, увлекался всё новыми темами и, не бросая совсем старые сюжеты, погружался во что-то другое. Это не способствовало ни доведению его работ до законченного вида, ни тем более публикации его немалых достижений. В Японии к этому добавлялись трудности с изданием сочинений никому не известного иностранца:

к моменту отъезда из Отару у Невского не было ни одной печатной работы. Несколько лет трудов мирового значения по синтоизму вылились лишь в наброски, черновики, переводы некоторых текстов и еще в служебный «Отчет о занятиях в Японии с 1 декабря 1915-го по 1-е декабря 1916 года», посланный в Петроградский университет и сохранившийся там в архиве.

В 1922 г. Невского пригласили на должность профессора в Университет иностранных языков в Осаке, где до сих пор о нем сохраняется память. Он стал, наконец, прилично зарабатывать, наладился быт. В Осаке у Невского родилась дочь Елена. В эти же годы стали появляться его первые публикации в японских журналах. Много времени уходило на преподавание русского языка, но Невскому удавалось изучать национальную живопись и брать уроки театрального искусства «гидаю». Основные силы по-прежнему уходили на науку, и здесь снова Николая Александровича влекли неизведанные темы.

Одной из них стало изучение культуры и языка уже не крайнего севера, а крайнего юга Японии – островов Рюкю. В отличие от айнов население этих островов родственно японцам, но диалекты тех мест резко отличаются от остальных настолько, что невозможно взаимопонимание, а древняя религиозная система, остатки которой еще сохранялись на самых южных островах Мияко, имела значительную специфику. Невский ездил на Мияко и некоторые другие острова трижды (1922, 1926, 1928 гг.). Для исследователя это был совершенно нетронутый край, куда раньше не приезжали специалисты. На нерегулярно ходивших катерах или на рыбачьих лодках, которые легко могли перевернуться, Невский изъездил многие острова, подолгу задерживаясь из-за частых тайфунов. Результатом были многочисленные записи фольклорных текстов, словарь говоров Мияко объемом 596 страниц, материалы по другим диалектам Рюкю, множество записей и набросков, посвященных местным обрядам, религиозным представлениям, народной медицине. Лишь небольшое ученым тогда опубликовал в Японии (но и это составило ему славу крупнейшего специалиста по данной проблематике) и вовсе ничего потом в Ленинграде.

Еще в Японии Невский начал заниматься и другими темами, уже выходившими за рамки японистики, толчком к началу этих занятий послужила поездка летом 1925 г. в Китай. Одной из этих тем стало изучение языка и культуры аборигенов Тайваня, туда ученый ездил в 1927 г. Этот остров лишь недавно китаизировался, а в его внутренних районах живут потомки древнейшего населения, в то время еще говорившие на языках австронезийской семьи. И их изучение тоже имело отношение к истории Японии: большинство исследователей, в том числе Невский, считали аборигенов Тайваня родственными древнейшему населению Японии (культура Дзёмон), позднее смешавшемуся с пришедшими с материка алтайскими племенами. Именно эти результаты в наибольшей степени Невский издал при жизни: в 1935 г. в Ленинграде вышла книга «Материалы по говорам языка цоу», включившая в себя тексты с переводами и фонетический очерк этого аборигенного языка. Посмертно вышла книга «Материалы по говорам языка цоу. Словарь диалекта

северных цоу» (фототипическое воспроизведение книги 1935 г. плюс впервые изданный словарь) [7].

В Пекине Невский встретил бывшего преподавателя по восточному факультету А.И. Иванова, в то время драгомана советского полпредства. Он рассказал своему ученику о тангутских находках, сделанных в 1909 г. на территории Китая известным русским путешественником П.К. Козловым, и передал имевшиеся у него фотокопии некоторых документов. Козлов открыл обширную библиотеку тангутских текстов X–XIII вв., перевезенную им в Петербург. Однако эти тексты оставались нерасшифрованными, Невский, не бросая другие темы исследований, заинтересовался и этой проблемой, уже в Японии появились первые его публикации.

Но жизнь Невского в Японии, в первые годы счастливая, постепенно становилась всё тяжелее, несмотря на интересную работу и преданность жены. Политическая ситуация в Японии ухудшалась, усилились милитаризм и недоброжелательство к русским в связи с напряженными отношениями между Японией и СССР. Хотелось заниматься тангутикой, а главные материалы находились в Ленинграде. А жизнь в традиционно закрытом японском обществе, вдаль от привычной культурной и языковой среды, создавала немало проблем, причем великолепное знание языка и обычаев не только не помогало, но, наоборот, усиливало подозрительность к «нарушению границ» со стороны белого человека. Соотечественников же было мало: Япония, где иностранцу трудно было натурализоваться, не входила в число центров русской эмиграции. И лишь изредка встречи с востоковедами из СССР, начавшими приезжать с середины 20-х гг.

В 1925 г. тетка Невского В.Н. Крылова (во многом заменившая ему в детстве рано умершую мать) писала из Рыбинска в Ленинград В.М. Алексею, желая узнать о судьбе племянника, который «пропал в Японии». Тот ответил, что Невский жив и работает, но ему не стоит возвращаться, пока жизнь дома не наладится. Но скоро мнение друзей Невского изменилось, и роль в этом сыграла поездка Н.И. Конрада в 1927 г. в Японию. На пристани в Осаке Николай Александрович встретил старого друга и поселил в своем доме. Его вид не понравился Конраду, к тому времени возглавившему ленинградское японоведение. Он писал В.М. Алексею о Невском: «Он, конечно, здесь закис <...>. Николай Александрович – без вмешательства со стороны – не обойдется»; «Невский требует притока целеустремленной, живой, бодрой энергии; притока интереса со стороны»; «Ему нужно возвращаться, и я приложу все усилия уговорить его. Ужасно горько будет его оставлять опять одного» [8]. Алексеев, раньше не хотевший, чтобы Невский возвращался, теперь согласился с Конрадом. В следующем, 1928 г. в Японию приезжал еще один ленинградский востоковед, принадлежавший к молодому, пока не знакомому Невскому поколению, Ю.К. Щуцкий (он разделит впоследствии судьбу Николая Александровича). Он тоже будет уговаривать ученого вернуться. И Невский в итоге согласился. С конца 1928 г. начались хлопоты по оформлению переезда в Ленинград, затянувшиеся из-за проволочек японской бюрократии. Лишь в конце лета 1929 г. он смог

покинуть Японию, сначала без семьи, которую обещали пустить в СССР позже. В Осаке пришлось оставить часть материалов и всю переписку, которые ныне хранятся в университете Тэнри.

Закончился четырнадцатилетний период жизни ученого в Японии, давший ему так много материалов и не принесший особой научной известности. Невский покидал мирную и скучноватую Осаку, ручную обезьянку Масико и тишину храмов и возвращался в страну «суровой и однообразной природы», как он назвал Россию в одной из японских публикаций, сравнивая ее с Японией. В 1929 г., когда ленинградское востоковедение в основном восстановилось после гражданской войны и разрухи, возвращение в привычную научную среду казалось заманчивым. Но теперь мы понимаем, что ученый ехал навстречу новым интересным исследованиям, но и навстречу гибели.

Но поначалу казалось, что надежды Невского оправдались. В Ленинграде его приняли хорошо. Алексеев (как раз в 1929 г. избранный академиком), Конрад и другие старые знакомые его ценили. Алексеев помог ему и с жилплощадью самым простым путем, отдав ему часть своей большой квартиры (Конрад жил в другой квартире того же дома). К тому времени состав ленинградских востоковедов успел сильно измениться. Из плеяды замечательных японистов предреволюционных лет к моменту возвращения Невского там остался только Н.И. Конрад. О.О. Розенберг и Олег Плетнер умерли, Е.Д. Поливанов скитался по Средней Азии, а С.Г. Елисеев, М.Н. Рамминг и Орест Плетнер оказались разбросаны судьбой по разным странам. Но в Ленинграде подросло новое поколение: китаисты Ю.К. Щуцкий и Б.А. Васильев, монголист Н.Н. Поппе и др. Между всеми ними установились дружеские отношения. Дочь В.М. Алексеева нашла в бумагах отца конверт, надписанный его рукой: «Сатирикон Щуцкого и Васильева – вечер моих учеников в честь Н.А. Невского 25 сент[ября] 1929». Очевидно, вечер был связан с возвращением Николая Александровича на родину. Среди «юмористических куплетов» находим куплет в честь Невского и Конрада: «Два самурая, два Николая и тут и там, ученым саном и стройным станом пленяют дам!» [9]

Сразу по приезде Невский начал преподавать японский язык в университете и Ленинградском институте живых восточных языков им. А. Енукидзе (до 1936) и работать в только что образованном академическом Институте востоковедения, с 1934 г. он работал также в Эрмитаже. В 1935 г. Невский без защиты диссертации получил докторскую степень, имел и звание профессора.

Работы было много, творческой и рутинной. Алексеев в докладе 1935 г. «Стахановское движение и советская китаистика» с грустью отмечал: «На наших глазах хиреет и погибает колоссальный продуктор Н.А. Невский (пишет собственноручно учебник – азы)» [10]. Но большая педагогическая нагрузка для ученого – проблема, существующая и на Западе, и в словах академика имелось всё-таки преувеличение. Невский добросовестно отдавал любой нужной работе всё время, нигде не бывая, кроме мест службы, и отказывая себе в простом человеческом общении (полная противоположность активному Н.И. Конраду). Правда, лучше стало, когда

в 1933 г. из Японии приехали, наконец, жена и дочь. Дочь вспоминает: «Обычно я вспоминаю отца за работой, сидящим в кабинете за письменным столом, обложенного книгами, бумагами, карточками, в клубах табачного дыма. Работал он очень много, время черпая за счет своего сна и отдыха, спал по 4–5 часов в сутки, стараясь ежедневно сделать как можно больше. Создавалось впечатление, что он торопился, боялся не успеть завершить начатое. Такой же режим был у него и во время отпуска. При выезде на дачу основной багаж составляли те же книги, рукописи, карточки» [11]. На всех местах работы Невский считался «ударником».

Кроме немногих друзей, Николай Александрович более всего общался со студентами, которые его любили. Скромный и доброжелательный, он, казалось, не имел врагов. Мне в 90-е гг. удалось записать воспоминания его бывшей студентки в ЛГУ Ф.А. Тодер (1911–2000), позднее сотрудницы академического Института востоковедения в Москве. Она вспоминала, как Николай Александрович поражал всех знанием Японии и японской культуры. Если другие преподаватели, включая Конрада, хорошо знали лишь книжную культуру и литературный язык, то Невский знал и диалекты, и народную, «низовую» культуру, и старался научить этому студентов. Лишь он на факультете мог перевоплощаться в японку, по-женски хихикать и двигать руками, сопровождая это женскими частицами и междометиями, всему этому он учил студенток. И когда Тодер на практике в качестве переводчицы могла по-женски говорить с японскими инженерами, это по достоинству оценили ее собеседники. Погруженный в научные размышления, Невский не был таким блестящим лектором, как Конрад. Но Николай Иосифович, по воспоминаниям Тодер, всегда говорил: «Невский как учёный на несколько голов выше меня».

Однако Конрад уже в 1934 г. стал членом-корреспондентом АН СССР, а попытка Алексеева на следующий год провести в академию Невского не удалась. Возможно, были и иные причины, но официально против него выдвинули аргумент, с которым трудно было спорить: малое число публикаций. За восемь лет при огромном количестве произведённой работы издал он немного, и главной причиной были не внешние препоны, а отсутствие у него желания заниматься отделкой работ и подготовкой их к печати.

Помимо книги по Тайваню и предварительных сообщений по дешифровке тангутского языка, всё же было и несколько публикаций по Японии. В очень ценной хрестоматии по литературе Китая и Японии «Восток» Невский опубликовал небольшую часть многолетних трудов по двум темам: синтоизму (фрагменты перевода «Норито») [12] и айнскому фольклору (только три из множества записанных текстов) [13]. Еще были упомянутый Алексеевым «учебник – азы» (совместно с Е.М. Колпачки), вышедший в свет в 1936 г., и две статьи по японскому языку. Одна из них, «От “Московии” к СССР» [14], была посвящена заимствованиям из русского языка в японский в разные исторические периоды, причём большая ее часть описывала лексику, специфическую для группового подязыка японских коммунистов. Тема в наши дни выглядит экзотично, но поражает великолепное знание даже таких языковых реалий: это опять-таки

небольшой фрагмент тех знаний самых разных видов японского языка, которыми обладал Николай Александрович; он знал и как говорят женщины, и как говорят коммунисты. Другая статья «Представление о радуге как о небесной змее» [15] – совсем узкая по теме и посвящена этимологии одного японского слова. Опять вершина айсберга! Но эта статья дала заглавие вышеупомянутой японской биографии Невского: «Небесная змея» [16]. Символичное название!

Всё же Алексеев был не прав, говоря о том, что Невский хиреет. Ученый оставался «колоссальным продуктором» во всём. Продолжал он трудиться в той или иной степени над всеми темами, когда-то начатыми. В области тангутики в его распоряжении имелась обширная коллекция, привезенная Козловым, которую Невский начал обрабатывать. Она занимала основное время. Сохранился любопытный документ: «карточки рабочего времени», составлявшиеся Николаем Александровичем для рационального распределения труда (знак эпохи), в них на работу по тангутоведению отводилось от шести до десяти часов в сутки без выходных и отпусков.

Но ученый никогда не оставлял японские сюжеты. Он уже не мог вести полевые исследования, но оставалась обработка гигантского по объему материала, собранного в Японии. Появились и две совсем новые темы: историческая фонетика японского языка, включая диалекты Рюкю (он успел сделать по этой теме в 1936 г. доклад, тезисы которого сохранились), и подготовка к печати первых в России рукописных грамматик и словаря японского языка, составленных при Анне Иоанновне японцем Гондзой (после крещения Демьян Поморцев). И еще разные темы от иероглифики до перевода «документов японских пролетарских партий».

Всё было оборвано стуком в дверь поздним вечером 3 октября 1937 г. Учёный ещё работал за письменным столом. Уходя, он просил: «Не убирайте на столе, через несколько дней вернусь». Он не вернулся. Через несколько дней арестовали и его жену, тогда преподававшую японский язык в ленинградских вузах. Не вернулась и она.

До того судьба скорее шадилла Николая Александровича, особенно по сравнению с другими учеными, возвращавшимися из-за границы. Его считали уникальным специалистом, а с «белоэмигрантскими кругами» он не был связан уже потому, что в Японии их практически не было. Япония с 20-х гг. считалась вероятным противником в будущей войне, и подготовке кадров японистов придавалось большое значение, поэтому преподавателей этого языка, даже «старорежимных», до середины 30-х гг. старались не трогать. Во Владивостоке, где подготовка японистов и китайистов велась с дореволюционного времени, была дана специальная команда не подвергать проработкам преподавателей японского языка ввиду нужности их дела. Мне неизвестны и какие-либо кампании против «ударника» Невского до 1937 г. А потом всё быстро изменилось. В период массовых репрессий и всеобщей шпиономании люди, знающие японский язык, стали почти поголовно рассматриваться как «японские шпионы». Как только следователи узнали, что уже арестованный Е.Д. Поливанов когда-то занимался Японией и был в этой стране, в его деле на второй план отошла

даже работа под руководством Л.Д. Троцкого: всё свелось к «шпионажу в пользу Японии». А почти вся японская кафедра во Владивостоке в 1938 г. была расстреляна, тогда как параллельная китайская кафедра почти не пострадала. Невскому, четырнадцать лет прожившему в Японии и женатому на японке, трудно было на что-нибудь надеяться.

Оставшаяся без родителей в девять лет и воспитанная родственниками отца, Елена Николаевна ещё в конце 40-х гг. получила справку о том, что Николай Александрович Невский «умер от миокардита 13 февраля 1945 г.». Такая дата в 50–80-е гг. фигурировала в публикациях и встречается даже сейчас. Но на самом деле всё было иначе.

Некоторые сведения о последнем периоде жизни ученого пришли в 1963 г. Когда в газетах сообщили о присвоении Невскому Ленинской премии, откликнулся его бывший сокамерник В.И. Титянов, тогда живший в Сызрани. Ровно месяц, с 11 октября по 11 ноября 1937 г., они были вместе в переполненной камере № 54 дома предварительного заключения в Ленинграде и спали на одной постели. Титянов писал о Невском (сохраняя особенности стиля этого, видимо, не слишком образованного, но очень искреннего человека): «У этого человека был выпуклый вперед высокий лоб, тонкие плотно сжатые губы, глубоко посаженные умные и внимательные глаза. С обросшей небольшой бородой. Волосы на голове седые, аккуратно заброшенные назад и немного сзади вьющие. Волосами напоминал или художника или священного служителя». «Будучи в тюрьме, его очень это дело беспокоило, что труды могут исчезнуть бесследно. При его аресте, как он говорил, очень небрежно отнеслись к его рукописям, что вызывало сомнение в их сохранности. Это одна сторона. Второе, что его смущало, он боялся того, что его труды могут прибрать некоторые “люди” и издать их за свои труды» [17]. Но судьбу ученого после 11 ноября 1937 г. бывший его сокамерник не знал.

Лишь в 1990 г. из справки УКГБ по Ленинградской области впервые стало известно, что никаких восьми лет заключения не было, а после ареста Невский не прожил и двух месяцев. Следственное дело, основные материалы которого теперь опубликованы Е.Н. Невской [18], стереотипно и похоже на тысячи других. Три протокола допросов, признания в вербовке японской разведшколой перед отъездом в СССР, обвинительное заключение, избобличавшее почти нигде не бывавшего Николая Александровича в передаче японцам материалов «о состоянии и мощи боевых единиц Балт. флота, о численности и вооружении Ленинградского гарнизона, о политических настроениях и боевой подготовке комсостава Лен. Военного округа, о мощи авиации и состоянии аэродромов», приговор к высшей мере и, наконец, акт о приведении приговора в исполнение от 24 ноября 1937 года. Тогда же казнили его жену (она единственная из всех не признала себя виновной), блестящего китаиста Б.А. Васильева, маньчжуриста П.И. Воробьева, япониста Д.П. Жукова и еще несколько человек, среди которых оказался известный поэт Николай Олейников, попавший в эту группу из-за дружбы с Жуковым.

Человека погубили, но наследию его повезло больше. Погибла лишь та его сравнительно небольшая часть, которая находилась в печати.



Рукописный же архив ученого не заинтересовал НКВД и в итоге попал в Институт востоковедения Академии наук (теперь его петербургская часть стала Институтом восточных рукописей), где в Архиве востоковедов хранится и сейчас.

В 1957 г. Невского и всех погибших вместе с ним реабилитировали. Первым вопрос об издании его архива поднял Н.И. Конрад, три года проведенный в заключении за связи с «резидентом разведки» Невским. Безусловно, он чувствовал свою косвенную вину в гибели друга, которого уговорил вернуться на родину, и хотел хоть чем-то ее загладить. Из всего, что сохранилось, Конрад решил в первую очередь издавать работы по тангутике. В 1960 г. книга «Тангутская филология» вышла в свет [19], а через два года, тоже при активном участии Конрада, получила Ленинскую премию, награду, которой удостаивались очень немногие. Но в нее вошли далеко не все работы ученого по данной тематике, в частности, словарь из 4201 знака не издан и поныне. Долгое время книга оставалась единственной посмертной публикацией трудов Невского. Роль Н.И. Конрада в восстановлении памяти о погибшем друге была значительна, но не было ли у него в какой-то степени стремления поддержать эту память лишь там, где она не влияла на его репутацию «первого япониста страны»?

В дальнейшей публикаторской деятельности нельзя не отметить роль Л.Л. Громковской (1932–1994). Она вместе с Е.И. Кычановым написала изданную в 1978 г. биографию Невского. И она же (сама или в соавторстве) подготовила к печати четыре книги его трудов. Первой из них стал в 1972 г. «Айнский фольклор» [20], куда вошли все его законченные записи айнских текстов, именно этой книгой пользуются в Японии. И только в 1978 г. началась публикация работ по японской культуре: первой стала небольшая книга «Фольклор островов Мияко» [21], включившая в себя только часть фольклорных записей. До конца советского времени еще вышел том по Тайваню, а подготовленный к 100-летию со дня рождения ученого том «На стеклах вечности» из-за денежных сложностей был издан лишь в 1996 г., уже после смерти Л.Л. Громковской. Эта книга [22] включила в себя большое число работ разнообразного содержания от студенческого дипломного сочинения до тезисов одного из последних докладов 1936 г. «Фонетика Мияко в японо-рюкюской фонетической системе». Именно здесь, наконец, опубликованы главные работы Невского по синтоизму и японской этнографии, включая переводы [23].

Однако за пределами всех этих изданий осталось многое. Готов к печати, но до сих пор не опубликован обширный словарь говора Мияко. А многое издать очень сложно, поскольку дошло до нас в виде черновиков и набросков. Некоторые области исследований Невского нашли в отечественной науке хорошее продолжение: тангутика (Е.И. Кычанов, М.В. Софронов и др.), изучение «Норито» (Л.М. Ермакова), японская историческая фонетика (С.А. Старостин). Айнами недавно занялась А.Ю. Бугаева, уже опубликовавшая ряд ценных работ. К этнографии Рюкю обратился Е.С. Бакшеев. Но многие темы пока продолжения в нашей науке не получили.

В конце 1990 г. в библиотеке Университета иностранных языков в Осаке мне удалось получить ксерокопии писем Невского из Ленинграда

к японскому специалисту по тангутике профессору Исихама. Хотели их включить в книгу «На стеклах вечности», но оказалось, что письма записаны принятой в те годы в переписке между японцами скорописью. В Москве эти письма никто не смог прочитать, они не изданы по сей день. Как много традиций нами утеряно и продолжает теряться!

Но имя Невского, несмотря на все трагические события его жизни, не забыто. Он остается примером ученого, посвятившего жизнь познанию Японии и других стран Дальнего Востока, стремившегося преодолеть культурные барьеры.

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## *Митико Икута*

### **Н.А. НЕВСКИЙ ГЛАЗАМИ ЯПОНЦЕВ**

Николай Александрович Невский известен многим как тангутовед, так как он посмертно получил Ленинскую премию за «Тангутскую филологию». Но прежде всего он является японоведом. Невский начал свою научную деятельность как японовед и всю жизнь был японоведом. В своем выступлении я хочу охарактеризовать его отличительные черты как японоведа.

Невский прожил в Японии 15 лет из своей 45-летней жизни – значит, одна треть его жизни прошла в Японии. Он жил в Токио, Отару и Осаке.

#### **Период Токио**

В 1913 г. он впервые приехал в Японию. Петербургский университет прислал его в Токио на двухмесячные летние каникулы. Он провёл в Японии два месяца, занимаясь японской литературой. Тот язык, который он изучал в университете, не был пригоден к реальной современной жизни. Невский вспоминал, что по приезде в Японию он обратился к японцам по-японски, но все смотрели на него с непонимающим видом.

В 1915 г., Невский опять был командирован Петербургским университетом в Токио для усовершенствования своих знаний, и в Японии по не зависящим от него причинам ему суждено было находиться до 1929 г. Вначале он остановился в гостинице «Хонго-кикуфудзи», где собирались многие японские писатели и художники и откуда ходил в Токийский университет его друг Н.И. Конрад. Через полгода Невский с Конрадом арендовали японский дом, в котором они дружно жили и вместе изучали китайскую классическую литературу. Они оба ходили в кимоно и сидели на полу по-японски. Ёнэмура Сёити, адвокат и переводчик многих книг, писал: «Невский и Конрад сдержали клятву и в Японии носили японские кимоно, сидели по-японски, ели блюда японской кухни и говорили по-японски. Жена Невского Исоко показала мне фотографию, где сидят, прямо выпрямившись, молодые европейцы в кимоно, и на столе перед ними книги на камбуне, т. е. произведения китайской классической литературы, а в центре фотографии – японский учитель Такахаси Тэммин с длинной бородой».

Тогда в Токио кроме Невского и Конрада жил еще О.О. Розенберг, и однажды они трое договорились, как поделят между собой предметы японоведения: Невскому достался синтоизм, т. е. традиционная японская религия, Розенбергу – буддийская философия, а Конраду – китайская культура в Японии, т. е. камбун.

В Токио Невский подружился с этнографом Накаяма Таро и вместе с ним ездил в префектуру Ибараки. Накаяма писал: «В августе 1916 г. Невский откуда-то услышал, что в деревнях Адэра и Мотиката префектуры Ибараки сохранились древнейшие обычаи и употреблявшиеся только в этом регионе графические знаки. Он очень хотел туда поехать и попросил меня сопровождать его». «Употреблявшиеся только в этом регионе графические знаки» – это значки, специально изобретенные для обозначения размера налогов, полученных от неграмотных крестьян. Отсюда видно, что Невский интересовался старинными обычаями и графическими знаками, т. е. подлинно японским.

Невский часто бывал в гостях у основателя японской этнографии Янагида Кунио, в доме которого регулярно устраивались чтения «Нихон сёки». В то время Невский говорил по-японски уже свободно и задавал острые вопросы. Янагида вспоминает: «Я не большой причудник, и поэтому поддерживал тесные связи только с немногими иностранцами, которые приходили ко мне, если воистину хотели узнать Японию глубже. <...> Невский один из таких влиятельных иностранцев. <...> С Невским меня познакомили Оригути Синобу и Накаяма Таро. Они говорили, что приехал редчайший русский, и я пригласил к себе домой всех троих. После этого они стали приходить ко мне всегда втроем. Вначале мы просто разговаривали, потом я предложил читать какую-нибудь книгу по очереди. Выдающийся человек Невский сказал, что он хочет читать “Фудоки ицубун”, т. е. древний письменный памятник, описывающий разные земли Японии». По словам Янагида, Невский больше всего интересовался японской древностью. Он слушал лекцию Оригути Синобу о «Маньёсю» и о «Гэндзи моногатари».

В марте 1917 г. в России произошла революция. Розенберг и Конрад, закончившие стажировку, уехали на родину, а Невский остался в Японии. После Октябрьской революции ему перестали переводить деньги из России, и он был вынужден зарабатывать себе на жизнь. Он стал работать в торговой фирме Меловича. Работая в фирме, Невский не бросал исследовательской работы: в 1917 г. он совершил исследовательские путешествия по области Тоно и написал ряд статей.

#### **Период Отару**

С 1919 по 1922 г. Невский преподавал русский язык в Высшем коммерческом училище в г. Отару. В мае 1919 г. Невский поступил туда на работу в качестве внештатного преподавателя русского языка, так как японец, преподаватель русского языка, внезапно скончался. Жизнь Невского стала более устойчивой, и он стал полностью отдаваться исследованиям. В центре его внимания находились местные верования и фольклор.

Зимой 1919 г. Янагида Кунио рекомендовал Невскому совместно с Сасаки Кидзэн, рассказчиком «Тоно моногатари (Сказания региона Тоно)», заняться исследованием осирасама. Осирасама – это божество-охранитель дома, в существование которого верят в Северо-Восточной Японии. Янагида писал: «Невский первым обратил внимание японцев

на осирасама и дал нам сильный импульс. Он приехал в Японию еще до Первой мировой войны и без колебания присоединился к группе, интересующейся этнографией, которая в то время была еще в процессе зарождения. Невский стимулировал работу японских этнографов».

В 1920 г. в течение двух недель он проводил полевые исследования, касающиеся осирасама, и для этого пересек с севера на юг всю северно-восточную часть Японии. Однако Невский с Сасаки не успели зафиксировать результаты своих исследований в письменном виде.

В период Отару, помимо осирасама, его основной научный интерес был направлен на изучение айнского языка и диалекта острова Мияко. Он собирал айнский фольклор, обычаи и верования айнов.

В конце 1921 – начале 1922 г. Невский останавливался в Токио. Он учился айнскому языку у Киндайти Кёсукэ и диалекту острова Мияко у Инамура Кэмпю. Встреча с Невским дала толчок Инамура заниматься историей Рюкю. Инамура написал «Миякодзима сёминси (Народная история острова Мияко)» (1957), «Рюкюсёто-ни окэру вако сисэки-но кэнкю (Изучение исторических мест, связанных с японскими пиратами)» (1957) и другие.

### Период Осака

В апреле 1922 г. Невский приехал работать в качестве первого преподавателя русского языка в только что открывшийся Осацкий институт иностранных языков. Месячная зарплата составляла тогда 375 иен, из нее он платил 35 иен за квартиру и 200 иен предназначил для расходов на жизнь – для своей гражданской жены, домработницы и себя. Здесь, в Осака, Невский позволил себе полностью отдаться исследованиям. Так семь с половиной лет до возвращения на родину он проработал в Осака.

В 1923–1929 гг., кроме Осацкого института иностранных языков, Невский преподавал русский язык в Киотоском университете. Среди его учеников были известные этнографы Исида Эйитиро, Такахаси Моритака, лингвист Ёсимати Ёсио и востоковед Тамура Дзицудзо.

Осацкий период стал временем всестороннего расцвета его талантов. Появился новый круг общения, опорным пунктом которого являлся Осацкий институт иностранных языков. Годом позже Невского в этом институте начал работать О.В. Плетнер, его друг по Петербургскому университету и бывший дипломат.

В 1923 г. Невский вместе с Исихама Дзюнтаро и Ханэда Тору создали в Осацком институте иностранных языков «Общество осакских ориенталистов» и начали выпускать печатный орган «Вестник Азии». Также Невский начал работать в ассоциации фонетистов, созданной в 1926 г.

В 1927 г. по инициативе Такахаси Моритака Невский с Исихама создали общество Societas Orientalis, Osaka, in memoriam Wang Kuo-wei (Восточное общество Осаки памяти Ван Говэя). Это научное общество стало не только опорным пунктом осакских ориенталистов, но и своего рода мостом между Японией и СССР. На первое заседание из СССР был приглашен Н.И. Конрад, он выступал с докладом под названием

«Востоковедение в СССР». В списке членов общества фигурируют такие имена как Н.А. Невский, О.В. Плетнер, Н.И. Конрад и Ю.К. Щуцкий. На заседание пришло письмо из Азиатского музея Академии наук СССР с предложением обмениваться книгами и публикациями.

В общении с новыми коллегами Невский не только развивал то, чем занимался ранее, но и открывал для себя новые сферы исследования. Что касается айноведения, Невский пригласил к себе Набэсава Юки, дочь Набэсава Вакарупа, рассказчика устных преданий, эпоса айнов, и учился у нее айнскому языку, а также записывал фольклор.

Но после путешествия летом 1922 г. по острову Мияко главный интерес Невского перешел от айну к Мияко. В 1923 г. на собрании Общества историков университета Киото Невский выступил с докладом «Миякодзима-но кэккон то сайрэй (Брак и празднество на острове Мияко)»; он начал составлять словарь диалектов Мияко. Трижды он проводил полевые исследования на этом острове. О его приезде Кунинака Канто, первый староста округа Ирабу, писал: «Однажды Невский приехал на остров Ирабу на Окинава и попросил найти певца, который хорошо поет на старинном рюкюском языке. У моей жены оказался удивительно красивый голос. Она громко запела старинную песню. Невский застенографировал текст, потом повторил его. Он спросил, правильно ли записано произношение. Мы все были поражены правильностью произношения каждого слова». Далее Кунинака пишет, что «судя по оставленным Невским тетрадям, он фиксировал произношение фонетическими знаками, которым он научился у своего учителя Алексева в Петербургском университете».

О его способностях полевого исследователя Такахаси Моритака, ученик Невского и известный японский этнограф, писал: «Он начал основательно заниматься японским языком, японской литературой и фольклором. Уже тогда он говорил: чтобы исследовать старый японский язык и старые обычаи, достаточно провести исследования в северо-восточной части Японии и на островах Рюкю. Вместе с Сасаки Кидзэн на рикше он объезжал деревни, собирая старые обычаи и старинный фольклор».

Невский очень интересовался диалектами японского языка. Ёсимати Ёсио, ученик Невского, писал, что тот всегда говорил на занятии следующим образом: «Поезжайте с тетрадкой и карандашом в деревни и собирайте у дедушек и бабушек сказки, так, как они рассказывают. <...> Японцы, занимаясь языком, обычно записывают текст в собственной литературной обработке. Это ни к чему. Записывайте то, что местные люди говорят, не переводя диалект на литературный язык».

Окабэ Ёсиэ писал о выдающемся таланте Невского-диалектолога: «По специальности он прежде всего крупный, всеми признанный лингвист, фольклорист и этнограф. Он один из видных языковедов и фольклористов в области языка и культуры айну и Рюкю. Он крупный диалектолог, знающий все диалекты Японии, и когда мы с ним впервые встретились, он сразу сказал: “У вас диалект северо-восточной Японии”».

В 1927 г. вместе с коллегой по Осацкому институту иностранных языков Асаи Эрин Невский ездил на Тайвань для полевых исследований. Результатом этого путешествия явился доклад в Societas Orientalis.

Асаи говорил о Невском: «Он раньше, чем Отто Шеерер, занялся полевым исследованием языка цоу. Под влиянием Л.Я. Штернберга, занимающегося нивхским языком, метод Невского был ориентирован на текст. У него был изумительный слух, он мог подражать любым звукам; пользуясь фонетическими знаками, он записывал речь местного населения. Первоначально он был японоведом и долгое время занимался языком Рюкю. Что касается языка цоу, то, вернувшись с Тайваня, на очередном собрании Societas Orientalis он выступил с докладом о некоторых наблюдениях». Таким образом, Невский, пользуясь экономической стабильностью жизни в Осака, расширил сферу своих исследований на язык цоу.

Кроме того, в период Осака при содействии Исихама Невский вновь обратил внимание на тангутский язык. В 1925 г. он был в Пекине и там встретил своего учителя А.И. Иванова и получил от него материалы по тангутскому языку. Это было большим толчком для развития тангутоведения. Новая встреча с Ивановым, который с 1918 г. составлял словарь тангутского языка, оказала большое влияние на Невского. Исихама говорил: «Я убеждал моего друга Невского исследовать тангутский язык, уговаривая тем, что в России хранятся самые богатые материалы по тангутскому языку, но нет достойных исследований».

Хироока Нобуо, ученик Невского, писал: «Заслуги в тангутоведении являются только частью научной работы моего учителя. По правде говоря, его интерес направлен больше всего на этнографию. <...> Если бы он дольше жил в Японии, он бы внёс большой вклад в японскую фольклористику. Опорным пунктом деятельности моего учителя было Кайтокудо (училище, созданное в XIII в. осакскими купцами и обладавшее богатейшей библиотекой. – *М.И.*). Он вместе с молодыми учеными Исихама, Такахаси, Сасатани и Асаи создал общество востоковедов имени Ван Говэя». Невский получал достаточно денег, чтобы совершать полевые исследования несколько раз в год, но его контракт был двухгодичным. Через определенный срок снова надо было заключать контракт. В этом отношении его положение было действительно нестабильным.

Что касается его частной жизни, то в 1928 г. он женился на японской подданной Исоко Мантани, и от этого брака у него родилась дочь. Брак его был зарегистрирован в советском генконсульстве в г. Кобо.

В 1929 г. он поставил точку в своей японской жизни и, оставив семью в Японии, уехал в СССР. О причинах возвращения говорят по-разному. Янагида говорит: «Его положение было нестабильным, но он хотел, чтобы жена имела лучшую жизнь, и попытался поступить на штатную должность в России». Накаяма Таро говорит: «Он всегда замечал за собой слежку тайной полиции и поэтому решил вернуться домой на родину». Като Кюдзо считает, что он хотел пользоваться богатейшими в мире материалами, чтобы основательно исследовать тангутский язык.

Согласно отчету тайной полиции, советское генконсульство при выдаче паспортов Невскому и его дочери Елене требовало, чтобы он поступил на работу в одно из высших учебных заведений в Ленинграде.

Сам Невский писал: «Когда осенью 1929 г. я решил вернуться на работу в СССР, по совету генконсула я оставил семью в Японии с тем, чтобы, устроившись в Ленинграде, явиться на следующий год за женой и ребенком».

Но он так и не приехал в Японию.

### Вместо заключения

В заключение я хочу охарактеризовать отличительные черты Н.А. Невского как японоведа.

Во-первых, область его научных исследований была исключительно широка. Лингвистические занятия Невский сочетал с этнографическими исследованиями, тем самым оказавшись в первых рядах японоведения.

Во-вторых, он интересовался языками национальных меньшинств Японии. Он изучал айнский и рюкюский языки и язык цоу на Тайване. Никто до Невского не обращал внимание на эти языки тогда, когда происходил процесс японизации этих народов.

В-третьих, он изучал языки и этнографию не только на основе письменных материалов, но и на базе полевых исследований, которыми в то время еще мало кто мог заниматься. Во время полевых исследований он пользовался фонетическими знаками и тем самым обеспечивал высокое качество сбора фольклорных записей.

В-четвертых, он интересовался скорее диалектами, чем литературным японским языком. Он являлся пионером диалектологии в японоведении.

Отсюда следует вывод, что его интересовали первичные пласты культуры, так как обычно изменения происходят в центре, а на окраинах остается культура в её первозданности.

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*Евгений Бакшеев*

**НАСЛЕДИЕ Н.А. НЕВСКОГО ПО КУЛЬТУРЕ  
РЮКЮ (ОКИНАВЫ) И ЕГО ИЗУЧЕНИЕ В РОССИИ  
И ЯПОНИИ: ДОСТИЖЕНИЯ, ПРОБЛЕМЫ,  
ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ<sup>1</sup>**

Такие отечественные ученые, как Л.Л. Громковская, Е.И. Кычанов, А.М. Кабанов, Л.М. Ермакова, В.М. Алпатов, А.М. Решетов, Н.С. Шефтелевич и другие, сделали многое для того, чтобы научное наследие Н.А. Невского (1892–1937 гг.)<sup>2</sup> стало известным на родине ученого. В отношении исследований Невского по культуре Рюкю/Окинавы, эта благородная деятельность, в основном, шла по биографической<sup>3</sup>, публикаторской и переводческой линиям, что само по себе чрезвычайно важно. При этом за исключением работ по лингвистике (статьи В.М. Алпатова) и, отчасти, этнографии (статьи А.М. Решетова) материалы Невского по фольклору, этнографии и культуре Мияко еще не стали в полной мере предметом научного исследования.

Очевидно, что для этого есть несколько объективных причин. Во-первых, многое из наследия Невского, похоже, утрачено, а сохранившееся покоится в российских и японских архивах, доступ куда ограничен. Во-вторых, большинство работ Невского не закончены, а многие остались только в виде набросков или рукописных заметок, сделанных в полевых условиях, а, следовательно, требующих расшифровки. В-третьих, для фонетической записи фольклора Мияко Невский использовал разные системы обозначений, малопонятные для неспециалистов; таким образом, многие могут правильно прочитать эти записи<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Основные положения этой статьи были озвучены в докладе 24 сентября 2010 г. на заседании секции «НИКОЛАЙ НЕВСКИЙ И ЕГО НАУЧНОЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ: ВЗГЛЯД С ВОСТОКА И ЗАПАДА», проведенной в рамках конференции «ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМ / ОКСИДЕНТАЛИЗМ: ЯЗЫКИ КУЛЬТУР И ЯЗЫКИ ИХ ОПИСАНИЯ» (Москва, РАГС, организаторы Е.С.Штейнер и Российский институт культурологии).

<sup>2</sup> Николай Александрович Невский родился в г. Ярославле 18 февраля (по старому стилю) 1892 г.; по данным его биографов это соответствует 2 марта, а согласно новейшим расчетам – 1 марта нового стиля. При этом, по словам его дочери, Е.Н.Невской, его день рождения отмечали 3 марта. Биографию Н.А. Невского см. (76).

<sup>3</sup> Но даже сейчас в России, Японии и на о-вах Мияко до сих пор иногда оперируют неточными датами жизни и смерти Невского. Так, на недавней выставке в музее г. Хирара, посвященной истории Мияко, был устроен стенд об исследователях местной культуры; дата смерти Невского (1937 г.), взятая, скорее всего, из книги Като Кюдзо «Тэн-но хэби» (см. 12) была указана неверно (1945 г.). Есть неточности и в новейшем отечественном биографическом издании (М.Ю.Сорокина. Российское научное зарубежье. Пилотный вып. 3. М., 2010): неверно указано место рождения Н.А. Невского, не указана дата его рождения по новому стилю, вообще не упоминаются его полевые исследования культуры Рюкю/Окинавы и поездки на о-ва Мияко и др. (см. с. 143).

<sup>4</sup> Приведу только один пример: «jo:z» многие прочитают как «дзэ:з», что и было продемонстрировано на конференции с участием видных европейских рюкюанистов.

В-четвертых, за годы, прошедшие после гибели Невского, на родине ученого до последнего времени специальные исследования культуры Рюкю/Окинавы (в том числе, Мияко) не проводились; естественно, что даже высокий профессиональный уровень публикаторов и комментаторов его работ – без знания языка и культуры этого региона – не всегда гарантирует адекватное понимание этих текстов и полевых записей Невского. Да и комментарии самого Невского к записям фольклора подчас требуют квалифицированных разъяснений (а что уж говорить о текстах без всяких толкований ученого!).

В целом можно сказать, что Невский как исследователь культуры Рюкю/Окинавы еще недостаточно известен в России и почти неизвестен на Западе. Еще слишком многое из научного наследия Невского лежит под спудом в архивах Японии и России, неопубликованное и часто недоступное даже специалистам. Далеко не все ясно, какими путями шел Невский в своих исследованиях. В частности, сведений о посещениях Невским о-вов Мияко, казалось бы, опубликовано – как на родине ученого, так и в Японии – немало. Однако, на самом деле, эти сведения весьма неполны и довольно противоречивы. Сведя воедино и проанализировав разрозненные, отрывочные и, часто, противоречивые данные, опубликованные на русском и на японском языках, и результаты своих собственных разысканий на Мияко и в «Архиве Невского» библиотеки университета Тэнри (Япония), я попытался представить предварительную реконструкцию основных временных вех исследований Невского на о-вах Мияко.

Как известно, Н.А. Невский достиг выдающихся результатов в различных сферах востоковедения: тангутике, айноведении, изучении аустронезийских языков, и, конечно, во многих областях японоведения, в том числе, в исследованиях культуры Рюкю. Почему Невский занялся Рюкю/Окинавой, и конкретно о-вами Мияко? Разделим этот вопрос на два вопроса: (1). Почему Рюкю/Окинава? и (2). Почему именно о-ва Мияко?

### **Почему Рюкю/Окинава, или Становление этнографии в Японии**

Стажировка Невского в Японии началась в марте 1915 г.<sup>5</sup> Невский, который специализировался на изучении синтоизма, первые полгода уделял главное внимание изучению литературы по этой теме (9, с. 45). Н.И.Конрад, который в те годы тоже стажировался в Японии, вспоминал, что Невский «как раз попал в тот момент, когда в Японии начала создаваться ... крупная школа этнографии, во главе которой встал Янагида Кунио» (9, с. 48). И уже в начале 1916 г.<sup>6</sup> – вероятно, в феврале, Невский

На самом же деле это звучит примерно как «ё:й» (см. ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ 2. Транслитерация Н.А. Невским языка Рюкю); это соответствует японскому «ивай», что означает «празднество», по Невскому, «чествование» (см. 26, т.1, с. 285). Здесь Невский использовал «Международный фонетический алфавит» (International Phonetic Alphabet, IPA).

<sup>5</sup> Стажировка сначала была рассчитана на один год; она несколько раз продлевалась до 1 января 1918 г.; факультет ходатайствовал о продлении срока стажировки еще на один год до 1 января 1919 г. (см. 13, с. 367–68).

<sup>6</sup> По другим данным это произошло уже в 1915 г.; так, в декабре 1915 г. Невский участвовал в работе «Краеведческого общества» («Кё:докай»).

вошел – через этнографа Накаяма Таро (中山太郎) – в круг Янагида Кунио (柳田國男).

В отчете о своей стажировке в Японии, датированном декабром 1916 г., Невский отмечал: «единственный путь для исследования первичных верований Японии – это прибегнуть к сравнительной этнографии и ... фольклору ... разных провинций...». Обращая особое внимание на народную духовную культуру (т. е. на «анимистические» верования), он писал, что т. н. «первичный, или чисто синто... оказывается сложным из таких элементов, из которых... состоят верования примитивных народов. Таким элементом... является анимизм, пронизывающий с начала до конца всю японскую мифологию. С его необходимыми составными слагаемыми: верой в телесную душу и психоз. Для изучения анимизма необходимо обратить внимание на похоронные обряды, гадания и чародейства... Из анимизма же вытекает и японское шаманство... Шаманство в древности... занимало одно из первых мест в верованиях народа». Как пишет Невский, «*кокугакуся* (ученые книжники) обращали весьма мало внимания на ... живой фольклорный и этнографический материал. ... *Кокугакуся* исключительно теоретически, не оглядываясь на верующую душу ... народа, посредством сравнения древних памятников ... старались объяснить все явления...» (13, с. 259). Невский, который в то время специализировался на изучении синтоизма, фактически сформулировал здесь программу этнографических исследований национальных культов и верований. В то же время это была и программа молодой японской этнографии (*миндзокугаку*), которая сформулировала эту программу и успешно ее выполняла на глазах Невского и с его участием (об этом писал Янагида)<sup>7</sup>.

Отчет 1916 г. и ранние работы Невского отражают синкретическое состояние японской науки начала XX в. – период становления национальной этнографии, которая начиналась как краеведение (*郷土研究* *кё:до кэнкю:*) и как фольклористика (сбор и изучение фольклора), а также как диалектология, в частности как составление списков этимологий народных и диалектных слов и их толкование (т.н. *goi 語彙*).

Японская исследовательница Танака Мизуэ также обращает внимание на влияние Е.Д. Поливанова (1891–1938) и его книги «Сравнительно-фонетический очерк японского и рюкюского языков», которая вышла в 1914 г. и дарственный экземпляр которой остался в архиве Невского в Японии (см. 32). Сам Поливанов не был на Рюкю, но во время своей второй поездки в Японию (лето – сентябрь 1915 г.) он изучал у иммигрантов в Токио диалект г. Наха (один из диалектов Рюкю); там он также встречался с Невским (1, с. 106–113).

<sup>7</sup> Японская наука с успехом выполнила и перевыполнила эту программу; в России же состояние специальных исследований по этнографии традиционной Японии не слишком продвинулось вперед за 100 лет.

### Почему именно о-ва Мияко, или Исследования культуры Рюкю/Окинавы в Японии

Рассмотрим, как на вопрос – «Почему Невский занялся Рюкю/Окинавой и Мияко?» – отвечали раньше. В отчете о своей стажировке в Японии 1916 г. 24-летний Невский писал, что «можно ... найти исходные пункты зарождения мифов». В этой связи его биограф Л.Л. Громковская говорила о выполнении Невским программы этнографических исследований Л. Штернберга для решения «айнской проблемы» и о поиске им «центров мифотворчества» на о-вах Мияко<sup>8</sup> (с последним согласна и Танака Мидзуэ). Л.Л. Громковская считала, что в смысле поиска «центров мифотворчества» о-ва Мияко «обетованный край для искателя. ... Там сохраняются элементы своеобразной религиозной системы во главе со жрицами – *норо*, локальные особенности в языке, фольклоре, праздниках, культах» (16, с. 177). По этому поводу можно отметить, что, во-первых, «религиозная система во главе со жрицами – *норо*» характерна для о.Окинава и прилегающих островов, а на о-вах Мияко никаких *норо* не было, и обряды проводили жрицы *цукаса* и *сасу*. Во-вторых, в смысле «центра мифотворчества» о-ва Мияко ничем не предпочтительнее соседних о-вов Яэма и тем более о-в Окинава. В-третьих, впоследствии Невский больше нигде вообще не упоминал о таких «мифологических» центрах. Когда 24-летний Невский готовил отчет 1916 г., он находился еще в самом начале своих интенсивных полевых исследований<sup>9</sup>, которые дали ему конкретный предмет исследования и в результате которых он и стал фольклористом, лингвистом, этнографом.

Итак, то, что Невский занялся Окинавой, – было естественно. Но есть много свидетельств, что Невский приступил к исследованиям на островах Мияко непосредственно с подачи Янагида, который считал Окинаву, и особенно о-ва Мияко, прародиной японского языка и культуры. Янагида, считая, что японская культура «есть пошла» с Окинавы, полагал, что рис и технологию его возделывания принесли предки японцев с континента через о-ва Рюкю, в том числе о-ва Мияко<sup>10</sup>. По мнению Янагида, главным мотивом их продвижения на острова Окинавы – поиск морских раковин *каури* (лат. *Cypraea moneta*), которые широко использовались в индотихоокеанском бассейне в качестве денег<sup>11</sup>. Янагида также считал, что

<sup>8</sup> Об о-вах Мияко также см. (7).

<sup>9</sup> Первой этнографической экспедицией Невского (совместно с Накаяма Таро), видимо, была поездка в преф. Ибараки (уезд Кудзи, волость Тэгано) в августе 1916 г. (9, с. 49).

<sup>10</sup> Археологические данные не подтвердили эту гипотезу, но новейшие исследования японских ученых по биологии риса как-бы возвращаются к ней на новом материале. Раньше горели о рюкюских диалектах японского языка. Новая точка зрения: рюкюский язык, или языки входят в состав общего японо-рюкюского языка. Рюкюский язык делят на северную (о-ва Амами и Окинава) и южную (о-ва Мияко, Яэма, а также о.Ёнагуни) ветви. Традиционная точка зрения: рюкюский язык, или языки отделились от языков основной Японии приблизительно между III в. и VI в. н.э. Новейшая гипотеза: носители рюкюского языка и культуры риса пришли с о.Кюсю на рубеже IX–X вв.

<sup>11</sup> Таких раковин в водах о-вов Мияко действительно много (наблюдения автора).

язык и культура о-вов Мияко – древнейшие на Рюкю. Сам же Невский уже в 30-х годах XX в. писал о «массе фонетических архаизмов в говорах Мияко»<sup>12</sup>, но «всю систему в целом должно признать более развитой, чем какой-либо японский диалект, взятый в отдельности» (13, с. 433).

Янагида в конце 1920-начале 1921 г. совершил двухмесячную поездку по юго-западным окраинам «основной» Японии и островам Окинавы с кратким посещением о-вов Мияко (21.01.1921). Свои впечатления он выразил в книге «Записки о южных морях» (『海南小記』 «Кайнан сё:ки», 1925 г.). После возвращения он делает доклад, указывая на важность изучения культуры Окинавы для понимания этнической культуры всей Японии; для комплексного исследования Окинавы основывает «Общество по изучению Рюкю» (南島談話会, «Нанто: данвакай», букв. «Дискуссионный кружок Южных островов») <sup>13</sup>. В этом всё участвует Невский, который активно обсуждает с Янагида перспективы своих исследований на Мияко, о чем есть многочисленные свидетельства.

В те годы, когда Невский был в Японии, там уже активно развивались исследования культуры Рюкю, ареал которой подразделяется на несколько географо-культурных зон: о-ва Окинавы и Амами, о-ва Мияко и о-ва Яэяма (см. Рис. 1. Карта островов Нансэй; ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ 1. О-ва Нансэй Географическая справка). При этом исследователей-уроженцев Окинавы (Рюкю) в нач. XX в. можно разделить на две группы: 1) краеведов, в основном из местной интеллигенции и мелкого чиновничества, деятельность которых практически не была известна в «центре» – в Токио и 2) уроженцев Окинавы, получивших образование в Токио (Иха Фую, Мияра То:со:) и связанных с японскими учеными. Итак, культуру группы о-вов Окинавы глубоко исследовал Иха Фую, а группы о-вов Яэяма – диалектолог Мияра То:со: <sup>14</sup>; оба учились в Токио и были связаны с Янагида. Таким образом, о-ва Мияко, фактически, оставались вне поля внимания японских ученых из метрополии (если не считать ранней одиночной фольклорной экспедиции японца Тадзима Рисабуро: 1890-х гг., а также исследований местных краеведов, которые не имели контактов с группой Янагида).

Китаевед Ю.Л. Рифтин писал, что «мы не знаем, почему из языков тайваньских аборигенов Невский выбрал для изучения именно язык (племени) цоу, скорее всего потому, что этот язык до того не был исследован...» (13, с. 551). Я считаю, что примерно такая же ситуация – как я старался показать – сложилась с исследованиями на Мияко.

дован...» (13, с. 551). Я считаю, что примерно такая же ситуация – как я старался показать – сложилась с исследованиями на Мияко.

### Знакомство Невского с культурой Рюкю

К изучению культуры Рюкю Невский, похоже, приступил уже осенью 1917 г.: он читал в библиотеке Уэно в Токио книгу Иха Фую «Рюкю в древности», опубликованную в 1911 г. <sup>15</sup> С 1919 г. (минимум по 1920 г.) Невский поддерживает оживленную переписку с Хигасионна Кандзюн (東恩納寛惇 1882–1963 гг.), виднейшим историком с Окинавы. При их встречах Невский изучает под его руководством классический язык Рюкю, в частности по рюкюско-японскому словарю придворной лексики королевства Рюкю «Конко: кэнсю:» (『混効験集』 «Собрание результатов смешения», 1711 г.), а также диалекты Рюкю. Он также получает от Хигасионна книги (например, 『琉球語便覧』 «Руководство по изучению языка Рюкю» Иха Фую, 1916 г.). Невского интересуют и классические песни Рюкю *оморо*, и народные песни островов Яэяма, окинавские шаманки *юта* и духи деревьев *кизимун*, и земледельческие верования, и свадебные обряды Рюкю (см. их переписку. – 13, с. 340, 350–51).

Собственно островами Мияко Невский начал интересоваться уже на Хоккайдо, где он работал внештатным преподавателем русского языка в Высшем коммерческом училище г.Отару (小樽高等商業学校; май 1919 г. – первая половина 1922 г.). Согласно дневникам Невского (запись от 30.12.1921 г.), первая встреча Невского с носителем культуры Мияко произошла в самом конце 1921 г. во время поездки в Токио (см. 12, с. 133). Тогда в течение одной недели он общался со студентом учительского института, уроженцем Мияко, по имени «Uuntin Kenfu» (иначе, Инамура Кэмпу) <sup>16</sup> и брал уроки диалекта Мияко (точнее, главного диалекта о-вов Мияко – диалекта Хирара). В частности, с его слов Невский

<sup>15</sup> Возможно, поводом к ее чтению стало знакомство Невского с Иха в том же 1917 г. Танака Мидзуэ отмечает, что, если он читал переиздание книги 1916 г., то к нему прилагался и словарь «Конко: кэнсю:».

<sup>16</sup> 16 У Невского «Uuntin Kenfu»; сейчас в Японии это имя 上運天賢敷 принято произносить как «Камиунтэн Кэмпу»; позднее он сменил фамилию на Инамура (稲村 Инамура Кэмпу 1894–1978). Под влиянием Невского он впоследствии стал известным краеведом, исследователем истории и культуры Мияко; его самая известная книга - 『宮古庶民史』 («Народная история Мияко», 1957). Невский приехал в Токио на время зимних каникул в самом конце 1921 г. – начале 1922 г. и занимался изучением как диалекта Мияко, так и айнского языка (у Киндаити Кёсукуэ), что тогда для него еще было приоритетом. Однако, не исключено, что встреча Невского с Инамура состоялась еще в 1919 г. Со слов самого Инамура, Невский, познакомившийся с ним в доме Янагида Кунио, стал брать у него уроки диалекта Мияко еще летом 1919 г. В 1975 г. в г.Наха Като встретился с 82-летним Инамура, который рассказал, что Невский специально искал уроженца Мияко, – а не просто выходца с Окинавы; Инамура обучал Невского, приехавшего в Токио на летние каникулы, диалекту Мияко летом 1919 г. примерно месяц почти каждый день по два часа в послеобеденное время в гостинице недалеко от Гиндзы. Эти занятия продолжались и впоследствии, когда Невский приезжал в Токио. Хотя старец Инамура пребывал в «отличном состоянии здоровья и твердой памяти», Като склонен списывать эти расхождения на его забывчивость (см. 12, с. 136).

<sup>12</sup> Невский отмечал «разделение говоров Мияко по фонетическим признакам на пять диалектов» (13, с. 43–32). На Мияко жители соседних селений иногда с трудом понимают друг друга, если говорят на своем родном диалекте (наблюдения автора).

<sup>13</sup> Это группа исследователей культуры Рюкю. Термин «Южные острова» – «Нанто:», – который был тогда в ходу, мог иногда означать в совокупности Рюкю, Тайвань и ю.-з. часть Тихого океана; последние тогда были под управлением Японии.

<sup>14</sup> Иха Фую (伊波普猷 1876–1947; закончил филологический факультет Токийского университета) – «отец» рюкюанистики, получил широкую известность благодаря своей работе «Рюкю в древности» (『古琉球』 «Ко: Рю:кю:», 1911 г.), посвященной истории и культуре Окинавы. Он активно занимался изучением истории и фольклора Окинавы, но делом всей его жизни было изучение поэтической антологии «Оморо-со:си». Мияра То:со: (宮良當壯; настоящее имя Миянаги Масамори, 1893–1964) – уроженец о.Исигаки; важнейшая работа – «Словарь о-вов Яэяма» («Яэяма гои», 1930).

записал сказку на диалекте Мияко<sup>17</sup> (см. 16, с. 176). При этом Невский в письме к Янагида сетовал на недостаточность материалов, полученных от Инамура, как в плане фонетики, так и морфологии диалекта (см. там же, 176; 12, с. 135)<sup>18</sup>. В письме от 10.02.1922 г. к другому адресату Невский пишет, что Мияко – «край очень богатый лингвистическим и этнографическим материалом» и он обязательно хочет поехать туда летом того же года (т. е. 1922 г.) и провести полевые исследования (см. 10, с. 177).

### Первая экспедиция Н.Невского на Мияко

Невский был первым иностранным ученым, исследовавшим культуру о-вов Мияко и посетившим эти острова; всего он совершил три экспедиции на о-ва Мияко<sup>19</sup> – в 1922, 1926 и 1928 гг. До сих пор не совсем неясны даже точные сроки этих поездок. Для полевых экспедиций Невский использовал летний отпуск от работы в университете, поэтому сроки всех поездок приходились на период с конца июля и примерно до середины августа.

Невский переехал из г. Отару (о. Хоккайдо) в г.Осака в апреле 1922 г. (данные Икута Митико) и стал работать в преподавателем русского языка в Осацком институте иностранных языков. Здесь он принялся за подготовку своей первой экспедиции на Мияко. Невский попросил Инамура Кэмпу быть его провожатым в поездке на острова. Студент, намеревавшийся съездить домой на летние каникулы, согласился. Примерно со второй декады июля 1922 г. в течение недели Невский с помощью Уиунтина, остановившегося в его доме, штудировал диалект Мияко.

По данным японских биографов, в середине июля 1922 г ученый из г.Осака на корабле – с заходом в несколько портов Японского Внутреннего моря – добрался до г. Кагосима, где остановился в гостинице «Сассюкан» (薩州館) (12, с. 148); оттуда – опять морем до г. Наха (о. Окинава) (см. также 9, с. 95–6)<sup>20</sup>.

Невский прибыл на о. Окинава 20 июля; остановившись в гостинице, «Нарахара-кан» (榎原館), в которой годом раньше останавливался Янагида Кунио, русский ученый пять дней ждал отправления корабля на

<sup>17</sup> Текст на диалекте Мияко с комментарием сохранился в архиве ученого в С.-Петербурге (16, с. 175–6).

<sup>18</sup> Это письмо не датировано; я предположу, что, возможно, оно было написано во 2–3-й декадах февраля 1922 г., но очевидно, что до конца марта, когда Невский жил еще в г.Отару на Хоккайдо.

<sup>19</sup> До сих пор достоверно неизвестно какие острова Рюкю, кроме о.Окинава и группы Мияко, Невский посетил. По моим данным ему не удалось провести исследования на о.Исагики и других островах из группы Яэяма (подробнее см. – 4, часть 1). Там же см. о дате его поездки на о.Тайвань.

<sup>20</sup> При этом отечественные биографы Невского, в отличие от японских (12, с. 148), нигде не сообщают о том, что Инамура сопровождал ученого во время этой поездки; по другим данным японских биографов похоже, что они встретились в день приезда Невского на Мияко (там же, с. 149). Пока можно только предположить, что поскольку отъезд Невского был отложен против условленного времени, Инамура мог уехать раньше и встретить русского исследователя на Мияко.

Мияко (см. 12, с. 148). 25 июля Невский отплыл из Наха на «небольшом пароходике» – это мог быть «Яэяма-мару» или же «Мияко-мару». 26 июля он прибыл на Мияко (сейчас этот путь занимает 8–9 часов) и остановился в г. Хирара (диал. *Псара*)<sup>21</sup> в гостинице «Кадэна рёкан» (嘉手納旅館), на месте которой сейчас находится гостиница «Кё:ва» (共和). Буквально сразу же, сойдя с корабля, Невский отправился в дом местного любителя краеведа Томимори Кантаку<sup>22</sup>.

По некоторым данным, на следующий день по приезде Невский намеревался поехать на о.Ирабу (на диалекте *Ирав*), где, по его сведениям, сохранился «древний язык и народные песни *аяго*»<sup>23</sup>. Однако из-за тайфуна, который разбушевался «через день после приезда» Невского на Мияко, он не смог этого сделать. «Прождавши катера безрезультатно два-три дня», ученый завел разговор с местными жителями о причинах бури на море и открыл для себя *мунаи* – важное понятие культуры Мияко<sup>24</sup>. Другими словами, несколько дней по приезде Невский находился и проводил исследования на главном острове Мияко, в Хирара.

Только 5 августа ему удалось попасть на о.Ирабу<sup>25</sup>. Сойдя с катера на побережье Тогути, при входе в селение Ирабу Невский оказался перед од-

<sup>21</sup> Тогда еще «мати / тё:» – «городок», позже – «город», Хирара-си.

<sup>22</sup> Томимори Кантаку (富盛寛卓 1871–1924) – пионер краеведения Мияко; оказал влияние на Иха Фую. С Томимори Кантаку Невского, вероятно, познакомил Инамура Кэмпу, который был гидом ученого во время его первой поездки на о-ва Мияко и свел его со многими местными информаторами. От Томимори Невский впервые услышал мифологическое предание о молодой («живой») воде, вошедшее в работу «Луна и бессмертие». Я обнаружил запись этого предания на русском языке в оригинале – так, как его записал сам Невский – в «Матерьялах для изучения говора островов Мияко» (см. его текст. – 6. Вып. 2).

<sup>23</sup> Как пишет сам Невский, «прежде чем начать собирать материалы на главном острове, мною было намечено объехать сперва остальные острова» группы Мияко (16, с. 168).

<sup>24</sup> Его работу «Мунаи» см. – 18, с. 277–283.

<sup>25</sup> О перипетиях этой драматической истории, которые Невский красочно описал в своих путевых заметках, см. – 27; 9, с. 98–100; 16, с. 168–69; 18, с. 278; 4, часть 1. Одно и то же название – «Ирабу» – носили и остров, и «волость» (Ирабу-сон), и селение (по Невскому, «слобода»; адза Ирабу) («адза» – см. 4, ч. 2, ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ 3). Как, со слов биографа, писал Невский, волость Ирабу (Ирабу-сон) объединяла пять «слобод» (Громковская, Кычанов, 100), т.е. селений (бураку): Ирабу (диал. Ирав), Накати (диал. Накатсы), Кунинака (диал. Фумнака), Савада (диал. Са:да), Нагахана, на самом же деле, в волость входили еще два селения – адза Икэма-дзоз и адза Маэзато-дзоз, составивших поселок Сарахама (об административной истории о.Ирабу – см. там же). В культурно-этнографическом отношении о.Ирабу отчетливо делится на два района: 1). пять в.у. селениями с о.Икэма – как и селение Нисихара на главном о.Мияко, – а, поэтому относится к т.н. культуре «народа Икэма» (Икэма миндзоку), объединяющей о.Икэма, пос.Сарахама и селение Нисихара. Пять аграрных селений из состава волости Ирабу, в свою очередь, делятся на три диалектно-культурные зоны: 1). сел. Ирабу с дочерним селением Накати, 2). сел. Кунинака и 3). сел.Савада с дочерним селением Нагахана. Между материнскими и дочерними селениями нет границы; как это видно на карте (фото 2.3 см. – 3, ч.3) вдоль пролива между островами расположены три населенных пункта: Ирабу-Накати, Кунинака и Нагахана-Савада.



ним из главных святилищ острова – *Ну:си утаки* (см. 27; 9, с. 112–13; 12, с. 152).

Пять селений – Ирабу, Накати, Кунинака, Савада и Нагахана – расположены по дороге, которая идет вдоль пролива между островами Ирабу и Симодзи. Ведомый провожатым, Невский пешком за 20 минут добрался по этой дороге до управы волости Ирабу, которая находилась в поселке Кунинака<sup>26</sup>. Отечественный биограф Невского пишет, что ученый остановился на ночлег в «одной из деревень, в которой находилось волостное правление» (поселок *Кунинака*. – *Е.С.Б.*) в здании местной начальной школы (управа и школа находились по-соседству; сейчас на месте обоих зданий стоят памятные знаки). Его «радушно встретили» школьный служитель; после угощения появились «представители местной администрации и деревенской интеллигенции», среди них был и «старшина» (староста) волости Ирабу Кунинака Канто<sup>27</sup> (27; 9, с. 101–2).

Японский же биограф Невского, ссылаясь на дневник старосты пишет, что ученый зашел в здание волостного правления «около 17:20 ... Староста волости уже ушел домой минут двадцать назад ... Остались секретарь правления и посыльный ...» (12, с. 154). Секретарь правления оседлал пару «гнедых» (так в дневнике старосты, цитируемом Като. – *Е.С.Б.*), и они верхом отправились в дом старосты в поселке Савада, примерно в 1 *ри* (ок. 4 км) от волостного правления. Там в присутствии секретаря правления состоялась первая встреча Невского со старостой Кунинака Канто. Тогда Невский хотел услышать песни «аяго» на местном диалекте – обязательно в тот же вечер, поскольку на следующий день он намеревался вернуться на главный остров Мияко. Но уже было 10 часов вечера, и встретиться со знатоками этих песен было невозможно. В конце концов жена старосты спела песню «аяго» «Исумми ну ако:ги» (исходя из принятого толкования, можно перевести как «Баньян на Скалистой вершине». – см. 12, с. 156); Невский сделал фонетическую запись, но о ее судьбе пока ничего неизвестно.

На следующий день, 6 августа Невский общался с информаторами в волостном правлении, а также собирал материалы в селении Савада (диал. *Sa:da*) (16, с. 36, 45, 80). Невский «очень недолго» побывал и в поселке Сарахама (9, с. 111), куда они отправились втроем со старостой и секретарем волостного правления, очевидно, так же верхом почти через весь остров (12, с. 157) (от управы расстояние составляло ок. 4,5 км). Как пишет сам ученый, «вследствие своего кратковременного пребывания в Сарахама (всего несколько часов) мне не удалось поговорить с[о] знахарками] *зi:jum'a* (*зы:юмя*, «тот, кто урезонирует». – *Е.С.Б.*)<sup>28</sup> и собрать от них заклинания; что же касается [шаманок] *kamkakaŋ'a* (*камкакаря*; яп.

<sup>26</sup> Фото этих и других селений о-вов Мияко, где Невский проводил исследования см. (3).

<sup>27</sup> Кунинака Канто (国中寛徒 1873–1929) – первый староста волости Ирабу, «занимавшийся сбором интересных этнографических фактов», главный информатор Невского на о.Ирабу.

<sup>28</sup> У М.А.Кабанова неточно «*si:jum'a*»; ср. у Невского «*зi:-jum'a* (Sarah) 呪ヲ言ッテ病氣ヲ治スル専門家. Специалистка, лечащая болезни заклинаниями»; «*зi:-jum* (Sarah)

*камигакари* – «одержимые [духом] божества». – *Е.С.Б.*), то это всюду мне было недоступно. Шаманки ныне запрещены и строго преследуются японской полицией за поддержание и распространение в народе суеверий, поэтому они страшно боятся невиданного никогда *оранда* (европейца) и упорно отрицают свое ремесло, хотя тайком от полиции продолжают им заниматься по-прежнему» (13, с. 287 с исправлениями. – *Е.С.Б.*)<sup>29</sup>.

В местной начальной школе поселка Сарахама ученый «беседовал с жителями на разные темы этнографического и фольклорного характера» (16, с. 169), и, видимо, там же записал песню «Эй, бог урожая!» («Хай Ю-ну канасы», см. там же, с. 47–50). В тот же день, 6 августа, он вернулся на главный остров Мияко. Несмотря на непродолжительное пребывание на о.Ирабу, Невский собрал там много образцов фольклора.

После поездки на о. Ирабу Невский собирал материалы в г. Хирара, где 11 августа 1922 г. записал песню «Островная вершина» («Сымамми») (см. там же, с. 53, 129). Затем, 13 августа 1922 г. он вел полевую работу на севере главного острова Мияко. В селении Симадзири (диал. *Сымадзы*) он записал «Песню про одну невесточку» («Пстуюмя а:гу») (см. там же, с. 3–4, 122–24). В тот же день в соседнем, самом северном селении главного острова – Каримата (диал. *Казмата/Ка`ызмата*) от местного жителя Каримата Китидзо (у отечественных составителей ошибочно «Кимудзо» – см. там же, с. 10) он записал вариант «Песни про господина из Нима» («Ни:ма ну сю: га а:гу») (в отечественной публикации «Вариант II» этой песни. – см. там же, с. 10, 17).

На следующий день, 14 августа Невский проводил исследования в селениях Нисихара и Ооура, которые расположены недалеко от г.Хирара, по пути в Симадзири и Каримата. В селении Нисихара (диал. *Нисибару*) Невский записал от местного жителя Мотомура Кэйко еще один вариант «Песни про господина из Нима» (в отечественной публикации «Вариант III» этой песни. – см. там же, с. 1–13, 17). В селении Ооура (диал. *Унура*) Невский записал от одного старика «Песню для умилоствления бога» (диал. «Камму нагя:гу») (см. там же, с. 77, 151).

Японские биографы и исследователи творчества Невского пишут, что во время первой экспедиции ученый побывал на о. Тарама, но точная дата им неизвестна (отечественные биографы вообще об этом ничего нигде не сообщают). По моей реконструкции, Невский проводил исследования на о. Тарама и, возможно, о. Минна (в «Материалах» есть достаточно обширная статья об этом острове; см. – 26, т. 1, с. 489–90) 15 и 16 августа 1922 г.<sup>30</sup>

呪ヲ言フ事。呪ヲ言ッテ病氣ヲ治スル事。Заклинание, лечение болезней заклинаниями» (26, т.1, с. 153); «*зi: (Sa) 理屈 Резон, довод*» (там же, с. 151).

<sup>29</sup> Кстати, передовой староста и этнограф-любитель Кунинака Канто, внедряя просвещение в своей волости, активно боролся с суевериями (см. 31). Случайно или нет, но, когда Невский в сопровождении секретаря правления прибыл к дому шаманки *камкакаря* в Сарахама, оказалось, что старушка, якобы, отправилась практиковать в другое селение (12, с. 158).

<sup>30</sup> Эти острова расположены посередине между двумя группами островов – Мияко и Яэяма; Невский писал о сообщении между главным островом Мияко и о.Тарама:

15 августа на о. Тарама от одного и того же информатора им были записаны песни «аяго» (на местном диалекте «э:гу») – «Новогодняя песня» («Сё:гацы ну э:гу») (см. 16, с. 39–40, 120) и «Песня про Бунагама» («Бунагама га э:гу») (см. там же, с. 66). От того же информатора 16 августа записана «Песня про Камнатанадуру» («Камнатанадуру ну э:гу») (см. там же, с. 60, 131–135). В эти же дни записан первый вариант песни «Когда в Тарама будет урожай» («Тарама ю:ну наураба») <sup>31</sup> (см. там же, с. 37, 118–19) и комментарии к ней (см. там же, с. 38), а также, как минимум две «сказки»: в селении Накасудзи о.Тарама – «О Мтабару-Туомя», а на о. Минна, или от его жителей на о.Тарама, – «О богатом и бедном» (см. там же, с. 88, 90–91).

Точная дата отъезда Невского с островов Мияко после первого визита пока неизвестна; отечественные биографы Невского не сообщают, когда завершилась первая экспедиция ученого; японские исследователи приводят данные из отчетов японской тайной полиции о наблюдении за Невским: ученый прибыл в Осака 30 августа 1922 г. По моим расчетам, Невский отплыл из Хирара в Наха примерно в начале или первой половине второй декады августа 1922 г. (после 21 августа). По пути в Осака Невский в Наха встретился с Иха Фую (9, с.119) (об Иха Фую см. – 2).

#### *Публикация материалов первой экспедиции на Мияко*

Материалы, собранные ученым во время первой экспедиции на Мияко в 1922 г., были обнародованы в Японии в 1920-х годах в нескольких выступлениях и статьях по-японски.

1. Впервые, видимо, это произошло уже осенью 1922 г. В библиотеке университета Тэнри я ознакомился с машинописным текстом статьи «Представление о радуге как небесной змее» на русском языке, датированный 22 октября 1922 г. <sup>32</sup>. Основные положения данной статьи Невский

«В наиболее неблагоприятном положении находится о-в Тарама, находящийся как раз посередине между Яэма и Мияко, куда катер не заглядывает более месяца» (13, с. 283). (До последнего времени, по моему опыту, от Мияко до о.Исиаки из группы Яэма на океанском лайнере, который проходил мимо о. Тарама, можно было доплыть за 4 часа; от Мияко до о.Тарама на небольшом быстроходном корабле, который совершает несколько рейсов в неделю, – за 2 часа). Сохранилось свидетельство о том, как, прибыв на о.Тарама, Невский переправлялся с корабля на берег на маленькой лодке; ступив на песчаный берег, он приветствовал местных жителей на их родном диалекте: «Гандзвал:си ваарун наа» («Как поживаете?») (по материалам Каримата Сигэхиса).

<sup>31</sup> По возвращении на главный остров Мияко 18 августа в г. Хирара от помощника старосты о.Тарама был записан второй вариант песни «Когда в Тарама будет урожай» (см. там же, с. 38).

<sup>32</sup> Переработанный вариант этой работы был опубликован в уже СССР в сб. «Сергею Федоровичу Ольденбургу. К 50-летию научно-общественной деятельности 1882–1932» (Л., 1934) и перепечатан в сб. «На стеклах вечности» (см. 13). Это едва ли не единственная прижизненная публикация Невского на русском языке, посвященная языку и культуре Рюкю; на японский язык эта статья до настоящего времени не переведена. Като Кюдзо дает очень краткое резюме этой работы (см. 12, с. 274–75). Невский пишет, что на островах Мияко радугу называют словом «timbar» – «небесная змея» (13, с. 416); у Като описка – «timbar» (12, с. 275).

высказывал сразу после возвращения с Мияко в 1922 г. в докладах, прочитанных на японском языке в Осака и Токио (на заседаниях «Нанто дан-вакай»).

Вариант из Тэнри до сих пор не опубликован и у нас не известен. Между тем, эти варианты отличаются по содержанию; так, японская исследовательница Танака Мидзуэ заключает, что вариант из Тэнри – этнографический <sup>33</sup>, а «советский» – лингвистический; за десять лет точка зрения Невского как исследователя «сильно изменилась» (см. 30). На примере как двух вариантов работы «Представление о радуге как небесной змее», так и других документов (с одной стороны, отчета 1916 г., списка работ 1920-х годов, с другой – обоснования несостоявшейся командировки в Японию в 1932 г. и письма Ольденбургу), становится очевидным переход Невского как исследователя от раннего этнографического периода к позднему – лингвистическому <sup>34</sup>.

Вариант из Тэнри также позволяет развеять заблуждение, бытующее в Японии с легкой руки Янагида, который понял так, что Невский якобы выводит слово «нидзи» (радуга) из «нуси» («бог-хозяин»), как в Японии называют змей. В рукописи Невский прямо отвергает такую возможность и пишет, что первоисточником было «слово *niwagi* или *niwagi* <sup>35</sup> употребляющееся в сев. Японии в смысле “змея”» (28, с. 8).

2. Затем, 16 февраля 1923 г. на заседании научного исторического общества университета Киото (京都大学史学研究会 *Kyōto daigaku shigaku kyōkai*) Невский выступил с докладом «Брак и культуры о. Мияко» («宮古島の結婚と祭礼» «Миякодзима-но кэккон то сайрэй» (報告)). В следующем году в журнале «Тикю» («地球» «Гео»; том 1, № 3 от 15 февраля 1924 г.) было опубликовано – с ошибками – краткое изложение этого доклада, сделанное редактором журнала («宮古島の結婚と祭礼» (抄録)). На русский язык эта работа не переводилась.

(3) Кроме того, в библиотеке Тэнри хранится рукопись с заглавием «Брак»; по содержанию ее можно назвать «Брак [на Мияко]». Эту статью ученый написал, очевидно, в 1923 г. по материалам своей первой поездки на Мияко в 1922 г., когда он изучал семейно-брачные отношения на этих

<sup>33</sup> Так, сам Невский пишет в рукописи 1922 г.: «За неимением специальной общелингвистической подготовки я не могу причислить себя к лингвистам, а потому все мои вышеприведенные лингвистические выкладки могут оказаться ложными с научной точки зрения и не выдерживающими никакой критики ... но и цель моя была вовсе не лингвистическая... мне лишь хотелось показать, что в Японии существовало некогда представление о радуге, как о небесной змее, представление широко распространенное по земному шару, которое и по сейчас живет среди жителей Мияко-дзима, населенных народом, несомненно ведущим свое происхождение от тех же предков, что и жители «Страны Великих восьми островов» (28, с. 8–9).

<sup>34</sup> Когда в 1932 г. Невский планировал новую командировку в Японию с посещением Мияко, он мотивировал ее необходимость лингвистическими задачами (см. ниже). В том же 1932 г. он пишет С.Ф.Ольденбургу: «Мои интересы по преимуществу лингвистические» (16, с. 182–3). С другой стороны, как отмечает Л.Л. Громковская, «список опубликованных работ подтверждает мысль о том, что в 20-е годы XX в. Невский более всего занимался проблемами фольклорно-этнографическими» (там же).

<sup>35</sup> Соответственно «нурудзы» и «норудзы». – *Е.С.Б.*

островах. Содержание этой рукописи частично совпадает с в.у. работой «Брак и культуры о. Мияко».

Отдельные фрагменты из рукописи «Брак» приведены в биографической книге «Николай Александрович Невский» (9, с. 104–8), опубликованной Л.Л. Громковской<sup>36</sup> (в соавторстве с Е.И. Кычановым). Хранители архива Невского в библиотеке Тэнри попросили меня подготовить для публикации в Японии в журнале «Библио» полный аутентичный текст рукописи «Брак»; затем я планирую опубликовать его в России.

4. Наконец, среди публикаций материалов первой экспедиции – известные работы «Исследование песен "аяго", часть 1» (「アヤゴの研究 1篇」) (Аяго-но кэнкю. «Миндзоку» 『民族』 [«Этнос»], март 1926 г., т. 1, №3) и «Исследование песен «аяго», часть 2» 「アヤゴの研究 (2篇)」 («Миндзоку», ноябрь 1927 г., т. 2, № 1). Хотя в Японии их иногда относят к материалам второй экспедиции, по срокам публикации и их содержанию, очевидно, что в их основу легли материалы, собранные Невским во время первой экспедиции на Мияко.

### Вторая экспедиция Н.Невского на Мияко

Второй приезд (1926 г.) Невского на Мияко был очень кратким и продолжался, видимо, всего около 12 дней. Во время этой поездки он вел путевой дневник, но опубликованные из него материалы крайне отрывочны. От г. Кагосима (о.Кюсю) до г. Наха (о. Окинава) в то время требовался «двухдневный морской переход» (сейчас – около суток)<sup>37</sup>. Добрался русский ученый до г. Наха 3 августа.

По пути Невский расспрашивал пассажиров о языке, обрядах, обычаях тех мест, откуда они были родом (см. Фольклор, 166–67); в «Материалах» есть записи, относящиеся к диалектам островов группы Амами, уроженцы которых плыли на корабле (например, ссылки на диалекты о. Амами

<sup>36</sup> При этом автор книги опустила те части работы, которые она сочла несущественными; местами она пересказывала текст Невского. В оригинале – как и в других работах Невского – топонимы и диалектные термины записаны особой латинской транслитерацией с использованием специфических знаков; публикатор же транскрибирует их кириллицей, иногда неточно.

<sup>37</sup> Известно, что 29 июля 1926 г. Невский выехал на поезде (в 9:26 утра) из Осаки; до Симонэски требовалось «почти полсуток». Затем – на «неспешном пароме» через симонэсский пролив до о.Кюсю (порт Модзи), куда он прибыл, очевидно, вечером того же дня. Там он купил билет в спальный вагон до г.Кагосима, куда добрался на следующий день, 30 июля, и остановился в гостинице «Сассюкан», где останавливался и в 1922 г. (см. 9, с. 97; 16, с. 164–65). Вечером 1 августа Невский покинул г.Кагосима на корабле «Ампин-мару» (16, с. 166; «Аmpin-maru» (安平丸) от китайского названия местности на Тайване, который в то время был под контролем Японии. – Е.С.Б.; фото 3.7 см. – 3, часть 3). 2 августа (около 13:30) корабль зашел в порт г.Надзэ (Насэ), главного города о.Амами Оосима и всех островов Амами, входящих в состав префектуры Кагосима. Из опубликованных фрагментов дневника Невского ясно, что корабль заходил и на о.Токуносима (см. там же); резонно предположить, что и в те времена, как и в наше время, от Насэ до Наха корабль шел с краткими стоянками на трех островах из группы Амами – о.Токуносима, о.Окинозрабу, о.Ёрон – и в порту на п-ове Мотобу о.Окинава (сейчас этот путь занимает около 13 часов).

О:сима и г. Насэ в словарной статье о празднике «сицы», что в Японии соответствует «сэтиэ», – см. 26, т. 2. с. 179).

Из Наха Невский отплыл на «Яэяма-мару» или же на «Мияко-мару», очевидно, 4 или 5 августа 1926 г., а на Мияко прибыл, соответственно, 5 или 6 августа и остановился в гостинице «Ятиё рёкан» (八千代旅館) в «городке» Хирара.

В своем дневнике Невский пишет, что уже 7 августа 1926 г. они втроем – с известным краеведом Киёмуром Ко:нин<sup>38</sup> и директором начальной школы в Хисамацу – отправились в «деревню Носаки» (Но:дзаки, совр. *адза* Хисамацу г.Хирара). По пути они увидели старую могилу<sup>39</sup>, и Киёмура рассказал легенду «Почему перестали рождаться красавицы»<sup>40</sup>; она сохранилась только в записи Невского.

Мотив «Почему не рождаются красавицы» широко распространен в фольклоре группы островов Мияко, и, далее, островов Рюкю и Амами. В собственно Японии он встречается очень редко. Я предположу, что он типологически сходен с японским мифом о Ниниги – Ко-но-хана-но-сакуябимэ – Иванага-химэ (а также с аналогичными мифами ЮВА – Океании). Таким образом, мотив «Почему не рождаются красавицы», похоже, еще одно свидетельство того, что в культуре Окинавы сохранились – и развились – древнейшие пласты общепонской культуры.

Эти легенда одержит и другие мотивы, характерные для рюкюского и японского фольклора и мифологии: т.н. мотив «ками-какуси» (букв. «божество прячет [человека]»). Причем на Рюкю – в отличие от Японии – сам пропавший человек становился общинным божеством (однако изначально выражение «ками-какуси» в народе не использовали. На Мияко просто говорили: «Стал(а) божеством» (диал. «кан-нари ня:», яп. «ками ни наттесиматта»). Есть и перекличка с мотивом «чудесная ткачиха»,

<sup>38</sup> Киёмура Ко:нин (夔世村恒任, 1891–1929 гг.; у отечественных публикаторов неточно «Кимура Гонин») – выдающаяся личность, уроженец Хирара (главный о-в Мияко); он стал основоположником изучения местной истории и культуры; был также корреспондентом местной газеты «Мияко майнити симбун». Их тесное сотрудничество началось со второй поездки Невского. Сам Невский писал о «Kiyoumura (или в местном произношении Kiimura) Gonin» как об «авторе двух солидных работ» – «Сборника народных песен» («Miyako min'yooshu» вып. I, Псара, 1927 г.) и «Мифы Мияко» («Miyako shiden»), изданной «Обществом по охране исторических памятников южных островов в г. Псара в 1927 г. (16, с. 18; 179; имеется ввиду книга 『宮古史伝』, т. е. «История Мияко в преданиях». – Е.С.Б.). Действительно, именно во время второй поездки на Мияко кроме легенды «Почему перестали рождаться красавицы» (см. 12а, с. 381; 13, с. 280) Невский услышал от Киёмуры «предание о Акаря-ззагама» (статья «Луна и бессмертие», см. – 13, с. 269–270), а также, некоторые сведения для «Материалов по детским играм о Мияко» (15, с. 85) и, возможно, миф о двух рифах, обоженных под видом брата и сестры из «Песни благополучия в пути» (ср. 12а, с. 104–5).

<sup>39</sup> Эта могила идентифицирована как «гробница семьи Ёнаха» (иначе, «гробница семьи Сиракава»); мне удалось ее найти (фото 3.8. см. – 3, часть 3).

<sup>40</sup> Об этой легенде подробнее см. – (5). Эта легенда, опубликованная Невским японски в журнале «Миндзоку» («Этнос», 1927 г., т. 2, № 2), была впоследствии перепечатана в сборнике «Шуки то фу:си» (см. 15) и переведена на русский язык А.М. Кабановым (см. 13, с. 280–81; 夔世村君 «Киёмура-кун», т. е. «друг Киёмура», в русском издании ошибочно назван переводчиком «Кэйё Мураками»).

которая скрывается в потайной зале (вариант: в пещере), и на самом деле может быть жрицей, шаманкой или самим божеством<sup>41</sup>.

Местные исследователи фольклора высказывают предположение, что во время второго визита на Мияко в 1926 г. Невский также записал в г. Хирара от неизвестного информатора два варианта «Песни благополучия в пути» («Таб`ыз пай ну а:гу»); позднее они были переведены им на русский язык (см. 16, с. 29–33, 116–17). В комментариях к этой песне Невский сообщает о том, что жители деревень Каримата и Симадзири отправлялись в море с пением этой песни, обвязав голову повязками в честь т. н. «сестры-богини» (диал. «буна`ыз-гам», яп. «онари-гами». – *Е.С.Б.*) (см. там же, с. 32).

По мнению местных фольклористов, Невский мог узнать об этом непосредственно во время сбора материалов в этих селениях. При этом достоверно известно, что Невский бывал в Каримата и Симадзири во время первой поездки на Мияко в 1922 г. В комментариях Невский излагает миф о двух рифах, обожествленных под видом брата и сестры; это изложение точно совпадает с текстом, опубликованным Киёмурой Ко:нин в 1927 г. в книге «Мияко сидэн» (см. 12а, с. 214) за тем исключением, что названия селений Каримата и Симадзири упоминаются только у Невского. В книге Киёмура также приводится отрывок похожей песни (яп. «Таби хаэ-но аяго»), текст которой, впрочем, отличается от обоих вариантов Невского (там же, с. 213). Все эти три варианта «Песни благополучия в пути», входят в группу песен под таким же названием (диал. таб`ызпайнн а:гу, табихаинн а:гу), встречающихся во многих селениях о-вов Мияко. Таким образом, похоже, что именно Киёмура рассказал Невскому этот миф – в 1926 г. или в 1928 г., – или же Невский «изъял» его из «Мияко сидэн» после 1927 г.; с учетом всех этих обстоятельств точка зрения местных исследователей заслуживает как внимания, так и проверки.

17 августа 1926 г. Невский уже отбыл в обратный путь. Эта дата отъезда с Мияко названа им самим в работе «Луна и бессмертие»: когда он уже сел на пароход, отходящий на о.Окинава, Киёмура, провожавший его, рассказал «предание о Акаря-ззагама». 18 августа Невский прибыл в Наха<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> На Рюкю имеется огромное количество легенд о девушках и женщинах, ставших божествами после смерти («исчезновения») или бывших божествами еще при жизни (т.н. икигами – «живые богини»), а также о т.н. «сестрах-богинях» (онари-гами). О магических и культовых функциях женщины в фольклоре и мифологии Рюкю/Окинавы см. (7а).

<sup>42</sup> Так, на открытке, написанной в «Наньё: рёкан» (南陽旅館) в Наха и адресованной к Исихама Дзюнтаро, стоит штамп отправления 18.08.26 г. (см. 10, с. 164). С этими датами не согласуется интерпретация Л.Л. Громковской записей ученого. Она пишет: «Надо было собираться в обратный путь. Шел к концу август» (9, с. 182; курсив мой. – *Е.С.Б.*). «Ему (Невскому) предстояло еще раз посетить острова (Мияко)... Это произошло в 1928 г. ...» (там же). Из этого следует, что сказанное биографом о сборах в обратный путь в конце августа отнесено ею ко второй поездке Невского на Мияко, состоявшейся в 1926 г., хотя на протяжении пяти страниц изложения дневников и материалов Невского она ни разу не указывает год (см. там же, с. 178–82). А тут хоть приводится название гостиницы, где Невский остановился во время пребывания на Мияко, – «Тайсё:кан» (там

### Публикация материалов второй экспедиции на Мияко

「美人が生まれぬわけ」(«Бидзин но ммарэну вакэ», «Почему перестали рождаться красавицы»). 『民族』 («Миндзоку»), январь 1927 г., т. 2, № 2, с. 156–57;

「宮古島子供遊戯資料」(«Миякодзима кодомо ю:ги сирё:», «Материалы по детским играм о.Мияко»). «Миндзоку», май 1927 г., т. 2, № 4, с. 153–62;

「琉球の昔話『大鶉の話』の発音転写」(«Рюкю-но мукасибана-си «Удзура-но ханаси»-но хацуон тэнся», «Фонетическая запись сказки «Сказ о перепелке»). 『音声の研究』 («Исследования по фонетике»). 1927 г., вып. 1.

「月と不死〈若水の研究の試み〉」(«Цуки то фу:си Вакамидзу-но кэнкю:~но кокорони (1)» (Луна и бессмертие. – «Живая вода» – попытка исследования –). Часть 1, «Миндзоку», январь 1928 г., т. 3, № 2. С. 17–24; часть 2, «Миндзоку», май 1928 г., т. 3, № 4. С.45–52.

### Третья экспедиция Н.Невского на Мияко

Опубликованные сведения о третьей поездке Невского на острова Мияко в 1928 г. еще более скудны, чем о второй. Достоверно известно, что 16 августа 1928 г. он собирал материалы в г. Хирара (см. 16, с. 98), а 18 августа уже отбыл в Наха (12, с. 186). По моей реконструкции Невский приехал на Мияко 3 августа 1928 г. и остановился в дешевой гостинице «Тайсё:кан» (大正館) в г. Хирара. «На следующий день по приезде», т. е. 4 августа, он записывает «предание» со слов одного из жителей острова Икэма. В записанном ученым «предании», или, как он пишет, «мифе» рассказывается об основании «храма на острове Икима» (см. 16, с. 178–9)<sup>43</sup>. Хотя в публикуемых записях Невского название «храма» не указано, из содержания предания ясно, что речь идет о главном святилище о.Икэма – *Ухарудзу-утаки*, известного также как *Нанамуй*<sup>44</sup>.

же, с. 178). Невский как фольклорист и этнограф-полевик, как правило, всегда указывал дату и место сбора этнографического или фольклорного материала и имя информатора. Достоверно известно, что во время второй поездки на Мияко (1926 г.) Невский останавливался в г-це «Ятиё рёкан». Таким образом, если судить по названию гостиницы («Тайсё:кан»), то в.у. опубликованные записи из дневников и материалы Невского и их переложение (см. там же, с. 178–82) могут относиться не ко второй, а к третьей поездке Невского на Мияко, состоявшейся в 1928 г. А если судить по дате, – то к первой поездке в 1922 г. (по данным наблюдения японской тайной полиции, ученый вернулся в Осака 30 августа 1922 г.).

<sup>43</sup> У Громковской «селений Икама»; японское название острова – «Икэма»; у Невского «ik`a:ma» (читается «Икя:ма») – название этого острова на диалекте Хирара; «Икама» у Громковской – это транскрипция «ikama» с потерянным апострофом в «ik`a:ma» (см. 16, с. 31; 26, т. 1, с. 226–27). Жители о-ва Икэма называют этот остров на своем диалекте «Икима» (наблюдения автора).

<sup>44</sup> яп. *Нанамори* – «Семь [священных] рощ» и – в японо-синтоистском варианте – *О:ниси дзиндзя* («Святилище Великого властелина»; «о:ниси» 大主- японское чтение двух иероглифов «большой и «хозяин», которые на местном диалекте читались как «уху» и «арудзы». – 26, т.2, с. 430; 26, т.1, с. 60). В словаре диалекта Мияко, наоборот,

5 августа Невский встретился со своим «старым приятелем» – Киёмуром Ко:нин. На следующий день, 6 августа Невский встретился с Симодзи Каору, студентом, который уже в 1922 г. помогал Невскому.<sup>45</sup>

В своей работе о ритуальном напитке «Мики», подготовленной уже в СССР, Невский ссылается на «сборник слов» о.Ирабу, составленный Кунинака Канто, который был старостой волости Ирабу во время первой и третьей поездки ученого на острова Мияко; сборник хранился в волостном правлении в селении Фумнака (яп. Кунинака)<sup>46</sup> (см. 17, с. 268, прим. 7). Таким образом, Невский, вероятно, собирал материалы на о.Ирабу и общался с Кунинака Канто, его главным информатором на этом острове, не только во время первой, но и последующих экспедиций.

16 августа 1928 г. в г.Хирара Невский записал 34 поверия («татуибанасы») от Симамура Такэо, уроженца селения Нубаригусы (яп. Нобаригоси) (см. 16, с. 96–8, 160–61).

18 августа 1928 г. ученый отплыл на корабле «Хо:тэн-мару» из Хирара в Наха, где провел несколько дней и снова встречался с Иха Фую.

А.Кабанов отмечает, что в числе публикаций, запланированных к изданию в серии «У камелька» («Рохэн сосё»), указывалась работа Невского «Диалекты островов Мияко» («Миякодзима-но гогэн»), которая не увидела свет (13, с. 347).

Материалы экспедиции 1928 г. публиковать в Японии времени уже не было – Невский готовился к возвращению из Японии на родину. В следующем, 1929 году он вернулся в СССР. Как пишет В.М.Алпатов, материалы по диалектам Рюкю, особенно островов Мияко, он взял с собой в Ленинград и продолжал ими заниматься, особенно в последние годы жизни (13, с. 386). В 1932 г. Невский планировал новую командировку в Японию с посещением Мияко. Он мотивировал ее необходимость следующим образом: «1). Для разрешения многих спорных вопросов, связанных с изучением говоров Мияко, обследование которых поставлено мною в качестве главного пункта в моей программе плана на 1932 год, для приобретения новых лингвистических материалов по этим говорам; 2). для организации на островах Рюкю агентуры по доставке в Ленинград

есть только название «храма» – «Ухарудзы-утаки», а сама статья так и осталась ненаписанной (см. 26, т.2, с. 429; название этого святилища я привожу в кириллице).

<sup>45</sup> Симодзи Каору (下地馨1903–1989) – впоследствии известный краевед, автор книги «Народная культура Мияко» (『宮古島の民俗文化』 «Мияко-но миндзоку бунка», 1975). В 1973 г. побывал в СССР (также см. 7). В послесловии к «Фольклору островов Мияко» его имя указано, видимо, ошибочно как «Канро»; о проблемах с идентификацией Симодзи Каору у отечественных комментаторов см. там же (8, с. 180, прим.22).

<sup>46</sup> В 1941 г. в журнале «Хо:гэн» («Диалект» 2:4) был посмертно опубликован за именем Кунинака Канто словарь диалекта о.Ирабу под названием «Дзинрин ни кансуру Мияко хо:гэн» («[Словарь] диалекта о-вов Мияко: термины родства»; переиздан в «Окинава бунка ронсо» т.3, Миндзоку-хэн («Этнография»), ч.2, изд. «Хэйбонся», 1971 г.). В нем нет статьи о «священном вине», перевод которой Невский приводит; таким образом, «сборник слов», который Невский упоминает, – это другое – неопубликованное – сочинение старосты. Мои поиски этого текста на о.Ирабу не дали результатов, поскольку он был утрачен – здание волостного правления было разрушено мощнейшим тайфуном (сообщение моего информатора с о.Ирабу).

материалов по изучению говоров в связи с расширением работы на охват всех рюкюских диалектов» (16, с. 182). Эта командировка не состоялась; больше Невскому не удалось побывать на Мияко.

### История изучения наследия Н.А. Невского по культуре Рюкю в России и Японии

Историю изучения наследия Н.А. Невского по культуре Рюкю в России и Японии – на Западе в этом качестве он почти не известен – в общем можно разделить на три периода: первый период – 60–70-е гг XX в., второй период – 90-е годы, третий период – 2000-е гг.

#### Первый период (60–70-е гг. XX в.)

Этот период связан, прежде всего с деятельностью японского ученого Като Кю:дзо, который здравствует и работает и поныне. В 1966 г. он написал первую в мире биографию Невского «Жизнь Николая Невского» («ニコライ・ネフスキーの生涯»; ж-л «Миндзокугаку кэнкю:». Т. 1, № 3), которая затем была переиздана в 1971 г. в сборнике «Цуки то фуси» (см. 15). А в 1976 г. Като опубликовал книгу «Тэн-но хэби» («Небесная змея: Жизнь Николая Невского», см. – 12), название которой взято из работы Невского «Представление о радуге как небесной змее». В этой биографии значительное место уделено изучению Невским культуры Окинавы (о-вов Мияко); приводятся ценные факты (например, интервью с Инамура Кэмпу, обучавшим Невского диалекту Мияко), излагаются или цитируются малоизвестные или труднодоступные работы Невского и документы; в приложении опубликованы фрагменты статей или воспоминаний Янагида, Оригути и других о Невском.

В 1971 г., как упоминалось, в Японии под редакцией Ока Масао вышел сборник статей и писем Невского под названием «Цуки то фуси» («Луна и бессмертие») (см. 15). В сборник вошли: ранее изданные «Исследование песен «аяго» (Аяго-но кэнкю:, часть 1 и 2), «Цуки то фу:си» (Луна и бессмертие, часть 1 и 2), «Бидзин но ммарэну вакэ» (Почему перестали рождаться красавицы), «Материалы по детским играм о.Мияко (Миякодзима кодомо ю:ги сирё:); «Фонетическая запись сказки «Сказ о перепелке» («Рюкю-но мукасибанаси «Удзура-ноханаси»-но хацуон тэся»), а также новые материалы из библиотеки Тэнри: песни аяго («Аяго о мосте Канабамабасихасидзуми», «Кумарапагы туюя:», «Мамэ-га хана-но аяго», «Нанамми а:гу», «Каримата-но мэга»), колыбельная «Ффамуй а:гу», две песни *то:гани*<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Серия «Тоё: бунко» изд-ва «Хэйбонся»; к 1994 г. он выдержал 10 переизданий и в 2003 г. был переиздан в серии «Широкий формат (вайдо хан).

<sup>48</sup> В библиотеке Университета Тэнри я обнаружил множество материалов Невского, которые до сих пор не опубликованы ни в России, ни в Японии. В частности, машинописный текст с фонетической транскрипцией (на основе латиницы) двух песен аяго – «TANIMIGA A:GU» («Танимига а:гу», «Аяго о Танимига») и «MAIBANU MAHAINASI MIGAGAMANU A:GU» («Маибану махаи насы Мигагама-ну а:гу», «Аяго о Мигагама

В СССР в 70-е гг. исследованиями жизни и наследия Н.А. Невского активно занималась Лидия Львовна Громковская. Кроме многочисленных статей в 1978 г. она в соавторстве с Е.И. Кычановым в серии «Русские востоковеды и путешественники» выпустила биографическую книжку «Николай Александрович Невский». В ней использованы архивные материалы и документы, в частности дневники и рабочие записи Невского, а также японские публикации. В том же году она подготовила к публикации сборник «Фольклор островов Мияко», куда вошли песни и другие неопубликованные образцы фольклора Мияко (фонетическая транскрипция оригинальных текстов и переводы) из Архива востоковедов Института восточных рукописей РАН (быв. С.-Петербургский филиал ИВАН). В отношении исследований Невского по культуре Рюкю это чрезвычайно важные книги<sup>49</sup>.

В «Фольклоре островов Мияко» в отличие от «Айнского фольклора» переводы текстов и фонетическая транскрипция их оригиналов на диалекте даны не параллельно, а сгруппированы по отдельности, что затрудняет работу с этими текстами и их понимание. Кроме того, для фонетической записи фольклора Мияко Невский использовал две особые системы обозначений (одна на основе латиницы, вторая – кириллицы), малопонятные для незнакомых с ними; таким образом, немногие могут правильно прочитать эти записи.

Рассмотрим как сделано японское издание «Фольклора островов Мияко» 1998 г. (см. 25) группой во главе с проф. Каримата Сигэхиса. Здесь параллельно идут фонетическая транскрипция оригиналов на диалекте, сделанная Невским, перевод текстов (в данном случае перевод на японский язык русских переводов Невского), транскрипция оригиналов с помощью японской азбуки (ката- и хирагана) и перевод оригинальных текстов на японский язык. Поэтому новая публикация фольклорных текстов Мияко в России должна включать параллельное расположение: фонетическая транслитерация Невского, перевод Невского, понятная транслитерация оригиналов кириллицей (неизбежно более или менее приближительная) и японский перевод (хотя бы частичный). И в таком случае уже станет ясно, как диалекты Мияко, как группа в составе диалектов Рюкю, соотносятся с японским языком.

При этом новое издание фольклора Мияко, расширенное за счет еще неопубликованных текстов, должно включать подробный и точный

из Майбай, сотворившей южный ветер»; перевод названий мой. – Е.С.Б). Также рукописный текст (на четырех листах), содержащий еще восемь песен то:гани (фонетическая транскрипция на основе кириллицы, перевод, краткий комментарий).

<sup>49</sup> При этом следует отметить, что биография Невского носит научно-популярный, а также беллетризованный характер. Фрагменты дневников и путевых заметок Н. Невского разных лет, впервые обнародованные Л.Л. Громковской, имевшей доступ к их оригиналам, часто расположены в произвольном хронологическом порядке и при этом не содержат точных дат. Опубликованные Л.Л. Громковской песни и другие образцы фольклора Мияко содержат даты их записи (как правило, июль-август), но часто без указания года, поэтому их точная датировка затруднительна. Другими словами, представить по этим книгам хронологию исследований Невского на Окинаве затруднительно. Поэтому необходим новый тщательный анализ дневников и путевых заметок Н. Невского.

страно-/краеведческий, этнокультурологический и филологический комментарий.

#### *Второй период (90-е гг.)*

Второй период – 90-е гг. – хронологически был привязан к 100-летию со дня рождения Невского в 1992 г.

В этот период в отношении исследований Невского по культуре Рюкю много сделал А.М. Кабанов, сотрудник ИВР РАН, где хранится Фонд Невского, с которым он активно работал. В 1994 г. А.М. Кабанов опубликовал три неизвестные работы Невского по культуре Рюкю («Мики», «Мунай» и «Лечение болезней») <sup>50</sup> и статью «Неопубликованные материалы Н.А. Невского по этнографии островов Рюкю» (см. 17; 18; 19; 11). А.М. Кабанов, ознакомившись также с фондом Невского в библиотеке Тэнри, впервые опубликовал о нем статью на английском языке (см. 36)<sup>51</sup>.

Л.Л. Громковская подготовила прекрасный сборник «На стеклах вечности: Николай Невский. Переводы, исследования, материалы к биографии», который после ее смерти был опубликован – благодаря финансовой поддержке японских ученых – в 1996 г. в альманахе «Петербургское востоковедение» (Вып. 8). В него вошли такие важные работы как «Луна и бессмертие», «Представления о радуге как о небесной змее», «Общие сведения о географическом положении, официальном статусе и языке Мияко», «Почему перестали рождаться красавицы», а также письма и статьи по лингвистике со вступительной статьей В.М. Алпатова.

В Японии в 90-е гг. также усиливается интерес к Невскому. Лингвист, крупнейший специалист по диалектам Мияко проф. Каримата Сигэхиса (Университет Рюкю) публикует несколько статей о Невском-исследователе диалектов Мияко, участвует в 1996 г. в создании телевидением Окинавы документального фильма «Мияко кэнкю: -но сэнкюся Никорай А. Нэфски» («Н.А. Невский – пионер исследований Мияко»). В 1998 г. коллектив из шести человек, в состав которого входили японские ученые-лингвисты, в том числе выходцы с Окинавы, переводчики с русского языка, поэты и других специалисты во главе с проф. Каримата и с его же статьей, подготовили и выпустили, как уже упоминалось, прекрасное японское издание «Фольклора островов Мияко» (см. 25).

К сожалению, многие из образцов фольклора (песни, мифы, легенды, предания, сказки и пр.), собранные Невским в 20-х гг. XX в. на островах Мияко, сейчас уже более не являются уникальными по своему содержанию (тем более, что часть из них была взята из местных публикаций). Местные и японские исследователи собрали на Мияко огромное количество – многие тома – фольклорных материалов. При сравнении этих двух массивов видно, что многие образцы Невского имеют аналоги

<sup>50</sup> Английский перевод этих статей см. (33).

<sup>51</sup> К сожалению, эта статья не известна даже в библиотеке Тэнри; на русском языке она также не издана.

или близкие варианты в более поздних японских публикациях. И, напротив, из-за неуклонного сужения сферы использования местных диалектов и бытования фольклора, ценность фонетической транслитерации Невским местного фольклора, напротив, только возрастает. С конца 80-х до конца 90-х гг. в Японии лингвистами-диалектологами (Накама Мицунари, Кадзика Синъити) было опубликовано несколько работ о Невском-исследователе диалектов (фонетики) Мияко.

Итак, особенностью этого периода стало то, что в Японии началось углубленное специализированное изучение одного из аспектов наследия Невского по культуре Рюкю – диалектов (фонетики) Мияко.

### *Третий период (2000-е гг.)*

Третий период фактически начался со 110-летнего юбилея (2002 г.) со дня рождения Невского. Но еще в 2001 г. в г. Хирара (столица Мияко) был проведен симпозиум, посвященный Невскому. В 2002 г. по случаю 110-летнего юбилея на Мияко приезжали дочь и одна из правнучек Невского, воздвигнута памятная стела, его именем названа улица, по которой он ходил (фото 2.2 см. – 3, ч. 1). Затем делегация Мияко посетила Россию.

В начале 2000-х гг. проф. Икута Митико опубликовала на японском и русских языках ряд важных статей о жизни и деятельности Невского, а также справочное издание (см. 10), в которых есть материалы о Невском-исследователе Окинавы.

В течение 2000-х гг. независимый исследователь Танака Мидзуэ опубликовала в окинавской прессе (гл. обр. «Рюкю симпо») и в научных журналах серию статей о Невском-исследователе культуры Окинавы и его окружении (ученые-уроженцы Окинавы, информаторы Невского). Сейчас она готовит книгу о Невском.

### **«Матерьялы для изучения говора островов Мияко»**

Величайший труд Н.А. Невского «Матерьялы» составлялись им, начиная с 1923 г. – сразу после его первой поездки в 1922 г. на о-ва Мияко, – и, видимо, вплоть до его гибели в 1937 г. Это уникальная энциклопедия языка и народной культуры не только Мияко, но всех о-вов Рюкю и Японии. Их оригинал хранится в составе рукописного наследия Невского в Архиве востоковедов Института восточных рукописей РАН (ИВР РАН, С.-Петербург). «Матерьялы» – это рабочие записи ученого (1200 стр., ок. 5700 словарных статей), написанные на смеси диалекта (с использованием особой фонетической транскрипции), японского и русского языков, а также латиницы; мелкая скоропись, сокращения, специфическая терминология (топонимы, теонимы и т. д.) делают текст местами практически нечитаемым<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Видимо именно по причине своей трудночитаемости и сложности содержания они до сих пор не появились в Японии в виде полноценного отредактированного книжного издания (примеры см. Приложение 3). Здесь Невский использовал транскрипцию

Еще в 1991 г. в дар Университету Васэда был передан микрофильм рукописи «Матерьялов» Невского, но с тех пор – за 20 лет – они так и не были изданы. В 2005 г. мэрия г. Хирара (о. Мияко) выпустила – хоть и с ошибками – факсимильное издание «Матерьялов» (фотокопию с микрофильма, предоставленного ИВР РАН) под названием «Мияко хо:гэн но:то» («Записи по диалекту Мияко». – см. 2)<sup>53</sup>.

Автор данной статьи в настоящее время в сотрудничестве с лингвистами с Окинавы и с помощью носителей языка с Мияко занимается их расшифровкой и подготовкой к изданию (на их основе «Словаря для изучения говора островов Мияко» Н.А. Невского). Уже проделано около половины работы, русскому читателю уже представлены некоторые из особо интересных статей по этнографии, фольклору, культам и верованиям Мияко (см. 6).

### **Задачи изучения наследия Н.А. Невского по культуре Рюкю**

1. Изучение дневников и полевых записей Невского и публикация наиболее их важных фрагментов.
2. Составление базы данных и подготовка научной биографии Невского-исследователя культуры Рюкю.
3. Подготовка аутентичного, более полного издания работ Невского по культуре Рюкю с полноценным комментарийным аппаратом.

3.1. Публикация неизвестных в России русскоязычных работ Невского (аутентичного варианта статьи «Луна и бессмертие», первого варианта статьи «Представление о радуге как о небесной змее», рукописи «Брак (на Мияко)», песен *аяго* и *тогани* из библиотеки Тэнри и др.).

3.2. Перевод на русский язык японоязычных работ Невского («Брак и культы о. Мияко», «Фонетическая запись сказки «Сказ о перепелке», «Материалы по детским играм о. Мияко» и др.).

3.3. Исследование рюкюско-японского словаря придворной лексики королевства Рюкю «Конко: кэнсю:» (『混効験集』 1711 г.) в переводе Н. Невского.

3.4. Расшифровка и подготовка к изданию «Матерьялов для изучения говора островов Мияко» Н. Невского.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ 1

### **Географическая справка**

Острова *Нансэй* (*Нансэй сёто*:) состоят из крупных и мелких групп островов и архипелагов; официально их принято делить на две части:

рюкюских языков (диалектов) на основе «Международного фонетического алфавита» (IPA).

<sup>53</sup> По этому поводу один японский лингвист заметил, «все равно их никто не может разобрать». Такое факсимильное издание «Матерьялов» облегчает работу только специалистам (в частности, лингвистам), поскольку, так или иначе, требуется знание не только японского и русского языков, но также диалекта и культуры Мияко.

северную и южную. Первая – это острова Сацунан; вторая – острова Рюкю. В острова Сацунан входят группы островов О:суми, архипелаг Токара и Амами. Острова Рюкю, в свою очередь, состоят из центральной группы островов Окинава и двух южных – Мияко и Яэяма. Группы островов О:суми, Токара и Амами административно входят в префектуру Кагосима, охватывающую юг о.Кюсю. Последние три группы островов – Окинава, Мияко и Яэяма – составляют отдельную префектуру Окинава (административный центр – город Наха).

**Острова группы О:суми:** Танэ (Танэгасима), Яку, Кутиноэрабу, Магэ.

**Архипелаг Токара:** Кутиносима, Наканосима, Гадзя (с 1970 г. необитаем), Тайра, Суваносэ, Акусэки, Кодара, Такара, Ёкоатэ (необитаем).

**Острова группы Амами:** главный остров Амами Оосима, Кикай, Какэрома, Ёро, Укэ, Токуносима, Окиноэрабу, Ёрон.

**Острова группы Окинава:** главный остров Окинава, Кудака, Кумэ, Ихэя, Идзэна, Агуни, архипелаг Кэрама (Токасики, Дзамами, Ака, Гэрума), о-ва Дайто.

**Острова группы**

**Мияко:** главный остров Мияко, Ирабу, Симодзи, Курима, Икэма, О:гами, Тарама, Минна.



Рис. 1. Карта островов Нансэй

**Острова группы Яэяма:** Исигаки, Ириомотэ, Такэтоми, Кохама, Куросима, Арагуску, Хатома, Хатэрума, Ёнагуни, Юбу, о-ва Сэнкаку.

Острова Рюкю иногда отождествляют с островами *Нансэй* и делят на Северные – Амами (административно входят в префектуру Кагосима), Центральные – Окинава и Южные – Сакусима. Последние, в свою очередь, состоят из двух групп: Мияко и самых южных Яэяма. Сейчас «Нансэй» – это точный официальный, больше специальный термин, «Рюкю» имеет культурно-исторические коннотации («Королевство Рюкю»), для японцев это «несколько устаревший термин», а «Окинава» – общеупотребительный термин и часто используется в обыденной речи для обозначения и главного острова Окинава, и группы островов Окинава, и префектуры Окинава, и архипелага Рюкю, и всех Юго-Западных островов (*Нансэй*).

Только в префектуру Окинава входит 161 остров (48 населенных и 113 необитаемых); ее площадь – более 2200 кв.км (общая площадь Японии около 380 тысяч кв.км). По переписи 1983 г. население префектуры составляло более 1,1 млн.человек. Самый большой остров – о.Окинава (53% общей площади), затем следуют о.Ириомотэ и о.Исигаки (архипелаг Яэяма) и о.Мияко. Для примера: окружность о.Исигаки составляет 139,2 км, площадь – 228,64 кв.км, а население – около 46 тысяч человек. Группа островов Мияко: общая площадь 226,3 кв.км, население около 60 тысяч человек.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ 2

## Транслитерация Н.А. Невским языка Рюкю

### Латинская транслитерация по системе Хэлбёрна

や / ヤ я (ya)	ゆ / ユ ю (yu)	よ / ヨ ё (yo)
じゃ / ジャ дзя (ja)	じゅ / ジュ дзю (ju)	じょ / ジョ дзё (jo)
ぢゃ / ぢゃ дзя (ja)	ぢゅ / ぢゅ дзю (ju)	ぢょ / ぢょ дзё (jo)

### Транслитерация Н.А. Невским языка Рюкю

с помощью «Международного фонетического алфавита» (International Phonetic Alphabet, IPA) на основе латиницы

я (ja)	ю (ju)	ё (jo)
дзя (z'a)	дзю (z'u)	дзё (z'o)



## Н.А. Невский «Матерьялы для изучения говора островов Мияко»

Выборка терминологии по темам: 神・靈・主・祭祀・行事

Kam, iddama, kam-dasiki, tiŋ, tiŋ-ganasī, uidasiki, jagumi-ui, jagumisa, kanasī, tiŋ-kam, tintukanidunu, tintauganasī, tida/t'ida, tida-ganasī, uhu-junusī.

ka:nukam井戸ノ神, tukurugam tukuru-nusī「所主」・屋敷神ノ事, ja:nukam家ノ神, ukama-gam (Ps)「竈ノ神」, tuku床ノ間 śiragam śira-nu-kamお産ノ神, c'o:nu-kam帳ノ神, baši-nu`-kam海峡ノ神, ugam拝所・神社, kam-nu-za:神ノ座, ugam拜ム, pai祓, kam-nigaz神願, 御祝, takabil尊ブ・嵩メル, pu:z初穂, mpuz「芋穂礼」, pacī初・農作物ノ初, ban-tati立願, bam-putuci願解, fu:dami-nigaz運為願, ju:dami-nigaz年為願, ju:gumul-kamnigaz夜籠神願, ju:世, ju:nunusī世ノ主, jugafu:/jugahu:豊年・世果報, śici「節」, ju:kuz世乞, m'a:ku-zići〈宮古節〉, amagui雨乞, sa-nici三日, zu:guya十五夜, daki-masi抱襁, paraz祓, musi-murum〈虫送り〉, isugam nigaz磯神願, uŋagam uja:m「親神」, 神直り, kaŋ-ksi-pada神着ル肌, śiźidaka(священный, святой), nnaŋuk'a物忌ノ一種, pana-gumi花粟, ju:ra/ju:ura夜占, iddama/iksīdama「生霊」, psītu-dama〈人魂〉, mazi-munu化物, ju:r'anu-mazimunu幽霊, jana-munu悪物・悪魔, kamkaka'ra:神懸者, munusī「物知」.

1:337 **kam** (Ps) (Sa) (Sarah) 神 Бог, божество  
(Simasī)kaŋ (石)kaŋ (Rk)kami / kaŋ  
(Jap)kami / kamō / kaŋ (Ainu) kamui (クロ)haŋ

2:315 **tiŋ-ganasī** (Ps) (Iraŋ) (Sa) 1. 天神. 2. 琉球王  
1. Верховное небо 2. Рюкюский король  
(Sh) tin-z'anaśi

tiŋ-ganasī jagumi-ui-nu ukagi ju:  
皇天尊上ノ御蔭ヨ

1:261 **jagumi** (Ps) 大層. 貴イ. 尊イ. 恐敬.  
Благородный, почитаемый, уважаемый

2:316 **tiŋ-kam** (Iraŋ) (Sa) 天神 Небесный бог  
(Jap) ten-no-kami

2:433 **ui-ganasī** (Iraŋ-Nakasī) 上加那志. 上ノ神. 天ノ神.  
Верхний бог; небесный бог  
Син. Tiŋganasī

2:317 **tintauganasī** (Sarah) (Ik)太陽. 天道様

2:307 **tida/t'ida** (Com) 太陽 Солнце  
Ср. (Ya)tida (Sh) ti:da (N) ti:ra  
(Rk)ti:rōŋ // (Jap)terō

2:307 **tida-ganasī** (Ps)(Sa) 御日様 Почтительное название солнца

2:401 **ciksī-ganasī** (Ps)お月様

2:272 **ja:nuju:z** (Sa)「家ノ祝」.

Чествование совершаемое, когда постройка дома совершенно закончена. В старину по окончании постройки всю землю (под домом) обносили соломенной веревкой mi:śici-ziŋa. Хозяйка к воротам выносила чашку с вином и некоторое количество проса (a:), положенного на лист дерева jaŋavgi и молила mazi-munu не трогать дома.

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ТЕЗИСЫ ДОКЛАДОВ, НЕ ВОШЕДШИХ В СБОРНИК В ВИДЕ СТАТЕЙ  
ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS NOT PUBLISHED AS ARTICLES

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**POST-COLONIAL SCHOLARSHIP AS A  
“DESCENDANT” OF RUSSIAN ORIENTAL STUDIES  
OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

This talk is about how intellectuals in early-twentieth-century Russia offered a new and radical critique of the ways in which Oriental cultures were understood at the time. It shows that out of the ferment of revolution and war a group of scholars in St. Petersburg (Petrograd, Leningrad) articulated fresh ideas about the relationship between power and knowledge and about Europe and Asia as mere political and cultural constructs, which anticipated the work of Edward Said and post-colonial scholarship by half a century. The similarities between the two groups were, in fact, genealogical. The talk reveals that Said was indebted – via Arab intellectuals of the 1960s who studied in the Soviet Union – to the revisionist ideas of Russian Orientologists of the *fin de siècle*. But why did this body of Russian scholarship of the early twentieth century turn out to be so innovative? Should we agree with a popular claim of the Russian elites about their country’s particular affinity with the ‘Orient’? There is no single answer to this question. The early twentieth century was a period when all over Europe a fascination with things ‘Oriental’ engendered the questioning of many nineteenth-century assumptions and prejudices. In that sense, the revisionism of Russian Orientologists was part of a pan-European trend. And yet, I will also argue that a set of political, social and cultural factors, which were specific to Russia, allowed its imperial scholars to engage in an unusual dialogue with representatives of the empire’s non-European minorities. It is together that they were able to articulate a powerful long-lasting critique of modern imperialism and colonialism and to shape ethnic politics in Russia across the divide of the 1917 revolutions.

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**«ПИЩЕВАРИЕ ПРЕВОСХОДНОЕ...  
СПОСОБНОСТИ К НАУКАМ НЕБОЛЬШИЕ»:  
КАЗАХИ В ТЕКСТАХ РОССИЙСКИХ ВРАЧЕЙ XIX в.**

Медицинские описания играли особую роль в конструировании населения имперских окраин как объекта знания и как

«экзотического Другого». Значимость врачебных свидетельств определялась не только многолетним опытом непосредственного наблюдения медиков за местными народами. Высокий институциональный статус медицины как науки, обретённый ею к последней трети XIX века, – науки, основанной на тщательном, методичном и «объективном» изучении «фактов», – сообщал заключениям врачей особую ценность.

На протяжении всего XIX века выводы российских врачей о физическом состоянии казахов, их подверженности болезням, о гигиенических условиях быта и особенностях местных медицинских практик вносили существенный вклад в формирование языка описания казахов. На заключениях медиков базировались оценки этнографов, свидетельства врачей становились аргументами в пользу активизации правительственных усилий в Казахской степи.

Вместе с тем создаваемый российскими врачами дискурс не укладывается в образцы, очерченные Саидом. В описаниях казахов объективирующие характеристики, присущие западной медицинской традиции, сочетались с патерналистскими установками, которые во второй половине XIX века приобретают специфическую для России народническую окраску. Особенности российского ориентализма и его вариации в работах врачей находятся в центре внимания предлагаемого доклада, основанного на широком круге архивных и опубликованных материалов.

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**В ПОИСКАХ ИСКУССТВА БУДУЩЕГО:  
ВОЛДЕМАРС МАТВЕЙС КАК ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬ  
И ФОТОГРАФ НЕЕВРОПЕЙСКОГО ИСКУССТВА**

Теоретическая и исследовательская деятельность Волдемара Матвейса (Владимира Маркова, 1877–1914) по-прежнему не получила должного внимания среди африканистов, культурологов, этнографов. Наряду с творческой деятельностью, будучи живописцем и активным членом петербургского объединения художников «Союз Молодежи», В. Матвейс был и теоретиком, стремившимся создать универсальную теорию для развития нового искусства. В 1912–1914 годах он обратился к изучению неевропейских культур – прежде всего скульптуры Африки, Океании, Северной Азии. Его труды «Принципы нового искусства» (1912); «Фактура» (1914); «Искусство острова Пасхи» (1914); а также книга «Искусство негров» (1919), выпущенная уже после его смерти, дали важный толчок для формирования вкусов и представлений художников русского и латышского авангарда. Доклад имеет цель показать значение его трудов в более широком культурном контексте, дав сравнительный анализ и на основе визуального ряда – фотографий, использованных В. Матвейсом для своих книг.

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### **ОСОБЕННОСТИ ЗАПАДНОГО ВЛИЯНИЯ В ИНДИЙСКОЙ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ КУЛЬТУРЕ**

Начиная с 80-х годов XX века наблюдается существенное влияние западной культуры на индийскую, которая легко проявляется в фильмах, языке, музыке, песнях, образу жизни и стиле одежды, предпочтениях в еде. Рассмотрим такое влияние на стиль и образ жизни современной индийской молодежи и представителей среднего класса индийцев. Вестернизация индийского кинематографа проявляется в массовом выпуске детективных фильмов с гангстерами, привлекательными полицейскими-женщинами, съемками в пивных барах и ночных клубах, рекламы фастфуда и эротическими сценами. Наряду со сленгом хинди в течение нескольких минут используются английские диалоги. Показатели успешного болливудского фильма – это джинсы, майки, обувь на высоких каблуках для женщин, мини-юбки, бикини, кожаные обтягивающие платья без рукавов, ботильоны, безрукавки, пальто, костюмы, ботинки для мужчин, развод, секс до брака, ремиксы песен, балетные танцы, французские поцелуи, распитие коньяка и виски, светлокожие актеры и съемки в западных странах. Разговорная речь изобилует мумбайским диалектом («мумбая хинди») – сленговой формой смеси хинди, маратхи, гуджарати, английского и урду, на котором говорят не только в Мумбае, но и в других крупных городах Индии. Этот сленг был придуман для символизации характеров их героев, которые, зачастую являясь членами преступных группировок, говорят на этом сленге. В середине 90-х годов в Индии была создана сеть кабельного телевидения с музыкальными развлекательными каналами-гигантами, такими как MTV. Конкуренцию последнему составлял только 5-ый развлекательный канал, который представлял только английскую музыку, или только английские видеоклипы, которые демонстрировали индийцы, рожденные за пределами Индии, хорошо говорящие на английском языке и использующие в своей речи шутки и сленг. В 1996 году 5-й канал изменил политику представления материала – отныне речь телеведущих изобилует «индлизмом» – индийским английским языком, который был более понятен индийской молодежи. Рейтинг этого канала вырос с 10 до 60 %. Так рыночная конкуренция заставила «индианизировать» английский язык для того, чтобы выжить и преуспеть на этом рынке. Компания Майкрософт выпустила местные версии Windows и программное обеспечение Office на 14 главных языках Индии, включая хинди, тамильский и телугу.

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### **ОТ ШИНУАЗЕРИ К «ЖЕЛТОЙ ОПАСНОСТИ». ОБРАЗЫ ДАЛЬНЕГО ВОСТОКА И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ КЛАССИЧЕСКОГО ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМА В НЕМЕЦКОЙ И РУССКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЕ КОНЦА XIX – НАЧАЛА XX в.**

Активные колонизаторские мероприятия Германии и России на Дальнем Востоке рубежа XIX и XX вв., дополненные участием в совместном подавлении восстания ихэтуаней, способствовали разработке концепта «желтой опасности», в том числе непосредственно кайзером Вильгельмом II, во многом инициировавшим саму тему. Созданная по его эскизу картина «Гроза с Востока» получила широкий резонанс не только в немецкой (вплоть до публикации первых книг на эту тему), но и в русской культуре (рецепция в стихотворении Вл. Соловьева «Дракон» и т. д.). Дальнейшим импульсом стала русско-японская война, вызвавшая в художественной практике и общественном сознании обеих стран многообразные трансформации уже традиционных для Европы образов «патриархального Китая» и «живописной Японии». В докладе рассматриваются различные проявления и уровни этих трансформаций (от эпатирующей «антипатриотической» приверженности «японизму» В. Брюсова до парадоксального соотнесения А. Сувориным дальневосточной художественной классики с «бездуховным западным материализмом»; от декорирования военной хроники в квазикитайской и квазияпонской орнаментальной и иллюстративной традиции до подчинения этой традиции карикатурной символике; от фотографического документирования «азиатчины» до «присвоения» ее батальным протоэкспрессионизмом). Здесь, на фоне топов культурного наследия, уже угадываются те новые тенденции, которые обозначили масштабную смену культурного контекста, переход от классического ориентализма XIX столетия к интерпретационным новациям века XX. Особую роль в таком переходе сыграло переосмысление соотношения «Востока» и «Запада» применительно к модернизированной победоносной Японии, внесшее серьезные коррективы в прежнюю ориенталистско-оксиденталистскую дихотомию. В результате усложняются, модернизируются и отношение к японской культурной традиции, и сам европейский «японизм». В этом смысле показательно компаративное рассмотрение репрезентации дальневосточной кампании 1904–1905 гг. в России и «нейтрально-дружественной» ей Германии. Сопоставление взгляда «изнутри» и «извне» на российский конфликт с «азиатскими немцами», как подчас аттестовались японцы, особенно интересно в перспективе Первой мировой войны, изменившей картину вражды и союзничества на прямо противоположную.

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### ВОСТОК КАК «ДРУГОЙ» В ЗАПАДНОМ СОЗНАНИИ

Термин «ориентализм» окрашен полемикой, инициированной книгой Э. Саида (1978) и рядом последующих публикаций. В связи с выдвинутыми в них положениями, допустимо рассмотреть произведения русской живописи второй половины XIX века как этапы сложения определенного типа визуальности, условно понимаемого как «ориенталистское видение». Хотя, в принципе, «восточнике» (по тематике) произведения отражают последовательные фазы стилистической эволюции и европейской, и русской живописи, они могут быть объединены некоей внутренней связью; это раскрывается на уровне не формы и пластики, но того, что допустимо называть сходством знаковой транскрипции. Именно данный аспект имелся в виду в книге Саида, где говорится о «поражении нарратива в пользу видения», о том, что «ориенталист исследует Восток как бы сверху, имея перед собой цель овладеть всей раскрывающейся перед ним панорамой», «ориенталист – это, прежде всего, агент, орган такого всеобъемлющего видения» (все цитаты по русскому переводу). Соглашаясь с подобной характеристикой, следует указать, что она адекватна в отношении зрелого ориентализма («в полном цвету», то есть 2-ой половины XIX века); главным упущением труда Саида представляется недостаток корреляции «ориенталистского проекта» с историей европейской интеллектуальной жизни XVIII–XIX веков.

В рамках ориенталистского проекта, понимаемого как археологический, этнографический, антропологический комплекс, органично совмещались научная и зрелищная сторона. Ориенталистское видение отмечено децентрализацией незаинтересованного (т. е. объективного) созерцателя и описательно-регистрирующими свойствами, что, согласно Саиду, отражает «установку обладания/подчинения». Рассматривается ряд произведений русских живописцев: Г.Г. Гагарина, К.Е. Маковского, В.В. Верещагина и других. Хотя многие художники сохраняли пирамидальную композицию, баланс красочных масс и прочие академические профессиональные приемы, доказывается, что визуальное поле живописного ориентализма в целом – это семантическое поле научной, разграфленной таблицы: упорядочивающей, сравнивающей, хронометрирующей. Его «знаковый строй» поддерживался балансом бинарных оппозиций: «там» и «здесь», «чужое» и «свое», «различное» и «сходное». Именно в области визуального освоения экзотического материала можно было сохранить и традиционные приемы репрезентации, и роль живописи как одного из средств познания окружающего мира. В этом отношении удачливым соперником (и оптическим коррелятом) живописи выступала чрезвычайно популярная в 1860–80-х годах этнографическая фотография; последняя понималась как фиксирующий «карандаш природы» – наиболее

точный способ, каковым натура изображает себя сама, с минимальным вмешательством субъективного, искажающего человеческого фактора.

Наконец, еще одно соображение. Когда К.Е. Маковский продемонстрировал в Париже картину «Перенесение священного ковра из Мекки в Каир» (1876, ГРМ), он находился в рамках «классического ориентализма». В 1883 году Маковский показал, снова в Париже, полотно «Боярский свадебный пир в XVII веке» (ныне – Вашингтон, музей Хиллвуд). С точки зрения образованных европейцев, это был тоже ориентализм – быт далекой восточной страны, роскошные и причудливые костюмы, обычаи и нравы. Русская культурная элита, после принятия европейских «модусов мысли» (а живописцы – после усвоения академической нормативной эстетики) получили шанс, словно бы «отождествившись с Европой», взглянуть на историю, культуру, быт и нравы собственного, русского народа – как на «восточную экзотику». Поэтому допустимо интерпретировать «народническую живопись», например, передвижников как ориенталистскую. В полном соответствии с замечанием Саида о том, что «тексты могут порождать не только знание, но и саму описываемую ими реальность», можно предположить: даже когда живописцы-передвижники ездили «на этюды», они подбирали свой материал в соответствии с заранее сформированными представлениями о том, что они должны найти. Народ проецировался либеральной интеллигенцией на позицию «молчаливого страдальца», нравственно искушавшего образованные классы. В народе готовы были увидеть определенный набор качеств: например, терпение, доброту, лукавство и сметку – или же дремлющую стихию, потенциально неукротимую и опасную. Набор ориенталистских клише обнаруживается даже и у крупных мастеров: например, у В.Г. Перова, И.Н. Крамского, И.Е. Репина. В данном ключе рассматриваются определенные аспекты известных живописных памятников («Полесовщик», «Запорожцы» и др.).

В «глубине» ориенталистской картины лежит не только «высокомерное административное отношение европейского колониализма» (по Саиду), но и представление о картине как о достойной доверия передаче объективной реальности – в конечном итоге, позитивистская вера в первенство материи и всемогущество науки (филологии? таксономии? биологии?), в просветительскую миссию искусства. То есть, ориентализм в живописи не пережил краха миметической репрезентации и авангардистского жизнестроения. Поэтому XX век образует естественную границу «ориенталистского проекта».

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**«ОТ ОМЕРЗЕНИЯ ДО СОСТРАДАНИЯ»:  
СПЕЦИФИКА ВОСПРИЯТИЯ КОРЕННОГО  
НАСЕЛЕНИЯ КРАЙНЕГО СЕВЕРА СИБИРИ  
ПУБЛИЦИСТАМИ ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЫ  
XIX – НАЧАЛА XX в.**

**(по материалам художественной публицистики)**

В своем выступлении я затрагиваю проблему применения классической ориенталистской методологии к изучению представлений образованных русских о коренном населении Крайнего Севера во второй половине XIX – начале XX в. Этот период связан с этнографической деятельностью политических ссыльных (В.Г. Богораз-Тан, В.Л. Серошевский, А.Г. Клюге), которые помимо научных трудов и статей в специализированных журналах по этнографии публиковали художественные очерки, посвященные северным аборигенам в столичных и региональных общественно-политических журналах.

Очерки и рассказы интересны, прежде всего, тем, что позволяют познакомиться с типизированными персонажами в контексте социальной среды. Это происходит потому, что писатель преподносит не объективные, задокументированные факты, или свое сугубо личное восприятие конкретных «инородцев» (как это происходит, например, в путевых заметках), а некую квинтэссенцию своего представления о том или ином этносе. В этом отношении показательным является то, что даже длительный, часто многолетний опыт общения политических ссыльных с коренным населением Крайнего Севера не способствовал полному исчезновению таких установок у авторов очерков. Кроме того, опираясь на материалы рецензий и отзывов на очерки, посвященные столь «экзотичному» предмету, можно выявить наличие этих установок и у читательской аудитории, толстых журналов.

В то же время следует отметить и попытку поднять вопрос о том, что первобытная дикость и необузданные страсти, жестокость, коварство характерны не только для аборигенов Севера, но и для русского населения региона.

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**МЕТАМОРФОЗЫ СТЕРЕОТИПА «ЛИЦО  
КАВКАЗСКОЙ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОСТИ»  
(ЕВРОПА – РОССИЯ XVIII–XXI вв.)**

Граф де Бюффон в 1749 году предположил, что род людской произошел на Кавказе, но по мере удаления от кавказского Эдема в нем проявлялись черты вырождения. Й.Ф. Блюменбах (1775 г.) ввел термины «*Varietas Caucasia*» и «*Caucasian race*», признавая племена, живущие на Кавказе, наиболее чистым и несмешанным типом европейской расы. Он утверждал, что «Кавказ это место рождения белого человека», высшая точка человеческого рода – «кавказец-европеец».

В середине XIX века френологи предъявляли претензии к статуе Венеры Милосской за то, что у неё слишком маленькая голова и череп не соответствует идеально кавказским параметрам. Еще больше претензий френологи предъявляли образу Свободы, запечатленной на полотнах и медалях времён Французской революции из-за несоответствия образу идеального кавказца: низкий, покатый лоб явно свидетельствовал о недоразвитости её моральных и интеллектуальных способностей.

Образ «кавказца» - идеал, образец для всего человечества, – победно утверждался в течение двух столетий (заметим, до настоящего времени термин *Caucasian* в английском языке является стандартным обозначением белой расы), как вдруг на рубеже XX–XXI веков на красавца кавказца с белым цветом кожи начинают навешивать оскорбительные ярлыки, например, «чернож...», а само «лицо кавказской национальности» (ЛКН) начинает вызывать у определенной части населения России и за её пределами негативную реакцию, ассоциируется с чем-то нехорошим, «порождает... бессознательно-опасливое воображение».

Любопытно, что в хронологическом плане начало трансформации стереотипа кавказец в ЛКН восходит к тем же XVIII–XIX векам, когда Россия и Европа пополняли свои знания о Кавказе. Именно тогда формируются диаметрально противоположные образы кавказца: романтический и негативный. Однако необходимо проводить различие между стереотипами как социальным явлением и стереотипизацией как психологическим процессом. В СССР отношение к кавказцам можно уподобить приливам и отливам, которые, как и «роза ветров» зависели (и зависят) от Кремля (например, разгром школы Покровского, выступление Аджемьяна и т. д.). В современной России: две «чеченские войны», миграционные процессы и т.д. На сегодняшний день официальными «родителями» и виновниками появления стереотипа ЛКН являются советский канцеляризм, МВД и СМИ.

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### **РЕЦЕПЦИЯ КУЛЬТУРЫ ВОСТОКА В КОМПАРАТИВНЫХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯХ НЕМЕЦКИХ ФИЛОСОФОВ XIX в.**

Осмысление своеобразия Востока как культурной целостности впервые получило системное и развернутое отражение в немецкой классической философии. Рефлексия локальной специфики художественной культуры Востока прослеживается в контексте учения о чувственности и в критике способности суждения И. Канта. Характеризуя народы Востока, И. Кант пытался установить их соответствие темпераментам европейцев в зависимости от степени и динамики проявления чувств и эмоций. Беря во внимание факт присутствия в коммуникативной действительности арабов элементов необычного и черт причудливого, их горячее воображение, обуславливающее восприятие вещей в «неестественном и искаженном свете», мыслитель видел в них «испанцев Востока». Персов И. Кант отождествлял с «французами Азии». Основанием для этого явились их способности к поэтическому творчеству, вежливость и обладание довольно тонким вкусом, отсутствие строгой привязанности к религии и непоследовательность в исповедании ислама, склонность к свободному истолкованию Корана, неустойчивость нравов и пристрастие к веселью. Явное ощущение твердости, нередко межующей с упрямством, храбрости и презрения к смерти, отсутствие признаков утонченного чувства в японцах позволило И. Канту найти в них своеобразный аналог англичанам.

Особенностью культуры индийцев и китайцев И. Кант считал чрезмерную гротескность, доходящую до крайней эксцентричности. Этот факт, по его убеждению, подтверждают почитаемые в Индии идола чудовищной формы; отражающиеся в фетишах и амулетах многочисленные рудименты тотемистических верований; противоестественные самоистязания факиров; странные и неестественные образы китайских картин; многочисленные церемонии и витиеватые комплименты китайцев. Сравнивая коммуникативные модели гендерных отношений в западных и восточных культурах, он подчеркнул способность европейцев гармонизировать чувственное наслаждение, моральность и благопристойность, в отличие от «совершенно извращенного вкуса» представителей Востока, ведомых желанием властвования и лишаящих себя ценности чувственных наслаждений.

Г.В.Ф. Гегель утверждал, что на обширной территории Востока, несмотря на различия в географических и климатических условиях, сформировалось типичное восприятие мира, впоследствии ставшее основой цивилизационного единства, противостоящего культуре Запада.

Истоки индивидуальности и жизненной самостоятельности арабских племен Г.В.Ф. Гегель объяснял традиционным укладом, обусловленным кочевым образом жизни в древнейший период их истории. «Живя в пустынях, в бесконечном море своих равнин, имея лишь чистое небо над

собой, они полагались в этой природе на собственную храбрость, силу своего кулака и на средства своего самосохранения – на верблюда, коня, копьё и меч».

И.Г. Гердер, критикуя европоцентристские взгляды, отрицал идею превосходства Запада и подчеркивал роль наследия Востока в становлении и развитии европейской культуры. Позиция Гёте относительно единства Запада и Востока в пространстве мировой художественной культуры и идея гуманистического универсализма отражены в поэтическом сборнике «Западно-восточный диван». Г.В.Ф. Гегель писал, что благодаря «Западно-восточному дивану» И.В. Гёте удалось «вести Восток в нашу современную поэзию и освоить его для современных представителей». И.В. Гёте являлся достойным ценителем творческого наследия Древнего Востока, но относил китайские, иудейские, египетские древности к тем феноменам мировой культуры, которые «остаются всего-навсего курьезами» для сознания и эстетического восприятия западного человека. Немецкий поэт считал, что «познакомиться с ними и познакомить с ними мир было благим делом, но для нашего нравственного и эстетического воспитания от них мало пользы».

Ф. Ницше, в свойственной ему философской манере, считал мавританскую культуру воплощением истинной культуры, порожденной «благородными мужественными инстинктами», преисполненной утонченностей и воплощающей активное жизненное начало. Он не случайно считал мусульманский тип культуры, утвердившийся в средневековой Испании, «более нам родственным, более говорящим нашим чувствам и вкусу, чем Рим и Греция». Ф. Ницше назвал буддизм «единственной истинно позитивистской религией, встречающейся в истории», поскольку она отличается демократичностью, объективной постановкой проблем, не содержит «никакого категорического императива, никакого принуждения вообще, даже внутри монастырской общины».

Анализ ориенталистских построений в традициях философской рефлексии культуры позволяет прийти к заключению, что западный мир нередко выстраивает свое представление о Востоке в соответствии с привычными, доступными и удобными ему конструктами и опытом.

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### **ПЕРВЫЕ СВЕДЕНИЯ О РЮКЮ В РОССИИ В XVIII – СЕРЕДИНЕ XIX в.**

В России до начала XIX в. о Рюкю было известно немного. Так, название «рю-чю» впервые упоминается в первом русско-японском словаре, составленном японцами Гондза и Соса в 1729 г. В Россию они попали через Камчатку. Оба были выходцами из клана Сацума, поэтому знали о Рюкю.

Затем Андрей Богданов, глава русской школы по изучению японского языка, записал в своем дневнике: «В Нагасаки есть место для стоянки кораблей, китайцы, голландцы, корейцы и рюкюосцы привозят свои товары». И. Ф. Крузенштерн (1770–1846) упоминает о Рюкю в своих записках во время первой русской кругосветной экспедиции, которая проходила в 1802 г.

В рамках Русско-Американской компании, основанной в 1799 г. как торговая компания по освоению и колонизации берегов Северной Америки, торговые суда нередко доставляли промышленные грузы и продовольственные товары на Дальний Восток и в Русскую Америку. В ходе одного из таких рейсов в 1819–1821 гг. совершил кругосветное плавание корабль «Бородино» под командованием З.И. Понафидина. Экспедиция открыла в 1820 г. к востоку от островов цепи Рюкю два небольших острова, названных островами «Бородино» и «Понафидин». В настоящий момент остров Бородино называют остров Минамидайто, который входит в группу островов Дайто префектуры Окинава.

Первое официальное посещение Рюкю русскими произошло в середине XIX в. после визита американских кораблей. В октябре 1852 г. в Японию было направлено посольство вице-адмирала Е.В. Путятин. В составе его эскадры был фрегат «Паллада», на борту которого находился русский писатель И.А. Гончаров, ставший неофициальным историографом экспедиции.

Путятину поручалось собрать сведения обо всем, что происходит у побережья русских владений в Восточной Азии и в западной части Северной Америки, а также предпринять новые усилия для открытия японских портов и использовать их близость к России для импорта из Японии продовольствия для снабжения населения русского Дальнего Востока в обмен на товары, необходимые японцам. Путятину было предписано действовать исключительно мирными средствами с соблюдением законов страны. В послании Николая I японскому императору отмечался дружественный характер посольства Путятин и содержалась просьба разрешить русским заходить в порты Японии для обмена товарами, т. е. речь шла об установлении торговых отношений.

С 31 января по 9 февраля (по новому стилю 13–21 февраля) 1854 г. русские корабли посетили острова Рюкю. В ходе визита Путятин хотел встретиться с королем Рюкю. Однако ему отказали, заявив, что король пребывает в трауре в связи с кончиной королевы. Путятин выразил свои соболезнования, преподнес подарки от русского императора королю Рюкю через официальных представителей королевства Итарасики Пэчин и Макиси Тётю. Через несколько дней Путятин отплыл в Японию.

Гончаров в книге «Фрегат “Паллада”» запечатлел жизнь рюкюосцев и встречу Итарасики Пэчин и Макиси Тётю с Гошкевичем и отцом Аввакумом. Это было первое подробное описание Рюкю, сделанное русскими.

В российской исторической литературе достаточно глубоко были изучены вопросы первых контактов русских с японцами, но изучение и исследование сведений о королевстве Рюкю и одноименном архипелаге в

России практически не велось. Упоминания о Рюкю и островах этого региона носили в основном фрагментарный характер.

Таким образом, в XVIII–XIX вв. Рюкю в географическом и политическом отношении не являлось объектом изучения царского правительства и русских путешественников, внимание которых более уделялось северной части Японии, освоению Курильских островов и Сахалина. Однако в XX в. Рюкю стал объектом научного изучения, в которое свой вклад внес Н.А. Невский.

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### **КУЛЬТУРНАЯ ИНАКОВОСТЬ И ДИСКУРС ПОСТКОЛОНИАЛЬНОСТИ. О КРИТЕРИЯХ И ПРЕДЕЛАХ СООТНЕСЕННОСТИ**

Экстраполяция методологии постколониального дискурса, отсылающего к модели «ориентализма» (Э. Саид), в российский культурный контекст нуждается в корректировке по очевидным признакам. Один из них – невыраженность четко отрефлексированной границы между пережитым российским имперским опытом и постимперской реальностью, коррелятивно тяготеющих друг к другу в складывающейся системе «притяжения – отталкивания». Если в западной культурной традиции постколониальная проблематика позиционировала себя как действенная форма не только адекватного описания, но и преодоления-исчерпания колониального комплекса в дискурсивной и политической практиках, то в российских условиях апелляция к ней оказалась вовлеченной в сферу дискуссионного «брожения» такой «размытой» проблематизации, все еще открытым остается вопрос о природе и целях колониального «владычества» – это знаковое понятие побило все рекорды по частоте употребления в годы затяжной кавказской войны XIX века.

В этом контексте следует обратить внимание на два специфически российских аспекта. Во-первых, тезис о колонизации как направленного вовне процесса дополнен, судя по работам А. Эткинды («Русская литература, XIX век: роман внутренней колонизации» и др.), аргументированной постановкой вопроса о «внутренней колонизации», что само по себе усложняет характеристику постколониальной реальности. Во-вторых, факт вовлечения в орбиту государственного служения выходцев из «туземных» народов. Просвещенный дагестанец и одновременно царский генерал, М. Алиханов опубликовал в 1895–1896 гг. в газете «Кавказ» тридцать очерков «В горах Дагестана». В одном лице с заметной противоречивостью сошлись традиционалист, волею судьбы ставший проводником имперской политики, и державник, убежденный в цивилизаторской миссии российской империи. Символическая встреча «западного» и «восточного» в одном личностном опыте обернулась поучительным эффектом



двойного культурного зрения. Одним из своих героев М. Алиханов представил как «редкий тип горца, который нашел золотую середину между враждебными веяниями – русским и арабским». При этом набор представлений, мыслительные ходы, оценочные стандарты М. Алиханова всецело принадлежат типично имперскому нарративу, в рамках которого горская этика жертвенного героизма, философия этнокультурного самосохранения предстали как проявления патриархального идеализма, наивного радикализма и в итоге как самоубийственный выбор. Героика оценивалась как бессмысленное упорство, порыв к свободе – как бунт «варваров», антиимперский пафос – как вызов цивилизации, подъем национального духа – как историческое заблуждение.

Перечитывание истории не всегда становится ее переосмыслением по причине инерционно эксплуатируемых стереотипов, устойчиво мотивированных, например, по сформулированному в байроновской поэме «Гяур» принципу: «Хоть я тебя не знаю, / Но твой народ я презираю». Процедура переосмысления возможна как акт деконструкции текста (в нашем случае – кавказского дискурса русской литературы, двигаясь от ломоносовских и державинских од, от романтической модели А. Бестужева-Марлинского до толстовского «Хаджи-Мурата» и далее до недавнего романа «Асан» В. Маканина). Деконструкция языка описания инонационального мира окажется результативной, если продуцируется с позиции не столько пережитого травматического опыта (феномен всегда актуального прошлого: «горят аулы, нет у них защиты») и воспроизводства назидательной коллективной памяти, сколько заинтересованного признания культурной инаковости как выражения исторической субъектности Иного. Речь может идти не только о конструировании идентичности как генератора «припоминания», стимулирующего перманентную антиколониальную риторику «без конца и без края» под знаком непреодолеваемой оппозиции «победители – побежденные» (или «колонизаторы – колонизируемые»), но и о таком ее ресурсе, как диалогический принцип, проясняющий место *твоей* культуры в семье *других* культур, артикулирующий культурно значимое для *всех* явление *неизолированной локальности*: «Так вот ты какой, Восток!» (из ташкентского цикла А. Ахматовой). Непроявленность культурной трансгрессии обедняет и упрощает процесс самоидентификации.

Инерция дихотомической разделенности «Запада» и «Востока», обнаруживая свою бесперспективную избыточность в глобализирующемся мире остается одним из самых влиятельных конфликтогенных факторов современной цивилизации, испытывающей давление не только унификации, но и национально-охранительного эгоизма.

«Богом создан был Восток, / Запад также создал Бог» – создатель «Западно-восточного дивана» обнажил первоначально западно-восточной взаимодополняемости, воспринимаемой и сегодня как онтологическая предпосылка насущно необходимых метаязыка и метаконцепции нового универсализма, способного во имя выживания человечества минимизировать конфликт ценностей, угрозу противостояния культур и моделей жизнепонимания, в том числе по-своему ограниченных и уже недостаточных «ориентального» и «оксидентального» дискурсов.

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### **МАВРИТАНСКИЙ ОРНАМЕНТ РАМЫ: РОЛЬ АРАБЕСКИ В ПРОЗЕ ПО**

В предисловии к сборнику новелл «Гротески и арабески» 1840 г. Э.А. По ссылается на статью В. Скотта «О сверхъестественном в литературе» (Форинг Куотерли Ревью, 1827 г.), где гротески и арабески понимаются в расширительном и переносном смысле – для обозначения сатирических и «серьезных» рассказов Э.Т.А. Гофмана соответственно. Однако уже Бодлер предлагает понимать «арабески» самого По буквально – как словесный аналог восточного орнамента, не допускающего изображение человеческих фигур. Действительно, в прозе По арабеска – это не только условное название стиля или жанра, но и сквозной мотив, постоянный объект репрезентации, как бы удваивающий собой модную жанровую «рамку». Рассказы По насыщены «восточными» образами и метафорами По, большей частью клишированными, ориентированными на западно-европейскую романтическую традицию, однако арабеска, как мне представляется, занимает среди этих образов совершенно особое место. «Материализуясь» в его рассказах, она становится чем-то большим, чем часть устойчивой бинарной пары («гротески и арабески») и, наконец, «присваивается» По как знак индивидуального авторского стиля. О символическом «присвоении» арабески мы предлагаем поговорить более подробно, на примере двух редакций рассказа «Овальный портрет» (1842 г.).

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### **ЭСТЕТИКА СМЕРТИ: ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЕ ГАСТРОЛИ ЯПОНСКИХ АРТИСТОВ НАЧАЛА XX в.**

Движение общеевропейского модерна на рубеже веков, вырабатывая универсальный синтетический стиль, во многом основывалось на искусстве Востока. В литературно-художественных кругах Парижа распространилась мода на коллекционирование восточных безделушек и японских гравюр. В театрах Парижа демонстрировали своё искусство артисты экзотических стран Сиам, Китая, Японии... В дни Всемирной выставки 1900 г. в театре известной танцовщицы Лойэ Фуллер играла японская труппа Отодзиро Каваками, в которой блистала своим искусством несравненная Сада Якко. Европейцы жаждали

увидеть японцев в национальных кимоно, на деревянных «котурнах», с кривыми самурайскими мечами, жестокими, готовыми в любую минуту кого-нибудь зарезать или, в крайнем случае, совершить самоубийство – харакири. Часто пьесы, не имевшие в оригинале драматического финала, в Европе переделывались в сцены смертельных поединков, давая исполнителям возможность продемонстрировать блестящую технику владения боевыми искусствами. Сцены смерти были «специализацией» японских гастролеров. Другая японская гейша, Ганако Оота, отправившаяся в 1901 г. с очередной труппой в Европу, прославилась тем, что позировала Огюсту Родену для «Головы смерти» (1906). Скульптор попытался запечатлеть то выражение лица актрисы, которое так потрясало зрителей во время спектакля. Во время сеансов он просил её вновь и вновь изображать предсмертную агонию... Судьба японских гейш, ставших актрисами европейского модерна, в самой стране Восходящего солнца была куда немее завидной. По возвращении в Японию в 1903 г. Отодзиро Каваками осуществил свою мечту – открыл театр европейского типа «Сёкидзе» и при нём – театральную школу, заложив таким образом основы нового театрального направления у своих современников не пользовалась. После смерти мужа, последовавшей в 1911 г., о ней стали понемногу забывать, и в 1917 г. 45-летняя Сада Якко покинула сцену навсегда. Ганако вернулась в Японию в 1921 г., поселилась у сестры, которая содержала школу гейш, и больше никогда не выходила на подмостки.

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#### **DIRECT OBJECTS: WHISTLER AND THE MAKING OF HISTORY**

By examining the treatment of background objects in two paintings, *Whistler's Symphony in White no. 2* and Ingres' *Portrait of Madame Moitessier* (seated), as well as their material and artistic histories, we can elucidate the intellectual underpinnings of the concept of cross-cultural influence. Whistler's fascination with the East Asian objects and his discussion of them, parallel almost exactly Ingres' relationship to Antiquity. As material traces of a fantastic elsewhere, these objects were both intellectually and structurally important to these two paintings and the artistic practices of both Whistler and Ingres. By elucidating the importance of these art objects, using the studies and letters of the artists, I hope to reveal the complex and interrelated concepts of Orientalism and Classicism: both function as quests for an identity, a place in a historical order delineated by time and space. Within this framework, I intend to prove that Classicism - as both a historical influence and an artistic process - functions as a kind of reflexive Orientalism, a kind of internalized otherness. While such comparisons were often made (by the Goncourt brothers,

for example), to date there remains no systematic, comparative examination of the origins, processes and motivation, highlighting a historical blindspot, and indeed a structural conundrum, within the fields of Orientalism, Classicism and trans-regional art history at large.

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#### **ENCOUNTERING THE EASTERN EUROPEAN OTHER IN MARINA LEWYCKA'S A SHORT HISTORY OF TRACTORS IN UKRAINIAN**

Marina Lewicka's comic fiction, *A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian* (2005) unfolds the story of a British woman who wants to 'protect' her émigré father from marrying a Ukrainian divorcee seeking a marriage of convenience in Britain to secure his son's future. My paper proposes to consider Sara Ahmed's critique of post-coloniality in *Strange Encounters* in exploring the discourse of the Ukrainian-British woman-narrator and her attitude to the Ukrainian woman migrant. My contestation is that the migrant Ukrainian woman appears as the threatening (sexualized) Other in Lewicka's novel. I argue that the woman-narrator sees in the figure of this Ukrainian divorcee the embodiment of both a dangerous 'Ukrainianness' and provocative femininity. She perceives this woman migrant as an intruder who 'behaves' too differently and, consequently, because of her intolerable difference, who should be expelled from Britain. I will examine the ways in which Lewicka's woman-narrator draws on the discourse of exoticism in her characterisations of the Ukrainian woman migrant and her self-definition as a Ukrainian-British. What interests me here is Lewicka's application of Western (masculinist) constructions of Eastern Europe in depicting the Ukrainian woman migrant and the elements of English nationalism in forming the identity of the Ukrainian-British woman-narrator. On the whole, my argument concerns Lewicka's representation of the relationship between the two women from the perspective of the concepts of solidarity, sense of belonging and cultural estrangement.

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#### **MORE ORIENTAL THAN JAPAN: OKINAWA IN JAPAN'S NATIONAL DISCOURSE**

The interaction with modernity in post-1868 Japan raised new questions about national identity; this was made evident not only by the tortuous and conflicting relationship between the young nation-state and the 'bearer of modernity' West, but also in the light of the debate on the origin of the Japanese which developed since the first decades of the Meiji period.

The searching for the locus of authentic native culture and identity led some scholars like Yanagita Kunio to identify the Ryūkyū Islands as the place where pure Japan was still preserved. But by placing Okinawa in a time and a space which had not been reached by modernity, they seemed to create other Orients on which Japan could project a vision similar to those that West projected on Japan itself.

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**BROKEN TONGUES: RACE, SACRIFICE AND  
GEOPOLITICS IN VSEVOLOD IVANOV'S  
BRONEPOEZD NO. 14–69**

Vsevolod Ivanov made his literary reputation primarily through his short story *Bronepoezd No. 14–69*, published in *Krasnaia Nov'* in 1922. The Chinese poet Dai Wangshu produced a popular Chinese translation of the story in 1932 based on a 1927 French translation. The story narrates the successful effort of a group of Red partisans in seizing an armored train delivering reinforcements to quell a revolutionary rebellion in Vladivostok. Arguably the most memorable figure is the “Chinaman” (*kitaets*) Sin-Bin-U, a Red volunteer motivated by a desire to avenge himself against the Japanese. He sacrifices his body on the train tracks and ensures the train's capture. The most prominent marker of Sin-Bin-U's Chinese-ness is his tortured Russian, rendered nearly incomprehensible by his accent; as one critic acidly noted, Sin-Bin-U himself “is a chopsuey of mispronounced Russian words.” Following work in American literature about “racial form,” the way in which racial types and identities are materially and ideologically constructed, this paper proposes a way of viewing Sin-Bin-U through the lens of what might be called “racial de-formation,” an always tentative racialization that approaches identity but also foregrounds its own disintegration. Viewed through this lens, it is not accidental that Sin-Bin-U's broken Russian coincides with his mutilated body. This paper examines the construction of an Orientalized Chinese subject within a new Soviet literary discourse and seeks to understand the kind of ideological labor that such an “Eastern” subject performs in the articulation of a new Soviet internationalism. Considering Dai Wangshu's translation, this paper also examines how such a linguistically distinct character as Sin-Bin-U (Shen Fangwu in the Chinese rendering) is made intelligible for a Chinese audience. The paper analyzes the complications that ensue in translation when the awkward Sin-Bin-U suddenly becomes a perfectly comprehensible Shen Fangwu.

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**SINOPHILIA: FASHION, WESTERN FEMINE  
MODERNITIES AND THINGS CHINESE**

This paper explores a new theoretical approach to the history of Orientalism and chinoiserie, by focussing on material, feminine and fashionable histories of Western Chineseness. In Europe, America and Australia, the first three decades of the twentieth century saw a renewed fascination with all things Chinese. British homes were decorated with Chinese textiles, carpets, ornaments and pets. For women, the Chinese trend included the wearing of dresses, robes, coats and capes incorporating Chinese motifs and traditional Chinese garment shapes, Chinese earrings and even Chinese hairstyles. In this paper, corporeality is placed at centre stage in an analysis of modern subjectivities, and of problematic yet crucial dualities such as East/West, traditional/modern, male/female.

The term ‘sinophilia’ (meaning a love of Chinese things) is proposed as a fitting descriptor for this cultural trend of far-reaching significance – a parallel phenomenon to *japonisme*, primitivism, and negrophilia in the incorporation of the Other into twentieth-century Western modernity. ‘Sinophilia’ can indicate a fondness for China and Chinese things, within the bounds of social respectability, or an aberrant obsession held up to criticism and ridicule. Whilst the term ‘chinoiserie’ will accommodate a range of Western fantasies of China, objects from China sit awkwardly within this construct. Furthermore, the relationships between Britishness and Chineseness invoked by ‘chinoiserie’ are over determined by ironic distance, or even parody. ‘Sinophilia’ expresses a more deeply felt cultural exchange and cultural transformation, experienced on physical, emotional and intellectual levels – a need for Chineseness that enables a more satisfactory exploration of the incorporation of Chinese things into early twentieth century British feminine modernity. Thus, the concept of ‘sinophilia’ will be explored as a culturally important but as yet under-theorised phenomenon of twentieth century modernity, a hybrid cosmopolitanism and an imperialist Orientalism.

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**SLAVERY, SEXUALITY AND THE BLACK EXOTIC:  
JEAN-LEÓN-GÉRÔME'S FEMALE SERVANTS**

The Orient was a primary filter through which Europeans explored blackness in the visual arts of the nineteenth century. Tensions between Europe and Africa were played out in the theater of the fictitious Orient by Jean

Léon-Gérôme and other 19<sup>th</sup> century Orientalist artists. I propose to explore the trope of the exotic black female slave through the work of master academic Orientalist painter Jean Léon-Gérôme. A critical aspect of the European notion of Oriental culture, black Africans populated Orientalist painting and sculpture throughout the century. Compelling and repulsive, colorful and dark, black figures were the ultimate exotic other in the complex topography of Orientalist art. The polar opposite to the white European male consumers of these images, blacks embodied aspects of the Orient such as sexuality, aggression, servitude, barbarism, and ethnographic degeneration.

Gérôme's pairing of black and white bodies are at the core of a series of oppositions and tensions that structure his work. The tension between Africa and Europe is the overriding framework within which the various polarities operate in works such as *The Grand Bath at Bursa* (1885); *Moorish Bath* (1871/2) and *À Vendre* (1871). Even though the slave trade and the overt practice of slave labor had ended by the time these works were produced, they embedded slavery in terms of the exotic, and refracted the harsh realities of the relationship between Europe and African slavery as well as colonialism to an exotic culture, distant in time and space. These fantasies allowed the allure of servitude and the taboos of black sexuality to flourish for a European and American public. Through an examination of Gérôme's black women, this presentation will explore how African-ness and the Orientality become conflated in academic painting of the nineteenth-century.

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#### **CHINOISERIE AND JAPONISM IN THE ART OF JAMES ENSOR**

Between 1880 and 1910, at the height of Japonisme in Europe, the Belgian painter James Ensor painted a number of pictures that have the word "chinoiserie(s)" in their title. His choice of this term raises interesting questions about the relationship between Chinoiserie and Japonisme in the nineteenth century. Ensor's paintings appear to resist the modernist art historical narrative that outlines the trajectory of Western artistic indebtedness to the Far East as one that moves from

the playful and superficial borrowing of Chinese motifs in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to the more profound and far-reaching "influence" of Japanese art in the second half of the century, when Western art was put on the road to modernism, forever altered as a result of artists' new realization of the unique formal qualities of Far-Eastern art.

In my paper, I intend to tease out the significance of Ensor's use of the term "chinoiserie" and from this I will try to draw some larger conclusions about the relationship between Chinoiserie and Japonisme in the nineteenth century.

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#### **CONNECTED CULTURES: THE NARRATIVE FICTION OF MARCEL PROUST AND NATSUME SÔSEKI**

The first volume of Proust's masterpiece, *In Search of Lost Time*, was published in 1913. In 1914 the Japanese novelist, Natsume Sôseki, wrote *Kokoro*, a title that is difficult to translate. In brief, it refers to the thoughts and emotions that lie deep in the recesses of the human mind, often shut away and never revealed. Both novels stand as pillars in the evolution of modern narrative fiction, taking a radical new direction from what may be termed realistic representational fiction. Instead, in each novel the inner workings of the human mind become a primary motif to be explored. This paper demonstrates how, without knowledge of each other's work, Proust and Sôseki were forerunners of what led to the 'stream of consciousness genre' in literature, exemplified later by James Joyce's *Ulysses* and *The Waves* by Virginia Woolf. Proust and Sôseki independently created a new dimension in narrative fiction which now can be seen to have bridged cultures.

Taking a single theme common to both novels – that of betrayal – this paper discusses the marked differences in range and technique adopted by Proust and Sôseki in dealing with the same topic, e.g. Proust's expansive depiction of Swann's obsession with Odette, comprising almost 300 pages, compared with the microscopic exactitude of Sôseki's portrait of a man's psychological torment driving him to suicide. How the distinctly different cultures of France and Japan contributed to the attitudes and actions of the protagonists is another important aspect to be discussed.

The paper concludes with some remarks on the way in which a group of novels, created separately in different countries at different times, can come together to form a cluster or genre, expressing themes that are universal to mankind and have the power to break down cultural barriers.

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#### **ALEXIS REMIZOV AND SADEGH HEDAYAT: DEVOURING MARGINS, THE WRITING DISMEMBERED**

Hedayat (1903–1951), the writer who introduced modernity into contemporary Persian literature, was one of the first to write modern novels and short stories in Iran. Influenced by Kafka and Dostoevsky, he was in between Ancient Zoroastrian Iran, modern and Islamic Iran and the West.

My paper explores three different sides of this Iranian writer's work:

### 1. *Hedayat and his own tradition*

The young Hedayat is trying to conciliate Western modern science with Magus' wisdom. Thus, he is taking a stand in the crucial debate of the "Orient versus the Occident," which was strong in the twenties while led by Rene Guenon. This section will analyze one of the articles from 1926 published in the journal *Le Voile d'Isis*.

### 2. *Hedayat introduces the Western tradition in his texts*

We will analyze a short story called "Don Juan de Karaj", which is a new version of Don Juan's myth and denounces the attempts of Reza Shah's Iran to be similar to the West.

### 3. *Hedayat in between the Orient and the West*

This subject focuses on another short story, "Le Chien errant" ["The Stray Dog"], which presents the ambiguous position of a Scottish dog in mullah's country. This short story describes the tragic fate of a lost dog who has suffered torture and humiliation in a traditional village. Yet, his life ends in the pursuit of a desert mirage: a car driving away his last hopes with a good-hearted westernized man.

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#### **CONNECTING EUROPE AND MEIJI JAPAN: EDOARDO CHIOSSONE'S CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL IMAGERIE, OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF JAPANESE CULTURAL HERITAGE, AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JAPANESE ART**

Edoardo Chiossone (1833–1898), employed by the Printing Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Finance from 1875 to 1891, is famous as the engraver of the banknotes and stamps issued by the Meiji government. He was intimately involved with the creation of the instruments for establishing and promulgating the authority of state finance, and trained the next generation of engravers employed by the Printing Bureau in up-to-date techniques of engraving and printing paper currency. An honorary member of Ryūchikai 龍池会, Chiossone was a collector of Japanese and Chinese art, and when he died in Tokyo in 1898, he bequeathed the works he had assembled to the Ligurian Academy of Fine Arts in his native Genoa. Housed today in the Chiossone Museum, the artifacts he gathered comprise paintings, Buddhist sculptures, archaeological objects, bronze ware, coins, lacquer ware, porcelain, enamels, theatrical masks, arms and armor, musical instruments, costumes, textiles, and an important collection of Ukiyo-e paintings, prints and illustrated books.

Chiossone was also responsible for the creation of modern Japan's political *imagerie*, that is, the official portraits of many members of the establishment and public figures of the period, including the emperor, the empress, princes and princesses and members of the court, ministers, generals, and important

bureaucrats. His portraits of Emperor Meiji, still exhibited today in the Meiji Kinenkan 明治記念館, became universally known through the distribution of photographic copies to schools and public offices throughout Japan. The government also displayed it abroad as the official state portrait of the Japanese sovereign.

Albeit scarcely researched and recognised until recent years, Chiossone's contribution to official representations of Japanese cultural heritage is also quite important. The Genoese engraver played a part in the development of a comprehensive overview of Japanese cultural heritage through the Kantō, Chūbu, and Kinki regions in 1879, when he participated in a four-and-a-half month government survey of cultural sites major and art works led by Tokunō Ryōsuke 得能良介 (1825–1882), director general of the Printing Bureau and Chiossone's good friend. Chiossone produced some 200 drawings of the objects viewed and was responsible for the chromolithographic and photolithographic plates used to illustrate the survey's report, published between 1880 and 1883 as *Kokka yohō* 国華余芳. Of special interest are the large double-page colour illustrations constituting the volumes *Ise Naikū Shinpōbu* 伊勢内宮神宝部 and *Shōsōin Gyobutsu* 正倉院御物. As every newspaper announced, an official ceremony was held to present *Kokka yohō* to emperor Mutsuhito.

During the course of the nearly twenty-five years spent in Japan, Chiossone was closely associated not only with government figures, but also with a range of contemporary artists who contributed to the internationalization of Japanese art. With a group of painters belonging to *Kyōto Jounsha* 京都如雲社 he participated in an experiment of highly eclectic profile in both technical and stylistic terms, which resulted in the production of 24 aquarelle-like paintings on machine-made paper of western type. Another important collaboration took place in 1886–1887 between Chiossone and Suzuki Chōōsai 鈴木長翁齋 (1824–1899), a *tankinka* 鍛金家 employed by the Kunaishō Kingin Gyosaiusho 宮内省金銀御細工所, on the production of a set of altar furnishings in silver donated by HRH the grand duke of Saxony to the German Evangelical community 全国福音教会 in Tōkyō.

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#### **FRANCE BETWEEN COLONIALISM AND POST-COLONIALISM IN 1931: THE EXPOSITION COLONIALE AND THE DAKAR-DJIBOUTI MISSION**

Two events in French history in the early 1930s signaled divergent modes of ethnographic scholarship: the Exposition Coloniale of Paris in 1931, and the Dakar-Djibouti Mission, from 1931 to 1933. The Exposition Coloniale was a wildly ambitious project that idealized native life in the French colonies, and asserted France's faith in its colonial practices in the face of changing attitudes toward imperialism among the French public. Photographs

of the Exposition Coloniale portraying it as a Utopian site were published in souvenir books and visitor guides.

The Dakar-Djibouti Mission was an educational expedition that included Michel Leiris, a former member of the Surrealist group. Traveling across central Africa, researchers employed a holistic methodology that drew from a variety of disciplines, such as linguistics, ethnomusicology, and anthropology, toward the study of African cultures. Though the Mission required a long-term engagement with indigenous peoples on African soil, a sense of Orientalism and cultural supremacy pervaded this project as well; the researchers collected over 3500 objects for the Trocadéro Museum in Paris on their journey. In 1933, the Surrealist journal *Minotaure* devoted an entire issue to photographs and texts on the Dakar-Djibouti Mission.

My paper will demonstrate how these two events in French history marked a confluence of ethnographic, nationalistic, and Surrealist interests. A comparison of the organization and photographic records of each project reveals the ways in which the Dakar-Djibouti Mission attempted to break away from strategies of representation employed by the organizers of the Exposition Coloniale, though it also relied to some extent on similar contrivances and nationalistic principles. It marked a confused point of intersection between old imperialist strategies and post-colonial ideas that would emerge after World War II.

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**THE IJTIHĀD-TAQLĪD DICHOTOMY AND THE  
QUESTION OF ORIGINS: CLASSICAL ORIENTALIST  
CONCEPTS OF THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC LAW**

Modern Western scholarship dealing with the history of Islamic law has given the *ijtihād-taqlīd* dichotomy and the origins and formation of early schools of Islamic law a fundamental position in explaining the history of Islamic law. The relationship between *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* has been dominated by a conception that privileges *ijtihād* as an intellectually superior mode of legal reasoning whereas *taqlīd* as intellectual stagnation. This approach is not equivalent to demonstrate the evolution of Islamic law. The question of origins, on the other hand, has been utilized to emphasize the deficiency of Islamic law. In this regard, some materials have been used in order to justify the classification of the history of Islamic law within the framework of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* and early development of the notion of law.

This paper aims to demonstrate the pre-modern concept of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* in their socio-cultural and legal context and the problem of origins in brief, by specific reference to sources used by Western scholarship. The discussion will be deepened and examined by specific references to Joseph Schacht's *An Introduction to Islamic Law* and *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* and Noel J. Coulson's *A History of Islamic Law*. Since both authors' classifica-

tion of the history of Islamic law has formed the Western conception of Islamic law, their opinions on the development of Islamic law are questioned in this paper. By doing this, some misconceptions of Orientalist discourse, such as the origins of Islamic law, the non-existence of Islamic law in the first century of Hijra, the formation of the early legal schools, and the *ijtihād-taqlīd* dichotomy will be discussed.

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**CONSUMING "OLD JAPAN": THE DESIGN,  
MANUFACTURE, SALE AND CONSUMPTION  
OF JAPANESE DECORATIVE ART DURING  
THE JAPAN MANIA (1875–1900)**

This paper analyses the design, manufacture and sale of Japanese decorative wares in British during the Japan mania. Although Japanese decorative art was available as part of the luxury trade during Tokugawa Japan's strict period of isolation, the opening its treaty ports in 1859 brought this country and its artistic production under the desirous gaze of a wide audience. A number of importers, dealers, wholesalers and retailers in Japan and Britain dedicated themselves to selling Japanese decorative art, both antique and modern productions, markedly catering to a wide range of consumers with diverse purses.

Due to its broad appeal and affordability, Japanese decorative art was widely purchased, particularly in the late 1870s and 1880s, a phenomenon referred to as the Japan mania. Traditional art and design history dismisses the careful study of this period of Anglo-Japanese artistic engagement because it is marked by the consumption of modern productions of poor quality employing superficial ornamentation. Meiji decorative art production has also been criticised for a decline in quality due to catering to the fickle and undiscerning tastes of the Western market.

This paper will argue that the consumption of mass produced decorative art in the Japanese style during the Japan mania is culturally significant because it reveals a wealth of consumer motivations and shared cultural ideas about Japan amongst British consumers. These interests and beliefs will be shown not to be easily discernable from those held by collectors of, and experts on, Japanese decorative art through an exploration of the consumption of the decorative arts of 'Old Japan' by both groups. A shift in emphasis away from indiscriminate consumption to opportunistic, capitalist enterprise will further be suggested as the true marker of the Japan mania, while access to previously closed culture spheres where middling consumers could engage with notions of taste, beauty, empire and nation will be explored.

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### **BELLY DANCE AND THE MYTH(OLOGY) OF THE ORIENT IN THE WEST**

This paper aims to assess whether, and to what extent, contemporary oriental dance in the West (predominantly the US and the UK) perpetuates or subverts classical Orientalist visions of the East. Its focus is therefore predominantly on contemporary representations and performances of the dance, but is situated in relation to the history of oriental dance in the Western world.

Following Roland Barthes' theory of myth as a semiological system, this evaluation will be executed through the critical reading of selected primary material comprising (largely web-based) popular representations of contemporary oriental dance and promotional material for amateur and professional dance classes and performances, using the tools of semiological analysis to consider an array of potential mythical signifiers: the language, typography and graphic design, and images (including the sartorial, cosmetic, and hair styling of the performers, as well as static compositions and gestures) of these sources, and possibly also the stage setting and the dance vocabulary and combinations of the performances, will be explored in order to determine their mythical signification.

Based on preliminary observations, I anticipate showing that while some strands of oriental dance in the West, such as Tribal fusion style belly dance, tend to offer more clearly (if only partially) alternative and progressive versions of the dance that do not support, or even subvert, Orientalist visions of the East, there is a core strand of modern belly dancing in the West which appears to reiterate and re-enact the classical Orientalist fantasy of the East as ancient / atemporal, feminine, erotic, and depraved. However, as the political function or intention of this myth and its reception is discussed and evaluated in relation to the theories of Edward Said and his critics, this myth may be seen to be of a secondary order (a mythology) that challenges the first.

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### **FROM ENLIGHTENMENT TO IMPERIALISM: THE VISIBLE EVOLUTION OF CHINOISERIE 1750–1850**

My paper analyses the development of the European pictorial descriptions of China, such as chinoiserie and ethnographic illustrations, from the end of the eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. In the modern era, such a development profoundly influenced the European view on China. By considering the links between the fashion for chinoiserie

and the ethnographic narratives of China, I look at a set of pictures, texts and their associated illustrations, from the anecdotal and geographical Jesuit repertoires to the political and scientific accounts that supported the European colonial expansion. In particular, in order to look at the evolution of chinoiserie, I will consider two perspectives: the idea of *habitus*, and the hubris derived from trading practices.

From the first perspective, I look at ethnographic descriptions and chinoiserie as embodiments of both foreign customs and moral dispositions. Within this framework I especially consider the changing attention from the physical features to the clothing of Chinese people as the result of two main factors linked together: new pictorial codes arising from books illustrations, and practices of widespread consumption. The idea of *habitus* best exemplify how pictures derived from the fashion of chinoiserie created a common knowledge without losing those elements that triggered ideas of exoticism or novelty.

By considering the hubris generated from commerce, I look at how the nineteenth-century development of commerce faded some of the previous European knowledge of diversity related to pictures of China and to the language of chinoiserie. The result of such a process is again visible through pictures: for example, I analyse how nineteenth-century descriptions of Chinese people triggered an ethnographic voyeurism displaying moral-political assumptions.

The overall aim of this paper is to discuss the links between pictures and knowledge, and how the language of chinoiserie followed different political and cultural contexts.

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### **DECONSTRUCTING THE ODALISQUE IN THE 1920S: HENRI MATISSE'S AT TERRACE) AND ORIENTALIST CINEMA**

The odalisque and representations of the oriental woman already had a long, complex history by the early twentieth century, when Henri Matisse took up the subject with intensity in the 1920s. In the European consciousness, the oriental woman embodied hyper-sexuality, luxury, idleness, narcissism, domestic captivity, and pleasure. Men found her image sexually enticing, while women were intrigued by her sumptuousness, often wishing to imitate it at a comfortable distance from their perceived ethnically superior positions. Veiling and the inaccessibility of the harem to foreign male travelers who reported on the Middle East and North Africa further mystified and blurred the distance between the 'real' and 'imaginary' oriental woman. With the development of increasingly realistic media, odalisque imagery became more lifelike, culminating in the orientalist cinema of the 1920s, which gave the oriental woman her most believable yet remarkably stereotypical representation.

Focusing on Henri Matisse's rarely discussed "At the Seaside (Odalisque on a Terrace)", Spring 1921, and a selection of related unpublished photographs taken by Matisse on or around 7 April 1921, this paper argues that Matisse's "At the Seaside" provocatively counters traditional odalisque images by both imitating and challenging the stereotypical oriental female exemplified in early twentieth-century cinema.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first is an overview of orientalist cinema's projection of a convincing, stereotypical Orient, including an analysis of two orientalist films, "Intolerance" (1916) and "The Sheik" (1921). The second examines the ways in which Matisse came into contact with orientalist cinema, his photographs, and his playful conceptualization of the odalisque. Finally, I analyse Matisse's "At the Seaside", concentrating on how Matisse critically pastiches cinematic orientalism.

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**"ARTLESS PAGES"? 'HAREM' NARRATIVES PAST  
AND PRESENT IN POPULAR GERMAN LITERATURE  
BY CULTURALLY MUSLIM WOMEN WRITERS**

Emily Ruete (born Sayidda Salme, daughter of the Sultan of Oman and Zanzibar) published her *Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin* [*Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*] in Berlin in 1886. Ruete's memoirs, about her childhood in Zanzibar's palaces, engage in a writing back against epistemic imperialism, challenging who is known and who knows through her subversive self-positioning as an 'uncivilised Oriental' when contextualizing 'Arab/Muslim customs' (often pitted against German counterparts).

This paper proposes a literary reading of the dynamics of Ruete's memoirs, their writing back against the discourse of Orientalism of the time and questioning of European claims to 'know' the Muslim world. Most recently reprinted in German in 2007 (and repeatedly in English in 2008–2009), the memoirs now suggest comparison with a new focus on 'interiors' in recent popular literature by Turkish-German women writers. Yeşilada has termed this a return to "an old cliché", namely that in opening the doors to their "private realm" (their family home) to the German public, writers of "Chick-lit alla turca" metaphorically repeat the "opening of the door to the oriental harem", which continues to prove enticing for a "Western" public (2009: 136). The publication or reissuing of all these texts coincides with "the very recent emergence of the category of 'Muslim' in German public discourse" (Yıldız 2009: 465), and like Ruete's, "Chick-lit alla turca" is written with 'knowledge' in mind, and the idea of mediating Turkish-German lives to a 'German outsider.'

While focusing on the intercultural, Ruete's writing, unlike the works of contemporary popular Turkish-German women writers, does not rest on ('comforting') ethnic stereotypes – a reterritorialisation of minority experience that

feeds the seemingly renewed popularity of texts that re-produce a clear 'East'- 'West'/ 'Muslim'- 'Christian' divide – and it remains to be investigated along with these narratives in terms of the textual dynamics which favour the marketability of 'ethnic' literature.

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**"NON-INDIAN HINDUS" WESTERN ADEPTS OF  
EASTERN RELIGIONS: PERSPECTIVES COMPARED**

The growing interest of Western peoples towards the Indian religions and spiritual practices meets sometimes unexpected reaction of the Indians themselves. The openness of India to a wide Western audience has changed the social format of the religious idea as such. The distribution of Indian spiritual knowledge has created various syncretic schools, based on developments of the local Hindu inheritance. Nevertheless, the very identity of a "Hindu" is formed in a quite controversial correspondence of descent, technical skills, a way of life and socialization into the circle of "members."

The very practice of conversion, although possible today, seems to be quite confusing, since different groups of Indian society perceive and interpret it in different ways. In contrast with the thick self-identification of recently converted persons as "Hindu", they sometimes are not regarded as such in the eyes of the indigenous people, are not allowed in the temples, and occur quite odd attitude in the daily life. The highly multiple inner religious identity of Hindus does not allow for an easy conversion of the foreigners. While in India, they appear as highly exotic figures to most Indians, making them to construct and re-construct the new stereotypical images of the "Other", the "Westerner".

Being in a liminal position, the "exotic Others" have to create their own way of life, behavior patterns and mental outlook, different from their actual Western homeland and local Indian one. Various verbal and non-verbal cultural "texts" and practices among the local people (gossips, forms of curiosity, taboo, jokes, teasing, manipulation) are widespread in the contact situation, and in the places of international *ashrams* in particular. Sometimes they hardly even understand what kind of "cultural hindrance" they create.

The question of the very possibility to convert into Hinduism is still open. Westerners are still popularly regarded by some castes as equal to Brahmans or Kshatriya, but by some high or "pure" groups as rather low. The religious practices in India still regarded as more or less matter of one endogamic group irrespective to its widespread universal "ideas", interesting to the foreigners. The dealing with them lead to the few following strategies, formed by Indian society.



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**THE IMAGES OF THE “OCCIDENT”  
IN THE JAPANESE POETRY OF THE NEW ERA**

The overall tendencies in the Japanese poetry of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century were the perception and the adoration between the western achievements at the first stage, then the descending tendencies came and the nationalistic wave swift from the orientation to the west to the orientation to itself, to Japan. The specific view of the Japanese poets and literary critics to the West, the balancing phenomenon has been thoroughly discussed in the academic papers concerning the history of the Japanese art and literature. But from the global and local (glocal if you mind) retrospection, the full picture of their attitudes to the western ideas and cultural trends has not been considered yet. The point why some poets, writers and artists chose the certain kind of the art tendencies has still not been determined. For example, why poets and writers of the “Bunkakukai” literature society preferred the European Romantics, the poets of the “Subaru” circle stopped at the French symbolist poetry, why the main direction of the interest in the “Shirakaba” group was the Russian realistic prose, and so on... The decision may be open due to the materialistic (or Marxist) conception, may be to common positions of both Japan and the West according the progress. The question is not only in the influence of the perception or the not-perception, but in the way and the degree of the perception. The paper deals with the assertion of the West (or Occident) in the Japanese poetry.

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**IS RUSSIA ORIENTAL IN WESTERN EYES:  
THE ROOTS OF A VISION?**

The purpose of this paper is to interpretate the roots of the Western vision of Russia. From the beginning of the relations between Russia and Europe, western travelers and diplomats have qualified Russian population, politics, towns, religion and habits as « barbarian », « savage » « oriental » and « exotic ». In consequence, Russia has had an ambiguous status in European geostrategical thought : part of Europe when it comes to fight the Ottoman Empire and non-European when compared to its western neighbors, as Poland. Further, Russians are seen as « Others » or different from other European populations because of their « barbarian », « savage », « oriental » or « exotic » characters.

Studying the meaning of these four categories in two types of sources, western travelers journals and diplomatic sources, this paper will illustrate the problematic of the construction of Orientalism through the example of the

bilateral relations between Russia and Europe from the 17th to the 19th century. The beginning of this chronology is justified by the entry of Russia in the European international relations between the end of the 17th century and the 18th century. In the 19th, Russia as acquired the status of a European nation. But, the same categories seem to be used in the sources to qualify the history of the country.

Crossing geostrategical history and the history of European mental maps, this paper will try to reinterpret the roots of the « oriental » status of Russia in European discourses and representations.

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**SOME PERSPECTIVES ON THE WEST THROUGH  
THE EYES OF ORDINARY FARMERS IN CHINA**

A Chinese farm boy, first a village "barefoot teacher" and then a college professor, brought up during the chaos of the Cultural Revolution in a small village in north central China, witnessed what led to many ironic and contradictory views of the West among rural people, both in the past and in the present. Farmers have experienced a process of evolution from blind acceptance of official propaganda about the West to a personal search for what they believe to be true. This paper will analyze ways of thinking among farmers during four stages of this evolution: the founding of New China (1949–1955); the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976); the Open-Door policy (1978–1998); and the Post Open-Door period (2000–present).

The presentation will begin by drawing a picture of what life was like in my native village early on, when isolationism and suspicion of all things foreign were the norm, while at the same time attitudes toward the outside world were inculcated in people through the one existing government-controlled radio channel and they were encouraged to feel sympathy for the exploited working people of the West, even though they themselves lacked adequate food and shelter.

In contrast, nowadays the constant influx of information about the West through the internet and other electronic media leaves rural people no less puzzled than before as to the discrepancies between what they hear and what they feel. The discussion will also contrast current ideas among Chinese farmers about Westerners with Western misconceptions about ordinary farmers in China to demonstrate some of the vagaries of cross-cultural communication.

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### **20TH CENTURY JAPONISME: ITS STORY BETWEEN THE 1920S AND 1950S**

This paper will examine the taste for Japanese art in Britain and North America between the 1920s and 1950s, which lies between the classic 19th century Japonisme and the high-tech image of Japan after the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. There is tacit understanding that there cannot be a taste for Japanese art during World War II, but this paper will examine this period and will demonstrate that in many cases a continued interest in Japanese art could be seen throughout from the 1920s to the 1950s.

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### **ORIENTALIST FAKES AND COLONIAL FRAUD: HOW FRENCH REALISM USES ORIENTALISM**

Recent decades have seen a great deal of critical interest in colonial subtexts in the *British* novel of the nineteenth century on the one hand, and in Orientalism in French Romantic writing on the other, but it is generally assumed that there is little or no Orientalism in canonical French realist and naturalist fiction. Of course, such novels generally have metropolitan settings, emphasizing a Paris-Provinces geographical axis. But Balzac and Flaubert's realist novels, as well as Zola's naturalism, do engage with Orientalism as a sub-text. The Islamic 'Orient' (the Middle East, or often North Africa) appears as a space off-stage, to which characters disappear or from which they return hardened and violent. It is the origin of exotic merchandise, and thus the indirect inspiration for stereotyped 'oriental' objects, plaster statues, falsely exotic names, marketing slogans. And it is a space of financial corruption and resulting scandal. It is this association of the Orient with both fake objects and commercial fraud that I wish to examine here. The theme of Orientalist fraud is to be understood partly in relation to purely literary, or generic, concerns: it was a means of denouncing Romantic exoticism and its stereotypes (in particular, the Orient as the site of transcendence or as the source of mysterious fortunes). Thus Orientalism, often in the form of pseudo-Oriental art, is evoked as a metaphor for the fake and fraudulent in general. But these texts also reflect a certain unease concerning imperialism: the denunciation of colonial fraud in the Orientalist sub-plots points to the existence of imperialism's seedy underbelly in a way that jars with any notion of a 'civilising mission'. And crucially, the theme of fraudulence, often associated with Orientalist texts and artefacts, also casts doubt on the supposed 'Realist' ideal of textual transparency itself.

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### **ANTI-ORIENTALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

My paper examines the Ottoman critique of Orientalism and their quest to redeem the Orient from its attributed inferiority. While adopting the Orient as their primary civilizational identity, nineteenth century Ottoman intelligentsia hardly agreed with the mainstream European perceptions of the Orient. Along with anti-Orientalist European intelligentsia such as David Urquhart, while having little discord with the Enlightenment philosophy, Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals bitterly criticized the Western construction of the Orient and its architects from Montesquieu to Lamartine. Instead, including statesmen writing in the official media such as *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, Ottoman intelligentsia created an alternative Orient that was drastically different from how it was represented in the West. Yet, this homemade Orient was still built within the Enlightenment paradigm and was nothing more than reversing the Orientalist essentialism by appealing to its own philosophical foundations. While accepting the Orient as an essential civilizational category, it was viewed and presented to be wholly acceptable to an Enlightenment mind. My paper will thus show that the Ottoman reconstruction of the Orient was largely a domesticating process of European Orientalism.

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### **SPREAD AND INFLUENCE OF CHINESE CULTURE IN RYUKYU**

The ancient Ryukyu was an island kingdom on the southeast Pacific Ocean. From the fifth year of Hongwu (1372), The first Ming Emperor Chu Yuan-chang (朱元璋) sent Yang Zai (杨载) as a diplomatic envoy to send an imperial edict to Ryukyu, which started the 500 years of friendly exchanges between China and Ryukyu.

In fact, Chinese culture was spread to Ryukyu through various channels and made a profound influence on the latter in many aspects:

1. Ryukyu dialects borrowed from Fujian dialects. Today, there are still many Ryukyu dialect words with the same pronunciation of Fujian dialects.
2. Impact of Chinese culture on Ryukyu music and opera.
3. Spread of Chinese hand-crafts in Ryukyu, which is multifaceted: stone carving, lacquer-ware manufacturing, music instrument making, and earthen crafting.
4. Introduction of Chinese advanced shipbuilding technologies to Ryukyu, which promoted the quick development of Ryukyu shipbuilding industry.

Ryukyu was an island country. Its early shipbuilding industry was very backward. With the help of Chinese government, Ryukyu's shipbuilding industry made a great progress. Ryukyu was allowed not only to have its vessels repaired in Fuzhou shipbuilding yards, but also to fund to build and purchase and ships in Fuzhou. Thus Fuzhou shipbuilding technologies were gradually introduced into Ryukyu.

Ryukyu government also sent people to learn and bring to Ryukyu other technologies, such as medicine, landscape architecture, engraving printing, firework production, porcelain making, ink making, copper smelting and tea making, which all became the precedent in these fields. Furthermore, Chinese diet, clothing, religion and folk customs were spread in Ryukyu through various channels. To sum up, the spread and influence of Chinese culture over Ryukyu was an important factor in the social progress of Ryukyu.

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Вып. 1–6. 「沖繩宮古島の風習・信仰・伝承－ニコライ・ネフスキー『宮古諸島方言研究のための資料』から－(その1～6)

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**ОРИЕНТАЛИЗМ / ОКСИДЕНТАЛИЗМ:  
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