

論 説

Imagining and Mapping North Pacific:
On the Topic of Russian Imperial Building in Asia

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Abstract

This paper draws attention to the story of Russian colonization of North Pacific through the prism of its integration into imperial imaginary. The most remote frontier of Russian empire with a unique history of its colonization and governing, its central part (Alaska) belonged to the Russian imperial realm only for a relatively short period until its sale to the USA in 1867. Nevertheless, as we argue in this paper, colonization of North Pacific played an important role in the story of Russian imperial and national building in Asia Pacific, not the least, through the process of how the knowledge of this region was built, the routes and means of how the images penetrated into Russian public sphere. The paper aims to outline some important directions of how we can rethink the impact of Russian colonization of Alaska in terms of Russian state building in Asia-Pacific region.

Introduction

In 2011, one of the state broadcasting channels of Russian Federation directed a documentary film about the sale of Russian colonies in North America in the middle of the 19th century.¹⁾ The film sets an intention to argue about the remaining questions around this historical venture that changed at once the shape of Russian Empire. The above documentary must be seen as a product of the contemporary Russian political and social discourse appealing to the wide audience. Nevertheless, it highlights some important background necessary for understanding the Russian academic discourse on Alaska which is greatly engaged in search for the reasons led to its sale.²⁾ The background of such academic scrutiny much be attributed to the fact that both during the imperial period of Russian history and even more during the Soviet times, the topic of the sale of Alaska was restricted for the discussion in academic and public spheres. The later led to the creation of different rumours and legends throughout 19th and 20th centuries. Some of them made assumptions that Alaska was not sold by lent to the USA for 99 years.³⁾

The phenomenon of territorial disintegration of some parts of the empire is not uncommon in Russian history (the cases of Finland or Poland, or more recent examples occurred with the collapse of the Soviet Union). Nevertheless, Alaska's case is unique due to the following reasons: (1) it was Russia's only experience of maritime colonization (2) it

represented a territory governed by a chartered company (3) its integration within Russia was connected with a broader process of Russian colonization and exploration in the Asia-Pacific (4) its territory was sold to a foreign country that had no precedent in Russian history. Due to the above reasons, the history of Russian colonization in the North Pacific can offer some meaningful insights into the construction of modern Russian state imaginary in the Asian realm, as well as shed light on the topic of persistence of social imaginary concerning territories and space.



Fig.1. North Pacific region.

Research background

The topic of this paper is a part of our on-going research into the history of both Russian integration into the North-East Asia and integration of some Asian territories into Russia. ⁴⁾ We take the period of later half of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries and look at the process of “creation” of those territories within Russian imperial and national imaginary. Although the scope of current paper is focused on a local story of North Pacific within Russia, we place our research within a broader field of historical sociology related to the production and reproduction of regions as part of a discourse referred as “social production of space” ⁵⁾ and “social construction of nature” ⁶⁾, or the inquiry into how our concepts of nature in a material and physical sense are socially constructed.

Methodology, Purposes and Objectives

Alexei Miller notes that contemporary political geography in general invariably influences historians. ⁷⁾ Speaking about the North Pacific, its presence within Russian

contemporary political and socio-cultural geography is very subtle. Alaska does not belong to Russia for more than a century and a half, Kamchatka and Sakhalin represent very remote regions within the Russian Federation, and the Kurile Islands remain an “issue” within the country’s scale due to the unresolved territorial problem with Japan. Russian foreign policy as well as its cultural inclination remains European-oriented, despite the fact that contemporary Russian Federation shows consistent attempts to integrate into Asia-Pacific economic-political structure.⁸⁾

Nevertheless, the formation of Russian imperial frontier in Asia-Pacific cannot be fully understood without the agenda of North Pacific colonization (later half of the 18th century-first half of the 19th century). Therefore, in this paper, we draw attention to the main aspects (routes, processes, symbols and sources) through which the region was woven into Russian imperial imaginary, as a part of a broader transition of imperial and national building in Asia-Pacific.

The core of our discussion is built on Russian and international research scrutiny of the last two decades. At the same time, we incorporate the original sources: graphic images and written expression (the “text” related to Pacific colonies written in Russian language).

By shedding light onto the local story of North Pacific colonization we aim to uncover how the construction of Russian mental maps in the region came into being.

The Early Routes and Sources of Information about North Pacific

Construction of an imperial space represents a long-term multi-dimensional process in case of any empire (involving cooperation between various social groups and institutions, central and local government, elite and commoners, etc.). It is not a linear process either, and can be expected to vary, temporary and geographically. The process of integrating Asian-Pacific territories into Russian empire cannot be simplified into a mere chronological chain of events. As Anatolyi Remnev shows in his research, it was a multi-dimensional process of peasant colonization, military enhancement, administrative institutionalization etc. that was not completely finished even by the end of the 19th century.⁹⁾ Similarly, creation of spatial imagination must be also seen not only through and by means of actual mapping and accumulation of knowledge over the conquered regions, but also which is not less important, by cultural expectations which the exploration and mapping were attributed to, or the imperial “story” which was ascribed to the new territories. Due to that reason, symbolic representation of those lands within imperial imagination can be expected to cover multiple socio-economic and cultural aspects. Nevertheless, we argue that the basics for the initial spatial configuration were put through the actual surveys, exploration, measurement, description and mapping, as well as setting the power relations with the lands and natives perceived as conquered and newly incorporated into the imperial geographical space.

The incorporation of Northeast Pacific into Russian imperial realm must be seen through a broader prism of Siberian colonization. (One should remember that almost until 19th century the notion of Siberia referred to a vast geographical space of all the lands beyond the Urals).

Through Siberian colonization Russia encountered with a new socio-geographic landscape both of the natural world and the indigenous people populated it. Although remaining a backward periphery in the socio-economic and political terms throughout much of its history, it allowed Russia to rethink itself in terms of Russian historical core and newly acquired periphery, European metropolis and Asian colony.

Yuri Slezkine outlines a few important characteristics of Russian eastward colonization during the early period (16th-17th centuries): (1) despite the constant clashes between Russians and the natives over the tribute collection (yasak) which Russians were imposing on the colonized lands, Russian trappers and Cossacks were assimilating very easily with the aboriginal peoples (by common settlement, marrying the aboriginal women, etc); (2) profit (the fur) was the main incentive behind the eastward expansion, there was very little direct interest from the central government in terms of collecting detailed information of the local peoples and claiming Russian possessions of the territories, apart from the tasks of yasak collections; (3)Cossacks were not concerned much with the foreign faith or whether the foreign peoples should be considered barbarian and savages or treated inferior (due to the drive coming from the acquiring profit).¹⁰⁾

Since the beginning of the eastward expansion based on the knowledge derived from the Cossacks and explorers, the official cosmographers of the empire could create their “world view” integrating Siberia. The coverage of Siberia in the Western atlases was lacking and therefore “left an opening for Russian cosmographers to fill in the blanks with their own more up-to-date information and insights.”¹¹⁾

Comparing the early modern Russian maps of the European borderland (Ukraine) and the Asian frontier (Siberia) produced by the same cartographer (Semyon Remezov) around the middle of the 17th century (See Map 1), Valerie. A. Kivelson notes that the boundaries of the Siberian map are painted “as thresholds to other lands, as openings to the worlds beyond…presenting the borders as lines to be crossed, gateways to be entered and seas to be sailed”, while the Ukrainian map ends at Kiev, “showing nothing beyond that boundary.”¹²⁾ That way the symbolic message of the expansionist character of Asian frontier within Russian empire was embodied into its mapping.

Another important aspect of the Russian early mapping of Siberia is shown by Alexei Postnikov, who draws out attention to the fact that obtaining geographical information from the Siberian tribes resulted in the early cartographic drawings of the 17th and 18th centuries where the native place-names were preserved and accepted by Russians.¹³⁾



Fig.2. Map of Siberia by S. Remezov made around 1666-1667 (Reproduced from the digital library of the Harvard University¹⁴⁾)

The discoveries in the Northern Pacific (including Alaska, Aleutian Islands, Kurile Islands and later Sakhalin) were among the latest in Russian Eastward expansion and gave Russia the experience of maritime colonization as oppose to continental Siberian.¹⁵⁾ Among the issues mostly speculated within both the Siberian fur entrepreneurs and statesmen was a northern sea route which could possibly give a way for Russian ships “to reach China and India by sailing around Asia into the Pacific from the North, thus avoiding the southern routes which were patrolled by the Spanish and Portuguese.”¹⁶⁾

The fur entrepreneurs accumulated the main source of Russian knowledge over the North Pacific region; therefore Siberian authorities were particularly interested in obtaining information from the merchants, perceiving their activities through the point of its merits for the empire. On January 28, 1749 the Siberian Prikaz¹⁷⁾ required the local authorities to get information from the Tobolsk¹⁸⁾ merchant Nevochikov about his trip to the three North Pacific islands. At the same time, the office required for the natives that were brought up to Russia by the merchant to be taught Russian language in order to receive more detailed information: whom the island belong to, what tribute they pay and what kind of laws and cultures they have, how big the population is, whom they trade with, etc., and the merchant information on the kind of ship he used, the navigation characteristics, but most important - the map of the 3 islands he sailed.¹⁹⁾

Similarly, in order to receive the assistance in personal, finance, materials, etc. from the authorities, Siberian merchants advocated for colonization of North Pacific referring to “the benefits for the state interest in Russian navigation and the discoveries of new islands and lands.”²⁰⁾ On February 25, 1758 the office of the Siberian Governor-General reported to Senate about the request of Irkutsk merchant Bechyovin, planning the voyage to the

Kurile islands, to be assigned a crew member to keep the ship journal and description of the lands, and therefore to extend the possible merits of the voyage for the state and the interest of the emperor in particular.²¹⁾ That way the reports of the fur traders about their enterprises were directed to the local government in Okhotsk²²⁾ and Irkutsk. The content varied from the geographical scope of their enterprise, amount of the fur acquired, interactions with aboriginal people, account of the sea routes and claims for the territorial discoveries. Based on the merchants' information, Siberian officials addressed their reports to the central government. According to Alexei Postnikov, Catherine the Great was much pleased with the fur traders explorations and "on recommendation of the governor of Siberia...approved the assignment in 1763 of naval officers to the vessels of the fur hunters to keep ship journals, make detailed description of the voyages, and ensure proper treatment of the natives."²³⁾

At the same time, already starting from the period of Peter the Great, there was the urge to "confirm the Siberians information by a Navy exploring expedition, whose results would be conveyed through the precise cartography" and "acknowledged by the European scientists."²⁴⁾

During the course of the 18th century, the central government organized several geographical expeditions towards North Pacific, and even articulated the plans for turning the Pacific Ocean into the "Russian Sea."²⁵⁾ Nevertheless, due to the extreme financial burden of those expeditions, the main flow of colonization of North Pacific was still left to the independent merchants who had a direct commercial interest and the need for the exploration and discovery in the region. Dozens of private companies were sending their vessels to the North Pacific in search of the sea animals, and with this eastward expansion new islands were found and charts made whether during the voyages, or based on the hunters reports by the local authorities.

Speaking about the geographical information about North Pacific frontier, like in case of Bering's two scientific expeditions (1725-1730; 1733-1743) and other Russian geographical enterprises of the 18th century, much of the information about it was kept in secret; therefore many maps were not published or published only much later.²⁶⁾ The situation was changing only around the end of the 18th century, when the ships of the foreign powers appeared in North Pacific and Russian government became more inclined into claiming its territorial discoveries. (Although the Europeans started fur trade with Indians already a few centuries before, in Northwest Coast maritime fur trade Siberian merchants were enjoying the lead for almost half a century until 1780).²⁷⁾ The later was noted in the Soviet historiography among the main reasons for the central government, which was opposed to the idea of any monopole company for trade in the region through the course of the 18th century, to finally support the project of Russian-American company.²⁸⁾ The contemporary scholars agree that it was a more complicated and gradual process through the conflicting relationships between the merchants and the administrators dominating in Russian northern politics that the idea of unified company came into being.²⁹⁾ Not the least there was the fact that the source of sea-beavers was becoming more distance, the sea voyages were becoming more expensive and more prolonged (from 1-2 years originally up to 5 years in the late of the 18 century), eventually only 5 big companies remained operating by the end of the 18th century.³⁰⁾ The later only

stirred the competition between 2 leading ones: Golikov-Shelikhov Company and Lebedev-Lastochkin Company, with the former being more successful in lobbying its interests in the local and central governments. The later led to a creation of Russian American Company (1799-1867), evolved from a simple merchant governed trade company to a more semi-governmental institution with the leading positions given to the naval officers.³¹⁾

The Rise of Awareness about North Pacific Frontier and a New Metropolitan View

Under the pressuring concern over the provisional and material supply to the American colonies governed by Russia-American Company, a new line of connection and communication between the centre and the periphery was opened: not continental through the massive Siberian space, but through round-the-world maritime route. Captain G. A. Sarichev in his report to the vice-president of the Admiralty board N.C. Mordvinov about the situation in the Russian trade in the Okhotsk sea and the prospects of the development of Russo-Japanese economic relations on February 18, 1802 stated the following merits of sending the ships built in England by sea across the Cape of Hope 1) it will be a few times cheaper than to build in Okhotsk 2)it can reach Okhotsk already in a year while building there might not end even in three years 3) the shipment of all the necessary goods and shells for Okhotsk might be 10 times cheaper that delivery by land.³²⁾ From the period of 1803-1868, there were more than 50 round-the-world voyages organized with the purpose to solve the provisional problem in Alaska (although some of them, such as the expedition of O. Kotsebu on “Ryurik” in 1815-1818 and expedition of M. Vasiliev and G. Shishmarev in 1819-1822 in the search for the North-West route from the Pacific Ocean into Atlantic, were primarily oriented on geographical discovery and description).

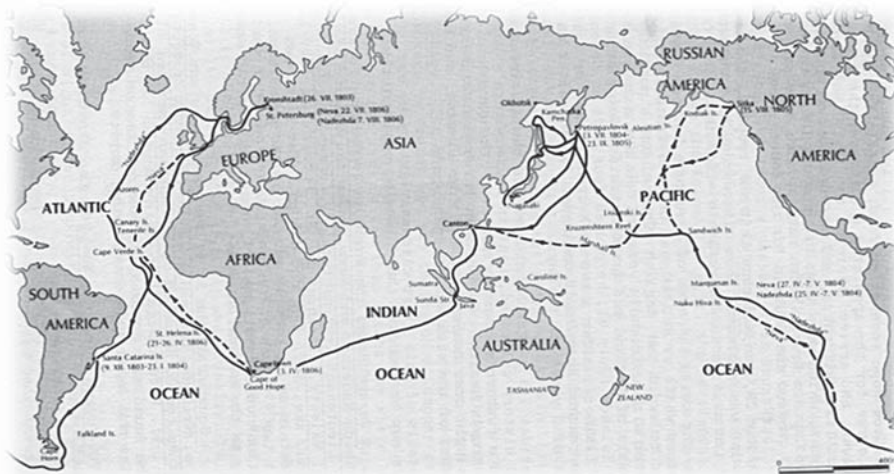


Fig.3. Voyage of Kruzenshtern and Lisianski on the “Nadezhda” and “Neva”(1803-1806).³³⁾ The later circumnavigations, with a slight modification, followed the routes of the first round-the-world voyage.

Ilya Vinkovetsky points out to the fact that these voyages became a more or less stable feature of Russian imperial order.³⁴⁾ (Although his analyses covers only the first voyages, the views of Kruzenshtern and Lisianskii who advocated for the trade with China and Japan, and commander Rezanov, and his role in the creation of Russian-American company). Still, Vinkovetsky draws our attention to an aspect important for understanding the perceptual shift of the frontier region. First, until almost the end of the 18th century Siberian merchants constituted the mainstream source of knowledge over the North-Pacific (through the means of private ventures in search of the fur). Although state-base scientific enterprises were organized already through the 18th century (starting with the Petrine era), the information was not much penetrating into the public sphere. Second, the merchants were deeply rooted in Siberian culture and had direct experience with the interaction with the aboriginal people. The enterprises were connected with negotiations with the natives, settling down the power relations in the form of yasak. On the contrary, participants of the round-the-world voyages, organized with the purposes of solving the provisional problem in American colonies, establishing trade relations with China and Japan, pursuing further geographical discoveries, etc., represented Russian elite or nobility with European education who (1) perceived the situation in the region in terms of Russian imperial interests and relations to other empires (2) saw aboriginal people through the lenses of the European colonization (3) were aware of Russian “benevolent” or civilizing mission. Consequently, the later brought up the circulation of images of North Pacific seen from the eyes of the upper class or nobility (offices and scientists). The instructions given to the commanders of the voyages stated their roles in the missions “not simply as Company’s voyage director, but also as the servant of His Majesty, with his highest permission and for the country’s benefit.”³⁵⁾

But the core transformation still lied not simply in the differences of the perception of high class voyagers as opposed to Siberian merchants, but in the impact of the voyages itself, especially through the spread of information, on the spatial imaginary of the distant frontier or the mental distance between the core and the periphery³⁶⁾.

While the information on the Northeast pacific region gathered by the Siberian trappers, hunters and merchants was mostly localized in the Siberian authorities and related central offices, the round-the-world voyages let frontiers be seen by the highly educated officers and scholars of the time, whose voices were not only heard and respected in the imperial center circles but gathered a wide publicity through the publications of travel accounts both in Russia and abroad (See Attachment 1). In many cases the publications were granted the permission of Emperor and other high-rank officials. And already in 1848, the accounts of all Russian round-the-world Voyages appeared in the Notes of the Hydrographic Department, written by the Captain Nikolai Ivashintsov with a purpose of guidance for Russian Naval officers.³⁷⁾ In that way, the physical remoteness of the most distant frontier became more reproachable in the public eyes, not the least important, it stimulated the rise in cartography. Geographical discoveries made during the Siberian merchants’ voyages were more of commercial mapping interest influenced by the personal and intercultural exchanges, the “metropolitan” travellers, officials and surveyors functioned in accordance with the established cultural norms of scientific field of practice,

particularly in terms of cartography.³⁸⁾

Sergey Kozlov points out that travel accounts of Russian voyages were reflecting the imperial sentiments dominated in Russian society. At the same time, the new genre of travel literature such as a novel "Fregat Pallada" written by Ivan Goncharov during Russian mission to Japan in 1850s were creating new stereotypes which remained influential through the later decades.³⁹⁾

Although we stress the rise in the spread of knowledge on North Pacific through publications, its extension should not be over-exaggerated. Matthey H. Edney gives a wide description of the strategies used by East India Company to restrict the leaks of information on Company's geographical findings into public.⁴⁰⁾ Similarly, Alexei Postnikov confirms Russian traditions of secrecy concerning new geographical information as well, and "the Russian-American Company's craving for monopoly on this information"⁴¹⁾ in particular. According to the scholar, it is the Company's position concerning the use of geographical information that led to a very poor dissemination of the results of the expeditions investigating the possibility of a sea passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic in publications.⁴²⁾

At the same time, while the geographical knowledge over North Pacific was yet only partially available through publications even during the 19th century, already starting from the beginning of the century, the urge for exploration, discovery and mapping was more articulated in terms of setting boundaries between the Russian empire, the conquered and other empires, expressing the legitimate power over the geographical space, and in creating the state control over the territory more efficient. The increased number of European expeditions in the region (Cook, La Perouse, etc) escalated the need in Russia for the regional mapping as a tool for stimulating the empire's presence in the region.

In the instructions of the Head Board of Russian-American Company in St. Petersburg of April 18, 1802 it was strongly recommended that Company's leader A. Baranov must "claim the rights of Russia not only until 55 degree, but further as well, referring to the voyages of captain Bering, Chirikov and others, as well as the voyages and trading of the individual merchants." The Board also insisted on "making settlements according 55 degree by creating the regular fortresses, since there should be enough people there."⁴³⁾ The situation was connected with the potential threats coming from the British colonies in the North America.

Geographical Society, founded in Russia in 1845 and assembled many academicians and explorers, proclaimed amongst its main purposes "to bring accurate information about the Russian Empire to the international community and in so doing facilitate Russia's contribution to the progress of world science."⁴⁴⁾ In other words, maps had to be used not only for the practical usage but to give territorial integrity and basic existence of the Russian empire's frontiers to be recognized by the world. Thus, each voyage and map became meaningful for the empire not only in terms of scientific explorations but also as an expression of Russian imperial power and legitimacy, especially in the Northeast Pacific realm. That way as in case of East India Company, the need for maps outweighed the need for secrecy;⁴⁵⁾ the region of Northeast Pacific stopped being a sphere of mainly Russian colonization activities.

The visual representation of North Pacific within Russian imperial imaginary can be seen on the example of the souvenir cards published in 1856 - a compilation of 82 cards featuring equally all regions of the empire as it was recognized by that time. The colonies in North Pacific are portrayed on one of them (Fig.3)



Fig.4. Russian possessions in North Pacific on the souvenir card⁴⁶⁾

The card gives the following information: (1) The list of islands belonging to Russian empire (on the left side): Kurile islands, Commander islands, Aleutian islands, Shumagin islands,⁴⁷⁾ Kadiak island,⁴⁸⁾ Sitka island,⁴⁹⁾ Pribilof islands,⁵⁰⁾ St. Matthew Island, St. Lawrence Island, Gvezdev island. (2) The list of people populated the territories: Russians, Kreols, Aleut, Kenai, Chugach, Kurile. It also draws a schematic map of the limits of Russian possessions in the Pacific Ocean, painting a rough border with the British colonies by the red line.

Although the vision of the imperial government concerning Russian involvement into Asia Pacific was completely inconsistent (the plans for the expansion were frequently changed for the passive reaction and eventually even resistance to the further expansionist plans of RAC),⁵¹⁾ through the process of organization of the world voyages, and through the mechanism of publication of the travelling accounts and geographical maps Russian empire started the process of incorporation of the Asia Pacific region into the unified imperial imaginary. Within a short period of time in the middle of the 19th century Alaska was sold to the USA and Russia quickly redirected its focus within Asia Pacific towards the Maritime province. Nevertheless, the experience of the North Pacific colonization in

general and a chartered company in particularly became a part of Russian imperial and national building in Asia Pacific realm.

Conclusion

Although colonization of Alaska is often omitted from the scope of research on Russia in Asia due to the contemporary geo-political agenda concerning Alaska (1) not being a part of Russia (2) not being a part of East Asia, as we show in our paper, this local story played a bigger role in the overall transformation of Russian frontier vision in Asia-Pacific. We point out the transition in (1) the sources of geographical data and the narratives (represented by the Siberian merchants and the metropolitan nobility), (2) the routes of communications between the center and the periphery (continental and maritime), (3) symbolic representation in maps and drawings (from an “open space” frontier to the region with an articulated imperial boundary). By high-lightening the main directions of how the region was gradually integrated into Russian imperial imaginary through the means of exploration, mapping and publications during the second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries, we therefore stress the importance of developing the research on Russian imperial and national building in North-East Asia including colonization of Alaska. The potential of such narrative cannot be underestimated because not only it offers new possibilities of research in the field of Russian imperial and national building at the distant frontiers, but also gives new insights for rethinking the concept of “region” as a historical construction rather than geographical entity.

Our primary goals related to the continuation of research on Alaska include rethinking the role of Russian-American Company (1) in the transformation of Russian Asia-Pacific frontier (2) in the formation of Russo-Japanese contacts. That way we urge for further development of the research on Russian encroachment into Northeast Asia during the pre-modern times. The later we believe can open some new pages in our understanding of the region.

Attachment 1. List of some publications related to the round-the-world voyages

(1) *A Voyage Round the World in 1803-1806, Performed in the Ships Nadezhda and Neva, Under the Command of Captain Lieutenant Kruzenshtern, By Command of His Imperial Majesty, Alexander I*: St. Petersburg, 1809-12.

(2) *A Journal of the First Voyage by Russians Round the Globe, Written, Under H.I.M. the Emperor's Protection, by Chief Factor O. Shemelin of the Russian-American Company*: St. Petersburg, 1816-18.

(3) *A Voyage Round the World in 1803, 1804, and 1805, by Command of the Emperor Alexander 1, in the Ship Neva Commanded by Captain-Lieutenant Iurii Lisianskii*: St. Petersburg, 1812.

(4) *The Voyage of the Russian Imperial Sloop Diana from Kronstadt to Kamchatka, in 1807-1809, Under the Command of Navy Lieutenant V. Golovnin*: St. Petersburg.

(5) *Abrigded memoirs of Captain-Lietenant Golovnin regarding his Voyage in the Sloop*

Diana, To Survey the Kurile Islands in 1811: St. Petersburg, 1819.

(6) *Memoirs of Navy Captain Golovnin Regarding His Adventure During the Captivity by the Japanese in 1811-1813*: St. Petersburg, 1816.

(7) *Memoirs of Navy Captain Rikord Regarding His Voyage to the Shores of Japan in 1812-1813, Undertaken to Liberate Captain Golovnin and his Companions*: St. Petersburg, 1816.

(8) *The Voyage to the South Sea and to Bering Strait, for the Discovery of A North-Easst Passage, Undertaken in the Years 1815-1818, and Sponsored by His Excellency the Chancellor, Count N.P. Rumiantsev, in the Riurik, Under the Command of Navy, Lieutenant Kotzebue*: St. Petersburg, 1821-23.

(9) *The Voyage Round the World Completed, on His Imperial Majesty's Instructions, by the Naval Sloop Kamchatka, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819*: St. Petersburg, 1822.

(10) *Two Investigations in the South Polar Sea and A voyage Round the World, During the Course of 1819-1821, Completed in the Sloops Vostok and Mirnyi by Captain Bellingshausen*: St. Petersburg, 1831.

(11) *A Voyage Round the World in the Sloop Ladoga in 1822-1825*: St. Petersburg.

(12) *A voyage Round the World in the Navy Sloop Predpriatie*: St. Petersburg, 1828.

(13) *A voyage Round the World, Completed on the Instruction of His Imperial majesty Nicholas 1, by the Sloop Seniavin in 1826-1829, Under the Command Of Navy Captain Fedor Lutke*. St. Petersburg, 1834.

(14) *Experiments with the Constant Pendulum, Made on the Voyage Round the World by Captain O. Lutke of the naval Sloop Seniavin, 1826-1829*: St. Petersburg, 1833.

Notes

- 1) Русская Америка. Продано! Тайна сделки. 2011. ВГТРК (Russian America. Sold out! The secret of the deal. 2011)
- 2) A leading Russian researcher in the field of colonization of Alaska, Andrei Grinev covers 18 main theories existing in the academic field on the topic of sale of Alaska. See Andrei Grinev, *Rossiiskii Politarizm kak glavnaya prichina prodazhi Alaski*, Acta Slavica Iaponica, Tomus 23, 171-202.
- 3) On the topic of restrictions of information about Alaska in Soviet historiography see the notes of academic N. Bolknovitinov in *Istoriia Russkoi Ameriki (1732-1867)*, Vol.3, *Russkaia Amerika: ot zenita k zakatu 1825-1867*, 488-497.
- 4) See Ulyana Shipitko, *Rediscovering Russia in Asia*, *Ritsumeikan Annual Review of International Studies*, (2010) 205-229.
- 5) See Anssi Paasi, *Place and region: regional worlds and words*, *Progress in Human geography* 26, 6 (2002).802-811.
- 6) See David Demeritt, *What is the "Social Construction of Nature? A Typology and Sympathetic Critique?* *Progress in Human Geography* 26,6 (2002), 767-790.
- 7) Alexei Miller, *Between Local and Inter-Imperial, Russian Imperial History in Search of Scope and Paradigm*. *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Volume 5, Number 1, Winter 2004 (New Series), 7-26
- 8) On the subject of Russian Far East integration into Asia-Pacific region see Tamara Troyakova, Elizabeth Wishnick, *Integration or Disintegration? Challenges of the Russian Far East in the Asia-Pacific region*, (2003) at

- <http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publishnollwishnick.pdf>
Last access October 31, 2011.
- 9) See Anatolyi Remnev, *Siberia and the Russian Far East in the Imperial Geography of Power*, Russian Empire: Space, People, Power: 1700-1930. Ed. by Jane Burbank, Mark Von Hagen, 425-455.
 - 10) Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small peoples of the North*, Cornell University Press (1994), 38-40.
 - 11) Valerie.A. Kivelson, '*Between All Parts of the Universe': Russian Cosmographies and Imperial Strategies in Early Modern Siberia and Ukraine*, *Imago Mundi*, Vol.60, Part 2: 166-181.
 - 12) :Ibid, 176.
 - 13) Alexei V. Postnikov, *The mapping of Russian America' A history of Russian-American Contacts in Cartography*, University of Wisconsin, (1995), 2.
 - 14) Harvard University, Houghton Library. URL:
<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/18273155?n=22&printThumbnails=no>
Last access: October 28, 2011.
 - 15) On the topic of differences see N. *Bolkhovitinov, Kontinentalnaya kolonizatsiya Sibiri i morskaya kolonizatsiya Alaski: shodstvo I razlichie*. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, 20:109-125.
 - 16) Alexei V. Postnikov, *The mapping of Russian America' A history of Russian-American Contacts in Cartography*, University of Wisconsin, (1995).
 - 17) Administrative offices throughout Russia in 17th-18th centuries, separated according to their fields of expertise: foreign affairs, military, finance, administration, jurisdiction, regional affairs.
 - 18) A so-called historical capital of Siberia: a city founded by Cossacks during the Russian early Siberian expansion of 1585–1586.
 - 19) Ukaz Sibirskogo Prikaza Irkutskoi kantseliarii o sostavlenii opisaniia i karti Blizhnih Aleutskih ostrovov, 1749.
Digital library of Eastern and Western documents from the Middles Ages.
URL:http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Reisen/XVIII/1740-1760/Issl_russ_tich_ok_XVIII/index.phtml?id=3800
Last access: October 31, 2011.
 - 20) Raport sibirskogo gubernatora tainogo sovetnika F. I. Soimonova v Senat o gotovyashemsya plavanii irkutskogo kuptsa I. Bechevina v Tihii i Severnii Ledovitii okeani. (1758)
Digital library of Eastern and Western documents from the Middles Ages.
URL:http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Reisen/XVIII/1740-1760/Issl_russ_tich_ok_XVIII/1-20/10.phtml?id=3810
Last access: October 31, 2011.
 - 21) Ibid, Last access: 31 October 2011.
URL:http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Reisen/XVIII/1740-1760/Issl_russ_tich_ok_XVIII/1-20/10.phtml?id=3810
 - 22) One of the first Russian settlements in the Russian Far East, established in 1647 the mouth of the Okhota River and the Sea of Okhotsk.
 - 23) Alexei V. Postnikov, *The mapping of Russian America' A history of Russian-American Contacts in Cartography*, University of Wisconsin, (1995)
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URL: http://international.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?mtfront:6:./temp/~intl_d_VpOA:
Last access: 28 October 2011.
 - 47) A group of 20 islands in the Aleutians East Borough south of the mainland of Alaska, named after Nikita Shumagin, one of the sailors on Vitus Bering's 1741 expedition to the arctic sea.
 - 48) A large island on the south coast Alaska, separated from the Alaska mainland by the Shelikof Strait.
 - 49) An island in the northern Alexander Archipelago in the Alaska Panhandle, also called Baranov Island. The name Baranof was given in 1805 to honor the governor of Russian-American Company A. A. Baranov.
 - 50) A group of four volcanic islands off the coast of mainland Alaska, in the Bering Sea, about 200 miles (320 km) north of Unalaska.
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北太平洋に対する想像と地図化 —アジアにおけるロシアの帝国建設をめぐる

本稿は、ロシア帝国の心象地理化というプリズムを通じて北太平洋地域におけるロシアの植民地を読み直すことを目的とする。北太平洋とは、ロシア帝国のもっとも遠隔の周辺であり、その植民地化も統治もシベリアと異なる様式をもった。植民地の中心拠点であったアラスカは、1867年に米国に売却されることによってロシア帝国の領域から解除されることになる。だが、ロシア帝国における比較的短い歴史にもかかわらず、本稿で議論されているように、北太平洋の植民地化がアジア太平洋地域におけるロシア帝国化と国民化過程において大きな意義をもった。本稿で焦点を当てるのは、北太平洋に対する空間認識の構築過程である。主に、北太平洋に関する認識がロシアの公的心象領域にいかなる知的ルーツによって導入されたのかを検討する。このような議論によって、アジア太平洋地域におけるロシアの国家化を、アラスカの植民地化という視点から再考する方向性を探る。

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