

nautical charts compiled by these *promyshlenniki* preserved many features typical of Old Russian drawings, since they were usually drawn up without the help of instruments for identifying geographic coordinates, and had neither fixed scales nor definite cartographic projection.<sup>50</sup>

A typical and outstanding testament of this trend in Russian cartography is the drawing by Nikolai I. Daurkin (Figure 32).<sup>51</sup> The compilation of this map was connected with an important charting project carried out by the Russian Admiralty from the early 1760s. While waiting for the results of Petr Krenitsyn

and Mikhail Levashev's expedition (accomplished in 1768-69), the Admiralty commissioned Admiral Aleksei Ivanovich Nagaev to draw a new map of the North Pacific on the basis of available data. Admiral Nagaev, beginning in 1765, collected new materials on the North Pacific and tried to draw several preliminary maps. Among these materials, the aforementioned drawing by Nikolai Daurkin, a famous educated Chukchi, was outstanding.<sup>52</sup> He made the drawing in 1765 on the basis of his own travels to St. Lawrence Island in 1763-64 and the information he received from the natives of that island, who had visited Diomedede Islands and the Alaskan Mainland.

Despite its crude appearance due to Daurkin's use of traditional methods of Old Russian cartography, contemporary scholars, especially ethnographers (both Russian and American), rate it highly. According to Professor Dorothy Ray, Daurkin's map was only the second one to repre-



Figure 32. Daurkin's Drawing

50 Many of the fur trade charts have been published in Yefimov, *Atlas...*

51 RGVA, f.846, op.16, no. 23435, list 1 [No. 128 in Yefimov, *Atlas...*]. Size: 56×71 cm. Drawn on paper with ink and water colors. Original by Nikolai Daurkin.

52 About Daurkin, see: A.I.Alekseev, *Uchenyi-chukcha Nikolai Daurkin* (Magadan, 1961).

sent the Alaskan coast north of the Aleutian Islands with a high degree of accuracy. The first one is Gvozdev-Shpanberg's map of 1743, but Daurkin's drawing exhibits a more extensive coastline than this. Moreover, it records three northwestern Alaskan place names for the first time: "Tikegan" or "Tikega" (the present Point Hope); "Okibian" or "Ukivuk" (King Island); and "Kheuveren" (Kauverak). He also added another version of Wales, "Kyng-Myn." Thus, at least four villages in northwest Alaska were known to the people of Siberia before Captain Cook sailed along the coast of the Bering Strait.<sup>53</sup>

Daurkin's original map sketches what ethnographers have proved to be a typical Eskimo dwelling on the bank of the Kheuveren River. The building is surrounded by a fence made of oval objects. Inside the fence are men dressed in Eskimo clothing. The notations on the map read: "the fort near the Kheuveren River was constructed; the structure is wooden; and they have a chief [or elder] called Inakh Lun [Inalun] who is not tall, and is not only fat but also strong; the people came from their lands not many years ago; according to my inquiry, they arrived in 1761 and built the fort."

Subsequently, however, this map was copied in such a way that this Eskimo fort appeared to be a Russian military garrison: in these copies the building and its "defenders" became significantly Russified. There is no doubt that the authors of these copies intended to show this fort as a Russian outpost. Thus, a legend about a Russian fort inhabited by descendants of the Dezhnev Boat crew lost in 1648 was created. As was the case with other legends in the history of geographic exploration, this one inspired Russian explorers to head into the polar wilderness in search of their ancestors. In time, these explorations even began to condition the geopolitical agenda to determine the priorities in territorial expansion of the Empire. A number of explorers sought in vain for this mythical Russian settlement well into the nineteenth century, but several Russian historians and geographers still believe that it did exist somewhere.<sup>54</sup> In 1944, the legend reappeared more vigorously than ever as "a lost colony of Novgorod" on the basis of an unconfirmed archaeological site<sup>55</sup> and a letter from a Russian priest, Father German, in 1794. It was the Russian historian Svetlana Fedorova and the American ethnographer Dorothy Ray who finally proved this legend to be pure fiction.<sup>56</sup>

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53 D.J. Ray, *The Eskimos of the Bering Strait, 1650-1898* (Seattle, 1975), pp. 29-31.

54 For the most persuasive views on this matter, see: L.M. Sverdlov, "Russkoe poselenie na Alyaske v 17 v.?" *Priroda* 4 (1992), pp. 67-69; Idem, "Russkoe poselenie 17 veka na reke Kheuveren i perspektivy ego poiska," *Narody Sibiri. Kniga 2: Sibirskii etnograficheskiy sbornik* 7 (Moscow, 1995), pp. 129-151.

55 T.S. Farrelly, "A Lost Colony of Novgorod in Alaska," *The Slavonic and East European Review (American series)* 111:3, XXII, No. 60 (Menasha: Wisc., 1944), pp. 33-38.

56 S.G. Fedorova, "K voprosu o rannikh russkikh poseleniyakh na Alyaske," *Letopis Severa*, tom 4, 5 (Moscow, 1964); Fedorova, *Russkoe...*; Idem (edited and translated by R.A. Pierce and A.S. Donnely), *The Russian Population in Alaska and California, Late 18th Century* (Kingston: Ontario, 1973); and Ray, *The Eskimos...*

With the passage of time, cartographic works produced during Russian hunting and expeditions in the North Pacific acquired certain features typical of West European charts since the navigators on board these vessels had become educated in the

Siberian navigation schools (the first one opened in Okhotsk Town under Bering's order). Two more government expeditions were organized by Catherine II's decrees in 1768-69, under the aforementioned Petr Krenitsyn and Mikhail Levashov, and in 1785-95, led by I.I. Billings and G.A. Sarychev. These expeditions surveyed in detail the southern coast of the Alaskan Peninsula and the whole Aleutian Islands, using materials of *promyshlenniki's* hunting trips and with the participation of experienced navigators, many of whom would also take part in future expeditions. In their



Figure 33. Map of Kodiak Island

surveys and mapping Russian navigators, *promyshlenniki*, and geodesists widely used native descriptions, maps, and methods of orientation. Thus, native geographic names in the Far East and Alaska were preserved on Russian maps. From the 1760s on, there were even special requirements in official instructions to preserve these place names. One can see "first-hand" results of these explorations in several manuscript maps compiled by Russians in the second half of the eighteenth century: for example, maps of Igunok Bay and St. Paul Harbor on Unalashka (Unalaska) Island; and maps surveyed by the navigators Gerasim Grigor'evich Izmailov and Dmitrii Bocharov for the region of Kodiak Island and Kenaiskii (Cook) Inlet in 1784 - 85 (Figure 33). It is a known fact that G. Izmailov met Captain Cook and exchanged with him maps and other geographic information, which were highly praised by this famous traveler.<sup>57</sup>

*To the Kurile Islands and Japan*

At the same time, Russians began to pay attention to explorations of the Kurile Islands, which drove them closer and closer to Japan. Interested in establishing commercial relations with Japan and putting the whole Kurile Islands under Russia's rule, the Russian government ordered the newly appointed Siberian governor A.I. Bril to adopt more effective measures than the episodic visits by *promyshlenniki* to this area. Bril, in turn, authorized the Kamchatka Chief Commander K.M. Bem "to send secretly a civilian, not large ship, which, under the guise of fishing and hunting, should go to the most southern populated place in the Kurile Islands, namely Atkis, or if possible, even to Matmae [Hokkaido]." Here, Bril confuses Atkis (presently Akkeshi), a part of Hokkaido, with an independent island. Bem was instructed to "depict the customs of the population, geographic features of islands, rivers, forests, and hunting and fishery in these areas, and compile a map of the islands." Through contacts with Japanese people, the expedition was expected to investigate "what kinds of Russian goods and materials are necessary for them and what can be received from them; if possible, to conclude treaties with Japan for bilateral dealings and price fixing, and thus to establish friendly relations with them." Another purpose of this expedition was to convert "the hairy people [native Kurile population]" into subjects of the Russian Empire and to suggest to them to send one of their number to Russia to study Russian customs.<sup>58</sup>

In 1774, Yakut merchant P.S. Lebedev-Lastochkin (ethnically Russian) organized a sea transport by the "St. Ekaterina" across the Sea of Okhotsk to Kamchatka, where the ship was wrecked. Lebedev-Lastochkin equipped a new ship "St. Nikolai" and appointed I.M. Antipin, a Siberian nobleman with a certain knowledge of Japanese, as the leader of this expedition. I. Ocheredin assisted him as interpreter and F. Putintsev as navigator. Antipin was obliged "to communicate with the people of the southern Kuriles in a kind and friendly way..." Through the mediation of the local population, moreover, he was expected to learn "if it is possible to meet with Japanese, negotiate politely and start dealings profitable for both the dynasty and society."<sup>59</sup>

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57 For details see: Alexei V. Postnikov, "Russian charts of the North Pacific and Captain Cook's third voyage" in: *The Charts & Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages*. Vol. 3: *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780. With a Descriptive Catalogue of all the known original surveys and coastal views and the original engravings associated with them together with the running journals of James King 1779-80. Chief editor Andrew David; assistant editors for views Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith; with an essay on Russian charts of the North Pacific by Alexei V. Postnikov* (The Hakluyt Society London in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1997): cii-cix.

58 A.S. Polonskii, *Kurily* (St. Petersburg, 1871), pp. 73-74. Akkeshi was an Ainu settlement on the eastern coast of Hokkaido, in which a Japanese outpost had been established by the 1620s.

59 RGADA, Fond Gosarkhiv, razryad 7, no. 2539, listy 7 ob.-8.

Like the previous voyage, the sailing of the “St. Nikolai” was not successful. Antipin was forced to go into winter quarters on the eighteenth island of the Kuriles, since the ship had been broken by an autumn tempest. In the following spring twenty men of the crew sailed on kayaks to Bol’sheretsk and informed Lebedev-Lastochkin of the accident. Lebedev-Lastochkin immediately equipped two kayaks with all the necessary items and dispatched them from Petropavlovsk Harbor under the command of F.Ya. Shabalin. At the same time, Lebedev-Lastochkin equipped the brigantine “St. Nataliya” at the Port of Okhotsk. Clearing the port on September 10, 1777, the “St. Nataliya” reached the sixteenth island as early as September 16, and waited for Shabalin until October 13 at Kresta Bay on this island. After Shabanin arrived, the united contingent moved to the eighteenth island, where the *promyshlenniki* unloaded the ship and wintered.

On May 31, 1778 Shabalin left for other islands on three kayaks “to adopt the hairy people as Russian subjects, explore undiscovered lands and those who live on them, clarify the number of the population and their dwellings, and get acquainted with Japanese.”<sup>60</sup> Actually he went to Iturup, met with the native people, and “Russianized” as many as 47 of them. Afterwards, Shabalin continued the voyage and visited all the 22 islands. Everywhere he made the native population Russian subjects, questioned them and recorded: with whom they dealt; what other lands existed around them; with what they were armed; what they ate; and from where they received their necessary goods. When Shabalin was at a northern headland of Kunashir Island, he saw a distant land. A native explained to him that “according to our tongue, the land is named Kereska Koimtsa [Korofta, Karante, Karafuto and other names of Sakhalin obviously have Ainu origins - A.P.]. The island does not know us. The hairy people similar to us live there, but the scale of the population is unknown to us.”<sup>61</sup>

On June 19, 1778 Shabalin reached Akkeshi, and found a Japanese ship. Shabalin and his company went out to the shore, and explained to the Japanese that they were Russians and wished to establish friendly relations with Japan. The Japanese answered that they were glad to know this and asked Shabalin to live with them “without any dangerous action.”<sup>62</sup> Shabalin was invited to the Japanese ship, exchanged greetings and gifts, and agreed with them to meet again after a year (July 20, 1779) at one of the harbors of Kunashir Island for commerce and further negotiation.

After its return to Okhotsk, the “St. Nataliya” did not stay long; it went for a new voyage on September 7, 1778, loaded with various Russian and German goods, such as Netherlandian woolen cloth, velvet, atlases, taffeta, furniture, and foodstuffs, equivalent to 18,000 rubles in all.<sup>63</sup> The captain was now

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60 Polonskii, *Krily*, p. 85.

61 RGADA, Fond Gosarkhiv, razryad 7, no. 2539, list 135.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid., list 15.

F.Ya Shabalin, with the interpreter I.M. Antipin and the navigator F. Putintsev. The patron of the whole project, P.S. Lebedev-Lastochkin, left for Irkutsk and St. Petersburg, where he presented the chief-procurator A.A. Vyazemskii with all the materials obtained from the voyage. The contents of these materials were reported to Catherine II, who approved Lebedev-Lastochkin's project and gave him a special order that "the native Kurile population that became Russian subjects should be left free and no tax be imposed on them, and this freedom will be guaranteed also in the future."<sup>64</sup> Catherine desired to develop Russian fishing, hunting, and commerce in the Northern Pacific Rim by way of this friendly treatment of the native population. On April 18, 1779, Lebedev-Lastochkin was presented with a gold medal "for work beneficial to society."<sup>65</sup>

The "St. Nataliya" came to Urup, where the crew wintered and engaged in fishing and hunting. Soon after the next spring had come, Antipin and Shabalin equipped three kayaks and, on July 24, 1779, came to Natkome Harbor on Kunashir Island, the place where they had promised in the previous year to meet with the Japanese again. In August, however, the Japanese had still not appeared, which made Shabalin decide to proceed to Akkeshi Bight to find them. When Shabalin visited there on August 25, the Japanese met the Russians festively. A flag was hoisted on the Japanese ship, and Shabalin answered by firing cannon salutes. The negotiations between them would seem to have proceeded successfully, although a chief official of Matsumae who visited Akkeshi to receive Shabalin and Antipin advised them to go to Nagasaki [the only open port of Edo Japan under the isolation policy], if they wished to deal with Japan.<sup>66</sup>

On October 29, 1779, the "St. Nataliya" went into winter quarters on Urup Island. Wintering that year was extremely hard. Several of the crew, including the navigator Putintsov, died. The ship was also hit by earthquakes several times: the last one caused a tsunami, which killed many of the crew and pushed the ship onto the island more than 200 meters from the shore. Antipin, Shabalin, and other survivors reached Bol'sheretsk on kayaks. In 1781 and 1783, ships were sent to Urup but could not pull the "St. Nataliya" out to the sea.

Antipin and Ocheredin compiled a map of the Kurile Islands which had more detail than any other maps that had existed till that time, and wrote *The Description of Sixteen Islands of the Kuriles*.<sup>67</sup>

After several years, in 1786-89, navigator Bronnikov sailed to the Southern Kuriles and made a thorough description of these islands. Original materials of these works survive in the Russian State Navy Archives.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to their original surveys of the Pacific, Russian cartographers

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64 Polonskii, *Krily*, p. 89.

65 RGADA, Fond Gosarkhiv, razryad 7, no. 2539, list 193.

66 Ibid., list 25.

67 This map was published in Alekseev, *Syny otvazhnye Rossii*, pp. 128-129.

68 "Opisanie 18, 19, 20, 21 i 22 Kuril'skikh ostrovov shturmanom Bronnikovym v 1786-89 gg.": Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv voenno-morskogo flota, f.913, op.1, no. 179.

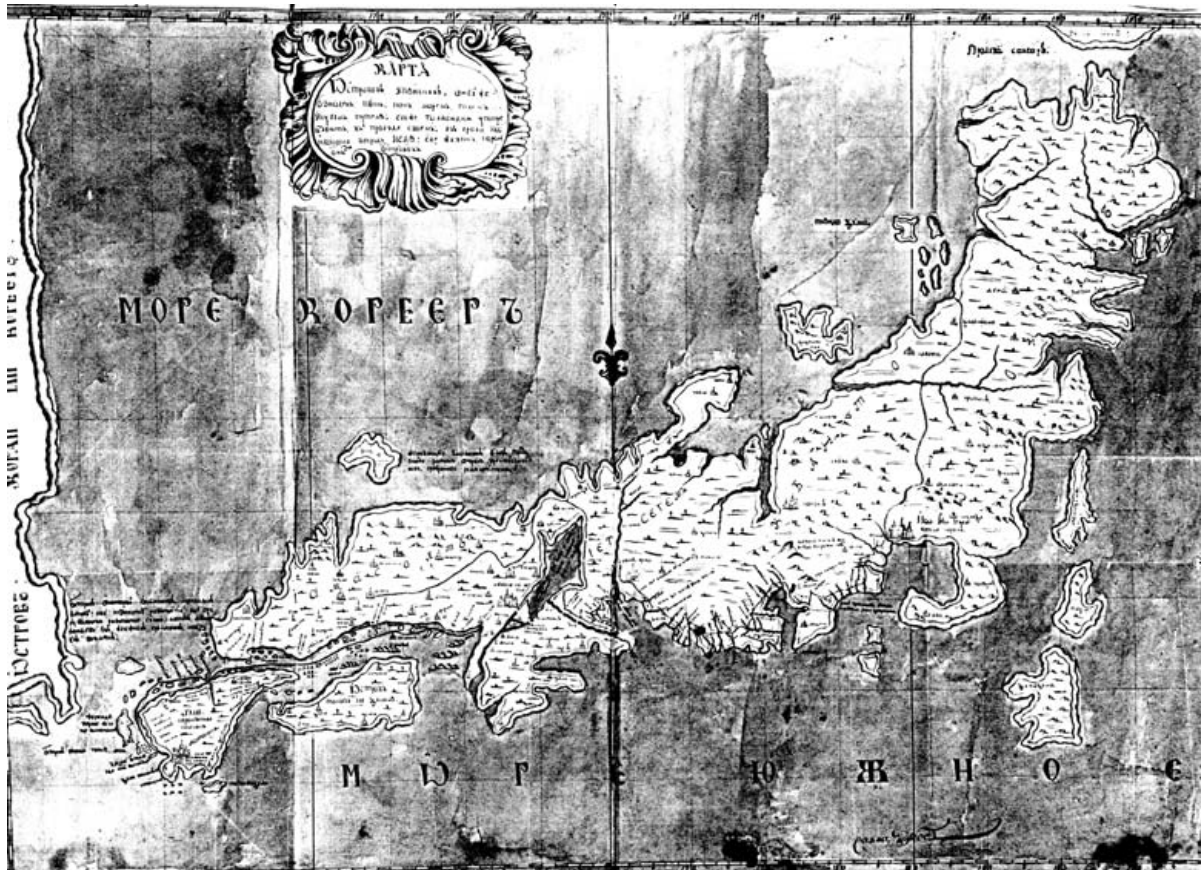


Figure 34. A Russian Manuscript Map of Japan (made in the 1770s)

began eagerly to collect foreign maps and charts of the Northeastern Pacific Rim that had become a region of serious geopolitical interest for the Empire. At the same time, new Russian maps of this region were compiled, some of them showing Japan. An example of a Russian manuscript map of Japan made in the 1770s on the basis of foreign data, a rare copy stored in the Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents, is shown in Figure 34.<sup>69</sup> In 1782, this map was copied by Vasilii F. Lovtsov, and included in his manuscript atlas of the North Pacific Ocean. Lydia T. Black, who collaborated with Richard A. Pierce to publish a facsimile of this atlas, believes that this map was based on a map of the Japanese Islands compiled by Durant-Tavernier in 1679 (which was published by Paul Teleki in 1909).<sup>70</sup>

In 1792-93, V.F. Lovtsov, as the captain of the “St. Ekaterina,” sailed to Japan to carry the Russian mission led by Adam Laksman (son of the famous scientist Erik Laksman).<sup>71</sup> The expedition was accepted with high honors on

69 RGADA, f.7, no. 2539.

70 Paul Teleki, *Atlas der Geschichte der Kartographie der Japanischer Inseln* (Budapest and Leipzig, 1909); “The Lovtsov Atlas of the North Pacific Ocean, compiled at Bol’sheretsk in 1782 from discoveries made by Russian mariners and Captain James Cook and his officers” by Vesilii Fedorovich Lovtsov. Translated with an introduction and notes by Lydia T. Black. Edited by Richard A. Pierce. *Alaska History*, no. 38, Maps of Russian America, II (Kingston: Ontario-Fairbanks: Alaska, 1991), p. 18.

71 For details of this mission, see: V.N. Berkh. *Puteshestvie v Yaponiyu Adama Laksmana* (St. Petersburg, 1822).