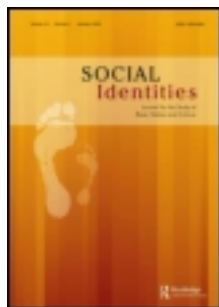


This article was downloaded by: [Irina Novikova]

On: 19 July 2013, At: 11:00

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



## Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/csid20>

### Imagining Africa and blackness in the Russian empire: from extra-textual arapka and distant cannibals to Dahomey amazon shows - live in Moscow and Riga

Irina Novikova <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Department of Culture and Literature , University of Latvia , Riga , Latvia

Published online: 02 Jul 2013.

To cite this article: Social Identities (2013): Imagining Africa and blackness in the Russian empire: from extra-textual arapka and distant cannibals to Dahomey amazon shows - live in Moscow and Riga, Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2013.810122

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2013.810122>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms &

Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

## Imagining Africa and blackness in the Russian empire: from extra-textual *arapka* and distant cannibals to Dahomey amazon shows – live in Moscow and Riga

Irina Novikova\*

*Department of Culture and Literature, University of Latvia, Riga, Latvia*

*(Received 14 July 2012; final version received 10 May 2013)*

In the nineteenth century, Dahomey amazon shows, traveling circuses with menageries and ‘African villages,’ emerged as part of the transnational entertainment industry. This article extends the geography of this global model and generic system and its role in the visual politics of whiteness and blackness in a context outside the imperial colonization of Africa. The first sections examine a rise of visibility in the Russian imperial imagination of race, Africa and blackness through a ‘symptomatic’ reading of Aleksandr Griboedov’s play *Woe from Wit* and Arkadii Averchenko’s *Death of an African Hunter*. These are followed by a discussion of the Dahomey amazon shows in Moscow and their significance in the Russian cultural imagination of Africa and blackness, Europe and whiteness. The discussion of the Dahomey amazon shows in Riga unravels the complexities of interaction between the global visual model and its reception in the Baltic colonies of the Russian empire.<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** modernity/coloniality; race; visual literacy; transnational entertainment industry; Dahomey amazon shows; world exhibitions; blackness; whiteness

An exhibition entitled *Human Zoos. The Invention of the Savage* in Paris (Blanchard, Boëtsch, & Snoep, 2011) presented an impressive and shocking collection of visual images and data on different types of the nineteenth and twentieth century popular entertainment that participated in the modern ‘invention of the savage’. The exhibition demonstrated the ways in which a human zoo, together with other visual forms of commercial entertainment, emerged as a ‘global system / ... / based on a model that became generic’ and an ‘international mechanism which functioned equally well’ (Blanchard et al., 2011, p. 20) in different European cities. This system and mechanism was instrumental in fostering popular visual ‘literacy’ of race by and through which ‘modernity comes increasingly to be defined’ (Goldberg, 1993, p. 203).

The representational mapping of this extraordinary exhibition rotates around factual material about human zoos, circuses with menageries and ethnographic shows, their circulation in Europe and the USA, and their role in modern race imagination and thinking. Cordula Grewe demarcates this geography as Western encounters with non-European societies (Grewe, 2006, p. 3). In this article I look into the settings of modernity/coloniality beyond the frame of Europe-as-West within which questions of race have been traditionally addressed and the meanings of

---

\*Email: iranovi@lanet.lv

racialized identities have been analyzed. I extend this geography of the global model and generic system beyond the binary Western/non-European, into the territory and colonial settings of the Russian empire.

Modernity/coloniality has been the process of intimating things remote and indeterminate as well as of distantiating things too close and palpable. Concepts and feelings of intimation and distantiating, of place and position, of proximity and distance (Doyle & Winkiel, 2005), were structured by modern binary epistemics of metaphysics/anthropology (David, 2003). This epistemics generated the racial matrix (Doyle, 1994) of the cultural and political imaginaries of colonial difference in modern imperial projects and in their racial mappings of exteriority. As Mignolo argues, exteriority is 'the place in which the outside (e.g., *anthropos*) is invented in the process of creating the inside (e.g., *humanitas*) to secure the safe space where the enunciator dwells' (Mignolo, 2011, p. 47). Modern mapping of colonized exteriorities interacted with re-orderings of center and periphery, of distance and proximity, in the internal colonial settings of Europe and for the sake of the European safe interiority 'where the enunciator dwells'. In other words, 'race structured foundational assumptions of modern nation-state and its dynamics of ethnic, gender and social "othering" within different nationalizing settings of modernity' (Hudson, 1996).

The concept of modernity/coloniality in the Russian imperial project of its 'safe interiorization' is considered by some scholars to be challenging and elusive (Fox, 2006). Furthermore, Russia, sometimes considered to be a peripheral case of modernity, did not have colonies or a colonial history in Africa in contrast with the major European powers (Blakely, 1986, p. 3), though had its own history of contact with rulers and peoples of the continent (Matusevich, 2007). This positional 'specifics' of Russian expansion, an African 'lack' in its imperial mapping of the world, has spun off into the view that for this reason Russia has been less inclined to racism and 'racialist ideas played a relatively minor role in Russia's imperial practices and intellectual traditions' (Fox, Holquist, & Martin, 2006, p. 8). This discourse seems to take sides with essentializing the link drawn between evidence and the invention of representation, discourse and concept (e.g., race and blackness), between representation and the presumed 'truth' of the represented.

I argue that race was more than just a derivative variable in Russian discourses of identity, nation and culture. The Foucauldian 'privilege of sight' and 'the sense of evidence and of the extended' (Foucault, 1966, p. 145) was mapped in a different colonial geography of the Russian 'Eye of History'. The empire generated a specific regime of internal coloniality (serfdom) and moved on with the colonization and rigorous construction of colonial difference in Asia, in the sub-Arctic regions, North-Eastern (Finland and the Baltic nations) and Central (Poland) Europe.

This imperial project of colonial governmentality and its cultural imaginaries should not be reduced to just a 'peripheral impact' of modernity upon Russia and the countries of North-East and Central Europe, with their 'historical specifics' of once internal Russian subjects (Finland, the Baltic states, Poland). Discursivities and meanings of race in Russia need to be studied within 'a wider realm of science, rationality and enlightenment as legitimizing frameworks, in one or another transformative project' (Hoffmann & Kotsonis, 2000, p. 4) and with chronological boundaries seen more as markers of this process than dividers. I argue that the racial logic of this wider realm and its taxonomies was structurally involved in the Russian modern/colonial invention of Otherness, distance and exteriority and their cultural

deployment during the late imperial period, with reference ‘to other representations, not to the truth of the represented’ (Mason, 1990, p. 9). An influential Russian anthropologist of the late nineteenth century, A.P. Bogdanov (1834–1896), for example, did not see any difference between evidence and representation in his following ‘truthful’ statement: ‘Debates of the ways in which race-mixing influences anthropological traits of humans should take into account the following, nearly always observable, fact. A woman, open to an influence of representatives of a higher development, a higher race, would rarely condescend to anyone of the race that she considers as lower than hers. Cases of mixing of European women with negroes are extremely rare and accidental whereas negro and mulatto women desire European men’ (Bogdanov, 2002, p. 137). Sight and its representation as ‘truth of the represented’ are privileged as core values in colonial discourse. But colonialist images and representations themselves are producers of ‘evidence’ and materializations of epistemic fantasies. They are part of narratives that constitute ‘experience’ or ‘fact’, with no or marginal relation to the ‘truth of the represented’. Their circulations, either nationwide, or in transnational translation, are an enduring semantic mechanism of modern coloniality in its different transformative projects of extending sights and collecting evidence of their textual and visual (re)significations.

I proceed with this argument through a ‘symptomatic’ reading of two literary pieces separated by nearly a century. Aleksandr Griboedov’s play *Woe from Wit* (1825) contains a short dialog, a memorable bitter reference to the ‘evidential’ specifics of Russian encounters with people of African descent in the serfdom period. Arkadii Averchenko’s short story *Death of an African Hunter* (1914) demonstrates how references to representations in popular perceptions and identifications catalyze the dynamics of race imagination in social perceptions of distance, distinction and distantiating.

The primary meaning in the symbolical racial ordering of the modern/colonial world was delegated to ‘whiteness’ (Allen, 1994), and ‘a white racial frame’ (Feagin, 2009) as a unicentric concept of modernity ‘structured out of the political, economic, and social realities of peoples who had emerged as expansionist, conquering, dominating nations on a worldwide quest for wealth and power’ (Smedley, 1998, p. 25). Racial inventions of exteriorities, for example, in Africa, implied that representations of racialized *anthropos* should be constituted through master references of global colonial narrative – whiteness, Christianity, and modern progress as essential signatures of Europeanness and its *humanitas*. This modern/colonial blueprint of inferior difference also positioned Russia in an orientalised and peripheral Otherness vis-a-vis the modern ideality signified as ‘Europe’. This specific positioning of Russia should also be addressed in discussing the modern invention of ‘Russian ethnicity,’ though the importance of race and whiteness discourses in generating modern ‘Russianness’ as a hegemonic ethnic identity remains largely unacknowledged. Averchenko’s story explores the subtle ways in which the ‘textual’ and the ‘visual’ interact in inventing commercially entertaining ‘truths’ and ‘evidences’ to enable racialized and ethnicized modes of ‘white’ identity and identification.

In my view, the two texts, divided by nearly a century, reflect Russia’s gradual move toward this generic model and a cultural shift to the visual ‘literacy’ of race difference and identification. During the ‘age of empires,’ Dahomey amazon shows, traveling circuses with menageries and ‘African villages,’ emerged as part of the transnational entertainment industry. This article extends the geography of this

global model and generic system into the territory and colonial setting of the Russian empire. A rise of the transnational entertainment industry in Russia is further addressed in my discussion of the Dahomey amazon shows at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I compare the ways in which they functioned in the modern essentialization of race difference in Moscow as a city of 'authentic Russianness' and in Riga simultaneously as a European city and growing colonial metropolis. Riga was also claimed by the leaders of the Latvian national emancipation as the main city of the ethnic Latvian nation, though still dominated by the powerful German Baltic elite. The discussion of the Dahomey amazon shows in Riga allows the exploration of visual structurings of the raced imagination of exteriority, Africanness and blackness/whiteness in the societies of North-East Europe whose cultural experiences in modernity are marked by varying degrees of colonization and 'safe interiorization' into the Russian empire.

### **White text and extra-textual *arapka*: human distances in Aleksandr Griboedov's *Woe from Wit***

Ivan Goncharov's female character Maria Pavlovna Gorbatova from the novel *A Common Story* (1847) says: 'I would make a pillow embroidery for you – a blackamoor boy with two dogs. You wouldn't believe me but I cried so many times, looking at this embroidery – what can be more sacred than friendship and loyalty?' Maria used a German scheme of embroidery (Figure 1), very popular among Russian middle-class women of those times, centering on a rather pet-like image of a blackamoor boy-servant, popular in the Russian visual arts of the nineteenth century.

Since the time of Peter the Great, an image of *arapchonok* (a blackamoor boy) was propelled into Russian cultural iconics, thanks to the African genealogy of the great poet Aleksandr Pushkin. Peter, the engine of Russia's launch toward modernization, adopted Pushkin's ancestor Ibrahim Gannibal in his childhood. As



Figure 1. A blackamoor boy with three dogs. A design for an embroidery frame. (From: E. Юрова, *Эпоха бусера в России*, 2003).

Etkind argues: 'A black greatgrandfather of Pushkin was fetched from a seraglio to provide a model of a new man for Russian people' (Etkind, 2001, p. 70).

However, not an act of adopting a blackamoor boy, but a practice of possessing a black 'child of nature' became a fashion in Russian aristocratic homes. A blackamoor was turned into a 'decoration for wealthy households' (Blakely, 1986, p. 29) and an icon of black *anthropos*. A black child's pet-like friendship and 'animal' loyalty turned into a cultural signature of the Russian elite belonging to European *humanitas*. Let me make here a radical detour from the Gannibal-Pushkin frame as 'a model of a new man for Russian people' and turn to the extra-textual character of a blackamoor girl (*arapka*) from Aleksandr Griboedov's famous comedy *Woe from Wit* (1825). The *arapka* is owned by an old aristocratic woman Khlyostova and mentioned only once in her monolog – an exotic and animalized servant and an object of ritualistic gift among Russian aristocrats:

I took this *arapka* girl with me  
 And the little dog – to keep me company.  
 Let someone feed them alms from the supper tray.  
 ...  
 You want to see the kind of *arapka* I have?  
 The kind of creatures God creates!  
 The curly hair. The hunch of shoulder blades.  
 She's angry, has the habits of a cat.  
 She's as black as pitch. She looks so bad!  
 I'll send for her, if you allow,  
 She's there in the girl's room.  
 ...  
 Imagine, they're exposed like animals for show ...  
 I hear ... there's a city somewhere in Turkey ...  
 Who got the girl for me? Do you want to know?  
 Anton Antonich Zagoretsky.  
 (Zagoretsky steps forward)  
 He's a liar, gambler, thief, a man of no esteem!  
 (Zagoretsky disappears)  
 I keep my doors locked up for him.  
 He's good at doing a service: sister Praskovya and I,  
 Two *arap* children we have each received.  
 He says he bought them at the market. It's a lie.  
 God bless him anyway! I've got a gift.

Khlyostova's monolog tells us that Africans, not unusual in Russian popular entertainment, could be purchased during trade fairs of the early nineteenth century. Though Blakely argues that there was no vital concern in African slave trade for Russians (Blakely, 1986, p. 31), Khlyostova's monolog implies that ownership of black people by Russian aristocrats did not have an economic benefit. It was a symbolic snapshot of racial hierarchy as a divine right or bondage ('The kind of creatures God creates'), of cultural Europeaness and of social privilege (*humanitas*) granted by the internal rule of serfdom (*anthropos*).

Griboedov's *arapka* is an exotic figure of domestic entertainment, decoration and, most probably, a victim of the transnational slavery market (Fikes & Lemon, 2002). Khlyostova mentions a city in Turkey, and an inference can be made that the *arapka* might have been transported from a slave market in the Ottoman empire to become a

purchasable commodity in Russia. The *arapka*'s extra-textuality exteriorizes her into a 'floating signifier' (Hall, 1997), disembodied, de-humanized and objectified. This young female is – 'as black as pitch' – an invisible and unnameable residue of the Gannibal-Pushkin *Bildung*-narrative that modeled the empire's enlightening *mission civilisatrice* (Etkind, 2001) toward its own interior 'children of nature' – Russian serfs. The *arapka* actually becomes one of them and dissolves into the 'wilderness' of interior *anthropos*.

Khlyostova treats the *arapka* like another animal pet in her household's serfdom-grounded hierarchy. The *arapka*'s extra-textual presence unveils a transnational racial pattern of the de-humanizing of an individual of African descent in Europe (for family service or entertainment) in the Ottoman empire (the female slave market) within the Russian internal regime of modern coloniality (serfdom). At the same time, Khlyostova sounds stunned – 'They are exposed like animals for show', and her observation is evidence of her awareness of the bestialization of Africans in their public exposure at commercial shows in Russia. There is a symptomatic tension between the serfholder's view upon the *arapka*'s 'natural' pet-like place within the 'body' of her *private* household (divine order) and Khlyostova's reaction to the ontological implications of a *public* spectacle in which Africans are 'like animals' (human order). This tension tells us about the dynamic interaction between social erasure fixed in the figure of a 'black pet-like child-servant' (proximity and interiority of a slaveholding racial model) and the panoptic exposure of bestialized 'blacks' in a transnational production of popular and shared senses about Africa, race and blackness (distance and exteriority). Thus, Khlyostova's stunned gaze at their being 'exposed like animals for show' tells us more about this panoptic anatomy of blackness. It renders a cultural transference of a racially binarized visual code of anachrony upon an entertaining black body, when a divine order is replaced with history (*humanitas*) or its absence (*anthropos*).

### **White texts and black masks; textual distance and visual haptics in Arkadii Averchenko's *Death of an African Hunter***

The nineteenth century media generated and circulated images of place and position, proximity and distance, of form (metaphysics) and matter (anthropology), and dominated progressively as a powerful racial and aesthetic practice of modernity (Doyle & Winkiel, 2005). New imperialist hegemony, particularly during the Scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century, involved the visual power of mass entertainment and stimulated a feeling of curiosity toward all kinds of exotics.

Exhibitions of exotic and 'primitive' populations from distant environments became popular from the 1870s. Human zoos that demonstrated the 'savagery' of the exterior world (Blanchard et al., 2011), were among the major social events of the transition to the twentieth century, 'the West's progressive transition from a "scientific" racism to a colonial and "mass" racism' (Blanchard, Bancel, & Lemair, 2005). They demonstrated transnational convergence of commerce, the image and advertising of race as a general marker of proximity and distance, of panoptical time and anachronistic space (McClintock, 1995, p. 30). Human zoos were launched in Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Italy, the USA, and the Russian empire (Warsaw) (Bancel, Blanchard, & Boëtsch, 2004; Ciarlo, 2011; Fuchs, 2003; Hale, 2008). They had huge commercial success as each of them attracted thousands of visitors. The



London Zoo attracted 800,000 visitors to the cage with Africans. The Parisian *Jardin d'Acclimatation*, organized two ethnographic showcases with Nubians and Inuit in 1877; its audience doubling to one million. World Exhibitions in Paris presented different types of similar spectacles attended by millions of people. The Dahomey village itself was located on one site, sharing space with Hagenbeck's animal circus and a Sami village.

The phenomenon of human zoos in European cities was rooted in the tradition of human exhibitions as cabinets of curiosities, medical museums of biological *monstrosities* and freak shows (Blanchard et al., 2011). This 'form of *modernity*' (Böetsch, 2011, p. 78) also emerged in Russia when Peter the Great launched *Kunstkamera* in St Petersburg, as an evidence of the empire's modernization and cultural Europeanization. He was mainly interested in collecting 'naturalia' and issued a special regulation to collect rarities and monstrosities from everywhere in the Russian empire.

In Russia, the circus show sustained the mainstream trend of showing human curios or monstrosities, together with prestidigitations and other exotic spectacles. A traveling circus with its own menagerie and freaks was the most popular and profit-making mass entertainment in imperial Russia. For example, in Vladikavkaz, in the summer of 1889 there was a show of 'a famous giant miss Amelina, "the biggest woman in Europe"', and "prestidigitator Yuzef" with magic tricks' (Kishkintsev, 1971, p. 31).

Russian traveling circuses with menageries introduced a memorable image of the black man as a huge and strong circus fighter. Russians still use the word 'bambulla' in vernacular speech to mean a strong dumb man. Today, however, very few are aware the etymology of the word. The name of a black circus fighter Salvatore Bambulla, famous to the Russian circus audience of the early twentieth century. He participated in Graeco-Roman fights in which men appeared in all kinds of masks to bring more intrigue into the action. A 'black' man on the Russian circus show arena could also be a blackfaced impersonator who created either an admirable or transgressive image of black masculinity.

In his story *Death of an African Hunter* (1914), Arkadii Averchenko turns to the memories of his first visit to an Easter holiday show of a traveling circus and menagerie. His romantic boyhood dreams of travels to distant lands and adventures are permeated by racial stereotypes of Africans and Native Americans as he was used to reading translated travel literature and adventure novels.

What the boy sees on the circus arena completely destroys his great expectations of a real encounter with a sanguinary 'Indian' and a hungry 'Negro':

However, when I came around, I did not like the menagerie very much. First – the Negro. The Negro should be naked, except for his hips, covered with a piece of bright cotton. And here I saw a profanation: the Negro in a red dress-coat, with a ludicrous green cylinder on his head. Secondly, the Negro should be terrible. And this one showed tricks, ran along the rows, taking out greasy cards from all pockets, and, in general, he made up to everybody very much ... Everyone should do his business: the Indian – remove a scalp, the Negro – eat travellers who fall into his grip, and the lion – torment all of them without discrimination because the reader should understand: everyone needs to eat and to drink. Now I am perplexed: what did I hope to see, coming to a menagerie? A couple of run-away lions in the corner of the upper gallery eating up a sailor who did not manage to rush out? The Indian, diligently removing scalps from the first-row

spectators, mad with horror? The Negro, putting out a fire from the broken boards of an elephant fence and roasting a local flour dealer Slutskin on this fire? Possibly, this kind of show would be the only one to satisfy me ...

A sudden blow is struck to the boy's literary 'competence' about distant cannibals and scalp-hunters. His father invites circus people to Easter dinner at home, and the boy is perplexed to witness the human behavior of a 'negro-cannibal' and 'a red-skinned dog' next to him and his parents. The masks turn into real people enjoying dinner, singing, dancing and drinking together with his parents:

In the morning, when everybody still slept, I woke up and quietly went along the bay coast – long and sadly. Here is my rock, here is my cleft – my food- and book-depository. I fetched the books of Bousсенard, Mayne Reid and perched at the bottom of a rock. I was paging through the books ... for the last time. And from these pages Indians looked at me, singing "Winds are blowing, winds are violent" in Ukrainian; Negroes dancing a polka-mazurek under the sounds of Ukrainian torban; lions jumping through a hoop and elephants shooting from pistols with their trunks ... I gave a sigh. Farewell, my childhood, my sweet and amazingly interesting childhood ... I dug a hole in sand, under a rock, and put in all volumes of a Frenchman Bousсенard and an Englishman, captain Mayne Reid. I put sand onto this tomb, stood up and looked along the horizon differently ... Pirates did not and could not exist; should not exist. The boy died. Instead of him – a young man was born. And it is better to shoot elephants with explosive bullets.

Averchenko's story ridicules an 'enlightening' role of popular adventure and travel literature that provided narratives of enchantment with the world's racial exteriorities. Russian readers 'saw' distant spaces of Africa through this 'lens' of textual representations to learn modern meanings of racial difference, 'human gaps' and racist stereotypes of blackness. But the unexpected proximity of frightening figures as well as tactile communication and visual haptics of a changed 'masquerade' of racial otherness generate a new sensation. The boy has a dream at night after his dramatic discoveries during the circus show and at dinner. This dream actually emancipates the figures of racial exteriority from radically distancing and de-humanizing literary stereotypes of a black cannibal and a red-skin scalp-hunter. The boy decides to sentence Bousсенard and Reid to an 'authors' death' and buries their books in the sand under a cliff.

The boy's rebellion against narratives and images of racial Others brings an end to his 'romantic boyhood'. Nevertheless, the denounced narratives have structured the boy's affective revision of his identity, boundary and exteriority. A Ukrainian song and a Polish mazurek emerge as ethnocultural signatures of interior colonial differences and as emotional 'negotiators' of the Russian boy's intense awareness of the real proximity of racial Others though only through the spectacle of their circus 'masks'. This unexpected demystification of romantic narratives and a sudden awareness of the changed horizon generate a different mechanism of dealing with an unknown exteriority behind a spectacle. 'The born man' formulates it in his manifesto to secure a safe interiority of his home at a radical distance from unknown exteriorities in a disguise of 'masks' – 'Pirates did not and could not exist; should not exist. The boy died. Instead of him – a young man was born. And it is better to shoot elephants with explosive bullets.'

**Black masks and African bodies: Dahomey amazon shows in Moscow – wilderness in proximity and Russian *mission civilisatrice***

Averchenko's short story grapples with the shift from distance to proximity, from textual representations to the visual persona of racial Others in commercial entertainment, with its ever transient and anonymous figures of exoticism, muscular black maleness, blackface masquerade, bestialization and otherwordliness.

In his well-known poem for children, *Circus*, a Russian poet Samuil Marshak mentions 'negress Mary Grey – a tamer of beasts', but otherwise, data on black (or blackfaced) women in Russian circuses are still to be collected and studied. Nevertheless, a popular circus show of German-born magician Robert Lentz was accompanied by African women dancers, usually presented to the Russian public as 'Wild women with participation of Dahomey princess Gumma'. This catchy presentation of the troupe was derived from the show titles of German and Swiss *Volkerschau* like *Wilde Weiber Amazonen aus Dahomey*.

A British entrepreneur John Wood brought a Dahomey dance group to Paris after the first war between France and Dahomey, in February 1891. The Amazon Corps demonstrated military maneuvers and marches, exercises with swords and muskets, and performed martial fights in the *Jardin d'Acclimatation*. The show was expected to bring a commercial profit. It would attract the public, curious to see the exotic dances and exercises of a black women's army, as well as easily demonstrating a picture of 'authentic' life from distant Africa to European spectators.

A Hagenbeck show at the Columbian World Exhibition in Chicago (1893) featured Dahomey amazons 'with a war dance led by their fearsome warrior-queen, Gumma' (Ciarlo, 2011, p. 95). In fact, different groups worked as 'fearsome Dahomey women-warriors' led by 'Gumma' in different countries. All of them demonstrated what British newspaper *The Standard* once called 'grand specimens of Muscular Womanhood' (17 October, 1893) after their performance at London's Crystal Palace in 1893.

Dahomey amazon shows took place in Russian cities, together with traveling circuses. Before these shows, textual images of Dahomey and its famous amazons were introduced to Russian readers in the popular adventure novel *Robur the Conqueror* by Jules Verne (1886).<sup>2</sup> Marietta Shaginyan mentions that Dahomey people were brought by circus entrepreneurs to Rostov (Shaginyan, 1924). A historical overview of Perm' State Circus makes a reference to a Dahomey troupe in the summer of 1897 (Perm' State Circus, 2012). D. Al'perov describes Dahomey shows in his memoirs:

A troupe started their shows in Kasymov. They demonstrated everyday life of 'wild' black tribes. They walked nearly naked along streets. They had only straw skirts, and women had many beads. In my view, their appearances attracted crowds, and the show brought good profit. They performed a militant dance, walked upon broken glass and drank hot tin. (Al'perov, 1936, crp. 20)

Moscow Zoo lacked the commercial capacity to afford wide-ranging entertainments, similar to those held in other big cities of Europe, though its managers already knew and employed the generic model. They attracted the Russian public in the winter time with scenes of 'live ethnography', or, in other words, an exhibit of 'exotic' people from the Russian North (Russia's own 'savages'). Hired by entrepreneurs, they

would arrive in Moscow in full clans, with all their property and deer. They put their raw-hide tents in the territory of Zoological Garden, and gave narta-rides to volunteers. In some cases they stayed in Moscow for a short period before traveling further into Europe, e.g., to the World Exhibition in Paris. Natalya Gershenzon remembers her feelings when she saw a Nenets group in the Zoo: ‘we saw a big Yurta with a Nenets family in it – father, mother and their children. I understood everything at once. I will never forget the hateful and gloomy faces of these people’ (Kokorev & Ruga, 2010, p. 389).

The Dahomey amazons had shows in Moscow in April 1901, during the Easter holidays. There were 48 in total, and the public was informed that they had come from a slave-trade center in Africa. Their show at the Moscow Manege was a huge commercial success, and after Easter it was moved to the Zoo. A Moscow newspaper advertised the event: ‘Yesterday the Dahomey shows started in the Zoo. They will show their dances and military exercises, three times in the working days, and five times during holidays’ (Kokorev & Ruga, 2010, p. 391). A village was built for them in Moscow Zoo, and the square with the stage for their shows was surrounded with cages for animals. Moscow newspapers emphasized that ‘the unit of Dahomey amazons, 48 women from a wild tribe’ had arrived directly from Africa, and their authenticity as a king’s warriors was never doubted. Visitors were coming to the Zoo to gaze at this exotic spectacle and to taste exotic Dahomey cooking. A famous painter, Nikolai Kasatkin, made a painting representing these women in the village in their traditional clothes, entitled ‘Women of Dahomey in the Zoo’.

A visitor to the show wrote a comment in his diary, full of empathy for the African troupe:

Negroes have been brought and exposed like animals in a Zoo. A woman with a child came up to the grid behind which negroes were placed. A negro woman saw the child and moved to kiss him. The conclusion is that maternal instinct does not know obstacles between races, and through it all people are equal and kin. (Minchenkov, 1931, p. 35)

In his autobiography Boris Pasternak remembered the Dahomey show as a collective embodiment of submissive womanhood and intolerable suffering. His childhood impression of the militarized female body as public spectacle had a deep impact upon his perception of female sexuality and body:

A unit of Dahomey amazons was shown in the Zoo, in the spring of 1901. [I remember] how the first sensation of womanhood interconnected with the feeling of naked women in array, of suffering in close order, a tropical parade, accompanied with a drum. Earlier than needed, I became a slave of forms because I saw the uniform of enslaved women too early. (Pasternak, 2008, p. 26)

The visual and haptic effect of these ‘authentic’ Dahomey shows resonated in a literary use of the word ‘Dahomey’ with the connotation of the lowest social status, alienated exotics and cruel wilderness. Ivan Bunin used ‘Dahomeyan’ physique as a racializing epithet in the short story *Village*, in which the narrator describes a Russian peasant’s face as having a Dahomeyan nose (‘extending his Dahomeyan nostrils’). In her novella *Change*, Marietta Shaginyan employs a reference to the Dahomey show in the Moscow Zoo as a simile in a sketch of German troops, stationed in a post-revolutionary Russian town: ‘Germans were drinking from their mugs, having a bite,

not looking around. They looked like Dahomey people, brought as a whole village to a zoo, cooking and eating while others were curiously looking at them. Everybody came to look at the exotic Germans' (Shaginyan, 1924, p. 45). Nikolai Gumilev creates a stunning image of a Dahomey king in his poem *Dahomey* (1921) – 'as tall as an elephant in our forests, but not as tall as the triumphant heap of heads you've cut off' (Gumilev, 1972). The poem was written after the poet's trip to Africa but it contains an explicit reference to amazon shows as a 'certificate of authenticity' for his picturing African barbarism and cruelty under 'a black sun in hell':

Drums pounded, tambourines clicked,  
people wailed,  
amazon soldiers moaned long songs, and blowing horns  
rolled out across the sea.

Silently the general bowed  
to the king, leaped from the cliff, down to the whirling  
water, and drowned in water but seemed  
to drown in the gold glow of the setting sun.

Drums deafened him, howling deafened him,  
salt spray blinded him,  
and he was gone. And the king's face shone  
like a black sun in hell.

The Dahomey shows in Moscow attracted Russian anthropologists for educational purposes and a moral cause. A.D. El'kind (1912) published the study *An Anthropology of Negroes: Dahomeyans* in which he puts an emphasis on the negative effects of the European presence in Africa – alcoholism, epidemic diseases, and the impoverishment of native populations.

The sum of European negative influences is not covered by these positive actions carried out to the advantage of the local population. Recently, Etker stood out as an original ideologue for the education of Negroes with a view to their familiarization with western civilization – the ideologist who accepts the indispensability of their corporal influence, but absolutely ignores the measure of struggle against the fatal influence of our civilization's scourges on Negroes. It is necessary to wish, that before its application Etker's program should be radically revised and that in its new advanced format, the program would foreground the protection of physical health of Africa's million-strong Negro population as a condition for their cultural ennobilization. (El'kind, 1912. Cit.op: Avdeev, 2004, p. 465)

The very existence of the Dahomey shows in Moscow did not look appalling to the Russian anthropologist in his explicitly paternalistic argument for the way to achieve European civilization for Africans. In his view, corporal punishment and the negative effects of 'our civilization' should give way to the physical protection of Africans and their gradual cultural ennobilization. In terms of race, Europe and Russia were seen by El'kind as one civilization. But the anthropologist emphasized Russia's difference from Europe in the empire's morally superior approach toward its emerging role in the *mission civilisatrice* of Africans' humanization. No less importantly, his argument and recommendations resonated with the concerns of his contemporary Russian

intellectuals over the empire's failing pace in global colonization (Barta 2008; Tolz, 2001).

### African bodies and white gaze: visualizing 'safe interiority' and its color – Dahomey amazons in Riga

Another city where an amazon show (from impresario Albert Urbach) was hosted in 1901 was Riga, a fast-growing financial and industrial hub in the western part of the Russian empire.

For the first time, people of African origin were mentioned in *The Book of High Wisdom* (*Augstas gudrības grāmata*, 1774) of G.F. Stenders, a Latvian enlightener and the founder of Latvian secular literature. This *Peasants' Encyclopedia*, as the book was usually called, included the section *From other parts and lands of the world*,

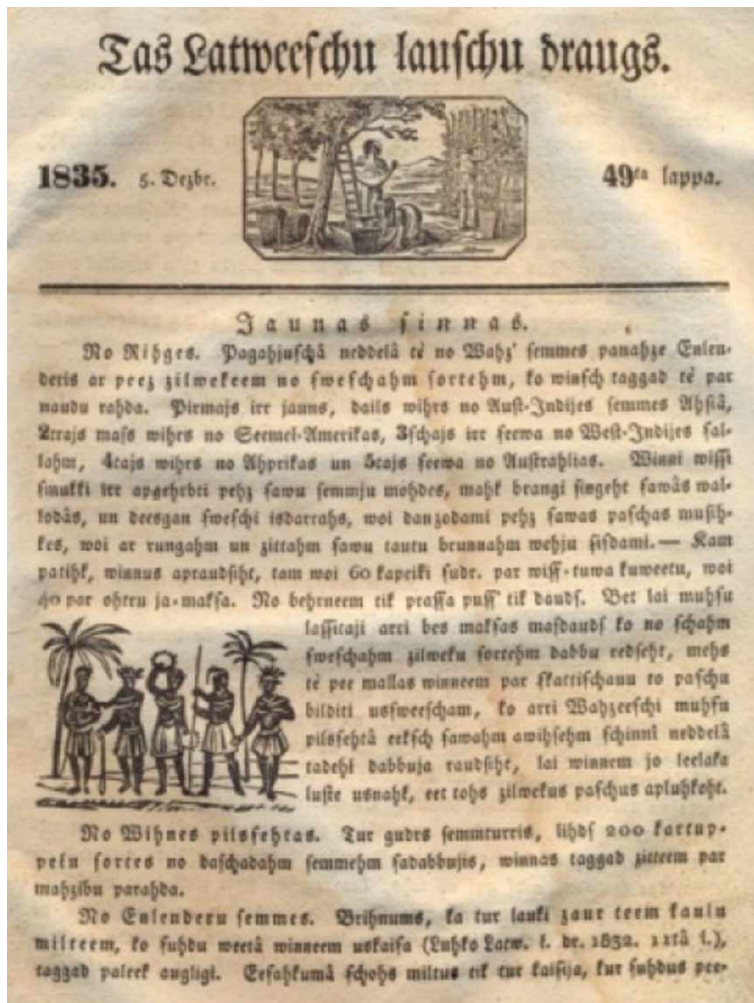


Figure 2. From: *Tas Latviešu Ļaužu Draugs* (Nr. 49, 1835).



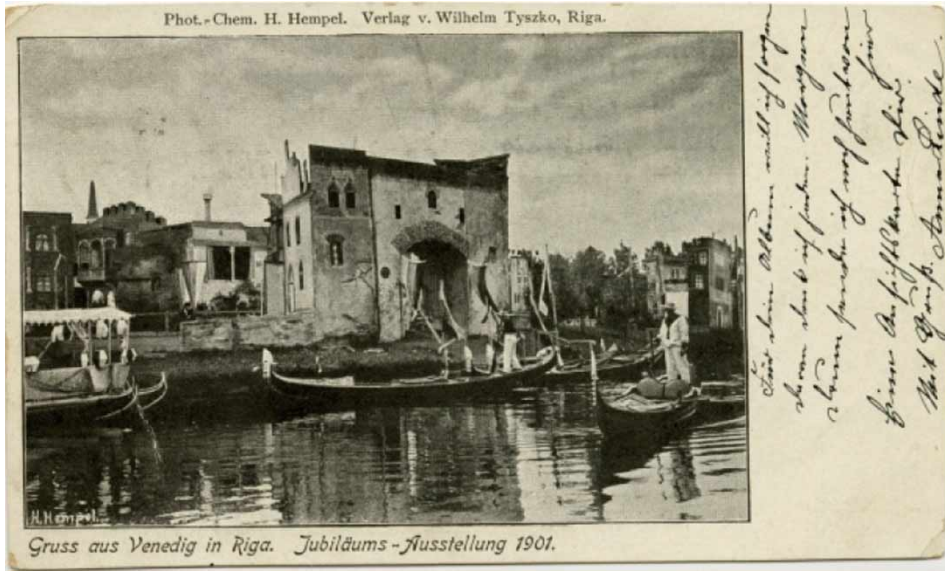


Figure 4. Postcard: Canale Grande next to Alt-Riga.

exotic was an opportunity to learn about Dahomey negroes' life. There were 42 people in the troupe – men, women, children. Their performances – dances, martial arts, songs as well as learning about the home life of black-skinned guests, their clothes, hairdos with innumerable braids, typical for men and women – raised a great public interest' (*Rigaer Tageblatt* [Riga Magazine], 10 July 1901, Nr. 153, Cit. op: Mierina, 2001, p. 20).

Adolph Friedländer's poster for Albert Urbach's 'Wild Women of Dahomey' shows 'foregrounded the violence; the amazons charge the French with fixed bayonets, and one steps triumphantly on a French corpse' (Ciarlo, 2011, p. 99). This type of poster was also reproduced in Riga (Figure 5). The other, rather typical poster of an amazon show, shifts the visual focus from a violent combat of 'muscular women' to transgressive foundations of 'wild' exteriority – African huts that bore death-bringing militant women in proximity with their spectators (Figure 6).

A performance of women's militant parade and exercises was advertised as the African women's gender transgressivity by German editors of *Jubiläums Katalog*: 'Beside, "wild women" of Dahomey, or African amazons, jumped upon each other and made real fights with awful shouts, together with their men and under loud clanking of their weapons. Their dances were wild, under horrifying music. Black eyes sparkled as burning candles, and white teeth were shining on their grinning black faces. Different sounds of their chants mixed up with sounds of *Santa Lucia* reaching from Venice' (Bonitz, 1901, p. 35).

The Latvian newspaper *Dienas Lapa* added to the assessment of Africans' 'natural' behavior in the public space of *Vogelwiese*: 'Most of the visitors admitted that these guests were obtrusive. Four black women offered booklets about their troupe to the public. When nobody wanted to buy them, they still insisted. When the first of them went away, then the second, the third, the fourth came, following people' (*Dienas Lapa*, 6 June 1901, p. 3).



Programm. Preis 10 Pf. Beschreibung



Figure 5. Programme poster. Troupe “Wild Wives of Dahomey.”

The Dahomey village was located in the most distant corner of Birds’ Meadow. The spatial connotation of Africa’s telescopic distance and its existential Otherness still rings in our contemporary’s comment on the African village – ‘Negro families brought from Dahomey, living quietly their life here’ (Upmanis, 2007, p. 89). This location created a collective sense of the unknown and exotic world, and its transgressive exteriority loomed on the frontiers of the exhibition’s space mapping an explicitly Eurocentric narrative of progress and civilization.

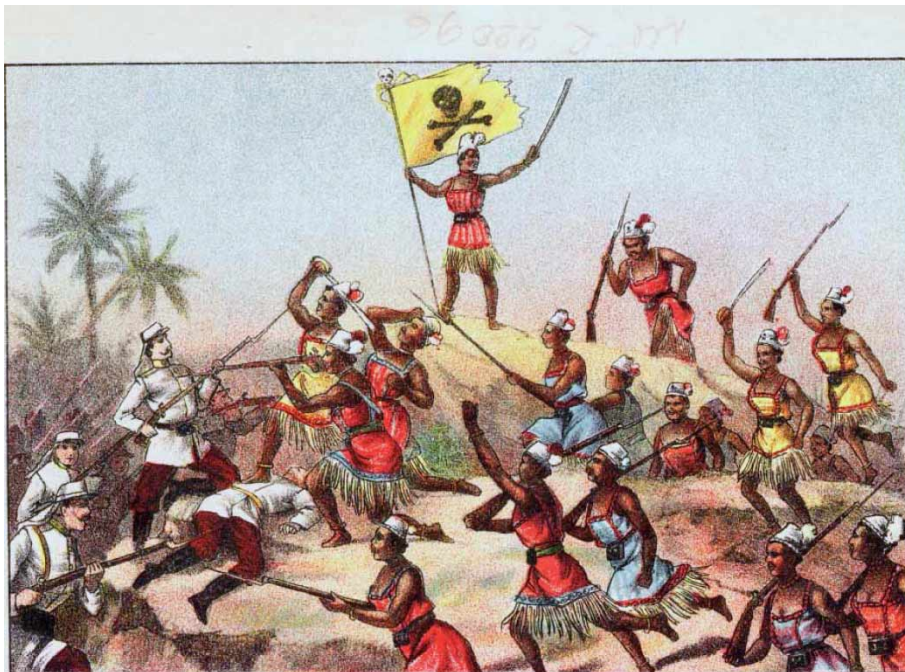


Figure 6. Programme poster. Troupe “Wild Wives of Dahomey.”

Vladimir Šervinskis, the son of the exhibition’s lead architect, comments upon his childhood impressions of Dahomeyans’ ‘natural life’ in his memoir: ‘The “African corner” was something absolutely special for us children. Somebody got a crazy and strange idea to bring some families of African Negroes and to demonstrate them to the public. Africans built many huts themselves and settled in them as if they were at home; they lived their typical life and paid very little attention to curious surrounding Rigans who were standing around and staring at them’ (Šervinskis, 2007, p. 92). Africans’ behavior, seen as either obtrusive or indifferent and detached, was an important emotional ‘motor’ that generated a collective sense of their exterior existence, otherworldliness, and a feeling of distance between them and the public so that visitors, and so many children among them, went away from this spectacle of an ‘African village’ and ‘African behavior’ to ‘European’ entertainments of *Alt-Riga* and ‘Venice carnivals’ with the sense of a ‘human gap’ and existential achrony between them and exotic inhabitants of the black continent. Gender and sexuality played a crucial role in stabilizing this sentiment of a ‘human gap’, due to the emphatically sexualized and militarized ‘gender transgressivity’ of amazon shows next to the ‘African village’.

The ‘African’ spectacle of the exhibition conveyed a sense of racial Otherness, embodied as black and exteriorized in ‘Africa’, essential to generating a shared affect of belonging to Europeanness-as-whiteness in which, as Richard Dyer argues,

through the figure of the non-white person, whites can feel what being, physically, presence, might be like, while also dissociating themselves from the non-whiteness of such things that it also constantly risks reminding whites of what they are relinquishing in their assumption of whiteness: fun, life. (Dyer, 1997, p. 80).

This feeling of visual and emotional dissociation generates Rene Descartes's 'first passion' of belonging 'in color' that actually rotates multiple identities in cultural and social change toward the modern binary of white Europe and its non-white Others. Within this binarized meta-frame of the modern world, a generic specter of popular sentiment toward 'savages' could change from empathy and indifference to fear and disgust. In Moscow and Riga, the general reaction of spectators seemed to be curiosity and fascination at the sight of 'primitive' people's behavior, but there was no expression of disgust and contempt as, for example, Corbey argues in the German context: 'In general, the more an indigenous people resisted colonization, the more ferocity its representatives had to display when staged. Fear was but one of the mixed feelings German citizens experienced when visiting ethnological exhibitions' (Corbey, 1993, p. 346).

At the same time, some Latvian media of Riga saw the jubilee program as an event for Riga's German citizens:

Latvian society and its most influential media considered that the exhibition's program "in fact is an event for Riga's German citizens, not for the whole Riga", but argued that the event is "also in our interests" ... Latvian media bitterly reacted to the fact that the exhibition posters were printed only in the Russian and German languages. However, information in the languages of Vidzeme's major groups – Latvians and Estonians – was just added beneath. (Žvinklis, 2001, p. 130; also Greitjāne, 2001).

Latvian newspapers counted a number of industrial and artisan pavilions and displays by Baltic Germans and Latvians in a search of covert but intended discrimination of ethnic Latvians' participation in the exposition. There was even a call to Riga's Latvians to avoid participation in the entertainment program, and *Baltijas Vestnesis* emphasized that there was no connection between these celebrations and song concerts of Latvian associations in Riga (Hanovs, 2001; Hanovs, 2004). The newspaper considered that *Vogelwiese* entertainments were of little value to the jubilee exhibition and with a negative impact upon common people's money and health (*Baltijas Vestnesis*, 19 September, 1901, p. 38).

A romantically idealized simulation of medieval German Riga was landscaped with the Canale Grande, Venice, the Viking ship, Viennese specialties and the African village. This visual and spatial order of the exhibition offered its spectators the 'first passion' of exteriorizing color from the European past as the historical 'mechanism of order and meaning' (Mitchell, 1989, p. 218) and enjoying the city's rather attractive place in this 'white' geography of the modern world. The visual reality effect of 'Europe' was supported with theatricalized performances and masquerades such as 'ancient Latvians', 'Renaissance people', 'barocco people'. The carnivalesque atmosphere of *Vogelwiese* was accompanied by the selling of all kinds of souvenirs and sweets. Theatricalized performances and carnivals, cinema shows and a simulation of a medieval town, folk souvenirs and the African village converged into the haptic space as a habitable 'global' space in its visitors' gaze and feelings.

Riga's 700th anniversary exposition followed the tradition of world exhibitions in London, Paris, Chicago. Similar to them, the 'visual identity' (Volker Barth, 2008) of the Riga exposition was planned to juxtapose 'in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986, p. 25). The Riga exposition intended to embody what was possible and achieved, and,

following the pattern of world exhibitions, to demonstrate ‘the provisional end of a developmental line that was presented as progress’ (Barth, 2008, p. 24). This spatial montage-effect of the simulated ‘Europe’ and its *l’histoire totale* (Braudel, 1969) was communicated by the visual architecture of exhibition as a racialized educational meta-image of progress and ‘humanity’ vis-a-vis its exteriorized ‘children of nature’. For Latvians, thus, the negative attitude to the supremacy of German Riga in this exhibition was re-balanced with its heterotopic model, allowing identification within the meta-frame of Europeanness even in their double colonized condition.

Latvian nationalism was influenced by Fichte’s definition of nation as ‘a spiritual wholeness and idealist achievement, thus emphasizing the romantic type of action’ (Zake, 2004). In this sense, the exposition’s idea of Riga as an ideal space of European spiritual wholeness was quite attractive to Latvian critics of the event, dominated by the Baltic Germans of Riga. Progressive white Europeanness appeared as a racial meta-signifier and a generic model of racial identity. It reconciled conflicting agendas of Russian political dominance, Baltic German socio-economic hegemony and Latvian colonized cultural nation-building, at least at the time of the exposition.

Traveling circuses with menageries, Dahomey amazon shows and African traveling villages in Moscow and Riga participated in a process of repetition called an ‘image loop’ (Snoep, 2011, p. 105) of transnationalized entertainment industry. The idea of ‘savagery’ itself was subjected to dramatic semantic transformation in these practices of direct and exoticized public display. Modern commercialization of a generic visual construction of race and a single vision of race sampled Africa into an anachronistic and exterior Other of American-European-Russian ‘safe interiorities’. This process embraced a huge transnational space from Chicago to Moscow and beyond. It staged a normative meta-spectacle of the ontological alterity to white Eurocentric modernity – whether in ethnographic showcases of ‘natural’ savagery and its public ‘intimacy’, in the freakish otherworldliness of circuses, or in the explicitly gendered and sexualized displays of transgressive Dahomey amazons and their ‘men’.

## Notes

1. I would like to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to an anonymous reviewer for the valuable comments, encouragement and advice in my work with the manuscript.
2. The first Russian edition entitled *Воздушный корабль (An Air-Vessel)* was published in the journal *Around the Globe*, No. 33, in 1866.

## References

- Allen, T. (1994). *The invention of the white race*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Al’perov, D. (1936). *On the arena of the old circus*. Moscow.
- Avdeev, V. (ed.). (2004). *Russian race theory before 1917*. (Vol. 2., pp. 435–446). St. Petersburg: Fern-B.
- Averchenko, A. (1914). Death of an African hunter. In A. Averchenko (Ed.), *On essentially good people!* (4th ed., pp. 63–65), St. Petersburg: New Satiricon.
- Bancel, N., Blanchard, P., & Boëtsch, G. (2004). *Zoos Humains. Au temps des exhibitions humaines* [Human zoos. In the age of human exhibitions]. Paris: La Découverte.
- Baltijas Vestnesis*. (1901, September 19). p. 38.
- Barta, P. (2008). Degenerate Europe: Africans, the French quadrille and Russian identity. In V. Jobert (Ed.), *La russie et l’Europe: Autres et semblables* [Russia and Europe: Other and

- similar]. Lyon: Site Ecole Normale Superieure-LSH. Retrieved from <http://institut-est-ouest.ens-lsh.fr/spip.php?rubrique67>
- Barth, V. (2008). The Micro-history of a world event: Intention, perception and imagination at the exposition universelle de 1867. *Museum and Society*, 6(1), 22–37. Retrieved from <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/museumstudies/museumstudies/documents/volumes/barth.pdf>
- Blakely, A. (1986). *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian history and thought*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.
- Blanchard, P., Bancel, N., & Lemaire, S. (2005, October 28). *From human zoos to colonial apotheoses: The era of exhibiting the other. Africultures*.
- Blanchard, P., Boëtsch, G., & Snoep, N. J. (Eds.). (2011). *Human zoos: The invention of the savage*. Arles: Actes Sud, coedition Musee du Quai Branly.
- Boëtsch, G. (2011). From cabinets of curiosities to the passion for the “Savage”. In P. Blanchard, G. Boëtsch & N. J. Snoep (Eds.), *Human zoos: The invention of the savage* (pp. 78–81). Arles: Actes Sud, coedition Musee du Quai Branly.
- Bogdanov, A. (2002). Anthropological physiognomics. In V. Avdeev (Ed.), *Russian race theory before 1917* (pp. 114–144). St. Petersburg: Fern-B.
- Bonitz, W. (1901). *Zur 700 jährigen Jubiläums-Feier der Stadt Riga 1201–1901* [For the 700th anniversary celebration of the city of Riga 1201–1901]. Riga: W. Bonitz vorm. Rob. Borchardt.
- Braudel, F. (1969). *Ecrits sur l'Histoire* [On history]. Paris: Flammarion.
- Ciarlo, D. (2011). *Advertising empire: Race and visual culture in imperial Germany*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Corbey, R. (1993). Ethnographic showcases, 1870–1930. *Cultural Anthropology*, 8(3), 338–369. doi:10.1525/can.1993.8.3.02a00040
- David, A. (2003). Negroes. In R. Bernasconi & S. Cook *Race and racism in continental philosophy* (pp. 8–18). Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Doyle, L. (1994). *Bordering of the body. The racial matrix of modern fiction and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Doyle, L., & Winkiel, L. (2005). *Geomodernisms: Race, modernism, modernity*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Dyer, R. (1997). *White: Essays on race and culture*. London: Routledge.
- El'kind, A. (1912). An Anthropology of Negroes: Dahomeyans. *Russian anthropological journal. Nr. 1, Book XXIX*, Moscow: Moscow University Anthropological Department.
- Etkind, A. (2001). Foucault and the thesis about internal colonization: a postcolonial view on the Soviet past. *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie*, Nr. 49, 50–74.
- Feagin, J. R. (2009). *The white racial frame centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. London: Routledge.
- Fikes, K., & Lemon, A. (2002). African presence in former Soviet spaces. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31(1), 497–524. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085420
- Foucault, M. (1966). *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* [The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences]. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.
- Foucault, M., & Miskowicz, J. (1986). Of other spaces. *Diacritics*, 16(1), 22–27. doi:10.2307/464648
- Fox, M. D. (2006). Multiple modernities vs. neo-traditionalism: On recent debates in Russian and Soviet history. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* [The Yearbook of East European History], 55(4), 535–555. Retrieved from <http://www.osteuropa-institut.de/en/publications/journals/yearbook-for-the-history-of-eastern-europe.html>
- Fox, D., Holquist, P., & Martin, A. (Eds.) (2006). *Orientalism and empire in Russia*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers.
- Fuchs, B. (2003). *Rasse, »Volk«, Geschlecht: Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850–1960* [‘Race’, ‘Folk’, ‘Gender’: Anthropological discourses in Austria 1850–1960]. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag Frankfurt/New York.
- Goldberg, D. T. (1993). Modernity, race, and morality. *Cultural Critique*, 24(24), 193–227. doi:10.2307/1354133
- Goncharov, I. (1847, March–April). A common story. In: *Journal The Contemporary*. St. Petersburg: Eduard Prats.

- Greitjāne, R. (2001). Latvieši Rīgas septiņsimtgadu jubilejā tālaika latviešu preses skatījumā [The 700th anniversary celebration of Riga as viewed by contemporary Latvian press]. *LVIZ*, Nr.4, 5–16.
- Grewe, C. (2006). *Die schau des fremden: Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, kommerz und Wissenschaft* [Showing the others: Concepts of exhibition between art, commerce and science]. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Griboedov, A. (1825). *Woe from wit*. St. Petersburg: R. Golike & A. Vil'borg.
- Gumilev, N. (1972). *Selected works of Nikolai S. Gumilev. selected and translated by Burton Raffel and Alla Burago*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Hale, D. S. (2008). *Races on display: French representations of colonized people*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Lecture race, the floating signifier* [DVD]. Sut Jhally (Producer, Director, Editor). Watford: Hillside Studios.
- Hanovs, D. (2001). Riga 1901 anniversary and Latvian community. *Social Sciences and Humanities in Latvia*, 4(33), 53–68.
- Hanovs, D. (2004). Das bürgerliche Riga: Die Rezeption der baltischen Metropole in der lettischen bürgerlichen Presse am ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts [Bourgeois Riga: The reception of the Baltic metropolis in Latvian bourgeois press in the late 19th–early 20th cc.]. *Riga im Prozess der Modernisierung. Studien zum Wandel einer Ostseemetropole im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* [Riga in the process of modernization. Studies of the Baltic metropolis throughout the 19th–early 20th cc.]. Band: 21, VIII Marburg: Verlag Herder – Institut, 124–136.
- Hoffmann, D. L., & Kotsonis, Y. (Eds.). (2000). *Russian modernity: Politics, knowledge, practices*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Hudson, N. (1996). From 'Nation' to 'Race': The origin of racial classification in eighteenth-century thought. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29(3), 247–264. doi:10.1353/ecs.1996.0027
- Kishkintsev, V. (1971). At the fair of Nizhnii Novgorod. *Sovetskaya estrada i cirk*. Nr. 8, 30–33.
- Kokorev, A., & Ruga, B. (2010). *Everyday life in Moscow. Sketches of urban life in the early XXth century*. Moscow: Astrel'.
- Locales* [Local news]. (1896, March 26). *Düna Zeitung* [Daugava Time]. Nr. 69, p. 6.
- Mason, P. (1990). *Deconstructing America: Representations of the other*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- Matushevich, M. (Ed.). (2007). *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three centuries of encounters*. Trenton: Africa World.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. London: Routledge.
- Mieriņa, A. (2001). Rīgas septiņsimtgades atainojums vietējā vācu presē [The Riga 700 anniversary in local German press]. *The Journal of the Latvian Historical Institute*, 3, 17–37.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2011). *Coloniality: The darker side of modernity, 2011*. Retrieved from [http://www.macba.cat/PDFs/walter\\_mignolo\\_modernologies\\_eng.pdf](http://www.macba.cat/PDFs/walter_mignolo_modernologies_eng.pdf), MACBA (Museu d'art contemporani de Barcelona).
- Minchenkov, Y. (1931). *Memories about Russian wanderers*. Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR.
- Mitchell, T. (1989). The world as exhibition. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(02), 217–236. doi:10.1017/S0010417500015802
- Pasternak, B. (2008). *Safe conduct*. Moscow: ACT-Astrel'.
- Perm' State Circus. (2012). *History. On our circus*. Perm'. Retrieved from <http://www.circus.perm.ru/istoriya/>
- Shaginyan, M. (1924). *Change*. Leningrad.
- Smedley, A. (1998). *Race in North America, origin and evolution of a worldview*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Snoep, N. J. (2011). Savage imagery. In P. Blanchard, G. Boëtsch, & N. J. Snoep (Eds.), *Human zoos: The invention of the savage* (pp. 102–105). Arles: Actes Sud, coedition Musee du Quai Branly.
- Standard, The*. (1893, October 19). Retrieved from <http://www.jeffreygreen.co.uk/098-amazon-warriors-from-dahomey-1893>

- Stenders, G. F. (1774). *Augstas gudrības grāmata no pasaules un dabas. Sarakstīta no Sērpils un Sunākstes baznīckunga Stendera* [The book of high wisdom from the world and nature]. Jelgava, Aizpute, 1774. Cit. op: Stenders, G.F. (1988). *Augstas gudrības grāmata no pasaules un dabas* [The book of high wisdom from the world and nature]. Riga: Liesma.
- Šervinskis, Vl. (2007). Gadadienā [On the birthday]. In Upmanis, E. (Ed.), *Jaunmokas: pils, dzimtas, cilvēki: rakstu krājums: veltījums Džordžam Armitstedam 160* [Jaunmokas: Castle, families, people: Devoted to George Armistead-160] (pp. 88–96). Jaunmokas: SIA “Jaunmoku pils”.
- Tolz, V. (2001). *Russia: Inventing the nation*. London: Arnold.
- Upmanis, E. (2007). Rīgas 700 gadu jubilejas izstāde [The Riga 700th anniversary exhibition]. In E. Upmanis (Ed.), *Jaunmokas: pils, dzimtas, cilvēki: rakstu krājums: veltījums Džordžam Armitstedam 160* [Jaunmokas: Castle, families, people: Devoted to George Armistead-160] (pp. 88–96). Jaunmokas: SIA “Jaunmoku pils”.
- Urbach, A. (1901). *Posters wild women of Dahomey*. Retrieved from <http://www5.acadlib.lv/riga700/riga700a.htm>
- Zake, I. (2004). *Inventing culture and nation: Intellectuals and early Latvian nationalism*. Retrieved from <http://users.rowan.edu/~zake/papers/Inventing%20culture%20and%20nation.pdf>.
- Zeitung der Rigaschen Stadtpolizei* [City Police Newspaper]. (1901, April 25). Nr. 190, p. 10.
- Žvinklis, A. (2001). Rīgas 700 gadu jubilejas svinības [The Riga 700th anniversary celebrations]. *Latvijas arhivi*, 2001, Nr. 1, 129–136.
- Юрова, Е. (2003). Эпоха бисера в России (The Epoch of Beads-Embroidery in Russia). Интербук- бизнес.