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JAPAN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY THROUGH THE EYES OF RUSSIAN TRAVELER IVAN GONCHAROV (BASED ON THE LIBRARY COLLECTIONS OF THE FACULTY OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, ST. PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY)

Abstract: The article analyzes the perception of Japan in the middle of the 19th century through the eyes of the Russian writer Ivan Goncharov. As secretary of Yevfimiy Putyatin's mission (who concluded the first Russian-Japanese treaty in 1855), he kept travel notes, which later turned into a famous essay about a trip to Japan. The study is based on a rare edition of "Russians in Japan", published in 1855, a few years before the appearance of the famous book "Frigate Pallada". Goncharov's notes marked the beginning of a new stage of awareness about Japan in the Russian Empire. His impressions added new colors to the portrayal of the country of Rising Sun, which Russians already knew from notes about the captivity of Vasily Golovnin (1816) and the three-volume work of the famous German Japanologist Philipp Franz von Siebold (1854).

The valuable edition of Goncharov's notes from the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St. Petersburg State University (with an inscription from the author to Putyatin) differs from the text in the "Frigate Pallada" that was subjected to severe revision. Unlike this later version, this one, in many ways, resembles the unredacted travel notes made by Gonncharov during the Putyatin's mission. Also, Iosif Goshkevich, who mastered the Japanese language during his stay in the country, accompanied Yevfimiy Putyatin as an interpreter. "Russian-Japanese Dictionary" (in fact, it is a Japanese-Russian dictionary) was published by him in collaboration with Tachibana Kosai in 1857. Two copies of this dictionary are available in the faculty's Library (with autographs). One was a gift from Nicholas of Japan, and another - from the faculty teacher Kurono Yoshibumi. The authors aim to familiarize the general public with these rarities of the Library, which date back to the time of the conclusion of the first treaty between Russia and Japan and are directly related to the beginning of Russia's in-depth acquaintance with Japan.

Keywords: Goncharov, Russians in Japan, Frigate Pallada, Goshkevich, Putyatin, Shimoda Treaty, ethnography of Japan, stereotypes of Japanese behavior.

JAPAN AND THE WORLD: THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

The perception of a different culture is always challenging. Usually, contact with something that varied from us activated in the human's mind the concept of "Us and them". For the Russian people, this concept is some persistent search for a deep harmony rather than a contradiction. Due to the long-standing ties between Russia and the East on the steppe borders, Asian cultures could be more familiar to Russians than to the Europeans up until the 19th century. However, the first real acquaintance with Japan in the middle of the 19th century shocked Russian people as something completely new. The contact with such a unique culture and mentality felt like a step into the unknown and required deep immersion to understand them. From the beginning of the 17th century until the middle of the 19th century, the Japanese policy of seclusion made the country completely isolated from the rest of the world. An exception was made only for the Dutch trading post in Japan. The reopening of the Japanese ports for international trade occurred only in the middle of the 19th century.

In Russia, the early mentions of Japan date back to the middle of the 17th century (1643, 1678). Success in the development of Siberia largely contributed to the search for trade paths with Japan and laying an overland route there. The Russian government intensified the policy in this sphere during the reign of Tsar Peter the Great (1710). A significant contribution belonged to the pioneer Cossacks, who traveled across Siberia by land, went by boats on the Amur River, and looked for ways to the Pacific Ocean. Japanese sailors rescued after shipwrecks also stirred up interest in Japan. All of this eventually led to the establishment of a Japanese language school in St. Petersburg more than 300 years ago. Since the reign of Peter I, the Russian authorities deeply cared about initiating political and trade contacts with Japan. Russian envoys, including official ones, repeatedly visited Japan (1738-1742 Spanberg, 1792-1793 Laxman, 1803-1806 Ryazanov, 1810-1811 Golovnin), although they were not successful at that time.

In 1843, the Russian government developed an innovative plan on how "to establish relations with Japan." However, like many plans before this one, it was waiting for the execution about ten years. The final decision to start the Putyatin's mission (1853-1855) can be characterized as forced and almost urgent due to sudden changes in the international situation.

The Treaty of Shimoda (The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and Russia, 日露和親条約), signed by Putyatin in 1855, was the result of almost a century and a half of efforts to find a way to establish trade with the Japanese (1710-1855).

The Treaty of Shimoda in 1855 laid the foundation for Russia and Japan relations. Putyatin's mission included Secretary Goncharov (outstanding Russian writer, author of the well-known novel Oblomov, 1859) and dragoman and adviser Goshkevich. The Russian public had already read the impressions of Golovnin's stay in Japanese captivity (edition of 1816), but the situation in the middle of the 19th century was already crucially different. The Putyatin's mission was greatly influenced by the outstanding European Japanologist, German scholar Philipp Franz von Siebold, who was invited to St. Petersburg as a consultant during the preparation of the expedition. The translation in Russian of his *opus magnum* was published in

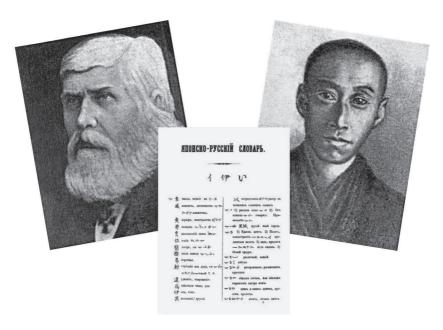


Fig. 1. Portraits of Iosif Goshkevich and Tatibana Kosai [Ivanova, 1993]. In the middle there is the first page of the dictionary [Goshkevich, 1857] (From the Library collection of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St. Petersburg State University).



Fig. 2. Two copies of the Russian-Japanese Dictionary, 1857, by Joseph Goshkevich. Title pages include gift inscriptions (mistakenly called "Russian-Japanese dictionary" on the title) [Goshkevich, 1857] (From the Library collection of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St. Petersburg State University).

three volumes in 1854 (based mainly on Siebold's materials) and prepared the Russian people for the perception of information about Japan. After the Putyatin's mission, **Impressions of Japan by Ivan Goncharov** and **Japanese-Russian dictionary by Iosif Goshkevich** appeared.

The article intends to present some remarkable observations of the mission's participants concerning Japan and their acquaintance with the new exotic culture. It focuses on the rare materials from the collection of the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St. Petersburg State University, mainly on the first edition of the book "Russians in Japan" [Goncharov, 1855].

The well-known Goncharov's travelogue "Frigate Pallas (Pallada)" was published in 1858. However, some parts of it came out three years before, in 1855, on pages of the journals "Otechestvennye zapiski", "Morskoi sbornik" etc., immediately after returning from Japan. In the same 1855, materials from "Morskoi sbornik" appeared as a 237-page book entitled "Russians in Japan" [Goncharov, 1855]. Compared to the later version, this



Fig. 3. The book "Russians in Japan" by Ivan Goncharov [1855]. Title page with turnover; flyleaf; cover; first page with the text (From the Library collection of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St. Petersburg State University).

text felt rather raw, unpolished, and almost unredacted, more like a travelogue and less like fiction stylized as travel notes.

The article overviews the most outstanding fragments of this rich and jewel-like edition, representing the first-sight intercultural communication between official representatives of Russia and Japan. This version of Goncharov's notes does not indicate any signs of editing to present a unified conception or ideology, does consist of many repetitions of some topics, and lengthy reflections of the author, excluded from the later text.

This study is based on the edition of the "Russians in Japan" from the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies (St. Petersburg State University), signed by the author as a gift to Vice Admiral Count Putyatin "Yours from Yours. To His Excellency Yevfimiy Vasilyevich Putyatin as the most respectful offering from the author". This version of the text, titled "Russians in Japan at the beginning of 1853 and the end of 1854 (from travel notes) by I. Goncharov", was published in St. Petersburg, in the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1855 [Goncharov, 1855].



Fig. 4. Portrait of Ivan Goncharov [Goncharov, 1879]. Title page of the 3rd edition of "Frigate Pallada" 1879 [Ibid.]; covers of reprints of the book in the second half of the 20th century (*From the Library collection of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St. Petersburg State University*).

Goncharov became the secretary of the mission, taking upon himself the duties of keeping a diary throughout the journey, recording impressions about nature, everyday life, and national customs accompanied by his judgments and opinions. How did the writer agree to become a secretary, and to what extent was his character suitable? Goncharov's contemporaries did not understand his agreement to go on a mission. We should also recall Goncharov's well-known literary character, the famous lazybones Oblomov (whose features, thanks to a partial publication, readers already knew). It is appropriate to note that Oblomov, as a character, was probably very close to his author, Goncharov, in his aspirations. Goncharov even had the nickname "Prince de Laziness" in the literary circle. Contemporaries perceived him as a real Russian barin who loves comfort and delicious food. It was a shock for everyone, who knew him even a bit, when he suddenly went to work as a secretary on a diplomatic mission to an almost unknown country. making a dubious and risky step far beyond his everyday life. Friends did not understand Goncharov. Here are the words from the memoirs of Goncharov himself, how he came to this decision: "To go... and it wasn't in my head... I was joking, and yet fate has seized me in its claws, and now I am the victim of my joke." As a result, an exciting essay, "Frigate Pallada" appeared, becoming a "window into the exotic" for Russian readers [Azarkina].

The head of the mission, Putyatin, was instructed to act in the friendliest tone. Negotiations with the Japanese continued from August 1853 to April 1854. However, the outbreak of the Crimean War in Russia prevented the treaty's conclusion. Goncharov noted: "It was necessary to think about protecting the frigate and the honor of the Russian flag, therefore, our voyage, aimed at a peaceful and definite goal, changed...with this, the need for me also ceased." As a result, Goncharov went to St. Petersburg by land through Siberia. Putyatin returned to Japan at the end of 1854 on the frigate "Diana" and then, on January 26, 1855, the Treaty of Shimoda, the first-ever treaty between Russia and Japan, was concluded.

Here and further we will discuss the main elements of the image of Japan and Japanese people that attracted Goncharov's attention during his stay in the country with Putyatin and other members of the Russian delegation.

JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE THROUGH THE EYES OF GONCHAROV

Nature and wilderness, lack of human fuss

The expedition arrived in Japan on August 10, 1853, but it took a month of waiting for permission to enter the harbor (the ship had to drift offshore). Thus, the mission participants could only admire the landscape from the frigate. The views of the islands from the sea seemed unreal, like theatrical scenery. In one sentence, Goncharov managed to tell about the emotions evoked: "...everything is smiling nature; beyond the hills are truly laughing valleys of fields..." [Goncharov, 1855, p. 8]. However, the silence reigning around the islands was incomprehensible and unusual for the Russians accustomed to the scope and fullness of vivid emotions. With some amazement, the writer noted: "there is no human fuss, there are few signs of life" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 11], "there is no noise, uproar, shouts, songs, in a word, the seething of life" [Goncharov, 2008, p. 335]. This feeling of dissonance, which arose at first glance at Japan, wouldn't have left Goncharov until his stay in the country ended. Perplexity and understanding, thoughtfulness and admiration were constantly struggling in his soul.

The theme of **nature** repeatedly slips into the notes, not only in the form of contemplation and description of beauty but also as reflections on how everything could be changed and improved in the Russian manner. He sincerely does not like the arrangement of the territories. "In general, the Japanese like to stick their hills with rare trees, which also make them look

like Easter cakes studded with fake roses" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 99]. Therefore, admiring the green meadows, he dreamed how harmoniously the buildings familiar to the Russian eye would fit here. "There, on a high mountain, a monastery would stand... It would be good to have warehouse stores here and there, but here, in a heap, as we have in Kronstadt, ships with a forest of masts would crowd..." [Goncharov, 1855, p. 45]. In a word, he is a real writer who combines excellent observation and rich imagination.

Patterns of behavior

Goncharov's talent for acute observation and accuracy was especially evident when he described the Japanese themselves. Goncharov noticed **behavior traits** unique to the Japanese people, comparing them with European traditions. He tried to judge everything distantly, as a spectator, not as a guest. And at each ceremony, he regretted that there was no convenient viewing angle [Goncharov, 1855, p. 49]. Irony, even some superiority, is evident in his descriptions.

First of all, the writer and all the Russians were amazed by the tradition of bows and greetings. Despite his amazement, Goncharov accurately described and even brought what he saw into a specific system. So, when meeting strangers, who were the members of the mission, the Japanese, "with their hands on their knees, squatted and bowed, almost to the ground" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 3]. In front of the highest rank "quickly falls to the floor, sits on his heels and bows to the ground". Goncharov called the constant readiness to greet a unique feature of the nation. "For example, I have never seen a Japanese man walking upright or standing, but always halfbent, with his hands at the ready, on his knees and just looking around to see if it is possible to bow to someone", the writer caustically remarked [Goncharov, 1855, p. 205].

Clothing

Descriptions of **traditional Japanese garment** are impressive in many aspects. Everything is intertwined here – both amazement and obvious sarcasm. The first Japanese who boarded the frigate were subjected to the most scathing criticism. "They were wearing a blue top, with wide sleeves, and a robe tightly wrapped around the waist and legs. The robe was held by a wide belt. And what else? Nothing yet. No pantaloons, nothing..." [Goncharov, 1855, p. 3]. The all-penetrating gaze of the great Russian writer was extremely sharp. One glance at the guests, and the verdict is ready. Without pantaloons! Like the "X-ray", the writer managed to get under the "robe" with a critical eye. However, after a thorough acquaintance with the Japanese people, Goncharov said that traditional outfits are much more diverse:

silk robes, skirts, and "mantillas". Women's clothing differs little from men's: "the same skirts, ... tops closed on the upside" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 85]. The author did not hesitate to be sarcastic whenever he saw something new. The ceremonial headdress of the nobles is similar "to ladies' work baskets, and, perhaps, to the box-buckets with which our women go for mushrooms" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 190]. The words that sound offensive but so vivid and easy to understand. The Russian readers, to whom the notes were addressed, could immediately imagine a garment's colors and looks. The author did not limit himself only to descriptions of clothes, later in the text, he also tried to offer some reasonable conclusions, explaining that the Japanese ceremonial costume was probably created in order to "sit in it with a sense of importance and seriousness". Despite all the criticism, Goncharov was greatly impressed by the color scheme of Japanese outfits: soft, delicate, pastel tones that gave mystery and understatement.

Meals and food

Russian readers were fully aware of Goncharov's craving (as the author of the book about sybarite "Oblomov") for **delicious food**. "How eager I used to read about dinners in other lands, i.e., among foreigners, delving more and more into all the little things; I said, as you remember, how I had an obsession with having dinner with the Chinese or the Japanese! And now this dream of mine has come true" [Goncharov, 1855, p .193]. Goncharov is quite generous in describing the dishes and related ceremonies. The Japanese tea ceremony, unfortunately, did not impress him. "The tea is excellent, strong and fragrant, but it seemed to us not tasty enough, since it was without sugar" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 194].

He wrote numerous descriptions of exotic dishes: "boiled rice without salt", "crayfish vinaigrette", raw fish cut into "long ribbons", "pear as if doused with red sweet sauce", "pastries that tasted like scrambled eggs", "duck wing with boiled greens" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 197-198]. Unusual sweets: "sweet dough made of some kind of peas", "blue, white and red sweets that taste partly like potatoes, partly like oatmeal" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 219]. And there were many other things. To a modern man, these dishes seem, if not familiar, then at least understandable, but for the 19th century's Russia, it seemed strange.

Particularly shocking was the absence of bread and its replacement with rice and the lack of vegetable oil in food. Another necessary clarification from Goncharov as a Russian gourmet: "their portions are so small that for a person with a good appetite any lunch there will not be enough for a snack" [Goncharov, 1855, p.220]. This fact seems to have really puzzled Goncharov.

People and characters, social norms and organization

People occupy the most crucial place in the story of the journey. There are portraits of individuals and entire groups. If the Japanese could find out about Goncharov's impressions, if they knew how readers in Russia would perceive them, they might be upset. "I have hardly seen any beautiful faces, but many original ones..." [Goncharov, 1855, p. 29]. Women also received an unflattering description and characteristics. Women are "all dark-skinned", "all ugly and black-toothed" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 85]. Describing the Japanese, their faces, and body structure, Goncharov also discussed their ethnogenesis, showing a deep knowledge of anthropology. "Japanese and Chinese are relatives of each other. The same oblong swarthy vellow faces, the same formation of jaws, lips, prominent foreheads and temples, a somewhat flattened nose, black and brown, medium-sized eyes" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 24]. The interest of the enthusiastic Russian researcher was not confined only to the faces or clothes or the appearance of people. It was vital for him to understand and appreciate the soul. He was interested in emotions, thoughts, and actions. However, the Japanese failed again to make a pleasant impression on the writer. "What faces, what expressions on them! Not a single figure looks at us, does not follow us with any interest... Meanwhile, they all fixed their eyes on the wall or the floor and, it seems, bet on who would make the grimace more stupid" [Goncharov, 1855. p. 59]. However, when communicating more closely with the Japanese, Goncharov was surprised to note a lively curious mind, a sense of humor. and the ability to appreciate the small joys of life (for example, food). The Japanese translators who constantly accompanied our delegation significantly influenced the change in his perception.

There were several translators, but the closest communication was with three. Sadagora was an "old, rude cynic", "a kind of nanny assigned to the Dutch and their thunderstorm". Ryoda (*in orig*. Lioda) was a "flattering, bowing rogue" belonging "to the category of old and stagnant Japanese" considering "everything old is beautiful … everything new … is sinful". Kichibe was a 25-year-old young man who "has no old hatred for the new and no faith in the Japanese system of government", "…he just serves for a salary" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 86]. Most of all, Goncharov was impressed by communication with the latter. His reasonable judgments, zeal for learning languages, and sincere desire to communicate - everything was attractive to Goncharov. Even the **foxery** of the translator, manifested in the desire to please both sides of the negotiations, did not cause disgust to him. Once, in communication with Goncharov, Kichibe complained that he was tired of

tense negotiations. "I like to do just nothing... to be lying on my side!" – admitted the Japanese. Just like the lazybones Oblomov...

The Japanese's deviousness and avoidance of clear direct answers both outraged and discouraged. The credential letters were handed over by the Russian side immediately upon arrival in Nagasaki, but the case did not move forward at all. After four months of just hopeless expectations of meeting with real representatives of the Japanese authorities, the delegation members wanted to get at least some clear understanding of what to expect. But there was no clarity in the answers and promises of the Japanese, nothing concrete happened! "We talk, argue among ourselves about what will happen; it is impossible to draw the right conclusion," Goncharov wrote in frustration. "...You don't know how and where the Japanese thought will take direction, what lies in his words. All due to the fact that the Japanese adhere to a different faith and beliefs... they use a different philosophy and morality" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 179].

For Russians, Goncharov's gift to observe and draw political conclusions significantly influenced the perception and understanding of Japan's **political and social structure** in 1853-1854. He could perceive and express the spirit of the decline of the Tokugawa feudal era. Adherents of the policy of national seclusion for Japan still hoped to prevent changes, but it was already impossible (there was a revolutionary situation on the eve of the Meiji-ishin events). "There will be a lot of trouble with the local government", "although the people themselves are capable of reforms" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 182]. Readiness for mutual dialogue was indirectly confirmed at the New Year's reception at the beginning of 1854. All members of the Russian delegation were served a special dish: the membrane of "some kind of snail, with which it sticks to the rocks". The dish was inedible, but it was a symbol of sympathy and affection. On the sign of such a benevolent disposition, Goncharov sarcastically remarked: "It would be better to say 'stickiness'" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 195].

Then, the final chord was the words of the host of the reception, the old man Tsutsui Hizen no kami sama (*in orig*. Tsutsui Hizen-no-Kami Sama), the words that clarified that the first Russian-Japanese treaty would be concluded. "We have come for many hundreds ... and you have come from many thousands of miles. We've never seen each other, we have been so far apart, but now we've met, we're sitting, talking, and having dinner together. It's so weird and nice" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 200]. From the Japanese side, Kawaji conducted negotiations on the establishment of trade relations, but Tsutsui was also present at them. "...His every word [Kawaji], the looks of

his eyes, even his manners, all revealed a sound mind, wit, insight and experience" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 223]. Eight or ten meetings took place, and then the Japanese government officials left for Edo, the shogun capital.

The frigate Pallada (with Goncharov onboard) left Nagasaki at the end of January 1854. The first stage of negotiations was completed. Among the significant results of the mission was a lot of new information about Japan, which was geographically close but at the same time highly distant from the cultural point of view. Goncharov then traveled through Siberia, arriving in St. Petersburg in mid-February 1855. The Treaty of Shimoda was signed during Putyatin's new visit to Japan on the frigate Diana a year later, at the end of January 1855, but without Goncharov.

Japan is "a locked casket, a box with a lost key, a country that people have tried to look into until now, hoping in vain to persuade them to get acquainted, beckoning it with gold, weapons, and cunning politics" [Goncharov, 1855, p. 2]. By the middle of the 19th century, the Japanese people found their lost key and began to share with the surrounding countries the treasures from the casket of the alluring culture of Japan.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

In conclusion, here are a few remarks. Goncharov's impressions of Japan in their almost raw form, as they are considered above, can sometimes be perceived as sharply critical or even paradoxical. Perhaps someone today could accuse the great writer of a lack of tolerance (which has become so popular today). However, it is appropriate to offer a different point of view. Despite "external irony" (sometimes perceived even as sarcasm and superiority), Goncharov is moved by "inner benevolence" (a desire to comprehend a different culture and give Russia a chance for dialogue). The first (irony), in the case of Goncharov, is only a form of verbal expression of thoughts. The latter (internal benevolence, friendliness) has almost always been a prevailing feature of Russia's foreign policy in relations with Japan (and with other countries as well). Unfortunately, Russia's international partners have not always understood and accepted this point. It is internal goodwill (as in the case of Goncharov) that can greatly benefit establishing a dialogue of cultures.

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ЯПОНИЯ В СЕРЕДИНЕ XIX ВЕКА ГЛАЗАМИ РУССКОГО ПУТЕШЕСТВЕННИКА И. А. ГОНЧАРОВА (ПО МАТЕРИАЛАМ БИБЛИОТЕЧНЫХ ФОНДОВ ВОСТОЧНОГО ФАКУЛЬТЕТА САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА)

Аннотация: Статья посвящена восприятию Японии в середине XIX века глазами русского писателя И. А. Гончарова. Будучи секретарем миссии Е. В. Путятина (заключившей первый русско-японский договор в 1855 г.), он вел путевые заметки, в итоге ставшие сочинением о путеше-

ствии в Японию. В статье рассмотрено редкое издание «Русские в Японии», опубликованное в 1855 г., несколькими годами ранее появления известной книги «Фрегат "Паллада"». Впечатления Гончарова дали начало новому этапу знакомства русских читателей со страной Восходящего Солнца, поскольку ранее уже публиковались записки о пребывании в плену В. М. Головнина (1816) и трехтомник известного немецкого японоведа Ф. Зибольда (1854).

Ценное издание Гончарова из библиотеки Восточного факультета Санкт-Петербургского госуниверситета (с дарственной надписью от автора Путятину) отличается от текста, вошедшего во «Фрегат "Паллада"», будучи почти необработанным, не подвергнутым серьезной редакции материалом, близким к оригиналу самих путевых записок Гончарова. Также в миссии в качестве переводчика состоял И. А. Гошкевич, осваивавший японский язык в процессе пребывания в стране. По возвращении им вместе с японцем Татибана Косай был издан русско-японский словарь (1857). Два экземпляра этого словаря имеются в библиотеке факультета (с автографами). Один получен в дар от Николая Японского, второй – подарен преподавателю факультета Куроно Ёсибуми. Целью авторов было ознакомить широкую публику с этими раритетами библиотеки, которые восходят ко временам заключения первого договора России и Японии и имеют прямое отношение к началу углубленного знакомства с Японией в России.

Ключевые слова: Гончаров, русские в Японии, «Фрегат "Паллада"», Гошкевич, Путятин, Симодский трактат, этнография Японии, стереотипы поведения японцев.