THE ART OF JAPAN IN LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE PROBLEMS OF ART CRITICISM AND THEORY.

VOLUME TWO

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SECTION FOUR.

The Influence of Far Eastern art on the visual arts in England and France from 1868 to the 1880's.

The final section of my thesis will present an account of the effect of Far Eastern art on the practice of the visual arts in England and France after the Japanese appearance at the Paris exhibition of 1867.

The history of painting in the 1870's and later is much better documented than that of the 1860's. It is therefore possible to proceed in more general terms without giving an account of every painting made during the period known to contain Japanese influence, for we shall not encounter the problems of interpretation which were fundamental to an understanding of Japanese influence on art during the 1860's.

Indeed the account of the 1860's in Section One has prepared for the discussion of the development of Japanese influence which I hope to enlarge upon here. The later careers of Manet, Degas and Whistler, for instance, can be seen as consolidations of the artistic discoveries which they made under the impact of the revelation of Japanese art during the 1860's.

In the interests of brevity and coherent presentation of ideas, this section will rely on a selective discussion of artists and their works.

There are two aspects to this. The first concerns the application of precise critical analysis to the development of individual artists in relation to Far Eastern art. In this way I hope to show that the relation of nineteenth century painting to its time is more diverse than has been realised. Furthermore, through a comparative analysis of the use of Far Eastern art by various artists I hope to show that the historical and social context in which they created their works offered a great variety of frames of reference of both formal and "symbolic" significance which were made full use of by the artists. Nineteenth century art possesses as many levels of reference as any other. Far Eastern influences are among

them. This problem resolves itself into the question of the extent to which the work of different artists shows similar or identical linguistic or symbolic borrowings from Far Eastern art. It concerns the extent to which general conclusions can be made about the formal and symbolic association contained within the work of a given period.

It has been assumed, for instance, that the Impressionists shared certain stylistic intentions. However it is only in the last few years that the complexity and possible variety of these intentions has begun to be realised. Recently it has become much easier to challenge the validity of stylistic generalisations such as "Impressionism". The use of Japanese art by various "Impressionists" will provide a useful analytical tool with which to approach the question of their stylistic coherence. It will therefore be necessary to attempt an identification of some of the effects of Japanese art. The examples of brushwork, types of visual coding in the descriptions of objects, compositional patterns, colour systems and other possible general formal effects of Far Lastern influence suggest themselves at once.

Related to these formal questions there exists the problem of the search for an image which could be understood rapidly, a simultaneous image. Such a search was clearly undertaken for complex cultural reasons not simply in pursuit of a radical optical naturalism.

The influence of Far Eastern culture and art contributed greatly to the notions of simultaneity and spontaneity of visual expression which came to the forefront of artistic interest during the 1870's. Such generalised aesthetic aims came to replace, or rather to complement the traditional content of works of art.

Indeed the problem of the importance and significance of subject matter in the art of this period is extremely complex.

By this I mean much more than the question of the artists' choice of subject on the superficial level of whether it is "Realistic", "Impressionistic" or "Symbolic". Rather I wish to discuss the revolution

in the attitudes of artists to subject matter which I believe took place during the 1870's, prompted by the Far Eastern example.

By following the use of Far Eastern art by various artists during the later nineteenth century, I hope to show that their works are as complex and as complete statements of human experience as the art of any other time.

I shall argue for the rejection of the received historical account of the visual arts during this period. This account proceeds by depriving individual artists and their works of many resonances and subtleties of meaning in order to fit them to a stylistic label. Such labels always fail to account for the essence of the creative process which produced the works of art under investigation because their technical convenience is far outweighed by the blinkers which they impose on the historian.

I will use the knowledge of the historical development of the Far Eastern example in Western art established in Sections 2 and 3 of this thesis to recover a more accurate understanding of the creative process of this time. By "creative process" I mean the historical relations of the intellect, the forms of the material world and of human society as they are rearranged and altered by the artist in the course of his work.

Even as a convenient historical shorthand, terms like Impressionism, Symbolism or Aestheticism have become very difficult to use with accuracy. As received concepts with which to describe the creative processes of the time they are destructive.

They appear to have the authority of historical immanence. The Impressionists were, after all, known as the Impressionists by their contemporaries. However when the term is used by historians it is forgotten that no critical formulation of the artistic intentions of the "Impressionists" was made until some years after the 1870's. Moreover the common "generalised" historical understanding of the Impressionism as a style did not first appear until the 1890's or even later. In fact

it is a nonsense to use the term "Impressionism" with anything but the most arbitrary historical relevance. The same is true for all other conceptual generalities which have so influenced the historical accounts of the visual arts in the later nineteenth century. I shall show that to give an accurate account of the creative achievements of this time it is necessary to look at the artist as an individual against the whole context of his times, not as an aesthetic politician whether reactionary (Salon) or revolutionary (Impressionist) stamp. I shall therefore try to avoid such generalisations.

The fundamental rethinking of the nature of the languages of visual art in the 1860's flowered in the 1870's into a great variety of forms. I have demonstrated that Far Eastern art acted as a catalyst, a powerful spur to artistic innovation during the 1860's.

During the 1870's its role changed. It is no exaggeration to say that, as knowledge of Japanese art developed, so a whole visual tradition was assimilated into Western art. Huysmans' suggestion that the 1879 Paris Salon could have been improved by replacing all the exhibits with Japanese prints was not entirely frivolous. Sections 2 and 3 of this thesis have given the account of the process by which this new tradition was created and of the broad limits of the cultural significance assigned to Far Eastern art in the West. Japanese art in the 1870's was no longer a catalyst but a highly reactive element in the Western tradition with its valencies constantly and sharply determined by European knowledge and European cultural myths.

In this section I will explore the implications of the hypothesis that European artists who used Far Eastern example in the 1870's or later did so in order to develop the overall complexity of their work, not simply as a dictionary of new forms to be arbitrarily applied. The crucial case to be discussed in this respect is that of Manet and the "Impressionists", of whom I have selected Monet and Degas for special study. I will show that the unique use of the Far Eastern example by each of the artists

I discuss indicates the complexity of their work and that to conceive of Naturalism as a narrow and reductive aesthetic attitude is to misunderstand it. I will show that the differences in artistic attitude and in style amongst the naturalistic artists are much greater than the similarities which circumstances have led historians to emphasise. The work of Whistler and others of the "Aesthetic Movement" is often placed crudely in opposition to that of the naturalistic artists. By means of an examination of the role of Far Eastern art I hope to show the fallacy of such unhistorical characterisation.

I will also discuss the work of Tissot and Stevens in order to demonstrate that the use of Far Eastern art was in no sense a characteristic of the "Avant Garde". Indeed I hope to show that the concept of an "Avant Garde" is of very little help in interpreting this period. Stevens was well aware of most of the aesthetic implications of Japanese art, yet his attitude to these was very different to that of Degas or Manet, though he made great use of them. I will also give an account of the influence of Japanese art on minor artists and illustrators such as Walter Crane and of the work of Mortimer Menpes and other artists who travelled to Japan.

Artistic activity in the later nineteenth century was more diverse, less divisive, than has usually been assumed. Creative activity was deeply rooted in the total spectrum of contemporary experience and in a commonly recognised range of aesthetic problems. Nowhere is this more eloquently demonstrated than in the letters of Van Gogh who is often, mistakenly, treated as an artist without roots in the aesthetic precoccupations of his time. I shall show by discussing the place of Japanese art in his work that it in fact forms a logical conclusion to the pursuit of the real, the modern and the natural which is the theme of all artists who involved themselves with Japanese art in the 1870's and 1880's.

SECTION FOUR

CHAPTER ONE. The Consummation of the Struggle with the Language of

Painting. Manet and the Far Eastern Example after 1867. The Genesis of

Impressionism; Monet and Degas as enthusiasts for Japanese Art.

Manet and the Far Eastern Example after 1867.

In 1880 Manet exhibited several works in the Paris Salon, including "Chez Pere Lathuille". Huysmans was provoked by this to comment that Manet was completely dominated by Far Eastern art, in particular the Japanese print:

Manet n'avait ni les poumons ni les reins assez solides pour imposer ses idées par une oeuvre forte. Apres s'être mal debanassé des pastiches raccordés de Velasquez, de Goya, de Theotocopule et de bien d'autres, il a érré, tatonné; il a indiqué la route à suivre et lui-même est demeure stationnaire, en arrêt devant les albums de Japon, se déballent avec les balbuties de son dessin, luttant contre la fraîcheur de ses esquisses qu'il gâtait, en les travaillant. Somme toute, M. Manet est aujourd'hui distancié par la plupart des peintres qui ont pu le considérer jadis, et a bon droit, comme un maître.

Huysmans thought that having liberated himself from the Spanish and from the "Realist" aesthetic, Manet had lost the leadership of the French artists which had been his in 1868. Huysmans' criticism would be of interest if only because it gives some indication that a contemporary could "see" Japanese influence as one of the foremost elements in Manet's work, during the 1870's, as Huysmans himself had done in previous reviews. In itself this would justify an investigation of Manet's involvement with Far Eastern art, for this would reveal much about the contemporary attitude to Japanese art and the significance attributed to its forms in the West. Huysmans' view that, for artists, the novelty of the Far Eastern example had faded by 1879 confirms the results of the investigation of the developing attitudes to it during the 1870's made earlier in this thesis. However Huysmans' remark also highlights the

enigma of Manet's work during these years.

It is undoubtedly true that after the 1867 exhibition Manet's art was essentially a struggle to consolidate and develop the research in painting language which he began in the early 1860's. However Huysmans' change of conservatism is less acceptable. There is a sense in which Manet is one of the last recognisable Old Masters of European art. A painter for whom the act of creation was essentially and primarily an act of synthesis rather than analysis. This remains true for the 1870's as for the 1860's despite his abandonment of the traditional "motif". Huysmans' call for perpetual innovation results from the stress on the partial and the impermanent that are the inevitable results of a purely analytical approach to art.

Paradoxically, this attitude was, in part, called into being by the Japanese example and by the resulting conception of art as a process without an ultimate product. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Whistler.

It has been held that the essential separation between Manet and the artists who fully adopted the new naturalism was his attachment to the notion that a work of art is always a synthesis of meaning and form, of subjective emotion and material fact. I shall demonstrate later in this chapter that this is too simple a view. Many later critics and historians have followed Huysmans' view that Japanese art was only a "radical" influence for a brief period in the late 1860's and early '70s, (roughly 1867-1873). This view follows from the assumption that Manet and the Impressionists were naive naturalists to whom the social, philosophical and, in general terms, the symbolic and cultural aspects of their work were lost. I hope to show that on the contrary Japanese art remained of interest to these artists throughout the 1870's and in the case of Monet until the 1920's precisely because their art was related to many levels of contemporary experience.

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Immediately, however, we must discuss the questions raised by Huysmans, whether Manet was in fact constantly drawing on the Japanese example during the 1870's and whether in so doing he was bemused and simply repeated the incomplete "naturalistic" visual formulae that he first found in it in the 1860's.

We have little direct evidence to help us. The inventory of Manet's possessions taken on his death in 1883 shows only one Far Eastern object - a small Chinese screen, in the Salon. There is no reference to Japanese prints, though it may be that some were concealed in a "catch-all" item. 3 Nor do we have any direct evidence that Manet owned any other Far Eastern work during the 1870's. Duret, writing after 1900, records that Manet considered Japanese prints amongst the greatest works of art and compares his drawing to that of Hokusai;

I know of no-one with whom he can be compared to in this respect except Hokusai, whose rapid drawings of the Mangwoua combine simplicity with perfect definition of character. Manet greatly admired what he had been able to see of Hokusai's work and praised unreservedly the volumes of the Mangwa which he had come across.

Duret's connection with Manet dates back to 1865 but the relationship intensified after 1868 when Manet painted Duret's portrait. Moreover Duret testifies that he "discovered" the Mangwa and Japanese art
in the 1867 exhibition. As we have seen Duret acquired a large collection of Japanese prints during his travels to the East with Cernuschi
in the early 1870's. He gave pride of place to the works of Hokusai
in his collection, in his writings on Japanese art and in his section of
the 1883 exhibition organised by Louis Gonse. It is likely that Duret
was a major source of Manet's knowledge of Japanese art and sustained
his belief in the importance of Hokusai.

Manet was, in fact, surrounded by enthusiasts for Japanese art.

He had a long association with Ph. Burty who was a pallbearer at his

funeral, with Duret, Alfred Stevens and Zola. The development of Burty's

collection of Japanese art has been traced earlier in this thesis.

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He also knew lesser "japonistes", such as Zachary Astruc. He made an etching of T. de Banville in the background of which were several Far Eastern objects, including fans and a Buddha.

Manet was undoubtedly close to the development of the enthusiasm for Japanese art in Paris after the 1867 exhibition. However there are only two direct quotations from Japanese art in his paintings after 1867. The portrait of Berthe Morisot, "Le Repos" 1874, shows an unidentifiable triptych print above Morisot's head and the "Portrait of "Woman with Fans " Madame Callias" of 1874 makes use of a series of Japanese fans hung on 7 a wall as a background. Behind the fans is a Japanese decorative hanging of some kind showing a heron or ibis on the shore of a stream. This has been claimed to have been wallpaper, but it is my view that it derives either from a Japanese embroidered screen hanging opened flat against the wall as was the fashion at that time, or an embroidered hanging. One can see the woven patterned "ribbon" bounding the panel clearly and it appears to be joined onto another panel brocaded with the same ribbon. Such a use of ribbon is typical of Japanese screens.

It would appear that Manet abstracted motifs from the screen or hanging to fit in with his compositions more accurately. The same bird motif appears in "Nana" of 1877, but Manet has changed its relationship to the framing ribbon completely. We can however be reasonably certain that the original image was woven, not painted, for the legs of the bird appear in the "Still Life with Ham" of 1880, and are represented in a manner that suggests separate strands of material within a decorative weave.

It seems reasonable to assume therefore that the source for these backgrounds was present in Manet's studio throughout the 1870's.

However he never made direct representation of it and therefore we cannot be certain as to its form. My opinion is that it was a screen suspended on a wall.

These instances together with the Japanese doll in the painting of

Duret's Japanese dog Tama are the only direct representations of Japanese motifs in Manet's work of the 1870's. They add nothing in themselves to my discussion of Manet's use of Japanese art in the 1860's and were they the only evidence we have of his interest in Far Eastern art we could be correct in assuming, as so many have, that Far Eastern work merely added to his art an occasional exotic perfume consistent with "modernity".

Nor is this position much affected by a consideration of the problem of "motif" in the 1870's. Manet's art during this period may have external sources but they have not been discovered and the search for specific Japanese sources for any of his works would not be profitable. Indeed the Musée Cernuschi, the best potential source of such material has been inaccessible to researchers. Manet was no longer interested in the problem of the translation of a "motif" into modern terms. He was now in a position to attempt to take his subjects directly from his own experience. The role which the Japanese example had as a catalyst in the transformation of motifs into a modern form was no longer relevant. Nonetheless there were two aspects of Manet's search for the "modern" which remained intimately bound up with the Japanese example.

Naturally these links are difficult to elucidate and impossible to present with absolute certainty as they are all to be found in the difficult area where form becomes interchangeable with symbol, where the source of revelation is masked behind the reality it reveals. Nonetheless I hope to show that as Manet consolidated the results of his struggle with the language of painting the Far Eastern example was constantly before him, a major influence on his development.

We have seen above that by 1867 Manet was a highly developed artist with a great admiration for Far Eastern art which resulted in his own art being compared to Japanese art by Zola, and in the appearance of a Japanese print in his portrait of Zola.

During the 1867 exhibition he would have had ample opportunity to study the Far Eastern sections in the Champ de Mars. Fifty of his own paintings were on show in a temporary pavil ion just across the river in the Place de l'Alma and the view that he painted of the Champ de Mars is of the section of the grounds which included the Chinese pavil ion.

By 1868 Manet had recorded his debt to Japanese art in his portrait of Zola. During that year he made further acknowledgements of this debt in two of his paintings. They are "The Balcony" and the "Luncheon in the Studio". Although many critics have asserted that there is no thematic or symbolic link in "The Balcony" I hope to show that it is the last painting in which Manet consciously confronted the problems of creating a new language of painting in terms of separate symbols of its aspects.

The composition as a whole is clearly dependent on Goya's painting "Majas on a balcony". Manet probably knew the version in the Montpensier collection in Paris which was reproduced in Yriarte's "Goya" of 1867. He may also have seen the version of the painting in the Prado during However Goya's painting is concerned with the his journey in Spain. romantic bravura of human relationships against the background of a strict social code. This is reflected in a tension between the cloaked anonymous male and the elaborately dressed Majas sparkling against the deep shadows. Manet's articulation is quite different. The composition as a whole is clear and open, but each figure in the design has its own independent reality conveyed by its decorative presence within the design of the painting rather than by an implied dramatic tension between the subjects of the painting. Manet's painting represents a possibility of modern experience, a reality at once dream-like and self-contained, that had first been articulated by Baudelaire.

Courthion quotes Baudelaire's "Le Balcon" in relation to this

painting. Whilst one may doubt the historical aptness of the quotation

it is clearly a pointer to the artistic intention of the work. We have seen

that in earlier work Manet used Japanese art to achieve the correct "modernity" of feeling. In this painting he does the same thing. The green shutters and balcony railings lend the painting a fragile "decorative" quality. They are derived directly from Japanese prints, probably those showing the geisha district of Tokyo, the Yoshiwara. In these prints much is made of the motifs supplied by the delicate wood and bamboo members and shutters and screens in Japanese domestic buildings. Their function is to supply a grid which focusses attention on the geisha, a pair of lovers or a group in such a way that the "still centre" of their existence is revealed.

Manet uses the same device of fine linear patterns which define both the physical and psychological environment of his sitters to invoke a similar neutral ambience. The balcony railing forms a transparent spatial curtain which separates and encloses the three figures behind it. Its rhythmical pattern is subtly emphasised by its almost exact bilateral symmetry. This rhythm combines with patterns of the shutters to emphasise the isolated self-contained quality of each figure. In addition the absence of a visible base for the railing and consequently of a link with the viewer places the figures in a quasi-imm#table relationship to him. Paradoxically this type of compositional relationship often results in the viewer reading the work as the "image of a passing moment". However contemporary critics missed even this possibility and attacked Manet for what they considered an unmitigated crudity. The shutters and railing, with their devastating flatness were unfavourably commented on by practically every critic who saw the work in the 1869 Salon. They remarked, almost to a man, that Manet had taken up house painting, using buckets of Veronese green to finish his work quickly. It seems to me that it is just possible that Manet knew the Japanese descriptive name 14 for the Yoshiwara prints, "Images of the green houses". In any case he certainly borrowed the motif of railings and shutters from them. As

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we have seen the most likely Japanese artists to have influenced him are those active in the mid-nineteenth century Toyokuni seems to be the most likely candidate, though Kuniyoshi and several others working at that I(1) time also produced prints using this motif.

Manet was to use it in two of his later major works, the "Chemin de Fer" of 1873 and "Dans la Serre" of 1879. In both cases a human relationship is presented against a series of regular "decorative" elements supplied in the earlier work by the bars of the railings through which the child gazes at the train and in the latter by the wooden slats of the seat and back of the beach on which Madame Guillemet sits. The appearance of such a new motif in Manet's art would be of interest even if it was used only as a transparent barrier to demark and denote pictorial space. The motif had not been previously used in Western art, and as I shall show it was taken up by several other artists including Degas. However as we have seen, it also has a psychological purpose, proposing a certain mode of existence and relationship between the human beings within the painting, between them and the pictorial environment and between the painting as a whole and the viewer. In "Le Chemin de Fer" the curiosity of the girl for the railway is balanced by the "mother's" curious look at the viewer and their presences are linked and spatially and psychologically determined by the motif of the railings. Ph. Burty wrote about the "Chemin de Fer" in the Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique in terms very similar to those he used about some Japanese art in his articles appearing simultaneously in the same periodical. He called it "an impression of nature, but of nature seen with sensitivity and treated with refinement". Thus we may see that Burty was acting as transmitter of ideas involving the Far Eastern example into the period of the genesis of the "Impressionist" attitudes to art.

By 1873 however we may suppose that Manet was simply making superbuse of his pictorial language. In "Le Balcon" we may see this in its

final stages of formation.

The boy bearing a salver in the background of the work is a memory from Manet's earlier art and is here as an echo of Velasquez. Moreover while each of the figures in the foreground is identifiable they also function as symbols of the elements from which Manet forged his style. The painter Antoine Guillemet standing at the back is treated in a manner derived from the Dutch painters who Manet greatly admired. Berthe Morisot seated at the front is in Spanish costume, carrying a fan and painted as a Spanish beauty with her face described in strong contrasts of light and dark. On the other hand Mme. Claus, standing on the right is painted in shimmering indeterminate layers of colour and in a highly affected pose, fiddling with her gloves, supporting an umbrella in the crook of her left arm.

In my view she is rendered in a manner appropriate to the "Japanese" clement in Manet's style. Not only would Manet have had Japanese prints and paintings to study, he would also have been able to observe the Japanese women at work in the 1867 exposition and it was probably in this way that he derived Mile. Claus' strange headdress, her hair is up and a "Bouquet" of white flowers is placed on her forehead. Moreover her face is vague, symmetrical, barely a "portrait" in comparison with that of Berthe Morisot.

There is of course no direct evidence for this interpretation of "Le Balcon". However if on looks back to Manet's struggle with traditional languages of painting before 1867 it would be natural for him to retain a partially "symbolic" approach to a modern subject until his style was formed to a point where he could use it freely as he wished. "Le Balcon" marks that point. From now on Japanese art was to make a different form of contribution to Manet's art. Its role was essentially that of any other element within a tradition. Manet was to draw on it to vary and expand the pictorial language that the Far Eastern example

had helped him to form in the 1860's. His drawing and graphic work therefore forms a much more important indication of his use of the Far Eastern example than it did before 1867, for as I shall show, it was through his graphic work that Manet experimented with new elements in his pictorial vocabulary, which he often incorporated in his painting. The history of these graphic experiments seems to parallel the European discovery of different aspects of Japanese art during the 1870's, as I have described it earlier in this thesis.

Two other indications of the probability of Manet's continued involvement with the Far Eastern example are those formal aspects of his style which suggest Japanese models and the declaration of his friends, critics and of the painter himself. By bringing these elements together I hope to show that Manet remained constantly aware of the Japanese example as he refined his art during the 1870's. By implication it should become clear that "Impressionism" was not a radical turning point in Manet's career brought about solely by his fortuitous relationship with Monet but a logical development of Manet's efforts to create a "modern" style with all that this implied.

"Lunch in the Studio", the second painting made in 1868 in which Manet recorded his debt to Japanese art contains an indication of its changed role in his art. The composition of the painting is rather crowded but basically it follows the stylistic possibilities of his earlier paintings. The direct link to Japanese art is provided by the cat sitting next to the helmet and swords in the lower left-hand corner of the painting. The image of the cat is a completely flat black silhouette from which legs, tail and one ear can be discerned protruding as the cat curls itself up in the act of washing. The cat is an unmistakeable acknowledgement of Manet's debt to the Japanese example.

It can be traced to the cats taken from the print of cats by
Hiroshige which were used as bas de page illustration for Champfleury's
"Les Chats". Its pose, silhouette and manner of drawing are identical

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with the cat in the centre of the bottom row of Hiroshige's print. There is no doubt that Fanet knew Hiroshige's print and used it in "Lunch in the Studio" and in the associated engraving. It provides clear evidence that Manet was making a detailed study of Japanese art.

During 1868 Manet was working on the lithograph "La Rendezvous des I(2)Chats" which was used in 1870 as a poster for Champfleury's book. proof bears a dedication by Champfleury to Nadar. Hiroshige's print was at that time believed to be by Hokusai and no doubt Manet imitated its style believing it to be by the Japanese artist whom Duret informs us he admired almost beyond criticism. In using the image of a cat to indicate his debt to Japanese art, Manet was not relying solely on stylistic characteristics to make his point. As we have seen the Japanese portrayal of animals was greatly admired and this admiration somehow came to reside especially in images of cats. This is not surprising when one considers that most nineteenth century Japanese print makers made studies of cats. Eventually in 1893 a book solely concerned with Japanese cat imagery was published in Rouen, "Le Chat d'après les Japonais" par J. Adelina. 20 1869 Manet made it clear that he was aware of the association in an engraving "Le Chat et Les Fleurs", which shows a cat looking at a large I(3)Japanese bronze vase holding flowers. The intimate presentation of the 21 scene derives from Eastern art, though the style is not Japanese, being limited by the etching technique. Manet does show a considerable interest in the designs on the bronze however. Several drawings of cats by Manet dated from 1868 survive in the Louvre. One in black crayon shows three cats, one of which is identical with the cat in "Luncheon Another, "Chat sous une chaise", shows the beginning I(4)in the Studio". of Manet's interest in Oriental brush technique, though its wash drawing is laid on a pencilled guide line, it shows an awareness of the potential in dynamic outline and direct brushstrokes in drawing. This interest in Oriental painting technique was to flower as more Japanese painting became available during the 1870's. Manet's developing understanding

of this technique is dramatically demonstrated by a comparison of "Chat sous un chaise" with the watercolour brush drawings of cats he used to illus rate two of the letters that he wrote to Mile. Lemonnier in the last years of his life.

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The freedom with which watercolour is handled in these later sketches and indeed in his later watercolours as a whole testifies to the tremendous strides which Manet's understanding of Japanese art made during the 1870's. I shall trace this development in the course of this essay.

In the late 1860's however Eanet's interest in Japanese art centred on the effects found in woodblock prints, notably those black and white effects in the Mangwa and similar books of prints. He made a based on the drawing of cats which he used in "Luncheon in the Studio" 24 in order to test out these effects in a graphic medium close to that of the Japanese originals. Apart from the probability that the hanging scroll in the upper right hand corner of "Luncheon in the Studio" is a Japanese painting on silk there is no other acknowledgement of Far Eastern interest in Manet's painting. Manet's pictorial language here forms a unity which does not rely on a conscious separation within the composition of the elements from which it is made up. Whilst it could 25 be argued that several elements in the painting have their origins in the Far Fastern example, they mark no advance on Manet's earlier use of Japanese art.

Nonetheless the appearance of the cat in "Luncheon in the Studio" is not simply a curiosity. It points to Manet's developing interest in Japanese drawing techniques. This was soon to be revealed in a series of seven paintings made in the summer of 1869 at Boulogne sur Mer during 26 a long pause on Manet's journey to London in that year. In these works Hanet is often said to have "become" an impressionist. Six of them take the harbour as their subject, but it is the seventh, "Sur la Plage du Boulogne" which is of the most interest for my thesis.

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It snows groups of people, men, women and children, on a flat sandy leach engaged in the actions which one naturally finds in such a situation, some gazing out to sea at the yachts and steamboats in the distance, some talking together and the children playing. To the left is a horse-drawn bathing machine just leaving the water. Nearly every critic who has written about this painting has described it as badly composed, disjointed or lacking articulation. This is presumably because the figures are presented in the process of performing their actions independently of each other on a bare beach. However this does not make for a "disjointed" work; the painting is a consistent presentation of the variety of human action within a specific landscape, a type of space. It demands to be "read" as such. If one does this it becomes clear that the composition, although highly informal, is well-balanced. For instance the group of mother and two children looking out of the canvas is carefully isolated on the extreme left against the weight of figures to the right.

The informal deployment of the figures on the beach is the perfect compositional vehicle for such a work. Exactly the same method of disposing figures was used by the Japanese printmakers in their landscape studies. Many of the prints in Hokusai's"100 Views of Fuji" show I(7)figures informally distributed in a landscape. This book we know to 28 have been in Europe by 1869. But we can suggest closer analogies than this. Many printmakers from the time of Utamaro concerned themselves with the image of human beings on the sea shore and all adopted the informal distribution of figures through an almost empty scene that characterises Manet's work. It is possible to cite numerous examples **I(8)** but one from Hokusai will suffice. This is "The eight-part bridge, Mihawa", from Hokusai's 11 bridge series. In this print figures are 29. grouped with a random informality on a trestled bridge running along a Similar informal grouping of figures is found in many prints by Hiroshige in "100 Views of Yedo" and "59 Stages of the Tokaido Road" series. Moreover as we have seen, Chassiron published a reproduction of

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a landscape print of a shoreline showing exactly such an informal distri- 30 bution of figures from the "100 Views of Fuji" by Hokusai, in his book on Japan.

It is also interesting that such an informal distribution of figures first occurs in a picture organised like one of Hiroshige's Tokaido Road prints - the view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle, which presents a road and the panorama viewed from it.

It is probable that a Hiroshige or Hokusai view of the sea prompted Manet to make this painting. In earlier nineteenth century paintings of the seashore the sea is generally seen as a metaphor of the chaotic universe which the artist, as a representative of humanity, confronts with his creative intentions. This is true of the seashore paintings of Friedrich, Constable, Turner, Dyce and of Courbet. This attitude to the seashore is best expressed in Matthew Arnold's poem "Dover Beach".

Manet's painting on the other hand shows a completely different attitude to the relation of human beings and the sea. To them the sea is an incidental but welcome contingency in their affairs. This change in attitude to nature and human behaviour is another aspect of Manet's developing modernity. It is an attitude which, as we have seen, contemporary "realist" critics saw in Hokusai's work, which they praised for its observation of the incidents of daily life.

Manet followed Hokusai's method of recording the incidents for his painting in a remarkable sketchbook in which all the figures in the composition were separately noted, together with many other sketches which were not used in the final painting.

De Leiris calls the works in this "Boulogne Sketchbook" thumbnail sketches but fails to see that Manet's drawing style has changed, become radically simplified and free of the need to record contour and detail which was central to his earlier work. In these new sketches Manet uses open, broken lines to suggest volume and action. This is clear in the

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sketch for the group of three women; two seated on the sand in the centre of the figures to the right in the painting, especially the line which describes the back of the standing woman.

This direct rapid use of line is modelled on Hokusai's style in the Mangwa, of which we know that Manet knew some volumes by 1869. We may see it clearly in a page from the first volume of the Mangwa from which Manet was to borrow directly in 1876. In the upper left-hand corner is a figure of a noodle vendor. The arm holding the pole supporting his I(10) wares is indicated simply by three brush strokes which suggest at once the sleeve and arm it contains. In his search for modernity Manet clearly imitated this manner of Hokusai in his own drawing.

Moreover he grasped the implications of this method for his painting.

The lines of sketches are transmuted almost directly into paint by direct brush strokes. This is strikingly true of the group of three women we have already discussed and of the donkey in the lower right— I(11) hand corner.

This effect is emphasised by Manet's use of flat areas of colour and direct light and dark contrast within the open contours translated from the sketches, De Leiris has seen in "Sur la Flage de Boulogne"

Manet's attempt to free himself from pictorial sources and to discover a compositional solution answering directly the demands of a very precise and personal form of visual experience and that Manet's "refusal to compromise with the uniqueness of this experience" produced the strange- 35 ness of the composition. Whilst I am in agreement with him in tracing

Manet's motive for attempting this painting to a desire to make incarnate in art a Baudelairean "realité moderne" I find the notion that such a complex and disciplined work sprang solely from the desire to evade certain visual traditions rather difficult.

Manet's style developed from a synthesis in which Far Eastern art played a crucial role as a catalyst. I find it natural that he should have turned to Far Eastern art to develop that style further. We have

seen that Japanese art, especially Hokusai's prints, was strongly identified with "realism" and with the idea of "Modernite" from the late 1860's. We have also seen that the subject matter, the emotional tone, informal composition and the style of description of the human figures in this painting all have parallels in works by Hokusai of which Manet was probably aware. It is reasonable to suggest therefore that at this crucial stage in the extension of his pictorial language Manet turned once more to the Japanese example.

De Leiris argues that this painting indicates a movement "towards Impressionism", postulating Impressionism as a finite, comprehensible style. I prefer to see "Sur la Plage de Boulogne" as a logical extension to Manet's struggle for a pictorial language to deal with contemporary experience. This extension led logically to the two studies of figures on the beach which Manet made in 1873. "Sur la Plage de Boulogne" and "Baigneuses sur la plage" in which simplified brushwork and bright colour is used in as radical a manner as that of Monet.

It may be argued that in concentrating on "Sur la Plage de Boulogne" I have been able to over-emphasise the role of the Far Eastern example at this stage in Manet's development. However it is possible to find analogies with Far Eastern art in each of the other six paintings made at Boulogne.

In both versions of the Departure of the Folkestone boat the use of the two inclined smokestacks and the paddle wheel casing as major, flat decorative areas of division of the composition is reminescent of the repeated use of tree trunks, temple pillars and architectural features by Hokusai and Hiroshige for the same purpose. All six paintings contain further examples of the graphic simplification of brushstroke in the painting of figures, which I have suggested derives from Manet's close study of the Japanese example.

As I shall show, it was the two elements of composition and simplified descriptive brushwork which Manet was to communicate to Monet

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at Argenteuil. This series of paintings and "Sur la Plage de Boulogne" in particular also raises the question of the direct influence of the Far Eastern example on the subject matter of painting in the 1870's. Uki-yo-e prints especially showed a great range of subject matter, much of which concerned metropolitan life in Yedo, and fitted the Baudelairean conception of the modern, as has been discussed above. It may be that the example of an art with such a wide range of subject matter gave Manet and others the courage to extend the subject matter in Western painting during the 1870's. As we have seen, many critics in the 1870's identified the broadening of subject matter in Western art and literature with Uki-yo-e prints. In my view it cannot be too strongly stressed that formal and linguistic innovation such as we have discussed went inevitably hand in hand with this legitimising of non traditional subject matter. It has recently been argued that this opening of attitudes to the subject matter of art leads eventually to the acceptance in the West of the notion "most things make a picture" and also to the denial 37 of the role of subject matter in recent art. It is hardly necessary to state that the universalism which these aesthetic attitudes suggest. when taken together, is a characteristic of Far Eastern cultures. We have seen that ideas of universal transience derived from the Far Eastern example were in the minds of critics of Far Eastern art in the 1870's. At many points they stand in close relation to the ideas of transience evolved as part of Western "naturalism" in the 1870's. Thus it may be seen that the transient nature of the scene on the beach at Boulogne found more than a merely formal echo in Far Eastern art. Language is form and substance. Once again we may see that the Far Eastern example stands at the beginning of a "Modernist" attitude to art and aesthetics. Moreover it is in the logic of Manet's metamorphosis of traditional subjects in the search for modernity in the 1860's that he should eventually choose subjects which have no location in the Western tradition and no naturally appropriate pictorial organ-

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isation and therefore that he should turn to the Far Eastern example for possible compositional schemata.

Later in 1869 Manet made another direct acknowledgement of his interest in Japanese art with the inclusion of the unidentifiable triptych print in "Le Repos", the portrait of Berthe Morisot.

In 1870 he made an Interpretation of the profile of Eva Gonsal es which is clearly dependent on the Far Eastern example for its direct linear style. The fluidity of line in Gonsalves' profile suggests that Manet was studying Far Eastern paintings as well as prints by this time.

Moreover it may be related to the profile by Koua Setsu which was in the Duret collection in 1882. Though the probability is that Duret did not own this work before 1873, similar examples could have been seen by Manet earlier.

In the following year Manet produced an etching, "La Queue devant la boucherie" in which a queue is shown sheltering under open umbrellas in the rain. The motif has been related to the drawings of umbrella carrying individuals in the "Mangwa." I find these comparisons unsatisfactory as they suggest a graphic intention not found in Manet's print. which relies on a balance of masses, not outline. Far more relevant to this engraving is the broken lined image used by both Hokusai and more especially by Hiroshige when they describe a figure in a rainy landscape. One such image, taken from Hokusai's "100 Views of Fuji" was reproduced in Osborne's "Japanese Fragments" and later in Montaiglon's "Sonnetti D'Arte". Several occur in Hiroshige's "Views of the Tokaido Road" of 1853, for instance the stations of Tsuchinyama and of Shono. The broad straw hats of the figures in these prints are equally valuable from the point of view of a cluster of circular motifs as are the umbrellas of Hokusai's work. The probability is that Manet knew all these sources and merged them in this work. An additional point to be made about this print is that it takes further the image of human behaviour as "incidental" which Manet began exploring in "Sur la Plage

de Boulogne". Moreover, as in the Gonsales print, Manet indicates that he has begun a study of Far Eastern painting techniques. The use of juxtaposed masses of light and dark, relating not to chiaroscuro but to a coded, graphic method of description, is characteristic of Far Eastern ink painting. The "Queue" shows the same "coded" descriptions - note the partial indication of the shape of the umbrellas. Also Manet gives a dynamic effect to his dark areas by a directional use of the etched line within the areas; this forms an equivalent for the dynamic of the oriental brushstroke.

As we have seen, Japanese paintings gradually became recognised during the 1870's. From the Union des Beaux Arts exhibition of 1869

Japanese ink paintings, screen paintings and watercolours were frequently on show in Paris and several accounts of Japanese painting techniques were published. There is no doubt that the Cernuschi collection originally contained Far Eastern paintings and drawings, of which unfortunately there is no record. This interest in Japanese painting techniques reached its zenith with the great interest in the work of Watanabe

Seitei at the soirées in the 1878 exhibition.

There was also a general broadening of acquaintance with the visual languages of Far Eastern art.

Unsympathetic critics now began to detect the Japanese element in Manet's work. He exhibited the "Combat between the Kearsage and Alabama" of 1864 in the Salon of 1872, and J. Claretie immediately attacked it for its Japanese quality:

Manet has been a sailor, a cabin boy and an ordinary seaman in his youth. You would not say so after seeing his seascape where the perspective is treated a bit too much in the Japanese style.

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Infantilism remained the essential charge against Manet and the debate about his work in the 1870's follows a similar pattern to the debate about the value of Japanese art in the 1870's. Those who were against one tended to be against the other, as we have seen in the case

of Bousquet. Childlike primitiveness was alleged against both.

Manet confirmed his interest in Japanese art in the eight illustrations that he made for the poem "La Fleuve" by Charles Cros in 1874. The libellule for the poem is a drawing of a dragonfly which is clearly 41 based on the drawings of insects found in Hokusai's Mangwa and many similar works. Chassiron was first to reproduce plates from Vol.1 of the Mangwa. It is likely that Manet took the idea for the dragonfly from this volume for, as we shall see, he quoted from the same volume in his illustrations for Mallarmé's "L'Après-Midi d'Un Faun".

The remaining engravings for "La Fleuve" do not have the incisive direct linear quality that is the normal implication of influence of the Mangwa. In particular we may see this in "La Mer", whose linear struct- I(12) ure is open to such an extent that it appears like a graffitt. In fact this highly open treatment is one of Hokusai's alternative manners within the Mangwa in Vol.8, and more commonly in other books such as I(13) the Hokusai Gwafu. "La Montagne" and "La Haute Vallée" also show an attempt to absorb a different aspect of Hokusai's visual language in this case the juxtaposition of black and white masses to suggest volume and space in landscape. This is found in particular in volume six of the "Mangwa" in the plate "Snow on Mount Toukuva. Hitachi". "La Haute Vallée" is especially striking in this respect and also as it is almost a paradigm of compositional strategies to be used later in much more complex pictorial situations by Manet and the Impressionists. applies not only to landscape but to Manet's portraits, nudes and figure paintings of the 1880's. Consider the two figures in "Argenteuil" as volumes, they are coded in the manner of the trees in "La Haute Vallee". Manet thus learnt from the graphic languages of Far Eastern art that a great variety of visual coding existed to make representation of many experiences immediate without loss of aesthetic conviction. The observation of the effects of light alone could never have achieved The search for the instantaneous image was as much a question of this.

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language as of observation. The charm of the trees in "La Haute Vallée" resides in the audacity with which visual language is used in such a simple image and the same is true in a more complex way of Manet's "Impressionist" works and many of the works of the Impressionists.

Another source for these small images can be in Chesneau's article
"Le Japon a Paris" of 1878. Chesneau reproduces several very small,
vignette like Japanese landscape prints. Presumably they are reproduced
full size. They show the graphic compression and directness as the
Manet works.

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Manet's difficulty with this very sparse style is indicated with his need to repeat several of the etchings on fresh plates. This shows that he was struggling with further implications of Far Eastern style and discriminating between its different facets. He was pushing his investigation of Far Eastern art far beyond the level of his critical antagonists.

There were some critics who perceived the value of the Japanese example for Manet, notably Mallarmé and Huysmans, and who in general intended their comparisons with Japanese art as a form of praise.

Manet met Mallarmé in 1873 and they remained friends until Manet's—death. During the 1870's Manet illustrated two poetic works connected with Mallarmé, his translation of Poe's "The Raven" in 1875 and his own "L'Après Midi d'un Faunt in 1876.

Manet's illustrations for "The Raven" provide clear evidence of his interest in Far Eastern brushwork. The illustrations and the preliminary prints for them were made using an autographic process that enabled true copies of brush drawings to be reprinted by lithographic stone.

Manet was probably inspired to use this method by brush drawings of crows which arrived in Paris during the 1870's. One contemporary Japanese artist - Kyosai - had made his forte the painting of crows.

We know that Kyosai was known to many European artists who travelled to

Japan. This would suggest that if Japanese brush painting influenced

Manet directly it probably did so through the work of Kyosai. However

we cannot be certain that one of Kyosai's works was present in Europe by

1875 and it may well be that his work was little known to foreigners

before the 1877 Tokyo exhibition at which it caused a public controversy.

The only Japanese image of a blackbird whose presence in Europe can be

assigned to earlier than 1875 is a print in the Cernuschi collection

reproduced by Gonse in 1883 as "Sansonnets sur le Soleil-Couchant" par

Shinman, 1815. Although it is a print, it does preserve the dynamic of (I) Sect

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a brush-stroked image, particularly in the two grey birds behind the

black image of the foremost one; it also retains a certain roughness

of finish that is characteristic of some of Manet's illustrations and

is produced in them by a mixture of dragging a dry brush and scraping

the lithographic stone.

It is possible that Manet saw this image or one like it as a result of his friendship with Duret. A print of blackbirds on a bough by "Quashi Kijo" dated 1751 appears in Duret's 1882 article on Japanese prints in the Gazette des Beaux Arts. This suggests that such prints were in Duret's collection in the 1870's. Manet would certainly have been in a position to understand Far Eastern brush technique for Duret would have given him a first-hand account of it. Moreover as we have seen in the 1870's Duret believed that lightness of touch and the representation of movement were the key characteristics of Japanese art and that he attributed these qualities to the use of the brush both as a writing and as a painting implement.

The painting of birds was a most natural expression of Duret's beliefs as the images would exemplify movement and lightness of drawing. In making images of the raven Manet was doing far more than borrowing a motif, he was making a practical investigation of Duret's account of Far Eastern art.

One of the earliest of the prints connected with the raven project is the print showing the head of a raven, three studies of Duret's Japanese dog, Tama, and a small block of pseudo-Japanese characters and I(15) seals. The studies of Tama link the plate with Duret. The "Japanese" character, which Guerin thought a fantasy added by the printer are in fact Manet's attempt to understand Japanese calligraphy and the crow and Tama are experiments in brush strokes imitating Japanese paintings by following Duret's advice.

The study of the raven's head was later used as the centre piece of the poster which advertised Mallarme's translation and was placed on the cover of Mallarme's complete poems.

The drawing of the flying crow which formed the exlibris of "The Raven" exemplifies Duret's stress on lightness of touch and motion completely; in it Manet has understood totally Japanese brush painting. However its application is less successful in the illustrations which demanded the creation of original images.

"Sous la lampe" is possibly the most difficult of them. Manet has attempted to merge the Oriental brush technique with a diagonal hatching in the Western tradition. The sense of intense darkness, spiritual as well as physical which is intended to surround the lamp is vitiated by the illegibility of this mixture of these techniques.

"Le Corbeau sur le buste" uses the same mixture but much more successfully. The contrast of the lines indicating the bust, and the door beneath it with the irregular strokes of the raven and the shadows around it show Manet's interest in using the potential of Far Eastern graphic means to create an image which reflects the enigmatic meaning of Poe's poem:

And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting
On the pallid bust of Pallas, just above my chamber door;
And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon's that is dreaming,

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And the lamplight o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor.

And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor

Shall be lifted - nevermore.

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It is "La Chaise" which illustrates the shadow alone which is the most successful of the illustrations. Manet uses the Far Eastern brush stroke to create in the shadow a presence which is a perpetual symbol of absence, strengthened the unsubstantiality of the drawing of the empty chair. No suggestion has ever been made that Manet had any direct symbolic intention in using a Far Eastern technique for these illustrations indeed it seems unlikely that one existed since no contemporary attitudes to Japanese art suggest an appropriate symbolism.

Nonetheless one cannot avoid remarking that the Far Eastern style is used by Manet as a cipher for enigma and melancholy, a "modern" sentiment to which traditional Western art could not perhaps have given full expression. I am thinking here of the weak illustrations to Poe's "Tales" made by Legros in 1862.

Nor must one forget that Baudelaire, writing of Poe, observed that he never lost his philosophical calm but remained the true poet;

a truth clad in a singular raiment, an apparent paradox, refusing to be jostled by the crowd and running off to the furthest Orient the moment the fireworks start up in the West.

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He also speaks of the hero of the Raven as living in "Oriental luxury".

Manet's choice of a Far Eastern style to illustrate "The Raven" may well have been conditioned by the identification of the Far Eastern example with "modernity" which sprang from Baudelaire. It was also necessary to escape the repetitious medievalising Gothic of Legros' illustrations, in order to suggest paradox, the existence of something beyond the commonplace emotional vocabulary of Western art. As I have shown above, many critics, notably Burty, stressed the "poetic" quality of Japanese art. We may therefore suggest that Manet's choice was made

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in the full realisation of the "modernity" of Japanese art and its relation to contemporary Western culture. Manet was thus engaged both in an investigation of the Far Eastern aesthetic and in a complex comment on the meaning of Poe's poem in his illustrations to "The Raven".

Mallarmé's 'Après Midi d'un Faun' was also the subject of a careful complex comment in Manet's illustrations. The poem concerns the attempts of a faun to recapture the sight of a beautiful nymph, once glimpsed, on a luxurious sunny afternoon. It traces the increasing role of the imagination and artifice in the faun's attempts to "perpetuate" the image of the nymphs. The poem finds beauty in a transient, parade of physical sensations fused with ideas of formal harmony which are most strongly evident in the careful metrical structure and balance of sounds in the poem.

Manet provided four exquisite small prints for this work which are clearly based on the radically simplified graphic style which he developed from the example of Hokusai in the Mangwa. Moreover two of the four are direct borrowings from Hokusai.

The exlibris design of two leaves and a flower is taken from a sheet of studies of flowers in volume one of Hokusai's Mangwa. The frontispiece of the faun has no direct borrowing from Hokusai other than the stylistic. However in the picture of the nymphs the figure to the left extending her right arm is borrowed intact from a Japanese bathroom scene also in volume one of the Mangwa. This scene was well-known in Europe it was reproduced partially or in total on several occasions beginning with Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon" in 1863. The cul de lampe print is also not attributable to a single Japanese model. It is an image of a single bunch of grapes. An image in a Japanese manner of an inescapably "antique" motif.

Mallarme was delighted with the illustrations and gave a clue to Manet's intention in a letter which he wrote to Arthur O'Shau nessy in 1876 on the 24th May:

Manet sera content que vous avez fort gouté Son illustration si curieuse: melant dans un sentiment moderne très - vrai à la fois le japonais et l'antique.

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Nanet combines the imagery of the antique with the graphic simplicity of Japanese art to create a pictorial analogy to Malarmé's poem. In one sense he is beginning that metamorphosis of classicism in order to express a modern sentiment which was to be a distinctive feature of art in the twentieth century, notably in the work of Picasso. The transience of "beauty" balanced with a perfectly proportioned structure in the poem is exactly matched to Manet's pictorial reference. Nor is the "antique" contribution one of motif alone any more than the Far Eastern example is simply stylistic. I suspect that Manet may have had certain vase paintings in mind though this is difficult to prove. It is striking that Mallarmé recognised the result as authentically modern.

Moreover as I have shown, many critics of Japanese art in the 1860's and 1870's linked the art of ancient Greece and that of Japan. Chesneau for instance compared the Parthenon entasis to Japanese asymmetry and in 1878 a Japanese was shown, driving Apollo's chariot in a decorative frieze. The fusion of the two was therefore rooted in a cultural "modernity", not simply an invented or imposed modern experience.

In one sense these four illustrations contain the essential paradox of Manet's art in the 1870's and provide strong evidence against the belief of De Leiris and others that Manet developed consistently towards an "unfettered" naturalism relying only on an uncritical observation of nature.

"Nature" for Manet is always seen in terms of a harmonious creation. Indeed it is clear that for him it was only through such a creation can we "see" nature at all. Thus in the merging of Far Eastern and antique associations we have the paradox of naturalism resolved in a delicate perfection. Manet saw all his art in this light. In September of the

same year as the "Faun" illustrations Mallarmé published an article,
"The Impressionists and Edouard Manet", in the English art magazine
Art Monthly Review of which only the English translation now survives.

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Mallarmé noted Manet's habit of discussing his art in convivial terms with his friends, implying that the statements he ascribes to Manet are authentic and not vehicles for Mallarmé's interpretation. At the end of his essay Manet's words are given as a quotation in reply to Mallarmé's question;

what can be the aim of a painter before everyday nature? To imitate her? Then his best effort can never equal the original with the inestimable advantage of life and space

to which Manet replies;

Ah no, this fair face, that green landscape will grow old and whither, but I shall have them always, true as nature, fair as remembrance, and imperishably my own; or the better to satisfy my creative artistic instinct, that which I preserve through the power of Impressionism is not the material problem which already exists, superior to any mere representation of it, but the delight of having recreated nature touch by touch. I leave the massive and tangible solidity to its fitter exponent sculpture. I content myself with reflecting on the clear and durable mirror of painting, that which perpetually lives yet dies every moment, which exists by the will of Idea, yet constitutes in my domain the only authentic and certain merit of nature, the Aspect. is through her that when rudely thrown at the close of an epoch in the front if reality, I have from it only that which belongs to my art, an original and exact perception which distinguishes for itself the things it perceives with the steadfast gaze of a vision restored to its simplest perfection.

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As we have seen, many Western critics of Japanese art looked to it to enable the West to unite the "Real" and the "Ideal" from the 1860's onwards, and this was emphasised in the writings of the 1870's. In my discussion of the debate over Japanese art during this period I have tried to trace the development of the idea that Japanese art united nature and the ideal as one thread among many, for instance De Goncourt's "image à la fois réel et poétique auquel n'est jamais arrivée une

Many other critics expressed similar sentiments; Burty stressed the poetic quality of Japanese art, and Jarves, Alcock, Dresser, Bousquet, Vernet, Duret and Feydeau all joined in the debate about a poetic or spiritual aspect in Japanese art. By and large the critics favourable to Manet and Impressionism argued for the poetic nature of Japanese art, the others against.

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In his avowed search for the "Ideal" within nature, Manet was drawn to employ Japanese art as a worthy guide. As we have seen this is nothing new for Manet and many others did this in the 1860's. However it is important to note that by considering his use of the Far Eastern example Manet's artistic intentions can be shown to be constant and his art a gradual development. There was no abrupt change of direction to a radical naturalism, rather the problem of the poetic and the real had shifted its ground. This was in no small part a result of the appearance of Far Eastern art in Europe, as I have shown.

Manet's use of Far Eastern art in his graphics is therefore of much greater significance than that of a few borrowed Japanese motifs. In his illustrations he was making a subtle comment on the problems of modernity and aesthetic consciousness raised by the poems. He was also broadening his understanding of the languages of Far Eastern art, striving to comprehend the secret of its variety and simplicity. He did this in order to free himself to employ them in his paintings. Mallarmé quoted Manet's discussion of this problem in his English article;

No-one should paint a landscape and a figure by the same process, with the same knowledge, or in the same fashion; nor what is even more two landscapes or two figures. Each work should be a new creation of the mind. The hand, it is true, will conserve some of its acquired secrets of manipulation, but the eye should forget all else it has seen and learn anew from the lesson before it.

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Manet is here talking of an endless inventiveness of draughtsmanship and brush work such as was displayed in Hokusai's Mangwa and else-

where in Japanese art. In studying and borrowing from it as we have seen him do, he was expanding the capacity of his hand to make each image afresh. One must also observe the connection between Manet's definition of the relationship of the hand and eye or intellect of the artist and that given by many Far Eastern artists, teachers and theorists. In this view the artist's hand and arm act merely as a conductor for the "Tao", the force created by the correctness of natural and spiritual relations to the object the artist wishes to paint and which he has achieved by contemplation. Manet must have been aware of the balance of hand and eye in Far Eastern painting through accounts of Duret and others who had seen Japanese artists at work, and we have seen him experimenting with the free direct Far Eastern brush stroke himself in the drawings for "The Raven". Thus the Far Eastern example led Manet on from his discovery of the "taches" in the 1860's to the fully "liberated" brushstrokes of the 1870's. There can be little doubt that other "Impressionists" benefited directly or indirectly from Manet's discoveries. We may therefore argue that the new balance struck by Manet between hand and eye marks the beginning of a theme which recurs throughout subsequent art in, for instance, the late paintings of Monet, the works of Van Gogh and the Abstract Expression-61 ists. all of whom had a close dependence on the Far Eastern example. It has been argued that these works show a rebirth of a concern for the "spiritual" in art which was lost in Impressionism in the 1870's. However I have shown that Manet's adoption of the free brushstroke from Far Eastern art, was in part a strategy to retain the "poetic" within a modern vision. The changing relation of hand and intellect was a natural concomitant of this. We have seen that Regamey, Duranty and others used the idea of the "hieroglyphic" in discussing Japanese art. They grasped the magic vitality conveyed to a symbol by spirit, direct action. Manet's various graphic devices and brush strokes are in a sense expressive hieroglyphics and they stand at the beginning of the

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"expressionist" tradition in Modern art. Greenberg has linked the later Monet intuitively with Abstract Expressionism. I would suggest that Greenberg's hypothesis that Monet's later style emerged from the tensions of Impressionism's aspirations to illusion and decoration is mistaken. The liberated brushstroke always implied an attempt at the poetic or spiritual resolution of the perception of the natural. Indeed it asserted that perception by an artist was de facto such a resolution, a "recreation of nature touch by touch" as Mallarme says, that Manet expressed it.

Manet's "Impressionist" paintings are always an attempt to achieve poetic harmony with nature. Greenberg's intuition is therefore correct, but his hypothesis of an immiment formal dialectic of illusion and decoration within Impressionism, which was thrown up almost as an accidental consequence of a radical and unpoetic naturalism is not. His so-called "classical period" of Impressionism was merely a stage on the continuous exploration of problems which first occupied painters, in recent times, in the 1850's and have done so ever since. The balance of hand and intellect and eye may be seen as a touchstone to many of these problems and as we have seen the Western notion of this balance was radically affected by the Far Eastern example from the 1860's onwards.

In Mallarme's English essay even the search for the simultaneous image is not treated as a representational problem alone, but as part of a search for the "truth". Mallarmé dismisses the role of composition in modern painting and then suggests that Japanese "perspective" is the ideal way for an Impressionist to construct his image. It is clear that by perspective he means the whole range of Far Eastern compositional techniques;

as a rule the grouping of modern persons does not suggest it, (composition) and for this reason our painter is pleased to dispense with it, and at the same time to avoid both affectation and style. Nevertheless he must find something on which to establish his picture, though it be but for a

a minute - for one thing needful is the time required by the spectator to see and admire the representation with that promptitude which just suffices for the connection of its truth. If we turn to natural perspective (not that utterly artificially classic science which makes our eyes the dupes of a civilised education, but rather that artistic perspective which we learn from the extreme East - Japan for example) - and look at those sea pieces of Manet, where the water at the horizon rises to the height of the frame, which alone interrupts it, we feel a new delight at the recovery of a long obliterated truth.

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Informal composition, derived from the Japanese example was thus seen as a means of reducing the distance between the spectator and the image, yet retaining the necessary guidelines through which an image can be appreciated as a "truth", an accurate rendering of a man's relation to nature in terms of both perception and poetry.

Mallarme's discussion of composition supports my thesis that from "Sur la Plage de Boulogne" onwards Manet sought for compositions suitable for modern themes in Japanese art which he felt to have a "natural" perspective.

Moreover this naturalness is related to a direct "instantaneous" quality. The creation of this possibility of an immediate apprehension was greatly served by the new balance of hand and eye suggested by the Far Eastern example.

It remains to discuss briefly some of Manet's paintings made after the Franco-Prussian War to demonstrate the influence of the Far Eastern example on them. In 1873 Manet spent the summer at Boulogne sur Mer and produced a series of marine paintings which continue the use of Japanese compositional motifs derived from Hiroshige which he first employed in the "Kearsage and Alabama Group". Despite their increased subtlety these remain variations on the earlier theme. From 1874 however Manet used the new discoveries he was making about Far Eastern art in his paintings.

In that year Manet worked at Argenteuil with Monet who used a boat

there as a studio; Renoir also spent some time there.

Many critics have argued that Manet was surprised by the progress that these artists had made and promptly adopted their habit of working in the open air and their open brush strokes and bright colour. However as we have seen, Manet's research into visual language was a continuous process. Moreover the return of Duret from Japan and the expanding knowledge of Japanese art was providing him with the stimulus to expand that language. Painting in the open air could not have alone stimulated Manet in the development of his painting style any more than it had stimulated Monet in the 1860's. It is my view that Manet contributed as much to Monet and Renoir during that summer as vice-versa - giving them benefit of his superior grasp of painterly language.

The rapidly executed painting of Monet in his boat shows the variety of this language. The painter establishes an unusual spatial quality by using the strokes which represent the shadow on the left of the mast and those curving round the edge of the awming and the roof of the cabin in relation to the curved shadow formed by the hull of the boat. Within this there are subsidiary "graphic" qualities - the fringe of the canopy, the part shadow, part sketched contours of the two figures on the black edge on the left side of the cabin door all form a subsidiary graphic system. There are several such in the painting; for instance the red stripes of the awming are echoed in Monet's hat. This technique of using subsidiary rhyming "decorative" systems to create "space" and "light" in an image is found in a great range of Japanese prints. The whole composition consists of subtle interweaving of such systems, which Manet could only have achieved by study of Far Eastern art.

The painting called "Argenteuil" made at the same time is an exten- 6 sion of Manet's use of Far Eastern language in many directions. The rhyming of colours and brushstrokes that we have seen in "Monet and his Boat" is evident; note for instance the mast and ropes to the left of

the composition and their place within it. The bright blue of the water also forms a series of rhyming areas within the canvas whose "texture" and patterned brilliancy of colour creates the necessary continuum for the perception of the volume of the two figures, especially their heads. The enormous complexity and artificiality of this rhyming system is shown by the exact balance of the vertical chimney in the centre of the landscape at the back of the picture with small hanging tassle of rope on the boom of the yacht just below it. We may also note the clever use of "hard and soft" edges of contours to another range of rhythms, epitomised once more by the two hats. This device is borrowed also from the Far Eastern example.

The figures themselves are composed of an immense variety of carefully balanced graphic gestures - an examination of the method of creating the volumes and textures of the two hats alone will give the clue to this. The contrast between the straw and chiffon of the woman's hat, for instance, is marked by two completely different but equally light and spontaneous methods of handling the brush. A more complicated series of graphic variations can be seen in the stripes on the woman's dress and the Man's vest. These varieties of handling all stem, in my view, from Manet's interest in Far Eastern art. I have already related them to illustrations from Fros' "La Fleuve", and another borrowing can be seen in the flat bright areas of colour in the landscape of houses and trees on the other side of the river, undoubtedly related to the landscapes of Hiroshige.

None of these relationships to Far Eastern art is demonstrable by means of direct comparison to a particular Japanese print and this has led many critics to dismiss the role of the Far Eastern example in this and subsequent paintings by Manet. However I do not regard coincidence of "motif" as the most vital evidence of influence, indeed it can often be misleading. A full analysis of "Argenteuil" providing the whole range of possible stylistic and compositional referents in Japanese

painting and prints would be a thesis in itself. It is a profoundly "artificial" painting.

Those critics who have seen in it direct response to "light" are entirely mistaken in their emphasis on spontaneity of vision and cameralike recording of perceptions. Manet appears rarely, if ever, to have talked of "light" but consistently he is reported as talking of painting in terms of language and the connection between form and meaning. His "spontaneity" learned in great part from the Far Eastern example was a strategem to retain the necessary link between form and meaning to which the paradox of a naive naturalism posed an unremitting threat.

The critic Paul Mantz grasped this when "Argenteuil" appeared at the 1875 Salon. He wrote in "Le Temps":

He forgets Argenteuil and geography, he makes the Seine into a madly blue Mediterranean. He thinks of color harmonies much more than of presenting the truth about the place he is painting.

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Manet was describing the poetry of an experience of nature in "Argenteuil" and making great use of the Far Eastern example in doing so. Like all Manet's later paintings it is an account of modern experience interpreted with immense artifice, paralleling the direct perception of that experience. The paradox of the "actual" and the "poetic" in Manet's art is resolved through his visual language which drew largely on the Far Eastern example.

The other major work of the summer of 1874 was "En Bateau" which

Manet exhibited in the 1879 Salon. Huysmans recognised the Japanese

compositional device of placing the boat against a flat blue expanse of

water and cutting it off by the lower right edge of the canvas;

Sa femme vêtue de bleu, assise dans une barque coupée par le cadre comme dans certains planches des Japonais est bien posée, en pleine lumière, et elle se découpe énergiquement ainsi que le canotier habillés de blanc sur le bleu cru de l'eau.

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Huysmans' praise for the work concerns it being natural and balanced

as is the experience of nature and he speculates that the work was produced by approaching nature without preconceived visual formulae. and condemns other landscapists for using such formulae and not attending to nature. In doing this he ignores his own observation of the "Japanese" quality of the image which is surely a visual formula. We have noted earlier Mallarme's argument that Japanese "perspective" was natural, by which he meant appropriate to the poetry of modern experience. that the perception of Japanese art as close to nature which we noticed as a constituent element in most criticism of the 1870's affected Manet's supporters so strongly that at times they fail to perceive the full implications of his use of the Far Eastern example. For a time Japanese art and "nature" became identical. Manet's use of Far Eastern visual devices is seen once again to be related to contemporary cultural attitudes and not to be rootless innovation. The various points that have been made for the other Argenteuil paintings also apply to "En Bateau". and it is unnecessary to repeat them. Nor is it necessary to pursue those same questions in later paintings. There is no doubt that the gradual broadening of Manet's brushwork and its heightened precision and the informality of composition in a work such as "Buveurs de Bocks" of 1878 is founded on the Far Eastern example.

However it may be helpful to make one or two specific points about later paintings. We have seen that Japanese art was associated with fashionable life and with the formation of the image of femininity most appropriate to modern life, in, for instance, the work of Tissot in the 1860's. In particular the Geisha and the refined oriental prostitute rapidly acquired a position in Western literature culminating in Loti's "Madame Chrysanthème" of the 1880's. Manet's painting of an occidental prostitute "Nana" of 1877 contains all the linguistic elements we have discussed in earlier works. In this case it is possible to suggest a motif also. One of Beato's "Photographs of Japan" published

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in 1869 shows a Japanese woman making up before a small round mirror and also contains a bird on the hanging in the background similar to that I(21)in "Nana". Beato's photograph was reproduced a great deal, in particular 70 in Humbert's "Le Japon".

Manet's painting took its name from the low class prostitute in Zola's "L'Assomoir" of 1877. However the crudity of the environment of this completely contradicts the luxury and affluence of the painting. Manet was thinking of a very different, sophisticated aspect of modernity for which a more fitting analogy is to be found in the relation of Samurai warriors and geisha. He may have borrowed the motif from Beato for this reason.

The extension of the image of modern feminity was taken further by Manet in a series of nudes or semi-nudes in oils and pastels made in They show a woman in the arts associated with her toilette, 1878. taking a bath, putting up her hair or pulling on a stocking. This range of female activities was often represented by Hokusai in his drawings in the Mangwa. As we have seen Manet used one such drawing in his illus-I(22)trations for "L'Après Midi d'un Faun". The nudes of 1878 owe a great deal to such drawings, and also perhaps to the intimate representations of women in eighteenth century prints such as those of Harunobu or Kyonaga which Manet may have seen by 1878, though this is not suggested by the robust treatment of the nudes in Manet's work. Once again the Far Eastern example can be associated with the search for modernity, in this case, the redefinition of feminity in modern terms.

Finally we must return to Manet's later water colours. A. Coffin Hanson has pointed out that in one of these, "Salamandre et Abeille", the figure of the lizard to the left is an exact copy of a figure in volume eleven of the Mangwa. To this we may add the snail that appears in two others.

However far more important for us is the introduction into Western

art of studies of such minor subjects as these as ends in themselves, as a route into nature. It is this range of subject matter and the feel of this group of works as a whole which testifies to the impact of Far Eastern art on Manet. This is most clear in the magnificent watercolour study of irises, with its flat areas of wash directly applied, which he made after 1880. There can be little or no doubt that Manet saw Far Eastern prints or paintings of Korin's favourite flower before he painted this. One is reminded of the great Japanese master at once.

In discussing Manet's relations with Japanese art in the 1870's, I have shown it was more significant than the borrowing of an occasional motif or compositional device would suggest. In the 1860's the Far Eastern example had acted as a catalyst, showing Manet the way to transform this significance of classical motifs for a modern experience. the 1870's Manet continued to pursue the best means of expressing this but he concentrated evermore on finding the most appropriate pictorial language in which to preserve the poetry in contemporary experience. To do this he turned constantly to the Far Eastern example. I have shown that in doing this he was not acting in an arbitrarily original manner, but using Japanese art according to the current estimate of it in Western culture. I do not wish to claim that Manet's art is in any sense dominated by Far Eastern forms and means, but my hypothesis as to the manner in which he made use of it does allow a more precise description of his creative methods than would be possible without it. In particular it helps us to locate his attitude to that paradox of naturalism whereby poetry can exist in the real and immediate only if the most artificial means are used to present such experience to us.

In a sense, Huysmans' comment in 1880 was correct, Manet did remain "in front of Japanese prints", but not in the narrow sense of a failure to constantly invent ever new, more radical forms of naturalism. Manet was constantly learning from the Far East.

Huysmans' irritation with Manet may be explained by considering that he was one of the first apostles of that false avant-garde view of originality and artistic innovation with which many later, less perceptive critics and historians have chosen to assume that Manet concurred. Manet's originality was more profound, grounded in his knowledge of art and his own experience. It must never be forgotten that to the end of his life despite all the insults of its official representatives, Manet remained a believer in that painful assimilation of artistic forms and meanings towards a new goal, a new experience, which has been called tradition.

Mallarme wrote of his work;

freshness, indeed, frequently consists - and this is especially the case in these critical days - in a co-ordination of widely scattered elements.

Far Eastern art was one of these elements.

The Far Fastern example and the Genesis and Reception of "Impressionism"

Throughout this thesis I have expressed strong reservations about the historical accuracy and usefulness of common stylistic labels, in particular "impressionism". The difficulty of placing the later Manet within an "Impressionist" category has led me to deal with his relation to Far Eastern art as a separate issue. In doing this I have shown that Manet's later work continued his preoccupation with the multiple significance of images. His abandonment of the traditional motif did not indicate a negation of the traditional belief in the ability of art to sanction and deepen human experience in favour of a view of it as a Heraclitean flux. On the contrary, it is possible to argue that his art constituted the search for an icon in which the indication of change was only one element of a symbol of modernity. I was able to show this by pointing to reasons for his adoption of Far Eastern motifs which fit such a view of his work.

I hope to make a similar case for the "Impressionist" artists whose work I believe to have been more than a logical development of the desire to depict nature solely through an analysis of the perceptions. On the contrary the Impressionist artists attempted to resolve the paradox of the naturalist aesthetic and in many cases were helped to their success by Far Fastern art. Moreover they each did this in their own way and whatever aesthetic they shared is much less significant than their individual development. The distance between Degas and Monet is as absolute though not quite so wide as that between any other two artists working in the same culture; Constable and Turner for instance. Impressionism is a political and historical identity but not an aesthetic one. I believe the Impressionists to have been far more loosely related to each other than has often been assumed.

In his essay "The Aesthetic Idea of Impressionism", Venturi argued that Impressionism was a closely definable historical "moment in the eternal life of art" which he believed to run from just before 1870 to

1880. He saw its roots in the Kantian theory that pleasure can be derived from the apprehension of the form an object without any concept or knowledge of that object on the part of the subject. He went on from this to develop a definition of Impressionism based on sensation alone, making use of distinctions such as that between (Neo Classic) order and Impressionist irregularity. I hope to show that while he may have been right in pointing to the elimination in Impressionism of a concept of the object represented, he was far from correct in moving to a notion of a unified "Impressionist" style in the 1870's based solely on sensation. Venturi excludes Degas from his analysis; if he were involved it would make even the notion of the elimination of a concept of the object difficult to accept.

Moreover Kant's definition fits Far Eastern art very well and so does the notion of irregularity which Venturi takes from Renoir's statements on art. The exclusion of knowledge of the object from a representation does not inevitably lead to an art rooted solely in sensation. There are at all times elements of convention and symbol at work as Venturi acknowledges when he goes on to argue that Impressionism was the coming to consciousness of a new class. I find it impossible to accept Venturi's notion of a homogeneous impressionist style and aesthetic. I wish to demonstrate the variety of intention of the Impressionists. To this end I have chosen to study Degas and Monet as two contrasting artists within the group, both interested in Far Eastern art. It is, however, important to examine the relation of Far Eastern art to the Impressionist artists as a whole, and to the common elements within their styles and aesthetic attitudes. For as we have seen, Far Eastern art seems always to have been part of the idea of Impressionism.

As we have seen, Chesneau in the 1860's had already pointed out that "Realism" failed to take account of many aspects of human experience and characterised it as a passing phase in the development

towards an art fully expressive of modern life.

In his essay in English on Manet and the Impressionists, Mallarmé observes that the "Impressionists" were trying to imbue their work with a "peculiar quality outside mere Realism". I believe this quality consisted of an attempt to compensate for the inherent loss of the symbolic dimension in naturalism.

Duret wrote of the same dilemma in 1867 when he considered the problem of the modern landscape painter to work to make nature;

sensible pour les spectateurs et à présenter à la fois unis sur le toile l'aspect extérieur de la nature et de l'âme cachée et qu'il aura découverte.

As we have seen, the young Lafarge was in Paris in the late 1860's and this notion of naturalism was by then being associated with Japanese art, Lafarge wrote about this in one of the earliest critical assessments of Japanese art; he saw the "ideal" of Realism as "characterisation" as represented in Japanese art. He went further and argued that Japanese landscape prints gave one "the place where, the illuminated air of the scene of action" and that they used "local colours to enhance the sensation of time and the very colours of the costumes belong to the hour or the season of the landscape".

In the years following the Japanese appearance at the 1867 exhibition Japanese art would seem to have filled a need in Western art for a means to replace a felt loss of symbolic vitality. Japanese prints are, of course, highly conventionalised and on occasions, symbolic in their approach to reality. However we cannot dismiss Lafarge's comments as eccentric for, as we have seen, the same ideas of local colour moderated to locate an experience precisely in time, of the depiction of the "place where" and above all, the idea of a unified atmosphere, an overall conviction of image occur in discussions of the influence of Japanese art in relation to "Impressionism" by Duret, Duranty and others. 6 One must also remember the tremendous scope of the general debate about the relation of Japanese art to nature which I have traced above and

which is of fundamental importance to all Western art after 1870.

One can only conclude that it was the visual integrity of the Japanese print which recommended it so strongly to artists whose own aesthetic had reached an impasse where the balance between image and symbol composition and the incidental was threatening to disappear completely in favour of a vacuous imitative naturalism.

Thus if we can locate a strong and consistent influence of Far Eastern art on "Impressionist" artists there is a presumption that from the beginning these artists were concerned to reconstitute man's symbolic relations with nature on many levels, not just to analyse his perception of it. (Though the analysis of perception was part of this reconstitution.) Only thus can we explain the paradox of their attraction to Japanese art.

This however has not been the normal view of "Impressionism" though it fits quite well with the idea that Impressionist art was a consequence of the romantic desire to unify experience. While it has been accepted that the Impressionist painters borrowed a few compositional eccentricities and motifs from Japanese art, this borrowing has been seen as no more than a means to realise more quickly the formal problems of a radical naturalism. This naturalism is seen as an entirely Western matter. Rewald barely mentions Far Eastern influences in his "History of Impressionism". In some ways he is justified. Venturi's "Archives de l'Impressionisme" and Lethève's more recent survey of press opinion of the Impressionists show very little evidence of Japanese involvement in the development of the Impressionist painter or an Impressionist aesthetic. Moreover as we have seen even Ph. Burty, one of the leading Japonists and an early defender of the Impressionist artists does not link the two together in his work. In his review of the 1874 exhibition he offers a "martyrology" of Gericault, Delacroix, Huet, Rousseau, Courbet and Millet, implying that the Impressionists were following in

their footsteps as revolutionaries placed outside the critical pale by their search for new artistic truth. Burty's view has been taken at its face value by many historians since. However there are problems in accepting it. As we have seen many critics close to the events of the 1870's associated Impressionism with Japanese art.

As early as 1873 Armand Silvestre saw Japanese inspirations in the work of Monet, Sisley and Pissarro. Of Monet, he wrote;

Il aime sur une eau, légèrement remuée, à justaposer les reflets multicolores du soleil couchant,
de bateau barioles de la rue changeante. Des tons
métalliques dus au poli du flot qui clapote par
petites surfaces unies miroitent sur ses toiles et
l'image de la rive y tremble, les maisons s'y découpant comme dans ce jeu d'enfants ou les objets
reconstituent par morceaux. Cet effet, d'une de stant
verité absolue et qui à pu être (emprunté), charme
si fort la jeune ecole qu'elle y revient à tout
propos,

and of the paintings of all three he wrote;

Une lumière blonde les inonde, et tout y est gaieté, clarté, fête printanière, sork d'or où pommiers en fleurs - Encore une inspiration du Japon.

Once again we see light and atmosphere associated with a Japanese image. One recalls Mallarmé's fantasy of a paintbrush charged with the colour of atmosphere. Silvestre also sees the lightness of touch of the Impressionists, their refusal to load their canvases with layers of paint as resulting from the Japanese example.

Nor was he alone in this. Castagnary, writing about the first Group Exhibition in 1874, states that many people called the artists "Les Japonais" but suggests instead the term "impressionists";

L'impression une fois saisée et finée, ils déclarent leur role terminé. La qualification de Japonais, qu'on leur a donnée d'abord n'avait aucun sens. Si l'on tient à les caractériser d'un mot qui les explique il faudra forger le terme nouveau d'impressionistes en ces sens qu'ils rendent non le paysage mais la sensation produit, le paysage.

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Castagnary is aware of the reasons for the Japanese association but dismisses it as irrational, placing his stress on the analysis of

sensation in Impressionist paintings, chiefly in the works of Monet, Sisley and Renoir.

It would appear that there was a common association of Impressionist art with Japanese art on its first being seen. However it does not follow from this that the Impressionist painters made such an association and one must be careful to distinguish between the growth of the idea of Impressionism and the practical development of the Impressionist artists. Far Eastern art influenced both and of course the two interacted but they are separate. When De Concourt wrote in 1884 of

L'heure qu'il est que tout <u>l'impressionisme</u> - la mort du bitume etc., etc., est fait par la contemplation des <u>impressions</u> claires du Japon.

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He was associating Japanese art with the idea of Impressionism and really with an aesthetic theory of more interest for art in the 1880's and later, as he made clear by talking Japanese revolutionising the Western "optique". The cultural idea of Impressionism could very well have had little or no relation to the work of Impressionist artists. Therefore its association with Japanese art is evidence only of the cultural importance of the Far Eastern example not of its practical significance for the painters.

However when Duret wrote in 1880 in an essay on Monet that without the Japanese example a whole range of means would not have been available to the Impressionists we are dealing with evidence of the practical importance of that example.

This distinction is not simply a matter of admissibility of evidence. It is also crucial to a major theme of my thesis, the relation of art to its cultural and social context.

While it is easy to trace the idea of Impressionism in French culture from the 1870's in its relations to the Far Eastern example, it is not so easy to reconstruct the relations of this to the creative activities of the Impressionists, as analogy is not convincing in itself. I have discussed the critical basis for the relations of the idea of

Impressionism to Japanese art in Section Three. Therefore a summary of my arguments will suffice here.

We have seen that Japanese art was universally regarded as close to nature. Many people believed that Japanese art was created by direct observation of nature and applied this belief to "plein air" painting by the Impressionists. Others, closer to the Impressionist artists such as Burty, pointed to the ability of Japanese art to reconcile the "poetic" and the "real", nature and artifice. The second view gave rise to a Far Eastern aspect to the Impressionist aesthetic. Japanese art was regarded as very close in some respects to Western realism.

Duret reported that his visit to Japan confirmed this. The Japanese print was seen as having a close affinity with natural experience itself, being an accurate account of the perceptual sensations of looking at a landscape in Japan. Several critics went so far as to argue that it was a bright sun and unclouded armosphere in Japan which created such flat images as part of an art that was essentially naturalistic and therefore to an extent, imitative. Duret used the experience of walking by a river in the sunlight to form an analogy between Japanese art and Impressionism. Clearly he had Monet's work in mind. All critics who associate Japanese art with Impressionism stress the notion of atmosphere, of integrity of the whole work of art paralleling the integrity of the experience of nature. Many associated this directly with light and the imitation of changing conditions of light. Some later writers go further and associate Impressionism with time and an evanescent creation undergoing perpetual shifts and changes and connect with with Far Eastern philosophies. Japanese art was even used as a means of attack by the enemies of Impressionism. We have seen that Regamey pointed to Impressionism as a futile attempt to retain the perfume of experience and dispense with the bouquet and contrasted it with the profundity of Japanese art. Henry Houssaye in his Salon of 1882 wrote

"Impressionist painting which is derived from the primitive masters and from Japanese prints is an anachronism".

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Thus developed the association of Japanese art with the idea of Impressionism, with Impressionism as a generic style, as a factor in the developmental schema of art history. However since this association appears paradoxical given the conventional nature of Japanese art, it was disregarded by twentieth century historians in place of a few formal analogies of motif and compositional devices.

In fact the association is justifiable in practical terms, the idea of Impressionism is not entirely remote from the practice of the individual artists. I have suggested that their use of the Far Eastern example sprang from a need to replace the last symbolic vitality of their art, not from a need to arbitrarily extend naturalism and this aspect of the context in which Japanese art was received in the West can be paralleled in the individual development of the Impressionist painters.

In doing this one can show the direct importance of the Far Eastern example in offering solutions to practical and aesthetic difficulties of these artists while at the time changing the cultural situation in which that art was created. I have attempted this for Degas and Monet.

DEGAS.

In the first section of this thesis I showed that Degas's use of Far Eastern art was conditioned by his essential commitment to a romantic mannerism whose greatest representative was Ingres. This led him to admire and adopt "artificial" compositional devices in Japanese prints for his paintings.

It was thus relatively easy for critics to recognise the "Japanese" elements in his work and Chesneau commented on them in his review of the 1867 Exposition Salon.

After 1867 the "mannered" tendencies in Degas' work were to develop into a unique form. He adopted the subject matter of Realism, but retained his concern for a total work of art, a work whose significance was intrinsic and vital not the result of a programmatic scheme. It is my case that this would have been impossible without the Japanese example. As Meier-Graefe wrote, Degas' work would have been "inconceivable without his Japanese inheritance". Degas continually indicated his desire to present a complex mannered image of reality in his art:

No art is less spontaneous than mine. My work is the outcome of prolonged thinking, of study of the old masters. Inspiration, spontaneity, temperament, I don't know what these mean,

and;

Art does not enlarge, it recapitulates. are two of his most famous declarations.

The intention was also clear in the works which he displayed in his apartment in the Rue Massé in the 1890's. In his bedroom was a framed Kiyonaga print of bathing women alongside Ingres' drawings for "L'Age d'Or" and for the Iliad.

In the nineties, Jager, a friend of Meier-Graefe, gained an audience with Degas by bringing Ingres' drawings and Japanese prints to show him;

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The Ingres gave him the entry into the living rooms in the Rue Victor Masse, and the Japanese colour prints unlocked for him the doors of Degas' studio.

Ingres and Japanese art seem to have been Degas' talismans throughout his creative life. Japanese art enabled him to translate his aims into "modern" terms.

Degas made no direct statements about his interest in Far Eastern art. However the sale of his collection on his death, in 1918, revealed him to be a discriminating collector. However it is of little value as a document of his interest in Far Eastern art in the 1870's and 1880's since it represents a later mature taste.

Three eighteenth century artists took pride of place. The diptych of bathers by Kiyonaga, two volumes of the "100 Qualities of Women" by "Shikenobou" dated 1725 and two triptychs by Utamaro, "Le l'assage du Gue" and the "Promenade en barque" were each given separate numbers in the sale. It is most unlikely that Degas possessed any of these before the mid 1880's and indeed he was probably influenced to buy them by the exhibition of Japanese art in 1890, although at the time he joked about it in a letter to Bartholome;

Exposition japonaise aux Beaux-Arts. Le casque d'un pompier sur une grenouille. Helas! Helas! le gout partout.

George Moore who visited Degas in the 1880's saw no Far Eastern work on show:

Degas thinks as little of Turkey carpets and Japanese screens as of newspaper applause, and is unconcerned to paint his walls lemon yellow... They are naked of ornament except a few chef d'oeuvres he will not part with, a few portraits painted in his youth.

In contrast, forty-two Japanese landscape prints in the sale, mainly by Hiroshige, were given only one lot number between them. The same is true of fifteen drawings and watercolours, whose subjects were "Singes, Oiseaux divers, Fleurs, Poissons, Langouste, Paysages", presumably also by Hiroshige. These are the works which Degas is most likely to have

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possessed in the 1870's and 1880's.

In another lot, 41 prints by various artists were sold. They included works by Hokusai, Yeizan (d.1867) and Toyokuni (d.1825), which Degas could have acquired early in his career, as well as works by Utamaro, Shunsho and others. 14 print albums were sold unidentified in another lot - one is tempted to suggest that they were a complete set of the Mangwa, though this is not probable.

It is clear that the greater volume of Degas' Far Eastern collection was composed of nineteenth century prints but the emphasis in the sale followed the change in taste towards eighteenth century prints in the 1890's. It is therefore impossible to identify any particular nineteenth century print as having been owned by Degas.

Degas also owned a Chinese kakemono which was also probably acquired in the 1890's.

The sale catalogue also provides another clue to Degas' interest in Far Eastern art. In the Clark Institute there is a Japanese watercolour signed "Sho Tei" and inscribed "For M. Degas at a party" and bearing Degas' studio seal. It shows two birds on a branch. A work of the same 11 measurements was sold in 1918.

"Sho Tei" is identifiable as an artist who gave Japanese painting demonstration in connection with the 1878 exhibition. This drawing demonstrates that Degas attended at least one of these, probably at the Charpentier's. These demonstrations are discussed above. Thus Degas can be seen to have pursued his interest in Japanese art in the 1870's and extended his knowledge of Far Eastern technique whenever he could. I shall show that Degas' own technical views changed as he learnt more about the art of the East. We have seen that this was also true of Manet and I shall show similar developments in Whistler's work.

Degas was also interested in the Musee Guimet, and in 1891 he telegraphed Bartholome at eleven at night to warn him to attend a Buddhist mass there: "Mon frère m'apprend qu'il-y-a demain au Musée Guimet, le matin, une masse boudhiste dite par deux prêtres boudhistes. Si je n'y vais pas (j'attends mon chirurgien à la maison), il faut que vous y alliez. Vous avez des relations dans cette église. On invoquera la petite deesse qui sait danser. Ne manquez pas cela, et pour vous et pour moi. A demain soir les détails.

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It is not clear whether Bartholome had contacts in the Musee Guimet or with the Buddhists. In either case his close friendship with Degas makes this an interesting statement. We do not know to what extent Degas was familiar with the collections of the Musee Guimet. Indeed the importance of the museum for Parisian artists in the 1880's and '90's has never been investigated. As we have seen, it contained a number of Japanese paintings and prints as well as bronzes and ceramics.

The above information is all that is known of Degas' interest in Japanese art. All that can be added are the names of Degas' friends amongst the Japanese enthusiasts, notably Ph. Burty and Duranty amongst the critics, Tissot and Bracquemond amongst artists and the collectors Henri and Alexis Roualt, Tillot and Isaac de Camondo. Despite this, Degas' use of the formal devices of Japanese art has been most fully documented and there has been much ill-founded speculation on motifs for Degas's works to be found in Japanese prints. No other artist has had so much of his technical vocabulary and his subject matter attributed to Japanese art. This is particularly the case with Yujiro Shinoda's thesis which consists of a long list of such comparisons, organised around purely internal evidence and disregarding their historical probability. The same is true of subsequent studies.

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Further discussion of the probable accuracy of such analogies would seem to be a waste of time. Instead I shall concentrate on the kind of borrowing Degas made from the Far Eastern example and the reasons for his choice. In doing this the legitimacy of different formal analogies will be strengthened or weakened in relation to a view of Degas' art as a whole. The most important elements of this view are concerned with

his art's relationship to the concept of Impressionism and to the aims and aesthetic of naturalism as represented by Huysmans and De Goncourt who by 1873 regarded Degas as a colleague because of his choice of laundresses and dancers as subjects. Behind these questions stands the central problem in Degas' art, the dethronement of the human figure in the work of an artist committed to classic artistic values. The human figure and its relation to its environment remained Degas's central subject throughout his life. However it is clear that he took means devised to emphasise the supremacy of the human image and changed them so as to express a view of human existence and action as incidental, relative rather than absolute. Degas told George Moore in the 1880's that he wished to portray the nude "as if you looked through a keyhole", in contrast to all previous representations whose poses had presupposed an audience.

Degas' attitude to all human activity is summed up in this declaration. All the various technical devices he used in in his works have the aim of adjusting one's perception of the human image and its environment, towards a relative conception of human activity. We find a similar conception enshrined in Japanese art.

I have shown that naturalist critics tended to welcome the Japanese example because of this shift in emphasis in its treatment of the human figure and human experience. Duret's remark that the people passing by in the streets of Yokohama looked just like those in Japanese prints is an example of this. On the other hand the treatment of the human figure in Japanese art was a source of the strongest attacks on it and created great difficulties for idealist critics such as Jarves. A third attitude was expressed by Huysmans, who in his writings on fantastic and pornographic art, particularly on the work of Rops, regarded Japanese erotic art as an example of a disinterested attitude to the human animal, pointing to the possibility of a major artistic expression of the modern spirit.

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In borrowing in the way that he did from Japanese Art, Degas must have been aware that he was struggling with the destruction of the idealist aesthetic which had supported his idol, Ingres. Indeed in the 1880's, Degas praised Ingres to George Moore in terms which the master would have denounced, terms that really apply to Far Eastern art, and which in my view derived from Degas' knowledge of the Far Eastern aesthetic.

That's my idea of genius, a man who finds a hand so lovely, so wonderful, so difficult to render, that he will shut himself up all his life, content to do nothing else but indicate finger nails.

As we know, Ingres was not above adding an extra finger to his work when it suited him. Degas' misreading of Ingres' invention came about through the creative resolution of the tensions between the idealist values of Ingres and the Far Eastern vision of humanity, in favour of the latter. As we have seen these tensions were expressed in the works which Degas chose to have around him in the 1890's.

George Moore, Huysmans and later critics accused Degas of calculated cruelty, of an essentially cynical view of humanity, of celebrating the bankruptcy of idealism. Marxists have seen in his work the pictorial expression of that alienation from human social relations which they find characteristic of later nineteenth century society.

Anough has been said to make clear the paradoxical nature of Degas' adoption of the Japanese example and its relation to the paradoxical nature of Degas' art as a whole. It remains to analyse the use he made of the Far Eastern example in his artistic development. Because of the consistency with which Degas followed certain subjects at different periods in his life it will be possible to do this by considering those subjects sequentially.

The first of these is the theatre. In 1868 Degas exhibited "Mlle. Fiorre dans le Ballet La Source" in the Paris Salon. This had been sub- 19 stantially painted during 1867, at the time of the Japanese appearance in

Paris. It marked the beginning of Degas' interest in the theatre as a subject for his art.

Zola writing in L'Evenement, saw Japanese influence in the work
"en regardant cette peinture, qui est un peu maignée et qui a des
élégances étranges, je songerais à ces gravures japonaises, si artistiques dans la simplicité de leurs tons".

Indeed the paint is thin and Degas does use taches similar to Manet's. The drawing also has a Far Eastern quality, especially in the use of the varying thickness of outline in the horse and the woman in red at the night so as to suggest volume and movement.

The composition however is not related to Far Eastern models. The painting serves principally as a reminder of the presence of a Far Eastern element in Degas' vision in 1867.

It is not even a particularly "theatrical" work, since the theatre has been ignored in favour of a clear interpretation of its subject.

Degas' next theatre piece is a very different matter. "L'Orchestre de l'Opera", painted in 1868 shows a tremendous range of borrowings from Japanese prints.

Originally Degas had intended to paint a portrait of his friend Desiré Dihau the bassoonist in the foreground. Then he decided to show his friend in action surrounded by other musicians of his acquaintance, amongst them the composer, Chabrier.

While this decision is clearly consistent with Degas increasing commitment to a naturalistic aesthetic, it could only have been realised with the help of the Far Eastern example. The Japanese theatre had always had close associations with print artists and this was especially so in the nineteenth century. We have seen that the prints of the Osaka school, which specialised in theatre prints had reached Europe in the 1860's.

Often prints were produced in which greater emphasis was given to the audience than the performance. Indeed the interaction of the

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members of the audience became the chief interest of the print. Hokusai, Hiroshige and many other nineteenth century masters produced prints of this type, occasionally as prefaces to a book recording a particular I performance. Some even related the theatre musicians to the audience.

This type of print gave Degas the notion of placing his portrait of Dihau in a composition as incidental as the music he plays. The basic assertion of this painting, that a man is at his most essential during his typical activities, was stressed by critics such as Duret and Duranty, as a key element of the Far Eastern aesthetic. Equally significant is the disruption of the relation of audience to work of art in this image. The psychological and compositional relations between the members of the orchestra are a result of their function as musicians, not of their function in Degas' work.

Degas has taken the portrait technique of Ingres and restructures its images in a composition inspired by the Far Eastern example.

There are many devices in the painting which are identifiable as Far Eastern in source.

The wall at the edge of the orchestra pit and the inclined dark red bar formed by its velvet top serve to balance the whole composition. Such an incidental element, whose function is to cut off the intricacies of particular compositional area and to balance the dynamics of a composition as a whole is typical of Japanese prints.

The position of the element suggests that Degas' source was probably a part of a multiple print showing figures on a boat, many of which were in the nineteenth century, such as a scene from the play Sakaya made by Kunichiro (1831-1835). The gunwhale of the boat is used as is the orchestra pit wall in the Degas.

It must be said however that such specific formal sources are at best supplementary to the general suggestion that Degas borrowed such devices from Far Eastern art. They are generic and Degas may simply

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applied a general compositional principle learnt from looking at Far Eastern prints.

The same is true of the massive bulk of Gouffe the double bassist on his chair on the right. Sudden jumps in dimensional relationships which serve to suggest space in composition are common in Japanese prints, but much more in landscape prints by Hiroshige and his followers than in figure prints. The ratio of large flat area of Gouffe's back to the complex compositional mosaic of faces and instruments to his left is clearly derived from similar structures in Japanese prints though it would be foolish to suggest a direct source.

This is composition by careful control of the size and density of individual visual elements such as one sees in prints by Hiroshige and Hokusai. Consider for instance the gradually diminishing linear elements formed by the musical instruments and bows in the orchestra. The orchestra is composed like a Japanese landscape print with large untouched masses on either side and a carefully structured set of textural elements in the centre to suggest space and movement.

The cut off heads of the ballerinas on the stage have also been attributed to the Far Eastern example. I have been unable to find such a motif in Japanese prints. The respect of most artists, especially the relatively "primitive" for the integrity of the human body is such that they do not like to remove elements of it from pictorial existence. Least of all do they think of displaying headless bodies. Thus it is likely that only the general principle of abruptly cutting of an image at the borders of the work was taken from Japanese prints. The cutting off of the heads of the ballerinas was either an invention of Degas or perhaps the result of his seeing a photograph in which such an arbitrary and disrupting event had taken place, it is likely that he saw such a photograph in the 1860's.

The essential "Japanese" elements in this painting are the shift in focus to the incidental aspects of a theatrical performance and the

absorption of the technical facility which Degas had learnt from Ingres in a Far Eastern compositional system. The system changes the significance of the Ingres portrait technique, it becomes a means of asserting the predominance of the incidental in human experience.

Degas was to make several similar works. The two versions of the ballet "Robert Le Diable" made in 1872 and 1874-76 are the most important. In these works the portrayal of the audience as a lively collection of individuals, scarcely paying any attention to the performance is taken to its limit. The figures are painted much less carefully, although they are still portraits.

The ballet performance is reduced to a series of graphic brush strokes recording movement under bright light against the arched set.

Some brush studies made in 1871 in the Victoria and Albert Museum I(25 survive, showing Degas' research into reducing the dancing figures to graphic formulae. These drawings are interesting in that they show 27 Degas' first, unsuccessful, attempts to represent movement in dance.

They also show that he turned naturally to the dynamic brushstroke as a means of doing this. Buring the 1870's the Far Eastern example was to provide him with means of developing and articulating this brushstroke.

Until these studies Degas' drawing had been almost entirely based on the style of Ingres. It may well be that he had seen some Far Eastern brush paintings, perhaps at the Union des Beaux Arts exhibition of 1869. Many were reproduced in Humbert's "Le Japon" of 1872.

In 1869 and 1870 Degas had worked briefly with Manet at Boulogne when, as we have seen, Manet was using a graphic drawing style based on the Mangwa. Degas' interest in a similar may have sprung from this example.

As we shall see his interest in this style and in the representation of movement it permitted was to be strengthened by the Far Eastern example throughout the 1870's.

The subject of the audience and performance is a paradigm of Degas' art. The stress on the "incidental" is basic to all his art and this he shares with Far Eastern art and indeed with much Far Eastern culture in which stresses always removed from the dramatic centre of events.

Shinoda gives a convincing analogy between two pages from Hokusai's "Toto Meisho Ichiran" of 1800, "Backstage of the Theatre at Sakaicho" and a pastel drawing by Degas "The Duet" of 1877 in the Hirsch collection at Basle.

Both show a performance viewed from backstage with the audience spread out behind the back view of the performers, whose half bent poses are similar in each work. The choice of an unusual, incidental view has clearly been inspired by the Japanese example. This is the case with all Degas' views of theatrical performances. His views of cafe concerts use similar dancers though it is unnecessary to repeat the analysis made for the theatre works.

However the cafe concert singers usually have extreme facial expressions to suit the emotional intensity of their "chansons". In capturing these expressions Degas made use of the drawings of facial expressions in the Japanese print which derive ultimately from the Kabuki theatre. Degas may have seen prints recording the expressive features of great Kabuki actors but it is more likely that the motif reached him through the Mangwa and other works of Hokusai in which there are many studies of extreme facial expression; the pastel studies and drawing of the "Chanteuse de Cafe" made in 1878 show such an expression and may be compared to the open-mouthed image of a blind man in volume eight of the Mangwa and to the image of chanting Buddhist priests in volume one.

The use of vertical green, red and gold stripes behind the black glove of the singer as dynamic elements in the composition of the Cafe Concert Singer is highly reminiscent of similar devices in Japanese actor prints in which the portrait is accompanied by a gesturing hand

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against a highly coloured geometrical pattern.

A final comment may be made in relation to "Le Cafe Concert des

Ambassadeurs". The singer in the red dress stretching her arm out over 32

the audience is irresistibly reminiscent of a Kabuki actor walking on

the catwalk extension of the stage which runs out above the heads of

the audience.

Theatre prints show Kabuki actors doing this and it is likely that I(28)

Degas' perception of the lively relationship of audience and performers

in the Cafe concerts was partly a result of the Japanese example.

In 1878 Chesneau remarked that Degas had borrowed;

"la fantaisie réaliste de ses groupes, l'effet piquant de ses dispositions de lumières en ses étonnantes scènes de cafés-concerts

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from Japanese art.

Degas' interest in the incidental aspects of the theatre led him naturally to a study of the elaborate preparations which surround the most mannered and expressive of art forms; the ballet.

He began to paint the ballet in 1872 and continued to the end of his life. Nearly all his paintings are of rehearsals or exercise.

Degas' interest in the ballet was not a result of an interest in the art itself. Rather the hierarchical system of the Opera in its relations to the development of the dancers towards the end of art was his supreme interest. Degas' ballet scenes are never epitomes of effortless grace. They record the physical, mental and social tensions acting on those who would create art. Also by implication they comment on a range of human relations, ostensibly dedicated to one supreme purpose, in such a way that one is left in great doubt of their single-mindedness. 33 Once again Degas stresses the incidental in an image of human activity, that shows human society as a variety of interests seldom harmonised.

In doing this he was to borrow two sets of devices from Japanese art. They were the range of compositional devices which he used to create the particular spaces and spatial relationships with which he

expressed his view of the preparations for art and the range of graphic devices which he used to express types of movement in individual figures.

In the earlier ballet paintings the former devices predominate. In "Le Foyer" of 1872 the central archway, with its two flat marble pilasters and the half cut off marbled frieze and moulding and the line of the bar contribute to the articulation of an ostensibly rectangular space. However the space is in fact amorphous. The function of the architectural elements is simply to create a pattern of emphases within it so as to relate the groups of figures. Space is defined permanently by the cut off chair placed in the centre of the lower border of the canvas which relates directly to the architectural "framework" on the two walls across the blank undefined space of the floor. Degas has eliminated all incidental textures to make this possible. The use of architectural features to control the perception of the space surrounding human action in this fashion is ubiquitous in Japanese prints.

Hokusai's illustration for Act 10 of the Chiusingura made in 1806 shows all the features which I have discussed. To the right, a group of figures in action is enclosed in a carefully defined architectural space. To the left, more distant figures are located by their scale and the geometry of the quay and the buildings on it. The cut off roof ridge in the left foreground is the equivalent of the chair in Degas' I(29) painting.

It is important to see the relation between human drama and this control of space. In Degas' work the empty space between the ballerina on the left and the standing figure of Merante and his assistant (perhaps Pagans) in the right serves to stress the strain of the class and its authoritarian character. Degas thus uses Japanese compositional devices to create a formal analogy to the physical and emotional experience of a ballet class. The three ballerinas in the far corner are clearly not under tension, they are not in the "active" area of the space any more than is the Japanese lady to the left in the Hokusai print.

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Just as these compositional devices articulate, so they divide and they thus become a metaphor for the competitive relations of the ballerinas striving to gain a place in the Opera company. The group round Merante stand in a critical relation to the dancer on the left. Other figures however, are busy preparing or exercising; to them her performance is incidental and they turn their backs.

The narrow vertical open door on the left is a definite indication of the Japanese course of Degas' compositional devices. Tissot made use of a similar device in his interiors in the 1870's. One may also comment 34 that the painting is no bigger than a Japanese print, 19 cms. by 27 cms. as if Degas had identified the small format with the devices he was using. This was most unusual for such a complex subject at the time (save for Meissonier!).

A great many of Degas' ballet studies of the 1870's make use of similar "architectural" manipulation of spaces. There is no need for an analysis of each of them. However we may note the occurrence of particular motifs such as the spiral staircase in the left of "La Repetition de Danse" of 1877 in the Burrell collection

The staircase is clearly not a Far Eastern motif but its "irrational" prominence in the composition and strange manner in which its various planes articulate the space of the whole image is inspired by the use of similar devices in Far Eastern art. Hiroshige's print "Wagon Wheel on a Beach" (Takanawa Ushimachi), from a series "Views of Famous Places in Edo", uses the wagon wheel and its spokes in the same way.

The "arbitrariness" of Degas' use of the architectural system of composition is made clear by comparing the two versions of "La Classe de Danse of M. Perrot" of 1873-4 and of 1874-6. Careful study of these two works will show that every aspect of the composition has been changed. From the substitution of a mirror for a door in the second version to the direction of the floorboards. All the figures except

for M. Perrot have also changed their poses. It is almost as if we have two instants from a class, magically transposed from one room to another. Despite these changes however the formula for the arbitrary use of space is the same in both compositions. So is their diagonal asymmetry. This asymmetry can be found in many of Degas' ballet paintings. It is generally attributed to Far Eastern art and there can be no doubt that this is correct. A form of it can be found in the Hokusai plate from the Chiusingura discussed above.

Its function is to emphasise the "incidental" qualities in the experience of the ballet in the same manner as the architectural compositional devices borrowed from Far Eastern art. Around 1878-1880 Degas' interest in "architectural" devices slackened and he concentrated increasingly on compositions showing dancers alone, in action or at rest. The last device to disappear was the simple vertical bar used to split up a space as in "Danseuses pratiquant dans une salle a colonnes" of 1887.

This change in emphasis is linked with Degas' increasing interest in the abstract and expressive problems of human movement and associated problems of draughtsmanship. It is also, in my view, linked to his increasing knowledge of Far Eastern paintings and painting techniques. In painting, as opposed to prints, much less emphasis is laid on a highly structured "graphic" composition. In Sumi-ye painting which is the kind which Degas probably knew best from the collections of his friends, from verbal descriptions and from the demonstration that he the interest the case. attended in 1878, Degas' development away from the Ingres based draughtsmanship of his early work proceeded as the graphic freedoms offered by the Far Eastern example were gradually revealed to him. This was to culminate in many studies of the female nude which will be discussed. However the development is best based in his studies of dancers.

A drawing made between 1871-2, "Danseuse en Quatrième derrière, pointe tendue", is very close to Ingres' style, with fine hard lines.

Degas has even squared off the drawing for transfer in the academic

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manner. The static pose is typical of Degas' earlier drawings. By about 1875 however he began to take a greater interest in representing movement and his drawings and paintings show dancers with arms in the air and balancing on their toes and in various forms of action.

In 1876 he made a brush drawing of "Two dancers practising", using all the thicknesses and tones of line found in Sumi-ye painting. In particular, the rhythmic notation of the left leg, skirt and tone of the dancer on the left show how for Degas understanding of the direct method of Far Eastern painting had developed. Another drawing of dancers in sepia made in 1876-77, also in the Rogg Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A., is pure Sumi-ye in technique, the brush barely flicking at the paper. Its line is similar in character to that in Hokusai's Mangwa. From this time on, broken lines rapidly made lines indicative of movement rather structural records come to dominate Degas' drawing of the human figure, and his drawing affected his paintings. We have seen that Burty probably owned Sumi-ye paintings in the 1870's and that critics occasionally praised Japanese paintings and prints for their representation of movement. Degas could thus quite easily have learned the Sumi-ye vocabulary and adapted it to his purpose.

Another example of drawings showing human movement was supplied by the Mangwa and similar works by Hokusai with endless series of figures bathing, wrestling, firing weapons and performing a hundred and one other acts. Degas' attention would have been directed to these by their naturalist enthusiasts. He could quite easily have read back through the prints to their original brush drawings. Moreover many plates of the Mangwa show the analysis of an action in many individual positions. This is true of the plate showing the butterfly dance on which as we have Whistler based on his signature. Two versions of this dance, believed to be by Hokusai, showing it as a composed sequence were published by Gonse in "L'Art Japonais" in 1883. One is a group of figures claimed from an early Hokusai print, the other is a section

from a Sumi-ye Makimono owned by Gonse.

The line of dancing figures is the makimono closely resembles in its variety of poses and its diagonal assymetry the lines of practising dancers in many of Degas' paintings, such as "Ecole de Danse" of 1876.

The piling up of limbs in the extract from the print finds its echo in many works, for instance in the painting "La Classe de Ballet" of 1880 and its associated studies. The same compositional piling up can be seen in a drawing of the three Russian dancers made as late as 1909.

It seems probable that much of Degas' technique for the analysis of movement was derived from the Far Eastern example. The suggestion that sequential analysis of action could only be found in photographs such as those made by Muybridge in 1887 is quite mistaken and irrelevant to Degas' earlier work. When Degas did use photographs they supplied only detailed references. The photographs of Merante which he asked for in 1876, for example are posed studio images, unlike any of his own work. Moreover I have shown that dance itself was subject to such analysis in Far Estern art available to Degas in the 1870's. Huysmans recognised the Japanese elements in Degas' work in his review of the Independents in 1880 when he noted his cut off images and asymmetrical compositions, and again in 1882;

Dans ses plus insouciants croquis, comme dans ses oeuvres achèvées, la personnalité de M. Degas sourd; ce dessin bref et nerveux, saississant comme celui des Japonais, le vol d'un mouvement, la prise d'une attitude n'appartient qu'à lui.

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The attribution of Degas' interest in recording movement to photography alone also begs the question of his reason for wishing to make art from this subject matter. As we have seen, Degas was not pursuing an image of perfect physical grace and we may be reasonably certain that he was not intoxicated by an idea of pure movement in the manner of the Futurists. Moreover we must bear in mind his excitement over the idea of the "little goddess who dances" at the Musee Guimet and then when

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asked about movement, he declared that "Rien en art ne doit ressembler a une accident même le mouvement". For Degas, movement was a metaphor for loss of identity, for the end of the traditional western concept of individuality which Ingres expressed so well and which waned at the moment of its greatest triumph. Degas' "naturalism", his emphasis on depiction of the incidental in human relations and his interest in the paradoxes of art and human relations expressed in the images of theat-rical performance all point towards an exploration of images of action, in which identity is lost in a "universal" pattern. These images are icons however, in no sense cinematic. Degas wished to represent the point at which one cannot tell the dancer from the dance. This is of course a place of no movement, a metaphor for total identity with the universe "at the still point there the dance is",

"But neither arrest nor movement.

And do not call it fixity,

Where past and future are gathered.

Neither movement from nor towards.

Neither ascent nor decline.

Except for the point, the still point,

There could be no dance and there is only the dance".

How much Degas' effort was consciously articulated in relation to Far Eastern culture is questionable, but he was clearly aware of Buddhist attitudes by 1891. In any case Degas agreed with Eliot about the importance of the dance and the insignificance of the dancer. He told George Moore - "La danseuse n'est qu'un pretexte pour le dessin".

Later artists were to dispense with the pretext and either make paint dance alone or dance themselves. Once again the Far Eastern example can be seen at the beginning of a major element in modernism.

The positive view of Degas' development which I have outlined above is of course open to the charge that it ignores his cynicism and his almost sadistic attitude to humanity. This question is best left until

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the discussion of Degas' treatment of the female nude where it occurs most acutely. Before this however we must consider Degas' relations to the idea of Impressionism and of Japanese art during the 1870's. For during this time he was the most loyal member of the Independents and a key figure in the organisation of their exhibitions. Degas' images of the theatre offer little help to those wishing to create a generic idea of Impressionism.

We do not know how Degas conceived of his creative effort in the 1870's for there are no significant records. However we do have Duranty's essay "La Nouvelle Peinture" of 1876 which many regard as being partly inspired by Degas as a reply to the hostile criticism of the first "Impressionist" exhibitions.

Whilst attacking the Salons and quoting Lecoq Boisbaudran's strictures against their "préparation antinaturelle" Duranty is most concerned to defend Impressionism against the charge of being revolutionary or antitraditional. He argues that in fact only the Salon and Academy are cut off from tradition by their employment of inappropriate historicisms.

Duranty points out that Ingres greatly admired the work of Courbet and implies that a great new "formula" should come from a fusion of these two aspects of tradition. The new painting was attempting to find such a formula. Duranty speaks of "L'Idée qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel".

He mentions Degas, Whistler and de Nittis by name as painters who have helped to construct this idea; half includes Manet but ignores the painters of the "natural", Monet, Pissaro and Sisley. This viewpoint closely reflects that of Degas who preferred "La Vie factice" to "La Vie naturelle". If Degas' ideas are reflected in Duranty's essay, then we may comment that since the 1860's, Far Eastern art had been seen by the painter as a most significant means of creating a new "formula" for art from the apparent deadlock of the 1850's.

Moreover Degas' conception of an art as a series of "formulas", as a totally artificial construction would have led him to make use of particular aspects of Far Eastern art in the manner which we have noted in his "theatrical" paintings.

Degas was continuing Manet's project of saving the Western "tradition" in art by making use of the Far Eastern example. Whistler was to make similar claimsfor his work, as we shall see below.

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Duranty says very little about the use of Japanese art by the new painters. His remarks concern two qualities, clear flat tones and subtle harmonies.

He sees the Impressionist colours as based on the discovery that bright light desaturates and flattens colours. This he attributes to the example of Japanese prints. He argues that their flat tones were inspired by the sunny climate of Japan, and thus preserves the naturalist theories. Degas' paintings of the early 1870's show many flat, insaturated colours, Le Foyer of 1872 is a good example. The subtle colour harmonies of Degas' work may also be attributed to the Far Eastern example. Duranty remarks;

L'oeil mélancolique et fier des Hindous, les grands yeux langoureux et absorbés des Persans, l'oeil-bridé, vif, mobile des Chinois et Japonais, n'ont-ils pas su melé à leurs grands cris de couleur, de fines, dou es, neutres, exquises harmonies de tons?

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This indication that Degas looked at the whole range of exotic art for his colour harmonies is confirmed by a portrait of Helen Rouart, made in 1886 showing her sitting amongst her father's collection, including an Egyptian sarcophagus and a Chinese silk hanging. A great deal remains to be found out concerning Degas' use of such material; we must bear in mind that in his last work on Far Eastern art in 1879 Duranty declared that Japanese art had been overvalued in relation to Chinese and exotic arts. If this was also Degas' view, one must beware of attributing all Degas' use of exotic motifs to Japanese art. Besides colour Duranty identified a new style of drawing and a new series of

viewpoints as the basic elements of the new painting. These two were certainly essential to Degas and as we have seen, he borrowed from the Far Eastern example for innovations in both areas.

"La Nouvelle Peinture" provides no evidence to contradict the view of Degas as a profoundly artificial painter. Indeed Duranty is clearly in difficulty when he attempt to apply unqualified naturalism to Degas' work. He speaks of the need for a simultaneous image only in the context of the "lois special es de lumière et d'expression" which govern the perception of human beings in their environment, not as an end in itself. Rather than positing the dissolution of the object in sensation by which Venturi defined Impressionism, Duranty argues that only in such interrelations can the subject of a painting be properly apprehended. Writing of the human subject in the new painting, Duranty called for an image that was not only simultaneous in terms of light and sensation, but also in terms of the social identity of the subject;

Il ne nous apparaît jamais; dans l'existence, sur des fonds neûtres, vides et vagues. Mais autour de lui et derrière lui sont des meubles, des cheminées, des tentures de murailles, un paroi qui exprime sa fortune, sa classe, son métier: il sera a son piano, ou il examinera son échantillon de coton dans son bureau commercial.

I have already touched on the possibility that Degas was interested in depicting social relations in his art when discussing his ballet paintings. I will now turn briefly to examples in which this intention is clear and in which he borrowed from Japanese art to make his point. He would have naturally turned to Japanese art to do this, as it was considered highly "Realist" by many critics. Hokusai himself was seen as the leader of a popular, naturalist movement.

The "Bureau de Cotons, Nouvelle-Orleans" of 1873 is an early example of this. It shows the same amorphous space which we saw in "Le Foyer" of 1872. It is controlled by the same "architectural" space denominators borrowed from Japanese prints. The range of windows and panels on the left wall and the ends of the shelves in the distance to

are two examples. We also have a cut off door in the upper left corner and the cut off figure of M. de Musson and a chair next to him in the left foreground.

As in the "Foyer", figures are distanced from each other by this spatial system. Some examine cotton, one writes a ledger, one reads a newspaper, one lounges. All have an air of distraction. Far from being merely a photographic record of an instant in time, this painting comments on the relations of the people it portrays to their business activity and its effect on their relations to each other. As in the "Orchestre et l'opera" an Ingres-like portrait style is used in a painting whose intention has much in common with Courbet's "Atelier". The compositional structure which mediates the two is provided by Far Eastern art.

Moreover the drawing of the individual figures such as that of the man leaning on the extreme left owes something to the Mangwa, in its laconic recording of a pose. Images of group working situations were not previously found in European art. However they were to be seen in the Mangwa. For instance in Vol. Three there is a picture of a banquet being prepared and eaten. The range of attitudes of the figures in the image from an active engagement in work to a sleepy relaxation parallels that in Degas' painting. The man reading a newspaper has a direct predecessor in a bored bathhouse attendant in the Nangwa. The realist I(+) praise of Hokusai would have directed Degas to images of this kind, which had a part in forming his conception of the Cotton office.

Hokusai's drawings of workers also influenced Degas in his studies of laundresses and other workers. For instance the study "Blanchisseuses 58 portant du linge" of 1876-78 is very like Hokusai in its concentrations 59 on an action, that of lifting a heavy basket and in its analysis of that action from two viewpoints.

Degas uses the flat tones, simplified linear drawing and cut off images learnt from Japanese to emphasise the dissolution of identity

within work and social class. Duranty recorded that Degas was thought of as having invented "Le clair-obscur social" a means of recording social 60 relations in visual images.

All Degas' paintings recording labour depend on the Far Eastern example for their success. A good example is his group of studies of milliners in which asymmetry, an unusual viewpoint and direct simplified drawing combine to emphasise the contrast between negative existence of the shop assistants and the highly wrought symbols of femininity and freedom from the need to work on which they lavish their attention.

Even the most basic of social relations, those between man and woman, became a subject of analysis of Degas' works. Several paintings show a tense relation between a man and a woman but the most interesting shows the relation between a man and a female doll. It is the "Portrait d'un peintre dans son atelier" which Lemoisne dated to 1873 but which Reff and 62 others date to 1878. The artist was once thought to be Cezanne but is now thought to be Henri-Michel-Levy, a minor member of the Independants. Reff has pointed to the portrayal of the artist as rejected by women, those in the paintings on each side of him turn their backs on him and at his feet is a life-size female mannequin in a pose which makes it clear that it is lifeless. Reff interprets the painting as in part an account of Degas' isolation in his bacheflorhood. I find the picture an expression of Degas' view of human relations, in the context of art. That is to say Degas has made an image of the contradiction of the artificial creativity of art and the natural creativity symbolised by woman.

Shinoda has pointed to an analogy between this painting and the picture of "Tokiwa sacrificing herself to the tyrant Kiyomori, her hus- I(36) band's murderer, to save her family", in Volume Nine of Hokusai's Mangwa.

The general lines of the composition are close, though not the details of the poses. Nonetheless the comparison is convincing and sheds an interesting light on Degas' work. He has transformed an image

of male dominance into an image of frustration and revenged himself by turning the lady into a dummy.

In depicting the closest of human relationships Degas was equally committed to pointing to the isolation of individuals and the incidental nature of their relations. To do this he borrowed from the Far Eastern example.

He went on to use it to aid him in the creation of endless images of woman herself, images which contradict practically all previous Western representations of the female nude.

It has been recognised that many of the individual poses of Degas' ballerinas derive from Japanese art, particularly from the Mangwa. Degas borrowed these poses to emphasise the strain and physical isolation of the ballerina. His move towards uncomplicated images of the female nude enabled him to concentrate on the physical and "animal" aspects of woman.

Before discussing this work however I would like to draw attention to an image of a Japanese bath house published in Humbert's "Le Japon" in 1870. It takes its setting from Ingres and indeed several of the female poses within it resemble poses in "Le Bain Turc". At the same time one can see that the images of women drying themselves also relate to Japanese prints of bath houses which Degas could have seen and in some cases also to erotic prints. The link between Ingres and Japanese art was not therefore an arbitrary one made by Degas. Moreover one must bear in mind the great number of critics who associated Japanese art with the art of classical Greece.

Degas' first studies of "woman" show partially clothes figures
brushing their hair. He began to make them in the mid-1870's. They
were clearly inspired by images of women combing their hair in Japanese
art. It has been customary to compare them to works of eighteenth
century artists, notably Harunobu and Utamaro. It is most unlikely that
these formed a source for Degas' work before the later 1880's, as we have seen.

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Kuniyoshi and other nineteenth century artists also made prints of women combing their hair, for instance "Ama dressing her hair" of 1843 I(38) which shows as Awabi pearl fisher girl sitting on a rock by the sea shore, combing her hair.

Degas' painting "Femmes se peignant" of 1876 also shows women by

the seashore brushing their hair. It seems likely that a nineteenth

century print showing Awabi fishers was the model for Degas' work, which

also uses the flat tones and direct drawing which he derived from Japan
ese art. The many images of women combing their hair in the Mangwa

would also have contributed to this work which is a multiple study of

one model. There were even paintings by Hokusai showing hair combing

which Degas may have seen; one was in the Charles Havilland collection. 65

Later Degas paintings and prints showing hair combing may perhaps also have been influenced by eighteenth century artists as their work became known in the 1880's.

The combing of women's hair has always been a popular image with artists and poets but Degas used it uniquely as a means of limiting the identity of his subjects to their immediate physical existence. This he went on to do for other aspects of the feminine toilet, borrowing from Far Eastern art at all times.

In this he was to make use not only of the Mangwa but also of images found in Japanese erotic art, which was generally known by the early 1880's, when his work on the female nude was at its height.

Huysmans wrote in praise of the animality of Japanese erotic prints at this time and Degas set out to appropriate this animality for his own art. He attested both to Sickert and to George Moore that his intention was to treat woman as an animal. The most available source for this was Hokusai's Mangwa which contains many studies of women bathing; this was a quite normal sight in Japan until the 1870's and contained no immediate erotic suggestions.

Degas was to make use of Hokusai's poses in works in which he

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claimed to be attempting the same degree of detachment from the subject that came naturally to Hokusai.

There are many examples of women towelling themselves in the Mangwa and Shinoda compares a pastel of 1885, showing a naked woman dabbing her 67 neck, with a plate from the Mangwa showing a similar action, but from a reverse viewpoint. Degas clearly did not copy the pose from Hokusai directly. He was however clearly influenced by this image or a similar I() one.

Degas took the ability to use a great many new, often undignified poses for the female nude from the Far Eastern example. These poses were multiplied endlessly in his work as he pursued the recreation of a convincing treatment of the human. However he also accepted from the Far Eastern example the dethronement of the female nude as a central symbol of life; of creation. This may have been inevitable as the failure of Cabanel's work shows that the conventions which supported the female nude in this role had become unworkable. Nonetheless Degas revels in their alienation and it seems clear that far from achieving the indifference which Hokusai had to the nude Degas was deeply emotionally involved in the destruction of something held dear by the tradition which he worshipped.

It is possible to multiply the parallels between the Mangwa and Degas' nudes but there are no cases of exact borrowing.

For instance in volume one of the Mangwa there is a view of the bathhouse. In the left corner a woman dries her armpit. Similar gestures may be found in some of Degas' nudes, for instance the pastel in the Courtauld galleries made in 1890. Though one pose is a reversal of the other and they do not exactly correspond, one feels that the idiom has passed from Hokusai to Degas. In fact the whole bathhouse scene, in its commonplace treatment of the subject suggests Degas.

Given Degas' method of working away from his subject, the most

likely explanation for this is that the Japanese prints have an archetypal relation to his work, that as with other artists it is a question of the passing on of a language, as a whole, rather than individual motifs. Degas' vision was conditioned by the Japanese example. This can be shown by comparing one of Degas' monotypes of fat prostitutes in a brothel "Le Client", with a page from the Mangwa showing fat men bathing. Degas depended on the Far Eastern example for the ability to record their gross forms, so alien to all in Western art.

In many of his monotypes Degas combines the incisive brush drawing of the Mangwa with a large variety of expressive brush strokes and types of black and grey Far Eastern ink painting. His use of the monotype in this way is reminiscent of Manet's use of the lithographic paper for his illustrations to the Raven and the resulting work is similar in its graphic qualities.

We may compare the range of Degas' brushwork in this monotype with that in two kakemonos by a nineteenth century artist, Zeishin, owned by Bing, exhibited in 1883 and published by Gonse in "L'Art Japonais". The monotypes date from 1876 to 1885. This range of expressive brushwork derived from the Far East was a great influence on the development of Degas' style in the 1880's and 1890's and especially in his pastels with their great range of expressive marks and textures and their rich tonal contrasts. These clearly exist as part of the aesthetic intention of the work and not as incidental elements in the process of representation. In other words they have the same role as their equivalents in Sumi-ye painting.

The monotype was thus partly a device for investigation of a great range of new effects for their "poetical" rather than their naturalistic effects. By the late 1870's Degas understood the basic artificiality of Far Eastern art and related it to his own work. The flat careful painting of the 1870's and the highly textured expressive work which Degas made may be attributed to different aspects of the Far Eastern

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example. Indeed his development from one to the other was, in part at least, a result of growing knowledge of Far Eastern art.

Apart from its use as a research took the monotype was limited in that it could only produce one print of each image. It had no feature however which Degas prized, it combined the ability to record spontaneous gesture and brushmarks with the isolation of the artist from his work by the reversal of the image. The monotype of Degas was an aid to meditation, a further attempt to achieve detachment.

This is why he attempted his most "degrading" images of women in this medium. Some of these clearly have a source in Japanese erotic prints, probably those by Hokusai which Huysmans praised in the 1880's. In a work like "Two Women", which I believe to represent a man and a woman, Degas has typically used a Far Eastern model, but shifted its meaning in a negative manner. In other monotypes, women lounge in poses which exaggerate their animality, clearly borrowed from Japanese bathhouse prints or erotic works.

The monotypes marks the last general influence of the Far Eastern example on Degas. After the mid-1880's Degas repeated or consolidated what he had learnt and moved away from a close relationship to Far Eastern models. Before conclusing this section however it is necessary to review minor aspects of Degas' art which have not found a place in the main argument. Degas painted sixteen fans with ballet motifs in the years immediately following the 1878 exhibition. None was meant for use, they all used delicate materials such as pastel. Many Japanese artists, including Hiroshige made fan prints. Hiroshige made them in the Ogi, or folding shape, like those of Degas and at least one painting work in this form, a satire by Kyosai, had been seen at the 1878 exhibition.

Degas may also have seen Japanese artists making fan paintings in the exhibition. Around 1869 he had made a fan painting of Spanish dancers, but this represented a very complex scene of costumed figures 70

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in a landscape à la Goya. Moreover it was a bad design as it ignored the implied pictorial ground in the missing centre of the fan and presented only whole images of the costumed figures. In the later fans the pictorial space is treated as extending beyond the fan border and subtle designs are made using the cut off figures of the ballerinas. This same composition can be seen in Kyosai's satire in which the top of a "telegraph pole" appears from the centre of the fan. Moreover the draughtsmanship and colouring are radically simplified in Degas' later works, following the Far Eastern example. These qualities can be seen in a fan probably made in 1879.

These fans provide further evidence of Degas' study of Far Eastern visual conventions. Moreover they were made at the culmination of his interest in Far Eastern art when the invention of monotypes, the expansion of his vocabulary as a draughtsman and the increasing diversity of compositional formulae also occur.

I believe the Far Eastern example also had an influence on Degas' interest in sculpture. The lifelike animation of Japanese animal sculptures in bronze and ivory, especially in the tiny carved netsuke was praised by many critics. Degas may have been influenced by these in his pursuit of movement through the refined simplification of sculptural form. One of his equestrian works may be compared in this respect to an ivory group, showing a horse and riders owned by Gonse and exhibited in 1883.

Degas' figure sculpture may also have been influenced by Far
Eastern work. We know that Japanese figure sculpture was exhibited in
the 1867 exhibition though none has been traced. A more likely influence
on his work is the religious sculpture of India, examples of which could
be found in the Musee Guimet. Much of this sculpture shows dancing
figures, often with multiple limbs to indicate the dance movements. We
may also point to the real hair ribbon, satin shoes and muslin tutu
which Degas placed on his "Petite danseuse de quatorze ans" which he

exhibited in 1881. Huysmans pointed to the costumed religious sculpture of Burgos cathedral as a precedent for Degas' work. However it is possible that Degas saw clothed religious sculpture from the Far East in the Musée Guimet. Much more detailed research is needed into the influence of this collection and that of the Musée Cernuschi on contemporary art.

Degas' interest in landscape was also influenced by Far Eastern art. In general Degas disapproved of landscape but in 1869 during his stay at Boulogne with Manet, Degas made 43 pastel studies of the seashore in which large areas of flat colour are balanced asymmetrically against small areas of detailed texture, as in landscape prints by Hiroshige and others. In 1890-1893 he produced a similar group of thirty-one landscapes which closely resemble Far Eastern ink paintings of landscapes. One feature of a landscape, such as a stream, is taken as a key motif and surrounded with a minimal series of marks and tones so as to express the experience of the landscape. Degas also produced a series of coloured monotype landscapes which take the process of simplifying landscape to its ultimate, leaving only few colour fields of various texture to define the space. These prints strikingly anticipate some abstract expressionist works such as those by Rothko. They were clearly prompted by the qualities of some Far Eastern landscape painting.

However these works are incidental in Degas' career and serve only to show the universal importance of the Far Eastern example for his work.

His main concern was always with the human figure and its environment. This concern was motivated by his belief in a great tradition of Western art ending with Ingres and that art was a system of expressive formulae. It was complicated by the social changes which rendered irrelevant the great formulae embodied in the Western tradition of representing the human figure. Degas turned to Far Eastern art for a new language to represent the new human relations he saw around him, and was

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supported in this by the opinions of the realist critics who admired Far Mastern art. However Degas' art fails to transcend the contradictions of his belief in traditional values and his determination to observe life as he saw it. Marxist critics who see in it an expression of alienation are correct. We have seen that all his borrowings from Far Eastern art were made in order to emphasise the incidental in human affairs. the isolation of human beings one from another and to degrade the "humanity" of his subject matter rather than celebrate it. Degas took elements of Far Eastern art which have their roots in a detached and serene view of human life and applied them to the expression of his own despire. In this his work forms a remarkable contrast to Van Gogh's, as we shall see. However it would be unjust to ignore Degas' sustained efforts to create a new art through a fusion of traditional values and his use of Far Eastern art as a means to this end. His pessimism has been shared by many later artists. Degas' dilemma was a real one and like his ballerinas, he achieved great art through the sacrifice of human identity. Finally we must point to the close correlation between Degas' development in relation to Far Eastern art and that of Manet. Both for instance make use of techniques based on Sumi-ye painting from 1876. Similar correlations can be found with other artists. Whistler, unlike Degas, was most directly influenced by Japanese art in the 1870's, then its importance faded. These dates correlate quite closely to the historical pattern of the discovery of Far Eastern art which I have discussed earlier in this thesis.

MONET

If Degas misread Far Eastern culture in order to make his art,

Monet's relationship with Japanese art was one of continual rapprochement, until by the end of his life some of his greatest admirers were
the Japanese, who made pilgrimages to Giverny to see him. No greater
contrast can be imagined than that between the use of the Far Eastern
example by these two artists.

The Japanese example is central to Monet's development as an artist, however there has been no serious study of its importance. Monet's letters contain no information about his interest in Japanese art and one must rely on secondhand information from the friends of his later years such as Geoffroy, Mirbeau and Marc Elder. However his lifelong interest in Japanese art is beyond question. He collected Japanese prints from the 1870's onwards and a collection of 220 prints which once belonged to Monet are now in the Musée Marmottan in Paris. Unfortunately it has not been possible to study these prints. They form a unique collection of immense importance not only to the study of Monet's art but to the history of Far Eastern influence as a whole.

Nonetheless it is possible to deduce part of the contents of the collection from descriptions of the prints with which Monet decorated the house in Giverny which he moved to in 1883. The prints were in the house from the beginning, but the fullest description of them is by a later visitor, Marc Elder. The prints were everywhere except in the "Salon";

....Mais ailleurs par toute la maison il n-y-a qu'estampes japonaises. Dans le petit salon bleu, peint ton sur ton, ou l'on ramasse les oeufs des poules, dans la salle à manger jaune couleur primevère, dans les escaliers, les estampes déroulent côté à côté, en traits essentiel l'anecdote minutieuse et profonde d'extreme-orient. Pour les citer il faudrait aller du vieux Korin, idealiste caustique cont les animaux rapellent parfois la simplification decorative de Pisanello, jusqu'aux successeurs realistes d'Hiroshige. Outamaro, Hokusai sont représentés par des planches admirables. Si les

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épreuves en noir et blanc abondent, les impressions polychromes n'en sont pas moins nombreuses, en vert, jaune, bleu et brun, ce brun rouge mat et dense comme celui des poteries italiotes. Vous verrez la les vues du Fuji, de Yedo, des femmes à leur toilette découvrant un sein bulbeux, haut place, des acteurs terribles, précieux ou grotesques, des enfants rases, et la courtisane qui offre une coupe de saké avec les attributs de bonheur. Les oiseaux, les poissons, la pluie, le vent, la neige, le torrent et les pins vivent sur le même plan que les hommes. Chaque tableau est l'expression générale d'un trait de caractere. Voici la coquetterie dans cette nuque, l'effort dans la torsion de cette carpe, la flanerie sur cette terrasse, ailleurs l'amour maternel, l'épouvants, la sagesse ou le calme. A mésure qu'on avance dans le temps, l'imagerie s'alourdit, se complique. Le second empire nous vaut des Japonais en haut de forme promenant en crinoline; la vapeur des ports tumultueux marqués par le naturalisme occidental.

Monet told Elder that he had "encore plein des cartons" not on show.

Elder knew him in his last years but it is likely that his description is appropriate for any time after the later 1880's.

Ge ffroy remembered seeing framed prints on his first visit to

Giverny after meeting Monet at Belle-Ile in 1886. In the dining room he remembered;

Une profusion d'estampes japonaises, simplement mises sous verres, les plus belles, les plus rares de Korin et Haronubu jusqu'a Hokusai et Hiroshige, et les plus inattendues aussi ou l'art du Nippon s'est applique victorieusement à representer les costumes et les aspects de la vie Hollandaise aux colonies.

This tallies with Elder's description and Hoschfde also mentions prints by "Korin, Hokusai, Hiroshige, Otamaro, Harunobu" as being on show throughout the house.

Korin, of course, was not a print artist, although prints after his designs were available in Paris from the 1870's as we have seen. The occurrence of his name in all three lists suggests that Monet himself believed that Korin made prints and that the descriptions are taken from his own discussions of his collection. Mirbeau describes the so-called Korin as representing "un troupeau de biches" and remarks that Monet thought it an outstanding work and only later found it to be by

Korin. The implication is that Monet found the work early in his career though one cannot be certain of this. Bing was probably Monet's mistaken informant.

Hoschede states that Monet bought prints from Bing and from a Japanese dealer in Paris, Matsukaba. Matsukaba introduced him to Vever, the collector, who showed him his Japanese collection. Most of Monet's dealings were made in the 1890's when he had money enough to buy from dealers such as Bing, and they probably concerned the eighteenth century prints. However he probably acquired a considerable quantity of later prints very cheaply in the early 1870's as we shall see. Two photographs have recently been published, showing part of Monet's collection on display at Giverny. In a photograph showing the library it is possible to identify "Fuji in clear weather", (No. 8 of the thirty views of Fuji), and "The Hollow of the deep sea wave" (10 20 of the same set), "Women diving for Awabe off the Coast of Ise", an illustration to a poem by Sangi Takamura, one of "The Hundred Poems explained by the Nurse", also by Hokusai, and "Chirya Horse Fair", one of the fifty-three stations of the Tokaido by Hiroshige. There are also two figures subject diptychs, one of which is recognisably nineteenth century, probably by Kunisada.

None of the prints in the photograph of the dining room are identifiable, though the range of the prints, embracing all periods and forms, is recognisable. One can also recognise one or two of the pieces of Oriental pottery, which Monet owned.

It is clear that from 1883 when Monet moved to Giverny he was always surrounded by Japanese prints and must have looked at them every day. Their role in the latter half of his career is therefore beyond dispute. However there is some difficulty in establishing the nature of his interest in Japanese art in the 1870's. It seems reasonable to assume that prints that he acquired during this decade were by the later

masters; Hokusai, Hiroshige, Kunisada and the pictures of Europeans in Japan. Monet claimed to have acquired a great many prints in Holland. Elder reports Monet's account, in which he denies Mirbeau's date of 1886 for his discovery of them:

A la verité je connaissais la gravure japonaise bien avant 1886, année ou j'allai peindre en Hollande. Ma collection était en train depuis longtemps. Mais il est vrai qui j'eus la bonne fortune de decouvrir un lot d'estampes chez un marchand hollandais. C'était a Amsterdam, dans une boutique de porcelaine de Delft. Je marchandais un pot qui m'avait plu. Le prix m'effrayait, mais le vendeur tenait bon. Soudain, j'aperçois sur un rayon, en contre-bas, un plat rempli d'images. Je m'approche, des estampes du Japon! Aussitôt je propose à mon homme:

"Si vous voulez joindre au vase ce paquet d'images j'accepterai votre prix",

"A votre gré, me repond-t-il, tout ceux n'a pas d'interêt pour moi."

Monet was in Amsterdam in 1871, 1872 and 1886. One wonders if he had the money to buy Delft in 1871, however by 1886 there was a market for Japanese prints and discriminating taste was beginning. It seems likely on balance that he acquired the prints in either 1871 or 1872.

Apart from his own collection he would also have seen a great deal of Far Eastern art in Paris, beginning with the 1867 exhibition. He would also have been encouraged to look at Far Eastern art by Manet and have been influenced to some extent by the partisans of Japanese art associated with the "Impressionist" exhibitions, for instance Burty and Duret.

Monet was also affected by the fashionable interest in Japanese art. In 1876 he painted a portrait of his wife, Camille, in a Japanese costume. "La Japonaise", now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Camille wears a blonde wig and a rich red kimono with a design of leaves and a samurai warrior and a great deal of gold embroidery. She holds up an open fan of red, white and blue and swirls the kimono, displaying the design.

It has been argued that the pose, like the blonde wig, is European

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and self-conscious. However it must not be forgotten that besides theatrical prints, photographs and drawings of Japanese actors had reached Europe by 1876 and they showed similar gestures. Moreover many figure prints were contrived to make full use of the pattern of the kimonos of their subjects in the design. The heavy emphasis on the samurai which 10 is almost an independent figure, clearly derives from such prints.

The painting was designed as a "Salon" piece with the title
"Panneau decoratif". Though exhibited with Monet's other paintings in
the second Impressionist exhibition it escaped the general censure and
was sold for two thousand francs. It is however far from a "Salon"
costume piece as its remoteness from work such as that by Stevens and
others discussed below makes clear.

The lack of understanding of contemporary Japanese techniques was shown by their response to the asymmetry disposition of the fans in the background of the painting. Emile Porcheron suggested that Camille was juggling the fans, while the reviewer of "L'Evenement" suggested that they were floating in space.

Monet clearly knew Japanese decorative practice. He may have seen fans arranged in asymmetries in prints or photographs of Japan. Renoir recorded the Japanese fans that decorated the wall of Monet's house at Argenteuil in 1874, in his portrait of Mme. Monet of that year.

Monet was thus looking at Japanese images at this early date and may have been influenced by them. The fans in "La Japonaise" contain some of the motifs of his own work. The fan in the right corner of the wall shows a seascape with a tree in the foreground and distant hills. It could be a miniature Monet. The Japanese image is rendered in a series of concise short brush strokes following the graphic quality of the original. It may well be that the graphic simplicity of Monet's brushstroke in the 1870's owed a considerable amount to the imitation of the marks made by Japanese artists in watercolour by a Western artist in

oil paint. We will return to this later. Several other fans show Monet motifs, two show rowing scenes, one a sailboat with its sail fully unfurled and one the patterned silhouettes of trees. In his later years Monet regarded this painting as "une salete" and claimed that he had only been tempted to paint it by the robe. It was to be his last major figure painting and it is appropriate that his renunciation of the figure should take place after having made a "Japanese" painting.

The subversion of Monet's art by the Japanese example had been going on for some time by 1876. It culminated in the 1874 exhibition. I have shown that Monet's work in the 1860's was influenced in composition and brushwork by Japanese art. This continued, in particular the Japanese influence contributed greatly to Manet's achievement of great graphic simplicity in his brushwork.

In 1870 he made several small studies of figures on the beaches at Deauville and Trouville. These show a remarkable simplification of brushstroke and identity of image with the tache of the brushwork, for instance, in "La Plage de Trouville" the folds of the women's dress are recorded in direct brush marks. The identity of 14 the brush mark with the image is made clear by the shadow on the face of the woman on the left which is composed of four flat brush strokes with two slashes for the eye and eyebrow, similar direct identification of mark and image can be seen in the chairback in the foreground. I have discussed the role of the identity of colour area and gestural mark in the Japanese print in treating the taches above, in connection with Manet's work. We may see the phenomenon taken to its limit here. Monet may even have modelled the two women in the painting on Japanese images of European women such as those in the Burges. In some of these the faces are shown in two flat tones, much like the face of the woman on the left in Monet's picture.

The tension between the bulk of the figures in the foreground against the sketched landscape in the distance is also typical of Far Eastern

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compositional devices, seen in prints.

Other compositional devices from Japanese prints appeared in paintings made in the following year, when Monet was in England.

In the painting "The Thames and Westminster" in the National Gallery, London, of 1871, the dark grid of a jetty in the lower right-hand corner is balanced asymmetrically by the light tones of Westminster bridge and the Houses of Parliament and the medium toned silhouettes of two tugs to the left. The whole painting depends on Far Eastern precedents.

The balance of a dark geometrical structure on one side of the foreground of the image against a background composed of flat tones is a typical print formula. It is found in one of the prints the V. and A. bought from the 1867 exhibition.

A closer analogy in terms of the spatial mechanism in Nonet's work can be found in Station 42 of Hiroshige's upright series of Tokaido views. The Tori on the left establishes the foreground in a dark tone and the ships and harbour in lighter tones describe the distance. The tone sequence in Monet's painting may also owe something to the example of Sumi-ye painting, as may the gestural brushstrokes, varied in tone which indicate the ripples of the water.

The two views of London parks "Hyde Park" now in the Providence Art School, Rhode Island, and "Green Park" now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, both show the open, "incidental" landscape composition with human figures, that first occurred in Manet's view of the 1867 Exposition Universelle and in a more extreme form in his "Sur le Flage de Boulogne". The use of the road as a compositional element in the view of "Hyde Park" is close to its use in some of Hiroshige's "Tokaido Road" prints, including the placing of figures on the road at specific points. Similar models may be found for the placing of tiny, barely defined figures in a minimally indicated landscape in "Green Park", for instance "Totsuka" Station 6 of Hiroshige's vertical series of Tokaido Views. For a full discussion of the Far Eastern precedents for this type

of "incidental" composition I refer the reader to my essay on Manet above.

The use of "taches" to indicate figures in a painting reached its height in the "Boulevard des Capucines" of 1873,

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In this painting the high viewpoint was probably prompted by the example of such prints as Hiroshige's "Theatres Young Monkey Street" which we have seen was fairly well known in Europe. This print shows figures and their shadows as flat strokes of tone as does Monet. Moreover his manner of painting the trees as flat tone with a few lines of darker tone to indicate branches and thick strokes for the trunks is typical of a method used by Hiroshige in many of his landscape prints.

Schaarf has argued that the model for Monet's painting was a work of blurred photograph taken for by Nadar studio where the first "Impressionist" exhibition was held in 1874. I find this most unconvincing since it proposes a sedulous imitation of an arbitrary visual effect by an artist committed to using his medium directly to express his visual experience. I find it far more probable that the liberation of Monet's brush stroke should be prompted by an art form which stressed the graphic integrity of its images.

Louis Leroy's remarks on this painting are well-known;

En voilà de l'impression ou je ne m'y connais pas.... Seulement veuillez me dire ce que representant ces innombrables lichettes noires dans le bas du tableau.

Mais, repondis-je, ce sort promeneurs. Alors, je ressemble à ça quand je me promene sur le boule-vard des Capucines? Sang et tonnerre....

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This mockery is usually interpreted as a result of Leroy's ignorance of his own visual perceptions. In fact it results from his reaction to the proposal contained in Monet's art that man and his activities are mere incidental elements in much visual experience, even of a city.

This vision of man is essential to Japanese art. It derives from the

Japanese religious and cultural concepts of the individual. Monet borrowed the visual convention for the purpose of recording an aspect of visual experience as accurately as possible. However the original cultural implication and the visual form are never completely separable. There is an element of the Japanese cultural attitude even in the pictures Monet painted in the early 1870's. This element was to grow throughout his life.

The Japanese vision of man was praised by the realists for its authenticity and Monet was influenced by their ideas, to the extent that in 1872 he attempted a painting of men labouring, "Les dechargeurs de Charbon", in a Paris private collection. The original inspriation for this painting was a print by Dore. Monet's labourers have some of the deadened quality of Dore's. However this is overlayed by the use of Japanese motifs. The simplification of their figures was learnt from the Mangwa. The naive patterning of these figures on the planks was also derived from the Japanese example. Monet has used it to shift the emphasis of the painting away from the purposeful drudgery of the labourers, towards an overall design in which they form only a motif.

The bridge with its traffic which spans the painting at the top is also derived from Japanese prints, for instance the Kyobashi Takegashi", No. 76 of Hiroshige's "Views of Yedo". The echoing of the near bridge by the silhouette of one in the distance can be seen in the Hiroshige print and in the Monet painting.

Monet's work is not successful, for he has not escaped fully from Dore's conception of the dullness of mass industrial work. In images of labour in Japanese art one has a sense of a harmony of the human image with the tasks which it performs. The expression of this conception of labour in Western art was only possible to a far greater humanist than Monet; Vincent Van Gogh.

The "Boulevard des Capucines" and the "Déchargeurs de Charbon" are

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last works in which Monet attempted images of purposive human action. It seems that the tension created in his art between the demands of realism and those of purely visual accuracy were too difficult for Monet to resolve. The humanist motives which attracted Millet and Rousseau to the visual language of Japanese prints became in Monet's work a pursuit of universal harmony based almost exclusively on the recorded sensations of looking at landscape. I shall try to show that for Monet the pursuit of "light" retained a metaphysical aspect and that this was supported by his use of Far Eastern art.

The first group of paintings in which this intention dominates

Monet's work to the exclusion of all others are the river paintings

made between 1872-74. These paintings are important, as, taken as a

group they provided the normative conception of Impressionism, the name

itself being taken from the title of one of them - "Impression soleil

levant", of 1872, which was shown in the first Impressions t exhibition.

A painting at present in the Musee Marmotton dated 1872 was long identified with this work but it would appear that this was incorrect. Nonetheless the Marmottan canvas shows borrowings from Far Eastern art. The picture as a whole has no traditional compositional structure. The picture plane is taken as a field in which a great range of gestural marks, some broad, some narrow, of various tones, interact so as to produce a sensation of space. It has been assumed that this creation is the result of Monet's attachment to "plein air" painting and his direct transcription of sensation. However this argument ignores the highly sophisticated co-ordination of the various types of marks. The round orange ball of the sun through mist and its reflected light on the water, noted in a carefully balanced series of orange slashes is one example. This is brilliantly balanced in relation to the tones of two boats on the river and their placing on the canvas. Whilst Monet may have seen something of Turner's work in London the directness of this brushwork and its subtlety of balance could only have come from Far Eastern art.

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Many Japanese artists have used mist effects as a way of simplifying their picture space. This tradition influenced Hiroshige whose prints often show mist in graded flat tones, simplifying and flattening the form of a landscape. "Taisha in Mist, Izumo Province", from the "Views of the 69 Provinces" is a good example of this.

However the radical flat openness of Monet's composition suggests that he had seen Sumi-ye painting at first hand, so does his sensitivity to the use of different tones, such as the deep tones of the boats.

There are some open misty landscapes in Hokusai's Mangwa which

Monet must have known, for instance "Kasumi-ya-Seki-Musashi" or "The

Barrier of Mist". An example such as this would have helped to liberate

Monet from the need to "compose" landscapes.

Hokusai's prints also provide good examples of the use of the independent brushmark as a direct visual element. In "Fuji in clear 28 weather" which was on display at Giverny, it is possible to identify two types of independent brush stroke. First there is the green of the trees on Fuji's lower slopes, composed of separate brush marks, each one suggesting a tree. Then the cloudy sky is made up of interrelated shapes made up of elongated brush strokes.

There are also many pages in the Mangwa which show how landscape images may be built up from direct brushstrokes. These derive ultimately from a Chinese tradition of drawing manuals, the most famous of which is the "Mustard Seed Garden".

Monet was aware of most, if not all, the above sources and it is clear that they had some effect on his attitude to vision. In his old age he mentioned the example of Japanese composition as an important element in his development. Pointing to his prints he remarked "En Occident ce que nous avons surtout apprecie, c'est la façon hardie de couper les sujets: ces gens-la nous ont appris à composer differement, 29 cela est hors de douter". In "L'Impression" of 1872 we have the earliest example of Monet's full use of the other method. It was soon followed by

Argenteuil", also of 1872. The handling of the motif of the large white 30 sails relates this work once more to Hiroshige. Moreover the entire image is composed of direct oblong brush strokes. These "taches" give an effect of great vibrancy. The water in this painting shows the same brilliant effects obtained in costume prints by Kunisada and others, in which oblongs of different colours are placed close together.

From the evidence I have offered above it would seem that the Japanese example played a large role in the development of Monet's early "Impressionist" style. However the evidence is almost entirely based on analogies and is therefore suspect. Therefore it is important to recapitulate the discussion of critical attitudes to Japanese art made earlier.

It is clear that many critics saw Japanese landscape art as highly natural and that it was often believed that Japanese artists practised "plein air" painting in order to gain their effects. Moreover many critics saw the Japanese example as having a fundamental effect on Western visual sensibility. One may cite for instance the passage in "Manette Salomon" where De Goncourt describes a vision of the sun exactly like that in Monet's "L'Impression".

However the most important claim was that by Duret who chose the imagery of a walk by a river to discuss the evolution in sensibility brought about by Japanese prints. Duret had in mind the work of Monet and Manet at Argenteuil.

I have presented this circumstantial evidence for Monet's dependence on Japanese art at great length earlier in this thesis. This general evidence makes it probable that the analogies I have offered are also explanations.

One critic, Armand Sylvestre, saw the Japanese influence in Monet's work as early as 1873;

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Il aime sur une eau legerement remuee, à juxtaposer les reflets multicolores du soleil couchant, des bateaux barioles, de la rue changeante. Des tons métalliques dus au poli du flot qui clapote par petites surfaces unies miroitent sur ses toiles, et l'image de la rive y tremble, les maisons s'y découpant comme dans ce jeu d'enfants ou les objets se reconstituent par morceaux. Cet effet, d'une verite absolue et qui a pu être (emprunte) aux images japonaises, charme si fort la jeune ecole qu'elle y revient à tout propos.

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In my opinion Monet continued to draw on the Japanese example throughout his career in two ways. One was the extention of his vocabulary of graphic brushstrokes. It has been argued that this vocabulary arose and varied purely in accordance with the technical needs of Impressionism. However I find this argument most unconvincing as "pointillisme" is the logical development of purely technical needs and Monet barely approached this in one of two paintings in the mid-1870's. His real effort was to find a graphic parallel for sensations not an optical illusion but a visual language.

The other area of Japanese influence is in the use of certain compositional patterns which are inescapably identified with particular motifs.

Whilst it is possible to present many varied analogies throughout Monet's career it would be unprofitable work since the prints at the Musee Marmottan hold the key to this problem.

However there are three groups of Monet's paintings which are unquestionably influenced by Far Eastern examples. They are, the paintings of Etretat and Belle Ile, in the mid 1880's, the series of views of Poplars along the Epte at Giverny in 1891 and the views of Monet's garden and river at Giverny. These examples will serve to show its importance for Monet's art as a whole. In August 1884 and the last three months of 1885 Monet stayed at Etretat and painted the famous rock formations on the cliffs there, in all kinds of weather.

Monet's interest in this motif was undoubtedly motivated by Japanese

examples. Rocks in the sea were a favourite subject of Japanese print artists, particularly of Hiroshige. The motif itself is traditional in Japanese art and can be found on every sort of object from Tsuba to writing boxes. Bing even owned an incense burner whose legs took the form of waves.

As we have seen the motif was reproduced in Western books on Japanese art, for instance in Humbert in 1870, by Alcock in 1878. Regamey also made use of the motif in his illustrations.

Thus Monet's choice of the motif was in the context of its Japanese reference being known in the West. Etretat had been attracting artists for over a century. In 1869 Courbet painted a view of the arched "Forte d'Aval" which stressed its stony architectonic qualities. For Monet, on the other hand, the graphic technique derived from Japanese art has dissolved the solidity of the rocks and the sea had become a living organism. In some of the series close analogies of motif can be found with particular prints by Hiroshige, for instance the "Cliff at Etretat", "La Manneporte" of 1883 in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, may be compared with "The sea shore at Izu" from Hiroshige's 36 Views of Fuji of 1852. The rock arch is similar and the waves, so is the treatment of the light striking the inside face of the The wide range of brushmarks used to represent the rock also derive from Japanese art. The Mangwa gives many examples of the use of contrasting brushmarks to represent the rough surface of rocks and dynamics of waves. In Vol. five for instance a two page study shows a boat entering the cave of the Three Deities near Shinoda. The brush stroke system on the outer leg of Monet's arch should be compared to that of the waves meeting the rocks on the right hand page of this illustration the analogy is very close. It is likely that much of Monet's elaborate vocabulary of brushstrokes was taken directly from such examples and not invented as a spontaneous response to the scene before him.

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Thus the Far Eastern example provided Monet with the three basic elements of his visual language - the open, flat composition, the motif and the infrastructure of brushstrokes which serve to control one's perception of the motif. We have also seen that the idea, the identity of a given mark with a particular uniform colour patch and with a significant unit of the image as a whole was first suggested by Japanese prints.

The paintings made at Belle-Ile also relate closely to Far Eastern examples, for instance "Rocks at Belle Ile" in Moscow shows a close analogy in motif to some of the rocks in the Mangwa reproduced by Alcock and elsewhere. The organic insubstantial quality of the rocks marks the analogy clearly. The juxtaposition of the group of rocks against a sea with a high horizon derives from works such as the triptych "View of the Awa Rapids" by Hiroshige. The white surge of the foam between the rocks in the Monet is based on the same graphic form in Hiroshige's "View of Satta Point" from the 36 Views of Fuji.

Another painting made at Belle Ile, "Rough Sea, Belle Ile en Mer" 1886, now in Tokyo, was shown at Munich in 1972. This shows all the features shown in the earlier examples and also the diagonal strokes to indicate rain which are a common feature in Hiroshige's rain scenes.

The idea of taking a motif such as rocks as a basis for a long series of paintings may itself have been inspired by the example of Japanese print series, such as Hokusai's "36 Views of Fuji". Monet's dealings with Bing would have exposed him to the dealer's opinions on prints and Van Gogh recorded that Bing never seemed too busy to discuss Japanese art with visitors to his shop.

We may gain some idea of the opinions of Bing from a lecture that he gave to the Japan Society in London in 1899 on Hokusai's 36 Views of Fuji.

Bing discusses Hokusai as a "realist" who in designing the "36 Views" became a poet. A painter whose aim is to capture and clarify all the

moods of a great natural and religious monument, a motif which had never been painted before;

The Fuji-yama was a motive that would form a starting-point, a theme without equal, in the lining of which would be born a thousand different ideals. Henceforth Hokusai ceases to be a mere copyist; he becomes a poet, adding something to the naked reality: striving to translate untranslatable grandiose; he clothes Nature with a different grandeur, with a mysterious glory only seen in dreams.

His dream is a lucid one, a vision that results in the transfiguration, not the travesty of Nature. He wrings out all that is characteristic and significant of her various moods. The eternal truth and beauty of Creation are made clear by simplification, all petty detail is suppressed and only the essence is glorified.

These words could equally well apply to Monet's development in the late '80s and '90s, as could Bing's justification for all the series of views as a means of exploring an environment in all its interrelations.

And it is precisely this art of combining effects, the quest for relativity between one given point and all surrounding objects, that could enable an artist torproduce, nearly fifty times, the image of the self same mass of earth without becoming stupidly monotonous.

This formulation is highly appropriate for Monet's use of the "motif". Monet pursued relativity in terms of pseudo naturalistic impressions, though these eventually became thoroughly and undeniably artificial. His habit of sticking dozens of canvases about in the gardens of Giverny and painting on any one only so long as a particular effect of light lasted was not motivated by the idea of a snapshot, but by the conception of creation as a series of evanescent shifting interrelationships. In this context his adoption of the Far Eastern device of the repeated motif is fully understandable.

The first undisputed examples of Monet considering a motif for its poetic purposes alone are the twenty or so paintings which he made of a stand of poplars along the River Epte near Giverny in 1891. Monet had to intervene in the sale of these trees in order to preserve them for the period during which he wished to paint them.

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The whole series is an exploration of the motif of a screen of tree trunks against the sky which is common in Japanese art particularly in the work of Hokusai and Hiroshige.

This motif first occurs in the 1880's in a group of paintings of pine trees made in Juan Les Pins. Money thus perceived the poplars in terms of this abstract "motif" before beginning to paint them. They were to be used as a convenient compositional matrix.

An early work in the series, in the Tate, dated 1890, shows the poplars with green heads against a blue sky, stretching across the canvas rather like the trees in "Travellers at Hodogaya", one of the thirty-six views of Fuji. Monet however has indicated a second screen of poplars behind the first, following the curve of the river.

Gradually Monet eliminated this element from the paintings; this resulted in "The Four Poplars" in the Metropolitan, New York. Four trunks stretch up from a river bank and down into water from its reflection. The distant trees have become a few blobs of yellow light. The painting has become an abstract meditation of the motif of trees in the exists sunlight. No close analogy for this work in Japanese prints. Nonethe- 40 less it is the product of an artistic endeavour closely paralleling and influenced by the Japanese example. It is a sign that by the early 1890's Monet had adopted Far Eastern aesthetic values as his own.

Conclusive evidence of this is provided by the development of the gardens at Giverny. Japanese flowers and plants of all kinds, an arched walkway modelled on those in Japanese temples and a Japanese footbridge over a river full of exotic flowering lilies, all testify to Monet's attempts to create a totally "Japanese" motif from which to work.

The construction of the gardens at Giverny marked the absolute denial of the naturalist intention attributed to Impressionism. They were made in the same spirit as Japanese gardens, which set out to provide the experience of an entire landscape in a small area. Monet's gardens compress many motifs in a similarly small piece of land, motifs

made expressly to be painted. Remembering the paintings one is surprised by how little there is at Giverny. Monet was not the first to attempt to create a little Japan in France, as we have seen Krafft attempted this at his house near Versailles in the 1880's and Regamey wrote about it at length.

Moreover photographs and descriptions of Japanese gardens and parks were widely available in France - Regamey, for instance, painted them. Therefore it is misleading to suggest as is usually done that Monet took his inspiration for the Garden and its paintings from Japanese prints alone.

For instance it is usual to compare the Japanese footbridge with a print from Hiroshige's 100 Views of Yedo, No. 57, "The Bridge at Kameido". I(65)

It is true that this print shows a bridge similar to that put up by Monet and that the creeper trailing down the print echoes the willows and wisteria that trail over the bridge in many of Monet's paintings. However a closer analogy to Monet's bridge appeared in an engraving illustrating Humbert's "Le Japon" in 1870. Moreover Beato and others had made photographs of similar bridges and Regamey had painted them and published his paintings in "Promenades Japonaises".

By the 1890's we may see that the significance of any particular analogy between a Japanese print and a work by Monet is of little value compared to the general relationships between his work and Far Eastern art. Images of Japan complete with their associated cultural information were so readily available by the 1890's that Japanese art and imagery could be said to have become part of the Western tradition.

There remains the question of the dissolution of the image in Monet's late work.s In early versions of the footbridge it acts as unmistakable motif, structuring and defining the coloured lights, reflections and shadows in the vegetation around it and in the water beneath into a definite space as in the 1899 painting in the National Gallery. In later versions, such as that of 1919 in the Musee

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Marmottan the bridge dissolved in the shadows is no more than another patch of colour, another group of brush strokes in a dense ambiguous pattern.

This increasing loss of interest in structure and stress on integration led Monet to make his paintings of water lilies in which Greenberg and others have seen so much for the future of art. The parallels between these evanescent shifting images and the Duddhist view of the world as an interrelated continuum with no absolute differentiations is clear enough. However the formal steps by which Monet attained his images are more difficult to associate with Far Eastern art. An undated and apparently unfinished painting in the Musee Marmottan is of some help. It shows a group of floating lily pads made with strong curving brush strokes contrasting with a number of vertical lines and shadows representing willow fronds and creepers. The direct use of a brush mark code in this way is taken directly from Far Eastern art. This act of carefully balanced mark making came to represent for Monet the essential metaphor for existence, much as it did in much Sumi-ye painting, which was after all originated by Buddhist monks.

Monet's finished "Nympheas" paintings are all composed of endless acts of mark making of this sort. However in these he has achieved the complete dissolution of the image in the account of a floating continuous space. In talking of Japanese work in his later years, Monet emphasised the interrelationship of objects with their images and their extreme economy of expression;

Hokusai, dit-il lentement. Comme c'est fort - Regardez le papillon qui lutte contre le vent, les fleurs qui plient. Et rien d'inutile..... La sobrieté dans la vie.

There can be no doubt that his admiration for these qualities within Japanese art was a major factor in his development away from naturalism and in the final realisation of his art in the "Nympheas".

Monet sought harmony in his art by the dissolution of the integrity

of images, Degas by a desperate effort to save the most vital and fragile of all, the human image. No greater contrast can be imagined between the gradual banishment of all movement and all space or potential movement in Monet's work and Degas' frenzied researches into an iconography of human activity and relations.

Their differing artistic intentions are reflected in their different borrowings from Far Eastern art. We have seen that Degas borrowed from images of the human figure and misread Far Eastern inventions for his own ends. In Monet's case, however, his intentions coincided remarkably with the original significance of the works from which he borrowed; he even created a garden for artistic contemplation in the Japanese manner. It is clear that "Impressionism" cannot be used as a term to cover the work of both men and retain any but a nominal significance. However it is clear that in both cases the Far Eastern example was used to explore aspects of man's symbolic relations to nature and to society on several levels, not just as a prop for an inhuman naturalism.

Whistler and Japanese art after 1867.

We have seen that, in the early 1860's, whistler made considerable efforts to learn all he could about Japanese art and made use of his knowledge in his work. After the 1867 Paris exhibition he continued to do so, spurred on by the subsequent exhibition and by the development of European knowledge of Japan. Indeed by the end of his career his work was synonymous with the appearance of Japanese art in the West. Whistler became generally known as the "Japanese Artist", the title by which he was pointed out to Walter Greaves, working at his window in the 1860's.

In 1905, the Studio reviewed the International Artists' Whistler exhibition in terms which made clear the current estimate of his debt to Japanese art;

we must not place him on a pinnacle which his work does not warrant. His position in relation to art is the position which the art of Japan especially in its later phases bears to the great art of the world. Whistler's inspiration was undoubtedly derived more from Japanese art than from any other source. The daintiness of colouring, his conception of colouring and the balance of parts is essentially Japanese in its character. More perhaps than anyone else, he Europeanised Japanese ideas, and yet as an exponent of these ideas he falls short of his great Japanese prototypes.

This response is typical of many of those who looked at Whistler's life work assembled in the exhibition. Velasquez is also mentioned as an influence by some reviewers but their concensus is that Whistler's art represented the Far Eastern example in Western art. Moreover the Studio reviewer identifies Whistler's work with later, presumably nineteenth century Japanese art and makes a value judgement on both in terms of the grand Western tradition "the great art of the world". Both Whistler and Japan he believes to be of relatively minor significance within that tradition. His judgement of Whistler is conditioned by the quite specific aesthetic attitude which he takes to Japanese art.

This is a most important point and one overlooked by most recent critics and writers on Whistler. Whistler's use of Japanese art was

closely related to the context of the late nineteenth century and knowledge and understanding of Japan. It is the failure of recent writers
to take into account the complex but quite specific range of aesthetic
values associated with the Far Eastern example at this time which has led
to the dwindling emphasis placed on Japanese influence in Whistler's
work. This chapter will attempt to restore the balance by considering 2
whistler's use of the Japanese example in his work as a painter, an
aesthetic theorist and a decorator in the context of contemporary attitudes to Japanese art. Such an analysis is far more significant than
the proposal of endless models for motifs or formal characteristics in
particular works.

Moreover we may hope to come to an opinion about Whistler's achievement that avoide the vague discontent with his work as amoral and therefore diminished minor aberration in a Western artistic "tradition".

That tradition, as I have argued above, appears increasingly as an arbitrary consensus. A final, imperative reason for studying Whistler's relations with Japanese art after 1867, is his almost universal association with it in contemporary criticisms. He came to represent an archetype of the contemporary Western response to Far Eastern art. This alone would make him a figure of considerable interest for this thesis.

Whistler never concealed his obsession with Far Fastern art in the 1870's and 1880's. During the 1870's there was a constant series of dinners served in Far Eastern splendour at Whistler's house in Lindsey Row. Blue and white china, lacquer ware, fans and all kinds of bibelot were on display or in use during dinner. When Whistler needed more than he possessed, he borrowed them from Lord Redesdale, the author of "Tales of Old Japan", who lived two doors away and for whom Whistler once considered illustrating a catalogue, presumably of Japanese art.

Occasionally guests reported seeing a large china bowl with a goldfish in it, or a Chinese "bath" full of water-lilies. There were also Japan-

ese paintings and prints, for Whistler's collection acquired in the 1860's remained with him until the White House was sold up in 1880.

The diary of A. S. Cole, a frequent guest at the dinners, records Whistler declaring in 1876 that "art had reached a natural climax with Velasquez and the Japanese". He had to admit "natural instinct and ceaseless change in all things".

Jacques Blanche and the artist Helleu went to see Whistler during his brief residence in the White House from 1878-79. They found a house full of Far Eastern objects of all kinds, from Japanese matting to painted screens and blue and white china.

In 1884 Blanche was taken to see Whistler in a studio flat in Tite

Street by the portraitist Boldini. Once again Far Lastern objects

appeared in abundance, having survived Whistler's near bankruptcy. More
over they found many of Whistler's own earlier japonising sketches on

display -

Mousmes-Bilitis, affectées et 'hiératiques' (mot d'alors) agitent éventails et parasols sur un ciel de turquoises malades, le long de quelque grève marine; tandis que d'autres erigent leur joli petit corps a cote d'un grèle arbuste de paravent japonais.

Whistler told Blanche that amongst contemporary artists he admired the illustrators Grevin and Gallard, whose drawings of women resembled his Japonising work. However his enthusiastic admiration was for a strange group;

Tintoret, Velasquez, Canaletto, les statuettes de Tanagra, les estampes Japonaises.

During the early 1880's Whistler even planned a journey to Japan, as Oscar Wilde's letter to him from America made clear. That journey was eventually made by a "pupil", Mortimer Menpes.

Further evidence of his continued involvement with Japanese art is provided by his habit of offering the Japanese as the great example to his followers in the 1880's. We have noted that George Moore heard Whistler recommend Japanese simplification of drawing to his students.

Moreover Menpes records that Whistler would allow his art to be compared only with Hokusai, whom the Master regarded as the greatest of all artists.

Rembrandt, in our opinion, did not occupy much of a position. Canaletto and Velasquez we placed high, very high, but not of course on the same plane with Whistler. The only master with whom we could compare our own was the Japanese painter Hokusai.

Menpes was extremely close to Whistler until his ill-judged visit to Japan and se we may accept this as being a reflection of Whistler's own valuation of the artists. Moreover it is interesting that even in the 1880's Whistler remained of the opinion that the greatest Japanese master was Hokusai. This adds further weight to my hypothesis that it was nineteenth century Japanese art alone which influenced Western artists until the 1880's. Like Moore, Menpes recalled Whistler's use of the analogy of a Japanese screen in discussing his own technique. This is discussed below in the essay on Menpes.

The documentary evidence thus suggests that Whistler placed a very high value on Japanese art throughout his working life. Even in the 1890's his studio in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs and his apartment in the Rue de Bas contained Japanese works of art. It is clear however that his own creative life never ceased to be an active dialogue with the Far Eastern example. A photograph of Whistler in the Paris studio in the '90s, shows behind him a large, pseudo Japanese screen on which he has begun to paint a version of the Japanese motife which first appeared in his work in the "Battersea Bridge" Nocturne of 1876. Whistler in the 1890's was still experimenting with Far Eastern motifs and form.

It is therefore a misconception to view his involvement with the Far East as limited to the 1860's when he made his "Japanese" subject paintings. The above account has deliberately not drawn from his frequently quoted references to Japan, such as that in the "10 o'clock" in

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order to avoid having to argue against the many who have characterised
Whistler's interest as a passing and temporary "Japonisme" in the 1860's. 11

On the contrary it is the argument of this chapter that Whistler only fully defined his relationship to Japanese art after the 1867 exhibition, with the "Six Projects" and related works, and that every development in his art since then was an attempt to make himself more of a "Japanese" artist. This is not, of course, to say that Whistler was a plagiarist, rather his fundamental aesthetic values and their direct reflection in his technique were always conceived in relation to ideals which he believed to be "Far Eastern". It is significant that some of the Projects or associated works appear to have remained with Whistler at all times, as if they were the keys for his later works.

It remains to discuss the possible sources of Japanese art available to Whistler during the 1870's and 1880's before beginning an account of his work.

In general Whistler had open to him the range of Far Fastern goods, generally known in the West, which has been surveyed earlier in this thesis. This was not work which would be recognised today as being of great merit. Whistler's own "blue and white" for instance was mainly modern pieces bought cheaply or even given away with tea. Menpes recalled "I have heard intelligent men dilate for hours upon the beauty and rarity of certain porcelain which I myself have seen Whistler buy at a cheap shop around the corner, or which has been presented at our doors in company with a pound of Oriental tea".

Whistler valued Far Eastern objects for their colour or their associations and their capacity to suggest to him developments in his own work. He was in no sense a connoisseur and his relationship to the art of the Far East did not depend on values derived from connoisseurship or scholarly appreciation of that art.

We have no direct evidence of Japanese art owned by Whistler in the 1870's and 1880's, however it is probable that his lacquer, prints and

paintings were also nineteenth century work. The pieces that we know Whistler acquired in the 1860's are nearly all from the nineteenth century as we have seen.

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This is particularly crucial in regard to Whistler's use of Japanese prints. There are two collections of Japanese prints which once formed part of the Whistler household. One is in the British Museum and on in the University of Glasgow. Both were acquired through donations from Miss Birnie Phillip, Whistler's sister-in-law, who received them from her sister, Mrs. Beatrix McNeill Whistler.

Most of these prints are by eighteenth century masters. Three of the British Museum prints are by Kiyonaga, one is an Utamaro, one an 14 anonymous print in the style of Shunso, one a portrait bust by Eisho and one an action print signed Gotote Kunisada and dated 1812. In Glasgow there are six Kiyonagas, one by a follower of Utamaro, one by Toyokuni, three Hokusai's, from the "Thirty-six Views of Fuji", two Hiroshige's. The University also owns a copy of the November 1888 edition of "Le Japon Artistique", once owned by Whistler, an index of patterns published in Tokyo in 1881 and a collection of copper engravings printed in 1857. Unfortunately it has been proved impossible to examine the Glasgow collection as it is being prepared for exhibition.

It is most unlikely that these collections are representative as a whole of the Japanese prints which influenced Whistler in the 1870's and 1880's. They were the property of Whistler's wife, whom he married in 1888 and who died in 1896, when, presumably, the prints were given to Mrs. Birnie Phillip. The general evidence is that the eighteenth century prints only entered into European taste in the later 1880's and it may be that Mrs. Whistler had acquired the prints just before her marriage or had been given them by her previous husband, E. W. Godwin as presents during that marriage. Moreover Whistler's own assertion of the supremacy of Hokusai during the 1880's suggests that he was unaware of the achievements of earlier artists as such. The two groups of prints cannot be

said to represent his taste before the 1890's.

Of the British Museum prints it is possible that Whistler himself acquired the Kunisada earlier than 1888 and likely that he acquired the Hokusai and Hiroshige works at Glasgow earlier. I shall show that Hokusai's "36 Views of Fuji" offers the best models for motifs in some of Whistler's paintings, and we have already seen Hiroshige's presence in Whistler's work in the 1860's. However even this is unproven and most of Whistler's property was lost in 1879 at the time of his near bankruptcy. It is therefore unwise in general to rely on these prints as models of Whistler's work, in particular on the eighteenth century work. The recent writing of Gray and Sandberg in connection with "The Balcony" and other work of the later 1860's is subject to this criticism, as I shall show.

The rejection of the Birnie Phillip gifts as significant evidence of Whistler's artistic development does not make the search for Whistler's Japanese sources impossible. I shall show it is possible to provide convincing sources from amongst the more likely nineteenth century works.

Whistler's friendship with collectors such as Luke Ionides and Mitford provided him with many opportunities to study Japanese art. Whistler contributed 19 plates of the 26 to the catalogue for the collection of Nankin porcelain of his friend Sir Henry Thompson, published in 1878. Nor must it be forgotten that he attended and exhibited at the Paris International Exhibitions of 1867 and 1878 at which Japan had its great triumphs and was thus exposed to all those exhibitions had to offer. He also saw the major loan exhibition of Japanese art held in London in December 1878 and which like all exhibitions before it consisted overwhelmingly of nineteenth century work. There was no shortage of opportunities to learn about the Far Eastern example.

The catalogue of Whistler's bankruptcy sale, at Sotheby's in 1880, provides a final piece of evidence of his interest in Far Eastern art.

Forty-eight pieces of Blue and White and eight of "Oriental" china were

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sold. So were nineteen miscellaneous Far Eastern items, amongst them several pieces of lacquer ware and two lacquer cabinets. One large embroidered screen was sold and a pair of small ones painted with land-scapes and figures on gold grounds, which may have related to the gold based screen in "La Japonaise" which Whistler painted in 1864. Another item, 74, contained "Eighteen Japanese Picture Books, Sketches of land-scapes and figures, some coloured; and 14 loose drawings". There was also a painted scroll and four other Japanese paintings, some with raised embroidery similar to that in the works by Sekkwa shown in the 1867 exhibition.

We must now discuss the use Whistler made of those opportunities after the 1867 exhibition. It will be convenient to review the work he produced in reaction to that exhibition first. Then his painting will be discussed in order of subject headings rather than chronologically. There follows a brief discussion of his work as a decorator and finally a discussion of his aesthetic theories and the Whistler/Ruskin trial in relation to Japanese art.

As we have seen by 1867 Whistler had consciously adopted a "Japanese" artistic persona. His reaction to the 1867 Japanese exhibition in Paris was to strengthen that persona and to make it more subtle not to rapidly abandon it, as many have suggested.

Whistler's reaction to the experience of Japanese art at first hand in 1867 was to reconsider the means whereby he could attain the "harmonising power of art".

In that year and in 1868 his attitude to the creation of harmony and compositional completeness in a work of art underwent a serious change which he himself was always to refer to as the change from "complexity" to "simplicity". While this was taking place he made many experiments with paintings which nearly all remained unfinished; "The Studio", "The Six Projects" and many more date from this period.

The change in Whistler's attitude is often defined in terms of his hopeless and sudden attraction to Classicism, urged on by his friendship with the minor English painter Albert Moore. In September 1867 Whistler wrote a long letter to Fantin, in which he appears to reject Realism in favour of Classicism. In fact the letter concerns the acceptance of the 18 artificiality of art. Whistler condemns nature for tempting him to imitation rather than the attempt at harmony by simple means. He denies that Courbet's style ever influenced him directly and praises Ingres not for his Classicism but for his dedicated artificiality. This attitude came about as a result of Whistler's experience of Japanese art in 1867. The experience of the Far Eastern work at this exhibition convinced him that the harmony for which he was always searching could best be found in simplifying form rather than naturalist elaboration. Whistler became one of those who took the view that Japanese art was thoroughly artificial and simplified nature, achieving its astounding effects in this way rather than by naturalism. In September 1868 he wrote to Fantin about colour;

colour ought to be, as it were, embroidered on the canvas, that is to say, the colour ought to appear in the picture continually here and there, in the same way that a thread appears in an embroidery, and so should all the others, more or less according to their importance; in this way the whole will form a harmony. Look how well the Japanese understood this. They never look for contrast, on the contrary, they are after repetition.

It was this new awareness of simplicity of means as the best way to achieve pictorial harmony which Whistler developed after 1867. As we have seen above, such harmony was always his goal and he was drawn to study and paint Far Eastern objects to learn how they achieved it.

The subtle, simplicity of Whistler's colour schemes which can be seen most dramatically in the Nocturnes of the 1870's was obviously a product of Japanese influence. So also was the notion of colour as a major vehicle of expression in a painting, which derives from the contemplation of Far Eastern art in which this is the case. This emphasis on

colour was a major point in the Whistler-Ruskin trial and it is impossible to discuss adequately in a thesis of this nature.

Previous to 1867 Whistler appears to have believed that it would be possible to introduce Far Eastern artistic principles directly into the current artistic practice to achieve harmony. In that year his attitude changed. The painting the Balcony" in the Freer collection is the I(70° key to the change. As we have seen it was probably a study for a life 20 size painting which Whistler never finished and was probably begun some time before 1867. It is at once the last detailed study of Far Eastern objects and images which Whistler made and the first painting in which his disquiet with the complex detailed representation called for by oil paintings clashed with the Far Eastern aesthetic. It was the difficulty with maintaining the harmony and overall effect of the image on a large scale which forced Whistler to give up the idea of a full scale painting. Whistler's painting was probably based originally on one of Hokusai's 21 "36 Views of Fuji", No. 32, "Fuji from the Pagoda of the 500 Rakans". I(71)The Hokusai print shows seated figures and figures looking out over the river beyond in some detailed costume. The detail of individual figures in these works was probably based on other nineteenth century prints, perhaps by Kunisada. One can even make out the cone of Fuji in the Battersea landscape beyond the terrace. Whistler then saw the 1867 exhibition and its Japanese ladies and this added to his knowledge of how to paint such a scene. Some of the figures in the painting suggest direct observation, rather than the simplified linearity of the print. At the same time however Whistler realised that harmony in Japanese art was not achieved by representation and that perhaps it would be folly to attempt to achieve that harmony by representation. Thus "The Balcony" changes direction. The brush-stroke becomes the pre-eminent means of harmonising the figures. Layer after layer of liquid paint has been laid on the figures to simplify and harmonise them. Note for instance the light

broad strokes on top of the dark kimono of the figure standing looking over the railings. Pattern and detail struggles with broad liquid brushstroke and line. The composition as a whole shows a similar tension between the detail and integrity of individual figures and the overall linear rhythms of the group.

"The Balcony" records Whistler's change in attitude to the problem of pictorial harmony, a change to which he was led by his earlier studies of Japanese art. The sketch for "The Studio" also done in 1867 shows an increasing awareness of the overall harmony of the composition. Detail is much less evident - the Master's collection of blue and white is only light and dark blue brush marks and the gowns of the two models are simple rhythmic liquid paint strokes.

Whistler has fully grasped the significance of the rhythmic brushstroke in Japanese figure drawing in prints and elsewhere and transferred it to oil painting. He must have learnt this in Paris. It was a most important step in the change towards simplicity which took place at this time.

Whistler's attitude to Japanese art corresponds very closely to that of critics writing after the 1867 exhibition. The simplicity and artificiality of Japanese art was stressed by writers such as Chesneau and Feydeau, as was its anti-illusionism. These writers and others also connected Japanese simplicity with the simplicity of means of Greek art; they even paralleled Japanese asymmetrical balance and the entasis of the Parthenon.

It was in the pursuit of this quality that Whistler attempted to unite Far Eastern and Greek associations in one work. The rejuvenation of decayed Western art by the Far Eastern example was a major theme of all Far Eastern enthusiasts from Baudelaire on. Whistler set out to implement this programme in a quite literal way. The predominance of the Far East in his schemes is made clear by lack of concern in his work for affecting subject matter, expression of profound emotion or any other

aspect of Greek art which has been associated with moral aesthetics.

Indeed the "Greek" element in his work of this time is really little more than a peg on which to hang his experiments in Far Eastern harmony.

During 1867 Whistler had undertaken to paint six decorative panels for the shipping millionaire F. R. Leyland. These became the vehicle for Whistler's experiments in harmony. All that remain of them now are small sketches in the Freer collection. Frederick Jameson lived with Whistler in the winter of 1867-8 and described Whistler at work on these paintings;

He was working at some Japanese pictures, one of which, quite unfinished, was hung at the late exhibition of his pictures. I have seen that one - at least large portions of it apparently finished, but they never satisfied him and were showed down to bedrock mercilessly.

This shows the intensity of Whistler's efforts.

His problem can be appreciated if one considers one of the six studies, "Variations in Blue and Green". The sketch shows four women looking out over a balcony grouped as in a Kunisada such as that shown in the 1867 exhibition. Their back facing pose suggest a theatre print or a view of Fuji by Hokusai.

The costumes of the group could be derived from Albert Moore's Graeco-Roman style but they could equally have been the result of the attempt to use oil paint to describe pseudo-Japanese costume with the grace of the drawing in the original print. Whistler spoke to several people at the time of attempting to reduce an image to a series of harmonic lines. The blue shawl held by the woman on the left could easily be an "obi", a Japanese silk sash and many prints show Japanese women holding them in this fashion. The fan held by one of the women and the light splodges of paint to suggest flowers are both Japanese in origin. Similar remarks may be made about the other six projects and about the chalk studies made for them.

Whistler was clearly trying to capture the grace of Japanese prints of female costume such as those by Kunisada without making his work a

Japanese pastiche. In doing this he simplified the images radically and learnt a great deal about graphic brushstroke but he failed to appreciate that such simplification was very difficult to apply on a large scale.

The painting which he nearly succeeded in transferring to a larger format, "Three figures - pink and grey", now in the Tate Gallery, tells us more about this problem.

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Three young girls are gathered round a blossoming cherry in pot. The one in the centre kneels to the left of the cherry, the one to the right stands upright carrying a large Japanese umbrella, the one to the left appears to be naked and bends to the tree. The scene appears to be set in a Japanese house, with pseudo-Japanese furniture. The shallow frieze-like space in which the figures are set is derived from the "Balcony" format in many Japanese prints which whistler had studied many times. The emotional tone of the painting is set by the reference of the cherry tree and the umbrella to the myth of Japan as a land of exquisite aesthetic sensation.

The problem arises with the figures. The devices of the Japanese print for producing pictorial harmony depend on a particular attitude to the human figure. The figure is always integrated by means of patterned costume and dynamic brush drawing into the image as a whole. Figures are "keyed in" to an overall effect, a general simplification, as in embroidery such as Whistler wrote to Fantin about in 1868. In this painting however Whistler attempts to use means learnt from the Far East to embody a different notion of the figure; the notion of the body as an expressive eneity in itself. Naturally he found it impossible to complete the work, impossible to find faces at once harmonic and convincing for his figures.

Whistler chose to reject the solution to the problem of incorporating Japanese figure drawing, which, as we have seen, Degas used so admirably.

Degas accepted the dethronement of the independently expressive nude figure in a way in which Whistler, in his search for overall harmony, could not

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As we have seen, ll Europeans who evaluated Japanese art in idealistic terms came to an impasse with Japanese figure drawing. Whistler
demonstrated the problem in practical terms. A second study of the
central portion of this work was published in the Studio in 1903. The
impossibility of Whistler's task strikes one even more forcibly in this
work, where the kneeling woman is firmly modelled in gross contrast to
the flat decorative painting around her.

All through his life Whistler continued to draw and paint from the female nude but he never resolved this impasse. The nudes of the 1890's are no more convincing as figures than his earlier work. "Phryne the Superb" of 1898 is an advance on the figures in "Three Figures" only in the extent of its dematerialisation but the unresolved paint work still shows the tension in Whistler's attitude. It is as if he is trying to dissolve the differences between decorative and expressive use of the figure in the very liquid of his paint. The extremely tentative quality of his many pastel figure drawings and lithographs testify eloquently to a search for a simple means of graphic expression similar to that which Manet undertook in the 1870's. However his studies remain unconvincing. Only occasionally does he achieve the impact of Hokusai's drawings, as in a lithograph of 1895 showing a model raising her dress over her shoulders. The rhythmic lines with which the cloth is described indicate close study of the Japanese master. One suspects that Whistler may have borrowed directly from a drawing in the Mangwa.

The dilemma is posed in its most extreme form in "Venus rising from the Sea" in which a classic female torso is seen barely emerging from a delicately modulated paint surface representing sea and sky and spray of blossom in the upper right hand corner. It is impossible to conceive of a means to elaborate this proposition in any way. Whistler's dilemma was not as some have written that he wished to be an Alma Tadema; he wished to avoid this fate, to maintain the overall pictorial harmony which he found in Japanese art.

His friend Albert Moore showed how easy it was to make use of a

Japanese setting similar to that in . The Balcony" and to borrow I(73)

Japanese figure motifs from the Mangwa in his painting "A Summer Night" 32

(1890) in Liverpool City Galleries. The pose of the woman in the centre,

with her hands raised, is taken from Hokusai.

This however was not what Whistler was after. He wished to recreate the total involvement of the picture surface found in Far Mastern art, in terms of the greatest in the Western tradition. Of course, in imitating the East he was inevitably forced to ignore the pictorial priority established in Western art as a result of the Western view of man and experience a major aspect of this conflict was his problem with figure drawing. Whistler's compositional difficulties provide unmistakable evidence for the thesis that cultural values are directly embodied in artistic forms. I will return to this problem in my discussion of the Ruskin trial and Whistler's art theory.

"On the Balcony", "Six Projects" and some associated works remained with Whistler throughout his career as we have seen. It is clear that they represented discoveries of major importance for his development as an artist.

In the late 1870's, G.H. Boughton visited Whistler's studio and saw some of the older works standing about;

I remember the Japanese-like girls, "On a Balcony" and I admired it even more than when I first saw it. I asked if he had retouched. 'No my dear G. why tamper with a master-piece. Eh? What?' I said I though it improved in some way, probably toned by time. 'No my dearest G. it is you who are toned up to it by time and happy intercourse with me. What?' And after our mutual laughter he admitted to me that the Balcony was all wrong, in principle. 'Too much elaborated, not nearly simple enough.'

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Whistler clearly discovered his new principles in painting the Six Projects and related works in 1867-1868. As I have shown these works sprang from a desire to come to terms with his new experience of Far Eastern art. The principles may be quickly listed, they are limited and

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harmonic use of colour, the use of very liquid paint in flat patches and in direct rhythmic brushstrokes to simplify line and the use of delicate compositional asymmetries and balances to create a unifying tension between the elements in an image - which Whistler called "placing". Concomitantly in general, Whistler abanboned attempts to create discrete illusionistic volumes whether by perspective or chiaroscuro modelling or to represent the individual texture or material of particular objects.

In other words Whistler adopted both the positive and negative qualities of Far Eastern art in his own work. He even stressed those factors in Far Eastern art which current Western criticism was stressing. "Placing" for instance was highly stressed in English reactions to Japanese art in the 1860's and 1870's. As we have seen, Leighton concerned himself at length with asymmetry in his 1862 lecture, Audsley and Bowes, Alcock and Jarves published long discussions of the importance of asymmetry in the 1870's. Asymmetry was not treated in the same way in France. It was regarded as related to freedom of the imagination in art either in terms of fantasy or in terms of offering a means of approaching closer to the nature.

Whistler chose the English view of asymmetry as an absolute aesthetic quality, part of a proposition about an ideal order. Thus we have the great number of stories of Whistler debating the precise placing of the butterfly on his paintings and prints with a visitor.

Menpes remembered assisting Whistler with his etchings;

Whistler seldom placed his butterfly on a proof without first saying to me "Now Menpes where do you think the butterfly is going this time?" It used to be a little joke between us, and after some months of the habit I was invariably able to put my finger on the spot where the butterfly would create the balance of the picture.

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Alcock and others had noticed the crucial importance of the placing of the signature on Japanese works of art, as part of the composition.

Whistler had almost certainly heard of this during the 1867 exhibition and modelled his own use of the signature on it.

The signature however is only one aspect of placing. Placing also implied meditation before action, and an absolute distinction between success and failure in the creation of a particular work. Whistler never "worked up" his paintings. He sought always for immediate and direct means, destroying at once work which was not perfect according to his criteria of harmony. Thus we have the stories of Whistler using four children from the same family to model for one painting as they grew older and still not finishing it and Irving's frustration that after twenty sittings the master had only painted a piece of linen in his portrait.

These attitudes parallel those of Far Eastern artists. It might perhaps be assumed that the parallel is fortuitous, however I do not think this is so. I believe that Whistler's whole artistic persona was consciously modelled on what he could find out about the art of the Far Eastern If this is so then one may argue that it is possible to see Far Eastern attitudes at work behind many subsequent Western painters. One may, for instance, closely parallel Whistler's working methods and those of Francis Bacon. Whistler is a key figure in the entry of Far Eastern art and aesthetics into the Western tradition.

Specific proof of the foundation of his aesthetic on the principles of Far Eastern art is difficult to find for the early 1870's except for a letter to Fantin which I have quoted. However in the later 1870's and subsequently the evidence is ample; I will discuss this in due course. On the other hand evidence for Whistler's continued borrowing from Far Eastern art is easy to find. In 1871 Whistler painted his final two "Japanese" paintings, "Variations in violet and green", which had a gold frame designed by Whistler based on Japanese decorative motifs, and "Battersea Reach from Lindsey Houses".

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The struggles of the Six Projects are over and Whistler has decided to avoid the problems of harmonising figure groups in favour of simplicity. The ladies of the "Balcony" have shrunk to small colour notes at the base of each painting gazing out over a vast harmonious silver toned river and sky broken only by a misty horizon and the judiciously placed sails of a boat.

In "Variations in Violet and Green". the upright format. combined with the high viewpoint, derives from landscape prints by Hiroshige. 40 Several of the "100 Views of Yedo" contain such views, for instance, no. 107. "The Juman Plain, Susaki Fukagawa" shows an eagle wheeling 41 over a bluw sea and grey plains in a blue sky. Often Hiroshige uses a carefully placed sail to balance his compositions of river and sea views as in No.35 of the 100 Views, "The Wood, Sui Jin". The misty graduated 42 tones can also be seen as borrowed from Hiroshige who used this device frequently in his prints, for instance in the "Yedo Kinko Hakkei" series, one of which is in the Glasgow University Collection. Indeed mist was 43 Hiroshige's forte, as in "Taisha in Mist, Izamo Province", one of the I(74) views of Sixty-odd provinces. Whistler may also have been studying Far Eastern paintings at this time and the finely graduated tones in this work may have come about as a result of an attempt to imitate them. As we have seen he learnt about Far Eastern brush technique in the early sixties and these studies both show an accomplished exploitation of the free brush stroke, clearly a hard won gain from the experience of the "Six Projects".

The two "Japanese" paintings of 1871 prepared the way for the series of river views which Whistler called Nocturnes. This series depended almost entirely on the Far Eastern example.

In the first place the selection of a time of day as the subject of a painting in view of its overall pictorial harmony is a Far Pastern conception. The exercise of a priori choice from nature of this kind as an essential element in the work of art had always been stressed in

the East, in particular with landscape painters. One is tempted to suggest that Whistler knew of this "artificial" use of nature, that he had learnt to make nature imitate art by following the Eastern example.

Whistler's choice of the early evening was dictated by his need to reduce colour to simplest harmony of tones he could achieve. Similarly his choice of subject, the river view, was to enable him to reduce the areas of colour to flat areas which could be co-ordinated as a whole. In this Whistler anticipated later art once more, one thinks of Rothko. For Whistler a base in nature remained essential, the unity of nature and art remained unquestioned as in the Far Eastern aesthetic. Whistler had to choose a subject to fit his intentions. The inspiration came from the Far East, from prints in which such evening harmonies are achieved, such as Hiroshige's "Moon, Maple and Waterfall".

Two specific Far Eastern models exist for the form of Nocturnes. The first is the liquid blue painting on Blue and White China. I have already pointed to the river scene which appears on the large blue and white jar in the "Lange Lijzen" as a possible source for Whistler's liquid blue and grey painting. Whistler's drawings for Sir Henry Thompson's book on blue and white also emphasise the liquidity of the painting on the porcelain. Moreover we know that large landscapes on blue and white ceramic slabs were on show in the Vienna exhibition of 1873 and presumably became available throughout Europe.

Another source is the blue and white print. These were made by nineteenth century print makers using blue ink, sometimes with block outlines, Keisai Yeisen, Kuniyasu, Yeizan and Hiroshige II made such prints and as we have seen, one by Kunisada was exhibited in the 1867 exhibition. Above all one of Hokusai's 36 Views of Fuji, "The Coast of Seven Leagues" (Schichiriga-hanaub Shoku province is made entirely in varying shades of blue). The sky line has a moderated blue stripe, fading into the untouched paper which consistites most of the sky. The same economy runs throughout the image, a large part of which is untouched

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paper. Whistler almost certainly knew this print in the 1870's.

It is clear that Far Eastern art provides models for radical reduction of colours to a single harmony which was a central aim of the Nocturnes, the "Nocturnes in Blue and Green" of 1871 and the "Nocturne in Blue and 46 Silver" of 1872, in the Tate Gallery both show the formal characteristics derived from Japanese art. A minimum of simple darker toned brush strokes mark the far bank and its reflections, a barge on the river is shown by two strokes of transparent paint against the surface of liquid paint and the horizon lights provide a gentle rhythmic punctuation. Both paintings have a judiciously placed butterfy seal. Two of the nocturnes have specific sources in Japanese prints. The first is "Old Battersea 47 Bridge; Nocturne in Blue and Gold" which was first painted a year or two earlier. It shows a view looking up from the shore of the Thames to the carriageway of the bridge with ony pylon in sight. Thus making a large "T" shaped dark tone dominating the picture. At the bottom of the pylon is a barge represented by the usual licks of paint and guided by a relatively huge mase. The river and skyline are typical of the other nocturnes. The fireworks bursting behind the bridge balance the deep shadow in the lower left-hand corner.

The bridge is a common motif in nineteenth century landscape prints, in particular in the work of Hokusai and Hiroshige. Occasionally they are associated with fireworks as in Hiroshige's "Fireworks over Ryoguku Bridge", No. 98 of the 100 Views of Yedo. Several models have been proposed for the motif in "Nocturne in Blue and Gold". None however have shown the peculiar characteristic T shape of Whistler's composition.

Whistler's bridge is clearly recognisable by the unreal, elegant height of its supporting pylon as the Mannenbashi bridge which appears in Hokusai's series of views of Fuji. The pylon is clearly unlike the squat, bulky support that Whistler drew and etched in the daytime.

Whistler's translation of the bridge into the Japanese form makes it clear that his aim was artificial, not naturalistic. Japanese art pro-

vided Whistler with an intermediary between himself and reality, of vital importance if he were to develop his work. The often repeated story that Whistler memorised every detail of his Nocturnes on the spot before going home to paint them is at best a misconception of his activity; Whistler was recording an overall mood, and its colours, not details. He defended his alteration of the form of Battersea Bridge in these terms at the Ruskin-Whistler trial. The Japanese provided a compositional matrix on which he could fix his memory of the experience.

In the 100 Views of Fuji Hokusai represents the bridge in a double page print so that each print has half the bridge on it as a T shaped motif. Whistler's composition is based on the right-hand page of the two with the stroke of the T going down to the left. The bulky shadows I(77) of the passers-by on the carriageway are also derived from Japanese printmakers' habit of showing people crossing bridges.

Whistler's reason for making this Nocturne allude so directly to

Japanese art is to be found in the other one with a clear Japanese source.

"Nocturne in Black and Gold" "The Falling Rocket" which was exhibited I(78)

at the Dudley Gallery in 1875. The source is "Fireworks of Ryoyoku Bridge,

Yedo", No. 98 of Hiroshige's 100 Views of Yedo, which also shows the

stars from a falling rocket. Whistler however has transmuted the graphic

quality of the Hiroshige into a drama of liquid paint.

The fireworks that Whistler painted were to be seen at Cremorne pleasure gardens in Battersea, a popular place of entertainment in the 1870's. It contained much fantasy architecture, some of it Far Eastern. A painting by Walter Greaves shows Whistler seated by the Venus Fountain like gardens with the elaborate Chinese pagoda of the bandstand behind 50 him. Cremorne, no doubt, suggested the Far East to Whistler and he made direct use of Far Eastern imagery in his picture of fireworks at Cremorne. He certainly conceived the two paintings he made of Cremorne itself like 51 Japanese prints. Elegant ladies in flowing gowns stroll through a mini-

mally indicated environment, sometimes fluttering fans.

The liquid manner used in painting the Nocturnes was developed by Whistler throughout his life. He used other subjects in the same way as the river. One thinks for instance of the paintings of shopfronts made in the 1880's and 90's in which a single theme is reworked time and time again in immediate liquid tones.

A painting of bathers made about 1885 shows this manner at its finest. The landscape is a series of carefully calculated coloured strokes, the figures a series of brief graphic notations and the white sails of a solitary boat near the horizon to balance the composition as in a Hiroshige print. The painting is closely reminiscent of Manet's "Plage de Boulogne" in style and composition, which as I have shown also sprang from a Japanese influence.

In the late 1870's Whistler advanced his liquid painting technique by working with paint already mixed in the different colours he intended to use; "Flesh tone, floor tone; blue sky tone and so on". In my view 53 he did this after hearing a report of the method of working of the Japanese artist Kyosai. Mortimer Menpes later described Kyosai's method:

First he tried all his colours, which were ready prepared in different little blue pots all around him. These little shallow pots or saucers had each its own liquid which the assistant had prepared to a certain extent beforehand. They contained flesh tint, drapery colour, tones for hair, gold ornaments and so forth. These colours had evidently been used before, as they were in their saucers, merely requiring dilution before immediate use...When he began there was not fishing for tones as on the average palette. No accident. All was sure - a scientific certainty from beginning to end.

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When Menpes described this to Whistler in 1888 Whistler exclaimed that it was identical to his own method and he certainly had abandoned a palette for a large table from which he worked with colours in a liquid state, as J. E. Blanche and other visitors observed in the late '70s and early '80s. I believe that Whistler had heard reports of oriental technique, probably of Kiosai's work in the later 1870's. As we have seen,

Guimet gave his account of Kiosai's technique in "I'romenades Japonaises" in 1878. Whistler probably witnessed a Japanese painting demonstration at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 where this technique was in use. Of course Whistler could not admit to Menpes that he was anything but a total original, but his fear of someone who knew the extent of his dependency on Far Eastern art would explain his total anathema on Menpes after his report to the "Master" on his Japanese voyage. There are many parallels between Whistler's technique and that of Far Eastern artists. Menpes described Whistler's portrait technique in terms every bit as dynamic as that of Kyosai.

He held his brush firmly and pressed hard on the canvas. There was no "dainty touch" about Whistler's handling. He worked in clean and firm sweeps. For example, if, in a portrait it were necessary to bring the background up to a figure, he would mix the tone of the background and with a large brush well pressed into the canvas and would draw the line confidently and with one firm sweep from the head right down to the heel.

This could equally well be a description of a Japanese artist at work, in its directness and in the realisation of the relativity of foreground and background in terms of technique. Whistler clearly was concerned with correct "line" and overall balance, not with the "rational" building-up of an image. His technical priorities had been changed by the Far Eastern example.

Whistler's tremendous interest in Menpes' account of Kyosai's methods is the only record we have of his direct pursuit of information on Far Eastern methods. However his assiduity cannot have been due to a coincidental resemblance between Kyosai's methods and his own. Whistler wished to learn all he could to add to his "Japanese" artistic persona.

As I shall show, long before Menpes' account Whistler was to quote Kyosai at a moment of great importance in the Ruskin/Whistler trial.

We must consider briefly the role of the Far Eastern example in Whistler's portraits. The two which are often regarded as having been most influenced by Japanese art as "Arrangement in Grey and Black No.1:

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the Artist's Mother" first exhibited in 1872 but which Whistler may have 57 been working on in the late 1860's, and "Arrangement in Grey and Black 58 No. 2: Thomas Carlyle", first exhibited in 1874. Both these paintings show a figure in black seated, showing the left profile in a shallow space in front of a wall on which carefully toned framed prints and in the case of Mrs. Whistler a large black curtain with delicate gold filigree patterns have been carefully placed to balance the figures. The placing is clearly from Japanese art, but Whistler may have learnt this as easily from his own lacquer boxes as from a print or painting. shallow space in which the figures sit and which allows the placing to operate is a different question. This clearly derives from Japanese prints by way of ' The Balcony" which first used this kind of nonillusionary space. The masses of black in both paintings raise more difficult questions. Japanese portraits and prints tended to show their great military leaders of the past dressed in black. Whistler may have 59 seen such an image; some were shown at Vienna in 1873. In any case the use of a mass of black and related tones was suggested to Whistler by Far Eastern ink painting, Sumi-ye, in which a rich range of blacks and greys is deployed similar to that in these two paintings.

Whistler's interest in "Sumi-ye" ink painting is confirmed by the prints "Nocturne, the River at Battersea" and "Early Morning" in which the subject of the painted Nocturnes is treated in rich and varying tones of black and white, using the lithotint technique. "Early Morning" shows the open graphic structure of Japanese landscape paintings of the "Nanga" school. Minimal soft lines and patches of tone sketch out a landscape in large areas of untouched paper.

These prints provide direct evidence of Whistler's interest in the broader technical possibilities of the Far Eastern example. They confirm my thesis that the nature of the western response to it was changing throughout the late nineteenth century as different styles were seen and recognised.

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Moreover during the 1870's Whistler owned at least fourteen Japanese brush drawings and several paintings, the works which appeared in his sale in 1880.

Whistler went on to use black as a "universal harmoniser" for tones in his portraits in the 1880's. This was also the method of Kyosai and other Japanese painters who used black lines and patches to hold their 62 images together.

The pose of both portraits is however entirely Whistler's invention, as a pose so contrived to fit in with all his Far Eastern intentions could be regarded as an invention at all.

Another portrait which relies almost completely on "placing" and on the brilliant use of liquid paint for its effects is the Miss Cicely Alexander, whose father collected Japanese art, made between 1872-74. Here Whistler uses every device, grey tonal harmonies, a "Japanese" background wall and delicately placed butterflies and flowers. In another portrait "The White Girl No.4" first exhibited in 1874, the Japanese element is made plain by the use of fans and cherry blossoms in the background.

Occasionally Whistler's female portraits directly recall Japanese prints. The "Portrait of Mrs. Leyland" of 1873, for instance, shows her standing, back to the viewer, and about to glance over her shoulder, an elegant pose often used in Japanese prints, and a favourite of Whistler. He used it several times as it removed emphasis from the face to an overall pictorial harmony.

Monet had borrowed the same pose from Japanese art in his "Salon" painting of Camille in 1866.

Whistler's aim of overall harmony, derived from the Far Eastern example, led him into a great problem with the traditional notion of the portrait as a record of an individual personality. It is sometimes said that the Japanese had no conception of "personality" in the Western sense. However both Hiroshige and Hokusai left fairly accurate and

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individualised self-portraits of themselves as old men. Japanese artists often placed accurate portraits in the context of their normal, artificial, style and succeeded in blending the two. However this act in itself implied a certain attitude toward individual character different to that in the West. Whistler seems often to have adopted that attitude.

He sometimes allowed the individuality of his sitter to be completely submerged. This is true of works such as "Effie Deans" and of "Rose Conder", both of 1876, and of many of the portraits of the nineties. In this sense many of Whistler's portraits are rejections of the whole Western idea of the portrait. In other cases however - the Carlyle, Cicely Alexander, the Sarrasate - the face of the sitter is carefully modelled in layers of liquid paint with a touch as subtle as that of Velasquez himself. In these portraits individuality had a place but one doubts whether this individuality has any psychological perception behind it. Where, for instance, is an indication of Carlyle's bad temper or his immense learning. Whistler takes even personality as a decorative element in his total harmony of pictorial effects, an "arrangement". Only when his chosen pictorial effect suggests the personality of the sitter as in "Whistler's Mother" and the "Sarasate" does a "character" appear on the canvas.

Whistler's later portraits depend increasingly on the direct liquid handling of paint and the carefully "placed" background of many of the works of the early 1870's disappears. Indicating, once again, his broadening understanding of Far Eastern art.

Whistler's admiration for Velasquez' portraits becomes increasingly evident in works like his portrait of Duret, of 1882, though the Japanese audacity remains in Whistler's treatment of the bright pink opera cloak. The same is true of the placing of the bow and violin in an extended line at an angle to the figure in the portrait of "Pable de Sargasate" of 1884, a marvellous example of asymmetrical placing.

Further analysis of individual portraits would yield no more evidence since each one was a struggle to achieve the "simple" overall pictorial harmony which Whistler had first formulated for himself in the six projects. The Far Eastern basis of Whistler's art became increasingly integrated into his intentions; this can be seen by the disappearance of the carefully "placed" backgrounds in the portraits.

It remains to consider Whistler's work as a decorator.

There is no doubt that Whistler's decorative ideas were inspired by the Far East. His own residences always contained Far Eastern rooms. Mrs. Whistler, for instance, writes of her "Japanese bedroom" in the 1860's. Whistler's decorative schemes consisted of carefully distempered walls, in a tone chosen by the Master himself, in rooms with a little furniture of a plain, pseudo-oriental design. The floors were covered with simple Japanese matting, woodwork was always painted a plain harmonising colour and plain curtains hung at the windows. In this setting the occasional high note of colour was provided by pieces of oriental porcelain or a print or painting. The whole was subject to the rigours of exact conception and planning. Lady Archibald Campbell recalled that Whistler insisted that the whole decorative scheme of a room or house "should be thoroughly thought out, so as to be finished off almost before it was begun".

Whistler often used an overall theme, as when he redecorated his Lindsey Row for his tenants in 1878, mixing all the distempers and paints himself.

The hall had two fine panels in blue and white by Whistler, two ships with sails set, at sea. The house was coloured as a "sunset".

The gold dado on the stairs was dotted with pink and white chrysanthemum petals.

The new tenants had to wait until Whistler left to paper the walls of the drawing room. No detailed descriptions of Whistler's schemes remain, however it is clear that all ideas derive from the Japanese concept of an interior. They make a radical contrast with the normal

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heavily fitted Victorian middle-class room. Whistler must have seen

Japanese interiors at the 1867 exhibition and heard reports of them from
his friends. It is interesting that his taste for sparsely furnished
rooms appears after the 1867 exhibition. Before he appears to have
placed his Far Eastern articles as part of an overall clutter.

He was the first European to appreciate the essential emptiness of a Japanese interior. De Goncourt never understood this and only in the later 1880's did individuals like M. Krafft who owned "Midori No Sato" the Japanese style house near Paris begin to apply the Japanese principles of exact and judicious placing of objects which Whistler introduced. The only other person to pursue similar aims in the 1870's was E. W. Godwin, Whistler's friend, who decorated his London house in the Japanese manner in 1874. Whistler's decorations show that he fully appreciated the extension of the Japanese concept of the total harmony of a work of art into the environment.

There is an apparent contradiction between this appreciation and the self-indulgence of the "Peacock Room", Whistler's most famous scheme. The room has been written about at length and it is not necessary to repeat a full account of it here. However no serious examination of Whistler's Far Eastern sources for this decoration has ever been made; writers have been content to observe vague Japanese associations in the design.

In 1877 "The Times" wrote of the nearly finished room;

The whole interior is so fanciful and and fantastic and at the same time so ingenious in motif as to be completely Japanesque.

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Clearly to the general contemporary viewer the Japanese influence in the room was most significant. In 1876 Whistler was asked by F. R. Leyland to design the colour scheme for the hall of his new house, 49, Princes Gate. Whistler designed a cocoa and gold scheme to incorporate the gilded staircase Leyland had bought from the demolished Northumberland House of which Leyland approved.

Leyland was a great collector of art and the owner of Whistler's

"La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine". This he proposed to hang in the dining room which had been designed by the architect Thomas Jeckyll in a mixture of Japanese and medieval styles, using dark wood and a great deal of red leather with gilt fleur de lys which Leyland had purchased specially. Jeckyll had designed a "Japanese" billiard room for Luke Ionides in 1872 which incorporated many Japanese prints and paintings. He subsequently worked for Barnards, the iron founders, and made many successful designs incorporating Japanese motifs. Leyland also wished to display his blue and white in the dining room and Jeckyll designed a series of elegant pseudo-oriental shelves on which to display them.

Jeckyll's design followed the current feeling that Japanese and medieval art had much in common and he thus felt no compunction about borrowing his ceiling pattern from late gothic vaulting in a room intended to display a "Japanese" painting and a great deal of blue and white.

Whistler however would not accept the unharmonic result, and arguing that Jeckyll's yellow interfered with his painting, he gained permission to "harmonise" the room. The result was the complete disappearance of Jeckyll's scheme under the blue and gold of the Peacock room.

Whistler later told the Pennels that the whole room had simply unfolded before him as he worked;

I just painted as I went on, without design or sketch - it grew as I painted. And towards the end I reached such a point of perfection - putting in every touch with such freedom that when I came round the corner where I had started, why I had to paint part of it over again or the difference would have been too marked. And the harmony in blue and gold developing you know, I forgot everything in my joy of it.

The accounts of the many visitors Whistler invited to see him at

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work all agree on the direct method with which he attacked his work.

Once again there is a strong parallel with the methods of Far Eastern artists. However his claim to total spontaneity is misleading. The

Pennells published several quick brush or pen sketches for a peacock room which Whistler had originally proposed to W. C. Alexander. Whistler's response to the Peacock room was direct but it drew on a great deal of knowledge of Far Eastern art and his ambitions to produce something along the same lines.

We have seen that Dresser, who travelled to Japan in 1876 and many other travellers brought back elaborate descriptions of gilded and lacquer temples, notably the gold temples at Shiba. Whistler undoubtedly was aware of these temples most probably from Mitford, who visited the Peacock room while Whistler was working there. We have also seen that Dresser recommended Western decorators to imitate Japanese temple decoration. We also know that Whistler saw elaborate oriental woodwork in the Chinese pavillion of the 1867 Paris exhibition.

Whistler wished to create a Far Eastern shrine for his painting and for Leyland's blue and white. He was inspired to do so by the descriptions of Far Eastern temples. This alone can explain his abandonment of the decorative principles which he applied elsewhere and in particular his lavish gilding of Leyland's woodwork.

The harmonising of blue and gold is also oriental though one would have expected a red and gold harmony similar to that of the Peacock room. However as we have seen a Chinese screen shown at the 1867 exhibition consisted of blinds in blue feather work and gold, in a harmony similar to that of the Peacock Room. Whistler probably saw this same screen, but in any case he must have seen similar work.

Another source for gold is on lacquerware, where the motif of gold peacocks is quite frequent. Whistler would undoubtedly have seen such ware and we have seen that a tortoiseshell dish with large peacocks in gold lacquer was exhibited in Paris in 1867. Moreover this dish incorporated mother-of-pearl for the eyes of the peacocks' tails which gives a blue gold harmony.

The peacock is a common motif in Japanese art and Chinese art, and

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had already been appropriated by Godwin, Jeckyll and others for their work. Audsley and Bowes indicate a discussion of the peacock in 74 "Keramic Art of Japan" of 1875; they also discuss the mythical "Ho-Ho Bird". the Japanese symbol of longevity which has many of the attributes of the peacock. They published several examples of both birds as motifs. I(79) Audsley had pointed to the importance of the peacock motif in his London 75 lecture to the Architectural Association in 1872. To search for specific sources for the poses of Whistler's peacocks would, in general, be a frustrating activity, since clearly their forms were created to fit Leyland's room. However two of the shutters of the room show peacocks with long flowing tails which bear a close resemblance to a peacock in a I(80) print by Hiroshige, "Peacock and Peony Flowers" which Whistler could easily have seen. Other shutters show peacocks with enormous, fantastic forms of cloisonne enamel so tails, which closely resemble the I(81) popular in the nineteenth century.

The main panel showing gold peacocks on blue has no immediate source. However it does resemble the large decorative paintings made for Japanese houses. Alfred Stevens owned some of these showing enormous wagons filled with flowers and sprinkled with gold dust and placed them in a similar position in his own room to that of the peacock in Leyland's room. The painting of these large decorative panels was the subject of some interest and prints were occasionally made showing the artist making The subject was often the Ho-Ho bird since it was a bird of good I(82) An example of this is "Utamaro painting a Ho-Ho bird in one of the Green Houses" from the book "Annals of the Green Houses" of 1804. Utamato works rapidly on an enormous peacock-like bird while admiring residents look on. The situation is identical to that in Princes Gate. I believe that Whistler saw either this print or most likely a later version of the same theme and knew of the custom of painting such panels, probably through Mitford.

Thus in covering a room with peacock motifs he was not only creating

his version of a Far Fastern temple he was also creating a working situation exactly parallel to that of the Japanese artist. As in his other activities Whistler did more than borrow Far Fastern motifs; he emulated the Japanese artist. He attempted to create a Japanese artistic persona.

Whistler produced Q; further piece of decoration, a design for a room in the White House, on which he worked with with Codwin, the architect of the house. The whole room was yellow; yellow walls supported an elaborate yellow mahogany chimney piece and cabinet in a vague Far 76 Fastern style, with painted panels of Far Eastern motifs, displaying pieces of yellowish red Kaga ware chosen especially for their yellowish tone. The "Peacock" motif appeared again on the dado of the room. The furniture was also in yellow wood and covered with yellow velvet. The scheme however did not attract great attention when it was put on show in the Paris Exhibition of 1878.

It is clear that his activities as a decorator Whistler was as closely dependent on the Far Eastern example as he was as a painter. His importance for this thesis does not cease with his practical activities. For Whistler's personality made him a natural protagonist and he was drawn into public defence of his attitudes. The most significant occasion of this sort is the Ruskin/Whistler trial in November 1878 in which Whistler sued Ruskin for libel in a review in Fors Clavigera in July 1877 in which the critic attacked "The Falling Rocket" which had been on display in the opening exhibition of the Grosvenor Callery, soon to become the "headquarters" of the aesthetic movement.

Ruskin had written;

Sir Coutts Linsday ought not to have admitted works into the gallery in which the ill-educated conceit of the artist so nearly approached the aspect of wilful imposture. I have seen and heard much of Cockney impudence before now, but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guines for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face.

Several of Whistler's Nocturnes had been shown at the Grosvenor Exhibition and had caused a considerable stir. Several bad reviews had followed and Millais had remarked that the works were too damned clever.

Ruskin's attack is perplexing however when one considers that in the 1840's he had strenuously defended Turner against charges of throwing suds and whitewash at his canvases. Moreover Turner's works had been constantly likened to those of Hiroshige throughout the 1860's, Sherard Osborne had called Hiroshige "our embryo Turner" and as we have seen, Rossetti made several analogies between the two in his diary and in his memoirs.

These analogies were based on the ability of both artists to bring the freedom of the imagination to bear on the depiction of nature, on their placing the imagination before verisimilitude.

Ruskin's attack is usually explained in terms of his encroaching madness, however there is a more satisfactory possibility.

As we have seen, Ruskin considered Japanese art as "diabolical".

He recognised that same diabolism in Whistler's work, if not its direct source.

Ruskin saw man at the centre of a moral creation and art as a celebration of that creation. He saw Turner's work as a great example of this celebration. This indeed was Turner's own view of nature and art.

All Turner's major landscapes have a literary base, a moral core; they place man in the centre of a carefully structured nature. Even the famous "Snowstorm" has at its centre the activity of man in the elements.

Turner's landscapes do not have the overall flat structure of Whistler's Nocturnes. In general they stick to central perspective, to a symbol of organised, man centred, experience. Whistler's Nocturnes, on the other hand can be read as a negation of human centred experience, for purposeful human activity has no place in them. Ruskin was thus

reacting to the Far Eastern elements in Whistler's work. The aesthetic attitudes which clashed so farcically in the trial had been polarised as a result of the influence of Far Eastern art on Whistler and on others.

Whistler himself felt the distinction between his own work and Turner's. Menpes once led Whistler to look at Turner and was rewarded with a disparaging comment;

No, this is not big work. The colour is not good. It is too prismatic. There is no reserve. Moreover it is not the work of a man who knows his trade. Turner was struggling with the wrong medium. He ought not to have painted, he should have written. Come from this work which is full of uncertainty.

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By "uncertainty" Whistler meant that western expression of humanity in action, in opposition to nature, which is at the heart of Turner's paintings and which is embodied in his "unharmonious" picture surfaces. For Whistler this was not art but literature. The Master's disapproval of Turner is a measure of his total acceptance of the Far Eastern aesthetic.

Whistler's defence of his own methods when giving evidence was a defence of the Far Eastern aesthetic as he understood it. Indeed in his defence of his right to charge two hundred guineas for a painting made in a few hours he quoted directly from Kiyosai who had experienced a similar problem in 1877.

To the first exhibition of art at Uyeno in 1877, he sent a bold and simple painting of a crow, fixing upon the price of one hundred yen (about £20). The self-constituted official judges turned their heads aside and remonstrated at so exorbitant a price being attached to a painting of a common crow. Kyosai replied that the sum was not the price of a common crow, but a small fraction of the price of fifty years of study which had enabled him to dash off his picture in this manner. Kyosai's honour was saved and his crow was bought at his price - but it was a cake dealer at Nihon-bashi who saw its value and paid the sum.

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The exhibition at which this event took place was a preliminary to the gathering of work for the Paris exhibition of 1878, which was organised by the Ueno park staff. The story reached Whistler via the 1878

exhibition. He made use of it on the stand in the trial;

"The labour of two days, then, is that for which you ask two hundred guineas!"

"No - I ask it for the knowledge of a lifetime."

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The farcical proceedings at the trial have obscured the serious nature of the debate which took place there. The question of "finish" and the amount of "honest labour" (as Burne-Jones put it), needed to create a work of art arose because Whistler adopted a Far Eastern attitude to this question, claiming a work to be finished when the artist judged it a perfect expression of his intention. Similar points may be made in regard to the debates over the role of the subject in the work of art and the distinction between the subject of a painting and the painting itself which Whistler insisted on at the trial.

By his rigorous pursuit of the aesthetic aims which he had learnt from the Far East Whistler had produced an art almost completely alien to the art world around him.

It is clear that Whistler's whole view of the relationship of art to experience was formed by his knowledge of Far Eastern art. However it must be stressed that this experience was in terms of the nineteenth century and its knowledge. Moreover whistler chose to adopt a certain range of available attitudes to the Far East - he chose to take an idealist position, to regard unity of sensation and the intellect. His career was one of slow elimination of those elements in his work unnecessary to the dissolution of tradition and experience in a harmonic tabula rasa as smooth as one of his own wiped canvases. Hence his liquid paint, unified dynamic oriental brushstroke and the slow dissolution of the "image" in his work, even in the portraits.

Alone among the artists studied in this thesis Whistler chose the idealist approach to Far Eastern art. As a result he could not achieve the satisfying syntheses of Eastern and Western art of other artists.

However his art does anticipate a great many of the problems of twentieth

century artists which I believe were in a great part the result of the entry of the Far Eastern example into Western tradition. It is likely to remain ambiguous, an exquisite experience yet at the same time an unsatisfying one. Japan was the epitome of the artificial ideal for which he sought -

the story of the beautiful is already complete - known in the marbles of the Parthenon - and broidered with the birds upon the fan of Hokusai - at the foot of Fusiyama

was his parting declaration at the end of his famous lecture of 1855

Whistler always took Japanese art for his standard of aesthetic and technical perfection. In 1892 he was attempting to duplicate the effect of Japanese prints in colour lithography using a different stone for every colour and mixing each colour exactly himself, rather than relying on superimposition. He described his method to a visitor;

He wished to get the freshness of colour which is lacking in European lithographs but which is the great beauty of Japanese colour prints. He made the complete drawing in the ordinary manner, in black and white chalk, either on stone or paper and then settled in his mind the colour scheme and the number of colours to be employed.

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Whistler's method was an exact copy of the Japanese. However he failed to achieve the brilliancy he was after, for as his four surviving colour lithographs show, he was still pursuing the idealistic vision of art Japanese / then he could not use large flat areas, only tentative lines and small areas of colour, unsuited to the Japanese print style.

The insubstantial delicacy of the figure prints in particular show the self-limiting character of any art which attempted to unite the idealistic aspects of European art with those elements in Far Eastern art which seem to relate to them. The "great" themes in both Eastern and Western art both become marginal to the work of art now seen as an aesthetic process, valid only in itself.

The aesthetic questions which he raised in taking this position

have been regarded by many as more important than Whistler's own achievement. For it is clear that, following the Far Eastern example, he redefined art as a perpetually unfinished process, a struggle to an unrealised perfection. In the last analysis Whistler's position was untenable for he chose to defend a view of experience apart from the overall culture which gave birth to that view. As he told the Fenne she thought of his use of Japanese art as the carrying on of a tradition that the rather than a cultural translation. In the "Ten O'Clock" and elsewhere, he tries to construct his own tradition of Western artists to justify his attitude but of course he failed. Japanese art has very little in common with Greek art and their cultural implications and hence their implications for artistic practice are very different.

The Salon, the fashionable and travellers to Japan.

We have now examined the role of Far Eastern art in the development of several "major" figures in our period of study. It remains to look closely at a representative selection of artists whose critical acclaim has been less constant, but who were in their time more typical in their success and failure than any of those we have studied previously.

We have seen that during the 1870's Japanese art and culture became enormously fashionable in Paris and London. The rapidity with which this came about did not prevent the creation of a large body of art work designed to appeal to the fashionable interest to reflect it or to satisfy curiousity about aspects of Japan.

During the 1870's and later the "Salon" painters who used Japanese themes and those "second rate" artists who eventually made the journey to Japan grew close together. Their work appeals to the same audience. They blend the anecdotal and the picturesque, improbable but triumphant survivals of the Age of Reason, which artists such as Fortuny, Tissot and Duran loved to depict. These qualities pre-dominate in later nineteenth century art. It is therefore fitting that we should consider the work of the two groups of artists in the same chapter. In his 1878 article "Le Japon a Paris" Chesneau picks out a number of minor artists as having 1 a great interest in Japanese art. They are Stevens, Tissot, Fantin Latour, Alphonse Hirsch, Carolus Duran, Fortuny, Legros and Michetti.

Of these it has proved impossible to discover anything of value concerning Hirsch and Michetti, and Carolus Duran appears to have remained 2 completely uninfluenced by his involvement with Japanese art. Legros' work also shows no demonstrable Far Eastern influence, his chief connection with it was his earlier friendship with Whistler.

Chesneau appears to have associated all artists with a fashionable reputation in 1878 with Japanese art. There are many more artists whose interest in Far Eastern subject matter was much greater than those

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that he mentions - Felix Buhot for instance, whose prints reflect the contemporary interest in Japan. Once again we cannot rely on Chesneau as an accurate authority. Nonetheless we shall examine the claims of the artists he mentions as his account has been repeated so often as to have become accepted without question.

artist whose interest in Far Eastern art was extremely limited. It certainly played no part in the development of his painting style which was highly technical and illusionistic. Fortuny was born in 1838 in Spain and died in 1874. Most of his paintings were either eighteenth century costume pieces or studies in Arab life.

One of the costume pieces, known variously as "L'Antiquaire" or "Le Vase de Chine", showed an eighteenth century gentleman holding an elegant cane to his lips contemplating a large Chinese vase on a pedestal. A perfect example of Chinoiserie, in harmony with that element of fashionable taste which sought to assimilate the Far East to eighteenth century art. It was probably painted after 1867 when works of a similar subject appeared.

Fortuny's interest in Japanese art was sparked off by a present of Japanese arms and bronzes given by his patron, W. Stewart in 1869. There is no direct evidence that he himself collected Japanese work although Fol implies that he did. It is more likely that the Japanese objects merely sank into the general clutter of a studio that rivalled Rembrandt's for the richness and oddity of the objects within it.

According to Fol it was during a stay in Naples in 1872-3 that Fortuny took the chance to develop the possibility of using Japanese art -

introduire dans la peinture moderne et europeenne ces oppositions violentes, en apparence, des peintres japonaises, mais le faire avec cette connaissance du dessin et du modèle qu'on ne possède pas au Japon; peintre en même temps des sujets modernes.

It seems not to have occurred to Fol that these aims were mutually

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exclusive, that Japanese art had its own, total aesthetic. Nor did it occur to Fortuny.

In 1874 he produced a "Japanese work", "Deux enfants dans un salon Japonais", of which a sketch is reproduced by Davillier. It consisted of two small children playing on a low couch, amongst gorgeous cloths, the girl to the right reclining and holding up an open fan; the boy to the right, naked. Behind them is a large expanse of wall with a "Japanese" flowering bough with two butterflies painted on it. In front the floor is tiled, to the left is a pot plant. Clearly this "Salon Japonais" is in Paris.

The watercolour of his wife that Fortuny made in the same year reflects some slight influence of Japanese style. She is seen from the side, seated; showing the elaborate pattern of the stripes of her full skirt below a large shaded rectangle created by an open casement window. All round the painting is untouched white paper. This composition and the delicacy of handling have a vague connection with Japanese art. However the previous charm of the image which is its central quality is in the direct tradition of European watercolour as is the modelling of the features.

Fortuny's debt to Japanese art was minimal. It must not be forgotten that in 1874 he also painted the enormous "Les Academiciens de Saint-Luc choistissant une modèle", which had a great triumph at the Exposition Salon of 1878. This eighteenth century piece shows no debt to any but other Salon painters. It is probable that Chesneau sought to make Japanese art respectable by assimilating as many "establishment" figures to his cause as he could muster and that amongst them was Fortuny.

Chesneau selected Tissot for special mention on the same criteria, for by 1878 Tissot was an establishment artist, who, according to De Goncourt, even employed footmen to dust the leaves of the plants in his

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garden and studio so as to add extra "chic" for his fashionable clients. Tissot did not pursue his interest in Japanese art from the 1860's to the 1870's, indeed he seems to have dropped paintings with an apparent Japanese theme after his departure for England in 1871, from that time the survival of Japanese influence in his work can be traced only through the appearance of occasional motifs from Japanese prints in his paintings. His last Japanese painting was "Jeunes Femmes regardant des objets Japonais" exhibited in the 1869 Salon. I suspect that this may have been one of the Japanese projects that he began before 1867.

In 1878 Chesneau picked out "des hardiesses et meme des etrangetes de composition, comme en ses belles Promenades sur la Mamise", as typifying the Japanese influence on Tissot in the 1870's. It is possible to trace Japanese motifs and compositional devices in Tissot's work.

In "Too Early" which was shown in the Royal Academy in 1873, the elegant asymmetrical balance of the groups of figures standing in the empty ballroom is clearly dependent on the Japanese example, just as are Degas' scenes of ballet rehearsals. Great play is made with ball gowns and fans in the composition, similar to that made with female costume in Japanese prints. These general observations are completed by the presence of an indubitable Japanese motif. The two servants peeping through a door slightly ajar are borrowed from Japanese prints which show figures peeping through similar narrow vertical areas. It occurs frequently in Shunga where a hidden observer is often encountered as part of the story and in tales of chivalry where the overhearing of conspiracy is frequently part of the tale. Bing published an example of the motif in "Artistic Japan".

In this painting and the other two large scale paintings of social gatherings, "The Concert" (now in Manchester), and "Ball on Shipboard", in the Tate Gallery, Tissot makes discrete use of Japanese compositional devices and motifs to recreate the elegant atmosphere of these gather-

ings. In "The Concert" for instance, one has the woman with the fan in the left foreground and the inset of a group of figures on a spiral staircase glimpsed through an open doorway. Japanese masters used these devices to convey a similar impression of elegance.

This correspondence of visual devices in two cultures so apparently diverse is most interesting. It suggests that on some levels there can be general correspondences between different visual associations and that these can be recognised without special knowledge. Tissot continued to use Japanese ideas in his paintings throughout the 1870's and into the 1880's, culminating in his series of paintings of women in Paris. There were at least eighteen paintings in this series.

Most were exhibited in 1885 under the title "Quinze Tableaux sur La Femme a Paris, Tableaux a l'huile; Pastels, Aquarelles, Eaux Fortes Originales; Emauxs Cloisonnes" at the Galerie Sedelmeyer, Paris, and in 1886 at Tooth's in London under the title "Pictures of Parisian Life" with two canvases added and three omitted.

The theme of the occupations of women is a common one in Japanese prints - occurring in series by Utamaro, Kiyonaga and many others.

Like Tissot's works, these prints emphasised the metropolitan, fashionable and modish in women's roles, often taking the Yoshiwara as the source of their subject matter. Tissot clearly had the Japanese example in mind when he conceived these paintings as a series. The description of Number Ten of the series "The Gossip" in the later Tooth catalogue makes clear that Tissot was aware of the place of Far Eastern "bric-à-brac" in decoration as symbols of fashionable modern life.

What is this room into which she is walking by the portiere of Japanese embroideries. There are all sorts of knick-knacks to left and right. There are vases of porcelain and of bronze from Japan, brocades from China, carpets from Lhorassan, and a branch of the Mayflower as beloved by the old porcelain painter of Nanji. The confusion of it all looks as they were the rooms of some lady of fashion with an Oriental taste in decoration...

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Unfortunately this painting has been lost. However another of the series. "The Bridesmaid" is in the Leeds City Art Gallery. It shows an elegantly dressed woman being helped into a coach in a busy Paris street by a fashionable gentleman. To the left two maidservants look on admiringly, in the left foreground a street seller calls his wares. The central figures are engaged in an intimate exchange. The bridesmaid leans towards the man who holds a large umbrella over both of them. One is tempted to suggested that Tissot was aware of the Japanese theatrical and artistic convention of representing lovers, together or apart, with umbrellas. Certainly the woman's gestures are so elegant that they suggest a Japanese source, probably from a theatrical print showing Kabuki actors impersonating a pair of "lovers". As an overall composition "The Bridesmaid" is not particularly oriental in character, despite the "boxing in" of the couple by the cut-off side of the coach to the right and the cut-off boy to the left. The dramatic recessionals in the work suggest far more the influence of photography. Similar mixtures of mode occur in other paintings from the series. Occasionally it is possible to detect direct use of Japanese ideas. In "La Demoiselle de Magasin" a young lady shop assistant holds open a glass panelled shop door. The lines of the door and the frame of the shop window beyond it are used in relation to her figure in the same manner as the lines of Japanese wooden architecture are used in relation to figures by Japanese printmasters. Furthermore the frame and the transparent glass is used to create a sense of spatial division, a tranquil shop interior is balanced against the street outside. This graphic means of determining the relationships between different types of human space is also borrowed as an intention from the Japanese. Such "transparent" elements in a composition are often used in Yoshiwara prints, where, as in this shop scene in Paris, there was a permanent contrast between the busy street and

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the geisha house. Bing published examples of the use of such "transparency" by Utamaro and others in "Artistic Japan".

Other works within this group betray other "borrowings" from Japan. The organisation of crowds in paintings like "L'Acrobate" and "Les Femmes d'Artiste" show a debt to the depiction of crowds in Japanese prints. The vivacity and animation of the crowds in these prints is unknown in earlier Western art. Typically large gatherings of people were represented as a succession of family portrait groups, since the genre was undertaken only by "official" painters. Here I may refer back to the picture of Queen Victoria opening the 1851 exhibition discussed above. Even the work of Frith has this sense of a series of genre images grouped together, a lack of understanding of the psychology of a crowd. As we have seen Degas and others borrowed from the Japanese in their depiction of theatres and other public events. Tissot alone however seized on the element of Japanese art which enabled an artist to capture, almost to caricature human social behaviour in large groups. He superimposed onto this a disciplined photographic style. Thus the animation of the circus audience in "L'Acrobate".

Bing published a magnificent two page reproduction of Japanese Theatre print as Plate BHD in "Artistic Japan" in 1888. However he does not identify the artist, though I suspect it to be an early Hokusai. This would be appropriate, for as we have seen, Hokusai was praised by many critics for his "realism" in representing people, and it is clear that, by this, most of them meant no more than the accurate observation and recording of certain patterns of social behaviour and basic psychological patterns.

Besides such "psychologisms" we have already seen that Tissot made use of various formal devices taken from Japanese art in this series of paintings. It would be tedious to offer a prolonged analysis of these. Indeed I believe that use of these devices is only explicable in terms of Tissot's shallow but nonetheless clear artistic intention.

He wished to portray the experiences of a metropolis on a level which provided amusement and some psychological conviction and without provoking the viewer to immediate deep reflection. In short he wished to be charming.

Late in the 1870's Tissot made one last use of Japanese costume. He painted a series of four works on a theme of the Prodigal Son. He placed the scene of the decadence of the son "En Pays etranger" in a Japanese tea house. This series was shown widely in exhibitions during the 1880's, eventually it was bought by the French State and ended in the museum at Nantes after a period in the Luxembourg. I have made fruitless requests to Nantes for a photograph of the work. However Tissot issued prints of the series dated 1881, which have been reproduced in the 1668 Ontario catalogue and which gave a clear idea of its composition.

It would seem reasonable to suppose that he painted this work soon after the Japanese triumph at the 1878 exposition. On its first showing Lostalot commented;

au second tableau, nous le voyons faire sauter les écus en compagnie de danseuses japonaises. Le thé de ces dames coute chère; aussi le malheureux gentleman est il bientot réduit a s'embarquer sur un bateau qui rentre en Angleterre avec un chargement de porcs et de bestiaux.

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Tissot plainly used a mixture of sources, Japanese prints, photographs of Japan and literary accounts, which, by the late 1870's were plentiful, in making the picture. The Japanese night setting, with its blinds, lanterns, lacquer food boxes and trays and tatami floor matting is completely authentic as are the costumes of the dancers and the samisen players. The accuracy with which the dancers' Japanese facial characteristics are depicted indicates how far Tissot had advanced towards perfect mimicry since he painted "La Japonaise au Bain" in 1864. It also suggests that he made great use of photographs in this work. A suggestion confirmed by his repetition of two basic poses in

the five dancers, giving a strange "chorus line" effect. It would be absurd to suggest a model in Japanese art for this work. It represents Japan as a genre subject in a European convention and in many ways is less "Japanese" in style than some of Tissot's European subjects.

"The Prodigal Son" series was exhibited in London in the Dudley Galleries in 1882 and the Musee des Arts Decoratifs in Paris. With it Tissot showed some designs and experiments in cloisonne enamel. Unfortunately all these have been lost but it would have been lost, but it would have been interesting to consider their Far Eastern qualities in relation to the increasingly enamel-like quality of Tissot's oil paintings, which from the later 1870's onwards often make use of "plates" of transparent glaze.

In all his work Tissot's use of the Japanese example was intended. essentially to contribute to the building up of a feeling of fashionable modernity. One even feels that the Prodigal Son is profligate in Japan because it is a "chic" place in which to ruin oneself. One could extend the pursuit of his "borrowings". from Japanese art, real or imaginary almost indefinitely. However this would not greatly amplify the case I have already made. Whether Tissot's art is "great" or not seems to me to be less important than the evidence it offers that by the early 1880's Japanese visual modes had become part of the European vocabulary of fashionable social expression, that they were not, of themselves, regarded as radical. Had they been so Tissot would not have used them. Tissot's use of Japanese art as a key to the depiction of fashionable modern life in the 1870's must to some extent remain conjectural. However Alfred Stevens joyfully acknowledged the importance of Japanese art and objets d'art. He collected it himself, he painted several subject paintings which featured his collection and he emphasised the importance of the Far Eastern example for modern painting in his book "Impressions sur la peinture" of 1886. An English translation of this was published in 1904 and I will use this edition in my discussion as

it is a precise rendering of Stevens' words.

Stevens is the most important of the fashionable enthusiasts of Japanese art noted by Chesneau in 1878. For once Chesneau was correct in linking the fashionable and Japanism, for Stevens had a major success in the Salon de l'Exposition Universelle with the painting "Les Visiteuses" showing women in an apartment full of Japanese bric-à-brac.

However Stevens' work should not be regarded as mere fashion plate painting. It is set apart from the "pastry cooking" of artists like Chaplin and Winterhalter and was recognised in its own time as being a contribution to the exploration of "modernity". Several times in the course of this thesis I have quoted Stevens' maxim that L'Art Japonais est un puissant element de modernité".

This is number C.I. of the maxims which make up "Impressions sur la peinture". Stevens' use of the concept of "modernité" in this sense was not a superficial echo of the art of the realists and impressionists. Stevens realised and accepted the full implication of the term. In the early 1860's he had been a friend of Baudelaire and Manet and had acquired the notion of the "modern" from the poet at the same time as Manet.

Whether Baudelaire recognised it or not, Stevens took up the notion of becoming the painter of the modern as did Manet. In his 1870 Salon Camille Lemonnier, the critic who was to become the friend and greatest champion of Stevens, first wrote at length about the artist. In the same Salon Lemonnier wrote on "L'Art et le temps" in strictly Baudelairean terms;

Je dis aux artists: Soyez de votre siècle ...
L'art moderne revendique le costume moderne.
Nous ne sommes ni des antiquaires ni des
fripiers. Nous sommes des vivants et nous
n'avons que faire de la défroque des morts.

Stevens is praised in the same Salon for his pursuit of modern objectives, for his singular pursuit of elegant women as a modern

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subject for his treatment of the psychological natures of women of different ages, particularly in the paintings "Printemps" and "A La Campagne".

Here is part of Lemonnier's pages of praise;

On a assez sottement reproche que maître d'exagerer l'importance du costume en ses femmes; telle critique autrefois risque même, en amertume, le nom outrageux du "Couturier". Mais ce souci est encore un des superiorités encore d'Alfred Stevens. Avec son admirable intelligence du feminin et cet amour qu'ont pour les moindres bibelots caresses par la femme ceux qui ls sent profondement, il a compris qu'elle n'existe pas seulement dans sa nudité, mais encore dans tout ce qui la revet, la pare, la touche et l'approache. Le boudoir le salon, les petits refuges mystérieux ou elle derobe sa faiblesse et ses charmes, sont en realité aussi pleins d'elle aussi penêtres de sa grace, aussi parfumes de son adorable odeur que sa chair elle même.

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Lemonnier is even more Baudelairean in another part of the same Salon when he contrasts women in Millet's and in Stevens' paintings. Millet's women are symbols of fertility, earth mothers; Stevens are Baudelairean vampires, totally modern;

La femme de Stevens traine après elle le mal de l'homme, et sous sa gorge se cache une morsure. Elle serait au cloitre, comme Lelia, pour y rugir sa douleur, si le cloître existe encore, sa misère est de rester attachée par des fibres en sang, a l'effroyable monde qu'elle trompe et qui l'a trompee. Elle y mourra d'ailleurs. Madeleine non repentie, car c'est a qu'elle est sentie triompher et périr.

La femme de Millet ne vit pas elle fait vivre. Celle de Stevens vit. mais elle donne de la mort.

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There can be no doubt that Stevens himself, Lemonnier, most of his contemporaries, and probably Manet, saw Stevens' work as an alternative approach to the problem of "modernite" in art and not as superficial "fashionable" painting. Robert Montesquiou, a major inheritor of the Baudelairean mantle certainly believed this, as we shall see. Modern writers have failed to recognise that Stevens' women are as significant in their psychological treatment and as "modern" as "Olympia" and "Nana". 28

Stevens' dependence on the Baudelairean notion of "modernite" is

is highly significant. It makes it possible to relate his interest in Japanese works fully to that of other artists, notably his great friend, Manet.

The fashionable enthusiasm for Japanese art and the enthusiasm felt by artists did not take place in separate worlds. Stevens' work is important as a reminder of that fact and as a major piece of evidence for one of the fundamental tenets of this thesis, that later nineteenth century artists were not divided into large hostile aesthetic camps but were complex and interdependent in their activities.

"Impressions sur la Peinture" shows Stevens to have been a man with a subtle grasp of the problems for art in his time. The crisis in Academic and Religious painting, the role of photography, the absurdity of Salons and fashionable art and the virtue of Whistler and other "modern" artists are amongst the topics dealt with in the three hundred aphorisms of which the work is composed. It is impossible to demonstrate major themes in the book. Two points however do stand out. Stevens makes great play with the idea of "Nature" as the most valuable aspect of art and stresses the importance of sound technique throughout the aphorisms. For the rest one may observe that Stevens' aphorisms are capable of immense elaboration and explanation in terms of contemporary art. They are highly relevant.

Stevens was well aware of his own position, as aphorism CI shows;

Let a painter paint a peasant woman and he is looked upon as an idealist, but let him paint a woman of the world and he is sneered at as a fashion hunter. How is this? Has not a woman of the world loftier aspiration than a peasant?

and this is balanced in CX;

It does not follow that the painter of modern clothing is a modern painter. The artist who paints up to date life must be saturated with up to date feeling.

Stevens makes direct mention of Japanese art in eight of the aphorisms.

In aphorism L he claims "the painter who cannot in a few strokes reproduce a lemon on a Japanese plate is no fine colourist".

The importance of the plate being Japanese is to associate direct brushwork with Japanese art. One cannot help but think of Manet's still lives in connection with this remark, notably the lemon in the portrait of Duret. Stevens lays stress on the quality of brushwork in his book and on its direct association with colour. Insofar as one may judge from photographs, many of his works show a fine sense of the use of brushwork and of the various qualities obtained by using the density of paint to vary texture and presumably colour. Contemporary critics confirm this and speak highly of Stevens' use of colour and its subtlety.

Aphorisms 96-100 all concern Japanese art. 96 is the assertion that Japanese Art is a powerful element in modern life, which as we have seen relates closely to the Baudelairean idea of "modernité" and is much more significant than a mere assertion of the current decorative fashion.

ACVII asserts that "The Japanese have expressed every effect of sun and moon better than any present or past master" - this clearly links Japanese art with the idea that painting is about "light", and in another aphorism Stevens wrote that every surface should appear to have light playing on it. Aphorism XCIII links colour directly to sunlight and relates to the misinterpretation of colour in Japanese prints as an accurate record of a natural phenomenon by Duranty and others which has been discussed above. XCIII. "Although the sun gives life to colour, it becomes cruel at mid-day and destroys all colour".

Aphorism XCVIII echoes the theme of all critics of Japanese art - that it is naturalistic, almost pantheistic;

The Japanese have taught us that nothing in Nature is to be despised and that a grasshopper is as well constructed as a horse.

XCIX continues this idea;

In Japanese art everything from a blade of grass to a divinity is love.

As I shall show, this is a strange parallel to Van Gogh's pantheistic interpretation of Japanese art; he too uses the symbol of a blade of grass.

Aphorism C claims;

The Japanese are true impressionists.

The previous aphorisms lead to this one and make it clear that Stevens had a highly developed view of the nature of Japanese art and its cultural significance. Moreover his view, in its emphasis on nature, light and modernity, parallels that of the realist critics who related impressionist and other avant-garde art to Japanese art.

Another aphorism, CCXXXVIII makes it clear that Stevens understood the nature of "Impressionism" in relation to the working method of Eastern artists;

Only after numerous studies must the painter allow himself to paint an impression from Nature. One gets tired of a study, but never of an impression.

The method Stevens recommends is that of Far Eastern art.

Stevens defends Japanese art in a way we have seen used by nearly all its apologists in Aphorism CCXLIV:

To those who complain that Japanese Art has a set formula we can reply that Greek art had one also.

The equation of Japanese and Greek art is a leitmotif of the writing of nineteenth century Japanese enthusiasts.

Many of the aphorisms which do not mention Japanese art seem related to its influence; in one Stevens claims that the artist is always working even when he is doing nothing. However it would be pointless to elaborate all these. They all relate to Stevens' conception of "modernité", which, as we have seen, is quite subtle. The major problem raised by Stevens' treatment of Japanese art is, given the understanding of those forms, why did the form of his art vary so radically from that of Manet and the Impressionists. It would seem that there are indeed various formal ways of fulfilling artistic inten-

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tions and that it has been a mistake of modern criticism to separate artists in terms of formal criteria alone.

I cannot leave Stevens' book without commenting on a remarkable prophecy in Aphorism CCXXI:

The Americans possess some of the masterpieces of the nineteenth century. They are said to be infatuated with Japanese art. Let them once build up a Louvre for themselves and with their character and inventive genius in every department, the old country will probably be destined to accept an artistic Renaissance from young America.

Stevens would have learned of American taste from W. K. Vanderbilt who bought one of his paintings with the title "La Visite" for 50,000 Fr. in the early 1870's. As we have seen above, Mr. Vanderbilt was an enthusiastic collector of Japonaiserie during the 1878 exhibition.

It is necessary to examine the formation of Stevens' own collection of Japanese art which figures largely in his painting before discussing it. Stevens was probably a late starter in collecting Japanese objects in large numbers. He owned little or nothing before the 1867 exhibition in Paris, and probably began collecting seriously after the Franco-Prussian war. No specific Far Eastern works are identifiable as belong- 34 ing to Stevens though we may make the assumption that the works which appear in his paintings were owned by him. These are of great variety, including ceramics, bronzes, lacquers and prints and paintings in various styles.

Stevens appears to have followed the general pattern of Japanese collectors in building up his collection during the 1870's during the first great rush of high quality imports. In 1875 he took up a new residence at Rue des Martyrs, No. 65, where he lived until 1880. He installed a "Japanese" room in this house which fascinated all who saw it, including De Goncourt. On March 13th, 1875, he wrote;

Puis me sachant un amateur de Japonaiseries, il m'a ouvert un salon japonais dont la tenture est faite de deux rouleaux de papier à fond d'or, ou sont représentés deux chariots, portant chacun un

gigantesque bouquet de fleurs, le cadeau du fiance à sa financée. Cet art japonais est plein d'invention charmant. Pour dissimuler le geometral des roues, l'artiste en a brise le dessin par un nuage de poussière, un nouage de poussière d'or.

De Goncourt's description of these wall decorations in the Salon is identical with the panels shown in "Les Visiteuses" on 1878. We must therefore conclude that the painting represents Stevens' own collection. Camille Lemonnier had made no comment on Stevens' interest in Far Eastern art in his 1870 Salon. However writing in 1878 he saw Japanese art as the key to Stevens' work and began his article in the G.B.A. with a description of Stevens' Japanese room;

Il-y-à dans la demeure du peintre, rue des Martyrs, un coin enchanté où sommeille la Chimere; la lumière y filtre de minces filets jaunes à travers des rideaux de soie lames d'or. et doucement, comme une fée toucherait aux objets du bout de ses doigts, cette lumière efflerre l'ombre des naires, des ivoires, des bronzes, des cuivres au ton de soleil couchant, de grands plaques laquées ou s'épanouissent les fleurs mystiques du Japon. Des tremblotements de leurs signalent sa fond des etageres le presence des coupes en onyx et des bijoux precieux, sur le bord des coffrets dansent les bluettes, des griffes de feu raients par endroits les parois. et l'on croit voir monter des cassolettes de legeres banderoles de fumée, comme dans un lieu sacre. La vit un peuple enigmatique. Ce que le Japon a contourné de formes rares et bizarres prend son vol par la chambre, avec l'aile des oiseaux bleus ou se tord, dans les replis des dragons, avec des gueules, des ongles d'étranges silhouettes griffees.

Lemonnier describes all colours and forms of Japanese art, presumably present in Stevens' room, and then concentrates on the Japanese image of woman and links it directly with the modern Parisienne;

C'est l'enchantement qui commence vous le verrez continuer tout à l'heure sous la forme des femmes de ce temps; mais des le premier pas la vision est significative; la fille d'Eve, parée des vêtements de la fille de Ko-Hi, vous présente sur le seuil la coupe d'or de sa beauté.

Aussi n'ai-je pas commencé sans motif cette étude par le merveilleux cabinet; d'autres se font des portiques de pierre et de marbre, mais ici le cabinet japonais semble l'antichambre naturelle de l'atelier du peintre. Le Japon est comme le clef d'or laissée sur la porte et qui donne acces aux surprises de cet art si moderne.

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Lemonnier identified the prototype of the fashionable Parisienne as Japanese and the Japanese ambience as a model for fashionable Paris. It must be emphasised that Japan provided more than an example of good decoration. It offered a model condition of existence to which one could aspire, an atmosphere in which to live. De Concourt expressed it perfectly in his work. Stevens' paintings attempt to capture this aspiration and portray its various aspects through fashionable women, its most characteristic representatives. Stevens' first painting after the 1867 exhibition to show Japanese influence is a version of "La Visite" of 1869, once in the Cardon collection. It shows two women talking in a room in which there is a large lacquered screen, perhaps of coromantel. Apart from this there is little sign of Far Eastern taste in the work. However the poses of the women, particularly the one standing in the bend of the screen looking round it at her companion, looks, in its elegance as if it could have been derived from a Japanese print.

However Stevens' acquisition of quantities of Japanese objects began only after 1870 and in my view only after the Commune. We may trace his collecting and the establishment of his "Salon Japonaise" through three paintings — "La Psyche" circa 1870, "Les Visiteuses" exhibited in 1878, and "La Visite au Studio" of 1888. They show the changes in Stevens' attitude to Far Eastern art.

The first owner of "La Psyche", Montesquielle Fezensac dated it "vers 1870", however I am inclined to think it was painted after the Commune.

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The painting shows a studio corner with some of the artist's work hanging on the wall; to the right a small Japanese doll hangs from a screen. On the floor is a large stack of canvases, fronting the wall

and a couple of portfolios. In the foreground at the right is a chair on which is laid an Oriental cloth. On this, open, is a Japanese print book, obviously of mid-nineteenth century origin and reminiscent of the work of Kuniyoshi, though it is difficult to be precise with only a photograph. On the left stands a large studio mirror, round which peeps a young woman, probably a model. The mirror is used to reduce the bulk of the model and gives her figure a tall elegance clearly related to the artificially heightened female figures found in Japanese prints. The The draperies follow the form taken in Japanese prints. This use of a mirror was noted in Stevens' work before 1867. The opposition of the female to the book of Japanese prints in the context of a working studio clearly has a quality of a "visual manifesto" in the manner of Manet's portrait of Zola.

Psyche was the mortal rival of Venus in her beauty. The Japanese aesthetic was, perhaps a rival, a "mortal" rival for the apparently eternal classical canons of art espoused by "official" bodies in France. Stevens' committment to academic technique would have made this a central problem, for him. Moreover Psyche was a very popular subject for academic painters. Many of the paintings on the wall refer to Stevens' fascination with Dutch painting, particularly a snow scene. It was clearly Stevens' intention to bring Japanese elegance to the solidity of Dutch technique, thus the open Japanese book next to his own work.

Montesquiou regarded this painting as a key to Stevens' work, but he talks simply of the elements of the work;

La Psyche est comme apotheose de tout l'art de Stevens et des toutes ses amours: les femmes, les objets, et les réflets qui les multiplient. On dirait le gracieux câche-câche d'une jeune femme et de son image. Jolie brune, vetue d'un pelin à mille raies noir et gris, garni de dente lures, dont la fine tête olivâtre, ponctuée a l'oreille d'un blanc camelia, emerge de derrière une psyché en laquelle elle ne se voit pas, mais qui la mire. Galante ruse du peintre pour portrait-

urer et nous offrir sous deux aspets ce minois sympatique. C'est donc en realité une femme à deux têtes et à trois mains que nous représente ce tableaux peint sur bois par Stevens vers 1870!

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Montesquiou goes on to claim that the whole of Stevens' studio was summed up in this one corner and speaks of "crepons epars" when referring to Japanese prints. We may say therefore that "La Psyche" represents an early stage in the evolution of Stevens' collection, before the creation of his Japanese salon in 1875.

"Les Visiteuses", shown in 1878, records the contents of this salon at their fullest. The paen of praise for this work in relation to the 1878 exhibition has already been noted above.

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The painting shows two women paying a visit to a third and her child in a room filled with Far Eastern objects. From the ceiling hangs a Japanese flower holder in crescent shape. The upper halves of two walls are visible and filled with a Japanese decorative painting showing a wagon full of flowers on a gold background. Between them, in the corner, is hung a lacquer box in gold and black. To the left behind the standing visitors is a large European cabinet in which can be glimpsed small ceramic pieces and netsuke. On top of this cabinet is a large cloisonne vase, square in section. This is guarded by two small samurai dolls, as used in Japanese children's festivals, behind the two Samurai are two Japanese dolls. A Japanese ceramic flask is placed on the right hand corner of the cabinet. In the centre in the far corner of the room. is an enormous lacquer cabinet similar to that purchased by Bowes from the 1867 exhibition. It supports a large carved elephant with howdah, which had appeared many years before in l'Inde à Paris. To the right beneath the decorative wall panelling is what appears to be a Japanese scroll opened out and framed. In the foreground, the boy who is the centre of attention of the three women plays with another Far Eastern doll, on a table covered with a cloth with Far Eastern motifs. One visitor holds a small lacquer box in her hand. The Japanese print

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book in "La Psyche" has been replaced with a wealth of bibelots in all forms. This painting is a visual equivalent of De Goncourt's "Maison d'un Artiste" in its celebration of the bibelot as an equal of the traditional work of art.

As usual Stevens' technique is based firmly on sound academic procedure and on his admiration for the Dutch. However, as in other works, the poses of the women remind one constantly of the elegance of Japanese prints. This is particularly true of the young mother reclining on a sofa with one arm along its back. The third painting "Visite a l'Atelier" dated 1888 shows the decline of the Japanese interest in Stevens' work. We are shown three women in a studio which evidently belongs to the one holding a palette and leaning on the easel on the right. Her friend, dressed in outdoor clothes, is seated in front of her halffinished work; both look across to a female model seated on a sofa and dressed in an elaborate robe. On the wall Japanese fans are tucked behind the frames of some of the many pictures. To the left hangs a Japanese scroll painting. To the right an ornamental screen is mainly obscured by the figures in the picture. Stevens' women, no longer satisfied with admiring works of art, have taken up making them. They have virtually given up the cult of the bibelot. The fashionable interest in Japanese art declined considerably in the late 1880's as we have noticed and Stevens' painting reflects this.

By examining these three paintings we have established that Stevens' interest in Japanese art reflects its impact on Paris in the 1870's and 1880's. We may see "La Psyche" as a record of its early fascination for artists, "Les Visiteuses" as an image of its fashionable triumph and "Visite à l'Atelier" as its sinking to a prop for those with "arty" pretensions.

We must now return to the possibility of Stevens as a creator of an image of "modernite" as vital as that of Manet.

The key to Stevens' alternative approach to "modernite" is that for him there was no crisis of "method". As we have seen, Manet and his followers saw "modernite" in terms of a new technique and new imagery, the two implied each other. For Stevens, no new technique was needed. He thought it possible to develop subject matter and poses so as to capture the "modern". He did not therefore see Japanese art in terms of a "linguistic" revelation as did Manet, except in the area of the delicate poses of women in Japanese prints.

As Stevens' critics all remind one. Dumas fils wrote to him,
"Nous étions deux à peindre le monstre", when he sent him a copy of
"La Femme de Claude". Stevens clearly did more than record the superficially fashionable. His choice of "L'éternel feminin" as his subject
was very modern. His record of women as socially engaged creatures is
also remarkably modern; Stevens' figures do not pose, they act out
roles - a remarkable phenomenon in an age which fashionable art set
women higher on pedestals than ever before. The drama of their actions
can easily be misread as pure literary sentiment. In this context it is
interesting to hear from Montesquiou that Stevens shared with other
"modern" painters the change that his work had no subject.

Des observateurs superficiels ont reproche aux tableaux d'Alfred Stevens de manquer de sujets, parce qu'il ne peint ni des batailles, ni des naufrages, en aucune de ces compositions que Baudelaire range dans la catégorie de "fureurs stationnaires". Mais l'éternel feminin en proie à sa perpétuelle inquiétude d'amour, composant le billet doux, le disposant, l'écrivant, l'épiant, le recevant, le froissant, avec toutes les expressions correspondantes dans l'attitude et les atours qui en ont dieté, motive l'émoi, quels plus dramatiques combats, quelles submersions plus poignantes.

Given the modernity of Stevens' work we must now consider examples of his paintings which use Japanese art.

In one sense Stevens "understood" the role of Japanese art as an adjunct to life much better than any other painter of the time. Japan-

ese objects retain their appearance and material quality in his paintings and participate in the creation of an overall atmosphere. Stevens
understood the notion of "decoration" in the same manner as De Goncourt
and the Japanese themselves. That is why he borrowed poses and flowing
draperies from Japanese prints and used devices such as mirrors to
create compositions of such overall consistency and elegance.

This type of elegance is a means of exploring the nature of woman. Stevens' paintings are not superficial society images. His women hold an ambiguous role in their hard, bright environment, both creatures of beauty, existing to give life to the beautiful objects around them and at the same time tragically restricted by them and their role. Stevens gives a true picture of a type of modern woman.

We must now examine the use of Japanese art in individual paintings to see what part it played in the creation of Stevens' image of women.

Montesquieu thought that "La Poupee Japonaise" then in Brussels Art Gallery was Stevens' masterpiece. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain a photograph of this work. Montesquieu describes the work as having a coromantel screen in the left corner. A woman in a white dress full of delicate folds and lace trimmings, tinted slightly rose by her petticoats, is holding and examining a Japanese doll. The screen and doll were more than mere ornaments. They condition the response of viewer both by their own aesthetic qualities and in the case of the doll by its relation to and fascination for the women.

It is impossible to date Stevens' paintings exactly but it is likely that most using Far Eastern objects were painted during his residence at the rue des Martyrs, 1875-1880.

"Le Masque Japonais" is typical of his use of Japanese objects to create an atmosphere of enigmatic feminity.

Two women, sitting one behind the other, in profile, looking left

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to a grinning Japanese theatrical mask on the left-hand border of the painting. The close juxtaposition of the two profiles is often found in Japanese prints, notably in theatrical works, where it is used to evoke a dramatic relationship just as Stevens uses it here.

The painting depicts a clash between beauty and the beast with all the enigma of the fairytale. The women are fascinated as if by a Sphinx.

"La femme en Gris" shows a very different use of Japanese objects. This shows a woman standing in front of the open window to the left, in the Japanese Salon. A small screen is introduced into the lower left-hand corner of the composition and is balanced by the decorative flowers with gold background in the upper right-hand corner. These two elements add an exquisite painting to the juxtaposition of the woman's figure against rectangles of the open window.

Stevens occasionally took the "Japanese" atmosphere away from direct reference to Japanese objects. In "Les Quatre Saisons", which he painted for the King of the Belgians, Stevens personified each of the seasons as an elaborately dressed woman. He was clearly following the inspriation of Japanese prints which took female costume as their major expressive element; Stevens took many devices to indicate feminity from Japanese art. In "La Boule Argentée", for instance, a fashionable woman contemplates her image in a silvered sphere set in a garden. The use of a mirror surface by women is a common subject in Japanese prints, but not in earlier Western art. Moreover the woman and her umbrella are straight from a Japanese print.

The mirror takes on a predominant role in "La Robe Japonaise" which was the outstanding modern work in the "Exposition Historical de 1'Art Belge" in 1880. We see a woman's back and her reflected face as she admires herself dressed in an elaborate flowered kimono. From her right hand a fan dangles nonchalantly, touching the lower border of the canvas. The flowered panels of Stevens' Japanese salon can be seen

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reflected softly in the mirror.

The relationship between the back of the woman and partially visible reflection is clearly inspired by the rhyming of costumed figures in Japanese prints; note the double image of the right sleeve. Stevens uses the mirror to give a naturalistic sanction to this rhyming. It also, intensifies the expression of feminine enigma.

This painting has been dismissed as a mere costume piece, but this is to underestimate Stevens' contribution to the poetry of the modern.

Fashionable Japanese "costume" pieces were quite common in the early 1880's but these show little of Stevens' subtlety. For instance in the Salon of 1883 a M. L. Comerre exhibited "Portrait de Mlle. Achille Fould", showing a young woman in a kimono holding up an open fan in her right hand, the left on her hip. The work is competent but vilgar, the kimono has lost the intimate appropriateness that it had in Stevens "Robe Japonaise".

For Stevens, Japanese art was always an integral part of "modernite".

He treated it as such in his work. There can be no doubt that it

contributed greatly to his conception of the modern fashionable woman.

Despite his limited subject matter Stevens' work does offer an alternative "modernité" to that of Manet. He is far more successful than

Tissot who used Far Eastern art in relation to modern subjects but

without Stevens' integrity or conviction.

We must now turn briefly to less successful artists who have been linked with Japanese art. The painter Joseph de Nittis, a friend of De Goncourt, Degas and many other Japanese enthusiasts, was a collector of Japanese art.

The Japanese influence in his "Retour des Courses Boulevard du Boulogne" has already been discussed. I have been unable to find evidence of Far Eastern influence in any of his other works. Indeed in his autobiographical "Notes et Souvenirg" he makes only one reference

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to Japanese art. In 1875 when it had just become highly fashionable he wrote of seeing a Japanese walking in the parks of Paris after a snowstorm and the vision it gave him:

Et j'ai comme un vision du Japon de cette douce vie de reveurs à qui suffit une jonchée de choses blanches, pluie de neige ou pluie de fleurs, existence pour laquelle je suis fait, peindre, regarder, rever.

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Nonetheless this note is a further indication of the relation of the Japanese example to an artistic ideal of a harmonious life in a perfect environment. We have seen that many critics praised Japanese art as a reflection of this sort of life and there can be no doubt that it influenced de Nittis and many others, without necessarily producing any direct formal parallels in their own work. Another painter associated with Japanese art was Fantin-Latour. Like de Nittis his work shows very little evidence of its influence. In the 1870's he painted a great many flower pieces and some of these are simply arrangements of flowers and foliage across the picture surface without vase or intelligible setting, much as one sees in Hokusai's flower prints. He also used the asymmetrical cutting off the elements in the composition of some of his still lives. On the whole however Fantin made little use of the Far Eastern example after 1868.

Printmakers as well as painters involved themselves in the vogue for Japanese subjects. A good example of this is Felix Buhot (1847 - 1898) who was a popular artist and printmaker in Paris. He took an important tole in the printmaking revival of the 1860's and 1870's. He designed the business card of the Sichels in the 1870's and one for another dealer in Oriental art, Labric, of 39, Boulevard des Capucines, which he dated 1876. In it he juxtaposed an image of a Chinese man and woman surrounded by Far Eastern works of art on the left with a view of the Seine on the right, also incorporating Oriental works of art.

However it was only in the 1880's that Far Eastern subject matter became

evident in his work.

He designed a cover for a march, "A Monsieur Bing, Marche Japonaise par Adolphe David". This showed a Japanese on horseback, several Japanese girls, dragons, pagodas and other Japanese subjects.

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In 1885 he published "Japonisme dix eaux fortes, par Felix Buhot, avril 1885". The ten etchings were modelled on pieces in the Burty collection. It is unfortunate that I have not been able to find a copy of them. Their subjects included several bronzes, an inro with three musicians carved on one face, a theatrical mask and lacquer and porcelain vessels.

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Several other prints made in the 1880's attest to Buhot's interest in oriental subject matter. "Cabinet de lecture au Japon" showed four Japanese seated on the floor in traditional manner talking, with a decorative panel of Japanese characters to their right. This plate was signed "TOHUB" in a pseudo Japanese manner as was "Le Poisson Volant" which showed a Japanese looking at a flying fish above his head.

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In 1887 Buhot made "Bapteme Japonais" which showed a portrait of his own child surrounded by various Japanese images and objects under the moonlight. This was probably the latest of his "Japanese" prints.

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The use of Japanese images in prints such as Buhot's is very similar to the use of Japanese objects in the work of Tissot and Stevens as tokens of fashionable modernism. Benedite published an illustrated letter by Buhot, with a drawing of a clutter of objects at the top of the page amongst which Japanese bronzes, armour and fans are clearly recognisable.

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The relation of Japanese objects to printmaking at this time is further underlined by a frontispiece for the first volume of Beraldi's "Les Graveurs du Dix Neuvième Siecle" by J. Adeline of Rouen published in 1885. In the lower left-hand corner appear a range of Far Eastern objects, juxtaposed against two views of medieval Rouen.

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As in Buhot's card for Labric the character of a French city is juxtaposed directly with Far Eastern objects to suggest their relevance to each other. In the case of Adeline there is also the association of Japan with the middle ages in Europe.

It has been shown in Section One of this thesis that the graphic qualities of Japanese art had little influence on the development of the styles of printmaking in Europe in the 1860's. It would seem in general that this is also true of the 1870's and 1880's. Etching dominated the development of printmaking during this period. However far it was developed from a purely mechanical means of illustration it was not possible to use it in the manner of Japanese prints or drawings, because it relied for its effect on an accumulation of fine lines, none of which on its own, had that pictorial significance and directness central to Japanese art.

A key example of this problem is the work of Georges Bigot, a painter who studied under Carolus Duran, Gerome and under Buhot, where presumably he became interested in Japan.

Ph. Burty owned three albums of his work containing "Scenes de la vie populaire, types de la rue au Japon. Une chasse; un diner". Two albums by him are to be found in the Victoria and Albert collection. The first "Croquis Japonais" is dated Tokio 1886, showing that Eigot was in Japan in that year. It consists of a series of dry points of various Japanese scenes. They are sometimes very weak in drawing and generally fail to express their subject properly. Bigot has clearly taken on the impossible task of using etching to express the Japanese mode of life and he fails for us because we are used to relating not Japanese wood block print. Clearly Burty did/think this work as poor as modern taste does and this indicates once again the gulf in attitude to Japanese art and imagery that exists between modern times and the later nineteenth century. For Burty, a curious form or image could

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aesthetic significance based on its associative and anecdotal qualities independent of the medium in which it was recorded.

The second album, "Le Jour de l'An au Japon", was obviously made in the 1890's, though it is undated. It consists of black and white, block woodcuts, which made great use of silhouettes. It comments comically on the Europeanisation of Japan. While the prints are no better technically than the early album they do have a closer correspondence to their theme. This proceeds solely from the employment of the woodblock print which became fashionable in Europe in the 1890's. As we have seen, Bracquemond and others also turned to woodcuts in the 1890's and one must speculate that the emergence of the black and white woodblock print as a fashionable form in the 1890's in Europe was the result of the pressure of the Japanese example on the European tradition of engraving and etching. This was certainly the case with illustrators such as Beardsley as I shall show in the next chapter of this thesis.

Bigot's interest in Japanese subject matter and his visit to Japan underlines the close link between the "fashionable" artist and the travelling topographer. We must now examine the work of artists who travelled to Japan and who contributed to the development of its image in Western culture.

The career of the most significant French artist in this category, Felix Regamey, has already been discussed in connection with the development of the Musee Guimet. I have selected Mortimer Menpes, an Australian working in England, for special study in this chapter, as he is probably the most significant English artist to make the journey to Japan.

However before I discuss his career in detail it would be as well to present a brief resume of information about artists travelling to Japan in order to paint it and study its art was, in general, a consequence of the Japanese fashionable success in the 1870's, in particular

Paris in 1878. Thus the artists we are concerned with worked mainly in the 1880's. Most earlier travellers concerned with art were traders or collectors. Though as we have seen, Kyosai had already received visits from several European artists by the time of Regamey's visit to him in 1876. In that same year a school of art was set up in Tokyo, partly to introduce Western art to Japan and three Italian academic artists, Antonio Fontanesi, Vicenzo Ragusa and Giovanni Cappelletti were employed on the staff. However it is doubtful that they showed much interest in Japanese subject matter.

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However another European brought to Japan took a considerable interest in the native art. This was Josiah Conder, who became the first head of the Tokyo school of architecture in the same school in 1877. He was a pupil of Kyosai for some 12 years during his period of work in Japan. His book on the artist has been discussed above. He also made drawings of Japanese subjects which occur as illustrations in many books on Japan (including Dresser's account of his travels there) and in his own writings. Conder's fussy detailed images had considerable influence on the fashionable conception of Japanese buildings, gardens and landscape.

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Artists who came solely to paint Japan began arriving around the mid-1870's and their work was first shown in Europe in the early 1880's. A hundred and one paintings of Japan were shown by the American artist, Alan Gay in the 1883 Japanese exhibition organised by Louis Gonse. He had been in Japan for eight years previous to this, having expected to stay only a few weeks.

Gonse believed his work to be the first "representation vraiment exacte et scrupuleux du Japon". Gay's paintings included views of Yokohama, Enoshima, Tokio, Kioto and Kobe and some studies of costume and flowers. Unfortunately I have so far been unable to locate any of his work.

I have been more fortunate with another traveller to Japan, Alfred, later Sir Alfred, East. In 1889 the Fine Art Society, following its interest in themes related to the Aesthetic Movement, which had included exhibitions of Japanese art, commissioned him to go to Japan to record "the physical features of the country inhabited by a race which had produced such marvellous work".

East spent a year in Japan and as a result of his work there he was elected Honorary Member of the Meiji Bijutsu Kwei - the Japanese Academy.

In 1890 a hundred and six of his paintings were shown as exhibition 73 of the Fine Art Society. The Fine Art Society still owns one I(98) of the three, No. 28, "Fujijama from Hara" a small oil painting in 62 flat decorative tones.

The Victoria and Albert owns two watercolours, "Lake Biwa" and I(99)

"The Fox Shrine".

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They are both highly competent and decorative watercolours, in flat areas of bright colours. They show a considerable interest in the study of light and atmospheric effect. They are typical of a great number of late Victorian and Edwardian watercolours. They appear to have been highly popular. Nearly all the paintings were of landscapes or buildings, only one, No. 47, "O Ume San - Miss Plum Blossom" $\prod_{b} (qq_b)$ was a figure painting, "a young lady with a sunshade, surrounded by a blooming plum tree".

Most of the artists who travelled to Japan concentrated on topographical work. The only Japanese influences detectable in their work are the decorative flat areas of bright colour shown in East's work. The broad wash style of water colours of whom the most famous recent exponent is Russell Flint, owed its characteristics, in part at least, to the Japanese example. The opening of the "Japanese Gallery" at 28, New Bond Street, in 1892 shows how popular Japanese subject matter in Western paintings had become. It gave exhibitions of several painters

of Japanese subjects, including Alfred East, and two in 1892 of work by Sei Tei Watanabe, the Japanese artist who had acted as an official in the 1878 Japanese exhibition in Paris.

It is against this background of considerable popular interest in paintings of Japan that we must consider the work of Mortimer Menpes.

Menpes was an Australian who arrived in London in 1879 at the age of 19 and spent two years studying at South Kensington as a student of Sir Edward Poynter. He was then "rescued" by Whistler and together with Walter Sickert became a leader in the group of "Followers" that Whistler had around him in the '80s after his reverse at the Ruskin trial and his loss of the White House.

Menpes assisted Whistler in several of his enterprises during this period. Whistler printed many of the etchings from his Venic set in Menpes' studio and Menpes was a loyal lieutenant during most of Whistler's campaign as president of the British Artists. It was during this period that Menpes became interested in Japanese art. Whistler undoubtedly pointed his followers in this direction;

Rembrandt in our opinion did not occupy much of a position. Canalletto and Velasquez we placed high but not, of course, on the same plane with Whistler. The only master with whom we could compare our own was Hokusai, the Japanese painter.

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Menpes was a recipient of the discussions of nature in terms of Japanese screen painting that George Moore once interrupted with challenging remarks. For the painter, Whistler's followers believed "nature should be tilted forward and without distance - a Japanese screen, a broad mass of tones - a piece of technique. The face in a portrait should not be more important than the background. The moment you realised that it was a face, the literary art came in, and you had better give it a cup of tea or pull its nose".

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Menpes abandoned the anti-literary - or rather anti-realistic, aspects of this belief, but as we shall see, his work retained on over-

all flatness and relied much more on a juxtaposition of tones than on drawing.

In 1887 as a result of Whistler's enthusiasm, Menpes determined to visit Japan "with the intention of studying for myself the conditions of Art in that country and the problems which Japanese art in its latest phases presents to the Western mind. I was, I believe, the first artist to visit Japan solely for the purpose of studying the methods of Japanese art and of learning all the lessons from it and from Japanese artists.....Japan was still for me what it has always been, and what I trust it will continue to be, the most characteristically, the most intensely, artistic country in the world. It seemed to me that an English artist familiar with most modern craft in Europe could not but learn much by a sojourn in Japan, could not but bring back with him a wider knowledge and a riper experience."

Menpes' attitude to Japan was clearly inspired by Whistler. Menpes kept his plans secret until he had left, realising that Japan should have been "reserved for the Master", to whose work Japanese art was so central. Whistler adopted a permanent emnity towards Menpes as a result, his reasons for doing so have been discussed above.

Menpes went on to pursue a career as a topographical artist. He exhibited a series of paintings made on his visit to Japan at Dowdes-wells, 160, Bond St., in 1888. There followed several other journeys, for instance, to India with an exhibition in April/May 1891, then Venice May/June 1892 and to France, Spain and Morocco with an exhibition in May 1893. He also visited Burma, China, Mexico, Palestine, Egypt, Turkey, Greece and Spain, and the Western European countries, making paintings, which he subsequently exhibited. He made a second visit to Japan in 1896 during which he wrote articles for the Studio. Fortunately he published several illustrated books in collaboration with his daughter Dorothy which enable one to form a reasonable estimate

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It was also possible to examine some of his paintings in recent exhibitions in London. A copy of the prints from his 1888 exhibition can be found in the print room of the V. & A.

During his first visit to Japan Menpes did indeed study the artists of Japan. He claimed to have met and watched over sixty artists at work at gatherings in the houses of Japanese art connoisseurs.

He noted the deterioration of Japanese work as a result of European influences and went so far as to make speeches to the Japanese condemning the idea that it was necessary to pander to the foreign market. Throughout his writings on Japan, Menpes raises examples of this, for instance he condemns the European liking for black and gold lacquer screens, pointing to the Japanese taste for beautifully painted screens on light backgrounds. He also saw the work of some Japanese who had been taught Western painting by an Italian at Kioto and found it poor and feeble compared to their work in their own native style.

Only the master, Kyosai, was exempt from the charge that he lowered the standards for the European market. Menpes thought all the artists he met had a style in common with the master. He spent a day with him at the house of Captain Brinckley, an important collector of Japanese art for whom Kyosai had painted some screens. In his 1888 article he gives a long description of Kyosai's working methods and his opinions. Kyosai thought that most European paintings looked alike, and Menpes was able to confirm this impression from his own experience as a member of the hanging committee of the British Artists during Whistler's presidency. Menpes goes further and claims that Japanese works are more original and individual, thus flying in the face of current Western opinion.

Kyosai dismissed the notions of plein air painting and immediate recording of poses from nature;

It is a hindrance to have the model before me when I have a mental note of the pose. What I do is

a painting from memory, and it is a true impression. I have filled hundreds of sketch-books, of different sorts of birds and fishes and other things, and have at last got a facility and have trained my memory to such an extent that by observing the rapid action of a bird I can nearly always retain and reproduce it.

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I have discussed the importance of Menpes' beliefs for Whistler's attitude to Japanese art earlier in this section. However it is necessary to give here a brief account of Menpes' beliefs about Japanese art to point to the relationship between them and his art. The case of Menpes parallels that of Stevens, in that Menpes expresses the current critical assessment of Japanese art and does so in a manner which shows that he understands it and its implications for contemporary art. However his art takes a form very different from that of Whistler who expressed many similar ideas. As with Stevens' relation to the modernite of Manet, Menpes presents us with the problem of an alternative response to Japanese art associated with the same assessment of the Far Eastern example that led to radical innovation in Whistler's art.

As with Stevens, there is a paradox in Menpes' work. I shall show that he understood fully the implications of what he saw in Japan and yet remained limited in his own art to a treatment of Japan as a genre subject. It is also necessary to revalue the historical significance of this genre treatment, which is intimately related to the role of Japanese imagery in Whistler's work in the 1870's and 1880's.

Menpes stresses in his writings that Japanese art is "natural", but as we have seen he takes the view that the natural is identifiable with the typical as arrived at by observation of nature then reconstructed in the studio.

He compares the Western and Eastern methods of training and stigmatises the drawing of a bright white plaster cast with black chalk as an absurdity, since it is a denial of "its exceeding whiteness" which is its first and predominant impression.

Western life drawing was condemned as firmly. Menpes gives the

example of an Atlanta represented by a model "strapped up" in the studio, which students are expected to reconstruct, beginning with a drawing of her skeleton.

Then, when all is completed, the poor dear lady is expected to run her immortal race. Of course by this time there is no action in the figure at all... Would it not be far better that these students should go out into the street, after the method of the Japs and watch some girl as she runs and jumps in the sunshine, with a soft wind blowing her hair about her head and her gown about her limbs, and then come back, and, with a memory of the beautiful inspiring scene still fresh in their minds commit their impressions "hot and hot" upon the canvas before them.

Menpes thus saw Japanese art as liberating and natural, in contrast to Western academic art, and his proposal echoes the ideas of Lecoq Boisbaudran which pointed the way to the first appreciation of Japanese art over 25 years before and which run through subsequent "realist" criticism and art.

Menpes also believed Japan to be a "nation of artists" and on several occasions points to the universality of good taste in Japan and draws the analogy with Greece which has been shown to run through appreciation of Japanese art throughout the period of this thesis;

What an educated artistic Japanese would think of some of our so-called "Japanese rooms" I shudder to imagine. But let me ask - and this is much more to the purpose - what would an uneducated Japanese think? And let me give my own answer. He would be as much surprised by any bad taste or bad art as his educated superior would be. This is the burden of my argument - that art in Japan is universal and instinctive, and therefore living; not an artificial production of a special class, and therefore not living. Art was certainly a living thing in the best days of Athens.

The importance of decoration as part of the concerns of the artist is often raised by Japanese art and Menpes would obviously have been impressed with its importance by Whistler. Menpes eventually created his own Japanese house in London.

Menpes pursues his claim that Japan is a "living artistic society"

by giving numerous examples of the taste of Japanese craftsmen who worked for him. When for instance he designed special frames for his Japanese paintings, these workmen showed great interest in making them and in their aesthetic function which was unknown in Japan. The most important aspect of the Japanese aesthetic for Menpes was what he called "placing", which is a term for a generalised attitude to "composition".

Menpes claimed that every aspect of the Japanese environment; flower arrangements, shop windows, costume and even the landscape itself was a result of careful placing. Works of art were the natural expression of a society in which man imposed harmony on all aspects of his experience. Menpes tells the story of his failed attempt to arrange a collection of fans in his house in Japan and how a Japanese artist was persuaded to arrange them to his own taste.

The task took him about two hours, playing, arranging, adjusting and when he had finished the result was simply beautiful. That wall was a perfect picture; every fan holder seemed to be exactly in its right place and it looked as if the alternation of a single one would affect and disintegrate the whole scheme.

The relation of the concept of placing to Whistler's method is clear, it raises the question as to how far Menpes saw Japan through Whistler's eyes, at least on his first visit. I believe this is not so. The consistency and originality of Menpes' account of Japanese art suggests on the contrary that he independently rediscovered the source of much of Whistler's aesthetic and that it was for this crime that he was banished from the Master's circle.

There is no need to repeat Menpes' account of Kyosai's method which we discussed in relation to Whistler and elsewhere. However it is essential to stress Menpes' description of the incisive directness of Kyosai's technique, in particular the value that the Japanese placed on unbroken flat tones.

When he began there was no fishing for tones, as on the average pallette. No accident. All was sure a scientific certainty from the beginning to the end.

The picture was a portrait of a woman. It displayed enormous facility and great knowledge, but altogether it pleased me less. No attempt was made at what is called broken colour. A black dress would be one beautiful tone of black and flesh one clean tone of flesh, shadows growing out of the mass and forming part of the whole.

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Here Menpes can be seen to reject one essential aspect of Oriental technique - the direct use of a liquid medium, without washes or breaks. This furnishes a clue as to the limitations of his own technique which seems a compromise between Japanese and European approaches, conditioned by the use of European media.

Menpes' exhibition of "Paintings, Drawings and etchings of Japan" was shown at Dowdeswells in 1888. Unfortunately the catalogue does not indicate which of the paintings were oil and which watercolour. This makes it difficult to rely on the reproductions in his 1901 book when reconstructing the exhibition as these appear to be mainly water-colour and may be copies from oils, or even different works with the same title. However I have identified several works as being undoubtedly in the 1888 exhibition. One of these was No. 82 in that exhibition, "The Giant Lantern", described thus;

Exterior of a temple. The beautiful check design on the inner surface of the dovecote - shaped awning of the lantern is a marked and peculiar feature of ornamentation of Japan. It occurs everywhere.

This work is typical of many city views in the exhibition and its flat, occasionally sketchy technique, is typical of those works by Menpes which I have seen.

The dominance of the work by the large lantern with its red design is typical of Menpes' borrowing of a Japanese device. The lantern, the check canopy, the temple notice board to the left and the wooden beams around the temple entrance form a strong graphic structure. Its flat pattern covers a considerable surface area of the painting and it thus acquires a dramatic relation to the scale of the people beneath the

lantern. Similar large scale graphic designs can be found in Japanese prints - on ship sails, lanterns and most notable of all, on the clothes and banners of the leading protaganists in the Chuisingura. In the prints they function in the same manner as the lantern in Menpes' painting, producing a dramatic effect by means of a graphic one.

Menpes does not however follow through this graphic quality into his depiction of the temple, visitors and the tree in front of the temple. Here he relies on tonal distinctions and line drawing of the Western variety. These tonal qualities derive partly from Whistler's teachings about Oriental art and partly from the English tradition of tonal landscape painting which began with Cox and continued through the nineteenth century in a line of small masters, mainly water colorists.

Similar graphic devices can be found in many other paintings from the 1888 exhibition. For instance, No. 75, "The Red Curtain", shows a great red curtain across the entrance of a shop with a large moon on it, tilted down to the right. The curtain is extended by a similar canopy above it. In front of this slender tree trunks cast shadows on the geometric design and produce a subtly balanced design. Once again the landscape around this basic design is in a tonal manner and is not so successful. The general composition of this work is an excellent example of the practical application of Menpes' idea of "placing" derived from Japanese art.

Some of Menpes' paintings approach Japanese subject matter more closely; for instance, No. 18 "Daughters of the Sun, Dancing-girls in grogeous crepe dresses, waiting in the sunlight to be driven to some entertainment". This shows seven girls in brightly coloured and patterned kimonos standing, some in shadow, some in bright sunlight, in the courtyard of a building. The design is further assisted by the paper umbrellas which they carry. Menpes' painting is almost entirely in tones, with very little detail drawing even in the patterns, although the poses of the girls clearly derive to some extent from

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Japanese prints. The painting is a very successful reconciliation of colour, tone and pose. Menpes makes considerable use of the density of colour and brushmark obtainable with oil colours in works such as this.

It has been suggested that Menpes relied greatly on photographs in all his work from Japan. Aaron Schafrf notes that George Moore castigated Menpes for his misuse of photographs in "Modern Painters" published in 1898, and asserted that the painter rarely drew from nature. Scharf also cites a letter from Sickert to the periodical "Whirlwind" written in 1890 in which Sickert pointed out the importance of "instantaneous photography" in Menpes' sketches of Japan.

Professor Schaper accepted the form of Menpes' art as indisputable evidence of dependence on photography to the extent of copying. He does not however offer a comparison of Menpes' work with a photograph. I have argued above that Menpes' composition and technique were greatly influenced by the Far Eastern example and that the form of his paintings can be largely explained in these terms. Sickert's observation was not, I think, intended to suggest that Menpes made coloured transcriptions of photographs, rather to point to the visual accuracy of Menpes' work, to

In fairness to Professor Schafrf it must be said that I have found a photographic precedent for the pose of one of Menpes' paintings, "The Child and the Umbrella", No. 68 in the 1888 exhibition.

strengthen which the artist made use of photographs as references.

A photograph taken by Hugues Krafft and reproduced as the frontispiece of his book "Souvenirs de Notre Tour du Monde" in 1885, shows a girl with an umbrella open over her shoulder as in Menpes' paintings. The graphic impact of the spokes and circle of the umbrella is the same in each but the costume, expression of the girl and the background of the photograph are totally unlike the painting by Menpes.

In fact this pose is found in many early photographs of Japan, including Beato's album of the 1860's, and in my opinion derives from

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the use of the umbrella as a graphic device in prints, and, more importantly, as an expressive device in the Japanese Kabuki theatre. It is clear that many early photographs of Japan feature actors. Moreover we know that Menpes hired the troupe of a small theatre for a day for three dollars during his 1887 visit to Japan. The troupe presented him with a series of tableaux which he sketched and reported them to be "just like a Japanese picture book".

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Indeed for Menpes, the theatre became the paradigm of Japanese arts and he wrote a great deal about its visual basis, noting that a theatre manager planned his performance in a series of sketches.

Menpes' belief that the whole Japanese environment was harmonised through placing was extended to photographs by the Japanese.

You never by any chance see a photograph by a Japanese looking in the least like a European. If they photograph a group they will be sure to place that group near a great bough that juts just across the picture; they cannot help it seems to be in the blood of the Japanese to be decorative.

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Clearly Menpes' use of photographs was not a departure from his basic view of art and of the value he placed on Japanese art. More-over, at least in his 1888 exhibition his works were based on studies direct from their subjects. As is usual the role of photography in the formation of an artist's style is inseparable from other influences and from his aesthetic.

A large element in Menpes' work was designed to appeal to popular taste for the anecdotal and sentimental. Amonst the titles in the 1888 exhibition are No. 130, "Dignity and Impudence", and No. 131 "Bubbles". I have unfortunately been unable to find pictures of these Japanese versions of famous works by Landseer and Millais. The same is true of literary paintings, No. 134 "The Woman in White" and No. 137 "The Old Curiosity Shop".

In another case he drew on a more popular success. Painting No.26

was entitled as "Three dancing-girls in their gorgeous dresses attended by their duenna". The girls' mouths are painted scarlet. Japanese dancing and singing women always colour their lips, sometimes an intense red, sometimes a dark bronze. These dancing girls are in a toom at night with light strong upon them.

This work was engraved, rather badly, for the Magazine of Art by O. Lacoir.

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Menpes' choice of subjects in these works was clearly dictated by current fashionable taste in England, however this does not necessarily detract from the value of his work. Indeed in the case of the borrowing from the Mikado, Menpes' response was to a taste for Japanese subjects. Moreover as we have seen, Menpes' style did retain some integrity and was in many ways dependent on the Far Eastern example.

One further, popular, aspect of his paintings must be mentioned; that is the number of works whose subject was children. These constituted about an eighth of the exhibition. Menpes believed that "It is in the children that the national, artistic and poetic nature of the Japanese people most assuredly finds expression". Japanese children had become famous in the popular mind for their natural innocence and good graces. Menpes contributed to this with works such as No.34, "A Jap in Plum Colour" or No. 117 "News", described as "Three Japanese children, two girls and a boy, have got hold of a Japanese newspaper and are reading it as they run. The vivid scarlet lanterns form as usual, a characteristic feature of the street".

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It may be said that Menpes was simply exploiting popular taste in these paintings, especially since he later produced a book "World Pictures of Children". However I believe he sought the genuinely characteristic subject matter of Japan, and children were part of this.

The two portfolios of etchings and drypoints that Menpes showed with his paintings in 1888 are not very impressive. Menpes followed the

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example of Whistler in the use of a criss-cross pattern of faint lines and in the printing of all the plates himself so as to assure, as he said in the catalogue, the "necessary tenderness and sympathy of work-manship". The plates were etched in Ingland and are renderings of paintings, mainly watercolours which he did not exhibit.

Print No.13 "Baby and Baby" for instance, is a reversal of a painting later used as an illustration in Menpes' book "Japan, a Record in Colour". Another of the more successful prints is No.16, "My Lady Chrysanthemum". On the whole however the Whistlerian print technique is illusted to Menpes' subject and the prints are not satisfying.

Menpes' second visit to Japan, in 1896, also produced a great many paintings and an exhibition at Dowdeswell's in 1897. It is unnecessary however to repeat my discussion of his work in respect of this, since his style remained the same though perhaps more influenced by European academic ideals and by the compositional possibilities suggested by photography. This is clearly seen in a work such as "Procession of I(107) Archers" which was made in 1896. George Moore's charge of misuse of 88 photography is more appropriate to these later works but even in these it is not fully justified.

Menpes published two illustrated letters from Japan in the new art magazine "The Studio", whose editor Charles Holme was a Japanese enthusiast. One was on the Japanese affection for flowers, the other on Japanese river scenery. They repeat Menpes' view of Japan as a land of 69 universal harmony and are ornamented with a great many of his drawings. I(108)

Menpes' second visit to Japan had as its primary purpose the commissioning of decorative work for his newly built house, 25 Cadogan Gardens, designed by A. H. Mackmurdo.

Working through a Japanese merchant, who he nicknamed Inchie, Menpes was able to get woodwork, metalwork, screens, embroidery, paintings and carvings made to the specific dimensions of his new house. He commissioned a hundred individually made bronze electric light fittings, all varying

slightly in design, and all his doors were individually lacquered. He even worked in a Japanese pottery himself, painting a group of flasks for use in the decoration of his home.

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The prize amongst all these works was a piece of wood 9' x 3', carved with a chrysanthemum pattern which Menpes fixed in his hall.

When Menpes returned to Europe he spent over two years supervising the workmen who assembled all his goods.

Menpes' house was clearly intended as a successor or rival to the White House, Chelsea. He even repeated Whistler's experience with painters who persisted in adding "fill" to their wall paint despite his instructions. A full discussion of Menpes' house would be out of place in this thesis. However I give some illustrations, taken from an article on the house in "The Studio".

These make it clear that Menpes carefully adapted the Japanese aesthetic to the demands of an English house and more particularly aimed at a blend between it and the developing architectural style of Mackmurdo, Voysey and the "Arts and Crafts" movement. The result was highly successful and it is probable that Menpes activity had a great influence on the new architecture.

It is clear that Menpes was far more than an unsuccessful follower of Whistler and his role in the development of the English cultural image of Japan and as a transmitter of Japanese influence is considerable.

Like Stevens, Menpes' career points to one of the main arguments of this thesis, that nineteenth century art was a complex organic whole. Stevens is not in any sense an inferior Manet, but he does create images of "modernité" in a sympathetic relation to Manet's art. Menpes is not a pale imitation of Whistler but he does create images of Japan which relate sympathetically to Whistler's art. In both cases the artists avow aesthetic beliefs apparently similar to their "great" associates, yet in both cases their art has individual strengths. I have attempted to explore these relationships in this chapter and to broaden the

problem to include other "minor" artists who were interested in Japan.

A final point must be made. The artists in this chapter are more typical of the developing artistic tastes of the 1870's and the 1880's than any others studied in this section of the thesis. In placing their activities closer to those of the "major" artists of this period (as we judge them now), I hope to establish that the major artists were far more involved in the general aesthetic concerns of their time than has been realised.

The Japanese Contribution to Western Visual Fantasy and Fairytales.

A Brief Discussion of the Work of Crane, Rops, Redon, and others, and of Huysmans' writings on Fantasy.

Throughout this thesis I have drawn attention to the high value placed on Japanese images of ghosts, spirits, monsters, and chivalric legends as they were depicted in Japanese art. From earliest writings of Alcock and Dresser to the critical elaborations of Huysmans, the Japanese genius for the creation of convincing fantasy images was highly valued, as an aesthetic activity. Creation, rather than arbitrary invention was the keynote to this recognition. Japanese fantasy was praised for its visual cohesion. The fantasy world was complete and Japanese monsters had a coherent organic vitality whether in bronze or on paper. We have noted that Chesneau emphasised the contrast of vital Japanese monsters with the lifeless dragons of Ingres. In general, sympathetic critics regarded the Japanese ability to fantasise as evidence of tremendous vitality, on a par with the ability to observe and represent nature with great accuracy. This perception of the Japanese fantasy world may be interpreted as the appreciation of the strengths of a stable culture by a dynamic culture. The advance of "modernite" had, perhaps unintentionally, robbed Western fantasy images of their cultural significance. However it remained possible to admire the vitality in the fantasy art of other more integrated cultures. Another interpretation of the importance of Japanese fantasy art is more appropriate to nineteenth century England than to France. It is clear that moral pressures on English life at that time forced many people to express their mind's diversity in fantasy tales where they were free of irrelevant questioning. Ruskin also wrote fairy tales. This need for fantasy may have created a ready appreciation of the role of fantasy in Japanese art.

Moreover there was a great interest in Japanese fairy tales and ghost imagery amongst Western writers. Andrew Lang the famous collector

and writer of fairytales, wrote an article called "Some Japanese Bogies" for the Magazine of Art, in which he declared:

Our ghosts are to the spectres of Japan as moonlight is to sunlight or as water unto whisky.

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He illustrates many "Japanese bogies", including a "chink and crevice bogie" and a "Storm fiend" from contemporary Japanese prints.

The "Storm fiend" was clearly the model for the illustration of the wind in A. Hughes' "At the Back of the North Wind", later reprinted by walter Crane as an example of good book design. This is an early example of the direct absorption of a Japanese fantasy image in Western fairy tales.

For whatever reasons from the 1870's there was a general interest in the revival of the creation of fantasy images in Europe. The work of Moreau and of Burne Jones may stand as examples of this. It must be stressed that this activity was regarded as aesthetic in itself, not as an excuse to make art. In the twentieth century artists have either forgotten fantasy or created a theoretical basis for it which has changed its nature to that of a philosophical exercise, an excuse for art rather than an acceptable end. Nonetheless fantasy as an aesthetic end has continued in the popular arts. The outstanding example is the animated cartoon and the work of Walt Disney in particular. This is an interesting case of the continuity of Japanese influence on Western fantasy in a public, commercial context. Scenes like the controversial "Witch Scene" in "Snow White" depended to a large extent on the Far Eastern example for their design and dramatic effect.

I mention this to show that this chapter is not an extended footnote but rather a sketch. The Japanese example had an enormous effect
on the content and forms of Western fantasy art both private and popular, commercial varieties. By its very nature this contribution is
generally much less accessible than other aspects of Japanese influence.

The Japanese example offered an entirely unknown mythology, pre-

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sented with a total conviction throughout every form of Japanese art.

Moreover mid-nineteenth century Japanese art in particular, concerned itself with making monsters in bronze and lacquer and with images of heroic deeds in prints. One only has to think of the work of Kuni-yoshi for a multitude of spectres and ghosts to appear in the mind's eye.

The impact of such examples on Western criticism was enormous, as we have seen. The same was also true of Western artists. Once again we may trace their interest back to the influence of Baudelaire. For Baudelaire despised the positivistic view of nature;

To these doctrinaires who were so completely satisfied by Nature a man of imagination would certainly have had the right to reply -

"I consider it useless and tedious to represent what exists because nothing that exists satisfies me. Nature is ugly and I prefer the monsters of my own fancy to that which is trivial."

I have argued above that this spirit was present to some extent even in some of the most naturalistic ventures of Impressionism. It certainly sustained Moreau and many others. Its most influential representative amongst the critics during the 1870's and 1880's was Huysmans.

Huysmans not only recognised the legitimate role of fantasy as art, he also placed stress on the Japanese contribution to it. In his essay "Le Monstre" he attempted to explain that "Le monstre en art n'existe reellement pas ou plutot n'existe plus a l'heure qu'il est pour nous". Modern chimeras, he observed, seemed to lack the will to live. He discusses the monsters of Assyria, Egypt and Greece. The Middle Ages he represents with "Notre Dame" on which "s'erige l'une des plus merveilleuses theories de monstres".

Of recent work, only Goya's "Caprichos" and "Proverbes" receive his approbation. After a passing appreciation of Ingres' "Angelique", Mysmans turns to Japanese art;

depuis lors les Japonais sont les seuls qui tented ment de procréer reellement des monstres. Certaines figures d'Hokusai des femmes surtout, semblables à des fées pendues dans la brume, avec des cheveux tombant en saule-pleureur sur des faces diminuées et pales, ont des aspets des fantômes, realisent des apparitions de spectres, mais elles ne constituent pas, à proprement parler, des monstres et d'autre part, les chimères japonaises, en terre bariolée, avec leurs levres à retroussis; leurs yeux projetés tels que ceux des lemaies au bout de pedoncules, leurs queues en toits pagodes.

Japanese monsters were thus of necessity an important factor in the development of fantasy in the West.

Besides the problem of the organic vitality of individual Japanese monsters Japan also offered the example of a consistent fantasy world, paralleling the world of nature. This could be seen in individual prints but also in the decorative consistency between different objects. In my opinion this type of consistency is the result of the establishment of a visual language - a restricted descriptive system which can be evolved to encompass experiences other than the immediately objective. Descriptive naturalism tended to destroy or challenge the validity of such codes. It thus prevented visual fantasy from acquiring conviction, that is to say from appearing to be part of the "reality" of any given style. The discovery of Non-European art and Japanese art restored the notion of discrete visual languages as the basis of art and thus opened the way once more to fantasy.

The earliest manifestations of this were in English fairytale illustration, in particular in the work of Walter Crane. Crane was born in 1845 in Liverpool. In 1857 the family moved to London and Crane attracted the interest of Ruskin who was shown some of his coloured drawings by a friend of his father. Ruskin arranged for him to be apprenticed to W. J. Linton the engraver and illustrator in 1859, and he studied with him until 1862. As we have seen, it was during this time that Linton worked on illustrations for some of the earliest travel books to deal with Japan. Crane however was chiefly influenced by the

Pre-Raphaelites and their admiration for the Middle Ages. His first painting was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1862 when he left Linton, it was a "Lady of Shalot". He continued to paint all his life in a style heavily dependent on Pre-Raphaelitism and other English painters of sentiment. Crane's career was essentially that of a decorative designer, typographer and illustrator in the tradition of William Morris. In the 1890's he even became a Morrisonian socialist and preached the sacred nature of craft using the Japanese artist as an example.

During the 1860's he engraved many illustrations, including some from the work of Wirgman. The frontispiece for Mark Lemon's "Wait for I(111) the End" published in 1866 is typical of his work at this time; dramatic engraving using strong lighting and many lines and textures, strongly influenced by Pre-Raphaelitism.

In 1865 Edmund Evans began to employ Crane to illustrate his famous yellow backed children's books. Evans had begun publishing these books in 1863 and was the first European printer to establish an accurate means of registering coloured prints from wood blocks. Before this time almost all illustrations had been hand coloured, as was the case with the plates in Osborn's "Japanese Fragments". I have noted above that Evans had worked as an engraver on the illustrations of one of the early books on Japan. It is tempting to assume that the emergence of coloured wood block illustrations depended on the Japanese example and the dates coincide perfectly with this. However Evans does not acknowledge Japanese influence in his "Reminiscences".

Crane's work for Evans was highly eclectic. He once claimed to have drawn on "The pretty bits of Birket Foster - the romantic style of John Gibbert and the neat drawings of John Tenniel, G. Dodgson and S. Reid, for old houses and scenery, E. Duncan for sea and ships and sometimes a stray Millais or Madox Brown to give the whole thing a dash of piquant Pre-Raphaelite flavour".

To this we could add many more sources for individual images.

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However it is clear that the basic visual language into which these influences were fitted was provided by the Japanese print as Crane himself acknowledged.

It was, however, the influence of some Japanese printed pictures given to me by a lieutenant in the navy, who had brought them home from there as curiosities, which I believe, though I drew inspiration from many sources, gave the real impulse of that treatment in strong outlines and flat tints and solid blacks, which I adopted with variations from that time (about 1870) onwards.

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The date of Crane's first contact with Japanese art is controversial. Konody, who knew him, tells the story of the gift of Japanese prints, but places the event in a Cheshire country house and dates it 1865. However Crane himself gives another date. 1869. in his "Reminiscences" and claims that the event occurred at Rode Hall in Cheshire. He also mentions that during his journey in Italy (from 1871-1873) he met a Captain Silsbee who was an enthusiast for Japanese art. in Rome in 1873. As we have seen, interest in Japanese art in Italy was stimulated at that time by the arrival in Turin of the exhibits for the Vienna exhibition. Moreover Crane's painting "Almond Trees from Monet Pincio" which was made on this journey, was cited by critics as an example of Japanese influence during its exhibition in Paris in 1878. It would seem reasonable to assume that Crane was exposed to some influence from Japanese art from 1865 but that this intensified after the 1867 exhibition and that he was constantly influenced by it during the creation of his "Toy Book" illustrations.

Crane's illustrations may be conveniently divided into three periods, those made for Edmund Evans and published by Routledge before his Italian journey, those made for Evans up to 1876 in a similar style, and those made later and published chiefly by Marcus Ward & Co. Japanese influence was strongest in the first two groups which included more than forty-four separate books.

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The Fairy Ship of 1869 is a good example from the early period.

The use of flat colours bounded by black lines is clearly seen in the scene of the loading of the ship. So too is the graphic simplification of form and the use of asymmetrical composition to create space for instance in the loose jib with furled sails which hangs across the upper left corner of the illustrations or the appearance of the jib if the crane with its large ball, form the edge of the frame. The raised viewpoint permitting a "panoramic" presentation of the quay is also Japanese.

These devices are all to be found in Hiroshige. The use of sails and masts as compositional devices can be found in No. 57 of "The Sixty Odd Provinces" and the heightened viewpoint is frequent in "The 100 Views of Yedo" - both these series had reached Europe by 1869.

However one may go further than to observe that these devices helped to create a convincing ambience for fantasy. The ship's crew and the dockers on the quay are all anthropomorphic mice, dressed in contemporary European clothing. Among the prints collected by Burges in 1862 was a print by Kunisato showing anthropomorphic mice, acting out scenes in a narrative, presumably based on a traditional Japanese story. There were also pages of grotesques by Yoshikazu and Kunisato and a page of anthropomorphic cats by Yoshitora.

Anthropomorphic mice also occur in the Mangwa. In Vol.10 Hokusai I(113) showed mice representing a merchant and his labourers. The facial characteristics of Hokusai's mice are very close to those used by Crane.

Mice were a favourite subject for anthropomorphism in Japan, where there is a legend of a mouse kingdom "Kakunesato". However grasshoppers, foxes, cats, monkeys and many other creatures all appear in human guise in Japanese paintings, prints, carving, lacquer and other arts.

It is clear that Crane borrowed the anthropomorphic animals in the Fairy Ship from Japanese art.

However the influence of the Japanese example was much broader.

It seems reasonable to assert that anthropomorphic illustration in the work of Kate Greenaway, Ralph Caldecott, Tenniel and Beatrix Potter depended on this original Japanese revelation. The objection to this is that English medieval art also provided examples of anthropomorphic animals, for instance in the bas de page illustrations of the East School of Illumination and in Cathedral Sculpture. Medieval art was a subject of serious interest to the Pre-Raphaelites and so could have suggested Crane's animals to him. Unfortunately there is no evidence of this. One must conclude that the Far Eastern example was responsible.

The incorporation of the text within the image was also a device borrowed from Japanese prints, as was the "crane" seal in the lower left-hand corner.

Anthropomorphism is not very common in Crane's later work, save in special cases. The beat in "Beauty and the Beast" (1875) is built on Far Eastern principles, having the head of a wild boar and an elephant's trunk in place of a snout like an Indian Elephant God.

Another source of anthropomorphism is Mitford's "Tales of Japan" in which several anthropomorphic tales occur. In one, the "Battle of the Ape and the Crab", the crab, the ape, an egg, a mortar and pestle and a wasp are all given anthopomorphic form and illustrated. In "La Princesse Belle Etoile" Crane gave the Witch a crab's body, it may be that he derived the idea from a Japanese source; perhaps this very book.

In general, however, Crane continued to draw on the Far Eastern example for his compositions and motifs. In this respect the illustrations for Aladdin which he made in 1875 are of particular interest. For they also make use of the Far Eastern motifs to set the "tone" of the work. Moreover the impact of the Far East on Western fantasy is illustrated strikingly by the transplantation of Aladdin from the Bagdhad of the Arabian Nights to the Far Eastern location compounded

mainly from China, but with much Japanese imagery. This change took place some time in the nineteenth century and was generally accepted as can be seen in the now traditional pantomime plot with the "Widow Twankee", the Chinese laundry and Aladdin's inevitable coolie hat. This hat first appeared in illustrations such as those by Crane. Crane chose to avoid depicting the appearance and achievement of the Genii and instead concentrated on Aladdin's adventures with the magician. In the first scene Aladdin is a poor boy approached by a magician in a street whose architecture is recognisably Chinese. However a woman on the street wears a kimono and carries an umbrella, and a Geisha leans out from an upper window. In the second, Aladdin in an elaborate Japanese yellow silk robe, extracts the lamp from a niche in a treasurehouse whose variegated tiled decorations suggest a mixture of the Leighton house and the Alhambra. There is even an original arch. Yet the whole setting is created in the "Japanese Print" manner that Crane described to produce a marvellous decorative creation. Paper lanterns, bronze, and blue and white china vases appear to remind one of the Far Eastern context. However the overall effect is not invincibly Far Eastern. The image has a unity achieved through the blending of current decorative tastes by means of the Japanese pictorial style.

The next scene however is decidedly Japanese in appearance. On I(114) the right, Aladdin, waering his coolie hat and a patterned robe, peeps between the jamb and an elaborate carved door to see the Princess enter her palace. She is attended by two ladies in Japanese costume, Japanese coiffeurs, one of whom bows, gesturing with a fan. She herself wears an elaborate kimono-like gown. However her gesture and profile is from Greek vase painting, even though she holds a closed fan. Crane adopts two typical Japanese compositional devices in this image. One is the use of areas of pattern to add interest to the design. The other is a large flowering branch in the lower right-hand corner.

The setting with one figure watching behind a partition is also borrowed directly from Japanese prints.

The next scene showing Aladdin leading his slaves with the wealth for the Princess' wedding presents shows no dependence on Japanese motifs. However in the "New Lamps for Old" scene the Princess is shown with a Geisha hairstyle leaning out from another upper window with an open fan. The shutter of the window appears to be modelled on a lacquered screen panel. Further down the street another Geisha leans out with a lamp for the magician. The architecture in this scene also appears to be Chinese. However it may well be that Crane's image of the Geisha was drawn from photographs of the Yoshiwara. In which case they would have shown brick buildings similar to those in this scene and the first.

In the final image the wizard lies dead on a couch to the right.

The couch is covered with material in an elaborate Japanese pattern which Crane uses to good effect to emphasise its recession in space. To the left of the Prineess, in an elaborate Japanese costume, clings to Aladdin, who is now dressed as a Mandarin. In the background a large painted sliding screen shows bird and flower motifs taken from Japanese prints. One prominent motif has a Chinese source. The bird devouring the snake is a symbol of good triumphing over evil. On either side of this screen we may glimpse a terrace with palms and coloured lanterns. Its spatial function suggests that Crane borrowed it from Early Renaissance art and indeed in some of his other books the debt is made clear by the Botticelli-like costumes of the protoganists.

In Aladdin, Crane can be seen to borrow many motifs and compositional devices from Japanese art. He also made use of pictorial technique derived from Japanese prints. However the ultimate quality of his work is not Japanese since he has been influenced by other sources as well. Crane used Japanese pictorial devices in the same

manner in which contemporary decorators used Japanese art objects. The result is fascinating; it has a strange integrity of taste despite its eclecticism but it is purely European in overall sentiment.

It remains to mention the Far Eastern qualities of other books by Crane.

The "Yellow Dwarf", also of 1875, contains several images with Japanese qualities. The motifs of the illustrations are closely modelled on Early Renaissance paintings. In the illustration in which the evil dwarf confronts the Princess, the background shows a lion in a rocky desert. straight from a Bellini or Mantegna, the Princess' dress and the tree she stands under is from Botticelli. However the evil protaganists in the story are Japanese. The dwarf with his beaked simian face and many panelled costume is clearly drawn from illustrations of the birdlike agents of mischief in Japan, the "Tengu". The final illustration shows a conflict between the dwarf and the hero of the story who is dressed in armour, based on a Roman pattern with helmet, sword and shield. Their conflict is set in a tiled Renaissance hall, with a banquet taking place on a columned balcony in the background. But the compositional dynamism of the conflict is taken from the pictures of Japanese heroes contending with monsters. Such images occur frequently in the work of Hokusai, for instance in "Yehon Sakigaki", the book of warriors published in 1835 which W. Rossetti described in "The Reader" in 1863. They also occur frequently in the work of Kuni-Moreover the author faces the hero mounted on a giant black voshi. cat which is a witch transformed. Such a cat witch features in Japanese legends and is occasionally illustrated by Hokusai. The double page format of this work is also taken from Japanese books where combat is often represented in this way, with a combatant on each page.

Crane produced eight fairytale books in 1875, the peak of his production and as we have seen the high point of the imports of Japanese art. Each provides similar evidence of the Japanese contribution to

the vocabulary of fantasy. This evidence is of more general importance than Crane's use of the Japanese print style to hold his borrowings together, which was a personal choice and was forsaken even by Crane after 1875. Indeed Crane later rejected Japanese illustrative technique under the influence of Morris, as "apart from their naturalism, grotesquerie, and humour - they do not furnish fine examples of page decoration as a rule".

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In 1880 Hachette introduced Crane's books and those of Kate

Greenaway into France. Huysmans was so impressed by them that he set
aside his review of the official Salon to discuss them;

Comme les albums anglais sont, avec les albums du Japon, les seuls oeuvres d'art qu'il reste à contempler, en France, lorsque l'Exposition des Indépendants se ferme, la paranthèse que j'ouvre me semble avoir sa raison d'être.

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He praised Crane's compositions for their consistence "Chacun de ses feuillets est un tableautin", which was far above the standards of current French painting.

Huysmans recognised the source of this consistency in Japanese

prints. He described the "Fairy Ship" drawings as "un tour d'addresse tel qu'il faut, pour en trouver un aussi expressif et aussi agile, recourir aux albums japonais d'Hokku et d'Okou-Sai". Huysmans compares Crane's fantasies to those of Doré and also to a new artist, Odilon Redon. Thus it is clear that it is correct to use Crane's work as evidence of a more general relation between European fantasy and the Japanese example. Many other illustrated fairytales appeared in the 1870's, with various degrees of debt to Japanese art, forinstance Marcus Ward published "Marcus Ward's Japanese Picture Stories". These were "Oriental tales told in brilliant pictures conceived in the true Eastern spirit and with all the forcible drawing and effective colouring of the Japanese by native talent, with new versions of the stories in English

Rhyme. Each book has seven large pictures, one Double Page, mounted in

Japanese Screen, Panorama, Fashion".

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The stories sold for one shilling each and there were four, all from the Arabian nights, Aladdin, Abou-Hassan or Caliph for a day, Ali Baba and the forty thieves and Sinbad. The "native" artists were European, not Japanese, as is made clear by their pastiche of Japanese style (the same artists also pastiched medieval art in another series of fairytales of Marcus Ward).

The Marcus Ward pastiche is much more directly copied from Japanese art than Walter Crane's work. Aladdin makes a useful comparison.

The landscape seen in the background of each scene is modelled directly on Hiroshige, even to use of a red tint in the sky on the horizon and a deep blue stripe at the top of the sky, both of which fade into a large central area of white in which lay Hiroshige's cranes. Accurate images of Japanese wooden architecture appears in each plate, used in the correct "Japanese print" manner to create a setting. In the first plate a ragged Aladdin plays in a street of wooden shops with traditional blue and white curtains at their entrances. In another scene Aladdin spies the Princess and her companions through the slats in a wooden door. Aladdin retains his coolie hat, but he wears a Japanese robe and a sword. However, the Princess and her four companions are in full Japanese costume.

The figure drawing is also loosely modelled on Japanese style both in the depiction of costume and in the drawings of Aladdin and his ragamuffin friends in the first scene, which resemble the drawing in the Mangwa. The same may be said of the figures in the scene in which the Magician sells lamps in the street. In this scene Japanese architecture is used to create a very subtle space.

The double page showing Aladdin taking his riches to the palace also contains many figures borrowed from the Mangwa and elsewhere, set in a street modelled on those in Hokusai and Hiroshige's prints of Yedo.

Japanese monsters are also represented in Aladdin, by the genii who is I(116) modelled closely on the "Oni" the wicked Japanese devils which appear in

many stories.

The humorous drawing of the cat in flight is also modelled on Japanese drawings, such as those by Kuniyoshi. Its humour is echoed in the use of Japanese cartouches to label all the characters in the scene, including the cat, in a pseudo-Oriental script.

The outer covers of the books contained the first and final scenes of the story in large pseudo-oriental decorative borders. The back cover shows the poisoned wizard lying out at the feet of the Princess I(117) who is dressed in a marvellous red kimono. Aladdin enters with a drawn Japanese sword, into a perfect Japanese interior. The illustrations are accompanied with 42 verses, of which the following refers to the last scene:

What time you sup present this cup And when you see him stagger Give me the sign - I'll hasten up, And slay him with my dagger!

The tone of this doggerel indicates the popular market at which this work was aimed. It shows that by this time there was fairly detailed popular knowledge of Japan.

The remaining stories in the book are also complete pastiches in form. For instance when Ali Baba sets out with his three asses to get firewood, he does so along a section of the Tokaido road as seen by Hiroshige. Even the device of using tree trunks running from top to bottom of the picture to create space. However the characters in Ali Baba remain Arabian. They do not wear Japanese costume. In Sinbad, on the contrary, Chinese and Japanese costumes abound, Sinbad's wife is buried in Japanese costume and her father dresses like an old Chinese mandarin.

Other books made use of illustrations made by Japanese artists for Japanese tales. Work by Dickins and Regamey has already been discussed. Others produced similar work in 1881. W. E. Griffis produced "The Japanese Fairy World: 34 stories from the wonderlore of Japan with 12

full page illustrations by Ozawa" in New York. In 1885 the Tokyo publishing house Kobunsha produced "Kobunsha's Japanese Fairy Tales" - a series of Japanese childrens' tales translated by B.H.Chamberlain and others, printed on Japanese crepe paper and illustrated in colours in the late artists; twenty titles are known to have been published.

Many other similar works were published from the late 1870's, ensuring a widespread familiarity with the imagery of Japanese fantasy and enabling it to occupy a position in the Western consciousness without difficulty. There can be no doubt that this imagery permanently affected the style and subject matter of Western fantasy and indeed in cases like Aladdin changed that fantasy itself. It is not possible to follow this process in detail in the context of this thesis.

It remains to discuss another aspect of the pursuit of the monster of fantasy which is less accessible to such direct analysis, the pursuit of "Le Monstre" by "decadent" artists in England and France. There is no equivalent in English for this term. It covers work by Redon, Rops and others whose imagery makes concrete the ironies and horror of human consciousness. The genesis of the "decadent" view of experience is beyond the scope of this thesis. One can do no more than observe that a group of artists were attracted to Japanese art for common reasons and that they have in common a rejection of any close stylistic borrowing from Japan and seem rather to have been inspired by the freedom of Japanese fantasy and its conviction to create an equally free language for themselves.

I have been unable for instance to find a single direct quotation from Japanese art in the prints of Rops and yet Huysmans could only find a comparison for it in the frank humour of Rowlandson and more particularly in the savage directness of Japanese erotic prints.

In his essay on Rops, Huysmans identified a kind of erotic fantasy as aesthetic in nature, as a means of escaping the flesh and not of sinking into it. This was "L'Esprit de Luxure, des idees erotiques isolées, sans correspondance matérielle, sans besoin d'une suite animale qui les apaise".

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Pursuing this "catholic" line of thought, Huysmans defines this eroticism as a special state of the soul and therefore profound and capable of being used to make great art.

> En art, cette hystérie mentale ou cette délectation morose devait forcément se traduire en des oeuvres fixer les images qu'elle s'était crées. Elle trouvait, la, en effet, son exutoire spirituel, le seul qui fut possible, car un exutoire spirituel est comme je l'ai dejà rapporte, le destructeur le plus certain de l'art.

C'est donc à cet état special de l'ame que l'on peut attribuer les herrissements charnels, ecrits ou peints des vrais artistes.

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Huysmans then discusses Rowlandson's erotic images which he regards as examples of healthy animality. Rowlandson's woman is more "la machine a forniquer, la bete sanitaire et solide" than the "terrible faunesse de la Luxure".

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In Japanese erotic albums however, Huysmans sees the true spiritual sadness of "L'Esprit de Luxure". He notes that Japanese erotic images have a strongly depressive effect, speaking of the participants;

> Enchevetres, dans d'impossibles poses, tous gisent semblables à des cadavres dont de puissantes estrapades ont brisé les os.

He then describes the best and most terrifying erotic print he has seen:

> C'est une Japonaise couverte par une pieuvre; de ses tentacules, l'horrible béte pompe la pointe des seins, et fouille la bouche, tandis que la tete meme boit les parties basses. L'expression presque surhumaine d'angoisse et de douleur qui convulse cette longue figure de pierrot au nez busque et la joie hysterique qui filtre en meme temps de ce front, de ces yeux fermés de morte, sont admirables.

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This may be identified as a print made by Hokusai in 1820. Hysmans goes on to speak of the Japanese rehabilitation of "Luxure" through suffering and implies that it is Japanese erotic albums which

I(120)

I(122)

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awake the interest of Rops and others in the possibilities for profound art in the erotic. His analysis of erotic imagery in terms of a still point between death and ecstasy is advanced at great length in his discussion of Rops' work. He goes further and he argues that Rops has rescued "Luxure" from the anecdote and the incidental and replaced it "dans le cadre infernal ou elle se meut et. par celà meme. il n'a pas crée des oeuvres obscenes et positives, mais bien des oeuvres catholiques".

Huysmans' reading of Japanese erotic work is not accurate in terms of Japanese culture, for it had a much more celebratory role than he would allow and/did not concern themselves with the problem in any Christian sense. Nonetheless his treatment shows how Japanese fantasies. if such they may be called, could have influenced the sense of what was possible in the West. It may well be that the strange corseted skele- I(121) ton with fully fleshed buttocks which holds aloft a head in Rops' "Initiation Sentimentale" owes something of its strange form to Japanese example. The same may be true of many other assemblages in Rops' oeuvre. However Rops' style is in no sense Japanese and the Japanese example must have operated in a manner such as that described by Huysmans, as a liberator of the artist's fantasy.

A similar problem arises in the case of Odilon Redon. It has recently been suggested that Redon's fantasies were inspired to some extent by Japanese art. In his book on Redon first published in 1964, Klaus Berger claims that Redon's work was undoubtedly influenced by the Japanese example from about 1880 onwards. He cites the coincidence of the album "Les Origines" and the 1883 Japanese exhibition at George Petits, which he inaccurately calls a print exhibition. Berger illustrates a Hokusai print of a ghost, without a comparison to indicate the type of source he has in mind.

Siegfried Wichmann continued this suggestion in the Munich Olympic catalogue, where he argued that it was Hokusai who provided the crucial

confirmation of Redon's attraction to chimeras and the bizarre as a means of expression. He links Hokusai's use of "spectres" to that of Kubin. He makes specific comparisons. Plate five from the 1888 series of prints, "Tentation de Saint Antoine" based on Flaubert, which has the title "Ensuite parait un être singulier ayant un tête d'homme sur un corps de poisson", is compared to a figure of a ghost haunting a relative from the Mangwa.

Wichmann also compares the "Cyclops" print from "Les Origines" with a Hokusai print "The Lantern Spirit of the O-Iwa" of 1830. The 1900 "Cyclops" painting is also compared to a Hokusai spectre, "The Murdered Kasane appearing before her Husband" from Vol.10 of the Mangwa. Many other similar comparisons were made in the exhibition.

Unfortunately Redon never made any direct comment on the significance of Far Eastern art for his work. If it had been central to it one would have expected some mention of his contact with it in "A Soi-même", the journal which he kept from 1867 - 1915, but there is none. Furthermore Huysmans, in his essay "Le Monstre" makes no direct connection between Redon's art and the Japanese example. In particular he stresses the dependence of "La Tentation de Saint Antoine" on the forms of micro-organisms, and on the theories of Darwin which Redon knew from his friendship with the botanist, Armand Clavaud. For Huysmans, Japanese art had achieved its revelatory effect before Redon began his visionary work with "Les Origines".

It may be argued that Redon's original vision is exemplified in a plate like "Vision" of 1879, which shows a spherical eyeball floating in the darkness between two massive classical columns and dominating a couple walking beneath it. In this case the embodiment of this concern in the image of Cyclops would be natural and the form could well have come from micro-organisms. None of Wichmann's Japanese comparisons stress "vision" either in having one eye or in having large eyes.

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Moreover Redon's use of black in his prints and his consequent use of the symbolism of black and white, light and dark, and of marvellous dense but melting blacks in his prints cannot be found in Japanese prints.

In order to "justify" comparisons of the type made by Wichmann it would be necessary to demonstrate a high degree of parallelism between the development of Redon's artistic intentions and the critical attitudes to Japanese art in the 1880's and 1890's. This is beyond the scope of this thesis. However it is important to address one or two comments to the problem.

Firstly it is possible to find closer sources for some of Redon's monsters in Japanese art. A glance at the illustration of the page of grotesques collected by Burges in 1862 will show two Cyclops figures; Redon may well have seen late prints of this kind. A similar "cyclops" may be found in Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan" in the illustration "Funakoshi Jiugemon and the Goblins" which suggests that the image was widely known in Europe during the 1870's. A similar comment may be made about Redon's use of various degrees of black. The Japanese ink painting style "Sumi-y-e" was well-known in France from the 1870's.

Moreover the aesthetic value given to different densities of black in this style was appreciated. It may be that Redon knew of this precedent for his own use of blacks.

It would perhaps be possible to find many other models for Redon's fantasy images, but they would be subject to the same objection that Redon's employment of the Japanese motif has no direct explanation in his artistic intention. Nor can we reach forward in Redon's career to refer to his involvement with Far Eastern form and subject matter in the 1890's and 1900's.

Redon's paintings of the Buddha, for instance, take the Buddha as a subject and an example. Redon is treating the Buddha and his image

as an element in his own culture, not as a mysterious cultural protagonist from without. The work of the Musee Guimet in popularising Buddhism in France during the 1890's lies behind these works. This work and indeed the period of the later 1880's onwards lies outside the scope of this thesis precisely because this change in the relation of European and Eastern art may be said to have occurred at that time. From that time onward Far Eastern art was embodied in the Western visual tradition, not alien to it. It is not therefore intended to follow the general development of Redon's art in regard to its relation to Far Eastern art. This chapter concerns solely the role of Japanese art in developing fantasy images in the West.

Both Redon and Rops produced work which has some "Japanese" qualities, though it is difficult to point to direct derivation of images or method in either case. The case of Redon is particularly controversial. Moreover both artists were working during the period when Japanese art was fully absorbed into the Western visual tradition, and this makes it very difficult to be precise range of sources available to them.

Despite these problems we may say that Japanese art acted as a vital catalyst to the creation of Western art that was concerned with fantasy as an aesthetic end. We may date this influence from around 1869 - with Crane's first work and Chesneau's lecture. It lasted until the end of the century through artists such as Beardsley.

It is interesting that the influence of the fantastic aspect of Japanese art came later - that of its naturalistic aspects. For the major weight of "fantastic" borrowings came after the mid-1870's. One would have expected that it would have been easier to take the more literal interpretation of Japanese art that fantasy required.

Moreover the emergence of J.K. Huysmans as a central figure in the championship of fantasy as a necessary artistic activity and his constant references to Japanese fantasy in relation to Western art serve to show what formal analogies could not, that Japanese art had formed an archetype in his mind and in that of others which could be used to define an aesthetic objective. That objective was the creation of a consistent, convincing fantasy.

As I indicated, this chapter is no more than a sketch, a pointer towards an enormous unexplored area of imagery in which the influence of Japanese art can scarcely be traced without documentation which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The culmination of the initial influence of the Japanese example in the West in the work of Vincent Van Gogh.

In the summer of 1888, Vincent Van Gogh wrote from Arles to his brother Theo;

In a way my work is founded on Japanese art....
Japanese art, decadent in its own country takes
root again among the French Impressionist artists.
It is its practical value for artists that
naturally interests me more than the trade in
Japanese things.

Theo had just informed him that he was thinking of breaking the brothers' relationship with S. Bing, the dealer in Japanese works of art, that the brothers had both known in Paris, because of a dispute over payment for part of their joint collection of Japanese prints. He was anxious that this should not happen.

Vincent's letters as a whole attest to his interest in and artistic involvement with Japanese art. It is clear from them that his artistic development sums up and transcends all that has previously been written in this thesis. In a few years Van Gogh experienced and resolved the contraditions in nineteenth century aesthetic attitudes and artistic traditions which the Japanese example had laid bare over the previous twenty-five years. He did this by drawing not only on the Japanese art available to him but also on current criticism of that art. on the myths about Japan current in Europe and on Western artistic images of Japan. To do full justice to his feat would require an entire thesis, since his letters provide an unparalleled documentation of an artist's development. This essay will concentrate on Van Gogh's relation to the current knowledge of Japanese art in the mid-1880's and on his achievements at Arles and this discussion will be limited to central aspects of his work. It will show that Van Gogh's perception of the Western tradition was completely changed by the Japanese example and that all his major innovations depended on it. In other words that Japanese art had a major role in creating one of the major examples

used by "modern" artists.

Paradoxically it is Van Gogh's place in the critical canon of the founders of Modernism which led to the underestimation of the role of the Far Eastern example in his development. The early defenders of Modernism were essentially concerned to assert the importance of the "revolutionary" forms of the new art and played down or ignored its roots in the nineteenth century. Since Van Gogh's use of the Japanese example was largely prompted, as we shall see, by the acceptance it had gained in the West by the mid-1880's and by its apparent aesthetic relations to earlier nineteenth century European art at that time, the Japanese contribution to Van Gogh's art was largely overlooked.

Roger Fry was one of the first critics to do this. In Transformations, he treats Van Gogh as a man searching for spiritual values who became a painter by accident. He is unable to account for the 'visually flawless' quality of the later paintings, 'the only explanation being Vincent's soul'. He denies that Vincent slowly perfected his art. contrasting him with Cezanne. This contrast is based on the way the individual art object was formed and ignores the repeated struggles with the same theme throughout Vincent's art. 1888 is treated as an 'annus mirabilis', the work without any precedent in art history. The only reference to oriental influences is a suggestion that the range of yellows in the 'Sunflower' paintings may have been influenced by eighteenth century Chinese art, and that it may have stimulated his interest in contour. Finally, he relates Van Gogh to the Fauves and the early years of the Modern Movement. This abstract formal link having been established, he sees him as an unsophisticated painter, a blatant anarchist whose importance is diminishing, like that of the Fauv es and for the same reason.

This opinion of Van Gogh was the model for much that followed.

Rewald's treatment is not so tendentious for his is a factual history. Unfortunately this leads to a dissociation of each aspect of

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Van Gogh's life from his art. Japanese art has its place, but it is only an incident which 'contributed greatly to his new artistic vocabulary'. The differences between Van Gogh's copies of Japanese prints and their originals are explained by 'greater freedom of expression and insistence on what was essential to him'. They are not examined in detail and the 'essential' is never defined. Rewald compares Van Gogh's calligraphic brushwork and drawings of the Arles period to oriental drawings and concludes that they do not have an 'oriental flavour'. This is defined by the terms 'elegant, fluid or deft'. Like Fry, Rewald cannot get beyond the 'morphological' aspect of art history and so he dismisses the oriental influence as unimportant. The idea that Vincent absorbed an Oriental art form into his own style while retaining its essence is impossible for him to accept.

Meyer Schapiro recognises that Japanese art played an important part in the change of style during the Paris period, but treat's 't only as an example which 'encouraged him to a radical break with the past'. He contrasts Van Gogh's art with Impressionism, ignoring Vincent's use of the term to refer to all modern artists, including himself. Schapiro is wrong when he says that Vincent copied prints by Hokusai; there is no evidence of this. He recognises that Japanese prints may have influenced choice of subject in the Arles period, for instance in the paintings of drawbridges. But his discussion is based on the 'morphological' account of Van Gogh's art in which a reaction to impressionism led Vincent to admire 'the precise silhouettes and flat pure colours in strong contrasts' of Japanese prints. Mark Roskill has recently made a more detailed discussion of the problem. However he is committed to a formal viewpoint and to treating all post-Impressionists as identical in development. He asserts that they all 'passed through Impressionism', as if this abstraction was a significant constant for each artist. In fact, as we have seen, it was a

a different phenomenon for each artist involved and in Van Gogh's case scarcely influential at all. A similar forced parallelism is used to show that Vincent's theoretical development was the same as Scurat's. This argument fails because Scurat did not begin with the poetic aim of Van Gogh but with phenomenonological attitudes. The similarity in their development is spurious, the structure of Van Gogh's paintings is totally alien to Scurat's architectonic forms. They could not possibly be by men whose artistic aims were closely related. In his treatment of Japanese art Roskill uses the contemporary terms 'Japonisme' and 'Japonaiserie' to which he attaches arbitrary meanings.

'Japonaiserie' is defined as the fascination with the external exotic elements and associations of Japanese art. It was closely allied with popular taste and fashion. This led to the incorporation of Japanese objects into paintings or to painting which used Japanese subject matter for its own sake.

'Japonisme' is the incorporation of elements of Japanese style into Western art. The notion of 'Western Art' is an abstraction which Roskill never attempts to explain. In fact contemporary critics tended to synthesise East and West as we have seen. Roskill avoids dealing with works like Manet's portrait of Zola in which both his "Japonisme" and his "Japonaiserie" can be seen.

Roskill uses the distinction to deny the central importance of Japanese art for Van Gogh's development by dismissing all examples before late 1888 as "Japonaiserie" and therefore peripheral to the changing form of Van Gogh's art. This is only a disguised form of the idealised 'morphological' account of Vincent's development proposed by Fry. Roskill even ignores the Japanese element in 'Boats at Saintes Marie' as it is unhelpful to his theory fitting neither Japonisme nor Japonaiserie.

Nor is there room in his theory for the idea that Vincent used

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Japanese art as the basis of a new formal and poetic synthesis. He dismisses Vincent's discussions of Japanese art as unoriginal by comparing them with texts from contemporary critics. He ignores Vincent's power to use other men's writings to express himself, or to identify with other men so completely that his art was influenced by their ideas. Vincent was in the habit of quoting from his reading throughout his letters, but his use of the quotation is always original.

I disagree with Roskill's detailed discussion as well as his general view that Vincent was not greatly influenced by Japanese art, but I will deal with this in the body of my essay. Like the other studies, I have mentioned Roskill is concerned to fit Van Gogh's development into an overall morphological description of post impressionism and in doing so distorts the significance of his art.

Finally I would like to mention H.R. Graetz's book The Symbolic Language of Vincent Van Gogh. Graetz, being concerned only with Symbolism, avoids making an artificial break based on formal developments during the Paris period. The priority of theme over form in Van Gogh's work is clearly emphasised and his development is seen as continuous. Formal transformations are seen as no more than an attempt to express themes more clearly.

Graetz's treatment of Van Gogh's letters, notably in connection with the 'Self-portrait as Bonze' points to the significance of Japanese art to Vincent.

To sum up, Van Gogh has nearly always been seen as a 'post Impressionist', an artist whose work was a reaction to Impressionism and a founder of modern art. This view was based on a formal criticism of his work which prevented the understanding of influences that were more complex than simple borrowings of form or motif. His art was primarily defined as 'not impressionist" and 'proto expressionist'.

My view of Van Gogh is the reverse. He was a traditional nineteenth century artist who made use of the discoveries of the Impressionists

and their successors to express fully the themes of Delacroix, Millet, Courbet, etc. At the heart of his art lies the dream of an earthly paradise in which imagination and reality become one through art.

This dream is alien to 'modern' art. In Japanese art he found the dream, apparently realised, and his commitment to it was absolute.

A full investigation of his relationship to Japanese art will therefore tell us a great deal about Van Gogh's own work.

Van Gogh first mentions having seen eastern art in a letter written to his friend Furnée, the land surveyor, with whom he had undertaken painting expeditions at Drenthe. The letter was written early in 1884 before January 20. Furnée was soon leaving for the Indies. Vincent mentioned that he has seen Chinese and Janapese art linking it to the art of Algeria and Egypt, which had fascinated the Romantics:

Many French painters and others have felt the advantage of going to Algeria or Egypt and I have the impression that the Indies will present similar effects to a certain extent.

Similarly, some painters went to China and Japan and I have seen excellent things from these countries.

He had therefore seen original eastern art before he arrived at Nuenen in December 1883. In my opinion he first saw it sometime before, perhaps in England in 1873-4 or more likely in Paris while he was working there for Goupils between May 1875 and April 1876, and the Japanese craze was at its height.

It is possible to relate some of his earlier work to certain models. Several aspects of the drawing "Sorrow" may be related to the image of the poetess Ko-Mati, reproduced in Felix Regamey, published in L'Art in an article by Burty in 1876, which Vincent probably saw.

By the time that he arrived in Antwerp in late November 1885 he already owned Japanese prints. He wrote to Theo that he had pinned them on his studio wall, and describes them;

little women's figures in gardens or on the beach, horsemen, flowers, knotty thorn branches.

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He was to pin up Japanese prints in his "studios" in Paris and Arles also.

Although we know that the Japanese example was influencing Vincent before his period in Paris in the mid-1880's, this influence remains problematical and it is only in 1886, when he returned there, that we can be sure of the influence of Japanese art on his work. He stayed in Paris until 1888 and the period is crucial. The crest of the initial wave of enthusiasm for Japanese art in Paris had just broken after the exhibition of Petit in 1883. Van Gogh arrived at the last possible time at which he could have picked up the strands of opinion and tradition which constituted this enthusiasm and which have been discussed at length in the body of this thesis. Unfortunately there is little correspondence during Vincent's two years in Paris, since he was living with his brother. However it is reasonable to assume that he absorbed the "realist" critical attitudes to Japanese art and the overestimation of Hokusai and nineteenth century Japanese artists in general. Indeed as we shall see. Van Gogh's borrowings from Japan can be completely accounted for by such artists. Japan was in the air.

within two months of Vincent's arrival in Paris, the popular magazine Paris Illustre devoted a whole issue to Japan and included illustrations of Japanese art. Vincent copied part of the cover of this magazine and the whole issue was found among his property at his death.

The problem of the Paris years is to describe as accurately as possible the place of Japanese art in the influences which Vincent met. To do this the place of the idea of Impressionism and the post-Impressionism of Seurat must be re-examined. Vincent wrote in late 1886 to his painter friend Lievens:

Since I saw the Impressionists I assure you that neither your colour theory nor mine, as it is developing, is exactly the same as their theories.

In the same letter he describes his paintings of flowers in which he tried to 'harmonise brutal extremes. Trying to render grey colours and not a harmony'. Vincent's ideas on colour were not Impressionist, and it was not Impressionism that gave him the impulse to lighten his palette, which may be traced back to Antwerp. The other inspiration for 'intense colour' available to him at that time was the Japanese print, theretoohe could find models for the landscapes 'frankly green, frankly blue' which he mentions. As for post-Impressionism, Vincent only met Seurat once, just before he left for Arles and though he often thought of his method 'did not follow it at all'.

Neither divisionism nor Impressionism could have provided Van Gogh with the language of design which he needed to create an imaginative synthesis from nature. They were both theories of optical naturalism; when Van Gogh mentions them he contrasts them with his own painting.

According to his friend Signarate was easier to make a cat into a race-

horse than to make Vincent into a neo-Impressionist.

It has been suggested that Van Gogh's brushwork was liberated by his experience of the Impressionist brushstroke and the divisionist dot. The control of the brush by a disciplined 'microstructure' may have been influenced by Impressionism, but I will argue that the 'microstructure' arose as a response to the discipline of an overall synthetic design, and was considerably influenced by Japanese prints. Van Gogh's later style was first of all a re-interpretation of Japanese prints in terms of oil technique.

It would be foolish to deny the influence of Impressionism and its successors on Van Gogh, but it is justifiable to question its central importance.

Moreover, I have shown above that, in practice "Impressionists" used many devices drawn from Far Eastern art. They did not work solely from the optical theory and aesthetic ideal which Vincent would have

come across in the 1880's. Vincent's admiration was reserved for the elements in their work which led to a synthetic rather than an optical aesthetic and these were, in general, derived from the Far East.

Vincent's personal contacts in Faris included several people who could have communicated current appreciation of Japanese art to him.

Amongst these was the critic Felix Feneon who was thinking of writing a book on Japanese prints in 1887 which was never finished.

A drawing by Lucien Pissarro shows Feneon and Van Cogh sitting together as in serious discussion.

In an article on the Impressionists in the weekly magazine Vogue in 1886, Feneon confused Impressionism with the aesthetic of Japanese art:

These reactions of visions, sudden perceptions of complementaries, this Japanese vision could not be expressed by means of the tenebrous sauces which were concocted on the palette.

This fallacy led Feneon to substitute 'perception of complement-aries' for the highly subtle colour systems of the Impressionists.

This abstract simplification of colour also affected Van Gogh. When he was 'seeking oppositions of blue with orange, red and green, yellow and violet' in his flower paintings of the winter of 1886-7, he was seeking the 'Japanese vision' of Feneon.

In March 1888 in Feneon's publication La Révue Indépendante, E. Dujardin wrote about the influence of Japonisme on the new art. For him representation was a chimera, symbolic conception was the point of departure in making a work of art. There was no need for a thousand details, one must fix the intimate reality by means of a minimum of lines and colours. The artist searched for the essential in the object which sprang from his relation to it.

Dujardin gives Japanese art and the cheap peasant prints of Epinal as examples of an art in which this process of simplification to what is essential in an object, produced good results.

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His description might be a manifesto for Van Coch's attitude to artistic creation. 'To seize the essential feature and reproduce, or even better, produce it' was Van Goch's aim in all his later painting and like Dujardin he always thought of this essence as a quality of nature revealed in its relationship to man, not as a universal truth upheld against nature by man's will. This is made clear by the letter in which he discusses the paintings of a portrait head, in which to fully express his model he becomes an arbitrary colorist, having begun with observation from nature.

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Fénéon and his colleagues saw in Japanese prints the linking of nature and the creative symbolic imagination. They must have convinced Van Gogh of this opinion. Another acquaintance in Paris was S. Bing, the dealer in oriental art and the proprietor of Bing's Gallery. The brothers collected and sold Japanese prints as a joint venture, taking them from Bing's stock under a special business arrangement. In Narch 1888 when he had just left Paris, Vincent wrote to his sister that they had hundreds in their possession. These are now in the Vincent Van Gogh Foundation's possession. Unfortunately I have been unable to inspect them. However I have been able to examine a small group of prints from the collection Dr. Gachet was given by Vincent and subsequently left to the Musee Guimet. They are all later nineteenth century prints of figure subjects, by Toyokuni, Kunichika and Yoshikazu.

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Theo also kept original Japanese paintings, drawings and objets d'art from Bing. Vincent spent a lot of time in the attic and cellar of 'Bing's House', where there were 'millions of prints piled up, landscapes and figures and old prints'. He particularly admired what he called the 'three hundred views of Fuji' by Hokusai which he later asked Theo to get for him. The Bing stock gave him a chance to look at a lot of Japanese work long and composedly.

Contrary to popular belief, Vincent examined and admired Eastern

art of all periods. Bing's connoisseurship allowed him to encourage Vincent to examine 'the excessively synthetic drawings of another period' which he was to be interested in later. Bing was not a critic capable of theorising about the aesthetic relevance of Japanese art for the Moderns so it is unlikely that his ideas had much direct influence on Vincent. When he wrote about Japanese art in the first issue of his publication Le Japon Artistique. Vincent rejected his text as 'a little dry'.

Others also benefited from Bing's shop, including Bernard and Anquetin two of Vincent's acquaintances. Vincent 'made Anquetin and Bernard' learn there. They were not in a position to teach him much about Japanese prints.

One painter, A. S. Hartrick, recorded his memory of a conversation with Van Gogh and a description of the flat where he lived with Theo:

I have been to the flat where he was living with his brother Theodore, 54, Rue Lepice. It was quite a comfortable one, even rather cluttered up with all kinds of furniture and works of art. On an easel was a yellow picture called "Romans Parisiens", the first of a series of yellow pictures. There he drew my attention especially to a number of what he called crepes, i.e. Japanese prints printed on crinkled paper like crepe. It was clear they interested him greatly and I was convinced from the way he talked that what he was aiming at in his own painting was to get a similar effect of little cast shadows in oil from roughness of surface, and this he finally achieved.

Hartrick's account shows that Vincent was consciously using Japanese prints as an example for his own work and that he regarded their 'practical value for artists' as central to his own work. Vincent was not interested in their value as curiosities.

Hartrick also indicates that Vincent was in no sense attempting to 'imitate' the form of the Japanese print but sought a similar effect while using the full possibilities of oil paint's roughness of surface. Hartrick's account is a flat contradition of those who admit Japanese influence in Vincent's work only when they see flat areas of paint.

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The elimination of cast shadow is a common factor in all Van Gogh's post-Taris painting; Hartrick's account shows that Japanese prints provided the inspiration for this.

Van Gogh used Japanese art to transform his own. Even in his copies of Japanese works in oils, alterations and experiments are always present. During his time in Paris he printed three 'copies' of Japanese prints and several paintings in which Japanese art figures are in the background. From these we can reconstruct their influence on him.

A picture of a woman in a cafe can be identified as a portrait I(123) of La Segatori, the owner of the cafe 'Le Tamborin'. It was painted earlier than the summer of 1887. In the background Japanese works of 22 art are sketched in on the wall.

Van Gogh organised an exhibition of Japanese prints at "Le Tamborin" which this painting records.

The painting is often compared to paintings of cafe scenes by Degas or Lautrec, but neither are helpful in explaining it. Degas may have supplied the subject matter but his paintings show a unity of figure and space that is not present in the Van Gogh. Lautrec's paintings are later, around 1890, and they depend on Japanese prints, which gave Van Gogh's portrait its visual image.

La Segorati, the table she is leaning on, and the two stools to either side of it form a surface pattern against the background, to which they are entirely unrelated. This duality of surface pattern and background is clear in the chairs to her left. The seats of these chairs are bright yellow and contribute to the rhythm of the surface pattern. The rest of the chairs are simply outlined against the grey of the background, their contour records their existence as a pattern, but does not assert their independent three-dimensional substance which would interfere with the flat pattern of the painting. Vincent has

also suppressed the transition from floor to wall completely, to avoid challenging the flatness of the overall composition. These devices are all taken from those Japanese prints which completely separate figure and ground to achieve a total unity in design. La Segatori is completely isolated from the background. In some places Van Gogh actually uses a contour line, for instance in her right arm and hand, to further flatten the design.

Some pointilliste dots can be seen on the painting but basically the brush strokes are determined by the design. They follow the rhythms imposed by the overall flat pattern, although not so freely as in later paintings.

Two paintings of the colour dealer and picture seller Fere Tanguy in front of a wall of Japanese prints were also made in early 1887.

According to Bernard. Vincent painted the first version in his presence, at Tanguy's where they may have met. It was finished in a day. Vincent then repainted the portrait a little later in his studio because Tanguy wished to keep it. It has always been assumed that the version in the Rodin museum which Rodin bought from Tanguy's daughter is the original and the version in the Niarchos collection is the one painter later, but I believe the reverse to be true.

The Niarchos version is much more sketchy, as one would expect from a painting finished in a day; its composition is also much looser. It shows a framed picture in the background as it should if painted I(125) at the picture dealer's house. The Rodin version gives the impression of a carefully calculated work, much better posed and finished. A study for this version survives; such a study would have been unnecessary if the painting had been done in a day. The background of the painting includes a version of the Oiran by Keisai Yeisen (see below) which Vincent had copied independently from a magazine cover. Its inclusion here must have been inspired by the sight of the independent

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I(12A) 246.

I(126)

copy in his studio, of which it is a simplified replica (see Key to Rodin illustration No.7). Vincent must have given Tanguy the copy.

None of the Japanese prints in the background are accurate copies of prints, neither are they attempts to imitate the material form of Japanese prints in oil paint; rather they are imaginative translations of the Japanese aesthetic into oils.

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They were more important to Van Gogh for themselves than for their value as attributes of Tanguy, the 'petty tradesman living close to nature' that he mentions in his later letters. They are exercises in understanding a foreign aesthetic, of value for their own sake. In both versions Pere Tanguy is completely isolated from the background by a clear contour which is the logical development of the composition of the portrait of 'La Segatori at Le Tamborin'. Tanguy has no mediating chair or table, only his flat patterned figure is seen against the background.

In the Niarchos version the body is rather large for the picture surface, Van Gogh has used separate contour lines all round the body in an attempt to give it great emphasis. He is clearly struggling to transform the image of a model before him into Japanese terms. Tanguy's jacket and trousers still show strong sculpturesque modelling. The broad stroke still has a lot in common with Antwerp painting.

In the Rodin version Pere Tanguy is well related to the picture plane; the problem of the contour has been solved without the use of arbitrary lines. His clothes are no longer strongly modelled, the brush strokes are disciplined into a flat pattern, which links them with the prints in the background. The aesthetic of the Japanese print has been fully transformed into oils. For Vincent the centre of this aesthetic was not the use of flat planes of colour with clearly delimited contours, but the identity of the medium with the represented image. Japanese prints show a tremendous range of graphic effects,

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appreciated by examining the designs of Hokusai which are often based not on contour but on the interactions of various graphic forms. The process of printing forced the designers of the prints to give immediate significance to each form and automatically identified colour exactly with each form. In some cases, the graphic form described a single object exactly - whether cloud, leaf, petal, flower or face. Like earlier artists, Van Gogh took this aesthetic of print and transferred it to the brush stroke of his oil technique but he made it independent of an illusory function such as modelling or lighting. His stroke relates only to the autonomous, two-dimensional structure of the picture plane and 'represents' objects only in its own terms. He wrote later than a painting was successful when the representation of an object and the means of representing it are identical.

The prints in the background of the Niarchos version show the first impact of the new aesthetic on Van Gogh's art. The broad brush strokes liberated from the need to imitate modelling and light, become expressive entities, identical with the images they make up. The flowers on the lower left show the identity of the form of the flower with the coloured mark made by the brush. The landscape in the middle right shows a similar quality. Some attempt to unify the prints is made by including the red of Tanguy's contour in each one. In general however the Niarchos version still shows Vincent struggling to understand the significance of the Japanese print for his own art.

In the Rodin version the print and oil aesthetics are much closer, particularly in the landscape in the upper right hand corner which would almost be a painting of the Arles period. Individual brush strokes are clearly visible within the forms of the landscape. They follow the shapes of the bank but without losing their independence of form and colour. The painting of the background of the second version of the

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Tanguy portrait was used by Wincent to come to a full understanding of Japanese art in terms of his own painting.

In doing so he discovered the possibility of art independent of the need to imitate the visual qualities of nature and yet disciplined to it. He discovered that colour and form could be used with reference only to the picture plane and the medium in which they were embodied without the loss of commit ment to nature. Indeed by making design an internal quality of the art object the poetic expression of man's relation to nature was made easier. Van Cogh's development has much in common with Cezanne's; in some ways he is much closer to Cezanne than he is to Gauguin. While Cezanne made his discovery by constant work and intellectualisation of his experiences. Van Gogh's was suggested to him by Japanese prints and his art in consequence is much closer to natural forms. While Cezanne sought harmony parallel to nature, Van Gogh attempted to fuse nature and art into one magic creation. It was only with the help of the disciplined language of design of the Japanese print that this attempt was successful. Van Gogh constantly refers to his difficulty in separating nature and art and to his desire that his paintings should live. Japanese art provided him with the means to unite 29 them without yielding to chaos.

Van Gogh made three free copies of Japanese prints during his time in Paris.

A bridge in the rain with men crossing it is a fairly exact copy of a Hiroshige print. However, Van Gogh has created round it an inverted frame of green with red characters, to which he has banished I(127) the cartouche, leaving the print as a visual unity in the western The water and sky show modulated brushstrokes not derived from the original print. The unnatural line of the horizon, the bridge and its occupants are exact copies of the original. Van Gogh's intense interest in the exact manner of the depiction of the figures is important for his later representation of figures in landscapes. They are seen as human entities, not as vague impressions indistinct from nature. Their humanity alone gives reality to the bridge and the rain. For the Japanese and for Van Gogh there is "always something of a figure" in landscape. Despite its close relation to its original, the copy is of personal significance to Van Gogh.

A painting of a flowering plum tree is a copy of a Hiroshige. In I(128) this case the tracing with which the copy was made survives and the

Japanese inscriptions in the frame can sometimes be read. Yet the picture still has personal significance.

Van Gogh emphasises the blossom by the use of a carefully modulated impact. He intensifies their preciosity. He knew they were symbolic of a new life, of fertility, from the article in L'Art of 1885 on the poetess Ko-Mati by Ph. Burty or a similar source. This is probably what attracted him to the print. The people walking along the fence in the distance are also a personal interpretation. Their bright yellow clothes emphasise their presence in a manner unlike the original print. They are of human interest, like the strollers in western boulevards. One identifies with their action of walking along under trees and in doing so one enters the landscape.

The presentation of space by means of a network of overlapping patterns in this case of trees, is often found in Van Gorh's later paintings, as is the explicit emphasis of contour and outlines in vegetation. The process of tracing may have been suggested to Van Gogh by contemporary descriptions of how Japanese prints were transferred from the master's drawing to the block engravers, such as that by Louis Gonse in L'Art Japonais. He used it again in a third 'copy', I(129) the centre of which was copied from a magazine cover, by means of I(130) tracing which was then enlarged by being squared over.

As in the Pere Tanguy paintings Vincent simplifies the form of the

print to fit the oil technique. The pattern of the collar is simply enlarged but the drapery of the torso is turned into a pattern of freely placed brush strokes. This copy has the quality of free interpretations that we see in the background paintings of the Pere Tanguy portraits where it appears once again in the Rodin version. From the description given by La Faille their colours are the same. I am inclined to date the Oiran with the Tanguy portraits in the first half of 1887. The magazine cover is basically a black engraving with some coloured tints in blue, green, red and yellow. Van Gogh has ignored this and treated the form directly in bright colours.

Even in these three copies Van Gogh has reacted to Japanese art in his own terms, learning from it how to create his own style. They were all made in early 1887, at the same time as the other works which show his interest in Japanese prints.

I(131)

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print in the upper right hand corner. It is in a very broad style.

In 1888 Vincent painted a self-portrait with a Japanese actor

The face itself shows a characteristic Japanese effect; the eyes appear as if from a full frontal position while the other features are given a three-quarter profile. Oullines are used round the nose and eyes and the dome of the head is exaggerated as in Japanese prints.

The painting corroborates Bernard's description of the oriental decorations in Van Gogh's flat. Since every element in a Van Gogh portrait has a symbolic meaning, we must assume that Japanese prints had as great an importance for Vincent at the end of the Paris period as at the beginning. For he associates himself with no other art in this way.

The direct evidence of Vincent's contact with Japanese art suggests that he went through a period of intense interest in it in late 1886 and early 1887 and that for the remainder of his time in Paris he was more concerned with realizing its importance for his own art. The

paintings he did during this period show considerable Japanese influence.

However, impressionism had taken elements of its design from Japanese art and all Van Gogh's contemporaries were interested in it. It is therefore essential to show that he was directly influenced by Japanese prints and did not simply absorb features of Japanese design from the styles he saw around him. No other post-Impressionist copied Japanese prints, nor venerated the Japanese in the manner of Van Gogh. So we have good reason to assume direct interest in the prints themselves. We also have his testimony that he made Bernard and Anquetin look at the prints in Bing's.

During 1886-7 Van Gogh painted a series of flower paintings. He wrote to his sister in the autumn of 1887:

Last year I painted a long series of flowers in order to get accustomed to using a scale of colours other than grey - namely pink, soft and vivid green, light blue, violet, yellow, orange, rich red.

He compared one of them with 'Japanese lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl', they were 'lilies white, pink, green against black'.

This particular painting is unidentifiable; however Van Gogh's remark shows that he was using eastern art to help with his 'gymnastics' in rendering a harmony of intense colour.

There are interpretations of Japanese flower prints in the backgrounds of the portraits of Pere Tanguy, which show Vincent's interest in Japanese flower prints. They are handled in simple bright colours, such as he declared to be his aim in the letters.

The two Paris period flower paintings which can be identified from the letters show the influence of Japanese prints.

The painting of "orange tiger lilies" is often related to pointillist techniques. In fact the pointillism is restricted to the blue background; it is used to enliven the blue, by pattern and by contrast, not by optical mixture. It does not create an atmosphere

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I(132)

The flowers themselves are seen as objects identical with the brushstrokes that make them up, just as the impression of the Japanese wood
block is identical with the form of the flower it represents. Even their
stamens have been carefully observed and given individual brushstrokes
for each form. The effect is of a heightened perception achieved through
contemplation, not the generalised reconstruction of a phenomenon of
light through which that deception was achieved.

As in many of the flower paintings the vase seems slightly out of place. The two flowers on the left have only a decorative relationship with it. They exist as patterns of paint on the picture plane, their scroll like stalks were not made to support them.

Vases hardly ever appear in Japanese flower prints; their designers preferred to spread their flowers in a decorative arrangement across the surface of the print, often suggesting that they were still growing.

Hokusai's flower prints provide good examples of this, and they were 38 widely known at the time.

In another flower painting the vase has shrunk ridiculously and I(134)

enormous white, pink and red flowers float before a green background.

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Vincent's friend, Van Bonger, remonstrated with him for painting these "flat" flower pictures but was unable to get him to agree to his error. The flatness was not perceived by Vincent because he was in a period of transition from the academic, western technique of his earlier work to the work of the Arles period which was to be dominated by the Far Eastern example. His struggle to reconcile the three-dimensional wase and its automatic central point of vision with the independence of the individual flowers on the picture plane is evidence of this.

Eventually Vincent did achieve a satisfactory two dimensional synthesis in one flower painting, which may be compared with part of the background from the Rodin version of the Portrait of Pere Tanguy. It anticipates I(135) the paintings of sunflowers made at Arles.

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The subject of flowers was almost certainly suggested to Vincent by Japanese prints. Other subjects, like a painting showing prawns I(136) swimming among weed, may also have been suggested in this way. The convention of representing the prawns as actually in the sea comes from Japanese prints such as Hiroshige's famous 'Prawn and Horse Mackerel'.

A drawing of a prawn was used as a margin decoration on the page of Paris Illustree, from which Vincenttook the bamboo motif for the frame of the Oiran.

The Paris "landscape" paintings also contain many Japanese elements.

In a 'View of Monmartre', in Chicago, the balance of the repeated shapes I(137) of the lamps on the left against the solid mass of the ruddy orange

43 observation platform parallel to the picture plane on the right is derived from a Japanese approach to space. The two elements are related across the flat greenish white of the picture plane. The sky is identical in hue and tone to the foreground of the road; this isolates the pictorial elements as in a Japanese print where the picture plane is neutral, representing nothing but itself. Objects and motifs relate through this neutral plane. The use of recessional angle, without reference to any fixed pictorial centre, is common in Japanese prints.

The recessional in this painting is used in the Japanese manner.

Similar "Japanese" qualities can be seen in "A Corner of Montmartre". Road and sky seem made of the same neutral stuff. The
patterned two-dimensional recession of the road is very like Hiroshige's
Tokaido road prints. Contour lines are also used and the figures have
the appearance of figures in Japanese prints. They are symbols of
human life and activity. The girl and small child on the right show a
close human relationship in a gesture that neo-impressionism could never
have presented. They even have outlines like Japanese figures.

Brushwork in Van Gogh's landscapes is a special problem. In landscape the brushstroke cannot be identical with the individual forms

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that are perceived, for the forms are too numerous. Instead, Van Gogh's brushstroke takes on an expressive quality which makes up by its independent formal strength for the inability to totally represent man's experience of nature.

The transition comes in paintings such as 'The Wheatfield' in I(138) which the brushstrokes which indicate the green wheat and yellow stubble form a pattern like iron filings in the poles of a magnet.

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Their expressive power is still coincident with the identity each stroke has with the image of a stalk of wheat or stubble or a poppy-flower. In the background of the Rodin version of Pere Tanguy, in the landscape in the upper right-hand corner, some brush strokes can be seen independent of a particular form. Instead they follow the rhythm of the composition made by the landscape. Their expressive quality comes from their attempt to conform to the design on the picture plane.

This brushstroke can be seen in the series of the views of Paris.

Even in such paintings as 'The Restaurant de la Sirène' the brush strokes are arranged in conformity with the tensions created on the picture plane by the design. The end wall of the restaurant's upper storey shows strong green and brown horizontal strokes, which relate to the suggested mass of the building and to the contour of the wall. At the same time the strokes refuse to be identified with the bricks on the wall.

The stroke becomes even more independent of the individual forms I(139) in other views of Paris. In the painting 'Fields at Montmartre', that 48 is illustrated, the composition depends on the pattern of independent brush strokes for its unity. They link trees, fences and buildings with a consistent expression of common energy. Their role in the foreground is especially striking. They exist in an area of blank canvas and represent reality by an unconscious inductive process. Like the lines in Cezanne's late water colours, their interrelationship parallels

reality. Hokusai's landscape prints use graphic marks in a similar way.

In 'Fuji from Umedawa in the Soshu Province', from the thirty-six I(140) views of Fuji, the hills have on them a series of dots which may rep- 49 resent vegetation, or stone, or nothing at all. They function as modulators of the forms of the hills, which they affect by their relative sixe and distance in relation to each other and the contours of the hills. A two-dimensional pattern in a three-dimensional space, but without illusion. These dots are the equivalent of Van Gogh's free brush mark in their ambiguity and their modulation of space. He was clearly influenced by Japanese prints in adopting this form of brush stroke.

Bing's attitude to Hokusai may have influenced Vincent in his simplification of form in landscape. Lecturing on the "36 Views of Fuji", he stated -

His dream is a lurid one, a vision that results in the transfiguration, not the travesty of Nature. He brings out all that is characteristic and significant of her various moods. The eternal truth and beauty of Creation are made clear by simplification; all petty detail is suppressed and only the essence glorified; the essence that is, as he conceives at the time. Such is the high conception of the landscape painter's art which inspires Hokusai in his work.

Discussing Hokusai's use of colour, Bing declared -

In the Fu-gaku colour is likewise an important feature. But neither colour nor drawing is used to slavishly copy the superficial aspect of things. More strongly still then drawing is colour applied to accentuate the characteristics that are to be expressed; yet while the different shades of blue, russet, green, rose or brilliant red are freely used and oftentimes prevail, the tints are always in perfect keeping and harmoniously effective. The warmth is intense or subdued according as the colour clothes the slopes of the mountain at noonday or in the mysterious twilight hour, with its tender vibrations; according as the impression sought to be rendered is mournful or bright it is always in keeping with the atmosphere or reason. .

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procedures as he described them in the letters from Arles. Also they relate very closely to the works just discussed. Bing's ideas about Japanese art clearly influenced Van Gogh's conception of his own art.

A view of the street shows that the two types of brush stroke which 52 we may call the 'image identified' and the 'graphic inductive' can be I(141) used together in one painting, just as the two functions are combined in Japanese prints. The strokes on the buildings and casks are image identified, while those in the road and sky are graphic inductive. The strokes unify the whole picture plane, of themselves, by presenting a coherent sub-structure despite their separate functions. In his essay 'The Reaction against Impressionism' Novotny sees impressionism as the *seedbed for a breakthrough into pure form'. He argues that the pattern of brush strokes found in impressionism was used by both Van Gogh and I(142)Cezanne and incorporated into a composition based on large areas of canvas with precise silhouettes. He adds that Van Gogh's colour is derived from divisionism. This does not help to explain the unique forms of Van Gogh's art, so different from Gauguin's for instance. The importance of the idea of impressionism for Van Gogh has been exaggerated. Both elements of Novotny's dual reaction to impressionism can be derived from Japanese prints.

For Van Gogh the way of 'constructing with small units' was a means through which to achieve the unity of form and content that he found in Japanese prints. The large surface areas and distinct contours in his work are also derived from Japanese prints, but their role is less significant than Novotny suggests. There is considerable evidence of Van Gogh's intense interest in Japanese prints and little for his direct interest in impressionism. Van Gogh never copied an impressionist painting although they must always have been available to him in Paris, from Theo who dealt in them at Goupil's. As we have seen, contemporary criticism emphasised the variety and painterly qualities of the Japanese

print and may have helped Vincent in his transformation of its aesthetic into oil paints. Louis Gonse, for instance, wrote:

Le graveur japonais arrive par des moyens très simples, presque primitif, mais ou la tour de la main conserve toute sa valeur, à des tons lavés degradés, estompés, rompus, à des chatoiements et des gaietés de coloris que le coup de pinceau semble seul pouvoir exprimer.

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The idea that Japanese prints were no more than flat plains of colour with decorative outlines had not yet become fixed in criticism.

Japanese influences can also be identified in Van Gogh's portraits made in Paris. Essentially they show a change from an anatomically based account of the features to a "character" based portrait using arbitrary contour and fres brushstrokes.

In 1888, just before he left Paris, Vincent painted a self-portrait before the easel, in which all the "Japanese" devices which he had I(21) learned were applied. The exaggerated contour of the head is extremely important to the composition. The ear looks as if it belongs to a profile portrait, while the nostrils and eyes are seen face on. The 'cut-off' views of the palette and easel are placed on the picture plane in the manner of clothes and accessories in the prints of portrait heads such as those in the background of the portraits of Pere Tanguy.

During his stay in Paris, particularly in the winter of 1886-87, it is clear that Vincent was deeply involved in studying the Far Eastern example and Western ideas about it.

From these he learnt that a work of art is in itself a part of nature as well as a symbol or reflection of man's experience of nature as a whole. This discovery is the motivation behind all the formal innovations that I have discussed. I hope to show in a later section that it offered the solution to the artistic problems that Van Gogh was involved in before he came to Paris and which he inherited from the earlier nineteenth century masters. Millet and Delacroix may be taken

as examples of the two poles which Van Gogh united in his art.

Millet's attempt to make a poetic statement through an illusion—
istic style fails to work as a whole. The 'Angelus' for instance,
appears as an uncomfortable setpiece, an idealised proposition about
peasant life rather than an attempt to enter into it through the
imagination. The 'spiritual' is treated as an external idea, it clashes
with illusion in the painting.

In Delacroix, on the other hand, the spirit overcomes illusion. But in doing so the link between the imagination and 'reality' is almost severed. Only the strength of his will saves the 'Death of Sardanapalus' from becoming a pantomime fantasy, extravagant beyond the means or requirements of human experience. In both Millet and Delacroix there is an attempt to make the western pictorial illusionism carry a 'spiritual' meaning. As we have seen, the Far Eastern example was accepted by Western artists in the 1860's as a key to the resolution of the impasse in Western tradition. The problems of Millet and Delacroix were a major part and are indicative of the growing division between 'reality' and 'the imagination' in art in the later nineteenth century. It was their apparent ability to reconcile these two aspects of a work of art in a harmonious whole which attracted Van Gogh to Japanese prints. As we have seen, this was a major theme of nearly all enthusiastic critics of Japanese art in the 1870's. In particular this was true of Duret, Duranty, Burty and other critics associated with the realist and naturalist cause.

Before examining Van Gogh's use of Japanese art at Arles I intend to discuss his theoretical and critical attitudes to it and his sources of information about it. The letters contain much general discussion of this question. They show clearly how the build up of information and attitudes to Japanese art over the previous twenty years contributed to his development.

source that he indisputably read was the special issue of <u>Paris Illustre</u> of May 1st, 1886, entitled 'Le Japon' with many illustrations of Japanese art and a text by Tadamasa Hayashi, one of the leading connoisseurs of Japanese art in Paris, which included a brief note on art.

Hayashi sees Japanese art as much closer to nature than Chinese art from which it originated, 'charmant et plein de verve'. However, far from imitating nature it relates it to poetic fantasy and this relationship is expressed in the mysterious universal language of art.

He recommends making a collection of Japanese prints as the best way of studying Japanese art. As we have seen, Vincent took his advice at once and bought a great deal from Bing.

His most important remark is;

La peinture Japonais, quoique ayant une methode incomplète, a su revivre.... a la fois nature et l'imagination.

To revive nature and the imagination simultaneously had been Van Gogh's aim for some time. He had written to Theo from Nuenen, advising his brother to give up his job at Goupil's and become a painter, comparing his brother's position with his own, years before, when he was at Goupil's:

There were days when I could not see anything in the most beautiful landscape, just because I did not feel myself part of it. It is the street and the office and the care of the nerves that make it so. Do not be angry with me when I say that at the moment your soul is sick — it is true you know. It is not right for you not to feel yourself a part of nature, I think the most important thing is to restore that.

Vincent's restorative was the remedy which he himself had taken:

Try to redress if you cannot do it at once the relation between yourself and nature and people, and if it cannot be done any other way than by your becoming a painter, well then do so.

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As Van Gogh become a painter himself to redress the balance between nature and people it is certain that he would be deeply interested in

an art which the critics claimed achieved this by means of the imagination.

Hayashi was not alone in his estimation of Japanese art. As early as 1880, E. Vernon in a revue of <u>Promenades Japonaises - Tokio Nikko</u>, had written that the Japanese were 'pantheiste et gai' and that their art was saved from all error by the reserve and respect given to it by their adoration of nature. At the same time every Japanese work of art was 'a hieroglyph full of symbolism', not consciously added to it but contained within nature.

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Hayashi recommends the reader to Gonse's book L'Art Japonais if he wished to gain greated knowledge on Japanese art and in that also we find the idea that Japanese art was both poetic and realistic.

For instance, writing about the painter Ippo de Kioto, Gonse says;

Son réalisme est celui des gens comme il faut, il est assaisonné de sentiment et de poesie.

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L. Blanc du Vernet wrote that:

L'art japonais, qui a interpreté avec serenité la beauté que revêt la vie sureté de la nature n'a rien à demêler, comme on le croit communement avec ses créations terrifiant.

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The 'terrifying creations' were the works of the impressionists.

While accepting the similarity of their use of colour, Du Vernet wrote of impressionism - 'le pinceau s'arrete au moment ou la difficulté commence'. This moment was the time when spiritual values entered into the painting. Only in Japanese art was'l'impressionism@vibrante et spirituelle' to be found, it was imaginative and methodic, having escaped the servile imitation of nature found in Chinese art. As we have seen Du Vernet is not an isolated reactionary. For although in 1880 Japanese art was the 'prop of impressionism' and critics, following Duranty, had almost assimilated the two, by 1888 when Feneon wrote in the Revue Independante he gave Japanese prints as an example of Symbolism and denounced the representation of nature.

Van Gogh's letters are confusing on this point, for he constantly identifies the impressionists with the Japanese. However, he clearly means painters of his own generation, for he refers to one of his self-portraits as a portrait of 'an impressionist in general'. He saw contemporary artists as carrying on the work of Japanese art which was decadent in its own country.

In a letter of September 1888 to his sister we meet the theory that Japanese art was basically a matter of looking at nature, as Duranty had suggested;

For my part I don't need Japanese pictures here, for I am always telling myself that here I am in Japan. Which means that I only have to open my eyes and paint what is right in front of me if I think it effective.

But at the same time he considered the spiritual content of Japanese art important; the Japanese taught a 'true religion' they lived in
nature 'as though they were flowers'. Van Gogh accepted both critical
aspects of Japanese art - the naturalist and the symbolist, because his
own art was a resolution of the conflict between the two, a simultaneous
revival of the imagination and nature.

The two remaining sources that are definitely linked to him are recorded in the letters from Arles.

The first is the magazine, <u>Le Japon Artistique</u>, published by S.

Bing from 1888-1891. His friend Milliet brought back the early issues

from Paris after his visit there in mid-August, 1868. Milliet pre
sumably returned south early in September. He received all four issues

published to that date.

The magazine consisted of a single text each week by an authority on a particular aspect of Japanese art, with black and white margin illustrations and a series of colour plates bound at the end of each issue. These were intended to be treated as fine art prints; Vincent did so, detaching them from it. Bing wrote the text to the first issue and notes to the plates of issues One and Two.

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Van Gogh was dissatisfied with the text by Bing. He wrote that it was 'rather dry and leaves something to be desired, he says there is a great individual art, but though he gives a few scraps of it he gives no real impression of the character of that art.'

Bing, like others, was reducing his earlier high esteem of nineteenth century prints which he now saw as mere shadows of the earlier great masters of Japanese art. But for Van Gogh the 'prints at five sous' were admirable 'for the same reason as Rubens and Veronese who had also been considered in bad taste'.

One passage in Bing's article drew an important statement from Van Gogh. It is about the minute attention to detail of the Japanese artist which is seen in balance with the attitude of 'an enthusiastic poet moved by the spectacle of nature'. According to Bing for the Japanese artist:

Nothing exists in the universe, be it only a blade of grass, that is not worthy of a place in the loftiest conception of art.

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Vincent synthesised this passage with his current reading of Tolstoy's My Religion to assert that Tolstoy's inner spiritual revolution would be possible in art by a return to nature through a study of the Japanese aesthetic.

Like Tolstoy's religion with no name this study would accomplish the salvation of man from his alienated state, would 'make life possible'.

Vincent wrote:

In the end we shall have had enough of cynicism and scepticism and humbug, and we shall want to live more musically. How will that come about, and what will we really find? It would be more interesting to prophesy, but it is even better to be able to feel that kind of foreshadowing, instead of seeing absolutely nothing in the future beyond the disasters that are all the same bound to strike the modern world and civilisation like terrible lightning, through a revolution or a war, or the bankruptcy of worm-eaten states. If we study Japanese art we see a man who is undoubtedly wise, philosophic and intelligent who spends his time doing what? In studying the distance

between the earth and the moon? No. In studying Bismark's policy? No. He studies a single blade of grass.

But this blade of grass leads him to draw every plant and then the seasons, the wide aspects of the countryside then, animals, then the human figure. So he passes his life and life is too short to do the whole.

Come now, isn't it almost a true religion which these simple Japanese teach us, who live in nature as though they themselves were flowers.

As you cannot study Japanese art it seems to me, without becoming much happier and gayer, and we must return to nature in spite of our education and our way of work in a world of convention.

This passage is much more than a 'borrowed formulation'. It is a 66 unique synthesis, expressing precisely the importance of nature to the spiritual power of a work of art. The blade of grass became a symbol of the poetic intimacy with nature by which Vincent hoped to 'make life possible'. It appears in several pictures and he had it with him when he was at Sainte Remy. Other illustrations from the magazine had a 67 direct effect on Vincent's painting; these will be discussed below.

The other source is the novel Madame Chrysantheme by Pierre Loti, which Van Gogh read in the illustrated version published in 1888 with illustrations in drawing and water colour by artists Rossi and Myrbach. 68 The novel belonged to Milliet, his friend, who later exchanged it with Gauguin for a drawing. Van Gogh read it in June 1888. It tells the story of a European traveller who spends a season in Japan, acquires a mistress and takes part in Japanese life. Its descriptions are the literary equivalent of Japanese prints and incorporate much of contemporary opinion on Japanese life and culture. Watteau is cited as the artist most capable of portraying Japanese life (following the Goncourts). There is much stress on genre scenes, such as the drawings of birds by M. Sucre. The novel confirmed Vincent in his opinion of the Japanese as a nation in which art and nature had not lost their relevance. But he took only specific pieces of information from it.

He wrote;

It gave me the impression that the real Japanese have nothing on their walls, that description of the cloister or pagoda where there was nothing (the drawings and curiosities all being hidden away in the drawers).

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This description influenced his indoor working method so that he worked in 'a bare room, four white walls and red paved floor' and recommended that Theo should look at his work in the same conditions, including a window open to the views of nature, as those described in Madame Chrysanthem? This was a radical departure from his usual 70. practice of pinning a clutter of prints on his studio walls and was not permanent, but it indicates that he was concerned to identify personally as closely as possible with Japanese artists. Other forms of identification were more permanent. He tried to see his subject matter as a Japanese. He refers to a portrait of a young girl as 'a mousme' and to a self-portrait as a 'bonze', a worshipper of the eternal 71 buddha.

A description of the shorthand drawing method of M. Suere may have influenced his ideas about drawing. He combined it with Bing's remark about the neatness of Japanese drawing and descriptions such as that made by Gonse in L'Art Japonais:

72

I envy the Japanese the extreme clearness which everything has in their work. It is never tedious and never seems to be done too hurriedly; their work is as simple as breathing and they do a figure in a few sure strokes...what I am after is that in a few strokes the figure of a man, a woman, a child, a horse, a dog, shall have a head, a body, legs, all in the right proportion.

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This graphic shorthand became an aim both in his pictures and in his drawings and it went hand-in-hand with the two types of free brush strokes discussed in the previous section, though particularly with the 'image identified' variety.

One of the most important abstract ideas that Van Gogh used was the thesis that harmony in life and art is built on simple contrasts which

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complement each other.

He seized on a description of Japanese food in Madame Chrysartheme to help him expound this principal in relation to the hanging of his paintings of sunflowers 'in the Japanese manner'.

He wrote;

You know that the Japanese instinctively seek contrasts - sweetened spices, salted candy, fried ices and iced fried things. So it follows according to the same system that in a big room there should be very small pictures and in a very little room one should hang very large ones.

The theory of 'contrast' as Vincent used it applied to all aspects of a work of art - its form, symbolism, and colour. It is beyond the scope of this essay to discuss its importance as a theory. However, it is important to realise that he always turned to Japanese art in support of it. He admitted black and white as a simultaneous colour contrast and offered as justification its use in Japanese art. Vincent first used it in this way in his description of the docks at Antwerp in 1885, where 'Japonaiserie' means a scene with many contrasts.

From Van Gogh's treatment of source material on Japanese art it is clear that he made use only of those ideas which were of help in clarifying his own artistic problems.

However these problems were closely related to the contemporary critical view of Japanese art, having as their basis the relationship of nature and the imagination within the work of art.

Van Gogh's letters from Arles also show several significant themes for which there is no specific source but which clearly derive from contemporary criticism.

Vincent left Paris for Arles because he thought that it would be more like Japan, being more sunny and further south. He sought a country in which nature coincided, by accident, with the workings of the imagination. In a letter to Gauguin he recalled looking from the train to see 'whether it was like Japan yet'. 'Japan' for Vincent meant

Japanese art. When he first arrived in Arles he noted that the winter landscapes looked just like Japanese paintings. 'But, old boy, you 77 know, I feel as though I were in Japan - and I say no more than that', he wrote to Theo. As we have seen, the notion that the climate of Japan influenced the sight of Japanese artists and allowed their clear perception of nature is derived from the critical assimilation of Japanese art and impressionism in the seventies, earlier expressed by Duranty.

In 1880 Blanc du Vernet, while taking the opposite view of Japanese art to Duranty also offered the climatic thesis for its form:

Bien avant nos impressionists, ils ont constaté que le soleil refleté par les objets lent à force de clarté, à les ramener à cette unité que fond les sept rayons prismatiques en un seul état incolorsé qui est la lumière.

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Van Gogh knew this idea and felt that somehow a bright sunny climate would help him attain his deal, as it had helped the Japanese.

But for him it was not the change in external stimuli making possible the rendering of 'clear flat tones' that was important. For him there must be a new climate for the artist's soul as well as his eyes.

During his visit to Sainte Maries in the summer of 1888, he wrote;

About this staying on in the south, even if it is more expensive, consider; we like Japanese painting, we have felt its influence, all the impressionists have that in common; then why not go to Japan, that is to say the equivalent of Japan, the south. Only it's bad policy to stay here alone, when two or three could help each other to live cheaply.

I wish you could spend more time here, you would feel it after a while, one's sight changes, you see things with an eye more Japanese, you feel colour differently. The Japanese draw more quickly, like lightning, because their nerves are finer, their feeling simpler.

I am convinced that I shall set my individuality free by staying here.

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The move to the south was much more than a search for 'clear flat tones', it was a search for 'the painter's paradise, absolute Japan'.

Vincent strove to identify himself, his surroundings, and his art as closely as possible with what he knew of Japan. It was a spiritual

change which he sought, a new religion almost, not an unnatural formal vocabulary but a harmony between nature and the imagination:

Here my life will become more and more like a Japanese painter's, living close to nature like a petty tradesman. And that you well know is a less lugubrious affair than the decadents' way.

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The idea of Japanese artists as simple artisans was common in criticism of the time. Duret, in his essay L'Art Japonais, describes the 82 Japanese artist as a humble artisan, indistinguishable from the ordinary worker and states that they earned little money. Van Cogh found it easy to identify with such a description.

He also found an echo of his own idea of an artist's co-operative in the life of Japanese artists; he wrote -

For a long time I have thought it touching that Japanese artists used to exchange works among themselves very often. It certainly proved they liked and upheld each other, and that there reigned a certain harmony among them and that they were living in a fraternal community quite naturally and not in intrigues. The more we are like them the better it will be for us. It also appears that the Japanese earned very little money and lived like simple workmen.

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He had dreamed of a such a relationship himself, in particular with Van Rappard and his brother before Paris, and with Gauguin at Arles where he hoped a school of artists would develop. The dream was fulfilled in Japan. Not only were the Japanese reconciled to nature, but also to each other, just as Vincent had written to Theo from Nuenen:

Try to redress, if you cannot do it at once, the relationship between yourself and nature and people.

In imitation of the Japanese system of exchanging paintings between artists he exchanged works with Gauguin, Bernard and Laval amongst others. 85

Behind these comments lies a radical change in the idea of the artist. Van Gogh is the first great artist in the west to treat himself as an anonymous part of the creative whole, of nature and society. This break is as important in its own way for the future of art as his renun-

ciation of perspective and three-dimensional illusion. Indeed it is an inevitable corollary of it. Van Gogh has often been misrepresented as a lonely genius struggling against society to express his own ego, much like Michelangelo. Nothing could be further from the truth. Japanese art led him to a negation of self that is almost Buddhist:

I have a terrible lucidity at moments, these days, when nature is so beautiful, I am not conscious of myself anymore and the picture comes to me as in a dream.

The escape into paradise inevitably involves the loss of the self of western man and the restoration of the unity of his imagination with nature.

Nothing is known of how much Van Gogh knew of Buddhism but since he knew the Japanese work of Felix Regamey it is likely that he knew something of it.

In 1883 he mentioned having seen "reproductions" of Japanese Art by Felix Regamey, presumably referring to the illustrations for ih.

Burty's articles in L'Art in 1875. Regamey's work may have had an important role in forming Van Gogh's conception of Japan.

Van Gogh often identified Japanese art with western artists whom he thought important. He sought the same qualities in both. Stimulated by the descriptions of bare rooms in Madame Chrysanthemen, he came to appreciate the early 'excessively synthetic' Japanese drawings, as standing in the same relationship to nineteenth century prints as Millet to Monticelli. He argued that it was time that this 'sobye' quality be recognised.

In a letter to Theo he compareda Delacroix to a Hokusai:

When Paul Mantz saw at the exhibition the violent and inspired sketch that we saw at the Champs Elysees, the 'Bark of Christ', he turned away from it, exclaiming 'I did not know that one could be so terrible with a little blue and green'.

Hokusai wrings the same cry from you, but he does it by his line, by his drawing, just as you say in your letter, the waves are claws and the ship is caught in them. you feel it. I(142

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In both works Van Gogh looked for the 'emotion of ardent temperament'. The emphasis often given to the distinction he makes between line and colour is entirely unjustified. Both means were equally valid to him, and elsewhere he claims that Japanese art is the key to 'painting in bright colours'. As we have seen the comparison of the art of east and west was sanctioned by contemporary history and criticism. In Critique d'avant Garde, Duret argued that Greek and Buddhist art had a common origin.

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Gonse treats Hokusai as 'a la fois le Rembrandt, le Callot, le Goya, et le Daumier de Japon'.

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There is therefore nothing fantastic about Van Gogh's linking the two traditions when he says such things as:

Japanese art is a little like the Primitives, like the Greeks, like our old Dutchmen, Rembrandt, Potter, Hals, Van der Meer, Ostade, Ruysdael. They never pass away.

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But neither are his remarks derivative since he sincerely saw eastern and western traditions as compatible whereas many, if not all, critics saw Japanese art through exclusively western eyes, and were thus led to overemphasise the western aspects of it and to venerate Hokusai beyond all others because of his appeal to a western mind. Van Gogh arranged reproductions of Daumier, Delacroix and Gericavlt with Japanese works on his studio wall, making no distinction between one and the other.

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In this discussion of Van Gogh's relation to contemporary views of Japanese art I have tried to show that his own statements about it are neither fantasies, irrelevant to the historical development of his art, nor simply quotations arbitrarily used to support his creative activity and his theories.

The statements he makes, like his paintings, are creative syntheses; through them he expanded his understanding of art and formulated his intentions more clearly.

Contemporary criticism of Japanese art was very much involved with the modern movements in Paris from Impressionism onwards. It helped him to appreciate the problems of western art more clearly and at the same time gave him an example of their solution, in Japanese art. It was outte natural for him to turn to Japanese art for inspiration and for him to make its methods central to his own work.

That he was able to do so with such immediacy and with no sense of arbitrary adaptation of alien ideals testifies eloquently to the absorption of Far Eastern aesthetic principles and the Far Eastern example which has been the central theme of this thesis.

Van Gogh arrived at Arles a day or two before the 21st February, 1888. The short time until the new year was the most productive of his life. It is also the time in which he shows deepest interest in Japan and its art, referring to it with great frequency in his letters.

It is usual to make a division between this work and that which followed, on a formal basis. The change in form is often attributed to the disability placed on Van Gogh by his mental problems. I take the view that the late works are a consequence of Van Gogh's struggle to achieve a total empathy with nature and are therefore a natural development of the Arles painting. I shall treat the work of the period after Paris as a unity in which the basic themes of Van Gogh's art, which he had formulated before he came to Paris, were expressed with increasing clarity. In this way I will show the continuing importance of the Japanese aesthetic for his work. The painting of St. Remy and Auvers represents a final summary of Van Gogh's art; it is akin to the 'later period' found in many old masters. One wonders if he could have achieved such sublimity before the age of thirty-eight if he had not had the art of the East to guide him.

From the beginning at Arles he rejected the theoretical ideas which he had been unable to avoid in Paris and returned to the central tradi-

tion of nineteenth century art, which he knew before he went there:

It is only that what I learned in Paris is leaving me and I am returning to the ideas I had in the country before I knew the impressionists. And I should not be surprised if the impressionists find fault with my new way of working, for it has been fertilised by Delacroix's ideas rather than by theirs.

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He wish 'to paint things that could be understood by the generation before impressionism' by which he meant nineteenth century artists from Delacroix to Courbet.

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The fundamental struggle to unite nature and the imagination seen in this tradition was to occupy Van Gogh throughout his remaining years. He applied the lessons he had learnt from the Japanese to themes taken from this tradition. All his themes are Western but their resolution into form is made possible only by the East.

Van Gogh had brought Japanese prints from Paris and he continued his habit of pinning them on his studio wall, first in the hotel and then in the Yellow House.

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He used them to control his perception of nature, to enable him to fully express himself, even when facing his subject matter out of doors.

He had two basic methods of working. Either he would work directly from nature in oils or he would make sketches from nature which he then reworked in the studio and then he produced a painting from the reworked drawing. These methods were naturally interchangeable; sometimes a plein air painting would be be finished in the studio. Always the imagination played a part, even when his canvases were 'quickly executed' before nature they were the result of 'complicated calculations' accomplished 'long beforehand' in which he strove to 'disentangle' the essence of what he found in nature, to express it. Thus he wrote;

The imagination is certainly a faculty which we must develop, one which alone can lead us to the creation of a more exalting and consoling nature than the single brief glance at reality.

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I won't say that I don't turn my back on nature ruthlessly in order to turn a study into a picture, arranging the colours, enlarging, simplifying, but in the matter of form I am afraid of departing from the possible and true.

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Japanese art formed the basis of the 'complicated calculations' which he made to turn a study into a picture'. He believed that he was 98 looking at a country like Japan and tried to render it in 'Japanese' terms. In rearranging nature in this way he broke down another constant problem of nineteenth century art, the discrepancy between the vital sketches from life and the dead finished paintings of so many nineteenth century masters. Nature and art were one and shared the same life.

He began work in Arles with a great number of landscapes in which he hoped to set an example to others to do for the Arles countryside what the Japanese had done for theirs.

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Two early landscapes which he discusses in relation to Japanese art are identifiable from the letters.

The first, 'a little landscape with a hovel, white, red and green I(24) and a cypress beside it', was done indoors in May 1888; the drawing for it was done in March, soon after he arrived.

He wrote to Theo about the paintings:

This will show you that if you like, I can make little pictures like the Japanese prints of all these drawings.

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He tried to parallel the Japanese process of working from drawing to colour print in his own work. It was not meant to look like a Japanese print, but like an oil painting which used the Japanese aesthetic to express nature.

The composition is typical of the effect of Japanese prints on Van Gogh's landscape. It shows an open foreground with details relegated to to the middle and distance, so that although there is no consistent point of recession a space is suggested. The row of fence poles to the left of the road creates a rhythmic recession but it is tied to the

picture plane because the tips of the fence poles are on a horizontal line parallel to the horizon. This type of recession with no central vanishing point is often found in the compositions of Hokusai and Hiroshige, such as the Hiroshige snowscape that Van Gogh copied in the upper left hand corner of the Rodin version of the portrait of Pere Tanguy. Contour and outline are freely used in the house and the horizon line. The colours are bright and flat.

The brush stroke is basically 'image identified', the drawing has been copied exactly. Strokes of the pen, also image identified, have been replaced by strokes of the brush. Even in such a minor painting as this, it is possible to see how Japanese prints led Van Gogh to replace central perspective and naturalistic illusion in landscape with a symbolically represented space in which nature and the imagination could meet.

This can clearly be seen if the landscape is compared to a watercolour drawing of 1882, in which Vincent attempted to express the
emotions of a lonely signal man on the Rhine railway looking out over 1/446
the landscape.

The watercolour attempts an imitative rendering of reality, from the texture of the tree trunk to the 'correct' perspective of the road. However these elements are never unified. There is no way in this tradition for Vincent to fulfil his desire to involve the emotions of man, (in this case the Rhine railway signalman) directly in the landscape. He relies on the typical nineteenth century device of a figure walking in the landscape to achieve this. The viewer is invited to identify with the figure he sees, but this fails because the naturalistic convention can never resolve the divorce between nature and the imagination, it can only heighten it, making the figure appear isolated and estranged.

In the early painting Van Gogh expresses man's alienation. In the work at Arles he solves this problem by abandoning the naturalistic

convention in favour of an art based on Japanese prints.

Although there is no-one in sight, nature is hospitable and alive. Vincent's later interpretation of nature is immediately intelligible to the emotion and needs no little figure.

The second landscape related directly to Japanese art is 'A View of Arles done in May'. Vincent described it as 'a little town surrounded I(146 by fields, all covered with yellow and purple flowers, exactly - can't you see it? - like a Japanese dream'.

As in the landscape with hovel there is an open foreground with a complicated series of forms in the distance.

Also in the foreground of the painting a series of irises are rendered in great detail, as in Japanese drawings. The detail is greater in the finished painting than in the sketch which indicates that the painting was synthesised in the studio. The iris is often drawn by the Japanese, particularly Hokusai, and Vincent's use of contour on these flowers suggests that he was thinking of these drawings when he painted this landscape. This commitment to details is extremely important for the development of his landscape.

The overall composition is in the Japanese spirit, it is the first in a series of flowering landscapes in which bright, image identified, strokes of paint are arranged to represent flowers in a magical, formally induced space which he likened to:

Des tapis velus De fleurs et de verdures tissus.

103

They are all 'Japanese dreams', making man comfortable in nature once more.

Almost as soon as he arrived in Arles Van Gogh started to paint a series of blossoms and blossoming orchards. He knew of the significance of blossoms as a symbol of renewal in Japanese art. In December 1885 he wrote to Theo about this symbol:

Such a man who finally produces something as poignant as the blossom of a hard and difficult life is a wonder like the black hawthorn or better still the gnarled old apple tree, which at a certain moment bears blossoms which are among the most delicate and most virginal things under the sun.

When a rough man bears blossoms like a flowering plant, yes, that is beautiful to see, but before that time he has had to stand a great deal of winter cold, more than those who sympathise with him know.

The artist's life and what it is, all very curious, how deep it is, how infinitely deep.

104

Vincent was the 'rough man' and in Arles he himself blossomed under the influence of Japanese art and the south.

Before Paris he had done scenes of orchards or groups of fruit trees but with one exception they are wintry scenes with bare branches, in strict central perspective.

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The exception is a watercolour associated with a letter that he sent to Theo in August 1884, about the time he must have seen Japanese prints. It makes no use of central perspective and does not attempt to 106 indicate details. The tree trunks form a screen of verticals which imply space behind and between them. The blossom is indicated by an overall wash, with a distinct contour. The form clearly owes a great deal to the Japanese print. In the foreground stand two lovers whose harmony is symbolised by the blossom. Once again the Japanese aesthetic helped Van Gogh to make nature a vehicle for the emotions.

The subject of the blossoming tree was particularly popular in Japan, where to this day great ceremonies are held when the cherry trees blossom. Van Gogh 'copied' one blossoming tree in the background to the portrait of Pere Tanguy now in the Rodin Museum, in which the characteristic hard contour of the blossom as a whole is preserved, and also a Hiroshige print. While the snow was still on the ground at Arles he painted two pictures of blossoming almond twigs.

The paintwork and coloration of these blossoms should be compared to the twig of blossom on the special issue of Paris Illustre for 1886,

from which Vincent had copied the dancer. The use of broken contours round the petals and the occasional tinge of yellow and pink on the white is very similar to it. The use of impasto to express the preciousness of blossoms had already appeared in the copy of Hiroshige made in Paris. The Japanese custom of arranging only ony flowering branch in a vase was well-known at the time.

The structure of the paintings is also Japanese despite the three-dimensional glass. The striking red line across the centre ensures that we see the blossoms as flat decorative patterns on the picture plane, not three dimensional forms.

Scherjon and de Gruyter have identified twelve finished paintings and three oil studies of blossoming orchards from this period. They all show some relation to the 'copy' of a Hiroshige print of blossoming fruit trees made in Paris.

A view of a single blossoming peach tree is especially close since it shows a single tree, treated as a flat pattern stretched across the picture plane. The basic shape of the tree is the same as in the Hiroshige copt, although it is much more complex and elegant. The indivisual blossoms are modelled in great detail as in the Hiroshige, but in impasto, outline is used on the branches.

In the background a corner of an orchard is painted but it is treated as a flat pattern behind the tree. The lines of the corner are not an attempt to indicate a uniform recession of space, but only a general indication that the tree is in an orchard.

The painting's symbolic intention has been pointed out by Graetz, who has shown that there is a contrast between the fruitless withered stump on the right and the full flowering tree. It is an allegory of the life of the artist in nature, and a symbol of the relation of the two brothers. Japanese art gave Vincent the means to ignore representational conventions in order to make his symbolism clear.

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I(147)

Vincent dedicated the best of the blossom paintings to the memory of his former friend and teacher Mauve, he signed it; 'Vincent and Theo, Souvenir de Mauve', and on writing to Theo about it, quoted:

Oh never think the dead are dead So long as there are men alive The dead will live, the dead will live.

Once more Japanese art provided the key to his symbolic expression.

Like the blossoming peach tree the painting is still basically a design on the picture plane. The central tree occupies the same area in the picture plane as in the Hiroshige copy.

The preliminary drawings that he made of orchards show that his response to them was first of all in the preconceived terms of Japanese prints.

A drawing which he sent to Bernard in April 1888, shows a blossom- I(148) ing fruit tree drawn as an overall contour with circles inside it to indicate blossom. This graphic device is unmistakably Japanese.

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Vincent had 'copied' such a tree in the background to the Rodin portrait I(149) of Pere Tanguy.

A description of his working method when painting the fruit trees shows that the freedom of his brush stroke was only possible because he thought of the canvas as a flat plane in which large areas were balanced in a decorative design.

This way of seeing came naturally to one who saw the country around him as the Japan portrayed in Japanese prints:

At the moment I am absorbed in blossoming fruit trees, pink peach trees, yellow white pear trees. My brush stroke has no system at all. I hit the canvas with irregular touches of the brush; which I leave as they are, patches of thick laid colour, spots of canvas left uncovered, repetitions, savageries.....

Working directly on the spot all the time, I try to grasp what is essential in the drawing - later I fill in the spaces which are bounded by the contours, either expresses or not, but in any case felt, with tones which are also simplified, by which I mean that all that is going to be soil will show the same violet like tone, that the whole sky

will have a blue tint, that the green vegetation will be either green blue or green yellow, purposefully exaggerating the yellow and blues in this case.

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Vincent thought of his painting in areas of simplified consistent colour and contours, that is to say in terms of Japanese prints. This contour was often 'felt rather than expressed' as in the Souvenir de Mauve, where it merges with the immediate impact of nature and the brushstroke. But this painting is no less a product of Van Gogh's Japanese vision because it does not look immediately like a Japanese print.

The blossom theme had its consummation in one of his greatest paintings, the pictures of 'Almond branches in blossom', against an I(150) ethereal blue sky which he painted in St. Remy asylum as a gift to Theo on the birth of his baby son Vincent in February, 1890.

The spirit of this painting is entirely Japanese. Flowering branches are spread across the picture plane without any reference to organised western space. They rely on their poetical juxtaposition against the blue background to provide the means for them to express their message of new life. These are the white blossoms breaking forth from old. dark, gnarled wood that Van Gogh had written of at Nuenen.

The forms of the blossom are clearly related to those on the cover of Paris Illustre for May 1886, and flowering boughs are illustrated in the margins of the inside pages of this magazine.

There are several flower prints by Hokusai which show white blossom tinged with pink and yellow against a brilliant blue background, similar to Vincent's painting.

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Vincent himself thought this 'perhaps the best, most patiently worked thing' that he had done.

According to Graetz, the painting celebrates not only the birth of Theo's son but also Vincent's successful struggle against mental illness, for it was finished during his last attack, before he went to Paris and

on to Auvers:

The motif of the blossoming branches was his inner choice. The broken wood does not merely mean his own broken existence, and the young blossoms are not only symbolic of the new life in Theo's child. For the old wood and the new buds belong to each other, and thus, as one inseparable whole, portray Vincent himself in his inner condition of hope arising from despair, of rebirth from death — as young grows old, morning rises from night.

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Vincent had so completely absorbed Japanese imagery and vision that his inner choice of a symbol of his own salvation is purely Japanese in origin.

From its first use in 'Sorrow' in 1882 to its use in this painting of 1890 the symbolism and form of the blossom motif in Van Gogh's work was always dependent on Japanese art. It is the finest example of the importance of Japanese art to his private world of expression.

The paintings of the Arles orchards show that Van Gogh was greatly influenced in his choice of subject and his manner of seeing it by Japanese art. But their form is no imitation of the Japanese print in oils such as Bernard and the cloisonnists were soon to attempt, but a genuine imaginative response to nature. Japanese art provided the framework, the guide, through which this response was made. A response to nature is given form by means of the Japanese aesthetic, which is then eliminated from any obvious presence in the finished work of art. The difference is that at Arles the whole process is accomplished on one canvas, or even partly in Van Gogh's head, so that we have very few records of it.

By 1890 Van Gogh had achieved his goal of becoming like the Japanese so thoroughly that there is no means of establishing Japanese influence in his work by formal analysis. We only have the result, the intoxicating feeling of being totally at one with nature.

During the summer of 1888 he painted views of the Font de l'Anglois and other bridges which are closely related to the 'Hovel with Cypresses'

in style. They show a bridge motif whose treatment is very like that in Japanese prints such as 'Ohashi bridge in the rain', by Hiroshipe, which Vincent copied in Paris. The works date roughly from March 1888 to the end of June 1888.

116

In relation to these studies Vincent remarked to Bernard that:

If the Japanese are not making any progress in their own country, still it cannot be doubted that their art is being continued in France.

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In late May or early June 1888, Vincent made a 50 kilometre journey to see the Mediterranean at the fishing village of Saintes Maries. He spent a week making paintings and drawings.

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He made two paintings of the see and a view of the town which are quite naturalistic in their appearance. He also made drawings of the fishing boats being launched and at sea, and one drawing of them on the shore, early in the morning before he left for Arles, and drawings of the local houses.

But the most famous paintings of Saintes Maries were painted from these drawings from the imagination after the return to Arles.

The original sketch for the two famous paintings of fishing boats on the shore was the one that Vincent made just before he left for Arles. 118 This sketch was then worked up in the studio into the two versions of the famous painting 'Boats at Saintes Maries'. He wrote;

I made the sketch of the boats just as I was going to start in the morning very early and I am working over it, a size 30 canvas with some more sea and sky on the right.

The drawing most closely related to these paintings is labelled 'Souvenir de Saintes Maries' and has careful colour notes, in the manner of a drawing made for a Japanese print.

Vincent was conscious of seeing things with 'an eye more Japanese' during his visit, as he wrote to his brother soon afterwards.

119

The imaginative recreation of his experiences on canvas made use of Japanese forms and motifs.

The boats' hulls in the preparatory drawings and in the finished I(151) paintings are reshaped after the fashion of boats in Japanese prints. I(152) Boats in a drawing made at the village from life show a much more western shape. Most puzzling is the appearance of two crossed bamboo 120 poles leaning against the mast of the front boat. They seem to have no function as part of the rigging, since only one boat has them There is no reason why boats in the Mediterranean fishing village should use bamboo, an alien material. Vincent has introduced these poles from Japanese art where they are often seen crossed as supports for a fishing net.

Japanese influence on the two paintings of boats has always been recognised because they are the only works in which Van Gogh attempted to duplicate the material form of the Japanese print.

He made a watercolour drawing for them, one of the 'pen drawings to be washed afterwards in flat tints like Japanese prints', which he spoke of when writing to Theo to ask him for some watercolours. It follows the colour notes of his drawing exactly. Van Gogh was trying to recreate the creative process of the Japanese print makers in a western technique. In doing so he came close to the form of the Japanese print, but this form is still only part of a synthesis based on his own experiences before nature at Saintes Maries.

The theme of fishing boats on the beach had been used by Van Gogh as early as the summer of 1882. He was then inspired by the work of Maris and Jongkind, and his drawings show Jongkind's influence. The theme of the lonely fisherman also had a symbolic meaning for him, his reading of Loti's Pecheur d'Island suggested the loneliness to him, and he remarks in a letter to Theo that the fishing boats at Saintes Haries were only big enough to hold one man. The boats on the beach are in groups of two, they are symbols of friendship - 'Amitie' is the name on the prow of one of the boats.

The transformation of the nineteenth century theme of boats on the

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shore so as to express its full symbolic importance was achieved through the Japanese aesthetic. In the nineteenth century the theme had always implied loneliness, the alienation of man from nature represented by the threatening sea. Van Gogh offers the answer to this, friendship, poetically expressed through the unity of nature and the imagination in Art.

This is far more important than the external correspondence of flat tone, contour and outline to similar forms in Japanese prints.

Vincent also made at least three drawings of the local 'hovela' at I(153)
Saintes Maries. When he returned to Arles he did paintings and drawings
from the. Two paintings show forms derived from Japanese art; so do 125
the drawings for them which were also done after the return to Arles. 126

There is a copy of a Japanese print showing a street of thatched cottages, in the background of the Niarchos version of the portrait of Pere Tanguy. A drawing done at Saintes Maries shows a normal huropean building with a wall six or seven feet high, but in the two paintings this is transformed into a lower skirting wall supporting an enormous thatched roof such as one sees in Japanese prints. The extremely open perspective of the road, unlike the sketches from life is also derived from Japanese art. The free expressive brushstroke and pen-stroke, the 127 forms of the plants by the roadside and the rhythmically stressed contours of the roofs all indicate that these paintings are attempts to see nature with Japanese eyes.

In early July 1888, Van Gogh made two pen drawings of the Crau I(154)
plain seen from Mont Majour. He wrote about them to his brother and
to Bernard and described one;

An immense stretch of flat country, a bird's eye view of it seen from the top of a hill, vineyards and fields of newly reaped wheat, all this multiplied in endless repetitions stretching away towards the horizon, like the surface of the sea, bordered by the little hills of the Crau. It does not have a Japanese look and yet it is the most Japanese thing that I have done, a microscopic figure of a labourer, a little train running across a wheatfield.

Vincent relates the story of the rejections of this view by a painter friend of his who called it boring. He then tells how he discussed it with a soldier friend (Milliet?);

I said to him, 'Does it amaze you that I think this as beautiful as the sea'. Now this fellow knew the sea. 'No, it doesn't amaze me that you think this as beautiful as the sea, but I think it more beautiful than the ocean because it is inhabited.'

Van Gogh must have been especially impressed by this conversation because he repeated it to Bernard and Theo.

The view of a flat landscape from a high point is often found in Japanese prints, many of them show the sea surrounded by a low range of hills; there is often a bridge or road across such a landscape along which one or two figures are walking. Bing published one such print I(155) by Hiroshige in the first issue of Japon Artistique 'a view of Lake Biva'. Vincent could not yet have seen the reproduction, but it is very likely that he saw the original on Bing's premises in Paris. I also show a a view of the 'Bridge of Boats at Sano', by Hokusai, to show the motif I(156) of the man walking.

Van Gogh saw the view through Japanese eyes. The overall structure of graphic devices such as the dots in the fields is derived from Japanese prints. Vincent emphasises the human beings moving in the landscape to such an extent that they are greatly enlarged; the same goes for the cart. Guided by Japanese prints he creates a paradise in which a man can live harmoniously in nature, and even such a mechanical being as a steam-engine does not challenge the harmony but is accepted as part of it.

The drawing does not look Japanese because it was taken from nature directly, so it is more complicated, but the spirit of it is completely eastern. The soldier's observation that the landscape was inhabited must have especially pleased Van Gogh, whose constant aim had been to bring figure and landscape into one, since he began painting. 'There

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has always been something of the figure in my landscape' he had written to Theo from Nuenen. Vincent asked Theo to look at these drawings in a bare room, perhaps with a bamboo frame, in the way he thought one should look at Japanese art, because he wished Theo to have 'A true idea of the simplicity of nature here'.

The 'strong fascination' which the huge plains of the Crau had for Vincent led him to paint several important paintings which use the same high viewpoint and pictorial structure as these drawings.

Among them is the 'Harvest in the Crau' done in the summer of 1888.

The four preparatory drawings for it all show the same spatial structure 129 as the drawing of the Crau valley with the railway train, and the same graphic devices. The painting shows them too. Golden fields contain minute figures mowing the harvest, their actions never lost in the fabric of brushstrokes. The vision of men working without suffering, even enjoying their tasks comes from Japanese prints. In particular, the use of the 'image identified' brush stroke helps to harmonise the men into their surroundings. Colour harmonies also play a part, these are simplified as in Japanese prints. For instance the reality of the ladder and the haystack on the left is their reality as it is known and felt by I(156) man at work, not an illusionistic reality. At the same time the presentation of this image acknowledges absolute existence in its most immediate form to the spectator, that of the canvas.

Vincent thought of his own art as labour, the equivalent of the ideal life of work he saw before him:

But during the harvest my work was not any easier than what the peasants were doing. Far from complaining of it, it is just at these times in artistic life, even though it is not the real one, that I feel almost as happy as I could be in the ideal, in that real life.

'The real and the ideal' life become one in these paintings. Van Gogh's harvest should be compared to the riceplanters in 'Oyama seen from Ono' from the series of 'Famous views of more than sixty provinces' by Hiroshige.

Van Gogh's earlier paintings of working men were set in a bleak reality born of the desire to dignify human labour and escape alienation by monumentalising it or expressing its heroic aspect.

But in paradise there is no alienation and therefore no need for dignity, only happiness. Japanese art enabled Vincent to go beyond the working class heroism of Millet to a vision of human labour as a joyful part of life.

Last in the group is a view of 'Peach trees in blossom on the Crau' I(157)
painted just before Wincent entered the asylum at St. Remy in March131
April 1889. It combines the blossom theme with the motif of the Crau
plain. He wrote;

The big one is a poor landscape with little cottages, blue skyline of the Alpine hills, sky white and blue. The foreground patches of land surrounded by cane hedges where small peach trees are in blossom - everything is small there, the gardens, the fields, the orchards, and the trees, even the mountains, as in certain Japanese prints, which is why the subject attracted me.

The diminutive quality of the landscape attracted him by its resemblance to Japanese prints and because of its anti-monumental, anti-heroic qualities. This is a nature in which one feels at home.

The main lines of this composition are very similar to the 'View of Lake Biva' by Hiroshige published by Bing in Japon Artistique. The fence and verge at the front correspond to the bridge across Lake Biva. The cottages float above the plain like the sails of boats on the lake. The sketch of the painting that Vincent sent to Signac even preserves the external form of Japanese art. The blossoming trees in the sketch have an overall contour both 'seen and felt' such as we see in Hokusai's prints of orchards.

The pseudo-pointillist quality in this landscape, particularly in the sky, is an imitation of the graphic devices often used by Hokusai, for instance in 'Fuji in clear weather'.

Van Gogh's vision of dignified labour was not restricted to the 'pastoral' of the harvest at Crau. Industrial labour also attracted him, as he had seen it depicted in Japanese prints. In early August 1888 Vincent saw a coal-boat being unloaded on the Rhone and described it:

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Seen from above it was all shining and wet with a shower, the water was yellowish white and clouded pearl grey; the sky lilac with a yellow streak in the west, the town violet. On the boat some poor workmen in dirty blue and white came and went carrying the cargo. It was pure Hokusai, but it was too late to paint it.

He said he would try to paint it in the future.

Vincent clearly had Hokusai's woodcuts of porters and working men in mind when he saw this view. His description of the colours is also based on the Japanese prints; they are simple overall tints.

Soon afterwards Vincent saw men unloading two barges of sand in I(158)
the same place. He made a drawing and a painting of the scene and I(159)
wrote to Theo enclosing a sketch of the painting.

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The harbour wall and bridge encloses the horizon right at the top of the painting, just as mountains enclose the sea in Japanese prints. Other formal elements in the painting are also derived from them. The flat green background formed by the water alone stresses the picture plane, aided by the sandy bar at the top of the painting and the deliberate omission of the sky. The boats and the quay are composed of flat planes of colour with stressed contours, often without lines. The brushstroke is identified with the image it represents, colours are simplified.

The drawing shows more elements taken from nature than the painting, the simplification of which is inspired by Japanese art. However, Vincent has introduced more men into the painting - he originally saw only one man unloading sand.

The disposition of the figures amongst the planks and the woodwork of the sand barges, and the forms of the woodwork itself, suggest a

close relationship with the 'timber yard, Tatekawa, Honjo', one of Hokusai's set of thirty-six views of Fuji.

I(160) 135

It had always been Van Gogh's aim to interpret in art the dignity of labour. In the early 1880's working class and peasant life had been his constant theme, but his paintings never show workers in harmony with their labours, they are either heroic or defeated. In 1882 he had written;

Being a labourer, I feel at home in labouring class and more and more I will try to live and take root there.

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But only Japanese art showed him that to be a 'labourer' was not necessarily to be involved in an endless tragedy. In doing so it confirmed his belief that all work should, like art, be spiritually rewarding, and this is what he tried to show in his later paintings of man at work.

At Arles he was not just a 'labourer' but 'a simple Japanese tradesman' - a dweller in the 'painter's paradise', as we see him in 'The Road to Tarascon'.

He did two more paintings of boats being unloaded in which the composition and presentation of the image of work is close to Japanese prints. At St. Rémy he painted a series of harvesters in an olive orchard, which are an intensified treatment of the theme of the harvest at Crau, again with a Japanese basis. The forms of the trees are like those in the Hiroshige print which he copied in Paris.

The most important example of Japanese influence on a depiction of work is the transformation of the theme of the 'sower' in the two paintings done in October 1888.

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He derived the subject from Millet's print 'The Sower' which he first copied soon after he had begun to paint, in August 1880; at the time he was interested in painting the working class a la Millet and it was one of many such paintings that he copied or produced as originals.

By the time he had reached Nuenen the Sower theme had become a personal symbol of the artist's aspirations. Painting was 'a hopeless struggle to follow nature' and 'the drudging though it may seem futile, gives an intimacy with nature, a sounder knowledge of things'. Sowing seed became a symbol of the painter's struggle with nature, a natural act itself. 'In painting one sometimes sows, though the painter himself never reaps'.

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At Arles Van Gogh tried to express the symbolic of the Sower as fully as possible. 'I am still charmed by the magic of a host of memories of the past, of a longing for the infinite, of which the sower, the sheaf are symbols — just as much as before', he wrote to Bernard in June 1888, and enclosed a sketch of a sower he had just painted. Although he enlarged the sun and simplified the colour system to a simple contrast of yellow and violet this painting is still very close to Millet's original, the figure striding on the ploughed field. The sun, symbol of the infinite aspirations, does not seem to relate directly to the sower.

In the versions of October 1888 Vincent has conquered the diffi- I(161) culty by abandoning the spatial setting of Millet for the compositional devices of the Japanese prints.

The sower forms a flat silhouette on the picture plane, throwing the seed into the large flat yellow disc of the sun. To the right is the silhouette of a blossoming tree taken from Japanese art, such as the Hiroshige that Vincent copied in Paris. The tree, symbol of regeneration of nature and man, is balanced against the sower, symbol of artistic aspiration to the infinite.

Such symbolism was highly appropriate for the decoration of the yellow house, for which the 'Sower' was intended.

Japanese art provided part of the symbolism for this painting as well as the means to change the naturalistic convention of Millet into a

symbolic form in which the full poetic meaning of the theme is realised. The flat silhouettes and clean contours appear only as a by-product of this poetic synthesis of symbols.

These two paintings have a very close resemblance in form to Japanese prints, because Van Gogh worked from his imagination, which supplied the bare bones of his synthetic language but could not clothe the symbolism in references to nature. The 'Sower' provides good evidence that Van Gogh's creative method was derived directly from Japanese prints.

The synthesis which produced the 'Sower' is in part recorded in a letter to Theo written soon after the arrival of Gauguin at Arles. A painting of a sower and one of a tree-trunk cut off by the frame are sketched together in the letter. Van Gogh must have associated the two I(163) in his imagination in the painting of the 'Sower'. The change in the form of the tree must have been brought about by Van Gogh's memory of a Japanese print.

The motif of the cut-off tree itself is derived from Japanese prints.

A view of 'Fuji Hama Montagne Sacre du Japon' was published on page 68 of the special issue of Paris Illustre, 'Le Japon' which Vincent had seen in Paris. The centre of this print is a large vertical tree trunk similar to that in Van Gogh's painting which is recorded in the sketch he sent to Theo.

Another tree cut-off by the borders of the picture can be seen in a view from the series of thirty-six views of Fuji Yama that was published in the fourth volume of Bing's magazine Japon Artistique which Van Gogh may have seen at Arles.

The motif of boughs silhouetted in relation to a disc of the sun or moon is quite common in Japanese paintings.

Bing owned such a painting which he published in Artistic Japan.

The motif became a favourite one which he used in many paintings

I(165)

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I(166)

made at Arles and at St. Remy.

Throughout the Arles, St. Remy and Auvers period, Van Gogh produced paintings and drawings of details from nature - a single leafy branch, a plant, or a small animal, treated with great respect for their natural form. These were directly inspired by Japanese art. Inspired by the reproduction of a Japanese drawing of a blade of grass by Bing, he had written that an artist who contemplated the smallest details of nature would eventually take in the whole universe.

In the summer of 1888 he observed to his brother Theo that he had seen 'grasshoppers not like ours at home but like those you see in Japanese sketchbooks'. He adds that they sing as loudly as frogs, taking his metaphor from Loti's Madame Chrysanthemen. The letter I(164) contains a drawing of a 'Cantharide' fly which he also saw there, but 142 the drawing is set in the text, like drawings of flies in the Illustrated edition of Madame Chrysanthemen which he had just read. Vincent's drawing is clearly based on Japanese art, with its calligraphic rendering of the fly's legs. Even in the observation of such small creatures

The nature studies in Bing's <u>Japon Artistique</u> interested him greatly. The 'Blade of Grass' appears as an element in several of the field scenes painted at Arles and St. Remy. It is recognisable by its form, one leaf blade bent sharply away from the stalk. We have already seen an example of the absorption of a detailed Japanese nature study into Vincent's landscape in the painting of Arles as a Japanese dream. Like the irises, the blade of grass gave him a piece of unassailable reality on which he could build his poetic response to nature.

In the example that I illustrate, only the blades of corn at the front are 'image identified'. They are derived from the print in Bing and communicate its essential reality to the whole of the landscape behind them; this itself is dependent on the free swirl of the brush

stroke for its expressive qualities.

Vincent had the print hanging on his wall at Arles in 1889. He

must have taken it to Auvers with him, where, together with the print

I(167)

of pinks by Bumpo, it served as the inspiration for the painting 'Ears

I(168)

of Wheat'. Two sketches in the unfinished letter to Gauguin of the

summer of 1890 help to date the painting. He wrote;

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I am trying to do some studies of wheat like this, but I cannot draw it - nothing but ears of wheat with green blue stalks, long leaves like ribbons of green shot with pink, ears are just turning yellow, edged with the pale pink of the dusty bloom - a pink weed at the bottom, twisted round a stem.

For Van Gogh wheat was a symbol of human life, closely related to the symbolism of the Sower and to the symbolism of the Parable of the Sower. He wrote to his sister from Paris:

Now as for comparing mankind to grains of corn, in every man who is healthy and natural there is a germinating force as in a grain of wheat. And so natural life is germination.

What the germinating force is in a grain of wheat, love is in us.

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The power of this symbol in his imagination led him to become 'entirely absorbed' in the wheat fields around Auvers.

The study of ears of wheat was an attempt to paint the 'germinating force' in wheat as a symbol of human life. But he could not draw the wheat he saw accurately, so he turned to the Japanese drawing and used it as a model. Once more Japanese art helped him to express his response to nature.

The stalks of wheat show the characteristic bending of the leaf away from the main stem and are green in colour like the Japanese drawing. The form of one of Bumpo's pinks can be seen in the upper left hand corner of the painting, so we may deduce that Vincent used both studies to achieve his synthesis. When he describes the painting, vincent mentions that he would like to use this green wheat as a background for a portrait. In a letter of June 30 he sent Theo a sketch of I(169)

the finished work, a portrait 'of a peasant woman with a background of ears of wheat. The woman herself is treated in a Japanese manner, so that the ears of corn merge with the image perfectly.

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A second portrait was done with the woman standing against the wheat in a white dress. She is even more Japanese when standing. Her I(170) figure consists of flat planes of colour with dark outlines. This forms a flat figure against a flat background, like a Japanese print.

The 'drawing of grass' enabled Vincent to give form to a series of poetic echoes that he found in the sight of growing wheat. Japanese art enabled him once more to fully express a nineteenth century theme. In placing the symbol behind a peasant woman treated in a Japanese manner, he expresses the idea that she is the ideal of human life, living with the same 'germinating force' as nature. The Auvers portraits are the solution to the problem of dignifying the peasant woman that he had attempted at Nuenen. They should be compared with a drawing from this earlier time which shows a peasant woman as a monumental figure isolated and heroic. The transformation from one to the other is greatly dependent on the formal and spiritual guide given to Van Gogh by Japanese art.

About the time that he made these portraits he made drawings from plants which show a debt to Japanese art. They are based on the line I(172) illustrations in the margins of <u>Japon Artistique</u>. They use the same I(173) thick outlines to describe the leaf forms. One of these drawings, a study of stalks, was used for a painting.

There are also studies of moths and other insects made at this time. Vincent was especially impressed by a large grey moth that he painted on May 24, 1889.

It seems that towards the end of his life Vincent was especially attracted to these intimate studies of nature. He was fascinated by the attempt to express the vitality of the universe through a tiny fragment of nature.

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An illustration of a print of crabs by Hokusai (Taito) in Japon 149

Artistique is often said to have inspired two paintings showing crabs. I(174)

But Vincent is likely to have made these paintings soon after his visit I(175)

to Saintes Maries, before he could have seen the illustration. The forms

of the crabs differ completely from those in the liokusai prints. They

are derived in part at least from observation. Also crabs much closer

in form were illustrated in the margins of a special number of Paris

Illustré that Van Gogh kept with him during his travels.

But whatever its source, the spirit of the painting is Japanese. I(1756)

These nature studies are concrete indications that Van Gogh tried
to enter into the whole world from the contemplation of a single detail.

He believed that Japanese artists worked in this way. He wrote to Theo
that they encompassed the whole world, beginning with the contemplation
of a blade of grass.

The flower studies made at Arles, St. Remy and Auvers show the same characteristics that the Paris flower paintings developed under the influence of Japanese prints. The flatness of design and expressive brushwork is especially evident in the series of sunflowers that Vincent made to decorate his house at Arles 'in the Japanese manner'. The form 151 of the sunflowers themselves is dependent on that of Japanese flower prints such as Hokusai's series of Large and Small flowers. The version 152 at the Tate Gallery shows the Japanese design forms clearly.

I(176)

Later paintings sometimes abandon the western presentation of flowers in vases altogether. A painting of irises done at St. Remy I(177) shows them growing straight from the ground, as Bumpo shows his pinks in the illustration in <u>Japon Artistique</u>. The plants seem to have been cut off at ground level. The form of the irises, their stressed outline 153 and internal patterning is derived from a Hokusai drawing, such as the one reproduced in the margin in issue No.2 of <u>Japon Artistique</u>. I(178)

H.R. Graetz has shown that the sunflowers are the symbols of Van

Gogh's relationships with his friends and of his creative development and love for man; and that his later flower paintings symbolise different phases in his life by their arrangement. The formal basis of this symbolic expression is undoubtedly Far Eastern.

Van Gogh's early drawings are fuzzy and the forms indeterminate, often built from hatchings of many lines or atmospheric washes.

While he was in Paris Van Gogh produced drawings with more concern for the reality of individual objects. Drawings of industrial suburbs or of a gate show no line or mark which is not in itself a sign for an 155 an object or a recognisable part of an object. Washes are still used but they do not suggest directional light and shade. They are completely under the control of the lines of the drawing. There are two possible sources for this new discipline in drawing. They are the controlled brush stroke of the impressionists, and Japanese art. The impressionist brush stroke tended to break down the identity of the individual object and not to reinforce it as Van Gogh did.

We may assume that the greatest influence came from Japanese art.

In it one finds the phenomenon of 'object identity' which I discussed above. The Paris drawings also show a flat design made by opening out a perspective across the picture surface.

Vincent must have seen Japanese drawings in Paris. He mentions books of drawings to Theo in his letters. He even thought of his own drawings as Japanese.

In May 1888, he wrote to Theo about them;

You know what you must do with these drawings - make sketch books of six or ten or twelve, like these original books of Japanese drawings

and he enclosed a drawing to show precisely what he meant. The drawings I(179) in the book he sketches are recognisable; one is of a drawbridge,

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another a flowering orchard.

He had written earlier of his desire to make a great many drawings

I(181)

at Arles, 'because I want to make some drawings in the manner of Japanese prints'. He also wrote that he was trying to make his drawings 157 'more spontaneous, more exaggerated'. He was influenced in this by the Japanese manner of drawing of which he wrote: 'the Japanese draw quickly, very quickly, like a lightning flash'.

Van Gogh's drawings at Arles were mostly made in pen and ink, which he adopted to allow him the greatest possible precision of gesture and of individual form. He even made successful experiments with a reed pen, which produced a very oriental style.

There are two basic styles of drawing in the Arles period.

The first relies on a complicated system of lines and dots carefully placed to give a detailed representation of an image. But the representation is made in terms of the graphic elements themselves, it is not illusionistic. The graphic elements are located within the design by contours which demark separate areas of the picture plane as the substance of different objects.

A similar vocabulary is found in Hokusai's drawings, for instance, the preparatory drawing for a print illustrating 'The hundred poems I(180) explained by the nurse'. Its background consists of long rhythmical 158 lines which break it up into zones. These are especially evident on the left. Then there is a series of lines which partly contour the vegetation. Other small areas of vegetation are completely described by the pen stroke. There is also an abstract vocabulary of small lines and dots within the overall contours.

Another drawing by Hokusai, 'Pine on the rocks with goats grazing below' shows the skilful use of straight lines in groups, and of simple dots. These are the elements of Van Gogh's graphic vocabulary not present in the first example.

Vincent used the vocabulary he had derived from Japanese drawings in his detailed drawings from nature, such as the drawing of the Crau Valley with the railway train and in the preparatory drawings for his paintings such as the drawing of the unloading of sand barges for the painting at Essen.

I(158)

I(154)

Van Gogh tends to use his graphic vocabulary more densely than the Japanese use theirs. However, the strict separation of each gesture enables him to achieve an effect of heightened perception as if the drawing were illuminated from within. This ability to identify directly with the image represented allowed Van Gogh to dispense with shadows as a means of attaining form.

In some drawings the vocabulary is stretched out, used very sparingly.

A few strokes induce space and form in a whole area of the picture plane. 159

In this same way the goats in Hokusai's drawing give reality to I(181) the whole plain around them, although it is only recorded by a few dots of ink.

Van Gogh's other drawing style at Arles was also derived from

Japanese art. It is best represented by the drawings of huts inspired

by his visit to Saintes Maries. They are composed of loose broad strokes 160

of the pen, with no regard for the detail of the image as observed in

nature. This manner is an attempt to imitate the Japanese artist who

could 'indicate a figure in three or four strokes'. The two styles of

drawing are not mutually exclusive. To some extent they represent the

two poles of Van Gogh's art. The first is dominated by nature, the

second by the imagination. It is significant that the looser, more

imaginative style predominates in the work done at St. Remy and Avers.

The dependence of Van Gogh's brush stroke on these two styles of drawing is obvious. Indeed, the so-called 'expressionist' brush stroke depended far more on his attempt to imitate Japanese art than on a 'liberated' form of the impressionist technique.

Van Gogh often used Japanese influences in the portraits that he painted at Arles, St. Remy and Auvers. One of the earliest is a port-

rait of an Arles girl that he painted in July 1888.

I(182)

Vincent described her as a 'mousme', a term which he took from the novel Madame Chrysantheman. It signified a girl or young woman.

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The illustrated edition of Madame Chrysanthem does not show this pose, although it does show several drawings of mousmes whose faces are similar to the Arles girl.

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I(186)

I(187)

The pose, the complete detachment of the figure from the background and the use of bright colours in flat patterns with clear contours, all derive from Japanese prints.

The preparatory drawings for 'La Mousme' show the manner in which

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Van Gogh imposed his Japanese vision on nature. A highly disciplined

likeness was made of the head, from life. Then came a reed pen drawing I(183)

of the whole composition in the Japanese manner. The forms of the two I(184)

are fused together to make the finished portrait.

The portrait of 'L'Arlesienne', done in November 1888, shows the I(185) same development from a sketch made from life to a finished portrait.

The sketch, in oil paint, was 'slashed on in an hour'. The refined 164 orientalism of the finished portrait was created away from the model.

Roskill compares the graphic qualities of the finished portrait with those of the Usekomo by "Kaegetsudo Monorubu" which Bing published as a double plate in the second issue of Japon Artistique. The flat planes of the clothes and scalloped edges are indeed like those in the Bing illustration, which may have influenced it, but so may the Actor prints published in the special issue of Paris Illustré which Van Gogh had with him, or any originals which Theo had sent. The same contours can also be seen in Rossi and Myrbach's watercolour illustrations to Madame Chrysanthemuch. Watercolour naturally suggests flat planes of colour. The standing pose of 'Usekomo' is totally unlike the scated Arlesienne. Vincent only mentions the Bing print later, in June, 1888, when he mis-spells the artist as 'Morunuba'. There is thus very little

evidence of Roskill's claim that the 'Arlesienne' represents the first true example of the influence of a Japanese master work on Van Gogh.

Van Gogh's self portraits during the Arles period provide evidence of his personal identification with the Japanese way of life. In the 'Road to Tarascon' he portrays himself like one of Hokusai's prints of porters, dressed in blue overalls with a straw sun hat, striding through a Japanese landscape, a flat pattern on the picture plane. The portrait is a symbol of his desire to live in nature like a simple Japanese tradesman. The figure should be compared with the central figure in a straw hat moving left in the copy of Hiroshige's 'Chashi bridge in the rain' made in Paris.

Just before Gauguin came to Arles, Van Gogh made a self-portrait to exchange with him. He wrote that in trying to stress his own personality he had created 'not only myself but an impressionist in general', he had conceived the portrait as 'a bonze, a simple worshipper of the Eternal Buddha'. He deliberately orientalised the features.

'I have made the eyes slightly slanting, like the Japanese', he wrote.

The term 'bonze' is derived from Madame Chrysanthemen and there are two illustrations in it which show shaven headed monks with high round skulls as in Vincent's portrait. These two illustrations may have provided the model for Van Gogh's portrait.

The link between religion and art had been very close in Van Gogh's own life. Art had replaced God for him. As he wrote to Theo, he no longer needed God but something just as wonderful, his art.

Buddhist monks were known to have been the founders of Japanese art, and to have been amongst the greatest artists. In a letter to Theo, Vincent likened his own life to that of a monk who went to a brothel once a week.

Thus this portrait represents his total identification with Japanese monk artists who practiced the 'true religion' of contemplation of

I(188)

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Vincent only refers directly to Buddhism once in his letters, and then only in an aside 'under the name of optimism we are falling once more into the tail end of a kind of Buddhism', which suggests that

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although he knew of it he was not particularly interested in its teachings.

Images of Japanese Buddhist monks had appeared in Europe since Beato's photographs of the 1860's. However likely sources for Van Gogh's portrait are the drawings and paintings by Regamey. Many other "Japanese" devices, such as "cut off" trees can be found in both Regamey and Van Gogh and one is tempted to suggest that Vincent knew "Promenades Japonaises" itself. A second version of the self portrait as a bonze, "Sketch by candlelight" shows Vincent wearing a shirt with the design of a Japanese warrior drawn on it. This painting's provenance is controversial. However as we have seen Vincent owned Japanese prints showing warriors and he may have copied the design from one of these, if he painted the work.

The portrait as a Bonze was a manifestation of Van Gogh's great optimism, of his hope to rise to the serenity of Japanese art. But in a few months his self-confidence was hopelessly undermined by the failure of his relationship with Gauguin. The end of this relationship caused him to cut off his right ear at Christmas 1888. Soon afterwards he painted a portrait which reflects his failure to live up to his great hopes.

The 'self portrait with bandaged ear' in the Courtauld Institute I(189) Galleries shows Vincent's face in between a blank canvas and a Japanese print. The bandaged ear is on the left with the blank canvas; a symbol of his artistic impotence. The whole ear is associated with the Japanese print, with the image of creation fulfilled, and of man's unity with nature. Roskill dismisses this symbolism as no more than a contrast of the worlds of fantasy and reality, a conceit superimposed on

the portrait. He misses its central significance for Van Gogh, because he sees only a peripheral role for Japanese art in his work.

The print has been identified as one of two which Van Gogh later gave to Dr. Gachet at Auvers, 'Geishas in a landscape' by Sato Torakiyo.I(190) It is a late nineteenth century print and its attraction for Van Gogh 172 was that it includes all his favourite motifs, the bridge, Fuji, blossoms and flowers, and human beings at home in nature. Vincent copied the cranes on the left as part of the frame of the Paris 'copy' of the Oiran by Kesei Yeissen. It is likely that he himself brought the print to Arles from Paris, where it became a symbol of his artistic aspirations.

He compressed the composition in the portrait so that although one only sees half the print, the unity of the image is maintained. The symbolic importance of the composition as a whole made this necessary.

Van Gogh's self portraits show how important it was for him to identify personally with Japanese art and artists.

Gauguin's influence on Van Gogh's painting was totally disruptive.

In his remark that Vincent painted like Daumier while he, Gauguin, was a true Japanese, he reveals how little he understood of his friend's art. Gauguin's claim to have been Vincent's teacher has been disproved. However, he may have brought Japanese prints for Vincent to look at when he came to Arles. When he later went to Martinique he took with him a book in 'which Japanese sketches, prints of Hokusai, lithographs of Daumier, cruel observations of Forain' were gathered together so that he could 'demonstrate their bonds of relationship'. Perhaps Van Gogh suggested this procedure to him.

Gauguin's use of Japanese art was part of a much broader exoticism and is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this thesis, since a full account of it would require a study of the attitudes of critics in the later 1880's and 1890's to Far Eastern art and also studies of the later Paris exhibitions.

There are no innovations made in Van Gogh's art during the St. Remy and Auvers periods, only developments of his discoveries at Arles. The same themes derived from earlier nineteenth century art and from Van Gogh's own work are treated once again. He even re-copied the works of Millet and repeated his own early work in a series of views of cottages and fields which he called 'Memories of the North' in his letters.

In the 'Memories' he reworked the theme of the cottages, adding all that he had learned from Japanese art. Bright colour and free design on the picture plane replace the dull brown illusionism of the paintings of the same subject that he had made at Nuenen.

Van Gogh's late brushwork and design are a development from the Arles period. They are much more unified. They depend more on the internal laws of the picture plane for their effect than the Arles paintings which are still closely related to the experience of looking at nature.

At St. Remy and Auvers the gap in Van Gogh's art between nature and the imagination, art and reality disappeared completely. He attained the state of the oriental artist towards which he had struggled at Arles. His brush work is immediately expressive of his response to nature as well as of nature itself. Having attained this ability he no longer needed the constant stimulus of Japanese works. He hardly ever referred to them in his letters after he left Arles. Nonetheless, we know that he had Japanese prints with him at Auvers, for he gave Dr. Gachet two of them.

The canvas 'A starry night' painted at St. Remy is typical of this I(191) new approach in landscape. The brushstrokes form rhythmic curves which 175 express the interaction of elements of nature in the artist's mind to form a poetic whole.

Writing of this painting, Van Gogh said:

It is not a return to romantic or religious ideas, no. Nevertheless, going by the way of Delacroix, more than is apparent, by colour and a more spontaneous drawing than delusive precision, one could express the pure nature of the countryside compared with the suburbs and cabarets of Paris.

The 'way of Delacroix' enabled Van Gogh to use colour in these free swirls. But it is Delacroix transformed through Japanese art, as we may see by comparing this plate with his painting of 'Christ on Gennasareth' and the Hokusai print 'The Wave', which Van Gogh had compared with it at Arles.

So much was Van Gogh involved with his new understanding derived from Japanese art that he reproduces one of the basic contemplative signs of oriental mysticism, the Ying and Yang, the symbol of eternal change in nature to which man is bound. H.R.Graetz first pointed out this similarity. Van Gogh presumably did not know the symbol although it had appeared at Vienna in 1873, but he created it in his struggle to 'express the purer nature of the countryside'.

It is important to understand that what Van Gogh intended was an expression of man's relation to nature. It was not in any sense a religious notion of an all pervading life force immunent in nature which acts on man. This would be the very return to romanticism which he specifically denies.

It is the very denial of this western attitude which is the strongest evidence for Van Gogh's dependence on the Japanese aesthetic in his late work. Nature and man's thought are well balanced only in eastern art.

Van Gogh does link one late painting directly with Japanese art, a painting of a quarry entrance he did at St. Remy. He compared it to 'Japanese drawings of rocks with grass growing on them, here and there little trees.'

This landscape is no different in style to several other landscapes of ravines, and trees amongst rocks. The Japanese element is

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the same in all of them. A free brush stroke moving right across the picture plane involves the whole landscape in a surging unity not seen earlier in his work. Colour is linked directly with this line and used in simple relationships not dependent on the colours in nature, just as it is used in Japanese art. In these landscapes Van Gogh achieves the same 'realisation' of nature as Cezanne in his landscapes of the same time, such as the 'Quarry at L'Estaque'. But Van Gogh was helped by Japanese prints.

Van Gogh's 'Quarry' should be compared to Hokusai's drawings 'Pine and a mountain Goat' and one of the 'Hundred poems explained by the nurse'. A second painting, 'The Ravine' should also be compared with I(191) them. Vincent mentions it in the same letter as 'The Quarry'. The rocks are treated just like the rocks on the left hand side of the 'Hundred poems explained by the nurse', though with the freedom of oil paint. The figures moving among the rocks are also taken from Japanese drawings such as this one.

The same system of freely curved lines is used in the portraits of the late period, where it expresses character.

For instance, in a portrait of Dr. Gachet done at Auvers in 1890, the line expresses the melancholy nature of Vincent's friend, for whom he made a copy of it. The lines in Gachet's face, in the copy especially, resemble those in the woodcut 'Laughing Hannya' by Hokusai, as do the tufts of hair on either side of Gachet's head and the modelling of his hands. Van Gogh knew such works, for Theo wrote to him of the 'big heads in Japanese crépons' when describing Gauguin's 'Belle Angelg' which uses the same circular device in its design as the 'Laughing Hannya'. Perhaps Gauguin possessed the Hokusai as early as 1888 or alternatively had seen it or a similar composition in Vincent's collection.

However speculation about the precise time of the Japanese influ-

ence into Van Gogh's ocuvre in his St. Remy paintings is pointless. The resemblance between 'Dr. Gachet' and the 'Laughing Hannya' is important because it demonstrates the general similarity of Van Gogh's late work to Japanese art.

In view of all the evidence of his interest in it during his formative years and at Arles, it is clear that his latest style depends to a great extent on what he learnt from the East.

Van Gogh's use of Far Eastern art shows that far from being a naive experimentalist open to every passing influence, he was a well-informed artist concerned to resolve in his work several of the major problems of nineteenth century art.

All Van Gogh's later painting is a restructuring of nineteenth century artistic preoccupations through a "recreation" of a Japanese aesthetic in terms of oil painting. Van Gogh's work may be seen as the cumulative effect of twenty-five years of Japanese involvement in Western art. The impasse first experienced by Manet is resolved at last by Van Gogh and the artistic evolution from one to the other is a measure of the constant pressure of the Far Eastern example on Western artists.

Contemporary criticism linked Japanese art with contemporary art and related it to the nineteenth century tradition. Popular appreciation of Japanese art was also founded on an appreciation of a link. Nature and the imagination, poetry and the real, were seen as the two themes around which Japanese art was made. Van Gogh was exposed to the popular Japanese cult during his time in Paris, 1886-88, and I have demonstrated that his study of Japanese art during his time there was one of the most important reasons for his change in style. The link between Japan and the problems of the nineteenth century as a whole must have been made very clear to Van Gogh by his experiences with critics and friends in Paris.

For the problem went far beyond the sphere of art. The poverty of illusionism was only part of the grand poverty of logic from which Hegel tried to rescue existence by creating an imaginative force which filled the material world and which established a direct link between man and nature. It is significant that one of the first critics of Van Gogh, Albert Aurier, chose to discuss his art in Hegelian terms, which are at the same time very much like the criticism of Japanese art which Van Gogh himself had read a few years before. Aurier wrote:

He was, almost always, a symbolist. Not, of course, a symbolist in the manner of the Italian primitives, mystics who hardly felt the need to materialise their dreams, but a symbolist who continually saw the necessity of translating his ideas into precise, appreciable and tangible forms, intensely carnal and material. In almost all of the canvases under this morphological disguise, in the shape of this supremely fleshlike flesh and very material substance, is concealed, for the person who knows how to look for it, a thought, an idea; it is precisely this idea that is the essence of the work and both its efficient and final cause.

As for the brilliant and dazzling symphonies of colour and line, whatever their importance may be for the painter, they are merely means towards expression, processes of symbolisation.

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Van Gogh wrote to Aurier that he had rediscovered his canvases in this article. Aurier's perception of the duality of nature and the imagination in Van Gogh's art was remarkably acute. However, in making use of Hegelian notions, Aurier promotes the idea of the 'Idea', a world force which Van Gogh is said to have depicted in his art. A study of his use of Japanese art shows that a return to a religious attitude to the universe was not Van Gogh's aim. Man and nature, their relationship as one of creative change, seen at its highest in art, which was itself the 'something greater' to which he aspired in place of a God.

This understanding of the spiritual link between man and nature, essentially humanistic and independent of religious belief, is the most important thing that Van Gogh learnt from Japanese art. The freeing of

of his imagination to act directly on nature through the brush followed automatically. In his balancing of nature and the demands of art Van Gogh is one of the most 'objective' artists who have ever lived. Only Cézanne surpasses him in this respect in the nineteenth century.

The formal vocabulary which Van Gogh took from Japanese art is only incidental to this discovery. Nonetheless, I have shown that this is much broader and more fundamental to his style than is sometimes It would seem logical at this stage to present a discussion of the role of the Far Eastern example in the development of "Symbolism". I have demonstrated that symbolic modes of thought were evoked in those who wrote about Japanese art in the 1860's and 1870's and that these modes appeared in critics with varied "critical positions". However to pursue this into the 1880's as a whole would demand a lengthy study of the criticism of that period. There can be no doubt that the conditions under which the Far Eastern example exerted itself influence changed during this period. This can be seen by considering the role of Japanese art in Van Gogh's work as opposed to its role in the work of Gauguin. For Van Gogh Japanese art provided a total aesthetic, a means of resolving most of his difficulties, for Cauguin it was only one of a number of exotic sources which he attempted to force into a symbolic rather than a formal synthesis. For Gauguin Japanese art was mainly a source of imagery. Hence the highly integrated quality of Van Gogh's work as opposed to that of Gauguin. The incidental role of Japanese art in Gauguin's work coincides with broadening European appreciation of exotic cultures of all kinds. This was reflected in the Paris exhibition of 1889 where Japanese art played a much smaller part than the great range of exhibitions from the French colonies. Gauguin was much influenced by these exhibitions.

The role of the Far Eastern example in Gauguin's aesthetic may be demonstrated by considering the appearance of poses based on Buddhist

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,我们是是一个人,我们是一个人,我们是一个人,我们们是一个人,我们们是一个人,我们们是一个人,我们们们是一个人,我们们们是一个人,我们们们们们们们们的一个人,也

sculpture such as that on show at the Musée Guimet. The same is true 182 of the front figure in "Le Reve" of 1897 in the Courtauld Institute.

Gauguin also made use of titles which indicated his interest in Buddhist ideas. His portrait on silk of Meyer de Haan of 1889 was called "Nirvana".

On occasion Gauguin indicated his synthetic intention clearly.

In the painting "The Great Buddha" of 1889 for instance the Buddhist sculpture in the centre is probably a Maori idol from New Zealand.

The problem may be seen in another way by considering the images of copulating couples which appears in Gauguin's books "Noa Noa" and Mahoril "Ancien Culte Maori". The image is clearly derived from Japanese erotic 185 prints, but the couple are placed inside a blossom, the symbol of divine union and creativity, often used in India. Moreover their copulation has none of the destructive anxiety to be seen in Degas' use of Shunga.

Gauguin's use of Far Eastern imagery was clearly conditioned by his broader knowledge of Far Eastern culture and exotic sculptures generally. Indeed he came to regard them all as Buddhist as this passage from Noa-Noa reveals:

On the ground purple with long serpentine coppercoloured leaves (there lay) a whole Oriental vocabulary - letters (it seemed to me) of an unknown, mysterious language. I seemed to see that work, Atua, God. As Taata or Takata it reached India and is to be found everywhere or in everything. (Religion of Buddha) - In the eyes of Tathagata all the fullest magnificence of Kings and of their ministers are merely like spittle and dust.

In his eyes purity and impurity are like the dance of the six nagas. In his eyes the search for the way of Buddha is like flowers set before a man's eyes.

It would seem pointless to investigate the derivation of compositional pattern and figure poses from Japanese prints and paintings alone, or without considering their particular cultural significance for Gauguin. Thus the appearance of Japanese prints in one or two of Gauguin's paintings should not be used as an excuse to search for purely formal borrowings from Far Eastern art.

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He describes one painting where he clearly borrowed from a Japanese model "Enfants Luttant" of 1888, as "tout a fait japonais par un sauvage de Perou".

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The work that has been done on Gauguin's use of Far Fastern examples has almost completely ignored this type of vital interconnection in favour of formal analysis and thus, in my opinion, misrepresented the significance of Gauguin's borrowings from the Far East.

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The role of the Far Eastern example in Gauguin's work is clearly conditioned by a different and in some ways more complex set of circumstances than those which applied to Van Gogh and the artists which preceded him.

The same is true of other artists - such as Lautrec, who is known to have been fascinated with Japan. Even Rodin may have gained the idea for his cloaked "Balzac" from the statues and drawings of cloaked Buddhas which he saw in the Musees Guimet and Cernuschi. The sculptor's relinquishing of the power of the rhetorical in favour of a cloaked figure to suggest an enormous creative power indicates a move to a Far Eastern view of creative vitality. The analogy between Buddha and Balzac is perhaps not too strained for the seeds of an idea to have been transmitted to Rodin.

(a-d)

Enough has now been said to make clear the great change in the cultural ground against which artists perceived Far Eastern art during the 1880's.

Van Gogh's work may be seen to be the cumulation of the phase of Far Eastern influence studied in this thesis. It is reasonable to break off at this point to assess the results of the investigation.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Before returning to the questions raised in the introduction to this thesis it is as well to consider any weaknesses in the body of the work. Several important "documents" known to exist have not been located. The most significant of these are the catalogue of the Japanese exhibition in Paris in 1867, the volume of photographs published by the Japanese of their exhibits in Vienna in 1873 and the book of photographs sent 1 by Bing to the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is also regrettable that more objects from the Japanese appearance in Paris in 1878 have not been positively identified. However none of this information would be able to seriously alter the balance of the evidence I have already collected.

It is less easy to be totally confident of this in respect to the known collections of Japanese objects which I have so far been unable to examine in persion, in particular the original collection of Musee Cernuschi and the collection of Japanese prints once owned by Monet in Musée Marmottan. There is a possibility that these collections may contain work which would challenge the conclusion of this thesis that only nineteenth century Japanese prints and paintings were generally available in the West in the 1860's and 1870's. However documentary evidence that I have built up on this question makes this most unlikely.

There is little likelihood of serious error, through omission or wishful selectivity, in the picture of Japanese imports and of Japanese collections formed in the period discussed in this thesis. It is more important to consider the loss of the opportunity to make the most precise, historically accurate analogies between Eastern and Western art objects.

This now becomes a question of long term research. The general, historically imprecise, character of some of the comparisons between Eastern and Western art made in the text, particularly in the case of Monet, must be accepted if we are to draw meaningful conclusions from

the evidence it presents. The amount of that evidence, in my opinion, makes the outright contradiction of my conclusions by fresh historical discoveries most unlikely. Moreover at the very least this thesis does indicate the sources most likely to yield significant results through further research. For instance the narrowing down of the range of Japanese prints available to Western artists in the 1860's and 1870's to those by their near contemporaries in Japan has eliminated fruitless speculation on the role of eighteenth century prints in the West in that period.

Further studies of possible Japanese influence during this period could be most usefully made in the archives of the Musee Guimet, the Musee Cernuschi and the Tokyo National Museum in Ueno Park. There is also the possibility of locating lost works, such as the paintings of Regamey. However these studies are unlikely to contradict the conclusions of this thesis as regards the historical circumstances of Japanese influence and its general nature. They are more likely to give it more precision and definition.

Because of the depth of "background" research contained in the thesis its conclusions as to the influence of the Far Eastern example on Western artists are also unlikely to suffer the kind of factual contradiction which has overtaken nearly all previous work on the topic. This as we have seen lacked such research and relied far too exclusively on formal analysis and internal evidence for its conclusions.

The thesis offers sufficient evidence for the conclusions which follow to be made with reasonable confidence. These are in two sections; the first concerns the implications of the evidence of the thesis for our picture of later nineteenth century art in England and France, the second discusses the more general problems concerning changes in the forms of art which were raised in the introduction.

The implications of the thesis for later nineteenth century art.

A clear pattern has been established for the growing availability of Japanese goods in the 1860's and 1870's.

It has been shown that some Japanese work, notably paintings and prints, was available in Europe as early as 1820 but that little interest was taken in it by Western artists and critics until Western art and artistic theory had advanced to a point at which it was possible to recognise the validity of art that did not spring from the classical and Christian sources at the base of Western tradition. Hence the numerous analogies between Greek art and that of Japan in criticism of this period. It has been shown that for political and cultural, rather than aesthetic, reasons Chinese art played a secondary role during this period. Often the best of it was mistaken for Japanese art and assimilated to the general concept of "Japonaiserie".

Evidence has been offered that for many reasons 1862 may be taken to mark the beginning of serious interest and study of Japanese art in England and France.

However the period of massive imports of Japanese goods into Europe may be seen to run from the 1867 Paris exhibition to the 1878 Paris exhibition. In particular the period from 1874 to 1878 was one of continuous expansion in the trade in Japanese art and bibelots. After that exhibition and the 1883 retrospective at George Petit's gallery the nature of the interest in Japanese goods changed radically. Fashionable taste no longer welcomed contemporary Japanese art and Bing and other dealers suffered serious financial reverses. A new Western interest in Japanese art rose up based on historical scholarship and the values of the connoisseur, which cut off its vital role in relation to Western art.

The 1867 Japanese exhibition in Paris has been shown to be an important occasion, the last manifestation of the old feudal government of Japan and a great revelation to many. However it must be placed in

the context of the gradual development of interest and specifically in relation to the subsequent decision of the new Japanese government, in 1871, to promote Japanese culture worldwide and to encourage exports. These decisions were vital to the development of the interest in Japanese goods in Europe.

A most important and hitherto unacknowledged point is that the vast majority of Far Eastern work seen in Europe in the 1860's and 1870's was contemporary or near contemporary. The exceptions to this were some examples of lacquer seen at the 1867 exhibition and the occasional ceramic piece. No/painting or print made before the time of Hokusai can be identified c's definitely present in England or France before the 1878 exhibition. Indeed it would appear that Europeans did not begin to apply the rules of taste considered basic to a study of Japanese art today until the mid-1880's. Before then Hokusai stands out as the great, if not the only, Japanese master recognised in the West. Moreover, as early as 1874. European taste influenced Japanese dealers, who sold only contemporary goods to westerners, Japanese manufacturers began to make "Japanese" goods with motifs borrowed from the most popular Hokusai prints, such as the forged Satsuma seen being made by Sichel and others in 1874. The official Japanese exhibition in 1878 was almost entirely composed of contemporary work, including some of this type.

This is of the greatest significance for the view of the use of Japanese art by Western artists in the 1860's and 1870's and for the understanding of the European response to Far Mastern art and aesthetic attitudes.

The attraction of realists to Japanese art becomes much easier to explain if one realises that their image of it was formed basically by the Mangwa, other works of Hokusai and some by Hiroshige. The endlessly repeated analogy with Epinal prints becomes equally understandable. As for criticism, it has been generally assumed that those critics who

studied Japanese art, or used it in comparisons with Western art, in the 1870's were studying the whole range of work and their pronouncements have been made use of by historians on this basis. I have shown that this was not the case, that their criticism had a very precise reference within the formal vocabulary of Japanese art. Moreover I have been able to demonstrate the mechanism of cultural interaction whereby Japanese art was adopted by critics of many different viewpoints to support their general position in the current aesthetic debates in the West. The Far Eastern example was in no sense the exclusive property of the avant-garde. Indeed its almost universal adoption suggests that nineteenth century art. as a whole, possessed a common core of values and that it was the relative importance of these values rather than the radical rejection of them by an avant-garde which was at the roots of the great artistic debates of the time. I have also been able to show that the use of Japanese art by the artists I have discussed can be closely paralleled by the work of critics who studied Japanese art.

Another piece of evidence against the "avant-garde" theory of Western art during this period is provided by the popular enthusiasm for Japanese goods. The myth of the "discovery" of Japanese art by artists totally unaware of it as part of their own background would seem to be without foundation. The general appreciation of Japanese art by the artistic community may be seen to have been at least as advanced if not shead of the knowledge and use of the work by artists.

Moreover I have been able to show that as knowledge of Japanese art developed, so many of the changes in style often attributed to the immanent formal dynamic of style can be explained at least partially in terms of the Japanese example. For instance, Degas monotypes, Whistler's freest Nocturnes and the loosening and broadening of Manet's brushetroke may all be partially attributed to the discovery and appreciation of the free technique of Sumi-ye ink painting, in particular

the demonstrations which were given in Paris in 1878. Many other examples of detailed historical evidence in regard to particular changes may be found in the text. I believe that these are sufficient to show that the importance of the Far Eastern example for the development of art in the West during this period has been vastle underestimated, as a result of a basic misconception about the nature of the period. The effort of most artists during this time was towards the creation of a new synthesis of forms and meaning. This was necessary to overcome the difficulties which appeared in Western art and art theory in the 1860's concerning the relation of art to contemporary experience. These have been discussed in the thesis.

In the 1860's Japanese art fundioned as a kind of catalyst, a special compound of formal devices and servicable myths. At a time of overwhelming crisis for Western aesthetics, in which the whole rationale of art was under strain, a certain view of Japanese art helped to make painting possible. In the 1870's it continued to act as a major stimulus to formal innovation but, as before, within the context of an overall cultural unity. The great effort of the Western artists of the period studied in this thesis was synthetic, not analytic. If we look closely at the Impressionist aesthetic and subsequent attitudes to it. such as Venturi's account of the Impressionist "Idea" - and above all if we study the use of Japanese examples by "Impressionist" artists - it soon becomes clear how little their artistic intentions and achievements may be explained in terms of analytical naturalism. That explanation of Impressionist art, proposed by Venturi and many other critics and historians, has nothing to tell us about the Impressionists' complex involvement with Japan.

The spread of interest in Japanese art amongst artists as different in style as Manet and Alfred Stevens serves to show that the division of artists into those who can be represented as essentially analytical and

reductive and those who cannot, is a fallacy.

As we have seen, Stevens and Manet were strikingly similar to each other in terms of basic aesthetics and in the experience from which they built their art. Their different styles were the result of different attitudes to shared human experience of the metropolis at that period. They deserve to be seen as complementary, not as opposed. Similar problems occur in cases such as that of the relation between Whistler's art and that of Menpes. The application of the concept of avant-garde, used as a kind of Occam's razor to create a limited "tradition" which can be comprehended as a series of unique individual innovations in form and subject matter, may be seen to be misconceived. It ignores the wealth and variety of nineteenth century art and its manifold interrelationships. Moreover it relies on a caricature of nineteenth century society and culture as a philistine monolith. That cariacture has been dissolved by my analysis of the reception of the Japanese example in nineteenth century Europe.

Much more could be said in general terms about the conception of "avant-garde" which has formed such an important part of art theory and practice in the twentieth century. The artists discussed in this thesis - in particular Manet - have often been claimed as the first artists consciously to adopt avant-gardist positions. In my view this claim is not justified by the evidence I have presented. Consequently the conventional view of the development of modernism which follows from it is also challenged by this evidence.

It is clear that to be "avant-garde" is to be far more than merely an inventor of a new subject or artistic form. Avant-gardism implies a belief that much is one's culture is redundant. It implies a systematic elimination from the work of art of references to those redundant elements and, in the long run, results in a radical simplification or reduction of the creative process. This reduction occurs as a result of the

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pressure on an avant-gardist to present something totally new. It debars him from making use of the existing cultural significances of subject, composition or style, even in an attempt to transform them for a new purpose.

Thus, paradoxically, for the avant-gardist, art came to signify less and less as the culture in which he worked appeared to become more open and to offer an ever greater multiplicity of human experience. In an effort to stand outside his culture, often in order to criticise it through his creations, he was driven to condemn ever greater areas of it as unfit for creative purposes.

Avant-gardism has been described as the systematic using-up or "wasting" of cultural contents in the creative process. I have shown that the major artists of the 1870's were, on the contrary, concerned with the synthesis of different cultural contexts. They took various elements from their culture and juxtaposed them in novel relationships. In doing so they proposed new equations for experience, in the hope that they would be found more satisfying than the old. They were confident that their culture was capable of being adapted in order to generate these new meanings; they believed that experience would confirm the accuracy of their propositions. Their work was an attempt to continue the systematic recreation of their culture; not a declaration that it was obsolete.

I have argued, for example, that Huysmans' accusation that Manet was a reactionary in continuing to use Japanese elements in his work in the late 1870's was the beginning of a crucial misconception of Manet's art.

Huysmans' writings of the early 1880's are some of the earliest to express a belief that the surrounding culture must necessarily be cut down to size or rendered obsolescent if one is to make art at all.

There is a feeling in Huysmans that the artist must remain ahead of the game rather than at its centre.

It is significant that Duret's choice of the title "Critique d'Avant-garde" was also made in the 1830's. This title is strangely belied by the contents of the book; a series of earlier essays which cannot be interpreted in any sense as an "avant-garde" manifesto. The essays on Japanese art, for instance, relate Hokusai to realist art theory. Japanese art is seen in terms defined the normal cultural values of the West at this particular moment. Duret never sees the Japanese example as uniquely appropriate to an avant-garde alone, as was to be the case with primitive and in the early twentieth century.

It seems reasonable to suggest that avant-gardism in the visual arts was an invention of art critics in the 1880's and that the attempt to be "avant-garde" did not become a major factor in the conception of the creative process held by European artists until some time after this date. I have, for instance, been able to use the Japanese example to demonstrate the fallacy involved in regarding Van Gogh as an avant-garde artist.

In spite of Greenberg's arguments to the contrary, avant-gardism in painting does appear to have its roots within the particular practice of the visual art, that is to say the constraints of the medium and the purification of painterly means. On the contrary it appears to have been adopted ready made from literature.

This is an important argument. For if the roots of "avant-gardism" cannot be easily identified in the development of visual art in itself and for itself, then much that has been written about the genesis of modernism becomes questionable. It becomes necessary to rethink the explanation of the emergence of the "avant-garde" consciousness in the visual arts in terms of the artist's relation to this culture as a whole.

Even when an avant-garde strategy really did get under way - and I would place its emergence as late as the 1900's - I believe it can also be seen as an attempt to maintain relations with the culture which it appeared to render obsolete.

Only by declaring their separate position could artists relate to a rapidly disintegrating system of values in which the re-establishment of an artistic language through synthesis appeared impossible. In other words, avant-gardism was simply a working hypothesis - another means of keeping open the possibility of art as communication. The reasons for the appearance of this strategy surely involve the whole culture of the period. To pursue them would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

A recent exponent of avant-gardism has declared -

Disaffiliation is the celibacy of the artist whereby he becomes the oracle to whom society can always and only turn.

Any study of the emergence and influence of avant-gardism must begin with the social situations which give such a declaration the ring of truth.

Avant-gardism cannot be used as an explanatory principle. Its existence poses a problem for the historian, who must give an accurate account of it, just as he accounts for any other device or theory used by artists to maintain their creative activity.

I have stressed the integrating role of the Japanese example in the 1870's. I have argued that those artists who made use of it were, in fact, fighting to prevent the severance of links between their art and society. They fought to hang on to the cultural significance and symbolisms embodied in the social order and its various "languages". In other words they struggled to retain the ability of art to contain varied levels of meaning within one work, meanings which could only be sustained in and through culture as a whole.

This was achieved in part by appropriating the visual language of the Japanese example. Because the art of Japan stood quite outside the artistic tradition of Europe still largely ignored by Western scholarship it was open to mediation by purely European needs.

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The Japanese example enabled the artists studied in this thesis to combat the various pressures which combined to force them away from the central debates and experiences of their culture. (One of these was the decay of artistic language, the experience of "shabby equipment always deteriorating".) There were other less abstract pressures, such as the structure of the art market and the manipulation and commercialisation of contemporary taste.

I have shown that in the use of Japanese art, at least, the works of Whistler, Manet, Monet, Degas, Van Gogh and others are deeply rooted in contemporary conscicusness and experience and attempt to respond to it. The discovery of Japan was an important social and cultural event of the times. It produced a new iconography, to be found in photographs, engravings, literary accounts of Japan, Western literature, and in the great variety of Japanese bibelots apart from prints. There were even live Japanese on show in Paris.

I have attempted to stress the breadth of sources available to Western artists and to show that their interest in Japan was in no way confined to Japanese prints, as has been assumed by most other workers in this field. Whistler, for instance, drew on Western paintings of Japanese subjects, paintings on blue and white China, embroidered screens and literary descriptions of Japanese temples for his art, as well as prints.

It might be said that a whole new tradition with all its resources of myth, symbolism, imagery and artistic form, was created in the Western consciousness. Created rather than transmitted, for as we have seen, the "Japanese tradition" in the West was a complex of Japanese fact and Western cultural needs expressed in criticism, cultural synthesis and serviceable myths.

No better proof of the existence of this "hybrid" is needed than the differing emphases given to the critical problems raised by the Far

Eastern example in England and France. In England the need to deal with the attitudes of Ruskin lent a particular quality to critical analysis of Japanese art, whereas in France the notion of art as a series of languages each with its own validity allowed Japanese art to have a much more direct impact. National cultural situations profoundly affected the value of the Far Eastern example in England and France. In other words when we talk of the "Japanese" influence on Western artists, we are really pointing to a complex of ideas and associations - meanings assigned to the Far Eastern example which operated within Western culture itself.

Any formal compositional innovation, any use of Far Eastern subject matter or technique is always seen to be generated by this total complex of beliefs and attitudes.

In the '60's, for example, the emphasis was on Western cultural needs, mediated by analogies between European and Japanese art. In the 1870's more Japanese "fact" became available but the Western conception of Japanese art remained a complex of Eastern and Western values until the late 1880's. The basic aesthetic problems which were dealt with in the works of the artists of this period turn up repeatedly in Western criticism of Far Eastern art.

Behind these problems lies a general aesthetic intention shared by all the major artists studied in this thesis. It may be described as the attempt to create images which demonstrate the meaningful unity of man and his physical and social environment. This thread runs through all the critical responses to Japanese art which have been studied and appears as a major preoccupation in the work of artists as far apart as Whistler and Van Gogh. There can be no doubt that the Far Eastern example helped to define the terms in which this basic problem of Western aesthetics was approached by every important artist of the period, with the exception of Cezanne. Indeed Cezanne's position as a great

outsider may well be explained by his rejection or ignorance of Far Eastern strategies to solve his creative problems.

Consider, for instance, the difference between the nudes of Degas and Cezanne. In my opinion the difference follows quite directly from Degas's adoption of certain Far Eastern compositional devices and techniques of draughtsmanship to lend credibility to the image of the human form in motion. He made use of a series of mediated associations with Far Eastern art to give vitality to his painting. Cezanne, on the other hand, relied exclusively on the immanent characteristics of the canvas as he perceived them through Western classical eyes. Nonetheless, his contemplative attitude to nature and direct use of the picture surface parallels Far Eastern methods and it is significant that, working in isolation, his art adopted a rationale similar to that of Far Fastern art. That only emphasises the naturalness of the adoption of the Far Eastern example by others, as a short cut to the solution of many particular dilemmas of Western art. These particular dilemmas stemmed from a great and general one: because for Manet as much as van Gogh, the ultimate value of Japanese art was that it showed a way to reunite man and nature, subject and object, image and reality.

The "Fost Impressionists", in particular Van Gogh and Gauguin, have often been described as a special breed of new colectics, quite different from the naturalists of the 1870's. The term "Synthesist" has been appropriated to represent this borrowing and mixing of cultural quantities. I have tried to show that Van Gogh's use of Japanese art was in no sense eclectic. Rather he used it to deal with a series of major contemporary cultural preoccupations. He assimilated his notion of Japanese imagery and technique to the current conventional repertory of European forms and symbols in which these preoccupations had been embodied. In doing so he hoped to create new meanings for this repertory appropriate to the late nineteenth century. Sometimes he succeeded in this. The motif of the

sower, for instance was reworked in such a way that its original Biblical significance, its reference back to Millet and forward to contemporary debates over the social organisation of labour were all included. The context of the Japanese example enabled each reference to transform the significance of the other.

Perhaps the least important aspect of the Japanese influence in Europe was its direct contribution of new imagery. More significant was the help the Far Fastern example gave to artists in identifying new patterns within their experience and the means it suggested for intellectual and artistic synthesis. Whilst it has been possible to show that the individual contributions which were made by the Japanese example to Western art and art theory in the later nineteenth century were far more numerous and significant than has been supposed, this is not the most important aspect of my argument. In the last analysis it is the shift in the overall historical account of the period that is prompted by consideration of the evidence presented here which is most important. This will be analysed in more detail in the second half of this conclusion.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that the Far Eastern example remained only one factor in the complex development of the art of the later nineteenth century. A great many artists made use of the Far Eastern example, but it cannot be said to have been, in itself, the major formative influence of the period. Its value lies, rather, in its appropriateness to and interaction with the complex of artistic possibilities of the period as a whole.

It is by the light which it sheds on the period, rather than any case for the primacy of Japanese influence, that the evidence offered here should be assessed. One final point must be made. I have been able to indicate certain analogies between the early critical writings on Japanese art and important theoretical concepts of twentieth century

art. Guimet uses the concept of the "hieroglyph" so beloved of the German Expressionist, and several critics anticipate the Bergstnian concept of significant form, in its aesthetic usage, when they write on Japanese art. The many anticipations of "modernism" by artists who made use of the Far Eastern example have also been noted. The basic modernist notion of the relativity of all aesthetic values probably sprang from the experience of the Far Eastern example in the 1860's and 1870's. This evidence suggests that the development of modernism owes more to the Far East than has been suspected.

The Far Eastern example has been ignored by most historians of modernism because there are no formal analogies between Japanese prints and Cubist and Expressionist paintings. No matter if Wyndham Lewis "blessed" Korin and Apollinaire wrote on Chinese art.

The roots of modernism may extend further and in more directions than has commonly been conceded.

Modernism may have contained many artists whose aims were fundamentally similar to those of Manet, the Impressionists and Van Gogh; artists whose work drew on a multitude of reference points within their own culture in order to perpetuate its vitality. Braque, Matisse and Kirchner, may be offered as an indication of artists to whose work the argument could be applied.

Avant-gardism and the brutal, destructive analysis of one's culture and its linguistic possibilities may have had a much smaller place in the development of art in the early twentieth century than has been realised. These suggestions must however be discussed elsewhere.

It remains to assess the implications of the evidence of this thesis for a general view of the period and in particular for the various accounts given of artistic change from the 1860's to the 1880's.

The nature of artistic change and cultural interaction with particular reference to the late Nineteenth Century.

In the introduction to this thesis I have suggested that the task of accounting for perceived changes in the forms of art practised at given times was a fundamental one for the historian of art, and I suggested some hypotheses for the process of change in art and its relation to culture and cultural change in general. It now remains to test those hypotheses against the evidence gained in this thesis about change in later nineteenth century art.

To begin with, one must dismiss any notion of the artist as a passive receiver of "influences". Many historians have discussed the Japanese "influence" in these restrictive causal terms. They remind one of the tramp who declared that he always wore a new jacket since he was constantly patching it and the cloth was new, although all that remained of the original jacket was the occasional button. The historian who uses "influences" as causal explanations creates a patchwork with a similar relation to the work studied is that of the tramp's jacket to the original.

The evidence provided in this thesis is that artistic "intention" is a clear factor in the operation of an influence. Hence the variety of significance attributed to Japanese forms by different artists. The most thrilling documents in this respect are Van Gogh's letters which show how painstakingly he addressed the problem of a creative synthesis in a work of art and how precisely he made use of certain factors in the contemporary understanding of Japanese art to contribute to this end. Using this same hypothesis of intentionality controlled by the known significance of Japanese form in the general culture of the times, I have been able to add new precision to the understanding of the development of the artists I have discussed. For artistic intention is not arbitrary; the artist relates to his environment and his experience, and

seeks to understand and to make propositions about it. He proceeds on the assumption that art is a form of knowledge.

Commonsense suggests that for knowledge to exist it must be communicable. Art must then be the manipulation, creation or transformation of images and symbols with recognised significance in the culture in which the artist works. "Significance" is of course a broad term and includes the concept of the value of a particular technique or compositional device as well as the more directly symbolic connotations of particular subject matter. I have offered some evidence to back up this hypothesis in my demonstration that the critical and social acceptance of Japanese art parallels its use by artists. And I have been able to show that it is possible to interpret some works by Manet and others more clearly if one assumes that the Japanese art which influenced them had a particular cultural significance. In creating a work of art, the artist allows a complex gesture of definition to take place between himcelf and the culture in which he works. In this gesture changing perceptions of the world and experiences are articulated.

Studies of theories of artistic change may give us an insight into the dynamics of this gesture and the relative significance of the participants in the interaction.

Karl Mannheim once formulated what he regarded as the cardinal questions of art history;

Whose mentality is recorded by art objects?
What action, situation and tacit choices
furnish the perspectives in which artists perceive and represent some aspect of reality?
If works of art reflect points of view, who
are the protagonists and who the antagonists?
Whose reorientation is reflected in changes
of style?

One may not agree with Mannheim that the only solution to these questions can be found in locating art in a general social continuum but they are vital questions, centreing round the balance of respons-

ibility for the creation and perception of a work of art. The key question is that of stylistic change. An examination of the different explanations of artistic change as they apply to the period studied in this thesis may help us to answer all Mannheim's questions.

There is sufficient evidence of the extension of interest in Japanese objects and Japanese culture into the general society of England and France during the 1870's to enable us to dismiss the use of this interest as the touchstone of an imaginary "avant-garde". Moreover the evidence shows that far from using the Japanese example to create an "avant-garde" position for themselves outside the common artistic pre-occupations of the time, artists used it to make statements about contemporary experience drawn from the whole gamut of their relations with their own culture. We may therefore dismiss the avant-gardist theory of artistic change as trivial, irrelevant and capable only of hampering our understanding of these relations and of the works of art associated with them.

Equally, Combrich's faith in the innovating individual may be challenged by asking what evidence we have of an innovating individual in the case of the interest in Far Eastern art during the period. Instead we have partial interpretations and opinions adding up to a whole cultural fact. Neither Burty nor De Goncourt present a comprehensive "European" view of Far Eastern art which subsequently decays as it is taken up by their followers". Yet clearly the interest in Japenese art could be classed as an artistic movement. Moreover the great differences in emphasis placed on the value of Japanese art by the masters of the late nineteenth century testify that none of them was the dominant inmovator. It is an excellent thing to have disposed of this theory. Unchallenged it leads to the assumption that "movements" in art begin with a great individual and always follow a declining path. It follows from this that no constructive work can be undertaken along a way blocked by a great "innovator". Yet, as we have seen, Van Gogh's art is an

outstanding example of such "impossible" constructive work, built on innovations of earlier artists and critics.

The true picture of the role of the artist as an individual in the process of innovation of new artistic forms is much more complex than Combrich would allow.

It is true that it is the individual artist who brings together areas of experience into a new whole in a work of art, much as the individual human personality is composed of areas of experience integrated to maintain their balance. The artist alone, however, does not invent the areas of experience and forms which he uses in his art any more than a human being invents his own personality from within. It may be that the creation of a work of art involves the proposition of a new balance within cultural experience, a structure which gives meaning to reality.

In periods of rapid social and cultural change such activity would be imperilled by rapid shifts in the social basis from which art is created.

In such periods art may well be used to interpret and channel cultural changes in order to limit their alienating effect. This would necessarily imply radical changes in artistic language. Arnold Hauser has made this case for Mannerism. Clearly the later nineteenth century may also be interpreted as a period of crisis. However it is mistaken to assume a causal relation between a purely economic crisis and artistic change. Such a relation is mechanistic - it ignores the positive contribution of the artist in restructuring the language of art and in thus providing new frames for experience. Moreover, crises of artistic language have a multiplicity of sources. No doubt it was the need for trade which took men to the Far East. Nonetheless it was the meeting of Eastern and Western cultures which disrupted the traditional values of Western aesthetics and substituted the notion that all cultural positions were relative. As we have seen, the artistic response was not one of

disoriented panic and arbitrary creation. Rather the artists that are studied here attempted to create a new cultural whole by a process of exploration and assimilation. One thinks of Degas's treatment of the nude or Van Gogh's pantheist syntheses.

We have seen that similar processes occurred in the popular response to the Far Eastern example. "Cherry blossom exoticism" enabled the English middle classes to make use of the decorative possibilities of Japanese art in interiors totally alien in form and expressive intention to those of the Japanese houses for which it was intended.

Looked at in this light the innovations of an individual artist, though unique and real, are part of a general response to a problem or problems in the culture in which he works. The artist's relations to the culture are, of course, multiple, not uniquely bound to a "movement" as Gombrich implied - consider for instance, Degas's role in relation to Impressionism. Its ambiguity results from his other relationships - to the partisans of Japanese art who formed a second distinct group and to the tradition of Ingres, another "movement" altogether.

A concemitant of Gombrich's view of the innovating individual is the belief in the unique, that is to say the socially autonomous work of art. But, as we have seen, the life of an individual work of art is related to the precision with which the artist addresses himself to the content of the culture in which he is working. It is the ability to distinguish the various new relations within their culture and their potential usefulness within the language of their art that distinguishes the achievement of a Manet, a Degas or a Van Gogh, from that of a Tissot. Compare, for instance, the overlaying of European and Japanese references in Tissot's "Japonaise au Bain" with the precision of a nude by Manet or Degas. Tissot achieves only a crude admixture while Manet and Degas achieve synthesis.

We have seen that the use of Japanese forms and imagery by the

artists studied in this thesis can best be explained by considering their importance in the culture as a whole rather than their immediate, isolated connectations, in particular works of art. By viewing art as a particular form of knowledge, it is possible to preserve the identity of the individual work of art and at the same time to prevent false conceptions of its autonomy. This same method has made it possible to avoid the Regelian fallacies so rightly criticised by Combrich. It has been possible by using the Far Eastern example, to give a factual, historical account of the nature of certain stylistic changes without the necessity of reconstructing the whole culture. The operation of the culture as a whole has been seen to be reflected in the contingencies which governed the employment of the Far Eastern example. Consider, for instance, the repeated comparison between Japanese and Greek civilisations as circumtances under which art of the highest order was achieved.

The Greek comparison has been used to interpret some "innovations" in art made by Whistler and Degas, and to suggest that they are solutions to certain problems facing the European classical tradition. The innovations spring from European classicism, and its crisis, as much as any sudden "experience" of Far Eastern art. I have been able to show that artistic innovations in the period studied in this thesis were closely dependent on relations of ideas within the culture and society as a whole. I have been able to do so without making use of a generalised assertion that art "reflects" social circumstances, I have also been able to indicate that, in general, the link between the creative artist and his culture is one of symbolic communication, that art is a linguistic activity which draws its significance from culture as a whole. I will return to this thems later.

However there are two related objections to my argument. It may be argued that the discovery of Japan was a unique historical event, from which little or nothing can be deduced about the nature of artistic change in general.

To this may be added the criticism that the account of Japanese artistic influence given here is misconceived because it takes too little account of a fundamental clash of the cultural assumptions of East and West in which artistic happenings were only a subsidiary incident.

If this were the case, no general conclusions about the nature of stylistic change of any practical value could be derived from this work. One could only make vague generalisations of the kind which explain everything and nothing. This view of the clash of two cultures as a unique historical event follows from the assumption that cultures can be seen as monolithic philosophic systems whose propositions may be apprehended in simple terms.

These propositions may be seen as generally reflected in the art produced by their cultures.

This is the view taken by Northrop in his book "East meets West" 10 and it is worth considering his characterisation of this "culture clash" and its relation to the evidence of this thesis.

Northrop defines Western culture as empirical, logical and pragmatic, seeking knowledge through experiment and Eastern culture as intuitive, seeking knowledge through apprehension of an "all-embracing aesthetic continuum". If one follows Northrop's proposition in terms of the subject 11 of this thesis, then the basic process underlying the adoption of Far Fastern techniques and aesthetic values by Western artists is the acceptance of this intuitive Eastern attitude.

There is some evidence to support this view: for instance the adoption of the expressive brush stroke, by various artists, the emphasis on "aesthetic continuum" in Monet's late paintings, and Van Gogh's intuitive contemplation of his subject matter and his pantheism.

One could argue for instance that the Impressionists introduced Far Rastern elements into their work as a way of escaping the inadequacies of a creation based solely on a positivistic analytic naturalism; that they

attempted to escape Western scientific determinism by confronting it with the Far Eastern aesthetic of the indeterminate, with reality conceived as an indeterminate continuum.

But I believe their various attempts can be traced back to an older conflict of nineteenth century culture; the conflict between realistic analysis and piece by piece depiction, on the one hand, and the contrary stress on the creative and synthesising role of the imagination. The notion that there was a necessary bond between man and nature, that could be revealed through the imaginative use of the symbol has its immediate roots in the early nineteenth century. It was inherited by the artists studied in this thesis and led them to attempt the creation of works in which the unity and interaction of man and nature would be grasped and given form.

We have seen that borrowings from the Far East were adopted only in a mediated form. That is to say that they provided information for the solution of specific problems in Western art. Moreover they were not seen by Western artists in the context of Eastern culture but through the cultural analysis made by Western critics and through the mediation. of Western culture as a whole.

Cultures, and in particular their art, mediate between experience and understanding. They are therefore particulate structures of information not monolithic philosophical systems. Art is a form of knowledge not merely a response to knowledge. Only if this is true can the type of cultural exchanges described in this thesis take place. Northrop's conception for all its grandeur is mistaken. We may dismiss the notion of an overall "Far Fastern Renaissance" in late nineteenth century art as misleading, since it distorts the necessary basis of the influence of Far Eastern art in the current aesthetic problems of Western culture. Neither Monet nor Van Gogh turned into Japanese artists overnight, although they may have wished to do so. The work of Jack Burnham which

I discussed briefly in my introduction may be seen to be a variant of the belief that the content of cultures may be represented by simplified propositions applicable to a whole range of events within that culture.

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Thus, two of the hypotheses about the nature of artistic change presented in the introduction to this thesis seem, in combination, to offer the best hope of a notion of artistic change which can account for the evidence.

These are the hypothesis that all art is intrinsically a part of society in which it was made and hence explicable in terms of the totality of that society, (Mannheim's "social continuum") and the metaphor of art as language and information.

The social hypothesis alone is inadequate since it appears to be incapable of providing a description of the creative process, as a practical activity. Used alone it places the historian at a distance from the studio; at its crudest it becomes an argument that art is a reflex of economic and social conditions. Art becomes a symptom rather than a means to understanding. We have already seen that art appears to be a form of knowledge and therefore in no sense merely a reflection of other aspects of human activity.

However without the political circumstances and technical achievements of the West, which led to the opening of Japan by force and the subsequent rapid expansion of Japanese trade with Europe the events described in this thesis would have been impossible. It is also true that Japan's unique achievement in resisting colonisation earned her and her culture great respect in the West, as compared to China and other colonised countries. Moreover Japanese independence enabled her to promote her own culture and encouraged the fashionable enthusiasm for Japan.

It is easy to respond to the reflection theory with a dismissal of such factors as "circumstantial" - that is to say that they are at such

a distance from the creative process that the historian may take them for granted. However, insofar as they directly condition the significance of a particular subject, compositional pattern or technique within the culture in which an artist is practising, they are closely related to the creative process. The low opinion of Chinese culture in the West is an example of this direct conditioning, which we have seen operating in the work of Wright. Also it has been demonstrated that the adoption of compositional devices and painting techniques from the Japanese example in the 1860's was by no means a simple consequence of the availability of Japanese goods in the West. It was related to cultural changes of a general kind which made it possible to use the achievement of artists outside the European tradition in works addressed to that tradition. Japanese images were available at an earlier date but aroused no interest. Only with the full development of "Realist" attitudes to art, as represented by Zola, Champfleury, and to some extent Burty, was it possible for Manet and others to use Japanese form as a basis for their work.

In discussing the importance of the social context in which an artist works it is important to understand that one is at all times addressing the whole content of his culture, much in the same manner as that of the artist himself.

The problem has arisen in several forms in this thesis. The explanation of the compositional techniques and draughtsmanship of the impressionists solely in terms of the advent of photography provides a good example of a misapprehension of the relations between the artist and his culture. Photography was not experienced by the artist as a series of forms to be picked out at will. Its current use in the culture was a significant aspect of the meaning of those forms. Thus the influence of photography cannot be made use of to support a hypothesis that technical innovation can effect changes in artist creation directly and arbitrarily. Technical innovations always fit their cultural context.

Nineteenth century photographs look, in general, like Salon paintings. This is true of Degas's own photographs. The formal influence of photography on artists during the period studied is, in practice, impossible to disentangle from the influence of Japanese prints. Consider, for example, the use of photography of Japanese subjects in Tissot's "Japonaise au Bain", or the widespread influence of engravings taken from the photographs of Beato. It is only when one considers the place of both sources within the culture as a whole that a pattern can be perceived. Only through a consideration of such common factors as subject matter and current artistic theory and criticism can the role of any given influence be accurately assessed.

This holistic view of the relation between an artist and his social and cultural context offers the most promising means of interpreting changes in the creative process. There is a tendency in any culture to attempt to account for all the human experience contained within it. This is 13 done by means of associations of ideas, images, behaviour patterns and indeed all aspects of life in a unified structure.

If one considers the apparently "arbitrary" Western associations attached to Japanese art which I have called "servicable myths", it seems that they are the product of the interaction of such a unified structure of associations with the Japanese example. This took place at a time when little was generally known about Japan. Nonetheless a new system of associations arose which claimed to give a full account of Japanese art in terms of the current cultural position of Europe. These associations, when reviewed together seem to present a "totality" of interpretations in terms of the artistic debates of the 1860's and 1870's. The same "serviceable myth" is found employed by critics and artists of very different intentions. There seems little doubt that such myths are born in society as a whole or in a culture as a whole and acquire their status by common consent. Take, for instance, the myth of the

Japanese as representing a perfect civilisation based on aesthetic principles. It is found influencing the English aesthetes as well as Vincent Van Gogh and was clearly common cultural currency. The precision with which such myths operate in relation to each other may be demonstrated by considering the proposition that the "myth" of the Japanese as an ideal civilisation was simply an extension of the romantic notion of the Noble Savage. This can be denied by pointing to the association of Japan and Greece in another serviceable myth. The Noble Savage was an invention designed as a counter to the "Classical" view of civilisation.

Changes in artistic form appear to be explicable in terms of the efforts of a culture to attain a satisfactory overall system of associations of meaning. All the major artists studied in this thesis may be seen to have been involved in the use of the Japanese example to achieve such a relocation of associations of meaning within pictorial form. Each of them made use of the "serviceable myth" in attempting this.

Cnce again we may refer to the example of Van Gogh's "Sower". And there are more complex cases - Whistler's Nocturnes, for example, make use of many kinds of association with Japanese culture, including the high aesthetic value placed on blue and white china in Europe, the belief that Japanese prints were an accurate record of Japanese landscape, the association of Japanese and Greek art as forms of "ideal" beauty and European descriptions of Far Eastern painting techniques. In making uso of these associations Whistler relocated the whole idea of a "Landscape" within English culture. In particular he abandoned all those elements in Western landscape painting which had been taken as indications of the hand of a maker of the universe.

Hence the Ruskin/Whistler trial was neither a debate about craftsmanship nor taste but about the relations of man to nature and ultimately to God. This debate was being echoed elsewhere in English life at that time. Thus we have an example of the manner in which cultural analogies function as metaphors relating the artist and the total context of his culture. It is significant that once the process of locating the Japanese example within Western culture was achieved it ceased to be employed for artistic innovation. Once scholars and connoisseurs had discovered a system of "hard fact" to account for Japanese art, the vitality of the "serviceable myths" was lost. Artistic innovation would appear to depend on the existence of ambiguities within a culture which may be exploited during the creative process.

It may well be that "ad hoc" associations of meanings similar to the Western analogies with the Japanese culture are used by all major artistic innovators. They may even be an essential element of the creative process. Certainly the notion of ambiguity has played a great part in the critical study of literature and some studies of the process have been undertaken for the visual arts.

The idea that the artist works with ambiguities in visual forms and symbols, that is to say visual language, in order to relocate them clearly within his culture is supported by the notion that art may be regarded as a form of knowledge. For the process of learning may be seen to be an elimination of ambiguity.

Enough has now been said to make clear the general nature of the connection between artistic activity and the society in which the artist creates his work.

The existence of groups of artists with a common "world view"
becomes less mysterious seen from this point of view. By means of the
Japanese example it has been shown that the "Impressionists" did not
share the common artistic programme often attributed to them. Their
association reflects neither an immediately shared style nor even shared
formal intentions. Nor does it reflect golely their relations as a
group to the art market or their sociological background and status.

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Rather the "Impressionists" derived their unity from common cultural and artistic relations to their society as a whole.

They were united by the terms in which they defined their relations to their culture and society. However those terms were broad enough to be used by both Degas and Monet. They in no way reflected a particular value judgement on contemporary culture. Rather they provided a model from which different values could be derived. The employment of the Japanese example by the Impressionist artists shows this distinction. The value which they gave to Japanese art was felt to be an important part of the Impressionists overall assessment of their culture, and yet it was employed differently by each of them. This dual role was possible because of the mediating analogies which had allowed the Japanese example to come into Western culture.

Let us take one belief generally identified as common to all the artists in this group: the idea that aesthetic values are contingent, having no absolute basis. This has often been explained in terms of the rise of positivistic science. But relativistic attitudes were also deeply embodied in the Far Fastern example, in Far Eastern cultures in general and in specific aspects of artistic practice. The appearance of these attitudes in "Impressionist" painting must be accounted for in terms of all their possible "causes" within contemporary culture.

None of them alone is a legitimate explanation of the "relativity" of the methods of composition, techniques of draughtsmanship, colour systems and brushwork of the Impressionists. I have shown that many specific forms and techniques were borrowed from the Japanese example but one can only understand such borrowings in terms of the significance given to them by the whole culture in which particular artists worked.

We are now in a position to offer a hypothesis as to the nature of artistic change. It is clear that art acts as a form of knowledge constituted between the individual and his culture and society. Knowledge is not a collection of facts but a system of information given in particular relations. Thus the relation between a representational technique, a particular subject and the implications of both these within a given culture constitute what is known.

Thus two factors are involved in artistic change, an innovating individual or group and a society whose cultural system is involved with changes which create ambiguities of symbolic relations within it. Any study of artistic innovation must describe clearly the role of both these aspects. A great artistic innovator must achieve his innovations by addressing the body of the culture in which he works. Only in this way can art be made which has any general human significance.

Van Gogh's use of the Japanese example shows this process clearly. He made use of Japan in relation to general cultural problems which he experienced. This was made possible by the associations of meaning established for the Japanese example in European culture.

Consider, for example, Van Gogh's Crau landscapes, particularly "The Harvest", in which the process of work is seen as integrated into a total human life. He made great use of Japanese draughtsmanship, colour modulation and composition in these works. These elements were associated in his mind with the conception of the Japanese as a race, living in harmony with nature, who lived as craftsmen. He associated Japanese art with realism as an aesthetic attitude. He believed that the Japanese artist lived in harmony with his fellows and that Japanese art had a recognised role within the lives of ordinary people. All these associations were brought to bear in his means of working and in the formal and technical synthesis of the painting. At the same time they were a part of the European culture he was addressing. Thus his

paintings constituted new juxtapositions of cultural associations in order to propose a new attitude to aspects of contemporary social experience.

This innovation occurred at all levels of Van Gogh's work, not just the symbolic. Take for instance his brush technique borrowed from Japanese art, which becomes a metaphor for direct apprehension of an object as a whole, of a relation between man and nature.

An artistic creation is neither the unique work of an individual innovator nor the general "product" of his culture. Rather it is an embodiment of their relation.

Innovations in artistic form occur when an artist proposes new symbolic relations between elements of his culture. Generally it would seem that this is in reaction to ambiguities and contradictions within that culture. At times when such ambiguities are felt most strongly one would expect the most prolific innovation. We have seen that this was true of the later nineteenth century. The Japanese example played a major role in the development of such ambiguities in Western artistic theory and practice at that time. But behind this lay more fundamental issues. The commonly accepted relation of a man to productive labour was in doubt. The role of "nature" within culture was changing as a consequence of the growth of cities. The Japanese example became symbolically related to these and other fudnamental sources of ambiguity in the late nineteenth century European culture. By examining the use made of it by the major artists studied in this thesis it can be seen that they were attempting to re-establish a cultural unity through symbolic means. Their art was intended as a practical, purposeful struggle against the alienation of artistic forms from their symbolic relations with culture as a whole.

Art represents the human attempt to adjust to and take advantage of the human situation to produce the highest level of consciousness and understanding. A work of art presents information and proposals about the significance of that information simultaneously. It has recently been suggested that;

Culture is the only facet of the human condition and and of life in which knowledge of the human reality and the human interest in self-fulfilment and perfection merge into one. The cultural is the only knowledge unashamed of its partisanship and ensuing bias. It is the only knowledge, for that matter, which is bold enough to offer the world its meaning, instead of gullibly believing (or pretending to beliew) that the meaning lies over there ready made and complete.....

18

To create a work of art is to create a new piece of information about experience. Such creation always takes place in relation to changes in the culture surrounding the artist. However it would seem that neither can be related <u>causally</u> to the other: the relationship occurs because of the artist's desire to understand and to be understood.

The artist relates to the whole of his experience and seeks to articulate it in a <u>purposive</u> manner. I have attempted by means of tracing the development of the use of the Far Eastern example to show this activity in its full complexity.

Art becomes a totally practical endeavour, without which a vast range of human experience and capacity loses significance.

The implications for the history of art are clear. Only through a study of the artist in terms of the interaction of his own experience and the culture in which he acts can one give an adequate historical account of the creative process and thus of the historical existence of works of art.

This thesis has attempted to show the relations of the artist to his surroundings through one small segment of them at a particular time in history. Its conclusions are clearly valid for that time. Hopefully they may have a more general significance.



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Introduction

- 1. R. Muther, "History of Modern Painting". London 1907. Chapter " XXXII is about Japanese art.
- 2. See Fry's writings on Post-Impressionism in "Transformations, Critical and Speculative Essays on Art," London, 1926, which are good examples of this.

The most blatant is Greenberg's notion of a modernist "mainstream" as expressed in Clement Greenberg "Art and Culture", Boston, 1961, especially the section "Art in Paris" and the essay "The Later Monet".

Desci

- J. For instance see R. Dorra. "Seurat's dot and the Japanese stippling technique." Art quarterly U.S.A. Summer 1970 pages 168-13.
- 4. See M. Roskill, "Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist circle", London, 1970. His distinction between Japonisme and Japonaiserie has no basis in the historical use of these terms.
- F. Antal, "Classicism and Romanticism", London 1966, has shown how misleading it can be for a historian to accept de facto the critical divisions of an age and to write its history accordingly. My view of the nineteenth century as a continuum depends considerably on that of Werner Hofmann expressed in "Art of the Nineteenth Century or The Lost Paradise", London, 1961.
- 6. E. H. Gombrich, "In search of cultural history", Oxford, 1969, p.41.
- 7. Combrich's works abound with attacks on the rationalisation of art history. The earliest is to be found in "Meditations on a Hobby Horse", London, 1963. It is a review, "The Social History of Art" written in 1952 in response to Hauser's work of the same title. Combrich claims more for Hauser than he would for himself namely that Hauser attempts to account in detail for the historical nature of art by using its social context.

The best counterbalance to Gombrich's arguments is Hauser's "Philosophy of Art History", London, 1959. See in particular the essays on "The Scope and Limitations of a Sociology of Art", "The Concepts of Ideology in History of Art" and "Art History without Names".

These make clear the limited intentions of the "Social History of Art", and anticipate many of Gombrich's later attacks on the study of the social context of art, and even answer some of Gombrich's own work.

Hauser's "Philosophy of Art History" has been of some importance in forming the ideas expressed and implied in this thesis.

8. Gombrich, "In Search of Cultural History", p.49. Combrich acknowledges that this is his attitude to the subject by saying that he wishes to impart a "sense of continuity" to students, a habit of mind which looks for continuity in all manifestations of culture. In my view such a habit of mind can be very misleading. Moreover this idea of "continuity" is really an evasion of the problem of causes and effects and influences in culture with which cultural historians should be concerned. It is too easy to lay claim to a "Great Tradition" and then to build a history around it.

- Other historical circumstances would, logically, require equally rigorous investigation. There is no reason for one characteristic interpretation of the relations of different elements within a culture to be treated as 'universal. National character had a very different role in the U.S.A. and Germany in the 1930's. A society which publically subscribes to a Hegelian view of history will offer a different social view of the creative process to one which does not.
- Apart from the works by Gombrich, Hofmann and Hauser cited above, the following have also been important in my consideration of the hypothesis which I outline below:
 - E. Gombrich, "Art & Illusion", London 1960.
 - S. Langer, "Philosophy in a New Key," New York, 1951, S. Langer "Philosophical Sketches", Baltimore, 1962,

 - J. Burnham, "Beyond Modern Sculpture", New York, 1972, R. Wollheim, "Art and its Objects", Pelican, London, 1970,
 - P. Rawson, "Drawing", London, 1969.

This book is remarkable for its unselfconscious use of Far Hastern examples. The author is a Far Eastern scholar. He turns naturally to the language metaphor in discussing its relation to the West.

After having completed most of my research I came across J. Wolff's "Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art", London, 1974, which raises many of the issues of method which interested me in this thesis and proposed a solution to the problem of the nature of the historical position of the creative process similar to that which I attempt to derive from historical information. The foundation of this solution in sociological method is beyond the scope of this thesis, however the chapters on "The Sociology of Art and the Sociology of Knowledge", "The Sociology of Art and the concept of world view", are highly relevant to the nature of artistic change as it is dealt with here. In particular the treatment of art as a form of knowledge and of information is crucial to the understanding of the complex response to Far Eastern culture as a whole, not as a series of fragmentary gestures. I have avoided any discussion of psychological treatments of the problem of change in art because a sufficiently coherent psychological hypothesis has not been formulated for it to be tested in historical terms; see Gombrich's criticism of psychologism in "In Search of Cultural History", p. 35ff. This provides an adequate dismissal of any such theory.

- This is discussed by Wolff, op cit, pps. 23 ff.
- 12. J. Burnham, "Beyond Modern Sculpture". op cit.
- Gombrich, "In Search of Cultural History", p. 37. 13.
- The article by J. Sandberg, "The Japanese print before 1867", G.B.A. 1968, p. 295ff. is the nearest thing to such an account and is inaccurate in many respects. Sandberg has neglected to provide an accurate identification for some of the prints he mentions, for example those in Oliphant's work, and his claim that the facsimiles published in "Le Magasin Pittoresque" in 1856 were accurate reproductions is simply untrue. So is the whole tenor of his argument, that the full range of Japanese prints became available and cheap after 1867, according to Chesneau. Prints still cost 4 Fr. each up to the time of the Franco-Prussian War.

A detailed criticism of the errors, omnissions and inadequacies in Sandberg's article is unnecessary as Chapter One of this thesis will demonstrate them effectively.

As will be seen in my conclusions about the range of Japanese art available in the 1860's and 1870's seriously affect the accuracy of the speculations of Sandberg, Reff and others, on its influence on Western art.

15. The U.S.A. signed the first trade treaty with Japan in 1854. Britain followed in the same year. Holland signed an agreement in 1856 and France in 1858. For a detailed history of events relevant to this thesis.see G.B. Sansom, "The Western World and Japan", New York, 1965, Part Two. 1600-1894, especially Chapters 12 -15.
P. Barr, "The Coming of the Barbarians", London, 1967, and "The Deer Cry Pavillion", London, 1968, are also helpful in this respect.

The bibliographies in the works by Barr give a good list of contemporary works on specific aspects of the problem. I do not intend to discuss the history of Japan in this work.

- 16. Unfortunately the section of the catalogue of the exhibition "World Cultures and Modern Art", Munich, 1972, which deals with Far Eastern influence is organised along the inadequate lines here indicated. This is most disappointing for such an elaborate exhibition.
- 17. A perfect example of the change can be found in the works of De Goncourt whose unqualified enthusiasm for Far Eastern art in "La Maison d'un Artiste" published in 1881 has turned into a niggardly scholarship in "Hokusai", 1896.
- 18. The catalogue of the exhibition "East/West in Art" by Theodore Bowie, Indiana, U.S.A. 1966, contains a fascinating collection of images from all periods showing East-West exchange.
- 19. R. Schwab, "La Renaissance Orientale", Paris, 1950. A chapter in V.V. Barthold's "La découverte de L'Asie", transl.from the Russian in 1947 (Chapter 10, p.150) is also interesting in this respect.
- 20. I would regard Romanticism as covering a large spectrum of artists, for example Ingres, Regamey, etc.
- 21. The furnishing of suburban apartments with Oriental trappings of various origins was very common. There is Delacroix's painting of the chambers of the Comte de Mornay which imitated an Arab tent. There are also numerous descriptions such as this of Flaubert's workroom from the Goncourt journal, April 7, 1861;

In his work room cheerfully lighted by the daylight from the Boulevard du Temple there is a clock in the form of a gilded wood Brahma, a large round table with his manuscript on it next to the window, a large plaque with Persian arabesques, and over the leather couch at the end of the room, a cast of the Psyche of Naples.

The presence of the classical cast is not an eccentricity but fits in with the paralleling of Greece and Japan that I have mentioned in the text. Ellen Terry was left alone with a plaster cast of Venus Aphrodite when brokers men had removed all the Japonaiserie that made up the furnishings of the room. (See D.Harbron, "The

Conscious Stone", 1949). This decorative taste led to the establishment of what Schwab calls "un orient des peintres fait en banlieu" - it is this Orient which appears in Sardanapalus and other paintings. A similar phenomenon was to continue in the 1860's and 1870's in regard to Japanese art. I have treated it as a form of genre painting.

NOTES.

CHAPTER ONE

The word 'Oriental' in this text refers to the Far Hast unless otherwise stated.

- 1. I do not intend to provide a detailed account of European relations with Japan since I do not think it would help to explain the development of Japanese influence in Europe. However I will make brief references to events that influenced the importation of Eastern goods into the West. The bibliography will include many of the sources for such an account, for instance Oliphant's description of Lord Elgin's mission to the East.
- 2. See "Chinese Export Art", M. Jourdain and R. Soame Jenyns Country Life, 1950.
- 3. This is the view of Hugh Honour in "Chinoiserie, a vision of Cathay".

 London 1961.
- 4. This is the interpretation of P.R. Schwarz, see "The Far East in French Literature", Ph.D., Stanford, U.S.A., published in Paris, 1927.
- 5. For confirmation see L. Pages, "Bibliographie Japonaise", Paris, 1859, and L. Wenckstern, "Japanese Bibliography", London, 1896 and 1910.
- 6. For the collection at Dresden, see "Le Palais Japonais à Dresden", Clement de Ris, G.B.A. August 1861, pps. 180-185.
- 7. M. Breton, "Le Japon ou Moeurs, Usages et Costumes des habitants de cet empire d'après Krusenstern Langsdorf, Titsingh et Golovin", Paris, 1818.
- 8. See C. Hibbert, "The Dragon Wakes, China and the West, 1793-1911", London, 1970, Chapters 9 and 10.

 For Baudelaire's Salons see below, the essay on "Disseminators of the Far Eastern Image" For Chinnery see "George Chinnery with emphasis on the so-called Chinnery school of Chinese painting" Perceval David Colloquies on Art and Architecture No 3 "The Westward influence of the Chinese Arts." 1972 page 62 ff
- 9. G.N. Wright, "China Illustrated", 2 vols. with plates by T. Allom, London, 1843. I reproduce several of the illustrations.
- 10. The Stauntons, father and son, were both called Sir George and were active in the East in the late eighteen and early nineteenth centuries. The collection referred to was presumably formed by Staunton Jr., who, by 1816, was chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee on China. Hibbert, op cit, p.59, states that "Few if any Europeans knew as much about the country as he did."
- 11. Wright, op cit., p. 15.
- 12. Ibid, p.49.
- 13. Charles Macfarlane, "Japan, an account geographical and historical", London 1852.

- 14. See Lugt, "Répertoire des Ventes", Volumes 2 and 3, la Haye Martinus Nichol, 1953, 1964.
- 15. Illustrated by Bowie, op cit, p. 168, from a copy in the Library of Congress. His date of 1855 is a little late.
- 16. Wm. B. Langdon "A descriptive catalogue of the Chinese Collection now exhibiting at St. George's Place, Hyde Fark Corner, London", London, printed for the proprietor and to be obtained only at the Chinese Collection. 12th English Ed. London, 1842.

The exhibition had previously been shown in Philadelphia, U.S.A.

It had originally been assembled in China by a Mr. Nother Type for

It had originally been assembled in China by a Mr. Nathan Dunn from Philadelphia U.S.A. where it was first exhibited. Mr. Dunn had been a merchant in China for 12 years.

- 17. Langdon op cit, p.111.
- 18. I suspect that the collection went on to be exhibited in Paris though I am unable to prove it.
- 19. For instance in May 1854 Baudelaire wrote to Arondel to come to see "mes merveilleux Chinois à la porte Ste. Martin", Baudelaire "Correspondance Generale "I, ed Crépet, Paris 1947, p248.

 On the 25th April 1854 an enthusiastic article by Gautier appeared in "La Presse" entitled "La Chine en France Jongleurs chinois"
- 20. See I. Titsingh, "Illustrations of Japan, trans. from the French by M. Shoberl", first published in France in 1819 as "Ceremonies usitées au Japon" without the illustrations in the English version. The book consisted of translations of documents on the Shoguns and descriptions of marriage and funeral ceremonies collected by Titsingh. The illustrations mainly complement the ceremonial descriptions and must have been taken from these same documents.
- 21. See Titsingh, Ibid, Introduction XV. This book never seems to have been published. It is not referred to in Remusat's correspondence not is it listed in Leon Page's "Bibliographie Japonaise 1859".

The English edition was published in London 1822.

- 22. I feel I should mention Kaempfer's book, "History of Japan", which was published in 1727 and had considerable influence in forming the nineteenth century view of Japan; it is often quoted by later authors, but it has little to say about art. I should also mention Golownin's "Three Years Captivity in Japan", published in 1819, though I have not been able to consult it and few subsequent authors make use of it.
- 23. I have not been able to consult this book as the British Nuseum copy has been mislaid or destroyed. The description is from "Manners and Customs of the Japanese taken from the works of Dr. Siebold and others", London, anon., 1841, see p.321 and Note XIX at the end of the book.
- "Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum A, Ph Fr von Siebold Collectorum", Siebold and Hoffman, 1845, privately printed, 125 copies.

Section XL contains:

- A. Praecepta ac rudimenta artis pingendi nos. 500-505.
- B. Imitatione xylographicae celebrium tabularum picturam sinensium 506-512 japonicorum 513-563
- C. Libri Picturarum Historicarum 563-573

 Regionum aedigiorumque delineatione 574-578

 Vestmentorum Delineatione 578-594.

 Siebold's date for the "Mangwa" appears to be incompate as Hillian

Siebold's date for the "Mangwa" appears to be inaccurate as Hillier in "Hokusai" 1955 gives the date of the first volume as 1814 not 1812. Siedlitz in his "History of Japanese colour prints" claims that Siebold possessed over 800 Japanese paintings.

- 25. The anonymous author is identified in Leon Page's item 567 as Miss Margaret Busk. The book is entitled "Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century", London, 1841. Miss Busk's work was first published as articles in Blackwood's Magazine 1839-1840. Book not paginated.
- 26. R. Schwartz, "The Far East in French Literature" quotes this passage in A. Daudet's "Contes du Lundi", p.258 in the 1909 edition in Daudet "Oeuvres Complètes" ed. Houssiaux. After describing an 82 vol. encyclopaedia, some manuscripts and armour, Daudet goes on to note various toys, decorations and models including a lacquer representation of Siebold's house in Japan. Schwartz thinks that the visit took place in 1866, the year in which Siebold died. "Contes du Lundi" first appeared in book form in 1873.
- 27. "Yo San Fi Rok, l'art d'eléver les vers à soie au Japon par Ouekaki Morikouni" annoté et publié par Matthieu Bonafou avec cinquante planches gravées d'après les dessins originaux, Paris, 1848.
- 28. See Hugh Honour, "Chinoiserie, a vision of Cathay", London, 1961, chapter VII.
- 29. See Honour, <u>ibid</u>, who is of the erroneous opinion that the Japanese and Chinese influence in the early century was limited to one interior following the fashion of Brighton Pavilion, a room at Ombersley Park, Worcestershire. For a description of Mr. Barrett's house see "The Immortal Lovers", F. Winwar, London, 1950, p.6.
- 30. See "Table Talk", Jan.1, 1823, by S. Coleridge, p.18 in Bohn's standard ed. 1903, ed. T. Ashe.
- This reference occurs in "Les Barbares Modernes" an essay in "L'Orient" vol.1. The complete ed. of Gautier's works published by Charpentier, 1907. All references to Gautier's work throughout this thesis are taken from this work. This appears to have been written originally as part of his journalistic coverage of the London exhibition of 1862, on the first appearance of Japanese art in full public view. The Chinese ability to perfect individual formal aspects of art was appreciated by all kinds of artists. Leslie, the friend and biographer of Constable, observed that the finest yellow he had ever seen was on a Chinese vase.
- 32. See Ruskin "Modern Painters", vol1, section one, chapter two, paragraph six, p.57, 1897 ed.
- 33. Ibid, vol.III of part IV, paragraph 14, p.94.

- 34. See Catalogue of exhibition. "Dante Gabriel Hossetti, Painter and Poet", Royal Academy of Arts, 1973, plates VIA, VIB, VII.
- 35. See W. Rossetti, "Rossetti Papers", rpt. New York, 1972, p.25.
- 36. "Time and Tide" letter no. VI, 1867. It is interesting to compare. Ruskin's comments with Gautier's response to the same troupe in "Acrobates et Saltimbanques orientaux", p.283, of "L'Orient" op cit, which is enthusiastic and direct.
- 37. "Rossetti Papers", p.138.
- 38. The two works on Gautier's art criticism barely mention his interest in the Orient. They are "The art criticism of Theophile Gautier", M.C. Spencer, Geneva, 1969, and "Le Regard de Théophile Gautier", R. Benesch, Zurich, 1969.

 Both of these are doctoral theses.

The best account of the relation of both Theophile and his daughter Judith to the Orient is to be found in "Judith Gautier" M.D. Camacho. Paris 1939. The literary and historical aspects of the problem are fully dealt with in Schwartz op cit, chapter 1 "The Gautiers and their interpretation of the East through book sources".

39. The text of the two sonnets is;

Chinoiserie

Ce n'est pas vous madame, que j'aime Ni vous non plus, Juliette, ni vous, Ophelia, ni Beatrix, ni même Laure la Blonde avec ses grands yeux doux.

Celle que j'aime à present, est en Chine, Elle demeure avec ses vieux parents, Dans une tour de porcelaine fine, Au fleuve jaune où sont les comorants

Elle a des yeux retrousses vers les tempes, Un pied petit à tenir dans la main, Le teint plus clair que le cuivre des lampes, Les ongles longs et rougis de carmin.

Par son trellis elle passe sa tête, Que l'hirondelle en volant, vient toucher, Et chaque soir, aussi bien qu'un poète Chante le saule et la fleur du pêcher.

Peésies Complètes, Vol.I, p.329 (1909 ed.)

La Japonaise

Pour veiner de son front la paleur délicate, Le Japon à donne son plus limpide azur; La blanche porcelaine est d'un blanc bien moins pur Que son sol transparent et ses temps d'agate.

Dans sa prunelle humide un doux rayon éclate; Le chant du rossignol près de sa voix est dur, Et, quand elle se leve à notre ciel obscur, On dirait de la lune en sa robe d'ouate. Ses yeux d'argent bruni roulent mouelleusement: Le caprice a taillé son petit nez charmant: Sa bouche a des rougeurs de peche et de framboise.

Ses mouvements sont pleins d'une grace chinoise, Et pres d'elle on respire autour de sa beauté Quelque chose de doux comme l'odeur de thé.

Poesies Completes, Vol.1, p.330.

Louvenjoul gives the date of this sonnet as 1835 according to Schwartz, op cit, p.18. Schwartz shows that Hugo, Mery and Heredia all took an interest in Oriental themes. Hugo collected lacquer furniture and porcelain. It was sold after his exile in 1851.

- 40. Quoted Schwartz, op cit, p.17, notes 1 and 3.
- 41. In particular Gautier requested a volume of the series "L'Univers Illustré" from a friend. It was Gautier's "Description de la Chine" which he referred to as "Le livre de l'Univers pittoresque où il est question de la Chine". Pauthier's book apparently contained 24 illustrations of Chinese bronze vases. The other books which he read are not known.
- 42. Cautier, "L'Orient", vol.1, "En Chine", p.229. This essay is in "Caprices et Zigzags" which is dated 1862 by M.C.Spencer "The art criticism of Theophile Gautier", but it appears in the first edition of "Caprices et Zigzags" which is dated 1852. I therefore conclude that the essay refers to the 1851 exhibition.
- 43. See "The Great Exhibition" H. Gibbs-Smith, London 1950. The painting is by H.C. Selous, illustrated on page 57.
- 44. "The House that Paxton built, a new story on an old model", Sixpence Coloured, Barton and Son, Holborn Hill, London, 1851.
- 45. Feuillet de Conches" Les peintres Européens en Chine et les peintres Chinois" Revue Contemporaine, Paris, 1856, pps. 216-260. The study was later printed by Dubuisson as a separate pamphlet.
- 46. See E. and V. De Goncourt "En 18" Paris I885 et page 97.
 The two passages not quoted in the text are as follows page 5
 "Les poteries de la Chine, rivée à leur accroupissement éternel commence à tourner béatiquement, dans leur orbites assoupies des prunelles en virgules".

Page 129 - "Sur une cheminée en marbre blanc, deux brule-parfums en bronze tonquin, volé par quelque bonze au temple de Say Lo Zam Tay Vong épataient leur panses de cucurbacitées sur les tortils enchevêtres de végétations hybrides. Des serpents nouées aux anses par des tordions convulsifs, dardaient leurs têtes cretées vers une fleur de lotus qui s'épannouissait en un merveilleux bouton."

- 47. Goncourt "Maison d'un Artiste" Paris, 1882. Preface.
- 48. This is the opinion of Schwartz, op cit, p.167. I have researched all the evidence on the development of La Porte Chinoise and Mme de Soye and it is discussed below.
- 49. Quoted in Schwartz, op cit, p.67.

50. Baudelaire confirms that this was a common reaction to Ingrest works in his essay "The Museum of Classics":

'It is also generally agreed that M. Ingres is a great but clumsy draughtsman, quite ignorant of aerial perspective and that his painting is as flat as a Chinese mosaic; to which we have nothing to say, except to compare his Stratonice, in which an enormous intricacy of tone and lighting effects does nothing to upset the harmony, with the Thamar of Horace Vernet'.

and in his essay about Ingres in his 1855 Salon quoted in the text. See "Charles Baudelaire art in Paris 1845-1862", neviews etc., trans.J. Mayne, London, 1965, p.38. Later writers were to claim that Ingres himself knew and approved of Japanese art. See for instance Felix Regamey "Le Japon"; Revue Bleux 1890, p.652.

- 51. Mayne, op cit., p.134.
- 52. Gautier wrote about the Chinese exhibitions of 1851, 1855 and 1867, in France and England. Camacho, op cit, states that there are too many articles on the Chinese by Gautier to provide a list of them all. However he does give the following;

Exposition commercial à Paris La Presse 27 Août, 1846. Collections Chinoises Moniteur, 1855

"La Chine A Paris" La Presse 1er Sep. 1851.

"Musique Chinoise" La Presse, 2, 3, Nov. 1851.

- 53. G. Preble, "The Opening of Japan", ed. B. Szczesniak, New York, 1962, p.196.
- 54. For a brief account of the growth of "The Bluff", see P. Barr, "The Coming of the Barbarians", London 1967, and "The Deer Cry Pavillion", London 1968 in which it is discussed, in passing, as a part of the history of European settlement in Japan.
- 55. The movel "A Japanese Marriage" by D. Sladen, London 1893, concerns the adventures of the daughter of a European dealer in Japanese art living on the Bluff. It gives a good impression of life on the Bluff.
- 56. F.L. Hawks, "Narrative of an exhibition of an American Squadron to the China Sea and Japan" (U.S. House Executive Document. 33rd Congress, 2nd Session), 2 vols. Washington, 1856, p.459 ff. This book appeared almost immediately in Europe where it had considerable influence.
- 57. Hawks, <u>ibid</u>, p.461. The series is described as a print roll or frieze no such form existed in Japan, it was probably an book.
- 58. Ibid. p.462.
- 59. "The Illustrated London News", London, January-June, 1854. February 4th, p.97.
- 60. See "Journal of the Society of Arts", London, Feb. 3, 1860, p. 183ff.
- 61. R. Alcock, "Art and Art Industries in Japan", London 1878, pps. 2-3.
- 62. See "The Japanese Court in the International Exhibition", London Illustrated News, Sept. 20 1862 page 320 and R Alcock "Catalorue of

- objectseathrom Japan for the International Exhibition of 1862", London,
 - 63. "Illustrated London News" September 20th 1862 op cit.
 - 64. "Gentleman's Magazine", London, July 1862, "The International Exhibition" pps. 10 and 11.
 - 65. Alcock, op cit, section G. Sent from Japan.
 - G. Works of Art Carvings in ivory, wood and bamboo raintings Illustrated works Lithochrome Prints Models.
 - 557 Mussel-shell carved in wood.
 - 558 Fruit carving in bamboo wood. Twenty-five speciments of the best ivory carvings, showing great mastery of chisel and power of expression.
 - 559 Eight books speciments of maps, illustrated works &c.
 - 559a Twenty-four volumes of ditto.
 - 560 Japanese play bills
 - 560a Leaves from a Japanese scholar's writing exercise.
 - 561 Two boxes of lithochrome printing, on a peculiar fabric of craps paper.
 - 562 Book of fire-brigades in Yedo, with the crests and insignia, detail of city wards, &c. (see 493 for head-dress).
 - 563 Speciments of figures by a native artist.
 - 564 Map of Yedo.
 - 565 Itinerary of the Tokaido, or grand route to all the Imperial towns.
 - 566 Map of Japan in 66 Provinces (2 vols.).
 - 567 Specimens of Japanese lithochrome.
 - 568 Printing of old date; representing a pilgrimage to Fusiyama, the new foreign settlement at Yokohama.
 - 569, 570 Two maps of Fusiyama the volcanic mountain, with the various stations of the ascent.
 - 571 Further specimens of lithchrome printing, consisting of a great variety of illustrations (200) of the manners, costume and architecture of the Japanese.
 - 572 Specimens of story books popular literature, written in the Hirakana character for women and children and the less educated classes, as easier to read than the Giosho, or other styles of writing.
 - 572a Specimen of Japanese official writing a letter from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs announcing the despatch of a diplomatic mission to England.
 - 66. J.B. Waring "The Industrial Arts at the International Exhibition" London, 1862, 3 vols. plate 248. The two small lacquered boxes were from Schmidt's collection. The larger pieces belonged to Alcock.
 - 67. See "The illustrated record and descriptive catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865" compiled and edited by Henry Parkinson, Dublin, 1866. There were six other exhibitions but Alcock's collection was the largest and the only one to include prints.
 - 68. W. Burges "The Japanese Court at the International Exhibition", Sept. 1862, P249.

- 69. See D. Harbron, "The Conscious Stone, a life of it.W. Godwin" of cit.
- 70. See Ibid,
- 71. J. Leighton, "On Japanese Art illustrated by Native examples", Friday, May 1, 1863, Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, vol. IV, part II, no. 38, pps. 99-108. See below for a detailed discussion of Leighton's views.
- 72. Sandberg op cit, and many others make this assertion.
- 73. Alcock, op cit, p.5 (1878)
- 74. Ibid, p.22, See also Leighton, op cit, pp. 161-162.
- 75. Leighton, op cit, p.102.
- 76. Alcock, 1878, op cit, p.83.
- 77. Ibid. p.66.
- 78. Ibid, p.190.
- 79. Denis was the last of many people to formulate this idea, for instance, Oscar Wilde was making this point in his lectures on Art and Decoration, i.e.

 "What is a picture? Primarily a picture is a beautifully covered surface, merely, with no more spiritual or meaning for you than an exquisite fragment of Venetian glass or a blue tile from the wall of Damascus." Art and Decoration, "Lecture to Art Students," p.51, given to R.A. students, June 30, 1883.
- 80. Leighton, op cit, p.104.
- 81. Leighton, op oit, p.102.
- 82. Ibid, p. 103.
- 83. Alcock, op cit, p.89.
- 84. Ibid, p.190.
- 85. Leighton, op cit, pps. 102-103.
- 86. Ibid, p.108;
- 87. Alcock, op cit, pps. 48-49.
- 88. See C. Dresser, "The Art of Decorative Design", 1862, pp.165ff.
- 89. See C. Dresser "The Art Manufactures of Japan from Personal Observation" Journal of the Society of Arts, Vol.XXVI, 1877-78, p. 169. I am grateful to Mr. Stewart Durant who has recently written about Dresser, and to Mr. Michael Derby of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for help in my fruitless search for the drawings. We did unearth one or two general sketches of the design of the Oriental court by Dresser but none of the objects themselves.
- 90. V. & A. acquisition, no. 285c, 1865.

- 91. Ruch of the information on the Museum's records comes from Mr. fibbus, Smith, former librarian, who helped me to find the relevant entitles
- 92. W. Rossetti, "Memoirs", London, 1899, p.276.
- 193. I have identified it from the Victoria and Albert copy, compare the illustration with Rossetti's description "Design No. 1, a bearded warlike looking man, standing on a hillside, endeavour! grossibly to ward off the fall of a huge mass of rock, which threatens to crush him, or more probably, lifting the rock, to let it fall down the hillside."
- 94. Rossetti's article was reprinted in W. Rossetti, "Fine Art, Chirfly Contemporary" No.X, Japanese Woodcuts, p.364ff. London 1867
- 95. Ibid, p.364.
- 96. Ibid, p.364.
- 97. Rossetti, "Hemoirs", p.279.
- 98. A. Houssaye 1815-96 was a member of . the literary circle which included Gautier, Gerard de Nerval, and Nestor Roqueplan, the first Bohemians who stand between the Romantics and the Realists.
- 99. C. Baudelaire "Correspondances" 1841-1866, p. 322. However Adhémar, see below, Note 107 has written saying that Houssaye sent the prints to Baudelaire. In view of my discovery that he may well have been related to the patron of "La Porte Chinoise" this may well be more likely, despite the letter.
- 100. These references are discussed in detail, in my comments on the work of the individual writers in the body of my thesis.
- 101. See Champfleury "Histoire de la Caricature Moderne", Paris, 1865, and Shapiro, M. "Courbet and popular imagery." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld institutes 1940/41 page 176 ff.
- 102. The recent exhibition of Epinal prints at the Hayward Gallery provided ample opportunity for testing this. See "French Popular Imagery" Arts Council, 1974, Catalogue.
- 103. De Goncourt, Journal, June 8 1861.
- 104. Most writers cite two articles:
 - Chesneau "Le Japon à Paris" II, p.888, 1878, G.B.A. (pages 37-47 L. Benedite "Bracquemond l'Animalier" Art et Décoration XVIII 1905 However ses my reservations about the accuracy of their information expressed in this thesis.
- 105. For instance Y. Shinoda, in "World Cultures and Modern Art", p.86. As Shinoda also dates Alcock's exhibition as 1864 I am doubtful that his chronological survey is based on more than a second-hand inference. Professor Shinoda answered one or two of my questions in correspondence but referred me to his colleague, Professor Wichmann, who so far I have been unable to see on his brief visits to England.

- 106. "Livret de 1' Exposition de 1849", Paris, 1849, p.204.
- 107. I owe this information to M.J. Adhémar, Rédacteur en Chef des Gazette des Beaux Arts, who included it in a lefter to me on research that he had made into the problem in 1968. Adhémar believes that Arsene Houssaye introduced Baudelaire to Japanese art, on the basis of an article on Mme. de Soye in "La Vic Parisienne" of Nov.21, 1898.
- 106. Rossetti "Memoirs", pps. 277-278.
- 109. De Goncourt "Journal" Mercredi, 31 Mars, 1875.
- 110. Ph. Burty, "Le Japonisme", <u>La Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique</u>, 1872, p.60. For Burty's career as a Japanese enthusiast, see below, p.47Iff.
- 111. Rossetti, "Diary", p. 55 of "Rossetti Papers".
- 112. See "Family Betters of D.G. Rossetti", London, 1895, (Nov.12, 1864), quoted by Schwartz op cit, p.36.
- 113. Baudelaire "Correspondance ", op cit, 118.
- 114. Bénédite "Whistler" G.B.A. 1905, pp.143-144.
- 115. See G.B.A., 1973. Dean Paul Bouillon "La Correspondance de Felix Bracquemond". This letter is listed as no.326 on p.365 in Bouillon's resume of the "Correspondance" and Bénédite, "Bracquemond l'Animalier" Art and Decoration, 1905, pp.37-47.
- 116. Benedite, "Whistler", op cit, p.143.
- 117. Rossetti, "Papers", p. 130 and p. 59.
- 118. Recently Prof. Shinoda in "World Cultures and Modern Art" has repeated the myth, so didGabriel Weisberg in his 1967 thesis "Ph. Burty Art Critic and Japoniste" and in the resulting paper "Felix Bracquemond and Japanese influence in Ceramic decoration." 1969 pages 277-280.

I have corresponded since with both Dr. Weisberg and M. Jean Paul Bouillon the leading expert on Bracquemond in Faris, and both have agreed that the evidence for such an early discovery is insufficient and that 1861-1862 is the most probable date for Bracquemond's first contact with Japanese art.

- XIXième siecle à la faveur della, diffusion de l'estampe japonaise? Communication de Mme Thirion auxXII congres dell'Association International des ÉtudesFrançaises juilliet 1960 pages 117-130
- 120. See Ph. Burty "Silhouettes'd' Artistes Contemporains VI le peintre et graveur Felix Bracquemond" L'Art, 1878, p.289.
- 121. See Bracquemond's preface to "Vente des estampes modernes de la collection des Goncourts", Paris, 1891.
- 122. See below, the chapter on the disseminators of the Japanese image.
- 123. Bracquemond, "Du Dessin et de la Couleur", Paris, 1885. Briefly
 Bracquemond argues that all great art had been made in the
 tradition which emphasises the modelling of solid bodies by the
 unequal distribution of light and that from this time the possi-

- bility of representing human mesture and emotion sprant. Comments (that is two-dimensional) art, such as the Japanese, was very much inferior in its possible expression of the human scirit.
- 124. Bracquemond, preface to "Vente des estampes...des Goncourts".
- 125. De Goncourt "Journal", 31 Mars, 1878 (written as a comment on Burty's article, note 120).
- 126. Ibid, 19, Juillet, 1864. (quoted from 1912 edition, the Monaco 1956 varies apparently for no reason.)
- 127. Ibid, 30 Sept., 1864.
- 128. Ibid, 9 Mars, 1866.
- 129. De Goncourt brothers "Idées et Sensations" Paris 1887 page 15.
- 130. De Goncourt brothers "Manette Salomon" Charpentier, ed. pps. 172-174.
- 131. Astruc, "L'Empire du Soleil Levant", Beaux Arts, Feuilleton de l'Étenard, Feb. 27, 1867, March 23, 1867. I have been unable to locate these articles but have made use of the account of them in Weisberg, "Burty", pp.112-113.
- 132. Quoted by M.C.Spencer "Gautier" op cit, from Moniteur, 1862.
- 133. Chesneau, "L'Art et les Artistes Modernes en France et en Angleterre" Paris, 1864, pp.190-191.
- 134. Ibid, p. 163.
- 135. "Japanese Botany, being a facsimile of a Japanese book with introductory notes and a translation", Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1855.
- 136. Fage's work is reproduced as an appendix to "Wenkstern: Japanese Bibliography", London, 1896. This book contains a long section on art publication and is a useful research tool.
- (London 1860)
 137. "A narrative on Lord Elgin's mission to India, China and Japan", by
 L. Oliphant, secretary to the expedition in 1859. The artist who
 produced the Western illustrations for this book was called Bedwell,
 but I have not traced any of his work elsewhere and I do not think
 that he was affected by the Oriental art.
- 138. Ibid, p.430.
- 139. Steinmetz, "Japan and her people", London, 1859. The illustration of the preparation of woodblocks is on p.296 and is anonymous, though many of the Westernised illustrations are signed E. Evans.
- 140. Ibid, pp.223-227. This book is published in the series "Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Familles" by Ch. Meyrueis et Cie.
- 141. J.A. Michener "The Floating World", 1954, p.239, gives the impression that the Once a Week articles were written by someone other than Osborne. Aslin, in "The Aesthetic Movement" repeats this information with the error. On the same page Michener claims that Titsingh himself published his illustrations of Japan in 1882. This is another error.

- 142. The full titles of the illustrations are;
 Frontispiece, "View of Yedo Bay from the Hills over Kanagawa".
 - p.18, "Labourers transplanting rice in fields"
 - p.31, "Fishing boats at sea" (also in black and white in "Once a week")
 p.79, "Waterfall between cloud and spray"
 - p.112 "Retinue of grandee crossing a ford"
 - p.129 "Scene on a bridge boy with kite &c."
- 143. See p.70 for discussion of the Wayside Inn.
- 144. Ibid, p.45
- 145. Ibid, p.54
- 146. E. de Fonblanque, "Ni Phon and Pe Che Li " (Two Years in Japan and North China), Otley Saunders & Co., London, 1862.
- 147. <u>Ibid</u>, p.48, p.135 for story of Bishop.
- 148. "Notes sur Le Japon, La Chine et L'Inde par le Bon Che de Chassiron 1858, '59, '60", E. Dentu, Paris, 1861. The prints in the book are altogether, in the centre, without any explanatory notes.
- 149. Chassiron op cit, p.116.
- 150. See Gautier, "L'Orient", Charpentier, 1907, vol.1, p.271, "Japon; d'apres les notes de Baron de Chassiron".
- 151. "Les Barbares Modernes", in L'Orient op cit.
- 152. See Pauthier, "Curio sités Chinoises exposes aux Tuileries", G.B.A. March, 1861, pp. 363-369.
- 153. Pauthier, Ibid, p.155.
- 154. Mr. Day of the Publicity Department of Negretti and Zambra was most helpful with my search but could find no earlier source.
- 155. Bishop Smith of Victoria, "Ten Weeks in Japan", London, 1861.
- 156. See Aaron Scharf "Art and Photography" revised ed. Pelican, 1974, p.357, note 56, and "Practical Photographer", London, 1896, p.239ff.
- 157. The only work written on Beato is an article by Walter Chappell, entitled, "Robertson, Beato and Camera Vision at Lucknow 1857-1856": Image. New York February 1958, pages 36-40 which is about his work during the Indian Mutiny. Beato is principally famous as the first war photographer to "cover" the Crimean War, and wars in India, China and various violent incidents, murders and executions throughout the Near and Far East.
- 158. See Chesneau, "Les Nations Rivales dans l'Art", Paris, 1868, 1.423. The essays contained in this volume were written as reviews of the 1867 Exhibition.
- 159. See Gautier "L'Orient". Two volumes of essays on Near and Far Eastern topics, most conveniently available in the Charpentier ed. of 1907.
 Ruskin's views on this matter were similar to Gautier's, and it is

interesting to find Alcock quoting Ruskin in his advocacy of Japanese design in "Art and Art Industries in Japan" - London 1878 page 35.

"Nothing can advance Art in any district of this accursed machine and devil driven England till she changes her mind in many things."

NOTES

- 1. The Salon des Refusés is too complicated a subject to be dealt with in full, but it is interesting that among the exhibitions were several whose works has a japonizing tendency. See for instance Whistler's "Woman in White", but for a recent but superficial account of the Salon see R. Dunlop, The Shock of the New, London, 1972.
- 2. See Chapter One, p. 48.
- 3. See R. Lindau, Voyage autour du Japon, Paris, 1864.
- 4. E. Chesneau, Le Japon a Paris 1878, op cit. Reprinted in the G.B.A. volumes concerned with works of art at the 1878 exhibition, in which context its fashionable character becomes immediately obvious.
- 5. E. Chesneau, Les Nations Rivales dans L'Art, Paris, 1868. The article on Japan occurs on page 415. The reference to Degas is on p.335 and to Boudin on p.334.
- 6. Baudelaire, Salons, translated by Jonathan Mayne, Phaidon, 1962, see the Salon of 1846, pps.116-120.
- 7. Baudelaire, op cit. Mayne, pps. 120-122, "Exposition Universelle of 1855".
- 8. Mayne, p.124. It is interesting to speculate upon the possibility of Baudelaire having seen Far Eastern art for the first time during the 1855 Exposition Universelle.

Leon Page's <u>Bibliographie Japonaise</u> lists as item 652, a 100 page catalogue of arts and crafts of Japan compiled by Baron Charles Dupin. Unfortunately this catalogue has been lost and is not available from abroad. Dupin, who was a director of the Far Eastern section of the exhibition, later wrote a book about his travels to Japan but this gives no useful information about the 1855 exhibition.

Baudelaire would also have seen Chinese art at the exhibition. One wonders if at this time he could have distinguished it from the Japanese.

Apart from Zola's famous reference to the analogy between Epinal prints and Japanese prints in his defence of Manet, which in fact attempts to detach manet's work from an association with Epinal and relate it to Japanese work (see Zola, Manet, L'Evenement 1866" discussed below). We have several other examples of the comparison. Baudelaire linked Japanese prints to "Images D'Epinal" in a letter of 1861, see above, p. 63 The critic and traveller to Japan, Charles Bousquet, used the analogy in several articles in the Revue des Deux Mondes, notably in 1877. The critic Ernst Faydeau also used it in his article on the sale of the 1867 Japanese exhibition. Ernst Chesneau also made the comparison in his article on Japanese art in his book, "Les Nations Rivales dans L'Art, "p. 447, and in his lecture to industrial designers and manufacturers on Japanese art in 1869. The collector and art dealer Sichel, who travelled to Japan with his brother in the 1870's, also recalls Epinal when discussing Japanese prints in his Notes d'un biblioteur au Japon. Paris 1883

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Thus the analogy was widely spread and indicative of the range of associations called forth by Japanese prints. It indicates the tone of feeling with which artists may have approached them, and allows us to understand their astonishment at the incomparably higher standard of Japanese craftsmanship and design.

Hence Chesneau wrote in 1868:

L'invention japonaise réalise donc une économie de main d'œuvre considérable, ce qui permet aux éditeurs du pays de livrer au commerce de détail leurs superbes feuilles coloriées à peu près dans les mêmes conditions que le font en France nos fabricants d'Epinal pour l'imagerie populaire.

- 10. E. Chesneau, "Le Réalisme et L'Art Français" Revue des Deux Mondes, (CXLVI) p.228,1863.
- 11. Baudelaire, op cit, Mayne, Salon of 1846, pps. 118-119.
- 12. It is remarkable that once again Baudelaire grasped the absurdity of discussing landscape in moral terms, and that it led to stereotyped art in which:

The dogs are cut out of some historical dog pattern a historical shepherd could never allow himself any others, on pain of disgrace. Every immoral tree that has allowed itself to grow up on its own and in its own way, is, of necessity cut down: every toad or tadpole pond is buried pitilessly beneath the earth. And if ever a historical landscape painter feels remorse for some natural peccadillo or other, he imagines his Hell in the guise of a real landscape, a pure sky, a free and rich vegetation; a savannah, for example or a virgin forest. (Mayne, p.105)

Baudelaire also selected Rousseau for special mention in the Salon of 1846 - although the "grand refuse" was as usual not exhibiting, he was a "naturalist ceaselessly swept toward the ideal", whose work was constantly revealing "new aspects of landscape".

13. Ph. Burty, the famous critic and Japanese enthusiast, was the first to make this suggestion in a memorial essay on Boisbaudran first published in 1873, "L'Enseignement Du Dessin" reprinted in "Maîtres et Petits Maîtres", Paris, 1886, p.6. Burty remarked that Boisbaudran had recommended continuous drawing exercises as part of school curricula and

C'est en effet ce qui passe chez un peuple de l'extreme Orient, que nous traitons cavalièrement de "barbare", chez les Japonais.

Boisbaudran's teaching methods stressed visual memory and trained observation and aimed to develop these qualities rather than a highly mechanical rendering of the immediately visible. In this it allied itself to Japanese training methods.

14. Chesneau, Les Nations Rivales dans L'Art, p.423. Moreover photographic firms were in the habit of issuing series of prints of far away countries, to be purchased as a set. As we have seen, as early is 1860 the firm of Negretti and Zambrahad issued such a set including many views of Japan. These were used as the models for the engravings which illustrated "Ten Weeks in Japan" by George Smith, Bishop of Victoria, published in 1861, and some of these provide

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a very accurate impression of Japanese people and topography. Periodicals such as the "Illustrated London News" regularly used engraved illustrations and photographs of Japan during the 1860's. It is noticeable that no such engravings took an impressionistic character or looked remotely Japanese in style. The most relevant example of this is the engraving of the head of a Japanese murderer, from a photograph, which was made by Jacquemart, the illustrator and Japanese enthusiast in 1865. I discuss this later in the context of the early dissemination of the Japanese image

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15. See L. Gonse's series of articles on "Jules Jacquemart", G.B.A., VED.

Julypages 69-80. September pages 240-250. October pages 326-340

- 16. See Zola, "Salons", ed. Hemmings and Niess, 1959, p.91. Having recently seen Epinal prints at the Hayward Gallery Zola's comparison strengthens my conviction expressed in this thesis in several places that the prints Manet had were recent work in bright, artificial colours, similar to the colours of the prints in the Burges collection. Full title "Emile Zola. Salons recueillis annotés et presentés par F.W.J.Hemmings et Robert J. Niess", Droz Minard, 1959.
- 17. J. Rewald published a letter on p.61 of "Cezanne et Zola", H. Sedrowski, Paris, 1936, which establishes this information. Zola wrote to Duret in Feb. 1868;

Manet fait mon portrait pour le Salon, et comme nous avons peu de temps je me trouve donc tous les après midis dans son atelier.

- 18. The Japanese exhibition was moved to Rue de la Victoire, No.41, and sold up in February (?) 1869. (Several acquisitions in the V. & A. for 1869 are marked "From the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867"). (See Section II of this thesis).
- 19. The suggestion is in Nils Costa Sandblad "Manet 3 Studies in Artistic Conception", Lund, 1954.
- 20. W. Rossetti, "Reminiscences", Vol.II, London 1906, p.276. The exact interpretation of Rossetti's remark is in doubt. I have followed Laver in believing that it was made by Whistler. "It was Mr. Whistler who first called my brother's attention to Japanese Art: he possessed two or three woodcut books, some coloured prints or a screen of two. I take it this revelation in art had been made in Paris, in the Impressionist Circle. I have heard say, and perhaps with accuracy, that Edouard Manet was the "head and front" of Japonerie".
- 21. See section on Whistler below. pages 135 ff.
- 22. This information was first published in Roskill, "Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist Circle", p.59, later in T. Reff, "Manet's Portrait of Zola" Burl Mag I975 p35-44 which illustrates the print. I disagree completely with Professor Reff's treatment of the work as simply a portrait of Zola's artistic interests. It is also a manifesto of Manet's ideas on art.

Many of the leading Manet and Zola scholars still believe this print to be by Utamaro or Toyokuni - for instance see Seznec, Hemmings and Niess, op cit.

Like Reff's article earlier studies of the Zola portrait ignore or diminish the value of the Japanese print as an indication of the foundation of Manet's style.

They are:

"Manet and Zola", Ima N. Ebin, G.B.A., June 1945, p.357 ff.
"Manet's portrait of Zola", S.L.Faison, Mag. of Art, Vol.XLII, pp.163-168, May, 1949.

"Le Cabinet de Travail d'Emile Zola", Adhémar, G.B.A., 1954, p. 285.

The major catalogues of Maret's work by Tabarant 1947 and Wildenstein and Jamot (1932) ... have no informed discussion of the print's identity, attributing it to Utamaro. They are listed in full in the bibliography.

23. In discussing Manet's paintings I have used the plates in "The Complete Paintings of Manet" - notes and catalogue by Sandra Orienti, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970.

Orienti's catalogue has a useful concordance with the other major catalogues of Manet's work and therefore I give the Crienti catalogue numbers.

The portrait of Zola is Orienti 118.

- 24. Work by Hoitsu is reproduced on pp.154-155 of "Tokyo National Museum", London 1969. Hoitsu died as late as 1828 and is a good candidate for the author of Manet's screen. However it would be impossible to know for certain who this was.
- "Jeune Dame Couchée en Costume Espagnol" of 1862 is signed by Manet
 "A Mon Amour Nadar". Nadar was F. Tournachon who became famous later
 as Nadar a pioneering photographer, who lent his studio for the
 first Impressionist exhibition in 1874.
 M. Boime"Thomas Couture and the evolution of painting in CI9th France.

Art Bulletim March 1969, pages 28-82. describes manet's early years wrestling with the duality of Couture's method on the practical level, in the use of preparatory sketch and finished work and on the conceptual level of the problem of selecting an appropriate image from the vocabulary of heroic painting to celebrate a near contemporary event such as the 1848 revolution.

This argument is used by several critics; the most recent is "Manet's Sources" by Michael Fried in Art Forum, but he ignores Japanese art and sees Manet as concerned primarily with reviving "French" Art. SEE FRIED "MANET" SOURCES" ART FORUM MARCH 1969 1969-28-82

T. Reff's reply to Fried was published later in the same year. It is a well-deserved criticism of Fried's attempt to see a "source" in French art for every pose and image in Manet's work in the '60s. Whilst I take Reff's point about the danger of over-speculation about formal analogies, the basic conception of Manet as someone attempting to reconcile the dualities of current painting, such as Couture's, is quite acceptable.

Reff argues that Manet achieved much of his inspiration by "pure" talent. My argument is that certain linguistic innovations were the result of the appearance of the Japanese example.

28. See R.E.Krauss "Manet's Nymph Surprised", Burlington Mag. 1969

C. Sterling, "Problème de l'originalité de Manet par rapport à la tradition" L'Amour de L'Art, May 1932, p.151ff. The final composition of the series is in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes Buenos Aires - Orienti 35A.

Three sketches exist; Orienti 35B Paris 35C Oslo

35D Paris (destroyed?)

The unfinished versions all act as an indication of hanet's struggle to overcome the problem of making a modern painting which retained the imagination.

The copy is Orienti No.10 made in 1856.

- 29. Olympia is Orienti No.62.
 For a discussion of Olympia see Reff, "The Meaning of Manet's Olympia" G.B.A., 63, 1964, pp.111-122.
 A.Bowness "A Note on Manet's compositional difficulties", Burlington Mag. 103, 1961, pp.276-277.
- 30. The drawings are reproduced in A de Leiris, "The Drawings of Edouard Manet", Calif. U.S.A. 1969. The drawing of the Arab girl is De Leiris Cat.No.193, figure 223. The watercolour for the Olympia is De Leiris Cat.No.196, figure 228.

 A colour reproduction of the watercolour can be found in Kurt Martin,

"Edouard Manet, Watercolours", 1959.
The watercolour had the following elements which indicate its

Oriental derivation.

The screen in the background is yellow to indicate a gold background. There is a tentative drawing of an Oriental building on the left hand panel of the screen. The right hand panel has a mark just above the negress's right hand which is clearly a transcription of the Japanese isometric perspective which is commonly used in Japanese screens. Manet concentrates on the contours in the water-colour, according to De Leiris he uses pencil lines to emphasise them; again this is an Oriental tendency, found particularly in Japanese prints.

. 31. In "Chinese Export Art", M. Jourdain and Soame Jenyns, Country Life, 1950.

Plate 90 shows an eighteenth century plate with an image of a mandarin peeping round a curtain at a reclining nude. Clearly the motif is derived from an engraving of the incident when Potiphar's wife shows herself naked to Joseph, or a similar composition - perhaps a Danae - see Bredius 474.

This plate provides evidence that compositions analogous to Olympia existed in the East. Manet could easily have seen such a composition, either on a plate or a print from Nagasaki - the port most heavily influenced by European art in Japan, which produced imitations of European art in all the decorative arts from the sixteenth century onwards.

vol 32 1969 page 57-67.
2. See G.P.Weisberg, "Felix Bracquemond and Japonisme" Art Quarterly V

Champfleury (pseud.Husson) "Histoire de la Caricature Moderne", paris, 1865, and "Les Chats", Paris, 1869.

- 33. Orienti, Cat. No. 53.
- 34. Whistler's "Caprice in Purple and Gold No.2" 1864 is composed in a similar way to Olympia, the essential difference being that while Manet systematically eliminated obvious references to Japanese art. Whistler exaggerated them.
- 35. See illustrations in "Erotic Art", P and E. Kronhausen, Stockholm, 1969.

- 37. "On the wall of the last little flight there were Japanese prints depicting furious fornications; a rather blatant announcement, I thought, of naturalism" George Moore, "Impressions and Opinions", London, 1891, p.67 essay "Impressions of Zola" misquoted by Etin op cit., as from "Confessions of a Young Man".
 - The time of Moore's visit to Medan is very difficult to establish. Zola acquired the house there in 1878 with the profits from "L'Assommoir". Zola probably acquired the prints in the 1860's when he was close to Manet. Later he lost his interest in visual art and it is unlikely that he would have kept up his interest in Manet's enthusiasm when his friendship with the painter declined. Moreover we know that Zola's study was a sanctum and the display of these prints at its entrance suggests that they had been part of the "sanctum" for some years before the move to Medan.
- 38. A recent discussion of the erotic element in Olympia suggests that some mildly erotic photographs showing women working in decolletage had an influence on the Olympia. I find this entirely unconvincing. See L. Nochlin, "Woman as Sex Object", New York, 1973.
- 39. Orienti, Cat.No.33.
- 40. See Orienti Cat. Nos. 41, 42, 43.
- 41. Orienti Cat.No.46.
- 42. A good example of a Japanese theatre print is to be found in "Hokusai",
 Hiller, London 1955, plate 26, .Y. Shinoda in "Degas der einzug des
 japanischen in die Franzonische malerei Ph.d Keln 1957
 discusses Degas borrowing at length seebelow pi24ff and p63Iff
 43. Orienti Cat. No. 45.
- 44. Sandblad, op cit.
- 45. "La Musique aux Tuileries" is Orienti Cat. No. 32.
- 46. Baudelaire "Art in Paris 1845-1862", trans. J. Mayne, "Salon of 1845", p.32, London, 1965.
- 47. Debucourt's eighteenth century realism was very attractive to Baudelaire who records that collectors were beginning to show an interest in his work in the mid-nineteenth century in his essay. "The Painter of Modern Life", 1863.
- 48. A. Proust "Manet Souvenirs", Paris, 1913.
- 49. Briefly, my speculations are as follows:

The "Dejeuner sur l'herbe" shows the same stylistic characteristics as Olympia and there is no doubt that Manet was helped in the transformation of the Raphael etched by Romano by his knowledge of Japanese art in the same way that it helped him to transform a Titian into Olympia.

The "Fifer" of 1866 is derived from the Japanese print format - flat background, broad brush strokes, bright colours. This painting needs

no further comment. The same is true of "Woman with a larrot" of the same year.

A "Still Life with Carp" in the art Institute of Chicago painted in 1864 shows a group of fish, oysters and an eel in a direct uncomposed way which suggests their derivation from the "Mangwa". This is particularly true of the eel. The still life has lost its meaning as a celebration of prosperity; in this work it is an excuse for an informal study of the sea-creatures described within it.

Finally, we must consider the use of Japanese art by Manet in the synthesis of information and art which became "The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian" (Orienti Cat.No.115, 116 A.B.C.)

All'the paintings are marked by an attempt to reconcile the dramatic force of the execution which Manet saw in Europe with Goya's "Executions of the 3rd May with the factual information both verbal and photographic about the real event. The process of this synthesis has been described in detail by Nils Sandblad in "Manet, 3 Studies in Artistic Conception". It is not necessary to repeat his analysis. Rather it must be observed that the synthesis is achieved with the language that I have demonstrated Manet learnt from the Japanese. In the final version in the Kunsthalle Mannheim (Orienti 116C), the execution squad and the victims have been brought together as images whose connection is symbolic, not causal. The firing squad is shooting far to the left of the group of victims. They are painted in taches, the painting marks learnt from Japan, note the white belts of the executioner squad. Manet has emphasised the dramatic isolation of the victims and executioners, and the sergeant at the right by the use of the flat wall behind which once again denies illusionistic space, a device learnt from Japan. Sandblad points to the anonymity of the execution squad and the moral ambiguity of the scene, compared with the Goya. It may not be unacceptable to suggest that the Japanese artistic language was highly suitable to the presentation of an event without direct moral implication, but with the direct quality of modern experience.

This moral neutrality is especially obvious in the case of the "Execution of Maximilian" but it is also important in every other painting of a "modern" subject, in the sixties by Eanet.

- 50. For a discussion of the circumstances of their painting see Anne Coffin Hanson " Agroup of marine paintings by Mamet."

 Art Bulletim, 1962 pages 332-336.

 The paintings are Orienti Nos. 67, 68, 69.
- 51. See Introduction and Appendix C.
- 52. De Leiris, op cit.
- 53. Ibid, Cat. 106, fig. 168.
- 54. Ibid, Cat.87, fig. 160.
- 55. Zola, "Manet" 1866 Hemmings and Niess, op cit.

 DEGAS FOOTNOTES
- 56. Chesneau "Le Japon à Paris", G.B.A., 1878. op cit.
- 57. For Tissot, see below, p.
- 58. Degas made many drawings of Manet in the late 1860's.

- 60. See above, p. 52 and Appendix C.
- 61. I do not accept the suggestion of T. Reff in "The Fictures with Degas Pictures", Journal of the Netropolitan Euseum of Art, New (ork, 1968, p.132, that the prints held by the collector are coloured lithographs of Roses by Pierre Redoute from books published in 1.35 (Les Roses) and 1936 (Choix de Soixante Roses). Reff is also mistaken in characterising the book covers in the frame as "Foukousas". This term is used by De Goncourt, Gonse, Burty et 1., to refer specifically to embroidery or painting on squares of silk with a claim to be regarded as works of art in themselves. They were large enough to be made into cushions.

More interesting is Reff's suggestion that the random arrangement of the cards, etc., in the frame in the upper right hand corner of the painting is derived from a pattern showing playing cards, in embroidered silk used for the covers of pocket books.

"L'Amateur" is Lemoisne 175. For a colour reproduction see P. Cabanne, "Degas" trans. Michel la Lande, Plate 25, Editions Tisné, Paris, 1958.

For Bunsho and the "Classical" school of prints see O.E.Holloway, "Graphic Art of Japan, the Classical School", London, 1957, (Tir nti).

The most likely artist for the prints shown in L'Amateur" is Bumpo who worked during the first third of the nineteenth century and who later influenced Van Gogh.

- 62. Reproduced in colour in the catalogue; "Centenaut de l'Impressionnent, Grand Palais, Paris, 21 Sept- 24 Nov. 1974, ed. Helène Adhémar. Editions des Musées nationaux Paris 1974, No.11, p.77.

 The portrait was probably painted in 1866.
- 63. See the copy of Holbein's "Anne of Cleves" by Degas. Lemoisne, op cit. Vol II plate 80.
- 64. See A. Scha rf "Art and Photography", London, 1968, p.139ff. "Description and the Instantaneous Image" (page ISI, 1974 edition.)
- 65. See Lemoisne for reproductions of them.
- 66. Shinoda ' op cit.
- 67. The painting is Lemoisne 125. For Shinoda's remarks see Shinoda op cit, pps.16-21. I have sought assistance in translating Shinoda's remarks as my German is inadequate.
- 68. Lemoisne 27 and 105 respectively. Both of these paintings of course have poses which derive ultimately from Titian, and therefore are eminently European. I chose these examples to simplify Shinoda's remarks.

 (page-187 in 1974 edition)
- 69. A. Scharf op cit, p.143-144, cites P. Cabanne, "Degas" as saying that the photograph for this painting and one for "La Bouderie 1872" had been found. He does not show the photograph, neither does Cabanne. Adhemar in "Centennial de l'Impressionalia" does not mention it.

- 70. This is the small portrait of Frincess Metternich in the National Gallery, clearly taken from a photograph of the Prince and Princess of 1860. See Schafrf, op cit, p.146 for the photo in question.
- 71. If the vase could not have supported this mass of flowers, it follows that they could not have been photographed whereas Mme. Hertel's face shows a completely different technique and may well have been copied from a photograph. It must not be forgotten that Lippincott's Japanese Botany a facsimile of a Japanese Flower Book, was in the B.M. by 1858, so Degas could have seen such a volume in Europe. See Appendix C.

It should be noted that Courbet's 1863 painting "The Trellis" (see G. Fernier, "G. Courbet" English trans. Fall Mall Press, 1969, p.113), shows a similar asymmetrical arrangement and a patterned treatment of the flowers.

Fernier comments on the unusual "elegance" of this painting in Courbet's ceuvre. One wonders if perhaps Courbet was also influenced by Japanese prints, perhaps owned by Etienne Baudry, the collector, at whose house in Saintonge the painting was made.

- 72. See T. Reff "The Technical Aspects of Degas' Art", Journal of the m Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York 1971 pages 141-166.
- 75. E. Chesneau, "Les Nations Rivales dans L'Art", Paris, 1868, p.335. This book is a compendium of the writings of Chesneau on the 1867 Salon. Degas' exhibits were Nos.444 and 445, both apparently called "Portrait de famille".
- 74. This is the opinion of Anne Dayez, Conservateur au Musée du Jeu de Paume. Writing in H. Adhémar op cit, 1974, pp.68-69, in which the painting is reproduced as Plate 9 on p.65. It is Lemoisne No.64.
- 75. J. Boggs, "Portraits by Degas", Berkley, Los Angeles, 1962, compares it to the drawing the "Gatteaux family" by Ingres, 1856.
- 76. Nineteenth century examples of this compositional device can be found in the interior scenes of the series illustrating the Chiusingura by Kunisada, Kuniyoshi and Hiroshige. For instance Stewart, "Japanese Colour Prints", Plate 47, p.274, shows three female figures juxtaposed against rectangles in a print of the ninth act of the Chiusingura by Kunisada.
- 77. Lemoisne 126 for a colour plate see Boggs op cit, plate 28.
- 78. See J. Hiller "Utamaro", London, 1961, Plate 51, p.84.
- 79. As an example of this mannerism can be found in Hokusai's "Portrait of Ono Ko Mati" Plate V in Hillier, op. cit. The right hand bottom corner is filled with a patterned cloth.
- 80. See Boggs, op cit, p.66, and also "Degas and the Bellelis", Art

 Bulletin, June 1955. pages 127-136. I disagree with the assertion
 that the form of this painting was the result of photographic
- 81. Lemoisne 127 for Shinoda comparison, see Shinoda, op cit.
- 82. Lemoisne Nos. 70 and 82.
- 85. Lemoisne No.140.

- 64. For an example see Michener, "Hokusai's Mangwa", Plate 49, top left for an example of a riderless and saddled horse plunging and Plate 34 for a similar image of a horse and rider.
- 85. Lemoisne Nos. 75 and 76. The two show the transition from sporting print to concern with movement.
- 86. The motif of the fallen jockey is quite common in sporting prints, see "Famous Sporting Prints II the Grand National" Studio 1927, Plate II, Grand National 1939. Such a print could have suggested the motif to Degas.

WHISTLER FOOTNOTES

- 87. See Rossetti "Rossetti Papers", London, 1903, Review of Fine Art chiefly contemporary, London 1867, also "Memoirs of William Rossetti", London, 1906.
 - See also L. Benedite's series of articles on Whistler, G.B.A., 1905 (The article on Whistler's Japonisme is on p.I42 Vol.II, 1905). Benedite's appropriation of these letters and his secrecy with them is described in E.R. Pennell, "Whistler the Friend", London, 1930.
- 88. J. Sandberg "Whistler's Japonisme", Burlington Mag. 1964, pages 500-507 suggest the composition is based on Vermeer's "Music Lesson". In my opinion this is highly questionable: The relationship is justified only by the presence of a keyboard instrument and framed pictures in each image, and on the revival of interest in Vermeer in the 1860's.
- 89. A similar pictorial primitivism is found in Pre-Kaphaelite painting of the 1860's in Dante Rossetti's "Girlhood of the Virgin Mary" for instance. It was probably on the level of a search for a structured and artificial image that Whistler and Rossetti found common ground.
- 90. It is interesting to draw attention once again to Courbet, an extremely radical individual who used refined artificial pictorial formulae which derived from earlier art such as the isocephalism in "Funeral at Ornans". Courbet greatly admired Whistler's paintings on shown in Bonvin's studio in 1859 after they had been refused for the Salon.
- 91. For a good colour plate see D. Sutton "J.M.Whistler", London, 1965, Plate 9. The connection with Japanese art was first suggested by J. Laver. I suspect that the painting was made slightly later, probably circa 1862/3.
- 92. Whistler owned Kiyonagas which he probably acquired later than this however. They are now in the B.M. and the University of Glasgow collection.
 - Hillier, Utamaro p.84, Plate 51, shows an example of a probable model "Girls preparing stuff for dresses".
- 93. Ibid. Plate 60 for an early use of the device which is often used by artists of the mid nineteenth century like Kunisada, Kuniyoshi and Toyokuni.
- 94. See above Chap. 1 also Appendix C and Lugt "Répertoire des Ventes, Vol. III.
- 95. For a good reproduction see Sutton, op cit, Plate 11.

96. A practical example of this tension can be seen in "The Coast of Brittany", 1861. This is illustrated in Sutton, "Nocturne", London,

1964. Plate 32.

The "realistic" figure of the sleeping Breton peasant woman seems out of place against the highly artificial pattern of the rocks and the blue sky and sea.

97. See W. Rossetti "Memoirs", p.276.

actually at the printers.

98.

Ibid, p.212.

- 99. See "Swinburne Letters", London, 1959, ed. C. Jay, Vol.I, p.130, the letter for 1st Feb.1866, quoted by Sutton "Nocturne", p.38, Note 2.
- 100. "Histoire du Porcelaine" A. Jacquemart, illus. J. Jacquemart, Lyons, 1862. Benedite's belief that Japanese prints were to be found in Delatre's workshop may be accurate if they were being used as part of the source material for the illustrations to the chapter on Japanese ceramics in this work. They may even have come as packing around ceramics if J. Jacquemart prepared his illustrative plates
- 101. See L. Benedite, "Whistler III ", G.B.A., 1905, Tome III, p.144.
- 102. Their information was highly inaccurate, see Chapter One, p. Whistler bought very little Far Eastern art in London, most he purchased in Paris. He bought blue and white pottery in London from Murray Marks who imported it from Holland.
- 103. For information on "Le Toast" see L. Benédite "Le Toast", Revue de L'Art Ancien et Moderne XVII, 1905, pp.21-31 and 121-136.

 Bénédite linked the robe that Whistler wears in "Le Toast" with that worn by the model in Whistler's "Princesses du Pays de la Forcelaine" as both were yellow, suggesting that Whistler was working on "La Princesse" early in 1865.
- 104. The reference to the Chinese lantern is on p.133 of Benédite, "Le Toast". He went further and claimed that Fantin included many Chinese and Japanese objects in his preliminary sketches for this painting;
 - "C'est ainsi que Fantin Latour combine sur ses albums de Jeunesse toutes sortes de compositions dans lesquelles interviennent pres de coupes de boites, de laques d'éventails, les fameuses robes japonaises qui appartenaient à Whistler dans l'un desquelles il peignait son ami au premier des manifestations de son "Toast à la Verité", " C.B.A., 1905, p.144.
- Fantin definitely owned such objects at this time. He corresponded with Bracquemond about them. See Boullon & B.A. 1873 on cit.
- 105. I find Sutton's denial that this is a Far Eastern image in "Nocturne" quite extraordinary. The whole work is conceived in Far Eastern terms.
- 106. See Benedite "Whistler", G.B.A. 1905, p.145. A good colour reproduction of the painting can be found in M. Fido "Oscar Wilde", London, 1974, p.35.
- 107. "Pictures from the Paris Bienniale Exhibition" Illus. London News, 1861, p.35.

For Delamarre's work see below, p. 107.

- 108 See "The Lady of the Portrait Letters of Whistler's Mother", Atlantic Monthly CXXXVI, 1925, p.323. The article is to be found on pp.318-328.
- This story is told in Sutton op cit., p.46ff. It is not central to my argument. However it is important that it should be fully documented here.
 - .W. Rossetti gives information in his "Memoirs of D.G.Rossetti" and "Rossetti Papers" of his brother's passion for Japanese "pots", this name for blue and white china. There is more information in the chapters on "Blue and White" and "Dante Gabriel Rossetti" in "Murray Marks and his Friends", G.C. Williamson London 1919.

Following the Pennells, Williamson believes that Whistler introduced Rossetti to blue and white which he had brought from Paris. However the taste for blue and white goes back to the seventeenth century. in England and Holland, where Marks obtained much of his stock.

There is no similar history of enthusiasm for blue and white in France.

Marks first met Dante Rossetti in 1864 and recalled that his collection "consisted of the common stuff picked up in London at that time" (Williamson, op cit, p.52)

Marks dealt quite often with Rossetti in the 1860's. The last record of a transaction between them is from 1869 when Marks searched a warehouse in Holland for lids for a pair of Chinese jars owned by Rossetti.

Their relationship continued however and in 1875 D. Rossetti, Morris and Whistler combined to design a business card for Marks' new shop at 395 Oxford St. West. The full history of the taste for blue and white in England in the later nineteenth century is beyond the scope of this thesis but it should be recorded that the great interest in it made an ever-present source of Far Eastern imagery and pictorial language.

For an example of the atmosphere in which blue and white was collected and the thoughts of the collectors, see "Blue and White China" by Alexander Hollingsworth, Artificier to the Sette of Odde Volumes, delivered at a Meeting of the Sette held at Limmer's Hotel on Friday Feb. 6th, 1891.

Privately Printed at the Chiswick Press, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane,

Williamson, op cit, identifies the work owned by Whistler as Chinese, Nankin ware made during the reigns of the Emperors k'ang Hsi (1662-1722), Tung Ching (1723-35), and Chien lung (1736-95). It has proved impossible to trace individual items.

- 110. I have seen similar but smaller screens in the Gulbenkian Museum at Durham.
- 111. For instance the figures of the ladies in the prints in the Burges collection are depicted in these colours, particularly in purples and yellows.
- 112. Besides the painting by Delamarre which I consider as the principal source for this work I also believe Whistler to have been affected by images of women writing or painting in Japanese prints.

Examples of these can be found in Hokusai's "Mangwa" and in the numerous images of the famous Japanese poetess Ono Ko Mati, who was to be the subject of one of the first articles on Japanese art by Ph. Burty. See below, p. 480

- 113. W. Rossetti "Papers on Fine Art Chiefly Contemporary", London, 1867, pp.273-4.
- 114. Quoted by Hesketh Pearson "The Man Whistler", London, 1952, p.36, from George Moore "Vale Hail and Farewell," London, 1914. Pearson does not give a precise reference to Moore. The probability is that the incident occurred early in the 1870's though it could easily have done so in the mid-60s where Pearson places it by implication. In any case it substantiates my belief that Far Eastern art was vital to Whistler's aesthetic.
- 115. Mrs. Whistler, Letter, op cit.
- 116. For an illustration of the work see Sutton "Whistler", London, Plates 44 and detail Plate 46.

 For Bénédite's information see Bénédite, "Whistler III", G.B.A., p.148. For information on the oil sketch at Clasgow see "Whistler" catalogue of an exhibition at the Arts Council Gallery, 4, St. James Square, London, 1960, No.20, p.46.
- 117. See Appendix C. Burges Collection, p.51.
- 138. See J. Sandberg, "Japonisme and Whistler", <u>Burl. Mag.</u> CVI, Nov. 1964 pp. 500-507 and <u>more especially</u> Basil Gray's reply in Burl. Mag. 1965, p. 324.
- 119. See below, Section Two, on p. 225
- 120. Sutton, "Whistler", Note to Plate 44.
- 121. Ibid, Note to Plate 45 dates the work to 1867/8 and provides an excellent reproduction of it.

 Whistler is known from his correspondence with Fantin to have been thinking of doing a large painting of his studio for the Salon in 1867/8 but that is no reason to date these sketches that late.

It was a yellow kimono which Whistler wore in Fantin's "Toast" and which Christina Spartali wore in "La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine".

- 123. Bénédite G.B.A., 1905, p.148.
- 124. For comparisons see Sutton, op cit, Plates 31 and 32.
- 125. An example of this motif in use in a Japanese print present in Europe at this time can be seen in one of the prints reproduced in Oliphant's "The Mission of Lord Elgin to China and Japan", See Appendix C.
 - 126. Strange "The Colour Prints of Hiroshige", undated, London, pp. 125-6, states that Dante Rossetti also owned some prints by Hiroshige. He also owned some battle prints by Kuniyoshi, mainly triptychs. Strange saw these prints in the possession of William Rossetti.
 - 127. For instance, Sutton "Nocturne", p.49.

- 128. For a good photograph of such a screen showing planks and actors posed like the figures in Whistler's see Bradley Smith "A History of Japan in Art", London 1972.page 204. (The seated figures in the right hand panels in the Whistler are in the correct position for Kabuki musicians.)
- 129. See above, p. 111
- 130. By Castagnary, Mantz and Burty amongst others and this was repeated by W.Rossetti in 1865. See Fine Art Chiefly Contemporary, London, 1867, p.175.
- 131. Good photographs are available in Sutton"Whistler", Plates 25 & 26.
- 132. Ibid. frontispiece.
- a) Whistler would not have looked at Ingres at this time. He was generally regarded as an arch-reactionary, moreover Whistler wrote in later years that he bitterly regretted not having been a pupil of Ingres. (An arch-reactions are never physically arbitrary as those in Japanese prints, and Whistler's work are.
- 134. For an early example see Hillier, "Utamaro", Plate II, "Geisha preparing for a festival".
- 135. A good example of the use of decorative blossom occurs in No.44 of the "100 Views of Yedo" by Hiroshige which Dante Rossetti owned at this time.
- 136. Swinburne "Before the Mirror" stanza four, quoted by Sutton, "Nocturne", p.40.
- 137. See Rossetti, op cit, p.176.
- 138. See Arts Council Cat. No. 13. The work was owned by Lady Ismay.
- 139. For information see E.Strange "Japanese Illustration", 1896, and "Colour Prints of Hiroshige" London 1925 page 126.
- 140. Illustrated in B. Stewart "Japanese colour prints", London, 1922, p. 156.
- 141. Sutton "Whistler", plate 33.
- 142. Sutton "Nocturne", plate 16.

APPENDIX FOOTNOTES

- 143. Williamson "Murray Marks and his friends"pp.47-50.
- 144. A good example can be found in the "First Madness of Ophelia" in Oldham Art Gallery, signed 1864. It is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue "Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Painter and Poet", R.A. 1973, London, plate XIX.
- 145. Lindau "Voyage autour du Japon", Paris, 1864, p.50.
- 146. Illus.London News, Feb. 23 1867, p. 176, "Japanese Jugglers at St. Martin's Hall".

911.

- 148. T.W.Cutler, "Grammar of Japanese Ornament", London 1880.plate 54 SeeBelow Section II page 2 Also Aimé Humbert "Le Japon", Corbeil near Paris 1870 (1871)
- 149. Hokusai "Mangwa" Vol. III, reproduced in J. Michener "Hokusai's Mangwa", plate 33.
- 150. Reproduced in Sutton "Whistler", p.50.

TISSOT FOOTNOTES

- 151. One of them, "Margaret at the Well", is illustrated in "James Jaques Joseph Tissot, Vancouver and Rhode Island, 1968, Catalogue No.4.
- 152. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, letter to his mother, 12th Nov. 1864 from Paris "Family Letters of D.G.Rossetti", London, 1895, quoted by D. Sutton.
- 153. W.Rossetti, "Rossetti Papers", p. 130, Diary 24 June 1865.
- 154. For instance Kibiyoshi, or pillow book, comic books which have many of the characteristics of the "Mangwa". They are black and white outline books and contain outlandish creations for instance "The Land of the long-armed" is one such book. For illustrations see Hillier, op cit, p.16, in Hillier's appendix is a full list of Hokusai's books.
- 155. I have obtained a photo of the Jijon "Japonaise au bain". The lady in Japanese costume is reproduced in the 1968 Tissot catalogue No.72. The work in the Degas portrait appears to have been lost.
 - T. Reff in "The Pictures within Degas' Pictures", Journal of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1968, claims that Degas invented the Japanese painting in his "Portrait of James Tissot". This seems most unlikely as the other images in the painting exist.

Reff suggests that one of the three "Japanese Paintings" by Tissot was the scene from the series "L'Enfant Prodigue" in which the prodigal spends his wealth in a Geisha House surrounded by Dancing Girls. Reff cites Bénédite's articles on Whistler and his entry on the works in the catalogue of the Luxembourg of 1914. Bénédite appears to have relied on Tissot's Salon entry for 1663 which was a "Return of the Prodigal Son" to date the series this early. This is a reference to an earlier work.

However the series as a whole was only shown in 1882 in the Dudley Calleries, London, and in 1883 in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris. Tissot made an etching of the Japanese scene in 1881. Moreover the reviewer of the Paris Exhibition implies that the series was painted in Tissot's English period - after 1870, and speaks of the prodigal as a young Englishman. I feel that the Japanese picture in this series was painted sometime in the 1870's and that Tissot only conceived the series at that time and for the English market. See G.B.A. 1883, "Le Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Exposition de MM.le Comte Lepic et James Tissot", pp.452-454.

- 156. Smith "Ten Weeks in Japan" p. 104.
- 157. Lindau "Voyage autour du Japon, p. 32.

- 158. See below, the chapter on "The Disseminators of the Japanese Inage".
- 159. See above for details my discussion of the sources for ranct's "Olympia".
- 160. The flowers are very close in form to those in No.35 in "Hiroshige's "100 Views of Yedo", five petals of spatulate form.
- 161. Hillier, "Utamaro", London 1961, Plate 41.
- 162. The rough surface of the Tissot in Leeds sug ests that at times Tissot overpainted earlier work. Perhaps this canvas or a similar one covers the painting in Degas' portrait.
- 163. In the Ontario Exhibition Catalogue 1968, No.9 is a botched version of such a theme which I date to 1866-67, earlier than the catalogue.

Later in 1867 Tissot painted "La Partie Carrée", an eighteenth century costume piece.

- 164. T. Reff, "The Pictures in Degas' Pictures". 1968 Op cit.
- 165. Ruskin, writing in the same review in which he accused Whistler of throwing a pot of paint in the public's face. Fors Clavigera July 2 1877.

STEVENS FOOTNOTES

166. There has been no serious interest in Stevens for fifty years - only one book has been published, Stevens, F. Boucher, Paris, 1930, which is not an accurate work.

The present location of most of Stevens' paintings is unknown or unrecorded. Moreover I have never been to Brussels where many of the known paintings exist.

This section therefore relies more than usual on old photographs and on patching together conflicting information.

The following have been of help:

- C. Lemmonier A. Stevens, G.B.A., 1878.
- C. Lemonnier, A. Stevens et son oeuvre, 1906.
- P. Lambotte, L'Oeuvre d'Alfred Stevens; étude illustré, Erussels ID.
- 167. Ills. Boucher, op cit, plate 7.
 - 168. See above sections on Manet and Whistler.
 - 169. See Boucher, op cit, and J. Adhémar, Baudelaire, Les Frères Stevens, et La Modernité, G.B.A., 1958. pages I23-I26.
 - 170. Boucher op cit., plate 6. Lemonnier describes the screen as black and gold, which would argue that it was Chinese lacquer, whereas the screen in "Mauvaise Nouvelle" is clearly both Japanese and painted.

The same screen appears in "La Rentrée du Bal", Boucher op cit., plate 33, which I identify with Lemonnier's painting "La Rentrée du Monde" exhibited in 1867 with "La Visite" and which was probably painted circa 1865 also. Lemonnier's titles differ from those in the official 1867 Salon guide in at least two cases.

171. Boucher, op cit, plate 41.

- 172. I identify "L'Inde en France" with "L'Inde en Paris" of the official Salon guide. The quotation is from Lemonnier, or cit, pps.169-171.
- 173. I include two illustrations of other works from this exhibition showing Oriental objects. Boucher, op cit., plate 33 and plate 51, "La Dame en Rose" which shows a woman in pink fondling a small Japanese carving. To the left is an Indo-European cabinet with an inlay of an elephant and his handler. On its marble top rests a Chinese jar decorated with figures and a Japanese wase with a moulded [12] lizard for decoration.

Many other examples of similar work by Stevens before 1867 may be assumed to have existed.

- 174. Boucher, op cit., plate 53 and plate 11 respectively.
- 175. I am looking for 4 suitable comparative illustration to support this second claim.
- 176. Lemonnier, op cit, p.171.
- 177. See his book A Painter's Philosophy discussed below, p. 727 et seq

LANDSCAPE FOOTNOTES

- 178. See Sensier, J.F.Millet, 1881, Paris, Chapter XXV, p.258 et seq.
- 179. Burty wrote articles reprinted in Maitres et Petit Maitres, Charpentier, 1877, but he does not mention Japanese art.
- 180. R. Herbert indicates that Rousseau discovered Japanese prints in 1862 presumably following Burty. See R. Herbert, <u>Barbizon Revisited</u>, New York, 1962. I have written to Professor Herbert concerning his attitude to Japanese prints and Rousseau's "crisis" about them, which he mentions on p.54. Arthur Stevens had acted as Rousseau's agent and sold the painting "Chêne de Roches" to M. Blanc, a family friend, after having exhibited it in the 1852 Paris Salon, Sensier, Souvenirs de Th. Rousseau, p.265.
- 181. Sensier, Millet, p.319. The letter is dated 25 Fev. 1869.
- 182. There are, of course, no fifteenth century Japanese prints. I have established in the body of this thesis, especially in Chapters One and Three, that eighteenth century prints and other highly decorative works only seem to have become available in any quantity after 1875.
- 183. For the difficulty of identifying real Hokusais at this time see Section One above.
- 184. Illus. Herbert, op cit, colour plate 70.
- 185. "There are those who tell me that I deny the charms of the countryside.... I see very well the haloes of the dandelions and the sun
 which far across many lands stretches out its glory amongst the
 clouds. I see no less in a rocky spot a man completely exhausted
 whose "cofs" I have heard since morning and who tries to straighten
 up for a moment to catch his breath". Millet's letter of May 30th
 1863, quoted by Herbert, op cit, p.151.
- 186. Michener "Hokusai's Mangwa" Plate 10 reproduces one such drawing.
- 187. Herbert, p. 164, No. 173 "Hillside near Vichy". There are two of

Millet's paintings finished after the 1867 Exhibition which seem to me to have been influenced by Japanese motifs, and which it is convenient to mention now.

There are the "Spring" in the Louvre, dated 1868-73 by Jean Brunet, who reproduces it on p.219 and the "Gardeuse d'Oies" dated 1866-67. This was recently exhibited in the Royal Academy Impressionist exhibition (February-April 1974), which is reproduced on p.70 of the catalogue. L. it is the property of Wildenstein and Co.

The geese in the Wildenstein painting are obviously inspired by the drawings of birds in Hokusai's sketchbook. Similar studies of standing birds were published in Cutler's Grammar of Japanese Ornament in 1880 It is interesting that Millet adopted a broad stroke in this painting as if consciously trying to preserve the impact of Hokusai's original drawings.

The "Spring" in the Louvre seems to have taken its motif from the many Japanese prints of blossoming trees. It shows an orchard with dark clouds overhead but a double rainbow to the left. The characteristic drawing of the trees and their blossom, the wicket fence at the back of the orchard and the flat block of trees upon the skyline suggest to me a model in Hiroshige. The subject appears to have been a new one for Millet and, in my opinion, for French painting. Millet has taken the Japanese inspiration and merged it with a style which is a mixture of Ruisdael and Hobbema.

In this painting Millet seems to have anticipated the discovery of the blossoming orchard as an image of renewal which was so important to Van Gogh. Millet however could not break away from the traditional style from the rainbow, the traditional image of the renewal of God's promise to man. Both found the image of the orchard in Japanese art.

(I am of course looking for exact motifs. I have found one or two prints in Gonse's L'Art Japonais of 1883 which have some relation to Millet's work. So do certain prints in Hiroshige's series of views of Mount Fuji).

- 187B See Catalogue 'Millet" Arts Council of G.B. Hayward Callery, London 1976, p.195 et seq.
- 187C <u>Ibid</u>, No.135
 - 187D Ibid. Nos. 133 "Cliffs at Gruchy" and 134 "Cliffs at Greville".
 - 187E. Ibid, pps. 195, 196 and 197.
 - 188, Castagnary, Salons, 1864, pps.205-206, the Paris 1894 ed. 2 vols.
 - 189. Sensier, Souvenirs sur Th. Rousseau, Paris 1872.page 272 Sensier's ideaseem to have been ignored by most historians in fact they appear quite acceptable and a very good indication of Rousseau's response to Japanese art.
 - 190. Sensier, op cit, pps.271-272.
 - 191. Sensier, op cit., p.272.
 - 192. Sensier, op cit, p. 303.

- 193. This painting is reproduced in J. Bouret, The Barbizon School and Seventeenth Century French Landscape Painting, London, 19/3, Plate 129.
- 194. This is reproduced in Bouret, op cit, p.213.
- 195. Bouret reproduces one such "Dusk on the Plain of Chaily", p.221.
- 196. Amongst the "blind" men, as I would call them, are Turner, Bonington and Monet and all the nineteenth century artists whose "illusionistic" tendencies are always subordinated to feel the overall quality of their image. To paint in this way is to "feel" one's way with the brush and colours like a blind man learning to see. We know that have their sight restored have to be taught to see by a process of feeling.

The argument that nineteenth century landscape art was a religious activity has a long pedigree, and we mention Ruskin, Von Simson, Eisner and Hoffmann as exponents of this view. However it has not been applied to the painters of light who took part in the "Impressionist" movement, and it is part of my argument that they too were pursuing a metaphysical adventure.

- 197. Herbert Read and others have discussed this attitude, "the Tao of Painting" at length, in works such as "The forms of things unknown. Lendon 1961 page 199.
- 198. Chesneau also mentions Diaz as a collector of Japanese prints in his 1878 article, but this is probably because Diaz survived until 1876. There is no evidence that Diaz's style was affected by Japanese prints he remained a painter of gypsies in dark forests.
- 199. C. Merrill Mount, Claude Monet, 1966, a biography, is still the only recent work on Monet's development. I disagree with much that Mount says, and entirely with his (and Cézanne's!) view of Monet as an eye without intellect, and responsive primarily to the need for sales in his stylistic changes. However Mount's documentary research seems reliable and I intend to refer to his account of Monet's associates.

 (1975)

 The long promised Wildenstein catalogue remains unobtainable This leaves Seitz's Monet, 1960, as the latest monograph on Monet's art. In addition there are one or two specialist studies such as Joel Isaacson's on "Déjeuner sur l'herbe", 1972. Not one of them makes any attempt to describe or evaluate the Oriental influence on Monet's art. Nor does K. Swiler Champa's Studies in Early Impressionism, New Haven and Lomdon 1973. which deals especially with Monet's early development.
- 200. If the Burges collection is typical of early work one could look for Japanese grotesques' influencing Monet's caricatures, done in his adolescence at Le Havre now at the Musée Marmottan. In fact no such influence exists.

Monet declared that he spent 20 pence at a time on spirited designs of parakeets and monkeys when he was a boy in Le Havre, but this seems to be at best a dim memory, at worst an egotistical remark to place him among the first to discover Japanese art.

201. Merrill Mount, op cit., p.211, even repeats the apocryphal story of the discovery of Japanese prints in a shop selling Oriental porcelain - in this case the shop in Amsterdam and the artist honet

rather than the usual Whiteler. Mount derives his story from LA.628-E8, the story of a motor voyage by Octave Kirbeau, a friend of Monet, written in 1907. In the chapter on Holland Kirbeau speaks of Monet first discovering Japanese art "il-y-a cinquante ans", which would put the discovery circa 1860 or soon after. However he places it in Zaandam unlike Mount, but in a grocer's store, not a porcelain shop, and the prints were being used to wrap tea and coffee,

Mirbeau names "Hokusai, Outamaro et Hiroshige" and a Korin(!)
"représentant un troupeau de biches" and "Femmes à leur toilette,
femmes au loin, des mers, des oiseaux, des arbres fleuries" as the
subjects of the other prints, see pps. 207, 208, 209.

Mirbeau's account is clearly based on his conversations with Monet and his knowledge of Monet's prints. But his dating is vague, and it suggests that Monet himself may have received his first introduction to Japanese art as a powerful force acting on contemporary art in the 1860's, and not with his own mature style in the early 1870's. In any case the account is clearly not a reliable historical document.

Ge ffroy partly corroborates Mirbeau's assertion. He states that the majority of the prints were acquired in Holland, in his description of his first visit to Giverny in 1886, and noticed among the prints on the wall some Namban works showing Dutchmen in Japan. Monet apparently told him that he had acquired them from a grocer. See Ge ffroy Monet pps.331-332. Ge ffroy's account is more accurate than Mirbeau's and allows some possibility for Monet to have interested himself in Japanese prints before 1870, which is my case in this chapter.

Through his friendship with Bazille Monet got to know much of fashionable Paris. The most important Japanophile among the painters he met was, of course, Manet. According to Mount, Manet and Bazille entertained Monet in their Rue Furstenberg apartment in 1864 - the time that I have suggested for Manet's deep involvement with Japan. Fantin Latour was also among the guests.

Bazille knew Felix Regamey was a close friend of Ph. Burty the arch-japonisant, Monet was also in Gleyre's in 1862 for a short time. Bazille also knew Alfred Stevens.

In 1864 Monet may have painted a portrait of the engraver Jules Jacquemart during the summer. Jacquemart had already produced many prints of Japanese objects and was a friend and comrade of the great Japanese enthusiast Bracquemond. For this portrait see Champa's Studies in Early Impressionism, p.3, plate 3. Champa dates it at 1864. In the 1957 Monet Exhibition arranged by the Arts Council this work was dated 1867. This later date seems to me to be mistaken but it should be noted.

- 202. Illus. Champa, op cit, Fig. 9.
- 203. Illus Rewald, The History of Impressionism, 1946 ed. p.89.
- 204. I have established that Hiroshige's Views of Yedo and Views of more than 64 Provinces were available in Europe at the time. The reproductions in Osborne's Japanese Fragments contain enough examples of flat areas of colour and stylized recession to make my point. In my view it is not necessary to find a specific source for Monet's portrait, which in any case would be impossible for

such a nondescript one. The essential point lies in the promotion of a break with Barbizon by the Japanese example.

- 205. Rewald, op cit., p. 103, The dating is Rewald's.
- 206. Daubigny painted a snow scene in 1873, perhaps following his. protege's example.
- 207. Station 38: Fujikawa, illus.p.92, in Subjects portrayed in Japanese Colour Prints by B. Stewart, 1922. Other Hiroshige snow scenes include Station 16 Kambara from an oblong 1834 series.
- 208. Stewart illustrates Hiroshige's Station 47 of the Kisokaido Road with the tree on page 104. One can also be found in No.18 of Hokusai's 36 Views of Fuji "Fuji from the pass of Mishima" Kahi Province, see Stewart, p.110. Many more examples can be found.
- 209. Illus. Champa, fig. 24.
- 210. By Scharf, et al.
- 211. I have not argued the case for his marine paintings as it is too difficult to produce accurate datings.
- 212. See Poulain, Bazille et Ses Amis. Paris 1932.
- 213. Swiler Champa draws attention to a preliminary brush drawing for "Women in the Garden" under a Bazille nude, op cit, fig.14. This makes it clear that Monet began with a black outline for the dresses a decorative mark, rather than with coloured shapes or shadows such as an academic "impressionist" like Degas was using.
- 214. Fashion prints have been suggested as the source for some of Monet's decorative effects, but I have seen no satisfactory evidence in this respect.
- 215. Conveniently illustrated by Champa, colour plate 8, Kunst halle.
- 216. It may have been Stevens' work that Monet had in mind as a model in this work, in which case the Japanese form would have been received at second hand.
- 217. Merrill Mount, op cit., p.161, in acknowledgement to Poulain, Bazille et Ses Amis.
- 218. Rewald dates it 1866, Merrill Mount 1867. The illustration may be found in Rewald, op cit, p.135.

FOOTNOTES - DISSEMINATORS OF THE ORIENTAL IMAGE

- 219. A. Borget, born 29.8.1809. Salon exhibits of Chinese subjects.
 - 1841. "Yue d'un Temple Chinois à Macow"
 - 1841 "Habitation des pecheurs chinois" Rowlouy
 - 1842 "Farniente Chinois"
 - 1845 "Port Chinois près d'Anvy (fête des lanternes)" in "L'Illustration," 1845.
 - 1846"Promenade d'une grande dame Chinoise"
 - 1848 "Chinoise disant la bonne aventure dans le grande temple de Macao".

- 1848 "Enfants Chinois en recréation"
- 1849 "Mandarin Disgracee Mendicant avec sa famille"
- 1859 "Boutique de barbier dans la ville de bateaux à Canton"
 (Bellier de la Chavignerie Dictionnaire des Artistes vivantes) 1883.
- 220. Baudelaire's passage is taken from "Baudelaire Galons", trans.
 Nayne, London, 1962. This is the source of my information on Borget.
- 221. This is published by London Print and Publishing, London, 1843, in two volumes.
- 222. Allom's plates are un-numbered, see Part 1 Section 1 for full discussion of Allom.
- 223. See "The Illustrated London News", Sept. and Nov. 1859.
- 224. A poster for the exhibition's appearance in Hull is reproduced by T. Bowie in his catalogue for the exhibition East/West in Art. See Part One.
- 225. Delamarre (T. Didier) born 8.8.1824.
 Salon exhibits of Chinese subjects;
 1861 "L'occidentaliste de Shang Hai"
 "Le Marchand de The Canton"
 "Le peintre de Lanternes de Canton"
 "Pecheurs Chinois"

 1866 "Intérieur Chinois à Canton"
 - 1866 "Intérieur Chinois à Canton"
 "Marchand Chinois comptant ses sapique!"
 1867 " Causeurs Chinois"
 1868 "Le jeune portfaix Chinois".
- 226. "Illustrated London News", 1861 p.60, "Pictures from the Paris Biennale Exhibition".
- 227. Both are given in the bibliographical supplement to Fraissinet "moeurs du Japon", Paris, 1864, 2 vols.
- 228. See Bibliography and list of Wirgman's illustrations below.
- 229. W.E.Griffis, "The Mikado's Empire" New York, 1876 quoted from p.9 of theintroduction.
- 229b. See S. Elis ef, 2 La peinture contemporaine au Japon" Paris, 1923.
- 230. Wirgman's illustrations of Japan for "The London Illustrated News"

1860 New Year's Day, China

Aug. 10.1861, Yokohama, Storyteller.

Oct. 12 1861. Outrage at British Embassy, Yedo.

Jan. 7.1865 Japanese letter.

May 24, 1862, Japanese Inn.

Sept. 24.1864, 1.304 - Japanese girl rougeing her lips.

Oct.15, 1864, p.404 - Woodblock printers.

Jan. 11, 1868, Theatre at Osaka.

Wirgman produced many other illustrations which are unsigned and cannot be included in this list.

- 231. A readable account of these adventures is given in 1. Barr, "The Coming of the Barbarians", London, 1968, in particular fart III, "Swords and Victims". Those more brave should read Alcock's own account "The Capital of the Tycoon", London 1865.
 - It seems a reasonable inference that he came to Japan with the first Pritish ambassador, Rutherford Alcock, in 1860. Alcock also had been working in China.
- 232. "Illustrated London News", Jan. 1866, p.88.
- 233. Gleeson White, " English Illustration The Sixties 1855-1870."
 Westminster 1897
- 234. This is the opinion of M.J.P. Bouillon of the University of Nantes to whom I wrote on the subject, and G.P.Weisberg who has also offered me his advice. M. Bouillon has recently published an analysis of Bracquemond's correspondence which shows that he began writing about "Japonaiseries" in that year. See G.B.A. Dec. 1973. I offer in Part One a brief essay on the development and improbability of the idea that Bracquemond discovered Japanese prints in 1856.
- 235. A. Jacquemart "Histoire du Porcelaine", Lyons, 1862. See below, p. 204ff. for a discussion of his work. Bracquemond would have known Jacquemart at this time through the "Societé des Aquafortistes".
- 236. G.P.Weisberg A. "Bracquemond and the Japanese Influence on Ceramics",

 Art Bulletin, Spring, 1969. See also B. "F. Bracquemond and Japonisme", Art Quarterly 1969 op.cit
- 237. For instance one has a section of fish motifs.
- 238. Weisberg, op cit, 18 A.B. Shonen lived 1812-1869.
- 239. Ibid. Fig. 3, item 373, and quoting from the catalogue of 1876 Burty's Collection Sale, p.25.
- 240. The plate is identified as by Hiroshige in S. Bing's "Artistic Japan", vol. 3, see illustrations.
- 241. An engraving by Bracquemond of a decorated plate similar to those illustrated by Jacquemart is published in A. de Lostalot, "M.Felix Bracquemond", G.B.A., 1884, p.160. For motifs that could have attracted Bracquemond see particularly Jacquemart, op cit, Plate VIII, "Cocks and Fishes".
- 242. Weisberg, Art Bulletin, op cit, illus.23.
- 243. "Bracquemond l'animalier", L. Benédite, Art & Décoration, 1905. ep cit
- 244. "M. Felix Bracquemond" Part II, p.517, G.B.A., 1884.
- 245. A drawing of it by Bracquemond is reproduced in G.B.A. 1884, p.521, as part of Lostalot's article.
- 246. Bracquemond, "Preface to Goncourt, catalogue de son collection des estampes moderne". raris 1891
- 247. See the introduction of this chapter, and "Jules Jacquemart", L. Gonse, G.B.A., 1874, p.564.

- 248. For a catalogue of the 26 plates in this book see Conse, G.B.A.
 July, 1875, pp.64-88.
- 249. 1876, p.473.
- 250. See G.B.A., May, 1976, pp.671-672.
- 251. Ibid, pp.677-678.
- 252. G.B.A. 1875, p.560
- 253. G.B.A. March, 1876, p.476 and p.479, no.313.
- 254. An account of the Murder is given in P. Parr, op cit, 1967pages 170-171
- 255. Felix Beato was in Japan at this time. One wonders if the photo. is by him. He submitted work to the Illustrated London News throughout the 1860's.
- 256. The only published work on Beato is "Robertson Beato and Co. Camera Vision at Lucknow. 1857-1858". by Walter Chappell op cit.

SUMMARY FOOTNOTES

- 256. Most recently by J. House in the catalogue of the 1974 Royal Academy Impressionism Exhibition.
- 257. Apart from the famous association in Zola's defence of Manet, the following also used the analogy in the 1860's and 1870's Baudelaire, Chesneau, Champfleury, Duranty, Bousquet, Duret.

Introduction

1. The best available account of Japanese interest in the West is Gr. George Sansom, The Western World and Japan, Random House, U.S.A. 5th ed. 1965. See especially Chapter Fourteen, "Parly Meiji Western Influences".

PART ONE. CHAPTER ONE.

2. Chesneau "Le Japon à Paris," G.B.A., 1878. Among the writers who do so are Scheyer, op cit, Thirion, op cit, Rewald, History of Impressionism. New York 1946 and 1961.

An opposing viewpoint stressing the greater significance of the Vienna 1873 and Philadelphia 1876 exhibitions was taken by Clay Lancaster in "The Japanese Influence in America", New York and Tokyo, 1963. However since Lancaster believed that no Japanese prints were shown in the 1867 Paris exhibition his estimate cannot be taken as very accurate.

- 3. See Chesneau "L'Art Japonais discours fait au Union des Beaux-Arts" Fevrier 1869. This is a lecture to industrialists on the lessons to be learnt from the Japanese aesthetic designers.
 - See also chapter "L'Art Japonais", p.415, of "Les Nations Rivales dans l'art", Paris, 1868, which is an anthology of Chesneau's considerable writings on the art exhibits at the 1867 Exposition. Most of it appears to be journalistic essays, previously published as separate items in various periodicals.
- 4. Ph.Burty "Japanese Pottery" quoted from p.208 of the English edition of Vol.III of Bing's "Artistic Japan", Paris, New York, London and Berlin, 1890.
- 5. This letter is quoted in Burty's memorial essay "Jules de Concourt" written in 1870 and republished in Burty "Maîtres et Petits Maîtres", Paris, 1876, pp.273-274.
- 6. The evidence for Burty collecting Japanese prints before 1867 has been discussed above, see Part One, Section One.
- 7. See Duret "Les Livres et Albums Illustrés du Japon", Paris, 1900.
 Preface, p.II. The book is a full catalogue of Duret's collection of Japanese prints given to the Louvre in 1900.
- 8. G. Audsley and J. Bowes "Keramic Art of Japan", London, 1875, Preface.
- 9. See G. Audsley "Notes on Japanese Art", London, 1872, illustrated by speciments from the Bowes collection, a paper for the Architectural Association. See also Audsley "The Ornamental Arts of Japan", London, two vols. 1882.
- 10. "L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustré", ed. R. Ducuing, Paris, 1867, p.331, Chapter VI, "Le Japon et Le Siam".
- 11. See "Revue des Deux Mondes", vol.I, 1867, p.722. "L'Exposition Universel, La Chine et Le Japon" II P. Duchesne de Bellecoeur.

- 13. Ernst Feydeau, "Vente de la Collection d'objets d'art de l'exposition japonaise". Revue International de l'Art et de Curio sité, p.71, Vol.I. 1869.
- 14. The evidence for this comes from Feydeau, op cit., also the Victoria and Albert Museum's "General Inventory of 1868" which indicates that the Japanese objects were kept in Paris until 1869 when the museum received them although it appears to have bought them in 1868. A catalogue was issued of the exhibition in Rue Victoire 41 which establishes the presence of the exhibition there throughout 1868, "Catalogue de produits et d'objets japonais composant la collection envoyée du Japon pour L'Exposition de 1867 et groupé aujourd'hui kue de la Victoire No.41", 8vo. Paris, 1868.

I have been unable to locate this catalogue. The V. and A. copy has been destroyed and it has proved impossible to locate a copy abroad. Neither have I been able to locate the standard catalogue of Japanese work in the 1867 exhibition issued by the Japanese commissioners, as this has also been destroyed.

- 15. Goncourt Journal, 1867-70, p.25, 27 Mai, 1867.
- 16. The figures are France

 Britain

 Japan

 China

 Siam

 Loo Choo

 63,640,88 sq. metres
 21,059,87 "

 1,447,87 sq. metres.

These figures are taken from Nelson and Sons, British Catalogue to the 1867 Exhibition, London, 1867.

- 17. Owen Jones "Letter to The Ames April 19, 1867". Jones is concerned with India and Persia as much as with Japan, but his comments are accurate.
- 18. P. Duchesme Bellecoeur, op cit, p.722. Bellecoeur confirms the general impression that Japan was by far the best represented "L'Exposition Japonaise infiniment plus complète et plus variée que l'exposition chinoise".
- 19. Feydeau, op cit., p.73. Also according to F. Trapp, "Expo 67 revisited"
 Apollo 1969 p112. Photographs of the 1867 Exposition are still preserved
 in the Louvre, however the engravings seem to be acceptable records.
- 20. "Le Kiosque Japonais" R. Ferrère., "L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustré" pp.234-235.
- 21. E.G. Ferrère, op cit., , mentions the sacred horse tethered in a Buddhist(!) temple without distinguishing between Buddhism and Shintoism.
- 22. Bellecoeur, op cit., p.80.
- 23. Because of contradictions in the reports about the Chinese exhibition it is difficult to know whether the tea kiosk was in the exhibition building or in the Chinese Garden in the grounds, and so I have assumed that it was next to the Japanese kiosk in the peripheral aisle of the main exhibition halls.

- 24. Meritens had spent 15 years in China.
- 25. Bellecoeur op cit., p.715, wrote that the Chinese cafe resembles nothing in China save perhaps the lowest opium den.
- 26. Ferrere, op cit., p.138. gives the following description;
 "Tout a été étudié dans ce jardin avec un soin et un amour du détail infinis. Les chaises en bois de différentes couleurs sont accomodées à la double exigence du confort européen et de la décoration générale. Les lanternes se distinguent par la varieté de leurs formes et de leurs couleurs; depuis la lanterne ronde recouverte d'un simple tissue gomme applique sur une légère charpente en bois jusqu'à la lanterne de verre ornée de riches dessins de glands de soie et de bandelettes en perle."
- 27. H. Gautier "Les Curiousités de l'Exposition Universelle", Paris, C. H. Delgrave et Cie. Libraires et Editeurs, 78, Rue des Écoles, 1867, adds to Ferrères description of the name of the Rue Vivienne and declares that all the Chinese exhibits had previously been displayed by one of the Parisian dealers.
- 28. Bellecoeur, op cit., p.726, Gautier, op cit., p.59, and Trelat in Ducuing op cit., p.363-364 respectively.
- 29. H. Gautier, op cit, p.59.
- 30. Chesneau, op cit., p.424.
- 31. The Times, 12th March, 1867.
- 32. I am grateful for the assistance of Mr. E. Capon, Assistant Keeper at the V. and A. Museum, Far Eastern Section. A considerable amount of effort is necessary to make a thorough study of some of the items which have not been catalogued or studied at all for at least fifty years.
- 33. Gautier, op cit., p.21.
- 34. Bellecoeur, op cit., p.720.
- 35. Arnas, "Pottery", p. 391 of Reports for the South Kensington Museum on the 1867 French International Exhibition.
- 36. For the full list and description of these items with their current inventory numbers in the V. and A. catalogue see appendix. I have not been able to photograph all these items, but they form a useful reference point for discussion of possible Chinese motifs in later Western art.
 - The Chinese items were acquired like the Japanese items in 1869, lut this does not mean that they were kept together, probably they were returned to the dealers who had exhibited them after the 1867 exhibition closed.
- 37. Raoul Ferrère refers to Satsuma as the Taichou of Tatsouma.
- 38. See Sansom, "Japan and the Western World", op cit and "History of Japan" vol.III, Meiji Restoration. Stanford 1963.

- 39. Feydeau, op cit., p.77.
- 40. See below Section Two for an account of the 1878 exhibition.
- 41. Feydeau, op cit., p.74.
- 42. Chesneau, op cit., p.454.
- 43. Ibid, Sections II and III.
- 44. These can be found in the V. and A. Print Room 04.D.20. 861,861A, 4869.
- 46. V. and A. 841 A. B. etc.
- 47. V. and A. Box E.J.6.
- 48. V. and A., Box E.J.6. This is dated by the museum.
- 49. V. and A. Box E.J.6.
- 50. Audsley "The Ornamental Arts of Japan", London, 1884, Sampson and Low, Section I, Plate XVI.
- 51. See Museum 1958, "Documents relating to the preparation of Uki-yo. e prints for the second Paris International Exhibition", No.89, pps.25-28, No.90, pps.29-33, No.91, pps.28-30. All these were kindly read for me by Mr. Graham Healey of Sheffield Centre for Japanese studies. He did not have time to give me a full translation and concentrated on giving a good general account of the documents.
- 52. No clear dates exist on the documents as a whole, only the Bakufu seal, but the process of gathering estimates was begun in 1862. The printing of the commissioned drawings was down from April 1866. The commissions were given out by the Edo city magistrates. They dealt with leading print dealers and agents such as Notomachi.
- 53. See the V. and A. inventory, No.823,1869. The reason for the high quality of the lacquer work may be that the V. and A. had been acquiring Japanese lacquer since the mid-1850's. I have seen several pieces in the collection at Ham House, notably a magnificent box containing lacquer combs, brushes and decorative papers, acquired in 1865. I discussed this in Section One.
- 54. Feydeau, op cit., p.78.
- 55. See Edward Strange, "Catalogue of Japanese Lacquer in the V. and A. collections", London, 1926, General No.4. This lacquer catalogue is the only accessible record of a part of the Japanese collection in the V. and A., and is not a full record.
- 56. 877-1869, Strange, No.582.
- 57. Audsley. op cit., p.21. Audsley also showed a writing box purchased by Bowes at the exhibition but this is not illustrated.
- 58. Bowes Collection Catalogue, p. 192, 1901, Branche and Leete, Liverpool.
- 59. Bellecoeur, op cit., p.731.

60. See V. and A. inventory, Nos. 624A, 824B, 825, 826 - 1869, 831 - 1850, 866 - 1869, 814A, 814B - 1869, 817. 814A and 614B are from Nowant transparent Province of Satsuma.

I have photographed the entire collection and will supply the various illustrations if required for points of reference later in this thesis. However a discussion of each object would be pointless as they are similar in most respects.

- 61. Bellecoeur, op cit., p.730.
- 62. V. and A. no. 892 1869.
- 63. Bellecoeur, Ibid, p.731.
- 64. Ibid, pp.435-437
- 65. I have not yet been able to trace these. V. and A.1869, Mos.842, 843, 853.
- 66. Feydeau, on cit, p.75.
- 67. Raoul Ferrere "Le Japon et Le Siam", op cit,p.331.
- 68. Duret, 1901, op cit.
- 69. Handlist of Objects obtained during the Paris Exhibition. The Science and Art Department, South Kensington, London, 1868, p.15.
- '70. See also E. Aslin "The Oriental Influence on the Decorative Aris in England and France. Catalogue of "World Cultures and Modern Art", exhibition Munich 1972, pp.177-178.
- 71. "Visits to Japan 1865-1866" Illustrated with drawings from Japanese originals, London, Dean and Son, 1869.
- 72. See Hillier "Utamaro", Plates 96 and 97, for comparisons of the plate which is opposite p.28 in "Visits to Japan".
- 73. The black framed screen appears in the lefthand panel of a triptych, "Fete in a Tea House", 1786, (Hillier, Plate 10), and in an arbum, "Otoka-doka", 1798 (Hillier, Plate 68).
- 74. Except of course Siebold's collection which was at Leiden until 1869 and was seen by relatively few people.
- The remaining plates in "Visits to Japan" are not easy to identify.
 They are clearly pastiches chosen to show aspects of Japanese life such as sleeping on the floor with a wooden pillow. One shows a
 norman with porters and another with a roof top view with kites
 on every roof, shaped like fish. Doth of these suggest Hokusai, but
 their rendering is so crude one cannot be certain.
- 76. "Yishte to Japan", pp.38-40.
- 77. Travel in Japan increased in the mid and late 1060's as the country became more friendly to Westerners. See Barr op cit. Sansom, op cit, for confirmation of this.
- 78. Chesness, G.B.A., 1878, p. 387.

- 79. It has proved impossible to locate a copy of Astruc's articles "L'Empire du Soleil Levant" in L'Etendard, 1867. See my commenta in Section One.
- 80. Gabriel Weisberg, "Bracquemond", Art Bulletin, op cit., publishes it as an illustration, 12.
- 81. This is all that is known of the Jinglar. It appears to have had far, less importance than is normally suggested.
- 82. Concourt makes the claim in the Journal for Oct.29, 1867.
- 83. Goncourt Journal, 9 Aout, 1868.
- 84. <u>Ibid</u>, 12. Sept.
- 85. They are in "La Presse", "Le Rappel", "Le Livre". These are all journals on which Burty worked at this time.
- 86. See for example 19 Janvier 1871. Burty showed De Concourt a Japanese scroll with paintings of a human body decomposing after death, and in April he saw Mme. Burty polishing her husband's collection of Japanese swords.
- 87. Burty, "Emaux Cloisonnes", Paris, 1869, p.68.
- 88. Ibid, p.47;

"Les vases, les sceptres, les tasses, les pièces d'orfevrie les plus délicates des artistes de l'empire du Milieu sont decorés avec une finesse et une richesse incomparable. Mains de fées et patience de Chinois."

For a discussion of the Chinese love of irregularity, and for the use of a quotation from "Manette Salomon" about Japanese art as the art which loves monsters, to describe, not Japanese but Chinese art, see Burty, "Masterpieces of Industrial Art", pp.134-135. I give the pagination of the English translation by W.E. Chaffers, London, 1869.

- 89. Burty, op cit, p.49, "Emaux Cloisonnes".
- 90. Burty "Masterpieces of Industrial Art, pp.137-138.
- 91. Burty, "Emaux Cleisonnes" op cit page 59.
- 92. "Tournez les pages, vous verrez le Fousi-hama qui fait ondoyer sur les glaciers éternels de sacuméson panache de fumée, des portraits d'acteurs en renom et de courtisanes à la mode, des aveugles qui nasillent, des soldats qui se piétent, des pecheurs qui tirent leurs filets, des voyageurs dont un coup de vent emporte chapeaux et parapluies à travers les rizières, des enfants qui excitent des coqs, des pecheuses qui ramassent pieuvres. La vie réele y coudoie la légende, les fantomes voltigent dans la nuit, les lutteurs velus fort saillir, en présence du taicoun, leur musculature énorme..."

 pp.59-60.
- 93. Burty "Masterpieces of Industrial Art", p.144.
- 94. Burty "Émaux Cloisonnés", p.68.

- 95. Ibid, p.67.
- 96. "Masterpieces of Industrial Art", p. 145.
- 97. I do not accept this comfortable evaluation of Watteau, but it is tenable and was certainly held by the Concourts in "L'Art du' Dix-Huitième Siècle".
- 98. Burty, "Émaux Cloisonnés", p.69.
- 99. Ibid, p:68.
- 100. Burty, "Masterpieces of Industrial Art", op cit.
- 101. Burty, "Emaux Cloisonnés", p.57.
- 102. The characteristic framing of Fuji by trees is typical of this meries of oblong prints, unlike any series by Hiroshige or like Hokusai's book "100 Views of Fuji".
- 103. The actor's mask on p.22 is reproduced in Regamey's "Le Japon en Images", Paclot et Cie, Paris, 1903. Regamey's involvement with Japanese art was constant throughout his life.
- 104. Regamey's career is discussed in full below.
- 105. See the article "L'Art Japonais" reprinted from Le Constitutionel in 1868 in "Les Nations Rivales dans l'Art", and the reprint of the lecture L'Art Japonais Conférence fait par E. Chesneau à L'Union Centrale des Beaux Arts", Paris, 1869.
- 106. Chesneau, "L'Art Japonais" p.10.
 - 107. Chesneau "Les Nations Rivales dans l'Art", 1868, pp. 415-420.
- 108. Ibid, p.441.
- 109. Chesneau, Ibid, 1868, p.12, 1869, p.435.
- :110. Chesneau, 1869, Ibid, p.12.
 - 111. Chesneau, 1869, p.14.
 - 112. Chesneau, 1869, ibid, p.24.
 - 113. Chesneau, 1868, p.435.
- 114. Chesneau, 1868, <u>Ibid</u>, pp.423,424. Chesneau points out that this is proved both by the many photographs of Japanese women available in the West.
- 115. Chesneau's notion of symmetry is clearly far more important than would be clear if we thought simply of a symmetrical decorative pattern. He quotes the progressive reduction in the size of Torii (wooden temple arches) as they form avenues leading to the central shrine as an example of assymetry, when it is clearly irregularity, and aesthetic appropriateness which he intends to describe. Therefore behind the concept of symmetry it is correct to see a concern with redundance of idealistic aesthetic attitudes and their manifestation in art and design:

"Les proportions sont eminemment variables, vaimais calculées toujours en raison d'une progression harmonique fondée sur un sens de l'art exquis, manoquerant avec une logique superieure à travers les libertés et les licences de la dysymmetrie". 1869, p.16.

- 116. Chesneau, 1869, op cit., pp.16-17.
- 117. Chesneau quotes descriptions of a large temple painting by Toodenzu and a gigantic bronze Daibutsu written by Aimé Humbert in his "Tour du Monde" as examples of the aesthetics of the appropriate.

 Of the Buddha, Humbert wrote;

"Il-y-a un charme irrestible dans la pose du Daiboudhs, ainsi que dans l'harmonie des proportions de son corps, la noble simplicité de son vétement, le calme et la pureté des traits de sa figure. Tout ce qui l'environne est en parfait rapport avec le sentiment que sa vue inspire." 1869, p.21. He must have had this account privately, Humbert published in 1870 and alie.

- 118. Chesneau, Ibid, p.17.
- 119. Chesneau, Ibid, pp.440-441. See also pages 424-425.
- 120. For the importance of Bergson's theory in twentieth century art criticism see Jack Burnham "Byond Modern Sculpture" which also provides a structuralist criticism of it and explains its demise.
- 121. See E.F. Carritt "The Theory of Beauty", University paperback, 1962, Chap.X, "Expressive and Formal Beauty" for a discussion of the history of the idea of Expressive beauty.
- 122. Chesneau makes it clear that by expressive beauty he does not simply mean the grotesque, when he discusses the second to last page of Vol.V. of the Mangwa which shows a priest and a god;

 "Le mouvement du bras, les lignes de la longue robe tombant verticalement, tout dans cette figure a une grandeur, une severité du style qui pas un maître, même parmi les plus géants ne désavouerait." 1868, p.443
- 123. Chesneau, 1868, pp.421-422 for descriptions of subjects of Mangwa.
 The fifteenth volume was published later in 1871.
- 124. He displayed some in his 1869 lecture.
- 125. Chesneau's knowledge of the sequence of the Mangwa volumes was unsound. There is no religious architecture in Vol.V.
- 126. Cheaneau is driven to some strange ideas to communicate this aesthetic. He talks for instance of "un perspective de sentiment" to explain why he feels that illusionistic scenes on European pottery and wallpaper are uncomfortable whereas the idealised perspective in Japanese works seems to be perfectly appropriate. He also talks of the Japanese are having created an aesthetic of touch, "L'esthétique du toucher" all useful objects are made appropriate to the experience of touching them which gives pleasure Chesneau, 1869, p.26.
- 127. See above, Part One, for Zola's discussion.
- 128. Chesneau, op cit, pp. 334-335.

- 129. Part One, Section on Degas.
- 130. Champfleury's "Les Chats" had the subtitle "Avec 52 dessins par Eugene Delacroix, Viollet le Duc, Merimée, Manet, frix d'Avennes, Ribot, Hautzberger, Mind, Oksai". Schwartz "The Far Last in. Literature states that only one illustration was derived from Hokusai. In fact there are six attributed to him, some are by Hiroshige.
- 131. See "Artistic Japan" Vol.III, Plate B.F.I. Bing's at tributions are usually accurate and I see no reason to question this one which has? since been confirmed by Basil Robinson of the V. and A.
- 132. However he put Hokusai's death at circa 1819. This is similar to the mistake by Rossetti earlier and suggests a common source of information.
- 133. I quote from the English translation of Jules Champfleury, pseud. Husson, "The Cat" London 1885, trans. Mrs. Cashel Hooey. I am assured that it is the same as the French original.
- 134. Baudelaire "Les Phares, Poems 1852-7" quoted from "Baudelaire," ed. Francis Scarfe, The Penguin Poets, London, 1972, pp.160-163.
- 135. We know that the Caprices were much admired by Baudelaire, Manet.

 Champfleury, Delacroix and many others in the mid-nineteenth century.
- 136. Champfleury's book also contains a section on "Cats in China", p.186ff.1885 ed., which describes thinese porcelain and Japanese pottery images of cats. Also on p.90 Champfleury reproduces a patterned design of cats, fitted together to make a cat's head which I have been unable to attribute, though I suspect it to be by Hiroshige or Kuniyoshi.
- 137. Feydeau, "Revue International de l'Art et Curio sité", see pp.71, 72, 73 for the text commented on.
- 138. See for instance an article that A. De Beaumont wrote for Revue des Deux Mondes in 1867 "A travers l'orient à l'Exposition Universelle".
- 139. Mr. Beck's purchases in 1867 are illustrated on Plate XIII of the 1880 edition of Audsley and Bowers "Keramic Art of Japan".
- 140. An exhibition of the Bowes Collection with a catalogue by Audsley was held by the Liverpool Art Club. Several papers were published including "Notes on Japanese Art", a paper for the Architectural Association, London, 1872, by George Ashdown Audsley (illustrated with specimens from the Bowes Collection).
- 141. <u>Ibid</u>, pp.6-7.
- 142. W. Rossetti, "Memoirs", pp.276-277.
 - 142. Ibid. p.279
 - 143. Rossetti "Diary", Friday 18 Dec. 1868, in Rossetti "Papers".
 - 144. Ibid, 1870

- 145. Report and illustration in the "Illustrated London lews", May 2 1868, p.433.
- 146. Though this is not perhaps by those of the nineteenth century i self the paradox of Audsley and Bowes' continued admiration for late Satsuma long after this had been realised to be inferior work is only explicable in terms of their own nineteenth century taste. See below for a full discussion of their role as Japanese enthusiasts.
- 147. "Le Japon Illustré" par Aimé Humbert ancien envoyé extraordinal e et plenpotentiare de la Confederation Suisse, Inris, 1870. An English translation was published in I874.
- 147B. See E. Gombrich "The Cartoonists Armoury" in "Meditations on a Hobby Horse" London 1963 page 130 and illustration 71.
- 148. Leon De Rosny "Si-Ka-Zen-Yo", Anthologie Japonaise "poesies anciennes et modernes des insulaires du Nippon", traduites en Français et publiées avec le texte original par Leon de Rosny, Paris, Naisonneuve et Cie, Eds. 1871, and "Tales of Old Japan", A.B.Mitford, Second Secretary to the British Legation in Japan. With illustrations drawn and cut on wood by Japanese artists. Two vols. Macmillan and Co., 1871, London. "The Six Screens", a contemporary Japanese novel translated by a doctor P.PFizmaier, was also published at this time. The English translator, Dickins, also published the "Fook of 100 Poets" in translation in 1871.
- 150. Schwartz "Far East at French Literature" believed that it was simply a text book.
- 150. See De Rosny op cit, p.61.
- 151. Evidence of the rapidity with which De Rosny's translations were taken up is provided by Saint-Saens' first opera, "La Princesse Jaune" which contains a garbled version of one of the songs from De Rosny's translations in Act One. The words used mean "How do you do" and "It is not raining today". The opera was produced in 18/2 and was, not surprisingly, a failure. See Schwartz, op cit, p.8/1.
- 152. J have not been able to identify this book's original.
- 153. The books are:
 - 28. Ye-hon hyaku-nin-issyu. Collection illustre des Cent Poetes; deux vol. in 8°. Leyden Library (Siebold).
 - 35. Yei-hyaku-nin issyu. Recuiel de pieces de poésic des Cent Heros publié par Ayoktei Kawayanaghi et illustra par Gyoknansai Sadahide, Yedo, 1848, in 2 vols.
 - 127. Kyo-ka ga-zo saku-sya bu-rui. Recuiel des poesies satiriques avec illustrations deux vol. 1 in 8°. British Museum 219.
 - 140. Si-dzyu-itsi-bun uta-abare Collection de poésics différentes sur mêmes sujets avec illustrations. Un vol. in 8°. British Museum No.221.
 - 153. Uki-yo dodo itsu-oho-tsu-ye bu-si. Recuiel de chansons populaires du genre dit do-do itsu, par Sikko Sanzine, illustre par Issensai Morimitsu. Collection de Rosny 87.

- 154. See below for a discussion of their relationship in the section on the Liverpool Art Club exhibitions.
- 155. See for instance G. Bousquet writing in the Revue des Deux Mondes 1874. He recommends "La boutique d'Alphonse Giroux" in Nagoya as the finest place to buy cloisonne enamels. See R.D.D. first volume for 1874, "UN voyage dans l'intérieur du Japon pages 278-306.

 page 293. One of a series of articles about Japan.
- 156. See Audsley "Notes on Japanese Art" a paper for the Architectural Association, privately printed Liverpool 1872 reprinted London 1874 and "Cloisonne Enamels." Bowes 1884.
- 157. Reference to the appropriate volume of Lugt's Repertoire des Ventes will confirm this. Burty's sale has been discussed passim in the previous section and will be referred to below.
- 158. Note however that the Satsuma rebellion was provoked by the nature and pace of reform, not by a desire to separate Japan entirely from the world community, which had been the basis of earlier reports. Information on the politics of Meiji can be found in Sir George Sansom, Japan and the West, Chap. 13, p. 310.
- 159. See Burty's articles <u>Japonisme</u>, La Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique.
- 160. This is recorded both by Burty himself in Bing's Artistic Japan, in the articles on metalware, and by the Goncourt in the. Journal, Samedi 16 Oct. 1875.
- 161. For instance the major pieces of "ancient" Japanese art for the 1878 exhibition in Paris were assembled by the Museum of Yushima and they formed the nucleus of the present museum of Japanese art at Ueno Park, Tokyo. I have corresponded with the Museum in the hope of reconstructing the 1878 exhibits. However it appears that there is very little information about the Museum of Yushima remaining in their records. For a description in fiction, of a visit to the Museum see Kotoka, a Samurai's Daughter, 1885, W. Morris London.
- 162. For instance, Sansom, op cit, pps.379-381, though he himself points to a change in Uki-yo-e subjects starting as early as 1849 before Westernisation could have affected the art market a great deal.
- The Times, Dec.26th 1872, from an article announcing the formation of the Liverpool Art Club and the Liverpool Oriental Art Exhibition. Alcock regretted the general depravity of Japanese work in his book, Art and Art Industries in Japan, 1878. Audsley repeats the complaint in every book he wrote. After 1880 the complaint of the destruction of Japanese art is unanimous amongst all the Westerners who write on this subject. James Bowes, in the foreword to the catalogue of Cloisonné work written in 1884, remarks that no great work in any area of Japanese arts and crafts has been available since 1874. We may assume that the peak of imports of a high quality work was reached in the mid-1870's and dropped off sharply.
- 164. American collections such as the Freer are beyond the scope of this thesis.

- 165. Goncourt Journal, Vendredi, 30 Oct. 1874.
- 166. See Rowes, Cloisonne Fnamels, London, 1884, introduction.

 Bowes built himself a Japanese museum at Streatham Towers, Princess Road, Liverpool. He issued a catalogue. Unfortunately the collection was dispersed on his death and none of it entered the Liverpool museums, though the present keeper Mr. Brian Hateman began his own collection of Japanese Art with pieces bought from Bowes' son.
- of the Exhibition see, Catalogue Raisonne of the ORIENTAL EXHIBITION of the Liverpool Art Club. Held at the club rooms No.4 Sandon Terrace, Upper Duke Street, ed. by George Ashaown Audsley, Architect etc., Liverpool, published by the Liverpool Art Club, 1872, and the review printed in The Times, Dec.26th 1872.

The catalogue was reprinted in 1874 with photographs of many of Bowes' exhibits. It was reviewed by Professor Geoffrey Archer in an article "Oriental Art in Liverpool" The Art Journal, 1874. A later reprint was made (perhaps by Bowes), including these reviews and the catalogue, but this is undated.

- 168. See the 1872 catalogue, op cit. No. 192.
- 169. 1872 catalogue.
- 170. Mr. Legeza of the Gulbenkian Institute, Durham, is of the opinion that all the nineteenth century attributions were erroneous or at best blind guesses.
- 171. See the "Exhibition of Fans", Liverpool Art Club, 1874, ed. Audsley.

 The fans were of all periods and countries. Purty showed eight.

 They are as follows:

Cat.No.

- 85. Fan of commander in chief, paper with design of seven sages.
- 86. Paper fan with flowers and butterfly.
- 87. Officer's fan with sun design.
- 88. Bronze and gold fan, iron framed, signed U-da-Kane Signe.
- 89. Typical paper and whalebone fan.
- 90. Fan of officer of second rank decorated with a gold orb.
- 91. Chief officer's fan decorated with scarlet and gold orbs.
- 92. Fan with painting of Temple Huttusime in province of Aki.
- 172. See Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of enamels on metal. Held at the South Kensington Museum in 1874, Chiswick Fress, 1875.
- 173. See Catalogue of the Laon Exhibition of the collection of Porcelain of W.J.Alt, compiled by A. Franks, 1st Ed. 1876, 2nd ed., 1878.
- 174. Scott's activities are reported in <u>The Times</u> in 1674, but he appears to have organised exhibitions in 1872, 1873, 1874 and 1376, about which little information remains.
- 175. This information comes from a remarkable series of publications made by the Tokyo Exhibition Club between 1928 and 1934, Kaigai Hakurankai Honpo Sando Shiryo which give all known Japanese documents and information about all 44 overseas exhibitions participated in by Japan between 1873 and 1925. See Vol.1, June 1928, pps.77-78. No detailed information is available about this exhibition.

- by Dr.C.Dresser, Journal of the Society of Arts, Feb.6, 1874, page 211ff. quote from page 219.
- 177. See the <u>Bowes Collection sale catalogue</u>, Lots 1412,1413 and 1414. The works are illustrated in Bowes, <u>Keramic Art of Japan</u>, Plate XXXIX, (folio ed.).
- 178. The Philadelphia Centennial exhibition of 1876 is only of interest for American developments.
- 179. Journal de l'Exposition de Vienne Illustre, Vienne et Paris, 1873.
- 180. "Notice sur l'Empire du Japon et sur sa participation à L'Exposition Internationale de Vienne 1873 publiée par la Commission Impériale Japonaise" accompagné d'un photographique, Yokohama, 1873, Imprimerie C. Levy. Imprimeur Editeur.
- 181. Unfortunately I have been unable to examine the album of photographs.
- 182. It was in Vienna that Jacquemart contracted the tuberculosis that eventually killed him. See notes on the Portrait by Monet of Jacquemart in The Arts Council's Monet exhibition. Catalogue London. 1957 by D. Cooper.
- 183. Goncourt Journal, Mardi, 19 Aout 1873.
- 184. Audsley and Bowes, Keramic Art of Old Japan, small ed., p.141, ed. Henry Sotheran, 1881.
- 185. One reporter claims the originals were sent but I do not believe this.
- 186. Journal Illustré, p.134, "Les Japonais à L'Exposition".
- 187. It would appear that this temple is identical to a "maison japonaise" referred to by other reporters as there were only three buildings on the site, two of which were "kiosques" for the sale of Japanese goods. Perhaps the temple was used as a residence by some of the Japanese staff?
- 188. <u>Journal Illustré</u>, 202, "Le jardin Japonais".
- 189. The Japanese publication refers to these fish as Owari not Nagoya.

 One journalist states that there was only one. I give what is,

 in my opinion, the correct information.
- 190. See Catalogue of Sales of Bowes Collection, Nos. 258 and 259.
- 191. <u>Ibid</u>, No.614
- 192. Keramic Art, smalled. p.151. These large pieces were bought by Lord Dudley and F.G. Dalgetty.
- 193. "Notice explicative de l'Exposition de Vienne", p.66.
- 194. G. Sansom, Japan and the West.
- 195. Dresser "Eastern Art and its effects,"... op cit page 2II 'Dresser's attitudes and theories are discussed below page 428ff.

- 197. For an early account of such a journey see R. Pumpelly, Journey across America and Asia, London and New York, 1870.
- 198. I shall examine this myth fully in the next section of this thesis.
- 199. The sources on the journey of Duret and Cernuschi and the founding of the Musée Cernuschi are;
 T. Duret; Voyage en Asie, Paris, 1874. (This is Duret's own account of the voyage, and

A. Jacquemart, Les Bronzes, Chinoises et Japonaises au ralais-de l'Industri

La Céramique Palais de l'Industrie, G.B.A. 2 periods t IX,p.53.

These are three articles under the general title, L'Extreme Orient au Palais de l'Industrie, in The Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1873, which gives an account of the first appearance of the Cernuschi collection at the Trocadéro in 1873. The articles were published later as a separate work.

J.Longperier, "Observations sur quelques objets antiques, figures dans les livres Chinois et Japonais" 1873, in "Comptes rendus du Congres International des Orientalistes session de 1873, reprinted in Longperier, Ceuvres, ed. Schlumberger, 1883. This is an academic paper discussing certain problems of setting the Far Eastern artefacts in the illustrated works brought back by Cernuschi into the current state of archaeological knowledge.

G. Migeon, "Le Musée Cernuschi", Gazette des Beaux Arts, III série, Vol.18, pps.217-229, Paris, 1897.

There is also an article in <u>L'Art</u>, 1873, which I have been unable to consult. Duret also discusses the voyage in his 1900 catalogue of his own collection.

- 200. Duret, Voyage en Asie, Chap. III.
- 201. Op cit, p.21. This was typical of the arrangements made by Europeans interested in collecting. For a good description of the business and life of traders in Japanese art in Yokchama and Tokyo see the opening chapters of A Japanese Marriage, by D. Sladen London 1893, This is a popular novel about the life of Europeans in Japan.
- 202. Duret, op cit, pps.22-23.
- 203. Duret, Catalogue los livres et albums Illustres Japonaises, 1900. Preface, pp.III and IV.
- 204. Gonse L'Art Japonais, Paris, 1886, p.104. Duret stated in his 1900 catalogue that he did not collect much after his trip to Japan until the 1880's.
- 205. Duret, op cit, p.29. He does not give the artist's name, nor is it easy to find a specific artist for the part.
- 206. Goncourt Journal, Vendredi, 19 Sept. 1873.
- 207. For this reason I have omitted a discussion of Chinese bronzes. I judge that they were of little or no interest to contemporary artists and designers.

- 208. A. Jacquemart, "Les Bronzes Japonaises", G.P.A., or cit.
- 209. A. Jacquemart, La Céramique G.B.A. op cit.
- 210. A. Jacquemart, "Les Bronzes Japonaises, op cit.
- 211. Duret, op cit, p.18.
- 212. Migeon, op cit, p. 217.
- 213. There were no doubt exceptions to this, such as the gift of a bronze tiger made by Sarah Bernhardt, who, according to Migeon, drove personally to Cernuschi's to press the object on him after he had expressed admiration for it. Migeon's description of Cernuschi as a hermit is rather contradicted by Bousquet in an article entitled "L'Art Japonais", Revue des Beux-mondes 15 mai 1877 page 288ff, page 303. Cernuschi is said there to have been most liberal in exhibiting his collection:
- 214. My source for this account of their visit in Notes d'un biblioteur au Japon by P. Sichel, Charpentier, Paris, 1883. This is dedicated to De Goncourt, one of their best customers, whose journal provides the other main source of information about the brothers and their dealings in Paris.
- 215. In October 1974, Burty's wife complained to De Goncourt about her husband's rash purchases at Sichel's. De Goncourt names M. Real in Maison d'un Artiste, Vol.1, p.9 as a dealer in Japanese art.
- 216. Presumably this is also how Fonblanque, the author of Niphon and Pe Che Li acquired his prints. See above, Chapter 1.
- 217. Sichel, op cit, pps.30-31.
 - 218. Sichel, op cit., p.73.
- 219. De Goncourt, <u>Journal</u>, Jeudi 19 Octobre and Lundi 23 Octobre 1876, (Flammarion, p.107).
- 220. Conse,, L'Art Japonais, small edition, p.76.
- 221. Ibid, Samedi 24 Octobre 1874, Flammarion, pp. 174-175.
- 222. See R. Koch "Art Nouveau Bing", G.B.A. 1959.pp.179-190. Even Bing's first name is uncertain. Siegfried and Sigismund both occur in articles, but if Bing was Jewish as De Goncourt believed, then Samuel is the name that seems most appropriate and this is the name by which he is called most often. Bing's tomb in Pere Lachaise Cemetery has both Siegfried and Samuel.
- 223. G. Weisberg "Samuel Bing, Patron of Art Nouveau", Connoisseur,
 January 1970, also G. Weisberg "Samuel Bing Patron of Art Nouveau,
 Part 1 "The appreciation of Japanese Art" Connoisseur, October,
 1969.
 - See the advertisement for his shop found in the catalogue of the 1883 exhibition organised by Louis Conse at George Petit's Callery.
- 224. De Goncourt, Journal, Jeudi 1 Juillet. 1875.
- 225. The list is given in the discussion of the 1883 exhibition at the end of this chapter.

- 227. Dresser's honorary doctorate was in botany from the University of Jena, and he first became interested in the problems of design at a time when the reforms in design were promoted through eclectic botanical analysis. He was connected with both the Aesthetic Movement and the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Fine Art Society and the Grosvenor Gallery.
 - On Dresser see E. Aslin, The Aesthetic Movement, Elek, London, 1969, Christopher Dresser, an Exhibition organized by Richard Dennis and John Jesse, Fine Art Society, London, 1972. Catalogue introduction by Stuart Durant.
 - S. Bury, Silver Designs of C. Dresser, Apollo, 1968.

 The Aesthetic Movement 1869-1890 exhibition catalogue ed.C. Spencer.
- 228. C. Dresser, "Saftern Art and its effects, " opcit-page 112.
- 229. "Londos and Co.", The Art City Warehouses 126 and 127 London Wall, and "Charles, Renolds and Co.", Milk St., were their addresses.
- 230. C. Dresser "Art manufactures of Japan from personal observation"; Journal of the Society of Arts 1878 page 169ff.
- 231. The firms were Messrs. Minton, Doulton, Green Nephews, Elkington, Ward and Cope, Jeffery and Co., Brinton and Co., Lewis and Londos Bros.
- 232. The sources of information about Dresser's trip to Japan are the lecture "The Art manufactures of Japan from personal observation", published in the Journal of the Society of Arts, Feb.1, 1878, and his book, Japan. Its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures, London, 1882. This book was delayed owing to Dresser being seriously ill. The first part of it is an account of his visit written in a semi-diaristic style.
- 233. Dresser, op cit., 1882, Chapter One.

234. This list is as follows:		Ri	Chio
Tokio in Musashi to Yokohama		8	18
Yokohama to Kobe in Settsu	*	145	0
Kobe to Sumoto in Awaji		14	0
Sumoto to Iga-mura and back		12	0
Sumoto to Kobe		14	0
Kobe to Santa in Settsu		8	0
Santa to Shibe-yama in Setteu and back		3	• 0
Santa to Arima in Settsu	• .	1	18
Arima to Kobe		7	18
Kobe to Nara in Yamato		23	0
Nara to Kioto in Yamashiro		13	14
Kioto to Osaka in Settsu	•	12	12
Osaka to Wakayama in Kii		, 17	0

•	Яī	Chio
Wakayama to Kuroye-mura in Kii and back	20	24
Wakayama to Ota-mura and back	1	24
Wakayama to Koya-zan	16	2
Koya-zan to Okunoin and back	2	Ö
Koya-zan to Hashimoto-mura	8	34
Hashimoto-mura to Osaka	13	20
Osaka to Kobe	10	0
Kobe to Hiogo and back	2	0
Kobe to Tenno-ji in Osaka	11	Ö
Tenno-ji to kioto	13	12
Kioto to Uji in Yamato and back	12	,28
Kioto to Ishibe	9	, 0
Ishib to Tsu in Ise	18	23
Tsu to Futami-ga-ura	13	0
Futami-ga-ura to Nai-ku (interior temple)	1	:14
Nai-ku to Yamada	. 0 .	30
Yamada to Yokkaichi	18	O
Yokkaichito Nagoya in Owari	12	27
Nagoya to Seto and back	12	4
Nagoya to Tazimi in Mino	10	18
Tazimi Ichi-no-kura in Mino and back	4	Q
Tazimi to Nagoya	10	18
Nagoya to Toyohashi in Mikawa	- 19	0
Toyohashi to Kanaya in Totomi	22 ·	0
Kanaya to Shidsuoka in Suruga	. 9	0
Shidsuoka to Hakone in Idsu	21	26
Hakone to Yokohama	19	7
Yokohama to Kamakara	6	Ó
Yokohama to Tokio	. 8	18
Tokio to Nikko	41	0
Nikko to Tokio	41	. 0
Tokio to Yokohama	8	18
		•
	685	31

(Or about 1,715 miles)

- 235. The potteries were of course, only small, often occupying one or two men only.
- 236. Dresser, op cit., p.211
- 237. Ibid, p.61.
- 238. Dresser, 1878, op cit, p.175.
- 239. Dresser 1882, op cit, p.209.
- 240. Dresser, 1878, op cit., p.177.
- 241. Ibid, p.178. This was even true of bricks, not just art works.
- 242. Dresser, op cit, 1882, p.216
- 243. W. Anderson, Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese paintings in the British Museum with an appendix containing an index of artists' signatures, b.M.London, 1886.

- 244. See below discussion of Ph. Burty, page 471 for these articles. Regamey's illustrations are reproduced in the illustration meetion concerning his career.
- 245. This is discussed earlier in this thesis.
- 246. In 1863 Regamey made an illustration of a production of "La Tour de Nesle" in the studio, for the periodical Lo Boulevard. Bazille played Pierrefonds. See G Poulain "Bazille et ses amis" paris 1932 21.
- 247. The first Western drama with a Japanese theme was performed at a Charpentier Salon in 1871, see below. Note also Charpentier's connection with the Impressionists.
- 248. I bought a copy in a Leeds bookshop.
- 249. These dates are based on the signatures on Regamey's drawings which cover 1876-1878, together with the knowledge that he made drawings of the Philadelphia exhibition and the publication of P.J. gives the dates. I have suggested though one must always beware of the use of photographs. A drawing by Regamey showing the Mikado. opening the Tokyo Yokohama Railroad in 1872 is taken from a photograph. See P.J. p.9, and a more detailed version in Le Japon en Images, Regamey, 1905.
- 250. P.J., p.29, 1880 edition.
- 251. Ibid, p.41.
- 252. Ibid, p.30.
- 253. <u>Ibid</u>, p.114.
- 254. <u>Ibid</u>, Chap.XXV, p. 157.
- 255. Ibid, p.159,ff.
- 256. Ibid, p.163.
- 257. Ibid, p.169.
- 258. See Donald Gordon, E.LKirchner catalogue raissonée New York 1968.
- 259. I will discuss it later in the thesis.
- 260. The six genres are:
 - Religieux bouddhique. 1.
 - Soyne, elegant très détaille, représentant des scenes de l'histoire Chinoise.
 - Le genre rapide à grand effet, reproduisant des scenes légen-3. daires.
 - Le genre décoratif, fleurs, oiseaux, etc., (Tous cuatre venus 4. de la Chine).
 - Le genre sobre grave shintoiste. 5.
 - Le genre gai. 6.
 - See P.J., p.176.
- 261. On Kiosai (1831-1887) see W.Anderson, Kawanabe Kiosai, a Jaranese Artist, Studio, Volume XV, pps.29-37. Though Anderson must be

treated with some caution, as he believed Okio to be the founder of the Uki-yo-e school; perhans a joke made by Kiosai himself?

- 262. Unless of course the dating of Regamey's drawings is unreliable.
- 263. L.de Milloué, Catalogue du Musée Guimet, Lyons, 1883.
- 264. The first room contained a large number of Chinese works loaned by Parisian dealers and collectors. The third contained "toute l'exposition de l'art ancien au Japon" with loans from the Japanese Commissioners, Bing, Wakqi and Vial. These will be discussed in the chapter on the 1878 exhibition.
- 265. Catalogue de l'Exposition Historique du Trocadéro, Paris 1878.

 pages III-II5;.
- 266. "A favourite form of painting was the mandara, which in Sanskrit means 'circle'. In practice this is complicated and diagrammatic maplike which sets out in geometric form the various heavens and their countless deities. Generally the "Great Illuminator Daenichi" occupies the central position.

It aimed at overwhelming the worshipper with the limitlessness of the supra-human worlds which awaited him, as well as with the seeking profundity or, at least, complexity of the beliefs held by these sects."

The paintings were composed of fine line drawing, and basically blue and gold tones. See <u>Japan</u> by Peter C. Swann in Art of the World Series, London 1966 page 84.

- 267. The paintings are not at the Musée Guimet in Lyons, nor at its successor in Paris, nor at the Musée de l'homme. I have inquired or searched personally at all of them. Some may still exist in private hands but they would be difficult to trace. No original documents relating to the Guimet collection survive in the museums.
- 268. The full list of types of ceramics on display can be found in the introduction to the 1883 catalogue. There is no reason to quote it here.
- 269. "Le Bouddha Amida, enseignant assis les jambes croisées Statue Japonaise, bois doré du XVII^e siècle. Haut 0.900." 1883 Cat.p.24. The Buddha is still in place today, above the library in Paris.
- 270. Mune hira, Tosi yoki, Ono Komati, Kintada, Atsa tada, Kanesuke. This is a most popular subject in Japanese.
- 271. The full list of Far Eastern paintings displayed is as follows:

China.

Kakemonos representant.

- 1. Sei-o-Bo et sa servante.
- 2. Shio-ki accompagne par un petit deuil.
- 3. Le Sennim, Tekkai.
- 4. Guerrier Chinois.
- 5. Femme Chinoise.
- 6. Sujet de Fantaisie.
- 7. Deux Sennens dans un jardin.
- 8. Sennin avec un cerf.

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Japanese paintings.

Kakemonos.

- 1. Li Hakou poète chine.
- Le Dieu Kouan Noh.
- 3. Djou-Ro Djin, dieu de la bonheur avec un cerf.
- 4. Shin-to et Outsourai dieux mythologiques oui chassent les demons.

also

- 1. Kouannon.
- 2. Ksoune-ki, celebre général japonais du XIV siècle.
- 3. Foukou-Rokou, Djou dieu de bonheur.
- 4. Sujet de fantaisies.
- 5. ' Kou ma Bue Hero Japonais.
- 6. Teho Rio hero chine.

also

Kakemonos chinois représentant Tsing-Vang-Mo.

Portrait de Lao Tse-Touin.

Deux kakemonos représentant des Mandarins.

Trois Kakemonos représentant la mort de Buddha.

Facsimile of the Mandara of Kobodaish temple of Too dji.

- 272. Le Theatre au Japon, par Emile Guimet and Felix Regamey. Conférence fait au cercle St. Simon, Le 16 Avril 1884, Paris Libraire Leopold Cerf. 13 Rue de Meduis.
- 273. For a full list see the celebratory publication for the 15th anniversary of the conferences and the Musee in Paris. No title, published 1904. Deshayes gave a memorable series in 1896/1897 on Japanese paintings, prints and illustrated books.
- 274. "Le curieux n'est il pas que nous en sachions si peu sur ces impressions. Il y à quelquesannées tout ce qu'on savait d'elles, c'est qu'elles étaient imprimées avec des lois, a peu pres comme le mos grossières indiennes, mais sans posseder aucun détail de la fabrication. Aujourd'hui des conversations de Felix Regamey, des observations de Bracquemond il resulte que l'impression se fait de la manière la plus primitive."

De Goncourt, Maison d'un Artiste, p.133, Charpentier Paris 1918. Vol.1. A later version of Regamey's talk was published in Revuc des Arts Decoratifs, 1899, Vol.XIX.pps.391-395. "L'Impression des images en couleur au Japon".

- 275. Regamey wrote a memoir of Lecoq Boisbaudran in 1903.
 "Lecoqboisbaudran et ses élèves" Paris, Honore Champ ion Libraire
 9, Quai Voltaire, 1903. There is no reference to Japanese art in
 this volume.
- 276. A magnificent series of satirical broadsheet prints concerning the end of the Empire and the current government many of which F.E. was responsible can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Frint Room.
- 277. See above, page 253 for discussion of this source.
- 278. Guimet, P.J., p.191.
- 279. See his report "Le dessin et son enseignment dans les ecoles de Tokyo", Paris, 1899. He had written a similar report on American art in schools in 1881.

280. His salon exhibits were:

- 1865. Sous les Pins gouache d'après le tableaux de Sadie di Paris de Musée du Louyre.
- 1870. Troiscroquis a la plume et à l'acquarelle.
- 1878. Comedien japonais dessin.
- 1881. Le fils de mon ami Gustav fusain.
- 1882. Bapteme de negres a Philadelphia.

 Visite au monument de General Lee dans l'atelier du Scaliteur

 Valentin à Richmond, peinture.
- 281. For instance Van Gogh who first got to know Regemey through "wood engravings" of his work including Japanese subjects in 1883. See Van Gogh, Letters, p.16, Vol.II, Letter No.276. Van Gogh continued to admire Regamey throughout the remainder of his life and undoubtedly looked often at his work, probably visiting the Musée Guimet when in Paris. (1886-1888).
- 282. See the <u>Magazine of Art</u> for 1886, p. 256. The drawings reproduced are "Shohei and Sui Sakou in the tomb", "The death of Okoma", "Okoma seeks death in the waves."
- 283. Magazine of Art, 1886, p.262.
- 284. Regamey's works on Japan which I have consulted are as follows;

 Okoma, Paris, 1883.

 "Le Theatre au Japon, Conference fait au cercle St. Simon" (with E. Guimet), Paris, 1886.

"Le Japon vu par un artiste", Revue Bleue, 1890. Le Cahier rose de Madame Chrysantheme, 1894, Paris.

"Le Dessin et son enseignement dans les écoles de Tokyo", Paris, 1899. Le Japon en images, Paris, no date (1903)?

Le Japon, Paris, 1905.

He also made many minor contributions to periodicals, text-books and exhibition catalogues, including "L'Impression des images en couleurs au Japon" Revue des Arts Decoratifs, 1899, Vol.XIX, pp. 391-395, and illustrations of Japanese female arts and crafts for 1. Sebrillot, "La Section des Traditions Populaires à l'exposition des art de la femme", Revue des Traditions Populaires, 1892, p.457.

- 285. "Le Japon vu par un artiste", Revue Bleue 1890 p.648.
- 286. "Le Japon Pratique", English trans. by Mark Lemon, p.65.
- 287. Le Cahier Rose de Mme. Chrysantheme, Hetzel, 1894. Che section of the book "L'Ame Japonaise et L'Ame de M.Loti" is concerned with a systematic collection of Loti's "banalités" on Japan.
- 288. Revue Bleu2 p.652. These words are omitted in Le Japon Pratique.
- 289. Revue Bleu 2 1890, p.652.
- 290. Le Japon, p.304.
- 291. Art Journal, 1881, p.351. The figures are from H.M. Consul, Kanagawa.

NOTES

- 1. They included De Gomourt, Burty, Huysmans, Duranty, Duret, Wilde, Viollet Le Duc, Whistler and the painter Alfred Stevens from whom the quotation is taken.
- 2. "The Mikado" was beginning a tradition of theatrical Japanese characters. See Miner, op cit, p.52 ff.
- 3. Schwarts, op cit. Chapter two, "The Goncourt brothers and French appreciation of Japanese Art, 1860-1895", p.65.
- 4. Schwarts identifies an "asymmetrical movel" as a type of movel with an asymmetrical plot such as "Manet Salomon". This adopts the "accidental or trivial but veracious groupings of things and events that is found in nature and reproduced in Japanese Art", and contrasts it with earlier "symmetrical" movels with well worked plots. As I have shown the "naturalistic" view of Japanese art is only partly representative of the reactions of the De Goncourts and others to it, and there was much poetry and artifice in their view. This is discussed in the chapter on French critical response to Japan. see below.
- 5. Miner, on cit, p.74 makes this strange assertion.
 - 6. R. Pumpelly "Across America and Asia, notes of a five year journey around the world and of a residence in Arizona, Japan and China", London, Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 3rd Ed. 1870.

La Farge's essay forms Chapter XIV, beginning at p.195. It is entitled "An essay on Japanese Art".

- 7. La Farge op cit, p.195.
- 8. Ibid. p.201.
- 9. See above, "The response to the 1867 Exhibition". The comment about the barbarism of vase decoration is taken directly from Chesneau.
- 10. La Farge, op cit, p. 200.
- 11. An illustration of a page of comic heads on p.197 can be identified as from the "Mangwa", vol. II. The others are not so easy to identify, as they appear to be composites in which parts of different pages of the "Mangwa" have been put together in the manner of an original page by Hokusai. For instance the juggling in the upper portion of the illustration in p.201 is taken from vol.12 of the "Mangwa" but the lower portion is from another book. The plate on p.197 contains a selection of images from various books. The three herons in the centre are taken from vol. IV of the "Mangwa". The publisher appears to have been reusing blocks intended for an earlier work.
- 12. La Farge, on cit, p.198
- 13. La Farge uses this word several times in the essay without ever clarifying his meaning. I assume he refers to the ability to endow art with an "idea", with that intellectual significance which was a preoccupation of mineteenth century criticism. Despite this he observes that Japanese art does not show "That attempt at bringing

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to the surface some of the subtlest, deepest and most complicated feelings of the mind, which is the soul of the works of Leomardo, of Michelangelo and of Rembrandt*. In this statement I presume him to be criticizing Japanese art for its lack of moral preoccupation rather than its lack of intellectual content.

The notion of an intellectual content or idea in Japanese art also occurs in the writings of Jarves, Audsley, Dresser and Alcock as we shall see below.

- 14. *A Genuine Artistic Race*, J.J.Jarves, Art Journal, 1871, pps. 77, 100, 136, 161, 185.
- 15. "Parisian Sights and French Principles", New York, Harper and Bros, 1852.
- 16. "A Glimpse at the Art of Japan", London, 1876.
- 17. Jarves, op cit, p.49. Since the entire text of the 1871 articles is incorporated in the book, most quotations will be taken from the book.
- 18. Did. p.48
- 19. Ibid, p.44
- 20. Ibid. p.45.
- 21. Ibid, p. 22.
- 22. Ibid, p. 22-23.
- 23. Jarves, "Glimpse at the Art of Japan, "p.145.
- 24. Jarves, "Art Journal, 1871, p.161.
- 25. Jarves, "A Glimpse at the Art of Japan, pp.85-86.
- 26. Ibid, p.155.
- 27. Ibid, p.156
- 28. Ibid, p.162.
- 29. "Tales of Old Japan", A.B. Mitford, second secretary to the British Legation in Japan. With illustrations cut on wood by Japanese artists. Two vols. Published by Macmillan & Co., 1871, rpt. in one vol. in 1874, 1876, 1883, 1886 and 1890.
- 30. "Chiusingura or the Loyal League", a Japanese Romance, trans. from the original by F.V. Dickins, with an Introduction by Hoffman Atkinson with notes; with 30 full page illustrations drawn from Japanese artists and specimens of the Japanese text in facsimile, Tokyo, 1875. Another ed. 1879, London. This was probably the Tokyo edition under a London title. Another ed. 1880, London, without introduction. Another ed. 1881, London, with only 25 plates, pub. W.H. Allen.

- 32. "Les Fidèles Romins", trans. M.J. Gausseron, Paris, A. Quantin, 1882, and "Tchou-Chin-Goura ou une vengeance japonaise". A Japanese novel translated into French by A. Donsdaignes with many illustrations by Japanese Artists, 232 pp. 800, Paris, 1886.
- 33. Art Journal, 1871, p.160.
- 34. R.L.Stevenson, "Byways of Book Illustration: Two Japanese Romances", Magazine of Art, 1883, p.8.
- 35. Ibid, p.12.
- 36. Ibid, p.14.
- 37. Did, p.15.
- copy
 38. The British Museum/has been destroyed; the Victoria and Albert copy is missing; other libraries will only lend the text. However I have discovered a copy in the Leeds Library.

The book's full title is "Fugaku Hiyaku-Kei, or a hundred views of Fuji (Fusiyama) by Hokusai. Introductory and explanatory prefaces, with translations from the Japanese and descriptions of the plates by F.V. Bickins." (3 parts of Japanese plates and text; one part English translation, etc.) Batsford, London, 1880.

- 39. Dickins, "Hokusai" op cit, introduction, p.XVIII.
- 40. L. de Rosny, "Anthologie Japonaise," traduite en Francaise par Leon de Rosny, Maison Neuve et Cie, Paris, 1871.
- 41. Ibid, p. 23.
- 42. P14, p.61.
- 43. Ruitei Tanefico, "Komats et Sakitsi; Nouvelles scenes de ce monde perissable exposes sur six feuilles de paravent". French trans-lation by F. Turrentini, Geneve, 1875-1876, with four plates.
- 44. See below. page 47iff.
- 45. Lancaster, "Japanese Influence in America", p. 56 op cit.
- 46. The Vistoria and Albert Museum's first major purchase of Japanese prints was in 1885.
- 47. Victoria and Albert Dept. of Prints and Drawings, Miscellaneous, Box I5.
 Liberty's Catalogue of Eastern and other Art objects. I believe that the catalogue is of an earlier date, circa 1877-1878.
- 48. Liberty's Catalogue, p.22, Item 3.

- 49. E. Miner, op cit, p.41.
- 50. M. Veley, "A Japanese Fan", Cornhill Magazine, vol.XXXIV, Sept.1876, pp.380-381.
- 51. W. Henley, "Ballade of a Toyokumi Colour Print", Bric a Brac, 1877-1888, from Poems by W.E.Henley, London, 1919.
- 52. For Noyes' poems see Collected Poems, Alfred Noyes, London, 1920.

 "The Flower of Olde Japan" is to be found on p.39, vol.1.
- 53. "Kotaka a Samurai's Daughter", J. Morris, A Japanese Tale illustrated by Stanley Wood, London, 1885.
- 54. The Aesthetic Movement and the Cult of Japan, Robin Spencer, Catalogue of the Fine Art Society, 1972.
- 55. "The Aesthetic Movement" Catalogue, Robin Spencer, Camden Arts Centre, 1973.
- 56. "The Aesthetic Movement", Catalogue, p.67, illustrates it.
- 57. Ibid, p.108, illustrated.
- 58. One was published in "The World of Gilbert and Sullivan", L. Eailey London 1973.
- 59. "The Diaries of John Ruskin", Selected & mitted by Joan Evans and John Roverd Whitehouse, Oxford, 1959, p.1003. Sept. 25, 1881.
- 60. "The Art Teaching of John Ruskin", W. G. Cullingwood, Rivingtons, London, 1900, p.122.
- 61. Audsley G.A. and J.L.Boves, "Keramic Art of Japan", folio edition in 7 parts 1875-1877, 2 vol.ed. 1879, small ed. 1881, London. A French two volume ed. translated by Racinet and Louisy published 1877-1880.

Audsley, "The Ornamental Arts of Japan" with illustrations in the text and plates, 74 of which are in colour and gold, folio, London 1882-1885.

There are nine sections; Drawing and Painting, Embroidery, Textile Fabrics, Lacquer, Incrusted Work, Metal. Work, Cloisonne emanel, Modelling, Heraldry.

62. Audsley published several catalogues of private collections, design books & etc., for instance "The Art Carvings of Japan wood and ivory", with M. Tomkinson, London 1887.

His last work, "Gems of Japanese Art" was published in 1913. Bowes published "Japanese Marks and Seals", London 1881, and "Cloisonne Enamels", London, 1885, and was working on a large book on Japanese lacquer at the time of his death.

- 62b. See the previous chapter for a discussion of "Liverpool Art Club" and the 1872 exhibition.
- 63. Lecture 1872, op cit, p.4.
- 64. Andsley "Keremic Art" introduction, p. ILV.

- 65. Lecture, 1872, p.15.
- 66. Burty, writing under the title "Fine Art", in The Academy, Aug. 21, 1875.
- 67. "Ornamental Outlines" W. and G.A.Audsley, Batsford, London, 1881.
- 68. J.L.Bowes "Japanese Marks and Seals", London, 1881.
- 69. Audsley, "Ornamental Arts of Japan", pp. 4 and 22 respectively.
- 70. These plates are an outstanding achievement of technique; 74 of them are in colour. The rest are heliographs. The plates of textiles such as Section III, plate 10 of two designs in the Bing collection are works of art in themselves. Section VII on "Cloisonné Emamels" contains plates of almost uniform excellence. The softer forms of lacquer, ivories and some paintings do not reproduce so satisfactorily.
- 71. See above.
- 72. W. Anderson, "The Pictorial Arts of Japan" with a brief historical sketch of the associated arts, London, 1886.
- 73. See above, p.321 for Dresser's career and Journey to Japan.
- 74. Dresser, on cit, 1874 Journal R.S.A., Feb.6, 1874, p. 211 ff.
- 75. Ibid. p. 211
- 76. Pold, p. 214
- 77. See S. Bury, "Silver designs of Christopher Dresser", Apollo, 1968, and S. Durant, "Christopher Dresser", exhibition catalogue, 1972.
- 78. Dresser, 1882, on cit, p.180.
- 79. With the usual exception of Ruskin.
- 80. The first person to present this thesis was Pevsner in "Pioneers of the Modern movement." London 1936.
- 81. Dresser, op cit, Journal Soc. Arts, Vol.XXVI, 1878, p.169ff.
- 82. Dresser "Architecture etc." op cit, p.319.
- 83. Hokusai would appear to be responsible for the plates on pp.300-301 of waves in the style of Korin; p.296 Birds from the "Mangwa" vol. II; pp.306-307, Cranes by a stream; p.292, Bird from the "Mangwa". The other plates are by minor artists.
- 84. Alcock "Japanese Art" Art Journal 1875 pages 101ff. 201ff, 333ff 1876, pages Alff 113ff. and Art Industries in Japanese With 106 illustrations from the original Japanese drawings, London, 1878. I will give references from the book alone.
 - 85. Alcock, 1878, on cit, p.11
 - 86. Ibid, p.126.

- 87. Ibid, p.238. Alcock quotes from Ruskin's latest work at that time the "Laws of Fiesole" (1877) not from the sources used by the earlier writers.
- gg. "Mothing can advance art in any detail of this accursed machine and devil driven England till she changes her mind in many things", Alcock, on cit. p.35.
- 89. Ibid. p.149
- 90. Ibid. p.134
- 91. Ibid. p.254
- 92. Perhaps this is derived from Tains.
- 93. *Grammar of Japanese Ornament and Design with introduction, descriptive and analytic text*, by Thomas Cutler, London, 1879.
- 94. In "Blast" Wyndhau Lewis blesses Korin and the work of other Eastern artists.
- 95. Duret "Voyage en Asie". This is discussed above.
- 96. See Burty "Maîtres et Petits Maîtres", pp. 273-274 and above.
- 97. L. Gonse, "L'Art Japoneis et son influence sur le goût Européen", Revue des Arts Décoratifs, vol. XVIII, 1898, p.98 et seq.
- 98. Idem.
- 99. Zola "Aux Bonheur des Dames" XIV, p. 440, in <u>Oeuvres Complètes</u> ed. F. Bernouard, 1928.
- 100. Maupassant, "Bel Ami", p.36, Comard ed. quoted in Schwartz, op cit, p.104.
- 101. De Gomourt Journal 1876. Lundi 8 mai.
- 102. Bousquet, "L'Art Japonais ", R.D.D., 1877, p.316.
- 103. Chesnesu op cit, G.B.A., 1878.
- 104. De Gomourt does not record his attendance in the Journal, perhaps as Schwarts suggested out of jealousy for Hervilly, though in my opinion it was out of a desire to avoid a damning comment on the work of a friend. Mms. Daudet records the event in her "Souvemirs autour d'un groupe litteraire", Paris, 1910, p.35.

The play was published in 1876 by Lemerre of Paris.

- 105. Schwarts observes that this opera when originally advertised was called "The Mikado" but that this title was changed by the censor under pressure from Japanese diplomacy.
- 106. Verlaine. Marriage inventory quoted by Schwarts on cit, p.43, note 3.
- 107. See for instance, "Le Dragon Imperial", "a Chinese novel", 1869, or the "Livre du Jade", 1871, translations from Chinese poetry.

- 108. See Ph.Burty, "Le Salon de 1883", Paris, 1883. Heredia showed his collection of Japanese art at the 1883 retrospective exhibition discussed below.
- 109. G.B.A. April, 1882, p.420.
- 110. Sabatier "L'Esthétique des Gomourts", Paris, 1924, p.364, cited by Schwarts; op cit, p.
- 111. Schwarts, Ibid, pp.72-73.
- 112. T. Geslin "Questions sur l'art oriental en general et en particulier sur L'Art du Japon", Memoires de Societe des Etudes Japonaises, vol.1, pp.20-24, Paris, 1874-1876.
- 113. The following are the relevant entries in the De Gomourt Journal
- A. 19 Sep. 1873
- B. 24 Oct., 1874.
- C. From Japon, 30 Oct. 1874.
- p. 16 Oct., 1875.
- E. 17, Fev. 1876.
- 7. 12 Oct., 1876
- Q. 4 Mai, 1877 and 23 Juillet 1877.
- I. 14 June, 1880.
- J. 25 Avril 1883. II3h is quoted from Burty "Japanese Pottery." op cit p 208.
- 114. See Maurice Tourneux, "Philippe Burty", G.B.A., 1907, pp.388-402.
- 115. This is discussed above, see pps. 249 et seq.
- 116. "La République Framaise" 25 April, 1874, cited in Jacques Letheve, "Impressionistes et Symbolistes devant la Presse", Paris, 1959, pp. 64 and 67. The article appeared on the same day as the abusive article by Louis Leroy in "Charivari", traditionally said to have given the Impressionists their name.
- 117. See Marcel Guerin, "Edgar Germaine Hilaire Degas Letters", Oxford, 1940. "Letters to Bracquemond and Burty", pp.37-43.
- 118. For a reprint of these articles see Venturi "Archives de L'Impressionnisme, Paris 1938, pp. 287-196, and Lethève, op cit, pps. 75,87,
 102, 106, 125, 195, 280.

 I have not been able to consult Burty's novel "Grave Imprudence",
 Paris. 1880. which recounts the history of Impressionism as Burty

Paris, 1880, which recounts the history of Impressionism as Burty knew it, although this may provide a positive link between Burty's Japonisme and his defence of Impressionism.

- 119. See above, p. 98.
- 120. See "Remaissance Litteraire et Artistique", vol.1, 1872, p.60.
 Burty was attracted to England in that year by the work of Audsley
 and Bowes; see his review of their "Keramic Art", Academy, Aug. 21,
 1875 and above. He must have seen the Siebold collection that the
 British Museum acquired in 1869.
- 121. The date of the event is problematical. Burty mentions Mme. de Soye in connection with it. De Goncourt claims that Burty was one of de Soye's customers. De Rosny's classes started in the early 1860's,

however Burty's great purchases of Japanese prints which he describes to could not have taken place before 1869, when he had a small collection on show at the Union des Beaux Arts.

Burty only had a small show of prints at the 1869 Union des Beaux Arts exhibition, see above. He could have bought little during the Franco-Prussian War.

- 122. "La Remaissame Littéraire et Artistique", vol. 2, 1873, p.4.
- 123. For Burty's collection of Far Eastern books see E. Leroux and S. Bing, "Vente de Ph.Burty", 1891. G.P. Weisberg in his thesis on Burty has demonstrated that these books were bought as they were published.
- 124. The seven articles are to be seen on the following pages of "Ia Ren. Lit. et Art". All are entitled "Japonisme".

 I. pp.25-26, 1872.

 II. pp.59-60, 1872.

 III.pp.83-84, 1872.

 IV. pp.106-107, 1872.

 V. pp.122-123, 1872.

 VI. pp.3-5, 1873.

 VII. pp.51-53, 1873.
- 125. Gonzourt Journal 19 Janvier 1871
 Burty showed De Gonzourt "un rouleau (!) de peintures japonaises de plus haut intérêt. C'est une étude en plusiers planches, de la composition d'un corps après la mort. C'est d'un macabre allemand que je ne croyais pas pouvoir se retrouver dans l'Art de l'Extrême Orient".
- 126. The relevant verse of "Une Charogne" is

 Et le ciel regardait la carcasse superbe

 Coune une fleur s'epanouir

 La puantour était sir forte que sur l'herbe

 Vous crûtes vous évanouir.

 See Bandelaire, F. Soarfe, Penguin, 1961, p.48.
- 127. G.P.Weisberg, "Burty" Ph.D. John Mopkins, 1969, claims that Burty is displaying an obsession with death similar to that found in Romantic novels such as "Camille", and stimulated by the sight of the many dead and mutilated bodies evident during the Commune. I disagree strongly with this simplistic reading of Burty's response to the image.
- 128. Ibid, pp.137-139.
- 129. S. Blondel, "Histoire des Evantails ches tous les peuples et de toutes les époques", Paris Librarie Remouard, 1875. See pp.30-36 for Burty's contribution.
- 130. Liverpool Art Club estalogue of an exhibition of fans, 1874, nos. 85-94.
- III. The articles are as follows:

 "Japonisue"

 "Les Fennes de Qualite"

 "Patrons de la Vie Heureuse I"

 "Patrons de la Vie Heureuse II"

 "Histoire de la Poetesse Ko-Mati"

 L'Art, vol.2, 1876.

 L'Art, vol.3, 1877.

 L'Art, vol.2, 1875.

- 132. "Japonisme Conferences de M. Burty", L'Art, 1877, p.116.
- 133. "Le Japon Ancien et Le Japon Moderne", L'Art, 1878.
- 134. The article is discussed in the chapter on the 1878 exhibition.
- 135. Ph. Burty, "La Céramique Japonaise", Paris, 1886.
- 136. See S. Bing, "Artistic Japan".

 Vol.II.Fh. Burty, "Japanese Swords" pp.111-121,

 "Japanese Pottery", pp.139-147.
- 137: Liwartz, op cit., p.72.
- 138. The other proposed titles were on Gakoutei, Hiroshige, Korin (his lacquer work), Ritzouo (his laquer work), Gamboun (carver of netsuke, etc.) Matzanoa (carver of netsuke), Kawadgi Tomomitche (ciseleur de gardes de sabre), Yuzen (embroidery), Kenzan (potter).
 - 139. P Mantz. "L'Exposition del'Art Japonais." Gazette des Beaux-Arts 1983 pare400ff.
 - 140. See De Goncourt, "Chérie", Paris, 1884, preface.
 - 141. Goncourt Journal, 3 April, 1880.
 - 142. Edmond and Jules De Goncourt, "French XVIII century painters", London, 1948, trans. with an introduction by Robin Ironside, pp.1-2.
 - 143. De Goncourt, "Maison d'un Artiste", vol.1, pps.203 & 207.
 - 144. De Goncourt Journal, 11 Juin, 1884.
 - 145. Ibid, 1876, 11 Janvier.
 - 146. This suggestion is made by Schwartz, op cit., at several points.
 - 147. H. Honour "Chinoiserie" makes this mistake.
 - 148. Goncourt Journal, Vendredi, 1er Mars, 1872.
 - 149. Ibid, Lundi, 20 Mai, 1872.
 - 150. Ibid., Mercredi, 19 Août, 1874.
 - 151. Ibid., 3 Juillet 1876.
 - 152. Ibid., Mardi, 31 Oct. 1876.
 - 153. "Maison d'un Artiste", vol. II. pp. 343-345.
 - 154. Ibid, p. 356.
 - 155. Schwartz, op cit.
 - 156. See articles in Paris Journal, Aout, 25,26, and Sept.4, 1869. quoted by Crouzet, "Duranty Un Méconnu du Réalisme", Paris, 1964. Crouzet's work and Tabary, "Duranty", Paris, 1954, are the major sources for information on Duranty's criticism.
 - 157. Tabary, op cit., p.158.

158. Duranty, "La Nouvelle Peinture", a propos du groupe l'artistes qui expose dans les galeries Durand-Ruel Paris E. Dentu, 1876, Rpt. Paris 1954 with notes by J. Adhémar.

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- 159. Duranty, "L'Extrême Orient" Revue d'Ensemble des Arts Asiatiques à l'Exposition Universelle", Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 2º periode XVIII 1º Décembre, 1878, pp. 1011-1048.
 - 159b.Duranty "Japonisme" reprinted in "La Lecture Retrospective 1891. 20 Mars.pp.643-649. originally in La Vie Moderne 1 année, 26 Juin, 1879, p.178.
 - 160. Duret "Les Peintres Impressionistes", 1877, rpt. Critique d' Avant Garde, 1885, pp.64-67.
- 161. Essay on Monet, 1880, rpt. Critique d'Avant Carde, 1885, p.98.
- 162. Duret, "L' Art Japonais. les livres illustrés les albums imprimes Hokusai", G.B.A., 1882. , tXXVI, pps.113 and 300.
- 163. Duret, G.B.A., 1882, op cit, p.118.
- 164. Ibid, p. 130.
- 165. <u>Ibid</u>, p.300
- 166. Ibid., p.302.
- 167. Duret, Critique d' Avant Garde, p.131ff.
- 168. Ibid, p.148ff.
- "le theâtre au Japen." I5 août 1874 page 72.

 "le Japon contemperain" I5 sept 1877 Loct 1877.

 "De Yeddo à Paris." Dec 1877 page 721 I Jan 1877 page 78

 I5 jan 1877 page 310.

 "La commerce de la Chine et du Japon." juilliet 1878 page 84.

 Other articles are cited passimin his thesis.
- 170. Bousquet, R.D.D. op cit, 1877, pp. 288ff.
- 171. Ibid, p.291.
- 172. Ibid, p.309.
- 173. Ibid, p.312.
- 174. Ibid, p.315.
- 175. Ibid, p. 320.
- 176. <u>Ibid</u>, p.292.
- 177. Ibid, p.313.
- 178. "Le Japon Artiste", Paris, 1879. There is a copy of this in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library. "Japonisme", L'Art, 1880, p. 286, vol. 1. "L'Art Japonais", L'Art, 1880, p. 250, vol. 2.

- 179. "Histoire d'un Dessinateur, comment on apprend à dessiner", Viollet Le Duc, Paris, 1880.
- 180. Ibid, pp.218-219. G. Fraipont L'Album Japonais", Paris, 1879, 2nd ed. Paris, 1887, 30 plates.
- 181. The volume was called "Ornements du Japon Rehausses de dessins sur 40 planches en chromolithographs rehausses d'or et d'argent. One of six volumes of "Encyclopédie des arts décoratifs de l'Orient" in six.vols.
- 182. T. Hayashi "Le Japon Illustre" special edition of Paris Illustre, , May 1886, No.45/46.

PART THREE

EXHIBITION FOOTNOTES

- 183. G. Bousquet, "La Chine et Le Japon à L'Exposition de 1878", Revue des Deux Mondes, 1878, Vol.XXVIII, pp.556-558,
- 184. Goncourt Journal, Jeudi, 10 Oct. 1878.
- 185. Chesneau, "Le Japon à Paris", L'Art Ancien et L'Art Moderne à L'Exposition Internationale de 1878. op cit. G.B.A.
- 186. E. Bergerat, "Les Chefs d'oeuvre de l'Exposition Universelle de 1878", Paris, 1878, passim.
- 187. Bibliographical note for 1878 exhibition; The main sources for this study are:
 - A. <u>Cazette des Beaux-Arts</u>, "L'Art Ancien et L'Art Moderne à L'Exposition de 1878", 2 vols. edited by L. Gonse, Paris 1879, articles from the G.B.A. including on the Far Eastern appearance; "Le Japon à Paris", E. Chesneau.

"Revue de l' Ensemble des Arts Asiatiques", Duranty.
"Les Laques Japonaises au Trocadero", Exhrussi.

- B. H. Houssaye "La tour du Monde à l'Exposition Universelle" Revue des Deux Mondes I5 juilliet I878 pages 365-383.
- "Le Japon Ancien et Le Japon Moderne", Ph. Burty, L'Art, 1878 CV, p.251.
- D, "Le Japon à L'Exposition Universelle de 1878", Deuxième Partie; Art, education et renseignement etc., Paris à la Commission Impériale du Japon, 15, Avenue de Matiglon 15, 1878.

Apart from these main sources there are many other minor references in the writings of De Goncourt and other Japanese enthusiasts.

References will be given briefly to author or publisher and page.

- E "La Ceramique de l'Extreme Orient", P. Gasnault, G.B.A., 1878, page 890 ff and other general articles which touch on the appearance of Far Eastern art.
 - F. "Chefs d'oeuvres de l'Exposition Universelle", E. Bergerat, Paris, 1878.
 - G "The Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878", pub. by the London Illustrated News in Paris, 1878.

- H "L'Album de l'Exposition de 1878", Glucq, Paris, 1878, this is an excellent source of photographs.
- I., "L'Art et L'Industrie à l'Exposition de 1878", C. Blanc, Paris, 1879.
- J., "Catalogue de l'Exposition Historique du Trocadero", Paris, 1878.
- K. Articles in the Revue des Deux Mondes, 1878.

 "Le Commerce de la Chine et du Japon", G. Bousquet, p.84. op cit!

 "La Chine et le Japon à l'Exposition Universelle", G. Bousquet, p.556.
- 188. Bousquet, "La Chine et Le Japon", p.558.
- 189. Duranty, G.B.A., p.536. in "L'Art ancien et l'Art Moderne."
 Gonse ed Paris I878 op cit.
- 190. Houssaye, R.D.D., p. 373.
- 191. Conse, "Coup d'oeil à Vol d'oiseau sur l'Exposition Universelle", G.B.A., 1878, p.6.
- 192. P. Sedille, "L'Architecture au Trocadéro", G.B.A., p. 256. in in "L Art Anciem et l'Art Moderne." Gonse ed Paris 193. L. Gonse, G.B.A., op cit, p.11.
- 194. For Robert Hart's activities, see Marina Warner, "The Dragon Empress", London, 1972, p.83 and passim.
- 195. P. Sédille, "L'Architecture au Champs du Mars", G.B.A., p 233
 in "L'Art Ancien et l'Art Moderne." Gonse ed raris 1878
 op cit
 196. P. Sédille, "L'Architecture du Trocadéro", G.B.A., p. 247ff
 in "L'Art Ancien et l'Art moderne." Gonse ed Paris 1878
 197. G. Bousquet, R.D.D., p.558.
- 198. Douanes Maritimes Impériales III Série Général No.5. Catalogue Special de la Collection Exposée au Palais du Champs de Mars, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1878, Publié par ordre du Directeur Général des Douanes.

The officials responsible in China were;

G. Glover (Shanghai), G. Detring (Chefoo), R. Bredon (Canton).

The assembly of the exhibition in Paris was supervised by the same; G. Glover with J.D. Campbell, A. Novion and C. Jamieson.

- 199. Bousquet, R.D.D. p.559
- 200. Houssaye, R.D.D., p.373.
- 201. De Goncourt, Journal, July, 1878.
- 202. Bounquet, R.D.D., p.559.
- 203. C. Blanc in "Les Beaux Arts à l'Exposition de 1878", Paris, chez Renouard, 1 vol. 1878.

This passage was quoted in ironic satisfaction by Burty in L'Art. He had quarrelled with Blanc in the early 1870's, pantly as a result of his involvement with Japanese art and resigned from the C.B.A.

- 205. P. Gasnault, G.B.A., p.488.
- 206. H. Houssaye, R.D.D., p.373.
- 207. De Concourt, op cit., p. 351.
- 208. Dresser, op cit., p.347.
- 209. Bousquet, R.D.D., p.347.
- 210. Maeda, "Les Laques du Japon", Revue Scientifique de la France et de l'étranger, 15 Juin, 1878, p.1173ff.
- 211. A tray or stand on legs acquired in 1877 shows a series of storks above waves in a crude blue and white.
- 212. 4 Ephrussi, "Les Laques Japonais au Trocadero", Gazette des Beaux Arts 1876 pages 954-968.
- 213. Ibid, p.502.
- 214. Gasnault, op cit., p.470.
- 215. The dates of the three occasions are recorded in Goncourt's Journal; 31 Oct. 1878. Dinner at Matzugata's.
 6 Nov. 1878. Dinner at Charpentier's.
 28 Nov. 1878. Dinner at Burty's.
- 216. De Goncourt "Maison d'un Artiste' Vol. II. 356-359.
- 217. For these lectures see "Conferences au Palais du Trocadero", Paris, 1878, p. 37 ff. for Trélat's lecture and p.177ff. for Feer's lecture.
- 218. G.B.A., 1878, op cit, vol.1. p.270.
- 219. V. Cherbullicz. "La peinture àl Exposition Universelle."
 Revue des Deux Mondes I5 août 1878 pages 858-862 see page 873.
- 220. "An American Palace", by S.G.W. Benjamin, Magazine of Art, 1881, p.137.
- 221. Chesneau, G.B.A., op cit., p. 392.
- 222. All information on this exhibition is in "Catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Art by the Burlington Fine Arts Club", E. Dillon, London, 1878.
- 223. For information on this exhibition see "Catalogue de l'Exposition retrospectif de l'art japonais aux galeries Georges Petit", L. Gonse, Paris, 1883.

The full list of collectors who made loans is as follows:

Mme. Sarah Bernhardt
MM. S. Bing
Henri Bouilhet
Phillippe Burty
Mme. Louis Cahen
M. le comte Abraham Camondo.

MM.J.M.Heredia
Alphonse Hirsch
General Ida
Cie Kosho-kaisha, du Japon
MM. Lansyer
Mitsui, du Japon

M. le comte Isaac Camondo.
M. le comte Nissim Camondo.
MM. Deudon
Theodore Duret
Charles Ephrussi
Louis Gonse
C harles Haviland

MM.E.-L.Nontefiore
D. Nittis
Georges Petit
Antonin Proust
Edmond Taigny
Georges Vibert
Wakai, du Japon

- 224. Gonse, catalogue, op cit, p.487.
- 225. See Swann, "Art and Architecture of Japan", Pelican, p.42 passim.
- 226. Paul Mantz, "L'Exposition de l'Art Japonais", G.B.A., 1883. page 400ff
- 227. See "The Japanese Village" Illustrated London News, Feb.21, 1885. and Buhicrosan (Otakesan) Japan Past and Present, London, 1886.

NOTEL

Introduction to Section 4.

- Huysmans. Salon de 1879. "- j'aimerais mieux toutes les chambres de l'Exposition tapissées des chromes de Chéret ou de ces merveilleuses feuilles du Japon qui valent un franc la pièce, plutôt que de les voir tachetées ainsi par un amas de choses tristes."
 - See "L'Art Modern", Paris 1929 ed page I5.

FOOTNOTES - MANET

- 1. J.K. Huysmans "Salon de 1880", reprinted in L'Art Hoderne, quoted here from Huysmans, Oeuvres Complètes, Vol. VI, L'Art Moderne, Paris 1929 Ed. G. Cres et Cie.
- 2. This process of recognition of Japanese elements within Manet's paintings had been going on in asides in various "Salons" and exhibition reviews. The first I know of is the 1872 review of Jules Claretie who commented on the "Kearsage and Alabama" as too Japanese in style. Huysmans himself praised Manet's borrowing from Japanese art in his 1879 Salon, as we shall see. See Jules Claretie. "L'Art Français em 1872." im "Peintres et Sculpteurs Contemporains".

Tabarant quotes from the inventory on p.106, (raris 1882.)

The Chinese screen was in Manet's studio but many other items were at his mother's home and some of his work at other places. It may be that Manet had once owned Japanese prints but had given them away.

- 4. T. Duret, "Manet and the French Impressionists", trans. J.E. Crawford Flitch, London, 1912, p.102. The original French addition was printed in 1902.
- 5. See above, sections on Duret and Cernuschi, Duret as critic, and on the 1883 exhibition.
- 6. Orienti No.131.
- 7. Orienti No.192.
- 8. Orienti No.229.
- 9. Orienti No.320.
- 10. It is tempting to identify it with the Chinese screen of the inventory of Manet's studio but no "Chinese" screen would have such an open composition it would have been a series of repeated motifs covering the whole of the screen.
 - 11. For instance see De Leiris in "The Drawings of Edward Manet". op cit.
 - 12. Orienti No. 121.
 - 13. Courthion op cit., p.102.

The quotation is from the second verse of the poem;

"Les soirs illuminés par l'ardeur de charbon Et les soirs au balcon, voiles de vapeurs roses Que ton sein m'était doux! que ton coeur m'était bon! Nous avons dit souvent d'impérissables choses Les soirs illuminés par l'ardeur du charbon."

- 14. See Hamilton "Manet and his Critics", p.129, 1869, ff.
- 15. Orienti No. 8180 and 268 respectively.
 Quoted by Richardson "Manet." London and New York 1958.
- 15B. (page 162. from La Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique, Nov.2 1872. Presumably the date of 1873 is the date of the first exhibition of the painting.

- 16. This suggestion is made in passing by Sandblad and others.

 Guerin "L'Ogyre Gravé de Manet." Paris 1944 revised J.C.
- 17./ Harris New York 1970 shows, the quantity and variety of Manet's work increases dramatically after 1867.
 - 18. This is discussed earlier in this thesis. The bas de page illustrations and Hiroshige print are illustrated, nos. 28 & 29 .
- 19. Guerin Cat.No.74, a watercolour study for this print, De Leiris Cat.No.227 shows considerable Japanese influence.
 - 20. Hiroshige, Hokusai and Kuniyoshi all designed famous prints of cats. (The Kuniyoshi prints are illustrated in Robinson, "Kuniyoshi", Plates 52, 53 and 54). All these could have been seen by Manet and he would have assumed that they were all by Hokusai. Adelina's book is J. Adelina, "Le Chat d'après les Japonais", illus. with lithographs by the author, Rouen, 1893.
- 21. Guerin, 53.
- .22. De Leiris Cat.No.226, No.225, "Chat sous un Chaise", a brush drawing and Nos.228,229,230 and 231 show some interest in Oriental drawing methods.
- 23. Ibid, Nos. 552 and 553.
 - 24. Guerin, op cit., No.52.
- For instance, the brushwork for the design of birds on the jardiniere clearly reflects the liberated brush which as I have shown above was "invented" by Manet under the stimulus of Far Eastern art. composition of the work as a whole can be seen as derived from Japanese prints in that the central figure is allowed a flat, spatially indeterminate position on an imaginary area forward from the picture plane and all the other elements of the composition are arranged "decoratively" around him, rather than in any form of spatial logic - note for instance the Arab sword in the lower left. It is interesting to see how difficult Manet found it to fit the 4.4 "three dimensional" still life of the meal into this composition. . . Japanese artists encountered similar problems with small intricate areas three-dimensional which were essential to their human signi-À: ficance of their work, notably in Surimono's. Manet's attitude to still life was gradually altered by the Japanese example.
- 26. Not six as declared by Tabarant and others. See Orienti 126 A, B, 127A, B, 128, 129 and 130.
 - 27. Ibid. No.130.
 - 28. Hillier, "Hokusai", figs. 56 and 57.
 - 29. Stewart, op cit, Plate 18.
 - 30. See above, Section One.
 - 31. The exception to this is Boudin who influenced Manet indirectly and affected Monet directly.
 - 32. De Leiris ignores the significance of the Japanese example in his catalogue and also in his carlier articles. Dee "Manet: Sur la Plage de Boulogne", G.B.A., 1961, p.53.

- 33. De Leiris, Cit. No. 250.
- 34. The comparisons may be made using De Leiris' illustrations Cat. No. 250 and 249.
- 35. G.B.A., 1969, p.56.
- 36. Orienti 126A and B.
- 37. See Adrian Stokes, "The Future and Art", in A Game that must be Lost, collected papers, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire, 1973, p. 155.

 Stokes quotes from an uncited lecture by Andrew Forge on this problem, linking the new open newsof subject matter to Duchamps Ready Mades and contemporary performance art.
- 37B. See Duret G.B.A. 1882, op cit, p.309.
- 38. Guerin, No.58. The comparison is made in Ives' "The Great Wave", New York, 1974, and elsewhere. In this comparison as in most of those which her book consists Ives makes the same superficial and approximate analogies that have marred all previous works on the Japanese influence on nineteenth century western art.
- 39. See Stewart, op cit, Plate 10, for the Chono Station.
- 40. See J. Claretie, "L'Art Français en 1872", trans. and quoted by Hamilton, op cit, p.157.
- 41. Guerin 63 A-C, Gros, "La Fleuve" was published by Librarie de l'Eau Forte, 61, Rue Lafayette (1874).
- 42. See illus. No. 25, Section One.
- 43. Edgar Allen Poe, "Le Corbeau", trans.S. Mallarmé, l'aris, Lesclide, 1875.
- 44. For Kyosai see above p. 341 Many of Kyosai's crows are reproduced in J. Conder, "Paintings and studies by Kawanabe Kyosai" Tokyo and London 1911.

 One may observe many of the nineteenth century accounts of Japanese brush technique choose to describe the painting of a bird as the archetype of Japanese style, Bousquet, Veron and Dresser all do so.
- 45. Guerin, No.84 Proofs in the Burty Collection are dated Janvier 1875, in Burty's own hand.
- 46. Guerin No.86 A.
- 47. E.A.Poe, "The Raven" quoted from "The Poems of Edgar Allen Poe", London, 1907.
- 48. To push this observation further one may note that the enigmatic Raven perches on the "pallid" bust of Pallas. Classicism grows pale and lifeless before the onset of enigmatic modernist attitudes and that Manet may have seen the Raven as symbolic of his own artistic and human predicament as no doubt did Baudelaire and Mallarmé.

With modernity one must have melancholy and enigma. Hence the "modern" Far Eastern style is chosen to represent this dilemma and its personification the daven. I make this rather naive suggestion with some hesitation but also in the conviction that artists

- "select" their imagery on many levels simultaneously and in many ways that can and should be explored, not just on the formal level.
- 49. Two of these are illustrated in Baudelaire; "The Fainter of Modern Life", trans. Mayne, Plates 34 and 35.
- 50. Ibid, p.96, "Further Notes on ldgar Poe". I have discussed in Section One the relation of Near and Far East in Manet's and Baudelaire's notion of modernity, especially in reference to the metamorphosis of Olympia from an Arabian to a Japanese lady.
- 51. I have consulted copy No.7 of the third edition "L'Après Midi d'un Faunt Eclogue par Stephane Mallarmé, nouvelle édition avec Frontispiece, ex libris; flevrons et cul de lampe par Manet, Paris, 1887. See also T. Munro, "Afternoon of the Faun", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Critics, X, 1951, p.95 et seq.
- 52. This was pointed out by A.Coffin Hanson in her review of De Leiris' article, op cit., in Art Bulletin, 1971 pages 542-547.
- 53. Alcock, "Capital of the Tycoon", Chap.XII, p.254.
- 54. S. Mallarmé "Correspondance", Vol.II, 1871 1885. Recueillie etc., par Henri Mondor et Lloyd James Austin, Callimard, 1965, p.119.
- 55. See "Documents Mallarme I", presente par Carl Paul Barbier, Libraire Nizet, Paris, 1968, p.59 ff.
- 56. See also Jean C. Harris, "A Little known essay on Manet by Stephane. Mallarme" The Art Bulletin, Dec. 1964, Vol. XLVI, No. 4, pp. 559-563.
 - Opinions vary about the authenticity of the translations since Robinson, the presumed translator, wrote "la française pénible". Mondor, op cit, p.29, questions the accuracy of the translation. Barbier, on the other hand, suggests that Robinson employed a translator and that his letter to Mallarme in which he appears to state that he has done the work himself is another example of his bad French. I agree with Barbier since the translation is quite lucid. Barbier, "Mallarme", pps.85-86.
- 57. De Goncourt "Maison d'un Artiste", quoted above, p.
- 58. See Section Three passim.
- 59. Barbier, "Mallarme", p.69.
- 60. See Herbert Read, op cit and passim. Read's discussion of Chinese art theory in the content of twentieth century art underlines my thesis that the Far Eastern example had a fundamental role in the growth of Modern Art and Aesthetics borne out once more in Read's discussion of the role of hand and eye in the creation of an image.
- 61. See C Greenberg "Art and Culture", Toronto, 1961, p.37ff. "The Later Monet".
- 62. Barbier, op cit, p.77. It is significant that Mallarmé identifies the creation of instantaneous images by the painter with the Far Eastern example and not with photography, which he fails to mention.
- 63. Orienti Nos. 173, 174, 175, 176, 177 and 178.

- 64. Ibid, 197a.
- 65. Ibid, 197.
- 66. P. Mantz in "Le Temps", 1875, trans. and quoted by Ih. Courthion. "Manet." New York 1963, page II6
- 67. Orienti 194.
- 68. Huysmans "Salon de 1879", in Oeuvres Completes, p.46.
- 69. Orienti No.229.
- 70. Humbert, "Le Japon Ildustré" op cit.
- 71. Orienti No.234-246. One of these, "The Tub", Orienti No.242, is well reproduced as Plate 17 in K. Martin's "Manet".
- 72. De Leiris Cat. No. 521.
- 73. A. Coffin Hanson "Prawings of Edouard Manet by A. de Leiris" review, Art Bulletin,p.545.opcit.
- 74. For instance de Leiris 550 and 551.
- 75. Many Japanese prints and paintings based on Korin's work were published into the nineteenth century. I have discussed the sale of one such set of lacquer designs by the Sichels in Paris, in Section Three of this thesis.

FOOTNOTES - FAR EASTERN EXAMPLE

- I have in mind the "naive" acceptance of the orthodox critical view-1. point of Impressionism by A. Hauser "The Social History of Art". Vol. IV, "Naturalism, Impressionism, The Film Age", pps. 156-167, contains the crucial argument. Hauser accepts the view that "Impressionism" was essentially the last stage in the progress of representational decay, the loss of conviction in Western art, parallelling, in his view, a crisis in Western and particularly French social confidence after 1871. I find this view very limiting. The relationship of an art to the society in which it occurs is not consistently reflexive. Nor was aestheticism, which like Impressionism. Hauser regards as a falling away from naturalism, a means of running for shelter from the harsh facts of life. On the contrary they were in many respects means of reconstructing the unity of human experience. For example Hauser seems unaware that Huysmans regarded "A Rebours" at least in part as a comment on those who failed to perceive this attempt at the heart of these movements and worked instead by controlling their environment alone.
- 2. See above, Section One, p. 96
- 2B. Journal of Aesthetics, Spring 1941, Vol.1, No.1, pp.34-45.
- 3. Mallarmé, op cit, 1876, p.76.
- 4. Duret, "Les Peintres Français en 1867", Paris, 1867, p.23.
- 5. J. Lafarge "On Japanese Art" quoted from Pumpelly, op cit. For a full discussion of this, see above, Section III, p. 378
- 6. See above Section III, chapter on "Committed Critics" and also sections on Dresser, Alcock, etc.
- 7. J. Lethève, op cit, 1959.
- 8. Ph. Burty, "Exposition de la Societe anonyme des artistes", La République Française, 25 Avril, 1874, quoted in Catalogue Centensiale de l'Impressionisme, Paris, 1974, p.261.
- 9. Armand Silvestre, Preface de "Galerie Durand Ruel Recuiel des Estampes", Paris, Durand Ruel, 1873.
- 10. J. Castagnary, "Le Siècle", 29 Avril, 1874, quoted in Centenmont de l'Impressionisme, p.265.
- 11. Goncourt Journal, Avril 1884 for discussion of this passage see Section Three on De Goncourt.
- 12. See above, Section Three, p. 502 for a discussion of this point.
- 13. H. Houssaye, "Salons", R.D.D., 1882, quoted in Richardson, op cit.

FUOTNOTES - DEGAS

- 1. J. Meier-Graefe "Degas", London 1923, p.65.
- 2. Quoted by Cabanne "Degas" op cit, pps.45-46. From G. Moore and a letter by Degas.
- 3. Meier-Graefe "Degas" op cit, p.65.
- 4. Collection E. Degas Sale, Paris, Nov. 6, 7, nos. 324, 325, 326, 326 respectively.
- 5. Sale No. 328.
- 6. M. Guérin "Degas Lettres", Paris, 1931. p.151. letter received at Angouleme 29 April, 1890.
- 7. G. Moore "Impressions and Opinions" op cit, Degas, p. 223.
- 8. Nos. 328,329 respectively.
- 9. Nos. 330,331 respectively.
- 10. No.332.
- 11. See Degas sale 15, 16, 1918, No.160. and

Egbert Haverkemp Begemann "Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute - Drawings from the Clark Art Institute, New 1964, Vol.2, Plate 227.

I owe this information to J. Kloner "Japanese Influence in the work of Manet and Gauguin", Ph.D. Thesis 1968.

However Kloner does not follow up the implications of his discovery.

- /12. Guerin "Degas Lettres", op cit, p. 188, letter CLXIV.
 - 13. See T. Shinoda "Degas and Uki-yo-e" op cit, and
 S. Wichmann "World Cultures and Modern Art" op cit, passim which
 presents many of the visual analogies made by earlier studies.
- '14. See George Moore "Impressions and Opinions" op cit, Degas, p. 232.
- 15. For Huysmans' treatment of the Japanese attitude to the nude see below, chapter on Japanese art and Fantasy.
- 16. G. Moore, op cit. "Degas", pp.219-220.
- 17. See Ingres. Jupiter and Semele." where he does this.
- 18. See Moore, op cit, essay on Degas.
 Huysmans "L'Art Moderne", op cit.
 - "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1880"
 - "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1881".

The most extended Marxist treatment is in Max Raphael "The Demands of Art", London 1968.

his essay on an engraving of a female nude by Degas. However, see also hauser "Social History of Art" Volume IV op cit., p. 197 where the unbalancing of the human centre of interest in a Degas is compared to the same attempt at occidentalism in Chekhov's Short Stories and plays.

- 19. Le Moisne 146. The ballet La Source was first produced in November, 1866.
- 20. E. Zola "Mon Salon", L'Evenement illustre 9 Juin 1868, quoted in Venturi "Archives de l'Impressionisme", Paris 1939 page 276

For a colour reproduction see F. Russoli "L'Opera Completa di Degas" Milano 1970, Tav.IX.

- 21. Lemoisne No. 186.
- 22. See above discussion of E. Fonblanque, page 83, and appendix E.

For the Osaha school see

- 23. For examples, see Stewart op cit, plate 34 no.1. Toyaharu "View of dramatic performance at the three theatres" plate 37 No.1, Hiroshige "Theatre interior, scene from Soga Brother's revenge", and Hillier "Hokusai" op cit, plate 29. Hokusai "Interieur of a theatre" signed Shunro 1794, which is the most convincing example easily available.

 Bing published a theatre print as Plate B.E.C. of Artistic Japan, op cit.
- 24. It is natural to react to this suggestion by searching for Western parallels to Degas' work. Degas was found to own many Daumier prints on his death but I find it hard to accept the assertion that Daumier was responsible for Degas' conception of the work of art as incidental to the audience.

Daumier's work was satirical, it required a direct relation to an audience, its psychology was gross, based on caricatured stereotypes. While Daumier portrayed "audiences" they remain essentially the "subject" of his work in the traditional sense.

- 25. A. Scha rf "Art and Photography" op cit, note 57, reproduces a photo by Disdere showing the legs only of all the dancers at the Opera, made in the 1860's.
- 26. Lemoisne nos. 294 and 391.
- 27. Reproduced in L. Browse "Degas Dancers"; Lendon 1949. , Plates 6, 6a, 7.
- 28. For instance in Noh Drama and even in Kabuki to some extent, dramatic "highpoints" remain unstressed compared to theatre in the west.
- 29. See Shinoda op cit, illus. 71,72. The Hokusai is reproduced in Hillier, 'Hokusai', op cit., illus 26. The Degas is reproduced in colour as plate 9 in D. Cooper "Pastels by Edgar Degas", New York, 1960.
- 30. Lemoisne 477, 478, 478 bis. See also "Chantoures de Cafe" Lemoisne 504-505.
- 31. See for instance a work by Hirosada of 1840:
 "An actor as 0 to no O-Roku", in Leighton, op cit, plate I.16, in which one hand grasps a vertical beam represented as a series of vertical stripes.

- 32. Lemoisne 405. reproduced in colour in Russoli tav. XXXII.
- 32B. Chesneau G.B.A. 1878, op cit, p. 396.
- For the social and organisational aspects of the ballet see L. Browse. "Degas pancers" or cit, chapters on Degas and the Ballet, page 46, and Degas and the Opera, page 65.

The ballet attracted hordes of young children pushed by their mothers into its school. They went through many years of arduous work and examinations before joining the chorus. "Les Rats" as they were called were subject to considerable exploitation and open to moral danger. Degas is said to have been very friendly with the "Rats" who called him " Papa ".

- 34. The device is discussed in the essay on the fashionable and travellers to Japan, below p. 718.
- 35. Lemoisne 430.
- 36. Reproduced in World Cultures and Modern Art, No. 808.
 - 37. Lemoisne numbers 341,396.
- 38. Major examples are Lemoisne 399, 625, 820, 905.
- 39. Lemoisne 924.
 The vertical bar persists in Degas' work to the end of his life.
 Shinoda cites an example in a drawing 1900-1905, op cit, illus.32.
- 40. Reproduced in Browse Plate 10, the drawing is in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.
- 41. Lemoisne No.409 a good colour reproduction can be found in D Cooper.

 "Pastels by Degas" London no date.
- 42. See above, pps. 471 set for Burty and illustration No. 90h for a Sumi-ye in his collection. See page 54 for references to movement.
- 434 See above page 161 and Illus. no. 14a
- 44. See Gonse "L'Art Japonais" 1883, Tome 1, page 271, and plate VII opposite page 286.
- 45. Reproduced in Brousz, op cit, plate 243.
- 46. The suggestion is made by Aaron Scha rf. Art and Ihotography, op cit, pages 202-205.
- 46B. Huysmans "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1881". L'Art Moderne, op cit. p.248.
- 47. Quoted in Lemoisne op cit, p. 117.
 - 48: T.S. Eliot "Burnt Norton, II, Four Quartets" quoted from "Collected Poems 1909-1962". Fourth eq. London 1968. Eliot was of course borrowing from Far Eastern philosophy for his metaphor.
 - 49. Degas quoted by George Moore op cit, p.236.

- 50. Duranty, "La Nouvelle Peinture", op cit. for a discussion of Duranty's writing on Far Eastern art see above, p. 502
- 51. Duranty, op cit, page 52.
- 52. See below, p. 681
- 53. Duranty, op cit, p.40.
- 54. See Reff. "The pictures within Degas' pictures", op cit, plate 41, and associated discussion.
- 55. Duranty op cit, page 44.
- 56. Duranty op cit, page 45.
- 57. Lemoisne, no.320.
- 58. Lemoisne no.410.
 - 59. For a comparison, see Michener "Hokusai's Mangwa", plate 11, showing men lifting bails.
 - 60. Duranty "Le peintre Louis Martin" quoted in the 1946 edition of "La Nouvelle Peinture" page 43.
 - 61. See for instance Lemoisne No. 681, dated 1882.
 - 62. See Lemoisne No.324 and Reff"The pictures within Degas' pictures", pages 150-153.
 - 63. For an example see World Cultures and Modern Art, op cit, illus.742,743 in which the pose of a ballerina is compared to one of the butter-fly dance drawings from the Mangwa. Shinoda offers more examples.
 - 64. Lemoisne No.376.
- 65. One was reproduced as no.55 in Migeon "Chef d'oeuvres d'art Japonais" in 1905. It was in the de Havilland collection and may probably have been in Paris for some time.
- 66. See below, p. 776.
- 67. Lemoisne No. 845, Shinoda illus. 61 and 62.
- 68. Lemoisne 1011.
- 69. For Degas prints see "Degas the complete etchings, lithographs and Monotypes", J. Adhemar et F. Cachin, London, 1974. This is number 95 in the Monotype catalogue.
- 70. Adhemar and Cachin, op cit, regard monotypes as "anti-prints" but do it trouble themselves as to the reason for Degas' use of this strange device.
 - 71. The man has a moustache.
 - 72. See Adhemar and Cachin, op cit, Monotypes 85, 103, 104, for examples.

- 73. This was published. Guinet's "Promonades Jajonalson", and is illustration No.55abn this Theory. For a comparison of a Degas Fan with a Hiroshige painting see Sninoda illus.91/92.
- 74. Lemoisne no.254.
- 75. Lemoisne no.563.
- 76. For Degas Sculpture see J. Rewald "Degas works in Sculpture a complete catalogue. Phaidon, New York, 1944.
- 77. See Lemoisne 1046.
- 78. For a good example see Adhémar et Cachin, plate 200.

of the Musée Marmottan in December, 1973. Since that time letters from myself and from professor Noach have been ignored. These letters met the official conditions for seeing the prints which are in very poor state after having been on display in the house at Giverny for many years. I had hoped to research these prints and to apply the general knowledge gained in writing this thesis in such a way as to suggest a date for their acquisition by Monet.

The prints constitute a uniquely surviving record of an artist's collection made in the later nineteenth century. They are therefore immensely important in general terms.

- 2. M. Elder "Chez Claude Monet a Giverny", Paris, 1924, pps.61-62.
- 3. Geoffroy ""Monet sa vie son euevre " Paris 1924 pages 331-332.
- 4. J. Hoschede, "Claude Monet Ce Mal Connu", Vol.1, p.54.
- 5. See above, p. 313-314
- 6. Mirbeau, "La 628 E&", p.269.

 See "Monet at Giverny", text by Claire Joyes, research by Robert

 Gordon and Jean Marie Toulgouat, commentary by Andrew Forge.

 London, 1975, pps.72 and 85.
- 8. Elder, op cit. pps.63-64.
- 9. Reproduced in W. Seitz, "Monet", p.105.
- 10. See for instance a print by Eisen of 1830, illustrated in Crighton, op cit, II 30.
 - 11. Geoffroy, op cit, p.59 ff. publishes an interesting collection of reviews of Monet's part in this exhibition. For the reviews cited see pps.71 and 62 respectively.
 - 12. Bradley Smith op cit, p.247. publishes a print by Sadanide of 1861, shows Europeans in Yokohama, in which fans are seen asymmetricall; on a background wall.
- 13. See Meier Graefe, "Renoir", Leipig, 1929, p.57.
 - Reproduced in Seitz, op cit, p.87. For a discussion of these works done in London, see The Impressionists in London, Cat. Hayward, G.1973, Manet I IV.
 - 15. See above, pps. 102 and 585.
- . 16. See illustration no. 10b.
 - 17. Reproduced in Hayward Gallery 1973, cat. op cit., Nos. 2 and 3.
 - 18. See for instance Station 37, "Mieja No Koshi" rep. Stewart, Plate 14. For a more detailed analysis of this motif see the essity on Manet above.
 - 19. Reproduced in Seitz, "Monet", Daily Express, London, 1960.

- 20. Illustrated above, no. 24c Section One.
- 21. Scharf, "Painting and Photography".
- 22. L. Leroy in "Le Charivari", 25 Avril, 1874.
- 23. Reproduced in Stewart, Plate 28A.
- 24. See below for a discussion of Van Gogh's borrowings from Hokusai, p. 805 and 818.
- 25. See above, for a discussion of the metaphysical aspects of landscape painting in the 1860's and its relation to the Japanese example, p. 175.
- 26. For a discussion of this see H. Adhemar, "Centen de L'Impressionisme", Paris, 1974, pps. 150 and 152, and Rewald, "History of Impressionism", op cit. pps. 315, 316, 317. Rewald reproduced the correct painting.
- 27. See illustration.
- 28. See Hillier, "Hokusai", colour plate VIII.
- 29. See Comte de Trevise "Le Pèlerinage de Giverny", Revue de L'Art, 1920, p.132. Trevise regrets that he did not have time to stay to hear Monet "parler du Japon et des trouvailles operées par lui à une époque méritoire".
- 30. Reproduced in H. Adhemar, p. 154, with a detail on p. 157.
 - 31. Such as those in Burges' collection illustrated above, No. 13.
 - 32. See above p. 76.
- 33. See above p. 508.
- 34. Armand Silvestre "Preface de Galeries Burand Ruel. Recuiel d' Estampes", Paris, Durand Ruel, 1873. Quoted in Venturi "Documents d'Impressionisme", p.285.
- 35. Reproduced in "World Cultures and Modern Art", p. 109.
- 36. S. Bing "Fugaku San Ju Rokkei or thirty-six views of Fuji" transactions of the Japan Society of London IV, 1899, pps.244 and 245.
- 37. Ibid, p.245.
 - 38. For an example see the Arts Council "Monet", 1957. Plate 15a. Another similar work is in the Courtauld Institute.
 - 39. Reproduced in Seitz, p.141.
 - 40. There are some interesting analogies in photographs of Japanese landscapes published in the 1880's by Krafft and others and in the drawings of Felix Regamey, but neither of these is first hand and they may be examples of the same kind of mediation of Far Eastern imagery that led to Monet's work.
 - 41. I visited Giverny in 1973.

- 42. See Joyes and Toulgouat, op cit., p.79.
- 43. See Musee Marmottan "Monet et ses Amis", nouveaux enrégistrement., Paris, 1972, p.18, Illus.144.
- 44. See Joyes and Toulgouat, op cit.,p. 127.
- 45. Elder, op cit., p.63. Monet made a similar remark to Trévise, op cit., p.132.

FOCTNOTES - WHISTLER

- 1. See "The International Society's Whistler Exhibition", The Studio, Vol. 34, pp. 224-236, no author, p. 228.
- 2. For instance S. Weintraub, "Whistler, a biography", London, 1074, devotes only a few paragraphs to discussing Japanese influence on whistler.
- This information is from the Pennell's life of Whistler, Chap. XV, For Cole's Diary see Pennell, p. 189, Jan. 6, 1876;
- 4. J.E.Blanche, "Propos de Peintre ", Faris, 1913, p.61.
- 5. Blanche, ibid, p.62.
- 6. See above, p. 147.
- 7. See Mortimer Menpes, "Whistler as I knew him", London, 1904. p.24.
- 8. Menpes' career and his relations with Whistler are discussed below, p. 748ff.
- 9. Menpes, op cit, p.20.
- 10. This is not the screen which the Pennells believed Whistler to have painted for Leyland but kept in his studios, showing Battersea Bridge, Chelsea Church and a bright moon. Pennell op cit., Vol. 1. p. 138.
- 11. i.e. Sandblad "Whistler's Japonisme", Sutton, "Whistler", Weintraub, "Whistler".
- 12. Menpes, op cit, p.53.
- 13. See above, p. 135 passim.
- 14. The full list of the B.M. prints is as follows:-
 - Kiyonaga, "Shinagawa Bay the fourth month of the series of Twelve Months" published in 1784 (a diptych)
 "A young lord with his nurse and two servants"
 "Joruri Hime serenaded by Ushikawa (centre and right panels of a triptych).

Utamaro "The beach at Enoshima"
Anonymous in the style of Shenso "Girls at home on a winter's day"
Eisho "Portrait of a girl holding a fan"
Gotote Kunisada "Actor in Character" dated 1812.

- 15. The Glasgow University prints are as follows:-
 - Shuncho "A Spring Outing" c.1790 (Three sheets of a triptych, each 367 x 250).
 - Kyonaga "A Group of Ladies and Children, c.1785. (Sheet of a triptych from the series "Fuzoku Adzuma no Nishiki" or "Manners in Eastern Brocade" 372 x 242).
 - "Young Nobleman Hawking with Ladies near Mount Fuji", c.1790.

 (Sheet of a triptych, 372 x 245).
 - "Ladies by an Iris Pond" c.1790 (Two sheets of a triptych, each 372 x 250)

- "Winter Scene with Ladies on a Balcony and in a Gargen", c.1790 (Two sheets of a triptych, each 374 x 250).
- "Ladies preparing a Picnic" c.1790 (Three sheets of a triptych, each 371 x 250)
- Follower of Utamaro, "The Courtesan Karakoto and an Attendant", c.1800 (372 x 235)
- Toyokuni, "Yedo Ryogoku Suzumi no Dzu" or "Evening Cooling at Ryogokgoku, Yedo", c.1805. (Pentatych, five sheets, each 375 x 250)
- Hokusai, "The Great Pine Trees of Aoyama" c.1825. (From the series "Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji". 257 x 380)
- "The Doge's Eye Pass in Kai Province" c.1825. (From the series "Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji", 257 x 380)
- Hiroshige "Shiba-ura no seran" or "Clearing Weather at Shiba-ura", c.1840. (From the series "Yedo Kinko Hakkei", 217 x 345).

"Cranes and Waves", 1858. (362 x 245).

Anonymous "Street Scene in Mist", c.1870. 340 x 247.

The books of prints were:

- Shuntosai "Dobra Hosoye Shu" or "Collection of detailed pictures printed from copper", Yedo, Suigetsudo 1857.
- Tanaka, Kikuo (editor) "Iroha Biki Moncho" or "Alphabetical Index of patterns", Tokyo, Matsuzaki 1881.
- 16. J. Sandberg "Japonisme and Whistler", <u>Burlington Magazine</u>, CVI, 1964, p.504
 - Basil Gray, "Japonisme and Whistler", B.Mag. CVII, 1965, p. 324 ff.
- 17. A catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain, forming the collection of Sir Henry Thompson, illustrated by the autotype process from drawings by James Whistler and Sir Henry Thompson, London, Ellis and White, 1878.
- 17B. Catalogue of the Decorative Porcelain, Cabinets, Paintings and other works of Art of J.A. McN. Whistler, which will be sold at auction by Messrs. Sotheby Wilkinson and Hodge on Thursday 12th February 1880 and the following day.
- 17C. The most interesting items in the catalogue:
 - 66. Handsome Japanese screen of 5 folds, with panels of silk painted with flowers, glazed, and gilt wood frame.
 - 67. Pair of dwarf screens, painted with landscapes and figures on gold grounds.
 - 70. Large roll of paper painted with Japanese landscape and figures.
 - 71. Pair of Japanese Pictures of raised figures formed of silk brocade, in gilt frames "Summer and Winter" in extra glass frames.
 - 72. Painting of a Japanese Harbour, with fleet of ships, soldiers and highly coloured.
 - 73. Picture of Three Ladies, formed of raised brocade framed and glazed, and a sketch of storks in a landscape.
 - 74. Eighteen Japanese picture books, sketches of landscapes and figures, some coloured and 64 loose drawings.
- 18. The letter is in the Library of Congress. It is quoted in translation in Sutton "Nocturne", p.56 and in R.McMullen "Whistler, Victorian Outsider", London, 1974, p.147, who takes it from Bénédite, G.B.A., 1905, fourth article T. XXXIV, p.231ff.

- 19. Quoted by Sutton "Nocturne", p.64, from a letter in the Library of Congress.
- 20. Sutton "Whistler". Plate 44.
- 21. I have given my reasons for finding the proposed models by Haronobu (Sandberg) and Kiyonaga (Gray) as unacceptable, see above.
- 22. Note the detail from this painting reproduced in Sutton "Whistler", p.46.
- 23. For the "Studio" see above, p. 149.
- 24. Quoted in Pennell, op cit., Vol.1, p.148.
- 25. Reproduced in Sutton "Whistler" plate 43.
- 26. "Symphony in Blue and Pink" is reproduced in Sutton, "Whistler", Plate 43. Pennell reproduces various studies for the Projects, particularly opposite pps.142 and 140 of Vol.1.
- 27. Reproduced in Sutton, op cit, plate 41.
- 28. For instance Jarves, see above, p.383.
- 29. See "The Studio", Vol.30, p.20, "Girl and Cherry Blossom" by J. McNeill Whistler.
- 30. Sutton "Whistler", plate 115.
- 31. Ibid, plate 49.
- 32. For Moore see A.L.Baldry "Albert Moore", London.

 Many of Moore's other paintings can be related in general terms to

 Japanese prints such as "Quartette" of 1869 and the "End of the

 Story" and the small paintings done in the 1870's and his master
 piece "Reading Aloud". However without more firm evidence of Moore's
 interest in Japanese art this would be a pointless exercise.
- 33. G.H. Boughton, "Reminiscences of Whistler", The Studio, Vol.30, 1903-4, p.216.
- 34. For discussions of asymmetry see above, pps. 53 Leighton 387 Alcock 422 Audsley 463 Jarves.
- 35. See above discussions of Chesneau, Feydeau and Burty.
- 36. See Menpes, "Whistler, As I knew him." p.95.
- 37. For the story of Irving, see <u>Ibid</u>, pps.75-76.

 There is a strange parallel between this story and Cezanne's famous "shirt front". Both seem to spring from the painters need to reconstruct experience in absolute pictorial terms. Whistler believed that these absolute terms were to be found in the art of the Far East.

- 38. See Sutton, "Whistler", plate 51 and the colour reproduction in The Studio, Vol.34, 1905, opposite p.224. The painting was exhibited in the Dudley Gallery in 1871. For the frame see Pennell, "Life of Whistler", opp.p.156.
- 39. Arts Council "Whistler", illus.9, Cat.25, Sandberg, op cit., ignored these paintings as they provide a contradiction to his thesis that Japonisme in Whistler was a short lived enthusiasm.
- 40. See Stewart, op cit., plate 28a, No.4.
- 41. Ibid, Plate 27, No.4.
- 42. See Plate 22 for examples.
- 43. See above, passim.
- 44. See Illus.
- 45. Reproduced in Hillier "Hokusai", colour plate IX.
- 46. Sutton "Whistler", plates 64 & 65; see also Arts Council "Whistler" Plate II.
- 47. Sutton "Whistler", plate 66.
- 48. See S. Wichmann, "The bridge as a motif in Far Eastern and European painting in the nineteenth century". World Cultures and Modern Art p.104. Wichmann suggests "Kyo Bridge" No.76 of the 100 Views of Yedo as a model though it has the viewpoint it does have the T-shaped motif.
- 49. No.31 of the 36 Views of Fuji
 - 50. See T. Pocock, "Chelsea Reach", 1970, illus. opp. p.48. On Cremorne see W. Wroth "Cremorne and later London Gardens", London, 1907.
 - 51. Arts Council, "Whistler" illus. No. 12, Cremorne Gardens No. 2.
 - 52. Ibid, Plate VI.
- 53. See Menpes "Reminiscences of Whistler" The Studio, Vol.29, 1903, p.246.
 - 54. See Menpes "Japan A Record in Colour", London, 1901, p.68. I have discussed Menpes' reaction to Kiosai at length below, p.75.
 - 55. See Menpes, "Whistler As I Knew Him", p.71.
 - 56. For Menpes account of his discussion with Whistler on Kiosai's method, see "Whistler as I Knew Him", p.40ff.
 - 57. Sutton "Whistler" plate 53 for the possibility that Whistler spent some years on this painting see Sandberg, op cit., appendix on the dating of "Whistler's Mother".
 - 58. Arts Council, "Whistler", plate III.
 - 59. See Bradley Smith, p.137, for such a portrait of the great General Oda Nobunga. B. Robinson "Kuniyoshi", plate 33, reproduces a portrait "Taira No Shigenori" in black, made in 1842.

- Mervyn Levy "Whistler Lithographs", a catalogue raisonnée with an introduction by Allen Stacey, London, 1975, Nos. 10,11,14,15, 16,17.
 - 61. See Menpes "The Studio", Vol.30.
- 62. For a full account of Kiosai's technique see J. Conder, of, cit.
 - 63. Sutton "Whistler", plate 56.
 - 64. Ibid, plate 63.
- 65. Ibid, plate 92.
- 66. Ibid, plate 95.
- 67. Pennell, "Whistler", Vol.1, p.222. and p.224.
- 68. For a discussion of "Midori No Sato" see chapter on Regamey above.
- 69. P. Ferriday "The Peacock Room" Architectural Review, CXXV 1959, pps. 407-414, is the best account. However even Mr. Ferriday tends to push the Japanese aspects of the Peacock Room to one side.
- 70. The Times, Feb. 15, 1877, quoted by Weintraub, op cit., p. 178.
- 71. Pennell "Whistler" p.204.
- 172. See above illustration 8a (Chinese screen 1867).
- 13. See above illustration 19c (Lacquer Peacock Fish).
- 74. See Audsley and Bowes, op cit., p.44.
- 175. e.g. Ibid, Plate X.
- 76. Illus. in Sutton "Whistler", fig.6.
- 77. See Whistler "The Gentle Art of Making Enemies", Chelsea, 1892, Prologue.
- 78. Menpes "Whistler as I Knew Him" pps.80,81.
- Anderson "Kiosai", The Studio, p. 32.
- 80. Whistler, "The Gentle Art", p.6.
- \$1. Pennell, "Whistler Journal", 1921, p.31.
- 82. For reproductions of the colour lithographs see Levy "Whistler Lithographs" op cit, pps.9,13,21,24. This introduction makes no reference to the Japanese source of these prints. Mr. Levy confesses himself mystified as to why there are so few colour lithographs and is clearly ignorant of their experimental "Japanese" nature.
- Pennell "Life", Volume 2, p. 135.

FOOTNOTES - SALON PAINTERS AND TRAVELLERS TO JAPAN

- 1. Chesneau, G.B.A., 1878
- 2. For Carolus Duran see A.Alexandre "Carolus Duran", Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne, 1903, pps.189ff and 289ff., and J. Clarétie, "Peintures et Sculpteurs Contemporain", 1882. Clarétie writing shortly after Chesneau makes no reference to Duran's interest in Far Eastern art.
- For Fortuny see J. Triarte, "Fortuny", "L'Art", 1875, Vol. 361ff and C. \(\text{riarte "Fortuny", Paris. W. Fol, "Fortuny", G.B.A. 1875, p.268ff and 278ff. Davillier, "Fortuny, Sa Vie et son oeuvre", Paris, 1875.
- 4. An engraving after this work appears both in Fol and in Triarte's book one is reversed. Neither date the original painting, and Davillier's catalogue does not mention it, though he lists "Les Antiquaries" as having been painted in 1874.
- 5. W.Fol, op cit., p.362. I have not been able to examine the catalogue of the sale at Fortuny's studio, 1875.
- 6. Ibid, p.362.
- 7. The original painting like so many works by Fortuny was in the Stewart collection which I have not been able to trace.
- 8. Now in the B.M. collection, P.D.70, exhibited B.M. 1970.
- 9. Reproduced in E.Bergerat "Les Chefs d'oeuvre d'art à l'exposition de 1878", as "le Choix du Modèle." photogravure no IO page 76.
- 10. The catalogue of the Toronto, Tissot exhibition in 1968 identifies this with a work in a private collection in Cincinatti which remains unpublished. See above, Section One.
- 11. Repro. in Ontario Catalogue 18.
- 12. "Artistic Japan", op cit, Plate B.E.C.
- 13. See Hillier "Hokusai", Plate I, p.17, "The Lover in the Snow" (179).
- 14. For instance a print by Sharaku, "Portraits of the actors Ichikawa Komazo II as Kameya Chubei and Nakayama Tomisahuro as the courtesan Umeyawa in a production of Katsuragawa tsuki-no omoide at the Kawarazaki-za in August, 1794". B.M. No.1909 06 18 55, reproduced in Crighton, op cit., Plate 141. Crighton states that "These are the protagonists of a rather sordid Yoshiwara story. Chubei was in love with courtesan Umegawa and, to buy her out stole money which was being sent through the government's courier system. He was forced into hiding to avoid detection. Overcome by shame the couple committed suicide.
- 15. For a full listing of the paintings see the Ontario catalogue No.35, "L'Acrobat" which gives a list of titles with their numbers in both the

 I have not been able to obtain photos of them all and regret in

I have not been able to obtain photos of them all and regret in particular not being able to see "L'Esthétique", - which is in the

Puerto Rico Museum of Art and which would probably add to one's understanding of the fashionable position of Japanese Art.

- 16. Reproduced in Ontario Catalogue No.39.
- 17. Unnumbered plate The Yoshiwara by Utamaro. It should be added that the formal consciousness of spaces of different types was part of the rituals of the Yoshiwata, involving as they did, go between, a tea parties, and other formal ceremonies, each taking place in a separate "zone" of the Geisha house selected by the visitor. This spatial consciousness echoed in the prints probably appealed indirectly to those in Paris in need of a similar sense of framing for experience. Once again cultural "need" appears to lie behind formal usage in art.
- 18. Ontario catalogue nos. 35 and 38.
- 19. Ontario number 76.
- 20. Lostalot G.B.A. 1882, op cit, p.452. (Lostalot refers to the hero as a young Englishman clearly placing the work in Tissot's English period).
- 21. Regamey, Duret and others have given such accounts in the works discussed above.
- 22. A. Stevens "Impressions sur la Peinture", Paris, 1886.
 The English edition was published in 1904 under the title
 "A Painter's philosophy" translated by Ina Maria White.
- 23. See above, page 556 and illus. no. 88 Section 4.
- 24. See J. Adhémar "Baudelaire, Stevens et la Modernité", G.B.A. 1958, page 124 for a discussion of the relationship between Baudelaire, Manet and Arthur and Alfred Stevens and the suggestion that Baudelaire himself may have looked to Stevens to become the great modern painter.
- 25. Camille Lemonnier "Salon de 1870" reprinted in "Propos de peintre"
 Paris, 1874, p.137.
- 326, Lemonnier, "Propos de Peintre" p.118.
- 27. Ibid, p.111.
 - 28. On some occasions, as in the dismissal of Stevens by Roskill, op cit.
 they have misunderstood the range and nature of his work.
 - 29. See for instance CVII "An order for a painting is almost enough in itself to embitter the artist for it limits his initiative".
 - 30. For these quotations, see Stevens "A Painter's Philosophy", 1904, pps.22-23. I will not quote further pages since the aphorism number alone is an adequate location.
 - 31. "Grasshopper" is here a translation for "fourmi" in the French edition which I would translate "ant".
 - 32. See below, p. 841.

- 33. See above, p.568 Both Boucher and Montesquiou discuss this work.
- 34. Stevens' Far Eastern collection did not appear in public exhibitions nor is it mentioned in books on Japanese art. I have unfortunately been unable to trace the sale of his property which must have taken place on his return to Brussels in the 1890's.
- 35. See. F. Boucher, "Stevens", p.29. op cit.
- 36. See De Goncourt Journal, 13 Mars, 1875.
- 37. See C. Lemonnier "Alfred Stevens", G.B.A., 1878, Vol.I, pps. 160-162. for this description. The second half of the article begins on p. 335.
- 38. Montesquiou, op cit, p. 116.
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. See above, p. 566.
- 41. Stevens may have been inspired to this painting by some lessons in painting which he gave to Sarah Bernhardt soon after 1880.
- 42. Montesquiou, op cit, p.104.
- 43. For a good comparison see Robinson, op cit., Plate 3, Illus.no.3.- a print by a pupil of Utamaro showing a scene from The Chiusingura.
- 44. See Ph. Burty, "Salon de 1862", p.92, for an illustration of this work. In the same year G. Courtois showed a "Fantaisie" in which the model's pose completely belies her Japanese costume, see <u>Ibid</u>, p.124.
- 45. See De Goncourt, Journal, 23 Fevrier, 1878.
- 46. See J.De Nittis "Notes et Souvenirs", Paris, 1895, p.145.
- 47. For examples see F. Gibson, "The Art of Henri Fantin Latour", London, n, d. Plate XXXIII "Petunias", and Plate XXXIV "Coin de Table".
- 48. For Buhot see Gustav Bourcard, "Felix Buhot, catalogue de son oeuvre grave", descriptif avec une preface d'Arsene Alexandre, Paris, 1899, and L. Benedite "The Late Felix Buhot, painter etcher", translated from the French by Mme. Felix Buhot, New York. No date (original French edition published 1902).
- 49. See G. Bourcard Cat. Nos. 82 and 83.
- 50. Ibid, Cat.No.84.
- 51. Ibid, Cat. Nos. 11-20. The subjects of the prints were "Titre, Masque en Bois, Pharmacie en Ivoire, Genie Bronze, Boite a the Porcelaine, Vase étain Laque, Cavalier Bronze Crapaud Bronze, Barquevde Dai-Ko-Ku-Bois Ex Libris Papillon et Liberlule".
- 52. Ibid, No.53.
- 53. Ibid, No.52.
- 54. Ibid, No.167.

- 55. See Benedite, "Buhot", p.14.
- 56. Burty Sale Cat. No. 874.
- 57. The two albums are bound together as V. and A. Nos. E1249-1268,1935 and E1269-1279, 1935, pressmark 94.G.25.
- 58. See M. Kawakita, "Modern Currents in Japanese Art", New York, 1974, p.38.
- 59. See "The Studio" 1896-7, IX, pps.14-28 and 178-189 and p.245, and J. Conder, "Flower Arrangement in Japan".
- 60. L.Gonse "Catalogue de l'Exposition Rétrospectif de l'Art Japonais", 1883, p.487.
- 61. See "Catalogue of Mr. East's Exhibition of Pictures of Japan",

 The Fine Art Society, Bond St., London, 1890, introduction by

 Dr. A.J. Junker.
- 62. This was shown as No.17 in the exhibition "The Aesthetic Movement and the Cult of Japan", Opcit. , where I saw it.
- 63. V. and λ. Nos. 393, 1891 and p.21, 1917.
- 64. For the full story of Menpes' relationship to Whistler, see "Whistler as I knew him" by Mortimer Menpes, London, 1904.
- 65. Menpes, op cit, p.24.
- 66. For Moore's challenge, see above, p. 147.
- 67. Menpes, pps.20-21.
- 68. M. Menpes, "A Personal View of Japanese Art, a Lesson from Kyosai", Magazine of Art, 1888 page 192
- .69. See above chapter on Whistler in this section of the thesis.
- 70. The relevant book for this thesis is "Japan, a record in colour" by Mortimer Menpes, transcribed by Dorothy Menpes, published by Adam Charles Black, London, 1901. This book contains much of Menpes' writings on Japan, expanded from earlier articles.

For a general selection of Menpes' paintings from all over the world see "World Pictures" being a record in colour by Mortimer Menpes, text by Dorothy Menpes, London.

- 71. For instance in "The Aesthetic Movement and The Cult of Japan",
 op cit. and in "Four for Whistler" arranged by Tom Pocock for
 Michael Parkin, Fine Art Ltd. Mr. Parkin has been helpful with some
 information of Menpes and has also confirmed that Mr. Pocock's
 account of Menpes' Japanese journeys is in error.
- 72. Menpes, "Japan", 1901, pps.35-40.
 - 73. Brinckley later wrote a book on Japanese art "and became a leading figure in the circle of Japanese enthusasts in England in the 1890's".

- MA
- 74. Menpes "A personal View of Jaranese Art" 1888, p. 195.
- 75. Menpes "Japan", pps. 44-45.
- 76. Menpes, "A Personal View of Japanese Art, the living art of the country", M.A., 1888, p.255.
- 77. Ibid, p.261. For a long discussion of placing see Menpes, op cit,
- 78. Menpes, M.A., 1888, p.521.
- 79. See "Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Etchings of Japan by Mortimer Menpes," R.B.A. exhibited in London at Messrs. Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells No.160, New Bond St., W. MDCCC CXXXVIII. "The Giant Lantern" is reproduced opposite p.28 of Menpes 1901, op.cit,
- 80. Reproduced in Menpes, ibid, opp. p.126.
- 82. See Aaron Scha rf, "Painting and Photography", London, 1974, p.248, and Note 66.
- 83. Reproduced in Menpes, ibid, opp. p.148.
- 84. Ibid, p.12.
- 85. Ibid, p.88.
- 86. Menpes, op cit, 1888, M.A.p. 257.
- 87. Menpes, op cit., 1901, p.137.
- 88. For an anonymous review of the 1896 work see "The Studio", Vol.X, 1897, p.165, "Mortimer Menpes Japanese Drawings". The reviewer was probably Charles Holmes.
- 89. See Studio Vol.X., 1897, pps. 32-36, and Vol.XII, pps. 21-26.
- 90. For a full account of his dealings in Japan in 1870 see Mennes 1901, op cit., Chap.X., "Workers".
- 91. See "Mr. Mortimer Menpes" House, an experiment in the application of Japanese ornament to the decoration of an English House", Studio, Vol. 18 18 99, p.170. (please note the inconsistency in "Studio" references results from the differing systems adopted by the publishers in the 1890's vol 18 is also vol XVIII but and different

FOOTNOTES - FANTASY

- 1. See above, p. Note 114 the discussion of the response to the Japanese exhibition in 1867.
- 1B. A. Lang "Some Japanese Bogies", Magazine of Art, 1886, p.15.
- 2. For a discussion of Victorian fantasy writing see "Beyond the Looking Glass", introduction by Leslie Fiedler and the essay "Notes on the Fairy Faith" by Jonathan Cott. The book contains many reprints of illustrated fantasy tales, including Ruskin's "The King of the Golden River".
- 2B. A. Lang "Some Japanese Bogies" Magazine of Art 1886, page 15.
- 3. This is evident in the case of Magritte but I would argue that it is also the case in the work of Dali the most "fantastic" of the surrealists. The case of "Pop" art and the work of Paolozzi in particular shows very clearly the distinction between fantasy as art and fantasy as an excuse for art. Paolozzi makes "art" from the fantastic productions of others.
- 4. I once discussed this matter with a former animator for Disney who confirmed the general interest in Far Eastern art in the Disney Studios.
- 5. Baudelaire, "Salon of 1859", p.155. trans. Mayne.
- 6. Huysmans "Certains" essays "Le Monstre", p. 123.
- 7. Ibid, p.129.
- 8. Ibid, p. 133.
- 9. Information on Crane is taken from
 W. Crane "An Artist's Reminiscences", London, 1904,
 P.J.Konody "The Art of Walter Crane", London 1902,
 G.C.E.Masse "A bibliography of the first editions illustrated
 by Walter Crane", Chelsea, London, no date (1926?).
 P. Muir, "Victorian Illustrated Books", London, 1971.
- 10. See Edmund Evans, "Reminiscences" ed. by R. McLean, reprint 1967.
- 11. Crane quoted by Konody, op cit., p.32.
- 12. See W. Crane "Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New by Walter Crane", 2nd.ed. London, 1900.
- 13. See Crane, op cit., p.107.
- 14. Ibid, p. 152.
- 15. No authority will commit himself on the exact number.'
- 15B. Mitford "Tales of Old Japan", op cit.
- 16. See Appendix E and account of Burges Collection.
- 17. These were Aladdin, Goody Two Shoes, Beauty and the Beast, The Frog Prince, Yellow Dwarf, The Hind in the Wood, Princess Belle Etoile, The Alphabet of Old Friends.

- 18. Crane "Decorative Illustration of Books", p. 162.
- 19. Huysmans "Le Salon Officiel de 1881", in"L'Art Moderne", p.211.
- 20. Ibid., p.219.
- 21. A copy of the stories is in the V. and A. Library, bound in one volume with the original red, black and gold pseudo Japanese cover. The stories are not dated nor paginated, but I would date them around 1877-79.
- 22. For a description and illustrations of the Oni see Juliet Piggott, "Japanese Mythology". London, 1969, p.24.
- 23. For this information and many more similar works see Wenckstern, "Japanese Bibliography", section VIII C. Fairytales, etc.
- 24. J.K. Huysmans "Felicien Rops" rpt. in "Certains", pps.67-71.
- 25. Ibid, p.74.
- 26. Ibid., p.78.
- 27. Ibid, pp.79-80.
- 28. See C. Brison "Pornocrates", London, 1969, for a good selection of Rops' work. This is plate 51.
- 29. K. Berger "Redon", English Edition, London, 1968, pps.46, 47, & 92ff. "The Japanese Influence".
- 30. For all these comparisons see "World Cultures and Modern Art", catalogue, op cit., p.151. S. Wichmann, "European Symbolism around' 1900 and the influence of Hokusai's Spectres".

Theodore Bowie makes a similar point in East/West in Art, op cit

- 31. O. Redon "A Soi-même Journal" (1867-1915), Paris, H. Floury, 1922. Burges fantasies
- 32. See/illustration no., the Cyclops are third from the left on the top row and second from the left on the third row down.
- 32B. Mitford, op cit., p. 192.
- 33. One of the Buddha series is reproduced as Plate 28, "Buddha Wandering among Flowers", d.1905, in Berger, op cit.

FOOTNOTES - VAN GOGH

- 1. Letter 510, Vol.II, p.611.
 All quotations from Van Gogh's letters are taken from "The Complete letters of Vincent Van Gogh" in three volumes,
 second edition, 1959.
- 2. R. Fry "Transformations: Critical and Speculative Essays on Art", London, 1926. Essay on Van Gogh.
- 3. J. Rewald "Post Impressionism from Van Gogh to Cezanne", p.72 and chapters VII, VIII passim. New York 1963,.
- 4. M. Schapiro "Vincent Van Gogh", London, 1951, especially pps.14,15.
- 5. M. Roskill "Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist Circle", op cit, passim.
- 6. See the endless comparisons of Hokusai with Rembrandt, Callot and others discussed in Section three of this thesis. For instance by Gonse p. 562 above.
- 7. His use of these texts is entirely misconceived, he is apparently unaware of their nature as reflections of generally held beliefs. In the case of Duret for instance, his evidence is inadequate, the notion of the "luminous sky of Japan" had been a commonplace since Duranty's "La Nouvelle Peinture". There is no reason to assume Vincent read Duret's "Critique d'avant garde". Moreover Duret may have been personally acquainted with Theo, he certainly knew Goupils well.
- 8. H.R.Graetz. "The Symbolic Language of Vincent Van Gogh", London, 1958.
- 9. Letter 351a, Vol.II,p.255. This can be dated before January 20, the postscript promising to pay money by that date to Furnées father and after the land surveyor passed his exams. Rewald claims that a Mme. de Sablonière "has established Vincent's acquaintance with Japanese prints at Nuenen". I have been unable to trace his source.
- 10. See above, page 482 and illus. 92 for a discussion of Burty's article. The story of Komati, a distressed romantic poetess, would have appealed to Van Gogh and he could easily have seen in a parallel with his own relations with the model for Sorrow.

10B.

- 11. Letter 459a, Vol.II,p.513.
- 12. Letter 439a, Vol.3, p.44.
- 15. For drawing see Letters Vol.II, p.511.
- 14. Yogue, June 13-20, 1886.
- 15. Revue des Imépendants 1888, p. 489. "Aux XX et aux Indépendants" by E. Dujardin.
- 16. Ibid, in translation quoted from H. Dorra and Aslin. "Seurat's Japonisme." Gazette des Beaux Arts." 1969 pages 81- 94.

- 17. Letter 520, Vol.III, p.6.
- 18. Letter W.3., Vol.III, dated Arles shortly after March 30. I have been unable to arrange a visit to Amsterdam to look at the prints, though they are freely available now. During my last visit the Van Gogh Foundation was in the process of being organised (late 1972). I hope to go soon.

The Musée Guimet prints are catalogued as follows: Album de Paul Gachet, M.A. 2107.

1) Acteur dans un role de femme écrivant um lettre, par Toyokuni.

2) Acteur dans un role de femme par Toyokuni.

3) Acteur par Toyokuni.

4) Acteur dans un role de femme, par Toyokuni.

- 5) Acteur dans un role de soldat tenant un fusil par Toyokuni.
- 6) Acteur dans un role de femme tenant un enfant par Yoshitora.
- 7) Acteur dans un role de samurai, tenant un pinceau; bond de rivière et lucioles, par Kunichika.
- 8) Acteur dans un role de femme sous une cascade et enfant, par Kunichika.
- 9) Acteur dans un role de samurai blesse, par Kunichika.
- 10) Acteur dans un role de servante de restaurant par Kunichika.
- 11) Acteur dans un role de Samurai montant les marches d'un temple, par Toyokuni.
- 12) Acteurs (partie d'un polyptique), Anon.

13) Lutteurs par Toyokuni.

Musique de chambre dans une maison habitée par des Hollandais, par Yoshikazu.

I owe this information to M.M. Deneck of the Musee Guimet, letter of the 3 Decembre 1973.

None of the prints supply direct motifs for Vincent's work. Though as a group their bright, contrasting colours would have had a great effect on him. I have been unable to obtain photographs of these works.

- 19. Letter 510, Vol. II, p. 611, also letter 511.
- 20. Letter 511, Vol.II, p.614.
 - 21. Hartrick. "A painter's pilgrimage through Fifty Years", Cambridge, 1939, pp.45-46.
 - 22. La Faille 370. All Van Gogh's paintingswill be referred to by their numbers in the catalogue by Jacob Baart de la Faille. "L'Oeuvre de Vincent Van Gogh catalogue raisonnée" Paris Brussels 1928, 4 vols.

However in 1970 a new catalogue incorporating De La Faille's work on Van Cogh's drawings was published in English by Weidenfeld and Nicholson. This book was basically the same numbering system and may thus be used for reference.

- 23. Letter 510, Vol.II, p. 612 mentions the exhibition and its influence on Bernard.
 - 24. The La Faille nos. are Rodin 363, Niarchos 364.
- 25. A key and suggestion identification of the prints in the two portraits is given with the illustrations.

- 26. Roskill, who publishes the Niarchos version as the Rodin version in colour, and also a black and white photo of the Rodin version, takes the view that the background is only of associative value. He seems to be concealing objections to his dismissal of Van Cogh's interest in Japanese prints as 'Japonaiserie', for the second version is much more mechanical than the first. He omits to make clear that there are two versios. See Roskill, p.51, colourplate 3, plate 58.
- 27. Hillier: Hokusai, Plate IX: "The Coast of the Seven Leagues" is a clear example of this, because it is designed entirely in several shades of blue, overprinted, whose interaction is a complex based, on the forms in each overprint and not on a simple relation of form to contour. The flexibility of the medium may be appreciated by examining the drapery detail of the reproduction of Oiran by Keisai Teisenwhich is illustrated here.
- 28. Vincent was fully aware of the similarity between Cezanne's efforts and his own, see Letter 613, Vol.3, p.227:

'yes, you must feel the whole of a country isn't that what distinguishes a Cezanne from anything else.'

- 29. See for instance Letter 522, Vol.3, p.10:

 "Why am I so little an artist that I always regret that
 the statue and the picture are not alive?".
- 30. La Faille 371 is a fairly exact copy of Hiroshige's 'Ohashi no Yuducki' No. 52 of his 100 Views of Yedo with a painted frame added. The Whitworth Gallery possesses two prints of this scene which I have examined.
- 31. La Faille 372; it is a copy of the 'Plum Garden of Kameido' by Hiroshige which is reproduced in the book Hiroshige by W. Exmer, plate on P.99 from 100 Famous Views of Yedo. A tracing of the Hiroshige was found in Van Gogh's effects. The phrase 'the new Yoshiwara' and the name and address of a publishing house can be read on the added border. The address can also be read on La Faille 371. Most of the remaining characters are meaningless or unrelated words.
- La Faille 373. It was copied from the cover of the special issue of 32. Paris Illustre (May 1, 1886). A tracing of the oiran from the cover and a copy of the magazine survived in Van Gogh's effects. frame is composed from three sources. The bamboo on the right is copied from p.71 of the special issue of Paris Illustré where it frames the text. The frogs on lily pads, lower left, are taken from a woodcut by Hokusai, according to Roskill who does not identify it. The two cranes are taken from the print 'Geishas in a landscape' by Sato Torakyo, which Van Gogh used again in his self portrait with bandaged ear of 1888. It enables us to say that this print must have been in Van Gogh's possession in 1887. In 1889 it was given by Vincent to Dr. Gachet at Auvers, together with another print, 'Girls in a Boat' by Yoshimaru, which presumably was in his possession also by 1887. Together the three elements suggest the bank of a river.
- 73. Tralbaut dated the Bridge scene to early 1888, although he gives no reason. Nordenfalk quotes an opinion that these three copies were intended as part of a decorative scheme that Vincent was to design

for La Segatori. This would explain their light 'decorative' character, but there is no evidence for this opinion.

- 34. La Faille 319; it is dated by association with the self portrait at the easel which is signed and dated 1888.
- 35. Letter W1, Vol.3, p.427. See also letter 459a, Vol.2, p.513, which confirms the date.
- 36. Letter 460, Vol.2, p.517.
- 37. The 'two paintings are La Faille 213 and 214. They are identified from Letter 460, Vol.2, p.517:

'and then a bunch of orange tiger lilies against a blue background, then a bunch of dahlias violet against a yellow background, and red gladioli in a blue vase against bright yellow.'

- 38. For examples see Hokusai, J. Hillier's plates of sets of small and large flowers colour plates XI and XII.
- 39. La Faille 243.
- 40. La Faille 244.
- 41. La Faille 280.
- 42. Paris Illustre, May 1, 1886, page 71.
- 43. La Faille 272.
- 44. The Hiroshige-like snowscape in the upper left hand corner of the Rodin Museum version of the portrait of Pere Tanguy shows such a recession and shows figures used as they are used in "A Corner of Montmartre" La Faille 347.
- 45. La Faille 347.
- 46. La Faille 310.
- 47. La Faille 313.
- 48. La Faille 350.
- 49. Hillier, Hokusai, Plate 60.
- 50. Bing "Fugaku San Ju Rokkei" op cit, p.244.
- 51. Ibid, p.50.
- 52. La Faille 318.
- 53. Acts of XX International Congress of the History of Art Vol.IV, p.91. Symposium on reaction against Impressionism.

 Princeton 1963.
- 54. L. Gonse "L'Art Japonais" op cit., one volume edition, p. 323.

- 55. La Faille, Letter W4, Vol.3, p.437 indicates that this painting was in Paris in June 1888 and it is unlikely that such a portrait was sent from Arles as it is not mentioned in the letters.
- 56. Paris Illustré, Nos. 45/46, May 1, 1886. 'Le Japan' special issue by Tadamaso Hayashi Published by Charles Gillot. The illustrations included many small line drawings taken from Hokusai, Korin and others. The colour plates were:

Outer Cover: A design incorporating a flower blossom and outer print by Kesai Yeisen.

Inner Cover: A print by Outamaro 'Chanteuse de Drame dans une salle de reunion'.

Two prints of 'autours a la fin du XVIII e siecle' by Shun Yei and Toyokuro.

Page 65: Outamaro print 'La Cuisine au Japon'.

Page 68: 'Fuji Hama, montagne sacre du Japon' print by Hokusai, showing pilgrims grouped round a tree, in the distance a view of Fuji.

There were also modern paintings of Japanese scenes which treat them according to Concourt's opinion that they were like French eighteenth century painters - one even shows a girl on a swing a la Fragonard.

The note on art begins on p.83. According to Reidemeister, Van Go ε h left a copy of this magazine amongst his property on his death. Vincent made a copy of the cover and used some of the other illustrations in his later work (see elsewhere in thesis).

- 57. Letter No.322, Vol.2, pp.164 & 168.
- 58. E. Veron, revue of 'Promenades Japonaises Tokio Nikko', texte par Emile Guimet, dessins par F. Regamey, in L'Art, Vol.4, (1880) p.137.
- 59. L. Gonse: L'Art Japonais, editeur Quantin. First two volumes 1883, this quotation from p.71 of the one volume edition of 1886, éditeur Quantin.
- 60. 'L'Art Japonais', by L. Blanc du Vernet in L'Art, Vol. 3 (1880) p. 227.
- 61. Letter W7, Vol.3, p.443.
- 62. Letter 542, Vol.3, p.55.
- Roskill makes use of Vincent's apparently contradictory statements 63. on Japanese art to argue that they are simply derivative. In partcular he quotes from Duret, Critique D'Avant Garde, p. 168, on Japanese art and compares it with Vincent's description of the landscape on his arrival in Arles and asserts that since there is a vague similarity in the terms used, the ideas and meanings that Vincent gave to Japanese art must be no more than dynamic restatements of views that he had read. However, the treatment of Japanese prints as examples of 'light and atmosphere' is very common in writings of this time and is no evidence of a direct source. Vincent may or may not have read Duret. E. Fermigier in Lautrec records that Duret, who was a famous collector of Japanese prints, entrusted his collection to Goupil, but does not say when, or where this information originates. There is a possibility that Vincent met Duret through Theo, and could have absorbed his ideas at first hand.

Roskill ignores the capacity for synthesis which is the basis of all Van Gogh's art, and the strong link between Vincent's ideas about art before he came to Paris and his 'adopted' views based on the common critical appreciation of Japanese art. See Roskill, Chapter 2, and Appendix B.

64. Bing's magazine was published in three languages. The illustrations given here are from the English Edition, but are identical with those in the French version which Vincent presumably received.

For Milliettsvisit to Paris, see Letter 525, Vol.3, p.17, dated August 15 (1888). For the delivery of the Magazines, along with some Japanese prints on Milliet's return, see Letter 540, especially Vincent's comments on Bing's material. It is not certain how many issues Vincent received. He certainly had issues 1 and 2. In. Letter 542 he mentions the 'Blade of Grass', which is Plate C in. issue 1, and the 'Carnations' which is Plate GD in issue 2. Also in letter 542 the reference to a . Hokusai' is taken by Roskill to mean Plate GC in Volume which shows two outline prints of Hokusai from the Guaskiki 'Crabs and Seaweed' and 'Persons caught in a shower'. But 'Hokusai' is in the singular and in my opinion refers to the full colour plate, 'Landscape taken from the thirty-six views of Fuji', by Hokusai, published as a plate in the August issue, which Milliet would have picked up on his return to Paris from the north, on his way to Arles. 'Hokusai' is in the singular not the plural and the other two plates which Vincent admired were colour plates, not line drawings. He was clearly attracted by their colour.

65. The passage is on p.6 in the English edition; I give the full quotation below:

'Not that the Japanese artist emancipates himself from all rule, or ever lets his fancy wander at haphazard. Far from this, the constant guide whose indications he follows in 'Nature'; she is his sole, his revered teacher, and her precepts form the inexhaustible source of his inspiration. To Nature he surrenders himself with a frankness which expresses itself in all his works and invests them with touching sincerity.

The Japanese is drawn to this ideal by a twofold characteristic of his temperament. He is at once an enthusiastic poet moved by the spectacles of Nature, and an attentive and minute observer of the intricate mysteries which lurk in the infinitely little. It is in the spider's web that he loves to study geometry; the marks of a bird's claw on the snow furnish him with a design for ornamentation, and when he wants to depict the curves of a sinuous line he will certainly resort for inspiration to the capricious ripples which the breeze draws on the surface of the mordial elements of all things and according to him nothing exists in creation be it only a blade of grass, that is not worthy of a place in the loftiest conceptions of Art. This, if I do not err, is the great and salutory lesson we may derive from the examples he sets before us.

- 66. Roskill calls it this (p.82).
- 67. It was with him on May 3, 1889, at St. Remy. See Letter 590, Vol.3, p.163.

68. Vincent first mentions the novel at the same time that he first mentions Milliet, the second lieutenant, in his letters. (See Letters 505 and 506, Vol.2, p.601 and 602.) A drawing of a fly on Letter 506 is based on an illustration in it. Letter B.7 (dated the second half of June 1888) mentions having read the novel 'the other day'. We know that Theo could not obtain the novel in Paris because Vincent made many inquiries to see if he had read it and he did not do so for several months.

See Letter 561, Vol.3, p.104, for the record of the exchange of the illustrated edition with Gauguin. This edition is 'Edition du Figaro', Calmann Levy 1888. The page numbers in the notes below refer to the edition published by Calmann Levy in their Collection Nouvelle, no publishing date.

- 69. For description of interiors see Calmann Levy edition, pp.204, 23 and 178.
- 70. Letter 509, Vol.2, 610-611.
- 71. 'Mousme' is used in Calmann Levy, p.75 and quoted by Van Gogh in Letter 514, Vol.2, p.620. 'Bonze' is used in Calmann Levy edition, p.201 and quoted by Van Gogh in Letter 544a, Vol.3, p.64 and Letter 545, Vol.3, pp.66-67.
- 72. The description of M. Suere's drawings is in Calmann Levy edition, Chapter XXXIII, p. 155. The Bing remarks are

 The description is on
- 73. Letter W.7, Vol.3, p.443. For mention of M. Kanjarou and his sweetmeats see Letter 519.
- 74. See Letter B.6, p.490. The example of the girl with black hair was used earlier in the description of Antwerp docks. In Letter B.14, Vol.3, p.508, Vincent refers to the 'simultaneous contrast of lines and forms'. In a later letter, he writes that the world has not yet realised the importance of contrasts to the existence of all things.
- . 75. According to Tralbaut, Toulouse Lautrec may have suggested the journey, knowing how interested Vincent was in Japanese art.
 - 76. Letter B.22, Vol.3, see also Letter B.2 (2) for a description of Arles as Japan.
 - 77. Letter 463, Vol.2, p.525.
- 78. L'Art, Vol.1 (1880), p.287. 'Japonisme', by La Blanc du Vernet.
 - 79. Letter 500, Vol.2, pp.589-590.
 - 80. Letter 543, Vol.3, p.56.
 - 81. Letter 540, Vol.3, p.47.
 - 82. Duret: Critique d'avant garde (1887), p.131 op cit.
 - 83. Letter B.18, Vol.3, p.516.

- 84. For Van Rappard, see letters 249, 262, 316. For Theo as a potential partner, see Letter 336.
- 85. See Letter 544a, P.S., Vol.3, p.65.
- 86. See Letter 511.
- 87. See Letter 533. This is the only evidence we have of Theo's critical influence on his brother's thought. It indicates that his analysis of Japanese art may have helped Vincent considerably.
- 88. Duret: Critique d'avant garde, p. 146.
- 89. Gonse: L'Art Japonais, (1886), p.87.
- 90. Letter 511. Vol.2, p.614.
- 91. Letter 542.
- 92. Letter 520, Vol.3, p.6.
- 93. Letter 519, Vol.3, p.4. The full list of masters he gives is:

 'Delacroix, Millet, Rousseau, Diaz, Monticelli, Isabey,
 Decamps, Dupre, Jongkind, Ziem, Israels, Meunier, a lot
 of others Corot, Jaque etc. could understand.

 Ah, Manet has come very very near to it, and Courbet,

the wedding of form to colour.'

- 94. Letter 480, Vol.2, p.555.
- 95. See Letter 507, p.607. 'I am now going over all my canvases a little before sending them to you.'
- 96. Letter B.3(3), Vol.3, p.478.
- 97. Letter B. 19, Vol. 3, p. 518.
- 98. John Rewald: Post Impressionism from Van Gogh to Ceranne, p.218. discusses the significance of Van Gogh's working in front of nature.
- 99. See Letter 483, Vol.2, p.561.
- 100. Letter 484, p.562. Vincent states that he did the painting (La Faille 40) 'in the house' when packing his work ready to leave for the Yellow House. The drawing, La Faille 1499, is dated at centre bottom, 'Arles Mars 88'.
- 101. See Letter 221, dated July 21 1882. Page 428, Vol.1 shows a sketch of this painting which is La Faille 947. (See my Plate 24b).
- 102. See Letter 487, Vol.2, p.564. Also La Faille 409 for painting and 1416, for drawing related to it.
- 103. See Letter B.10 (18), Vol.3, p.501.
- 104. See Letter 343, p.220, dated December 1 1883.
- 105. See Letter 367, Vol.2, p.289, or La Faille 1240 for examples of wintery drawings.

- 106. See Letter 345, Vol.2, p. 302 reproduced in colour, also La Faille 1245.
- 107. See Section Three, on Paris.
- 108. See Letter 460, Vol.2, p.529. The paintings are In Faille 392 and 393. For an interesting analysis of their symbolism, see H.R. Graetz, p.70.
- Because of his rigid division of Japonisme/Japonaiserie Roskill can only see weakness in this painting. According to him the peach tree is falling backwards into a Western three dimensional space. For him no new synthesis can exist. Either a painting must imitate the forms of Japanese art in a 'Western' context or it must use Japanese motifs in a purely exotic manner. I disagree completely with his statement that 'Japanese imagery and Japonisme do not really go hand in hand'in Van Gogh's paintings of this time'. The very act of separating the two shows a misunderstanding of Van Gogh's development. Since continuous space of the Renaissance kind does not exist in Van Gogh's paintings of this time it is almost meaningless to talk of a high or low viewpoint. See Roskill, p.82, Plate 59.
- 110. See Letter B.4, Vol.3, p.481.
- 111. See Letter B.3.
- 112. See Letter 628, Vol.3, p.260; also Letter 627, p.258.
- 113. Page 87, illustration.
- 114. F.g Plate 85 Muneshige Marazaki . " The Japanese Print; its Essence and Evolution (adapted by C. H. Mitchell) Tokyo 1966 (which shows white flowers tinged with plank and yellow)
- 115. Graetz, p.227.
- 116. The paintings are La Faille 397, 400 and 401 and a view of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, which is not listed in La Faille, but illustrated in Finley, op cit, Plate 26. Letter B.2 dates La Faille 397, Pont de l'Anglois with a 'group of women washing' to early March, a date confirmed by the bare branches of the trees in the paintings. It also shows a drawing of the bridge with suitors walking their sweethearts home.
- 117. Letter B.3, Vol.3, p.477.
- 117B.See Letter B.6, which gives facts of the journey; see also Letters 500,499.
- 117C.La Faille 415,417,416; the letter refers specifically to 'marines' so the paintings finished at Sainte Maries are unlikely to be paintings of goats on the shore. La Faille 1430 and 1431 are preparatory drawings for 417 and 415 respectively.
- 118. La Faille 1428. The drawing is labelled 'Souvenir de Saintes Maries' and is in a different, more rigid and detailed style than the other

drawings from the visit. It may even be a separate drawing from the original sketch, with colour notes carefully transcribed - a real memory, from the imagination.

- 119. Letter 500, Vol.2, p.590.
- 120. La Faille 1431.
- 121. For an example of the poles in use, see J. Hillier: Utamaro, (Plate 108), which shows the poles in use. I have not been able to find an example showing them folded as in the Van Cogh.
- 122. Letter 491, Vol.2, p.573. The drawing is La Faille 1429.
- 123. Additional evidence for this synthesis provided by a sketch of the composition which Vincent sent to Bernard in a letter of June 1888 Letter B.6, Vol.3, p.488.

The boats are not clearly arranged in twos, they are not Japanese in form, having round ends and a stubby prow. Nor does it show bamboo poles. It is probably close to the original image which Vincent carried in his mind from Arles, to which the Japanese form was added.

- 124. See Letter 224, Vol.1, drawing p.436.
- 125. Letter 500, Vol.2: 'I have three more drawings of cottages which I still need'. These drawings are 1437, 1436 and 1440 which show the least influence of Japanese art.
- 126. La Faille 420, 421. Drawings 1434, 1435.
 - 127. For example see Hillier: Hokusai Drawings, Plate 51 'Mount Fuji and Eroshima'; or Hillier's Hokusai, colour plate VII 'Fuji below low hillocks of Meguro'.
 - 128. Letter B.10, Vol.3, p.501.

 Letter 509, Vol.2, p.610 also describes the drawings and repeats the same conversation in which they are likened to the sea. The drawings are La Faille 1420 and 1424.
 - 129. The Harvest painting is La Faille 412. The drawings are 1483, 1484, 1485 and 1486. Letter 507, Vol.2, p.606, refers to Vincent retouching the Harvest to make it 'Harmonious'.
 - 130. See Exner: Hiroshige, Way Tork 1960. page 65.
- 131. La Faille 514 which can be dated by a drawing sent to Signac in a letter replying to a postcard dated April 4 1889. See Letters 583a, 583b and drawing Volume 3, p.149.
- 132. Hillier: Hokusai, colour plate VIII. The view of Fuji in centre background of the Portrait of Pere Tanguy shows the same brush stroke system in the sky.
- 133. Letter 516, Vol.2, pp.624 and 625.
- 134. Letter 524. Vol.3. p.14. The painting is La Faille 449 and drawing 1402. Reidemeister (op cit) first raised this point.
- 135. Hillier: Hokusai, Plate 58.

- 136. Letter 194, Vol.1, p.359.
- 137. La Faille 437 and 438. See also Letter 526. For Olive Harvest see La Faille 654, 655, 656, & 587.
- 138. La Faille numbers
- 139. Letter 134. Vol.1, p.200. H.R.Graetz has treated the Sower symbolism fully.
- 140. Letter 427, Vol.2, p.421. Letter 430, Vol.2, p.429.
- 141. Letter B.7, Bol.2, p.492.
- 142. Letter 506, Vol.2, p.603, reproduced the drawing in the letter, the drawing in the illustrated edition is on p.276. There is another on p.312.
- 143. The paintings include La Faille 719 and 572.
- 144. Letter 590, Vol.3, p.166.
- 145. Letter 643, Vol.3, pp.286-7.
- 146. Letter W.1, Vol.3, p.425.
- 147. Letter 646, Vol.3, p.289.
- 148. The four drawings are La Faille 1611, 1612, 1613 and 1614. The painting is

 The should be compared with the ivy on p.2 in Artistic Japan.
- 149. La Faille 605,606, Bing Plate G-C, Hokusai Taito 'Crabs and Scaweed'.
- 150. Paris Illustre, pp. 67 and 74.
- 151. See Letter W.7.
- 152. The painting in the Tate Gallery . should be compared with 'Chrysanthemums', one of the 'Set of Large Flowers' by Hokusai Hillier's Hokusai, Plate XI.
- 153. La Faille
- 154. See Graetz: Symbolic Language of Van Gogh, p. 105.
- 155. La Faille 1406, 1410.
- 156. Letter 492, Vol.2, p.575.
- 157. Letter 474, Vol.2, p.541.
- 158. From Hillier's Hokusai Drawings, Plate 68.
- 159. La Faille. 1509.
- 160. La Faille, 1435, 1434.
- 161. A 'Mousme' is described by Loti on p.76 of 'Madame Chrysantheme'.
 Colmann-Levy edition -

'C'est un des plus jolis mots de de la langue. Il semble qu'il-y-ait dans ce mot de la moue (de la petite moue, gentille et drole comme elles en font) et surtout de la fremouisse!.

Letters 514, Vol.2, p. 260 and B.12, Vol.3, p.506 describe this painting.

- 162. See girl on the right on page 54.
- 163. La Faille 1503,1504.
- 164. See Letter 559, Vol.3, p.100 for the first sketch which is clearly La Faille 489, while the later painting is La Faille 488.
- 165. La Faille 448. Letter 524, Vol.3, p.14.
- 166. See 'Madame Chrysanthem' i illustrated edition, pp. 126 & 219.
- 167. See Gonse, L'Art Japonais (1886), p.21.
- 168. Letter 542, Vol.3, p.5.
- 169.See Letter 588, Vol.3, p.159.
- 170. For Regamey, see above, page ff.
- 171. La Faille 427.
- 172. See Two Japanese prints from Van Gogh's collection by D. Cooper in Burlington Magazine (1957), p.204. Cooper suggests that the prints were brought to Arles by Milliet in September 1888, but I think that Vincent must have brought them himself when he first arrived in March. The second print, 'Girls in boat' by Taiyenshai Yoshimaru (my plate 48a) does not appear in any painting by Van Gogh, though some of its motifs may have influenced him.
- 173. Gauguin: Intimate Journals, translated Van Wyck Brooks, Heinemann, 1972, p.54.
- 174. Cooper, B.M. op cit, 1957.
- 175. La Faille 612.
- 176. Graetz, p.195.
 - 177. Letter 610, Vol.3, p.222. Letter B.20, Vol.3, p.520. The painting is La Faille 744.
 - 178. Letter 638, Vol.3, p.276, which mentions the portrait, is dated June 4 1890.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

- 179. Albert Aurier, "Les Isolés", Mercure de France, Ja. 1890.
- 180. Letter 626a, Vol.3, p.256.
- 181. See Bengt Danielsson, "Gauguin in the South Seas", London, 1965, pps. 24, 25 and 26.

- 182. See G. Wildenstein, "Paul Gauguin", I, Cat. Paris, No. 625.
- 183. Ibid, 557.
- 184. Ibid, 320.
- 185. See Paul Gauguin, "Noa Noa, Voyage to Tahiti", Cassirer, Oxford, 1964, and Paul Gauguin "L'Ancien Culte Mahorie" presente par René Huyghe, Paris, 1951.
- 186. Japanese prints appear in Wildenstein 78, 287, 313, 375.
- 187. Wildenstein 273. Wildenstein quotes from a letter by Gauguin to Schuffenecher.
- 188. This is particularly true of the section of the recent thesis by Kloner, op cit, dealing with Gauguin, with which I disagree on almost every point of interpretation.

Kloner's work covers some of the ground of this thesis, so it is appropriate to offer a brief criticism of it -

- a) Kloner makes no attempt to inquire into the general probability of certain types of Far Eastern art being available at particular times.
- b) He ignores contemporary criticism almost entirely and thus rides roughshod over subtleties of meaning and possible artistic intentions.
- c) He accepts the formalistic account of the history of late nineteenth century painting implicitly and makes no sign of being aware that an investigation into the influence of Far Eastern art provides evidence for serious doubt on this matter. The most alarming aspect of his thesis is that it has no general conclusion, a mute testimony to the danger of allowing works of art to appear in history without visible means of support of which I spoke in the introduction to this thesis.

Other earlier works such as Y. Thirion's, "L'Influence de L'Estampe Japonaise dans l'oeuvre de Gauguin" in "Gauguin, sa Vie, son Ceuvre", ed. G. Wildenstein, G.B.A., Paris, 1958, p.89,

reprinted from G.B.A. 1956 op cit. 3 how Similar Tendencies.

NOTES TO GENERAL CONCLUSION

- 1. Answers to my recent appeal for any indication of the whereabouts of the 1867 catalogue in the Times Literary Supplement suggest that this volume has been lost forever. It seems several scholars would like to know where a copy could be found.
- 2. I now have invitations from both M. Eliseev, the director of the Musee Cernuschi, and M. Richebe, the director of the Musee Marmottan, to research their collections. I may well have the results of this research before this thesis is submitted.
- 3. For instance by Donald Burgy "What it means to be avant garde is to constantly waste cultural forms; to throw them away; an obsolescence not of forms but of contents as well". quoted by Michael Compton in Unit 16 of Open University Course A351, page 73.
- 4. My opinion is that a conscious "avant garde strategy" only appeared amongst artists after 1900 with Duchamp's mural and Picasso's early "cubist" works which he himself claimed to be acts of destruction.
- 5. See Jeff Nuttall "Bomb Culture", Paladin edition, London 1970, page 67, Chapter III, Art. Nuttall's thesis, that the consciousness of potential mass destruction through nuclear weapons accelerated the avant garde process and the general experience of cultural redundancy is questionable but it does at least point to the social roots of avant gardism.
 - Also Nuttall, like other artists working on avant garde premises, relies primarily on literary sources for his analysis of the origins of the avant attitude Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Lautréamot and Jarry rather than Manet, Van Gogh and Cézanne are seen as its true ancesors. The literary origins of avant gardism help to explain why the concept was initially used by critics, not artists.
- 6. The most apparent of these was the art market. However the market was only a mediator for changes in public taste or rather the inability of society to form a satisfactory consensus on the significance of various aspects of experience.
 - Behind the art market and the consequent rapid exploitation and redundancy of many styles, stood the progressive disintegration of the assumptions and symbols from which art had always been made. This has usually been referred to as "alienation". Clearly those in search of an adequate account of the emergence of an avant garde must seek for a point in time when contemporary society became so fragmented that it no longer offered the minimum consensus necessary to support art. This period, occurred, in my judgement, just before the First World War.
- 7. Liliane Brion-Guerry "Cezanne et l'Expression de l'Espace", Paris, 1966, p.157ff. and illus. 45, 46 and 47 invites one to consider the analogies in methods of spatial construction of Cezanne's "Views of Mont Saint Victoire" and Chinese Indscape painting. The comparison has, unfortunately, no historical basis. While one would very much like to see Cezanne brought into the net of Far Eastern influence, his isolation is beyond dispute. Moreover this isolation is crucial to the development of painting in the twentieth century. To see

Cezanne as "non-Oriental" is to understand more of the isolation of Cubism in the development of twentieth century art.

- 8. Karl Mannheim "Essays on the Sociology of Culture", London, 1956, pps. 32-33, "Digression on Art History".
- 9. See A. Hauser "Mannerism, the crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art", London 1965. Part chapters I VII.
- 10. See F.S.C. Northrop "The Meeting of East and West", New York, Collier, Macmillan, 1960.
- 11. Ibid. p.318.
- 12. The work of Jack Burnham may be seen to be a variant of the belief that the content of cultures may be represented by simplified propositions applicable over a whole range of events within that culture.

Burnham makes use of certain aspects of structuralist thought in his criticism. However he makes use of them only to defend a variant of the avant-gardist hypothesis of artistic change, as in his reduction of the development of modern sculpture to the gradual disappearance of the pedestal. For Burnham, as for the avant-gardists, art becomes a game played to arbitrary rules, which he presents as a closed autonomous system. Burham's writings are significant as they are the only major attempt to make use of structuralist ideas as part of a hypothesis about recent changes in art. It is possible however that one may make use of some aspects of structural thought in a manner which is more in accord with the empirical knowledge of a particular period.

We have seen that art appears to be a form of knowledge which embodies particulate pieces of information in a particular form. Changes in the "language" of art may be described as changes in relations between form and information in a particular subject. one considers, for instance, the many changes of form of a particular theme to be found in Van Gogh's work one may see such changes being made by the artist, in a consistent, structures manner. The changes that Van Gogh made in the various images of the sower, the relations between his early and late paintings of peasants, and the changes in his landscape paintings are all of this order. By means of Van Gogh's use of the Japanese example they have all been shown to be connected to an attempt to endow these subjects with a directness adequate to their human associations. Van Gogh related associational and formal elements from Japanese art to a subject in order to effect a change in the significance of the subject, to change its location within a structure of associations within contemporary culture.

The structuralist analysis of the transformation of a set of symbolic relations from one form to another may very well have an important part to play in the analysis of artistic change. However, such analysis must never be allowed to decay into assertions that "art" is an autonomous structure.

Once again the commonplace analogy between Greek and Japanese cultures provides a useful example. It is so common that it appears to indicate a fundamental relation of meaning that almost universally affected the significance and use of the Japanese example. However the analogy was not "internal" to art. Rather it existed

as part of a system of associations present in late nineteenth century culture as a whole to Japanese culture. A more striking example is the equally common analogy between Japanese prints and Epinal prints, with all its political and social associations. These have been described in passing in the thesis. They too are part of the culture as a whole, not part of some separate system of significance relatable only within art.

Structuralist theories about the range of possible transformations of symbolic relations from one set of forms to another may help to define the mediating process between the totality of meanings within a culture and relations of form and meaning within a work of art. They could help to make clear many aspects of an artist's treatment of the possibilities offered to him by his culture which otherwise would remain hidden. The evidence offered in this thesis could form a basis for an analysis of this kind.

- 13. The tendency of the human mind and human social groups to see their experience as a whole and to act on that basis is not apparently a controversial matter. However it is not demonstrable as a general proposition. Thus when the tendency is assumed as part of a working method, as in many aspects of sociology and psychology it gives rise to serious debate. The problem is discussed in J. Wolff, op cit, passim. The evidence in this thesis as to the many attempts to assimilate the Far Eastern example into Western culture suggests that a similar tendency can be displayed in art history.
- 14. The type of connection through associations of meanings outlined above offers a useful method of accounting for the reflexion of social conditions within works of art. Degas for instance, made use of Japanese compositional models and figure subjects to innovate within the European tradition of the nude. The association of Japanese models with the Realist aesthetic and with Greece has enabled an account of the contradictions in his work to be related to a more general cultural context and thus to society as a whole. In this manner one may build up a picture of the relations between the inner structure of form and meaning in a work of art and the parallel system of values and associations of meaning found in the society in which it was created.
- 15. I am thinking of Empson's "Seven Types of Ambiguity" no similar classificatory study of the functions of visual language has been attempted. It would embrace both symbolic transformations and types of visual description and illusion and the relation between these two. Art Historical works have never attempted more than a part of this problem as is the case within Gombrich's "Art and Illusion".
- 16. For a misconceived attempt to derive the identity of the "Impressionists" from their immediate social situation see Maria Rogers, "The Batignolles Group: Creators of Impressionism", in M. C. Albrecht "The Sociology of Art and Literature", London, 1970, p.194.
- 17. Writers as different in viewpoint as Rewald, Hauser and Gombrich have made use of this idea.

18. The quotation is taken from Z. Baumann "Culture as Praxis", London, 1973, p.176.

Baumann's conception of culture as a highly practical activity necessary to the growth of civilization and the broadening of human possibilities as expressed in the final chapter of his book is very relevant to my own conclusions.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Notes

Illustrations are listed consecutively for each section of the text.

Where the primary source of an illustration is a published work, its author or other heading corresponding to the bibliography is given. Full details of the work will be found there, then the title of the illustration and name of the artist if known. Its number or page number are given, if these are available.

Where the primary source of an illustration is a museum or private collection, the location is given, using the same abbreviations as in the text and notes. Secondary published sources used for such illustrations are not given here. Dates are only given in the list where confusion might otherwise arise.

Dimensions of works are given when available.

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- 1. Breton de la Martinière, Volume Two, page 25.
- 2. Wright, Allom "The Imperial Palace at Tseau Tschan" p.42, Volume One. folio.
- 3a. Macfarlane, Allom "Engraving Blockings for Printing", .. BOOK X |
- b. Macfarlane, Palziel "Japanese Lady", .
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- 4a. Poster advertising the Chinese Exhibition in Hull.
- b. Langdon, "Entrance to the Chinese Collection".
- c. Langdon, title page.
- d. Langdon, "Bridge at Haron near Canton", no.1260 (see Affendix A).
- e. Langdon "Chinese Temple and Idols" (see Appendix A).
- 5a. Titsingh, Wedding Scroll Part II, Plate 1.
 - b. Titsingh, Wedding Scroll, Part II, Plate 3.
 - c. Titsingh, Wedding Scroll, Part II, Plate 6.
- d. Titsingh, "Earthquake, Volcanic Eruption and Inundation in the Province of Simahara", Part II, Plate 3.
- 6a. Bonafou "Manière de conserver la graine" Flate 4.
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- The House that Tom Paxton built "Visitors of all Nations".
- 8. Hawks, Prince Hayashi "Points of a horse", p.459.
- 9a. Hawks. Reproduction of Hiroshige. "Ferry boat from Odagan Kyoto Meisho".
- b. Hawks. Reproduction of Hiroshige; panel from "Omegava ford" triptych, no date.
- d. Hawks. Reproduction of Rando Hikosarubo "Crucifixion scene from Chost of Sakura", print 1851.
- 10. Illustrated London News. January-June 1854, p.97. "Japanese Exhibition in Pall Mall East".:
- 11a. Illustrated London News. Sept. 20, 1862, p.320. "The Japanese Court at the International Exhibition".
- b. Detail of 11a.

- 12a. Waring, Plate 248, "Enamel".
 - b. Waring, Plate 285, "Lacquer".
 - c. Waring, Plate 267, "Bronzes".
- 13a. Pages 51, reverse and 52 from Burges, Album of Prints and Drawings. V. and A. 93 E.5. see Appendix E for details.
 - b. Pages 50. reverse, 51, from Burges. Album of Prints and Drawings.V. and A. 93 E.5. see Appendix E for details.
 - c. Page 57 reverse from Burges Album of Prints and Drawings, V. and A. 93 E.5. See Appendix E for details.
 - d. Page 53 from Burges Album of Prints and Drawings, V. and A.93.E.5. See Appendix E. for details.
 - e. Page 56 reverse from Burges Album of Prints and Drawings. V. and A. 93.E.5. See Appendix E for details.
 - f. Page 52 reverse from Burges, Album of Prints and Drawings. V. and A. 93.E.5.
- 14a. Dresser 1862 "Chinese eclipse Symbol", Plate XIV.
- b. Dresser 1862. "Suggested Western symbol for an eclipse", Plate XIV.
- 15. Lacquer box and coloured strips of paper acquired by the V. and A. in 1865, V. and A. acquisition no. 285c 1865.
- 16. Front page from Hokusai "Yehon Sakigaki" (volume one) Pictures of noted Japanese and Chinese Warriors by Hokusai at the age of 76. V. and A. print room copy.
- 17a. "Guide de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1849", pps. 204 & 205.
 - b. Frontispiece from "Japanese Botany", Lippincotts 1854, see Appendix E (actual size).
 - c. "Japanese Botany" pages 6-7.
 - d. "Japanese Botany", pages 8 9.
 - e. "Japanese Botany" pages 10-11.
 - f. "Japanese Botany", pages 18-19.
 - g. "Japanese Botany", pages 30-31.
- 18a. Oliphant, p.180 "Winter Scene", see Appendix E.
 - b. Oliphant, p.19, "A Lady at her Toilet", see Appendix E.
 - c. Oliphant, p.140 "A street in the aristocratic quarter", see Appendix E.
- 19a. Steinmetz "A Japanese Lady's Boudoir".

- 19b. Steinmetz "The Mikado or Spiritual Emperor and his Wives".
 - c. Steinmetz "Representation of Domestic Life in Japan".
- 20. L'Empire de Sources du Soleil. Frontispiece.
- 21a. Osborne p.31 Fishing Boats at Tea (see Appendix E).
- 21b. Osborne, p.18 "Labourers transplanting rice in the rain" (see Appendix E).
- 21c. Osborne, p.112 "Retinue of a Grandee Crossing a Ford" (see Appendix E).
- 22. Osborn, p.45 "Lady and Restive Horse" (enlarged) (see Appendix E).
- 23a. Osborne, p.5 "Traveller's first sighting of Fuji Yama", see Appendix E.
 - b. Hokusai, page from "100 Views of Mount Fuji".
- 24a. Fonblanque "Japanese Actor", see Arpendix E.
 - b. Fonblanque "Two Japanese Actors", see Appendix E.
 - c. Fonblanque "Street of Theatres" see Appendix E.
 - d. Fonblanque reproduction of Japanese theatre bill advertising the play Ghost of Sakura (see Appendix E).
- 25a. Chassiron. Histoire Naturelle, plate showing fishes taken from the Mangwa. Colour photo, see Appendix E.
 - t. Chassiron. Histoire Naturelle. Plate showing insects and a frog taken from the Mangwa, volume one, colour photo.
 - c. Chassiron. "Caricatures". Plate showing an artist at work and a quack, taken from the Mangwa. Colour photo.
 - d. Chassiron "Caricatures", photocopy, actual size.
 - e. Chassiron "Travaux: de la Campagne" taken from the 100 Views of Fuji by Hokusai. Photocopy, actual size.
 - f. Chassiron. "Moeurs de la Campagne" taken from the 100 Views of Fuji by Hokusai. Photocopy, actual size.
 - g. Chassiron "Histoire Naturelle" plate showing birds. Photocopy, actual size.
 - h. Chassiron "Histoire Naturelle" plate showing plants. Photocopy, actual size.
- 26. Illustrated London News. April 13 1861, p.334. French Spoils from China recently exhibited in the Palace of the Tuileries.
- 27a. Alcock (1863) Chapter XIII p.293. (showing motifs borrowed from Hokusai and Hiroshige).

- 27b. Alcock (1863) Chapter XIII, page 300. (showing motifs borrowed from the Mangwa).
- 28a. Bishop Smith A Japanese family scene in common life, engraved from a photograph by Negretti and Zambra, page 108.
 - b. Bishop Smith Japanese Ladies engraved from a photograph by Negretti and Zambra, page 166.
 - c. Bishop Smith, A Japanese Dwelling of the Better Class, engraved from a photograph by Negretti and Zambra, page 266.

SECTION I, PART TWO.

- 1a. Manet. "Portrait of Emile Zola", 1868. Musée de l'Impressionisme, Louvre, Paris. Detail of upper right corner.
- b. "The Wrestler Onarato Nadaemon of Aura Province", Utagawa Kuniaki II probably made in the 1850's.
- 2. Manet "Odalisque", 127 x 197mm, wash, watercolour, gouache. Cabinet des Dessins (R.F.6929) Paris Louvre.
- 3a. Manet "Olympia" watercolour and pencil.200 x 310mm. Private collection, Paris.
 - b. Plate enamelled in colours with a nude girl lying on a couch, Chinese export ware, probably made in the first half of the eighteenth century.
- 4. Manet "Le Rendezvous des chats.Lithograph poster for Champfleury's Le Chat, 1869. 174" x 138".
- 5. Hokusai, Cat, goat and other animals; detail from the Mangwa, Volume One.
- 7. P. Debucourt "La Promenade Publique" 1784 aquatint. Art Institute of Chicago.
- 8a. Degas "Portrait of the Belleli Sisters". (Deux Soeurs) 92 cms. x 73 cms. 1862-1864.
 - b. Utamaro "Folding a length of cloth", detail from a triptych print late eighteenth century. British Museum.
- c. Utamaro. "Folding a length of cloth", print triptych, late eighteenth century. British Museum.
- 9a. Degas "Scene de Steeple Chase" (aux courses, le jockey blesse) oil 1m 80 cms. x 1 m 52 cms.
 - b. Hokusai "Horses and riders", Mangwa vol.six. V. and A. print room.
 - c. Hokusai "Riderless horses" Mangwa, vol.six, V. and A. print room.

- 10a. whistler "Harmony in Green and Rose. The Music Room", Oil, 37% x 27%. 1860(?). Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.
 - b. Utamaro "Girl applying cosmetic to her neck" about 1796. British Museum.
- 11. Whistler "Purple and Rose, The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks". Oil 1864. 915cm. x 61 cm. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.
- 12. Illustrated London News, June 29, 1861. p.606, engraving of a painting by T. Delamarre "The Lantern Painter".
- 13. Illustrated London News. Feb. 23, 1867, p. 176. "The Japanese Jugglers at Saint Martin's Hall".
- 14a. Hokusai "Yakko-odori dance" Mangwa, vol.3.
 - b. Whistler "Specimens of the Butterfly Signature of James McNeill Whistler" from Pennell, page.
- 15a. J. Tissot "Japanaise à la Bain"; oil 1864. Musée de Nantes.
 - b. Kunisada "Return from the Bath", Two part print 72 cm x 24.8 cm. between 1818 and 1824.
- 16. Tissot "Lady in Japanese Costume" Oil.
- 17. Stevens "La Mauvaise Nouvelle" oil 1861. no location current.
- 18. Stevens "Le Peintre et son Modèle" oil 1866 /67 no location current.
- 19a. Millet "Man with a hoe" oil, 1860-2, 80 x 99 cms. Private collection U.S.A.
 - b. Hokusai "Man hoeing" from the Mangwa, vol.3.
- 20a. Millet "Normandy Pasture" (Environs de Cherbourg, oil, 73 x 92.4 cms. 1871-2. Minneapolis Institute of Arts.
 - b. Millet "Cliffs at Greville" oil 94.3 x 117.5 cms.1871-2. Allbright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo.
- 21a. Monet "Road near Honfleur in Winter". Oil 1865. 32 x 39\frac{3}{6} inches. Present location unknown.
 - b. Monet. Hiroshige "Station 38, Fujikawa" from Go-ju-san Tzugi: Meisho Zuye - Views of the Tokaido Road 1855.
- 22. Auguste Borget. "Pont de Chinois pres d'Anvey, fête des lanternes après nature", exhibited in the 1845 Paris Salon. Engraving taken from l'Illustration 1845.
- 23. Illustrated London News. June 29 1861, p.606. engraving of "The Occidentalist" by T. Delamarre.
- 24a. Illustrated London News, October 15, 1864, p.404. "A Japanese Woodcarver" drawing sent from Japan by Wirgman.
 - b. Illustrated London News. Jan. 27, 1866.p. 88. "A social meeting of Japanese artists" drawing sent by Wirgman.

- 24c. Illustrated London News, Feb.23, 1863, p.192. "Execution of Two of the murderers of British Officers in Japan" drawing sent by Wirgman from Japan.
 - d. Illustrated London News, July 23, 1864, p.97. "A Japanese Party at Meals" drawing sent by Wirgman from Japan.
- 25a. Swift"Voyage to Laputa, Balribardi, Glubbdubdrib and Japan", p.192. "His majesty deep in a problem", illustration by T. Morten.
 - b. Swift. "A Voyage to Laputa, Barribardi, Glubbdubrib and Japan", p.224. "A scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatever", Illustration by T. Morten.
 - Swift "A voyage to Laputa, Balribardi, Glubbdubrib and Japan",p257.
 " Happy people who enjoy so many examples of ancient virtue.2
- 26. Bracquemond "123 oiseaux japonais" reproduced in Lostalot, G.B.A., 1884, Vol.II, 1884, p.517.
- 28a. A. Jacquemart Plate II. engraved by Jules Jacquemart.
 - b. A. Jacquemart, Plate VII, engraved by Jules Jacquemart.
 - c. A. Jacquemart Plate VIII engraved by Jules Jacquemart.
- 29. J. Jacquemart "Une Exécution au Japon", published by Cadart, Paris, c1865.
- 30 a-c. F. Beato, 1869, photographs taken in Japan during the 1860's.

SECTION II.

- 1. Ducuing map of part of the main building for the 1867 Exposition Universelle.
- 2. Ducuing "Installation du Siam et du Japon" dessin M. Lancelot.
- 3. Ducuing "Le Kiosque Japonais" dessin de M. Lancelot.
- 4. Ducuing, Rimmel etc. "Guerriers Japonais", dessin de M. Weber.
- 5a. Ducuing "Chinoises débitant le thé" Dessin de M. Gaildrau.
- b. Illustrated London News. Nov. 16th 1867, p. 541. "The Japanese Women in the Late Paris International Exhibition".
- 6a. Ducuing "Exposition Chinoise".
- b. Ducuing, detail from birds eye view of the exhibition to show Chinese pavillion and Japanese house, in the English quarter.
- 7. Ducuing "Theatre Chinois", engraved by Lancelot.

- 8a. Chinese Screen, Five leaves each 5 ft $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 1 ft.9 ins. wide. detail of embroidered side. V. and A. Ham. House (W.648.69).
 - b. Chinese Screen reverse, blue feather work on gold ground.
- c. detail of 8b.
- 9. Sekkwa. Pair of paintings with raised cloth figures. V. and A. Print Room. 856.69.
- 10a, 10b. Ichimoisai Yoshitora "Shuga Kwakutei Musha Kagami". The mirror of 100 warriers published by Kinkejodo. $6\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". V. and A. print room, 861,861A,1869.
- 11. Anonymous print of a battle scene. V. and A. Print Room 841/N/O/R 69. duplicates (in box E.J.200).
- 12. Yoshitoshi "The Army of Susaki Monetsin crossing the sea Fujite to attack the enemy". Triptych. V. and A. Print room. 841, 1, HQ,69 (Box E.J.6).
- 13. Yoshitora "Kyomon and others of the Taira clan staring in amazement at the Goddess Benten appearing from the waves to crush his power". Triptych, 1849, published by Hikobei. A. and A. Print Room. 841-1.H.Q 69 (Box E.J.6).
- 15. Audsley, reproduction of Kunisada. The Mirror of Magic (Wahabine) series, plate showing "The witch Kitutsu Kagamin reading spells from a scroll". signed Toyokuni 77 years, dated 1862.
- 16. Plate from V. and A. Print Room album (E.J.143) "Famous places in Yedo".
- 17a. Suzuribako (writing box) embossed gold lacquer ornament inside and out, water bottle in metal in shape of oak cluster, interior, containing an ink block and a red sheathed knife signed Kinkwazan Kiyonaga, seventeenth century. V. and A. Ham. House 823,69. 83" square.
- 17b.c. Views of the inside of the lid of 17a.
- 18. Lacquer Tray. V. and A. Ham. House 877,69.
- 19a. "Box, Lacquer Ware, ornamented with flowers and foliage, in gold lacquer" L.7½in, H.4% in., W.4½in. No.233 in the 1869 V. and A. inventory. No current collection number (1975) though recataloguing in progress.
 - b. "Box, Hexagonal. The interior gilt lacquer ware, the exterior is of wicker work. The lid decorated with five round medallions of different sizes". 3½ in. from angle to angle. No.46 in 1869 V. and A. inventory. no current collection number, and
 - "Box lacquer ware standing on three feet. In the interior is a small tray ornamented with a bouquet of flowers in gold lacquer". $W 4_4^3$ ", (?), $H.2_4^3$ ", V. and A. Ham. House 878.69.
 - c. "Card or Letter Tray in Tortoiseshell". V. and A. Ham House, 887,69.

- 19d. "Wooden trays from a box containing four smaller boxes with geometric and animal designs" 5g" x 4g". V. and A. Ham House. 887.69.
- 20. Kyekawa Kinjiro (signed) made 1650-1680. Lacquer cabinet for holding papers. Height 26", width 25", depth 133".
- 20a. Photographed (on right) in Bowes Collection 1872. Audsley 1872. Plate VIII.
 - b. Chromolithograph Bowes collection catalogue 1901. Bowes 1901. frontispiece.
 - c. Audsley. 1872, Plate IX. Photograph. More lacquer objects from the Bowes collection. The suzuribako in the centre $9\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 inches square was bought from the 1867 exhibition. It was "of aventurine ground, beautifully decorated with highly raised ornament. The outside of the lid and sides of the case are covered with the representation of rocks, water, trees, berries and cloud.....The tree and clouds are executed in gold leaf and two berries are of red coral". Other items in the photograph were also bought from the 1867 exhibition.
- 21ab. Bowl and Cover. Glazed earthenware (19th century Satsuma)
 21a. cover, 21b, bowl.
 V. and A. 872.69. diameter 7 in.
- 21c. "Flask in form of a pilgrim's bottle" (Satsuma faience) V. and A.819.69.cir.20% in.
 - d. Vase, Satsuma faience. Handles in form of elephant's head. V. and A.814.69. Height $1'4\frac{1}{2}''$, dia. 6^1_4 in.
 - e. Vase. Satsuma faience. V. and A.817,69. Height 1' 24", dia. 7 ".
 - f. Audsley and Bowes, plate XXXII. Kaga Bowl bought from the 1867 Exhibition by J. Grant Morris Esq.
- 22a. Audsley, 1872. Incense burner in form of a junk, bought from the 1867 exhibition.
 - b. Jules Jacquemart, engraving of incense burner in the collection of the Duc de Morny, exhibited in the "Histoire du travail" section of the 1867 exhibition (published in Blace).
- 23a. Visits to Japan 1865-66, London 1869. "Frontispiece".
 - b. Visits to Japan 1865-66, London 1869. "Lady and her servant on a balcony looking out to sea".
- 24. Utamaro "The Morning After", from Annals of the Green Houses, 1804.
- 25. Burty, 1869, Regamey. Frontispiece for "Emaux Cloisonnés".
- 26. Ph. Burty's membership card for the Club de Jinglar (New York Public Library).
- 27a. Burty 1869 Regamey. Vignette, p.29.
 - b. Burty 1869, Megamey. Vignette page 57.

- 28a, b, c. Champfleury. 1869. bas de pages, attributed to "Oksai".
- 29. Bing. Artistic Japan. Vol. III. plate B.F. 1. Hiroshige, page of drawings of cats.
- 30. Illustrated London News. May 2nd 1868, p. 433. "The Imperial Japanese Troupe at the Lyceum Theatre.
- 31a. De Rosny "Anthologie Japonaise" back cover.
 - b. De Rosny reproduction of a page of Japanese poetry.
- 32a. Audsley 1872. Plate VI. Temple lamp of cloison exenamel. Bowes collection. Height 622". exhibited London 1872.
 - b. Audsley 1872. Metal Vase exhibited Liverpool 1872.
 - c. Audsley 1872 Plate X. Vases of Satsuma faience, heights 12 and 13 inches, exhibited Liverpool 1872.
 - d. Audsley 1872. plate VI Vases of Satsuma faience exhibited Liverpool 1872.
 - e. Audsley 1872, Plate II. Vases and Dish of Cloisonne Enamel. Vases height 30 inches. Dish diameter 24 inches, exhibited Liverpool 1872.
- 33. Audsley and Bowes Plate XXXIX. Tanzan. Dish showing a group of geese diameter 25 inches.
- 34. "Great Works of Ancient Art, Craft and Industry", anonymous Japanese print showing works assembled in Tokyo for the 1873 exhibition in Vienna.
- 35a. Japanese weaver at the 1873 exhibition in Vienna (using Western machine) (Tokyo Exhibition Club).
 - b. Journal de l'Exposition de Vienne illustre. "Tisserands Japonais" (using traditional loom).
- 36. Journal de l'Exposition de Vienne illustré "Le Grand Daibuth dans le Parc de l'Exposition."
- 37a. Journal de l'Exposition de Vienne 1873. "La Section Japonaise".
 - b. Photograph of Japanese section at Vienna exhibition, 1873. Tokyo Exhibitions Club. (probably from the photographs taken by the Imperial Commission).
- 38. Journal de l'Exposition de Vienne illustré 1873. "Le Jardin Japonais".
- 39. Audsley and Bowes 1875, Plate XLV Ceramic plaque with landscape.
- 40. Humbert 1871. Boutique de curiosités Japonaise.
- 41. Beato (published in 1869). Photograph of Japanese curiosity shop, source for illustration 40.

- 42. Megouro Budaha. Musée Cernuschi. Paris, height 42 metres 23 cms.
- 43a. (In practice it was found that all illustrations of the Cernuschi collection originated with Gonse, 1883).

 Gonse, 1883,p& Cernuschi Collection.

 "Grand Dragon de Bronze Formant Brule Parfums".
 - b. Gonse 1883, p.16. Cermuschi collection. "Sennin sur un Tigre" Bronze.
 - c. Gonse, 1883, p.110. Cernuschi collection. "Faucon sur un Rocher" (ceramic).
 - d. Gonse 1883, p. 55 Cermuschi collection "Griffon et oiseau de proie" bronze engraved by Guerard.
 - e. Gonse 1883, p.144. Cernuschi. "Japonaises en Promenade", print by Gakoutei, 1822.
 - f. Gonse 1883, p.276. Cernuschi collection.
 "Manzai ou souhaiteurs de Nouvelle Année" Bronze by Jiouguiokou.
 p.63
 - g. Gonse 1883 / Cernuschi collection. Vase a quatre lobes par Seimin.
 - h. Gonse 1883, Cernuschi Collection. "Grand vase de Bronze."
- 44. Gonse 1883, p.266. reproduction of "Sansonnets sur le Soleil couchant" par Shinman, 1815.
- 44b. Buhot, F. Business card for the Sichel Brothers.
- 45. Catalogue, Exposition retrospectif de l'Art Japonais, 1883. Advertisement for S. Bing, 19, Rue Chauchat.
- 46. Selection from the bronze vases sold to the V. and A. by S. Bing in 1875.
- 47. Procelain incense burner in the form of a basket of chestnuts. Sold to the V. and A. by S. Bing in 1875. V. and A.1108.75. Height 9 inches.
- 47b. Dish, square blue and green glaze dragon motif sold by Bing to the V. and A. in 1875. V. and A.1112-1875.
 - c. Long neck bottle sold by Bing to the V. and A. in 1875. V. and A. 1110.1875.
- 48. Japanese incense burner. "Bronze cast by the cire perdue process designed Sei Tei and Ko Itse and cast by Ka-Ko(Cho Kichu) under the directorship of Kane Sabu Ru Wakai. The work finished April 1878. Sold by Bing to the V. and A. in 1883. V. and A.188-1883.
- 49. Chinese Screen sold to the V. and A. by Bing in 1885. V. and A. 130.1885.
- 50. Dresser. 1882. p. 207 Drawing of Japanese Temple.
- 51. Regamey drawing dated 1877
- 52. Regamey drawing from "le Japon" 1905 , to

- 53. Guimet and Regamey, 1880 ed. drawing by Regamey, p.189 "Kiosai dans son atelier".
- 54a. Guimet and Regamey 1880 ed. frontispille Portrait of Regamey by Kiosai.
 - b. Regamey 1880 ed. Portrait of Kiosai by Regamey. p 190
- 55a. Regamey 1880 ed. Kiosai, Fan Painting.
 - b. Burty, article in L'Art Vol.2, 1876. Illustration by Regamey. "Yebis et Daikoku Lutteurs".
- 56. Regamey "The Mikado opening the Tokyo Yokohama railway" 1872. N.B. See Appendix I no.41 for illustrations and details.
- 57. Regamey, 1903. "Soirée de Musique et de dance, 1876.
- 58. Regamey, 1878. Drawings from Promenades Japonaises.
- 59. Guimet and Regamey 1880 frontispiece folioed
- 60. Guimet and Regamey 1880, title page.
- 61. Regamey 1883. Okoma. Illustration "L'Auteur Japonais a son lecteur".
- 62. Hokusai, 100 Views of Fuji. "Fuji worship" (V. and A.)
- 63. Regamey 1883. Okoma, title page.
- 64. Regamey 1883. Okoma. "Au pied de l'autel de Zizo, une femme licensieuse exite les convoitises d'un homme riche".
- 65. Regamey 1893. p.81. "A Woodcarver".
- 66a. Pumpelly 1870.p.197. Facsimile of page from Hokusai's Mangwa, Vol.8. showing faces.
 - b. Pumpelly 1870, p.200. facsimile of pages from Hokusai's Mangwa, Vol.12, showing Tengu.
 - c. Pumpelly 1870.p.202. "Facsimiles of Japanese Woodcuts and colour printing" mainly from the Mangwa.
 - d. Pumpelly 1870., p.196. "Facsimiles of Japanese woodcuts and Colour Printing" mainly from the Mangwa.
- 67. Jarves, 1876, PLATE IL BENTEN.
 Design".
- 68ab Jarves 1876, PLATES XV and VII.
- 69. Mitford, 1871. Odaké "The Ronins invite Kotsuke no Suke to perform Hara Kiri".
- 70. Mitford 1871. Odake "A wrestling match".
- 71. Mitford 1871. Odaké "The accomplished and lucky tea kettle".

- 72. Dickins, 1875. "The Ronins confront Kotsuke no Suke".
- 73. Dickins, 1875. "The Ronins examine a map of their enemy's house".
- 74. Dickins, 1875. "Suicide interrupted by a strolling musician".
- 75. Dickins, 1875. "A norimon is challenged".
- 76. See illustration 31a.
- 77. Turretini trans. Tanefico. 1875. Plate showing Komats and Sakitsi.
- 78. Liberty's catalogue C1875, p.13.
- 79. Murray Marks, visiting card.
- 80. Illustration to Margaret Veley "A Japanese Fan" Cornhill Magazine, 1876.
- 81. Morris 1880. J. Wood. Frontispiece.
- 82. Audsley and Bowes, 1875. Analysis plates.
- 83. Audsley and Bowes 1875. Plate. Red and gold Kaga ware dish from the collection of the Duke of Edinburgh.
- 84. Audsley. W. and G.A. 1881. Plate.
- 85. Dresser, 1882, p.289, reproduction of peacock from Hokusai's Mangwa, Gwafu.
- 86. Alcock, 1878, p. 56. Figures 20 and 21, the spiral distribution of lime tree leaves.
- 87. Cutler, 1878-1880.Plate I.
- 88. Ph. Burty, 1883. Illustration to Heredia's "Le Samourai".
- 89. G.B.A. April, p.420. Illustrations to Montai prion's Sonnet "Les Fumeurs d'Hokousai".
- 90a. G.B.A. 1878. Burty Collection "Statuette en Bronze".
 - b. G.B.A. 1878. Burty collection "Bouteille quadrangulaire on porcelaine de chine" engraved by Felix Buhot, 1875.
 - V₆L4 β24 c. L'Art 1878. Burty Collection "Grand Eventail de Commandement" XVIII^e siecle. Dessin de H. Somm. V₆L4 β253
 - d. L'Art 1878. Burty Collection. "Cerf portant les attributs de Tossi Toku" XVIII siecle Graveur de Peyplat.
 - e. G.B.A. 1878. Burty Collection "Boîte de medecine en laque".
 - f. Gonse 1883. Burty Collection. "Portrait d'un President de Tshiajin", wood.

- g. Gonse 1885, p.294. Burty collection. Shigenobu. "Jeune femme interrogeant le rat embleme de Fortune".
- h. Gonse, 1883, p.234. Burty Collection. Sumily painting of a fish "Carpe par Gakoutei".
- i. Gonse 1883, p.206. Burty Collection. "Pièces de la collection de M.Ph.Burty".
- 91. Burty article in L'Art Vol.2,1875. Illustration by Regamey. "La Poetesse Ko-Mati".
- 92. Burty article in L'Art Vol.2, 1875. Illustration by H.Somm from a Japanese print "Ko Mati composant une poésie dans la campagne".
- 93. H. Regnault "Salomé". 1669
- 94. La Vie Moderne. 1879.p.179. Yamamoto. "La Raquette Japonaise". Illustration to "Japonisme" by Duranty.
- 94b. Viollet le Duc. 1880. Fig.8. "Les dessinateurs japonais".
- 95. Fraipont 1879, Plates 22,23
- 96a. Collinot et Beaumont. Peacock adapted from Hokusai's Mangwa. Gwafu.
 - b. Gonse 1883. Reproduction of Peacock from Hokusai's Mangwa Gwafu.
- 97. Bing, Artistic Japan, Vol. 4 Cover. No 26
- 98. Bing. Artistic Japan, Vol.one, page one.
- 99. P.Sedille "L'Architecture du Trocadero" G.B.A. 1878, p.247. Sketch of allegorical painting of Japan by Lameire.
- 100a. L. Gonse "Coup d'oiel à vol d'oiseau sur L'Exposition Universelle", G.B.A. 1878, p.11. Drawing of Aizelin "Le Japon".
 - b. The Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878, Paris 1878. Engraving of Aizelin "Le Japon".
- 101a. The Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878. Paris 1878. Entrance to the Chinese Exhibition.
 - b. Glucq 1878. Planche No. 10. Facade de la Chine.
- 102. Maritimes Imperiales III. Serie General No.5 Catalogue Special Exposition Universelle, Paris 1878. Map of Chinese Exhibition.
- 103a. Glucq. Planche XI. Pavillon Chinois.
 - b. G.B.A. 1878 p. Pavillon Chinois des Jardins du Trocadéro.
- 104a Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878 Visitors to Chinese Exhibition

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- b. Glucq 1878, planche no.45 (detail) "Vue d'ensemble de l'exposition de la Chine.
- c. Bergerat 1878, p. 155 View of the Chinese exhibition.

- 105. G.b.A. 1878. Engravings of Chinese objects.
- 106. Glucq 1878. Planche. 3 Facade du Japon.
- 107. The Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878. Paris 1878. Water drinkers at the Japanese fountains.
- 108a. Glucq 1878. Planche. La Ferme Japonaise.
- b. G.B.A. 1878. p. Porte en Bois sculpté de la Ferme Japonaise. 108c Bergerat 1878 p129 Sketch of the gate by Sei Tei
- 109. The Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878. Paris 1878. The Japanese pavillion in the Trocadero Cardens.
- 110a. The Illustrated Paris Exhibition of 1878. Paris, 1878. The Japanese cook in the Paris International Exhibition.
 - b. Detail of 110a.
- 111. Glucq. 1878. Vue de l'ensemble de l'exposition 1878.
- 112. Bergerat 1878. p. 136 Bas de page based on the Japanese exhibition.
- 113. Bergerat 1878. p. 207 Le Paravent Japonais de Sei Tei Watanabe.
- 113b. L'Art 1878. p.263. Lacquer Screen.
- 114a. L'Art 1878.p.251. Brule-Parfums en Bronze Incrusté d'Or. Dessin de Yeizo Hirayama.
 - b. Bergerat 1878/Brule parfums. Dessin de Sei Tei Watanabe.
 - c. Detail of Section II Illustration 48 V. and A. 188-1883.
 - d. Detail of Section II Illustration 48. V. and A. 188-1883.
- 115. L'Art 1878.p.251. Brule Parfums en Bronze expose par la Maison Minodo Chodjio. Dessin de Yeizo Hirayama.
- 116a. L'Art 1878.p.259. "Meuble en Bois naturel, Rehausse de specimens de laques de toutes les epoques". Dessin de Yeizo Hirayama.
- b. L'Art 1878.p.263. "Meuble en Bois naturel, rehaussé de laques". Dessin de Yeizo Hirayama.
- 117. Plate acquired from the 1878 exhibition by the V. and A. V. and A. 320.1878. 9 inches diameter.
- 118. Detail of large dish acquired by the V. and A. from the 1878 Paris exhibition, no current collection number.

 4 ft.6 ins. diameter.
- 119a. Blanc de Chine figure of Benzai Ten acquired by the V. and A. from the 1878 Paris exhibition. V. and A. No. 1125 78 Height 95 ins.
 - b. Bergerat 1878. p. 138 Engraving of figure of mendicant saint. 16th century terracotta.
 - c. Figure of mendicant saint. Identical to 119b, now in V. and A. acquired from the 1878 exhibition.

- 120. Gasnault 1878. Vase en porcelaine coloriee. Exposé par la manufacture Hiotiyen à Tokio.
- 121. L'Art 1878. Yelford Vase en Bronze, collection de M. A. de Nittis. Dessin de Yeizo Hirayama.
- 122a. G.B.A. 1878, p. 501. Illustration to Ephrussi les laques japonaises au Trocadero. Boite en laque d'or (Collection de Mme. L. Cahen, d'Anvers.
 - b. G.B.A. 1878 (Ephrussi), p.493. Intérieur d'un cabinet en lacque d'or.
 - c. G.B.A. 1878 Ephrussi p.496. Boite en laque blanc (Collection Mme. L. Cahen d'Anvers).
- 123. G.B.A. I878 Items from the Bing and Sichel collections on show in the Trocadero.
- 124. Trade advertisement for the Royal Arita Porcelain Co., Japan, and The Midland Educational Company Ltd.,
- 125. W. Crane "Almond Trees on Monte Pincio" 1873/4 (?), no present location.
- 126. de Nittis "Place de Republique " 1878(?), no present location.
- 127. G.B.A. 1878, Display by Christophle.
- 128. G.B.A. 1878 Torchere par Guillemin.
- 129. Magazine of Art 1881, p.137. The Salon of the Vanderbilt House, Fifth Avenue.
- 130. M. Dammouse. "Plat en Porcelaine". C. BLANC.
- 131. Bergerat 1878, p.167 Mangeotgrand piano decorated with Japanese motifs.
- 132. The Illustrated London News, Feb.21st 1885, p.203. "The Japanese Village".

SECTION III.

- 1a. Manet "The Balcony" 1868, Louvre, Paris, $66\frac{1}{2}$ x $49\frac{1}{4}$.
- b. Manet "Gare Saint Lazare" 1873, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., $36\frac{3}{4}$ " x $45\frac{1}{6}$ ".
- c. Hiroshige "Asakusa Tempa Tori-no-machi". Festival of the Cock Asakusa Rice fields. View 101 of the "Hundred Famous Views of Yedo", 1857.
- 2. Manet "La Rende vous des Chats", Lithograph, 1868.
- 3. Manet "Le Chat et Les Fleurs" Etching and aquatint, 1869.
- 4. Manet "Chat sous une chaise" drawing, lead and wash 215 x 1.32mm. Paris, Louvre Cabinet des Estampes (Dc 300d-res.No.11).

- 5a. Ranet "Chat Couché de profil" (letter) Watercolour 180 x 113mm. Paris Louvre. Cabinet des Dessins (R.F.11 179).
 - b. Manet "Chat de dos" (letter). Watercolour 155 x 99 mm. Paris Louvre. Cabinet des Dessins (R.F.11.176).
- 6a. Manet "Luncheon in the Studio" 1869. State Gallery, Munich.
- b. Manet "Les Chats" 1868, drawing, black crayon, 128 x 97 mm. Paris Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (R.F.30 380).
- 7. Hokusai "100 Views of Fuji" print showing Fuji and travellers.
- 8. Hokusai "The eight-part bridge Mihawa", print from the "Eleven Bridges" set.
- 9. Manet "Trois Femmes" lead, from Boulogne Sketchbook. Paris Louvre. Cabinet des Dessins.
- 10. Hokusai, Plate from Volume One of the Mangwa.
- 11. Manet "Ane" Lead from Boulogne Sketchbook. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.
- 11b. Manet "Profile of Eva Gonsalves".
- 12a. Manet "Dragonfly", libellule for "La Fleuve" by Charles Cros, 1874. 53 x 58 cm.
 - b. Hokusai, Dragonfly from the Mangwa Vol. One.
 - c. Manet "La Mer" illustration for "La Fleuve", by Charles Cros 1874. 84 x 1.40 mm.
 - d. Hokusai Yedo views from the Mangwa, Volume Eight.
- 13a. Manet "La Montagne" illustration for "La Fleuve" by Charles Cros, 1874. 78 x 95 mm.
 - b. Hokusai "Snow of Mount Tsukuba" from the Mangwa, Vol. Seven.
 - c. Manet "La Haute Vallee" illustration for "La Fleuve" by Charles Cros. 1874, 93 x 1.13 mm.
- d. Paysage Japonais, reproduction of a page from a Japanese print book in the Burty collection. Chesneau, G.B.A. 1878.
- 14. Kyosai. Studies of Crows, reproduced from Conder "kyosai", figs. 60,63,64.
- 15. Manet "Le Corbeau et Tama" 1875, autographic wash 250 x 320 mm.
- 16a. Manet "Le Corbeau" 1875, autographic wash 250 x 320 mm. Ex libris of Edgar Allan Poe "Le Corbeau" translated by S. Hallarme, Paris, 1875.
 - b. Manet "Sous La Lampe", autographic wash. 275 x 375 mm. illustration for Mallarme's translation of Le Corbeau.

- 17a. Manet "Le Corbeau sur le Buste" 1875. Autographic wash 476 x 316mm.

 Illustration for Mallarme's translation of Le Corbeau.
- 17b. Manet "La Chaise" 1875. Autographic wash; 290 x 276mm. Illustration for Mallarme's translation of Le Corbeau.
- 18. Legros "The Pit and the Pendulum". Illustration to Edgar Allan Poe's story of the same title. 1862, V. and A.
- 19a. Manet. Ex Libris for S. Mallarmé "L'Apres Midi d'un Faune" (second edition 1887). 2.5 cms. x 2 cms.
 - b. Hokusai, Mangwa, detail from Volume I
 - c. Manet "Les Nymphs" illustration for S. Mallarme "L'Apres Midi d'un Faune" (second edition 1887). 3.5 x 2.3 cm.
 - d. Alcock 1863. Chapter XII. p.254. reproduction from Vol. One of Hokusai's Mangwa.
- 20. Manet"Nana" 1877. Kunsthalle. Hamburg. 60" x 454".
- 21. Humbert, 1874, English ed.p. 39. "The Finishing Touch",
- 22a Manet "Dans le Tub" 1878.
- 22b. Sho Tei. Painting of bird on a branch, inscribed "M. Degas at a party" 1878(?). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute.
- 23. Hokusai "Interior of a theatre" signed Shunro C1794.
- 24. Kunihiro "Scene from a production of the play Gakaya" 1831-1835. V. and A. E5429 1886.
- 25. Degas "Une Religieuse" drawing for Le Ballet Robert le Diable.1871. V. and A.
- 26a. Degas "The Duet" pastel. Hirsch collection, Basle, 1877.11.8 x 15.9 cm.
 - b. Hokusai "Backstage of the theatre at Sakaicho" from the book "Toto Meisho Ichiran" 1800.
- 27a. Hokusai "Buddhist monks" detail from the Mangwa.
 - b. Degas "Chanteuse de Cafe-Concert", pastel, 1878. Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Art. 51 x 41 cms.
- 28. Toyaharu 1733-1814. "View of a dramatic performance at the Three Theatres" C1800.
- 29a. Degas "Le Foyer" 1872. Louvre, Paris.
 - b. Hokusai Chuisingura, Act X.1798.
- 30a. Degas "Le repetition de danse" 1877. Burrell collection, Glasgow. 66 x 100 cms.

- 30b. Hiroshige "Ingoon-wheel on Beach" 1857, p.110 from "Views of Famous Places in Edo."
- 31. Degas "Two dancers practising" 1876, drawing a l'essence. 48 x 63 cm. Faris, private collection.
- 32. Degas "Dancers" 1876-77. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge Mass.
- 33a. Gonse 1883, p.266 reproduction of Hokusai, part of a makimono showing dancers.
 - b. Gonse, 883, p. 271, reproduced in part of a colour print by Hokusai, showing dancers.
- 34. Degas "Ecole de Danse" 1876. New York, private collection 43 x 57 cms.
- 35. Degas "The Russian Ballerinas", 1909 (Browse) Stockholm, 63 x 53 cms.
- 36a. Hokusai "Tokiwa sacrificing herself to the tyrant Kiyomori, her husband's murderer". in Vol. Nine of the Mangwa.
 - b. Degas "Artiste dans son atelier" 1873. Oil. H.O.41.L.O.27. Paris, private collection.
- 37. Humbert 1871. "Le bain Japonais"
- 38. Kuniyoshi "Ama dressing her hair on the sea-shore" C1843. V. and A. E11788 1886.
- 39. Hokusai. Drawing of bathers from Mangwa Vol. Twelve.
- 40. Hokusai. Detail of drawing of bathers from Mangwa volume One.
- 41. Degas. "Nude drying herself" Fastel, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, 68 x 59 cms.
- 42. Degas "Le Client" Monotype, black ink, 8 7/16 x 64 inches.
- 43. Hokusai Studies of fat people, from the Mangwa. Volume Eight.
- 44. Gonse 1883, p.306. Reproduction of Zeishen "Aigle se mirant dans un cascade" two paintings from the S.Bing Collection.
- 45a. Degas "Two Women" monotype black ink. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 8 $7/16 \times 11 \frac{1}{8}$ inches.
 - b. Hokusai. "The ecstatic moment." n.s.
- 46. Gonse 1883, . Photograph of a Japanese ivory equestrian group in the Gonse collection,
- 47. Degas "Horse with Jockey" bronze cast, location unknown, 93" high.
- 48. There is no illustration 48.
- 49. Degas "Dancer ready to dance" location unknown, 22" high.
- 50. "Siva Vinadhara" bronze, Indian eleventh century 25 inches high. Musee Guimet. Paris.

- 51. Hiroshige "Miya" station 42 of Hiroshige's upright series of views of the Tokaido road (1855).
- 52a. Monet "Hyde Park", 1871, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence U.S.A. 41 x 74 cm.
 - b. Monet. "Green Park". 1871. Philadelphia Museum of Art, U.S.A. 34 x 72.5 cm.
- 53. Audsley I885. Section I Plate V " The reerlass mountain. "
- 54. Hokusai "The Barrier of Mist" double page from the Mangwa, Vol. Seven.
- 55. Hokusai. Studies of trees from the Mangwa, Vol. Four.
- 56. Tsuba, showing wave motif, bronze and silver, Liverpool City Museum collection.
- 57a. Humbert, English ed. 1874, p. 144. "Le Tats-maki ou dragon des typhons".
 - b. Regamey 1878, Title Page.
 - c. Alcock 1878, figs. 46, 47, 52, illustrations of rocks derived from Japanese prints. Similar illustrations appeared in the Art Journal in 1876.
- 58. Hiroshige "The sea shore at Izu" from the series 36 Views of Fuji, 1852. V. and A. E1431-1910.
- 59. Monet "La Manneporte" 1883. Metropolitan Museum, New York. 253 x 32".
- 60. Hokusai "Cave of the three Deities near Shimoda" left hand page of a two page study from the Mangwa, Volume One.
- 61. Monet "Rocks at Belle Ile" Painted 1886, Tushkin Museum, 25% x 31%".
- 62. Hiroshige "Wave at Satta Point" print from the "36 Views of Fuji" series 1859.
- 63. Monet. "Poplars on the Epte" 1890. Tate Gallery, London 35 x 282".
- 64. Hokusai "Travellers on the Tokaido Road at Hodogaya" print from the 36 Views of Fuji.
- 65. Hiroshige "Kameido Tenjin Wistaria at kameido Temple" print from hundred views of Yedo. 1856.
- 66. Humbert, English ed. 1874, p.267, "Entrance to the Gardens of Myaski", Yeddo.
- 67. Monet "Water Lilies" undated. Musee Farmottan, Faris.
- 68. Gense 1883 pI94 "Paysage par Sesshiu" Bing collection.
- 69. Pennell, p./44 Photograph of Whistler in his Paris Studio in the 1890's.

- 70. Whistler "On the Balcony" oil, 1867-8, Freer Collection, Washington, U.S.A. 61.4 x 48.8 cm.
- 71. Hokusai "Fuji from the Pagoda of the 500 Rakans, Yedo", from the Thirty-six Views of Fuji (1823-1829). As reproduced in S.Bing 1899.
- 72. Whistler "Study" lithograph 1895, British Museum.
- 73. Albert Moore "A Summer Night", 1890, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.
- 74. Hiroshige "Taisha in mist, Izumo Province" 1854-56 from the views of sixty-odd provinces.
- 75. Hiroshige "Moon, maple and waterfall" no date. British Museum. Size 15 in. \times 6 $\frac{5}{6}$ in.
- 76. Thompson 1878. Illustrations of blue and white porcelain by Whistler.
- 77a. Hokusai "Mannenbashi bridge" double page study from the 100 Views of Fuji 1834-35. V. and A.
- 78. Hiroshige "Fireworks over Riogoku Bridge" from the Hundred Views of Yedo. 1858. British Museum.
- 79. Audsley and Bowes 1875, Plate X.
- 80a. Whistler Shutters from the Peacock Room 1877, Freer Gallery, Washington, U.S.A.
 - b. Hiroshige "Peacock and Peony Flowers".
- 81a. Whistler Shutters from the Peacock Room 1877. Freer Gallery, Washington, U.S.A.
 - b. Audsley and Bowes 1875 Fig 12 / 1. Satruma Facence
- 82. Utamaro "Utamaro painting a Ho-o bird in one of the Green Houses" two pages from "Annals of the Green Houses" 1804.
- 83. Yriarte reproduction of a drawing for "Deux enfants dans un Salon Japonais" in the Goyena collection.
- 84. Tissot. "The Bridesmaid" 1882. Leeds City Gallery. 58 x 40 inches.
- 85. Sharaku. Last scene of "Katsurayawa truki no omoide" 1794. B.M. 1909-06-18-55.
- 86. Stevens "La Visite" 1869, present location unknown.
- 87. Stevens "La Psyche" 1872 (?) present location unknown.
- 88. Stevens "Les Visiteuses" 1878(?) present location unknown.
- 89. Stevens "Visite a l'atelier" 1888 present location unknown.
- 90. Stevens "La Masque Japonais 1875-1880, present location unknown.
- 91. Stevens "L'Automne et l'Hiver" from Les Quatre Saisons, present location unknown.

- 92. Stevens "La Boule Argentée" 1874-5 (?) present location unknown.
- 93. Comerrel. "Portrait de Mlle Achille Fould" Salon de 1883, present location unknown.
- 94. See Section II, Illustration 44b.
- 95. Jules Adeline, frontispiece to Henri Beraldi "Les Graveurs du XIX^{1 eme} siecle", Paris, 1885.
- 96a-e. G. Bigot. Prints from "Croquis Japonais" 1886. V. and A. Print Room.
- 97. G.Bigot, print from "Le Jour de l'An au Japon" 1890's. V. and A. Print Room.
- 98. Cover of catalogue of the exhibition of Alfred East's pictures of Japan. Fine Art Society, 1890.
- 99. Alfred East "Lake Biwa" 1889. V. and A.
- 99b. Alfred East "O Ume San, Miss Plum Blossom, "1889. Fresent location unknown.
- 100. M. Menpes "The Giant Lantern" 1886-87, present location unknown.
- 101. M.Menpes "The Red Curtain" 1886-7, present location unknown.
- 102. M. Menpes "The Daughter of the Sun" 1886-7, present location unknown.
- 103. M. Menpes "The Child and the Umbrella" 1886-7, present location unknown.
- 104. H. Krafft "Jeune Fille Japonaise", photo 1884.
- 105. M.Menpes "News", 1886-7.
- 106a. "Baby and Baby" 1886-7, no present location.
- 106b. "Baby and Baby" etching, V. and A. Print Room.
- 107. M. Menpes "Procession of Archers", 1896. present location unknown.
- 108. Page from Menpes "A Letter from Japan" Studio.
- 109. M. Menpes. Group of pottery painted in Japan. 1896.
- 110a-c. Photographs of Menpes' House, 25, Cadogan Gardens
 - a) Entrance Hall.
 - b) Drawing Room.
 - c) Dining Room.
- 111a. A. Lang, Illustration IV "A storm fiend".
 - b. Arthur Hughes. Illustration from "At the back of the North Wind", Stranahan, 1871.
- 111c. W. Crane. Frontispiece and title page for "Wait for the End" by Mark Lemon, London 1866.
- 112. W. Crane. Illustration from the Fairy Ship, 1869.

- 113a. Hokusai "Mice as rich merchants", two page study from the Mangwa, Volume Ten.
 - b. Humbert, English ed. 1874, p.342. Reproduction of 113a.
 - c. Kunisato. Print containing 64 studies of human characters with the heads of mice C1855, from the Burges Album 1862. Appendix F.
 - d. Mitford, 1871. Okade. "The Ape and the Crab".
- 114. Walter Crane, Aladdin 1875. "Aladdin sees the Princess" V. and A. Library.
- 115. Walter Crane. Aladdin, 1875. "The Death of the Wizard", V. and A Library.
- 116. Pages from Marcus Ward's Japanese Picture Stories "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp, V. and A. Library.
- 117. Pages from Marcus Ward's Japanese Picture Stories "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp".
- II8a-d "Nedzumi no Yome-iri." Kobunsha's fairy tales c1895.
- 119a-c "Kachi Kachi Yama" Kobunsha's fairy tales c1895.
- 120. Hokusai, print C1820. "Dream of the Fisherman's Wife".
- 121. Rops "Initiation Sentimentale" print.
- 122. Kunisada "The Ghostly Lover" two pages from Kaichu Kagami (A Pocket Mirror) C1809.
- 123. Van Gogh "La Segatori", Oil, 1887, Amsterdam.Rijksmuseum Vincent Van Gogh 55.5 x 46.5 cms.
- 124. Van Gogh "Portrait of Père Tanguy", oil, 1887, Rodin Museum, Paris 92 x 75 cm.
- 125. Van Gogh. "Portrait of Père Tanguy" 1887. Stavros Niarchos collection, 65 v 51 cm.
 Followed by key and discussion of the prints in the background.
- 126. Van Gogh "Pere Tanguy" drawing 1887. Amsterdam. Rijkmuseum Vincent Van Gogh 21.5 x 13.5 cms.
- 127. Van Gogh "Japonaiserie, The bridge in the Rain" (after Hiroshige), oil, 1887. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh.73 x 54 cms.
- 128. Van Gogn. "Japonaiserie, the Flowering Plum Tree" (after Hiroshige), oil 1887, Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum, Vincent Van Gogh 55 x 46 cms.
- 129. Van Gogh "Japonaiserie Oiran" (after Kesai Yeisen.) 1887. Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh. 105 x 61 cms.
- 130. Cover of double issue of Paris Illustré No.45/46 "Le Japon", May, 1886, British Museum Colindale.

- 131. Van Gogh "Self portrait with a Japanese Print" Collection Emile Dreyfus, Basle 44 x 35 cms.
- 132. Van Gogh "Still life, Fritillaires in a copper vase", 1887, Paris Louvre. 73.5 x 60.5 cms.
- 133. Hokusai "Dragon fly and Kikyo flowers" print. One of the series of "Large Flowers" British Museum.
- 134. Van Gogh "Still life, Vase with Carnations" oil, 1886. New York. Mrs. Charles B. Murphy collection 46 x 38 cms.
- 135. Van Gogh "Still life with Dances and Poppees"
 1886, Bulfalo U.S.A. 25-2 × 1934 wiches
- 136. Van Gogh "Mussels and Prawns" Oil, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, Vincent Van Gogh, 27 x 34 cms.
- 137. Van Gogh "Montmarte" 1887, oil. Art Institute of Chicago. 44 x 33.5 cms.
- 138. Van Gogh "Wheatfield" 1887 oil. Amsterdam Rijksmuscum. Vincent Van Gogh. 54 x 64.5 cms.
- 139. Van Gogh "View of Montmarte" 1887, oil. Amsterdam. Stedelijk Museum. 96 x 120 cms.
- 140. Hokusai "Fuji from Umedawa in the Soshu Province" one of the Thirty Six Views of Fuji.
- 141. Van Gogh "Paris Street", 1887 oil. Mercion, Pennysylvania, the Barnes Foundation, 465. x 54 cms.
- 142. Delacroix "Christ of the Lake of Gennesavet", 1853, Private collection.
- 143. Hokusai "Hollow of the Deep sea Wave off Kanagawa" one of the Thirty Six views of Mount Fuji.
- 144a. Van Gogh "Path through a field with willows" oil, 1888, present location unknown, 31 x 38.5 cms.
 - b. Van Gogh Sketch from Letter 221 dated July 21, 1882 "Rhine Landscape".
- 145. Detail of background of illus. 124 Portrait of Tanguy.
- 146. Van Gogh "View of Arles" oil 1888. Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh. 54 x 65 cms.
- 147. Van Gogh "Pear Tree in Blossom" oil, 1888. Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh. 73 x 46 cms.
- 148. Van Gogh. Sketch from Letter no. B3.
- 149. Detail of background of illus. 24. Portrait of Pere Tanguy.
- 150. Van Gogh "Branch of an Almond Tree in Blossom", oil, 1890. Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh, 73 x 92 cms.

- 151. Van Gogh. "Boats on the Beach at Saintes Maries", Oil. Amsterdam. 1889. Rijksmuseum, Vincent Van Gogh. 64.5 x 81 cms.
- 152. Van Gogh. "Boats at Saintes Maries", watercolour. Berlin. Bernhavel Kohler. 39 x 54 cm.
- 153. Van Gogh "Street at Saintes Maries" 1888. Reed Pen. New York. Museum of Modern Art.
- 154. Van Gogh "Landscape near Mont majour", pen, reed and black chalk. 1888. British Museum No. 1968-2-10-20. 49 x 61 cms.
- 155. Bing, Artistic Japan. Volume One. May 1888. Reproduction of Hiroshige's "View of Lake Bava".
- 155b. Hokusai "Bridge of boats at Sano" print from the series "Views of Famous Bridges".
- 156. Van Gogh "Harvest at La Crau" detail, oil. 1888. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 72.5 x 92 cms.
- 157. Van Gogh "The Crau at Arles. Peach Trees in Blossom", oil, 1888. Courtauld Institute Galleries 65.5 x 81.5 cms.
- 158. Van Gogh "Boats being unloaded on the Rhone", oil, 1888, Essen, Folkwang Museum. 55 x 66 cms.
- 159. Van Gogh "River with Two Boats", Pen, reed pen and ink. 1888. New York. Miss Edith Wetmove. 48 x 62.5 cms.
- 160. Hokusai "The timber-yard, Tatekawa, Honjo" print, one of the series "Thirty six Views of Fuji".
- 161. Van Gogh "The Sower", oil 1888. Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh 32 x 40 cms.
- 162. Van Gogh "The Sower", oil, 1888. Zurich. E.G. Buhrle collection. 73.5 x 93 cms.
- 163. Van Gogh drawing from letter to Theo.
- 163b. Bing "Artistic Japan." Plate AIC.
- 164. Van Gogh, drawing of a fly from Letter 506.
- 165. Drawing of grasses (Japanese), facsimile illustration to the second issue of Artistic Japan, June 1888.
- 166. Van Gogh. "Green fields near St. Remy", oil, 1890. Navodni Galleries, Prague. 73.5 x 92.5 cms.
- 167. S. Bing. Artistic Japan. Second volume, June 1888. Reproduction of "Pinks" by Bunpo.
- 168a. Van Gogh "Ears of Wheat", oil, 1890. Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. Vincent Van Gogh. 64.5 x 47 cms.
- 168b. Van Gogh. Drawings of wheat from Letter 643.

- 169. Van Cogh, drawing of illus. 170 in letter 646.
- 170. Van Gogh "Girl standing against background of wheat", oil, 1890. Washington National Gallery of Art, 66 x 45 cms.
- 171a. Van Gogh "Peasant Woman", oil, 1890. Berne. Prof. H.R. Hahnloser, 92 x 73 cms.
 - b. Van Gogh "Peasant Woman", Black chalk, washed, 1885. Otterlo. Rijksmuseum. Kroller Muller. 52.5 x 43.5 cms.
 - c. Van Gogh "Branches of Periwinkle" (?). Black chalk, brush and ink. 1890. Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum. Vincent van Gogh. 47.5 x 40 cms.
- 173. Artistic Japan. Volume ONE Margin illustration reproducing a drawing of "Bindweed" by Hokusai.
- 174a. Artistic Japan, second issue, plate reproducing a print of crabs by Hokusai.
 - b. Gonse, 1883, p.106 Bronze crab in Cernuschi collection.
- 175. Van Gogh "Two crabs" oil. Present location unknown. 47 cms x 61 cms.
- 176. Van Gogh "Sunflowers", oil. Tate Gallery 93 x 73 cms.
- 177. Van Gogh "Irises", oil, private collection, New York. 71 x 93 cms.
- 178. Artistic Japan, volume | page 9. Marginal illustration reproducing a drawing of irises by Hokusai.
- 179. Van Gogh. Drawing of sketch book from Letter 492.
- 180. Hokusai. Drawing for an illustration to one of the "Hundred poems explained by the nurse".
- 181. Hokusai. "Mountain goat and pine tree". n.d.
- 182. Van Gogh "La Mousmé" oil, 1888, Washington National Gallery of Art, 74 x 60 cms.
- 183. Van Gogh "La Mousme" Pen and reed pen. New York. Paul M.Hirschland. 31.5 x 24 cms.
- 184. Van Gogh "La Mousme". Pencil, pen and reed pen. Moscow, Pushkin Museum. 32.5 x 24.5 cms.
- 185. Van Gogh "L'Arlesienne" 1888. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. 90 x 72 cms.
- 186. Artistic Japan. Second volume. June 1888. Reproduction of "Uzukomo" by Kaigetsudo Monorubu.
- 187. P. Loti "Madame Chrysanthème", Paris, 1888. frontispiece.
- 188. Van Gogh "Self Portrait as a Bonze", oil, 1888. Fogg Art Museum Cambridge Massachusetts. 62 x 52 cms.

- 1886. Regamey "Joune Bonze", 1876, reproduced in Promenades Japonaises.
- 189. Van Gogh "Gelf Fortrait with a Bandaged Ear", oil, 1888. Courtauld Institute, 60 x 49 cms.
- 190a. Sato Tarokiyo "Geishas in a landscape, late nineteenth century.
- 190b. Tayensai Yoshimara "Girls in a boat", late nineteenth century.
- 191. Van Gogh "A Starry Night", 1889, oil, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 73 x 92 cms.
- 191b. Van Gogh "The Quarry" oil, 1889. Otterlo. Rijksmuseum, Kroller Muller, 72 x 92 cms.
- 191c. Gonse 1883, "Paysages d'apres Issai."
- 192. Van Gogh "Portrait of Dr. Gachet" 1890. Paris, Louvre.
- 193. Hokusai "The Laughing Hannya" print, no date.
- 194. Gonse 1883, p.165 Statuette de Dhama, Cernuschi collection.
- 195. Gonse, 1883, p.320 Oudzoume, Porte Bouquet. Gonse collection.
- 196 Rodin "Balzac." 1897 Musée нodin, Paris.
- 197. Gonse 1883 #165 "Dharma."