

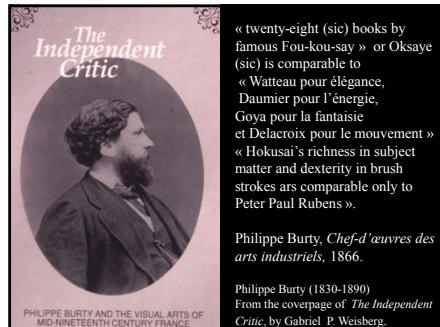
« Hokusai's reputation is beyond question, but his popularity is an historical product. Many Hokusai studies have contributed to justify and consolidate his reputation while leaving behind a social and historical context which required Hokusai as the most eminent hero of Japanese Art.

« By questioning the apotheosis of Hokusai in the context of the 19th Century Western Japonisme, the paper tries to elucidate some of the underlying conditions which enabled and prepared Hokusai's glorification.

« How was a simple Japanese ukiyo-e craftsman transfigured into the ultimate icon of Oriental master, compatible to such giants as Michelangelo, Rubens and Rembrandt? And Why was he so highly admired by such champions of modern art as Édouard Manet and Vincent van Gogh? »

Shigemi Inaga, « The Making of Hokusai's Reputation in the Context of Japonisme », *The Third International Hokusai Conference in Obse*, 1998, Obse, Nagano, Japan. « Impressionnisme et Japonisme: histoire d'un mal-entendu créateur. » *Nouvelles de l'estampe*. No. 159. 1998. p.7-22.

1.
Early French Appreciation of Hokusai
and
Its Socio-historical background

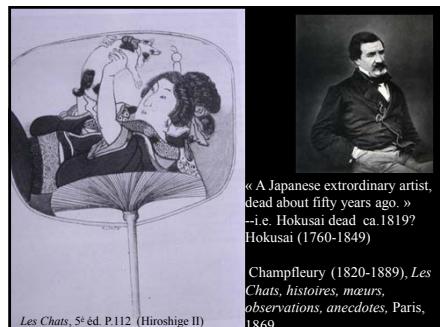
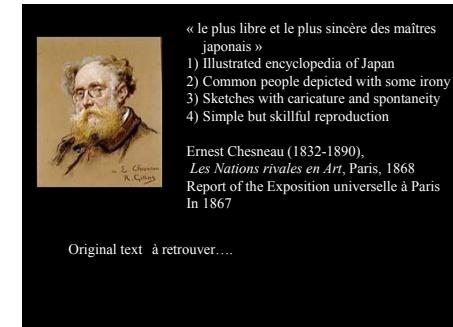


« twenty-eight (sic) books by famous Fou-kou-say » or Oksaye (sic) is comparable to « Watteau pour élégance, Daumier pour l'énergie, Goya pour la fantaisie et Delacroix pour le mouvement » « Hokusai's richness in subject matter and dexterity in brush strokes are comparable only to Peter Paul Rubens ».

Gambettist idea of subverting the Western academic hierarchy of *Beaux-Arts* by the intrusion of an Oriental craftsman so as to promote *Arts industriels*:

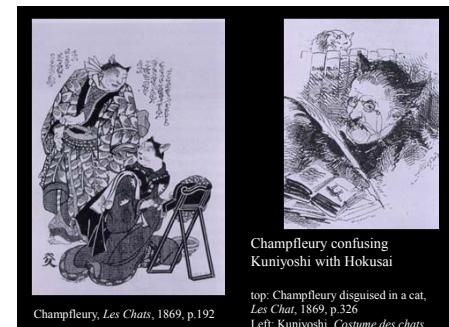
« Cette lecture est retenue par Inaga Shigemi qui interprète la position de Philippe Burty comme une position républicaine, « défiant les visions orthodoxes de la hiérarchie établie dans la France du Second Empire. (...) Les contributions de Burty en tant que critique d'art à la presse (*La Presse*, *La Liberté*, *La République française*) ne peuvent que corroborer cette analyse ».

Hélène Bayou, Conservateur en chef, « Hokusai « l'affolé de son art » dans le catalogue d'exposition, *Hokusai, l'affolé de son art*, Musée national des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris, France, 2008, p.17, note 18.



« A Japanese extraordinary artist, dead about fifty years ago. » --i.e. Hokusai dead ca.1819? Hokusai (1760-1849)

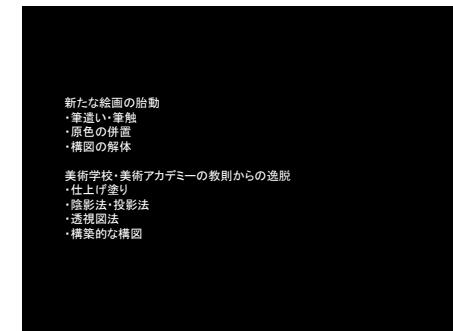
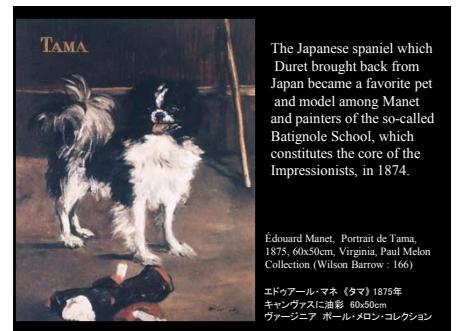
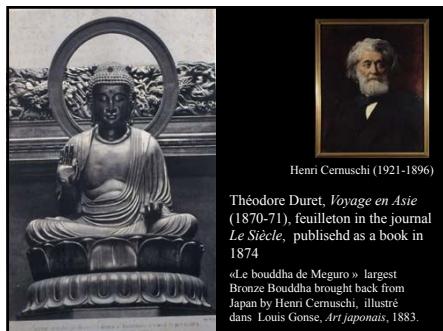
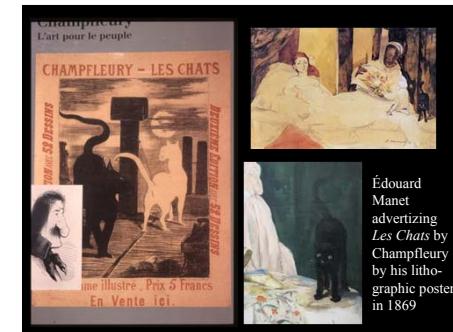
Champfleury (1820-1889), *Les Chats, histoires, mœurs, observations, anecdotes*, Paris, 1869

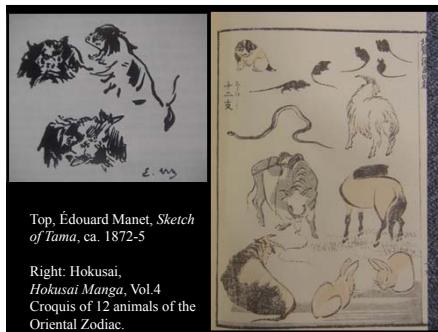


Champfleury confusing Kuniyoshi with Hokusai



Champfleury Selfportrait with Cat's ear wrongly identifying himself with his imaginary Hokusai





Top, Édouard Manet, *Sketch of Tama*, ca. 1872-5

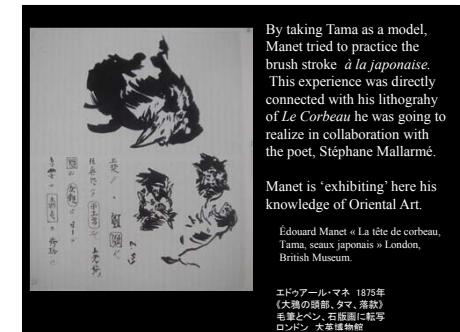
Right: Hokusai,
Hokusai Manga, Vol.4
Croquis of 12 animals of the
Oriental Zodiac.



Manet intentionally copies the Japanese dog by imitating the brush stroke of the Japanese ink painting following the model book brought back from Japan by Théodore Duret, *Hokusai Manga*, to begin with.

Édouard Manet « Esquisse de Tama »
Ca. 1872 (*Print Quarter*, 1989)

エドワード・マネ『タマ』の下
絵



By taking Tama as a model, Manet tried to practice the brush stroke *à la japonaise*. This experience was directly connected with his lithography of *Le Corbeau* he was going to realize in collaboration with the poet, Stéphane Mallarmé.

Manet is 'exhibiting' here his knowledge of Oriental Art.

Édouard Manet « La tête de corbeau, Tama, saux japonais » London, British Museum.

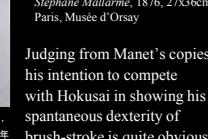
エドワード・マネ 1875年
『大鴉の頭部、タマ、落款』
毛筆ヘン、石版画に転写
ロンドン 大英博物館



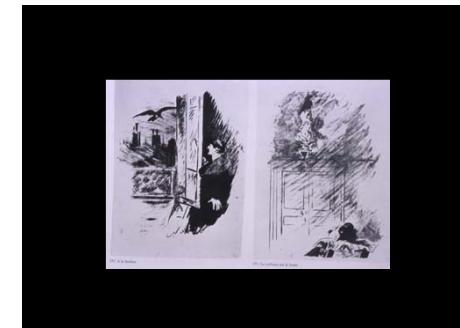
Édouard Manet, *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé*, 1876, 27x36cm, Paris, Musée d'Orsay.
エドワード・マネ 1876年 『マラルメの肖像』 キャンバスに油彩 パリ オルセー美術館



Édouard Manet, *Le Corbeau (The Raven)*, 1875, affiche. Édouard Manet « Le Corbeau » 1875年

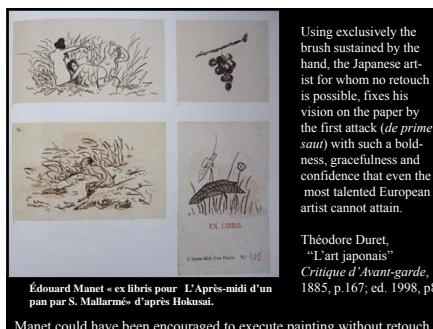


Judging from Manet's copies, his intention to compete with Hokusai in showing his spontaneous dexterity of brush-stroke is quite obvious.



Édouard Manet « ex libris pour
L'Après-midi d'un faune par
S. Mallarmé » d'après Hokusai.

エドワード・マネ
『マラルメ『牧神の午後』の挿絵』木版
『北斎漫画』からの借用



Édouard Manet « ex libris pour *L'Après-midi d'un faune* par S. Mallarmé » d'après Hokusai.

Théodore Duret,
"L'art japonais"
Critique d'Avant-garde,
1885, p.167, ed. 1998, p87

Manet could have been encouraged to execute painting without retouch.



北斎漫画
深皿 河曾(こうね)図
Assiette creuse
オルセー美術館
Soup Plate
Japanese pond lily design
Edition Lebœuf-Millet
Musée d'Orsay

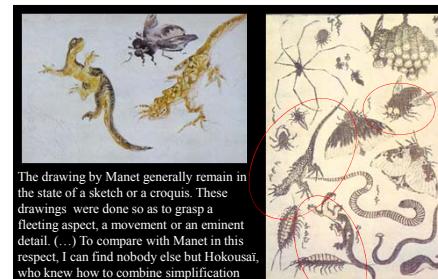
『フランスが見た日本：
陶器に書いた北斎、広重』
東京国立博物館 2008年
n.23 No.R-4



Edouard Manet, copie d'une page
De Mangwa de Hokusai, Musée du Louvre
マネによる『北斎漫画』の模写、制作年代不明
ルーヴル美術館



『北斎漫画』第2編28紙 「やもりとみもりとくまばら」
1815年パリ国立図書館 チュレ・コレクション蔵



The drawing by Manet generally remain in the state of a sketch or a croquis. These drawings were done so as to grasp a fleeting aspect, a movement or an eminent detail. (...) To compare with Manet in this respect, I can find nobody else but Hokusai, who knew how to combine simplification with a perfect determination of character in his drawing, made upon first attack, in his *Mangoua*.

Th. Duret, *L'Histoire d'Édouard Manet et de son œuvre*, 1902; 1906, p. 211.

Duret's theory of the Japanese « prime saut » (first attack without retouch) was baseless. In reality, Hokusai and other ukiyoe masters made repetitive retouches and modifications in their preparatory drawings to be handed over to engravers.



This observation leads to another hypothesis: It may be possible that French belief in the Japanese spontaneity in execution brought them to a hasty execution, to their refusal of « finir » for the benefit of direct catching of the vivid impressions with a single and instantaneous brush stroke.



2. Japanese Aesthetics

As it was understood in France
Through Hokusai's Vision
in the Second Half of the 19th
Century

« le beau dessin de cavalier que M. Vever se plaît à appeler le Saint Georges, l'esquisse du Rapt, œuvres pleines d'une admirable vie interne, ne la lassent pas écumer, ni éreptier au-dehors. Elles la ramassent et la contractent avec énergie. On dirait le dessin d'un statuaire, quelque groupe puissamment pêti, tout prêt pour la fondre ». Henri Focillon, *Hokusai*, 1917, p.129.



Katsushika Hokusai
Guerrier sur un cheval cabré
ca 1830 Musée Guimet 2007



Theodore Duret, « L'art japonais, les livres illustrés-l'albums imprimés, Hokusai »
Catalogue des Beaux-Arts 1882



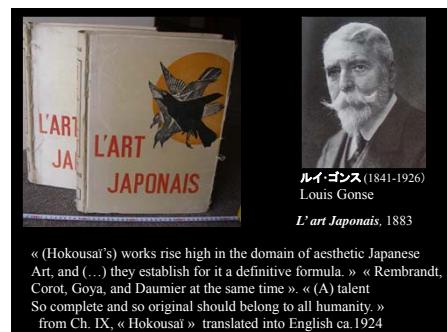
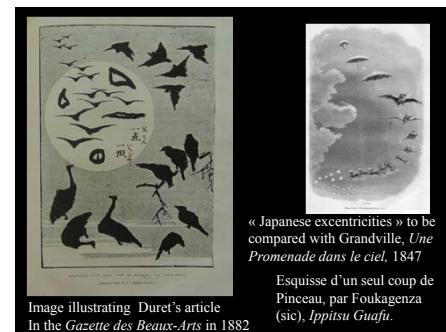
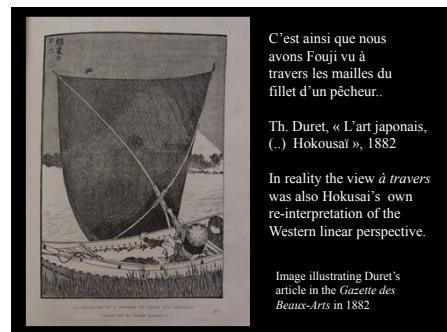
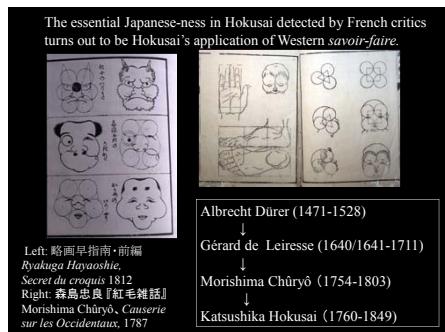
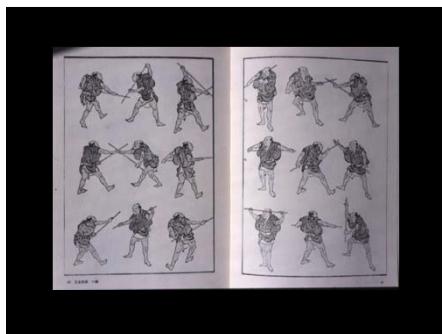
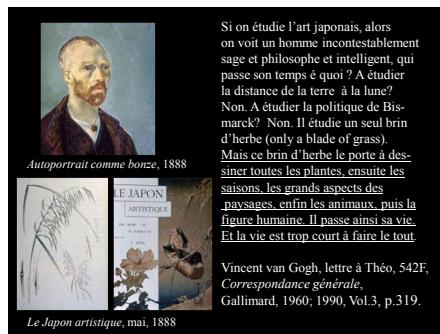
Le premier volume de la *Mangoua* nous offre d'abord les personnages augests de la légende bouddhique, puis le noble monde des guerriers et des héros chinois; les Japonais suivent: moines, daimyō, hommes et femmes de toute condition, ouvriers et artisans, figurés à leurs mérites ou vaquant à leurs travaux.
Th. Duret, 1882



Passant des humains aux bêtes, l'artiste nous montre les quadrupèdes, Puis les oiseaux, les poissons, les mollusques;



Enfin arrivent les plantes, les fleurs, et tout à fait en dernier, les choses inanimées, bateaux, maisons, palissades et haies de jardin, terres et rochers. C'est-à-dire que, dans le premier volume de la *Mangoua*, on a un résumé du monde visible japonais.



In their ignorance of all else, they look at everything Japanese, and especially Japanese art, only through the eyes of Hokusai (...)

The artisan artist (...) was indeed an interesting sociological phenomena. (...) Hokusai's painting is vulgar, not because it deals with vulgar subjects, not because Hokusai was not a man of rank, but because it is vulgar in its manner, and almost always in its conception. (...)

Hardly a Japanese of culture have been really converted to the foreign view. Critics here (in Japan) regard with amazement or amusement European estimates. It is hardly to be expected, to be sure, that those genial Japanese gentleman, who make a



business of selling Hokusai's, and other ukiyo-e*, in the capitals of Europe, should take great pains to oppose the opinions of enthusiasts who pay them such high prices; but their real tastes are shown by what they buy for their own keeping.

Ernest F. Fenollosa, "Review of the Chapter on Painting in *L'Art japonais*, by Louis Gonse," *The Japan Weekly Mail*, July 12, 1884.

*allusion to Tadamasa, Hayashi, K. Wakai or Bunshichi, Kobayashi

Anglo-Saxon Oyatoi scholars championing the 16th Century Zen Buddhist Painters, opposes their expertise to the French amateurs' view.



William Anderson, *The Pictorial Arts in Japan*, London : S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1886



Louis Gonse, *L'Art Japonais*, 1883

Quote here W. Anderson's harsh diatribe against L.Gonse

William Anderson, Physician hired by the Japanese Government and collector of Japanese Art (1842-1900)

Pictorial Art of Japan, 1886, p.099

Hokusai's memory is, perhaps, exposed to a greater danger from the admiration of his countrymen, but to numerous European critics, than from the neglect of his countrymen. To regard him as the greatest artist of Japan, and as the crowning representative of all that is excellent in Japanese art, is unjust to the art, and may react unfavorably against the reputation of the man who has suddenly been elevated to a position far above his own ambition. (...)

we have no more right to compare him with a Chō Densu, a Sesshū, or a Shūbun, than to draw a parallel between John Leech and Fra Angelico.



Dr. W. Anderson's harsh diatribe against L.Gonse

William Anderson, Physician hired by the Japanese Government and collector of Japanese Art (1842-1900)

Hokusai's memory is, perhaps, exposed to a greater danger from the admiration of his (Hokusai's) earnest, but too generous European critics, than from the neglect of his countrymen. To regard him as the greatest artist of Japan, and as the crowning representative of all that is excellent in Japanese art, is unjust to the art, and may react unfavorably against the reputation of the man who has suddenly been elevated to a position far above his own ambition. (...)

we have no more right to compare him with a Chō Densu, a Sesshū, or a Shūbun, than to draw a parallel between John Leech and Fra Angelico.

William Anderson, *The Pictorial Arts of Japan*, 1886, p.99



For both Fenollosa and Anderson it was out of the question to compare A simple print craftsman like Hokusai to the fifteenth-century Zen Buddhist Master painters. Right: Sesshū, *Scroll of Mountain and Water*

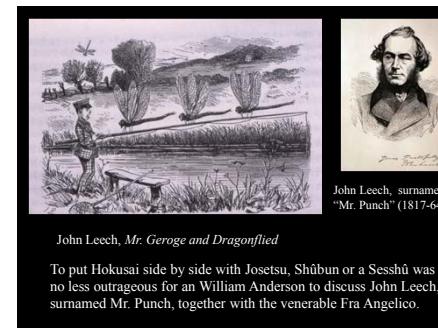


伝・周文《山水図》*Mountain and Water* (ca. 1445) Attributed to Shūbun (d. 1445-50)



Top: Hokusai's Selfportait at the age of 83

Left: 如拙《瓢躰図》京都、妙心寺、退藏院
Josetsu, *Catching a Catfish with a Gourd* (c.1413). Tanzō-in, Myōshinji Temple

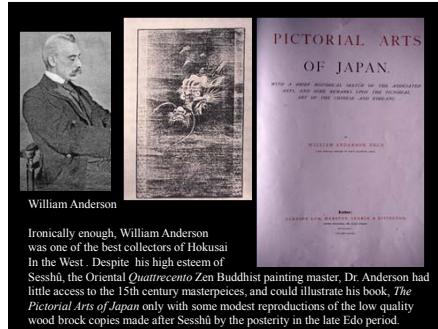


John Leech, *Mr. George and Dragonfly*

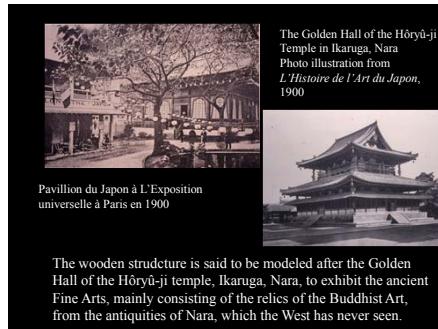
To put Hokusai side by side with Josetsu, Shūbun or a Sesshū was no less outrageous for an William Anderson to discuss John Leech, surnamed Mr. Punch, together with the venerable Fra Angelico.



Low & High



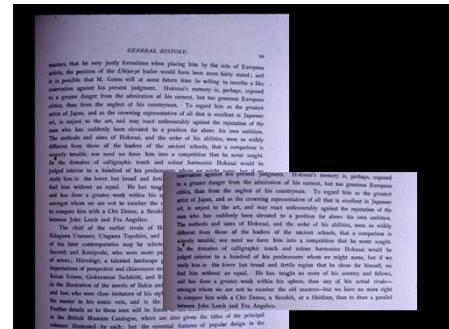
Ironically enough, William Anderson was one of the best collectors of Hokusai in the West. Despite his high esteem of Sesshu, the Oriental *Quattrocento* Zen Buddhist painting master, Dr. Anderson had little access to the 15th century masterpieces, and could illustrate his book, *The Pictorial Arts of Japan* only with some modest reproductions of the low quality wood block copies made after Sesshu by the posterity in the late Edo period.



The wooden structure is said to be modeled after the Golden Hall of the Hōryū-ji temple, Ikaruga, Nara, to exhibit the ancient Fine Arts, mainly consisting of the relics of the Buddhist Art, from the antiquities of Nara, which the West has never seen.

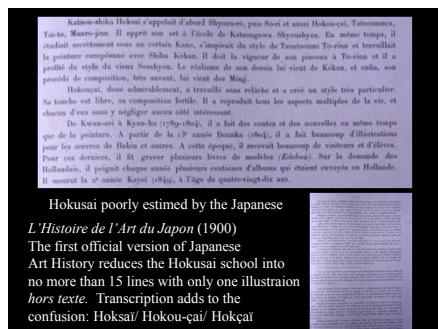


The Golden Hall of the Hôryû-ji Temple in Ikaruga, Nara
Photo illustration from *L'Histoire de l'Art du Japon*, 1900



4. How does the Japanese Art through Hokusai contribute to the subversion of the Western Academic canon?
-In depth analysis of the Hokusai controversies

- 1) Composition decomposed
« destruction de l'espace »
Pierre Francastel, *Peinture et Société* (1915)
Omitted Today
 - 2) Croquis and Drawing as expression of spontaneity
Free brush stoke put an end to the academic « fini »
 - 3) Colors liberated from the norm of chiaroscuro and shading
The « Blue Revolution » (Henry Smith II) in Edo
causes « indigomanie » of Impressionism in France



Katsu-ōsha Hōkai s'appelait d'abord Skypower, puis Sato et aussi Hōkai-ōshi, Tatsomic, Tai-za, Manju-ron. Il apprit son art à l'école de Katsugawa Shōkyūsō. En même temps, il étudiait secrètement sous un certain han, inspiré du style de Tatsomochi To-rin et travaillait la peinture encre avec Shōkyūsō. Il réussit à l'âge de 16 ans à suivre de ses peintures à To-rin et à produire des vases et des vases en pierre. Le résultat de son dessin lui vint de Kokan, et cette œuvre de composition, très novant, vit le jour dans les années 1860.

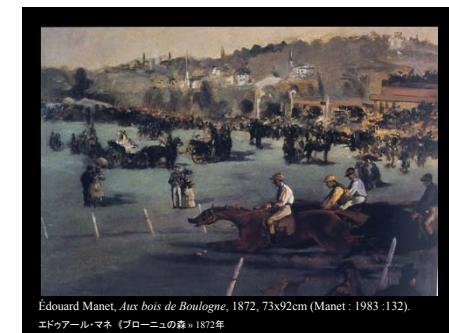
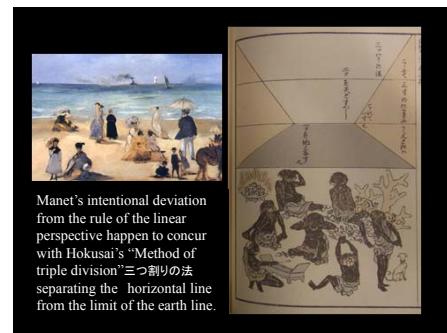
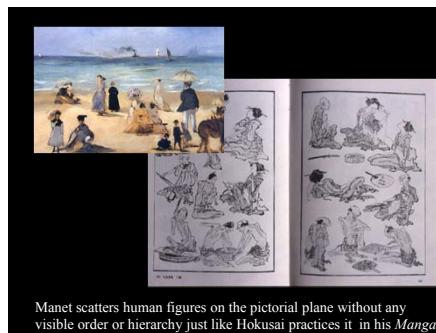
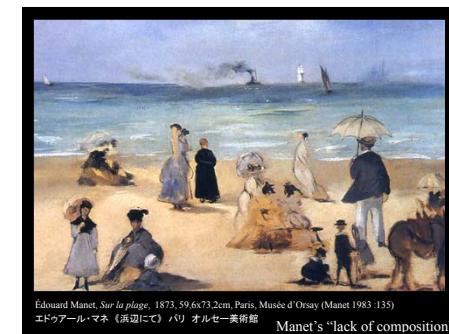
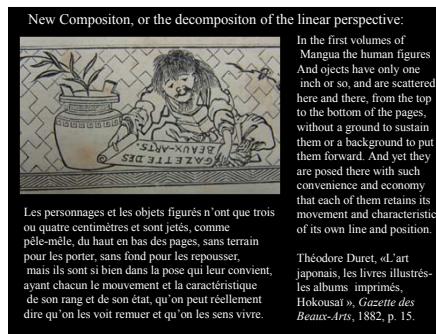
Hōkai-ōshi, donc, administrateur, a travaillé sans relâche et a créé un style très particulier. Sa touche est libre, sa composition forte. Il a reproduit tous les aspects multiples de la pierre, et chacun d'eux sera aussi sobre et intéressé.

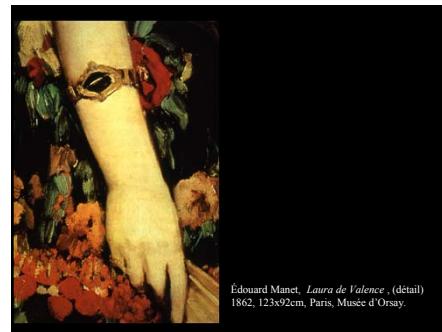
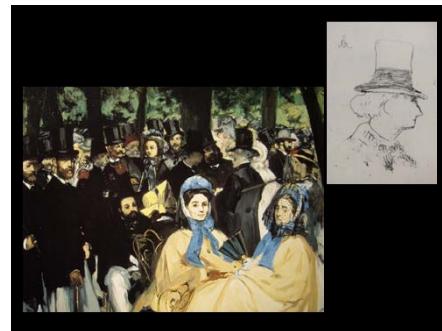
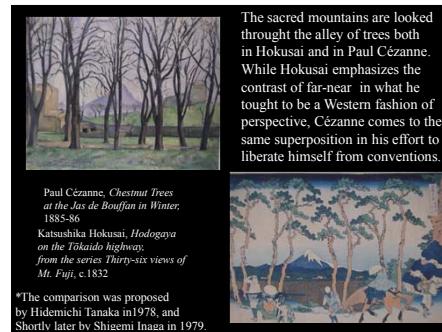
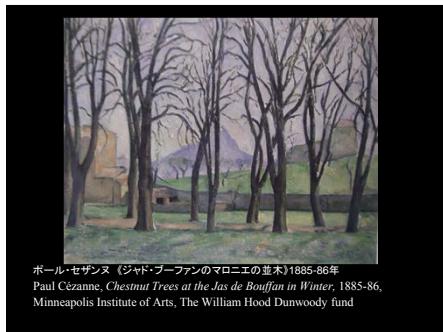
Dès Kwansei-ō à Kyōto (1859-1860), il a fait des contes et des nouvelles en prose et en vers que je présente, et il a également écrit des poèmes et des livres historiques ou d'enseignement pour les enfants de l'école de Bonten et autres. À cette époque, il enseignait l'écriture de calligraphie et d'alfabets. Pour ce faire, il a gravé plusieurs livres en modèles (*Educarum*). Sur la demande des Hollandais, il peignit quelque chose plusieurs centaines d'heures qui étaient envoyés en Hollande. Il mourut à 33 ans (Kyōto 1859), à l'âge de quatre-vingt-dix ans.

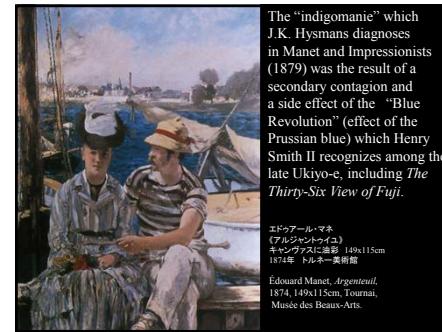
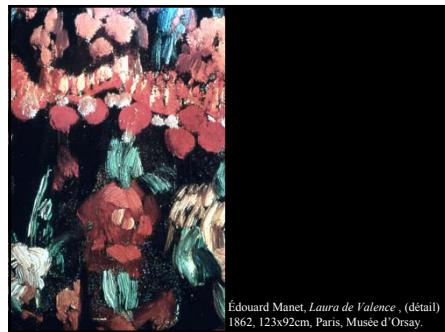
Hokusai poorly estimated by the Japanese
L'Histoire de l'Art du Japon (1900)
The first official version of Japanese
Art History reduces the Hokusai school into
no more than 15 lines with only one illustration
hors texte. Transcription adds to the
confusion: 'Hokusai' / Hokou-çai / Hokçai

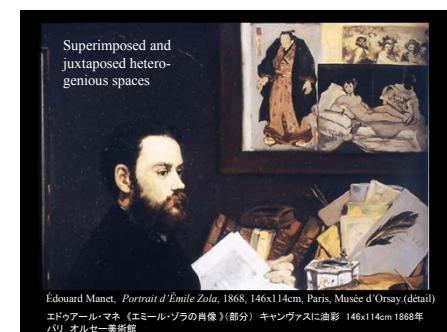
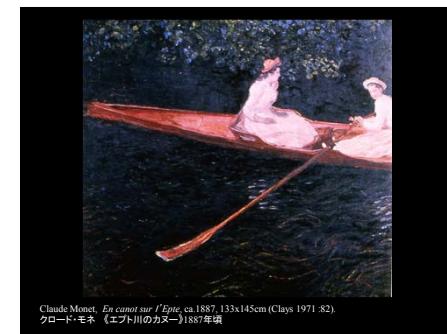
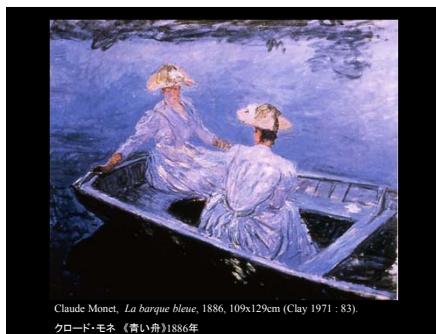


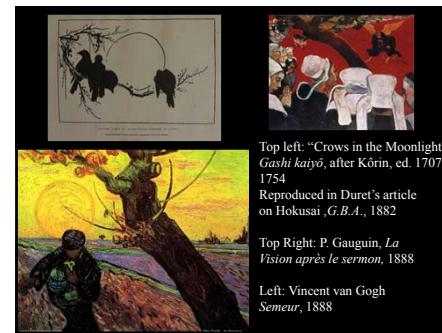
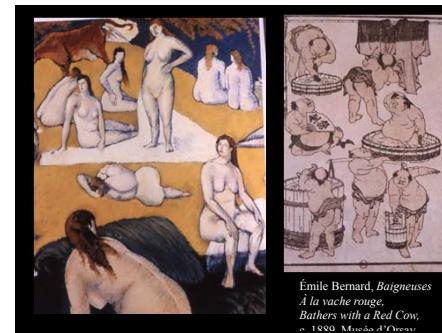
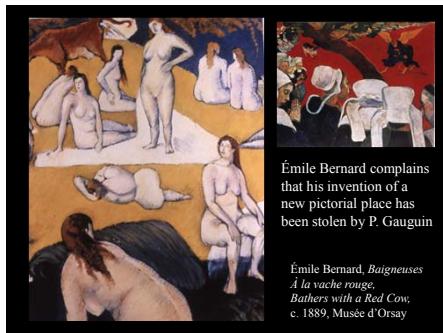
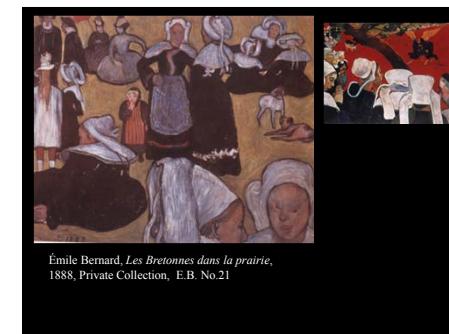
[発表] "Reception of Hokusai in the West: from Philippe Burty to Henri Focillon (1862-1925) with special focus on "Manga Jasienski" Symposium Hokusai in context Asia. Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum Berlin, October 14-15, 2011.

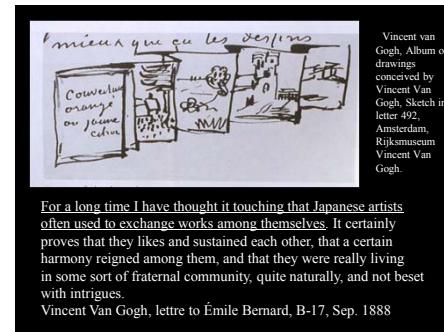
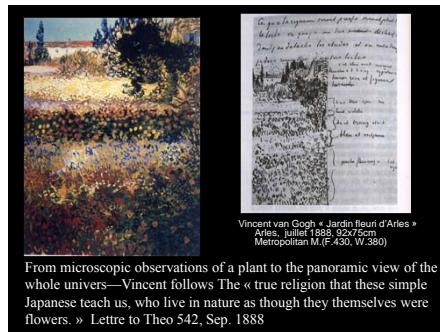
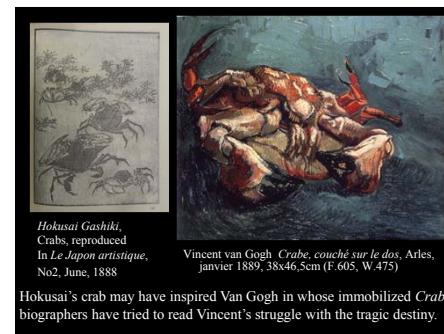
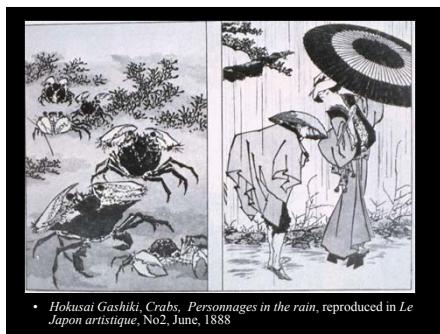


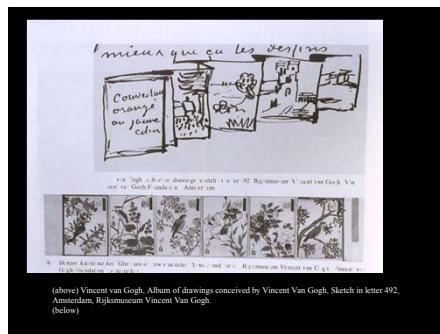




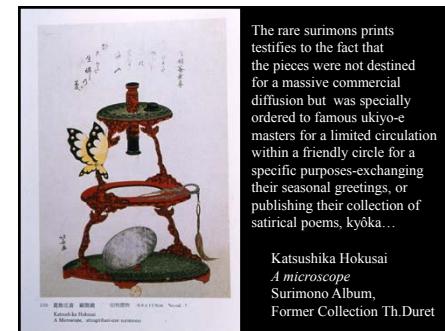






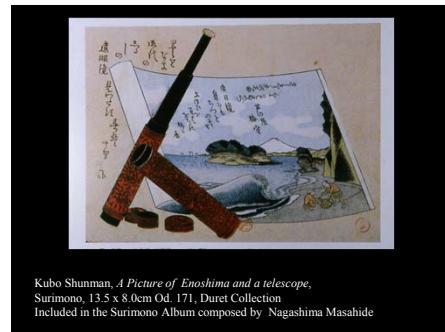


(above) Vincent van Gogh, Album of drawings conceived by Vincent Van Gogh, Sketch in letter 492, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Vincent Van Gogh
(below)





8 窪俊満 七物図 12 横山耕園画物 21 28.0cm Ni-o-n
Kubo Shunman, A Picture of Enoshima and a telescope,
Surimono, 13.5 x 8.0cm Od. 171, Duret Collection
Included in the Surimono Album composed by Nagashima Masahide



Kubo Shunman, A Picture of Enoshima and a telescope,
Surimono, 13.5 x 8.0cm Od. 171, Duret Collection
Included in the Surimono Album composed by Nagashima Masahide

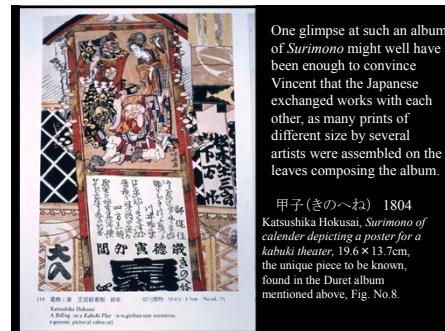


鳥居清長『暫図』Torii Kiyonaga, Shibashi
Included in the Surimono album composed by Nagashima Masahide
Former collection Théodore Duret, Bibliothèque nationale de France



窪俊満 Kubo Shunman,
A Picture of Enoshima and a telescope,
Surimono, 13.5 x 8.0cm
鳥居清長『暫図』Torii Kiyonaga,
Shibashi

Od. 171, Duret Collection
Included in the Surimono Album
composed by Nagashima Masahide



One glimpse at such an album of *Surimono* might well have been enough to convince Vincent that the Japanese exchanged works with each other, as many prints of different size by several artists were assembled on the leaves composing the album.

甲子 (きのへと) 1804
Katsushika Hokusai, *Surimono of calendar depicting a poster for a kabuki theater*, 19.6 x 13.7cm,
the unique piece to be known,
found in the Duret album
mentioned above, Fig. No.8.



Vincent van Gogh could have seen such albums of *surimono*
while he was in Paris. The Duret collection was then deposited with
Maurice Joyant, Théo's close colleague of the Société Goupil in Paris.

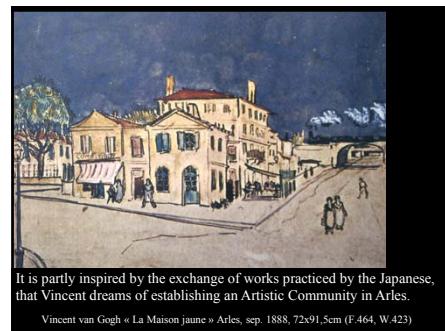


On lui doit (à Hokusai) encore
une foule de petites compositions
en couleurs*, figures ou scènes
détaillées, faites en partie
pour sa part de contribution
comme sociétaire de certaines
réunions ou groupes d'artistes,
dont les membres faisaient de temps
en temps des dessins
qu'ils se distribuaient entre eux.

Théodore Duret, « l'Art
japonais...Hokusai », 1882

* Surimono 描り物交換のこと

マネ『テオドール・デュレの肖像』キャンバスに油彩 43x35cm 1868年 パリ プティ・パリ美術館
Edouard Manet « Portrait de Théodore Duret » 1868, 43x35cm, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais



It is partly inspired by the exchange of works practiced by the Japanese,
that Vincent dreams of establishing an Artistic Community in Arles.

Vincent van Gogh « La Maison jaune » Arles, sep. 1888, 72x91.5cm (F.464, W.423)

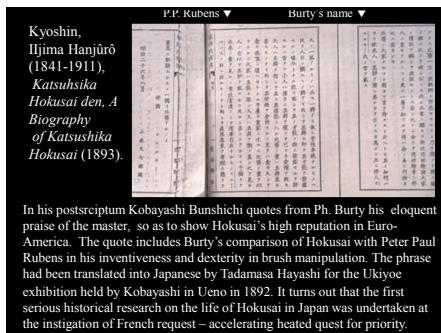
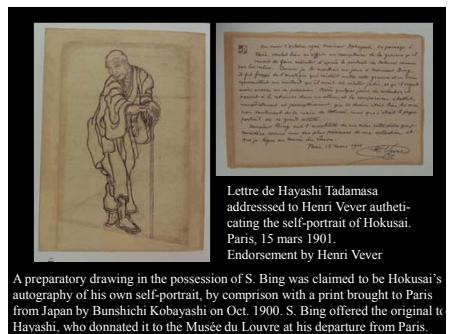


Vincent van Gogh « Autoportrait dit "Les Misérables" » Oil on canvas, 45x36cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Vincent Van Gogh.
Portraits destined for the mutual Exchange among the inhabitants Of the Maison jaune.

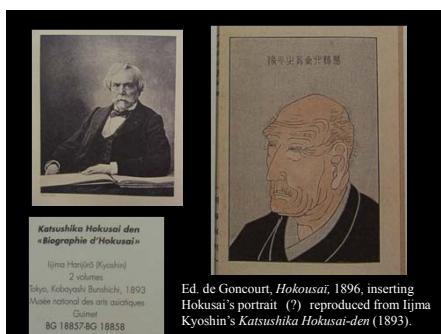
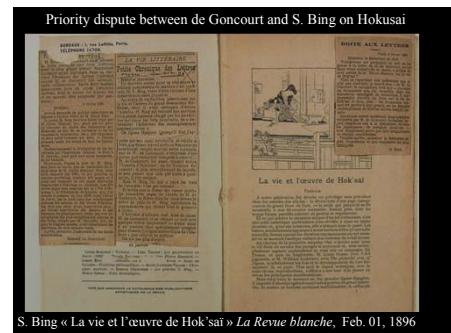
Vincent dreaming to become a Dutch 'Hokusai' in Arles, disguising himself in a Buddhist monk. Hokusai being synonymous with ukiyo-e.



-Forced expertise for the sake of commercial profit and the struggle to appropriate primary data for the establishment of the authoritative Hokusai biography.



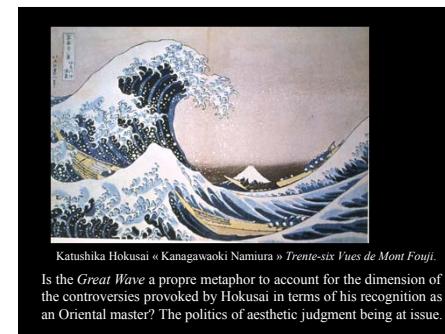
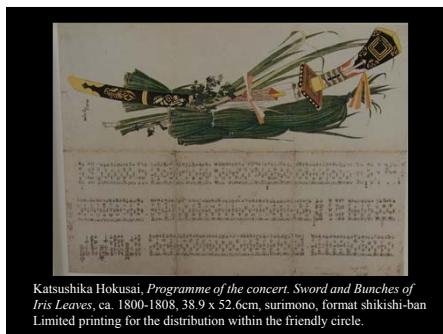
Kyoshin, Iijima Hanjūrō (1841-1911), *Katsushika Hokusai den. A Biography of Katsushika Hokusai* (1893).
In the postscriptum Bunshichi Kobayashi (1864-1923) explains that he published the manuscript prepared by Iijima. Some of the documents prepared by Iijima seem to be communicated to S. Bing by Hayashi, in 1894, to the consternation of Ed. de Goncourt. Shortly before de Goucourt's *Hokusai* appears (1896), S. Bing has published his « La Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Hok'sai » in the *Revue blanche* on Feb. 1st, 1896, condescendingly expressing his hope that de Goncourt's forthcoming publication of the Hokusai biography would be no less successful. Hayashi for his part explains to E. de Goncourt that the Iijima material would not do much damage to him. Hayashi also claims with ostensible resentment that Iijima appropriated for his own benefit those materials that he had collected at the expense of S. Bing. *Le Figaro* (feb. 4) publishes de Goucourt's open letter riposting to S. Bing.



A collector surnamed 'Manggha'
Feliks Jasieniński (1861-1929)
From 1882 to 1887 Feliks Jasieniński studies in Paris and in Berlin, before returning to Poland. In 1901 he unsuccessfully attempted to exhibit his collection of Japanese art. His ukiyo-e collection includes previous collection of Edmond de Goncourt. Surnamed Manggha, after Hokusai, Jasieniński published a *Guide to the Japanese Section of the Department of the National Museum in Cracow* in 1902. His collection was donated to the state in 1920.

It was not until 1978 that the existence of a huge collection of Japanese art in Cracow was known to Japan. The collection contains ca. 5000 ukiyo-e, 3000 sword gards, 50 swords, 150 paintings and panels, 300 ceramics, 70 iro-s, 50 costumes and obi-s, many of which come from former Jasieniński collection. The first return-home exhibit was held in Kyoto in 1980, with Sadao Kikuchi, specialist in ukiyo-e, serving as the commissioner.

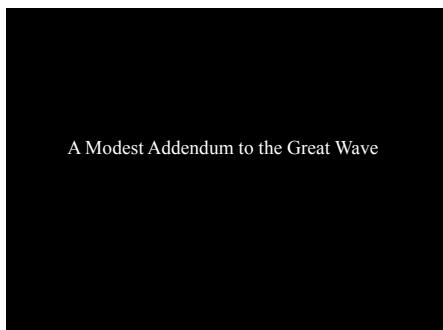
Leon Wyczolkowski, *Portrait of Feliks Jasieniński*, 1921
Portrait of Feliks Jasieniński, 1921
ポートレート秘蔵洋世経名作展・京都新聞社

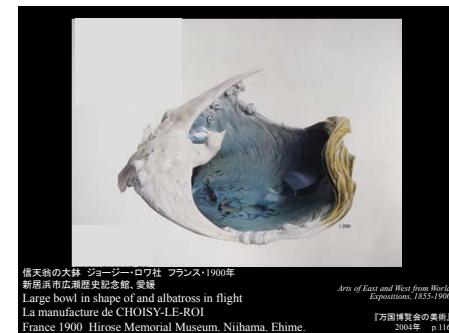


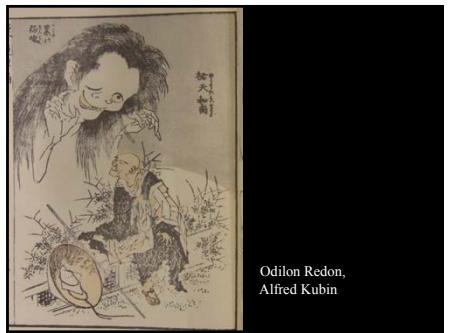
A travers ces oscillations de nos préférences, Hokusai demeure intact. C'est qu'il conserve en lui, c'est qu'il porte à leur plus haut degré de puissance expressive, c'est qu'il rend communicable à toute l'humanité quelques-uns des traits permanents et profonds de l'âme asiatique. Il n'est pas seulement un des plus grands créateurs de formes vivantes qui furent jamais, il appartient à l'ordre héroïque, il est au nombre de ces artistes, qui, visibles de tous les points de l'horizon, nous font connaître, en même temps qu'un génie singulier, cedui de leur race et quelque chose de l'homme éternel.

(tentative translation by S. Inaga)

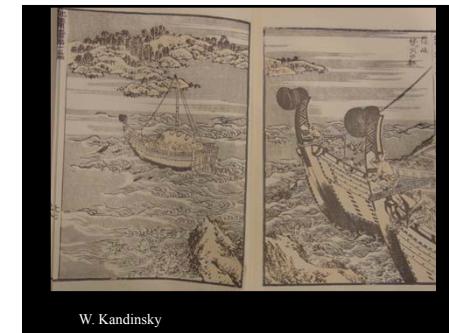
Henri Focillon *Hokusai* 2ème édition, 1925, préface pp. ii-iv







Odilon Redon,
Alfred Kubin



W. Kandinsky

