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Cézanne and Hokusai:

The Image of the Mountain

by

Kaoru Matsumoto

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Art History

McGill University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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ABSTRACT

During the last half of the nineteenth century, a remarkable number of European artists were influenced by Japanese art and culture, a trend which has been labelled "Japonisme." Among the major Post-Impressionist artists, Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) alone has been viewed as untouched by this influence, largely because of the strong three-dimensional quality of his art. This study provides a reassessment of the issue of Cézanne and "Japonisme" by concentrating on the flat, two-dimensional aspect of his art. The development of Cézanne's conceptualized and schematized treatment of the Mont Sainte-Victoire theme is considered both formally and iconographically in relation to the image of Mt. Fuji by the influential Japanese printmaker, Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Illustrating that Cézanne's path toward Modernism in painting may have been influenced by the Japanese print, and particularly the art of Hokusai, this study leads to a more profound understanding of Cézanne's development and the ideographic language of his images of Mont Sainte-Victoire.

RESUME

Pendant la dernière moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, un nombre considérable d'artistes européens ont été influencés par la culture et l'art japonais, tendance que l'on devait baptiser le Japonisme. De tous les grands artistes post-impressionistes, Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) est le seul que l'on croyait avoir échappé à cette influence du fait, en grand partie, de la forte qualité tridimensionnelle de son art. Cette étude réévalue la question de Cézanne et du Japonisme en s'intéressant à l'aspect bidimensionnel de son oeuvre. L'évolution du traitment schématisé et conceptualisé des représentations de la Montagne Sainte-Victoire est envisagée formellement iconographiquement par rapport à la représentation du Mont Fuji par l'un des plus grands peintres japonais, Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Démontrant que la progression de Cézanne vers le modernisme en peinture peut avoir été influencée par l'estampe japonaise et particulièrement par l'art de Hokusai, cette étude nous amène à mieux comprendre l'évolution de Cézanne et la langue idéographique de ses représentations de la Montagne Sainte-Victoire.

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Chapter One: Introduction and Overview

I. "Japonisme"

In 1854, when Japan opened its ports to the West, a period of more than two hundreds years of isolation was effectively brought to a close, and a new era of economic and cultural exchange with the nations of the Western world was born. This decisive event in Japan's history led to the end of the Edo era, and, with it, the Shôgunate feudal system.

Various types of art were exported from Japan, including fans, textiles, lacquers, woodcut prints and ceramics. These attracted enthusiastic collectors and critics and also furnished a new source of interest for Western artists. During the second half of the nineteenth century, there were frequent exhibitions in the West featuring the art of Japan. The publication of articles, magazines and books on Japanese art responded to the growing desire for a greater knowledge of exotic art forms.

The West's preoccupation with Japanese art and culture was not an isolated phenomenon. Paris, the international art capital in the second half of the nineteenth century, was most notably smitten. Not only painting and the decorative arts, but also architecture, interior design, opera, and literature reflected the vogue for all things

Japanese. The interest in and influence of Japanese art and culture on the West has been labelled "Japonisme," a term first used in 1872 by the art collector and critic Philippe Burty (1830-90) to "designate a new field of study---artistic, historic, and ethnographic...."[1] As noted by Gabriel Weisberg, "'Japonisme' was a complex trend involving popular and artistic aspects."[2]

Among Japanese art forms, it was the "Ukiyo-e" woodcut print that particularly captured the interest of Western artists. Cheap and plentiful, they were sold in tea shops, candy stores, large "magasins" as well as in shops specializing in the sale of Japanese goods and artifacts.[3]

The term "Ukiyo" literally means the "floating world." As Whitford explains, it originally referred to "transient earthly pleasures, as opposed to the more permanent joys of the spirit and of the mind," and "eventually came exclusively to mean the entertainment and culture of the urban merchant class, of the seething masses of the big

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[1]Gabriel P. Weisberg, et al., Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910 (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975) Preface.

[2]Gabriel Weisberg, "Japonisme: Early Sources and the French Printmaker 1854-1882," Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910 1.

[3]For example, L'Empire Chinois, M. et Mme. Desoye's, Decelle's and La Porte Chinoise were some of the best known of these specialty shops.

cities."[4] Pictures of "Ukiyo" subjects, most commonly executed in the woodcut technique, are referred to as "Ukiyo-e" ("e" means picture). "Ukiyo-e" were based on the entertainments of the merchant class: Kabuki theatre, courtesans and sumo wrestlers. Landscape was another important theme of "Ukiyo-e," reflecting the widespread development of both travel and travel books as pleasurable past-times. In Japan, in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, the popularity of "Ukiyo-e" was closely connected to the rising wealth of the merchant class in large urban centers such as Edo (now Tokyo), Osaka and Kyoto. Within the strict feudal class system, the merchants were prohibited from showing visible signs of their tremendous wealth, and they were unable to use it to obtain power. Various art forms, including "Ukiyo-e" prints, were developed to satisfy their closeted desire for opulence and luxury.

The development of "Ukiyo-e" was initiated by Hishikawa Moronobu in the seventeenth century. However, it was from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century that "Ukiyo-e" reached its height, producing an extraordinary succession of great printmakers that included Suzuki Harunobu, Kitagawa Utamaro, Tôshûsai Sharaku, Andô Hiroshige and Katsushika Hokusai.

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[4]Frank Whitford, Japanese Prints and Western Painters (London: Studio Vista, 1977) 28.

There are several reasons why Westerners were so attracted to Japanese prints in the nineteenth-century. The first, as Whitford explains, is the technique itself:

> The Japanese prints ... were quite unlike anything Western and demonstrated a range of effects most European artists would have believed impossible. For one thing, they employed a large number of bright, powerful colours, and the quality of their lines, moreover, ranged from the strong and ample to the light and delicate. No European techniques were capable of such chromatic richness and graphic subtlety.[5]

Whitford also proposes that the unusual subject matter of these prints was very appealing to European artists, "who, fed on a rich but monotonous diet of academic Salon painting, were starved of depictions of human figures on a human scale."[6] Realist and Impressionist artists were particularly drawn to the prints, which dealt mostly with everyday life in Japan, the so-called "Ukiyo" subjects.

Whitford cites a third reason for the popularity of the "Ukiyo-e" print in its decorative composition, realized in an extremely narrow and vertical format.[7] The use of scientific perspective is often absent or inconsistent in Japanese prints. The figures are two-dimensional, delineated with large areas of flat colour and clear, black contours. None of these characteristics were common in Western art.

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[5]Whitford 24.

[6]Whitford 24.

[7]Whitford 24.

The impact of Japanese prints on the Impressionists and numerous Post-Impressionist artists has been widely recognized; the Japanese printmaker's use of bright colours, a surface-oriented spatial structure and popular subject matter have received particular notice in this regard. Edgar Degas' asymmetrical composition, unusual viewpoint and strong contrast between near and far are all associated with Japanese prints. Toulouse-Lautrec's decorative posters and his themes of cabaret performers and prostitutes also show this influence. It is well-known that Vincent van Gogh and Claude Monet were fervent admirers of Japanese prints. Both collected them eagerly. The widespread effects of "Japonisme" were felt as early as the late 1850s and continued into the twentieth century.[8]

While the scholarly literature on the subject of "Japonisme" is quite extensive, the actual interpretation of the phenomenon differs among scholars, in part because the responses of artists to the impact of the Japanese print were varied and sometimes contradictory. Generally, an influence has been established through a cursory study of formal similarities; an examination of the individual artist's understanding and application of Japanese traits within the context of his own artistic objectives has been

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[8]For references on individual artists and a very useful chronological presentation of the existing literature on the subject, consult Japonisme: An Annotated Bibliography by Gabriel P. Weisberg and Yvonne M.L. Weisberg (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990).

either inadequately considered or ignored. In fact, meagre consideration of an artist's own milieu has resulted in some scholars denying a Japanese influence simply because of the geographical and/or cultural differences that exist between artists of East and West.

"Japonisme" cannot be read into the work of each and every artist (evolutionary positivism), nor can it be dismissed as absent (superficial negativism) until one has considered the context in which individual artists lived and worked and to which they may have adapted "Japonisme." It appears that there is a need to revise the methodology of examining the influence of Japanese art, particularly the Japanese woodcut print, on nineteenth-century French artists.

II. Cézanne's Artistic Environment and "Japonisme"

In considering the impact of Japanese prints on Cézanne, it is necessary to establish the types of contact he had with this art form. Which of the Western artists who collected or were influenced by Japanese prints were close to Cézanne? What type of critical thinking about Japanese prints was typical in Cézanne's era? What publications did Cézanne read, and which exhibitions of Japanese prints did he see? By briefly examining what is known about the impact of "Japonisme" on several of the figures most closely

associated with Cézanne, we can illuminate the nature of Cézanne's exposure to and appreciation of Japanese art. In this way, we can also identify what Cézanne would have known of the art of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), the Japanese artist whose prints were perhaps the most influential for Cézanne as well as other French artists of the late-nineteenth century.

In his 1921 memoir of Cézanne, Joachim Gasquet states with regard to Cézanne's opinion of Japanese art:

> People talked about the Japanese and the Chinese. When I led the conversation towards them, he [Cézanne] said, I don't know anything about them. I've never seen their work. [9]

Yet, according to Gasquet, Cézanne also made this remark:

> Or take the most summary of painters, the Japanese,they brutally surround their people, their objects, with a harsh, schematic, stressed outline, and fill it in right up to the edges with flat colours. It's as gaudy as a poster, painted like a stencil punched by machine. It has no life in it.[10]

That Cézanne had an awareness of Japanese prints and an apparent distaste for them is reinforced by his scornful description of Paul Gauguin as a painter of "Chinese images."[11] Gasquet recounts that Cézanne had read the two

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[9]Joachim Gasquet, Joachim Gasquet's Cézanne: A Memoir with Conversations, trans. Christopher Pemberton (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991) 94. The original French edition is Cézanne by J. Gasquet (Paris, 1921).

[10]Gasquet 182.

[11]Whitford 169. Cézanne made this remark to Monet in 1882. See Gustave Geffroy, Claude Monet, sa vie, son oeuvre, (Paris, 1924). Whitford suggests that Cézanne, "like so many others of his contemporaries, thought that Japan was a part of

important volumes on Utamaro and Hokusai written by Edmond de Goncourt (1822-96), one of the most influential enthusiasts and authorities on Japanese art at that time.[12] The first monograph on the art of Hokusai to appear in the West, de Goncourt's 1896 Hokousaï includes a lengthy discussion of the most celebrated of the artist's prints---the series entitled Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji and One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji.[13] De Goncourt states:

> Cette célébration par l'illustration du grand artiste, de la montagne vénérée du Japon, de la montagne aux 12450 pieds, n'est pas tant une représentation des ascensions qui ont lieu, chaque année, pendant les grandes chaleurs, que cent fois la montre de la montagne, vue de Yédo, et des campagnes au nord, au sud, à l'est, à l'ouest du Fouzi-yama."[14]

This description is significant when we consider Cézanne's own approach to the depiction of Mont Sainte-Victoire, wherein he strives to express his own "venerated" Provençal mountain from several viewpoints.

While Gasquet has often been criticized for embellishing Cézanne's remarks, we have no reason to doubt his assertion that Cézanne did indeed read these sources. Nevertheless, Gasquet refutes the influence of Japanese prints on Cézanne, admitting only the possibility of an

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China."

[12] the volume on Utamaro, published in 1891, was coauthored by Jules and Edmond de Goncourt.

[13]Edmond de Goncourt, Hokousaï (Paris, 1896) 162-169, 207-214.

[14]de Goncourt 207.

"accidental" influence which is "purely intellectual":

> He had merely read the two Goncourt volumes on Utamaro and Hokusai, and to the creative mind of a painter a hundred pages of text do not convey the same thing as a line, or two or three brush strokes. If there was a link, which I am far from suggesting ... that link was accidental and in any case purely intellectual. There was no exchange, no potential influence. Cézanne's foundations were all French and Latin.[15]

As a Provençal poet, Gasquet clearly had an interest in stressing Cézanne's local roots, yet, the very fact that Cézanne read the volumes on Utamaro and Hokusai confirms his curiosity about Japanese art and indicates that he did have some knowledge of Japanese prints.

Cézanne was closely associated with several of the major critics and enthusiasts of Japanese prints, as well as several artists known to be directly influenced by them. Emile Zola (1840-1902), one of Cézanne's closest friends, admired and collected Japanese prints.[16] In 1880, Zola wrote favourably regarding Japanese prints as a means of breaking away from "notre peinture noire, notre peinture d'école au bitume."[17] By mentioning the effective influence on young artists of "ces horizons limpides, ces belles taches vibrantes des aquarellistes japonais," Zola clearly revealed his attraction to the bright colours used

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[15]Gasquet 94.

[16]Cézanne's renowned friendship with Zola began in their youth and lasted until 1886, when supposedly, the publication of Zola's novel Oeuvre terminated their close relationship.

[17]Emile Zola, Salons, ed. F.W.J. Hemmings and Robert J. Niess (Paris: Libraire Minard, 1959) 242.

in Japanese prints.[18] In the 1868 portrait of Zola by Edouard Manet, he is shown with a screen and an inkwell of either Japanese origin or inspiration, and mounted on the wall behind him is a Japanese print of a wrestler by Kuniaki II.[19] The portrait confirms Zola's and Manet's positive interest in Japanese art.

As early as 1867, Zola commented upon the recognizable similarities between Manet's art and Japanese prints. In Mes Haines, he rejected a critic's condemning claim that Manet's pictures looked like "gravures d'Epinal."[20] Zola emphasized that while in popular prints pure tones were applied without concern for their values, there was in Manet's work an obvious concern for the precise relationship between these tones. He then states:

> Il serait beaucoup plus intéressant de comparer cette peinture simplifiée avec les gravures japonaises qui lui ressemblent par leur élégance étrange et leur taches magnifiques.[21]

Zola's comments show a clear understanding, according to Anne Coffin Hanson, of "what might most [have] appeal[ed] to

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[18]Zola, Salons 242.

[19]This portrait is located in Musée du Louvre, Galerie du Jeu de Paume. For a detailed examination of this portrait, see Reff, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," Burlington Magazine 117 (Jan., 1975): 35-44.

[20]Zola, Mes Haines (Paris: François Bernouard, 1928) 258.

[21]Zola, Mes Haines 258-259.

Manet in Japanese art."[22]

It is important to note that Théodore Duret (1838-1927), a critic who championed Japanese art, was one of the first to praise the art of Paul Cézanne.[23] Among the Impressionist artists who avidly collected and were influenced by Japanese prints, Camille Pissarro (1830-1903) is most important because of his close relationship with Cézanne during the 1870s and early 1880s. Later in his life, Cézanne acknowledged his debt to Pissarro, when, in 1904, he listed himself in the catalogue of the "Société des Amis des Arts in Aix" as "élève de Pissarro."[24]

Indeed, Pissarro was one of the most prominent admirers of Japanese art and is reported to have owned about fifteen Japanese prints and objects.[25] As early as 1873, he described Japan as a "pays hardi et très révolutionnaire en

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[22]Anne Coffin Hanson, Manet and the Modern Tradition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) 191.

[23]See John Rewald, Cézanne: A Biography (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986) 75, 101-102, 113.

[24]Rewald, ed., Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien, (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1943) 167.
Pissarro himself expressed similar ideas regarding his influence on Cézanne in letters to his son Lucien. For example, Pissarro states in a letter of 22 Nov., 1895: "...he was influenced by me at Pontoise, and I by him...Curiously enough, in Cézanne's show at Vollard's there are certain landscapes of Auvers and Pontoise [painted in 1871-74] that are similar to mine."

[25]Christopher Lloyd, "Camille Pissarro and Japonisme," Japonisme in Art, An International Symposium 173.

art" in a letter to Théodore Duret.[26] Later, he expressed openly his admiration for Japanese prints following visits to exhibitions of Japanese art in 1883, 1890 and 1893. After seeing the exhibition at the Georges Petit Gallery in 1883, he wrote to his son, Lucien, on April 24, 1883:

> Duret, Gonse (of the Gazette des Beaux-Arts), Burty, Hirsch, the painter, etc., have opened an exhibition of Japanese prints at Petit's; it is simply marvellous. I find in the art of this astonishing people nothing strained, a calm, a grandeur, an extraordinary unity, a rather subdued radiance which is nevertheless brilliant; what astounding balance, and what taste![27]

In addition to being an admirer of Japanese art, Pissarro was also influenced by it. Barbara Shapiro has commented upon the pronounced affinity between Pissarro's graphic work and Japanese prints.[28] She mentions that Pissarro is particularly indebted to Hiroshige in his use of rain and snow effects. Shapiro also attributes his use of certain compositional devices to the influence of Japanese prints. His placement of figures near the picture surface in order to emphasize its two-dimensionality is an example. She also points out that Pissarro's use of outlines, layering of cloud formations and use of perspective are all

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[26]Janine Bailly-Herzberg, ed., Correspondance de Camille Pissarro (Tome I) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980) 79.

[27]Rewald, Pissarro, Letters 28.

[28]Barbara Shapiro, Camille Pissarro, The Impressionist Printmaker (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), n. pag. (page seven of Introduction).

associated with Japanese art.[29]

Lloyd examines the issue of Pissarro and "Japonisme" from several different viewpoints, comparing his compositional devices, colouring and subject matter with those of Hiroshige.[30] Lloyd sees the effect of Japanese prints on Pissarro in his simplification of the composition, his interest in topography and caricature and his fascination with female figures. Lloyd considers the influence of Japanese prints on Pissarro as being "more deep-seated than a display of decorative qualities" because he admits that Pissarro emulates those Japanese elements and skilfully manipulates them as part of his own vocabulary. Lloyd confirms the influence from phase to phase throughout his career.[31]

Thus, in light of the close association between Cézanne and Pissarro, especially in the 1870s, which was a period of mutual exchange, it is quite possible that Cézanne would have absorbed some of the lessons that Pissarro had learned from Japanese prints. At the very least, it is safe to conclude that Pissarro's positive involvement in Japanese prints would have prompted discussions of the subject between the artists.

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[29]Shapiro, n. pag. (page seven of Introduction).

[30]Lloyd, 173-188.

[31]Lloyd 176.

Cézanne's friendship with Claude Monet (1840-1926) provided him in the 1880s and 1890s with direct access to a large collection of Japanese prints.[32] Monet was an enthusiastic collector of Japanese art and his admiration was made visible at Giverny, where he realized his own personal Japanese-inspired dream world. There, Monet laid out a water garden with a Japanese bridge modeled after representations in prints such as Hiroshige's Kameidô Tenjin keidai (Grounds of Kameidô Tenjin Shrine [Fig.1] from the One Hundred Famous Views of Edo (1856-59). The interior of his house was decorated with over two hundred Japanese woodcut prints. Monet's collection contained as many as nine prints from Hokusai's 36 Views of Mt. Fuji series.[33] A contemporary photo shows Hokusai's Kanagawa-oki nami-ura (Under the Wave off Kanagawa, "The Great Wave") [Fig.2] and Gaifû kaisei (Fine Wind, Clear Morning, "Red Fuji") [Fig.3] prominently displayed on the wall of his library, known as the 'Salon mauve.' [Fig.4] John Rewald suggests the possibility of a short visit by Cézanne to Giverny in 1885

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[32]Cézanne maintained a deep respect and admiration for Monet, declaring near the end of his life that there were only "two great masters", Monet and Pissarro. This remark is recorded by Karl Ernst Osthaus, the German collector, when he visited Cézanne in Aix in 1906. Quoted in Rewald, Cézanne: A Biography 222.

[33]Geneviève Aitken, Marianne Delafond, eds., La Collection d'estampes Japonaises de Claude Monet à Giverny (Giverny: Maison de Monet, 1983) 70-74.

and frequent sojourns in the fall of 1894.[34] Therefore, it is very probable that, through Monet, Cézanne came into direct contact with works depicting Mt. Fuji by Hokusai.

Although it is not known if Cézanne attended any of the numerous exhibitions of Japanese art and/or prints that took place in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century, it is certain that several of his close artistic friends did. The 1867 Paris Universal Exposition, with its highly popular Japanese pavilion, was followed by several noteworthy shows. In the spring of 1883, the exhibition of Japanese art from private Parisian collections was held at the Georges Petit Gallery. On May 4th of that year, Cézanne was apparently in Paris for Manet's funeral and might have visited this show, or at least he would have heard something about it.

Another display, which was known to have "stimulated the interest of many collectors," was organized in 1883 by Gonse at the "Musée Japonais Temporaire."[35] Vincent van Gogh organized an exhibition of Japanese woodcuts in 1887.[36] The following year, "l'Exposition historique de l'art de la gravure au Japon" was mounted in Samuel Bing's boutique. In April and May 1890, Bing organized one of the

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[34]Rewald, Cézanne: A Biography 185, 269.

[35]Siegfried Wichmann, Japonisme (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) 9.

[36]In 1887, Cézanne was probably in Aix most of the year.

period's most influential exhibitions of Japanese prints at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. It included 763 prints and featured, among other artists, Hokusai and Hiroshige. An immense success, this exhibition directly inspired Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) in the production of her famous set of Ten Colour Aquatints.[37] We know Cézanne was in Paris while several of these exhibitions took place (in 1888, 1890).

Numerous publications concerning the art of Japan were also produced during the 1880s. The author of important early studies on both Hokusai and Utamaro, Edmond de Goncourt was, as he himself proclaimed, one of the most influential writers in the realm of "Japonisme." In his novels, such as Manette Salomon (1867), which Cézanne was known to have admired,[38] he promulgated an enthusiasm for everything Japanese. Gonse's 1883 L'art japonais contained all the major themes of painting, sculpture, architecture and so on. According to Weisberg, "...its appearance coincided with the full phase of "Japonisme" in France where connoisseurs utilized the book as a fundamental text on all Japanese arts."[39] Bing's publication of the magazine Japon

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[37]On Cassatt's set of ten prints and the influence of Japanese prints, see Nancy Mowll Mathews and B. S. Shapiro, Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989).

[38]Editorial, "The Paradox of Cézanne," Apollo 100 (Aug., 1974): 100. Manette Salomon was coauthored by Jules and Edmond de Goncourt.

[39]Weisberg, Bibliography 42-43 #66.

artistique from 1888-1891 should also be noted. It consisted of 36 monthly issues which "effectively created 'Japonisme.'"[40]

While Cézanne presumably did not share the prevailing positive opinion, he was surrounded by those who were interested in collecting and writing about the impact of Japanese prints. Many of the critics who supported Cézanne, as well as some of his closest friends admired, collected or were influenced by Japanese prints. For Zola, Pissarro and Monet, the interest in Japanese prints went far beyond the level of a superficial fascination, and we can assume that they probably discussed Japanese prints with Cézanne and conveyed to him both their enthusiasm for and understanding of the art form. Whether or not Cézanne read any of the popular literature on Japanese prints or attended any of the numerous exhibitions including images of Hokusai's Mt. Fuji cannot be positively determined. However, his documented reading of de Goncourt's volumes on Hokusai and Utamaro and his contact with several important collectors, critics and artists known to have been influenced by Japanese prints provide sufficient evidence to conclude that Cézanne was definitely exposed to Japanese art and that he had a greater knowledge of Japanese prints than he or the scant references in the pertinent literature would concede.

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[40]Wichmann, Japonisme 8, n.6; 9.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature and Rationale of this Study

I. Review of the Literature

In spite of the widespread influence of "Japonisme," Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) has been viewed by most scholars as the one major Post-Impressionist artist who was immune to its effects. This point of view is summarized by Gerald Needham:

> We have seen the role of Japonisme in the work of three of the four great Post-Impressionist painters--Gauguin, Seurat and Van Gogh .... the fourth, Cézanne, appears to have been the only major painter who was unmarked by it. It is possible to imagine a case being made for the evidence of Japanese influence in the high horizon lines of his Mont Ste-Victoire pictures and the bird's-eye views of the Bay of l'Estaque. We believe, however, that Cézanne's development was a European one, and that these similarities are coincidental.[41]

This denial of any meaningful relation between the art of Cézanne and that of the East is due mostly to the constructive, three-dimensional quality of Cézanne's work, which traditionally has been viewed as artistically distanced from the characteristically flat, two-dimensional appearance of Japanese prints. Moreover, Cézanne's own remarks, though somewhat contradictory, express his dislike of Japanese prints and have encouraged a careless dismissal

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[41]Gerald Needham, "Japanese Influence on French Painting 1854-1910," Japonisme:Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910 128-129.

of a possible deeper relation between the artist and one of the major forces influencing the art of his day.[42] There is a need to refine our appreciation of Cézanne's art and how Japanese prints may have penetrated his artistic vocabulary.

Unlike other major late nineteenth-century artists, Cézanne resisted a departure from the three-dimensional representation of reality. Cézanne's attachment to the three-dimensional realm is one of the foundational characteristics of his art and, while he did not always employ traditional devices of spatial illusionism, expressions of depth and a strong architectonic quality are always found in his paintings. Cézanne himself stated, "J'ai voulu faire de l'impressionnisme quelque chose de solide et de durable comme l'art des Musées."[43] This attempt to accord Impressionism a solidity reminiscent of classical art is in marked contrast to the Impressionist goal of recording transient effects in a manner that often results in a flattening of the picture surface. This flatness, albeit for different formal reasons, is also an outstanding feature of Japanese prints.

A second feature of Cézanne's art that has discouraged comparison with Eastern art is the painter's use of parallel

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[42]Gasquet 182.

[43]Maurice Denis, Théories 1890-1910, 4th ed. (Paris: L. Rouart et J. Watelin Editeurs, 1920) 250.

brushstrokes as "a means of shaping solid, weighty forms through color alone without recourse to conventional chiaroscuro."[44] These visible brushstrokes are in strong contrast to the style of Japanese prints in which figures are clearly outlined and rendered with broad, flat areas of unmodulated colour.

These features of Cézanne's art notwithstanding, it is wrong to assume that the entire scope of his formal apparatus is an essential contradiction of the pictorial traits of the Japanese print. While the constructive, three-dimensional quality of Cézanne's art cannot be denied, its paradoxical coexistence with a highly conceptualized two-dimensional scheme must be acknowledged. In characterizing the treatment of space in Cézanne's art, scholars make use of the term "flat-depth." This association is particularly noticeable in the treatment of his most famous motif---Mont Sainte-Victoire, especially those representations executed in the mid-1880s and later. When compared to Japanese prints, these works display an equally emphatic, if not more pronounced, quality of two-dimensionality, which, in Cézanne's art, is utterly congruous with the constructive, three-dimensional components of each picture.

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[44]Theodore Reff, "Cézanne's Constructive Stroke," Art Quarterly 25 (Autumn 1962): 214.

While the prevailing opinion in the existing literature on Cézanne discounts any association with the art of the East, there are some sources which suggest that similarities do exist. Very often, the dissenting opinions focus on issues relating to composition and the two-dimensional aspect of Cézanne's art.

Probably the first to posit a connection between Cézanne and the East was the painter Paul Gauguin (1843-1903), who, in a letter of 1885, described Cézanne in the following way:

> Look at Cézanne, the misunderstood, the essential mystic nature of the Orient (his face is like the face of an ancient from the Levant), he prefers forms imbued with the mystery and weighty tranquillity of a man lying down so as to dream; his colors are grave like the character of an Oriental; ...[45]

In his attempt to explain Cézanne's elusiveness and the equally enigmatic quality of his art, Gauguin seeks an identification in the man and in his art with the character traits of an Eastern mystic, an exotic association which could only have served to reinforce the mystery attendant to Cézanne and his art at that time.

Another artist, Maurice Denis, in his 1913 publication Théories 1890-1910[46] did not propose any direct influence of Japanese art on Cézanne, but he did identify an affinity

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[45]Letter of January 14, 1885 to Emile Schuffenecker, in Daniel Guérin, ed. The Writings of a Savage, Paul Gauguin (New York: Paragon House, 1990) 4.

[46]Maurice Denis, Théories 1890-1910, 4th ed. (Paris: L. Rouart et J. Watelin Editeurs, 1920) 276.

in the discipline of composition: details are organized in unity with the principal idea of the work. Denis expressed this quality as "cette subordination de la nature à la sensibilité et à la raison humaines"[47] and states:

> Qu'un Japonais par exemple compose une page vide dans un coin de laquelle passe un vol d'oiseaux, son sujet n'est pas le vol d'oiseaux, mais le grand ciel pâle que ses oiseaux ont traversé. Le désordre apparent, les gauches perspectives d'une desserte de Cézanne tendent à localiser au milieu de la composition le sujet de peinture, le devoir d'harmonie que Cézanne s'y est proposé; ... l'harmonie par les contrastes, loi fondamentale de la couleur; ... le respect de la matière; ... l'amour de la clarté et du définitif; ... enfin la qualité du sentiment humain qui porte et soutient l'oeuvre d'art.[48]

As previously mentioned, Cézanne's early biographer, Joachim Gasquet recorded the artist's two contradictory remarks concerning Japanese art in his 1921 memoir, and noted that Cézanne had read the two particular volumes on Hokusai and Utamaro.[49] In denying Cézanne any influence from Japanese art, Gasquet makes the terse pronouncement, "There was no exchange, no potential influence."[50] He then immediately qualifies this by adding, "If there was a link,...that link was accidental and in any case purely intellectual."[51] What exactly was Gasquet referring to

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[47]Denis 276.

[48]Denis 276.

[49]Gasquet 94. See previous discussion, 7-9.

[50]Gasquet 94.

[51]Gasquet 94.

when he speaks of a "purely intellectual" influence?

In 1955, Terence Mullaly suggested a similarity in the "feeling for design" between Japanese prints, especially Hokusai's and Hiroshige's, and Cézanne's, as well as those of Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard and Vuillard.[52] Focusing on Cézanne's landscapes, in particular La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin (c. 1885-1887, V. 455, The Phillips Collection) [Fig.5], Mullaly rightly observed that:

> the laborious process by which he [Cézanne] built up his pictures often produced results akin to those they [the Japanese artists] effortlessly achieved. This is clear in a picture such as his "Mont Ste-Victoire" in the Phillips Collection, Washington [Fig.5], in which even the tree on the left and the branches above might have been taken from Hokusai or Hiroshige.[53]

In his 1965 book, Peinture et Société, Pierre Francastel focuses on the series of prints by Hokusai representing Mt. Fuji as one of the sources of inspiration for Cézanne's Mont Sainte-Victoire :

> J'ai vu dernièrement rassemblée à Londres--dans la salle d'Exposition provisoire du British Museum--une série d'estampes d'Hokusai qui représentent naturellement la Fuji-Yama. Plusieurs de ces géniales compositions, jetées sur le papier avec l'apparentehardiesse d'improvisation d'une esquisse, sont incontestablement au nombre des sources d'inspiration des dernières Sainte-Victoire de Cézanne ...[54]

However, Francastel does not emphasize the individual

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[52]Terence Mullaly, "French Painting and the Japanese Print," Apollo 62.370 (Dec., 1955): 192-196.

[53]Mullaly 196.

[54]Pierre Francastel, Peinture et Société (Paris: Gallimard, 1965) 128.

influencing elements themselves but, rather, the very "process of integration"[55] whereby European art was revitalized by Japanese influences. He says, "ce que les Impressionistes ont pris au japonisme c'est la confirmation de certaines de leurs observations directes."[56] The position of Francastel concerns a more general comparative study than an actual analysis of specific influences. He does not examine any concrete relation between Cézanne and Hokusai.

In a 1977 article, entitled "Japonismu: Ukiyo-e no seiyô bijutsu ni ataeta eikyô (Japonisme: Ukiyo-e Influence on Western Paintings)," the Japanese scholar Hidemichi Tanaka discusses Cézanne in relation to the following lesson in Hokusai's book Ryakuga Hayashinan (Quick Lessons in Simplified Drawing):

> ... rules for all kinds of painting originated from circles and squares .... Old Man Hokusai will instruct the basic rules for the composition of all sorts of drawing with rules and compass.[57]

Tanaka associates this message with Cézanne's famous quote:

> ... deal with nature as cylinders, spheres, cones, all placed in perspective so that each aspect of an object

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[55]Francastel 128.

[56]Francastel 128.

[57]Hidemichi Tanaka, "Japonisumu: Ukiyo-e no Seiyô bijutsu ni ataeta eikyô," (Japonisme: Ukiyo-e Influence on Western Paintings), Bessatsu Taiyô 21 (Winter 1977): 170. The English translation is taken from Jack Hillier, The Art of Hokusai in Book Illustration (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1980) 141.

or a plane goes toward a central point."[58]

However, as is obvious, Hokusai's above mentioned lesson is based on two-dimensionality and the remark quoted from Cézanne is expressed in his very constructive context of three-dimensionality. Tanaka disregards this fundamental difference. Otherwise, in seeking to locate the origin of Cézanne's understanding of construction and composition of the landscape in "Ukiyo-e," his discussion takes on the character of sporadic suggestions of formal resemblances.

In Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse, a major study of 1980, Klaus Berger identifies several "isolated Japanese-style motifs" in Cézanne's art and puts forth an argument that would support the notion that Cézanne was directly influenced by Japanese prints[59]; however, he concludes by asserting that there is no documentation verifying Cézanne's stimulus from the Japanese in a concrete way and that we must be satisfied with "a cautious formulation."[60] According to Berger, landscapes by Cézanne from as early as 1876 display several "Japanese-style motifs--

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[58]Tanaka 170. Letter of 15 Apr., 1904 to Emile Bernard. The English translation is taken from John Rewald, ed., Paul Cézanne, Letters (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1984) 296.

[59]Klaus Berger, Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse, trans. David Britt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 112-119. (First published in German in 1980).

[60]Berger 119.

> the great simplification and flattening of modelling and colour, the structural anchoring of the figure against the edges of the picture, the horizontal weighting combined with a diagonal accent; but above all the anchoring of the picture plane in the pictorial space, the all-pervading chromatic and formal structure, the concentrated power combined with expressive restraint...."[61]

Berger suggests that the treatment of space in Cézanne's works executed after 1890 could have been inspired by Japanese "free-scale."[62] A term borrowed from Fritz Novotny, "free-scale" refers to a method of uniting various elements in the composition without regard to perspective. The viewer has to skim through the image in order to comprehend the entire picture space as in traditional scroll paintings and in Hokusai's Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji.[63] By using this technique, Cézanne's depictions of Mont Sainte-Victoire, after 1890, attained a soaring, unending, extended form. Berger goes so far as to say that in the early 1890s, after the large exhibition of Japanese prints organized by Samuel Bing in 1890, Cézanne's works, such as Madame Cézanne in a Yellow Armchair (1890-94, V. 572), reveal a direct inspiration from Japanese prints.[64]

In 1988, Geneviève Lacambre provided a short comment on La Montagne Sainte-Victoire et le Château-Noir (c. 1904-06,

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[61]Berger 118.

[62]Berger 114.

[63]Berger 114.

[64]Berger 118.

V. 765) [Fig.6] in an exhibition catalogue devoted to the theme, Le Japonisme."[65] Lacambre saw the significance of this painting as "une sorte de création personnelle, subjective," and states that "c'est donc par l'audacieux cadrage qui impose Sainte-Victoire au regard, que Cézanne rejoint Hokusai dans ses plus impressionantes créations."[66] However, Lacambre does not provide a concrete discussion about the motivation which makes the artist's theme, Mont Sainte-Victoire, "personnelle, subjective."

Of related significance to the issue of "Japonisme" are the studies of two scholars who examine the Chinese influence on Cézanne: Georges Duthuit in 1936 and Liliane Guerry in 1966 and 1982.[67] Although there is a possibility that Cézanne did turn his attention to Chinese art, it is highly unlikely that he would do so in the midst of an age devoted to "Japonisme," a period when the art of Japan was so much more readily available than that of China. However, the associations made by these scholars are very similar to those of scholars assessing the impact of Japanese art and, therefore, their examination is worthwhile.

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[65]Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Le Japonisme (Paris: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication; Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988) 255.

[66]Le Japonisme 255.

[67]George Duthuit, Chinese Mysticism and Modern Painting (London: A. Zwemmer, 1936) 78-79. Liliane Brion-Guerry, Cézanne et l'expression de l'espace (Paris: Albin Michel, 1966) 154-161; "Paysage Cézannien et paysage chinois," Cézanne ou la peinture en jeu (Limoge: Criterion, 1982) 143-155.

Duthuit refers, in 1936, to the connection between Cézanne and Chinese Mysticism."[68] Duthuit's aim is to find a common objective to which both the Chinese masters and the modern Western artists aspired. His approach focuses on the painter's desire to put forth the essence of his subject, which, as a result, produces canvases that are structurally similar to Chinese art and also exhibit spiritual affinities. According to Duthuit:

> If it occurs to us to turn our eyes from the Provençal countryside, trodden by the master with slow, almost hesitating steps, sensation by sensation, to the fantastic scenery of Honan, deftly pictured by an inspired Chinese, it is because of the fact that the tenacious French bourgeois, a revolutionary in spite of himself, plunges into the unknown after having meditated, as recommended by the wise men, upon construction--what they call the "bone"--and is able to extricate, with a single outline and a few hints of projections, the essential character and framework of a mass; the weight of a colossus of stone and earth, for instance, its in-gathered impetus and ascending might."[69]

Duthuit's work is more a phenomenological pursuit, and it does not clarify why Chinese Mysticism, in particular, is chosen as the route to the essence of all phenomena. His study has the style of a philosophical monologue.

In 1966 and 1982, Guerry illustrated the similarities in terms of the aesthetic relationship of perspective between the landscapes of Cézanne's later period and the

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"[68]Duthuit 78-79.

"[69]Duthuit 78.

landscapes of the Chinese. [Figs.7&8][70] Guerry points out the outstanding features of Cézanne's later-period landscapes, such as the high viewpoint and the way in which the viewer's eyes are forced to move from one component to the other in order to grasp the entire space as in Berger's "free-scale." Both of these qualities are very different from those common to European scientific perspective, though often characteristic of the Japanese print. These characteristics, according to Guerry, coincide with those peculiar to Chinese landscape painting, where the emphasis is placed on the depiction of not only the visible but also the invisible that integrates the entire cosmos. Guerry attempts to show us how Cézanne transformed the actual landscape into a more impressive imagery based on a personal vision.

However, Guerry's fascinating discussion contemplates only that some similarities exist between Cézanne's art and Chinese painting. She neglects the potential significance of a more intense examination of her discovery. Guerry is well aware of this aspect in her approach:

> L'histoire de l'art offre parfois de ces rencontres imprévues, par dessus le temps et l'espace, qu'aucune explication rationnelle ne saurait éclaircir, qu'aucune influence matérielle ne suffrirait à motiver: celle des derniers paysages de Cézanne et des peintures Song, qui lui sont antérieures de huit siècles et qui lui étaient complètement étrangères, constitue de ces analogies inexplicables logiquement, dont on ne peut apprécier la

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[70]Guerry, Cézanne et l'expression de l'espace 154-161; "Paysage Cézannien et paysage chinois" 143-155.

> signification qu'en analysant la structure même de l'oeuvre d'art.[71]

However, the significance of this discussion should exist more than in the analysis of the structure. Guerry briefly mentions the inspiration for Cézanne's stylistic transition:

> C'est parce que Cézanne, comme tout habitant d'Aix est conscient du caractère telluriquement sacré de la montagne Sainte Victoire, parce qu'il en demeure frappé sensoriellement et psychologiquement, qu'elle devient sur ses toiles cette apparition d'une présence inoubliable.[72]

If so, then how is this stylistic transition related to Cézanne's pictorial heritage? Or, more precisely, how has the essence of his pictorial language altered and what remnants, if any, has he retained of the traditional language? Clearly, a further examination of Cézanne's personal context is required.

A common feature of the literature on Cézanne and "Japonisme" is the lack of consideration for influences within Cézanne's own context, regarding both content and formal approach. Existing arguments ignore the enormous leap being made in their discussions which should be tempered by a question that has not been addressed, namely, why a stylistic transition was needed by the artist. As a result, contemporary discussions seem more speculative and their interpretations appear strained. An inclusive examination of influence should be based on the painter's

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[71]Guerry, "Paysage Cézannien..." 143.

[72]Guerry, "Paysage Cézannien..." 153.

own context and should not be determined by surface similarities alone.

II. Rationale of this Study and Revisionist Goals

In explaining the development of the two-dimensional aspect of Cézanne's art, scholars have generally adhered to a formalist point of view. This approach has dominated Cézanne scholarship. Indeed, it still thrives today as a valid and valuable methodology. However, with the appearance in 1968 of Meyer Schapiro's article "The Apples of Cézanne, An Essay on the Meaning of Still-Life," the importance of the iconographic aspect of Cézanne's art was made evident. Linked to issues of form, this methodological approach revealed rich and complex layers of meaning[73], and has since opened the doors to further investigation of the possible iconographic messages in the work of Cézanne. Several recent studies have disclosed that Cézanne had a deep regard for his Provençal heritage and its importance to his art, especially his landscapes.[74]

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[73]Meyer Schapiro, Modern Art: 19th & 20th Centuries (New York: George Braziller, 1978) 1-38.

[74]The doctoral thesis of Carol Solomon Kiefer, Paul Cézanne, François-Marius Granet, and the Provençal Landscape Tradition, University of Pittsburgh, 1987 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987) presents a comprehensive study of this issue. Also see the exhibition Sainte-Victoire Cézanne 1990 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux) organized by the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence and other recent publications by this institution as well as Mary Tompkins Lewis's Cézanne's Early Imagery (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989) which clearly examines Cézanne's early works in the

Explorations such as these into the diverse iconography of Cézanne's art, provide new perspectives in examining the two-dimensional quality of Cézanne's art and its interaction with content. This new scrutiny of the relation between form and content is one of the incentives for revising the issue of "Japonisme" as it relates to Cézanne.

Some scholars, as previously noted, have observed formal affinities between the images of Mont Sainte-Victoire by Cézanne and the representations of Mt. Fuji by the celebrated Japanese printmaker Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Affinities in content should also be addressed.

Just as the image of Mont Sainte-Victoire is linked to the art of Paul Cézanne, the image of Mt. Fuji is identified with Hokusai. Mt. Fuji was Hokusai's most famous motif and, like Cézanne in his attraction to the theme of Mont Sainte-Victoire, Hokusai found in the celebrated Japanese landmark the inspiration for numerous works. Hokusai clearly understood the powerful significance of Mt. Fuji as the embodiment of the identity of the Japanese people. His images of this natural monument are highly schematized and conceptualized, so that the symbolic power of the mountain is fully realized. For Cézanne, a Provençal painter, who, like other natives of Provence, regarded Mont Sainte-Victoire as an emblem of Provence and of the survival of the Provençal culture, Hokusai's powerful image of Mt. Fuji may

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context of his Provençal heritage.

have had great appeal.

During the middle of the 1880s, Cézanne's representations of Mont Sainte-Victoire acquire a greater sense of monumentality. At the same time, they express a more emphatic two-dimensional and conceptual quality, which heightens the symbolic power of the mountain and leads to a realization of the autonomy of the pictorial elements themselves. This stylistic transformation reveals the possibility of a profound association between the art of Cézanne and Hokusai.

Thus, in an attempt to better "read" Cézanne's own profound scheme for the representation of Mont Sainte-Victoire, it is relevant to explain the schematized pictorial language used by Hokusai to celebrate Mt. Fuji. For both artists, the mountain was a leitmotif, rendered in such a way as to evoke the idea of the form's iconic significance.

By considering interdependent formal and iconographic issues in Cézanne's art in relation to the same issues in the art of Hokusai, it will be argued that the role of "Japonisme" in Cézanne's art was probably of greater consequence than has been previously acknowledged.

This study aims to elucidate our understanding of the assertion of two-dimensionality in Cézanne's treatment of the Mont Sainte-Victoire theme. It will provide evidence that the French artist took some lessons from the Japanese

print, particularly the conceptual use of space as it appears in the images of Mt. Fuji by Hokusai. Hopefully, the proper assessment of this influence on Cézanne will also provide a more integral understanding of the work of this great Modern master.

The Japanese influence on Cézanne could never be viewed as exclusive. Various interrelated factors contribute to the unique character of the pictorial elements in Cézanne's art. It is important that this investigation be undertaken with a proper attitude toward the actual relation between Japanese art and its influence on Western artists, as persuasively outlined by Theodore Reff:

> What each of them saw and responded to in Japanese art, how it suited his artistic personality, and what use he made of it in his work, is what we shall try to understand in some depth. At the same time, we shall have to distinguish more critically than is often done in the literature between convincing and less convincing examples of its actual influence on their work.[75]

This study aims to comply with Reff's recommendation.

In revising the understanding of the relationship between Cézanne's art and the influence of Japanese prints, this thesis will proceed, in Chapter Three, to a discussion of Hokusai's two major print series on the Mt. Fuji theme and the appreciation of his oeuvre in nineteenth-century France. Chapter Four concerns the French master's Provençal

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[75]Theodore Reff, "Degas, Lautrec, and Japanese Art," Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium (Tokyo: The Society for the Study of Japonisme, 1980) 189.

heritage, the iconography of Mont Sainte-Victoire and its relation to the transformations that occur in Cézanne's treatment of his recurring Mont Sainte-Victoire theme. Chapter Five will provide a comparative analysis of the treatment of the mountain theme by Cézanne and Hokusai, with emphasis on issues of form as they relate to content.

Chapter Three: Hokusai, Mt. Fuji and France

I. Hokusai and His Prints of Mt. Fuji

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Katsushika Hokusai was one of the most influential and celebrated "Ukiyo-e" artists in the West. In an attempt to clarify the relationship of his art to Cézanne's, a brief overview of his art and his major series of prints dealing with the theme of Mt. Fuji is warranted. It will be revealed that the iconographic significance of Mt. Fuji, which parallels that of Mont Sainte-Victoire for Cézanne, was written about by French scholars and well known to the French public.

Hokusai was a key figure in the development of "Ukiyo-e". He was born in Edo in 1760 and until his death, 89 years later, he vigorously pursued his career, continually searching for new methods and developing them for use in his art. He adhered to the traditions of Japanese art, but also incorporated Chinese and Western styles in his repertoire. Hokusai executed storybook illustrations, sketchbooks to guide students, cartoons and print albums, all of which covered a panorama of subjects ranging from the human figure to imaginative monsters.

His most famous theme is Mt. Fuji, which he treated principally in the Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji (Fugaku

Sanjû-Rokkei), a series consisting of 46 colour prints, published in 1831-34,[76] and in One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji (Fugaku Hyakkei), a three-volume album of black and white prints, Volume I of which appeared in 1834.[77] Executed when Hokusai was in his seventies, the Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji is Hokusai's undisputed masterpiece. This album consists of colour woodcut prints representing various aspects of Mt. Fuji as seen from diverse locations. The magnificent and witty renderings of Mt. Fuji were widely accepted by the people of Japan, to whom Mt. Fuji was and still is a symbol of the country itself.

Located in the middle part of Japan, Mt. Fuji is the country's highest mountain at 12,385 feet. It dominates the surrounding landscape. Traditionally, the climbing of Mt. Fuji has been an ambition coveted by every good Japanese at least once in his/her life. As one Westerner observed,

> Fuji, in fact, has from earliest times been nothing less than an obsession with the Japanese. Other countries have natural features universally known within and beyond their borders--the Niagara Falls and the Table Mountain are instances that come to mind--but none of these has a significance to the inhabitants of

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[76]Sadao Kikuchi, Hokusai 6th ed. (Osaka, Jap.: Hoikusha Publishing Co., Ltd., 1978) 102. According to Kikuchi, "It is generally accepted that this series of prints was published between 1823 and 1830. However, recently discovered painter's advertisements seem to indicate that publication was carried out in 1831-34."

[77]Volume II was published in 1835, however, the date for Volume III is not firmly established, lying somewhere between 1835 and 1849, the year in which Hokusai died. For details, see Henry D. Smith II, Hokusai, One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1988) 17-18.

> the countries concerned comparable to that of Fuji to the Japanese. It is more than simply a symbol of the homeland; it is more than the abode of the gods, as Olympus was to the ancient Greeks. It signifies the long history and the aspirations of the race; it is a token of all the scenic beauty of the land, and, by inference, represents the impressionability of the people to the beauties of nature. Among national symbols, perhaps the Statue of Liberty comes nearest to this summing up of a people's ideals, but that was man-made to represent those ideals.[78]

Mt. Fuji first appeared in the literature of Japan as early as the eighth-century Nara period in a poetic form called "waka." Since then, it has always been regarded as a sacred mountain in Japan.

The earliest pictorial representation of Mt. Fuji dates from the eleventh century, and since that time many artists have utilized the motif as a source of inspiration.[79] However, it was indeed Hokusai who most skilfully manipulated the symbolism of Mt. Fuji and, at the same time, raised the art of the Japanese woodcut to its zenith, thereby establishing his reputation as the foremost "Ukiyo-e" artist.

There was a certain inevitability in the origins of Hokusai's two series of prints on the Mt. Fuji theme. As a quintessential landmark, Mt. Fuji was an obvious subject, treated by numerous artists, and it is easily understood that Hokusai would also have had an interest in depicting

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[78]Hillier, The Art of Hokusai 214-15.

[79]See Fujio Naruse, "Nihon kaiga ni okeru Fuji-zu no teikeiteki hyôgen ni tsuite," (Typical Expression of Mt. Fuji in Japanese Painting), Bijutsushi 112 (1982): 115-130.

the venerated mountain.

There also existed specific circumstances during Hokusai's lifetime that can be associated with his motivation in the creation of the Mt. Fuji series. Henry D. Smith suggests a connection with the nativist revival known as National Learning which occurred in Japan from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century. He states that:

> ... the latent nationalism of Mt. Fuji became increasingly explicit in the course of the Tokugawa period [1603-1867], through the nativist revival known as National Learning (Kokugaku). This led to an escalation during the later Tokugawa period in the production of poetry and art celebrating Mt. Fuji, creating both precedents for Hokusai particularly, as we shall see, in the genre of "one hundred Fujis" and a generally favourable climate for new and different ways of depicting the mountain. The overt tone of celebration that runs throughout the One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji played to this undercurrent of national pride.[80]

The new Edo religion of Fuji called Fujikô is another factor which has often been suggested as an impetus for the creation of Hokusai's Mt. Fuji series.[81] This was accompanied in 1603 by a shift of the political centre from the imperial capital of Kyoto to that of the Tokugawa shôgunate in Edo (now Tokyo). The rejection of traditional worship from the direction of Kyoto was replaced by a more popular worship from Edo, which grew to such an extent in the Edo period that miniature replicas of Mt. Fuji began to

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[80]Smith II, Hokusai 8-9.

[81]Smith II, Hokusai 10. For a detailed study, see Inobe Shigeo, Fuji no shinkô, Fuji no kenkyû III, ed. Sengen jinja shamusho (Tokyo: Meichô shuppan, 1973).

appear in Edo as in Figs.9, I, II. Smith states:

> It is certainly true that the Fujikô was widely popular by the early nineteenth century among Edo commoners, many of whom made annual pilgrimages to the summit of Fuji by the Yoshida route. For those unable to make the climb--particularly women, who by lingering Shugendô tradition were forbidden to ascend sacred peaks--the Fujikô believers began in 1779 to construct miniature replicas of Fuji within the city of Edo. By the time that Hokusai's Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji began to appear, ten of these miniature mountains had been built in Edo.[82]

Thus, Hokusai's initial interest in the Mt. Fuji theme should be understood within the context of stimuli such as National Learning and the religious cult of Mt. Fuji, called Fujikô, which dominated in his time. As a noted printmaker throughout the country, Hokusai needed to satisfy the demand of the people, especially the middle-class merchants and the wealthy artisans who supported the rise and great popularity of "Ukiyo-e", for a pictorialization of their admired Mt. Fuji.

It is also important to unravel the artist's personal conception of Mt. Fuji, for this personal vision is a further motivation for the creation of these series. In the colophon to Volume I of the One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji, Hokusai presented the famous postscript:

> From the age of six I had a penchant for copying the form of things, and from about fifty, my pictures were frequently published; but until the age of seventy, nothing that I drew was worthy of notice. At seventy-three years, I was somewhat able to fathom the growth of plants and trees, and the structure of birds, animals, insects, and fish. Thus when I reach eighty

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[82]Smith II, Hokusai 10.

> years, I hope to have made increasing progress, and at ninety to see further into the underlying principles of things, so that at one hundred years I will have achieved a divine state in my art, and at one hundred and ten, every dot and every stroke will be as though alive. Those of you who live long enough, bear witness that these words of mine prove not false.[83]

Hokusai's strong desire for longevity is evident in this passage. He is reported to have drawn a picture of a lion every morning for the purpose of exorcising evil spirits and prolonging life, and then to have ingested his own original medicine for a long life every morning and evening.[84]

This leads us to another aspect of Mt. Fuji which is revealed in the old classic folk story, "The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter" ("Taketori Monogatari"), created around the ninth century. The story is about a maiden of the moon who visited the earth and won the heart of the emperor, but was destined to return to the moon. She left him a letter and a jar of the elixir of immortality. Utterly distressed at the loss of the maiden, the emperor ordered both the jar and the letter to be thrown into the mouth of a volcano. From that time forth, smoke issued from the volcano's summit, and the mountain came to be called "Fuji" (Fu-shi) or "not-death."

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[83]Translation from Smith II, Hokusai 7.

These remarks of Hokusai remind us of the slow process of "realization" the aged Cézanne talks about in his letters. To Emile Bernard, he writes in 1905 "...I do indeed believe I have made some further very slow progress in the latest studies you saw when you were here. But it is painful to realize that the growth of one's understanding of nature, painting-wise, and of one's powers of expression must entail old age and debility." Rewald, Cézanne, Letters 310-11.

[84]Smith II, Hokusai 20-21.

Although the present-day Mt. Fuji is classified as a dormant volcano, its last big eruption in 1707 would still have been a vivid memory in the age of Hokusai, born in 1760. For the artist, obsessed with a desire for long life, Mt. Fuji's power of immortality must have been a strong motivation for the accomplishment of the Mt. Fuji series.

An awareness of the history and iconography of Mt. Fuji, along with the historical factors which may have precipitated Hokusai's choice of the Mt. Fuji theme helps to explain the peculiarity of his Fuji pictures. Needless to say, there are numerous works such as Gohyaku-rakanji Sazaidô (Sazai Hall of the Five-Hundred-Rakan Temple) [Fig.10], and even odd, witty interpretations such as Matagi Fuji (Fuji Straddled) [Fig.11] and Kon'yachô no Fuji (Fuji of the Dyers' Quarter) [Fig.12], which are devoted to the glorification of Mt. Fuji. The Japanese people associated Mt. Fuji with their common identity and in a climate of Nationalism they worshipped it as a sacred peak. To the Japanese, Mt. Fuji is always there, wherever the people are, whatever they do. Mt. Fuji is an immovable, immortal symbol that promises them something certain, something eternal. It is indeed Hokusai's understanding of Mt. Fuji's symbolic power, shared by every viewer, that makes it possible for Hokusai to explore every aspect of composition and form that will serve to illuminate the mountain in all its splendour.

In some instances, Hokusai aggrandised its majesty in a simple way, for example, in the Gaifû kaisei (Fine Wind, Clear Morning, "Red Fuji") [Fig.3] by placing the enormous mountain in the foreground. In Kanagawa-oki nami-ura (Under the Wave off Kanagawa, "The Great Wave") [Fig.2], he calls attention to the symbolic power of Mt. Fuji in other ways. In The Great Wave, Mt. Fuji is depicted as a small cone, but the sense of permanence and the immovability of the mountain is enhanced by the contrasting movement in the great rush of water crossing the picture's surface.

This skilful manipulation of the symbolism of Mt. Fuji is further implemented by the artist in works such as Fuji Straddled [Fig.11] or Fuji of the Dyers' Quarter [Fig.12]. The humorous effect of these images comes from the witty contrast between the venerated mountain of the background and the ordinary and vulgar figures in the foreground. This effect might be lost without an awareness of the specific iconography of Mt. Fuji, but in many of Hokusai's views of the celebrated natural monument, the artist is able to convey the symbolic significance of the form directly through his successful manipulation of pictorial devices.

Hokusai often reduces Mt. Fuji to a totally symbolic form in a composition, thus creating a highly conceptualized pictorial space. Supporting this point is the fact that in most of his Mt. Fuji images the definite location from which

the artist derives his view is not known.[85b] This enables Hokusai to invent various devices which produce a dramatic effect of celebration. Bishû Fujimigahara (Fujimigahara [Fuji-view Fields] in Owari Province) [Fig.13] and Tôtomi sanchû (In the Tôtomi Mountains) [Fig.14] are two examples in which we clearly see Hokusai's conceptualized space.

In the first print, the huge round tub in the foreground circumscribes the small triangle of Mt. Fuji. This triangle is repeated in the shape of the tubmaker's arms as well as his tool, and the composition is carefully calculated on a geometric base. In Tôtomi sanchû, prominently repeated triangles enhance the effect of the symbolic form of Mt. Fuji. The seated figure, who is proportionately large, is emphasized by the backward bend in the posture of the man who saws upwards. These features reinforce the existence of the mountain, which is enshrouded in clouds that echo the shape of the smoke from the fire. In both works, Mt. Fuji plays the role of a focal point and anchor as it becomes a symbol in a conceptualized scheme. In these prints, this effect is enhanced by the artist's use

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[85b]Hokusai's prime method for drawing by using compass and square also supports his conceptualized scheme of composition. He explicitly demonstrates this belief in geometrical form in the Ryakuga Hayashinan (Quick Lessons in Simplified Drawing) of 1812. For a more detailed study, see Fumiko Tôgasaki, "Hokusai sakuhin ni okeru kihonteki kôzu ni tsuite no shokôsatsu: Mitsuwari no hô to kiku hôen no hô," (Certain aspects of the basic compositional elements in Hokusai's work: "The Law of the Three Divisions" and "The Method of Ruler and Compass"), Ukiyo-e geijutsu 51 (1976): 3-27; 52 (1976): 14-26.

of Western perspective combined with his traditional Japanese rendering whereby the figures are located in the immediate foreground close to the picture surface.[86] Thus, in Hokusai's composition there is always an iconographic message behind the form of the mountain. This meaning never fails to give significance to his visually bold, sometimes exaggerated, ocular effects and its importance is conveyed directly to the viewer. Supported by the viewer's tacit understanding of the symbolic significance of the subject matter, Hokusai creates a full range of pictorial possibilities for the representation of Mt. Fuji as an iconic image.

II. The Appreciation of Hokusai's Art in Nineteenth-Century France

There is a celebrated anecdote which identifies Hokusai with the beginning of "Japonisme" in France. During the late 1850s, at the shop of the printer, Delâtre, Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), an etcher and industrial designer, discovered prints from Hokusai's Manga used as packing material to prevent the breakage of fragile Japanese curiosities. The Manga, a series of sketchbooks in fifteen volumes, published from 1814 to 1878, and Hokusai's two Mt.

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[86]See Chapter Five on Hokusai's use of perspective.

Fuji print series became his best-known works in France.[87]

The Western appreciation of Hokusai's art in the nineteenth century has been closely examined by Elisa Evett, who, in The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late-Nineteenth-Century Europe states:[88]

> It seems most appropriate that the earliest of full-scale studies on Japanese artists were devoted to Hokusai, since ... his work monopolized Western taste for Japanese art throughout the last forty years of the [nineteenth] century. His overwhelming popularity in the West (in notable contrast to the disparaged rank in esteem he held in Japan at the time) prompts one to try to explain why his work was admired by all Western critics regardless of their otherwise divergent aesthetic positions .... While Hokusai prevailed as the preeminent Japanese artist, the print was the preferred medium. Hokusai's inflated reputation rested mainly on his graphic work, the Manga, and a few other major

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[87]The Manga, which literally means 'sketches', 'studies' or 'cartoons', exhibits Hokusai's splendid artistry in capturing all human life, such as various human figures in terms of posture or profession, landscapes, animals, study of water, fish, insects, monsters, etc. It provided a source book for Western artists.

As for the exact year of the incident of the discovery by Bracquemond, there is some dispute. See Martin Eidelberg, "Bracquemond, Delâtre and the Discovery of Japanese Prints," Burlington Magazine 123.937 (Apr., 1981): 221-227; Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Félix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," The Art Bulletin 51 (1969): 277; Geneviève Lacambre, "Hokusai and the French Diplomats," The Documented Image, Visions in Art History (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987) 71-85.

According to Phylis Floyd, Hokusai's Manga (volume 6) was represented in the "Cabinet des Estampes" as early as the second quarter of the nineteenth century. However, Floyd states that "their existing collections were also regrettably unknown to the general public". "Documentary Evidence for the Availability of Japanese Imagery in Europe in Nineteenth-Century Public Collections," Art Bulletin 68 (Mar., 1986) 113.

[88]Elisa Evett, The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late-Nineteenth-Century Europe (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982).

print productions like the 100 Views of Mount Fuji.[89] In France, Hokusai was viewed as the "undisputed star of Japanese art,"[90] followed only by Hiroshige and a few other artists. As early as 1866-69, Philippe Burty, an art collector and critic, and Ernest Chesneau (1833-90), a scholar and critic, were full of praise for Hokusai.[91] Burty compared him to Daumier because of his subtle observation and poetic imagination.[92]

By the 1880s, critics had developed a more profound understanding of Hokusai's art. The popular and scholarly interest in his works at that time is reflected by studies, such as Théodore Duret's 1882 article, "L'Art Japonais, Les Livres illustrés --les albums imprimés--Hokusai," more than half of which is devoted to Hokusai.[93] Duret classified Hokusai's works and analyzed his various subjects.

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[89]Evett 22, 26.

[90]Evett 26.

[91]Philippe Burty, Chefs-d'oeuvre des arts industriels (Paris, 1866) 209; "Le Musée oriental à l'Union centrale" Le Rappel 4 Nov. 1869. Ernest Chesneau, "Beaux-Arts, l'art Japonais," Le Constitutionnel 14 Jan. 1868: 1-2; "L'Art Japonais" Les nations rivales dans l'art (Paris, 1868): 415-454.

[92]Burty, "Le Musée oriental à l'Union centrale" Le Rappel 4 Nov. 1869: 2-3.

[93]This article appeared in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts 2 (Aug., 1882) 113-131. Duret owed some of his observations to the book, One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji (London, 1880), written by Frederick Victor Dickins (1839-1915), a British lawyer who had been to China and Japan as a medical officer in the British Navy from 1861-66.

In 1883, Louis Gonse (1846-1921), a collector, critic and director of the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, published L'art japonais in which he allocated a complete chapter to Hokusai.[94] Gonse's book is considered an essential reference for any study of "Japonisme," as Evett points out:

> ... and since the book was written by one of the most dedicated and thorough of collectors with a scholarly bent, solid art historical and critical training, and access to a wide range of sources, the book may be used as a reliable gauge of the status of accessibility and knowledge of Japanese art by that date.[95]

In Gonse's analysis of Hokusai's style in various media, he reveals the artist's originality and breadth of subject matter, stating:

> Son oeuvre est immense, d'une immensité qui effraye l'imagination, et résume, dans une unité d'aspect incomparable, dans une réalité intense, nerveuse, saisissante, les moeurs, la vie, la nature. C'est une encyclopédie du monde extérieur, c'est la comédie humaine du Japon.[96]

Evett explains the extent and the level of sophistication reflected in Gonse's knowledge and appreciation of Hokusai's art, concluding that:

> Whereas it seems that up until that time Hokusai's reputation had been based almost exclusively on the Manga, Gonse revealed that the European had attained an even better sense of his versatility and range of expression from a limited number of paintings that Gonse described briefly .... The more advanced degree and refined state of knowledge about prints emerged in

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[94]Louis Gonse, L'Art japonais (Tome I) (Paris, 1883): Chapter IX, 269-292.

[95]Evett 14. As for the survey and Gonse's sources for the information, see Evett 14-17.

[96]Gonse 269-70.

> Gonse's explicative sections on the techniques of color woodblock printing .... He also demonstrated a far more sophisticated knowledge of the breadth of Hokusai's skill in print designing ... setting the Manga into perspective with regard to Hokusai's overall accomplishments in the realm of prints.[97]

Thus, by the middle of the 1880s, the appreciation of Hokusai in France had reached a level of serious discernment and had developed far beyond a simple infatuation with exoticism.

This heightened appreciation of Hokusai's art was also reflected by a number of collections in French public institutions, a fact well illustrated by Phylis Floyd's detailed examination of this subject.[98] Moving away from the earlier phase of "Japonisme," dominated by:

> ... a scientific or ethnographic impulse ... public curiosity, as well as artistic and critical interest, gave way [in the late 1880s] to a deeper aesthetic appreciation. Public institutions eventually increased their acquisitions of Japanese pictorial arts ...[99]

Floyd proposes a change in taste to a preference for "abstract modes of representation" as one of the reasons for this transition.[100] This means that the awareness of Japanese prints in terms of style had become deeper, and this was apparent not only in the elite circles of the

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[97]Evett 16-17. In this book, Gonse also included a meticulous catalogue of Hokusai's works, some 65 albums and series.

[98]Floyd 105-41.

[99]Floyd 126.

[100]Floyd 126, note 73.

connoisseur but also as far as public collections were concerned. Accessible to artists, the growing number of Japanese prints in public collections provided a valuable and significant resource for study and the enjoyment of these objects.

In the 1880s, as the critical appreciation of Japanese prints became more sophisticated, the iconographic understanding of these works also deepened in France. The theme of Mt. Fuji was certainly one of the most familiar and best understood. This was due in large measure to the popular appeal of Hokusai's series of prints on the theme. By the 1880s, Mt. Fuji was already a well-established symbol of Japan. In 1867, its distinctive silhouette was a prominent feature on the membership card [Fig.15] of the "Société du Jing-lar", the private club for enthusiasts of Japanese art, which was established in that year. The composition of the card itself reminds us of Hokusai's Mt. Fuji prints, such as the Red Fuji [Fig.3]. It is quite possible that this group of "Japonistes" --critics, intellectuals and artists--appreciated Hokusai's images of Mt. Fuji stylistically as well as for their association with the historical significance of the mountain as an emblem of Japan.

In her discussion of the critical reception of Japanese art in France in the 1870s, Evett mentions that "popular wisdom about Japan was nurtured on dramatic images of the

Mikado, Harakiri, Mount Fuji, etc."[101]

Théodore Duret, in his previously mentioned article of 1882, pays tribute to the captivating beauty, grandeur, and thematic versatility of Mt. Fuji, recalling his own experience in Japan:

> La reproduction du Fujiyama est un sujet éternellement nouveau, un thème inépuisable offert aux artistes japonais .... Il est impossible en effet de vivre à Yedo [Edo], de voyager ou de naviguer dans ses environs sans être constamment attiré par le Fujiyama .... Rien n'était visible du Japon que le grand cône, d'une forme parfaite et géométrique. C'était une apparition féerique, et je compris alors instantanément comment un tel objet était devenu, pour les artistes japonais, une mine d'épuisables compositions. Dans Yedo, le Fujiyama apparaît à tous les instants, au détour d'une rue, au passage d'un pont, au sortir d'un temple, et chaque fois le magnifique cône neigeux, dans son isolement et sa grandeur, vous arrache une exclamation d'admiration et de plaisir. Hokousaï, dans ses cent vues de Fuji, a représenté le volcan sous tous les aspects imaginables .... Fuji passe au second plan dans toutes ces compositions et ne s'aperçoit qu'au fond du tableau, tandis que le premier plan est donné à des scènes de genre, où l'artiste a su déployer tout son humour et toute sa fantasie.[102]

Louis Gonse, in his L'Art japonais, provides general information about Mt. Fuji in his second chapter, entitled "Le Pays, La Race."[103] Gonse mentions that Mt. Fuji, the highest mountain in Japan, had been translated into verse by every poet and depicted by every artist. He also notes that, "on connaît le culte de tout bon Japonais pour cette

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[101]Evett 28.

[102]Duret 128-130.

[103]Gonse 90.

admirable montagne."[104]

Two 1888 issues of the periodical, Le Japon Artistique [Issues No.IV (August 1888) and No.VIII (December 1888)], featured lengthy descriptions of Hokusai's images of Mt. Fuji. Issue No.IV featured one of the prints from the Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji and Issue No.VIII focused on a print from the One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji.[105] As stated in Issue IV:

> It required the audacity of Hokusai to create a work in which these numberless visions [of Mt. Fuji] should be perpetuated in a manner and with a strength of execution worthy of their splendour.[106]

This periodical surpassed any previous publications in its quality of colour reproduction, which aided the public in acquiring a more precise and substantial appreciation of the original prints. As a symbol of the art of Japan, and indeed Japan itself, the majestic form of Hokusai's Red Fuji appeared in vivid colours on the cover of the first volume of Le Japon Artistique [Fig.16].[107] Other images of Mt. Fuji by Hokusai, also from the Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji, appeared on the covers of Issues No. XVII (Oct. 1889) and XXVI July 1890) of this periodical. Thus, by the late

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[104]Gonse 90.

[105]English version: Artistic Japan, ed. Samuel Bing (London, 1888-1891) Vol.I (contains Issue No.I to VI), 39-40; Vol.II(Issue No.VII to XII), 92-93.

[106]Artistic Japan, Vol.I, Aug. 1888, 39.

[107]The first volume of the English version, Artistic Japan, containing Issue No.I to No.VI.

1880s, artists were quite familiar with the form and content of Hokusai's distinctive imagery, and they had already begun to formulate and make use of their own interpretations of his unique pictorial language.

Chapter Four: Cézanne and Mont Sainte-Victoire

I. Cézanne's Provençal Heritage and the Image of Mont Sainte-Victoire

Recent studies have revealed that Cézanne had strong ties to his Provençal heritage.[108] He was raised in the midst of a rising "regionalist-inspired cultural movement,"[109] for which he expressed support and a fervent admiration.[110] The Provençal Renaissance, as this cultural revival was known, developed in the early decades of the 1800s and reached its height in the middle of that century. Led by Frédéric Mistral, the poet, this movement had as its goal the recovery of the Provençal identity through the

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[108]The doctoral thesis by Solomon Kiefer, Paul Cézanne, François-Marius Granet, and the Provençal Landscape Tradition focuses on Cézanne's tie to the regional landscape tradition, especially to the art of François-Marius Granet (1775-1849), one of the most important figures in the Provençal Landscape Tradition that developed in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille from the late eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century. This study shows the significance of the Provençal cultural milieu which nourished Cézanne's Provençal identity and places him in a succession of nineteenth-century Provençal artists including Jean-Antoine Constantin, Granet, Adolphe Monticelli, and others.

[109]Solomon Kiefer 9.

[110]Letter of 23 Dec., 1898 to Henri Gasquet. Rewald, Cézanne, Letters 267. Cézanne frequently expressed his love for Provence in his letters. For example, see Letter of 30 April, 1896 to Joachim Gasquet and Letter of 3 June, 1899 to Henri Gasquet. Rewald, Cézanne, Letters 250, 268.

restoration of the old language, customs, regional music and arts. Cézanne's identity as a Provençal artist is realized in his subject matter, especially in the representations of Mont Sainte-Victoire. The artist executed over sixty oil paintings of this theme, in addition to numerous watercolours and drawings.

Mont Sainte-Victoire was a very popular subject among the regional artists of Provence. This was because, in its original context, the mountain had a symbolic significance. As the quintessential landmark of Provence, it functioned as an icon for the people of this region. Mont Sainte-Victoire monumentalized the victory of the Battle of Aix in 102 B.C., when the Romans vanquished the barbarian forces at the foot of Mont Sainte-Victoire. Thus, Mont Sainte-Victoire stands as the symbol of a unique cultural heritage, successfully preserved and known to all Provençaux.

It has been argued that this identification informed Cézanne's pictorial conception of the mountain.[111] He treated the motif of Mont Sainte-Victoire more often than any other theme. This was a result of his response to the pure challenge of the mountain as a formal configuration and his struggle to realize a portrayal of this symbol of Provence and its history.

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[111]Solomon Kiefer 11-13, 332-338.

II. Transformations in the Mont Sainte-Victoire Theme

In the mid-1880s, Cézanne's paintings developed towards a more schematic, two-dimensional form of representation. This is evident in his landscapes, especially those of Mont Sainte-Victoire. The following discussion focuses on these images of Mont Sainte-Victoire. The aim is to illustrate that without abandoning the three-dimensional aspect of his art, Cézanne increased the emphasis on the two-dimensional. As a result, his pictures become more conceptually-oriented as the image of Mont Sainte-Victoire effectively acquires a pronounced symbolic connotation as the quintessential emblem of Provence.

La Tranchée, avec la Montagne Sainte-Victoire (c. 1867-70, V. 50) [Fig.17] is one of Cézanne's first depictions of Mont Sainte-Victoire. It clearly demonstrates the beginning of Cézanne's original manner, which emerges most forcefully in the middle of 1880s. The stability of the mountain in this picture is fully realized in its simple composition, supported by the repetition of distinct horizontal planes. The house on the left balances the composition. The dark brown shape, representing the side of the hill through which the railway passes in the center of the composition, echoes the curved line of the mountain, and gives a sense of spatial unity. However, in this early image, the form of Mont Sainte-Victoire has not yet acquired the great

monumentality it will assume in works from the mid-1880s and later. It has not been subjected to the conceptual transformations that were yet to come.

The painting, La Montagne Sainte-Victoire (c. 1885-87, V. 452, Metropolitan Museum of Art) [Fig.18] shows the artist's transition to a more conceptual construction of the picture. When we compare this work to a photograph of the actual landscape [Fig.19],[112] the artist's aim is clarified. While the fundamental structure of the verticals of the trees and the horizontals of the viaduct balance the composition, numerous diagonals temper it. The path through the valley suggests depth, but its diagonal line, reinforced by the branch of the central tree, parallels the lines of the gable and the ridge of the roof in the foreground. The path, the viaduct and the inclined tree trunk approach and converge on the slope of the mountain at left, hidden behind the leaves. The viewer's gaze is drawn to this meeting point, which calls attention to the existence of the mountain, and indeed, is a conceptual focal point, since every diagonal line belongs to a different level of depth. Here Cézanne uses the true pictorial point of conversion to clarify his intention, namely, to emphasize the importance of the mountain so that it reflects his own personal conception of the form.

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[112]Rewald, Cézanne: A Biography 15.

In La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin (c. 1885-1887, V. 454, Courtauld Institute Galleries) [Fig.20], the majesty of the mountain is even more eloquently realized. The tree in the foreground sets the point of entry for the viewer and makes us face the mountain directly. While cooler tones toward the mountain suggest depth, all the forms and lines are subtly combined and constructed to elevate the significance of the mountain. The diagonal lines that define the valley are guided by the lower branch thrusting to the right from behind the tree trunk. They converge at the mid-point of the trunk in the foreground and from here, the trunk inclines to the left, as if in response to the in-coming diagonal lines. Even the viaduct appears to slope. The viewer's eye is guided to this focal point by the diagonals, and then ascends the tree. From there, the eye is pulled powerfully to the crest of the mountain by the forceful curve of the pliable, upper branch. The clear contours of the mountain bring it back to the surface of the picture plane and reinforce the effect of the branch. The branch entering from the right side echoes the shape of the mountain and emphasizes the effect.

Aside from expressing the artist's interest in the purely pictorial dialogue between two-dimensionality and three-dimensionality, La Montagne [Fig.18] and Le Grand Pin [Fig.20] also reveal how Cézanne manipulates all the pictorial elements to realize the majesty of the mountain by

placing them so that they effectively work to emphasize the mountain. Because the viewer is led exactly to the artist's focus, namely the monumental form of Mont Sainte-Victoire, we realize and feel the significance of the mountain as an important entity in the picture, even if we are not familiar with its iconographical importance.

It is crucial to realize that while he is still dependent upon nature, Cézanne no longer employs a pictorial language that belongs to the traditional realm of illusionism. The dialogue between two-dimensional and three-dimensional, besides showing Cézanne's purely pictorial challenge to unify these two realms on a two-dimensional canvas, also enhances the assertive role of the mountain in the whole composition and makes us "read" and "understand" its meaning. In this digestive process the viewer comes to comprehend that these pictorial images are highly conceptualized. Forms in the natural landscape are transformed into pictorial elements which serve as a pedestal from which the mountain soars in majesty, demanding the viewer to appreciate its monumentality.

It may be argued that, from this point forward, that is, from the late 1880s and after, Cézanne's Mont Sainte-Victoire succeeds in attaining a truly monumental stature, fully supported by the artist's profound concern for the image of the mountain as a symbol of Provence and the survival of his Provençal heritage.

Chapter Five: Cézanne and Hokusai: Comparative Analysis

I. Hokusai's Use of Perspective

In his representation of Mt. Fuji, Hokusai drew upon an effective, although partial, use of Western perspective. It is important to appreciate how his space originated and how the peculiar dynamism of his space was acquired, in order to understand the essence of his influence on the Western artist.

Hokusai was a very energetic artist, known for his vigorous curiosity and for the appropriation of various techniques and styles throughout his career: these included several schools of traditional Japanese art, classic Chinese painting and Western perspective.[113] In the 1780s, when he was in his early twenties, Hokusai executed a number of prints applying a limited conception of the formula of Western perspective. In the early 1800s, he produced a series of prints commonly known as Hokusai's "Western"

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[113]Kikuchi, 105-128. Regarding the history of the acquisition of Western perspective in Japan, which began as early as the sixteenth century, see: Chisaburô Yamada, "Exchange of Influences in the Fine Arts Between Japan and Europe," and Muneshige Narasaki, "Western Influence and Revival of Tradition in 'Ukiyo-e'," both in Japonisme in Art, An International Symposium 11-18, 313-321; Ichitarô Kondô, "European Influence on Japanese Painting," International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts (Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1958) 81-84.

prints, which used perspective that was modeled after the manner of European copper engravings known to him in Japan. The pseudo-Occidental techniques of these prints were not in tune with those of traditional Japanese art, and it is impossible to call them successful. However, the dynamic space developed by Hokusai in the 1830s, especially in his Mt. Fuji series, was attained through the artist's positive commitment to translate this odd eclecticism into his own unique language and have it serve his pictorial purpose. A few comparative examples can serve to illustrate how Hokusai was able to positively resolve or adapt this eclecticism.

Around 1798, the artist executed a print representing a scene from a story called "Chûshingura" (the story of the faithful forty-seven warriors) [Fig.21]. This is an example of a type of print known as "Uki-e." Characterized by "a simplification and exaggeration of perspective,"[114] "Uki-e" prints, as defined by Jack Hillier, are:

> ... views in which perspective was used in the European manner (or something like it) to give recession in space, a method alien to oriental conceptions and never quite mixing with the more purely Japanese elements of their style, the result being prints that surprise as our own language does when we hear it spoken in broken accents.[115]

In Fig.21, Hokusai's figures lose their significance as they are absorbed by the optical effect of the deep recessional

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[114]Mitsuru Sakamoto, "The Westernization of 'Ukiyo-e' at the End of the Tokugawa Era," Japonisme in Art, An International Symposium 19.

[115]Hillier, Hokusai 26-27.

space. The buildings, which are meticulously drawn to follow the formula of Western perspective, also distract the viewer from the main action.

In 1806, Hokusai executed a much more impressive version of the same scene [Fig.22]. Characteristic of Japanese art, the figures in this print are placed in the immediate foreground, while the construction of the landscape combines both Western and Japanese devices. A high horizon, characteristic of Japanese art, is drawn on the Western tradition of spatial illusionism through the exaggerated use of perspective. Through his eclectic combination of Japanese and Western styles, Hokusai achieved in this work a more effective spatial construction, which successfully integrates the composition without distracting the viewer's attention from the human drama in the foreground.

The most incisive examples to successfully illustrate the development of Hokusai's unique use of space are the prints depicting waves. Shuttle Boats in the Waves [Fig.23] executed between 1797 and 1800, is among the prints which shows a transitional use of Western perspective. To emphasize the great swell of the water, Hokusai skilfully manipulates the "near and far" effect. To make a pronounced contrast between elements at great distance from each other in the composition, he presses the foreground wave against the picture surface and provides a contrasting distant view

of the sloping forms of a mountain range. In this print, there is still an identifiable middleground, which functions illusionistically to carry us from the foreground to the background as in traditional Western perspective.

The ultimate modification in Hokusai's use of Western perspective can be seen in The Great Wave [Fig.2] from Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji. This work allows us to understand Hokusai's intentional deformation of perspective, which creates a more dramatic effect so that the viewer can grasp the majesty of nature and the symbolic existence of the mountain. In this print, Hokusai completely eliminates the middle ground, juxtaposes the elements of near and far, and effectively contrasts the movement of the wave and the timeless immovability of the mountain.

Thus, Hokusai purposefully manipulated the perspective of the West according to the needs of his own pictorial tradition, a heritage which required no natural scientific basis in order to achieve an effective pictorial world.[116]

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[116]Kirk Varnedoe, in A Fine Disregard (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981), maintains that the characteristics of Japanese prints, such as the near and far contrast, which are said to have influenced Western art at the end of the nineteenth century, are based entirely on an Eastern interpretation of Western scientific perspective. Therefore, he contends, the origins of these spatial devices are more Western than Japanese. Varnedoe emphasizes the Japanese artists' deficiency as far as the understanding of Western perspective is concerned, which had as its result the discovery of the near and far device which hid the inconsistency of the perspective in their works. Varnedoe's argument is based on the premise that Japanese artists were challenged by the erroneous aspect of their use of perspective. Varnedoe often uses expressions such as "one

Such a dynamic achievement could, indeed, have had a powerful effect on artists of the West.

To conclude, Hokusai's unique spatial devices skilfully deform the rationality of Western perspective in order to emphasize the symbolic meaning of the mountain. His images of Mt. Fuji are basically conceptual and they are realized as the idiosyncratic amalgamation of a two-dimensional schematization and a three-dimensional, "rational" perspective. This distinctive combination can be seen as one of the significant forces of inspiration for Western artists who were moving towards Modernism. As will become clear, Hokusai's unique spatial system may have also appealed to Cézanne, an artist who was himself grappling with the representation of a similar motif and who was leading the way towards the autonomy of pictorial elements.

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solution to the problem" or "run into difficulties in making this spatial system truly consistent" (57) when discussing the relationship between Japanese artists and Western perspective. This interpretation is dependent on a one-sided belief in Western rationalism. Varnedoe forgets the fact that the Japanese, who at the time, had only begun to absorb natural science, still remained in a very Japanese traditional atmosphere, which, for example, in the realm of art, did not require a rigid scientific rationality. See Varnedoe, Chapter Two 24-101.

II. The Image of the Mountain: A Comparative Analysis

A. Formal Comparison

Among the various pictorial devices used by Cézanne in the depiction of Mont Sainte-Victoire, those found in La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin(c. 1885-87, V. 454, Courtauld Institute Galleries) [Fig.20] and La Montagne Sainte-Victoire (c. 1885-87, V. 452, Metropolitan Museum of Art) [Fig.18] are similar in many ways to those seen in prints from Hokusai's Mt. Fuji series, 36 Views of Mt. Fuji(1831-34), and 100 Views of Mt. Fuji(1834-1840s). How the two artists use an analogous pictorial language in the depiction of the monumentalized representation of a mountain will be clarified from the viewpoint of both form and content in this chapter.

Tanaka has noted the similarities between the composition of Cézanne's La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin [Fig.20] and Hokusai's Kôshû Mishima-goe (Mishima Pass in Kai Province) [Fig.24], also from 36 Views of Mt. Fuji.[117] In these works, both seen from a high view-point, the tree in the foreground is placed close to the picture surface. In each work, the branches of the foreground tree echo the shape of the mountain, emphasizing its dominance. The clear contour of Mont Sainte-Victoire, coupled with the silhouette effect of the branch, brings the mountain from

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[117]Tanaka 170.

its distant location back to the picture surface with the effect of accentuating its form and magnifying its apparent size. Cézanne manipulates the trees in a decorative, conceptual manner in order to elevate the symbolic, monumental power of the mountain.

In Hokusai's work, the bristly outline of the mountain is repeated in the rough contour of the tree trunk, so that the mountain is likewise tied to the foreground.

A formal comparison between Cézanne's La Montagne Sainte-Victoire [Fig.20] and Hokusai's Tôkaidô Shinagawa Goten-yama no Fuji (Fuji from Goten-Yama, at Shinagawa on the Tôkaidô [Edo]) [Fig.25] from the Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji, shows that the compositional devices used to enhance the significance of each mountain are quite similar. The diagonal lines pointing between the trees toward the mountain in Cézanne's painting are also apparent in Hokusai's print. Just as Cézanne's path repeats the shape of Mont Sainte-Victoire, so the hill on the right of Hokusai's picture echoes the shape of Mt. Fuji. In Hokusai's print, our view is guided directly toward the mountain by the conceptualized scheme, as it is in the work by Cézanne. Thus, in each work, the symbolic meaning of the mountain is intensified. The use of cooler tones to suggest depth is also seen in Hokusai's work. However, there is, at the same time, a difference. While in Hokusai's print, the monumentality of the mountain is attained by the contrast

between the still of the mountain and the lively and fleeting human drama in the foreground, Cézanne's Mont Sainte-Victoire is assured its majesty by the firm vertical forms of the trees, which anchor the composition and frame the view of the mountain.

Hokusai's famous print, The Great Wave [Fig.2], beckons comparison with Cézanne's Le Grand Pin [Fig.20]. Although the setting surrounding the central subject in each work is completely different, the powerful relationship between the elements in the composition is very similar. In Cézanne's work every diagonal line converges at a central point on the tree trunk. Following these visual cues, the eye is then led to the peak of the mountain through the dynamic lines of the branch moving across the surface of the canvas. A more dramatic trajectory is realized in Hokusai's The Great Wave, wherein Hokusai renders in full force the majesty of nature. The swelling wave crests at its peak, preparing to crush the floating boats. Hokusai removes the middle ground completely; therefore the wave looks as if it is rushing directly onto the top of Mt. Fuji. This effect is also reinforced by the repetition in the waves of the shape of the mountain. This dynamic dialogue between foreground and background enhances the static immovability of the mountain by contrasting it with the surge of the wave in the foreground.

In both works, the centripetal force of the composition converges on the mountain. If we remove the mountain from each painting, the tension between the pictorial elements collapses. Despite the difference in setting, both works are built according to similar conceptualized schemes in order to realize the assertive role of the mountain in the composition.

While fundamental differences do exist between Cézanne's works and those of Hokusai, there are several aspects of Hokusai's pictorial language which appear to be put to use by Cézanne in his images of Mont Sainte-Victoire from the mid-1880s. Hokusai's images are not constructed in a rational, three-dimensional space that follows the formula of linear perspective. But, by incorporating certain devices of the Western perspective system with the traditional Japanese rendering of space, the artist realized a highly schematized pictorial world of his own.

A formal comparison with Hokusai's creations thus reveals that Cézanne's pictorial language moved toward a more schematic, conceptual formulation in the expression of the painting's two-dimensionality, and away from the traditional mimetic interpretation which considers the picture surface as a window to reality. This is not to deny the quality of three-dimensionality Cézanne always retains in his art. On a purely pictorial level, the artist achieves a unity and harmony between the two-dimensional and

the three-dimensional aspects of his pictures. This is the result of Cézanne's quest to realize his own unique pictorial equivalent to nature on the two-dimensional picture surface. By suggesting Hokusai's treatment of space in his image of Mt. Fuji as a likely influence on Cézanne, the comparison with Hokusai's images of Mt. Fuji also helps to clarify our understanding of Cézanne's development towards a greater emphasis on two-dimensionality and his use of an increasingly more conceptual scheme in the rendering of Mont Sainte-Victoire as a symbolic form.

B. Iconographic Comparison

The similarity in the formal language of Cézanne and Hokusai should not be appraised as a simple coincidence nor should it be evaluated superficially in terms of artless imitation in the guise of "Japonisme."

An iconographic comparison of Cézanne's Mont Sainte-Victoire and Hokusai's Mt. Fuji reveals a further connection between the two artists and enables us to comprehend Cézanne's interest in and possible debt to the Japanese artist in his efforts to depict his personal vision of the sublime Mont Sainte-Victoire.

As Hokusai presented all the possibilities of the emblematic image of Mt. Fuji to the Japanese people, Cézanne must have had a strong desire to share his conception of

Mont Sainte-Victoire with the Provençaux. Cézanne expressed a deep concern for the symbolic meaning of Mont Sainte-Victoire, and once commented:

> With peasants I've sometimes wondered whether they really know what a landscape is, or indeed a tree. Perhaps that seems odd to you. Sometimes when I've been out walking, I've gone along with a farmer behind his cart when he was on his way to sell potatoes in the market, and that farmer had never seen Sainte-Victoire.[118]

Cézanne's objective in works such as La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin(c. 1885-87, V. 454, Courtauld Institute Galleries) [Fig.20] and La Montagne Sainte-Victoire(c. 1885-87, V. 452, Metropolitan Museum of Art) [Fig.18] is to make the image of Mont Sainte-Victoire a visually understood symbolic form. Cézanne's artistic struggle concerns not only the realization of his deep appreciation of nature's forms but also his inner image of the monumental Mont Sainte-Victoire in pictorial form.

As Cézanne's art develops, it advances towards a more conceptual, schematized and ultimately abstract realm. As a painter for whom the image of a mountain was a principal theme, it is hard to imagine that Cézanne would not have been attracted to Hokusai's images of Mt. Fuji. The following will reveal how both artists manipulate their pictorial elements to construct an "ideographic" image of the mountain.

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[118]Gasquet 162.

When viewing Hokusai's The Great Wave [Fig.2], the eye is led from right to left by the powerful movement of the waves. This scheme of movement is intentional, it conforms to the Japanese practice of reading from right to left (at least in Hokusai's time). Thus, the composition of Hokusai's print takes advantage of this inclination. Each element of the schematized composition converges upon Mt. Fuji. For those who understand its iconography, the heaviness of the small triangle representing Mt. Fuji is augmented, and the composition is anchored by the stability and immovability of Mt. Fuji. Therefore, the powerful relation between this secure symbol and the flagrant caprices of nature in the foreground raises the tension between mountain and wave to its epitome.

In Le Grand Pin [Fig.20], all the diagonals at the foot of the mountain, in a manner which completely neglects any formula of linear perspective, converge at the tree trunk at the left. Even the viaduct slopes. Thus, lines which belong to different levels of depth are bundled together on the picture's surface and lead our view directly to the trunk of the tree in the foreground. This journey of our gaze moves from right to left, then climbs up the trunk. It continues through the branch of the tree, which, like the surge of a wave, doubles back over the very crest of the mountain. The clearly depicted contour of the mountain further emphasizes this schematized composition by asserting

the two-dimensionality of the picture surface. Thus, the pictorial elements are constructed in order to direct our gaze to the central form, Mont Sainte-Victoire.

In the process of "reading" this scheme, the significance of the mountain is highlighted. For the Provençaux, who understand the history and meaning of Mont Sainte-Victoire, Cézanne's conceptualized image must be digested more explicitly as a symbolic rendering.

In both The Great Wave [Fig.2] and Le Grand Pin [Fig.20], pictorial elements, such as the curved lines of the wave, branch, or the diagonals of the roads and the viaduct, act as stage props, which manifest the symbolism of the mountain. They are stage props which set the scene for the main figure and effectively guide and help the viewer to understand its meaning. They elevate and monumentalize the mountain by establishing a pedestal from which the mountain soars in all its majesty. Thus concentrating these stage props around the central theme, the picture itself becomes an ideograph that implicitly expresses the symbolic meaning of the mountain. This ideographic or emblematic quality is, indeed, what makes both artists analogous at this point and what makes the viewer "read" something beyond the simple reality seen from the window. At this point, Cézanne's image of the mountain turns from a simple "phonetic" depiction, namely the simple representation of reality, into an "ideographic" symbol which conveys a specific meaning,

more conceptually than perceptually through Cézanne's successful manipulation of purely pictorial devices.

This "ideographic" quality, indeed, differentiates Cézanne and Hokusai from Hiroshige in terms of the near and far effect. The near and far effect, in which foreground objects are pressed against the picture surface and manifests themselves in pronounced opposition to the background, is usually attributed to the influence of Japanese prints, especially Hiroshige's work, when it appears in Western art of the late-nineteenth century. Hiroshige explicitly used this device and it became a major source for Degas or Lautrec in creating a novel viewpoint and in expressing the transient moment. However, in Hiroshige's work, such as Takanawa Ushimachi (Ushimachi, Takanawa) [Fig.26] or Ueno sannai Tsuki no matsu (Moon Pine, Ueno) [Fig.27] from the series, One Hundred Famous Views of Edo, there is no specific focal point in the distance which correlates with the foreground objects, as in the mountain in image of Cézanne and Hokusai.[119] Therefore, it is less relevant to see the similarity between Cézanne and Hiroshige in terms of the near and far effect.

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[119]However, sometimes Hiroshige's huge foreground objects carry the hidden meaning, which is understood only by the informed viewer. In this sense, his images could also be considered as "ideographic". For example, as for the "Naitó Shinjuku, Yotsuya", see Smith II, Hiroshige, One Hundred Famous Views of Edo (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1986) pl.86. Also see Varnedoe, "Views of Edo: High and Low," Art in America 75 (July 1987): 98-105.

Cézanne's paintings of Mont Sainte-Victoire show that if, by the middle of the 1880s, Cézanne had, indeed, digested the essence of Hokusai's pictorial language and skilfully manipulated it for his own purposes, then it is clear that the influence of Japanese prints on Cézanne was neither exoticism nor a superficial borrowing of motif. His comprehensive understanding of Hokusai's methods may have allowed him to discover his own pictorial space. What is important to note is that Cézanne comprehensively understood Hokusai's compositional goal, and never fell into the trap of superficially borrowing the outstanding traits of Japanese prints, as did some of his contemporaries.

It is generally agreed that, in the midst of the path toward Modernism in the second half of the nineteenth century, there were many interrelated forces contributing to the acquisition of autonomy for the pictorial elements themselves, and "Japonisme" was one of these. However, in pictures by Cézanne, the role of "Japonisme", and especially Hokusai, is crucial. The comparative analysis of Cézanne and Hokusai explicitly demonstrates how clearly Cézanne balanced the objective rendering of the space of scientific perspective and the subjective pictorial space of a conceptualized scheme.

At the very least, we can conclude that, by comparing Cézanne with Hokusai, we arrive at a clearer understanding of Cézanne's formulation of a wholly new pictorial order,

one which served the artist when treating the theme of Mont Sainte-Victoire in his realization of the mountain as the quintessential symbol of Aix-en-Provence.

CONCLUSION

Hokusai's bold representation of Mt. Fuji as a totally schematized image is not based on the Western illusionistic scheme of picture making, which seeks to recreate the three-dimensional world as seen from a window. Much to the contrary, it is based on a highly conceptual vision which does not conform to any logical formula of scientific rationality. This is because the artistic freedom granted the creator required no basis in natural science, thus enabling him to combine freely elements from the traditional Eastern and Western languages of interpreting the world. Supported by his countrymen's understanding of Mt. Fuji as a symbol of their nation, Hokusai carried this freedom to its furthest point, until it became a weapon in the destruction of the validity of scientific perspective. Perspective, which had been regarded as nothing more than a device to portray the image of reality as it appears in actuality, is now used as a tool to directly communicate meaning to the spectator.

This dynamism in Hokusai's work can be perceived as the driving force in Cézanne's "Japonisme." While Cézanne's art retained a strong architectonic quality and a foot in the world of traditional Western illusionism, Hokusai's unique

pictorial language may have been one of the forces that contributed to Cézanne's explorations in the realm of two-dimensionality.

A study of the images of Mont Sainte-Victoire illustrates that Cézanne's path toward Modernism in painting may have been influenced by the art of Hokusai. During a period of popularity for all things Japanese, Cézanne's exposure to the prints of the Japanese artist reinforced and perhaps accelerated his move toward the complete two-dimensional autonomy of the pictorial elements, which simultaneously allowed Cézanne to realize the monumentality of Mont Sainte-Victoire as an emblem of his Provençal identity.

This study has reassessed the possible contribution of Japanese prints, especially the art of Hokusai, to the art of the French master, Paul Cézanne. Formal and iconographic comparisons have exposed similar aspects in the pictorial language used by both artists to strengthen the symbolic power of the image of a mountain. This attempt contributes to a more integrated understanding of the French master's pictorial language.

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Fig.1. Hiroshige, Kameidó Tenjin keidai (Grounds of Kameidó Tenjin Shrine), 1857, Colour woodcut.

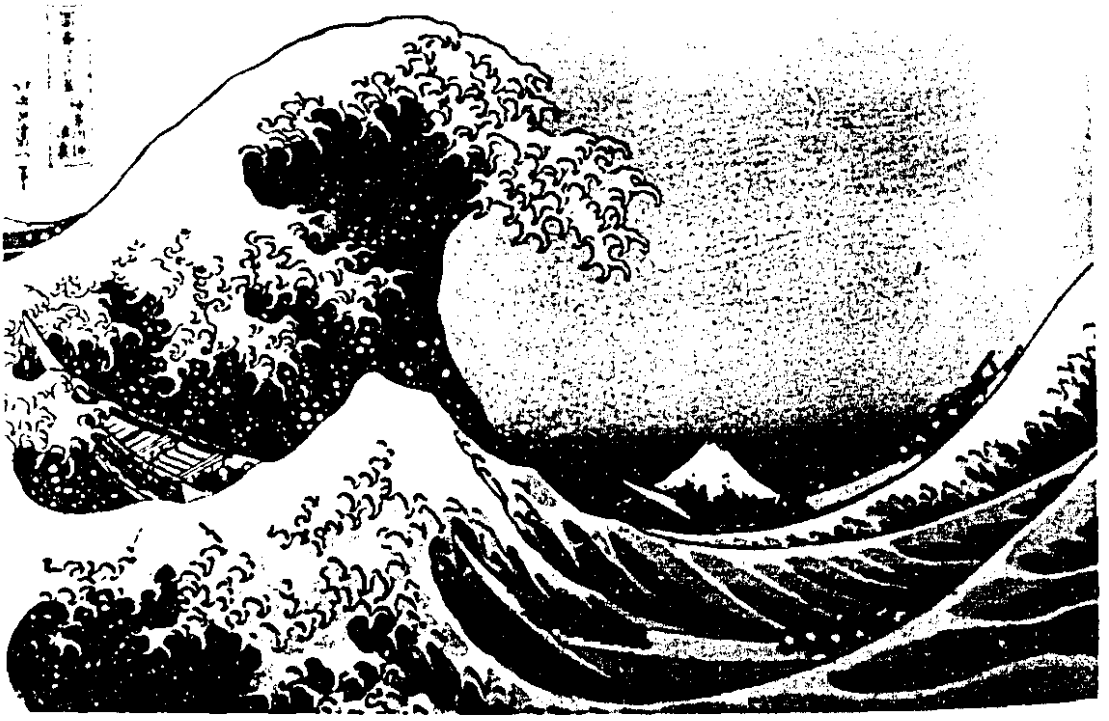

Fig.2. Hokusai, Kanagawa-oki nami-ura (Under the Wave off Kanagawa, "Great Wave"), early 1830s, Colour woodcut.

Fig.3. Hokusai, Gaifû kaisei (Fine Wind, Clear Morning, "Red Fuji"), early 1830s, Colour woodcut.

Fig.4. Late-nineteenth-century photograph of the library of Monet's house at Giverny.

Fig.5. Cézanne, La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin, c. 1885-87, V. 455, Oil on canvas, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

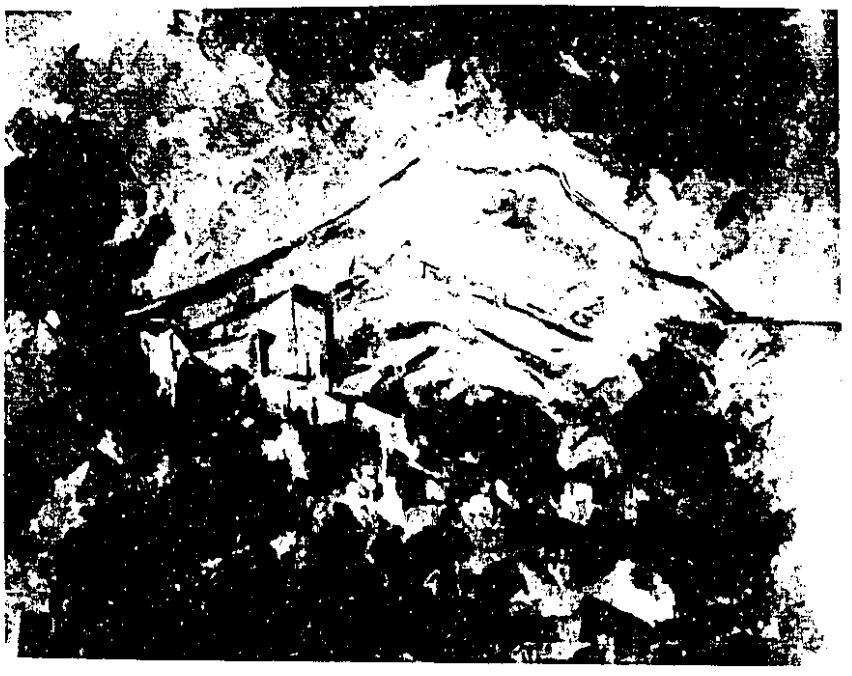

Fig.6. Cézanne, Montagne Sainte-Victoire et le Château-Noir, c. 1898-1900, V. 765, Oil on canvas, Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo.

Fig.7. Cézanne, La Montagne Sainte-Victoire, c. 1900, V. 663,
Oil on canvas. The Hermitage, Leningrad.

Fig.8. Song, Mountain in Summer, eleventh century.

Fig.9. I. Gokokuji no Fuji (Fuji at Gokoku Temple) from Edo meisho zue (The Famous Places of Edo)

Fig.9. II. Fukagawa no Fuji (Fuji at Fukagawa) from Tóto saiji-ki (The Almanac of the Eastern Capital)

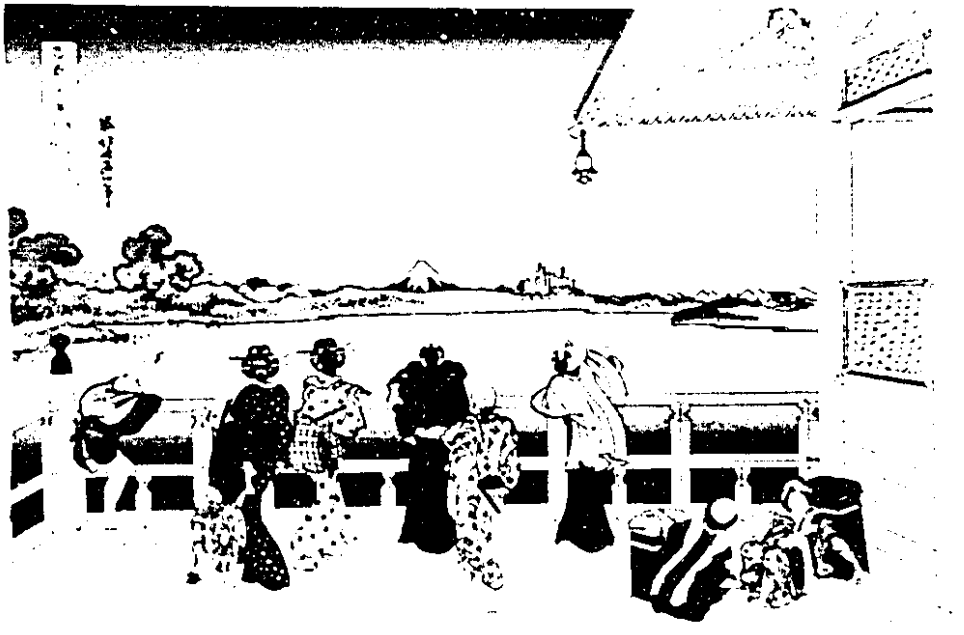

Fig.10. Hokusai, Gohyaku-rakanji Sazaidô (Sazai Hall of the Five-Hundred-Rakan Temple [Edo]), early 1830's, Colour woodcut.

Fig.11. Hokusai, Matagi Fuji (Fuji Straddled), 1830s, Woodcut.

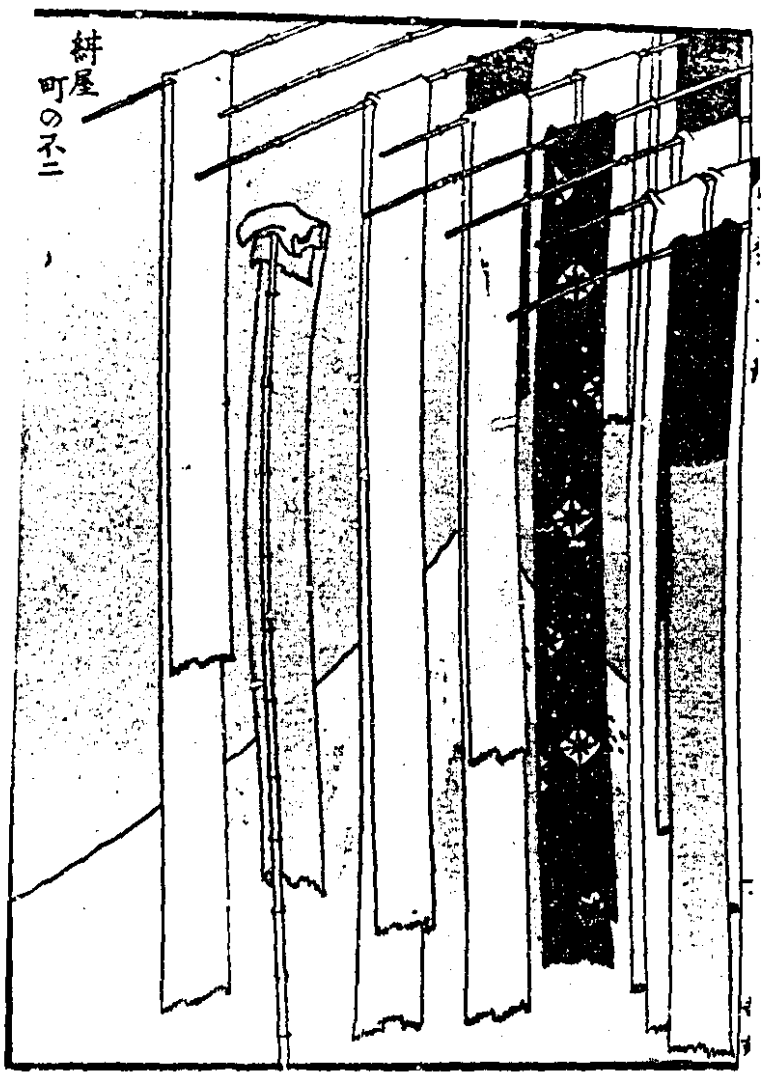

Fig.12. Hokusai, Kon'yachō no Fuji (Fuji of the Dyers' Quarter), 1830s, Woodcut.

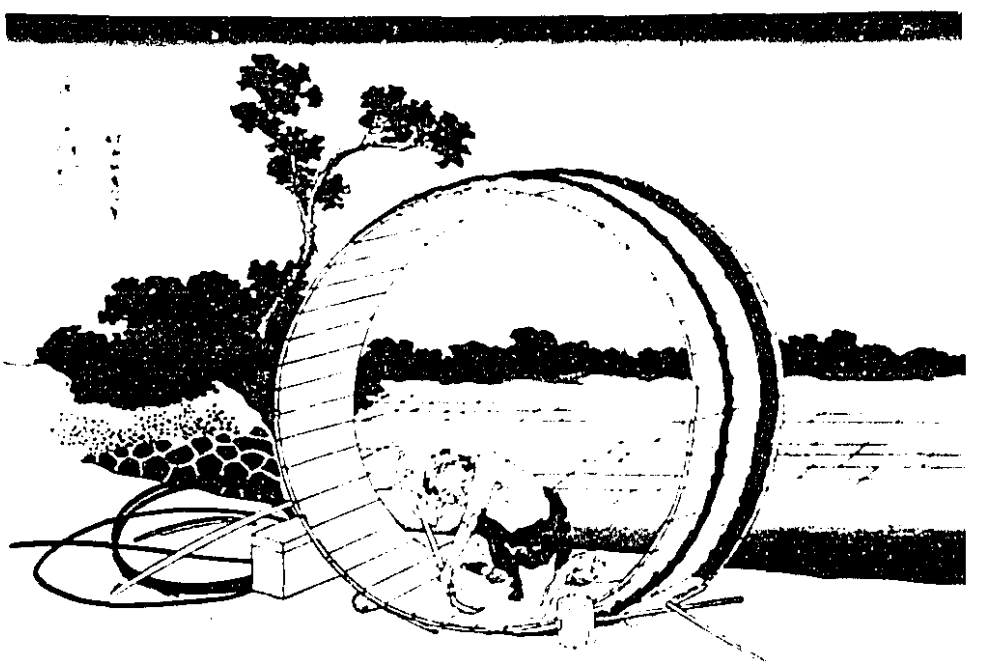

Fig.13. Hokusai, Bishû Fujimigahara (Fujimigahara [Fuji-view Fields] in Owari Province), early 1830s, Colour woodcut.

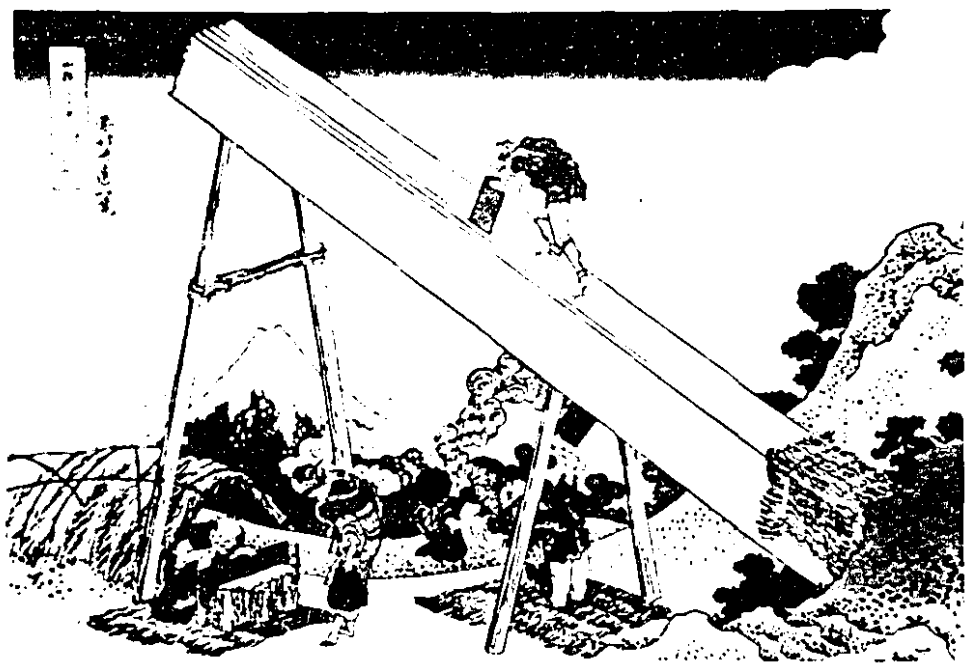

Fig.14. Hokusai, Tôtomi sanchû (In the Tôtomi Mountains), early 1830s, Colour woodcut.

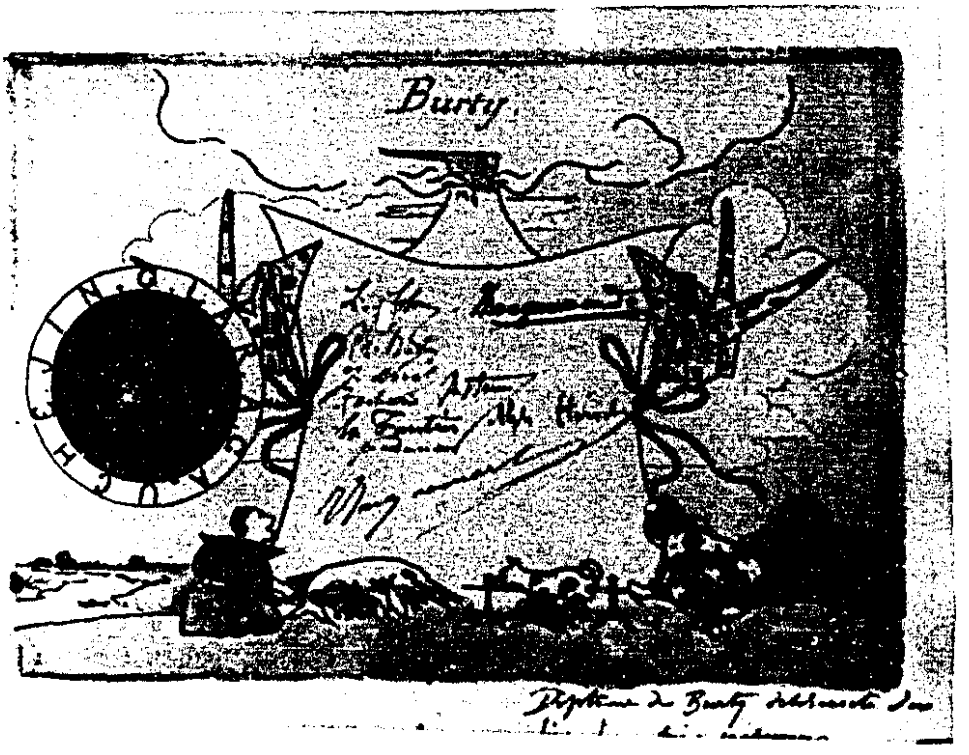

Fig.15. Membership card of the "Société du Jing-lar."

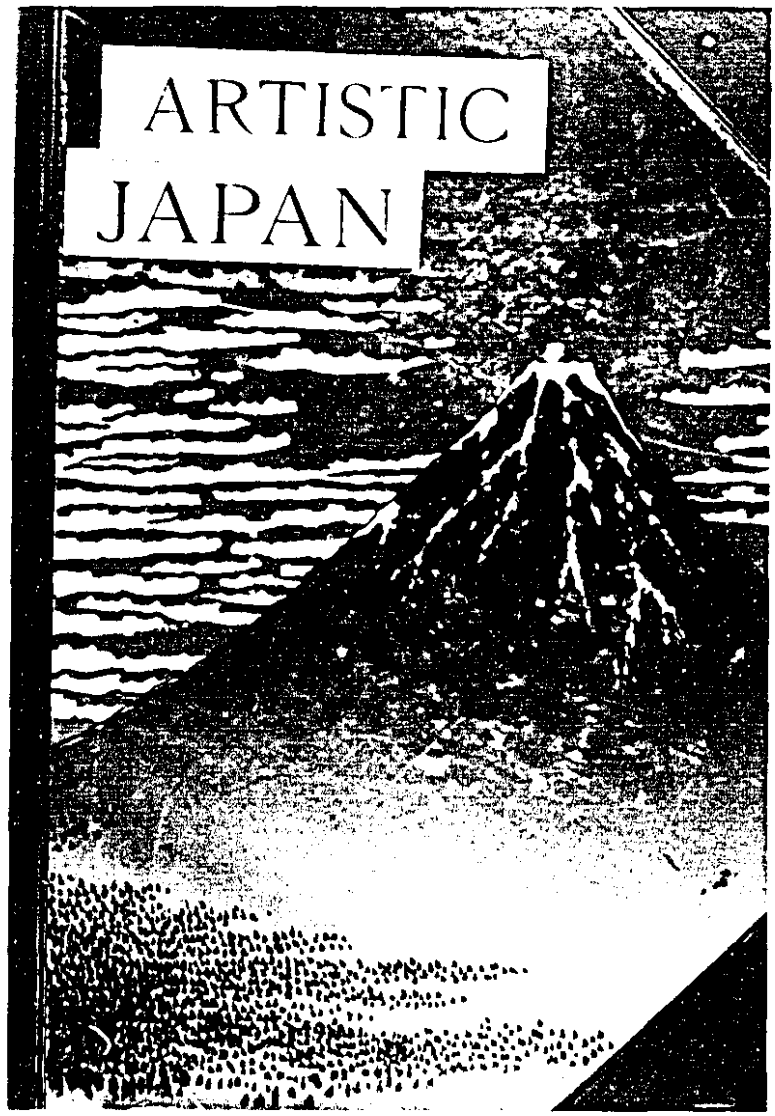

Fig.16. The cover of Artistic Japan Vols. 1-2, 1888.

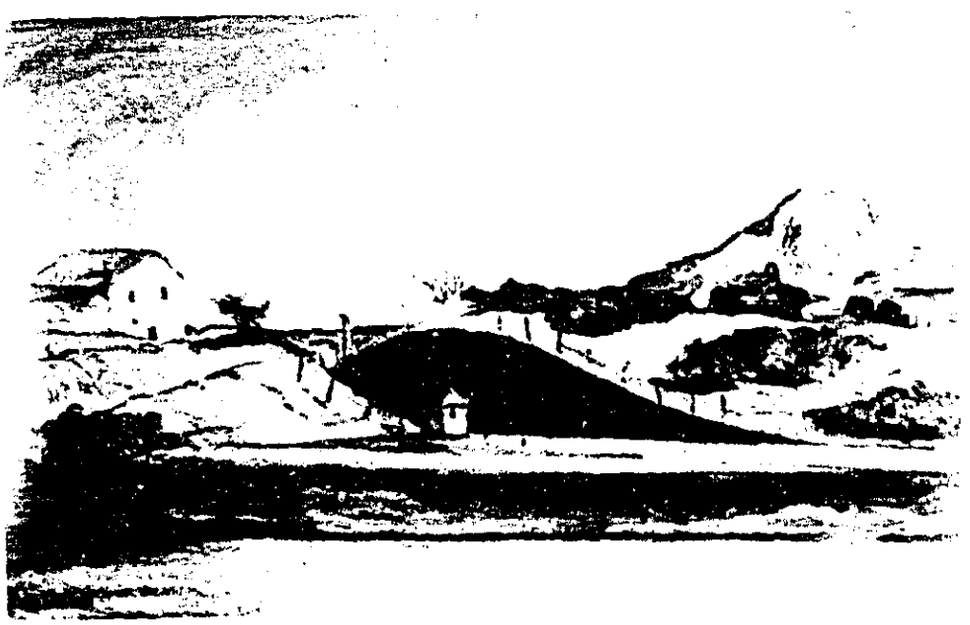

Fig.17. Cézanne, Tranchée, avec la Montagne Sainte-Victoire,
c. 1867-70, V. 50, Oil on canvas, Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig.18. Cézanne, La Montagne Sainte-Victoire, c. 1885-87, V. 452,
Oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig.19. Photogragh, View of Mont Sainte-Victoire and
the Arc valley with viaduct. c.1935.

Fig.20. Cézanne, La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin, c. 1885-87, V. 455, Oil on canvas, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

Fig.21. Hokusai, Act I of the "Chûshingura", c. 1798, Woodcut.

Fig.22. Hokusai, Act I of the "Chûshingura", 1806, Woodcut.

Fig.23. Hokusai, Shuttle Boats in the Waves, 1797-1800, Woodcut.

Fig.24. Hokusai, Kōshū Mishima-goe (Mishima pass in Kai Province), early 1830s, Colour woodcut.

Fig.25. Hokusai, Tōkaidō Shinagawa Goten-yama no Fuji (Fuji from Goten-yama, at Shinagawa on the Tōkaidō [Edo]), early 1830s, Colour woodcut.

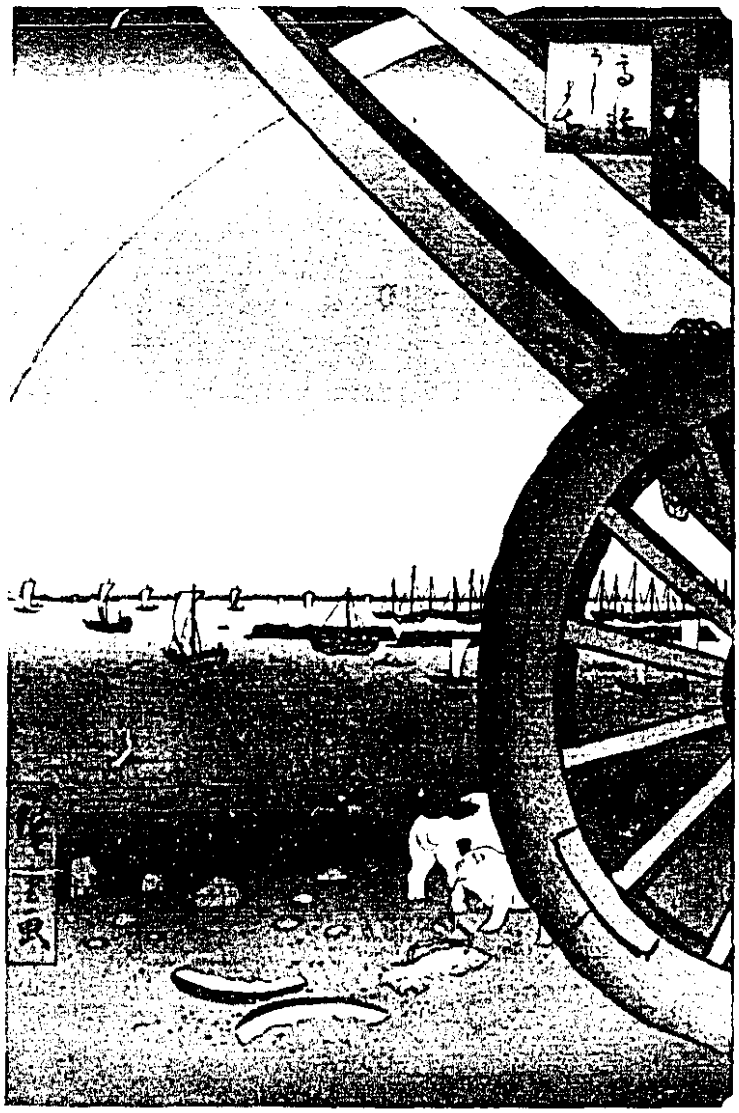

Fig.26. Hiroshige, Takanawa Ushimachi (Ushimachi, Takanawa), 1857, Colour woodcut.

Fig.27. Hiroshige, Ueno sannai tsuki no matsu (Moon Pine, Ueno), 1857, Colour woodcut.