

***MADAME CHRYSANTHÈME* AS AN ITEM OF
NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH JAPONAISERIE**

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*How did I meet you?
I don't know
A messenger sent me in a tropical storm.
You were there in the winter,
Moonlight on the snow,
And on Lillypond Lane
When the weather was warm.*

Bob Dylan

Any experience is coloured by the people with whom we share it. My Ph.D. years were brightened by the following kaleidoscope of people:

... my family who have supported me in whatever I have chosen to do: Andrew for being a dependable brother; Fay, the best nan with her sparkle and baking talents; John, a generous and wise father; Mark, a like-minded companion and source of fine port; and Rowena for being an encouraging mother and friend.

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... Greg my best friend, from across the corridor or from across the Pacific: a true *amigo para siempre*.

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*Béni soit le Seigneur pour m'avoir confié cette tâche
André Gide*

THE LAST FAREWELL

There's a ship lying rigged ready in the harbour
Tomorrow for Old England she sails.
Far away from your land of English sunshine
To my land full of rainy skies and gales.
And I shall be aboard that ship tomorrow
Though my heart is full of tears at this farewell.
For you are beautiful and I have loved you dearly,
More dearly than the spoken word can tell.
For you are beautiful and I have loved you dearly,
More dearly than the spoken word can tell.

...

Though death and darkness gather all about me
And my ship be torn apart upon the sea.
I shall smell again the fragrance of these islands
In the heaving waves that brought me once to thee.
And should I return safe home again to England
I shall watch the English mist roll through the dell.
For you are beautiful, and I have loved you dearly,
More dearly than the spoken word can tell.
For you are beautiful, and I have loved you dearly,
More dearly than the spoken word can tell.

Roger Whittaker

ABSTRACT

Japonisme, a Japanese influence on Western art and design, enjoyed intense popularity during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This study is primarily concerned with the interrelationship between products of that influence, items of japonaiserie, and Pierre Loti's first Japanese travelogue, *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887). It proposes that this work can be considered and meaningfully analysed as an item of 'literary' japonaiserie even though it contained aspects that criticised Japan.

Characteristic of nineteenth-century commentary on Japan, *Madame Chrysanthème* is an amalgam of conflicting elements. While the work evokes and reinforces the ideas of a quaint, invigorating, and exotic Japan popular amongst European readers due largely to japonisme, at the same time its protagonist frequently criticises, belittles, and derides aspects of Japan and his Japanese experience. It is this duality combined with the major influence the work has had on Western perceptions of Japan that makes *Madame Chrysanthème* an important work to examine as an item of japonaiserie.

This study aims towards an intra- and extra-textual evaluation of *Madame Chrysanthème*. It first examines various extra-textual contexts, applying these to the travelogue through an in-depth, intra-textual analysis in Part V. The stylistic and thematic similarities between the book and japonisme in the non-literary arts are examined, and their nature and extent suggest that Loti deliberately tailored *Madame Chrysanthème* to meet consumer expectations. Similarities centre upon narrative style and language use, as well as aspects of the 'traditional,' exotic, and unusual Japan that consumers were familiar with being given precedence over a balanced representation of the reality of Meiji Era Japan.

The negative criticism levied at Japan that runs throughout the work is also examined. This aims to demonstrate that while being a formulaic 'Japanesque' travel memoir, *Madame Chrysanthème* also contains aspects that contrasted and conflicted with the prevailing stereotypes of japonaiserie. In particular, language use and the protagonist's response to Japanese women are vehicles by which he diminishes and derides Japan and the Japanese, while his emotional detachment contrasts with his affection for other places and peoples as recounted in other examples of his travel writing.

This study aims to contribute towards the present body of scholarship on *Madame Chrysanthème* in several ways. Firstly, while recognising the work as a travelogue, it analyses it as an example or product of japonisme, a movement hitherto largely attributed to the fine and/or decorative arts. Conversely, it broadens conventional scholarly discussion of japonisme and japonaiserie to include travel writing. Secondly, this investigation is the first book-length study dedicated specifically to *Madame Chrysanthème* and japonaiserie. Its focus on the interrelationship between japonaiserie and

the literary representation of Loti's first visit to Japan aims to provide a more thorough investigation and analytical combination of the various facets of this relationship than occur elsewhere. In a similar vein, it draws together writing on Loti and Japan, and interrelates and contrasts the various ideas authors have expounded. Lastly, this study aims to stimulate future inquiry into the similarities between Western stereotypical images of Japan that persist in the present-day and those Loti projected over one hundred years ago. In particular, the persistence, right up to the present day, for the Japanesque to predominate over Japan-proper in Western images of Japan, that is to say a preference for aesthetics rather than actuality, is traced to *Madame Chrysanthème*.

NOTE TO THE TEXT

Where non-English single words and short phrases are cited, these are in italics with no apostrophes. Exceptions are foreign words commonly used in English, names, and ‘japonisme’ and ‘japonaiserie.’ Citations are usually given in their original language, followed by a translation into English. Exceptions are instances where the original has been unavailable, or the citation is a lengthy one included for its general idea or themes rather than language.

Spelling is standard British, though an individual author’s spelling has been retained in citations even if deviating from this. For foreign words whose spelling is conventionally anglicised in English-language texts, the anglicism is used. For less common instances the original transcription is retained: for example, Tokyo is written ‘Tokyo’ rather than ‘Tōkyō,’ while Ryuunosuke Akutagawa is written ‘Ryūnosuke Akutagawa’ rather than ‘Ryunosuke Akutagawa.’

Loti’s original text has been retained as much as possible. This means that French and Japanese names and phrases have been transcribed as they appear in the 1990 edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* (Flammarion, edited by Bruno Vercier).

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

. . . before the [Russo-Japanese] war, apart from a limited number of specialists and scholars who kept themselves informed by their travels and serious works (seldom read), for us, the rest of the French, what we knew of Japan was that above all it was the country of Madam Chrysanthemum.

André Chéradam¹

The French writer and naval officer Pierre Loti was three years old on 8 July 1853 when Commodore Matthew Perry cast anchor in Edo Bay in what essentially heralded the end of Japan's *sakoku* or 'national seclusion' policy. The small child in Rochefort, France, would have been unaware of Perry's historic activities more than 9,500 km away. Little over thirty years later however the two would intersect as the popularity of Loti's Japanese travelogue *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) relied in part on japonisme, a Japanese or Japanesque influence seen in Western art and design after Japan resumed contact following Perry's initiative. This intersection, or more specifically the thesis born of it that *Madame Chrysanthème* can be considered an item of nineteenth-century japonaiserie, is the primary focus of this study.

Since the first exchange between Japan and the West when three Portuguese were shipwrecked off Tanegashima Island in 1543, Japan has continued some form of interaction with the Western world. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries this exchange was characterised by zealous religious activity led by the Jesuit missionaries under Francis Xavier. However, a fear of political and cultural instability resulting from the adoption of a foreign religion led the Tokugawa shogunate to expel all Westerners from Japan in 1639. Any subsequent contact was restricted to a Dutch trading post on the artificial island of Dejima in Nagasaki Harbour. The small number of residents on Dejima (usually no more than twenty) meant that between 1639 and the mid-1850s, Japan and the West were almost totally isolated from one another. When Commodore Perry cast anchor in 1853, for most Europeans Japan was a far Eastern country about which they knew nothing at all. Furthermore, for the vast majority of Japanese the very concept of the 'West' was all but totally unknown.² This situation of mutual ignorance and the resulting hunger for contact and knowledge fuelled decades of vigorous policy-making and diplomatic and cultural exchange. It also meant that those in the position to create items of japonaiserie could exploit and further stimulate the newfound interest by circulating fantastic depictions of Japan. Most consumers neither knew nor were concerned with the reality.

¹ André Chéradame. *Le Monde et la Guerre Russo-Japonaise* (Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie., 1906), pp. 3–5.

² Though very limited, Westerners knew a little about Japan through writing produced by early visitors such as Engelbert Kaempfer. Japan had restricted any international exchange to that with its Asian neighbours, adopting a reactive rather than active approach to interaction with the West.

With exchange came mutually beneficial trading, diplomatic, and cultural ties. Japan was eager to compensate for centuries of 'lost' learning from the West, while, in addition to trade and diplomatic gain, the West saw Japan as an antithetical land to its increasingly industrialised, 'tired,' and decadent societies. One product of this combination and its interaction with other factors such as colonialism and the development of nineteenth-century leisure travel was a Japanese influence on the principles of Western art and design. This was accompanied by a craze for cheap Japanese or Japanesque items. A Japanese influence on the arts is commonly referred to as 'japonisme,' while the products born of this, ranging from expensive furniture to cheap, often mass-produced items, are known as 'japonaiserie.'

The vocabulary of japonisme and japonaiserie

The word 'japonisme' was coined in 1872 by the influential French art critic and collector Philippe Burty. While technicalities of definition vary, 'japonisme' can be generally defined as 'the influence of Japanese art on Western art and decoration following the opening of Japan to the Western world by Commodore Perry in 1854, and extending into the early twentieth century.'³ The authoritative French dictionary *Le Robert* defines 'japonisme' as an 'interest in items from Japan, particularly for Japanese art,' or 'a Japanese influence on art.' Klaus Berger (1992) extends these definitions by calling the movement the 'recognition, admiration, adoption, and reinterpretation of an Eastern way of seeing.'⁴ 'Japonaiserie' usually denotes items or tangible products of japonisme, with *Le Robert* defining it as 'objects of art, curios coming from Japan or of a Japanese style.' This dictionary also writes that it can signify the 'taste for the art and civilisation of Japan' or a 'knowledge of Japan, its usages, and of all that is Japanese.' In this study, 'japonaiserie' will be primarily used according to the first definition. *Le Robert* also notes that the word is often used pejoratively, and gives the alternatives of 'japonerie' or 'japonnerie.'

Alongside the increasing popularity of japonisme, a related vocabulary emerged which it is useful to outline at this point because it recurs throughout this study. Enthusiasts and specialists of Japan and in particular of its art were known as 'japonisants' or 'japonistes' (more rarely). 'Japanesque' was coined in the 1880s in Britain, and in this study will signify Japanese motifs or characteristics that have been filtered through Western interpretation and adaptation. Typically, something Japanesque re-emerged significantly different from the 'authentic' Japanese model upon which it was based, and responded more to Western expectations of quintessential Japan than it did to the reality.

³Ralph Mayer. *A Dictionary of art terms and techniques* (London: A. & C. Black, 1969), pp. 201–202.

⁴Klaus Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 3.

For further discussion of the term japonisme, see: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (France), K. S. B., Musée d'Orsay. *Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 17 mai–15 août 1988, Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre–11 décembre 1988* (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), p. 16.

Alternative spellings of 'japonisme' include the anglicised 'Japanism' and 'Japonism.' The French spelling is used in this study because it is conventionally used in English language publications.

Though japonisme primarily signifies the theory and very idea of a Japanese influence on Western art, and japonaiserie the products of this, the two words are not without their individual and varying connotations. It is useful to outline these to illustrate why *Madame Chrysanthème* is here primarily associated with japonaiserie rather than with japonisme. Those who associated themselves with japonisme generally sought imported Japanese items of high craftsmanship and reputable provenance, or alternatively they assimilated as faithfully as possible Japanese artistic or production philosophies or techniques into otherwise European works. They shared a genuine interest in Japanese culture, and artists, critics, dealers, and consumers alike commonly spent considerable time learning about Japan by independent, serious study, or, for example, by joining one of the many societies that emerged of like-minded japonisants.

Contrastingly, items more readily associated with japonaiserie tended to be cheaper than those considered japonisme. The most popular examples of japonaiserie have associations of Japanese kitsch, and their producers and consumers were not usually concerned with fine workmanship or Japanese authenticity. Trinkets, knick-knacks, or popular travelogues sold well for their associations of stereotypical images of quaint, topsy-turvy Japan and for entertainment. Rather than reflect an ‘Eastern way of seeing,’ common items of japonaiserie represented a Western way of seeing, interpreting, and then re-presenting the East, to serve Western purposes. The items of japonaiserie that this study is primarily concerned with were created to align with popular, fashionable Western expectations of Japan, and were commonly made by non-Japanese in the European factories that had emerged during the industrial revolution. Some, alternatively, were imported from Japan where they had been specifically made to cater to Western taste, and subsequently departed somewhat in cultural authenticity from their counterparts actually used in Japan. Jan van Rij (2001) distinguishes between japonisme and japonaiserie:

The word “Japonisme” thus became a synonym for the integration of principles of Japanese design into Western art. The word “Japonaiserie,” on the other hand, reflects an interest in Japanese styles in a more superficial way—because of their exotic and fashionable qualities.⁵

The distinction between consumer japonisme and japonaiserie is by no means absolute, and a blurring of clear boundaries occurred particularly in ‘peripheral’ areas such as the theatre. For example, ‘The Mikado’ (Gilbert and Sullivan, 1885) attracted wealthy audiences, and actors performed in authentic costumes sourced directly from Japan by Arthur Liberty. Yet, its appeal rested largely on the idea of Japan as topsy-turvy and quaint, an image more characteristic of japonaiserie.

Method of approach

This study examines the interrelationship between *Madame Chrysanthème* and japonaiserie on both extra- and intra-textual levels. These concepts are elaborated by Lehtonen (2000), who argues that analysis of the relationship between a text and its reader can be approached either intra-textually by

⁵Jan van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2001), p. 42.

examining the reading that a text inherently or internally affords, or extra-textually by examining the broader socio-cultural factors influencing a reader's response to a text arising from beyond the text itself. As Lehtonen identifies, a purely intra-textual approach ignores important extra-textual factors, as well as the individuality of the reader, while an extra-textual approach may over-emphasise socio-cultural factors at the expense of examining the text itself. Lehtonen writes:

Whereas the problem [with an intra-textual examination] is that it imagines the text itself to be capable of producing meanings regardless of extra-textual factors, the second approach pays little attention to the text itself but explains different readings, considering readers alone as the starting point.⁶

Accordingly, because this study concerns the interrelationship of *Madame Chrysanthème* and the extra-textual factor of japonaiserie, a predominantly intra-textual approach would be inappropriate. It would take no account, for example, of the expectations Loti's readers had of a depiction of Japan originating from the socio-cultural context. On the other hand, a predominantly extra-textual analysis does not enable sufficient investigation of the linguistic and thematic techniques by which Loti tailored the travelogue to align with items of japonaiserie and which essentially make the work part of this movement. Furthermore, these are also used to voice criticism of Japan.

To address the thesis that *Madame Chrysanthème* was an item of japonaiserie even though it contained aspects that criticised Japan, the fundamental stylistic and thematic similarities that Loti's literary depiction of Japan shared with other items more readily associated with the movement will be examined. It will aim to show that Loti deliberately tailored his work to align with reader expectations of a stereotypical depiction of Japan and, in particular, it becomes apparent that *Madame Chrysanthème* both responded to and influenced its socio-cultural context. To examine the second major concern, that at the same time the work contains aspects that are critical of Japan, the strongly negative judgments of Japan and the Japanese that are levied throughout will be analysed, as well as the various ways in which these constitute a rejection of Japan outlined.

Part I demonstrates the validity of dedicating an entire study to one work which has now all but vanished from popular readership, and identifies theoretical signposts that emerge throughout the investigation. Then Loti's life and writing are examined, followed by a plot synopsis of *Madame Chrysanthème*. In Chapter Four, nineteenth-century perceptions of the travelogue are outlined, followed by a review of major studies of Loti and *Madame Chrysanthème* to locate the contribution of the present study within the existing body of literature.

Part II aims to establish the broad political, social, and cultural French extra-textual climate through which most of Loti's readers encountered and responded to *Madame Chrysanthème*. These contexts are important as they partly determined reader expectations and accordingly the nature of the travelogue as it was tailored to meet these. In particular, this part examines how an interrelationship of colonialism,

⁶Mikko Lehtonen (Aija-Leena Ahonen and Kris Clarke, trans.). *The Cultural analysis of texts* (London; New Delhi; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000), p. 118.

industrialisation, and the development and nature of popular leisure travel influenced and predetermined responses to the 'outer' world, including Japan, and stimulated consumption of commercial manifestations of this such as items of japonaiserie. A survey of attitudes towards popular leisure travel, followed by discussion of Pierre Loti as a nineteenth-century traveller provide the context of some of the criticism in the travelogue.

Part III concerns religious, diplomatic, mercantile, and cultural exchange between Japan and the West. It outlines the history of this exchange, and progresses to an overview of Western visitors to Japan during the nineteenth century. Particular attention is paid to the foreign settlement at Nagasaki because this is where Loti visited and where *Madame Chrysanthème* is set. Perceptions of the country are examined in what is a particularisation of attitudes towards travel and the outer world examined in Part II. This is followed by a survey of nineteenth-century 'Western' literature on Japan whose authors' primary aim was to inform rather than to entertain or exploit consumer fashions. This places Loti's experiences in, and his responses towards, Japan in the context of those of his contemporary travellers. It also delineates further some of the perceptions and expectations Loti's readers had of the country because these were partly formed by the accounts of his contemporaries.

Part IV discusses japonisme and japonaiserie, aiming to establish the specifically aesthetic context in which *Madame Chrysanthème* is located in this study. It facilitates later illustration of the similarities and differences between Loti's work and popular japonaiserie. It begins with an outline of the precursors of Orientalism (in art), Chinoiserie, and pre-Meiji artistic exchange between Japan and the West, moving to the general background of nineteenth-century japonisme and japonaiserie. Specialised discussion begins with well-studied areas such as the painterly arts, progressing to 'peripheral' japonisme and japonaiserie in the performing arts and literature.

Part V moves on to a primarily intra-textual analysis of the travelogue. It aims to demonstrate the ways in which *Madame Chrysanthème* was an item of 'literary' japonaiserie yet at the same time contained areas contrasting with the movement's prevailing stereotypes. Discussion is approached via four broad categories: the travelogue's structure, its linguistic properties, thematic preoccupations, and the protagonist's treatment of Japanese women. In each, various areas are examined and aspects emerge that support both directions of this thesis. For example, while Loti's frequent use of adjectives such as *petit* (little, small) and *mignon* (cute, sweet) can be interpreted as endearing and alluding to a quaint and novel country, it can also function to belittle Japan and the Japanese and cast them as insignificant and juvenile. Part V makes continual and close reference to the theoretical, socio-political, cultural, and aesthetic contexts examined in the first four parts, and also draws comparisons with Loti's other travel writing.

The study concludes by discussing the nature and significance of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie. It also suggests that the work itself, with its internal conflict, reflected the complex psychology of its author.

This study includes major extra-textual factors such as colonialism and industrialisation, and therefore analysis is highly selective. Throughout the work, then, these areas are examined in the context of how they influenced the emergence, nature, development, and popularity of japonisme and japonaiserie. It is important to note that a representative overview of nineteenth-century French colonialism or the cultural effects of the industrial revolution, for example, are beyond the scope of this study.

Also concerning selective focus, in Part IV japonisme and japonaiserie are examined in a predominantly French context, except where examples are mentioned to demonstrate the breadth of scope or to highlight some aspect peculiar to France. Focus will further be on Paris because this was the capital of French fashion and art during the period and was where most French artists created, sold, and exhibited their work. In particular, Paris was the host city of some of the largest and most extravagant universal expositions that introduced a wide section of the French public to distant cultures such as Japan's. Furthermore, many of Loti's readers would have been city-dwellers because people living in the still relatively isolated countryside were less likely to be exposed to japonaiserie enough to seek out Japanese literature such as *Madame Chrysanthème*, and literacy rates tended to be lower amongst rural workers than their urban counterparts. This focus does not imply that other branches of japonisme were neither extensive nor important: these movements certainly enjoyed widespread popularity and exerted a definite influence, to which the many studies of them testify.⁷

The importance of this study

Though Loti as an author and *Madame Chrysanthème* enjoyed great popularity during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, much of his work, including *Madame Chrysanthème*, has since all but vanished from popular readership. What, then, is the significance of dedicating an entire study to one work by an author of intense yet somewhat fleeting popularity?

Firstly, *Madame Chrysanthème* certainly was very popular in the late nineteenth century, and so was an important book during its time. The travelogue had twenty-five print runs in the first five years after initial publication,⁸ with this figure reaching 221 by 1923,⁹ and was quickly translated into the major European languages. People known to be familiar with Loti's work and likely to have read *Madame Chrysanthème* include Juliette Adam, the Duchess of Richelieu, Claude Farrère, Sarah Bernhardt, Oirda Lee-Childe, Queen Elizabeth of Romania, Queen Natalie of Serbia, and Vincent van Gogh. This last figure is known to have been influenced by *Madame Chrysanthème* as he mentions the work in some of his letters, and he also painted an imaginary portrait of Chrysanthème.¹⁰

⁷For example, see: J. Meech-Pekarik, G. P. Weisberg, et al.. *Japonisme comes to America: the Japanese impact on the graphic arts, 1876-1925*. (New York: H.N. Abrams in association with the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum Rutgers the State University of New Jersey, 1990).

⁸See: van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 29.

⁹Nicolas Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Les Presses Françaises, 1924), p. 341.

¹⁰See: Pierre Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), 33 ff. (n. 5); Siegfried Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 58.

Each of these well-known readers potentially further diversified the travelogue's influence as their writings both directly on the book and on Japan in general were available to the wider public. Artists such as van Gogh 'learning' from and being influenced by Loti's literary memoir illustrates its interaction across the arts, and suggests that rather than merely being one item of japonaiserie amongst many, it was indeed one of the most successful and influential. In fact, Lafcadio Hearn, perhaps the Westerner who most integrated with Japanese society during the nineteenth century, said that *Madame Chrysanthème* was one of two books that made him decide to go to Japan, and that he often recalled Loti's literary depictions when actually in the country.¹¹

Not only was *Madame Chrysanthème* a successful work in terms of its varied readership, it also significantly influenced popular opinion. This was demonstrated by the writings of Loti's contemporaries such as André Chéradam. Written as late as 1906, the opening epigraph shows that the travelogue's influence endured for some time beyond its publication, particularly after its appearance in 1887. The work's influence also emerges when Loti is mentioned in broader studies of japonaiserie as someone whose writing coloured nineteenth-century perceptions of Japan.

Madame Chrysanthème's importance is furthered when we consider the influence the book had on other literary and musical productions, some of which subsequently went on to have a massive, lasting impact on how Westerners see Japan. A number of authors such as Paul Claudel referred directly to Loti in their own accounts of the Far East, while others borrowed themes they first encountered in Loti's work, most of these concerning romances between Western men and Japanese women. These authors include Clive Holland (*My Japanese wife*, 1895), Félicien Champsaur (*Poupée Japonaise*, 'Japanese doll,' also known as '*Saméyama*,' 1900), and John Luther Long (*Madame Butterfly*, 1897). Concerning musical or dramatic productions, two well-known examples, 'Madame Butterfly' (Giacomo Puccini, 1904) and 'Miss Saigon' (1987, still playing on Broadway), have contributed significantly towards the persistence of the stereotype of the submissive, exotic, and erotic Oriental woman. The genesis of 'Madame Butterfly' was an interplay of theatre and literature and its example again illustrates the fluidity of aesthetic movements across genres, an important concept in arguing that *Madame Chrysanthème* is an item of japonaiserie. Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* was the inspiration for a short story by John Luther Long called *Madame Butterfly* that was serialised in 1897 in 'Century Magazine.' The American playwright David Belasco subsequently adapted Long's novel into a play (1900), which inspired Puccini's opera 'Madame Butterfly.' 'Miss Saigon' in turn continues themes found in *Madame Chrysanthème* and 'Madame Butterfly,' though they are culturally and temporally transposed to the Vietnam War. Another facet of the discourse between artists and genres was André Messager's opera 'Madame Chrysanthemum' (1893) also based on Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*, though this was less successful than other adaptations.¹² A ballet was produced by Sir Frederick Ashton called 'Madame Chrysanthème' (London, 1955), and numerous less well-known productions centring on themes concerning Eastern and Western romances have emerged.

¹¹See: Alain Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1986), p.132.

¹²See: William Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800-1925* (Paris: Champion, 1927), p. 130.

Madame Chrysanthème, 'Madame Butterfly,' and 'Miss Saigon' share many synoptic and thematic similarities. Each concerns a relationship between a Western male and an Asian female, and all circulate images of the Oriental woman as dedicated, obedient, loyal, submissive, and exotic.¹³

'Madame Butterfly' and 'Miss Saigon' are widely known in the present day by people of all ages and cultures, and the ideas that they borrowed from Loti's work have massively influenced popular

¹³A full account being beyond the scope of the Introduction, a synopsis is included here. 'Madame Butterfly' is the story of an American naval lieutenant, Benjamin Franklin Pinkerton, who visits Japan and marries a fifteen-year old Japanese woman, Cio-Cio-San [Cho-Cho-San] or Butterfly, with the help of a marriage broker Goro. The pair live on a hill-side suburb reminiscent of Diou-djen-dji in *Madame Chrysanthème*. Before the wedding, Pinkerton tells the American Consul, Sharpless that he can end the marriage whenever he pleases, likening it to the lease for his Japanese house. On their wedding day Cio-Cio's uncle comes to chastise her for having renounced Japanese religion, and Pinkerton orders him away, following which there is a poignant love scene between the two. Act II begins with Cio-Cio waiting for Pinkerton to return to Japan, after what has been a three year absence. Sharpless returns bearing a letter from Pinkerton telling Butterfly of his marriage to an American woman, Kate, though he does not have the courage to read it out fully. Butterfly is offered marriage to the wealthy Prince Yamadori, which she refuses, adamant that Pinkerton will return for her and their son, Trouble (to be called 'Joy' when Pinkerton comes). A ship's cannon is heard, and upon learning that it is Pinkerton's, Cio-Cio and Suzuki her servant busy themselves scattering flowers throughout the house to welcome him. Suzuki sees Pinkerton, Sharpless, and Kate in the garden and immediately guesses the truth. Pinkerton's party has come to try and take Trouble with them, though the lieutenant leaves full of regret at his cowardice. Cio-Cio sees the remaining people, realises the truth and allows Pinkerton to take Trouble if he himself comes to collect him. Shortly after, Cio-Cio uses her father's blade to commit *hara-kiri* (suicide by cutting the stomach open), and dies in Pinkerton's arms.

'Miss Saigon' is set in Vietnam in 1975 and tells of an American GI, Chris, and a Vietnamese woman, Kim, who fall in love. Kim's arranged fiancée, Thuy, tries unsuccessfully to stop the pair's romance, reminiscent of Cio-Cio's uncle in 'Madame Butterfly,' and later he tries to kill Tam, Chris and Kim's son. When Saigon falls to the Viet Cong, the lovers try to leave for America together but Kim is left behind. Three years pass and Chris marries an American woman, Ellen. He later attends a conference in Atlanta about *Bui-Doi*, 'children of the dust,' a name given to those born to American fathers and Vietnamese mothers. Chris, a friend John, and Ellen go to Bangkok, to where Kim had escaped, and it is revealed to Kim that Chris had married Ellen. Ellen does not want to take Tam back to America, so, rather than have her son grow up in Asia, Kim shoots herself, leaving the child motherless and Chris with little choice but to take him to America towards a better life.

In both *Madame Chrysanthème* and 'Madame Butterfly' the female protagonist is Japanese, while in 'Miss Saigon' Kim is Vietnamese. *Chrysanthème*'s exoticness is quaint or evidence of intellectual shortcomings and a polarity of Eastern and Western races, Butterfly's difference is alluring, and Kim's alluring and sexy. These female figures are all depicted as less intellectually complex than their Western 'partner,' particularly in Loti's and Puccini's works, though in 'Madame Butterfly' and 'Miss Saigon' their thoughts and feelings are acknowledged or given voice to by the creator, both in the plot or actual dialogue. Both of these later figures are cast as tragic: Butterfly for having waited three years for Pinkerton, only to find that he has married and eventually killing herself; and Kim for having got stranded in Saigon, later Bangkok, and also killing herself to give Tam a better future. All three women are ultimately abandoned by their Western partner, though *Chrysanthème* is the only one who is depicted as being cunning and calculating at this time as she checks the authenticity of the money the protagonist paid her.

Similarities between the male protagonists include all three having the position of control over the relationship that their race and sex afford, and all leaving their Oriental 'lover' behind. Pinkerton's language is reminiscent of Loti's protagonist's as he depicts Japan as a land of flowers and quaint women, calling it as he leaves for the second time a 'fiorito asil,' 'haven of flowers' (trans. Kim Smyth), and he also calls Cio-Cio a 'plaything' ('giocottolo' in 'Viene la sera.'). *Miss Saigon's* American equivalent of the protagonist in *Madame Chrysanthème*, Chris, uses words very similar to Loti's when he calls Vietnam "A place full of mystery that I never once understood," while the words of Tam's mother strongly echo those of Cio-Cio to Trouble when Kim says 'As long as you can have your chance I swear I'll give my life for you' (Act I).

There are differences though between the three male protagonists. Firstly, the extent of their affection and empathy towards their female partner: in *Madame Chrysanthème* the affection is all but absent, in 'Madame Butterfly' Pinkerton is dismissive yet seems to have felt what he thought was love for Butterfly and feels seemingly genuine remorse when he returns to Japan, and Chris in 'Miss Saigon' is the most attached of the three, though there remains an element of indifference because he did not contact Kim after returning to America. Generally speaking, the relationships between the leading male and female protagonists become increasingly equal the closer the works were written to the present-day, though none achieves equality between a Western male and Eastern female. This suggests the persistence of perceptions of Western dominance and Eastern subordination, even if these are weakening with time.

perceptions of Japan. The persistence and inaccuracy of long-held stereotypes of the Japanese female circulated via such cultural productions have been discussed in a study by Karen Ma (1996) published as *The modern Madame Butterfly: fantasy and reality in Japanese cross-cultural relationships*. Ma's research focuses on relationships between Western and Japanese people and she discusses how many Western males treat Japanese females according to stereotypical perceptions of their cultural roles originating from Loti's time.¹⁴ In particular, the recent growth in popularity of arm-chair travel and cultural biographies has seen the manipulation of such stereotypes for commercial gain. The covers of books about Japan—fiction or non-fiction—commonly employ sexually suggestive, striking graphics and text alluding to traditional Japan to draw the consumer's attention.¹⁵ For example, the cover of Mako Yoshikawa's *101 Ways* (1999) features a semi-naked Japanese woman and traditional fan, while the text on the back reads: 'According to Japanese culture, a geisha is taught one hundred and one ways to please a man ...'¹⁶ Arthur Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha* (1997) achieves its visual impact with simplicity: the cover has the lower part of a geisha's made-up, white face with its contrastingly blood-red lips. Literature can in turn influence wider consumer thinking and advertising strategies: for example, a photo shoot in *Paris Vogue* (2000) makes suggestive, sexual allusion to Golden's novel in its introductory text as follows:

Geisha: more than a fashion, an attitude inspired by *Geisha*, the novel by Arthur Golden released in France this summer. Evocative colours, carnal red and innocent white; suggestive embroideries and games undoing bonds ... The refinements of submission as the ultimate fantasy.¹⁷

The inaccuracies of a cultural essentialism characteristic of the nineteenth century are seen to persist when one looks closely to find that much of the shoot has been taken in a French Chinatown.

Another reason to dedicate an entire study to *Madame Chrysanthème* is that examination of the work as an item of japonaiserie has relevance to present-day research in broader areas of Asian studies. Things such as home-wares, beauty and health products, fashion, and food sometimes rely on images associated with 'traditional' Japan to project an appealing image of refined simplicity and exotic tradition. This preference for the Japanesque over Japan proper was a defining characteristic of mass-produced japonaiserie in the nineteenth century, and the nature and similarities of the present-day variety will be outlined in the Conclusion. This study aims to establish a historical basis for the ideas this preference draws on, as well as to stimulate further enquiry. It is believed to be the first book-length study dedicated specifically to *Madame Chrysanthème*.

¹⁴See: Karen Ma. *The Modern Madame Butterfly: Fantasy and reality in Japanese cross-cultural relationships* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1996).

¹⁵See: Sandra Lyne. 'Consuming Madame Chrysanthème: Loti's 'dolls' to *Shanghai Baby*.' In the internet journal: 'Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context' Issue 8, October 2002. Murdoch University (Perth), School of Asian Studies.

¹⁶Mako Yoshikawa. *101 Ways* (London: Piatkus, 1999), back cover.

¹⁷Paris Vogue, 2000. I am unable to provide full bibliographical details.

The three areas discussed above validate an exhaustive investigation into a work of passing popularity. While *Madame Chrysanthème* may not have been an enduring work in the French literary canon, it was extremely popular and influential during its time, subsequent works borrowed themes from it and then went on to mould nineteenth-century perceptions of Japan that have persisted to the present, and the work is an early example of a commercial preference for the Japanesque over Japan proper.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical signposts

A more basic form of ethnocentricity on which the colonial movement draws is the general tendency to conceptualize the outside world in terms of which one has become habituated in one's society of origin, which is taken as the norm from which other cultures deviate. It is only a short step from a position in which other life-styles are regarded as abnormal or exotic to one in which they are regarded as subnormal or ridiculous; concepts of empirical normality pave the way for value judgments flattering to one's own culture.¹⁸

Throughout this study several major theoretical ideas recur. These include Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts of monologism and reaccentualisation, Ian Littlewood's theory on the aestheticisation of a country, Erving Goffman's concept of body idiom, and the principle of cultural and geographic essentialism. Firstly though, the concept and limits of 'Orientalism' and related ideas will be discussed.

Orientalism

The societies and peoples of Asia and the so-called Middle East have long been a source of curiosity for Europeans because they seemed vastly different in customs and physicality from European norms. In the eighteenth century in particular, European countries such as Britain and France began to formulate specific interests in the Orient, which at the time was conceptualised as stretching from (and including) southern and mid-European countries to what today is known as Asia. The region was to become fiercely fought-over because of its rich natural resources, as well as strategic location between Europe and Asia. The outer world became increasingly accessible to imperialist and tourist alike due partly to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and developments in steamship and railway travel. Alongside this, classification of the Orient changed and its regions became variously known as the 'Near,' 'Middle,' and 'Far' East. The Near East, or *Proche-Orient* as it is called in French, included places such as Turkey and Greece; the Middle East or *Moyen-Orient* encompassed Islamic countries; while the Far East or *Extrême-Orient* covers places today commonly thought of as Eastern Asia such as Japan, China, Vietnam, and Korea. As will be discussed in Parts II and III, though regions of the *Extrême-Orient* were relatively geographically and politically distinct from the Near and Middle Easts, attitudes concerning this area closely resembled those pertaining to the wider Orient.

By the late nineteenth century when Loti wrote *Madame Chrysanthème*, 'Orientalism,' a movement embracing philosophical, geographical, political, and aesthetic realms was well established. As will be elaborated in Part II, it was a concept that permeated all strata of society: for example, governments used its philosophical or scientific discourse to justify their foreign policies; while the general public

¹⁸ Alec Hargreaves *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari, and Pierre Mille* (London: MacMillan, 1981), p. 2.

encountered and accepted its theories as, for example, they read popular literature about the non-European world, travelled there, or visited live human exhibits featuring the non-white 'other.' In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said defines the concept as:

. . . a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient had helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.¹⁹

Orientalism was probably motivated at least in part by the drive to control its subject, the Orient. By defining the Orient according to European norms, Europe remained the central authority, assured of its power because it had created and continued to prescribe the role of subaltern 'other' to the Orient. European society became by contradistinction 'mature' and 'significant' and as Said writes, it 'gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient.'²⁰ The success and very existence of Orientalism hinged upon the notion of a 'them' and an 'us,' an idea still persisting, as Said writes: 'Throughout the exchange between Europeans and their "others" that began systematically half a millennium ago, the one idea that has scarcely varied is that there is an "us" and a "them," each quite settled, clear, unassailably self-evident.'²¹ In Part V, Said's words will be returned to as it becomes apparent that the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* reinforces a 'them' and 'us' dichotomy in various ways.

Throughout this study Said's ideas concerning the Orient as a 'deep' and 'recurring' concept of the 'other' will frequently emerge in discussion of how the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* makes value judgments assuming an absolute polarity of Eastern and Western peoples. Alternatively, he emphasises the rejuvenating aspects of Japan to communicate an antithetical relief from the industrialised, decadent, and matured European society of many of Loti's readers. The shift towards Darwinist mentality which valued reason and masculinity (traits ascribed to the West) over emotion and femininity (Eastern traits) ironically made the Orient more attractive. The 'East,' including Japan, came to represent an as yet uncorrupted, youthful and rejuvenating escape from and antithesis to Europe's increasingly industrialised and logo-centric society. In an article 'On the edge of the Orient: English representations of Japan, circa 1895–1910,' P. L. Pham (1999) discusses the varying natures and functions of British metaphorical depictions of Japan, arguing that the country was systematically

¹⁹ Edward Said. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 1–2.

²⁰ Said. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*, p. 3.

²¹ Edward Said. *Culture and imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. xxv.

and intentionally constructed as the antithesis of Britain.²² Most fundamentally, Pham writes that Britain (and by association the West) assumed the role of the male, superior, dominant, controlling, matured, and aged sphere, while Japan was depicted as female, subservient, controlled, naïve, and young.

This contradistinctive identity formation leads to a set of further and definitive characteristics of nineteenth-century Orientalist discourse: its tendency to create hierarchies based on binary oppositions such as East and West. This is elaborated by critics including Said (1978) and Pratt (1994), and summed up concisely as follows by Baldwin et al (1999):

It is important to note that as it dichotomises, essentialises and creates hierarchies, Orientalism is talking about the West as much as about the East. It is creating the East as the West's 'other': the place that it uses to distinguish its own identity.²³

As has been suggested, studies of the East-West dichotomy predominantly argue that the West assigned, consciously or otherwise, a feminine gender role to the Orient, including Japan. However, such studies are limited if they omit various distinct countervailing realities. Firstly, not all Western commentators concentrated on an 'aesthetic,' pretty, and feminine Japan. Some such as Ernest Satow evoked a 'masculine' Japan by writing of, for example, vicious attacks on foreign legations or the brutal suicide practice of *hara-kiri*, 'self disembowelment.' The macabre novelty of their accounts saw some such ideas being relatively widespread in nineteenth-century European popular media. These attitudes will be discussed later.

A different type of counter-reality was a Japanese feminisation of the West, essentially the opposite of the main thrust of much Orientalist discourse. An example relevant to the present study because it affected how some Westerners were treated by certain groups of Japanese is the nationalist factions of Meiji society that considered and constructed the growing Western influence in Japan as effeminate. Such groups gave themselves a strongly masculine image through vehicles including satirical magazines and political clubs and rallies. More extreme factions were most probably behind some of the attacks on foreign legations whose gruesome details were recounted by the likes of Ernest Satow and circulated throughout European society. Jason Karlin (2002) argues:

[The critic Tani Kanjoo's] view of modernity was not only utilitarian and instrumental, but also "masculine" insofar as it equated modernity with production, diligence, and militarization. The Meiji state with its self-conscious celebration of decoration and form over content and essence appeared weak, decadent, and self-indulgent. In other words, accommodation to the West suggested weakness and effeminacy, while militarism signified strength and masculinity. For Tani and others, the

²² P. L. Pham. 'On the edge of the Orient: English representations of Japan, circa 1895–1910,' *Japanese Studies* 19, No. 2: pp. 163–181, 1999.

²³ Elaine Baldwin et. al. (eds.). *Introducing cultural studies* (Prentice Hall Europe, 1999), p. 170.

state's "effeminacy" was inconsistent with the goal of promoting national greatness.²⁴

That groups concerned with the 'goal of promoting [Japanese] greatness' considered militarism as representing 'strength and masculinity,' and constructed one perceived obstacle to this, namely 'accommodation to the West,' as effeminate suggests that the correlation of masculinity with power, authority, and dominance is a more universal practice than one merely used by the West to dominate the East. In fact, because part of the East–West dyad was an Eastern construction of Western influence as effeminate, the tendency of the majority of studies to remark only on a Western construction of the Orient as feminine becomes in fact an example of not allowing an 'Oriental voice' to surface, the very practice they usually purport to reject.

A further, quite different, alternative to the prevailing interpretation of the feminine–East, masculine–West dyad is 'Occidentalism,' the reverse of 'Orientalism,' where Eastern peoples objectified and consumed the West. During the Meiji Era this took the form of adopting, even if only superficially, Western philosophies and principles, and emulating Western practices according to the perception that the Western model was 'better.' Where some Europeans consumed pre-modern lands for their exoticism and antithetical rejuvenation, groups of Japanese (particularly those in governmental or business roles) hungrily sought the West for its knowledge systems, practices, and highly developed culture. Areas of particular interest included science, technology, medicine, literature, philosophy, and art. This somewhat symbiotic trend continues to the present-day: on one hand, sectors of the Western consumer market rely on images and associations of traditional Japan to sell products such as 'Eastern' home-wares just as they did in Loti's time. On the other, groups of Japanese people are infatuated with Western consumer products from multi-national corporations such as Levi Strauss and Co., Chanel, and Mercedes Benz; and for example, some Japanese cosmetic companies produce specialist ranges that whiten the skin to make it nearer to the European 'ideal.'

Fundamental to Said's discourse on Orientalism is the principle that authors were influenced by and subsequently influenced the socio-political discourse of the time. He writes: 'I do not believe that authors are mechanically determined by ideology, class, or economic history, but authors are, I also believe, very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience in different measure.'²⁵ The first four parts of this study are concerned with establishing the socio-political, cultural, and aesthetic climates by which Loti and *Madame Chrysanthème* were 'shaped.' Not only Loti, but his readers too lived within this climate, and so *Madame Chrysanthème* was also shaped by their collective experiences and expectations as Loti moulded his work to meet these. Alain Quella-Villéger (1986) writes of the interrelationship between Loti and the ideas his reading public already had of Japan: 'Si *Madame Chrysanthème* a cristallisé le Japon dans la vision populaire, c'est qu'un ensemble d'images s'y superimposaient, qui étaient déjà ancrées dans la

²⁴ Jason Karlin. 'The gender of nationalism: competing masculinities in Meiji Japan,' *Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 28, no. 1: p. 56, 2002.

²⁵ Said. *Culture and imperialism*, p. xxii.

conscience collective. . . . Loti-individu reflète un imaginaire collectif tout autant qu'il l'alimente,'²⁶ 'If *Madame Chrysanthème* crystalised popular perceptions of Japan, it was by a melding together of images already anchored in the collective consciousness. . . . Loti the individual reflected the collective imagination as much as he shaped it.'

In addition, the work subsequently played a significant role in 'shaping' Western perceptions and expectations of Japan, as has been outlined and will be returned to throughout this study.

Monologism

Moving to other recurring theoretical areas, *Madame Chrysanthème* is a monologic or 'single voiced' work. This concept was developed by the Russian scholar Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1973) in conjunction with the contrasting idea of a polylogic or polyphonic work, one of 'many' or 'plural' voices.²⁷ The travelogue is monologic because the nature of its first-person narrative structure results in any insight the reader may have into the thoughts of other characters depending entirely on the protagonist's subjective interpretation. There is no 'conscience' in the work or 'all seeing eye' to reveal, question, or challenge the accuracy of these interpretations. That is, there is a single norm of consciousness through which all of its characters' ideoverse exist and are judged. In this context, an 'ideoverse' is a character's individual consciousness, that is, their unique and subjective interpretation of the absolute 'universe' within which they exist. A character's ideoverse can, and often does, differ from the single norm of consciousness established by the author as characters have conflicting voices and personalities, with the very essence of the narrative being their struggle to overcome or synthesise these. The protagonist in this work is highly ego-centric and unconcerned with depicting or investigating the thoughts and feelings of those around him. Moreover, the sole ideoverse in *Madame Chrysanthème* is shared by both the author *and* the protagonist because they are essentially one and the same person: Loti, as later comparison of his *journal intime* with the travelogue will show. Through the protagonist he creates, Loti can depict Japan as he pleases, and most of his readers would neither be aware of any inaccuracies, nor concerned with the reality of the country anyway.

Reaccentuation

Bakhtin (1981) also expounds the concept of a work of literature being 'reaccentuated.' Reaccentuation occurs when readers from a different chronological period digest, analyse, and form conclusions on a work of literature based on the norms of their own society, rather than those of the work in question. The greater the temporal distance between the reader and writer, the more likelihood there is of a work being 'radically distorted' because it is perceived 'against a background completely foreign to it.' Bakhtin argues that the process of reaccentuation distorts or reaccentuates the work in question because even in a short period of time the ideas and accepted practices of any society evolve, and what was

²⁶ Alain Quella-Villéger, *Pierre Loti l'incompris* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1986), p. 132.

²⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin discusses the 'monologic' (single voiced) and 'polyphonic' (many voiced) novel in *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1973).

considered acceptable at the time of writing may not be now, or may not be a cultural norm among other societies. Bakhtin writes in *The Dialogic imagination* that:

Within certain limits the process of re-accentuation is un-avoidable, legitimate and even productive. But these limits may easily be crossed when a work is distant from us and when we begin to perceive it against a background completely foreign to it. Perceived in such a way, it may be subjected to a re-accentuation that radically distorts it. ... The process of re-accentuation is enormously significant in the history of literature. Every age re-accentuates in its own ways the works of its most immediate past. The historical life of classical works is in fact the uninterrupted process of their social and ideological re-accentuation.²⁸

This concept has relevance to this study as it reminds one not to judge *Madame Chrysanthème* by present-day norms which are 'completely foreign to it,' for doing so can 'radically distort' both the book and its author. Also, while recognising that in this context Bakhtin is primarily concerned with temporal differences, the general concept of reaccentuation will be applied to a cultural context in examination of how Loti's protagonist evaluates his Japanese experience against the norms of French society. As will be discussed in Part V, the protagonist makes frequent value judgments based on superficial, exterior observations and these are a clear example of his culturally reaccentuating what he sees in Japan against the norms of his home society.

The words of Alec Hargreaves (1981) inadvertently combine Bakhtin's concepts of monologism and reaccentuation: 'Instead of trying to widen his understanding of the outside world, Loti forces what he sees into the mould of his own personality and its limited perspective.'²⁹

Aestheticisation

Another recurring theoretical idea is Ian Littlewood's (1996) analysis of predominantly aesthetic representations of a country and its people in *The idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*. Littlewood argues that such depictions often reflect and reinforce the political relationship between the country of the classifier (France for the present purposes) and that of the classified (Japan). Though writers such as Loti most likely emphasised the Japanesque over Japan-proper primarily to respond to reader taste and expectations, this narrative technique was not without its political implications in a nineteenth-century context. Littlewood writes:

Along with the superiority of the collector went the superiority of the spectator; the more powerful culture does the looking and defining. And the ultimate object of a culture's gaze, the one that has no function other than to be gazed at, is the work of art. It is this that gives a characteristic tone to the perpetual references among nineteenth-century travellers to the way the Japanese scene resembles the world depicted on plates, cups, fans, screens,

²⁸ Mikhail Bakhtin. *The Dialogic imagination: Four essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 420–421.

²⁹ Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 32.

tea-caddies and the like. It is all so picturesque. But the compliment is loaded; a picture exists only for the pleasure of the observer. A work of art can be looked at, understood, framed; it can be collected and possessed. The metaphor of a country and its people as works of art offers a seductive promise to the observer. . . . It is a version of Japan that can still invest the Western tourist with a kind of power.³⁰

The kind of power that the European gained from aestheticised depictions of the 'other,' Japan in this case, has also been elaborated by critics such as Edward Said (1978, 1993), P. L. Pham (1999), Mary Pratt (1992), and Irene Szyliowicz (1988).³¹ All four discuss at some point how the dichotomous relationship between East and West was reflected and sometimes strengthened in literature. Linked to earlier discussion of metaphorical representation of Japan, these scholars generally agree that descriptions of a country and its people focusing on external, traditional, and aesthetic aspects cast that country in a subordinate and feminine role in relation to that of the classifier, even if such descriptions centre on the seemingly non-political. Concerning the possible subtlety of such allusions, Pratt (1992) explains that ' . . . relations of subordination and possession are articulated through metaphors,'³² and it follows that, for example and as will be seen in Part V, when Loti writes of watching the giggling bands of *moussmés* holding hands as they 'scuttle' down the streets, Japan itself becomes immature, child-like, and subordinate. That is, Loti's description of the 'body idiom' of the young Japanese women alludes to Japan too having these characteristics. Reinforcing this is the absence of significant mention of the fierce samurai or warrior image that was relatively widespread in the West during the period. Scholars have argued that Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 came as such a surprise partly because of the belief that Japan was a juvenile, immature, feminine, and therefore harmless country, ideas circulated by the nature of its depiction in works such as *Madame Chrysanthème*.³³

Body idiom

The concept of 'body idiom' was defined by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1963) and refers to an individual's 'dress, bearing, movements and position, sound level, physical gestures such as waving or saluting, facial gestures and broad emotional expressions,' from which Goffman argues much can be deduced.³⁴ As examples will later show, throughout *Madame Chrysanthème* the protagonist describes the body idiom of the Japanese as comical and ridiculous, and he frequently bases value judgments on a cultural reaccentuation or misinterpretation of their behaviour. His articulation of such judgments

³⁰ Ian Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*. (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), p. 92.

³¹ See: Mary Pratt. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and trans-culturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992); Edward Said. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1978, 1995); Edward Said. *Culture and imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books 1994); Irene Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); and P.L. Pham, 'On the edge of the Orient: English representations of Japan, circa 1895–1910,'

Japanese Studies, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1999.

³² Mary Pratt. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and trans-culturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 217.

³³ For example, see: Schwartz. *The Far East in Modern French Literature from 1800–1925*, 131 ff.

³⁴ Erving Goffman. *Behaviors in public places: Notes on the social organization of gatherings* (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 33.

throughout the text and their 'supporting evidence' of body idiom contribute towards reinforcing the legitimacy of France as the norm against which to evaluate the Japanese 'other.' Such attitudes were accepted largely unquestioningly amongst Loti's readers because they generally had a similar cultural background to the author.

Essentialism

Essentialism is 'the doctrine that ascribes a fixed property or 'essence' as universal to a particular category of people.'³⁵ Geographic essentialism occurs when the characteristics of a given region or country and its inhabitants are extrapolated onto other places in the same general geographic area, ignoring the reality of diversity between, for example, the individual nations with their distinct cultures, languages, lifestyles, and histories. In a late nineteenth-century context, this might mean that Indian, Vietnamese, Chinese, Thai, Korean, and Japanese people were considered alike because they were all Asian. The more distant the region was from the essentialist's home society and their frame of reference, the more unthinkingly and absolutely these similarities tended to be assigned. The concept of essentialism in general can be extrapolated to encompass a broad spectrum. It arises throughout this study in areas ranging from how consumers of japonaiserie extrapolated the connotations of its images of Japan onto the whole of Japan or confused Chinese products with Japanese ones, to how Loti extrapolated external observations of a singular phenomenon or person onto the entire Japanese population.

The various theoretical frameworks examined will recur throughout this study. This is particularly the case in Part V as *Madame Chrysanthème* is examined as an item of japonaiserie that contains an at times harsh criticism of Japan. In addition to being 'shaped' by the prevailing socio-political discourse of the period, the travelogue was also influenced by the life experiences, personality, and literary oeuvre of its author. These will be the topic of the next chapter.

³⁵ Baldwin et. al. (eds.). *Introducing cultural studies*, p. 138.

CHAPTER THREE

The life and works of Pierre Loti

In Pierre Loti, we have a new Chateaubriand, a painter and a poet, dragging under many skies his incurable ennui and his nameless longings.³⁶

Pierre Loti, the pen-name of Louis Marie Julien Viaud (1850–1923), wrote alongside a cluster of illustrious figures whose works continue to be considered as formative and defining landmarks of France’s literary topography. Loti was born in the same year as Guy de Maupassant, two years after the death of François René Chateaubriand, and he vied for publishers’ attention alongside the likes of Victor Hugo, Gustave Flaubert, Charles Baudelaire, and Émile Zola, even being awarded admission into the prestigious *Académie Française* on 21 May 1891 ahead of this last figure.³⁷ Yet, the well-known writer Anatole France concluded that ‘De nous tous, il est le plus sûr de durer,’ ‘Of us all, [Loti] is the most sure to last,’³⁸ and Loti’s writing certainly enjoyed widespread, popular readership during the lifetime of its author. Even ribbons and sweets bearing his image were sold, and the *Académie* nominated him for the Nobel Prize in literature in 1911, 1912, and 1913, declaring that his ‘gloire est universelle,’ ‘glory is universal.’³⁹ This chapter will outline Loti’s life and works so that their interaction with *Madame Chrysanthème* and its nature as an item of japonaiserie can later be fully appreciated. Following will be a synopsis of the travelogue.

Loti’s life

Pierre Loti—naval officer, writer, gymnast, circus performer, entertainer, painter, illustrator, and photographer—was born in the French town of Rochefort on 14 January 1850 to Théodore and Nadine Viaud. He was their third child: his sister Marie was nineteen years his senior, and brother Gustave, who became a doctor in the navy, twelve years older. Théodore Viaud worked for the Rochefort City Council, *la mairie*, attaining the position of town clerk, whilst Nadine Viaud (née Texier) was a housewife. Loti was a somewhat quiet and introspective child who spent a lot of time alone when not being doted on by the protective coterie of elderly, female relatives whose financial problems had brought them to live at the Viaud residence. Loti was tutored at home until the age of twelve by his mother, sister, and aunt Clarisse, and consequently contact with children his own age was limited.⁴⁰

³⁶ Guérard, Albert. *Five masters of French romance: Anatole France, Pierre Loti, Paul Bourget, Maurice Barrès, Romain Rolland* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1916), p. 24.

³⁷ The relevant life dates are: François René Chateaubriand: 1768–1848, Guy de Maupassant: 1850–1893, Victor Hugo: 1802–1885, Gustave Flaubert: 1821–1880, Charles Baudelaire: 1821–1867, Émile Zola: 1840–1902.

³⁸ Cited in: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, p. xv (preface).

³⁹ Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l’incompris*, p.19.

⁴⁰ The age at which Loti started the *Collège de Rochefort* varies according to the source. Millward gives it as twelve and a half years (Keith Millward. *Pierre Loti et l’esprit “fin-de-siècle”* [Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1955], p. 47); Lesley Blanch cites ten years (Lesley Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic* [Harcourt Brace

The author did not excel at school: for example, his older brother Gustave wrote to him about coming twenty-first out of twenty-two students in French composition, entreating his sibling not to fret over it: 'écris comme tu penses, aie confiance en tes petits moyens, sois naturel,' 'write as you think, have confidence in your own ways, be natural.'⁴¹ Loti's family was very religious, and each evening would gather together in the parlour where Théodore would read passages from the Bible. Though Loti went to Paris to sit exams to enter the Christian ministry, genuine belief in the religion was to elude him for the rest of his life, perhaps partly because he came to see its practice as formulaic.⁴²

Loti's relationship with his mother remained close throughout his life. Testimony to this are the many endearing mentions of her in various texts, as well as his response to her death in 1896 as recorded in his personal diary.⁴³ For example, in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* when the protagonist considers having to spend a further two years in the China Sea he is at least comforted by the fact that he will not miss his mother who had by that time already died.⁴⁴ The death of Gustave in 1865 at the age of twenty-seven while serving in the Bay of Bengal was to have a far-reaching effect on the then fifteen year-old Loti. Critics have argued that it demonstrated the loss of life that colonial or military endeavour all too often entailed and that Loti found pointless, or also perhaps made him averse, even if unconsciously, towards the Far East because this was where Gustave died.⁴⁵

Over time, there grew in Loti a desire to escape the confines of the hearth by travelling to distant places such as those Gustave had written of in his letters from sea. His dearly loved older brother's correspondence recounted carefree escapades and non-committal love in places such as Tahiti,⁴⁶ and Loti's interest in and dreams of the far-off were further kindled by an uncle, Henri Tayeau, who gave him specimens from his collection of unusual plants and shells. It was an interest that continued throughout his life as the author garnished his home at Rochefort with treasures he brought back from his travels. Persisting religious doubts saw Loti decide on a naval career at the age of thirteen, though his family had hoped for him to train at a technical college and become an engineer. In 1866 Théodore Viaud was accused of embezzling public funds and went to prison. Despite being cleared of the offence, Viaud had to repay the fourteen thousand francs. Though the ensuing financial pressure resulted in years of debt for the family, it also meant that Loti ultimately had his way: on 1 October 1867 he became a cadet at the naval college in Brest.

Jovanovich, 1983], p. 33); and Serban 'at around the age of 12 years' (Serban, *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, p. 10).

⁴¹ Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, p. 31. The translation is my own.

⁴² Takayuki Ochiai. *PIEERU ROTI: Hito to sakuhin* (Tokyo: Surugadai Shuppansha, 1992), p. 97.

⁴³ See: Pierre Loti (Bruno Vercier et al, eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie: Journal intime (1878-1911)* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1997), pp. 392-397; and Millward, *Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle,"* p. 177 (concerning Loti's dreams of his mother).

⁴⁴ See: Pierre Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1926), p. 87.

⁴⁵ See: Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ See: Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, 78 ff. Loti would later visit Tahiti whilst aboard the *Flore* in 1872 to try and find Gustave's wife, and this visit became *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)* (1880).

Loti's career in the navy was to span forty-two years, approximately twenty of which were spent at sea.⁴⁷ He attained the rank of captain, and became a grand officer of the Legion of Honour on 16 January 1914, receiving the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour in 1922. Loti is generally portrayed as a reserved yet popular officer who spent more time amongst sailors than with his fellow officers.⁴⁸ His literary success does not seem to have incited widespread jealousy amongst naval ranks, and the vivid descriptions of adventures of life at sea found in his works have been credited with contributing towards a rise in the number of young people choosing a naval career during the period.⁴⁹ The latter half of the nineteenth-century was very active for France's navy, meaning that Loti was able to travel extensively and visit distant places such as Japan that were inaccessible for most civilians.⁵⁰ Official duty between 1869 and 1910 involved travel to places including Easter Island, Tahiti, Brazil, North America, Turkey, Singapore, China, Vietnam, Japan, and Egypt.⁵¹ Loti retired from the navy on 14 January 1910, but later served voluntarily in the army during the First World War. He finally retired from state service in 1919.

When not at sea, Loti was generally based at his residences at Rochefort and Hendaye, the latter of which he bought in 1904. From these he fulfilled land naval postings, made personal travels to places such as India, Turkey, and the Holy Land, wrote, entertained, and frequented balls and literary circles. Amongst the literati he was known as an eccentric to be tolerated and humoured because of his success. Loti was closely acquainted with well-known figures such as Juliette Adam, Sarah Bernhardt, Alexandre Dumas *fils* , Anatole France, Edmond de Goncourt, Oirda Lee-Childe, Robert de Montesquiou, Marcel Prévost, Ernest Renan, the Duchess of Richelieu, Queen Elizabeth of Romania (also known as Carmen Sylva), and numerous dukes and counts.⁵² Despite these acquaintances, Keith Millward's (1955) analysis of the author's visits to Paris based on how Loti recorded them in his personal diary suggests that he usually visited the city primarily to do specific tasks, rather than to socialise, and sometimes he would host friends such as Sarah Bernhardt at Rochefort instead of going to Paris himself.⁵³ A study by Alain Quella-Villéger (1986), however, suggests that while in Paris Loti indeed spent a lot of time frequenting the salons of the literary elite. For example, Quella-Villéger cites the entry in Loti's *journal intime* of 14 February 1885 as reading that in addition to meeting Bernhardt, Lee Childe, and Richlieu, the author dined at Alphonse Daudet's place with Goncourt and Zola.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ According to Serban, 'Loti spent 42 years, 3 months and 13 days in service for the [French] State, of which 19 years, 11 months and 8 days were at sea (2 years, 8 months and 5 days in times of war; 17 years, 3 months, 3 days in times of peace),' (Serban, *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, appendix IV).

⁴⁸ For example, Blanch writes: 'He was generally popular with his fellow officers, who took a pride in his success, while the lower deck had always appreciated this officer who was so appreciative of them ... [and who] knew how to be authoritative without being overbearing.' (Blanch, *Pierre Loti: The Legendary romantic*, p. 147).

⁴⁹ See: Serban, *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, pp. 172–173.

⁵⁰ For discussion of France's political climate during the nineteenth century, see Said. *Culture and imperialism*, 169 ff.

⁵¹ For a detailed listing of the ports Loti visited and dates, see: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, appendix VI.

⁵² Loti often dedicated his works to such friends. For example, he dedicated an article on Kyoto titled '*Kioto, la ville sainte*,' published in *La Nouvelle Revue*, 1 March 1887 to Edmond de Goncourt. For details on Loti's Parisian acquaintances, see: Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, pp. 99–101.

⁵³ See: Millward. *Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle"*, 71 ff.

⁵⁴ Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, p. 101.

It is useful to expand on Loti's relationships with women because they are particularly relevant to his approach to the Japanese female in *Madame Chrysanthème*. Loti had a number of close European female friends or confidantes, various non-Western lovers or 'wives' he met while travelling, one actual French wife, and a Basque woman with whom he had three children but never married. If European, his female acquaintances were typically intellectually stimulating members of high society who served as Loti's confidantes or advisors, while if Oriental they characteristically provided him with sexual pleasure and a means of self aggrandisement. Irene Szyliowicz (1988) writes as follows on the 'dichotomy' of the relationships Loti formed with women:

This dichotomy expressed itself in his sexual attitude towards women: he viewed them as serving either a sensual or an intellectual purpose; no woman could serve both. 'The women with whom he shared the transports of the flesh were not expected to have intellects, or to make conversation. Their bodies communicated sufficiently.'⁵⁵

The European females with whom Loti had close relationships all exuded an alluring grace, elegance, and sophisticated charm, and in addition enjoyed social eminence and success. Their names can be found scattered throughout Loti's diary and novels, most commonly in their dedications, and most helped Loti's literary career in some way. For example, *Madame Chrysanthème* is dedicated to the Duchess of Richelieu, *Propos d'exil* (1887) to the memory of Oirda Lee-Childe, and *Pêcheur d'Islande* (1893) to Juliette Adam. Concerning influences on Loti's career, with her own strong interests in China and the Far East, Judith Gautier perhaps was partly responsible for introducing Loti to Chinese and Japanese art and poetry; while during the four or so years Loti knew Oirda Lee-Childe she introduced and familiarised him with the culture surrounding the Parisian salons.⁵⁶

Juliette Adam, founder and editor of *La Nouvelle Revue*, 'The New Review,' was a particularly influential figure in Loti's life. He came to regard her as a second mother, an affection returned as Adam signed her letters 'Votre mère morale et intellectuelle,' 'Your moral and intellectual mother.'⁵⁷ Adam was somewhat protective of Loti, having vested interests in his literary career, and crediting herself as being the catalyst for his success.⁵⁸ Her longstanding involvement with the author was of both a professional and a personal nature: she proof-read works including *Fleurs d'ennui* (1882), and passed moral judgement on his behaviour, writing, for example, in a letter to Loti on 17 August 1885 that : '... votre petite Japonaise ne me plaît pas du tout,' '... Your little Japanese woman does not please me at all.'⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Irene Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1988), p. 31. Source of quotation: Blanch, *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 232.

⁵⁶ See: Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, p. 100.

⁵⁷ See Millward. *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle,"* p. 100.

⁵⁸ Juliette Adam wrote in letter to Loti on 24 April 1881 that: "C'est de moi que vous tenez le jour comme écrivain, c'est à moi que vous devez la lumière sur vous," "It is me you have to thank for your success as a writer, it is I who have shed the limelight upon you." (Millward. *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle,"* pp. 98–99). Adam also elaborated the close nature of the relationship between herself and Loti in the introduction to her book detailing correspondence between the pair. She even writes of Loti's own mother saying that Loti was 'à nous deux,' 'belonging to both of us.' See: Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, p. 93.

⁵⁹ Cited in Millward. *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle,"* pp. 101–102. The *petite Japonaise* who Adam refers to is almost definitely Okané-San. The English translation is my own.

Loti's first relationship with a female was with a physically and culturally exotic gypsy while staying with his sister at St. Porchaire at the age of sixteen. Critics generally agree that their encounters introduced the author to sexual pleasure. In contrast to his sheltered upbringing, Loti encountered in the poor 'primitive' gypsy a free, non-committal, and sensual indulgence which did not threaten his social position, and it was to be the first of many similar interactions with exotic women. Szyliowicz writes: '[Loti's] first sexual encounter seems to have influenced him profoundly—all of the women he memorialised in his Oriental works had the same primitive, forthright, almost audacious quality.'⁶⁰ His relationship with the gypsy was later included in *Prime Jeunesse* (1919), an autobiographical account of the author's life between the ages of thirteen and seventeen.

At this point it is useful to discuss five important relationships in particular that Loti had with women. This will enable Loti's depiction of Japanese women and his 'marriage' in *Madame Chrysanthème* later to be placed in its extra-textual context of Loti's actual relationships with and responses towards women. It will also shed some light upon both the origins of the protagonist's rejection of Chrysanthème that may have occurred partly due to his grief over earlier loves, and how his depiction of his Japanese 'marriage' contrasted with that of other liaisons with non-Western women. It becomes apparent that the liaisons Loti enjoyed with non-Western women were more meaningfully experienced or engaged in by the author than was his actual marriage to Blanche or to Okané-San. As Lerner writes:

It is noticeable, for example that [Loti] spends his first wedding anniversary searching for Aziyadé in Istanbul, is about to leave for Morocco when his son is born, and spends most of the next decade or more in the Middle East and Asia. And even when he was in France he was only occasionally seen with his wife.⁶¹

These five relationships were with Hakidjé who later became Aziyadé in *Aziyadé*, the various Tahitian women transposed into the single character of Rarahu in *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)*, Okané-San in Japan upon whom Chrysanthème is based, Loti's French wife Blanche de Ferrière, and his Basque mistress Crucita Gainza. The most consuming and intense of Loti's relationships was with Hakidjé, which Blanch (1983) calls the 'apogee of Loti's romantic dreams and the fountainhead of his lifelong Turkophile sympathies.'⁶² Loti met the Circassian Hakidjé while stationed in Salonica in 1876, while she was living in a Turkish harem as the youngest of four legal wives of Abeddin Effendi. Loti entrusted a boatman, Daniel (who becomes Samuel in *Aziyadé*), to secretly ferry him from his ship to meet Hakidjé, herself on a row-boat having been transported by her servant Kadidja. Loti and Hakidjé spent many such nights together until August 1876 when Loti was posted to Constantinople to serve on the *Gladiateur*. Daniel followed him, and by the time that Hakidjé too ended up in the city when Abeddin Effendi moved there, Loti had his own dwelling and was living as a 'Turk' in Eyoub. Hakidjé stole out of the harem to visit Loti until 19 March 1877 when the *Gladiateur* was again restationed. In

⁶⁰ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 21.

⁶¹ Cited in: Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 30.

⁶² Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 104.

March 1878 while posted on the *Tonnerre* ('Thunder') in Toulon, Loti received a letter from Hakidjé asking him for help because of the worsening political situation in Turkey. Loti begged various contacts to help him smuggle Hakidjé to France, and supposedly asked Hakidjé to come to Rochefort. If that were not to be possible, and Abeddin Effendi killed in warfare, rather than remain a widow Hakidjé was to marry Osman Effendi, Abeddin Effendi's close friend. Loti never heard again from Hakidjé, and in 1887 returned to Turkey to determine her fate. He found out from Kadidja that she had died in May 1880. In October 1903 Loti was appointed Lieutenant-Commander of the *Vautour*, a ship permanently based at Constantinople, and so again the author was able to establish himself in Turkey. In April of the following year Loti received a letter from three Turkish women wanting to meet him, and claiming to have known Hakidjé. The author agreed, and meetings shrouded in mystery continued until Loti was re-stationed. The author was somewhat duped by the mysterious women who had only written to him for entertainment and excitement.

Claude Farrère (1876–1957) wrote that the author was 'devoured by torturing melancholy'⁶³ for the rest of his life by memory of the clandestine affair with Hakidjé, immortalised as Aziyadé in 1879. The book achieved remarkable commercial success, initially published anonymously as *Aziyadé: extracts of notes and letters of a lieutenant in the British navy*. The author's later quest to determine Hakidjé's fate became the sequel *Fantôme d'Orient* (1892), in which he recounts the discovery that Hakidjé had actually died seven years earlier, while his interaction with the three women in 1904 became *Les Désenchantées* (1906). There has been much speculation on the relationship between Loti/the protagonist and Hakidjé/Aziyadé both at the time the book was published and subsequently. As will soon be discussed, some assert that Hakidjé was in fact a male, or that Loti and the boatman Daniel were involved in a homosexual relationship.⁶⁴

Loti's relationship with Hakidjé is important for the purposes of this study because it formed a prototype of the Oriental woman and experience over which he would often reminisce, and from which the author would judge—usually unfavourably—later romantic and sexual experiences. The poignancy of the romance is demonstrated when, about fifteen years after the publication of *Aziyadé*, the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* writes that Chrysanthème's cry of 'nidzoumi' or 'mice' reminds him of Aziyadé, his 'dear little Turkish companion.'

Another relationship based on real-life experiences is found in *Le mariage de Loti (Rarahu)* (1880, henceforth 'Rarahu'). Like *Aziyadé*, and perhaps because of it, *Rarahu* was commercially very successful. It was initially published as being by 'the author of *Aziyadé*,' and its wide appeal was demonstrated in March 1898 with a musical adaptation by Reynaldo Hahn called 'L'Ile du rêve-idylle,' 'The island of the idyllic dream,' playing in Paris. In addition, the work was serialised by Juliette Adam

⁶³ Cited in Edmund D'Auvergne. *Pierre Loti: The Romance of a great writer* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1926), p. 241.

⁶⁴ For example, Française Goncourt wrote of 'this author, whose love, in his first book, was a Monsieur.' Cited in: Blanch. *Pierre Loti: the legendary romantic*, p. 133. See also: Blanch. *Pierre Loti: the legendary romantic*, p. 104; and Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, 82ff.

in the January and February 1880 editions of *La Nouvelle Revue*. In 1872 while stationed on the *Flore* Loti made two visits to Tahiti, between January and March, and from 26 June to 4 July. *Rarahu* is not as auto-biographical as *Aziyadé* because the female protagonist Rarahu is a composite, as Loti outlined in a letter dated 24 February 1879: 'the truth is respected only in its details, the base of the story is not true. I combined several real people to make one only: Rarahu, and that seemed to me a pretty faithful study of the young Maori woman.'⁶⁵ The text of *Rarahu* and Loti's personal diary suggest that while in Tahiti he sought traces of Gustave's earlier visit, socialised with people from various layers of Tahitian society, and enjoyed frequent sexual liaisons with local women.

Loti was twenty-two when he visited Tahiti, and the stay had a profound effect on him, probably partly because it was one of the author's early excursions as an officer in the navy, and as such heralded adulthood's beginnings, freedom, and exciting potentials (age was soon to be equated with nostalgia and longing however). As Szyliowicz writes: 'He went from the simple life of a scarcely emancipated high school student, to the remarkable ripening of an exceptionally voluptuous and excitable nature; he lived in a kind of frenetic and sensual repose, an intense accumulation of virile power.'⁶⁶ As was not unusual for Loti, the author extrapolated the Tahitian lack of sexual inhibition onto being proof that Tahitians/Maori were a more primitive people lacking in morals and social respectability.

Briefly, the protagonist of *Rarahu* is a twenty-two year old British naval officer from Brightbury called Harry Grant who is baptised on 25 January 1872 as 'Loti.' The storyline concerns Grant's one year stay in Tahiti, and his return there a year later for a shorter length of time, focusing on his involvement with various Tahitian women and his 'marriage' to the fourteen to sixteen year old Rarahu. It is divided into four parts: parts one and two concern the initial one year stay in Tahiti, part three the one year absence and return, and part four letters between Loti and Rarahu after Loti finally leaves, as well as excerpts from his diary in subsequent years as he grieves the passing of time and the 'delightful land' of Oceania. There is also a secondary plot concerning the visit made by the protagonist's brother George before dying at sea (George was known by the Tahitians as Rouéri, and based on Loti's brother Gustave). Rouéri had supposedly had two children with a Tahitian wife, Taimaha, but upon arranging contact with her and subsequently trying to meet both his nephews, the protagonist discovers he has been tricked.

One possible reason for the antipathy both Loti in his personal diary and the protagonist he creates in *Madame Chrysanthème* express towards their Japanese 'wife' is that Loti compared his Japanese experience, which occurred at the age of thirty-five, to earlier ones in Turkey and Tahiti when his travels and their literary manifestation were more characterised by youthful optimism and vigour.

While in Nagasaki from 8 July to 12 August 1885 during which time Loti's ship the *Triomphante* underwent a rehaul in the Mitsubishi dockyards, Loti 'married' a Japanese woman Okané-San. This

⁶⁵ Cited in: Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 25.

⁶⁶ Cited in: Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 26.

'marriage' essentially forms the basis of *Madame Chrysanthème*. As Suetoshi Funaoka (1988) points out in a discussion of the legal status of Loti's 'marriage' to Okané-San, what Loti calls his 'Japanese marriage' was most likely in reality his hiring of a lower-class mistress or prostitute and entering into a contract of co-habitation with her as he paid her parents twenty dollars per month.⁶⁷ It is possible that Okané-San's status in Japanese society was that of a *rashamen*: a prostitute who specifically served Western patrons, and who was accordingly of a relatively low class.⁶⁸ According to his personal diary, when Loti was not on duty on the *Triomphante* and was with Okané-San, the author passed his time frequenting tea-houses and bazaars, being visited by Okané-San's family and acquaintances, and listening to her sing and play the *shamisen*, Japanese 'guitar.' As will be seen in Part V, most of these occurrences are transposed into *Madame Chrysanthème*, though there are some experiences Loti does not include.

The author's personal diary implies a clear emotional detachment from the union with Okané-San which was a primarily commercial custom not unusual amongst officers during the period. For example, Loti remarks in his diary on 18 July 1885 that he is one of five officers to 'marry' a Japanese woman.⁶⁹ A clear example of his detachment from Okané-San is when he writes of leaving his Japanese residence for the final time: 'Et je m'éloigne de ce logis, sans me retourner, sans regarder derrière moi, comme on quitte le gîte d'auberge où l'on a dormi une nuit de hasard... Ainsi finit mon mariage japonais...' 'I walked away from the lodging without turning round, without looking behind me, like someone leaving a hostel where chance had brought them for the night ... Thus finished my Japanese marriage.'⁷⁰ Loti also writes in his diary on 12 August 1885 that 'tout ce Japon et ce mariage s'oublie, comme un petit rêve drôle, incohérent, qu'on aurait fait par hasard,'⁷¹ 'everything about Japan and my marriage are forgotten, like an insignificant and amusing dream, incoherent ... something which one would have entered into by chance.' This is echoed by the protagonist's words in the travelogue that 'il me semble m'être fiancé pour rire, chez des marionnettes. . .'⁷² '... it seems to me that my betrothal is a joke, and my new family a set of puppets.'⁷³ Loti further demonstrated his

⁶⁷ See: Suetoshi Funaoka. 'Qui était Madame Chrysanthème?' *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, pp. 31–33, 1988.

⁶⁸ Whether Okané-San would in fact have been classed as a *rashamen* by her acquaintances is debatable. A *rashamen* specifically served Western patrons, yet from Loti's personal diary and the travelogue, it appears that Loti 'accidentally' ended up choosing Okané-San or Chrysanthème as his wife, by Yves seeing her in the background. That is, though certainly acquainted with M. Kangourou, the marriage broker, Okané-San or Chrysanthème did not seem to be actively touting for Western patrons. In addition, a common practice of *rashamen* was to dress in Western clothes and adopt Western hairstyles, and Loti's Japanese wife certainly does neither as she is depicted by the author in his personal diary or by the protagonist in the travelogue. See: Heiner Frühauf. 'Urban exoticism and its Sino-Japanese scenery, 1910-1923,' *Asian and African Studies* 6: pp. 126–169, 1997.

Also, Suetoshi Funaoka interestingly wrote that Loti's Japanese 'marriage' was expensive, and cites the author as writing to his mother that he had not a penny left after paying for it. See: Suetoshi Funaoka. 'Le Japon et *Madame Chrysanthème* de Pierre Loti,' *Bulletin of Foreign Language* 3: pp. 29–39, 1982.

⁶⁹ See: Pierre Loti (Vercier, Quella-Villéger & Dugas eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie, Journal intime 1878–1911*, pp. 168–169.

⁷⁰ Loti (Vercier, Quella-Villéger & Dugas eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie, Journal intime 1878–1911* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1997), p. 198. The English translation that follows is my own.

⁷¹ Loti (Vercier, Quella-Villéger & Dugas, eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie, Journal intime 1878–1911*, p. 198. The translation is my own, as are all those of excerpts from Loti's personal diary.

⁷² Pierre Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), p. 77.

⁷³ Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1913), p. 66

dislike for and detachment from Okané-San when saying that her name suited her because it means 'money' in Japanese.⁷⁴

On 20 October 1886, about a year after returning from Japan, Loti married the French woman Jean-Blanche Blanc de Ferrière. De Ferrière was of a monied Protestant family from Bordeaux, and Loti was acquainted with one of her brothers through the navy. The couple had a son, Samuel, in 1889, and a grandson, Pierre, was born in 1921. Within this relationship too Loti seems to have been a somewhat detached partner, and Blanch's (1983) description of Loti's approach to finding a bride implies that their marriage was more or less an arranged one, though this was not unusual during the period.⁷⁵

The language Loti uses in his *journal intime* to describe his French marriage reflects his lack of positive emotional engagement in the union, and is similar to that he uses to describe both his real-life and his protagonist's Japanese 'marriage.' He writes of feeling as though he were present 'au mariage d'un autre,' 'at someone else's wedding' and of his astonishment to read 'Madame Julien Viaud' on his new wife's dinner card.⁷⁶ Loti wrote *Madame Chrysanthème* from approximately 20 March 1886 to 8 September 1887,⁷⁷ about two years after returning from Japan and during a period in which, according to his diary and scholars such as Suetoshi Funaoka and Alain Quella-Villéger, the author found his domestic life unhappy, unsatisfying, and somewhat constraining. On 4 May 1887 the couple's first son was stillborn, and Blanche remained very sick throughout June. Alain Quella-Villéger writes of how this domestic situation affected Loti's mood during the period he wrote *Madame Chrysanthème*, and cites the author as writing: 'Travail enormement, écris roman japonais que dois livrer en août; grosse affaire d'argent. Roman sera stupide. Le deviens moi aussi,' 'Working very hard, writing Japanese novel that should be published in August, huge monetary business. Novel will be stupid. I become so too.'⁷⁸

Bruno Vercier (1990) argues that the nature of Loti's re-creation of his Japanese marriage in *Madame Chrysanthème* at the time when he wrote it may have functioned to reassure de Ferrière that he did not regret or grieve over another woman. Alternatively, it may have been a cathartic projection of his dissatisfaction with his French marriage onto a literary work. Vercier writes:

Déprécier le mariage japonais, ne serait-ce pas aussi une façon de rassurer la jeune épouse française—peut-être effrayée de ce mari aussi célèbre que volage Agresser le Japon et les Japonais est une manière de ne pas succomber au désespoir⁷⁹

Could deprecating the Japanese marriage not also be a way of reassuring his young French wife—who was perhaps dismayed by a husband as famous as

⁷⁴ See: Claude Farrère. *Loti* (Paris: Flammarion, 1930), pp. 74–75.

⁷⁵ Lesley Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), 180ff.

⁷⁶ Pierre Loti (Vercier, Quella-Villéger & Dugas, eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie, Journal intime 1878–1911*, p. 248.

⁷⁷ Alain Quella-Villéger, in 'Revue Pierre Loti,' no. 15, September 1983, p. 156.

⁷⁸ Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, p. 118. The English translation is my own.

⁷⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), p. 27.

he was flighty.... Attacking Japan and the Japanese was a way of not succumbing to despair...

Vercier's argument has shortcomings however because the protagonist certainly grieves over Aziyadé in the travelogue, which would not have reassured de Ferrière that her husband's feelings did not linger with another woman.

In addition to the son he had with de Ferrière, Loti had three others with a Basque woman called Crucita Gainza. These were Raymond in 1895, Edmond, also known as Alphonse, in 1897, and Charles in 1900.⁸⁰ Though details on Loti's relationship with Gainza vary considerably according to the source, the author supposedly engaged the help of a friend, Dr. Durutty, to find a young Basque woman who would move to Rochefort and bear him children, despite them never actually marrying. Gainza seems to have satisfied Loti sexually, as he refers to her in his personal diary on 6 October 1894 as 'ma femme de chair,' 'my wife of the flesh.'⁸¹ Blanche knew of this 'other family' whom Loti housed at Rochefort and visited most nights, as she promised to watch over them should anything happen to Loti.⁸² What is interesting about Loti's Basque mistress and sons is that their lodgings in the same town as the author's wife and other son suggest that he may not have been as concerned about respectability and public opinion as other aspects of his personality concerning insecurity and maintaining an appealing image for readers (discussed below) suggest he was.

The relationships that Loti had with these women will be returned to throughout this study. In Part V in particular it will be seen that the literary transposition of his relationship with Okané-San was in sharp contrast to those with Hakidjé or his Tahitian companions.

Loti's relationships with men contrasted with those with women, possibly because men may have made the author feel insecure by their potential to challenge his status. Serban (1924) argues that Loti predominantly formed relationships with men of lower status whose loyalty was thereby more or less obligatory. Serban writes:

[Loti] trouve naturel que tous les hommes s'occupent de lui. Il choisit ses amis, non pas parmi les gens qui s'imposent à son admiration, mais parmi ceux qui l'aiment. Il a peu d'amitiés parmi ses semblables. Par contre, il se trouve très bien parmi ses inférieurs. Les humbles et les simples sont ses préférés, car il trouve auprès d'eux une admiration et une soumission sans bornes.⁸³

[Loti] found it natural that people paid attention to him. He chose his friends not from amongst those he admired, but amongst people who liked him. He had few friendships with those his equal. On the other hand, he got

⁸⁰ Discussions about Gainza tend to be speculative and vary widely according to the source. For detailed discussions see: 'La famille basque de Pierre Loti à Rochefort de 1894 à 1926,' (<http://www.ifrance.com/seucaj/loti.htm>, this discussion is particularly comprehensive); Millward. *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle"*, p. 102; and Blanch, *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, 230 ff.

⁸¹ Cited in: Millward. *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle"*, p. 102.

⁸² See: Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 232.

⁸³ Serban. *Pierre Loti: sa vie et son oeuvre*, p. 202. The translation that follows is my own.

on very well with his inferiors. The humble and simple were his preference, because he found amongst them limitless admiration and loyalty.

Written over sixty years later, Szyliowicz's (1988) remarks on the literary function of the naval friends of Loti's various protagonists reflect Serban's appraisal of their real-life genesis:

. . . Loti or his protagonist are always attracted to women; his [male] friend or confidant either sanctions or condemns the hero's behaviour, but he is rarely involved with a woman himself. Loti seems to require acceptance of his feelings or conduct by his naval brethren, who also validate his power over others. The seamen's fictive role is also curious, as they rarely serve to forward the plot action but act instead as conscience or patient companion to Loti's more wayward and sensually experimental personality.⁸⁴

One figure that exemplifies Serban's and Szyliowicz's analyses as well as appearing in *Madame Chrysanthème* is the Breton sailor Pierre Le Cor with whom Loti enjoyed a long friendship. Le Cor provided the author with male companionship, though for most of their relationship Loti was a lieutenant and le Cor a seaman. The pair enjoyed many a raucous evening at the naval base at Lorient, gambling and playing pranks. The friendship ended because of Le Cor's heavy drinking. Loti bought Le Cor's wife, Marie, and child, Pierre (Loti's godson), a house which would be theirs independent of the changing financial circumstances brought about by Le Cor's drinking, and this act of generosity towards those in need is one of many Loti showed during his lifetime. Blanch calls Le Cor an 'escape from [Loti's] complicated self'⁸⁵ and the figure of Le Cor—an uncomplicated, loyal, virile, handsome sailor and companion—is transplanted into many of Loti's books where he functions as the confidant for the European traveller that his Oriental counterpart—male or female—could usually never be because of their irreconcilable differences. An example of such a figure is Yves in *Madame Chrysanthème*, who is based directly on Le Cor who also served on the *Triomphante*.

Critics have speculated that Loti was homosexual, or at least bisexual.⁸⁶ The evidence for this is based largely on the close friendships he had with people like Pierre Le Cor, his disinterest in his relationships he had with some women such as de Ferrière and Okané-San, and the careful attention he paid to his physical appearance which included wearing high heels and make-up on occasion. It has been argued that Loti used his novels as an outlet for his homosexuality, and that relationships between male and female were based on or figuratively represented those between two males. For example, there has been speculation that Hakidjé was in fact male, or that the relationship which Loti centred *Aziyadé* around (between the male protagonist and Aziyadé) was in fact a foil to deflect attention away from the male protagonist's homosexual relationship with the boatman, Samuel. Loti has been called

⁸⁴ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 87.

⁸⁵ Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 128.

⁸⁶ For example, Irene Szyliowicz argues that 'ample proof exists that Loti was bisexual' in: Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 23. See also p. 29.

'France's first gay novelist,'⁸⁷ and a study by Richard Berrong published in May 2003 titled *In love with a handsome sailor: the emergence of gay identity and the novels of Pierre Loti* (University of Toronto Press) demonstrates an ongoing scholarly interest in the debate surrounding Loti's sexuality. The number and variety of the relationships he formed with women, as well as his persistence in doing so, make very unlikely the conclusion that Loti was exclusively homosexual. Because it was not that unusual for males to dandify themselves during the period, evidence such as this used to support the argument that Loti was homosexual needs careful consideration lest it be reaccentuated against present-day societal norms.

Throughout his lifetime, a number of people of prime importance to Loti died which possibly contributed towards the fear of death and preoccupation with the passing of youth that pervades much of his writing. Gustave died at sea in 1865, his father in 1870, aunt Clarisse in 1890, mother in 1896, sister Marie in 1908, and close friend Oirda Lee-Childe in 1887 after he had only known her for about four years. In addition, Loti was exposed to untimely death in the young by the death of close childhood friend Lucette Duplais in 1865, and his first son died shortly after birth as mentioned.

Loti himself died at Hendaye on 10 June 1923, and was given a State funeral. He was laid in state for three days in his Renaissance Hall at Rochefort, filed past by streams of mourners. Following this his coffin was taken by three warships from Rochefort to Oléron, his ancestral home and burial ground.

Loti's character

Loti's character will be examined in further depth at later points in this study, but briefly here, Loti's life experiences and how his personality led him to interpret these coloured his attitudes and responses towards the external world and their literary representation. He had an obsessive preoccupation with death and the decay inherent in the passing of time. This resulted in an increasing yearning for the freedom and vigour of youth, as well as a zealous drive to retard the visible effects of ageing. The manifestations of these preoccupations were multifaceted: Loti often wore make-up, perfume, and high heels,⁸⁸ and in his meticulousness to keep himself in prime physical condition he underwent a six month training period in 1876 at the *École de gymnastique*, the gymnastic school, at Joinville-le-Pont, and performed in the Etruscan Circus at Toulon as a clown. In addition to speculations that it was linked to homosexuality, it is possible too that Loti cultivated a good physique to try and enhance his appeal as an author. As will later be discussed, when the first edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* was published in 1887, Loti complained to the publishers that the sketches of him made him appear

⁸⁷ For example a course is run at the University of Kent at Canterbury called 'The Novels of Pierre Loti (in English): Different ways of looking at the novels of Pierre Loti (MCLS 30376).' The course coordinator gives one possibility for course content as: 'An examination of Western civilization's development of the idea of a distinct gay identity (the "homosexual man") near the end of the nineteenth century, as seen through the works of France's first "gay novelist," Pierre Loti.' (See: <http://www.personal.kent.edu/~rberrong/mcls76/lotib.htm>), no author given, accessed on 20 August 2003).

⁸⁸ See: Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 23. Though Loti certainly displayed an unusual preoccupation with physical appearance and was ridiculed at times for this, his habits were not actually that unusual because many Victorian men wore make-up and shoes with heels (see: Millward. *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle"*, p. 34, for discussion of men's fashion during the period).

‘exasperatingly ugly’ and might adversely affect sales of both *Madame Chrysanthème* and his other works which were, he argued, mainly bought by females.

Loti is known for his somewhat childish eccentricity.⁸⁹ For example, he once rolled himself up in a red carpet when visiting Sarah Bernhardt, and performed a mock baptism of one of his cats. Another way to prolong youth was to preserve it: he often had himself photographed, and placed high importance on certain childhood relics such as a miniature garden and pond that Gustave made him. His personal diary was yet another attempt to protect himself from the ruination of time by tangibly encapsulating and forever freezing his experiences within the stasis of the written word. Parts of Loti’s diary were published during his lifetime as various travelogues such as *Madame Chrysanthème*, or in autobiographical works such as *Le Roman d’un enfant* (1890) and *Prime Jeunesse* (1919). Loti’s *journal intime* itself was published posthumously by his son Samuel Viaud in two instalments in July 1925 (from 1878 to 1881), and January 1929 (from 1882 to 1885). It has attracted much popular and academic interest both as a work in its own right and for its bibliographical and research value.

In his ‘fictional,’ primarily commercial writing the author’s preoccupation with prolonging youth emerges both directly when he reminisces over his childhood and past experiences, and is also transposed into other areas such as criticising the modernisation and Westernisation of places such as Egypt and Japan because these figuratively represent the processes of maturation and its inherent decay through pollution, over-crowding, and the social ills resulting from these phenomena. Such concerns were not unusual during the period as will be outlined in parts II and III. The end of the nineteenth century was also partly characterised by an intellectual fashion of tiredness, boredom, decadence, or world-weariness known as ‘fin de siècle,’ a term usually used in its French variation translating as ‘end of century.’ Millward (1955) examines Loti’s writing with respect to the ‘fin de siècle’ mentality in his study *L’oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l’esprit “fin de siècle,”* ‘The works of Pierre Loti and the “fin de siècle” sentiment,’ and his analysis will be returned to at various points in this investigation. Alain Quella-Villéger (1986) also discusses Loti’s writing and the *fin-de-siècle* mentality, though this scholar concludes that aspects of such thinking emerging in Loti’s work did so more as an outcome of his personality than they did of Loti being exposed to the mood of the period.⁹⁰

Loti’s oeuvre

Turning to Loti’s writing, the author was very successful during his lifetime and his writing seems to have fulfilled its purpose which was partly to increase his income.⁹¹ In photos of the author in his later years he is very well dressed, and he travelled relatively extensively from his own funds, eventually

⁸⁹ It is important to note, however, that during the period eccentricity was not unusual amongst the upper classes. It could function as an antidote to the hierarchy and discipline characteristic of their daily lives.

⁹⁰ ‘S’il se rattache à certains égards aux tendances dites ‘fin-de-siècle’ ou à l’imaginaire décadent des années 1880–1890, c’est par inclination psychologique plus que par pose Parisienne,’ Quella-Villéger, *Pierre Loti l’incompris*, p. 102.

⁹¹ See Appendix One for a list of Loti’s major literary works.

owning two houses. In addition, he provided lodgings for Le Cor's wife and child, and Gainza and their three sons. However, first-hand experience of poverty and the responsibility of repaying his family's debts meant that early in his writing career Loti aimed to create texts that would meet the preferences of the reading public by exploiting current aesthetic and social trends. Many of Loti's works closely resemble his journal *intime*: some perhaps accidentally, others deliberately as was the case with *Madame Chrysanthème*. Loti said in an interview with Philippe Gille in 1887 that the only reason he kept a diary in Japan was to record material for the travelogue he planned to have published upon his return:

Aujourd'hui je continue à prendre des notes mais ce n'est plus avec la candeur d'autrefois, je l'avoue; c'est avec la conscience que je les publierai, que j'en tirerai des livres. Quant au Japon, à propos du livre dont vous me parlez, *Madame Chrysanthème*, j'ai noté au jour le jour ma vie conjugale; je savais très bien que cela se vendrait un jour chez Calmann Lévy. Je ne l'aurai (sic) peut-être pas noté sans cela ...⁹²

Today, I continue to take notes but admittedly no longer with the candour of times past; I make them in the knowledge that they will be published, that I will write books from them. As for Japan ... and *Madame Chrysanthème*, I recorded my conjugal life from day to day; I knew very well that one day they would be sold by Calmann Lévy. Perhaps I would not have bothered taking notes of my experience there were it not for that.

Loti's travel writing—a suite of atmospheric works thematically bound by love far from home and a temporal and spatial nostalgia—was a product of a fusion of the socio-political and cultural climate in which he wrote, with the author's innate, 'romantic' personality and style. As such, it enjoyed widespread popularity because it appealed to readers seeking a contrast to an increasingly logo-centric society and who were, perhaps as a symptom of this, hungrily consuming the still fresh and rejuvenating Orient before it stagnated or was destroyed by modernisation, industrialisation, and Westernisation. Lesley Blanch (1983) writes with respect to the popularity of Loti's travel writing that:

Calmann-Lévy [the publishers] were delighted with public reaction to *Le mariage de Loti*. Its voluptuous dream-like quality stole over the materialistic French readers like some insidious spell. . . . This most static, untravelled of people [found in both *Rarahu* and *Aziyadé*] that magic carpet by which Loti transported them, not only to unknown horizons, but to equally unknown emotions,⁹³

while Pierre Jourda (1956) wrote of Loti's books on the world beyond France that they were 'le plus important ensemble consacré entre 1880 et 1914 aux pays d'outre-mer, l'enrichissement le plus original et le plus varié de notre littérature exotique,' 'the most important group of writing concerning foreign countries of the period between 1880 and 1914, and the most original and varied enrichment of

⁹² Cited in the preface of: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 21–22. This interview was published in the French newspaper *Le Figaro* on 10 December 1887.

⁹³ Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, pp. 144–145.

[French] exotic literature.⁹⁴ As will be elaborated at points throughout this study, the socio-political climate of the late nineteenth century meant that travel writing was a very lucrative industry for Loti to participate in.

Loti's works that centre on brief affairs between 'civilised' European males and 'primitive,' native inhabitants generally followed a set pattern which Lesley Blanch calls 'living, loving, leaving.'⁹⁵ Two works that epitomise this are *Aziyadé* and *Rarahu*. The 'living, loving, leaving' works generally tell of a European who lives temporarily amongst the locals of the country he is visiting and falls in love with one of them. The call for departure is sudden, and the intellectually superior hero is tragically, and not unpainfully, torn from his 'simpler' lover, who often dies—literally or metaphorically. Attitudes towards places and people (including himself) tend to oscillate between Euro-centric condescension and contempt, self-aggrandisement as the protagonist could have whoever he pleased as a lover, and romantic indulgence in and escape to a more carefree, idyllic and exotic way of life. Hargreaves (1981) writes that Loti's travel or colonial writing enjoyed such popularity because:

[Loti's] lyrical outbursts on childhood and death undoubtedly appeal to powerful sources of emotion among many of his readers. But his appeal rests, too, on an invitation to share the pleasures of the author-narrator's selfishness. . . . Loti owes his popularity in part to the romantic fantasies of personal glory and amorous success in which he enables his readers to indulge. More generally, Loti's works also help to sustain gratifying images of cultural superiority among his European readers. To enjoy reading Loti is to enjoy the personal and cultural complacency on which the colonial venture thrived.⁹⁶

In Part V though, it will become apparent that aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème* contrasted with this and that Loti did not exploit the formula for which he was popular, in particular the 'amorous success,' as thoroughly as he might have.

Loti had thirty-eight works published that can be broadly divided into those that were purely autobiographical, such as *Prime Jeunesse* (1919) and *Le Roman d'un enfant* (1890); those recounting experiences in distant lands including *Aziyadé*, *Rarahu*, *Madame Chrysanthème*, *Au Maroc* (1890), *Jérusalem* (1895), and *Vers Ispahan* (1904); those which detailed the hardships of life at sea including *Le roman d'un spahi* (1881), *Mon frère Yves* (1883), *Matelot* (1892), and the extremely successful *Pêcheur d'Islande* (1893); and those which were political such as *Les Désenchantées* (1906), *La Hyène enragée* (1916), *La Mort de notre chère France en Orient* (1920), and the somewhat controversial *L'Inde (sans les Anglais)* (1903). In this last work, Loti writes of India, purposefully omitting any mention of the British during a period of British colonial rule.⁹⁷ The content of Loti's political works, as well as his journalistic accounts of the trauma of war which were used by newspapers such as

⁹⁴ Pierre Jourda. *L'exotisme dans la littérature française depuis Chateaubriand*, vol. II of *Du romantisme à 1939* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), pp. 156–157.

⁹⁵ Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 75.

⁹⁶ Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 84.

⁹⁷ For a comprehensive division of Loti's works by theme, see: Serban, *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 254 ff.

L'Intransigeant as propaganda against the government⁹⁸ conflicted at times with State interests, and the author was temporarily dismissed from the French navy on 24 October 1883. There was a period between about 1885 and 1891 when Loti had to have his manuscripts approved by the navy before publication. Loti also wrote for the theatre, for example *La Fille du ciel* (1911, with Judith Gautier), book prefaces, and journal and magazine articles in various popular publications such as *Le Figaro* and *La Revue illustrée*, many of which he illustrated himself. Of particular note were his observations of Easter Island that attracted interest because of the paucity of knowledge of the area.

Some of Loti's novels were first published in a serialised form and later as single editions, or columns were combined to form books of collected writings on a given theme. Such was the case with a series of articles on Japan that were subsequently collated and published as the single volume *Japoneries d'automne* (1889). Articles initially published as newspaper columns and included in this work include: *Un Bal à Yeddo* ('A ball at Edo,' in *La Nouvelle Revue*, on 15 December 1887 and 1 January 1888), *Extraordinaire Cuisine de deux vieux* ('The extraordinary cooking of two old people,' in *El Djerdan* in 1888), *Toilette d'impératrice* ('The empress' toilette,' in *La Grande Revue* on 15 August 1888), *L'impératrice printemps* ('The spring empress,' in *Revue des Deux Mondes* on 1 November 1888), and *La Sainte Montagne de Nikko* ('The sacred mountain of Nikko,' in *La Nouvelle Revue* on 15 September, and 1 and 15 October, 1888).

In hindsight, it seems that Anatole France was mistaken when he predicted that Pierre Loti's writing would outlive that of his contemporaries. With respect to posthumous popular and academic attention, Loti's works have fallen well behind those of writers such as Victor Hugo, Francois Chateaubriand, and Gustave Flaubert. Rather, Loti appears to have written during a period when the socio-political climate meant that he had a reading public eager to indulge with him in his personal preoccupations and their manifestations in escapes to foreign shores. Though Loti unfailingly pined to be ailleurs, his literary success was arguably due to being precisely in the right place at the right time.

'My little Japanese comedy': synopsis of Madame Chrysanthème

Madame Chrysanthème was the first of Loti's three books on Japan, all of whose content was sourced from his two visits there in 1885 and 1900–01. *Madame Chrysanthème* was initially published by *Le Figaro* in December 1887, and then by Calmann-Lévy in March 1893. *Japoneries d'automne*, a collection of vignettes of various aspects of Japan, was published in a single volume by Calmann-Lévy in March 1889. *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* was initially published as a series of columns called '*Escapes au Japon*' in *Revue des Deux Mondes* on 15 December 1904, and 1 and 15 January 1905, before being compiled into the single edition by Calmann-Lévy in 1905. In addition, Loti had a lengthy column called *La Femme japonaise* published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in September 1890. Publication of this column in a well-known magazine three years before *Madame Chrysanthème* was re-published by Calmann-Lévy suggests that by that time Loti was considered well-versed in the culture and people of Japan by publisher and the general reader alike.

⁹⁸ See: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 82 ff.; and Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, pp. 33–34.

Madame Chrysanthème is set in Nagasaki from early July to 18 September 1885. It is based on the personal diary, or *journal intime*, that Loti kept of his visit to Japan the same year. Okané-San in the personal diary is transposed to Chrysanthème or O-Kikou-San in the travelogue. As will later be elaborated, the travelogue is very similar, though not identical, to Loti's *journal intime*.⁹⁹

The protagonist's immediate task after arriving in Japan is to find the *Jardin des fleurs*, Garden of Flowers, to meet M. Kangourou, a marriage broker specialising in matches between foreign men and Japanese women. M. Kangourou's services appear to have been known about in France, or were a topic of interest at least amongst sailors at sea en route to Japan, because the protagonist is aware of the broker and where to find him before arriving in Nagasaki.¹⁰⁰ A few days after the meeting, the protagonist is introduced to Jasmin as a potential wife, but instead chooses Chrysanthème, whom Yves had noticed in the background. A marriage is quickly arranged, and from this time, 7 July, until the *Triomphante's* departure on 18 September for the Gulf of Peking, the narrative is mainly concerned with descriptions of the protagonist's Japanese family and their peculiarities; the sights, sounds, and smells of Nagasaki; and his nocturnal expeditions with Chrysanthème, Yves, other *moussés* (young Japanese women), and their French partners. The protagonist spends his time in Nagasaki between duty on board the *Triomphante* and his house on the hill suburb of Diou-Djen-Dji,¹⁰¹ with his evenings spent mostly visiting the near-by temples and tea-houses. The narrative of *Madame Chrysanthème* is essentially a series of short chapters or sketches depicting the daily activities of the protagonist, his Japanese 'family,' French acquaintances, and Yves, a close friend and fellow naval officer based on Loti's real-life companion Pierre Le Cor.

Habits of the protagonist's new acquaintances that he describes include Chrysanthème playing the 'guitar' (*shamisen*), eating, smoking her small pipe, her bed-time routine, and the groups of young women banding together and buying childish toys to give to one another on their nocturnal excursions. The protagonist often makes descriptions of Nagasaki Harbour, the green hills, or grey tombstones, all of which are intimately bound to the noises of Japan such as the incessantly humming cicalas and the tapping of Chrysanthème's small pipe.

The narrative is punctuated by incidents including finding M. Kangourou and choosing a Japanese wife, mice creating a disturbance at night, doing archery at the *Donko-Tchaya* (a tea house), celebrating Bastille Day, the *Triomphante* entering the dry-docks for repairs, the protagonist's party getting caught in heavy and sudden downpours, other 'married' couples getting divorced, Loti convincing the Japanese authorities to let Madame Prune and M. Sucre continue renting rooms to a Frenchman in an area beyond the European quarter, watching M. Sucre draw quick sketches for Madame Prune's guests,

⁹⁹ See Appendices Two and Three for annotated chronologies of Loti's visit to Japan in 1885, and the events in *Madame Chrysanthème*. See Appendix Four for a table of characters and places in *Madame Chrysanthème*.

¹⁰⁰ See: Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 29.

¹⁰¹ In an investigation of the traces of Loti in present-day Japan, Alain Quella-Villéger gives Loti's address in Nagasaki as 8-2, Jūnin-Machi, Nagasaki-shi. Diou-Djen-Dji's name was officially changed to Juuninmachi in 1913.

joining in the festivities at the Osueva [Suwa] Temple, hunting for Japanese curios, visiting Buddhist priests at the temples, receiving visitors on board the *Triomphante*, being photographed with Chrysanthème and Yves, hosting a party, and having a dragon tattooed on his chest. The last few chapters of the travelogue concern the protagonist's frenzied preparations for leaving after departure is suddenly announced, and very near the end he surprises Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the coins he paid her as she taps them with a small hammer. The last chapter is an appeal of the protagonist's to be 'washed clean' of his marriage, reading in full: 'O Ama-Térace [Terasu]-Omi-Kami, lavez-moi bien blanchement de ce petit mariage, dans les eaux de la Rivière de Kamo.' 'O Ama-Térace-Omi-Kami, wash me clean from this little marriage of mine, in the waters of the river of Kamo.'¹⁰² There is a secondary story-line concerning the protagonist's increasing suspicions that Yves and Chrysanthème are in love, a prospect totally absent from the diary.

On a thematic level, alongside the playful, quaint, and juvenile Japan with invigorating properties ascribed to the lush Japanese natural flora and fauna, the ever-analytical protagonist demonstrates a detachment from and at times contempt of his surroundings. In particular, he uses external appearances to conclude that there is a distinct and inevitable polarity between Eastern and Western races. The protagonist also has flashbacks to his earlier experiences abroad, which he compares to the present one in Japan, usually unfavourably.

Focus will now shift to nineteenth-century responses to *Madame Chrysanthème*, as well as the body of scholarly writing of relevance to the work and Loti. A survey of the latter places this study more clearly in the context of existing writing on Loti and Japan.

¹⁰² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 232; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 335. Amaterasu-Oomikami is the Shinto sun goddess.

CHAPTER FOUR

The wider reception and literary context of *Madame Chrysanthème*

It is not the story, or the chain of valuable thoughts, or the important information supplied by Pierre Loti that enthralls his admirers. It is the music of the voice, the incomparable magic of the mode in which the mournful, sensuous, exquisite observations are delivered. He is a Pied Piper, and as for his admirers, poor rats, as he pipes, they follow, follow. He who writes these lines is always among the bewitched.¹⁰³

Nineteenth-century responses to Madame Chrysanthème

Madame Chrysanthème solicited polarised responses from its nineteenth-century readers. The less knowledgeable about Japan readers were, the more they tended to like the travelogue and neither question nor be concerned with its accuracy. Furthermore, if the reader were already a fan of Loti's other travel writing, they generally welcomed his subsequent books, with *Aziyadé* and *Rarahu* in particular affording the author much popularity. Contrastingly, those who had been to Japan or were serious scholars of the country were not as enthusiastic, tending to notice cultural inaccuracies in the work. There are clear exceptions to these generalizations though. For example, Vincent van Gogh zealously collected and diligently studied Japanese *ukiyo-e* yet still wrote positively of Loti's work. While one might expect *Madame Chrysanthème* not to find favour among nineteenth- or early twentieth-century Japanese readers because of the unflattering portrayal it gives of aspects of Japan and *Chrysanthème*, the reception it had in that country was not entirely negative.

Positive responses

As was mentioned in Chapter One, *Madame Chrysanthème* had enough commercial success to warrant multiple print-runs, as well as to prompt André Chéradam to write that for most people Japan was 'above all the country of madam Chrysanthemum.' Certainly, part of the appeal of the travelogue came from the intensity of the fashion for things Japanese and Japanesque during the late nineteenth century, as well as the popular following Loti had gained from his earlier works. Some fans of the author even dedicated sonnets to him, with Ida Flaubert writing:

O merveilleux artiste, ô créateur de rêve!
 Votre âme solitaire à mon âme a parlé
 Et je vous ai suivi, doux et triste exilé,
 Dans les pays lointains où vous alliez sans trêve.

O marvellous artist, o creator of dreams!

¹⁰³ Edmund Gosse. *French profiles* (London: William Heinemann, 1905), p. 221.

Your solitary spirit has spoken to mine,
 And I have followed you, gentle and sad exile,
 Into the distant lands of your endless travels.¹⁰⁴

While Flaubert's sonnet is a somewhat extreme example of adulation of Loti, other literary figures too demonstrated enthusiasm for his writing. Claude Farrère was, in addition to a naval officer, a well-known French author with a high literary output, some of which concerned the Far East. He demonstrated much affection for Loti in his memoir *Loti* (1930) that he wrote of his time with the author.¹⁰⁵ In the introduction to the memoir, Farrère credits Loti as being an author 'qui n'a point d'équivalent dans la littérature universelle,' 'without any equals in world literature,' and writes of being 'irrésistiblement attiré vers son génie, comme un papillon vers une lampe,' 'irresistibly attracted towards his genius, as a butterfly to a lamp.'¹⁰⁶

Concerning *Madame Chrysanthème* in particular, Farrère wrote that 'peu de livres sont plus charmants, . . . L'exoticisme mesuré y tempère un scepticisme et une ironie rares chez Loti, et sa poésie souveraine y met de la grâce,'¹⁰⁷ 'Few books are more charming, the measured exoticism tempers a skepticism and irony rare in Loti, and his supreme poetry gives it grace.' Suetoshi Funaoka (1984) writes of how Loti paid meticulous attention to Japanese detail that may otherwise go unnoticed: 'Infatigable observateur, Loti saisait grâce à sa sensibilité délicate des choses insignifiantes qui risqueraient de passer inaperçues. Certains détails de la vie japonaise sont ainsi rendus saisissants et vivants sous sa plume,' 'An indefatigable observer, Loti's delicate sensitivity allows him to seize insignificant things that risk passing unnoticed. Certain details of Japanese life are thus rendered striking and living beneath his pen.'¹⁰⁸

The novelist Anatole France (1844–1924) also wrote positively of Loti's work, and in particular of the vivid prose with which he evokes the natural splendour before him. France writes of *Madame Chrysanthème*:

Ce qui donne au nouveau livre de M. Pierre Loti sa physionomie et son charme, ce sont les descriptions vives, courtes, émues; c'est le tableau animé de la vie japonaise, si petite, si mièvre, si artificielle. Enfin, ce sont les paysages. Ils sont divins, les paysages que dessine Pierre Loti en

¹⁰⁴ For this and the other three verses of the 'Sonnet à Loti,' see: *Cahiers Pierre Loti*, no. 25, December 1958, p.22.

¹⁰⁵ Claude Farrère. *Loti*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1930).

¹⁰⁶ Farrère. *Loti*, p. 6, 7.

¹⁰⁷ André Moulis. 'Loti au Japon,' in *Cahiers Pierre Loti* 24: p. 8, 1958. The translation which follows is my own, and Moulis does not give the original source of the quotation.

¹⁰⁸ Cited in: Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, p. 120. The translation is my own.

quelques traits mystérieux. Comme cet homme sent la nature! comme il la goûte en amoureux, et comme il la comprend avec tristesse! . . .¹⁰⁹

What gives Pierre Loti's new book its form and its charm are the lively, short, touching descriptions; it is the animated portrayal of Japanese life, so small, so affected, so artificial. Finally, it is the landscapes. They are divine, the landscapes that Pierre Loti paints by mysterious brushstrokes. How this man feels nature! How he tastes it with passion, and how he understands it with sadness! . . .

Van Gogh read *Madame Chrysanthème* and enthused over the book in letters to his brother Théo and other acquaintances:

Est-ce que tu as lu *Madame Chrysanthème*? Cela m'a bien donné à penser que les vrais Japonais n'ont rien sur les murs, la description du cloître ou de la pagoda où il n'y a rien (les dessins et curiosités sont cachés dans les tiroirs). Ah! c'est comme ça qu'il faut regarder une japonaiserie, dans une pièce très claire, toute nue, ouverte sur le paysage.¹¹⁰

Have you read *Madame Chrysanthème*? It really makes me think that real Japanese have nothing on the walls, the description of the cloister or pagoda where there is nothing (pictures and curiosities are hidden away in drawers). Ah! That's how one should look at a Japanese picture: in an empty, bare room which opens onto the countryside.

Concerning the Japanese reception of *Madame Chrysanthème*, a particularly positive response came from Nogami Toyochiro who translated the first Japanese edition of the work in 1915. In the revised Japanese edition published in 1923, Nogami writes:

In this novel that Loti wrote doubtlessly not foreseeing that it would be read by Japanese, can we not find images of our own ugliness, that we refuse to see, and seize the occasion to reflect upon ourselves? In this sense, I find Loti to be one of Japan's best friends, setting aside the artistic merits of the novel.¹¹¹

The well-known Japanese writer Ryūnosuke Akutagawa (1892–1927) also seems to have been fond of Loti's Japanese works. He wrote a short story called '*Le Bal*,' '*Butokai*,' 'The Ball,' (1920) based on, or at least synoptically very similar to Loti's short story '*Un Bal à Yeddo*,' 'A Ball at Edo' that was published in *La Nouvelle Revue* on 15 December 1887 and 1 January 1888.¹¹² It is possible that Akutagawa read the Japanese translations of '*Un bal à Yeddo*' (trans. 1892), and *Madame*

¹⁰⁹ An excerpt of a review of *Madame Chrysanthème* by Anatole France, titled '*Madame Chrysanthème vu par Anatole France*,' and cited in Alain Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti* (Rochefort: Revue Pierre Loti, 1988), p. 46. My translation.

¹¹⁰ Cited in: Alain Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1986), p. 131. The translation is my own.

¹¹¹ Cited in French in: Alain Quella-Villéger. 'Bibliographie,' *Revue Pierre Loti*: 15: p. 156, 1983. The translation is my own.

¹¹² '*Un bal à Yeddo*' was later included in *Japoneries d'automne* in 1889.

Chrysanthème (trans. 1915), though his degree in English literature would have also enabled him to read such works in their English version.¹¹³ In addition, while in Suzhou (China) in 1921 Akutagawa wrote that he felt as Loti must have when visiting a temple at Asakusa, suggesting that Loti's writing impacted on Akutagawa enough for it to remain in his memory.¹¹⁴ Akutagawa also wrote an essay at the time of Loti's death thanking him for the exposure to European readers he had given Japan and his 'Japanese sisters' Chrysanthème and Madame Prune. Part of it reads:

Loti fut, Koizumi Yakumo [Lafcadio Hearn] mis à part, l'Européen le plus intimement versé dans le Mont Fuji, dans les camélias et dans les femmes japonaises habillées en kimono. Nous autres Japonais, nous ne pouvons pas rester indifférents à la mort de Pierre Loti.

....

... personne ne saurait nier qu'il en fit une bonne peinture [du Japon]. Nos soeurs, Mme Chrysanthème et Mme Prune, ont pu marcher sur les pavés de Paris grâce aux romans de Loti. Nous voudrions lui en exprimer nos remerciements japonais.¹¹⁵

Loti was, excepting Koizumi Yakumo [Lafcadio Hearn], the European the most intimately versed in the Japan of Mt. Fuji, camellias, and Japanese women dressed in kimono. We Japanese cannot remain indifferent to the death of Pierre Loti.

....

... no one could deny that he paints a favourable picture [of Japan]. Our sisters Madame Chrysanthème and Madame Prune have been able to walk on the streets of Paris thanks to Loti's books. We wish to express our Japanese thanks.

Another way in which the work's reception in Japan can be illustrated is by the traces of Loti that remain in the country, though some of these also were due to his other books. Most significantly, there was a monument erected on 6 November 1950 at Suwa Park, a place often appearing in *Madame Chrysanthème* because it was the location of the *Donko-Tchaya*, a tea-house in the grounds of the Suwa temple that he frequented. Its inscription reads: 'À la mémoire de Pierre Loti de l'Académie Française 1850–1923. Souvenir des ses amis de Nagasaki,' 'In memory of Pierre Loti, member of the Academy Française, 1850–1923. From his friends in Nagasaki.' Some sources state that the Japanese inscription below reads identically,¹¹⁶ but as Suetoshi Funaoka points out, the Japanese written by Yutaka Tatsuno actually reads: 'Pierre Loti, important French writer, had a stay in this port as an officer of the navy and, inspired by the marvellous countryside and his melancholy of voyage, wrote his love story full of

¹¹³ He could probably have read the French as well. For a comparative study of the two works, see: Suetoshi Funaoka. 'Ryūnosuke Akutagawa et Pierre Loti,' in: Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, pp. 47–52.

¹¹⁴ See: Suetoshi Funaoka. 'Ryūnosuke Akutagawa et Pierre Loti,' in: Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, p. 52.

¹¹⁵ Cited in: Suetoshi Funaoka. 'Ryūnosuke Akutagawa et Pierre Loti,' in: Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, p. 51. Koizumi Yakumo was the Japanese name adopted by Lafcadio Hearn. The translation is my own.

¹¹⁶ For example in *Cahiers Pierre Loti*, no. 6, November 1953.

a deep and poignant sadness.’¹¹⁷ In 1971 there was a plaque placed outside where Loti would have lived at 8-2 Jūnin-machi recognising that the author was instrumental in making Japan well-known in Europe.¹¹⁸

Negative responses

Just as Loti prompted people to write sonnets in his praise, he was also the subject of ridicule because of his flamboyance, small size, and melodramatic writing style. To firstly give an example not specifically concerned with *Madame Chrysanthème*, in *À la manière de ...*, a collection of parodies, there is a short story, ‘Papaoutemari,’ which parodies passages from *Rarahu*. ‘Papaoutemari’ is full of dramatic, sweeping, and essentialising language that ridicules its protagonist as he languishes in the disturbing knowledge that, for example, wherever he has been loved by women it has been in a corner of the world distant from his dearly-loved French home.¹¹⁹

Specifically concerning *Madame Chrysanthème*, the French artist, illustrator, and scholar of japonisme Félix Régamey (1844–1907) produced one of the most systematic and harsh of the various negative criticisms of Loti’s treatment of Japan and Chrysanthème in *Madame Chrysanthème*. Régamey in fact re-wrote the entire travelogue from the perspective of Chrysanthème (or Okané-San, Loti’s actual Japanese wife), beginning by illustrating the cultural inaccuracies in Loti’s work. Régamey’s response to *Madame Chrysanthème* will be examined further in Part V, but the effort to which he went to expose the cultural inaccuracies of Loti’s evaluations of Japan and to challenge the author’s monologic presentation of Chrysanthème demonstrate the extent to which some of Loti’s contemporaries disliked the work, and the author too it seems. Ludovic Naudeau, a journalist writing for the *Journal*, also harshly criticised Loti, claiming that his work had ‘mystifié le public français,’ ‘mystified the French public,’ and ‘indigné et irrité contre la France les classes intellectuelles du Japon,’ ‘offended and irritated the intellectual classes of Japan against France.’¹²⁰

William Schwartz was another scholar of Loti’s generation who negatively criticised the author’s approach to Japan. While eventually reaching a similar conclusion to Régamey’s concerning Loti’s self-absorption and culturally inaccurate depiction of Japan, Schwartz’s examination of the author does appear to be written with an academic detachment absent in Régamey’s work. Schwartz (1927)

¹¹⁷ *Revue Pierre Loti*, no. 13, January-March 1983, p. 110.

If Tatsuno were indeed referring to *Madame Chrysanthème* when he wrote of the ‘love story full of a deep and cutting sadness,’ his interpretation of the work is unusual given its content, as will become apparent in Part V. This raises questions concerning the nature of the Japanese translation of the work, a concern beyond the scope of this study, however.

¹¹⁸ As with many of the places Loti visited in Nagasaki, his original house no longer remains. See: Alain Quella-Villéger. ‘Le souvenir de Pierre Loti au Japon,’ in: Alain Quella-Villéger (ed.), *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, pp. 35–36.

¹¹⁹ See: C. Muller and P. Reboux. *A la manière de ...* (Paris: Editions Bernard Grasset, 1964), p.185.

¹²⁰ Cited in Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l’incompris*, p. 121.

mentions Loti's 'exquisite language,'¹²¹ his advantage of actually having been to Japan unlike many contemporary commentators, and also notes that the author treated Japan more 'fairly' in his later works on the country, though these are and were relatively unknown compared to *Madame Chrysanthème*. Despite these concessions however, Schwartz ultimately concludes that all of Loti's books on Japan are 'unsatisfactory as interpretations of Japanese civilization.'¹²² Schwartz writes that Loti was too 'self-centered to enter sympathetically into the thoughts and feelings of the Japanese,'¹²³ and mentions that had this not been the case, Loti (and the protagonist he speaks through) may have realised, for example, that if the Japanese are small to him, he must appear large to them, as well as that Chrysanthème would not have entered into the liaison out of free will. Schwartz suggests that had Loti been familiar with Japanese art or scholarly writing about the country, his appraisal may have been more empathetic and fair. He writes that Loti provided '... French travellers in Japan with a ready-made attitude; he tempted them to pose as a Japanese girl's sailor-lover, and to see only the frivolous side of life in Japan.'¹²⁴

Concerning negative Japanese interpretations of *Madame Chrysanthème*, Suetoshi Funaoka was not as generous in his evaluation of the work as a whole as were scholars such as Nogami Toyoichiro. Funaoka writes that: 'A vrai dire, *Madame Chrysanthème* est un roman peu agréable à lire pour les lecteurs japonais, car il est nourri des moqueries sans voiles de Loti à l'égard du Japon ainsi que de jugements arbitraires qu'il porte à propos de ce pays,'¹²⁵ 'In truth, *Madame Chrysanthème* is not a very pleasant book to read for Japanese readers, because it is full of Loti's undisguised mockeries of Japan as well as arbitrary judgments he makes concerning the country.' One Chinese critic of *Madame Chrysanthème* went so far as to write in the *Japanese Mail* that 'If I were asked to name the book which shows the lowest degree of European civilisation, I would nominate without hesitation *Madame Chrysanthème*. In my eyes, the sort of man depicted by the author of this work is the devil incarnate.'¹²⁶

From representing 'the lowest degree of European civilisation' to providing an 'animated portrayal of Japanese life,' *Madame Chrysanthème* incited polarised responses from readers. The nature of existing scholarly writing about Loti and the book further illuminates responses to the author and his work, as well as indicating how these have changed over time.

¹²¹ William Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925* (Paris: Champion, 1927), p.131.

¹²² Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, p.132.

¹²³ Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, p.132.

¹²⁴ Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, p. 133.

¹²⁵ Cited in: Quella-Villéger. 'Bibliographie, in: *Revue Pierre Loti*, p. 156. Quella-Villéger does not give a date for the citation. The translation is my own.

¹²⁶ Cited in: André Moulis. 'Pierre Loti au Japon janvier–octobre 1901,' in: *Cahiers Pierre Loti* 24, 1958. Moulis does not give the original source of his quote, so no further interpretation can be meaningfully given.

Literature review

It is necessary to outline the body of writing on Pierre Loti and *Madame Chrysanthème* to place the contribution of the present study within the context of scholarly literature in the area. Furthermore, the theories and writings of the authors of the major studies outlined here will recur.

A factual and comprehensive study of Loti, his writing, and life experiences is Nicolas Serban's *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, '*Pierre Loti: Life and works*,' published in 1924, one year after Loti's death. It details Loti's life and travels, then proceeds to an analysis of his personality, writing, and its prevailing themes. There is a series of factual appendices including the dates and locations of Loti's naval assignments, as well as a detailed list of publication of his works. Serban's study is valuable for its objectivity in a period when it was not uncommon for Loti's biographers or acquaintances to write relatively subjective personal tributes to or memoirs of experiences with the author. Its scholarly value is further enhanced by its thoroughness and wealth of factual information, as is testified by its frequent citation in later studies of Loti.

Another early twentieth-century analysis of Loti and his writing is found in *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature 1800–1925* by William Schwartz (1927). As Schwartz outlines, his book aims towards a ' . . . comprehensive study of the imaginative interpretations of China and Japan and the principal allusions to those countries in post-classical French literature.'¹²⁷ A sizeable portion of Part Three, 'Loti and the first literary observers in the Far East, 1885–1905,' concerns the writing born of Loti's experiences in Indo-China (1883), Japan (1885 and 1900), and China (1885). In the work, Schwartz discusses factors that may have influenced Loti's reaction to China and Japan. Among these, he observes that some of Loti's circle of acquaintances were scholars of Japanese art, and in particular those interested in japonisme included the de Goncourt brothers, Judith Gautier, Commander Jouselin, and Alphonse Daudet. Schwartz also investigates the subsequent role Loti's work played in shaping perceptions of Japan. In essence, while Schwartz calls Loti's Japanese books 'essentially false' he does credit the author with having exerted a large influence on his contemporaries and general nineteenth-century perceptions of Japan. Schwartz's work is a valuable source of information of what to him were primary resources of the period, be these newspaper articles, interviews, novels, or dramatic productions. As is the case with Serban, distortive scholarly, cultural, or temporal reaccentuation is lessened because of Schwartz's immediacy to the period during which Loti wrote. The work is very thorough, detailed (particularly the footnotes), and Schwartz seems able to identify and remark on cultural inaccuracies in the works of Loti and his contemporaries. In addition, it is an excellent tool by which to begin placing Loti's writing in the context of other nineteenth-century 'imaginative interpretations' and depictions of the Far East.

¹²⁷ Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, preparatory note.

A series of generally less scholarly, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studies on Loti were written by naval colleagues, associates, or fans of the author. These works include memoirs of personal encounters with Loti, such as Claude Farrère's (1930) text *Loti*. Farrère first encountered Loti's writing while a teenager and writes that it impressed him more than the works of Corneille, Musset, Hugo, or Flaubert.¹²⁸ *Loti* is limited in objectivity, though, because by the time the pair were stationed together in the navy Farrère was already a dedicated fan of the author's. However, the work is valuable as a source of information on what some of Loti's contemporaries thought of him, as well as for bibliographical information too specialised or 'inconsequential' to be included in more general studies. It is a memoir written by, and possibly for, a friend, and as such provides a more intimate portrayal of the author than is commonly found elsewhere.

Pierre Loti: The romance of a great writer (1926) by Edmund D'Auvergne accompanies the twelve volume set *The works of Pierre Loti* (1913–1926). The work recounts the author's life and the writing born of his experiences, and its overall tone is somewhat anecdotal and speculative. Concerning D'Auvergne's affection for Loti, Irene Szyliowicz (1988) writes that he '... offers a eulogy to a personal friend, but gives few insights into the man or his work.'¹²⁹ While this study of Loti's life and works may again be limited in objectivity, it does demonstrate the popularity Loti enjoyed amongst some of his contemporaries. For example, in the preface D'Auvergne writes that the book is 'not a review of the literary activities of a great writer,' rather he was compelled to write of Loti's life because he 'loved the man.'¹³⁰

Robert de Traz (1948) authored *Pierre Loti*, a study that includes biographical information on Loti, details of his writing, analysis of his personality, and a study of certain themes which pervade his writing: namely exoticism, the sea, love, religion, and death. De Traz's study is useful for its analysis of the multi-layered interrelationship between various factors of the author's personal and professional life, and the writing born of these.

Keith Millward's *L'oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin-de-siècle"* (1955), *The works of Pierre Loti and the "fin-de-siècle" mentality*, investigates the interrelationship between the world weariness characteristic of the late nineteenth century and Loti's writing, including bibliographical details on the author. It examines similar categories to de Traz, such as Loti's travels and temporal nostalgia, morbidity and the macabre, suffering (be this physical, spiritual, or political), and religion. What is particularly valuable about Millward's study is that it examines philosophical or literary mood of *fin-de-siècle* and relates this to Loti's writing.

Alain Quella-Villéger (1986) authored a comprehensive study on Loti titled *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, 'Pierre Loti the misunderstood.' The book is an in-depth examination of Loti's life experiences and works, with much analysis of how these interrelate. Quella-Villéger includes, for example,

¹²⁸ Farrère. *Loti*, p. 8.

¹²⁹ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 7.

¹³⁰ Edmund D'Auvergne. *Pierre Loti: The romance of a great writer* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1926), preface.

interpretation of Loti's childhood, introduction to Parisian life, election to the Académie Française, political persuasions, and old age. There is one chapter specifically dedicated to *Madame Chrysanthème* and Loti's Asian expeditions. This examines the dates of Loti's various visits to Asia, the books born of them, what he did while in Japan, various responses to *Madame Chrysanthème*, as well as commentary on the prevailing themes of the work such as smallness, and a rejection of modernity. *Pierre Loti l'incompris* is a valuable work because of the thoroughness with which Quella-Villéger connects diverse aspects of Loti's life experiences to each other and to his writing, and also for the diverse critics he cites throughout. In addition, as far as book-length writing on Loti goes, Quella-Villéger's study is relatively recent.

Recent studies of Loti tend to be characterised by post-colonial, post-modern, or feminist approaches. While generally situating Loti's works within the context of having been shaped by the socio-political context in which he lived and wrote, some critics risk reaccentuating this against present-day societal norms and theoretical trends. For example, some aspects of Irene Szyliowicz's study, *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman* (1988), hint that Loti is being evaluated against present-day norms and 'fashionable' feminist and psychoanalytic theory concerning, for example, the author suffering a castration complex.¹³¹ Nevertheless, arguably there is no reason why recent theory cannot be applied to a past situation, and Szyliowicz generally cogently substantiates her analysis with events in the author's life and aspects of his personality that clearly meld together or manifest themselves psychologically in the various ways she claims.

In particular, the study is centred on the author's treatment of women in works such as *Aziyadé*, *Les Désenchantées*, and *Rarahu*. In *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, Szyliowicz examines Loti's treatment of non-European women from places such as Tahiti, Turkey, and Japan. She does this against a backdrop of nineteenth-century European attitudes towards women, as well as the individual female's position in their respective societies. Her approach is predominantly feminist and post-colonial, and she uses psychoanalytical theory to examine the genesis of Loti's literary treatment of women, often linking this to events in the author's life, his character, and psychological constitution. Szyliowicz's study is a valuable, specialised resource for comparing Loti's attitude towards women with how the respective females were perceived by their non-Western peers, as well as for its psychoanalysis of Loti based on aspects of his personality and life experiences.

Lesley Blanch (1983) authored *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic* in which she comments on Loti's life, in chronological order. She provides in-depth information, some new, about his writing, naval career, and personal and naval experiences. While an informative and entertaining read for those interested in Loti, for the purposes of this study, little is mentioned of *Madame Chrysanthème*, citations are frequently not referenced, and the overall tone of the work tends towards the sensational and anecdotal. Szyliowicz (1988) evaluates the book as follows:

¹³¹ See: Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, 58 ff.

Some newly released photographs as well as a few bits of gossip about the mistresses and women friends with whom Loti surrounded himself during his final years reveal some hitherto undisclosed information, but the literary aspects of the French author's life are treated in a breathlessly worshipful and uncritical manner.¹³²

Blanch's study is very useful though with respect to the information she gives on the personal involvement Loti had with various women, and parts coloured by emotive wording and speculation may be more a product of Blanch's writing style than they are of inaccuracy. For example, thorough research is suggested in the 'Acknowledgements' in which she thanks a range of people including descendants of Loti and those connected to the author, and it appears that she also travelled widely for her research to places including Turkey and the Saintonge region.

Pieeru Roti: Hito to sakuhin, Pierre Loti: The man and his works, by Takayuki Ochiai (1992) is a general study of Loti's life and works. Ochiai examines areas such as Loti and Japan, his major works including *Aziyadé*, *Rarahu*, *The Icelandic Fisherman*, and *Madame Chrysanthème* and the interrelationship between the author's life experiences and the writing born of them. Concerning its approach, the book is fairly characteristic of French or English-language studies of Loti. However, it is particularly valuable for the present study because it is recent, and written by a Japanese person from within a Japanese scholarly context. The first part concerning Loti and Japan contains specific analysis of *Madame Chrysanthème* and while it may not depart greatly from other scholarly interpretations of the work, the background information Ochiai gives about Meiji Japan is certainly far more thorough and probably more accurate than that of his non-Japanese commentators. Furthermore, the twenty or so pages dedicated to Loti and Japan are more than what is commonly contained in other books concerned with Loti in general.

Apart from these monographs by single authors, a number of compilations of essays on Loti have been published. Of particular relevance to the present study is *Le Japon de Pierre Loti* (1988), 'The Japan of Pierre Loti,' edited by Alain Quella-Villéger and published as a supplement to the 'Revue Pierre Loti,' 'The Pierre Loti Review.' This is a compilation of twelve studies concerning various aspects of Loti's Japanese experiences and the three books born of them.¹³³ Studies include investigations into the legal status of Loti's Japanese 'marriage' to Okané-San (Suetoshi Funaoka), the Japanese pagoda at his house at Rochefort (Marie-Pascale Bault), the photographer, Hikoma Uyeno, whom Loti visited a number of times in Nagasaki (Daniel Hervé), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Loti (Suetoshi Funaoka), theatrical adaptations of *Madame Chrysanthème* (Jacques Legrand), a study of *Madame Chrysanthème* which examines, in particular, the various narrative ways in which Loti diminishes the physical and moral scale of Japan (Gérard Siary), and an examination of the traces of Loti that remain in present-day Japan (Alain Quella-Villéger). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti* is particularly valuable for the present study

¹³² Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 7.

¹³³ *Le Japon de Pierre Loti* supplemented *Revue Pierre Loti*, number 34–35, April–September 1988.

because most of it concerns *Madame Chrysanthème* and accordingly provides a selection of relatively specialised investigations pertinent to both extra- and intra-textual aspects of the work.

Another valuable, more general, compilation of articles on Loti is found in *Loti en son temps: Colloque de Paimpol* (1994), *Loti in his time: Conference proceedings at Paimpol*, the published proceedings of a conference on the author held in 1993. It includes a broad range of papers, and in addition to general aspects of the author's writing and personality, studies include Loti alongside other nineteenth-century writers (Francis Lacoste, Agnes de Noblet), places of importance to Loti and his responses to them (Marie-Pascale Prevost-Bault, Josette Gilberton, Damien Zanone, Irma d'Auria, Jacques Dupont), and his experiences as a naval officer (Magali Lacousse, Michel Riobé).

Other papers or specialised studies occur in the '*Revue Pierre Loti*,' in the '*Bulletin de l'Association internationale des amis de Pierre Loti*,' 'The Bulletin of the International Association of Friends of Pierre Loti,' or in general journals dedicated to some aspect of nineteenth-century French or Japanese studies. The '*Revue Pierre Loti*,' no longer in print, was a quarterly publication solely concerned with aspects of Loti's life and writing. The '*Bulletin de l'Association internationale des amis de Pierre Loti*' remains in print and is circulated by the *Association internationale des amis de Pierre Loti*. In addition to studies specifically on Loti himself, the bulletin contains articles on extra-textual aspects of Loti's life such as his naval acquaintances and family. It is a useful source of the present and future activities and scholarly or other interests of one of the few formal associations that remain in operation and that are directly concerned with Loti.

Exhibition catalogues of Loti's objects housed at Rochefort provide valuable data on the extent, nature, and value of the collection of items he amassed while abroad, as well as information about his foreign journeys and their contexts. Of particular use to the present study is the catalogue of '*Pierre Loti en Chine et au Japon*,' 'Pierre Loti in China and Japan.' This accompanied an exhibition at the author's house in Rochefort from 20 June to 22 September 1986. Items exhibited from Japan included lacquer boxes, mirrors, vases, photographs, and various documents such as the invitation card to the ball at the Rokumeikan he attended. In addition, there is a section detailing the logistics of travel from France to Japan during the period. The catalogue is useful primarily for the information it gives on Loti's visits to Japan and the various items he returned home with, as well as for the overall picture the reader gains of Loti's Oriental travels as they connected and contrasted with one another.

Most single editions of Loti's works contain introductory commentary focusing on the circumstances surrounding publication of the work at hand. Bruno Vercier's introduction to the 1990 French edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* examines the interrelationship between the travelogue and Loti's life experiences immediately before, during, and after his 1885 visit to Japan. Its appendices contain extracts from the musical adaptation of the travelogue by André Messager; some of the text of Félix Régamey's *Cahier rose*; and extracts from *Promenades japonaises* (1875), a book on Japan by Émile Guimet. There is also a list of the dates of Loti's journal entries beside their corresponding chapter in

the travelogue, as well as a similar approach concerning character names, both of which were originally compiled by Suetoshi Funaoka. Then there is a selection of entries from Loti's personal diary during the time he spent in Japan, followed by the text of '*Une page oubliée de Madame Chrysanthème*,' 'A forgotten page of *Madame Chrysanthème*.' This was a short piece of writing, not included in the travelogue, based on Loti's visit to the temple of *Taki-no-Kanon* on 9 August 1885. It was subsequently published in *Le Figaro* (7 April 1888), and in the book *L'Exilée* (1893). Lastly, there is a letter dated 23 July 1885 from Loti to Lieutenant Marcel Sémézies, a bibliography, and chronology of the author's life. Each of these appendices is useful for providing information about the work and its author, for commentary on how some of Loti's contemporaries responded to the book or Japan, and also for giving an idea of material published in connection to the text during the late nineteenth century.

Another introduction to an edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* is by Terence Barrow (1973) in the Tuttle English edition of the book. This is a reprint of Laura Ensor's (1913) translation, and like the original version it includes the two hundred water-colour sketches by Rossi and Mybach. Barrow's analysis is brief and fairly superficial. It does however evaluate some aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème* as comic where other critics have tended to focus analysis on the Euro-centrism inherent in regarding Japan as a quaint, topsy-turvy opposite to Europe. For example, Barrow calls 'excellent comic opera' Kangourou's insistence that Jasmine is yellow beneath the white make-up entertainers commonly wear and likens this to the tone of 'The Mikado.'¹³⁴

Analyses of Loti's writing occur also as chapters or parts of books in the wider field of cultural or literary studies, with some authors situating his writing in the context of the French colonial era. For example, Part One of Alec Hargreaves' *The Colonial experience in French fiction: a study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille* (1981) concerns Loti's writing about the Middle and Far East. It examines the literary manifestation of the author's attitudes towards colonialism, imperialism, and their effects on the countries concerned. Hargreaves' study is a valuable particularisation of more general writing on Loti and his life, and the analysis he provides of the author is unusual in that it is specifically bound to colonialism. An area Hargreaves discusses of particular relevance to the present study is that Loti's general dislike of East Asia, something that emerges in *Madame Chrysanthème*, was possibly partly due to his brother Gustave having died in the Bay of Bengal in 1865 when Loti was fifteen years old.¹³⁵

Pierre Loti and *Madame Chrysanthème* sometimes feature in studies of japonisme and japonaiserie, where Loti is mentioned as a figure who helped both create and reinforce the stereotypes of Japan circulating during the nineteenth century. He is generally depicted as a flamboyant and intense figure who had an important role in conditioning popular stereotypes and perceptions of Japan at the time.

¹³⁴ Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Madame Chrysanthème* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1973), pp. 5–6.

¹³⁵ Hargreaves also links Gustave's death to Loti's dislike of aspects of colonialism and the subsequent literary portrayal of colonial postings as 'doom-laden.' See: Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, 41 ff.

The present examination of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of consumer japonaiserie distinguishes itself from existing literature by focusing on the stylistic and thematic similarities between the preoccupations of Loti in writing *Madame Chrysanthème* and those of producers of other branches of japonaiserie. Where other studies focus on Loti and his entire oeuvre, mentioning *Madame Chrysanthème* in this broader context, the present investigation aims to approach the travelogue specifically as an item of nineteenth-century French japonaiserie, a movement whose academic treatment is generally restricted to the fine or decorative arts. In this way, it hopes to broaden writing on and conceptions of japonaiserie, as well as focus scholarly writing on Loti to the particular context of japonaiserie. Also, this study interrelates Loti's personality and life experiences with him as a producer of japonaiserie, rather than primarily linking this to his written oeuvre. Lastly, the conclusion investigates the tension or contradictions of *Madame Chrysanthème* being an item of playful japonaiserie, yet at the same time voicing much criticism of Japan and the Japanese.

PART II

INTRODUCTION

The socio-political and cultural climate of nineteenth-century France and wider Europe influenced expectations of and responses to visual and literary representations of Japan. In particular, the development, nature, and popularity of japonaiserie were influenced by colonialism, industrialisation, and the popularisation of leisure travel that the first two stimulated and facilitated. Part II provides an overview of each of these areas, with selective emphasis on how they interacted with japonaiserie. It aims to provide extra-textual information on the attitudes towards and expectations of depictions of Japan that Loti pandered to in crafting *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie; or contrastingly on how parts of the work will later be seen to have contrasted with these.

Chapter Five outlines French colonialism during the nineteenth century with the aim of illustrating how the social justification and diverse manifestations of a colonial empire stimulated popular feelings of superiority over, 'ownership' of, and an interest in colonised, exotic peoples. Such ideology was 'scientifically' supported by the various classification systems that emerged. Geographic essentialism saw very similar attitudes extend to non-Western places and peoples too, including Japan, even though the country was not colonised by a Western power.

Chapter Six concerns European industrialisation, and focuses on the French situation during the second half of the nineteenth century. A combination of testing living and working conditions, and technological advances such as mass-production made lively items of japonaiserie appealing as a novel distraction, and also able to be quickly and relatively cheaply produced.

An examination of nineteenth-century leisure travel follows in Chapter Seven. This includes the ideology and psychology involved in travelling to and interacting with the cultures and peoples of distant lands at that time, as well as an examination of the various attitudes that emerged concerning popular travel. These are important because they both formulated expectations of a literary representation of distant countries most were unlikely ever to visit such as Japan, and allow for Loti's visit to be placed in the context of nineteenth-century travel in general.

CHAPTER FIVE

La mission civilisatrice: Colonialism

For Darwin, the map of the world is a great table which places the various peoples side by side, while his investigation of their functions and characters shows them to exist at different stages in a process of improvement whose end or highest point is represented by modern European civilization.¹³⁶

The nineteenth century was a period of enthusiastic European colonialism, and a country's success, power, and prestige were reflected in, or even defined by, the extent of its colonial empire. For example, after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the subsequent loss of Alsace-Lorraine, some French considered colonial expansion as one way to compensate for the diplomatic, military, and general embarrassment of having lost the territory. One reason amongst many circulated for the defeat was a lack of military and commercial support from colonies, and so a colonial empire became desirable also for security and economic prosperity. Colonies had other practical benefits such as providing a place whence to banish criminals or other undesirables (the initial designation of New South Wales in Australia, for example), as well as being a source of cheap labour, armed forces, and raw materials (for example, India had cotton, spices and tea, South America coffee, Canada grains, and Malaysia rubber).

A tradition of rivalry between Britain and France continued in the acquisition of foreign territories. This became in part a French quest to match British imperial achievements which were far more extensive than France's own. Britain had the largest colonial empire during the nineteenth century,¹³⁷ followed by France; then (roughly) Holland, Portugal, and Spain; Germany and Italy; and North America. France's colonial activity diversified with missionary forces sent to Asia by Napoleon III, and its first major acquisition in the region was Danang in 1858, and Saigon shortly afterwards. Activity intensified in the late nineteenth century with the concept of French Indochina emerging in 1887, and all of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos came under its 'protection' in 1893. Though many areas were subsequently decolonised, by the end of the nineteenth century France had acquired Algeria, Senegal, Mali, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Morocco, French Somaliland, Madagascar, Chandernagore, Yanam, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé, Longchou, Mengtzu, Simao, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Burkina Faso, Benin, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Tunisia, French Indo-China, and Niger.

¹³⁶ David Spurr. *The Rhetoric of empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 64.

¹³⁷ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British Empire included (not an exhaustive list): Amboina (acquired in 1615), Anguilla (1650), Antigua (1632), Bahamas (1629), Barbados (1625), Berlice (1638), Bencoolen (1685), Bermuda (1609), Guyana (1620), British Virgin Islands (1666), Canada (1763), Cape of Good Hope (1795), Cayman Islands (1670), Dominica (1763), Gambia (1661), Gibraltar (1704), Ghana (1621), Grenada (1609), India (acquired throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), Ireland (1169), Jamaica (1655), Malacca (1795), Malaya (1786), New South Wales (1770), Norfolk Island (1788), Pitcairn Island (1790) and St. Helena (1658).

Territories in the Orient became so valuable to France's economy that in 1880, ten years after defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, Gabriel Charmes concluded that if there were no longer to be a French presence in the Orient, 'one of the most fruitful sources of our national wealth [would] be dried up.'¹³⁸ With the navy, Pierre Loti visited East Asian and Pacific regions such as China, Japan, Thailand, and Tahiti; and some of these assignments were directly linked to colonial or diplomatic activity.

The popular ideology of colonialism

A very influential motivation for acquiring territories was economic growth. However, public acceptance and support being important to the maintenance of a colonial empire, the 'public' face of France's colonial operations was quite different. It revolved around the two notions of *la mission civilisatrice*, 'the quest to civilise,' and '*rayonnement*,' 'enlightenment' or 'lighting the way for others.' The ways in which these maxims placed colonial activity in a positive light by emphasising the role of France as a helper and protector of less fortunate or developed countries saw colonialism generally accepted and supported by the French public, including those likely to have read and enjoyed Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*. It also cultivated attitudes that people in the colonies were indeed in need of 'enlightenment' and therefore of a less civilised, or 'lower' breed of humanity. Amongst the general populace only very superficially aware of the colonial process, essentialism saw such attitudes commonly extend to countries in the same general region as the colonies, whether or not these were actually colonised. It will be seen at various points throughout this study how these were extrapolated onto Japan.

The concept of the 'white man's burden' emerged whereby it was not uncommon for people from Western countries to believe themselves morally obliged to help the 'savages' of the colonies along the path to civilisation. Rudyard Kipling wrote the ballad 'The White Man's Burden' in 1899 in response to the American take-over of the Philippines, and the title became a common slogan throughout Europe during the early twentieth century. It reached a very wide audience and was used, for example, in an advertisement for Pears' Soap appearing on the inside front cover of the October 1899 edition of *McClure's Magazine*. The cover has a picture of Admiral George Dewey washing his hands with Pears' Soap, accompanied by images alluding to colonialism such as a 'native' being given soap by a 'civilised' European, and bearing the text: 'The first step towards lightening The White Man's Burden is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness. Pears' Soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilisation advances while amongst the cultures of all nations it holds the highest place – it is the ideal toilet soap.'¹³⁹

That Pears' Soap chose to use the idea of the 'white man's burden' in advertising suggests the commonness, general acceptance, and indeed popularity of the concept. As will be demonstrated in Part III, a number of travellers to Japan appear to have extolled the virtues of cleanliness as they wrote about the dirtiness of the Japanese and, in particular, of their lodgings. This type of popular

¹³⁸ Said. *Orientalism*, p. 219.

¹³⁹ Pictured on: 'Lightening The White Man's Burden: Pears' Soap.' Jim Zwick (ed.). <http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai/kipling/pears.htm>. Accessed 23 August 2002.

manifestation and 'promotion' of racist ideology is known as 'populist racism,' and it contrasted with the 'scientific racism' that will be later outlined and was based on 'scientific' proof of another people's inferiority.¹⁴⁰

Due to slogans such as *la mission civilisatrice*, *rayonnement*, and the 'white man's burden,' much of the general public of the nineteenth century believed that rather than managing colonies out of motivations such as economic and diplomatic gain, France did so from a moral obligation to raise the standard of living in societies not as civilised or mature as its own. The notion of colonised peoples being child-like, naïve, and in need of protection became widespread, and occurred in both scientific and populist racism.¹⁴¹ The philosopher Leroy-Beaulieu likened the 'protector' role of the coloniser to that of a parent caring for an infant they had given life to: 'A society colonizes, when itself having reached a high degree of maturity and of strength, it procreates, it protects, it places in good conditions of development, and it brings to virility a new society to which it has given birth. Colonization is one of the most complex and delicate phenomena of social physiology.'¹⁴²

In *Madame Chrysanthème*, the protagonist writes that he would consider a Japanese wife 'comme un enfant à moi confié,' like a 'child committed to my care,'¹⁴³ mirroring and possibly extending to a non-colonised country the colonial mentality that it was France's duty to nurture those societies 'to which it has given birth.' Spending most of his working life serving in the French navy during a colonially ambitious period, Loti would have been very familiar with, and indeed perhaps even a promoter of the ideologies concerning colonialism which percolated throughout French society.

The extrapolation of colonial ideology onto Japan

Geographic essentialism saw many nineteenth-century western travellers extrapolate colonial ideologies onto Japan and the Japanese, something reflected in examples of writing of the period that will later be discussed in more detail. Briefly, a common reason for being in Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century was to help in its modernisation, which contributed towards some Western workers regarding Japan as a country in need of being 'taught' or civilised by those from regions superior in learning and development. This was particularly the case with the *oyatoi gaikokujin* or 'hired foreigners' who were directly employed by the Meiji government as advisors. Some wrote openly of Japan undergoing a process of learning from the West. For example, the strongly Christian, American educator Captain Leroy Lansing Janes who taught in Japan from 1871–1878 and 1893–1899 wrote that '[Japan] was never asleep, but always stolid, stubborn, doltish in her selfishness and

¹⁴⁰ See: Michael Pickering. *Stereotyping: The politics of representation* (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave, 2001), 126 ff.

¹⁴¹ See: Pickering. *Stereotyping: The politics of representation*, 122 ff.

¹⁴² Said. *Orientalism*, p. 219.

¹⁴³ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 65; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 46.

arrogance and has been justly and righteously whipped into her place in the column of progress by the might and onward march of true civilization.’¹⁴⁴

The philosophy involved in the West taking a protector role over Japan’s people and society was particularly strong amongst missionaries who believed religious conversion to be necessary for civilising a ‘savage’ people such as the Japanese and saving them from their inevitable demise. For example, Clara Whitney, who lived in Japan from 1875–1900, wrote in her diary on 13 April 1879 that ‘Mr. Tsuda said that without religion Japan with its science was like a jinrikisha with but one wheel, while with religion, science would bear Japan smoothly on to true civilization,’¹⁴⁵ and ‘Christianity brings with it not only true learning, but civilization, wisdom, and, above all, purity of heart and life which is so needed in Japan.’¹⁴⁶

Western perceptions of the comparative degree of development of European civilisation were reflected in common usage of the word ‘savage’ to refer to the Japanese, particularly those encountered in rural or northern Japan. For example, when she visited an Ainu hut in Biratori in 1878, the Scottish explorer Isabella Bird (1831–1904) wrote: ‘... eastern savagery and western civilisation met in this hut, savagery giving and civilisation receiving, the yellow-skinned Ito the connecting-link between the two, and the representative of a civilisation to which our own is but an “infant of days.”’¹⁴⁷

Humanitarian aid, often interwoven with religion, was also considered a method of civilising and providing ‘enlightenment’ to colonised societies, an attitude that again was extrapolated onto the Japanese. For example, Mary Hugh Fraser who was in Japan between 1889 and 1894 was involved in projects such as the Catholic orphanage and school in Tsukiji, the Anglican Missionary School of St. Hilda’s, and the Red Cross. As with many others in a similar position, Fraser seems more to have observed, rather than participated directly in humanitarian work. For example, she writes of the nuns at

¹⁴⁴ Cited in: Donald Richie. *The Honorable visitors* (Rutland: Tuttle, 1994), p. 31. Original source details not given.

¹⁴⁵ Clara Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara’s diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan* (New York; Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979), p. 234.

¹⁴⁶ Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara’s diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 295. See also: Isabella Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko* (London: John Murray, 1911), p. 242.

¹⁴⁷ Isabella Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko* (London: John Murray, 1911), p. 242. It is important though that Bird’s use of ‘savage’ not be reaccentuated against the socio-linguistic norms of present-day society. In Victorian England, ‘savage’ was in much more common and less pejorative usage than it is amongst English-speakers today. In addition to going to Japan in 1878, Isabella Bird also travelled to Australia (1872), New Zealand (1872–1873), Hawaii (then the Sandwich Islands, 1873), the mainland of North America (1873, of particular notoriety is her book *A Lady’s life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879), concerning her experiences in Colorado), Malaysia (1878–1879), India (1889), Persia (1890), China and Korea (1894–1897), and her final trip was to Morocco in 1901 at the age of seventy.

Tsukiji that: 'The work these dear women do is most interesting, and I sometimes go and spend hours in the Convent, looking at the girls' sewing, or sitting in the quiet chapel.'¹⁴⁸

The administrative and popular manifestation of colonialism in France

Concerning the practicalities of maintaining a colonial empire, the administration necessary to support French colonialism was immense and exerted a vast and extremely diverse influence on many areas of French society. Of particular relevance to this study, people went to live and work in the colonies, trade infrastructures developed, and knowledge of aspects of the colonised societies including their geography, language, and the physical characteristics of the inhabitants were acquired, institutionalised, and popularised.

France had a particularly large colonial bureaucracy because it was characteristically French people who administered and governed colonies, and they generally preferred that local inhabitants adopt French practice, rather than govern themselves according to their established customs.¹⁴⁹ French administrators were sent to colonies, and usually large foreign settlements developed where the expatriate community lived an essentially French life: they ate French food, spoke French, published French-language newspapers, imported a lot of household items and foodstuffs, and educated their children at the international schools. In Part III, it will become apparent that this lack of integration with the local community was commonly the case with Westerners living in the foreign settlements in the Japanese treaty ports. Such an infrastructure involved local workers serving in capacities including housemaids, nannies, chefs, and chauffeurs, and many of these positions were live-in. 'Native' workers were also employed as manual workers in industries such as the railroads and agriculture which France had an economic interest in developing. A further group trained as soldiers for the French army to provide manpower, whether this was for anticipated wars, for subsequent colonial activity, or to provide a 'police force' should domestic uprisings occur. As will be seen in Part IV, groups of expatriate workers living overseas influenced aesthetic movements such as japonaiserie and japonisme because when they returned to Europe they would often return with accumulated local goods, and these unusual items stimulated interest in colonised countries, and were sometimes gifted to heritage institutions such as museums and art galleries.

In the home society, colonialism stimulated the establishment of various learned and geographical societies concerned with study of colonised countries and the non-Western world in general. Formal study added respectability to colonial activity by making it seem more substantial and credible due to association with the conventionally esteemed façade of academic knowledge and its connotations of responsible inquiry and objective, fair, and 'correct' analysis. During the late nineteenth century, societies and organisations such as the *Société académique indo-chinoise*, *Comité de l'Asie français*,

¹⁴⁸ Mary Hugh Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan: Sketches at the turn of the century* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), p. 48.

¹⁴⁹ This approach contrasted with that of the British administrators who integrated comparatively highly in the 'local' infrastructure and enabled some local inhabitants to hold administrative and/or governmental positions.

Comité d'Orient and the *Société Asiatique* were established, and the motto of well-known universities reflected this shift towards scientific knowledge being 'good' and powerful. For example, the motto of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies at the University of London is 'Knowledge is Power.' The qualifications necessary to be considered a 'genuine' scholar of the Orient became increasingly high, and by 1850 most major universities had departments offering Oriental studies.

Alongside colonialism and the growing, diversifying social and political Orientalist discourse came an increase in literature concerning the Orient, and particularly European colonies. Much of this aspired to serious scholarship, particularly works produced by those with associations with the knowledge societies that emerged, or those directly involved in colonial administration. A lot too though was popular literature which aimed to entertain the reader by presenting the Orient as a mysterious, exotic, alluring, and antithetical place compared to the European society from which they wrote. Irene Szyliowicz (1988) writes of the 'colonial literature' which developed during the nineteenth century:

Many of the books written about far-away places were situated in the colonies, and a whole new literary genre emerged – that of 'colonial literature'. . . . this literature includes fiction or non-fiction written either by tourists or by local inhabitants. Many of these observers had only a superficial knowledge of conditions, and wrote of their limited experiences and impressions 'not absolutely to create a true work, a colonial work, but rather to entertain the public, and toward that end it [was] necessary to represent the country as exotically as possible.' Thus, picturesque descriptions, couched in clichés, regardless of geographic, sociological, or physical accuracy, impressed the uninitiated. These fantasies perpetuated the myth of the exotic.¹⁵⁰

Orientalist 'colonial' literature was not only a product of colonialism, it also functioned to reinforce and promote it, whether consciously or not. A lot of fiction of the period reinforced the status quo that the Orient was the developing and quaintly exotic antithesis of the West which had the duty of helping their colonies reach maturity and prescribing the eventual nature of that maturity. 'Colonial literature' may not have consciously been aimed at promoting colonial mentality by the inclusion of, for example, lengthy passages extolling its virtues, rather it achieved this somewhat subversively as authors such as Loti were 'shaped' by their extra-textual political environment. Subsequently these writers began 'shaping' society by producing literature which accepted, expressed, and reinforced these assumptions.

'Scientific racism' and its various manifestations

The various manifestations of colonialism contributed towards an increase in interest in exotic, distant, and antithetical peoples with whom Europeans had previously had very limited intellectual or physical contact. This interest in non-white peoples also reflected and further generated a general shift towards a positivist approach where rational knowledge and scientific analysis were valued over metaphysical or non-scientific reasoning. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, anthropologists and scientists began establishing classification systems for the natural world, which evolved to include humans.

¹⁵⁰ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 37.

Eventually, anthropometrical measurements were used to establish racial hierarchies that in turn reinforced and indeed stipulated the grounds upon which 'lesser' races existed. A particularly important aspect of anthropometrics was craniology, a branch of which used dimensions of the human skull to categorise people into races, and then to ascribe certain meta-physical characteristics to these particular groups. The founder of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, the Anthropological Society of Paris (1859), Paul Broca wrote of the connection between physique and intellect that ' . . . craniology provides not only first order characteristics for distinguishing between and classifying the subdivisions of humankind; it also provides precious data on the intellectual worth of these partial groups.'¹⁵¹

Social biology and scientific racism were generally accepted unquestioningly by the ordinary person, as the literary critic Lionel Trilling writes: 'racial theory, stimulated by a rising nationalism and a spreading imperialism, supported by an incomplete and mal-assimilated science, was almost undisputed.'¹⁵² Various theories concerning aspects of human evolution were formulated by scholars such as Charles White (1799), F. Jacob (1812), and Ernst Haeckel (1868), and an example of one particularly advanced, detailed and well-known system that directly influenced the development of biological theories later to emerge was that devised by the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778). Linnaeus' system was initially published in 1735 as *Systema naturae*, and was subsequently revised and re-published as *Philosophia botanica* (1751) and *Species plantarum* (1753). The Linnaean classification system allowed for the classification of all plants, known or unknown, according to the nature of their reproductive parts. By 1758 Linnaeus had diversified his writing to include six groups of human races, characterising them, both physically and morally, as follows:

- a. Wild Man. Four-footed, mute, hairy.
 - b. American. Copper-coloured, choleric, erect. Hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide; face harsh; beard scanty; obstinate, content, free. Paints himself with fine red lines. Regulated by customs.
 - c. European. Fair, sanguine, brawny; hair yellow, brown, flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with close vestments. Governed by laws.
 - d. Asiatic. Sooty, melancholy, rigid. Hair black; eyes dark; severe, haughty, covetous. Covered with loose garments. Governed by opinions.
 - e. African. Black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Hair black, frizzled; skin silky; nose flat, lips tumid; crafty, indolent, negligent. Anoints himself with grease. Governed by caprice.
- A final category of the "monster" included dwarfs and giants (the giants of Patagonia were still a firm reality), as well as man-made "monsters" like eunuchs.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Paul Broca, 1866, p. 7, cited in: S. Macdonald (ed.). *The Politics of display: Museums, science, culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 37.

¹⁵² Cited in: Said. *Orientalism*, p. 232. Original source: Lionel Trilling. *Matthew Arnold* (New York: Meridian Books, 1955), p. 214.

¹⁵³ Cited in: Pratt. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, p. 32. Original source of points a to e: Foucault. *The Order of things* (New York: Pantheon, 1970).

1859 marked publication of the *Origin of the Species* by Charles Darwin (1809–1882). This was to become an extremely well-known book on biological theory, and was translated into French in 1862 by Clémence Royer. In 1871 it diversified to include humans, and was published as *The Descent of Man*. Darwin's various theses were met with opposition from certain sectors of society such as religious groups, and caricatures of him were published in popular magazines like *The Hornet* (1871), yet they were vastly influential. This is due partly to their scientific basis, as well as potential uses. Darwin's ideas evolved into 'social Darwinism' through the work of scientists such as Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) who used them to argue that some races, such as negroid ones, were biologically pre-disposed to 'lower' social functions because they were less evolved than other races. Spencer, who coined the term 'survival of the fittest' in 1866, is particularly interesting for this study because the Meiji government consulted him concerning national policies in 1892. Part of his advice was that the Japanese should avoid inter-breeding with Westerners and maintain a 'pure' race.¹⁵⁴

In Europe, theories of social Darwinism most probably reached a large section of the nineteenth-century populace: for example, *Social Evolution* (Benjamin Kidd, 1894) sold 250,000 copies,¹⁵⁵ and when it went on sale on 22 November 1859, the 1,250 copies of *Origins of the Species* all but sold out.¹⁵⁶ A very influential French social biologist was Joseph Arthur Gobineau (1816–82), whose work '*Essai sur l'inégalité de races humaines*' (1853–55; translated as 'The inequality of human races' in 1915) was an early example of a French thesis on the supremacy of white, Aryan races. Gobineau generally asserted in his works that white races were those that created history, and coloured ones merely borrowed it. He maintained that inter-breeding diluted races, weakening their power to create 'new' history.

The popularity of these classification systems saw increasing numbers travel specifically to measure and categorise non-white peoples, and one example is Isabella Bird who took detailed cranial measurements of the Ainu people in Hokkaido. The curiosity of those not in the situation to travel to distant places was satisfied and indeed encouraged through cultural avenues such as literature, or ethnographic displays. In a French literary context, it was particularly African races that were written about, and they were commonly likened to animals: physically, intellectually, and spiritually. Loti was an author well-known for his exotic novels or travelogues concerning non-western peoples such as those from Turkey, Tahiti, Japan, Egypt, Morocco, and Thailand. His *Le Roman d'un Spahi* (1881, *The Story of a Spahi*) had a particularly strong influence on popular French conceptions of physically distant peoples. It is set in Senegal and centres on a Wolof girl, Fatou-Gaye, whose 'animalistic' exoticism captured the imagination of the many French people who read it. W. Cohen (1980) writes of *Le Roman d'un Spahi* that:

¹⁵⁴ Kenneth Henshall. *A History of Japan: From stone age to superpower* (Houndmills; London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 78.

¹⁵⁵ Pickering. *Stereotyping: The politics of representation*, p. 120. Kidd's *Social evolution* promoted the biological strength of the Anglo-Saxon races over the Negroid ones.

¹⁵⁶ 'Darwin's Timeline,' (no author given). http://www.aboutdarwin.com/timeline/time_07.html#0030. Accessed 31 January 2003.

The racial views of the physical anthropologists, who saw the physical appearance of the black as bestial and thus proof of a lowly position in the chain of being, were developed furthest by Pierre Loti in his well-known, dream-like, exotic novel, *Roman d'un Spahi*, published in 1881. According to Roland Lebel, Loti's novels crystallized French thought on exoticism and, according to Fanouh-Siefer, they specifically defined French thought on Africa. . . . One of the main themes of [*Le roman d'un Spahi*] is that blacks are unnatural, animalistic, and akin to apes in both their physical appearance and their behaviour. *Roman d'un Spahi* had a widespread influence, going through eight editions in the first seven years; subsequently, in less than a century, it has been printed in 150 editions. Read by young and old, it was popular enough to be made into a musical that was presented at the Opéra Comique in 1897.¹⁵⁷

Popular curiosity in the non-white 'other' was satisfied by the ethnographic displays at museums and universal expositions (as will be detailed in Chapter Twelve), and the 'human zoos' where 'natives' from areas such as the Caribbean and Somalia were imported to live in large enclosures and to go about their traditional lives. 'Human zoos' were particularly popular between 1877 and 1914, and the historian Régis Guyotat estimates that from twenty to thirty per cent of the French population are likely to have visited them.¹⁵⁸ Approximately two thousand 'natives' were traded by a handful of merchants to 'stock' the zoos, and the phenomenon spread to countries such as England and Germany.¹⁵⁹ The French writer Aimé Césaire (b. 1913) argued that '*colonisation = chosification*,' 'colonisation = objectification,' and the literal transformation of colonial 'natives' into objects to be studied or simply looked at demonstrates the validity of this statement, as well as the link between colonisation and the taxonomy and 'aestheticisation' of races.

Though it does not appear that Japanese people were used in such pseudo-scientific entertainment, 'human zoos' did spark a curiosity about non-European races in general that was most probably extrapolated onto the Japanese. Occasionally touring Japanese circus or entertainment troupes provided European audiences with a showcase of the Japanese physique, and an early example was an acrobatic group that visited Europe in 1867. Interest in the Japanese in particular was intensified by the extreme paucity of knowledge of the country and its people because of the *sakoku* or 'national seclusion' policy in force from about 1639 to 1853.

Colonialism and the diverse ideologies it relied on as well as their various manifestations increasingly exposed nineteenth-century French people to the concept of an 'other' world inhabited by people very different in culture and physique from themselves. Essentialism and simple ignorance saw curiosity extend to non-colonised countries such as Japan. It was to be the industrialisation of the second half of the nineteenth century that made the actual, first-hand experience of foreign cultures more participatory and within the reach of increasingly broad groups of society. This industrialisation, and the ways in

¹⁵⁷ W. Cohen. 'Scientific Racism,' from *The French encounter with Africans 1530–1880* (1980), pp. 237–262. Source: (no author given). <http://www.ru.ac.za/academic/departments/history/Cohen.htm>, accessed 13 October 2002, pp. 5–6.

¹⁵⁸ Régis Guyotat. 'Zoos humains,' *Le Monde* 16–17 January: p. 12, 2000.

¹⁵⁹ Guyotat. 'Zoos humains,' *Le Monde* 16–17 January: p. 12, 2000.

which it interacted with the nature and appeal of japonisme and japoniserie will be the subject of Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

Industrialisation and life in nineteenth-century Paris

.... getting away from home brings a welcomed variety to a consistent life. Life in an urbanized and industrialized society is especially predictable because it requires that so much be reduced to organized routine. The pace of life is sometimes much too hectic. The routine and the frenzy produce a monotonous tension that can only be reduced by seeking stimulation in the novel, the surprising, the unpredictable.¹⁶⁰

Various aspects of nineteenth-century industrialisation impacted on the development, nature, and appeal of japonaiserie and japonisme. They also made the very movements possible. This examination of the interaction of japonaiserie with industrialisation and life in nineteenth-century Paris aims to provide one context in which the 'cutting edge' of japonisme and japonaiserie flourished. It also delineates the living and social environment of a large proportion of Loti's readers, something that influenced their phenomenological response to a text concerning Japan. Paris is the focus because it was the French capital of art, fashion and consumerism, as well as the location of the biggest international expositions in France that played an important role in exposing the general public to the art and cultures of distant places. The city is also where most of the major museums and art galleries housing Japanese objects were located, and was the centre to which artists working in all genres gravitated to produce, exhibit, and sell their work. Most of Loti's readers are likely to have been urbanites for the two main reasons that people who read about Japan are likely to have become interested in it from exposure to the items of japonisme or japonaiserie available mainly in the cities; and also because literacy and income levels were generally noticeably higher in the cities than in rural areas, and relatively high levels of both were necessary to be able to enjoy reading.

Industrialisation

The Western industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in vast social and ideological changes for all strata of European society. Countries such as Britain and France evolved from being predominantly agrarian societies where most of the population was rural and scattered, to industrialised countries with high numbers and increasing proportions of the population living and working in the rapidly-expanding cities. In particular, the development of steam-powered railway travel saw cargo capacity increase and transportation times decrease. This meant that produce could be relatively quickly transported around the country, which in turn stimulated production aimed at sale beyond the local market. In addition and as will be discussed in Chapter Seven, use of the same technology by travel companies such as Thomas Cook & Son greatly stimulated the development of popular leisure travel and an interest in the 'outer' world.

¹⁶⁰ Edward Mayo and Lance Jarvis. *The Psychology of leisure travel: Effective marketing and selling of travel services* (Boston: CBI, 1981), p. 165.

Nineteenth-century French japonisme and japonaiserie owe much of their popularity and appeal to the nature of the setting in which they flourished: the rapidly-growing urban centres. Life for many in the city was characterised by poor living and working conditions, particularly for those of the lower middle-class. The speed at which urban housing had been built to accommodate the large numbers flooding into the cities to work commonly resulted in sub-standard dwellings. Work environments tended to be severe because factories generally had poor ventilation, hours were long with few, if any, breaks, and jobs tended to be manual, dangerous, repetitive, and intellectually numbing. In addition, pay rates were generally low, though usually still higher than in the agricultural sectors. Only the richer group of this working class are relevant to this study because the poorest could not afford to buy items of consumer japonaiserie nor, would many of them have had the motivation, time, or degree of literacy to read works such as Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*. The next level 'up' were manual workers with more responsibility, or those in low managerial positions who still lived in relatively poor conditions, yet were certainly above the poverty line. To generalise, these groups were generally the poorer end of people who consumed items of japonaiserie (they did not tend to have an interest in japonisme), and for the purposes of this study they will be the movement's target group of the lowest financial situation. As will be seen through the various socio-political manifestations of japonaiserie and japonisme, the movements found popularity with people in diverse groups ranging upwards in affluence from this point to include royalty. Briefly, income rose according to responsibility and, in general, the less physical labour involved in a job, the higher the wage. Wealthier than top-level professionals such as business owners, managers, and doctors, were those with inherited wealth, or the aristocracy and royalty.

The negative effects of poor living and working conditions saw many urban-dwellers seek to escape the monotony of their everyday lives. The introduction of statutory holidays in the early 1870s and developments in technology facilitating leisure travel saw those who could afford it satisfy an urge for the out-of-the-ordinary by taking day-trips to the country or seaside. Those who could not afford long holidays but still earned more than the bare minimum were a potentially large market for producers of japonaiserie that alluded to an idyllic, Edenesque, rejuvenating, exotic country. Cheap items evoking pre-industrial societies such as Japan's were one way in which the average urban worker could experience the 'exotic and fashionable' world beyond.

The industrial revolution and the urbanisation born of it may have led to poor urban living and working conditions and environments, but it also had positive outcomes. Two of particular importance to this study because they stimulated japonaiserie and japonisme were the facilitation of mass-production, and the revitalisation of Paris into a dynamic centre of culture and elegance during the reign of Napoleon III (1808–1873).

Relatively quick and cheap mass-production, one of the most influential and lasting achievements of the industrial revolution, interacted with japonaiserie and japonisme in two important ways. Firstly, it made possible the production of large quantities of items of japonaiserie sufficient to stimulate and meet demand, while remaining affordable for the average middle-class person. For, in addition to directly imported goods, the majority of japonaiserie was mass-produced in the European factories staffed by and catering to Westerners. Had mass-production not been possible, it is unlikely that items of japonaiserie would have been as commercially exploited, cheap, and therefore popular as they were. Eventually the success of this quick turnover was to contribute towards its demise: the market became saturated with characteristically low quality goods, which saw items of japonaiserie shift from being fashionable novelty to commonplace kitsch.

Secondly, mass-production contributed towards the popularity of items of japonaiserie because their bright, lively, and exotic nature contrasted with the plainness more characteristic of high, quick, and cheap turnover. Functional objects such as plates, bowls, and furniture had become all alike; while fine, hand-painted decoration remained the realm of the wealthy. As will be elaborated in Part IV with respect to japonisme in the expensive decorative arts, the Japanese design philosophy of both form and function being important in an object, rather than just function, exerted a large influence on European artists working in the decorative fine arts. For example, some began to incorporate aesthetically-pleasing sinuous lines into items such as vases which might otherwise have remained plainer, or have been over-ornately decorated. For those who could not afford expensive items of japonisme yet sought distracting, bright decoration, mass-produced items of lively japonaiserie were one alternative.

Life and leisure in late nineteenth-century Paris

Life in Paris during the late nineteenth century was greatly changed by the revitalisation of the city partly necessitated by the wave of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century urban migration. Under Napoleon III (emperor from 1852 to 1870), Baron George Eugene Haussmann (appointed *Prefet de la Seine* in July 1853), and a team of architects and designers, Paris was to undergo a major revitalisation during, in particular, the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This 'face-lift' not only improved the appearance of the city, but it also possibly helped raise the morale of its inhabitants as they had a more pleasant environment in which to live, work, and spend their leisure time. As Paris became an increasingly attractive and accessible city to live in, the general mood of its citizens perhaps lifted too, with the years between 1890 and 1914 being known as *La Belle Époque*, a period which was partly characterised by a spirit known as *joie de vivre*, or the 'joy of being alive.' Without industrialisation, the city would probably not have grown to the extent it did, and furthermore it would not have been technologically possible. It is useful to very briefly outline life in nineteenth-century Paris in the late nineteenth century, with a focus on the leisure activities of its inhabitants, to demonstrate the social context in which Parisians consumed japonisme, japonaiserie, and Pierre Loti's Japanese travel writing.

Fundamental achievements of the revitalisation project included standardising residential and commercial buildings, creating a network of accessible, heavy-duty roads able to move traffic

efficiently and be navigated easily, and improving municipal services. Accessible and attractive public out-door spaces were created, with the Seine River becoming one of the city's major features: wide pedestrian promenades and bridges were made, and cruises for sightseeing, lunch, or dinner became a popular pastime for the upper and middle classes. The number of public zoos and parks also increased, with the 2,137 acre, widely-used Bois de Boulogne being gifted to the city in 1852 by Napoleon III.

While pedestrian Paris became popular for people during their leisure time, the more than eighty boulevards whose construction Baron Haussmann oversaw ensured that the city also had a developed, strategic, and efficient mass-transport network. Haussmann has been much celebrated for the *Place de l'Étoile*, a series of twelve avenues radiating from the *Arc de Triomphe* in central Paris, and a particularly popular boulevard was the Boulevard des Italiens that became a fashionable walking spot. Paris started to become the centre for both national and international arrivals and departures. Train stations were modernised and expanded to cater for the increasing number of passengers resulting from the extension of railway lines: for example, in 1855 the railway linking Paris, Lyon, and the Mediterranean opened, and in 1883 the Orient Express started services between Paris and Istanbul. Steamship services between France and New York stimulated the development of a transport network capable of transporting passengers from the port where they docked to inland Paris, the most common final destination. In 1898 construction of the city's metro underground train network began, and this is an example of a civic project dating from this period that remains a hallmark of Paris to the present-day.

Increasing numbers of urban-dwellers had some disposable income and also the time to partake in leisure activities. The leisure activities of nineteenth-century Parisians, and indeed Europeans in general, varied according to class, with people generally tending to emulate as much as possible the habits of the class to which they aspired to belong. The leisure activities of the upper and middle classes are of most relevance to this study because Loti's readers primarily belonged to these groups.

A very popular pastime was watching live entertainment. The wealthy saw operas at opera houses, some of which were newly built such as the *Opéra de Paris Garnier* that opened in 1875, and opera-going became a social occasion where the audience dressed in their finest clothes and used the outing as an opportunity to socialise with and impress others of their class. For example, *La Belle Saïnara* (Ernest d'Hervilly), a Japanese-themed production, showed at the Parisian Odéon in 1876 and at the Comédie Française in 1893.

Much more popular, numerous, and less expensive than the opera houses were the *café-concerts* that emerged throughout Paris, particularly in and around the area of Montmartre. *Café-concerts* were eating and drinking establishments where patrons usually paid a cover-charge for live entertainment, and then could buy food and drink whenever they pleased, and more 'informally' than at a restaurant. Enhancing the appeal and novelty of the *café-concerts* was that they were frequented by people of all classes, and so were good places to mix with others outside one's normal social group. Though

entertainment varied between establishments, there was a common emphasis on the spectacular and unusual, and shows included plays, musicals, poetry readings, circus acrobats, dancers, jugglers, and fighters such as the 'Kangaroo Boxer' who performed at a well-known *café-concert* called Folies Bergère. Given the nineteenth-century penchant for the unusual, it is likely that at some time during the height of the fashion for things Japanese, *café-concerts* would have featured Japanesque theatrical or acrobatic acts such as Kawakami Otojiro's troupe which toured Europe several times in the early 1900s. They certainly featured advertising posters influenced by and visually reminiscent of the composition of *ukiyo-e* prints, as will be discussed in Part IV.

Other popular leisure activities of the middle and upper classes included picnic luncheons, river cruises along the Seine, going to the races, taking walks along the new boulevards of Paris, visiting art galleries and museums, the circus, hosting parties, and attending balls and soirées. Some of these were in costume such as the Arab and Medieval dinner parties hosted by Pierre Loti. Reading too became increasingly popular as a leisure activity as improvements in education saw literacy rates rise, and advances in technology meant that newspapers, journals, and books could be mass-produced, which resulted in them becoming cheaper and more widely accessible. One tactic used by newspapers and weekly journals to increase readership was to include cultural features, and well-known, popular writers such as Loti were commissioned to produce articles for them. As will be elaborated in Part IV, a Japanese influence or flavour was to permeate diverse areas of the leisure activities popular during the nineteenth century. Moreover, the various effects of the popularisation of travel further encouraged interest in distant, novel, exotic countries such as Japan whose perceived nature contrasted with life in urbanised and industrialised Europe. After all,

Travel is an effective antidote to the stresses of urbanization and industrialization. In this sense . . . it is more a necessary escape than a voluntary exploration of the world in which we live. One might say the need for variety is among the most basic of travel motivations.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Mayo and Jarvis. *The Psychology of leisure travel: Effective marketing and selling of travel services*, p. 165.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Travel or *travail*? Nineteenth-century leisure travel

Drawing sketches, painting water-colours, taking photographs, and above all recording information and impressions in diaries and notebooks, served not only to authenticate the presence of the tourist at the scene—and thereby confer representational authority but also to confirm that from such a viewpoint the jumble of ruins in the landscape could be brought to a visual and textual order.¹⁶²

This chapter aims to locate Pierre Loti's experience in Japan as a traveller within the gamut of contemporary European travel to exotic places. Amongst the diversifying leisure activities that became possible at home, travel both domestic and international became accessible to an increasing proportion of the population. By the time that Pierre Loti visited Japan in 1885, popular leisure travel was well developed on the European continent and to places further afield such as the Middle East, Asia, North America, and Japan. It is important to remember, however, that its distance and relative cultural opaqueness resulting from the *sakoku* period meant that Japan did not become as popular a tourist destination as did closer places such as Egypt or those on the European continent. This chapter is concerned with establishing the background context to nineteenth-century leisure travel, and tourism to Japan in particular will be examined in Part III. Nineteenth-century leisure travel is important to the present study because of the attitudes and expectations it formed concerning the outer world, including Japan. Furthermore, in evaluation of Loti's personal rejection of Japan in *Madame Chrysanthème*, it will be seen that some of the anti-tourism attitudes emerge.

Early travel

Particular aspects of nineteenth-century ideology and life experience as discussed in earlier chapters interacted with and stimulated the growth of popular travel. One outcome of the classification systems whose number and breadth increased during the nineteenth century was travel for the purposes of scientific research, whether for pure knowledge, or to justify, for example, colonisation. Travel for scientific research included mapping the earth's landmasses (in its very early stages); determining the natural resources of its 'interiors,' often for commercial interests; and observing, recording, and classifying the humans, animals, and flora and fauna of distant, relatively unknown countries, as did Isabella Bird. Leisure was to become an increasingly common motivating factor for travel for the average person. Until about the second half of the eighteenth century, leisure travel was still a rare and largely individual undertaking that was limited to a wealthy or relatively highly educated elite for the sake of bettering oneself. It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century when the so-called

¹⁶² Cited in: James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds.). *Writes of passage: Reading travel writing* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 135.

'grand tour' became widespread amongst the wealthy that the institutionalisation of organised travel primarily for leisure purposes began.

The grand tour was undertaken by upper-class young men and was considered akin to a finishing school that broadened the mind because the traveller saw different cultures and well-known sites, as well as experiencing the complications and possible discomforts of travel. Another function for some of embarking on a grand tour was to distinguish between the upper and lower classes. As travel became more popular however, this means of maintaining a distinction was threatened, so destinations began to diversify, with the most well-off travelling further and further afield. Eventually, it was developments in rail travel in particular that were to see the end of the grand tour as an institution for the wealthy, because travel by railway was faster and more convenient than by diligence or foot, and destinations became crowded with tourists. 'Overcrowding' by tourists denied the student on a grand tour the experience of 'authentic' foreign cultures unpolluted by western contact, while faster travel lessened the time available for the traveller to make detailed, philosophical observations—for many a fundamental aim of a tour. R. S. Lambert argued that 'it was speed that killed the grand tour, as it was slowness, that is time for leisurely travel, that made it what it was.'¹⁶³

Fundamental to the popularisation of leisure travel were the scientific advances of the industrial revolution. Travel by its very definition involves moving from place to place, and accordingly public transport was necessary for the existence of a mass or popular tourism infrastructure. This was even more the case in the nineteenth century than it is today because it was very rare for individuals to own their own transport capable of travelling long distances. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, developments in both Continental and international European trade increasingly necessitated reliable, quick methods of transporting produce over long distances. Three major modes of transportation that were to develop were stagecoach (or diligence), railway, and steamship, with travel by railway effectively replacing that by stagecoach. All three were initially developed to increase efficiency for transporting mail, produce, or cargo, but ultimately evolved into major modes of passenger transportation. The diversification and structural improvements of roading and railway tracks saw inland travel become quicker and cheaper, and shipping increasingly provided a means to travel to the world off-shore. The year 1816 marked the first passenger service across the English Channel, and by 1840 about 100,000 passengers were making the crossing annually.¹⁶⁴ By 1875, the average crossing from Liverpool to New York had shortened from about two weeks to eight and a half days.¹⁶⁵ The integration of land and sea services was fundamental to the popularisation of leisure travel because the development of each individual mode was of limited value unless it could connect smoothly with others and thereby facilitate multi-stage journeys.

¹⁶³ R. S. Lambert (ed.). *Grand tour* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935), p. 12, cited in: Robert de Traz, and the Swiss office for the development of trade. *Switzerland: Land of peace and liberty* (Lausanne: Swiss office for the development of trade for the Swiss government, 1981), p. 4.

¹⁶⁴ James Buzard, *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 41.

¹⁶⁵ Piers Brendon. *Thomas Cook: 150 years of popular tourism* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Limited, 1991), p.180.

The expanding travel industry

As options increased for passengers' modes of transport and destinations, travel agents emerged to help people organise their travel. Generally speaking, an agent's function diversified from offering services such as booking and organising payment for tickets towards being companies which coordinated the traveller's entire experience, simply requiring them to pay a set fee, for which transport, accommodation, meals, and often guided sightseeing would be provided. The organisation of group tours lessened the danger, discomfort, time, and money involved in travel that had previously been fraught with difficulty.

The most well-known and expansive of the initial group of major nineteenth-century European travel agents was Thomas Cook, which became Thomas Cook and Son in 1871 when John Cook was granted full partnership.¹⁶⁶ Initially excursions were mainly within the United Kingdom, but with demand and improved transportation networks itineraries expanded to include the outreaches of the European continent, Iceland, the Orient, Asia, North America, and even Australia and New Zealand to where Thomas Cook started advertising tours in 1879. Thomas Cook first led trips to France in 1855, and by 1872 tourists could visit Japan on a 212 day world tour. Thomas Cook was also very effective at liaising with locals at their tour destinations, many of whom the company employed in various capacities such as staff on their Nile steamers, or guides across Swiss alpine passes. Thomas Cook also forged strong and commercially advantageous ties with some local governments, and the case of Egypt in particular was an example of a strategic interaction and interrelationship between tourism and colonialism.¹⁶⁷

Because of both the increasingly diverse range of destinations and the local ties Cook maintained, the company was extremely well-known throughout the world, and a culture both for and against the 'institution' emerged. This was seen strongest with respect to destinations where its presence was

¹⁶⁶ Though Thomas Cook is generally considered the most 'important' travel company with respect to the development and popularisation of leisure travel during the nineteenth century, there certainly were other companies in operation during the period who provided travel to a wide range of middle class people. Examples include: Dean & Dawson (founded in 1871), John Frame's tours (1881), Quentin Hogg's Polytechnique tours (1886), and Sir Henry Lunn's tours (1893). A major rival of Thomas Cook's by virtue of their size and the similarity of services offered was Gaze and Son. By 1890 this company had ninety-four offices around the world while Cook had eighty-four, and eighty-five agencies. Gaze and Son had actually taken three excursions to the Holy Land before Thomas Cook did, but the company went bankrupt in 1904.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Cook's first tour to Palestine and Egypt was in the spring of 1869, and the following year the company was appointed by the khedive as the official government agent of passenger travel on the Nile. Soon Thomas Cook was given the mail commission, and by 1880 the company had exclusive control of Nile transportation. Thomas Cook also organised transport for casualties during the Arabi Pasha revolt of 1882 and undertook transport and supply for the massive effort of 1884–5 to evacuate Khartoum and relieve General Gordon.

Thomas Cook's strategic establishment of diverse Egyptian ties resulted in the company being perhaps the largest supplier and developer of Western tourism in Egypt: it had its own steamboats, built hotels, paid for maintenance of historic sites, and employed a massive staff, both Egyptian and European. Cook's tourism to Egypt was to reach epic proportions: by 1872, the firm had taken 400 people to Egypt, 230 to Palestine, and in 1873 alone 200 travelled on the Nile. In 1879 John Cook asserted that over three quarters of British and American visitors to the Holy Land had travelled with the company, and by 1882 Thomas Cook had taken 5,000 visitors to Palestine (Brendon. *Thomas Cook: 150 years of popular tourism*, p.135).

particularly visible. On a positive side, one fundamental achievement commonly accorded the Thomas Cook travel 'empire' was its promotion and development of cultural egalitarianism with respect to travel. With its continuously diversifying range of destinations and 'tiers' of holiday packages, group or individual travel became within the reach of increasing groups of upper and middle class people where once it had been the domain of the wealthy. Also adding to the popularity and success of Thomas Cook's tours was that the company took care to maintain group 'prestige' (a motivating factor in leisure travel that will be discussed later) and to ensure the comfort of its patrons, and often the contrast between the living conditions of tourists and those of the local inhabitants was extreme. Maxine Feifer writes as follows of the stark contrasts between the tourists' living arrangements while on holiday in the Holy Land compared to those of the 'natives,' differences characteristic of most nineteenth-century travel to pre-industrial lands:

The squalor of the natives' living arrangements was in maximum contrast with the tourist's own, a contrast which emphasized the luxury of the latter. At the end of each day, her party arrived at their halting place to find camp already pitched: twenty-one handsome blue sailcloth sleeping tents, three large tents for dining, the Union Jack flying jauntily from each. In the dining tent, there would be camp chairs, candles, and linen napery (one had the same numbered napkin every night), and a generous meal to rival the best *table d'hôte*: roast mutton, goose, chicken, fried potatoes, tea, pudding, and fruit. The sleeping tents – three ladies per tent – were arabesqued with Oriental patterns, floored with Turkish carpets, and had real beds with iron bedsteads. After a sleep sweetened by the sounds of the desert, the six o'clock bell sounded, and an attendant provided a bathtub with hot and cold water. At breakfast, featuring tea, coffee, milk, eggs, fresh bread, chicken, and cutlets, the sides of the dining tent were rolled up so one could watch the desert turning rosy and golden; and four or five hours later, after an exhilarating morning ride, lunch would be served on carpets under a palm grove, followed by a siesta. Domestic help was plentiful at home, but the tourist had never been so sumptuously outnumbered by servants as this; she felt like royalty.¹⁶⁸

From a more negative perspective however, Maxine Feifer (1985) writes that tourists visited more a '... world created by Cook'¹⁶⁹ than they did actual Egypt, and G. W. Steeven's remarked that '... the nominal suzerain of Egypt is the Sultan; its real suzerain is Lord Cromer. Its nominal governor is the Khedive; its real governor ... is Thomas Cook and Son.'¹⁷⁰ Pierre Loti's *Egypt or La mort de Philae* (*Egypt or The Death of Philae*, 1909) is full of sharply critical references to the hordes of British tourists on Thomas Cook tours. For example he writes:

A guide, with a droll countenance, recites to them the beauties of the place, bellowing at the top of his voice like a showman at a fair. And one of the travellers, stumbling in the sandals which are too large for her small feet, laughs a prolonged, silly little laugh like the clucking of a turkey. . . .¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Maxine Feifer. *Going places: The ways of the tourist from imperial Rome to the present day* (London: MacMillan, 1985), p. 191.

¹⁶⁹ Feifer. *Going places: The ways of the tourist from imperial Rome to the present day*, p. 195.

¹⁷⁰ Pudney. *The Thomas Cook Story*, 212–13; Turner and Ash, *Golden Hordes*, 56, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 324.

¹⁷¹ Pierre Loti (W. P. Baines, trans.). *Egypt (La mort de Philae)* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1923), pp. 20–21.

Amenities at popular destinations developed to support the growing number of leisure travellers. These included hotels, restaurants, public toilets, walkways, souvenir shops, and currency exchange facilities. Places that had once been predominantly residential began to be dotted with inns and hotels, rail companies built hotels at major stations to ease transit, and whole 'resort towns' emerged such as Bournemouth when British railway was extended past Southampton. Amenities purpose-built to cater specifically to the non-Asian tourist or visitor to Japan tended to be western in style, rather than Japanese. This led to the attitude of both the Japanese and Westerner such as Loti that Japan was losing its traditional culture to modernisation and westernisation, an area that will be discussed in Part III partly with respect to the extravagant government spending on institutions such as the Rokumeikan dance hall and the nationalist or conservative factions that opposed this.

Informative guidebooks

Though informative guidebooks had existed well before the nineteenth century, during this time their production increased, and the places that they covered diversified. In 1836 smaller, more convenient, and portable so-called 'handbooks' were introduced by John Murray II,¹⁷² and two very well-known series were those published by the House of Murray and by Karl Baedeker & Sons. Guidebooks or handbooks served a number of functions: they told those actually travelling how to reach a destination, advised what to see and do once there, provided information on a destination's history and customs, as well as satisfying the curiosity of armchair travellers. The popularity and commonness of guidebooks is reflected in their appearance in a lot of nineteenth-century literature, usually in the context of being the 'symbol' by which the tourist was identifiable, or as a trusty companion and source of reliable information for the traveller or tourist far from home.¹⁷³

Writing about foreign countries soon diversified from being primarily informative to including anecdotal personal memoirs. These were sometimes serialised or published in their entirety in popular newspapers, magazines, or the journals of travel agents such as Thomas Cook's *Excursionist* (begun in 1851), whilst others were published as books, or some even as both. Writers had memoirs published from a number of situations: some travelled specifically to write and have a travelogue published upon their return, some travelled for other reasons but planned while away to produce a memoir, others kept records of their daily activity which later attracted interest from an outside party and were published (often the case with diplomats), while some had no plans to write but incidentally produced a memoir

¹⁷² Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 66.

¹⁷³ For example, in *Little travels and roadside sketches* (1844–45) William Makepeace Thackeray wrote the following of Murray's *Handbook for travellers on the Continent*:

Much delight and instruction have I had in the course of the journey from my guide, philosopher, and friend, the author of 'Murray's Handbook.' He has gathered together, indeed, a store of information, and must, to make his single volume, have gutted many hundreds of guide-books. How the Continental ciceroni must hate him, whoever he is! Every English party I saw has this infallible red book in their hands, and gained a vast deal of historical and general information from it (cited in: James Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 75).

upon their return. *Madame Chrysanthème* is an example of a work stemming from the second circumstance.

Travel memoirs were in high demand from a number of publishing outlets: magazines and newspapers could use travel writing to boost sales and credibility with exotic and quasi-scientific articles; travel companies could use them as an advertising ploy; and publishing houses such as Calmann-Lévy regarded them as a profitable 'side-line.' Travel writing became very lucrative in the nineteenth century, and its relationship with travel was somewhat symbiotic or formed a 'cyclic ritual,' as James Buzard (1993) discusses with reference to British travel to the European continent:

Travel literature about the Continent seemed to grow in almost self-perpetuating fashion because it was both a symptom and contributing cause of the new atmosphere of the crowd. Travelling and reading were seen to complement each other, constituting a cyclic ritual in which readers both shaped their expectations and relived their past travels, through texts. It had long been true that preparatory readings—not only of travel books but of histories, poems, plays, novels—could help to establish future travellers' expectations; that travel could test those expectations; and that further reading could strengthen remembered expectations and experiences, recharging the reader's sense of having accomplished something meaningful by travelling. But nineteenth century visitors to the Continent had to reconcile the essentially repetitive nature of *acculturating* tours—to places known and valued in one's own culture—with that countervailing 'adversary' pressure to demonstrate some measure of originality and independence. Much of the period's travel-writing on Europe bears the signs of this effort. Writers and readers alike saw themselves moving through a domain of texts, seeking the complex satisfaction of participating in a process of cultural accreditation while also standing aloof from such participation as a form of imitation.¹⁷⁴

Some well-known authors who considered their travels more 'authentic' and their writing of a higher quality than those of the 'ordinary' tourist bemoaned the growing volume of travel literature because of the ensuing difficulty of achieving 'some measure of originality' from the ever-increasing crowd of authors. As will soon be seen, Pierre Loti was certainly a traveller who aimed to 'demonstrate some measure of originality and independence' by such means as living amongst the locals at a destination, and interspersing foreign words and phrases in his travel texts. Furthermore, the success of his travel writing becomes more notable when it is remembered that it was published at a time when travel writing was becoming very common. *Madame Chrysanthème* and other nineteenth-century writing on Japan will be examined in the coming chapters, rather than at the present point whose purpose has been to introduce the concept of travel-writing so that examples concerning Japan, particularly *Madame Chrysanthème*, can be seen in their wider context.

Motivations for travel

Certain characteristics of the lifestyle of the upper and new urban middle class population stimulated various reasons for travel which are akin to the set of 'deep psychological needs' that tourism meets as

¹⁷⁴ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*, pp. 160–161.

expounded by Chris Ryan (1991) in *Recreational tourism: a social science perspective*.¹⁷⁵ Some of the eleven factors he develops—the escape motivation, relaxation, play, strengthening of family bonds, prestige, social interaction, sexual and educational opportunity, self and wish fulfilment, and shopping—can be used to help understand nineteenth-century attitudes towards leisure travel and the distant, antithetical world. Furthermore, some of the same underlying principles also apply to the nature and appeal of japonaiserie.

Ryan defines the ‘escape’ motivation as the ‘wish to get away from a perceived mundane environment.’¹⁷⁶ For the bored elite, travel could be one way in which to escape the tedium of daily life, and this group could afford to take lengthy holidays to distant destinations. Contrastingly, for the groups of the lower middle classes the escape motivation was driven by the desire for change from long hours of monotonous and repetitive work. Its manifestation was generally in day trips, though as travel cheapened the middle class citizen could venture increasingly further afield. Similarly, items of lively japonaiserie could provide a contrast to a ‘perceived mundane environment.’ For example, this is reflected in *Manette Salomon* (de Goncourt Brothers, 1866) where an album of bright *ukiyo-e* prints lifted the protagonist’s mood as he flipped through them on a grey, Parisian day.¹⁷⁷

A ‘wish for recuperation’¹⁷⁸ as Ryan defines the ‘relaxation’ motivation was naturally common amongst industrial workers who became tired both physically and mentally from working long hours, and leisure time spent away from the home and workplace was one way of meeting this need. Both the activities at the destination and the process of travelling itself could constitute leisure activity, and places formally limited to basic lodging facilities grew into resorts offering a diverse range of leisure activities. The very existence of resorts dedicated to serving the tourist helped promote the idea that leisure was something that could be enjoyed by travelling away from home, and so the concept of the leisure holiday became more common. The international expositions or fairs which will be described in Part IV were grand-scale entertainment venues often visited for relaxation, and they were also where many people encountered their first taste of Japan, japonisme, and japonaiserie.

Prestige was, and still is, an important motivating factor in both the choice of destination and the duration of a holiday. Nineteenth-century Europe was very much a class-dominated society and travel was one way in which people could establish or maintain class differences, or ‘better’ their position within a class. Generally speaking, the prestige and status gained from a trip increased proportionately to the distance from home one travelled and the time spent away. Destinations oscillated in and out of fashion: for example, internationalisation and a well-developed tourism infrastructure catering to Europeans saw Egypt, for a time, perceived as a holiday destination akin to the winter resorts of Monte Carlo and Cannes.

¹⁷⁵ Chris Ryan. *Recreational tourism: A social science perspective* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 25–29.

¹⁷⁶ Ryan. *Recreational tourism: A social science perspective* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 25.

¹⁷⁷ See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature 1800–192*, 70 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Ryan. *Recreational tourism: A social science perspective*, p. 25.

As well as foreign travel meeting the psychological 'need' for prestige amongst one's peers in the home society, hierarchies could also be established within a travelling group, or between the group and the locals of their destination. As Ryan remarks: '[the] desire for status enhancement need not necessarily be confined to one's peers back home. It can also be met by the role within the group of holidaymakers, or by the group creating a group identity whereby they perceive themselves as being superior to other groups of tourists, or the members of the host society.'¹⁷⁹

Such prestige or status within a travelling group could be gained by measures such as a tourist's class of steamer cabin, their clothes, or the amount they spent on handicrafts. Tourists creating '... a group identity whereby they perceive themselves as being superior to ... the members of the host society' was a fundamental characteristic of nineteenth-century tourism to places such as Egypt, and was strongly tied to the colonial and racist ideology discussed in Chapter III. Typical of nineteenth-century travellers was reaccentualising the 'natives' of places they visited against the physical and behavioural norms of their home society, which easily led to foreign people and cultures being considered 'subnormal or ridiculous.' Alec Hargreaves' (1981) elaboration on this is useful in illustrating the link between the level of a country's military or industrial development and Ryan's notion of groups of tourists creating '... a group identity whereby they perceive themselves as being superior to ... the members of the host society':

A more basic form of ethnocentricity on which the colonial movement draws is the general tendency to conceptualize the outside world in terms to which one has become habituated in one's society of origin, which is taken as the norm from which other cultures deviate. It is only a short step from a position in which other life-styles are regarded as abnormal or exotic to one in which they are regarded as subnormal or ridiculous; concepts of empirical normality pave the way for value judgments flattering to one's own culture. These in turn provide ideological support for more militant forms of ethnocentricity: a 'superior' civilisation accords itself the right to interfere with other societies if they are weaker than it. Indeed, successful intervention in the affairs of other societies tends to become its own justification, for it undeniably reflects a superiority of strength in the expanding society; although military or technological strength is not necessarily indicative of moral or spiritual superiority, such an equation is easily drawn.¹⁸⁰

In particular, some tourists from countries such as Britain and France that had expanding colonial empires and mechanised industries equated their home country's superior 'military or technological strength' with superior 'moral or spiritual' values and practices, as has been seen in Chapter III concerning colonialism. The distance between tourists and locals that both tour operator and tourist alike generally welcomed was one way in which to assert the group's prestige and their 'superiority' over the local inhabitants. For example, Elizabeth Butler, a visitor to Egypt in the winter of 1885–6 illustrated the common perception of Western superiority over the East when she wrote: 'Travelling

¹⁷⁹ Ryan. *Recreational tourism: A social science perspective*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁰ Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 10.

thus on the Nile you see the life of the people on the banks, you look into their villages, yet a few yards of water afford you complete immunity from that nearer contact which travel by road necessitates; and in the East, as you know, this is just as well.'¹⁸¹

Other aspects such as the luxury of travelling conditions, tourists' clothing, and how much they spent on local goods further reflected and established the 'prestige' of the travelling group, distinguishing them from the 'natives' of their holiday destination. Likewise, despite living with Chrysanthème in the Nagasaki suburb of Diou-Djen-Dji, the protagonist in *Madame Chrysanthème* maintains a distinct emotional separation or detachment from the Japanese people. Though the protagonist would like to consider himself as participating in the culture surrounding him as he did in other works and attempted to an extent in *Madame Chrysanthème* as he writes of the experiences being 'married' to a Japanese woman afforded him, he is in fact more an observer. His concept of a polarity of eastern and western peoples that emerges throughout the travelogue (discussed in Part V) is highly reminiscent of attitudes such as Butler's. In addition, Loti's detachment from Japan is reflected in how neither he nor his protagonist writes of wearing 'local' clothing while in Japan, despite this having been Loti's custom while in non-western places.

Concerning japonisme and japonaiserie, there was certainly prestige to be gained from owning items of high quality, expensive japonisme. For example, exclusive companies such as the jewellers Tiffany and Co. (New York) included Japanese-influenced designs in their pieces for the status these could afford the buyer. This was not so much the case with items of cheaper japonaiserie however.

For any tourist travelling on an organised group excursion meant social interaction with people who were likely to share similar interests. It also is likely to have provided a welcome change from spending working time alongside the same set of fellow workers. This represents a shift from 'frame' to 'attribute' groupings: 'frame' groups are those prescribed by relatively unavoidable social grouping mechanisms such as place of work, while 'attribute' groups are chosen according to shared attributes or interests (Chie Nakane, 1970). The latter type of group tends to bond better than the former, and was what tourists may have welcomed being part of while on holiday.¹⁸² Tourists socialised with others in the group whilst in transit (this was facilitated by improvements in the comfort of rail and boat travel for example), as well as upon reaching the destination because tour operators generally encouraged patrons to socialise amongst themselves rather than with locals. The fact that groups of tourists, particularly those to foreign destinations, had very limited 'meaningful' or 'authentic' contact with the local population meant that readers of authors such as Pierre Loti, who claimed a high level of interaction with local inhabitants, were likely to have believed and been very impressed by the seemingly 'authentic' and rare insight into 'genuine' foreign culture that he provided them with.

¹⁸¹ Butler 1909, p. 55, cited in: Duncan and Gregory (eds.). *Writes of passage: Reading travel writing*, p. 121.

¹⁸² See: Chie Nakane. *Japanese society* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970).

Self fulfillment is another motivation Ryan describes. It functioned for the nineteenth-century traveller in much the same way as it does for their present-day counterpart: it was more a product of having been abroad and away from one's usual cultural environment than a decisive factor in choosing a destination. It seems that such was the case with Loti in Japan: as will be discussed in Part V, being in Japan (and writing about it) seems to have functioned for the author as a method of introspection more than it did an experience of living in a distant country. In the travelogue's dedication, Loti even writes that the three main characters are 'moi, le Japon, et l'effet que ce pays m'a produit,' 'myself, Japan, and the effect produced on me by that country.'¹⁸³ Two out of three of these 'protagonists' directly revolve around Loti, and none concerns the Japanese people with whom his supposed interaction lent his travelogue commercial success.¹⁸⁴

Attitudes towards popular travel

As with those concerning the Thomas Cook travel 'empire,' attitudes towards the development of mass or popular travel and its effects on well-frequented destinations varied widely. On the positive side, cheaper and easier travel that made the world more accessible was warmly welcomed. Alternatively, some adopted a strongly negative approach because of the changes that large numbers of visitors inevitably wrought on destinations. James Buzard (1993) writes as follows of the polar attitudes towards popular travel and the technology that facilitated it that emerged:

From the start, the question of the new technology tended to generate extreme positions. On the one hand, it was said, technology would enable the common tourist to receive a due share of the world's natural and cultural treasures, thus contributing to the spread of the greatest good for all; on the other, speed and lower cost would foster the bad mental habits of the 'pilgrims of fashion' who could not sufficiently appreciate what they went to see, and whose presence ruined what they saw for those others who *could* appreciate it. Tourist destinations would either prosper unproblematically from the introduction of improved roads, railways, and steamers that brought tourists to them, or they would become incurably corrupted. The truth lay between, in a complex middle ground. The greater freedom to travel, offered to a greater number, was real, but it was gained only by reconstructing 'freedom' within an infrastructural and cultural network that limited the actual field of choices. By the same token, the benefits of tourism to its favoured places were also real ones; but they were frequently to be had only at the cost of substantial changes in culture and society—changes spurred and symbolized by steam power and the tourists who rode it.¹⁸⁵

On a positive side, the popularisation of leisure travel and the excitement, change, discovery, and awareness of the outer world it allowed fulfilled certain psychological needs as discussed by Ryan. Most commentators lauded travel companies such as Thomas Cook that arranged all of the logistical

¹⁸³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 43; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 5. Emphasis is Loti's.

¹⁸⁴ There was a contrasting group however, whose primary motivation for travelling was to attain some specific aspect of self fulfillment: for example, some made pilgrimages to Biblical sites to strengthen their Christian beliefs during a time when science and industry were challenging them. Among them, in 1894 Pierre Loti made such a visit to the Holy Land in search of the faith that continued to elude him.

¹⁸⁵ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, pp. 46–47.

details and made the world accessible to ever diversifying groups of people by harnessing the ‘common light of science:’

. . . God’s earth, with all its fullness and beauty, is for the people; and railways and steamboats are the results of the common light of science, and are for the people also. Those who wish to live for themselves only, and to have the exclusive enjoyment of earth’s provisions, had better make a tour to Timbuctoo, or to any other uninviting regions, where the people will not think it worth their time and money to follow them. The best of men, and the noblest of minds, rejoice to see the people follow in their foretrod routes of pleasure. . . .¹⁸⁶

Contrastingly, and more relevant to Loti’s approach to Japan (and travel to the non-western world in general), there emerged a distinct counter-group neither enthusiastic nor welcoming of the intrusive changes that tourism imposed on cultural and geographic landscapes. The distinction between ‘traveller’ and ‘tourist’ emerged. Typically, those who considered themselves ‘travellers’ were traditional and conservative in their outlook, and believed that tourism spoilt and intruded upon once romantic areas such as the Lake District of Britain or the pyramids of Egypt. The ‘traveller’ travelled independently of tour companies, and generally considered his or her experiences more authentic, genuine, and meaningful than those of the ‘tourist.’ ‘Travellers’ typically resented the increasing accessibility of once remote places because they became overrun with tourists being escorted from site to site, and their authenticity was lowered not only by the physical presence of tourists, but also by the infrastructure which emerged to cater to them. James Buzard (1993) writes:

. . . . tourists were also seen as the unwitting harbingers of unwelcome modernization, the insidious agents of transformative power. While they passed ‘superficially’ through districts they little knew nor long remembered, they none the less profoundly altered those districts by virtue of their numbers, their dissemination of cliché responses, and their patronage of new, obtrusive institutions—like hotels, railway lines, and ‘macadamized’ roads—which irrevocably altered the landscape. In contrast, the traveller was to seek the double goal of attaining a distinctly meaningful and lasting contact with the visited place that would none the less make no constitutive changes, leave no imprint of force behind.¹⁸⁷

The ‘true’ traveller’s conception of travel was rooted in the word’s French origin ‘travail’ meaning ‘work’ or ‘hardship,’ and they considered the broadening of the mind which resulted from discovery of new people and places as a reward or product of having had to work independently to reach and explore a destination, rather than having merely been transported there effortlessly as part of a package tour. In addition to deploring the effect that tourists and the infrastructure of transport and amenities had on the landscape, a particularly strict breed of traditionalists even thought that the very nature of modern travel—in particular rail travel—contributed towards mental laziness. A train literally skimmed over the countryside, and so it was believed by some that the tourist’s perception of and engagement

¹⁸⁶ *Cook’s excursionist and international tourist advertiser* (London: Thomas Cook Archive, 6 June 1864), pp. 5–6, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 45.

¹⁸⁷ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 28.

with the landscape was just as superficial and passing. There was also the 'risk' of passengers becoming bored or distracted as the foreground sped past them, and that they may consequently concentrate on what was inside the carriage rather than engage with the passing scenery. John Ruskin wrote that ' . . . all travelling becomes dull in exact proportion to its rapidity,' and remarked that 'A man who really loves travelling would as soon consent to pack a day of such happiness into an hour of railroad, as one who loved eating would agree . . . to concentrate his dinner into a pill.'¹⁸⁸ Ironically, this view could also be supported by the very scientific discourse that made faster travel possible: Dolf Sternberger argued that a train's speed

. . . blurs all foreground objects, which means that there no longer is a foreground—exactly the range in which most of the experience of pre-industrial travel was located. The foreground enabled the traveller to relate to the landscape through which he was moving. He saw himself as part of the foreground, and that perception *joined* him to the landscape . . . Now velocity dissolved the foreground, and the traveller lost that aspect.¹⁸⁹

Travellers most likely to be opposed to rail development were those who could afford the time to amble by foot or diligence through the countryside and savour the solitude that travelling independently far from home afforded them. For example, development of the Swiss alpine region came under much criticism from those whose enjoyment of the solitude and 'authenticity' of hiking amidst chalets and small villages was threatened by hotels and railroads, as well as the increasing number of tourist groups in the area. Leslie Stephen wrote that such developments made 'the very name of the Alps, so musical in the ears of those who enjoyed their mysterious charm, [suggest] little more than the hurry and jostling of an average sight-seeing trip,'¹⁹⁰ while the actress Fanny Kemble wrote in 1877 that:

. . . the present mode of travelling detracts much from its pleasure, in consequence of the vast crowds of people one meets in every direction. The inns or hotels, begging their pardons, are all like palaces (gin palaces, I think I ought to say), magnificent, flaring, glaring, showy, luxurious in all their public apartments but noisy, disorderly, dirty and quite deficient in comfortable *private* accommodation. . . . To the attractions of these huge houses of entertainment are added musical bands, illuminations, fireworks, balloons, spectacles of every kind, *besides* that of the sweet, solemn, and sublime natural features of the beautiful scenery—all which seems to me very *vulgar*—bread and butter, and pâté de foie gras, and marmalade and jam, and caviar, one on top of the other.¹⁹¹

Criticism was also levied specifically at individual travel organisations, and the popularity of Thomas Cook saw it a common target because it came to symbolise mass leisure travel (this very aspect also

¹⁸⁸ *Modern Painters*, Vol. III, Part IV ('Of many things'), in *The works of John Ruskin* (Cook and Wedderburn, 1904), v. 370–1, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 35.

¹⁸⁹ Dolf Sternberger (Joachim Neugroschel), *Panorama of nineteenth century*, trans. (New York: Urizen Books, 1977), 46; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 61, 63, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁰ 'A Substitute for the Alps' (1894), in: S. Ullman (ed.), *Men, books, and mountains: essays by Leslie Stephen* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), p. 204, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 34.

¹⁹¹ Cited in: Feifer. *Going places: The ways of the tourist from imperial Rome to the present day*, pp. 178–179.

made it very popular however). Thomas Cook was well aware of the significant currents of 'anti-tourism' and took strategic measures to build public goodwill amongst Europeans and non-Western locals alike. For example, they paid for the restoration and maintenance of Egyptian historical relics, and their foreign branch offices employed local staff rather than solely British.

Three commentaries from the period are worth citing at length because they illustrate the different facets of criticism of the rapid developments of popular tourism. As will later be seen, the attitudes in these examples were also expressed throughout Loti's travel writing, including in *Madame Chrysanthème*. *The Times* questioned whether tourists who travelled with Thomas Cook did actually benefit enough from the moral broadening that the company used as a selling-point for its tours to justify the intrusive development of destinations:

The world is not to be altogether reformed by cheap tours, nor is the inherent vulgarity of the British Philistine going to be eradicated by sending him with a through ticket and a bundle of hotel coupons to Egypt and the Holy Land. There will remain persons who ask themselves whether the good experienced by the many compensates for the harm which they inevitably do: whether railways up Pilatus and Bengal lights at the Giesbach are not an unpardonable offence. If only Messrs. Cook could guarantee a benefit to mind and manners as easily as they can guarantee a comfortable journey!¹⁹²

The novelist Charles Lever wrote of the passivity and laziness that Thomas Cook promoted in his tours, on which everything was done for the tourist, in February 1865 in a column 'Cornelius O'Dowd,' published in 'Blackwood's Magazine':

It seems that some enterprising and unscrupulous man has devised the project of conducting some forty or fifty persons, irrespective of age or sex, from London to Naples and back for a fixed sum. He contracts to carry them, feed them, lodge them, and amuse them. . . . In a word, they are to be 'done for' in the most complete manner, and nothing called for on their part but a payment of so many pounds sterling, and all the details of the road or the inn, the playhouse, the gallery, or the museum, will be carefully attended to by this providential personage, whose name assuredly ought to be Barnum!¹⁹³

Charles Lever wrote in the same column of the stereotypes that Thomas Cook travel formed of the European continent, and how tourists who had paid their due sum had fixed expectations of what they were to see. Rather than experience an 'authentic' Europe with its surprise encounters, tourists commonly demanded those sites that they had been 'promised' in the brochures, and the version of the European continent, for example, that British tourists returned home with was an embellishment or distortion of the reality. It was 'Cook's Europe,' a place where travellers often ate English food, talked only to others in their touring party, stayed in international hotels, and generally were exposed only very superficially to the 'reality' of European life and people. Lever writes:

¹⁹² Jon Evans (ed.), *Abroad: A book of travels* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1968), p. 23, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*, p. 60.

¹⁹³ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*, p. 60. Original source: 'Continental Excursionists,' *Blackwood's Magazine* 97/594: p. 230, 1865.

. . . it is not merely that England swamps us with everything that is low-bred, vulgar, and ridiculous, but that these people, from the hour they set out, regard all foreign countries and their inhabitants as something in which they have a vested right. They have paid for the Continent . . . and they *will* have the worth of their money. . . . Europe, in their eyes, is a great spectacle, like a show-piece at Covent Garden; and it is theirs to criticize that performance and laugh at the performers at will.¹⁹⁴

Having predetermined expectations of a country, people, and cultural experience was a common characteristic of consumers of japonaiserie, and one to which its producers such as Loti pandered. This group had a fixed image of Japan that they expected to encounter on items of japonaiserie, in travel writing such as Loti's, and in the rare event that they actually visited the country, recalling Buzard's concept of a 'cyclic ritual.' Many even likened Japan proper to its depiction on items of japonaiserie, as will later be discussed. By and large, as long as the familiar images were presented and re-presented these consumers would be satisfied.

Pierre Loti as a nineteenth-century traveller

Loti's attitudes towards travel tended towards the critical end of the spectrum, and permeate much of his writing. The author would certainly have considered himself a 'traveller' who sought out and achieved 'meaningful and lasting' local experiences, rather than a 'tourist' as part of a group herded to and from places they 'little knew nor long remembered.' There are a number of significant differences between the travelling experiences of Loti and the typical European tourist and even 'anti-tourist' though. Firstly, most of the author's travel (including that to Japan) was with the French navy and so he did not have to pay for or organise it himself, relying instead effectively on the resources of the navy for services such as transport, accommodation, and meals. Loti was therefore not restricted to a tourist infrastructure when travelling but a naval itinerary, and he had a relatively high level of independence while on shore leave. The author visited many more places than did—or could—the average nineteenth-century traveller or tourist, and these tended also to be further away than the usual tourist destinations. The fact that spatial distance was commonly equated with temporal distance¹⁹⁵ combined with the fact that the further away a place was fewer people went there, meant that it is likely that Loti was considered a brave and experienced traveller. Places which Loti visited with the French navy include Easter Island (1872), Tahiti (1872), Hawaii (1872), San Francisco (1872), Montevideo (1872), Rio de Janeiro (1872), Constantinople (1876), Algiers (1883), Colombo (1883), Singapore (1883), Saigon (1883), Nagasaki (1885), Kobe (1885), Yokohama (1885), Morocco (1889), Peking (1900), Angkor (1901), and Egypt (1907).

Because Loti travelled as an officer in the French navy, his accommodation was usually in a cabin aboard ship, unless he were being hosted by the government of the country he was visiting. If that were

¹⁹⁴ 'Continental Excursionists,' pp. 231–2, cited in: Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁵ See: Eric Leed. *The Mind of the traveler: from Gilgamesh to global tourism* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 171.

the case, accommodation would characteristically be first-class, with careful attention paid to such details as meals, heating, and beds. This was even the case when Loti effectively ‘camped’ in places such as Morocco in 1889 when he was selected as a representative of the French Navy to present the credentials of the French minister to the Sultan of Morocco. In *Au Maroc* (1889, and 1890 by Calmann-Levy) Loti writes of how camp-sites were ready by the time the party arrived, and in particular he remarks on the *mouna* they received, food offerings customarily given to high-ranking visiting officials. While the guest of a government, Loti and his fellow officers were generally accorded the treatment of diplomats, and were entertained and very well looked after. This was partly because France was a relatively powerful European nation in the nineteenth century and, in addition to having been a sailor, Loti held such positions as lieutenant and captain in the navy, becoming a member of the prestigious *Académie Française* in 1891. The standard of ‘service’ and entertainment that Loti’s travel arrangements afforded him meant that he is unlikely to have had much experience of the encumbrances encountered by early nineteenth-century travellers such as dishonest guides or poor accommodation. Loti would, however, have perhaps not enjoyed as luxurious a standard of accommodation while at sea as his contemporaries did because he was on a naval ship rather than a liner designed primarily for passenger transport. A third accommodation possibility, discussed below, was Loti living amongst locals such as he did in Tahiti, Turkey, and Japan.

Loti tended to spend longer at a destination than did group excursionists passing through. For example, he spent over a month in Nagasaki in 1885, and spent more than four months in Constantinople in 1876. Part of Loti’s travelling time was spent fulfilling naval duties, but when not required to work, his travel memoirs and personal diary suggest that he occupied himself by exploring the local neighbourhoods, and trying to form ‘distinctly meaningful and lasting contact’ with the local community. In Turkey, for example, he rented a house and dressed in Turkish clothes, making him considerably less conspicuous than the standard tourist dressed in Western clothing travelling in a group. As will be discussed in Part V, Loti’s Japanese experience was outwardly an example of integration with the locals as his protagonist married and lived with Chrysanthème, yet he failed to engage meaningfully with the Japanese people surrounding him. To whatever degree he took advantage of it, the very fact that Loti seemed to be generally able to choose his accommodation and lodging-type means that compared to many of his contemporary travellers he had a relatively large degree of freedom and independence when off-duty and on land.

There is the contrasting opinion, however, that Loti’s freedom while on land when on official navy missions was just as restricted as the average tourists’ because he was a naval officer who had to act in such a manner so as not to bring France into disrepute. Buzard (1993) writes:

And once tourist institutions like Cook’s had gained notoriety, being in the army could seem like taking the most ‘touristic’—that is, least independent—of tours: on a sojourn in some foreign theatre of operations (often the only foreign ‘tours’ which soldiers from the humbler classes would

ever make), one's actions were as fully regulated and imperiously directed as by Cook's itineraries.¹⁹⁶

Loti mentions certain restrictions on his behaviour while in Turkey resulting from the diplomatic tension of the period, and though he may have exaggerated the danger of his liaison with Aziyadé to make his work more dramatic and himself increasingly a romantic hero, it does make contextual sense that Loti's role as a French naval officer would limit his freedom in some instances. When travelling in this capacity, his ability to choose arrival and departure times was certainly restricted, with most of the travelogues based on his actual trips mentioning the call to a sudden and unavoidable departure.¹⁹⁷

Loti's role as a naval officer in one of the most powerful navies of the period also affected his perception of and attitudes towards the places and people he encountered. Loti travelled, interacted, observed, and analysed with an unquestioning assumption of Western superiority, and it appears that the attitudes towards the non-white 'other' that circulated via, for example, the socio-cultural manifestations of colonialism were intensified in Loti by his involvement with the French navy. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the purpose of most naval missions was commonly to assert or maintain French diplomatic authority, and so it is likely that aspects of the philosophy which this drew upon such as those that have already been discussed, would have influenced the thinking of officers like Loti who were promoting them. What is very interesting about Loti is that while it can be immediately deduced from his writing that he generally assumed attitudes of Western superiority and the French culture being 'the norm from which others deviate,' he was against imperialism. These attitudes found particularly strong voice in Loti's criticism of France's main imperial rival, Britain. *L'Inde sans les Anglais*, (1903, *India without the English*) is a work characterised by its criticism of British imperialism, and its dedication to President Kruger has high significance given that the President symbolically represented for many the side against which Britain fought in the Boer War (1899–1902). Loti was against this war probably because he considered it unnecessary British colonial aggression.¹⁹⁸ In addition to *L'Inde sans les Anglais*, Loti's dislike of the British permeates much of his writing, particularly noticeably in *Egypt* (1909) which is saturated with criticism of the British presence in Egypt, and of the mainly British tourists who 'profoundly altered' it with the 'obtrusive institutions' their passage necessitated. In *Madame Chrysanthème* for example, the protagonist writes that the British sailors were 'bien frais, bien gras, bien roses comme des bonshommes en sucre, qui posent avec des airs niais. . . .,' 'fresh, fat and pink like little sugar figures, who pose stupidly . . .'¹⁹⁹

Loti also did not welcome and openly criticised the westernisation and modernisation of non-western countries that colonial or imperial activity could result in. This was not unusual amongst his contemporary travellers as has been seen, and will later be elaborated with respect to Japan. In Loti's case this was perhaps intensified by his personality and in particular those aspects of it that saw him

¹⁹⁶ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 322.

¹⁹⁷ For example in his works on Tahiti, Turkey, and Japan.

¹⁹⁸ See: Blanch. *Pierre Loti the legendary romantic*, p. 242.

¹⁹⁹ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 187; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 252. Ensor's translation has been slightly altered.

fear the passing of time and its power to decay. Citing an example from *Egypt* (1909) at length illustrates that the author's attitudes typify those of the 'anti-tourist' as discussed above:

Farther on, as the carriage proceeds on its course, the scene changes little by little. The streets become vulgar: the houses of "The Arabian Nights" give place to tasteless Levantine buildings; electric lamps begin to pierce the darkness with their wan, fatiguing glare, and at a sharp turning the new Cairo is before us.

What is this? Where are we fallen? Save that it is more vulgar, it might be Nice, or the Riviera, or Interlaken, or any other of those towns of carnival whither the bad taste of the whole world comes to disport itself in the so-called fashionable seasons. But in these quarters, on the other hand, which belong to the foreigners and to the Egyptians rallied to the civilisation of the West, all is clean and dry, well cared for and well kept. There are no ruts, no refuse. The fifteen million pounds [British money given annually for the upkeep of the Nile] have done their work conscientiously.

Everywhere is the blinding glare of the electric light; monstrous hotels parade the sham splendour of their painted façades; the whole length of the streets is one long triumph of imitation, of mud walls plastered so as to look like stone; a medley of all styles, rockwork, Roman, Gothic, New Art, Pharaonic, and, above all, the pretentious and the absurd. Innumerable public-houses overflow with bottles; every alcoholic drink, all the poisons of the West, are here turned into Egypt with a take-what-you-please.

And taverns, gambling dens and houses of ill-fame. And parading the sidewalks, numerous Levantine damsels, who seek by their finery to imitate their fellows of the Paris boulevards, but who by mistake, as we must suppose, have placed their orders with some costumier for performing dogs.

This then is the Cairo of the future, this cosmopolitan fair! Good heavens! When will the Egyptians recollect themselves, when will they realise that their forebears have left to them an inalienable patrimony of art, of architecture and exquisite refinement; and that, by their negligence, one of those towns which used to be the most beautiful in the world is falling into ruin and about to perish?²⁰⁰

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period during which travel was popularised and increasingly diversified. The access to, interest in, and expectations of the outer world that travel and its various products such as travel-writing stimulated and formulated are unlikely to have emerged had it not been for the interplay of the ideologies and attitudes contained in colonialism, and the technological advances of industrialism. The socio-political and cultural life of nineteenth-century European and French people influenced their responses to Japan when they began to travel there in increasing numbers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This group of western visitors or workers in Japan, and the nature of the country they experienced will be the focus of Part III.

²⁰⁰ Loti (W. P. Baines, trans). *Egypt (La mort de Philae)*, pp. 25–26.

PART III

INTRODUCTION

The writing and commercial success of *Madame Chrysanthème* occurred as a result of the intersection of particular historical circumstances. On the one hand and as the foregoing discussion explains, technological developments and the prevailing colonialist ideology increased and facilitated interest in distant places for both actual and armchair travellers. On the other, Japan, which had been politically isolated for two hundred years, had just resumed contact with the Western world. This sparked intense Japanese interest in the West, and conversely a Western interest in things Japanese, which in turn stimulated japonaiserie. While Part II examined the Western context, Part III will now delineate the circumstances in Japan at the time, and what other nineteenth-century Western travellers wrote of their experiences there. It aims to provide a context within which to evaluate Loti's Japanese experience. It will also aid understanding of the comparative extent to which *Madame Chrysanthème* was an item of japonaiserie that edited out the reality of Japan, as well as the extent to which its author personally rejected the country.

Accounts of the experiences of nineteenth-century Western visitors to Japan were essentially the channels through which information concerning the country was transmitted to the West. It was partly from these 'reports' that creators of japonisme and japonaiserie drew their source material—whether in the form of travel memoirs, newspaper columns, or the objects that travellers brought back, exhibited, or stimulated trade in. Many producers and consumers of japonaiserie had never been to Japan, and so the perceptions and images relayed by nineteenth-century travellers were all the information they had. The attitudes and preoccupations they circulated in their home societies essentially became those of japonisme and japonaiserie. In order to examine Loti's travelogue as a work of japonaiserie, one that was 'shaped by' and played a subsequent role in 'shaping' prevailing European perceptions of Japan, it is important that the origins of such perceptions and phenomenological expectations be examined. Thereby, the relative representativeness or otherwise of Loti's approach to the country can later be discussed. Though significant numbers of non-Westerners such as the Chinese also visited Japan during the second half of the nineteenth century, Western visitors are the focus of this study because it is through their accounts rather than those of other visitors that information about Japan was filtered back to Western consumers of japonaiserie.

Chapter VIII is concerned with pre-Perry exchange between Japan and the West, and how this came to be limited to just the Dutch at Dejima. Emphasis will be on areas that subsequently influenced the reception Western visitors received when they later arrived in increasing numbers because how visitors were treated by the Japanese influenced their opinions of Japan. Nagasaki is focused on because this

was where most of the early foreign exchange took place, and more importantly was where Pierre Loti visited in 1885 and later set *Madame Chrysanthème*.

Chapter IX begins with a brief overview of Meiji Japan, and how attempts to modernise resulted in a large number of Western workers being 'imported' into Japan. The experiences of eight major groups of visitors will be discussed: diplomats, government advisors, military servicemen, teachers, doctors, missionaries, merchants, and tourists. Discussion and description of the foreign settlement at Nagasaki will follow.

Chapter X examines the impressions of Japan and the Japanese held by Western visitors such as those discussed in Chapter IX. The travellers cited are those well-enough known to have been likely to have influenced perceptions of Japan and therefore expectations of japonaiserie upon their return via their publications or various socio-political activities and occupations. This chapter aims to demonstrate the origin and nature of the stereotypes of Japan that prevailed and partly formulated consumer expectations of japonaiserie. It will also provide the context in which to evaluate the representativeness of Loti's experiences.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Pre-Perry exchange between Japan and the West

Pre-Perry contact between Japan and the West influenced Western opinions of Japan and the Japanese. Conversely, the persistence of stereotypical images determined the perceptions that the Japanese had of the foreigners who increasingly visited or worked in Japan after *sakoku* ended. The endurance of long-held perceptions was commented on by J. Stafford Ransome in 1899:

The freedom, however, with which this expression ['ketojin,' a derogatory referent for foreigners] is employed by the Japanese of the present day, who usually take it for granted that no foreigner understands anything of their language, makes it very obvious that the spirit of contempt which centuries ago gave birth to this opprobrious title still holds good to a great extent.²⁰¹

Chapter VIII aims to outline the interrelationship between the three areas of the anti-Christian edicts, the *sakoku* policies, and the Dutch settlement on Dejima. Together these shaped the Japanese perception and understanding of the West, and the subsequent treatment of Westerners when Japan's *sakoku* policy ended. Importantly, the period of national seclusion meant that the West knew very little of Japan and so, for a period, authors such as Pierre Loti were able to exploit this in their writings. Had Japan had a relatively uninterrupted trading relationship with the West as had India and China, the craze for japonisme and japonaiserie is not likely to have peaked as intensely as it did in the four or so decades following the establishment of formal trading agreements between Japan and various Western countries in about 1854.

Description and discussion of pre-Perry exchange between Japan and the West will begin with an outline of the series of anti-Christian edicts that resulted from the Tokugawa shogunate's fear of Christianity. Then the *sakoku* or 'national seclusion' policies will be examined in the context of having arisen partly from anti-Christian attitudes, and also as having been the catalyst for the Dutch traders being confined for about two hundred years to the artificial island of Dejima. Examination of life on Dejima will follow.

Early contact between Japan and the West

The first contact between Japan and the West occurred in 1543 when three Portuguese were shipwrecked at Tanegashima Island south of Kyushu. Nagasaki was officially opened as a trading port for the Portuguese by Omura Sumitada, its then leader, in 1571. The port developed into a relatively important mercantile area, and when this was realised by the Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi, he effectively separated Nagasaki from Omura's domains and made it an imperial city, subject to rule

²⁰¹ Stafford Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China* (London: Harper, 1899), p. 79.

from the central Shogunal authorities based at Edo, and a governor or *bugyoo* was stationed there from 1603.

The first Dutch contact with Japan was on 19 April 1600 when the *de Liefde* ('Charity' or 'Love') strayed from course and landed at Bungo on the eastern side of Kyushu.²⁰² The dominance in trade that the Portuguese had thitherto cultivated and enjoyed gradually diminished, and in 1602 the powerful government-sponsored Dutch East India Trading Company (*De Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) was formed. Its aims included establishing diplomatic relations with potential trading partners, and in 1605 the captain of the *de Liefde* was granted a licence by Tokugawa Ieyasu for the Dutch to trade with Japan. Dutch trading took firm root, to the extent that, for example, in 1659 the Dutch ordered 56,700 pieces of porcelain from Japan.²⁰³ During this period, imports from Japan included hemp, camphor, gold, copper, silver, paper, kimonos, dyes, porcelain, lacquer-ware, umbrellas, cane, sake, rice, and soy sauce. Britain also traded with Japan from the port of Hirado after being granted a charter in 1613 by Tokugawa Ieyasu, but stopped of their own volition in 1623 because it was not considered sufficiently profitable. Ultimately, Holland was to be the only Western country allowed to continue mercantile activity with Japan throughout the Tokugawa Era, making it the Western country with the longest history of uninterrupted legal exchange with Japan.

Had Western contact with Japan been limited to matters of trade, it is possible that the tense relations between Portugal, Spain, and Holland on one side and Japan on the other may not have become as strained and subsequently restrictive as they did. However, in addition to mercantile ambition, the Portuguese in particular also had designs of converting the Japanese to Christianity. Shogunal responses to their zealous missionary activity were to result in strict policies banning the religion upon pain of death, massive loss of life, the eventual expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan, and the anti-Christian and national seclusion or *sakoku* edicts. It is pertinent to examine these manifestations of anti-Christian sentiment because they incited and instituted complex attitudes towards foreigners which were to remain with the Japanese for over two centuries and which coloured their subsequent contact with Western countries.

In 1549 St. Francis Xavier (1506–52), a Spanish founding member of the Jesuit Order, established Japan's first Christian mission at Kagoshima. Xavier was the apostolic representative for Asia and had worked in India and Malacca before arriving in Japan on 15 August 1549 with two fellow evangelists. The group hoped to obtain permission to preach the gospel throughout Japan, but were relatively unsuccessful and Xavier left at the end of 1551. He died en route to China, whence he had hoped to travel to convert the Chinese. Though Xavier did not remain long in Japan, Christian activity continued, with some sources estimating that as many as two million Japanese eventually converted to

²⁰²The *de Liefde* was one of twenty-two Dutch ships which set out from Holland in 1598 for the purpose of establishing trade with the Orient. It was captained by Jacob Quaeckerneck and piloted by William Adams (from England).

²⁰³ Oliver Impey. *Chinoiserie: The impact of Oriental styles on Western art and decoration* (New York: Scribner, 1977), p. 93.

Christianity.²⁰⁴ Increasing numbers of *daimyo*, the hereditary feudal overlords of Japan's some 250 domains, converted, and the first *daimyo* to be baptised was Omura Sumitada in 1563. Religious activity did not only involve converting people: hospitals were established such as one by the Jesuits at Funai in 1549, increasing translations were made of Christian religious texts or, more commonly, dictionaries were produced to aid in communicating the gospel. For example, in 1603 the Jesuit Mission Press began publishing a Japanese–Portuguese dictionary, *Nippon Jisho*; and in 1604 the Jesuit missionary Joao Rodrigues started production of *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, 'The Art of the Japanese Language.'

To an increasing extent, Christianity troubled shogunal authorities and incited fears concerning a range of possible outcomes should the religion continue to strengthen its hold in Japan. Most of these concerned challenges to the stability and hence control of the central government. Of the four European nations trading with Japan at the time, the Portuguese were considered the most religiously zealous and thus most potentially dangerous to the stability of the Japanese state.²⁰⁵ Firstly, the Portuguese and Spanish were suspected of having colonial interests in Japan, and missionary activity and conversion was seen as a way in which Japanese society could be infiltrated, paving the way for a subsequent colonisation. Fears of a colonial interest intensified after the Spanish took control of the Philippines in 1571. Secondly, Christianity was considered a challenge to the Shogunal rule because those who were Christian followed a religion generally valuing individual freedom and conscience over the loyalty and obedience to one's superiors that Confucianism promoted. Some Christian *daimyo* even started converting their domains by force, destroying Japanese items of religious significance.

Anti-Christian sentiment in the *bakufu* led to the passing of a series of anti-Christian edicts. The persecutions born of them were numerous, and sources vary on their dates and, in particular, the numbers of Christians martyred. It is generally estimated that about three thousand Christians were killed before the Shimabara Uprising of 1637 (see below), though this figure does not include the many thousands who were persecuted or imprisoned sometimes in excess of twenty years for their belief. In order to ban, limit, or generally control Christianity, shogunal authorities adopted a number of remedial and preventative strategies: the passing of edicts, severe punishment for Christian activity or beliefs, and the publication and distribution of anti-Christian material. Some of the more influential anti-Christian edicts include the (unsuccessful) banning of Christianity and expulsion of foreign priests (known as *bateren*) passed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Hakata on 23 July 1587; the nation-wide banning of Christianity in 1614; and the expulsion of Christian missionaries from Japan in 1616. In the same year foreign trade was limited to the ports of Hirado and Nagasaki, and what had been essentially unregulated residence for Westerners in Japan ended.

²⁰⁴ Grant Goodman. *Japan and the Dutch: 1699–1853* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), p. 11.

²⁰⁵ Though the Dutch were also a Christian people, they were generally considered more temperate in their religion and behaviour, partly because of how they had separated themselves from Roman Catholic Spain through a series of uprisings beginning in 1556.

Punishment for Christians was commonly imprisonment or death and, for example, in 1622 fifty-one Christians were executed in Nagasaki, and fifty were burnt alive in 1624 in Edo. The most thoroughly distributed and well-known example of anti-Christian literature was the *Kirishitan Monogatari* (Christian Tales), produced in about 1639, which the *Kodansha On-Line Encyclopaedia* describes as ‘. . . the progenitor of a profuse genre of Anti-Christian fictional narratives that were widely read during the Edo period (1600–1868).’ As will be elaborated later, the shogunate also banned books written in Dutch with any links to Christianity.

Despite this institutionalised antipathy towards Christianity, conversion continued, with over 60,000 in total becoming so-called *kakure kirishitan* or ‘hidden Christians.’ The systematic persecution of Christian groups contributed towards the outbreak of a major rebellion in 1637 known as the Shimabara Uprising. About 40,000 Japanese Christians occupied Shimabara Castle, and more than 100,000 Japanese government troops were sent to dispel the rebels in an offensive that lasted about five months. The uprising resulted in the massacre of about 37,000 Christians, and also in an intensification of the fear of Christianity’s disruptive power. In particular, the shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (shogun from 1623 to 1641) was a strongly anti-Christian, traditionalist leader. In February 1638 the Dutch demonstrated loyalty to the shogunate by despatching the warship *de Rijk* (‘Hoarfrost’) to their aid during the Shimabara Uprising. Despite this however, the Dutch were primarily considered Christians, and only secondarily as potential ‘allies,’ even if they were generally considered to be more temperate in their religious behaviour.

The era of sakoku or ‘national seclusion’

On the heels of the Shimabara Uprising and under the Shogun Iemitsu, a series of five edicts were passed between 1633 and 1639 that are collectively known as the ‘national seclusion’ or *sakoku* policies. Though sources vary concerning dates and which edicts essentially comprise the official seclusion policies, throughout this discussion use of *sakoku* will encompass the group of policies formulated between 1633 and 1639 that restricted Japan’s intercourse with the Western world.

The first of the policies was a seventeen article directive passed in 1633, and two major stipulations were necessitating a license for any Japanese vessel or person leaving the country, and forbidding expatriates to return to Japan on pain of death unless they had been detained abroad against their will and for less than five years. Investigations of suspected Christians were intensified, and informants were offered rewards for revealing the location of any *bateren*. Ships entering Japan were to be searched for *bateren*, and foreigners who helped a *bateren* or any who should not be in Japan, were to be imprisoned at Omura, now part of Nagasaki. The second series of directives was passed in 1634, and the third in 1635. The third effectively forbade any ships to leave Japan, and if a Japanese were found in the process of leaving or entering the country they were to be executed, with the ship and its captain held while punishment was decided. In addition, the construction of vessels exceeding 500 *koku* (49 gross tons)—effectively ocean-going vessels—was prohibited. In 1636 the fourth edict was passed which threatened execution of children of Spanish or Portuguese descent found to be living in Japan,

and any who had been adopted by Japanese families were, with their Japanese ‘parents,’ to be deported by the Portuguese. Rewards for information on *bateren* were increased, and foreign trade was further regulated and tightened. The final *sakoku* edict was issued in 1639 and forbade any Portuguese ship from entering any Japanese port, and all aboard were to be executed if they did so.

National seclusion meant that from the mid-seventeenth century Japan knew very little about the West, and that the West knew very little of Japan: hence mystery, mutual fear, and suspicion surrounded both. The *sakoku* edicts are likely to have promoted relatively strong anti-Christian and anti-foreigner attitudes amongst those who knew of them. The isolation also had the effect, however, of making Japan a relatively stable country, and this is particularly considered to have been the case during the Genroku Era (1688-1704) when traditional Japanese arts such as *bungaku* (poetry), *ukiyo-e* (the wood block prints that had perhaps the most influential role in exposing the Western world to Japanese art), and *kabuki* (theatre) flourished. At the height of *sakoku*, most of the Japanese in Nagasaki would not have had personal contact with foreigners, and many living outside the port would not have even had the concept that foreigners existed. However, there was one door to the Western world that remained open throughout the Tokugawa regime, and this was the small Dutch trading settlement on the island of Dejima. The Dutch, Chinese, and some Koreans were the only non-Japanese allowed in Japan during the *sakoku* period, and the Dutch settlement in particular is of interest because it was the only such Western settlement. Accordingly it essentially shaped the exchange of knowledge between Japan and the West. In *Things Japanese*, the scholar Basil Hall Chamberlain called the Dutch presence at Dejima a ‘. . . fountain of intellectual light,’ and credited the settlement with providing the germination of Japanese learning of Western botany, geography, mathematics, medicine and literature, as well as exposing them to European products such as clocks, fabrics, glass, velvet, and wool.²⁰⁶

The Dutch trading post at Dejima

From 1609 until they were confined to Dejima in 1641, the Dutch traded from the island of Hirado. Hirado is located off the northwest coast of Kyushu, and was useful because of its proximity to Taiwan and China, yet disadvantaged by its distance from Nagasaki. Dejima, a fan-shaped, artificial island in Nagasaki Harbour with an area of about 3969 *tsubo* or approximately 15,700 square yards,²⁰⁷ was initially built as a trading base for the Portuguese who operated from the island from 1636 to 1639, when they were finally expelled from Japan. Though the Dutch had demonstrated loyalty to the shogunate on occasions such as the Shimabara Uprising, the shogunate still sought to tighten their relatively free access around Japan, and the group took up residence on 24 July 1641. Trading from Dejima was generally less profitable than it had been at Hirado, partly because of strict government regulations.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Basil Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan* (Rutland, Tokyo: Tuttle, c. 1971), p. 154.

²⁰⁷ One *tsubo* equals 3.95 square yards.

²⁰⁸ Government regulations included setting maximum prices of imports and exports depending on the price of raw silk, and stipulating that goods that went unsold be returned.

There is relatively detailed and accurate information about the daily lives of the Dutch at Dejima and their perceptions of relations with the Japanese due to the official daily diaries, *dagregisters*, that were diligently kept and conserved. The book-keeper or *boekhouder* of the diaries recorded details including wages, trade balances, daily occurrences, and news in general. Conversely, information about Japanese perceptions of the Dutch at their settlement can be gained from the so-called *Nagasaki-e* or ‘Nagasaki prints’ that were made of the settlement. These popular prints were produced by local Nagasaki artists, and for the many Japanese who never had any contact with foreigners (and even for some that did), the depictions of the ‘slothful and self-indulgent’²⁰⁹ Dutch were all they would ever know of them.

For such a small island, with rarely more than twenty Dutchmen living on it at any time, the security and bureaucracy surrounding Dejima were immense.²¹⁰ A fence enclosed the island, atop of which sat two rows of iron spikes. There were an additional thirteen posts in the water, spaced at regular intervals, with wooden tablets bearing governmental orders not to approach the island. Dejima was connected to the mainland by a small bridge heavily guarded day and night. Annual rent was 55 *kamme* of silver, or 5,500 taels. The Japanese bureaucracy, which included civil servants, translators and security guards, numbered many more than the Dutch, who were responsible for financially maintaining their (the Japanese) upkeep. The buildings on Dejima were largely functional such as Dutch residences, warehouses, and lodgings for Japanese workers. Non-Japanese women were banned from Dejima, and no Japanese, apart from a prostitute, could live in a Dutch person’s house. There were seventeen *kaimono tsukai* (literally ‘use for shopping’) who provided the Dutch with household goods as well as prostitutes.

Officially, a prostitute could not be hired at Dejima for less than three days, and some remained for several years. They would commonly be accompanied by a serving-girl from the same tea-house who brought her mistress food, made her tea, and generally saw that her affairs remained in order. In addition to paying for the hiring of the prostitute, the Dutch were expected to provide for her upkeep and to bestow upon her periodic gifts. This government-supported arrangement where lower class working women specifically catered to Western men was quite possibly the predecessor of the custom which arose during the Meiji Era of Western sailors such as Pierre Loti ‘marrying’—essentially hiring—Japanese women for the period of their stay in Japan. Or, it at least influenced the perception of Nagasaki as a place where women were readily available. By the eighteenth century, the Dutch were allowed to leave Dejima and visit the prostitution district of Maruyama, but prices were comparatively very high. For example, the services of a Japanese woman for a Dutchman could cost up to 65 *momme* of silver, yet the Chinese traders only paid about 5 *momme* for the equivalent.²¹¹ 20,738 visits by Chinese patrons were made to brothels in 1722, but the Dutch figure was only 270.²¹² The much higher number of Chinese residents in Nagasaki means that costs are a more representative measure of the relative differences; but figures concerning visitor numbers do indicate that the Dutch visited brothels

²⁰⁹ Goodman. *Japan and the Dutch: 1699–1853*, p. 22.

²¹⁰ Goodman. *Japan and the Dutch: 1699–1853*, p. 20.

²¹¹ 1 *momme* or *me* equals 3.75g.

²¹² Goodman. *Japan and the Dutch: 1699–1853*, p. 23.

about once a month on average because there were about twenty Dutchmen living on Dejima at any one time.

Very important to the daily exchanges between the Dutch and the Japanese were the interpreters or *Oranda tsuji*, who were divided into several ranks.²¹³ In addition to providing linguistic communication, the *Oranda tsuji* acted almost as ‘unofficial spies,’ reporting information of potential use to Japanese officials. Some interpreters also acted as confidants for the Dutchmen, and were a useful point of contact or source of information with the outer world. An increasing number started also to learn a lot about the West, its science, customs and knowledge systems; and this ‘Dutch learning’ became known as *Rangaku*. The etymology of *Rangaku* suggests that it was learning about Holland but, as Goodman (2000) writes, the term covers ‘. . . all of the knowledge and techniques from the West transmitted through the medium of the Dutch language.’²¹⁴

Rangaku schools were established to teach subjects such as astronomy, botany, chemistry, geography, mathematics, medicine, military science, and physics; and a well-known example is the *Narutaki Juku*, founded by Philip von Siebold and opened in Nagasaki in 1824.²¹⁵ The two subject areas that attracted the most interest were medicine and astronomy, and Western scholars were sent to Japan to teach in increasing, though still heavily restricted, numbers. *Rangaku* grew in popularity and extent when the ban on Western books was lifted by the Shogun Yoshimune in 1720.

While *Rangaku* enjoyed popularity and importance in Japan’s early scientific advancement, it is important to be aware of its various limitations. Firstly, it was largely confined to Nagasaki, and was by no means common amongst ordinary Japanese until it spread to places such as Edo, largely following the ratification of the Ansei Five-Power Treaties in 1859. Western learning was to take root firmly in the Meiji period when Japan had contact with more countries and ‘imported’ hundreds of *oyatoi gaikokujin* or ‘foreign consultants’ who specialised in various areas ranging from heavy industry to law. Secondly, the time taken for translation meant that the knowledge that the Japanese gained from Dutch books lagged behind that of their Dutch authors, a situation exacerbated by the fact that the Dutch works themselves had often been translated from other European languages. By the time Japanese scholars had learnt from the information, it was often outdated, particularly in the fields of

²¹³ For elaboration on these ranks, see: Goodman. *Japan and the Dutch: 1699–1853*, pp. 32–33.

²¹⁴ ‘*Ran*’ derives from *Oranda*, the Japanese for ‘Holland.’ Goodman. *Japan and the Dutch: 1699–1853*, p. 6.

²¹⁵ Von Siebold became on very favourable terms with many Japanese of all social groups. Ironically the very social mobility that he achieved and enjoyed was ultimately to prove his downfall when he was given some maps of Japan by an official called Takahashi Kageyasu. When it was discovered in 1829 that von Siebold was in possession of the restricted maps, he was expelled from Japan on the suspicion of being a spy, and left behind his wife and daughter Oine. Many of von Siebold’s acquaintances were executed because of their involvement with him, but his daughter became Japan’s first female medical doctor. After returning to Europe, von Siebold wrote *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*, a detailed study of Japan, and also *Fauna Japonica* and *Flora Japonica*, all three of which were very influential texts at the time. They are important to this study as, after being translated into various languages, they were one of very few sources of information for Europe on Japan. Many of the objects in the Japanese section of the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Leyden in Holland came from the collection of Japanese drawings, artifacts, plants and animals that von Siebold brought back to Holland with him. Another well-known foreigner on Dejima to publish widely on Japan in European societies was the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer who arrived in Nagasaki in 1690 and wrote a two-volume edition on Japan’s history (1727) which remained the definitive Western work on Japan until into the nineteenth century.

science and technology. In addition, the choice of the Japanese only to allow contact with the Dutch meant that their knowledge of the West was essentially 'filtered' or, in a more negative light, 'censored' by what the Dutch chose to expose them to, and the context in which they did so, and was restricted to areas about which the Dutch were knowledgeable.

An important annual occurrence for the Dutch community at Dejima was the 'pilgrimage' that the *opperhoofd* made to visit the shogun in Edo, known as the *Edo Sanpu*, *Sanrei*, or *De Hofreis naar Edo* in Dutch. The purpose of the pilgrimage was to pay respect to the shogunal authorities, and to present them with a report on the state of the outside world, known as a *fusetsu gaki*. Because *fusetsu gaki* were produced by the Dutch, and because they were probably the most important source of Japanese knowledge of the Western world, the reports are another example of how the Japanese limited their knowledge of the outside world to how the Dutch chose to interpret it and what they chose to tell them. The journey typically lasted up to three months, with the travelling party numbering from about one hundred and fifty to two hundred people, of whom only about twenty at the most could have been Dutch. Gifts were exchanged, and in return for expensive kimonos, the Dutch presented Japanese authorities with items such as telescopes, zebras, camels, monkeys, scientific books, medical instruments, canons, and globes. In addition to lubricating social relations and demonstrating a respect of social protocol, the *Edo Sanpu* was important because it allowed the Dutch to pass through and see different parts of Japan. In addition, some Japanese had never seen a foreigner or even knew of their existence, and seeing the Dutch on their pilgrimage exposed some to the concept of an outside world. For a high proportion this was the only encounter with Westerners that they would ever have.

CHAPTER NINE

Westerners in Japan during the nineteenth-century

In attempting a book upon a country so well trodden as Japan, I could not hope—nor would I consider it prudent attempting—to discover totally new things, but only to consider things in a totally new way.²¹⁶

The arrival of US Commodore Matthew Perry at Edo Bay on 8 July 1853 essentially ended Japan's period of national seclusion. Perry went to Japan determined to achieve trading rights, and signed the Japan–US Treaty of Peace and Amity at Yokohama on 31 March 1854. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in *Things Japanese* that the treaty was 'wrung from' Japan by the 'terror which Commodore Perry's "Black Ships" had inspired.'²¹⁷ The treaty provided for the posting of a diplomat at Shimoda, and Consul-General Townsend Harris arrived to this effect in August 1856. On 29 July 1858 Consul-General Harris and Iwase Tadanari, the leader of the shogunal negotiators, signed the Japan–US Treaty of Amity and Commerce that essentially opened Yokohama.

Other countries fairly quickly established trade with Japan in the coming decade, and certain towns, known as 'treaty ports,' became accessible for Westerners to live and work in. The Treaty of Kanagawa (1854)²¹⁸ opened Shimoda and Hakodate to American vessels, and other towns were opened as follows: Nagasaki: 14 October 1854; Hakodate: 14 October 1854; Yokohama: 1 July 1859; Edo (now Tokyo): 1 January 1869; saka: 1 September 1868; Hyōgo (now Kobe): 1 January 1868; and Niigata in 1869.²¹⁹ Japan entered into trade and diplomatic agreements with Western countries as follows: America: 29 July 1858; the Netherlands: 18 August 1858; Russia: 19 August 1858; Great Britain: 26 August 1858; France: 9 October 1858; Portugal: 1860; Belgium: 1866; Italy: 1866; Denmark: 1867; Switzerland: 1864; Prussia: 1861; Spain: 1868; Sweden and Norway: 1868; North Germany: 1869; and Austria-Hungary: 1869. The first French legation in Japan, at Edo, was led by Duchesne de Bellecourt.

While the treaty port system was beneficial to the Japanese because it stimulated foreign exchange and provided trading opportunities, it also became a point of major contention and conflict until the treaties

²¹⁶ Allen, L. and Wilson, J. (eds.). *Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's great interpreter*, p. 8.

²¹⁷ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, pp. 488–489.

²¹⁸ Signed on 8 March 1854, and ratified in 1855.

²¹⁹ Hugh Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports*, (Atlantic Highlands; London: Athlone Press, 1987), passim. Dates of the opening of the treaty ports depend on the source and considerations such as whether 'opening' refers to ships being allowed to visit (and if so, by one foreign nation or all), or merchants being allowed to live there freely. For example, in 'Background Events' in *Travellers' tales of old Japan*, Michael Wise gives the following dates for the opening of the various ports: Nagasaki, Kanagawa (Yokohama) and Hakodate: 1859; and Hyogo and Osaka: 1868 (Michael Wise, *Travellers' tales of old Japan* (Times Books International, 1985), pp. 251–252). However, in *Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Musée d'Orsay, Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 17 mai–15 août 1988; Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre–11 décembre 1988* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), pp. 60, it is written that on 1 July 1859 the ports of Hakodate, Nagasaki, and Yokohama were opened to America, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Russia.

were fully revised by about 1911. There were two areas in particular that were considered to have put Japan on a weaker footing than the partners with whom it had entered into agreements: the Western party usually set trade tariffs, and Westerners were granted rights of extra-territoriality while in Japan. Conversely though, foreigners were largely confined to living and working in the foreign quarters of the treaty ports, and they required a passport and much bureaucracy if they were to visit other parts of the country. It was not until 1899 that rights of extra-territoriality were stripped and 1911 that Japan gained full tariff autonomy. These dates coincided somewhat both with Japan's growing military power demonstrated by its victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, as well as the establishment of a constitution based on a Prussian model in 1889.

The revision of the treaty settlements generally did not receive a warm welcome from the expatriate community or those who had a vested interest in trading with Japan. Firstly, the Japanese were able to set high duty on whichever items they pleased, and furthermore the leases foreigners had purchased for 999 years were only effectual until the land was bought by a Japanese. In addition, some speculated that the revisions might deprive foreign subjects of their right to hold public meetings and publish newspapers in their own languages, and foreign workers in professions such as medicine and the law might not be able to practise in Japan unless they received a Japanese diploma. In fact, Basil Hall Chamberlain went as far as to say that the terms agreed to were akin to those that might have been imposed ' . . . as the result of a disastrous war.'²²⁰ On the other hand, foreigners were now allowed to work and trade anywhere in Japan provided they were registered with the police.

The Meiji Era

The Meiji Era (1868–1912) was one of unprecedented, lasting political and social change for Japan. As Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in his introductory chapter to *Things Japanese*, 'Old things pass away between a night and a morning. The Japanese boast that they have done in thirty or forty years what it took Europe half as many centuries to accomplish.'²²¹ A fundamental aim of Meiji Era administration was to shift towards a centralised government with a population whose loyalty was to the emperor and state, irrespective of their social class or place of abode. When the Tokugawa government fell from power in 1867–68, the teenage Emperor Meiji was restored to power, and his seat shifted from Kyoto to Edo, which became the new capital. The emperor was granted constitutional, 'absolute' control over the state, including the military forces. In reality though his actual power was limited because he worked with a team of advisors, both Japanese and foreign, and the decisions that he made himself were few. As Kenneth Henshall (1999) writes:

Although outwardly great reverence was displayed for the emperor, a closer reading shows his position was in fact ambivalent. He was in theory given absolute power but was in practice constrained. All imperial decrees required the counter-signature of a minister of state.²²²

²²⁰ Cited in: Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 324.

²²¹ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 1.

²²² Henshall. *A History of Japan: From stone-age to superpower*, p. 86.

A centralisation of rule was gradually accomplished, aided by the domains of the *daimyo* being converted to prefectures in 1871. The class system of the Tokugawa Era was abolished between 1869 and 1871, and in 1876 the government stripped samurai of their right to carry swords (*Haito Rei*) and stopped paying them stipends. This final upheaval of the old order resulted in the Satsuma or Seinan Uprising of 1877 led by Saigo Takamori. The anti-foreign slogan '*sonnojooi*' ('Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians') that had enjoyed common currency during the Tokugawa Era was mollified to '*wakon yoosai*' ('Japanese spirit, Western learning'),²²³ and religious freedom was granted in 1873. Compulsory elementary education was introduced in the 'Education Order of 1872' that created Japan's first modern education system based initially on the French model, then the German one. In 1889 Japan adopted a European style constitution, drafted under the leadership of Ito Hirobumi, which saw, amongst many other things, the establishment of a democratically elected national parliament, the Diet, whose structure followed that of Germany's parliament and that first convened in 1890. In actuality however, the progression to a government with representatives not exclusively from members of the Tokugawa upper classes was extremely slow, and much of the actual leadership still came from members of the Satsuma and Choshu clans. The Emperor remained the sovereign head of Japan until 1945, while the Meiji Constitution was in force until it was re-drafted in 1946. Ransome summed up the political developments from the beginning of the Meiji Era until the turn of the nineteenth century as follows:

. . . . we must not lose sight of the extraordinary fact that in less than thirty years Japan has run through all the political phases which lie between feudalism of the most uncompromising order and a Constitutional Government on modern principles.²²⁴

A major preoccupation of the Meiji administration was to build an economically, technologically and militarily advanced nation. Economic strength was expected to make Japan a potentially rich country and able to enter into equal and profitable trade agreements with other countries, as well as to fund its own development. Technological improvements would raise the general standard of living, as well as stimulate economic growth as production increased. Military strength, dependent on economics and technology, was one way in which to protect Japan from western imperial powers, or alternatively could be put to use in Japan's own expansionist designs, which aimed partly at enhancing Japan's status through the acquisition of territories so that it could join the ranks of the 'civilised' and powerful countries. The Japanese aimed to compensate for the economic, technological, and military advances

²²³ See: Henshall. *A History of Japan: From stone age to superpower*, p. 71. More 'aggressive' slogans also existed throughout the Meiji Era, however, some of these concerning anti-foreign sentiment, or the wish to overtake the West: for example, '*oitsuke, oikose*,' 'catch up, overtake' (Henshall. *A History of Japan: From stone age to superpower*, p. 75).

²²⁴ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 246.

that they had missed out on during the two-hundred year period of seclusion which coincided with a period of monumental industrial change and development in the Western world. This would lessen the gap between Japan and the West, and enhance Japan's international status, as Henshall (1999) writes:

Westernisation would make Japan stronger, better able to compete with the Western powers, and perhaps even match them or surpass them. One of the many slogans of the age was to be '*oitsuke, oikose*'-'catch up, overtake'. A Westernized Japan would be taken more seriously by the west, and Japan very much wanted to be taken seriously.²²⁵

It was victory in the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars in particular that awakened and demonstrated to the West Japan's growing military strength, and increased its international status or bargaining power in areas such as trade treaties. By the end of the nineteenth-century, Japan was considered militarily advanced and powerful, and its potential threat was such that a number of critics dedicated considerable time and energy to speculating on its strategic position in Asia. For example, Ransome dedicated three chapters of his 1899 book *Japan in transition: a comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China* to such topics as 'Outline of Strategic Geography,' 'The Question of Colonisation,' and 'Japan as an Ally.'²²⁶ As will be elaborated, the demonstration of growing military strength also contributed towards the decline in popularity of items of japonaiserie in the West, part of whose appeal relied on Japan being perceived as a child-like and quaintly exotic land.

The Rokumeikan Era

Negative reactions concerning the extent of Japanese imitation of the West reached a height during a period known as the 'Rokumeikan Era,' from about 1883–1887. A survey of Japanese anti-Western feelings during this period will demonstrate the origins of some of the behaviour and attitudes encountered by Westerners at that time, when Loti visited Japan. The period was named after the Rokumeikan, an ornate dance hall and suite of social clubrooms built in central Tokyo in 1883. Largely the initiative of the foreign minister Inoue Kaoru and designed by the British architect Joseph Conder, the two-storied, brick, Renaissance style Rokumeikan was the venue for many Western-style evening balls, banquets, and parties. The 'official' designation of the building as indicated by Inoue at its opening on 28 November 1883 was as a 'site for future foreign and domestic dignitaries to meet and associate without regard for distance or national boundaries for the purpose of forming mutual friendships.'²²⁷ However, as Jason Karlin (2002) writes, the philosophy behind the Rokumeikan was in no small part political:

²²⁵ Henshall. *A History of Japan: From stone-age to, superpower*, p. 75.

²²⁶ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, pp. 264–318.

²²⁷ A speech by Inoue Kaoru, reprinted in Suzuki Kooichi (ed.), *Nyuusu de ou Meiji Nihon hakkutsu*, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1994), p. 182, cited in: Karlin. 'The Gender of nationalism: Competing masculinities in Meiji Japan' *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 28: p. 45, 2002.

The performance of civilization through the fastidious observation of Western etiquette and ceremony was a way of demonstrating Japanese mastery of the indices of Western power and prestige. . . . By fraternizing together as equals in a common social setting, the Japanese leadership believed they could improve Japan's international status and invest diplomatic negotiations with a degree of comity and mutual respect. In this way, the Japanese government's cultivation of Western etiquette was an instrumental and rational strategy for gaining power and prestige.²²⁸

Despite an exterior 'gloss' of Japaneseness that aimed to ensure that foreign dignitaries did not feel the Western style of the Rokumeikan to be its predominant character, the prevailing tone of the occasions was mainly European. The men commonly wore formal suits, the women ball dresses fashionable in Paris, and protocol in general was based on the European example as learnt from actual time spent in the West, or the various etiquette books such as *Seiyoo ishokujuu* (*Western living*) written in 1867 by Fukuzawa Yukichi, an educator and influential proponent of Westernisation. Events could be grandiose occasions, some with more than two thousand guests and often lasting until dawn. From 1885 to 1886 the Rokumeikan hosted functions of some nature most nights.

Opinions of the Rokumeikan tended to be polarised. Pierre Loti's short article '*Un bal à Yeddo*,' 'A Ball at Edo' which was first published in *La Nouvelle Revue* on 15 December 1887 and 1 January 1888 demonstrates these varying perceptions. '*Un Bal à Yeddo*' is most probably based on Loti's experience at a dance at the Rokumeikan on 10 November 1885. The author writes of the ornate decorations and the meticulous attention to detail such as the invitation cards written in French, and the impeccable dress of the Japanese women. However, while their dress invites complimentary remark, it is also criticised by Loti who concludes that the European dress and manners of the Japanese in Japan are essentially learned and unnatural, almost disappointing it seems for the author who, like many Western visitors, seems to have preferred to experience an 'authentic' or 'traditional' Japan, rather than a bastardised one. Loti writes: 'Elles dansent assez correctement, mes Nipponnes en robe Parisienne. Mais on sent que c'est une chose apprise; qu'elles font cela comme des automates, sans la moindre initiative personnelle,'²²⁹ 'They dance fairly well, my Japanese women in Parisian dress. But one senses that it is something *learned*; that they act like automatons, without the least personal initiative.'

Parts of Japanese society, particularly strongly nationalist factions, were scandalised by the amount of money poured into the soirées held at the Rokumeikan, which was but one tangible and as such easily criticisable example of the efforts being made to imitate and appease the West.²³⁰ Also the subject of much criticism and indeed ridicule were the governmental 'gentlemen,' dubbed *shinshi*, who adopted Western dress and customs to project an image of civilisation to the Western world, as Jason Karlin (2002) outlines:

²²⁸ Karlin. 'The Gender of nationalism: Competing masculinities in Meiji Japan,' *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 28: p. 46, 2002.

²²⁹ Pierre Loti. *Japoneries d'automne* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1889), p. 94. The translation is my own.

²³⁰ See: Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 59.

The Japanese gentleman [the *shinshi*] of the early Meiji period was typically identified by his frock coat, necktie, and white-collared shirt. On formal occasions, he wore a swallow-tailed coat and silk hat. This style became the defining emblem of Japanese gentlemen in Meiji discourse. As the leaders of modern Japan, they rationalized the adoption of Western fashion as necessary for reversing foreign perceptions of Japan as backward and uncivilized. The Japanese gentleman's cultivation of civilization through fashion and manner was thus a calculated response to the political need of the state to improve Japan's international status.²³¹

Nationalist groups concerned that Japan was losing its *kokusui* or 'national spirit' to the ways of the West increased in number, power, and representation in the popular media. The *Jiyuu Minken Undoo* or 'Freedom and People's Rights Movement' grew, with its core philosophies including an antagonism towards Westernisation, and a desire for both a reversal of the unequal treaties and the establishment of a parliament. Columns and heavily satirical cartoons in the popular print media were two of the most effective vehicles by which such groups spread their doctrine. Initially relatively abstract, ideological columns were popular, but tactics to draw the attention and support of the ordinary person increasingly relied on scandal and intrigue, which saw politicians commonly portrayed as self-indulgent, womanising, frivolous, and superficial. Jason Karlin (2002) writes of the general purpose and function of such depictions:

These one-sided characterizations of the Japanese "gentleman" as extravagant dandies who lacked self-restraint was part of a deliberate strategy of arousing popular opposition to the state. Central to this strategy was the practice of equating Westernization with superficiality, imitation, and decadence.²³²

In *Madame Chrysanthème* and as will be discussed in Part V, this rejection of the changing reality of Japan emerges in things such as Loti's omission of socio-political commentary, his veneration of the invigorating flora and fauna of Japan, and a focus with depicting 'traditional' aspects of Japanese life. It also constitutes an example of a 'counter' Orientalism because Japanese people constructed a Western influence as effeminate and weak.

The above summary only hints at the fundamental political, economic, technological and military changes that Japan underwent during the Meiji Era. Important to these changes was acquiring knowledge of the practices of Western powers. Two ways in which Japan did this were to send students abroad to study, or to 'import' large numbers of foreign workers. The so-called 'Charter Oath' of April 1868 stated that 'knowledge shall be sought throughout the world,'²³³ and as a result Japanese students were sent abroad to countries such as Britain, France, Germany, and North America to study a wide range of subjects pertinent to Japan's modernization including law, medicine, technology, science, literature, and languages. The knowledge they returned with played a large part in Japan's comparatively rapid metamorphosis during the Meiji Era. The eighteen-month Iwakura Mission of

²³¹ Karlin. 'The Gender of nationalism: Competing masculinities in Meiji Japan,' *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 28: p. 44.

²³² Karlin. 'The Gender of nationalism: Competing masculinities in Meiji Japan,' *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 28: pp. 54–55, 2002.

²³³ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), p. 310.

1871–73 was one particularly large-scale undertaking during which a group went to observe the social organisation of American and European countries.

Western visitors to Japan during the early Meiji Era

Another outcome of the Charter Oath and complementing students being sent abroad were the large numbers of foreigners who travelled to Japan to work in jobs relating to its modernisation. Those ‘imported’ foreign workers who worked in the capacity of advisors were known as *oyatoi gaikokujin*, literally ‘hired foreigner.’ Writing at the turn of the nineteenth century, Basil Hall Chamberlain credited the foreign worker as having been ‘. . . the physician, to whom belongs the credit of working the marvelous cure which we all see,’²³⁴ demonstrating a sentiment fairly common amongst nineteenth-century commentators on Japan. For example, Ransome (1899) wrote:

Then it is that you realize, for the first time to its full extent, the colossal nature of the work carried out by these men [the foreign advisors], and by those who have gone; men who have given their best energies and the best part of their lives to bringing about the enlightened Japan of to-day; and you have reason to feel proud that many of them are countrymen of your own.²³⁵

Though Japan was not colonised by any Western country, this attitude with its mention of ‘enlightenment’ is reminiscent of the *mission civilisatrice* or *rayonnement* concerning French colonialism where ordinary French people were moulded to believe that France had something akin to a moral duty to civilise and enlighten its colonies.

In considering Western visitors to Japan during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is important to remember that records exist only for those visitors with the time and inclination to write, or whose employment required they did so. In the discussion that follows, only Westerners working in Japan will be examined, though there were other groups of foreign workers, for example Chinese. This is because it was the experiences of Westerners that most influenced the perceptions and expectations of Japan of Europeans who had not been there. Also, this discussion is not to imply that Japan had not developed its own infrastructure of scholarship and advancement, it aims primarily to provide a context within which Loti’s experiences can be later evaluated.

When Pierre Loti visited Nagasaki for the first time in 1885, Japan had already been ‘well trodden’ by Western visitors. Writing in 1890, the teacher Lafcadio Hearn even felt it necessary to justify his dedication of an entire book to a country already saturated by personal and literary texts: ‘In attempting

²³⁴ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 182.

²³⁵ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 218.

a book upon a country so well trodden as Japan, I could not hope—nor would I consider it prudent attempting—to discover totally new things, but only to consider things in a totally new way.²³⁶

Stafford Ransome divided foreigners in Japan into the groups of diplomatic officials, business men, missionaries, passing visitors, and technical advisors.²³⁷ He provides the following useful summary of the general areas of their contribution according to nationality:

Speaking generally, England may claim to have taken the largest part in organizing the navy, finance, communications, mining, and industrial work; Germany devoted herself mostly to the army, medicine, and several scientific subjects. America has had a hand in almost all departments, more particularly with regard to educational and industrial matters; and to France belongs the chief credit of having given the preliminary advice which led to the formation of the existing legal code, and of organizing on modern lines the Yokosuka dockyard, which until now has been considered the leading naval depot of the country.²³⁸

More foreigners were 'imported' to work in Japan than Japanese students were sent abroad, possibly because, as Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote, '... it takes longer to get a Japanese educated abroad than to engage a foreigner ready made.'²³⁹

Westerners generally had a mixed reception in Japan. This was determined partly by the amount of exposure (of the Japanese party) to the complex set of attitudes towards Western foreigners as evolved from the *sakoku* era with its anti-Christian edicts, and the nature of the Westerner's contact with the Japanese. To generalise, foreigners working in Japan in diplomatic or governmental roles tended to be showered with politeness and very well looked after and entertained. However, beneath this exterior behaviour or *tatemaie* as it is called in Japanese, some Japanese had conceptions such as that the Westerner sent to Japan was of a lesser station than the Westerner in their home country working in the same area.²⁴⁰ There emerged a commonly-used, derogatory referent for the foreigner, *ketojin*, and as the Meiji Era progressed and the Japanese themselves began to manage their industries, foreigners lost the aura of being greatly knowledgeable and the respect that they had once had when a 'rarer' and more 'valuable' commodity.²⁴¹ In 1899 Ransome wrote the following of the ordinary Japanese person's opinion of the foreigner living in their country:

²³⁶ Cited in: Louise Allen & Jean Wilson. *Japan's great interpreter* (Tokyo: Japan Library, 1992), p. 8.

²³⁷ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 63.

²³⁸ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 68.

²³⁹ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 183.

²⁴⁰ See: Stafford Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China* (London: Harper, 1899), p. 79.

²⁴¹ See: Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 68.

. . . the Japanese regarded the Western foreigner as a rough, rude, dictatorial and immoral man, with a long nose and having hair all over his face; who was always making a noise, and was addicted to intemperate habits. He had, however, the redeeming features of being very rich, and of possessing a wonderful store of knowledge on a variety of subjects, which when mastered would be invaluable to the Japanese.²⁴²

Figures given in the *Kodansha Encyclopedia* concerning the number of foreign employees of the Meiji Government in Japan during the early Meiji Period (1874) demonstrate that the largest numbers were from Britain (269), France (108), United States of America (47), and Germany (37), with the total number of employees given for this year as 503.²⁴³ Concerning the areas in which they worked, public works was by far the largest (228), followed by education (77), navy (66), 'other' (42), army (38), finance (27), foreign affairs (14), and Hokkaidō Colonisation Office (11).²⁴⁴ It is important to note that while these figures may appear relatively low, they are only of foreigners employed by the Meiji Government, many more were employed privately, or worked in Japan while employed by their own government. This can be illustrated by a comparison of man-years worked by foreigners in Japan between 1881 and 1898: 1,242 man-years were worked by foreign teachers and 541 by engineers employed by the government, yet in the private sector these figures were 3,886 and 3,809 respectively.²⁴⁵ Generally speaking, foreign workers were paid extremely well: about seventy-five percent of such workers received pay equal to the top two levels of the Japanese bureaucracy, and in 1874 ten received pay of 800 Mexican dollars per month, which was equal to that of the Prime Minister. In 1876, 2.3 per cent of the government's total budget, or 1.4 million yen, was spent on the salaries of *oyatoi gaikokujin*.²⁴⁶

Until the turn of the nineteenth century when foreigners were able to live and trade anywhere in Japan, foreigners were restricted to living in the expatriate settlements that were formed in the treaty port cities, and often the living environment and arrangements were essentially Western and reminiscent of those in colonised countries. From personal diaries or the writing of critics, it seems that many did not particularly like living in Japan. Ransome (1899) writes the following of the treaty ports:

Of life in the treaty-ports, I can only say that as a rule the people who live there dislike doing so; or, at all events, it is their general habit to say that they wish they were not living in Japan.

But, except geographically speaking, they are not in Japan, for the daily routine of the foreigner in the treaty-ports has nothing in common with life

²⁴² Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 237.

²⁴³ There are 42 given in the 'other' category. *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), p. 310.

²⁴⁴ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), p. 310. Figures of the numbers of workers vary considerably, but the *Kodansha* has been used as a reference because this is a standard authority.

²⁴⁵ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), p. 310.

²⁴⁶ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), p. 311.

elsewhere in that country. It is as accurate a reproduction of life in Europe and America as can be made by so cosmopolitan a community.²⁴⁷

One aspect in particular that made life difficult for the foreigner in Japan was that the majority knew very little Japanese, and were essentially dependent on interpreters for all exchange with the Japanese. One potential drawback of this situation was that these intermediaries could distort the information being transferred, whether intentionally or not and, at its most serious, this could have consequences for diplomatic or mercantile exchange.²⁴⁸

Focus will now shift to Western workers in or visitors to Japan, and it is useful to structure discussion around several major groupings. This can be done by examining the eight groups of diplomats, government advisors, military servicemen, teachers, doctors, missionaries, merchants, and tourists.

Diplomats

Following Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853, a diplomatic bureaucracy developed to establish, maintain, refine, and expand exchange between the West and Japan. The records of diplomats tend to be relatively comprehensive compared to those of other groups of foreigners because a significant part of a diplomat's job was to report to their home government, yet they also had a relatively high amount of free time to keep personal diaries of their daily lives. Additionally, official diplomatic records are a valuable reflection of the political situation of Meiji Japan. Out of political interest, diplomats were usually treated very well by the Japanese on formal occasions, and accordingly, the perception of life in Japan of this group may have been distorted by Japanese politeness. However, and as will be later seen, diplomats were also the subject and indeed intentional target of anti-Westernisation sentiment by nationalist and conservative groups.

The British and American diplomatic presences were particularly strong, and expatriate communities of considerable size soon grew to support their activities in cities including Kanagawa, Hakodate, Nagasaki, Osaka, Yokohama, Edo (now Tokyo), Hyogo (now Kobe), Kyoto, and Niigata. There were also significant French, Russian and Dutch diplomatic presences in Japan during the period. Because of the relative seclusion from Japanese people, the living arrangements of diplomats in particular were very similar to those of colonial administrators living in French or British colonies during the period. Most diplomats lived in legation compounds and enjoyed a high standard of living, generally being able to organise their households as they wished and living more or less a Western life. Food and surroundings were usually Western, and diplomats tended to live and socialise with people from their home country rather than the Japanese. Legation staff included chefs, gardeners, jailors, constables,

²⁴⁷ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 27.

²⁴⁸ See: Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 184.

surgeons, and interpreters, and increasingly there were guards to protect against the growing tide of anti-foreign sentiment. Immediate family would usually accompany staff to Japan and often would oversee the servants, teach English in a limited capacity, or become involved in charity or missionary work. This group typically had time to keep journals, and one example is Mary Hugh Fraser who lived with her diplomat husband in Japan between April 1889 and April 1894. Japanese servants and interpreters cleaned, cooked, bought supplies, and interacted with the Japanese, and sometimes a head servant (a *kerai* or *karō*) was employed to oversee and coordinate their activities. Diplomats had access to reliable medical treatment and medicines, often from expatriate doctors such as Dr. William Willis of the British Legation, and many had secondary country residences where they would relocate with their servants over the hottest weeks of summer.²⁴⁹

Diplomats and their families were frequently invited to formal functions at other legations or hosted by the Japanese Government. Two examples that attracted public criticism because of the lavish spending which went into them were a soirée held for American General Ulysses Grant and his family in 1879, and the ball that Loti attended at the Rokumeikan in 1885. Security at the foreign legations became increasingly important during the 1850s and 60s because of increasing anti-Westernisation and nationalist sentiment. For example, the guard at the British legation at Tōzenji in Edo increased from 150 men in 1861 to 535 by June 1862 following an attack by samurai.²⁵⁰

Most diplomats and their families had very limited contact with the ‘average’ Japanese person because of both their insular living and working arrangements and the anti-foreign sentiment that restricted carefree, informal interaction with the general public. In addition, studies of Japanese language and culture in Europe were still in their infancy during the second half of the nineteenth century. This meant that foreigners did not have much cultural mobility within Japanese society because they relied on others for linguistic and cultural knowledge and exchange. An important French diplomat was Mr. Boissonade de Fontarabie who Basil Hall Chamberlain credits with bringing about the end of torture by Japanese officials.²⁵¹

Government advisors

Government advisors, the *oyatoi gaikokujin*, were most numerous in areas pertinent to Japan’s successful modernisation: namely in the fields of public works, communications, education, medicine, the military, and law. Rather than hold managerial positions, advisors more commonly worked in the capacity of what would today be called ‘consultants,’ or as teachers at Japanese universities and

²⁴⁹ For example, Hugh Fraser had a summer house at Karuizawa named ‘Palace of Peace.’ See: Mary Hugh Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.), *A Diplomat’s wife in Japan: Sketches at the turn of the century*.

²⁵⁰ See: Hugh Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports* (Atlantic Highlands; London: Athlone Press, 1987), 102 ff; and Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 25

²⁵¹ See: Chamberlain. *Japanese things: Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 182.

schools. Concerning Nagasaki in particular, a lot of advisors worked in the ship-building industry which prospered there because of its relatively sheltered harbour, developed dock-yards able to carry out repairs, and its location which made it a convenient place for ships to dock if sailing or fighting in the Far East. The largest and most influential ship-building and reparation company during the second half of the nineteenth century in Nagasaki was the Mitsubishi Company. Nagasaki's shipbuilding industry could be argued to have ultimately brought about the very creation and conception of *Madame Chrysanthème* as it was for a rehaul of the ship the *Triomphante* that Loti stayed in the city.

The numbers and salaries of foreign advisors decreased throughout the Meiji Era as industries and businesses were increasingly managed by the Japanese themselves. As Ransome (1899) wrote, French advisors were particularly influential in drafting the legal code, and important French advisors to the Japanese government included Georges Bousquet (in Japan 1872–1876), Georges Appert (professor of law at Tokyo University 1884–1888), Michel Revon (also a professor of law at Tokyo University), Henri Dumolard (a professor of law at Tokyo university for three years, succeeding Michel Revon),²⁵² and the French professor of law, Gustave-Emile Boissonade de Fontarabie who worked in Japan 1873–1895. Fontarabie taught at the Ministry of Justice's School of Law (*Hoogakkoo*), edited the *Japan Mail*, and helped draft the Meiji Civil Code. His work in Japan is significant because Western countries had used inadequacies in Japan's existing legal code as a reason for not revising the treaty settlements, particularly with respect to extra-territoriality. Each of these advisors subsequently had works concerning Japan published in French: for example, Bousquet wrote *Un voyage dans l'intérieur du Japon*, 'A journey in the interior of Japan' (Paris: J. Claye, 1974), and Appert wrote *Dictionnaire des termes de Droit, d'économie politique et d'administration japonais*, 'Dictionary of Japanese legal terms, political economics, and administration' (Yokohama: Jalabelle, 1885).²⁵³

Records concerning the daily lives and living environments of governmental advisors are limited because they were employed specifically to report to or advise the Japanese government on matters pertaining to their work. Records are often in the form of one-off experiences forming part of compilations such as Hugh Cortazzi's *Victorians in Japan: in and around the treaty ports* (1987), or retrospective studies dedicated to the achievements of key figures such as de Fontarabie.

Military servicemen

Military servicemen in Japan can be generally divided into two groups: those who worked there on a long-term basis, and those who stayed temporarily in port such as Pierre Loti. Military servicemen

²⁵² See: Olivier le Bihan. 'Voyageurs et touristes Français au Japon au temps de Pierre Loti,' in the exhibition catalogue to *Pierre Loti en Chine et au Japon*, Maison de Pierre Loti Rochefort-sur-Mer, 20 June to 22 September 1986, p.17.

²⁵³ See: Olivier le Bihan. 'Voyageurs et touristes Français au Japon au temps de Pierre Loti,' in the exhibition catalogue to *Pierre Loti en Chine et au Japon*, Maison de Pierre Loti Rochefort-sur-Mer, 20 June to 22 September 1986, p.17.

remaining in Japan for long periods of time generally worked for their home countries' military, the Japanese government, or foreign legations (increasingly in the capacity of guards). A significant group of the military servicemen in Japan, and particularly Nagasaki, were the naval officers whose experiences are important for the present study because this was the capacity in which Loti visited the country.

In contrast to more permanent foreign residents, most sailors lived, slept, and worked on board ship for periods ranging from days to months. Because crewmen had often been living in close quarters for months at a time, they tended to stick together even when not on ship, and their experience of 'authentic' Japanese life and people was limited. This was augmented by the existence of foreign areas of the treaty ports such as Oura in Nagasaki that, as will be elaborated, had recreational facilities including restaurants and sports grounds. Activities on shore included frequenting tea-houses and restaurants, attending shows at the entertainment halls, shopping at the bazaars selling goods tailored to the tastes of foreigners, visiting temples, hiring prostitutes, or even entering into a temporary 'marriage' arrangement as Pierre Loti did.

There were two main types of prostitution particularly popular amongst sailors. These were hiring a woman for a period of a few hours or a night from a brothel or 'tea-house' in one of the licensed prostitution areas such as Maruyama in Nagasaki, or entering into a temporary 'marriage' for a fixed term and sum. This second arrangement is what Loti entered into in Japan in 1885, and the commonness of this arrangement is suggested in *Madame Chrysanthème* when the protagonist mentions the other sailors from the *Triomphante* who also 'married' Japanese women. This commonness is further reflected in contemporary accounts by figures such as Ransome who wrote of how visitors to Japan were often aware of the possibility of marrying a Japanese woman or having a Japanese mistress who had been 'sold' to a tea-house or brothel, through reading journals and other publications in their home societies. Ransome (1899) writes of the Western man that 'He has heard over and over again that Japanese ladies and gentlemen are in the habit of selling their children to this and kindred institutions, and that a girl who takes service in these places suffers no degradation in the eyes of her compatriots by so doing.'²⁵⁴

Marriage to a local woman could give foreigners a pretext for gaining permission to live beyond the designated foreign settlements amongst the Japanese in a Japanese-style dwelling, and their Japanese 'family' and acquaintances provided them with a ready source of local knowledge. Ransome writes as follows of the perceptions commonly circulated in Europe concerning the sort of companion a visitor could find in a Japanese wife:

He [the foreign visitor to Japan] has heard how easy it is to contract a Japanese marriage; and he has read in certain imaginative journals some

²⁵⁴ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 163. See also: 163 ff.

strangely romantic rhapsodies on the Japanese lady. . . . What he has been told is that she is a species of quaint plaything, a giggling sort of doll, with butterfly proclivities; that she waddles when she walks, always smokes a pipe, and plays the samisen; a being without education, without intelligence, without feelings, and, above all, without morality.²⁵⁵

Though Ransome's account was written in 1899, in Part V it will be seen that his description of the Japanese woman as a 'species of quaint plaything' is highly reminiscent of Loti's written about twelve years earlier in *Madame Chrysanthème*.

Servicemen were commonly treated as commercially advantageous by workers at the bazaars or brothels, watched with intrusive curiosity, or pursued by Japanese officials anxious to keep close watch on their activities out of a fear and suspicion reminiscent of the *sakoku* era. The British naval officer J. M. Tronson who visited Hakodate in 1854 remarked that:

[Japanese officials] made frequent attempts to curtail our walks, but did not once succeed; . . . It being necessary for us to leave the shore for the ships each evening at sunset, every road, street, and secluded nook was explored by our sworded gentry in search of stray Englishmen; when they saw us afloat and no stragglers abroad, they breathed easily for the night, and slowly wended their way to their homes and wives, suppers and pipes; whilst the night watchmen commenced their rounds, beating the hours on two pieces of bamboo, with a dull monotonous sound.²⁵⁶

Some crew were concerned that there lacked 'reputable' on-shore entertainment options for sailors who were essentially left to spend time in brothels, wandering aimlessly about the streets, starting brawls, or over-indulging in alcohol. These groups were instrumental in initiating such things as the Seamen's Home of Nagasaki that will be discussed later.

Teachers

Foreign teachers from a range of Western countries were brought into Japan to aid in the process of modernisation, and particularly in the areas of science, technology, medicine and languages. According to Hideomi Tuge, foreign employee numbers were particularly high in the teaching of physics,

²⁵⁵ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 164.

²⁵⁶ Hugh Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports* (Atlantic Highlands; London: The Athlone Press, 1987), p. 37.

mathematics and chemistry; followed by biology and physical geography; then geophysics and astronomy; and the most common nationalities of teachers were German, American, or British.²⁵⁷

Language teaching became particularly important because much of the 'new' scientific, technological, or medical information was written in European languages like English, French, and German. During the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods, English eclipsed Dutch as the most useful foreign language to know, and English language teaching positions were systematically and increasingly established in schools and universities. In addition, further motivation for language learning came from the mercantile and diplomatic communities because it was not ideal to have to rely on the services of an interpreter. Government or state departments which relied on knowledge of a language to learn technology recruited foreign language teachers such as Basil Hall Chamberlain who taught English at the Tokyo Naval College from 1874. As well as those whose full time occupation was to teach, language teachers further included those informally teaching in their homes to supplement family income such as Clara and Anne Whitney. Clara lived in Japan from 1875 to 1900, and later went on to teach English at the Meiji Girls' School in about 1886, as well as music and Bible classes.²⁵⁸

A well-known example of a Western English teacher of the period is Lafcadio Hearn, who lived in Japan from 1890 until his death in 1904. Hearn taught at both school and university levels, most

²⁵⁷ Hideomi Tuge (ed.). *Historical development of science and technology in Japan* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1968) p. 98. Tuge's figures are as follows:

Teaching area:	Number of foreign employees:
Physics	21
Mathematics	20
Chemistry	18
Biology	11
Physical geography	11
Geophysics	4
Astronomy	1

(those who taught two subjects are listed under both)

Foreign teachers of medicine:

Clinical medicine	35
Basic medicine	26
Pharmacology and others	21

Nationalities of foreign teachers:

German	25
American	24
English	18
Dutch	2

Nationalities of foreign teachers of medicine:

Nationality	Number
German	35
Dutch	18
American	15
English	10
French	4

Tuge's figures are only of limited use, however, because he does not provide dates.

²⁵⁸ Whitney returned to America temporarily for about one and a half years in 1880, and finally left Japan in May 1900.

notably at the Imperial University of Tokyo from 1891–1894, and later at Waseda University. His experiences are not representative of those of most teachers though because of his comparative immersion in Japanese culture. Hearn married a Japanese woman, Setsu Koizumi, with whom he had three sons and a daughter, and became a naturalized Japanese citizen in 1895, changing his name to Yakumo Koizumi.

Doctors

Western doctors were in particularly high demand amongst the foreign population and tended to be either resident doctors, travelling physicians, or surgeons aboard ships. Resident doctors often established their own practices or hospitals, while some such as Robert Bowie did both. Western doctors very seldom treated Japanese patients and, for example, only one Western doctor, the Swiss-American Edward Amuat, worked at the Japanese Government Hospital at Nagasaki. Travelling doctors circulated between the treaty ports, commonly advertising the dates of their arrival and the services they offered in local foreign-language newspapers. Surgeons from ships were mainly occupied with treating the crew for injuries incurred on ship and diseases such as cholera and typhoid. However, they also spent a significant amount of time dealing with sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea to which sailors were prone partly because of the ready availability of prostitutes in many international ports. Some mail steamers too had their own surgeons.

Some foreign doctors taught Western medicine, and a well-known example is Philip Franz von Siebold who established the first Western medical school while working in Nagasaki from 1823 to 1830. There were also some pharmacy-like establishments selling Western medicines.

Missionaries

Missionaries were active in Japan well before the 1587 ban set on Christianity was lifted in 1873. For example, Dr. James Curtis Hepburn and his wife lived in Japan from 1859 to 1892, and Hepburn's contribution towards translating the Bible into Japanese and his establishment of a mission school in 1863 provide evidence that he was involved in significant missionary work before 1873.²⁵⁹ Two well-known French missionaries were Père Compagnon and Michel Ribaud. Compagnon wrote *Une mission à Yamagoutchi, A mission at Yamaguchi*, (Missions Catholiques, February 1888) and *Une visite à Saijo, A visit to Saijo*, (Missions Catholiques, 23 and 30 November 1888); and Ribaud established a mission at Hakodate. He had several well-known publications on Japan including '*Kamakura et Nikko. Ruines et mausolées japonais*,' 'Kamakura and Nikko. Japanese ruins and mausoleums,' (Paris: Maison

²⁵⁹ Dr. Hepburn is also noted for his development of the Hepburn System for transcribing Japanese into Roman letters (*Roomaji*), and compiling the first Japanese–English dictionary (*Wa-ei gorin shōsei*), published in 1867.

de la Bonne Nouvelle, no date), and *'Notes sur le Japon: le Japon pendant le guerre européen 1914–1918,'* 'Notes on Japan: Japan during the European War 1914–1918' (Paris: Lethieulleux, 1919).²⁶⁰

Those who went to Japan specifically as missionaries characteristically stayed longer than many foreign professionals, and sometimes insular local communities developed. This was particularly the case amongst the wives and children of men engaged in missionary service. Missionaries often taught at or established schools, churches, hospitals such as that founded by Willis Whitney at Akasaka in 1886, or supported and promoted international aid organisations like the Red Cross.

Religious services and classes in English were held when and where numbers warranted, with venues including legation compounds, private homes, or suitable buildings shared with other users and known as 'Union Churches.' Churches began to be built as Christian church-goers, both Western and Japanese, increased in number. Most Western-style churches built in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods were in the treaty ports because this was where foreign populations were concentrated.²⁶¹ As Christianity became increasingly institutionalised and popular, societies were established such as the London Scripture Union that had about seventy members by November 1883.²⁶²

Most records kept by missionaries emphasised Japanese enthusiasm to adopt Christianity, and were probably written from an optimistic ambition for the future of the religion in Japan. For example, Clara Whitney wrote in her diary on 14 May 1883:

The flame of divine love seems to be spreading among all the Japanese Christians. A real revival seems imminent and all are praying for the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Even little children give up their play in order to spread the gospel tidings among their friends. The students at the seminaries are deeply interested and the teachers at the girls' school have had much trouble in getting their pupils to go to bed because their prayer meetings are held in their rooms. When on an excursion, the older girls, being missed, were found under a cluster of palms holding a prayer meeting. . . . There was such an air of faith about [Mr. Niijima] that I involuntarily thought, "He has been with Jesus and has learned of him." I never before felt toward a Japanese that he was absolutely holy.²⁶³

Whitney does mention in 1879 that the Japanese government did not approve of Christianity, but it is a remark only made in passing: '[The spread of Christianity] has been so in Japan, for although the

²⁶⁰ See: le Bihan. 'Voyageurs et tourists Français au Japon au temps de Pierre Loti,' p.17.

²⁶¹ Two early churches were the French Catholic church at Yokohama that was established by L'Abbé Girard of the French legation and dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus on 12 January 1862, and the British Episcopal Church which began services on 18 October 1863.

²⁶² Whitney (William Steele & Tamiko Ichimata, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 324.

²⁶³ Whitney (William Steele & Tamiko Ichimata, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, pp. 319–320. See also p. 230, 295, 323.

government does not approve of it, yet it increases in Kobe, Sendai, Bitchū and other places. Christianity has taken a firm hold.'²⁶⁴

Merchants

Merchants accounted for a large proportion of foreigners living in the treaty ports. Nagasaki in particular was home to a lot of merchants because its trade infrastructure had continued to develop during the Tokugawa Era, and also because of its proximity to other East Asian trading centers such as Shanghai. Merchants were an important group of foreigners for this study partly because Europe owed to this group its supply of Japanese items, and additionally the types of things they chose to export to Europe essentially conditioned the perception of Japan held by the average European who would never have the opportunity to visit Japan in person.

Records kept by merchants tend to focus on trade-related figures or their socio-political position rather than on living conditions or daily experiences, but can prove valuable demonstrations of the general treatment of foreigners. For example, in the late 1850s and early 1860s the American newspaper correspondent and merchant Francis Hall commented on the low Japanese esteem of foreign merchants due to their rank in the Japanese class system *shinōkōshō* ('military-agricultural-industrial-mercantile').²⁶⁵ According to this system, merchants were at the bottom of the hierarchy, and Western merchants would have been even lower still because they were foreign. Hall further illustrates the prejudice against merchants in Yokohama as he writes of how their dollar was exchanged for two thirds of its weight and value in local coinage, whereas diplomats, government advisors, and military servicemen received a weight for weight exchange.²⁶⁶

Many commentators remarked on the low morals of the Japanese when it came to doing business. Loti himself did so as his protagonist surprises Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the money he paid her. Ransome offered several reasons for the Japanese person's dishonesty, including that Japan was a relatively new nation to large-scale international trading, and that the status merchants were afforded in the *shinōkōshō* lowered their morals:

In Japan not so long ago, a trader was a person to be treated with contempt; and, when a certain class is habitually looked down upon in any country, that

²⁶⁴ Whitney (William Steele & Tamiko Ichimata, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 295.

²⁶⁵ See: F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*, p. 40.

²⁶⁶ See: F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*, p. 57.

fact is not at all conducive to a high code of morals in the methods of the men of that particular class.²⁶⁷

Important exports from Japan to European countries were generally of raw materials and included silk, tea, tobacco, rice, matting, camphor, vegetable wax, *ukiyo-e*, and Japanese ceramics; while imports included supplies necessary for industrialisation such as coal, arms, and ships; and eventually even rice. Putting aside items belonging to the realm of japonisme, by the end of the nineteenth century Japanese items in Europe had the reputation of being fairly commonplace and not of particularly high quality, as Ransome implied in 1899 when writing of the ‘. . . hundred and one other [Japanese] products which are familiar all the world over . . .’²⁶⁸ A number of European companies established branches in Japan, or new companies were set up: for example, Jardine, Matheson & Co., Sassoon & Co., and Dent & Co. all existed in Nagasaki by May 1861. A Chamber of Commerce was established in June 1861 by seven American and British companies, and the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce was established in February 1864.

A particularly prominent figure of commercial Nagasaki was the Scottish merchant Thomas Blake Glover (1838–1911), the first non-Japanese to be awarded the Order of the Rising Sun. Glover’s major activities include owning the Takashima Coal mine, arranging undercover travel for fifteen Satsuma and five Choshu clan members to go to Britain to study in 1863 when it was still illegal, supplying anti-Tokugawa Satsuma and Choshu clans with weapons, exporting tea and rice to China, and importing cotton goods and woollens from England. He was also a notable figure in the ship-building industry: between 1864 and 1867, he was instrumental in selling twenty ships at Nagasaki, which accounted for about thirty per cent of ships imported into Nagasaki during the period.²⁶⁹ Glover’s house in Nagasaki has been classified as ‘Important Cultural Property,’ with the ‘Glover Garden’ complex at 8–1 Minamiyamate-machi having become one of Nagasaki’s prime cultural attractions.

Francis Hall was another prominent merchant, though he lived in Kanagawa and Yokohama (1859–1866). His detailed diary has been published as *Japan through American eyes: the journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*.²⁷⁰ Hall’s initial reason for travelling to Japan was as a newspaper correspondent and he submitted over seventy articles to the influential *New York Tribune*, which makes him an important foreign resident in Japan for the purposes of this study because in addition to his commercial dealings, he supplied the West with anecdotal and factual information concerning Japanese society and people of the late Tokugawa era.

²⁶⁷ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, pp. 178–179.

²⁶⁸ Ransome. *Japan in transition: A comparative study of the progress policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China*, p. 187.

²⁶⁹ Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan: in and around the treaty ports*, pp. 23–24.

²⁷⁰ F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

A group of merchants who fared increasingly well were those who catered to the growing European population by importing Western items such as foods, medicines, clothes, and furniture.

Tourists

Tourism to Japan became increasingly popular throughout the second half of the nineteenth century due to improvements in the logistics of distant travel, as well as increasing knowledge of and interest in Japan. By 1872 a tourist could visit Japan with the leading European travel company, Thomas Cook, as part of a 212-day world tour, and 22,000 foreign tourists visited the country in 1906.²⁷¹ Tourists included those visiting as part of a world tour, government guests not on official business, explorers, and the families of foreign workers. Those travelling from France during the last quarter of the nineteenth century had the choice of three routes. They could go by ship via Naples, Port Said, Suez, Aden, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Saigon, Hong Kong to Japan, a route of 19,000 km and taking from forty to forty-five days. Or there was the option of train via Berlin, Warsaw, Saint Petersburg, Samarovsk, and Vladivostok, a distance of about 16,000 km and taking about eight weeks. Lastly, tourists could travel by ship from Havre to New York, then by train to San Francisco, and by ship to Yokohama. This last route took between thirty-two and thirty-five days, and measured 21,000 km.²⁷²

Most tourists who visited Japan on a world tour had limited interaction with the Japanese because travel to much of the interior was prohibited, limiting them to designated tourist routes and sites including Yokohama, Kamakura, Mt. Fuji, Nikko, Atami, Hakone, Kyoto, Miyanoshita, and places on the Tokaidō (the Eastern Sea Road from Edo to Kyoto).²⁷³ In addition, this group of tourists tended to lodge together, increasingly commonly in the Western-style hotels that were being established to cater and appeal to Europeans with their Western-style beds, toilets, and food. Because of the relative opacity of Japanese culture and language, it is likely that inter-personal interaction with Japanese people was largely limited to those working in the tourist industry such as stall-keepers at bazaars, or hotel luggage porters. Essentialism is likely to have seen general opinion of coloured peoples extrapolated onto the Japanese, evidenced by the writings of Isabella Bird as cited earlier, and it is probable that the majority of tourists did not make significant efforts to 'explore' Japan and the Japanese, preferring the 'immunity from . . . near contact' that is 'just as well' in the East, to recall Elizabeth Butler's words cited in Part II.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Michael Wise. *Travellers' tales of old Japan* (Times Books International, 1985), p. 254. These 22,000 tourists did not all visit with Thomas Cook.

²⁷² Olivier le Bihan. 'Voyageurs et touristes Français au Japon au temps de Pierre Loti,' in the exhibition catalogue to '*Pierre Loti en Chine et au Japon*,' Maison de Pierre Loti Rochefort-sur-Mer, 20 June to 22 September 1986, pp. 15–16.

²⁷³ See: Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. ix, 216–217; Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports*, 179–243.

²⁷⁴ Butler 1909, p. 55, cited in: Duncan and Gregory (eds). *Writes of passage: Reading travel writing*, p. 121.

Visitors invited by the Japanese government were usually treated extremely well, and most stayed in Western lodgings, were provided with Western food, and exposed to selected aspects of Japanese culture to which they would be likely to respond favourably. The former American President General Ulysses S. Grant visited Japan in 1879 while on a world tour with his wife and son, and his visit provoked much criticism of excessive governmental spending on foreign guests for what, some argue, were politically motivated reasons.²⁷⁵ The Grants attended a play called 'The Later Three Years in the North' on 16 July 1879 at the Shintomiza Theatre, after which one hundred dancing geisha performed, dressed in extravagant costumes representing the American and Japanese flags.²⁷⁶ Eighteen-year-old Clara Whitney wrote of the Japanese reaction in her diary entry of 18 August 1879 as follows: 'It is also said that the general's stay had already cost the people \$150,000 and they could stand it no longer. They were angry at seeing the American flag so much on lanterns, fans, etc.'²⁷⁷

An unusual tourist for her period, if she can even be classed a tourist, was forty-seven year old Scottish Isabella Bird. Bird visited Japan in 1878 and travelled well beyond the conventional tourist path. In her book *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1878), a series of letters to her younger sister Henrietta details Bird's experiences in Japan travelling over 1400 miles by horseback, foot, *kuruma*-runner, or boat from Yokohama to Hokkaido and back.²⁷⁸ Bird attracted much curiosity from Europeans and Japanese alike firstly because she was a woman travelling alone. Moreover, she visited areas of Japan that were largely inaccessible to foreigners without prior and complicated arrangement due to restrictions on where foreigners could live, work, and travel in Japan. In most small towns people would never have encountered a foreigner, and perhaps some were even unaware of the concept of non-Japanese 'white' people. Bird was helped by government officials who arranged stays outside designated treaty port areas,²⁷⁹ as well as by her interpreter Ito who, in addition to being a source of linguistic support, acted as a go-between in acquiring accommodation and supplies.

Bird's travel was vastly unlike that of most tourists: it was usually rough, with lodgings squalid or basic by Western standards. For example she describes a *yadoya* (an inn or lodging house) at Kayashima as '... simply awful. . . . The room was dark, dirty, vile, noisy, and poisoned by sewage odours, as rooms unfortunately are very apt to be.'²⁸⁰ While Bird travelled with a Victorian outlook—for example she shows a pre-occupation with anthropometrical measurement of the Ainu people of northern

²⁷⁵ Namely, to gain American sympathy for both the unequal treaty system and Japan's worsening relations with Russia and China (concerning the Ryukyu Islands). See: Richie. *The Honorable visitors*, pp. 48–49.

²⁷⁶ For descriptions of the costumes, see: Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, pp. 260–261; and Richie. *The Honorable visitors*, p. 56.

²⁷⁷ Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 264.

²⁷⁸ A *kuruma*-runner was akin to a rickshaw runner.

Bird was in Japan from 20 May to 22 December 1878, and her route was roughly as follows: Yokohama – Nikko – Niigata – Shingoji – Kubota (now Akita) – Odate – Aomori – Hakodate – Muroan – Shiraroi – Tomakomai – Mombetsu – Biratori – Sapporo, and back to Yokohama by boat. See: Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*.

²⁷⁹ Travel was limited to twenty-five miles inland from the ports.

²⁸⁰ Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. 93

Japan²⁸¹—at the same time she seems to have been concerned with establishing and maintaining accuracy and authenticity in her records, which is evidenced throughout the text by frequent interspersions of botanical terms, diagrams, and cultural and historical commentary.²⁸² The places that Bird visited, the ways in which she travelled, and the places where she stayed, as well as the detailed nature of the observations she made of them, distinguish Bird from the majority of nineteenth-century tourists to Japan, and make her experiences almost in complete contrast to those of Pierre Loti.

Richard Gordon Smith was another traveller to Japan who kept detailed and illustrated records characterized by attention to scientific, historical, and cultural accuracy. Smith spent a lot of time collecting specimens of flora and fauna for European museums and sailing on the Inland Sea, and in addition to commentary on these activities his diaries also feature Japanese myths and legends.²⁸³

The foreign settlement at Nagasaki

Though most nineteenth-century Western workers in Japan remained for periods of only a few months or years rather than settling there permanently, the various treaty ports hosting them each developed a support infrastructure. The five ports were Hakodate, Kanagawa (Yokohama), Kobe, Niigata and Nagasaki. Nagasaki was one of the earliest to develop a distinct foreign settlement or quarter because of the maintenance of a trade infrastructure during the Tokugawa Era, its proximity to China and other Asian nations, and its sheltered harbour with a well developed maritime service industry. It was for these latter two reasons that Loti's ship the *Triomphante* docked at Nagasaki. By the time that the foreign treaty port settlements began to wane as foreigners were able to live and work anywhere in Japan, and also before it was eclipsed in size and importance by Yokohama, the foreign settlement at Nagasaki was the most 'historic' and 'important' of the group. The group of Westerners living or based in Nagasaki and travelling about wider Japan were one early window for Europe on Japan's culture and people, and a source of Japanese or Japanesque goods when they returned home with souvenirs. Furthermore, the perceptions of Europeans that Japanese living in Nagasaki would have got from residents of and visitors to the settlement before Loti visited in 1885 would have affected their treatment of Loti and the crew aboard the *Triomphante*. Most importantly for the purposes of this study though, Nagasaki is the setting for Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*.

The foreign settlement at Nagasaki was officially opened on 1 July 1859, and its residents enjoyed rights of extra-territoriality until 1899. Foreigners were not generally allowed to live outside the settlement, nor could any Japanese live within it, and instead of being sold land residents purchased a lease for 999 years (these leases came into question when the treaties were revised). The settlement was centred around the mudflats of the Oura River and can be divided into the six districts of Dejima,

²⁸¹ Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p.225, 257 ff, p. 306, 313.

²⁸² For a representative example, see: Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, 54 ff.

²⁸³ See: Victoria Manthorpe (ed.). *The Japan diaries of Richard Gordon Smith* (Viking/Rainbird, 1986).

Higashiyamate, Minamiyamate, Oura, Sagarimatsu, and Umegasaki. Higashiyamate was a residential district also known as 'Missionary Hill,' 'Consulate Hill' or 'American Hill' due to the Christian mission schools, residences, consulates, and the relatively high proportion of American residents who lived there. Minamiyamate or Naminohira Yamate was also a residential district and was known as 'British Hill' because of the concentration of British residents. The settlement's waterfront area, known as the 'Nagasaki Bund,' was popular amongst both residents and visitors, and was the district's business and leisure centre.

Residents came from a geographically diverse range of countries with the largest numbers being British, American, and French, a reflection of the make-up of foreigners working in Japan in general. Other significantly large groups were the German, Danish, Dutch and Russian populations; then there were the small groups of Portuguese, Italian, and Austrian; and lastly there were very small numbers of Swedish, Norwegian, Romanian, Polish, Australian, Indian, Belgian, Greek, Spanish, Canadian, and Swiss residents.

By the time that Loti visited Nagasaki in 1885, the foreign settlement was a bustling community whose residents lived an essentially Western life: they spoke their mother tongue, lived in Western-style dwellings, practised their own religion (usually some branch of Christianity), and generally took part in Western leisure activities including bowls and tennis, for example, rather than trying Japanese alternatives such as archery. There were about six-hundred yōkan or Western-style buildings, some of which were landmarks where residents and visitors would converge. Two examples were the Hôtel de France, which Loti visited on 11 July 1885,²⁸⁴ and the Oura Catholic church that was built in 1864 under the direction of Father Petitjean.²⁸⁵

The growing size of the foreign settlement led to the establishment of a municipal governing body in 1861, and this council remained in operation until May 1876. It regulated the sale of land, and kept records of foreigners, their various activities and establishments. A number of sporting and social clubs were formed such as the bowling and ladies' lawn tennis clubs, and the largest social club, the Nagasaki Club, was operational by 1862. It was the venue for a lot of dances and parties, and was frequented predominantly by European and American residents. Other municipal facilities were built such as a town hall, schools, pharmacies, doctor's surgeries, and grocers. The various English newspapers which were in circulation such as the *Rising Sun and Nagasaki Express* (an amalgamation of the *Rising Sun* and *Daily Express*) illustrates the size of the English-speaking foreign population in Nagasaki, and the various aspects of the infrastructure which emerged to cater to it.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Loti calls it *l'hôtel français*, but it is likely that this was where he went. See: Vercier, Quella-Villéger, and Dugas (eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie: Journal intime 1878–1911*, p. 165.

²⁸⁵ Most of the buildings of the foreign settlements were destroyed when Nagasaki was bombed on 9 August 1945.

²⁸⁶ Two French newspapers, the '*Courrier*,' '*Courier*' and '*l'Echo du Japon*,' '*Japan Echo*,' were in circulation in Yokohama during the 1880s.

A significant yet intermittent group of the foreign population of Nagasaki were the sailors temporarily in port while their ships underwent repairs. Most sailors did not have prolonged contact with the permanent infrastructure that supported the foreign community, but a facility created specifically to cater to their needs was the various Seamen's Homes or Institutes of Nagasaki. A detailed description of these are not of high relevance for the present study, however, because Loti makes no mention of them in *Madame Chrysanthème*, his personal diary, or his other writing on Japan.²⁸⁷

The official existence of the various foreign settlements essentially ended in 1899 when one series of treaty revisions came into effect. With demographic changes, the Nagasaki foreign settlement lost its predominantly Western population and character, and it further declined due to fewer European ships anchoring at Nagasaki after the Russo-Japanese War. Lastly, with the growing importance of Yokohama as the port closest to Japan's growing capital, Nagasaki's position as the leading international port was eclipsed.

²⁸⁷ The second of the Seamen's Homes would have been operational when Loti visited in 1885.

CHAPTER TEN

‘The land of Madam Chrysanthème’: Nineteenth-century general perceptions of Japan

For I, René Gallimard, have known and been loved by the perfect woman. There is a vision of the Orient that I have. Slender women, in chongsans and kimonos, who die for the love of unworthy foreign devils. Who are born and raised to be perfect women, and take whatever punishment we give them and spring back, strengthened by love, unconditional. It is a vision that has become my life. . . . I have a vision of the Orient that deep within her almond eyes there are still women, women willing to sacrifice themselves for the love of a man. Even a man whose love is completely without worth.²⁸⁸

Although the experiences of Westerners in Japan varied according to the reason for their visit, certain aspects of the Japanese culture were remarked on by large numbers of visitors. Their perceptions and interpretations provide a context for determining how representative Loti’s ideas and their articulation were.

Japan’s culture

Even nineteenth-century travellers to Japan who are commonly considered to have penetrated its culture to a relatively high extent inevitably interpreted, reaccentualised, and recorded its people and culture against a Western ‘norm from which other cultures deviated,’ to recall Hargreaves’ words.²⁸⁹ In addition, essentialist attitudes towards Japan were frequently articulated which reflected the general philosophy of a Western moral obligation to help nations in need of being civilised, as was discussed in Part II with respect to, for example, *la mission civilisatrice* and *rayonnement*. These habits emerge in most examples cited in this chapter, but one clear one is found in the comments of Sir Rutherford Alcock, whose words were fairly typical of those of his contemporaries:

Japan is essentially a country of paradoxes and anomalies, where all— even familiar things—put on new faces, and are curiously reversed. Except that they do not walk on their heads instead of their feet, there are few things in which they do not seem, by some occult law, to have been impelled in a perfectly opposite direction and a reversed order. They write from top to bottom, from right to left, in perpendicular instead of horizontal lines; and their books begin where ours end, thus furnishing good examples of the curious perfection this rule of contraries has attained. Their locks, though imitated from Europe, are all made to lock by turning the key from left to right. The course of all sublunary things appears reversed. Their day is for the

²⁸⁸ From the film ‘M. Butterfly,’ written by David Henry Hwang.

Beijing 1964, a dialogue between René Gallimard (Jeremy Irons), and Song Liling (John Lone).

²⁸⁹ Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 10.

most part our night; and this principle of antagonism crops out in the most unexpected and bizarre way in all their moral being, customs, and habits.²⁹⁰

Reducing Japan to an aesthetic image, and temporal nostalgia

Reducing Japan and its culture to an aesthetic image was partly a symptom of the temporal nostalgia that Japan evoked in many workers and visitors who regarded it as a country of a pre-modern time, existing in a 'golden age' (see below). The freshness and verdure of parts of Japan contrasted with the increasing urban and industrial areas of Europe, prompting many travellers to write of its rejuvenating effects. For example, Mary Hugh Fraser wrote:

I cannot imagine a better cure for weariness of spirit than a first visit to Japan. The country is absolutely fresh. All that one has read or heard fails to give any true impression of this vivid youngness of an atmosphere where things seem to sort themselves out in their real, and, to me, new values.²⁹¹

It was not uncommon for a visitor's response to Japan to be both ambivalent and polarised. On the one hand, many were enchanted with traditional Japan, and its revitalising verdure to the extent that they deplored Japan's attempts at a Westernisation and modernisation that threatened to spoil this. This will be demonstrated in Part V when Loti's rejection of these aspects of the Meiji Era are examined. However, at the same time some considered pre-industrial Japan a land of 'savages' in need of being civilised: politically, technologically, morally, and spiritually. This latter attitude was partly reflected in the reasons given for the delay in revising the unequal treaties: until it matured and gained experience in international dealings, Japan was not considered 'civilised' enough to join the ranks of the major European powers. Many nineteenth-century accounts express the attitude that the West was civilised and Japan was not, and this was particularly the case with missionaries and those in the military. A particularly clear example is found in the words of Captain Leroy Lansing Janes, cited in Part II:

[Japan] was never asleep, but always stolid, stubborn, doltish in her selfishness and arrogance and has been justly and righteously whipped into her place in the column of progress by the might and onward march of true civilization.²⁹²

The Japanese character

The Japanese character was often reaccentuated against a European norm and hence its description was commonly made in contrastive or antithetical terms. The initial rarity of Westerners, the range of

²⁹⁰ Rutherford Alcock. *Capital of the tycoon* (Longman, 1863), Vol. I, p. 414, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), p. 9. See also citation in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, pp. 48–49; and Chamberlain. *Things Japanese; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan for the use of travellers and others*, pp. 480–482.

²⁹¹ Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan: Sketches at the turn of the century*, p. 10. See also: pp. 55–56, 75, 118, 171, 306; Whitney (William Steele, & Tamiko Ichimata, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, pp. 98, 285; Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, pp. 225, 246–247, 292, 309.

²⁹² Original source details not given, cited in: Richie. *The Honorable visitors*, p. 31.

attitudes that the Japanese had towards them stemming from centuries of mistrust and (mutual) suspicion, combined with communication difficulties resulted in personal interaction of an artificial, confusing, and often emotive nature.

A large proportion of recorded perceptions of the Japanese character were based on the behaviour of Japanese servants or interpreters because these were the groups with which foreigners had the most contact. Many Westerners regarded their servants as unreliable, dishonest, lazy, and inefficient if left to their own devices, hence the need for a *kerai* or *karō*, a Japanese employee of a household who supervised and coordinated the activities of the servants.²⁹³ Servants also had the reputation of being unpredictable and vague with respect to their actual feelings, with some suddenly leaving appointments with no explanation.

Japanese who were not servants did not fare much better when appraised by the Western visitor. As was mentioned earlier, Japanese business people, usually men because women were rarely engaged in business with foreigners, were regarded as acting overwhelmingly in self-interest, dishonest, shrewd, and extremely guarded in their dealings with foreigners. Many foreigners thought they were charged higher prices than the Japanese: for example, Clara Whitney wrote the following of making a purchase at the well-known department store Daimaru in 1878: ' . . . but before [buying the scarf Mama] told me to tell the *bantoo* [shop assistant] that she hoped he spoke truly, for we are often cheated, being foreigners, but that we were ready to give the same price as Japanese do.'²⁹⁴

Perceptions of dishonesty were not restricted to servants and businessmen: many Westerners wrote of dishonest behaviour in their daily encounters with the Japanese. For example, Marie Stopes wrote in 1907 that: ' . . . I really grieve that it is so utterly impossible to trust the Japanese,'²⁹⁵ while Richard Gordon Smith wrote: 'I only mention this to show how utterly unreliable these people are if you take your eyes off them for a moment.'²⁹⁶ The Japanese cultural and psychological pattern of *honne* versus *tatemae*, or veiling true feelings with an exterior mask, partially explains discrepancies in the interpretation of communication. Western ignorance of this social behaviour or habitus contributed towards the perception that the Japanese were dishonest, indirect, and false.²⁹⁷ The association of these

²⁹³ See: Whitney (William Steele & Tamiko Ichimata, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 220.

²⁹⁴ Whitney (William Steele & Tamiko Ichimata, Eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 161.

²⁹⁵ Cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 95. Original source: Marie Stopes. *A Journal from Japan* (Blackie and Son, 1910), p. 133.

Ian Littlewood argues that the Western concept of the Japanese as dishonest may come in part from the nature of their art compared to Europe's: from a European perspective, Japanese art works were more considered clever or ingenious in their compositional tricks of spatial 'illusion' rather than as original (Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, pp. 95–96). This was also the case with Japanese products: they were regarded as copies or imitations rather than original.

²⁹⁶ Manthorpe (ed.). *The Japan diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, p. 75.

²⁹⁷ See: Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan: Sketches at the turn of the century*, p. 104. For elaboration of the concepts of *honne* and *tatemae*, see: Takeo Doi. *The Anatomy of dependence* (London; New

traits with the Japanese was deeply rooted in Western thought even before significant numbers visited Japan: for example Francisco Cabral, the Jesuit mission superior from 1570 to 1581, wrote that ‘Among the Japanese it is considered a matter of honour and wisdom not to disclose the inner self, to prevent anyone’s reading therein. They are trained to this from childhood; they are educated to be inscrutable and false.’²⁹⁸ Margaretha Wepper, who Basil Hall Chamberlain described as ‘mad as a March hare,’²⁹⁹ wrote that ‘. . . the life of the European in Japan is, after all, a wretched one. The senses and animal appetite are abundantly provided for; but the mind, the heart, and the soul are left totally destitute.’³⁰⁰ It will be seen later how Loti transposed these general attitudes into *Madame Chrysanthème* with the addition of surprising Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the money he paid her just before he left Japan.

Inefficiency and inaccuracy were also considered hallmarks of the Japanese character, and once again mention of these characteristics largely concerned men because Japanese women seldom interacted with foreigners in capacities where such traits would emerge. Perceived Japanese inefficiency included what many foreigners considered unnecessary and intrusive bureaucracy in areas ranging from otherwise simple business dealings to living or travelling outside the foreign settlements. For example, on 4 November 1859 Francis Hall wrote:

To do business promptly is no part of Japanese usage. The whole business transaction of the Custom House for these four hours could have been performed by any American of ordinary capacity in a half hour. [In Japan] everything is so tied up by routine, and hampered by forms that the greatest stretch of patience is necessary to do any business with officials. . . . The perfection of how not to do it belongs to this empire.³⁰¹

Merchants and businessmen in particular found their dealings hampered not only by bureaucratic inefficiency but also superfluous, intrusive intervention. For example, Francis Hall wrote in 1860:

The Japanese grow daily more and more close in their espionage of foreigners. “Their impertinence is at times intolerable.” You can have no dealings with any merchant, or with your own servants, without their knowledge and possible interference.³⁰²

York; Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1973; and Takeo Doi. *The Anatomy of self: The individual versus society* (London; New York; Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1988).

²⁹⁸ Cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 169. Original source: George Elison. *Deus destroyed: The image of modern Christianity in early modern Europe* (1973) (Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 16.

²⁹⁹ Chamberlain. *Things Japanese: Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 71.

³⁰⁰ Cited in: Chamberlain. *Things Japanese: Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 71, note.

³⁰¹ F. G. Notehelfer (ed). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859–1866*, p. 70.

³⁰² F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*, p. 52.

Isabella Bird too writes frequently of what she considers unnecessary bureaucracy such as having to show her passport and be registered with the local police before staying at lodgings around the interior of Japan.³⁰³ Another major area of criticism of Japanese inaccuracy concerned press [mis]reporting, both statistically and analytically. For example, in 1876 Clara Whitney wrote of Japanese newspapers' reporting of damage statistics of a fire that 'Japanese figures cannot be relied upon.'³⁰⁴

Certain groups of the Japanese were considered unintelligent, particularly rural peasants and the Ainu people. For example, Bird wrote of the Ainu that:

These Ainos [sic], doubtless, stand high among uncivilized peoples. They are, however, as completely irreclaimable as the wildest of nomad tribes, and contact with civilisation, where it exists, only debases them. . . . They are charming in many ways, but make one sad, too, by their stupidity, apathy, and hopelessness, . . .³⁰⁵

Against a norm of Christian ethics, the Japanese in general were considered immoral in areas including their values and their excessive consumption of alcohol.³⁰⁶ For example, Isabella Bird writes that 'The Japanese have a perfect passion for children, but it is not good for European children to be much with them, as they corrupt their morals, and teach them to tell lies.'³⁰⁷ It will be later seen that the protagonist in *Madame Chrysanthème* also remarked on the Japanese 'passion for children,' yet wrote that their playthings would scare children of other countries.

In particular, the open nudity of the Japanese and the easy, institutionalised availability of sex evoked much surprise and criticism.³⁰⁸ Some feared that Westerners, unused to such temptation, would be led astray. For example, Bishop George Smith wrote:

³⁰³ See: Bird. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. 157, 208.

³⁰⁴ Whitney (William Steele & Tamiko Ichimata, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 111. See also: Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan: sketches at the turn of the century*, p. 28.

³⁰⁵ Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. 284. See also pp. 258, 282, 283; and citations from Richie. *The Honorable visitors*, p. 30.

³⁰⁶ See: F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*, p. 72; and Bird, *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: an account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. 280.

³⁰⁷ Bird, *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: an account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. 119.

³⁰⁸ Preconceptions of Japanese immorality amongst Europeans may have originated from the Japanese art form of *shunga*, or erotic wood-block prints. As will be outlined in Part IV, as early as 1615 the European public had been exposed to *shunga* through pornographic books and paintings which John Saris, an employee of the East India Company, had tried to smuggle into England. Though most nineteenth-century people who considered the Japanese immoral would not have known of Saris' activities, they could fairly credibly have been in contact with Japanese *shunga* due to the popularity and exposure of *japonisme*.

Not content with these flagitious methods of corrupting the foreign residents, the native officials contributed every facility for the perpetration of domestic vice and impurity. Young men were encouraged to negotiate through the custom-house the terms of payment and the selection of a partner in their dissolute mode of living. It is to be feared that the snare has not been set in vain; and Kanagawa was represented to me by persons generally well informed on local matters, as a deplorable scene of demoralization and profligate life.³⁰⁹

In both *Madame Chrysanthème* and Loti's personal diary there is concern that Yves/ Pierre would be led astray by the Japanese women who were located nearer after the *Triomphante* was relocated to the dry dockyards. Bathhouses were commonly visited by Westerners, some of whom claimed to be scandalised by the unabashed public nudity. John Henry Preble, who accompanied Commodore Perry's squadron in 1854, described bathhouses as places where 'old and young, male and female are mingled promiscuously in a state of unblushing nudity to the gaze of strangers.'³¹⁰ However, 'unblushing nudity' could also be interpreted positively as a sign of a young, pure, and innocent pre-industrial society compared to the mature, corrupted, and experienced industrialised world of Europe and North America. The Comte de Beauvoir wrote: 'In Japan, one lives in full daylight; modesty, or rather immodesty, is unknown there; it is the innocence of the earthly paradise, and the costume of our first parents has nothing which shocks the sensibilities of this people who still live in the golden age.'³¹¹

Courage and brutality were two aspects commonly associated with the character of the Japanese male. The set of perceptions surrounding them that frequently arose in the popular European media contrasts with the construction of Japan as an effeminate country that critics often focus on when aiming to demonstrate relations of subordination and power, as were discussed in the Introduction. Japanese males were sometimes considered courageous to the point of lacking any fear of death, and T.W.H. Crosland reasoned after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war that '[Japan] beats Russia because her ranks are packed with men who would rip themselves up rather than suffer defeat, and to whom life is not a matter worth a moment's consideration. They are men, in fact, who believe themselves to be without souls.'³¹²

³⁰⁹ George Smith. *Ten weeks in Japan* (London, 1861), p. 251, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 129.

³¹⁰ G. H. Preble (B. Szczesniak, ed.). *The Opening of Japan: A diary of discovery in the Far East 1853–1856* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 181., cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 131.

³¹¹ L. de Beauvoir. *Voyage autour du monde (1869)* (Paris, 1873), p. 525., cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 131.

³¹² T. W. H. Crosland. *The Truth about Japan* (Grant Richards, 1904), p. 43, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 37.

See also A.B. Mitford and Ernest Satow's accounts of the *seppuku* or *hara-kiri* of Taki Zenzaburo in 1868 (A.B.F. Mitford. 'The Execution by Hara-Kiri', *Cornhill*, Vol. XX (1869), pp. 549–554, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 36. Satow's account can be found in: Ernest Satow. *A Diplomat in Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 344–347).

There was the common perception that Japanese men were brutal, and this was based initially on historic accounts by early travellers such as Francesco Carletti and Engelbert Kaempfer who wrote gruesome tales of *seppuku* or *hara-kiri* (a method of ritualised suicide involving self-disembowelment). During the nineteenth century, a number of reports of this practice continued to circulate in Europe written by people including A. B. Mitford and Ernest Satow, both of whom detailed the death of Taki Zenzaburo by *seppuku* in 1868 after he had given command to open fire on foreigners in Kobe. Some even claimed such methods to be so commonplace that children used them as an act of defiance when in trouble with their parents.³¹³

In particular, diplomats and governmental advisors were exposed to the violent manifestation of anti-foreign sentiment as legations were attacked, workers murdered (for example, Henry Heusken and C. L. Richardson in 1861), or assassination attempts made on prominent visiting dignitaries such as the visiting Russian Cesarévitch on 11 May 1891.³¹⁴ It was usually strongly nationalist or conservative factions that were behind these attacks, and motivations included resentment at the amount being spent on foreign wages and institutions such as the Rokumeikan to support Westerners, or a fear of losing national identity to Western philosophies and practices. Western patriotism, concerns for personal safety, and sheer outrage saw many accounts being of a dramatic, emotive nature. For example, Sir Rutherford Alcock wrote as follows of the attack on the British Legation of 5 July 1861:

We have escaped a massacre but seemingly by the merest chance. . . . I had barely time to seize my revolver and advance a few steps, when I heard blows and cries, and the report of a pistol in the passage which runs at the end of my own apartments. The next moment both Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Morrison (HM Consul in Nagasaki who had come up to Edo with Alcock) staggered forward exclaiming they were wounded: and I saw the blood flowing profusely from the former, whose left arm was disabled. . . .³¹⁵

Guns were commonly owned by foreigners fearing for their safety both in and outside the foreign legation compounds. Ernest Satow wrote that 'The trade to Japan in [revolvers] must have been very great in these days, as everyone wore a pistol whenever he ventured beyond the limits of the foreign settlement, and constantly slept with one under his pillow,'³¹⁶ while Algernon Mitford went a step further, claiming that he 'never wrote a note without having a revolver on the table, and never went to bed without a Spencer rifle and bayonet at hand.'³¹⁷ *Madame Chrysanthème* has virtually no mention of the danger that some foreigners were in, or certainly would have been aware of, despite the period of

³¹³ See: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 36.

³¹⁴ For a detailed account of the assassination attempt on the Russian Cesarévitch, see: Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan: sketches at the turn of the century*, pp. 280–291.

³¹⁵ Cited in: Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports*, p. 103. No source is cited. For another account of the same attack see: F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*, 351ff; and p. 351 for other attacks.

³¹⁶ Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 161. Original source: Satow. *A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 47.

³¹⁷ Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 162. Original source: A. B. Mitford, *Memories* (2nd edition, vol. 2, Hutchinson, 1915), p. 389.

Loti's visit being one in which this was relatively high. Loti's conscious omission of this aspect of the experience of Westerners in Japan supports the claim that the author indeed tailored the work to align with expectations of Japan typical of consumers of japonaiserie that the country was an idyllic land.

Most visitors mention the intrusive curiosity of both Japanese children and adults. Usually this curiosity was little more than an irritating, somewhat flattering interruption of mundane activities such as shopping and sightseeing.³¹⁸ However, for visitors in areas where foreigners were exceptionally rare or sometimes had never been seen at all, it became difficult to have any privacy or simply move around. For example, Isabella Bird wrote of staying in a *yadoya*:

About nine I heard a good deal of whispering and shuffling, which continued for some time, and, on looking up, saw opposite to me about 40 men, women and children (Ito says 100), all staring at me, with light upon their faces. They had silently removed three of the *shoji* [sliding screens] next the passage! I called Ito loudly, and clapped my hands, but they did not stir till he came, and then they fled like a flock of sheep. I have patiently, and even smilingly, borne all out-of-doors crowding and curiosity, but this kind of intrusion is unbearable; and I sent Ito to the police station, much against his will, to beg the police to keep the people out of the house, as the house-master was unable to do so. . . . The policeman said that the people had never seen a foreigner.³¹⁹

Attributes of the Japanese character that were positively appraised included their ingenuity and skill in traditional craft work, as well as the industriousness of manual workers such as the *jinrikisha* or *kuruma* runners with whom the foreigner had relatively frequent contact when travelling around the treaty ports. Their attention to artistic decoration, as well as their skill and speed of production were remarked on by many Westerners, with Sir Rutherford Alcock writing: 'Perhaps in nothing are the Japanese to be more admired than for the wonderful genius they display in arriving at the greatest possible results with the simplest means, and the smallest possible expenditure of labour or material.'³²⁰ In a similar vein, some travellers described the Japanese as having a keenly developed aesthetic sense that they incorporated into their living environment, whether this be in the detail of the handle of a painted *shōji* (sliding) screen or in their gardens and fields, as Charles Dilke remarked on in 1896: 'Japanese are not like other dwellers in picturesque places, unaware of the beauties that surround them. They love the picturesque; they are the only people who plant in their fields double fruit trees for the beauty of their bloom.'³²¹

³¹⁸ For example, see: Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan* (New York; Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979), p. 34, 103, 138, pp. 227–228.

³¹⁹ Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, pp. 153–154.

³²⁰ Cited in: Chamberlain. *Things Japanese: Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 255.

³²¹ C. W. Dilke. 'English influence in Japan,' *Fortnightly Review* XX, *Kipling's Japan*, p. 38, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 66. See also: De Hübner, *A ramble round the world*, Vol. I, p. 384, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 67.

Japanese children were generally considered well mannered, mature, and obedient, yet at the same time carefree and indulged by their parents, enjoying a freedom surpassing that of Western children. Isabella Bird's comments are representative of her contemporaries:

I never saw people take so much delight in their offspring, carrying them about, or holding their hands in walking, watching and entering into their games, supplying them constantly with new toys, taking them to picnics and festivals, never being content to be without them, and treating other people's children also with a suitable measure of affection and attention. Both mothers and fathers take a pride in their children The children, though for our ideas are too gentle and formal, are very prepossessing in looks and behaviour. They are so perfectly docile and obedient, so ready to help their parents, so good to the little ones, and, in the many hours which I have spent in watching them at play, I have never heard an angry word or seen a sour look or act. But they are little men and women rather than children, . . .³²²

Physical characteristics the Japanese

The physical appearance of the Japanese attracted the attention of many Western visitors. Descriptions ranged from the purely aesthetic to scientific observations reflective of the social Darwinism discussed in Part II. Though the highly subjective nature of opinions of beauty saw large variation in how the Japanese body was perceived, most travellers did not respond positively to the naked, or semi-naked Japanese body, with Loti writing in *Madame Chrysanthème* of the Japanese woman beneath her kimono that: 'Une Japonaise, dépourvue de sa longue robe et de sa large ceinture aux coques apprêtées, n'est plus qu'un être minuscule et jaune, aux jambes torses, à la gorge grêle et piriforme; n'a plus rien de son petit charme artificiel, qui s'en est allé complètement avec le costume,'³²³ 'A Japanese woman, deprived of her long dress and her huge sash with its pretentious bows, is nothing but a diminutive yellow being, with crooked legs and thin, pear-shaped breasts; she has no longer a remnant of her artificial little charms, which have completely disappeared in company with her costume.'³²⁴

Descriptions of an unrefined or 'savage' physical appearance may have been symptomatic of colonial and social Darwinist mentality that used such criteria to create a hierarchy of races, and were very common amongst visitors to Japan of the period. Richard Gordon Smith wrote of Japanese fishermen:

They think nothing of laughing at you yet they, themselves, have positively diabolically ugly heads and are more vulgarly clad than the naked savages of the tropics. A blue shirt comes only to their hips leaving bare all that is

³²² Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p.75. See also: Manthorpe (ed.). *The Japan diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, pp. 180, 189; G. F. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859-186*, p. 39; Cortazzi (ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan*, p. 242; Richie. *The Honorable visitors*, p. 93.

³²³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 166.

³²⁴ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 216. The translation has been slightly altered.

supposed to be covered; it is almost impossible to imagine what low looking beasts they appear,³²⁵

while Isabella Bird wrote that the Japanese were ‘small, ugly, kindly-looking, shriveled, bandy-legged, round-shouldered, concave-chested, poor-looking beings.’³²⁶ She further used the Japanese physicality as a determinant of their intellectual and moral capacities, and used detailed anthropometrical measurements as a basis for metaphysical conclusions. For example, she writes of the Ainu people in Hokkaido:

The “ferocious savagery” of the appearance of the men is produced by a profusion of thick, soft, black hair, divided in the middle, and falling in heavy masses nearly to the shoulders. [...]. I have measured the height of thirty of the adult men of this village [Biratori], and it ranges from 5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 6 inches. The circumference of the heads averages 22.1 inches, and the arc, from ear to ear, 13 inches. According to Mr. Davies, the average weight of the Aino adult masculine brain, ascertained by measurement of Aino [sic] skulls, is 45.90 ounces avoirdupois ...³²⁷

Though Bird’s studies were generally accepted amongst European society, with Basil Hall Chamberlain writing that they were ‘specially valuable,’³²⁸ it is important to note that the majority of Western travellers to Japan or consumers of japonaiserie would not have been concerned with scientific measurement of the Japanese. Bird made travels to many areas for anthropometrical research, and accordingly her measurements of the Ainu were more part of her individual character and intellectual curiosity and reason for travel to distant countries, than they were representative of the general European populace.

Japanese women

The attitudes towards Japanese women of Loti’s contemporaries provide a context for determining how representative the author’s responses towards and depiction of them were. As has been outlined, public nudity at bath houses or the easy availability of some Japanese women for non-committal sex were interpreted by some as evidence of immorality and licentiousness, yet by others as a sign of an Edenesque, naïve, and child-like society.

³²⁵ Manthorpe (ed.). *The Japan diaries of Richard Gordon Smit*, pp. 76–77. See also: Chamberlain. *Things Japanese; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan for the use of travellers and others*, p. 93; Clara Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara’s diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 93, 160, 239; Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, pp. 77–78, 306–307

³²⁶ Cited in: Littlewood. *The idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 45.

³²⁷ Bird. *Unbeaten tracks in Japan: An account of travels in the interior including visits to the aborigines of Yezo and the shrine of Nikko*, p. 257.

³²⁸ Chamberlain. *Things Japanese: Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, p. 68.

The Japanese woman was generally considered as a rightfully and readily obtainable source of an unusual sexual experience for the Western male. This attitude evolved partly from the Japanese government's policy of making women easily available for Westerners.³²⁹ Brothels known by names such as the 'Crystal Palace' or 'Grand Cairo' (both refer to the *Gankiro*, a large establishment in Yokohama) were popular amongst male foreigners in Japan. Visitors to Japan give detailed accounts of certain quarters lined with brothels where Japanese women would peer out from behind bamboo lattices and wait to be chosen as a mistress.³³⁰ In 1863 the British doctor William Willis—who himself had a Japanese mistress while in Yokohama and 'married' a Japanese woman in Kagoshima between 1870 and 1877—wrote a report for the foreign office on the state of prostitution in Japan, which included discussion of sexual health. Both the very necessity for the report and the information it included illustrate the commonness of the practice of hiring a Japanese mistress. In 1867, nearly twenty years before Loti visited Nagasaki in 1885, Dr. Willis illustrated this institutionalisation when he wrote:

It is computed that there are about one thousand prostitutes at Yokohama, of which number between two and three hundred are employed as mistresses of foreigners, with an average wage, at the present time, of fifteen to twenty dollars a month each. A foreign soldier or sailor at Yokohama pays one bu or about 1s. 4d. [7p] for sexual intercourse; if he remains during an entire night he pays a dollar or about 4s. 4d [22p].³³¹

For some visitors, the Japanese woman's easy and institutionalised availability was evidence of an immoral and licentious society. As has been cited, Bishop George Smith wrote:

. . . the native officials contributed every facility for the perpetration of domestic vice and impurity. Young men were encouraged to negotiate through the custom-house the terms of payment and the selection of a partner in their dissolute mode of living. It is to be feared that the snare has not been set in vain; and Kanagawa was represented to me by persons generally well informed on local matters, as a deplorable scene of demoralisation and profligate life.³³²

Alternatively, and as has been mentioned, the sexual availability of Japanese women could be interpreted as a sign of an uncorrupted, naïve and Eden-like society, antithetical to nineteenth-century Europe with its politically and socially reinforced moral constraints, many of which surrounded appropriate behaviour for women.

³²⁹ This policy originates from the seventeenth century when the Dutch living at Dejima were supplied with Japanese women from Maruyama, the red light district of Nagasaki.

³³⁰ For example, Major Henry Knollys, Henry Arthur Tilley, Gilbert Watson, Daniel Pidgeon, and Henry Norman write of such an occurrence. See: Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports*, 274 ff.

³³¹ Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports*, p. 278. See also: F. G. Notehelfer (ed.). *Japan through American eyes: The journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama 1859–1866*, pp. 249–250.

³³² George Smith. *Ten weeks in Japan*, p.251, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 129. See also: p. 132.

Whether or not such was actually the case, some foreigners who hired Japanese mistresses regarded the arrangement as a marriage that would allow them to live amongst local inhabitants rather than be restricted to the foreign communities.³³³ Ian Littlewood identifies the sense of security that ‘owning’ a Japanese woman could afford the Western male far from home, as well as its significance at a broader level, writing:

In the absence of military conquest [of Japan], the imagery of sexual conquest acquires a special resonance. To possess the woman is as close as one can get to possessing Japan; an embodiment of the culture, she offers the chance to purchase it, to dominate it, to penetrate its mysteries and its secret knowledge.

...

To recline with your pipe while attended by a bevy of submissive damsels is to enjoy a surrogate form of colonial domination. For the Westerner unsustained by political or administrative authority, the Japanese woman provides a reassuring sense of superiority. The timid geisha with the eyes and manner of a wild hart, the tea-house girl on her knees, the maid bending low upon your doorstep—these are more than women whose services you have bought; they are images of Japan, and their submissiveness is the submissiveness of Japan. By the same token, their sexual availability reflects a Japan that is ripe for commercial exploitation. The country has been brought into the market place, and its women offer proof of the potential reach of commerce.³³⁴

Men who temporarily married Japanese women tended to live in Japan for a short period of time because long-term residents would usually have been accompanied by their families, would hire mistresses casually, or marry a Japanese woman permanently and live the life of a married couple, as was the case with Lafcadio Hearn. While Clara Whitney married a Japanese man (Kaji Umetarō in 1886) and had five children with him, it was very rare for a Caucasian woman to marry a Japanese man.

The Japanese woman was generally considered physically attractive and exotically alluring when dressed in traditional costume with elaborate hair and make-up, yet unattractive and even repulsive when seen naked, working, or in ordinary clothes. Her physical traits tended to be linked to her youthfulness and childishness, and common adjectives used to describe her include ‘small,’ ‘cat-like,’ ‘pouting,’ ‘doll-like,’ ‘exquisite,’ ‘porcelain skinned,’ and ‘baby-faced.’ Such depictions commonly

³³³ For example and as will be discussed in Part IV, Suetoshi Funaoka of Tokai University discusses whether Loti’s marriage to Okané-San in 1885 was actually official. His research found no mention of the name ‘Julien Viaud’ (Pierre Loti’s real name) or ‘*Triomphante*’ (the name of the ship on which Loti travelled to Japan) in official papers kept at the library of Nagasaki, and neither does the author appear in the ‘List of approved marriages to foreigners’ (côté 316 14-étranger 518) or in the ‘Register of foreign affairs 1885 – Contracts with strangers’ (côté 316 14-étranger 481). Funaoka deduces that rather than an official marriage between Loti and Okané-San, the pair merely had a contract of co-habitation. In *Madame Chrysanthème*, the protagonist mentions registering his marriage at the police station at Umegaya and thereby being given permission to live in Nagasaki, but there is no mention of this in his personal journal, and records at the Umegaya station cannot be checked as most are disposed of every five years. In addition, others were lost in the bombing of Nagasaki during the Second World War.

³³⁴ Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, pp. 142–143.

reduced her to an aesthetic item. Lafcadio Hearn wrote in *Japan: an attempt at interpretation* (1904): 'For it has well been said that the most wonderful aesthetic products of Japan are not its ivories, nor its bronzes, nor its porcelains, nor its swords, nor any of its marvels in metal or lacquer—but its women.'³³⁵

Both male and female visitors described her character as meek, gentle, and obedient, while also being gay, frivolous, and child-like. For example, Henry Norman wrote in *The Real Japan* (1892):

If you could take the light from the eyes of a Sister of Mercy at her gracious task, the smile of a maiden looking over the seas for her lover, and the heart of an unspoiled child, and materialise them into a winsome and healthy little body, crowned with a mass of jet-black hair and dressed in bright rustling silks, you would have the typical Japanese woman.³³⁶

Perceptions of the Japanese woman often depended solely on external observations, with the possibility of 'intelligent' or 'meaningful' reasons for her behaviour being largely overlooked, as will be examined in detail in Part V with respect to the protagonist's approach to her in *Madame Chrysanthème*. The reasons for this include that very few Western men could speak Japanese sufficiently to communicate with them beyond a superficial level, and the sorts of encounters they generally had did not invite or stimulate enquiry into her cultural and personal habitus. Occasionally foreign visitors, usually females, on familiar terms with Japanese women wrote of their limited position in society and how this influenced their behaviour. For example, Clara Whitney wrote in her diary entry of 22 October 1876 titled '*The Fate of Japanese Women:*'

All day today I've been burdened with a heaviness for the fate of Japanese women. My heart is very sore for them and when I see their low condition and its hopelessness, I love them like sisters. I can't do anything to help them, only cry for their hard lot. After they have married and are about twenty-five or thirty years old, they lose their youth and prettiness. They cannot powder, paint, or wear bright colors — only bear children and keep house, wearing out their life, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, in doing nothing. No hope of anything different. No holidays. All work and no looking forward to anything nice. Oh, I feel as if I were favored by God indeed standing beside them. . . . Oh, how I long to take each sister by the hand and lift her up— one by one, out of their rags and ignorance and seat them at the blessed feet of Jesus, where sat Mary of old.³³⁷

³³⁵ Lafcadio Hearn. *Japan: An attempt at interpretation* (Macmillan, 1904), p. 393, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 123.

³³⁶ Henry Norman. *The Real Japan* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1893), p. 174, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 135. See also W. E. Griffis. *The Mikado's empire* (1886) (Harper & Bros., 1883), p. 559, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 113; George Smith. *Ten weeks in Japan* (London, 1861), pp. 276–277, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 113; and Clive Holland. *My Japanese wife* (R. A. Everett, 1903), pp. 11–12, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, pp. 120–121.

³³⁷ Whitney (Tamiko Ichimata & William Steele, eds.). *Clara's diary: An American girl in Meiji Japan*, p. 103. See also pages: 58, 65, 235.

The perceptions that Westerners gained from either visiting Japan in person, or by reading accounts of those who had, determined the expectations of depictions of Japan on the consumer market, whether these featured visually on items of japonaiserie or literally in travelogues such as Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*. In Part V, the extent to which the author moulded his travelogue to meet consumer expectations will be examined. It will become apparent that while his attitudes were not unusual, their representation in the travelogue was more prescriptive and absolute than that of most contemporary writers, something accentuated by the monologic structure of the work.

Nineteenth-century informative Western writing on Japan

To contextualise Loti's literary representation and approach to Japan in *Madame Chrysanthème* it is useful to outline other nineteenth-century writing about Japan. This literature can be broadly divided into two groups: works whose authors aimed primarily to inform or educate their readers, and those written predominantly for entertainment or amusement. It will be seen in Part V that Loti's travelogue fell within the second category.

Briefly, books written about Japan in European languages before the end of the *sakoku* policy were few and far between. Their influence on the average Western person was negligible because of a combination of the relative difficulty and time involved in printing and publishing, and low literacy rates and levels of general interest in Japan. Some works however were of importance to Western understanding of Japan because they were considered authoritative texts in a field where very few existed, and these later became reference tools for scholars. Enthusiasts of japonisme and collectors such as Phillipe Burty who owned earlier reference books on Japan shared these texts amongst their acquaintances, deepening and diversifying their influence. For example, Philip Franz von Siebold's *Nippon Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japon* (1831), *Flora Japonica* (1835-1870), and *Fauna Japonica* (1833-1850) were very widely studied. Engelbert Kaempfer's *A history of Japan* (London, 1727) was to have a relatively far-reaching influence because it was published in English (1727-8), Latin (1728), Dutch (1729), French (1729, as *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'empire du Japon*), Russian (1773), German (1777), and Japanese (1880). The work remained the authoritative text on Japan well into the nineteenth century.³³⁸ Other books that emerged from the pre-Perry period that remained in circulation into the nineteenth century include: *Illustrations of Japan* (Issac Titsingh, 1822, originally written in French), and *Histoire et Description générale du Japon* (Charlevoix, 1736).

However, by the time that Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote *Things Japanese* in 1890, a 'great many thousands' of books had been written on various aspects of Japan. In the introductory chapter to the 1905 fifth edition of the text, Chamberlain demonstrates this when he writes:

Fr. Von Wenckstern's *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* contains a great many thousands of entries, from which it may be inferred that *not* to have

³³⁸ However, as Chamberlain (1905) writes, by 1905 editions of Kaempfer's work were 'rare, and command high prices.' (Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan, for the use of travelers and others*, p. 267).

written a book about Japan is fast becoming a title to distinction. The art of Japan, the history of Japan, the language, folk-lore, botany, even the earthquakes and the diseases of Japan—each of these, with many other subjects, has a little library to itself. Then there are the works of an encyclopaedic character, and there are the books of travel. Some of the latter possess great value, as photographing Japanese manners for us at certain periods. Others are at the ordinary low level of globe-trotting literature,—twaddle enlivened by statistics at second-hand.³³⁹

Chamberlain was a professor of Japanese and philology at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and his major contributions to scholarship on Japan include a translation of the *Kojiki* ('*Record of Ancient Matters*,' c. 1883 [translation]), *A simplified grammar of the Japanese language* (1886), *A handbook of colloquial Japanese* (1888), and *A practical introduction to the study of Japanese writing* (1899). *Things Japanese* is his best-known work, and is a one-volume (multiple edition) examination of aspects of Japan including its art, climate, Europeanisation, festivals, literature, newspapers, philosophy, railways, tea ceremonies, and zoology. Most of the text is written and researched by Chamberlain himself, though other scholars contributed on certain topics: for example, William Aston wrote an article on archeology. The author was largely successful in his aim to produce a balanced, non-prejudiced, and factual account of the aspects included. The renown and perception of accuracy of the work was such that in 1935 Count Kabayama Aisuke credited Chamberlain as having 'taught Japanese and Japan to the Japanese.'³⁴⁰ Chamberlain's work is cited throughout this study because it is a valuable account of how scholars on Japan of Loti's era considered the country, and also of the sorts of ideas widely circulated about it because the work was well-known by academics and non-specialists alike.

The growth in literature on Japan in the nineteenth century was stimulated by the increasing numbers of Westerners visiting the country and an accompanying rise in general interest about it. Concurrently, technological advances in the printing process made books quicker, easier, and cheaper to produce, and rising literacy levels meant that more people could enjoy them. Because there were, by 1905, a 'great many thousands' of books partly or wholly dedicated to Japan, a selection of books well-known enough to be cited in nineteenth-century and present-day literature only will be very briefly mentioned. Examples that have already been cited, or will be in the coming parts, will not be repeated.

In the section concerning 'books on Japan,' Basil Hall Chamberlain identifies the twelve most 'important' books on the country as follows: *The Mikado's empire* (Rev. W. E. Griffis), *Glimpses of unfamiliar Japan* (Lafcadio Hearn), *Japanese girls and women* (A. M. Bacon), *Tales of old Japan* (A. B. Mitford), *A History of Japanese literature* (W. G. Aston), *The soul of the Far East* (Percival Lowell), *Evolution of the Japanese* (Rev. Sidney Gulick), *A history of Japan during the century of early European intercourse (1542–1651)* (J. Murdoch), *The capital of the tycoon* (Sir Rutherford

³³⁹ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan, for the use of travelers and others*, p. 64.

³⁴⁰ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan, for the use of travelers and others*, p. vii (publisher's forward).

Alcock, 1863, concerning his dealings with the shogunate), *Japan and China* (Captain F. Brinkley), *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (varied, including Ernest Satow and William Aston), and *Descriptive and historical catalogue of Japanese and Chinese paintings in the British Museum* (William Anderson).³⁴¹

Concerning Japanese art or its influence on Western art, a topic pertinent to the present study, the extent of writing on this can be illustrated by Chamberlain including about twenty works in his list of recommended books following the section on Japanese art.³⁴² *L'Art Japonais* (Louis Gonse, 1883) was a major work in two volumes with over 1000 illustrations, sixty-four of which were in colour. In addition to its ordinary editions, the book, written with the help of Samuel Bing and the de Goncourt brothers, had one hundred volumes printed on imperial Japanese paper. Another well-known study was *The pictorial arts of Japan*, by William Anderson (London: 1886) that Chamberlain describes as a 'magnificent work, conceived in a critical spirit, written with competent knowledge, and beautifully illustrated.'³⁴³ Edmond de Goncourt wrote a lot about Japan, including *La maison d'un artiste, An artist's house* (Paris, 1881), and monographs on Utamaro (1891) and Hokusai (1896). As knowledge of the various aspects of Japanese art grew, books became increasingly specialised and based on sound academic research, rather than enthusiasts extrapolating onto Japanese art their own knowledge of art or aesthetic sensibilities. This is a particularisation of the situation of Oriental studies in general where the standards of what was acceptable for publication were raised as knowledge and the number of 'specialists' increased. Examples include: *Flowers of Japan* (Josiah Condor, 1891), *Music and musical instruments of Japan* (Sir Francis Pigott, 1909), *Butterflies from Japan* (Leech, 1889), *Dolmens and burial mounds in Japan* (William Gowland, 1897), and *Coins of Japan* (Neil Munro, 1904). Other books on the art and aesthetics of Japan include: *A glimpse at the art of Japan* (James Jackson Jarves, New York, 1876), *The flowers of Japan and the art of floral arrangement* (Josiah Condor, 1877), *The ornamental arts of Japan* (1882), *Art and art industries in Japan* (1878; both by Rutherford Alcock), *Japan, its architecture, art and art manufactures* (Christopher Dresser; 1882), *Japan and its art* (Marcus Huisch, 1889), and *Japan, a pictorial record* (Arthur Lasenby Liberty; 1910, from his visit there with his wife in 1888).

In addition, and usually more specialised than books were journals, some of which were entirely dedicated to Japanese aesthetics such as Samuel Bing's well known *Le Japon artistique* which ran from May 1888 to April 1891. Pierre Loti supposedly subscribed to this journal, suggesting that he would thus have been familiar with, or at least known of, the principles of Japanese art.³⁴⁴ More general art journals published single articles or volumes on japonisme such as '*Paris illustré*,' 'Paris Illustrated,' the '*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*,' 'Gazette of fine arts,' the bi-monthly '*L'art pour tous*,' 'Art for

³⁴¹ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan, for the use of travelers and others*, pp. 64–72.

³⁴² Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan, for the use of travelers and others*, p. 56.

³⁴³ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects connected with Japan, for the use of travelers and others*, p. 71.

³⁴⁴ Jean-Pierre Mélot 'Loti entre japonisme et japonaiseries,' *Maison de Pierre Loti*, p. 3.

everyone,' and 'The Reader.'³⁴⁵ Some publications had correspondents in Japan: for example both '*Le Monde Illustré*,' '*Le Monde* illustrated,' and 'The Graphic' featured articles written by Georges Bigot; '*Le Temps*,' 'Time' featured articles by Jean Dhasp and Marcel Monnier; and the '*Economiste*,' the 'Economist' featured writing by Pierre Leroy Beaulieu. The series of columns that eventually became Loti's *Japonaiseries d'automne* was initially serialised in publications including '*La Nouvelle Revue*,' 'The new review,' '*El Djerad*,' '*La Grande Revue*,' 'The grand review' and *Revue des Deux Mondes* 'The review of two worlds.' In addition, Loti had a lengthy article titled 'Japanese woman' in 'Harpers New Monthly Magazine' (September 1890).

Translated books were very limited in number compared to works on Japan in European languages because they usually relied on the translator having sufficient language skills to read and understand Japanese at an advanced level. This skill was still very rare during the period despite the increasing number of Japanese grammars available and of visitors to Japan. In particular, translated works could provide valuable information on aspects of Japan's history, or socio-political structure. Two very important historical translations were Chamberlain's version of the *Kojiki*, and William Aston's *Nihongi, chronicles of Japan from earliest times to A.D. 697* (1896). This latter work, also known as *Nihonki* or *Nihon-shoki* was originally written in the eighth century and concerned the evolution of the Sun Goddess to the Emperor in 600 BC. As such, it is one of the most important English-language records of early interpretations and representations of the emergence of Japan. Other important translations include the Japanese Civil Code (John Gubbins, 1897–1899), and *The conditions of foreigners under the new treaties, a digest written for the international committee of Yokohama* (Ludwig Loenholm, 1898). Translations are only of limited relevance for the purposes of this study because in tailoring *Madame Chrysanthème* towards those who would receive it as an item of japonaiserie, Loti was aiming towards readers who would read about Japan for entertainment, rather than be concerned with the relatively specialised matters most translations were concerned with.

The increasing number of travellers to Japan and relaxing of restrictions of travel into the interior saw the emergence of various informative compilations and guidebooks on the country. These included the *Handbook for travellers in central and northern Japan* (1881) by Satow and Hawes, *Murray's handbook for travellers in Japan* (1894), and Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*. Commentary or advice covered areas from moral guidelines to the usefulness for independent travellers of having a servant accompany them to look after daily matters: 'The traveller will find that it conduces to his comfort to let his servant pay all charges and for this purpose to entrust him with small sums [of money] from time to time.'³⁴⁶ Guide books were conventionally divided into many small chapters, each treating some aspect of travel to and around Japan.

³⁴⁵ '*Paris illustré*' had a double edition in May 1886 (nos. 45 and 46) on Japan including an article by Tadamas Hayashi which was illustrated by Utamaro; the '*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*' published articles by Théodore Duret on Hokusai in 1882.

³⁴⁶ From: *Handbook for travellers in central and northern Japan*. Cited in: Cortazzi. *Victorians in Japan: In and around the treaty ports*, p. xvii.

A step beyond mainly descriptive guidebooks towards works written primarily to entertain were accounts or memoirs written of travellers' experiences in Japan. These usually had more subjective commentary than guidebooks, would recount personal encounters and interaction with the Japanese, and many were illustrated by either their author or by an artist accompanying them specifically for this purpose. Such works shared some characteristics with Loti's Japanese travelogue as they purposely included aspects of Japan that consumers may have expected to encounter, but they differed in their inclusion of scholarly commentary on the people, land, and customs of Japan. Examples well-known during the period include: *Voyage en Asie, Voyage in Asia* (Théodore Duret, 1874, based on his trip to Japan in 1871 with Henri Cernuschi), *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon, Notes of a collector in Japan* (Philippe Sichel, 1883, based on the author's trip to Japan from March–September 1874), *Promenades japonaises, Japanese wanderings* (1878), and *Promenades japonaises, Tokio-Nikko, Japanese wanderings Tokio-Nikko* (1880, both written by Émile Guimet and illustrated by Félix Régamey and based on their trip to Japan in 1876 to investigate Japanese religious art).

In contrast to the above accounts of Japan were books written primarily to entertain and amuse readers. This group constituted examples of literary japonaiserie because of their thematic and stylistic similarities to items belonging to the aesthetic movement. Such works will be outlined at the end of Part IV on japonaiserie which follows.

PART IV

INTRODUCTION

Parts II and III of this study examined aspects of nineteenth-century French and Japanese societies that interacted significantly with the development, nature, and appeal of japonisme and japonaiserie. They partly aimed to demonstrate how socio-political phenomena such as colonialism, industrialisation, and the end of Japan's *sakoku* period increased commercial and cultural exchange between Japan and the West. At the same time and in a cultural context, they aimed to outline the diverse popular manifestations of such phenomena that influenced opinions and expectations of the exotic, non-white 'other.' Cultural and geographic essentialism saw attitudes and curiosity extrapolated onto the Japanese, and interest was both stimulated by increasing contact, and, as will be seen, exploited by producers of items of japonaiserie ranging from brightly-painted vases to travel writing.

Part IV focuses earlier discussion onto how these various aspects interacted with the development, nature, and popularity of japonisme and its typically commercial branch of japonaiserie. Particular emphasis will be placed on how items of japonisme and japonaiserie commonly available in France influenced people's expectations of Japan, both in the event that they actually visited, to recall Buzard's theory of a 'cyclic ritual,'³⁴⁷ or in the much more likely case that they consumed items of japonaiserie such as travelogues like Loti's. It aims primarily to identify the types of stereotypical expectations pandered to by creators of japonaiserie and the nature of the products born of them. This will in turn enable discussion in Part V of how *Madame Chrysanthème* indeed reflected and/or rejected these popular images.

Chapter XI will describe and discuss the significance of the aesthetic contexts of artistic Orientalism, chinoiserie, and pre-Perry artistic exchange between Japan and the West. To varying degrees and in various ways, each of these contributed towards the swift welcome that japonisme received when it later emerged. They also conditioned peoples perception and expectations of the art and crafts of distant cultures.

Chapter XII provides the socio-cultural context of japonisme and japonaiserie. It outlines reasons for the popularity they enjoyed at the particular time they arose, including aspects of industrialisation and artistic stagnation that the novelty of Japanese art contrasted with. The places the European public encountered Japanese art, and the various social and scholarly manifestations of the movement will also be outlined because these were the sources of perceptions and expectations of Japan. Furthermore, they had much in common with the various cultural and scholarly manifestations of colonialism.

³⁴⁷ Buzard, *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*, pp. 160–161.

This will be followed by description and discussion of the actual nature of Japanese influence on Western aesthetics in Chapter XIII. It will begin with areas of 'conventional' japonisme such as the fine or painterly arts, and diversify to the decorative or applied arts. Finally, the two peripheral areas of the theatre and literature will be examined. Throughout, it will become apparent that the deeper or more subtle the influence was, the more it relied upon serious knowledge of Japan and its artistic techniques.

Part of this study aims to investigate *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie, yet a significant part of Part IV concerns japonisme. This is because, as outlined in the introduction, japonaiserie signifies consumable products inspired by the interest in Japanese aesthetics (japonisme), even though it does have connotations of being primarily concerned with following a fashion rather than aiming for scholarly integrity. The exhibition spaces of japonisme, for example, also served to introduce Japan and its arts and crafts to the public who would subsequently consume japonaiserie. Japonisme was the support from which japonaiserie originated, upon which it rested, and by which it was strongly influenced. In addition, a good portion of Loti's readership would have been consumers of japonisme which makes its nature and stereotypes important because it is likely that *Madame Chrysanthème* also pandered to and reflected these.

Japonisme was a complex and diverse artistic movement, both geographically and with respect to the areas of design, art, and crafts that it interacted with. However, because the present purpose is to place *Madame Chrysanthème* in its immediate aesthetic context, only those aspects of the movement that most directly influenced the social and aesthetic climate in which readers read the travel memoir will be examined. This means that a Parisian context will be focused on, for reasons already outlined in the Introduction. Emphasis will further be on aspects of japonisme and japonaiserie that Loti himself or his readers were likely to have had enough contact with to have their perceptions of Japan influenced by. So, for example, while there certainly was a Japanese influence on architecture and landscape design, this is mentioned only briefly.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Japonisme and japonaiserie: The aesthetic context

That Europeans of the [late baroque and rococo periods] made considerable use of elements derived from Chinese and Japanese decorative arts does not, however, necessarily signify a true appreciation of the artistic value of the applied arts of the East. With only a few exceptions such as Japanese Kakiemon ware, the attraction of Eastern arts for the West lay mainly in their novelty and in their extravagant decorative effect.³⁴⁸

Though japonisme developed into a distinct artistic movement in its own right, it did share fundamental characteristics with other movements also relying on antithetical exoticism for their appeal. To illustrate this, as well as possible reasons for the appeal and relatively quick acceptance of japonisme and japonaiserie, the precursory movements of Orientalism and chinoiserie will be discussed, followed by a brief summary of pre-Perry artistic exchange between Japan and the West. Throughout, the similarities and peculiarities of nineteenth-century japonisme and japonaiserie will emerge.

Orientalism

Orientalism in the fine and decorative arts reached its height during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as travel to the Orient became increasingly accessible. Its very existence and popularity relied on the same fundamental philosophies as Orientalism in general did: a curiosity towards the outer world coupled with feelings of a rightful superiority and ownership over what were perceived as the less-matured or developed lands of the Orient. Orientalist artists generally depicted entire Eastern scenes according to individual styles, and as such were a thematic rather than a stylistic group. Where in the early stages of japonisme artists had predominantly Western subject matter with superimposed, isolated Japanese elements such as fans and kimonos, typically the Orientalists' subject matter was primarily Oriental. The Orientalists are not known for using or expressing serious interest in the artistic techniques or philosophies of the countries whose scenes and people they painted, which contrasts further with the development of refined japonisme. The majority of well-known Orientalist painters tended to be British or French because of governmental interest in Oriental lands. Scientific, diplomatic, or military missions saw British artists commissioned to depict Palestine and Egypt, while the French were more inclined to countries around the Mediterranean and Persia. Popular subject matter included the decadence of the harem such as in 'The Reception' (John Frederick Lewis, 1873), and the romance of travel through the remote desert as in 'A Desert Scout' (Robert Talbot-Kelly, 1902). Furthermore, in what was akin to a precursor of photo-journalism, artists were sent abroad to record political events, for example Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps was commissioned to produce a visual record of the battle of Navarino of October 1827.

³⁴⁸ Chisaburoh Yamada (ed.). *Dialogue in art: Japan and the West* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1976), p. 12.

The Orientalists increasingly had first-hand experience of the Orient, yet, and as with japonisme and japonaiserie, in the movement's early stages it was not uncommon for an artist to paint Oriental scenes without having actually been there. For example, Eugène Delacroix painted his well-known 'The Death of Sardanapalus' (1827) before he visited Morocco in 1832. This is reminiscent of authors such as Judith Gautier writing about the Far East from exclusively second-hand accounts.³⁴⁹ Even if an artist had actually travelled to the Orient, this did not guarantee the cultural authenticity of their work: often intermediary water-colour sketches were done on site and later completed in the artist's permanent studio. The finished work was typically embellished with props brought back from their travels, and if an artist did not correctly date their treasures, paintings could become amalgams of disparate elements belonging to different periods and places.³⁵⁰ Returning from the Orient with props and displaying them in one's home or work studio became commonplace amongst travellers to exotic, 'fashionable,' or unusual places such as Japan. Pierre Loti's house at Rochefort provides an example of this with its Oriental and Asian furnishings, ornaments, and themed rooms or pagodas. Further contributing towards cultural inaccuracies in art, and also later to be repeated in japonisme and japonaiserie, was that the Orientalist painters had a tendency to edit out of their work any evidence of European contact with the Orient. This was largely to preserve the stereotype of Eastern society as romantic and antithetical to industrialising Europe.³⁵¹ However, trying to depict only the 'pure' essence of the Orient distorted that very Orient because it ignored the reality of the changes incurred by modernisation and increasing contact with the West.

Though aesthetic Orientalism is generally considered an artistic movement of the painterly realm, it also touched upon the decorative arts. Travellers returned with Oriental goods that they displayed prominently in their houses, and for the wealthy it became fashionable to own large Oriental rugs, furniture, wall-hangings, and ornaments. For example, Pierre Loti's house at Rochefort contained a great many Oriental items that he brought back from the various places he had travelled to.³⁵²

Chinoiserie

Popular interest in China was initially stimulated by *The travels of Marco Polo* (Marco Polo, written between about 1296 and 1298), a work that also encouraged interest in other areas of Asia and the non-European world in general. Subsequent travellers supported Polo's descriptions of China, and Chinese

³⁴⁹ Gautier's accounts were more reliable than others in her situation however because she had a comparatively high level of interaction with Chinese people, due mainly to her father's interest in the country, and the family's Chinese 'tutor' Ting-Tun-Ling. See: William Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature 1800–1925* (Paris: Champion, 1927), 13 ff.

³⁵⁰ Théophile Gautier wrote of the decorative props used by some artists: 'Yataghans, Kandjars, Persian daggers, Circassian pistols, Arabian rifles, ancient Damascened blades adorned with nielloed Koranic inscriptions, silver- and coral-decorated firearms – all these beguiling barbaric treasures were arranged like trophies on the walls. Gandouras, haiks, burnous, caftans, and silver- and gold-embroidered jackets were draped casually here and there ...' Cited in: Lynne Thornton. *The Orientalists painter-travellers 1828–1908* (Paris: ACR Edition Internationale, 1983), pp. 18–19.

³⁵¹ Discussed and illustrated at various points in: Thornton. *The Orientalists: painter-travellers, 1828-1908*.

³⁵² For a catalogue of the Oriental items in Loti's house at Rochefort, as well as information on the travels where he acquired these, see: Marie-Pascale Bault. *Exposition: Pierre Loti en Chine et au Japon* (Rochefort: Maison de Pierre Loti, 1986). This is a catalogue of an exhibition held at his house from 20 June to 22 September 1986.

or 'Chinesque' goods became popular in Europe. Chinoiserie, the Chinese counterpart of japonisme and japonaiserie, and a particularisation of Orientalism, was most popular and influential during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, but still extant when japonisme emerged. Consequently, the movements and cultural motifs often blended as consumers were ignorant of and unconcerned with a product or image's country of origin. As with Orientalism and japonaiserie, chinoiserie was a ' . . . purely European vision of China: a fantasy based on a China of the imagination . . . ' ³⁵³ Like japonaiserie, chinoiserie responded to the preferences of its consumers, and therefore varied according to country and in particular the tastes of the aristocracy and upper classes who usually set fashions. For example, France's breed of chinoiserie was opulent and indulgent under Louis XIV, while Britain's during the same period was generally more restrained because of their poorer monarchy. Chinoiserie was fashionable for much longer than japonisme and japonaiserie, partly because the West had benefited from a more continuous period of trade and exchange with China than it had with Japan. It also touched more diverse areas, and its influence remains far more visible in the present day than that of japonisme or japonaiserie.

Chinese influence was particularly strong in the decorative arts, public architecture, and landscape design, with the latter two being areas that japonisme was to touch only peripherally in comparison. Chinese goods reached European consumers via a number of avenues: they were imported directly from China, imitated and produced in Europe by European manufacturers, or European designers sent assembled goods to China for decoration. Imported or imitated products included cabinets, chairs, screens, wallpapers, costumes, masks, embroidered silk hangings, needlework, vases, plates, cups and jugs. As was also to become characteristic of japonisme and japonaiserie, goods made in China specifically for export were tailored to Western taste and were sometimes barely recognisable as Chinese in origin. In both movements, the clustering of knickknacks departed from the customs of their country of origin. The enthusiastic and wealthy sometimes decorated rooms or the whole interiors of Western-style houses in Chinese or 'Chinesque' fashion, and some royal families had secondary residences known as 'solitudes' decorated as such. ³⁵⁴ The Royal Pavilion at Brighton in England, completed in the early nineteenth century, was particularly interesting as the exterior was Indian-style, while the interior was Chinese. Antoine Watteau was renowned for his interior chinoiseries, particularly wallpapers, and particularly well-known were his 'Chinese' panels for the *Cabinet du Roi* ('King's Room') at the Château de la Muette (c. 1718). Occasionally, whole 'Chinese' villages were built: for example the German 'Mulan' beside a lake at Wilhelmshöhe built between 1781 and 1797. Pagodas became popular in European gardens during the eighteenth century, and so called 'Anglo-Chinese' gardens emerged which rebelled against the symmetry of formal gardens by copying the Chinese concept of asymmetrical layout. Chinese-style bridges too became popular in both private and

³⁵³ Dawn Jacobson. *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon, 1993), p. 27. Note that japonisme is not included in the list of similar movements because some enthusiasts of japonisme were very interested in serious scholarship on Japan and cultural authenticity.

³⁵⁴ For example Catherine the Great's Chinese palace at Oranienbaum on the Gulf of Finland (built 1762–68), and the Chinese pavilion of the Swedish royal family at Drottningholm.

public gardens such as the bridge that used to span the Thames at Hampton Court. Chinese baths and cafés were also popular.

Chinoiserie was also seen in fine arts such as painting and ceramics. The artistic habit emerged of painting *singeries*, playful compositions featuring monkeys wearing human dress and doing human activities in such a way as to resemble Chinese people.³⁵⁵ A well-known example is ‘*Grande Singerie*’ (Christophe Huet, 1735) in the Château de Chantilly. *Singeries* implied that Chinese people had the comical, senseless characteristics of monkeys, and as will later be seen, it appears that Loti aims to evoke these connotations at various points in *Madame Chrysanthème* when he likens Japanese women to monkeys.³⁵⁶

As was to emerge with Japan, China became a fashionable place to write about, even by those who had not actually been there. The very fact that people could ‘know’ enough about China to be able to write about it without having visited demonstrates the large amount of literature in circulation about the country. Examples of literature on China that did not aspire towards serious scholarship illustrate the existence of a precursory ‘literary japonaiserie,’ and include poems by Théophile Gautier (‘Chinoiserie,’ 1835),³⁵⁷ *Mémoires d’un suicidé* (Maxime du Camp, 1852), *Charles Demailly* (Edmond de Goncourt, 1860), and *Le Dragon Impérial* (Judith Gautier, 1868).³⁵⁸

Like japonisme, chinoiserie spread to America, and Boston in particular became a centre for the collection and production of Chinese goods. Chinoiserie began to lose popularity in the nineteenth century due to increased travel to and knowledge of China, as well as political developments such as the Opium Wars (1839–42 and 1856–60). Combined, such factors saw the Chinese culture lose the allure it may have had due to its mystery, and popular favour cooled towards China as it was seen as a potential political or military threat. At the end of the nineteenth century, japonisme and japonaiserie were to lose their popularity for similar reasons: there emerged a saturation of the market with cheap, Japanese items, and when Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), its image as a playful, naïve, friendly, and ‘harmless’ country was altered irreparably.

Though chinoiserie and japonisme shared important characteristics largely concerning the reasons for their appeal and were more alike than Orientalism and japonisme were, they also diverged significantly in which areas their influence was strongest. Major differences include that chinoiserie influenced a wider range of the arts, and enjoyed a more substantial and lasting popularity than japonisme or japonaiserie did. For example, the character Cecilia in *Atonement* (Ian McEwan, 2001), a novel initially set in 1934, mentions being bored with the chinoiserie in her house, suggesting that the movement was

³⁵⁵ *Singeries* comes from the French word ‘singe’ meaning ‘monkey.’

³⁵⁶ Loti. *Madame Chrysanthème*, passim.

³⁵⁷ Théophile Gautier wrote a lot about China and Chinese art, including the catalogues for the Chinese section at the international fairs of 1851, 1855, and 1867. See Chapter One (pp. 13–64) of: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*.

³⁵⁸ See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*.

still extant or at least well-known about amongst young adults as late as the mid-1930s.³⁵⁹ In addition, today words such as 'china' for 'porcelain' remain in standard usage, whereas 'japan' for 'lacquer-ware,' which emerged during pre-Perry contact with Japan, is relatively esoteric.

Pre-Perry artistic exchange between Japan and the West

The Japanese objects in France at the end of Japan's *sakoku* period were certainly not the first to have reached the European continent. Their predecessors though did not enjoy the widespread popularity that items of japonisme and japoniserie of the nineteenth century did. An important and lasting Japanese influence on European arts and crafts occurred in porcelain and lacquer-ware. Lacquer-ware came to be known as 'japan,' and its production as 'japanning,' even when referring to purely European work. The Dutch East India Trading Company dominated the export of lacquer-ware, and imitation work had emerged by the early seventeenth century. Dutch workmanship attained such a high standard that it has been speculated that Japanese teachers taught in Holland.³⁶⁰ In particular, Japanese ceramic-ware had a lasting impact on both the ornamentation and production methods of Dutch Delft pottery, commonly known as Delftware.

The extent of interest in Japanese ceramics, even if mainly from specialists, is illustrated by the existence of publications such as *Treatise of japanning and varnishing* (John Stalker, 1688) during a period when producing books required considerably more time, effort, and relative expense than it did in the late nineteenth century when works written on Japan and its culture became common-place. The contrast in the lack of knowledge about or interest in Japan as a country with zealous enthusiasm for its ceramics is demonstrated by the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1771) dedicating three lines to 'Japan,' yet more than two hundred words to 'japanning.'³⁶¹ Placing more importance on aspects of Japan's traditional arts and crafts than on wider aspects of its reality was to become a fundamental and definitive characteristic of nineteenth-century japonisme and japoniserie.

In direct contrast to painterly japonisme of the nineteenth century, early Japanese influence on Western painterly arts and their techniques was negligible beyond religious subject matter depicting missionary activity of figures such as François Xavier. One well-known painting is '*Saint François Xavier Bringing Back to Life the Daughter of an Inhabitant of Kagoshima*' ('Saint François Xavier Bringing Back to Life the Daughter of an Inhabitant of Kagoshima'; Nicolas Poussin, 1641). It is possible though that a small group of pre-nineteenth-century Westerners had perceptions that the Japanese were immoral due to the *shunga* or erotic wood-block prints that John Saris returned from Japan with in 1615. Saris, an employee of the East India Company, had tried to smuggle some works into England,

³⁵⁹ Ian McEwan. *Atonement* (London: Vintage, 2001), p. 24.

³⁶⁰ See: Jacobson. *Chinoiserie*, p. 43. This would have been a very early example of Japanese people travelling abroad from Japan at a time when exchange between Japan and the West was extremely limited.

³⁶¹ Cited in: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Musée d'Orsay. *Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais*, Paris, 17 mai-15 août 1988; Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre-11 décembre 1988 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), p. 18. By 1797 however, this had altered and there were more than seven pages dedicated to the country of Japan. See: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 3, vol. IX (Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. Macparquhar, 1797). I am indebted to Associate Professor Kenneth Henshall, Asian Studies Department, University of Canterbury, for the loan of a copy of this.

but was caught and the materials publicly burnt on 10 January 1615. It is also possible that Japanese prints arrived in Europe when Hokusai apparently sold some to Dutch captains depicting the stages of Japanese life. However, no concrete evidence of this has been offered, and even if Hokusai did sell the series to Dutch captains, the question remains of whether European artists were exposed to them.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Japonisme and japonaiserie: the social, political, and cultural contexts

Japan, for popular songwriters and artists of all kinds, had become part of the panoply of international trendiness.³⁶²

Precursory fashions such as Orientalism and chinoiserie helped japonisme and japonaiserie enjoy the ready acceptance and popularity that they did. This was largely because scholars and the general public had already been exposed to the civilisations of the Far East, and their appetite whetted for its novel and unusual cultural artifacts. Such precursory movements also helped shape expectations of a depiction of the area. The popularity and ready acceptance of Japanese or Japanesque items were further stimulated by aspects of the socio-political and aesthetic climate of nineteenth-century France.

The reasons japonaiserie and japonisme enjoyed popularity at the particular time they did

As was discussed in Part II, colonial and social Darwinist thought saw the development and diverse gratification of curiosity concerning the Oriental 'other.' Movements such as japonisme can be considered a popularisation and particularisation of this scientific interest. Alternatively, the strains of nineteenth-century military activity, such as the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), made Europeans eager for a distraction, which partly came in the form of new fashions such as japonisme and japonaiserie. Japan's non-threatening military status added to the appeal of its arts and crafts during a period characterised by an increasing number of countries embarking on colonial expansionist policies because the country was perceived and depicted as childlike and militarily non-threatening. While by no means constituting an absolute causal relationship, there is a temporal intersection of the weakening of the popularity of japonisme and Japan's demonstration of military strength against China during the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1900) and later against Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05).³⁶³ This link between Japan's military status and its art and crafts is outlined by van Rij (2001):

. . . the rise of Japan to the level of a modern world power altered its image abroad, and its successful military action against China between 1894 and 1895 sent a chill throughout the world. The country was no longer viewed as having 'that most divine sweetness of disposition which . . . places Japan in these respects higher than any other nation . . .' as the poet Sir Edwin Arnold wrote in 1891. That same year, the scholar Basil Hall Chamberlain observed that "the educated Japanese have done with their past. They want to be

³⁶² Alison Broinowski. *The Yellow lady: Australian impressions of Asia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 169.

³⁶³ The Russo-Japanese War was from 8 February 1904 to 5 February 1905.

For discussion of how Japan's image changed as a result of its victory in the Russo-Japanese War, see: Endymion Wilkinson. *Japan versus Europe: A history of misunderstanding* (Penguin Books, 1983), p. 50; and Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800-1925*, p. 131.

somebody else and something else than what they have been and still partly are.”³⁶⁴

As will be later seen, there occurs more mention of Japan’s military strength in Loti’s *Madame Prune* (1905) than there does in *Madame Chrysanthème*, yet the first work was not to enjoy the same popularity as its predecessor partly because of the changing tide of opinion against Japan.

Another socio-political aspect contributing towards the popularity of japonisme and japonaiserie was that they fed on and stimulated the growing nostalgia that Europeans felt for the pre-industrial, agrarian society they were losing to the machine age. The motifs painted on plates and vases depicted a carefree, youthful, rejuvenating, and ‘Edenesque’ land, free from the burdens of industrialisation and urbanisation. The same machine age though also facilitated mass production, and functional objects became homogeneous and lacking in originality or unique decoration. Hand-made or decorated items became rare and expensive because artisans could not compete with cheaper machine-made products. Against this, items of high quality japonisme became popular with their integration of form with function, while japonaiserie appealed because of its lively decoration. The Japanese were thought to be a people who integrated attractive aesthetics into their everyday objects and, as Charles Dilke’s words cited in Part III suggested, they were also ‘known’ for their appreciation and celebration of nature.

Another aspect of industrialisation that impacted on the popularity and acceptance of japonisme and japonaiserie was that it gave the middle class more leisure time because machines were increasingly able to perform tasks that had previously been done by people. This middle class had more spare time to spend in cultural pursuits such as literature, art appreciation, and theatre-going—all areas that saw a Japanese influence.

Japonisme in particular (rather than japonaiserie) also enjoyed acceptance because of the period of artistic stagnation, the ‘moment of crisis,’³⁶⁵ that had caught and confined Western artists. Auguste Renoir admitted with reference to the mid-1880s that: ‘I had come to the end of Impressionism and was forced to see that I could neither paint nor draw. In a word, I was in a blind alley.’³⁶⁶ A new direction was sought to deviate Western art from historicism, an ‘excessive regard for the institutions and values of the past,’³⁶⁷ and it materialised in the form of japonisme with its unusual techniques and fresh subject-matter. Berger (1992) writes:

³⁶⁴ Jan van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*. (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2001), p. 55.

³⁶⁵ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 2.

³⁶⁶ Ambroise Vollard. *En écoutant Cézanne, Degas, Renoir*, (Paris: 1950), p. 213, cited in: Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 2.

³⁶⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition, 1991.

By the time *Japonisme* emerged, representation in nineteenth-century art had indeed run a full gamut: from the early, 'linear', structurally based phase of Neoclassicism to the Impressionist dissolution of form in a tissue of flecks of colour; from tactile values to visual values; from a closed form to an open, and eventually to a dissolving, form. An evolution of this sort is an entirely normal phenomenon. . . . The wheel turns full circle, but more rapidly each time. At every crisis, a new vehicle, a new culture, a radically changed society, makes its appearance.

Seen in this light, the crisis of late nineteenth-century art was no superficial accident but an inner necessity. The only problem was where to make a new start. All that could have been predicted, with any certainty, was that their future would show crucial points of difference from the period just past: it must mark a fundamental departure from outworn historicism. Such a shift could not happen overnight; its stages spanned a number of generations. What emerged at the end was a completely new and original visual form. Naturalistic illusionism had given way to decorative design.³⁶⁸

Siegfried Wichmann (1999) also writes of the liberating effect of Japanese art on Western tradition: 'To the Impressionists and their second-generation successors, Japonisme spelt liberation, the revelation of techniques which released them from the old traditional concepts of classical modeling taught at the academies.'³⁶⁹

How items of japonisme and japonaiserie reached the French consumer

The beginning of widespread interest in Japanese art and crafts is generally traced back to the discovery of an *ukiyo-e* or wood-block print in about 1856 by the etcher Félix Bracquemond. Bracquemond encountered a specimen of Katsushika Hokusai's *manga* used to wrap imported porcelain at his printer's studio³⁷⁰ which he was later able to obtain from another print-maker, Eugène Lavielle. The *manga* was important because Bracquemond apparently shared it with his wide circle of acquaintances who included Edouard Manet, Philippe Burty, and Zacharie Astruc.³⁷¹

As interest in and demand for Japanese art and crafts grew, these found their way to Europe through various avenues, and upon Western or Japanese initiatives. European dealers such as Siegfried Bing imported goods from a base in Europe (in Bing's case, Paris), while others travelled personally to Japan to source objects, which upon their return were sold, housed in private collections, or gifted to cultural institutions. Some collectors returned with prolific accumulations of items: for example, Théodore Duret returned with 1350 print albums from his visit to Japan in 1871, and Philippe Sichel brought back 5000 items collected during a six-month stay in 1874.³⁷² Collectors or dealers sometimes lent or gifted objects to be exhibited, for example it was a large gift of Japanese albums by Théodore Duret to

³⁶⁸ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 3.

³⁶⁹ Siegfried Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 10.

³⁷⁰ There is debate as to whether it was in fact Bracquemond who was the first European to discover *ukiyo-e*. For discussion see: Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 13; and van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 38.

³⁷¹ This is well attested in various studies of japonisme: see reference list. For an outline of *ukiyo-e*, see Appendix Five.

³⁷² Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 89.

the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris that essentially started the institution's collection.³⁷³ Ownership of high quality and authentic Japanese goods was largely restricted to the wealthy, those who aimed to project an image of being 'cultured,' or the serious scholar. It was in response to growing demand from the middle-class public that Western factories started mass-producing items of japonaiserie. Thus, by the time that *Madame Chrysanthème* was published (1887) items of japonaiserie were well-known and relatively highly sought after.

From the point of view of a Japanese initiative, the Japanese government was particularly enthusiastic to export its traditional arts and crafts because the refined techniques used in such media as intricate ivory carving, ceramics, or the *ukiyo-e* reflected a society with a long tradition of artistic endeavour. This marked Japan as a country with the developed culture characteristic of an ancient civilisation, yet one also in the process of modernising. Van Rij (2001) writes that by exporting its traditional arts and crafts while adopting a policy of modernisation and Westernisation, Japan 'linked a modern present to a prestigious, traditional past of a high cultural level and thus clearly belonged to another class than the many colonised countries of Asia and Africa.'³⁷⁴ By the time that japonisme and japonaiserie gained popularity, there had been a long history of colonial activity in other East Asian nations such as the Philippines, Taiwan, and China; and Japan was anxious to avoid joining the list. In March 1874 a governmental body, the *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha*, was established which continued to administer trade until 1891 when governmental intervention in exports ceased. The body organised Japanese participation in the international expositions and strove to ensure that the country had a reputation for the fast and safe delivery of goods, unlike many of its Asian neighbours. In addition, fine examples of Japanese traditional art were generously gifted to European countries: for example, in December 1878 the Japanese government gave the Glasgow Museum ceramics, costumes, lacquerware, paper, and silks.

On a less institutionalised level, individual Japanese artists and merchants began making Japanese prints or trinkets for the tourist market specifically tailored to meet Western tastes. These were particularly popular in places most frequented by foreigners such as the ports of Yokohama and Nagasaki. By 1904 Captain F. Brinkley called Nagasaki [ceramic] ware '... nothing more than a Japanese estimate of [the European's] own bad taste.'³⁷⁵ With increasing numbers of foreigners working or holidaying in Japan, bazaars grew in the treaty ports and many visitors were eager to buy as many Japanese items as they could. Sherard Osborn, captain of the ship on which Lord Elgin went to Japan, wrote of this compulsion:

³⁷³ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 241.

³⁷⁴ Jan van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 44. See also 44 ff; Weisberg et al.. *Japonisme comes to America: The Japanese impact on the graphic arts, 1876–1925*, 41 ff; Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (France), Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan., Musée d'Orsay, *Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 17 mai-15 août 1988: Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre-11 décembre 1988*. (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, c1988), p. 22, 31.

³⁷⁵ Cited in: Impey. *Chinoiserie: The impact of Oriental styles on Western art and decoration*, p. 186.

The first feeling was a desire to buy up everything, where all was so pretty. Tables, curiously inlaid with mother-of-pearl—representations of birds and animals, which our papier-mâché manufacturers, or those of France, would give anything to be able to imitate—cabinets, on which golden fish or tortoise stood out in most truthful relief—wonderful little gems in ivory, bone, or wood, fifty times more replete with originality, skill, and wit than anything China ever produced—porcelain so delicate, that you were almost afraid to touch it—in short, a child in a pastrycook's shop never ran from sweet to sweet more perplexed to know which to invest in, than we that morning in Decima [Dejima] bazaar.³⁷⁶

The exhibition spaces of japonisme and japonaiserie

Nineteenth-century French people encountered japonisme and japonaiserie through various channels: culturally at the international expositions, museum and gallery exhibitions, and through the increasing body of literature being produced; commercially at shops dealing in Japanese arts and crafts; and privately in the collections of japonistes. These 'exhibition spaces' of japonisme are important to a study of japonaiserie because they exposed relatively broad groups of the general public to Japan and its arts and crafts. Of these avenues, perhaps the most effective in exposing the general public to distant countries was the universal or international expositions or fairs. Because these were showcases of both the technological power of the hosting nation and of the arts and crafts of exhibiting foreign countries, they could be a very powerful agent in attracting the general public: the diversity of exhibitions meant, for example, that even if people came to see the technological displays they could very easily stray to other exhibition areas housing the arts and crafts of distant places. Julie Rose writes of the nature of the expositions:

Fairs encompassed the spectrum of experience and interest of the 1800s—from sport to entertainment to high culture. To understand their importance and draw in modern terms, they could be seen as a combination of the Olympics, DisneyWorld, the Superbowl, and the National Gallery—an international entertainment and cultural event with lasting social importance.³⁷⁷

The arts and crafts of Japan—one of the most remote and 'unexplored' Eastern countries at the time—featured increasingly conspicuously at the universal expositions for reasons already outlined. The general interest in Japan generated by the fairs had an important role in determining the extent to which japonisme and items of japonaiserie became as fashionable as they did. The Parisian expositions are particularly relevant for the present study because these were the ones Loti's readers are most likely to have visited, and furthermore the sorts of people who went to the artistic exhibits at the expositions are also those who were likely to read works concerning Japan, *Madame Chrysanthème* included. The

³⁷⁶ Osborn, *A cruise in Japanese waters*, p. 41, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 79.

³⁷⁷ Source: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA96/WCE/history.html#fairs>
World's Columbian Exposition: The official fair - a history
Julie Rose, accessed on 20 July 2002.

ways in which Japan was exhibited at the expositions conditioned the general reading public's perception of the country and decided the nature of the stereotypical expectations they acquired of writing about it because most would never visit themselves. While it is unlikely that significant numbers of the lowest classes would have visited the international expositions, the fairs did attract a much more varied audience than other exhibition spaces of Japanese art such as the Salon or Royal Academy. Reina Lewis (1996) points out that:

. . . although the fine art pavilions were probably less popular with working-class visitors, we cannot assume that their audience was homogeneously middle-class. The availability of cheap prints and the fact that exhibition guides, aimed at all pockets, included details of the fine art pavilions indicates that the fine art displays were probably visited by a more socially mixed audience than that which attended the Royal Academy if not the Salon.³⁷⁸

From the first major international exposition held in London in 1851, the fairs were held most years in various cities, mainly European or North American. They became increasingly competitive as host cities strove to out-do their predecessor in technological and architectural splendour, and individual exhibitors tried to create exhibits as interesting, informative, and spectacular as possible. Not unlike the build-up to today's Olympic Games, preparation and construction were not restricted to the buildings housing the fairs: areas of the host cities were also commonly revitalised: for example, completion of the ornate Pont Alexandre II in Paris was partly timed to coincide with the 1900 exposition, and the Eiffel Tower was commissioned by Alexandre Gustave Eiffel for the 1889 one. Between 1851 and the turn of the nineteenth century, expositions were held in cities including: Dublin (1853), New York (1853/4), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), Sydney (1879/80), Melbourne (1880/81), Amsterdam (1883), Boston (1883/84), Calcutta (1883/84), Louisville (1883/87), New Orleans (1884/85), Antwerp (1885), Edinburgh (1886), Adelaide (1887/88), Barcelona (1888), Glasgow (1888), Dunedin (1889/90), Kingston (1891), Chicago (1893), San Francisco (1894), Hobart (1894/95), Atlanta (1895), Brussels (1897), Guatemala City (1897), Nashville (1897), Stockholm (1897), Omaha (1898), and Buffalo (1901).³⁷⁹

The Parisian expositions drew impressive numbers: 6,805,969 in 1867; thirteen million in 1878; thirty-two million in 1889; and 50,800,801 in 1900.³⁸⁰ Exhibition space and numbers also increased. Of these fairs, the 1889 one which ran from 6 May to 6 November was particularly spectacular, partly because it

³⁷⁸ Reina Lewis. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, femininity and representation* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 83, note 71.

³⁷⁹ It is important to note, however, that expositions varied widely in scope, success, and ambition. For example, the 1889/90 exposition in Dunedin, New Zealand, would not have compared in ambition, size or visitor numbers to ones in Europe and North America, which receive a lot more academic attention because of their size and role in influencing public opinion.

³⁸⁰ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 104. Original source: exposition catalogue *Weltausstellungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, Neue Sammlung, Munich 1973. Attendance figures vary according to the source. For higher estimates than those of Klaus, see: <http://www.photoart.plus.com/expos/>, 'The Paris Exhibitions – Exposition Universelle de Paris' (author not given) accessed on 22 July 2002.

It is important to remember when drawing conclusions from high attendance figures that a major preoccupation of exposition organisers was to produce as technologically advanced and impressive a spectacle as possible. Accordingly, a significant proportion of visitors went only to see the technological or 'industrial' displays which showcased recent advances, though some would have strayed to the artistic displays, as has been mentioned.

coincided with and celebrated the centenary of the French Revolution. Exhibition space measured ninety-six hectares centring around the Champs de Mars, and it was the French fair held closest to the publishing of Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* in 1887 and 1893. It is not known whether Loti visited this, but it would have contributed to the fashionable milieu that made *Madame Chrysanthème* so popular when it was published.

As the fairs grew in scale and popularity, foreign governments jostled to create the most impressive exhibitions, ranging from the display of individual items to building entire themed villages or pavilions. Individual national pavilions or buildings at the Parisian fairs increased from twenty in 1867 to thirty-two in 1900.³⁸¹ The 1889 Parisian exposition had entire themed villages and streets, including the ambitious *rue de Caire*, or 'street of Cairo.' The *rue de Caire* was an entire 'Egyptian' street featuring 'Egyptian' performers (mostly French people dressed up as Egyptians), bazaars, restaurants (including a Moroccan café), and animals. Like much of japonaiserie, this creation was largely made by and for the Western patron, and was only loosely or superficially based on 'real' Egypt. There was also at this exposition the enormous 'History of Habitation' exhibit with its Arab, Chinese, Gallo-Roman, Japanese, Roman, and Russian houses, including stage- and side-shows, restaurants, and 'natives' (often from the colonies) engaging in traditional activities such as cooking and making traditional handicrafts. A series of smaller pavilions displayed the people, art, crafts, and architecture of 'exotic' and distant places including Algeria, Ankor, Annam and Tonkin, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Cochin China, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Greece, Guatemala, Hawaii, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Monaco, Paraguay, Serbia, Siam, Switzerland, Tunisia, Turkey, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Such displays were akin to the 'human zoos' that had been popular throughout Europe with the rise of social Darwinism, colonialism, and anthropometrics. The exhibition of the 'culture' of colonised peoples in a fun, relaxed setting was one way in which colonial activities could be presented and received in a positive light. Garden displays were also popular, and a particularly successful Japanese example was that made by a Japanese man, Hata, for the 1889 Parisian exposition.

Exhibits tended to fall into the two broad categories of scientific/technological or artistic/cultural. Exhibits with a scientific or technological focus included displays of steam trains, engines, machines, as well as botanical and medical exhibits. Technological displays drew large numbers, and showcased the advances of the industrial revolution in an exciting and positive light. Seeing mechanical technology presented in this context would have probably been a fairly sharp contrast for many visitors whose first-hand experience working with machinery would have been coloured by monotony, hard labour, and danger. Medical or botanical exhibits reflected the 'scholarship,' inquiry, and developments being made concerning such things as the classification systems.

Of more relevance for this study were the cultural and artistic sections which included the anthropological exhibits mentioned in Part II, as well as paintings, sculpture, textiles, tapestries,

³⁸¹ Source: <http://www.photoart.plus.com/expos/>. 'The Paris Exhibitions – Exposition Universelle de Paris' (author not given), accessed on 22 July 2002.

jewellery, furniture, house interiors, gardens, and architecture. Displays of new work by European artists mirrored current trends, and as such could illustrate the extent to which Western artists were influenced by Japanese philosophies, techniques, and cultural motifs. The cultural sections of the expositions also included displays of the arts and crafts of visiting nations, and the Japanese government was particularly zealous in showing Japanese art and crafts to the Western world from the time of their initial participation in the 1873 exposition in Vienna.

Displays of foreign art and crafts at the expositions played a major role in stimulating consumer trends and interest, prescribing fashions, and forming expectations. For example, the only exposure to Japanese home interiors and ornaments that many would have had before seeing them in a shop was at the expositions. In addition, it is not improbable that for some French people the fairs were their first introduction to the very existence of remote countries such as Japan. Department stores like Liberty's of London featured displays pertinent to the expositions, and temporarily increased their stock of associated items. Additionally, the timing of musical or dramatic shows and productions sometimes coincided with the fairs, enhancing the general 'festive' climate: for example, Kawakami Otojiro's Japanese theatre group performed in Paris during the exposition of 1900, and *Madame Chrysanthème*'s popularity would have contributed to the popularity of this troupe.

The power of the fairs to expose Western visitors to the non-Western world commonly continued after they closed to the public. Sometimes countries would gift displays to the hosting nation, and these were subsequently housed in institutions such as art galleries, libraries, or museums. Some museums that today have extensive collections of 'foreign' items or artefacts in fact began their collection thanks to the generosity of exhibiting governments. In addition, some of the architectural structures built specifically for the fairs were dismantled upon their closure and re-located, with some remaining to this day. Smaller items too stayed in circulation as dealers bought them from exhibitors and later displayed or sold them in galleries or shops such as La Porte Chinoise that, despite its name, sold both Chinese and Japanese goods.

The average middle class nineteenth-century French person only had the opportunity to see the cultural splendors displayed at the universal expositions every few years. In between time, people could see the arts and crafts of Japan at the various public exhibition spaces which increased in number, size, and extent of collection during the nineteenth century. The earliest French institution to have a formal collection of Japanese art was the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris, the 'National Library,' which began its collection in 1892, thanks to the donations of Théodore Duret as was mentioned.³⁸² Other gallery or gallery-like spaces included the Louvre and the *Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Museum of Decorative Arts. Holdings in French public institutions during the period when *Madame Chrysanthème* was published were not as comprehensive as those in Britain: in 1893, for example, the Victoria and Albert Museum had the collection of 20,000 Japanese prints that it had owned since 1886 publicly available

³⁸² Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 241.

for viewing.³⁸³ Public exhibition spaces also included dealers' shops, cafés such as Le Tambourin café where van Gogh organised an exhibition in 1887, and art schools such as *L'École nationale des Beaux-Arts*, the 'National School of Fine Arts,' in Paris which hosted various exhibitions, including a large one of Japanese engravings in 1890.

The establishment of shops dealing in Japanese art and crafts both responded to and further encouraged interest in and consumption of japonisme and japonaiserie. Some shops, such as La Porte Chinoise, began by selling Chinese or Oriental goods and later diversified to consumer japonisme and, less commonly, japonaiserie. Aside from providing income for their owners, shops also served as premises for exhibitions or meetings of like-minded japonistes. Shops specialising in Japanese arts and crafts tended to be clustered in Paris, and sources vary considerably concerning their dates of establishment and location.³⁸⁴ La Porte Chinoise was a well-known outlet of Chinese and Japanese objects and was frequented by japonistes such as Charles Baudelaire, Philippe Burty, Edgar Degas, Théodore Duret, the Goncourt brothers, Edouard Manet, James Tissot, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, and Émile Zola. Siegfried Bing opened a shop in 1885 where he sold Japanese items, held monthly meetings for Japanese enthusiasts, and mounted exhibitions such as that of Philippe Burty's collection in March 1891 that was also sold on the premises. Another well-known specialist shop was La Jonque Chinoise, owned by the Desoyes and opened in 1862. La Jonque Chinoise was extensively stocked due to the lucrative business partnerships its owners had established when they visited Japan. After Mr. Desoye's death, his widow continued managing it until 1887. Other specialist shops included the Dépôt des Produits du Japon, Margelidon, Au Mikado, and Oppenheimer Frères.

Items of consumer japonisme and japonaiserie were also available from larger stores such as Liberty's Department store of London and the American jewellers Tiffany and Company in New York. Liberty's had a large section of Oriental interior wares, and its predecessor, Farmer & Rogers Oriental Warehouse, sold Japanese items from 1862. Department stores catering to the general public tended to sell japonaiserie rather than consumer japonisme that required the sourcing of individually crafted more expensive pieces by people knowledgeable of Japanese art.

Private collections of Japanese items grew alongside increasing numbers travelling to Japan and the widespread availability of imported goods. They contributed towards knowledge of and exposure to Japanese art and crafts, as well as encouraging their imitation. The most extensive collections generally tended to be sourced from the collector's own travels to Japan and some travellers were prolific in the number of objects they amassed, as was seen with the case of Théodore Duret. Some collectors

³⁸³ For this reference and discussion of museum collections in Britain, North America, Germany, and Austria, see: Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, 242ff.

³⁸⁴ For contrasting examples of dates of establishment and locations of shops, see: Colta Ives and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Great wave: The influence of Japanese woodcuts on French*, p. 7, 8; Weisberg et al., *Japonisme: Japanese influence on French art 1854–1910*, p. 4; and Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 11.

specialised in certain aspects of Japanese art: Émile Guimet collected religious art and ornamentation, while Georges Clemenceau collected small incense holders, known as *kōgō*, from 1890 until the time of his death in 1929.

One particularly well-known collector and artist who was influenced by Japan and the *Japanesque* in their work and thinking was Vincent van Gogh. Van Gogh's enthusiasm for Japanese *ukiyo-e* is evidenced in his painting, art-related activities, letters to his brother Theo, and the collection of prints he shared with his sibling which numbered about four hundred.³⁸⁵ Van Gogh superimposed Japanese motifs into his paintings, directly copied works, and used Japanese artistic techniques such as dark outlines reminiscent of those found in *ukiyo-e*. 'Père Tanguy' (1887–1888) is a portrait of Père Tanguy who both sold and traded art supplies and *ukiyo-e* prints. The work shows Tanguy against a backdrop of 'Japanese' prints including those with images of Fuji and Japanese figures. Two examples of direct copies of *ukiyo-e* are 'Japonaiserie: Oiran' (1887, after the print 'Actor as an Oiran' by Keisai Eisen), and 'The Tree' (1887, after 'Plum Tree in Bloom' by Andō Hiroshige, 1857), while an example of using dark outlines occurs in 'Almond Tree in Bloom' (1890). Van Gogh also employed strong vertical orientation in some compositions and, like other artists such as Manet, used planes of uniform colour to depict scenes or objects, rather than favouring optical realism where scenes are depicted as they would appear to the natural eye. Van Gogh was also active in spreading his enthusiasm for Japanese prints amongst artists and the general public alike: he arranged an exhibition of prints from his collection at the Café du Tambourin and Restaurant du Chalet in 1887. Van Gogh realised the potency of Japanese art to stimulate new directions in European art and to restore vigour to artists, as well as its contrasting approach to life that its examples demonstrated, calling this even a 'true religion' as he writes in one letter:

If we study Japanese art, we see a man who is undoubtedly wise, philosophic and intelligent, who spends his time doing what? In studying the distance between the earth and the moon? No. In studying Bismark's policy? No. he studies a single blade of grass. But this blade of grass leads him to draw every plant and then the seasons, the wide aspects of the countryside, then animals, then the human figure. So he passes his life, and life is too short to do the whole. Isn't it almost a true religion which these simple Japanese teach us, who live in nature as though they themselves were flowers? And you cannot study Japanese art, it seems to me, without becoming much gayer and happier, and we must return to nature in spite of our education and our work in a world of convention.³⁸⁶

Van Gogh is particularly important for the purposes of this study because his perceptions of Japan were clearly influenced by *Madame Chrysanthème*. In addition, the artist subsequently spread images of Japan in his personal correspondence and artistic oeuvre without having been there, with his ideas based partly on Loti's descriptions. He even interpreted or evaluated the landscape of the South of France through 'Japanese eyes,' writing of feeling as though he were in Japan:

³⁸⁵ The society for the Study of Japonisme. *Japonisme in art: An international symposium* (Tokyo: Committee for the year 2001, 1980), p. 217.

³⁸⁶ The society for the Study of Japonisme. *Japonisme in art: An international symposium*, p. 219, Letter 542.

Having promised to write you, I will begin by saying that this region seems to me as beautiful as Japan as far as the limpidity of the atmosphere and the effects of gay colour are concerned. The water forms patches of beautiful emerald and rich blue in the landscape, just as we see it in the crepons [Japanese prints].³⁸⁷

Returning to collecting japonisme and japoniserie, during a collector's lifetime the impact of their objects on the public was generally more limited than those shown in public exhibition spaces. This was unless their circle of acquaintances was particularly large and included people who would subsequently promote japonisme, or if their objects were exhibited. For example, Samuel Bing held an exhibition of woodblock prints at the *École des Beaux Arts* in 1890. Posthumously however, collections could reach a more diverse public if sold or auctioned, and a popular venue for auctions was the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, where, for example, collections were auctioned belonging to Philippe Burty (16–20 March 1891), Antonin Proust (6–7 June 1894) and Georges Clemenceau (17–20 December 1894).

Alongside the growing body of more anecdotal or informal literature on Japan discussed in Parts II and III, scholarly interest and output concerning the country greatly increased. Lectures were given by educators, authors, travellers, or enthusiasts, providing another forum for the discussion and evolution firstly of the ideas of japonisme, and subsequently of the products of japoniserie. For example, in London in May 1883 the architect Christopher Dresser gave a talk on the 'Prevailing Ornament of China and Japan,' John Leighton spoke on Japanese art, and Philippe Burty gave a series of lectures on Japanese ceramics in 1884. The very occurrence of such lectures illustrates scholarly and public interest in the art and crafts of Japan.³⁸⁸

Interestingly and as can be partly seen by comparison of public exhibitions, France is generally considered to have been well behind Britain with respect to developing serious scholarship on Japan. In *French policy towards the Bakufu and Meiji Japan*, Richard Sims (1998) writes that Léon de Rosny was the only French person of the late nineteenth century with comparable knowledge of Japan to British contemporaries such as William Aston, Ernest Satow, and Basil Hall Chamberlain. De Rosny learnt Japanese, provided the Bakufu with news of Europe after entering into an agreement with the Shibata mission in 1865, and taught Japanese at the *École des Langues Orientales* in Paris from 1863 until 1907, having become a professor in 1868. De Rosny translated Japanese works into French such as the *Nihon Shoki* (1887), and in 1883 his *La Civilisation japonaise, Japanese civilisation* was published, a 400-page work on Japanese geography, ethnography, and history. It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century and opening decades of the twentieth that French scholarship on Japan

³⁸⁷ Jan Krikke, 'Vincent van Gogh: Lessons from Japan.' Online. Available: <http://www.vangoghgallery.com/visitors/018.htm>. Accessed on 9 November, 2002.

³⁸⁸ Lectures were most probably mainly attended by specialists or those with a serious scholarly interest in Japan rather than the general public.

became both more popularised and institutionalised. For example, a scholarship for travel enabling recipients to undertake field research in Oriental countries (*Bourse du Tour du Monde*) was inaugurated by Albert Kahn in 1898, and a formal Parisian Japanese society (the Société franco-japonaise de Paris) was established on 16 September 1900.³⁸⁹

A number of specialist journals published articles on Japan and its arts and crafts. Alternatively, entire volumes were dedicated to one specific topic. Two very well-known journals concerned with Japan were the *Revue des arts décoratifs* that reviewed the growing amount of literature on Japan as well as running individual articles, and *Le Japon artistique* that was founded by Samuel Bing in 1888. As Silverman (1989) writes, the latter journal aimed at serious, thorough scholarship and its purpose was to 'replace stereotyped visions of the exotic East with an empirical project.'³⁹⁰ The journal followed an encyclopaedic format, and commonly included colour plates with detailed description of a piece's provenance and specifications. *Le Japon artistique* ran until 1891. The Société franco-japonaise de Paris also published its own journal which was specifically dedicated to Japanese topics.

Societies were established for enthusiasts of activities such as the appreciation of Japanese art, tasting Oriental food, and exchanging advice on collecting Japanese artifacts. A well-known group was the *Société du Jing-lar*, Jing-lar Society,³⁹¹ which was founded in the 1860s and had monthly meetings. The Society dressed in Japanese clothes to discuss Japanese art and eat Japanese food using chopsticks from Hokusai-inspired dinner services made by Félix Bracquemond. Members tended to be those with a serious, scholarly interest in japonisme rather than the general public, and included well-known working artists and critics such as Philippe Burty, Ernest Chesneau, Zacharie Astruc, Alphonse Hirsch, and Henri Fantin-Latour. In 1873 Léon de Rosny founded the *Société des Études japonaises*, the Society for Japanese Studies, which concentrated on Japanese language and history, and members included Émile Guimet, Philippe Sichel, and Siegfried Bing. Societies were not always formal organisations: for example a group including Charles Baudelaire, Félix Bracquemond, Philippe Burty, Edgar Degas, Théodore Duret, the de Goncourt brothers, Edouard Manet, Alexis Rouart, James Jacques Joseph Tissot, and James Abbott McNeill Whistler met to discuss japonisme at various Parisian locations such as the Café Guerbois and La Porte Chinoise. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt were particularly fond of Japanese art and culture, and their villa at Autiel had rooms decorated with a diverse array of 'cultural' items from Japan and China. In 1881 Edmond published *La Maison d'un artiste au XIXème siècle* which detailed his integration of Japanese and Oriental art into the villa, and in 1885 he started hosting literary and artistic gatherings of like-minded enthusiasts in rooms specifically

³⁸⁹ The situation of France being behind Britain with respect to scholarship on Japan is possibly a reflection of differences between France and Britain's colonial policies and attitudes in general: the French tended to enforce their government and its practices (political, social, and cultural) in the colonised society, whereas the British were more accommodating in retaining the practices of the societies they colonised.

³⁹⁰ Deborah Silverman. *Art nouveau in fin-de-siècle France: Politics, psychology, and style* (Berkeley; London; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p.127.

³⁹¹ The Society was named after a sweet wine that the club drank at dinners.

dedicated and decorated for the purpose. Though somewhat informal, these gatherings potentially influenced the impressive selection of well-known French writers and artists who regularly attended.³⁹² Other hosts of informal but influential Japanese gatherings were the Charpentiers (the de Goncourt's publishers) who, in particular, hosted an example of a very early French play with Japanese characters, 'La Belle Saïmara' (Ernest d'Hervilly), on 15 March 1874, and also entreated participants in the universal exposition of 1878 to demonstrate Japanese painting with India ink and serve a Japanese meal.³⁹³

A cluster of Japanesque restaurants and clubs emerged in Paris catering to scholars, active japonistes, and the general public. A well-known example was the Divan Japonais which cultivated a Japanesque charm by staff dressed in kimono and an interior hung with silks and fans. Places such as the Divan Japonais testify to the popularity and extent of japonisme in both academic and social contexts.

The socio-political climate of nineteenth-century Europe saw japonisme and japoniserie enjoy popularity owing to their evocation of an antithetically idyllic and exotic land and the release from artistic stagnation that this stimulated. However, without the availability of varied exhibition spaces, and input from enthusiasts and artists, collectors and critics, the movements are not likely to have taken such firm root in Europe. Apart from artists whose work was influenced by Japanese practices and principles and who will later be mentioned—for example, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Vincent van Gogh, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, and Edouard Manet—important figures in the development of japonisme included Siegfried Bing, Philippe Burty, Louis Gonse, Émile Guimet, Hayashi Tadamasu, and Kenzaburō Wakai. Each had individual approaches to and expectations from their involvement with japonisme, but their activities frequently converged as they co-authored books, lent works for exhibitions, or met as members of Japanese societies.

'High' and 'popular' Japanese aesthetic influence

A Japanese influence flourished in both 'high' and 'popular' cultural contexts. Something belonging to a 'high' cultural realm is generally valued and appreciated or coveted amongst the upper classes who can afford high quality, usually culturally 'authentic' items or experiences.³⁹⁴ High cultural experiences in a nineteenth-century context that could have interacted with japonisme included, for example, theatre and opera-going, eating in fine restaurants, and travelling first class, while items of high culture included original works of art, jewellery, and hand-made furniture. 'Popular' culture is essentially the culture of the masses. Nineteenth-century 'popular' cultural experiences included going to a café-concert or café-bordel, while low cultural items included cheap Japanesque knickknacks, and mass-made items.

³⁹² See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–78*, ff.

³⁹³ See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–78*, p. 89.

³⁹⁴ http://www.nicolaspwood.com/theory_culture.html. No author given, *Culture*, accessed on 30 September 2003.

'High' japonisme has generally attracted the most academic attention, and it was concerned with the areas of painting, fine ceramics, architecture, and landscape design. Prestigious companies such as Tiffany and Co. and Christofle and Co. included cultural motifs of Japanese inspiration in their products, demonstrating the commercial prestige that companies could gain from producing items of consumable japonisme. Simultaneously, a mass japonisme—japonaiserie—was immensely popular where Japanese *bibelots* were readily and cheaply available.³⁹⁵ A *bibelot* denotes a trinket or knickknack, of sentimental or decorative, rather than monetary, value. Japonaiserie imitated and evolved from the japonisme of the 'high' cultural sphere, a development described by Berger (1992) as follows:

Perhaps it may be as well to indicate at the outset the extent of the importance of 'fashion' in the Parisian society of the period. From the time of the Universal Exhibition of 1867, at which the Japanese pavilion aroused more attention than any other, things Japanese remained a constantly growing preoccupation for two full decades, especially among the feminine leaders of fashion. It all started with kimonos and fans; no boudoir of any pretensions could be without them. Then came lacquer cabinets, tea-caddies, folding screens. Then porcelain tea services, and brooches and pendants set in gold and silver. According to need, any of these could be obtained as Japanese originals; or as French 'adaptations' by 'first-class craftsmen'; or, before long, as cheap imitations from the Paris department stores. No store catalogue was without its Japanese section.³⁹⁶

As japonisme evolved, 'high' and 'popular' products polarised in value: mass importing or imitation of Japanese art and crafts simultaneously saw the price of already cheap japonaiserie drop due to overproduction and a decline in workmanship, while the value of items of japonisme rose alongside its increasing demand and rarity.

Due to japonisme's embrace of 'high' and 'low' cultural and consumer contexts reflected in things such as the diversity of its exhibition spaces, the movement was not restricted to an artistic or wealthy elite. Artists, dealers, critics, enthusiasts, the wealthy and ordinary middle-class citizen alike all partook in japonisme, albeit from different angles and reaching towards different aims. For example, artists such as van Gogh, Whistler, Manet, and Monet actively sought it out for inspiration; art critics such as Siegfried Bing wrote of japonisme both to increase knowledge and popularity and to support sales; dealers such as Bing and de Soye sourced it zealously for business; members of the general public with an interest in Japanese art and aesthetics actively sought it out by visiting exhibitions and shops dealing in Oriental wares, and even those who weren't particularly interested encountered it 'accidentally' while shopping, or when reading popular fiction such as de Goncourt's *Manette Salomon*

³⁹⁵ The French word *bibelot* will be used throughout this discussion because an English translation into a single word is difficult.

³⁹⁶ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 7.

(1866) which had descriptions of japonaiserie, or Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* which, as it will be seen, is here argued to constitute a literary *biblot*.

Japonisme began to lose appeal in the late 1880s partly because of the movement's very popularity: the *bibelots* that flooded the Western market were often poorly and hastily made, which changed perception of 'Japanese' objects from being of a rare and highly refined quality to 'common' and of low quality. In addition and as has already been mentioned, Japan's modernisation and military strength increasingly altered the perception of the country as youthful, rejuvenating, appealing, and 'safe' to aesthetically consume.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Japonisme and japonaiserie: the content

Japonisme! Attraction de l'époque, rage désordonnée qui a tout envahi, tout commandé, tout désorganisé dans notre art, nos modes, nos goûts, même notre raison.

Adrien Dubouché³⁹⁷

Japonisme! The attraction of the time, the frenzied craze that has permeated everything, driven everything, totally disrupted our art, our fashions, our tastes, our very thinking.

Principles of Japanese design exerted a diverse influence on Western art during the nineteenth century. Influence generally progressed in the following stages: the superficial inclusion of Japanese objects into otherwise totally European paintings, Japanese themes such as bridges painted in European style, purely Japanese subject matter, general techniques such as vertical orientation and unconventional truncation in otherwise totally Western style works, and specialised techniques such as arabesque compositions and visible brushwork. Though the adoption and adaptation of Japanese techniques generally occurred after that of cultural motifs because it relied on a deeper understanding of principles of Japanese art, the stages were only approximately chronological. This chapter will first describe japonisme in the painterly arts, roughly according to this chronology. Then it will move to japonisme and japonaiserie in the decorative arts. Lastly it will treat two areas generally considered peripheral to the movements but which are central to the present study: the theatre and literature.³⁹⁸

Japanese influence on Western painting

An early stage of Japanese influence on Western art was the inclusion of Japanese objects in a painting otherwise totally European in composition and technique. Artists became familiar enough with Japanese motifs to be able to paint them by seeing them depicted in *ukiyo-e* or books about Japan, owning small Japanese *bibelots*, or seeing items in public and private exhibition spaces and shops. Inclusion of Japanese motifs in an otherwise Western-style painting assumed a favourable public response, and accordingly demonstrates the extent to which japonisme and japonaiserie were becoming accepted, fashionable, and widespread. Likewise, in Part V, the ways in which Loti's sprinkling of

³⁹⁷ Adrien Dubouché in 'La céramique contemporaine à l'Exposition Universelle.' *L'art*, 20 October 1878, p. 57. Cited in: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Musée d'Orsay, *Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 17 mai–15 août 1988; Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre–11 décembre 1988*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988, p. 132. The translation is my own.

³⁹⁸ Appendix Four provides background information to Part IV on the *ukiyo-e* or wood-block prints. Their influence on Western art was extensive and far reaching due to their initial rarity/novelty, subsequent popularity and commonness, and lastly differing artistic techniques and aesthetic philosophies they demonstrated.

Madame Chrysanthème with Japanese words and phrases functioned similarly to add 'Japaneseness' to the work will be discussed.

Items such as fans, kimono, hats, dolls, ornaments, flowers, vases, Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints, umbrellas, mats, bridges, and Mt. Fuji were blended with European subject matter to allude to the popularity of japonisme and japonaiserie, to exploit this to make a painting more fashionable, to add exoticism, or to give information about the subject. Concerning the last purpose, it is a fairly standard technique to include objects in a portrait that allude to the character of the sitter. For example, the inclusion of a Japanese print by Kuniaki II on the wall behind Émile Zola in 'Emile Zola' (Edouard Manet; 1867–8) pointed to both Zola and Manet's involvement with Japanese art. Another example of Western adaptation of Japanese imported subject matter and one which includes many different Japanese motifs is 'The golden screen: Caprice in purple and gold' (James McNeill Whistler, 1864). In this work Whistler depicts a seated (European) woman looking at what appear to be Japanese prints, wearing a kimono against the backdrop of a Japanese looking, predominantly golden-hued screen and Oriental black chair.

A Particularly striking example of Japanese subject matter is found in Claude Monet's '*La Japonaise*' (1876, also known as 'Madame Monet in a Kimono'), where a blond-haired woman is painted wearing a bright red kimono with Oriental designs, standing on matting reminiscent of Japanese *tatami*, holding a fan with the French colours (blue, white, and red) on it, against a wall with other fans attached, each depicting Japanese motifs. The design on one fan with the colours of the French flag illustrates cultural hybridisation where aspects of one culture were blended with those of another. The painting was the subject of criticism amongst Monet's contemporaries because of its stark, direct appeal to the 'fad' of cheap Japanese items, having none of the characteristic subtlety in which Monet generally adopted Japanese artistic principles. In particular, the placing of the figure of the Japanese warrior around the middle of Madame Monet's kimono attracted attention.³⁹⁹ *La Japonaise* was seen primarily as a commercial exploitation of the interest in Japan rather than as a work of 'good' art. At the time when it was made, Monet was apparently in financial difficulty, and it has been speculated that the painting was primarily for commercial purposes to sell quickly, as it indeed did and for a high price.⁴⁰⁰

Mon, rounded Japanese family crests, are an interesting importation of Japanese subject matter because not only were they superimposed as purely decorative elements, but they also had the practical function for some artists as signatures. Rounded *mon* and seals are used in Japan for signing ones' name on official documents, or wherever a family may want to display their crest—such as on decorative clothing, houses, lacquer-ware or the ridge-tiles of roofs. European artists came into contact with *mon* or seals via artists' signatures on *ukiyo-e*, or on imported products such as ceramics that sometimes had

³⁹⁹ See: National Gallery of Australia. *Monet and Japan* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2001), p. 24.

⁴⁰⁰ See: National Gallery of Australia. *Monet and Japan*, pp. 23–24.

the artist's or producer's emblem on their base. Some Western artists began to use *mon*-like, circular motifs instead of signing paintings with their names: for example, Whistler used a butterfly motif instead of a signature in his 'Nocturnes' series of the 1870s, and from 1892 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec used a circular monogram instead of his signature on prints and as a studio stamp. Another use of circular motifs, though questionable as to whether the inspiration came from *mon*, was for publishers' colophons: for example Insel-Verlag adopted a circular colophon with a ship on waves. Artists also began painting vignettes in circular frames, and often these had borders of natural elements such as the waterlily leaves in 'Crouching water-nymph surrounded by waterlily leaves' (Charles Ricketts, 1891). Sinuous motifs were particularly common amongst artists of the (predominantly) French art nouveau movement.

Some artists produced works with exclusively Japanese motifs, rather than including these in a painting of otherwise European subject matter. Raising single 'Japanese' motifs, characteristically of the natural world, to the status of subject matter in their own right was an important aspect of Japanese influence on Western art because it represented a significant departure from European tradition in its rejection of compositional and philosophical convention. Artists had been constrained by historicism and by the Christian 'hierarchy' of subject matter which proceeded as follows, from most desirable to least: God, man, woman, and the natural and animal kingdoms. Landscapes were favoured that celebrated the glory of God's creation by use of grandiose scale and composition, with the overall composition being valued more than the individual parts comprising it. Akiko Mabuchi (1988) writes of this as follows:

... the different elements which comprise the landscape — mountains, rivers, trees, etc. — only occupy the most humble place in the hierarchy established by Christianity, and have no significance except in that they are an element making up the whole of the painting. Therefore it was necessary to wait until the second half of the nineteenth century before the acceptance of the idea that a simple mountain, a lone tree, or a humble flower could be treated as subject matter in their own right. The pretty works of flowers or trees which were made before then were never anything but studies intended to prepare another painting and never went outside the framework of a purely personal experiment.⁴⁰¹

European artists were exposed to Japanese representation of single aspects of nature through *ukiyo-e*, albums of prints such as the one that van Gogh owned featuring a series of prints of flowers and birds, *netsuke* (figurines), *tsuba* (sword guards), and items of Japanese-made japoniserie that featured depictions of single aspects of nature. Single, enlarged motifs such as birds, roosters, fish, cats, plates, and masks filled the canvas, or were repeated in different positions as Hokusai had done in his *manga*. Examples of Western artists raising single motifs to subject matter include 'À la Bodinière,' 'At the Bodinière' (Théophile Steinlen, 1894) which has two cats, 'Roses et scarabée,' 'Roses and beetle'

⁴⁰¹ Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (France), Kokuritsu Seiyō Bijutsukan., Musée d'Orsay. *Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 17 mai-15 août 1988: Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre-11 décembre 1988.* (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), p. 36.

(Vincent van Gogh, 1890), and 'Right and left' (Winslow Homer, 1909) that depicts two ducks in flight above turbulent water (another common theme in Japanese art). As will be discussed in Part V, many of the water-colour sketches by Rossi and Myrbach included in Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* focused on some singular natural motif, usually something that the protagonist had written of in the accompanying text.

A more subtle variation of painting purely Japanese motifs was painting purely Japanese themes often, however, in Western style. For the present purposes, Japanese themes are taken to be the elements commonly depicted in *ukiyo-e*, or characteristic of Japanese landscape artists. European artists became familiar with Japanese themes by seeing *ukiyo-e*, owning items of japonisme or japonaiserie, and increasingly from travelling to or reading about Japan. Themes included: flying birds, turbulent waves, bridges, rocks in the sea, bamboo, irises, autumn leaves, tigers, umbrellas, kabuki actors, and women at their toilette. It is possible that inspiration for Degas' series of women at their toilette came in part from woodblock prints by artists such as Kitagawa Utamaro and Katsushika Hokusai whose prints commonly depicted the intimacies of daily ritual such as women bathing, brushing their hair or playing with children.⁴⁰² Alternatively, Degas owned and may have been influenced by 'Woman's Bath' (Torii Kiyonaga, c. 1780), a suite of eight depictions of women in different stages of bathing. This theme was controversial because it was daring in its departure from traditional European representation of women in portraits or posed nudes, and because of the intimacy it required with the subject. For the conservative, the 'voyeuristic' painting of women at their toilette as though unaware of the artist's presence invited indecency and disrespect: for example, J. K. Huysmans considered that Edgar Degas' series of women bathing

. . . hurled the greatest of insults into the face of his century, toppling the inviolate idol, woman, from her pedestal and debasing her by representing her in the bath-tub, in degrading postures and performing intimate acts of her toilette.⁴⁰³

In addition, Western artistic tradition was not conditioned to the non-formalised compositions which characterised depiction of women at their toilette, nor to the sense of movement on the canvas that often accompanied such representation. This leads to the Western borrowing or adaptation of Japanese artistic techniques.

The borrowing or adaptation of Japanese artistic techniques

Borrowing or adapting Japanese artistic or compositional techniques relied on a deeper understanding of Japanese art and its production than did copying and superimposing cultural motifs. Accordingly,

⁴⁰² For example: 'Mother playing with her child, and nurse' and 'Mother bathing her son' (Kitagawa Utamaro, c. 1794).

⁴⁰³ Pierre Cabanne, *Edgar Degas* (Paris: 1957), cited in: Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, p. 35.

this branch of Japanese influence was slower to develop, and distinguished japonisme from other movements—including japonaiserie—which also relied for popularity and interest on ‘exotic and fashionable qualities,’ to recall van Rij’s words,⁴⁰⁴ but were more superficial. Where earlier Orientalist painters had depicted entire Oriental scenes using purely European techniques and aesthetic perspectives and philosophies, some artists concerned with japonisme ‘graduated’ to actually studying and imitating Japanese aesthetic perspectives and techniques.

Deborah Silverman (1989) partly ascribes the appeal of assimilating subtle Japanese techniques into a work rather than including easily-recognisable motifs such as those in ‘*La Japonaise*’ to political reasons concerning national identity. Western artists using obvious and plentiful Japanese cultural motifs alluded openly to Japanese society, yet if art were to be used as a vehicle for the creation and promotion of national identity, as some believed it should be, it should depict and reflect that nation rather than a foreign one. Given France’s colonial situation during the late nineteenth century, it would not be surprising if Silverman’s ideas indeed were relatively widespread. The Louvre Art Museum in Paris pursued a policy of collection rationalisation aiming to acquire works which reflected France’s

‘. . . long-standing relationship between its national pride and national collections.’⁴⁰⁵ Writing with respect to the Japanese celebration of nature in art, Philippe Burty reasoned that the French could graft Japanese naturalism and organicism onto France’s artistic tradition and reinforce their national identity through nature, by means of a decorative nationalism, as the Japanese had done. Such an approach could be appealing in an age characterised by industrial expansion.⁴⁰⁶ Silverman (1989) describes this possibility as follows: ‘Nature, the source of both eternal national character and continually changing forms, offered a bridge between the glories of the French tradition and the possibilities of French rejuvenation.’⁴⁰⁷

Important Japanese artistic techniques that Western painters borrowed or adapted included vertical orientation, unconventional truncation, and decentralisation of the field of view; while more subtle influence occurred in the areas of compositional arabesques, colour use, and allowing the process of production to be visible in a finished work. Though other techniques were borrowed such as spatial experimentation where the elements of a picture ‘floated’ rather than having any fixed spatial reference point, discussion will be restricted to the most widespread, as well as those that have relevance to *Madame Chrysanthème*.

Western artists were exposed to Japanese use of vertical orientation through genres such as the *kakemono-e* or hanging scroll art, as well as in many of the *ukiyo-e*. In particular, the Japanese had

⁴⁰⁴ van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 42.

⁴⁰⁵ Stephen Weil. *Rethinking the museum and other meditations* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), p. 81.

⁴⁰⁶ Silverman. *Art nouveau in fin-de-siècle France*, 129 ff.

⁴⁰⁷ Silverman. *Art nouveau in fin-de-siècle France*, p. 132.

favoured vertical orientation for landscapes, depiction of people, and in calligraphy. European adoption of vertical orientation occurred either clearly in paintings that were taller than they were wide, or more subtly in compositions that used strong vertical elements to direct movement vertically rather than laterally as had been the established convention. Vertical orientation was a significant development in Western art because it gave artists new compositional dimensions, led to painting on different media such as screens, and diversified into the creation of spatial illusions such as elements floating due to absence of a fixed point of reference. The dimensions of some well-known examples of vertically orientated works illustrate the extent to which this composition was used, and include 'Déjeuner sur l'herbe' 'Lunch on the lawn' (Claude Monet, 1865; 418 cm vertically by 150 cm horizontally), 'Judith II (Salome)' (Gustave Klimt, 1909, 178cm by 46cm) and 'Fulfillment, Cartoon for Stoclet freize' (Gustave Klimt, 1905-09, 194 cm by 121 cm). Vertically orientated posters were also produced and could serve as striking, unusual advertising, such as a poster for the 17th Secession exhibition by Max Kurzweil (1903; 90cm by 31cm). Subtle techniques of vertically orientating a work included using trees, poles, and masts which divided paintings into smaller compositions, provided a sense of vertical movement, or achieved compositional balance.

Unconventional truncation involved truncating motifs in a composition where usually they would have been wholly included. The implication was that the truncated element continued to some point beyond the edge of the frame. Japanese compositions commonly featured objects extending beyond the edge of the frame such as in Andō Hiroshige's 'Saijō in Iyo Province' (1853–56) where the mast and sail of a boat would continue from the lower right corner, while a flock of birds flies downwards from the upper right one. Both 'Ships at Sunset' (Henri Rivière, c. 1897), and 'Ships at Sunset' (Edouard Manet, 1869) feature the truncated sails of ships in their lower right corners, similar to Hiroshige's work. The inclusion of truncated objects departed from conventional Western aesthetic philosophy by its allusion to the transience of life that was such that it could not be contained or frozen even within the four edges of a carefully-worked picture, and also suggested that what was excluded from a picture could be just as important as what was included. The picture no longer necessarily constituted a scene whose entirety existed within the four sides of its frame: with truncation, artists could tempt the viewer to imagine the nature and significance of what may lie beyond. Truncated objects, as Wichmann (1999) writes, led to 'the exaggerated leaping viewpoint—the eye jumping from one thing to another, from one plane to another.'⁴⁰⁸ Critics of the style deemed it a 'dangerous dismantling of nature,'⁴⁰⁹ evocative of the historicism against which such artistic experimentation rebelled and reminiscent of Huysmans' words on women at their toilette. In Part V, the ways in which the many short chapters of *Madame Chrysanthème* reflected unconventional truncation will be illustrated.

As the concept of a 'dangerous dismantling of nature' suggests, European artistic tradition had favoured formal composition where elements were centred and arranged with balance and symmetry

⁴⁰⁸ Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, p. 243.

⁴⁰⁹ Cited in: Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, p. 243.

within the frame of the work. However, practices used in Japanese art such as *ukiyo-e* where ‘. . . the empty part of the image, unimportant in Western tradition, has . . . an immense active quality, seen as a negative pattern’⁴¹⁰ inspired some European artists to produce asymmetrical compositions where areas of the painting were left ‘empty.’ In both ‘The Dance Room’ (1891) and ‘The Dance Studio’ (1872), Edgar Degas clusters activity around the edges of the composition, and in the middle there is a relatively bare area of dance floor. Such technique, known as decentralisation of the field of view, promoted active, critical viewing because the viewer had to look around the picture to seize its entirety, rather than having the artist direct them towards the focus of a work by placing it in the middle.

This decentralisation of the field of view occurred even in portraiture, a branch of art where conventionally the subject would formally pose and be painted in the centre of the composition, looking directly at the artist (or viewer). Western artists were exposed to the concept of atmospheric portraits via *ukiyo-e* such as Kitagawa Utamaro’s series ‘Ten Physiognomies of Woman’ (1791–1792) that depicted Japanese women going about their daily routines, seemingly oblivious to the presence of the artist.⁴¹¹ Klaus Berger terms works such as Edgar Degas’ ‘Woman with Chrysanthemums’ (1865), ‘Woman with Porcelain Vase’ (1872), and ‘Diego Martelli’ (1897) as ‘deportraitisation of the portrait.’⁴¹² In ‘Woman with Chrysanthemums,’ the subject is almost dwarfed by the large bowl of chrysanthemums that form the central motif of the painting, and is casually holding her hand up to her face, looking to a point beyond the picture’s right edge, rather than being depicted as sitting specifically for a conventional portrait. This painting also demonstrates unconventional truncation because the subject is cut by the right edge. The ‘deportraitisation’ of the portrait shifted the emphasis to the ‘reproduction of a mood’ by encouraging the ‘viewer’s participative experience of the scene’:⁴¹³ the evocation of a person’s mood and the setting became more important than a detailed representation of the subject itself.

Borrowing and adaptation of subtle techniques

As knowledge of Japanese art grew and Western artists became more familiar with its practices, increasingly subtle techniques such as varied use of arabesques, planes of bright colour, and brushwork started to be used. Japanese *ukiyo-e* in particular relied on clean, clear arabesques, and possibly from their influence European artists began to increase their use of clean, simple, fluid lines to define figures or as compositional tools. This departed from convention because curves were simplified and increased in prominence in compositions where, generally speaking, arabesques were for construction and not apparent in the finished work. Aubrey Vincent Beardsley, a prominent member of the art nouveau movement, is known for his use of sinuous lines and minimal colour in drawings such as ‘The Toilette of Salomé I’ (1893) and ‘The Toilette of Salomé II’ (1893). Beardsley was possibly influenced by his

⁴¹⁰ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, pp. 61–62.

⁴¹¹ The Japanese title of this work ‘*Fujin sogaku juttai*,’ is more commonly used.

⁴¹² Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 51.

⁴¹³ Shimoda, cited in: Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 51.

collection of *ukiyo-e* and his drawings echo prints such as 'In the Brothel' (Okamura Masanobu, c. 1730) by their repetition of curves.⁴¹⁴ Arabesques featured too in paintings of conventional Western style where they were painted thicker and placed in prominent areas of the composition, such as the curved top of an umbrella in 'At the races, before the start' (Edgar Degas, 1878).

Arabesques were also used as a subtle compositional tool where subjects were arranged along curves such as in 'The dance room' (Edgar Degas, 1891). Linked to this use of arabesques was diagonal composition where lines of people, driving rain or birds, for example, would spatially define the painting, and again such arrangement was found in *ukiyo-e* prints such as 'Sudden rain in Shōno' (Andō Hiroshige, c. 1832–34) and 'Ama no Hashidate in the province of Tango' (Andō Hiroshige, 1853–1856). Western examples using this technique include: 'Funeral under umbrellas' (Henri Rivière, c. 1895) and 'November' (Eugen Kirchner, c. 1896).

European artists were exposed to Japanese treatment of colour mainly via the *ukiyo-e*. Japanese influence on colour ranged from the use of bright, bold, flat planes of (often) primary colour to signify youthful energy, to that of a contrastingly limited palette or simply black ink painting. Bright colour use was found in later examples of *ukiyo-e*, the *nishiki-e*, whilst more sombre use occurred peripherally in *ukiyo-e*, and more commonly in ink paintings and calligraphy. The significance of Japanese-inspired chromatic use was that it represented a novel gaiety or simplicity, and Armand Silvestre (1873) ascribed the success of some artists to their adoption of Japanese chromatic techniques: 'What seems to have hastened the success of these newcomers, Monet, Pissarro and Sisley, is that their pictures are painted in a singularly joyful range of color. A blond light inundates them, and everything in them is gaiety, sparkle, spring-time fete, evenings of gold or apple trees in flower — again an inspiration from Japan.'⁴¹⁵

Brightly coloured compositions could add atmosphere, appeal, and exoticism to a painting by their evocation of Oriental gaiety, spontaneity, and youthful charm. One such example is 'The Golden Screen: Caprice in Purple and Gold' (James Abbott McNeill Whistler, 1864) which contained:

The combination of lemon yellow with various greens and blues, balanced by black, red and a soft beige, and grouped around the silhouetted profile of the girl: all this is a genuinely new tonal scale that the painter has assembled, as a 'caprice', from a variety of Japanese prints. He is still tentatively reaching out for Oriental delights.⁴¹⁶

The inclusion of large planes of bright colour was reminiscent of the *ukiyo-e* and reflected the different Japanese philosophy of colour symbolism. A series of posters Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec produced for the Moulin Rouge and Divan Japonais, two well known Parisian entertainment establishments, were

⁴¹⁴ Beardsley's subject matter departed from the *ukiyo-e* however in his depiction of totally naked figures in works such as 'The woman in the moon' (1893).

⁴¹⁵ Cited in Weisberg et. al. *Japonisme: Japanese influence on French art 1854–1910*, p. 118. Source: Galerie Durand-Ruel. *Receuil d'estampes gravées à l'eau-forte* (Paris: 1873), p. 23.

⁴¹⁶ Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 36.

examples of the use of large planes of colour to reflect an ambience, and Ives (1974) writes of the posters that ‘. . . not by accident, the aniline mauves, citrons, and darkest black express the artificial, often sordid mood of Montmartre night life.’⁴¹⁷ De Toulouse-Lautrec made many colour lithograph posters advertising Parisian clubs and restaurants that alluded to the respective establishment’s atmosphere or were purely decorative, rather than aiming to realistically portray the patrons or interior of the establishments.⁴¹⁸

An alternative borrowing of Japanese chromatic technique was the reduction of the number of colours used to two or three, or even simply black or brown ink. Use of two colours departed from the European realist tradition of the faithful, accurate re-creation of a scene (as did, incidentally, bright colours), and evidenced colour being used symbolically or for the stark contrastive effect of a reduced palette. Some works by the Austrian artist Koloman Moser feature large planes of yellow and brown.

Concerning the process of production being visible in a finished composition, European artistic habit had generally placed primary importance on the finished appearance of a work rather than on the process of its production. Artists conventionally were at pains to conceal marks of production, re-applying colour and varnish to camouflage individual brush-strokes. In Japanese art the process of production was contrastingly often plainly and intentionally evident. This was particularly the case with ink painting, which was to become popular amongst groups of Western artists. Artists such as Ogata Kōrin made monochromatic ink paintings that Europeans could see in publications such as ‘The Studio,’ ‘*La Revue Blanche*,’ or Bing’s ‘*Le Japon artistique*,’⁴¹⁹ as well as at the public exhibition spaces already mentioned. Ink painting departed from European convention in its reductive depiction of movement caught in mid-flight, with its connotations of the transience of life and the method of representing this which used visible brush strokes to portray what Wichmann calls a ‘. . . brief, intensive look at [the] subject and its traces of movement.’⁴²⁰ An early European artist to paint with ink was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec who was possibly influenced by exhibitions of calligrapher Gibon Sengai. Sengai’s work featured at the international fairs of 1878 and 1889, with reproductions appearing in ‘*Le Japon artistique*’ (November 1889). Toulouse-Lautrec imported India ink, Japanese *sumi* sticks, and brushes for artistic ‘authenticity,’ and other European artists who produced monochromatic ink paintings include Edgar Degas, Edouard Manet, and Claude Monet.

Though japonisme was characterised by distinct facets and stages of development, many—if not most—works in fact demonstrate a mixture of influence. A picture with unconventional truncation may also have included Japanese cultural motifs, or bright, flat colour planes may have been used to depict Japanese themes. For example, ‘Japanese Lilies’ (Claude Monet, c.1883–84) is strongly vertically

⁴¹⁷ Colta Ives. *The Great wave: The influence of Japanese woodcuts on French prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), p. 85.

⁴¹⁸ For example: ‘*Le Divan Japonais*’ (1893) and ‘The Englishman at the Moulin Rouge’ (1892). For more examples, see: Weisberg et al.. *Japonisme: Japanese influence on French Art 1854 – 1910*, 108 ff.

⁴¹⁹ For example: ‘*Shōki walking*’ (Ogata Kōrin, c. 1700) was featured in Bing’s *Le Japon artistique* on 23 March 1890.

⁴²⁰ Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, p. 380.

orientated with its dimensions of 119.5cm by 37cm, it depicts the Japanese theme of lilies, raises this to the status of worthy subject matter in its own right, truncates the top and bottom, all while having been painted in mainly Western style. Borrowing also occurred between artists and across genres as Japanese motifs were copied, and then sometimes transposed to a different medium. For example, the fish motif on a painted plate by Henri Lucien Lambert (c.1870–79) is almost identical to that on a fan in *'La Japonaise.'*⁴²¹

Japonisme and japoniserie in the decorative or applied arts

Japonisme also existed in the applied or decorative arts, an area in which japoniserie was seen more commonly than in the painterly arts. The ethos of 'form plus function,' commonly ascribed as a fundamental of Japanese design philosophy, had a noticeable impact on artistic movements that rebelled against the homogeneous, mass production characteristic of the machine age by placing importance on design. These movements included the German *Kunstgewerbe* or 'industrial arts,' 'Arts and Crafts' (British), art nouveau (French), and *Libre Esthétique* ('Free Aesthetics,' Belgian). Berger (1992) writes of the influence of Japanese design principles on industrial art:

In Japan, objects had a place and purpose of their own within an artistic culture; now they were transformed into isolated ornamental pieces. An empty vase, for instance, is inconceivable in a functioning Japanese house: it comes to life through being used for *ikebana*, ritual flower arrangement. In the West, an entirely new area of activity came into being: this was *Kunstgewerbe*, the 'industrial arts' or the Arts and Crafts It inserted itself between a dying craftsmanship and the 'high' art of painting, sculpture and architecture; and it prepared a place for what we now call Design. In the East, the makers of finely crafted utensils were members of the same class of craftsmen as the artists responsible for woodcuts, sculptures and buildings. Decorative design was taken for granted as part of the tradition.⁴²²

In particular, the French art nouveau movement which was very popular between 1880 and 1915 was influenced by sinuous curves and natural motifs to the extent that these have become a defining characteristic of the movement. Examples commonly remain in public architecture: for example, entrances to many Parisian Metro stations comprise ornate, sinuous designs. Japanese influence in the decorative arts involved painting Western or Japanese motifs on media such as screens, fans and plates; as well as incorporating Japanese design philosophies into the largely non-painterly realms of ceramics, glassware, accessories and jewellery, clothing, architecture, and interior and landscape design. Influence in most of these areas tended to oscillate between being simplistic, almost austere, understated, and elegant (more characteristic of japonisme), and being busy, gay, overstated, and somewhat gaudy (japoniserie).

Screens

⁴²¹ See: Gabriel Weisberg et al.. *Japonisme: Japanese influence on French art 1854–1910*, p. 159 for the comparison.

⁴²² Berger. *Japonisme in Western painting from Whistler to Matisse*, p. 66.

The novelty of decorative screens for Westerners emerges in accounts such as *Madame Chrysanthème* which contain remarks on the quality of their decoration and the ingenuity of their various usages: Loti is unlikely to have made such mention of them had they not had the interest-factor that they did. Western artists were inspired to paint on screens mainly by seeing Japanese examples at exhibitions and in shops. Painting on screens demonstrates adoption of the Japanese philosophies of form being important in functional objects, and of art and design being integral to everyday life: a screen is functional because it could be used to divide rooms, yet it can also be aesthetically pleasing. Producing a series of paintings for multi-panel screens was a similar concept to making diptychs and triptychs, but instead of largely religious subject matter, popular designs featured animals, landscapes, people, plants, and birds. Also departing from traditional Western painting and typical experience was that the hinged construction of screens meant that artists worked with a flexible medium whose images changed according to the direction in which they were turned due to, for example, facing another picture or being cast in shadow. Both the stand-alone and folding screens used for dividing a room gave consumers novel flexibility with their art because they could easily be relocated or angled differently for the desired effect. Though high-quality hand-painted screens were typically expensive and belonged to the realm of japonisme, cheaper, quickly-painted ones (often with only one panel), were a commonly available item of japonaiserie at department stores.

Fans

Fans were another genre with which European artists increasingly experimented, supposedly influenced by the Japanese example. Fans were a fashionable accessory in nineteenth-century Europe, and artists such as Edgar Degas, Paul Gauguin, Camille Pissarro, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec were exposed to them at exhibitions, shops, or as they were depicted in *ukiyo-e*. They painted directly on them or included them in pictures as isolated motifs as has already been mentioned. As with the screen, artists were attracted to the painted fan because of the effects that could be achieved by exploiting its mobility, as well as the experimental composition and unconventional truncation it invited where motifs were cut off by necessity. Styles included purely Western compositions, Western subject matter depicted using Japanese influenced techniques, and imitations of Oriental themes and techniques. Compositions on fans could be very similar to an artist's conventional work on canvas, such as 'La Farandole' (before 1879) by Edgar Degas that featured dancers. Degas' earliest painted fans date from about 1869, but he produced a particularly high number from 1879 to 1880, and had five exhibited at the fourth impressionist exhibition of 1879. Artists such as Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec painted on fans with imported Japanese brushes and India ink, and their swift brush-strokes echoed the very movement of fans in works such as 'At the Cirque Fernando' (Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, c. 1888). Fans were another type of decorative japonisme also popular as japonaiserie: quickly-painted, cheap fans became common-place in department stores, and were carried by people for their functional purpose of keeping cool, social purpose of projecting a 'cultured' image, or arranged in the home as decoration.

Plates

Painting Japanese subject matter on plates is an example of acculturation because decorative plates, particularly those with bright, clear designs, were not common in Japan. Where they did exist, they were very rarely used in the same cultural context as standard crockery to eat off. Dinner services were made where typically European-style plates were decorated with Japanese motifs such as flowers, flies, fish, lilies, bamboo, and birds. A well-known example is Félix Bracquemond's service for Eugène Rousseau, the owner of a prestigious store in Paris that dealt in china and glassware. Before coming into contact with Japanese *manga*, Bracquemond was known as an artist skilled in and partial to depicting nature,⁴²³ and for the service he directly copied natural motifs from albums by artists such as Hiroshige and Hokusai. Bracquemond's service was very popular at universal expositions in 1867 and 1878, and other companies began producing similar wares.⁴²⁴

Painting on plates also catered to the popular market as bright, quickly-painted specimens were commonly used as decorative knick-knacks on shelves or mantelpieces. Designs on these tended to directly depict stereotypical images of Japan because consumers of japonaiserie generally would not have had the artistic knowledge to be aware, for example, that a picture of a small flower or evidence of brush-strokes were specifically Japanese-influenced and value the items for these reasons. Rather, they owned items of japonaiserie for their fashionable connotations of an unusual, playful, and quaint land, so it made sense for manufacturers to respond to this by concentration on clearly identifiable motifs of Japan and the Japanese. Designs on this type of japonaiserie included cherry blossoms, Mt. Fuji, the smiling faces of Japanese women, bamboo, and scenes of Japanese people in traditional clothing.⁴²⁵

Ceramics and glassware

The Japanese design principle of form complementing function was also adopted by Western ceramic artists, many of whom were familiar with Japanese aesthetic philosophy through articles by people such as Émile Guimet in journals like *Le Japon artistique*. In addition to pure form and production technique, study of Japanese ceramics also encompassed philosophic, historical, and anthropological analysis.⁴²⁶ The range of Japanese ceramics with which artists became familiar diversified as dealers such as Bing pursued trade. Ceramics were one area in particular where a Japanese influence was polarised between austere simplicity and decorative busy-ness, between copying Japanese stylistic form and rebelling against mass-production, and depicting images of familiar, 'quintessential' Japan. On the one hand, austere simplicity freed artists from the ornate, opulent decoration popular and featuring even in public architecture of the time such as in the Pont Alexandre spanning the Seine River, whilst quaint Japanesque motifs alluded to the gaiety and simplicity of life in a distant land.

⁴²³ Weisberg et al. *Japonisme: Japanese influence on French art 1854 – 1910*, p. 158.

⁴²⁴ For example, Viellard (Bordeaux), the Parisian store *Escalier de Cristal*, Worcester (British), and Rookwood Pottery (American) all produced supposedly Japanese-inspired dinner services.

⁴²⁵ Referring to both japonisme and japonaiserie, Japanesque designs on crockery were not as influential as their Chinese counterparts that still feature on pieces in collections such as Wedgwood's popular 'Blue Willow' design.

⁴²⁶ This was in contrast to other movements which relied on exoticism such as rococo where serious scholarship was not of concern. See: Silverman. *Art nouveau in fin-de-siècle France*, p. 126. Source: Samuel Bing, introduction to 'Collection Burty,' p. 127.

More popular Japanesque ceramic-ware commonly featured the superimposition of Japanese cultural motifs onto cheap Western-style items such as plates and vases, another example of the crossing of media and consumption of Japanese culture beyond its 'authentic' context. Ceramic japonaiserie also included porcelain *bibelots* of buddhas, lilies, masks, bamboo, and ducks. These were made as stand-alone figures, boxes, or other collectables, and were accumulated enthusiastically by a wide range of people because they were inexpensive and fashionable. They were an extremely common branch of japonaiserie.⁴²⁷

Though glassware made in Japan was not popular in Europe to the extent that it warrants detailing for the purposes of this study, a Japanese design influence from sources such as the *ukiyo-e* and Hokusai's *manga* was certainly seen in Western glass products. This existed in the fluid, sweeping curves used to define vases, plates, and other domestic objects, particularly amongst artists of the art nouveau movement. This inclusion of natural Japanese motifs such as bamboo and blossoms on glassware appealed in both its allusion to the natural world and its rejection of mass production by introducing form into functional objects. Chinese influence on Western glassware, much of which came from jade carvings, was far stronger than its Japanese counterpart.

Accessories, jewellery, and clothing

Jewellery and accessories have always been an indicator of wealth, status, and 'culture.' During the second half of the nineteenth century, Japanese-inspired accessories such as hair and hat pins, necklaces, brooches, and beltbuckles became popular for those wanting to project an image of cultured class. They are representative examples of subtle japonisme in the applied arts as pieces remained very much Western in style and function, but assimilated Japanese decorative motifs and design.

It became fashionable to wear hair combs reminiscent of the *kushi* (ornamental comb) or *kanzashi* and *kōgai* (hairpins) that were imported or depicted in *ukiyo-e*,⁴²⁸ and popular motifs included butterflies, dragonflies, and waves. Combs varied from mass produced and cheap items of japonaiserie, to expensive, one-off pieces of japonisme crafted by artists at establishments such as Tiffany and Co. from an amalgam of precious materials including gold, silver, pearls, rubies, and opals. In particular, it was artists of the art nouveau movement who were known for using Japanese, naturalistic motifs such as swirling patterns of waves or lilies. The *kanzashi* or long hairpin was adapted to form the hat-pin, and the incorporation of decoration in functional objects such as hair combs reflects again the appeal of the Japanese philosophy of form being married to function.

Jewellery too underwent a Japanese influence, though this was predominantly seen in Japanese motifs being grafted onto Western styles, rather than Japanese styles being imitated. Fluid, sinuous motifs such as waves, plant leaves, and stalks were used in jewellery because they complemented the

⁴²⁷ In the realm of ceramic japonisme (not particularly relevant to the present study), stoneware vessels based on those used in *sadō* (the Japanese tea ceremony) became popular, and in particular Jean Carriès and Georges Hoentschel were known for their austere works.

⁴²⁸ For example in 'The actor Segawa Kikunojō III', Utagawa Toyokuni, 1789.

arabesque forms required for items such as brooches and necklaces, and in addition were both exotic and aesthetically pleasing. Circular *mon-* or *tsuba*-like arrangements were used in things such as belt buckles, brooches, necklaces, and bangles.⁴²⁹

European fashion designers and the public who created demand were exposed to traditional Japanese-style clothing mainly through their depiction in *ukiyo-e*, in Western paintings including motifs such as kimono or samurai costumes,⁴³⁰ and in the various journals, magazines, and catalogues dedicated to Japanese arts and aesthetics.⁴³¹ They also featured at the universal expositions or fairs, particularly if there were a Japanesque 'theme village,' or in productions such as 'The Mikado,' 'La Marchande de sourires' (1888), 'Le Rêve,' 'The dream' (1893), and 'Le Geisha,' 'The Geisha' (1896). The Japanese actress/performer Sada Yacco [sic] often appeared in elaborate kimono at venues such as the Loie Fuller theatre in Paris where her act '*Musume Dojoji*' enjoyed particular success. After she featured on the cover of the October 1900 edition of the magazine '*Le Théâtre*,' 'The Theatre,' a popular shop dealing in japonisme and japonaiserie, 'Au Mikado' (41 Avenue de l'Opera), started selling a so-called 'Kimono Sada Yacco,' and from 1903 issues of the magazine *Femina* featured advertisements for it. Kimono had been appearing in fashion magazines long before Sada Yacco boosted their popularity: the October 1867 edition of '*Journal des demoiselles*,' 'Women's Journal,' included illustrations of Japanese clothes, while the June 1 edition of '*Petit Courrier des dames*,' 'Women's Mail,' had an article on some silk dresses belonging to Empress Eugenie which may have been kimono.⁴³²

Constituting items of japonisme rather than japonaiserie, kimono were imported from Japan or made in Europe from Japanese, Chinese, or imitation fabrics. They were popular fashion accessories of the wealthy such as Gustav Klimt who had a collection of kimono and wore a kimono-like robe while working in his studio.⁴³³ As Fukai and Stinchecum (2003) write, 'Situations in which the wearing of kimono was considered acceptable were those in which the usual social restrictions on dress and deportment did not come into play—namely, at home, at costume balls or in similar milieus.'⁴³⁴ The *kosode* kimono that had smaller sleeves than standard kimono became a popular house-dress for European ladies from about 1860.

⁴²⁹ A few jewellers imitated specific Japanese production techniques in their work, and one notable example was Alexis Falize who, together with his son Lucien, was the first European to use Japanese cloisonné enamel in jewellery. In a necklace and earring set made between 1867 and 1868, the Maison Falize copied motifs such as storks, bamboo, and butterflies from *ukiyo-e* onto the medallions, combining this with lively Japanese colour use.

⁴³⁰ For example, '*The red kimono*' (Georg Hendrik Breitner, c. 1893) and '*Kimono study*' (Emil Orlik, 1900–1901).

⁴³¹ For example, in October 1867 the *Journal des demoiselles*, 'Women's Journal,' had illustrations of Japanese clothes. See: Akiko Fukai and Stinchecum. *Japonisme in fashion*, 2003, p. 2; supplement to: *Japonisme in fashion Tokyo*, exhibition catalogue produced by the Kyoto Costume Institute to accompany the exhibition titled 'Japonisme in Fashion' running from 7 September 1996 to 17 November 1996. The exhibition was mounted at Te Papa in Wellington, New Zealand from 10 July 2003 to 5 October 2003.

⁴³² See: Fukai and Stinchecum. *Japonisme in fashion*, p. 2.

⁴³³ See: Wichmann, *Japonisme: the Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, p. 16, 20. Wichmann also writes that Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edgar Degas, and James Tissot owned kimono.

⁴³⁴ Fukai and Stinchecum. *Japonisme in fashion*, p. 3.

More subtly and reminiscent of the progression of painterly influence from direct superimposition to the use of subtle techniques, European clothing evolved to include kimono-like styles with *obi*-like belts made from materials Japanese in colour or design. These design features were only very marginal though, and certainly did not feature significantly in mainstream clothing styles of the period. Painted silks became fashionable with popular themes including birds and *mon*-like emblems and patterns, and they were either produced by the fashion houses of Europe such as the Parisian J. Claude Frères et Cie., or directly imported from Japan. Silks were popularised by their exhibition at the international expositions, with the following being written of the 1878 exposition:

These colourful and fantastic patterns, made up of a wonderful interplay of spray of blossom, slender rushes, flying birds and fantastic cloud-formations, exercise an unusual charm, full of character. The colour of these fabrics is exquisite beyond compare, and causes the real importance of the patterns – as should be the case with a pattern, after all – to disappear from sight in the overall effect of a piece. There are to be seen here colour combinations so exotically effective, of such piquant attraction, that it is easy to comprehend the eagerness with which the hands of fine ladies reach out for these exquisite pieces.⁴³⁵

Alternatively, some kimono were imported to Europe and then later unpicked and the fabric used to make European-style garments.⁴³⁶

Masks, wigs, swords, and other props that Westerners would identify as typically ‘Japanese’ were popular as costumes to wear to fancy-dress dinners such as the themed soirées held by Pierre Loti, or simply to dress up in as did Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec on occasion in daimyo’s clothing.⁴³⁷ Cheap imitations of these sorts of cultural ‘artefacts’ were popular items of japonaiserie, and were often used as ornaments to brighten rooms.

Japanese influence in architecture, interior design, and landscape

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a Japanese influence in French architecture and structural interior design was relatively rare, expensive, and consequently mainly the domain of the very wealthy. As with artists working in the fine arts, the nineteenth century for architects and interior designers had been a period constrained by convention, and the use of plainer, unadorned materials, and simple design was appealing for its rejection of the dense, busy, and ornate design characteristic of the upper class. In the field of interior design, Japanese influence was polarised: on one hand, the wealthy who could afford the ‘high’ cultural market were attracted to the simplistic, austere design of traditional Japanese interiors and exteriors, while ‘popular’ japonisme or japonaiserie favoured the decorative cluttering of cheap *bibelots*. Because this examination of japonisme and japonaiserie focuses

⁴³⁵ Julius Lessing, *Bericht von der Pariser Weltausstellung 1878* (Berlin: 1878), p. 261, cited in: Wichmann. *Japonisme: The Japanese influence on Western art since 1858*, p. 20.

⁴³⁶ See: *Japonisme in fashion*.

⁴³⁷ Two photos exist of de Toulouse-Lautrec in daimyo clothing. See: Ives *The Great wave: The influence of Japanese woodcuts on French prints*, p. 79.

Other areas in which a Japanese influence has been identified include bookbinding, photography, wood-craft, mirror frames, silver ware, stained glass windows, and statues.

on areas with which Loti's readers were most likely to have been familiar, discussion of a Japanese influence in architecture, interior design, and gardens will be very brief except where it expanded to include japonaiserie.

While books on Japanese architecture became increasingly available, these remained largely the domain of those interested in serious scholarship. The general public mostly encountered Japanese architecture at the international exhibitions where whole streets or villages of international architecture were featured as has been discussed. In the early stages of a Japanese influence on architecture, it was mainly Western architects who were commissioned to design Japanese-inspired structures, and accordingly many were culturally hybridised and inaccurate representations. As cultural exchange increased and diversified between Japan and the West however, Japanese architects and carpenters travelled to Europe to make Japanese constructions. While some Japanese architecture was relocated to or built on public spaces such as gardens, a Japanese influence in public architecture was nowhere near as widespread and visible as was its Chinese predecessor.⁴³⁸ More subtly, the Japanese minimalist, austere design philosophy that rejected unnecessary complication and embraced the aesthetic integration of form appealed to architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright who designed a number of houses in America adapting Japanese principles of segregated rooms, horizontal beams, and the use of austere materials.⁴³⁹

Japanese influence in structural interior design was rare and the domain of the wealthy and/or serious scholar of its style. Its principles favoured, for example, exposed beams, horizontal orientation, and use of natural lighting and materials where possible. Europeans encountered such principles in the diagrams of temples and private dwellings included in books such as *Japanese homes and their surroundings* (Edward Morse, 1886),⁴⁴⁰ or from having visited Japan themselves. Mortimer Meupe's house (c. 1897–98) was known for its minimalist design and Japanese authenticity, and illustrations of it even featured in the journal 'The Studio'.⁴⁴¹ The ante-room to Gustav Klimt's studio in Vienna was decorated Japanese style, and included cupboards specially made to house his kimono collection.

A more common and popular Japanese influence in interior design was found in individual items. This varied from 'isolated' items such as screens and props, to entire design layout, and again from cluttered over-decoration to bare simplicity. *Bibelots* including ornaments, boxes, vases, platters, tea services, cabinets, screens, tables, rugs, cushions, lamp-shades, and mirror frames were cheaply and easily available from specialist or department stores. Accumulators of japonaiserie often displayed as many of

⁴³⁸ One example was the Japanese tower that the French architect Alexandre Marcel was commissioned to make by King Léopold II of Belgium on the royal grounds at Laeken.

⁴³⁹ Wright's buildings were mainly produced after the turn of the twentieth century and so have little relevance to the present study. A prominent example though is 'Glenlloyd' belonging to B. Harley Bradley at Kankakee in Illinois that included long, horizontal beams and large window planes to let in natural light.

⁴⁴⁰ Morse visited Japan in 1887.

⁴⁴¹ Meupe's house was featured in 'The Studio', Vol. 17, 1899, p. 175. See: *Galleries nationales du Grand Palais, Musée d'Orsay, Le Japonisme: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 17 mai-15 août 1988; Musée national d'art occidental, Tokyo, 23 septembre-11 décembre 1988* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), p. 53.

their goods as possible, and the resulting clutter departed from the traditional, minimalist style in which the Japanese themselves used their products for decoration. Henry Norman wrote in 1892 that ‘There is hardly a drawing room in London or Paris or New York in which there are not objects of Japanese art,’⁴⁴² and authors such as Anatole France, Edmond de Goncourt, Émile Zola, and Pierre Loti had areas of their living or working environments decorated with Japanese objects. As will be discussed later, Loti criticises the French habit of clustering together Japanesque knick-knacks in *Madame Chrysanthème* as the protagonist remarks on how it departed from the nature of actual, more austere Japanese houses.

Reminiscent of the step from inclusion of Japanese cultural motifs in Western painting to purely Japanese subject matter was the progression from the arrangements of single Japanese objects in otherwise Western-styled rooms to the themed rooms that wealthy enthusiasts stocked with Japanese goods, often sourced from personal travels to the Orient. In the early stages of japonisme, cultural and geographic essentialism resulted in many mixing Chinese and Japanese goods: for example, wallpapers depicting whole Japanese scenes such as people riding in rickshaws featured in rooms carpeted with Persian rugs and furnished with Chinese tables, chairs, cushions, and vases. Outlets such as Campell and Püling in Berlin even sold entire ‘Oriental’ living rooms inclusive of carpets and furnishings. Two well-known, entire rooms lavishly decorated Japanese style are *The Peacock Room* that was modelled on the interior of a Buddhist temple and had gold peacock screens by James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1876–77), and Pierre Loti’s Japanese pagoda (1886) at his residence at Rochefort furnished with material from his stay in Japan in 1885. The so-called Japanese ‘pagoda’ was painted in red and gold, had Shinto and Buddhist relics, and the cultural inaccuracy of its display clearly demonstrates the Japanesque taking precedence over Japan proper. Though Loti had actually lived in an authentic Japanese dwelling in Nagasaki, and furthermore writes of its design in *Madame Chrysanthème*, he still compromised authenticity for fashionable aesthetics after his return to France.⁴⁴³

Japanese-influenced landscape design was another area that did not significantly embrace japonaiserie. Europeans were exposed to meticulously-planned, asymmetrical Japanese garden design via illustrated books of returned travellers who had seen traditional gardens when visiting temples or private dwellings in Japan, or at the international expositions, notably that of 1889, which included replicas of Japanese gardens. As with architecture, Western imitation of Japanese gardens was not as common as that of Chinese, many of which are still found in public spaces. It was most commonly seen in private houses of Japanese inspiration whose owners wanted to boost ‘cultural authenticity’ by including a Japanese garden.⁴⁴⁴ Individual plant species were exported commercially from Japan or brought back by collectors, with lilies being particularly popular because they could easily be transported in bulb

⁴⁴² Sir Henry Norman, *The Real Japan*, p. 135, cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 80.

⁴⁴³ A cultural inaccuracy found in the pagoda was the two small white foxes that sat inside, whereas in Japan they would usually be placed outside a temple.

⁴⁴⁴ An example is the Blacker House in Pasadena, California, designed by Greene & Greene that featured a lily-pond beside the Japanese style house.

form.⁴⁴⁵ Fashionable varieties included *lilium brownii* and the White Trumpet and gold-banded lilies. Claude Monet had Japanese plants and trees such as lilies, chrysanthemums, water lilies, cherry and peach trees in his gardens at Giverny. His depiction of these in works such as 'Waterlilies and Japanese Bridge' (1899) illustrates the hybridisation and diverse facets of japonisme: the Japanese themes of bridges and lily-ponds were painted largely in Western technique, though using lively Japanesque colour, the bridge was truncated rather than being depicted in its entirety, nature was celebrated and raised to the status of subject-matter by the concentration on plants, planes of pattern were formed by the water-lilies, and the whole painting itself depicted a garden belonging to an artist who had never visited the Orient, yet whose design, structures, and plants had been inspired by, or came directly from, Japan.⁴⁴⁶

Peripheral japonisme and japonaiserie

Japonisme and japonaiserie also existed in the performing arts and literature. Theatre companies responded to the fashionable images of Japan that audiences were becoming familiar with by producing Japanesque shows that portrayed the country as a quaint, topsy-turvy, comical land; or alternatively as one whose women exuded an exotic, often tragic beauty. A body of fictional or semi-autobiographical literature emerged which pandered to and promoted stereotypical images of Japan, and departed from the genuine, scholarly approaches to Japan discussed in Part III.

Dramatic arts

Contrasting with areas such as architecture and landscape design, during the late nineteenth-century Japanese influence in the dramatic arts was more concerned with 'fashionable and exotic' qualities reminiscent of japonaiserie than it was the serious scholarship associated with japonisme. This is because actual Japanese theatrical techniques were not adopted or adapted (they were probably relatively unknown), and the Japanese troupes that occasionally toured aimed to entertain rather than to present 'serious' or scholarly depictions of Japan or representations of its dramatic arts. In the closing decades of the nineteenth-century a spate of ' . . . light comedies, operettas, musical comedies, vaudeville, and even circuses based on Japanese subjects' were produced.⁴⁴⁷ Their popularity relied on portraying Japan as a topsy-turvy, quaint land of exotic scenery whose people were comical in their smallness and mannerisms; or alternatively as a country whose women were exotic, alluring, obedient, and desirous to please their Western lovers, from whom they were painfully torn. Some productions evoked both sets of stereotypes simultaneously. The investment of time and money in producing and attending Japanesque live entertainment demonstrates the entertainment value and popularity of Japan as both a subject area in itself, and as a distraction from everyday life.

Japanesque theatre productions were usually limited to being shown in the major cities such as London and Paris, and some shows premiered in one country and were then translated to be shown in another.

⁴⁴⁵ For example, Madame de Persigny had a Japanese garden designed and made by Japanese workmen which included plants she had brought back from Japan herself.

⁴⁴⁶ National Gallery of Australia. *Monet and Japan*, catalogue no. 31, p. 108.

⁴⁴⁷ van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 48.

An example is 'The Geisha' (1896) by Sidney Jones that was performed in both London and Paris.⁴⁴⁸ Audience expectations and satisfaction varied between countries, depending largely on circulating stereotypes, and shows popular in one location could be met with limited enthusiasm in another.

Characteristic of European Japanesque theatre productions, and typical of japonaiserie too, was their cultural inaccuracy. This was particularly the case with language where characters were given unlikely names, or Japanese lyrics were included merely for their exotic phonetics rather than their meaning. For example, the very successful '*La Belle Sainara*' by Ernest d'Hervilly (1876, played in both Paris and London) abounded in cultural and geographic mistakes. However, these inaccuracies—such as referring to Edo and Kyoto as one and the same place—did not detract from the production's popularity because, reflective of the lack of knowledge that consumers of japonaiserie had of Japan, the audience typically knew no better and came for entertainment rather than for information.⁴⁴⁹

Occasionally Japanese theatre groups toured Europe, but the rarity of this meant that any influence they may have had on European theatre techniques and mainstream productions was negligible. Moreover, such groups were generally more concerned with producing a spectacle to entertain their viewers than they were with educating them about Japanese dramatic techniques. One group was Kawakami Otojirō and Sada Yacco's which toured Europe and America several times during the early 1900s, and in particular performed in Paris during the international exposition of 1900. A group of Japanese acrobats visited much earlier in 1867, and William Schwartz (1927) cites John Ruskin's writing about their performance, demonstrating its unusualness as well as the underlying concept of inherent Western superiority:

The impression, therefore, produced on me by the whole scene, was that of being in the presence of human creatures of a partially inferior race, but not without great human gentleness, domestic affection, and ingenious intellect; who were, nevertheless as a nation afflicted by an evil spirit, and driven by it to recreate themselves in achieving, or beholding the achievement, through years of patience, of a certain correspondence with the nature of lower animals.⁴⁵⁰

The storylines of Western productions concerning Japan or the Japanesque ranged from predominantly Japanese themes such as in '*La Marchande de Sourires*,' 'The seller of smiles,' by Judith Gautier (1888), encounters between Japanese and Westerners such as in '*La Princesse jaune*,' 'The yellow princess,' by Camille Saint-Saëns (1872), and European themes with the superimposition of Japanese costumes and props such as '*The Mikado*' which van Rij describes as ' . . . an entirely English satire merely set in a Japanese environment, . . .'⁴⁵¹ '*The Mikado*' (William Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan) opened in 1885 at London's Savoy Theatre, and its premier coincided with the display of a Japanese

⁴⁴⁸ The English version of 'The Geisha' had text by Owen Hall and lyrics by Harry Greenbank; and the French version was produced by Clairville, Mars, and Lemaire.

⁴⁴⁹ See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, 87 ff.

⁴⁵⁰ John Ruskin, *Time and Tide*, Letter VI, cited in: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, p. 10, note two.

⁴⁵¹ van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 52.

village in Knightsbridge. Costumes were directly sourced from Japan. The musical referred to a Japanese military song 'Miya sama' and used the pentatonic scale characteristic of Japanese music, which is an example of Japanese musical techniques being used by Western composers.⁴⁵² *The Daily Telegraph* wrote of an early performance that ' . . . we are all being more or less Japanned,'⁴⁵³ and the show is an example of a 'musical japonaiserie' whose popularity rested on the image of a topsy-turvy, comical Japan, as is demonstrated in the following excerpt:

If you want to know who we are,
We are gentlemen of Japan.
On many a vase and jar –
On many a screen and fan.
We figure in lively paint:
Our attitude's queer and quaint –
You're wrong if you think it ain't.⁴⁵⁴

In comparison, Giacomo Puccini's opera 'Madame Butterfly' relied on the allure of the tragic, exotic Japanese woman for its popularity and, as was illustrated in the Introduction, was extremely influential in both popularising and reinforcing stereotypes of the Oriental woman which persist to the present day in musicals such as 'Miss Saigon.' To recap, the genesis of 'Madame Butterfly' was an interplay of theatre and literature, and its example illustrates the fluidity of Japanese influence across these two genres. Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* was the inspiration for John Luther Long's novel *Madame Butterfly* that was serialised in 1887 in *Century Magazine*. The American playwright David Belasco later adapted Long's novel into a play, which subsequently inspired Puccini's 'Madame Butterfly.' Another facet of the discourse between artists and genres was André Messager's opera 'Madame Chrysanthemum' (1893) which was also supposedly based on Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*.

Literature

Part III presented analysis of nineteenth-century literature concerning Japan whose primary purpose was to inform or 'accurately' recount a Japanese experience. This also examined common perceptions of and attitudes towards the country that such literature expressed and subsequently promoted. There was some nineteenth-century writing on Japan, though, whose purpose was primarily to entertain readers, rather than to inform them. As with the performing arts, Japanese influence on this sort of

⁴⁵² Japonisme had a minor influence on music of the nineteenth-century with the use of the pentatonic scale. The first time this was used was in 'La Princesse jeune' ('The Yellow Princess,' Camille Saint-Saëns, 1872) and according to van Rij, this scale was not popular in Western music because it was difficult to elegantly synthesize with Western composition. See: van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-Sa*, 45 ff.

I have come across no mention of Japanese music, such as *koto* playing, being copied or significantly popular amongst Westerners during the nineteenth century.

⁴⁵³ Cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 80.

Other examples of Japanesque theatre productions, including some ballets, were: 'La Japonaise' (music by Emile Jonas), 'La Troupe Japonaise de Yeddo,' 'Le Tour du Japon' (1875, played at the Théâtre Robert Houdin), 'Kisoko' (produced by Robert Houdin and Brunnet; a Japanese magic show), 'Kosiki' (music by Charles Lecoq, words by W. Busnach and A. Liorat; premiered at the Théâtre de la Renaissance on 18 October 1876, a comic opera in three acts), 'Yedda' (music by O. Métra, costumes by Eugène Lacoste; a ballet of three acts which premiered on 17 January 1879 at L'Opéra de Paris), 'La Princesse jaune' (Camille Saint-Saëns, taken from a play by L. Gallet; premiered on 12 June 1872), 'Papa Chrysanthème' and 'Mé-Na-Ka' (music by Gaston Serpette).

⁴⁵⁴ Cited in: Wilkinson. *Japan versus Europe: A history of misunderstanding*, p. 44.

Western literature occurred more in the use of Japanese or Japanesque themes or subject matter than in the adoption of literary techniques. Exposure to literature written in Japanese was extremely limited as very few Westerners could read Japanese script, and works in translation tended to be informative and largely devoid of their original 'literary' structure that became lost in translation. In this sense and before the early twentieth century when Japanese literary or poetic techniques were increasingly seen in French literature due to an increase in scholarship on Japan, a Japanese influence on literature was akin to its initial stages in the decorative arts: cultural motifs were superimposed rather than actual techniques adopted. Authors gained thematic inspiration from the japonisme and japoniserie surrounding them, as well as from personal travels in the case of semi-autobiographical works such as Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*. The resulting literature, which both was 'shaped by' and had a role in 'shaping' japonisme and japoniserie, can be examined in two broad groups: works of purely Western themes with descriptions of japonisme and japoniserie as it interacted with characters' lives, and those based on travel to or set in Japan. Works of these types can be considered examples of literary japoniserie because thematic preoccupations, their motivations, and how they were articulated were similar to those of the more 'conventional' items of japoniserie found in the decorative arts, as will be elaborated in Part V with respect to *Madame Chrysanthème*. Central to these themes is a precedence given to the aesthetics of Japan over its reality, depicting Japan as exotic, youthful, novel, and the antithesis of the West, and a veneration of what was perceived as the Japan of the past, the 'Old Japan' as Chamberlain called it.

Descriptions of Japanese art and curios in literature suggest the charm and commonness of japoniserie. They probably also contributed towards the overall 'sophistication' of a book because of the movement's fashionable appeal. Description parallels the superimposition of Japanese images in otherwise entirely Western painterly compositions because works typically had Western narrative styles and storylines, yet contained superficial allusions to Japanese cultural motifs. Authors who included descriptions of japoniserie in their fictional writing tended to be those with an interest in Japanese art, many of whom had their own significant collections of *ukiyo-e* or other Japanese items. The de Goncourt brothers were particularly fond of Japanese art, and japoniserie features in a number of Edmund de Goncourt's well-known works such as *Les Frères Zemganno* (1879), *La Faustin* (1881), and *La Fille Élisa* (1877). *Manette Salomon* (serialised from January to July 1867) has perhaps the most lengthy and eulogistic mention of the rejuvenating properties of the new style of art and aesthetic thinking that was japonisme. There is one passage in which the protagonist Coriolis forgets the greyness outside to the charm of the pictures in the Japanese albums he flips through, and this passage has been called ' . . . one of the earliest, longest, and most lovingly picturesque encounters with japonisme in all French fiction.'⁴⁵⁵

The de Goncourt brothers were certainly not the only writers to include items of japoniserie in fiction. It also featured in the writing of authors such as Alphonse Daudet, Émile Zola, Jose-Maria de Heredia,

⁴⁵⁵ Ives, *The Great wave: The influence of Japanese woodcuts on French prints*, p. 12.

Georges Huysmans, Gustav Flaubert, and Guy de Maupassant. That authors chose to enliven passages with mention of japonaiserie where they could have used other allusions or devices demonstrates that artists of the non-painterly or decorative arts too were aware of its popularity, exploited this, and that they too contributed towards the corpus of japonisme and japonaiserie, though with words rather than illustrations.

The commonness of a Japanese influence is illustrated more directly too when characters themselves refer to its popularity or banality. For example, in Act I, Scene II of *Francillon* (Fils Dumas, 1887) a conversation proceeds as follows:

Henri: Mademoiselle, je vous demanderai la recette de la salade que nous avons mangée ce soir ici. Il paraît qu'elle est de votre composition.

Annette: La salade japonaise?

Henri: Elle est japonaise?

Annette: Je l'appelle ainsi.

Henri: Pourquoi?

Annette: Pour qu'elle ait un nom; tout est japonais, maintenant.⁴⁵⁶

Henry: Miss, please tell me the recipe for the salad which we ate here this evening, it seems to be a creation of yours.

Annette: The Japanese salad?

Henry: It's Japanese?

Annette: I call it Japanese.

Henry: Why?

Annette: Simply to give it a name, everything is Japanese nowadays.

while a scene in Émile Zola's *Au bonheur des dames* (1883) describes the sale of Japanese and Chinese *bibelots*.

In addition to the literature hitherto outlined that included somewhat isolated mention of japonisme and japonaiserie in an otherwise French work, some authors wrote novels or plays set in Japan. As travel became easier, an increasing number wrote memoirs based on their personal experiences of the country as were examined in parts II and III. Predominantly fictional works set in Japan were sometimes based in some historical era, for example the play *La marchande de sourires* by Judith Gautier (performed in 1888 and 1889) which was set in feudal Japan. Another particularly popular narrative theme was romances between Westerners and Japanese as in Félicien Champsaur's *Poupée Japonaise* (*Saméyama*) (1900). Neither of these writers had been to Japan, and so their content was all second hand. William Schwartz (1927) writes that Gautier's books on Japan were 'dangerous' and that 'her

⁴⁵⁶ Cited in French in: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800-1925*, p. 105. The translation is my own.

For an alternative English translation, see: Wilkinson, *Japan versus Europe: A history of misunderstanding*, p. 44. For Schwartz's discussion of Japanese influence on French literature, see: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800-1925*, 65 ff.

example has proved that it is possible to find a sale for exotic stories placed in countries too unfamiliar to their authors to be described sincerely.⁴⁵⁷

Though of limited relevance to the present study, a number of French writers composed Japanesque poetry. Initially these tended to be French in style and focused on Japanese subject matter, though in time translations and imitations of Japanese *haiku* or *tanka* styles emerged. Judith Gautier and Kimmochi Saionji's *Poèmes de la libellule* (1885) contained eighty-five poems translated from the Japanese by Kimmochi and edited to rhyme according to the Japanese *tanka* metre by Gautier. Writers who created poetry of more imaginative Japanese subject matter included Ary Renan (1901), Eugène Brieux (1893), and Laurent Tailhade (1889).

Pierre Loti and Madame Chrysanthème in the context of nineteenth-century French authors and writing on Japan

It is pertinent here to briefly discuss how Loti and *Madame Chrysanthème* distinguished themselves from the array of nineteenth-century French writing on Japan. This is to help illustrate why the work has been chosen to examine as an example of japonaiserie. A number of factors make Loti an interesting and appropriate author to study compared with some of his peers whose writing has endured longer in popular or scholarly readership. Firstly, Loti had a somewhat 'cult' following due to the popularity of some of his earlier travel memoirs such as *Aziyadé* and *Rarahu*. Merchandise such as sweets, ribbons, stamps, and post cards bearing his image were sold and, as will be further outlined in Part V, the author took care to project and maintain an appealing physical image to his reading public. Most probably more than for this persona though, Loti was successful and liked because of the formula he maintained in his writing, which Blanch (1983) calls 'living, loving, leaving.'⁴⁵⁸ Loti's travel writing was aimed very much at popular readership, and the thematic concerns it pivoted on as well as his lyrical, rich style of communicating these greatly appealed to his readers due to socio-political factors such as those examined at earlier points of this study. He was a commercial writer, which makes the ways in which he tailored *Madame Chrysanthème* to be an item of japonaiserie particularly clear compared to works of his peers which were also Japanesque, though possibly so more by coincidence. Loti further distinguishes himself from other writers on Japan of the period in that he was neither a Japanophile nor particularly pro-Japan in his thinking or writing. Also unlike many of his peers and despite having Japanese items in a 'pagoda' at Rocheforte, Loti does not appear to have been a specialist in the technicalities of Japanese art. Contrasting with those who wrote of only Japan, Loti's works feature many other places also.

Concerning now *Madame Chrysanthème* in the context of other nineteenth-century writing on Japan, the book was an extremely well-known example of this sub-genre of French writing, both during its time and in the present day. It inspired a number of literary or musical imitations as has been outlined, and also heavily influenced wider nineteenth-century French thinking about Japan. As will be discussed

⁴⁵⁷ Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, p. 62.

⁴⁵⁸ Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 75.

in depth in Part V, the structure and poetic style of *Madame Chrysanthème* made it a work sharing particularly convincing stylistic parallels with japonisme and japonaiserie in the fine or decorative arts. Such aspects include the many short chapters, a preference for the Japanesque over Japan proper, and the omission of significant socio-political commentary. Furthermore, in *Madame Chrysanthème* the voice of the Western narrator emerges very strongly, and it is very much a Western interpretation of Japan, without any serious attempt at or concern with genuinely understanding the Japanese or their culture. This recalls the distinction van Rij makes between japonisme and japonaiserie where the latter 'reflects an interest in Japanese styles in a more superficial way—because of their exotic and fashionable qualities.'⁴⁵⁹

The peculiarities of Loti and *Madame Chrysanthème* combined make this particular example of a nineteenth-century text on Japan appropriate to examine as one of japonaiserie.

⁴⁵⁹ Cited in the Introduction. From: van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 42.

PART V

INTRODUCTION

The first four parts of this study examined aspects of nineteenth-century France and Japan that interacted with the development, nature, and popularity of japonisme and japonaiserie. Part I introduced the study, as well as outlining Loti's life and works, and the body of literature pertinent to the field. Part II concerned broad extra-textual areas such as colonialism, industrialisation, and nineteenth-century leisure travel to outline influences on the attitudes Loti's readers had towards travel and the outer world. Part III focused on the experiences of Loti's contemporary European visitors to Japan, and the nature of the Nagasaki foreign settlement at the time he was there. Part IV examined japonaiserie and its 'support' or 'parent' movement japonisme, the immediate aesthetic contexts in which *Madame Chrysanthème* is being examined. All this provided an overview of major extra-textual aspects that influenced nineteenth-century opinion and expectations of a literary or pictorial representation of Japan. Part V will be concerned with directly applying these historical and theoretical frameworks to *Madame Chrysanthème* to examine the thesis that this work may indeed be considered an item of japonaiserie, even though it contains sometimes harsh criticism of Japan and the Japanese.

Part V will identify and discuss fundamental stylistic and thematic similarities between *Madame Chrysanthème* and items of japonaiserie in the painterly or decorative arts. It will become apparent that Loti tailored his travelogue to align with expectations predetermined by both the aesthetic movement and general information circulating about Japan. Aspects of the travelogue that reflected or gave voice to negative criticism of Japan will also be examined. Sometimes the author's dismissal or rejection of Japan is seen in the same aspects that contribute towards the book being an item of japonaiserie, with two exemplary areas being the protagonist's use of adjectives and his approach to Chrysanthème.

Chapter Fourteen will examine extraneous factors contributing towards the success and nature of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie. It aims to demonstrate that this was not entirely due to the deliberate efforts of its author. Following will be a comparison between the personal diary Loti kept while in Japan in 1885 with its transposition into the travelogue. This will introduce and outline the origins and functions of the directly transferred or added content in *Madame Chrysanthème* that will be returned to in subsequent chapters. The ways in which Loti was the central focus of the work will then be examined, as well as the implications of this. This will aim to demonstrate that one important or 'meta' way in which Loti rejects Japan is by the protagonist's lack of personal engagement with the country: while he may have been physically in Japan, often the protagonist's thoughts and preoccupations lay elsewhere. Japan became something akin to a screen upon which Loti projected his own self, and which subsequently helped him to better perceive and analyse that self. Lastly, there will be a discussion of Loti's other well-known writing on Japan, namely *Japoneries*

d'automne, *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, and *La Femme japonaise*. This is to place *Madame Chrysanthème* in the context of Loti's Japanese oeuvre, thereby illustrating this work's similarities and singularities.

Chapter Fifteen examines the structure of *Madame Chrysanthème*. It aims to demonstrate that the fifty-six short chapters were more or less each akin to a literary equivalent of the popular painterly sketches characteristically found on items of inexpensive japonaiserie that depicted or evoked singular, 'familiar,' and stereotypical aspects of Japan. Direct comparisons will be made between the narrative structure of *Madame Chrysanthème* and some of the artistic and aesthetic techniques discussed in Part IV. The argument of the French scholar Gérard Siary (1988) that the many short chapters of the work in fact make the entire travelogue like a *bibelot*, an inexpensive trinket, will be developed to suggest that, in one sense, as a 'literary *bibelot*' *Madame Chrysanthème* rejects Japan and the Japanese because it casts them as insignificant as were their counterparts in the painterly or decorative arts. In addition, the two-hundred water-colour sketches by the well-known artists Rossi and Myrbach echo the character of cheap Japanese or Japanesque pictures, and render *Madame Chrysanthème* further an item of visual or painterly japonaiserie by the way in which they pictorially complement the text.

Chapter Sixteen examines linguistic aspects of the travelogue. It focuses on three areas: Loti's choice of adjectives, manipulation of names, and inclusion of Japanese words. Each of these contributed towards the work being an item of japonaiserie on account of their playful connotations, yet also reflected or represented a negative criticism of Japan as they belittled and trivialised its people and their customs.

Chapter Seventeen treats thematic aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème* and their interrelationship with japonaiserie. These include the extent to which the protagonist depicted Japan proper as akin to its representation on items of japonaiserie, his rejection of modernisation and westernisation by frequent remarks on the invigorating properties of the natural Japanese environment and of traditional Japan, comparing Japan to other places the author had visited, and formulating negative value judgments based on exterior or superficial aspects of Japanese cultural practices. This chapter aims to demonstrate that the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* shared preoccupations with creators of non-literary japonaiserie.

Loti's treatment of the Japanese female is the subject of Chapter Eighteen. This will include discussion of the nature and implications of the protagonist's depiction of her physical appearance, body idiom, and character. Discussion is then directed towards the dynamics of the 'marriage' with Chrysanthème. Finally, Félix Régamey's response to Loti's depiction of Japanese women is outlined to demonstrate that some of Loti's contemporaries strongly disagreed with his portrayal. The extent of the author's rejection of Okané-San (or Japan) becomes apparent throughout when one considers that Loti forgoes

the opportunity to transform, embellish, or depict his actual contact with Okané-San as a romance in a similar vein to how he did with other liaisons with women in exotic places. Such an approach may have attracted a lot of reader interest and commercial success from his female reading audience.

To place the approach to Japan in *Madame Chrysanthème* in the context of Loti's wider oeuvre, throughout Part V comparative reference will be made to *Rarahu* and Loti's other writing on Japan outlined in Chapter Fourteen. Of Loti's 'non-Japanese' works, *Rarahu* is of particular relevance because it provides a point of comparison and contrast for many of Loti's attitudes concerning women and more 'primitive' coloured races, and societies, some of which arise in *Madame Chrysanthème*. It was chosen in preference to *Aziyadé* because in the latter work Loti (or his protagonist) actually felt a genuine affection for Hakidjé (or Aziyadé), and seems to have endured a prolonged grief over their separation. In *Rarahu* though, the protagonist's affection is more 'paternalistic' and, while the protagonist expresses angst at the time of his parting, the liaison seems to have been little beyond one born of a time, place, and circumstance. For example, neither Loti nor any of his subsequent protagonists returned to Tahiti to find Rarahu, whereas both the author's actual and literary selves returned to Turkey to find Hakidjé/Aziyadé.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Extra-textual factors contributing to the success of *Madame Chrysanthème*

At almost all costs, we safeguard and protect our self-images. When possible, we try to enhance them. It is no wonder, then, that so much of our behaviour is ego-defensive and self-enhancing. One writer states boldly that the basic purpose of all human activity is the protection, maintenance, and enhancement of the self-concept.⁴⁶⁰

It is important to recognise that the nature and success of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie were not only due to Loti's efforts to meet reader tastes and expectations. Nor were they entirely due to the work's association with the fashionable aesthetic movement of japonisme. Rather, certain aspects found in *Madame Chrysanthème* that can be argued to contribute towards it being an item of japonaiserie also arose in other works of Loti's as a by-product of the author's personality, reputation, and individual writing style. This chapter will first outline some of these extraneous factors. Secondly, analysis of the differences between Loti's *Journal intime* of the time he spent in Japan and its commercial transposition into *Madame Chrysanthème* will follow to suggest the origins, nature, and function of some of the aspects characteristic or otherwise of japonaiserie that emerge in the travelogue. The implications of Loti or the protagonist being the focus of the work rather than the people and places that he experienced are next outlined. Lastly, Loti's other well-known writing on Japan, *Japoneries d'automne* (1889), *Femmes japonaises* (1890), and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* (1905) are discussed to place *Madame Chrysanthème* in the context of Loti's Japanese oeuvre, and to facilitate later comparison.

Loti's personality

Aspects of Loti's personality that permeated all of his writing also influenced his response to Japan and japonisme. Loti lamented the transience of life, grieving his youth, the people and places he had known, and the simple passing of time responsible for life's losses. He indulged and languished in melancholic nostalgia, living and breathing an existential restlessness or dissatisfaction, always longing to be elsewhere. Blanch (1983) concluded that his 'journals dwell luxuriously on his misery,'⁴⁶¹ whilst Juliette Adam implied in a letter to Loti that much of his angst was self-generated:

Vous trouvez la souffrance partout, même dans la terre, dans le ciel, dans l'eau ... dans l'ombre des montagnes. Pauvre cher enfant bien-aimé, je souffre avec vous et ne vous console pas. Vous ne pouvez pas, vous ne voulez pas être

⁴⁶⁰ Jarvis & Mayo. *The Psychology of leisure travel: Effective marketing and selling of travel*, p. 121.

⁴⁶¹ Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 140.

consolé. Votre âme n'a que des attaches douloureuses à la vie. Ne plus souffrir serait peut-être pour vous la mort.⁴⁶²

You find suffering everywhere: even in the earth, sky, and water ... in the shadow of mountains. My poor, dear, beloved child: I suffer with you, yet do not comfort you. You are unable, you are unwilling to be consoled. Your spirit has only sorrowful attachments to this life. For you, no longer to suffer may mean death itself.

Loti regretted the solitude of a sailor's life far from the security of family, yet at the same time grieved leaving behind the exotic places that provided him with non-committal liaisons and adventures. The last section of *Rarahu* is a series of diary entries of the protagonist which are permeated by a strong nostalgia and regret for the people and experiences of Tahiti now lost to him. The nostalgic tone from the following excerpt from *Rarahu* is echoed in *Madame Chrysanthème* when the protagonist is reminded of the time he spent in Turkey, compared to which his present existence in Japan is detestable to him:

... Tahiti, Bora-Bora, l'Océanie, —que c'est loin tout cela, mon Dieu!
Y reviendrai-je jamais, et qu'y trouverai-je à présent, — sinon les désenchantements amers, et les regrets poignants du passé? ... Je pleure, en songeant au charme perdu de ces premières années, — à ce charme qu'aucune puissance ne peut plus me rendre, — à tout cela que je n'ai même pas le pouvoir de fixer sur mon papier, et qui déjà s'obscurcit et s'efface dans mon souvenir.⁴⁶³

Tahiti, Bora Bora, Oceania,—Good heavens! How very far away it all is!

Shall I ever go back there; and what now shall I find there; what but bitter disenchantment and poignant regrets for the past?

I weep as I remember the lost charm of those first years, the charm which no power can restore—all the things which I have no power even to record on paper, and which are already dim and fading in my memory.⁴⁶⁴

The passage from *Rarahu* also reflects Loti's anxiety over the passing of time, his veneration of natural verdure, and subsequent rejection of modernisation and westernisation and their associations with adulthood and maturity. All of these concerns also arise in *Madame Chrysanthème* and contribute towards it being an item of japonisme because a central preoccupation of the movement was a preference for traditional, non-Western, and non-industrialised Japan. In addition to frequent reminiscing about past experiences, Loti also commonly writes of his childhood, grieving its loss and sometimes concluding, even when still relatively young, that the best part of his life has been spent, and all that he is to experience will be but pale in comparison to the vivid days and dreams of childhood. Such nostalgia often leads to an anxious anticipation of death. Reminiscent of the passage cited above from *Rarahu*, in *Madame Chrysanthème* the protagonist writes:

⁴⁶² Cited in: Millward. *L'ouvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle,"* p. 294.

⁴⁶³ Pierre Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1911 [?]), p. 304.

⁴⁶⁴ Pierre Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1929), p. 304.

J'y reviens beaucoup trop souvent à mon enfance; j'en rabâche en vérité. Mais il me semble que je n'ai eu des impressions, des sensations qu'en ce temps-là; les moindres choses que je voyais ou que j'entendais avaient alors des dessous d'une profondeur insondable et infinie; c'étaient comme des images réveillées, des rappels d'existences antérieures; ou bien c'étaient comme des pressentiments d'existences à venir, d'incarnations futures dans des pays de rêve; et puis des attentes de merveilles de toute sorte—que le monde et la vie me réservaient sans doute pour plus tard—pour quand je grandirais. Eh bien, j'ai grandi et n'ai rien trouvé sur ma route, de toutes ces choses vaguement entrevues; au contraire, tout s'est rétréci et obscuri peu à peu autour de moi; les ressouvenirs se sont effacés, les horizons d'en avant se sont lentement refermés et remplis de ténèbres grises. Il sera bientôt l'heure de m'en retourner dans l'éternelle poussière, et je m'en irai sans avoir compris le pourquoi mystérieux de tous ces mirages de mon enfance; j'emporterai avec moi le regret de je ne sais quelles patries jamais retrouvées, de je ne sais quels êtres désirés ardemment et jamais embrassés ...⁴⁶⁵

I refer too often to my childhood; I go on and on about it. But it seems to me that then only did I truly experience sensations or impressions: the smallest trifles I then saw or heard were full of deep and hidden meaning, recalling past images out of oblivion, and reawakening memories of prior existences; or else they were presentiments of existences to come, future incarnations in lands of dreams, expectations of wondrous marvels that life and the world held in store for me,—for later, no doubt, when I should be grown up. Well, I have grown up, and have found nothing that answered to what I had glimpsed; on the contrary, all has gradually narrowed and darkened around me, my vague recollections of the past have become blurred, the horizons before me have slowly closed in and become full of grey shadows. Soon will my time come to return to the dust of ages, and I shall leave this world without having understood the mysterious wherefore of these mirages of my childhood; I shall bear away with me a lingering regret, of I know not what lost homes that I have failed to find, of the unknown beings ardently longed for, whom, alas, I have never embraced.⁴⁶⁶

A representative set of textual examples of nostalgic passages in *Madame Chrysanthème* will not be cited here as they arise elsewhere in this study. Similarities in tone between *Rarahu* and the travelogue suggest that regressions into the past were a part of Loti's personality and permeated much of his writing.⁴⁶⁷ As was discussed in Parts II and III, colonies or non-industrialised countries such as Japan were fairly commonly perceived as existing in a pre-modern, pre-matured, and naïve time and space akin to that of the childhood over which Loti often reminisces. Though they have their roots in the wider *esprit du temps*, such concerns contribute towards *Madame Chrysanthème* being an item of japonaiserie because their articulation saw Japan depicted as a juvenile and childlike country, an idea reminiscent of the images evoked on the vibrant sketches on items of japonaiserie. For example, Loti writes that he would consider a Japanese woman 'comme un enfant à moi confié,' 'like a child committed to my care,'⁴⁶⁸ which reflects the idea visually evoked in items of japonaiserie that Japan was a land of delightful naivety. However, it also reflects the extrapolation onto Japan of the colonial

⁴⁶⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 140–141.

⁴⁶⁶ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 171–172. Ensor's translation has been altered.

⁴⁶⁷ The claim that nostalgic passages are found in most of Loti's writing is based on his entire suite of travel and autobiographical writing, not just *Madame Chrysanthème* and *Rarahu*.

⁴⁶⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p.65; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 46.

ideology of the West 'teaching' a less developed country, as was cited for example in Part II with the words of Captain Leroy Lansing Janes: '[Japan] was never asleep, but always stolid, stubborn, doltish in her selfishness and arrogance and has been justly and righteously whipped into her place in the column of progress by the might and onward march of true civilization.'⁴⁶⁹

Loti's house at Rochefort with its Arab and Turkish rooms, Renaissance Hall, and Chinese and Japanese 'pagodas' partly resolved his conflict of longing to be elsewhere while finding refuge and comfort in the securities of home: Rochefort was a sanctuary where Loti could live surrounded by family, yet at the same time indulge in nostalgia for the people and places he had known elsewhere. Houses furnished with items from a mixture of countries were not unusual amongst wealthy collectors of exotic arts and crafts, many of whom would have been enthusiasts of japonisme and japonaiserie. Pierre Loti's house at Rochefort could, on the one hand, then be argued to be a manifestation of him following the fashion for things Japanese or, on the other, something born of the interrelationship between his complex personality and his life experiences.

More broadly, the aspects of Loti's personality, ideology, and life experience discussed above mean that in passages in which the author uses words such as 'Eden-like,' he was not only pandering to a general wish to return to a pre-industrial society or imitating with words the visual associations on items of japonaiserie, he was also responding to his own continuing search for youth and rejuvenation.

Loti's renown

Loti's success as a travel writer has been demonstrated at various points of this study. While *Madame Chrysanthème* certainly gained in reflected popularity due to its publication during the height of the fashion for things Japanese and Japanesque, it was also successful because of the status of its author. By the time the travelogue was published first by Figaro in 1887 and later by Calmann-Lévy in early 1893, Loti was already an established travel writer, having gained a large, popular following after publication of the extremely successful *Aziyadé* in 1879 and *Rarahu* in 1880. Testimony to his reputation as a successful author is that Loti was elected a member of the prestigious *Académie Française* in 1892, five years after *Madame Chrysanthème* was first published, and was nominated several times by the *Académie* for the Nobel Prize in literature. And, as already cited, Anatole France stated that amongst his contemporary French writers Loti was 'le plus sûr de durer,' 'the most sure to last.'⁴⁷⁰

The extent to which Loti believed in and valued his own popularity is evidenced in that despite keeping his Basque mistress in close proximity to his 'official' family at Rochefort, Loti seems to have placed importance on projecting and maintaining a personal image that would appeal to his mainly female

⁴⁶⁹ Cited in: Richie. *The Honorable visitors*, p. 31.

⁴⁷⁰ Cited in: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, xv (preface).

reading audience. For example, Loti's image consciousness is suggested in some of the aspects of Japan that he negatively criticised or rejected such as its smallness, and it is likely that the author wrote of his understanding of and prowess in the Japanese language to elevate and reinforce his own reputation as someone conversant in the culture and language.

Loti's attention to maintaining an appealing personal image was suggested in the Introduction with mention of his training periods at the gymnastic school and circus. It further arises in his reaction to the water-colour sketches by Rossi and Myrbach in the December 1887 edition of *Madame Chrysanthème*. Loti complained to Georges Calmann-Lévy that while the edition contained a lot of pleasant pictures of Japan and Chrysanthème, where Rossi depicted the protagonist he did so with an 'exaspérante laideur,' 'exasperating ugliness,' and the author asked that the pictures be altered or removed.⁴⁷¹ In letters from Loti to his publisher, the author mentions being particularly dissatisfied with a picture of himself with long hair as was fashionable in the 1830s in which his head looks like the 'tête de Chinois malade,' '[head] of a sick Chinese.'⁴⁷² Loti wrote in the letter that female readers would be deterred from buying both *Madame Chrysanthème* and his other works if they perceived the author to be 'exasperatingly ugly':

Maintenant que je vous dise mon grand ennui et ma grande inquiétude au sujet de 'Chrysanthème.' Je parcours le volume, rempli d'images charmantes, mais où l'on m'a mis en scène plusieurs fois, contre mes prières réitérées. On pensera que je l'ai désiré, ce qui semblera d'un mauvais goût achevé. Et le plus grave c'est que Rossi m'a fait toujours et partout d'une exaspérante laideur.⁴⁷³

... Now let me tell you about my extreme annoyance and great disquiet concerning *Chrysanthème*. I have looked over the volume, full of charming illustrations, but which includes several pictures with me in them, despite my reiterated pleas [not to be]. People will think that is what I wanted, which will seem like extreme bad taste. And the worst thing is that Rossi has drawn me always and everywhere exasperatingly ugly.

In another letter Loti complains of:

mes figures grotesques — avez-vous remarqué page 281, mes longs cheveux de 1830 et mon air ravagé et, page 295, ma tête de Chinois malade J'écris [sic] à M. Guillaume que, à mon avis, il y a là de quoi nuire non seulement à la vente de ce livre, mais à celle de mes livres en général. Cela semble une plaisanterie, mais je suis convaincu moi que les femmes (et ce sont les femmes qui m'achètent) se détourneront d'un auteur aussi déplaisamment laid. Donc, je vous supplie, vous et je supplie M. Guillaume (je ne sais qui cela regarde) de faire immédiatement ...⁴⁷⁴

... my grotesque features — have you noticed on page 281 my long hair reminiscent of the 1830s along with my ravaged look and, on page 295, my head which resembles a sick Chinese? I have written to Mr. Guillaume that, in

⁴⁷¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 39 (introduction).

⁴⁷² See: Pierre Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), p. 39 (introduction).

⁴⁷³ Cited in: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 39 (introduction). The translation is my own.

⁴⁷⁴ Cited in: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 39 (introduction). The translation is my own.

my opinion, [such pictures] harm sales not only of this book, but also of my books in general. It may seem a joke, but I myself am convinced that women (and it is women who buy my works) will avoid buying a book written by an author so unpleasingly ugly. So, I beg you, and I beg Mr. Guillaume (I do not know who this matter concerns) to immediately . . . [the letter is incomplete as found by Vercier]

In both *Madame Chrysanthème* and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* the protagonist remarks on his own handsomeness, on one occasion in the former work supposing that 'l'ensemble de ma personne parle à son imagination,' that his 'physical charms speak to [Madame Prune's] imagination.'⁴⁷⁵ It seems therefore that Loti intended for his readers to see the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* as himself. Accordingly, aspects of his approach to Japan possibly reflect how Loti wanted to be perceived by his readers—for example, as handsome and too sophisticated for the trifles and whims of the plaything that (for him) was Japan.

Individual style or formula to maintain in his work

Loti's travelogues were read primarily for entertainment, and his depictions of cavalier adventures (usually romantic) in exotic locales with exotic women nourished a population hungry for an escape from the burdens and tedium of daily life. Moreover, and as has been suggested by the letters cited above, the many female readers who bought *Madame Chrysanthème* and Loti's other works generally perceived that they had been written by an author as romantic, experienced, and appealing as the protagonists he created. Most of Loti's readers would never visit the distant world in person, and so his travel writing could function as a substitute.

Loti's travel memoirs commonly depicted the protagonist living temporarily amongst a community of 'natives' in a distant, pre-modern location, loving (and being loved by) one of their most desirable and beautiful women, only to face the painful wrench of having to leave when called to a sudden and unavoidable departure. As mentioned in the Introduction, Lesley Blanch (1983) calls this successful formula 'living, loving, leaving.'⁴⁷⁶ It is most pronounced in works concerning places that Loti himself was personally fond of such as Turkey and Tahiti, and in *Aziyadé* and *Rarahu* the protagonist experiences fully each stage: he is intoxicated by his surroundings, he loves one of the 'natives,' the call for departure is sudden, and its eventuation intensely painful. Though the protagonist certainly neither seems to love Chrysanthème nor exploits their 'marriage' as he may have for romantic interest, on a superficial level, the plot of *Madame Chrysanthème* is one at least of 'living' and 'leaving': the protagonist writes much of the experiences his domestic situation afforded him, and dramatises his rush to prepare for the sudden departure of the *Triomphante*. The 'loving' aspect of Blanch's formula is alluded to in that the protagonist contracted a 'marriage' upon which the narrative synoptically hangs, even if this union was not personally satisfying.

⁴⁷⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p.213; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 299. See also: Pierre Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* (London: T. W. Laurie: 1926), p. 240.

⁴⁷⁶ See: Blanch. *Pierre Loti: The legendary romantic*, p. 75.

Alain Quella-Villéger (1986) also identifies a pattern in Loti's travel writing, this time specifically with respect to *Madame Chrysanthème*. Quella-Villéger argues that some of the places and themes in the travelogue shared similarities or significance with those in various other travel texts: the hill-side suburb of Diou-djen-dji was akin to Eyüp, Nagasaki Bay was like La Corne d'Or, the tea houses parallel to bazaars or theatres, buddhism like Islam, and the temples like mosques.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to this thematic or synoptic formula, Loti was known as an author with a rich, vivid prose, who created evocative and atmospheric depictions drawn from personal experiences ranging from the hardship of life at sea (for example in *Pêcheur d'Islande*) to the exotic mystery of the Orient (for example in *Fantôme d'Orient*). Edmund Gosse (1905) wrote:

It is not the story, or the chain of valuable thoughts, or the important information supplied by Pierre Loti that enthralls his admirers. It is the music of the voice, the incomparable magic of the mode in which the mournful, sensuous, exquisite observations are delivered. He is a Pied Piper, and as for his admirers, poor rats, as he pipes, they follow, follow. He who writes these lines is always among the bewitched.⁴⁷⁸

Various excerpts from all of Loti's works demonstrate his rich narrative style, but to cite one from *Madame Chrysanthème*, the protagonist calls the noise of the cicalas a 'sonore incessant, doucement monotone comme la chute d'une cascade de crystal,' 'sonorous, incessant, softly monotonous, just like the cascade of a crystal waterfall.'⁴⁷⁹ Both the synoptic and narrative formula Loti was known and popular for are found in *Madame Chrysanthème*, and to an extent shape its nature rather than this being solely determined by the author's attempts to align it with the bright, delicate, or sweeping brush-strokes of japonaiserie.

Loti as a credible writer due to his travels and publications

In addition to being considered an attractive and technically skilled author, Loti was believed by his readers to be knowledgeable about the people and places of which he wrote. This is probably because his career in the navy meant that he had actually visited them, unlike contemporaries who wrote about distant places without having been there.⁴⁸⁰ In various ways Loti makes his readers aware of this: for example, his travelogues are often in diary form, and contain reference to earlier voyages and words from the 'native' language. In addition to his readers having faith in his cultural knowledge, publishers too sought this: Loti's ability to intelligently evaluate and provide socio-political commentary saw him commissioned to write and illustrate numerous newspaper and magazine columns on a diverse range of topics, including Japan.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁷ See: Quella-Villéger. *Pierre Loti l'incompris*, pp. 118–119.

⁴⁷⁸ Gosse. *French profiles*, p. 221.

⁴⁷⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 53; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 22.

⁴⁸⁰ For example, Judith Gautier wrote of China without having been there. See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, 46 ff.

⁴⁸¹ For a comprehensive list of Loti's publications, including those in newspaper and magazines, see: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 338 ff.

In *Madame Chrysanthème* Loti reminds his readers that he actually went to Japan by the devices of writing the travelogue in diary form and by exaggerating the amount of time he spent there. He also reminisces over places and past experiences, and in doing so reminds his readers both of the places he had been, as well as of the books based on these experiences. For example, the protagonist writes that: ‘. . . tandis que de tout temps j’ai été gâté, moi, par des petits logis autrement charmants que celui-ci, dans toute sorte de contrées dont le souvenir me trouble encore,’⁴⁸² ‘I have, from the very beginning, been spoiled by little lodgings in all sorts of charming spots, infinitely superior to this, in all sorts of countries, and the remembrance pleasurably haunts me still.’⁴⁸³ As will later be discussed, Japanese words and phrases are assimilated into the text (used more by the protagonist than other characters, excepting the *komodatchi-taksan-takaï* who he mentions is very good at Japanese), and the protagonist generally assumes an air of authority when writing of cultural aspects such as marriage brokering in Japan.

Comparison between Madame Chrysanthème and Loti’s journal intime

Comparison of *Madame Chrysanthème* to the personal diary upon which it is based illustrates the nature, and stylistic and thematic function, of the differences that emerge. This will enable a deeper appreciation of the extent to which Loti tailored his work to be an item of japonaiserie, and also of the ways in which certain aspects of the travelogue functioned as a deliberate negative criticism of Japan. In particular, the latter point is evidenced by the material absent in Loti’s diary that is added to the travelogue.

Loti was in Nagasaki for about thirty-six days from 8 July to 12 August 1885, whereas in *Madame Chrysanthème* the period is lengthened to about seventy-nine from about 2 July to 11 September.⁴⁸⁴ This is structurally reflected by the travelogue having a larger number of shorter chapters or ‘sketches’ than the diary has separate entries: there are about fifty-six chapters in the travelogue compared to twenty-seven diary entries. It appears that while actually in Japan Loti sometimes let several days pass without writing anything: for example, the diary entry of Wednesday 24 July 1885 is relatively long, recounting the activities of the past few days. It was such entries that were divided into separate chapters in the travelogue. Having spent longer in Japan would give Loti credibility as a writer more familiar with and competent to make accurate commentary on the country than others who stayed for shorter periods of time, gaining only a superficial impression of ‘districts they little knew nor long remembered,’ to recall Buzard’s words cited in Part II.⁴⁸⁵ Extending his stays in the process of transposing them into a travelogue occurred elsewhere in Loti’s travel writing too, for example, the

⁴⁸² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 207.

⁴⁸³ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 286. Ensor’s translation has been altered.

⁴⁸⁴ See: Suetoshi Funaoka. ‘Le Journal de Nagasaki et *Madame Chrysanthème*,’ in *Etudes de Langue et Littérature Française* 30: pp. 68–92, 1977.

⁴⁸⁵ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 28.

protagonist in *Rarahu* stays in Tahiti for over a year, whereas in reality Loti was there for only about two months.

The general content of *Madame Chrysanthème* is very similar to Loti's personal diary, with many of the activities he actually did in Japan being directly transferred to the travelogue. This is not surprising given that the author specifically noted down his activities in order later to turn them into a book. Examples include the *Triomphante* being relocated to the dry-dock for repairs, Loti and his acquaintances taking nightly walks to Nagasaki's bazaars and tea-houses, and his having his chest tattooed just before leaving Japan. Parts of *Madame Chrysanthème* even read almost identically to the *Journal intime*. For example, Loti wrote of his experience of Bastille Day in Nagasaki in 1885 in his personal diary:

Hélas, je me rappelle beaucoup ce 14 juillet de l'an dernier, si calme, dans ma chère petite maison d'enfance, la porte fermée aux importuns,⁴⁸⁶

Alas! I remember clearly that last fourteenth of July, so calm, in my dear, small childhood home, the door closed to intruders,

while in the travelogue the protagonist writes of the nostalgia he feels for the previous year's Bastille Day and how it compares to that he spends in Japan:

Hélas! je songe beaucoup, toute la journée, à ce 14 juillet de l'an dernier, passé dans un si grand calme, au fond de ma vieille maison familiale, la porte fermée aux importuns,⁴⁸⁷

Alas! All day long, I think of that last fourteenth of July, spent in the deep calm and stillness of my old home, the door closed to all intruders,⁴⁸⁸

A linguistic difference however is that Loti is more sparing with words such as 'small,' 'miniature,' or 'doll-like' in his diary than he is in the travelogue. This is accentuated by the differing narrative voices: the first-person narrator in *Madame Chrysanthème* seems to emerge more strongly than it does in Loti's actual diary, which is often written in wandering note form because, as Loti also said during the interview with Philippe Gille published in *Le Figaro* on 10 December 1887, the diary was becoming increasingly brief as the author lost his ability to be moved by his surroundings. Loti also said during the interview that he may not have even kept a diary in Japan had he not intended to transform his experiences into a travelogue for popular readership.⁴⁸⁹ As will be discussed later, it is also possible and indeed likely that Loti purposely increased usage of words such as 'small' and 'miniature' to

⁴⁸⁶ Loti (Bruno Vercier, Alain Quella-Villéger & Guy Dugas eds.). *Cette éternelle nostalgie: Journal intime 1878-1911*, p. 165. The translation is my own.

⁴⁸⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 88. Suetoshi Funaoka also identifies the linguistic similarities between Loti's diary and the travelogue, but he does so via the example of a description of Chrysanthème. See: Funaoka. 'Le Journal de Nagasaki et *Madame Chrysanthème*,' 72 ff.

⁴⁸⁸ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁹ See: Funaoka. 'Le Journal de Nagasaki et *Madame Chrysanthème*,' p. 68 (notes); and Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 21-22.

aggrandise his own status and image, compensating psychologically for his own physically small stature.

Regarding differences in content, the author omits from *Madame Chrysanthème* some events mentioned in his *journal intime*. This is probably because he felt they would not interest his main target group of readers: women. It is possible that Loti 'divided' his works into those aimed at male readers (narratives of naval life and adventure, such as *Matelot*), and those intended for females (the romantic and travel narratives). Omissions generally tend to be details concerning naval duty or happenings amongst Loti's French colleagues, and examples include the commissioner being sick, Loti and Pierre le Cor dining at the French hotel, and the visit to the temple of the Goddess of Kannon. Most of these activities have only ever been published as part of Loti's *Journal intime*, but some such as the visit to the temple of the Goddess of Kannon were revised and appeared in newspapers or autobiographical books such as *Le Figaro* and *L'Exilée* (1893). Much has been written on Loti's enthusiasm for naval life, his diligence in meeting its responsibilities, and popularity amongst his fellow seamen, which suggests that the author was highly selective in his writing, depending on his target readership.⁴⁹⁰

Conversely, there are events in the travelogue that are not mentioned in the diary. While it is possible that Loti did not record everything in his *Journal intime* that he later intended to include in his travelogue, it is more likely that the author indeed took note of everything that happened in Japan that he later planned to transpose into the travelogue, especially considering his words to Philippe Gille. This leads to the further supposition that additional, entirely fictitious material in *Madame Chrysanthème* was added for some deliberate effect. A particularly significant addition is when Loti surprises Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the money he paid for her just before he left Japan. Possibly, this event was added to remind female readers who may not have approved of the protagonist's 'marriage' that Chrysanthème too benefited from it, to reinforce a 'them' and an 'us,' to depict the Japanese as irritating and cunning (a common perception of the Japanese character), and as a manifestation of his dislike for his actual Japanese wife, who the author says suited her Japanese name Okané-San because it meant 'money.'⁴⁹¹ As will be elaborated soon, there is also the inclusion of the theme of a love interest between Chrysanthème and Yves which partly functions to aggrandise the protagonist by his wife being desirable, yet remaining faithful to Loti even though Yves is a much younger man. Less significant additions to the travelogue include Loti's difficulty with the Japanese officials in obtaining permission to live beyond the designated foreign settlement (Chapter XXX), Loti

⁴⁹⁰ For a recent discussion of Loti as a naval officer, see: Jean-Pierre Beauvois, 'Pierre Loti l'un des nôtres,' 'Pierre Loti as one of ours,' in *Bulletin de l'Association internationale des amis de Pierre Loti* 7: pp. 28–32, 2002. Also, while most studies of Loti include commentary on his naval career, the personal memoirs of Claude Farrère in particular include a lot of anecdotal material on Loti as a naval officer. See: Farrère. *Loti*.

⁴⁹¹ See: Farrère, *Loti*, p. 75; and Funaoka. 'Le Journal de Nagasaki et *Madame Chrysanthème*, 88 ff. While much more commonly, *kane* in a Japanese name signifies 'bell' or 'gold,' in the Japanese edition, her name was written using the character meaning 'combining,' 'including,' 'dual-purpose,' 'foresight' and 'breadth of vision and thought.' Loti's Japanese is unlikely to have been proficient enough to understand these less common meanings, and he appears to have mistaken the name for its various other homonyms (for example, M. Sucre for Sato San).

giving Chrysanthème a hair comb and her caring for him while he was sick (Chapter XLIV), and Loti throwing his Japanese lotus into the sea as he sailed from Japan (Chapter LV).⁴⁹²

Moving to thematic, or more general, differences, Loti writes *Madame Chrysanthème* in a more 'literary' and dramatic overall tone than he does his personal diary, aiming it seems to intoxicate, excite, and interest his readers. Such embellishment is not surprising given that Loti was transforming a personal memoir into a published travelogue that would be read alongside his other books. Loti was already a well-known author by the time of its publication, and he had to maintain his reputation and style as an extravagant raconteur of adventures in distant, exotic places. The ways in which he increases the drama and excitement of the travelogue include language use which has been mentioned and will be developed in the next chapter, and various themes common to his other works.

For example, in *Madame Chrysanthème* there is a long passage recounting nostalgia for the protagonist's childhood, while this is mentioned only briefly in Loti's *Journal intime*.⁴⁹³ It is possible that Loti expanded on the comparison to aggrandise France, the home society of most of his intended readers, and hence make it easier for them to engage and even sympathise with a protagonist deeply attached to and pining for home. Again, the 'bonding' with the reader establishes a common ground and reinforces the notion of a 'them' and an 'us.'

A second important thematic addition to *Madame Chrysanthème* is the possibility of affection between Yves and Chrysanthème, a prospect entirely absent from Loti's published *Journal intime*. This was most probably included to add romantic interest to a story the protagonist himself admits 'doit traîner beaucoup,' 'drag[s] a lot' and is in 'défaut d'intrigue et de choses tragiques,' 'lacking in exciting intrigues and tragic adventures,'⁴⁹⁴ as well as to make Chrysanthème appear more desirable, and therefore raise Loti's status in being married to her. Loti cultivates this theme by remarking on the amount of time Yves spends with the protagonist and his wife, and intensifies and dramatises this by, for example, having him sleep with the pair initially in an adjoining room, then under the same mosquito-net, by speculating directly that the pair are romantically involved, or at least wanted to be, and finally by confronting Yves. In Chapter XLVIII the protagonist fancies he hears Yves and Chrysanthème exchange a kiss as they part, which prompts him to question Yves while the pair are out walking two days later on 16 September.⁴⁹⁵ Loti builds dramatic tension then release in the scene by contrasting the protagonist's fight to muster the courage necessary to confront Yves with his subsequent relief when his friend appears surprised at the protagonist's suspicions, assuring him that he considers Chrysanthème his friend's wife, and therefore unavailable. Relieved, the protagonist blames the 'miniature' surroundings for his suspicions of Yves, writing:

⁴⁹² These less fundamental additions were identified by Funaoka in: 'Le Journal de Nagasaki et *Madame Chrysanthème*,' p. 90.

⁴⁹³ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, 88 ff., 171; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, 83 ff., 171.

⁴⁹⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 104; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 111. Ensor's translation has been slightly altered.

⁴⁹⁵ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 205–207; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 286–288.

Mais il la considère comme ma femme, et alors c'est sacré. Je crois en sa parole de la manière la plus complète, et j'ai un vrai soulagement, une vraie joie, à retrouver mon brave Yves des anciens jours. Comment donc ai-je pu subir assez l'influence rapetissante des milieux pour le soupçonner et m'en faire un pareil souci mesquin? ...
N'en parlons seulement plus, de cette poupée...⁴⁹⁶

But he considers her my wife, and that is sacred. I have the fullest faith in his word, and I experience a positive relief, a real joy, at finding my staunch Yves of bygone days. How could I have so succumbed to the demeaning influence of my surroundings as to suspect him, and invent for myself such a mean, petty anxiety?
Let us never even mention that doll again.⁴⁹⁷

The nature of the differences that emerge when Loti's personal diary is compared with *Madame Chrysanthème* suggests that the latter was tailored to fit the mould that had already been cast by the author himself in earlier works, and by producers of japonaiserie. Some of these differences will be returned to at points in Part V.

The protagonist as the principal subject

A somewhat implicit manifestation of Loti's negative criticism and rejection of Japan is the protagonist's lack of genuine personal engagement with the people and experiences he encounters there. This is suggested as early as its dedication when the protagonist names two of the three main characters as '*myself*' and the '*effect* produced on me by [Japan]':

Bien que le rôle le plus long soit en apparence à madame Chrysanthème, il est bien certain que les trois principaux personnages sont *Moi*, le *Japon* et l'*Effet* que ce pays m'a produit.⁴⁹⁸ [Loti's emphasis]

Although the longest role may appear to devolve on Madame Chrysanthème, it is very certain that the three principal personages are *myself*, *Japan*, and the *effect* produced on me by that country.⁴⁹⁹

The travelogue focusing more on the protagonist than on his Japanese experience, or Chrysanthème (indeed the titular character), suggests that Loti was more concerned with introspection and analysis than with experiencing and representing the culture of Japan. As will be fully cited later, Szyliowicz (1988) argues that the oriental woman 'provided [Loti] with an opportunity for self-comprehension; as he examined his relationships with them, he explored his own feelings and reactions.' This observation can be extrapolated onto the author's use of Japan in general: throughout the work, external aspects of the protagonist's experience of the Japanese culture trigger introspective rumination concerning, for

⁴⁹⁶ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 207.

⁴⁹⁷ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 288. Ensor's translation has been altered.

⁴⁹⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 43. Loti's emphasis.

⁴⁹⁹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 5. Loti's emphasis.

example, people and places he had previously known. When the protagonist does engage with and remark on his human and physical surroundings, this is often negatively critical and at a superficial level. It characteristically demonstrates some personal preoccupation of Loti's also found in his other works rather than being peculiar to Japan and the Japanese. For example, while the protagonist writes on several occasions in *Madame Chrysanthème* of the modernisation and westernisation spoiling and bastardising traditional Japanese culture, similar attitudes are also expressed in other works on non-western countries such as Egypt and Morocco. These attitudes were possibly more a symptom of the times than they were Loti's engagement with the situation specifically concerning Japan, a concept discussed earlier with respect to extraneous factors contributing towards the nature of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie.

The situation of the protagonist not genuinely engaging with Japan specifically would not in itself constitute evidence that the author personally rejected the country. This is because Loti may have generally tended to have been an observer rather than an active participant wherever he went. However, Loti's other travel-writing displays what seems to be a genuine personal engagement with the people, particularly women, and culture surrounding him. An excerpt from *Rarahu* illustrates an affection for Tahiti and one of its inhabitants, Rarahu:

Rarahu et moi, nous passâmes la soirée à errer sans but dans les avenues de Papeete ... Il est de ces heures d'ivresse qui passent, et qu'on se rappelle ensuite toute une vie; ivresses du coeur, ivresses des sens sur lesquelles la nature d'Océanie jetait son charme indéfinissable, et son étrange prestige.

Et pourtant nous étions tristes, tous deux, au milieu de ce bonheur de nous revoir; tous deux nous sentions que c'était la fin, que bientôt nos destinées seraient séparées pour jamais ...⁵⁰⁰

Rarahu and I spent the evening wandering aimlessly about the avenues of Papeete, ... There are hours of transient intoxication which we never forget as long as we live—an intoxication of the heart and senses, spell-bound by the strange and indefinable charm of Oceania.

And in spite of everything we were sad in the midst of our happiness at meeting again; we both felt that this was indeed the end, that very soon we must part forever.⁵⁰¹

In addition, Part Four of *Rarahu* is a series of letters between Loti and Rarahu after Loti left Tahiti, and also includes excerpts from Loti's diary in subsequent years as he grieves for the passing of time and the 'delightful land' of Oceania.⁵⁰² Furthermore, Loti often dressed like the 'natives' of the country he

⁵⁰⁰ Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)*, pp. 225–226.

⁵⁰¹ Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 158. This affection was probably embellished. However, the very expression of Loti's responses to Tahiti and Rarahu in these terms suggests he was at the very least more attached to them than he was to Japan and Okané-San.

⁵⁰² Pierre Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 214.

was in, as was the case in Tahiti and Turkey, so that he could blend in with the locals and strive towards achieving a 'distinctly meaningful and lasting contact' with them, to recall Buzard's words. However, neither in Loti's personal diary nor in *Madame Chrysanthème* does the author write significantly of having dressed in Japanese clothes while in Japan. The protagonist seems happy to remain detached from the Japanese, like the tourists on the Nile, for example, as were discussed in Part III. His most notable effort to integrate—apart from his marriage—was learning some Japanese language, but this was only very superficial and the protagonist often writes of it in dismissive, belittling, and rejecting terms. These various aspects suggest that Loti was someone capable of engaging meaningfully with people and places and later re-creating this in travel writing, and it was specifically *Japan* that the author remained detached from. As Szyliowicz writes: 'Loti's penchant for revealing his biases is never more apparent than when he writes about Japan.'⁵⁰³

Loti's Japanese oeuvre

To demonstrate the similarities and singularities of *Madame Chrysanthème* as a text by Pierre Loti on Japan, it is useful to outline the author's other well-known works on Japan. These are *Japoneries d'automne* (1889), *Femmes japonaises* ('Harper's New Monthly' magazine, September 1890), and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* (1905). While *Japoneries d'automne* and *Femmes japonaises* certainly share thematic similarities with *Madame Chrysanthème*, *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* will be the focus of this section because it is essentially a sequel to *Madame Chrysanthème* with many of the characters reappearing. In addition, being in diary form, its narrative is the closest of the three to *Madame Chrysanthème*: *Japoneries d'automne* is a series of sketches of experiences Loti had in Japan in 1885 with no chronology, and *Femmes japonaises* was a 'factual' dissertation on the Japanese female that Loti was commissioned to write for *New Harpers Monthly* magazine. These two works will be examined after *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*.

La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune is based on Loti's stay in Japan while serving on the *Redoutable* during the Boxer Rebellion in 1901. While most of the visit was spent in Nagasaki (9 December 1900 to 1 April 1901, 28 June to 16 July 1901, 26 August to 7 September 1901, and 10 to 30 October 1901), the ship also anchored at various places around Japan's Inland Sea, at Yokohama and Kobe, as well as being recalled to China and Korea a number of times.⁵⁰⁴ As in *Madame Chrysanthème*, there is not much dramatic or complex plot development in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, rather, the narrative is comprised of a series of short sketches of aspects of the protagonist's experiences. It is set from 8 December 1900 to 29 October 1901, with a period spent in Seoul, Korea in June 1901. The remarks of the protagonist in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* about his first visit to Japan in 1885 provide a valuable tool by which to retrospectively gauge the

The argument made earlier about the protagonist's affection for Rarahu being more paternalistic and thus like that in *Madame Chrysanthème* is still maintained, as in these subsequent diary entries or letters, the protagonist grieves the place more than the person. Furthermore, mention of his time in Tahiti in later books generally does not mention Rarahu, again it focuses on the place.

⁵⁰³ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 78.

⁵⁰⁴ See: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, pp. 335–336 for the *Redoutable's* itinerary.

impact on Loti of the stay upon which he based *Madame Chrysanthème*. N. Serban observed that Japan was never to have the influence on Loti that other Oriental countries did,⁵⁰⁵ and it seems this was indeed the case as the protagonist himself writes ‘. . . it was without suffering and without affection that my time was spent in this land.’⁵⁰⁶ While the protagonist is reminded occasionally of pleasant memories he has of Japan, the text is without the intense, nostalgic longings for the experiences he first had there characteristic of works such as *Fantôme d’Orient*.

The main threads of the travelogue are the protagonist’s memories of his former visit to Japan, excursions to places such as Seoul, Peking, and Tsin, and his involvement with Madame Prune and Inamoto, a young *moussmé*. Characters including M. Stork, Madame Prune, and Chrysanthème re-emerge in this work, and so *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* joins other works such as *Fantôme d’Orient* (1892) as a sequel to a book based on a visit to a non-western area where Loti was involved with a native woman. The protagonist first encountered Inamoto, a ‘new’ character, in December 1900, and the pair met secretly above a temple in Nagasaki most evenings. Inamoto is the only Japanese female of whom Loti writes in a similar vein to how he did about other non-Japanese Oriental women by emphasising her physical appearance, mysterious soul, and writing of an affection he felt towards her. She is, however, primarily Japanese with the characteristics this inherently entails. For example, while the protagonist likens their final parting to ‘the brutal slash of a sword between our two existences,’⁵⁰⁷ he writes very soon afterwards that ‘I shall forget her in a few days—so much is certain.’⁵⁰⁸ The relationship with Inamoto adds dramatic interest to the text as, for example, the protagonist reasons that there is something more to her than her fellow *moussmés*. On one occasion the protagonist writes: ‘And all [with Inamoto] has been as chaste as with Mademoiselle April-Shower, but different, deeper; this has been no affair with a little cat in clothes, but with a maiden, whose eyes, despite her moussmé laugh, are candid and sometimes grave.’⁵⁰⁹

As in *Madame Chrysanthème*, the titular female character in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, Madame Prune, eventually disappoints the protagonist. This is because he had thought she was romantically interested in him, yet he interprets otherwise her ‘. . . calm in the face of utter separation!’⁵¹⁰ as he was about to leave. His mood swiftly changes, and he goes on to call her ‘a shapeless heap’ and ‘quite fat and fallow and well pleased.’⁵¹¹ His dismissive tone hints that he feels offended or hurt, which is reminiscent of the parting with Chrysanthème when the protagonist surprises her checking the authenticity of the money he paid her. To him, this act implied that Chrysanthème considered their union as more commercial than romantic, while the situation with Madame Prune suggests a more outright rejection of the protagonist. This contrasts with the females in travelogues such as *Rarahu* and *Aziyadé* who are depicted as devastated at the protagonist’s abrupt leave-taking.

⁵⁰⁵ Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, p. 151.

⁵⁰⁶ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 12.

⁵⁰⁷ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 229.

⁵⁰⁸ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 231.

⁵⁰⁹ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, pp. 145–146.

⁵¹⁰ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 239.

⁵¹¹ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 240.

Thematically, *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* contains many of the same preoccupations that arise in *Madame Chrysanthème* as will be elaborated in the coming chapters. The protagonist makes frequent remarks of the physical appearance of the Japanese, likening the females to dolls, cats, and monkeys; as well as to their image on items of japonaiserie. Concerning japonaiserie, he remarks on the 'faked deformities' that many items of japonaiserie bound for the export market resemble to him.⁵¹² Japan's smallness is also noted, and the protagonist frequently bases value judgments of the Japanese character on external things, considering the people both childlike and playful, as well as sinisterly different in their thought processes. This is a duality that emerges perhaps more strongly in *Madame Chrysanthème*, and will be discussed in the Conclusion.

A preoccupation that recurs in *Madame Chrysanthème* and is also articulated in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* is the protagonist's opinion that there is an absolute polarity between eastern and western peoples, and that the Japanese are inherently 'worse' as a race in areas physical, intellectual, and moral. In *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, the protagonist reaches such conclusions based on similar grounds to those in *Madame Chrysanthème*: mainly the religious ornamentation, or the traditional cultural practices he found opaque. For example, the protagonist concludes that a romance between himself and Inamoto could never eventuate because of their vast cultural differences: 'How is it the affair can last between us without weariness, since the difference in language prevents any deep communion between our two souls, doubtless essentially different, and since, too, in our meetings there has never been an equivocal moment, an instant of disquiet! ...'⁵¹³

There are many other thematic intersections and interrelationships between Loti's two travelogues on Japan: the protagonist expresses remorse for the passing of time and nostalgia for home and hearth, he is displeased with the evidence of modernisation and westernisation he sees around him, he remarks positively on the rejuvenating verdure of Japan, and writes of his proficiency in the Japanese language. In addition, and importantly, his treatment of Japanese women is comparable to that in *Madame Chrysanthème* because the protagonist reckons that very little, if anything, goes on inside the mind of a Japanese female, and dismisses their pastimes and traditional activities as juvenile. Contrastingly though, and emerging in the earlier quote concerning the protagonist's feelings towards Inamoto, he does express some feeling that some Japanese females may be more than ridiculous, juvenile, unthinking playthings in comparison to other women he had known such as Chrysanthème.

Continuing with differences now, the tone of *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* is generally less dismissive or disliking of Japan than it is in *Madame Chrysanthème*. This is perhaps because Loti was fifteen years older and, possibly more influentially, the periods Loti was in Japan during 1900–1901 were interspersed amongst time spent in China at Taku (Takou) which Loti and the crew found

⁵¹² Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 198.

⁵¹³ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 146.

exceedingly testing. The protagonist writes of the comparison between life in the unbearable Asian waters and in restful Japan:

Three months have passed. I have seen again immense Peking of the ruins and dust; I have taken the long ride to the tombs of Tsin; I have visited the emperor of Seoul and his ancient Court. Now I am nearing home and the pretty islets which herald Japan are coming into sight. Now we are returning tired, all of us, and our heavy ironclad, as though it too were weary, seems to drag across the warm seas, under the crushing sun. The summer storms are hatching in great dark clouds with which the country seems enwrapped.

We stifle in Madame Prune's bay, in the corridor between the mountains, when we enter it. But how pretty it is! And now I feel more at home than on our last arrival; I rediscover the endless concert of the cicadas and the magnificence of the June green too, as fifteen years ago. Ah, the yearly green, how it sweeps away with its fair freshness the hues of the winter trees, cedars, pines or camellias, which reigned here alone when we came in December.

You would think that they are not the same stout healthy sailors whom the "Redoutable" now restores to Nagasaki; some of them you certainly would not recognize again. Our crew has suffered long on the restless tainted waters of Takou, suffered, above all, more from the evil heat and confinement, than from the painful toil and continual expenditure of strength. Under the sun of China, to live, six or seven hundred strong, in an iron chest in which enormous coal fires are a light day and night, to hear an eternal din increased by the ringing of metal, to receive air which had already passed through hundreds of lungs, and which an artificial ventilation unwillingly sends you, to breathe through holes, to be constantly bathed in sweat! . . . It was time we reached here, where we shall be able to relax, to walk, run, forget.⁵¹⁴

The protagonist appears more moved at leaving Japan for the second time than he was in *Madame Chrysanthème*, yet he admits that this is probably only because it is unlikely he will ever return.⁵¹⁵

There is a lot more political commentary in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* than there is in *Madame Chrysanthème*. Much of this concerns events in wider Asia (the *Redoutable* was cruising around Chinese, Japanese, and Korean waters), and the protagonist makes particular reference to the image of Japan as a military aggressor. This perception was not strong during the period when *Madame Chrysanthème* enjoyed the height of its popularity because Japan had not by then demonstrated the military strength it was probably developing. For example, in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* the protagonist writes of his surprise that a country of playthings such as Japan inhabited by 'beardless little yellow babies' would have the 'audacity' to take on 'enormous Russia' in the Russo-Japanese war:

And it is this strange little world which meditates a ferocious attack upon enormous Russia; the husbands and brothers of these Saxe toys wish to face the armies of the Tzar! . . . One cannot overcome one's astonishment at such confidence and audacity, above all when in the streets one sees the Japanese soldiers and sailors, very neat and very small, beardless little yellow babies, beside the heavy, four-square blond lads of the Russian crews.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, pp. 173–174.

⁵¹⁵ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 235.

⁵¹⁶ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 102.

The protagonist also demonstrates awareness of the historical dynamics between East and West when he levies what is one of his most harsh criticisms of the Japanese character, calling the Japanese:

The ugliest people in the world, physically speaking. And an excitable, quarrelsome, pride-puffed people, envious of the good fortune of others, handling, with the cruelty and adroitness of monkeys, the machines and explosives whose secrets we were so unspeakably wanting in foresight as to hand over to them. A very small people, which will be, in the midst of the huge yellow family, the hate-ferment against our white races, the provoker of slaughter and invasions in the future.⁵¹⁷

As will be developed, though his first visit took place at a time when far more knowledge was being ‘hand[ed] over’ to the Japanese, the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* makes no significant mention of this.

Given the sorts of remarks just cited, it is interesting that the protagonist of *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*’s prevailing feeling towards Japan remains that it is a land of ‘pretty toys and treasures.’⁵¹⁸ For example, while in the Foreword (dated January 1905), Loti writes that the book was ‘written . . . nearly three years ago, before the Japanese had yet begun to sprinkle with their blood the plains of Manchuria,’⁵¹⁹ and recognises ‘deeply and seriously’ the courage of the Japanese at Port Arthur or Mukden, Loti asserts that ‘it does not appear to me that the respect due to so many dead obliges me to alter the picture which remains with me of their country.’⁵²⁰ This dismisses Japan as trivial and childlike, and is reminiscent of the dedication of *Madame Chrysanthème* where Loti bade the Duchess of Richlieu to ‘Kindly welcome [*Madame Chrysanthème*] . . . in the same spirit that you would receive some quaint bit of pottery, some grotesquely carved idol, or some preposterous trifle brought back for you from this singular fatherland of all preposterousness.’⁵²¹ It also demonstrates the strength of the general perception that Japan was a land of ‘pretty toys and treasures’ if this persisted despite Loti ‘knowing better’ that the Japanese could be ferocious and courageous warriors.

Turning to Loti’s other works on Japan, *Japoneries d’automne* and *Femmes japonaises* share many thematic similarities with both *Madame Chrysanthème* and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*. Their main contrast with the two travelogues is that they purport to being primarily factual memoirs or commentaries, and the author is clearly to be recognised primarily as Loti himself rather than an autobiographical protagonist appearing in a work packaged as fiction. This is reflected in that they were initially published as stand alone columns in magazines, as was outlined in the Introduction. That Loti was commissioned by popular magazines to produce ‘factual’ columns on Japan suggests that he was considered learned in things Japanese by editors and the general public alike. For, working in a commercial environment, had editors not believed their reading public would respond favourably to Loti’s depiction of Japan, they are unlikely to have wanted him to produce columns.

⁵¹⁷ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, pp. 200–201.

⁵¹⁸ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 33.

⁵¹⁹ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 1.

⁵²⁰ This ‘picture’ was of a trivial, youthful, and juvenile land. Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 1.

⁵²¹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 6.

Japoneries d'automne has nine stand-alone chapters describing Kyoto, a ball Loti attended at the Rokumeikan dance hall in Tokyo, an encounter Loti has with two elderly Japanese, the empress, some Japanese myths, Nikko, samurai tombs, and Tokyo. While the content diverts somewhat from Loti's other Japanese works, the same themes pervade: Loti likens Japanese females to cats and dolls, he writes of the polarity of the Japanese and European races, he boasts of his proficiency in the Japanese language, he remarks on the internationalisation of Japan, and calls the Japanese a comical, small, and finical people.

In *Femmes japonaises*, Loti examines areas including the Japanese women's physical appearance, the empress, western dress in Japan, middle class Japanese women, cultural habits such as cooking and smoking, houses, clothes, headgear, the female character, music, religion, festivals, and peasants. Again, pictures accompany the text. The same sorts of themes arise again, and in particular the words of the protagonist in *Madame Chrysanthème* are often recalled in *Femmes japonaises*, partly because both works pay much attention to the Japanese female. For example, in *Femmes japonaises* Loti calls Japanese women 'mysterious little cabinet curiosit[ies]'⁵²² who live 'in the midst of trifles as artificial and light'⁵²³ as herself, and thinks with a 'little giddy brain.'⁵²⁴ It will be seen in the coming chapters how similar such remarks are to the depiction of the Japanese female in *Madame Chrysanthème*.

The above discussion has aimed to place *Madame Chrysanthème* in the context of Loti's other writing on Japan in popular circulation during the nineteenth century. Given the convincing and recurring similarities between the four works examined, the question arises as to why *Madame Chrysanthème* was chosen to examine as an example of japonaiserie. Essentially, the other works too would fit the mould cast by consumers and manufacturers of japonaiserie. For example, *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* was also made up of many short chapters and had some water-colour sketches—two aspects that will soon be argued as being central to why *Madame Chrysanthème* can be considered an item of japonaiserie. *Madame Chrysanthème* is the topic of this investigation though because it is certainly the most well-known of Loti's Japanese oeuvre, both during its period of publication and in the present day. For example, Vincent van Gogh writes of the impact the travelogue had on his art and thinking, and it is also cited as the influence for dramatic productions that have subsequently had massive impact on how western people perceive Asia. Two major examples are 'Madame Butterfly' and 'Miss Saigon.' *Madame Chrysanthème* further distinguishes itself from Loti's other writing on Japan because of its high duality, which sees an extreme contrast of perceptions voiced towards Japan. Also, seldom does mention of Loti's other Japanese works occur in art historical texts on japonaiserie, and, for example, the print runs for *Japoneries d'automne* numbered sixty-three compared to the 221 of *Madame Chrysanthème*.⁵²⁵ Lastly, japonaiserie was more popular when *Madame Chrysanthème* was

⁵²² Pierre Loti (David Govett, ed.). *Japanese women* (Japanorama e-texts (available at www.japanorama.com), 2002), p. 5.

⁵²³ Loti (David Govett, ed.). *Japanese women*, p. 12.

⁵²⁴ Loti (David Govett, ed.). *Japanese women*, p. 20.

⁵²⁵ Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, p. 341.

published than when Loti's later works were, and the book emerged just before travel writing on Japan became commonplace.

All four of *Madame Chrysanthème*, *Japoneries d'automne*, *Femmes japonaises*, and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* could be argued to constitute items of japonaiserie. However, it is the reach and influence of the first work that makes it the most significant to examine as an example of nineteenth-century japonaiserie.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Structural and narrative aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème*

Simple and strange and infinitely sad, the eternal pilgrim of the sea and of love: such is Pierre Loti, the most original, the most delicate, and yet the most popular of contemporary French novelists.⁵²⁶

This chapter begins analysis of the intra-textual ways in which specific aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème* contributed towards the work being an item of japonaiserie, displayed a negative criticism of the country, or did both. Discussion in Chapter Fourteen allowed for these aspects to be understood and placed in the wider context of Loti's personality and writing. The fifty-six short chapters and how they individually resemble a literary version of the quickly-done painterly sketches of Japan characteristic of items of japonaiserie will first be examined. Conversely, their brevity and lack of synoptic complexity can be considered to contribute towards implying that Japan was insignificant, juvenile, and trivial. Then discussion will turn to the two hundred water-colour sketches by Rossi and Myrbach and how these diversify the work from being an example of simple literary japonaiserie to being a visual one too.

Fifty-six short chapters

Madame Chrysanthème is comprised of fifty-six short chapters, and most are two or three pages long with a few much longer ones. If the chapters are examined in isolation, many seem like sketches or vignettes of one particular aspect of the protagonist's experience in Japan.⁵²⁷ It is as though Loti uses words to present a short vignette of Japan akin to how both European and Japanese artists used paint to create small and seemingly quickly-done sketches of aspects of 'traditional' Japan such as its cherry blossom, mountains, temples, masks, fans, and women. While artists started to experiment with new subject-matter dedicating, for example, an entire work to a small insect or plant, so too Loti's chapters are often concerned with some single aspect of Japan, and at times he achieves an intimacy with his subject by writing carefully of its movements or sounds. For example, Chapter XVII is a short concentration on the 'ceaseless, strident, and prodigious' song of the cicalas, and the 'cry of the falcon,' two sounds the protagonist writes permeate life in Japan.⁵²⁸

William Schwartz (1927) likens Loti's narrative approach and writing style in the travelogue to the painterly equivalent of impressionism, a movement whereby artists aimed to capture the transience of any scene by close attention to such features as shifting light before it changed and was lost. He writes that the chapters in *Madame Chrysanthème* are like quickly-done sketches:

⁵²⁶ Guérard. *Five Masters of French Fiction*, p. 137.

⁵²⁷ Examining the chapters in isolation requires caution. It restricts thematic analysis of the text because some themes and events depend on a chronological order: for example, the protagonist's speculations that Yves and Chrysanthème are in love, and the build-up to departure of the *Triomphante*.

⁵²⁸ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.), *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 113–114; and Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.), *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 105.

. . . when Loti came to write about the Chinese and Japanese he really seems to employ an impressionistic style . . . and [has] a tendency to adopt non-classical principles of composition. . . . In *Madame Chrysanthème* too, Loti, like a Japanese artist, quickly sketches in complete pictures, though each contains only the more striking details. Thus he conveys to the reader the unforgettable impressions for which he is famous.⁵²⁹

As suggested by Schwartz, Loti's 'impressionistic style' is not limited to *Madame Chrysanthème*: a number of his works are comprised of a series of chapters each focusing on one detail of his experience. For example, *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* has sixty-six short chapters, while *Rarahu* has about 143 segments in total. In both of these works, the brevity of most chapters means that they are focused on singular aspects.

With respect to *Madame Chrysanthème* and to elaborate on but one example of many, Chapter VI is a short depiction of Loti's home on the heights of the suburb of *Diou-djen-dji*, with the protagonist even likening his house to a Japanese picture. To demonstrate its brevity and nature, the entire chapter reads:

Chez nous, cela ressemble à une image japonaise: rien que des petits paravents; des petits tabourets bizarres supportant des vases avec des bouquets,—et, au fond de l'appartement, dans un reiro qui fait autel, un grand Bouddha doré trônant dans un lotus.

La maison est bien telle que je l'avais entrevue dans mes projets de Japon, avant l'arrivée, durant les nuits de quart: haut perchée, dans un faubourg paisible, au milieu des jardins verts;—elle est toute en panneaux de papier, et se démonte, quand on veut, comme un jouet d'enfant.—Des familles de cigales chantent nuit et jour sur notre vieux toit sonore. On a, de notre véranda, une vue à vol d'oiseau très vertigineuse, sur Nagasaki, ses rues, ses jonques et ses grands temples; à certaines heures tout cela s'éclaire à nos pieds comme un décor de féerie.⁵³⁰

In our home, all has the appearance of a Japanese picture: we have nothing but little folding-screens, curious little stools bearing vases full of nosegays, and at the further end of the apartment, in a nook forming an alter, a large gilded Buddha sits enthroned in a lotus.

The house is just as I had fancied it should be in the dreams of Japan I had made before my arrival, during my long night watches: perched on high, in a peaceful suburb, in the midst of green gardens;—made up of paper panels, and taken to pieces according to one's fancy, like a child's toy. Whole families of cicadas chirp day and night over our old resounding roof. From our verandah, we have a bewildering bird's-eye view of Nagasaki, of its streets, its junks and its great pagodas, which, at certain hours, is lit up at our feet like some fairy-like scene.⁵³¹

⁵²⁹ Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature 1800–1925*, p. 130.

⁵³⁰ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 80.

⁵³¹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 71–72. Ensor's translation has been altered.

Alternatively, and where focus is not on the external, physical environment, some chapters are short, focused concentrations on a happening or supposition, and are sometimes accompanied by a brief description of the physical surroundings echoing the thematic concern. For example, in Chapter XXI the protagonist's speculation that the Japanese do not take death seriously and are of a far older civilisation is set against the backdrop of the Nagasaki hills and the many cemeteries dotting them. In this chapter, Loti produces a short sketch, but of a predominantly thematic rather than aesthetic nature.⁵³²

Approaching Japan by producing a series of short and often, though not exclusively, playful sketches rather than writing a complex novel with arguably more thematic content and plot development echoes the approach of designers of items of japoniserie who also did not take Japan seriously. For this group and Loti alike, for commercial purposes Japan was something that could be represented with little genuine inquiry into, or indeed respect for, its reality.

In addition to writing that Loti used 'an impressionistic style,' Schwartz also ascribes to the author a 'tendency to adopt non-classical principles of composition.' The way in which many chapters are disjointed because they do not rely on a chronological or synoptic linearity creates a narrative structure echoing the unconventional truncation used by some painterly artists of the period.⁵³³ Wichmann (1999) wrote that this artistic technique encouraged or facilitated 'the exaggerated leaping viewpoint—the eye jumping from one thing to another, from one plane to another.' Likewise Loti's text synoptically 'leaps' from one topic to another. For example and to choose an arbitrary cut-off point, chapters IX to XVII jump from subject to subject: Chapter IX concerns the nighttime walks of Yves, Chrysanthème, and the protagonist, Chapter X an incident where Chrysanthème hears mice and the protagonist remembers a similar occurrence in Turkey, Chapter XI the festivities of Bastille Day and a visit to the Osueva Temple, Chapter XII the four other naval officers who are married and the general happenings on the nighttime walks the protagonist goes on, Chapter XIII the introduction of *komodachitak-san-takai* [sic], Chapter XIV the introduction of Loti's landlords M. Sucre and Madame Prune, Chapter XV the insects in their garden, Chapter XVI the protagonist's reflections that his story drags a little and reflections on his experience in Nagasaki in general, and Chapter XVII two noises characteristic of Japan: the cicala and the falcon. As works by Rivière and Manet included cut-off sails of boats that appear to originate from somewhere beyond the borders of the picture, so too Loti's descriptions or vignettes are truncated at chapter-break, and begin somewhere different from or beyond the point of the previous chapter's ending.

Characteristic of early French japonisme was the superimposition of isolated Japanese or Japanesque motifs into an otherwise entirely 'western' composition. This artistic convention is reflected in the

⁵³² Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 125–126.

⁵³³ Some chapters do have chronological links: for example, at the end of Chapter XXVI Loti writes of the nocturnal noises, and Chapter XXVII begins with remark on how the morning noises are more pleasant.

travelogue with respect to the protagonist's sprinkling of the text with Japanese words and phrases which functioned partly to add exoticism and novelty. Their inclusion will be examined further in Chapter Sixteen.

Japanese chromatic techniques also influenced western art by, in one way, bright and lively colour use. A literary equivalent of the richness and vividness characteristic of depictions on items of japonaserie is found in *Madame Chrysanthème*. The rich narrative style of *Madame Chrysanthème* enhances the work as an item of japonaserie, and citing Anatole France (1887) illustrates what one of Loti's well-known contemporaries thought of his atmospheric narrative use in this work:

Ce qui donne au nouveau livre de M. Pierre Loti sa physionomie et son charme, ce sont les descriptions vives, courtes, émues; c'est le tableau animé de la vie japonaise, si petite, si mièvre, si artificielle. Enfin, ce sont les paysages. Ils sont divins, les paysages que dessine Pierre Loti en quelques traits mystérieux. Comme cet homme sent la nature! comme il la goûte en amoureux, et comme il la comprend avec tristesse! . . .⁵³⁴

What gives Pierre Loti's new book its form and its charm are the lively, short, poignant descriptions; it is the animated portrayal of Japanese life, so small, so affected, so artificial. Finally, it is the landscapes. They are divine, the landscapes that Pierre Loti draws with a few mysterious strokes. How this man feels nature! How he tastes it like a lover, and how he understands it with sadness! . . .

As has been seen, though, Loti was an author known for his atmospheric depictions of people and places in most of his works. For example, *Pêcheur d'Islande* is well-known as a work evocative and atmospheric in its depiction of the rigours and rhythms of life at sea.

A further similarity between Japanese-influenced art in the painterly realm and Loti's travelogue, though limited in its contribution towards the present discussion, concerns the process of production being able to be seen in a finished picture. Just as some artists let individual brushstrokes remain visible in the finished work rather than use multiple layers and varnishing to hide them, the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* writes of his own process of production: that is, of keeping the personal diary that was later transposed into the travelogue. As will be elaborated elsewhere, he also comments on and evaluates the language he uses throughout the text.

The French scholar Gérard Siary (1988) also links the fifty-six short chapters in *Madame Chrysanthème* to japonaserie. Siary argues that the series of short chapters reduces the whole of Japan to a *bibelot*, a French noun commonly translated as a 'trinket' or 'knick knack' and the standard

⁵³⁴ An excerpt of a review of *Madame Chrysanthème* by Anatole France, titled 'Madame Chrysanthème vu par Anatole France,' and cited in Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, p. 46. The translation is my own.

referent for cheap items of japonaiserie.⁵³⁵ Arguing that it is in the longer chapters that the plot evolves, Siary writes that because the short chapters do not rely on synoptic or chronological linearity, they could easily be rearranged without disrupting or distorting the ‘feel’ of the whole, and hence are like a series of trinkets lined up on a shelf. The implications of this are that Japan was a ‘rightfully’ consumable item for the West, a plaything to be ‘collected and possessed,’ to recall Littlewood’s words, and of a trifling value.⁵³⁶ This argument has limitations, however, if applied to the longer chapters where synoptic developments occur concerning, for example, the relationship between Chrysanthème and Yves, and Loti’s preparations for departure.

Inclusion of sketches by Rossi and Myrbach

The inclusion of about two-hundred water-colour sketches by the well-known artists Luigi Rossi and Félicien Myrbach in the December 1887 edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* pictorially enhances and visually strengthens *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie. The sketches also feature in both the 1913 (T. W. Laurie) and 1973 (Tuttle) editions of Laura Ensor’s English translation of the work. The water-colours predominantly depict aspects of traditional Japanese culture that the western reader would be ‘familiar’ with and respond favourably to. They also generally link directly to what the protagonist is describing in the text. Examples include Chrysanthème playing the *shamisen*, lanterns decorated with Chinese characters, ink-wells and *fude* brushes, pages of Japanese or Japanesque script, screens, sprigs of what appear to be cherry blossom, branches of bamboo, butterflies, dragonflies, birds, groups of women in kimono, floral arrangements, *tatami* straw matting, *mon* gates, paper umbrellas, and decorated fans. As a telling example, when Loti was in Japan (July to August) the cherry blossom would not have been in bloom, and therefore their inclusion was clearly to match reader perceptions of quintessential Japan. The cover sketch of the original edition features a Japanese woman, assumed to be Chrysanthème, reclined amidst flowers and holding a parasol, *shamisen*, and something looking like a brush or the small pipe she smoked. It playfully encapsulates a major thematic tone of the work that Japan is a land of trifles.

The style and subject matter of most of the sketches were characteristic of quickly-painted representations on items of japonaiserie, and in this way can have connotations akin to those of the many short chapters which could imply that Japan was not to be taken seriously. While the sketches do not dwell on detail, they do capture a playful Japanesque mood, and many appear amidst the text without linear, formal borders. Some are cut off by the edge of the page, mirroring the unconventional truncation used in some Japanese art, while others focus on unusual subject matter such as mice, a single pipe, a tea-set, a butterfly, or lotus flowers which further recalls the philosophies of Japanese artistic technique. Both Rossi and Myrbach were well-known during the period and, for example, Félicien Myrbach was particularly recognised for his illustrations of Alphonse Daudet’s ‘Tartarin’ romance series.⁵³⁷ Their sketches diversify Loti’s work from being a purely literary item of

⁵³⁵ See: Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, pp. 15–30.

⁵³⁶ Cited in Chapter Two. From: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: western images, western myths*, pp. 91–92.

⁵³⁷ For example, Myrbach illustrated *Tartarin on the Alps* (London: Routledge, 1887).

japonaiserie to being a pictorial one also, and most likely added life and interest to the work. They segment a text already arranged into short chapters into even smaller units, visually reinforcing the idea of unconventional truncation, as well as Siary's argument about disjoint and autonomous chapters.

Both the short chapters and the sketches of *Madame Chrysanthème* contribute towards the work's nature as an item of japonaiserie, while also implying an intellectual dismissal of the country. The various linguistic techniques Loti adopts in the text also interact significantly with its status as an item of japonaiserie. These will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Linguistic aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème*

The Japan he depicts is pretty, on a small scale and in a petty manner; exquisite, but heartless; refined, but trifling; polite, but with strange reserves of obscenity, treachery, and hatred.⁵³⁸

Loti's vocabulary use, his translation of names, and the interspersing of Japanese words and phrases throughout the text of *Madame Chrysanthème* linguistically diversify the ways in which the work is an item of japonaiserie. The sorts of adjectives that Loti uses evoke connotations of Japan similar to those of the visual depictions of the country found in the decorative arts or in the book itself with its sketches by Rossi and Myrbach. Giving characters humorous or pretty names contributes towards the work's overall tone of frivolity, triviality, and gaiety—ideas common too in bright, lively items of japonaiserie. Sprinkling the text with Japanese words and phrases is akin to the superimposition of singular Japanese motifs into otherwise European painterly compositions, and also functions to make the work, and by association Japan, more exotic and 'Japanese.' In various ways though, each of these aspects can also have a more negative function: where use of adjectives such as *petit* or small can be endearing, it can also be belittling; frivolous names can have connotations of insignificance; and the protagonist criticises the Japanese language at points in the text, incredulous that the sounds he utters can have any meaning.

Vocabulary use in Madame Chrysanthème

The text of *Madame Chrysanthème* is saturated with diminutive adjectives, and they arise particularly frequently when referring to the Japanese female. Adjectives frequently occurring include: *petit* (small or little), *microscopique* (microscopic), *enfantin* (childish, juvenile), *posé* (placed, arranged, posed), *joli* (pretty), *gai* (gay), *drôle* (droll), *charmant* (charming), *pittoresque* (picturesque), *mignon* (cute), *belle* (beautiful), *coquette* (coquettish), *souriant* (smiling), *imaginé* (imaginary/imagined), *artificiel* (artificial), *raffiné* (refined), *ingénieux* (ingenious), *immaculé* (immaculate), *insignifiant* (insignificant), *mièvre* (insipid), *mignard* (affected), and *exotique* (exotic). The sorts of words Loti uses to describe Japan proper are those whose playful connotations were evoked visually in pictures on items of japonaiserie which were also 'gay,' 'pretty,' and 'exotic.' These types of words also come to mind when describing the water-colour sketches that accompany the text.

Loti sometimes attaches a suffix to a noun that diminishes the size and significance of what it qualifies. A commonly occurring example of this is *jardinet*, 'garden,' instead of *jardin*. *Jardinet* is defined in

⁵³⁸ Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, pp. 154–155.

the standard French language dictionary *Le Petit Robert* as a ‘small garden,’ and Loti possibly uses it to avoid repetition of *petit* or to convey a tone of somewhat paternal endearment towards Japan. He also uses *maisonnette* (small house) sometimes instead of *maison*, ‘house.’ When describing ‘le jardinet de Madame Renoncule,’ his mother-in-law’s garden, the protagonist combines these various tendencies, even reaching the conclusion that the smallness of Japan makes one feel as though one is viewing the country through the ‘wrong end of a telescope’:

En pleine ville, encaissé entre des murs, ce parc de quatre mètres carrés, avec de petits lacs, de petites montagnes, de petits rochers; . . . Cependant un incontestable sentiment de la nature a présidé à cette réduction microscopique d’un site sauvage. Les rochers sont bien posés. Les cèdres nains, pas plus hauts que des choux, étendent sur les vallées leurs branches noueuses avec des attitudes de géants fatigués par les siècles,—et leur air *grand arbre* dérouté la vue, fausse la perspective. Du fond sombre de l’appartement, quand on aperçoit, dans un certain recul, ce paysage relativement éclairé, on en vient presque à se demander s’il est factice ou si, plutôt, on n’est pas soi-même le jouet de quelque illusion maladive, si ce n’est pas de la vraie campagne aperçue avec des yeux dérangés, plus au point,—ou bien regardée par le mauvais bout d’une lorgnette.⁵³⁹

In the middle of the town, enclosed by four walls, is this park of five yards square, with little lakes, little mountains, and little rocks . . . Nevertheless a true feeling for nature has inspired this tiny representation of a wild spot. The rocks are well placed, the dwarf cedars, no taller than cabbages, stretch their gnarled boughs over the valleys in the attitude of giants wearied by the weight of centuries; and their look of *big trees* perplexes one and falsifies the perspective. When from the dark recesses of the apartment one perceives at a certain distance this diminutive landscape dimly lighted up, the wonder is whether it is all artificial or whether one is not oneself the victim of some morbid illusion; and if it is not indeed a real country view seen through a distorted vision out of focus, or through the wrong end of a telescope.⁵⁴⁰

As will be discussed later and is hinted at when he writes of this ‘falsified perspective,’ the perceived external smallness is extrapolated by the protagonist onto the morality of the Japanese. He concludes that they must also be of ‘small’ or ‘petty’ mind, even blaming the physical smallness of his surroundings for him having the suspicion that Yves and Chrysanthème are in love. This example leads on to alternative interpretations of Loti’s adjective use.

Some of the same linguistic aspects that contribute towards *Madame Chrysanthème* being an item of japonaiserie also directly contrast with or challenge the prevailing ideas of the fashion. In some instances, this is even the case with individual words whose significance affords plural interpretations. An example frequently recurring and useful to examine in depth is *petit*. Smallness is a central preoccupation of the protagonist’s, and is essentially what many of the other adjectives he uses connote. *Petit* can either be interpreted endearingly and/or paternally (as would align with japonaiserie), or alternatively can signify insignificance and derision as an adjective appropriate to

⁵³⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 156.

⁵⁴⁰ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 199–200.

qualify a land where one would experience 'some wretchedly trivial and third-rate comedy.'⁵⁴¹ It is one of the most frequently used adjectives in the text, as the protagonist himself admits:

J'abuse vraiment de l'adjectif *petit*, je m'en aperçois bien; mais comment faire?—En décrivant les choses de ce pays-ci, on est tenté de l'employer dix fois par ligne. Petit, mièvre, mignard,—le Japon physique et moral tient tout entière dans ces trois mots-là...⁵⁴²

I really make a sad abuse of the adjective *little*, I am quite aware of it, but how can I do otherwise? In describing this country, the temptation exists to use it ten times per line. Little, finical, affected,—all Japan is contained, both physically and morally in these three words.⁵⁴³

Such an admission suggests that in some instances when the protagonist uses *petit* he is aiming to evoke the negative connotations of something being 'little, finical, affected.' It also excuses him from calling Japan 'little,' blaming the nature of the country itself rather than questioning the roots of his own perceptions and representation of it as small. Furthermore, the protagonist compares the language he used to describe places such as Turkey and Tahiti with that he uses for Japan, arguing that in other places language was insufficient to express what he felt and experienced, whereas in Japan 'words exact and truthful . . . seem to embellish it.' Such a comparison casts Japan as insignificant compared to other countries:

Dans d'autres pays de la terre, en Océanie dans l'île délicieuse, à Stamboul dans les vieux quartiers morts, il me semblait que les mots ne disaient jamais autant que j'aurais voulu dire, je me débattais contre mon impuissance à rendre dans une langue humaine le charme pénétrant des choses.

Ici, au contraire, les mots, justes cependant, sont trop grands, trop vibrants toujours; les mots embellissent. Je me fais l'effet de jouer pour moi-même quelque comédie bien piètre, bien banale, et, quand j'essaie de prendre au sérieux mon ménage, je vois se dresser en dérision devant moi la figure de M. Kangourou, agent matrimonial, à qui je dois mon bonheur.⁵⁴⁴

In other lands, in the delightful isle of Oceania, in the old lifeless quarters of Stamboul, it seemed as if mere words could not express all I felt, and I struggled against my own incompetence to render, in human language, the penetrating charm surrounding me.

Here, on the contrary, words exact and truthful in themselves seem always too thrilling, too great for the subject; seem to embellish it. I feel as if I were acting for my own benefit some wretchedly trivial and third-rate comedy; and whenever I try to consider my [Japanese] household in a serious spirit, the

⁵⁴¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 84; Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 76.

⁵⁴² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 182.

⁵⁴³ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 242. Minor alterations to Ensor's translation have been made.

⁵⁴⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 84.

scoffing figure of M. Kangourou rises up before me, the matrimonial agent, to whom I am indebted for my happiness.⁵⁴⁵

Reinforcing this idea of a comparative insignificance is the protagonist's tendency to group together things and people Japanese. Ono (1976) remarks on the protagonist's tendency for this with respect to, for example, the crowds of people at the festivals and bazaars. She writes: 'That there are more Japanese than the people in one European nation, means that each Japanese is worth less than a European.'⁵⁴⁶ For example, the protagonist writes of the 'bonshommes et des bonnes femmes entrant en longue file ininterrompue,' 'little men and little women coming in a continuous, uninterrupted stream.'⁵⁴⁷ Applying Ono's idea, this aggregation demonstrates an alternative, linguistic, vehicle by which cultures or peoples were essentialised in a colonial era. Loti also groups together all the 'Japanese' cultural habitus or mannerisms he finds exaggerated, affected, quaint, or irritating under the umbrella term 'japonerie,' writing on one occasion of M. Kangourou '. . . oubliant toute sa politesse, tout son cérémonial, toute sa japonerie, . . .' '. . . forgetting all his politeness, all his ceremony, all his Japanesery, . . .'⁵⁴⁸

Loti recalls and writes of the linguistic confines wrought by Japan's smallness in some of his subsequent works. For example, in *Au Maroc* (1889) he writes:

Je regrette, en vérité, d'employer si souvent le mot *vieux*, et je m'en excuse. De même, quand je décrivais du Japon, je me rappelle que le mot *petit* revenait, malgré moi, à chaque ligne. Ici c'est la vieillesse, la vieillesse croulante, la vieillesse morte, qui est l'impression dominante causé par les choses; . . .⁵⁴⁹

I really must apologise for the so-frequent use of the word "old." But just as, in writing of Japan, the word "little," I remember, recurred in spite of me at every line, so here it is old age, old age tottering and dead, which is the prevailing impression caused by surrounding things . . .⁵⁵⁰

It is not only *petit* that affords dual and somewhat conflicting interpretations. The various diminutive adjectives that Loti uses which were introduced earlier give the objects they qualify diminutive properties with connotations of insignificance and inferiority. For example, a small Japanese meal eaten with dainty chopsticks implies morsels of food more fit for a doll's tea-party than for an actual

⁵⁴⁵ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 76. Minor alterations have been made to Ensor's translation.

⁵⁴⁶ Setsuko Ono. 'Fragile blossom, fragile superpower—a new interpretation?' *Japan Quarterly* vol. XXIII, no. 1, p. 15, 1976.

⁵⁴⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 50; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 17.

⁵⁴⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 74; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 60.

⁵⁴⁹ Pierre Loti. *Au Maroc* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Christian Pirot, 1990), p. 118.

⁵⁵⁰ Pierre Loti (W. P. Baines, trans.). *Au Maroc* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1923), p. 128.

meal, while a delicate Japanese dwelling, *une maisonnette*, is fragile, could blow away with a gust of strong wind, and is therefore inconsequential. Such frequently occurring connotations of fragility, smallness, and insignificance contribute towards the overall impression that Japan and its people themselves were also such. Ono (1976) writes that:

An atmosphere of fragility is given: first by repeated descriptions of a house, as made of paper and wood, easily taken apart like a toy or trinket; second by the unique place given to descriptions of the toy-like women in the general observation of the Japanese as a whole; third, by constant recall of the images of Japan and the Japanese that readers would have seen on porcelains, lacquer wares, and silk or paper fans.⁵⁵¹

Gérard Siary (1988) argues that the diminished scale of Japan that results from frequent mention of its smallness is reinforced literally by the protagonist often making observations of the Nagasaki harbour area looking down from the heights of the suburb of Diou-djen-dji.⁵⁵²

There are many other aspects of Nagasaki that Loti could have remarked upon: for example, its landforms, foreign quarter, crafts, foods, and wildlife. However, amongst these the author chooses to focus on its smallness, which suggests that he was sensitive to this for reasons beyond an object's physical size. One possibility is that he projected his own feelings of physical inadequacy onto Japan. Loti is known to have cultivated a strong, muscular body by, for example, gymnastic training and one recurring reason given for this is to compensate for his small stature and physical delicacy.⁵⁵³ The author's pride in his strong body is suggested when he remarked that:

Je me souviens très bien de la plus grande joie de ma vie ... Malheureusement j'avais commencé trop tard ... j'avais vingt-cinq ans et j'étais déjà vieux. Je fus clown dans un cirque et je fus rappelé trois fois ... c'est le plus beau souvenir de mon existence.⁵⁵⁴

I remember very well the greatest joy of my life . . . Unfortunately I had started too late . . . I was twenty-five years old, and already old. I was a clown in a circus and I had to do three curtain calls . . . it is the best memory of my life.

Not only was Loti himself conscious of his small size, but his contemporaries remarked on it also, with some such as Félix Régamey using it to mock the author. Régamey wrote in the introduction to *Le cahier rose de Madame Chrysanthème* that Loti was of a 'grâce féminine,' a 'feminine grace,' and the

⁵⁵¹ Ono. 'Fragile blossom, fragile superpower—a new interpretation?' p.15.

⁵⁵² See: Gérard Siary. 'La représentation littéraire du Japon dans Madame Chrysanthème,' in: Alain Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, pp. 15–30.

⁵⁵³ Another possible reason is delaying the visible onset of ageing. For a physical description of Loti, see: Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, 197 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ Serban. *Pierre Loti: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, p. 199, note one. The translation is my own.

surrounding text contains derogatory allusions to his delicate stature.⁵⁵⁵ It is likely that Loti would have been aware of and sensitive to the opinions, writings, and criticisms of contemporaries such as Régamey. It is not improbable that Loti, even if unconsciously, focused on and criticised Japan's smallness as a cathartic projection of his own self-criticism and of the criticism he received from others onto Japan. It is important to note though, that Loti remarked on smallness with regard to other Asian places: for example, in *Siam (Un Pèlerin d'Angkor)* there is frequent mention of the smallness of the Thai people.

Loti's use of *race jaune*, or 'yellow race,' to describe the Japanese (not unusual amongst his contemporaries) is another way in which he uses language negatively because he could also have used the more neutral *les Japonais*, 'the Japanese.' Ono (1976) identifies various connotations of *jaune* which include the association of yellow with 'oldness and decay,' 'sickness,' 'infamy and dishonor,' and specifically French etymological connotations of 'something false, abnormal, base.'⁵⁵⁶ In *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1999), there are multiple entries containing 'yellow' that have negative connotations, and part of the primary definition for the word reads: 'In symbolism the colour indicates jealousy, inconsistency, adultery, perfidy, and cowardice. In France the doors of traitors used to be daubed with yellow . . .'⁵⁵⁷ Calling the Japanese the 'race jaune' becomes another way in which Loti deliberately uses language as a vehicle to ridicule, denigrate, or reject the Japanese.

Loti's manipulation of names

Loti's choices in renaming most of the Japanese people he transposes from his personal diary into the travelogue also render *Madame Chrysanthème* an item of japonaiserie. Most of the names he uses are from the natural world and have connotations of delicacy, femininity, and smallness. In a number of cases, Japanese names evolve into new French creations, possibly to increase reader-engagement because a Japanese word would largely be meaningless to them whereas they could understand the literal and connotative associations of a French one. Furthermore, Loti's various manipulations of names suggests that he may have purposefully intended to add humour to the work, reinforcing also the overall gaiety, frivolity, and drollness of Japan and the Japanese. It is a common literary device to choose a character's name whose connotations map onto the character of the person concerned. For example, Wormtongue in J. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–1955) is a character who venomously ill-advises and deceives King Théoden, while Mrs. Malaprop of Richard Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775) gets her name from the French *mal à propos*, 'inappropriate,' because she often used inappropriate words that were phonetically very similar to the term she meant.⁵⁵⁸ *Madame Chrysanthème* becomes a work with a bouquet of often frivolously named characters, evoking

⁵⁵⁵ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 242. *Le cahier rose de Madame Chrysanthème* will be discussed in Chapter Eighteen.

⁵⁵⁶ Ono. 'Fragile blossom, fragile superpower—a new interpretation?' p.17.

⁵⁵⁷ Adrian Room (revisor). *Brewer's dictionary of phrase and fable: Millennium edition* (London: Cassel & Co., 1999), p. 1289.

⁵⁵⁸ The term 'malapropism' comes from Mrs. Malaprop.

associations similar to those on items of decorative japonaiserie of a delicate, youthful, playful, quaint, and trifling country. At the same time however, trivial Japanesque names can also allude to Japan being insignificant or unimportant.

One process by which Loti alters names is by assuming that they translate to their most common phonetic rendition. For example, Toki-San and Sato-San become Madame L'Heure ('Ms. Time') and M. Sucre ('Mr. Sugar') respectively. The author is unaware of, or ignores, the fact that the *kanji* for these names are different from those used for 'time' and 'sugar,' two Japanese words he is likely to have heard often. These counterpart names that Loti provides read oddly, comically, or even ridiculously for European readers. As well as this ignorance of the appropriate written forms of homophones, Loti also displays a lack of understanding of the connotations of various names. For example, he names one character 'Abricot' ('Apricot') and another 'Prune' ('Plum'), and a French reader would associate these nouns with fruits, whereas the Japanese would primarily think of their blossoms.

Many of the female characters in *Madame Chrysanthème*, particularly the young ones, are named after flowers. By having a cast of young Japanese women named after small, somewhat pretty, flowers, this group are represented as small and delicate too. For example, there is Madame Renoncule (Ms. Buttercup, originally *belle mère*, 'my mother-in-law' in Loti's *journal intime*), Mademoiselle Jasmin (Miss Jasmine), Mademoiselle Abricot (Miss Apricot), Mademoiselle Jonquille (Miss Daffodil), Madame Prune (Oumé-San, Ms. Prune, originally Kaka-San), and Bambou (Bamboo).

The names of M. Kangourou and Chrysanthème are particularly interesting. The marriage broker Sejiu-San in Loti's *Journal intime* becomes M. Kangourou, a clear example of intentional humour because of the different connotations of a kangaroo for French readers compared to those of a Japanese name that would generally have had none above its exotic phonetics. The majority of nineteenth-century French people would never have seen a kangaroo, and so the animal—if known at all—would have evoked exotic and unusual associations, probably humorous too because of its body shape and hopping motion. In addition and intensifying this, amusement is added as Loti writes of the hissing sound M. Kangourou makes when he speaks, as well as his animal-like bowing and physical movements in general.⁵⁵⁹ For example, M. Kangourou's pronunciation of "Oui Monsieur" ("Yes Sir") is transcribed as "Vi Missieu," which has more of a hissing sound than does *Monsieur*.⁵⁶⁰ He also depicts M. Kangourou as obsequious and accordingly makes his speech somewhat repetitive and urgent. For example, the broker replies as follows to the protagonist's exasperated inquiry as to when the marriage

⁵⁵⁹ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, 65 ff; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, 46 ff.

⁵⁶⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 65.

arrangements were going to be finalised: “*Tout à l’heure, Missieu, tout à l’heure,*” “In a moment, sir, in a moment.”⁵⁶¹

In his *Journal intime*, Loti’s Japanese wife is called Okané-San, yet in the travelogue she becomes Kikou-San or Chrysanthème. The protagonist uses the second name much more frequently, probably to give the book easily-understandable unusual, romantic, and Japanesque connotations. It is also possibly a more exotic sounding name than her real one which he claims would translate as ‘gold’ or ‘money,’ yet also was (more) commonly understood as ‘bell,’ or ‘combine,’ ‘dual purpose,’ ‘foresight,’ or ‘breadth of vision/thought.’ Suetoshi Funaoka speculates that Loti called her Chrysanthème because in reality Okané-San had a cousin called Kikou-San (*kikou* meaning ‘Chrysanthemum’) who drove a rickshaw; or alternatively (and more likely) as a result of having been invited to an imperial chrysanthemum festival on 10 November 1885 and hence realising the significance of this flower to the Japanese.⁵⁶² The chrysanthemum is the emblem of the Japanese emperor, and so in addition to the prestige inherent in this, it may have represented Japanese sovereignty to an author who disliked the westernisation of Japan, and of the non-western world in general if works such as *L’Inde (sans les Anglais)* or *Egypt (La mort de Philae)* are anything to judge by.

On one hand, Loti’s renaming of Japanese characters resulted in a suite of lively, frivolous names that contributed towards the overall playful approach to Japan and the Japanese. However, the names can also function to trivialise characters because the connotations of small, delicate flowers are those of weakness, ephemerality, and insignificance. The humorous and unusual connotations of the name Kangourou have been discussed, but this name could also have absurd and ridiculous overtones and, as James Buzard writes, ‘it is only a short step’ from something being regarded as ‘abnormal and exotic’ to it being considered ‘subnormal or ridiculous.’⁵⁶³ Félix Régamey criticised Loti’s representation of Japanese names, claiming that the author intentionally mis-translated them to alter their connotations for his French readers.⁵⁶⁴ While giving most characters French names rather than Japanese ones forgoes the opportunity to make his travelogue more ‘Japanese,’ it also makes it easier for Loti to ridicule the Japanese because the majority of French readers could understand the pejorative connotations of French names, but not Japanese ones.

Inclusion of Japanese words and speech

The inclusion of Japanese words and phrases throughout the text is similar to the painterly technique of superimposing Japanese or Japanesque motifs in otherwise totally European works such as ‘Portrait of Émile Zola’ (Edouard Manet, c.1868) in which Japanese prints hang on the wall behind the sitter. The Japanese terms in the travelogue function much the same as isolated motifs did in the painterly arts:

⁵⁶¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 75; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 62.

⁵⁶² See: Funaoka. ‘Le Journal de Nagasaki et *Madame Chrysanthème*,’ p. 72.

⁵⁶³ Cited in Chapter Seven, Part II. From: Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 10.

⁵⁶⁴ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 244.

they enhance its superficial 'Japaneseness,' lending the work exoticism, and boost the author's credibility as someone knowledgeable about Japanese culture because he understands some of the language. In fact, the protagonist writes that he even surprised himself with the ease at which he spoke Japanese, and the connotations of his astonishment at how the Japanese words could mean anything will be discussed shortly.⁵⁶⁵ The inclusion of foreign words and phrases is characteristic of much of Loti's travel writing. For example, in *Rarahu* Maori words and phrases are interspersed throughout the text,⁵⁶⁶ and Part IV includes a letter from Rarahu to Grant written in Tahitian and translated into French, which was in response to one Loti had supposedly written her in Maori (as the protagonist calls the Polynesian language spoken in Tahiti). The protagonist writes of the time he spends learning Maori,⁵⁶⁷ and he mentions on several occasions his proficiency in the language.⁵⁶⁸ In *Au Maroc* too the protagonist uses transcriptions of local words to describe some of the cultural practices or items he encounters: for example a *tarabieh* is a type of small wall, and *mouna* a ceremonial offering.

In *Madame Chrysanthème*, the protagonist mentions having learnt Japanese both from friends who had returned from Japan,⁵⁶⁹ and also by himself while in the Pescadore Islands.⁵⁷⁰ As Suetoshi Funaoka identifies, this was not just Loti trying to give credibility to a protagonist supposedly conversant in the local language: the author actually did learn some Japanese. Firstly, he wrote in his personal diary of his close friend Pierre Le Cor's amazement at the proficiency he gained learning the language while at Ma-Kung (entry dated 11 July 1885), and in addition Funaoka discovered that Loti had owned two of the most common Japanese grammars of the period: '*La Grammaire abrégée de la langue parlée japonaise*,' by W.G. Aston (translated by Émile Kraetzer, Yokohama, Calmann Lévy, 1873), and 'The Modern Conversations in English and Japanese for those who learn the English language' by Matsumoto (first edition printed by Matsumoto, 1874, Tokei).⁵⁷¹ The former was a particularly well-known reference text, and was a translation into French of Aston's 'A Short Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language' (first edition published in 1869 in Nagasaki, second in Belfast in 1871). In addition to his 'formal' study, and also identified by Funaoka, Loti's language acquisition was most probably helped by living with Okané-San and her Japanese family rather than with fellow seamen on board the *Triomphante* with whom he would have spoken French.

Testimony to the influence of learning Japanese from hearing it around him is that Loti sometimes uses alternative transcriptions to those in the grammars he owned and other texts circulating during the

⁵⁶⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 56; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 28–29.

⁵⁶⁶ See, for example: Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)*, pp. 5, 57, 58, 59, 207, 228, 251.

⁵⁶⁷ Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 30.

⁵⁶⁸ See: Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)*, pp. 140, 181–182, 218.

⁵⁶⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 56–57; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 29.

⁵⁷⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 60; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 36.

⁵⁷¹ See: Suetoshi Funaoka. '*Les Manuels de japonais de Pierre Loti*.' This reference was kindly forwarded to me by Nicole Sarazin of the *Association internationale de amis de Pierre Loti* as a photocopy, and I have been unable to determine the original publication from which it was copied.

period. Funaoka points out that in ‘*La Grammaire abrégée de la langue parlée japonaise*’ the word for a young Japanese female is transcribed as *mousoumé*, yet Loti uses *mousmé* in the text, which was undoubtedly a closer transcription to how he actually heard it, as well as being more euphonic in French than the conventional representation.⁵⁷² However, while Loti professes his understanding of Japanese, examples given earlier concerning mis-understanding names and his transcription of certain words or phrases suggest that he was not as proficient in the Japanese language as he claimed. A further example is when the protagonist uses incorrect, pidjin Japanese as he refers to the *komodatchi-taksan-takai*, or the ‘very tall friend.’ In standard Japanese, this would be something like *se no totemo takai tomodachi*.

Other examples of Japanese words in the text include: *ayakou* (*hayaku* [Hepburn transcription], quickly), *nidzoumi* (*nezumi*, mice), *tatami* (straw matting), *matsouri* (*matsuri*, festival), *neko-San* (cats), *dorobo* (thieves), *guécha* (*geisha*, female entertainers), and *hitôts’*, *f’tāts’*, *mits’*, *yōts*, *itsōūts’*, *moūts*, *nanāts’*, *yāts’* and *kokonōts’* (*hitotsu*, *futatsu*, *mittsu*, *yottsu*, *itsutsu*, *mutsu*, *nanatsu*, *yattsu*, and *kokonotsu* for one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, and nine). Sometimes the protagonist elaborates on the meaning of a singular term or proper noun (for example *Dai-Cok* (*Daikoku*), the god of wealth), and it is generally such cases that constitute the bulk of the cultural commentary found in the work. One such example concerns *mousmé* (*musume*, young Japanese woman, maiden, or daughter) where the protagonist explains the nuances of its meaning and that he uses it so often because there is no French equivalent.⁵⁷³ The protagonist writes that for him it evokes *moue* (a pout) and *frimousse* (sweet [small] face). Dictionaries commonly credit Loti with having introduced *mousmé* into the French language, defining the word primarily as a young Japanese woman, though adding that it became a slang term during the twentieth century for an ‘easy’ woman.

In addition to the protagonist including isolated words, he also interprets phrases used by some of those around him such as “Anata nomimasé” (“smoke!”) when Chrysanthème orders him to smoke a small Japanese pipe, and “Anata itchiban! Anata bakari!” (“You’re the best! You alone!”) when she praises his drawing skills. Loti includes some phrases of honorific Japanese possibly to demonstrate both his language prowess at being able to navigate this notoriously difficult level of speech, as well as his status in Japan. An example of when the protagonist implies he is familiar with the honorific forms is when he is dealing with the Japanese authorities who are reluctant to allow a foreigner to live outside the foreign quarter.⁵⁷⁴ The protagonist writes of venting his frustration at Japanese bureaucracy by saying “Tiens, assemblée d’imbéciles, regarde!” “There, set of idiots, look at that!”⁵⁷⁵ The power-balance that the protagonist communicates of his superiority is reinforced and further enhanced by the

⁵⁷² See: Funaoka. ‘*Les Manuels de japonais de Pierre Loti*.’

⁵⁷³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 90; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 88.

⁵⁷⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp.135–136; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 164–166.

⁵⁷⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 135; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 166.

honorific language of the officials which he mocks, and the fact that he thinks he is able to insult the Japanese in their own language and get away with it.⁵⁷⁶ He also writes that the Japanese language is infantile and trivial to the extent that it is without the means to express insult:

Dans la langue de ce peuple poli, les injures manquent complètement; quand on est très en colère, il faut se contenter d'employer le *tutoiement d'infériorité* et la *conjugaison familière* qui est à l'usage des gens de rien.⁵⁷⁷

In the language of this polite people, terms of abuse are totally wanting; when very angry, one must satisfy oneself with using the *thou* mark of *inferiority* and the *familiar conjugation*, habitual towards those of low birth.⁵⁷⁸

The protagonist still manages, however, to use the Japanese language to directly insult Japanese officials as he writes of abusing them directly to their face.

The protagonist further demonstrates his language 'proficiency' when he writes of being able to read some Japanese characters. On one occasion he writes of being able to decipher the characters for Chrysanthème's name, and on another he reads a traditional saying written on the umbrella of a young *mousmé* whom he encounters.⁵⁷⁹ Even being able to read the two Japanese phonetic scripts (*hiragana* and *katakana*) would have been very rare in nineteenth-century France, let alone any of the several thousand *kanji* characters.

Though the protagonist sprinkles the text with Japanese words and phrases possibly primarily to aggrandise his own status as someone familiar with the language, and to make his book more 'Japanese,' the Japanese language provides at times another avenue by which to criticise or diminish Japan. A people's language is central to their identity, and is often a source of national unification and pride because it is the vehicle by which a country's ideologies, and that very identity, is communicated. Mocking or expressing bemusement at the Japanese language belittles or dismisses the people and country for whom that language is a primary means of communication. A number of times throughout the text the protagonist writes of his amazement that the words he uses and hears can actually mean anything. For example, he writes of being 'étonné que cela pût avoir un sens, étonné d'être compris,'

⁵⁷⁶ After remarking on the want of abusive terms in the Japanese language, the protagonist writes that he was confined to conjugations used when addressing people of lower social rank. He indicates that he used Japanese when communicating with the authorities when he wrote 'je débute en ces termes,' (p. 135), 'I converse in these terms.' It is useful to note though that it would certainly not have been unusual for a Japanese to speak to a French person using these conjugations: firstly, the Japanese commonly use them amongst themselves in formal situations (and particularly when with a stranger, as was Loti), and they use them more commonly when talking to, or about, non-Japanese within earshot. Furthermore, Loti was in Japan at a time when Westerners were less common than they are today, some of his interlocutors were hoping to do business with him, and so for these reasons they would have spoken to him with much politeness, not necessarily only because of his individual status and identity.

⁵⁷⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 135.

⁵⁷⁸ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 165. Minor alterations have been made to Ensor's translation.

⁵⁷⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), p.127, 177 respectively; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1913), p 150, 234–235 respectively.

'astonished that such sounds could mean anything, astonished too at their being understood.'⁵⁸⁰ These criticisms reinforce a 'self' and 'other' dichotomy, as well as implying, by contradistinction, that the French language and culture is the 'norm from which other cultures deviate,' to recall again Hargreaves' words. With Loti, the Japanese language and culture can shift from being 'regarded as abnormal or exotic' to being 'subnormal or ridiculous.'

Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen examined structural, narrative, and linguistic aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème* that contributed towards the travelogue being an item of japonaiserie, or which functioned to criticise Japan and the Japanese. In various ways, some of the same aspects of the work that recalled japonaiserie also alluded to an insignificant Japan easily able to be dismissed or rejected. While not strongly conflicting with the associations of items of japonaiserie, the dismissals or rejections of Japan at the more negative end of the interpretative spectrum at least contrasted with the prevailing stereotypes of commercial japonaiserie. Chapter Seventeen will now turn to thematic areas in which there is an interrelationship between japonisme in the visual arts and the text of *Madame Chrysanthème*.

⁵⁸⁰ Pierre Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 56; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 28.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Thematic aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème*

As the author of *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887), [Loti] probably did more than anyone else to shape Western images of Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁸¹

Thematic aspects of *Madame Chrysanthème* too interrelate with japonisme of the visual or decorative arts. Again there are multiple and varying interpretations and connections with the movement. Two thematic emphases in particular will be discussed here: the protagonist's likening of Japan proper to its depiction on items of japonaiserie, and his rejection of modernisation and westernisation. The connotations Loti evokes in these areas respond to and reflect the motivations and psychology behind japonaiserie as examined in Part IV. However, there are also thematic areas in which *Madame Chrysanthème* departs from japonaiserie: the protagonist's comparisons of Japan to other places he has visited, and his frequent formulation of negative value judgments based on superficial, exterior appearances and observations.

Japan proper being akin to its image on japonaiserie

A direct way in which Loti aligns his work with japonaiserie in the fine or decorative arts is by reminding readers of the movement and comparing Japan proper with its visual depiction on items of japonaiserie. This was not uncommon amongst nineteenth-century writers, but Loti's contemporary travellers usually aimed to provide at least some political, social, or cultural commentary as well. For example, while in 1878 Isabella Bird made statements such as: 'I feel as if I had seen [the Japanese] all before, so like are they to their pictures on trays, fans, and tea-pots,'⁵⁸² she also tries to establish cultural authenticity by including detailed non-aesthetic, socio-political, cultural, historical, anthropological, and botanical commentary, all of which are largely absent from *Madame Chrysanthème* in any constructive sense. So, while other authors of the period too directly compared Japan proper to its images on items of japonaiserie, Loti does this to a much greater extent. Comparisons occur from the very beginning of the text with the dedication to the Duchess of Richelieu in which Loti likens the entire travelogue to an item of japonaiserie, actually using the word *bibelot* and recalling Siary's argument as he writes:

Veuillez recevoir mon livre avec ce même sourire indulgent, sans y chercher aucune portée morale dangereuse ou bonne,—comme vous recevriez une potiche drôle, un magot d'ivoire, un bibelot saugrenu quelconque, rapporté pour vous de cette étonnante patrie de toutes les saugrenuités . . .⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 14.

⁵⁸² Cited in: Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 65.

⁵⁸³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 43.

Kindly welcome my book with the same indulgent smile. Without seeking therein a meaning either good or bad; in the same spirit that you would receive some quaint bit of pottery, some grotesquely carved ivory idol, or some preposterous trifle brought back for you from this singular fatherland of all preposterousness.⁵⁸⁴

Examples occur throughout the text where something the protagonist actually sees reminds him of an image on japonaiserie. That actual, on-the-spot observations of Japan triggered associations with aesthetic depictions circulating in the traveller's home society illustrates the potency of a seemingly 'frivolous' or purely aesthetic movement. The protagonist Loti creates assumes that his readers too will be 'familiar' with items of Japonaiserie and the 'Japan' these depict, something essential if his comparisons are to be understood. He writes, for example:

Cette petite Chrysanthème ... comme silhouette, tout le monde a vu cela partout. Quiconque a regardé une de ces peintures sur porcelaine ou sur soie, qui encombrant nos bazars à présent, sait par coeur cette jolie coiffure apprêtée, cette taille toujours penchée en avant pour esquisser quelque nouvelle révérence gracieuse, . . .⁵⁸⁵

As a mere outline Chrysanthème has been seen everywhere and by everybody. Whoever has looked at one of those paintings on china or on silk that now fill our bazars, knows by heart the pretty stiff head-dress, the leaning figure, ever ready to offer some new gracious salutation . . .⁵⁸⁶

Given the widespread popularity and diversity of exhibition spaces of japonisme and japonaiserie as outlined in Part IV, it is not unlikely that Loti's readers would indeed have been familiar with the 'paintings on china or on silk,' and that Chrysanthème's general 'outline' had been 'seen everywhere and by everybody.' Direct comparisons between japonaiserie and Japan proper also endear the protagonist to his readers by establishing the common ground of familiarity with japonaiserie and the concepts of what constituted 'traditional' Japan that it helped form and circulate. This strengthens the notions of 'them,' the Japanese, and 'us,' the French.

In a more negative context, comparisons of Japan or the Japanese to images depicted on items of japonaiserie suggest that Japan itself was similarly consumable, trivial, quaint, and frivolous. As items of japonaiserie could be discarded at leisure and without serious consequence or, for example, financial loss, so too Japan was something that the West could 'toy' with as it pleased. Japan becomes an item, to use Littlewood's words, for the 'pleasure of the observer' that could be 'framed, collected and

⁵⁸⁴ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, dedication.

⁵⁸⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 81.

⁵⁸⁶ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p.73.

possessed.⁵⁸⁷ On a broad level, this can be considered a particularization onto Japan of orientalist thought and practice outlined in Chapter Two where the Orient was constructed by and for Westerners, to serve western purposes.

Also, while Loti tailored his travelogue to meet expectations of a depiction of Japan partly conditioned by items of japonaiserie, and indeed to be an item of this movement, on some occasions the protagonist criticises the very fashion for its lack of authenticity. He does this by remarking on the French habit of clustering together Japanese or Japanesque knick-knacks out of their cultural context, writing:

Je souris en moi-même au souvenir de certains salons dits *japonais* encombrés de bibelots et tendus de grossières broderies d'or sur satin d'exportation, que j'ai vus chez les belles Parisiennes. Je leur conseille, à ces personnes, de venir regarder comment sont ici les maisons des gens de goût, — de venir visiter les solitudes blanches des Palais de Yeddo. . . . Une propreté minutieuse, excessive; des nattes blanches, du bois blanc; une simplicité apparente extrême dans l'ensemble, et une incroyable préciosité dans les détails infiniment petits: telle est la manière japonaise de comprendre le luxe intérieur.⁵⁸⁸

I cannot help smiling when I think of some of the so-called *Japanese* drawing-rooms, over-crowded with knick-knacks and curios and hung with coarse gold embroideries on exported satins, of our Parisian fine ladies. I would advise those persons to come and look at the houses of people of taste out here; to visit the white solitudes of the palaces at Yeddo. . . . The true Japanese manner of understanding luxury consists in a scrupulous and indeed almost excessive cleanliness, white mats and white woodwork; an appearance of extreme simplicity when put together, and an incredible nicety in the most infinitesimal details.⁵⁸⁹

One possible implication is that the senselessness with which Japan is 'consumed' by an infatuated middle and upper-class Parisian echoes the frivolity of items of japonaiserie and Japan in general. Ironically, Loti's 'Japanese' pagoda at Rochefort was full of Japanese knick-knacks clustered together with seemingly no regard for the cultural practices he professes to be both familiar with and mindful of.⁵⁹⁰ In fact, such is the renown of the themed rooms and pagodas of Rochefort that it has become a key tourist attraction of the town and has housed exhibitions of the author's collection of foreign objects.⁵⁹¹

The protagonist also mentions the mis-representativeness of items of japonaiserie that depict the Japanese female. He writes that the delicately beautiful Japanese women with long faces and necks as

⁵⁸⁷ Littlewood. *The Idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 92.

⁵⁸⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 157.

⁵⁸⁹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 202.

⁵⁹⁰ See: Quella-Villéger (ed.). *Le Japon de Pierre Loti*, pp. 37–45 and pp. 63–67.

⁵⁹¹ See: Comité d'Histoire Locale du Centre d'Animation Lyrique et Culturel de Rochefort. *Rochefort: trois siècles en images II*, Maury: 1983, 289 ff. A major exhibition of Loti's objects from China, Indo-China, and Japan was held in 1986.

seen on vases and the like usually are of the nobility, and that the ordinary Japanese female, particularly around Nagasaki, is more plebeian looking, of an almost pleasant ugliness.⁵⁹² This example criticises both japonaiserie and the Japanese female, and at the same time contradicts other remarks the protagonist makes about actual Japan being just like its depiction on European ornaments.

Rejection of modernisation and westernisation

An important thematic preoccupation of Loti's also common to producers of japonaiserie and occurring in most of his writing was a rejection of modernisation and westernisation. In *Rarahu*, for example, Grant writes of the invigorating properties of the lush Tahitian landscape, and often this occurs at some synoptically tense point in the plot when the protagonist is in need of spiritual rejuvenation (see below for this in *Madame Chrysanthème*). For example, this occurs when the protagonist is about to leave Tahiti and writes of an 'intoxication of the heart and senses' as was cited in Chapter Fourteen.⁵⁹³ Also cited, the protagonist of *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* calls Japan restful after having been sailing in the hot, testing region of the Chinese Sea. In a more philosophical sphere, nostalgic melancholy was part of a wider trend amongst *fin de siècle* nineteenth-century writers who bemoaned the coming of an increasingly industrialised and urbanised society, to which the 'pre-modern' landscapes and time spaces of distant lands such as Tahiti or Japan were in stark contrast. These characteristics were exaggerated in Loti's works due to some of the extraneous factors concerning his personality and the commercial emphasis of his early writing as already discussed.⁵⁹⁴

In *Madame Chrysanthème*, rejection of technological progress occurs explicitly by direct criticism; or implicitly by frequent mention of the revitalising nature of Japan, and of aspects of its traditional culture. Furthermore, scant political commentary at a time when Japan was undergoing major changes can be interpreted as significant to this theme. With respect to explicit criticism, when in *Madame Chrysanthème* the protagonist encounters and writes of evidence of westernisation and modernisation he is consistently critical, intimating that the Japanese should remain 'Japanese,' rather than imitate the West and render civilisation the same the world over. Losing cultural 'essence' or 'authenticity' to modernisation and westernisation are concerns characteristic of Loti's works about pre-industrial societies and an example was cited at length in Part II from *Egypt (La mort de Philae)* (1909). Many other writers also wrote of the spoiling of Japan by contact with the West. In fact, in the introductory chapter of *Things Japanese*, Chamberlain identifies how common it was to chastise the Japanese regarding westernisation and cautions western critics or commentators against doing so, stating a number of times that 'Old Japan is dead and gone, and Young Japan reigns in its stead.'⁵⁹⁵ The protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* equates a degeneration of 'authentic' culture with technological or industrial progress as he writes that:

⁵⁹² See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 81; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 73–74.

⁵⁹³ Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 226; and Pierre Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 158.

⁵⁹⁴ Loti was well-known for his emotive, melancholy writing style, and an example of a parody of this was cited in the Introduction (from *À la manière de . . .*).

⁵⁹⁵ Chamberlain. *Japanese things; Being notes on various subjects concerned with Japan*, p. 7.

Et, plus que de coutume encore, je le trouve petit, vieillot, à bout de sang et à bout de sève; j'ai conscience de son antiquité antédiluvienne; de sa momification de tant de siècles—qui va bientôt finir dans le grotesque et la bouffonnerie pitoyable, au contact de nouveautés d'occident.⁵⁹⁶

And even more than ever, do I find it little, aged, with worn out blood and worn out sap; I feel more fully its antediluvian antiquity, its centuries of mummification, which will soon degenerate into hopeless and grotesque buffoonery, as it comes into contact with Western novelties.⁵⁹⁷

The protagonist also writes of his disappointment upon seeing that the bustle and international flavour of Nagasaki's waterfront area made it just like any other port, and remarks that it would not be long before technological and industrial progress would make countries and people the same world-over:

Quand Nagasaki parut, ce fut une déception pour nos yeux: au pied des vertes montagnes surplombantes, c'était une ville tout à fait quelconque. En avant, un pêle-mêle de naïvres portant tous les pavillons du monde, des paquebots comme ailleurs, des fumées noires et, sur les quais, des usines; en fait de choses banales déjà vues partout, rien n'y manquait.

Il viendra un temps où la terre sera bein ennuyeuse à habiter, quand on l'aura rendue pareille d'un bout à l'autre, et qu'on ne pourra même plus essayer de voyager pour se distraire un peu...⁵⁹⁸

When Nagasaki rose before us, the sight that greeted our eyes was disappointing; situated at the foot of green overhanging mountain, it looked like any other commonplace town. In front of it lay a tangled mass of vessels, carrying all the flags of the world; steamboats just as in any other port, with dark funnels and black smoke, and behind them quays covered with factories: nothing in fact was wanting in the way of ordinary, trivial, every-day objects.

Some day, when man shall have made all things alike, the earth will be a dull, tedious dwelling-place, and we shall have even to give up travelling and seeking for a change which shall no longer be found.⁵⁹⁹

Concerning implicit ways in which modernisation and westernisation are rejected in *Madame Chrysanthème*, a land of vibrant greenery alluded to the antithesis of industrialised, urbanised France and implicitly rejected this. Furthermore, such a place contrasted with many of the previously 'pure' places that tourists were 'profoundly altering' by 'virtue of their numbers, their dissemination of cliché responses, and their patronage of new, obtrusive institutions,' as Buzard writes.⁶⁰⁰ Chapter Two introduced the concept of the orient being constructed to represent what the West was not, and the mention throughout *Madame Chrysanthème* of the invigorating natural Japanese environment is an

⁵⁹⁶ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 228.

⁵⁹⁷ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 327–328.

⁵⁹⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 50.

⁵⁹⁹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 16.

⁶⁰⁰ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 28.

example of this. As Said wrote, 'the Orient had helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience,'⁶⁰¹ and in this instance mention of Japan's nature reflects positively on Japan, and negatively on the West.

Like comparisons of Japan proper to its representation on items of japonaiserie, admiring and remarking on the invigorating properties of the lush natural flora and fauna of Japan was not unusual amongst western writers of the period. For example, Mary Hugh Fraser (1912) wrote:

Once, in Japan, after a period of great stress and preoccupation, I had been sitting up all night alone to finish a certain task. I was worn out; the coming day was programmed into a perfect chess board of engagements, public and private; and for a minute I felt as if sudden death would be a happy release from the unendurable responsibilities of life. The dawn made its way into my room—I opened a window and looked out. Already the world was white with morning and moist with dew. Just under my window, reaching up to show me its face, one great white lily had opened in the night; the sun had never seen it yet; its whiteness was the blue whiteness of snow in the shade; but from the immaculate heart of it the golden arrow heads had burst their bonds and trembled with their load of pregnant balm, whose perfume flooded up and kissed my eyes to just the few happy tears needed to wash away the fatigue and despondency, leaving sight clear, courage high, to meet the coming hours.⁶⁰²

Throughout *Madame Chrysanthème* the protagonist mentions the invigorating verdure of Japan, and whereas items of japonaiserie visually depicted a youthful land abundant in the nature that Europe was losing to industrial development, with images of mountains, forests, lakes, blossoms, and flowers, the protagonist literarily evokes the restful and rejuvenating effects of the Japanese natural environment. For example, he writes 'Quel pays de verdure et d'ombre, ce Japon, quel Eden inattendu!,' 'What a country of verdure and shade is Japan; what an unlooked-for Eden!'⁶⁰³ and notes the 'bonne odeur des jardins qui m'entourent, . . . la chaleur douce de ce soleil, . . . l'ombre de ces jolis arbres. . . . la tranquillité reposante de ce faubourg lointain,' 'sweet perfumes of the gardens which surround me, . . . the gentle warmth of the sunshine . . . the shade of these graceful trees. . . the restful tranquility of this far-away suburb.'⁶⁰⁴

It is possible though that Loti found Japan so revitalising because his visit came directly after having spent months at sea around the Pescadore Islands and China. He anticipates the contrastingly calm ambience of Japan even before his arrival:

⁶⁰¹ Said. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁰² Mary Fraser. *Further reminiscences of a diplomat's wife* (London: no publisher given, 1912), cited in: Fraser (Hugh Cortazzi, ed.). *A Diplomat's wife in Japan: Sketches at the turn of the century*, p. xxx (preface).

⁶⁰³ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 49; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 14.

⁶⁰⁴ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.), *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 104; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 111.

Et puis surtout, vivre un peu à terre, en un recoin ombreux, parmi les arbres et les fleurs, comme cela était tentant, après ces mois de notre existence que nous venions de perdre aux Pescadores (qui sont des îles chaudes et sinistres, sans verdure, sans bois, sans ruisseaux, ayant l'odeur de la Chine et de la mort)

Nous avons fait beaucoup de chemin en latitude, depuis que notre navire était sorti de cette fournaise Chinoise,⁶⁰⁵

And then, above all, to live for awhile on land, in some shady nook, amid trees and flowers. How tempting it sounded after the long months we had been wasting at the Pescadores (hot and arid islands), devoid of freshness, woods, or streamlets, full of faint odours of China and of death.)

We had made a great way in latitude, since our vessel had left that Chinese furnace,⁶⁰⁶

In addition to being physically rejuvenating, the natural flora and fauna of Japan are also considered spiritually energising, as were items of japonaiserie for their owners such as the protagonist of *Manette Saloman* as mentioned in Chapter Thirteen. For example, the protagonist of the travelogue writes:

Ici, je suis forcé de reconnaître que, pour qui lit mon histoire, elle doit trainer beaucoup...

A défaut d'intrigue et de choses tragiques, je voudrais au moins savoir y mettre un peu de la bonne odeur des jardins qui m'entourent, un peu de la chaleur douce de ce soleil, un peu de l'ombre de ces jolis arbres. A défaut d'amour, y mettre quelque chose de la tranquillité reposante de ce faubourg lointain.⁶⁰⁷

Here, I must own, that to the reader of my story it must appear to drag a little.

In default of exciting intrigues, I would fain have known how to infuse into it a little of the sweet perfumes of the gardens which surround me, something of the gentle warmth of the sunshine, of the shade of those graceful trees. Love being wanting, I should like to breathe of the restful tranquillity of this far-away suburb.⁶⁰⁸

Observations of the non-industrialised, pre-modern landscape are often accompanied by remarks of the sounds, intensifying its rejuvenating properties. One of the most common noises the protagonist writes of is the 'song of the cicadas' that seems to permeate everything, and even define his experience of Japan. He writes:

. . . ce bruit de cigales . . . Il est la voix de l'été dans ces îles; il est un chant de fête inconscient, toujours égal à lui-même, et ayant constamment l'air de s'enfler, de s'élever, dans une plus grande exaltation du bonheur de vivre.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 46.

⁶⁰⁶ Loti (Ensor, L. trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 8–9.

⁶⁰⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 104.

⁶⁰⁸ Loti (Ensor, L. trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 111.

⁶⁰⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 105.

. . . . the song of the cicalas is the voice of summer in these islands; it is the song of unconscious rejoicing, always content with itself and always appearing to inflate, to rise upwards, in a greater and greater exultation at the sheer happiness of living.⁶¹⁰

Mention of the sounds of the natural environment tends to be more positively framed than that of the human one, which reinforces the protagonist's veneration of nature. For example and as will be elaborated in Chapter Eighteen, the protagonist often writes of his exasperation at the noise of Chrysanthème tapping her small pipe, or the melancholy, strange sound of Chrysanthème and Oyouki singing.

Recalling earlier examples of direct comparisons between Japan-proper and japonaiserie, though this time concerning the natural environment, the protagonist likens the 'resplendent verdancy' of the Japanese natural scene to a 'freshly washed painting,' writing:

Et, après ces pluies, les couleurs vertes des bois, des montagnes, sont devenues d'une splendeur printanière, se sont rafraîchies — comme s'avivent d'un éclat mouillé les tons d'une peinture fraîchement lavée.⁶¹¹

The colouring of woods and mountains stood out again in the resplendent verdancy of spring after the torrents of rain, like the wet colours of some freshly washed painting.⁶¹²

Such sweeping, generalising observations made during the height of France's colonial era recall the 'monarch of all I survey' figure or concept that Pratt (1992) examines primarily with respect to British Victorians in *Imperial eyes: travel writing and trans-culturation*. Pratt links aestheticised depictions of a landscape to imperialism when she writes: '. . . standard elements of the imperial trope are present: the mastery of the landscape, the aestheticising adjectives, the broad panorama anchored in the seer.'⁶¹³ Though Japan was not colonised, both Loti's and the protagonist's observations and approach to the country reflected the colonial mentality the author travelled with as a naval officer, even if he personally did not seem to wholly support imperialism or military presence and aggression as demonstrated in examples of his writing including *L'Inde (sans les Anglais)*.

An even more implicit way in which the protagonist rejects modernisation and westernisation is by detailed, relatively frequent descriptions of the practices and items of Japan's traditional culture. The protagonist writes often of Chrysanthème's habits of smoking a traditional pipe, playing the *shamisen*,

⁶¹⁰ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 113–114.

⁶¹¹ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 144.

⁶¹² Loti (Ensor, L. trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 177–178.

⁶¹³ Pratt. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, p. 209.

singing, doing archery, or her manner of eating. Sometimes these descriptions are accompanied by a watercolour sketch which further aestheticises them. Frequent mention is also made of traditional Japanese ornamentation and decoration of things such as the sliding *shōji* screens, the religious artefacts found in and around temples, pillows, lacquered boxes, and hair combs. The attention to detail that the protagonist commonly emphasises in descriptions of such items contrasts with the homogeneity of mass-produced items characteristic of the industrial revolution, and alludes to the decorative properties of japonisme and japoniserie that also challenged this. Again, on a broad level this functions to represent what Europe was not.

The protagonist is amazed, for example, that the Japanese spend so much time on things that go largely unnoticed by Westerners:

Quelle bizarrerie dans le goût de ce people! S'appliquer à une oeuvre en miniature, la cacher au fond d'un trou à mettre le pouce qui semble n'être qu'une tache au milieu d'un grand chassis blanc; accumuler tant de patient travail dans des accessoires imperceptibles⁶¹⁴

What eccentricity there is in the taste of this people! To bestow assiduous labour on such miniature work, and then to hide it at the bottom of a hole to put one's finger in, looking like a mere spot in the middle of a great white panel; to accumulate so much patient and delicate workmanship on imperceptible accessories⁶¹⁵

A further reflection of a rejection of modernisation and westernisation is the near void of socio-political commentary in *Madame Chrysanthème*. A fundamental function of japoniserie was that it was a playful, novel escape from the monotony of daily life. Accordingly, producers of japoniserie had a tendency to omit socio-political commentary, or evidence of the country's changing reality because this 'diluted' or bastardised the traditional, 'pure,' and authentic Japanese culture that consumers sought. The point and appeal would have been lost should a Japanesque representation on a vase feature a Japanese person dressed in European clothing, for example.

The protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème's* preoccupation with the 'aesthetics' of Japan is largely at the exclusion of the reality Loti would have experienced at the time he visited Nagasaki, as was discussed in Part III and as he hinted at upon his arrival with mention of the international flavour and bustle of Nagasaki Harbour.⁶¹⁶ Moreover, Loti was an author both known and sought after for his political books and columns, sometimes by commission, which suggests that he was a writer believed to be capable of observation and producing intelligent and commercially successful socio-political commentary. As has been mentioned, in his third book-length publication on Japan, *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, the protagonist writes a lot more on the political situation in Japan and the wider Asian region (Korea and China) where his ship was stationed than he does in *Madame*

⁶¹⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 70.

⁶¹⁵ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 53.

⁶¹⁶ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 50–51; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 16–18.

Chrysanthème. As cited, in the Foreword of *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, he mentions the changing and strengthening presence of the Japanese in the military stages of Asia, recognising that Japan can no longer be perceived as a ‘harmless’ country.

In *Madame Chrysanthème* however, the protagonist seems generally unconcerned with the socio-political situation in Japan, despite the 1880s having been a period of relatively high anti-foreign sentiment. In particular, Nagasaki was one of the most rapidly industrialising and modernising areas of Japan due to its proximity to wider Asia, its ship-building industry, and the relatively established foreign settlement around Oura. Contemporary accounts of visitors to Japan such as Rutherford Alcock, Basil Hall Chamberlain, and Mary Fraser suggest that it would have been fairly unusual for a European in Japan during the period not to have noticed or comprehended the behaviour of the Japanese towards them that resulted from socio-political factors, and from centuries of ingrained and institutionalised suspicion of foreigners.⁶¹⁷

In addition, Loti’s very occupation and reason for being in Japan make it unlikely that he was not aware of the socio-political climate surrounding him. This is not to suggest that the travelogue is totally without political commentary, but where the protagonist does mention socio-politics he usually does so in a non-political context. For example, when he mentions the blockade of Formosa, it is in the context of it making it harder for him to visit *Chrysanthème* because the *Triomphante* was relocated to the dry-dock for repairs, rather than for its relevance as a political situation.⁶¹⁸ The protagonist also makes reference to the contentious issue of westernisation when he writes of some Japanese adopting European dress, but emphasis is on the ridiculousness of their appearance—it is aesthetic, rather than political.⁶¹⁹

That *Madame Chrysanthème*’s near void of political content contrasts with contemporaneous accounts of Japan, and his own evaluation of the country in later works suggests that Loti created *Madame Chrysanthème* with the intention of firmly situating it within the movement of japonaiserie, one predominantly concerned with stereotypical western images of ‘traditional’ Japan rather than its complex reality during the middle of the Meiji Era. Moreover, aspects of this reality concerning anti-western sentiment as were discussed in the Introduction and Part III may have offended or bored readers. At the same time, there was a certain degree of western fascination with very ‘masculine’ aspects of Japanese culture such as *seppuku*, samurai, and the fearsome warrior image in general which reached the nineteenth-century reading public through the types of accounts examined in Part III. Loti writes of the Japanese lack of fear of death, but does not exploit this interest and fascination as he might have to increase male readership, or even enhance his own status as having survived, and indeed

⁶¹⁷ See Chapter Ten, Part III for discussion of this.

⁶¹⁸ See: Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 133.

⁶¹⁹ See: Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 101–102.

It could be argued that *Madame Chrysanthème* is in fact a ‘political’ travelogue due to the protagonist’s rejection of modernisation and westernisation later to be discussed. However, this rejection is more often than not (though by no means exclusively) by allusion to or emphasis on pre-modern, non-western aspects of Japan, and therefore it is not a synoptically political work, even though it may be thematically so to an extent. If *Madame Chrysanthème* is a political work, it is only subtly so.

married a 'native,' of such a fearsome country. The lack of reference to a Japan that Orientalist critics may term 'masculine' is possibly because Loti perceived that the majority of readers of *Madame Chrysanthème* would be female and they may not have had much interest in 'brutal' Japan. Alternatively, the author perhaps merely overlooked describing aspects of this side of Japan as he went about producing a predominantly aesthetic account of the country that his main reading audience—women, as he indicated in the interview with Philippe Gille—were familiar with and responded well to.

Rejecting modernisation and westernisation by likening Japan to an Edenesque land, directly criticising signs of 'progress' or change, or emphasising things that represent the antithesis of this such as Japan's traditional culture at the expense of socio-political commentary also historicises the country. This is because it is represented as 'younger' and existing in an earlier, pre-industrial age. A distinction should be made between the 'age' of a civilisation and its 'maturity': where one may expect this pair to progress together, Loti depicts Japanese civilisation as much older than that of the West, yet with age has not come maturity, and the Japanese seem to remain in a pre-mature, childlike era. For example, Loti writes that the tombstones on the hills above Diou-Djen-Dji are 'l'attestation de séries d'existences antérieures aux nôtres et tout à fait perdues dans le recul mystérieux des temps,'⁶²⁰ '... proof of a series of existences, long anterior to our own, and lost forever and altogether in the mysterious depths of ages,'⁶²¹ while he writes of the country as a world 'baroque par naissance et appelé à le devenir encore plus en prenant des années,'⁶²² as a 'juvenile world . . . ludicrous by birth, and fated to become more so as the years roll on.'⁶²³ His perception that Japan was temporally distant from France is strengthened by its geographical separation: it was not unusual for spatial distance to be equated, often unconsciously, with temporal distance. That is, the further away a country was geographically, the more distant it was considered also in time and culture, as Bishop (1989) writes, 'Not only did time seem to stand still, or to slow down to a standstill, travellers also continually felt transported *back* in time.'⁶²⁴ In some aspects, the images appearing visually on items of japonaiserie or literarily in *Madame Chrysanthème* (visually too in the sketches by Rossi and Myrbach) indeed alluded to a country existing in an earlier time-space.

Uncomplimentary comparisons of Japan to other places Loti had visited

The areas examined hitherto have largely been examined in regard to how they simultaneously contributed towards *Madame Chrysanthème* being an item of japonaiserie, yet also demonstrated attitudes which contrasted with representative themes of the movement. An area more firmly in the latter category is the protagonist's frequent comparison of his experiences in Japan to those he had earlier enjoyed in other places. It is useful to discuss these comparisons because, together with the superficial, negative value judgments the protagonist frequently makes of the Japanese, they form what

⁶²⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 112.

⁶²¹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 126.

⁶²² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 167.

⁶²³ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 217–218.

⁶²⁴ Peter Bishop. *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, travel writing and the Western creation of sacred landscape* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 154. Emphasis is Bishop's.

is perhaps the clearest way in which the travelogue departs from the prevailing themes of japonaiserie. Japonisme and japonaiserie may have referenced other societies as manufacturers confused and melded, for example, Chinese, Indian, and Japanese motifs, yet there was not the implication that Japan was 'worse' than or 'inferior' to these societies. Also, where items of japonaiserie can be argued to have negative connotations concerning Japan being juvenile and trivial, these associations were in comparison to the general Western world rather than to any particular country.

Unfavourable comparison of Japan to other places the protagonist had previously visited suggests a detachment from and personal rejection of the country. As has been seen, Loti demonstrates the capacity to engage with other places such as Tahiti through the nature of the travelogues concerning his stays there, remarks in his personal diary, as well as when he reminisces over memories of his experiences in later works like *Madame Chrysanthème*. As William Schwartz (1927) noted, in *Madame Chrysanthème* Loti reminisces over the people and places he had known before visiting Japan, yet in his subsequent works no such endearing or fond mention of Japan occurs.⁶²⁵ Where his first visit to Japan is mentioned in other works the context tends to be negative or cursory rather than melancholic. For example, in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, the protagonist demonstrates his detachment from Japan by writing: 'How odd it is! I was once a citizen of Nagasaki, long, long ago, many years ago! . . . I had almost forgotten. . . . clearly, then, it was without suffering and without affection that my time was spent in this land.'⁶²⁶

On several occasions in *Madame Chrysanthème*, the protagonist writes that Japan pales in comparison to other places he has known: for example, when preparing to make a sketch of his rooms before leaving Nagasaki, the protagonist writes that 'Il semble vraiment que tout ce que je fais ici soit l'amère dérision de ce que j'avais fait là-bas . . .' 'It really seems to me as if all I do here is a bitter parody of all I did over there [in Stamboul].'⁶²⁷ Another poignant comparison occurs when Chrysanthème's cries of 'nidzoumi,' 'mice,' remind the protagonist of the words of his 'dear little Turkish companion' who also made such cries. The example is worth citing at length because it is a particularly clear case of the protagonist lapsing into memory, then 'hating' the situation in which he found himself in contrast:

— *Nidzoumi!* (les souris!), dit Chrysanthème.

Et, brusquement, ce mot m'en rappela un autre, d'une langue bien différent et parlée bien loin d'ici: 'Setchan!...' mot entendu jadis ailleurs, mot dit comme cela tout près de moi par une voix de jeune femme, dans des circonstances pareilles, à un instant de frayeur nocturne. — 'Setchan!' Une de nos premières nuits passées à Stamboul, sous le toit mystérieux d'Eyoub, quant tout était danger autour de nous, un bruit sur les marches de l'escalier noir nous avait fait trembler, et elle aussi, ma chère petite Turque, m'avait dit dans sa langue aimée: 'Setchan!' (les souris!!) ...

Oh! Alors, un grand frisson, à ce souvenir, me secoua tout entier: ce fut comme si je me réveillais en sursaut d'un sommeil de dix années;— je

⁶²⁵ Schwartz. *The Imaginative interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature 1800–1925*, p. 130.

⁶²⁶ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 12.

⁶²⁷ Loti (Bruno Verrier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 212; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 298.

regardai avec une espèce de haine cette poupée étendue près de moi, me demandant ce que je faisais là sur cette couche, et je me levai près d'écoeurement et de remords, pour sortir de ce tendelet de gaze bleu...⁶²⁸

"Nidzoumi!" ("the mice!"), said Chrysanthème.

Suddenly, the word brings back to my mind yet another, spoken in a very different language, in a country far away from here : "Setchan!" a word heard elsewhere, a word that has likewise been whispered in my ear by a woman's voice, under similar circumstances, in a moment of nocturnal terror — "Setchan!" It was during one of our first nights at Stamboul spent under the mysterious roof of Eyoub, when danger surrounded us on all sides; a noise on the steps of the black staircase had made us tremble, and she also, my dear little Turkish companion, had said to me in her beloved language, "Setchan!" ("the mice!").

At that fond recollection, a thrill of sweet memories coursed through my veins; it was as though I had been startled out of a long ten years' sleep; I looked down upon the doll beside me with a sort of hatred, wondering why I was there, and I arose, with almost a feeling of remorse to escape from that blue gauze net.⁶²⁹

It is possible that this strong negativity towards Chrysanthème was a projection of the loss Loti felt of relationships he had previously enjoyed onto the disappointing person he found at his side in Japan. It may also reflect his marriage to Blanche de Ferrière that was going through a difficult stage when Loti wrote *Madame Chrysanthème* as was mentioned earlier.

In addition to directly reminiscing over other specific places he had been and focusing on the nature of what he had known elsewhere, the protagonist more implicitly compares Japan unfavourably to other places. In an example already cited, he writes that when looking at a Japanese garden he felt as though he were looking through the wrong end of a telescope. This implies that Japan is of a miniature scale compared to more 'normal' places such as France, or other countries where he has been. He also mentions, particularly near the beginning of the work when still unaccustomed to the natural landscape of Japan, that the country seemed artificial, and was too prettily and neatly arranged to be real:

Toute cette nature exubérante et fraîche portait en elle-même une étrangeté japonaise; cela résidait dans . . . l'invraisemblance de certaines choses trop jolies. Des arbres s'arrangeaient en bouquets, avec la même grâce précieuse que sur les plateaux de laque. . . . des éléments disparates de paysage se trouvaient rapprochés, comme dans les sites artificiels.⁶³⁰

All this fresh and luxurious nature bore the impress of a peculiar Japanese type, . . . [it] consisted, as it were, in an untruthful aspect of too much prettiness. The trees were grouped in clusters, with the same pretentious grace

⁶²⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 86–87.

⁶²⁹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 79–80.

⁶³⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 49.

as on lacquered trays. . . . all the incongruous elements of landscape were grouped together as though it were an artificial creation.⁶³¹

This reflects nineteenth-century orientalist methodology where the 'other' was constructed as the inverse or negative reflection of what was the norm: if Japan was 'artificial,' the West was 'real,' if it's natural environment contained 'untruthful aspects' the West's was 'genuine.'

Value judgments being passed on external things as a negative criticism of Japan

Another way in which Japan is negatively criticised is by the frequent value judgments that the protagonist levies based on physical, 'exterior' aspects of the country and its culture. Sometimes these evaluations are extended to being evidence of a total polarity of eastern and western races. Items of japonaiserie in the decorative arts also evoked characteristics of Japan based on external images, though the prevailing connotations of their bright, lively, quickly-done sketches were generally those of a youthful, childlike, and novel land. Alternatively, they were those of a culture with a highly refined artistic tradition and exoticism. In addition to these standard interpretations, in *Madame Chrysanthème* however, more negative conclusions are drawn based on superficial appearances and relying on an inherent sense of western superiority and normality. Ono (1976) writes concerning the habit of extrapolating 'physical impressions' onto a metaphysical plane that 'Physical impressions lead to the mental; tiny head will contain tiny brain, and tiny heart. . . . Smallness is also considered as physical and moral fragility.'⁶³² Throughout the text the protagonist makes many more negative criticisms of the Japanese than can be examined in a work of confined length, and most of these are triggered by some relatively trivial, exterior observation or happening. A selection of significant examples brought on by different external stimuli will be examined here, but in addition to these the protagonist also evaluates and draws syllogistic metaphysical conclusions about Japanese children's toys (claiming they would scare children of other countries), their food as being like make-believe and for dolls, the nature of a funeral procession showing that the Japanese do not take death seriously, and a puppet show where he thought he saw a child's arm being eaten being evidence of a dark, menacing side of the Japanese personality.

Concerning inanimate Japanese objects, the protagonist remarks several times on the strangeness, frightfulness, and conceptual impenetrability of traditional Japanese religious ornamentation. This occurs in other examples of Loti's writing too, for example in *Siam (Un Pèlerin d'Angkor)*, (1912). Highly reminiscent of passages from *Madame Chrysanthème*, in this work Loti writes:

To my Western eyes, the final impression received from these dead things is one of bafflement and mystery. The least stone, . . . Is a cause of astonishment,

⁶³¹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 15. Minor revisions have been made to Ensor's translation.

⁶³² Ono. 'Fragile blossom, fragile superpower—a new interpretation?' p.15.

like the revelation of a distant and hostile world. Monsters in greenish stone, seated in the attitude of dogs, and coifed in a fashion, doubtless, of some planet without communication with ours, welcome me with looks of startling strangeness, with rictus never previously seen, even in the old Chinese sanctuaries from which I come.⁶³³

In *Madame Chrysanthème* the protagonist writes of 'des choses religieuses incompréhensibles,' 'incomprehensible objects of religious use,'⁶³⁴ and it is not long before he deems the foreignness of decoration evidence that the French and Japanese races are utterly different, to the point of being unintelligible to the other. On one occasion the protagonist writes:

Dans les amusements religieux de ce peuple, il ne nous est pas possible, à nous, de pénétrer les *dessous* pleins de mystère que les choses peuvent avoir; nous ne pouvons pas dire où finit la plaisanterie et où la frayeur mystique commence. Ces usages, ces symboles, ces figures, tout ce que la tradition et l'atavisme ont entassé dans les cervelles japonaises, proviennent d'origines profondément ténébreuses pour nous; même les plus vieux livres ne nous l'expliqueront jamais que d'une manière superficielle et impuissante, — *parce que nous ne sommes pas les pareils de ces gens-là*. Nous passons sans bien comprendre au milieu de leur gaîté et de leur rire, qui sont au rebours des nôtres...⁶³⁵

In the religious amusements of this people it is not possible for us to penetrate the mysteriously hidden meaning of things; we cannot divine the boundary at which jesting stops and mystic fear steps in. These customs, these symbols, these masks, all that tradition and atavism have jumbled together in the Japanese brain, proceed from sources utterly dark and unknown to us; even the oldest records fail to explain them to us in anything but a superficial and cursory manner, *simply because we are not of the same making as those people*. We pass in the midst of their mirth and their laughter without understanding the wherefore, so totally does it differ from our own.⁶³⁶

In such comparisons, the implication is that the French norm is that 'from which [Japan's practices] deviate,' to recall Hargreaves' words, and the prevailing nineteenth-century orientalist and colonial discourse concerning western dominance and normality is once more reflected. As has been demonstrated and discussed, such attitudes concerning a polarity of East and West, and the western convention as the inherent norm were reflected in a lot of nineteenth-century cultural discourse on Japan independent of its aims and author, which attests to their popular and unquestioned acceptance.

The various connotations of Loti's use of *petit* also constitute value judgments being based on exterior appearances. This is because the protagonist extrapolates his perceived small-scale of Japan onto a

⁶³³ Pierre Loti (W. P. Barnes, trans.). *Siam, Un Pèlerin d'Angkor* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1929), p. 123.

⁶³⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 172; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 224.

⁶³⁵ Emphasis is Loti's. Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 147–148.

⁶³⁶ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 184. Minor revisions have been made to Ensor's translation.

metaphysical plane and connotations are sometimes evoked such as the Japanese being an insignificant race or 'small' in morality or intellectual capacity. As Ono (1976) writes, 'The impression that Japan and the Japanese are fragile and may be played with, leads to the idea of moral fragility and libertinage.'⁶³⁷ Several examples clearly demonstrate this habit of the protagonist, for example he describes Chrysanthème's religious beliefs as her 'petite croyance drôle,' her 'funny little faith.'⁶³⁸ He also reasons that the small scale of his surroundings has diminished his own mental landscape, writing that '... je sens mes pensées se rétrécir et mes goûts incliner vers les choses mignonnes, qui font sourire seulement,' 'I feel that my thoughts run in smaller grooves, my tastes incline to smaller things,—things which suggest nothing greater than a smile.'⁶³⁹ He blames too such an influence for his suspicions of an involvement between Yves and Chrysanthème, asking himself 'Comment donc ai-je pu subir assez l'influence rapetissante des milieux pour le soupçonner et m'en faire un pareil souci mesquin?' 'How could I have so succumbed to the demeaning influence of my surroundings as to suspect him even, and invent for myself such a mean, petty anxiety?'⁶⁴⁰ However, earlier he had comforted himself by reasoning that the small-scale of the surroundings meant that nothing could come of a love-interest: '... mais nous sommes au Japon et, vu l'influence de ce milieu qui atténue, rapetisse, drolatise, il n'en résultera rien du tout.' '... but we are in Japan, and under the narrowing and dwarfing influence of the surroundings, which turn everything into ridicule, nothing will come of it all.'⁶⁴¹ One of the clearest examples of extrapolating size onto a metaphysical plane occurs near the end of the travelogue when the protagonist sees the bustling business life of Nagasaki, and writes:

A l'instant du départ, je ne puis trouver en moi-même qu'un sourire de moquerie légère pour le grouillement de ce petit peuple à révérences, laborieux, industriel, avide au gain, entaché de mièvrerie constitutionnelle, de pacotille héréditaire et d'incurable singeries ...⁶⁴²

At the moment of my departure, I can only find within myself a smile of careless mockery for the swarming crowd of this Lilliputian curtsying people,—laborious, industrious, greedy of gain, tainted with a constitutional affectation, hereditary insignificance, and incurable monkeyishness.⁶⁴³

Concepts such as a 'constitutional affectation' and 'hereditary insignificance' are reminiscent of the ideology involved in the classification systems where unavoidable, or 'incurable,' biology was argued as being responsible for metaphysical characteristics, both positive and negative, such as industry, greed, or stupidity. They are also clear examples of physical characteristics being extrapolated onto a metaphysical plane.

⁶³⁷ Setsuko Ono. 'Fragile blossom, fragile superpower—a new interpretation?' p.15.

⁶³⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 184; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 248.

⁶³⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 184; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 248.

⁶⁴⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 207; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 288.

⁶⁴¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 165; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 214.

⁶⁴² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 229.

⁶⁴³ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 328.

In particular, and as will be later elaborated concerning Japanese women, the protagonist extrapolates observations of the body idiom of the Japanese onto a metaphysical plane. For example, he ridicules the effusive bowing he experiences at various times such as when he is introduced to M. Kangourou, calling the broker a 'pantin à manivelle,' a 'mechanical toy pulled by a string,'⁶⁴⁴ which depicts the Japanese as a comical and over-polite people. He also remarks on the 'affectations' found in a lot of Japanese behaviour such as Chrysanthème lifting morsels of food with her chopsticks, and the delicate movements M. Sucre makes while quickly sketching storks for Madame Prune's many 'visitors.' In some cases, while the habits or body idiom of the Japanese people may not be directly criticised, they are described in such a manner, and by use of language like that examined in Chapter Sixteen, so as to make them seem ridiculous, trivial, immature, and by association inherently silly compared to the western norm.

The prevailing preoccupations of producers and consumers of japonisme and japonaiserie were examined in earlier parts of this study. Most of these are reflected to some degree and in some form in *Madame Chrysanthème*. It has been seen that the narrative style and in particular the many short chapters were reminiscent in various ways of the painterly sketches found on items of japonisme and japonaiserie. Language choice evoked similar connotations literarily to those rendered visually in items of japonaiserie. Major thematic similarities include a rejection of the westernisation and modernisation of Japan rife during the Meiji Era, as well as a tendency to make value judgments based on exterior impressions. The protagonist also frequently likens what he actually sees in Japan before him to the images depicted in japonisme and japonaiserie. There is a further thematic area useful to examine because it epitomises the duality that is *Madame Chrysanthème*, a work recalling japonaiserie while giving voice to images and ideas in clear contrast to the movement. This is the protagonist's treatment of the Japanese female, and in particular his attitude concerning the 'marriage' with Chrysanthème. It will be the focus of Chapter Eighteen.

⁶⁴⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 65; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 46.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Loti's depiction of the Japanese female

Gazed upon, they are denied the power of the gaze; spoken to, they are denied the power to speak freely.⁶⁴⁵

Heiner Frühauf (1997) wrote that 'ever since Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887), the image of the compliant Japanese mistress has become the frontispiece of European-style japonaiserie.'⁶⁴⁶ Due to depictions in all realms of japonisme and japonaiserie, the image of the docile, pretty, child-like, exotic, prettily coiffeured, agreeable Japanese female was well-known in nineteenth-century western society. This was to the extent that the stereotype became a defining characteristic of Japan. Women are frequently remarked upon in *Madame Chrysanthème*, probably because of their fashionability and interest-factor amongst Loti's readers. It was also characteristic of the author to centre his travel writing around a female figure: for example both the best-selling travel memoir/romance *Aziyadé* and its sequel *Fantome d'Orient* focused on a Circassian woman, Hakidjé, and *Rarahu* concerned Loti's involvement with a young Tahitian woman. A central, non-western female character added synoptic drama, exoticism, and therefore interest to the work. On an intra-textual level and concerning *Madame Chrysanthème*, André Moulis (1958) writes that *Chrysanthème*'s influence on the protagonist's (and therefore readers') perception of Japan is such that the entire country is seen through one woman.⁶⁴⁷ In *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madam Prune*, when the protagonist approaches Nagasaki Bay after fifteen years, the protagonist calls the city 'the town of Madame Chrysanthemum,'⁶⁴⁸ which further illustrates the close association for Loti (or the protagonist) that Nagasaki had with *Chrysanthème* (or Okané-San).

To recall Said's (1993) theory, Loti's depiction of the Japanese female in *Madame Chrysanthème* was 'shaped by' and conformed to stereotypes already in circulation, yet it also played a role in 'shaping' those to come. The duality of responses to Japan that characterises the travelogue emerges particularly strongly in the area of the protagonist's response to and depiction of the Japanese woman. The images of the Japanese female which are today ascribed to Loti's travelogue are generally the 'positive' ones (for the Westerner) of her as obedient, exotic, child-like, playful, and naïve. At the same time however, and somewhat surprisingly then, the protagonist frequently makes sharply negative criticisms of her. In fact, at times the extent of the protagonist's antipathy towards *Chrysanthème* is surprising given that Loti could have exploited and embellished his Japanese 'marriage' for much consumer interest and

⁶⁴⁵ Spurr. *The Rhetoric of empire: Colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*, p. 13.

⁶⁴⁶ Frühauf. 'Urban Exoticism and its Sino-Japanese Scenery, 1910–1923,' p. 137.

⁶⁴⁷ Moulis. 'Loti au Japon, janvier-octobre 1901,' p. 9.

⁶⁴⁸ Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *Madame Prune*, p. 6.

commercial success had he chosen to depict his experiences in a more romantic, positive, exciting, and therefore appealing light.

Discussion of the Japanese woman as she is portrayed in *Madame Chrysanthème* will start with an examination of the positive and negative remarks of the protagonist concerning her physical appearance, body idiom, and character. Then the 'marriage' to Chrysanthème will be detailed because this union is at the synoptic heart of the travelogue and epitomises the protagonist's response to Japanese women in general. Lastly, Félix Régamey's response to Loti's representation of the Japanese female will be outlined because this both sheds further light on the depiction itself, as well as indicating the offence it caused some of Loti's contemporaries. Reference and comparison will be made to the relationships Loti's protagonists had with other non-western females.

The sorts of comments Loti makes about the Japanese female resemble those he made of other non-western groups of females such as the Tahitians in *Rarahu*. In *Rarahu*, the protagonist describes them as indulgent, lazy, childlike, naïve, and intellectually limited. For example, he writes of Rarahu 'la petite fille gaie et rieuse du ruisseau d'Apiré reparaisait avec toute sa naïveté délicate,' 'the laughing little maid of the Apiré waterfall reappeared, in all her bewitching simplicity.'⁶⁴⁹ Loti's perceptions of non-western women as being naïve and childish were probably sharpened because the females he was involved with were in reality a lot younger, less educated and 'worldly' than he was. Another similarity is that near his departure, the protagonist writes of Rarahu having a dark side of her personality reminiscent of Chrysanthème's that was also 'utterly dissimilar' to his own:

Y a-t-il une souffrance comparable à celle-là: aimer, et sentir qu'on ne vous écoute pas? Que ce coeur qui vous appartenait se ferme, quoi que vous fassiez? Que le côté sombre et inexplicable de sa nature reprend sur lui sa force et ses droits?⁶⁵⁰

Is there any suffering to compare with this—of loving and feeling you are no longer listened to? That the heart which has been yours is closing against you, do what you will? That the dark and unaccountable side of her nature is reasserting all its claims and all its power?⁶⁵¹

A major difference though in Loti's literary approach to the Tahitian female in contrast to the Japanese is that such remarks tend to be made endearingly, and almost at times unconsciously. For example, in the last excerpt cited, the protagonist bemoans and grieves the existence of a 'dark and unaccountable side of [Rarahu's] nature' which he feels unable to protect her against, whereas such comments in *Madame Chrysanthème* tend to be more strongly critical, as will be seen.

⁶⁴⁹ Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti*, p. 133; and Pierre Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 97.

⁶⁵⁰ Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti*, p. 265.

⁶⁵¹ Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 182.

The protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* encounters Japanese women in a public setting around the streets of Nagasaki, and in the private domain of his home at Diou-Djen-Dji. Including descriptions of life in a Japanese home would have been a rare asset for Loti's travelogue as the majority of Westerners who wrote of Japan lived in diplomatic compounds or by some other arrangement where they were surrounded by foreigners. In both the street or home, focus is on exterior appearances, body idiom, and cultural habitus; and the protagonist frequently extrapolates observations of these onto a metaphysical plane. The conclusions he reaches usually imply that Japanese women are lacking in intellectual capacity, complexity, and moral character.

Physical appearance of the Japanese female

Most of the aspects of the physical appearance of the Japanese female that Loti's protagonist emphasises are those with which readers were likely to have been familiar via the various pictorial representations already common in France: namely her face, hands, and kimono. His very inclusion of descriptions reminiscent of visual images on items of japonaiserie, as well as his mention of the extent of the similarity between the 'real thing' and its depiction partly functions to flatter and remind readers of their own cultural connaissance for already being familiar with the nature of a 'foreign' people. Eyes are often described as small, cat-like, and so narrow that they hardly seem to open, for example: 'Surtout, il y a le mystère de leurs tout petits yeux, tirés, bridés, retroussés, pouvant à peine s'ouvrir . . .', 'Above all, the mystery of their tiny slits of eyes, drawn back and up so far that the tight-drawn lids can scarcely open . . .'.⁶⁵² The Japanese woman's cheeks are puffy and white, with her hands like the small paw of an animal such as a cat or monkey.

Personal toilette also attracts much attention, with the protagonist remarking on things such as their hairpins, carefully-set chignons, make-up, and kimono. For example, the protagonist writes: 'Il y a de bandes de femmes de tous les ages, en toilette parée; surtout des mousmés innombrables ayant dans les cheveux des piquets de fleurs ou, à la manière d'Oyouki, des pompons d'argent'.⁶⁵³ 'There are groups of women of every age, decked out in their smartest clothes, crowds of mousmés with aigrettes of flowers in their hair, or little silver top-knots like Oyouki.'⁶⁵⁴ Occasionally the protagonist implies that the Japanese woman is sensuous and exotic. Such descriptions still often remark, however, on her childishness and coquettishness. For example:

Elle est mignonne, fine, élégante; elle sent bon. Drôlement peinte, blanche comme du plâtre, avec un petit rond rose bien régulier au milieu de chaque joue; la bouche carminée et un peu de dorure soulignant la lèvre inférieure.

⁶⁵² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 186; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 252.

⁶⁵³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 146.

⁶⁵⁴ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 182.

Comme on n'a pas pu blanchir la nuque, à cause des cheveux follets qui sont nombreux, on a, par amour de la correctitude, arrêté là le plâtrage blanc en une ligne droite que l'on dirait coupée au couteau; il en résulte, derrière son cou, un carré de peau naturelle, qui est très jaune ...⁶⁵⁵

She is slim, elegant, delicate, and smells sweet; drolly painted, white as plaster, with a little circle of rouge marked very precisely in the middle of each cheek, the mouth reddened, and a touch of gilding outlining the under lip. As they could not whiten the back of the neck on account of all the delicate little curls of hair growing there, they had, in their love of exactitude, stopped the white plaster in a straight line, which might have been cut with a knife, and in consequence the nape appears a square of natural skin of deep yellow.⁶⁵⁶

The protagonist also calls Oyouki's lips 'lèvres ballantes qui mouillent un peu, mais qui sont bien fraîches, bien rouges . . . ' ' . . . moist, slightly pouting, but nevertheless very fresh and very red.'⁶⁵⁷

The protagonist's description of the faces of the Japanese is an area where multiple interpretations exist. While at times they are depicted as quaint, childlike, or exotically and sensually unusual, on several occasions the protagonist extrapolates the appearance of the faces of the women around him onto what may—or may not—be going on inside their minds. The Japanese person's physical appearance becomes a vehicle by which the protagonist belittles and denigrates them. In the example below, it is even directly extrapolated onto a polarity of eastern and western races:

Surtout, il y a le mystère de leurs tout petits yeux, tirés, bridés, retroussés, pouvant à peine s'ouvrir; le mystère de leur expression qui semble indiquer des pensées intérieures d'une saugrenuité vague et froide, un monde d'idées absolument fermé pour nous. — Et je songe, en les dévisageant: comme nous sommes loin de ce peuple japonais, comme nous sommes de race dissemblable!⁶⁵⁸

Above all, the mystery of their tiny slits of eyes, drawn back and up so far that the tight-drawn lids can scarcely open; the mystery of their expression, which seems to denote thoughts of a silly, vague, complacent absurdity, a world of ideas absolutely closed to ourselves. And I think as I gaze at them: "How far we are from this Japanese people! How utterly dissimilar are our races!"⁶⁵⁹

Other examples of the physical Japanese face connoting metaphysical inadequacy include the protagonist writing of the 'petites personnes à yeux bridés, dépourvues de cervelle,' 'tiny personages

⁶⁵⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 65.

⁶⁵⁶ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 45.

⁶⁵⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 102; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 108. Ensor's translation has been altered.

⁶⁵⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 186–187.

⁶⁵⁹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 252.

with narrow eyes and no brains;⁶⁶⁰ and the '[regard n'a plus du tout l'] insignifiance des poupées,' 'vacant stare of a doll.'⁶⁶¹

Japanese women are often likened to dolls, fairies, insects, or small animals such as monkeys and cats. When compared to a fairy they are commonly cast as childlike and artificial in appearance and mannerisms, while as a cat they take on airs of mischievousness, cunning, laziness, or playfulness. Her likeness to a doll or monkey takes on more negative associations: a doll is adorned and pretty to look at, yet intellectually sterile and very easily commodified and objectified. Interestingly, when Loti hears Chrysanthème's cry of 'nidzoumi!', 'mice!' and is drawn into a melancholic reminiscing of his time in Turkey which makes him detest his Japanese arrangement, he calls Chrysanthème a 'doll,' implying that the connotations of this word for Loti were negative. Monkeys were commonly associated with ridiculousness and ugliness: as was mentioned in Part IV, *singeries* or designs featuring monkeys dressed in human clothing fooling around were one popular way in which such stereotypes were cultivated. It is the older women that tend to be compared to monkeys, with the protagonist writing on one occasion:

Petites mousmés très mignonnes, vieilles dames très singesques, entrant avec leur boîte à fumer, leur parasol couvert de peinturlures, leurs petits cris, leurs révérences; caquetant, se complimentant, sautillant, ayant toutes les peines du monde à tenir leur sérieux.⁶⁶²

Charming little mousmés, monkeyish-looking old ladies enter with their smoking boxes, their gaily daubed parasols, their curtsies, their little cries and exclamations; prattling, complimenting each other, full of restless movement, and having the greatest difficulty in maintaining a serious demeanour.⁶⁶³

When the protagonist describes the 'monkeyish-looking old ladies' as 'having the greatest difficulty in maintaining a serious demeanour' and being 'full of restless movement' he gives them characteristics associated with monkeys such as stupidity and mischievousness. Combined with their predominantly botanical names, the comparison of Japanese women with fairies, dolls, or small animals dehumanises and trivialises them, making it less likely that they are capable of significant, 'human' thoughts. When the Japanese female appeared on items of japonaiserie, she was similarly depicted as unlikely to be capable of complex thought.

The protagonist tends to remark more negatively on the naked female than he does on her clothed counterpart. The naked female did not commonly feature on items of japonaiserie, and so Loti did not have significantly well-known stereotypes to conform to. His comments are, however, very reminiscent of those of his contemporaries cited in Part III. The protagonist's main digression on the appearance of

⁶⁶⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 199; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 272.

⁶⁶¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 204; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 281.

⁶⁶² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 174.

⁶⁶³ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p.230.

the naked Japanese female occurs when he writes of their nightly bathing ritual. He equates their (to him) unappealing appearance with unattractive characters. He reasons that it is only their clothing that affords them their charms, again basing metaphysical conclusions on physical observations:

Une Japonaise, dépourvue de sa longue robe et de sa large ceinture aux coques apprêtées, n'est plus qu'un être minuscule et jaune, aux jambes torses, à la gorge grêle et piriforme; n'a plus rien de son petit charme artificiel, qui s'en est allé complètement avec le costume.⁶⁶⁴

A Japanese woman, deprived of her long dress and her huge sash with its pretentious bows, is nothing but a diminutive yellow being, with crooked legs and thin, pear-shaped breasts; she has no longer a remnant of her artificial little charms, which have completely disappeared in company with her costume.⁶⁶⁵

This recalls Richard Gordon Smith's words on 'what low-looking beasts the [semi-naked Japanese] appear.'⁶⁶⁶

The Japanese male is also the subject of metaphysical conclusions based on physical appearances, and the protagonist sometimes depicts those in positions of authority as particularly physically unattractive, calling, for example, the policemen 'vilains petits personnages,' 'ugly little individuals.'⁶⁶⁷ Other insulting remarks concerning the Japanese male's physical body include the protagonist calling the rickshaw-runners 'espèces de hérissons humains,' 'species of human hedge-hog[s]','⁶⁶⁸ and describing a group of Japanese men at a tea-house as 'figures niaises, jaunes, épuisées, exsangues,' 'foolish, yellow, worn-out [and] bloodless.'⁶⁶⁹

Body idiom

The conclusions the protagonist draws based on the Japanese female's body idiom (Goffman, 1963) are usually belittling or negative, and assume European culture and practices to be the norm from which others deviate, to use Hargreaves' words as cited in Part II. Such an approach culturally reaccentuates them, to apply Bakhtin's theory, because they are appraised against a nineteenth-century French

⁶⁶⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 166.

⁶⁶⁵ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 216.

⁶⁶⁶ See: Manthorpe (ed.). *The Japan diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*.

⁶⁶⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 78. The translation following is my own as Ensor's deviates from the original.

⁶⁶⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 55; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 26. The protagonist is probably referring to the *mino* straw rain capes the Japanese used to commonly wear in wet weather.

⁶⁶⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 62; and Pierre Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 40. The order of Ensor's translation has been changed.

ideological framework and hence a 'background completely foreign' to their own of Meiji Japan.⁶⁷⁰ This is intensified by both the travelogue's monologic structure and the protagonist's reluctance to genuinely engage with Japanese women or examine what they may be thinking and feeling.

Firstly though, there are instances in which the protagonist's remarks of the Japanese female's body idiom do not carry predominantly negative associations. Frequent comment is made of her giggling, smiles, vacant stares, batting of eyelids, clutching at people, and childish attachment to Loti and Yves. The connotations of such a depiction are akin to those visually evoked in items of japonaiserie in the decorative arts: they are of her as being frivolous, gay, insignificant, quaint, cute, small, and childlike. For example, the protagonist comments on the juvenile behaviour of young Japanese women at a bazaar as he writes of how Chrysanthème and her group of friends walked hand-in-hand and bought each other quaint and childish presents at the various stalls:

Dans les bazars, nos mousmés font chaque soir beaucoup d'achats; comme aux enfants gâtés, tout leur fait envie, les jouets, les épingles, les ceintures, les fleurs. — Et puis l'une à l'autre, elles se présentent des cadeaux, gentiment, avec des sourires de petites filles.⁶⁷¹

In the bazaars every evening our mousmés make endless purchases; like spoiled children they buy everything they fancy: toys, pins, ribbons, flowers. And then they prettily offer each other presents, with childish little smiles.⁶⁷²

The 'prettiness' and affectation of the Japanese female is also depicted visually throughout the text by the water-colour sketches in which she appears. Many of the pictures by Rossi and Myrbach feature women, most often in kimono and ornate head-gear, holding a fan or partaking in some activity readers would identify as traditional such as holding lanterns, praying to an altar, painting, playing the *shamisen*, or singing. When depicted alongside western men, she is usually in a subservient or mischievous role such as kneeling, or trying to drag Yves along. Often the males are shown as observing the activities of young Japanese females rather than participating, which reinforces the idea of their pastimes being trivial.

In addition to indicating that she is merely childish and playful, the Japanese woman's body idiom and habits are also considered evidence that she has an infantile, undeveloped mind. For example, the protagonist concludes from seeing the carefully-kept photographs of Chrysanthème's friends that they too must be trivial, insignificant, and immature because he associates the actual people with the quaint pictures Chrysanthème zealously hoarded like stamps belonging to a small child, or with the shells Loti himself collected. Rather than being complex human beings, the protagonist determines that they are

⁶⁷⁰ See: Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 10; and Bakhtin, *The Dialogic imagination: Four essays*, pp. 420–421.

⁶⁷¹ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 98.

⁶⁷² Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 102.

'des petites personnes qui étaient faites pour figurer gentiment dans des paysages d'éventail,' 'little creatures fit only to figure daintily on the landscapes of painted fans.'⁶⁷³ The protagonist also makes negative remark on Chrysanthème's eating habits, describing her meals as 'petits plats pour rire,' 'little dishes, which are a mere make-believe' writing:⁶⁷⁴

Chrysanthème goûte du bord des lèvres, à l'aide de ses petites baguettes, en relevant le bout de ses doigts avec une grâce affectée. A chaque mets elle fait une grimace,— en laisse les trois quarts et s'essuie les ongles après, avec horreur.⁶⁷⁵

Chrysanthème tastes a little of it all, with dainty pecks and the aid of her little chopsticks, raising the tips of her fingers with affected grace. At every dish she makes a face, leaves three parts of it, and dries her finger-tips after it in apparent disgust.⁶⁷⁶

By implication and extrapolating Moulis' concept that Loti evaluates Japan through one woman, describing and dismissing the Japanese female's behaviour as trivial also casts by association Japan as trivial, childish, and non-threatening.⁶⁷⁷

In addition to the protagonist finding Chrysanthème's body idiom and activities merely trivial and childish, sometimes he finds them troublesome, or they intensify some general dissatisfaction that he has with life in Japan. For example, he complains several times about her habit of smoking a small pipe, emphasising the tapping sound she makes as it penetrates his thoughts. On one occasion he projects his angst when speculating on the possibility of romantic involvement between Yves and Chrysanthème onto the irritating noise:

Je m'ennuie désespérément dans ce gîte ce soir; le bruit de la petite pipe m'irrite plus que de coutume et, quand Chrysanthème s'accroupit devant sa boîte à fumer, je lui trouve un air *peuple* dans le plus mauvais sens du mot.⁶⁷⁸

I feel terribly dreary in this room to-night; the noise of the little pipe irritates me more than usual, and as Chrysanthemum crouches in front of her smoking-box, I suddenly discover in her an air of low breeding, in the very worst sense of the word.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 127; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 151.

⁶⁷⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 113; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 128. Ensor uses 'make-believe' rather than a more literal 'to laugh.'

⁶⁷⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 113.

⁶⁷⁶ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 127–128.

⁶⁷⁷ The extent and development of the influence of such perceptions has been interpreted by critics like William Schwartz as having led to a military complacency towards Japan, ultimately resulting in the surprise of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

⁶⁷⁸ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 132–133.

⁶⁷⁹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 162.

The foreignness of the Japanese woman's behaviour is sometimes remarked on and extrapolated as a manifestation of a darker, more primitive, and absolutely incomprehensible mind. For example, the protagonist writes as follows of his thoughts while listening to Chrysanthème and Oyouki sing and play the *shamisen*:

À la fin, quand ces voix de petites filles, ordinairement douces, donnent des notes basses et rauques, les main de Chrysanthème, crispées sur les cordes vibrantes, s'agitent frénétiquement. Elles baissent la tête toutes deux, avacent la lèvre inférieure, pour sortir avec effort ces étonnantes notes profondes. Et c'est dans ces moments-là que leurs petits yeux bridés s'ouvrent, semblent révéler quelque chose comme une âme, sous ces enveloppes de marionnette. Mais une âme qui, plus que jamais, me paraît être d'une espèce différente de la mienne; je sens mes pensées aussi loin des leurs que des conceptions changeantes d'un oiseau ou des rêveries d'un singe; je sens, entre elles et moi, le gouffre mystérieux, effroyable...⁶⁸⁰

At the end, when these girlish voices, generally so soft, give out their hoarse and guttural notes, Chrysanthème's hands fly wildly and convulsively over the quivering strings. Both of them lower their heads, pout their under-lips in the effort of bringing out these astonishingly deep notes. And at these moments, their little narrow eyes open and seem to reveal an unexpected something, a soul, under these trappings of marionettes.

But it is a soul which more than ever appears to me of a different species to my own; I feel my thoughts to be as far removed from theirs, as from the flitting conceptions of a bird, or the dreams of a monkey; I feel there is betwixt them and myself a great gulf, mysterious and awful.⁶⁸¹

Character

Based on physical appearance and body idiom, and as has been identified in various ways, the Japanese woman's character is appraised by the protagonist as naïve, frivolous, and childlike. At times, he also casts it as troublesome, cunning, and/or immoral. For example, he remarks that Chrysanthème and her friends are troublesome and a nuisance for him and Yves to have to mind when they would prefer to roam about the streets of Nagasaki alone. On one occasion when Chrysanthème says she does not want to continue on with the pair, the protagonist writes of his happiness: '. . . nous passerons la soirée à courir à notre fantaisie, Yves et moi, sans traîner aucune mousmé à nos trouses,' 'we shall spend the evening, Yves and I, in roaming about as fancy takes us, without any mousmé dragging at our heels.'⁶⁸² The fact that the feeling the protagonist communicates upon hearing that Chrysanthème feels ill is relief at being able to spend the night as he wishes, rather than concern for his 'partner,' demonstrates his antipathy towards the relationship with Chrysanthème, as will soon be discussed.

The Japanese woman's cunning nature emerges when the protagonist writes of surprising Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the piastres he paid her upon termination of the 'marriage.' This occurrence is not recorded in Loti's personal diary of his time in Nagasaki, which suggests that the author purposefully inserted it to cast the Japanese female in a negative light. Upon finding

⁶⁸⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 209.

⁶⁸¹ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 290.

⁶⁸² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 159; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 206.

Chrysanthème, the protagonist sarcastically, and perhaps bitterly, congratulates her on her mercantile diligence in a land full of people accustomed to forging money who are not to be trusted:

Une bonne idée que tu as eue là, dis-je, une précaution qu'il faudrait toujours prendre, dans ton pays où tant de gens malintentionnés sont habiles à imiter les monnaies. Dépêche-toi de finir avant que je m'en aille, et s'il s'en est glissé de fausses dans le nombre, je te les remplacerai bien volontiers.⁶⁸³

That is a good idea of yours," I say; "a precaution which should always be taken in this country of yours, where so many evil-minded people are clever in forging money. Make haste and get through it before I start, and if any false pieces have found their way into the number, I will willingly replace them."⁶⁸⁴

This depiction of Chrysanthème's cunningness in effect criticises the Japanese in general, and makes the protagonist look but an innocent party who must be willing to suffer from this by re-paying Chrysanthème the money her fellow Japanese may have forged. *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* also ends with a protagonist disappointed by a Japanese woman and therefore painting a negative picture of her character. The protagonist of this work considers himself deceived and disillusioned by Madame Prune who pretended to be romantically interested in him.⁶⁸⁵ In both of these works on Japan, the words of the protagonist recall criticism of the Japanese character with respect to business dealings expressed by contemporary travellers such as Marie Stopes and Richard Gordon Smith who were cited in Part III.

The protagonist also depicts Japanese women as immoral, particularly with respect to their easy sexual availability. This was not uncommon amongst nineteenth-century visitors to Japan as was seen in Part III. It has persisted into the present-day, as the connotations of *mousmé* already discussed demonstrate. Early on in *Madame Chrysanthème*, when the protagonist is seeking a 'wife,' he writes of the ease with which certain groups of Japanese society sell their daughters, describing the transaction as 'un acte qui sans doute est admis dans leur monde,' 'an act that is without doubt admissible in their world.'⁶⁸⁶ Later, the protagonist expresses particular concern that Chrysanthème or the other young *mousmés* may lead Yves to be unfaithful to his wife in France. In Chapter XI the protagonist writes of how returning home one night he and Yves were surrounded by a group of young *mousmés* who would not leave Yves alone, and writes of his friend's surprise at seeing people 'si jeunes, si menus, si bébés, et déjà si effrontées,' 'mere babies, so young, so tiny, already so brazen and shameless.'⁶⁸⁷ Later, when he suspects a love-interest between Yves and Chrysanthème, the protagonist concludes that it would be Chrysanthème who would tempt Yves to commit such a trespass, not Yves himself who would initiate it. This perception of the Japanese woman actively seducing western men becomes of particular

⁶⁸³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 225.

⁶⁸⁴ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 321–322.

⁶⁸⁵ See: Pierre Loti (S.R.C. Plimsoll, trans.). *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, p. 240.

⁶⁸⁶ This is ironic considering that Loti was one of the purchasers. Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 73; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 58. Ensor's translation has been altered.

⁶⁸⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 94; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 94. Ensor's translation differs in order, but this does not distort the point of the example's inclusion.

concern to the protagonist when the *Triomphante* shifts to the dry dockyards for repairs making the officers more easily able to frequent the brothels nearby. This is a concern also remarked on in Loti's personal diary.⁶⁸⁸ Another example of the Japanese woman's immorality given by the protagonist concerns Madame Prune and the male visitors she apparently had, sometimes in quick succession, which leads to M. Sucre having to entertain others while they waited.

The protagonist's remarks on the physical appearance, body idiom, and character of the Japanese female are important as they are the windows through which the western reader saw her. The aspects concentrated on are those that western readers interested in Japan are likely to have been familiar with such as her coiffeur, kimono, small face and hands, and traditional activities such as playing the *shamisen* and eating with chopsticks. The impression conveyed to the reader of the life of a Japanese woman is that she spent time in inconsequential activities, or cared for and tended to her western partner if in such an arrangement. More than other facets of her character remarked on by the protagonist, and alongside with her childish novelty and exotic beauty, this last aspect is an enduring stereotype of Japanese women. It is articulated throughout *Madame Chrysanthème* as the protagonist writes of the attention Chrysanthème and Madame Prune paid to ensuring his comfort, enjoyment of Japan, and the general upkeep of 'his' house. For example, Chrysanthème scatters flowers about the dwelling for a tea-party the protagonist plans to host, and he writes of their ritual of securing the house each night. Given the negative connotations of some of the protagonist's remarks on the Japanese female, and indeed the direct criticism he sometimes levies at them, it is noteworthy that her image as it has persisted in the present-day popular media is generally without these associations. It is possible that Loti's depiction of the Japanese female functions partly to flatter his female reading audience: if the Japanese woman is childish, troublesome, cunning, or immoral, then by contradistinction the French woman is mature, pleasant, and virtuous.

The 'marriage' to Chrysanthème

The protagonist's treatment of Chrysanthème and his attitude towards their 'marriage' also contributes towards persisting perceptions of the Japanese female, yet it too contains negative aspects. The 'union' particularises and epitomises Loti's approach to the Japanese female, and is perhaps the main manifestation of his criticism of her. In some senses then, it represents a departure from the travelogue's associations with visual japonaiserie. The depiction of the 'marriage' to Chrysanthème contrasts with some of the liaisons Loti's protagonists enjoyed with other non-western women, and is useful to examine as it is an exemplary area where Loti's 'formulaic 'Japanesque' travel memoir,' to cite the Abstract, 'contrast[s] and conflict[s] with the prevailing stereotypes of japonaiserie.'

⁶⁸⁸ Entry of Wednesday 24 July 1885. See: Loti (Bruno Verrier, Alain Quella-Villéger, and Guy Dugas). *Cette éternelle nostalgie: Journal intime (1878–1911)*, pp. 170–171. The fear of Japanese women corrupting Western men existed and persisted in other Asian countries too. The film 'The Quiet American,' released in 2003 and set during the Vietnam War, has one scene where a young American man, Pyle, is being set upon by Vietnamese women who want to tempt him into sexual liaisons that he may provide a better life for them. The theme also occurs in productions such as 'Miss Saigon' which feature brothels of Asian women, in this case Vietnamese also, eager to lead the 'innocent' western male into temptation.

Irene Szyliowicz (1988) discusses the various functions that non-western females fulfilled for the author both in his personal life and in his writing. Chrysanthème is one character she examines, writing:

Loti exploited women by using them to further his own aims. By and large he established heterosexual relationships less for the particular companionship than for the fulfilment of egocentric desires. Men provided him with the friendship and the intellectual support he craved; women provided the vehicle for self-aggrandisement. Oriental women represented a means by which the French author could attain several goals—through them he could acquire a deeper and more authentic knowledge of the country visited than he could as a tourist, through them he would have his physical needs met, through them he could ward off loneliness, and best of all, he could hide behind their screen when engaging in debauchery. Finally, women provided him with an opportunity for self-comprehension; as he examined his relationships with them, he explored his own feelings and reactions (always the subject of keenest interest to him), and his fictional creations as well as his diary entries, furnished the record of his introspection.⁶⁸⁹

Like Loti himself with Okané-San, the protagonist of the travelogue indeed uses Chrysanthème towards most of these 'goals.' Living with Chrysanthème and her Japanese family gives him a 'deeper and more authentic knowledge of the country' than he would have gained had he been, for example, a tourist, an *oyatoi gaikokujin* not 'married' to a Japanese woman, or living amongst his fellow seamen. His 'physical needs' were probably met, though the protagonist does not write explicitly or strongly imply that he and Chrysanthème had a satisfying sexual relationship (or even one at all). Chrysanthème could function to 'ward off loneliness' because she provided company. However, the pair do not seem to have enjoyed as close a relationship as Loti's other protagonists did with their respective partners, and it was probably Yves who provided more companionship than did Chrysanthème. Lastly, and as has been mentioned, a lot of *Madame Chrysanthème* was concerned with Loti's attempts at 'self-comprehension.'⁶⁹⁰ In fact, Loti's self-preoccupation and how it was manifested by the assertion that the three main characters of the work were himself, Japan, and the effect produced on him by the country, deny Chrysanthème even a main role in the travelogue, although the reader may expect that 'the most important role [would] devolve on Madame Chrysanthème.'⁶⁹¹

A theoretical interpretation of Loti's treatment of Chrysanthème and the marriage likely to be made by post-colonial or feminist critics is that it operates on two levels. At a macro level, Loti's treatment may reflect and reinforce the unequal relationship between East and West where critics such as Said and Pham argue that the West was represented as the male, developed, and dominant sphere, and the East as the female, developing, and submissive sphere. As it was the protagonist who was in the position to 'purchase' Chrysanthème, so too it was often the West that was in the position to construct and consume the East through all manner of political, social, and cultural methods, as has been outlined in preceding discussions. As it was the protagonist who had the most agency in the relationship and

⁶⁸⁹ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 67.

⁶⁹⁰ It seems unlikely from his diary and *Madame Chrysanthème* that Loti hid behind the veneer of marriage to Chrysanthème when 'engaging in debauchery.'

⁶⁹¹ Preface of *Madame Chrysanthème*.

therefore control over it (for example, he decided what the pair did and when), so too the West generally had the dominant role in East–West exchange, particularly in its early stages when, for example, Westerners living in Japan had rights of extra-territoriality and could set tariff rates. Furthermore, orientalist discourse typically saw the West portray the East as its antithesis or use it to ‘help define’ its own culture,⁶⁹² and, as has been demonstrated, the protagonist used his time in Japan, and the marriage to Chrysanthème which forms a large part of this, as something of an exercise in self introspection.

Examining the ‘marriage’s’ significance on a micro level or in an immediate sense, the contemporary European social norms of male superiority are reflected and intensified by Chrysanthème belonging to a ‘lesser’ race because she is essentially a ‘native,’ ‘coloured’ person of *la race jaune*. In her study *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, Irene Szyliowicz (1988) includes commentary on the social position of women in both nineteenth-century France and in the various places Loti entered into relationships with women. In the chapter ‘Nineteenth-century attitudes towards women,’ Szyliowicz concludes that nineteenth-century French women ‘lacked some political and legal power, but they were sufficiently contented with their influence not to feel the need to campaign openly for reform;’⁶⁹³ while writing of the Japanese female that ‘Japanese women [during the nineteenth century], were always at the mercy of men. Their lives were totally regulated and completely circumscribed by custom and culture, and their lack of education reinforced their inferior position. Even the music they were expected to play reflected their subordinancy. . . . it was not surprising to find passive, dependent, submissive, and resigned females.’⁶⁹⁴ It appears then that Loti would have held the politically and socially dominant position in a relationship with a French woman, and this would have been carried over and emphasised with Okane-San in Japan because of a Japanese woman’s even ‘lower’ social status than her French counterpart. It would have been compounded further by ‘meta’ factors such as the nature of the East–West dyad as examined at various points of this study.

Very early on in the travelogue, the protagonist writes of his plans to marry a Japanese woman, and in the days immediately following his arrival the most pressing task is to find the *Jardin des fleurs*, the Garden of Flowers, to meet the marriage broker M. Kangourou. When presented with a selection of young Japanese women available for ‘marriage,’ the protagonist is at first dissatisfied, remarking of Mademoiselle Jasmine that ‘Elle est bien jeune, et puis trop blanche; elle est comme nos femmes françaises, et moi, j’en désirais une jaune pour changer,’ ‘She is very young, and then she is too white, she is like our French women and I wished for a yellow one as a change.’⁶⁹⁵ This calculating and detached attitude suggests that the protagonist considered a Japanese wife as an aesthetic accessory, and emphasises the commercial, contractual nature of their union. As consumers of japonisme and japonaiserie sought unusual, ‘Japanese’ goods, so too the protagonist sought an unusual, Japanese,

⁶⁹² Said. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁹³ Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, p. 41.

⁶⁹⁴ Szyliowicz’s evaluation may be a little exaggerated. Szyliowicz. *Pierre Loti and the Oriental woman*, pp. 49–50.

⁶⁹⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 73; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 59. Some minor alterations have been made to Ensor’s translation.

'yellow' bride. The idea of Chrysanthème being a possession or commodity is hinted at in the protagonist's suspicion that Yves and Chrysanthème were in love: the possibility was perhaps so concerning because the protagonist may not have wanted Yves becoming involved with or getting 'benefit' or pleasure from something rightfully 'belonging' to him that he had paid for.

After choosing Chrysanthème, the pair is relatively quickly 'married,' and the protagonist displays an emotional detachment from the union that persists throughout the text until its end. For example, he introduces Chapter V with 'C'est un fait accompli depuis trois jours,' 'It is three days now since [my marriage] was an accomplished fact.'⁶⁹⁶ Furthermore, the protagonist openly admits his emotional disinterest in the relationship when he writes of having married her merely for a distraction: 'Je l'ai prise pour me distraire, et j'aimerais mieux lui voir une de ces insignifiantes petites figures sans souci comme en ont les autres,' 'I have chosen her to amuse me, and I would really rather she should have one of those insignificant little thoughtless faces like all the others.'⁶⁹⁷ This casts Chrysanthème as indeed a 'distraction,' rather than as a complex person and participant in the relationship. It also recalls the goal of warding off loneliness identified by Szyliowicz as one speculates on what it was that the protagonist wanted a distraction from: loneliness, homesickness, the physical and mental difficulty of a life at sea, the feelings of rootlessness this entailed? Or, simply on-shore boredom? To the protagonist, Chrysanthème is a 'plaything' whose purpose is to amuse him,⁶⁹⁸ his marriage is a 'joke,'⁶⁹⁹ and his conceptions of inherent European and male superiority combine as he assumes the role of master in the text, though ironically it is Chrysanthème who actually has the 'power' because of her social contacts and knowledge of Japan. Even as a distraction, let alone as a fulfilling partner, Chrysanthème disappoints with her melancholy and irritating nature. It is possible though that some of the instances in which the protagonist describes Chrysanthème as melancholy or sulking indeed reflect his own mood as it is projected onto her.

It is not long before the protagonist's seeming initial mere disinterest and detachment from the relationship shifts to sharp criticism and even hatred of Chrysanthème. Often this emerges when he compares her to the other women he has known, with one example, already cited in the context of nostalgic comparisons, being when Chrysanthème's cry of 'Nidzoumi!' reminds the protagonist of a similar cry made by his 'dear little Turkish companion,' after which he writes of looking down upon Chrysanthème with a 'sort of hatred.' The protagonist even laments the fact that Chrysanthème cannot always be asleep, because she is charming as such, and does not bore him: 'Quel dommage que cette petite Chrysanthème ne puisse pas toujours dormir: elle est très décorative, présentée de cette manière,—et puis, au moins, elle ne m'ennuie pas,' 'What a pity this little Chrysanthème cannot

⁶⁹⁶ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 78; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 67. The punctuation of Ensor's translation has been slightly altered.

⁶⁹⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 82; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 74.

⁶⁹⁸ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 62–63, 178, 226; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 40, 236, 323.

⁶⁹⁹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 77; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 66.

always be asleep; she is really extremely decorative seen in this manner,—and like this, at least, she does not bore me.⁷⁰⁰ This remark casts her as a commodity for the pleasure of the western consumer.

Throughout the work, the protagonist constantly comments on Chrysanthème's perceived lack of intelligence or capacity even to think cogently, concluding relatively early on that 'il y a cent à parier qu'il ne s'y passé rien du tout,' 'it is a hundred to one that she has no thoughts whatever.'⁷⁰¹ As has been seen, she is also assumed to have thought processes so radically and darkly opposite to those able to be understood or even conceived by a western mind that they are unintelligible. Accordingly, it is not 'worth' the protagonist trying to penetrate her thoughts, which furthermore are formed and voiced in a language foreign to his own. This contrasts with the approach to the Japanese female of contemporary visitors such as Clara Whitney who at least felt some empathy towards the restricted social position to which the Japanese female was confined, even if their writings did reflect an air of inherent western superiority and condescension.

The protagonist's detachment from Chrysanthème extends to the very end of the 'marriage': even as he speculates what this will be like, he does not express the apprehension or anxiety concerning a painful parting characteristic of Loti's other works. He asks himself, for example,

Comment va être le dernier acte de ma petite comédie japonaise, le dénouement, la séparation? Y aura-t-il un peu de tristesse chez ma mousmé ou chez moi, un peu de serrement de coeur à l'instant de cette fin sans retour? Je ne vois pas bien cela par avance.⁷⁰²

What will the last act of my little Japanese comedy be like? The dénouement, the separation? Will there be any touch of sadness on the part of my mousmé, or on my own, just a tightening of the heart-strings at the moment of our final farewell? At this moment I can imagine nothing of the sort⁷⁰³

and concludes that 'voilà un mariage qui sera rompu sans douleur!' 'there indeed is a marriage which will be broken without pain!'⁷⁰⁴ The contractual nature of the 'marriage' is emphasised too when the protagonist remarks on Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the piastres he paid her, and bids that she be diligent and hasty in doing so lest she find she has been tricked. When he finally leaves Chrysanthème, the protagonist epitomises his perception and rejection of her—and Japan by implication—as an insignificant, small, affected, 'Japanesque' distraction whom he will neither grieve for nor reminisce over:

Allons, petite mousmé, séparons-nous bons amis; embrassons-nous même, si tu veux. Je t'avais prise pour m'amuser; tu n'y as peut-être pas très bien

⁷⁰⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 109; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 121.

⁷⁰¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 82; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 74.

⁷⁰² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 201.

⁷⁰³ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 275.

⁷⁰⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 211; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 295. Minor alterations have been made to Ensor's translation.

réussi, mais tu as donné ce que tu pouvais, ta petite personne, tes révérences et ta petite musique; somme toute, tu as été assez mignonne, dans ton genre Nippon. Et, qui sait, peut-être penserai-je à toi quelquefois, par ricochet, quand je me rappellerai ce bel été, ces jardins si jolis, et le concert de toutes ces cigales...⁷⁰⁵

Well, little mousmé, let us part good friends; one last kiss even, if you like. I took you to amuse me; you have perhaps not succeeded very well, but after all you have done what you could : given me your little face, your little curtseys, your little music; in short, you have been pleasant enough in your Japanese way. And who knows, perchance I may yet think of you sometimes when I recall this glorious summer, these pretty quaint gardens, and the ceaseless concert of the cicalas.⁷⁰⁶

The implication is that Chrysanthème will be remembered in the context of being just one aspect of a 'glorious,' Japanesque summer marked by 'pretty quaint gardens, and the ceaseless concert of the cicalas,' rather than remembered as someone with whom Loti shared a meaningful partnership. This emerges fifteen years later with the words of the protagonist of *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* as he arrives in Nagasaki. He writes of Japan as a land where he had 'neither loved nor suffered.'⁷⁰⁷ This contrasts with the situation in *Rarahu* where the protagonist expresses much grief at his impending departure as he writes: 'Je l'aimais bien, mon Dieu, pourtant! Quelle angoisse de la quitter, et de la quitter perdue . . .' 'And I loved her all the time, God knows! It was torture to leave her and know that she was lost.'⁷⁰⁸ Furthermore, in bidding Rarahu to act wisely after he has left by advising that she stay away from areas where she may be lured into relationships with visiting sailors, the protagonist calls her 'ma chère petite amie, . . . ma bien-aimée,' 'my dear little friend, . . . my loved one.'⁷⁰⁹ This disquiet continues well after he has left Tahiti as the protagonist of subsequent works laments the experiences he had there.

Félix Régamey's response to Madame Chrysanthème

The nineteenth-century scholar of Japan, artist, and illustrator Félix Régamey (1844–1907) strongly attacked Loti's approach to Japan in his book *Le Cahier rose de Madame Chrysanthème* (henceforth '*Le Cahier rose*.'⁷¹⁰). Régamey's comments were grounded in a relatively comprehensive knowledge of aspects of Japanese society, particularly its arts and crafts. He had visited Japan a number of times: he accompanied Émile Guimet in 1876 on his study of Oriental religions as his painter, went as a war correspondent in 1894, and also during the Boxer campaign. Régamey helped produce a translation of Bakin's novel *Okuma* that was published in 1883, and wrote *Le Japon pratique* (1891) and *Le Japon* (1903). He was known for his very pro-Japanese political opinions.⁷¹¹ *Le Cahier rose* is a work that challenges the stereotypes of the Japanese woman as a mere plaything because it gives her a voice independent of that of the western male protagonist, something very rare in nineteenth-century French

⁷⁰⁵ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 226.

⁷⁰⁶ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 323.

⁷⁰⁷ Pierre Loti (S. R. C. Plimsoll, trans.). *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*, p. 8.

⁷⁰⁸ Pierre Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti*, p. 264; and Pierre Loti (Clara Bell, trans.). *The Marriage of Loti (Rarahu)*, p. 181.

⁷⁰⁹ Pierre Loti. *Le Mariage de Loti*, p. 264; the translation is my own.

⁷¹⁰ Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1894.

⁷¹¹ See: Schwartz. *The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in modern French literature, 1800–1925*, p. 128.

(and western in general) accounts of ‘romances’ between western men and Japanese females. Thus the work contrasted somewhat, though certainly not absolutely, with her depiction on items of japonaiserie.

Régeamey begins *Le Cahier rose* by outlining the cultural inaccuracies in *Madame Chrysanthème*, and criticises the author both personally and professionally, implying that Loti’s writing is considered ethnographically accurate by the general public somewhat unquestioningly because of his fame and popularity. What Régamey evaluates as Loti’s mis-representation of Japan is deemed by him to stain the country with an ‘encre maussade,’ a ‘bad-tempered ink.’⁷¹² The objections he raises include Loti’s dislike of the smell of the Japanese people who Régamey argues are one of the cleanest races, and the black drapings adorning shops that Loti mistakenly claims connote funerals but are in fact businesses signs. One of his strongest criticisms concerns Loti’s claim that Japanese women are commonly sold, with no questions of morality, just as inanimate objects are.⁷¹³ Régamey presents the somewhat tenuous argument that if Japanese women indeed were of such low virtue, they must have changed greatly since the time when Francis Xavier travelled to Japan, citing some of Xavier’s writing on the Japanese that was written about three centuries earlier than Régamey’s work. A comparison such as this made to the behaviour of a group of people too temporally distant to be meaningful due to the socio-political developments that occurred in between arouses the suspicion that Régamey was intent on discrediting Loti’s depiction of Japan by any means he could. Moreover, Japanese women indeed commonly were sold.

It appears that Régamey was particularly offended by Loti’s treatment of Chrysanthème and how she is denied a voice independent of the imaginings of the protagonist. The main text of *Le Cahier rose* is an alternative representation of the experiences of Okané-San and Loti, written from the perspective of Okané (who becomes Chrysanthème). While Bruno Vercier calls the work the ‘*reflet inversé, le négatif*,’ ‘inverted reflection, the negative’ of Loti’s text and writes that it depicts Chrysanthème as loving, sensitive, and indifferent to money, he also suggests that the Chrysanthème that Régamey creates is just as imaginary or artificial as Loti’s. Essentially, both authors give Chrysanthème voice through western, male writers, even if Régamey’s approach allows her her own voice.⁷¹⁴ What is important is that Régamey lets Chrysanthème speak for herself: he is able to make the ideological leaps that a non-western, ‘coloured’ person—and moreover a female—had the intellectual capacity to respond to the world intelligently, and also that the thoughts and feelings born of this were worthy to be the primary subject of literature.

Analysis here is restricted to the excerpts cited in Appendix II of the 1990 edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* edited by Bruno Vercier.⁷¹⁵ The diary entries of Chrysanthème that Vercier includes are

⁷¹² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 242, Appendix II.

⁷¹³ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 243–244, appendix II.

⁷¹⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 12, Introduction.

⁷¹⁵ A copy of the entire text of *Le Cahier rose* has been unavailable through interloan.

of 4, 10, 11, 12, 18, 25, 27 August and of 11, 17, 18 September 1885. Régamey depicts Chrysanthème as anxious to please her French ‘husband,’ and perceptive and empathetic as she becomes increasingly aware that Pierre, as she calls him, does not like Japan. For example, in the entry of 10 August Chrysanthème writes: ‘. . . il s’ennuie. C’est un grand chagrin pour moi qui n’ai cessé de me mettre à ses pieds et de lui offrir le meilleur de moi,’⁷¹⁶ ‘. . . he is bored. This weighs upon me greatly as I have not ceased to put myself at his feet, and offer the best of me to him . . .’⁷¹⁷ Chrysanthème writes of the specific efforts she makes to please Pierre: for example, she orders a dictionary to learn French (10 August), and sits for a long time tending to him when he is sick (11 September). Régamey counters Loti’s treatment of aspects of Japanese culture that he disliked by having Chrysanthème remark that Pierre does not have the refinement of sense or taste necessary to appreciate things such as the smell of flowers which infuses everything (12 August, perhaps this was in response to Loti writing of the distinctive smell of the ‘*race jaune*’); and that he becomes annoyed at innocent pastimes such as her smoking the pipe (12 August), singing, and playing the *shamisen* (18 August). Such entries suggest that Régamey’s Chrysanthème was carefully constructed to criticise specific aspects of Loti’s approach to Japan, and thereby his own attacks on Loti are veiled in an account purporting to belong to Chrysanthème. As Loti used various aspects of Japanese culture and people to criticise Japan, Régamey uses Chrysanthème as a voice for his own attacks on Loti.

Concerning specific synoptic intersections between the two accounts, Régamey’s representation of certain events implicitly criticises Loti’s version as they accord Chrysanthème innocence where the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* assigns blame, or caring where she is depicted as merely irritating and incapable of human emotion. For example, in the travelogue’s entry of 25 August, the protagonist writes of putting Chrysanthème’s pillow between his own and Yves’ deliberately ‘pour observer, pour voir,’ ‘to observe, to watch’⁷¹⁸ Chrysanthème’s response and determine whether she and Yves indeed shared an affection for one another (which would be evidenced by her leaving the pillow where it was). However, in *Le Cahier rose*, Régamey makes Chrysanthème give Loti the benefit of the doubt as she writes that he put her pillow in the middle ‘par inadvertence, sans doute’ ‘inadvertently, without doubt.’⁷¹⁹ A Chrysanthème who gives Loti the benefit of the doubt is a more flattering portrayal than one suspected of having designs on Yves, even if these do not eventuate. When the protagonist discovers his fears are ill-founded, rather than regret not having trusted Chrysanthème, he writes of his relief at being able to trust Yves, blaming the perceived small-scale of Japan and its ‘demeaning influence’ for having instilled in him such ‘petty anxieties’ as cited in Chapter Sixteen. Another event in which the interpretations differ significantly is at the end of *Madame Chrysanthème* when the protagonist surprises Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the money he paid her. In the travelogue, the protagonist assumes she is calculating and as emotionally unconcerned about the end of

⁷¹⁶ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 244–245.

⁷¹⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 244–245.

⁷¹⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 154; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 197. The English is my translation as Ensor omits translation of the ‘*pour observer, pour voir.*’ Yves had to stay for the night at Diou-Djen-Dji because it was raining heavily, and in addition needed to share their mosquito net because he was disturbed by the insects in his own room.

⁷¹⁹ Cited in: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 246.

their contractual arrangement as he, even expressing his approval of her prudence in checking its authenticity in a land where 'tant de gens malintentionnés sont habiles à imiter les monnaies,' 'where so many evil-minded people are clever in forging money.'⁷²⁰ However, in Régamey's account, Chrysanthème was singing a well-known Japanese song concerning avarice being the seed of all crimes and the worst thing in the world, while tapping on the piastres Pierre gave her as was customary.⁷²¹

Far from being unable to think significant thoughts or critically evaluate situations and interpersonal dynamics as she is depicted in Loti's work, Régamey's Chrysanthème often wonders what Pierre is thinking (for example 12 August), and is portrayed as having an interest in their relationship. That is, she is an active participant rather than a passive accompaniment to the protagonist's experience in Japan as she is in *Madame Chrysanthème*, a work in whose dedication the protagonist writes, after all, that the three main characters are 'Moi, le Japon, et l'Effet que ce pays m'a produit,' 'Myself, Japan, and the effect produced on me by that country.'⁷²² For example, in *Le Cahier rose* Chrysanthème writes of how much she loved Pierre, a feeling particularly strong as she cared for him while he was sick:

Fiévreuse, moi aussi, je pensais en le caressant bien doucement, que s'il mourait, je mourrais après lui. Les âmes n'ont pas besoin de paroles pour s'entendre, il saurait alors combien je l'ai aimé.⁷²³

Feverish also, as I caressed him softly I thought that if he were to die, I would die after him. Souls have no need for words to understand one another, he would know after all how much I loved him.

Contrastingly, in the travelogue, Chrysanthème is essentially depicted as not caring for the relationship. Though alluded to throughout the text, the protagonist reaches this conclusion absolutely upon seeing Chrysanthème checking the authenticity of the money he paid her. He deduces that her plea for him to come and visit Diou-Djen-Dji once more before he left was insincere, and writes: 'Allons, pas plus pour Yves que pour moi, pas plus pour moi que pour Yves, rien ne s'est jamais passé dans cette petite cervelle, dans ce petit coeur,' 'Ah! not more for Yves than for me, not more for me than for Yves, has any feeling passed through that little brain, that little heart.'⁷²⁴

The fact that *Le Cahier rose* was deemed sufficiently topical to be published by an outside party suggests that Félix Régamey's opinion of Loti's treatment of Chrysanthème is more than simply an isolated example of one particularly zealous critic's views. Though present-day scholars may, to

⁷²⁰ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 225; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p.322.

⁷²¹ See: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 247–248.

⁷²² Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 43; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 5.

⁷²³ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 247, the translation which follows is my own.

⁷²⁴ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 224; and Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 320.

varying degrees, reaccentuate Loti's writing against present-day norms and according to recent theory, Régamey's response indicates that certain groups of nineteenth-century French society had conflicting opinions to Loti's. Even within himself and his response to Japan as expounded in *Madame Chrysanthème*, Loti too was in conflict. On one hand, he depicted Japan as an item of japonaiserie: quaint, colourful, playful, and exotically Edenesque. On the other, his protagonist betrays a strong negativity towards aspects of the country he neither liked nor understood. The nature, implications, and significance of this duality will be discussed in the Conclusion.

CONCLUSION

Japanophile and Japanophobe: the duality that is *Madame Chrysanthème*

Angels and Ministers of Grace defend us.
 Be thou a spirit of Health, or Goblin damn'd,
 Bring with thee Airs from Heaven, or Blasts from Hell,
 Be thy intents wicked, or charitable,
 Thou comest in such a Questionable Shape
 That I will speak to thee, I'll call thee
 Hamlet,
 King, Father, Royal Dane; O answer me⁷²⁵

William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1600–01) is considered in the popular consciousness as one of the world's best-known tragedies. Amongst scholars of English literature it is commonly regarded to be a classic study in duality as Hamlet painstakingly deliberates over whether the spectre he has encountered is indeed 'a spirit of Health' or if it is instead a 'Goblin damn'd.' Likewise, the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* struggles to reconcile his conflicting ideas on the reality of Japan as he experiences it versus its exterior appearance. Akin to *Hamlet*, the travelogue becomes a work characterised by duality as Japan is one moment a trifling, pretty, and indeed 'charitable' land, yet the next it is mysterious, inconceivable, and 'wicked.' The present study has been concerned with identifying and examining this duality, and at the same time arguing that its negatively critical side does not preclude *Madame Chrysanthème* from being a clear example of literary japonaiserie. It approached this by firstly determining the socio-political context from which Loti's readers formulated expectations of Japan and read his travelogue, and then synthesising this with an intra-textual investigation of the work itself.

From increased Franco-Japanese exchange to japonisme

During the last decades of the nineteenth century an important political focus of French foreign policy was expanding and maintaining a colonial empire. Factors which interacted with this were diverse, and included increasingly scientific racial classification providing a biological and therefore 'indisputable' basis upon which to justify colonial intervention and the *missions civilisatrices* it entailed. At the same time, the technological developments of the industrial revolution facilitated the practicalities of colonialism. The popular or social effects were also complex and interrelated: for example, the ways in which classification systems were manipulated to promote colonialism stimulated a general curiosity in exotic peoples, while improvements in travel enabled leisure travel to popularise, with increasing numbers travelling further afield.

⁷²⁵William Shakespeare. *Hamlet*. Act I, Scene 4, ll. 37–44; in William Shakespeare (Andrews, John ed.). *Hamlet* (London: Everyman 1989), p. 55.

While this was happening in France and wider Europe, Japan had relatively recently resumed contact with the West after Commodore Matthew Perry landed at Edo Bay in 1853. After more than two centuries of *sakoku* or ‘national seclusion,’ sectors of Japanese society, particularly its government, enthusiastically sought exchange between Japan and Europe. This was in fields including diplomacy, science, technology, engineering, law, medicine, education, and art. Concerning the last area, a refined and developed artistic tradition was seen as one way in which Japan could demonstrate to the West that it was indeed a ‘civilised’ nation unlike the ‘savage’ lands over which countries such as France, Britain, and Germany zealously formulated colonial designs.

One of the many results of a combination of these European and Japanese situations was a Japanese influence on Western art and design particularly popular during the last decades of the nineteenth century. This was known as japonisme, while the tangible, often commercial products of such an influence were called japonaiserie. The popular fashion for things Japanese and Japanesque included prints, paintings, screens, furniture, fans, clothing, textiles, jewellery, masks, theatrical productions, and travelogues. Typically, the Japanesque took precedence over Japan proper, and manufacturers of japonaiserie—Western or Japanese—intentionally reproduced the ‘Japan’ that Western consumers were familiar with, expected, and responded well to.

Alongside the increasing and diversifying array of Japanesque products, travel writing grew in popularity as the distant world became both more accessible and interesting. Nevertheless, by the time Pierre Loti visited Japan in 1885, the country was still relatively novel due to its distance and the mystery surrounding it that resulted from the *sakoku* era. This meant that travellers to Japan such as Loti who produced memoirs upon their return could essentially depict the country as they liked: the majority of readers would neither be aware of inaccuracies, nor concerned with the reality. They sought the Japan they already knew from their painted screens, fans, and the like. It was this trio—the fashion for japonaiserie, increasing interest in literature on Japan, and an ignorance of its reality—that allowed Loti to craft his travelogue *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie in which the Japanesque frequently took precedence over Japan proper.

As Peter Bishop (1989) suggests, it was not unusual for a literary representation in a travel text to stray far from the reality of the country it ‘depicted’: ‘Travel texts . . . lie at the intersection of individual fantasy-making and social constraint. More regulated than, say, dreams, but one of the most personal documents, they are a unique record of a culture’s imaginative life.’⁷²⁶ This study has been concerned with demonstrating that *Madame Chrysanthème* was indeed a work of ‘individual fantasy-making’ that recorded the ‘imaginative life’ of Japanese culture as it pandered to the ‘social constraint’ of aligning with expectations determined by japonaiserie. At the same time however, it has aimed to demonstrate that alongside somewhat endearingly reproducing this stereotypical Japan, Loti at times demonstrated a strong antipathy towards Japan and the Japanese.

⁷²⁶ Bishop. *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, travel writing and the Western creation of sacred landscape*, p. 7.

Linking the parts together

To provide the context for the sorts of perceptions and expectations of the outer world that Loti tailored *Madame Chrysanthème* to meet, first relevant aspects of the socio-political climate of nineteenth-century France were examined. Chapter Five dealt with colonialism, outlining its extent, how it was justified, the sort of thinking it promoted, and its popularisation. The thinking promoted by scientific theories used to justify colonialism found its way into much literature, including Loti's. For example, while listening to Chrysanthème and Oyouki play the *shamisen*, the protagonist remarks on the polarity of Eastern and Western races, a useful concept for colonists to expound if one group is to be argued to be 'better' than the other and thus the bearer of the 'White Man's Burden' as they strive to civilise 'savage' peoples. The protagonist writes:

Mais une âme qui, plus que jamais, me paraît être d'une espèce différente de la mienne; je sens mes pensées aussi loin des leurs que des conceptions changeantes d'un oiseau ou des rêveries d'un singe; je sens, entre elles et moi, le gouffre mystérieux, effroyable ...⁷²⁷

But it is a soul which more than ever appears to me of a different species to my own; I feel my thoughts to be as far removed from theirs as they are from the flitting conceptions of a bird, or the dreams of a monkey; I feel there is betwixt them and myself a great abyss, mysterious and awful.⁷²⁸

The popularisation of the scientific thinking inherent in colonisation is particularly important as many of Loti's readers formed opinions on the outer world and its inhabitants based on ideas circulated via, for example, seeing 'native,' 'less developed' peoples in cages at the frequently-visited human zoos. Cultural and geographic essentialism saw perceptions of the non-white colonised 'other' (such as Africans) extrapolated onto any non-white 'other,' the Japanese included.

Industrialisation and life and leisure in nineteenth-century Paris were the focus of the following chapter. The changes brought about by the industrial revolution, as well as the sorts of leisure spaces and activities that developed were examined. These have significance firstly because an increasingly industrial society made appealing the items of japonaiserie that alluded to a pre-modern, infantile, and rejuvenating antithesis of this. Secondly, Loti's readers are likely to have encountered japonisme and japonaiserie during their leisure time which, for many sectors of the population, increased along with industrialisation.

A combination of colonial expansion, its popular manifestation which stimulated an awareness of and interest in the non-white 'other,' and the scientific and technological advancements of the industrial revolution resulted in the development and diversification of the nineteenth-century leisure travel industry. This was the subject of Chapter Seven. The chapter aimed to analyse the sorts of attitudes that Loti's readers typically would have had towards the outer world either through having travelled there themselves, or by having read the accounts of those who had. The tendency was identified for tourists

⁷²⁷ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.), *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 209.

⁷²⁸ Loti (Laura Ensor, trans), *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 291. Ensor's translation has been slightly adapted.

to group together, to have little 'distinctly meaningful and lasting contact' with the local inhabitants,⁷²⁹ and to travel very much with the mind-set that the European way was the superior, dominant model, and indeed the norm from which 'other cultures deviate[d].'⁷³⁰ These attitudes were formulated in part by colonialism where European powers did actually control the peoples they colonised, and their articulation was partly seen in the responses of leisure travellers to the non-European world. Lastly, Pierre Loti was examined as a nineteenth-century traveller; and there was analysis of the extent to which his experiences resembled those of his contemporaries, and how they influenced his response to Japan.

Part III shifted the focus from Europe towards Japan. Its first chapter concerned pre-Perry exchange between Japan and the West, and outlined aspects such as early missionary activity, anti-Christian edicts, the *sakoku* or 'national seclusion' policies, and the Dutch settlement at Dejima. While well before the time of Loti's visit, this period is of importance to this thesis because the attitudes it formed towards Westerners affected how this group were treated by the Japanese when they started arriving in much larger numbers during the nineteenth century. For example, the rarity of Westerners during the *sakoku* period saw many nineteenth-century travellers such as Isabella Bird become the subject of intrusive curiosity.

Chapter Nine began with a brief overview of Meiji Japan, then examined the types of Westerners who visited, lived, and worked in Japan, moving on to the foreign settlement at Nagasaki. The period is of importance as it was when Loti visited the country, and an understanding of the sorts of experiences Westerners had there puts Loti's own in the context of those of his contemporaries. It also illuminates how he may have been viewed by his Japanese acquaintances who doubtlessly had pre-conceptions of how he would behave and 'be' based on the other Westerners with whom they had had prior contact. Nagasaki was focused on because it is the city Loti actually visited and is the setting of *Madame Chrysanthème*. In particular, an overview of Nagasaki's foreign settlement at the time Loti visited is important as it sheds light on some of the 'artistic license' the author took in crafting *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie that departed somewhat from the reality he is likely to have experienced, as was seen in Part V.

Nineteenth-century Western perceptions of Japan were the focus of Chapter Ten. Aspects that Western visitors had a tendency to remark on were examined, and these included 'traditional' Japanese culture, the Japanese character, physical appearance, and women. In most cases, commentary is typified by Euro-centric reaccentualisations, essentialisations, and aestheticisations. The sorts of attitudes emerging in published accounts tended to mirror those circulating in the popular manifestation of colonialism and also expressed by nineteenth-century leisure travellers to the non-Western world. Their delineation allows for Loti's attitudes towards Japan to be put in the context of those of his contemporaries, and also illuminates the perceptions of Japan Loti's readers may have had from

⁷²⁹ Buzard. *The Beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800–1918*, p. 28.

⁷³⁰ Hargreaves. *The Colonial experience in French fiction: A study of Pierre Loti, Ernest Psichari and Pierre Mille*, p. 10.

reading the accounts of other travellers. These perceptions formed some of the 'social constraints' to which Loti tailored the travelogue.⁷³¹ Chapter Ten also outlined nineteenth-century informative writing on Japan to give an idea of the amount of scholarly literature being produced on the country and the sorts of fields it covered.

Japonisme was the focus of Part IV to provide the characteristics of the immediate aesthetic and artistic context in which *Madame Chrysanthème* is being situated and examined. Throughout, distinction was made between those who encountered japonisme through serious scholarship and a genuine interest in Japanese aesthetic philosophies and techniques, and those who were drawn to the movement for its 'fashionable and exotic' qualities, to recall van Rij's words.⁷³² It is predominantly this latter group who were likely to have found *Madame Chrysanthème* appealing. Chapter Eleven outlined pre-Perry artistic exchange between Japan and the West with the aim of illuminating early perceptions of Japan that Europeans may have gained from Japanese arts and crafts, as well as demonstrating how comparatively widespread and popular japonisme was when it emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. It then went on to examine artistic Orientalism and Chinoiserie to illustrate the similarities between these and japonisme, as well as the peculiarities of the latter movement. This chapter also identified how hybrid influences occurred as consumers and manufacturers confused Chinese motifs (or Indian or Thai, for example) with Japanese ones, a trend that was to continue in the late nineteenth century and indeed is even seen in the present day.

Chapter Twelve concerned the socio-political and aesthetic contexts of japonisme of which *Madame Chrysanthème* was one manifestation. It discussed the reasons for the movement enjoying the popularity that it did, when it did. These included a period of artistic stagnation which saw groups eagerly adopt new Japanese techniques, and also a boredom with the homogenous items characteristic of the mass-production of the industrial revolution alongside which items of japonaiserie were unusual and novel. The chapter then went on to discuss background areas including how Japanese or Japanesque items reached European consumers, the exhibition spaces of japonisme with particular attention to the universal fairs, collectors of Japanese arts and crafts, and the sorts of activities and societies that emerged to cater for japonists. These last areas were essentially the popularisation of japonisme, particularly so with respect to the universal fairs that attracted large audiences. These fairs played a large role in exposing the French public who would never visit Japan to its arts and crafts, and had a large influence on what ordinary citizens thought of the non-Western world in general.

The actual nature of japonisme was the focus of Chapter Thirteen. It concentrated on the prevailing stereotypes of Japan that the movement circulated because it was these that Loti, in part, tailored his travelogue to meet at the expense of depicting the country's reality. In addition, *Madame Chrysanthème* played a role in perpetuating these images: it was both 'shaped by' and had a part in

⁷³¹ Bishop. *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, travel writing and the Western creation of sacred landscape*, p. 7.

⁷³² Jan van Rij. *Madame Butterfly: Japonisme, Puccini, and the search for the real Cho-Cho-San*, p. 42.

'shaping' the wider culture of the time, to recall Said's words.⁷³³ Firstly areas conventionally associated with the movement such as the painterly and decorative arts were described. Influence was traced from its early, more superficial stages to developments that depended on a deeper understanding of Japanese aesthetic philosophy and artistic techniques. Then more peripheral areas were examined such as architecture, the theatre, and literature. These last two are particularly important to this study as they are the immediate context in which Loti's work is being argued to be an item of japonaiserie.

Part V shifted to a primarily intra-textual analysis of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie which nevertheless contained criticism of Japan. It aimed to draw upon the various extra-textual contexts examined in earlier discussions both to show how the travelogue was indeed an item of japonaiserie, and also to demonstrate the multi-faceted relationship between the wider socio-political climate, japonisme, and *Madame Chrysanthème* as it was 'shaped by' and played a role in 'shaping' this.⁷³⁴ Chapter Fourteen examined extra-textual factors that influenced the nature of *Madame Chrysanthème* as an item of japonaiserie. These included Loti's personality and renown as an author who had a set formula to maintain in his writing. It aimed to demonstrate that aspects of the work that contributed towards it being an item of japonaiserie were not purely due to the deliberate efforts of its author to align the work with this movement. This was followed by a comparison of Loti's personal diary or *journal intime* with *Madame Chrysanthème* to facilitate later analysis of the significance of how the two interacted and varied. Lastly, Chapter Fourteen outlined Loti's other well-known writing on Japan, *Japoneries d'automne*, *Femmes japonaise*, and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* to locate *Madame Chrysanthème* in the context of Loti's Japanese oeuvre and to facilitate later comparison.

Chapter Fifteen examined the structure of *Madame Chrysanthème* and in particular how the short chapters and sketches share stylistic and connotative similarities with certain aspects of japonisme in the fine and decorative arts. The many short chapters each typically focus on a single aspect of Japan just as the quickly-done sketches on vases and plates generally depicted one aspect of Japan. The way in which the chapters sit together without a clear chronological linearity can be argued to reflect the unconventional truncation characteristic of Japanese art as chapters generally begin from a point unconnected with the previous one. The watercolour sketches by the well-known artists Rossi and Myrbach extend the work's characteristics of japonaiserie to the visual or painterly realm as their nature, content, and associations were similar to those found in the decorative arts.

Chapter Sixteen aimed to demonstrate how linguistic aspects of the work contribute towards it being an item of japonaiserie, yet can also function to convey an antipathy towards Japan. It examined areas such as Loti's use of adjectives, his choice of names, and the interspersion of Japanese words throughout the text. It was seen that these literary devices had similar effects to certain techniques in the painterly realm: for example, the connotations evoked literarily by Loti's use of adjectives were

⁷³³ Said. *Culture and imperialism*, p. xxii.

⁷³⁴ Said. *Culture and imperialism*, p. xxii.

similar to those evoked visually in quaint depictions of Japan on items of japonaiserie, while the interspersed isolated Japanese words were stylistically reminiscent of the superficial imposition of Japanese or japanesque motifs on otherwise totally European paintings. In some cases the same technique could function on the one hand to contribute towards *Madame Chrysanthème* being an item of japonaiserie, yet on the other constitute a rejection of the country.

A particular preoccupation of the protagonist's examined in Chapter Sixteen is smallness and delicacy, and this is indeed an example of an area of textual duality where multiple and contrasting significances exist. Japan, to him, is a land best qualified by diminutive adjectives such as *petit*, *mignonne*, *enfantin*, *charmant*, *mièvre*, *mignard*, *gai*, *microscopique*, *coquette*, *belle*, and *artificiel*. In addition, a diminutive ending is sometimes attached to words such as *jardin* which becomes *jardinette* (a small garden) and *maison* which becomes *maisonnette* (a small house). Furthermore, the aspects of what Loti chooses to describe are often those concerning its smallness or intricacy: for example, he remarks on the detail of the finger-holes of the Japanese sliding screens. Such language depicts Japan as a quaint, juvenile, pretty, trifling, and gay land: all images evoked visually on items of japonaiserie with their brightly-painted scenes. This is reinforced by Loti's choice of names: most of the characters have names coming from the natural world with associations of smallness and/or delicacy.

Together these techniques variously depict Japan as a 'charitable,' harmless, juvenile plaything, one of the prevailing associations of japonisme and japonaiserie; or alternatively as a 'wicked,' insignificant, trivial, childish country of a physical and moral fragility. The result is a Japan, to use Littlewood's (1996) words, able to be 'looked at, understood, framed; it can be collected and possessed.'⁷³⁵ The perception that Japan did not warrant being taken seriously—whether this be implied by diminutive language use or naming characters after delicate flowers—prevailed to the extent that some have linked *Madame Chrysanthème* to the surprise at Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War, or even to the very defeat of Russia itself, as this country was perhaps militarily and diplomatically complacent towards the 'work of art' that Japan was seen to be.

Thematic interrelationships between items of japonaiserie and *Madame Chrysanthème* were the focus of Chapter Seventeen. Areas in which thematic and connotative similarities can be clearly identified include the protagonist's comparison of Japan proper to its image on items of japonaiserie, and his rejection of modernisation and Westernisation. It is via such areas that Loti deliberately tailored his work to meet consumer expectations or 'social constraints' conditioned by the diverse motivations and psychology behind japonisme.⁷³⁶ However, there are thematic areas in which the travelogue deviates from japonaiserie. These include the protagonist's comparisons of Japan to other places he has visited, and his frequent formulation of negative value judgments based on superficial, exterior observations. Given the degree to which Loti unashamedly tailored his work to meet consumer preferences, it is

⁷³⁵ Littlewood, *The idea of Japan: Western images, Western myths*, p. 92.

⁷³⁶ Bishop. *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, travel writing and the Western creation of sacred landscape*, p. 7.

curious or paradoxical that he still includes aspects that clearly contrast with this, and even contradict it directly.

Chapter Eighteen focused on the Japanese female, an area which epitomises the duality that is *Madame Chrysanthème*. She is also perhaps the foremost and most persistent association of the travelogue, both at the time of its publication and in the present day. The chapter analysed the similarities and differences between how the Japanese female is depicted on items of japonaiserie and how she is portrayed in *Madame Chrysanthème*. It was seen that Loti's treatment of the Japanese woman was clearly coloured by the duality that emerged throughout the text as she is seen as quaintly childlike one minute, yet frighteningly mysterious the next. Firstly it examined the ways in which the protagonist depicts her physical appearance, body idiom, and character. In each of these areas, associations similar to those on items of japonaiserie are evoked, yet there are also areas departing from these. The 'marriage' to Chrysanthème was next outlined and a comparison of the language Loti used to describe his relationship with Okané-San and actual marriage to de Ferrière suggest that he was an uncommitted party in all three unions. The ways in which the 'marriage' to Chrysanthème contrasted with other liaisons Loti had had with non-Western females also emerged as it becomes apparent that Chrysanthème failed to satisfy the protagonist even as a plaything, let alone as a lover or companion. Lastly, this chapter outlined Felix Régamey's response to Loti's depiction of the Japanese female.

*A work both 'shaped by' and 'shaping' perceptions of Japan*⁷³⁷

Part V treated a polar duality in a text in which at times the protagonist gives a somewhat endearing account of Japan, while at others he is highly judgmental and demeaning of his surroundings. Central to its findings, and to combine Bishop (1989) and Said's (1978) theories, is that rather than represent the reality of Japan as Loti would have experienced it during one of its most rapidly changing and turbulent eras, *Madame Chrysanthème* was strongly 'shaped by' the collective perception or 'social constraint' of what constituted Japan as already formulated and circulated by items of japonisme and japonaiserie. Supporting this is that while Loti was an author well-known for his political works, political commentary is scarce in *Madame Chrysanthème*, a work deliberately characterised instead by descriptions centring on the aesthetics of the pre-modern Edenesque natural and human environments, the Japanese tradition familiar to French readers, or the fairy-like people the protagonist found himself amongst. For example, the protagonist writes of an early morning walk:

La montagne sent bon. Fraîcheur de l'air, fraîcheur de la lumière, fraîcheur enfantine de ces petites filles en longues robes et en beaux chignons apprêtés. Fraîcheur de ces fleurs et de ces herbes sur lesquelles nous marchons et qui sont semées de gouttelettes d'eau ...⁷³⁸

The mountain smells delicious. There is a freshness of the air, a freshness of the light, an infantine freshness of these little girls in long dresses with pretty,

⁷³⁷ Said. *Culture and imperialism*, p. xxii.

⁷³⁸ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 154.

studied chignons. There is a freshness of the flowers and grasses upon which we tread and are studded with drops of dew . . .⁷³⁹

Such passages would have appealed to the typical nineteenth-century reader because they responded to or contrasted with aspects of their socio-political environment. For example, the protagonist writes of a 'Fraîcheur de l'air, fraîcheur de la lumière,' a 'freshness of the air, a freshness of the light,' and this would have contrasted with the stagnant living environment of many readers who found themselves in increasingly urbanised and industrialised societies. The 'longues robes et . . . beaux chignons apprêtés,' 'long dresses with pretty, studied chignons' would have been familiar to those who had seen kimono lining department or specialist store shelves, or who had seen depictions of elaborate head-dresses in, for example, the *ukiyo-e*.

At the same time as *Madame Chrysanthème* was 'shaped by' aesthetic and socio-political aspects of the society from which Loti wrote, it also played a major role in 'shaping' opinions of Japan. This reveals itself in the travelogue's influence both on popular perceptions of Japan during the period and in the persistence of certain images in the present day. Artists such as van Gogh are known to have read and been influenced by *Madame Chrysanthème*, and the words of André Chéradam suggest the extent to which this impact permeated nineteenth-century French society for which Japan was 'the country of Madam Chrysanthème.'⁷⁴⁰ Today, and as will shortly be elaborated, there is surprisingly little departure from Loti's time in how Japanese culture is aestheticised and consumed by Westerners. Moreover, some major dramatic productions inspired by *Madame Chrysanthème* have continued stereotypes which found their way into the popular consciousness partly through Loti's work. For example, both 'Madame Butterfly' and 'Miss Saigon' are still performed in large theatres internationally, and to varying degrees each depicts the Oriental woman as subordinate to her Western lover. Thereby, they each allude to Western domination and ethnocentrism.

A 'spirit of Health' or 'Goblin damn'd'?

One metaphor by which to consider how Loti made of Japan a plaything is that the country was like some of the religious ornamentation the protagonist remarked on that he found ridiculous, bemusing, 'cruel,' and darkly mysterious. This is reminiscent of Hamlet as he debated whether the apparition was indeed 'a spirit of Health, or Goblin damn'd.' On several occasions, a number of which have already been cited, the protagonist of *Madame Chrysanthème* writes of a sinister reality lurking beneath the 'ridiculous' exterior of Japanese religious ornamentation. In a similar way, at points in the text he evaluates the Japanese character as darkly strange based on exterior, superficial cultural differences (such as Chrysanthème singing) that he reaccentuates against a French norm, and therefore cannot synthesise neatly or satisfactorily with his own experiences and perceptions of the world. Nor can he empathise with it. For example, in describing the facial expressions of carved ornamentation, the protagonist likens them to the 'yet dangerous remains of ancient and malignant beasts':

⁷³⁹ The translation is based only loosely on Ensor's because hers deviates significantly from Loti's French. See: Loti (Laura Ensor, trans). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 197–198.

⁷⁴⁰ André Chéradam. *Le Monde et la Guerre Russo-Japonaise* (Paris: 1906), pp. 3–5, cited in: Wilkinson. *Japan versus Europe: A history of misunderstanding*, p. 50.

A bien regarder même, elle est partout, la grimace, dans les masques hideux qui rient aux devantures des antiquaires innombrables; dans les magots, dans les jouets, les idoles: la grimace cruelle, louche, forcenée;—elle est même dans les constructions, dans les frises de portiques religieux, dans les toits de ces mille pagodas, dont les angles et les pignons se contorsionnent, comme des débris encore dangereux de vieilles bêtes malfaisantes.⁷⁴¹

When one looks closely, this grimace is to be found everywhere: in the hideous masks laughing in the shop fronts of the innumerable curio-shops; in the grotesque figures, the playthings, the idols, cruel, suspicious, mad;—it is even found in the buildings: in the friezes of the religious porticos, in the roofs of the thousand pagodas, of which the angles and cable-ends writhe and twist like the yet dangerous remains of ancient and malignant beasts.⁷⁴²

The various strands of bemusement at such a trifling, naïve, gay, and ‘silly’ people, or of criticism of Japan that weave their way through *Madame Chrysanthème* reinforce the ‘them’ and ‘us’ dichotomy that Orientalism engendered and partly relied on, to recall Said’s ideas. Japan was not only a disposable plaything for the amusement of Westerners, it could also provide an image of what Europe did not want itself to be: ‘cruel,’ ‘suspicious,’ ‘mad.’ Such depictions of Japan helped to ‘define Europe (or the West) as [the] contrasting image, idea, personality, experience,’⁷⁴³ and so in the case of Japan, the West would become by counter-distinction kind, trusting, and sane or rational.

Japanophile or Japanophobe?

Oscillating between depicting a land of exotic and delightful naivety and one whose religious ornamentations were ‘cruel, suspicious, mad,’ the text of *Madame Chrysanthème* thus becomes an amalgam of contrasting elements which could be said to have been written by an author both Japanophile and Japanophobe. On the one hand, it tells of the Japan that was a quaint, pre-modern fairy-land inhabited by giggling women in kimono and comical men such as M. Kangarou—images reminiscent of popular japonaiserie and whose author one could expect to be fond of Japan. On the other, the protagonist frequently levies harsh criticism at Japan and his Japanese ‘wife’ Chrysanthème, and finds himself at disturbing, absolute odds with his surroundings. And, as was seen in discussion of the use of *petit* or likening Japan proper to its image on items of japonaiserie for example, sometimes one aspect can afford plural and contrasting, contradictory interpretations.

This duality partly arises because the travelogue’s commercial aims contrast with and somewhat contradict Loti’s personal response to Japan. While *Madame Chrysanthème* was likely to attract high readership because of the reputation of its author, to maximise commercial gain it was still in Loti’s best interests to ‘package’ the work as an item of japonaiserie. At times conforming to the prevailing stereotypes, the ‘social constraints’ of japonaiserie appear to conflict with Loti’s personal response to Japan as revealed in parts of the text or in his diary. The protagonist articulates this at points by, for

⁷⁴¹ Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, pp. 227–228.

⁷⁴² Loti (Laura Ensor, trans). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 326.

⁷⁴³ Said. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*, pp. 1–2.

example, directly criticising the nature of Parisian display and collection of japonaiserie or strongly and criticising the Japanese female. The text demonstrates the potency of japonisme and japonaiserie as it is a work thickly 'glossed' by a familiar and quaint Japanesqueness (even visually too with the inclusion of the watercolour sketches), despite the author's prevailing personal feelings seeming to be in contrast to this and being clearly articulated to be so at points.

The significance of Madame Chrysanthème as an item of japonaiserie

In addition to the socio-political or ideological meaning already discussed of Japan as the 'other' being likened to a quaint, harmless plaything while also a strangely dark, incomprehensible, and malevolent land, Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* being an item of japonaiserie has significance for several reasons. The nature and convincingness of the similarities between Loti's work and japonisme in the visual arts demonstrate that the boundaries of the second category can be meaningfully extended to include travel writing when this is moulded to reflect prevailing expectations and stereotypes. Conversely, it suggests more generally that a work examined primarily as literature can be usefully considered an example of an 'artistic' or 'aesthetic' genre such as japonisme. Analysis of the text from beyond the confines, conventions, and methodology of literary studies can extend and enhance our understanding because of the differing extra-textual contexts and intra-textual narrative techniques that are included and compared in analysis.

An examination of *Madame Chrysanthème* as japonaiserie also identifies the book as an early example of popular present-day aestheticisation and commercialisation of Japan. In the present day, Japanese culture is commonly aestheticised and commodified in the Western popular market place. Though relying on associations of exotic unusualness for their general appeal, goods such as fashion accessories, home-wares, health and beauty products, and culinary items are typically moulded and influenced by 'social constraints,' by a consumer preference for familiar products which represent the perceived quintessential exoticness of the country concerned.⁷⁴⁴ The average consumer is both unaware of and unconcerned with authenticity: it is an image they seek, not a reality. Just as Loti tailored his book to meet the preferences of his reading audience, present-day manufacturers and retailers of such products as 'Chinese' beaded bracelets, Italian cooking ware, or mini Zen gardens allow the nature of their goods to be dictated by consumer tastes, and at the same time stimulate further demand for similar products.⁷⁴⁵

Mainstream, present-day 'Japanesque' products can be divided into three groups. Firstly, items purely Western in design, ornamentation, and function are displayed in settings alluding to Japanese simplicity or more general Asian exoticism. For example, one jewellery company selling pieces in no way influenced by Japanese aesthetic philosophies or techniques enhanced an advertisement by arranging earrings and a necklace around a pair of chopsticks resting on sushi, while a shoe advertisement

⁷⁴⁴ Bishop. *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, travel writing and the Western creation of sacred landscape*, p. 7.

⁷⁴⁵ This very common situation of manufacturers meeting consumer preference is at the core of marketing practice, and occurs in all areas of the consumer marketplace. It is perhaps the very means by which most of the market survives and thrives.

features shoes placed in and around take-away Asian food boxes and chopsticks.⁷⁴⁶ Secondly, there are Japanese products directly imported for sale in Western consumer market places. It is not uncommon for these 'authentic,' 'genuine' goods to depart significantly from their counterparts actually used in Japan because they are specifically made for export and accordingly pander to Western tastes and expectations. This is reminiscent of the situation in the nineteenth century when Japanese crafts-people began producing wares such as kimono and *ukiyo-e* specifically for the Western market, travelling to Europe to determine the fashions they wanted to mimic. Most common though are the many essentially Western products that are decorated with superimposed Japanese or Japanesque motifs.

This third area encompasses a diverse cross-section of the consumer market. For example, products such as shampoos and soaps allude to the healing properties of 'Japanese' minerals like those found in sea-weed, while perfumes have names evoking images of healthy, sagacious, Eastern society such as the Elizabeth Arden fragrance 'Green Tea.' In Spring 2002, Christian Dior released a range of make-up called 'Manga Look' whose products included bright lipsticks and eyeliners. Advertisements in expensive, glossy magazines feature a close-up shot of the intensely grimacing face of a Western woman with pale green hair possibly to connote bamboo. This example is interesting because something associated with traditional Japan—bamboo—is used to enhance an advertisement otherwise alluding to the mature, technologically developed Japan of the *manga* or animated cartoon era. Additionally, the eyes of the Western female have been made-up so as to make them appear narrower and possibly somewhat Japanese, whereas a characteristic of many *manga* are for the eyes to be drawn purposely wide to look like European/Caucasian eyes. Another cosmetic company, Poppy, applied a different approach and called upon the traditional, exotic, and erotic Japan of the geisha world in their range 'Geisha,' which features bright red lipstick, dark eyeliner, and pearlescent, white face powder. T-shirts and necklaces with *kanji* characters have become popular, as have tattoos featuring characters such as *tomo* signifying 'friend' or *dan* meaning 'male' or 'strength.' Traditional Japanese health or sporting practices such as shiatsu, reiki, and martial arts (mainly those of countries other than Japan however), have also become increasingly widespread. Clothes commonly feature Japanese designs in their cut (for example, the over-wrapping of frontal panels reminiscent of kimono), material, or superimposed Japanese images, often incorrect. Japanese food has gained popularity, and many restaurants project an image of Japanese tradition by architectural simplicity complemented with wait-staff in kimono. While this is particularly the case with older, more expensive establishments, some of the newer sushi takeaway stalls also aim towards a 'traditional' appearance, having staff dressed in *happi* coats (light, decorated overcoats that the Japanese often wear to festivals) or *yukata* (cotton kimono), and preparing the sushi in front of customers as they wait. A process of acculturation often sees ingredients varied according to the tastes of the country: for example, in Japan sushi with a variety of seafood fillings would be common, whereas in New Zealand fillings are more likely to include chicken or even cream cheese and avocado.

⁷⁴⁶ 'Next' magazine, September 2003.

Each of these three groups of Japanesque products appropriates aspects of traditional Japan's 'high' culture to which Western consumers have been conditioned to respond positively and indeed to seek out since Loti's time. In the areas and examples mentioned, it is 'familiar' images of traditional Japan that are used, partly for their exoticism, novelty, and the antithesis to matured, stressed Western society and its 'superficiality' that they represent.

Present-day consumption of a perceived 'traditional' Japan without reference to its reality is part of a wider trend by which non-Western cultures such as Indian, Thai, and Chinese are marketed as aesthetic commodities for Western consumption.⁷⁴⁷ *Madame Chrysanthème* is an early example of such trends, being indeed in some situations the very genesis of the images they rely on for commercial success. Arguably, *Madame Chrysanthème* was instrumental in forming and disseminating the stereotypes and images that have persisted to the present. The extent to which the actual nature and preoccupations of these present-day stereotypical images of Japan share significant and plural similarities with Loti's work, written over one hundred years ago and from within a vastly different socio-political extra-textual background, demonstrates the level of persistence of such images from the late nineteenth century to the present. It is easy to understand why consumers were infatuated with a stereotypical Japan in Loti's day, given that the country was still very 'new' for the Western world, and the vast majority would never have any opportunity for contact with actual Japan or the Japanese so knew no better than the depictions on the items they eagerly acquired. However, today exchange with Japan has become commonplace due to air travel, package tours, the internet, television, tourism, school exchanges, and working programs such as the Japan Exchange Teacher program (JET). Despite this, images and associations reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Japanesque abound in the Western consumer marketplace. It seems that while in terms of the exchange of people and ideas the world may be very different from how it was in Loti's day, Western attitudes remain remarkably unchanged. An examination of the ways in which Loti commercially exploited the popularity of Japan and the Japanesque at the time he wrote essentially becomes a study of the origins of some present day marketing practices.

The duality that is both Madame Chrysanthème and Pierre Loti

Any work of literature important or successful enough to be widely read will tend to incite diverse responses. *Madame Chrysanthème* has been variously evaluated as a work of such insight that it helped the Japanese identify their own faults, to one that stained Japan with a 'bad-tempered ink.' The work depicts Japan as both 'charitable' and 'wicked.' Contrasting responses commonly arise too concerning successful authors. Pierre Loti has been characterised as eccentric, compassionate, egocentric, generous, melancholic, intelligently analytical, effeminate, handsome, homosexual, bisexual, condescending, and a magician with words. The evidence such assertions are based on—Loti's life

⁷⁴⁷ This trend encompasses 'rustic' European cultures too such as those of southern France and Tuscany in Italy. For discussion of this, see: Joanne Sharp, 'Writing over the map of Provence: The touristic therapy of *A year in province*,' in: Duncan & Gregory (eds.), *Writes of passage: Reading travel writing*, pp. 200–218.

experiences—suggests that the author was a cognitively complex individual. The nature of *Madame Chrysanthème*, a work able to satisfy both Japanophile and Japanophobe in the same sentence, reflects well the complex psychology of its author. Pierre Loti and the first book he wrote on Japan are both multi-faceted, complex, and steeped in duality.

While *Madame Chrysanthème* did not represent the reality of Nagasaki during the time Loti visited Japan, it did depict the country as the average nineteenth-century French person perceived it and wanted to believe it to be through their contact with japonisme and japonaiserie. The reality for this group constituted Japan's cultural 'imaginative life,' and was essentially that Japan was a pre-modern, Edenesque country inhabited by little men or miniature doll-like women vastly different in thought and behaviour to their European counterparts. It was only serious scholars of Japan such as Félix Régamey or Lafcadio Hearn—still rare during the period—who recognised or cared for any alternative view. Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* can therefore be examined as an item of nineteenth-century French japonaiserie as its author places emphasis on the Japanesque at the expense of Japan proper. In doing so he reflected and reinforced many of the fundamental preoccupations and stereotypes of japonaiserie that the French public were familiar with and sought.

On the surface, this study concerns a nineteenth-century author who has all but slipped out of popular readership and one of the many travel books he wrote on the non-Western world. However, its true essence concerns the duality of reality and its interrelationship with perception, aesthetics, stereotypes, expectations, and preferences. The nature of how Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* bridged these two sides, that is, how a book supposedly depicting the reality of a traveller's experiences was just as much an artificial creation as were items of japonaiserie, has been demonstrated to have much in common with practices in the present day. Lastly, and possibly of most contemporary consequence, for both groups of consumers the reality of Japan is lost as the country essentially becomes its aestheticised image.

As André Chéradam wrote, after all:

. . . . before the [Russo-Japanese] war, apart from a limited number of specialists and scholars who kept themselves informed by their travels and serious works (seldom read), for us, for the rest of the French, what we knew of Japan was that above all it was the country of Madam Chrysanthemum.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁸ André Chéradam. *Le Monde et la Guerre Russo-Japonaise* (Paris: 1906), pp. 3–5, cited in: Wilkinson. *Japan versus Europe: A history of misunderstanding*, p. 50.

APPENDIX ONE

Loti's oeuvre⁷⁴⁹

- Loti, Pierre. *Aziyadé*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1879.
- Loti, Pierre. *Le Mariage de Loti*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1880.
- Loti, Pierre. *Le Spahi*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1881.
- Loti, Pierre. *Fleurs d'ennui*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1882.
- Loti, Pierre. *Mon frère Yves*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1883.
- Loti, Pierre. *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1886.
- Loti, Pierre. *Propos d'exil*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1887.
- Loti, Pierre. *Madame Chrysanthème*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1887.
- Loti, Pierre. *Japoneries d'automne*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1889.
- Loti, Pierre. *Au Maroc*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1890.
- Loti, Pierre. *Le Roman d'un enfant*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1890.
- Loti, Pierre. *Le Livre de la pitié et de la mort*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1890.
- Loti, Pierre. *Fantôme d'Orient*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1892.
- Loti, Pierre. *Une exilée*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1893.
- Loti, Pierre. *Matelot*. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1893.
- Loti, Pierre. *Le Désert*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1895.
- Loti, Pierre. *Jérusalem*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1895.
- Loti, Pierre. *La Galilée*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1895.
- Loti, Pierre. *Ramuntcho*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1897.
- Loti, Pierre. *Figures et choses qui passaient*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1898.
- Loti, Pierre. *Reflets sur la sombre route*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1899.
- Loti, Pierre. *Les Derniers Jours de Pékin*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1902.
- Loti, Pierre. *L'Inde (sans les Anglais)*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1903.
- Loti, Pierre. *Vers Ispahan*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1904.
- Loti, Pierre. *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1905.

⁷⁴⁹ Dates of publication are taken from: Serban. *Pierre Loti: sa vie et son oeuvre*, 338 ff. Only major works have been included.

Loti, Pierre. *La Mort de Philae*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1909.

Loti, Pierre. *Le Château de la belle-au-bois-dormant*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1910.

Loti, Pierre. *Un pèlerin d'Angkor*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1912.

Loti, Pierre. *La Turquie agonisante*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1913.

Loti, Pierre. *La Hyène enragée*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1916.

Loti, Pierre. *Quelques aspects du vertige mondial*. Paris: Flammarion, 1917.

Loti, Pierre. *L'Horreur allemande*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1918.

Loti, Pierre. *Prime jeunesse*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1919.

Loti, Pierre. *La mort de notre chère France en Orient*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1920.

Loti, Pierre. *Suprêmes visions d'Orient*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1921.

Loti, Pierre. *Un jeune officier pauvre*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1923.

APPENDIX TWO

Annotated chronology of Pierre Loti's visit to Japan in 1885⁷⁵⁰

Friday 3 July 1885

Loti reflects on the time he will soon spend in Japan. He writes that he will have a 'petite maison de papier, dans un faubourg, au milieu des jardins,' a 'little paper house, in a suburb, in the middle of gardens,' where he will be 'entouré de fleurs,' 'surrounded by flowers.' He also indicates his plans to have a 'petite amie à figure mignarde de poupée, avec de beaux cheveux noirs peignées d'une manière drôle,' 'little girlfriend with the appearance of a cute doll, with beautiful black hair combed in a droll way.'

Wednesday 8 July

Afternoon arrival in Japan aboard the *Triomphante* after having spent two months sailing in the waters around Ma-Kung.

Friday 10 July

Torrential downpour. In the afternoon Loti has tea and fruits served by three *mousmés* at an isolated tea-house in a mountain forest.

Saturday 11 July

Loti spends the day walking with Pierre Le Cor, his close friend and fellow seaman. Takes Le Cor to the tea-house with which he (Loti) is already familiar, and the waitresses teach him to eat using chopsticks. They wander through the large grounds of the temple, and Le Cor is surprised to hear Loti speak the Japanese that he learnt while in Ma-Kung. They take a rickshaw through the crowds and bazaars, and buy some samurai armour. They dine at the French hotel, where they are joined by fellow officers. As they leave, their armour has been taken by another rickshaw, and they run after it with lanterns. It is found by Kikou-San, their 'new friend' who later becomes Loti's cousin-in-law.

Sunday 12 July

Bastille Day. Large pavilions erected, and gun salutes. Loti reminisces over Bastille Day 1884 which he spent in his childhood home, at his desk writing for the *Revue*, visited by Marie D., who reminded him of childhood. Not being rostered on duty, Loti and Le Cor are ashore together and at 1:00pm they hire two rickshaws to take them to the theatre. Afterwards they go to the grounds of a Buddhist temple where they amuse themselves with *mousmés* doing archery. They dine late at an English bar in the European quarter. There is a brawl amongst *matelots*/sailors, and flags are raised and fireworks let off

⁷⁵⁰ This timeline has been compiled from: Loti (Bruno Vercier, Alain Quellla-Villéger, & Guy Dugas, eds.), *Cette éternelle nostalgie: Journal intime 1878-1911*, pp. 164-198.

in honour of France. Lines of cars pass filled with singing men from the *Triomphante*. At about midnight Loti remembers Le Cor who is being accosted by a group of *moussmés* whom he estimates to be about fifteen years old, and whom Loti speculates are trying to lead his friend astray.

Monday 15 July

Spends the night on the mountain.

Tuesday 16 July

Establishes house at *Diou-djen-dji*, a hillside suburb 300 metres above Nagasaki

Wednesday 17 July

In the evening, Loti makes his marriage arrangements with Okané-San. Le Cor, Okané-San's mother, sisters and aunt, and the family of Loti's landlord are present. Lengthy discussions in Japanese. At 10:00pm all is settled, and the guests leave with lanterns attached to long batons. Le Cor likes Okané-San, and both he and Loti seem to consider the *mariage d'un mois*, the 'marriage for a month,' as an amusement. They go down to board the *Triomphante*. An aside on buying 'bibelots' or 'trinkets.'

Thursday 18 July

3:00pm, the marriage is formalised in the presence of civil officials and the police. Le Cor is unable to attend as he is on duty.

Wednesday 24 July

This entry recalls the events of the past six days. Loti describes his house and the view it affords of Nagasaki. Mentions mundane things such as Okané-San's socks, the guitar-like instrument she plays, a Buddhist alter, their pillows (Okané-San's is hard, his is snake-skin covered), and the mosquito-net under which they sleep. Loti remarks on how he had already seen Okané-San everywhere in Europe on items of japonisme, and finds her irritating and feels sad enough to cry when alone with her in their Japanese house. He writes that Le Cor thinks of and treats her like a doll. Mentions that the marriage festivities were pleasant, with a lantern cortege and ceremonial tea.

Le Cor typically visits Loti and Okané-San at 5pm on the evenings when he is not on duty. Domestic life is tranquil and not particularly involved, consisting of things such as exchanging pleasantries, and having tea with neighbours. The couple hardly ever go out except during the evenings when they descend on Nagasaki with red lanterns on poles to visit the theatres, tea-houses, or bazaars. Loti writes that he is bored with his marriage, and his life in Japan does not compare to that he has known in places such as Stamboul or Oceania, where language was insufficient to describe the vibrancy he experienced and felt around him. In Japan on the contrary, he feels that words embellish what they qualify.

Loti writes of others who have married with the brokerage of Sajin-San, a cleaner. There is their neighbour Doïdé-San who is married to a commissioner; Osséi-San who is married to Rosenquist, a

blond Norwegian who has what seems to be a genuine affection for her and together they make the only couple that Loti speculates will be grieved when having to part; and Touki-San whom Loti estimates to be about twelve and is married to the aspirant Joubert. These other couples come to collect Loti and Okané-San for nightly walks down to Nagasaki, during which the four women typically walk holding hands, followed by the officers arm in arm. At the bazaars they buy toys and trinkets, while at the tea-houses they eat and drink strange concoctions. The last one in the group is Sitans, who had lived and married in Japan previously but is now married to a French woman. He is friends with all the *moussmés*, and enjoys the lack of commitment. He is known as *Komadachitaksan Takai*.

Loti recalls Okané-San's cries that there were mice on one of his first nights at Diou-djen-dji, and is reminded of the words of his *chère petite Turque*, 'dear little Turk' (Hakidjé). He cannot recall her memory as vividly as he may like in Japan though, a land that does not lend itself to recollections of such type.

Writes of Okané-San, her mother, and Doïdé-San coming to see him on the *Triomphante*, and how Okané-San's mother offered a prayer upon seeing the Buddha in its altar in Loti's cabin. The ship has shifted to another dock (the dry dock), and now Loti has to cross the bay to get to Diou-djen-dji. The sailors have utilised the opportunity of being on land to strike up relations with the Japanese women living in the mountain villages. Loti worries for Le Cor when faced with this increased freedom, and while he concludes that Le Cor has generally respected his vows of marriage, he recalls one occasion when Le Cor confessed to having paired up with a young Japanese woman. He writes of the noise of the crickets, and Le Cor's comments on the hideous voice of a street-singer. Loti makes Le Cor wear a straw hat, which the latter doesn't like. Okané-San, Le Cor, and Loti see a funeral procession. Loti writes of the time of bathing, about 5:00–6:00pm, then about dusk, and his landlady Kaka-San with her blackened teeth.

One night, while returning home from visiting a tea-house, Le Cor and Loti are caught in a downpour and take shelter at the lantern-seller's where they often buy red lanterns. He mentions too the waffle-shop which they frequent. Loti's cousin Kikou-San borrows an umbrella for them from a porcelain shop. Loti describes the long, wet walk up to Diou-djen-dji. When they get back, all is alight and the silhouette of Okané-San is visible.

Usually when on walks with Okané-San, the house at Diou-djen-dji is closed-up. Okané-San closes the shutters, sees to her evening toilette, and there is finally the pipe-smoking before they retire to bed. Okané-San will get up at about 3:00 or 4:00am to close the shutter that Loti has opened, and also a number of times to smoke her pipe. In the morning, Loti hears Kaka-San at her prayers, which last at least half an hour, at which time he knows to get up and leave for the *Triomphante*.

Loti's Japanese 'family' numbers many, and his cousin Kikou-San is rickshaw puller 415. The landlord is Matsou-San, his wife Kaka-San, and their daughter Oyouki-San who is fifteen and friends with

Okané. One day Loti goes up to Diou-djen-dji unexpectedly and finds Okané-San asleep, much to Kaka-San's annoyance who bids her look after Loti. Brief, fairly negative mention of Nagasaki's European settlement with its American and English bars. Then of the temples, and their two friends Matsou-San and Donata-San who are bonzes at the temple of the Jumping Tortoise.

Friday 24 July

Wind and torrential rain. Loti is on watch from midnight until 4:00am, and so returns to the *Triomphante* at 11:00pm. He finds Le Cor in his room reading *Salammbô*. At about 3:00am the weather deteriorates and a typhoon is imminent.

Saturday 25 July

The *Triomphante* is still in the dry dock, and the weather is very dreary. Loti goes for a walk in the surrounding area, and is reminded of his childhood and the woods at Limoise. He grieves over how the better part of his life has been spent.

Sunday 26 July

At about 6:00pm and during Loti's watch, the *Triomphante* leaves the dry dock, which spoils the plans that Loti and Le Cor had to go for a long walk with Okané-San. Pierre continues to read *Salammbô* in Loti's room. At 8:30pm Loti and Le Cor leave by sampan and fetch Okané-San, who Loti almost feels guilty towards because he had not seen her for two days. Okané-San had seen the *Triomphante* leave the dry dock and had prepared the residence at Diou-djen-dji for his return. They go for a walk and encounter crowds going to a religious festival. The three walk arm-in-arm, with Okané-San in the middle. They meet the other married officers of the *Triomphante* and make their way together to the temple. They return very late to Diou-djen-dji, and Le Cor spends the night there in another room. Okané-San alerts Loti to the mosquitoes, and they ask Le Cor to sleep with them under the insect net.

Monday 27 July

As they return to the *Triomphante* at about 7:00am, Le Cor and Loti walk with a group of six to eight year-old *mousmés* who are on their way to school. That night they return to the festival at the temple, and visit the acrobats' house.

Tuesday 28 July

Loti returns to the *Triomphante* at 7:00am, and that afternoon Okané-San takes him to visit her family. He has tea and cakes with cousins and an aunt of Okané-San.

Wednesday 29 July

Loti, Okané-San, and Le Cor go to have their photo taken, and have to wait for the many English sailors who are having their photos taken. Okané-San has been irritating Loti throughout the morning, and realising this asks to be able to sleep at her mother's place, saying she is sick. Loti lets her go. Loti and Le Cor try to have dinner at the 'Faucoina,' a Japanese hotel, but cannot because it is full, so

instead they dine at a small Japanese café where they are regulars. They return to the temple for the last day of the festival and Le Cor catches sight of Okané-San with her four year-old brother on her back. Fellow officers of the *Triomphante* joke that Loti has already had a son, and Okané-San goes to her mother's for the night. Loti and Le Cor consider sleeping on the *Triomphante*, but decide instead to return to Diou-djen-dji. However, they find the house closed up with no one there to let them in, and so return to the *Triomphante*.

Thursday 20 July

Loti on duty from 4:00–8:00am. At 5:00am, he raises the large sails.

Saturday 1 August

Loti and Le Cor go to the hospital to visit a senior officer who has been sick for the past two weeks. Afterwards, Loti returns to the *Triomphante* for duty while Le Cor proceeds alone to Diou-djen-dji. Loti joins them at 9:00pm to find them playing pigeon-vole. Le Cor is thrilled to have found a fencing spot next door, and had a successful bout after which he is given nice drinks. Okané-San says she is still sick and so Le Cor, Loti, the commissioner, and Doïdé-San take a rickshaw very late to the temple of Osva which they reach at 10.30pm [Osva= Osueva, conventionally written as Suwa]. In the gardens they find their two friends from the tea-house whom they met during their first few days at Nagasaki. Okané-San is up when they return, and Le Cor again sleeps at Diou-djen-dji. Le Cor gets up late to return to the *Triomphante*, and asks Loti if he (Le Cor) was well-behaved.

Sunday 2 August

Loti has a party at Diou-djen-dji with about twelve young women, for which the house is decorated with flowers and provision made for music, tea, and cakes. Afterwards the group descends into Nagasaki.

Monday 3 August

At 2:00am Okané-San hears a noise, and she and Loti investigate to see whether it is thieves. They go down to Kaka-San's place, and discover that the noise was in fact mice. Loti remarks on how unattractive Kaka-San is while sleeping.

Tuesday 4 August

Loti and Le Cor are off duty from 5:00pm. They cross the town by rickshaw to go to the photographer Uyeno where Okané-San has been taken by Silans and is waiting. They have their photo taken, and return to Diou-djen-dji. They do not return to Nagasaki that night, and Le Cor and Loti go to the fencing place, to find it deserted. They continue on an aimless walk for an hour and rest on some gravestones at a cemetery. When they return to Diou-djen-dji Okané-San and Oyouki-San are playing their guitars and Le Cor and Loti listen to them until about midnight, interrupted by noises of a festival from the township below. Le Cor talks with the girls in pigeon-Japanese, and he sleeps there again. They are

woken by Kaka-San and her party returning from a pilgrimage, and eat the lollies she has brought back for them.

Wednesday 5 August

Le Cor and Loti wake at 3:00am to go to the *Triomphante* where Loti is on watch from 4:00am. At 5:00am the ship prepares for combat. Loti reaches Diou-djen-dji at 6:00pm, and speculates why there is no mail from France.

Thursday 6 August

Loti and Le Cor pass time with the bonzes of Co-daï-dji, and later at the antique shops. They spend about two hours looking for a replacement whistle for Le Cor, and are offered various types, some even akin to trumpets. Storm-like weather in the evening, duty from 8:00pm to midnight.

Friday 7 August

Le Cor goes alone at 5:00pm to Diou-djen-dji, impatient to meet up with Okané-San, Oyouki, and the others. When Loti arrives at 9:00pm, he sees him lying on mats being entertained by the girls. Okané-San has filled vases with lotus flowers. Loti uses 'Pierre-San' for the first time. Le Cor, Loti, Okané-San, and Oyouki-San go down to Nagasaki and get caught in a downpour. They return to Diou-djen-dji, the two women travelling by rickshaw.

Sunday 9 August

Loti and Le Cor decide to visit the temple of the Goddess Kannon, a place of pilgrimage in the woods and a fair distance from Nagasaki. They leave at midday by rickshaw, and stop at a tea-house on the way. Upon reaching the tops of the mountains surrounding Nagasaki, still a long way from their destination, the rickshaw pullers stop, saying that they will have to continue by foot. Loti is reminded of the woods of Fataua in Tahiti where he was 15 years before. While running along, the rickshaw pullers strip off, and when they arrive the naked men have a swim, followed by Loti and Le Cor. Together they all later have a picnic-dinner made from the supplies that Le Cor had packed. Le Cor and Loti speculate on how far from home they are, and Loti reflects that the distance is less noticeable in large cities like Nagasaki filled with sailors and hustle and bustle than it is in isolated places. They start their return journey after about an hour, and the rickshaw pullers run naked and fast, having been rejuvenated by the water. They light their lanterns at the foot of the hills that separate them from Nagasaki, and stop at a tea-house at about 10:00pm. Le Cor again speculates on how far from home they are. Though it is very late when they reach Nagasaki, there are still people about because it is the festival of the temple of Osueva. When they reach the house, Okané-San and Oyouki-San are still up. They sup on cakes, and then go to bed.

This entry is entirely omitted from *Madame Chrysanthème* and was later published in *Le Figaro* on 7 April 1888 as 'Une page oubliée de *Madame Chrysanthème*,' 'A forgotten page from *Madame Chrysanthème*,' and the entry is dated 16 September 1885 rather than 9 August. The passage published

in *le Figaro* is cited in Vercier's edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* (256ff.). In 1893 it was published as a passage in *L'Exilée*.

Monday 10 August

Loti and Le Cor rise at 4:00am to go on board the *Triomphante*.

Tuesday 11 August

During the hour of siesta, the order comes that the *Triomphante* is to leave for Tchefou in China the following day. It is Le Cor who informs Loti of this, and also that he wishes to be excused from the ship to go and say goodbye to Okané-San and their various acquaintances. He is granted permission to leave after 5:00pm, when his duty will be finished. Loti leaves by sampan for Diou-djen-dji at 1:00pm. On his way, he meets Doïdé-San and tells her of his impending departure. When he reaches the house, Okané-San is asleep, and there are flowers all about for the party they had planned to have that evening. When Loti tells Okané-San of his departure, he thinks he sees a look of sadness cross her face. The news spreads though the house and Kaka-San and Oyouki-San come up. Loti sketches their house, and Okané-San cries *Anata itchiban!*, 'You're the best!'

At 3:00pm Loti goes to Nagasaki to do shopping, and meets Le Cor at 5:00pm. They shop together, then Le Cor goes to Diou-djen-dji to say goodbye to Okané-San and his various other Japanese acquaintances. At 8:00pm Loti returns to Diou-djen-dji, and hears the sounds of Okané-San's *chamécen* (*shamisen*, this is the first time he calls it such), and Le Cor is there when he arrives. Le Cor, Okané-San, and Loti go for a walk down to Nagasaki and do their customary activities for the last time such as visiting the tea houses and buying lollies. Loti tries to muster some feeling of regret over his departure, but cannot. Their walk is short because Loti must return to the house to pack his things in time to be back on the *Triomphante* by midnight to keep watch. Le Cor, Okané, Kaka-San, Oyouki-San and Loti busy themselves packing up his accumulated belongings which require eighteen packages. They are taken by two rickshaws, and Okané takes Loti's hand in hers as they say goodbye. She expresses her regret that Loti could not find a replacement for the guard which would have allowed him to spend the last night at Diou-djen-dji, and bids him return the following day before leaving, which Loti promises to do. They make it back on ship just before midnight to take up the watch, and Loti writes letters.

Wednesday 12 August

Loti had hoped to sleep-in but is disturbed by the sailor Landes escorting three tattooers to his cabin. Loti spends an hour getting a blue and red Chinese dragon tattooed on his chest. He quickly dresses to go ashore and as he is leaving he hears someone running after him. It is Kikou-San, who has come to bid him goodbye. Loti hires him for the day, and it is very hot. They reach Diou-djen-dji where Okané-San is waiting at the now completely empty house having packed away her gear too, and Loti writes of her *chamécen* resting on top of the packages. Doïdé-San, Oyouki-San, and various other acquaintances are going to take sampans to watch him set sail. Okané-San, Kaka-San, and her husband accompany

Loti down to the ship, and Loti leaves without looking behind him, akin, he writes, to how one would leave a youth-hostel where they had spent a night by chance. He does some quick shopping in Nagasaki, and boards the *Triomphante* at 4:00pm. Kikou-San escorts Loti and his parcels right to his room, and Loti evaluates him as the best of his Japanese acquaintances. They cast off at 5:00pm and there are two or three sampans from which the wives of the officers are watching, and others which have unknown women on them. The last image is of them sailing out of Nagasaki Bay, after which they have two days of fine weather on the Yellow Sea.

APPENDIX THREE

Annotated chronology of *Madame Chrysanthème*

Below is an annotated chronology of *Madame Chrysanthème*, restricted to the chapters in the travelogue which are dated, or whose date can be deduced from the surrounding chapters.⁷⁵¹

Sunday 7 July 1885

The protagonist marries Chrysanthème for twenty dollars a month. The marriage is formalised in a registry office, with the ceremony taking place at midday. At the same time the protagonist is given permission to live in an area beyond the foreign quarter of Nagasaki. The evening's celebrations are more festive with a procession carrying lanterns, music, and flowers. Chrysanthème plays her guitar (a Japanese *shamisen*) throughout the day.

Wednesday 10 July

The protagonist describes the details of his marriage to Chrysanthème.

Thursday 11 July

By this time, the habit is established of taking nocturnal walks, usually to Nagasaki's bazaars.

Friday 12 July

Description of how Yves visits the protagonist and Chrysanthème most nights, and considers her like a toy. The protagonist, on the other hand, is depressed when alone with her.

Saturday 13 July

Chrysanthème is scared by the sound of mice, and her cries remind the protagonist of Aziyadé's ones in Stamboul. Try as he may however, the protagonist is unable to fathom the memory sufficiently, something he blames on his surroundings.

Sunday 14 July

Bastille Day. Ships in Nagasaki Harbour fly French flags, Loti reminisces over his childhood. The protagonist, Yves, and Chrysanthème go to the *Donko-Tchaya*, the tea-house of the Toads, where they do archery. He describes the meaning of the word *mousmé* and remarks that Yves and Chrysanthème are getting on well. As the protagonist and Yves return to the *Triomphante*, they pass through the European quarter and hear the French national anthem, the *Marseillaise*, being sung all around. Yves is accosted by a band of young *mousmés*. The pair are on night watch until the following day.

⁷⁵¹ Many chapters are not dated, particularly the earlier ones, and so some content is not included in this time line.

Thursday 18 July

By this time, four officers are married, all with the help of Mr. Kangarou. Madame Campanule is married to Charles N., Jonquille to X, Sikou-San to Dr. Y., and Madame Touki-San to midshipman Z.. The protagonist describes the walks he goes on with these various acquaintances and the things they see and do.

Friday 2 August

Yves, Chrysanthème, and the protagonist see a street singer, whom Yves says has the voice of a monster. They encounter a funeral procession, and the protagonist remarks on the lack of gravity shown by those in attendance.

Sunday 4 August

The *Triomphante* enters the dry dock for repairs of damage incurred during the blockade of Formosa. This means that the protagonist now has to cross Nagasaki Bay by boat because the dock is on the opposite side from Diou-djen-dji. Because the ship is no longer on the water, it is easier for its men to fraternise with local women, which they do. The protagonist worries that Yves may be tempted by this increased freedom, and also asserts his increasing conviction that Yves is in love with Chrysanthème, lamenting all the while the absence of such an affection in himself.

Saturday 10 August

Heavy rain in the evening, and the protagonist, Chrysanthème, and Yves return from one of their nightly visits to the tea houses at about 10:00 pm. They buy lanterns from Madame Très-Propre to aid them in their ascent to the heights of Diou-djen-dji, and the delay in getting them combined with the worsening weather leads the protagonist to speculate on why he bothers returning to the suburb most nights when 'rien ne m'attire,' it offers him 'no attraction whatsoever.' The three encounter the rickshaw-puller 415 who will carry them to their home once he has dropped off an English customer. In the meantime, they take shelter at Madame L'Heure's, the waffle-seller's. Upon reaching their home thanks to the services of 415, a room is set up for Yves to sleep in as the poor weather makes it difficult for him to return to the *Triomphante*. The protagonist speculates further on the friendship between Yves and Chrysanthème, and feels dreary and irritated when alone with Chrysanthème. M. Sucre and Madame Prune, the landlords, ask the protagonist to leave after Japanese officials questioned them renting the upper 'apartment' to him.

Sunday 11 August

Dr. Y and Sikou-San are divorced. *Wonderfully tall friend* accompanies the protagonist to the register office where they show the officials his and Chrysanthème's name in the civil register. They receive apologies from the officials and assurance that Madame Prune and M. Sucre will no longer be under suspicion.

Monday 12 August

The other married couples are having problems: Charles N and Campanule are evicted from their house and so have to live with Campanule's mother, and Charles N suspects Campanule is unfaithful. Z and Touki-San fighting.

Friday 23 August

The protagonist has not been to see Chrysanthème for the past two or three days. He mentions the monotonous routine, as well as the daily 'invasion' of Japanese workers who repair the ship, and the bugs and butterflies that come in the afternoon. A heavy rain-storm begins, the protagonist goes to quarters in the middle of the night to lower top masts, strike the lower yards.

Saturday 24 August

It is nearly five days since the protagonist has visited Chrysanthème. He remarks that such a violent rain-storm seems incongruous with the gentle trifle that is Japan. When it eases, he goes for a walk on his own on the slopes near the *Triomphante* and takes shelter at a temple. He reminisces over childhood then life/death upon seeing a group of trees reminding him of the woods of Limoise in Saintonge (France).

Sunday 25 August

The protagonist is on duty while the *Triomphante* shifts back to its old moorings at the foot of the Diou-djen-dji hills. He remarks on the clearness of the sky and clarity of/ 'increase in' view that the cyclone left in its wake. Yves and the protagonist finish duty at 8:00pm and take a sampan to visit Chrysanthème. Oyouki-San is there too. Chrysanthème makes no complaints concerning the protagonist not having visited her during the period of bad weather. The protagonist initiates a walk with Chrysanthème, Yves, Oyouki-San, Fraise, Zinia, and some neighbours. There is a pilgrimage to the temple of the *Jumping Tortoise* and X, Y, Z, and their partners have already set off. The protagonist's group meets up with Jonquille, Touki-San, and Campanule by chance. They spend some hours at the temple watching various performances, including a show with shadows where the protagonist speculates that the character is eating the arm of a small child. They finally return home at about 1:00am. Mention is made of the crowds and the religious ornamentation that the protagonist considers incomprehensible and frightening. Yves sleeps at the protagonist's house for a second time, and is pestered by mosquitoes. Chrysanthème suggests to Yves that he shares her and the protagonist's mosquito net, and the protagonist places Chrysanthème's wood block pillow between their two. She soon swaps it with the protagonist's so that he is in the middle.

Monday 26 August

Yves and the protagonist return on board the *Triomphante* in the morning. The protagonist remarks on the matinal freshness and youth of Japan, writing too that Japanese children are attractive, yet lose this as they age.

Tuesday 27 August

The third and final day of the pilgrimage to the temple of the *Jumping Tortoise*. The protagonist, Yves, Chrysanthème, and Oyouki-San spend the day looking for things in bric-à-brac shops. Chrysanthème claims to be sick and asks permission to spend the night at her mother's. The protagonist happily grants this, speculating that Chrysanthème's real motivation is knowing that she has irritated him throughout the day. The protagonist and Yves gladly anticipate an evening without the encumbrances of a *moussmé*, and finally are able to dine at the tea house of the Indescribable Butterflies after having been turned away from one which was busy. Afterwards they return to the temple of the *Jumping Tortoise* where they are surprised by Chrysanthème and Bambou-San. The protagonist remarks on the affection the Japanese show towards their children. Chrysanthème says she is well again, and asks the protagonist's permission to sleep in their house. He agrees, but Bambou will not return to Mme. Renoncule's en route to Diou-djen-dji, and so goes with them. Madame Prune lets them in, surprised to see them back.

Monday 2 September

The protagonist and Yves have befriended the head bonzes of the temple of the *Jumping Tortoise*, Matsou-San and Donata-San. The protagonist describes the process of visiting the bonzes, including having to get past less-senior workers at the temple, the language in which they converse, and the decoration of the temple.

Tuesday 3 September

Chrysanthème, Madame Prune, and Mademoiselle La Neige visit Loti on board the *Triomphante*, with Madame Prune immediately noticing the Buddhist 'alter' the protagonist has in his cabin, and offering a prayer and money to it. Before she will leave, Chrysanthème insists on seeing Yves, and the protagonist thinks he sees Yves flirt with her. Around midday, the protagonist goes for a walk and meets a 'perfectly exquisite moussmé' in a deserted quarter of Nagasaki. He reckons that Chrysanthème would seem just as beautiful in the same setting though, and remarks further that he had admired her the previous evening on their walk.

Wednesday 4 September

The protagonist writes up previous day's activities.

Wednesday 11 September

The protagonist has written nothing during the past week. No letters have come from Europe for the past three weeks. He writes that he has become accustomed to his daily 'Japanese' life, and of how frequently his surroundings prompt him to use the word 'small' in their description. He remarks on the many curios he has bought and comments on the religious observations of Chrysanthème. He recalls two happenings which made him feel affectionate towards her: firstly buying her an expensive hair comb, and secondly her helping relieve him of a headache brought on by the sun.

Thursday 12 September

The protagonist, Yves, and Chrysanthème probably have their photo taken today (or on the 11th) by Uyeno, commonly considered Nagasaki's best photographer, who works from a studio set in Japanese surroundings yet totally European in its interior. They intend to send the photo back to France, and Yves speculates on what he will tell his wife of the young Japanese woman in the photo. The protagonist is captivated by a pair of Japanese ladies having their photo taken, and his description of their elegance contrasts with that of the two British sailors who follow.

Friday 13 September

Yves is off duty three hours before the protagonist, so he goes to wait for him at Diou-djen-dji. When the protagonist arrives at about 9:00pm he finds Yves having his back rubbed by Chrysanthème, Oyouki-San, and Mademoiselle Dédé after he had been fencing on his way to Diou-djen-dji. Charles N and Madame Jonquille arrive unexpectedly at about 10:00pm, and at about 11:00pm they set off with the protagonist and others for the tea-house of the Toads. They reach Osueva temple, and after making their way through its grounds they find the tea-house shut. They knock and try calling to the waitresses whom they know—Mademoiselle Transparente, Mademoiselle Étoile, Mademoiselle Rosée-matinala, and Mademoiselle Marguerite-reine—but are forced to return home. On the way they think they find a dead body, but it is the sleeping figure of the marksman who chose Chrysanthème's arrows on 14 July.

Saturday 14 September

At about 2:00am, the protagonist and Chrysanthème wake to the suspicion that thieves are in the house. They search their apartment, then go down to Madame Prune's where they find Oyouki-San, Madame Prune, Monsieur Sucre, and Mademoiselle Dédé sleeping. They look in a loft and find the cause of the noise: a rat eating rice.

Yves has lost his whistle in the sea, and so goes to try and find a replacement with the protagonist, Chrysanthème, Mademoiselle La Neige, and Mademoiselle La Lune. That night they are caught in a downpour while on their customary walk, this time with a larger than usual number of mousmés. Yves sleeps with the protagonist and Chrysanthème for the third time, and Oyouki-San brings them up sweetmeats from the temple of the Goddess of Grace, where Madame Prune and some others had gone on a pilgrimage. There is talk that the *Triomphante* will shortly be sent to the Gulf of Peking in China.

Sunday 15 September

Yves is up early, preoccupied with duty on board ship, and is called Yves-San by the protagonist. As he leaves, the protagonist fancies he hears Yves and Chrysanthème exchange a kiss, and decides to question Yves about their involvement. The protagonist is on day duty, reaches Diou-djen-dji at about 6.30pm and is entertained by Chrysanthème and her acquaintances. He writes of feeling slightly more fond of his surroundings upon hearing the news that he will soon leave them, and later uses *chamécen* (for *shamisen*, a traditional Japanese guitar) and Kikou-San (for Chrysanthème) for the first time. Still

no letters from Europe. For the rest of the travelogue, the protagonist mainly uses the word *chamécen*, but reverts to Chrysanthème.

Monday 16 September

At 7:00pm Yves and the protagonist go to the fencing place, but find it shut, and continue on a walk. The protagonist questions Yves about Chrysanthémé, and is relieved and reassured to hear that Yves considers her his wife, and therefore unavailable. The pair forget about Chrysanthème, and the protagonist reminisces how cities all over the world seem alike when viewed from a height. They return to Diou-djen-dji and listen to Chrysanthème and Oyouki-San play the *chamécen* and sing. They hear and see a festival procession below.

Tuesday 17 September

While on board ship, the order comes that the *Triomphante* is to depart for Tchefou (in the Gulf of Peking) the following day. Yves asks for leave, which he is granted from 5:00pm when manoeuvres and drills will be finished. The protagonist makes his way immediately (about midday) to Diou-djen-dji, seeing Madame Jonquille on his way. Upon arriving at his house, he announces his departure, and decides to sketch his living quarters before leaving to buy goods. Chrysanthème and Oyouki-San loudly praise his drawing skills, while Madame Prune is quiet, leaving the protagonist to speculate that she is possibly romantically interested in him, and he wishes he had realised her 'worth' earlier.

That night the protagonist hosts a tea-party which had already been planned, with no European people present except for himself and Yves. Guests include Chrysanthème, Renoncule, and Madame Prune (who the protagonist becomes increasingly convinced likes him). At about 9:00pm, three popular Nagasaki geisha arrive: Mlles. Pureté, Orange, and Printemps whom the protagonist had hired for \$4 each. The party ends at 10.30pm, after which Yves, Chrysanthème, Oyouki-San, and the protagonist descend on the town to escort home his mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and young aunt Madame Nénufar. They reach Diou-djen-dji at about midnight, and the protagonist packs up, while the *Wonderfully tall friend* takes over his watch on ship. The protagonist had ordered boxes, and Yves, Chrysanthème, Madame Prune, her daughter, and Monsieur Sucre help him pack. The eighteen cases are packed onto coolies' carts, and the protagonist returns with the luggage and Yves to the *Triomphante*, because he is on duty that night. He promises to come and say farewell to Chrysanthème the following day, but Yves must say goodbye that night because he will be on ship from then on. Loti is on duty that night until 4:00am, and some of the sailors help him load his items on board.

Wednesday 18 September

At 8:00am three tattooers arrive unexpectedly at the protagonist's cabin accompanied by Kangourou. He spends an hour and a half having a blue and pink dragon a couple of inches long tattooed onto the right side of his chest. When it is finished, the protagonist goes to Diou-djen-dji and sees that Chrysanthème has packed up all of her belongings. As he creeps upstairs, he is disconcerted to hear Chrysanthème singing a cheerful song, and surprises her in the act of checking that the money he had

paid her the night before is real. He speaks to her, feigning indifference, and says he must go because he has to be back on board ship by 3:00pm, and he wants additionally to avoid any painful adieus with Madame Prune. Chrysanthème mentions that Campanule, Jonquille, Touki, herself and some others have hired a sampan by which they will go down to see the *Triomphante* set sail. The protagonist leaves, and upon entering the town sees djin 415, and hires him to take him about. The protagonist is unused to seeing Nagasaki by daylight, and finds it unattractive. Djin 415 escorts Loti to his cabin, leaves, and at 5:00pm the *Triomphante* sets sail. The protagonist sees the mousmés aboard the sampans watching his departure. A few days later he throws the lotus from Nagasaki out onto the Yellow Sea, finally bidding: 'O Ama-Térace-Omi-Kami, wash me clean from this little marriage of mine, in the waters of the river of Kamo.'⁷⁵²

⁷⁵² Loti (Laura Ensor, trans.). *Japan: Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 335.

APPENDIX FOUR

Characters and places in *Madame Chrysanthème*

Characters in Madame Chrysanthème

Below is a chart of the main characters in *Madame Chrysanthème*, who they are based on, and their role in the travelogue.⁷⁵³

Origin from Loti's <i>journal intime</i>	<i>Madame Chrysanthème</i>	Role
Pierre Loti	The protagonist	The narrator and central character
Okané or Okané-San	Chrysanthème or Kikou-San	The protagonist's Japanese 'wife.' He mentions her Japanese name, <i>Kikou-San</i> , once (pg. 203). The eldest of Madame Renoncule's eight children; the protagonist estimates her age to be about eighteen
Pierre Le Cor	Yves	The protagonist's long-time close friend and fellow officer on the <i>Triomphante</i> . He has a wife back in Toulven in France, and spends a lot of time with the protagonist and his Japanese family. The protagonist speculates on a romantic interest between Yves and Chrysanthème, and is reassured when Yves says that she is out of bounds for him because she is the protagonist's wife
Sajin-San	Monsieur Kangourou	A marriage broker who arranges matches between Western men and Japanese women; also a laundry man. Known of by the officers before they arrived in Japan
Kaka-San	Madame Prune or Oumé-San	The protagonist's landlady who lives below him with Monsieur Sucre; mother of Oyouki.
Matsou-San	Monsieur Sucre or Sato-San	Lives with Madame Prune below the protagonist and Chrysanthème. Has been 'involved' with Madame Prune for a long

⁷⁵³ A similar table compiled by Suetoshi Funaoka is included in the 1990 Flammarion edition of *Madame Chrysanthème* edited by Bruno Vercier. It is not as detailed as this one, and not annotated.

Where fields are left blank, the character did not appear in Loti's *journal intime*, and page numbers refer to the 1990 Flammarion edition.

		time; and he entertains and distracts her many male visitors if she is already with a client.
ma belle-mère	Madame Renoncule or ma belle mere	The protagonist's 'mother-in-law'
Silans or komodachitak-san-takaï	Louis de S. ... or komodachitak-san-takaï	A European who can speak Japanese well, and an advisor and confidant for mousmé and officer alike. He had lived in Japan previously and been married, but at this time preferred non-committal involvement with Japanese women
Kikou-San or pauvre cousin	Djin 415 or pauvre cousin	A rickshaw runner whom the protagonist later discovers to be a twice-removed cousin, one of his favourite Japanese people
Oyouki-San	Mademoiselle Oyouki	One of Chrysanthème's young friends, daughter of Madame Prune.
	Mademoiselle Jasmin	A marriage prospect of the protagonist, who he rejects
	Mademoiselle Oeillet	A marriage prospect for the protagonist, who had just become engaged to a Russian officer
	Mademoiselle Abricot	A marriage prospect for the protagonist, the daughter of a wealthy China merchant in Dejima Bazaar, rejected as too expensive
Doïdé-San	Madame Campanule	Married to Charles N. ...; a neighbour of the protagonist
Commissaire de bord	Charles N. ...	Married to Madame Campanule
Osseï-San	Madame Jonquille	Married to X. ...
Rosenquist	X. ...	Married to Madame Jonquille
Touki-San	Touki-San	Married to l'aspirant Z
Joubert	L'aspirant Z. ...	Married to Touki-San
	Sikou-San	Married to Dr. Y. ...
Matsou-San	Matsou-San	One of the head bonzes at the Temple of the Jumping Tortoise
Donata San	Donata-San	One of the head bonzes at the Temple of the Jumping Tortoise
Hikoma Uyeno (1838–1904)	Uyeno	The photographer who supposedly took a portrait of the protagonist, Chrysanthème, and Yves on about 12 September 1885 (see: ' <i>Loti Photographié par Uyeno</i> ,' Daniel

		Hervé, in <i>Le Japon de Pierre Loti</i> (1988)).
la vieille	Madame Très-Propre or O Sei-San	The lantern seller whom the protagonist and his acquaintances frequent
la marchande de gaufres	Madame L'Heure or Toki-San	The waffle seller whom the protagonist and his acquaintances frequent
le mousko de quatre ans ⁷⁵⁴	Bambou	A brother-in-law of the protagonist, 4 years old
	Mademoiselle Dédé	Madame Prune's servant, the protagonist calls her 'Miss Young Girl'
	Madame La Neige or <i>Oyouki-San</i>	The youngest of the protagonist's two sisters-in-law
	Mlle. La Lune, or <i>Tsouki-San</i>	One of Loti's two sisters-in-law
	Cerisier	One of the protagonist's brothers-in-law
	Pigeon	One of the protagonist's brothers-in-law
	Liseron	One of the protagonist's brothers-in-law
	Or	One of the protagonist's brothers-in-law
	Nénufar	A young aunt of the protagonist's
	Fraise	A cousin of the protagonist and Chrysanthème
	Zinia	A cousin of the protagonist and Chrysanthème
	Mlle. Transparente	A waitress at the tea house of the Toads (the Donko-Tchaya)
	Mlle. Étoile	A waitress at the tea house of the Toads
	Mlle. Rosée-matinale	A waitress at the tea house of the Toads
	Mlle. Marguerite-reine	A waitress at the tea house of the Toads
	Mlle. Pureté	A geisha whom the protagonist hires for \$4 for an hour and a half to perform at his tea-party on 17 September
	Mlle. Orange	A geisha whom the protagonist hires for \$4 for an hour and a half to perform at his tea-party on 17 September
	Mlle. Printemps	A geisha whom the protagonist hires for \$4 for an hour and a half to perform at his tea-party on 17 September

⁷⁵⁴ Compiled by S. Funaoka and cited in: Loti (Bruno Vercier, ed.). *Madame Chrysanthème*, p. 251.

Places in Madame Chrysanthème

Below is a table of places in *Madame Chrysanthème* and a brief description of each.

Place	Description
Ma-Kung	Where the <i>Triomphante</i> was based for the two months preceding its arrival in Japan.
Diou-djen-dji	The suburb where Loti and Chrysanthème live. It is on the hills above Nagasaki and in walking distance from where the <i>Triomphante</i> is docked. Known today as <i>Juuninmachi</i>
Garden of Flowers	The setting of the tea-house where Loti is to meet M. Kangourou to arrange his Japanese marriage
Donko-Tchaya	Tea-house of the Toads, located within Osueva [Osuwa] Temple, and frequented by the protagonist and his acquaintances
Tea-house of the Indescribable Butterflies	A tea-house frequented by Loti
Dry dock	The <i>Triomphante</i> was 'dry-docked' to undergo repairs at a location opposite Diou-djen-dji, which meant that Loti had to cross the harbour to get to the suburb. The dry dock is 'sunk in a little valley' and the fact that the <i>Triomphante</i> is no longer on water means that the men have increased opportunity to fraternise with local women. According to van Rij (2001), the dry dock would have been the Mitsubishi Dry Dockyards
Osueva Temple	Loti and his acquaintances visit this temple on Bastille Day. Conventionally written as 'Osuwa Temple'
Temple of the Goddess of Grace	Madame Prune and her acquaintances go on a pilgrimage there on 14 September
Temple of the Jumping Tortoise	There is a three-day pilgrimage there starting on 25 August, which the protagonist, Chrysanthème, and their friends join. They return on 27 August. Loti becomes friends with the head bonzes, Matsou-San and Donata-San
Tchefou	In the Gulf of Pekin, to where the <i>Triomphante</i> departs on 18 September 1885

APPENDIX FIVE

Ukiyo-e

Many art historians regard the *ukiyo-e* as the most extensive and far-reaching source of Japanese pictorial influence on nineteenth-century Western art. This is because of their initial novelty, and subsequent popularity, abundance, and inexpensiveness. The various stylistic and chromatic techniques found in the *ukiyo-e* were to be reproduced in much European art, and represented a shift away from classical Western compositional techniques. The *ukiyo-e* also played a large role in shaping popular perceptions of Japan because they were very widely exhibited, be this at the universal fairs, or in smaller singular exhibitions at art dealers', cafes, and shops such as Liberty's in London. Thereby they were the first encounter for many with Japanese art and the country and people it depicted. So widespread did they become that travellers to Japan frequently likened what they saw in reality to what they had seen on *ukiyo-e* prints. A brief outline of the nature of the *ukiyo-e* is therefore useful as additional information to Part IV on japonisme and japonaiserie.

Ukiyo-e, literally 'pictures of the floating world,' commonly depicted '. . . the world of entertainment and daily pastimes: the theater and the café, picnics and boating parties, busy streets and private households—[and were] a celebration of ordinary scenes and events,'⁷⁵⁵ and the word is described as follows:

A term often encountered in relation to the popular prints of the Edo period (1615 – 1868) is *ukiyo-e*, usually translated as 'pictures of the floating world'. *Ukiyo* was a medieval Buddhist concept denoting the transience of life in this 'world of suffering'. By the mid-seventeenth century the meaning had altered and the transience of life was seen as an excuse for enjoying frivolous, extravagant, pleasurable pastimes. In the Genroku period (1688–1704) *ukiyo* had come to be used as a prefixed epithet for anything that was new, trendily fashionable, and, above all, tinged with eroticism. It was at about this time that the first commercial printed broadsheets achieved widespread popularity and these, and the paintings in the same style, became known as *ukiyo-e*. The name stuck and has come to be applied to almost all the prints and paintings of the artists working for the plebian market.⁷⁵⁶

Ukiyo-e are commonly classified into chronological groups: Moronobu's early prints (1675–1760, known in France as *primitives*), illustrated books (1720–1760), the Utamaro era (1760–1800), and the Hiroshige and Hokusai era (1800–1860).⁷⁵⁷ The earliest *ukiyo-e* developed in Japan around the 1660s

⁷⁵⁵ Ives and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). *The Great wave: The influence of Japanese woodcuts on French prints*, p. 15.

⁷⁵⁶ Illing. *The Art of Japanese prints*, p. 19.

⁷⁵⁷ See: Silverman. *Art nouveau in fin-de-siècle France*.

and were black and white prints, known as *sumizuri-e*, largely used for book illustrations because it was at this time that books increased in popularity. Early artists include Hishikawa Moronobu (?1618–94)⁷⁵⁸ and Kamura Masanobu (1686–1764), both of whom worked for commercial purposes. Signatures were large and prominent on prints which often also included the name and location of their shop: for example, Kamura Masanobu included his shop details on the right hand margin of his print ‘Interior of a Brothel’ (c. 1740).

The first colour wood-block prints or ‘chromoxylographs’ were typically produced as New Year’s gifts by *haikai*, amateur poetry groups. The refinement of techniques resulted in the use of colour becoming progressively more complex: in the 1740s it was largely limited to pink and green prints (*benizuri-e*); then brown, ochre, and yellow were added (*urushi-e*), and in the second half of the eighteenth century prints of twelve or more colours were not unusual. The popularity of *ukiyo-e* and their method of production that used a block that could be reused until it wore out allowed numerous runs to be made of the same print. The quality of prints could deteriorate due to factors such as the usage of cheap colour pigment or it ‘fading,’ or the block wearing down as the number of prints increased and the clarity of the lines deteriorated. This meant that early prints of a single run rose in value because, in addition to being rarer, their colour and lines tended to be of superior vibrancy and clarity. Today, for example, Hiroshige’s prints are graded into nine categories where the most valuable are those of early runs.

The cheapness of prints in Japan meant that they had a high turn over and accordingly provided a good meter of the fashions of the times to which they responded. A large number of prints were sold as inexpensive souvenirs of travel destinations, and Edo was well-known for its production of souvenir prints. This was particularly the case in the mid-nineteenth century with the arrival of Western tourists enthusiastic to buy cheap prints to bring home. *Ukiyo-e* were also commonly used for advertising in Japan, which was later copied in the posters made by artists like Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec for restaurants in Paris. As was discussed in Part IV, various aspects of the prints were to influence diverse areas of Western art, ranging from vertical orientation, use of flat colour planes, to different subject matter including, for example, specific focus on a singular aspect of nature. They also functioned as a symbol of Japanese art: as will be seen, they commonly appeared in the background of paintings to add exoticism or, for example, to denote that the subject of a portrait was a ‘japoniste’ or ‘japonisant.’

Subject matter of *ukiyo-e* was diverse, and prints were often classified according to which ‘family’ they belonged. These included: birds and flowers (*kacho-ga*), landscapes (*sansui-ga*), myth and legend (sometimes including popular gods), literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, actors and courtesans, beautiful women (*bijin-ga*), fierce warriors (*musha-e*), calendar prints (*e-yomi*), memorial prints (*shini-e*), war prints (*senso-e*), and erotic prints or *shun-ga*. *Shun-ga* had a large impact on some Western

⁷⁵⁸ It is possible that other artists produced prints earlier than Moronobu, but did not sign their work.

artists because their explicit depiction of sexual activity contrasted with European reservation in painting such subject matter.

A curious genre of *ukiyo-e* was those depicting Western subject matter. During the period when the Dutch traded from the island of Dejima and increasingly after Japan was opened to the West, Japanese artists depicted Western scenes, sometimes using Western techniques. This resulted in the irony that some of the prints which influenced Western artists were not purely Japanese. The exotic, unusual nature of Western subject matter combined with the curiosity that the Japanese had towards the Western world made these prints popular with some Japanese. During the period of *sakoku* or national seclusion Nagasaki was the centre of early 'Western' prints because it was where artists had contact with Westerners, and an example of a 'pre-Perry' *ukiyo-e* of this nature is 'Dutch Woman with a Parrot' (anon., c. 1830–1844). After 1854, prints of foreign subject matter began to be produced in Yokohama in large numbers because of its large Western population. These were known as *yoko-e*, and commonly showed foreigners (often with their non-Japaneseness accentuated), their ships, warehouses, and hotels. Curiosity stretched to the home countries of Westerners, and artists copied imported pictures of places such as London, Paris, Venice, Rome, and American ports.⁷⁵⁹ Most *yoko-e* were produced from 1860–1870 because this was a period of busy foreign activity during which Westerners were still sufficiently novel to add exoticism and interest to a print.

⁷⁵⁹ For discussion of Japanese exoticisation of the West, see: Heiner Fruhauf. Urban exoticism and its Sino-Japanese Scenery, 1919–1923, *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1997. pp. 126-169.

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