

The Tradition of Edo Creativity

The Skill and Soul of Craftsmen
Give Birth to Japanese Beauty

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Legend

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- The exhibit numbers match those used in the exhibition, but do not necessarily appear in the same order as they are displayed.
- Data appears in the catalogue in the following order: number, title, craftsman's name (signature on sword furniture), year of production, collection. Explanations of the works are initialed by the writer as follows: Ochiai Noriko (O), Sugiyama Satoshi (S), Tanaka Yūji (T), Tanaka Hiroko (H).
- Data in the exhibit list appears in the following order: number, title, craftsman's name, signature, quantity, size, year of production, collection.
- The exhibit list includes all the works in the exhibition although some works may be replaced during its course. As a result, there may be works that appear in the list but are not always on display. Furthermore, some works may appear in the list for reference purposes only and will not be exhibited. These have been given consecutive numbers separate to those of the exhibits.
- The titles of the works or materials may change in accordance with the contents of the display.
- Data in English is displayed in the following order: number, title, craftsman's name, date, collection, description.
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The wondrous collection of Prince Henry of Bourbon.

From his journey to Japan to the opening of the Museum of Oriental Art in Venice.

Marta Boscolo Marchi

Translation: Daniele Lauro

After Japan's forced opening to the West in the mid-1850s, it became increasingly popular for Europe's aristocratic elite and upper middle class to transform the traditional European *Grand Tour* into a journey around the world that included stops in East Asia and in particular, in Japan.

Many of those who embarked on a journey to East Asia did so for scientific and commercial purposes or, simply, for the prestige that they derived from carrying out such a costly and complicated endeavor. The large number of guidebooks and travelogues, which were sometimes published even in installments on major European magazines,¹ fostered the longing for travel and contributed to creating "a collective understanding of Japan as a land of mystery and enchanted joys and an imaginary geography made of delightful temptations and delicate pleasures."²

By the closing decades of the 19th century Japan had become one of the most popular destinations for European tourists. Writing to her sister-in-law from Shanghai in January 1889, the Portuguese princess Adelgonde of Bragança stated,

L'idée du Japon commence à m'ennuyer et on en parle trop et surtout on en a dit tant de bien que je commence à craindre que c'est exagéré et d'en avoir assez. [The idea of Japan is beginning to bother me. People talk about it too much, and above all, they say so many good things about this country that I start to think it's exaggerated. I am beginning to get thoroughly fed up].³

Nonetheless, while traveling from Hong Kong to Nagasaki, the Portuguese infanta read several books about Japan and its costumes,⁴ and in February 1889, only two days after landing in the country, she wrote,

Les 2 premiers jours ici étaient magnifiques: du soleil, des fleurs, des petits japonais, des temples au milieu d'immenses arbres camphriers et de vrais arbres de camélias, nous étions ravis. [The first two days here have been wonderful: sun, flowers, small Japanese people, temples surrounded by majestic camphor trees, and real camellia trees. We were delighted].⁵

The Princess accompanied her husband, His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Bourbon, in a journey around the world (fig. 1). The couple had boarded the *Ettore* in Trieste on September 16, 1887 along with Count Enrico Lucchesi Palli,⁶ Count Alessandro Zileri Dal Verme, Baroness Hertling, and two domestic helpers (Marie Somier and Francis, an Indian servant). In Egypt, they joined Baron Heydebrand, who had left

a week before Prince Henry. Onboard of the *Conrand*, they sailed through the Suez Canal, Bāb el-Mandeb, the Gulf of Aden, and the Maldives Northern Atolls. After 19 days of continuous navigation they finally reached the city of Padang in West Sumatra (Indonesia).⁷ During their journey they visited Java, French Indochina, Siam, Malaysia, Borneo, the Maluku Islands, New Guinea, China (fig. 2), and finally Japan. From there they traveled to Hawaii. Then they sailed through the Pacific, heading to North America, where they visited San Francisco, Montreal, the Niagara Falls, Chicago, New York, and Boston.⁸

The extensive correspondence in French and German that the nobles kept throughout their journey reflects the emotions, desires, and fears of the wealthy European elite who, encouraged by the political and cultural context of Western colonialism, by the improvements in maritime technology, and by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, had the privilege to travel to distant countries.⁹

Prince Henry was fond of sailing and of visiting exotic lands. In 1882 he cruised the Mediterranean Sea. Between the fall of 1885 and the winter of 1886, together with his wife and Count Lucchesi Palli, he travelled on board of his yacht, the *Adelgonde*, to Tunis, Tangier, the Canary Islands, the Caribbean, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Honduras, and Martinique, always looking for untouched lands to explore.¹⁰ In the summer 1886 he visited Iceland and Norway with his wife.¹¹ After his journey to East Asia, he led two mapping missions to Spitsbergen (Svalbard islands, Norway), between 1891 and 1892, which earned him an award from the Royal Geographical Society in London.¹² Henry was a man of restless and adventurous disposition. He frequently moved from one of his European mansions to another. In Venice, which he generally visited in the winter, he resided in Ca' Vendramin Calergi, where his maternal grandmother, Marie-Caroline of Bourbon, Duchess of Berry, had lived after marrying Ettore Lucchesi Palli.¹³

It was in this palace that Prince Henry arranged the almost 30,000 artifacts he had purchased during his trip to East Asia. Over 1,500 crates, which he had shipped to Europe via sea remained in the port of Trieste until the end of 1889, when the Prince, who could not decide whether to display his collection in Chambord castle (which he had inherited together with his elder brother, Robert, from his uncle, Henry V) or in Venice, eventually opted for his Venetian mansion for obvious practical

reasons.¹⁴

Henry's strong desire to travel can be interpreted both as a manifestation of his positivist thirst for knowledge and as a longing for distraction and relief from his everyday life. This latter element explains his compulsive urge to amass exotic objects of all kinds and to own and recreate in his private residence a wondrous reality made of Indonesian and Chinese artifacts, Japanese and Burmese weapons, Chinese silks, Malay *sarong* and Javanese *batik*.

From the 1860s onward the Japanese government implemented policies to export works of art and textiles, so to obtain resources to protect the country from the threat of foreign encroachment after the ratification of the Ansei Treaties with Western powers. The tendency to sell off ancient works of art, especially those produced during the Edo period, partially came to a halt in the mid-1880s, thanks to the cultural debate that developed around the issue of cataloging national treasures and preserving them from unrestrained export. Thanks to the efforts of individuals such as Ernst Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō,¹⁵ in 1884 the Japanese government took action to register and control national treasures and in 1897 it enacted the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law.¹⁶

The first wave of *japonisme* influenced Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painters, members of the Nabis movement, as well as Symbolist artists. At the same time, wealthy Westerners increasingly adorned their mansions with Japanese objects that they purchased in fashionable curiosity shops such as *Farmer & Rogers' Oriental Warehouse*, which opened in London in 1862, or *La Porte Chinoise* and *L'Art Nouveau*, two upscale Parisian stores, as well as in art galleries such as *La Maison Bing*.¹⁷ Magazines and other publications unconsciously contributed to this craze for all things Japanese by publishing articles on Japan - a country whose relatively unknown conditions fascinated many in the West - praising its artistic production as well as its decorative and symbolic motifs. Japan's participation in the world expositions in Wien in 1873 and in Paris in 1878 and 1889, as well as in the Venice Biennale of 1897 established the success of Japanese crafts, which had no parallel in the West. It was no coincidence that, in a letter sent from Nagasaki to her sister-in-law, Princess Adelgonde wrote,

J'ai peur seulement d'en avoir bientôt assez, surtout parce que je ne puis pas acheter tous les délicieux bibelots que j'aimerais rapporter d'ici, je tache de

me sentir *blasirt* sur toutes les laques, porcelaines, armes, mais cèlà ne va pas, c'est vraiment très beau et surtout ici où on sait à quoi chaque chose sert et ce que les ornements représentent [I am worried that I might have enough soon, mostly because I can't possibly purchase all the delightful trinkets I'd like to bring back from here. I try not to be excited about the lacquerware, the porcelains, and the weapons, but that doesn't work. Everything is so beautiful, especially here where one knows how each object is used and what the decorations represent].¹⁸

In Japan Prince Henry and his wife were welcomed as official guests and hosted in magnificent residences where they were entertained with balls and performances. In Nagasaki (fig. 3), the British consul and a representative of the local governor went and got them from their cruise ship and escorted them to their hotel. Henry and his party were always accompanied by an interpreter. For instance, in Nagasaki they were escorted by Professor Kichise, who spoke French, English, and some German and who had been entrusted with task of assisting Prince Henry and his party by the local governor. The governor of Osaka also provided them with an interpreter, Mr. Maida. In Tokyo, instead, they were accompanied by Mr. Tanaka. In Nagasaki, Henry began to purchase, almost without any negotiations, easily available art objects and curiosities, including folding screens, porcelains, suits of armor, tortoise shell objects - for which Nagasaki was particularly famous - both in small workshops and in major stores such as Satsu, Nishida, and Mess (this last run by a Russian art dealer).¹⁹ Impoverished by the abolition of their domains and by Japan's progressive modernization, domainal lords (*daimyō*) resorted to selling refined works of art that had belonged to their families for generations. In Nagasaki, Henry purchased suits of armor for "the very cheap price of 2 or 3 dollars each" (fig. 4).²⁰ Additionally, the Prince also bought lacquerware (figs. 5, 6), ivories, swords, spears, a large number of porcelains, hanging scrolls (*kakemono*), *inrō* (fig. 7), and *netsuke*. Chronicling his journey, Count Zileri Dal Verme reported,

Andiamo a visitare la residenza del principe di Satsuma, completamente giapponese, che il pover'uomo, che si ricorda i giorni felici del feudalesimo in cui era padrone assoluto e rispettato di tutta questa contrada, non ha voluto adottare gli usi e costumi europei [We are about to visit the mansion of the lord of Satsuma, which is traditionally Japanese in its architectural style, because the poor man, who still remembers the glorious days of feudal Japan, when he ruled unchallenged and was respected by all people in this region, has refused

to adopt Western norms and customs].²¹

In March Prince Henry and his party traveled to Kagoshima, Japan's main hub of tobacco production, and they found it to be very similar to European cities. The travelers visited the local high school, which was sponsored by the son of the former lord of Satsuma and where an American teacher offered English language classes.²² Prince Henry and his travel companions were very pleased with their life in Japan: they bathed in traditional hot spring baths and they slept on mats using large padded kimono made of silk and velvet as blankets.

From Kagoshima the travelers moved to Miyakonojō and then to Miyazaki, where they visited the Miyazaki-jingū Shrine as well as an exhibition highlighting local products such as silk. Then, they traveled to Kobayashi, Hitoyoshi, and Yatsushiro (fig. 8), which impressed them with its forests and temples. Next, they headed to Kumamoto, where they visited the Katō, then moved to Shimabara and Obama (fig. 9).

At the end of March, the party returned to Nagasaki. From there they traveled to Kōbe and Osaka. At the time Kōbe was one of Japan's most important commercial hubs. The city had been a center of foreign trade since 1868 and had a population of over 100,000 people, of which about 1,000 were foreign residents. In addition to rice, camphor, tea, copper, machines, and wax, local businesses also exported large amounts of porcelains, textiles, and swords, whose prices varied between 1 and 200 dollars (fig. 10). In Kōbe Prince Henry purchased porcelains of various types including Hirado (fig. 11), Satsuma, and Kyoto wares. The Prince visited Japanese antique shops, businesses run by German and English dealers, and the ateliers of Motomachi.

In April, the Prince and his travel companions were in Osaka, where in addition to a trip to Momoyama to enjoy the blossoms, they visited Osaka castle, the navy yard, as well as various temples and Japanese puppet theaters. They also visited numerous antique shops such as Yamanaka, and silk emporiums. In Minami Honmachi, they purchased gold-leaf folding screens (figs. 12, 13),²³ some of which were produced specifically for the Prince and his wife, as was the case with fans, which local craftsmen painted on the spot for their customers and which the Prince purchased for 3 dollars each. The Prince also appreciated bronze objects, which were another famous local product and were produced in small

family-run ateliers.

In May Henry's party visited Kyoto, where local nobles competed to entertain the European guests with fencing contests, hawking parties, and visits to art shows, factories, universities, temples, and theaters. Often escorted by local authorities, Prince Henry's party explored several places in the region surrounding the ancient imperial capital including Lake Biwa, Nagoya, Gifu – where they attended a demonstration of cormorant fishing – Nakatsugawa, Suwara, Kōfu. While visiting Kyoto and the nearby areas, the Prince and his companions continued their purchases of Japanese artifacts, including porcelains, folding screens, articles of clothing, especially in stores such as Nishimura and Takashimaya, where they ordered traditional Japanese outfits. The *kamishimo* decorated with the Bourbon family crest (fig. 14) that Prince Henry is wearing in the hanging scroll depicting him (inv. no. 4503)²⁴ and the outfit worn by Count Zileri in the portrait currently displayed in Villa Zileri in Biron di Monteviale might have been purchased on this occasion. (fig. 15)²⁵ The Prince bought most of his lacquerware at Ikeda's, spending between 100 and 2,000 dollars for each piece. He purchased cloisonné vases at Namikawa's, bronze objects at Shojodo Yomi Yeisuke's,²⁶ Satsuma ware at Ito's, and *chirimen* silks in Nagahama (figs. 16, 17, 18). Henry often requested the creation of personalized items, including garments, porcelains, lacquer cabinets, which he decorated with the Bourbon family crest.

The European travelers were mesmerized by Japanese painting techniques. While visiting Kyoto, the local governor invited them to a painting demonstration, during which, using subjects selected by Princess Adelgonde, three Japanese artists first created individual paintings and then composed an artwork as a team, with each of them working on a section of the painting. Their painting technique – which involved few quick strokes drawn with a brush (or two brushes used at the same time) – impressed both Princess Adelgonde, who wrote about it in her letters,²⁷ and Count Zileri Dal Verme, who included some comments about it in his travelogue.²⁸ Only two months into their Japanese trip, the number of artifacts purchased by the Prince and his wife was already considerable. In April 150 crates were prepared for shipping from Kyoto. Numerous other crates had been sent out from Indochina, Indonesia, and China. Count Zileri wrote,

Una folla di mercanti che portano compere fatte da Sua Altezza vengono per

saldare conti, combinare per le ordinazioni che devono eseguire. È sempre una Babilonia [A crowd of merchants bringing objects purchased by His Highness come and go to settle payments and to make arrangements for the orders they have received. There is always bedlam].²⁹

Princess Adelgonde was a fervent Catholic. During her Japanese journey, her thoughts were often turned to the local Christian missions. She was also a clever and decisive woman, who loved hunting and was able to confront a tiger from a distance of 16 paces.³⁰ She loved riding horses, smoking tobacco, and following her husband in his most challenging endeavors. She was also very modest and, for this reason, Japanese bathrooms, which were often placed outside the house, made her uncomfortable. She saw men, women, and kids walking completely naked through the courtyards that faced the streets and, to avoid being seen, she was forced to groom herself at 6 a.m., before people woke up.³¹

On June 7, 1889 the European travelers visited a small thermal resort near Matsumoto. On that occasion they also toured Matsumoto castle and a big school attended by some 2,000 children. They attended a fencing contest and they visited a Christian chapel together with Matsumoto's mayor. On the following day, they boarded rickshaws and then traveled by boat on the Fuji river to Iwabuchi, where they stopped for a couple of days to visit Mt. Fuji. From there, they headed by train to Yokohama and then to Tokyo, where they arrived on June 24. The servants and guards assigned to them by the Japanese government followed them everywhere and arranged all their movements. Each rickshaw used by the Europeans was operated by two porters. The Prince and his companions were also followed by a cook, who traveled with them, along with luggage and food supplies, and who had to arrive in advance to each stop on the party's itinerary in order to have enough time to prepare meals. The European visitors traveled about 40 to 45 kilometers a day.³²

In Tokyo, which struck the Prince and his travel companions as being "very European," they stayed at the Rokumeikan, a building commissioned by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the housing of foreign guests. The Prince and his wife were invited to the Imperial Palace,³³ but they were disappointed not to receive the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum, Japan's highest national decoration which the Meiji Emperor had conferred to Prince Bonaparte a few years before.³⁴ In the capital the European guests took part

in hawking parties, toured the Imperial University (*Teikoku Daigaku*), attended horse riding demonstrations at Akasaka Imperial Palace, they were invited to parties organized by members of the imperial family and by aristocrats, they observed performances of martial arts, and they visited the imperial stables and armory, as well as the Nakamura theater. After leaving Tokyo, Prince Henry chose Yokohama as his headquarters. From there, after passing through Miyanoshita, where they purchased inlaid furniture (figs. 19, 20), Henry and his companions visited Hakone. From Yokohama they moved again to Kyoto and Kōbe in July. Then, in a last journey to the North, they moved to Nikkō and Sendai. On September 1 they were in Hakodate (Hokkaido), where the English fleet customarily resided during the summer. When Henry arrived, however, the English officers were in Vladivostok and almost all the Europeans they met were Christian missionaries. During her stay in Hokkaidō, Princess Adelgonde was eager to verify whether or not it was true that, as she had heard in Europe, Ainu women tattooed the form of a mustache above their upper lip and that they breast-fed bear cubs that they would later eat during a ceremony that took place once a year.³⁵ Despite being well-traveled and educated, like many of her European contemporaries who believed in their innate cultural superiority, Princess Adelgonde too came to Japan with preconceived ideas and stereotypes about Asian civilizations. The Princess' views were in line with the political and social studies produced by European intellectuals of the time, according to which Japan had been able to join the circle of civilized monarchies and leave behind its feudal past thanks to the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution, which was modeled after the German constitution.³⁶

Back in Yokohama, in addition to curiosity shops and antique stores, which were often run by European traders such as Mr. Beretta, a native of Rome, or Mr. Crawford, an Englishman, the Prince and his wife liked to visit photography studios, and in particular the one run by Mr. Adolfo Farsari, whose hand-painted and costly photos were famous for not fading over time.³⁷ In the photo studio run by Mr. Welsh, Princess Adelgonde ordered pictures of herself riding a palanquin (*kago*).³⁸ Mr. Kinbei, another photographer, took pictures of the Princess wearing a kimono together with the small dog she had adopted during her trip to China.³⁹ Both Prince Henry and his wife ordered pictures of themselves in Japanese garments (fig. 21), which they wore when relaxing, but never for formal

occasions. In addition to leisure activities and shopping, Prince Henry also spent time drawing nautical charts of Japan, which were praised by the Japanese Navy.⁴⁰

Since their arrival in China Adelgonde had been worried about her husband's reckless spending, about which she repeatedly complained in her letters to her sister-in-law Margaret. Nonetheless, to preserve peace in the family, she decided not to pressure her husband too much.⁴¹ She also acknowledged that, thanks to his purchases, Henry had become a prominent celebrity in Japan, "a country in which rich people are literally loved."⁴² Meanwhile rumors circulated everywhere about the considerable sums of money that Yokohama traders paid to the Secretary of the Austrian Legation, Baron Heinrich von Siebold for Prince Henry's purchases.⁴³

On October 4, before their departure, Prince Henry and his party bid farewell to their Japanese hosts by organizing a luncheon, which was attended by illustrious guests such as ministers, army generals, and imperial chamberlains. On the boat that took the Prince and his companions to Hawaii there were also two Canadian women, some Christian missionaries, a Prussian officer who had served in China, an American woman who was visiting her parents and who had left her husband in Japan, and performers of the Chiarini's Circus along with elephants, zebus, and horses. This diverse group of individuals sailing through the Pacific was the embodiment of a dynamic society, which did not fear traveling long distances anymore.

Prince Henry continued his journey through the North American continent. From there he reached Southampton and, finally, returned to Venice. Lloyd steamers traveled back and forth between the ports of Trieste and Venice for months to transport the crates filled with the precious objects Henry had purchased in Asia.⁴⁴ The frenetic unpacking of the crates at Ca' Vendramin Calergi, which was carried out with the help of Prince Henry's assistants, took several years. Throughout 1890 Prince Henry was so occupied by the task of arranging his collection that he reluctantly left Venice, except when he participated in brief hunting parties or when he traveled to Verona to see Buffalo Bill in April of that year.⁴⁵

The issue of how to arrange the collection caused major tension between Henry and Adelgonde throughout the spring of 1890. Prince Henry was irritable, stubborn, and suffered from vertigo and abdominal pain that were likely caused by his

psychological condition. In October he decided to purchase a new yacht in England. After their return to Europe the couple continued to cultivate the relationships they had established during their trip to Asia. Adelgonde, for instance, sent oleographs depicting religious subjects to Japan,⁴⁶ while Henry mediated to arrange a fundraising for the Christian missions active in Japan.⁴⁷

In the meantime, the arrangement of Henry's collection in Ca' Vendramin Calergi had turned the second floor of the building into a large *wunderkammer*, partly thanks to antique dealers Antonio and Giambattista Carrer who assisted Prince Henry. Noblemen and women and members of the European and American high society visiting Venice did not miss the chance of admiring Henry's collection, which had been arranged in 14 rooms (fig. 22).⁴⁸

The artifacts amassed by Henry were eclectic in nature and quality. The spirit that informed the Prince's collection could be described as "classificatory." Henry collected to pursue both his ethnographic and artistic interests. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the Prince created his collection relying on the knowledge of Japanese experts and antique dealers as well as of European vendors in Japan. This fact explains why the Bourbon collection is different from other European, and specifically French, collections of Japanese art that were formed around the same time and that comprised artifacts purposely produced to be exported and to cater to the taste of European collectors.

On the death of Henry in 1905, Adelgonde decided to liquidate the Western and Moorish works of art in her husband's collection.⁴⁹ The Princess requested that Justus Brinkmann of the Hamburg Museum⁵⁰ and Hara Shinkichi⁵¹ travel to Venice, and she entrusted the two men with the task of cataloging the lacquerware, but the catalog was never completed. In 1908, Adelgonde sold the Asian collection for a million francs. The objects were transferred to the auction house C. Trau, and the Princess left Venice.

Sigmund Singer and, later on, Franz Trau, who both worked for the Trau auction house, sold the works of art belonged to Prince Henry both as individual pieces and in fairly large batches, such as the ones shipped to Hamburg (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe), Bremen (Städtische Museum), and Dresden.⁵² The only Italian museum to purchase objects from the Bourbon collection was the Regio Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico (Royal Museum of Prehistory and

Ethnography) in Rome, which received a grant of 20,000 liras from the Italian government.⁵³

As soon as Adelgonde put her husband's collection on the market, requests flocked in from members of the aristocracy and of the middle-class as well as from artists, who were eager to purchase kimono, porcelains, *netsuke*, and other small objects that were considered a must-have by Europe's "polite society" of the time.⁵⁴ The enthusiasm for all things Japanese had become a commercial phenomenon among the European aristocracy and upper middle class.⁵⁵ At the turn of the 20th century, Venice was among the preferred destinations of international elites and a required stop of the *Grand Tours* undertaken by northern European and American tourists, who sojourned in famous hotels such as the Grand Hotel, the Hotel des Bains, the Excelsior, the Danielli, the Regina, the Luna, and the Bauer. It is no coincidence that writers such as Marcel Proust, Henry James, and Thomas Mann chose Venice as the backdrop of their most celebrated works.⁵⁶ Not to mention the many illustrious poets – from Ezra Pound⁵⁷ to Robert Browning – who shared with the artists of the Secession movements and the Middle-European high society a kind of "Nordic obsession" for Venice.⁵⁸

Japonisme reached Italy not only thanks to the silk trade,⁵⁹ but also thanks to the activities of the Macchiaioli painters and of the Roman and Tuscan art collectors.⁶⁰ In 1873 the Italian lagoon city was chosen as the seat of the Consulate-General of Japan.⁶¹ Around the same time the first Japanese language school, which attracted Japanese interpreters and artists, was established in Venice.⁶² In the meantime, Italian artists such as Vincenzo Ragusa, Antonio Fontanesi, Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti, and Edoardo Chiossoni were sent to Japan through the intervention of the Italian Ministry of Agriculture.⁶³ At the turn of the 20th century articles published on the magazine *Illustrazione italiana*, Vittorio Pica's essays and his magazine *Emporium*,⁶⁴ as well as Gabriele D'Annunzio's subtle estheticism contributed to keep the interest for Japan alive in Italy. At the beginning of the 20th century the diffusion of the Art Nouveau and the Art Déco revived the Orientalist craze. The impact of East Asian art could be seen in all areas of European cultural production including music, theater, and literature.

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 put a halt to the dispersion of Prince Henry's collection. The last entry on the catalog drafted by the Trau auction house is on June 18 of that year, most likely because when the Austro-Hungarian Empire came into war, Franz Trau was called back to his home country

and was forced to leave the Bourbon collection in Venice. As Trau was a citizen of an enemy nation, the Italian government seized the about 20,000 artifacts that remained from Prince Henry's original collection, and in 1925, it relocated them to Ca' Pesaro. In this building, on May 3 1928, the Museum of Oriental Art "Marco Polo," which still houses the splendid collection created by Prince Henry, opened its doors (fig. 23).

- 1 By the second half of the 19th century travel literature had become very profitable. See J. Buzzard, *The Beaten Track. European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture 1800-1918* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993), 150-161. In Italy too numerous accounts about travels to Japan were published. See E. Lazzarin, "Tra japonisme e japoniserie: spunti di ricezione critica dell'arte giapponese nella cultura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento," in *Giapponismo: Suggestioni dall'Estremo Oriente dai Macchiaioli agli anni Trenta*, eds. V. Farinella and F. Morena (Livorno: Sillabe, 2012), 46-54.
- 2 P. Puddinu, "Due nobili viaggiatori italiani nel Giappone dei primi anni di Meiji," in *Atti del XXV Convegno di studi sul Giappone*, Venezia, 4-6 ottobre 2001, (Venezia: Cartotecnica, 2002), 2: 501.
- 3 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, January 17, 1889, Box 209, Archivio dell'Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio di Parma (thereafter AOCSSGPr), Parma, Italy.
- 4 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, February 23, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Prince Henry refers to him as "count" in his travelogue. In other documents, however, he is also referred to as Prince of Campofranco. See Henry of Bourbon, *W'yage à Java, Sumatra, Bornéo et Celebes*, Manuscript, 1887-88, Private Collection, 2.
- 7 Letter from Henry of Bourbon to Robert I of Bourbon, n.d., Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 8 The Prince's travel itinerary is thoroughly discussed in F. Spadavecchia Alfili, *Museo d'Arte Orientale. La collezione Bardi: da raccolta privata a museo dello Stato* (Tonolo: Venezia, 1990); F. Spadavecchia, "Un principe nel Giappone Meiji. Enrico di Borbone, note di viaggio: febbraio-novembre 1889," in *Italiani nel Giappone Meiji (1868-1912) Atti del Convegno Internazionale Bilaterale*, ed. T. Ciapparoni La Rocca, P. Fedì, and M. T. Lucidi (Roma: Centro Stampa Università, 2007), 131-42; F. Spadavecchia, "Da Kyoto a Tokyo. 1889. Il Giappone di Sua Altezza il principe Enrico di Borbone," in *Hiroshige. Da Edo a Kyoto. Vedute celebri del Giappone. La collezione del Museo d'Arte orientale di Venezia*, eds. F. Spadavecchia and M. Boscolo Marchi (Marsilio: Venezia, 2014), 13-23.
- 9 P. De Angelis, *Suez: la costruzione del canale marittimo fra Occidente e Oriente* (Terni: Kion, 2019); J. N. F. M. À Campo, "Engines of Empire: the Role of Shipping Companies in British and Dutch Empire Building," in *Shipping, technology, and imperialism*. Papers presented to the third British-Dutch Maritime History Conference, eds. G. Jackson, D. M. Williams (Hants: Scholar Press, 1996): 64-73; D. R. Headrick "The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of the Modern History* 51, no.2 (1979): 231-263; J. Chesneau, *L'Asia orientale nell'età dell'imperialismo. Cina, Giappone, India e Sud-Est asiatico nei secoli XIX e XX* (Torino: Einaudi, 1969), 46-60; S. Manfredi, Luigi Torelli e il Canale di Suez (Sondrio: Grafiche Valtellinesi, 1930).
- 10 Several letters sent from Saint-Vincent and Tenerife are stored in the Archivio di Parma. Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, November 27, 1885; Letter from Henry of Bourbon to Robert I of Bourbon, January 15, 1886; Letter from Henry of Bourbon to Robert I of Bourbon, February 6, 1886; Letter from Henry of Bourbon to Robert I of Bourbon, March 14, 1886; Box 208, AOCSSGPr, Parma.
- 11 Letter from Henry of Bourbon to Robert I of Bourbon, July 22, 1886, Box 208, AOCSSGPr, Parma.
- 12 M. Turchi, "Enrico Conte di Bardi nei luoghi di Saigari," *Gazzetta di Parma*, April 15, 1985.
- 13 M. Luxoro, *Il Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi (non nobis Domine...)* (Firenze: Olschki, 1957), 128-138; F. Pedrocchi, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2004), 139-142.
- 14 E. Zorzi, "Il Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale 'Marco Polo' che si inaugura oggi nel pomeriggio a Venezia," *Gazzetta di Venezia*, May 3, 1928.
- 15 A. W. Burks, "The Legacy: Products and By-Products of Cultural Exchange,"

- in *The Modernizers. Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. A. W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 359-368.
- 16 M. Ishii, "Italiani in Giappone e giapponesi in Italia," in *Giapponismo. Suggestioni dall'Estremo Oriente dai Macchiaioli agli anni Trenta*, eds. V. Farinella, F. Morena (Livorno: Sillabe, 2012), 55-65. See also D. Failla, "La Fine dello Shogunato e il Periodo Meiji," in *Capolavori d'Arte Giapponese dal Periodo Edo alla Modernizzazione*, ed. D. Failla (Milano: Silvana, 2001), 11-19.
- 17 S. Wichmann, *Giapponismo. Oriente-Europa: Contatti nell'arte del XIX e XX secolo* (Milano: Fabbri, 1981), 8-11.
- 18 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, February 29, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 19 "Io colla principessa che accompagno da Satu, pure un antiquario e nello stesso tempo uno dei migliori negozi di Nagasaki: nessuna bottega sulla strada ma si sale una scaletta in legno e s'arriva in 2 o 3 stanze giapponesi basse, pulitissime e con una quantità di oggetti benissimo disposti, dei vecchi Satsuma su dei mobili in lac, alle pareti delle sciabole dei harakiri ecc. a fodera in lac, delle lance coll'asta tempestata di pezzetti di madreperla ecc. ecc., tutto assai caro ma assai tentante" [Together with Princess Adelgonde we visited Satu, another antique shop and one of the best stores in Nagasaki. The shop does not face the street. Instead one has to go up a short flight of stairs leading to 2 or 3 very clean Japanese-style rooms with low ceilings filled with a large number of well-arranged objects, including some old Satsuma vases placed on lacquered cabinets, swords used for ritual suicide with lacquered scabbards hanging on the wall, etc., spears whose handles are decorated with mother-of-pearl fragments, etc. Everything is very expensive, but also very tempting.]. A. Zileri Dal Verme, *Note di viaggio*, Manuscript, 1887-1889, Private Collection, folder X, page 37. I would like to express my gratitude to the Zileri Dal Verme family for allowing me to consult the manuscript.
- 20 A. Zileri Dal Verme, *Note di viaggio*, Manuscript, 1887-1889, Private Collection, folder X, page 54.
- 21 A. Zileri Dal Verme, *Note di viaggio*, Manuscript, 1887-1889, Private Collection, folder X, page 67. Also quoted in F. Spadavecchia, "Da Kyoto a Tokyo. 1889. Il Giappone di Sua Altezza il principe Enrico di Borbone," in *Hiroshige. Da Edo a Kyoto. Vedute celebri del Giappone. La collezione del Museo d'Arte orientale di Venezia*, eds. F. Spadavecchia and M. Boscolo Marchi (Marsilio: Venezia, 2014), 13-23.
- 22 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Anna of Bragança, March 5, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy. Most of the Western foreign workers in Japan came from Great Britain, the United States, and Germany. For a discussion of foreign presence in Japan during the Meiji period, see R. Schwantes, "Foreign Employees in the Development of Japan," in *The Modernizers. Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. A. W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 207-218.
- 23 Among the folding screens purchased on this occasion, there might have also been the one depicting scenes of family life that has been restored in 2016 thanks to the support of the "Comitato Giapponese Venezia aVenire." See M. Boscolo Marchi, "Astrological Unions. Scenes of Married Life from a Screen in the Museo d'Arte Orientale, Venice," in *Bi no michi. La Via della bellezza. Esplorazioni nella cultura giapponese per i 150 anni delle relazioni diplomatiche tra Italia e Giappone*, eds. M. Boscolo Marchi and S. Vesco, (Venezia: Polo museale del Veneto 2018, 39-58). In the same volume see also M. Hayek, "L'avenir en peinture: à propos d'une paire de paravents japonais du Musée d'Art Oriental de Venise," 59-73; and S. Natsume, "Il Comitato Venezia aVenire e il Museo d'Arte Orientale a Venezia," 75.
- 24 E. A. De Concini, "Nò shōzoku, Costumi teatrali del Museo d'Arte Orientale," in *Bi no michi*, 112-129.
- 25 I'd like to express my gratitude to Alberto Motterle and Sergio Calò for informing me about this point.
- 26 The transliteration of this name is doubtful. In this essay I am using the name as reported by Count Dal Verme in his travelogue. See Alessandro Zileri Dal Verme, *Note di Viaggio*, Manuscript, 1887-89, Private Collection, folder XII, page 5.
- 27 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, May 15, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 28 F. Spadavecchia, *Da Kyoto a Tokyo*, 17.
- 29 F. Spadavecchia, *Da Kyoto a Tokyo*, 18.
- 30 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, August 9, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 31 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, March 25, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 32 "L'homme qui a plus à faire dans tout cela est le cuisinier; il fait le thé, les œufs et des breakfasts le matin avant le départ, emballé et charge les provisions et puis tire un kuruma avec un second kurumaya (rickshacoolie) jusqu'au tiffinplace, où il prépare un petit diner chaud, puis tire sa voiture jusqu'à la station de nuit où il arrive avant nous, comme au tiffinplace, et fait le souper, il est en plus le chef de kurumayas et dirige toute la marche, nous

- faisons nos 40 à 48 kilomètres par jour la moitié du temps en montées et descentes raides, nous autres nos marchons souvent dans ces montées pour ne pas trop fatiguer nos hommes, lui ne peut jamais décharger sa voiture, il est payé 17 yen (68 francs) pour le voyage qui durera du 10 à 15 jours, de cela il se nourrit et loge lui-même" [The busiest person in this situation is the cook. Every morning he brews tea and he cooks eggs and beefsteaks before our departure. Then he packs and loads our supplies on a rickshaw, which he pulls with another porter (Rickshacoolie) to the place where we are scheduled to have lunch. There he prepares a hot meal, and then he pulls the rickshaw with the food supplies to the place where we are staying for the night. He gets there before us and, as in the case with lunch, he prepares dinner. He is also the chief of the rickshaw porters and he coordinates all movements. We travel between 40 to 48 kilometers a day. Half of this distance is either on uphill or downhill roads, in which case we often walk to make sure our helpers do not get too tired. The cook, however, can never unload his rickshaw. He makes 17 yen (68 francs) for the trip, which will last 10 to 15 days. During this time, he will pay for board and lodging out of his pocket]. Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, June 7, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 33 I. Kumakura and J. Kreiner, "Notes on the Japanese Collection of Count Bourbon Bardi at the Museo d'Arte Orientale di Venezia," *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 25 (2001): 641-668.
- 34 According to Princess Adelgonde, an Italian minister schemed to prevent Prince Henry from receiving the decoration. Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, July 3, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 35 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, September 1, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 36 S. Iwakura, *Il Giappone scopre l'Occidente: una missione diplomatica* (1871-73) (Roma: Carte segrete, 1994); A. W. Burks, "Tokugawa Japan: Post-Feudal Society and Change," in *The Modernizers. Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, ed. A. W. Burks (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 9-32.
- 37 A. Zileri Dal Verme, *Note di Viaggio*, Manuscript, 1887-89, folder XII, pages 71, 72, 74.
- 38 A. Zileri Dal Verme, *Note di Viaggio*, Manuscript, 1887-89, folder XII, page 74. In the same manuscript, see also folder XII, pages 69, 71, 87 and folder XIII, page 23.
- 39 F. P. Campione, *La Scuola di Yokohama. La fotografia nel Giappone dell'Ottocento*, (Lugano: Giunti, 2015), 52.
- 40 F. Borri, "Enrico di Borbone," in *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi. Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi* s. 4, vol. 13 (1961): 213-217.
- 41 "Hani a dépensé des sommes folles et surtout en porcelaines et robes de chambres qui serviront pour faire des meubles superbes mais qui sont très chers. J'espère que Robert quand il voudra meubler sa maison en achètera un lot car sans cela je ne sais pas ce qui en fera. J'ai fait mon possible mais après tout la paix conjugale est plus précieuse que l'or et les richesses et j'ai pris la résolution de ne plus interferer" [Henry has spent large amounts of money especially to purchase porcelains and dressing gowns, which will be used to make superb tapestries, which are going to be very expensive. I am hoping that when Robert decides to furnish his house, he will buy some of the tapestries from us, because otherwise I don't know what we are going to do with them. I did all I could, but, ultimately, preserving peace with Henry is more important than gold and riches. Therefore, I have decided to not interfere any longer]. Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, November 25, 1888, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 42 "Mon unique consolation dans toutes les dépenses folles que fait Henry c'est qu'il devient pour cèlà un personnage beaucoup plus important, dans ce pays où on adore littéralement les riches" [As for Henry's crazy spending, my only solace is the fact that he has become a prominent celebrity in this country where rich people are literally loved]. Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, June 7, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 43 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, June 7, 1889, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy. If not true, as stated in "Comment un prince français valut un musée à l'Italie," *Comœdia*, July 8, 1927, that Siebold joined Prince Henry and his party in Singapore. It is likely that Siebold met the European travelers in Yokohama.
- 44 E. Zorzi, "Il Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale 'Marco Polo' che si inaugura oggi nel pomeriggio a Venezia," *Gazzetta di Venezia*, May 3, 1928.
- 45 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, April 14, 1890, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 46 Letter from Adelgonde of Bragança to Margaret of Bourbon, December 18, 1890, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 47 Letter from Henry of Bourbon to Robert of Bourbon, February 25, 1891, Box 209, AOCSSGPr, Parma, Italy.
- 48 E. Zorzi, "L'Arte dell'Estremo Oriente in un Nuovo Museo Veneziano," in *Le Vie d'Italia* xxxiii, no. 6 (1927): 657-666.
- 49 *Katalog einer aussergewöhnlich wertvollen und reichhaltigen Gemälde und Kunstsammlung aus ehemaligen Besitze weil. S. königl. Hohheit Prinz Heinrich von Bourbon Graf von Bardi*, (Wien, 1906).
- 50 J. Brinckmann, "Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe," in *Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten* 25 (1907): 179-268, 242-62.
- 51 About Hara Shinkichi, see D. Klemm, *Das Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg. Von den Anfängen bis 1945* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2004), 60-62. For the Brinckmann's catalogue of lacquerware, see I. Kumakura and J. Kreiner, "Notes on the Japanese Collection of Count Bourbon Bardi," 641-668.
- 52 See also the Trau auction catalogue *Katalog zur Liquidation der Sammlung Weiland sr. königl. Hohheit des Prinzen Heinrich von Bourbon, Grafen von Bardi*, (Venedig, 1908).
- 53 Letter from Gino Fogolari to Direttore Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, February 9, 1908, Box 31, Folder 1, Archivio Storico del Polo museale del Veneto, Venezia, Italy.
- 54 S. Du Crest, ed., *Si loin si proche. Objets d'ailleurs dans les intérieurs européens. Photographies 1870-2015* (Roma: Gangemi, 2015).
- 55 F. Arzeni, *L'immagine e il segno: il Giapponismo nella cultura europea tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), 43; E. Lazzarin, "Tra japonisme e japonerie: spunti di ricezione critica dell'arte giapponese nella cultura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento," in *Giapponismo. Suggestioni dall'Estremo Oriente dai Macchiaioli agli anni Trenta*, 46-54.
- 56 M. Battilana, *Venezia sfondo e simbolo nella narrativa di Henry James* (Milano: Laboratorio delle arti, 1987), 92.
- 57 *Venezia 1908, Ezra Pound e Italo Calvino* ed. R. Mamoli Zorzi, (Venezia: Edizioni della Laguna, 2004).
- 58 This phrase was coined by Vittorio Pica. Vittorio Pica, *L'Arte mondiale alla IV esposizione di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1901), 5. See also Alessandra Tiddia, "Vittorio Pica e l' 'ossessione nordica,'" in *Vittorio Pica e la ricerca della modernità*, ed. Davide Lacagnina (Sesto San Giovanni: Mimesis, 2016), 195-210.
- 59 T. Ciapparoni La Rocca, "La prima comunità italiana in Giappone," in *Seta. Il filo d'oro che unì il Piemonte al Giappone*, ed. T. Ciapparoni La Rocca (Milano: Silvana, 2018), 42-47.
- 60 M. Becattini, "Il contesto culturale per la nascita del Giapponismo in Toscana," in *Giapponismo. Suggestioni dall'Estremo Oriente dai Macchiaioli agli anni Trenta*, 34-44.
- 61 It then became an "Honorary Consulate." See Motoaki Ishii, "Alessandro Fè d'Ostiani e il Giappone. Il suo contributo agli scambi culturali tra Venezia e il Giappone," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'arte* 57, (2002): 411-434.
- 62 P. S. Rivetta and T. Terasaki, *Grammatica teorico-pratica della Lingua Giapponese parlata con testo ed esercizi graduati, conversazioni e piccolo dizionario* (Venezia: Tip C. Ferrario, 1911), XII-XV; A. Boscaro, "Docenti giapponesi in laguna (1873-1923)," in *1868 Italia e Giappone: intrecci culturali*, ed. R. Caroli (Venezia: Cafoscarina, 2008), 21-40.
- 63 M. Focessati, "Orientalismi: a confronto," in *L'Ottocento elegante. Arte in Italia nel segno di Forluny, 1860-1890*, ed. F. Cagianelli and D. Matteoni (Milano: Silvana, 2011), 7.
- 64 Pica knew and often referred to Anderson, Chesneau, Goncourt, Gonse and Duret. Among the titles of his library, when it was sold, there was Louis Gonse's work *L'art japonais* (probably the second edition, which appeared in 1886). See *Beaux ouvrages illustrés, monographies [...] composant la bibliothèque Vittorio Pica* (Milano: Antiquariato Toscanini, 1933), 16. On Pica and Japonisme, see also M. M. Lamberti, "Ambivalenze della diffusione dell'arte giapponese in Italia," *Boletino d'Arte* 76, (1987): 69-78; D. Lacagnina, "Vittorio Pica japoniste: critica militante e collezionismo fra letteratura e arte," in *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 55, (2019): 539-553.

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