

COLLECTING ASIAN ART

MARKÉTA HÁNOVÁ
YUKA KADOI
SIMONE WILLE (EDS)

CULTURAL POLITICS
& TRANSREGIONAL
NETWORKS IN
TWENTIETH-CENTURY
CENTRAL EUROPE

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

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EDITED BY MARKÉTA HÁNOVÁ,
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ART

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Owing to the transregional and multi-linguistic coverage of this volume, stretching from Japan to the Czech lands, names and terms have been transliterated according to their generally accepted, Anglicised usage. All quotes have been translated by the authors, unless otherwise noted. Apart from specific cases, original Chinese and Japanese characters, as well as the Arabic script, have not been used throughout the volume. Finally, both the editors and authors have made their best efforts to minimise stylistic variations throughout the volume, while each contributor has been encouraged to observe stylistic consistency within his/her own chapter.

NETWORKS OF ENTHUSIASM FOR JAPAN

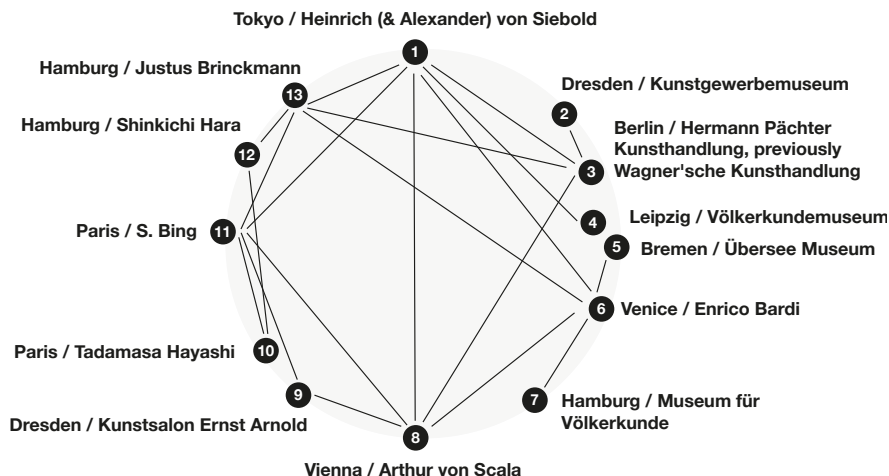
Johannes Wieninger

STARTING WITH THE WORLD FAIRS

Although there is no clear, general way to explain how currents and movements come about within art history, they all have one thing in common: people are always the ones who set movements in motion, who live their interests and enthusiasm and inspire others. This contribution retraces personal networks that have emerged through friendships, passions, and shared business interests. Unlike most nineteenth-century relationships between European and non-European countries, the connection with Japan was less sustained by colonial aspiration. A kind of ‘common sense’ was the basis for close cooperation and contacts across borders.

Looking at ‘Japonisme’, one of the first international, transcontinental art movements in the nineteenth century, the connections between political interests, personal preferences, and business acumen can be shown across borders – a ‘network of art’ that covered the European continent (fig. 1). A brief look at the history of East–West relations brings us back to 1853. Even if Japan was not isolated from the rest of the world for centuries, as is often claimed, this date marks a turning point in Japanese history. Because of the entry of a US gunboat under Commander Perry into the Bay of Edo, the country was forced to undertake long-discussed changes in politics and economy. It took Western countries as an example for individual steps, and it even invited ‘advisers’ into the country. This approach was not without controversy, because it brought revolutionary changes in social and cultural spheres of life with it.

Diplomatic missions were opened in the new capital, and Rutherford Alcock (1809–1879), the first British consul, arrived in Edo as early as 1859. Parallel to his diplomatic and economic duties, Alcock also dedicated himself to exploring the country and started collecting artefacts in the hopes of representing this distant country’s culture and way of life in Europe.¹ In 1862 parts of his collection were shown at the London Exhibition – to the great horror of a Japanese delegation that visited this show. The Japan Exhibition at the Paris world fair in 1867 was supported by the lords of Satsuma and Nabeshima; this was the first self-portrayal of Japan, although not yet official.²



- 1 Tokyo / Heinrich von Siebold** (1852–1908), second son of Philipp Franz von Siebold, brother of Alexander von Siebold (1846–1911).
 Since 1872 with the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Tokyo.
 1873: Translator at the Vienna world Fair
 1889: His collections were presented to the Naturhistorisches Museum, now at the Weltmuseum (Museum of Ethnology).
 1892/ 1905: Donations to the Oriental Museum and the Museum for Art and Industry, now MAK-Museum of Applied Art in Vienna.
 1893: Consultant for the collection of Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand.
 1889: Consultant for the Baldi collection in Venice.
 Wanted to sell his Katagami collection to the Völkerkundemuseum in Leipzig.
- 2 Dresden / Kunstgewerbemuseum**
 1889: Purchase of the Katagami collection for 2400 Mark from Wagner'sche Kunsthandlung Berlin, probably acquired from Alexander von Siebold (1846–1911).
- 3 Berlin / Kunsthandlung Hermann Pächter** (1839–1902), previously Wagner'sche Kunsthandlung.
- 4 Leipzig / Völkerkundemuseum**
 1908: Wanted to buy a Katagami collection from Heinrich von Siebold, later sold by Trau, Vienna.
- 5 Bremen / Übersee Museum**
 1907–08: Hugo H. Schauinsland, the founding director of the Übersee Museum Bremen, started a fund raising campaign in Bremen to buy parts of the Bourbon Bardi collection.
- 6 Venice / Enrico Bardi** (1851–1905)
 1889: Acquired his collection in Japan.
 1906: Auctions by Trau Vienna.
 1908: Description of the collection in five volumes of hand-written catalogues by Justus Brinckmann, compiled, with assistance of Shinkichi Hara.

- 7 Hamburg / Museum für Völkerkunde**
 1908: Director Thilenius acquired eighty-one lots (some of them containing up to 38 objects) from the Bardi collection.
- 8 Vienna / Arthur von Scala (1845–1909)**
 1868–1871: Taking part in the Austro-Hungarian expedition to East Asia.
 1873: Secretary of the Oriental Committee at the Vienna World Fair.
 1874–1897: Founding Director of the Oriental Museum (later Trade Museum).
 1897–1908: Director of the Museum for Art and Industry.
- 9 Dresden / Kunstsalon Ernst Arnold**
 Since 1893 showing contemporary art.
 1895: Exhibition *Japanischer Holzschnitte 17. – 19. Jahrhundert* organized by S. Bing.
- 10 Paris / Tadamas Hayashi (1853–1906)**
 1878: Arrives in Paris.
 1894: Donates Tsuba collection to Musée du Louvre for its Extrême-Orient section.
 1900: General commissioner of the Japanese art section at the World 's Fair in Paris.
 Trading and selling Ukiyo-e worldwide.
- 11 Paris / S. Bing (1838–1905)**
 1854: Arrives in Paris.
 1888–1891: Publisher of *Le Japon artistique*.
 1895: Exhibition *Japanischer Holzschnitte 17. – 19. Jahrhundert* at Kunstsalon Ernst Arnold, Dresden.
 1895–1904: *Maison de l'Art Nouveau*.
 1901: *Specialausstellung Hokusai in k.k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, Vienna.
- 12 Hamburg / Shinkichi Hara (1868–1934)**
 1896: Assistant of Justus Brinckmann.
 1902: Publication of *Die Meister Der Japanischen Schwertzierathen* with Brinckmann.
- 13 Hamburg / Justus Brinckmann (1843–1915)**
 1873: Expert at the Vienna World Fair.
 1885 and 1900: Juror at the World Fairs in Antwerp and Paris.
 1874: Founder of Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.
 Since 1883: Purchases from S. Bing in Paris and R. Wagner'sche Kunsthandlung in Berlin.
 1888 - 1891: Publication of *Japanischer Formenschatz* with S. Bing.
 1902: Publication of *Die Meister der Japanischen Schwertzierathen* with Shinkichi Hara.
 1908: Description of the Bardi collection in five volumes of hand-written catalogues, with assistance of Shinkichi Hara.

Figure 1. The Japan network of art. Illustration by the author.

It was only after the country's transition from shogunate to monarchy in 1868 that the Japanese government began to organise presentations on an international level itself. When Japan was invited to take part in the Vienna world fair, hectic preparations began, with European consultants asked to select the products to be shown. The German engineer Gottfried Wagener (1831–1892) had been in Japan as an economic adviser, primarily on the modernisation of the porcelain industry, since 1868. He oversaw the Japanese exhibition at the Vienna world fair, and above all, his advice not to conform to Western tastes led to the success of this first state-controlled presentation.³

TRADING AND COLLECTING

Japan had pushed itself into the consciousness of the West and, as a result, began a targeted cultural policy: the country exported arts and crafts, promoted handicrafts, and participated in as many international exhibitions as possible. In addition to the world exhibitions, which were taking place increasingly frequently, there were many small competitions in which Japanese artists took part and from which they brought home medals of honour for their achievements and ambition. The *Internationale Ausstellung von Arbeiten aus edlen Metallen und Legierungen* (International Exhibition of Works Made of Precious Metals and Alloys) in Nuremberg in 1885 is one example of this increased presence of Japanese art and artists on the international stage.⁴ Ninety-six (!) Japanese artists, craftspeople, and manufacturers are listed by name in the exhibition catalogue. Leopold Gmelin, professor at the Munich School of Applied Arts, describes them with great enthusiasm: ‘The bronze works exhibited by the Japanese in the modern department are so perfect beyond all definitions, especially technically, that their works have to be called the highlight of the exhibition.’⁵

FROM TOKYO TO VIENNA, BERLIN, AND DRESDEN

At that time, in the 1880s, two ‘Japan-friendly’ centres had already emerged, Vienna and Paris. Museums and public collections as well as trade fairs and galleries were active and cooperative in the promotion of Japanese arts and crafts on the world stage. Starting with the Vienna world fair in 1873, European collectors began to establish or strengthen their collections of Japanese objects. Particularly noteworthy among these collectors are the brothers Alexander and Heinrich von Siebold, who – encouraged and influenced by their father, Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) – worked in the diplomatic services in Japan and became important personalities in collecting and trading. Alexander (1846–1911) is best known as a diplomat at the British Legation and later in the service of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

His younger brother, Heinrich (1852–1908), initially worked as an interpreter at the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Tokyo; he was also available as an interpreter for the Japanese delegation at the Vienna world fair and played a decisive role in the dedication of objects and works of art to European museums. To the displeasure of his superiors, Heinrich ran an art business in Tokyo and ‘supplied’ many travellers to Japan with souvenirs and works of art. He was also active as a companion on trips through the country and thus promoted the emergence of extensive Japanese collections in Europe. Heinrich also used his contacts in the highest circles to build an eminent collection, which he dedicated in several tranches to Viennese museums and as individual objects to other collections in the German-speaking area.

Throughout their careers, the Siebold brothers, along with numerous other actors in the interconnected ‘Japan network’, contributed to Asian art collections throughout Europe, including in Vienna, Berlin, and Dresden.

In 1889 Heinrich dedicated an extensive ethnographic collection to the newly founded Natural History Museum in Vienna, which – in accordance with the attitude at the time – also included an ethnographic department, which later became one of the fundamentals of the Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology), today’s Weltmuseum Wien, founded in 1928.⁶

Heinrich had been in contact with Arthur Scala (1845–1909), the director of the Oriental Museum (Orientalisches Museum) in Vienna, which was renamed Trade Museum (Handelsmuseum) in 1886. Scala took part in the imperial Austro-Hungarian expedition to India, China, Siam, and Japan; was secretary of the committee for the Orient and East Asia during the Vienna world fair; and in 1874 became the founding director of the Oriental Museum. It was also through personal connections that Heinrich made an important dedication to the Trade Museum in 1892; his contribution still constitutes one of the largest Japanese collections in Europe.

Of the many objects in the Trade Museum that came from Heinrich, one group stands out: shrine fragments from the burial complex of the Tokugawa shoguns around the Zojoji in Shiba/Tokyo. Even in Japan these objects would be a sensation: these fragments are the only remains of the cemetery, which was destroyed in 1923 and 1945. The two representations of the lions (*shishi*) from the memorial shrine built around 1710 can be attributed to Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713) (fig. 2).



Figure 2. *Shishi* (Lion) attributed to Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713). Edo period, ca. 1710. Colour and gold on wood. Part of a Tokugawa Memorial Shrine in Shiba (Edo/Tokyo). Courtesy of MAK – Museum of Applied Art, Vienna, inv. no. OR 3930-2. Collection Heinrich von Siebold. [See plate 12, p. 250]

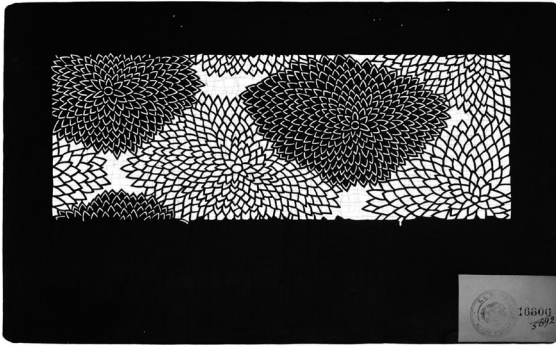


Figure 3. Katagami. Edo period, nineteenth century. Paper cut-out. Image courtesy of MAK –Museum of Applied Art, Vienna, inv. no. OR 3925–5692. Collection Heinrich von Siebold. [See plate 13, p. 251]

Two other groups of objects in the Viennese collections illustrate the international connections of the Siebold brothers. A large collection of more than 2,700 ink paintings gives insight into the iconography of East Asian painting and shows striking parallels to a similar collection – that of Erwin Baelz (1849–1913), which is kept in the Linden-Museum Stuttgart.⁷ The second group of objects concerns the collection of approximately nine thousand Japanese stencils (*katagami*) (fig. 3).

The Kunstgewerbemuseum in Dresden acquired a much larger collection in 1889 from the art dealer R. Wagner in Berlin.⁸ Research by Wolfgang Scheppe, curator of the 2014 exhibition *The Logic of Rain* in the Japanese Palais in Dresden, revealed the likelihood that these more than sixteen thousand *katagami* found their way to Europe via Alexander von Siebold (personal information).⁹

With the dissolution of the Vienna Trade Museum in 1907, Scala transferred a significant portion of the Siebold collection to the Museum of Art and Industry, of which he had become the director.¹⁰

Another art enthusiast that Heinrich von Siebold advised was Enrico Bardi (1851–1905). From 1887 to 1889, Bardi travelled through East Asia, including a six-month stay in Japan, which was long enough for Bardi to accumulate a palace-filling collection. Some of Bardi's collection has been lost, but the rest still forms the core of the Museo d'arte orientale (Asian Art Museum) in Venice.¹¹ After Bardi's death, Justus Brinckmann (1843–1915), a museum director who was then active throughout Europe, prepared the estate catalogue.¹²

We already come across Brinckmann's name as a commissioner at the Vienna world fair in 1873, where he was able to establish many contacts with Hamburg: as early as 1874 he was the founding director of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Museum of Arts and Crafts) there. His contacts were not only related to Viennese museums and galleries, but he became a bridge builder between France and the German-speaking countries. The most important person for him was S. Bing (1838–1905).

PARIS, LONDON, AND HAMBURG: *LE JAPON ARTISTIQUE*

Bing, born in Hamburg, moved to Paris in 1854, where he ran the family business Bing et Renner. Connections to his brother-in-law's commercial activities in Tokyo and travel in 1880 and 1881 led Bing to import enormous amounts of Japanese objects and works of art; these activities led to the wide availability of Japanese objects in Europe, which contributed to continent-wide enthusiasm for Japan. Bing became an important supplier of Asian objects for major European museums, and his magazine, *Le japon artistique*, which he published simultaneously in three languages, became a first-class source of information for many artists, collectors, and art lovers. Together with Bing, Brinckmann was responsible for the German edition – *Der Japanische Formenschatz*.¹³ As an editor, Brinckmann was Bing's partner; as a museum director, he was Bing's client. Bing provided the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Hamburg with numerous objects. Above all, the excellent collection of Japanese tea ceramics must be mentioned; Brinckmann acquired around 150 ceramics from Bing (fig. 4).¹⁴

Another person connected with Bing is Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906). Thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages, Hayashi came to Paris in 1878 as interpreter and translator for the Japanese art dealer Wakai Kenzaburo (1834–1908). He saw his future in Paris and set up his own business dealing in Japanese works of art. With his contacts with Parisian artists, Hayashi became a source of inspiration for Vincent van Gogh, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, and many others. From the 1880s onwards, he ran his art trade, specialising in Ukiyo-e and handicrafts of other materials: coloured woodcuts of the highest quality marked with his stamp can be found in the most important collections worldwide. His importance and efficiency were also recognised by the Japanese government, and he was a commissioner for the Paris 1889 and Chicago 1893 world fairs before being appointed Commissioner-General of the Japanese Pavilion at the 1900 Paris world fair. Not only that: he became the editor of the first Japanese-authored art history of Japan published in a Western language.¹⁵ No matter how honourable this task was, it was not very satisfying for Hayashi, who had to leave out the Japanese colour woodcuts; he wasn't even

allowed to mention them because the Japanese government didn't want to be represented by pictures of actors and prostitutes. To get an impression of



Figure 4. Tea bowl, Black Raku ware. Edo period, seventeenth century. Image courtesy of Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, inv. no. 1901.271. [See plate 14, p. 251]

Hayashi's own collection and his 'commodities', consult the auction catalogues written by Bing.¹⁶

In addition to the objects, such as *katagami* and *sumie*, mainly collected by the art enthusiasts mentioned above, there is another group of objects that is kept in large numbers in almost all European collections: sword guards (*tsuba*), and it is precisely this type of object that leads us to London, Paris, Hamburg, and maybe Vienna. *Tsuba* were well known as early as at the London world fair in 1862, where the small metalwork objects attracted attention due to their colourful variations of metals, generating admiration for these attractive metalwork objects, which in the following years were exported to Europe in large numbers.

In 1894 Hayashi donated a considerable collection of *tsuba* to the Louvre, which – remarkably – was accompanied by a published catalogue.¹⁷ Brinckmann also acquired many sword guards for the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and in 1896 he was able to engage Hara Shinkichi (1868–1934) to catalogue and publish them.¹⁸ In the foreword to the publication, Hara outlines the origin of the objects and thus reveals a '*tsuba* network':

The Vienna World Exhibition of 1873, where we laid the foundation for the Japanese collection of the Hamburg Museum of Arts and Crafts, did not offer any opportunity to purchase Japanese guard plates and sword ornaments. Only after the ban on carrying swords was issued in peacetime in 1876 did Japanese swords and their accessories reach Europe in larger numbers. The R. WAGNER'sche Kunsthandlung in Berlin brokered the first purchases for us at the beginning of the 1880s. Its recently deceased owner, Herr Hermann Paechter, subsequently rendered great service in supplying German collections with Japanese antiquities. A stay by the director in Paris in the autumn of 1883 opened up what was then the most important market for Japanese art. Mr S. Bing's action, conducted with as much expertise as taste, offered an exceedingly rich selection of sword ornaments, in addition to other actions existing at the time that have since been received as a result of a lack of supplies. To introduce the study of these, Mr S. Bing's exquisite personal collection was best suited, while the public museums in Paris did not then collect Japanese antiquities. On that occasion, Mr Tadamasu Hayashi proved to be a competent adviser for reading the artists' names and explaining the representations on the cover sheets, the same who later, when Mr Bing gave up his Japanese shop, devoted himself entirely to 'l'Art nouveau', to devote to the noblest dealings with Japanese antiquities, who became adviser to the most important Parisian collectors and completed his career in France as Imperial Japanese Government Commissioner for the World Exhibition of 1900.¹⁹

Again we encounter Wagner's art shop in Berlin, and once more connections to the Siebold brothers remain speculative. The Viennese collection of Heinrich von Siebold in the Museum of Applied Arts contains more than one hundred *tsuba*

(out of a total 480 *tsuba* at the Museum of Applied Arts). Hara's work is still relevant today, and it should be noted that large *tsuba* collections still lie dormant in storerooms around the world. Bing and Hayashi were also active in the exhibition business in the last decade of the nineteenth century; they made objects available, edited catalogues, and acted as consultants. Two exhibitions at prominent locations deserve special mention: an exhibition of Japanese colour woodcuts at the Art Salon Ernst Arnold in Dresden and an exhibition of Hokusai's works at the Museum for Art and Industry in Vienna.²⁰

Since 1893 the renowned gallery Art Salon Ernst Arnold in Dresden has focused its programme on contemporary art, so it is remarkable that in 1895 an exhibition of Japanese colour woodcuts was shown with the help of Bing.²¹ Bing endowed this exhibition with first-class prints, and it seems as though museum directors and collectors made the pilgrimage to Dresden to buy from Arnold – and to make contacts. The Austrian Museum of Art and Industry acquired the complete album *Mirror of the New Beauty Contest of the Courtesans by Yoshiwara and Their Calligraphy*, made in 1784 by Kitao Masanobu, whose prints were all originally bound as leporello and in the best quality – a one-off but also very expensive acquisition.

Bing's connections to the Arnold Salon and its 'Japan programme' remained intact. Scala, who left the Trade Museum for the Museum of Art and Industry in 1897, invited the Arnold Salon to show works at a guest exhibition in Vienna. This was held in 1899, and the museum acquired twenty-six prints, including five with Hayashi's stamp! (In total, the Viennese museum acquired more than two hundred prints from the Art Salon Ernst Arnold.) In 1901 we meet Bing again: the largest exhibition of Hokusai's work to date took place in the Vienna Museum for Art and Industry, a sales exhibition organised by a Viennese art dealer where 630 works were exhibited. The foreword to the catalogue states: 'the lovable support that Mr S. Bing in Paris gave us through advice and the provision of the works we needed.'²²

NETWORK ENDING

In the first decade of the twentieth century, this Japan network, which spanned the continent for twenty years, broke up. Heinrich von Siebold tried to sell the majority of the remainder of his collection, so he negotiated with the Ethnological Museum in Leipzig for the sale of twenty thousand *katagami*. Unfortunately it never came to that: he died in August 1908, and his collection was then sold in a sales campaign in Vienna.

His congenial Viennese partner Scala retired as museum director in 1909 and died just a few months later. Bardi, who died in 1905, was able to make his collection public in a Venetian palace. During the turmoil of war between 1914 and 1918, Bardi's collection became a subject of dispute between Italy and Austria. Luckily, large parts have been preserved in the Museo d'arte orientale in Venice.

In the same year, 1905, S. Bing died; he was the most important ‘motor’ of the Japan network, who infected all of Europe with his enthusiasm. After selling parts of his collection at the 1902 Paris auctions, Hayashi returned to Japan in 1905 with what remained of his collection. He died only a year later, but part of his collection found its way back to Europe: Otto Kummel (1874–1952) became an assistant to Wilhelm Bode (1845–1929) in Berlin in 1906 and, from 1906 to 1909, went to Japan with Ernst Grosse (1862–1927), who was sent to acquire objects for the Berlin Asia Collection, which Bode also supported.

Correspondence between Grosse and Kummel in the 1890s shows that Kummel was already interested in Japanese art and that he had been to Paris, among other places, to study the market and its collections. With these two people a turning point in the approach to the art of East Asia, and Japan in particular, can be seen. One – Grosse – still had close contacts with Hayashi and Bing, so he was peripherally involved in the Japan network; the other – Kummel – was a polyglot, and he was scientifically and museologically trained and interested. He preferred to explore the country himself and tried to build a collection systematically. In Japan they were fortunate to acquire for Berlin important pieces from the collection of the recently deceased Hayashi.²³ Brinckmann remained director of the Museum of Art and Industry in Hamburg until his death in 1915. He was the last major networker from the late nineteenth century, but the loss of his partners slowed his activities.

The time after the First World War was not only a major turning point in politics. Travel and direct contact over long distances became easier, and expeditions were equipped to explore and collect artworks and testimonies from distant countries. Interest in Japan waned, and museums and collectors turned to China’s history and new archaeological discoveries. This development was summarised in the foreword of a Viennese exhibition catalogue in 1922:

this overestimation of Japanese applied arts in the past few decades has of course not been surpassed in recent years, and people are now turning decisively from the Romans to the Greeks of the East. This is by no means intended to belittle Japan’s contribution to East Asian art, but rather to put it in the right light.²⁴

The network of enthusiasm for Japan in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Europe reveals that, during this time, a large number of works of art flowed from Japan and that the image of this East Asian country in the West has been shaped by this accumulation of Japanese works in Western collections at the turn of the twentieth century. Some of the protagonists – such as Hayashi or Alexander von Siebold – were able to work for both the Western and the Japanese side. Hayashi worked as an art dealer and as a Japanese commissioner at the Paris world fair, and Alexander von Siebold began his career in the service of the British, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian legations, but switched to the Japanese

government, among other things, to organise Japanese participation in world fairs and to renegotiate unequal treaties.

Although the West – above all the United States and Great Britain, although other states followed in these efforts – tried to establish a colonialist relationship in its trade policy with Japan, areas such as public administration and military affairs remained unaffected by these unequal agreements. Cultural exchange is never a one-way activity – especially the example of European–Japanese relationships can show intensive interactions. The building of rich collections went hand in hand with the interest of many artists in Japanese art, and at the same time a kind of parallel to Western Japonisme emerged in Japan itself: new Western themes and techniques changed the visual arts in Japan, and academic education split into two directions – Japanese (*Nihonga*) and Western painting (*Yoga*).²⁵

As the twentieth century progressed, official Japan gradually decreased the system of European and US ‘advisers and trainers’, became more assertive internationally, and began to focus on inter-Asian politics. Of course, this also affected Japanese art and culture. The ‘West’ reoriented likewise: artistic and art historical interests shifted to China, South, and Southeast Asia.

Although I have begun to sketch the pan-European, even intercontinental cooperation in the collection of Asian art, this mapped network of Japanese enthusiasts in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century is not complete and needs to be expanded.

NOTES

1. Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*. 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863).
2. Japan and the 1867 Paris Exposition symposium at Maison franco-japonaise, Tokyo, 19 November 2017; for more information, see Sano Kentaro, ‘Japan and the 1867 Paris Exposition’, *TJJ Online*, 9 March 2018, <https://www.japanjournal.jp/society/pt20180309170702.html>.
3. *Catalog der kaiserlich japanischen Ausstellung* (Vienna: Japanischen Ausstellungs-Commission, 1873), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100329989> (exh. cat.); Herbert Fux, *Japan auf der Weltausstellung in Wien in 1873* (Vienna: Museum of Applied Arts, 1973) (exh. cat.); *Arts of East and West from World Expositions: 1855–1900. Paris, Vienna, Chicago* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2004) (exh. cat.).
4. *Internationale Ausstellung von Arbeiten aus edlen Metallen und Legierungen. Offizieller Katalog: Herausgegeben vom Bayrischen Gewerbemuseum in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Verlagsanstalt des Bayr. Gewerbemuseums, 1885) (exh. cat.), <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00010446?page=,1>; Sybille Girmond, ‘Die Rezeption Japans. Die “Internationale Ausstellung von Arbeiten aus edlen Metallen und Legierungen” in Nuernberg 1885. Teil I Metallarbeiten’, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 6 (2003): 32–48, 39.
5. Leopold Gmelin, ‘Internationale Ausstellung von Arbeiten aus edlen Metallen und Legierungen’ in Nuernberg 1885’, *Zeitschrift des Kunst-Gewerbe-Vereins zu München* 11/12 (1885): 91.
6. On the three Siebolds, see Josef Kreiner (ed.), *200 years of Siebold: The Japanese Collections of Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold* (Tokyo: Edo Tokyo Museum, 1996) (exh. cat.); Peter Noever, Johannes Wieninger, and Bettina Zorn (eds.), *Das alte Japan: Spuren und Objekte der Siebold-Reisen* (Munich: Prestel, 1997) (exh. cat.); Kaori Hidaka and Bettina Zorn, *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold* (Vienna: KMH-Museumsverband, 2020) (exh. cat.); Kaori Hidaka and Bettina Zorn (eds.), *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2021).
7. Doris Croissant, *Japanese Paintings in the Linden-Museum Stuttgart: A Selection from the Baelz Collection*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart and Tokyo: Linden-Museum Stuttgart and Kodansha, 1991).

8. Unfortunately, not much is known about R. Wagner. See Anja Walter-Ris, 'Der moderne Kunsthandel an Spree und Rhein von 1850–1918', in *Kunstleidenschaft im Dienst der Moderne. Die Geschichte der Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin/New York, 1920–1995*, ed. Anja Walter-Ris (Zurich: Interpublishers, 2003), n. 52: 'Hermann Pächter (1839–1902), originally a brewer, teamed up with the Berlin publishing house R. Wagner in the early eighties, which he slowly transformed into an art cabinet. East Asian, Japanese art, carpets, decorative arts of all kinds were traded'.
9. Wolfgang Scheppe, email message to author.
10. Johannes Wieninger: 'Er brachte viel Eigenartiges und Notwendiges mit: Arthur von Scala als Mittler zwischen Ost und West und die Grundlegung der Asiensammlung des heutigen Museums fuer angewandte Kunst 1868 – 1909', in *Kunst und Industrie: die Anfaenge des Museums fuer Angewandte Kunst in Wien*, ed. Peter Noever (Ostfildern: Oesterreichisches Museum fuer Angewandte Kunst, 2000) (exh. cat.), 170.
11. Marta Boscolo Marchi, 'The Wondrous Collection of Prince Henry of Bourbon. From His Journey to Japan to the Opening of the Museum of Oriental Art in Venice', in *The Tradition of Edo Creativity. The Skill and Soul of Craftsmen Give Birth to Japanese Beauty*, edited by Ochiai Noriko, Tanaka Yūji and Sugiyama Satoshi (Tokyo: Edo Tokyo Museum, 2020) (exh. cat.), 188–195.
12. Heinz Spielmann, *Justus Brinckmann* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter, 2002).
13. Gabriel P. Weisberg, *L'Art Nouveau: la maison Bing* (Amsterdam: Belser, 2004) (exh. cat.); S. Bing, *Le japon artistique* (Paris: Japon Artistique and Marpon et Flammarion, 1888–1891), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb344285339/date1888.liste>; S. Bing, *Japanischer Formenschatz* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1888–1891).
14. Wibke Schrape, *Among Friends. Japanese Tea Ceramics* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 2020), https://zenodo.org/record/3991828#.YzF3_YTP2UL.
15. Hayashi Tadamasu (ed.), *Histoire de l'art du Japon* (Paris: Maurice de Brunhoff, 1900), <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN780041135>.
16. *Collection Hayashi: Objets d'art du Japon et de la Chine: peintures, livres réunis par T. Hayashi ... dont la vente ... du lundi 27 janvier au samedi 1er février 1902 inclus dans les Galeries de MM. Durand-Ruel ... Paris* (Paris: S. Bing, 1902) (Auction cat.). *Collection Hayashi: Objets d'art et peintures de la Chine et du Japon réunis par T. Hayashi ... deuxième partie dont la vente ... du lundi 16 février au samedi 21 février 1903 inclus à l'Hôtel Drouot, Paris* (Paris: S. Bing, 1901–1903) (Auction cat.). *Collection Hayashi: Dessins, estampes, livres illustrés du Japon réunis par T. Hayashi ... dont la vente ... du lundi 2 juin au vendredi 6 juin 1902 inclus à l'Hôtel Drouot, Paris* (Paris: S. Bing, 1902) (Auction cat.); Committee of Hayashi Tadamasu Symposium (Ed.): *Hayashi Tadamasu – Japonisme and Cultural Exchanges* (Tokyo: Hatsu-baimoto Seiunsha, 2007). Yasuko Kigi in *Correspondance adressée à Hayashi Tadamasu*, ed. Brigitte Koyama-Richard (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 2001).
17. *Catalog de la collection des gardes de sabres japonaises au Musée du Louvre. Don de Tadamasu Hayashi de Tokyo* (Paris: Hayashi, 1894) (exh. cat.).
18. Shinkichi Hara, *Die Meister der japanischen Schwertzierathen: Ueberblick ihrer Geschichte, Verzeichniss der Meister mit Daten ueber ihr Leben und mit ihren Namen in der Urschrift* (Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem, 1902), https://www.zobodat.at/pdf/Jb-Hamburg-Wissenschaft-Anstalten_19_BH_I-XLIII.pdf.
19. Hara, *Die Meister der japanischen Schwertzierathen*. My translation.
20. Ruth Negendanck, *Die Galerie Ernst Arnold (1893–1951): Kunsthandel und Zeitgeschichte* (Weimar: VDG, 1998).
21. Ernst Arnold (ed.), *Ausstellung Japanischer Holzschnitte 17. – 19. Jahrhundert: Ausstellung im Kunstsalon von Ernst Arnold* (Dresden: n.p., 1895).
22. *Werke Hokusai's ausgestellt im K.K.Öst. Museum für Kunst u. Industrie Wien* (Vienna: Hirschler, 1901) (exh. cat.).
23. Hartmut Walravens, *Und der Sumeru meines Dankes wuerde wachsen. Beitrage zur ostasiatischen Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland (1896–1932): Briefe des Ethnologen und Kunswissenschaftlers Ernst Große an seinen Freund und Kollegen Otto Kuemmel sowie Briefwechsel zwischen dem Kunsthistoriker Gustav Ecke und dem Architekten Ernst Boerschmann* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010).
24. Ernst Diez and Melanie Siassny, eds., *Katalog der Ausstellung ostasiatischer Kunst im Oesterreichischen Museum fuer Kunst und Industrie April-Juni 1922* (Vienna: Rikola, 1922) (exhib. cat.).
25. On this topic, see Masako Nohara Racel, 'Finding their Place in the World: Meiji Intellectuals and the Japanese Construction of an East-West Binary 1868–1912' (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 2011), https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1025&context=history_diss.

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Plate 12. *Shishi* (Lion) attributed to Kano Tsunenobu [1636–1713]. Edo period, ca. 1710. Colour and gold on wood. Part of a Tokugawa Memorial Shrine in Shiba (Edo/Tokyo). Courtesy of MAK – Museum of Applied Art, Vienna, inv. no. OR 3930–2. Collection Heinrich von Siebold. (See fig. 2, p. 101)

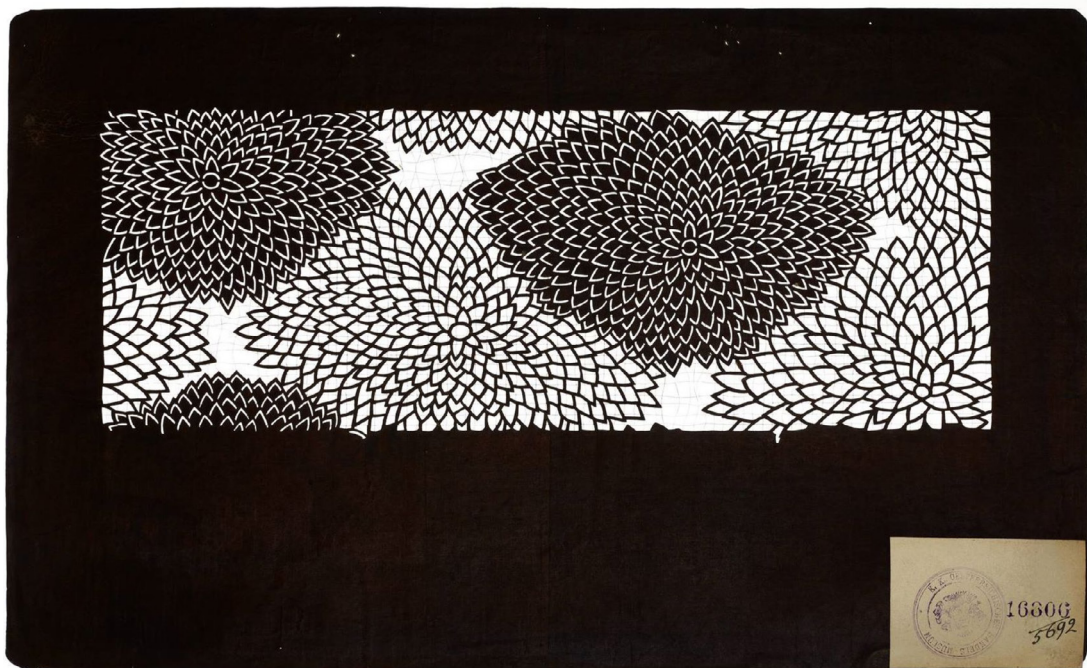


Plate 13. Katagami. Edo period, nineteenth century. Paper cut-out. Image courtesy of MAK – Museum of Applied Art, Vienna, inv. no. OR 3925-5692. Collection Heinrich von Siebold. (See fig. 3, p. 102)



Plate 14. Tea bowl, Black Raku ware. Edo period, seventeenth century. Image courtesy of Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, inv. no. 1901.271. (See fig. 4, p. 103)

