The Gregorios Manos Collection of East Asian Objects: Connoisseurship, Networks, and Market Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Europe

Maria Metoikidou

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Humanities
College of Arts
University of Glasgow

September 2024

Abstract

This thesis delves into the collection of East Asian objects assembled by Greek diplomat Gregorios Manos (1850-1928), during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite never travelling outside of Europe, Manos acquired thousands of objects, primarily from Japan and China, and is today regarded as the first Greek collector-scholar of Asian art. His efforts culminated in the establishment of the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu, now Corfu Museum of Asian Art, which remains the only Greek institution entirely devoted to the arts of Asia and the first of its kind in the Balkan space. By tracing the trajectory of Manos' collection from fin-de-siècle Vienna, through its transfer to Paris, and eventually its establishment on the Greek island of Corfu, this thesis aims to reconstruct its history and shed light on unknown aspects of its formation.

This involves situating Manos and his collecting endeavours within a period that witnessed the influx of East Asian objects in Europe, particularly after the opening of Japan to foreign trade following the Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1858) and the socio-political shifts surrounding the demise of the Qing dynasty in 1911. These historical events had a profound impact on the dynamics of the European art market, the gradual development of scholarship, and the formation of collecting networks. Manos' involvement is closely analysed within this context. Particularly the roles he assumed as buyer and consignor in public auctions illuminate his taste for Japanese and Chinese objects as well as his acquisition and selling strategies. Moreover, this thesis explores a previously unknown aspect of Manos' engagement with the institutional sphere, specifically his role as a lender to major exhibitions that contributed towards a more scholarly approach to the study of Asian art.

Drawing on a broad range of archival material, this thesis not only constructs a portrait of Manos as a collector, but also delves into the histories of individual objects that both entered and departed from his collection. The lives of Japanese and Chinese items are examined within their original context as well as within the European environments they ended up residing, prompting reflections into issues of provenance, identity, and transformed meaning. Ultimately, my thesis elucidates Manos' legacy and underscores the significance of research into lesser-known collections.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Minna Törmä and Dr. Saeko Yazaki, whose guidance, expertise, and encouragement have been invaluable throughout my doctoral journey. Their insightful feedback and profound knowledge have greatly enriched my research and writing process. They have also aided me through complex research challenges, providing clarity and perspective that have been crucial to my academic development. Thank you for believing in my work and for helping me grow as a scholar.

I am extremely grateful to Zina Kaloudi, former curator at the National Gallery of Greece and my professor at the Athens School of Fine Arts, for providing me with the archival material (auction catalogues and correspondence) she researched at the Corfu Museum of Asian Art in 2006 during a period of collaboration between the two museums. I am also thankful for our conversations on her terrace overlooking the Acropolis.

I extend my thanks to the University of Glasgow's College of Arts for granting me the Research Support Award and the School Research Committee Award, both of which funded my research trips and enabled my participation in international conferences.

Last but not least, I want to thank my parents and grandparents for supporting me in every possible way during this doctoral journey. Also, my friends for their surprising interest in my research. And of course, a special thanks to Philip for proofreading and providing feedback.

List of Illustrations

Figure 11: Invitation to the sale of the Siebold collection, 1909, © Weltmuseum Wien, Archive Nsp Siebold

Figure 12: Lot with Fukurukuju sculpture from the February 1912 sale of the Manos collection, p. 27, corresponding to lot 32 from the von Pettenegg sale (fig. 14)

Figure 13: Lot with *jizai okimono* crab from April 1912 sale of the Manos collection, p. 39, corresponding to lot 38 from the von Pettenegg auction (fig. 14)

Figure 14: Page 3 from the catalogue of von Pettenegg's collection sold at the Hugo Helbing auction house, 1903. Handwritten notes beside the lots indicate the identity of the buyer

Figure 15: Manos' draft will, 1910, © Published by *Journal of Japonisme*, 2020

Figure 16: Japanese (left) and Chinese (right) house in the History of Habitation exhibit at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1889, © Getty Research Institute

Figure 17: Engraving of the Japanese exhibition at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 15 January 1889, private collection

Figure 18: Louis Lager, The Japanese pavilion at the Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900 (Trocadéro), © Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris

Figure 19: Le Palais Chinois at the Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900, © University of Bristol - Historical Photographs of China

Figure 20: Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, February 1912, Paris, © BNF Gallica

Figure 21: Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, March 1912, Paris, © BNF Gallica

Figure 22: Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, April 1912, Paris, © BNF Gallica

Figure 23: Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, May 1912, Paris, © BNF Gallica

Figure 24: Chart illustrating the categories of objects in the sales of Manos' collection

Figure 25a: Page 93 from the procès-verbal of the May 1912 auction. Manos' name is repeatedly mentioned by the auctioneer, indicating that the majority of the lots remained unsold, Photo by the author

Figure 25b: Page 95 from the procès-verbal of the May 1912 auction, Photo by the author

Figure 26: Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, June 1913, Munich, © Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberger historische Bestände

Figure 27: *Ukiyo-e* by Suzuki Harunobu, Torii Kiyonaga, and Katsukawa Shunchō illustrated in the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, June 1913, Munich, © Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberger historische Bestände

Figure 28: Auction catalogue not disclosing the name of the individual whose collection is being sold, December 1913, Paris, © BNF Gallica

Figure 29: Procès-verbal of the December 1913 auction recording Manos as the owner of the collection being sold, Photo by the author

Figure 30: Argine Benaki-Salvago, © Sotheby's, 2017

Figure 31: Interior of the Salvago villa in Alexandria, the globular Chinese bottle vase can be seen on the right, © Sotheby's, 2017

Figure 32: Johannes Lingelbach (1622-1674), *Peasants Outside a Tavern*, illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 33: Édouard Dubufe (1819-1883) *The Portrait of a Lady*, illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 34: Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450–1516), *The Temptation of St Anthony*, illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 35: Anonymous Tyrolean master, *St Paul and St Peter, Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg and Anthony the Great*, illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 36: Tea caddy (Seto ware), Edo period (1603-1868), Glazed stoneware, Photo by the author

Figure 37: Kyo-ware from the Manos collection on display at the Corfu Museum of Asian Art, Photo by the author

Figure 38: Nonomura Ninsei (active c. 1646–1694), *Kobako* in the shape of a waterfowl (marked "Ninsei"), Edo period, 17th century, Stoneware, iron glaze, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 39: Incense burner in the form of a goose in the style of Nonomura Ninsei, Edo period, c. 1700-1800, Stoneware with clear glaze and details in underglaze iron, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 40: Illustration (plate 2) from Ninagawa Noritane's *Kanko zusetsu*, vol 4, 1877, in the middle, a zoomorphic incense burner by Ninsei

Figure 41: Funerary model in the form of a pigsty, Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE), Unglazed earthenware, Photo by the author

Figure 42: Page IV with illustrations from the catalogue of Léon Wannieck's shop, 1911, the pigsty from the Manos collection is depicted in the middle

Figure 43: Articles in the French newspapers *Excelsior*, 9 April 1911, and *L'Actualité*, 21 May 1911, about the *Exposition rétrospective d'art chinois* at the Musée Cernuschi, © Archives du musée Cernuschi

Figure 44: Advertisement of the *Quatrième exposition des Arts de l'Asie: Art bouddhique* in *The New York Herald*, 4 May 1913, © Archives du musée Cernuschi

Figure 45: Unknown artist, *Amida Nyorai*, late 16th century, hanging scroll, polychromy on silk, 165 x 56.2 cm (231.7 x 70.4 cm), © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 46: Unknown artist, *Amida Nyorai*, 17th century, hanging scroll, ink and polychromy on silk, cut metal foil (*kirikane*), 46.4 x 58.5 cm (214.5 x 73 cm), © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 47: (Hokkyō) Soun (unknown dates), *Butsugen Mandala*, before 1720, hanging scroll, ink, polychromy and gilt on paper, 119 x 91 cm (228 x 119 cm), © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 48: Unknown artist, *Butsugen Mandala*, 18th century, hanging scroll, polychromy on silk, ink, and gold, with silk mounting, 66.8 x 41.5 cm (148.2 x 46 cm), donation of Heinrich von Siebold (1892), © Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna

Figure 49: Unknown artist, *Fudō Myōō with two attendants*, Late 16th to 17th century, hanging scroll with ink, polychromy and *kirikane*, 99.5 x 42 cm (169.5 x 62.2 cm), © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 50: Kanō School, *Nyoirin Kannon*, Possibly the second half of the 17th century, hanging scroll, ink and polychromy on silk, *kirikane*, 82.8 x 38.3 cm (146.5 x 50.7 cm), © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 51a: Letter from Manos to Athos Romanos, Benaki Museum - Historical Archives, Photo by the author

Figure 51b: Continuation of the letter from Manos to Athos Romanos, Benaki Museum - Historical Archives, Photo by the author

Figure 52: Wooden sculpture of a priest originating from a temple in Kōyasan, as indicated by the provenance details provided in the sales catalogue, illustration from the catalogue of the Manos sale, April 1912, Paris, p. 49

Figure 53: Seated figure of Daishōgun, 11th-12th century, carved wood with traces of polychromy and ink, 31 x 20 x 13 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 54: Seated Daishōgun-shin, 12th century, wood, single-block construction, 68.5, © Nara National Museum

Figure 55: Daishōgun, 11th-12th century, wood with traces of colour, 34.3 cm, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 56: Display arranged by Manos in the Sino-Japanese Museum, 1927, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 57: Hall of the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu. Postcard, 1930s, the exhibition of the Manos collection with Japanese porcelain, theatre masks, and Buddhist sculptures, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 58: Tōshūsai Sharaku (1794-1795), *Matsumoto Koshiro IV as Kakogawa Honzo and Matsumoto Yonesaburo as Konami,* 1795, fan painting, ink, and colour on bamboo paper, 17.4 x 46.6 x 22.4 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 59: Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794-1795), *Actor Ichikawa Monnosuke II in the role of Date no Yosaku*, 1794, *nishiki-e*, 36.7 x 24.3 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 60: Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794-1795), *Ichikawa Omezo I as Yakko Ippei*, 1794, *nishiki-e*, 37.3 x 24.2 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 61a: Illustration of the print by Torii Kiyotada depicting Ichikawa Monnosuke I in the role of a samurai, from the catalogue of the Manos sale, June 1913, Munich

Figure 61b: Page with illustrations of prints by early *ukiyo-e* masters, From the catalogue of the Manos sale, June 1913, Munich

Figure 62: Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815), *Children at Play: The Dispute of the Go players*, 1780-1781, *nishiki-e*, 25.4 x 18.9 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 63: Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815), *Children at Play: The Game of the Cat and the Mouse*, 1780-1781, *nishiki-e*, 25,2 x 18,8 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 64: Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815), *Kintarō Riding a Bear*, c. 1788-1790, *nishiki-e*, 36.9 x 24.7 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 65: Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815), *Ladies of the Court: Sannomiya*, c. 1874, *nishiki-e*, 39 x 26 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 66: Japanese *maki-e* saddle (*kura*), 1631, © Bernisches Historisches Museum

Figure 67: Japanese saddle with decoration of golden crabs, Edo period (17th-19th century), red and gold lacquered wood, photo by the author

Figure 68: Page with illustrations of various objects from the catalogue of the Manos sale, March 1912, Paris, the horse saddle in the middle identifies with the one in Figure 67

Figure 69: "Hall of Oriental Arms at Charlottenfels," illustration I from the catalogue *Collection Henri Moser Charlottenfels: Oriental Arms and Armour* (1912), Moser himself can be seen at the back of the room, a portrait painted from the photograph in Figure 71, where he is dressed in Persian and Central Asian attire

Figure 70: The hall of arms and armour in the Bernisches Historisches Museum, c. 1925, © Bernisches Historisches Museum

Figure 71: *Henri Moser*, 1884, © BnF, département Société de Géographie

Figure 72: Ferdinand Jean Luigini (1870-1943), *Émile Guimet in his Museum*, 1898, © RMN-Grand Palais, Paris

Figure 73: *Heinrich von Siebold in Japanese dress*, 1897, © Siebold-Archiv Burg Brandenstein

Figure 74: *Georges Ferdinand Bigot in Yokohama*, Public domain

Figure 75: Display of Japanese military regalia from the Manos collection in the MATK, photo by author

Figure 76: Swords from the Manos collection on display at the MATK, the fourth from the top is the sword with *katana* blade and *tachi*-style scabbard, photo by author

Figure 77: Nakayama Ikkansai Yoshimichi (unknown dates), Ritual sword, 1834, New Year's Day, forged metal, lacquered wood, brass shaft, 46.5 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 78: Illustration for “Pommels and handles of *ken* and *torikubi*” from Henri L. Joly’s article "Introduction à l'étude des montures de sabres" in *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, March 1909, p. 73

Figure 79: T*suba*, Edo period, 18th century, Iron and gold, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 80: *Sōten* style *tsuba* and other sword fittings from the Manos collection, photo by author

Figure 81: *Sueki* cup with lid (*futatsuki*), 5th-6th century CE, stoneware, inscription inside: “Found in Ishitani, Katayama-mura, Chita-gun, Gifu Prefecture,” © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 82: *Sueki* cup, Kofun period (c. 300–710 CE), stoneware, 15.3 x 8.5 cm, photo: *200 Jahre Siebold: Die Japansammlungen von Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold*, 1996

Figure 83: Red lacquer longevity disc, Qing period (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1735-1796), carved red and green lacquer, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 84: Circular plaque of the red lacquer longevity disc, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 85: Precious spring longevity box, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), carved red, green, and yellow lacquer, D: 33.7 cm, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 86: Treasure box of eternal spring and longevity, Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795), carved red, green, and yellow lacquer on wood core, 16.5 x 44 x 44 cm, © Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art

Figure 87: Damages and cracks on the border of the disc, photo by the author

Figure 88: Damages and cracks on the border of the disc, photo by the author

Figure 89: The reverse side of the disc, photo by the author

Figure 90: Plaque, Early 17th century (Wang Shixiang opinion: Qianlong period, 1736-1795), carved lacquer of different colours, 43.8 x 0.6 cm, © Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Figure 91: Plaque, 1400-1450, carved red lacquer, D: 32.1 cm, © Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Figure 92a: Plaque (front side), early 16th century, D: 22.5 cm, © Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Figure 92a: Plaque (reverse side), early 16th century, © Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Figure 93: Cizhou basin, late 13th-early 14th century, stoneware, underglaze black painting on white slip, D: 40 cm, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 94: Carved Cizhou basin, 960-1234, stoneware with a dark brown slip on the exterior and a white slip on the interior. Combed hatching pattern incised around the central bloom, D: 30.8 cm, © Christie's, 2013

Figure 95: Cizhou basin, late 13th-early 14th century, stoneware, underglaze black painting on white slip, © Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 96: Cizhou black on white basin with lotus, Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), D: 44 cm, private collection in the Fengfeng Mining District, Handan, photo: Lili Feng, *The History of Chinese Ceramics*, 2023

Figure 97: Cizhou basin with fish decoration, late 13th-early 14th century, unearthed in Laoting, Hebei, photo: Yutaka Mino and Katherine R. Tsiang, *Freedom of Clay and Brush Through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D,* 1980

Figure 98: Page X from Léon Wannieck's catalogue, 1911, the Cizhou basin from the Manos collection is illustrated

Chronology

Chronology of Japanese Historical Periods

- Jōmon Period (c. 14,000–300 BCE)
- Yayoi Period (c. 300 BCE–250 CE)
- Kofun Period (c. 250–538 CE)
- Asuka Period (538–710 CE)
- Nara Period (710–794 CE)
- Heian Period (794–1185 CE)
- Kamakura Period (1185–1333 CE)
- Muromachi Period (1336–1573 CE)
- Azuchi-Momoyama Period (1573–1603 CE)
- Edo (Tokugawa) Period (1603–1868 CE)
- Meiji Period (1868–1912 CE)

Chronology of Chinese Historical Periods

- Neolithic Cultures (c. 8500–2070 BCE)
- Xia Dynasty (c. 2070–1600 BCE)
- Shang Dynasty (c. 1600–1046 BCE)
- Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 BCE)
    - Western Zhou (1046–771 BCE)
    - Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE)
        - Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BCE)
        - Warring States Period (475–221 BCE)
- Qin Dynasty (221–206 BCE)
- Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE)
    - Western Han (206 BCE-9 CE)
    - Eastern Han (25–220 CE)
- Three Kingdoms (220–280 CE)
- Jin Dynasty (266–420 CE)
    - Westen Jin (266-316 CE)
    - Eastern Jin (317–420 CE)
- Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589 CE)
- Sui Dynasty (581–618 CE)
- Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE)
- Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907–960 CE)
- Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE)
    - Northern Song (960–1127 CE)
    - Southern Song (1127–1279 CE)
- Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 CE)
- Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 CE)
- Qing Dynasty (1644–1912 CE)
- Republic of China (1912–1949 CE)

Transliteration and Romanisation

This thesis follows standard conventions for the transliteration of Japanese and Chinese terms into English.

Japanese terms and names are rendered using the Hepburn system. Long vowels are marked with a macron (e.g. shōgun, Jōmon) except in cases where the term has a commonly accepted Anglicised form (e.g. Tokyo instead of Tōkyō). Japanese names are presented in their traditional order, with the family name preceding the given name (e.g., Tōshūsai Sharaku rather than Sharaku Tōshūsai), unless the individual is widely known by the Westernised order. Additionally, Japanese terms incorporated into English usage, such as samurai, are written without italics.

For Chinese terms and names, this thesis adopts the Pinyin system (e.g., Qing dynasty, Daoism, Guanyin). Following academic conventions, family names precede given names (e.g., Wang Shixiang). When citing sources that use non-Pinyin spellings (e.g., older catalogues, French or German publications), the original romanisation is preserved in direct quotations and references.

Introduction

"Mr. Manos, from the beginning of his diplomatic career, showed himself to be a fervent admirer of Oriental vases. While he led a very simple life, no financial obstacle prevented him from enriching his collection with a precious object."[1] This excerpt originates from an undated article published in a French newspaper and perfectly describes the duality of Gregorios Manos' (1851-1928) public identity as a diplomat and collector. An anecdotal vignette from the time of his tenure as minister plenipotentiary of Greece to Vienna further illuminates this aspect of his life. Every time Manos (fig. 1) would depart from a reception or a diplomatic ball, the doormen, instead of summoning his vehicle, as the custom required with most guests, would exclaim: "The rainboots of His Excellency, Ambassador of Greece."[2] Consequently, he came to be known as "the ambassador with the rainboots," for his modesty was proverbial among his contemporaries. People who were puzzled over his humble lifestyle probably ignored that Manos had deliberately decided to deny certain luxuries in order to channel his earnings towards his passion for collecting, a passion that constituted the centre of his life. He assembled an extensive collection of East Asian objects, primarily from Japan and China, which eventually became the cornerstone for the foundation of the Sino-Japanese Museum on the Greek island of Corfu. Despite its undeniable significance for the Greek cultural landscape, the collection has not received the scholarly attention it deserves, while Manos' efforts and practices remain hidden under a veil of obscurity.

Therefore, the primary aim of my research is to reconstruct the history of the Manos collection and situate it within the cultural framework of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that saw an unprecedented fascination with East Asian objects. In order to do so, I will mainly focus on the period preceding the establishment of the museum, specifically before 1927. This timeframe is noteworthy as private collectors, like Manos, were not driven by a mere desire for accumulation, but rather demonstrated a scholarly inclination towards the objects that came into their possession and, by extension, the cultures of East Asia. They also recognised that they were living at a crucial point for the history of collecting; Philippe Burty (1830-1890), one of the first French Japonisants, articulated this realisation by writing as early as 1869 that "our interiors are like our museums,"[3] while major connoisseur

[1] "M. Manos, dès le commencement de sa carrière diplomatique, s'est montré un fervent admirateur des vases d'Orient. Tandis qu'il menait une vie fort simple, aucun obstacle pécuniaire ne l'arrêtait pour enrichir sa collection d'un objet précieux". Zina Kaloudi, "Ενα μεγάλο κύμα στο Παρίσι, ανεπαίσθητοι κυματισμοί στην Αθήνα [A Great Wave in Paris, Imperceptible Ripples in Athens]," in *Παρίσι-Αθήνα: 1863-1940 [Paris-Athens: 1863-1940]*, ed. Marina Lambraki-Plaka and Olga Mentzafou-Polyzou (Athens: National Gallery - Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2006), 82. All translations from French, German, and Greek to English are mine unless noted otherwise.

[2] Kostas Dafnis, "Ενας ανεκτίμητος θησαυρός: Ο Γρηγόριος Μάνος και το Σινοϊαπωνικό Μουσείο. Το πάθος που δημιουργεί [A Priceless Treasure: Gregorios Manos and the Sino-Japanese Museum. The Passion that Creates]," *Κερκυραϊκά Νέα [Kerkyraika Nea]* 1968, 1.

[3] Elizabeth Emery, "The Ledgers of Clémence d'Ennery (Le Musée d'Ennery): Context and Transcriptions," *Montclair State University Digital Commons* (2022), https://digitalcommons.montclair.edu/dennery/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

of Japanese art, Ernst Große (1862-1927), remarked in 1902 that “no generation has so restlessly hunted for the acquisition of goods and knowledge as ours.”[4] Within this context, I intend to trace the trajectory of the Manos collection, which commenced its journey in Vienna, was later transferred to Paris, and ultimately found its permanent residence in Greece. Hence, this exploration will delve into the reality of collecting East Asian objects in major European metropolises, where the craze for Japan and China manifested in diverse expressions. At the same time, it will extend its scope to the periphery, Greece, a country that acquired the first museum of Asian art in the Balkan space through Manos’ donation to the State. Almost a century after its establishment, the Corfu Museum of Asian Art (Μουσείο Ασιατικής Τέχνης Κέρκυρας, MATK thereafter), as it is known today, holds the title of the only Greek museum entirely devoted to the arts and culture of Asia. Nevertheless, its collection remains relatively unknown beyond a specialist circle.

To shed light on the formation of the collection, I will reflect on the roles Manos played and assumed within the collecting landscape of his time, specifically those of the consignor in public auctions and buyer. Hence, the first questions that arise are: How can Manos’ identity as a collector be defined? Who comprised Manos’ network? And subsequently, what do his direct or indirect exchanges with individuals who shared his passion indicate about his place within the collecting milieu of that period? The answer to these questions would not only allow me to gain a better understanding of the interconnected threads that weaved the social fabric of collectors’ circles but also comprehend the intentions behind Manos’ endeavours. This leads me to another question; What insights into his taste do his collecting practices offer and how do his preferences align with the tendencies that prevailed during the early twentieth century in Europe? A vital role in this exploration will be played by the objects that constitute the collection. Therefore, what are their stories? By unfolding their histories and trajectories, I aim to address issues regarding provenance and agency. At the same time, I intend to explore how individual items can contribute to reconstructing and tracing the broader history of the collection and the narratives surrounding it, particularly in light of its geographical transfer from Vienna to Paris and eventually to Corfu. By delving into these topics, I ultimately aim to illustrate how Greece, a country that has not considerably contributed to the scholarly discourse on East Asian art, can participate in the mapping of Japanese and Chinese collections in Europe.

[4] Hartmut Walravens, "Ernst Grosse and Otto Kümmel and their Role in the Composing of the Berlin East Asian Collection," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan"*, ed. Tomoe Irene, et al. (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013), 270.

Literature Review

The impetus for these questions and more broadly for my research, originates from the recognition that significant work remains to be done in order to present a more comprehensive and accurate portrayal of Manos and his collection. The main publications and resources on this topic have been written by individuals affiliated with the MATK and only offer a preliminary view. Within the exhibition catalogue *Imperial Treasures from China: The Greek Contribution* (2004), Aglaia Karamanou, the former director of the MATK, suggests that Manos "may be regarded as an art historian—even perhaps the first Greek connoisseur of art of the Far East."[5] According to The National Gallery glossary "a connoisseur is a collector and/or art lover who is knowledgeable about works of art, in the sense of being able to recognise characteristic individual or regional styles;"[6] therefore, Manos can indeed be regarded as the first Greek connoisseur of East Asian art, especially since his collecting efforts were not just driven by the allure of exoticism or a passion for mere accumulation, but rather by a scholarly, conscientious, and persistent interest. However, the assertion that he can be considered an art historian is somewhat questionable. While his enthusiasm for collecting motivated him to gain knowledge in the arts of East Asia, this designation does not reflect Manos' identity. Scholarship has traditionally refrained from conferring the title of art historian upon individuals solely based on their collecting interests unless they possessed formal training in the field. For example, while engaging in collecting activities, Raphaël Petrucci (1872-1917), also became known as a distinguished sinologist, art historian, and translator. He studied Chinese art and language with French sinologist Édouard Chavannes (1865-1918), Professor at the College de France, and soon contributed to the understanding and appreciation of East Asian art in Europe, with publications such as *La Philosophie de la Nature dans l'Art d'Extrême–Orient* (1910).[7] Therefore, given this background, Petrucci can be considered an art historian, whereas Manos, who focused solely on collecting, cannot.

My aim is to not only reframe the collector himself but also the collection by addressing a lacuna in the study of the components comprising it. Upon reviewing the publications issued by the MATK over the years, it becomes evident that numerous aspects remain to be explored and discussed. To be more precise, the exhibition catalogue titled *Huit Maîtres de l'ukiyo-e. Chefs-d'œuvre du Musée national d'Art Asiatique de Corfou* (2011) that features Japanese woodblock prints mainly from Manos' donation, provides an introduction into Manos' biography, briefly regards the collection within the framework of Japonisme,

[5] Aglaia Karamanou, "Gregorios Manos and the Museum of Asian Art," in *Imperial Treasures from China: The Greek Contribution*, ed. Zina Kaloudi (Athens: National Gallery-Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2004), 28. It is also important to note that the term "Far East" has long been rejected by scholarship since it implies a Eurocentric mentality and a colonial approach.
[6] The National Gallery, "Connoisseurs," https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/glossary/connoisseurs (accessed September 30, 2024).
[7] Nick Pearce, "A Casualty of War: Laurence Binyon, Raphael Petrucci and Chinese Painting " in *Locating Italy: East and West in British-Italian Transactions*, ed. Kirsten Sandrock and Owain Wright (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 114.

and partially addresses his involvement in the Parisian market for *ukiyo-e*.[8] Another exhibition catalogue, *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of NAUSICAA* (2009), emerged after the discovery of a rare *ukiyo-e* painted fan by Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794–1795) within the Manos collection, and provides an examination of Japanese woodblock prints that comprise it. It becomes apparent that with its recent publications, the museum has prioritised a focus on the Japanese collection, and particularly on *ukiyo-e*. This systematic concentration on Japanese prints results in other categories of objects being marginalised and left in the shadow. Admittedly, an effort towards a more thorough study of the collection's history was undertaken by Kassiani Kagouridi, the MATK Deputy Director, who published the article "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)" (2020) in the *Journal of Japonisme*. As the title indicates, the article centres on positioning Manos within the historical period that gave rise to the phenomenon of Japonisme and also discusses his donating vision. Kagouridi offers some interesting insights from primary sources (unpublished material from the Manos archive) but does not delve into Manos' network of fellow collectors and dealers or his involvement in the European market for Asian objects. Consequently, the article does not examine the formation of the collection itself or the acquisition of specific objects that comprise it, which is the primary objective of my research.

To view Manos and his endeavours within the collecting landscape of his time, it is essential to consider the development of taste for Japanese and Chinese objects within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the time of completing this thesis, the formation of private Viennese collections following the opening of Japan and the subsequent 1873 Vienna International Exhibition remains a relatively unexplored topic. However, research is currently being undertaken as it becomes apparent from the papers presented at The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology held in Ljubljana in 2023.[9] Yet, there is limited published material regarding the appreciation and dissemination of East Asian objects in Vienna, where Manos resided and engaged in collecting for at least fifteen years. Nevertheless, publications such as the exhibition catalogue *Verborgene Impressionen / Hidden Impressions: Japonismus in Wien / Japonisme in Vienna* (1990), edited by Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger, as well as the volume *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* (2021), edited by Toshio Watanabe, Mirjam Dénes, Györgyi Fajcsák, and Piotr Spławski, discuss the emergence of Japonisme, offering some valuable insights into private collections and the role played by the local art market in their formation.

[8] The catalogue *Japanese Culture and the Arts of Asia* (2014) deals with the same topic.

[9] I am particularly referring to talks such as "Japan's Policy Following the Austrian-Hungarian Guidelines for the Vienna World's Fair in 1873" by Bettina Zorn, "Teacups from Japan: Japanese Ceramics, Vienna World's Fair and Viennese Collecting" by Mio Wakita, "The China Galleries at the Vienna World's Fair" by Lucas Nickel, and "Our Man in Shanghai: Josef Haas and the Role of 19th Century Austro-Hungarian Representatives in China as Movers and Shakers of Collecting Networks" by Alexandra Nachescu. In addition, a database of Japanese exhibits at the Vienna International Exhibition of 1873 has recently been released as part of the Weltmuseum's project *In Commemoration of 150 Years of the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition (Expo) - Bridging Japan and Europe*, https://repository.khm.at/viewer/japan/weltausstellung/1873/database/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Within the context of Viennese Japonisme, a figure that will emerge throughout my thesis as particularly important, interlacing with the history of the Manos collection, is Heinrich von Siebold (1852-1908). Heinrich was employed as a translator in the service of the Austrian Embassy in Tokyo, allowing him the opportunity to engage in other activities, such as collecting and archaeological investigations, following in the footsteps of his father, Philipp von Siebold (1796-1866). In 1909, after his death, a part of the collection Heinrich assembled during his long residence in Japan became available for sale at the Viennese emporium shop "Au Mikado," a topic discussed in Chritina Baird's article "'Au Mikado': A Tea, Coffee and 'Oriental' Art Emporium in Vienna" (2011). European connoisseurs, like Manos, could not but seize the opportunity to acquire objects with Siebold's legendary provenance. Heinrich's pivotal role in creating a bridge between Japan and Europe is also elucidated in the exhibition catalogue *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: Die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold* [*Japan in the Meiji Era: The Heinrich von Siebold Collection*] (2020) published by the Weltmuseum in Vienna. Further research on Heinrich von Siebold, his collection, and his efforts to introduce Japanese objects to European institutions is found in *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold* (2019) edited by Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn. Moreover, the catalogue *200 Jahre Siebold - Die Japansammlungen von Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold* (1996) provides a comprehensive overview of the collection Siebold assembled and illustrates his diverse collecting interests ranging from dying materials to precious lacquer objects and Buddhist paintings.

Compared to the relatively limited scholarship on collecting East Asian objects in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the same theme and its manifestation in France has received significantly greater research attention. As early as 1883, Louis Gonse (1846-1921) released the first edition of *L'art japonais*, which became one of the first publications and textbooks on Japanese art in late nineteenth-century Europe. While I acknowledge that some of the information it contains may be outdated, exaggerated, biased, or subject to certain consideration, the book holds historiographical significance to this day. Especially in the context of my research, it provides a valuable perspective into how people of that time perceived East Asian objects. Within the same spectrum, it is important to note the book edited by Max Put, *Plunder and Pleasure: Japanese Art in the West, 1860-1930* (2000), that encompasses an overview of Japonisme along with annotated translations of two significant French texts, delineating the commerce in Asian art during that period: "Notes d'un Bibeloteur au Japon" by the art dealer Philippe Sichel (1839/40-1899) and "Souvenirs d'un vieil Amateur d'Art de l'Extrême-Orient" by collector Raymond Koechlin (1860-1931). In recent years, scholarship has deepened the understanding of collecting practices through publications such as *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (2017) by Ting Chang, *À la croisée de collections d'art entre Asie et Occident du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (2019), edited by Marie Laureillard and Cléa Patin, and *Reframing Japonisme: Women and the Asian Art Market in Nineteenth-Century France, 1853–1914* (2020), by Elizabeth Emery. Moreover, the French Institut national d'histoire

de l'art (INHA) has launched the research project "Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique," which resulted in the creation of the AGORHA database.[10] With contributions from more than 150 specialists, this database aids in mapping the landscape of Asian art collecting in France by providing detailed entries on the individuals involved. Within the context of my research, it has proven an invaluable tool in uncovering the identities and the activities of people who were part of Manos' network.

Regarding the sphere of public auctions, the two articles by Léa Saint-Raymond, "Les collectionneurs d'art asiatique à Paris (1858-1939): une analyse socio-économique" (2019) and "La création sémantique de la valeur. Les ventes aux enchères d'objets chinois à Paris (1858-1939)" (2018), significantly contribute to positioning Manos' presence within the French market for East Asian objects. Adding to that, *The Journal for Art Market Studies* has published two volumes entirely dedicated to the market for Asian objects; "Asian Art: Markets, Provenance, History," Vol. 2 No. 3 (2018) and "Asian Art: The Formation of Collections," Vol. 4 No. 2 (2020), which further deepened my insight into the topic of European collectivism. Moreover, a careful examination of auction catalogues from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, featuring collections of Japanese and Chinese art, has considerably enhanced my understanding of desirable collectibles, the influx of objects into the market, and the evolving taste in collecting over the decades. Fortuitously, numerous of these publications have been digitised and are accessible through the websites of Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)-Gallica and the Collections numérisées de la bibliothèque de l'INHA.[11]

Methodological Approach and Theoretical Framework

Given that Manos was actively involved in Parisian public auctions during the first decades of the twentieth century, it becomes indispensable for my research to study the procès-verbaux (records of auction sales), kept at the Archives de Paris. Those documents, handwritten by the auctioneers who conducted the sales, are immensely valuable resources: firstly, in tracing the provenance of objects acquired by Manos from other auctions of private collections and secondly, in revealing the identity of individuals who purchased objects from the auctions of Manos' collection. The close examination of the archives also unveils an unknown aspect of the collection's history, particularly a sale realised anonymously by Manos. Although material published by the MATK in the form of catalogues and articles only acknowledge that five public auctions of the Manos collection took place—four held in Paris in 1912 and one in Munich in 1913—my research will unveil that a sixth auction was realised in Paris in 1913,

[10] AGORHA, "Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939," https://agorha.inha.fr/database/81 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[11] Gallica - Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/fr/content/accueil-fr?mode=desktop (accessed September 30, 2024); Institut National de l'histoire de l'art (INHA), "Collections numérisées de la bibliothèque de l'INHA," https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

only this time, the collector chose to conceal his identity as consignor. The importance of this discovery lies in the pages of the auction catalogue, where under the description of certain entries Manos provides information about the objects' lives and particularly about their display in the public sphere. This opens a new perspective in the collection's history and its transfer from private to public.

The archival material Manos left at the MATK has not received enough attention, leaving many facets of his life as a collector obscured.[12] For instance, there is not much information regarding the acquisitions Manos documented in a set of nine cards, which are being kept at the museum. Within this record, the collector provided a brief description of each object, along with details about the date of its purchase and the associated dealer. However, the catalogues released by the MATK do not clarify how extended this record is, how many objects it includes or what timeline it covers. Although the content of those nine cards would have perfectly complemented the research I undertook at the Archives de Paris, I was unable to access them. Specifically, external researchers were not permitted to consult the MATK archival material, as the museum director, Despina Zernioti, was engaged in its examination. Hence, my approach does not follow the conventional path that would typically centre on studying the archival sources left by the collector. Instead, it investigates a broader scope of sources that regard the Manos collection within the context of connoisseur networks and market dynamics.

Therefore, scholarly publications and exhibition catalogues on East Asian art as well as newspaper and journal articles from Manos' time assume paramount importance. These materials predominantly focus on objects and thus the story of the collection is being narrated through them. For this reason, the theoretical framework I employed in order to approach objects draws from a seminal work in material culture studies, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986), edited by Arjun Appadurai. In the "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" Appadurai explores the complex interplay between commodities and their sociopolitical significance. He also discusses how the value and meanings attributed to commodities are not fixed but are shaped by various social, cultural, and political dynamics. Appearing in the same volume, Igor Kopytoff's essay "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process" highlights the dynamic and socially constructed nature of an object's value and meaning as it undergoes the process of commoditisation. The value of biography as a methodological tool to study objects has been used and re-interpreted by anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists, and art historians. However, in more recent academic discourse, Alexander Bauer's essay titled "Itinerant Objects" (2019) critiques the term "biography" due to its inherent notion of linearity. This term, according

[12] The insufficient research of the primary sources was acknowledged by the director of the museum, Despina Zernioti, in her talk "Repositioning Gregorios Manos, Founder of the Corfu Museum of Asian Art, in the Context of Japonisme," delivered on October 20, 2022 as part of a lecture series organised by the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures. Despina Zernioti, *Repositioning Gregorios Manos, Founder of the Corfu Museum of Asian Art in the Context of Japonisme*, (YouTube, 2022), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M79m7mGcVEc (accessed September 30, 2024).

to Bauer, falls short in adequately encapsulating an object's essence when that exists within two or more systems of value at the same time.[13]

The term "object biography" with its inherent concept of linearity subsequently implies an object's end, as it equates the lives of things to the lives of persons. However, this appears to be rather problematic as it raises questions about what constitutes the object's end. It cannot be determined when an object's life comes to an end or if there even is one; would this "end" refer to its removal from its original context, its crossing of cultural boundaries, its transformation in meaning and function, its placement in the storage rooms of a museum, or its destruction? Additionally, can we speak of a singular "end," or does the object instead transition from one phase of existence to another? In my view, this notion of an end does not apply to an existing object, as it is always open to receive new interpretations, contexts, and significances throughout its existence. Therefore, I prefer the term "object itinerary" to "object biography." Moreover, the answer to the aforementioned questions becomes even more complicated when related to non-Western objects, which cannot be understood or interpreted with reference to Western assumptions, notions, and concepts. These objects also exist in a paradoxical state, simultaneously singularised and commodified. Upon their arrival in Europe, the Japanese and Chinese items discussed in my thesis were regarded as both unique, even sacred, pieces and commodities with distinct market value. Therefore, "itineraries" may be more complex because they do not encompass a beginning or an end in the object's history, but they become more liberating, as they do not impose constraints in the understanding of objects within time and space. For this reason, in my research I am using the terms object history, life story, narrative, trajectory. The concept of "itinerary" aligns more coherently with the idea of an object's continuous transformation while retaining its initial identity, which is an integral part of many collectibles' histories.

By employing this approach, I aim to contribute to the broader history of collecting Asian objects in the West, a burgeoning field within art history that has significantly emerged over the past decades. To situate my research within this context, I discuss below key publications that engage with this theme and offer varying methodological perspectives. One such work is *Japanese Collections in European Museums* (2005-2016), edited by Joseph Kreiner. This multi-volume series makes a substantial contribution to mapping Japanese collections across European museums and institutions. Prioritising the compilation of extensive data over the introduction of new methodological tools, it gathers essays from scholars and curators that delve into provenance narratives, acquisition practices, and the wider socio-cultural contexts shaping the reception and perception of Japanese objects in Europe from the late sixteenth century to the present. In contrast, *The Social Lives of Chinese Objects* (2023), edited by Alice Bianchi and Lyce Jankowski, adopts a more theoretical lens, offering valuable insights into the mobility and social

[13] Alexander A. Bauer, "Itinerant Objects " *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (2019): 336.

trajectories of Chinese objects. As the first anthology to apply Arjun Appadurai's concept of "things-in-motion" to Chinese material culture, it emphasises how objects gain meaning through human interaction and circulation across shifting contexts. While my own approach is not strictly based on Appadurai's method but is rather informed by its principles, the value of this volume for my research lies in its critical perspective on the fluidity of cultural meaning and the complexities surrounding Chinese object lives in transnational settings. Exploring a similar topic, *The Lives of Chinese Objects: Buddhism, Imperialism and Display* (2011) by Louise Tythacott, follows the journey of five Buddhist sculptures from China to Britain and delves into the early reception of Buddhist art in Europe. This approach, combining historical research and theoretical analysis, traces each episode of an object's life and serves as a key framework for my case studies of Japanese and Chinese objects from the Manos collection.

A notable Greek publication that deals with this topic is the exhibition catalogue *China Rediscovered: The Benaki Museum Collection of Chinese Ceramics* (2016), by Dr George Manginis, which regards the collecting of East Asian objects and particularly explores the Chinese ceramics donated by George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939) to the Benaki Museum in Athens. Greek scholarship has shown limited engagement with the study of collecting histories, especially concerning Asian objects. Building on this gap, my research contributes to the understanding of cultural exchanges that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the lens of material objects from a Greek collection, the Manos collection. Therefore, by exploring this topic, I intend to create new pathways that establish connections between people and objects, between well-known and lesser-known individuals, and eventually highlight the collecting dynamics and values that shaped that period. This will reveal how individuals construct identities through their interactions with objects. Simultaneously, this dive into collecting histories will elucidate the mechanisms of art markets, trade networks, and collecting patterns, offering insights into economic structures and commercial practices. Consequently, my aim is to participate in the ongoing and essential process of documenting the cultural heritage housed in our museums by uncovering often-overlooked narratives and provenance issues. In doing so, I hope to offer new interpretations that follow an interdisciplinary approach and stimulate further research queries. Therefore, the structure of my thesis will be as outlined below.

The Chapters

Chapter 1 provides a biographical overview of Manos' life as a diplomat and collector, starting from his early years as a jurisprudence student in Germany and culminating in the realisation of his vision to establish the Sino-Japanese Museum, the first of its kind in Greece. What is particularly interesting about Manos as a collector is that he never travelled to East Asia, and like Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896), assumed the role of an armchair traveller. He only experienced the lands of his dreams through literary sources, accounts narrated by fellow collectors or colleagues, and of course through his beloved objects.

However, unlike de Goncourt, who was opposed to the display of his collectibles in a public museum, Manos envisioned the foundation of a museum, where his collection would be housed for the common benefit. Comparisons like this one will emerge throughout my research as I will be touching upon the theme of homosociality introduced by Christopher Reed in his book *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities* (2016). Manos was indeed a bachelor Japonisant who denied the period's normativity and resisted the social imperative to marry. Therefore, I reflect on how or whether Manos approached Japan as a means of self-invention, like many other male Japonisants.

Chapter 1 also sheds light on Manos' encounters with East Asian objects, his involvement in the European art market and the institutional milieu, as well as on his circle of fellow collectors. Distinct emphasis is placed on Vienna and Paris, the two primary hubs where Manos' collecting activities can be located; Vienna is intricately linked with his role as minister plenipotentiary of Greece, during which he dedicated his leisure time to acquiring objects from Japan and China. The Paris years represent a subsequent phase in his life post-retirement when he exclusively immersed himself in collecting. This period is characterised by Manos' active involvement in auctions, assuming both the role of consignor and buyer, and by his appearance in the public eye, specifically as a lender to exhibitions that became landmarks in the history of Asian art. Naturally stemming from these undertakings of his, I also explore the acquisition of Japanese Buddhist paintings and icons, a pivotal aspect in the history of collecting East Asian art, closely tied to the social, political, and religious transformations that took place in Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century. Following the Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1858) between Japan and the United States as well as the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan embraced Westernisation, abolished the feudal system, and actively engaged in international trade and diplomatic relations. This led to the large-scale export of Japanese objects and their circulation in Western markets and collections. Drawing on examples from the Manos collection, I endeavour to examine how objects were perceived and interpreted by their contemporary audiences. For this reason, I will delve into texts published at the time, such as press reports and scholarly literature, that provide a primary perspective and illuminate the development of taste for East Asian objects during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Analysing these sources will enable a deeper understanding of the motivations behind Manos' acquisitions and collecting practices.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I engage in the study of Japanese and Chinese objects' lives. In recent years, the question of provenance has gained unprecedented prominence, with scholars focusing on non-European objects in the European environment, their past lives and stories of origin. This endeavour aims to illuminate the conditions of acquisition as well as the chain of ownership associated with objects found both within museums and private collections, thereby enhancing transparency in the field. Contrary to the longstanding belief that objects are mute, rigid, and passive entities, it becomes evident that they possess

the capacity to unveil narratives regarding modes of trade and transfer, collectors' networks, as well as other interconnected aspects. Therefore, some questions that come forward when examining the provenance and history of an object are: How did it come to be part of the collection? What routes did it follow? What modifications in material and transformations in meaning did it undergo throughout its journey? How should it be perceived from today's multifaceted standpoint that combines art history, anthropology, archaeology, and other disciplines? These questions form the basis for object histories, exploring the encounters between individuals, institutions, cultures, and geographical locations. The MATK has not engaged with provenance research and specific object histories, a gap which I endeavour to address through my thesis. For this reason, I follow an approach that regards both the life of the individual, the collector, as well as the life of the object, the collectible.

Specifically, three Japanese and two Chinese objects will be studied in detail. The emphasis on Japanese objects stems from Manos' evident preference for Japanese art, shaped by the cultural milieus of Vienna and Paris, both major centres of Japonisme at the time. This inclination contrasts with tendencies in other parts of Europe, such as Britain, where, during the 1910s and 1920s, taste shifted towards Chinese art, as indicated by the acquisition patterns and scholarly enquiries of collectors who founded the Oriental Ceramic Society (OCS). Moreover, the objects whose lives I will explore have been selected because they highlight significant points in history; they represent objects that arrived in Europe as a result of political and military turmoil, such as the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1858) between Japan and the United States, the subsequent reformation policies of the Meiji government, as well as the demise of the last imperial Chinese dynasty in 1911. Although there is no evidence of Manos being directly involved in a chain connected to a colonial narrative, the collection he assembled echoes economic interests, cultural exchanges, and scholarly engagements that emerged during the age of colonialism. The objects and their trajectories reflect a global interconnection spanning centuries, one that is worth delving into.

Chapter 2 takes a closer look at three Japanese objects from the Manos collection, a series of *ukiyo-e* prints from the Torii school, a horse saddle from the early Edo period, and a protohistoric *sue* stoneware. They have been selected for their ability to highlight Manos' diverse collecting interests. It should also be noted that the order and progression of these case studies reflects the objects' level of availability and desirability in the European market as well as Manos' engagement with these categories of collectibles. Specifically, *ukiyo-e* and items associated with Japanese warrior culture seem to have significantly appealed to Manos, who collected them avidly and in vast numbers. *Ukiyo-e*, the images of the floating world, marked the inception of Europe's fascination with Japan and gave rise to the great wave of Japonisme. My research on Japanese woodblock prints from the Manos collection brings about issues related to market value, appreciation, taste, and provenance. Following up, the horse saddle is the only

object among the three that eventually left Manos' collection and passed into the possession of another individual, expanding the network of his fellow collectors. Therefore, a series of parallel narratives emerges, eventually building the saddle's history. However, since Manos amassed a considerable number of Japanese military regalia the spectrum extends beyond the study of the saddle, looking into other objects that emerged as desirable collectibles at the time, such as swords and their fittings. Lastly, the *sue* cup appears as a noteworthy specimen for both its provenance and its rarity. Objects of this nature are not commonly encountered within collections formed during the early twentieth century due to their limited circulation and scarcity on the market that precluded the development of substantial demand. For this reason, the fact that Manos acquired it potentially illustrates his intention to create a collection that would comprise of all periods of Japan's history and material culture.

Chapter 3 regards two Chinese objects from the collection as case studies. A red lacquer disc from the Qing period, particularly carved during the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736-1795), and a Cizhou basin, probably from the Yuan period, elucidate two distinct periods in Chinese history and craftmanship as well as two very different collecting preferences in Europe. Therefore, they become benchmarks for the cultural encounters between China and Europe during the early twentieth century, highlighting the development of taste. The red lacquer disc represents the enduring European fascination with Chinese red lacquer, a fascination that even finds expression today in the MATK using it as one of its main advertising images and prominently displaying it within the museum's halls. Despite its extensive public exposure, the museum has not profoundly explored its nature and history. Therefore, I show that the disc is imbued with a dual identity that at the same time encompasses imperial provenance and hybridity resulting from a process of material transformation. For the second Chinese case study, I delve into the history of a Cizhou basin, a utilitarian stoneware employed in domestic life during the Yuan dynasty, contrasting with the imperial character of the red lacquer disc. I trace its chain of ownership and find visual reference that confirms its origins. Within this framework, I aim to elucidate aspects of the art market and the trade between Europe and China, which were not always conducted under transparent conditions. The importance of this Cizhou ware also lies in its association with a new tendency in collecting that emerged during the 1910s and prized Chinese objects from earlier dynasties, contrasting with the established taste for intricately ornamented pieces from the Ming and Qing periods.

By looking at the collection and its objects through this lens, I aim to uncover the unknown narratives within the Manos collection before the establishment of the museum, weaving together threads of cultural encounters and scholarly endeavours. As the story traverses from Vienna to Paris and eventually to Corfu, it unravels not just the collection's narrative, but the interconnected histories of individuals, institutions, and cultures. Through this exploration, I hope to shed light on the significance of the Manos collection within the broader tapestry of European collecting practices, while also illuminating Greece's unique

contribution to the study and appreciation of East Asian art. In doing so, I aspire to ignite new conversations, foster interdisciplinary approaches, and ultimately, enrich the collective understanding of the manifold ways in which art transcends borders and connects.

Chapter 1. Gregorios Manos, Diplomat and Collector

"What could possibly bring together the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Greeks?"

The Birth of the Manos Collection in Vienna

> "[Manos] was more of a nineteenth than twentieth-century man. […] He was an old man of small stature, with white hair and a white beard, which still retained a gray tint, with a thick moustache, one of those heroic and respectable moustaches of the 1870s generation. He always wore black or blue clothes, which had suffered a bit over time, but still exuded an air of grandeur and formality. He walked slowly, but steadily, despite his seventy-eight years. You did not pay attention to him if you passed by. However, if you happened to meet him, to chat with him, his intelligent, restless eyes and his talking, rich and distinct, with nuggets of sarcasm, left an impression on you, as well as his intense "philogyny," which lasted until his final days."[14]

This excerpt from a newspaper article offers a glimpse into Manos' life in Corfu a few years before his passing, when he devoted his time to organising and arranging the displays in his Sino-Japanese Museum. To better understand the journey that led him to this point, I will delve into Manos' story from the beginning and simultaneously explore the origins of his collection.

Gregorios Manos was born on March 27, 1850, in Athens, the son of military officer Nikolaos Manos (1821-1878) and Sappho Desylla (unknown dates). His father's lineage can be traced back to a noble Genoese House whose members settled in Constantinople between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They subsequently founded the suburb of Galata,[15] which they governed until the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire in 1453. Despite losing their governing role, the Manos family continued to thrive as wealthy fur merchants, Grand Logothetes of the Greek Patriarchate, intellectuals, and benefactors.[16] They also provided services to the struggling Greek communities in Constantinople and other regions under Ottoman rule.[17] During the seventeenth century, the Manos descendants dispersed in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Greece, forming three distinct branches. Originating from the Greek branch, Gregorios'

---

[14] Dafnis, "Ενας ανεκτίμητος θησαυρός: Ο Γρηγόριος Μάνος και το Σινοϊαπωνικό Μουσείο. Το πάθος που δημιουργεί [A Priceless Treasure: Gregorios Manos and the Sino-Japanese Museum. The Passion that Creates]," 1.
[15] Eugène Rizo Rangabé, *Livre d'or de la noblesse phanariote en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Russie et en Turquie [Golden Book of the Phanariot Nobility in Greece, Romania, Russia, and Turkey]* (Athens: Impr. S. C. Vlastos, 1892), 61.
[16] Kassiani Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)," *Journal of Japonisme* 5, no. 2 (2020), doi: 10.1163/24054992-00052P02.
[17] G. Aspreas, "Μάνοι (Manos Family)," in *Μεγάλη Στρατιωτική και Ναυτική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία [Great Military and Naval Encyclopaedia]* (Athens: Έκδοσις Μεγάλης Στρατιωτικής και Ναυτικής Εγκυκλοπαιδείας, 1929), 454.

relatives relocated to Athens where he was born and grew up to become one of its most distinguished members.

Although many aspects of the collector's public and private life remain unknown, some facets of his academic and professional career can be illuminated. In order to acquire the credentials to follow his vocation as a diplomat, Manos completed his "Jurisprudenz" (Law) at the Ruprecht Karls University of Heidelberg (1870-1871) and then pursued "Kameralien" studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig (1872-1873).[18] By the age of twenty-six, he had obtained a Doctorate title from the Humboldt University in Berlin.[19] In 1877, he joined the diplomatic service and made his first steps as an unpaid attaché in Vienna.[20] In this position, Manos gained the qualifications that soon allowed him to become fully employed as a Secretary in Constantinople and Philippopolis. He also served on the Greek-Turkish Committee of 4 May 1882 before being transferred to Constantinople in 1890 and later to Berlin.[21] Between 1885 and 1887, he served as chargé d'affaires at the Greek legation in Vienna.[22] In 1892, he took the post of Secretary at the Greek Embassy. Finally, in June 1900, Manos was promoted to Greek Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria, committing himself to the duties of this role for the following decade.[23]

During Manos' tenure, Greece was experiencing a tumultuous period. Matters on his diplomatic agenda included the Cretan Revolt of 1897 and the subsequent declaration of war to Greece from the Ottoman Empire, which maintained control over Crete. During the Greco-Turkish War that followed, Manos proved to be a brilliant figure in the political scene, where his achievements were widely recognised.[24] After the intervention of the Great Powers (United Kingdom, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany,

---

[18] Manos is registered as a student in *The Matriculation of the University of Heidelberg: From 1846-1870*. Gustav Toepke and Paul Hintzelmann, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg (6. Teil): Von 1846-1870 [The Matriculation of the University of Heidelberg: From 1846-1870]* (Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg, 1907), 688. Gregorios and his brother, Alexander, are also registered in the list of students during the academic years 1870-1871 and 1875. Ruprecht-Carls Universität Heidelberg, *Verzeichnis der sämmtlichen Studierenden der Universität Heidelberg im Wintersemester 1870/1871 bis Sommersemester 1875 [List of all students at the University of Heidelberg in the winter semester 1870/1871 to the summer semester 1875]* (Heidelberg Universität Heidelberg 1875), 15.

[19] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".

[20] Despina Zernioti, "Corfu City, its Landscape and the Museum of Asian Art in Corfu," in *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterpieces from the Land of Nausicaa* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Edo-Tokyo Museum, 2009), 272.

[21] On 24 May 1881, the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers signed a treaty by which Thessaly and the area around Arta Prefecture were ceded to Greece. According to article 9 of the Convention of Constantinople, signed on 2 July 1881, a Greek-Turkish Committee would be responsible for settling, over the course of two years, all issues related to State property as well as to questions related to the interests of individuals who may be involved in it. Angeliki Sfika, "Η προσάρτηση της Θεσσαλίας: Η πρώτη φάση στην ενσωμάτωση μιας ελληνικής επαρχίας στο ελληνικό κράτος [The Annexation of Thessaly: The First Phase of the Incorporation of a Greek Province to the Greek State]" (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1988), 206-10.

[22] "Ausland [Abroad]," *Neue Freie Presse*, February 16, 1910, 7.

[23] Zernioti, "Corfu City, its Landscape and the Museum of Asian Art in Corfu," 272.

[24] "Gregor Manos," *Neues Wiener Abendblatt*, February 17, 1910, 58. More information regarding his role can be found in Ministère des affaires étrangères Grèce, *Documents diplomatiques: Conflit greco-turc: Avril-Septembre 1897* (Athens: Anestis Constantinidis, 1897).

and Russia), the Cretan State was established in 1898, while its unification with Greece was officially declared in 1913. Manos was also involved in another major political conflict concerning the Greek communities of Eastern Rumelia, who became prime targets and suffered numerous attacks from the Bulgarians following the region's annexation and integration into the Principality of Bulgaria in 1885.[25] As his efforts were appreciated both by the Greek and the Austro-Hungarian court, Manos received the Order of the Iron Crown and the Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold.[26] Despite his achievements, some leaders of the Military League, established in 1909 to reform Greece's national government and reorganise the army, viewed Manos' diplomatic activities with suspicion for he had always been loyal to George I, the King of Greece (1863-1913). A new legislation was also introduced in 1909, stipulating a maximum age limit of sixty years for Greek envoys serving abroad.[27] In 1910, at the age of sixty, Manos was forced to retire due to a misalignment of his diplomatic approaches on the Macedonian Question with the objectives of the interim Greek Prime Minister, Stephanos Dragoumis (1842-1923). In May 1910, Manos left Vienna and despite his initial intention to take up residence in Florence or Munich,[28] he relocated to Paris, where he entirely immersed himself in his passion for collecting East Asian objects.

While there are no indications regarding his first encounter with Asian art, it is worth considering the possibility that Manos' interest emerged already from the period of his academic studies in Germany. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Leipzig, where the collector pursued a part of his education, flourished as a city with a long history of hosting international trade fairs. The 1870s were regarded as the "golden age" of Leipzig fairs, leading to the emergence of shops that engaged in international trading activities with Asian wares.[29] Specifically, the art gallery or *kunsthaus* Riquet & Co. dealt in imported goods from Japan, China, and East Asia. Moreover, the *Leipziger Tagesblatt*, in its issue dated March 12, 1873, featured advertisements promoting various items such as lacquer boxes directly imported from Edo, which could be found at L. Gröber's emporium. At the same time, the *Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung* published various ethnographic scenes depicting non-Western cultures.[30] In this environment, it appears plausible that Manos began nurturing an interest and developing a taste for Asian art, even though it is unlikely that he engaged in collecting endeavours during that period.

---

[25] Nanako Murata Sawayanagi, "Greek Communities Relocated in the Making of the Balkan Nations: The Greek Parliament's Tackling of Refugee Settlement and Land Distribution in Thessaly (1906–1907)," *Journal of the Japan Society for Middle East Studies* 26, no. 2 (2010): 156.
[26] The insignia of the Orders Manos received can be seen in his portrait (fig. 1), painted in 1901 by the Greek Modernist artist, Constantinos Parthenis (1878-1967).
[27] "Eine Altersgrenze für griechische Diplomaten [An Age Limit for Greek Diplomats]," *Freie Stimmen*, January 10, 1910, 2.
[28] "Von fremden Höfen [At Foreign Courts]," *Wiener Salonblatt* February 19, 1910, 7.
[29] Marsha Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture: On the Threshold of German Modernism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 34.
[30] Ibid., 20.

According to an undated article in a French newspaper, Manos began acquiring East Asian objects, and particularly Chinese ceramics, at the beginning of his diplomatic career in Vienna.[31] However, he initially entered the sphere of collecting through an interest in European painting, having obtained several works by European masters. The sole surviving evidence of this early inclination exists in the form of the catalogue that accompanied the sale of his European collection in 1913.[32] During the latter half of the nineteenth century, collecting works of European old masters was a major tendency among the literati and the bourgeoisie, and thus the acquisition of Japanese and Chinese pieces emerged as a natural extension to it.[33] Many collectors started gravitating towards East Asian art due to its relatively lower cost compared to Western art.[34] In the case of Manos, the encounter with Japan and China through objects seems to have had such a profound impact, to have formed a new passion, that completely overshadowed his previous interest in paintings by European masters. Therefore, the sale of the European collection provided him with the financial means to further expand his already, at that time, vast collection of East Asian objects.

During his tenure at the Greek embassy and his involvement in the circles of the haute bourgeoisie, Manos' identity as a collector was never particularly highlighted in the public sphere; in contrast, the frequent appearance of his name in Austrian newspapers and journal articles was predominantly associated with his diplomatic engagements (fig. 2). A few rare instances where his collecting activities are praised surfaced in the press upon news of his retirement: "[Manos] is known as a great art connoisseur, and his collection of antiquities, especially of Japanese bronzes, which he has accumulated over many years, is highly valued by art lovers."[35] Also, "As a collector of old Japanese art, Manos enjoyed a European reputation. His collection is one of the largest and most tasteful in private hands."[36] Acknowledged for his diplomatic accomplishments and collecting efforts, Manos' dual identity as diplomat and collector would soon separate, with the collector gaining prominence. This is reflected in a card bearing his official title and contact details from the early twentieth century, which is preserved at the MATK and reads: "Grégoire Manos. Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de S.M. Majesté le Roi des Hellènes. IV Heugasse 14." The significance of this card appears to extend beyond its function as a souvenir of a bygone era of professional success and grandeur. On the reverse side, the Chinese

---

[31] Zina Kaloudi, "Ίχνη της Ασίας στην νεοελληνική τέχνη. Συναντήσεις, επιδράσεις, ένας διάλογος [Traces of Asia in Modern Greek Art. Encounters, Influences, a Dialogue]," (Forthcoming), 505.
[32] *Ölgemälde alter Meister: Aus dem Besitze Sr. Exzellenz des Herrn Gregor Manos ehemaligen griechischen Gesandten, Paris; aus altadeligem Bologneser Besitze sowie aus anderem, meist adeligen Privatbesitz; Auktion in München in der Galerie Helbing, Donnerstag, den 21. November 1912 [Oil Paintings by Old Masters: From the Collection of His Excellency Mr Gregor Manos, Former Greek ambassador, Paris; From Old Noble Bolognese Collections and from Other, Mostly Noble Private Collections; Auction in Munich at the Helbing Gallery, Thursday, November 21, 1912]*. (München: Helbing, 1912).
[33] Elisa Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), 29.
[34] Christine Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).
[35] "Ausland [Abroad]," 7.
[36] "Gregor Manos," 58.

characters and their transliteration, inscribed by the collector himself—likely during a visit to a library or while attending an auction session—provide insights into Manos' personal values and scholarly interests.[37]

In Vienna, Manos began composing a record that reveals a systematic approach in his manner of collecting. This record, constituting a significant fragment of the surviving archival material at the MATK, is comprised of nine numbered cards, written by the collector himself in German; they all include a short description of each object acquired by that time, the date of its acquisition, and the dealer.[38] The cards are meticulously arranged in chronological order, with the second one corresponding to the year 1896. While it remains unclear whether this record marks the beginning of the collection or merely the point when Manos decided to start documenting his purchases, it signals his active involvement in the world of collecting by the mid-1890s. Moreover, it reveals that his acquisitions were not limited within the boundaries of Vienna and Paris. Specifically, the entry 181, found in the second card, records an *inrō* which was "bought in May 1896 by Eida for £2.10."[39] Saburo Eida (1861-1911) was a Japanese art dealer, who owned a shop in London's Piccadilly Circus Chambers, and briefly traded in imported objects from Yokohama before developing a business with bonsai trees.[40] His shop was also advertised in *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine for Fine and Applied Art* in 1894. Eida seems to have been a trusted partner of Manos' as he is mentioned in three other cards from 1898 and 1899.[41] Therefore, the purchase of that *inrō* from Britain bears a certain significance and further elucidates Manos' collecting practices as well as his circle.

Owing to the privileges of his diplomatic role, Manos engaged with a broad network of people, which allowed him to request and acquire objects directly from Asia. An article published on March 2, 1907, in the Greek newspaper *Εμπρός* [*Embros*], recorded that for the purpose of obtaining "the best of their specimens," the Greek ambassador shared promenades in the gardens of Vienna with the "diplomats of the country of the Dragon and the country of the Rising Sun" and invited them to the embassy.[42] Manos'

---

[37] Kaloudi, "Ενα μεγάλο κύμα στο Παρίσι, ανεπαίσθητοι κυματισμοί στην Αθήνα [A Great Wave in Paris, Imperceptible Ripples in Athens]," 505.
[38] Despina Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," in *Japanese Culture and the Arts of Asia* (Athens: Museum of Asian Art in Corfu, 2014), 13.
[39] Ibid., 15. Equivalent to €424,16 and £357,43. The calculation was made with CPI Inflation Calculator: https://www.officialdata.org/UK-inflation (accessed September 30, 2024).
[40] It is rather possible that Eida had previously worked as an assistant at the shop of Arthur Lasenby Liberty (1843-1917), in London. "S. Eidia", "a Japanese repairer" (subsequently Eida from Piccadilly?), who had worked at the Japanese Exhibition at Humphrey's Hall, Knightsbridge in 1885, is mentioned in Liberty's records. Sonia Ashmore, "Lanseby Liberty (1843-1917) and Japan," in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits,* , ed. Hugh Cortazzi (Oxon: Routledge, 2002), 431-32.; Victoria & Albert Museum, "Dealing and Dealers: The East Asia Collection," https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/dealing-and-dealers-the-east-asia-collection/ (accessed September 30, 2024).
[41] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 15.
[42] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".

actions confused the Viennese who pondered "what could possibly bring together the Chinese, the Japanese and the Greeks."[43] In a painting by the Austrian artist Karl Friedrich Gsur (1871-1939), entitled *Le Cercle Diplomatique avant le bal de la Cour à Vienne sous François-Joseph Ier, 18 Janvier 1910* (fig. 3), Manos is presented in the centre of the composition paying his respects to the Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria (1830-1916), while being surrounded by Western diplomats and Chinese envoys dressed in dragon robes.[44] Contemporary sources also reveal Manos' close relationship with East Asian legates. For instance, in March 1908, he attended an official dinner held by the Japanese ambassador to Vienna, Uchida Kōsai (1865-1936), and his wife.[45] A few years earlier, in April 1906, his presence is also reported at a farewell event organised by the former Chinese ambassador to Vienna, Yang Sheng (1867-?), whose diplomatic duties had been transferred to Berlin. [46] Among the guests was Heinrich von Siebold, whose significance in the reconstruction of Manos' network will be further elucidated later. This thread of connections brings to the forefront not only the Greek collector's interactions with Japanese and Chinese individuals from the diplomatic corps but also his encounter with key figures that contributed to bridging the gap between Japan and Austria-Hungary, between Japan and Europe.

Gaining insight into Manos' public life is undoubtedly important, yet it is equally essential to delve into his private sphere, the world Manos created to house his collection. As most ambassadors during that period, Manos lived in a leased residence which served both as living-space and place of work.[47] However, due to lack of visual references, the atmosphere that pervaded the collector's private quarters in Vienna can only be transmitted through the article published in the *Embros* newspaper. The author notified the Athenian readership about the numerous "small and big statues of Buddha and other Chinese and Japanese deities and heroes, the splendid vases, various jewels and ware, and all the fragile objects of Chinese and Japanese art of all periods made of copper, silver and gold, rare glass, and other precious metals, arranged orderly and harmoniously" by Manos.[48] The description suggests that Manos did not employ an arrangement of objects that combined both Western and Eastern artefacts, but rather showcased his exclusive interest for Japanese and Chinese art.[49] Moreover, his choice to be surrounded by these items reflects the image of a man whose passion had become the centre around which his reality revolved, in every aspect of his life, private and public, personal and professional. This sentiment is

[43] Ibid.
[44] The two Chinese envoys depicted in the painting are the chargé d'affaires chinois Lei-Pon-T'ong and the Secretary of the Chinese ambassador, Theou-Tchouen-King. Maison de Vente Farrando, "Karl Friedrich GSUR (1871-1939) - Lot 39," https://www.svvfarrando.com/lot/23179/4920698-karl-friedrich-gsur-1871-1939-le-cercle-diplomatique-avant (accessed September 30, 2024).
[45] "Aus der Diplomatie [From Diplomacy]," *Wiener Salonblatt*, March 28, 1908, 11.
[46] "Aus der Diplomatie [From Diplomacy]," *Wiener Salonblatt*, April 28, 1906, 14.
[47] "Room for Diplomacy: Catalogue of British Embassy and Consulate Buildings, 1800-2010. Austria: Vienna," https://roomfordiplomacy.com/ausria-vienna/ (accessed September 30, 2024).
[48] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".
[49] An alternative view would be that the journalist simply ignored objects of other origin in his report.

echoed in an article published upon his retirement and departure from Vienna, noting that: “After a long day’s work, he loved to retreat to the collection, which was housed in three large halls [of the embassy].”[50] This reflects the prevalent Viennese conception established by the art historian Jakob von Falke (1825-1897) that the interior presented a dual function as both expression of public identity and a means for privacy.[51] The challenges imposed by modernity on the individual’s autonomy and psychology, could be alleviated by the aesthetic experience of the interior.

The 1873 International Exhibition and its Resonance. The Phenomenon of Japonisme

Jakob von Falke also noted that “Japan has suddenly become the fashion here in Vienna. Yes, and we would like to think that this fashion is not going to come to a stop after the International Exhibition is over; we hope indeed that all the positive things that this art has to offer will enter into our flesh and blood.”[52] These prophetic words truly reflected the sentiments of the Viennese public after its first encounter with Japan and characterised the collecting tendencies of the late nineteenth century in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Japonisme assumed a central role in almost every facet of domestic and social life, while objects from East Asia became commonplace within the interior of nearly every household. The 1873 Vienna International Exhibition was indissolubly tied to the genesis of this new cultural reality, and it was destined to leave a lasting imprint on the city’s social fabric over the ensuing years. It became a landmark for the meeting of East and West, while fin-de-siècle Vienna emerged as one of the major metropolitan centres in Europe, witnessing the rise of Japonisme. Therefore, Weltausstellung’s significance in the context of my research lies on its resonance and its implicit impact on Manos’ collecting activities, despite the two decades that separated his initial engagement with East Asian objects and the 1873 event.

The Vienna Exhibition marked Japan’s first international appearance after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and reflected the country’s transition from a feudal society to a modern nation-state. Triggered by a desire to assert national sovereignty and navigate the challenges posed by Western imperialism, the Restoration saw the overthrow of the Tokugawa *shogunate* and the ascension of Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) to power. During the Meiji era (1868-1912), Japan embarked on a programme of extensive political, social, cultural, and economic reforms aiming to modernise and industrialise the nation. Therefore, the participation at the 1873 International Exhibition not only illustrated Japan’s eagerness to engage with the global community but also facilitated the exchange of ideas and technologies between Japan and Europe. Most importantly

[50] "Gregor Manos," 2.
[51] Eric Anderson, "Jakob von Falke und der Geschmack [Jakob von Falke and Ringstrasse-era Taste]," in *Klimt und die Ringstraße [Klimt and the Ringstrasse]* (Vienna: Belvedere Museum, 2015), 30.
[52] Jacob von Falke, *Die Kunstindustrie auf der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873 [The Art Industry at the 1873 Vienna International Exhibition]* (Wien: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1873), 200.

though, it intended to demonstrate the country's potential as well as its ambition to become one of the world's powers. [53] Japan was the only non-Western participant at the 1873 Vienna Exhibition entirely responsible for designing and executing its own pavilion. The Japanese Pavilion, surrounded by a Shintō shrine and a Japanese garden (fig. 4), left a lasting impression on the Viennese public's memory. Among the main attractions were a reproduction of a great Buddha statue made of paper, a five-storey pagoda, and a gigantic female golden *sachi* (fig. 5), which had been removed from the top roof of the Nagoya castle. What also captured the visitors' attention was silk fabrics and embroidery, while the fans soon became a kind of landmark for the Exhibition.[54] Rich selections of various lacquered objects, porcelain, such as Arita ware, bronze, enamel, tortoiseshell and whalebone works, copper and bamboo objects, paper samples as well as flora and fauna fossils aroused admiration (fig. 6). Moreover, Katsushika Hokusai's (1760-1849) *Manga* series were presented for the first time in Europe.[55] An inordinate number of items were sold abroad throughout Europe, both into private ownership and to museums.[56]

China also had a considerably resonant presence at the Vienna International Exhibition. Having a varying and often distorted knowledge on the country's architectural tradition, the artisans in charge of building the Chinese teahouse created a rather impressive construction style and at the same time one that reflected the old pattern of *chinoiserie* (fig. 7). In light of today's knowledge, the Chinese pavilion, with its leaning walls, was a hybrid of Eastern and Western building traditions and most likely a combination of several local house forms of Northern Sumatra.[57] The photographs of the Chinese pavilion show a wide spectrum of items densely displayed, including ceramics and carved wooden furniture in the form of chairs and tables as well as screens (fig. 8).[58] With a clear focus on contemporary goods, the most represented categories were those of textiles and clothing, while agricultural goods and chemical products appeared in the second and third place respectively.[59] China's contribution was largely materialised through the efforts

---

[53] In 1868, the Austro-Hungarian 'East-Asia Expedition' embarked on a mission to forge trade deals, especially with Japan, while also recognising the amassing of artefacts for museum collections as an important objective. However, over the span of the expedition's two-year duration (1869-1871), only Japan sent official delegates, craftsmen, and products as part of the country's opening up policy after the Meiji Restoration. In contrast, the Chinese court displayed limited enthusiasm for establishing diplomatic ties with the Habsburgs. Nóra Veszprémi, "The Politics of Collecting and Display in an Imperial Context," in *Liberalism, Nationalism and Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire: Museums of Design, Industry and the Applied Arts* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 58.

[54] Anna Minichberger, "Die Japanischen Lackarbeiten der Wiener Weltausstellung im Österreichischen Museum für Angewandte Kunst [The Japanese Lacquer Works of the Vienna World Exhibition in the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts]" (Universität Wien, 2007), 43.

[55] Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture: On the Threshold of German Modernism*, 190.

[56] Peter Pantzer, "Japonisme in Austria: Art Knows no Boundaries," in *Verborgene Impressionen. Hidden Impressions*, ed. Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger (Wien: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1990), 25-26.

[57] Alexandra Harrer, "The Chinese Teahouse at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition," in *Building Knowledge, Constructing Histories*, ed. Ine Wouters, et al. (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 733-36.

[58] Morton, *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture: On the Threshold of German Modernism*, 155.

[59] Christina Baird, "The Contributions from Japan and China Displayed at the Vienna Weltausstellung in 1873," *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 1 (2010): 152-64.

of self-motivated Austrian individuals and Chinese companies whose intention was to present the country in its best light.[60] During the nineteenth century, China faced considerable challenges preventing its involvement in international exhibitions, primarily stemming from the consequences of the Opium Wars (1839-1842 and 1856-1860), which left the country under substantial Western control. Moreover, the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), a significant socio-political and religious upheaval, further destabilised the Qing dynasty. It was not until 1873, at the Vienna Exhibition, that China decided to become involved in its own national displays. The Qing dynasty's officials were committed to showcasing Chinese industrial and artistic achievements—including fine art—in order to establish their nation's prowess on the global stage.[61] Therefore, the Qing dynasty's Imperial Customs Service was constituted, with European and American employees, who served as managers of the Chinese representation at the International Exhibitions.[62]

The 1873 Weltausstellung altered the European perception of Japan and China, elevating their status as nations and recognising objects originating from these countries as worthy of the category of "art."[63] A significant outcome of the International Exhibition was the foundation of the Orientalisches Museum (Oriental Museum) in 1875, with Arthur von Scala (1845-1909) as its first director.[64] The principal aim was to preserve and expand upon the achievements of the 1873 Exhibition by creating "a focus for the encouragement of trade between the Orient and Austria."[65] Collections of Asian art were considered necessary for providing Austrian craftsmen with models for study and emulation, thereby facilitating the export of Austrian-made products to Asia.[66] In a way, the objective was to achieve "the economic conquest of the East," as an official history of the museum, published in 1900, commemorates.[67] Additionally, Vienna became home to one of the largest private collections of Japanese art in Europe, that of Heinrich von Siebold. The Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie (Austrian Museum of Art and Industry) exhibited Siebold's collection in 1883—at a time when Manos was starting to whet his

[60] Harrer, "The Chinese Teahouse at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition," 733-36.
[61] Lara Jaishree Netting, *A Perpetual Fire: John C. Ferguson and his Quest for Chinese Art and Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 42.
[62] The Imperial Custom service began in 1854 and continued to organise displays at expositions up until 1905. It was an institutional product of China's nineteenth century "unequal" treaties with Britain, France, and the United States. The Customs Service was led by former British vice-consul Robert Hart (serving 1863-1910). Susan R. Fernsebner, "When the Local is the Global: Case Studies in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Exposition Projects," in *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851-1915* (London: Routledge, 2017), 174.
[63] Veszprémi, "The Politics of Collecting and Display in an Imperial Context," 61.
[64] In 1886, the Oriental Museum was absorbed into bureaucracy under the Ministry of Trade and renamed the Museum of Trade. Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905: An Institutional Biography* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 91.
[65] Johannes Wieninger, "Japan in Vienna: Japanese Art in the Viennese Collections and Exhibitions around 1900," in *Verborgene Impressionen. Hidden impressions* ed. Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger (Wien: Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 1990), 41.
[66] Veszprémi, "The Politics of Collecting and Display in an Imperial Context," 61.
[67] Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Farnham Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 47.

appetite for East Asian objects—and soon expanded its efforts to actively collect and exhibit Japanese art.[68] In 1899, the museum held a Japanese woodblock print exhibition, followed by the first European exhibition of Hokusai's works in 1901.

The burgeoning trade following the 1873 International Exhibition brought a surge of Japanese and Chinese objects into the Austrian market. First of all, Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha (Pioneering Craft and Commerce Company) was established in 1874 by the Japanese government to sell the items that were exhibited at the Weltausstellung.[69] Japanese objects produced especially for the Vienna International Exhibition were acquired by the first Japonisants and later found their way into the hands of collectors like Manos, as indicated by descriptions found within the sales catalogues of his collection. Moreover, impressed by Japan's presence, Karl Trau (1811-1887), the owner of the first tea-import business in Vienna since 1850, sought to expand his commercial activities by becoming a dealer of East Asian art as well.[70] Specialist shops sprung in Vienna, where customers could plunge themselves into an atmosphere of exoticism and let their imagination float in faraway lands. Although little information survives about these establishments, remarkable remain the "Ichiban Japanese depot" and the "Au Mikado." The objects sold included prints, lacquerware, ceramics, bronzes, parasols, textiles and embroideries. A sales catalogue from "Au Mikado" composed by its proprietor, the art dealer Guglielmo (Wilhelm) Singer (1850-1933), illustrates the types of objects from China being sold in Vienna over thirty years after the 1873 International Exhibition (fig. 9, 10). Interestingly, Chinese textiles and especially silk fabrics appeared to be one of the main things still highly desired.[71]

The widely dispersed aura of things coming from the East created not simply a fashion but a feverish craze among the Viennese. Many collections of East Asian art emerged and shaped a tendency that would truly define that period. Even though numerous private collections were formed in Vienna, unfortunately

---

[68] Tayfun Belgin, "Viennese Japonisme: From the Figured-Perspective to the Ornamental-Extensive Style," in *Japonisme and the Rise of the Modern Art Movement: The Arts of the Meiji Period*, ed. Gregory Irvine (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 96.

[69] Brigitte Koyama-Richard, "Hayashi Tadamasa and the Creation of a Market for Japanese Art," in *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, ed. Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay (Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022), 233.

[70] Karl Trau (1811-1887) opened his shop in 1850, starting the first tea-import business in the Austro-Hungarian capital, initially importing tea from London and the Hansa towns, and later directly from China. This led him to collect East Asian art, particularly Japanese objects, in addition to other things. Following the 1873 Weltausstellung, he asked the photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912) to buy some Japanese products for him on the occasion of his trip to Japan. Nana Miyata, "The Austrian Photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912) and Early Meiji-Japan with a Special Focus on the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873," *Civilizations*, no. 23 (2018): 22.
In Vienna, the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, in addition to acquiring items at World Exhibitions, also purchased lacquer pieces through the Viennese art dealer and auction house Karl Trau. Monika Bincsik, "European Collectors and Japanese Merchants of Lacquer in 'Old Japan'," *Journal of the History of Collections* 20, no. 2 (2008), doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhn013.

[71] Christina Baird, "E. C. Bowra and the Chinese Collections in the 1873 Vienna Weltausstellung, with Particular Reference to the Loan Collections of E. C. Bowra, J. H. Gray, Hu Tao-tai and H. Kopsch," *Journal of Design History* 28, no. 2 (2014), https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epu028.

little information survives regarding their character and range. Two of them, both no longer extant, can be distinguished as examples, the collections of industrialists Victor Zuckerkandl (1851-1927) and Adolphe Stoclet (1871-1949).[72] Although neither of them exclusively collected Asian art, their interests could provide a window into the prevailing preferences and taste at the time. It appears that they mostly valued and assembled Japanese objects, such as woodblock prints, small scale objects, such as *netsuke*, and ceramics.[73] The Asian collection assembled by Zuckerkandl consisted of 1200 pieces, for which he had envisioned building a Japanese museum in the grounds of the Purkersdorf Sanatorium in 1907. Even though this plan never came to life, parts of the Zuckerkandl collection were to be seen in the "Exhibition of Old Japanese Arts and Crafts" in 1905: *ukiyo-e*, *netsuke*, and ceramics, indeed, are mentioned on bloc.[74] During World War I (1914-1918), he donated the East Asian collection, estimated at 150,000 Reichsmarks, to the Museum of Applied Arts and Antiquities in Breslau.[75] On the other hand, Adolphe Stoclet[76] had created a woodcut collection which is considered to have been unusually extensive, so much that there is every evidence of buying policy of vision and purpose. Works of every great Japanese master were represented, as is proven by the London auction catalogue from the 1960s.[77]

Adolf Fischer (1856-1914) is undoubtedly one of the most significant figures in the Viennese collecting circles. He assembled a considerably extensive collection, with objects from Japan and China. It was such an impression Japan had left in his mind during his first visit in 1892 that it would from then on be "the axis around which [his] life would turn."[78] In 1895, he returned again to the East and confided to a compatriot of his in Tokyo that "I'm going home, I'm going to buy myself a little castle near Vienna and I'll have it all done up Japanese…"[79] Unfortunately, that dream was never to be realised due to insufficient funding. Although his aspiration to establish an independent museum of Asian art in Berlin began to grow after 1903, it did not come to fruition because of his rivalry with Otto Kümmel (1874-1952).[80] Eventually, he signed an agreement with the city of Cologne, where his collection made its way

[72] Wieninger, "Japan in Vienna: Japanese Art in the Viennese Collections and Exhibitions around 1900," 47.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] However, the brutality of World War II resulted in the museum being destroyed and looted, with only a small part of the collection surviving today in the Wroclaw National Museum in Poland.
[76] Stoclet was a Belgian engineer and financier, who worked in Vienna from January 1903 until the summer of 1904. Together with his wife, Suzanne, they moved in the intellectual circles of Brussels and Paris and were intrigued whenever they sensed new beginnings in art, looking for rare objects of the highest quality that entailed the unusual and the extraordinary. Anette Freytag, "Josef Hoffmann's Unknown Masterpiece: The Garden of Stoclet House in Brussels (1905–1911)," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 30, no. 4 (2010), doi: 10.1080/14601176.2010.485733.
[77] Wieninger, "Japan in Vienna: Japanese Art in the Viennese Collections and Exhibitions around 1900," 47.
[78] Susan Moore, "The Prescient Pair who Created Europe's First Museum of East Asian Art," *Apollo: The International Art Magazine* (2019), https://www.apollo-magazine.com/museum-ostasiatische-kunst-east-asian-art-cologne/ (accessed September 30, 2024).
[79] Pantzer, "Japonisme in Austria: Art Knows no Boundaries," 29.
[80] Masako Shōno-Sládek, "Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. II: Regional Studies*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 632.

to. Following his belief that Asian art should acquire its own identity and not be perceived through the lens of ethnography, in 1909, Fischer founded the first European museum exclusively devoted to East Asian art, in Cologne.[81] Before that, all the objects Fischer had accumulated, such as some *kakemono* (hanging scroll) and more than 1400 woodcuts, adorned the great Japan exhibition in the Vienna Secession, which created a tremendous impact in January 1900 whilst Gustav Klimt (1862-1918) was still president of the house.[82]

Although there is no evidence confirming that Manos attended the 1873 International Exhibition or any personal testimonies indicating his visit to the museums that emerged from it, the pervasive atmosphere of Japonisme in the Viennese society definitely played a crucial role in his development as a collector, shaping his interests and preferences. Therefore, I will soon examine his transactions with establishments and businesses that appeared following this transcultural encounter with Japan and China; further in this chapter, I will delve into Manos' connection with other collectors and connoisseurs whose activities not only contributed to the realisation of the Weltausstellung but also bridged the gap between Europe and East Asia. For these reasons, it was essential to set the scene so as to gain a better understanding of the circumstances that led to the creation of this particular collecting landscape in Vienna and, more broadly speaking, in the German-speaking world. Manos' efforts will be perceived through this lens.

Forming Networks and Modes of Acquisition

Manos acquired items from businesses in Vienna that emerged following the 1873 Exhibition, particularly from "Au Mikado," a coffee and tea emporium situated in the city's first district. Specialising in the trade of Japanese and Chinese objects, "Au Mikado" became the leading supplier of East Asian art in the Austrian capital.[83] In March 1909, it also hosted the sale of Heinrich von Siebold's collection. While the German-born diplomat had previously donated a significant portion of his collection to European museums, the 8000 objects that remained in his possession were sold at "Au Mikado" half a year after his death.[84] The collection Siebold assembled was legendary among his contemporaries and had previously been accessible only to a limited number of individuals who visited his estate, Schloss Freudenstein, in Tyrol.[85] Consequently, the sale at "Au Mikado" marked an important and unique

[81] Pantzer, "Japonisme in Austria: Art Knows no Boundaries," 81.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Christina Baird, "'Au Mikado': A Tea, Coffee and 'Oriental' Art Emporium in Vienna," *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 4 (2011), doi: 10.1093/jdh/epr036.
[84] Before his death, Siebold also donated a significant part of his collection to museums, such as the Museum of Ethnology (today Weltmuseum) in Vienna, the Museum of Art and Industry (today MAK) as well as the Trade Museum. Bettina Zorn, "The History of the Daimyō House Model in the Collection of the Weltmuseum in Vienna and its Traces in Vienna," *Archiv 65: Archiv Weltmuseum Wien* (2016): 53.
[85] Sybille Girmond, "Heinrich von Siebolds letzte Sammlung: Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion nach zeitgenössischen Berichten [Heinrich von Siebold's Last Collection: Approaches to its Reconstruction Based on Contemporary Reports]," in *Japan zur*

occasion for amateurs and connoisseurs residing not only in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but across Europe. The acquisition of objects formerly in Siebold's collection would have been a point of pride for many of them. Naturally, Manos could not miss the unprecedented opportunity and thus obtained several pieces, such as primitive pottery discovered in excavations, a large carved screen decorated with Buddhist deities, a saddle, two bronze lanterns, and paintings. Although sales records from "Au Mikado" are missing, Manos himself confirmed his acquisitions in the 1912 auction catalogue of his own collection. Specifically, under the description of certain lots, the Greek diplomat added the indication "collection du Baron Siebold," highlighting their provenance as well as their artistic importance and monetary value.

While extensive archival materials from the "Au Mikado" sale have not survived, Guglielmo Singer,[86] the proprietor of the establishment, provided some insights regarding its character. Particularly, in the announcement of the sale (fig. 11), Singer praised Siebold's expertise, emphasised the outstanding quality of the objects in the collection, and referred to the several factors that contributed to its creation. He highlighted Siebold's deep mastery of the Japanese language, the extensive knowledge he acquired through his long residence in Japan, and the personal connections he built up there. Singer also pointed to the unique opportunity presented to Siebold during his early years in Japan, when it was still possible to obtain certain items due to the turmoil caused by the political development and radical modernisation of the country. This contrasted sharply with the contemporary circumstances of 1909, when many objects, acknowledged for their historical significance and cultural value, were no longer allowed to leave Japan due to new restrictive regulations by the Meiji government.[87] Additionally, Singer detailed some objects featured in the sale, such as "Articles from the Stone and Bronze Ages, some of which have been unearthed in excavations, as well as many ethnographic objects [...] from the islands of Jezzo [Ezo, present-day Hokkaidō] and Liukiu [Ryūkyū, Okinawa]." The third part of the advertisement provided details only on individual items: a piece of armour "by Miochin," two "hanging pictures (*kakemonos*)," one of which depicted "Nirvana, the Buddhist heaven" and the other, "the oldest of the pictures [...] painted by Kanaoka in the year 870." Also, a folding screen, "[dating] to the sixteenth century, with forty-eight inserted wooden deity figures and adorned by sayings of Confucius."[88]

Meiji-Zeit: Die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold [Japan in the Meiji Period: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold], ed. Bettina Zorn and Hidaka Kaori (Vienna: KHM Museumsverband, 2020), 33.

[86] The "Au Mikado" import house was owned by Guglielmo (Wilhelm) Singer, a Jewish merchant originally from Varaždin, Croatia. Singer's commercial activities likely began in Trieste in the late 1870s. Before establishing his firm in Vienna, Singer dealt with import and export of edibles, later with tea and rum, as well as with objects from China, Japan, and India. Stefano Turina, "Silkworm Eggs and a Cup of Tea: Alternative Routes for the Japanese Objects in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," in *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, ed. Toshio Watanabe, et al. (Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, 2020), 119.

[87] Girmond, "Heinrich von Siebolds letzte Sammlung," 33.

[88] Ibid.

The latter appears to identify with the description of the following entry from the 1912 Manos sales catalogue: “600. Grand paravent à deux feuilles, couvertes de prières, séparées par cinquante petites figures de Bouddha en bois doré et sculpté. Date: 8 avril, 7e année de Gen-rokou 1695. Pièce très intéressante au point de vue documentaire provenant de la collection du Baron Siebold.”[89] The iconographic elements remarked by both Singer and Manos share many similarities: “deity figures” and “figures of Buddha” as well as “sayings of Confucius” and “prayers.” The differing attributions of the screen’s production date can be understood within the context of common dealer practices, which often involved backdating items to enhance their appeal and market value. Such discrepancies were also caused by lack of expertise.[90] In addition, that period was characterised by a widespread confusion regarding the distinction between Japanese and Chinese objects. In fact, this folding screen may have been of Chinese origin despite the Japanese designation as *byōbu* provided by Singer.[91] The use of wood is rather unusual for a Japanese folding screen, which would traditionally bear painted imagery on paper and occasionally on silk.[92] Conversely, two-panel wooden folding screens, such as the one in question, were commonly produced in China.[93] The term “grand” also alludes to a Chinese screen, which typically stood taller than a Japanese one. This disparity is associated with the Chinese transition from sitting on mats to using chairs, resulting in adjustments to the dimensions of other household furniture accordingly.[94] Such reflections on identity reveal new interpretations and insights, not only regarding the objects themselves but also regarding broader market practices and the relationships between collectors and dealers.

Another figure who significantly contributed to elucidating Manos’ networks and modes of acquisition is the prominent German collector and publisher, Albert Brockhaus (1855-1921). His interest in collecting Japanese objects, particularly *netsuke*, began in the 1880s and suddenly ceased in 1914 due to the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent death of his wife, which left him devastated.[95] *Netsuke*, these small delicately crafted sculptures, were designed to suspend and secure objects, such as tobacco pouches

---

[89] André Portier, *Collection de son exc. M. Manos, ancien ministre de Grèce à Vienne. Première partie, Porcelaines de la Chine, bronzes et cloisonnés chinois, laques et bois chinois, porcelaines et poteries du Japon, bronzes et cloisonnés japonais* (Paris: [s.n.], 1912), 53.

[90] Lucie Chopard, "Chinese Porcelain enters the Louvre: A Collector, his Dealers, and the Parisian Art Market (c. 1870-1912)," *Journal for Art Market Studies* 4, no. 2 (2020), doi: 10.23690/jams.v4i2.124.

[91] Girmond, "Heinrich von Siebolds letzte Sammlung," 33.

[92] A mid-seventeenth century six-fold screen from the Victoria & Albert collection serves as a rare example of a lacquer on wood *byōbu*, which was probably made for export, specifically for the European audience. Oliver Impey, *The Art of the Japanese Folding Screen: The Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1997), 109.

[93] Maria Cheng et al., *Essential Terms of Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2017), 389.

[94] Sarah Handler, *Austere Luminosity of Chinese Classical Furniture* (London; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 9.

[95] *Netsuke* only occasionally appeared at German auctions prompting Brockhaus to participate in the wider European market for Japanese objects, primarily centred in Paris and London. Patrizia Jirka-Schmitz, "Albert Brockhaus (1855-1921): Acquiring Netsuke Throughout Europe," *Andon* 111 (2021): 6.

and *inrō* to the *obi*, the traditional Japanese sash, which was wrapped around the *kimono*.[96] The opening of Japan in 1858 transformed them from functional and fashionable accessories to collectibles admired for their exceptional craftmanship and miniature size. Europeans were enthusiastic for small, delicately carved items they could touch, feel, and fill their cabinets with. Edmund de Waal in his book *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance* (2010) illustrates the history of a *netsuke* collection as well as the history of his own family, especially highlighting the role that these objects played in his ancestors' lives during the early twentieth century: "[...] *netsuke* are small, quick, ivory stories. [...] I think of *netsuke* as part of this Vienna. Many of the *netsuke* are Japanese feuilletons in themselves. They depict the kind of Japanese characters written about in lyrical laments by visitors to Japan."[97] Similar to de Waal's case, *netsuke*, which Manos avidly collected, act in my research as agents that unfold a thread of connections between collectors and dealers.

Driven by his enthusiasm, Brockhaus embarked on a scholarly endeavour to illuminate the nature of *netsuke*. In 1905, he wrote a comprehensive book on the miniature sculptures, entitled *Netsuke Versuch einer Geschichte der japanischen Schnitzkunst* [*Netsuke: An Attempt at a History of Japanese Carved Art*].[98] The German publisher not only mentioned all the museums known to him with *netsuke* collections but also composed an extensive list of private collectors who shared the same interest as him, in order to promote scholarly exchange: "Here is a list of private collectors whose names have come to my attention from articles and catalogues or otherwise by chance. Some of them have corresponded with me in order to mutually enrich our knowledge, some have allowed me to study their collections or have visited mine."[99] Specifically, 149 collectors appear in Brockhaus' list which features legendary names, such as Siegfried Bing (1838-1905), Philippe Burty, Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906), and de Goncourt from France, William Sturgis Bigelow (c. 1850-1926) and Charles Lang Freer (1856-1919) from the United States, Oscar Charles Raphael (1874-1941), and Walter Behrens (1861-1913) from England. In the entry about private collectors in Vienna, Brockhaus only remarks two names, Count Pettenegg and Gregorios Manos.[100]

---

[96] They were made from diverse materials, including wood, ivory, bone, and various metals, while they also came in a wide range of shapes and forms, often representing animals, mythical creatures, deities, and everyday scenes.
[97] Edmund De Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance* (London: Vintage, 2011), 174-75.
[98] In Japanese literature, even after 1900, there is no mention of *netsuke*. Therefore, when Brockhaus' book became known in Japan a few years after its initial publication, the Japanese expressed their surprise to the profound European fascination with things, such as *netsuke*, which they paid no attention to. Ettore Rigozzi, "Das Netsuke [Netsuke]," *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques: Revue de la Société Suisse-Asie [Asian Studies: Journal of the Swiss Asia Society]* 1 (1947): 33.
[99] Albert Brockhaus, *Netsuke: Versuch einer Geschichte der japanischen Schnitzkunst: mit 272 schwarzen und 53 bunten Abbildungen [Netsuke: An Attempt at the History of Japanese Carving: With 272 Black and 53 Coloured Illustrations)* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1909), 82.
[100] Ibid., 88.

Given the contemporary importance of the publication that became a textbook on *netsuke*, the inclusion of Manos in the list assumes paramount significance. It reflects that the Greek collector belonged within a network of people that shared a mutual passion but also reveals that his collecting endeavours were recognised and acknowledged by it. Although there is no direct evidence or documentation to support the following claim, I would argue that the relationship between Manos and Brockhaus plausibly extended beyond a mere acquaintance. Two objects act as testifiers: an articulated bronze crab, *jizai okimono*, and a bronze sculpture of Fukurokuju, dating to the Meiji period; both likely found their way into the Manos collection through Brockhaus. In 1903, Brockhaus made one of his first acquisitions at the sale of Count Eduard Karl Gaston Pöttickh von Pettenegg's (1847-1918) collection in Munich.[101] von Pettenegg had assembled one of the earliest and most prominent collections of Japanese art in the German-speaking countries, which he dispersed before being ordained as a catholic priest.[102] The crab and the sculpture of Fukurokuju were among the many purchases Brockhaus made, as indicated by the handwritten annotations accompanying the lots within the auction catalogue (fig. 14). Considering that during his life Brockhaus never sold his personal collection, the two Japanese objects probably passed into Manos' possession because the two men belonged in the same circle. Subsequently, in 1912, Manos auctioned them in the Parisian market, highlighting the provenance from the von Pettenegg collection (fig. 12, 13).

While still in Vienna, Manos found an alternative avenue to acquire more objects that Pettenegg parted with.[103] It appears that these came into the Greek collector's possession via an intermediary, specifically Joseph Kingal (dates unknown), a Vienna-based dealer specialising in Japanese and Chinese art.[104] To supply his business, Kingal bid at the Pettenegg auction, where he is recorded to have purchased several lots. His acquisitions may also have been guided by the specific requests of his clientele. Evidence in Manos' personal archive illuminates his association with him; that is a letter from 1907 exchanged between Kingal and Julius Bamberger (unknown dates), the owner of an import shop in Berlin. The latter

[101] Jirka-Schmitz, "Albert Brockhaus (1855-1921): Acquiring Netsuke Throughout Europe," 9.
[102] Pettenegg had assembled a collection that comprised of weapons, *tsuba* and *kozuka*, horse armour, swords, dagger knives and spears, textiles, banners, wall hangings, robes, silk and brocade fabrics, lacquerware, bronzes, *inrō*, *netsuke*, porcelain, woodcuts, *kakemono* and *makimono*. Rotraud Stumfohl, "Der Nachlass eines Privatgelehrten am Ende des 19. Jhdts. in der Bibliothek des Landesmuseums Kärnten [The Estate of a Private Scholar at the End of the 19th Century in the Library of the Carinthian State Museum]," *Rudolfinum-Jahrbuch des Landesmuseums für Kärnten [Rudolfinum-Yearbook of the State Museum of Carinthia]* (2002): 417.
[103] Pettenegg had assembled a collection that comprised of weapons, *tsuba* and *kozuka*, horse armour, swords, dagger knives and spears, textiles, banners, wall hangings, robes, silk and brocade fabrics, lacquerware, bronzes, *inrō*, *netsuke*, porcelain, woodcuts, *kakemono* and *makimono*. Rotraud Stumfohl, "Der Nachlass eines Privatgelehrten am Ende des 19. Jhdts. in der Bibliothek des Landesmuseums Kärnten [The Estate of a Private Scholar at the End of the 19th Century in the Library of the Carinthian State Museum]," *Rudolfinum-Jahrbuch des Landesmuseums für Kärnten [Rudolfinum-Yearbook of the State Museum of Carinthia]* (2002): 417.
[104] Joseph Zenker, *Pantheon: Adressbuch der Kunst-und Antiquitäten-Sammler und-Händler, Bibliotheken, Archive, Museen, Kunst-, Altertums- und Geschichtsvereine, Bücherliebhaber, Numismatiker; ein Handbuch für das Sammelwesen der ganzen Welt [Pantheon: Address Book of Art and Antiques Collectors and Dealers, Libraries, Archives, Museums, Art, Antiquity and History Societies, Book Lovers, Numismatists; A Handbook for Collecting Throughout the World]* (Eszlingen A. N.: M. Schreiber, 1914), 483.

discussed challenges in identifying original works by potter Nonomura Ninsei (1646-1677) and mentions items that were once owned by Katō Kiyomasa (1561-1611), the great general who served Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) during the invasion of Korea (1592-1598). Kingal seems to have forwarded this piece of correspondence to his client, Manos, possibly in response to an enquiry. This chain of transfer highlights the role that dealers played in the early twentieth-century market and how important it was for collectors to establish good relationships with them.

During his tenure in Vienna, Manos did not confine his scope and acquisitions solely to the local scene but actively observed the broader European market for East Asian objects. This is evident from the large number of auction catalogues in his library, documenting the Parisian sales of important collections, such as those of Hayashi Tadamasa, Pierre Barbouteau (1862-1916), and Charles Gillot (1853-1903), just to mention a few. Further expanding his geographic focus, Manos also obtained catalogues from German auction houses that sold Nicolai J. Cholodowski's (unknown dates) collection in Cologne, Hermann Emden's (1815-1879) in Berlin, Ernst Kropp's (1880-1945) in Munich, and Willem Albert van Veen's (unknown dates) in Frankfurt. The majority of these auctions were conducted by Hugo Helbing, who dominated the German market and held more than half of the Asian sales.[105] Given Manos' extensive and diverse collection of auction catalogues, it appears that he was subscribed to a mail order system that provided him with the privilege of receiving these publications in advance of the sales. While he did not necessarily attend all these auctions in person, the catalogues that came into his possession served as valuable reference points in understanding and interpreting objects from his own collection. At the same time, Manos also engaged in transactions with leading German art dealers. Particularly, a card of Ernst Fritzche (1851-1916) in the Greek collector's archive indicates that he had contacts with this business in Berlin, which specialised in Chinese and Japanese *Kolonialwaren* (overseas goods).[106]

Manos had a strong presence in the collecting landscape of Vienna, while his activities and connections extended to Germany. The exchange of objects within his network highlights the intricate web of relationships and transactions that defined the European market for Japanese art. This section of my thesis has set the stage for understanding Manos' endeavours within the wider landscape of European collecting. To further elaborate on this topic, the discussion will now shift to Manos' pursuits in Paris, marking a new chapter dedicated solely to collecting, undisturbed from professional responsibilities.

[105] Britta Bommert, "On the Relevance and Potential of Auction Catalogues as Sources for Art Market Research on Asian Art," *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2, no. 3 (2018), doi: https://doi.org/10.23690/jams.v2i3.71.
[106] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".

In the Centre of Japonisme. The Manos Collection in Paris

Just before his departure from Vienna, with two handwritten notes, likely draft wills, Manos expressed his wish to "donate [his] collection of Chinese and Japanese ancient art to the Greek Government, for it to be meticulously curated and made accessible to the public in a museum in Athens, bearing the inscription "Gregorios Manos Sino-Japanese Collection donated to the Nation" (fig. 15).[107] This decision reflects Manos' intention to ensure the preservation of his collection, particularly given his lack of heirs. Additionally, he aimed to compile an inventory, assess the collection's value, and inform European connoisseurs about its existence.[108] The necessity of transferring the collection to Paris for this purpose implies Manos' trust in French connoisseurs to appreciate and evaluate its significance, provide expert advice on the matter of its classification, and offer guidance on the subsequent steps towards its donation. Manos probably aspired to follow in the footsteps of other European collectors, during a period marked by the emergence of museums across Europe, as private collections made their way into the public sphere. This sentiment is further evidenced by Manos' wish that in the event of his passing, his godson, Gregorios Ypsilantis (1909-1975), would inherit the collection, on condition that it would be open to the public at least twice a week.[109] The reason behind this could be justified by the fact that Gregorios Ypsilantis' father, who also happened to be Manos' cousin, Prince Emmanuel Ypsilantis (1877-1940), offered to pay the rent for storage space when the collector, along with thousands of objects, moved to Paris.[110]

Despite the popularity he enjoyed within the Viennese social circles, he relocated to Paris, a decision reflecting his unwavering devotion to his collection and the realm of Japonisme. Japonisme was a locus, an imaginary locus, predominantly inhabited by men, who would engage in homosocial avant-garde networks.[111] Manos, a bachelor Japonisant,[112] declined to marry and make a family of his own, as the period's normativity dictated. Moreover, he recognised that residing in a metropolis, particularly the epicentre of Japonisme, would present him with numerous good opportunities. It was widely known that

---

[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Many women played pivotal roles in the development of Japonisme as collectors and dealers, yet their contributions have been overlooked in historical narratives due to the scarcity of records documenting their involvement. As Elizabeth Emery discusses in her book *Reframing Japonisme. Women and the Asian Art Market in Nineteenth-Century France, 1853–1914*, this marginalisation was reinforced by their male contemporaries, who often dismissed or erased the efforts of these women, associating their collections with domesticity and decoration rather than fine art. A notable example is Clémence d'Ennery (1823-1898), who assembled an extensive collection of Japanese and Chinese objects, ultimately founding the Musée d'Ennery in Paris. In this framework, examples of female collectors who participated in the Manos sale will be explored further in the section "Manos as a Consignor in Public Auctions."
[112] Here I am referring to Christopher Reed, *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

dealers in big cities were keenly aware of their frequent clients' preferences and often procured objects tailored to their needs. In contrast, individuals residing in more remote areas did not benefit from such privileges.[113] Manos' decision also illuminates his aspiration to become part of a community that shared his interest for a more scholarly approach to collecting East Asian art. This becomes evident in the April 1914 issue of the *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, where his presence is recorded at the inauguration of the *Cinquième exposition des arts de l'Asie*, held by the Musée Cernuschi.[114] There, he was surrounded by distinguished collectors, merchants, and scholars of Japanese and Chinese art, such as Édouard Chavannes, Raphaël Petrucci, Henri Vever (1854-1942), collector of Japanese art and jeweller, C.T. Loo (1880-1957), the preeminent art dealer of Chinese art, and Zhang Renjie (1877-1950), owner of "Tonying and Company." The contemporary press documenting Manos' presence alongside these legendary figures highlights his status as a respected collector as well as his prominent position within the French circles associated with Asian art. In Paris, his reputation became intertwined with his identity as a collector, overshadowing his former role as Minister Plenipotentiary of Greece to Vienna.

Although it is unknown where he lived immediately after his arrival in Paris, in 1912 Manos resided at 9 rue de l'Université, in the 7th district of the city.[115] The building was an inexpensive pension or "private" hotel, located on a long narrow street running parallel to the Seine.[116] Interestingly, among the other tenants was twenty-two-year-old T.S Eliot (1888-1965), who was at the time attending Henri Bergson's (1859-1941) lectures at the Sorbonne. This confirms how, during those years, Paris was a city where individuals from all classes and walks of life converged on an equal footing. In 1920, James Joyce (1882-1941) also resided at the pension of 9 rue de l'Université, which he described as damp and matchbox-sized.[117] This matter of space is further highlighted by Manos at some point after 1919, when he met Greek poet Miltiadis Malakasis (1869-1943) at a dinner. He specifically conveyed the challenges he encountered in growing the collection, primarily the spatial constraints and limited resources for its

---

[113] Marcus Bourne Huish, "Hints upon the Formation of a Collection of Japanese Art," *Artistic Japan: Illustrations and Essays* VI (1881): 452.

[114] "Inauguration au musée Cernuschi de la cinquième exposition des arts de l'Asie [Inauguration of the Fifth Exhibition of Asian Art at the Cernuschi Museum]," *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, April 3, 1914, 1687. For more information about the exhibition, see: Henri d' Ardenne de Tizac, *5e exposition des arts de l'Asie: Collection Victor Goloubew*, (Paris: Musée Cernuschi, 1913), https://bibliotheques-specialisees.paris.fr/ark:/73873/pf0000083802 (accessed September 30, 2024);. Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac and D. de Berkem, *Parisia: La Ve exposition des arts de l'Asie au Musée Municipal Cernuschi*, (Paris: Musée Cernuschi, 1914), https://www.cernuschi.paris.fr/sites/default/files/la_ve_exposition_des_arts_de_lasie_au_musee_municipal_cernuschi_parisia_1914.pdf (accessed September 30, 2024).

[115] According to the record of sale composed by the auctioneer Lair-Dubreil.

[116] David Burke, *Writers in Paris: Literary Lives in the City of Light* (Berkeley: Counterpoint: Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2008), 183.

[117] Joyce's thirteen-year-old daughter, Lucia, added that it was "stuck together with spit." Martina Nicholls, *The Paris Residences of James Joyce* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020), 11.

housing.[118] However, in 1913, Manos took up residence in Auteuil, an area to the west of Paris, particularly at 121 Boulevard Exelmans.[119] He may have opted for a larger space as his collection was continuously expanding and the building on the Parisian avenue appears to have met that requirement. The flat he rented became both his own residence and the place to accommodate his extensive collection.

While Paris became his permanent residence in 1910, the collector's connection to the birthplace of Japonisme had already been established from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Not only did he participate in the Parisian market for Asian objects, but Manos also attended the International Exhibitions held in Paris in 1889 (fig. 16, 17) and 1900.[120] The 1900 Exposition Universelle was undoubtedly the pinnacle of more than twenty years of dedication to the field of Japonisme.[121] Hayashi Tadamasa, appointed Commissioner-General of the Japanese pavilion (fig. 18), presented works of immeasurable worth, originating from imperial and *daimyō* collections as well as from Buddhist temples.[122] The Japonisants came to realise, even with some bitterness, that the true treasures of Japan had never entered their collections and that *ukiyo-e* prints were not as valuable as they thought.[123] On the other hand, China (fig. 19) appeared to the eyes of the visitors as an ageing and traditionalist nation, for it carefully kept and safeguarded its treasures in the imperial collections, demonstrating no intention of showing them to the world. Admittedly, both countries were still perceived through the lens of exoticism within the context of International Exhibitions. China remained unknown, relatively isolated, and not understood in its true essence (until the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911), while Japan caused a stir among collectors and connoisseurs that promoted the development of scholarship.[124]

At the turn of the century, scholars like Louis Gonse, with *L'art japonais* (1883), and Maurice Paléologue (1859-1944), with *L'art chinois* (1887), played crucial roles by publishing the first detailed studies that delved into the history and aesthetic canons of Japanese and Chinese art. More academic works and catalogues followed, enhancing the depth of understanding in the field and significantly assisting

---

[118] Miltiadis Malakasis, *Πεζά: Κριτικά-Δοκίμια [Prose: Critiques-Essays]*, ed. Yiannis Papakostas (Athens: Pataki Publishing, 2006), 185-86.
[119] As indicated in the Extrait du register, found in the procès-verbal of the 1913 sale of his collection in Paris.
[120] This is mentioned by Despina Zernioti in her talk "Repositioning Gregorios Manos, Founder of the Corfu Museum of Asian Art, in the context of Japonisme." However, it is not documented how this information came to be known by the MATK.
[121] Elizabeth Emery, "A Japoniste Friendship in Translation: Hayashi Tadamasa and Philippe Burty (1878-1890)," *Journal of Japonisme* 6, no. 1 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1163/24054992-06010002.
[122] Yvonne Thirion, "Le japonisme en France dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle à la faveur de la diffusion de l'estampe japonaise [Japonisme in France in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century as a Result of the Spread of Japanese Prints]," *Cahiers de l'AIEF* (1961): 129.
[123] Ibid., 130.
[124] Ging-E Lee, "Les expositions en France sur l'art chinois au début du XXe siècle. Histoire de l'art, de l'Antiquité au monde contemporain [The Exhibitions of Chinese Art in France during the Early Twentieth Century. History of Art, From Antiquity to the Contemporary World]" (Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, 2016), 47-48.

collectors, like Manos, in identifying and documenting acquired objects.[125] Thus, several legendary collections were formed in Paris on the basis of connoisseurship. Particularly noteworthy are the collections of Pierre Barbouteau, predominantly consisting of Japanese objects, and Ernest Grandidier (1833-1912), primarily centred on Chinese porcelains; their importance is closely linked to the impact of experts such as Hayashi Tadamasa and Siegfried Bing, whose advice held considerable sway in the collecting circles of the time. Simultaneously, pioneering figures such as Émile Guimet (1836-1918) and Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896) profoundly contributed to the knowledge of Japanese and Chinese art, by establishing museums entirely dedicated to the arts of East Asia, where their extensive collections were made accessible to the public. These endeavours and initiatives rendered Paris an ideal place for someone like Manos. Within this context and taking into consideration the experiences that shaped his identity as a collector, the following chapter will focus on his activities in the Parisian collecting landscape and their resonance. It will particularly delve into the roles he assumed as a seller and buyer in the market for East Asian objects, as well as his involvement as a lender in exhibitions of Japanese and Chinese art.

[125] For instance, the *Ko-ji Hō-ten: Dictionnaire a l'usage des amateurs et collectionneurs d'objets d'art Japonais et Chinois* (1923), composed by Victor Frédéric Weber, should be mentioned.

Chapter 2. Manos in the Public Sphere.

Auctions, Exhibitions, and the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu

Manos as a Consignor in Public Auctions

The collapse of China's imperial government in 1911 and Japan's period of uncertainty following Emperor Meiji's death in 1912 led to an influx of Asian art into European markets, shaping collecting trends and market dynamics. In the early 1910s, Manos became actively involved in this market, not only as a collector but also as a consignor at public auctions. Likely facing financial constraints during his time in Paris, he sold part of his collection at the Hôtel Drouot, one of Europe's leading auction houses. The first sale took place in February 1912 (fig. 20), followed by three additional sessions in March, April, and May (fig. 21, 22, 23), dispersing a total of 2906 lots under the hammer of auctioneer Fernand Lair-Dubreuil (1867-1931). An analysis of the sales catalogues reveals that Manos' collection was carefully structured, not only to reflect his personal taste but also to present a comprehensive panorama of Japanese and Chinese art. The classification of objects by category, function, and chronology demonstrates a scholarly approach to collecting, aligning with the research endeavours and expanding body of literature of the time. Manos and his contemporaries relied on Hayashi Tadamasa and Siegfried Bing, whose systematic inventories, modes of classification, and organisation criteria set the model for compiling both private and institutional collections, as well as sales and exhibition catalogues.[126] In this regard, it is noteworthy that in auctions conducted in 1903, only approximately 11% of the lots were dated, whereas a decade later, 82% of the lots included information about the period of their production.[127]

Fig. 24 illustrates the object categories at the Manos sale, with Japanese ceramics and Chinese porcelain being the most prominent, followed by Japanese lacquer, *tsuba*, *ukiyo-e*, *netsuke*, and Chinese bronzes.[128] This composition not only highlights Manos' personal taste but also aligns with the prevailing collecting and market tendencies of the early twentieth century. The Japanese ceramics section is particularly extensive, featuring works from various regions and potters, with Kutani, Imari, Satsuma, and Kyoto export wares being the most represented. Imari and Kutani, known for their vibrant overglaze enamels, were highly sought after for their decorative qualities, while Satsuma, often featuring intricate gold detailing, catered to European tastes for elaborate craftsmanship. Additionally, the Japanese lacquer

---

[126] Julie Bawin, *Le japonisme en Belgique a travers les collections de Hans de Winiwarter (1875-1949)* [*Japonisme in Belgium through the Collections of Hans de Winiwarter (1875-1949)*] (Cortil-Wodon: E.M.E, 2007), 135.

[127] Léa Saint-Raymond, "Le pari des enchères: Le lancement de nouveaux marchés artistiques à Paris entre les années 1830 et 1939 [The Auction House: The Launch of New Art Markets in Paris Between the Years 1830 and 1939]" (PhD diss., Université Paris Nanterre, 2018), 229.

[128] Regarding *ukiyo-e*, although they constituted a major category at the auction, it was only a small part of his extensive print collection that Manos offered to the market.

section primarily featured writing boxes (*suzuribako*) and various types of box-containers for incense and tea. The auction catalogues also contained hundreds of *tsuba*, *ukiyo-e*, *netsuke*, and *inrō* which dominated the sales during that period. Other popular collectibles that were offered in vast quantities were Japanese warrior related items, such as *kozuka*, various arms and armour, as well as sword fittings. Sixty-seven paintings, predominantly of Japanese origin, also completed the catalogue, representing both Buddhist themes and secular subjects. Fans and screens were the least featured items in the sale.

The most abundant categories of Chinese objects in the Manos sale were porcelain, bronzes, and snuff bottles. At the time, porcelain remained the most desirable Chinese collectible, followed by hardstone carvings and cloisonné, a preference that had persisted since the mid-nineteenth century. The Chinese porcelain section of the Manos sale consisted almost exclusively of lots from the Ming and Qing dynasties, with few examples from earlier periods. The most prominent types of Chinese porcelain were vases, bottles, bowls, plates, and figurines. Many of the lot descriptions are rather broad and general, however, the most represented categories were polychrome enamelled (famille rose and famille verte), celadon, blue-and-white wares. While the prominence of porcelain and snuff bottles is expected, as they featured heavily in most collections, the inclusion of 209 Chinese bronzes is particularly striking, given their relatively low demand during that period. Lastly, it is noteworthy that Chinese lacquers, a highly appreciated collectible by amateurs, were among the least represented objects in the Manos sale.

In December 1913, Manos re-entered the Parisian auction world as a consignor, albeit this time his name was not publicly disclosed. The catalogue of the sale was entitled *Catalogue d'une collection d'objets d'art de la Chine et du Japon, appartenant à un ancien diplomate* [*Catalogue of a collection of art objects from China and Japan assembled by a former diplomat*] (fig. 28). A collector's preference for anonymity during a public auction may be justified by various motivations, such as preventing others from knowing the objects kept in his/her house or concealing any financial difficulties he/she may be experiencing.[129] However, the procès-verbal composed by the auctioneer, Charles Dubourg (1865-19??), revealed the identity of the former diplomat as Grégoire Manos (fig. 29).[130] The sale included a rather large section of Chinese ceramics, mainly from the Ming and Qing dynasties, bronzes, hardstone carvings, snuff bottles, and cloisonné. The Japanese part of the sale also featured numerous ceramics as well as bronzes, lacquerware, cloisonné, *netsuke*, sword fittings, fans, and masks. Limited yet interesting was the textiles category from both countries, a subject that will be discussed further down in my research. Overall, 592 objects appeared on the market, achieving a rather successful selling rate, as the majority of the lots were purchased.

[129] I would like to thank Professor Elizabeth Emery for sharing her insights into this topic with me.
[130] Minute quote D.116E^3 5, Archives de Paris.

Important figures from the circle of Japonisme participated in the auction of the Manos collection. The most frequently recurring name in the procès-verbaux is that of André Portier (1886-1963), who also held the role of the expert for all sale sessions. Portier's interest can be linked to the expansion of his commercial activities after 1909, when he took over his father's business "Henri Portier et Cie," which was until then only specialising in the import of silk from East Asia. Other distinguished dealers that acquired objects from the Manos sale were Charles Vignier (1863-1934), Joseph Logé (1874-1922), and Léon Wannieck (1875-1931). Additionally, Perret-Vibert, La Maison des Bambous, a company that dealt in Asian objects and furniture in the style of Japonerie and Chinoiserie, purchased a pair of *famille rose* vases, which fetched 2120 francs,[131] the highest price achieved at the auction. Ernest Le Véel (1874-1951), a dealer who supplied and advised esteemed collectors such as Gonse, Gillot, Vever, and Koechlin, was also among the successful bidders. The high attendance of dealers can be attributed not only to their intent to stock their businesses but also to the role they often assumed as agents for their esteemed clientele. This approach was particularly favoured by renowned private collectors, who were aware that their presence in the auction hall could significantly raise the bids and thus preferred to have a dealer act on their behalf.[132] Nevertheless, several prominent collectors attended in person, such as and François Poncetton (1875-1950), known for his collection of sword guards, and Henri Moser (1844-1923), a Swiss industrialist known for his expeditions in Central Asia—his involvement in the Manos sale will be further examined in Chapter 2.

Special attention also merits the participation of women collectors in the auction. One of them was Madame Lascelle de Basily (née Meserve, (1887-1973)), wife of Nicolas de Basily (1883-1963), who amassed a significant collection now housed at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Crucial to expanding the Greek presence within the European collecting landscape, is the involvement of Argine Salvago (née Benaki, 1883-1972) in the Manos sale. Argine (fig. 30), daughter of Emmanuel Benakis (1843-1929) and sister of Antonis Benakis (1873-1954), the art collector and later founder of the Benaki Museum in Athens, is primarily known for her fascination with Islamic art. However, a photograph showing the sumptuous interior of her villa in Alexandria (fig. 31), features a globular Chinese bottle vase on a wooden stand, possibly a *guan* ware, illuminating Argine's interest in collecting East Asian objects. Records of sales also attest to this. Particularly in 1903, she entered the Parisian public auctions as a buyer, acquiring ten Asian objects for 1429 francs.[133] In March 1912, society columns in French press

[131] Equivalent to €7593,07 and £6409,93.
[132] Bawin, *Le japonisme en Belgique a travers les collections de Hans de Winiwarter (1875-1949)*, 165-66.
[133] Equivalent to €6397 and £5401. Léa Saint-Raymond, "Les collectionneurs d'art asiatique à Paris (1858-1939): Une analyse socio-économique [Collectors of Asian Art in Paris (1858-1939): A Socio-Economic Analysis]," in *À la croisée de collections d'art entre Asie et Occident du XIXe siècle à nos jours [At the Crossroads of Art Collections between Asia and the West from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day]*, ed. Marie Laureillard and Cléa Patin (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose Nouvelles Editions/Éditions Hémosphères, 2019).

report her presence in Paris, while the records of sales document her participation in the auction of the Manos collection, where she enriched her collection with Ming and Qing porcelains as well as with a few Japanese lacquered and cloisonné objects. Only the name "Salvago" appears in the procès-verbaux, however, it is unlikely that this reference corresponds to any other member of the family. As Elizabeth Emery has argued, the invisibility of women in the public and legal record has obscured their active roles as agents in the marketplace for Asian art.[134] This transfer of objects through auction sales not only highlights the cosmopolitan nature of Greek bourgeois society and the intricate social networks at the time but also emphasises the diverse motivations and interests that shaped their collections.

Regarding the profits of the sales, the *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* reported that the series of the 1912 sales concluded with a total sum of approximately 135,000 francs.[135] However, this figure refers to the auction proceeds and does not approach Manos' actual earnings. Upon a comprehensive examination of the procès-verbaux, meticulously maintained at the Archives de Paris, it is possible to determine the financial gains accrued by Manos from the Parisian auctions of his collection conducted in the years 1912 and 1913.[136] The total proceeds for Manos amounted to 65,426.75 francs,[137] with the distribution across the five relevant months as follows: February 1912: 17,456.55 francs, March 1912: 16,796.45 francs, April 1912: 17,925.55 francs, May 1912: 2384.45 francs, December 1913: 10,864.10 francs. It is important to note that this total has been arrived at after accounting for various commissions, fees, and sundry expenses, including those associated with transportation, distribution of the catalogues, etc. To understand the mechanics of the auction system and shed light on the calculation of the consignor's profit, I will take as an example the auction session realised in February 1912. Initially, the estimated value of the objects up for sale was assessed at 36,744.50 French francs. However, the final proceeds from the auction amounted to 30,186.50 francs, of which 17,456.55 francs constituted the portion allocated to the collector. Manos received approximately 58% of the final sale earnings.

It is noteworthy that the final auction session of the year 1912, held on May 31, featured a significant number of *ukiyo-e* prints and yielded disappointing results as the majority of the lots were bought-in,

---

[134] Elizabeth Emery, *Reframing Japonisme: Women and the Asian Art Market in Nineteenth-century France, 1853-1914* (London; New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 54.
[135] It is worth noting that not all auctions held in 1912 were featured in the *Bulletin* and, therefore, it can be assumed that the Manos collection sale was deemed significant enough to warrant mention. "Revue des ventes: Collection de son Exc. M. Manos 1re partie; Collection de son Exc. M. Manos 2e partie," *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* (March 1912): 168-69. "Revue des ventes: Vente Manos III; Vente Manos IV," *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* (June 1912): 144-45.
[136] Information regarding the records of sale of the German auction is not included here.
[137] Equivalent to €234,334 and £195,619. The monetary conversion was made possible through the official website of the Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, taking into consideration the financial erosion due to inflation. Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, Convertisseur franc-euro, https://www.insee.fr/fr/information/2417794 (accessed September 30, 2024).

meaning that they were left unsold and consequently remained the property of Manos (fig. 25a, 25b).[138] Several factors determine whether an auction lot will be acquired or not, including its quality, rarity, provenance, condition, its novelty to the market, and the auction house's efforts to promote the work to potential buyers.[139] To be more precise, although the initial estimate for the *ukiyo-e* amounted to 2436 francs, the sale eventually produced 828 francs, for only 16 out of the total 225 lots were purchased. This outcome is indicative of certain tendencies in the Parisian art market. Firstly, it demonstrates a decline in the demand for Japanese woodblock prints during the early twentieth century. Secondly, it suggests that the prints Manos offered for sale were of a rather ordinary nature and thus no longer appealing to Japonisant buyers who had already assembled extensive collections of *ukiyo-e*.

However, it seems that after this unsuccessful attempt, Manos recognised where to find the appropriate audience for his woodblock prints. Specifically, in May 1913, he auctioned a fragment of his collection—predominantly *ukiyo-e*—in Munich (fig. 26), under the direction of the prominent German art dealer, Hugo Helbing (1863-1938) (fig. 27). Munich was one of the main centres for the Asian art trade in Germany, and particularly the 1913 auction of Manos' collection was the only one that year where all the lots featured Asian art.[140] The collector's strategic decision proved prescient, as these woodcuts aligned more favourably with the demand in the German market at the time and the majority of the prints were successfully sold. One of the frequently recurring names of buyers in the catalogue is Kleemann, likely referring to Georg Kleemann (1863-1932), a professor of design at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Arts and Crafts) in Pforzheim and one of the most influential jewellery designers of his time.[141] Kleemann's works drew inspiration from Japanese art and particularly from the natural world, featuring motifs such as plants, animals, and insects. By the early twentieth century, most German collectors had come to realise that they had entered the field of East Asian art collecting relatively late. One notable exception was Justus Brinckmann (1843-1915), director of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Museum of Arts and Crafts) in Hamburg, who was the first to recognise the significance of Japanese art and began assembling an extensive collection early on.[142] Brinckmann also embraced the methods of the newly institutionalised discipline of art history, promoting the concept of Kunstwissenschaft, which sought to

[138] Minute quote D.42E^3 122, Archives de Paris.
[139] Audrey Wang, *Chinese Antiquities: An Introduction to the Art Market* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Lund Humphries, 2012), 145.
[140] Bommert, "On the Relevance and Potential of Auction Catalogues as Sources for Art Market Research on Asian Art".
[141] Ewa Kamińska, "The European Encounters with Japanese Art: Germany as a Case Study" (paper presented at the Comparative Studies on Urban Cultures: Compilation of Papers and Seminar Proceedings, 2009), 19.
[142] Brinckmann's network included prominent dealers, such as Siegfried Bing and Hayashi Tadamasa, as well as collectors like Ernst Große, Gustav Jacoby (1857-1921), and Ernst Arthur Vorsetzsch (1868-1965).

advance scientific enquiry, particularly with a focus on non-European cultures.[143] Manos' auction definitely benefited from this intellectual and market context.

It is important to note that Manos did not only become a consignor in the field of East Asian art. In November 1912, he also sold his collection of European paintings in Munich. The sales catalogue published by the Helbing auction house is the only piece of evidence that testifies to this side of Manos' collecting activities. The Greek diplomat never referred to the European artworks in his possession, neither in correspondence nor in other archival sources. The auction featured a wide range of 186 works by Italian, English, German, and Dutch masters, covering a broad time framework; however, a significant number of them seems to be copies. The two works that reached the highest bids were attributed to Johannes Lingelbach (1622-1674), depicting a scene with peasants outside a tavern (1260 marks) (fig. 32) and Édouard Dubufe (1819-1883), with *The Portrait of a Lady* (880 marks) (fig. 33).[144] Moreover, *The Temptation of St Anthony* (fig. 34), attributed to Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450-1516), was bought for 480 marks by the prominent Munich art dealer Julius Böhler (1860-1934). What appears to have been one of the most important and valuable paintings of the sale was a pair of two wooden panels (probably a portable altarpiece or part of an altarpiece's predella) by a Tyrolean master, depicting St Paul and St Peter alongside bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg and Anthony the Great (fig. 35). This is the only painting whose provenance is provided; it previously belonged to the collection of Dietrich Friedrich von und zu Brenken (1850-1927), who probably inherited it from his father. The Brenken family originated from Wewer, Westphalia and was well-known for its collecting endeavours. It is documented that similar panels from Brenken's collection surfaced in the market between 1904 and 1906.[145] While the traces of both panels have been lost, they offer insight into an unknown aspect of Manos' early life as a collector, when his efforts aligned with the bourgeois taste for paintings by European old masters.

As Manos' collecting interests shifted toward East Asian objects, he became an active participant in public auctions and, as a consignor, placed on the market items he deemed non-essential to the thoroughness of his collection for two consecutive years. While his role as a consignor has been examined, the following section will focus on Manos' activities as a buyer within the European market for Japanese and Chinese objects, highlighting his efforts to expand his network.

---

[143] The expansion of private collections paralleled the advancement of scholarship, which was cultivated through works such as Woldemar von Seidlitz's (1850-1922) *Geschichte des Japanischen Farbholzschnitts* [*History of the Japanese Colour Woodblock Prints*] (1897), Friedrich Perzyński's (1877-1965) *Hokusai* (1902), and Justus Brinckmann and Otto Kümmel's *Das Kunstgewerbe in Japan* [*The Decorative Arts in Japan*] (1911).

[144] This painting appeared in the "Auction 302: Old Masters & 19th Century Art" conducted by the Karl and Faber auction house on June 16, 2021, and was sold for €7500. Karl & Faber, "Édouard Dubufe, Portrait of a Lady," https://www.karlundfaber.de/en/auctions/302/old-masters-19th-century-art/3020124/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

[145] Museum of Fine Arts Boston, "Saints Matthias and Matthew," https://collections.mfa.org/objects/31323 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Manos as a Buyer

Following his relocation to Paris, Manos considerably increased the number of objects in his already extensive collection and dedicated his time to filling any voids he could find.[146] Reflecting on the character of the collection which encompasses a wide range of items and covers a broad historical spectrum, both from Japan and China, it seems rather possible that during his Paris years Manos strived to assemble a complete and comprehensive whole. This practice of his could be perceived through Susan Pearce's notion of systematic collecting, a process that is based upon principles of organisation.[147] Therefore, the collector's objective was not directed towards a mere accumulation of items, but rather towards a well-considered selection of objects, which would eventually find their place among all the others and create a cohesive ensemble, a complete narrative. Classification became a determining aspect of the collecting practice since the objects entered a new reality and a new form of relationship with one another. Manos composed three catalogues in French, where he provided a comprehensive analysis of each object, detailing its material, decorative features, and symbolic significance.[148] He also addressed the style and relevant terminology, offered a chronological attribution, and included references to the artist, seals, and signatures associated with the piece. When uncertain about a particular detail, he left sections of an entry blank or marked them with "??," reflecting both his ongoing scholarly enquiry and his positivist belief a complete identification of the collection. According to Pearce, this constitutes an intellectual act, aiming to illustrate a point.[149] While it is rather possible that Manos initially adopted an accumulative method, driven by the excitement of acquiring new objects, he later followed a more systematic approach. The fact that he made a selection and eventually offered numerous objects for sale further attests to this practice.

Manos' collecting activities commenced in the late nineteenth century, as indicated by an index card where he documented the purchase of an *inrō* from the sale of the Goncourt collection in 1897 for 40 francs.[150] However, his participation in the market for Japanese and Chinese objects would be characterised by an even greater fervour during the following decades. Given that the heyday of large galleries and art shops, such as those established by Hayashi and Bing, declined between 1895 and 1905,[151] it is reasonable that Manos became actively involved in public auctions. The period during which

---

[146] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 10.
[147] Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995), 268-69.
[148] Karamanou, "Gregorios Manos and the Museum of Asian Art," 29.
[149] Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*.
[150] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 13.
[151] Josef Kreiner, "Some Remarks on Japanese Collections in Europe," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. I: Reports from the Toyota-Foundation-Symposium, Königswinter 2003*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 24.

he engaged in serious and systematic collecting can be traced between 1902 and 1927, with the MATK suggesting that between 1902 and 1918 he expanded the collection by at least eleven-fold.[152] To gain a deeper insight into Manos' role as a buyer, I conducted research at the Archives de Paris, where I examined several procès-verbaux (records of sales), dating from the first decades of the twentieth century.[153] Therefore, I would argue that this expansion occurred after his relocation to Paris in 1910, and particularly after 1912, when the auction of a fragment of his collection provided him with the financial means to make more acquisitions. During the years of World War I, he abstained from bidding, as evidenced by the records of sales. The last auction he attended was in May 1914, a month before the outbreak of the war, while his activities resumed in 1919 and continued until 1927. As Manos belonged in the second generation of Japonisants, who began to form their collections during the mid-1880s or later, he benefitted from the advantageous circumstance of being able to obtain items from auctions that sold the collections of the first Japonisme enthusiasts, such as Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896), Charles Gillot, Siegfried Bing, and Raphaël Collin. Consequently, this led to a second wave of Japanese art collecting to gather force in Europe.[154]

Soon Manos began attending more and more public auctions, a role that demanded—and continues to demand—absolute dedication. To better understand the level of commitment required, it is essential to shed light on the function of the sales catalogue, the primary resource for frequent bidders. One of the main purposes of the sales catalogue is to attract the attention of potential buyers before an auction. To keep collectors and amateurs informed about upcoming sales, auction houses established subscription and mail-order systems.[155] Considering that Manos mainly attended auctions held at the Hôtel Drouot and possessed a substantial number of catalogues in his library, it is reasonable to infer that he subscribed to receive catalogues, allowing him to prepare for upcoming auctions and mark the objects he intended to acquire. Additionally, Manos would have visited pre-sale exhibitions at the Hôtel Drouot, where items were usually displayed a day before the auction. There, auctioneers and clerks were at the visitor's disposal to provide information on the objects and offer their estimates. The auction day itself was no less demanding. As Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) remarked in his essay "Unpacking my Library: A Talk about Collecting" (1931): "An auction requires yet another set of qualities in a collector. […] A man who wishes to participate at an auction must pay equal attention to the book [the object] and to his

[152] Karamanou, "Gregorios Manos and the Museum of Asian Art," 29.
[153] The selection of these fifty-six procès-verbaux was made based on the sales catalogues kept in Manos' archive.
[154] Ricard Bru i Turull, "The Mansana Collection. A Treasury of Japanese Art in Barcelona at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Japonisme* 2, no. 5 (2020): 188.
[155] Bawin, *Le japonisme en Belgique a travers les collections de Hans de Winiwarter (1875-1949)*, 163.

competitors, in addition to keeping a cool enough head to avoid being carried away in the competition."[156]

In 1913, Manos emerged as one of the most prominent and active buyers in the Parisian world of public auctions, acquiring 72 lots in total i.e. 72 single objects and arrangements of objects, and spending more than 1238 francs.[157] Those who exceeded him in total purchases were experts and connoisseurs with a dominant presence in the art market: André Portier (213 lots, 10,194 francs), Joseph Logé (111 lots, 3021 francs), and Charles Vignier (99 lots, 4601 francs). It is worth noting that these three individuals were dealers, procuring objects primarily to supply their businesses but also to act as agents for their clients. Portier, simultaneously an expert, collector, and dealer of Asian artifacts, had established his presence in the field since 1909, dominating the Parisian auctions of Japanese and Chinese objects even during the interwar period. Joseph Logé, similarly, was not only a collector of Asian objects but also an appraiser, with his name frequently appearing as a contributor in many Parisian auction catalogues. Charles Vignier was another key figure in the Parisian collecting circles and a significant art dealer specialising in Japanese woodblock prints. Manos, on the other hand, seems to have been in the hunt for new objects that would complete his collection.

The majority of the lots, specifically 50 out of the 72, that the Greek collector purchased in 1913 consisted of *ukiyo-e* prints and were acquired from a single sale, that of Charles Bermond's (unknown dates) collection.[158] For those single prints and albums, Manos spent 1187 francs in total,[159] while the most expensive ones were works by early *ukiyo-e* masters, such as Komai Yoshinobu (active about 1765-1770), who were active during Suzuki Harunobu's (1724-1770) era. Manos' acquisitions are noteworthy given that, during the first decades of the twentieth century, many collectors redirected their focus towards other categories of objects, particularly of Chinese origin. This shift was largely prompted by the challenges in the *ukiyo-e* market, as Japan not only halted the supply of woodblock prints to European

---

[156] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 2015), 65.

[157] Equivalent to €4434 and £3701. Léa Saint-Raymond, "La création sémantique de la valeur. Les ventes aux enchères d'objets chinois à Paris (1858-1939) [The Semantic Creation of Value: Auctions of Chinese Objects in Paris (1858-1939)]," in *Chine France - Europe Asie. Itinéraires de concepts [China France - Europe Asia: Pathways of Concepts]*, ed. Michel Espagne and Li Hongtu (Paris: Editions Rue d'Ulm, 2018). Annex of the article: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/G96SRI (accessed September 30, 2024).
Léa Saint-Raymond's study, "Les ventes aux enchères d'objets asiatiques à Paris entre 1858 et 1913," reveals various aspects of the Parisian art market for Asian objects and sheds light into the individuals who actively participated in the auctions that took place in the French capital. Through an examination focused on the procès-verbaux of auctions that featured Japanese and Chinese objects, Saint-Raymond conducted a sampling analysis covering the period from 1872 to 1913, with a particular focus on the years 1903 and 1913. The purpose of this analysis was to compile a list of the most prolific buyers, detailing the number of items acquired and the total amount spent.

[158] Minute quote D.42E^{3} 125, Archives de Paris.

[159] Equivalent to €4251 and £3548.

dealers but also began purchasing *ukiyo-e* back.[160] Consequently, as availability became limited, the prices escalated. In light of these circumstances, it is understandable why Manos, who consistently maintained a dedication to woodblock prints, made numerous acquisitions from that single auction of Bermond's collection. However, it is important to note that while the prices of *ukiyo-e* had risen compared to previous years, they still did not attain the high market value of other objects, such as paintings and bronzes. Hence, the amount Manos spent was not as high as that of other auction participants. For example, in the same year (1913), Wannieck paid 1728 francs for significantly fewer lots that Manos, only six in total.[161]

Apart from *ukiyo-e*, Manos' purchases reflect a growing passion for Japanese pottery, which generally defined the collecting taste during the early twentieth century. Stoneware and earthenware, especially tea bowls and tea caddies, crafted for *chanoyu* (tea ceremony) practices became extremely popular and were met with great enthusiasm upon their arrival in Europe. Basil Chamberlain (1850-1935) characteristically remarked in 1902: "Few things have excited more interest among collectors of Japanese curios than the *cha-no-yu*, or tea ceremonies, of which so many of the highly prized little "japanosities" in their collections are in one way or another the implements."[162] This becomes evident from the acquisitions Manos made that same year at the sale of Hayashi Tadamasa's collection; [163] four ceramic pieces, particularly *chaire* (tea caddies or containers for powdered tea) of the Izumo, Higo, and Satsuma style, which fetched between 45 to 87 francs.[164] Before the 1800s, the kilns of these three regions were renowned for producing fine tea wares with crackle patterns and monochrome glazes, inspired by Korean models.[165] Especially the description of the Satsuma *chaire* covered in a "yellow-brown glaze spreading in irregular flowing forms" reflects the early pieces of this pottery style, known as Ko-Satsuma (old Satsuma). Such glazes were confined to utensils employed in *chanoyu*, for their simplicity and *wabi-sabi* qualities were highly appreciated and praised by tea masters.[166] However, these Ko-Satsuma wares had nothing in common with the Meiji era Satsuma export wares, produced to cater to the European and American taste.

---

[160] Bawin, *Le japonisme en Belgique a travers les collections de Hans de Winiwarter (1875-1949)*, 184.
[161] Saint-Raymond, "Le pari des enchères," 1017.
[162] Basil Chamberlain, *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan for the Use of Travellers and Others* (London; Yokohama: J. Murray; Kelly & Walsh, 1902), 450.
[163] The auction took place at the Hôtel Drouot after the dealer's death and featured thousands of objects, even some that had previously been exhibited at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris. Siegfried Bing, *Dessins, estampes, livres illustrés du Japon réunis par T. Hayashi* (Paris: S. Bing, 1902).
[164] Equivalent to €201 to €389 and £167 to £324. Minute quote D48E^3 85, Archives de Paris.
[165] Hugo Munsterberg, *Zen & Oriental Art* (Rutland, Vt: C.E. Tuttle Co, 1965), 98.
[166] Frank Brinkley, *Description of a Collection of Japanese, Chinese and Korean Porcelain, Pottery and Faience: Made by Captain F. Brinkley* (New York: Edward Greey, 1890), 30.

Although the appearance of typical Satsuma pieces in International Exhibitions generated excitement among the general public, prominent French collectors did not hold a high regard for these export wares characterised by excessively ornate designs. Instead, their taste leaned towards pottery and implements of the tea ceremony (fig. 36, 37), shifting away from the aesthetic values of the early nineteenth century that placed porcelain on a pedestal.[167] Therefore, in their pursuits to acquire both knowledge and high-quality pieces, collectors relied on Ninagawa Noritane's (1835-1882) *Kanko zusetsu* (1876-1878) as their primary source of information on Japanese pottery. Ninagawa was a prominent archaeologist and scholar of Japanese art, who worked for the Meiji government, specifically for the Museum Bureau of the Ministry of Education, where he contributed to the founding of the present-day Tokyo National Museum.[168] When composing *Kanko zusetsu*, a seven-volume series, he had a dual purpose: firstly, to preserve the culture of "old Japan" during a period of severe modernisation and westernisation, and secondly, to disseminate knowledge to Western collectors. Covering a broad time framework, he presented pottery from the earliest periods of Japanese history leading up to esteemed potters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Nonomura Ninsei (active c. 1646-1694) and Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743). Ninsei and Kenzan are considered two of the three great Kyoto potters, along with Aoki Mokubei (1767-1833), whose works became especially sought-after in Europe.[169]

In 1913, Manos purchased a *kobako* (incense container) in the shape of a waterfowl (fig. 38), marked "Ninsei."[170] A similar tea utensil in the style of Ninsei, in the form of a goose, can be found in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum (fig. 39). The life story of this object in Manos' collection appears to have unfolded as follows: the waterfowl *kobako* was made by Ninsei in Kyoto during the mid-seventeenth century to be employed in tea ceremonies. Ninsei, the founder of *Kyo-yaki* (Kyoto ware), distinguished himself for the production of tea wares as well as for ceramic vessels that mimicked other objects or animals, thereby pioneering a new trend in pottery (fig. 40). His innovative approach involved devising techniques to transform ceramics into approximations of things whose shapes and aesthetics were previously foreign to the medium.[171] Then, the *kobako* likely found its first owners within a family, either of a warrior or a wealthy merchant, and was passed down through generations. With the advent of the modernising Meiji era and the subsequent emergence of the Japonisme phenomenon, this incense container was sold and probably came into the hands of a Japanese art dealer in the late nineteenth century. Incense containers, unknown within the European setting, piqued the interest of travellers and

[167] Yūko Imai, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics," *Japan Review* 16, no. 16 (2004): 117.
[168] Tokyo National Museum, "Speaking to the Future Series: Historical Records Compiled by Museum Founder, Ninagawa Noritane," https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=626&lang=en (accessed September 30, 2024).
[169] Frank Feltens, *Ogata Kōrin: Art in Early Modern Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), 139.
[170] Minute quote D48E^3 94, Archives de Paris.
[171] Feltens, *Ogata Kōrin: Art in Early Modern Japan*, 139.

collectors who encountered them. Shortly after, the waterfowl was purchased by a Frenchman, Louis Gouilloud (unknown dates), who had settled in Yokohama as a silk merchant as early as 1889.[172] Gouilloud eventually returned to France—it is unclear when exactly—and in 1913, auctioned off the collection (or a fragment thereof) he had assembled during his time in Japan. Manos participated in this sale and among other things, all related to the Japanese tea ceremony, he acquired the waterfowl for 13 francs.[173]

The price disparity between ceramics from the Hayashi and Gouilloud auctions is likely associated with provenance. Pieces from the esteemed Hayashi collection commanded higher prices, whereas those from the relatively unknown collector Gouilloud were less costly. As the desire among collectors and scholars for a systematic, art historical understanding of Japanese art grew in both Japan and Europe, ceramic objects began to be recognised as works of art rather than merely as collectibles.[174] Consequently, dealers had to follow this market shift and raise their prices. Collectors would encounter high and unprecedented prices when acquiring objects from prominent dealers such as Siegfried Bing or Yamanaka & Co., whereas at auctions, they could still find relatively affordable pieces, albeit sometimes of questionable quality. This occurred as Japan entered the global market and offered a wide range of ceramics to Europe, including authentic works by Japanese craftsmen, forgeries, and mass-produced pieces of lower quality. When collectors became aware of this new reality, they turned their attention to Chinese and Korean art.

As collectors' frustration with the Japanese ceramics market increased, a rekindled interest in Chinese art emerged, particularly for the recently unearthed pottery pieces that were significantly more affordable. The rapid political upheaval ignited by the 1911 Xinhai Revolution (which marked the demise of the Qing dynasty) in China resulted in the sale of valuable objects by former high-ranking officials and aristocrats, making Chinese art more accessible and attractive to European collectors. The significance of Chinese art surfaced in scholarly and academic circles, prompting collectors previously focused solely on Japanese

[172] Louis Gouilloud settled in Yokohama as a silk merchant in 1889 and worked in this industry until 1906. In 1907 he was employed by Herbert Dent & Co., silk and tea inspectors and merchants, Yokohama. By 1911, his presence in Japan ceased to be recorded. In 1923, he is listed among the members of the Société franco-japonaise de Paris. At the time, he worked at the Banque franco-japonaise, which had been created in 1912 under the sponsorship of the French bank Société Générale. Meiji Portraits, "GOUILLOUD, Louis," http://www.meiji-portraits.de/meiji_portraits_g.html (accessed September 30, 2024). *The Oriental Annual for Merchants and Manufacturers 1902*, (Seattle, Washington: Oriental Annual Publishing Corporation, 1902), 273.

[173] Equivalent to €46,56 and £38.87. It is important to acknowledge that the authenticity of works bearing Ninsei's signature has been called into question, as numerous copies have circulated in the market since the late nineteenth century. Consequently, owing to insufficient documentation provided by the MATK, I regard this *kobako* as a work by Ninsei, albeit with some reservation.

[174] Akiko Takesue, "Private Collection as Collective Operation: Art Dealers' Impacts on the Formation of the Van Horne Japanese Ceramic Collection," *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2, no. 3 (2018), doi: 10.23690/jams.v2i3.58.

art to realise that China laid the foundation upon which Japanese artistic traditions were established.[175] This interest in Chinese art also emerged as a result of the extensive railway building in China, where excavations brought to light enormous numbers of new objects, primarily ceramics, that entered the market at considerably low prices. As early as 1907-1908, when Chavannes returned from his second archaeological mission in China, he introduced to the French public plaques, vases, and figurines from tombs dating to the Han period.[176] Moreover, Paul Pelliot's (1878-1945) explorations in Chinese Turkestan (modern Xinjiang), particularly at the Dunhuang caves, revealed for the first time the arts of the Tang dynasty and made things of old China fashionable. Dealers, such as C.T. Loo and Léon Wannieck, who specialised exclusively in early Chinese objects, supplied high-quality pieces to fit the new tastes. Of course, this opportunity could not have left Manos uninterested, who seems to have promptly reacted in order to acquire pieces from earlier Chinese dynasties.

Specifically, within Manos' archive, there are illustrated catalogues that served to promote the commodities available in Wannieck's shop. These reveal that Manos had transactions with the dealer and, particularly in 1911, purchased objects produced during the reign of earlier Chinese dynasties, the oldest being a funerary model in the form of a pigsty (fig. 41, 42) from the Eastern Han dynasty. Han upper-class individuals commissioned clay models of their houses and farm structures, hoping to live equally well in the afterlife. Funerary paraphernalia continued to accompany the dead in the following centuries and especially those originating from the Tang dynasty s.urfaced in excavations as China began to develop its railroad network during the early twentieth century. Soon after their appearance on the European market, Manos purchased such items, which were regarded as specimens of Chinese sculpture and appealed to collectors for their small size and affordable prices.[177] To further illuminate this topic and reflect on the new taste that was developed following their arrival in Europe, another object featured in the 1911 catalogue of Wannieck's business will be meticulously examined in Chapter 3.

Reflecting on Manos' acquisitions, it appears that one of his key criteria for collecting was the size of the objects. Likely having limited storage space, he refrained from purchasing large-scale pieces that would require extensive room for handling and preservation; instead, he favoured smaller items, which were more manageable and easier to transfer. To understand Manos' role as a buyer in the market for East Asian objects, I examined some of the most sought-after types of objects from Japan and China at the time. This analysis intended to cover the main tendencies that emerged during the early twentieth century in the collecting circles and networks Manos was associated with. However, there is more to be said and

[175] Masako Yamamoto Maezaki, "Innovative Trading Strategies for Japanese Art," in *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 233.
[176] Jean-Joseph Marquet de Vasselot, "Préface," in *Les collections de l'Extrême-Orient (Inde-Turkestan-Chine-Japon)* (Paris: Musées nationaux, 1929), ii.
[177] Minna Törmä, *Nordic Private Collections of Chinese Objects* (New York; London: Routledge, 2021), 95-96.

thus this subject will be further explored in Chapters 2 and 3 by focusing on specific case studies. Nevertheless, the collector's engagement with the public sphere extended beyond his participation in public auctions and his transactions with dealers; several items from his collection assumed additional roles when they were loaned to exhibitions that became landmarks in the history of Asian art in Europe.

Manos as a Lender

One of the highlights in Manos' life as a collector was his contribution to the annual exhibitions of Asian art that took place under the direction of Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac (1877-1932) at the Musée Cernuschi. As stated by Manos in the 1913 sales catalogue, in which he chose to remain anonymous, several Chinese textiles from his collection were loaned to the Musée Cernuschi. Although he does not provide any details regarding the date or the character of the exhibition, it appears that the collector referred to the *Exposition rétrospective d'art chinois*, organised in 1911, to bring together numerous objects from all periods of Chinese history (fig. 43).[178] This exhibition was conceived with the aim of fostering connections between the Musée Cernuschi and collectors and merchants of Asian art in Paris, as well as in Belgium and England.[179] A wide range of objects was put on display including jades, cloisonné, lacquers, textiles, Korean pottery, and an abundance of Chinese funerary figurines, *mingqi*, which made their second resonant appearance in Paris.

Manos participated in the exhibition by lending a diverse array of Chinese textiles, attributed from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. It is interesting to closely observe the descriptions of these pieces, which could potentially offer insights into their provenance and the way they ended up in Europe, particularly in France. Some noteworthy specimens include a set of "Buddhist banners from Fo-Kin (possibly Fujian), used for protection against the plague" as well as "a textile employed in ceremonies devoted to Guanyin, composed of several square embroidery pieces (ex-voto) offered by the worshippers."[180] Additionally, remarkable are "two triangular banners used by pirates in Kuan-Tung (Guangdong)" as well as a series of "eight Buddhist banners from the Chu-san islands (Zhejiang), employed by the agricultural communities and fishermen during spring and autumn processions to seek Buddha's protection for their crops and fishing endeavours."[181] The nature and qualities of these textiles would have held significant value within the context of an exhibition at the time, highlighting cultural

[178] This exhibition was not accompanied by a catalogue.
[179] Camille Bertrand, "Archives des expositions du musée Cernuschi de 1911 à 1929," *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2023), https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/872 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[180] André Portier, *Catalogue d'une collection d'objets d'art de la Chine et du Japon, appartenant à un ancien diplomate, céramique chinoise..., céramique japonaise, bronzes et émaux cloisonnés, bois sculptés et laques* (Paris: [s.n.], 1913), 50-51.
[181] Ibid. These objects do not appear in the procès-verbaux of the 1913 sale, indicating that Manos either decided to keep them in his collection or a buyer acquired them before the official auction session.

aspects of Chinese traditions. Their importance would also lie in their rarity, as comparable items are seldom found in collections assembled during that period.[182] The detailed descriptions and the precise locations provided by Manos himself exhibit a documentary function that seems to exceed an art collector's typical knowledge at the time. This leads to the conclusion that these specimens likely came into Manos' possession through someone who conducted ethnographic, anthropological, or archaeological research in China, possibly even a missionary.

Guangdong, Zhejiang, and Fujian are all coastal provinces in the south of China, bordering with each other. Mainly characterised by agricultural and fishing communities, these regions also developed textile manufacturing and mining as significant economic activities.[183] Since the sixteenth century, they were dominated by a strong European presence. The Jesuits established themselves firmly in China after many attempts, firstly in Macao in the 1560s and then in Guangdong in 1582.[184] The collecting interests of European missionaries focused on religious objects that reflected Chinese, particularly Buddhist, devotional practices, as well as traditional garments, ceremonial robes, and textiles used in ritual and cultural ceremonies. Missionaries were particularly interested in these items for their ethnographic value and can therefore be considered among the first and most important contributors to Sinology.[185] Nevertheless, these objects could be related to the incidents that took place in Guangzhouwan, the capital of Guangdong, after its ceding to France in 1898. The Chinese narrative describes this period in terms of massacre, plunder, and extermination perpetrated by the French. In contrast, French historiography emphasises the benefits that France purportedly brought to the region.[186] The French presence lasted for forty-three years, during which many Europeans settled in the region in various capacities, such as government envoys, embassy physicians, and tradesmen; these individuals could have travelled to neighbouring provinces and subsequently added the objects in question to their collections, possibly with the intention of sending them back to France.

Within this context, the textiles exhibited at the *Exposition rétrospective d'art chinois* can be regarded as a hybrid colonial product. Although the exact circumstances surrounding their acquisition remain unknown, they serve as representations of the activities associated with a period marked by European

[182] I am grateful to Helen Persson Swain, curator of fashion and Chinese textiles as well as fellow PhD student, for discussing these textiles with me and offering her insights into the availability of such pieces on the European market during the early twentieth century.
[183] Susan F. Martin, *A Nation of Immigrants* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 98.
[184] Paul Rule, "The Historiography of the Jesuits in China," ed. R. A. Maryks, *Jesuit Historiography Online* (Brill, 2016), doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192534.
[185] For instance, Père Louis Gaillard (1850-1900) was a French Jesuit missionary who studied Nankin and the tombs near it as well as the regions of Shandong (Yantai), and Guangdong (Pearl River). John C. Ferguson, *Survey of Chinese Art. Chapter II: Stone Monuments.* (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1939), 27.
[186] Mathilde Kang, *Francophonie and the Orient: French-Asian Transcultural Crossings (1840-1940),* trans. Martin Munro (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 68.

imperialist expansionary visions and colonialism. It becomes evident how this narrative was perpetuated, even if that was unintentional, through the 1911 exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi. Further attesting to this, an article published in *Excelsior* to announce the opening of the exhibition, remarked that François Dujardin-Beaumetz (1846-1919), a civil engineer with a deep interest in Chinese culture, wished to lend objects brought to France after the 1860 expeditions to China, which had since been housed at the Fontainebleau Palace;[187] a direct reference alluding to the plunder of Yuanmingyuan, the Summer Palace in Beijing, by French and British military forces at the end of the Second Opium War (1856-1860). Nevertheless, the author continued to articulate the aim of the exhibition, which was to open a window into the customs, the traditions, and the ancient civilisation of China by broadening the horizons of the visitors and immersing them in a charming, dreamy, and melancholic atmosphere.[188]

Manos' contribution did not conclude there, as he engaged in one of the following exhibitions, characterised by a particular thematic focus that reflected the gradual development of a scholarly discourse. Two years later, in 1913, he became a lender again, this time to the *Quatrième exposition des Arts de l'Asie. Art bouddhique*. This seminal exhibition for the history of Asian art in Europe featured a total of 695 works, the majority of which came from private collections located both within Paris and internationally. Some important collectors and dealers that participated were Raphaël Petrucci, Raymond Koechlin, Henri Vever, Florine Langweil (1861-1958), and Adolphe Worch (1843-1915). The exhibition presented objects from China, Japan, India, Tibet, and other countries of South-East Asia, for the first time shown within a specific framework, that of Buddhism (fig. 44). The theme reflected the 1910s surge of European interest in Buddhist art, stemming from the pivotal scholarly work, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (1909), undertaken by the French Sinologist Édouard Chavannes.[189] The exhibition also became an avenue for potential acquisitions from dealers and according to contemporary reviews, it is evident that it was well-received.[190] This success sparked an unparalleled enthusiasm for Buddhist art, particularly sculpture and ancient bronze vessels, in the French capital. Subsequently, the *Cinquième exposition des arts de l'Asie* in 1913-1914 further contributed to elevating the status of Chinese art and led to a big wave of collecting.[191]

---

[187] Andrien Oudin, "L'art Chinois au parc Monceau. L'exposition de Cernuschi. Un Musée que les Parisiens ignorent.," *Excelsior: journal illustré quotidien*, no. 174 (1911): 4.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Édouard Chavannes meticulously documented the great cave temples in China in over two hundred photographs.
[190] "Destinée à faire connaître la merveilleuse floraison plastique que provoqua la doctrine de CakyaMouni, l'exposition apporta au public d'admirables visions sur les dieux de bronze, de pierre ou de bois, sur leur image fixée de façon presque immatérielle sur quelque tissu précieux de tout l'amour du peintre pour son rêve." Lee, 66
[191] Stanley K. Abe, "Collecting Chinese Sculpture: Paris, New York, Boston," in *Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in association with Gutenberg Periscope Publishing, 2009), 436-38.

Nevertheless, Manos remained true to his identity as a Japonisant and participated in the exhibition by loaning five Japanese objects from his personal collection; a bronze and wooden sculpture of the Buddhist deity Marishiten,[192] a wooden sculpture of Bishamonten from the Kamakura period, a painted wooden sculpture of a priest from the Edo period, a painting of a Buddha ascribed to the Takuma School, and a *mandala kakemono* attributed to Kose Kanaoka (802?- 897?). Based on the brief description provided for each object, the latter two entries, both Buddhist paintings, stand out. Particularly, the Buddha detailed to be "standing haloed, in frontal position, the skin and drapes of the brown garment are golden [Takuma School],"[193] identifies with the painting of Amida Nyorai, today residing at the MATK (fig. 45). Amida Nyorai, the Buddha of Limitless Light, stands on a *fumiwake rengeza* (a variation of the lotus pedestal), consisting of two separate lotus pedestals. Although this pictorial work was ascribed to the Takuma-*ryū*, a renowned school of Buddhist painting founded in the late tenth century, contemporary analysis suggests that it was originally created during the sixteenth century. The feet, the background, and the lotus pods remain original, while the robe was retouched in the nineteenth century with cut gold foil, *kirikane*. In addition to these modifications, it was remounted in the Meiji era, as it was a common practice among dealers to attach paintings on new silk mountings in order to obscure their origin before exporting them.[194] Interestingly, the exact same fabric has been used for remounting another Amida Nyorai painting from the Manos collection (fig. 46), dating to the seventeenth century.[195] Evidently, both Buddhist images were retouched before leaving Japan and were subsequently purchased together by Manos.

Equally noteworthy is the entry about Kose Kanaoka's *mandala* painting, even in the absence of any accompanying visual reference. According to the summary catalogue of the exhibition, a certain Professor Takamori Bin (unknown dates) from Tokyo ascribed this *kakemono* on silk to Kose Kanaoka, the legendary Japanese painter, who is said to have been the founder of the *Yamato-e* school, the oldest school of painting in Japan.[196] His reputation was associated with portraits of Confucian scholars and works on Buddhist themes, while his renditions of horses were said to be so lifelike that they would animate and

---

[192] While the sculpture is classified as originating from Japan in the exhibition's catalogue raisonné, the sales catalogue of the Manos collection attributes it to China, specifically to the Ming dynasty.
[193] Victor Goloubew and Henri d' Ardenne de Tizac, *4e Exposition des arts de l'Asie. Art bouddhique. Catalogue sommaire Musée Cernuschi* (Paris: Impr. de V. Jacquemin, 1913), 80.
[194] Tanya Ueda, "Reuse and Recycling: Implications in Japanese Painting Conservation," *Ars Orientalis* 52 (2023), doi: https://doi.org/10.3998/ars.3994.; Johannes Wieninger, "Buddhist Objects in the MAK's Heinrich von Siebold Collection," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. V: With Especial Reference to Buddhist Art*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2016), 22.
[195] In this painting, the image of Amida, except for his hair, was repainted in the nineteenth century, while the clouds and the rays of light, made of applied cut gold foil, remain original. Although the painting style traces its roots to the Nanbokuchō or Muromachi period, the silk dates to the early Edo period. "Amitābha (J. Amida Nyorai)," *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections* (2016), https://aterui.ws.hosei.ac.jp/jbae/detail.php?id=GRC_MATK_KM5001%252F6028&page=0&no=0 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[196] Goloubew and Ardenne de Tizac, *4e Exposition des arts de l'Asie. Art bouddhique. Catalogue sommaire Musée Cernuschi*, 13.

escape from the paintings.[197] Nonetheless, it is highly unlikely that the attribution by the Japanese scholar is correct, as none of Kanaoka's paintings is known to have survived beyond the seventeenth century.[198] Therefore, the work of the Heian period court painter that was regarded with reverence both in Japan and Europe, can today only be understood to a limited extent through paintings created in the tradition named after him.

Japanese Buddhist Paintings and Icons in the Manos Collection

Around the turn of the century, possessing a painting attributed to the Kose School, and particularly to Kose Kanaoka himself, held considerable prestige within collecting circles. Although Basil Chamberlain remarked as early as 1890 in *Things Japanese* that there were scarcely any extant works executed by Kanaoka himself, this era saw the emergence of paintings that were regarded as genuine creations of the venerated Japanese master.[199] For instance, in 1902, the sale of Hayashi's collection featured a *kakemono* by Kanaoka that depicted Bodhisattva Jizō sitting on a lotus throne, valued at 100,000 francs.[200] Formerly in the possession of the Japanese dealer Wakai Kanesaburō (1834-1908), this hanging scroll made its way to Paris, presumably with the intention to be sold. It is known that throughout the 1880s Wakai acted as Hayashi's scout and supplied his business with objects from Japan; therefore, this *kakemono* serves as evidence of their longstanding collaboration. At the time of its appearance in Europe, Louis Gonse wrote in *L'art japonais*: "Some of his [Kanaoka's] works still exist and are carefully preserved in Japan. Mr Wakai [Kanesaburō] possesses an admirable *kakemono*, which he recently brought to Paris, and which was at the *Exposition d 'art ancien*, on rue de Sèze.[201] It is one of the rare pictures of Kanaoka, considered in Japan as an absolutely authentic. The others are preserved in some ancient temples in Kioto, Nara and the province of Bizen."[202] However, given that Gonse was significantly assisted by Wakai in the writing of his book, his views were probably biased and mediated by a perspective that favoured the painting's subsequent appearance on the market.[203]

---

[197] Joseph T. Sorensen, *Optical Allusions: Screens, Paintings, and Poetry in Classical Japan (ca. 800-1200)*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 51.
[198] Louis Frédéric, *Japan Encyclopedia*, trans. Käthe Roth, Harvard University Press Reference Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 562.
[199] Basil Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 4th ed. ed. (London: John Murray, 1902), 47.
[200] Equivalent to €447,704 and £373,727.
[201] Gonse refers to the *Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, which he organised in 1883. He persuaded Wakai to bring from Japan a set of *kakemono* supposedly dating prior to the Edo period, and exceptionally lent by Japanese collectors. However, what Gonse regarded as originals, particularly those attributed to Kanaoka, were in fact only later copies or pastiches. This is also confirmed by Ernest Fenollosa – yet his fiercest opponent. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *Review of the Chapter on Painting in Gonse's "L'Art Japonais"* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885).
[202] Louis Gonse, *Japanese Art* (Chicago: Belford-Clarke, 1891), 9.
[203] In fact, the *kakemono* in question, now housed in the Berlin Asian Art Museum, is no longer attributed to Kanaoka and its creator remains unidentified.

Moreover, Ernest Fenollosa, both in his *Review of the chapter on painting in Gonse's "L'Art Japonais*" (1885) and his book *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (1912) makes reference to specific paintings that were reckoned as authentic works by Kanaoka, excluding the abovementioned one. Notable examples are the portrait of "the Shotoku Taishi in Ninnaji, Kioto" as well as "the beautiful Monju formerly in Koyasan" (previously owned by Charles Freer (1854-1919) and today in the collection of the Smithsonian, National Museum of Asian Art).[204] Neither of these paintings is currently ascribed to the Japanese master of *Yamato-e*. Although scholarly discourse at the time rarely reached a unanimous decision regarding the authenticity of Kanaoka's works, collectors were keen on believing that they owned a unique and rare painting, therefore perpetuating the narrative. Also, it should be noted that most of these experts had limited exposure to actual Japanese paintings, having encountered only a handful in person, while their knowledge and understanding were predominantly shaped by black and white reproductions of paintings featured in contemporary publications. Therefore, it is no surprise that in certain cases their opinions do not align with current scholarly perspectives, which are hesitant to attribute any extant works to Kanaoka.[205]

Regardless of the *kakemono's* identity, its recognition as a creation by Kanaoka was perceived as evidence of its exceptional quality by the audience of that time. For a collector like Manos, who had never travelled outside Europe, there were scarce opportunities to purchase paintings of this nature. Therefore, it appears rather plausible that the *mandala kakemono* was acquired from the 1909 sale of Heinrich von Siebold's collection in Vienna, which indeed included works allegedly by Kanaoka. Particularly, the "Au Mikado" advertisement provides details on individual objects featured in the sale: "[…] two "hanging pictures (*kakemono*)," one of which depicted "Nirvana, the Buddhist heaven" and the other, "the oldest of the pictures [...] painted by Kanaoka in the year 870."[206] However, the possibility that the painting was acquired through a different route cannot be dismissed. In fact, Heinrich not only acted as an advisor and supplier for Viennese museums and institutions but is also known to have sold Japanese objects of great significance to the Paris-based dealer Siegfried Bing; a notable example is the Buddhist statues from the Tokugawa mausoleum.[207] Transactions with other dealers and merchants are therefore plausible, expanding the range of sources from where Manos could have originally purchased the *kakemono*.

The religious transformation and the fall of the *shōgunate* after the establishment of the Meiji Government marked a favourable circumstance for foreigners like Siebold to obtain several high quality

[204] Fenollosa, *Review of the Chapter on Painting in Gonse's "L'Art Japonais"*, 7.
[205] Evett, *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe*, 14.
[206] Girmond, "Heinrich von Siebolds letzte Sammlung," 33.
[207] Wereldmuseum, "Amida Nyorai, De Hemelse Boeddha [Amida Nyorai, The Heavenly Buddha]," https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/?query=search=packages=OnViewRV#/query/88a9b1e4-982a-45c5-8952-709a5dd0a978 (accessed September 30, 2024).

objects and Buddhist paintings, such as the one in question.[208] Regarding the scattering of Japanese paintings in Japan, Raphaël Petrucci offered some interesting insights in 1912 by remarking that according to the *Lives of Celebrated Japanese Painters*,[209] in the first years of the Meiji, the legendary collection of Hori Naotada (1836-1880), *daimyō* of Hori, was dispersed, leading to the unfortunate loss of several valuable paintings, including a Jōdo *mandala* by Kose Kanaoka.[210] This reference holds a noteworthy significance in understanding the circumstances under which Buddhist images ended up in the hands of European collectors. Specifically, most *mandala* and Buddhist paintings that entered European museum collections in the early twentieth century originated from the efforts of individuals such as Heinrich von Siebold (Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna) and Adolf Fischer (Museum of East Asian Art in Cologne), as they were among the few whose interests extended beyond the ordinary. Thereafter, their journey often continued in private hands. For instance, numerous Japanese Buddhist paintings brought to Europe by Siebold also appeared in the auction of the Kiss collection in 1910. Egon Ernest Kiss (unknown dates) was a man of Hungarian origin, who resided in Paris, and had assembled an impressive collection of objects from Central Asia, Siberia, Mongolia, China, and Japan.[211] Although the catalogue of the Kiss sale is featured in Manos' library, the Greek collector did not make any purchases on that occasion.

It is highly unlikely to trace the provenance of this painting, allegedly by Kanaoka, particularly because a work matching the description does not appear within the MATK's collection today. Interestingly though, another *kakemono* in the Manos collection, previously owned by Siebold, illuminates the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of Buddhist paintings during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe. Specifically, the Greek collector acquired this pre-1720 mandala, representing the deity Butsugen Butsumo (literally "Buddha-eye, Buddha-mother"), who crushes ignorance and perceives the essence of all things (fig. 47). The painting was listed within the sales catalogues of the Manos collection, which occurred both in 1912 in Paris and 1913 in Munich. However, it remained unsold upon its appearance on the art market and consequently stayed in Manos' collection. The long inscription on its

---

[208] This is also indicated by the fact that solely his donations to the Viennese Imperial and Royal Court Museum of Natural History in 1888 included 1071 paintings on silk or paper, 255 of which were of religious nature, presumably Buddhist. Johannes Wieninger, "Die Sammlungen Heinrich von Siebolds in Wien [The Collections of Heinrich von Siebold in Vienna]," in *200 Jahre Siebold: Die Japansammulngen Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold [200 Years of Siebold: The Japanese Collections of Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold]* (Tokyo: Doitsu Nihon Kenkyūjo, 1996), 205.

[209] *The Lives of Celebrated Japanese Painters* was composed by Hori Naotada himself and Kurokawa Harumura (1799-1866), a scholar specialising in ancient Japanese thought and culture, and professor at a Wagakukōdansho.

[210] Raphaël Petrucci, "Chronique d'archéologie Extrême-Orientale [Chronicle of Far Eastern Archaeology]," *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, March 1, 1912, 121.

[211] Egon Ernest Kiss came from a noble family. One of his ancestors, Ernest Kiss of Ellemér and Ittebe (1799-?), owned a palace in Ellemér where he housed "Greek, Roman, and other antiquities of great value, besides two beautiful large Chinese vases, which [he] had received as a present from the Emperor Nicholas." Richard Gelich, *The Hungarian Generals of the War 1848-1849: Historical and Biographical Sketches with Portraits of the Most Distinguished Generals* (London: Franz Thim, 1855), 52.

rear identifies the painter as Soun (unknown dates), who had been granted the title *hokkyō*, an originally Buddhist rank that came to be bestowed on artists of great distinction. The painting was donated for the prosperity of the eighth *daimyō* of the Asō domain in the region of Hitachi, Shinjō Naosuke (born 1692 and ruled 1708-1735), under the auspices of the grand abbot Yūga (possible reading).[212] Its provenance details in the 1913 sales catalogue also add that "the painting came into the possession of Herr von Siebold from the collection of Prince Suragano Kami. (Statement of the owner)."[213] *Suruga-no-kami* was the courtesy title of Shinjō Naosuke, but it is impossible that the painting went directly from him to Siebold, as their lifespans did not overlap. Feudal lords amassed large collections of objects that usually passed from generation to generation, therefore, it is rather possible that this *mandala* came into Siebold's hands with the abolition of the Asō domain in 1871 (today known as Ibaraki prefecture), when the Shinjō clan lost its power and fortune.

Mandala of Esoteric Buddhism typically appear in pairs; particularly, *Butsugen mandala* were paired with Womb Realm *mandala*, representing the Inner Shrine. However, the painting in the Manos collection was separated from its pair, which is likely housed in another European collection. It is noteworthy that the only other *Butsugen mandala* existing in a European museum collection originates from Heinrich von Siebold's 1892 donation to the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna (fig. 48).[214] Considering that Siebold assembled his collection with an ethnographic aim, the acquisition of these paintings appears to have intrigued him primarily as a means of documenting the cultural and religious expressions conveyed through them, rather than as a reflection of the Japanese creative spirit and pictorial tradition. As it entered the Manos collection, the *mandala kakemono* probably represented a distant epoch of Japanese history, imbued with mysterious connotations where religion and luxury were intertwined. A limited number of *mandala* were acquired in Europe since collectors mostly liked images of Bodhisattvas, wisdom kings, and devas; featuring unfamiliar iconographic types, such as golden-coloured bodies, angry facial expressions, creatures with many faces and many upper arms, these images significantly differentiated from Chistian icons and satisfied collectors who desired typical Japanese and Buddhist objects.[215] This is also echoed in the collection of Buddhist paintings assembled by Manos, where the

[212] Research Center of International Japanese Studies of the Hosei University and Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies of the University of Zurich, "Butsugen Butsumo Mandala," *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections*, https://aterui.ws.hosei.ac.jp/jbae/detail.php?id=GRC_MATK_KM5166%252F6257&page=0&no=0#maindata02_content (accessed September 30, 2024).
[213] Hugo Helbing, *Japanische Farbholzschnitte, Gemälde - Handzeichnungen - Bücher: Ferner einige indische Miniaturen aus bekanntem süddeutschen Privatbesitz und aus dem Besitze Sr. Exz. Herrn Gregor Manos, Paris [Japanese woodcuts, paintings-drawings-books: Also some Indian miniatures from well-known South German private collections and from the collection of His Excellency Mr. Gregor Manos, Paris]* (Munich: Auktionshaus Hugo Helbing, 1913), 18.
[214] This observation is based on the information from the *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections* database.
[215] Kuchii Tomoko, "Characteristics of Collections of Japanese Buddhist Paintings in Europe," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European*

most commonly encountered deities are Amida Nyorai, Fudō Myōō (fig. 49), and Kannon (fig. 50). Reflecting on the available body of scholarship and the image of Buddhism that was shaped during that period, Manos, like many of his contemporaries, was not able of appreciating the religious merit of the Buddhist paintings in his collection. Therefore, the painting underwent another transformation and entered a different system of value the moment it acquired the status of a commodity with a defined monetary worth.

Indeed, no publications specifically addressing Buddhism or Japanese religion were available at the time. When scholars did show interest in Buddhism, their focus was primarily on its philosophical aspects, rather than the material objects associated with it. Therefore, the formation of collections that encompassed Buddhist items and the spread of Buddhist philosophy have progressed independently from one another.[216] Scholars like Fenollosa, who engaged with Buddhist painting and had the opportunity to witness them in Japan, approached Buddhist art in a purely stylistic manner, offering little consideration of its intended functions or the responses it elicited. Consequently, the European perception of Buddhist images at the time should be regarded within a framework of aestheticisation that paralleled Asian paintings (and sculpture) with Western categories and styles.[217] For instance, a work ascribed to Kanaoka was characterised as possessing "the delicacy and the grace of a Fra Angelico."[218] It becomes evident that the primary aim of scholarship at the time was to reflect on the response that these icons could provoke from the Christian beholder.[219] A characteristic example is provided by Ernst Große when inviting Otto Kümmel (1874-1952) to Freiburg;[220] he wrote "I shall show you some old Buddhist *kakemono* in front of which you will feel a thrill as if you had seen an angel."[221] Consequently, from gods to be worshipped, the Buddhist figures were now commodities, appreciated as works of art through the Western values of aestheticisation and even as artefacts from the enigmatic East.

A letter from Manos to his dear friend Athos Romanos (1858-1940) could shed light on this issue (fig. 51a, 51b). Particularly in 1927, the Greek collector inquired about the status of certain objects he had

---

Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan", ed. Tomoe Irene, et al. (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013), 337, 39.

[216] Alice Kraemerová and Helena Gaudeková, "Buddhist Art Objects in the Japanese Collection of the Náprstek Museum, Prague," ibid., ed. Tomoe Irene, et al., 255.

[217] Alexandra von Przychowksi, "Buddha Heads and the Reception of Chinese Buddhist Art at the Beginning of the 20th Century," in *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, ed. Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay (Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022).

[218] Karl von Lützow, "Die Japanische Kunst [Japanese Art]," *Monatsschrift für den Orient [Monthly Journal for the Orient]*, January 15, 1884, 76.

[219] Bernard Faure, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 3 (1998): 773.

[220] Große was a German art historian and expert in East Asian art, who contributed to the dissemination and appreciation of East Asian art in Europe. Otto Kümmel was a German art historian and later the director of the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin.

[221] Walravens, "Ernst Grosse and Otto Kümmel and their Role in the Composing of the Berlin East Asian Collection," 271.

consigned to a Parisian dealer for sale.[222] He also sought an update on whether Alexandra Choremi-Benaki (1871-1941)[223] had decided to purchase "a considerably valuable Japanese image" from his collection, presumably a Buddhist painting. He had offered to sell this piece to Alexandra for 25,000 French francs, a price below its intrinsic value as he specifically remarked.[224] It is noteworthy that in his endeavour to assess the value of the "Japanese image," Manos reached out to the British Museum for an expert opinion.[225] Although contemporary scholarly discourse mainly acknowledges the presence of objects from the Byzantine period in Alexandra's collection, it appears that her taste had a broader scope and included Japanese items as well.[226] A factor that could illuminate Alexandra's interest in that pictorial work was her becoming an active member and the primary patron of the Hellenic Society for Psychical Research, founded by Angelos Tanagras (1875-1971), with the objective to interpret psychical phenomena. The trend of spiritualism that had swept Europe was starting to become fashion in the elite Greek society as well. People involved in spiritual circles were often fascinated by East Asian cultures, leading to a subsequent inclination towards the purchase of objects originating from them.[227] Therefore, Alexandra's potential acquisition of the "Japanese image" could be seen within this broader context of the mysterious and occult nature that East Asian paintings evoked.

In Japan, Buddhist paintings, such as the ones discussed in this chapter, were commissioned or purchased ready-made from painters, who specialised in religious themes. They were typically displayed only for the duration of specific ceremonies and rituals and when not in use, they were rolled up in a silk cloth and stored away in a cabinet. Buddhist images that belonged in the possession of an individual rather than a temple or a shrine, were sometimes transferred from one family member to another since trade in Buddhist art was an unknown practice.[228] Sacred images were imbued with qualities that necessitated careful handling. Consequently, when the scandalous incident of a monk profiting from the sale of Buddhist icons was uncovered in the twelfth century, a contemporary writer condemned the act, likening it to the sale of one's own mother and father.[229] However, with the implementation of the 1868 edict *shinbutsu bunri rei*, which aimed to renounce Buddhism and establish Shintō as the official political ideology of Japan, many temples became the targets of physical attacks and theft while the anti-Buddhist

[222] Gregorios Manos, "Letter to Athos Romanos," September 22, 1927, Benaki Museum-Historical Archives.
[223] Alexandra Choremi-Benaki was the sister of Argine Salvago-Benaki, whose involvement in the auction of the Manos collection as a buyer was discussed in Chapter 1.2.
[224] Equivalent to €17,908 and £15,153.
[225] To shed light on this issue I contacted the Archives of the British Museum, which informed me that no letters from Manos are preserved, as only a small portion of correspondence has been retained, mainly relating to objects within the museum's collection.
[226] Choremi-Benaki donated her collection of Byzantine objects and pieces of Greek folklore nature to the Benaki Museum. It appears rather impossible that the "Japanese image" is included within the collection of the Benaki Museum.
[227] Olivier Venture, "Henri Cernuschi Ancient Chinese Bronzes: An Epigraphical Perspective," in *The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology* (Ljubljana 2023).
[228] Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*, 101.
[229] Ibid.

movement significantly escalated.[230] Thus, innumerable Buddhist paintings, sometimes of exceptional quality, appeared on the market at considerably low prices. As Buddhism lost financial patronage from the state on the grounds of it being a foreign religion, many temples and shrines became destitute; the decline in resources led some of them to part with their treasures, which were dispersed through various means, such as sales, donations, or confiscations.[231] Ernest Fenollosa offers his perspective on this subject:

> Just at this moment the Japanese themselves were turning from all their old traditions.... In the breakup of the feudal system, many of the proudest old lords or "daimyō" had been reduced to poverty. Their retainers suffered a similar fate. Collections of paintings, porcelains, lacquers, bronzes, and prints were scattered, and treasures that are now almost priceless could at that time be bought for a few yen.... The abolition of Buddhism as a national religion, so to speak, came with the downfall of feudalism, and as a consequence, the treasures of the temples fared only a little less badly than those of private homes and castles.[232]

A characteristic example is that of Kōyasan, known for being the site where the monk Kūkai (774-835) settled to start spreading Shingon Buddhism. Revered as a sacred land for Japanese Buddhism, 117 temples were located within the mountains and already after the opening of Japan attracted numerous foreign visitors.[233] However, following the separation of Buddhism and Shintō, the temples' famed possessions entered the collections of museums in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nara, or found their way into the hands of art dealers and private collectors, both domestically and internationally. Not all sales were transparently conducted, and even to this day, there are accounts of falsified inventories and deliberate destruction of temple halls to eradicate evidence of covert sales.[234] In the sales catalogue of the Manos collection dated April 1912, a specific entry reveals that a wooden sculpture of a priest originated from a Kōya temple in Sakai (fig. 52). In the description of the object, the collector himself acknowledged that it may have been acquired subsequent to the religious transformation mandated by the Meiji government.

---

[230] In his memoir Recollecting the Bakumatsu and the Restoration, sculptor Takamura Kōun (1852–1934) describes the chaotic aftermath of the separation of Shintoism and Buddhism, where Buddhist artifacts were destroyed or discarded, reflecting the era's radical transformations. Hiroyuki Suzuki, *Antiquarians of Nineteenth-century Japan: The Archaeology of Things in the Late Tokugawa and Early Meiji Periods* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2022), 33-34.

[231] Moreover, buying agents, acting on behalf of prominent firms, such as Yamanaka & Co., were deployed throughout Japan, offering substantial amounts for artifacts of high quality with the potential for lucrative deals in the international market. According to surviving records, Buddhist temples that had fallen on difficult times invited Yamanaka and its agents to assess the value of paintings and calligraphy safeguarded in their wooden storehouses. Seattle Art Museum, "Saturday University: Building Global Markets for Asian Art," (YouTube2022).

[232] Ernest F. Fenollosa and Raphaël Petrucci, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (New York: Dover, 1963), xv.

[233] Philip Nicoloff, *Sacred Kōyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mountain Temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2008), 178.

[234] Ibid.

While his statement illuminates the object's history and provenance, it also alludes to the ambiguous conditions surrounding its acquisition.

To delve deeper into this matter and within the framework of Shingon Buddhism, there is another object in the Manos collection that merits scholarly attention; a wooden sculpture with traces of pigment that represents Daishōgun or the Great General (fig. 53), from the late Heian period.[235] During that era of major political instability, the number and type of deities worshipped in Japan significantly increased and the iconographic vocabulary was enriched through the influence of esoteric Buddhist imagery, as a result of the growing faith in Buddhist protective deities. Therefore, figures with both *kami* and Buddhist attributes appeared, which cannot easily be categorised as one or the other.[236] Imagined as a bearded and red-faced warrior wearing a helmet and suit of armour, he would have originally held a sword in his right hand, which is today missing. Daishōgun, a guardian of the cardinal directions, was a powerful and popular deity in old Japan, placed where certain directions were seen as the source of great danger.[237] This statue of Daishōgun left Japan following the radical religious separation. As Japan's new ideology was based on pre-Buddhist Shintō, an aniconic faith, deities that embodied both Shintō and Buddhist elements were removed —sometimes violently—from temples and shrines, often ending up in the market. Thus, it is possible that this Daishōgun was sold by one of the Japanese dealers who would display Buddhist statues along the waterfront when foreign ships docked in Yokohama. Alternatively, it might have been purchased by a traveller staying in one of Tokyo or Kyoto's big hotels, where dealers would also visit to showcase their goods.[238] Upon its removal from the temple to which it originally belonged and its subsequent arrival in Europe, the icon of Daishōgun underwent desacralisation and secularisation. Although it may have been celebrated as an unparalleled work of art in its new European context, it lost its sacred significance and was stripped of its spiritual efficacy in the process.

The examination of various museum collection databases revealed that wooden sculptures of Daishōgun are relatively uncommon. This rarity is exemplified by the collections of Japan's four national museums

---

[235] Christine Guth Kanda, *Shinzō: Hachiman Imagery and its Development* (Cambridge, Massachussets; London: Harvard University 1985), 16.
[236] Helen Hardacre, Shinto: A History, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190621711.003.0005.
[237] To safeguard the capital from Daishōgun's malicious intentions, four shrines were consecrated in his honour in Kyoto. Daishōgun icons were moved regularly to ensure that people were safe from menacing cosmic forces in the most vulnerable times and places. Except for the statues imbued with a protective and apotropaic character, it has also been suggested that Daishōgun icons were offered to the shrines by individuals who had violated certain directional taboos and subsequently conducted propitiatory rituals dedicated to Daishōgun as an act of atonement. Guth Kanda, *Shinzō: Hachiman Imagery and its Development*. Lucia Dolce, "The Worship of Celestial Bodies in Japan: Politics, Rituals and Icons," *Culture and Cosmos* 10 (2006): 6.
[238] Josef Kreiner, "Short Remarks on the History of Japanese Collections in Europe," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan"*, ed. Tomoe Irene, et al. (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013), 24.

in Kyoto, Kyushu, Nara, and Tokyo, where only one sculpture of the Great General can be found (fig. 54). In the West, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is the only institution that features a figure of Daishōgun. (fig. 55). Other Daishōgun sculptures reside in the Daishōgun Hachi Shrine in Kyoto. The latter is said to have been founded in 794 and houses a small museum with approximately one hundred Daishōgun statues, mostly originating from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.[239] Consequently, the inclusion of such an object in the Manos collection marks one of the few instances of its presence in Europe, and more broadly, in Western collections. However, as of now (September 2024), the MATK has not identified the sculpture as Daishōgun, but rather provides the general description "Seated figure of Shintō deity." While it is possible that this designation dates back to Manos' time, viewed from a contemporary standpoint, it alters the object's identity and positions it within a cultural framework that diverges from the one into which it was originally born. Therefore, the life of the Daishōgun sculpture is currently undergoing a transformation and modification of meaning. This echoes Louise Tythacott and Chiara Bellini's view that "Images of deities and symbols lose their meaning when not reinforced by the religious tradition to which they belong, since their value, after all, does not derive from their appearance, however beautiful and refined, but from their role in religious theory and practice. This poses questions about what happens to such images once located in museums in the West."[240] The objectification of the deity is brought in the forefront through display.

Drawing from this example, it is essential to observe how Manos' collectibles transformed from objects intricately linked to Japanese and Chinese life and culture to "objets d'art," as auction catalogues described them, and eventually to museum objects. Therefore, the last section of this chapter will shed light on the collector's efforts and donating vision that culminated in the establishment of the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu.

Towards the Foundation of the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu

Already before departing from Vienna, in 1910, Manos had expressed his desire to "donate [his] collection of objects of Chinese and Japanese ancient art to the Greek Government, in order to be properly arranged, for the common benefit and pleasure, in a museum in Athens, under the inscription 'Gregorios Manos Sino-Japanese Collection donated to the Nation'."[241] This intention, which eventually turned into reality, reflects the ideals prevalent in the cultural milieu that shaped Manos' identity as a collector. Particularly within the context of Austria-Hungary, collectors of Asian art not only held

[239] Dolce, "The Worship of Celestial Bodies in Japan: Politics, Rituals and Icons," 4,6.
[240] Louise Tythacott and Chiara Bellini, "Deity and Display: Meanings, Transformations, and Exhibitions of Tibetan Buddhist Objects," *Religions* 11, no. 3 (2020), doi: https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11030106.
[241] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".

esteemed positions as authorities on cultural matters and arbiters of taste but also assumed roles as educators and moral guides—a characteristic ingrained in the Austro-Hungarian spirit. Many individuals chose to donate their collections to the nation, thus embodying the concept of the patriotic collector, who strived for an educational and didactic mission.[242] Even the Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863-1914) declared: "I suffer from museomania!"[243] A similar tradition was forming in France as well, where institutions like the Musée Guimet and Musée Cernuschi—both born from the efforts and donating visions of individual collectors—led the way in emphasising the potential of East Asian art to educate the public and cultivate taste. From the 1880s to the first decades of the twentieth century, large exhibitions of Japanese and Chinese art were held in Parisian museums, showcasing numerous objects in the context of the latest archaeological studies and discoveries in the research field.[244] Specifically, the display of items in Guimet's museum reflected the collector's method of acquisition and his aim to establish a scientific resource for the study of world religions, which he considered fundamental for disseminating knowledge.[245]

Within this framework of European museums emerging from private collections, it is important to note another endeavour towards the establishment of an Asian art museum in Greece; although it did not come to fruition, it provides significant insights into how cultural matters were regarded and handled by the Greek State at the time. Shortly after the founding of the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1921, George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939) considered donating his collection of Chinese objects to Greece. As recounted by Greek modernist artist Nikolaos Hadjikyriakos-Ghikas (1906-1994) in a letter: "It was Eumorfopoulos who suggested donating his entire collection to Greece if only they built an appropriate museum. But Plastiras, in the name of Greece, declined."[246] Despite being born in Britain and making his first visit to Greece in April 1931 for the opening of the Benaki Museum, Eumorfopoulos maintained a connection to his homeland. He pursued the idea of bequeathing his collection to Greece and contacted government officials with his vision, which did not materialise. In 1927, he revisited the proposal on a smaller scale through Antonis Benakis (1873-1954). The latter's enthusiastic acceptance encouraged

[242] Piotr Spławski, "The Impact of Japanese Art Collections on the Education of Art and Design in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," in *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy* (Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asian Arts, 2020), 100.
[243] Tamara Schild, "Opening of the Weltmuseum in Vienna: A City Revisits its Relationship with the World," *Tribal Art*, no. 86 (2017): 86-88.
[244] Lee, "Les expositions en France sur l'art chinois au début du XXe siècle. Histoire de l'art, de l'Antiquité au monde contemporain," 69.
[245] Francesca dal Lago, "Contemporary Art and Colonial Collecting: Huang Yong Ping's Reinstallation of J.J.M. de Groot's Panthéon Chinois from the Lyon Musée," in *The Social Lives of Chinese Objects*, ed. Alice Bianchi and Lyce Jankowski (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 107.
[246] George Manginis, "The George Eumorfopoulos Donation to the Benaki Museum in Athens," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 66 (2001-2002): 82.

Eumorfopoulos to add more items, books, and custom-made display cases, which were eventually incorporated into the newly established Benaki Museum.[247]

The case of Manos differs significantly. Despite pressure from foreign institutions expressing interest in acquiring his collection, as indicated in a 1925 note concerning the donation, Manos remained steadfast in his decision.[248] In 1917, while still in Paris, he composed a draft will in which he clearly declared his intention to bequeath the collection to Greece.[249] In December 1918, Manos addressed a formal note to his close friend, Athos Romanos, the Greek ambassador in Paris, explaining that he had assembled an almost complete collection of Chinese and Japanese art (4880 pieces), which he wished to donate to the Greek state.[250] The note was accompanied by a short list of the objects within the collection that included Chinese ceramics, bronzes, cloisonné objects, wood carvings, lacquers, ivories, rhinoceros horns, tortoiseshell objects, mother-of-pearl sculptures, marbles, objects made of lardite, gemstones, glass, snuff bottles, seals, and coins (2338 pieces).[251] It also featured Japanese prehistoric objects, earthenware, porcelains, bronzes, cloisonné, pieces of artillery, swords, horse saddles, sword fittings such as *tsuba*, *fuchi*, *kashira*, and *kozuka*, metal fittings, mirrors, combs, pins, fans, portable writing sets, musical instruments, and wooden sculptures (2542 pieces).[252] On March 6, 1919, Manos finalised the donation of 6876 objects to the Greek state by signing contract No. 1980 with Athos Romanos, in Paris.[253] In return, he requested a modest monthly pension, having exhausted most of his fortune on the collection, which is estimated to have cost him a total of 3,632,750 French francs.[254] Additionally, he asked for in-house living quarters at the museum-to-be and the privilege of becoming its first curator for life.[255] On January

---

[247] "'For the benefit of the nation': The Ionides and Eumorfopoulos Collections," *Yearbook of the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia 2003* (2004): 30.

[248] Gregorios Manos, "Note Regarding the Collection of Gregorios Manos," 1925, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.
On that matter, Zernioti remarks in the exhibition catalogue *Japanese Culture and the Arts of Asia* that Manos was pressured to keep his collection in France as Musée Guimet expressed interest in buying it. However, there is no evidence of correspondence in the archives of Musée Guimet to prove this. Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 15. Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".

[249] "En cas de mort subite je laisse à l'état hellénique ma collection chinoise et japonaise et en général, tout mes objets d'art, en priant la Légation de Grèce à Paris d'en soigner le transfert à Athènes, Paris, le 5/18 Décembre 1917."

[250] Gregorios Manos, "Letter to Athos Romanos," December 1, 1918, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".

[254] Equivalent to €3,826,821 and £3,224,595. Kostas Dafnis, "Γράμμα από την Κέρκυρα: Θησαυροί στο Μουσείο Σινοϊαπωνικής Τέχνης [Letter from Corfu: Treasures in the Sino-Japanese Museum]," *Τα Νέα [Ta Nea]*, July 30, 1968, n.p.

[255] Aglaia Karamanou, "Gregorios Manos and the Corfu Museum of Asian Art," *Andon: Bulleting of the Society for Japanese Arts and Crafts* 79 (2005): 33.

30, 1920, the agreement was legally ratified.[256] Manos also wished for a building of equal artistic value to his collection, as he confided to poet Miltiadis Malakasis during their encounter.[257]

However, the inappropriate conditions of proposed venues in Athens, such as the National Library of Greece, and the collector's financial constraints, did not allow him to afford the high cost of living in the city, prompted him to reconsider. The Greek state, burdened with the cost of maintaining the collection in Paris, proposed and eventually decided its transfer to the Palace of St Michael and St George in Corfu, a building that had served—and would continue to serve—as a refuge during critical periods. In a 1919 letter addressed to his old friend Nikolaos Theotokis (1878-1922), Minister of Military Affairs in Greece, the collector wrote: "They inform me that the appropriate venue will not be found in Athens and therefore I considered it would probably be easier to transfer the collection in your birthplace, Corfu, where passing travellers do not encounter any museums. It would also be better for me, since I could live a calmer and less expensive life."[258] The decision to establish his museum in Corfu likely stemmed from multiple factors. First, the Ionian island had developed a Europeanised social lifestyle, akin to the environment Manos was accustomed to during his diplomatic career. Corfu's rich cultural atmosphere provided opportunities for him to reconnect with former acquaintances and participate in intellectual circles. Additionally, the island held personal significance, as Manos had spent part of his childhood there while his father served as a military officer following Corfu's unification with Greece in 1864.[259] Lastly, it is plausible that Manos' connection to the Greek royal family necessitated a degree of separation from the ongoing political unrest in Athens, marked by the conflicts between royalists and supporters of the liberal party's leader, Eleftherios Venizelos (1864-1936).[260]

The transfer of the collection was contingent upon the restoration of transportation, which would offer a more cost-effective solution. However, as of the summer of 1924, the issue of funding remained unresolved. Manos' apprehensions about the future of his collection and his financial situation are evident in the correspondence he exchanged with close friends and family. Fortunately, later in 1924, the collection, along with Manos' personal belongings, began its journey from Paris to Corfu. By 1926, the final of a total of 125 crates had arrived in Corfu. As crates were opened, they revealed objects that evoked admiration, prompting Mr. Theotokis, a friend of Manos, to aptly describe them as "boîtes à surprises" (boxes of surprises).[261] Manos had already consulted French experts, who estimated that the

[256] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".
[257] Malakasis, *Πεζά: Κριτικά-Δοκίμια [Prose: Critiques-Essays]*, 185.
[258] Gregorios Manos, "Letter to Nikolaos Theotokis," August 8, 1919, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.
[259] Kaloudi, "Ίχνη της Ασίας στην νεοελληνική τέχνη. Συναντήσεις, επιδράσεις, ένας διάλογος [Traces of Asia in Modern Greek Art. Encounters, Influences, a Dialogue]," 511.
[260] Manos' cousin, Aspasia Manos (1896-1972), was married to Alexander I, the King of Greece (1893-1920).
[261] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 17.

collection would require at least ten halls, each measuring twenty-five square meters.[262] For the display of the objects, Manos noted that, aside from the 15 display cases already present in the Palace and another 3 he transferred from Paris, he would need 58 additional wooden ones and "vitrines-tables."[263] For the manufacture of the appropriate display cases and the unpacking of the items, Manos initially requested 152,400 drachmas. He later revised the estimated expenses to 120,000 drachmas.[264] However, amidst a tumultuous period for Greece, exacerbated by the Asia Minor catastrophe and the subsequent challenges of national unity, Manos' request was not prioritised by the authorities. The collection, though highly valued monetarily, was not fully appreciated for its quality, aesthetic, historical, and cultural significance.

Manos embarked on his own to setting up the museum and arranging the display of objects. In 1927, he revealed in a letter to Athos Romanos that he was working towards the final arrangement of the collection.[265] Despite the assurances he had received, his request for a large gallery within the museum remained unresolved. As a result, a significant number of objects remained packed in 70 crates. The only extant photograph from that time (fig. 56) offers some insight into the collection's transition from private to public; a fireplace is surrounded by an assortment of Chinese Buddhist statues, two Tang dynasty ceramic tomb figures, bronze vessels, and other items, all placed under the gaze of a painted Buddhist deity hanging from the wall above. This arrangement was typically encountered in domestic settings, such as within the residence or the private rooms of a collector. Differentiating from museum practices at the time, which usually exhibited objects in display cases, this approach, during the early years of the Sino-Japanese Museum, can be attributed to the restricted financial resources allocated to Manos by the Greek state. It also likely represents one of his initial attempts towards the setting up of his collection, undertaken shortly after unpacking objects from their crates.

Following a long period of distress and extensive exchange of correspondence with Greek ministers overseeing cultural affairs, the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu opened its doors on February 5, 1928.[266] Unfortunately, Manos' health deteriorated, garnering frequent coverage in the local press. While there were brief signs of improvement in early May, his condition worsened, leading to his passing on May 15, 1928, just a month before the museum's official opening.[267] The collector's endeavour, albeit out of sync with the contemporary Greek reality, resonated with European ideals regarding the integration of private

[262] Manos, "Letter to Athos Romanos," March 20, 1925, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Gregorios Manos, "Letter to the Ministry of Religious Affairs," April 24, 1925, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.
[265] Gregorios Manos, "Letter to Athos Romanos," September 22, 1927, Benaki Museum-Historical Archives.
[266] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".
[267] Yiorgos Zoumbos, "Γρηγόριος Μάνος [Gregorios Manos]," *Corfu History*, https://www.corfuhistory.eu/?p=1438 (accessed September 30, 2024).

collections into national cultural heritage. Manos' efforts eventually marked the establishment of the first Asian art museum in the Balkan region during a period of waning interest in the arts. A postcard from the 1930s is the only surviving evidence of the museum's interior following the founder's death. (fig. 57). The museum remained closed until June 1928, when historian Spyros Theotokis (1908-1988) temporarily assumed the role of director. However, it remained neglected for decades. Cultural matters such as the preservation of arts were not among the top priorities of the Greek State. Specifically, the outdated conditions at the National Archaeological Museum and the dire situation of the National Gallery in Athens provide a broader context and help explain why the Sino-Japanese Museum was also left to operate below its full potential.[268]

Adding to the museum's already poor state, the building suffered severe damage during World War II (1939-1945). Following the German occupation of the island in September 1943 and the success of the Allies in the battlefronts, Corfu was once again bombed by the British and American forces, until July 1944, when the Germans departed. The historic centre of Corfu was destroyed and along with it many landmarks of the city faced serious danger, such as the Pantokrator Monastery, the Corfu Reading Society, Saroco Square, and the Palace of St Michael and George.[269] The Palace's roof was bombed, while various pieces of furniture and works of art were looted. To this day, it remains unclear if they were part of Manos' collection. Some years later, during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), the building was used for the temporary housing of refugees from Epirus, which left it in a state of disrepair. In the 1940s, another major damage occurred, when the Banquet Hall was burnt to the ground. Nevertheless, the Corfiot people saved the museum from total destruction both times. The Greek state was only able to restore the Palace's interior, particularly the monumental halls, in 1954, with the support of a private trust organised by Sir Charles Peake (1897-1958), the British Ambassador to Greece at the time. From 1992 until 1994, the exterior masonry was also repaired, as well as the interior and its infrastructures, on the occasion of the Palace hosting the 1994 European Union Summit Meeting on Corfu.[270]

Manos' legacy was not properly acknowledged in Greece, while his collecting efforts remained underappreciated and ignored for many decades. In 1958, an article published in the Athenian newspaper *Acropolis* [*Ακρόπολις*], reports: "[...] the collection's worth is immeasurable, that is the Sino-Japanese

[268] During World War II the National Archaeological Museum was closed, the antiquities were sealed in protective boxes and buried, in order to avoid destruction and looting. Therefore, the path to returning back to its normal function proved to be difficult. On the other hand, the first fifty years (1900-1950) of the National Gallery's presence were marked by anguished attempts for a permanent building to be found.
[269] Panayiotis Peristeris, "Κέρκυρα 1940-1944: Βομβαρδισμοί και καταφύγια [Corfu 1949-1944: Bombings and Shelters]," *Corfu History*, https://www.corfuhistory.eu/?p=1399 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[270] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 38.

Museum, the existence of which many people are unaware of."[271] Ironically, the inaccuracies within the text—such as the claim that the Sino-Japanese Museum is the only museum of Asian art in Europe, established by Manos, a diplomat who served in the Far East—underscore the journalist's lack of knowledge on the matter. These inaccuracies likely served as an attempt to increase the museum's prestige and elevate its importance in the eyes of the Greek readership. Less than a decade later, in 1966, another article shed light on an unknown aspect of the museum's history, enthusiastically calling attention to the unprecedented event of a foreign scholar visiting the island in order to study the Asian collection assembled by Manos. The report reads:

> [...] the lack of experts, not only in Greece but also in Europe, has until today prevented a scholarly presentation of the museum's exhibits, which would as well allow its broader recognition. This gap will now be filled thanks to the willing disposition of Mr. Robert Bouar, professor of Chinese and Japanese art at the University of Minnesota, USA. Mr. Bouar has already arrived in Corfu, where he will remain for two weeks. He will not only study the exhibits, but also publish them, which should lead to the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu attaining worldwide recognition. In order for Mr. Bouar's disposition to be appreciated even more, we should note that he is a student of famous German-American sinologist Mr. Bach Affen, who established the scholarship of 'sinology' in Europe and America.[272]

This article excerpt sheds light on the possible international interest that Manos' collection attracted almost thirty years after the museum's official inauguration. It is extraordinary that an American scholar not only discovered the Sino-Japanese Museum but also expressed interest in conducting research on its collection, especially given the museum's prolonged period of underperformance. Although the names in the article have been incorrectly transliterated into Greek and misspelled, the scholar who visited Corfu in 1966 identifies with Robert J. Poor (1932-2025), Professor of Art History at the University of Minnesota. A specialist in Chinese art, Poor earned his doctorate at the University of Chicago, where Ludwig Bachhofer (1894-1976) taught East Asian art history and later served as professor and department chair.[273] Curiously, the only other reference to Poor's study appeared in a 1969 article in the Greek newspaper *Ελεύθερος Κόσμος* [*Eleftheros Kosmos*], where the journalist quoted from the American scholar's paper,

---

[271] Kostas Nisiotis, "Εν αντιθέσει προς το Σινοϊαπωνικόν μουσείον το Αρχαιολογικόν μουσείον Κέρκυρας έχει εγκαταληφθεί εις την τύχην του. Η μοναδικήν εις όλην την Ευρώπη συλλογή του Γρηγορίου Μάνου. - Αμύθητου αξίας κομψοτεχνήματα. - Η έκθεσις των εις ιδιαιτέραν πτέρυγα των βασιλικών ανακτόρων [In contrast to the Sino-Japanese Museum, the Archaeological Museum of Corfu has been left to its own devices. The unique collection of Gregorios Manos in all of Europe. - Priceless masterpieces. - The exhibition is in a special wing of the royal palaces]," *Ακρόπολις [Acropolis]* 1958, n.p.

[272] Kostas Dafnis, "Το Σινοϊαπωνικό Μουσείο Κέρκυρας: Αμερικάνος καθηγητής θα προβή σε ενδιαφέρουσες μελέτες [The Sino-Japanese Museum of Corfu: American professor will conduct interesting studies]," *Βήμα [Vima]*, August 10, 1966, n.p.

[273] I am grateful to Professor Nick Pearce for identifying the scholars mentioned in the Greek newspaper article and bringing them to my attention.

praising the Sino-Japanese Museum as a cultural institution that "constitutes important acquisition not only for our country [Greece], but also for the wider Mediterranean space."[274] Despite this, no additional evidence regarding Professor Poor's study or the study itself was uncovered during the course of my doctoral research.

In the present day, the MATK has expanded its collection with donations from more Greek individuals who had a profound interest in Asian objects. One such contributor was Nicolaos Hadjivassiliou (1905-1981) who offered a large collection of Asian art in 1973-1974. His diplomatic postings after World War II facilitated extensive travel across Asian regions, allowing him to amass a diverse array of items from India, Gandhara, Cambodia, Siam, Nepal, Thibet, and Japan. Among them, noteworthy are the Japanese screens, particularly an extremely rare one by Kanō Sanraku or Kanō Mitsuyori (1559-1635 CE) depicting *Horses playing and resting* in a winter landscape, dating to about 1600 CE. Following Hadjivassiliou's donation, the museum was renamed from Sino-Japanese Museum to Museum of Asian Art, reflecting the expanded geographic scope of its holdings, to encompass South and South-East Asia. Some years later, specifically in 1980, Harilaos Hiotakis (1915-1998) donated 378 works to the MATK, including Japanese and Chinese porcelain as well as metal objects, lacquer, ivory and stone items dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century; emphasis is placed on Chinese export porcelain predominantly from the Qing dynasty, but also from the end of the Ming dynasty. More recently, in 2011, a significant addition to the museum's collection came from the Sartzetakis family, made in memory of their son, Jason Deighton-Sartzetakis. It included over 350 objects from Central Asia and India, featuring unique Baluch rugs, traditional nineteenth-century embroidered garments and silk textiles, Greco-Bactrian silver coins, Indian gold, silver and precious stone jewellery, as well as nineteenth-century Indian miniatures.[275]

Illuminating an object's connection to life, such as its initial ascribed function and its eventual given purpose, is essential not only for museum displays but also for research activities. Therefore, the following two chapters will focus on specific Japanese and Chinese objects from the Manos collection and shed light on their histories. Having explored Manos' life as a diplomat and, more importantly, as a collector, it is crucial to delve into the lives of the objects he acquired and examine issues related to provenance, ownership, transfer, and transformation.

---

[274] Therefore, it becomes apparent that the aforementioned study was actually realised and even published, although it is still quite unclear where as well as what its content was. D.G, "Μοναδικόν εις τον χώρον της Μεσογείου το Σινοϊαπωνικόν Μουσείον Κέρκυρας [Unique in the Mediterranean region, the Sino-Japanese Museum of Corfu]," *Ελεύθερος Κόσμος [Eleftheros Kosmos]*, August 18, 1969, n.p.

[275] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 22-23.

Chapter 3. Collecting Japan.

Floating Worlds, *Daimyō* Relics, and Excavated Bowls

Manos formed a collection that eventually encompassed thousands of objects tracing their origins to Japan. This chapter will explore the lives of three Japanese objects in particular: a series of *ukiyo-e* works from the Torii school, a horse saddle, and a protohistoric stoneware vessel of the *sue* type. Drawing upon contemporary scholarly discourse that seeks new approaches to comprehend and interpret collections, my methodology will depart from research methods that prioritise the individual (collector) and will instead focus on the object itself (collectible). Especially given the absence of detailed histories surrounding individual objects from Manos' collection, there arises a need to illuminate their narratives and provenance.[276] This also stems from the widely acknowledged lack of clarity in museum labels, where an object's place of origin is given in detail, but not the circumstances of its displacement. Objects are often treated as static, passive or inert entities, when, in reality, they are subjects to change, adaptation and re-interpretation, as they are transferred in different spheres and contexts. Consequently, my intention is to include more stories within the collection's narrative and ultimately provide a deeper insight into aspects of identity, provenance, and acquisition. I also aim to examine how the perception and the status of an East Asian object transforms as it moves from its original environment to the private sphere of a European collection and eventually to a public museum.

These three objects have been selected for their ability to illustrate Manos' taste but also for their inherent qualities that exhibit some interesting cases of provenance. Additionally, in terms of materiality, they represent major categories of artistic mediums for which Japan was and continues to be renowned, particularly woodblock prints, lacquerware, and ceramics. Each object also represents a distinct moment in history, with varying temporal distances even among those from the same era; for instance, the saddle and the *ukiyo-e*, both originating from the Edo period, are separated by centuries. Furthermore, it is intriguing to explore items originally created for different audiences: the prints for the common people, the saddle for the feudal elite, and the *sue* cup for the deceased. However, upon arriving in Europe, they were sought after by individuals from the same Japonisme circles and bourgeois collecting milieu. The structure of this chapter, progressing from the most to the least popular objects, not only reflects their market availability and demand—from highest to lowest—but also provides insight into Manos' evolving interests and the broader trends within the collecting landscape of his time.

---

[276] In the ICOM (International Council of Museums) Code of Ethics for Museums, the provenance of an object is defined as "the full history and ownership of an item from the time of its discovery or creation to the present day, through which authenticity and ownership are determined." International Council of Museums, *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums* (Paris: ICOM, 2017), 46.

A Case of Popular Taste: *Ukiyo-e*

Japanese woodblock prints and illustrated books seem to constitute the largest category of items in the Manos collection, highlighting the Greek diplomat's fascination with the images of the floating world. In a notebook entitled *Japon. Peintures, estampes, livres illustres; Etoffes*, the collector meticulously inventoried the paintings, prints, illustrated books, and textiles he had amassed, recording more than 1500 *ukiyo-e* by renowned masters, such as Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806), Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858), Suzuki Harunobu (1724-1770), Keisai Eisen (1790-1848), and more; among them fifty-one *surimono*, many single pages removed from illustrated books, and ten complete volumes in their original condition, such as the Katsukawa Shunchō's (active about 1780-1801) *Picture Book of a Prosperous Household* (*Ehon sakaegusa*, 1790).[277] It appears that Manos was considered a valued client at shops specialising in Asian objects, for he was able to acquire *ukiyo-e* albums and complete sets of prints, which typically circulated exclusively among connoisseurs.[278] This status is further highlighted by his acquisition of other rare items, such as the painted fan by Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794-1795).

Undoubtedly, the most remarkable *ukiyo-e* work in Manos' collection is the fan painting (fig. 58) by the enigmatic artist Sharaku, who produced prints of the *kabuki* theatre world for a very short period and then suddenly disappeared. Capturing the emotional qualities and idiosyncratic character of the actors, the fan in question depicts a scene from the play *The Treasury of Loyal Retainers* (*Kanadehon Chūshingura*), and particularly *Matsumoto Koshiro IV as Kakogawa Honzo and Matsumoto Yonesaburo as Konami* (1795). It is believed that Sharaku painted this fan as a special commission for a *kabuki* enthusiast, who enjoyed the performance of the two Matsumoto actors.[279] Upon its discovery in 2008, the fan underwent meticulous examination by Kobayashi Tadashi, professor at the Gakushuin University, who attributed it to the hand of Sharaku with certainty. Thereafter, it became the centrepiece of the exhibition *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterpieces from the Land of Nausicaa*, which was showcased both at the MATK and the Metropolitan Edo-Tokyo Museum, from July to September 2009. The fan is not only one of the most important and rare pieces in the collection, but also one of Sharaku's very few painted works to exist in the world.[280] While the provenance of the fan remains unknown to this day, it can be surmised that Manos purchased it from the Parisian market since France had the most devoted audience to Sharaku's works. The acquisition was probably made through a private dealer, as no reference to the fan has been found in

[277] Zernioti, "The Gregorios Manos Collection," 140.
[278] Bawin, *Le japonisme en Belgique a travers les collections de Hans de Winiwarter (1875-1949)*, 185.
[279] Kobayashi Tadashi, "Fan Painting by Tōshūsai Sharaku " *Kokka: A Monthly Journal of Oriental Art*, no. 1364 (2009): n.p.
[280] Other painted works by Sharaku include two fans: one, depicting an elderly man, originates from the collection of potter Handeishi Kawakita (1878-1963) and resides at the Sekisui Museum in Japan; the other, which portrays Otafuku, is held by the Art Institute of Chicago.

auction catalogues to date.[281] It must have been a considerably prized addition to the collection, as it was widely known that Sharaku's works had been issued for a very short period and therefore were scarce.

Contrary to prevailing belief that Sharaku was overlooked after the Meiji Restoration, the exceptional qualities of his work were in fact recognised by scholars and collectors in Europe. In particular, seven prints by Sharaku were displayed as early as 1890 at the legendary École des Beaux-Arts exhibition,[282] while a series of exhibitions at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs between 1909 and 1911, presented several of his works loaned by leading French collectors. Adding to that, Julius Kurth's (1870-1942) monograph entitled *Sharaku* (1910) contributed to the expansion of knowledge on the mysterious Japanese artist. His recognition is also evidenced by the high demand for his prints on the market. In 1909, the *Exhibition of Japanese Prints*, organised by the Fine Arts Society in London, featured several works by Sharaku for sale. The catalogue, a copy of which can be found in the Manos archive, remarked that Sharaku's prints were "much sought by collectors who prize works showing character, particularly in France."[283] This indeed seemed to hold true, as Manos acquired the two *ukiyo-e*, *Actor Ichikawa Monnosuke II in the role of Date no Yosaku* (1794) (fig. 59) and *Ichikawa Omezo I as Yakko Ippei* (1794) (fig. 60), on the occasion of that very exhibition.[284]

Evidently, *ukiyo-e* entered a new system of value and a new reality of existence in Europe. They became a sought-after collectible on the market and a common decorative element in the residences of Japonisants. This transfer and transformation will be further explored within the context of the collecting landscapes that Manos was involved in.

Ukiyo-e in Vienna and the German-speaking World

During Manos' tenure as diplomat and later as minister plenipotentiary to Vienna, *ukiyo-e* gained significant attention in the Austro-Hungarian capital. At the Industrial Pavilion of the 1873 International Exhibition, the Japanese government exhibited *ukiyo-e* works and industrial art products, igniting the spark for Japonisme in Vienna. In 1899, 150 Japanese woodcuts were exhibited in the Museum for Art and Industry, in conjunction with the Ernst Arnold Gallery from Dresden. Also, thanks to the efforts of the museum's director, Arthur von Scala, who favoured and actively promoted the appreciation for Japanese arts, the museum acquired over 500 woodcuts from Heinrich von Siebold in 1905.[285] Adding to

[281] For instance, there is no mention of the fan in neither of the two auctions that sold Hayashi Tadamasa's collection in 1902, nor in the 1904 sale of Pierre Barbouteau's collection, focusing exclusively on Japanese paintings and prints.
[282] Elizabeth Emery, "Women Collectors of Japanese Prints," in *Collecting Prints, Posters, and Ephemera: Perspectives in a Global World*, ed. Ruth Iskin and Britany Salsbury (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 91.
[283] Arthur Morrison, *Exhibition of Japanese Prints* (London: Fine Art Society, 1909), 45.
[284] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".
[285] Wieninger, "Japan in Vienna: Japanese Art in the Viennese Collections and Exhibitions around 1900," 46. Heinrich's father, Philipp Franz von Siebold was one of the first foreign collectors of *ukiyo-e* prints (along with other individuals

that, the Secession played a significant role in expanding knowledge of *ukiyo-e*. In the winter of 1900, a "private" exhibition took place in the Secession building, displaying the collection assembled by Adolf Fischer and Franz Hohenberg (unknown dates) during their trip to Japan in 1895. Over 700 objects, bronzes, paintings, and woodblock prints from the Edo period were arranged by Kolo Mosser (1868-1918).[286] In 1903, the Sixteenth Secession exhibition presented French Impressionist works alongside Japanese prints from *ukiyo-e* masters, indicating that the latter were regarded as a source of inspiration but also as equals to European modern artists.

To gain a better understanding of the atmosphere within which Manos' collecting activities sprang, special attention merits one of the first exhibitions in Europe exclusively dedicated to Hokusai, held in Vienna's Museum for Art and Industry.[287] It was organised in 1901 by the art and book dealer E. Hirschler (dates unknown), with the support of Siegfried Bing and Fritz Waerndorfer (1868-1939).[288] The catalogue included 630 entries and was divided into the following four categories: *kakemono*, original drawings, *nishiki-e*, and books. With 494 entries, the woodblock prints made up the majority of the catalogue. Many popular series were displayed in their entirety, such as the *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*, different versions of the *Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido*, as well as the *Tour of Waterfalls in Various Provinces*. The introduction to the catalogue by Hirschler provides an insight into the complexities of organising the Hokusai exhibition as well as the prevalent attitude towards Japanese art in Vienna at the time: "If recognition and understanding are shown to this collection, and new friends and admirers are thereby attracted to Japanese art, which has been significantly neglected in Vienna, then we consider ourselves to be amply compensated for sacrificing our time and effort."[289] In order to enhance the allure and promote appreciation for *ukiyo-e*, all the books and single sheets were also available for

---

associated with the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki). Philipp assembled works by Hokusai, which can today be found in several European collections. As early as 1858 Siebold reproduced one of Hokusai's works in his encyclopaedic book on Japan, *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern: jezo mit den südlichen Kurilen, Krafto, Koorai und den Liukiu-Inseln, nach japanischen und europäischen Schriften und eigenen Beobachtungen bearbeitet*, which Manos had in his possession. Shigeru Oikawa, "Collecting Ukiyo-e Prints in Japan during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Collecting Prints, Posters, and Ephemera: Perspectives in a Global World* ed. Ruth Iskin and Britany Salsbury (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 81;. Gropius Bau, "Exhibition Hokusai: Retrospective, 26 August to 31 October 2011," https://www.berlinerfestspiele.de/en/berliner-festspiele/programm/bfs-gesamtprogramm/programmdetail_17751.html.

[286] Wieninger, "Japan in Vienna: Japanese Art in the Viennese Collections and Exhibitions around 1900," 46.
Kata Bodor, "A Chronological List of Japanese Art-Related Exhibitions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," in *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, ed. Mirjam Dénes and Piotr Spławski and Toshio Watanabe (Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asian Arts, 2020), 292.

[287] Very limited documentation exists regarding the 1901 Hokusai exhibition in Vienna; there is no extant photographic evidence and references of it in the contemporary press are scarce. The first international exhibition dedicated entirely to a Japanese artist, Hokusai, was organised by the Fine Art Society in London in 1890.

[288] Bodor, "A Chronological List of Japanese Art-Related Exhibitions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," 292.
Fritz Waerndorfer was one of Klimt's close friends, who later founded the Wiener Werkstätte (Vienna Workshops). Belgin, "Viennese Japonisme: From the Figured-Perspective to the Ornamental-Extensive Style," 96.

[289] Sophie Adensamer, "Re-imagining: Hokusai 1901," https://blog.mak.at/re-imagining-hokusai-1901/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

sale.[290] It is rather possible that the prints were sold through E. Hirschler's business on Plankengasse, marking a unique opportunity for collectors. Although no records explicitly confirm Manos' direct engagement with the exhibition, there is a strong likelihood that he attended, considering that his interest in Japanese art was blooming at the time.

Japonisme in the German-speaking world did not develop with the same force as in other European centres, such as Paris and London. In 1896, Julius Meier-Graefe (1867-1935), writing in the magazine *Das Atelier* about Bing's decision to cease his activities in the field of Japanese art, also remarked that: "[…] Japan's wealth is now exhausted. London, Paris and, above all, America have bought what was available to buy. Germany is only involved in this harvest to a limited extent."[291] In 1903, the author of one of the first German treatises on Japanese colour prints, Friedrich Perzyński (1877-1965), regrets that the Japanese influences in Germany were received belatedly, indirectly, and in a revised form: "We have not drawn far enough from the source itself."[292] However, in the early 1910s, when Germany entered the realm of Japonisme more actively, collectors and dealers immediately realised that fine pieces could rarely be found, for they had already been absorbed. In this regard, it is also important to remember that in 1913 Manos sold in Germany a fragment of his collection, mainly consisting of *ukiyo-e* prints. This coincided with a time when increasing numbers of East Asian objects started to re-appear on the European market, as a result of imperial China's collapse in 1911 and Japan's political upheaval after Meiji's death, which led to a change of government in 1912. Manos' decision to opt for the Munich auction house of Hugo Helbing as the venue for selling his collection stems from the disappointing outcome of the sale of his *ukiyo-e* collection in Paris; it also reflects his perception of the waning interest in *ukiyo-e* prints within the Parisian market. Adapting to the shifting trends in the art market, he therefore sought to profit from the burgeoning demand for Japanese objects in Germany.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the art auction industry in Germany experienced a high point, and the number of auctions held by Helbing's firm rose rapidly, making him one of the most successful German auctioneers.[293] While he sold an important number of Japanese objects from various private collections, Helbing did not specialise in East Asian art and consequently in most of the 1910s auctions he supervised Japanese art was often sold in conjunction with objects of different provenance.[294] This

[290] Hendrick Budde, "Japanmode in Europa [Japan Fashion in Europe]," in *Japan und Europa 1543-1929 [Japan and Europe 1543-1929]*, ed. Doris Croissant and Lothar Ledderose (Berliner Festpiele; Berlin: Argon, 1993), 426.
[291] Ingeborg Becker, "Japan and Modernism in Berlin: The Art Dealer Hermann Pächter and his Gallery," *Journal of Japonisme* 3, no. 2 (2018), https://doi.org/10.1163/24054992-00032P02.
[292] Budde, "Japanische Farbholzschnitte und europäische Kunst – Maler und Sammler im 19. Jahrhundert [Japanese Colour Woodcuts and European Art – Painters and Collectors in the 19th Century]," 177.
[293] Lootedart.com, "Dealer Records: Hugo Helbing auctions Munich 1885-1937 - Annotated catalogues," https://lootedart.com/UPR6IF733651 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[294] According to the results of the research and digitalisation project "German Sales," funded by the German Research Association (DFG), there was a body of 5800 auction catalogues of fine and applied arts for the years from 1901 to 1929. Only

becomes evident in the sale of Manos' collection, which, as the title indicates, included *Japanese colour woodblock prints, Paintings - Hand drawings - Books: Also, some Indian miniatures from well-known southern German private collections and from the possession of His Excellency Exz. Mr Gregor Manos, Paris*. As the auctioneer's handwritten notes indicate, most of the works were sold. The most expensive item at the auction was the print that also decorated the catalogue's cover and sold for 125 marks to a certain Mr Kleemann;[295] this hand-coloured *hoso-e*, embellished with gold powder, was created by Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764) and depicted a young man with a *tsuzumi* (a hand drum of Japanese origin) and a sword. Moreover, an actor print by Sharaku, although it remained unsold, was estimated at 250 marks.[296]

The foreword to the catalogue, written by German architect Dr Karl Berger (unknown dates), highlights the rarity of many prints from the collection, which could have been a tactic to enhance the value of the items up for sale. However, one of the early artists featured was Torii Kiyotada (active c. 1720-1750), a student of Torii Kiyonobu (1664-1729), the Torii school's founder; his woodcuts remain exceedingly rare and difficult to acquire even to this day.[297] Specifically, a *hoso-e urushi-e* with metallic powder, showing Ichikawa Monnosuke I (*kabuki* actor from 1700 up to 1727) in the role of a samurai kneeling behind a low table in an unidentifiable *kabuki* play (fig. 61a, 61b) can be singled out. This particular work by Kiyotada was briefly described by Julius Kurth in his *Geschichte des japanischen Holzschnitts* (1925).[298] Kleemann acquired the print for 70 marks and then a fragment of its history becomes lost in time. It is unclear exactly how or when, but the print came into the possession of Fedor Sibeth (unknown dates), Professor of Economics at Tübingen University in Germany. Under its new owner's initiative, the woodcut was displayed in two exhibitions: the *Meister des Japanischen Farb-holzschnitten* [*Master of Japanese Colour Woodcuts*] in Tübingen in 1964 and another unidentified exhibition in Blaubeuren in 1965. In 1969, Kiyotada's print surfaced in an international context, when Sibeth, published an article about rare *ukiyo-e* in the journal 浮世絵芸術 [*Ukiyo-e Art*]. In addition to his role as a professor, Sibeth was also recognised in Japan as an expert on Japanese art and collector of *ukiyo-e* prints. Therefore, in his publication, he used examples from his personal collection, making particular reference to the print by Kiyotada and remarking that its reappearance "may contribute a little to our knowledge about the work of

---

97 of all 5800 German-language catalogues were Asian sales (at least two thirds of their listed lots were East Asian objects), in other words: less than 2%. Asian objects were offered at many more auction sales without forming a predominant category. Most of the above-mentioned ninety-seven sales took place between 1906 and 1914 and between 1926 and 1929. Bommert, "On the Relevance and Potential of Auction Catalogues as Sources for Art Market Research on Asian Art".

[295] Equivalent to €815 and £680.

[296] Equivalent to €1630 and £1361.

[297] Manos kept in his collection another print by Kiyotada, depicting Ichikawa Monnosuke I in the role of a *kyōjo* or a mad woman. Fujisawa Murasaki, "Early Prints: Torii Kiyotada," in *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of NAUSICAA* (Tokyo: Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, 2009), 256.

[298] Julius Kurth, *Die Geschichte des japanischen Holzschnitts: Von den Anfängen bis Harunobu [The History of the Japanese Woodcut: From its Beginnings to Harunobu]* (Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1925), 225.

this artist and his astonishingly rich colour palette of lacquer black, black, yellow, beni in different shades, blue-violett and gold."[299]

The purpose of his article was to encourage new and aspiring collectors by demonstrating that opportunities to acquire high-quality prints still existed. Sibeth challenged the prevalent belief that old *ukiyo-e* had all been absorbed. He argued, instead, that prints from collections formed in the early twentieth century could frequently appear on the market, originating not from renowned but rather from lesser-known, small to medium-sized collections that had remained out of the public eye. His point aligns with my research, aiming to uncover aspects of collecting histories that are often hidden in unknown networks of connoisseurs, unexplored acquisitions, and uncharted modes of transfer. Given the vast opportunities for discovering high-quality pieces in the art market, a similar breadth of potential exists within provenance research. In 1995, Sibeth's collection of *ukiyo-e* was auctioned off in Cologne and Kiyotada's samurai print re-entered the art market. Described within the sales catalogue as "a good impression, colours and condition" and "very rare sheet," its estimated price was 2500 marks.[300] This valuation was higher than that of other prints by prominent early masters, such as Okumura Masanobu, originating from the legendary collections of Hayashi Tadamasa and Henri Vever. While further information about its current state is not available, it serves as a great example of how objects pass through different hands over different periods, without becoming museum objects. They rather transform into objects of pursuit, resonating with Edmond de Goncourt's view that collectibles should not be relegated to museum artefacts but instead offer the pleasure of acquiring a new item to each new buyer, becoming the inheritors of the last owner's taste.[301]

Having examined the presence of Japanese prints in the German-speaking world, where Manos' activities began, it appears equally essential to explore their role in French collecting milieu and shed light into aspects of provenance and taste.

Ukiyo-e in Paris

In Paris, department stores, such as Le Bon Marché, had been selling prints from as early as 1880.[302] However, the 1890s marked a significant change in collecting activities as the taste for graphic arts emerged, putting an end to their previous marginalisation. In *L'art japonais*, Louis Gonse praised Suzuki

[299] Equivalent to €1278 and £1067. Fedor Sibeth, "Stray Notes About Some Rare Ukiyo-e in a Private German Collection," *Ukiyo-e geijutsu 浮世絵芸術 [Ukiyo-e Art]* 19 (1969): 24.
[300] Kunsthaus Lempertz, *Lempertz Auktion 726: Japanische Holzschnitte, Sammlung Fedor Sibeth* (Köln: Kunsthaus Lempertz, 1995), 32.
[301] Geneviève Lacambre, "Goncourt Edmond and Jules," *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2022), https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/623 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[302] Raymond Koechlin, "Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient [Memories of an Old Art Enthusiast of the Far East]," in *Plunder and Pleasure: Japanese Art in the West 1860-1930*, ed. Max Put (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 85.

Harunobu, Kitagawa Utamaro, and Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815), while for the undisputed master, Hokusai, he remarked: "The complete works of Hokusai would be the glory of any print collection and could be placed beside those of Rembrandt..."[303] The images portrayed scenes of everyday life and myth with an original palette of colours that enchanted Europeans. Edmond de Goncourt attempted to describe the different tones and hues in his book devoted to Utamaro: "the yellows are the colour of honey [...] The reds are jujube red, "smoking flame" and "ashes of silver" [...] The greens are crab green, shrimp green, "the heart of onion" green. [...] with lovely hues that we in Europe would consider impure."[304] *Ukiyo-e* prints were mesmerising not only for their colours, but also for their technical and compositional qualities as well as for their themes. The pictures imprinted on the surface of the textured Japanese paper captured the essence of the floating world, a world of pleasures that resonated the European reality at the time. The artists who frequented the bohemian circles of Montmartre, such as Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901) and Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947), could see themselves reflected in the Japanese images depicting the habitués of Edo's pleasure quarters and entertainment districts. In other words, these prints, embodying a celebration of ordinary scenes, found their way to Europe at a time when artists aimed to break from the restricting rules of the Academy and discover new paths of expression that would capture the reality of modern life. Woodblock prints changed the course of European pictorial art, enabling painters to express their authentic artistic voice.

When Japanese woodblock prints appeared in Paris, their audience was mainly artists who could not afford expensive and high-quality objects, such as Chinese porcelain. During the 1890s, however, the images of the floating world became sought-after by the new social class that emerged, the bourgeoisie. European collectors praised *ukiyo-e* prints as the apogee of Japanese art. This was much to the dismay of the Japanese, who considered them ephemeral commercial products. Particularly, Hayashi Tadamasa's efforts to place woodblock prints in the spotlight was criticised in Japan for he had tarnished the honour of his own country by selling vulgar designs, including *shunga* (erotic prints, literally "spring pictures") to foreigners. In 1872, the Japanese government issued the Ordinance Relating to Public Morals, prohibiting the sale of *shunga* and declaring them "obscene material" (*waisetsu*).[305] In Europe, on the other hand, themes that would traditionally constitute a violation of the decorum, such as the world of prostitution, fascinated the public—often in secret—during a period when society saw a considerable reform in the realm of morality. The sexual nature of prints challenged but also seduced collectors to discover a different aspect of Japanese art. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Paris emerged

[303] Colta Feller Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 13.
[304] Edmond de Goncourt, *Utamaro* (New York; Paris: Parkstone International, 2008), 111.
[305] Ricard Bru i Turull, *Erotic Japonisme: The Influence of Japanese Sexual Imagery on Western Art* (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2014), 38.

as the undisputed hub in the consumption of sex and erotica. Although erotic prints were not advertised or publicly displayed, between 1880 and 1910, several exceptional *shunga* collections were amassed.[306] Manos acquired numerous *shunga*, as revealed in a 1924 notebook that documented the transfer of the collection to Corfu; particularly, crate no. 102 contained "Erotika," estimated at 10,000 francs. However, the catalogue he composed to accompany the donation of his collection included surprisingly few "spring pictures." This absence is also reflected in the number of prints housed in the MATK today.[307] Therefore, Manos' decision to exclude *shunga* from the official donation possibly indicates his concern regarding their reception from the Greek public.

This example is indicative of how *ukiyo*-e were received in Europe and how they came to define the Japanese collections of both individual amateurs and museums. While Hayashi Tadamasa thrived in the European art market as a dealer of woodblock prints, interest in them scarcely surfaced in their native country.[308] During the late Edo and early Meiji periods, the largest collection in Japan was likely amassed by Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889), one of the most prominent Japanese artists of the modern era.[309] Kyōsai's political sentiments that often placed him on the wrong side of the law, along with his association with Japanese literary figures who criticised the Westernised pretentions of the Meiji era, are crucial to understanding the motives behind the formation of his *ukiyo-e* collection; his efforts were driven by a desire to preserve and safeguard the cultural heritage of the past, which had profoundly shaped his own artistic practices. It is not known when exactly Kyōsai added each print to his collection, nor how many he had acquired, but it is believed that he used them as references for his own work.[310] Interestingly, two prints by Torii Kiyonaga formerly in Kyōsai's possession found their way into Manos' hands (fig. 62, 63); depicting children at play, they both feature a red triangular-shaped seal composed of three spiral motifs, *mitsudomoe*, that encloses the characters 惺々(*seisei*), a name that Kyōsai very often used to sign his works and collectibles. The dispersion of Kyōsai's *ukiyo-e* among museums and private collections worldwide following his death provides an explanation for how Manos came to acquire the two prints.

When Manos began to avidly collect *ukiyo-e*, they were already commanding high prices on the market, however that does not appear to have discouraged him. It is noteworthy that in 1883, illustrated albums, prints, and paintings were classified within the "divers" section of the sales catalogues, comprising

---

[306] Ibid., 36.
[307] Kagouridi, "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)".
[308] However, when later on woodblock prints gained popularity among Japanese collectors, Hayashi was accused of draining his country of valuable *ukiyo-e*.
[309] Kyōsai's presence was also resonant in Europe as he exhibited at the Vienna International Exhibition in 1873 and the Paris Exposition in 1883. Moreover, he developed ties with Emile Guimet, who visited the artist in 1876 in Japan and later recorded his memories in an essay titled *Promenades Japonaises* (1878).
[310] Ibid.

merely 1,5% of the total auction lots. A decade later though, these items were allocated their own distinct category, comprising 41% of the auction lots by 1893.[311] In addition, between 1890 and 1901, Hayashi imported 156,487 *ukiyo-e* prints, 9708 illustrated books and 846 screens and illustrated handscrolls.[312] At that time, in Japan a single print originally fetched a mere 30-40 sen (100 sen=1 yen), even for works by renowned artists, such as Utamaro, Kiyonaga and Harunobu. Hayashi distributed *ukiyo-e* in Europe for much higher prices than their Japanese market value. Especially when prints were authentic and highly regarded, he sold them for one thousand times over the original prices he paid for them in Japan.[313] The Japanese dealer established himself as the undisputed authority in the field of *ukiyo-e* and collectors highly prized his prints. Thus, the sale of his collection in 1902 marked an unmissable opportunity for Japonisants like Manos. The illustrated catalogues accompanying the auction served as textbooks and were regarded as valuable sources of information on Japanese art at the time. André Portier, in a 1902 letter addressed to Hayashi, expressed his eagerness to acquire the catalogue of the sale.[314] It significantly contributed to the expansion of knowledge in the field, along with other major French scholarly works, such as Gonse's *L'art japonais*, de Goncourt's monographs on Utamaro and Hokusai and Georges de Tressan's (also known as Tei-San) *Notes sur l'art japonais, peinture et gravure,* 1905.[315] Hayashi's crucial role as an interpreter of prints and translator of text unquestionably contributed to the aforementioned publications and to the general understanding of *ukiyo-e*.[316] He essentially created a new branch in the market and shaped public taste by introducing the works of masters such as Utamaro and Kiyonaga.[317]

Works by Kiyonaga became highly admired and sought-after by European collectors, whose taste had been guided by Hayashi. According to the preface of Hayashi's sales catalogue "Kiyonaga is the great artist, who re-established the high grandeur in prints, in a style of old times, creating imposing compositions, admirably structured, by also adding the delightful element of charming colour."[318]Additionally, *L'art japonais* offers one of the earliest scholarly references to Kiyonaga's work; Gonse praised the Japanese artist for his technical skills, recognising him as "an original and powerful

[311] Saint-Raymond, "Les collectionneurs d'art asiatique à Paris (1858-1939): Une analyse socio-économique [Collectors of Asian Art in Paris (1858-1939): A Socio-Economic Analysis]," 297.
[312] Bru i Turull, *Erotic Japonisme: The Influence of Japanese Sexual Imagery on Western Art*, 38.
[313] Deborah Levitt-Pasturel, "Critical Response to Japan at the Paris 1878 Exposition Universelle," in *The French and the Pacific World, 17th-19th Centuries: Explorations, Migrations, and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. Annick Foucrier (Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 249.
[314] *Correspondance adressée à Hayashi Tadamasa*, ed. Institut de Tokyo (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2001), 397-98.
[315] Palais du Louvre Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Pavillon de Marsan, *Exposition d'estampes japonaises primitives: 300 pieces* (Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1909).
[316] Bru i Turull, *Erotic Japonisme: The Influence of Japanese Sexual Imagery on Western Art*, 34.
[317] James A. Michener and Richard Lane, *Japanese Prints: From the Early Masters to the Modern* (Tokyo; Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959), 256.
[318] Siegfried Bing, "La Gravure Japonaise," in *Dessins, estampes, livres illustrés du Japon réunis par T. Hayashi* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1902), IV.

master; his compositions were different from any other's as a result of their life, movement, relief and bold combinations of colour."[319] Born in 1752, Kiyonaga, was the son of a bookseller. At the age of ten, he apprenticed under Torii Kiyomitsu (1735-1785), and was later formally adopted into the Torii family, assuming the name Torii Kiyonaga. Although the Torii family primarily dealt with subjects associated with *kabuki* theatre, Kiyonaga rose to prominence as one of the leading artists in portraying beautiful women (*bijin-ga*). Following the death of his mentor Kiyomitsu in 1785, the leadership of the Torii lineage remained unresolved. Two years later, Kiyonaga took the role of the fourth head of the Torii school.[320]

Manos acquired several prints by Kiyonaga for his collection, but two specific ones will be discussed here as they feature the conspicuous red seal of Hayashi on their lower right corner and address themes of ownership, provenance, and value; the first one depicts the mythical child known for his extraordinary strength, *Kintarō Riding a Bear* (1788-1790) (fig. 64) and the second illustrates a passage from *The Tale of Genji* (early eleventh century), particularly *Onna San no miya* (1784) (fig. 65).[321] While both prints bear the signature of the artist, "*Kiyonaga ga*," they have been published by different individuals, adding an interesting dimension to their history. As Kiyonaga's work gained increasing recognition, Nishimuraya Yohachi (c.1789-1830) became his main publisher, issuing more Kiyonaga images than any other, particularly between 1777 and 1786. This is reflected in most prints by Kiyonaga found in the Manos collection, which bear Nishimuraya's seal, such as *Kintarō Riding a Bear*. Takatsuya Isuke (1758?-1791) became the second most frequent publisher to collaborate with Kiyonaga.[322] While the print depicting *Onna San no miya* does not feature a publisher's seal, it is most likely that Takatsuya issued it, as most sheets from that series feature the seal "Keiun-dō," used by him.[323] Additionally, it is known that with Takatsuya's support, Kiyonaga, introduced *ōban*-sized full-colour prints, such as *Onna San no miya*. This large format was considered extravagant and rare during the Tenmei period (1782-1788), when the

[319] Louis Gonse, *L'Art japonais* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1883), 257.
[320] Julie Nelson Davis, *Partners in Print: Artistic Collaboration and the Ukiyo-e Market* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 116.
[321] It originates from the untitled series of five portraits depicting celebrated ladies of the Heian court This passage from *The Tale of Genji* gained significant renown during the Edo period and served as inspiration for many prints. *Ukiyo-e* where Onna San no Miya appears with very similar iconographic characteristics and pose have been created by Kiyonaga himself on other instances, as well as by artists such as Suzuki Harunobu and Ippitsusai Bunchō (active c.1765-1792).
[322] Kiyonaga's work is estimated to a total of 1152 sheet prints, of which 551 (or some 43%) include publisher's seals, while the remaining 57% do not contain documentation regarding publishers. Out of the 551 prints with seals, Takatsuya Isuke issued about 11% of them, becoming the second most frequent publisher to collaborate with Kiyonaga, following Nishimuraya. Davis, *Partners in Print: Artistic Collaboration and the Ukiyo-e Market*, 116.
[323] Despina Zernioti et al., *Huit maîtres de l'ukiyo-e: chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée national d'art asiatique de Corfou* (Paris: Maison de la culture du Japon à Paris, 2011), 51. The presence of the "Keiun-dō" seal, which predominantly appears in works dating to around the fourth year of Tenmei (1784), is featured in pieces of a more luxurious nature, usually being *bijin-ga* series, such as the one in question with court ladies or *Azumabashi-shita no ryōbune.*

majority of *nishiki-e* (brocade prints) were still in medium or smaller size format.[324] Takatsuya, based in Nihonbashi—a centre of commerce and culture—was driven by a strong desire for innovation and profit. His collaboration with Kiyonaga and particularly the development of large *nishiki-e* aimed to cater to the taste of a limited and niche Nihonbashi audience, involving wealthy individuals and relatively young cultural figures.[325]

In a sense, by adding these prints to his collection, Manos inherited the aesthetic preferences of Japanese *ukiyo-e* collectors. Although both feature Hayashi's seal, Manos did not procure these prints directly from the Japanese dealer, neither from his business on rue de la Victoire nor from the sale of his collection in 1902. They were rather purchased, along with several other *ukiyo-e*, in 1913 from the auction of Charles Bermond's collection, for 55 French francs each.[326] Bermond was a lawyer and businessman closely linked to some of the most powerful French families at the time, such as the Beauvals and the Esterhazys.[327] In this capacity, he also provided legal assistance to the Japanese dealer.[328] Their exchanges involved other aspects too, as Bermond was a collector and Hayashi's client.[329] His preferences led him to the acquisition of Chinese and Japanese porcelains and faience as well as numerous *ukiyo-e* prints.[330] When Bermond's collection was sold, the provenance of the two Kiyonaga prints was mentioned within the catalogue: "Cachet Hayashi," accentuating their value. Hayashi stamped his name on every print that passed through his hands, whether it was a piece in his personal collection or a commodity for his business. His seal is generally perceived as a guarantee of quality, yet reality may differ, as a remark made by his wife, Satoko, suggests. When Hayashi began to focus on the *ukiyo-e* business, he entrusted her with the precious seal, requesting that she applies it to the prints before them sending them on to Paris.[331] However, the volume of prints was so overwhelming that Satoko needed

[324] Tanabe Masako, "Takatsuya Isuke to Torii Kiyonaga: Nishikie no ōgonjidai wo sendō shita hanmoto to eshi 高津屋伊助と鳥居清長—錦絵の黄金時代を先導した版元と絵師 [Takatsuya Isuke and Torii Kiyonaga: The Pioneering Publisher and Print Artist of Ukiyo-e's Golden Age]," *Ukiyo-e geijutsu 浮世絵芸術 [Ukiyo-e Art]* 163 (2012): 29.
[325] Ibid., 50.
[326] Equivalent to €187,83 £156,81. Minute quote D42E^3 125, Archives de Paris.
[327] Marcel Thomas, *Esterhazy ou L'Envers de l'affaire Dreyfus [Esterhazy or the Other Side of the Dreyfus Affair]* (Paris: Vernal-P. Lebaud, 1989), 82.
[328] In 1891, Bermond represented Hayashi in a legal dispute with the company Bony Rogers et Cie, as indicated by their correspondence. The Collection of Hayashi Tadamasa: Related Letters and Reference Material, "Letter from Charles Bermond to Hayashi Tadamasa," https://hayashi.nmwa.go.jp/en/pages/h1891042701.html (accessed September 30, 2024).
[329] The transactions between Hayashi and Bermond are confirmed through their correspondence. On this matter, see "The Collection of Hayashi Tadamasa: Related Letters and Reference Materials," The National Museum of Western Art, https://hayashi.nmwa.go.jp/en/sender/bermond_charles.html (accessed September 30, 2024).
[330] This is assumed from the review of the sales included in the "Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris," published on April 1, 1913, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k97609164/f137.item.r= (accessed September 30, 2024).
[331] Hayashi's wife, Satoko, worked in Japan in order to place commands and manage the dealer's business when he was in France. Moreover, she was the one who came up with the idea to create the collector's stamp and mark the objects that passed through Hayashi's business. Emery, "Women Collectors of Japanese Prints," 65.

assistance from her husband's employees.[332] This anecdote reveals that Hayashi's seal cannot be unequivocally equated with authenticity and quality; instead, it serves as a symbol of the Japonisme era.

During the Edo period, *ukiyo-e* circulated within the market as commodities, a status that persisted upon their arrival in Europe, however, in a different context and system of trade; their identity shifted and from images of low value produced for the masses, they ascended to being hailed as the epitome of Japanese art, commanding extraordinarily high prices, especially if formerly owned by a renowned collector. Despite the growing unease among collectors due to the rising prices of Japanese prints and the subsequent shift towards other categories of objects, Manos was not discouraged; in fact, it was then, in the 1910s, after his relocation to Paris, that he began to actively engage in the market and become passionate about *ukiyo-e*. This newfound interest prompted the acquisition of numerous prints. Moreover, when Manos auctioned off thousands of objects from his collection in the French market, a significantly limited number of Japanese prints was featured among the lots for sale, indicating their growing significance to him. As most of the *ukiyo-e* remained in his possession, he parted with other objects that appear to be of a much rarer nature and higher monetary value; one of these constitutes the focus of the following case study.

[332] Koyama-Richard, "Hayashi Tadamasa and the Creation of a Market for Japanese Art," 237.

A Case of *Daimyō* Relics and their Trajectories: Horse Saddle and Samurai Objects

Two out of the three objects examined in this chapter have entered and remained within the Manos collection, today residing at the MATK. However, as collections are subjects to constant transformation and change, it also appears important to delve into the histories of objects that have departed from the collection and explore their trajectories. For this reason, the second case study of this chapter will regard a horse saddle, *kura* in Japanese, (fig. 66) that passed through many different hands and eventually settled in a European museum other than the MATK. This object is significant not only for its potential to illuminate a new branch in Manos' network of fellow collectors but also for its ability to demonstrate the emergence of Japanese military regalia as sought-after collectibles during the early twentieth century. Following an exploration of the saddle's history, I will also analyse other objects from the collection that highlight Manos' fascination with the Japanese warrior culture and reflect on the historical factors that contributed to their appreciation in Europe.

Japanese horse saddles, similar to the one soon to be examined, made their way to Europe as early as the seventeenth century. During a period when the Japanese government maintained limited and tightly controlled relations with foreign nations, these objects seem to have been brought to Europe as diplomatic presents. A characteristic example is that of a lacquered *kura* in the Royal Collection Trust which is speculated to have formed part of *shōgun* Tokugawa Hidetada's (1579-1632) gift to James I (1566-1625) in 1613.[333] Consequently, one might assume that following the opening of Japan and the influx of objects into the European market, saddles would be found in vast numbers. Interestingly, while *kura* are present in the collections of Europeans who developed an affinity for Japanese military regalia, they appear in limited numbers. This scarcity is likely attributed to their substantial dimensions and weight. Smaller objects were more easily transported, and buyers preferred them as they required less space for storage and display. Nonetheless, Manos did acquire a few pieces for his collection; a set of *kura* and *abumi* (stirrups) adorned with gold and silver crab motifs from the Edo period is currently on display at the MATK (fig. 67). This case study, however, will focus on the saddle that he offered for sale.

The auction of the Manos collection held in March 1912 introduced the Japanese saddle in question to the Parisian market. The description that accompanied the catalogue entry offers valuable insights: "Très belle selle japonaise, à montants de laque noir, décorée au laque d'or de troupes de chevaux sauvages. Cette décoration est paillonnée et pavée d'or de différents tons. L'intérieur est en laque nashiji, également à décor de chevaux en laque d'or. Très belle pièce du XVIIe siècle. Signé Yoshi. Datée du mois de

[333] Royal Collection Trust, "Saddle tree (*kura*) 1580-1650," https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/2/collection/71609/saddle-tree-kura (accessed September 30, 2024).

Janvier de la XVIIe année de Kwayei (1631). Collection du baron Siebold."[334] The information provided sheds light on various aspects of the saddle's history, including its material, decoration, name of the saddle-maker, date of production, as well as the identity of its last owner. Moreover, a black-and-white photographic reproduction of the saddle is featured within the catalogue (fig. 68); while it did not entirely capture the object's true visual effect, it did provide a preliminary impression to potential buyers at the time.

Both the pommel, *maewa*, and cantle, *shizawa*, are of *yamagata* form (mountain-shaped) and feature two distinct sections on their outer surfaces: the upper part known as *umi* (literally sea), and the lower part known as *iso* (literally shore) that extends outward. This nomenclature derives from their side-profile resemblance to the shoreline meeting the sea. The pommel and cantle are connected by side bands called *igi*. At the top of the pommel are two indentations cut into either shoulder called the *tegata,* designed to be grasped by the rider when mounting the horse. The origins of wood saddles with high pommel and cantle can be traced back to the Kofun period and are present in depictions of ceramic *haniwa* horses. The form of this early saddle developed into the *gunjin-gura,* campaign or war saddle, and *suikan-gura,* riding saddle reserved for aristocratic use, during the Heian and the Kamakura periods.[335] It remained the most common type in subsequent eras. The saddle in question presents characteristics of the Edo period. Although most Japanese saddles are undated, in this case the inscribed date, referring to the first month of the year 1631, makes this specimen a valuable reference point.[336]

During the Edo period, which marked two centuries of peace for Japan, horses were no longer needed for warfare and the samurai started using highly decorated *kura* with coloured lacquers, extensive intricate inlays, and leather work. Edo period saddles became more decorative for they were no longer used as practical objects but instead served as adornments that reflected the social prestige of the feudal lords, *daimyō*, who employed them in ceremonial processions.[337] *Daimyō* were required to pay extended ceremonial visits to the capital city, therefore, on their journeys to and from Edo, they would be accompanied by entourages, characterised by their opulent attire and accessories.[338] Mounted samurai were also an important part of these processions, escorting their *daimyō*.[339] Therefore, this saddle probably served as a parade piece used by a feudal lord or a highly esteemed samurai during such a visit

---

[334] André Portier, *Collection de son exc. M. Manos, ancien ministre de Grèce à Vienne. Deuxième Vente. Porcelaines de la Chine, bronzes et cloisonnés chinois, laques et bois chinois, porcelaines et poteries du Japon, bronzes et cloisonnés japonais* (Paris: [s.n.], 1912), 36.
[335] William E. Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 156.
[336] Saito Takamasa, "194. Kura (saddle) and Abumi (stirrups) with Plum Blossom," in *Art of the Samurai: Japanese Arms and Armor, 1156-1868*, ed. Morihiro Ogawa (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 287.
[337] Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan*, 156.
[338] Stephen V. Grancsay, "The Gift of a Japanese Lacquered Saddle," *Bulletin - Metropolitan Museum of Art* 27, no. 5 (1932): 128.
[339] Eric C. Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2010), 133.

to the shogun's capital. Commoners, on the other hand, were not legally permitted to ride horses until 1871, however, that law was not rigidly enforced.[340] A written testimony regarding this matter is provided by poet Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694), who, in 1689, began a journey to the remote North provinces of Japan, narrated in his poetic travelogue, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (published in 1702); specifically, in Nasu, Bashō borrowed a horse to get to Kurobane and attached a payment to the saddle before letting the horse find its way back home.[341] With the abolishment of the samurai class, non-samurai were permitted to openly ride horses and eventually this led to the adoption of saddle designs more commonly found in Western countries. For instance, saddles employed during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) by Japanese officers are described as being built on the model of civilian English saddles.[342]

Moreover, after the Meiji Restoration and the dissolution of the feudal system, *daimyō* and samurai lost their hereditary rights and stipends, subsequently facing financial hardships and extreme poverty; in order to survive, they were forced to sell off their personal fortunes and consequently part with things that had been accumulated over several generations. As Japan's traditional values underwent a drastic reformation, families having in their possession objects from previous periods or antiquities declined in social prestige and began to feel embarrassed.[343] This is further exemplified by a trade fair organised in Kyoto in 1872, where around 2000 items were submitted by several owners. The catalogue featured a great variety of objects, such as books, paintings, religious implements, musical instruments, fragments from old tiled roofs, swords and weapons; the latter amounted to approximately 300 in number, originating from private ownership.[344] Due to Japan's intense Westernisation process at the time, these items held little value in the local art market. Therefore, it was the *oyatoi gaikokujin*, or foreign experts, who began to collect what that the Japanese themselves had renounced or were not interested in anymore. Invited by the Meiji government to introduce specialised scientific knowledge and new technologies, to teach Western studies and assist in the modernisation of Japan, they also seized the opportunity presented by the cultural

[340] Constantine N. Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* (Leiden; Boston: Brill; Harvard University Asia Center, 1994), 221.
[341] Matsuo Bashō and Yuasa Nobuyuki, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North: And Other Travel Sketches* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), 102.
[342] United States War Department General Staff and Walter Scribner Schuyler, *Reports of Military Observers Attached to the Armies in Manchuria During the Russo-Japanese War* (Washington: Government Print Office, 1907), 108.
[343] Princess Akiko of Mikasa, "Kwan ko dzu setsu: A Textbook of Japanese Ceramics for Foreign Collectors," in *Great Waves & Mountains: Perspectives and Discoveries in Collecting the Arts of Japan*, ed. Natsu Oyobe and Allysa B. Peyton (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2022), 15.
[344] Soejima Hiromichi, "Die Schätze der buddhistischen Tempel und ihre Säkularisation [The Treasures of Japanese Temples and their Secularisation]," in *Das alte Japan: Spuren und Objekte der Siebold-Reisen [Old Japan: Traces and Objects from the Siebold Travels]*, ed. Peter Noever (München: Prestel, 1997), 53.

reformation.[345] During these socio-political circumstances, the saddle discussed here, likely passed into the possession of a European collector whose life was closely associated with Japan, Heinrich von Siebold.

As an *oyatoi gaikokujin*, Heinrich arrived in Japan just after the country's political and cultural opening, in 1869, and actively engaged in the new modernisation strategies. Apart from his contribution in Japan's preparation for the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition, Heinrich dedicated himself to collecting objects with the ultimate aim of presenting them to European institutions, thereby fostering the advancement of knowledge on both scholarly and artistic levels. In his collecting efforts, he was aided and advised by discerning Japanese people, such as Ninagawa Noritane,[346] who had profound expertise in traditional Japanese culture. Many items from Heinrich's collection bear Ninagawa's inscriptions, documenting the close friendship between the two men.[347] Also, in one of his journals, Ninagawa wrote that on January 10, 1873, he gave "Siebold" an approximately seven-hundred-year-old saddle, called a *Yamato gura*. During that time, both Heinrich and his brother Alexander were in Japan, therefore, it is difficult to discern which brother Ninagawa was referring to.[348] The majority of the lacquerware pieces collected by Heinrich reflect Edo-period warrior culture and the Meiji-period lifestyles that inherited it. Many items were created during the nineteenth century, while others date back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some lacquer objects may be significantly older, potentially originating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries[349] and possibly lacking their original radiance and shiny finish, an alluring quality to European eyes. For Heinrich, whose approach to collecting was inspired by his father and focused on the study of materials and production processes,[350] the lacquerware was not merely perceived as art objects but also as ethnographic artefacts.[351]

Following Siebold's death, the saddle of this case study, was acquired by Manos from the "Au Mikado" in Vienna in 1909. It remained in his possession until the collector decided to sell it in the Parisian market three years later. Upon examining the procès-verbaux of the auction, it was revealed that a certain Mr.

---

345 Maezaki Masako Yamamoto, "Innovative Trading Strategies for Japanese Art: Ikeda Seisuke, Yamanaka & Co. and their Overseas Branches (1870s-1930s)," in *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets*, ed. Charlotte Guichard Bénédicte Savoy, and Christine Howald (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 224.
346 Hidaka Kaori, "The Formation and Dispersion of the Siebold Brothers' Japan Collections: Their Relationship with Ninagawa Noritane," in *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold*, ed. Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2019), 192.
347 Ibid., 206.
348 Ibid., 197.
349 Hidaka Kaori, "Die Kultur der Lackkunst und ihre Diversität [The Culture of Lacquer Art and Its Diversity]," in *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: Die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold [Japan in the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold]*, ed. Bettina Zorn and Hidaka Kaori (Vienna: KHM Museumsverband, 2020), 67.
350 Hidaka, "The Formation and Dispersion of the Siebold Brothers' Japan Collections: Their Relationship with Ninagawa Noritane," 191.
351 Hidaka, "Die Kultur der Lackkunst und ihre Diversität," 67.

Moser purchased the saddle for 255 francs,[352] along with several other lots, all related to the Japanese warrior culture.[353] As the auctioneer who composed the record of sales only disclosed the last name of the buyer, his exact identity could not be determined with certainty. Among the possible candidates was Henri Moser Charlottenfels, the only son of Swiss watch entrepreneur, Heinrich Moser (1805-1874). Henri was a diplomat, collector, and explorer, who undertook four expeditions to Central Asia (1868/69, 1870, 1883/84, 1888/89).[354] His journeys established him as a writer of travel journals as well as an expert on the economics and culture of the "Orient." Moser's collecting efforts also reflected matters of economic significance for the European industry and commerce.[355] Through his lectures, exhibitions, and publications, such as *À Travers L'Asie Centrale* (1885) he aimed to highlight the possibilities that could result from a cross-cultural exchange and further disseminate his ideas.

Although the core of his private collection was formed by gifts from local sovereigns during his travels, he also expanded it by acquiring new pieces at Central-Asian bazaars. His efforts resulted in a collection of several thousand pieces originating primarily from Central Asia, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire. From 1876 onwards, he decided to present his objects to the European public in a series of exhibitions throughout Switzerland, Germany, and France.[356] In 1907, he settled at Charlottenfels Castle near Schaffhausen, the family residence, where he devoted himself entirely to establishing a private museum for his collection.[357] In 1909, Moser offered the castle estate to Schaffhausen, as well as the collection, which the city, rejected because he demanded that it be permanently exhibited in its own building.[358] In return, Bern agreed to build an extension, which prompted Moser to bequeath this unique collection to the Bernisches Historisches Museum (BHM hereafter) in 1914, adhering to his life motto that "our aim is to perform something that remains after we are gone."[359] The donation was made under the condition that

---

[352] Equivalent to €913 and £771.
[353] Minute quote D.42E[3] 121, Archives de Paris.
[354] Thomas Dittelbach and Ágnes Sebestyén, "Henri Moser: From the Curiosity Cabinet to the Political Masterpiece: The Swiss Henri Moser's (1844-1923) Evolution in Displaying the "Orient"," https://www.ikg.unibe.ch/research/research_projects/henri_moser/index_eng.html (accessed September 30, 2024).
[355] Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga, "Introduction: Islamic Art and Architecture Exposed," in *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 9.
[356] Dittelbach and Sebestyén, "Henri Moser: From the Curiosity Cabinet to the Political Masterpiece: The Swiss Henri Moser's (1844-1923) Evolution in Displaying the "Orient"".
[357] Katrin Kaufmann, "Samarkand in der Bundeshauptstadt – ein Ausstellungssaal im neo-timuridischen Stil für die Sammlung Henri Mosers im Bernischen Historischen Museum [Samarkand in the Federal Capital – An Exhibition Hall in Neo-Timurid Style for Henri Moser's Collection in the Bern Historical Museum]," in *Der Orient in der Schweiz: neo-islamische Architektur und Interieurs des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts [The Orient in Switzerland: Neo-Islamic Architecture and Interiors of the 19th and 20th Centuries]*, ed. Francine Giese, Leïla el-Wakil, and Ariane Varela Braga (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 142.
[358] Moser Familienmuseum Charlottenfels, "Henri Moser: Explorer, Collector, and Diplomat," https://charlottenfels-museum.ch/geschichte/henri-moser/ (accessed September 30, 2024).
[359] Moser's motto is a quotation from the famous thirteenth-century work *Gulistan* by Persian poet Saadi (1210-1991/92). Alban von Stockhausen, ""Our aim is to perform something that remains after we are gone": The Oriental Collection Henri Moser Charlottenfels at Bernisches Historisches Museum," in *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying, and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 189.

the objects be exhibited in a “suitable and dignified manner” within rooms specifically designated for this purpose.[360]

A special annex was built to permanently host Moser’s collection of over 4000 objects (1300 of them were arms and armour).[361] With this in mind, I reached out to the BHM and confirmed that Henri Moser was indeed the buyer and therefore the last private owner of the saddle.[362] The acquisition of this early Edo-period *kura* by Moser aligns with his broader collecting endeavours between 1907 and 1912, when along with his Persian friend and assistant, Mirza Yuhanna Dawud (1885-1969), he inventoried and thoroughly described large parts of his collection, widening its geographical scope. Moser embarked on an effort to obtain objects from areas and ethnic contexts he believed were linked to the economic and cultural traditions of Muslim communities in Central Asia. New items entered the collection, originating from Buddhist regions in Tibet and Mongolia, along with weapons from southern India, Ceylon, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, and Japan. With Dawud’s support, Moser closely observed auctions and the art markets in London and especially in Paris, where he purchased objects from dealers and individual amateurs to expand his collection.[363] Over the course of his life as a collector, Moser assembled 72 Japanese objects in total (67 arms and armour, 4 arts and crafts, and 1 ceramic).[364] By examining the procès-verbaux, it appears that 16 of them were acquired from the Manos sale in March 1912 and were predominantly associated with the samurai class (swords, helmets, and armour). Therefore, Moser’s 1914 donation to the BHM included not only the saddle but also several other objects originating from the Manos collection.[365] However, the absence of detailed documentation prevents me from confirming their provenance with certainty.[366]

The saddle in question appears to be the only *kura* to have entered Moser’s collection, as indicated by the list documenting the Japanese objects from his donation to the BHM. Its purchase seems reasonable considering that among the necessary warfare accoutrements, the saddle stands out prominently,

---

[360] Kaufmann, "Samarkand in der Bundeshauptstadt – ein Ausstellungssaal im neo-timuridischen Stil für die Sammlung Henri Mosers im Bernischen Historischen Museum," 142.
[361] Roger Nicholas Balsiger, "Honoring Henri Moser Charlottenfels. From Silkworm Exporter to Explorer, Diplomat and Collector: The Illustrious Life of Henri Moser," in *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 6.
[362] I am grateful to Ms Rahel Wille, curator at the Bernisches Historisches Museum, for exchanging emails with me and for providing me with a list of all the Japanese objects from the Moser donation. This allowed me to illuminate the history of objects that previously belonged to the Manos collection and trace their life following the 1912 auction.
[363] von Stockhausen, "“Our aim is to perform something that remains after we are gone”: The Oriental Collection Henri Moser Charlottenfels at Bernisches Historisches Museum," 191.
[364] Ibid., 192.
[365] Considering that in 1890, Moser began his diplomatic career on behalf of Austria-Hungary by representing the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Paris from 1892 to 1904, it is rather possible that Manos and Moser were acquainted on a personal level.
[366] However, objects that can be identified with certainty are an iron helmet covered in red lacquer as well as horse bits with the *mon* of the Tokugawa clan, as previously owned by Manos.

accompanied by attached paraphernalia such as stirrups and decorative ornaments. Especially for the cultures inhabiting the Central Asian steppes, the horse served as both a primary mode of transport and a pivotal weapon in warfare. Innovations in horse equipment provided advantages to societies from Central Asia and were subsequently adopted in East Asia.[367] Therefore, the acquisition of a Japanese saddle by Moser may indicate his endeavour to trace the evolution and historical development of saddlery within Asian cultures or/and his interest in comparative analyses. By observing the extant photographs and illustrations that provide an insight into the display of Moser's collection, it becomes apparent that equine culture played an important role in his collecting vision. The picturesque arrangement of objects in his mansion in Charlottenfels prior to the 1914 donation,[368] shows that arms and armour assumed the central role,[369] while the set up reflected the typical manner of display that adhered to the trend of showcasing military regalia in an Orientalising atmosphere (fig. 69).[370] Arms were symmetrically hung from the walls as trophies; complete suits of armour were presented on wooden equestrian figures and mannequins properly dressed up, focusing on the martial qualities of the objects.[371] The scenography of the exhibition rooms also included papier-mâché horses to properly display the saddles.[372] Similar was the setup of his collection in the BHM (fig. 70).

Reflecting on the manner Moser chose to present not only his collection but also himself, a significant difference emerges between him and the Japonisants who have been examined in my research so far. Moser often posed wearing Central Asian garments and Persian swords like trophies, emphasising his identity as an explorer and hunter, who had led an adventurous life (fig. 71). On the contrary, collectors of East Asian art rarely ever adopted this "Orientalising" attitude by using Japanese armour and other items as props or costumes.[373] Instead, they were typically shown in European dress, surrounded by or holding objects from their collections, often engaged in their examination or caught in moments of contemplation (fig. 72).[374] This appears to have been a deliberate choice, considering that most of them owned *kimono* and swords that could have been employed in a photographic or painting session; it was a choice that also

[367] Jamsranjav Bayarsaikhan et al., "The Origins of Saddles and Riding Technology in East Asia: Discoveries from the Mongolian Altai," *Antiquity* 98, no. 397 (2024), doi: 10.15184/aqy.2023.172.
[368] Mercedes Volait, "Early Shows and Sales of Islamic Antiques in Paris," in *Antique Dealing and Creative Reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850-1890: Intercultural Engagements with Architecture and Craft in the Age of Travel and Reform* (Brill, 2021), 16.
[369] Eugène Pittard, "Collection Henri Moser, Charlottenfels. Armes et armures orientales, 1912," *Le Globe. Revue genevoise de géographie* (1913): 49.
[370] Francine Giese, "International Fashion and Personal Taste: Neo-Islamic Style Rooms and Orientalizing Scenographies in Private Museums," in *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 100.
[371] Volait, "Early Shows and Sales of Islamic Antiques in Paris," 16.
[372] Giese, "International Fashion and Personal Taste: Neo-Islamic Style Rooms and Orientalizing Scenographies in Private Museums," 104.
[373] Another contributing aspect to this was the fact that samurai suits of armour brought over from Japan would not fit any man taller than 1.40 m. Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West* (London: Phaidon, 2007), 143.
[374] This is a general observation and exceptions may arise.

promoted and projected their identities as connoisseurs and intellectuals rather than mere enthusiasts. The rare instances of Europeans captured in Japanese attire were motivated by different circumstances and usually occurred in Japan as a result of their immersion in the local society. For instance, Heinrich von Siebold was photographed wearing Japanese clothing, with a Japanese sword hanging from his belt (fig. 73), while Georges Ferdinand Bigot (1860-1927), a French cartoonist, illustrator, and artist who lived in Japan from 1882 to 1899, also had his picture taken in a similar manner (fig. 74). The contrast observed in all of the abovementioned modes of self-representation may also reflect each individual's underlying collecting approaches and objectives.

Siebold, Manos, and Moser collected with a genuine interest in Asian cultures, as evidenced by their meticulous documentation efforts; however, their motives may have differed. Particularly the saddle's transfer through different hands illustrates how it traversed various spheres of meaning, even after its arrival in Europe. Siebold, with his interest in ethnographic research, appears to have acquired this *kura* for its ability to reflect the modes and manners of Japanese societies, particularly their techniques of using materials such as lacquer and their presence in daily life. In Manos' hands, the saddle assumed the significance of an art object that represented the splendour of the samurai class and conveyed the spirit of Japan he was so fascinated by. The fact that some objects from Siebold's ethnographic collection entered Manos' possession does not alter his identity as art collector; it simply indicates that the same object can be perceived in various ways depending on the environment in which it resides and the meanings attributed to it. When the saddle was acquired by Moser, it became part of a broader narrative, extending the scope of his collection to encompass Japanese traditions. However, given his primary interest in the cultures of Persia and Central Asia, it could be assumed that the *kura* likely occupied a marginal position within the collection and the narrative he sought to construct; it possibly functioned as a parergon, serving to complement and complete the overall story of warrior and equestrian culture.

This Japanese saddle has served as the initial focal point for exploring the fascination with military regalia that unfolded in early-twentieth century Europe. To gain a more comprehensive understanding, I will now broaden my scope to include more categories of objects associated with the *daimyō* class that Manos added to his collection.

Collecting More Military Regalia

The fascination with military regalia seems to lie in the inception of Japonisme, when the first generation of French collectors and dealers sought shelter in Japanese art. Following the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government started to encourage visits from foreign travellers and traders; the French contingent was represented by Siegfried Bing, Philippe Sichel (1839-1899), and Auguste Sichel (1838-1886), concentrating, among other things, on the accoutrements of the Japanese feudal elite: samurai swords,

spears, and daggers with jeweled and sculpted cases.[375] Bing remarked that the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune of 1870-1871 made the arts of Japan especially attractive to his French public. Part of the appeal was relief and diversion from internal devastation: “In 1871, at the moment when our spirits, crushed by recent catastrophes, had begun to breathe again, we could surrender ourselves to such fruitful studies.”[376] However, the interest in such objects did not cease, as the second generation of French Japonisants remained equally attracted to armour, mainly acquiring *katana*, *wakizashi* and *tanto*, i.e. long swords, their smaller companions and daggers.[377]

Manos developed an interest for Japanese swords and the paraphernalia associated with the Japanese warrior (fig. 75) early in his life as a collector. By 1918, he had acquired 157 military regalia, including swords, weapons, and helmets, which accounted for nearly 14% of the total Japanese objects he had assembled up to that point.[378] A sword with *katana* blade[379] kept in a *tachi*-style scabbard (fig. 76) becomes indicative of Manos’ taste. In Europe, swords, an essential component of most Japanese art collections, were valued primarily for their impressive mounts rather than the blade itself.[380] Although it has been mounted as a *tachi*, the blade is a *katana*. This is not an uncommon practice, and it is important to note that very often one encounters early blades remounted in later years.[381] *Katana* was designed as a weapon to stab or thrush opponents during the Muromachi period and first came into being when smiths cut *tachi* from the root and shortened them. Therefore, *katana* is relatively shorter than a *tachi* and worn on the left side of the waist with its cutting edge facing upwards. *Katana* was usually used in ground-fighting whereas *tachi* was associated with horseback-fighting. Because of its beautiful appearance, having a *tachi*-style sword mounting became a symbol of social status among samurai. Therefore, it could be presumed that this blade was originally owned by a high-ranked samurai who was wealthy enough to own a blade with the *tachi*-style sword mounting.[382] Most of the armour produced at this time was relatively light and, being made of lacquered leather rather than iron, were far more suited to processions. The scabbard bears decorations in gold *hiramaki-e* with the crest of the Tokugawa family as well as with

---

[375] Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (London;Berkeley, CA;: University of California Press, 1989), 126.
[376] Ibid. 126.
[377] Henri L. Joly, "Introduction à l'étude des montures de sabres japonais [Introduction in the study of Japanese swords]," *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* XXXI-XXXII (1913): 37.
[378] Karamanou, "Gregorios Manos and the Museum of Asian Art," 13.
[379] A *katana* blade is at least 60 cm long.
[380] Oliver Impey and Malcolm Fairley, "Frühe europäische Sammler japanischer Kunst der Meiji-Zeit [The European Collectors of Japanese Art during the Meiji Period]," in *Das alte Japan: Spuren und Objekte der Siebold-Reisen [Old Japan: Traces and Objects from the Siebold Travels]*, ed. Peter Noever (München: Prestel, 1997), 33.
[381] V&A, Victoria & Albert Museum, "Dagger and Scabbard," https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O92420/dagger-and-scabbard-kanesada/ (accessed September 30, 2024).
[382] Samurai Museum, "Antique Japanese Sword Katana Signed by Kunishige," https://www.samuraimuseum.jp/shop/product/antique-japanese-sword-katana-signed-by-kunishige-nbthk-tokubetsu-hozon-certificate (accessed September 30, 2024).

the *gosan no kiri* or Paulownia crest, which has also been used by the members of the Tokugawa clan, among others, and silver hardware.[383]

As one of the Three Sacred Emblems (*sanshu no jingi*) bestowed directly by the gods, the sword was imbued with a peculiar sanctity and was reverenced by the Japanese, from very early times.[384] It was regarded both a weapon and a symbol, "the soul of the samurai." After its arrival in Europe, it often reflected "the soul of the collector." Those who had travelled to Japan and witnessed it with their own eyes, were particularly impressed by the effectiveness of the Japanese sword, which combined beauty of form with elegance of function.[385] As it became known that all swords of value were signed, often bearing the date of their production, specimens forged by celebrated smiths could reach very high prices on the market. At the same time, European dealers and merchants used the technique of accentuating the object's glorious past in order to influence and guide the taste of collectors.[386] In Manos' archive, we find a letter addressed to Viennese dealer Joseph Kingal (dates unknown) from Julius Bamberger (dates unknown), an importer in Berlin, which could potentially attest to this practice. The latter calls Kingal's attention to items that were once owned by Katō Kiyomasa (1561-1611), the great general who served Toyotomi Hideyoshi during the invasion of Korea (1592-1598). Japanese swords were deemed as prized collectibles not only for their aesthetic qualities, but also for the romanticised ideal they were imbued with, related to the Japanese warrior and the former splendour of the samurai clans.

Further evidence of Manos' interest in swords is found in the correspondence he exchanged in 1905 with S. Yoshida (unknown dates), a Japanese affiliate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo.[387] While his precise identity remains unknown, Yoshida was likely among the members of the new elite that emerged in Japan after the Meiji Restoration, assuming leading and administrative roles in the government. Contrary to common belief, these individuals did not discard traditional cultural values and, in fact, continued to engage in art collecting, poetry, painting gatherings, and *chanoyu*, activities that were the mark of a cultivated gentleman.[388] Manos originally requested Yoshida to supply him with paintings, which the latter failed to do as he was "not knowledgeable enough in this respect."[389] Instead, he

---

[383] John D. Hamilton, *The Peabody Museum Collection of Japanese Sword Guards with Selected Pieces of Sword Furniture* (Salem, Mass.: The Peabody Museum of Salem, 1975), xii.
[384] Robert Hamilton Rucker, *The Gōda Collection of Japanese Sword Fittings: Catalogue* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1924), xi.
[385] Gregory Irvine and Harry Green, *The Japanese Sword: The Soul of the Samurai* (London: V&A Publications, 2000), 129.
[386] Constance J. S. Chen, "Merchants of Asianness: Japanese Art Dealers in the United States in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of American Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 30.
[387] Another Japanese individual, T. Nakamata from Kanazawa, appears to have provided Manos with objects. However, specific details regarding these objects are not mentioned, while the dates of their correspondence remain unknown.
[388] A characteristic example is that of Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877), a Japanese statesman, whose diary reveals aspects of his life as a collector and connoisseur of swords; he gave and received swords as gifts, while he also visited famous experts and smiths. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*, 30-31.; Thomas M. Huber, "Reviewed Work: The Diary of Kido Takayoshi," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 3 (1984), doi: 10.2307/2384601.
[389] Yoshida S. "Letter to Manos," April 23, 1905, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

presented Manos the opportunity to purchase three signed old swords; one by Kanesada (1533) for 42 yen, another by Masamichi (1390) for 30 yen, as well as a poignard by Yoshinaga (1533) for 10 yen.[390] Yoshida, a connoisseur and collector himself, seems to have specialised in swords for he included in his letters information regarding their prices on the Japanese market as well as advice on how to clean and maintain them in good condition.[391] He also shared his remarkable experiences in the Japanese market, such as when he encountered a sword by Kawachino Kami Kumisuke (active 1624-164?), with an exceptionally sharp blade and a golden inscription stating that renowned sword tester Yamano Ka'emon Nagahisa (1598-1667) had cut through two torsos with a single stroke. Evidently, Manos established connections with people who not only contributed to the expansion of his collection, but also to his knowledge.

Interestingly, Manos also added to his collection a sword that did not serve a military purpose, specifically a double-edged sword (*ken*) with a three-pronged *vajra* hilt (*sankokuza*) (fig. 77). In contrast to *katana*, *tachi*, and *wakizashi*, this *ken* of extreme rarity was employed as a ritual object in ceremonies of esoteric Buddhism, rather than as a weapon. Ritual swords, predominantly from the medieval period, can be found in European collections, with more recent examples, such as the one examined here, being relatively uncommon.[392] The scabbard of this *sankokuza* is coated with black lacquer, featuring engraved decorations of a *Kurikara* dragon and *maki-e* auspicious clouds on both sides. According to the inscription on the blade, it was forged by Ikkansai Yoshimichi (unknown dates), the adopted son of Nakayama Yoshihiro (?-1865), in 1834 (Tenpō 5), on New Year's Day. Living during a time when the demand for swords declined, Yoshimichi produced works with strong religious character. The physical components as well as the iconographic elements associate this sword with one of the Five Great Kings of Light, Fudō Myōō, also referred to as the Great Immovable One; typically depicted among flames, he holds a *ken* with *sankokuza*, the sword of wisdom that represents the defence of religious doctrine and the defeat of falsehood and evil.[393] Therefore, before entering Manos' collection and within its original context, the sacredness of the sword derived from its ability to represent the essential nature of bodhisattva Fudō Myōō and act as an alternative body of him, endowed with magic and religious

[390] If the date of the sword's production provided by Yoshida is accurate, then Kanesada seems to identify with the adopted son of the second generation Kanesada of Mino (date signatures from 1521 to 1544), who received the honourary title "Izumi no Kami." Information about the other two smiths has not been found yet. Markus Sesko, *Index of Japanese Swordsmiths A-M* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2012), 156.
[391] Yoshida S. "Letter to Manos."
[392] "Ritual Sword," *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections* (2016), https://aterui.ws.hosei.ac.jp/jbae/detail.php?id=GRC_MATK_KM2532%252F3482&page=0&no=0#maindata02_content (accessed September 30, 2024).
[393] Donald J. LaRocca, *The Gods of War: Sacred Imagery and the Decoration of Arms and Armor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 23.

power.[394] Given that French scholarship had acknowledged the ritual character of *ken* (fig. 78), it can be assumed that Manos acquired it with an understanding of its religious importance.[395]

Sword Fittings

In addition to swords, Manos exhibited a profound interest in sword mounts (fig. 79, 80), such as *tsuba* (sword guards). In the same manner that *inrō* and *netsuke* were highly appreciated, *tsuba, fuchi-kashira* (hilt ornaments), and *kozuka* (knife handles) became favourite collectibles due to their compactness and low prices, as well as their impressive technical skill and elaborate details. Their vast availability across Europe made them ideal for filling a display cabinet. A Japonisant explained that *tsuba* in particular could be "easily arranged with effect in the drawers of a cabinet; the materials in which they are wrought are capable of perfect preservation with ordinary care; and a good series of specimens is rich in interest and beauty."[396] As already discussed, a significant point in time for the collecting of Japanese military regalia was marked when the samurai class was abolished after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Subsequently, in 1876, the new Meiji government passed an edict called the "*Haitorei*," which prohibited the wearing of swords in public.[397] Therefore, discarded swords and mounts flooded the market.[398] It was particularly noted that "after the 1st of January 1877, when this edict took effect, the curio shops in Japan were filled with swords once prized by their owners, and since that time tens of thousands of these obsolete weapons have found their way to Europe, or have been dismembered in Japan, their more attractive fittings having been sent out of the country for sale. Even now there are occasional shipments of immense numbers of guards, six or seven thousand at a time."[399] As a result, it is considered that five million sword guards, *tsuba*, had been sent to Europe by the turn of the nineteenth century.

By 1918, Manos had already acquired 405 *tsuba*, as his records indicate.[400] In 1920, he participated in the sale of Adolphe Roubeaud's (unknown dates) collection, which provided French Japonisants with the opportunity to acquire objects, such as *tsuba*, that had become less available in France due to the elevated

---

[394] Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japanese Buddhism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2022), 203.; Yamasaki Taikō, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (Shambhala: Boston, 1988), 156.
[395] Early twentieth-century references and scholarly descriptions of *ken* can be found in the following articles: Edouard Mène, "Les anciennes garnitures de sabres du Japon [The Old Sword Fittings of Japan]," *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, no. XI (June 1908). Henri L. Joly, "Introduction à l'étude des montures de sabres [Introduction to the Study of Sword Fittings]," ibid., no. XIV (March 1909).
[396] A.H. Church, "Metal Work. Part II. The Furniture of the Sword," in *Catalogue of Specimens of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work Exhibited in 1894* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894), xvi.
[397] Ibid., 92.
[398] The appearance of Asian weapons within European collections had been common since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Louis Gonse in *L'art japonais* remarks that pieces of armour were probably some of the first Japanese objects to reach Europe; they even appear in the inventory of Philip IV of Spain, and they seem to have been offered as a gift to Philip II by a Japanese ambassador in 1854, some of them originally belonged to Hideyoshi, Gonse, *L'Art japonais*, 118.
[399] Ibid., xvii.
[400] Karamanou, "Gregorios Manos and the Museum of Asian Art," 13.

prices set by Japanese merchants.[401] Specifically, the heightened interest among European collectors in acquiring signed pieces prompted Japanese craftsmen to develop the practice of adding signatures to sword guards. Consequently, the number of original *tsuba* decreased and the market saw an influx of forgeries.[402] Manos, aware of the prevailing conditions, participated in the sale and purchased a total of six *tsuba*. Interestingly, one of his new acquisitions, a *tsuba* attributed to the Shōami school (early seventeenth to nineteenth century), actually re-entered his collection; Roubeaud had originally purchased it from the 1912 Manos sale, and eight years later, when the opportunity arose, the Greek collector acquired it back.[403] It appears that Manos appreciated sword fittings with elaborate decorations that reflected the shift in Japanese craftmanship, from a simplistic to a more intricate approach. He was not particularly thrilled by early *tsuba*, which were crafted using leftover iron from blades; although the metal was of high quality, the emphasis placed on practicality did not allow much space for complicated designs and decorations. Instead, he showed a preference for *tsuba* crafted during the Azuchi-Momoyama and the Edo periods, when sword guards began to be regarded as decorative pieces rather than purely functional components of sword mounts. This transition led to the creation of elaborate and expensive sword fittings, with smiths incorporating luxurious materials such as gold, lacquer, and other costly elements.[404]

This preference of Manos' is also reflected in the second auction that sold his collection in 1912, *Gardes de sabres, kodzukas, menukis, estampes japonaises, peintures et kakémonos, livres illustrés...: Collection de Son Exc. M. Manos*. The sale mainly featured sword guards and fittings, with 227 entries out of a total of 615 dedicated to *tsuba* spanning from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Additionally, 65 *kozuka* and 24 other sword fittings were offered for sale. Each object was meticulously classified according to its respective school, and detailed descriptions were provided, including information on signatures, when available. It is important to remark that the descriptions employed precise Japanese terminology, indicating a scholarly approach to cataloguing. The structure and mode of object categorisation appear to follow the example set by Hayashi Tadamasa, who, in 1894, composed the *Catalogue de la collection des gardes de sabre japonaises au musée du Louvre*, a publication that expanded knowledge and functioned as a model for cataloguing Japanese sword fittings in the following years. Nevertheless, it should be noted that while scholarship at the time aimed to explain the characteristic features, techniques and decorative subjects of *tsuba*, their attribution to specific schools was not always an easy matter, considering that a

---

[401] André Portier, *Gardes de sabres japonaises..., sabres, poignards et lames de sabre, casques, masques, etc., meuble-classeur pour gardes de sabres de chez Jémont, catalogues illustrés de ventes, etc... Collection A. Roubeaud* (Paris: [s.n.], 1920), ii.
[402] Julia Meech, "The Other Havemeyer Passion: Collecting Asian Art," in *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 139-40.
[403] Minute quote D48E^3 98, Archives de Paris.
[404] As a result, *tsuba*, *fuchi* and *kashira*, *menuki*, *kogatana*, *kozuka*, and other embellishments became ornate embellishments. Feudal lords competed against one another in obtaining luxurious armours, including their tsuba, leading to certain styles becoming famous throughout the country and gaining widespread popularity during the Edo period. Diana Lu, "The Japanese Art Collection of the ROM: A Look at Edo Period Tsuba," https://www.rom.on.ca/en/blog/the-japanese-art-collection-of-the-rom-a-look-at-edo-period-tsuba (accessed September 30, 2024).

worn sword guard could have been subject to retouching, patination, or even the addition of a different signature by a "restorer," potentially covering that of the original craftsman.[405]

Manos' passion for sword guards is also evident in the substantial number he acquired. His collection of *tsuba* and war-related items is even comparable (in quantity) to that of Édouard Mène (1833-1912), doctor and fervent Japonisant, who created the most thorough and extensive collection of Japanese military objects in France; in exaggerating terms, it was even described as "perhaps the richest in the world and [one] that has no equivalent, even in Japan."[406] Mène was also president of the Société des Études Japonaises, Chinoises et Indochinoises and vice-president of the Société Franco-Japonaise de Paris. Although he never travelled to Asia, just like Manos, the objects he assembled were obtained from some of the most prominent Parisian dealers and importers, such as Adolphe Worch. His efforts were accompanied by an endeavour to identify the details of the items in his collection, which led him to adopt a scholarly approach to their study; he carefully unveiled their history and traced their origin, date, style, and signature.[407] While Mène's collection included an impressive 517 *tsuba,* Manos had similarly acquired a substantial number of 405 *tsuba,* reflecting his dedication and passion for collecting in line with contemporary trends. Additionally, it is interesting to observe that Manos' collection surpassed Mène's in certain categories of Japanese military objects. For instance, while Mène owned 101 *kozuka,* Manos had amassed 166. In terms of *fuchi* and *kashira,* Mène possessed 57 pairs, whereas Manos held almost twice as many, 110 pieces. Despite Manos' broad range of collecting interests, it is evident that his affinity for Japanese military regalia was comparable to that of Mène's, whose collecting and scholarly interests exhibited a clear focus on warrior culture objects.[408]

This exploration of Manos' acquisitions, beginning with the saddle and extending to various objects associated with the Japanese warrior, reflects an important aspect of the collection's nature. Their journeys from Japanese feudal societies to the European circles of Japonisme reveal not only the collectors' diverse motivations, taste, and interests but also the broader socio-political and economic shifts that acted as agents in the movement and interpretation of objects. Therefore, this sub-chapter has traced

---

[405] Asuka Minami, "Georges de Tressan (1877-1914): Officier, historien des arts japonais et collectionneur de gardes de sabre," in *Territoires du japonisme*, ed. Patricia Plaud Dilhuit (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 71.
[406] Lucie Baumel, "Mène Édouard,"*Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2022), https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/423 (accessed September 30, 2024).
[407] Mène also loaned objects from his collection to the two exhibitions on Japanese sword guards and fittings, held at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1910 and 1911 as well as to an exhibition dedicated exclusively to him at the Musée Cernuschi, *Japanese weapons from Dr Mène's Collection* from 1911-1912. The exhibition was attended by many officials, as well as many amateurs, collectors, and dealers of Asian art, such as Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929), Théodore Duret (1838-1927), Raymond Kœchlin, Georges Marteau (1858-1916), and Adolphe Worch. "Inauguration, au musée Cernuschi, de la deuxième exposition des arts de l'Asie," *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, November 9, 1911, n.p.
[408] In 1913, a year after his death, Mène's collection was actioned off, featuring 1343 lots. Although it is rather possible that Manos was among the bidders, given that he obtained two of the sales catalogues, a definitive answer cannot be provided. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, the procès-verbaux of Mène's collection have been lost.

the history of samurai related items and has aimed to view them through the eyes of each individual owner, highlighting the intricate web of cultural exchange, historical significance, and aesthetic values that they embody. Aiming to uncover additional narratives related to these issues, the following case study will explore an object whose journey in Europe was similar to that of the saddle. However, as its origins trace back to the early stages of Japanese civilisation, it prompts us to consider objects in a different context of interpretation.

A Case of Old Japan: *Sue* Cup

The final case study in this chapter delves into one of the oldest Japanese objects in the Manos collection, a *sue* cup (fig. 81) from the Kofun period. The topic of *sue* pottery predominantly emerges within archaeological discourse since its specimens have been excavated from funerary sites of the protohistoric epoch. Therefore, I will approach this *sue* cup from a multifaceted perspective, aiming to shed light on its social life and trace its trajectory from kiln to museum, while special emphasis will be placed on its perception as a collectible during the early twentieth century.

Technically more advanced than Jōmon and Yayoi period pottery, *sueki* (literally *sue* ware) marks a turning point in the history of Japanese ceramics, with production beginning in the latter half of the Kofun period. *Sue* pottery was brought to Japan from the Korean peninsula by migrant engineers, leading to significant technological advances, particularly in furnaces and kiln construction. The first one was the potter's wheel, which allowed the creation of bigger and better regulated objects. The second one was the introduction of the Korean-style *anagama* kiln, made of a single tunnel-like chamber half buried in the ground along the slope of a hill.[409] Due to the high temperatures (over 1,000 degrees C), there was less leakage, and therefore the stoneware produced were stronger and harder. *Sueki* acquired its characteristic bluish-grey colour by abrupt oxygen reduction when fuelled with damp foliage shortly before the firing was terminated, thus reducing the porosity of the fine grey clay.[410] Some *sue* ware also developed an ash glaze resulting from the glassification of material from the kiln walls.

The term *sue* originates from the verb *sueru*, which means "to offer" and emphasises the ceremonial character of the stoneware. During the Kofun period, *sueki* was mainly employed in religious rituals or served as burial accessories; these vessels gained prominence in aristocratic burials throughout Japan, often found abundantly in elite-class graves.[411] As *sueki* acquired a distinguished status within the contemporary societal context, a diverse range of stoneware was produced, including mounted dishes, covered containers, jars, bowls, and high pottery serving stands. Among these, the *futatsuki* type, exemplified by the object in question, has been discovered in tombs still containing organic remains of food left as offerings. *Futatsuki* (*futa*=cover and *tsuki*=bowl) particularly refers to a shallow, sometimes lidded bowl or dish used as a serving vessel; it constituted one of the most prominent *sue* categories

[409] Karoku Miwa, "Sue Ware," in *The Rise of a Great Tradition: Japanese Archaeological Ceramics of the Jōmon through Heian Periods (10,500 B.C.-A.D. 1185)*, ed. Erica H. Weeder (New York: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, Japan Society, 1990), 54.
[410] Asian Art Museum, "Bird-shaped bottle," https://searchcollection.asianart.org/objects/925/birdshaped-bottle (accessed September 30, 2024).
[411] Song-Nai Rhee et al., "Korean Contributions to Agriculture, Technology, and State Formation in Japan: Archaeology and History of an Epochal Thousand Years, 400 B.C.–A.D. 600," *Asian Perspectives: The Journal of Archaeology for Asia and the Pacific* 46, no. 2 (2007): 437.

produced for solid food and was widely used from the fifth to the seventh century. References to it are even encompassed in Japanese mythology, wherein narratives associated with cosmogony particularly date back to the late Kofun period; for instance, the story of Izanami, the Shintō mother goddess, secluding herself in a cave and partaking of the food of the dead, draws from the late fifth to sixth century custom of using corridor-style chamber tombs filled with food offerings placed in *sue* ware.[412]

The evolution of *sueki* can be divided in four phases, from the fifth to the seventh century. The first phase marks the appearance of *sue* ware, particularly in the areas of Kyūshū and Kinki, and dates to the beginning of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century. The production was characterised by stoneware made for everyday use and by pieces crafted to replace the older vessels employed in funerary rituals. The second phase dates from the mid-sixth century to the beginning of the seventh century. The presence of kilns in all the regions where tombs existed demonstrates that the production method had become widely known. During that period, *sueki* was extensively found in funerary sites across Japan. The technical features of the cup in question denote its association with this second phase of *sueki* production and its character as one of the paraphernalia accompanying the deceased in the afterlife. The third and the fourth phase, which cannot be confined within a specific chronological framework, saw the disappearance of *sueki* from the funerary realm and its incorporation within the sphere of everyday life.[413]

Within the field of Japanese archaeology and specifically in regard to pottery production, it is widely accepted that the development of *sueki* would not have been feasible in Kofun Japan without the on-site technological contributions of Korean *dojil* experts.[414] *Sue* ware is very similar to its contemporary Silla pottery,[415] made in Korea and known there as *dojil togi*.[416] In the eighth-century *Nihonshoki* [*Chronicles of Japan*], it is recorded that *sue* ware was made by *toraijin* (settlers). When Emperor Yūryaku (418-479 CE), the twenty first legendary Emperor of Japan, was contemplating a potential military campaign against the Kingdom of Silla in southeast Korea, his ministers advised him to invite experienced craftsmen from Paekche because of their superior skills. He followed their counsel and settled potters, painters, weavers, and saddlers in Yamato (old name for Japan).[417] Archaeological investigations have

---

[412] Gina L. Barnes, "A Hypothesis for Early Kofun Rulership," *Japan Review*, no. 27 (2014): 21.
[413] Laurent Nespoulous, "La Période Kofun et l'archipel japonais à partir du IIIème siècle [The Kofun Period and the Japanese Archipelago from the 3rd Century]," in *Archéologie et patrimoine au Japon [Archaeology and Heritage in Japan]*, ed. Jean-Paul Demoule and Pierre Souyri (Paris: Éd. de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2008), 66.
[414] Rhee et al., "Korean Contributions to Agriculture, Technology, and State Formation in Japan: Archaeology and History of an Epochal Thousand Years, 400 B.C.–A.D. 600," 437.
[415] Lawrence Smith, Victor Harris, and Timothy Clark, *Japanese Art: Masterpieces in the British Museum* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 16.
[416] In Korea, the production of high-fired pottery began in the fourth century, under the influence of the Chinese tradition. Kohei Kitano, "The Ancient Migration of Crafts from Korean to Japan," in *Cultural and Economic Relations between East and West: Sea Routes*, ed. Prince Mikasa no Miya Takahito (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 203.
[417] J. Edward Jr. Kidder, "Ceramics of the Burial Mounds (Kofun) (AD 258-646)," in *The Rise of a Great Tradition: Japanese Archaeological Ceramics of the Jōmon through Heian Periods (10,500 B.C.-A.D. 1185)*, ed. Erica H. Weeder (New York: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, Japan Society, 1990), 41.

proven that the oldest Korean high-fired pottery exported to Japan was originally from Kaya, the Nagdong Gang River basin of Kyeongsang Nam Do[418] and came to Japan in 400 CE. This occured after the kingdoms of Koguryo and Silla joined forces to invade the Kaya area in the far south of the peninsula, which drove many of the inhabitants to leave the region and migrate to the archipelago.

When stoneware pottery was first produced in the southern states of Korea, natives descriptively called it *soe geureut* (iron vessels) because it was as hard as iron and made a metallic sound when tapped. After migrating to Japan, they continued to call it *soe geureut*. Consequently, as the Yamato scribes began to adopt the Chinese script to write their own language, they rendered the term as *sueki*.[419] However, *sueki* was known as *chosen doki* (Korean pottery) or *iwaibe doki* (sacred pottery jar) until the1950s, when the term *sue* was adopted.[420] It was coined by the archaeologist Gotō Shuichi (1888-1960) and originated from a reference to vessels found in the eighth century Japanese classical poetry anthology *Manyōshū*, literally *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*.[421] To cite from the source when the term *sue* is mentioned: "*makurabe ni iwaibe wo sue*" which translates to "with a wine-jar at my pillow,"[422] and refers to objects that were used in rituals of worshipping the gods.

Tracing the Provenance of the *Sue* Cup

The presence of this *sue* cup within the Manos collection is rather intriguing as it deviates from the general taste for Japanese pottery and ceramics that prevailed around the 1900s. Collectors of Manos' generation, active from the mid-1880s to the first decades of the twentieth century, contributed to a significant shift in preferences that led to a decline in the demand for highly decorated ceramics produced exclusively for export to the West, such as Satsuma and Arita. As it has been explained in Chapter 1, these Japonisants rather gravitated towards more simplistic ceramics employed in the traditional tea ceremony (*chanoyu*).[423] Already from the 1870s, Siegfried Bing had introduced the idea of "authentic Japanese taste" promoting the humble elegance and unrefined beauty of *chanoyu* stoneware and earthenware, crafted for the Japanese domestic market.[424] In addition, the 1878 International Exhibition in Paris played a pivotal role in the development of taste, as Japanese stoneware pottery appeared for the

[418] Kitano, "The Ancient Migration of Crafts from Korean to Japan," 203.
[419] Song Nai Rhee, C. Melvin Aikens, and Gina Lee Barnes, *Archaeology and History of Toraijin: Human, Technological, and Cultural Flow from the Korean Peninsula to the Japanese Archipelago c. 800 BC-AD 600* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2021), 168.
[420] Wontack Hong, "Yayoi Wave, Kofun Wave, and Timing: The Formation of the Japanese People and Japanese Language," *Korean Studies* 29, no. 1 (2005): 10.
[421] Frederick Baekeland et al., "Japan: Ceramics," *Oxford Art Online* (2003), doi: 10.1093/oao/9781884446054.013.90000369684.
[422] Donald Keene, *The Manyōshū: The Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai Translation of One Thousand Poems* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1965), 25, 325.
[423] Imai, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics," 117.
[424] Takesue, "Private Collection as Collective Operation: Art Dealers' Impacts on the Formation of the Van Horne Japanese Ceramic Collection".

first time, sparking significant interest among the French public.[425] Specifically, Wakai Kanesaburō presented pieces "of a very greasy, often coarse material, and coated with enamels that did not have a great shine" which he considered "as curiosities."[426] These objects truly seduced the French collectors who, over the following years, began to develop a more profound understanding of Japanese ceramics. Although Manos avidly purchased pieces related to *chanoyu*, such as tea caddies, cups, and incense burners, his collecting efforts expanded to pottery originating from what came to be known as "old Japan," exemplified by the *sue* cup in question.

Collectors relied heavily on Ninagawa Noritane's seminal work, *Kanko zusetsu* [*Illustrated Notes on the Antiquities*], written between 1876 and 1880. This seven-volume publication aimed to preserve Japan's cultural heritage during a period of severe Western modernisation by providing an overview of the Japanese history of ceramic production. Illustrated with meticulously hand-coloured lithographs depicting objects mainly from Ninagawa's extensive collection, the book excluded export ceramics, indicating that those lavishly ornamented wares should not be considered of authentic Japanese nature.[427] *Kanko zusetsu* also served as a textbook for the European connoisseurs who held an interest in Japanese ceramics and pottery.[428] The first chapter of the book regards the "Pottery of the Earliest Period," and when referring to a *sue* cup, Ninagawa only remarks that it was used "on the occasion of some worshipping rituals."[429] While Ninagawa made an important scholarly contribution that intended to reconstruct the history of Japanese pottery from ancient to contemporary times, he often appeared reluctant in his writing, acknowledging gaps in knowledge about the origin of older ceramics. Additionally, within another fundamental resource for European collectors, the *Ko-ji Hō-ten* dictionary, the entry concerning Japanese pottery provides a descriptive yet superficial reference on *sueki*. It omits any terminology and notably neglects to mention the specific historical period. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, French scholarship on Japanese prehistoric and protohistoric material culture did not substantially advance. However, this should not come as a surprise since such objects did not frequently appear in the market and France did not have a history of archaeological missions to Japan.

---

[425] Imai, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics," 120.
[426] "en matière très grasse, souvent grossière, et revêtue d'émaux qui n'avaient pas un grand éclat." Akutsu Mariko, "La porcelaine d'Imari dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle: Industrialisation et dépréciation," in *Territoires du Japonisme* ed. Patricia Plaud-Dilhut (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 177.
[427] Mio Wakita-Elis, "Donating a Japanese Tea Caddy: Heinrich von Siebold, Ninagawa Noritane, and Reframing Japanese Tea Ceramics in mid-1870s Vienna," in *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold* ed. Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2019), 182.
[428] Takesue, "Private Collection as Collective Operation: Art Dealers' Impacts on the Formation of the Van Horne Japanese Ceramic Collection".
[429] Ninagawa Noritane, *Kwagawa-zusetsu (Illustrated Notes of Antiquities and Pottery)*, trans. H. R. Yamamoto (1906), 12.

Hayashi Tadamasa was the first to promote his business as specialising in “objets d’art anciens du Japon” (old art objects from Japan), in the 1901 issue of *Bottin du commerce*.[430] However, the French term “ancient” translates as old rather than ancient, leaving room for interpretation regarding the specific age range of the objects. But what exactly were these “old objects from Japan,” and how old were they? To elucidate this matter, it is worth noting that the earliest objects featured in the 1902 auction catalogue of Hayashi’s collection date to the eighth century CE and are present in limited numbers. This points to the direction that pottery from Japan’s protohistoric era was not widely circulating within European collecting networks at the time. The relative absence of such objects also stands in contrast with the presence and availability of old Chinese items, from the Zhou (ca. 1050-221 BCE) or Han dynasties, which frequently surfaced on the market and found their way into various collections, as a result of the railway building. Therefore, it could be argued that during that period, the material culture of China was more comprehensively represented in Europe compared to that of Japan.

This rarity is what makes the *futatsuki* type *sue* cup in question stand out. It is also one of the few protohistoric Japanese specimens in the Manos collection. A key element for its interpretation is the inscription attached to it: “‘Found in Ishitani, Katayama-mura, Chita-gun, Gifu Prefecture.” It particularly indicates an interest in Japanese material culture that extends beyond the typical scope of collecting at the time and reveals a systematic classification usually encountered in the cataloguing of ethnographic or archaeological finds. Reflecting upon the network of collectors that Manos was associated with, there is only one individual whose activities and pursuits were linked to the study of Japan’s archaeological past: Heinrich von Siebold. Following the steps of his father, Philipp Franz von Siebold, Heinrich engaged in collecting and archaeological efforts, eventually assembling a collection that encompassed objects from the Jōmon and the Kofun periods. His brother, Alexander, expressed his surprise regarding Heinrich’s archaeological endeavours in a letter: “Unfortunately, I did not know much about your excavations but the whole assembly (Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Pre-history) was very excited, and you suddenly became a second Schliemann.”[431] Heinrich brought to light numerous objects from Japan’s past among which many *sueki*, while a *futatsuki* piece in particular was donated in 1893 to Vienna’s Museum of Applied Arts (fig. 82).[432]

---

[430] Léa Saint-Raymond, *À la conquête du marché de l'art: Le Pari(s) des enchères (1830-1939) [Conquering the Art Market: The Gamble of Paris Auctions (1830-1939)]* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021), 467.
[431] Wilhelm Graf Adelman, "Heinrich von Siebold. Der dritte "japanische" Siebold [Heinrich von Siebold: The Third "Japanese" Siebold]," in *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold [Japan during the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold]*, ed. Bettina Zorn (Wien: KHM Museumsverband, 2020), 21.
[432] Josef Kreiner et al., *Shīboruto fushi no mita Nihon: seitan 200-nen kinen = Die Japansammulngen Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold: 200 Jahre Siebold [The Japanese Collections of Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold: 200 Years of Siebold]*, ed. Doitsu-Nihon Kenkyujo (Tōkyō: Doitsu Nihon Kenkyūjo, 1996), 250.

To unravel the provenance of the *sueki* in question, the sales catalogue of the Manos collection from February 1912 plays an important role, for it includes a limited but considerably illuminating section entitled "POTERIES PRIMITIVES. — Pièces de Fouilles" ("PRIMITIVE POTTERY. — Excavation Pieces").[433] It features three objects previously owned by Siebold, with one of them specifically accompanied by the following details: "Provenant des fouilles à Minno no Kuni, village de Ikedagon. Katta yama-mura à Ishidani. Collection du Baron Siebolt."[434] This description corresponds to the exact location where the *sue* cup under examination was excavated, confirming the hypothesis that it originates from the Siebold collection. Most of these archaeological objects were unearthed from burial sites by Heinrich himself, while others were acquired through acquaintances and dealers in Tokyo.[435] Therefore, these two pieces were found at the same burial site and entered Siebold's collection. Subsequently, in 1909, they were offered for sale at the "Au Mikado" in Vienna and eventually passed into the possession of Manos; the one featured in the Greek collector's catalogue was sold, particularly to the art dealer Charles Vignier, while the *sue* cup of this case study remained in Manos' hands and later continued its journey to Corfu. Reflecting on their rare presence outside Japan during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it could be assumed that most, if not all Jōmon and Kofun period objects in the Manos collection, were acquired on the occasion of the Siebold sale.

Primarily an avid collector with an amateur interest in archaeology, Siebold lacked formal training in the field but nonetheless played a pioneering role in fostering Western interest in Japanese archaeology during the 1870s. He introduced Western concepts to Japan and is particularly credited with first using the term *kōkogaku* (考古学 archaeology), which continues to be employed in contemporary discourse.[436] Siebold's fascination with Japan's burial mounds prompted him to carry out surveys around Takasaki (Gunma prefecture), Kabuto (present-day Higashimatsuya city in Saitama prefecture), Ōtani village (present-day Kumagaya city in Saitama prefecture), and elsewhere.[437] In contrast to some of his contemporaries like Edward Morse (1838-1925)[438] and William Gowland (1842-1922), he did not have the academic connections that could have facilitated his investigations and, therefore, he had to personally

[433] After the sale these two objects passed into the possession of the art dealer Charles Vignier, as indicated by the procès-verbaux.
[434] Portier, *Collection de son exc. M. Manos, ancien ministre de Grèce à Vienne. Première partie, Porcelaines de la Chine, bronzes et cloisonnés chinois, laques et bois chinois, porcelaines et poteries du Japon, bronzes et cloisonnés japonais*, 20.
[435] Kudō Yūichirō, "Heinrich von Siebolds archäologische Sammlung und seine Theorien zur japanischen Ethnogenese [Heinrich von Siebold's Archaeological Collection and His Theories on Japanese Ethnogenesis]," in *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: Die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold [Japan during the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold]*, ed. Kaori Hidaka and Bettina Zorn (Wien: Weltmuseum Wien, 2020), 63.
[436] Britta Stein, "History of Archaeology in Japan," *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51726-1_3370-1.
[437] Kudō Yūichirō, "Japan in the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold," ed. Weltmuseum Wien (2020).
[438] In one of his articles, Morse acknowledged Siebold's contribution to the field but at the same time criticised him for certain inaccuracies and unstable assumptions that appear in his book. E. S. Morse, "Some Recent Publications on Japanese Archaeology," *The American Naturalist* 14, no. 9 (1880): 660.

finance all of his excavations, which placed him at a distinct disadvantage.[439] Despite this challenge, in 1879, Siebold published his archaeological research in both English and Japanese, under the titles *Notes on Japanese Archaeology with Especial Reference to the Stone Age* and *Kōko setsuryaku*. The English version features illustrations of various artefacts, including stone tools, ritual stone objects, Jōmon pottery, beads, and Kofun period *haniwa* clay figures. The Japanese edition encompasses an introductory section on European archaeology as well. Siebold divided Japanese pottery into three categories; particularly "the third kind of ancient pottery hitherto discovered is of Korean origin and is made of a peculiarly hard material of grey colour. The vessels bear some resemblance to the Japanese pottery afore described, but the design is formed not by straight, but by curved lines. The inner part is seamed by many curved lines which appear to have been formed by pressure."[440] This description appears to correspond to *sue* ware. While Siebold only recognises his findings as "ancient" and does not provide any speculations about their age, it would have been impossible for him to accurately identify the chronology of *sueki* excavated from tumuli sites, as tombs contained grave goods from different periods.[441]

Reflecting on the discovery of this *sueki* cup, a question arises regarding the conditions of Kofun burial sites during the Meiji period, particularly after 1874 when excavations were prohibited.[442] Only research related to the Jōmon period did not bear any consequences because Jōmon people were considered to be the indigenous inhabitants with no ties to the imperial line.[443] The imposition of restrictions on archaeological investigations into specific periods, specifically the Yayoi and Kofun periods, can be attributed to the state religion of Shintō, which held a dominant position within the newly established regime and maintained an inseparable association with the emperor. Therefore, the burial mounds from the Kofun period were regarded as the final resting places of the emperor's ancestors, thus rendering their excavation strictly prohibited. Items within the mounds were considered by the Japanese as remains of the *kami*, or spiritual inhabitants of the country, and were treasured up in the chapels and *kami*-halls as sacred relics of value.[444] Consequently, it is sensible to wonder how Heinrich managed to realise his excavation plan and unearth Kofun period objects. One possible explanation is that his archaeological investigations

---

[439] Stein, "History of Archaeology in Japan."
[440] Heinrich von Siebold, *Notes on Japanese Archaeology with Especial Reference to the Stone Age* (Yokohama: Typography of C. Lévy, 1879), 9.
[441] A chronology of *sueki* can be reliably established only through the analysis of items discovered in kiln sites. Higuchi Takayasu, "**須恵器** (Sue Ware)," in *世界陶磁全集 Sekai tōji zenshū: Catalogue of World's Ceramics*, ed. F. Koyama, S. Tanaka, and R. Fujioka (Tokyo: Zauho Press & Kawade Shobo, 1958), 201.
[442] As early as 1874, the government issued to local administrators the following proclamation, admonishing against disturbing mounded tombs: "With regard to ancient imperial tombs whose locations are as yet undetermined, in other words those still under investigation, when uncultivated lands in various districts are developed . . . for places which appear to be ancient mounds [kofun] . . . reckless digging is not to be permitted, and if such has already occurred, reports accompanied by drawings must be submitted to the Ministry of Education." This prohibition remained in effect until the end of World War II. Jennifer Robertson, *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications Ltd., 2008), 42.
[443] Stein, "History of Archaeology in Japan."
[444] A.W. Franks, "Notes on the Discovery of Stone Imprements in Japan," in *International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology: Transactions of the Third Session* (London: Longmans, Green, and co, 1869), 260.

took place before the enforcement of that restriction. However, there is an alternative possibility. Despite the governmental directive, it has been reported that in some cases, looting by locals took place, rarely resulting in criminal prosecution. This is further illustrated through the example of William Gowland, who excavated the Shibayama tomb (Kawachi, Ōsaka prefecture), a small Kofun keyhole-shaped mound, with the permission of the local governor.[445] Likewise, Heinrich, could have leveraged the personal connections he had built up during his time in Japan to obtain the necessary authorisation and carry out his archaeological mission.

Further information into this matter is provided in the records of the First International Congress of Orientalists (Congrès international des orientalistes), held in the Hall of Theology at the Sorbonne in 1873. Several sessions were devoted to Japanese art and archaeology and among the scholars who contributed to the presentation "On the Japanese Stone Age" was Nomura Naokagu (unknown dates), an attaché of the Ministry of War in Edo. In his answer to a question following his talk, Nomura offered pertinent insights into the acquisition methods of protohistoric objects: "All these items were brought to Europeans by natives, with the declaration that they came from the soil of Japanese tombs, that they were all of Japanese manufacture and extremely old."[446] Within the discourse, reference was also made to Philipp Franz von Siebold's collection. It was specifically remarked that: "Von Siebold's specimens were chiefly obtained for him by the imperial physician, Katsuragawa [Hoken]."[447] It is evident that akin to his father, Heinrich was also assisted by local people in his excavations across Japan.[448] Although Heinrich inherited some objects from Philipp's collection, [449] their precise nature and identity remains uncertain. Both father and son were driven by a shared interest in uncovering the origins of the Japanese people, as proven by their activities and eventually the extensive collections they assembled.[450]

After remaining buried for thirteen centuries, the *sueki* was eventually unearthed and passed into the possession of Heinrich von Siebold. From that point onwards, it started to move between spheres of

---

[445] Stein, "History of Archaeology in Japan."
[446] "[…] tous ces monuments japonais avaient été apportés aux Européens par des indigènes, avec déclaration qu'ils provenaient du sol des tombeaux japonais, qu'ils étaient tous de fabrication japonaise et tous extrêmement anciens. Mais nous ne pouvons nous empecher de remarquer, et le Congrès remarquera aussi sans doute, que rien,absolument rien, n'établit le giscment primitif de ces objets,le lieu de leur fabrication, par conséquent leur age, par conséquent la réalité de l'age de pierre allégué." Congrès international des orientalistes et al., *Congrès international des Orientalistes. Compte-rendu* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1873), 73.
[447] Franks, "Notes on the Discovery of Stone Imprements in Japan," 260.
[448] Another example is that of a certain Dr Sabatier, in the employ of an arsenal in Yokosuka, whose acquisitions of various objects, among which a *sue* vessel, were directed and advised by a Japanese individual, Mr Shioda. Marquis de Vibraye, "Sur des instruments en pierre provenant du Japon," in *Congrès international d'anthropologie & d'archéologie préhistoriques compte rendu de la 6e session, Bruxelles, 1872* (Nendeln: Kraus reprint, 1969), 341.
[449] Johannes Wieninger, "Heinrich von Siebold's Collection at the MAK - Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna," in *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold*, ed. Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2019), 214.
[450] Kreiner et al., *Shīboruto fushi no mita Nihon: seitan 200-nen kinen = Die Japansammulngen Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold: 200 Jahre Siebold [The Japanese Collections of Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold: 200 Years of Siebold]*, 146.

meaning, its identity underwent a transition and recontextualisation; from a funerary good, it shifted into an artefact for ethnographic and archaeological study. The fluidity of the cup's identity became even more complicated when it entered a new framework of consumption and circulation: the twentieth century marketplace. Following its appearance on the Viennese art market, it acquired the status of a commodity, thus getting involved in a considerably different realm and system of value. In Manos' hands, the *sue*ki breaks away from the contemporary taste for nineteenth-century *chanoyu* pottery and broadens the scope of his collection. In a sense, it does align with the preference for simplistic and unrefined pieces. Although originally made for a life among the dead, the *sue* cup eventually acquired a life among the living. Moreover, the fact that a Japonisant like Manos purchased it for his collection, adds another dimension to the life of this *sueki*. It did not only cross geographical/spatial boundaries, but also cultural (from an item buried with the dead to coexisting with the living), perceptual (from a utilitarian object to art), functional (from burial to display) and socio-economic ones (from less to more privileged).

As part of the Manos collection, the *sue* cup was juxtaposed with other objects from Japan (and perhaps from China) not associated with burial traditions. It is likely that Manos did not identify the *sueki* as an "item for the dead." Particularly, in the 1912 auction catalogue of his collection, Manos did not refer to *sue* ware as tomb paraphernalia, but only as "excavated pieces." By extending this reasoning, some questions arise when considering the afterlife of the *sue* cup and its current display at the MATK. How do we perceive the *sue* cup's exhibition in the museum, which excludes the original narrative and context into which it was born? Also, how do we approach a funerary object that was meant to accompany the dead and not to be seen by the living within the context of a Western contemporary museum, where it is placed on display for thousands of visitors to observe? As the sphere of meaning has shifted, the object now serves the intent of its last owner, who donated it for the common benefit and good. However, it is important to acknowledge its original identity as a protohistoric funerary item and situate it within the cultural framework it was initially part of. As contemporary museums aim to illuminate their collections and delve deeper into the histories of the objects that comprise them, it is pivotal to provide a more cohesive and comprehensive narrative that disseminates knowledge. Museums and collections grow numb when they remain undeveloped, not only in physical terms but also in research-based terms. Therefore, my study into this object and the questions posed intend to prevent it from becoming a static, rigid singularity, and instead position it as part of the living organism that is the Manos collection.

This has been my approach to all the Japanese objects that I previously analysed and I intend to maintain this methodology in the examination of the forthcoming Chinese items. Therefore, transitioning to the exploration of Chinese case studies, themes revolving around identity, interpretation, and provenance will persist as focal points. These topics will be studied within their distinctive frameworks, further contributing to the understanding of objects and their involvement in networks of transfer.

Chapter 4. Collecting China.

Lacquer for the Emperor and Ceramics for the Common People

The collection Manos assembled, although clearly more extensive in Japanese objects, also features a vast number of Chinese pieces, which range from prehistoric eras to the last imperial dynasties, Ming and Qing. Almost all periods of Chinese history are represented through specimens that exhibit chronological, formal, and material diversity, illustrating the collector's intention to constitute a comprehensive narrative. At the same time, the items Manos acquired reflect the prevailing collecting pursuits and taste as well as the availability of Chinese pieces in the European market at the time. For instance, there is not a uniform and equal representation of all periods of Chinese history, as items from the Ming and Qing dynasties predominantly circulated within the French dealers' shops and made a more resonant appearance in auctions. In this context, a red lacquer longevity disc from the Qianlong period will be discussed for its provenance and distorted identity. Additionally, my research will focus on a Cizhou basin from the late Yuan period, illustrating the shift in taste that emerged in the 1910s and brought earlier Chinese pieces in the spotlight. The methodological approach and theoretical framework established in Chapter 2 will be employed again here to shed light on these two Chinese objects from the collection.

A Case of Imperial Origin and Hybridity: Red Lacquer Longevity Disc

The object that one would likely first encounter when searching online for the MATK is the red lacquer longevity disc (fig. 83) that constitutes the first Chinese case study of this chapter. Originating from the Qing dynasty and particularly from the Qianlong era, this disc is prominently displayed in the museum's permanent exhibition and is accompanied by the label description "Red lacquer ritual disc." Its unique formal characteristics, fine quality, and imperial provenance, as indicated by the incised five-clawed dragons, make it a remarkable specimen. However, upon closer examination, the disc's rare structure and peculiar features raise questions about the identity attributed to it by the museum, prompting an investigation into the possibility that it may be associated with a different narrative. To be more precise, it appears that the longevity disc is not only unrelated to the process of a ritual but has in fact undergone a transformation that ultimately produced a hybrid object. Despite its distorted identity, the disc serves as a significant point of reference, shedding light on hidden histories and little-known practices of the art market Manos was involved in. In this context, emphasis will be placed on both object agency and human agency, reflecting on the disc's ability to act as well as on the collector's, connoisseur's, and dealer's tendency to bestow identities on objects of East Asian origin.

Before I delve into the life of the longevity disc, it is important to note that I recognise the implications inherent in the term hybridity, explained by Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja in their introduction to *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800* (2018).[451] First surfaced during colonialism, the notion of hybridity has been criticised due to its biological connotations of race, implying the existence of a "pure" culture amalgamated with alien elements to create a "hybrid." Consequently, there is the danger of the term becoming a theoretical constraint that enables the assimilation of global encounters and relationships without examining the intricacies of the involved processes and agents. Nevertheless, the debates that have emerged in the field of post-colonial history and art remapped hybridisation as a positive and resistive form of cultural translation:

> As a result of these concerns, the third model of hybridity emphasises the ways in which the value of the hybrid continues to be positioned in relation to purity and along the axes of inclusion and exclusion. It argues that the presence of these power axes can reduce hybridity to the occasional experience of exotic commodities that are repackaged to sustain the insatiable trade of the other in new forms of cultural identity. It is also wary of accentuating hybridity's positive ability to reconcile cultural difference, arguing that doing so blurs, even undermines, the very relational process that hybridity ought to highlight. Hybridity, as a metaphor for identity formation, can only function critically when movement and bridging, displacement and connection, are seen as operating together. In other words, hybridity creates a friction, but it is a productive, two-way friction.[452]

Drawing from Nikos Papastergiadis' notions, the term "hybrid" will be employed in my research to describe a process of transformation, wherein two components of the same Chinese origin—the circular plaque and the stand—coexist, however, without initial intent or design for such coexistence. It is the act, the practice of bringing them together that introduces the aspect of hybridisation. My approach does not aim to divide between two separate cultures but rather illuminate a new object identity by acknowledging that it emerged during an era of cultural and political tension between China and Europe. This kind of hybridity blurs the distinction between original and fabricated.

Despite extensive research conducted across collection databases, contemporary publications, and auction catalogues in an attempt to trace the origin of the longevity disc, my efforts yielded no results. This absence of comparable examples led to the conclusion that the object in question is not an authentic work of imperial Chinese craftsmanship but rather the product of a hybridisation process that brought together

---

[451] Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja, "Introduction," in *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800*, ed. Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018), 8.
[452] Nikos Papastergiadis and Daniella Trimboli, "Hybridity and Hybridization," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, ed. Bryan S. Turner, et al. (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2017), 1106.

two previously unrelated pieces. The ambiguity surrounding the nature of the disc was ultimately dispelled upon realising that its circular plaque (fig. 84) originally belonged to the top lid of a red lacquer longevity box, known as *chunshou baohe* in Chinese. A close examination of Manos' disc alongside longevity boxes from collections such as those of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 85) and the Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art (fig. 86) reveals a striking similarity in imagery and decorative motifs. Therefore, it becomes clear that the circular plaque of the disc in question was detached from the lid of a round longevity box and subsequently affixed to the red lacquer stand, thereby forming a single unity. This transformation was imbued with an aim towards decorativeness that neglected the original cultural context of Chinese art.[453] Evidently, the maker's intention was to produce something that would cater to the taste of European collectors, who sought high-quality Chinese pieces[454] and "were willing to pay more for objects with an imperial provenance."[455]

The circular disc is commonly found on red lacquer longevity boxes produced during the Qianlong reign. The origin of the motif on the top of the lid can be traced back to lacquerware crafted under the patronage of the Jiajing emperor (reigned 1522-1566) during the Ming dynasty.[456] Approximately two centuries later, the Qianlong emperor ordered his artisans to copy the design and commissioned at least eighteen versions of the box, showcasing his particular appreciation for this imagery.[457] Central to the composition is the large Chinese character for "spring," 春 (*chun*), framed by two imperial dragons frolicking amidst clouds. At the top of the character, a circular panel encloses the figure of Shoulao, the Daoist god of longevity, who appears seated under a pine tree beside a reclining deer, also alluding to long life. Radiating rays of light set the background of the carefully carved composition. At the lower part of the disc appears a large bowl filled with various auspicious symbols and treasures: coins, pearls, pairs of corals, rhinoceros horns, and rolls of silk, as well as the endless knot (symbolising the infinite wisdom and compassion of the Buddha). Swastikas, representing ten thousand or infinity, and *ruyi* motifs,

---

[453] Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "Victor Hugo and the Romantic Dream of China," in *Beyond Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange between China and the West during the Late Qing Dynasty (1796-1911)* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 10.
[454] Marine Bassal, "Le marché de l'art chinois en France: origines, spécificités et évolution [The Chinese Art Market in France: Origins, Specificities, and Evolution]" (École du Louvre, 2016), 19.
[455] Béatrice Quette, *Cloisonné: Chinese Enamels from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties* (New York; Paris; New Haven: Bard Graduate Center, 2011), 198.
[456] James C. Y. Watt, "The Antique Elegant," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 535.
During the Transitional period between the Ming and Qing dynasties, there was a 128-year hiatus in the production of official carved lacquer. The last record of official carved lacquer from the Ming dynasty dates back to 1610. However, it was not until 1738, the third year of the Qianlong reign, that the first experimental pieces of official carved lacquer were produced again. These pieces were two red lacquer boxes, carved by a bamboo and ivory craftsman in the palace workshop, who copied the style of the previous dynasty. Shih-chang Hu, "Introduction," in *2000 Years of Chinese Lacquer* (Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong; Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993), 23.
[457] Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art, "Box Decorated with Images of Spring and Longevity," https://asia.si.edu/object/F1990.15a-e/#object-content (accessed September 30, 2024).

resembling clouds or the fungus of immortality, complete the decoration.[458] These symbols surround the flaming pearl, which usually chased by dragons, was associated with the granting of wishes. Together, all these elements represent some of the Eight Precious Things or Eight Treasures, *babao*, which are emblems of good fortune.

Within the Chinese imperial court, such objects became signifiers of taste and were esteemed for their luxurious qualities, which required a complex and time-consuming process.[459] The craftsmanship involved painstakingly building up numerous layers of lacquer, sometimes reaching up to a hundred layers in the thickest areas. Each layer had to be thoroughly dried and polished smooth before the next one could be applied. As the Qianlong period reached the pinnacle of skill and technique in lacquer, the carving work exhibited exceptional crispness and precision.[460] In 1743, four years after the establishment of the official lacquer workshops in Suzhou, *chun* longevity boxes were rated by the emperor as superior, while a special order of twelve more was issued in 1758.[461] Lacquerware played a crucial role in the imperial living quarters, with lacquer boxes appearing among the indispensable items in people's daily lives.[462] Commissioned in pairs, they were employed in imperial banquets, displayed within the interiors,[463] and offered for religious purposes.[464] On special occasions, *chu* boxes would be transported to temporary palaces outside Beijing in preparation for the emperor's visit during imperial tours. As they symbolised a wish of health, long life, and eternal spring, they acquired a significant role during the emperor's birthday celebrations.[465] Longevity boxes also served the purpose of presenting and transporting food or other ceremonial gifts on weddings, childbirths, achievements in imperial examinations, relocations, promotions, and retirements or during the festivities of the Chinese Lunar New Year.[466] The boxes were exchanged among members of the elite society with the expectation that the

[458] Vivien Sung, *Five Fold Happiness: The Chinese Concepts of Luck, Prosperity, Longevity, Happiness and Wealth* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2014), 57.
[459] Wang Shixiang, "Introduction," in *2000 Years of Chinese Lacquer* (Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, Chinese University of Hong Kong Art Gallery, 1993), 23.
[460] James C.Y. Watt, "China," in *East Asian Lacquer: The Florence and Herbert Irving Collection*, ed. James C. Y. Watt and Barbara Brennan Ford (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 131.
[461] Zhenpeng Zhan, "Artisanal Luxury and Confucian Statecraft: The Afterlife of Ming Official Carved Lacquer at the Qianlong Court," *Late Imperial China* 42, no. 1 (2021), doi: 10.1353/late.2021.0000.
[462] Kuo-Kuang Fan and Xue-Hui Li, "Taking Lacquer as a Mirror, Expressing Morality via Implements: A Study of Confucian Ritual Spirituality and the Concept of Consumption in the Ming and Qing Dynasties," *Religions* 11, no. 9 (2020), doi: 10.3390/rel11090447.
[463] They were stored in the Hall of Mental Cultivation and the Palace of Tranquil Longevity, garnering admiration from a wider audience. Zhan, "Artisanal Luxury and Confucian Statecraft: The Afterlife of Ming Official Carved Lacquer at the Qianlong Court".
[464] Nicole T. C. Chiang, *Emperor Qianlong's Hidden Treasures: Reconsidering the Collection of the Qing Imperial Household* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 84.
[465] Zhan, "Artisanal Luxury and Confucian Statecraft: The Afterlife of Ming Official Carved Lacquer at the Qianlong Court".
[466] Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 57-64.

recipient would appreciate the container's craftsmanship before returning it filled with another gift as an act of reciprocity.[467]

Regarding its new identity, several physical aspects point to the direction that the longevity disc has indeed undergone severe mutilation. Firstly, there is a discernible difference in the quality and density of the lacquer between the circular plaque and the stand that supports it. While the plaque was produced during the Qianlong period, the technical and decorative features of the stand suggest a decline in quality that is usually observed in later pieces, crafted after the occupation of Suzhou (where the imperial workshops were located) by the Taiping army in 1860. That period witnessed a significant shift in production after the empire started to crumble in the late eighteenth century, while the quality of the lacquer considerably deteriorated and eventually ceased.[468] Moreover, the border of the disc shows evident signs of damage and cracks (fig. 87, 88), potentially caused during the process of detachment from a longevity box. Additionally, the reverse side of the circular plaque does not display any elaborate decorative patterns; instead, it is black, indicating that it has retained the layer of black lacquer (carbon), typically applied to the interior of Chinese lacquer boxes (fig. 89). However, it has experienced wear and lost its original glossy finish. A cuboid bar (fig. 89) has also been added to the back of the disc, serving as its spine and connecting it to the stand. When viewed from the front, a sense of imbalance suggests an unusual displacement in the proportions of the disc. The stand, on the other hand, appears to be in a considerably better condition, contrasting with the traumatised state of the plaque. I initially considered the possibility that it might have originally functioned as an inverted vessel. However, this hypothesis cannot be true as the carved floral motifs would not have been able to showcase their ornamental nature effectively in such a configuration. Instead, it appears more plausible that it served as a base for supporting an object, such as a mirror or a plaque.[469] Its original purpose remains unknown.

Similar Objects in the V&A Collection

Enchanted by the carved tales and intricate ornamentations, European collectors eagerly acquired red lacquers. For a long time, they regarded Qianlong pieces as the highest point of Chinese achievement and craftmanship. Lacquer objects from the Qing dynasty, and to a lesser extent from the Ming dynasty, were the most commonly encountered types of Chinese lacquer in private collections and museums, as they were widely traded in the market.[470] This becomes evident when one examines auction catalogues from the early twentieth century, where the majority of Chinese lacquer lots were classified as Qianlong period

[467] Rose Kerr, Verity Wilson, and Craig Clunas, *Chinese Art and Design: Art Objects in Ritual and Daily Life*, ed. Rose Kerr (New York: Overlook Press, 1991), 158.
[468] Shixiang, "Introduction," 23.
[469] I am grateful to Dr. Rose Kerr for exchanging emails with me on this subject and for helping me identify the hybrid nature of the longevity disc.
[470] Paul Pelliot, "Chinese Lacquer, by Edward F. STRANGE," *T'oung Pao* 25, no. 1/2 (1927): 123, 26.

objects.[471] Longevity boxes were common in Europe, although the quality of their craftsmanship varied. As a result, some of them stood out as exceptional specimens due to their superior execution.[472]

The collection of the V&A features two circular plaques made of Chinese red lacquer, offering valuable insights into the interpretation of Manos' lacquer disc, as they too originate from longevity boxes. The first one (fig. 90), dating to the Qianlong period, is decorated with the distinctive longevity iconography, while it exhibits significant cracks and ruptures on its surface, even more severe than the ones observed on Manos' disc.[473] It also bears evident mutilation on the faces of Shoulao and the boy attendant. Adding to that, a small hole at the top of the plaque suggests that following its dismantlement the object was likely intended to be hang from the wall. The second plaque (fig. 91) from the V&A collection, carved during the Yuan dynasty (approximately 1400-1450), features a five-clawed dragon amid clouds and waves.[474] It is in a good condition, with just a few cracks that appear to have been caused by dehydration. In 1973, it was exhibited at the British Museum, however, its original function remained unidentified.[475] Only a few years later, Sir Harry Garner (1891-1977), its former owner, described the plaque as "once probably the top of a box" in his publication *Chinese Lacquer* (1979).[476] The existence of these two specimens suggests that removing the circular plaque from a longevity box was not an isolated incident but rather a recurring practice, possibly employed to repurpose flawed objects and give them a new function.

As of why an item of imperial provenance was modified, Louise Tythacott provides an insightful explanation: "once relocated to Britain or France, Yuanmingyuan material was reformed to fit the aesthetics and tastes of the time […] Some pieces became hybridised […]"[477] and their original function was erased.[478] Lacquer was one of the most represented object categories that appeared in Parisian auctions in 1862, after the looting. Particularly 98 pieces from the Summer Palace were offered for sale, while two pairs of red lacquer boxes were acquired for 400 and 500 francs, fetching some of the highest

[471] However, the number of Chinese lacquerwares was nowhere near to the number of Japanese lacquers.
[472] Edward F. Strange, *Chinese Lacquer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 50.
[473] The V&A purchased the plaque from Messrs. Yamanaka & Co. in 1924. While the museum dates it to the Ming dynasty, particularly to the early seventeenth century, Wang Shixiang argued that it was produced during the Qianlong period.
[474] The Yuan dynasty plaque was given to the British Museum by Sir Harry Garner and Lady Garner in 1974.
[475] Harry Garner, "Catalogue: 40. Circular Plaque," in *Chinese and Associated Lacquer: From the Garner Collection* ed. British Museum and Harry Garner (London: British Museum, 1973), 26.
[476] *Chinese Lacquer* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979), 92.
[477] Louise Tythacott, "The Yuanmingyuan and its Objects," in *Collecting and Displaying China's "Summer Palace" in the West: The Yuanmingyuan in Britain and France*, ed. Louise Tythacott (New York: Routledge, 2018), 17.
[478] Greg M. Thomas, "The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* 7, no. 2 (2008), http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn08/93-the-looting-of-yuanming-and-the-translation-of-chinese-art-in-europe (accessed September 30, 2024).

prices among the Chinese items included in the catalogue.[479] Therefore, it is improbable that dealers would intentionally dismantle a longevity box in good condition to create a new piece, as they were aware of their high demand and lucrative sale value. While it is not possible to definitively verify the provenance of Manos' disc or confirm whether it originated from Yuanmingyuan, it is likely that it derives from a broken or cracked lid, or a lid that was separated from its corresponding bowl, following a turmoil or an incident of looting. Thousands of objects were severely damaged when Europeans invaded and plundered Chinese imperial establishments in 1860 and 1900; a French soldier named Armand Lucy (unknown dates), involved in the looting of Yuanmingyuan, wrote to his father: "Almost everything was broken; […] I saw great porcelains broken into pieces, old lacquer ware, crackled porcelain, ivories, jades, all coating the ground."[480] These objects eventually made their way to Europe, where even fragments and shards appeared on the market, attracting buyers due to their visual appeal, craftsmanship, or lower cost when sold as part of a group. In some cases, dealers even offered these pieces for free to returning clients.[481]

Another lacquer plaque from the V&A (fig. 92a, 92b) collection sheds more light on the matter as it shares significant similarities with the disc acquired by Manos, also falling under the category of "hybrid objects." Within a wood frame of incised patterns is enclosed a carved red lacquer circular panel with the character *fui* (longevity), flying *fenghuang* birds, flowers, and various emblems of good future (93a). On the reverse side (fig. 92b) appears an incised poem entitled "Eulogy on the stars of wealth, prosperity and longevity, composed by the Emperor."[482] This translation derives from Edward Strange's *Chinese Lacquer*, where the object was catalogued as a Ming dynasty lacquer plaque. However, Paul Pelliot, in his review of Strange's publication, contented that it was more likely produced during the Qianlong reign. He specifically argued that the longevity symbolism and the inscription on the reverse side signified that the plaque was made for the emperor's sixtieth birthday.[483] Different opinions have been expressed over the years regarding the history and identity of this plaque, however, the most reliable one appears to be that of calligrapher, poet and avid researcher of Chinese culture, Wang Shixiang (1914-2009) who remarked that: "the lacquer is "Jiajing," probably a box lid as it slopes away at sides. The frame and inscription are not good enough to be "Qianlong" and were probably added by an antique shop."[484]

---

[479] Dhios, *Catalogue des objets précieux... [objets d'art et de curiosité provenant en grande partie du palais d'été de Yen-Meng-Yuen] composant le musée japonais et chinois de M. le colonel Du Pin* (Paris: [s.n.], 1862), 10.; Christine Howald, "The Power of Provenance: Marketing and Pricing of Looted Art on the European Market (1860-1862)," in *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets*, ed. Charlotte Guichard and Christine Howald Bénédicte Savoy (Berlin De Gruyter, 2018), 253.
[480] Thomas, "The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe".
[481] Emery, "The Ledgers of Clémence d'Ennery (Le Musée d'Ennery): Context and Transcriptions". 2.
[482] Strange, *Chinese Lacquer*, 37.
[483] Pelliot, "Chinese Lacquer, by Edward F. STRANGE," 130.
[484] Victoria & Albert Museum, "Plaque," https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O487881/plaque/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Market Practices

Chinese dealers adopted these practices in response to the demand for extraordinary and unique objects, particularly considering that Europeans rarely questioned their authenticity. Pieces that were damaged or broken underwent procedures involving adhesive restoration, addition of missing parts and fragments, repainting, or even complete reconfiguration.[485] These modifications were not always easily discernible even to experts and connoisseurs who had dedicated their lives to the study of Chinese history and material culture. Pelliot, one of the leading French sinologists at the time, misunderstood the nature of the plaque from V&A's collection and noted that "the backside of the plaque was […] contemporary to the rest of the piece."[486] This highlights the challenges in accurately identifying and understanding such objects during a period when scholarship was still evolving. Hence, it should come as no surprise that collectors often misjudged the true character of an object, particularly if they lacked a trained eye or trusted their dealers without reserve. Similarly, it appears that Manos has not always been particularly meticulous with the identification of objects from his collection. I am specifically referring to a number of Chinese coins from various dynasties, which he inaccurately inventoried, indicating his sole reliance on the details provided to him by a dealer.[487] It is important to acknowledge that the dissemination of incorrect documentation by European suppliers may not have always been intentional, as they themselves might have been misled by their Chinese counterparts. The complicated matter of attribution often resembled a game of Chinese whispers where inaccurately transmitted information or sequential modification of information transformed the original identity or meaning of an object.

Broadening the scope on this matter, there is evidence indicating that European dealers were also involved in the process of object modification and alteration. Notably, Léon Wannieck, who engaged in trading activities with Manos, has been implicated in several such cases. Charles Vignier, a prominent Parisian merchant of Chinese objects, provided a compelling account in his article "Une exposition d'art chinois au Musée Cernuschi," where he questioned the authenticity of certain items in Léon Wannieck's collection and accused him of altering the identity of a copper kettle by combining mismatched pieces.[488] However, it is important to recognise that Vignier was the most critical among Chinese art dealers when it came to pieces from the collection of Wannieck.[489] More recently, Alexandra von Przychowksi uncovered

[485] von Przychowksi, "Market and Manipulation: The "Beautification" of Chinese Tomb Pottery by Art Dealers," 351-52.
[486] Pelliot, "Chinese Lacquer, by Edward F. STRANGE," 129.
[487] Titsa-Panagiota Mela, "Κινέζικα νομίσματα στο Μουσείο Ασιατικής Τέχνης της Κέρκυρας (770 π.Χ.-19ος αι. μ.Χ.) [Chinese Coins at the Corfu Museum of Asian Art (770 BC-19 c. AD)," in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον [Archaeological Bulletin]*, ed. Evangelia Kypraiou (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, 1994-1995), 270.
[488] Charles Vignier, "Une exposition d'art chinois au Musée Cernuschi [An Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Cernuschi Museum]," *Le Figaro artistique* (1924): 9.
[489] Julie Robin, "«Ces grands pourvoyeurs»: les marchands d'arts chinois au début du XXème siècle à Paris: Les exemples de C. T. Loo, Charles Vignier, Léon et Marie Madeleine Wannieck, et Adolphe et Edgar Worch ["These Great Suppliers:"

another similar case involving Wannieck's sale of a Tang figurine of a female polo player to the collector J.F.H. Menten (unknown dates); particularly, the body of the horse originates in the eighth century, while the rider is a later addition. [490] Moreover, French dealer Paul Mallon (1884-1975) expressed, in an indirect manner, his reservations about Wannieck's practices and credibility. In his article, "Des imitations des anciennes sculptures chinoises," he first remarked Osvald Sirén's (1879-1966) skepticism regarding Wannieck's claim of witnessing the production of wooden sculptures in Beijing. He then added, "May we rely on the word of a merchant, even an important merchant like Mr. Wannieck? A merchant is a merchant as a scholar is a scholar. The goal of one is to make money while the other accepts poverty and sacrifices everything in the interest of science."[491]

Whether the modification took place in Europe or China, it was driven by the European pursuit of Chineseness, which ultimately gave rise to practices such as the ones described above. This procedure of identity alteration can almost be perceived as a manifestation of *chinoiserie*, a phenomenon that marked the first half of the eighteenth century and was associated with the mode for domestic decoration through an imagined and idealised vision of China. I am intentionally using the word "manifestation" to avoid any confusion and misconception, since the longevity disc was not produced within the historical framework that *chinoiserie* thrived. Nevertheless, both the disc and the *chinoiserie* objects were clearly imbued with an aim towards decorativeness. In this regard, a number of possible sources have been suggested as responsible for the transformation of the longevity disc, but could Manos himself have played a role in this process? And how did he perceive the disc? Given his scholarly interest as well as his familiarity with Chinese objects, due to his collecting activities, it is unlikely that he did not acknowledge the longevity disc's hybrid nature. Consequently, two possibilities emerge. He either acquired the disc despite recognising the modifications, because it embodied qualities he found particularly admirable, or the modifications were his own doing; having acquired the two fragments separately, he assembled them (or requested someone to), bringing the longevity disc to life.

This brings me back to the issue of labelling the object as a "Ritual disc on a base," which demonstrates a misapprehension of its biography, history, and social life. As Francesca Dal Lago remarked: "display has traditionally helped to erase the history of dislocations and obscure human intervention which are crucial in shaping the object biography and its final acquired meaning through time and space."[492] Since becoming part of the museum's collection, it undergoes a process of alienation. The life of this object was

---

Chinese Art Dealers in Early 20th Century Paris: The Examples of C. T. Loo, Charles Vignier, Léon and Marie Madeleine Wannieck, and Adolphe and Edgar Worch]" (Master's diss., École du Louvre, 2020), 100.

[490] von Przychowksi, "Market and Manipulation: The "Beautification" of Chinese Tomb Pottery by Art Dealers," 351-52.

[491] Paul Mallon, "Des imitations des anciennes sculptures Chinoises," *Artibus Asiae* 2, no. 1 (1927): 46.

[492] Francesca Dal Lago, "Contemporary Art and Colonial Collecting: Huang Yong Ping's Reinstallation of J.J.M. de Groot's Panthéon Chinois from the Lyon Musée des Confluences," in *The Social Lives of Chinese Objects*, ed. Alice Bianchi and Lyce Jankowski (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2023), 87.

physically modified and a recontextualised identity was imposed on it. The circular disc and the stand lost their status as everyday court objects, went through visual and material transformations, and, as a unity from that point onwards, became a ritual item. The original essence and function changed when the "ritual disc" was formed and subsequently the two separate pieces entered a completely new sphere of existence.[493] This shift provided a distorted vision of Chinese material culture, a dislocation and a "radical resetting of meaning."[494] By shedding light on the life of the longevity disc, it becomes clear how the human factor involved in the process of mutilation transformed the disc into an effigy of an idea, concealing its original character and deceiving the collector, the museum, and ultimately the beholder.

[493] Louise Tythacott, *The Lives of Chinese Objects: Buddhism, Imperialism and Display* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 86-87.
[494] Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 176.

A Case of New Taste: Cizhou Basin

In contrast to the imperial origin of the Qianlong longevity disc, the second Chinese case study, a Cizhou basin (fig. 93), embodies a more modest nature, for it was produced as a widely circulated commodity during the late Yuan dynasty. Its humble character does not diminish its significance or merit for academic research. On the contrary, the basin exhibits exceptional qualities that will soon be analysed in the context of developments in ceramic production. Despite the large number of Cizhou wares manufactured in Chinese kilns, this piece stands out as a rather rare specimen distinguished by its technical and decorative features. An in-depth study of the basin's history will illuminate its journey from China to Corfu and subsequently reveal the network of individuals, Manos being among them, involved in it. This Cizhou will also become the starting point to examine the growing interest in early Chinese ceramics, which significantly marked collecting endeavours in Europe during the 1910s and 1920s. Within this framework, another important figure in the history of collecting Chinese objects will be regarded: George Eumorfopoulos, who considerably valued pre-Ming ceramics and particularly Cizhou stoneware.

The term Cizhou is used to describe a diverse range of ceramics manufactured at kilns across northern China, in Hebei, Henan, Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Shandong provinces during the Song (960-1279), Jin (1115-1234), Yuan, and Ming dynasties. The wares take their name from Ci County in Hebei province, a region once known as Cizhou, where the main kiln sites have been discovered.[495] The kilns produced pieces in a great variety of shapes and forms. Their distinctive characteristic is the use of white slip, or liquidised clay, over the relatively coarse stoneware body, which is in turn covered with a transparent glaze.[496] This technique allowed potters to experiment on the white surface of the stoneware, contributing to the development of new decorative designs in ceramics.[497] Among all major Chinese ceramics, Cizhou exhibit the richest variations in ornamentation, exemplified by the highly decorated stoneware with slip painting, a technique predominantly associated with this type of ware. The painting style on Cizhou ceramics echoes that of painting on paper and silk and encompasses a broad spectrum of themes such as nature, human figures, animals, and calligraphic texts. Not only the subject matter but also the style of

[495] Regina Krahl, "Famous Brands and Counterfeits: Problems of Terminology and Classification in Song Ceramics," in *Song Ceramics: Art History, Archaeology and Technology* (London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2004), 67-68.
[496] Yutaka Mino, "Tz'u-chou-Type Ware Decorated with Incised Patterns on a Stamped "Fish-Roe" Ground," *Archives of Asian Art* 32 (1979): 55.
[497] John Ayers, *Chinese Ceramics in the Baur Collection* (Geneva: The Baur Collection, 1999), 15.

painting ranged widely, from broad-stroke decorative patterns to small-scale fine-brush calligraphic motifs and highly detailed narrative designs.[498]

Cizhou was a popular ware, therefore not intended for the imperial household or the elite circles of connoisseurs and scholars, but rather for the domestic environment. Specifically, basins, such as the one examined here, were commonly used in daily life for washing and cleaning purposes. The Jin and Yuan dynasties marked the heyday of Cizhou production, with kilns reaching their peak level. Particularly, the Yuan dynasty was the period with the largest output, leading to an increased popularity and high demand for such pieces on the market.[499] While the MATK attributes the basin in question to the Jin dynasty, a closer examination of its technical features suggests a later origin and production date, likely during the Yuan period. The gently curved sides that taper towards the base and the flattened rim slightly upturned at the edge are attributes of a distinct group of Cizhou basins with painted decorative designs, produced for a relatively brief period during the Yuan dynasty, around the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries.[500] Wares of this form are known to have been made at the Hebiji kiln site in Henan province.[501] Adding to that, the basin's diameter, measuring over 40 cm, is a trait observed in Cizhou production during the Yuan period, when basins became larger, as the size of the furnaces expanded due to the increasing demand.[502]

The basin is covered with white slip on the inside and black on the outside. It belongs to the style known as "black painting on white slip," where decorations are painted in black under the transparent colourless glaze.[503] During the Yuan period, traditional techniques, employed by Song and Jin potters, such as scraping, engraving, scratching, printing, carving, and moulding gradually receded, and instead, brush pen drawings emerged as the predominant form of decoration.[504] While they typically depicted large carp motifs amidst aquatic plants, specimens embellished with floral patterns, like the one acquired by Manos, can also be found, although scarcely. Specifically, the bottom of the basin presents a composition of lotus and peony flowers, painted in a free and loose manner. These motifs resemble the incised floral designs on basins from the Song dynasty, while the painted ground of curved lines, around the lotus and peonies, imitates the combed hatching pattern, usually carved around the central bloom on stoneware from the Jin dynasty (fig. 94). The said similarities are attributed to the continuity of decorative styles, as Yuan-period

[498] Anne Gerritsen, *The City of Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), doi: https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1017/9781108753104.
[499] Ibid.
[500] Mino Yutaka and Katherine R. Tsiang, *Freedom of Clay and Brush Through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1980), 196.
[501] Ibid., 196.
[502] Lili Fang, *The History of Chinese Ceramics*, (Singapore: Springer, 2023), doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-9094-6.
[503] This technique of underglaze painting first appeared during the Sui dynasty (581-618) and was fully developed with Cizhou wares from the Northern Song period onwards. Yutaka and Tsiang, *Freedom of Clay and Brush Through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.*, 16.
[504] Fang, *The History of Chinese Ceramics*.

Cizhou kilns persisted in depicting flowers in the simplistic manner of previous dynasties.[505] Around the inner sides, large lotus petals are painted, while a rare coma-shaped pattern is drawn around the rim; the latter can be traced in a few other similar wares produced during the Yuan period, such as those in fig. 96 and fig. 97,[506] further attesting to the origin of the basin in the Manos collection.

Collecting Cizhou Ceramics

Chinese literati did not appreciate Cizhou due to their non-imperial, "popular" nature, which clashed with the refined aesthetics that primarily valued exquisite finish and precise surface. In contrast to the elegance of imperial ceramics, the allure of painted Cizhou stoneware lied in their simplicity and directness. [507] As Li Zhiyan and Guan Shanming remark in their book *Song Ceramics* (2012), Cizhou ceramics "cannot be said to be masterpieces, but they were true to life, the life of the lowest levels of society; they were simple and unadorned, genuine and true."[508] This was exactly what Japanese collectors and connoisseurs admired in the rough and bold qualities of Cizhou; the rapidly rendered bodies and vivid, fluid design decorations echoed the Japanese aesthetic of *wabi-sabi* that appreciated beauty in the imperfect. It was only after the late twentieth century that private Chinese collections commenced displaying some of their finest Cizhou pieces. Thereafter, their value has long been acknowledged and can today be traced in all major museums with Chinese ceramic collections.[509]

A growing taste for Cizhou wares developed among European collectors during the early twentieth century, when a wide range of new objects entered the market, with Song and Yuan dynasty ceramics assuming a central role.[510] The railway building (which had already began in the late nineteenth century) and the intensified construction of streets and houses in a Western style in China, unearthed numerous tombs across the country and uncovered its rich archaeological past;[511] unknown categories of ceramics came to light. The discovery of mortuary wares and everyday use items had a profound commercial impact, as they entered a network of transfer that reached the major cities where collectors and dealers dwelt, particularly Beijing and Shanghai. Antique shops, both Chinese and foreign-owned, sold the objects locally and also fulfilled the rising demand in other markets, such as those of Japan, Europe, and

[505] Ibid.
[506] Illustration 196, *Historical Relics Unearthed in New China*, (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1972), n.p.
[507] Gerritsen, *The City of Blue and White*.
[508] Ibid.
[509] Museums with significant collections of Cizhou ceramics include the Shanghai Museum and the National Museum of China. The Handan Museum likely possesses the most extensive collection, while other prominent institutions such as the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, and the Chicago Art Institute also boast substantial holdings of Cizhou ware. Ibid.
[510] Rose Kerr, *Song Dynasty Ceramics* (London: V&A, 2004), 62.
[511] von Przychowksi, "Market and Manipulation: The "Beautification" of Chinese Tomb Pottery by Art Dealers," 351.

North America.[512] This historical circumstance marked a pivotal moment for the evolution of taste and led to a remarkable shift in collectors' preferences. It also unveiled a sharp contrast with the prevailing fascination for Chinese porcelain that reflected the legacy of the last two imperial dynasties, the Ming and the Qing. As blue-and-white, *famille verte*, and *famille rose* wares manifested the taste of collectors at the time, it comes as no surprise that earlier ceramics, from the Song and Yuan dynasties, were initially perceived as primitive.[513] However, their appearance in large numbers during the 1910s as well as their low prices, overwhelmed collectors and directed their activities towards new paths. In this regard, Manos' acquisition of the Cizhou basin, along with various other Tang, Song, and Yuan pieces, indicates his diverse taste and highlights his identity as a collector actively engaged in the evolving landscape during this transformative period.

In France, the appreciation for "pieces anciens" did not emerge with great force and most collectors continued to perceive Ming and Qing objects as the pinnacle of Chinese craftmanship. Reflecting back on the collecting tendencies of early-twentieth century Paris, the dealer C.T. Loo (1880-1957) wrote in the 1940 catalogue of *An Exhibition of Chinese Stone Sculptures*:

> I remember one day in the spring of 1909, I called at the Musée Guimet in Paris to inquire for the Director, Mr d'Ardenne de Tizac, whom I did not know at that time. During our conversation he showed me a picture of a stone head and this fine stone immediately awakened in me a desire to develop a new line in Chinese Art. Up to this time, with the Art Centre in Paris, we were dealing only in Ch'ing porcelains, particularly the colours on biscuit and at this time the famous Morgan Altman and Salting Collections were made. Also, there began to appear on the market archaic ceramics followed by the bronzes which were introduced by the Yu (wine vessel) in 1910 and now in the Eumorfopoulos Collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.[514]

Evidently, the introduction of Han, Song, and Yuan dynasty objects to the Parisian public was orchestrated by the dealers C.T. Loo and Léon Wannieck, who were primarily driven by their personal preferences.[515]

Léon Wannieck, a prominent dealer based in Paris, played a pivotal role in establishing a supply chain for transporting objects from China to France. In 1909, Wannieck and his wife, Marie-Madeleine Wannieck

---

[512] Rose Kerr, "Camellia Flowers on a Prunus Vase: The Life History of a Cizhou Ware Bottle," in *Song Ceramics: Art History, Archaeology and Technology* ed. Stacey Pierson (London: University of London; Percival Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2003), 14.
[513] Ibid., 17.
[514] C.T. Loo, *An Exhibition of Chinese Stone Sculptures* (New York City: C.T. Loo & Co, 1940), n.p.
[515] In his Chinese-style mansion in Paris, C.T. Loo also received Cizhou ware and various other treasures that his Chinese agent Mr. Ye had discovered throughout China. Kerr, "Camellia Flowers on a Prunus Vase: The Life History of a Cizhou Ware Bottle," 15.

(1871-1960), opened their gallery in Paris. First located on 5, rue d'Enghien (10th arrondissement), and from 1913 onwards on 1, rue Saint-Georges (9th arrondissement), the Maison Wannieck was registered in the *Bottins du commerce* as a gallery "Importing antique art objects from China, Porcelains, Pottery, etc." Their business mostly specialised in Song ceramics and funerary wares from the Han and Tang periods.[516] The inventory of the gallery as well as Wannieck's personal collection reflect an apparent predominance of pieces originating from Northern China.[517] Within the competitive world of the Parisian market for Asian art, the Wanniecks were fortunate enough to associate their business with objects imported directly from China. In 1902, the couple founded a *maison-mère* in Beijing, particularly on the Tiananmen Square, which allowed them to supply their gallery in Paris fortnightly. Mme Wannieck's nephew, Francis Perault (?-1930), run the parent company by undertaking the role of mediator, probably to identify, select and secure the pieces. These items were acquired from various channels, involving antique dealers in Beijing or locals, who undertook excavations.[518]

To promote the commodities in his shop, Wannieck published illustrated catalogues that served as a preview for potential buyers to get a glimpse of the Chinese objects available for sale. Manos obtained and kept in his archive the issues distributed in 1911 and 1913, which remain among the earliest visual records of pre-Ming ceramics appearing on the French market. Particularly, an examination of the 1911 catalogue reveals the Cizhou basin in question featured in one of its pages, inaccurately attributed to the Song dynasty. There is no doubt that Manos purchased the basin from Wannieck's business, along with other objects from earlier Chinese periods. As dealers were responsible for shaping taste and influencing their clients' purchases, it could be argued that Wannieck, being one of the few who specialised in "Chine ancienne," played a vital role in directing Manos' activities towards earlier Chinese ceramics. However, the Greek collector's interest for such objects was subdued compared to his enthusiasm for other pieces that appeared in the market, especially of Japanese origin. This is also indicated by the 1912 sales catalogues of his collection, which include a limited selection of earlier Chinese ceramics. While Manos broadened the spectrum of his acquisitions, his preferences did not drastically change; instead, they remained closely aligned with the prevailing trends in the French art market that prioritised Qing ceramics and, above all, Japanese pottery.

[516] Robin, "«Ces grands pourvoyeurs»: les marchands d'arts chinois au début du XXème siècle à Paris: Les exemples de C. T. Loo, Charles Vignier, Léon et Marie Madeleine Wannieck, et Adolphe et Edgar Worch," 43.
[517] Ibid., 42.
[518] Julie Robin, "Wannieck Léon and Marie-Madeleine," *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2022), https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/325 (accessed September 30, 2024).

The Taste for Cizhou in Britain: The Case of Another Greek Collector

The emergence of Cizhou and early Chinese ceramics had a different effect in Britain, where they came to define the new taste. While early European publications such as Stephen Bushell's (1844-1908) *Oriental Ceramic Art* (1896) had correctly identified Cizhou, there were few extant examples available for study at the time.[519] The founding members of London's Oriental Ceramic Society soon recognised the unique unprecedented qualities of the newly discovered objects and seized the opportunity to benefit from their emergence on the market. Cizhou pieces were not only admired by collectors, but also by critics such as Roger Fry (1866-1934), Clive Bell (1881-1964), and Herbert Read (1893-1968).[520] In 1921, Robert Lockhart Hobson (1873-1941)[521] composed a comprehensive catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos collection and remarked that "If the Tz'u Chou [Cizhou] wares did not greatly appeal to the refined taste of the old Chinese literatus, modern European collectors, who cannot afford to be so particular, have shown a remarkable avidity in absorbing the many good specimens which have reached the Western market during the last fifteen years."[522] This indicates that European collectors were aware of the inferior character Cizhou ceramics were imbued with in the eyes of Chinese connoisseurs. At the same time, they felt fortunate to be collecting at a time (1910s and 1920s) when these pieces became largely available, following the collapse of the Qing dynasty.[523]

By exceeding the boundaries of France and viewing this matter within a wider European scope, I will delve into the British landscape of collecting, particularly into the case of George Eumorfopoulos, a major collector of Chinese art as well as the first and lifelong president of OCS. Although Manos and Eumorfopoulos never crossed paths, they shared some common qualities, such as the blend of Greek heritage and cosmopolitan spirit, shaped within leading European intellectual circles, as well as the absolute devotion to their collections. While Eumorfopoulos' pursuits initially centred on European and Japanese objects, he soon began to develop a keen interest in Qing porcelain. However, as early Chinese ceramics began to flood the European market, he became one of the first to cultivate a genuine appreciation for them. After 1906, his taste shifted towards Tang sculptural pieces and later more prominently to Song wares, especially Jun, Ding, and Cizhou, alongside various other categories of items.[524] The monumental catalogue that recorded Eumorfopoulos' collection features many different

[519] Kerr, "Camellia Flowers on a Prunus Vase: The Life History of a Cizhou Ware Bottle," 18.
[520] *Song Dynasty Ceramics*, 62.
[521] Hobson was a member of the Oriental Ceramic Society as well as the Keeper of the Department of Ceramics and Ethnography at the British Museum.
[522] Robert Lockhart Hobson, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection: Catalogue of the Chinese, Corean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain*, vol. 3 (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1928), 37.
[523] Jessica Harrison Hall, "The Taste for Cizhou," *Apollo* 174, no. 592 (2011), https://go-gale-com.ezproxy2.lib.gla.ac.uk/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=glasuni&id=GALE%7CA273786343&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-AONE&asid=71ff81f3.&aty=ip (accessed September 30, 2024).
[524] Manginis, "The George Eumorfopoulos Donation to the Benaki Museum in Athens," 78, 80.

types of Cizhou ceramics, but, interestingly, only one basin is listed (fig. 98),[525] highlighting the limited availability and consequently the rarity of such wares in the European market. While the two basins share similarities in form and feature "black painting on white slip," the significant stylistic difference in their painted decorations—with the Eumorfopoulos basin displaying a more precise and detailed floral design—suggests they have different origins. Nonetheless, their appearance in each collection can potentially reveal the intentions of each individual. Manos, likely intrigued by the influx of new objects on the market and driven by the idea of eventually donating his collection, obtained the basin, along with other Cizhou pieces, to further enrich and complete the object-based narrative he had been constructing. Eumorfopoulos, the "undisputed king of English collectors […] genuinely aspired to retrace the history of Chinese ceramics predating the Ming dynasty through his collection. His diverse holdings were more or less complete and comprised of unique pieces."[526] While their objectives may have aligned to some extent, it is important to note that the quality of Eumorfopoulos' collection is unparalleled.

Eumorfopoulos frequently appears in scholarly discourse as a complementary collector to Sir Percival David (1892-1964), who was mostly interested in objects of imperial quality or traditional Chinese taste. When Eumorfopoulos became one of the major lenders at the Exhibition *Catalogue of Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* in 1910, all the Cizhou pieces put on display derived from his own collection. Among them, a bottle was accompanied by the following description in the catalogue: "This is a Tz'u-chou … No one can fail to be struck with the extraordinary skill and freedom of the "expressionist sketches" in dark brown on the earthly wares. Here we have at once the prototype of Kenzan's painting and of the ivory-white Satsuma pottery…"[527] This account highlights how the evaluation and perception of Chinese ceramics was mediated by aesthetic concepts formed in Japan, even in Britain, where Japanese art was generally considered as inferior, derivative, and of poor quality compared to Chinese art.[528] Consequently, it is reasonable to surmise that dealers at the time used this connection to promote and market Cizhou ceramics, aiming to attract clients with an interest in Japanese art. These Japanese-inspired aesthetic qualities could have contributed to the broader European reception of Cizhou ware, possibly also shaping Manos' personal appreciation for this type of Chinese ceramics.

---

[525] "C276. Plate 50. Basin with steep, slightly curving sides, wide everted rim with raised edge, and very shallow base with wide flat rim. Grey stoneware with cream glaze over white slip inside: painted in intense black with a clump of flowers in the middle, petal panels on the sides, and five arched compartments on the rim with leaf ornaments inside them and half-flower in the spandrils. Black glaze irregularly spread over the outside and ending in a wavy line below the rim. Unglazed base. Tz'u Chou. Sung. D. 14.8" Hobson, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection: Catalogue of the Chinese, Corean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain*, 3, 40.

[526] Koechlin, "Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient," 107.

[527] Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain, 1910* (London: Printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1911), xxiv.

[528] Kerr, "Camellia Flowers on a Prunus Vase: The Life History of a Cizhou Ware Bottle," 18.

While their tastes and practices significantly differed, over time, both Manos' and Eumorfopoulos' passion for collecting evolved into an aspiration to offer to the public, prompting them to donate Chinese and Japanese items to their homeland, Greece. Eumorfopoulos gave a significant number of objects to the Benaki Museum in Athens,[529] while Manos established the first museum of Asian art in Greece. The most represented category in Eumorfopoulos' donation to the Benaki Museum consists of Qing dynasty objects, 127 out of a total of 343. This likely reflects his intention to highlight the products of the last imperial dynasty, which embodied the stereotypical and archetypal image of China—the narrative of the "land of the dragon" that gained widespread popularity during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[530] The second most represented category in Eumorfopoulos' donation to the Benaki Museum consists of Song dynasty objects, totalling 78 items, including 17 Cizhou pieces. These numbers do not illustrate the donor's personal preferences, but rather his belief about what would appeal to the Greek public. The Chinese collection Manos bequeathed to Greece features more objects from the last two imperial dynasties; however, it also covers a broad chronological range. Along with the Cizhou pieces that surfaced on the market during the 1910s and 1920s, several ceramics from earlier periods, particularly the Shang, Zhou, and Warring States, became available. Today displayed in the MATK, objects from these periods shed light on Manos' diverse acquisitions, which reflect not only his personal taste but also his donating vision,

As the study of individual objects from the Manos collection concludes, I hope to have illuminated as many episodes of their lives as possible. While I have endeavoured to piece together their narratives, I acknowledge that fragments of their histories may still remain hidden. The complexities of tracing transfers, transactions, and trade exchanges, especially during periods of socio-political turmoil, present certain challenges. Therefore, having unfolded the life of the collection to the best of my ability, one final issue remains to be addressed. Were these objects acquired within the phenomenon of "random collecting," which Joseph Kreiner identifies as a weakness of the Asian collections created in early twentieth-century Europe?[531] In a sense this observation holds true, as Manos and many of his contemporaries, collectors and connoisseurs, who did not travel to Japan, relied heavily on what was available in the European market without the option to select. However, even those who travelled and lived in Japan for long periods of time faced similar circumstances. It is believed that Heinrich von Siebold himself did not choose objects but rather took what was available for him in Japan.[532] This wave of "random collecting" or "collecting by chance" has often been associated with the acquisition of objects

[529] Eumorfopoulos emerged as a major benefactor to museums, with objects formerly in his possession now constituting a substantial part of the Chinese collections at renowned institutions, such as the British Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum, and the Benaki Museum.
[530] Manginis, "The George Eumorfopoulos Donation to the Benaki Museum in Athens," 81.
[531] Kreiner, "Some Remarks on Japanese Collections in Europe," 31.
[532] Wieninger, "Buddhist Objects in the MAK's Heinrich von Siebold Collection," 24.

as souvenirs, which usually fall into the category of largely available inferior goods, mass-produced to satisfy the European demand and taste. However, that is not always the case as the boundaries are rather loose. Although Manos had no option but to engage in “random collecting,” the objects he ultimately acquired—inevitably some of inferior nature—were not perceived as souvenirs; they were rather regarded as vital components of his systematic attempt towards a comprehensive collection. Reflecting on this, in the following and final chapter of my thesis, I will present my conclusions and final thoughts on the formation of the Manos collection, the insights it provides into the historical and cultural context of the period, as well as its enduring legacy.

Gregorios Manos and His World of Collecting.

A Legacy in Context

This thesis has shed light on Gregorios Manos' place within the collecting landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Europe. It particularly aimed to follow Manos' trajectory and reconstruct the history of the collection through archival sources and contemporary publications as well as through current scholarly approaches. While provenance research remains a relatively uncharted territory among Greek institutions, my initiative to illuminate Manos' efforts aimed to shift focus from the well-known and celebrated collections of East Asian art towards the lesser-known and understudied ones belonging to the periphery. During my doctoral journey, I discovered and uncovered aspects that surpassed my initial expectations, particularly given the limited archival resources associated with the Manos collection. I am specifically referring to findings such as the Parisian records of sales and the collector's role as a lender in the first exhibitions of Asian art at the Musée Cernuschi. This prompts me to the reflection that more light should be shed on individuals who although once held a prominent presence within collecting circles, now find themselves forgotten, mentioned only fleetingly in the footnotes of scholarly works. Research into their lives and activities could unveil previously undisclosed dimensions of collecting histories and expand the scope of scholarly enquiries. At the same time, it could contribute to provenance research initiatives that now, more than ever, are being undertaken by museums and cultural institutions.

By adopting an interdisciplinary approach that integrated theoretical concepts and methodologies from multiple academic fields, including art history, anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology, I was able to effectively address the research questions outlined in the introduction of my thesis: How can Manos' identity as a collector be defined? Who comprised his network? And subsequently, what do his direct or indirect exchanges with individuals who shared his passion indicate about his place within the collecting milieu of that period? What insights into Manos' taste do his collecting practices offer and how do his preferences align with the tendencies that prevailed during the early twentieth century in Europe? Moreover, what narratives are the objects in the collection associated with? Thus, I elucidated key aspects that led to the formation of early twentieth-century collections of East Asian objects, reflecting on the factors that render them significant and relevant to present day. I revealed Manos' identity as a collector, uncovered unknown networks of fellow collectors and dealers (though I am certain there is more to be discovered in this regard), and shed light on his taste for Japanese and Chinese objects within the framework of that period. The collection's history could not but be unfolded through objects, showcasing their pivotal role in comprehending the historical, socio-political, and cultural context of the era. By putting Manos and his activities on the map of European collectivism, I intended to emphasise the diverse

nature of intercultural exchanges and contribute to a deeper understanding of the pathways through which East Asian art circulated.

In a series of preparatory essays focusing on late nineteenth-century Paris as the centre of modernity, artistic innovation, and urban transformation, Walter Benjamin reflected on the significance of collecting within the cultural milieu of the time. He particularly remarked that "The interior was the place of refuge of Art. The collector was the true inhabitant of the interior. […] The collector dreamed that he was in a world which was not only far-off in distance and in time, but which was also a better one."[533] These observations highlight the evolving nature of collections, which were no longer solely assembled by individuals at the pinnacle of the social hierarchy, such as royals and aristocrats;[534] instead, in the post-industrialisation era, a new figure emerged, wielding power over cultural matters: the bourgeois collector.[535] As a member of this new and constantly burgeoning class that arose in Europe, Manos, like, many of his contemporaries, found meaning and solace in collecting, which alleviated the turmoil caused by the complexities of modern life. In his case, these said complexities could have been related to his alienation from dominant societal norms during what historians refer to as "the era of mandatory marriage."[536] However, with his professional and societal stature granting him access to resources, networks, and opportunities, he immersed himself in the hunt for Japanese and Chinese objects. This endeavour also served as a vehicle for defining his identity and cultivating a unique sense of self. Manos viewed his collection not only as a reflection of his knowledge or taste, but most importantly as his life's work, a legacy to be left for posterity.

It is essential to position Manos within the milieu of that period's bourgeoisie by taking certain societal actors into consideration. For instance, it would be unfit to perceive Manos through the same lens as Moïse de Camondo (1860-1935) or Edmond de Goncourt, whose collections, featuring East Asian objects, among other things, played a pivotal role in decorating their interiors; the spaces within their residences could cultivate and project these individuals' distinctive self-image as patrons of the arts, while also serving as environments where their daydreams would unfold.[537] Contrary to that, Manos not only lacked ample spaces to showcase his collection, but often encountered difficulties when it came to storing it. Possibly with the exception of the ambassador's residence in Vienna, the objects Manos owned never acquired a purely decorative purpose. Consequently, his motivations differ from those of collectors who

[533] Walter Benjamin, "Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century," *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 169.
[534] Krzysztof Pomian, "Collection: une typologie historique [Collection: A Historical Typology]," *Romantisme* (2001): 17.
[535] Eva Rovers, "Introduction: The Art Collector—Between Philanthropy and Self-glorification," *Journal of the History of Collections* 21, no. 2 (2009), doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhp014.
[536] Reed, *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities*, 5.
[537] Törmä, *Nordic Private Collections of Chinese Objects*, 8.

could afford lavish lifestyles housed in grand estates. Reflecting on Frederik Baekeland's definition of a collector, some interesting considerations arise:

> "The collector is not merely an accumulator, neither is he simply an art lover. Most ordinary art lovers, even if they could afford to do otherwise, are content to look and not to possess. Others occasionally buy art objects but in the long run spend little time at art dealers or auctions and certainly never own more pieces than they have room to exhibit at one time. Not so the collector. He may sacrifice everything else to his desire to enlarge and improve his collection, which often becomes so large that at any given moment part of it must be relegated to closets."[538]

Indeed, it appears that after all Manos may not have been able to afford a collection as extensive as one encompassing thousands of objects. It is rather possible that his initial instincts, during the first years of the collection's formation in Vienna, deceived him, for he was living in what was considered to be the age of financial and political security; challenges and hardships were not visible in the horizon yet. However, his persistent efforts to expand the collection despite facing significant financial obstacles and spatial constraints reveal that he was not simply accumulating objects, but rather consciously building up a collection. His activities towards the realisation of this goal seem to resonate with the words of Austrian writer Stefan Zweig (1881-1942), a collector himself, who remarked in his autobiography *The World of Yesterday* (1942) that "every collector knows how much the joy of possessing a certain piece is enhanced if a sacrifice must be made to procure it."[539] Moulding a collection appears to have been Manos' sole purpose, possibly his sole raison d'être, as discerned from the comment poet Miltiades Malakasis made following his first encounter with the collector: "Mr Manos is old, childless, and without many things to interest him and keep him alive. His collection is probably his most favourite thing in the world. It is his child."[540] In these terms, it becomes evident that for Manos the objects in his possession did not serve as a demonstration of his wealth, but rather as signifiers of the spirit that animated him. His attempt towards a completion of the collection was simultaneously an attempt towards the completion of the self.

In the formation of his collection, Manos aligned with the prevailing taste of his time. He became a regular customer in shops that specialised in East Asian objects, corresponded with experts, frequented the halls of public auctions, and requested his colleagues who travelled to China and Japan to supply him with objects that would complete his collection. The range of items that ended up in his hands demonstrates his ambition to assemble a collection that would encompass all periods of Japanese and

---

[538] Frederick Baekeland, "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan Pearce (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 206.
[539] Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography* (New York: The Viking Press, 1943), 130.
[540] Malakasis, *Πεζά: Κριτικά-Δοκίμια [Prose: Critiques-Essays]*, 186.

Chinese art through various materials, techniques, and stylistic traditions. Most European collections predominantly reflected Edo period culture, with only a few featuring objects representative of earlier periods;[541] Manos assembled one of those collections as his pursuits were not limited to a specific theme, object, or material. This contrasts with collectors such as Albert Brockhaus, who specialised in *netsuke*, or Dr Édouard Mène, who primarily focused on Japanese military regalia. In addition, given that the bequest of his collection to the Greek State emerged as an idea already before his departure from Vienna (1910), it appears that Manos' acquisitions thereafter were motivated not only by his personal preferences but also by a donating vision. His deep passion for collecting is also highlighted during the last years of his life, when despite the financial hardships that prevented him from purchasing any additional objects, he kept acquiring sales catalogues to remain abreast of market tendencies.

Although I delved into the multifaceted role Manos played within the art market, I encountered challenges that did not allow me to fully explore his private exchanges with dealers and merchants. While it still remains uncertain to me whether evidence of his transactions exist in the archives kept at the MATK, the material I gathered from the Archives de Paris does not offer significant insights that could further illuminate this aspect of Manos' acquisition practices. The area of his private dealings requires further examination in future scholarly endeavours, which would significantly benefit from access to the MATK archival materials. Additionally, research could elucidate the state and status of the collection as well as the operational conditions of the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu from the 1930s onwards; the history of the museum during those years remains largely obscure, with numerous gaps yet to be addressed. Some questions that arise regarding that period are: Who was in charge of the museum? What was the museum's reception from the public? During the bombing incident, were any of the objects from the collection looted? In this regard, it would be highly insightful if the MATK opened a dialogue with the public and the scholarly community regarding unknown fragments of its history, particularly given its importance as a unique institution within the Greek cultural landscape. "Museums need to address the history of their collections and share this with society."[542] By following this approach, the objects constituting its collection will be presented in a clearer historical and cultural framework.

While certain facets of the collection's history—particularly following its donation—remain to be addressed, the question of Manos' identity as a collector can be answered. Was he a collector of material culture or a collector of art? The distinction lies in the endeavours pursued by the individual. Collecting material culture involves the acquisition of objects that represent everyday life, customs, and practices,

[541] Kreiner, "Some Remarks on Japanese Collections in Europe," 32.
[542] Esther Tisa Francini, "Introduction," in *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, ed. Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay (Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022), 14.

providing insights into the social, economic, and cultural aspects of a society. The purpose of this type of collecting is to document, study, and interpret the ways people interact with the environment and create meaning in their lives through objects. For instance, Heinrich von Siebold and his father, Philipp, were collectors of material culture, motivated by ethnographic interests. On the other hand, collecting art involves the acquisition of objects for their aesthetic, expressive, or intellectual qualities, often prized for their uniqueness, the reputation of the artist, and their place in an art historical narrative. The purpose of this type of collecting is to appreciate and preserve items that are mainly valued for their beauty. Manos identifies with the latter definition; he considered himself an art collector as it becomes evident in his own correspondence where he refers to the objects in his possession as "αντικείμενα καλλιτεχνίας" or "αντικείμενα τέχνης" ("objects of art").

Reflecting on this, it is important to acknowledge that the concept of "art" as we understand it today—especially from a Western perspective—was somewhat different in Japan and China prior to their encounter with the West. The Japanese term *bijutsu* (美術), which is still in use, was introduced as a translation of the Western concept of fine arts in 1872, to assist with Japan's first official participation at the Vienna International Exhibition. This new taxonomical category came to replace the term *geijutsu* (芸術), which in the Tokugawa era encompassed martial arts, mathematical, musical, and other skills including divination.[543] Additionally, a distinction that existed was between *jōtemono* (上手物), denoting refined, luxurious objects, such as Buddhist works and court items, created for people of a high social status, and *getemono* (下手物), referring to lower works or common household objects, such as *netsuke* and *ukiyo-e* prints, made by—often anonymous—craftsmen for ordinary people.[544] The Japanese did have a well-developed system for appreciating beauty and craftsmanship, but these notions were not unified under a single concept equivalent to the Western idea of "art." Instead, they were categorised according to their specific forms and functions, often deeply intertwined with daily life, ritual, and the natural world.

In China, the neologism *měishù* (美术) emerged in the 1880s and gained prominence in the early twentieth century, encompassing the Western concept of art and particularly referring to things in the outside world intended for appreciation. This marked a shift in meaning from the old notion of *yìshù* (艺术), which emphasised mastery of skills and abilities acquired through persistent practice (*geijutsu* in

[543] Jason Ānanda Josephson Storm, "Excavating the Hall of Dreams: The Inventions of "Fine Art" and "Religion" in Japan," *Religions* 13, no. 4 (2022), doi: 10.3390/rel13040313.
[544] Kikuchi Yuko, "The Myth of Yanagi's Originality: The Formation of "Mingei" Theory in Its Social and Historical Context," *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994): 256.

Japanese) instead of external things.[545] Therefore, it is important to remember that within their original environment, the objects discussed throughout this thesis did not carry the same connotations historically and were not perceived as works of art in the sense that we understand today; rather, they assumed this role after being transferred into new contexts, both geographical and cultural, as well as into different systems of value.

Even today, this remains a primary reason why objects are misinterpreted within museum settings. It is not always possible to fit all the episodes of an object's life in a label, which is usually limited to basic information, such as the maker, the date of creation, and the material. However, it is possible—albeit rather challenging sometimes—to delve into their past and animate them once again; this is what my thesis aimed to achieve. The objects examined, dating from the protohistoric period to the nineteenth century, saw the birth of civilisation, resided in imperial settings and catered to the elite or dwelled in domestic environments and served everyday purposes; but they also became commodities—a state not originally intended for some of them—and new identities were forced upon them. They experienced violence and mutilations, they were disassembled and re-assembled, survived wars, revolutions, and transformed into "objets d'art" (as described in the auctions catalogues), just to mention a few stages of their lives. They moved from one interpretative context to another. When these objects became collectibles in a European setting they were no longer specified by their function. Although most of the Japanese and Chinese items discussed in previous chapters had at some point in time served a practical purpose, upon entering Manos' collection they acquired the status of a beautiful object, abstracted from its initial function or use.[546] Nevertheless, the fact that Manos perceived items in his collection as "jolies pièces"[547] does not negate his understanding of their historical significance. On the contrary, his intellectual inclinations led him to address aspects such as their context and function, underscoring his commitment to engaging with contemporary scholarship and comprehending the broader cultural dimensions of his acquisitions.

These observations echo the notion of "object itineraries," discussed in the introduction as a significant component of my theoretical approach and methodological objective. My preference for terms such as "life," "itinerary," "history," and "narrative" over "biography" is grounded in the recognition of an object's non-linear progression through space and time. This is better exemplified through the case studies of the *sueki* and the Cizhou basin; although once highly valued in their respective cultural frameworks, these items remained buried for long periods of time, only to be discovered and rediscovered in a new

[545] Liu Yu-jen, "The Concept of Art in the Meishu Congshu: From Foreign Loan to National Tradition," in *East Asian Art History in A Transcultural Context*, ed. Eriko Tomizawa-kay and Toshio Watanabe (New York: Routledge, 2019), 236.
[546] Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (London; New York: Verso, 1996), 86.
[547] Description often used in sales catalogues to characterise an object and accentuate its value in a public auction.

light, the light of European connoisseurship. The notion of non-linearity can also be applied in the case of Buddhist icons, many of which remained hidden from view for centuries in the treasuries of temples and shrines until Western eyes were laid on them. Therefore, an "object's end" or an "object's death," implied in the concept of "biography," never emerged during my research; instead, what consistently surfaced was the notion of an object's life, which if examined thoroughly and meticulously can piece together fragments of cultural exchange and uncover a clearer understanding of historical circumstances. An object's journey can include multiple ownerships, uses, interpretations, relocations, and transformations, each adding layers of meaning and highlighting its dynamic and multifaceted nature. By delving into specific case studies, I demonstrated how objects simultaneously exist within two or more systems of value. For instance, the *ukiyo-e* prints, the lacquer disc, and military regalia were given an additional, fictitious value that did not correspond to their original one, just so they could become more attractive and desirable to European collectors. Therefore, there is a distinction between the value defined and determined by Western standards and the value bestowed on the object within the environment it was originally made to dwell.

These relocations that inherently embody the concept of transformation echo the idea of something or someone that moves between different spaces or homes, a *metoikos*: *meta* + *oikos* (house), a term rooted in Greek language;[548] *meta* is a preposition referring to movement (in this sense, a *metoikos* has moved house), but it could also mean "among with, having a part," as in *metechein* (μετέχειν=take part). This derivation is particularly fitting in the context of my thesis, not only because the objects moved from an Asian to a European setting, but also because they occupied a position both within and beyond the *oikos*.[549] Consequently, the movement is not merely physical, such as when Japanese or Chinese objects travel from their place of origin to a dealer's shop, a collector's private residence, and/or ultimately a museum (each one of these cases being an *oikos*). It also represents a symbolic shift, as these objects exist simultaneously within and beyond the conventional systems of value, trade, and exchange; they contribute to the formation of these systems while also transcending them. Thus, following their journey ultimately becomes both a literal and metaphorical exploration of space and identity.

[548] The term *metoikos* (μέτοικος), originating from ancient Greek, refers to a resident alien or someone who has moved from one city-state to another and has limited rights compared to citizens.
[549] Faure, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," 813.

Bibliography

Published Sources

Primary Sources

"Aus der Diplomatie [From Diplomacy]." *Wiener Salonblatt*, March 28, 1908, 11-12.

"Aus der Diplomatie [From Diplomacy]." *Wiener Salonblatt*, April 28, 1906, 14.

"Ausland [Abroad]." *Neue Freie Presse*, February 16, 1910, 7.

Congrès international des orientalistes. *Congrès international des Orientalistes. Compte-rendu.* Paris: Maisonneuve, 1873.

d' Ardenne de Tizac, Henri. *5e exposition des arts de l'Asie: Collection Victor Goloubew*. Paris: Musée Cernuschi, 1913.

d'Ardenne de Tizac, Henri, and D. de Berkem. *Parisia: La Ve exposition des arts de l'Asie au Musée Municipal Cernuschi*. Paris: Musée Cernuschi, 1914.

D.G. "Μοναδικόν εις τον χώρον της Μεσογείου το Σινοϊαπωνικόν Μουσείον Κέρκυρας ["Unique in the Mediterranean region, the Sino-Japanese Museum of Corfu"]. *Ελεύθερος Κόσμος [Eleftheros Kosmos]*, August 18, 1969.

Dafnis, Kostas. "Ένας ανεκτίμητος θησαυρός: Ο Γρηγόριος Μάνος και το Σινοϊαπωνικό Μουσείο. Το πάθος που δημιουργεί ["A Priceless Treasure: Gregorios Manos and the Sino-Japanese Museum. The Passion that Creates"]. *Κερκυραϊκά Νέα [Kerkyraika Nea]*, 1968.

———. "Το Σινοϊαπωνικό Μουσείο Κέρκυρας: Αμερικάνος καθηγητής θα προβή σε ενδιαφέρουσες μελέτες ["The Sino-Japanese Museum of Corfu: American professor will conduct interesting studies"]. *Βήμα [Vima]*, August 10, 1966.

Dhios. *Catalogue des objets précieux... [objets d'art et de curiosité provenant en grande partie du palais d'été de Yen-Meng-Yuen] composant le musée japonais et chinois de M. le colonel Du Pin.* Paris: [s.n.], 1862.

"Eine Altersgrenze für griechische Diplomaten [An Age Limit for Greek Diplomats]." *Freie Stimmen*, January 10, 1910, 2.

Falke, Jacob von. *Die Kunstindustrie auf der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873 [The Art Industry at the 1873 Vienna International Exhibition]*. Wien: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1873.

Farrando, Maison de Vente. "Karl Friedrich GSUR (1871-1939) - Lot 39." https://www.svvfarrando.com/lot/23179/4920698-karl-friedrich-gsur-1871-1939-le-cercle-diplomatique-avant (accessed September 30, 2024).

Franks, A.W. "Notes on the Discovery of Stone Imprements in Japan." In *International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology: Transactions of the Third Session*. London: Longmans, Green, and co, 1869.

Gelich, Richard. *The Hungarian Generals of the War 1848-1849: Historical and Biographical Sketches with Portraits of the Most Distinguished Generals.* London: Franz Thim, 1855.

Goloubew, Victor, and Henri d' Ardenne de Tizac. *4e Exposition des arts de l'Asie. Art bouddhique. Catalogue sommaire Musée Cernuschi.* Paris: Impr. de V. Jacquemin, 1913.

Goncourt, Edmond de. *Utamaro.* New York; Paris: Parkstone International, 2008.

Gonse, Louis. *Japanese Art.* Chicago: Belford-Clarke, 1891.

———. *L'Art japonais.* Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.

Grèce, Ministère des affaires étrangères. *Documents diplomatiques: Conflit greco-turc: Avril-Septembre 1897.* Athens: Anestis Constantinidis, 1897.

"Gregor Manos." *Neues Wiener Abendblatt*, February 17, 1910, 2.

Helbing, Hugo, ed.. *Japanische Farbholzschnitte, Gemälde - Handzeichnungen - Bücher: Ferner einige indische Miniaturen aus bekanntem süddeutschen Privatbesitz und aus dem Besitze Sr. Exz. Herrn Gregor Manos, Paris [Japanese woodcuts, paintings-drawings-books: Also some Indian miniatures from well-known South German private collections and from the collection of His Excellency Mr. Gregor Manos, Paris].* Munich: Auktionshaus Hugo Helbing, 1913.

———. *Ölgemälde alter Meister: aus dem Besitze Sr. Exzellenz des Herrn Gregor Manos ehemaligen griechischen Gesandten, Paris; aus altadeligem Bologneser Besitze sowie aus anderem, meist adeligen Privatbesitz; Auktion in München in der Galerie Helbing, Donnerstag, den 21. November 1912 [Oil Paintings by Old Masters: From the Collection of His Excellency Mr Gregor Manos, Former Greek ambassador, Paris; From Old Noble Bolognese Collections and from Other, Mostly Noble Private Collections; Auction in Munich at the Helbing Gallery, Thursday, November 21, 1912].* München: Helbing, 1912.

Hobson, Robert Lockhart. *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection: Catalogue of the Chinese, Corean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain.* Vol. 3. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1928.

"Inauguration au musée Cernuschi de la cinquième exposition des arts de l'Asie." *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, April 3, 1914, 1687-89.

"Inauguration, au musée Cernuschi, de la deuxième exposition des arts de l'Asie." *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, November 9, 1911.

Joly, Henri L. "Introduction à l'étude des montures de sabres" ["Introduction to the Study of Sword Fittings"]. *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, no. XIV (March 1909): 31-84.

Karl & Faber. "Édouard Dubufe, Portrait of a Lady." https://www.karlundfaber.de/en/auctions/302/old-masters-19th-century-art/3020124/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Kurth, Julius. *Die Geschichte des japanischen Holzschnitts: Von den Anfängen bis Harunobu* [*The History of Japanese Woodblock Prints: From the Beginnings to Harunobu*]. Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1925.

L. Joly, Henri. "Introduction à l'étude des montures de sabres japonais" ["Introduction in the study of Japanese swords"]. *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* XXXI-XXXII (1913).

Lempertz, Kunsthaus. *Lempertz Auktion 726: Japanische Holzschnitte, Sammlung Fedor Sibeth.* Köln: Kunsthaus Lempertz, 1995.

Loo, C.T. *An Exhibition of Chinese Stone Sculptures.* New York City: C.T. Loo & Co, 1940.

Malakasis, Miltiadis. *Πεζά: Κριτικά-Δοκίμια [Prose: Critiques-Essays]*, edited by Yiannis Papakostas. Athens: Pataki Publishing, 2006.

Mallon, Paul. "Des imitations des anciennes sculptures Chinoises." *Artibus Asiae* 2, no. 1 (1927): 41-49.

Marquet de Vasselot, Jean-Joseph. "Préface." In *Les collections de l'Extrême-Orient (Inde-Turkestan-Chine-Japon)*, 1 vol. (VI-56 -XXIV f. de pl.). Paris: Musées nationaux, 1929.

Meiji Portraits. "GOUILLOUD, Louis." http://www.meiji-portraits.de/meiji_portraits_g.html (accessed September 30, 2024).

Mène, Edouard. "Les anciennes garnitures de sabres du Japon" ["The Old Sword Fittings of Japan"]. *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, no. XI (June 1908): 39-63.

Morrison, Arthur. *Exhibition of Japanese Prints.* London: Fine Art Society, 1909.

Morse, E. S. "Some Recent Publications on Japanese Archaeology." *The American Naturalist* 14, no. 9 (1880): 656-62.

Musée des Arts Décoratifs. *Exposition d'estampes japonaises primitives: 300 pieces.* Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1909.

Ninagawa, Noritane. *Kwagawa-zusetsu (Illustrated Notes of Antiquities and Pottery).* Translated by H. R. Yamamoto. 1906.

Nisiotis, Kostas. "Εν αντιθέσει προς το Σινοϊαπωνικόν μουσείον το Αρχαιολογικόν μουσείον Κέρκυρας έχει εγκαταληφθεί εις την τύχην του. Η μοναδικήν εις όλην την Ευρώπη συλλογή του Γρηγορίου Μάνου. - Αμύθητου αξίας κομψοτεχνήματα. - Η έκθεσις των εις ιδιαιτέραν πτέρυγα των βασιλικών ανακτόρων [In contrast to the Sino-Japanese Museum, the Archaeological Museum of Corfu has been left to its own devices. The unique collection of Gregorios Manos in all of Europe. - Priceless masterpieces. - The exhibition is in a special wing of the royal palaces]." *Ακρόπολις [Acropolis]*, 1958.

Oudin, Andrien. "L'art Chinois au parc Monceau. L'exposition de Cernuschi. Un Musée que les Parisiens ignorent.". *Excelsior: journal illustré quotidien*, no. 174 (1911).

Pelliot, Paul. "Chinese Lacquer, by Edward F. STRANGE." *T'oung Pao* 25, no. 1/2 (1927): 116-34.

Petrucci, Raphaël. "Chronique d'archéologie Extrême-Orientale" [Chronicle of Far Eastern Archaeology]. *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, March 1, 1912, 121.

Pittard, Eugène. "Collection Henri Moser, Charlottenfels. Armes et armures orientales, 1912." *Le Globe. Revue genevoise de géographie* (1913): 49-51.

Portier, André. *Catalogue d'une collection d'objets d'art de la Chine et du Japon, appartenant à un ancien diplomate, céramique chinoise..., céramique japonaise, bronzes et émaux cloisonnés, bois sculptés et laques.* Paris: [s.n.], 1913.

——. *Collection de son exc. M. Manos, ancien ministre de Grèce à Vienne. Deuxième Vente. Porcelaines de la Chine, bronzes et cloisonnés chinois, laques et bois chinois, porcelaines et poteries du Japon, bronzes et cloisonnés japonais.* Paris: [s.n.], 1912.

——. *Collection de son exc. M. Manos, ancien ministre de Grèce à Vienne. Première partie, Porcelaines de la Chine, bronzes et cloisonnés chinois, laques et bois chinois, porcelaines et poteries du Japon, bronzes et cloisonnés japonais.* Paris: [s.n.], 1912.

——. *Gardes de sabres japonaises..., sabres, poignards et lames de sabre, casques, masques, etc., meuble-classeur pour gardes de sabres de chez Jémont, catalogues illustrés de ventes, etc... : Collection A. Roubeaud.* Paris: [s.n.], 1920.

Rangabé, Eugène Rizo. *Livre d'or de la noblesse phanariote en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Russie et en Turquie* [*Golden Book of the Phanariot Nobility in Greece, Romania, Russia, and Turkey*]. Athens: Impr. S. C. Vlastos, 1892.

"Revue des ventes: Collection de son Exc. M. Manos 1re partie; Collection de son Exc. M. Manos 2e partie." *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* (March 1912).

"Revue des ventes: Vente Manos III; Vente Manos IV." *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris* (June 1912).

Ruprecht-Carls Universität Heidelberg. *Verzeichnis der sämmtlichen Studierenden der Universität Heidelberg im Wintersemester 1870/1871 bis Sommersemester 1875 [List of all students at the University of Heidelberg in the winter semester 1870/1871 to the summer semester 1875].* Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg, 1875.

Siebold, Heinrich von. *Notes on Japanese Archaeology with Especial Reference to the Stone Age.* Yokohama: Typography of C. Lévy, 1879.

Strange, Edward F. *Chinese Lacquer.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

Terrien de Lacouperie, Albert. *Catalogue of Chinese Coins from the VIIth Cent. B. C., to A. D. 621,* edited by Reginald Stuart Poole. London; Paris: Printed by order of trustees; MM C. Rollin et Feuardent, 1892.

The National Gallery. "Connoisseurs." https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/glossary/connoisseurs (accessed September 30, 2024).

The National Museum of Western Art. The Collection of Hayashi Tadamasa: Related Letters and Reference Materials. "Letter from Charles Bermond to Hayashi Tadamasa." https://hayashi.nmwa.go.jp/en/pages/h1891042701.html (accessed September 30, 2024).

The Oriental Annual for Merchants and Manufacturers 1902. Seattle, Washington: Oriental Annual Publishing Corporation, 1902.

Toepke, Gustav, and Paul Hintzelmann. *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg (6. Teil): Von 1846-1870 [The Matriculation of the University of Heidelberg: From 1846-1870].* Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg, 1907.

Vignier, Charles. "Une exposition d'art chinois au Musée Cernuschi" ["An Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Cernuschi Museum"]. *Le Figaro artistique* (1924): 8-10.

"Von fremden Höfen [At Foreign Courts]." *Wiener Salonblatt* February 19, 1910, 7.

von Lützow, Karl. "Die Japanische Kunst" ["Japanese Art"]. *Monatsschrift für den Orient* [*Monthly Journal for the Orient*], January 15, 1884, 75-78.

United States War Department General Staff, and Walter Scribner Schuyler. *Reports of Military Observers Attached to the Armies in Manchuria During the Russo-Japanese War*. Washington: Government Print Office, 1907.

Zenker, Joseph. *Pantheon: Adressbuch der Kunst-und Antiquitäten-Sammler und-Händler, Bibliotheken, Archive, Museen, Kunst-, Altertums- und Geschichtsvereine, Bücherliebhaber, Numismatiker; ein Handbuch für das Sammelwesen der ganzen Welt* [*Pantheon: Address Book of Art and Antiques Collectors and Dealers, Libraries, Archives, Museums, Art, Antiquity and History Societies, Book Lovers, Numismatists; A Handbook for Collecting Throughout the World*]. Eszlingen A. N.: M. Schreiber, 1914.

Secondary Sources

Abe, Stanley K. "Collecting Chinese Sculpture: Paris, New York, Boston." In *Journeys east: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia*. Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in association with Gutenberg Periscope Publishing, 2009.

Adensamer, Sophie. "Re-imagining: Hokusai 1901." https://blog.mak.at/re-imagining-hokusai-1901/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

AGORHA. "Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939." https://agorha.inha.fr/database/81 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Akutsu, Mariko. "La porcelaine d'Imari dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle: Industrialisation et dépréciation." In *Territoires du Japonisme* edited by Patricia Plaud-Dilhut. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014.

"Amitābha (J. Amida Nyorai)." In *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections* (2016). https://aterui.ws.hosei.ac.jp/jbae/detail.php?id=GRC_MATK_KM5001%252F6028&page=0&no=0 (accessed August 12, 2024).

Anderson, Eric. "Jakob von Falke und der Geschmack [Jakob von Falke and Ringstrasse-era Taste]." In *Klimt und die Ringstraße [Klimt and the Ringstrasse]*. Vienna: Belvedere Museum, 2015.

Ashmore, Sonia. "Lanseby Liberty (1843-1917) and Japan." In *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits,* , edited by Hugh Cortazzi. Oxon: Routledge, 2002.

Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. "Bird-shaped bottle." https://searchcollection.asianart.org/objects/925/birdshaped-bottle (accessed September 30, 2024).

Aspreas, G. "Μάνοι [Manos Family]." In *Μεγάλη Στρατιωτική και Ναυτική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία [Great Military and Naval Encyclopaedia]*. Athens: Έκδοσις Μεγάλης Στρατιωτικής και Ναυτικής Εγκυκλοπαιδείας, 1929.

Asuka, Minami. "Georges de Tressan (1877-1914): Officier, historien des arts japonais et collectionneur de gardes de sabre." In *Territoires du japonisme*, edited by Patricia Plaud Dilhuit. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014.

Ayers, John. *Chinese Ceramics in the Baur Collection.* Geneva: The Baur Collection, 1999.

Baekeland, Frederick. "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting." In *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, edited by Susan Pearce. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

Baekeland, Frederick, Gina L. Barnes, Rupert Faulkner, David Hale, J. Edward Kidder Jr., Andrew Maske, Richard L. Mellott, and Hiroko Nishida. "Japan: Ceramics." *Oxford Art Online* (2003). doi: 10.1093/oao/9781884446054.013.90000369684.

Baird, Christina. "'Au Mikado': A Tea, Coffee and 'Oriental' Art Emporium in Vienna." *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 4 (2011): 359-73. doi: 10.1093/jdh/epr036.

———. "The Contributions from Japan and China Displayed at the Vienna Weltausstellung in 1873." *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 1 (2010): 153-64.

———. "E. C. Bowra and the Chinese Collections in the 1873 Vienna Weltausstellung, with Particular Reference to the Loan Collections of E. C. Bowra, J. H. Gray, Hu Tao-tai and H. Kopsch." *Journal of Design History* 28, no. 2 (2014): 128-41. doi:10.1093/jdh/epu028.

Balsiger, Roger Nicholas. "Honoring Henri Moser Charlottenfels. From Silkworm Exporter to Explorer, Diplomat and Collector: The Illustrious Life of Henri Moser." In *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait and Ariane Varela Braga. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020.

Barnes, Gina L. "A Hypothesis for Early Kofun Rulership." *Japan Review*, no. 27 (2014): 3-29.

Bashō, Matsuo, and Yuasa Nobuyuki. *The Narrow Road to the Deep North: And Other Travel Sketches.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.

Bassal, Marine. "Le marché de l'art chinois en France: origines, spécificités et évolution." École du Louvre, 2016.

Bau, Gropius. "Exhibition Hokusai: Retrospective, 26 August to 31 October 2011." https://www.berlinerfestspiele.de/en/berliner-festspiele/programm/bfs-gesamtprogramm/programmdetail_17751.html.

Baudrillard, Jean. *The System of Objects.* London; New York: Verso, 1996.

Bauer, Alexander A. "Itinerant Objects ". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (2019): 335-52

Baumel, Lucie "Mène Édouard." *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2022). https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/423 (accessed June 5, 2024).

Bawin, Julie. *La collection au temps du japonisme: Le japonisme en Belgique à travers les collections de Hans de Winiwarter.* Cortil-Wodon: E.M.E, 2007.

Bayarsaikhan, Jamsranjav, Tsagaan Turbat, Chinbold Bayandelger, Tumurbaatar Tuvshinjargal, Juan Wang, Igor Chechushkov, Manabu Uetsuki, *et al.* "The Origins of Saddles and Riding Technology in East Asia: Discoveries from the Mongolian Altai." *Antiquity* 98, no. 397 (2024): 102-18. doi: 10.15184/aqy.2023.172.

Becker, Ingeborg. "Japan and Modernism in Berlin: The Art Dealer Hermann Pächter and his Gallery." *Journal of Japonisme* 3, no. 2 (2018): 187-200. doi: 10.1163/24054992-00032P02.

Belgin, Tayfun. "Viennese Japonisme: From the Figured-Perspective to the Ornamental-Extensive Style." In *Japonisme and the Rise of the Modern Art Movement: The Arts of the Meiji Period*, edited by Gregory Irvine. London: Thames & Hudson, 2013.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations.* London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 2015.

———. "Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century." *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 165-72.

Bertrand, Camille. "Archives des expositions du musée Cernuschi de 1911 à 1929." *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2023). https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/872 (accessed December 30, 2024).

Bincsik, Monika. "European Collectors and Japanese Merchants of Lacquer in 'Old Japan'." *Journal of the History of Collections* 20, no. 2 (2008): 217-36. doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhn013.

Bing, Siegfried. *Dessins, estampes, livres illustrés du Japon réunis par T. Hayashi.* Paris: S. Bing, 1902.

———. "La Gravure Japonaise." In *Dessins, estampes, livres illustrés du Japon réunis par T. Hayashi* Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1902.

Bodor, Kata. "A Chronological List of Japanese Art-Related Exhibitions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." In *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, edited by Mirjam Dénes, Piotr Spławski, and Toshio Watanabe. Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asian Arts, 2020.

Bommert, Britta. "On the Relevance and Potential of Auction Catalogues as Sources for Art Market Research on Asian Art." *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2, no. 3 (2018). doi: https://doi.org/10.23690/jams.v2i3.71.

Brinkley, Frank. *Description of a Collection of Japanese, Chinese and Korean Porcelain, Pottery and Faience: Made by Captain F. Brinkley.* New York: Edward Greey, 1890.

Brockhaus, Albert. *Netsuke: Versuch einer Geschichte der japanischen Schnitzkunst: Mit 272 schwarzen und 53 bunten Abbildungen [Netsuke: An Attempt at the History of Japanese Carving: With 272 Black and 53 Coloured Illustrations).* Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1909.

Bru i Turull, Ricard. *Erotic Japonisme: The Influence of Japanese Sexual Imagery on Western Art.* Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2014.

———. "The Mansana Collection. A Treasury of Japanese Art in Barcelona at the Turn of the Twentieth Century." *Journal of Japonisme* 2, no. 5 (2020): 180-209.

Budde, Hendrick. "Japanische Farbholzschnitte und europäische Kunst – Maler und Sammler im 19. Jahrhundert" ["Japanese Colour Woodcuts and European Art – Painters and Collectors in the 19th Century"] In *Japan und Europa 1543-1929* [*Japan and Europe 1543-1929*], edited by Doris Croissant and Lothar. Berlin: Argon, 1993.

———. "Japanmode in Europa" ["Japan Fashion in Europe"]. In *Japan und Europa 1543-1929* [*Japan and Europe 1543-1929*], edited by Doris Croissant and Lothar. Ledderose. Berlin: Argon, 1993.

Burke, David. *Writers in Paris: Literary Lives in the City of Light.* Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2008.

Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Exhibition of Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain, 1910.* London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1911.

"Butsugen Butsumo Mandala." *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections*. https://aterui.ws.hosei.ac.jp/jbae/detail.php?id=GRC_MATK_KM5166%252F6257&page=0&no=0#maindata02_content (accessed September 30, 2024).

C.Y. Watt, James. "China." In *East Asian Lacquer: The Florence and Herbert Irving Collection*, edited by James C. Y. Watt and Barbara Brennan Ford. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Chamberlain, Basil. *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan for the Use of Travellers and Others.* London; Yokohama: J. Murray; Kelly & Walsh, 1902.

Chen, Constance J. S. "Merchants of Asianness: Japanese Art Dealers in the United States in the Early Twentieth Century." [In English]. *Journal of American Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 19-46.

Cheng, Maria, Tang Wuai Hung, Eric Choy, and et.al. *Essential Terms of Chinese Painting.* Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2017.

Chiang, Nicole T. C. *Emperor Qianlong's Hidden Treasures: Reconsidering the Collection of the Qing Imperial Household* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.

Chopard, Lucie. "Chinese Porcelain enters the Louvre: A Collector, his Dealers, and the Parisian Art Market (c. 1870-1912)." *Journal for Art Market Studies* 4, no. 2 (2020). doi: 10.23690/jams.v4i2.124.

Church, A.H. "Metal Work. Part II. The Furniture of the Sword." In *Catalogue of Specimens of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work Exhibited in 1894*. London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894.

Clunas, Craig. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China.* London: Reaktion Books, 1997.

Cordileone, Diana Reynolds. *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905: An Institutional Biography.* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.

dal Lago, Francesca. "Contemporary Art and Colonial Collecting: Huang Yong Ping's Reinstallation of J.J.M. de Groot's Panthéon Chinois from the Lyon Musée." In *The Social Lives of Chinese Objects*, edited by Alice Bianchi and Lyce Jankowski. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

———. "Contemporary Art and Colonial Collecting: Huang Yong Ping's Reinstallation of J.J.M. de Groot's Panthéon Chinois from the Lyon Musée des Confluences." In *The Social Lives of Chinese Objects*, edited by Alice Bianchi and Lyce Jankowski. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2023.

Darmon, J. E. *Répertoire des estampes japonaises. Les Artistes et leurs signatures. Les Procédés. Les Oeuvres et leurs prix dans les ventes. Biographies et Bibliographies.* Paris: Éditions Albert Morancé, 1922.

Davis, Julie Nelson. *Partners in Print: Artistic Collaboration and the Ukiyo-e Market.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014.

de Vibraye, Marquis "Sur des instruments en pierre provenant du Japon." In *Congrès international d'anthropologie & d'archéologie préhistoriques compte rendu de la 6e session, Bruxelles, 1872*. Nendeln: Kraus reprint, 1969.

De Waal, Edmund. *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance.* London: Vintage, 2011.

Deal, William E. *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Dittelbach, Thomas, and Ágnes Sebestyén. "Henri Moser: From the Curiosity Cabinet to the Political Masterpiece: The Swiss Henri Moser's (1844-1923) Evolution in Displaying the "Orient"." https://www.ikg.unibe.ch/research/research_projects/henri_moser/index_eng.html (accessed September 30, 2024).

Dolce, Lucia. "The Worship of Celestial Bodies in Japan: Politics, Rituals and Icons." *Culture and Cosmos* 10 (2006): 3-43.

Emery, Elizabeth. "A Japoniste Friendship in Translation: Hayashi Tadamasa and Philippe Burty (1878-1890)." *Journal of Japonisme* 6, no. 1 (2021): 27-75. doi:10.1163/24054992-06010002.

———. "The Ledgers of Clémence d'Ennery (Le Musée d'Ennery): Context and Transcriptions." *Montclair State University Digital Commons* (2022). https://digitalcommons.montclair.edu/dennery/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

———. *Reframing Japonisme: Women and the Asian Art Market in Nineteenth-century France, 1853-1914.* London; New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020.

———. "Women Collectors of Japanese Prints." In *Collecting Prints, Posters, and Ephemera: Perspectives in a Global World*, edited by Ruth Iskin and Britany Salsbury. New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019.

Ersoy, Ahmet. *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire.* Farnham Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015.

Evett, Elisa. *The Critical Reception of Japanese Art in Late Nineteenth Century Europe.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982.

Fan, Kuo-Kuang, and Xue-Hui Li. "Taking Lacquer as a Mirror, Expressing Morality via Implements: A Study of Confucian Ritual Spirituality and the Concept of Consumption in the Ming and Qing Dynasties." *Religions* 11, no. 9 (2020): 447. doi: 10.3390/rel11090447.

Fang, Lili. *The History of Chinese Ceramics*. Singapore: Springer, 2023. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-9094-6.

Faure, Bernard. "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze." *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 3 (1998): 768-813.

Feltens, Frank. *Ogata Kōrin: Art in Early Modern Japan.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021.

Fenollosa, Ernest F., and Raphaël Petrucci. *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design.* New York: Dover, 1963.

Ferguson, John C. *Survey of Chinese Art. Chapter II: Stone Monuments.* Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1939.

Fernsebner, Susan R. "When the Local is the Global: Case Studies in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Exposition Projects." In *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851-1915*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Francini, Esther Tisa. "Introduction." In *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, edited by Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022.

Frédéric, Louis. *Japan Encyclopedia.* Translated by Käthe Roth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002.

Freytag, Anette. "Josef Hoffmann's Unknown Masterpiece: The Garden of Stoclet House in Brussels (1905–1911)." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 30, no. 4 (2010): 337–72. doi: 10.1080/14601176.2010.485733.

Fujisawa Murasaki. "Early Prints: Torii Kiyotada." In *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of NAUSICAA*. Tokyo: Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, 2009.

Gallica - Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/fr/content/accueil-fr?mode=desktop (accessed September 30, 2024).

Garner, Harry. "Catalogue: 40. Circular Plaque." In *Chinese and Associated Lacquer: From the Garner Collection* edited by British Museum and Harry Garner. London: British Museum, 1973.

———. *Chinese Lacquer*. London: Faber & Faber, 1979.

Gerritsen, Anne. *The City of Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and the Early Modern World* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. doi: https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1017/9781108753104.

Giese, Francine. "International Fashion and Personal Taste: Neo-Islamic Style Rooms and Orientalizing Scenographies in Private Museums." In *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, edited by Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga, 92–108. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020.

Giese, Francine, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga. "Introduction: Islamic Art and Architecture Exposed." In *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, edited by Mercedes Volait Francine Giese, and Ariane Varela Braga, 8-11. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020.

Girmond, Sybille. "Heinrich von Siebolds letzte Sammlung: Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion nach zeitgenössischen Berichten [Heinrich von Siebold's Last Collection: Approaches to its Reconstruction Based on Contemporary Reports]." In *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: Die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold* [*Japan in the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold*], edited by Bettina Zorn and Hidaka Kaori, 32-37. Vienna: KHM Museumsverband, 2020.

Gosden, Chris, and Yvonne Marshall. "The Cultural Biography of Objects." *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 169-78.

Graf Adelman, Wilhelm. "Heinrich von Siebold. Der dritte "japanische" Siebold [Heinrich von Siebold: The Third "Japanese" Siebold]." In *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold [Japan during the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold]*, edited by Bettina Zorn. Wien: KHM Museumsverband, 2020.

Grancsay, Stephen V. "The Gift of a Japanese Lacquered Saddle." *Bulletin - Metropolitan Museum of Art* 27, no. 5 (1932): 128-30.

Grasskamp, Anna, and Monica Juneja. "Introduction." In *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800*, edited by Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018.

Guth, Christine. *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Guth Kanda, Christine. *Shinzō: Hachiman Imagery and its Development.* Cambridge, Massachussets; London: Harvard University 1985.

Hamilton, John D. *The Peabody Museum Collection of Japanese Sword Guards with Selected Pieces of Sword Furniture.* Salem, Mass.: The Peabody Museum of Salem, 1975.

Hamilton Rucker, Robert. *The Gōda Collection of Japanese Sword Fittings: Catalogue.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1924.

Handler, Sarah. *Austere Luminosity of Chinese Classical Furniture.* London; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190621711.003.0005.

Harrer, Alexandra. "The Chinese Teahouse at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition." In *Building Knowledge, Constructing Histories*, edited by Ine Wouters, Stephanie Voorde, Inge Bertels, Bernard Espion, Krista Jonge and Denis Zastavni. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.

Harrison Hall, Jessica. "The Taste for Cizhou." *Apollo* 174, no. 592 (2011): 48-54. https://go-gale-com.ezproxy2.lib.gla.ac.uk/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=glasuni&id=GALE%7CA273786343&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-AONE&asid=71ff81f3.&aty=ip (accessed September 30, 2024).

Hidaka. Kaori. "The Formation and Dispersion of the Siebold Brothers' Japan Collections: Their Relationship With Ninagawa Noritane." In *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold*, edited by Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2019.

Higuchi, Takayasu. "須恵器 (Sue Ware)." In *世界陶磁全集 Sekai tōji zenshū: Catalogue of World's Ceramics*, edited by F. Koyama, S. Tanaka, and R. Fujioka. Tokyo: Zauho Press & Kawade Shobo, 1958.

Historical Relics Unearthed in New China. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1972.

Hong, Wontack. "Yayoi Wave, Kofun Wave, and Timing: The Formation of the Japanese People and Japanese Language." *Korean Studies* 29, no. 1 (2005): 1-29.

Hoskins, Janet. *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives.* New York; London: Routledge, 1998.

Howald, Christine. "The Power of Provenance: Marketing and Pricing of Looted Art on the European Market (1860-1862)." In *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets*, edited by Charlotte Guichard, Christine Howald, and Bénédicte Savoy. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Hu, Shih-chang. "Introduction." In *2000 Years of Chinese Lacquer*. Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong; Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993.

Huber, Thomas M. "Reviewed Work: The Diary of Kido Takayoshi." *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 3 (1984): 358-61. doi: 10.2307/2384601.

Huish, Marcus Bourne. "Hints upon the Formation of a Collection of Japanese Art." *Artistic Japan: Illustrations and Essays* VI (1881).

Imai, Yūko. "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics." *Japan Review* 16, no. 16 (2004): 101-27.

Impey, Oliver, and Malcolm Fairley. "Frühe europäische Sammler japanischer Kunst der Meiji-Zeit [The European Collectors of Japanese Art during the Meiji Period]." In *Das alte Japan: Spuren und Objekte der Siebold-Reisen [Old Japan: Traces and Objects from the Siebold Travels]*, edited by Peter Noever, 29-36. München: Prestel, 1997.

Impey, Oliver. *The Art of the Japanese Folding Screen: The Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Ashmolean Museum.* Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1997.

Institut National de l'histoire de l'art (INHA). "Collections numérisées de la bibliothèque de l'INHA." https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

International Council of Museums. *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums.* Paris: ICOM, 2017.

Irvine, Gregory, and Harry Green. *The Japanese Sword: The Soul of the Samurai.* London: V&A Publications, 2000.

Ives, Colta Feller. *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.

Jirka-Schmitz, Patrizia. "Albert Brockhaus (1855-1921): Acquiring Netsuke Throughout Europe." *Andon* 111 (2021): 5-19.

Kagouridi, Kassiani. "Vienna-Paris-Corfu: Japonisme and Gregorios Manos (1851-1928)." *Journal of Japonisme* 5, no. 2 (2020): 152-79. doi: 10.1163/24054992-00052P02.

Kaloudi, Zina. "Ενα μεγάλο κύμα στο Παρίσι, ανεπαίσθητοι κυματισμοί στην Αθήνα [A Great Wave in Paris, Imperceptible Ripples in Athens]." In *Παρίσι-Αθήνα: 1863-1940 [Paris-Athens: 1863-1940]*, edited by Marina Lambraki-Plaka and Olga Mentzafou-Polyzou, 66-83. Athens: National Gallery - Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2006.

Kamińska, Ewa. "The European Encounters with Japanese Art: Germany as a Case Study." Paper presented at the *Comparative Studies on Urban Cultures: Compilation of Papers and Seminar Proceedings*, 2009.

Kang, Mathilde. *Francophonie and the Orient: French-Asian Transcultural Crossings (1840-1940).* Translated by Martin Munro. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

Karamanou, Aglaia. "Gregorios Manos and the Corfu Museum of Asian Art." *Andon: Bulleting of the Society for Japanese Arts and Crafts* 79 (2005): 33-39.

——. "Gregorios Manos and the Museum of Asian Art." In *Imperial Treasures from China: The Greek Contribution*, edited by Zina Kaloudi. Athens: National Gallery-Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2004.

Karoku, Miwa. "Sue Ware." In *The Rise of a Great Tradition: Japanese Archaeological Ceramics of the Jōmon through Heian Periods (10,500 B.C.-A.D. 1185)*, edited by Erica H. Weeder. New York: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, Japan Society, 1990.

Kaufmann, Katrin. "Samarkand in der Bundeshauptstadt – ein Ausstellungssaal im neo-timuridischen Stil für die Sammlung Henri Mosers im Bernischen Historischen Museum [Samarkand in the Federal Capital – An Exhibition Hall in Neo-Timurid Style for Henri Moser's Collection in the Bern Historical Museum]." In *Der Orient in der Schweiz: neo-islamische Architektur und Interieurs des*

19. und 20. Jahrhunderts [The Orient in Switzerland: Neo-Islamic Architecture and Interiors of the 19th and 20th Centuries], edited by Francine Giese, Leïla el-Wakil, and Ariane Varela Braga, 142-62. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2019.

Keene, Donald. *The Manyōshū: The Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai Translation of One Thousand Poems.* New York: Columbia U.P., 1965.

Kerr, Rose. "Camellia Flowers on a Prunus Vase: The Life History of a Cizhou Ware Bottle." In *Song Ceramics: Art History, Archaeology and Technology,* edited by Stacey Pierson. London: University of London; Percival Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2003.

——. *Song Dynasty Ceramics.* London: V&A, 2004.

Kerr, Rose, Verity Wilson, and Craig Clunas. *Chinese Art and Design: Art Objects in Ritual and Daily Life,* edited by Rose Kerr. New York: Overlook Press, 1991.

Kidder, J. Edward Jr. "Ceramics of the Burial Mounds (Kofun) (AD 258-646)." In *The Rise of a Great Tradition: Japanese Archaeological Ceramics of the Jōmon through Heian Periods (10,500 B.C.-A.D. 1185)*, edited by Erica H. Weeder. New York: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, Japan Society, 1990.

Kikuchi, Yuko. "The Myth of Yanagi's Originality: The Formation of "Mingei" Theory in Its Social and Historical Context." *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 4 (1994): 247-66.

Kitano, Kohei. "The Ancient Migration of Crafts from Korean to Japan." In *Cultural and Economic Relations between East and West: Sea Routes,* edited by Prince Mikasa no Miya Takahito. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988.

Koechlin, Raymond. "Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient" ["Memories of an Old Art Enthusiast of the Far East"]. In *Plunder and Pleasure: Japanese Art in the West 1860-1930,* edited by Max Put. Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000.

Koyama-Richard, Brigitte, ed. *Correspondance adressée à Hayashi Tadamasa*. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2001.

——."Hayashi Tadamasa and the Creation of a Market for Japanese Art." In *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, edited by Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022.

Kraemerová, Alice, and Helena Gaudeková. "Buddhist Art Objects in the Japanese Collection of the Náprstek Museum, Prague." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan,"* edited by Tomoe Irene, Maria Steineck, Josef Kreiner, and Raji C. Steineck, 243-58. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013.

Krahl, Regina. "Famous Brands and Counterfeits: Problems of Terminology and Classification in Song Ceramics." In *Song Ceramics: Art History, Archaeology and Technology.* London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2004.

Kreiner, Josef, Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, and Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan, ed. *Shīboruto fushi no mita Nihon: seitan 200-nen kinen = Die Japansammulngen Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold: 200 Jahre Siebold [The Japanese*

Collections of Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold: 200 Years of Siebold]. Tōkyō: Doitsu Nihon Kenkyūjo, 1996.

——. "Short Remarks on the History of Japanese Collections in Europe." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan,"* edited by Tomoe Irene, Maria Steineck, Josef Kreiner and Raji C. Steineck, 17-28. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013.

——. "Some Remarks on Japanese Collections in Europe." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. I: Reports from the Toyota-Foundation-Symposium, Königswinter 2003*, edited by Josef Kreiner. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2005.

Kudō, Yūichirō. "Heinrich von Siebolds archäologische Sammlung und seine Theorien zur japanischen Ethnogenese [Heinrich von Siebold's Archaeological Collection and His Theories on Japanese Ethnogenesis]." In *Japan zur Meiji-Zeit: Die Sammlung Heinrich von Siebold [Japan during the Meiji Era: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold]*, edited by Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn. Wien: Weltmuseum Wien, 2020.

Lacambre, Geneviève. "Goncourt Edmond and Jules." *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2022). https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/623 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Lambourne, Lionel. *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings Between Japan and the West.* London: Phaidon, 2007.

LaRocca, Donald J. *The Gods of War: Sacred Imagery and the Decoration of Arms and Armor.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.

Lee, Ging-E. "Les expositions en France sur l'art chinois au début du XXe siècle. Histoire de l'art, de l'Antiquité au monde contemporain." Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, 2016.

Levitt-Pasturel, Deborah. "Critical Response to Japan at the Paris 1878 Exposition Universelle." In *The French and the Pacific World, 17th-19th Centuries: Explorations, Migrations, and Cultural Exchanges*, edited by Annick Foucrier. Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005.

Lootedart.com. "Dealer Records: Hugo Helbing auctions Munich 1885-1937 - Annotated catalogues " https://lootedart.com/UPR6IF733651

Liu, Yu-jen. "The Concept of Art in the Meishu Congshu: From Foreign Loan to National Tradition." In *East Asian Art History in A Transcultural Context*, ed. Eriko Tomizawa-kay and Toshio Watanabe. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Lu, Diana. "The Japanese Art Collection of the ROM: A Look at Edo Period Tsuba." https://www.rom.on.ca/en/blog/the-japanese-art-collection-of-the-rom-a-look-at-edo-period-tsuba (accessed September 30, 2024).

Manginis, George. "'For the benefit of the nation': The Ionides and Eumorfopoulos Collections." *Yearbook of the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia 2003* (2004).

——. "The George Eumorfopoulos Donation to the Benaki Museum in Athens." *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 66 (2001-2002): 77-93.

Martin, Susan F. *A Nation of Immigrants.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Masako Yamamoto, Maezaki. "Innovative Trading Strategies for Japanese Art: Ikeda Seisuke, Yamanaka & Co. and their Overseas Branches (1870s-1930s)." In *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets*, edited by Charlotte Guichard, Bénédicte Savoy, and Christine Howald. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2018.

Meech, Julia. "The Other Havemeyer Passion: Collecting Asian Art." In *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Mela, Titsa-Panagiota. "Κινέζικα νομίσματα στο Μουσείο Ασιατικής Τέχνης της Κέρκυρας (770 π.Χ.-19ος αι. μ.Χ.) [Chinese Coins at the Corfu Museum of Asian Art (770 BC-19 c. AD)]." In *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον [Archaeological Bulletin]*, edited by Evangelia Kypraiou, 267-78. Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, 1994-1995.

Michener, James A., and Richard Lane. *Japanese Prints: From the Early Masters to the Modern.* Tokyo; Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959.

Minichberger, Anna. "Die Japanischen Lackarbeiten der Wiener Weltausstellung im Österreichischen Museum für Angewandte Kunst [The Japanese Lacquer Works of the Vienna World Exhibition in the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts]." Universität Wien, 2007.

Mino, Yutaka. "Tz'u-chou-Type Ware Decorated with Incised Patterns on a Stamped "Fish-Roe" Ground." *Archives of Asian Art* 32 (1979): 55-71.

Mino, Yutaka, and Katherine R. Tsiang. *Freedom of Clay and Brush Through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D.* Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1980.

Miyata, Nana. "The Austrian Photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912) and Early Meiji-Japan with a Special Focus on the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873." *Civilizations*, no. 23 (2018): 15-26.

Moore, Susan. "The Prescient Pair who Created Europe's First Museum of East Asian Art." *Apollo: The International Art Magazine* (2019). https://www.apollo-magazine.com/museum-ostasiatische-kunst-east-asian-art-cologne/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Morton, Marsha. *Max Klinger and Wilhelmine Culture: On the Threshold of German Modernism.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.

Moser Familienmuseum Charlottenfels. "Henri Moser: Explorer, Collector, and Diplomat." https://charlottenfels-museum.ch/geschichte/henri-moser/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Munsterberg, Hugo. *Zen & Oriental Art.* Rutland, Vt: C.E. Tuttle Co, 1965.

Murata Sawayanagi, Nanako. "Greek Communities Relocated in the Making of the Balkan Nations: The Greek Parliament's Tackling of Refugee Settlement and Land Distribution in Thessaly (1906–1907)." *Journal of the Japan Society for Middle East Studies* 26, no. 2 (2010): 151-84.

Museum of Fine Arts Boston. "Saints Matthias and Matthew." https://collections.mfa.org/objects/31323 (accessed May 30, 2024).

National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian. "Box Decorated with Images of Spring and Longevity." https://asia.si.edu/object/F1990.15a-e/#object-content (accessed September 30, 2023).

Nespoulous, Laurent. "La Période Kofun et l'archipel japonais à partir du IIIème siècle" ["The Kofun Period and the Japanese Archipelago from the 3rd Century"]. In *Archéologie et patrimoine au*

Japon [*Archaeology and Heritage in Japan*], edited by Jean-Paul Demoule and Pierre Souyri. Paris: Éd. de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2008.

Netting, Lara Jaishree. *A Perpetual Fire: John C. Ferguson and his Quest for Chinese Art and Culture.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

Nicholls, Martina. *The Paris Residences of James Joyce.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.

Nicoloff, Philip. *Sacred Kōyasan: A Pilgrimage to the Mountain Temple of Saint Kōbō Daishi and the Great Sun Buddha.* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2008.

Oikawa, Shigeru. "Collecting Ukiyo-e Prints in Japan during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In *Collecting Prints, Posters, and Ephemera: Perspectives in a Global World* edited by Ruth Iskin and Britany Salsbury. New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019.

Pantzer, Peter. "Japonisme in Austria: Art Knows no Boundaries." In *Verborgene Impressionen. Hidden Impressions*, edited by Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger. Wien: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1990.

Papastergiadis, Nikos, and Daniella Trimboli. "Hybridity and Hybridization." In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, edited by Bryan S. Turner, Chang Kyung-Sup, Cynthia F. Epstein, Peter Kivisto, J. Michael Ryan, William Outhwaite and Wiley-Blackwell, 1104-07. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2017.

Pearce, Nick. "A Casualty of War: Laurence Binyon, Raphael Petrucci and Chinese Painting ." In *Locating Italy: East and West in British-Italian Transactions*, edited by Kirsten Sandrock and Owain Wright. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013.

Pearce, Susan M. *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition.* London: Routledge, 1995. doi:10.4324/9780203552209.

Peristeris, Panayiotis. "Κέρκυρα 1940-1944: Βομβαρδισμοί και καταφύγια [Corfu 1949-1944: Bombings and Shelters]." *Corfu History*. https://www.corfuhistory.eu/?p=1399 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Pomian, Krzysztof. "Collection: une typologie historique." *Romantisme* (2001): 9-22.

Princess Akiko of Mikasa. "Kwan ko dzu setsu: A Textbook of Japanese Ceramics for Foreign Collectors." In *Great Waves & Mountains: Perspectives and Discoveries in Collecting the Arts of Japan*, edited by Natsu Oyobe and Allysa B. Peyton. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2022.

Quette, Béatrice. *Cloisonné: Chinese Enamels from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties.* New York; Paris; New Haven: Bard Graduate Center, 2011.

Rambelli, Fabio. *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japanese Buddhism.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2022.

Rath, Eric C. *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan.* Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 2010.

Reed, Christopher. *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Rhee, Song-Nai, C. Melvin Aikens, Sung-Rak Choi, and Hyuk-Jin Ro. "Korean Contributions to Agriculture, Technology, and State Formation in Japan: Archaeology and History of an Epochal Thousand Years, 400 B.C.–A.D. 600." *Asian Perspectives: The Journal of Archaeology for Asia and the Pacific* 46, no. 2 (2007): 404-59.

Rhee, Song Nai, C. Melvin Aikens, and Gina Lee Barnes. *Archaeology and History of Toraijin: Human, Technological, and Cultural Flow from the Korean Peninsula to the Japanese Archipelago c. 800 BC-AD 600.* Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2021.

Rigozzi, Ettore. "Das Netsuke." *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques: Revue de la Société Suisse-Asie* 1 (1947).

"Ritual Sword." In *Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections*. https://aterui.ws.hosei.ac.jp/jbae/detail.php?id=GRC_MATK_KM2532%252F3482&page=0&no=0#maindata02_content (accessed September 30, 2024).

Robertson, Jennifer. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications Ltd., 2008.

Robin, Julie. "«Ces grands pourvoyeurs»: les marchands d'arts chinois au début du XXème siècle à Paris: Les exemples de C. T. Loo, Charles Vignier, Léon et Marie Madeleine Wannieck, et Adolphe et Edgar Worch" [""These Great Suppliers:" Chinese Art Dealers in Early 20th Century Paris: The Examples of C. T. Loo, Charles Vignier, Léon and Marie Madeleine Wannieck, and Adolphe and Edgar Worch"] Master's diss., École du Louvre, 2020.

——. "Wannieck Léon and Marie-Madeleine." *Collectionneurs, collecteurs et marchands d'art asiatique en France 1700-1939 - INHA* (2022). https://agorha.inha.fr/detail/325 (accessed September 30, 2024).

"Room for Diplomacy: Catalogue of British Embassy and Consulate Buildings, 1800-2010. Austria: Vienna." https://roomfordiplomacy.com/ausria-vienna/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Rovers, Eva. "Introduction: The Art Collector—Between Philanthropy and Self-glorification." *Journal of the History of Collections* 21, no. 2 (2009): 157-61. doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhp014.

Royal Collection Trust. "Saddle tree (*kura*) 1580-1650." https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/2/collection/71609/saddle-tree-kura (accessed June 24, 2024).

Rule, Paul. "The Historiography of the Jesuits in China." In *Jesuit Historiography Online,* edited by R. A. Maryks. Brill, 2016. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192534.

Saint-Raymond, Léa. *À la conquête du marché de l'art. Le Pari(s) des enchères (1830-1939)* [*Conquering the Art Market: The Gamble of Paris Auctions (1830-1939)*]. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021.

——. "La création sémantique de la valeur. Les ventes aux enchères d'objets chinois à Paris (1858-1939)" ["The Semantic Creation of Value: Auctions of Chinese Objects in Paris (1858-1939)"]. In *Chine France - Europe Asie. Itinéraires de concepts* [*China France - Europe Asia: Pathways of Concepts*], edited by Michel Espagne and Li Hongtu. Paris: Editions Rue d'Ulm, 2018.

——. "Les collectionneurs d'art asiatique à Paris (1858-1939): Une analyse socio-économique" ["Collectors of Asian Art in Paris (1858-1939): A Socio-Economic Analysis"]. In *À la croisée de collections d'art entre Asie et Occident du XIXe siècle à nos jours* [*At the Crossroads of Art Collections between Asia and the West from the 19th Century to the Present Day*], edited by Marie Laureillard and Cléa Patin. Paris Maisonneuve et Larose Nouvelles Editions/Éditions Hémosphères, 2019.

——. "Le pari des enchères: Le lancement de nouveaux marchés artistiques à Paris entre les années 1830 et 1939 [The Auction House: The Launch of New Art Markets in Paris Between the Years 1830 and 1939]." PhD diss., Université Paris Nanterre, 2018.

Samurai Museum. "Antique Japanese Sword Katana Signed by Kunishige." https://www.samuraimuseum.jp/shop/product/antique-japanese-sword-katana-signed-by-kunishige-nbthk-tokubetsu-hozon-certificate (accessed September 30, 2024).

Schild, Tamara. "Opening of the Weltmuseum in Vienna: A City Revisits its Relationship with the World." *Tribal Art*, no. 86 (2017): 84-93.

Seattle Art Museum. "Saturday University: Building Global Markets for Asian Art." YouTube, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=60DAj95QRCc (accessed September 30, 2024).

Sesko, Markus. *Index of Japanese Swordsmiths A-M.* Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2012.

Sfika, Angeliki. "Η προσάρτηση της Θεσσαλίας: Η πρώτη φάση στην ενσωμάτωση μιας ελληνικής επαρχίας στο ελληνικό κράτος [The Annexation of Thessaly: The First Phase of the Incorporation of a Greek Province to the Greek State]." PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1988.

Shōno-Sládek, Masako. "Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. II: Regional Studies*, edited by Josef Kreiner, 631-41. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2005.

Sibeth, Fedor. "Stray Notes About Some Rare Ukiyo-e in a Private German Collection." *Ukiyo-e geijutsu 浮世絵芸術 [Ukiyo-e Art]* 19 (1969): 21-29.

Silverman, Debora. *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style.* London; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.

Smith, Lawrence, Victor Harris, and Timothy Clark. *Japanese Art: Masterpieces in the British Museum.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Soejima Hiromichi. "Die Schätze der buddhistischen Tempel und ihre Säkularisation [The Treasures of Japanese Temples and their Secularisation]." In *Das alte Japan: Spuren und Objekte der Siebold-Reisen [Old Japan: Traces and Objects from the Siebold Travels]*, edited by Peter Noever, 49-54. München: Prestel, 1997.

Sorensen, Joseph T. *Optical Allusions: Screens, Paintings, and Poetry in Classical Japan (ca. 800-1200).* Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Spławski, Piotr. "The Impact of Japanese Art Collections on the Education of Art and Design in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." In *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*. Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asian Arts, 2020.

Stein, Britta. "History of Archaeology in Japan." In *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018. doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51726-1_3370-1.

Storm, Jason Ānanda Josephson. "Excavating the Hall of Dreams: The Inventions of “Fine Art” and “Religion” in Japan." *Religions* 13, no. 4 (2022). doi:10.3390/rel13040313.

Stumfohl, Rotraud. "Der Nachlass eines Privatgelehrten am Ende des 19. Jhdts. in der Bibliothek des Landesmuseums Kärnten [The Estate of a Private Scholar at the End of the 19th Century in the Library of the Carinthian State Museum]." *Rudolfinum- Jahrbuch des Landesmuseums für Kärnten* (2002): 417-18.

Sung, Vivien. *Five Fold Happiness: The Chinese Concepts of Luck, Prosperity, Longevity, Happiness and Wealth.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2014.

Suzuki, Hiroyuki. *Antiquarians of Nineteenth-century Japan: the Archaeology of Things in the Late Tokugawa and Early Meiji Periods.* Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2022.

Tadashi, Kobayashi. "Fan Painting by Tōshūsai Sharaku ". *Kokka: A Monthly Journal of Oriental Art*, no. 1364 (2009).

Takamasa, Saito. "194. Kura (saddle) and Abumi (stirrups) with Plum Blossom." In *Art of the Samurai: Japanese Arms and Armor, 1156-1868*, edited by Morihiro Ogawa. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Takesue, Akiko. "Private Collection as Collective Operation: Art Dealers’ Impacts on the Formation of the Van Horne Japanese Ceramic Collection." *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2, no. 3 (2018). doi: 10.23690/jams.v2i3.58.

Tanabe, Masako. "Takatsuya Isuke to Torii Kiyonaga: Nishikie no ōgonjidai wo sendō shita hanmoto to eshi 高津屋伊助と鳥居清長―錦絵の黄金時代を先導した版元と絵師 [Takatsuya Isuke and Torii Kiyonaga: The Pioneering Publisher and Print Artist of Ukiyo-e’s Golden Age]." *Ukiyo-e geijutsu 浮世絵芸術 [Ukiyo-e Art]* 163 (2012): 29-51.

ten-Doesschate Chu, Petra. "Victor Hugo and the Romantic Dream of China." In *Beyond Chinoiserie: Artistic Exchange between China and the West during the Late Qing Dynasty (1796-1911)*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

The National Museum of Western Art. "The Collection of Hayashi Tadamasa: Related Letters and Reference Materials." https://hayashi.nmwa.go.jp/en/sender/bermond_charles.html (accessed September 30, 2024).

Thirion, Yvonne. "Le japonisme en France dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle à la faveur de la diffusion de l'estampe japonaise" ["Japonisme in France in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century as a Result of the Spread of Japanese Prints"]. *Cahiers de l'AIEF* (1961): 117-30.

Thomas, Greg M. "The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* 7, no. 2 (2008). http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn08/93-the-looting-of-yuanming-and-the-translation-of-chinese-art-in-europe (accessed September 30, 2024).

Thomas, Marcel. *Esterhazy ou L'Envers de l'affaire Dreyfus* [*Esterhazy or the Other Side of the Dreyfus Affair*]. Paris: Vernal-P. Lebaud, 1989.

Tokyo National Museum. "Speaking to the Future Series: Historical Records Compiled by Museum Founder, Ninagawa Noritane." https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=626&lang=en (accessed September 30, 2024).

Tomoko, Kuchii. "Characteristics of Collections of Japanese Buddhist Paintings in Europe." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan"*, edited by Tomoe Irene, Maria Steineck, Josef Kreiner and Raji C. Steineck. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013.

Törmä, Minna. *Nordic Private Collections of Chinese Objects.* New York; London: Routledge, 2021.

Turina, Stefano. "Silkworm Eggs and a Cup of Tea: Alternative Routes for the Japanese Objects in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." In *Japonisme in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*, edited by Toshio Watanabe, Mirjam Dénes, Györgyi Fajcsák, and Piotr Spławski. Budapest: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, 2020.

Tythacott, Louise. *The Lives of Chinese Objects: Buddhism, Imperialism and Display.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.

——. "The Yuanmingyuan and its Objects." In *Collecting and Displaying China's "Summer Palace" in the West: The Yuanmingyuan in Britain and France*, edited by Louise Tythacott. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Tythacott, Louise, and Chiara Bellini. "Deity and Display: Meanings, Transformations, and Exhibitions of Tibetan Buddhist Objects." *Religions* 11, no. 3 (2020): 106. doi:10.3390/rel11030106.

Ueda, Tanya. "Reuse and Recycling: Implications in Japanese Painting Conservation." *Ars Orientalis* 52(2023). doi: https://doi.org/10.3998/ars.3994.

Victoria & Albert Museum. "Dagger and Scabbard." https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O92420/dagger-and-scabbard-kanesada/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

——. "Dealing and Dealers: The East Asia Collection." https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/dealing-and-dealers-the-east-asia-collection/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

——. "Plaque." https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O487881/plaque/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

——. "Samurai: Japanese arms & armour." https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/samurai-japanese-arms-armour (accessed September 30, 2024).

——. "Sword and Scabbard." https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O90838/sword-and-scabbard/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Vaporis, Constantine N. *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan.* Leiden; Boston: Brill; Harvard University Asia Center, 1994.

Venture, Olivier. "Henri Cernuschi Ancient Chinese Bronzes: An Epigraphical Perspective." In *The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology*. Ljubljana 2023.

Veszprémi, Nóra. "The Politics of Collecting and Display in an Imperial Context." In *Liberalism, Nationalism and Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire: Museums of Design, Industry and the Applied Arts*. New York: Routledge, 2020.

Volait, Mercedes. "Early Shows and Sales of Islamic Antiques in Paris." In *Antique Dealing and Creative Reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850-1890: Intercultural Engagements with Architecture and Craft in the Age of Travel and Reform*, 14-53. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021.

von Przychowksi, Alexandra. "Buddha Heads and the Reception of Chinese Buddhist Art at the Beginning of the 20th Century." In *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, edited by Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay, 335-50. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022.

——. "Market and Manipulation: The "Beautification" of Chinese Tomb Pottery by Art Dealers." In *Pathways of Art: How Objects Get to the Museum*, edited by Esther Tisa Francini and Sarah Csernay, 351-56. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2022.

von Stockhausen, Alban. "“Our aim is to perform something that remains after we are gone”: The Oriental Collection Henri Moser Charlottenfels at Bernisches Historisches Museum." In *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying, and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, edited by Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020.

Wakita-Elis, Mio. "Donating a Japanese Tea Caddy: Heinrich von Siebold, Ninagawa Noritane, and Reframing Japanese Tea Ceramics in mid-1870s Vienna." In *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold*, edited by Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2019.

Walravens, Hartmut. "Ernst Grosse and Otto Kümmel and their Role in the Composing of the Berlin East Asian Collection." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. IV: Buddhist Art. Reports from the International Symposium "Japanese Buddhist Objects in European Collections and Their Impact on the European Image of Japan,"* edited by Tomoe Irene, Maria Steineck, Josef Kreiner, and Raji C. Steineck, 265-77. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2013.

Wang, Audrey. *Chinese Antiquities: An Introduction to the Art Market.* Farnham, Surrey, England: Lund Humphries, 2012.

Wang, Shixiang. "Introduction." In *2000 Years of Chinese Lacquer*. Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong, Chinese University of Hong Kong Art Gallery, 1993.

Watt, James C. Y. "The Antique Elegant." In *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.

Weber, Victor-Frédéric. *Ko-ji Hô-ten: Dictionnaire à l'usage des amateurs et collectionneurs d'objets d'art japonais et chinois.* Paris: chez l'auteur 1923.

Weltmuseum Wien. "Database of Japanese Exhibits at the Vienna World Exhibition of 1873." https://repository.khm.at/viewer/japan/weltausstellung/1873/database/ (accessed September 30, 2024).

Wereldmuseum. "Amida Nyorai, De Hemelse Boeddha [Amida Nyorai, The Heavenly Buddha]." https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/?query=search=packages=OnViewRV#/query/88a9b1e4-982a-45c5-8952-709a5dd0a978 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Wieninger, Johannes. "Buddhist Objects in the MAK's Heinrich von Siebold Collection." In *Japanese Collections in European Museums Vol. V: With Especial Reference to Buddhist Art*, edited by Josef Kreiner. Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2016.

——. "Die Sammlungen Heinrich von Siebolds in Wien" ["The Collections of Heinrich von Siebold in Vienna"]. In *200 Jahre Siebold: Die Japansammulngen Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold* [*200 Years of Siebold: The Japanese Collections of Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold*], 205-07. Tokyo: Doitsu Nihon Kenkyūjo, 1996.

——. "Heinrich von Siebold's Collection at the MAK - Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna." In *Transmitters of Another Culture II: The Collection of Heinrich von Siebold*, edited by Hidaka Kaori and Bettina Zorn. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 2019.

——. "Japan in Vienna: Japanese Art in the Viennese Collections and Exhibitions around 1900." In *Verborgene Impressionen. Hidden impressions*, edited by Peter Pantzer and Johannes Wieninger. Wien: Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 1990.

Yamamoto Maezaki, Masako. "Innovative Trading Strategies for Japanese." In *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2018.

Yamasaki, Taikō. *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism.* Shambhala: Boston, 1988.

York, The Metropolitan Museum of New. "Precious Spring Longevity Box." https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/667288 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Zernioti, Despina. "Corfu City, its Landscape and the Museum of Asian Art in Corfu." In *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterpieces from the Land of Nausicaa*. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Edo-Tokyo Museum, 2009.

——. "The Gregorios Manos Collection." In *Japanese Culture and the Arts of Asia.* Athens: Museum of Asian Art in Corfu, 2014.

——. *Repositioning Gregorios Manos, Founder of the Corfu Museum of Asian Art in the Context of Japonisme*. YouTube, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M79m7mGcVEc (accessed September 30, 2024).

Zernioti, Despina, Asano Shûgô, Kawai Masatomo, and Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere. *Huit maîtres de l'ukiyo-e: chefs-d'oeuvre du Musée national d'art asiatique de Corfou* [*Eight Masters of Ukiyo-e: Masterpieces from the National Museum of Asian Art in Corfu*]. Paris: Maison de la culture du Japon à Paris, 2011.

Zhan, Zhenpeng. "Artisanal Luxury and Confucian Statecraft: The Afterlife of Ming Official Carved Lacquer at the Qianlong Court." *Late Imperial China* 42, no. 1 (2021): 45-91. doi: 10.1353/late.2021.0000.

Zorn, Bettina. "The History of the Daimyō House Model in the Collection of the Weltmuseum in Vienna and its Traces in Vienna." *Archiv 65: Archiv Weltmuseum Wien* (2016): 44-55.

Zoumbos, Yiorgos. "Γρηγόριος Μάνος [Gregorios Manos]." *Corfu History*. https://www.corfuhistory.eu/?p=1438 (accessed September 30, 2024).

Zweig, Stefan. *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography*. New York: The Viking Press, 1943.

Unpublished Sources

Kaloudi, Zina. "Ίχνη της Ασίας στην νεοελληνική τέχνη. Συναντήσεις, επιδράσεις, ένας διάλογος [Traces of Asia in Modern Greek Art. Encounters, Influences, a Dialogue]." Forthcoming.

Manos, Gregorios. "Letter to Athos Romanos." December 1, 1918. Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

Manos, Gregorios. "Letter to Athos Romanos." March 20, 1925. Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

Manos, Gregorios. "Letter to Athos Romanos." September 22, 1927. Benaki Museum-Historical Archives.

Manos, Gregorios. "Letter to Nikolaos Theotokis." August 8, 1919. Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

Manos, Gregorios. "Letter to the Ministry of Religious Affairs." April 24, 1925. Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

Manos, Gregorios. "Note Regarding the Collection of Gregorios Manos." 1925. Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

Minute quote D.42E^3 121. Archives de Paris.

Minute quote D.42E^3 122. Archives de Paris.

Minute quote D.42E^3 125. Archives de Paris.

Minute quote D48E^3 85. Archives de Paris.

Minute quote D48E^3 94. Archives de Paris.

Minute quote D48E^3 98. Archives de Paris.

Minute quote D.116E^3 5. Archives de Paris.

Nachesku, Alexandra. "Our Man in Shanghai: Josef Haas and the Role of 19th Century Austro-Hungarian Representatives in China as Movers and Shakers of Collecting Networks." *Presented at The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, September 13-17, 2023.

Nickel, Lucas. "The China Galleries at the Vienna World's Fair " *Presented at The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, September 13-17, 2023.

Wakita, Mio. "Teacups from Japan: Japanese Ceramics, Vienna World's Fair and Viennese Collecting." *Presented at The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, September 13-17, 2023.

Yoshida S. "Letter to Manos," April 23, 1905, Gregorios Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art.

Zorn, Bettina. "Japan's Policy Following the Austrian-Hungarian Guidelines for the Vienna World's Fair in 1873." *Presented at The Third Conference of the European Association for Asian Art and Archaeology*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, September 13-17, 2023.

The Gregorios Manos Collection of East Asian Objects: Connoisseurship, Networks, and Market Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Europe

Illustrations

Maria Metoikidou

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Humanities
College of Arts
University of Glasgow

September 2024

Figure 1
Constantinos Parthenis (1878-1967)
Gregorios Manos
1902-1903
Oil on canvas
127.5 x 77 cm

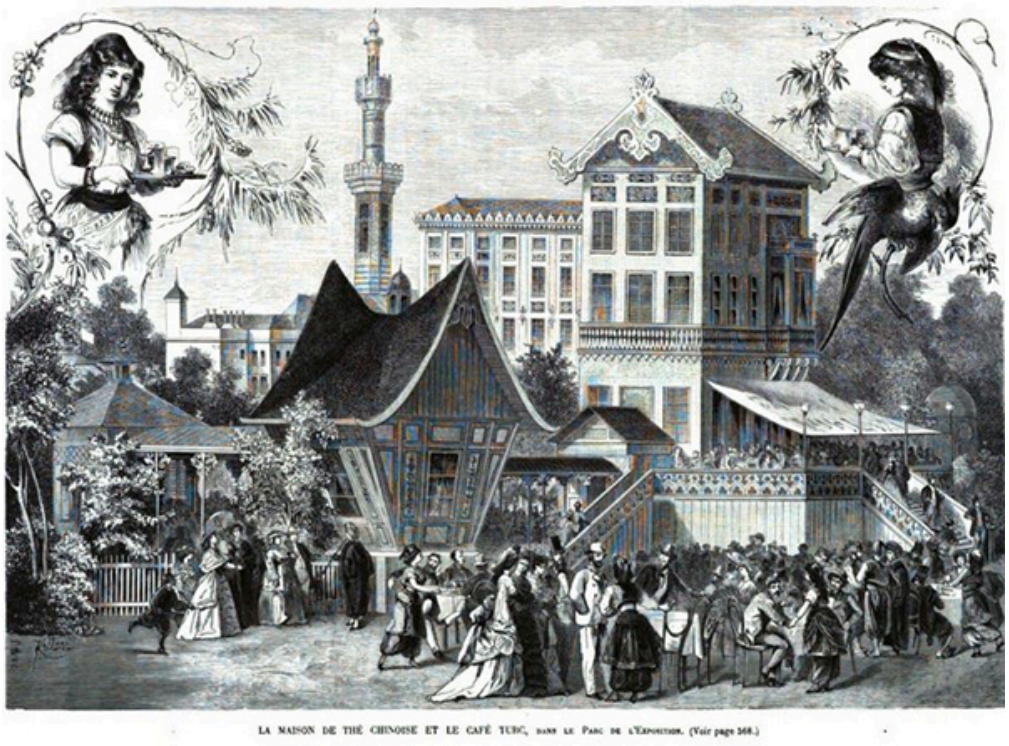
Figure 2
"A present of the King of Greece to the 99th Infantry Regiment of Znaim: The Greek envoy in Vienna, his Excellency Manos, bids farewell to the officer corps. Photograph by Gustav Valde."
Das interessante Blatt, June 19, 1902, p. 4

Figure 3
Karl Friedrich Gsur (1871-1939)
Le Cercle Diplomatique avant le bal de la Cour à Vienne sous François-Joseph Ier, 18 Janvier 1910 (Manos paying respects to the Emperor)
Oil on canvas
79 x 209 cm
Private collection. Photo: Farrando, Maison de vente

Figure 4
Oscar Kramer (1835-1892)
World Exhibition 1873: Japanese Garden (No. 520)
1873
Albumen paper
9.7 x 14 cm
© Wien Museum Online Sammlung

Figure 5
Joseph Löwy (1835-1902)
World Exhibition 1873: Japanese Gallery (No. 449)
1873
Albumen paper
9.9 x 14 cm
© Wien Museum Online Sammlung

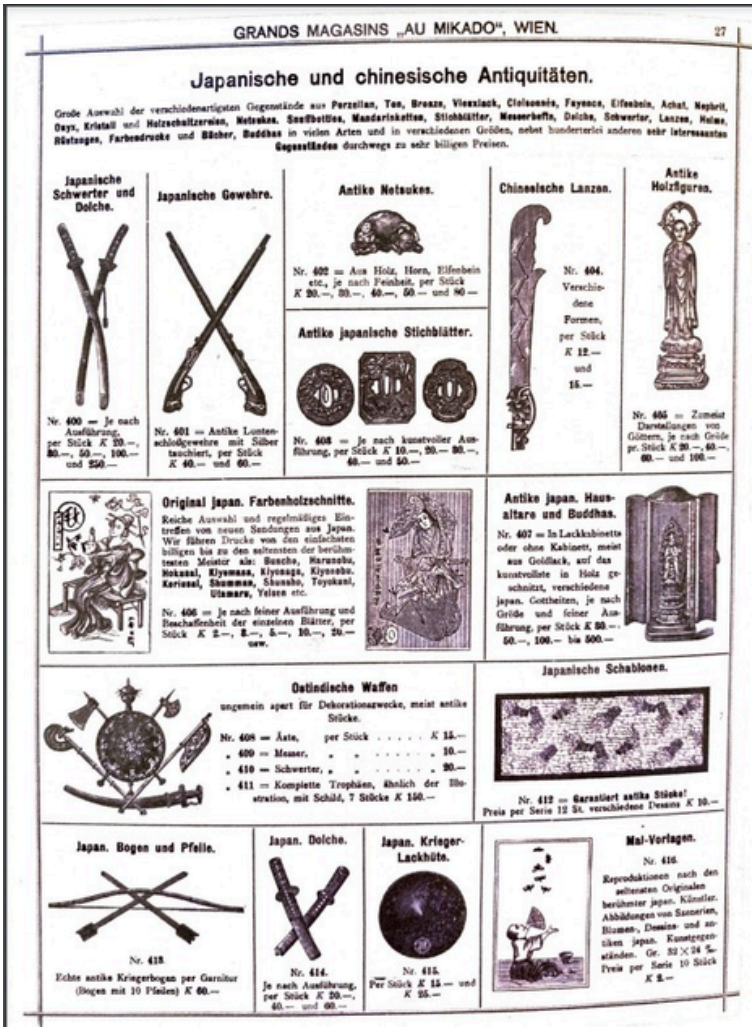
Figure 6
Vienna Photographers Association
World Exhibition 1873: Japanese Gallery (no number)
1873
Albumen paper
10.5 x 11.5 cm
© Wien Museum Online Sammlung



LA MAISON DE THÉ CHINOISE ET LE CAFÉ TURC, DANS LE PARC DE L'EXPOSITION. (Voir page 368.)

Figure 7
Chinese Tea Pavilion, Vienna International Exhibition, 1873

Figure 8
Joseph Löwy (1835-1902)
World Exhibition 1873: China and Persia (No. 527)
1873
Albumen paper
10 x 13.9 cm
© Wien Museum Online Sammlung



GRANDS MAGASINS „AU MIKADO", WIEN. 27

Japanische und chinesische Antiquitäten.

Große Auswahl der verschiedenartigsten Gegenstände aus **Porzellan, Ton, Bronze, Vieuxlack, Cloisonnés, Fayence, Elfenbein, Achat, Nephrit, Onyx, Kristall** und **Holzschnitzereien, Netsukes, Snuffbottles, Mandarinketten, Stichblätter, Messerhefte, Dolche, Schwerter, Lanzen, Helme, Rüstungen, Farbendrucke** und **Bücher, Buddhas** in vielen Arten und in verschiedenen Größen, nebst hunderterlei anderen sehr interessanten **Gegenständen** durchwegs zu sehr billigen Preisen.

Japanische Schwerter und Dolche.

Nr. 400 — Je nach Ausführung, per Stück K 20.—, 30.—, 50.—, 100.— und 250.—

Japanische Gewehre.

Nr. 401 — Antike Luntenschloßgewehre mit Silber tauschiert, per Stück K 40.— und 60.—

Antike Netsukes.

Nr. 402 — Aus Holz, Horn, Elfenbein etc., je nach Feinheit, per Stück K 20.—, 30.—, 40.—, 50.— und 80.—

Antike japanische Stichblätter.

Nr. 403 — Je nach kunstvoller Ausführung, per Stück K 10.—, 20.—, 30.—, 40.— und 50.—

Chinesische Lanzen.

Nr. 404. Verschiedene Formen, per Stück K 12.— und 15.—

Antike Holzfiguren.

Nr. 405 — Zumeist Darstellungen von Göttern, je nach Größe per Stück K 20.— 40.—, 60.—, 80.— und 100.—

Original japan. Farbenholzschnitte.

Reiche Auswahl und regelmäßiges Eintreffen von neuen Sendungen aus Japan. Wir führen Drucke von den einfachsten billigen bis zu den seltensten der berühmtesten Meister als: **Busche, Harunobu, Hokusai, Kiyomasa, Kiyonaga, Kiyoshibo, Koriusai, Shunman, Shunsho, Toyokuni, Utamaro, Yeisen** etc.

Nr. 406 — Je nach feiner Ausführung und Beschaffenheit der einzelnen Blätter, per Stück K 2.—, 3.—, 5.—, 10.—, 20.— usw.

Antike japan. Hausaltäre und Buddhas.

Nr. 407 — In Lackkabinetts oder ohne Kabinett, meist aus Goldlack, auf das kunstvollste in Holz geschnitzt, verschiedene japan. Gottheiten, je nach Größe und feiner Ausführung, per Stück K 30.— 50.—, 100.— bis 500.—

Ostindische Waffen

ungemein apart für Dekorationszwecke, meist antike Stücke.

Nr. 408 — Äxte, per Stück . . . . . K 15.—
„ 409 — Messer, „ „ . . . . . „ 10.—
„ 410 — Schwerter, „ „ . . . . . „ 20.—
„ 411 — Komplette Trophäen, ähnlich der Illustration, mit Schild, 7 Stücke K 140.—

Japanische Schablonen.

Nr. 412 — Garantiert antike Stücke! Preis per Serie 12 St. verschiedene Dessins K 10.—

Japan. Bogen und Pfeile.

Nr. 413. Echte antike Kriegerbogen per Garnitur (Bogen mit 10 Pfeilen) K 60.—

Japan. Dolche.

Nr. 414. Je nach Ausführung, per Stück K 20.—, 40.— und 60.—

Japan. Krieger-Lackhüte.

Nr. 415. Per Stück K 15.— und K 25.—

Mal-Vorlagen.

Nr. 416. Reproduktionen nach den seltensten Originalen berühmter japan. Künstler. Abbildungen von Szenerien, Blumen-, Dessins- und antiken japan. Kunstgegenständen. Gr. 32 × 24 ℅. Preis per Serie 10 Stück K 2.—

Figure 9
Advertisement of the commodities sold in "Au Mikado" Vienna, 1910-1911
© Weltmuseum Wien, Archive Nsp Siebold

Satsuma-Salonvasen.

Nr. 220. Nr. 220 — Gold- und Figurenmalerei, 125 ℅ hoch, per Paar K 600.—

Nr. 221. Nr. 221 — mit reicher Gold- u. Figurenmalerei, 110 ℅ hoch, per Paar K 600.—

Sehr feine Ausführung mit effektvoller Figuren- und Glanzgoldmalerei, in verschiedenen, der Illustration ähnlichen Formen.

Nr. 222.

31	33	℅ hoch
K 45.—	60.—	per Paar
36	40	℅ hoch
K 80.—	100.—	per Paar
45	60	℅ hoch
K 140.—	180.—	per Paar
64	75	℅ hoch
K 300.—	350.—	per Paar

Chinesische Kanton-Bowles.

„Exquisit" feines, goldgrün und bunt bemaltes Porzellan, Nr. 223 — 23 27 40 ℅ breit K 30.— 36.— 60.— per Stück

Imari-Deckelurnen

aus Porzellan, reiche Malerei in bunter und roter Farbe auf weißem Grunde mit **Gold** verziert. Dessins mit Arabesken und Blumen.

Nr. 224.

43	50	℅ hoch
K 40.—	50.—	per Stück
61	75	℅ hoch
K 60.—	70.—	per Stück

Chines. Porzellan-Gartensitze.

Nr. 225. Blauweiß, per Stück K 90.—

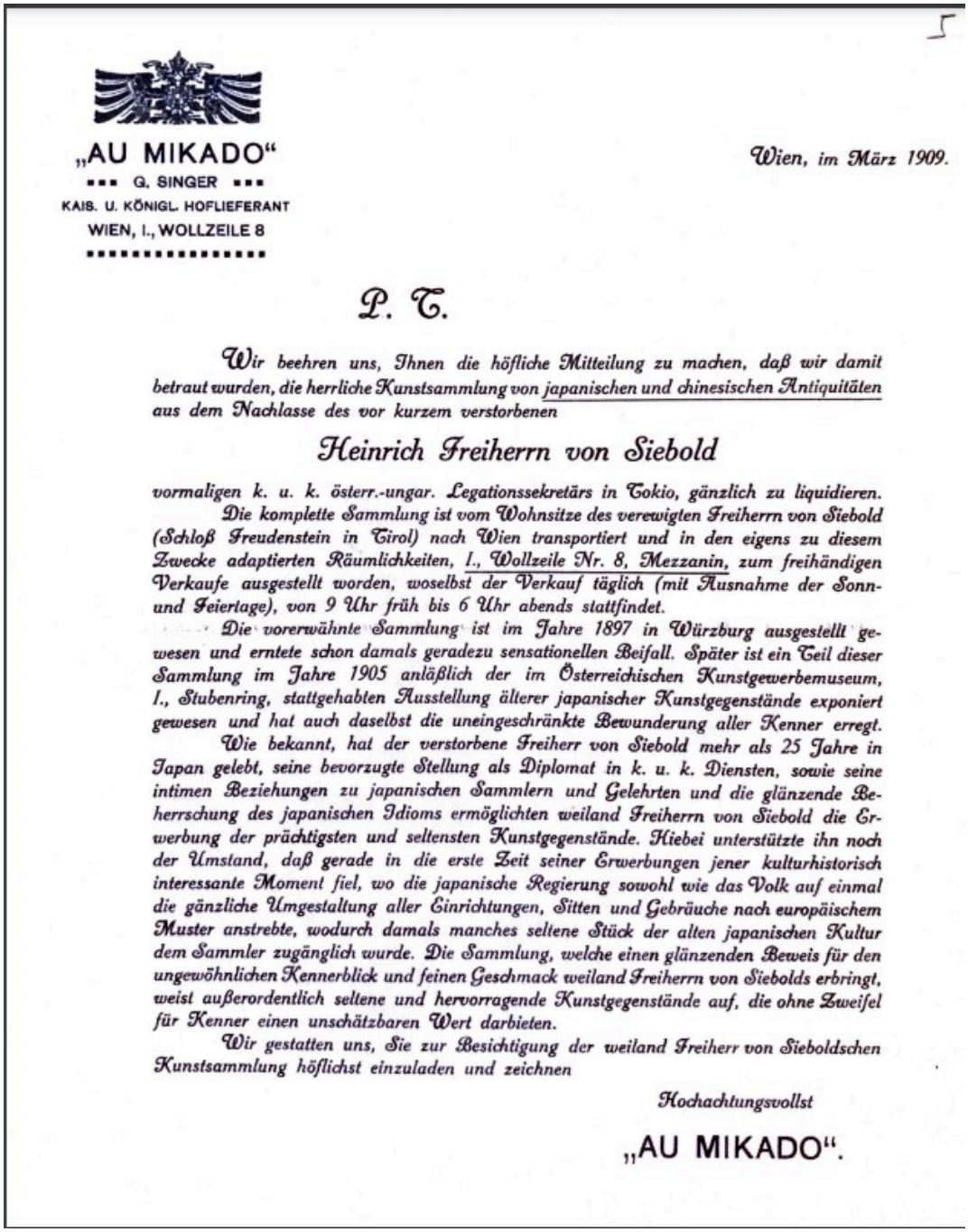
Nr. 226. Seladon, silbergrün, in Sechseckform per Stück K 50.—

Chines. Porzellan-Palmentöpfe

außerordentlich feine Qualität, mit En-relief-Vasen und -Blumen etc. reich dekoriert.

Nr. 227 — 45×50 türkisblauer Untergrund K 300.—

Figure 10
Illustration from G. Singer, "Au Mikado" Japan u. China-waren, Bericht xiii no. 96, p.18
1910-1911
Private collection
© Published by Oxford University Press, 2013



„AU MIKADO"
G. SINGER
KAIS. U. KÖNIGL. HOFLIEFERANT
WIEN, I., WOLLZEILE 8

Wien, im März 1909.

P. T.

Wir beehren uns, Ihnen die höfliche Mitteilung zu machen, daß wir damit betraut wurden, die herrliche Kunstsammlung von japanischen und chinesischen Antiquitäten aus dem Nachlasse des vor kurzem verstorbenen

Heinrich Freiherrn von Siebold

vormaligen k. u. k. österr.-ungar. Legationssekretärs in Tokio, gänzlich zu liquidieren.

Die komplette Sammlung ist vom Wohnsitze des verewigten Freiherrn von Siebold (Schloß Freudenstein in Tirol) nach Wien transportiert und in den eigens zu diesem Zwecke adaptierten Räumlichkeiten, I., Wollzeile Nr. 8, Mezzanin, zum freihändigen Verkaufe ausgestellt worden, woselbst der Verkauf täglich (mit Ausnahme der Sonn- und Feiertage), von 9 Uhr früh bis 6 Uhr abends stattfindet.

Die vorerwähnte Sammlung ist im Jahre 1897 in Würzburg ausgestellt gewesen und erntete schon damals geradezu sensationellen Beifall. Später ist ein Teil dieser Sammlung im Jahre 1905 anläßlich der im Österreichischen Kunstgewerbemuseum, I., Stubenring, stattgehabten Ausstellung älterer japanischer Kunstgegenstände exponiert gewesen und hat auch daselbst die uneingeschränkte Bewunderung aller Kenner erregt.

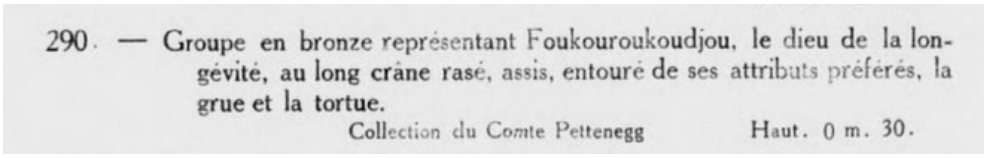
Wie bekannt, hat der verstorbene Freiherr von Siebold mehr als 25 Jahre in Japan gelebt, seine bevorzugte Stellung als Diplomat in k. u. k. Diensten, sowie seine intimen Beziehungen zu japanischen Sammlern und Gelehrten und die glänzende Beherrschung des japanischen Idioms ermöglichten weiland Freiherrn von Siebold die Erwerbung der prächtigsten und seltensten Kunstgegenstände. Hiebei unterstützte ihn noch der Umstand, daß gerade in die erste Zeit seiner Erwerbungen jener kulturhistorisch interessante Moment fiel, wo die japanische Regierung sowohl wie das Volk auf einmal die gänzliche Umgestaltung aller Einrichtungen, Sitten und Gebräuche nach europäischem Muster anstrebte, wodurch damals manches seltene Stück der alten japanischen Kultur dem Sammler zugänglich wurde. Die Sammlung, welche einen glänzenden Beweis für den ungewöhnlichen Kennerblick und feinen Geschmack weiland Freiherrn von Siebolds erbringt, weist außerordentlich seltene und hervorragende Kunstgegenstände auf, die ohne Zweifel für Kenner einen unschätzbaren Wert darbieten.

Wir gestatten uns, Sie zur Besichtigung der weiland Freiherr von Sieboldschen Kunstsammlung höflichst einzuladen und zeichnen

Hochachtungsvollst

„AU MIKADO".

Figure 11
Invitation to the sale of the Siebold collection, 1909



290. — Groupe en bronze représentant Foukouroukoudjou, le dieu de la longévité, au long crâne rasé, assis, entouré de ses attributs préférés, la grue et la tortue.

Collection du Comte Pettenegg Haut. 0 m. 30.

Figure 12
Lot with Fukurukuju sculpture from the February 1912 sale of the Manos collection, p. 27, corresponding to lot 32 from the von Pettenegg sale (fig. 14)

— 3 —

Arbeiten in Bronze

31 **Fukurokuju** mit Fächer, stehend. Vollrund in Bronze gegossen. Höhe 45 cm.

32 **Fukurokuju,** zwischen einem Knaben und Storch sitzend. Zu seinen Füssen eine Schildkröte. Auf Sockel. Höhe 28, Länge 23, Breite 13 cm.

33 **Rakan,** auf koreanischem Löwen sitzend. Höhe 23, Länge 26, Breite 15 cm.

34 **Shoki** mit Speer, auf graviertem Postamente stehend. Vollrund in Bronze gegossen. Höhe 28, Breite 18 cm.

35 **Liegende Kuh,** auf der ein flötenspielender Knabe sitzt. Höhe 18, Länge 20, Breite 16 cm.

36 **Affe,** sitzend. Vollrund in Bronze gegossen. Höhe 9 cm.

37 **Pfauenhenne,** stehend. Vollrund in Bronze gegossen. Höhe 12, Länge 21 cm.

38. Krabbe.

43. Grosser Tempelleuchter (s. S. 4).

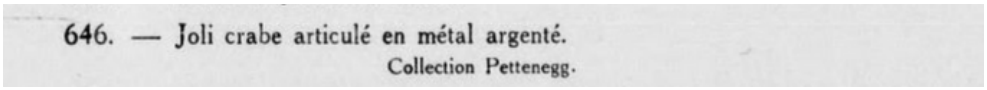
44. Tempelleuchter (s. S. 4).

45. Leuchter (s. S. 4).

38 **Krabbe** in Naturgrösse. Die Augen und alle Glieder einzeln beweglich. (Kunstwerk.) Länge 20, Breite 13 cm.

39 **Landschaftsmotiv** mit Felsen, Bäumen und einer Figur. Vollrund in Bronze gegossen. Höhe 13, Breite 8,5 cm.

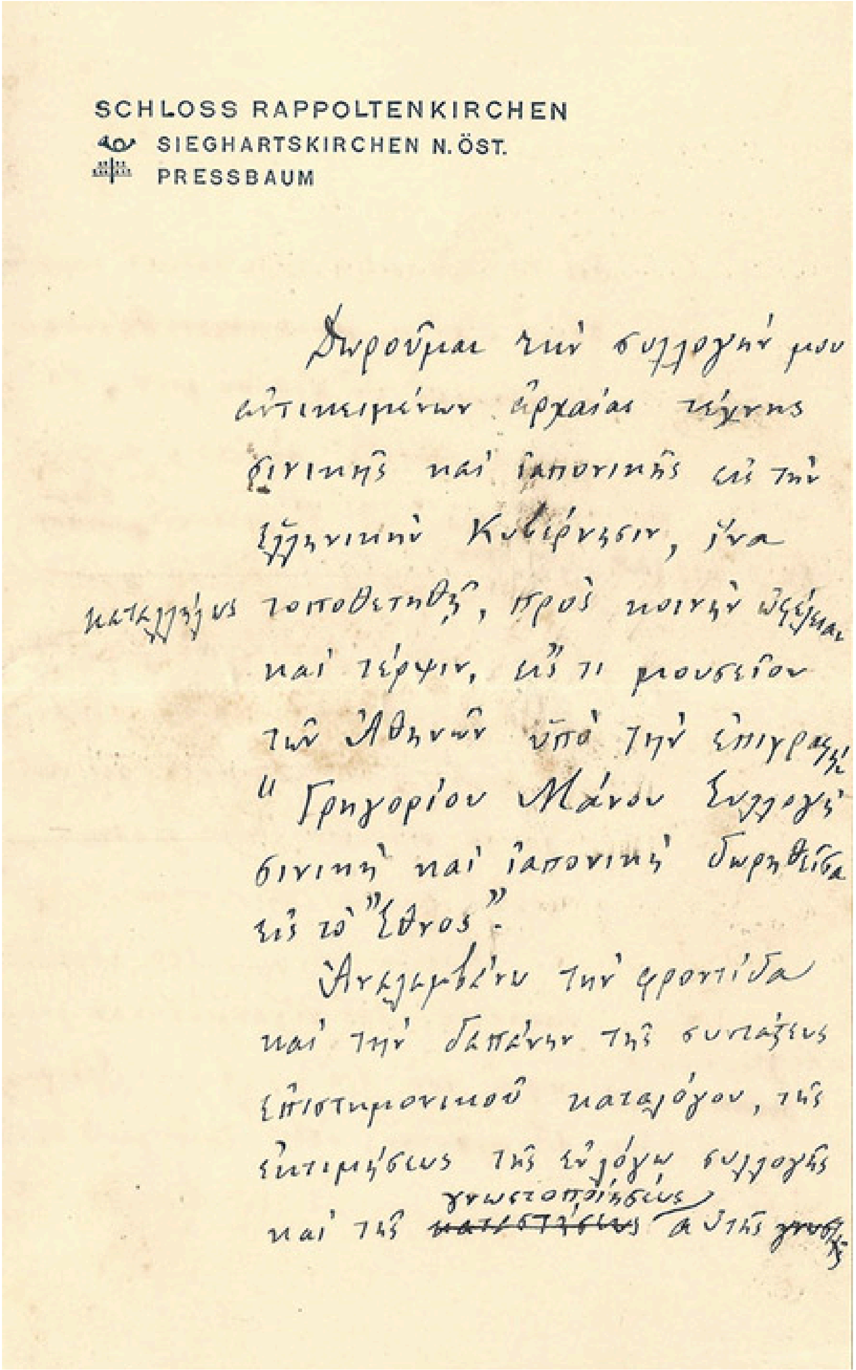
Figure 14
Page 3 from the catalogue of von Pettenegg's collection sold at the Hugo Helbing auction house, 1903. Handwritten notes beside the lots indicate the identity of the buyer.



646. — Joli crabe articulé en métal argenté.

Collection Pettenegg.

Figure 13
Lot with *jizai okimono* crab from April 1912 sale of the Manos collection, p. 39, corresponding to lot 38 from the von Pettenegg auction (fig. 14)


SCHLOSS RAPPOLTENKIRCHEN
SIEGHARTSKIRCHEN N. ÖST.
PRESSBAUM

Δωροῦμαι τὴν συλλογήν μου
ἀντικειμένων ἀρχαίας τέχνης
σινικῆς καὶ ἰαπωνικῆς εἰς τὴν
ἑλληνικὴν Κυβέρνησιν, ἵνα
καταλλήλως τοποθετηθῇ, πρὸς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν
καὶ τέρψιν, εἴς τι μουσεῖον
τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν
“Γρηγορίου Μάνου Συλλογὴ
σινικὴ καὶ ἰαπωνικὴ δωρηθεῖσα
εἰς τὸ Ἔθνος”.
Ἀναλαμβάνω τὴν φροντίδα
καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τῆς συντάξεως
ἐπιστημονικοῦ καταλόγου, τῆς
ἐκτιμήσεως τῆς ἐν λόγῳ συλλογῆς
καὶ τῆς γνωστοποιήσεως αὐτῆς

Figure 15
Manos’ draft will, 1910
“I donate my collection of objects of Chinese and Japanese ancient art to the Greek Government, in order to be properly arranged, for the common benefit and pleasure, in a museum in Athens, under the inscription ‘Gregorios Manos Sino-Japanese Collection donated to the Nation’.” Gregorios Manos, handwritten note in Greek. Vienna, c. 1910.
Manos Archive, Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 16
Japanese (left) and Chinese (right) house in the History of Habitation exhibit at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1889
© Getty Research Institute

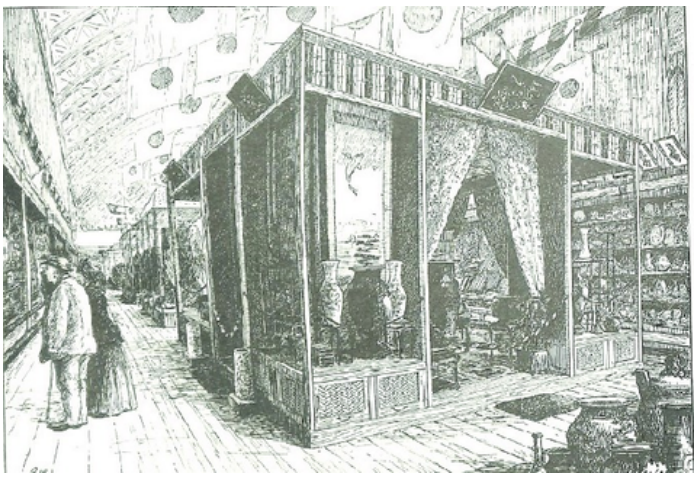
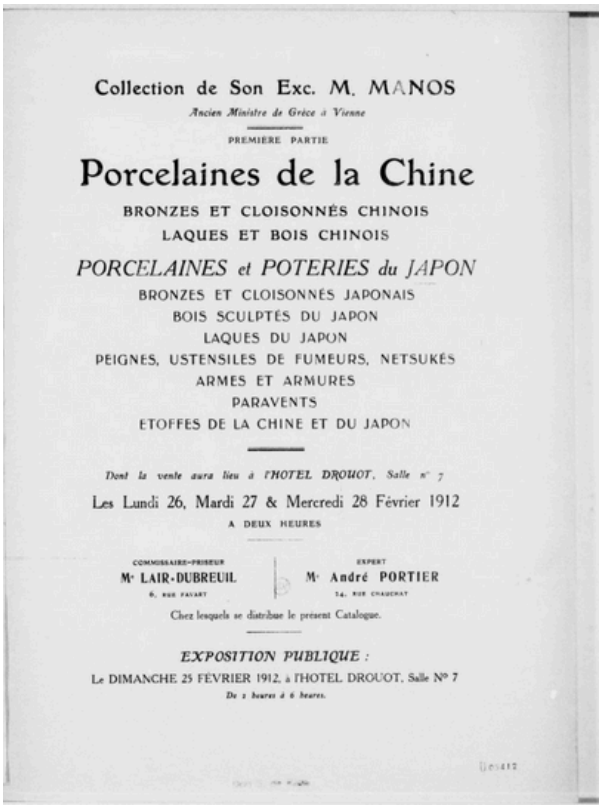


Figure 17
Engraving of the Japanese exhibition at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 15 January 1889
Private collection

Figure 18
Louis Lager
The Japanese pavilion at the Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900 (Trocadéro)
© Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris

Figure 19
Le Palais Chinois at the Exposition Universelle de Paris 1900
© University of Bristol - Historical Photographs of China



Collection de Son Exc. M. MANOS

Ancien Ministre de Grèce à Vienne

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

Porcelaines de la Chine

BRONZES ET CLOISONNÉS CHINOIS
LAQUES ET BOIS CHINOIS

PORCELAINES et POTERIES du JAPON

BRONZES ET CLOISONNÉS JAPONAIS
BOIS SCULPTÉS DU JAPON
LAQUES DU JAPON
PEIGNES, USTENSILES DE FUMEURS, NETSUKÉS
ARMES ET ARMURES
PARAVENTS
ETOFFES DE LA CHINE ET DU JAPON

Dont la vente aura lieu à l'HOTEL DROUOT, Salle n° 7

Les Lundi 26, Mardi 27 & Mercredi 28 Février 1912

A DEUX HEURES

COMMISSAIRE-PRISEUR
Me LAIR-DUBREUIL
6, RUE FAVART

EXPERT
Me André PORTIER
14, RUE CHAUCHAT

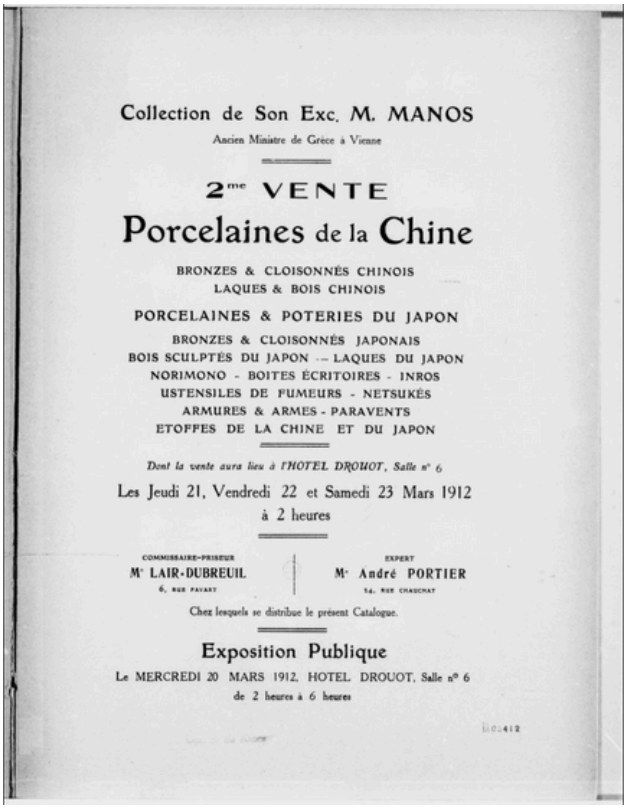
Chez lesquels se distribue le présent Catalogue.

EXPOSITION PUBLIQUE :

Le DIMANCHE 25 FÉVRIER 1912, à l'HOTEL DROUOT, Salle N° 7

De 2 heures à 6 heures.

Figure 20
Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, February 1912, Paris
© BNF Gallica



Collection de Son Exc. M. MANOS

Ancien Ministre de Grèce à Vienne

2me VENTE

Porcelaines de la Chine

BRONZES & CLOISONNÉS CHINOIS
LAQUES & BOIS CHINOIS

PORCELAINES & POTERIES DU JAPON

BRONZES & CLOISONNÉS JAPONAIS
BOIS SCULPTÉS DU JAPON — LAQUES DU JAPON
NORIMONO - BOITES ÉCRITOIRES - INROS
USTENSILES DE FUMEURS - NETSUKÉS
ARMURES & ARMES - PARAVENTS
ETOFFES DE LA CHINE ET DU JAPON

Dont la vente aura lieu à l'HOTEL DROUOT, Salle n° 6

Les Jeudi 21, Vendredi 22 et Samedi 23 Mars 1912
à 2 heures

COMMISSAIRE-PRISEUR
Me LAIR-DUBREUIL
6, RUE FAVART

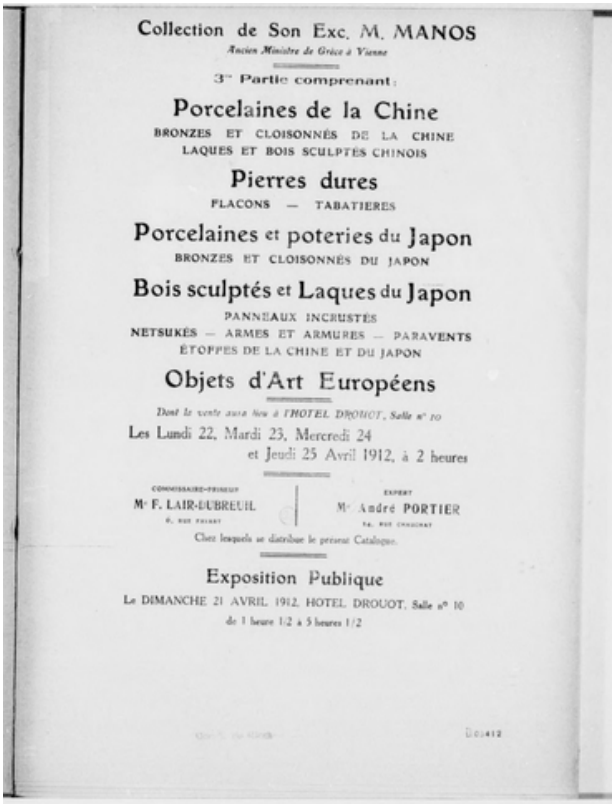
EXPERT
Me André PORTIER
14, RUE CHAUCHAT

Chez lesquels se distribue le présent Catalogue.

Exposition Publique

Le MERCREDI 20 MARS 1912, HOTEL DROUOT, Salle n° 6
de 2 heures à 6 heures

Figure 21
Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, March 1912, Paris
© BNF Gallica



Collection de Son Exc. M. MANOS

Ancien Ministre de Grèce à Vienne

3me Partie comprenant :

Porcelaines de la Chine

BRONZES ET CLOISONNÉS DE LA CHINE
LAQUES ET BOIS SCULPTÉS CHINOIS

Pierres dures

FLACONS — TABATIERES

Porcelaines et poteries du Japon

BRONZES ET CLOISONNÉS DU JAPON

Bois sculptés et Laques du Japon

PANNEAUX INCRUSTÉS
NETSUKÉS — ARMES ET ARMURES — PARAVENTS
ÉTOFFES DE LA CHINE ET DU JAPON

Objets d'Art Européens

Dont la vente aura lieu à l'HOTEL DROUOT, Salle n° 10

Les Lundi 22, Mardi 23, Mercredi 24
et Jeudi 25 Avril 1912, à 2 heures

COMMISSAIRE-PRISEUR
Me F. LAIR-DUBREUIL
6, RUE FAVART

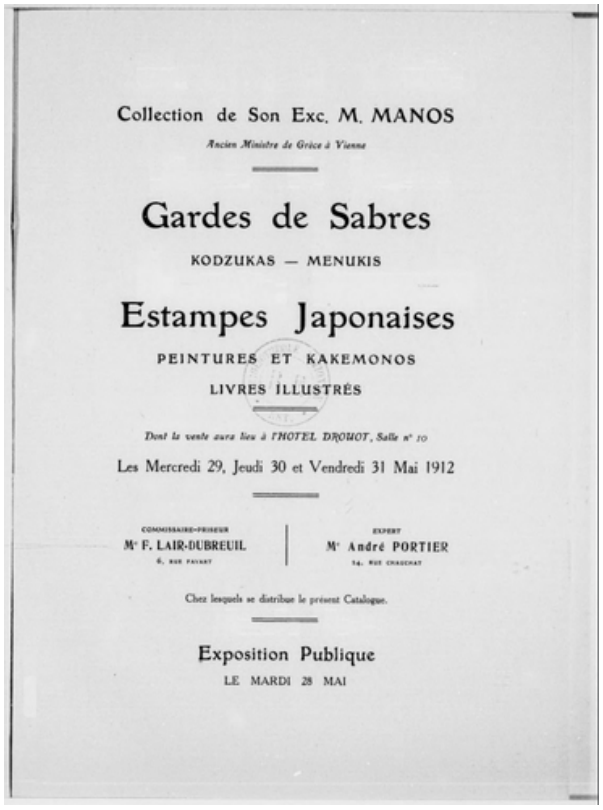
EXPERT
Me André PORTIER
14, RUE CHAUCHAT

Chez lesquels se distribue le présent Catalogue.

Exposition Publique

Le DIMANCHE 21 AVRIL 1912, HOTEL DROUOT, Salle n° 10
de 1 heure 1/2 à 5 heures 1/2

Figure 22
Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, April 1912, Paris
© BNF Gallica



Collection de Son Exc. M. MANOS

Ancien Ministre de Grèce à Vienne

Gardes de Sabres

KODZUKAS — MENUKIS

Estampes Japonaises

PEINTURES ET KAKEMONOS
LIVRES ILLUSTRÉS

Dont la vente aura lieu à l'HOTEL DROUOT, Salle n° 10

Les Mercredi 29, Jeudi 30 et Vendredi 31 Mai 1912

COMMISSAIRE-PRISEUR
Me F. LAIR-DUBREUIL
6, RUE FAVART

EXPERT
Me André PORTIER
14, RUE CHAUCHAT

Chez lesquels se distribue le présent Catalogue.

Exposition Publique

LE MARDI 28 MAI

Figure 23
Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, May 1912, Paris
© BNF Gallica

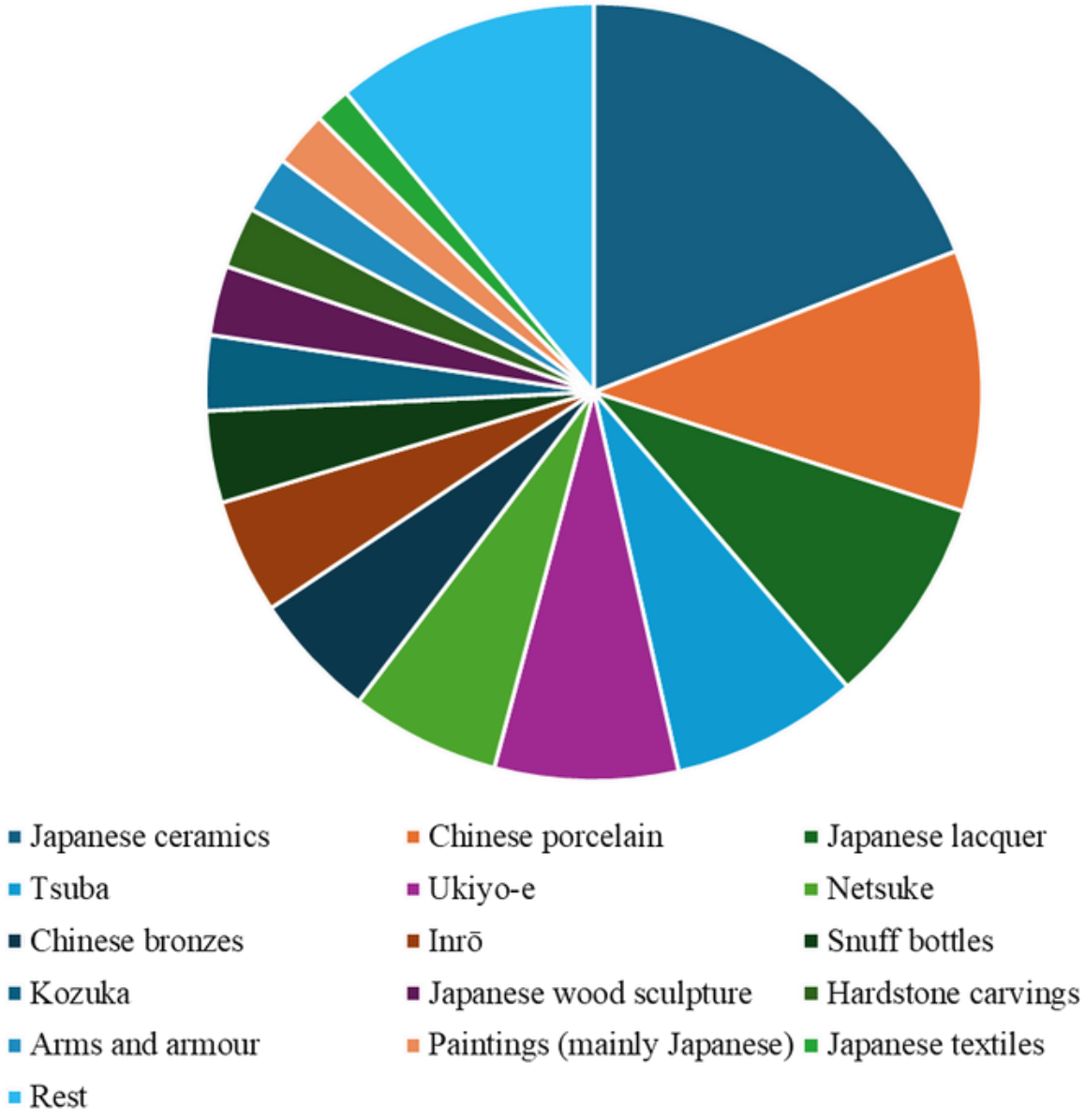


Figure 24
Chart illustrating the categories of objects in the sales of Manos' collection, 1912

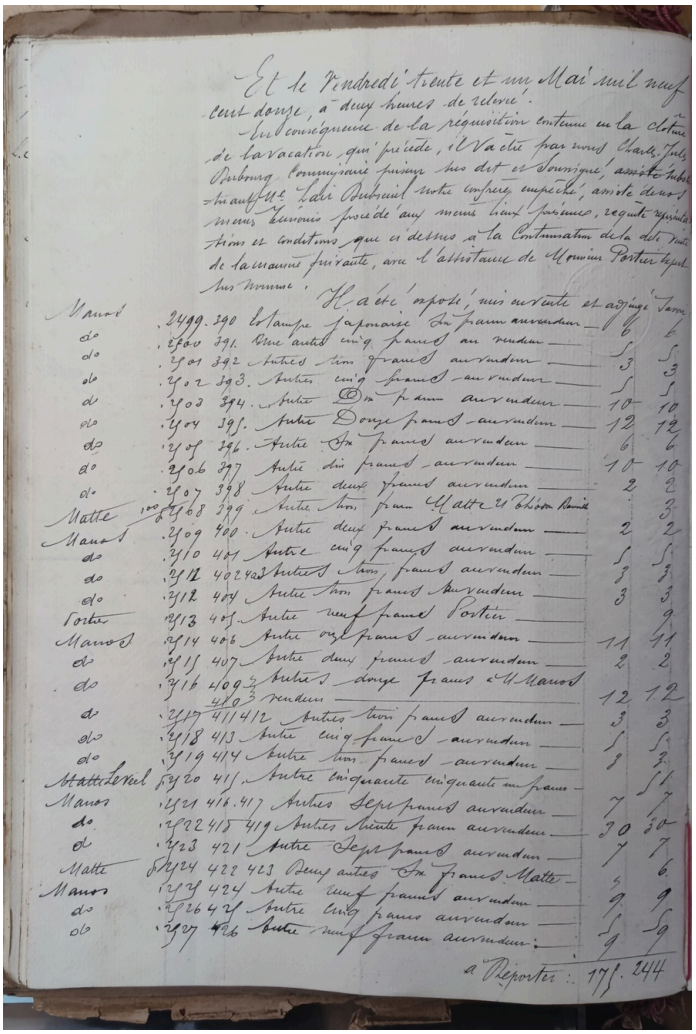


Figure 25a
Page 93 from the procès-verbal of the May 1912 auction. Manos' name is repeatedly mentioned by the auctioneer, indicating that the majority of the lots remained unsold
Photo by the author

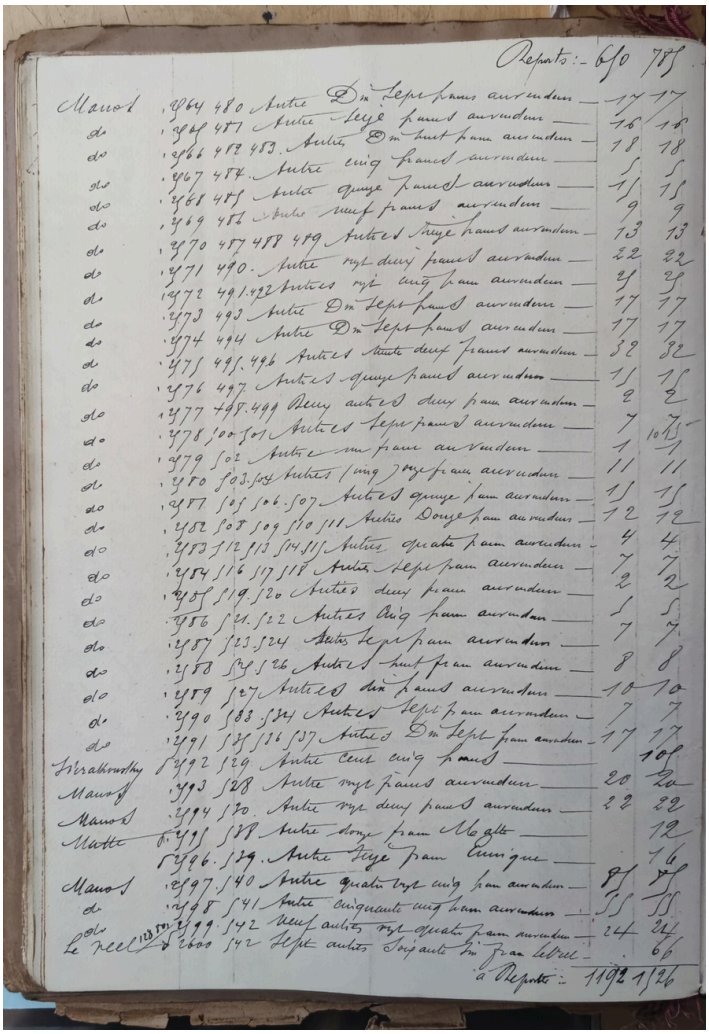


Figure 25b
Page 95 from the procès-verbal of the May 1912 auction
Photo by the author

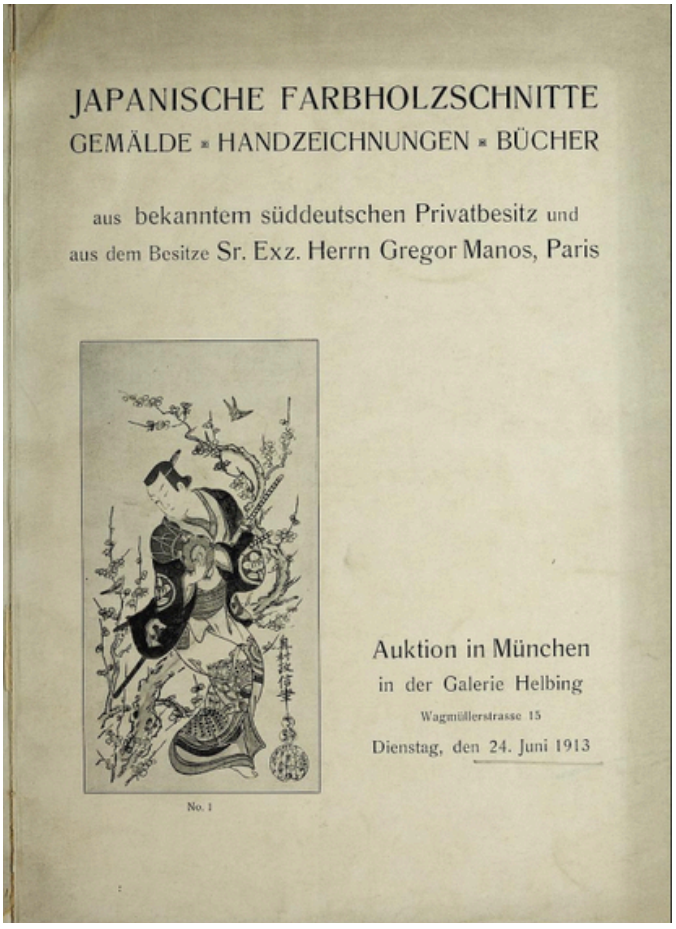
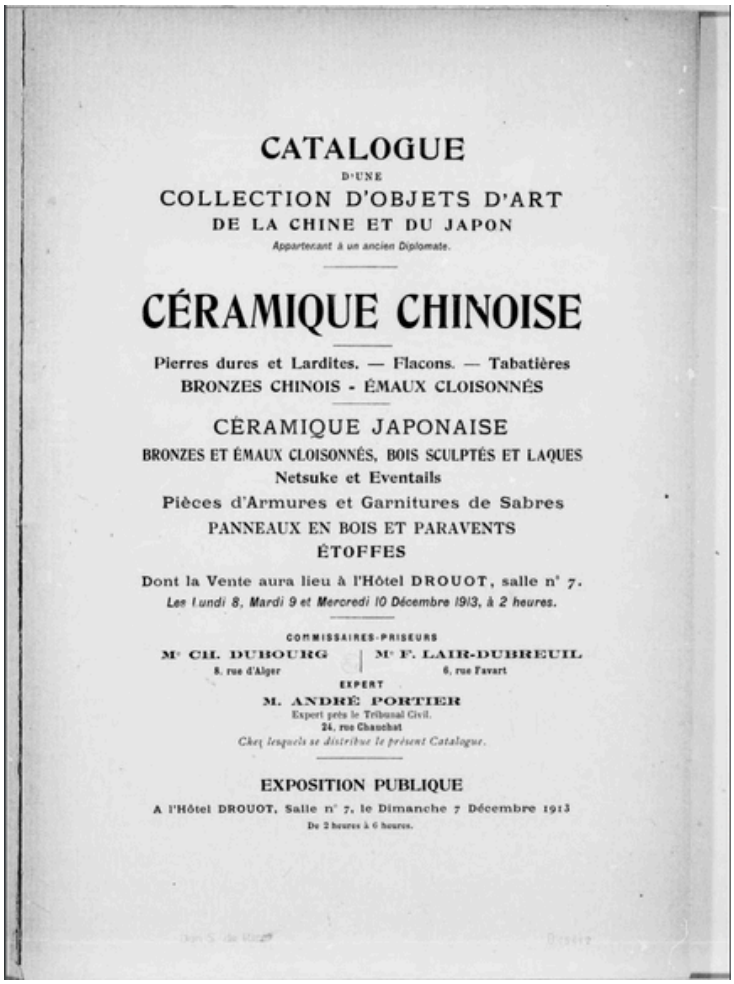


Figure 26
Auction catalogue of the Manos collection, June 1913, Munich
© Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberger historische Bestände

Figure 27
Ukiyo-e by Suzuki Harunobu, Torii Kiyonaga, and Katsukawa Shunchō illustrated in the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, June 1913, Munich
© Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberger historische Bestände



CATALOGUE
D'UNE
COLLECTION D'OBJETS D'ART
DE LA CHINE ET DU JAPON
Appartenant à un ancien Diplomate.

CÉRAMIQUE CHINOISE

Pierres dures et Lardites. — Flacons. — Tabatières
BRONZES CHINOIS - ÉMAUX CLOISONNÉS

CÉRAMIQUE JAPONAISE
BRONZES ET ÉMAUX CLOISONNÉS, BOIS SCULPTÉS ET LAQUES
Netsuke et Eventails
Pièces d'Armures et Garnitures de Sabres
PANNEAUX EN BOIS ET PARAVENTS
ÉTOFFES

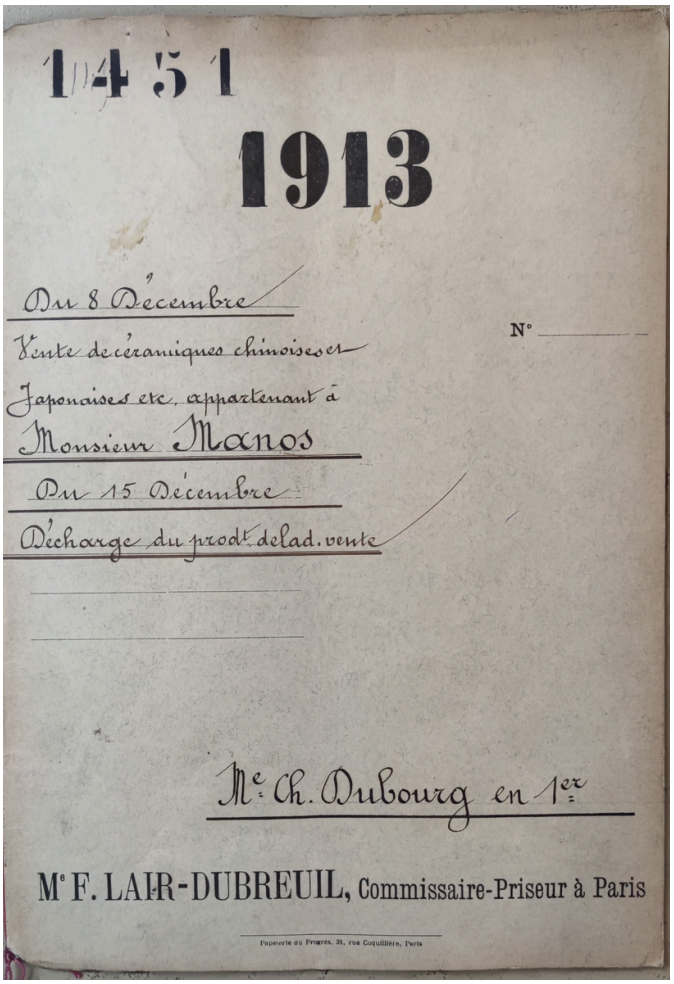
Dont la Vente aura lieu à l'Hôtel DROUOT, salle n° 7.
Les Lundi 8, Mardi 9 et Mercredi 10 Décembre 1913, à 2 heures.

COMMISSAIRES-PRISEURS
Me CH. DUBOURG, 8, rue d'Alger | Me F. LAIR-DUBREUIL, 6, rue Favart

EXPERT
M. ANDRÉ PORTIER
Expert près le Tribunal Civil.
24, rue Chauchat
Chez lesquels se distribue le présent Catalogue.

EXPOSITION PUBLIQUE
A l'Hôtel DROUOT, Salle n° 7, le Dimanche 7 Décembre 1913
De 2 heures à 6 heures.

Figure 28
Auction catalogue not disclosing the name of the individual whose collection is being sold, December 1913, Paris
© BNF Gallica



14 51

1913

Du 8 Décembre

Vente de céramiques chinoises et Japonaises etc. appartenant à

Monsieur Manos

Du 15 Décembre

Décharge du prodt de lad. vente

N° _____

Me Ch. Dubourg en 1er

Me F. LAIR-DUBREUIL, Commissaire-Priseur à Paris

Papeterie du Progrès, 31, rue Coquillière, Paris

Figure 29
Procès-verbal of the December 1913 auction recording Manos as the owner of the collection being sold
Photo by the author

Figure 30
Argine Benaki-Salvago
© Sotheby's, 2017

Figure 31
Interior of the Salvago villa in Alexandria
The globular Chinese bottle vase can be seen on the right
© Sotheby's, 2017

Figure 32
Johannes Lingelbach (1622-1674)
Peasants Outside a Tavern
Illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 33
Édouard Dubufe (1819-1883)
The Portrait of a Lady
Illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 34
Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450–1516)
The Temptation of St Anthony
Illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 35
Anonymous Tyrolean master
St Paul and St Peter, Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg and Anthony the Great
Illustration from the auction catalogue of the Manos collection, November 1912

Figure 36
Tea caddy (Seto ware)
Edo period (1603-1868)
Glazed stoneware
Photo by the author

Figure 37
Kyo-ware from the Manos collection on display at the Corfu Museum of Asian Art
Photo by the author

Figure 38
Nonomura Ninsei (active c. 1646–1694)
Kobako in the shape of a waterfowl
(marked “Ninsei”)
17th century
Stoneware, iron glaze
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 39
Incense burner in the form of a goose in the style of Nonomura Ninsei
c. 1700-1800
Stoneware with clear glaze and details in underglaze iron
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

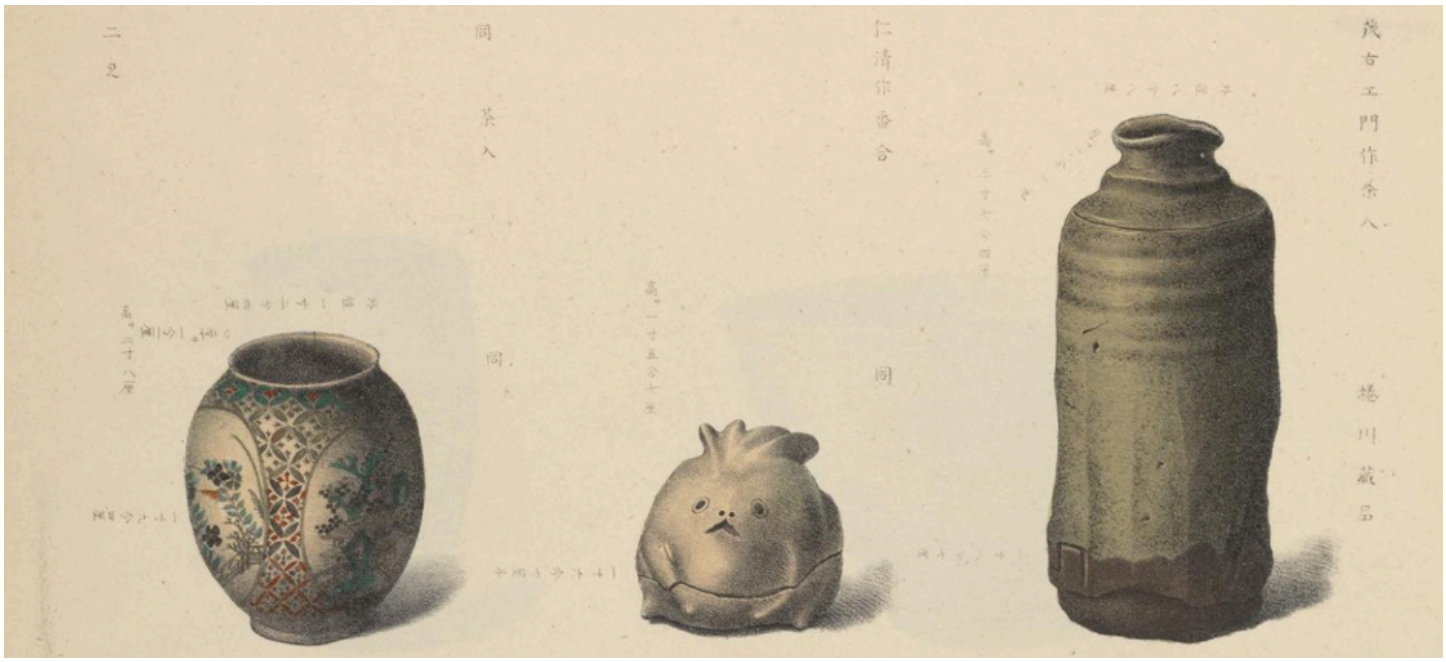


Figure 40
Illustration (plate 2) from Ninagawa Noritane’s *Kanko zusetsu*, vol 4, 1877
In the middle, a zoomorphic incense burner by Ninsei

Figure 41
Funerary model in the form of a pigsty
Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE)
Unglazed earthenware
Photo by the author

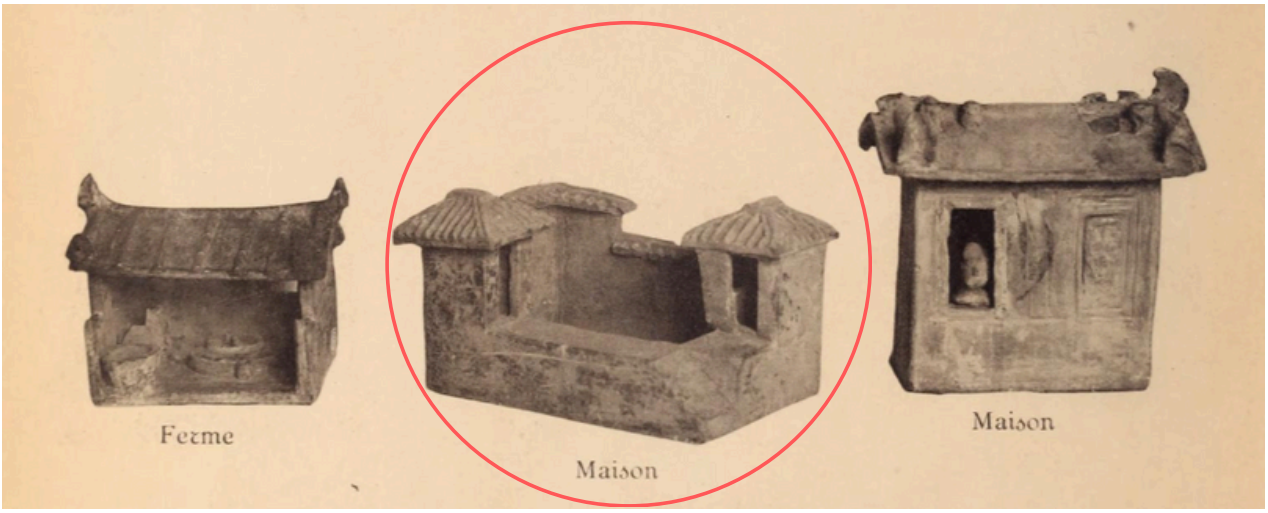


Figure 42
Page IV with illustrations from the catalogue of Léon Wannieck's shop, 1911
The pigsty from the Manos collection is depicted in the middle

La toilette de Bouddha

Une exposition d'art chinois se prépare pour le mois de mai au musée Cernuschi. A ce propos, on fait la toilette des principales pièces du musée. Voici le Grand Bouddha, la plus volumineuse statue de bronze que possède aucune collection, au moment où une équipe d'ouvriers s'occupe à lui préparer une nouvelle jeunesse.

L'EXPOSITION RÉTROSPECTIVE D'ART CHINOIS AU MUSÉE CERNUSCHI

◇ ◇ ◇

La première Exposition rétrospective des arts de l'ancienne Asie vient de s'ouvrir au musée Cernuschi.

C'est à M. le comte d'Andigné, l'amateur éclairé et délicat, et à M. d'Ardenne de Tizac, conservateur du Musée, que nous devons cette très intéressante manifestation artistique.

Nous citerons les ambres de couleur sculptés, les jades, les cristaux teintés, les coraux ouvragés, les ivoires fouillés et ciselés parmi les objets les plus intéressants.

Pour la première fois, peut-être, on a pu admirer ces poteries coréennes, chaudes porcelaines aux décors de fantasmagorie et de rêve empruntés à la luxuriance de la flore asiatique.

Anciennes poteries coréennes

Figure 43
Articles in the French newspapers *Excelsior,* 9 April 1911, and *L'Actualité,* 21 May 1911, about the *Exposition rétrospective d'art chinois* at the Musée Cernuschi
© Archives du musée Cernuschi

SUPPLÉMENT D'ART.

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

PARIS, DIMANCHE, 4 MAI, 1913.

COLLECTION WORCH

LE GRAND BOUDDHA EN BRONZE DU MUSÉE CERNUSCHI

IVe EXPOSITION DES ARTS DE L'ASIE

L'ART BOUDDHIQUE AU MUSÉE CERNUSCHI.

COLLECTION LEONCE ROSENBERG

COLLECTION ALPHONSE KANN

COLLECTION DESMAZIÈRES

PHOTOS PARISLA.

COLLECTION SMET

COLLECTION GOLOUBEW

COLLECTION DESMAZIÈRES

COLLECTION COOMARASWAMY

COLLECTION DESMAZIÈRES

COLLECTION WORCH

Figure 44
Advertisement of the *Quatrième exposition des Arts de l'Asie: Art bouddhique* in *The New York Herald*, 4 May 1913
© Archives du musée Cernuschi

Figure 45
Unknown artist
Amida Nyorai
Late 16th century
Hanging scroll, polychromy on silk
165 x 56.2 cm (231.7 x 70.4 cm)
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 46
Unknown artist
Amida Nyorai
17th century
Hanging scroll, ink and polychromy on silk, cut metal foil (*kirikane*)
46.4 x 58.5 cm (214.5 x 73 cm)
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

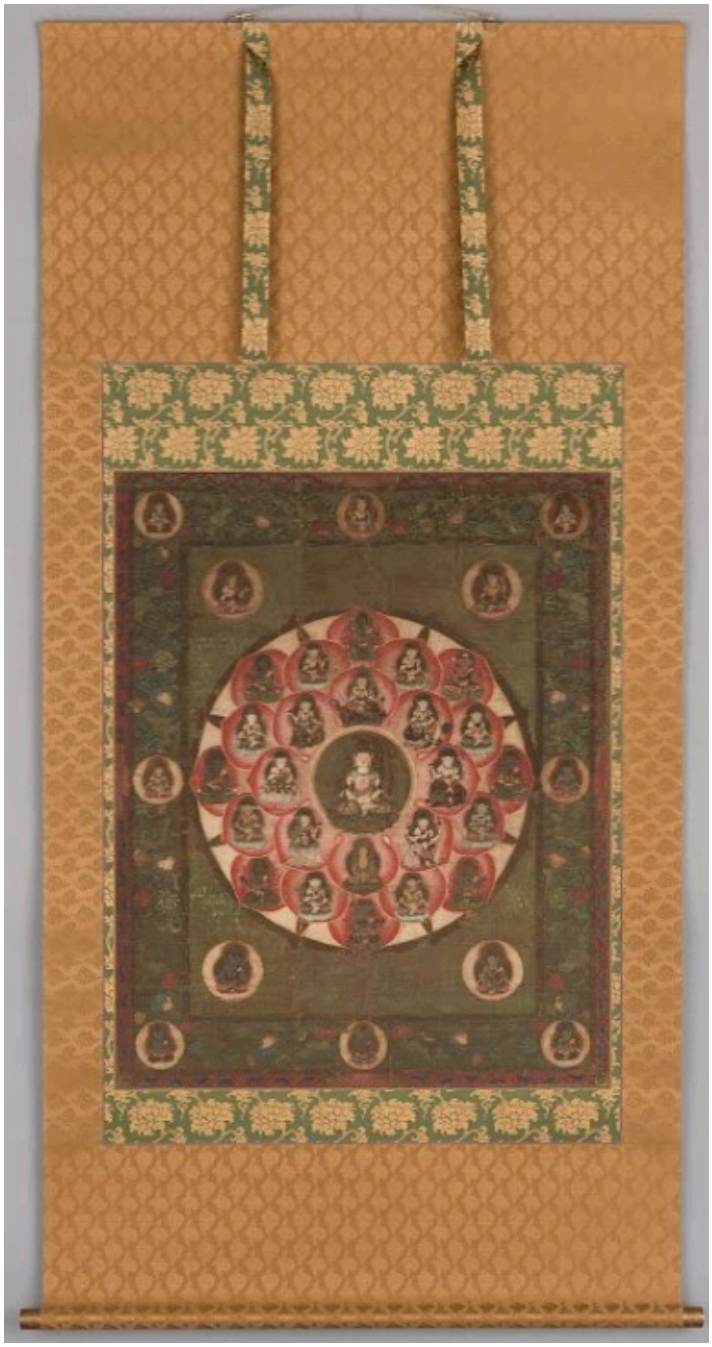


Figure 47
(Hokkyō) Soun (unknown dates)
Butsugen Mandala
Before 1720
Hanging scroll, ink, polychromy and gilt on paper
119 x 91 cm (228 x 119 cm)
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 48
Unknown artist
Butsugen Mandala
18th century
Hanging scroll, polychromy on silk, ink, and gold, with silk mounting
66.8 x 41.5 cm (148.2 x 46 cm)
Donation of Heinrich von Siebold (1892)
© Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna

Figure 49
Unknown artist
Fudō Myōō with two attendants
Late 16th to 17th century
Hanging scroll with ink, polychromy and *kirikane*
99.5 x 42 cm (169.5 x 62.2 cm)

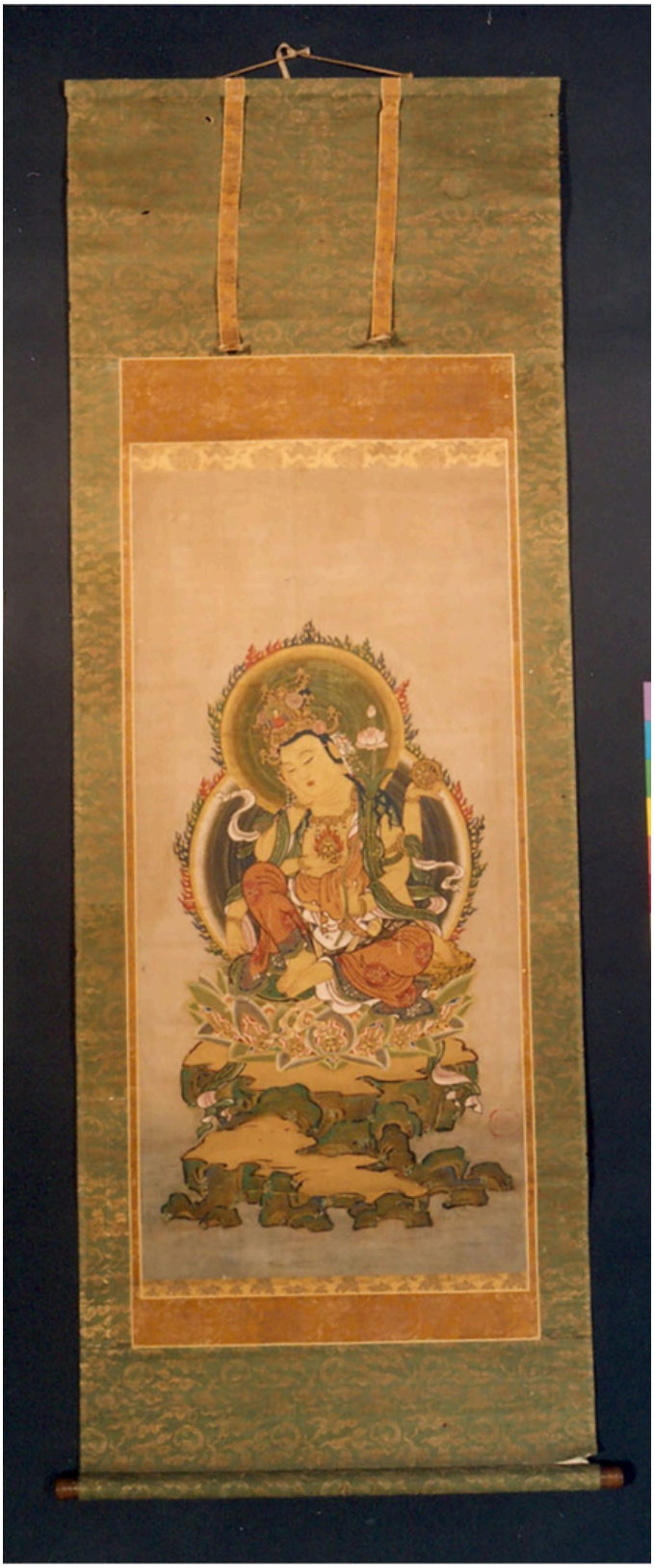
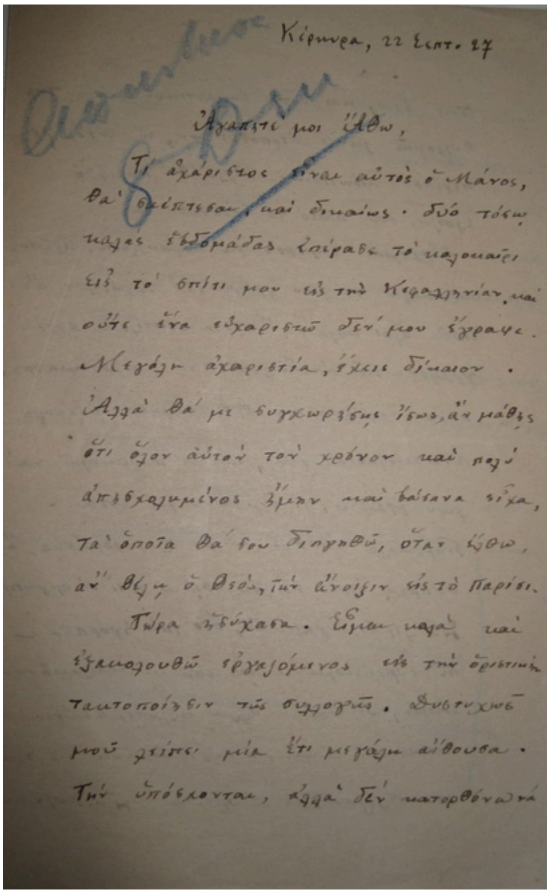


Figure 50
Kanō School
Nyoirin Kannon
Possibly the second half of the 17th century
Hanging scroll, ink and polychromy on silk, *kirikane*
82.8 x 38.3 cm (146.5 x 50.7 cm)

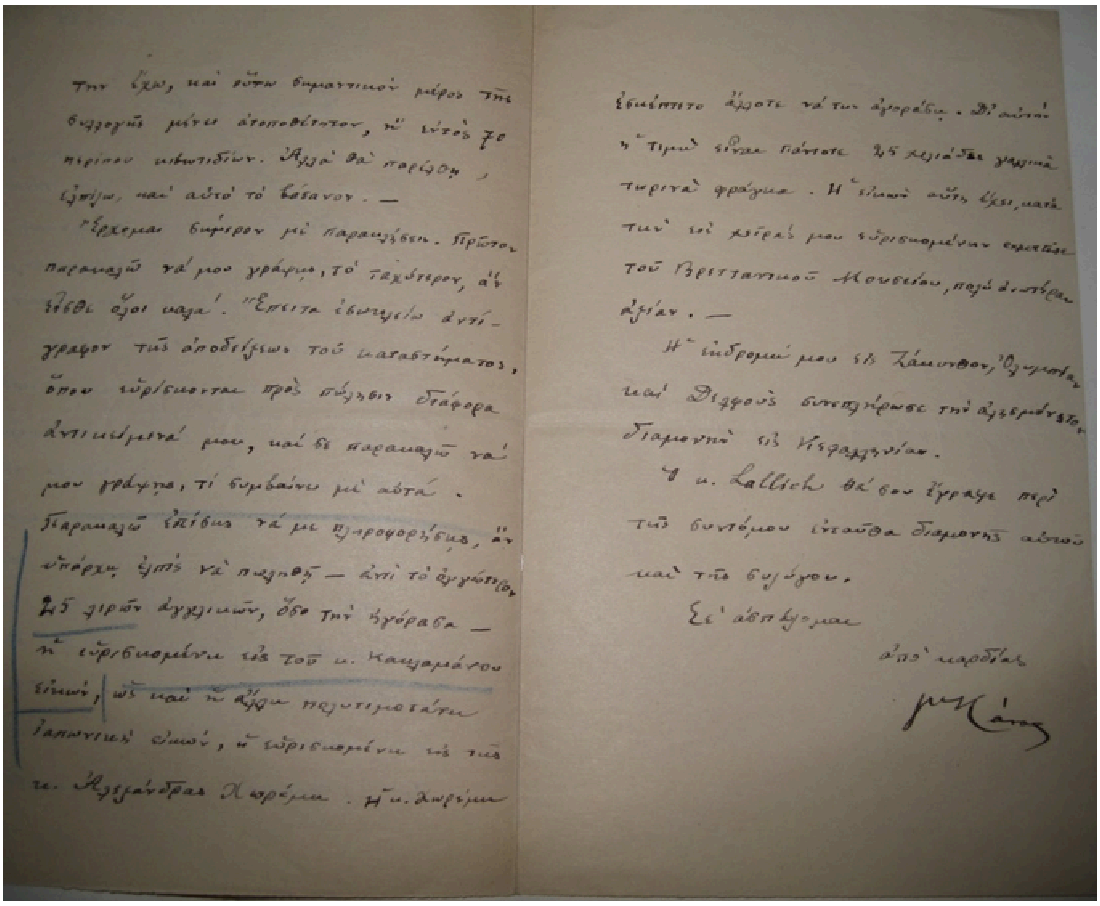

Κέρκυρα, 22 Σεπτ. 27

Ἀγαπητέ μοι Ἄθω,

Τί ἀχάριστος εἶναι αὐτὸς ὁ Μάνος, θὰ σκέπτεσαι, καὶ δικαίως· δύο τόσω καλὰς ἑβδομάδας ἐπέρασε τὸ καλοκαίρι εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, καὶ οὔτε ἕνα εὐχαριστῶ δέν μου ἔγραψε. Μεγάλη ἀχαριστία, ἔχεις δίκαιον. Ἀλλὰ θὰ μὲ συγχωρήσῃς ἴσως, ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι ὅλον αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον καὶ πολὺ ἀπησχολημένος ἤμην καὶ βάσανα εἶχα, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ σοῦ διηγηθῶ, ὅταν ἔλθω, ἂν θέλῃ ὁ Θεός, τὴν ἄνοιξιν εἰς τὸ Παρίσι.

Τώρα ἡσύχασα. Εἶμαι καλὰ καὶ ἐξακολουθῶ ἐργαζόμενος εἰς τὴν ὁριστικὴν ταυτοποίησιν τῆς συλλογῆς. Δυστυχῶς μοῦ λείπει μία ἔτι μεγάλη αἴθουσα. Τὴν ὑπόσχονται, ἀλλὰ δὲν κατορθώνω τά

Figure 51a
Letter from Manos to Athos Romanos
Benaki Museum - Historical Archives
Photo by the author


τὴν ἔχω, καὶ οὕτω σημαντικὸν μέρος τῆς συλλογῆς μένει ἀτοποθέτητον, ἢ ἐντὸς 70 περίπου κιβωτιδίων. Ἀλλὰ θὰ παρέλθῃ, ἐλπίζω, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βάσανον. —

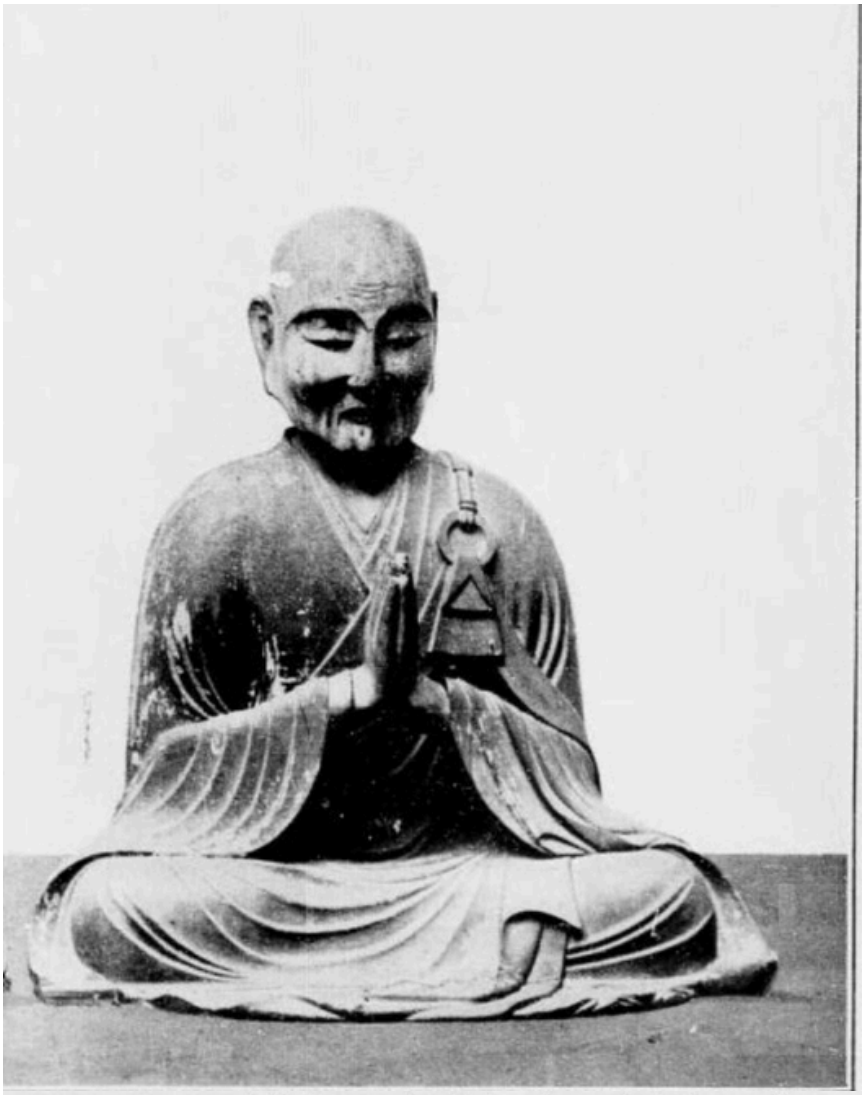
Ἔρχομαι σήμερον μὲ παρακλήσεις. Πρῶτον παρακαλῶ νά μου γράψῃς, τὸ ταχύτερον, ἂν εἶσθε ὅλοι καλά. Ἔπειτα ἐσωκλείω ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἀποδείξεως τοῦ καταστήματος, ὅπου εὑρίσκονται πρὸς πώλησιν διάφορα ἀντικείμενά μου, καὶ σὲ παρακαλῶ νά μου γράψῃς, τί συμβαίνει μὲ αὐτά. Παρακαλῶ ἐπίσης νά με πληροφορήσῃς, ἂν ὑπάρχῃ ἐλπὶς νὰ πωληθῇ — ἀντὶ τὸ [illegible] 25 λιρῶν ἀγγλικῶν, ὅσο τὴν ἠγόρασα — ἡ εὑρισκομένη εἰς τοῦ κ. Κακαμάνου σινική, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πολυτιμοτάτη ἰαπωνικὴ σινική, ἡ εὑρισκομένη εἰς τῆς κ. Ἀλεξάνδρας Χωρέμη. Ἡ κ. Χωρέμη ἐσκέπτετο ἄλλοτε νά την ἀγοράσῃ. Δι' αὐτὴν ἡ τιμὴ εἶναι πάντοτε 25 χιλιάδες γαλλικὰ τωρινὰ φράγκα. Ἡ σινικὴ αὐτὴ ἔχει, κατὰ τινὰς [illegible] μου εὑρισκομένους [illegible] τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ Μουσείου, πολὺ μεγαλυτέραν ἀξίαν. —

Ἡ ἐκδρομή μου εἰς Ζάκυνθον, Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ Δελφοὺς συνεπλήρωσε τὴν ἀλησμόνητον διαμονὴν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν.

Ὁ κ. Lallich θά σου ἔγραψε περὶ τῆς συντόμου ἐνταῦθα διαμονῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συζύγου.

Σὲ ἀσπάζομαι
ἀπὸ καρδίας
Μάνος

Figure 51b
Continuation of the letter from Manos to Athos Romanos
Benaki Museum - Historical Archives
Photo by the author



687. — Figure en bois, à trace de polychromie, représentant un prêtre accroupi, les mains jointes dans l'attitude de la prière. Il est vêtu de l'étole sacrée, décorée de fleurettes rouges, et maintenue sur l'épaule par une longue boucle.

Cette figure provient d'un temple Koya, de Sakai en Izumie, et qui pu être acquis à la transformation de ce temple au début de Meiji. Très vigoureuse pièce. d'une grande simplicité de sculpture. Attribuée à l'Epoque Choji. XII[e] siècle. Haut. 0 m. 80

Figure 52
Wooden sculpture of a priest originating from a temple in Kōyasan, as indicated by the provenance details provided in the sales catalogue
Illustration from the catalogue of the Manos sale, April 1912, Paris, p. 49

Figure 53
Seated figure of Daishōgun
11th-12th century
Carved wood with traces of polychromy and ink
31 x 20 x 13 cm
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 54
Seated Daishōgun-shin
12th century
Wood, single-block construction
68.5
© Nara National Museum

Figure 55
Daishōgun
11th-12th century
Wood with traces of colour
34.3 cm
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 56
Display arranged by Manos in the Sino-Japanese Museum, 1927

Figure 57
Hall of the Sino-Japanese Museum in Corfu. Postcard, 1930s
The exhibition of the Manos collection with Japanese porcelain, theatre masks, and Buddhist sculptures

Figure 58
Tōshūsai Sharaku (1794-1795)
Matsumoto Koshiro IV as Kakogawa Honzo and Matsumoto Yonesaburo as Konami
1795
Fan painting, ink, and colour on bamboo paper
17.4 x 46.6 x 22.4 cm

Figure 59
Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794-1795)
Actor Ichikawa Monnosuke II in the role of Date no Yosaku
1794
Nishiki-e
36.7 x 24.3 cm

Figure 60
Tōshūsai Sharaku (active 1794-1795)
Ichikawa Omezo I as Yakko Ippei
1794
Nishiki-e
37.3 x 24.2 cm

Figure 61a
Illustration of the print by Torii Kiyotada depicting Ichikawa Monnosuke I in the role of a samurai.
From the catalogue of the Manos sale, June 1913, Munich

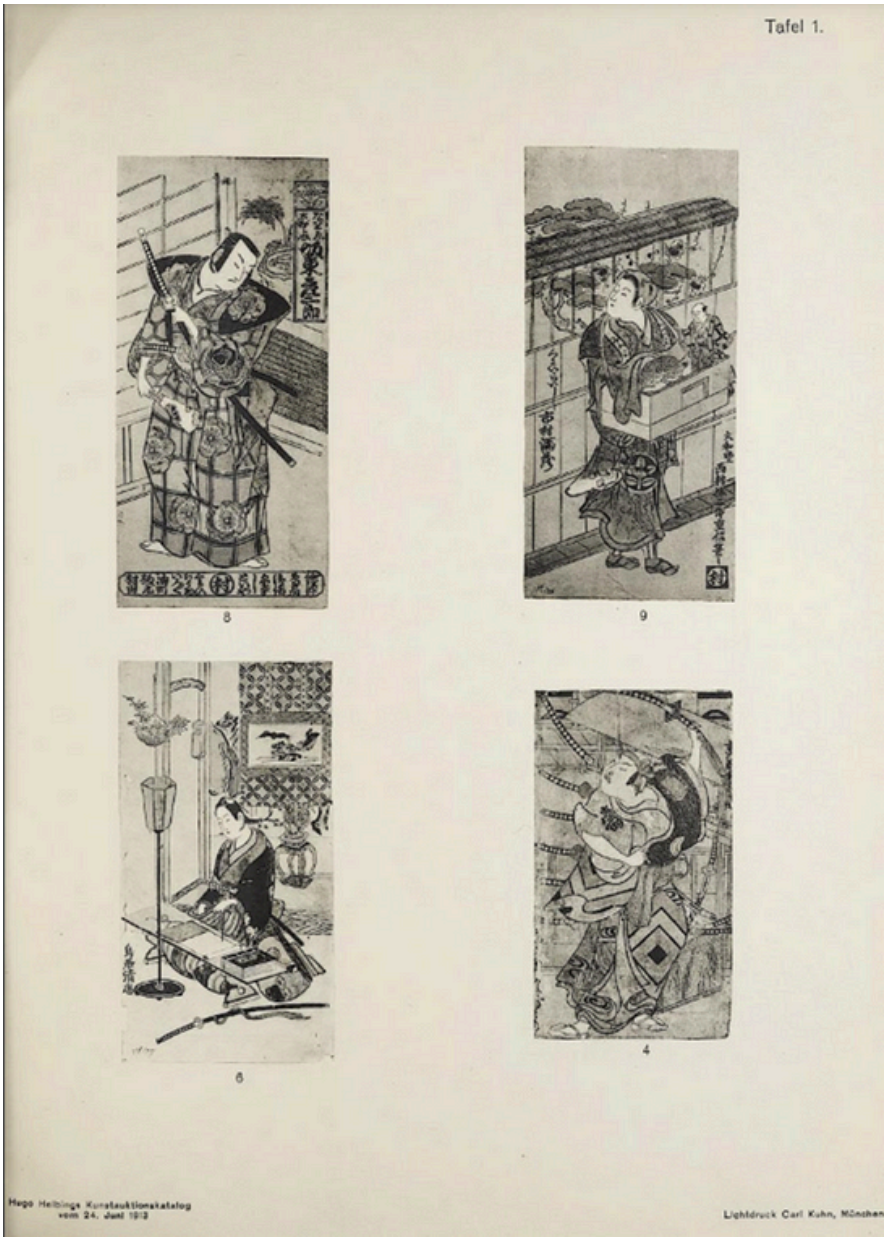


Figure 61b
Page with illustrations of prints by early *ukiyo-e* masters.
From the catalogue of the Manos sale, June 1913, Munich

Figure 62
Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815)
Children at Play: The Dispute of the Go P*layers*
1780-1781
Nishiki-e
25.4 x 18.9 cm
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 63
Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815)
Children at Play: The Game of the Cat and the Mouse
1780-1781
Nishiki-e
25,2 x 18,8 cm
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 64
Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815)
Kintarō Riding a Bear
c. 1788-90
Nishiki-e
36.9 x 24.7 cm

Figure 65
Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815)
Ladies of the Court: Sannomiya
c. 1874
Nishiki-e
39 x 26 cm

Figure 66
Japanese *maki-e* saddle (*kura*)
1631
© Bernisches Historisches Museum

Figure 67
Japanese saddle with decoration of golden crabs
17th-19th century
Red and gold lacquered wood
Photo by the author

Figure 68
Page with illustrations of various objects from the catalogue of the Manos sale, March 1912, Paris.
The horse saddle in the middle identifies with the one in Figure 67

Figure 69
"Hall of Oriental Arms at Charlottenfels"
Illustration I from the catalogue *Collection Henri Moser Charlottenfels: Oriental Arms and Armour (*1912)
Moser himself can be seen at the back of the room, a portrait painted from the photograph in Figure 71, where he is dressed in Persian and Central Asian attire

Figure 70
The hall of arms and armour in the Bernisches Historisches Museum
c. 1925

Figure 71
Henri Moser
1884
© BnF, département Société de Géographie

Figure 72
Ferdinand Jean Luigini (1870-1943)
Émile Guimet in his Museum
1898
© RMN-Grand Palais, Paris

Figure 73
Heinrich von Siebold in Japanese dress
1897
© Siebold-Archiv Burg Brandenstein

Figure 74
Georges Ferdinand Bigot in Yokohama
Public domain

Figure 75
Display of Japanese military regalia from the Manos collection in the MATK
Photo by author

Figure 76
Swords from the Manos collection on display at the MATK
The fourth from the top is the sword with *katana* blade and *tachi*-style scabbard
Photo by author

Figure 77
Nakayama Ikkansai Yoshimichi (unknown dates)
Ritual sword
1834, New Year's Day
Forged metal, lacquered wood, brass shaft
46.5 cm
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

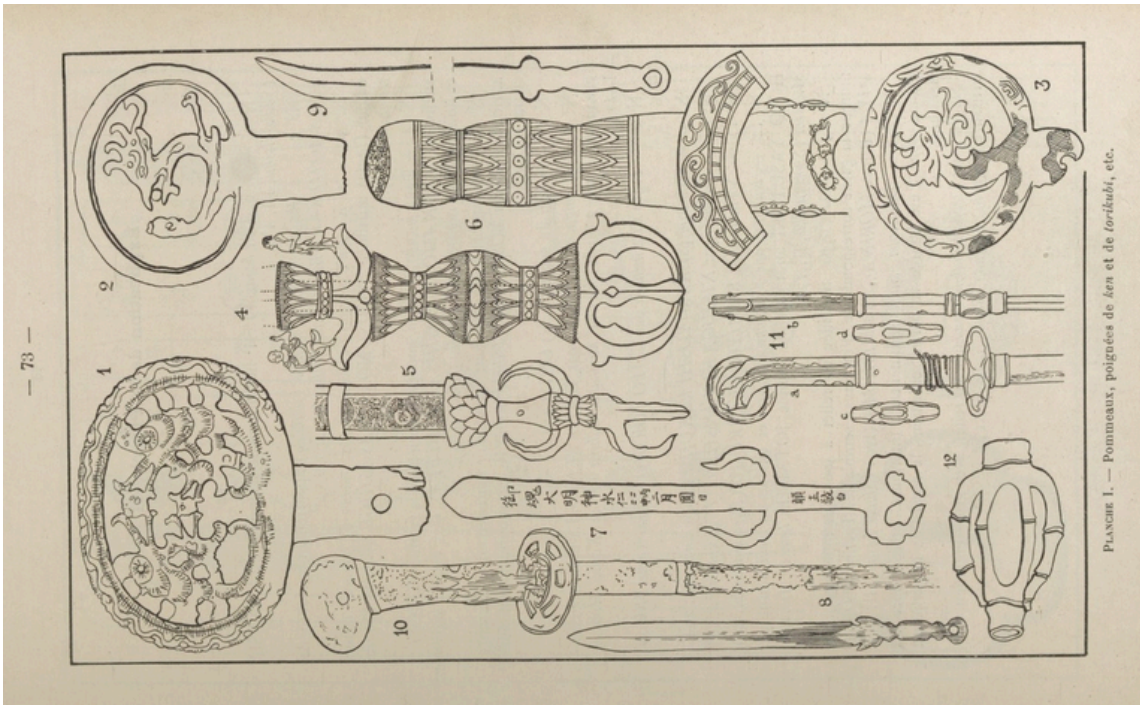


Figure 78
Illustration for "Pommels and handles of *ken* and *torikubi*" from Henri L. Joly's article "Introduction à l'étude des montures de sabres" in *Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris*, March 1909, p. 73

Figure 79
T*suba*
18th century
Iron and gold
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 80
Sōten style *tsuba* and other sword fittings from the Manos collection
Photo by author

Figure 81
Sueki cup with lid (*futatsuki*)
5th-6th century CE
Stoneware
Inscription inside: “Found in Ishitani, Katayama-mura, Chita-gun, Gifu Prefecture”
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 82
Sueki cup
Kofun period (c. 300–710 CE)
Stoneware
15.3 x 8.5 cm
Photo: *200 Jahre Siebold: Die Japansammlungen von Philipp Franz und Heinrich von Siebold*, 1996

Figure 83
Red lacquer longevity disc
Qing period (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1735-1796)
Carved red and green lacquer

Figure 84
Circular plaque of the red lacquer longevity disc
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 85
Precious spring longevity box
Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795)
Carved red, green, and yellow lacquer
D: 33.7 cm
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 86
Treasure box of eternal spring and longevity
Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Qianlong reign (1736-1795)
Carved red, green, and yellow lacquer on wood core
16.5 x 44 x 44 cm
© Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art

Figure 87
Damages and cracks on the border of the disc
Photo by the author

Figure 88
Damages and cracks on the border of the disc
Photo by the author

Figure 89
The reverse side of the disc
Photo by the author

Figure 90
Plaque
Early 17th century (Wang Shixiang opinion: Qianlong period, 1736-1795)
Carved lacquer of different colours
43.8 x 0.6 cm

Figure 91
Plaque
1400-1450
Carved red lacquer
D: 32.1 cm

Figure 92a
Plaque (front side)
Early 16th century
D: 22.5 cm
© Victoria & Albert Museum, London

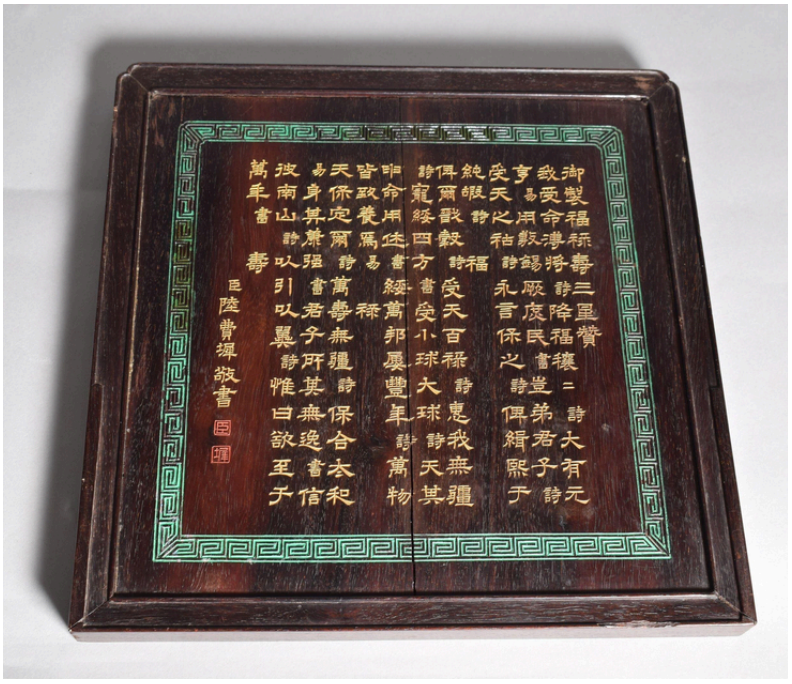


Figure 92a
Plaque (reverse side)
Early 16th century
© Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Figure 93
Cizhou basin
Late 13th - early 14th century
Stoneware, underglaze black painting on white slip
D: 40 cm
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 94
Carved Cizhou basin
960-1234
Stoneware with a dark brown slipon the exterior and a white slip on the interior. Combed hatching pattern incised around the central bloom
D: 30.8 cm
© Christie's, 2013

Figure 95
Cizhou basin
Late 13th - early 14th century
Stoneware, underglaze black painting on white slip
© Corfu Museum of Asian Art

Figure 97
Cizhou basin with fish decoration
Late 13th - early 14th century
Unearthed in Laoting, Hebei
Photo: Yutaka Mino and Katherine R. Tsiang, *Freedom of Clay and Brush Through Seven Centuries in Northern China: Tz'u-chou Type Wares, 960-1600 A.D*, 1980

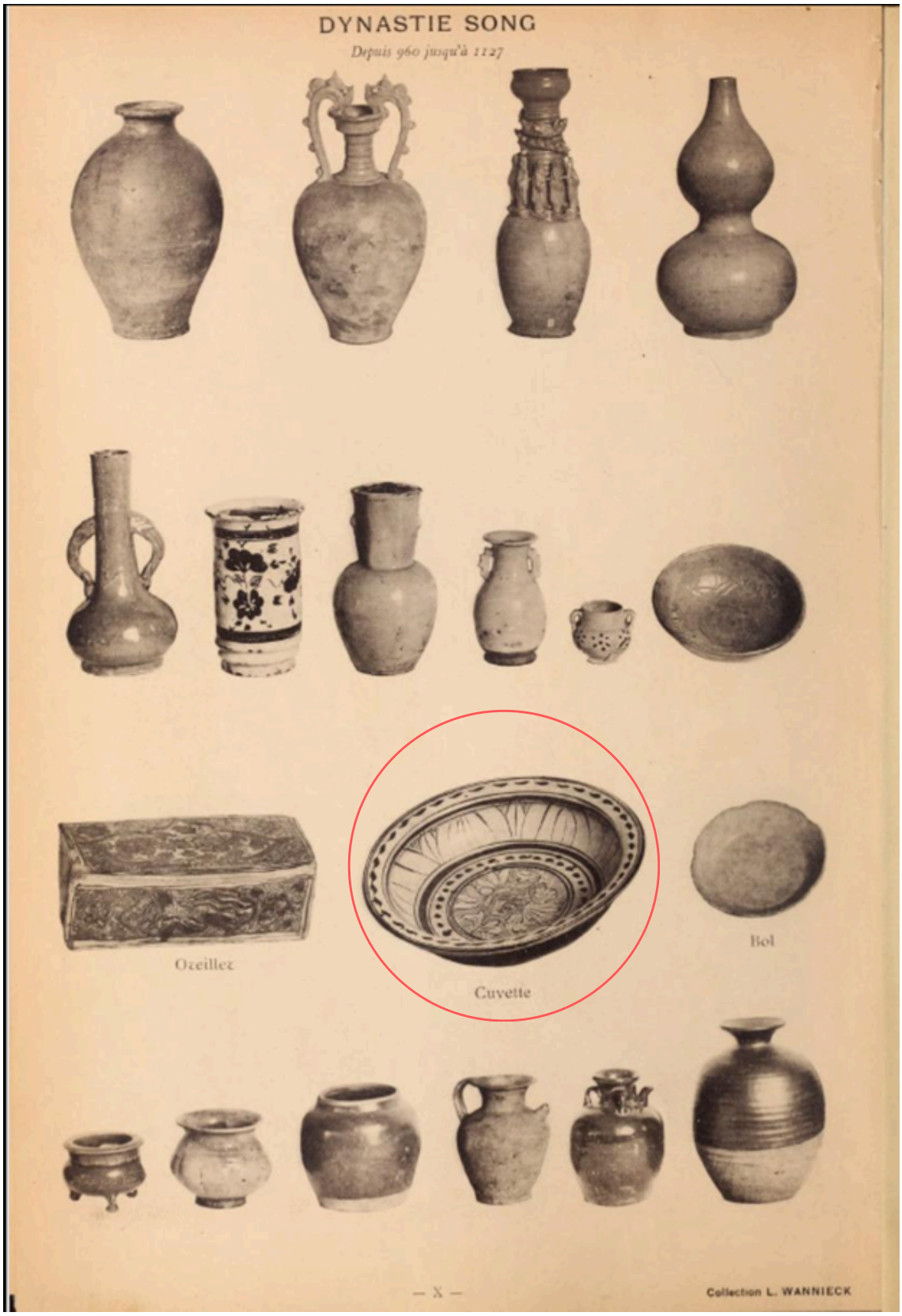


Figure 98
Page X from Léon Wannieck's catalogue, 1911
The Cizhou basin from the Manos collection is illustrated